A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature, 1500–1920
With an Introductory History

Compiled and with an Introduction by Kevork B. Bardakjian

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Kevork B. Bardakjian

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երկրորդ տեղեկությունը

Հարություն, նպատակ Բ
To
Ani and Nayiri
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When Robert W. Thomson and I jointly undertook this project, originally conceived as a single volume, *A Reference Guide to Armenian Literature*, we were fortunate to enjoy the support and encouragement of a host of friends, colleagues, and interested persons.

The initial impetus for the book came from Dr. David H. Partington, then head of the Middle East Division of the Harvard College Library. A two-year grant (1979–81) from the National Endowment for the Humanities enabled us to gain the services of Geoffrey Goshgarian from UCLA. He spent two years at Harvard, amassing bibliographical information and preparing drafts for many of the entries. The groundwork he prepared was of fundamental importance, as was his intelligent analysis of a vast amount of material. But finishing touches to the project were delayed, and Robert and I decided to bring up the cut-off date for the material from 1980 to 1990. A most generous grant from the Armenian General Benevolent Union enabled us to accomplish the task. Helen Greene-Quigley of the Middle East Division of the Harvard College Library gathered material in Western languages. Manya Babayan and Emma Babayan, both senior bibliographers at the National Library in Erevan, assiduously and expeditiously collected an extensive amount of material from Armenian and Russian sources, enabling us to close the ten-year gap in critical literature in the existing manuscript. In September 1993, by which time both Robert and I had left Harvard, we agreed to make this project into two separate books. His part, published under *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Brepols, 1995; *Corpus Christianorum*), covers the fifth to the fifteenth centuries. This volume includes authors born between 1500 and 1920.

To Robert, an old friend and colleague, I owe a profound debt. His role and experience in initiating and planning this project has been indispensable, his contribution vital, and his support kind throughout.
The generous assistance given by many friends, colleagues, and students I acknowledge collectively and with gratitude. Edmond Y. Azadian, Rev. Father Krikor Maksoudian, Ronald G. Suny, Robert W. Thomson, and Khachig Töölöyan made helpful comments on the Introduction. I am indebted to the staff of the Middle East Division of the Harvard College Library, where the project took shape; and to the authorities and staff of many institutions in whose collections I worked at various stages of the project: the Mekhitarist Congregations of Venice and Vienna; the National Library of Armenia; the Matenadaran; the Manuk Abelyan Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia; the Library of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia; the Eliše Charents Museum of Art and Literature in Erevan; the Library of the State University of Erevan; Bibliothèque Nubar in Paris; Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center of the Diocese of the Armenian Church of America in New York; and the H. Hatcher Graduate Library of the University of Michigan. Thanks are due to Arzo Computers, Inc., of Southfield, Michigan, for designing special fonts and for related technical assistance. Alice Nigoghosian, Jennifer Backer, and Kathy Wildfong of Wayne State University Press and Kathy Wilson meticulously helped prepare the manuscript for publication. Art Chartow elegantly designed the book. A most generous subvention from the Armenian General Benevolent Union made the publication of this volume possible.

This book owes its completion to the solicitous support of my wife and our two daughters, and to their delightful suspension of disbelief for many long years.

KBB
2 August 1995, Ann Arbor
As its title indicates, this guide is designed to provide reference to texts and secondary literature as a starting point for further study of the works of Armenian authors born between 1500 and 1920. Although the reader may encounter occasional references to writings in manuscript form, this book is a guide to Armenian texts in printed form only. Authors of Armenian descent writing in other languages have been excluded.

The term "literature" has been employed in its broader sense for the years 1500 to 1800; so historians, for instance, have been included. But for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the focus has been strictly on belles-lettres. It is important to remember that in Armenian, as well as in many other systems of periodization, the Middle Ages conclude with the eighteenth century. One could, then, argue for the validity of designating the period covered by this book as the “late medieval and modern” era. In fact, internal chronological divisions and accompanying commentary in many ways reflect the traditions of Armenian scholarship. But, for a number of reasons, such as familiarity and convenience, I chose to adhere to the more formal and common, though by no means universal, periodization of history.

Of the five principal parts of this volume, the first consists of two sections: a brief background to each of the six periods into which the modern era has been divided, followed by a cursory glance at the works of some of the authors born between 1500 and 1920. In addition to this general evaluation, an effort has been made to point to some similarities, characteristics, and trends in the works of both modern and earlier writers, and to some external influences. On occasion, certain biographical details have been introduced to elaborate a point; but fuller portraits are to be found in the second, bio-bibliographical part, followed by a list of a given author’s works and their translations, and a section on critical literature.
When this work was planned as part of the larger project, the amount of time allotted and the resources available to us had to be apportioned and employed in a practical fashion. This meant two things. Firstly, cut-off dates had to be set for both the authors and sources (1920 and 1990 respectively). Secondly, the sources had to be reduced to a manageable quantity while maintaining their chronological sequence and continuity. Many secondary sources, dailies, weeklies, and periodicals of general nature, as well as a number of post–World War II journals published in the Middle East, Europe, and the United States, have thus been left out. Reviews, as a rule, have been excluded for major authors, but this rule has been disregarded especially in the case of lesser writers on whose life or work such pieces remain the only source of criticism and information. Both the traditional and reformed systems of orthography have been maintained. A question mark in square brackets renders the Armenian question mark which, as is known, is always placed on the interrogative form. Periodicals are cited by year of publication followed by issue number. Volume numbers, when used, appear first and are followed by year of publication and issue number.

I alone bear full responsibility for all imperfections, and all faults of omission or commission in this first attempt ever of its kind. I put my shoulder to the wheel in the hope that this introductory guide will be of benefit to reader, student, and scholar alike. If it arouses interest in Armenian literature, and if it leads the general reader on to more books, the beginner on to more advanced research, and the scholars of neighboring traditions on to comparative studies, my efforts will have been worthwhile.
The alphabetical sequence always follows that of the Latin script. Diacritical marks and phonetical values of Armenian have been disregarded (thus է, for instance, comes before էլ); and the four ligatures fashioned for this system (CH-Ch-ch; DZ-Dz-dz; TS-Ts-ts; TZ-Tz-tz) have been treated as separate letters (dեզ-dզայն-dզկ; tսեհ-tսոլ-tսոք; tւz-tազպ-tզիրան).
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ararat. Vałarşapat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAP</td>
<td>Arutiunian, S., and Kirpotin, V. <em>Antologiiia armianskoi poezii s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei</em>. Erevan, 1940.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHPT</td>
<td>Akinean, N. <em>Hing panduht talasatsner</em>. Vienna, 1921.</td>
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<td>AM</td>
<td>Areweleean mamul.</td>
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<td>ANA</td>
<td>Anahit.</td>
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<td>AND</td>
<td>Andastan.</td>
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Abbreviations


AQ  *Armenian Quarterly.*


AZA  Azatamart.

B  Bazmavêp.

BAI  *Bulletin de l'Académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg.*

BEH  *Banber Erevani hamalsarani.*

BM  *Banber Matenadarani.* (First two issues under Gitakan nyuteri žolovatzu)


CR  *Caucasian Review.*


EJ  *Ejmiatzin.*


HA  *Handês amsörey*

Hayapatum  Ališan, K. *Hayapatum, patmichk ew patmutiwnk hayots*. Venice, 1901.

HG  *Hay grakanutiw*

HGP  *Handês grakan ew patmakan*

HK  *Hayrenik*. Boston.


KAL  *Kavkazskii al’manakh*. St. Petersburg, n.d.


KNZ  Kostaneants, K. *Nor žolovatzu, mjadarean hayots taler u otanawomner*. Four parts. Tiflis, 1892, pts. 1, 2; 1896, pt. 3; 1903, pt. 4.

KV  *Kavkaz i Vizantiia*.

L  *Lraber* (Earlier *Telekagir*).

LM  *Le Muséon*.


LS  *Lettres soviétiques* (Earlier *Œuvres et opinions*).

M  *Masis*.

MA  *Mélanges asiatiques*.

MKH  Miansareants, M. *Knar haykakan*. St. Petersburg, 1868.
Abbreviations


žamanakagrufyunner


OO  Œuvres et opinions. (Later Lettres soviétiques).


PBH  Patma-banasirakan handes.


REArm  Revue des études arméniennes.

ROC  Revue de l’orient chrétien.

Roseraie  See RA.

S  Sion.


SG  Sovetakan grakanutyun.


SL  Soviet Literature.

Abbreviations


T *Telekagir.* (Later *Lraber*).


*Trouvères* See TA.

TZ *Tżalik*.

UDS Umanets, L., and Dervish, Ar. *Sovremennye armianskie poety.* Moscow, 1903.


VER *Veraznund*.

WM Glagoleva, F. *We of the Mountains: Armenian Short Stories.* Moscow, 1972.

Z *Zuartnots* (amsatert; amsõreay; efamseay; taregirk).
A General History of Armenian Literature, 1500–1990

What follows is an introductory history that sketches out in the form of individual portraits nearly five centuries of Armenian literature in six chapters. Each chapter begins with a discussion of some relevant aspects of the political, social, and cultural realities prevailing in the homeland and the Armenian communities abroad, followed by a brief and general outline of the literature of the age and some of its characteristics. Each part is arranged chronologically (and whenever possible by genre, or thematically), but such sequence in general and within each part is neither wholly consistent, nor has it been possible to follow strictly, especially for the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. In addition to similar divisions, nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors have been also distinguished in four categories: Eastern, Western, Soviet Armenian, and post-genocide Dispersion literatures. When no exact dates have been available for the writers of a particular century, an effort has been made to group them thematically. Authors whose dates overlap the chronological units imposed here have been assigned, somewhat arbitrarily, to the era most consonant with their outlook, age, or productivity (nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors and survivors of the genocide in particular).
The Sixteenth Century

An Overview of the Armenian Realities of the Age

Following the fall of the Kingdom of Cilicia to the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375, the Armenians lost statehood until 1918. Armenia proper, deprived of independence since the eleventh century, in the sixteenth century became a battlefield for two Muslim but mortal enemies, the Ottoman and Safavid empires. Their violent rivalry had devastating consequences for Eastern Anatolia's economic, social, cultural, and demographic realities, and many Armenians sought safety beyond the homeland. But long before such setbacks, they had been dispersed in large numbers in neighboring and distant lands. The rise of Armenian Cilicia was but an eloquent expression of the magnitude of such displacement. Most of those who had left or had been made to leave Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries had gone in a westerly and a northwesterly direction, settling in Russia and later in Crimea and in southern and eastern Europe (in regions now known as Bulgaria, Rumania, Ukraine, Hungary, and Poland). Special mention should be made of the old Armenian community of Constantinople, which grew rapidly after the fall of Byzantium and was destined to exercise a formative influence on Armenian realities in the ensuing centuries. These settlements were active in the sixteenth century and would soon form a belt of communities, the largest ever in the history of Armenian Dispersion, extending from southeast Asia to western Europe and from St. Petersburg to northern Africa and Palestine. Needless to say, the dominant Armenian element in the homeland dwindled due to such adverse circumstances. And as newcomers from the East (Turkic elements) and the South (Kurds) settled in the region, its demographic make-up altered dramatically, with pernicious consequences for posterity.

There were by the sixteenth century six hierarchies within the Church of Armenia: the Catholicosate of All Armenians at the Mother See of Ejmiatzin; the Catholicosates of Cilicia (or Sis), Altamar, and
Gandzasar (the former Church of Aluank, i.e. Caucasian Albania), all three with limited regional jurisdiction; the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; and the bishopric of Constantinople, which slowly evolved into an universal patriarchate for the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. Although conflict among these centers, with rivalry, corruption, ignorance, and superstition within each, seriously weakened the Church’s authority and administrative unity, it still remained the most important and influential institution, the sole custodian of Armenian culture and, together with trade and the mother tongue, the strongest national bond holding her flock together. In the absence of national political structures, the Church’s power transcended the religious realm; it now played a greater political role, representing her adherents before local rulers, kings, shahs, and sultans. Such aspects of the Church’s activities slowly and imperceptibly rendered the Church into a symbol of nationhood, seriously rivaling faith and religion as the essence of her mission.

Perhaps the gravest concern for Church leaders were the activities of Catholic missionaries. Close contact between the two churches had been initiated in Cilicia in the twelfth century as a result of the powerful leverage the Pope and the Latin principalities held in local and regional politics. The Church of Armenia in Cilicia had indeed on occasion recognized papal supremacy, despite the failure of most Armenian historians to admit to such union, and some considerable Roman Catholic influence proved inevitable. But the astonishing frequency with which communion with Rome was reaffirmed must call its effectiveness into question. Those who adhered to it sincerely came largely from the ranks of the clergy and were very few in number. Many Armenians looked upon the idea of papal supremacy as a political expediency, but most fiercely resisted it, especially those who resided in the homeland. For the latter, the national church still embodied their ancestral faith and identity. Attitudes toward Rome continued to be a divisive issue in the sixteenth century as well. Some Cilician patriarchs, like many of their predecessors, adhered to a pro-Catholic line in sharp contrast to those of Ejmiatzin, who in general keenly guarded the integrity and autocephalous state of the Church of Armenia. It was precisely for this reason that the seat of the Catholicosate of All Armenians had been moved from Sis back to Ejmiatzin, barely two years after the Council of Florence (1439), where, yet once more, an attempt had been made at cementing union with Rome.

Ironically, the Church of Armenia, twice in the sixteenth century, helplessly pinned her hope on the person of the Pope and his influence throughout Europe to have her flock delivered from Muslim yoke. It is believed that Stephanos V, Salmastetsi, Catholicos of Armenia, roamed
western Europe in the late 1540s, presumably to submit to papal supremacy in return for some practical, if undefined, European support for Armenian aspirations. His successor, Mikayêl I, Sebastatsi, convened a secret meeting in Sebastea (Sivas) in 1562, and a plenipotentiary by the name of Abgar Toẖatetsi (or Ewdokatsi, d. c1572), believed to have descended from ancestors born in the purple, was sent to the West for the same purpose. Reliable details are lacking. What is certain, though, is that both attempts bore no fruit.

That the supreme patriarch of Armenia should resort to such rather credulous steps, despite the strained relationship between the two churches, spoke clearly of the desperation that had gripped the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy and its willingness to accommodate Roman Catholic terms. As Armenia suffered under Turks and Persians fighting to control the region, the leadership placed some hope in Christian solidarity, most probably in the form of a new crusade. There were some very shaky grounds for such optimism. Nersês Šnorhalî’s expectations for a new crusade in his lament in the wake of the fall of Edessa (1144) had indeed been fulfilled (although Edessa itself was never recovered), with some benefits for the Armenians of Cilicia. Pope Pius II’s efforts, albeit abortive, to generate European support for a new crusade after the fall of Constantinople and the Council of Florence may or may not have been fresh in Armenian memory, but a document doctored in Cilician Armenia certainly was. This was the Dâsans tult (a “pact,” or a “letter of concord”), allegedly concluded between Grigor Lusaworîch (Gregory the Illuminator) and King Trdat the Great of Armenia on the one hand and Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester I on the other, during a visit of the former two to Rome. The redactions of this forgery granted the Church of Armenia ecclesiastical autonomy in the East (or a standing at least equal to that of the Patriarchate of Antioch) and promised Western political-military support for Armenia in the future. Not only was a copy of the text submitted to Rome by Abgar Toẖatetsi, but the promise it held for assistance was entertained by some sixteenth-century authors. According to some travel accounts, some ordinary Armenians also anticipated help from Western Christendom. A more pious expression of popular belief, with its roots deep in the early period of Christianity in Armenia and echoed by many Armenian authors, held that their plight was a visitation of God for their sins. There is a long record of ordinary Armenians choosing death over apostasy, the ultimate betrayal of ancestral faith. Although the much longer list of those who under duress renounced their faith has not been handed down, martyrdom also had its roots in the Christian ethos. All this, together with a host of various factors, long failed to
shake Armenian optimism in Christian solidarity, which most Armenians seem to have distinguished from submission to Constantinople or Rome, and hindered, in no small measure, political imagination and intellectual creativity.

As for the written word and wisdom, several famous scriptoria and monastic schools had been active in Cilicia. In Armenia proper, Nor Getik (founded by Mḥīṭar Goš, and later known as Gošavank), Ārakelots vank near Muš, Gladzor (1290s–1330s), Taťew (1370s–1400s), and Metzop (1390s–1440s) had been some of the renowned centers of learning. Since the twelfth century, illustrious (and mostly itinerant) teachers had taught and trained students converging upon such schools from all parts of Armenia, at once disseminating knowledge and establishing channels of transmission to posterity. It was in such schools that the dogma of the Church of Armenia was fortified against Catholic penetration. The effort almost completely consumed the intellectual energy of the learned few. Added to the problem posed by the pro-union line of the Church in Cilicia was that of the Franciscans and Dominicans, who established missions in Iran and Nakhichevan in the fourteenth century and gave rise to the Armenian Fratres Unitores (Elbark Miabanolk, i.e., Uniate Brothers), a group of clerics given to extreme zeal that was eventually absorbed into the Dominican Order. As will be seen from this introduction, the conflict between the two camps continued for a very long time, assuming larger proportions and social-political significance. It should be noted that for the Armenians the confrontation was not one between “pro-western” and “anti-western” or “pro-eastern” orientation, nor between progressive and conservative elements. For there was no “eastern” (in this case Islamic) or “anti-western” alternative for the Armenians, and most of those who defined the Armenian position were reasonably well versed in Latin traditions. In fact, much of the intellectual vigor of the period was generated by the activities of the Catholic missionaries. In essence, then, the question was one of identity and loyalty to the ancestral religious tradition, embodied by the Church of Armenia.

By the tenth century, Classical Armenian had long ceased to be the spoken language but continued, in a progressively corrupt form, to be the vehicle of expression for learned poetry and certain ecclesiastical texts for many more centuries. Middle or Cilician Armenian became the standard in Cilicia, and with certain variations it prevailed as the literary medium in Armenia and in the Armenian communities abroad. It introduced two new letters ( ś and ŋ) to the original script and exhibited considerable deviations from the Classical tongue (in the phonetical system and the formation of compounds; some new forms of inflexion and the plural, etc.). What
little uniformity. Cilician society brought to Middle Armenian disappeared
with the fall of the kingdom. Dispersion and the decline of city life in
the homeland further diminished such features. Dialectal and spoken
patterns prevailed, and the amount of loan words from Persian, Arabic,
and Turkish increased rapidly. Since Middle Armenian was used for non-
religious or “profane” expression, it would not be at all unreasonable
to suggest that the distinction in some ways added to the veneration in
which Classical Armenian is still held by many Armenians. From about
the sixteenth century, it also marked, along with other factors (such as
literary genres, thought, social habits, and attire, etc.), an almost complete
break with many aspects of the old tradition, as the Armenians found
themselves amid a sea of Muslim nations and overlords.

Armenian printing ushered Armenian letters into the sixteenth cen-
tury. It began with the publication of five books in Venice by a priest
known only by his name, Yakob, to which the sobriquet melapart (sinner)
was later attached. Urbatagirk (Friday book, essentially a medical col-
lection), Pataragatet (missal), Aftark (a collection pertaining to astrology,
the horoscope, and medicine), Parzaytumar (a compendious calendar),
and Talaran (songbook, with works by Nerses Šnorhali, Frik, Yovhannēs
Tlkurantsi, Mkrtich Nalaš, and others) are the first five books that appeared
in Venice in 1512 and 1513. More than half a century lapsed before Abgar
Tohatetsi printed the next batch of books: two in Venice (1565, 1566) and
five or six in Constantinople (1567–69), where he had returned shortly
after printing his second book, leaving his son, Sultanšah, behind. Next,
Yovhannēs Tērzntsı (a priest, whose dates are unknown) and Sultanšah
translated Pope Gregory XIII’s Gregorian Calendar and published it
in Rome in 1584. In 1587, Tērzntsı published a Salmosaran (Psalter)
in Venice.

Armenian printing gathered momentum in the seventeenth century.
In the mid-1630s, a printing press was set up in Nor Julay (New Julfa,
Isfahan), the first in Iran, to print the Armenian Bible when the Pope
forbade the printing in Catholic Europe of any version but the Vulgate.
The plans for printing the Bible did not materialize, but a number of books
of a religious and moral nature were published. After a very long hiatus
following Abgar Tohatetsı’s short-lived activities, Armenian printing was
revived in Constantinople in the 1680s, and a number of distinguished
printers (Grigor Marzuanetsı, whose exact dates are unknown, Astuatzatur
Kostandınuqoqetsı, d. c1748, Pōlos Arapean, 1742–1835, Yovhannēs
Miwhēntısean, 1810–91, who designed Turkish type faces as well) made
invaluable contributions to Armenian printing. A large number of ti-
tles were published in Rome and Venice, particularly in the eighteenth
century, including textbooks and reference works to facilitate Catholic propaganda among the Armenians. Armenian publishing in Amsterdam is held in particular distinction for printing non-religious books and the first Armenian Bible. It was in March 1666 that the Armenian Bible began to roll off the presses in the land of the “heretical Dutch,” who had allowed and helped its printing, bringing a long-standing Armenian dream true. It was published by Oskan Erewantsi (1614–74), from the Bible (1295) of King Hetum II of Cilicia, but with additions and changes to the old canon of the Armenian Bible (e.g., Oskan added the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Book of Sirach, and Epistle of Jeremiah). Mhitar Sebastatsi (q.v.) and a few others based their edition on Oskan’s, but Yovhannes Zohrapean (1756–1829) reinstated the old canon in his 1805 edition. Even though Oskan moved his press to Livorno and then to Marseilles, some members of the Vanandetsi family (from the village of Vanand in the old Armenian region of Goltn, i.e., Nahijewan) carried on his mission in Amsterdam, printing some twenty books by the second decade of the eighteenth century. In Armenia proper, the first press was set up in Ejmiatzin in 1771 by Catholicos Siméon Erewantsi (q.v.). There followed other centers of printing from Madras (where Azdarar, the first Armenian periodical, appeared, 1794–96) to Constantinople (in first place with some 350 titles to 1800) and to western Europe, and from St. Petersburg to Jerusalem and Cairo. In the nineteenth century there were over a hundred Armenian printing presses in Constantinople alone. An estimated one thousand titles appeared between 1512 and 1800, and fifteen thousand titles appeared between 1801 and 1920. It is interesting to note that printing initially supplemented rather than supplanted manuscript copying, which continued well into the nineteenth century.

With its origins deeply rooted in antiquity and nurtured by Iranian civilization, Hellenistic culture, and Christian literature in Greek and Syriac, the new written phase of Armenian tradition began with the invention of a script by the monk Maštots around the year A.D. 400. The enterprise was undertaken in large part with a view to boosting the sluggish progress of Christianity in Armenia. Immediately, important religious texts were rendered into Armenian. The Bible, patristic, liturgical, and similar texts in Greek and Syriac were made available in Armenian. In due course, the movement encompassed a larger number of languages (Arabic, Old French, Latin, etc.) and a wider range of fields: theology, philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, science, homiletic and exegetical writings, commentaries, martyrlogies, natural sciences, medicine, law, etc. There was a long hiatus in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but this venerable tradition subsequently resumed with renewed zeal.
Almost simultaneously an original literature was developed, expressed in many a genre and mirroring a wide range of Armenian interests and concerns. Historiography stands out as both popular and influential. It was in such writings that historians with a strongly pronounced Christian orientation formulated the new ethos. Thus, Agat'angelos spoke of the miraculous conversion of Armenia and the glorious beginnings of her Church. Depicting a single episode, the Armenian revolt of 451 against Iran, Elišē in an eloquent, dramatic, and inspiring narrative sanctified the two principal pillars on which the Armenian collective self rested: absolute loyalty to ancestral faith and fatherland. Movsēs Horenatsi, whose date and person are some of the most controversial issues in Armenian historiography, wrote the first comprehensive history; provided his fellow countrymen with an elaborate biblical pedigree, filling in the missing links in the works of Christian genealogists and Armenian sources; placed Armenia in a much larger regional and international context; promoted patriotism; and recorded for posterity some precious relics of oral pagan lore. Many a notable historian followed in the footsteps of these masters, writing regional or short accounts or histories of particular noble families. In addition to established patterns of historiography, especially after the tenth century, chronicles become a common format, and increasingly elaborate colophons supply reliable local and regional information.

Not surprisingly, prayers and hymns were composed in abundance. Although restricted in purpose, imagery, and imagination, they nonetheless came closest to literary expression. But poetic utterance found its greatest master in the person of Grigor Narekatsi (tenth century), whose Book of Lamentation (also referred to as Narek, or Book of Prayers) laments the separation of the mystic from God. Its style is convoluted in many instances, but its spontaneous, torrential flow, allied with the author's spiritual anxiety and burning desire to attain communion with God, simply overwhelm the reader. Its solemn mood and diction contrast with the lighter, festive colors and tone of his poems, allegorically reflecting spiritual and certain aspects of human and natural beauty. Following Narekatsi's death at the turn of the eleventh century, Armenian literature underwent some profound changes. The rise of cities in Bagratid Armenia, international trade and travel, Byzantine policy in Armenia, the appearance of the Turks in the region, demographic changes (both voluntary and involuntary), the arrival of the Crusaders, the rise of Armenian Cilicia, and some other factors accounted for new trends in Armenian letters.

The intense antagonism between the two churches notwithstanding, Armenian interest in Greek learning was revived in the eleventh century (Grigor Magistros, Grigor Vkayasēr). The cosmopolitan population of
Cilicia (Greeks, Syrians, etc., and the numerous monastic communities on the Black Mountain near Antioch) and immediate contact with the West had a tremendous impact on Armenian thought. Cilicia gave birth to one of the giants of Armenian literature: Catholicos Nersès IV, Klayetsi, more commonly referred to as Nersès Šnorhali (c 1100-73), who is remembered for his earnest efforts to remove the rift between the churches of Eastern Christendom and for his hymns, commentaries, theological, and literary writings. He seems to have been among the first authors to write riddles and to use acrostic patterns and rhyme (following Grigor Narekatsi and Grigor Magistros). Of his numerous poems, the lament (olb) on the fall of Edessa is particularly memorable. The origins of this genre may be traced to Movses Ḥorenatsi’s prose lament at the conclusion of his History and to Dawtak Kertol’s abecedarian elegy on the murder of Juanšer (seventh century). Another noteworthy Cilician clergyman, Nersès Lambronatsi (1153-98), commemorated the death of Nersès Šnorhali with an elegy, while Grigor IV, Tlay (c 1133-93) grieved over the fall of Jerusalem. In Greater Armenia, Aristakēs Lastivertsi and Հաչատուր Ծերաշնչի (also Ծերաշնչի) lamented the misfortunes that befell Armenia, as did the historian Stepanos Ōrbēleán (thirteenth century) in his elegy on the Cathedral of Ejmiatsin, in which he longed for the revival of Greater Armenia as the overall homeland and Ejmiatsin as the overall spiritual center. The fall of Constantinople was yet another occasion that at least two authors mourned: Abraham Ankiwratsi and Arakel Bafisetsi. Mhitar Goš, who also compiled the secular law code, and Vardan Aygektsi wrote the earliest fables; Հաչատուր Ծերաշնչի renewed Armenian interest in the Alexander Romance.

From about the thirteenth century onward, Armenian authors touched upon a wider range of topics. Frik, a layman, who suffered under the Mongols and wrote in Middle Armenian, spoke of social injustice and inequality. Yovhannes Erznkatsi Pluz, a widely traveled vardapet, was one of the originators of the genre of hrat ("advice," usually on moral topics, a common genre in the region), who wrote with regret of the transience of human life. Kostandin Erznkatsi offered advice and wisdom, sadly noted the impermanence of life, and excelled in his hymns to the spring and the sun, to love and light, and made use of the allegorical device of the rose and the nightingale. Arakel Siwnetsi was attracted to the story of Adam and Eve, which he recast with a certain degree of originality in many a dainty line. Mkrtich Nalaš wrote religious and didactic poems, but his poignant songs of the exile, about languishing away from home and friends, helped establish a new trend in Armenian poetry. Yovhannēs Tlkurantsi (also Tulkurantsi), enamored of life and
fearful of death, composed impassioned poems of love. Intoxicated with
amorous sentiments, Grigoris Ahtamartsi, Catholicos of Ahtamar, wrote
his poems celebrating life and love, with a bursting passion unusual for
a monk. He also rendered into Armenian the story of the City of Copper
from One Thousand and One Nights.

Among the literary forms that were in circulation by the sixteenth
century, mention should be made of a form of anonymous poem called
hayrên (presumably from hayerên, i.e. ‘in Armenian’), dealing with a
variety of topics pertaining mainly to urban life, which surfaced in the
thirteenth century but was abundantly attested from the fifteenth to the
eighteenth centuries. M. Abelyan (Hin gusanakan zotovrdakan erger,
Erevan, 1931) believes that hayrêns evolved from old Armenian folklore,
more specifically from the tradition of gusan folk songs. A variation of
the hayrêns is the antuni (“homeless,” in the sense of being away from
family or ancestral home), recorded from the sixteenth century. Unlike the
simple eloquence of hayrêns, antunis are usually in a florid style, with the
plight of the panduht (exile) as one of their most common subjects. Kafa
(from the Arabic qâfiyah) originated in the eleventh century and fell into
disuse after the sixteenth century. An eight-line stanza, it is attached to
the end of a chapter or an episode in texts, usually in prose or translations
(e.g. The Alexander Romance; The Story of King Pahlul), as a peroration,
interpretation, or meditation, mostly on moral issues.

Scattered far and wide and subject to diverse influences, the Armeni-
ans at home and abroad mirrored trends of both creation and emulation in
their literature. Secular themes, with a steadily growing range of topics,
were articulated in Middle or Cilician Armenian. The imitation of old
masters was poor and pale, especially in the religious realm, but their
imposing presence lingered on nonetheless. So did some of their concerns,
particularly their preoccupation with human fate after the trump of doom
had sounded. Not surprisingly, therefore, choosing between the tempta-
tions of this world and the awards of the next posed a sad and serious
dilemma for a number of Armenian authors. Although certain didactic
purposes still prevailed, some authors now stood on firmer ground on
this planet, with earthly rather than celestial concerns; a few of them
even wrote for joy and entertainment.

The sixteenth century was an age of transition and regrouping rather
than one of doom and gloom, as is commonly held. What with political and
economic instability, dispersion, demographic shifts, and the eclipse of
centers of learning, the ties linking the Armenians weakened considerably
and the old tradition was forgotten. Islamic elements surfaced in more
ways than one. Religious persecution was by no means uncommon. Yet
the monastery of Hndrakatar in Bağ(7,12),(992,992)ş (Bitlis), for instance, showed considerable activity. Efforts to collect, repair, and copy manuscripts began in this century. Bridges were extended to the past. The Mamikonians, military leaders in the past, were periodically remembered. Grigor Lusaworich was featured prominently in literature. One of the earliest references to the Armenian national epic Sasuntsi Davit (David of Sasun, consisting of four cycles, but generally identified by the name of the hero, David, of the third cycle) was made in this age. Faith in Christian solidarity and in Western assistance persisted. While some writers looked at earthly life with apparent disdain, expounded themes of faith and piety, composed "passions" of martyrdom, and bewailed their "sinful" fellow countrymen, many poems were written in praise of wine and love. Humor was not lacking, nor was allegory. Above all, whether in allegorical poems or in works of nostalgia for the past, there was definite hope for a revival.

A Survey of the Literature of the Age

Some of the themes discussed above are also found in the work of Zakaria Episkopos Gnuneats, Bishop of the old Armenian region of Gnunik, north of Lake Van. The exact dates of this sixteenth-century author are not known. He hailed from the Armenian princely family Prőşean and may have been a distant relative of Hachatur Kecharuetsi and a student of Grigoris Altamartsi.

There is one more link that brings these authors together and that is their common attraction to the Alexander Romance. Interest in the old Armenian translation of this work was renewed by Hachatur Kecharuetsi, and dozens of manuscripts, written in various Armenian communities from Europe to India, attest to its continued appeal well into the nineteenth century. The purpose was to cloak Alexander in Christian garb. Zakaria visited Constantinople in the mid-1540s, where he copied and illustrated this celebrated story at the request of his friend, patriarch Astuatzatur. At an unknown date, he made another illuminated copy of the same in Rome for one of his teachers by the name of Esayi, of whom nothing is known. Hachatur Kecharuetsi, as well as Grigoris Altamartsi and Zakaria, all wrote kafas to sum up, interpret, or meditate on Alexander's career, emphasizing the vanity of life, the fleeting nature of glory and wealth, and other moral points. Although most of their kafas have been distinguished, it is still difficult to decide with absolute certainty the authorship of some of them.

There is a similar uncertainty regarding a number of poems attributed to Zakaria. Of five poems (on the Blessed Virgin, Christ, and
some religious themes, published in *Bazmavêp* in 1910), Nersês Akinean (1883–1963) found four to be of doubtful origin. On the other hand, he ascribed to Zak’aria some anonymous poems of whose authenticity he himself was skeptical. One of these is dedicated to the luminous apparition of the Holy Cross to a hermit at the celebrated monastery of Varag, near the city of Van. The other noteworthy poem deals with the plight of emigrants (*tarip* or *larib*, from the Arabic *gharib*) and shares imagery and many verbal affinities with similar verse by Mkrtich Nahâš. The story of the rose and the nightingale found expression in three poems, all comparable in some respects to similar poems by Kostandin Erznkatsi. Only in one of them did Zak’aria see the matter as a religious allegory and fashioned it, unlike the other two, in good Classical Armenian. Zak’aria could not resist the temptation of using simple acrostic devices, popularized by Nersês Šnorhali, which (in numerous other forms such as mesostich, telestich, alphabetical, or abecedarian, etc.) were widely employed by subsequent Armenian authors. Despite such limitations, Zak’aria on the whole wrote in a fine style, noteworthy for its warmth and spontaneity.

If one is to judge by the colophons of some of the manuscripts he copied or repaired, KARAPET BALIŠETSI, a native of Balês (Bitlis), seems to have spent most of his life in the old Armenian province of Taron to the west of Lake Van. His dates are not certain (d. c.1520?), nor is the short list of his poems. N. Akinean has attributed some of his work to Karapet Par hôndetsi and has made him the author of a poem by a namesake, Karapet vardapet, titled “Tał araratzots” (On mankind). It depicts the descendants of Sem, Ham, and Japheth; provides topographical, economic, and political information on the respective regions in which they dwelt; and concludes with the sorrowful state of the Armenians, evoking some glorious Armenian figures and expressing hope for deliverance. This as yet dim sentiment, devoid of political connotations, is echoed in his poem on Lazarus’s rise from the dead where he supplicates the Virgin to intercede on behalf of all nations, but most of all on behalf of the Armenians.

The deliverance he sought was from the conquerors and invaders of his country, as illustrated by his poem opening with “Park anelin astuatztutean” (Glory unto the Uncreate God), to which N. Akinean gave the title “Olb i veray aršawanats Šah Ismayêli” (A lament on the invasions of Shah Ismayel). This poem speaks of the rise of shah Isma’il I (1501–24), his initial conquests and defeat of Alvand, grandson of Uzun Hasan and the sultan of the Ak Koyunlu (“White Sheep,” Turkmen tribes that controlled Eastern Anatolia in the fifteenth century), but focuses
mainly on the siege and capture of Bitlis. The local Kurds, Karapet says, went on a looting rampage, confiscated and stored provisions in their fortifications and burned everything else before Isma'il's forces arrived. After this ordeal, the Armenians suffered heavy taxes, cruel treatment, and dispersion at the hands of the Qizilbash ("Red Head," Turkmen tribes that initially supported Safavid Iran) when Bitlis fell to them. His fellow countrymen were victims of a conflict they had nothing to do with. Yet Karapet, like almost all of his predecessors, interprets these calamities as a manifestation of God's displeasure with the sinfulness of the Armenians. His wrath engulfs the guilty and the innocent alike, just as the sun rises for all, the rain falls for plants both useful and unuseful, and the fire burns both the wet and the dry. A despondent Karapet sees no hope for the Armenians in this long lament (236 lines), which flows rapidly and smoothly but lacks the emotional depth and tragic streaks of his old masters.

Karapet finds himself to be as unrighteous as his errant nation (in "My God, Jesus Christ"), and seeks, on their behalf as well as his own, God's protection against satanic wiles and His mercy on the terrible day of the Last Judgment. His vision of salvation through piety, sense of pride in the Church of Armenia, and belief in Christian solidarity crystallize in his hymn to Grigor Astuatzaban (theologian, i.e. Gregory Nazianzenus). He begins with the Creation and brings his narrative down to Jesus Christ, the Apostles, and the church fathers, among whom were Basil of Caesarea, his colleague Gregory Nazianzenus, and the latter's equal ("hamanman") and namesake, Grigor Lusaworich (Gregory the Illuminator), whose Cappadocian connections obviously were not lost on Karapet. There follows a brief biography of Nazianzenus as the militant but quintessential Christian, whose intercession and help Karapet seeks.

One instance of the rare insights we get into the aesthetic standards of the time is Karapet's unsophisticated, spontaneous poem on singing, written in a limpid and succinct manner, and remotely echoing similar views expressed by Vardan Areweltsi (cf. Vardan Areweltsi, *Meknutiwn kerakani*, Erevan, 1972, p. 78). The jarring rendition of a chanter could conceivably have prompted him to state his preference for "sweet" and "thin" (i.e., fine and subtle) voice. But equally important for him was the fluency of recitation; for hesitation or inability to read rendered a song an "extinguished lamp" and made the singer an object of ridicule for the multitude. One needs, Karapet averred, two oxen to a plow and to cut straight furrows in soil, just as a bird needs two wings to fly. The third element, the melody, gave a song its harmonious appeal. Another poem ("Hrat tal ergeloy," Advice on singing a poem), exhorting singers to
handle and maintain manuscripts with utmost care, reinforces the reader’s image of Karapet as a passionate man of letters.

Only two poems by Grigor Vanetsi (16th–17th c.) have come down to us. One is an exhortation to spend this short life in a manner pleasing to the Lord, so as not to be caught napping at the unannounced arrival of death and the day of retribution. The other, titled “A spiritual and allegorical advice on a cart” (“hrat hogewor ew arikawor vasn sayli”), is one of the best poems of the period, with vanity of life and conceit as its central concerns. It is a carefully crafted creation, dramatic and engagingly nonchalant, with alluring imagery and a lingering atmosphere of helpless nostalgia for life.

A wider range of topics such as love, historical and moral-meditative poems, and the calendrical system are covered by Yovasap Sebastatsi, a sixteenth-century poet and scribe born c1510. The date of his death is not known. He was a married deacon with some education but with little or no reputation among his contemporaries. His father, Tadeös, also a scribe, taught him the art; though Yovasap put it to good use, his penmanship remained inferior to his father’s. Only a few manuscripts Yovasap copied and illuminated are extant, including a collection of his own work and a copy of the Alexander Romance (1535). Nothing is known of him after 1564, the date of a colophon inconclusively attributed to him. V. P. Gevorgyan’s monograph (introduction and texts) leaves out fifteen unpublished pieces.

Seven love poems form a cycle that he said he wrote “for joy,” and may wine-drinkers delight in their hearts so as to remember and speak well of him. His imagery is colorful, his sentiments warm and disarming. He is overwhelmed by a woman’s fiery disposition; her eyes are as large as a sea, and her graceful body is likened in one instance to a palm tree and in another to a pomegranate tree. He desires her, and she is prepared to become his “slave”; yet Yovasap repels his amatory temptations and their charming source. Like some of his great predecessors, whose robust passion he lacked, he concludes by renouncing mundane pleasures and extolling spiritual love and piety.

This contradiction, which has been expressed by many authors in many forms, is not so dramatic and central to Yovasap as it is to some other poets, whose rejoicing—and rejection in their next breath—of fleshly feelings has been viewed by some Soviet Armenian critics as a contrivance to cover up or mitigate their worldly sentiments, or to placate the ubiquitous and heavy-handed control the Armenian Church supposedly exercised over intellectual life. In fact it was a genuine conflict.
between human needs and religious tenets that elicited varying reactions from Armenian poets faced with changing realities.

For an unquestioning Yovasap', who reconciled himself with the inevitability of death with equanimity, hope in salvation lay in piety and the Lord’s mercy. Man, whom Yovasap' casts in the metaphor of a city with five gates, is vulnerable to satanic tricks through his five senses; hence, his call for spiritual and moral vigilance. Some of his best kafas elaborating on this theme are impressively succinct, limpid, and serene in tone. Birth and death, he observes, form a cycle through which life maintains a balance and assures continuity to itself on earth. This image, if not the thought, comes from Yovhannes Erznkatsi Pluz, who compares life to a carpenter and a wheel, as does Hachatur Kecharuetsi in some of his kafas on the Alexander Romance (they had both been anticipated by Omar Khayyam). Just as a certain spot on a turning wheel now goes up and now down, so a carpenter makes both cribs and caskets for those who arrive and those who depart. There is a similar thought in one of the episodes of the History of King Pahlul (Patmutiwn yalags Pahlul tagavorin, Tiflis, 1857, pp. 57–58), and its first line becomes the opening refrain for each of Yovasap’s kafas in octastichs: “Such is life” (“ашархис саъммэн а энхэйт”). It is a “house of pains” and of satanic wiles, where life is but a dream, happiness a fleeting second, and aspirations vain and all but unattained since Adam. Piety and prayer, humility and integrity, and constant mindfulness of one’s mortality and the day of reckoning are sure steps to please the Almighty.

Nersès Šnorhali and, to a lesser degree, Grigor Narekatsi left their mark on Yovasap’s religious poetry. His poem on the voluntary beggar Yovhannes is an extensively abridged adaptation of “Vark* eranelwoyn Yovhannu ordwoy Ewtropiosi” (cf. Vark srbots harants ew kalakavaru-tiwnk notsin, Venice, 1855, i, 126–38). His elegy on the martyrdom of Kokča, a victim of vicious calumny who is tortured to death when he refuses to convert to Islam (reproduced in Manandean’s and Ačarean’s Hayots nor vkanerê, pp. 373–75), is similar to the martyrdom of Paron Loys of Caffa, mourned by Vṛtanēs Šinketsi (q.v.). He also has a poem commemorating the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and an elegiac kafa on the death of his brother Grigor at age thirty-two.

Of the historical poems Yovasap wrote, two reflect the rebellion of Alqas Mirza against his brother Tahmasp I and his collaboration with the Ottomans, the ensuing Ottoman attack on Persia, the short-lived capture of Tabriz, and Tahmasp’s retaliatory strikes in 1548, during which he laid waste, according to Yovasap, eastern Anatolian cities such as Muš, Erzurum, Erzinjan, Derjan, and Bitlis. A fearful Yovasap found much
consolation in the fact that his native Sebastea (Sivas) was spared by the grace of God and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, but he lamented the destruction of churches and innocent Christians in neighboring towns.

Two historical poems glorify the fourth-century military leader Muşel Mamikonean. Alarmed by the forlorn state of his nation and the devastation and hardship caused by the Perso-Ottoman clashes, Yovasap recalls with pride and nostalgia how the forefathers of the Persians “shuddered” before the magnanimous Mamikonean and suffered military setbacks at his hands. Yovasap claims that the Armenians were then a “happy” lot under King Pap and Patriarch Nersês the Great, and admonishes his “foolish” fellow countrymen for killing Muşel and poisoning the Patriarch.

A flicker of Yovasap’s patriotism and his naive concept of a world flourishing in peace as a result of the anticipated eventual triumph of Christianity over Islam are outlined in his poem on the vision of Nersês the Great, Patriarch (“Catholicos”) of Armenia. The prophecy is only one of many such traditions of prescience and originates in the history of Pawstos Buzand (i.e., The Epic Histories, as rendered by N. Garsoian). According to this text, Nersês called down curses upon the Arşakuni (Arsacid) kings of Armenia and foretold their destruction. In an embellished version, written by Mesrop Vayotsdзоретси and found in a twelfth-century manuscript (cf. Patmutişn srboyn Nersêsî Partewi, Venice, 1853, “Soperke haykakank,” vi; and other editions), Nersês also divines the Byzantine control of Armenia; the fall of Jerusalem to the Persians; the decline of Byzantium and the destruction of Armenia by the “archers” (the Mongols); and, in an optimistic conclusion, the revival of Christendom through “frankish” military might, the final defeat of the infidels, and the restoration of a reign of peace, justice, and prosperity. This new, blissful world, however, would come to an end with the appearance of an Antichrist. The story grows taller with new additions, but its rosy prospects—also found in Nersês Šnorhali’s lament on the fall of Edessa—and its basic elements, with some omissions, changes, and a greater role envisaged for Armenian kings and forces, provided the model for Yovasap’s account. Yovasap may have benefited from the Armenian version of Mesrop’s source and from Stepanos Ôrbêlean’s history (Patmutişn nahangin Sisakan, xxxii).

Was Yovasap aware of the efforts undertaken at this point by Armenian Church leaders to generate “frankish” interest in Armenia? It seems unlikely that he was, given the surreptitious nature of the contacts initiated with the West. But his poem on Nersês the Great’s malediction unmistakably shows that he and perhaps many around him shared the
dream and considered renewed crusades by the “Franks” to be a distinct possibility.

Azaria Julayetsi (16th c.?), to be distinguished from the Catholicos of Cilicia bearing the same name and from another namesake, expressed a burning desire to be a tenant of Paradise, that eternally luminous abode, as he envisioned it, with luxuriant trees and colorful and fragrant flowers. In two poems, one on the Nativity and Epiphany and the other on Paradise, a sinful but repentant Azaria hoped to be among the chosen on the terrible day of the Last Judgment. Although filled with apprehension, his fears were in many ways lighter than those that seized the earlier masters. Grigor Narekatsi in his Lamentation envisioned his death, the cataclysmic collapse of the universe, the day of reckoning, and appealed to the Lord for mercy, all with blazing agony and formidable imagination. Nerses Snorhali, in Jesus the Son (Yisus Ordi), described the day of retribution and sought mercy almost as powerfully, but with awe rather than agony and with melancholy rather than pain. Yovhannès Tulkurantsi dreaded death (he visualized decomposition of the body) as a bitter end, but still more bitter was Hell. Hachatur Kecharuetsi, in his simple but dramatic style, resented death but lamented the evanescence of life, holding one’s soul, rather than body, responsible for one’s fate (he likened the body to a horse and the soul to its rider). The tragic drama of life and death, of this life and the next, though still a painful concern, gradually lost its petrifying, macabre impact.

Azaria’s namesake, Catholicos Azaria I, Julayetsi (1534–1601, reigned 1584–1601) of Cilicia, accepted the Roman Catholic creed in 1585 to the dismay of most Armenians. This was part and parcel of futile attempts to secure European help through the good offices of the Holy See. Since Azaria’s exact dates are unknown, we may only assume that his poem dedicated to Grigor Lusaworich may have been a reaction to Azaria I’s pro-Catholic stand. This short poem is an assertion of the Apostolic origin and autocephalous state of the Church of Armenia and narrates the mission and martyrdom of Thaddæus in Armenia and the succession of his illustrious heir, Grigor Lusaworich, the God-sent illuminator of Armenia.

Azaria wrote with greater verve on the monastery of Julfa and on wine, holy and immaculate, which held the promise of absolution for sinners through confession and communion. He called for moderation and control of tongue and temper, warning against the consequences of intemperance; physical decline and excessive weight, he observed, made one too lazy to pray or go to church. Azaria is also known for his calendrical works.
VRȚANĖS SÎNKETSI (16th c.) wrote some of the earliest “epistles” in Armenian literature. Four private letters (the author alternately calls them tult, “epistle,” and namak, “letter”; and once, nomos) in verse are extant. They are addressed to a Grigor, presumed to be Grigor Varagetsi (also Vanetsi), then Archbishop of the Armenians of Lemberg (now L’viv, Ukraine). By calumny and gossip, some unknown and unnamed enemies caused estrangement between these two old (and now aged) friends, and Vrṭanēs is beseeching with tenacity to forgive and forget. He heaps all the blame on himself, while with touching humility showering his erstwhile friend with pious praise. His hurtful anxiety comes to an end in his fourth letter, in which we learn that peace and friendship have been reestablished between them.

Vrṭanēs has a poem on the famine of 1560 in Caffa, focusing on the misery suffered by its inhabitants. He interprets the disaster in terms of their impiety and views it as a warning by God, rather than a retribution, for the population to come to their senses. But perhaps Vṛṭanēs’s best piece is his derision of an illiterate but possessive owner of a book who is unwilling to lend it to others; a case of “a dog in the manger” par excellence. A little protracted by the numerous analogies it draws, the poem speaks of its author’s belief in sharing and disseminating wisdom. In Caffa in 1567, Vṛṭanēs witnessed the martyrdom of Paron Loys and interred his remains. Ill-wishers imputed apostasy to this eighteen-year-old. When Muslims sought to confirm it, Paron Loys denied the allegation and was decapitated. With sorrow but controlled emotions, Vṛṭanēs marked the sad occasion in verse and prose (reproduced in Manandean’s and A’hārean’s Hayots nor vkanerê), venerating and taking pride in the martyr who, he maintained, derived fortitude from Grigor Lusaworich.

Praise of the Holy Trinity, the sad business of life, vices, and repentance are only some of the themes expounded by a group of four poets all hailing from Tokat: Minas, Tadēos (Taṭos), Stepanos, and Yakob. MIŅAS TÔHATETSI (c1510–?), a scribe, copied, illuminated, and repaired many an Armenian manuscript. He was the secretary at the Armenian Archdiocese at Hačkatar Monastery and the registrar of the Armenian court register (in Kipchak) in Lemberg (L’viv, Ukraine) during the tenure of Grigor Vanetsi (or Varagetsi). It is believed that the Grigor to whom Minas dedicated an encomium is the same Grigor Vanetsi who also appears in Minas’s humorous poem spirited by his passionate love for harisa. We are told by Minas that this most popular national dish was the staple food of the epic hero Sasuntsi Dawit' (David of Sasun) and that its original recipe was created by Grigor Lusaworich! In three
other poems, Minas approves of the competence of the twelve Armenian judges of Lvov (N. Akinean believed these were an introduction to the Armenian court-register in Lvov); bemoans his loneliness at old age; and, wondering how short life can be, especially when spent merrymaking, repents and asks for prayers to allay his fears of the eternal blazes.

Minas's better known work is his elegy on the persecutions the Armenians of Wallachia (Rumania) suffered at the hands of Stefan Raresh VII (1551–52), who forcibly imposed Greek Orthodoxy on them. Stefan, a "Chalcedonian," and his underlings desecrated the Church of the Blessed Virgin in Seczow (Suczawa), confiscated the utensils and decorations, sealed up this and all the other churches, and imprisoned the priests. The next day his artillery pounded the same church, and as the Armenians fled the city, Stefan made a bonfire of their religious texts. Then they were forced to be rechristened and were made to wear Wallachian attire; Armenian priests were "defrocked" and Wallachian priests were sent to their homes. Neither Valens, Julian, nor the pharaohs, Minas noted with smoldering anger, had committed such cruelties.

Both Yakob Toğatetsi and TADEOS TOHATETS (16th c.? ) wrote, the former in a more trenchant style, of sins and piety, repentance and salvation, and hymns to the Father Almighty and Jesus Christ. Some influence by Grigor Narekatsi and Nersês Šnorhali is noticeable on both authors. Taděos (whom N. Akinean identified with Tadeos Kołonatsi) wrote a rhymed narrative from the Creation to the Resurrection, a dialogue between his body and his soul, and about the Last Judgment, all with simple spontaneity.

In order fully to understand his poem on the Nativity, the brief discussion above of the Dașants tult must be complemented with some details. According to this twelfth-century concoction, the Pope consecrated Grigor Lusaworich as a patriarch equal to the rank and primacy of those of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, and the emperor crowned Trdat the Great as King of Armenia. Constantine requested (and Trdat obliged) three hundred valiant "Armens" to serve at his court and predicted the future fall of Armenia and its regeneration with the assistance of his successors (i.e. the "frankish" kings). A related prophecy, named after Agatron or Agadron, the "invincible philosopher," tells us that the four dignitaries went on a pilgrimage together to Jerusalem. Constantine built the Holy Sepulchre, and Trdat the Nativity in Bethlehem. Then they all returned to Rome, accompanied with sixty-four thousand Armenian troops (or seventy thousand, cf. Arakel Bališetsi's Lament on the Fall of Constantinople, "Olb mayrakašakım Stampolu"), of whom Constantine
retained two hundred before seeing his allies off to their country. It was from among these soldiers that a new Constantius would rise and come to the rescue of the Armenians. A very short and garbled conflation of these two stories is integrated by Tadēos Toḥatetsi in his poem on the Nativity (a sort of Christmas carol). Thrilled to have seen Golgotha with his own eyes, he in essence praises his nation’s orthodox creed and glorifies Grigor Lusaworich.

In his Encyclical (Tult ŭndhanrakan), Nersēs Šnorhali speaks of clerics engaged in wine growing and wine making. Wine has always been popular in Armenia, but Šnorhali’s is among the earliest written references to clergymen for whom, it seems, wine had by now become new wine in old bottles. Still, Yovhannes Tlkurantsi spoke of wine as the symbol of Christ’s blood. On the few occasions he wrote of wine in a social context, he called for temperance, viewing wine as the mother of all evil and calling on all those who loved God to “hate” wine and whores—not to wench, that is. In the sixteenth century, sacramental wine was still solemnly revered as a symbol of Christ’s blood, celebrated on the altar as well as in literature. But now wine was also distinguished as a favorite tipple. ASTUATZATUR (16th c.?), known only by his name and for a single poem on vineyards, grapes, and wine, makes his case eloquently. He views wine in its biblical and Christian context as a life-giving symbol of absolution (i.e. wine consecrated in the Eucharist). He then describes the beauty and charm of vines and grapes in vivid colors and how they are made into wine. Whether wine had anything to do with this poem’s smooth flow, it is not possible to say with certainty, but Astuatztatur, fully aware of the unpleasant consequences of toping, leaves it to his readers’ discretion to decide how to enjoy wine, which is good for prince and peasant alike.

SARKAWAG BERDAKATSI (16th c.), also remembered by a single poem on wine, similarly projects it as a God-given gift beneficial for all (including kings, the poor, the blind, the dumb, the sick, the sinners, and mourners). His subtle and sensitive description in luscious colors brings the grapes to life and adds sparkle to the wine. He too fortifies his reasoning by upholding the religious symbolism of wine, and his poem rejoices in the “cup” (i.e. the chalice with wine consecrated in the Eucharist) that illuminates souls. In these two poems, wine as a sacred symbol and wine as such are equated, since it is earthly wine that is elevated to divine symbolism. If as a spiritual symbol it appeals to and inspires the spirit, then as wine it appeals to the palate and inspires the mind.
MARTIROS ՀԱՐԱՍԱՐՑԻ (16th c.?), who may have been a married priest, was a veritable devotee of Bacchus. His poems, written in a rather slipshod style, employing numerous forms of acrostics and commonplace imagery, betray a lively, unsophisticated character for whom social-religious events (weddings, christenings, etc.) turn out to be occasions for carousal. He has a panegyric on the Armenians of Caffa and a few love poems, one of which is in four languages (a sort of "macaronic verse"); the first line of each quatrain is in Armenian, the second in Turkish, the third in Greek, and the fourth in Persian.

ԼԱԶԱՐ ՍԵԲԱՏԱՑԻ (16th–17th c.) should not be confused with a number of contemporary namesakes. He was a priest of whom only a few love poems survive. Not distinguished for their diction and teeming, not surprisingly, with Persian, Arabic, and Turkish loan words, their special character lies in his boiling passion, unusual for a clergyman. A strikingly uninhibited soul, he finds the only meaning of life in love, more specifically, in a particular woman’s manners, walk, figure, and intimate body parts. Oblivious of his vocation and the day of reckoning, he finds the light bursting out of her bosom to be as bright as that emanating from the Holy Sepulchre.

A native of the village of Aparank in the old Armenian province of Mokk (south of Lake Van), SIMEON ԱՓԱՐԱՆԵՏՍԻ (d. 1615?), “Metzn” (i.e. the elder), studied at the Հնդրակատոր monastary in Բաղես (Bitlis) and attained fame both as a poet and a peripatetic teacher in monastic schools in Armenia proper. With pride and sadness, he wove a poem on the cross and religious relics brought to the monastery of Surb Nshan in his birthplace. The story had been told by Grigor Narekatsi, but Siméon, following the great master, rephrased the story in verse, adding nothing to the older narrative either by way of information or inspiration.

A deeper and more spontaneous sense of regret and forlornness inspired his elegy on Metzop, once a flourishing monastic school and scriptorium (1330s–1440s) where bright figures such as Grigor Tatewatsi, Mhttar Sasnetsi, Yovhannes Metzopetsi, Grigor Hlatetsi Tzerents, and Tovma Metzopetsi had taught. Siméon likens it to Athens as a center of wisdom and learning admired by many a nation, both neighboring and distant, and notes with regret that when sins accrued and evil prevailed, it was trampled by Turks and Kurds, who turned it into a stable. Although he calls on the Armenians to bewail its decline, he expresses hope that with God’s grace the place may be renewed and may even shine brighter than before.
Simēon observes many an event in historical perspective, and it is in this context that his patriotism must be seen. In a poem on the occasion of the Ottoman conquest (under Osman pasha) of Tabriz in 1585, Simēon reflects on the tribulations of the Armenians at the hands of the Ottomans and interprets Persian defeat as Providential dispensation. The Persians fled before the Ottomans like foxes before a lion, and they got a taste of the bitterness and agony which they themselves had perpetrated on Vardan Mamikonean and his comrades-in-arms and the Armenians in the middle of the fifth century. Unbearable though the situation of the Armenians was, spring, Simēon hoped, would soon arrive.

In his poem dedicated to King Trdat's summer residence in Garni (southeast of Erevan), Simēon with decorum makes a loud appeal to sister churches and the "Japhethian" nations to mourn in Christian solidarity the fall of the Armenian nation. His heart aches, and his tears inundate his ink pot at the sight of the ruined palace, as he ponders the inescapable fate of the mighty king that built it. In view of its abrupt end, one is left with the impression that the poem is incomplete.

Simēon recapitulated in rhyme and rhythm a History often referred to as that of Lazar Parpetsi. Although Simēon makes no reference to Movsēs Horenatsi, he owes him a profound debt for the earliest part of his history. Simēon begins with the Creation and goes on to narrate Xisuthros's voyage to Armenia, Zruan's tyranny and his conflict with Titan and Yabet, Hayk and Bel, Aram, Ara and Šamiram (Semiramis), the descent of the "Pahlawunik" (or "Palhawunik") from Abraham and the arrival of the Mamikoneans from Čenastan, and concludes with the appearance of the Arabs. Simēon was certainly inspired by Nersēs Šnorhali's "Vipasanut'ıwn," a versification of Armenian history with particular emphasis on the "Pahlawuni" family from Grigor Lusaworich to Catholicos Grigor Vkayaser. While Šnorhali wrote the poem to glorify his family and ancestors (some 150 years later the story was updated by Vahram Rabun to the year 1275), Simēon wrote his for the joy and amusement of his readers at the request of two of his students, Kirakos Ayraratetsi and Anania Nahavkayetsi. Writing in a simple style, Simēon certainly pursued some didactic, mnemonic, and patriotic purposes (invoking some proud moments of past triumphs). The poem has generated a keen interest on the part of historians and philologists in view of the numerous sources it draws upon.

Historiography, traditionally a main genre in Armenian literature, seems to have been totally neglected in the sixteenth century. There are simply no historians from this age; at least, no histories are extant. The gap
is partly filled by colophons and chronicles, which by this time emerge as important supplementary sources, particularly for regional and local history. From the more usual format consisting of date, place, name of scribe and Maecenas, and title of copied manuscript, colophons after the tenth century gradually expand into detailed and generally trustworthy records of political, social, and cultural events. V. Hakobyan has published a two-volume collection of chronicles, and many volumes of colophons have been and are still being published.

An important chronicle is that by YOVHANNISIK TZARETSI (c1560–?), covering the years 1572–1600, which Arakel Dawrižetsi (q.v.) integrated into his History. There are two people with this name, and V. Hakobyan in Manr ẓamanakagryunner (Minor chronicles) distinguishes Yovhannes Tzaretsi, son of Jhanšah (d. 1583), from Yovhannisik Tzaretsi, son of Melkon, a distant relative of the former and the actual author of this chronicle. He was from Tzar (in Artsah), belonged to the brotherhood of the monastery of Tadē, and studied at the feet of Nerses Gnunetsi (or Hetewak, or Hetiotn, or Amketsi) and his namesake, Yovhannes Tzaretsi. Of the numerous monasteries bearing the name Tadē, the one in Artaz (Maku, Persarmenia), also known by the name Tzortzor, is certainly the most celebrated. Although the tendency is to affiliate him with Tadē in Artaz, Yovhannisik, as a native of Artsah, could have been a monk of the Tadē monastery (better known as Dadivank) in Artsah. True to the best traditions of some of his fellow monks, Yovhannisik copied, renovated, collected, and commissioned the copying of manuscripts. His chronicle, which has no title, describes some major events in Transcaucasia, such as the Ottoman campaigns (1578–90) and the Georgian-Ottoman clashes.

HACHATUR EWDOKATSI (16th–17th c.) has a verse description of Venice that captures a fleeting moment in the city’s history sometime between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. A keen observer with an artistic bent and a vivid style, Ḥachatur was enchanted by the beautiful and bounteous Serenissima. Its economic prosperity, magnificent edifices, mechanical devices, and public discipline left him aghast. He witnessed the carnival and the Holy Week. So many candles were lit on Good Friday that the streets seemed to him to have been covered with snow, while at night the entire sea surface undulated with their light. But certain aspects of their lifestyle violated his social-moral norms. Most were venial violations, but some were incomprehensible or disagreeable. He disapproved of women’s dress, the public display of affection between lovers, and Venetians’ tolerance
for prostitutes. He was astonished to see women use urine for cosmetic purposes and the Venetians eating almost anything that came out live from the sea. Although he marveled at the services dogs performed, he was struck by the Venetians' passion for pets and by the sight of a woman breast-feeding a puppy.
An Overview of the Armenian Realities of the Age

The seventeenth century opened with disastrous calamities. The maelstrom of Jelali rebellion continued to rage, bringing devastation to Armenia. Although the revolts had begun much earlier, they erupted with renewed force in the concluding years of the sixteenth century and in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Similarly destructive were the Perso-Ottoman clashes and the policy of scorched earth pursued in the region. In the late autumn and winter of 1604, Shah Abbas I ordered the Armenian population of Julfa and neighboring regions in Eastern Armenia to be driven to Iran and resettled in his new capital, Isfahan, and its vicinity. Contemporary accounts speak of the heart-rending suffering the ancestors of the large Armenian community of Iran endured en route to their destination. At long last the treaty of Zuhab in 1639 put an end to the hostilities between the two empires and brought peace to Armenia.

Plagued by rivalry, disunity, and corruption, the Church experienced one of the most turbulent phases in her history. It was by no means uncommon for any given hierarchy to have more than one incumbent office-holder at the same time. But the most serious internal threat was that posed by Bishop Eliazar Ayntapsi, who created an anti-catholicosate (1664) to wrest from Ejmiatzin the overall spiritual authority it held over the Armenian hierarchies of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to such internal challenges, the Church had to combat the Catholic missionaries now active throughout the Ottoman Empire and Iran. Their renewed zeal provoked strong reactions from the Armenian Church and her apologists, and an unrelentingly hostile attitude long gripped both parties. Such confrontation also took place in some communities abroad. A case in point was the Armenian community of Poland, which was manipulated by what turned into a religious conflict and was forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism in the middle of the century.
Ironically, the Armenians still looked to Rome and to her favorite daughter, France, and her Sun King for liberation from Muslim domination. There is some evidence of a vague initiative inspired by the war of Candia and of contacts (both during the siege and after the fall of Crete to the Ottomans) with Louis XIV, regarding the liberation of Armenia, but the period has not yet been fully explored. Similarly uncertain and controversial is the role played by some of the leaders who conceived of and pursued the plans for restoring Armenia (Yovhannēs vardapet Areweltsi, also known as Tiwriwnči, d. 1703, who for two very short terms became Patriarch of Constantinople; Eliazar Aynt'aptsi; Hachatur III, Gafatatsi, Catholicos of Cilicia, etc.). The last attempt in this century was made by Yakob IV, Julayetsi, Catholicos of Armenia, who convened a secret meeting in Ėjmiatzin in 1677, with a view to approaching the West for assistance. He is believed to have coordinated his political scheme with the Georgians and to have corresponded with Poland’s John III, Sobieski, among others. The Catholicos, already an octogenarian, left for Europe via Constantinople, where death overtook him in 1680.

Despite adversity, learning and scholarship were revived in the seventeenth century thanks to some monastic schools (often referred to as “universities”) in Armenia and Iran. Of the four monasteries in and near Bālēš (Bitlis), those of Ḥndrakatar and Amlordi (also known as Amrdol, Amrtol) attained prominence, the first in the sixteenth century and the second in the seventeenth century. Some scholars trace the origins of the Bālēš tradition of learning to students of Grigor Tafewatsi (1346–1409). In Bālēš, particular attention was paid to collecting, repairing, and copying old manuscripts. Such efforts proved to be of incalculable value, as the texts of some early Armenian historians have survived in these copies. Amlordi flourished particularly under Vardan Bąlišętsi (d. 1705), and among some of its better known students were Yovhannes Bąlišętsi Kolot, the future patriarch of Constantinople (1715–49), and Grigor Širuntsi Šľtayakir, the future patriarch of Jerusalem (1717–49). The school eclipsed after Vardan Bąlišętsi’s death.

When Bishop Sargis (also known as Sargs Parontër, or Salmosavanesi, or Amberdtsi) and the priest Kirakos Pontatsi (or Trapizontsi) met in Jerusalem and had occasion to hear from the historian Grigor Daranaltsi (q.v.) about monasticism, especially in Egypt, they at first thought of founding an hermitage in the region (there is no written indication that they were mindful of Catholicos Grigor II, VKayasēr’s visits and activities). But soon they had second thoughts, returned to Armenia, and organized an hermitage c1610, the Siwneats Metz ana-
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pat (the Great Hermitage of Siwnik) or Harants anapat, at a remote spot near Tatew in the region of Siwnik. Known for its discipline and asceticism, the hermitage rekindled learning through distinguished men of religion such as Movses Tatewatsi (later Catholicos of Armenia, 1629–32), Melkiset Vţanetsi, Pōlos Mokatsi, Nersēs Mokatsi (or Beľu, q.v.), Hachatur Kesaratsi (founder of the monastic school in Nor Julay), and others. The hermitage led to the rise of similar centers in Yovhannavank, Ejmiatzin, Sewan, and elsewhere. In 1622 Nersēs Mokatsi left it for the islet of Lim in Lake Van, where he set up a new school. His successor, Stepānnos Mokatsi (or Šataheṭsi), was instrumental in founding a similar school on Ktuts, also an islet in Lake Van.

Students trained at the Siwneats Metz anapat carried the torch to various centers of learning in Armenia and beyond. The aforementioned Hachatur Kesaratsi (1590–1646) established a school at the Amenapṙrkich monastery in Nor Julay in the 1630s. In due course there were set up a scriptorium, a library (still in existence with some six hundred manuscripts), and a printing press (c1638), the first in Iran, where a number of books of a religious and polemical nature were published. Apart from the traditional topics, a few subjects of practical relevance to mercantile activities were also taught. There developed a particular style of architecture and painting (especially murals), and there took place a considerable degree of cultural interaction between Iranian and Armenian civilizations.

Most of these schools and some lesser ones gradually lost their initial momentum or were short-lived, but there is every reason to consider the age as one of “awakening.” Peripatetic teachers played an important role. The seeds of learning had been sown, and education’s benefits had been observed. Not only did these teachers serve a most valuable purpose, but they also helped some learned Armenians to see Armenian realities in perspective. Understandably, and perhaps inevitably, they spent much effort on restoring, emulating, and providing continuity to the received tradition. Hence the broader approach to culture and the renewed interest in certain traditional disciplines (e.g. philosophy), heretofore in regress. In this and in other instances, Armenian men of learning in the homeland drew upon accumulated wisdom. But they must have also realized, no matter how vaguely, that certain aspects of the tradition had exhausted themselves. Grigor Tatewatsi had long since sealed an entire epoch. Peace in the region underscored the need for viable structures, cultural and otherwise. Armenian communities abroad, travel, extensive mercantile activities, contact and conflict with Catholic missionaries, and
the challenges posed by Islam and its culture all had an invigorating effect on Armenian letters, dictating the need for fresh approaches.

While some able supreme patriarchs of Ejmiatzin, such as Movsēs III, Tatewatsi, Pilippos I, Albaketsi and Yakob IV, Julayetsi, had the foresight to undertake reform and renovation, with an emphasis on education and learning, historians, who outnumbered poets in this century, revived historiography. What these historians created—chronologies, chronicles, and travel accounts reflecting Armenian as well as non-Armenian realities—was a far cry from the works of their classical masters. But the upsurge of interest in history, in sharp contrast to the previous century, was indicative of a slowly but surely growing sense of national awareness, unity, and a shared present, especially among men of learning. The cultural, chronological, and other distances now separating them from their ancestral tradition were greater than ever, and they almost exclusively focused on contemporary events, highlighting the urgent need to respond adequately to challenges and threats posed to a dispersed nation by changing times and superior adversaries. Polemical works continued to appear as the sole weapon to counter Roman Catholic claims (e.g., the work of the Theatine missionary and Orientalist Clemens Galanos, *Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana*).

In literature there was a preponderance of secular themes and thematic variety. Besides the laments occasioned by the calamitous Jelali rebellions, one finds many poems dedicated to nature (flowers were a favorite), love, and merrymaking; verse in a satirical-humorous vein; anti-clerical criticism; elegies on the death of family members; and a few poems echoing national pride and some as yet general political aspirations. Individual martyrlogies and religious themes were still common. Some of these themes were taken up by writers in the Crimea whose Armenian population increased with the arrival of refugees fleeing the Jelalis. The community here made many valuable contributions to Armenian culture in this age through its schools, scriptoria, and writers. In sharp contrast to the sixteenth century, during which only a few works were rendered into Armenian, the seventeenth century witnessed a revival of the art, thanks to the efforts of a small group of translators such as Yovhannēs Holov (1635–91) and, perhaps the most prolific of them all, Stepanos Lehatsi (d. 1689). The Armenians of Ukraine and Poland left a vast amount of literature (a very considerable part of which is made up of court records) in Armeno-Kipchak (Kipchak in Armenian script), dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which has been the subject of more serious studies since about the middle of the twentieth century.
A Survey of the Literature of the Age

**NERSÉS MOKATSI** (c1575–c1625) was an illustrious figure and celebrated itinerant teacher in the educational network that rapidly expanded in the early seventeenth century. It would therefore be most fitting to start with his poem marking, in learned and graceful style, the founding of the Siwneats Metz anapat by four luminous figures whose efforts the poem elaborates with elation. Of these, the only layman was “prince” Haykazn (son of Hahnazar from Nor Julay), a soldier honored and given local power in Siwnik' by Shah Abbas I and a generous Christian who took the hermitage under his wing. Nersès lionized him as a giant who, while equal in strength and skill to the legendary Tigran Haykazn, the slayer of Azdahak (cf. Movses Horenatsi’s *History*), was of even greater exaltation by virtue of his belief in the triune Godhead. Nersès then paid tribute to Polos Mokatsi, a peripatetic preacher and teacher, revered for his saintly character, stamina, and pious defiance of the persecutions of Catholicos Melkïsédek, who usurped the patriarchal throne briefly (1618–23) but disrupted church and communal life for long decades. The two actual founders, however, were Sargis, a bishop, and Kirakos Pontatsi, a priest (cf. the discussion above of the Siwneats anapat). For Nersès, all four were the very embodiment of God’s grace on Armenia and the Armenians, who promoted piety and wisdom, leaving the nation with a great legacy and disciples to carry on their worthy cause. Their death he likens, with inspiration and imagery from Grigor Narekatsi, to a ship wrecked by a sudden storm.

Six more poems are known to have been penned by Nersès. Of these, the elegy on the fall of Jerusalem to Saladdin is an adaptation of an older version in the vulgar tongue (“geljuk bariw”), which Nersès “animated” and “added” to. In the poem, Nersès avers that the failure to reclaim Jerusalem was preordained by the Lord as a punishment inflicted on the arrogant and sinful crusaders. As usual, his style is neatly polished and his emotions impressively controlled. It is difficult to say whether Nersès was familiar with an elegy Grigor IV, Tlay composed on the same occasion more than four centuries earlier, as no distinct influences are discernible in his poem.

Nersès is the author of only one fourth of a poem 1,572 lines long (completed by Stephanos Mokatsi or Satahetsi, founder of the monastic school on the islet of Ktuts in Lake Van) celebrating the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and transportation of her image to “Hogeats vank;” a monastery near the Korduk* mountain to the south of Van (Nersès’s native region). This is a well known traditional account (cf. “Patasni tòtoyn
Sahakay . . .,” attributed to Movses Horenatsi in the Venice edition of his Matenagratuniek; Nerses Lambronatsi’s “Nerbolean i verapohummen menörhnene Astuatzatznin” in H. Oskean’s Matenagrakan knnutiwnner, Vienna, 1926; and Arakel Dawrižetsi’s History, where he basically follows Movses Horenatsi’s version), which holds that St. Bartholomew, who had been away at the time of the Virgin’s Assumption, is given her image, which he carries to a spot known as Darbnakar in the region of Andzewatsik southeast of Lake Van, where it is housed in a chapel later built into a magnificent shrine by Grigor Lusaworich.

The story of an Armenian priest by the name of Andrēas who declined to renounce his faith and was put to death by the Persians during a visit in 1617 of Shah Abbas I to Agulis, Nahijewan, was greatly appealing to Nerses (the story is also recorded in Arakel Dawrižetsi’s History, XXVII; is reproduced in Manandean’s and Ačarean’s Hayots nor vkanerê; and is the basis for a short novel, Andrēas Erêts, by Muratsan, q.v.). The elegy is written in short, five-syllable lines, limpid and mellow, and flows rapidly sobbing out the author’s grief at the death of a martyr who rekindled the flame of faith.

In two poems Nerses engages in self-flagellation, requesting the prophets’ and patriarchs’ intercession in one, and heaping sins upon himself in the other. It is in the latter poem that his impressive command of the classical tongue and his vivid imagination find eloquent expression.

There are some doubts about the authorship of the sixth poem dealing with an intriguing theme: the contest of heaven and earth (a device in various forms common to old neighboring traditions). It was Ėlewond Ališan (q.v.) who first attributed it to Nerses Mokatsi without any elaboration of his sources. This has been accepted by many critics, including A. G. Doluhanyan, author of the monograph on Nerses Mokatsi. Garegin Yovsēpean (1867–1952) has pointed out (in an article in Ararat, 1898) that the theme was popular in Mokk’ and that Nerses was the first author to write an adaptation of it. A number of versions are found in As. Mnatsakanyan’s collection of medieval Armenian songs (Haykakan mijnadaryan žolovrdakan erger, Erevan, 1956). It is written in pseudo-Classical Armenian, employing quite a few Persian, Arabic, and Turkish loan words. The contest ends with the triumph of earth over heaven; for earth is where ordinary mortals live and are interred. And it is on earth that the Church was founded, prophets and apostles were born, and where the Lord will descend for the Last Judgment. There seems to be some ground here to question the authorship of the poem, since in both manner and matter it does not seem to square with Nerses’s outlook and style; judged by his other writings, he was too devout a monk to busy
himself with such literary exercises. True, Nersès did rework the poem on the fall of Jerusalem (wherein, incidentally, he is recognized as just Nersès, not Nersès Mokatsi), but given its theme and style, the Jerusalem piece was in line with, not alien to, Nersès’s literary bent and habits. Still, the quaint contest of heaven and earth for superiority, despite its limited imagery, is a lively and lovely exchange.

A number of writers dwelt on the consequences of the Jelali ravages with regret and alarm. **Azaria Sasnetsi** (d. 1628), a gentle, devout soul (his sobriquet “hlu” means “obedient”) from Sasun, composed a 532-line lament on Jelali turpitude in “the eastern provinces and Armenia.” It is a mini-history of the Jelalis, the initial depredations of Kara Yazıcı and his brother Deli Hasan from Urfa to Janik. Azaria then tells us that Deli Hasan received the sanjak of “Tmshuar” from the sultan but that the latter had him killed two years later. Hasan’s troops dispersed, crossed over to the Asiatic part of the empire, and converged in Armenia. There follow brief sketches of ten Jelali leaders and the destruction of Armenia at their hands. The story ends with Shah Abbas I reclaiming (1603–07) from the Ottomans Armenia and the eastern regions of Tabriz, Ganja, Derbend, Shamakhi, Erevan, Kars, etc.; the resettlement of Eastern Armenians in Persia; and the forcible return of Armenian refugees from Constantinople and neighboring cities to their original homes in the provinces (described in detail by Grigor Daranaltsi, q.v., in his Chronology).

With profound pain expressed in a somewhat terse and simple style, Azaria speaks of the havoc the Jelalis wrought in the region. His major concern is for his country, now completely destroyed, and its population, a headless flock, entirely uprooted. Even though he attributes all this to sinful Armenian conduct, Azaria at the same time incisively observes that it was due to corruption, economic hardship, and the very short tenure of pashas appointed at brief and overlapping intervals to the same position in the provinces. Azaria himself barely escaped death at the hands of Jelali brigands and found refuge in Constantinople, which attracted him for yet another reason: Armenian law codices. He had heard that Grigor Kesaratsi, the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople (for three terms 1601–09, 1611–21, 1623–26) had a fine copy in his possession. Grigor Kesaratsi became his teacher and consecrated him vardapet. Azaria knew Italian (N. Akinean claimed that he at one point visited Italy) and translated a commentary of Ptolemy’s Geography into Armenian. This and his calendrical, astronomical poems as well as his church canons remain in manuscript form. The historian Grigor Daranaltsi (q.v.) who had an extremely unfavorable view of patriarch Grigor Kesaratsi, maintained
that the patriarch treated Azaria badly. So much so, Grigor Daranaltsi claims, that when Grigor Kesaratzi ascended the patriarchal throne for a third time, Azaria decided to flee to Egypt and boarded a ship at Antioch. He died aboard the ship of thirst and the cold weather and was buried at sea. Grigor Daranaltsi reported that pious Maronites (who surmised from his haircut that he had been a priest) interred him when his body washed ashore near Tripoli.

**Stepanos Tohatetsi** (b. 1558–?), a priest and a scribe, repaired and copied a number of manuscripts and completed at least one manuscript left incomplete by his brother when death carried him off at the age of thirty-five. Stephanos remembered him as a devout priest dedicated to his flock in a somewhat verbose but affectionate elegy. His other laments are less impressive. One is a standard “keen,” with the deceased’s name left blank to be filled in by would-be mourners as part of the obsequies. The second, written by request, commemorates a young merchant. The third mourns the murder by Russian pirates of a merchant from Erzinjan, who bought goods in Marzuan (Merzifon) and shipped them to Caffa from Trebizond. The latter two contain a number of phrases, even stanzas, lifted verbatim from Stephanos’s monody on his brother. Much livelier, both in form and content, are his two facetious poems: one, a persiflage on the priests of Caffa (personal weaknesses and appearance); the other, a comical attack on fleas and flies. Stephanos manages to prove to his readers that a flea bite is really more than just a flea bite, especially at night.

His talent finds its fullest expression in his lament on his birthplace, Tokat (“Olb . . . i veray Ewdokia metzi k‘alakin”). Stephanos had escaped death by the skin of his teeth at the sacking of Tokat by the Jelalis in 1602. He was caught by seven of them, who at first wanted to lynch him, then shoot him, but they ended up beating him up and leaving him for dead. He fled to Constantinople and thence to Caffa. Stephanos chose to omit this close encounter with death, and he crafted his poem with a good eye for the picturesque and a sharp sense for contrast. First, he with deep pain and genuine concern described the unmerciful ransacking of churches and, indeed, the entire prosperous city of Tokat. Then, he imaginatively restored Tokat to its former charm, amid its splendid natural surrounding, with its bustling life, commerce, and material wealth, magnifying, in a moving fashion, the enormity of the loss.

Almost as memorable is Yakob Tohatetsi’s (c1560–1660s?) lament on the same occasion. Yakob, though, sees the Jelali destruction of Tokat as an expression of Providential wrath: its inhabitants are sinful and indifferent to Divine warnings, such as an earlier famine. He also wails the
misfortunes of the Armenians of Wallachia (Rumania), particularly those of Yash-Bazar, who were victims of the political intrigues and military confrontations of the early 1590s, which pitched the Wallachians, the Cosacks, the Turks, and the Poles against one another.

Yakob wrote touchingly of human decrepitude, but this world for him, just as for Yovhannès Erznkatsi Pluz before him, was a place for beasts. He found confidence, consolation, and courage in his unalloyed love for the Redeemer and believed in the rewards awaiting the just in the afterlife. This outlook permeates his two eulogies for his teacher Yakob Ayvaţents, whom he generously characterizes as a wise, just, learned, and humble priest. No less sagacious than his teacher was Yakob, who translated the Seven Sages from Latin and sought knowledge in accordance with his belief that God in His mercy laid the mysteries of knowledge before human beings for self-knowledge and for them to recognize their Benefactor.

Traditional patterns are still dominant in the verse of some poets such as Asapov (17th c.), presumed to have been a blind native of Isfahan. Five of his seven extant poems, written in a reasonably good style, are dedicated to the Blessed Virgin as an encomium or supplication for intercession and salvation. Yakob Ssetsi (17th c.), from the Ajapahean family (custodians of Grigor Lusaworich's right arm reliquary) was presumably a native of Sis, Cilicia (now Kozan, Turkey), who on the death of his wife became a vardapet and later could possibly have been created bishop. Noteworthy among his few poems are his simple but interesting elegy on the death of his wife; his poem heaping reproaches upon Armenian clergymen from patriarch down to deacon, local lay leaders, and the public at large for corruption and arrogance, and for smoking tobacco and "afyun" (i.e., afyun, opium); and his brief and general description of Gharasu (Belogorsk, the Crimea).

No biographical details are available for Andreas Artzketsi (17th–18th c.), save that he had studied at the feet of the celebrated vardapet Vardan Balişetsi of Amrdol. In two of his poems, the second and fourth lines in each quatrain are in Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian characters). He has two poems on the subject of panduht (exile) and both are rather maudlin and lugubrious. His other two poems on the theme of the rose and nightingale are inferior to the accomplishments of the older masters. What stands apart in his poetry is his description in enumerative verse of a long list of a very large variety of foods and fruits at a banquet, a grande bouffe, which very likely would have satisfied the passion of Archestratos for rare and varied foods. The dishes are served all at one
time in a manner reminiscent of *service à la française* (rather than *service à la russe*), but the participants in the feast and for the breakfast next morning savor quality and variety rather than indulge in gluttony.

**HACHATUR ՀԱՏԻՐ ՀԱՍՊԵԿstoff* ERÊTS KAFATSI (1610–86), a native of Caffa, studied under a priest by the name of Yovhannes and learned the art of copying and illuminating manuscripts from a deacon by the name of Galust. Numerous samples of his handwriting have survived. Contemporaries speak of him with respect and with appreciation for his musical talent. He spent a couple of decades (1640s–60s) in Gharasu (Belogorsk, the Crimea), a few years in Constantinople (1668–71) and at one point became a married priest. His commemoration of the martyrdom of a Sargis in 1642 in Gharasu is written with sympathy and simplicity. His four poems on the Virgin Mary display some originality and a skillful, sometimes innovative use of previous imagery. One of them ("Gluh hanur azgin kanants," First among womankind) is a particularly detailed and imaginative interpretation of the colors, shapes, and allegory of a portrait of the Virgin with the Child. One immediately wonders if this could have been the same portrait as that placed at the altar of the St. Toros Church in Caffa in 1620 (cf. Hachatur Kafayetsi’s chronicle, *Manr ťamanakagrutyunner*, i, 209).

Hachatur’s praise of love and merrymaking is attractive for its simplicity and naivete. It uses the theme of the rose and the nightingale, but with no symbolic coloring; this sets it apart from most other poems elaborating this story. Spoken Armenian forms are preponderant in this as well as his poem dedicated to flowers—his best. It is an ethereal description of the rose and some other fragrant flowers, with a refrain, internal rhyme, phrases, and imagery in spoken Armenian, all put to effective use.

**DAWIT’ SALADZORETSI (17th c.)** was an orphan from the village of Saladzor in Erzerum. In two separate letters written on 7 August 1718, Elia Mušelean (q.v.) reported that an earthquake shook the region of Erzerum on 7 July 1718 and that the village of Saladzor was one of the four villages that “sank” totally (*Elia Karnetsu divanê*, pp. 37–38). Dawit, whose birthdate is not known (c1630?), would in most likelihood have written something had he survived the earthquake, but the date of his death still remains unknown. He lived away from his birthplace at least for a while. He was a deacon, but there are no indications that he ever became a priest or a *vardapet*.

Dawit’s most celebrated poem "Govasank’ tzalkants" (in praise of flowers) opens with the author as a frail person, sunken into sadness and darkness, seeking wisdom and ability from the Almighty to praise
“a few things” and to distinguish good from evil. His general debility is in sharp contrast to the fascinating feast of colors he describes with exuberant imagination. Dawit sees parallels between the four elements, the four major units of time (day, week, month, year), the four principal stages in human life (infancy, childhood, old age, and death), and the four seasons. It is in the month of March that the Everlasting orders mother earth to wake up from its slumber and let the plants out, and for dew to be showered down from the clouds. Heaven and earth rejoice, and the “fragrance of immortality” suffuses the earth as hundreds of thousands of flowers appear, each more beautiful than the next. Then, treading on air, Dawit speaks of some eighty flowers, each with its particular color or character, and there unfold before the eyes of the reader mountains and valleys flowering, “clapping,” and undulating in myriad of colors. Dawit likens the flowers he describes to the stars, good and beautiful, and his sinful self to a short-lived flower (“nanir”) that germinates in the morning and withers in the evening. (As an adjective, “nanir” means vain, useless; although this meaning would also fit the context, it seems that Dawit used it as a name for an unidentified flower, which, according to unsubstantiated accounts, has a dawn-to-dusk lifespan and which kings reportedly kept in sight as a constant reminder of the vanity of life.) Dawit modestly concludes that he praised only a few flowers and that many are left for future masters to describe, but no one yet has appeared in Armenian literature to complement Dawit’s fascinating floral tableau.

His two poems for Husnihan, the woman he loved, are forceful and dignified, and have a lingering appeal partly explained by his effective employment of refrains, his winning sincerity of emotions, and a touch of drama. His poem to a “hanum” gone astray (i.e., converted to Islam) is a powerful plea to return to the fold. Dawit felt that she brought shame upon the Armenians and that she would no doubt end up in the lower regions. But most interesting is his unflagging loyalty to the faith of Grigor Lusaworich (Gregory the Illuminator) and his national identity: like tiny but precious stones, small yet as dearly cherished is the Armenian nation (an image that would find a fuller expression in Gevorg Emin’s poem, “Menk,” in Ksanerord dar). Although composed with characteristic verve, somewhat less impressive are his other poems on émigrés, his eulogy for the Virgin, and his poem on the Creation.

The death of Dawit’s daughter, Nranay, cut him to the heart. A world-weary Dawit believed this was a visitation from the Supreme Being for his impiety. Dawit was inconsolable. There was no one or nothing around him from which to derive solace. Every object Nranay touched or
used—her room, the cellar, the domestic animals, the fields, hills, valleys, and streams—mourn her in multiple voices of lament. Sad and sonorous, this threnody flows quietly from Dawit's "clouded heart," arousing tender sympathy in the reader.

**MARTIROS LRMETSI** (d. 1683) was at the very center of some dramatic events in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was born at Caffa, studied at the feet of Stepanos Tohatsetsi (q.v.) and Patriarch Astuatzar Turonetsi of Jerusalem (three terms: 1645–64, 1665–66, 1668–71). Martiros himself became patriarch of Constantinople (1659–60), bishop of the Armenians of Crimea (1661–64), and patriarch of Jerusalem twice (1668–71, 1681–83), even though during the first term Astuatzar held office nominally. He was early associated with Eliazar Ayntaptsi (d. 1691), an ambitious and dynamic character, who held the patriarchal thrones of both Jerusalem and Constantinople and eventually became Catholicos of Armenia (1681–91).

The first cause Martiros fought for in league with Patriarch Astuatzar and Eliazar Ayntaptsi was the serious confrontation in the 1650s that pitched the Armenians against the Greeks over the St. James monastery and Ethiopian presence in the Holy Places. This was only one, albeit major, battle in the perennial conflicts between the three principal custodians of the Holy Places: the Armenians, the Greeks and the Latins.

Martiros turned against Eliazar Ayntaptsi when the latter created a hierarchical schism within the Armenian Church. In 1664 in Aleppo, Hachatur III, Galatatsi, Catholicos of Cilicia (1657–74?), consecrated Eliazar Catholicos of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, and many communities recognized him as their pontiff. Eliazar's move posed a serious threat to the unity of the Church of Armenia, and Martiros immediately left Crimea to head the opposition to topple him. Having spent much effort and pelf, Eliazar managed in 1671 to impose himself as both Catholicos of the Armenians of the Empire and Patriarch of the Holy City. Ousted from Jerusalem, Martiros returned to the Ottoman capital and until 1679 held the nominal title of patriarch or prelate of Jerusalem.

Meanwhile, Yakob IV, Julayetsi, Catholicos of Armenia, arrived in Constantinople on his way to Europe. Here, two of Yakob's confidants were Martiros and Eremia Keomiwrcean (q.v.), a well-known and a highly respected figure. Martiros was dispatched to Jerusalem with plans to remove the rift between the two hierarchies. Martiros and Eliazar buried the hatchet, and Eliazar left Jerusalem but returned to his seat when, half way through his journey, he learned of Yakob's death in Constantinople in
August of 1680. In July of 1681, Eliazar himself was elected Catholicos of Armenia, and the rival seat he had forged seventeen years earlier was thus abolished.

Embroidel himself though he did in many a conflict, Martiros found time to copy and commission the copying of some manuscripts and to compose a number of literary pieces. A. A. Martirosyan, author of Martiros Lrimetsi (E., 1958), enumerated but excluded fifteen pieces, four poems in Armeno-Turkish, and a number of letters by Martiros found in a manuscript collection in Jerusalem containing letters by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century figures. Of the sixteen or so published poems, seven deal with married priests, and all but one are distinguished by their satirical vein. His satire is caustic and at times not averse to vulgarity, especially when dealing with priests violating the tenets of their vocation. Such profane practices were common at least to some celibate priests (vardapets and bishops) as well, but Martiros kept them at a safe distance from his whip. The priests' pettiness, gluttony, and inefficiency he treated in a teasing banter. And he wrote affectionately of the sad plight of a widowed priest, who was forbidden to remarry in observance of the customs of the Church of Armenia. In a few poems marking certain occasions such as merrymaking and Mardi Gras, Martiros called for temperance.

Martiros has a history in verse of Crimea with particular emphasis on Armenian emigration to the peninsula. It has a certain historical value despite the fact that it is based on oral traditions rather than historical accounts. Attributing the dispersion of the Armenians to their sinful conduct, Martiros begins its history with the destruction of Ani and traces the routes along which Armenian emigration branched off to Julfa and Van, and along the Caspian to an "insignificant place" called "Ahsaray," whence to Caffa and Wallachia, Poland, etc. Armenians fleeing the Jelali disturbances formed the second major wave of emigration to the Crimea.

Martiros Lrimetsi's rhymed chronology of Armenian kings ("Karg ew tiw tagawrots hayots") begins with Hayk and concludes with the fall of Cilicia. Movses Horenatsi was his source for the earlier period; as for the later period, it seems that he benefited from a similar text by Nerses Palients ("Išhanutiviwnk ew tagaworutiwnk Hayots" in V. Hakobyan, Manr zamanakagrutyunner, ii, 196–206). Martiros Lrimetsi's work is a purely descriptive poem, which, he says, he wrote for the Armenians to emulate and derive consolation from, and he concludes with deep regret for the western half of his fellow countrymen languishing under the "haughty nation of Turks."
A historian, poet, and man of high station, **EREMIA chelépi KEO-MIWRČEAN** (1637–95) was a moderating force in the ecclesiastic imbroglio referred to above. He was intimately associated with Eliazar Ayntaptsi, Martiros Łrimetsi, Yakob IV, Julayetsi, and Abro (“Aprô,” i.e. Apröyan) Chelebi (1621–76), an entrepreneur with vast commercial undertakings in Europe and the Ottoman Empire and a most influential banker to the grand vizier Köprülü-oğlu Ahmed. This was the group that in many ways pulled the strings of contemporary Armenian affairs, and Eremia often found himself in awkward situations created by these powerful personalities. On the whole he seems to have been motivated by overall national interests, not to have minced matters and to have mediated adroitly. When Ḥachatur III, Galatatsi, Catholicos of Cilicia on a visit to Constantinople to stave off threats by an aspirant to his seat intimated Eremia of Eliazar’s plan to create a rival catholicosate, Eremia, appalled by the disclosure, traveled to Aleppo in a futile attempt to dissuade Eliazar from his design. He later (together with Abro Chelebi) appealed to Yakob IV, Julayetsi to show flexibility and share authority with Eliazar, but Yakob politely and persistently refused to compromise. Earlier, he had been the only one to dare accompany Eliazar to gaol, when the latter was arrested in his secret residence in the vicinity of Constantinople, barely a few months after his escape from the rebellious associates of Abaza Hasan in Asia Minor. Eliazar had appealed to them for assistance to restore Armenian control over the St. James monastery in Jerusalem, and he was forced to stay at their camp for almost a year.

Eremia was the son of a priest, and his two younger brothers were also ordained into priesthood. His daughter and son, a vardapet, died young. He did not live long enough to witness the tragic decapitation in 1707 of his youngest brother, Komitas, whom Armenian Catholics regard as a martyr of their faith and whom Malakia Örmanean considers a faithful son of the Armenian Church. Komitas was certainly associated with Catholics and was influenced by Catholic principles at least to some degree. His death came as a result of the somewhat still obscure fate of Patriarch Awetik Ewdokatsi (1657–1711) of Constantinople, who at this time was reportedly abducted by the French and sent to Mont Saint Michel in Brittany. (Patriarch Awetik has been identified by some as The Man Behind the Iron Mask.) According to Örmanean, Komitas was among the detractors of Awetik and when the Ottoman government, incensed by Awetik’s disappearance, arrested a number of Catholic Armenians, Komitas was among them. Unlike his colleagues, who all professed Islam to save their skins, Komitas paid the ultimate price for his Christian creed.
Eremia was a secretary at the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, and his counsel was eagerly sought by Armenian leaders both within and without the Patriarchate. He was well versed in scribal art and, apart from his native tongue and Turkish, is said to have had a good command of Greek, Persian, Arabic, and Hebrew. He set up a very short-lived printing press with, it seems, the help of Abro Chelebi. His extensive travels in the Ottoman Empire and in Transcaucasia must have in some ways contributed to his enlightened approach to church and religion.

Eremia was a prolific author who wrote in Armenian and in Turkish. A considerable part of his Nachlass is unpublished and some works are presumed lost. He translated into Turkish the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament, the Alexander Romance, and a good many other writings all from Armenian sources. Other pertinent details are found in Avedis K. Sanjian’s extensive introduction in Eremya Chelebi Kömirjian’s Armeno-Turkish Poem “The Jewish Bride.”

Noteworthy among his historical work but non-extant is a history of Armenia, which he reportedly translated into Turkish (cf. Mikayel Chamchean, History, iii, 723). Eremia used Movsēs Horenatsi for the earlier part of this history that he concluded with Cilicia. It has been suggested that the historian Mūnedjdjim Bashi relied on Eremia’s narrative for his account of the origin and history of the Armenians in Şahā’if al-akhbār.

An important but unpublished manuscript is his “Taregrakan patmut’iwn” (Annals), based in part on his Öragrutıwın, and which covers the years 1648–90 in three parts: the first part reports fires and natural disasters in Constantinople and the Asiatic provinces; the second part tells of a local history of the Ottoman Empire with references to its wars in Europe; and the third part examines contemporary Armenian realities with a close scrutiny of rivalries among Armenian hierarchical sees.

His Öragrutıwın (Diary) encompasses the years 1648–62. Eremia began to commit his thoughts and observations to paper at age eleven. His initially short entries expanded to include detailed notes on his daily routine and his family; his involvement in and observations of the Armenian and Ottoman scenes social, political and otherwise; intrigue and the rise and eclipse of politicians in the Ottoman Empire; visits of dignitaries; janissaries and their disorderly conduct in the capital; sultans’ unannounced tours in disguise; obituaries and funerals; fortifications in the city against possible attacks by rebels; religious issues; and a number of other aspects of contemporary life.

Similarly detailed is his rhymed history of Constantinople, made up of eight long chapters. Eremia started writing this poem in 1661, put it aside for twenty years, and completed it in 1684. It is a description,
not inclusive, of Constantinople beyond the walls of the old city, where Eremia, acting as a guide to a friend identified as Vardan (who could conceivably be the celebrated Vardan Balisetsi of Amrodol), tours the city and its vicinity by sea and land. A lively panorama of Constantinople emerges with minute geographical and topographical information, along with information on government edifices, churches and mosques with particular traditions, Catholic Orders and churches, embassies, historical references and Byzantine connections, Armenian and Greek Gypsies, various ethnic groups, bakeries, food and cuisine, accounts of traditional Ottoman ceremonies, economic realities, exports and imports, the seaport and quays, comical episodes, etc. Although the history is written in Classical Armenian, Eremia’s style teems with modern forms and Persian and Turkish loan words and phrases. The historical value of this straightforward descriptive poem is greater than its artistic merits. But it reads well, and it is light in tone, peppered with some humor and facetious, trivial, episodes. In the three-volume publication of this history by Vahram Torgomean (1858–1942), the poem takes up only about one fourth of the first volume, the rest of the volume and the second and third parts comprise annotations to the text. Read against the commentaries and background provided by Torgomean, Eremia’s poem brings alive the “Armenian” city of Constantinople of old with its churches, institutions, and famous figures.

Eremia is the author of the first Armenian history of the Ottoman Empire (Patmutiwn hamaɾoτ). It begins with Osman I and concludes in the year 1678 during the reign of Mehmed IV (1648–87). The only extant manuscript was commissioned by Abraham III, Kretatsi (q.v.), Catholicos of Armenia, 1734–37, and was copied by Ҳachko Galipoltsi. The history itself was originally commissioned by Catholicos Yakob IV, Julayetsi, and was completed in the years 1675–78, in the form of a rhymed narrative made up of 1,811 couplets in Classical Armenian contaminated by a good many Turkish words and phrases. It covers four centuries of Ottoman history, with the dates in either Hijri or the Armenian era. For the period down to the accession of Mehmed IV, Eremia drew upon Turkish and Armenian sources; for the last thirty years he relied on himself as a witness and contemporary to current history. Eremia seems to have been familiar with ‘Ashik-Pasha-Zâde’s Tawârıkh-i ʿal-i ʿUthmân, Mehmed Neshrī’s Djihân-nûmâ, Luṭfî Pasha’s Tawârıkh-i ʿal-i ʿUthmân, Kāṭib Čelebî’s Fedhelke, and the work of other historians. In addition, Eremia made use of old as well as seventeenth-century historians (Grigor Daranaltsi, Arâkel Dawrižetsi, q.q.v.), chronicles, colophons, and eyewitness accounts.

Despite his belief in the Omnipotent as the arbiter of human destiny, Eremia interprets historical events in the light of economic, political, and
military factors. To his way of thinking, there were some disconcerting aspects to Ottoman rule: wars, violence, and sacking; destruction or conversion of churches to mosques; instances of forcible apostasy; and corruption and rivalry in the Ottoman Palace and officialdom, with dire consequences for the population. His mood darkens when outlining setbacks suffered by Christendom at the hands of the Ottomans, who were newcomers to the region (e.g. the fall of Constantinople and Candia). Unlike many an Ottoman historian, Eremia does not delight in Ottoman might, nor does he see eye to eye with them. Eremia also includes a great deal of information on the Armenians (especially of Constantinople), the Greeks, and the Jews and their relationship with the central government.

Eremia’s literary work for the most part is in the form of poetry. His longest poem, titled “Vasn ӗkměkĉi ărnawut Timõyi umemn or sireats zaljik mi hřei Mrgatay anun...” (“On the Albanian baker Dimo who fell in love with a Jewish maiden by the name of Mrkada...”), has as its plot a love story, but is in fact a thinly veiled attempt to establish the superiority of Christianity over Judaism. At least one critic has suggested that in view of Eremia’s sympathetic disposition towards Jews in this poem and elsewhere in his works, Islam had been Eremia’s intended target but that he for obvious reasons depreciated the Jewish faith instead. A Turkish version, again by Eremia, and twice as long as the Armenian, was discovered by A. K. Sanjian at the New York Public Library; the title “The Jewish Bride” had been “arbitrarily employed” to identify the text. We learn from the editors of this text (Avedis K. Sanjian and Andreas Tietze) that the story has an anonymous Greek version as well, first published at Venice in 1668.

Eremia composed numerous occasional poems, elegies, and letters. Some of his laments betray the detached and firmly controlled contemplation of a thinking poet. This is not to say that they lack spontaneity altogether (his sincere sorrow is all too evident in poems mourning the death of his parents and the six-year-old daughter of Abro Chelebi, for instance). Entirely different in nature are his two elegies on the death of Catholicos Yakob IV, Julayetsi. This was an occasion for Eremia to take stock of Armenian realities with pain and pessimism, patriotism and pride, but with very little else. Movsês ͵Horenatsi’s famous lament and Nersêš the Great’s curse had both come true, he averred: The original royal (Arsacid) and patriarchal (Grigor Lusaworich) families had disappeared and their successors had been unworthy leaders; the Armenians since the battle of Awarayr in 451 had been vanquished and dispersed. He noted with satisfaction, however, that more recently some saintly figures
had appeared: Catholicos Movses Ta'tewatsi and his successors Pilippos Albaketsi and Yakob Jutayetsi.

A number of encomiums and some thirty letters (six in Turkish) by Eremia are extant. Of his eulogies noteworthy for its anti-Ottoman undertones is his panegyric for John III (Sobieski) of Poland, in which he wishes that the Armenians had been under the protection of this Christian king. Eremia’s letters do not shed much light on his life, either public or personal. To be sure, no billets-doux are to be found among them, but the ones he addressed to Eliazar Aynrapsi are interesting and informative. Astonishing, to say the least, is one particular letter he wrote to Eliazar on the death of Abro Chelebi, their erstwhile protector and benefactor, casting him as a villain of the blackest dye.

Eremia was one of the major figures of his age with many links to the old traditions yet also forward-looking in many ways. His historical writings are of much value. Some of his literary pieces betray affinities with Armenian asulakan literature (minstrelsy), already popular by this time, while others unmistakably attest to the meticulous attention this urban poet paid to the formal aspects of poetry—a trend which continued well into the nineteenth century.

Born c1600 in Julfa, SIMEON JULAYETSI (d. 1657) was as a child among the Armenians who were forcibly resettled in Isfahan by Shah Abbas the Great. He studied under Hachatur Kesaratsi (1590–1646), one of the learned vardapets of the time and founder of the monastic school in New Julfa. The Girk hartsmans of Grigor Ta'tewatsi Simēon copied in 1623 had a notable influence on his thought. His interest in learning was to receive impetus from unlikely quarters in Poland, where he had gone in 1629 in the company of his teacher, Hachatur Kesaratsi. Here, in encounters and disputes with Catholics, both pupil and professor were badly bruised in matters grammatical. Determined to do something about the flaws in their education, they (and Oskan Erewantsi) sat in on lectures by Melk'išet Vžanetsi, who had replaced his teacher, Nersēs Mokatsi (q.v.), as the leading authority on “artakin” (i.e. non-religious, profane) sciences. It was a brief course, as death overtook Vžanetsi at the end of 1631, but Simēon carried on through disciplined self-instruction and soon made a name for himself as the expert on the subject. Simēon taught at New Julfa and assisted Hachatur Kesaratsi in his efforts to establish what was to be the first printing press in Iran. By the request of Catholicos Pilippos Albaketsi, Simēon was teaching at Yovhannavank by the early 1640s, and then at Ejmiatzin a little later, attracting a number of serious students, such as Arak'el Dawrižetsi (q.v.) and others.
As he taught, Simēon felt the need for some practical materials. He first wrote his grammar of Armenian in a clear and concise fashion, making an effort to rid it of the artificial patterns of Latin. The favorable reaction of some contemporaries and the abundance of extant manuscript copies of the work lead one to conclude that it was a fairly well-known and extensively used grammar. Similarly well received was his textbook on logic, Girk tramabanutean, written c1650, which he said was based on Aristotle’s work. Pałtasar Dpir (q.v.) published it in Constantinople in 1728 with his own comments on its sources (there are textual differences between this and the 1794 edition). Simēon also has an unpublished commentary on Šalkapk astuatzabanakank (Elements of Theology) of Proclus (“Diadochus”), a fifth-century Neoplatonist philosopher. H. Mirzoyan, the author of a monograph on Simēon, offers a comprehensive analysis of Simēon’s philosophical views and talks at some length of the Georgian translations of this as well as his other two works, maintaining that they left their mark on Georgian thought.

Another eminent representative of the New Julfa school was YOVHANNES JULAYETSI (1643–1715, nicknamed Mrkuz, also Mrguz, i.e., “worthless”), a scholar and theologian who studied under Bishop Dawit, father-superior of the Armenian monastery in New Julfa. Yovhannēs persistently declined ecclesiastical preferment offered by his former school fellow, Catholicsos Aleksandr I, Julayetsi (q.v.). But he was not as popular with some of his “envious” fellow monks who burnt a number of his manuscripts and whose hostility forced him to abandon his monastic cell. The historian Hachatur Julayetsi (q.v.) in his history of Persia devotes sixty-five pages to Yovhannēs’s work, extant and non-extant. We learn from him that Yovhannēs held theological discussions with Shah Sulaiman (Safi II, 1666–94) and Shah Sultan Husain (1694–1722), and that the respect he commanded at the Safavid Court enabled him to spare his fellow countrymen forced conversion. His skills in horology and painting (some of the paintings attributed to him have survived) must have also been appreciated by the rulers of Iran. He was fluent in Persian and Arabic (which he studied in “Arabia”) and translated the New Testament into both languages (so says Mesrop Taliadean, q.v., in the periodical Azgasēr, Calcutta, 1845/12, 94, adding that the manuscript of this translation into Persian in Armenian characters was given to the Bishop’s College in Calcutta).

Julayetsi’s Hamaṟōt kerakanutian is a very brief treatise on logic and the grammar of Classical Armenian. His Girk hamaṟōt vasn iskapēs . . . is an apologetic work on the orthodoxy of the Church of Armenia.
as well as an attack on Chalcedon and the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. His *Girk patmutean* is essentially a summary of the theological discussions he conducted with the shahs and Muslim theologians, which promotes and elaborates the biblical tradition and Christian tenets.

We again learn from Mesrop Taliadean (*Azgasêr*, 1845/12, 94) that the original manuscript was in both Armenian and Persian and that it too was given to the Bishop’s College in Calcutta. The published text of his major work *Srbaznagortzuriwn*, dealing with the sacrament of communion as interpreted by the Church of Armenia, represents less than half the original manuscript.

**ALEKSANDR I, JUŁAYETSI** (d. 1714) was a childhood friend, fellow student, and a brother in Christ of Yovhannes Jułayetsi (q.v.), whose anti-Catholic zeal he also shared. When Aleksandr ascended the throne in Ejmiatzin (late 1706), the conflict between the Armenians on the one hand and the Armenian Catholics, the Catholic missionaries, and the French ambassador on the other had been raging intensely. Patriarch Awetik Ewdokatsi of Constantinople had reportedly been banished to Mont Saint Michel and thence to the Bastille. The Armenians of Constantinople wrote to Aleksandr requesting that he write to the Pope to demand the release of Awetik, that he appoint Yovhannës vardapet Zmiwmatsi as Patriarch of Constantinople, and that he excommunicate a number of Armenian Catholics and sympathizers whose names they appended to their letter. Aleksandr wasted no time. He immediately dispatched Yovhannës and wrote to both the Pope and the grand vizier, Çorlulu Ali Pasha (1706–10). The latter acted promptly, had a dozen or so suspects arrested, tried, and sentenced to death. All but Komitas Këomiwrçean, brother of Eremia Këomiwrçean (q.v.), turned apostates and saved their lives. As mentioned earlier, Komitas was decapitated in October, 1707.

Aleksandr wrote to Pope Clement XI to protest the inimical activities of Catholic missionaries, who labeled the Armenians as “schismatic” and “heretics.” Contrasting the benevolence of Muslims (especially those of Persia) to the unrelenting antagonism of the Catholic missionaries, Aleksandr demanded, in a conciliatory spirit, that an end be put to the trials and tribulations of his flock at the hands of the Pope’s subordinates. But Aleksandr wrote a second letter to the Pope (cf. Tër Yovhaneants, Y., *Patmutiwn Nor Jułayu or yAspahan*, ii; and Galêmkearean, G., *Kensagruiwnner erku patriarkneru* . . . , Vienna, 1915). Apart from the conclusions, the differences between the two texts are negligible. The former corresponds more or less to what has already been outlined. The second concludes with an interesting paragraph regarding Israyël Öri
Alek'sandr informs the Pope that his envoy, Israyēl Īrī, has arrived in Ejmiatzin, that he is rewriting his earlier letter in the hope of deriving solace in these troubled times, and that Israyēl Īrī will personally convey to the Pope many of Alek'sandr’s confidential thoughts. It has been suggested that Alek'sandr may have written the second letter at the urging of Israyēl Īrī, who was acting as a papal envoy to Persia and was anxious to promote peace and harmony between the Armenians and Rome to secure success for his plans for the liberation of Armenia.

Alek'sandr had much earlier assailed Roman Catholicism in his Girk or koči atenakan vičabanutīwn. In it, he elaborates on the three Councils (Nicaea, Constantinople I, and Ephesus) recognized by the Church of Armenia and launches a fierce attack on Chalcedon, the Council that “destroyed the world” (ašharhakortzan). He then defends the Christological position of the Church of Armenia and challenges the supremacy of Rome. His Grkoyk or koči alōtamatoyt is a collection of prayers to be said at mass and during various times of the day, with explanations of the officiating priest’s vestment and the symbolism and mystery of mass.

**STEPANOS DAŞTETSI** (17th–18th c.) was an articulate opponent of both Yovhannēs and Alek'sandr Julayetsi, but his polemical works against theirs are still in manuscript form. He was the son of a priest, but it is not known when or under what circumstances this audacious and venturesome merchant, who roamed half the globe from India to Holland, defected to Catholicism and became its ardent propagator and defender of “the nation of the Franks.” He could conceivably have done so while studying at Rome.

Daştetsi has also written poems in a satirical vein. He has particularly harsh words for the pugnacious bigwigs of New Julfa, who honor the “mullas” but dishonor the “patri,” and who are notorious for their bad and disorderly conduct, hypocrisy, and corruption. His anti-Armenian invective includes the vardapets, who to him are ignorant and preach and teach things they know nothing about. He has caustic remarks for the speakers of the dialect of Julfa, who consider themselves and their dialect superior to all other dialects and their speakers. In his bitter criticism of a renegade it is not possible to say whether the apostate abandoned Catholicism for another Christian denomination or for Islam. He is outraged by his treatment at a prison in Livorno but we do not know exactly how he ended up there.

Daştetsi’s moral poems, most of which he wrote in tajnīs (pun, “paronomasia”), are far less impressive. His good and flexible command
of Classical Armenian is still evident, and his style (he also wrote in the New Julfa dialect) on the whole contains much useful linguistic information of historical value. But a number of his poems lack emotional depth and display a touch of pedantry and impenetrable obscurities and allusions. Some of his poems do not match the mold of his mind or style, leading one to question their authorship and underscoring the need for a closer examination of his somewhat enigmatic personality and work.

Historiography is revived with vigor in the seventeenth century, responding to and promoting a sense of national awareness. **Grigor Daranaltsi** or **Kamahtsi** (1576–1643), a native of Daranalik (southeast of Sebaste), studied under a hermit by the name of Paron in the Sepuh mountains and at the monastery of Salmosavank (north of Aštarak, Armenia), where he met bishop Sargis Parontër (also Salmosavanetsi or Amberdtsi), one of the founders of the Siwnets Metz anapat. He was created vardapet soon after copying the History of Kirakos Gandzaketsi and made his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem via Egypt in 1604 (he made a second trip in 1616, a third in 1625). There he again met bishop Sargis Parontër and Kirakos Pontatsi (or Trapizontsi), and all three (and some others) agreed to return to Armenia and establish an hermitage. While Sargis and Kirakos left for Siwnii, Grigor hastened to Constantinople to help his half-sister and her daughter. Here he met Grigor Kesaratsi, the patriarch of Constantinople, but the two became lifelong enemies. This certainly accounted for Daranaltsi’s hostile view of Kesaratsi, who is otherwise recognized as an able and learned vardapet with a long record of unrelenting anti-Catholic labor.

One reason for this inimical relationship was the issue of refugees fleeing the Jelali ravages. Daranaltsi claimed that they had been treated rather poorly by Kesaratsi. His supporters managed to obtain an Ottoman berat proclaiming Daranaltsi as the religious head of all Armenians from Erzerum residing in Constantinople (1607–09). Daranaltsi was intimately involved in the subsequent rivalries over the patriarchal throne, collaborating with two other contenders, Yovhannēs Hul (patriarch for four terms: 1600–01, 1610–11, 1621–23, and 1631 to his death in 1636) and Zakaria Vanetsi (patriarch for two terms: 1626–31 and 1636–39), despite his intolerance for their pro-Catholic views. When an Ottoman edict forced the Armenians to return home, Daranaltsi led a group of seven thousand refugees to their ancestral homes in Marzuan (Merzifon), Kamah (Kemah), etc. In about 1609, Daranaltsi became the prelate of Rodosto (Tekirdağ) and remained in office presumably to his death in 1643; very little is known of him after 1628.
Drawn into the vortex of national affairs, Daranaltsi was in a perfect position to observe the contemporary scene. His work is, in fact, a detailed chronology that he started recording in 1634 and completed in Rodosto in 1640. The first part, covering the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries, is a compilation of little value. The second part is the account of a passionate and partisan observer, who often finds himself in the thick of the action he describes; the work is a diary in many ways. It is a panorama of national-ecclesiastical history embracing the Ottoman Empire from Rodosto to its easternmost provinces and is set against a background of the history of the empire itself. It is a mine of information on religious leadership and centers (Ejmiatzin, Constantinople, and Jerusalem); on demographic changes, the era being marked by instances of forcible resettlement of Armenians; on the founding of the Siwneats Metz anapat; on the martyrdom of three Armenians; and on profiles of celebrated vardapets such as Matalia Derjantsi, Srapion Urhayetsi (or Edesatsi), Nersès Hetewak (or Hetiotn, or Gnuetsi, or Amketsi), Siméon Aparanetsi (q.v.), Barsel Bališetsi, Azaria Sasnetsi (q.v.), and many other figures and events that shook and shaped Armenian realities. He wrote in a corrupt mixture of Middle and Classical Armenian, teeming with loan words and dialectal forms. But his testimony, with his belief in miracles left to the discretion of the reader, is on the whole trustworthy, and it is one of the earliest texts heralding a spiritual revival, a renewed interest in learning, and a greater awareness of national identity.

Such aspirations and concerns are more forcefully embodied in the Histories of ARAKEL DAWRIZETS (d. 1670), arguably the most important historian of the age. It was commissioned in 1651 by Catholicos Plippos I, Albaketsi (1632–55), on whose death Dawrziţetsi interrupted his work, only to resume in 1658 at the urging of Catholicos Yakob IV, Julayetsi (1655–80), bringing it to a successful conclusion in 1662. Oskan Erewantsi (1614–74), a celebrated cultural figure and the first publisher of the Armenian Bible (1666–68), printed Dawrziţetsi’s manuscript in 1669 in Amsterdam, making him the first Armenian author ever to see his work in print (although Örmanean, Azgapatum, ii, 1527, gives the distinction to Yovhannes Tulkurantsi, whose many poems appeared in the Talaran printed by Yakob Melapart).

Dawrziţetsi’s work covers a period of sixty years (1602–62), but it is not a closely knit narrative. Rather, it is a compilation made up of fifty-seven chapters, some of which were written by different hands at different times. So it lacks internal unity; its general framework is one of time and scope only. Nor is it free of tautology. He wrote it in Classical
Armenian, but many elements of Middle or Cilician Armenian crept into his account. As for textual accuracy, some have maintained that Oskan may only have had a preliminary version of Dawrižetsi’s *Histories* at his disposal. Not to put too fine a point on it, but he seems to have made some arbitrary changes such as omitting certain sections; conflating or rephrasing others; making stylistic changes so as to bring Dawrižetsi’s style into conformity with Classical Armenian but in fact Latinizing it instead; and, last but not least, by adding to the original manuscript two chapters penned by him, an autobiography and a philosophical piece. A long-overdue critical text appeared in Erevan in 1990.

A genuine desire to revive and disseminate learning and an inspired patriotism and uncompromising loyalty to the Church of Armenia (the Catholic Church moved swiftly to suppress the dissemination of his book) permeate Dawrižetsi’s *Histories*, which mirror almost all contemporary principal events: the Jelali nightmare, the ordeal of the Armenian community of Poland with Nikol Tbrosovidi as a central hero, corruption and decline in Ejmiatzin under Catholicos Melkisedek, the forcible resettlement of the Armenians in Iran by Shah Abbas I and its aftermath, the founding and history of famous monastic schools such as Amrdol (or Amlordi) in Bales and Siweats Metz anapat in Siwnik, biographical sketches of the learned *vardapets* of the time (e.g. Simēon Julayetsi, q.v., Melkiset Vžanetsi, Stepanos Lehatsi), numerous martyrdoms (including that of Andréas Aguletsi, also mourned by Nersēs Mokatsi, q.v.), four chapters dealing with contemporary Georgian history, a chapter on the Jews of Isfahan and their forced conversion to Islam, another chapter on Shabbetai Zevi, and so on. Dawrižetsi was a devout Christian who believed in and reported miracles. His history, based on the accounts of his contemporaries and detailed colophons, has proved to be reliable.

**Simēon Lehatsi** (b. c1584–?), also known as *Zamosatsi*, was a cheerful traveler who at once indulged his curiosity and provided practical information for pilgrims. From an early age, he says, he had a desire to tour “foreign and unknown regions” and go on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, and Muš, where the monastery of Surb Karapet (saint or holy forerunner, i.e. St. John the Baptist) had been a most venerated place of pilgrimage. In 1608 he left Lwow for Constantinople, where he spent a year and a half visiting Armenian refugees along the shores of the Marmara and the Aegean. For six months he was hosted by Patriarch Grigor Kesaratsi (of whom he speaks very highly), during which time he met the famous *vardapet* and future Catholicos Movses III, Tatewatsi (1629–32) and Azaria Sasnetsi (q.v.), for whom he copied
the *Datastanagîrk* of Mḥitʿar Goš. In 1611 he left for Rome with Zakʿaria Vanetsi, a contender for the patriarchal throne and future ally of Grigor Daranaftsî (q.v.). After a two-month stop in Venice, he continued on to Rome via Ancona and was received by Pope Paul V. After nine months in Rome, he returned to Venice (1612), whence he went on to Smyrna and to the monastery of Surb Karapet via Brusa, Marzuan, Amasia, Tokat, Sebaste, Malatia, Harput, and Muš. He then spent a year in Constantinople copying manuscripts to raise money for his trip to Jerusalem, where he arrived in 1615 via Alexandria, Cairo, and Gaza. In 1616 he took the overland route back, arriving in Constantinople in 1618 (via Aleppo, Marash, Frnuz, Zeitun, Kayseri, Engûrû, Konia, Sivrihisar, Karahisar, and Izmit). Two months later he returned to Lvov, married in 1620, and moved back to Zamostsa (Zamosc, Poland), his birthplace, where he was met with open and rather nasty hostility and was told that by playing truant he had forfeited his right to become the local priest. In 1624 he took up a teaching position in Lvov. It is now believed that he made a second trip to the Middle East in the years 1632–36, but nothing at all is known of him after 1636.

Simēon is not the first Armenian author to write of foreign lands, but his account is the most detailed on both the countries he visited and the Armenians they hosted, and it is written in a reasonably lively, if somewhat poor, blend of Middle and Classical Armenian. He is a naive observer and faithful recorder who complements the work of historians by describing peoples, places, lifestyles, and traditions. For the benefit of pilgrims he provides distances, outlines holy places and traditions associated with them, and describes the main buildings and whatever else that catches his eye. He has detailed descriptions of Constantinople, Venice, Rome, Cairo, Jerusalem, Lvov, and some other cities. One encounters rare and intriguing information, for instance, on the two-hundred Armenian families who fled the Jelalis and settled in Cairo, on the few Jewish families in Tokat who spoke Armenian, and on the “Arewordîk” near Merdin. One also comes across visions and miracles. Simēon was a believer whose elation upon crossing the Ottoman borders over to Europe (Christendom!) and realization that he is beyond the grip of the hated “ḥondkar” (the sultan) is memorable for more reasons than one.

**HACHATÜR or HACĞRûZ KAFAYETSÎ’**’s (c1592–1659?) chronicle records historical, social, and religious events as well as natural disasters in Crimea in the years 1608–58. In addition, it sheds light on the succession and conflicts of khans among themselves and with neighboring regions, with occasional references to the Ottomans, and comments more
extensively on local economic issues, politics, and Armenian realities. Three simple, even simplistic, but sincere poems are attributed to him, dealing with the vanity of life and salvation. He is credited with handing down to posterity some twenty Armenian songs that he had been taught as a boy, which seems to be the first collection ever of such songs.

**YOVHANNES KAMENATSI**’s (16th–17th c.) history (**Patmutiwn pat-erazmin Hotinu**) focuses on a single event, the Polish-Ottoman war in Hotin (now in Ukraine). It is made up of eighteen chapters depicting the war from its beginning to the armistice and to the strangling of Osman II in Constantinople in 1622. The history, written six years after the war, is a significant complement to similar Polish and Turkish materials. Although an eyewitness to certain stages of the conflict, Kamenatsi gathered some of his information from firsthand sources and based the larger part of it on the account of Ōk’sent, an eyewitness to the war, whose chronology in Armeno-Kipchak covers the years 1611–21 (cf. Ł. Ališan, *Kamenits*, pp. 68–112). Tēr Yakob, brother of Ōk’sent, compiled the initial years of this chronology.

**YAKOB KARNETSI** (1618–?), the son of a priest and himself a priest, is the author of a topography of “Upper” Armenia (**Telagir Verin Hayots**), which largely concerns the province of Erzerum. In the 1903 edition of the text, Karapet Kostaneants (1853–1920), the owner and publisher of the now non-extant manuscript, left out certain “repetitious” material. The text published by V. Hakobyan in *Manr żamanakagrutyunner* (Minor chronicles) differs considerably from this and other manuscripts. Although a topography, the work, written in 1668, also deals with many geographical, economic, political (Perso-Ottoman wars, Ottoman internal policy), and ethnographic issues, and contains accounts of Armenian churches in the region with traditional stories of their founding. The author wrote with verve in simple, tolerable Classical Armenian. He used and acknowledged works by Movses Horenatsi, Nersēs Šnorhali, etc., but also benefited from Agaťangelos, Pawstos Buzand (*The Epic Histories*, as rendered by N. Garsoian), and others.

As part of this same text, K. Kostaneants also published the story of twelve Turks who broke into an Armenian church in Karin (Erzerum) and stole precious utensils. The pasha hunted them down and had them so severely punished that all twelve died.

Yakob is the author of two more pieces: a chronology (1482–1672), with the years 1627–1672 authentically mirroring Ottoman and local Armenian realities; and a short biography of his father, Gēorg, for purposes of edification.
A reflection of Armenian mercantile activities at this time is ZAKA-
RIA AGULETSI’s (1630–91?) Öragrutwun, i.e. diary, covering the years
1664–91. Zakaria was a native of Agulis (Nahijewan), a merchant who
traveled widely in the Ottoman Empire and Iran and made a trip to western
Europe that took him to Italy, Holland, and Spain. His diary, in dialectal
Eastern Armenian, is made up of three parts: the first gives geographical
distances in units of “mil” and “alaj”; the third is a history of his own
family, the K’rdunts; and the second, the main body of the text, is a record
of business transactions, economic realities, pilgrimages, renovation of
churches, local religious leaders, and his birthplace and its immediate
vicinity. The Erevan edition of this work was prepared and annotated
by T. Avdalbegyan (1885–1937), but was published anonymously in
1938, by which time Avdalbegyan had already been eliminated during
the Stalinist purges.

ZAKAR'IA SARKAWAG K'ANAK'ERTSI’s (1627–c1699) History in
three parts in some ways reminds one of Arakel Dawriżetsi (q.v.), whose
person and work Zakaria respected and benefited from. But Dawrižetsi
had a critical-analytical approach and a distinct ability to organize his
material. Not so in Zakaria’s case. His History, also based on oral sources,
has many merits indeed, but the material is disorganized and unsifted. He
conveys to the reader every bit of hearsay he has heard from the fantastic to
the puerile. He even has a chapter of witty entertainment for the intellect.

The first part is an interesting repository of Persian traditional stories
on some shahs, such as Abbas I. The second contains important historical
information on some people and events contemporary to Zakaria: the
capture of Erevan by Murad IV in 1635 and its recapture by the Persians
in less than a year; the three bishops who ascended the patriarchal throne
in Ejmiatzin, Pilippos I, Albaketsi, (1632–55), Yakob IV, Julayetsi, (1655–
80), and Nahapet I, Edesafsi, (1691–1705); numerous martyrdoms, etc.
The third part is the history of the founding of Yovhannavank (which he
traces back to Grigor Lusaworich), the premises of the complex, inscrip-
tions, and a list of fathers-superior and prelates. The aforementioned are
some of the most valuable parts of Zakaria’s work.

MINAS AMDETSI (also AMPETSI, HAMDETSI, c1630–1704) was the
Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem for about ten years (with interrup-
tions) and died in office in 1704. He traveled widely in western and
eastern Armenia and managed to publish Grigor Narekatsi’s Matean
olbergeutean and homilies, to copy Samuël Anetsi’s chronicle and Mḥtār
Goš’s Datastanagirk, and to write two works of historical nature. His
Azgabanutiwn... Hayots... (a genealogy of Armenian kings) is an
insignificant compilation of lists of Armenian rulers (Arsacids, Bagratunis, Rubenids, based on Movses Horenatsi for the earlier period) and emperors (Roman, Byzantine, etc.) with some brief commentaries. His more important work, "Oragrutiwn" (Diary), is unpublished (a very brief outline is to be found in M. Nšanean’s Öragrutıwn Eremites chelēpi Kēomiwrēeani . . ., Jerusalem, 1939). This manuscript was written at various places (Jerusalem, Constantinople, Ejmiatzin, Tokat, Erzerum, Aleppo, etc.) and contains brief but valuable autobiographical and topographical references as well as information on contemporary Armenian realities.
An Overview of the Armenian Realities of the Age

The appeal for help made to the papacy, initiated by Catholicos Stepanos V, Salmastetsi, emulated by Mikayel I, Sebastatsi and subsequently taken up by Yakob IV, Julayetsi in the seventeenth century, is now carried on by laymen too. Among Yakob IV Julayetsi’s companions headed for Europe via Constantinople was a young man by the name of Israyel Ori (1659–1711). When Yakob died in Constantinople in 1680, his delegation returned home, with the exception of Ori, who left for Europe to pursue the dream of liberating Armenia. In Dusseldorf he first approached Johann Wilhelm of the Palatinate, and the idea of involving the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the Pope was entertained. Ori then turned to Peter the Great for similar assistance, since the would-be liberators of Armenia would have hastened to the Perso-Ottoman border via Poland, Russia, and the Caucasus. None of Ori’s fantastic plans materialized.

In the mid-1720s there was a short-lived uprising to clear Siwnik (in the southeastern part of modern Armenia) from Persians and Ottoman Turks. The defiant elements were led by an Armenian professional soldier, Dawit Bek (d. c.1728), from the ranks of the Georgian military, and Mhitar Sparapet (d. 1727), who, with considerable help from the Armenians of Artsah (Karabagh) and inspired by the Russian advance into Darband, initiated a series of successful military operations against the Persians and the invading Ottomans. An account of this rebellion is found in Patmutiwn laptantswots . . . (q.v.). This early episode of armed struggle in modern Armenian history inspired the historical novel Davit Bek, by Raffi (q.v.); an opera, Davit Bek, by Armen Tigranyan (1879–1950); and another historical novel, Mhitar Sparapet, by Sero Hanzadyan (q.v.). Movses Arazi wrote an eponymous novel based on Israyel Ori’s political orientation and plans.
Israyêl Öri’s vision inspired Yovsêp Émin (i.e., Joseph Emin, 1726–1809), who initially pinned his hope on Great Britain, but like Öri appealed to Russia for military assistance when the British showed no enthusiasm for his patriotic schemes. The Russians proved to be as indifferent as the British. Émin then tried to organize armed resistance in various Armenian regions from Artsah to Muş and to forge an alliance with the Georgians, but neither plan generated any practical external support. Émin’s autobiography in English details his activities.

At some point in the early 1770s, Émin established contact with the Armenians of Madras and found them to be receptive to his political and patriotic ideas. This as well as other Armenian communities in India had seen an influx of Armenians leaving an increasingly intolerant Persia towards the end of the seventeenth century. A printing press was established in 1772, and a priest by the name of Yarutïwn Šmawonean (1750–1824) published the first Armenian periodical, _Azdarar_ (1794—96), and a number of books. As British trade gradually dislodged Armenian merchants from their powerful positions in the Indian trade, the support and protection a homeland, an empire, and a mighty fleet extended to its citizens became glaringly apparent to the Armenians. Inspired by patriotism, by economic realities and interests, and by Émin, a group of Armenians took a closer and collective interest in politics.

The revival of Armenian statehood was contemplated and made public in two books. _Nor tetrak or kochi yordorak_, of uncertain authorship (Yakob Šahamirean and Movsês Balramean have been suggested), outlines a history of Armenia and probes into the causes that led to its downfall. It is also, as its title proclaims, an exhortation for young Armenians to shake off apathy and lassitude and to liberate their country. (The Madras group envisaged the active participation of the Armenian _meliks_ of Artsah, the alliance of the Georgians, and the assistance of the Russians with the blessing of Ejmiatzin to bring about the restoration of Armenia. But Catholicos Sîmeon Erewantsi (q.v.), a conservative and circumspect monk loyal to established authority, repudiated the book, called for making a bonfire of its copies, and severely reprimanded its authors). This call for struggle was complemented by a book titled _Girk anuaneal orogayt parcelts_ (The snare of glory) and published in the late 1780s, and not in 1773, as the title page indicates. Inspired by the French Enlightenment, it projects a detailed political, legislative, and judiciary system for the future independent republic of Armenia.

In view of the geographical proximity of Russia, a Christian power, and its expansion and wars with the Ottoman Empire, a Russophile orientation inspired the Armenians with some hope, despite the strong
disinclination of the Russians to act in any manner other than that dic-
tated by their own interests. Russia’s pretension to being the guardian
of Christians in the Ottoman Empire boosted such hopes. A plan for
the liberation of Armenia (that of Movses Sarafian, a merchant, whose
project called for the restoration of Armenia through Russo-Georgian-
Armenian military action against the Ottoman Empire and Iran) was
submitted to the Russians in 1769, and a plan for the revival of the
Armenian monarchy under Russian patronage was promoted by Arch-
bishop YOVSËP ARLEUTEAN (1743–1801) in 1783. The Archbishop was
well placed to keep Ori’s and Emin’s dream alive by virtue of his close
connections to the imperial family and the religious positions he held
in Russia. (His eminence was instrumental in the founding in 1780 of
the Armenian town of Nor Nahijewan, next to Rostov na Donu, for
the Armenians emigrating from Crimea, and the founding in 1792 in
Moldova of the town of Grigoriopol(is) for Armenian refugees from
Moldova and Bessarabia). Both Count Grigory Potyomkin and Count
Alexander Suvorov were involved in these plans. Such efforts, despite the
fact that they bore no immediate fruit, continued and intensified as many
Armenians looked to the northern giant with anticipation as it inched its
way south to Transcaucasia.

But the absolute majority of the Armenians were still under Persian
and Ottoman domination. If in the upper echelons of Armenian leadership
in Russia, India, and to some extent Persia, pro-Russian sentiments had
been in the ascendent, such was decidedly not the case with the western
Armenians, who were subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The deadly Perso-
Ottoman wars, political animosity between the two empires, political
expedience and circumspection, Ottoman internal policy, and a number
of other factors restricted the overall authority of Ejmiatzin and propelled
the Patriarchate of Constantinople into a position of preeminence in
the Ottoman Empire. Its standing gained in power and prestige in the
eighteenth century, especially under Patriarch YOVHANNÈS BAIŠETSI
KOLOT (1715–41). He was still a vardapet and only thirty-seven years
old when he was coaxed into accepting the position.

Kolot brought stability and added luster and dignity to the Patri-
archate. He was instrumental in the election of a fellow monk, Bishop
GRIGOR SHIRUANȚIȘ ŠLTAYAKIR (i.e., the “Chainbearer”), as Patriarch of
Jerusalem (1717–49), who similarly established peace and prosperity in
his insolvent see, vexed by a multitude of problems. Kolot was tactful in
his dealings with the Catholics and a period of relative restraint character-
ized Armenian-Catholic relations in Constantinople after the stormy years
of Patriarch Awetik Ewdokatsi. Both Yovhannës and Grigor had studied
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at the feet of the celebrated Vardan Bališetsi vardapet at Amrdol in Baleš (Bitlis). Kolot left his imprint on the history of Armenian letters at this juncture, and his cultural activities ushered in an era of educational and intellectual renewal. In practical terms he sponsored numerous publications, the translation of many books (mainly from Latin), and personally collected and commissioned the copying of manuscripts. He also set up a school and a library at the Armenian church at Kumkapu and saw to it that worthy disciples carried on the torch. Indeed, his administrative abilities and cultural initiatives consolidated Constantinople as the major Armenian center in the Ottoman Empire.

Far more organized and far greater in impact in the cultural realm were the efforts of MHIṬAR SEBASTATSI, a contemporary of Kolot. Mhitar founded a Catholic order (Mhitarist Miabantw) in Constantinople, which later (1717) moved to the islet of St. Lazarus in Venice and has since, with its split-branch in Vienna (1811), made invaluable contributions to Armenian culture. Mhitar's vision was to bring about a religious and cultural revival among the Armenians, which he and his followers set out to accomplish through periodicals, printing, translations, a network of schools, and painstaking research into Armenian language, literature, and history. At the same time they channeled Western thought and progress into Armenia. So thorough was their influence that it went beyond Mhitar's original scope and control and constituted one of the main factors that stimulated change and progress in Armenian realities in the eighteenth and, particularly, the nineteenth centuries.

Mhitar's enterprise and abilities are too great to be judged by what he committed to writing. Teaching and attending to his congregation left him with little time for creative compositions. Yet he managed to write twenty or so books. The overwhelming majority is of religious-moral nature (hymns, prayers, commentaries, etc.), and a high value is still attached to his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. He has grammars of Classical and Modern Armenian, the latter being the first attempt to describe (in Turkish) the structure of Modern Armenian in its rudimentary stages. Mhitar took the lead in the field of Armenian lexicography as well; his dictionary of the Armenian language, Bargirk haykazean lezui (surpassed by another monumental Mekhitarist accomplishment, the NBHL, i.e. Nor bargirk haykazean lezui, Venice, 1836–37), is the first scientifically compiled Armenian dictionary.

Mhitar's movement helped bring the thorny and ultimately divisive issue of national identity into sharper focus. The distinction he made between his national and religious allegiances was irrelevant and unacceptable to most Armenians, for whom national and religious issues
formed an inseparable fusion, symbolized by their non-evangelistic na­
tional church. Any threat to her unity was a threat to the unity of the
Armenian people, especially since a subject’s identity or status in the
Ottoman Empire was determined by his religious affiliation rather than
ethnic-national background. Dispersion and the lack of a political focus
had further reinforced the Church’s position as the only national institu­
tion, as yet irreplaceable. Not surprisingly, therefore, friction and outright
hostility between the Armenian Church on the one hand, and the Catholic
missionaries and the French embassy on the other, continued unabated
throughout the century, giving rise to a number of polemical works.

Armenian cultural relations were not confined to the West alone. A
telling indication of interaction between Armenian and Islamic cultures
was the birth of a new genre, that of the *ašulakan* poetry (minstrelsy).
The word *ašul* derived from the Arabic ‘āšiq (lover), and despite the
limitation implied by the word, it denoted an itinerant poet-musician
who sang in public on a very broad range of themes. The genre, common
in Middle Eastern (including Transcaucasian) literatures, initially arose
under Islamic-Persian impact, with the first *ašuls* emanating from Nor
Julay. The extent of such Islamic influences and the elements of Armenian
popular poetry that shaped the tradition have been studied neither ade­
quately nor dispassionately. It was by no means uncommon for Armenian
*ašuls* to write in non-Armenian languages, especially Turkish. Sayeat-
Nůvay (q.v.), in whose work the art attained its finest expression, wrote
in Armenian, Georgian, and in what in more recent times has been called
Azeri-Turkish. The *ašuls* employed local dialects, teeming with Persian,
Turkish, and Arabic loan words. But Jiwani (q.v.), who is recognized
as the founder of the “national school” of minstrelsy, used the written
standard. In the second half of the twentieth century, the appellation *ašul*
was discarded; the old Armenian *gusan*, by which Armenian minstrels
were known in olden times (and which despite some fanciful etymologies
is almost certainly an Iranian loan) was revived.

In matters intellectual and literary, certain trends emerge more
clearly in the eighteenth century. The Mekhitarists channel Western
thought methodically and in various forms, such as by way of encyclo­
pedic compilations and books for practical purposes, the use of Western
sources and methodology, and translations, literary and otherwise, never
neglecting the fundamentally religious and educational essence of their
mission. Unlike the western Armenian communities, political aspirations
dominate the thoughts and activities of a number of prominent Armenians
and ecclesiastic leaders in Transcaucasia and Russia, as well as India. The
*ašulakan* genre reigns supreme. In western Anatolia, Armenian poets pay
a greater attention to form within the confines of traditional verse. They are still unaffected by European trends, but in general take a much closer look at Europe. The publication in Armeno-Turkish of some books of essential national significance (religious and historical) and the writing of verse in Turkish clearly indicate the gradual rise of a Turkish-speaking stratum in Armenian communities well to the west of Erzurum. As the Armenian Patriarchate in the Ottoman capital consolidated its power, it acquired the semblance of a central national authority for the western Armenians. A reformist catholicos will a little later in the century add luster to Ejmiatzin. The latter’s spiritual supremacy would not be challenged, but rivalry between the two seats would continue unabated. Perhaps most important of all, M. Chamchean’s lavishly embellished history of Armenia would completely recover an idealized past. It would have a tremendous impact generating romantic visions and expectations. Such sentiments would, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, be heightened by the publication of the works of early Armenian historians.

A Survey of the Literature of the Age

Nothing is known of SARGIS APUCHEHTSI’s (17th–18th c.) life save that he was from the village of Apucheh near Akn (Eğin, now Kemaliye, Turkey). He is believed to have flourished in the first half of the eighteenth century. His poems sing of nature and love and elaborate on some religious themes (the Virgin, Jesus Christ, and John the Baptist). Like all his other verse, his compositions treating the latter theme are subdued in tone, sparing of words, but sincere in belief and expression. Similarly gentle is his voice in his descriptive songs dedicated to the awakening of nature in spring with the splendor of its colors and flora. But nature is a distant world and no threads seem to link him to it. Much closer to the real world are his words of affection for a woman who seems to have caused him a great deal of tribulation and doubt. Unlike Yovnat’an Naš (q.v.), he sings not of the joys of love, which must have remained a dream, but of its indispensability for mutual happiness, as illustrated in his poem fashioned in the traditional pattern of the rose and the nightingale.

Yovhannes Kametsi (q.v.) knew GRIGOR ŌŠAKANTSİ (c1756–98) personally and sketched his biography (still in manuscript form) with some help from the elderly members of the Ejmiatzin congregation. From an early age, Grigor was sent to Ejmiatzin, where Catholicos Simēon Erewantsi (q.v.) ordained him a celibate priest, and Catholicos Lukas Karnetsi (1722–99) a bishop. He was sent as nuncio (“nuirak”
in Armenian) to several Armenian communities including that of Karin (Erzurum), where a plague claimed the life of his brother and later, his own. An able preacher, Grigor enjoyed respect for his immaculate character, modesty, and devotion to his flock. Grigor has left a number of poems and inscriptions at various churches and monasteries, all of which have been collected in a single manuscript.

Grigor’s twenty or so inscriptions are of some social and historical value. Quite a few of his poems are commonplace, with acrostic patterns and lyrics composed to certain popular tunes doing most of the damage to his art. But he has a number of poems, such as those dedicated to Grigor Lusaworich, Christ and the Virgin, and friends since separated from him, which memorably reveal his poetic gift. Equally enjoyable are his poems on the four seasons, particularly those on the summer and autumn, which capture the colors of nature with a spirited subtlety and a touch of melancholy. His poem on the summer in a way anticipates Daniël Varužan’s (q.v.) Hatsin ergē with its grasp and glimpses of life in the countryside. Grigor is among the earliest Armenian poets to sing of Mount Ararat as the resting place of Noah’s Ark (in his poem on winter).

Paltasar Dpir (c1683–c1768) is among the last poets of the native tradition whose work is untouched by Western concepts that were then slowly penetrating Armenian letters. His verse is polished, much like that of Eremita Keomiwrcean (q.v.), but with a greater attention to rhyme. Paltasar introduces variety to form with a sensitivity to euphony and with a view to enhancing the artistic merits of his verse. He employs numerous schemes of repetition, echo, and mosaic rhyme, though not always successfully. Aware of the monotony repetition might generate, he hastens to alert the reader that such lyrics were composed to be sung. The device is particularly common in his love poems, which refer to a number of unidentifiable objects. This poses a problem of sorts, especially in view of his note to the readers that his poems of “love and longing” concern the spiritual sphere of human life, not the physical. This cannot be entirely true. Alongside some poetry of a general and personal, meditative nature, some of his lyric poems with their elegiac tone and impassioned, if controlled, sentiments are unmistakably intended for an individual from whom he has been long separated.

In half a dozen or so poems, the rose and the nightingale appear as symbols of unrequited love; though their conventional story is not told. “I nnjmanēd ark’ayakan . . .” (“From your royal repose”), the best in the cycle, is one of his memorable poems and certainly his most popular song. Also among his best are the ones on Mammon, gold, wine, and some
of his meditative pieces on life in general, himself, and his tribulations caused by unidentified ill-wishers. He has a few macaronic poems (Armenian and Turkish) and a praise for two contemporary patriarchs: Grigor Šltayakir of Jerusalem and Yovhannēs Kolot of Constantinople (not for the "theologians Georg and Yakob" as surmised in Paltasar Dpir; Erevan, 1958, p. 253). Paltasar writes in a simple Classical Armenian, almost free from Persian-Arabic-Turkish loans, as well as in the emerging Modern Armenian (in works such as his Grammar of Classical Armenian). What makes Paltasar one of the important men of letters of his age is not just his good poetry.

Paltasar studied at the feet of Astuatzzurat vardapet Julayetsi (nick-named Alawni), a nuncio of Ejmiatzin in Constantinople. What he exactly learned from Astuatzzurat, a man known for promoting printing, is not certain, but we can safely assume that his teacher instilled in him or encouraged his passion for books and printing. For Paltasar was for decades actively engaged in printing books by himself as well as by other authors. Of his own books, Grguks šahawêt . . . is devoted to Christian tenets; Grkoyk . . . tsankgirk . . . is sort of a concordance for the New Testament; Krtutïwn krisitoneakan . . . (Turkish in Armenian characters) also concentrates on Christian principles; Pu patmutïwn girkï . . . (Turkish in Armenian characters), is the story of the conversion of Armenia; Parzabanutïwn kerakanutean . . . is a grammar of Classical Armenian, as is Girk kerakanutean (in Modern Armenian); and Örinakk barewagrats is a letter-writing manual.

There is practically no biographical information regarding PETROS ÊAPANTSIS (d. 1784), an eighteenth-century vardapet and poet, save that he acted as nuncio of Ejmiatzin in the Crimea, Rumeli, and Nicomedia (Izmit, Turkey) and spent many years in the Ottoman capital, far away from Lâpan, if that was his native region. Internal evidence gleaned from his poetry lead one to believe that he lived to a ripe old age and that he composed his poetry in the last decades of his life. There is some ambiguous evidence to this effect in the author's preface to the publication in 1772 of his Grkoyk or kochi ergaran. Be that as it may, we are dealing with one of the more prominent poets of the age with a keen eye for nature, a sensitive ear for euphony, and a noteworthy skill to manipulate form to reinforce content. Sharply articulate, he is engagingly capable of swinging between extreme moods from the lightheartedly jubilant to heart-rending ululations. Some of his songs (the first thirty-six poems in his Grkoyk are songs) have been very popular; a few are still sung today.
The interpretation of Ինանցի's allegorical poems is not yet satisfactorily resolved. Š. Nazaryan, author of the monograph on Ինանցի, has tried to refute earlier views that Ինանցի sang of love. In her view, the poems are all of a patriotic nature. There is certainly much to be said for her theory, and she is probably right; but more evidence will be needed for such conclusions to become convincing. These are some of Ինանցի's most passionate poems; and if the titles of some of them clearly establish them as a praise for the Patria, the allegorical nature of many others, especially where the allegory of the rose and nightingale is employed, render it difficult to determine whether Ինանցի's sentiments are for a person or the personified fatherland.

A considerable number of Ինանցի's poems are on occasional topics. He writes in a simple but eloquent Classical Armenian, which is not entirely free from elements of Modern Armenian. There are certain instances, notably in his longest poem dedicated to Constantinople, in which Ինանցի violates his own normative prescription to maintain a sense of proportion. But he has a distinct ability to make most effective use of rhyme, rhythm, and meter, which allied with his spirited sentiments, place his work among the best of the age.

ՅՈՒՆԱԹԱՆ ՆԱԼԱՏ (1661-1722), founder of the celebrated Yovnatanean family of artists, distinguished himself as both a poet and painter. His jovial poems light up the concluding decades of the seventeenth century and usher in the eighteenth century. There are many elements of the ašulakan genre in his lyric pieces, some of which he himself set to music. One can also glean certain aspects of the lyric tradition shaped by masters such as Kostandin Erznkaat, Yovhanneš Tulkurantsi, and Grigoris Altamartsi, but no trace whatsoever of the duality that tormented them. His sensual poetry shows greater affinities with the hayrens attributed to Nahapet K'uchak, embraces the secular spirit with glee, and paves the way for the distinct and distinguished art of Sayear-Növay (q.v.).

Yovnatah composed love, moral-religious, satirical, elegiac, and mirthful poetry. In both his moral and satirical works, clergymen are one of his targets for their laziness, avarice, ignorance, and hypocrisy. He teased banteringly fishwifely, headstrong, superstitious, slovenly women, and the impious; but expressed disgust for egocentric men. Definitely a man of urban tastes, he had a low opinion of the then squalid Erevan. The artist stood tall in him, as he dismissed the importance attached to money and derided those who subordinated to Mammon, the creations of artists and artisans. In poems published by S. Simonean (1914–86, q.v.),
Yovnafan has a description of the water blessing on Epiphany; of Armenian churches in Šořot' and Agulis, and praise for the benefactors of the former; and elegies on the death of two clergymen and a certain mahtesi (i.e., from the Arabic maqdisi, one that had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem), Šahbaz Ėrrumetsi.

Apart from satire, eulogy, and elegy, Yovnafan’s fame lies principally in his poems of love and merrymaking, the vivid and convivial expressions of a frolicksome soul. Many a mixed metaphor, some haste, repetition, and at times a slipshod style, tell us of a sprightly man carried away by the visible and attainable, colors and nature, women and wine, kindness and fraternity, all of which gave this transient life its meaning. Mortifying the flesh was an alien concept to him; he praised the Lord, called for compassion, but relished the delights of the temporal. Yovnafan and his descendants, who made noteworthy contributions to Armenian art and literature, were receptive to Persian and other Middle Eastern influences. His son, Yakob (d. 1757), a painter and minstrel who wrote in Armenian, Georgian, and Turkish, mourned his father’s death in an elegy that remains the principal biographical source for Yovnafan.

In a little over half a century after his murder during the Persian invasion of Tiflis in 1795, Sayeaf Növay’s (1722–95) poetry was partly recovered in an 1852 Moscow edition of his poems by Geörg Ahverdean (1818–61). Research into Sayeaf Növay’s life and work has since been conducted continuously, bringing him an ever-growing popularity. Especially in the last decades of the Soviet regime, his poetry was promoted as a symbol of fraternity for the Transcaucasian republics of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

There are a number of uncertainties about Sayeaf Növay’s life and work. His birth date is unknown, though 1722 seems to be gaining ground. There is some doubt concerning his birthplace too, but most biographers consider him a native of Tiflis. His mother’s family were qmani (Georgian for serfs), and his immigrant father, having married into that family, must have become a qma too. It follows that Sayeaf Növay himself was a samkvidro qma (“hereditary” serf). He seems to have served his apprenticeship with a weaver. His formal education, if any, did not go beyond the elementary, and his knowledge he owed to self-instruction. Apart from Armenian, Georgian, and Turkish, he probably knew some Persian and may have had a rudimentary knowledge of Arabic. Even though he copied Grigor Narekatsi’s Lamentation, he had only a smattering of Classical Armenian. It is presumed that his teacher in the ašulakan art was Dosti, an ašul from Tiflis. It is also presumed that he
was captured in his early teens during a raid and was sold into slavery in the Ottoman Empire, that in 1741 the future king Erekli II (Irakli) of Georgia ransomed him, and that during his years of slavery he likely saw many countries, including India. The story of Sayet' Növay's travels was probably a *topos* common to minstrels and so were a number of related issues, all of which need more evidence to be taken seriously.

Most critics agree that Sayet' Növay became a resident musician at the Georgian court. Here he fell in love with Anna Batonishvili, a daughter of Taimuraz, king of Kartli (1744–62), and a sister of Erekli II, then king of Kakheti. This affair between an ordinary mortal and a noble woman led to Sayet' Növay's fall from favor and his eviction from court some time in the early 1750s. He was readmitted a few years later but was thrown out of the royal court for good c1759. Not only that, he was sent into exile and the priesthood. Although central to understanding one of the dominant themes of Sayet' Növay's poetry, unrequited love, this story needs further evidence. He married a certain Marmar who bore him two sons and two daughters. Upon his wife's death (1768) he became a celibate priest, a member of the brotherhood of the Halpat monastery.

For the historians of Armenian literature, the Middle Ages conclude with the eighteenth century. Sayet' Növay is seen as the last poet of the age and as the greatest Armenian *ašul*. In many ways, the Soviets had good reason to promote him as a symbol of fraternity: he wrote in all three major languages of Transcaucasia, Armenian, Georgian, and Azeri Turkish; his poems are totally free of even the slightest hue of nationalism; and he was a classic victim of class conflict. One hundred and twenty of his poems are in what is now referred to as Azeri Turkish, seventy or so in Armenian, and about thirty in Georgian. There can be very little doubt that he began by writing in Turkish and Georgian and began writing in Armenian in his thirties. Turkish was the prevalent vehicle for the genre, and Georgian the local standard; together they gave him a much wider audience and the opportunity to compete with other *ašuls*. It has been noted that his poems in Turkish more faithfully reflect the traditional Islamic patterns of the genre in terms of style and devices. Interestingly, it is in these poems that he most frequently speaks of his religious loyalty and religiosity. He had a good command of colloquial Georgian, which emerges as a flexible medium in his poems, especially the ones written in a humorous vein. But most of all, he was at home in his mother tongue, the Armenian dialect of Tiflis.

The patterns of rhyme, rhythm, and meter he employed all derive from the established practice of the tradition, the most intricate of which
he used in his Turkish poems. His imagery and literary references reflect Armenian and Middle Eastern folklore and many common traditions (Majnūn and Laylā, Farhād va Shīrīn, Rustam, the rose and the nightingale, the Alexander Romance, etc.). Certain descriptive patterns of women’s appearance bear resemblance to those used by Kostandin Erznkatsi, Yovhannes Tulkurantsi, Grigoris Altamartsi, and, particularly, Nalas Yovnatan (q.v.). His imagery is somewhat restricted; the object of his love is most frequently likened to the rose, or to precious stones and metals.

Sayeaf Novay is an original ašut, head and shoulders above all his confrères. Despite his use of features common to the tradition, his lyric verse stands out with its effusiveness, spontaneity, and dramatic force. Oblivious of the world, he is consumed by his unrequited love, which inspires his contemplative philosophy, his views of the human condition and social inequality, his aesthetic principles, and the values he upheld. His noble sentiments, majestic suffering, stoical optimism, and charming sincerity in large measure account for the continuing popularity of his songs, which are practically free from bilious emotions, despite the unhappy course of his life. The verbal forms he tends to use endow his verse with momentum and energy. And his long lines (sixteen syllables) do not at all slow the pace of his rhythm; each foot is almost complete, self-contained, and the reader feels the prolonged progression of his smoldering agony.

Distilled in Sayeaf Nōvay’s verse are the accomplishments of Armenian minstrels. It simultaneously refracts and marks the apogee of long-standing, though not so profound, Islamic literary influences on Armenian poetry. The imprint of neighboring traditions is most conspicuous in the ašulakan verse and finds expression in form, prosody, appellation, and certain standard phrases and imagery. Sayeaf Nōvay absorbed and blended the best in Islamic minstrelsy with Armenian traditions and created his own profile with inimitable distinction.

Elia Mušelean (1689–?), a restless and adventuresome character, was caught in the murky world of international intrigue and conflicting interests. He was born in the village of Krman, near Hōtorjur in the region of Erzerum, to a wealthy merchant father. He was sixteen when his father died and his paternal uncle consigned him to a Jesuit who made an ardent Catholic of him. Elia, fond of the “Franks” and full of desire to study in their country, preached Catholicism for a while. He also engaged in trade, which took him to numerous parts of the Ottoman Empire, Iran, and Russia; he later joined British and Dutch companies working for the
East India Company at its Tabriz branch from 1718–20. We later find him in Isfahan, breaking through the Afghani siege line, and a little later as the French consul in Mashhad. By now well-known and well-connected to the Persian ruling circles, Tahmasp dispatched him to Europe with letters for its monarchs and the Pope. But he was arrested by the Russians and incarcerated for thirteen years (1724–36).

Elia blamed his personal foes, French intelligence, and Catholic missionaries for his detention. But further details come to light in his unpublished manuscript *Patmutiwn imn karčarot i veray andżkuteants Eliays Astuatzaturean Mušeleants, zors kretsi i azgēn frankats, mane\(\text{awand i ḡabebay krōnaworats notsa ew i surb el\text{payrts ew barekam kochetselots (On his tribulations at the hands of the nation of the Franks, their treacherous clergymen, the holy brothers and so-called friends). It transpires that both the Armenians and Georgians accused him of obstructing Russian assistance to them; the Turks suspected him as an agent of Persia; Nadir and Tahmasp distrusted him as a partisan to the other; the "Franks" feared that he might seek vengeance to retaliate for their mistreatment of him; and the Armenian Catholics despised him for his return to the fold of the Armenian Church. But Elia claimed that the Capuchins were his deadliest enemies, who denounced him and masterminded his imprisonment. When the Russians finally released him, Elia headed for Europe in the hope of finding assistance from former friends. This being a fruitless journey, he returned to Constantinople and spent some time in Tiflis. From 1740 to 1744 he was back in Persia with a view to recovering his position and restoring his business. This, too, proved unsuccessful, and Elia returned to Karin in 1745, where he died c1751, in utter poverty and obscurity.

Elia spoke in his papers of his desire to meet Peter the Great for a Russian effort to liberate Armenia. But there are no details concerning his actual plans nor the extent of his participation, if any, in the liberation movement of the time. Such references are not to be found in his *Divan* either. Published in this volume is a selection of Elia's correspondence in the years 1718–24. Elia was in the habit of keeping copies of his letters and summaries of the ones he received. He was in touch with wealthy and influential merchants, high-ranking clerics, political figures, and diplomats (e.g., the French ambassador to the Porte), and discussed contemporary economic and political realities in the region. There is thus a great deal of historical information here on almost all the countries of the Middle East (e.g., the Lezghis, political upheavals in Iran, Russo-Persian diplomatic relations, Catholic missionaries, Ottoman and French policy in the region, political events in Transcaucasia, etc.) and the Armenian
communities. Such economic aspects of the region as trade, industry and production, prices, transportation costs, and the effects of European imports on local markets are also covered, at times in minute detail.

Most of Elia's other works are unpublished. These include translations of two medical treatises; an astronomical text; a treatise on crafts; a collection of songs, Girk halits, in Azeri Turkish in Armenian characters by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors whose works appearing here are not known from any other source; works by Armenian minstrels who also wrote in Turkish such as Miran, Majnun, Lazar, Sargsis, K'uchak, and Mirak; an old version of K'yor Òlli; translations from French of fables; and a drama. Elia has compiled Armenian-French, Armenian-Persian, and Armenian-Russian glossaries. His Turkish-Armenian dictionary was published in Erevan in 1986 by B. L. Chugaszyan. This was compiled before his arrest in 1724 and contains some two thousand entries, mostly on trade terminology, the crafts, means of transportation, precious stones, weights and measures, plants, animals, etc., with some instances of incorrect translations from Turkish. In the Armenian explanations there are some dialectal words and loans from Pahlavi, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish not found in the standard Armenian dictionaries. Reportedly among his non-extant manuscripts were works on the Jesuits in Tabriz and Isfahan in the years 1717–21, French policy in the region, trade in India, and other writings.

**PETROS DI SARGIS GILANENTS** (d. 1724) was educated at the Armenian monastery at Nor Julay (New Julfa) and spoke a number of languages. He was intimately involved in plans for liberating Armenia through Russian assistance, and he himself recruited and led a squadron in Russia's campaign for the Caspian. His chronicle, consisting of 133 sections in two major parts and written in the dialect of New Julfa, provides information on the political, military, and social aspects of the region. Gilanents also relied on a number of informants, but he compared and sifted the material before integrating it into his chronicle and forwarding it to Bishop Minas Tigranean (c1658–1740), a staunch proponent of Russian orientation and a close collaborator of Israyël Ôri, who in turn passed the information on to the Russian authorities.

**ABRAHAM EREWANTSİ** (18th c.) is the author of a history that surveys political events in Transcaucasia, Iran, and the Ottoman Empire in the years 1721–36, from about the time of the Afghan invasion to Nadir's coronation at Mughan. It provides very detailed and mostly reliable information on the Perso-Ottoman-Afghan wars that raged in the region for the control of Erevan, Ganja, Shamakhi, Tabriz, Hamadan,
etc., with accounts on local rulers, conflicts, alliances, and Armenian realities. It is a continuous narrative in the Eastern Armenian dialect.

The text as first published in Erevan in 1938 is now of little value. (M. Avdalbegyan has maintained that her father, Tadevos Avdalbegyan [1885–1937], prepared this edition and that a “critical” text of the history is found in his papers, but she gives no further details in her article discussing Zakaria Aguletsi’s case.) It is believed that the Erevan edition was based on a copy made by the historian Leo (q.v.) of an altered version of the original manuscript by Abraham Erewantsi. The author’s manuscript found its way to St. Lazarus, where a monk, Mattēos Ewdokiatsi Garagašean (1691–1772), somewhat liberally edited Abraham’s text, rewriting it in Classical Armenian, expanding or expunging certain passages and restoring traditional forms of names or suppressing them altogether. The 1977 Venice edition by S. Čemčemean includes both the authentic and doctored versions by Garagašean.

ABRAHAM III, KRETATSİ, Catholicos of Armenia (1734–37), is the author of an interesting history, in many ways a memoir, of his reign and his relations with Nadir Shah. There are sketchy biographical details about Abraham. We know that he was primate of the Armenians of Trakia (Thrace, i.e. Rodosto = Tekirdağ) from 1709 to 1734. He made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at one point and in 1734 fulfilled his hope of visiting popular monasteries in Armenia proper. At Ejmiatzin, Catholicos Abraham II, Ḥošabetsi (1730–34) detained Abraham Kretatsi longer than he wished to stay, and in the event long enough to preside over Abraham II, Ḥošabetsi’s funeral. Within a few days, Abraham Kretatsi was proclaimed Catholicos, despite his unwillingness.

Abraham met Nadir for the first time in May of 1735 near the town of Aparan. From this point on there developed a warm relationship between them. Nadir honored him as a “father,” readily acceded to his requests regarding the needs of the Catholicosate, and frequently sought his company and counsel. They met for the last time at the Plain of Mughan a few days before Nadir was proclaimed Shah. Abraham left before the actual ceremonies, but a priest from his entourage who had remained behind provided him with a description of the festivities. Abraham’s narrative deals with the military campaigns of this period, his encounters with and observations of Nadir and his activities, the Persian court, and such contemporary information. Abraham also has a history of Ani (attached to the 1870 Vaḷarşapat edition of his History), which ascribes the destruction of the Bagratid capital to the wrath of Providence aroused by the corrupt lifestyle of its inhabitants.
Only a few details are known of Hachatur Julayetsi's (18th c.) life. A native of Nor Julay, Isfahan, he studied at the local Armenian monastery. He died in Basra on his way to India. His History of Persia was written at the request of a friend by the name of Yarutwın Isahakean Alanureants (who was born in Basra, died in Bombay, and left both prose and verse writings, all unpublished). Yarutwın Tér Yovhancents mentioned in his History of New Julfa (Patmutiwn Nor Julayu or yAspahan) that Mikayel Chamchean (q.v.) wrote to Alanureants in 1787, requesting a chronology of Persian rulers. It is presumed that Alanureants approached Hachatur for the task, although the latter makes no reference either in his dedication or introduction to Chamchean’s request.

The history was to be in two volumes, but apparently death overtook him before he could complete the second. The extant volume is divided into two parts, the first dealing with Iranian history from the earliest times to Karim Khan Zand, and the second dealing with Karim's career to his death. He begins with the earliest dynasties, relying on biblical, Armenian, and unspecified Persian sources: Cyrus to Darius; the “Arşakuni” dynasty, from Arşak to the murder of Artawan by Artaşir, son of Sasan; the Sasanians; the Arab period with a chronology of Arab rulers; the Seljuks; the “Tatıars,” i.e., the Mongols; Tamerlane; and the Safavid. By far the longest sections on Persian rulers are those on Shah Abbas I and Nadir Shah. Hachatur leaves out Nadir’s exploits in India, referring the reader to an unnamed English historian’s work (which was almost certainly Jonas Hanway’s An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea . . ., London, 1753, the fourth part of which dealt with Nadir and was translated into Armenian by P. Mirzaean as Patmagrutiwn varutsn ew gortots Nadr šah tagaworın parsıts, Madras, 1783). Hachatur is unaware of Abraham III, Kretatsi’s history; he moves from Nadir to Ali Mardan Khan to Karim Khan Zand and concludes with a list of rulers of Iran.

From the outset, Hachatur includes his fellow countrymen in his account, but the volume of such information increases following their forcible resettlement by Shah Abbas the Great. Some of the most valuable parts of his history are those dealing with the Armenians of Persia in the seventeenth century (unfavorable treatment by the successors of Shah Abbas, the printing press in New Julfa, and portraits of famous monks such as Hachatur Kesaratsi, Dawit, father-superior of the local monastery, etc.). There is a very long section on Yovhannès Julayetsi (q.v.) with paraphrased summaries from his disputes with the shahs. Hachatur’s earlier history of Iran is of little value as it duplicates Armenian sources. The closer he gets to his own time, the greater the importance of his
account becomes. But it is difficult to pinpoint his sources for eighteenth-century Persia. Hachatur writes in a turgid Classical Armenian, with mistakes and tautologies, and with little sympathy for Muslim Persia.

Not all historians of the age had Persia as the sole concern of their compilations. **Stepanos Řōška** (or Kamentsatsi, Stepanos Stepanosean, etc., 1670–1739) was an author with a wider range of interests. A native of Kamenits, he studied at the college De Propaganda Fide (1691–1700), where Hachatur Ėrzrumetsi (or Kametsi, q.v.) was one of his fellow students. He was acquainted with Mhitar Sebastatsi (q.v.) and corresponded with him. Holding religious positions in Poland, he served the Armenian communities of Kamenits and Stanislavov, first as a decanus and later as anofficial.

Řōška’s Žamanakagrutiwn kam tarekanč ekeletsakank (i.e., Chronicle or Annales ecclesiastici) is a record of the Roman Catholic Church, with a brief, complementary, and concurrent history from a Catholic point of view, including the chronology of the Armenian “heretics,” namely the Church of Armenia. It begins with the birth of Christ and concludes with the year 1739. The format records the year, the reigning Pope, emperor (Roman, Holy Roman, etc.), head of the Armenian Church, and Armenian king, followed by pertinent ecclesiastical-religious and political information. There is much on the Armenians of Poland and an emphasis on the wayward doctrinal deviations of the Armenian Church. His entries expand as he deals with events closer to his own time. Řōška used a limited number of Armenian sources and a large number of non-Armenian sources (of which there is a detailed discussion in H. Oskean, A.-Stepanos v. Řōška b.-Matteos v. Judayetsi, Vienna, 1968). Not surprisingly, his most reliable guide is the Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana by C. Galanos. H. Oskean’s Vienna edition selects the parts pertinent to Armenians, narrated in a rather poor Classical Armenian. The Chronicle is important. H. Oskean somewhat generously qualified it as an “unique” work, presumably in view of its inclusion of parallel events and the use of a large number of sources.

Řōška is the author of a number of unpublished works, originals and translations, mostly of a religious and philosophical nature. His Armenian-Latin (comprising three-fourths of the text) and Latin-Armenian (taking up one-fourth of the manuscript) dictionary has been of some interest and controversy. According to Łewond Ališan (q.v.), who compared it with Nor bārgirk haykazean lezui, it has 4500–5000 words not listed in the NBHL; his etymologies are imaginary; and the passages he claims to be translations from Greek or Latin are unverifiable, as are those
he supposedly extrapolated from Armenian sources. Mesrop Čanašēan (1908–74) has made an attempt to mitigate some of this criticism.

SIMĒON I, EREWANTS'I, Catholicos of Armenia (1763–80), is remembered as one of the bright figures in the modern history of the Armenian Church. He reorganized Ėjmiatzin, invigorated its spiritual authority and cultural force, and boosted its economic prosperity and political standing. Simēon set up a printing press in Ėjmiatzin (1771), the first ever in Armenia, and systematized the archives of the Catholicosate.

Jambr (from chambre, which Simēon used for record or archives) is a mine of information on the Supreme Patriarchate of Ėjmiatzin. This is the work of a patriot-administrator-reformer, keen on strengthening the central authority of the Church of Armenia, its independence and particular character. The historical part begins with the apostolic origins of the Armenian Church and the building of Ėjmiatzin, and moves on to the return of the Mother See from Cilicia, followed by biographies of his predecessors from Movses III, Tatēwats'i onwards (with a stinging attack on Yovhannēs Balēšets'i Kolot, whose “machination,” he averred, forced Ėjmiatzin to deal with the Ottoman authorities through the Patriarchate of Constantinople, rather than independently) to his own biography, which was sketched by a different hand. Then comes a detailed description of the jurisdiction of Ėjmiatzin and other Armenian hierarchies, tithe and taxation, property owned by Ėjmiatzin, the irrigation system and water resources, etc. There follows a list of Persian rāqams, farmāns and such documents with summaries of their contents, and a list of Ottoman fermans and similar formal records. The final, twenty-fifth chapter enumerates Armenian monasteries in the region of Erevan with their jurisdiction and properties.

His Yištakaran (published by G. Ałaneants in Diwan Hayots patmutean, vols. 3, 8, 11) is a record of the correspondence conducted by the Mother See of Ėjmiatzin in the years 1763–79 (compiled, with major lacunae, by Archbishop Isahak Gelamats'i and Yovhannēs vardapet). It is a comprehensive record of Ėjmiatzin’s relations with the Armenian sees (in Russia, Iran, Georgia, the Ottoman Empire, India, etc.) and local chieftains, rulers, and dignitaries. It covers such matters as pilgrims to Ėjmiatzin, especially from the Ottoman Empire; disciplinary measures (defrocking, etc.); nuncios (“nuirak,” in Armenian) and their activities; Armenian Catholic communities (especially in Akhaltsikha); personal letters; modes of operation and channels of communication maintained by Ėjmiatzin; finances of the Catholicosate; transfer of moneys across borders in coded messages; regional politics and appropriate bribes; the
printing press in Ėjmiatzin; Simēon’s furious opposition to novel ideas emanating from Madras to liberate Armenia through armed struggle; and his request to shut down the printing press and burn all the copies of Nor tetrak or kochi yordorak. In a word, it paints a detailed picture of the Armenian realities of the time, and of Simēon and his activities, with most useful information on Transcaucasia, the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, northwestern Iran, and certain parts of India. Simēon also maintained a special file for his encyclicals and bulls, which is not extant.

Perturbed by his Church’s vulnerability to Catholic inroads, Simēon sought to introduce certain protective measures. In fact, most of the steps he took were reactions to Catholic activities. He made changes in the Armenian calendar of feasts (Tònatsoyts) to counterbalance that published by the Mekhitarists of Venice, and to ensure uniformity of observation, he prepared a calendar for a cycle of 532 years. He moved the feast days for Nersēs the Great, Trdat the Great, Sahak Partew, Maštots, the Translators, and others to Saturdays and called for solemn celebrations. He also replaced a number of non-Armenian saints with Armenian saints, some of whom had been unwavering defenders of the Armenian dogma (e.g. Yovhannes Ōdznetsi, Yohan Orotnetsi, Grigor Tatėwatsi).

His prayer book, Girk alōritis . . . , radiates piety and patriotism. The prayers, meant for various occasions, express his solicitude for his flock and their monasteries, abandoned or trampled by heathen overlords. But it is in his praise for Ėjmiatzin that his religious-national creed crystallizes. Ėjmiatzin to him is a God-built, luminous church; the Armenians a nation “cleansed” through the passion of Grigor Lusaworich; and the Armenian alphabet a God-given script. Very popular and still sung in churches, especially on solemn days and in times of uncertainty, is the first stanza of one of his songs opening with, “Rise, O God of our fathers” (“Ari Astuatz hartsn merots”).

The last great historian of Armenian traditional historiography and its first major modern figure is MIKAYEL CHAMCHEAN (1738–1823), a Venice Mekhitarist. No Armenian historian since Movsēs Horenatsi had ventured to undertake what Chamchean accomplished in a grand, magisterial fashion: a three-volume history of Armenia (Patmutiwn Hayots) from the Creation to the year 1784, narrated with exuberant imagination and exultant pride. Each of the three parts consists of two books, representing Chamchean’s system of periodization: the era of the Armenian ancestors, the Aršakuni (Arsacid) dynasty, the era of “marzpans and ostikans” (the Arab period), the Bagratunis, the Rubenids (Cilicia), and the era of vanished statehood and anarchy (anishanufiwn, used in both senses).
Chamchean listed in his introduction some of the difficulties he encountered: the inaccuracies, interpolations, and inconsistencies in Armenian sources; the unreliability of non-Armenian sources; the discrepancy between the two materials; and a general lack of specific chronology. He compared Armenian variants, sifted the material, and used non-Armenian sources to fill the gaps. For the earliest stages of Armenian history, Chamchean (with some inspiration from Josephus) emphatically asserted the primacy and absolute authenticity of Armenian histories (which meant Movses Ḥorenatsi’s sources), assaulting all other information (especially early Greek and Latin historiography and literature) as fanciful and, therefore, unreliable. One of the simple reasons for this was that no historian of either tradition gave a record of his own Greek or Latin forebears and their descent from Noah. As for a veracious system of dates, Chamchean used biblical chronology and well-established histories of famous figures and events as signposts for his chronology. The initial part of Chamchean’s history, then, has no solid historical basis and is a traditional account at best.

Chamchean consulted a very large number of sources, more than twenty Armenian and over sixty non-Armenian accounts, apart from countless documents such as colophons and letters. No critical editions of the Armenian texts existed yet, and a number of records were still unavailable to him. In some instances he relied on later historians for earlier periods and wrote from a Roman Catholic perspective. Frequently, the reader finds no clear or complete indication of Chamchean’s sources, some of which are now undetectable or untraceable. As the first modern attempt at writing a comprehensive history of Armenia, the work has many merits indeed, and it is of extraordinary significance for the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. It was also a labor of love on the part of a patriotic monk, for whom the Garden of Eden and Mount Ararat (the resting place of Noah’s Ark) were both found in his homeland, Armenia, the cradle of mankind before and after the Flood.

Chamchean held that the Roman Catholic Church never anathematized the Church of Armenia. This line of thought, which Malakia Örmaneane (1841–1918) considers a major, if not overt, characteristic of the Mekhitarists of Venice, prevails in Chamchean’s history and other works. Örmaneane (Aẓgapatum, ii, 2165) avers that Chamchean, with the approval of his Order, prepared a work titled Vahan hawato (Shield of the faith), theoretically to justify and tactfully to promote this concept that did not sit well with Latin and Latinizing quarters in Rome and elsewhere. This is not to say, however, that Chamchean or his fellow monks retreated from the Roman Catholic dogma by so much as a hair’s breadth; they
simply reinterpreted and reconciled the Armenian position with that of Rome. Being opposed to the creation of a separate Armenian Catholic community and to direct confrontation, they emphasized similarity and union rather than dissimilarity and schism. Chamchean’s position would have had far-reaching consequences (e.g., Armenian Catholics frequenting Armenian churches and receiving sacraments), but it was one of the few practical ways in which they hoped gradually to forge a rapprochement between the two churches. In fact, in the early nineteenth century Chamchean was personally involved in unofficial talks in Constantinople to bring about a reconciliation.

Of great importance was Chamchean’s grammar of Classical Armenian, which went through fifteen editions in little over half a century. In order to reinstate its earlier structure, Chamchean tried to refute the patterns of Latin fancifully imposed on Classical Armenian—a trend that was carried further by subsequent Mekhitarist linguists of both the Venice and Vienna Orders. Among his published works, special mention should also be made of his ten-volume commentary on the Psalms, with comparative references to Greek, Syriac, Latin, Arabic, and other versions. Still unpublished are some of Chamchean’s works including a Latin-Armenian dictionary and an account of his travels.

HACHATUR ĖRZRUMETSI (1666–1740) was educated in Rome and in Catholic circles and was held in high esteem by them, becoming a monk, a theologian, a philologist of vast erudition, and a prolific author. Unlike Mḥīṭar Sebastatsi (q.v.), with whom he was intimately acquainted, Ḥachatur seems to have been a man of reflection rather than action. He has a grammar, a rhetoric, a book of sermons, and at least two works in Latin, one on Christianity and the other on theology, both of which were translated into Armenian by Mariam Karak’aşean and published in Venice.

But perhaps his most practical contribution is his compendium on philosophy, which made some aspects of the accomplishments of European thought in many a field accessible to his fellow countrymen. Brought together in two thick volumes in verse (not without some artificial rhyming) are large sections dealing in detail with topics in the humanities and the sciences, with each major field (e.g., poetry, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, music, physics, mathematics, geometry, medicine, plants, etc.) divided into subsections. Although Hachatur misses no opportunity to inject his interpretations with a goodly dose of Catholic doctrines, his encyclopedic scope is quite unique to his age. One of the largest sections treated seriously is on astrology; it drew fierce criticism from an implacable opponent, Gēorg Młayim (q.v.).
ARSÈN DPR KOSTANDNUPÔLSETSI’s (18th c.) exact dates are not known. His family had its roots in Kayseri, but he was born in Constantinople, where he became a student of Patriarch Yakob Nalean (1702–64). He is remembered for his “encyclopedia.” The printing of this book began when Nalean was still Patriarch (1741–49, 1752–64), but must have been completed when Patriarch Minas Aknetsi (1749–51, later Catholicos of Armenia, 1751–53) had succeeded Nalean. Strictly speaking, his encyclopedia is a book of about twelve hundred definitions of concepts, facts, and phenomena of a theological, natural, moral, and political nature, based on the works of “theologians” and “philosophers,” as he put it. It opens with an introduction elaborating man’s natural aspiration to desirable ends, such as knowledge which dispels ignorance, endows man with wisdom, and makes him an heir to eternal life. There follow two prayers seeking mercy, grace, and inspiration from the Virgin. The main body of the text concludes with a short section made up of forty-three descriptive entries for animals (“bark' kendaneats”), which is believed to have been taken from Łukas Vanandetsi’s I têzosans haykazuneats (“bark omants kendaneats”). Especially extensive are headings for spiritual, religious, or ritual significance. Occasionally, the Greek and Latin roots are given, and sometimes synonyms in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Turkish are also noted. Although in certain ways his work reflects some aspects of Western advances, especially in the fields of science and natural phenomena, Christian tenets and traditional Armenian interpretations dominate Arsên’s approach.

ŁAZAR JAHKETSI (d. 1751), an inspired opponent of Roman Catholicism, came from Jahuk (now in Naḥİjejwan), a stronghold of Catholic Uniates. He was not the leading candidate to succeed Abraham III, Kretatsi (q.v.) to the throne of Grigor Lusaworich, but Grigor Şîrayakir, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, declined, as he had on a number of occasions before, to head the Church of Armenia. Following this, the choice fell upon Łazar, who was then at Smyrna as a nuncio of Ejmiatzin. Mikayêł Chamchean (q.v.) reckoned that Łazar’s trip from Smyrna to the Mother See with his entourage was the most extensive and expensive procession by an elected Catholicos. Łazar was rich, enjoyed pomp and ceremony, and was not at all averse to traits of vanity and tyranny. Although a man of many gifts, he was in thrall to his passions.

He wrote his theology (Girk astuatzabanakan . . . ) at the request of Catholicos Abraham (most probably Abraham II, Hoşabetsi, 1730–34), to counter Catholic claims that the Armenians had no independent tradition. Made up of twenty chapters, the treatise is a blistering attack on
Chalcedon, the Roman Catholic Church, and such figures as Nestorius, Eutyches, Pope Leo I, the Great, Albertus Magnus, C. Galanos, and others, with supporting quotations from Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzenus, John Chrysostom, Grigor T'at'evatsi, and others in defense of the dogma of the Armenian Church and her apostolic origin. The twentieth chapter is a review of the Armenian tradition. He begins with the story of Hayk and Bel, i.e. the origins of the Armenian nation and Armenia (from Movses Horenatsi), and moves on to Grigor Lusaworich and Trdat the Great (Agat'angelos, Movses Horenatsi). He sketches an outline of the Armenian Church, beginning with Thaddaeus and Bartholomew; a history of the four hierarchies (Ejmiatzin, Cilicia, Alt'amar, Gandzasar); an outline of the “translators and theologians” and “pillars of the Church of Armenia,” from Maštots to Yovhannës Orotnetsi, Grigor Tat'ewatsi, and Yovhannës Jul'ayetsi (q.v.); and a list of Armenian historians to Arakel Dawrizetsi (q.v.), Eremia Kostandnupolsetsi, and Łukas Vanandetsi (c. 1650–?). He concludes with a garbled version of Abraham III, Kretatsi's History of Ani, with the references to Yovhannës Erznkatsi Pluz.

Łazar's prayer book (Girk alôritis . . . ) is a collection of Psalms, chapters from Grigor Narekatsi’s Lamentation, šarakans, a few poems by Łazar himself, one piece by Yovhannës Garnetsi, another by Mhitar Goš (abridged), and Nersës Šnorhali’s most popular “Hawatov ʰostovanim” (“With faith do I confess”). His song book, (Girk noraboys . . . ), includes his poems inspired by biblical themes, Ejmiatzin, Grigor Lusaworich, Nersës the Great, Sahak Parnew, Maštots, and other great figures and saints, and three poems marking his trials and tribulations. Unlike his forcefully and passionately apologetic work on the Church of Armenia, his poems do not convey any originality.

Purely polemical are the works of Gēorg Mhlayim (18th c.), a native of Constantinople and a vardapet, a student at the “Royal School” (Collège Louis-le-Grand?) in Paris (1706–11?), and a prisoner in one of the gaols of the French capital (1711–13?). It has been speculated that he may have been incarcerated for attempting to contact or rescue Patriarch Awetik Ewdokatsi. Gēorg's great-grandfather was killed in Sivas during the Jelali disturbances. He is known to have toured Armenia at some point and to have spent some time in Kayseri and Tokat after his return from France. He knew Greek, Latin, French, and Turkish.

To prove the validity of the Armenian Christological position, Gēorg culled “Testimonies from Church Fathers . . . ” in the “writings of Latins” (Vkayut'iwnk hayrapetats yalags miy bnutean Kristosi . . . ),
which are very brief and paraphrased extracts from Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Gregory the Theologian (Nazianzenus), with a heavy emphasis on the Council of Ephesus and passages from Grigor Narekatsi, Nerses Šnorhali and Grigor Tatewatsi. In the introduction to his "The true meaning of Catholicity" (Čšmarit nšanakutivn katulikēuťean), Geōrg felt that C. Galanos’s work (Miabanutiwn . . ., i.e., Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana . . .) must not be left unanswered. Having explained the origins and true meaning of the Universal Church, he expounds on ten signs or characteristics (nšank) distinguishing the “schismatic” (Roman Catholics). Up to this point, the content of this work is, with slight stylistic variations, the same as the first eighty-three pages of his dispute against the Dyophysites (Girk vičabanutean ēnddēm erkabnakats), which makes up the first part of this book in two sections. This part is basically a diatribe (especially against Catholic practices of proselytizing), with some explanation of the Armenian version of the Trisagion (the addition of “who were (was) crucified for us” in the “thrice holy”) and a sarcastic criticism of Hāchatur Ėrzumetsi (q.v.) for his inclusion of a section on astrology and the horoscope in his Philosophy (Hamarōtakan imastasirutiwn . . .), which he condemns as an un-Christian piece of sorcery. The second part of this book, titled “Yalags pahots,” is a justification of the Armenian position on fasting and even includes an Armenian translation by Geōrg (“Tulf s[r]boyn Ógostinosi, Afi Kasulanos ērētn, ēnddēm hrômayetswoy urumn. or greal ēr v[a][s][n] paheloy zawurs šabatu”) of St. Augustine’s letter on fasting on the Sabbath (cf. Epistola XXXVI, “Augustinus Casulano presbytero . . . dissertationem pro sabbati jejunio . . .,” in J.-P. Migne’s edition of Augustine’s Opera Omnia, vol. ii, 136–51, Patrologia Latina, xxxiii).

Geōrg’s homily on the Nativity, the Passion, and Grigor Lusaworich’s vision (Čař amenamakur Tznnde . . .) was popular at the time and went through eight editions. It is in Turkish in Armenian characters (but with some passages and many words in Armenian) and reflects the position of the Church of Armenia (e.g., justification of Armenian observation of Christmas and Epiphany on 6 January). All passages from the Gospels are in Armenian. The Crucifixion contains laments in verse in both Armenian and in Turkish. The vision of Grigor Lusaworich is accompanied with commentary.

MANUĒL DPĪR KOSTANDNUPOLSETSI (18th c.) was also absorbed and motivated by the Armenian-Roman Catholic confrontation. The main purpose of his Girk or kochi lutzich tarakusanats is to dispel doubts about the Church of Armenia. It was commissioned by a barber from Agulis
by the name of Yovhannnēs, who converted to Catholicism at age seven or eight, and in his late teens agitated against the national church by encouraging many to renounce it. Yovhannēs was “deservedly punished” by Patriarch Yakob (Nalean, two terms: 1741–49, 1752–64); he returned to the fold of the Mother Church soon thereafter and collected many writings. He then supplicated Manuēl to make the truth public in this book. It deals in the main with some of the controversial issues that separate the two churches: baptism, communion, the Eucharist, mixing water with the wine, the Holy Chrism, the Trisagion, etc. In his “The foundation of authenticity” (Girk or kochi himn stugutean), Manuēl discusses the Universal Church, feasts, rites, liturgy, and the Councils, and launches an assault, not free from vulgarity, on C. Galanos and Mhītar Sebastatsi and his followers, who to him are nerayink and not merayink (“they belong to Antichrist, not to us”). His Girk or kochi akn lusatu contains a similar onslaught in Turkish on Chalcedon, the papacy, Albert the Great, Yovhannēs Holov (1635–91, an Armenian Catholic grammarian and translator educated at Rome), Mhītar Sebastatsi (q.v.), and others.
An Overview of the Armenian Realities of the Age

The annexation in 1828 of the Khanate of Erivan by Russia eventually proved to be a fateful political event with momentous consequences. The Russians created a new administrative unit, called the Armenian Region (oblast'), which comprised the Khanates of Erivan and Nahijewan and the province of Ordubad. Although the unit was abolished and the Khanate of Erivan integrated into a new administrative structure in 1840, the roots of modern Armenian statehood lie in this stretch of territory, formally recognized as Armenian for the first time in modern history. Thus, what had remained of the historically much-larger Eastern Armenia entered the orbit of Russian-Slavic civilization. The Armenians now belonged to two distinctly hostile camps, the Russian and Ottoman empires, with two different political systems and civilizations. This entailed a number of crucial implications.

As Ottoman sultans and rulers tried to hold their tottering empire together, they instituted a number of reforms. Two such schemes were adopted in 1839 and 1856. The latter sanctioned the reorganization of the non-Muslim communities in the empire. The Armenians, who had themselves been agitating for reform, were quick to take advantage of the legal bases this document provided. For some years, the public had been disenchanted with the arbitrary government of the patriarchs and their unofficial partners, the amiras, men of enormous means and of almost unrestricted influence within the community. Students returning from France and Italy and some educated local elements formed a loose group of liberals, who in due course informally organized the public into a vociferous movement of protest, calling for reform in the administration of the community. A “constitution” was drafted within the framework provided by the Ottoman scheme, the final version of which the Porte promulgated in 1863. This set of regulations sanctioned the formation of a National Assembly and various councils to help the patriarch run the community.
The “constitution” (which in fact institutionalized the millet system) was created to regulate the internal affairs of the community, not the inter-communal relations in the empire. But complaints poured into the Patriarchate about oppression and misgovernment in the Armenian provinces. A detailed report of the conditions was submitted to the Porte by the administration of Patriarch Mkrtich Hrimean (q.v.), but it fell on deaf ears. Rebellion shortly broke out in the Balkans, and amid talk for reform in the region, the Armenians approached the Porte for a similar plan for the entire empire. (According to some very sketchy and unsubstantiated claims in the Records of the Armenian National Assembly, i.e., Atenagrutiwnk Azgayin žolovoy, the central Ottoman authorities themselves orchestrated the Armenian request.) Indeed, the Ottomans soon proclaimed their own constitution, formally doing away with the need for regional or local reforms. The document did not prevent the Russians from going to war to rescue their Slav brethren. The defeated Ottomans and their despised northern adversary in 1878 signed the Treaty of San Stefano, which included an article (16) on certain measures in Armenia. The treaty was revised at the Congress of Berlin, and the new Armenian article (61) vaguely and inconclusively alluded to the need for the amelioration of conditions in Armenia. An indifferent Europe and an unwilling Porte thus effectively shelved the issue of reform in the Armenian provinces. Very soon, in the 1880s, the Armenian political parties came into existence, one after the other. The century concluded with the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s.

The inimical relations between the Armenian and Roman Catholic Churches continued well into the nineteenth century. After some well-intentioned, if overly optimistic, attempts at reconciliation, the final rift came in 1831, when the Porte, under pressure from some European powers, recognized the Armenian Catholics as a separate community. Proponents of Latinization and ecclesiastic administration of the new millet clashed with the proponents of semi-secular and autonomous local leadership, and the conflict soon rent the community apart for many decades. The whole problem reflected negatively on the conciliatory attitude of the Mekhitarists of Venice, who were eventually rebuked into conformity with directives from Rome. By the closing decades of the century, then, passions had died down considerably, and a peaceful phase marked the relations of the Church of Armenia with Armenian Catholics.

The nascent Armenian Protestant community was granted formal recognition by the Porte in 1850. Small and well-organized, the community contributed its share to the dissemination of secular concepts of government and to the emergence of Modern Armenian as the national
standard. Here too, after a stormy relationship from about the 1870s, reason and tolerance prevailed in the Armenian-Armenian Protestant relations. By the middle of the century, then, the Armenian population of the empire was divided into three formally recognized religious communities. The Church in Russia suffered no such rupture and disunity, but experienced severe restraints on the nature and extent of her national mission.

In 1836 the Russians promulgated the *Polozhenie* ("Statute") to regulate the affairs of the "Armenian Gregorian" Church (this designation, intensely resented by the Armenians, originated in this document) in the Russian Empire. The regulations severely restricted the overall rights and authority of the Mother See of Ejmiatzin. Unlike the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians here were not regarded as a separate religious community, and questions of personal status were dealt with by the Russian bureaucracy. The Church was stripped of her social-political and—to a large extent—her cultural functions; her role being confined in the main to the spiritual sphere and parochial schools. The Western Armenians on a number of occasions unsuccessfully tried to modify the method of electing the Catholicos of All Armenians to secure the elevation to the throne of their own candidates. The hope was that their protégé would have the *Polozhenie* revised for the better. Such timid and haphazard attempts invariably met with failure.

The Western Armenians moved in the opposite direction. Their constitution to a certain degree secularized the Patriarchate of Constantinople; the overwhelming majority of deputies to the National Assembly ("Azgayin žolov") were laymen and the various councils (Judicial, Educational, etc.), except for the Religious Council, were made up of laymen. But the system, it must be emphasized, served a formal purpose. The sultan still recognized the patriarch as the sole head of the Armenians of the empire. The Patriarchate espoused, in a tactful and flexible way, the cause of reform in Armenia to be implemented by the Porte in a peaceful fashion. In this spirit, Patriarch Mkrtich Ėrimane (1869–73) unsuccessfully tried to revise the constitution, in effect envisioning executive powers for the Patriarchate. His successor, Nersēs Varžapetean (1837–84), during his ten-year tenure (1874–84), personally pursued the cause of reform, but his efforts were in vain. After Varžapetean’s death, no patriarch raised the issue. It was left to the political parties, the rivals of the Church; and the parties attracted many Armenian writers into their ranks. But some conclusions were drawn from the experience long before the death of Varžapetean and the birth of the Armenian parties. Commenting on the redrawn Treaty of San Stefano in Berlin, Mkrtich Ėrimane, who
had been called upon to head an unofficial delegation to the Congress, unequivocally illustrated to his audience at the Armenian Cathedral in Constantinople that the old adage, “might is right,” was still valid.

European nationalism, and similar concepts flowing from Europe to Armenian circles in Constantinople, underscored for a number of enlightened Armenians the importance of practical communication with the population at large. A dispute, mostly of a theoretical and academic nature, over whether Classical or Modern Armenian should be the national standard intermittently continued from the 1840s to the 1880s. Modern Armenian had long since been used in inscriptions, chronicles, and books. More recently, it had been used by Catholic (especially the Mekhitarists) and Protestant missionaries, the Armenian Church, and the periodical press, above all for purposes of religious propaganda. Its ascendance alarmed the traditionalists and prompted the reformists to hasten to its defense in the early 1850s. The Armenian Church, the Mekhitarists, and conservative elements stood up for Classical Armenian, the scriptural tongue of the ancestors, which to them was a fully developed, uniform vehicle of expression and, possibly, a unifying bond for the Armenians dispersed far and wide who spoke various, often mutually unintelligible, dialects. For this informal coalition, Classical Armenian was an end in itself, an abode of cultural nationalism that most of the time replaced the physical homeland. By contrast, they held, there were many forms (i.e., dialects) of Modern Armenian, a rudimentary and vulgar language, contaminated with numerous loan words from Turkish, Persian, and Arabic. For the youthful liberals on the other hand, Modern Armenian was a readily available means that afforded them direct access to the public, and reviving the Classical idiom among a dispersed nation was well-nigh impossible in their view. The dispute, ostensibly a “linguistic-cultural” disagreement, in addition reflected the ideological-political clash of the two camps. But life dictated its own, and the dialect spoken in Constantinople, itself an amalgam of dialectical elements introduced by “local” and “immigrant” Armenians, was in the second half of the century developed into a flexible tool, the Modern Western Armenian standard. There was a similarly passionate controversy in Transcaucasia, but it was short lived; the Eastern Armenians were in smooth waters as they made the transition to Modern Eastern Armenian in the 1860s.

In every sense of the word, the nineteenth century marked a new phase in Armenian realities. “Renaissance” and its synonyms have been used to describe the age. By the middle of the century the Armenians had fully recovered an idealized past and were poised to pursue some as yet dim aspirations. The superficial Islamic influences were discarded and the
Armenians briefly looked back for inspiration. But soon they were in a race against time to catch up with Europe; their current identity, although valid in many respects, had to be revised and renewed. Many factors opened education to the public, increased its awareness, enhanced its solidarity, and sharpened its sense of purpose. Various institutions and individuals set up a vast network of schools in Europe (Mekhitarist schools in Padua, Venice, Paris), the Ottoman Empire (e.g., Smyrna, Constantinople, etc.), the Russian Empire (e.g., the Alababean in Astrakhan, 1810, the Lazarean in Moscow, 1815, the Nersisean in Tiflis, 1825, and various other schools in Erivan, Šuši, Alexandrapol, etc.), India (the Mardasirakan in Calcutta, 1821), and elsewhere. There existed a printing press in almost every Armenian community and in many of the schools. Periodicals increased in number, especially in the second half of the century. *Bazmavêp* of the Mekhitarists, still being published, was launched in Venice in 1843. Some of the more important ones that followed were *Hayastan* (1846–52, absorbed by *Masis*, 1852–1908, with interruptions), *Metu* (1856–65, 1870–74), *Tatron* (1874–77), *Areweik* (1884–1913, continued under different names), *Hayrenik* (1891–96), all published in Constantinople. *Črakał* (1853–62) and *Hiwsisapatyl* (1858–62, 1864) were published in Moscow. *Ararat* (Եջմիածին, 1868–1919), *Metu Hayastani* (1858–86), *Mšak* (1872–1921), *Nor dar* (1883–1916, irregular and infrequent after 1903), and *Murč* (1889–1907) were published in Tiflis. *Arewek* (1855–56) and *Arewelekan* (1859, 1864–65) were published in Paris. *Arewelk* (1855–56) and *Arewmutk* (1859, 1864–65) were published in Paris. *Arewelk* (1855–56) and *Arewmutk* (1859, 1864–65) were published in Paris. *Arewelk* (1855–56) and *Arewmutk* (1859, 1864–65) were published in Paris. *Arewelk* (1855–56) and *Arewmutk* (1859, 1864–65) were published in Paris. Numerous cultural and educational societies promoted knowledge throughout the Armenian communities. The translation of Western authors into Armenian continued with a feverish zeal. A worthy competitor to the Mekhitarists, who were selective in their approach, was a group of translators in Smyrna, who in the second half of the century translated more than two hundred volumes, mostly from French and a few from English, German, and Italian. The writings of many old Armenian historians were rendered into European languages, and Armenian was established as an Indo-European language by European linguists and historians who now took a closer interest in Armenian studies. Grammars of Armenian (both Classical and Modern) and non-Armenian languages, dictionaries (Armenian, especially the celebrated *Nor bağırkHaykazeanclezui*, Venice, 1836–37, and multilingual), histories, and geographical and topographical works were published in abundance. Of the several histories and surveys of Armenian literature that appeared in Italian, German, Russian, and Armenian, Garegin Zarbhanelean’s *Patmutiwn*
hayeren dpruteants (2 vols., 1865, 1878) should be singled out. Numerous valuable collections of folkloric and ethnographic material and studies were made public, helping the Armenians restore continuity to their tradition. In this respect, particularly noteworthy was the impact of the theater.

The theatrical presentations of Mekhitarist students were emulated in other schools in Constantinople. Local talents organized performances in the middle of the century, and the first Western Armenian professional theater ("Arewelean tatron") was established in Constantinople in 1861. Artists trained in this theater formed the Gedikpaşa ("Osmaniye") Theater under Yakob Vardovean (c1840–98?, better known in Turkish sources by the Turkified form of his name, Güllü Agop), who in 1868 was given a ten-year monopoly on Turkish performances. The Armenian theater of Tiflis originated almost simultaneously. When Abdulhamid II suspended performances at the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78, a most talented group of actors and actresses from Gedikpaşa revived the Armenian theater of Tiflis. The repertoire, most of which is non-extant, was made up of translations of the works of the giants of European theater and original plays in Armenian.

A vast corpus of literature in the form of books, periodicals, and pamphlets in Armeno-Turkish (Turkish in Armenian characters) appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The practice was put to extensive use by Catholic and Protestant missionaries and by the Church of Armenia in counter-propaganda literature of religious nature. But in the second half of the century, numerous works by European authors (mainly French) were rendered into Armeno-Turkish. Of the few books originally created in Armeno-Turkish, the novel Agapi (i.e., Agape, Constantinople, 1851) by Yovsëpf pasha Vardanean (1815–79) should be mentioned. The tradition continued well into the twentieth century but was totally confined to religious literature.

By the end of the century, most of the usual European genres were being emulated by Armenian authors. Beginning in the middle of the century, literary reviews, at times in the form of extensive essays, began to appear in the periodical press, which initially also hosted a great many literary pieces. But it was only in the 1890s that criticism acquired some semblance of sophistication and professionalism. Gradually, small circles of readership were formed, especially in big cities such as Constantinople and Tiflis, and clearer perceptions of literature as belles-lettres emerged. These urban centers were inundated with translations, Venetian editions of early Armenian historians, and some work of original composition. The latter, poems long and short, were mainly of a patriotic nature in
the first half of the century and were dominated by Mekhitarist literary theory and verse, which does not merit attention here. Classicism, jejune and removed from life, is what the Mekhitarists preached and practiced. But it was one of them, Lewond Alişan (q.v.), who broke the mold and helped accomplish the transition to romantic verse in Western Armenian literature. The volume containing this cycle of poems appeared in 1858, and although exact dates are generally unhelpful in tracing the evolution of literary trends, it so happened that the year saw the publication of two other books: "Hayk the Hero" (Hayk Diwtsazn) by Arşen Bagratuni (q.v.), a senior fellow monk of Alişan; and the "Wounds of Armenia" (Veğk Hayastani) by Hachatur Abovean (q.v.). The former, a poem more than twenty-two thousand lines long, a noble effort indeed, was stillborn and at once signified the apogee of the age of classicism and its demise. Abovean’s creation, on the other hand, proved to be an epoch-making novel that pointed to the future path of Eastern Armenian literature.

Mention has been made of the periodical press’s hosting a great many literary works. This led to a certain degree of confusion, polarization, and monopoly, especially in Eastern Armenian literature. On the one hand, the periodical press helped disseminate and promote literature; on the other it confined literature to social-political issues, reducing it to a tool almost completely devoid of purely literary and aesthetic aspects. This certainly contributed to the already prevailing view of the tendentious nature of literature. Secondly, a spirit of partii-pris gripped a number of writers who identified with the outlook of certain authoritative papers (soon to be replaced by political parties). This blurred the fine line separating partisan from tendentious literature. Hence, some writers greeted the appearance in the 1890s of purely literary journals in Eastern Armenian with a deep sigh of relief. In terms of literary “schools,” V. Hugo was immensely popular; Zola, too, had by this time become a household name, and the distinction between realism and naturalism was an overriding concern. In Western Armenian prose, with Paronean’s satire and the appearance in the mid-1880s of realist writers around the daily Arewelk (A. Arpiarean and his circle), a more or less swift transition to realism had taken place. But romanticism lingered on in Eastern Armenian prose throughout the 1880s (Raffi) and beyond (Muratsan). At the same time, and especially on into the 1890s, realists (e.g., Şirvanzade) made their literary debut.

We now come to the larger cultural context enveloping both literatures. The duality between East and West in Armenian tradition that had manifested itself in political, social, cultural, religious terms, and in various other forms since the dawn of Armenian history had more
or less corresponded to the geographic division of Armenia proper into such parts. Perennially, Armenia was a field where the two civilizations clashed, competed, or fused with no grave or permanent threat to its overall cultural unity. But the Armenians faced new realities in the nineteenth century, and political factors (Russo-Ottoman antagonism), geographical distances, religious-hierarchical disunity, the formation of mind under different circumstances and influences (e.g., Eastern Armenian students attended Russian and north European, primarily German, universities, while Western Armenians went to Latin Europe, mainly France), and the rise of two national standards rendered the growing gap between the Eastern and Western Armenians somewhat unbridgeable. This happened despite some conscious efforts on the part of such writers as A. Arpiarean (q.v.) to build bridges between the two literatures, and despite the immense popularity of Y. Paronean and Tzerents among Eastern Armenian readers and Raffi’s reputation among Western Armenian readers. (Though hard evidence is lacking, it is quite tempting to those familiar enough with the era as to capture its “mood” by putting the pieces together, to speculate that a few Western Armenian intellectuals with affection and nostalgia reflected upon the idea of Cilicia as their homeland. One of the eloquent and indeed evocative testimonies is Nahapet Rusinean’s moving and still-popular poem, “Kilikia,” i.e., Cilicia, an adaptation surpassing the original model, “Ma Normandie,” by Frédéric Bérat, a French poet-musician, 1801–55. Initially, the wish may have been father to the thought, but the dream was pursued in the wake of World War I, under entirely different circumstances.) Moreover, in the second half of the century, Russia witnessed social and political turmoil and underwent profound cultural changes, all of which had an immediate and widespread impact on Eastern Armenian literature and political thought. Such was not the case in the Ottoman Empire, where the Armenian provinces (the easternmost part of what is today called Turkey) were a particularly stagnant region. The Armenians had nothing to learn from their overlords, except, perhaps, to master the art of survival under oppression and maltreatment, a result of the very nature of the Ottoman political system. They looked up to their newly formed leadership stationed in far away Constantinople to ameliorate their conditions. Here, the situation was very different from that in the provinces, and at least one intellectual (Grigor Ótean, i.e., Krikor Odian Efendi, 1834–87) participated in the Ottoman constitutional movement. But it soon became glaringly apparent to Armenians and non-Armenians alike that Ottoman imperialism had no prospects of survival as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious system. The Eastern Armenians, now subjects of a Christian power and soon of cultural oppression, focused
their attention on delivering Armenia from the Ottoman yoke. They pinned their hope on the Russians to remove the borderline that separated the two halves of the Armenian people. Literature played a prominent role in this and all other national affairs.

By the middle of the century, cultural conditions were in place in Constantinople for a new era in the long history of Armenian literature. The tradition had not been interrupted, and there were new stimuli, emanating mainly from the West, a new impetus generated by the clash of the old and the new and an inspiring sense of renewal and anticipation. There was a small reading public and an audience whose taste for the theater had been cultivated by European troupes. The Armenian theater needed, and was indeed provided with, a native repertoire. Much groundwork was done by a number of public figures, literati, and intellectuals: Nikos Palean (1826–58), Nikos Zorayan (1821–59), Nahapet Rusinean (1819–76), Grigor Ötean (1834–87), Servichên (Serovbê Vichênean, 1815–97), and a few others played a vital role in the cultural, educational, and social-political activities of the time. Resistance to novel ideas came from the conservatives and their theorist, Karapet Têroyents (also known as Tër Karapetean and Chamurçean, 1801–88), an erudite and polyglot Christian apologist, who saw mainly ritual differences between the Armenian, Greek, and Latin churches that together formed the Catholic Church to the exclusion of the Protestants. The Mekhitarists, conservative in matters religious, cultural, and political, certainly contributed their share by popularizing European translations. In the early 1850s, they published a two-volume collection of their own verse (Talk mhifaréan vardapetats, Poems of the Mekhitarist Fathers), followed by A. Bagratuni’s poem Hayk Diwtsazn, all in conformity with the norms of classicism. But their poetic output (with the exception of Ališan’s) had a limited scope and influence.

One of the earliest prose pieces was a penny dreadful novel (Y. Hisarean’s Hovrov ew Makruhi, 1851). But together with Lewond Ališan (q.v.), whose fame and influence lingered on, romantic poets and playwrights (M. Pëşiktaslean, P. Durean, q.q.v.) led the way. Y. Paronean (q.v.) dominated the 1870s with his satire, and Tzerents (q.v.) wrote the first historical novel. In the early 1880s, S. Tiwsab (q.v.) in her novels called attention to the plight of women, a concern echoed by a number of woman writers in the 1890s (e.g., Mariam Hatischean, Mari Svacean), whose work is yet to be explored. The decade saw the rise to prominence of a younger generation of writers, the realists (A. Arpiarean, T. Kamsaran, G. Zöhrap, q.q.v., et al.), who in their novels and short stories looked at the social realities of the community in Constantinople and the
dismal predicament of migrants from the provinces. The massacres of the mid-1890s concluded the era as Armenian authors, fleeing the carnage, sought safety in Europe and elsewhere, and just as fresh voices were beginning to mirror life in the Armenian provinces.

The development of modern Eastern Armenian from a dialect into a literary standard owes much to the Lazarean and Nersisean schools. Both had printing presses and both in the late 1820s published the initial literary experiments (verse in Classical Armenian) of their students. In some ways, the Armenian communities of India, which had always maintained active channels of communication with Eastern Armenia, helped promote progress, providing additional impetus to belles-lettres. The first serious effort in prose, in the form of novels, was made by M. Taliadean (q.v.), for whom India was a second home. Here as well as in Western Armenian literature, the initial novels lacked originality and were mostly adaptations. But the laurel has been given to H. Abovean (q.v.) as the father of modern Eastern Armenian literature, though some critics have unjustifiably proclaimed him to be the founder of modern Armenian literature in general. His work, with an emphasis on active patriotism, the homeland, and the Armenian ethos, inspired many subsequent writers. From the middle of the century on, Russian social, political, and literary realities exercised an eminent influence on Armenian thought and letters. Not only did Armenian authors (most of them graduates of Russian universities) admire the magnificent accomplishments of Russian literature, they also lived much closer to the homeland, which similarly felt the weight of the radical changes sweeping Russia. Narodnichestvo ("populism") resonated in some Armenian political and intellectual circles, as did its cry, khozhdenie v narod (to go to the countryside, to the people). Not surprisingly, then, there took shape a socially committed literature, with poets (Ř. Patkanean, S. Šahaziz, q.q.v.) far outnumbered by writers of prose. Sundukean's talent shone in vaudevilles and comedies mirroring the Armenian community of Tiflis. The intellectual battles between various currents of thought (revolutionary-democrats, liberals, conservatives, and in Soviet Armenian terminology, "clerical-feudalist" circles) were fought in the periodicals where many a literary piece was originally published. Apologists for the traditional and proponents of change passionately disagreed on the national standard, the nature and role of literature, the elements of Armenian identity, and the part the Church was to play in it. The land reform in Transcaucasia, the arrival of the railway and telegraph, and the Baku oil fields transformed rural Armenia rapidly and profoundly. For many a writer the disintegration of Armenian peasantry meant the destruction of traditional society and
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moral degeneration. At the same time as impoverishment struck the countryside, the Armenian bourgeoisie, the wealthiest in Transcaucasia, attained a dominant position in the economy of the region. Things soon took a turn for the worse when, in the wake of the Russo-Ottoman War, Russian chauvinism raised its head and a ruthlessly rigid censorship stifled Armenian intellectual creativity. Heretofore, the Armenians had looked up to Russia expecting, with euphoria before the outbreak of the war, the liberation of Western Armenia from Ottoman domination. Instead, abandoning all tactful appearances, the Russians now openly and in a hostile fashion pursued a policy of Russification and colonization. The intelligentsia turned inward in an attempt to maintain the precarious unity of their nation, Church, and culture, which was now subject to the severest political, cultural, and economic repressions in both empires. Younger patriots founded the political parties. Ř. Patkanean with his declamatory patriotic verse, Sundukean with his theater, and Prōšean, Alayean, and Raffi with their novels and short prose examined the social-political conditions and turned to history and the magic world of folk tales to reflect and react to these challenges. A romantic Muratsan clung to traditional values and invoked the past. Širvanzade analyzed the ravages of industrial capitalism, Nar-Dos explored the psychological effects on the alienated individual, and H. Hovhannisyan, with his fresh, lyrical poems, conquered a new frontier in Eastern Armenian verse, paving the way for the next generation of poets.

A Survey of the Literature of the Age

YOVHANNÈS SEBASTATSI (d. 1830) has left a history of the monastery of Surb Nšan (Holy Cross) in Sebastea (Sivas), published in Erevan in 1974 by B. Chugaszyan under the title Patmuı̈wn Sebastiøy. It is essentially a history of the monastery from its building in 1021 to 1829, with a list of the Armenian prelates of the area, cast against a background of abundant information on the region about government and governors, economy, demography, Armenian craftsmen, Armenian amiras, fourteen martyrologies, events in and around Sebastea, and many other useful and reliable information. Yovhannès drew upon the work of Grigor Magistros, Mattêos Urhayetsi, Samuēl Anetsi, Vardan Areweltsi, Kirakos Gandzaketsi, and others for the earlier period of his history, and on Mikayël Chamchean (q.v.) and various chronologies, bulls, inscriptions, colophons, crosses, ornaments, and such religious utensils and furniture for the more recent and contemporary period of his history. Some of
the religious-moral poems and epitaphs he composed are found in his *Nerbolakan nuagerutwinn* . . . (Tiflis, 1825).

**YOVHANNÊS L.RIMETSI** (Pot:iantsi, d. 1848) is the author of a history of the monastery of Halpat to 1827. It is a topographical, geographical, and historical record of the monastic complex and churches in Halpat and its neighborhood, and of famous monks, fathers-superior, and local dignitaries and leaders. Among the sources he used for the earlier period are Vardan Areweltsi, Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Štepanos Asolik, Štepanos Örbelean, and inscriptions.

A native of Gümüşhane, **MANUEL KIWMIWŞANATSİ** (1768–1843), is the author of an “autobiography,” *Andznakan patmutiwn Manuel Kivmiwšanatsi vardapeti, Altuneani kam Şahinovï*. The published part concludes with the year 1836, and the work is a detailed description of himself and of his travels and work in St. Petersburg, Crimea, Tiflis, Ejmiatzin, and Sewan. He deals extensively and at times colorfully with the pastoral positions he held in Armenia and Crimea. There are interesting parts on the conquest of Erevan, for instance, by the Russians (1828), when he was the librarian of Ejmiatzin and made laudable efforts to repair and preserve old manuscripts; his role in recruiting students for the celebrated Lazarean Institute (established in Moscow in 1815 and in 1827 renamed the “Lazarevskii institut vostochnykh iazykov”), to which he donated his collection of manuscripts; and the Dawit-Daniëlean imbroglio over the succession to the throne of Ejmiatzin, in which Russia and Persia were closely involved.

Kiwmiwšanatsi has a history of the monastery of Sewan (*Patmutiwn antsits antselsots Sêwanay vanuts*). Following Movsês Horenatsi, he begins with etymologies of toponyms (Gešam, etc.), the building of the chapel allegedly erected by Gregor Lusaworich and Trdat the Great, and a curious popular etymology for the name “Sevan” (from “sa ë van,” i.e., this is [a] monastery). He then moves on to the Arab period, the building of the complex, renovations and traditions (with some criticism of Mikayël Chamchean’s “Chalcedonian” views), inscriptions, the founding of the hermitage, the succession of fathers-superior (one of whom, fearing the wrath of Catholicos Simêon Erewantsi (q.v.) on the eve of his visit to Sewan, threw into the lake some old, disintegrated manuscripts and records!), and a list of relics and utensils with their donors or provenance.

Kiwmiwšanatsi also has a *Lutz armatoyyn meroy* (literally, The yoke of our root) on fasting. The “root” is Adam, from whom emanates the tradition of fasting, which Kiwmiwšanatsi promotes with supporting material from the Old and New Testaments, Basil of Caesarea, Ambrose,
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Jerome, Augustine, Nectarius, Grigor Narekatsi, Nerses Šnorhali, and many other Armenian and non-Armenian authorities, guided by the maxim “fasting is the mother of all virtues, gluttony is the mother of all vices.” The book concludes with a poem by his “spiritual father,” Yovhannës Sebastatsi Chertezean (d. 1796), archbishop of Amasia and Marzuan (Merzifon), and one-sentence quotations against drinking from Seneca, Ambrose, Jerome, and others.

YOVHANNËS KARNETSI (c. 1755–1820s?) is remembered as a scribe, a celebrated teacher in Karin (Erzurum), and a poet whose verse (still mostly in manuscript form) is yet to be fully evaluated. His manuscript on the life and work of Grigor Ōšakantsi (q.v.) is not extant, but two later copies of the original have survived. His love poetry shows influences from Turkish poetry and would certainly be a good case for the study of Armeno-Turkish literary relations at this juncture. A considerable part of his work consists of translations from Turkish into Armenian and vice versa. His poem on the famine of 1813 in Karin (Movsës Horenatsi and Dawit Anyalt, “the Invincible,” figure among the city’s founders!), which had devastating social and economic consequences, is of a descriptive nature. His imagination and verve are memorable in his poems on the occasion of the martyrdom of Sahak manuk (Sahak Mësër Karnetsi) in 1778; Yarutiwn Karnetsi in Smyrna in 1806; Lazar in Baberd in 1809; and those of Dvnik (a village near Karin) in 1810, with Varvare as the central heroine. Like most other martyrs, these too die for their ancestral faith and identity, and like many other poems written on similar occasions, they have a social and political significance in that they highlight, among other things, the ways in which conversion to Islam was at times imposed on Armenians.

ŁUNKIANOS (d. 1841?), born probably in Erzurum, moved at a young age to Tabriz with his father where he learned Persian. He was then sent to the Antonean Catholic monastery in Lebanon, but he never took the vows of celibacy. He spent some years in Egypt, where he learned Arabic, engaged in trade, and lost his fortune aboard a ship destroyed by the Greek fleet. He lived in Aleppo for a brief period and moved to the Crimea in 1828. He returned to Lori, Armenia, via St. Petersburg and Tiflis, by the time the Armenians of Karin had retreated with the Russian Army to Śirak, where he spent some time teaching. He journeyed to Constantinople on several occasions, but spent most of his time in Akhalkalak, where he died.

He wrote in Armenian and Turkish, but only his Armenian poems on religious themes have been published. He wrote “divānī,” “ilāhī,” “destan,” “dû-baṭī,” and in other forms. The central theme is the Blessed
Virgin. He sings of her as a lover would sing of his love, and as H. Thorossian has with good reason suggested in his *Histoire de la littérature arménienne*, he may have had carnal love in mind. He is tired of this life and longs for the next. Although sincere, Łunkianos is monotonous and lacks depth. He also has a few pieces of occasional poetry, such as the one on the dispute between “baht and ḥelk,” where Fortune and Intelligence eventually agree that only he who possesses them both may succeed in life. He writes in a Western Armenian mixed with elements from the Širak dialect.

A native of Van, educated at the hermitage at Ktuts (an islet in Lake Van) and at Constantinople, **YOYHANNÈS VANANDETSI** (1772–1840) lived chiefly in Smyrna, where he became a priest and taught at the famous Mesropean school. Well-versed in Armenian letters, he also knew Turkish and taught himself Arabic and Persian. But he knew no European languages and his training, the best the Armenian educational system could offer, was inferior to that of a Mekhitarist monk or to European standards. Although a gifted poet, his lack of sophistication in literary craftsmanship decidedly limited the artistic appeal of his poetry. Not only that, he had no masters to learn from as he composed three long poems, seminal in many ways and pointing to two dominant topics for subsequent authors: piety and patriotism. This partly emanated from the themes he tackled, but the Greek War of Independence and Russian expansion and victories against the Ottoman Empire could have alerted him to the urgency of national identity, unity, and pride.

In Vanandetsi’s *Arpiakan Hayastani* (i.e., the celestial or luminous age of Armenia), narrated in nearly ten thousand lines, is Agaṭ’angelos’s *History* in verse (including St. Gregory’s Teaching), which employs a certain degree of poetic license. Needless to say, Grigor Lusaworich is the central hero, and here, as in his other poems, Armenia is considered the cradle of mankind with a pronounced emphasis on the orthodoxy and primacy of the Church of Armenia. It concludes with Grigor Lusaworich laboring over his *Yačahapatum čark* (“multifarious homilies”), a work, in fact, of uncertain authorship.

His *Tesaran handisitsn Haykay, Aramay ew Arayi* (a review of the brave deeds of Hayk, Aram, and Ara) is based on the first part of Movsès Ḥorenatsi’s *History*, in which the origins of the Armenians and the exploits of their legendary forefather and his successors are narrated. Vanandetsi does not adhere to Ḥorenatsi’s chronology, but in his master’s spirit he sings, in some six-thousand rhymed lines, of their valor and virtues and castigates the “lascivious” Šamiram (Semiramis) with an elegy for Ara, a victim of his innocence and handsome appearance.
Oshti dar Hayastani (The golden age of Armenia) is a history in verse (nearly fifty-six hundred lines long) of Armenia beginning with Adam and descending down to the modern times. It is a conflation of facts and fiction culled from Armenian historians and traditions, with a resounding patriotic message and a stream of invective against American missionaries mentioned just as an afterthought. This marks the initial stages of a new front of battles with the missionaries, who professed to have arrived in the region with a view to reforming the “corrupt” and “degenerate” Church of Armenia from within, but who soon helped establish a new, separate Armenian community: the Protestants. Vanandetsi, for one, looked at them with grave suspicion; he thought that they should have taken their proselytizing zeal to un-Christian lands, such as China and Japan.

There are some very good parts in all three of Vanandetsi’s poems, illuminated by the bright flashes of his poetic talent. He was among the earliest writers to introduce political elements into poetry; to exhort his fellow countrymen to be patriotic and pious, deriving inspiration from the past splendor of their country; to promote knowledge and learning; and to resort to self-defense should they or any aspect of their identity be threatened by hostile forces.

Although belles-lettres as such was not a primary concern for the Mekhitarists, Arsen Bagratuni (1790–1866), a gifted poet and an erudite man of letters, stands out among the few who engaged in literary activities. He is acclaimed as the best representative of Armenian Classicism, with a few more feathers in his hat as a linguist, translator, and teacher. The occasional poems he wrote to elegize or eulogize certain dates or figures and his two posthumously published plays call for no special attention here. But there is a clue to understanding his magnum opus, Hayk Diwtsazn (Hayk the hero), in the fact that Bagratuni remained a staunch supporter of Classical Armenian to the very end of his life.

Bagratuni had a passion for all things classical. He loved his Greek and Latin, and imitating Homer and Virgil, he created the Armenian classical epic, Hayk Diwtsazn. It is perhaps the longest poem in Armenian literature, made up of more than twenty-two thousand lines, and embodies his cherished dream to glorify the origins of his people. His choice for a hero naturally fell upon Hayk, who for well over a millennium had been lionized as the legendary forefather of the Armenians. Whatever the original content and contour of the pagan myth, the so-called Primary History had placed Hayk’s story in the biblical context; Movses Ḥorenatsi had worked out an elaborate pedigree for Hayk as a descendant of Japheth, and Mikayêl Chamchean (q.v.) put the finishing touches to the myth in
his History. Pushing poetic license beyond its limits, Bagratuni fleshed out the story into an intricate plot with a resounding message of piety and patriotism.

Briefly told, the Lord chooses Hayk to fight His battles against the ungodly Bel. The latter makes three requests for Hayk to worship him as god, to recognize his political supremacy, and to give his daughter to him for wife. Hayk rejects all three demands (the first two are later dropped), and hostilities follow. Bel is aided and abetted by forces of evil, Hayk by the goddess Astlik, biblical patriarchs, saints, and a celestial host. There follow numerous clashes and sea battles, and conflicts and clashes of personalities within Hayk’s camp. Haykak, son of Hayk, is killed in action; Hayk is wounded, but an attempt on his life is foiled. Many other events lead to the Almighty’s displeasure and, therefore, to a state of disastrous flux. Here, Noah intercedes with prayers, and as Heaven triumphs over the forces of evil, Hayk downs Bel with his arrow.

Bagratuni is heavily indebted to Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Tasso, Milton, Chateaubriand, and many others for the form and structure of his eponymous poem. The basic elements of the story he borrowed from Armenian historians, but the elaborate plot was the brainchild of his own imagination. He must have been familiar with a play bearing the same title by another Mekhitarist monk, Elia Tomacean, either through reading it in manuscript form or attending its performance at St. Lazarus in 1805. He must have also been aware of Tesaran handisitsn Haykay, Aramay ew Arayi by Yovhannës Vanandetsi (q.v.). Both works may have inspired the conception of Bagratuni’s poem, but the plots, save the traditional outline of the myth, bear no resemblance to it. Bagratuni’s greater gift, skill and eloquence, make his poem distinctly superior to either model.

Yet, despite Bagratuni’s masterful command of Classical Armenian, his fertile imagination, the putative appeal of his message, the magnificent Armenian customs and traditions he created, and the splendid triumph of Hayk, the poem was met with total indifference. A number of factors accounted for this. First and foremost, very few Armenians could read Classical Armenian. Secondly, the religious-biblical aspects were so overwhelming that blending them with a decidedly heroic, pagan past turned the poem into a toyland where, in a sort of deus ex machina fashion, nothing moved without divine dispensation. This religious thrust did not resonate with the political aspirations of the Armenians; there was, for instance, no real threat to the faith of the Armenians at the time. Thirdly, the microcosm he created was not recognizably Armenian and seemed distant and unrelated to the Armenian ethos, past and present. Last but not least, the poem suffered from numerous technical flaws: protraction,
harangues, and many an excursus in a frequently convoluted style. It was a monumental effort, indeed, with many attractive passages, which has forced the historians of Armenian literature to regard it as the masterpiece of Armenian Classicism. But both this school and its best expression arrived rather late in the day; not surprisingly, it had few readers and still fewer imitators.

YARUTIWN ARARATEAN’s (1774–1830s?) memoirs cover the years 1751–97. He was well connected to a number of influential Russians and Armenians in St. Petersburg, and his story is an imaginative and at times imaginary account of his own life, intimately woven into a background of contemporary events. Somehow, things are either black or white to him as are the portraits he depicts. Particularly negative is his attitude towards the rich, the military, local rulers, and men of religion. His positive profiles, on the other hand, are bestowed with an angelic character; his indulgence in self-aggrandizement, therefore, comes as no surprise. A proponent of Russian orientation, Araratean supported the Russian advance in Transcaucasia, fully expecting that it would bring relief to his people and country.

GABRIËL PATKANEAN (1802–89, father of Řapayël Patkanean, q.v.), was a savant who made contributions to many aspects of Armenian cultural and social life. Although his literary output was mainly composed in the first half of the nineteenth century, much of it was published decades later, and much still remains in manuscript form. In addition to teaching, translating, and editing, he wrote a number of works in prose and an even greater number in verse. There is a touch of suspense to some of his prose writing, and the bulk and best of his poetry invokes figures from the pagan past and mythology. He was one of the earliest writers to employ modern Armenian in almost all of his oeuvre, making his own modest contribution to Armenian literature at this period of transition, which according to most Armenian scholars signals the beginning of the modern era in Armenian letters.

YARUTIWN ALAMDAREAN (1796–1834), a priest, poet, patriot, and teacher, was closely associated with three famous Armenian schools in the nineteenth century that have left their mark on generations of Armenian students: Ałababean in Astrakhan (1810), the Lazarean Institute in Moscow (1815), and the Nersisean School in Tiflis (1825). He studied under Serovbë Patkanean (1769–1836), father of Gabriël Patkanean (q.v.) and grandfather of Řapayël Patkanean (q.v.), and became a teacher himself before completing his studies. He was then invited to Moscow
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and taught at the Lazarean for almost ten years. The Nersisean in Tiflis opened its doors in January, 1825, with Alamdarean as its principal at the request of Catholicos Nersês V, Aštaraketsi (1843–1857), then primate of the Armenians of Tiflis. Here, under the supervision of Nersês himself, he was active in recruiting men and support for the Russian Army in its wars against the Persians and Ottomans in the late 1820s, which brought Eastern Armenia under the czar’s control. In conjunction with his teaching activities, Alamdarean prepared a number of primers on Armenian and Russian and Russian dictionaries, most of which (with the exception of his Russian-Armenian dictionary, Moscow, 1821) remain unpublished.

Some thirty poems and an incomplete play have secured a niche for him in the history of Armenian literature. He is a poet of transition, associated with previous verse in some ways, but departing from it in others, a fact that has led many critics to see him as a representative of Armenian classicism. Religious concerns and love nurture his imagination. The single most important event inspiring him was the death of his wife, reincarnated in his poetry as a beautiful woman in both body and soul. It is the grief of her untimely departure, which leaves him inconsolable, that informs his sentiments on love and companionship. His pain grows all the more deeper following his banishment to the monastery of Halpat (1830), which he soon left to become father superior of the monastery of Holy Cross in Nor-Nahijewan (Rostov-na-Donu). He writes in elegiac but simple Classical Armenian, with a warm imagination and sincerity that made some of his poems popular. His use of the “rose and nightingale” device, unlike earlier practice, is in a lucid Classical Armenian free from Persian imagery and words and holds no hope for the nightingale: no spring will ever bring the rose to life again.

**Western Armenian Literature**

Łewond Alişan (1820–1901) was both a voluminous and luminous author who commanded profound respect among his fellow countrymen and enjoyed wide recognition in European scholarly circles. What initially brought him popularity was the collection of his poems, *Nuagk*, published in 1857–58, and *Yuşikk hayreneats hayots*, a collection of inspiring portraits and episodes from Armenian history. There followed his massive volumes on the history, geography, topography, and flora of Armenia (*Širak, Sisuan, Ayrarat, Sisakan, Hay busak*, etc.); works of historical and philological nature (*Hay-Venet, Šnorhali ew paragay iw, Hayapatum*, etc.); and the publication of numerous texts, including the series titled *Soperk hayakakank*. Alişan made a number of translations such as Canto IV from *Childe Harold*, Schiller’s “Die Glocke,” and a collection titled...
Knar amerikean (i.e., American Lyre with works by N. P. Willis, Andrews Norton, Bryant, J. G. Whittier, and others).

*Nuagk* appeared in five volumes. The first volume, *Mankuni*, includes prayers and religious exhortations for children. The second contains a number of occasional verse of little value, but also some of his better, reflective poetry, as well as his still better poems dedicated to nature. The third volume, *Hayruni*, represents his patriotic songs, including the cycle of eleven poems subtitled “Ergk Nahapeti” (i.e., Songs of the patriarch), long recognized as the crown of his verse. Volume four, *Tëruni*, is made up of poems on religion, religious feasts, and saints. Volume five, *Thrum*, has human suffering, death, and the plight of émigrés as its main subjects.

Religion, faith, and patriotism dominate Alīšan’s work. Any search for dissension from Christian tenets on the Creator, the Creation, and human behavior would be a futile attempt. He cared, he said, not a whit for life on this planet, especially his own; but earthly concerns such as the misfortune of his fellow countrymen always troubled his compassionate soul. This frail and frugal monk himself in his early thirties extinguished the brilliant fire fueling his creative imagination, forever silencing the poet in him. His lavish poetic gift and his passionate disposition combined to create a formidable force, too dangerous for a monk. He marked the occasion with a moving poem bidding farewell to the muse (“Husk ban aṅ Ogin nuagahann,” *Nuagk*, v) and wishing eternity would immediately swallow him up.

Save for the cycle titled “Patriarch’s Songs,” all of his poetry is in Classical Armenian and has since been inaccessible to the public at large. Mekhitarist theorists are not entirely alone in their contention that Alīšan is at his best in the ancient tongue. What has been appealing to them has been his subject matter (religious, moral, and meditative) and his form and style (classical, majestic). The influence of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Hugo, Goethe, Schiller, and Byron has been noted as beneficial. Those who read Classical Armenian will most likely agree that his talent does indeed shine in many poems, though the quality is strikingly uneven overall and much of it is difficult to salvage. The “Patriarch’s Songs” are overrated and overemphasized by Soviet Armenian critics and somewhat berated by Mekhitarists as the ašulakan strain in Alīšan’s verse.

Most of Alīšan’s patriotic songs as well as his “Patriarch’s Songs” appeared in the third volume of his verse titled *Hayruni*. Figures and episodes from Armenian history sparked his imagination (King Trdat the Great; the military leaders Mušel, Vardan, and Vahan Mamikonean; King Ašot II, Erkat; the Aršakuni [Arsacid] dynasty; the battles of Dziraw and
Vardanank, etc.). The boisterous noise in some of his poems often seems to replace, or cover up, rebellious sentiments unutterable by a monk. His best poems, though few in number, are memorable. Of particular note are the ones dedicated to nature, to the heroes of the battle of Awarayr, and to the sad fate of his fatherland, in which he ponders over or thunderously complains of the afflictions befallen his people, in a tone of glowing pride and patriotism. Ališan's patriotism, it must be noted, despite its not-so-infrequent militant strains, was a cultural and in many ways a passive patriotism. It nonetheless had an enormous impact on the reading public, arousing a sense of unity, pride, and patriotism throughout the 1860s.

Ališan is among the earliest authors to write romantic verse (of nationalism and nature) in Modern Armenian, and thanks to this he has clinched a permanent niche in the history of Armenian literature. Ironically, he was a profound admirer of Classical Armenian and considered it far superior to the spoken idiom. His fame has far outlived his influence, for he has had some impact on a number of contemporary writers in terms of style, as well as topics he chose from Armenian history.

MKRTICH PĚŠIKTAŠLEAN (1828–68) found himself in the midst of some dramatic developments in the 1860s. In 1862, Zeitun (now Süleymani, Turkey) erupted against the local Ottoman authorities. Pěšiktaslean marked the occasion with a cycle of poems, but suggestions that he was involved in organizing this bold act of defiance seem to be unsubstantiated. Soon thereafter the so-called Armenian “constitution” was promulgated (1863), generating unrealistic expectations of a political nature. Both events, allied with the theater and patriotic poetry of the period, account for much of the romantic euphoria of the 1860s, to which Pěšiktaslean himself contributed to some degree.

Pěšiktaslean was active in organizing some of the earliest theatrical performances and in founding two societies: Hamazgeats (“National”) and Baregortzakan (“Beneficent”), both of which promoted education and agricultural work. One of the loudest cries heard at this juncture was the call for unity transcending religious-denominational boundaries as the Armenian Catholics and Armenian Protestants had by now been formally recognized by the Ottoman government as separate communities. Pěšiktaslean’s “We are brothers” (“Elbayr emk’ mek”) echoed and embodied such sentiments and brought him popular acclaim. His transient glory also partly rested on his dramas, some of which he acted in himself.

Sensing public dissatisfaction with the performances he staged in Classical Armenian (original and translations), Pěšiktaslean increasingly relied on the emerging new vernacular, but never fully shed the influence
of the Mekhitarists. His first play, *Koṙnak* (which he called a tragedy), is in Modern Western Armenian, as are his other three plays. It takes place in fourth-century Armenia (in the wake of King Trdat the Great’s death) and depicts a deadly conflict between unselfish patriots and treacherous traitors. His second tragedy, *Arşak [II]*, is only one of the numerous interpretations of the intriguing story of this enigmatic king. Very popular throughout the decade, it too revolves round unity and selfless patriotism. In both *Vahan [Mamikonean]* and *Vahē*, the clash of personal and national interests is illustrated. Similar preoccupations seem to have led Pëšikتراšlean to translate Voltaire’s *La Mort de César* and Alfieri’s *Saul* among others.

In many ways, Pëšikتراšlean’s tragedies conform to principles of Classicism, yet in other ways they depart from the canon. His are among the earliest in Modern Armenian, and at the time they intrigued and illuminated, delighted and inspired enthusiastic audiences. But his tragedies, like many of his poems, have not withstood the test of time.

Most of Pëšikتراšlean’s poems are in Classical Armenian, and besides occasional elegies, eulogies, epitaphs, etc., they primarily express the patriotism and love sentiments of a sad, sensitive soul. The four poem cycle on Zeitun was and still is popular, as are his “Tzern Vanay” (The old man from Van), “Elbayr emk’ mek” (“We are brothers”), and particularly, “Garun” (Spring; beginning “Oh, inch anuš ew inçpēs zov . . . ,” believed to have been put to music by Tigran Chuhačean, 1837–98). Two of the Zeitun poems are adaptations: one of Hugo’s “L’Enfant” from *Les Orientales* and the other of Charles Wolfe’s poem “The Burial of Sir John Moore.” Pëšikتراšlean has made some other adaptations and a noteworthy translation of a popular romance, “Ma Normandie” (rendered as “Erg hayreni,” A song of the homeland), by Frédéric Bérat, a French poet-musician (1801–55), which inspired a far more popular and enduring adaptation by Nahapet Rusinean (“Kilikia,” Cilicia). Few though they are, Pëšikتراšlean’s best poems are attractive for their sincere emotions and lyricism, sympathetic concerns, and subtle and occasional humor, and are among the earliest exemplars heralding the rise of the Romantic tradition in modern Armenian literature.

**PETROS DUREAN** (1851–72), a poet, playwright, and aspiring actor, broke new ground in Armenian poetry. In many ways, the modern lyric tradition originates in his work; both in manner and matter it is removed from the then prevalent Mekhitarist patterns. Despite flaws in the technique, it is unfettered by conventions and concerns, and thus it is innovative and splendidly spontaneous. His imagery and metaphors
are fresh and eloquent, his immediacy charming, and his diction limpid. Beneath his predominantly elegiac and seemingly subdued style, there lurks a tempestuous soul, eagerly but vainly trying to cling to a life sadly cut short by consumption. In his slim collection of verse shines some of the best lines ever uttered in Armenian.

Durean’s patriotic sentiments forcefully manifest his genuine concern for his fellow countrymen and their uncertain fate. Unlike Lewond Ališan (q.v.), he is preoccupied with their present and future, and in a burst of rebellious sentiments, he urges them to protest. In another instance he calls on the sultan either to curb disorder and depredations or to allow the Armenians to carry arms for purposes of self-defense. He knew that his death was imminent and expressed regret that his contribution to national aspirations would be as short-lived as his life. Unrequited love and personal agony, failing health and unfulfilled dreams, intense feelings of loneliness and forlornness, and his own life so quickly slipping through his fingers inspired his lyrical poetry. He exploded in an awesome protest (“black torrent”) against God for his cruel fate in one poem, and mitigated in repentance with calm and pride in the next. Despite his regret he did not expunge the former poem from the record.

The Armenian theater in Constantinople fascinated Durean. Despite his father’s opposition, he frequented performances and engaged in acting. Given the financial hardship his family suffered at the time, practical purposes may also have been one of the factors attracting him to the theater. He collaborated with the leading theatrical figure of the time, Yakob Vardovean (later also referred to in Turkish sources as Gülüü Agop). Most of his plays were staged in his own lifetime, bringing him instant recognition that was to be sustained and multiplied by his poems after his death. Durean’s plays, too, departed from established molds. His Varp ew Šuşan ... (Rose and lily ...) is an intensely emotional melodrama in the earlier sense of the term. His second play, Artasës ašharhakal (Artashes [II] the Conqueror), a historical play on the founder of the Artaxiad dynasty in Armenia, mostly conforms to the rules of classicism. Sew holer ... (Black soil, but the word figuratively could also mean “tomb”), his most frequently staged tragedy, illustrates patriotism against a background of Tamerlane’s destructive raids. Durean transcends the limitations of classicism in Ankumn Aršakuni ... (The fall of the Aršakuni dynasty), which depicts the end of the Aršakuni royal line as a result of the treachery of Armenian naharars (nobles). Another historical play of intrigue and betrayal is Aspatakutiwne parskats i Hays ... (In-cursions of the Persians into Armenia, or the destruction of the Bagratid capital of Ani). Durean’s last play, Tatron kam tšuañer (Theater or
wretched people), tackles social injustice and moral corruption through the story of two lovers, who as actors commit suicide on stage. These plays are reckoned to be among the earliest works of romantic drama. They enjoyed wide popularity and certainly had an impact on the rising tide of patriotism at the time. But they were the initial experiments of a teenager, and even though they occasionally glisten with his genius, they have not worn well.

**MATTĒOS MAMUREAN** (1830–1901) was a writer, translator, educator, public figure, celebrated editor and publicist, and one of the more prominent representatives of the Armenian community of Smyrna, the second largest center of Armenian culture in the Ottoman Empire. He was well-versed in English and French letters, and played an important role in promoting Western literature and cultivating a readership. He also contributed to the emerging Western Armenian standard. His *Angliakan namakani* (English letters) highlights patriotism and the cause of enlightenment in Armenia and the dire consequences of emigration. *Haykakan namakani* (Armenian letters) focuses on the contemporary Armenian scene, especially the issue of the so-called Armenian constitution and constitutionalism, and portrays some of the well-known public figures of the time, including Grigor Ötean (Krikor Odian Efendi) among others. His *Sew lerin mardē* (The man of the black mountain) remained incomplete.

The background to the novel is the Russo-Persian War of 1826–28. The novel is intensely anti-czarist, partly because of the failure of the Russians to compensate in tangible political terms the assistance the Armenians had given them during the campaign in Transcaucasia. In his popular monthly, *Arewelean mamul*, which he founded in 1871, Mamurean covered a very wide range of social, cultural, literary, educational, and political issues of considerable importance.

**YAKOB PARONEAN** (1843–91) is the first great master of sweeping satire, vivid humor, and comedies of unsurpassed popularity. An ethical purist and a self-appointed arbiter of the social scene, this expert of demolition left hardly any contemporary person or issue of import untouched. If the public respected him, many of his victims looked daggers at him, and some denounced him. The periodicals he published, although popular, never paid the bills as the not-so-numerous copies sold circulated among wider circles of non-subscribers. No source of supplementary income ever enabled him to free himself of the clutches of poverty. This and the failure of his campaign to reform society through whiplash words seem to a certain degree to have affected the mood and mode, if not pertinacity, of his satire.
Paronean's political criticism is found in his minor journalistic pieces and columns, particularly in "Ksmifner" ("Pinches," published in *Tatron*) and "Im dzeratetrë" ("My notebook," published in *Pordz* of Tiflis). In the early 1870s, he threw his unqualified support behind Patriarch Mkrtich Hrimean (q.v.) and his efforts to have the Armenian constitution revised. From Europe he chose Don Carlos (1848–1909) and the Carlist risings (1872–76) to poke fun at freely, with no restrictions imposed by the Ottoman censorship. But both issues receded from his sight as he exposed the consequences of maltreatment and inequality in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, arising from the corruption and inefficiency of Ottoman officialdom and the nature of the Ottoman political system. As the Balkans erupted in rebellion, leading to the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78, which in turn gave rise to the Armenian Question as an international issue, Paronean punctured the pious pretensions of the European powers in pithy chronicles and with biting sarcasm. He ferociously attacked Ottoman internal policy, especially with regard to the Armenians. No contemporary Armenian observer has so perspicuously evaluated the diplomatic entanglements and political rivalries of the time, maintaining all along that the very foundation of such selfish policies was the same old adage: might is right.

The *National Big-Wigs* (Azgayin jojer) contains some of Paronean's brightest satirical pages. Paronean owes its conception to the biographies published in the French periodical *Le Polichinelle* rather than to Plutarch's *Lives* or Mattëos Mamurean's *Haykakan namakani* (Armenian letters). Some writers such as Ötean and Zöhrap (q.q.v.) benefited from Paronean's experience in their satirical and non-satirical biographies. All biographies begin with the birth of a given celebrity and evaluate the negative aspects of his activities. Except for a few, all portraits are critical. Some are written with annihilating satire. The portraits include figures active in public affairs, priests, editors, artists, writers, and celebrities. There were some omissions, such as Grigor Ötean (Krikor Odian Efendi, 1834–87), Yarutfiwn Tatean (Artin Pasha Dadian, 1830–1901), and Servichëñ (Serovbë Vichënean, 1815–97), who all served the Ottoman government. All portraits are cast against a background of contemporary Armenian realities that come alive in these lives. There are portraits with some protraction and verbosity, and a reading of them without appropriate annotation of the contemporary scene is difficult. But overall they are highly original, despite the obscurity of their circumstances, and they scintillate with wit or elicit sardonic smiles with their devastating satire.

Paronean's comedies mark the earliest stages of the genre in modern Armenian literature. His first experiment seems to have been *Erku têrov*
tzaray mē (A servant of two masters), a comedy with a very simple plot, inspired by the second and third acts of Goldoni’s work of the same title. His next comedy was a musical (in the European sense) called Atamnaboyzn arewelean (The oriental dentist), and it bears much brighter marks of his comical genius. It ridicules quacks as well as the predictable consequences of incompatible marriages. Šolokortē (The flatterer), lacking a concluding scene, was later completed by Eruand Ōtean (q.v.). The structure of this comedy and some of its protagonists echo Molière’s L’Avare and also reflect Paronean’s continuing search for his own comic characters. This he accomplished some fifteen years later with his best comedy, Paltasar Albar (Uncle Balthazar).

Paltasar Albar is a most, if not the most, popular play in the Armenian comic repertoire. Not surprisingly, Balthazar has been interpreted both as a stupid wealthy man, who is made a laughingstock, and as a simple honest person worthy of sympathy. The former is the result of the considerable resemblances this work bears to Molière’s Georges Dandin and is typical of the Western Armenian theatrical tradition; the latter is a tendency one observes among the Eastern Armenians, which, ideological changes and pursuits notwithstanding, has found expression in the acting of such celebrated Soviet Armenian actors as Hrachya Nersisyan (1895–1961) and Mher Mkrtchyan (1930–93). Nersisyan accentuated the tragic aspects of this character, and Mkrtchyan stressed the comical ones. Balthazar is decidedly not a replica of Georges Dandin; nor is he, to be sure, a tragic figure. He is a victim of many a circumstance and a comical hero derided for many a reason, despite Paronean’s express aim to lampoon the Armenian Judicial Council for its incompetent handling of divorce. The whole work is an enduring tribute to Paronean’s vibrant wit, so brilliant that it alone sustains the third act, despite its insignificant relevance to the plot.

Paronean was the first to introduce satirical biography, and the laurel for the first satirical novel goes to him, too. There can be little doubt that Molière’s Les Fâcheux prompted the form of Paronean’s The Most Honourable Beggars (Metzapatiw muratskanner). Both works are collections of portraits, but their similarity ends there. Paronean wrote the novel to illustrate the misery of the men of letters and the cruel indifference of the wealthy to literature. No sooner does Abisolom Ala, the central figure of the novel, arrive in Istanbul from Trebizond in search of a wife, than the “intellectuals” stand in a long queue to pay him their respect and pilfer money from him. Most of the characters disappear after making a memorable appearance. Paronean had sympathy but no kind words for most of the intellectuals, particularly the poet, whose portrait,
along with the numerous excursuses Paronean makes in the novel, reveal many aspects of Paronean's literary views. No less well-liked than Uncle Balthazar, the text of *The Most Honourable Beggars* has been tampered with in Soviet theaters in Moscow and Erevan for political purposes. Both the Eastern and Western Armenians have converted this work of rich dialogues into an ever-popular comedy.

A greater sense of urgency and an unrestrained invective characterize most of Paronean's works written in the 1880s. *Ptoyt më Pölsoy taterun môj* (A walk in the quarters of Constantinople) is a detailed description of thirty-four city districts, touching nearly upon all social, cultural, and economic realities of the Armenian community. *Tzitzal* (Laughter), it has been suggested, was conceived under the influence of Casti's *Gli Animali Parlanti*, but the two works have nothing in common besides animal characters. *Tzitzal* is a collection of fables tackling social and moral issues against an exclusively Armenian background. *Ahtabanütiwn baroyakan* (Moral pathology) is an incomplete portrayal of Hypoptos (suspicious), Stenokardos ("narrow-hearted," impatient) and Philargyros (avaricious). Paronean's *Hösäksutiwnk merelots* (Dialogues of the dead) appeared after he had translated parts of Lucian's work. He drew on the Greek author's work only for the form of his allegorical work. Personified here are virtues such as Compassion, Truthfulness, Charity, and Merit who have assembled in the World of the Dead to analyze aspects of moral decline that resulted in their banishment from the World of the Living. *Kalakavarutean vnasnerê* (The disadvantages of courtesy) sparkles with Paronean's wit and shows in uproarious dialogues the inconveniences a polite person suffers for the impoliteness of others. Paronean also published a periodical, *Tiyatro* (1874–75), in Ottoman Turkish, treating mainly issues of social nature pertinent to the Ottoman public at large.

Almost simultaneously with Raffi (q.v.), *Tzerents* (1822–88) inaugurated the genre of the historical novel. Armenian history had captured his imagination at St. Lazarus, where the Mekhitarist monk and playwright Petros Minasean (1799–1867) taught him history. If Minasean instilled in him a love for Armenian history, what he saw in Constantinople in large measure gave shape to his interpretation of that experience. Particularly in the 1850s and the 1860s, tension, to put it mildly, ran high between the Armenian Apostolic community on the one hand and the Armenian Catholics and Armenian Protestants on the other. The former two were also rent apart by internal strife. The Catholics were divided into two camps: a Latinizing faction that called for direct control by
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The Holy See, and a more “nationalistic” faction that demanded a say in running the affairs of the community. This is often referred to by historians as the “haka-Hasunean,” i.e., anti-Hasunist, movement (after Cardinal Anton Hasunean, or Hasun, 1809–84). Tzerents was a Catholic and he soon found himself heading the anti-Hasunist faction. So he was well-positioned to observe the ravages of denominational disunity. Unity became an agonizing concern and an elusive dream—a dream that he shared with an intimate friend, Mkrtich Pëšiktašlean (q.v.).

Tzerents wrote three historical novels. The first, Toros Lewoni (Toros [son] of Lewon), appeared in 1877. It recounts the restoration and expansion in the mid-twelfth century of Armenian political power in Cilicia by Toros II, Ōrubinean, son of Lewon I. The second, Erkunk T. daru (Ninth century travail), focuses on the anti-Arab rebellion in Armenia proper in the middle of the ninth century, one of the leaders of which was Yovnan from Ĥoyt to the south of Muš, who was beheaded for declining apostasy (cf. Tovmay Arzruni, Patmutiwn Tann Arzruneats = History of the House of the Artsrunik, iii, 11, translated into English by R. W. Thomson). The third novel is titled Tëodoros Rštuni, so named after the commander-in-chief of the Armenian Army and marzpan (“viceroy”) of Armenia (approximately 630s–54). The country is threatened by Byzantium and the Arabs, and the Armenian nobility, divided by conflicting political orientations and interests, is indecisive amid the uncertainty. Tëodoros Rštuni’s efforts to forge unity ultimately bear no fruit.

The episodes and protagonists Tzerents lifted from critical periods in Armenian history gave much food for thought to his contemporaries. The vital importance he attached to strong and dedicated leaders, his fierce denunciation of centrifugal forces, and above all, the emphasis he laid on national unity—a concern that runs almost like an ostinato throughout his work—resonated with the patriotic fervor and political expectations of the time, making his novels (Erkunk, in particular) very popular. Despite this, his work is flawed. His Armenian heroes distinguish themselves by extraordinary feats of prowess, but some of them are barely distinguishable from one another. Elements of deus ex machina appear here and there, as does artless propaganda in his last book. Still, the novels are interesting, reasonably well-built, and are written with verve in a tidy modern Armenian; they progress at a good pace and make for enjoyable reading.

SRBUHI TIWSAB (c1841–1901) embraced the cause of emancipation of women. Educated in a French school, she reclaimed her national roots under the tutelage of Mkrtich Pëšiktašlean (q.v.), her tutor in Armenian
language and literature. Her mother was active in the fields of education and charity and in some ways left her imprint on her views. But the impetus for the cause and some of the themes she chose seems to have come mainly from George Sand. She launched her career with a few poems in the 1860s (including one dedicated to Arsen Bagratuni and another to Mkrtich Pësik'ta'slean, q.q.v.), only to realize quickly that she was not made to be a poet. After a long silence (during which she attended to her family), her work appeared again in the early 1880s in the periodical press, flashing signals of the tone and scope of her novels to come. Indeed, she soon wrote three books declaiming against social prejudice that reduced women to “serfs” or to objects “owned” by their spouses.

*Mayta,* a romantic epistolary novel, outlines the plight of a helpless widow. Totally dependent on her husband before his death, Mayta is now kept in fetters in an unequal and intolerant society and is unable to have a life of her own. She corresponds with Sira, an advocate of full freedom for women and essentially a mouthpiece of Tiwsab. The novel polarized the Armenian intellectuals. Some authors unequivocally supported Tiwsab, others (e.g., Grigor Zöhrap, q.v.) questioned the social and moral premise of the novel, and still others (e.g., Yakob Paronean, q.v.) criticized its form and style. Pointing to elements of *deus ex machina,* for instance, when Mayta is rescued *in extremis* by a total stranger, Paronean argued that the plot was unconvincing. As the debate lingered on, Tiwsab published her second novel, *Siranoys,* casting the character of yet another victim deprived of free choice, love, and identity. She too, like Mayta before her, is unable to break through the barriers of convention and meets a tragic end. Not so Araksia, the heroine of Tiwsab’s third and last novel, *Araksia kam varžuhi*; she is lucky enough to marry the man she loves. Despite some serious flaws in both form and content, Tiwsab’s romantic vision of women was the spirited expression of a genuine concern that Armenian writers could no longer ignore.

**Mkrtich Hrimean** (1820–1907), affectionately recognized as “Hayrik” (Armenian for “father,” with the endearing diminutive “ik”) was a luminous religious and political figure throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But he has been given a spot in this introduction for his literary effort, which in the history of Armenian literature is distinguished on two accounts. He was among the earliest writers to turn his attention to the soil of Western Armenia proper, rather than to the communities in the Armenian Dispersion. Thus, he paved the way for a generation of authors who mirrored life in the homeland (Sruandzteants, Tškatintsi, R. Zardarean, q.q.v., and others).
Of his two long poems in Classical Armenian, *Hrawirak araratean* tells of the land of Ararat, and his *Hrawirak erkrin aweteats* tells of the Holy Places. He lamented the deliberate burning of the Armenian section of Van in *Vangoyz*, and the anti-Armenian atrocities in the 1877–78 Russo-Ottoman War in his *Haygoyz*. *Drahti ēntanik* (A family of paradise) reflects his concerns for the family. *Sirak ew Samuēl* offers words of wisdom for the young on a wide range of topics. His *Papik ew torīnık* (Grandfather and grandchild) speaks with profound love of land and husbandry and of the interdependence of man and land (and homeland). In a sentimental and romantic frame of mind he cast himself as the continuator of Movsēs Horenatsi’s lament in his *Olbatsoł Horenatsin* (The mourning Horenatsi) and promoted peace and prosperity for all nations, big and small, in his *Tagaworats ūloṣ* (A meeting of kings).

GAREGIN SRUANZTEANTS (1840–92) is the author of a number of poems and two historical plays, all of which are insignificant except for the poem dedicated to the “Martyrs of Awarayr,” the Vardanank (beginning “Tē hayreneats psakadir . . .”). But his efforts to attract the attention of observers, literary and otherwise, to the realities of life in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and perhaps more importantly, his boundless diligence in collecting and introducing Armenian folklore materials, have been of inestimable value. In a span of ten years (1874–84), he published five collections containing topographical, ethnographic, and statistical information, as well as folk tales, songs, riddles, customs, excerpts from manuscripts, colophons, and other such material that has had a noteworthy impact on the course of Armenian literature. There followed a generation of Armenian writers who wrote from life in Armenia proper, rather than life in big cities to the west (e.g., Constantinople) or north (e.g., Tiflis) of the country, and writers such as Tumanean and Alayean (q.q.v.) wrote adaptations of many of the folk tales he published. The first and one of the best versions of the oral Armenian epic tale, *Sasuntsi Dawit kam Mheri du rê* (David of Sasun), recited in the dialect of Muš, was published by Sruandzteants in 1874.

ARPİAR ARPİAREAN (1851–1908) owes his popularity as much to his oeuvre as to his literary and cultural activities. He has come to symbolize Armenian realism as both the mentor of the generation of realist writers and as one of the earliest authors to write in a realist vein. Initially, the forum was the daily *Arewelk* (East or Orient) founded in 1884, and the new prose found expression predominantly in the new genre of the short story, called *norəvêp*, the equivalent of nineteenth-century French *nouvelle* or *conte* (Flaubert, Maupassant), or in novels
appearing in *Arewelk*, and later in *Masis* and *Hayrenik* under Arpiarean’s editorship and intellectual leadership. His image of a writer was that of a clairvoyant who faced reality in all its ugly and painful aspects, met the needs of society and the challenges of change and progress, and put literature to practical and aesthetic use. He regarded language as a means rather than an end and was, not surprisingly, unequivocally in favor of Modern Armenian.

Compulsive and communicative, Arpiarean wielded public influence with passion and compassion, boldly raising issues of common interest in public forums. His favorite form was the journalistic *chronique* (the Armenian form being “*kronik*”), which he developed into an effective vehicle for social and political criticism and to extend bridges between the Eastern and Western Armenians, their literatures, concerns, and aspirations. A genuine warmth, a consuming interest in all aspects of life, and a spare, unadorned style radiating with subtle irony account for the charm of his *chroniques* (especially his “*Ôruan keankê,*” a sort of “daily life,” or “goings-on in a day,” which have yet to be collected in a single volume).

His short stories are of uneven quality. Although the romantic streak, plainly visible in his early work (e.g., *Erazi mê ginê*, The price of a dream), diminishes considerably, it never quite vanishes. He wrote from life, mainly from that of the urban middle and poor classes, highlighting the consequences of economic hardship, moral degeneration, old customs (e.g., pre-arranged marriages), snobbish class-consciousness, and the vain aping of European mores that struck at the very roots of the family. His stories usually end on an unhappy note, but happy endings are by no means uncommon. James Etmekjian, in his *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance*, noted a few common traits in both Daudet and Arpiarean.

One of Arpiarean’s better stories is *Oski aprjan* (Golden bracelet), which is a recast version of his earlier short story, *Hndamolik aljikê* (The gleeful gal), and which in a number of ways typifies his concerns. Armik, an orphan adopted by Łukas, is to marry the unemployed Arťaki, who hopes to start his own business with Armik’s dowry, consisting of a number of railway company shares. But Łukas is soon laid off, and he is forced to sell the shares to feed his family. Arťaki annuls his engagement to Armik, who becomes heartbroken, succumbs to illness, and dies.

*Karmir žamunts* (The crimson offertory) is Arpiarean’s best short novel. It illustrates the clash of two opposing philosophies held by two strong personalities: Hayrapet Efendi and Tër Yusik, a priest “from Armenia” (i.e., the Armenian provinces). Hayrapet, the acknowledged
leader of the Armenians of his quarter in Istanbul, is extremely careful not to provoke suspicion or reprisals on the part of the police chief. The priest, who has more faith in Jehovah than Christ, believes in and has devoted himself to organizing self-defense. This was a grave dilemma that haunted all Armenians from the 1890s to 1915. In a crisp and elegant style, Arpfiarean, in this absorbing narrative, delves deep into the mentality of both protagonists who, mindful of the deadly threats looming overhead, develop two different strategies for survival. Through Arpfiarean’s detailed analysis, Hayrapet acquires an imposing and yet sympathetic presence. What endears Tēr Yusik to the reader is the calm, matter-of-fact approach of a man of strong convictions facing matters of life and death, and the significance of the mystery shrouding the sketchy details of his life and activities. He comes through as the personification of something larger than his self: his people.

Tigran Kamsarakān (1866–1941) at the age of twenty-two rose quickly to fame with his novel Varžapetin aljikē (The teacher’s daughter). Referring to this work, he once revealed that it was only after reading Daudet’s Fromont jeune et Risler aîné and Jack that he was tempted to write his artistically “weak, naive,” but “so very spontaneous” novel. The work generated a good deal of controversy. Kamsarakān’s comrades-in-arms, the realists, hastened to his assistance, praising it and defending him against his detractors. Judging the novel now from a chronologically and ideologically safe distance, it is very difficult fully to justify Kamsarakān’s modesty. True, the plot is simple, and there are certain flaws to the structure. But the story is true to life, so very real and typical of the period, that the flaws are nearly indistinguishable in the flow of the narrative, which Kamsarakān ably darkens and deepens, as his authentic characters, drawn with moving affection, bring alive the Armenian community of Constantinople of the 1880s.

The novel is a profoundly touching story of a sort of mésalliance. The characters are inextricably indigenous to the variegated and faithfully encompassed setting, and Astlik, the angelic heroine, meets an inescapable though predictable end. This is why the novel, despite certain shortcomings, romantic strains, and a few instances of mawkishness, was hailed as a first-rate expression of the nascent realist tradition. Although anticipated by many novels, Varžapetin aljikē was head and shoulders above them all, and it challenged Armenian novelists to new standards of excellence.

Kamsarakān’s tendency, not so clearly perceptible at this stage, to ponder over human bondage in the form of general contemplation,
rather than in specific or localized expression through plot and characters, emerged as a preponderant feature of his short novels. Yarō, Hovkul, and Ėnkuzin kolovê (The walnut basket) written in a refined style free from Classical Armenian forms, illustrate the point and stand out as some of the best short novels to mark the concluding part of his literary career. During the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s, like so many of his colleagues, he fled Constantinople, never to return. He contributed to Masis and Arewelk from abroad, and in 1910 he wrote a drama jointly with Mikayêl Kiwrcean (q.v.), Prkank (Ransom), about a marriage of convenience that does not materialize when the dowry is lost. Regrettably, to his death almost three decades later, Kamsarakar abandoned literature for business.

**GRIGOR ZÖHRAP** (1861–1915), acclaimed as the prince of noravêp by Arşak Chôpanean (q.v.), sought insight into the unusual and unexplored realms of human behavior, especially that of women. He began his literary career as a polemicist, composed some poetry, launched his notorious attack on Srbuhi Tiwsab’s views of women’s emancipation, and wrote one of the earliest novels. But it is with his shorter novels and stories that he made a permanent name for himself. Allied with his literary fame was a bright public side to this man of shining intellect, tempestuous emotions, and impeccable appearance and manners, which put him in the limelight as one of the foremost, if not the leading, writers and public figures from the early 1890s onward. He practiced and taught law, and was an articulate and outspoken member of the Ottoman Parliament and the Armenian National Assembly. He was active in promoting the Armenian Question, particularly immediately before World War I. Shortly after hundreds of Armenian intellectuals had been rounded up on 24 April 1915, Zöhrap too, despite his close connections to some of the highest ranking members of the Young Turk clique, was arrested, shipped to the interior, and put to death in a most brutal fashion somewhere between Diyarbekir and Urfa. (One prominent Young Turk, Halil Menteşe, claimed to have attempted to arrange for Zöhrap’s return from the interior, while another, Sait Halim, spoke of his protest, cf. Harp kabinelerinin isticvabi [The interrogation or rather “hearings” of the wartime cabinets], Istanbul, 1933, 214–16, 295–96).

His earliest poems are of no memorable merit, and the few he wrote much later had an almost lubricious touch to them. Anhetatsatz, serund mē (A vanished generation), his first and last novel (since Nardik remained incomplete), reckoned to be the first novel in a realist vein, was well received. It tackles the issue of unalloyed love as the foundation of
happy marriages. The theme was not new, but Zöhrap’s approach was. Although he himself qualified it as an unsuccessful experiment, a mixed bag of romantic and realist sensibilities, it was nonetheless unmistakably a very promising beginning. His bright talent, though, would blossom in his short novels, noravêps, three dozen or so in number. When Srbuhi Tiwsab (q.v.) published her Mayta and raised the question of women’s emancipation, Zöhrap, then in his early twenties, countered the novel with a vitriolic attack denying women equality. He believed that the happiness promised by a woman was nothing but an illusion women exploited to gain power. Furthermore, he believed that women were a source of misery and misfortune in social life. Echoes of this negative attitude are audible in some of his prose. In a number of his noravêps, Zöhrap deliberately sought out anomalous positions and exceptional, or rather untypical, characters, which shocked some of his readers, especially those with deep-seated convictions who were impervious to change, inquiry into the unexplored, and taboos. His sinewy style—simple, direct, precise, dispassionate, and often laced with irony—was yet another element contributing to such rejection. Moreover, Zöhrap’s work generally exhibits a disdain for the conventional, a sense of boredom on the part of a man for whom life seems to have no more veiled secrets, and an anxious search for the more fulfilling aspects of existence. But that Zöhrap conceded no social role to women, and that he saw their beauty as their greatest charm is an undeniable fact. Yet it is also true that in most of his work, women, whether good or wicked, weak or strong, fleshly or decent, are of pivotal importance and are paradoxically depicted with profound sympathy.

Many other themes attracted Zöhrap’s attention: the Armenian establishment (i.e., the Patriarchate and the rich), the victims of economic hardship, the plight of immigrants from the provinces, poverty, the shift in moral standards, religion, feigned piety, and so on. All this he wove into an economical prose that delved into the human soul in a limpid and elegant Modern Western Armenian, with little or no attention to context and plot. He was intimately versed in French culture, which had a formative and lasting impression on his thought. In forging the Armenian tradition of noravêp, Zöhrap creatively assimilated the accomplishments of A. Arpirian (q.v.), Maupassant, and to a lesser degree, those of Zola and Daudet.

Éjer ulewori mé oragrêm (Pages [or Excerpts] from the diary of a traveler) is an intellectual annotation to his own world view, occasioned by his travels in Germany and France. A keen power of observation, disarming wit and reason, and a noteworthy ability to sketch characters in a few broad strokes distinguish his collection of seventeen portraits
of contemporary or newly deceased public figures, titled Ըհաղործական անուններ (Familiar names). Still scattered in the periodical press are most of his literary reviews and articles of diverse nature, bursting with energy and informed by a critical spirit, in support of the cause of progress and public interest.

Lewon Bașalean (1868–1943) was recruited into journalism early. Together with A. Arpiarean (q.v.), but somewhat overshadowed by him, he was the moving spirit behind Arevelk; Masis, Hayrenik, and Nor keank, the first three of which pioneered and propagated the realist movement. In his articles and chroniques, he covered with lucidity and intensity the whole gamut of topical issues, making ceaseless efforts to rid his diction of Classical Armenian forms. For the 1880s witnessed a revival of sorts in the usage of Classical elements and phrases with ideological (i.e., conservative), rather than linguistic, undertones. These writings form an essential part of his literary heritage and embody, as do his short stories and noravêps, his realist credo of literature as a mirror of human life.

There is, though, a glowing, romantic touch to some of his short, uncomplicated stories, lit up by his talent in bright but brief emissions. Here he is at his best, writing with precision and grace. He was among the earliest authors to focus almost exclusively on working-class and poor people, their trials and tribulations and lifestyle, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. A call for spiritual fortitude permeates his work, of which the following comprise some of the best aspects of his literary effort: “Nor zgestë,” “Lalafioy Restë,” “Kaland,” “Tsênil dzaynë,” “Siwzêni varpetë,” “Ays čeler,” and “Hmayafapfê.” He engaged in business in the last forty years of his life, completely disengaging himself from literature.

Elia Têmîrciçapǝşan (1851–1908) was a popular and gifted writer. He was frail and eccentric; the death of his father, his younger brother, and particularly his mother precipitated his mental derangement, and clear symptoms of insanity appeared by 1900. A somewhat schizoid recluse, Têmîrciçapǝşan maintained that Goethe’s Die Leiden des jungen Werthers was one of the greatest influences of his life as was Positivism (Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer). Above all, however, Emile Littré was a demi­god for him. He devoted his energy entirely to literature and literary journalism. Many of his works are still scattered in the periodical press.

“Elia,” as he was affectionately referred to by his contemporaries, wrote both verse and prose (short stories, literary criticism, articles, essays, diaries, etc). His poems (personal anguish, death, love, nature, philosophical contemplation) are of a descriptive-analytical and often cerebral
nature and have been written with little imagery, but with imagination and in a distinct style. Pain and occasional elation contrast sharply, and many elements of Symbolism, though not musicality, are found in his subjective poetry. His prose, similarly subjective and often egocentric, suffers from technical flaws; it has no characterization, construction, reasonable plot, or denouement. Yet it is highly charged with emotion and permeated by his dreams and visions, his thoughts and everchanging mood, and a romantic sentimentalism. His language is heavily overburdened by Classical Armenian, and maudlin feelings and expressions often mar his still highly regarded oeuvre, parts of which have had an enduring appeal.

**Eastern Armenian Literature**

**MESROP TALIADEAN** (1803–1858), a native of Erevan, spent most of his life in Calcutta, India. Endowed with an inquisitive mind, an adventurous disposition, and a yearning for learning, his desire to study in Paris never materialized. Instead, he satisfied his intellectual curiosity at the Bishop’s College in Calcutta, with financial and moral support from Bishop Reginald Hebert (1773–1833). The college also had an Armenian press, where for a while Taliadean worked as a compositor. Before making India his second home, Taliadean had studied at Ejmiatzin at the feet of P̄hos vardapet Łaradaltsi (Nersisean) and had toured his fatherland extensively on two occasions. The deep affinity he felt with the land of his ancestors moved his pen, and his intellectual contacts with non-Armenians inspired his imagination.

In his travels and sojourns abroad, Taliadean came into daily contact with the British in India and Iran and American missionaries in Constantinople. He was always suspected of pro-Protestant tendencies, and this caused him a great deal of inconvenience, especially in Constantinople, where at the time of his visit in the late 1830s the relations between the Armenians and the small community of Protestant Armenians were extremely inimical. But his most fruitful years were spent in Calcutta. From 1845 to 1848, he published the periodical Azgasêr, which ceased with the death of his friend, who was the publication’s benefactor. Taliadean then launched another periodical, Azgasêr araratean (1848–52). He also set up a school for girls in Calcutta. Besides his journalistic activities, he was also engaged in printing some of his own work and the work of other Armenian and non-Armenian authors.

Taliadean’s thoughts and activities were geared towards enlightenment. Although he spared no unworthy cleric, he was a Christian and a deacon of the Armenian Church and regularly read scripture. He was obedient to God and ruler. He fought superstition, promoted enlightenment, and believed that a heightened sense of duty and responsibility
would result in prosperity for society with the family as its basic cell. He was full of envy of educated foreigners and urged his fellow countrymen to emulate them. Education, learning, and "love and unity" were the keys to political and economic advancement. He had a special fascination with English literature. He translated and published his mentor's (Reginald Hebert) "Palestine" in Armenian, along with a good many pieces by Shakespeare, Milton, John Locke, Alexander Pope, and Robert Burns. Other translations and publications by him included a considerable amount of Chesterfield’s "Letters" to his son Philip Stanhope, many works by Byron (his favorite poet), and Legh Richmond’s The Young Cottager (published posthumously in Diwan, 1979). He also translated from Latin and published Hugo Grotius's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*.

Taliadean has a history of ancient India; a comprehensive history of Persia, with information on the Armenian communities; a selection of fables and anecdotes translated from the Persian; a pamphlet on the education of girls; a booklet on mythology; primers of Armenian and English; a short grammar of Armenian; a pamphlet on the martyrdom of St. Sanduht and another against the Roman Catholic Church (*Hrestak azdetsutean* . . . ); a concise glossary of about two-hundred mostly dialectal words (first published in Diwan, 1979); descriptions of his travels in Armenia and Persia; a "diary" (first published in Diwan, 1979) of his travel to Armenia (via Dhaka, Calcutta, Ceylon, Bushehr, Shiraz, Isfahan, Teheran, Tabriz, Erevan, and Êjmiatzin); and a number of minor works.

Taliadean’s novel *Vêp Vardgisi T’[ear]n Tuhats* is among the earliest samples of modern Armenian fiction. Vardgës is known in ancient Armenian history and lore as the husband of the sister of King Eruand I and as the builder of a town he named after himself. In the second century, King Vâlarš I rebuilt and renamed it Vâlaršapat (now Êjmiatzin). But Taliadean’s plot has very little in common with this story, because it is an adaptation with minor changes of Heinrich Zschokke’s *Abällino, der grosse Bandit*, which Monk Lewis had translated into English (*Abællino, The Bravo of Venice*). Taliadean is illustrating loyalty to king, national unity, and personal integrity in his work. The latter theme, along with persistence, industry, and self-reliance are the leitmotifs of his other novel, *Vêp Varsenkan*, which is fashioned after a tale common in Middle Eastern traditions. Both novels exhibit a good deal of action and suspense while propagating the author’s purposes.

Taliadean’s adaptations and translations illustrate some of the ways in which the earliest experiments in novel writing were conducted in the history of Armenian letters. He was familiar with the work of British
novelists and was fond of Gothic novels. One may venture to suggest that he was familiar with M. G. Lewis’s own work, too. His novels speak to this, and from his introduction to Vêp Varsenkan, it is obvious that he wittingly strove to combine entertainment with practical purposes. His effort to cultivate a love for reading among the Armenians was a challenge for many contemporary and subsequent writers.

The epigrams he wrote are witty, and his subtle and warm poetry reflects trends of romanticism. Love and patriotism are central themes to him, and religious motifs are not found in his work. Most of his long poems are incomplete. The best, perhaps, is Sôs ew Sondipi, in which the central figures’ love transcends national and ethnic boundaries, and healthy patriotism promotes harmony. Taliadean’s passage from classicism to romanticism is best illustrated in this poem written in Classical Armenian, structured in accordance with the norms of Classical poems, and has gods among its heroes. It also has an adventuresome plot with action and suspense; it uses short, lyrical lines; and it probes the individual’s inner life.

HACHATUR ABOVEAN (c1809–48) has been placed on a pedestal as the father of modern Armenian literature. Although there is much to be said for this posthumous veneration, many have questioned the wisdom of such zealous ranking in literature and other fields of culture. This is not an uncommon practice, but it was carried to extremes, especially during the Soviet years, leaving many worthy contemporaries in the shadow of the chosen “fathers” or “masters.” At the very least, such rigid adoration easily turned into a sort of cult and precluded objective evaluation and revisionism. Abovean, an original, prolific, and multifarious writer, did indeed usher in a new era in Eastern Armenian literature. But it is not possible to speak of any palpable influence on his part on Western Armenian literature, especially in its formative stages. With much of his work (books, essays, articles, and collections of a historical, educational, linguistic, ethnographic, and folkloric nature) published decades after his death, its implied impact remains open to question. His chef d’œuvre, Vêrk Hayastani (Wounds of Armenia), alone, also published posthumously in 1858, is good enough to recognize him as the founder of modern Eastern Armenian literature.

Abovean launched his literary career by writing verse in Classical Armenian. Patriotism, love, nature as well as meditative themes preoccupied him initially. He jettisoned the traditions of classicism and gradually wrote in a romantic mood, especially during his years at Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia). There his exposure to European, especially German, culture and literature came to inform his poetry and dramatically exposed the
appalling backwardness that prevailed in his fatherland. The duality in his work in these same years was a reflection of his encounter with the West, as he simultaneously composed poetry akin to that of Armenian minstrels. His satirical bent found its best expression in “Hazarpešen” (a sort of wine pitcher), in which he criticized the Russian bureaucracy. Parap vahti hatalik (“Pastime,” or “Entertainment for spare time”) he reportedly adapted from notes he took in public gatherings. It is a collection of fables in verse, written in a lucid style with many dialogues that castigate moral degeneration, vice, injustice, and the corrupting power of money. Classical Armenian gradually gave way to Modern Armenian, well stocked with dialect and slang, which eventually emerged as the literary standard for the Eastern Armenians.

His use of the spoken dialect, especially in his Wounds of Armenia, has been one of the predominant factors Armenian critics have cited to justify his exalted position. What emboldened Abovean to challenge tradition was his desire to reach “hundreds of thousands” of people, as he put it in his preface to the novel. But two points must be emphasized here: he was not the first author to use Modern Armenian; and like many of those who supported the modern vernacular, he looked upon it as a temporary means or as a stage of gradual transition to Classical Armenian. But his immediate concern—to bring knowledge to the masses—totally submerged this distant and somewhat impractical expectation.

Abovean considered the vernacular and faith as the very pillars of the Armenian ethos. The Wounds of Armenia is, among other things, a hymn to the Armenian language, whose loss, Abovean averred, would be tantamount to losing national identity. His concern for the fate of his people was inextricably intertwined with that for the mother tongue. But there were other factors in addition, concepts and aspirations that could be conveyed only through this cherished national idiom.

Vërk Hayastani is a heart-to-heart dialogue between the author and his people. Abovean, who unlike many of his colleagues was born and spent most of his life in what was left of Armenia, fully understood and shared the mentality of his people and grasped all too well the consequences of ignorance and corruption within the ranks of Armenian priesthood. The political plight of his fellow countrymen under the Persian khans was profoundly painful to him. And the survival of his nation against overwhelming odds throughout its history was a delightful source of pride and respect for Abovean. All this inspired him to write a novel that extolled patriotism, loudly justified self-defense, castigated ignorance and illiteracy, and called upon his fellow countrymen to break away from their ignoble lassitude to restore Armenian statehood.
Vert Hayastani, one of the earliest novels in Armenian literature, has a simple plot. Its idealized central hero, Alasi, the first rebel in modern Armenian literature, fights and dies for the liberation of his country. In this case it was the annexation of the Khanate of Erevan by Russia in 1828, the background against which the novel is set. This was the deliverance from Persia that many Armenians, Abovean among them, had been waiting for with great anticipation. So excessively zealous is Abovean’s praise for Russia that one might be tempted to mistake his gratitude for undignified cringing. The fact is that Abovean was already disillusioned with Russian policy in Armenia when he wrote the novel in the early 1840s. In 1836 the Russians had instituted the Polozhenie, which imposed severe restrictions on the Church of Armenia. In 1840 they had abolished the Armianskaia Oblast’ (Armenian Region) as an administrative unit and were now interested in an Armenia without Armenians. Was Abovean being faithful to his intoxicated sentiments some fifteen years earlier? Probably. He would most likely have moderated his tone had he written the novel a year or two before his disappearance, when his attitude toward Russia had turned openly and bitterly hostile. He had envisaged the Russian presence in Armenia as the first step towards the revival of Armenian statehood under the wing of the northern power. By then, that vision must have vanished into thin air.

Despite its flaws, such as didactic digressions and protracted dialogues and descriptions, the novel’s sustained intensity, animated style, colorful imagery, patriotism, and overwhelming outpouring of sincere emotions have made it a highly popular novel that has had considerable impact. Historically speaking, it tackles a burning issue, that of the future of his people, and depicts rebellion against foreign domination in sharp contrast to Christian Armenian traditions of pacifism and passivity. It captures a momentous period in Armenian history; true, one imperialist was being replaced with another, but Russian annexation proved beneficial in the long run in that, unlike their brethren in the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Armenians were physically safe. Understandably, then, much was made of Abovean’s political orientation later in Soviet Armenia, and his disappearance added a touch of mystery to an unfortunate life given to lofty ideals. Nonetheless, his retrospective aggrandizement, well-deserved in many respects, was often unnecessarily tainted with ideological motivation. Wounds of Armenia, his cri du cœur, is a gem in the Armenian literary tradition with or without such idolization.

MIKAYÊL NALBANDEAN (1829–66) was an impassioned author and a propagandist of reform and renewal. His travels widened his horizon,
and his entanglement in national and political affairs led to conflicts with local Armenian dignitaries and religious authorities and eventually with the czarist government. He met some of the leading publicists of the day abroad, including Stepaan Oskanian (1825–1901), the editor of the biweekly Arewmutk (Paris), and Yarutiani Sêvaçeian (1831–74), the founder and editor of Metu (Constantinople). He also came in close contact with the so-called “London Propagandists,” notably Alexander Herzen and Nikolay Ogaryov, and with Mikhail Bakunin and Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev. He was arrested in his birthplace in 1862 and found guilty of association with the “Propagandists,” of disseminating their literature in Russia, and of inciting anti-government sentiments among the Armenians. After his initial internment in St. Petersburg, he was exiled to Kamyshin in the region of Saratov, where he died within months of his arrival.

Nalbandean attracted attention as an outspoken publicist and polemicist whose lively and bold style, at times crude and arrogant, was almost invariably laced with irony or sardonic in tone. Early on, he collaborated with Stephanos Nazarean (1812–79), a bright intellectual and founder of a new and influential periodical, Hiwsisaptayl (“the northern lights,” aurora borealis, 1858–62, 1864), in which Nalbandean published some of his prose. In both his literary and journalistic pieces, Nalbandean emerges as an unrelenting champion of freedom and equality; a fearless opponent of despotism, imperialism, and serfdom; an interpreter of human life from materialistic positions; a tireless propagandist of enlightenment, science, and scientific approach; a believer in agriculture as the key to prosperity and independence; uncompromisingly anti-clerical; and a zealous supporter of Modern Armenian. A large body of literature and evidence, amassed by Soviet Armenian critics, establishes him as a revolutionary democrat.

His writings are not extensive in number or volume. His short novel Minin hôsk miwisn harsn (i.e., a bride promised to one but given to another) negates superstition and promotes enlightenment. Merelahartsuk (Necromancy) is among the earliest urban novels, but is incomplete; it would likely have dealt with ignorance had it been finished. His popular Yišatakaran... (something akin to a journal) deals, in a sarcastic and sometimes polemical fashion, with a very wide spectrum of topical issues of a social, political, and cultural nature. His literary views are distilled in his criticism of Perç Prôşeian’s novel, Sôs ew Vârditer. For him literature was a vehicle for reform, a harmonious amalgam of the natural with the creative, brought together with a sound unity and structure and skillful characterization. He called for the creation of a national literature
(reflecting the realities of a given nation and its concerns and aspirations), good examples of which were H. Abovean’s *Vērk Hayastani* and P. Pröşean’s *Sös ew Varditer*. Of his non-literary prose, mention should be made of *Erkragortzutîewnê orpêș utîl čanaparh* (i.e., Agriculture as the right path, published under the pseudonym Simēon Manikean), which summarizes his views on economic, social, and political injustice and disparity, on nationalism and nationhood, on Armenian emigration and inter-communal and international relations, and on the 1861 reform in Russia.

Nalbandean has a small number of poems, with the earlier ones in Classical Armenian, fashioned mainly in a patriotic-political, satirical, or reflective mood. He has poems dedicated to Apollo, Mesrop Maštots, and Rousseau, among others. But his poems in praise of liberty and his “Song of the Italian girl” brought him enduring fame and found some imitators. The latter, believed to be an adaptation, was adopted with some textual patch-up as the national anthem (“Mer hayrenik”) of the Third Republic of Armenia.

**Râpayêl Patkanean** (1830–92) was a compatriot of Nalbandean who believed, like his confrère, in the utilitarian role of literature. Encouraged by Nikolay Karamzin’s views, he chose to use the spoken vernacular for poetic expression; learning from Nikolay Nekrasov he strove to become a “poet-citizen.” This descendant of a family with a distinguished tradition in Armenian letters combined teaching with writing—a dual role characteristic of some of the authors of the age, including H. Abovean, S. Şahaziz, P. Pröşean, and L. Alayean (q.q.v.). As part of his literary mission, he sought to bring enlightenment to his fellow countrymen and to ignite their patriotism. He had no time for poetic form or craftsmanship. He felt that it was a time for immediate action on what he perceived as essential needs of a people in distress. Although too many of his poems read like rhymed speeches, his sincere and emotional patriotic appeal resonated with the prevailing mood. Some of his better poems brought him wide public acclaim and propelled him to the forefront of poetry for a number of decades.

Launching the initial phase of his career with a series of merrymaking and drinking songs in the best traditions of the Armenian students at Dorpât (Tartu, Estonia), Patkanean formed a literary coterie in Moscow with two colleagues for the purpose of publishing their own literary works. The group called itself Gamař K’àṭIPA (a combination of the initial letters of their first names with the vowel të inserted between them: Gëorg, Mnatsakan, Râpayêl; and the first two letters of their last names:
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K'Ananean, TImurean, PAtkanean). Patkanean soon assumed the group’s name as his pen name, as the overwhelming majority of poems published in the series (in five parts, 1855–57) were written by him. Following this and the appearance of his collection in 1864, there occurred a hiatus in Patkanean’s literary career.

But by then he was a well-established name. Two poems in particular met with immediate success and have been among his few enduring pieces. “Araksi artasukë” (The tears of the river Araxes) is a dialogue between the poet and the river. The river is in an utterly despondent mood in view of the misery and dispersion of its children, and has avowed to remain in mourning until the causes have been removed. Personification and dialogue generate an intimate dynamism; grief and a sense of irretrievable loss, which never quite explode into anger, convey an unspoken yet audible sense of optimism and sustain the appeal of this song. The other poem, titled “Vardan Mamikoneani mahë” (The death of Vardan Mamikonian), owes something to Lewond Ališan (q.v.) and to his poem on Vardan Mamikonian (“Plpuln Awarayri”) for its conception. This time it is the moon that narrates Armenian history, down to the Battle of Awarayr that pitched the Armenians against the Persians in 451. One of the more popular parts of this long poem is “Vardan’s Song” (Vardani ergê), a call to arms against the treacherous oppressors of Armenia.

Patkanean expressed his contagious patriotic enthusiasm in a number of other poems, attacking clergymen for lulling the faithful into inaction, castigating the apathetic to national concerns, and condemning the formal, impractical aspects of national identity and its detractors. But there is frustration, anger, and embittered sarcasm in the poems he wrote following the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78. Often crude in diction, these poems capture the mood of utter disappointment that gripped the Armenians in the wake of the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. The cause of reform in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, whether through direct appeals to the Ottoman government or through European pressure upon the sultan, was now dead. As the maltreatment of the Armenians worsened, Patkanean was among the first to express sympathy for the Western Armenians in the heartland around Muş and Van. Echoing H. Abovean and M. Nalbandian and paving the way for Raffi (q.v.), Patkanean urged his fellow countrymen to resort to self-defense, a trend that gathered rapid momentum. Europe got a piece of his mind too; he denounced it in harsh and contemptuous terms for selfishly abandoning the Western Armenians.

Patkanean’s social and patriotic concerns found expression in the verse (Nor Nahijewani knar) and prose (mainly short stories from life
in his birthplace and a few set in St. Petersburg and Moscow) he wrote in his native dialect of Nor Nahijewan. One frequently encounters his satirical vein and biting impatience in these writings that deal with dehumanizing social and political injustice, incompetent and corrupt local officials, wicked and greedy merchants, illiterate and incompetent priests motivated by material rather than spiritual ends, and a degenerate youth.

A junior contemporary of Patkanean and Nalbandean, SMBAT ŠAHAZIZ (1840–1907) was of a more modest talent. His first collection of verse (in Modern and Classical Armenian) touched on historical and patriotic themes, nature, and love. His second collection was markedly better than his first and mirrored his social concerns and patriotic aspirations. The dominant piece in this collection is his long poem “Lewoni vištê” (Levon’s grief), a distillation of his literary vision, notable for expounding a contemporary theme. It is the story of a young patriot dedicated to the welfare of his homeland. He sets out from Moscow and arrives in Armenia through Nor Nahijewan and Tiflis. Throughout, the reader hears Lewon’s observations regarding superstition and ignorance, intellectual, moral, and religious decline, servility, corrupt leadership, etc. Lewon’s fervent wish is to do away with all such evils and brighten the skies of Armenia with enlightenment and progress. Even though the poem concludes without the reader ever seeing Lewon engage in any kind of action to bring about change, and despite its lack of drive and action, passion, and punch, it was very well received and certainly left its mark on its readers. Although Šahaziz ascribed the birth of the poem to the “reformist” atmosphere in Russia of the 1860s, which we have no reason to disbelieve, and despite the fact that he received his intellectual nourishment mainly from Russian writers (Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov, etc.), Byron looms large in the formal aspects of the poem’s conception.

Šahaziz the journalist dealt with a variety of topics: from literature to the plight of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and from imperialism and China to an evaluation of self-centered European civilization (he once branded it as an intellectual “syphilisation”). In his articles as well as in his romantic poetic output, Šahaziz’s style is sluggish and his technique gauche. He saw himself as a servant to the cause of enlightenment and liberty through a literature expressed in simple (simplistic, in fact) language. His poetry did serve its purpose at the time, and together with the work of M. Nalbandean and R. Patkanean (q.q.v.) it paved the way and set the agenda for the next generation of poets. Very few of his poems are now remembered. Of these “Eraz” (Dream; opening line: “Es Isetsi
mi anuș dzayn” = I heard a sweet voice . . . ) will most certainly outlast them all and seems destined to remain an all-time favorite.

**GARIÊL SUNDUKIAN** (1825–1912) set new, remarkable standards for the Armenian stage. His student years at St. Petersburg must have given him a foretaste of the theater. He knew French, Georgian, Italian, Latin, and Russian (and may have had a passive knowledge of Tatar or what is now called Azeri Turkish, and Persian, since his dissertation at St. Petersburg was on Persian prosody). Some of these languages opened up before him the splendid world of theater. There is at least one note from V. Hugo in response to his letter; he met Dumas* fils* in Paris, and he came to know Alexander Ostrovsky personally in Tiflis. Some striking similarities between the art of Sundukean and Ostrovsky (characters, situations, and the use of colloquial speech) suggest that Ostrovsky may have prompted and inspired Sundukean with some guidance.

Nonetheless, Sundukean created his own theater, a microcosm all his own. With no noteworthy native tradition to draw upon and the emergent Armenian repertoire still largely limited to translations and to plays of a historical, religious, and moral scope, Sundukean turned to contemporary issues afflicting his own community in the cosmopolitan city of Tiflis. He wrote comedies in the sense of French *comédie* and *drame*. He employed the local Armenian dialect, adding touches of authenticity, dynamism, and appeal to his characters, the likes of whom the audience encountered daily in the Armenian quarter of Hawlabar or Sololak(i) in Tiflis. For all this, Armenian critics see in him the first master of realistic theater.

Sketched in *Hatabala* (Trouble; or, “A can of worms”) is his first memorable negative protagonist, Gerasim Yukulich Zambahov, a merchant with an uncomely spinster daughter. Zambahov, a traditionalist tyrant at home and a cringing wretch before the bureaucracy, is unable to marry off his daughter for all his monetary prowess and scheming. The worship of Mammon, feigned piety, moral degeneration, and the clash of old and new are issues common to this and to most of Sundukean’s other plays. In *Ēli mēk zōh* (“Yet another victim”; initial version titled *Mahlas*), a father unsuccessfully tries to force his son to marry a wealthy girl instead of the woman the son is in love with. This open rebellion against patriarchal authority in violation of long-standing traditions, a clash of “fathers and sons” as other observers put it, aroused a good deal of controversy. The conservatives saw it as an artificial conflict irrelevant to Armenian society and damaging to its fabric and the unity of the family. While such concern may have had some legitimate aspects, what they did
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not like was what they saw of themselves in the mirror Sundukean held up to them in this and in his other plays.

Sundukean’s next work, Pêpô, has been acclaimed since its first performance as the crown of his literary labor. Sundukean himself was of like mind. He dictated the work with elation to Gêorg Chmskean (1837–1916), an actor (who played the title role in Pêpô’s premiere) and a friend and amanuensis whose counsel he held in high esteem. He also left a description in his will of the statue of Pêpô he hoped would be built in the future. Mutatis mutandis, the theme of this play is similar to that of Sundukean’s major comedies. The wealthy merchant Arutin Zimzimov, aware that proof has disappeared, willfully denies the debt he owes to Pêpô’s family. Following an altercation during which Pêpô humiliates Zimzimov, and just before the former is arrested by police, the promissory note is recovered. Zimzimov is now prepared discreetly to cough up even more than the amount he owes, but Pêpô heads for jail anticipating a public showdown with his famous enemy. Sundukean judiciously left the conflict unresolved, a fact that has added so much to its continuing appeal. Unlike his other comedies, here two powerful adversaries speaking for two very different social groups clash, endowing the play with dynamism, gripping power, and revealing depth. So colorfully real in both speech and behavior are its characters, so deep did Sundukean probe into their minds, that the play conquered the hearts of multi-ethnic audiences in Transcaucasia.

Kandatz öjah (“A shattered family,” 1873), the last of this series of four attractive plays on money, marriage, and mores, was followed by a long hiatus. Amusinner (Spouses, 1890), Sundukean’s first play in the literary standard, focuses on divorce, moral decline, and, as the author confided to a contemporary, on rather dimly delineated political and patriotic aspirations. His last two plays, Sër ew azaturiwn (Love and freedom, 1910), which deals with biased divorce rules favoring men, and Ktakê (The will, 1912), which depicts a rich merchant bequeathing his wealth to charity and the ensuing conflict among his heirs, are dull and very poor in craftsmanship. The only short story he wrote, Varinki vecherê (An evening at Varinka’s), is an impressive piece on the misery of the downtrodden. His numerous “maslahat” (a sort of “heart-to-heart talk”), published in the periodical press, tackle mainly topical issues of a social nature. Sundukean had earlier written a number of vaudevilles that were quite popular. But what truly lit up his imagination was a particular category of characters, whose colloquial speech and way of life were masterfully animated in his first four comedies. His Pêpô remains one of the best Armenian plays of all time.
PERČ PRŐšEAN (1837–1907) profoundly admired and derived inspiration from H. Abovean (q.v.), but he had neither his master’s scope nor his impact. His prose was prolix and often plain. His first novel, Sōs ew Varditer (proper names), brought him fame and prompted an important critical review by Mikayel Nalbandean (q.v.). This love story revealed his power of observation, his fascination with ethnographic and “national traditions,” and an as yet dim awareness of some changes affecting rural Armenia. Only sixteen years later did his second novel appear. Titled Kruatzalik (“A bone of contention”; two men competing for the same woman) and mirroring the closing decades of the eighteenth century, it speaks of Persian maltreatment, makes a faint call for self-defense, criticizes local Armenian dignitaries and clergymen, echoes social biases and inequality, and pictures an ideal village reconstructed by traditionalists. Being fond of the traditional lifestyle in the countryside, Pfösean dreaded urban life. He recorded faithfully and regretfully its disintegration under the impact of some evil factors to which he never reconciled himself (Soviet Armenian criticism has seen in him a writer immune to class consciousness), but he hoped that decent, thoughtful, and enlightened men might still salvage the vanishing world of his childhood and dreams.

Three years later, Pfösean penned his masterpiece, Hatsi ḫndir (“A matter of bread,” i.e., struggle for survival). The novel, qualified as realistic, documents the destruction of traditional lifestyle and changing economic and social values in rural areas due to the penetration of monetary relations and mores. The novel is head and shoulders above all else Prőšean wrote; it reads well and has enriched Armenian literature with a few memorable characters (notably Mikitan Sakto). Similar in theme and structure and almost as good was his fourth novel, Tsetser (tsets = moth, i.e., “parasites”). His next novel, Bldē, also has some merits, such as a certain degree of psychological insight into Bldē’s criminal obsession with money. His Yunon is a kind of Armenian Robin Hood and in many respects marks a departure from some of his literary patterns. Prőšean has two more novels and numerous short stories. As a respected teacher, he made valuable contributions to the cause of education; as an individual endowed with considerable administrative skills, he lent much support to the Armenian theater.

Few modern Armenian writers can rival the impact and appeal of RAFFIT (CL 835–88). He began with poetry of no particular merit save for one popular poem, “Dzayn tur ov tsovak” (Respond, O, Lake), which is reminiscent of Lewond Ališan’s personification of the moon and Řapayel Patkanean’s personification of the river Arak’s. A romantic to the marrow,
he moved on to prose and captured his readers’ imagination and, arguably, the foremost spot in the genre with some of his historical novels. His numerous short stories and short novels of a social nature are set mainly in Iran (depicting both Armenian and Persian realities) and Tiflis and are a savage attack on the social injustices, predatory landowners and merchants, tyrannical bureaucrats, moral corruption, superstition and ignorance, tradition and submission that account for the sad life of the trampled and dispossessed. Perhaps his best works focusing on such concerns are Oska akatal (Golden rooster) with its protagonist, a petty bourgeois who is a slave of money and the quintessence of such vices as fetishism and cruel inhumanity, and Ḥachagoli yišatakarané (The memoirs of a robber), in which poverty drives men into criminal conduct. In Raffi’s view, human behavior is shaped by its milieu; removing or improving bad conditions will transform human character for the better. Hence his firm conviction that enlightenment and education is an all-powerful recipe for social and moral progress. Only such enlightened individuals, collectives, or nations can sue for political justice.

When the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78 broke out, the Eastern Armenians expected Russia to wrest Western Armenia from the Ottoman Empire. Though the Russian victory brought bitter disappointment to the public, the war and its aftermath ignited Raffi’s imagination. Responding to political situations in a string of historical novels, he formulated his vision of the ultimate mission: the gradual liberation of Armenia. Jalaled-din is named after a Kurdish chieftain who drowned Armenian villages and towns in blood with impunity. Raffi pits sons and fathers against one another; Sarhat, the central hero, blames his father for not opposing evil and dies fighting for his family and country. Raffi’s disapproval of all religions, particularly Christianity (as a “passive” creed) and Islam (as an “aggressive” religion), his intolerant criticism of Armenian clergymen as ignorant parasites who preached blind obedience to oppressors, and his promotion of self-defense as a legitimate right form some of the basic elements of his political thought and are reinforced in all his novels.

Having faith in neither Europe nor Ottoman nor Russian imperialism or in the Armenian leadership and organizations, Raffi looked up to the “crowd,” the educated and well-informed masses, to bring about radical change. Part of his mission was to cultivate a readership, because the reading public was so small. The elements of suspense, mystery, and adventure that occasionally appear in his work are meant to sustain interest in reading and thereby feed the public with new concepts of social and political justice. Social reform, as said, would breed reformed individuals, and reformed individuals would build a new blissful world.
This and certain elements of his ideology of liberation are the two essential messages conveyed to readers by Raffi’s *Hentë* (The fool), whose plot unfolds during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78. Raffi never quite called for armed rebellion; the Armenians were not ready for that yet. But he zealously promoted self-defense as the most dignified and legitimate human right. This and a myriad of ideas pertaining to the unenviable plight of his fellow countrymen in the Ottoman Empire, along with possible ways of bringing political relief, are raised and discussed in Raffi’s *Kayter* (Sparks), which many an observer have considered the bible of the modern Armenian liberation movements. Indeed, its impact on contemporary political thought and action has been enormous. Although not a novel in the conventional sense, it is the story of a group of students (including a number of characters who also appear in *Hachagoli yišatakaranê*) who work in or visit Western Armenia. They observe and analyze the Armenian realities under the Ottoman yoke and explore options and possible ways of alleviating the plight of their fellow countrymen.

Next, Raffi turned to the latest episode of self-defense, still fresh in Armenian memory: Dawit Bek’s successful, short-lived struggle in Siwnik, Armenia. This was a more sophisticated novel and brought into sharper focus two elements in Raffi’s thought: that disunity had been a major factor in the downfall of Armenian statehood, and that treachery had been a national trait. He interrupted *Dawit Bek* and delved into his “melikdoms” of Khamsa (*Hamsayi melikutiwnnerê*), a study of the history and fall of local Armenian rulers in Artsah-Karabagh, who had been autonomous well into the nineteenth century. The project was undertaken with a view to collecting additional material for *Dawit Bek* and to reviving and evaluating the latest manifestation of Armenian political power in the region. Soon thereafter, Raffi completed his *Paroyr Haykazn* (i.e., the rhetorician Proaeresius, A.D. 276–367/8), a short prose work contrasting Movsès Horenatsi’s dedication to the progress of his own nation with Paroyr Haykazn’s contribution to the progress of an alien society.

On the surface, the 1880s looked strikingly tranquil and uneventful. Following the failure of the Armenian Question, the Armenians and their hopes seemed to have sunk into a miasma of despair. In fact, it was a pregnant tranquility. The Armenian political parties were born, and major shifts marked a new course for Armenian literature, most notably the rise of realism. What came as a sudden and painful jolt was the re-emergence of Russian chauvinism, one of the ominous consequences of which was the closure of Armenian schools. *Samuël* was Raffi’s response
to this unjudicious Russian measure. Construing the Russians’ acts as a
devastating attack on the Armenian language, which in his eyes was
comparable to an attack on the very essence of the Armenian ethos and
the sole bond of unity for a nation in dispersion, Raffi recalled the specter
of a similar threat by Persia in fourth-century Armenia.

Armenian historians speak of Samuel, the central hero, in only a
few terse phrases. He was a descendant of the venerable Mamikonean
family and killed his own father, Vahan Mamikonean, for apostasy. Raffi
expanded this act of patricide into an extensive novel cast against the
background of a massive Persian campaign to supplant the native tongue
and culture with their own. The novel illustrates selfless patriotism;
transforms the abstract concept of Armenia into a geographical and
topographical entity, a peopled land bustling with traditions and collective
experiences; promotes national unity; restores continuity to Armenian
identity by viewing the Christian tradition as both a modified version and
a continuation of the pagan Armenian lifestyle; and endorses militant
action in defense of country and identity.

Raffi publicly complained that Armenian authors had no clear pic­
ture of the Armenian society of old. He was envious, he said, of such
writers as Sir Walter Scott and Georg Ebers (whose Eine ägyptische
Königstochter and Samuel share certain remote resemblances), who were
fortunate to have ample historical material at their disposal. (Actually,
Ebers himself collected much of the information he used in his novels.)
To create a semblance of fourth-century Armenia, Raffi relied on his own
imagination, on whatever information he could glean from Armenian
sources, and on lifestyles he observed in remote regions, especially in Iran
where change would have crept in rather slowly, he contended. It may
never be possible to determine how close or off the mark Raffi was in his
re-creation of daily life in fourth-century Armenia. Given the benefit of
the doubt, it may be assumed that he was satisfactorily imaginative if not
altogether authentic. But his reading of this very intricate era in Armenian
history is revealing. He was one of the earliest writers, perhaps the
earliest, to peer at the realities of the time and make incisive observations
on a number of issues: the decentralized nature of political power in
Armenia, the negative effect centrifugal forces had on Armenia, and the
bloodstained conflict between church and state in the fourth century.

There are a number of instances of anachronism and protraction in
this work, but some of the lateral connections are of practical importance.
Raffi’s women are virtuous patriots, and Meruzan Artrzuni, whom we
know to have been a powerful political personality, comes through as
a rather petty quisling. Raffi removes Samuel from the thick of action.
for a long stretch of time to illustrate the calamities the traitors and the Persians inflict on the country and to justify Samuël’s inescapable decision to commit patricide amid harrowing mental agony. This renders Samuël’s character somewhat remote. But as the novel races to its dramatic conclusion, he re-emerges as a heroic, if tragic, patriot owing much of his charm and force to the character of Vahan Mamikonean, his own father and arch enemy, whom Raffi portrays in masterful strokes as an intelligent and determined man of strong convictions. Raffi wrote in an excellent Modern Eastern Armenian.

Lazaros Alayan (1840–1911), endowed with an energetic talent, was a multifarious writer but not as voluminous as some of his contemporaries. There is something utopian about the sum total of his work. He liked Edward Bellamy’s projection of a new social and economic order and translated the initial parts of Bellamy’s *Looking Backward: 2000–1887* into Armenian. When admonished by his younger colleague and protégé, Yovhannës Tumanean (q.v.), he replied that Bellamy made much more sense than Marx and Engels. Like Bellamy, he particularly liked to juxtapose the idealized future with the ugly present and longed for the disappearance of private enterprise and the appearance of some kind of a communal lifestyle. His adaptations of Armenian folk tales, well-suited to his own edifying purposes, inaugurated a trend emulated by Y. Tumanean, A. Isahakyan, and later by S. Zoryan (q.q.v.). They also illustrated his belief in well-rounded education and the importance of acquiring dexterous skills or practical crafts (e.g., his folk tale titled “Anahit”). He prepared numerous popular textbooks and taught tirelessly. He thoroughly enjoyed teaching children and took the lead in creating wonderful poems and rhymes for them, many of which are still fondly recited. His best piece in verse is his adaptation of the tale of Tork Angel (from Movses Horenatsi), whom he recast into a patriot and a loving, gentle giant in a community of a similarly colossal creatures, but one where there are no masters and slaves.

His first novel, *Arutiwn ew Manuel* (proper names, 1867; revised and supplemented 1888–93), is actually an autobiographical collection of vignettes. Elaborating on his use of the form "Arutiwn" for "Yarutiwn" (resurrection, John), he said it stood for the Armenian word *arutiwn* (courage, fortitude) and not for the popular or corrupt form of Yarutiwn. From these sketches emerge the sad childhood and early years of Alayan, who launches a "courageous" assault on old ideas and teaching methods. His next work was a shorter novel titled *Erku koyr* (Two sisters). It is the unhappy love story of two sisters, a cry for social justice, equality of men
and women, and the problem of land-tenure in the Armenian realities of the 1870s. Like Ř. Patkanean (q.v.) before him, he tried an incomplete adaptation of K'yoř-Ölli (Kőroghlu, a bandit, or perhaps a Jelali rebel, and central character of a romance, reminiscent of older accounts of a hero avenging the blinding of his father; these older accounts, it has been suggested, are also echoed in the story of Aršak II, King of Armenia; cf. H. Përpërean, Aršak B. ew Keörôllu, [Paris, 1938]). But unlike Patkanean, he wrote it in prose and portrayed K'yoř-Ölli not as an Armenian patriot, but as a hero with no specific ethnic identity, who wages wars against oppressors, rulers, and sultans to protect the poor and champion the cause of freedom.

Alayean has numerous articles discussing various aspects of the emerging literary standard. He was carefully attentive to language and the subtleties of its use and wrote in a neat, simple, and flexible Eastern Armenian, providing a model for his younger colleagues to emulate and improve into a fine tool. But the charm of his idiom is only one of the elements making his literature attractive. In questions of form and substance, literary values and approaches, his literature was distinct from that of his contemporaries and certainly illuminated a more clearly delineated path for the future of Eastern Armenian letters.
The Twentieth Century: 
The First Two Decades

An Overview of the Armenian Realities of the Age

As the twentieth century turned, Armenian letters were still subject to unrelentingly harsh censorship in both the Ottoman and Russian empires. Both tyrannies made a conscious effort to subdue and terrorize their Armenian subjects. Some cataclysmic events with catastrophic consequences soon shook both the Eastern and Western Armenians. In 1903 the Russian government confiscated Armenian Church properties and closed Armenian parochial schools. Protest and defiance forced the government to reconsider its decision in two years, but there followed the “Tatar [Azeri]-Armenian” clashes (1905–06) and the Stolypin repressions in the aftermath of the first Russian revolution. Despite their anti-Armenian domestic policy, the Russians revived the issue of reform in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire shortly before World War I. But the outbreak of the war enabled the Young Turk clique to cancel such arrangements and to implement a premeditated state policy of resolving the issue once and for all by eliminating the Armenian population of the empire. When Lenin called home the Russian troops, the Caucasian front disintegrated, and the Ottoman Army, recovering the eastern provinces, marched east in pursuit of the Pan-Turanian fantasy. The Armenians made a last stand in May of 1918 and were able to stop the Turkish onslaught, but not the massacre of the Armenians of Baku. Immediately after the fateful battle of Sardarapat and following the example of Georgia and Azerbaijan, Armenia declared its independence. It survived for only thirty months and became a Soviet republic at the end of 1920.

In the Ottoman Empire, Abdulhamid II’s repressive anti-Armenian policy continued until the Young Turk coup of 1908, which, amid joy and jubilation, promised a new start for all elements of the empire. But Armenian hopes and lofty ideals of equality and fraternity were
drowned in the bloodbath in Adana (1909). The Young Turks had their own imperialistic fancies and pursued a policy of Turkification now that neither Ottomanism, Islam, nor any other artificial common identity imposed from above could hold the empire together. Shortly after the Balkan wars, the militants and fanatic ideologists in the government and the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihad ve Terakki) managed to drag the country into a war it could not fight. But it provided the leadership with a pretext and cover for the genocide they perpetrated against the Armenians. Deportations began in March, and it was on the night of 24 April 1915 that the Armenian intelligentsia was rounded up and shipped to the interior. Slaughtered in a most brutal fashion were the glories of Western Armenian literature: G. Zöhrap, D. Varužan, Siamanto, Eruhan, R. Sewak, M. Kiwrčean (Hrand), Ū. Zardarean, Tikatintsi, A. Yaruţiwnane, T. Chëökiwrean, S. Biwrat, G. Barseleam, and hundreds of intellectuals. A precious few either survived (E. Ötean), dodged capture and eventually slipped away (Y. Ôsakan), or happened to be abroad on the night of the simultaneous arrests (V. Têkêean). But for all intents and purposes, Western Armenian literature was extinguished in 1915.

In the early 1880s it became clear to the Armenians that Abdulhamid II had an implacable aversion to reform and progress and that Europe had its own interests. The rise of the Armenian political parties was partly due to a desire on the part of young Armenians to take matters into their own hands. The "sick man of Europe" though it was, the empire was still a deadly tyranny, especially for the Armenians. Abdulhamid and the Young Turks had proved this in no uncertain terms. The Armenians in Russia fared no better, save that there had been no threat to their lives. Perplexing anxiety is perhaps what best describes the state of mind that prevailed at first. But soon the Armenians realized that things were coming to a head. Frustration, compounded with a sense of despair and impotence, set in as they pondered their uncertain future. All this, in varying forms and degrees, resonated in the works of contemporary authors, amid feverish scholarly and cultural activities.

In the field of Armenian studies, European linguists (e.g., A. Meillet, J. Karst) continued their remarkable contributions, inspiring a new generation of Armenian scholars (H. Açaîyan, 1876–1953; M. Abelyan, 1865–1944). Critical editions of old Armenian texts appeared, as did collections and studies of Armenian folklore. Professional inquiries towards reconstructing a more detailed and factual history of Armenia were more actively pursued (Leo, q.v.; N. Adonts, 1871–1942). T. Toramanian (1864–1934) shed new light on the monuments of Armenian architecture. Komitas Vardapet (Solomon Solomonean, 1869–1935) popularized
Armenian folk songs, enchanting large audiences. The Armenian theater and the arts in general enlivened the scene. Literary activities were revived with relative freedom after the return of most of the writers from exile in the wake of the Young Turk coup. New periodicals were published, some of a purely literary character. At public gatherings the latest creations of Armenian writers were discussed. Finally, after decades of groundwork, a discerning reading public and a fine infrastructure was in place. Literary criticism and history made an impact. Criticism developed from popular journalistic reviews to more intricate critique and to monographs, mostly on contemporary writers. A. Chöpanean, A. Yarutëlwanean, and the most famous of them all, Y. Ösakan (q.q.v.), forged the canon in the West; a promising Vahan Nalbandean (1876–1902), Nikol Albalean (1873–1947), Simeon Hakobyvan (1880–1942), Arsen Terteryan (1882–1953), Harutyun Surhatyan (1882–1938), Tsolak Hanzadyan (1886–1935), and Potos Makintsyan (1884–1938) formulated the Eastern Armenian critical creed. Held in high esteem later in Soviet Armenia were also a number of prominent Bolsheviks who practiced criticism from a Marxist point of view: Stepan Šahumean (1878–1918), Suren Spandarean (1882–1916), Aleksandr Myasnikyan (1886–1925), etc. Their views reflected a very wide range of conflicting or complementary convictions and diverse influences. A number of histories were written on both eastern and western literatures, taking stock of their accomplishments.

If prose, both long and short, had dominated the concluding three decades of the nineteenth century, poetry ruled supreme in the opening decades of the twentieth. A constellation of poets, the likes of which Armenian letters had not experienced before, adorned Armenian verse with exquisite work in form and content: Siamantō, D. Varužan, M. Metzarents, and V. Tëkëean in the west, and Y. Tumanean, A. Isahakyan, V. Tërëan, and E. Charents in the east. Certain aspects of symbolism, naturalism, and futurism left their mark on the work of some of these poets who tried to keep abreast of literary trends in Europe and Russia. H. Hakobyvan and Š. Kurlinyan in their engagé verse founded the proletarian style. In short lyrical prose pieces, a few writers contemplated life in a philosophical mood; others, in similarly short but allegorical writings, gave expression to some concerns and aspirations. Drama was revived in Širvanzade’s and L. Šant’s plays.

This was a time when the politically doomed Western Armenians found their spiritual fortitude. There was a return to the pagan past, when aesthetic beauty and physical prowess were extolled. The movement generated a good deal of controversy and was denounced by some Eastern Armenian writers. Nonetheless, it was a firm bridge of legitimacy
and continuity that extended into antiquity, above and beyond the very symbols that defined the status of Armenians in the empire, namely, the Church and Christianity. This was yet another attempt to foster the political element in the Armenian self-image. Abovean had long since proclaimed language and the Church as two of the most fundamental pillars of the Armenian ethos, and many writers were of like mind. But Raffi, and now Siamantō and Varužan, placed much emphasis on pre-Christian Armenian culture, the homeland, and the vernacular. A number of short-lived periodicals, such as Nawasard and Mehean (both published in Constantinople on the eve of World War I), promoted national and literary rejuvenation and similar concepts. Nawasard covered literature and the arts in general. Mehean focused on literature, and, proclaiming its allegiance to the Armenian-Aryan spirit, called for a cultivated, purified Armenian as the vehicle for a new literature, free from politics and the ravages of journalism. But the most striking literary expression of such shifting values at this juncture was Siamantō’s poem “Mesrop Maštots,” published just as the Armenians in Constantinople celebrated with pomp and pride, before the envious eyes of the Young Turk leadership, the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the invention of the Armenian script and the four-hundredth anniversary of Armenian printing.

A Survey of the Literature of the Age

Western Armenian Literature

Arşak Chöpanean (1872–1954), a prolific and multifarious author, wrote both poetry and prose (noravêps, short stories, prose poems, etc.), as well as essays, articles, and literary criticism. With unflagging determination, he promoted the literary and artistic accomplishments of his nation through lectures, studies, and translations from Armenian into French and vice versa. He also founded and edited the celebrated literary-cultural periodical Anahit, cited extensively in this work. So wide was his embrace that he left barely any topical issues untouched. Such activities, conducted in an almost missionary zeal, may indeed have drained his creative, literary energies.

Nonetheless, Chöpanean remains an important figure in the history of Armenian literature, particularly verse. His poetic oeuvre is adorned with few first-rate poems, but as a whole it helped pave the way for subsequent Western Armenian poets. Counterbalancing the treacly clichés of sentimental poetry and the rigidity of formal poetry, Chöpanean emphasized the significance of image and emotion and supplanted the excessively flowery, convoluted expression, often mistaken for sophistication,
with a simple and at times ordinary diction. In this sense, he played for Western Armenian verse a role somewhat akin to that played by Hovhannes Hovhannisyan (q.v.) for Eastern Armenian poetry. He was also among the earliest poets to take to Western forms, taste, and sensibilities, channeling such aspects and accomplishments into Armenian letters. In a similar vein, he emerged as the central figure in forging the formative stages of literary criticism. His studies of Grigor Narekatsi, Nahapet K'uchak, Nalas Yovnaťan, Mkrtich Pësiktašlean, Petros Durean, and others laid the groundwork for the tradition.

Personal sentiments, universal suffering, love, nature, and patriotism are some of the themes he sang in his poems in a warm, spontaneous style. He was well-versed in world, especially French, literature. And Yakob Öšakan (q.v.) has seen traces of influence of the Romantics, the Parnassians, and the Symbolists in his work. His short prose pieces tackle social themes pertaining principally to the lower and poor classes.

Siamantô's (1878–1915) verse is unique in a number of ways. Thematically, it has a very limited range; almost exclusively it tells of the horrors suffered by his nation. In terms of form, it has been suggested that his free verse (which is not quite that) owes something to Verhaeren's *vers libre* and Paul Fort's experiments in poems in prose and the emphasis he placed on cadence. The suggestion needs further elaboration, but it is true inasmuch as Siamantô wrote in free verse. In the 1890s and 1900s, many Armenian writers searched for and experimented in new ways of expression.

Siamantô's first work, a slim cycle of poems, *Diwtsaznôrên* (Heroically), in effect prefigured his poetic world. It speaks of centuries-old persecution and butchery of his people (particularly the massacres of the mid-1890s), and evokes and justifies the espousal of defiant aspirations for the ideal, the dream, and the sacred aim. Long-dead martyrs for the cause of freedom rise from their tombs and triumphantly pursue the struggle with the still oppressed crowd. Morbid images (akin to "deep images") and scenes, ghosts, apparitions, and selflessly fighting masses mingle to create an atmosphere of haunting hyperbole. The abstract symbolic forces of fighters for freedom are replaced by contemporary heroes in his next collection, *Hayordiner* (Armenians), made up of three cycles. The background is once again the gruesome images of death and destruction, blood and corpses, and chilling terror that deny mercy and laxity, nurture vengeance, and urge unceasing struggle until victory. The poet calls on the "masters of thought" to come out of their "halls of dream" to sow the seeds of heroism and on the "hooded mystics" (the monks) to arm
themselves with the arms of the shattered cross, all while pouring bitter contempt on the hypocritical West. There are tender moments that bring the gloom into even darker focus. But the author never lets go of the thread of hope. Amid unbearable anguish, his apocalyptic voice thunders messages of determination, self-reliance, and relentless pursuit of the ultimate dream.

His third collection, titled *Hogevarki ew yoysi jaher* (literally, Torches of dying breath and hope; i.e., something like Flickering flames of death and hope), is also a threnody on the carnage of his people, but one that lacks the exhortations to revenge and rebellion he had made in his previous collection. The slaughter of Armenians in Adana (Cilicia) in 1909 prompted his next book, *Karmir lurer barekamēs* (Red news from my acquaintance, i.e., Bloodstained reports from a friend). It consists of twelve reported episodes, which Siamantō recast in his own style into deeply disturbing narrative poems (e.g., in “Parē.” The dance, naked women are made to dance to exhaustion and then burnt alive). On a visit to the United States in 1909, he wrote and published his last collection, *Hayreni hrawēr* (An invitation to [return to] the native land, 1910). In twelve moving pieces, in a lyrical style not always entirely free from sentimentalism, Siamantō admonishes his fellow countrymen residing abroad, making an impassioned, heartfelt appeal for them to return to their families and the homeland they have abandoned.

In the early 1910s, Siamantō very slowly moved away from the realm of pain and darkness. The theme must have seemed to have run its course, and new sources of spiritual fortitude had to be explored. Siamantō turned to pagan Armenia, like Daniēl Varužan, in whose *Hetanos erger* (Pagan songs) the trend found its fullest expression. Having rejected Christian tenets of pacifism and passivity, Siamantō in his poem dedicated to Anahit, the goddess of fertility, supplicates her to give birth to a new invincible god, begotten by the sun. His last major poem was an effusive encomium for Maštots, originator of the Armenian script, commemorating the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of its invention. (Nersēs Mezpurean, 1841–80, and Stephanos Nazarean, 1812–79, had earlier written odes to *Mayreni lezu*, i.e., mother tongue, sharing similarities so striking as to suggest a common source of inspiration or adaptation, but neither had the impact nor the symbolic significance of Siamantō’s poem). As usual, Siamantō wrote these two poems in an epic breath and a sonorous style. But they both lacked the emotive power of his formidable imagination, his foremost strength in his earlier collections. On the whole, his work suffers from a certain amount of verbosity and repetition, declamatory patterns, mixed metaphors, and a lack of depth. Today, many of his poems
make for difficult, monotonous, and uneasy reading. It is difficult to say in what new spheres his imagination would have hovered, had he not been silenced at age thirty-seven in a conflagration unlike any he described.

**MISAK’ METZARENTS** (1886–1908) is one of a handful of Armenian poets who redefined and refined the Armenian poetic canon with vision and finesse at the turn of the century. His two collections, *Tziatzan* (Rainbow) and *Nor taler* (New songs), published in the spring and autumn of 1907, were met by some with harsh, if distasteful, criticism claiming, among other things, that his work was infested with Symbolism, an alien malaise unacceptable to Armenian traditionalists. A larger army of admirers went to the other extreme, refusing to acknowledge all traces of Symbolism in his art.

Metzarents knew by his early teens that his years were numbered (he suffered from consumption), but unlike Petros Durean (q.v.), he neither allowed the black specter of death visibly to color his utterances, nor did he defy fate rebelliously. Nor did he escape into Vahan Tërean’s distant visions, undulating in the mist of melodic melancholy. There was an air of elevated and deeply moving insouciance about the way in which he touched upon his destiny, women, and love. The real world was the abode of his noble sentiments, refracted in a bright, but never dazzling, interplay of colors. This is to say that he read nature particularly well, viewing its vitality with a discerning eye and listening to its rhythm with a musical ear. A heartening optimism mitigated his profound sorrows, channeling them away into the light enveloping him, and grief gave him renewed strength to carry on with the business of life. He worshipped the sun—as a flame, not as a massive conflagration—and caught the infinite manifestations of light, releasing them in varying shapes and shades into many of his poems, including the nocturnal ones. His unalloyed, boundless altruism, now in the form of the wind touching everybody on the forehead in sympathy; now as the cuddlesome evening descending upon all; and now as a hut awaiting the arrival of weary travelers, was at once a source of inspiration and solace for him. His amatory expressions are dreams, prompted by a heart languishing in an unquenched thirst for love. This is perhaps best illustrated in one of his most popular poem-songs “Gişern anuş ṝ...” (“Sweet is the night...,” titled “Sirerg” = Lovesong) where the author, inundated with kisses from the sea, air, and the light embracing him, longs for the “only” kiss, the ultimate seal of happiness.

Like his predecessor, Petros Durean, and his contemporaries Tuma-nean, Isahakyan, Siyamantö, Varužan, and Tërean (q.q.v.), Metzarents formed new compound words and endowed some old words with new
nuances. He paid meticulous attention to form and wrote effortlessly, in a crystal clear, elegantly compact Western Armenian with fresh, vibrant imagery all his own.

DANIEL VARUŽAN’s (1884–1915) first collection of verse, titled Sarsunner (Sensations, or Frissons), is a small volume that expresses some social concerns. His next book, Tšelin sirtė (Heart of the race, i.e., nation), deals with a much wider variety of concerns and aspirations. It opens with a poem dedicating it to the fatherland, the Armenian émigrés (panduhift), the victims of sword and fire, his home and parents, and the Armenians fighting for the national cause. There follows a preface titled “Nemesis,” depicting the carving of a statue of the goddess of retribution. Varužan calls on his people to worship the goddess, but to destroy her statue and cult as soon as tyranny is abolished. Having set the tone to the entire collection, Varužan then groups his poems under three headings: “Baginin vray” (on the altar of sacrifice), “Krkēsin mēj” (in the arena), and “Diwtsaznavepēr” (epic poems). With passion and verve, Varužan asserts in the first part that his fellow countrymen have long been victims of Ottoman religious fanaticism and chauvinism. He juxtaposes some of the darkest moments in the Armenian experience with spiritual vitality and moral strength (e.g., the poems on the ruins of Ani, the spirit of the fatherland, the red soil, the massacres of the mid-1890s and Adana, 1909), while he unceremoniously buries “the God of Lusaworich [Gregory the Illuminator] and Nersēs [the Great, A.D. fourth century].” In the second and third parts, he amplifies the theme of spiritual fortitude: e.g., Revival (“Veratznutiwn”), The Victor (“Yaltolē”), etc.; invokes the god Vahagn for his prowess and calls on him to make peace with his “renegade” people; and promises justice and liberty to the Armenian victims of the Armenian-Tatar (i.e., Azeri) clashes of 1905–06.

Enamored of pagan life, many elements of which are found in this collection, Varužan wrote a whole new cycle of poems, Hetanos erger (Pagan songs). The second part is titled Golgotayi tzalikner (Golgotha flowers), and in contrast to the first it is a bitter indictment of the machine age and its devastating consequences of cruel exploitation, poverty, moral corruption, and other manifestations of human degradation in ugly, monstrous urban centers. The first is a splendid, if controversial, hymn to life in luscious (and at times even lascivious), glittering imagery, fusing the colors of the East and the art of the West. Širvanzade (q.v.) attacked it (the poem “Ov Lalagē,” in particular) as pornography, but numerous colleagues and critics came to Varužan’s rescue. He is singing, in innocent elation, of passion and sensual sensations and the beauty of the
female body, at times in somewhat suggestive settings. It is the concept of fertility and cycle of life, the inextricable intermingling of pleasure and pain, that endow the collection with a putative air of eroticism. It is decidedly not pornographic, though in an instance or two Varužan does sing of Eros rather than Agape. Nor is there on the part of Varužan a call to return to an era he brought to life in such bright colors as in the narrative poem, “Harče” (The concubine), the collection’s brightest jewel. Varužan’s intention was to unveil and liberate the pagan tradition, perceived by him as an age of prowess, valor, and the aesthetically beautiful, to undermine the bleak aspects of Christian tenets that clipped the wings of human spirit, and to shape and solidify the will to live. The influences of E. Verhaeren, M. Maeterlinck, Rig-veda, and the rich colors of the Flemish masters have been pointed out. To these influences one should perhaps add Parnassian poetry, with its emphasis on formal and visual, rather than emotive, aspects.

Varužan’s last collection was Hatsin ergë (The song of bread), which tells the entire story of obtaining flour, from ploughing the land to the water mill. The cycle is believed to be incomplete, lacking the six poems that would have put the baked bread on the table. The manuscript was confiscated at the time of his arrest by Ottoman Turkish police on 24 April 1915, but it was recovered after his murder and published in 1921. Bucolic poems of an idyllic setting, ablaze with the colors of sunrise and sunset and various other hours of the day, recount the routine of industrious peasants engaged in the “sacred” labor of producing bread. It opens with the poet’s appeal to the muse to teach him all about bread, followed by twenty-eight poems, interspersed with songs, romantically idealizing a tranquil, blissful lifestyle. This is the fatherland in its simplest, most precious form. Popular expressions, sparingly applied, add charm and authenticity to his style. He conjures up delightful images infused with light, colors, and warmth— one of the most celebrated, enduring, and endearing aspects of his poetic genius.

Rūbēn Sewak’s (1885–1915) output is small in quantity but contains a good many impressive pieces in both verse and prose. His Karmir girkē (The red book), made up of three poems inspired by the Armenian massacres in Adana, was the only collection to appear in his lifetime. He was not in the same league as his great contemporaries, but his warm, sincere, and spontaneous poetry, like theirs, marked a turning point in the history of Armenian verse in a modest way. Social inequality and injustice, corruption, human bondage, the transience of life, and issues of universal harmony and the aesthetically beautiful emerge as some of his
major concerns. His sentiments are rebellious in poems (which seem to have been born in a hasty outburst), protesting, with a tinge of pessimism, the brutal way in which his fellow countrymen were treated.

The short pieces he published in the periodical press were put together posthumously as a volume under the title *Bəjiskin girkên prtsuatx ėjer* (Pages, or Extracts from the diary of a physician). It is an uneven medley of short stories, *noravêps*, articles, and narratives that speak of the observations of a physician who encounters matters of life and death daily. The theme was new, as was the setting for many of the sad episodes. One of Sewak’s intentions was to show that death could be delayed or defeated if certain conditions were met (change in personal lifestyles, removal of ignorance, etc.). Sewak’s immense sympathy for those in affliction, his thoughtful reflections on human life, and his rapid narrative style make some of these writings enjoyable reading.

**ARTAŞÊS YARUTİWNEAN** (1873–1915) attained fame as both an influential literary critic and as a gifted poet who sang of love, dreams, and nature with a vexed heart. But his poetic glory faded as rapidly as it had risen, some years before his life was brought to an end in 1915, and it is his critical sketches of contemporary authors and analyses of particular literary works that are still of value. An incisive observer, with a subtle artistic discretion, he wrote short reviews that are distinguished for their insight, wit, and élan, never mincing matters and never shying away from giving his detractors some of their own medicine in terms of temperamental responses and repartee in the periodical press of the day. To him, the role of a critic was to detect, publicly appreciate, and, if need be, propagate the intrinsic values of a literary piece as a consummate individual creation. He designed the famous survey, published in the form of a questionnaire in the literary periodical *Masis*, on the future of Western Armenian literature. Looking at literature as a repository and as a reflection of the past and present experiences of his people, expressed in and consonant with the particular and paramount aesthetic-literary character of the Armenian people, Yarutıwnean publicly raised a long-standing concern regarding the future of Armenian literature. More to the point, the question he asked the Armenian intellectuals was whether Constantinople (an alien, cosmopolitan home of an Armenian community) or the eastern provinces (the original homeland and thus a “purer” Armenia) of the Ottoman Empire were the genuine and, therefore, the more fertile ground for Armenian letters. Yarutıwnean unequivocally favored the latter. The response to the questionnaire was disappointingly meager. But regardless of the answers, no power would have deflected the
course of this natural trend, which was initiated by Mkrtich Hrimean (q.v.). Were it not for 1915, “provincial” literature, it seems, would have rivaled and complemented that produced in Constantinople as an indispensable part of the national tradition.

It is difficult to say in what other ways Yaruriwnean’s flair for criticism would have manifested itself had his life run its normal course. But what we have from him is a string of short evaluations confined to contemporary literature, lacking the sweeping grasp of canon-shapers, such as that of his close friend, Yakob Öşakan, or that of Arşak Chöpanane (q.q.v.), the forerunner of them both and chief originator of the tradition. For all three, intellectual sustenance and guidance came mainly from French sources. Yaruriwnean had a masterful command of French, and according to Öşakan, he contributed to French periodicals under a pseudonym. Öşakan also mentioned that Yaruriwnean read seldom but deeply. Based on what the former has recorded and on what one can glean from Yaruriwnean’s own writings, Yaruriwnean was familiar with Kant, Heine, Schopenhauer, and, particularly, Nietzsche; Byron and H. Spencer; and among French philosophers, the writers and critics Joachim du Bellay, Ronsard, A. Comte, V. Cousin, H.-F. Amiel, Littré, Leconte de Lisle, Gabriel Tarde, A. France, the French Symbolists, and especially Remy de Gourmont. He read the Mercure de France religiously, but had no particular interest in Bergson and chose to disregard Taine, maintaining that his influence had already waned.

VAHAN TÊKÊEAN’s (1878–1945) army of admirers is probably outnumbered by those indifferent towards his art. His first collection produced two sharply contrasting reviews but mainly went unnoticed. The second appeared when Metzarents, Sihamantô, and Varužan had already published their best work. When his third book saw the light of day, the Armenians were still mortified by the harrowing and continuing trauma of 1915. No new aspects of his talent shimmered in his fourth and fifth volumes. The aforementioned poets struck a chord with their readers, who basked in optimism. Têkêe’s second book, arguably his best collection, appeared in a tense atmosphere on the eve of World War I. Perhaps his technique had something to do with it, too. Most of his verse lacks internal rhyme and abounds with enjambment and grammatical inversion, often requiring a second reading to fathom the depth of his contemplation. Ironically, he was a painstaking perfectionist when it came to form and precision of words, meter, and rhyme and invariably revised (often repeatedly and over long periods of time) the initial forms of his inspiration. Yakob Öşakan (q.v.) proclaimed him to be the most original poet of the Armenian Dispersion.
He was off to a rough start with his first collection, which brought to light his youthful dreamy anxieties and aspirations. But his second and third (*Hrašali yaruțiw, Wonderful rebirth; Kësgiserên minchew arșalays, From midnight to dawn*), firmly established him as a first-rate poet. The identity of the object of his affections, which deeply agitated his heart and mind, remained mysteriously ambiguous. Unrequited and privately cherished love, haunting memories, unattainable dreams such as fathering a son, and terrible blows of fate, all gnawing at his heart, are major themes in the latter two volumes. More or less the same topics, expressed in an uneven voice, make up the next book, *Sêr* (Love). Patriotic sentiments and Armenia predominate his penultimate collection, titled *Hayergutîw* (Songs on, or a celebration of, Armenia and the Armenians), which brings together numerous poems culled from his earlier work, those interspersed in the periodical press, and a considerable number of new ones. *Talaran* (Songbook) contained the poems, mostly sonnets, he wrote in the twilight of his life (he is often referred to as the Armenian Prince of Sonnets).

In his patriotic lyrical verses, many of which were inspired by his two visits to Armenia, Têkêean sought the spirit of his nation, rather than its splendor, and echoed its aspirations, old and new (e.g., “Zwartnôts taçarin mëj” = At the Zvartnots Cathedral). He was one of the few intellectuals fortuitously to escape 1915, because he happened to be in Jerusalem on the night of April 24 when the Armenian intellectuals were rounded up. The destruction of the Western Armenians remained a bleeding wound to the end of his life and gave rise to a number of commemorative, tryingly painful, indignant but dignified poems (e.g., “Ksan kañlannêr” = in memory of the twenty members of the Hnchakean Party sent to the gallows in June of 1915; “Suetia”; “Eprat” = Euphrates; “Ahawor ban mê . . .” = Something terrible . . . ; “Erb ôrë gay verjapês = When the day finally comes; “Garan gişer” = A spring night; “Ov Hayastan” = O, Armenia; “Piti čsenêk Astutzoy” = We shall say to God; etc.).

Têkêean’s poetry was on the whole cerebral, austere yet poignant, subtle and elegiac, distressful yet lyrical and dignified. There was something of the stoic in him; personal love remained elusive, and only dreams and hopeful anticipation of reciprocal affection periodically illuminated his otherwise sad life. His mental and artistic steadfastness was remarkable. His attractive verse was expressed in an elegant and meticulous Armenian, with a voice all its own.

MATTĒOS ZARIFEAN (1894–1924) published two collections of poetry in his lifetime. The Beirut edition of his collected works, edited jointly by Siran Seza (sister of Zarifean) and Vahē-Vahean (q.v.), contains
unpublished poems, diaries, and letters not found in his two poetry collections. His diaries cover mainly his days of service in the Ottoman Army (1916–18), with two very short sections on his days as interpreter in the British Army and teacher at the Përperëan School. His two verse collections made him a celebrity overnight; his poems struck a responsive chord particularly in the hearts of young readers. For, although the war had long since ceased, what was left of the Ottoman Empire was still in turmoil, and the fate of the Armenians was still uncertain.

Death overtook Zarifean before he could refine his poetic gift into a distinct style. His romantic poetry is intensely subjective and revolves around unrequited sentiments in matters of the heart, mental anguish, unfulfilled dreams, and a yearning for tranquility. He faced death with courage, although in many a poem sentimentality and self pity are a touch too obvious. Nature and the night, the sea, trees, and a certain locale in Istanbul form the basic elements of his imagery. His poems suffer from a number of imperfections. But they are written with genuine sincerity, simplicity, and a good feel for rhyme by a sensitive soul enamored of life.

**AHARON TATUREAN** (1886–1965) became a familiar name to the Western Armenian reading public in the years 1908–15 through his poems published in the periodical press. His fame lingered briefly after the Armistice of Mudros, but rapidly dissipated after the early 1920s. The publication of his first collection in 1938 revived his reputation to a certain degree. Although more collections followed, Aharon, as he was often called, never regained the modest prominence he had achieved in the pre-genocide era. His poetry was uneven, and much of it was outdated or irrelevant. But a few poems, particularly from his first two collections, stand out for the elegance of their style, the vividness of their imagery, and the intensity and spontaneity of his emotions. From his first collection, *Magalatner* (Parchment), the cycle “gehenakank” (Infernal [songs]) is written with verve; the cycle “Sirts karmir varderov” (My heart with red roses) is a spirited hymn to love; and the cycle “Giwli siwkër, earojerger” (Country breezes: songs for the beloved) is a fascinating imitation of folk-style poetry. From his second collection, *Pohemakank* (Bohemian [songs]), so named after a cycle he wrote while a student in Prague), the cycle “Hogis cermak varderov” (My soul with white roses) speaks of love in mellow and melancholic lines that run deep.

**ERUHAN** (1870–1915), a junior contemporary of the realist writers, wrote noravêps and novels conforming to the literary creed of his senior colleagues. Like most of them, he also contributed to the periodical press and taught, but he never enjoyed as wide a recognition as they had, despite
the fact that his *Amirayin aljikê* (Amira’s daughter) is considered by many as the best realist novel. That was perhaps due to the fact that realism had outlived its age by the early twentieth century; prose was gradually relegated to a secondary position by poetry, and authors explored new literary realms. Nonetheless, he is reckoned to be one of the important prose writers of his age.

Like Eruhan himself, many of his characters (fishermen and fishmongers and poor people of humble origin who owe to Eruhan their existence in Armenian literature) came from the district of Hasköy in Istanbul, which at one point had also been the home of some *amiras* (self-made dignitaries in the service of sultans and the higher echelons of Ottoman bureaucracy, who wielded considerable power within the Armenian community). There are no variations in craftsmanship in his short stories, which almost exclusively deal with the inner life and external appearance of a neglected class of people. He is both unquestioning and unmindful of their social standing or realities; in an unembellished fashion and with vigorous strokes, he paints little action and pays even less attention to the world they inhabit.

*Amirayin aljikê* (initially titled *Merzuatz sêr*, Rejected love, or A jilted lover, which better describes the plot of the novel) is in fact the story of an *amira*’s grandchild by the name of Aršak, a quack given to self-indulgence. He abandons Sofi, his servant, and takes off to Paris, returning with a French woman. The latter abandons Aršak when he shows renewed interest in Sofi, who sought out an old admirer of hers, Hambik, while Aršak was gone. As Aršak and Sofi revive their relationship, Hambik goes insane. Far more interesting than the central protagonist are the secondary characters, who are mostly sincere, simple, poor, though not always pure, and whose well-drawn profiles testify to Eruhan’s intimate familiarity with such people. In his other novel, *Harazat ordî* (Legitimate son), a dissolute and impotent husband, Beniamin, commits suicide upon realizing that his child has been fathered by someone else. In addition to unnecessary epithets that encumber his novels as well as his shorter works, the former also suffer from excessively prolonged description of tedious details. His best pages are those that captured for posterity what society and other writers had disregarded: the particular group of the poor and forgotten he knew best.

**MELKÔN KIWRČEAN**’s (1859–1915) work is limited in scope but original in many respects. There was in Constantinople a large number of immigrants who had left their families and homes in Armenia in quest of employment and security. A new influx of such young men poured into the
Ottoman capital immediately after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. They lived in squalid conditions, were mostly shunned by the established community, and engaged in menial jobs, many of them working as porters. A number of contemporary writers had touched upon their plight, but with inspiring encouragement from Arpiar Arpiarean (q.v.), Kiwrčean made it the central theme of his literary output. As a provincial Armenian, Kiwrčean had firsthand experience of their lives and mentality; he is said to have closely associated with them.

There were some dramatic aspects and consequences to this phenomenon. Migration destroyed families and sapped the strength of the Armenian people in the provinces, somewhat altering the demographic balance in the region. Insecurity, extreme economic hardship, and separation for uncertain periods of time were all profoundly painful for those who remained behind and those who emigrated to the Ottoman capital, where many of them died of starvation, illness, or emotional distress. Kiwrčean movingly chronicled their wretched existence in his *kroniks* (chroniques), short stories, and vignettes, reviving and enriching in prose the long-standing tradition of émigré verse. His talent shone in his *kroniks*, each of which captures the bare essence of contemporary realities and mentality in an austere, economical, and down to earth manner. It is difficult to speak of full-fledged characters in his work; they are, rather, authentic portraits, sketched with sensitivity, spontaneity, and wistful concern. His Armenian, limpid and flexible (though he was never able fully to jettison the influence of Classical Armenian, the passion of his early years), captures in its rapid flow a lifestyle that perished with its chronicler in 1915.

* Tilkatintsi* (c1860–1915) introduced to Armenian literature the distinct flavor of his native region, Ծարբերդ (Harput), and its environs. Mkrich Hrimean and his student, Garegin Sruandzteants (q.v.), had already provided a glimpse into life in Armenia proper, but it was Tilkatintsi who turned his attention fully to native Armenians. This grew into a warmly received trend in the works of his students and emulators (e.g., R. Zardarean, B. Nurikean, and Hamastel, q.v.), which enriched Armenian literature in more ways than one and has often been referred to as the authentic expression of the soul and soil of Armenia. Although Tilkatintsi had read some European literature in translation and was up to date on the literary output and activities in Constantinople, Tiflis, and elsewhere, the content of his writings, if not the form, was virtually free from influences. He wrote with spontaneous pride of the noble aspects of the lifestyle he was born to, but pounded with unforgiving alacrity its
vices, failings, and pompous detractors, in a sinewy and vivacious style permeated with lyrical sadness, contagious humor, and a biting sarcasm. Although some of his pieces are verbose, on the whole he had a good sense of proportion and a very fine feel for the beautiful. He employed standard Western Armenian for most of his work, but wrote a few pieces (especially plays) entirely in, or peppered with, his native dialect. The Armenian massacres of 1915 claimed not only his life but also most of his unpublished manuscripts.

Tlkatintsì wrote half a dozen poems (all in 1908) imitating the popular folk style, and three noravêps: Mut ankiwnnerë (From dark corners), Gawat mé miayn (Only one glass [drink]), and Es kataretsi im partks (I fulfilled my obligation). These are well-written short novels dealing with the very sad plight of women, nuptial infidelity, and religious antagonism (actually, anti-Protestant sentiments). But the bulk of his work falls under the genre of chronique. Many contemporary masters (e.g., A. Arpiarean, q.v.) had been using the form skillfully. Tlkatintsì developed his own approach of writing profiles, pictures, scenes, short stories, and childhood reminiscences, where customs and traditions, daily routine and lifestyle, along with a wide range of characters, sad and funny, cruel and tender, ugly and attractive, capture an authentic moment in Armenian life in the town of Harberd and the neighboring villages. Topical issues, for instance, were the often-tragic consequences for young women shipped to the United States as wives for men they had only seen photographs of, the rapidly increasing rate of emigration to America, and certain aspects of the activities, religious and educational, of American missionaries. His Geli namakner (Village letters) revolves around village life. The second letter is a detailed description of village dwellings and daily life in the countryside.

In the play Ėndi dëmên (From the other world), a dead man returns to the world of the living to solicit recommendations to alleviate his suffering in the nether world, but makes his journey back with empty hands. Zalëm tlan (The cruel boy) is a more complicated story. An Armenian returns home to marry a local girl. But he abandons her and sets sail for America, and his would-be bride dies amid scandalous monetary and moral corruption. Kiêkê (The will) is a one-act play highlighting the clash of heirs to the wealth and property of a dying man. Dëpi artasahman (Going abroad) in two scenes illustrates the disintegration of the family due to emigration to America.

Rubën Zardarean's (1874–1915) Tsaygalos (Twilight or, twilit night) was his first and last collection. From about 1908 to his murder...
shortly after he and the Armenian intelligentsia were arrested on the night of 24 April 1915, he wrote very few pieces, giving himself almost entirely to editorial work instead. The volume brought him immediate acclaim and secured him a visible spot in the modern Armenian canon as one of the brightest stars of a generation of writers (Hrimean, Sruandzteants, Tłkatintsi, and others) whose literature placed an increasingly greater emphasis on life in Armenia proper, instead of the Armenian Dispersion (e.g., the Armenian community of Constantinople). Folk tales, prose poems, and short stories make up the bulk of his output.

His literary vision had certain affinities with the work of a number of contemporaries with otherwise diverse aesthetic principles: Siamantō, Metzarents, Varužan, and Šant (q.q.v.). He shared their belief in spiritual renewal and fortitude, especially in view of the ravages of ignorance, religious superstition, social lassitude, fatalism, and a demoralizing sense of servitude. He averred that a relentless pursuit of lofty ideals—selfless but healthy patriotism was one such virtue—was what rendered existence meaningful and fit for human beings; he paid a warm tribute to noble souls who rose above petty ends, braved deadly odds, rebelled against tyranny, and pointed the way to human dignity, freedom, and progress. His folk tales reverberate with these themes and an unmistakable political undertone, as do his prose poems, which are also cloaked in allegory. This was a congenial device, but one that also enabled him to avoid the suffocating restrictions of Ottoman censorship. The title of the collection was in fact a reference to Abdulhamid II's reign before 1908, a nightmare that the Logos ("ban"), as Zardarean put it in his preface, barely survived. His short stories offer saddening insights into the drab, rotten, and dehumanizing realities in the Armenian provinces (principally in the Ŗarberd, or Harput, region).

Aspects of authentic Armenian life in many of Zardarean's works come alive through local color, mores and mentality, customs and traditions, captured and drawn skillfully. The lack of action or characterization is compensated for by a contemplative and dramatic symbolism, expressed in vivid yet austere imagery, with a lyrical touch and elegantly controlled emotions. Personification and abundant descriptions of nature play a significant role in achieving effective contrast. He wrote in a felicitous and sumptuous, ornate, Armenian.

**Tigran Chëōkiwrean** (1884–1915) wrote a number of short novels and stories, of which *Herosē* (The hero) and *Vankē* (The monastery) brought him recognition as a promising writer. While the former with irony and a tinge of sarcasm revives a certain mood in Constantinople at
the turn of the twentieth century, the latter in the form of a diary narrates the temptations and tribulations of a celibate priest as the principal of an orphanage sheltering children who have survived the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s. Here, as well as in some of his other short stories, his prose is economical and immediate, warm and subtly melancholic. Yakob Öşakan, in his Hamapatker, noted the influence on Herosë and Vankë respectively, of Maupassant’s *Boule-de-suif* and L. Andreev’s *Krasny smekh* (The red laugh), both of which Chëökiwrean translated into Armenian.

**ERUAND ÖTEAN** (1869–1926) was a prolific and popular satirist, novelist, and editor-publicist, with a considerable amount of writing scattered in the periodical press. His celebrated predecessor, Yakob Paronean, had just died when Ötean started his literary career in the early 1890s. Ötean stood on Paronean’s shoulders, but their styles and scopes were dissimilar in many respects. Paronean’s spontaneous wit sparkled brightly, and his sweeping satire was annihilating; Ötean’s satire was distinguished by subtlety. The former roared with laughter, often through tears, and was embittered when his whiplash words failed to bring people to their senses; the latter smiled, frequently provoked a good laughter, and lacked his elder colleague’s reformist tendencies. Paronean focused almost exclusively on the Armenian community in Constantinople; Ötean’s purview, by virtue of his nomadic life, encompassed wider geographical areas and a greater variety of characters. Paronean concentrated on humor and satire alone, while Ötean also wrote novels and short stories. As contributors to and editor-publishers of periodicals (almost a mania for Ötean), they both wasted a good deal of their time and talent on topical issues, and had neither the time nor desire, it seems, to revise their writings.

His novels dealing with social themes depict Armenian realities in Constantinople and frequently have merchants as their protagonists. Ėntanik, patiw, baroyakan (Family, honor, morality), *Talakanin knikë* (Wife of the parish council’s chairman), *Mijnord têr papan* (The matchmaker priest), are some of his better known works. The first is the story of an immoral man, hiding behind the values making up the title of the novel, who wants those words for his epitaph after Sister Atropos has cut off the thread of his life. In the second book a termagant, Saten, wife of the wealthy Margar, feels terribly insulted when the wife of the chairman of the parish council is offered a chair at church while she is disregarded. She runs off to her husband, plots her revenge for this outrage, and the chairman is eventually forced to resign. The third novel shows the unscrupulous ends to which a priest goes to make money...
through matchmaking. Ötean has raised more or less similar concerns in numerous well-knit and rapidly moving short novels and stories (e.g., “Vačarakanı mē namaknerē kam katareal mard ēllalu aruestē” = The letters of a merchant, or the art of being a perfect [i.e., successful] person).

Ötean wrote some of the earliest detective stories. The novel Apiwl Hamıt ēw Šerlok Holms (Abdulhamid and Sherlock Holmes), which he categorized as a contemporary historical novel, has as its sequel Saliha hanēm kam banakē bīnaworin dēm (Miss Saliha or the army against the tyrant), a novel of “Ottoman revolutionary life.” Action, suspense, and all the other usual elements and devices are used by Ötean to highlight multinational political opposition to sultan Abdulhamid II. In Matnichë (The traitor), yet another roman feuilleton, a handful of Armenians are seen pursuing similar aspirations. Mention should also be made of T′iw 17 ḥafien (Spy number seventeen), despite the fact that it is not a purely detective story. The backdrop is the Young Turk regime, World War I, and the wholesale slaughter of the Armenians in 1915–16.

Most critics regard Ötean’s “socialist” tri-part novel as his masterpiece or at least as one of his best works, made up of Arakelutıwn mē i Tzaplıvar (A mission to Tzaplıvar), Ėnker Panjunı Vaspurakani mēj (Comrade Panchuni in Vaspurakan), and Ėnker Panjunı taragrutaın mēj (Comrade Panchuni in exile). There is much room under this umbrella for some other works, such as some of his short novels and novels (e.g., Es drsetsi chem aigner = I shall not marry an outsider, a central theme of which is the contempt in which the provincial Armenians were held by the “indigenous” Armenians of Constantinople, a deep-seated and multifaceted attitude with a long history) and Yelapohutean makaboytıznere (Parasites of the revolution). Ötean, as a witness to the rise and activities of the Armenian political parties and as one who intimately knew many of their leaders and followers, derided, in his tri-part novel referred to above, the extreme expressions of formalism and mechanical approach to political theory. Described here are the activities, actually the ravages, of Panjunı (pronounced Panchuni in Western Armenian, a kind of malapropism for Armenian ban [pronounced panı] chuni = brainless), a Marxist propagandist who audited social sciences at Geneva, returns to Constantinople and, finding the field crowded, sets himself the destructive task of mobilizing the Armenian proletariat against the bourgeoisie and capitalists, none of which truly existed in the Armenian provinces, especially the rural areas. There is neither passion nor bitterness nor alarm to Ötean’s narrative, which exposes the absurd activities of his bizarre character through caricature. In this and in a number of other respects, it bears some resemblance to Don Quixote, though it lacks such depth and
tragicomic elements. Also, unlike the Knight of the Lions, one feels no degree of sympathy for Panjuni; yet one does not detest him either. He is pernicious because he is thoughtless. As Ötean parodies the confusion of socialist terminology with theory, its broader misinterpretation and misapplication, hyperbole puts certain parts of the novel beyond the realm of the real and fosters in the reader a benevolent intolerance for anything leading to such absurdities.

_Yelapohutean makaboytznerë_ (Parasites of the revolution) strings together brilliant satirical portraits of a number of charlatans who pose as revolutionaries to benefit from the respect and hospitality accorded to such activists by the public. _Mer eresþohannerê_ (Our deputies) is a collection of profiles of some of the deputies to the Armenian National Assembly. With humor and sarcasm and some help from Paronean, Ötean has handed down to posterity an amusing and incisive commentary on the intelligentsia and Armenian realities of the period. _Tasnerku tari Polisën durs_ (Twelve years spent away from Constantinople, i.e., 1896–1908) is an intimate, spirited, and humorous account covering half a dozen years or so of Ötean’s peregrination in Europe and Egypt, his encounters with Armenian intellectuals (most of whom, like the author himself, had fled the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s), and interesting anecdotes, episodes, and events. As usual, Ötean writes in excellent Armenian, with a light, delicate touch and a broad smile (“the divine laughter” as he put it “free from grudges and hatred”), entertaining no illusions about the power of satire and humor to transform human life.

**ZAPÊL ASATUR** (1863–1934) emerged in the 1890s as the leading woman writer at a time when Srbuhi Tïwsab (q.v.) maintained long years of silence to her death in 1901. Asatur wrote both verse and prose (noravêps, short narratives and a novel), the bulk and best of which was published by the early 1900s. She launched her career with her only novel, _Aljkan më sirtê_ (The heart of a girl), which was well received. This is the story of a girl who acts on the prompting of her heart, but is abandoned and wastes away in desolate grief. Asatur’s short stories highlight mothers and motherhood, the temptations women find themselves exposed to, their vanity, and what women expect from men—namely love, attention, and dedication. Although her craftsmanship was less distinguished than some of her celebrated contemporaries, Asatur’s prose bears witness to the mores and mentality of the times.

Asatur’s early poems were overburdened by a heavy dose of Classical Armenian, which she discarded over a relatively short period of time. A considerable part of her verse is made up of narrative poems
and concentrates on the sadder aspects of women’s lives and on nature. Contemplative and retrospective elements of a general nature come to govern her vague poetic energies a little later in her life. A romantic to the marrow of her bones, Asatur paid meticulous attention to form and diction. And it is in this realm that she made her modest contribution to Armenian verse, in some measure anticipating the accomplishments of the greater talents who were about to burst onto the literary scene.

INTRA’s (i.e., Indra, 1875–1921) two volumes, one in prose and the other in verse, stood outside the mainstream of literature of the day. Their appearance generated a good deal of controversy and still await a credible interpretation, especially of the sources that inspired them. The first collection, Nerasharh (Inner world, i.e., Inner self), is a prose narrative in which the author speaks in first person of impressions, ideas, symbols, states of mind, and of spiritual, mystical, and metaphysical sensibilities. In an attempt to escape the real world by defining his relationship to society, nature, love, and the “eternal,” he longs for the “light” and the “infinite.” Beside excellent passages there are some nonsensical ones. His ability to articulate abstract ideas is remarkable. His Armenian, employed with unusual flexibility, is replete with calques, new compounds and syntactical patterns, reinterpretation of words, colorful images, and intricate metaphors. There is a certain degree of lyricism to his style, but it is often circuitous, repetitive, and tortuous. Both Theosophy and Gongorism, along with a score of other movements, have been suggested as possible sources of influence. Certain trends of Theosophy (Mme Blavatsky’s version) seem to be plausible. As for the latter, though unlikely, it may partly explain some aspects of his book, particularly the intricate metaphors, vivid images, and strangeness of language.

His Nočastan (A cypress grove) is a collection of verse (sonnets) spoken in Intra’s distinct voice. They have been composed in an intellectual vein and lack warmth and immediacy. Rhyme and meter seem to have restricted the flight of his imagination. Still, his very own senses and sensibilities, his fine receptiveness for sound and shades of color, images, and his unmistakable identity set this not-so-popular volume apart from the verse of his contemporaries.

ZAPEL ESYAN (1878–1943) holds an illustrious place in the front rank of modern Armenian prose. She attained fame early, and her attractive literature generated much critical interpretation. She contributed to the periodical press, too, though it is not only her writings that kept her in the limelight; she was also very active in public life. She championed the cause of women’s emancipation in numerous articles, pressing for a
radical and comprehensive re-evaluation of women’s standing in society and conjugal life. Of similar central importance for Esayan were a number of social-cultural issues and the destiny of her people.

The sophisticated exploration of the human spirit in general, and that of women in particular, is a favorite domain of Esayan’s, and the most charming, original, and enduring aspect of her short novels and stories. Introspection (but not introversion); fulfillment through self-expression, literature, and the arts; and communion with others and mother nature, all against a background of the human condition, are some of the elements that inspired adulation of her work. Esayan’s ebullient journeys into the human psyche, needs, and aspirations are expressed in a simple but elegant, trim and trenchant, style aglow with warmth. Her short pieces that appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century consolidated her growing fame and attested to the wide embrace of her shimmering talent. Spasman srahin mēj (In the waiting room) analyzes the sad plight of a young mother; Skiwtari verjalosynéré (Scutari twilights) is a delightful description of nature intertwined with some literary and aesthetic concerns; Hīnerë ēv ēmhostnerë (Conformists and dissidents) deals with some socio-political issues under Abdulhamid II’s oppressive rule; Šnorhkov mardik (Decent people) exposes the degenerate Armenian bourgeoisie; and Keltz hančärner (Phoney [i.e., unrealized] geniuses) castigates, though with regret, ignorance in some circles of Armenian society and the slothful arrogance of some Armenian writers, principally the precocious Intra (q.v.).

There followed Aweraknerun mēj (Amid the ruins), a soulful record of the aftermath of the 1909 massacres of the Armenians in Adana and neighboring towns. Esayan toured the area on a relief mission, observed the devastation, and met with survivors. The motives for the calamity were beyond her scope, and her account is free of political or racial-religious commentary. Beside slain and charred bodies, houses, and churches, Esayan’s testimony with dramatic sensitivity articulated the anguish of those who witnessed the carnage, mainly women and elderly people. Many of the victims had come from the Armenian provinces in the East. Having fled the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s, some of them had settled in the region, and some had come in search of temporary or seasonal employment. Although Esayan portrays a number of defiant Turks, the unavoidability of self-defense dawns upon some of those who had been taken by surprise or had shunned the idea of resistance before the carnage. But perhaps Esayan’s greatest triumph was her optimism, generated by her people’s wonderful resilience, with which she illuminates her disquieting narrative.
Verjin baţakê (The last cup) and Hogis aksoreal (My soul in exile) are among Esayan’s best pieces. The former lays bare the sentiments and sensations of a woman, unhappy after a somewhat hasty marriage. Esayan explores in a luminous prose the power of unalloyed love as an expression of perhaps the only freedom one can attain, and the clash of individual liberties with social duties and conventions. Hogis aksoreal is a sophisticated discussion of the intricate universe and relationships of individuals with one another on the one hand, and with the arts and literature, society, and the homeland on the other. War, love, cultural influences, glimpses into the frame of mind of Turkish women, and Armeno-Turkish relations are touched upon in Meliha Nuri Hanêm. Traits of the latter’s cold-blooded character appear in Ewpimê, the heroine of Erb aylews chen sirer (When they no longer love), who banishes her original love for another in anticipation of a marriage of convenience. Esayan wrote a number of other outstanding short novels and stories before settling in Soviet Armenia. She also published “Zolovurdi më hogevarkê” (A people in the agony of death), the testimony of a survivor of the genocide; Nahanjoł užerê (The retreating forces), a novel of political nature; and Prometews azatagruatz (Prometheus unchained), her very sympathetic impressions of a visit to Soviet Armenia. In the last, Soviet phase of her literary career, Esayan created two exquisite works: Krake sapikê (A shirt ablaze) and Silihtari parteznerê (The gardens of Silihdar; an incomplete work), both of which are reminiscences of an autobiographical nature. Barpa Hachik (Uncle Hachik), an extensive novel, appeared posthumously and suffers from a number of flaws. Had she supervised its publication, Esayan would undoubtedly have made substantial revisions to it.

SURÊN PARTEWANE (1876–1921), a writer of short prose pieces, editor, publicist, and a spirited polemicist, in the main reflected the effects of the Armenian massacres of the 1890s and that of Adana on the Armenian Dispersion. Passionate and partisan, somewhat cantankerous and condescending, Partewane nonetheless made a name for himself early in his literary-journalistic career. To a large extent, he owed this to his short stories, vignettes, and short prose forms, which encapsulated the physical agony and mental anguish of the survivors who were left with a hollow life devoid of human and national identity. His otherwise confident and forceful style is now and then marred by rhetorical elements and contrived eloquence.

ARAM ANTONEAN (1875–1951), primarily an editor-journalist, was also a historian, critic, and the author of a considerable number of prose
pieces, both large and small. His non-literary volumes are important but beyond the scope of this brief survey. What clinched him a spot in the history of Armenian letters was his small collection of short stories, titled *Ayn sew örérün* (During those dark days). Antonean was among the Armenian intellectuals deported in 1915. He fortuitously escaped certain death and recorded a number of episodes he had witnessed on the trek of deportation and death across the Syrian desert. Narrated in a direct and simple style, the stories capture in an unembellished fashion some chilling instances of man-made tragedy.

**YAKOB ÖŞAKAN** (1883–1948) is a celebrated novelist and a key figure to understanding both modern Western Armenian literature and that of the Dispersion. No serious study of the former can be undertaken without his extensive literary survey, *Hamapatker arewmtahay grakanutean* (A panorama of Western Armenian literature). His own novels, some of which rank among the best, added a new dimension to Armenian prose and signified a principal, albeit inimitable, trend in the literature of the Dispersion. Aspiring after originality, he, together with Kostan Zaryan (q.v.) and Gelam Barselean (1883–1915), founded the short-lived literary periodical *Mehean*, devoted to innovative approaches to Armenian literature. The bloodbath of 1915 claimed Barselean’s life and radically altered the outlook of those very few writers who fortuitously escaped it. Öşakan and Zarean were among the survivors. But these erstwhile colleagues of like mind in quest of innovation pursued their literary experiments in very different ways.

*Honarhnerê* (The humble), Öşakan’s first collection of short stories, depicts marginal characters from his native village in the vicinity of Iznik (the Nicaea of olden times). In a limpid and trenchant style and with soulful sympathy, Öşakan probes the psychological depths of his protagonists, almost all of whose passionate yearnings remain unfulfilled. They eventually lose their sanity, soul, or life to unrequited love and passion. It was in this collection that one of Öşakan’s fundamental tenets took a clear-cut shape: that the libido was the most potent driving force behind human behavior. Despite the fact that the reader can easily discern the effects of poverty, ignorance, and traditions, such social issues were in themselves of no concern at all to the author, who maintained that the sole domain of literature was the human soul.

A thematic kinship, indeed oneness, marks his novels wherein there emerges in varying shades one other cardinal element central to Öşakan’s creed: "blood," by which he meant heredity, atavistic patterns, customs, myths and traditions, and overall racial characteristics. As he once put it
in his self-portrait, for him the elements of true art are derived from blood. This concept informs his analysis of human behavior, including that of the perpetrators of the genocide. Not surprisingly, the massive butchery of his nation haunted him throughout his life (on several occasions he had escaped death by the skin of his teeth). Before his very eyes, the pre-1915 intellectual substratum had been destroyed, and its architects, the glories of Western Armenian literature, most of whom Ösakan knew intimately, had been slaughtered in cold blood. A lifestyle, a culture, and its monuments had perished and a homeland lost. His people were decimated and dispersed. And the Dispersion that arose offered him but cold comfort. Ösakan had always felt that the response of Armenian writers to the massacres of the mid-1890s, those of Adana, and the inferno of 1915 had been, with few exceptions, inadequate. Now a new generation of writers, many of whom were orphaned by the calamity, turned inward, rejected old Armenian ways and values, and tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to circumvent the genocide. Ösakan believed that he had to help Armenians and non-Armenians understand this crime against humanity—lest it strike mankind again—especially in view of the apathy of the West and Turkish denials of this wholesale slaughter, in which, he averred, the Turkish masses had actively and extensively taken part. The key to understanding this man-made tragedy, Ösakan held, lay in the Turkish psyche. Overwhelmed by the enormity of the loss and consumed with wrath, he delved into the Turkish soul in search of the roots of the terrible evil, as he put it, that gripped it during and after the massacres of the mid-1890s. He did so with unforgiving passion.

_Siwléyman Efendi_ (Süleyman Efendi), perhaps the least successful of his novels, is an attempt to project his image of the Turk. The protagonist, a man of unspeakable cruelty, utter corruption, and base instincts, rises rapidly to eminence, power, and wealth. His son, totally unlike his ghoulish father, is a decent young man (taking after his mother, who came from a fine urban family) with enlightened political views. He disowns and kills his father and is sentenced to 101 years in prison. _Hači Aplullah_ (Haji Abdullah), a far better work, is the sad and lurid story of Abdullah, who has two wives: one of whom bears him five children that all die in infancy. Misled and inspired by his superstitious and fanatical father-in-law, Abdullah commits ghastly murders. He too, is sentenced to 101 years in prison. In the same gaol, the reader meets Haji Murad, the Armenian protagonist of _Hači Murat_, a lone wolf unjustly wanted for murder. Recruited by Armenian revolutionaries, Murat is eventually disillusioned with them. He falls for a Circassian woman and is dragged to prison straight from her bed. _Tzak ptukę_ (The incontinent woman; the
moral-traditional context of this idiom is not possible to capture in a single English word) is arguably Öşakan’s best novel. There is much more to it than just the dramatic life and demise of a lascivious young woman. In this novel, as well as in *Haçi Murat* and some earlier works, including *Kayserakan yaltergutiwn* (Imperial exultation; a series of five abstract and rather dull stories), Öşakan outlined certain trends, factors, and metamorphoses in Turkish mentality on the eve of World War I, all of which were to have been amplified in his grand novel, *Mnatsordats* (acclaimed by almost all observers as his chef-d’oeuvre), which remained incomplete.

*Mnatsordats* is the classical, genitive-dative plural form of *mnatsordık* (i.e., remnants, relics, fragments and, hence, *Paralipomena*), and the Armenian appellation (as in the Greek version, 1 and 2 *Paralipomenon*) of the two books of Chronicles. But Öşakan, despite some very obvious parallels (e.g., destruction and exile), makes no reference to the books of Chronicles and simply uses the word in the nominative, in the sense of “remnants,” “fragments” or “relics.” The reader is left to surmise on the basis of the extant version and Öşakan’s comments on the unwritten parts of the plot that what he principally had in mind was not so much the survivors, as the collective self of those who perished in 1915. He wished to perpetuate as many traits of this identity as he could, in a manner creatively adapted from Proust. The period he planned to cover stretched from about the 1850s to 1915, but the published text brings the story of some Armenian peasants and urban Turks up to the early 1900s, well within Abdulhamid II’s reign. The third, *inachevé*, volume, was to deal with the crime in Bursa and Çankırı, the final destination of some of the luminous intellectuals rounded up on the night of 24 April 1915, concluding the narrative in the Syrian desert.

The novel juxtaposes the Armenian mentality and Turkish psyche and illustrates the corrupting effects of the latter on the former, according to Öşakan’s lights. It shows, at a certain locale near Bursa, the transformations in Armenian character under oppression and terror. As in the Armenian, so in the Turkish case: Öşakan resorts to psychological analysis to probe the metamorphoses in the Turkish soul, tracing its genetic characteristics, social and political structures, music and architecture, and the rise of atavistic patterns among German-educated leaders (Öşakan firmly believed in German complicity in the genocide), which, he averred, also seized the Turkish masses and gave rise to a pervasive state of mind that conceived and carried out the genocide. There is little action in the novel, but its intriguing plot, penetrating analyses, and the torrential flow of Öşakan’s narrative make for gripping reading. Such, however, may not
be the case for readers (of Öşakan’s prose in general) unfamiliar with his style, which has been severely criticized for its unconventional patterns and studied complexity. In fact, unusual syntax, ellipsis, inversion, periphrasis, and parallelisms are common, as are exceedingly short nominal sentences, tortuously long sentences, vague interrogative phrases, new semantic nuances, and unorthodox punctuation. He argued convincingly that his sophisticated style was unstudied and urged the first-time reader to be patient. In addition, Öşakan’s dissection of human behavior from his own perspective has not been popular with some readers. As more and more of his works are made available to the public, there is a growing recognition of his experiments, his contribution to the genre, and of his novel as one of the remarkable accomplishments in twentieth-century Armenian literature. Although Öşakan named three contemporary Armenian writers (cf. his Hamapaker, vol. 10, 133–34) and certain factors to explain his failure to complete the novel, one should look elsewhere for such mitigating circumstances. In all likelihood, what clipped his wings and crippled his mental stamina was of a technical, structural, and emotional nature.

The Armenian theater had forged a remarkable tradition by the time Öşakan appeared on the literary stage. Nonetheless, he found the accomplishments of playwrights, including those of the most celebrated, Şirvanzade and Şant (q.q.v.), to be unsatisfactory, particularly in content. According to him, the former resorted to cheap effects and vulgar realism; the latter paid excessive attention to form, and his plays were removed from life and rather cinematic. (From what one can glean from sporadic comments, Öşakan had no taste for the cinema.) The plays he fashioned were to expose the inner recesses of the human soul and to imitate human life in a genuine fashion. Although he never said as much, they also partly illustrated his criticism of his colleagues. He wrote a number of plays and many a knarahal, (literally, a “lyrical play”), which, he once said, were meant to be read and staged. They are interesting and mostly enjoyable to read as the expression of a different and creditable experiment. But they all suffer from technical flaws that call into question their suitability for stage and their power to convince. Öşakan relied on the utterances of his characters to unveil human drama, conflicts of base instincts, sexual drive, etc.; yet styling effective dialogues was not one of his foremost strengths. In some cases his characters lack credibility, and intensity withers in protracted, repetitious conversations. One of his best “lyrical” plays remains Stepánnos Siwnetsi, a most attractive knarahal in verse, based on the life of Stepanos Siwnetsi (d. 735), metropolitan of Siwnik, who was killed by a harlot and whose life is related by
a number of historians (Movsës Kalankatuatsi or Dashurantsi, Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Mhitar Ayrivanetsi, and Stepanos Örbelean.) Having been shunned, privately as well as in public, by the metropolitan, Öšakan’s Princess of Siwnik (replacing the historical harlot) commits a crime of passion. Three plays of Öšakan’s were published in 1990: Nor pṣakē (The new wedding) deals with love and loving in wedlock; Knkahayrē (The godfather) is the story of a wealthy old man who “charitably” unites a couple in matrimony, only to use the bride as his mistress and the husband for public appearances; and Akloramartē (The cockfight) illustrates love and patriotism and juxtaposes, in the catastrophic days of World War I, those who sink deep into the mire of utter corruption and dishonor to save their skin with those who face death with courage and dignity.

Öšakan attached no importance to literary criticism, regarding it as an ephemeral effort with no appreciable impact on literature (he once called it a “parasitic genre”). Yet with his critical thought molded by Sainte-Beuve, Taine, Jules Lemaître, and Remy de Gourmont, among others, he wrote a monumental panorama of Western Armenian literature, which has since become an indispensable tool for its history, from its birth in the 1840s to its extinction in the wake of its man-made eclipse in 1915. It is a gallery of some fifty portraits drawn against a background of the period, with unique insights into the person, life, and work of the authors. Such sharp perception Öšakan owed not only to his bright intellect, keen memory, and erudition, but also to his active participation in Western Armenian literary-cultural life in the early twentieth century and to his personal acquaintance with most of the illustrious and the not-so-illustrious writers of the period. Given his propinquity to them, Öšakan took pains to maintain exacting standards of objectivity—one of the main merits of this work. Vastly improving the tradition initiated by Aršak Chöpaneane and Artašēs Yaruwiwnean (q.q.v.), Öšakan developed his highly personal approach to literary history and criticism. He recreated the era as seen through his own eyes, and he forged the complex environment that nourished its own literature, bringing to life multitudes of characters and colors, texts and tools, ideas and idiosyncrasies, impressions and impulses, and national moods and spirits. The work certainly took the pulse of Armenian intellectual life and, together with elements of inquiry and judgment (such as analysis, comparison, craftsmanship, simplicity, sincerity, and depth), and what he considered national ethnic features, has been an interesting and unique touchstone by which to judge the accomplishments of Western Armenian authors. Still, many have disagreed and will undoubtedly continue to disagree with some of his principles and pronouncements, though never without help from Öšakan himself. His
sweeping, if audacious and candid, generalizations and criticism are at times parochial, contradictory or naive. But the chief reason for discord lay in Öşakan’s definition of literature and his principles of critique. And when it came to that, both he and his opponents took intolerant and intransigent stances. An extra element of contention and recrimination was Öşakan’s almost total failure to appreciate Eastern Armenian verse, whether pre-Soviet or Soviet. In truth, Öşakan was similarly censorious towards Western Armenian poets, but in the final analysis, he did indeed have a bias in favor of Western Armenian poetry and criticism. If one looked at the larger picture, such polarity ultimately reflected the cleavage between the Eastern and Western Armenian mentality and outlook.

**Yakob Mndzuri** (1886–1978) was already a septuagenarian when his first collection of short stories and prose pieces appeared in 1958. He has since been ranked among the chief masters who have chosen the Armenian countryside as the setting for their literature. A fine tradition had been gradually shaped in the works of Hrimean, Sruandzteants, Tlkatintsi, R. Zardarean, Hamastel (q.q.v.), and many others. What Mndzuri revealed to his readers was a new and enchanting tiny universe that had all but vanished in 1915. To age thirteen, Mndzuri had lived in his native village of Armtan (Armudan, Turkey). He then spent nine years in Constantinople and returned to his birthplace in 1907. He taught in the winter and worked in the fields the remainder of the year. In 1914 he left his wife and four children behind for medical treatment in Istanbul. As World War I broke out within a short period of his departure, he was unable to return home. In the meantime, his entire family perished in 1915. Mndzuri settled in Istanbul, remarried, and took odd jobs to earn a living. And he set forth quietly on a long, nostalgic journey to his native village and its vicinity in the years 1890–1914, recreating its era and aura in short stories and in short descriptive pieces.

Mndzuri must have led a double life; his mind fled his body, an exile resident of Istanbul, a kind of pied à terre, for total immersion in the routine of his native village. The chronological and geographical distances that stood between him and his cherished home were reduced to almost nil. His image of his birthplace is one large, detailed, and variegated picture, where people, places, nature, and animals are painted as an organic whole. But even to the naked eye, certain details of the larger canvas look fuzzy. In many a piece, Mndzuri left the denouement (actually, “conclusion” would be a more appropriate word) unresolved; they come to an abrupt and uncertain end. This helps explain one cardinal facet of his literary postulate. He was interested in recalling real life, as
he had lived and remembered it, with a view to saving it from oblivion. And if a particular scene or event was devoid of drama or conflict, it still revealed certain details that contributed to the larger picture. Hence, it seems he was indifferent to the niceties of literary devices and plot, since the overwhelming majority of his pieces do not conform to conventional definitions of the short story.

In adhering to the tenet of recreating true life, Mndzuri closely courted the danger of mechanically descriptive reproductions. But he was able to bring his characters to life. They are seen in their habitat and quaint customs, in their intimate relations to nature and animals, in their follies and foibles, in their affectionate desires and infidelities, in their failures and triumphs, in mourning and feasting. Many of them are non-Armenians (Kurds, Syrians, Qizilbash, etc.), but they all belong to and are shaped by the same milieu; they are invoked with the same tender love by the author, who was and remained one of them to the end of his life. He saw them through their own eyes and employed their own modes of thought, but his descriptions of them are those of a lavishly gifted narrator. The universe he recreated was not one of consuming passion, though it lacked neither drama nor conflict. Mndzuri sought out no class-consciousness, class conflict, or explicit instances of social and political injustice. But his prose is subtly infused with such complications and implications. The author made no deep excursuses into the psyche of his characters; their telling behavior and curt utterances speak volumes to the reader. He wrote in the spoken tongue (using dialect abundantly, especially in his dialogues), in a taut, concise style that is unusual in many ways; a single complex sentence is often loaded to the full capacity of a paragraph or a whole page, rapidly leading the reader from one point of culmination to another, with graceful simplicity and a sensitive touch of melancholy and humor. Some of his best characters, the last of a vanished world, leap out of his pages with memorable vivacity and veracity, setting his art apart from that of other acknowledged masters of the genre in terms of style and treatment.

**Eastern Armenian Literature**

**HOVHANNES HOVHANNISYAN**'s (1864–1929) melancholic poetry, though small in quantity, set the tone for a number of major poets. His wistful, impersonal yearning that captured the mood of the age was a marked change from the patriotic poetry of Šapayel Patkanean (q.v.) and that of his teacher, Smbat Šahaziz (q.v.). Nature, love, patriotism, exhortation for his nation not to be given to despondency, some historical figures, and the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s inspired Hovhannisyan’s gentle, lyrical verse. Some observers have found some
correlation in mood between Hovhannisyan and the Russian poet Semyon Nadson (1862–87). Hovhannisyan’s diction is purer and more flexible than that of his predecessors, and contains elements of vivid popular expressions and idioms thrown into some of his better known songs. Hovhannisyan also distinguished himself by his sensitivity to form—an early experiment that was built upon by subsequent masters.

ALEKSANDR TZATUREAN’s (1865–1917) work has affinities with both his generation of writers and the work of his junior contemporaries, who were soon to emerge as the pre-eminent poets of the age. Love, nature, the countryside, emigrants, patriotism, the plight of the unfortunate and the working class, and his championing of the truth and the beautiful inspired his imagination. His imagery is ordinary and his work, popular at the time, lacks an overall strong note of authenticity, but his winsome sincerity and lively style add charm to some of his poems, of which half a dozen or so have been put to music and gained popularity, as have his humorous-satirical poems. He seems to be the only author to have written a series of marine poems (notably the cycle “Lrimi albomits, 1896–1898,” i.e., From the Crimean album, 1896–1898), which, it is tempting to note (however unfair the comparison may be) have been overshadowed by the marine paintings of his senior contemporary and fellow countryman, I. K. Ayvazovski (1817–1900).

YOVHANNES TUMANEAN (1869–1923) is one of the most popular writers of the twentieth century. His poems, epic and lyric, his short stories, tales, and folk tales are all drawn from the soil of Armenia, especially the region of Lori, where he spent his childhood feasting his eyes on its pristine nature and listening to haunting tales and the fury of the elements dinning in his ears. His Armenian is a luminous, unadorned idiom, felicitous and dynamic in flow. There is an Olympian calm to his tone, particularly in his contemplative stanzas, and bare drama in his longer poems of epic nature. The unobtrusive presence of the elegiac is always felt, and a mourning mood pervades some of his monodies and his “Hogehangist” (Requiem) inspired by the grief of his nation. But overall, an unflinching optimism subtly illuminates his whole work, written with unstudied charm. Tumanean was initially under the spell of Š. Patakean and Š. Ališan, but later felt closer affinities with H. Hovhannisyan and A. Tzaturean (q.q.v.). He considered Shakespeare and Pushkin the greatest masters, and he certainly owed the latter something for the craftsmanship in which he fashioned his delightful, homespun tradition.

A serious social concern provides the context for some of his best narrative poems: the devastating consequences of superstition, ignorance,
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and long-standing customs. “Maron,” “Lořetsi Sak’on,” and Anuš (or Anoys) eloquently illustrate this point. Unable to tolerate her forced marriage, Marö sets herself free, but is cruelly shunned and snubbed by friend and foe alike, driving her to utter desperation. Despite skepticism on the part of some critics, “Lořetsi Sak’on” is a convincing and poignant psychological probe into the anguished soul of an ignorant, superstitious Sakö, whose imagination magnifies and multiplies imaginary beings, sounds, and threats that drive him insane. Anuš, the most popular opera (put to music by Armen Tigranyan, 1879–1950), is considered Tumanean’s masterpiece by most critics. Until the breakup of the Soviet Union, the Armenian national opera house inaugurated and concluded its annual season performing Anuš.

Anuš has a simple plot. Sarö and Mosi are friends, and Anuš, sister of Mosi, and Sarö are in love. Catching Mosi off guard at a traditional wrestling match, Sarö topples him to the ground with the rashness of an unreasoning lover. Mosi hunts down and shoots Sarö dead, avenging his public humiliation; Anuš goes out of her mind. Surprisingly, some have construed the poem (and a number of other works dealing with similar themes) as a nostalgic elegy for yesteryear. If there is any nostalgia here on the part of Tumanean, it is for noble love and the moral purity that characterized the peasantry. In all other respects, it is a total negation of outdated and disastrous notions of honor and tradition. In Anuš, as in other works revolving around similar subjects, Tumanean’s characters are entrapped by convention; they have no life of their own beyond the long-standing code of behavior, and are thus victims of ineluctable fate. Any act of defiance entails a deadly or tragic punishment. This has been seen as a manifestation of Tumanean’s realism, which assumes even greater sophistication when it documents the ravages of money and industrialization in this essentially backward and conservative society.

Tumanean congenially tapped the wellhead of Armenian folklore, especially folk tales, legends, and popular accounts. His adaptations are as vivid and varied in approach as the original material. In some cases he made only minor changes, leaving the plot untouched; in other instances he made major modifications, and on a number of occasions he blended his stories into a synthesis of varying details. Dawit in “Sasuntsi Dawit” is a composite character, with details of his portrait taken from the various recensions available to Tumanean. The poem, left incomplete, recreates the third cycle of the Armenian national epic and illustrates what Tumanean thought were the essential aspects of Dawit’s character: a relentless struggle against invaders and despots, and the promotion of peace and friendship.
The "wandering" ašul's account recorded in E. Lalayeants's ethnographic collection, Jawahki burmunk, is the subject of Tmkaberdi arumë (The capture of Tmkabert), a poetic hymn to love and prowess, and the sad story of a woman's fickleness. The evil aspects of human nature and the power of love found expression in "Aḥṭamar," an Armenian echo of Hero and Leander. A traditional account of faith and patriotism, and perhaps an allegorical commentary on Armenian resilience, is the essence of "Aławnu vanke" (The dove monastery). "Parvana" (i.e., parvāneh = moth) illustrates the elusive nature of happiness and how lofty aspirations often remain unattainable. "Mi katil melr" (A drop of honey), taken from Aluēsağirk (a medieval collection of fables), mocks the stupid aspects of human behavior, petty parti-pris, rash action, and mob mentality. Tumanean wrote a few yarns and adaptations of some twenty Armenian fairy tales and translated nearly as many into Armenian, mainly from German.

The mysteries of the universe and life claimed a good deal of Tumanean's thoughts. His long poem "Dëpi anhunë" (Journey to infinity) and his quatrains, close to seventy in number, explore such concepts in relation to time and space, revealing something of the cosmic pantheist in him. To him, the soul was immortal; it merged in eternal union with the only immutable constant–time–just like the wavelets of a tributary river with the ocean. The vanity of life, the joy of giving, altruism and lofty human values, and "the biography of his soul" are vividly framed in his philosophical quatrains, in effortless and rhythmic lines. Not surprisingly, the elegiac mood in his patriotic verse ("Hayots lefrernum," "Mer uhtë," "Hayots vištë," "Hayrenikis het," etc.) is free from chauvinism or extreme partisanship, and though at times overwhelmed by grief, racial and racist distinctions are inundated by his opulent spirit.

Of his short stories, "Erkarfuîu sinutfiwnë" (The construction of the railway) laments the negative consequences the train carried in its train into rural areas, spoiling nature, polluting the air (and driving the deer away), and precipitating industrialization, thus drastically changing the moral and social fabric of society. "Nesoi kaɾabaniñë" (Neso’s steam bath) is the sad story of victims of ignorance. In "Im ēnker Neson" (My friend, Neso), cruel social conditions transform Neso from a kind soul into a villain. And "Gikor," wherein the boy of the title is uprooted from his native village only to wither away in the big city, is an exquisite accomplishment, the crown of his short stories.

AVETIK'ISAHAKYAN's (1875–1957) first poems and verse collection, Erger u vërker (Songs and wounds), were greeted with acclaim, as were
his subsequent collections. If Lori was Tumanean’s source of inspiration, then Sirak, with its landscape and lifestyle, was Isahakyan’s. Even though Tumanean, the brightest star of his generation, had only just made his promising appearance, heralding the arrival of a new generation, Rapayêl Patkanean and particularly Hovhannes Hovhannisyan (q.q.v.) were still the dominant poets. There were some innovative qualities to Isahakyan’s literary effort in both form and content, instantly acknowledged by the public and recognized by the historians of Armenian literature. A far more emotional, fiery, and transparent lyricism than that found in H. Hovhannisyan’s verse distinguished Isahakyan’s poetic profile. He sang of love, often juxtaposing its ineffable joys with its rejections, sorrows, and deep pain. There was drama and color to his poems, of which a few (a greater number than any of his predecessors) celebrated mothers, motherly love, and devotion—a theme later picked up by Hovhannes Širaz (q.v.). Some of his songs were so sorrowful that they bordered on maudlin sentimentality. He used the spoken dialect of his native region, which was flexible, simple but highly idiomatic, and richly adorned with popular expressions of native provenance, along with many non-native phrases that originated in neighboring Islamic traditions. Thus, aspects of his style and facets of his sensibilities reveal a certain affinity with the art of the Armenian ašuls. Isahakyan had an excellent feel for rhyme and rhythm. He frequently used compound adjectives (somewhat akin to the Homeric epithet), incremental repetition, and, particularly, internal rhyme to impressive effect. On some occasions this led to monotony and repetition, but on the whole it introduced musicality to his stoically melancholic poems. This, perhaps, explains why a large number of his poems were put to music.

Isahakyan wrote numerous narrative poems, fables, and legends on a wide variety of topics: love, patriotism, liberty, selfless maternal dedication, and human values and virtues. Such verse was rendered in a lyrical, contemplative mood, employing the literary standard, as in the case of almost all of his non-amatory verse. He also wrote short fiction, a kind of prose poem blended with elements of poetic prose. He was attracted to and recast legends and traditional stories of various countries from Finland to Arabia, from Serbia to Iran, India, and China. One cannot help likening him to a wayfarer with an insatiable appetite, in search of the bright moment, the fleeting second of happiness; for life for him was “the fleeing shadow of a cloud.” It is on this premise and a few other philosophical concerns that his long poem, Abu-Lala-Mahari (named after the celebrated Arab poet-thinker, Abû al-‘alâ’ al-Ma’arî, 973–1058), rises.
The poem opens with a brief prologue followed by seven sürahs (so named are the chapters in the Qur'an) and a final sürah. The numeral seven (which has many symbolic values), the camels (symbolizing humility, prudence, but also nymphomania), the palm trees (a symbol of triumph), and the sandy desert, all frequently visible in the poem, do not seem to convey a pronounced symbolic significance. The word sürah (surah in the poem) and a number of other Arabic words are interspersed in the text for purposes of characterization. There is no story to narrate; Abu Lala Mahari is seen at night fleeing Baghdad in disgust and baring his soul to the reader in a soliloquy of morbid damnation and vituperation against society. The great Arab poet’s profound pessimism, his denunciation of society, women, worldly pleasures, and the unstoppable reign of evil in the world all resonate in the poem. In the harshest terms, Isahakyan also condemns women and dismisses man-made laws, friendship and loyalty, evanescent glory, wealth, power, cities and urban life, the masses, tyrants, and corruption. There is some repetition and verbosity as his breath occasionally falls short of loading to capacity the twenty-syllable lines, which serve his purposes well and help him hammer his message home. Human beings incur Isahakyan’s wrath for their failure to grasp and appreciate in practical terms the transience of human life and evanescence of beauty, pursuing instead petty ends and rendering life an insufferable experience for all. Soviet Armenian critics have seen the poem as a reaction to the abortive Russian revolution of 1905. There may be some truth to this, but Isahakyan had also been following European (especially German) philosophy and studying world religions. These obviously suggest alternative or at least complementary sources of influence and inspiration.

Vahan Terean’s (1885–1920) distinct poetic voice ranked him among the elite of Armenian writers at the turn of the twentieth century. Both Tumanean and Isahakyan warmly greeted his first collection (the latter had earlier taken him under his wing), which differed so very much from their poetry and ushered in a new approach to verse. Titled Mtnšali anurjner (Twilight or crepuscular reveries), it appeared in 1908 and reappeared in a 1912 volume bringing together his subsequent series, written between the two dates: Gisher ew yušer (Night and recollections), Oski hëktiat (Golden fairy tale), and Veradardz (Return). These collections, containing a good dose of romanticism, established the Symbolist tradition in Armenian verse, traces of which were already perceptible in Isahakyan’s work.

Fairy tales were very much a part of Terean’s childhood. The magic fantasy in them, unreal and distant yet palatable and palliative, must have
strongly impressed his mental disposition. During his student years in Moscow (at the Lazarevskii or Lazarean Institut and the university) and St. Petersburg, he avidly and in the original read Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Verlaine, Verhaeren, and the Russian Symbolists: F. Sologub, K. Balmont, V. Ivanov, V. Briusov, and A. Blok. Receptive to impulses from these poets, Tërean’s poetic genius invented an état d’âme, all autumnal music. His bitterness, he once said, resulted from the incompatibility of his inclinations with the circumstances of life around him. The realm where his fancy and sensibilities fused is a distant one, set mostly in the twilight, where his imagination, transcending objective realities, conjures up misty visions of memories and a mystical experience of love, in rapidly changing moods; a fleeting second of perceived exaltation is instantly submerged in sadness, agony, disillusionment, forlornness, and nostalgia. He felt that the remote and the unreal were peaceful and attractive shelters for his indefinite sensations. He found “eternal liberty” in death, a tranquil realm of reprieve where he would feel relatively free of the burden of his emotions and anguish, which, together with love, he averred, were the only links bonding human beings together. In the poems where Tërean has given himself up completely and blissfully to gloom and pain, some Soviet Armenian critics have seen a miasma of despair and a plunge into decadence.

In the early 1910s, Tërean wrote a number of articles (in particular, “Hay grakanutean galik örö” = The future of Armenian literature, and “Hogewor Hayastan” = Spiritual Armenia, both in 1914) severely criticizing the parochial aspects of Armenian intellectual life, the political parties, and the creation in nineteenth-century Armenian literature of a romantic and material (as opposed to cultural) Armenia. Every aspect of social, political, and cultural life, he held, was geared solely towards the political future of the Western Armenians. It was time the Armenians stopped gazing expectantly at the summit of Mount Ararat and at the ramshackle dome of Êjmiatzin and turned their sights to the revolution brought about by capitalism, the bustling cities, the machine age, and the crumbling of the barriers separating national cultures. It was important that a spiritual Armenia be created, bringing her out of her languorous and debilitating insularity into the mainstream of civilization by shattering the fetters of chauvinism and thoroughly assimilating European civilization. Although somewhat harsh and one-sided, there was much truth to Tërean’s observations, which also offer clues to understanding his series titled Erkir Nairi (Land of Nairi), the mythical, spiritual homeland, conceived in his heart and projected in his visions as a magnificent apparition.

Echoing Lermontov, who loved the land and people of Russia rather than its glory (“Rodina” = Homeland, 1841), Tërean sang Armenia’s
soul and songs, misery and prayers, the sad sound of her tolling bells and the dim light of her huts, not the dazzle of her ancient glory. This, he felt, illustrated how his approach contrasted with backward looking "traditional" patriotism and its symbols of Armenia. He sought through his art to release and ennoble the soul of Armenia, to brighten the prospects of her survival. The land of Nairi, as spiritual Armenia incarnate, and his heart and mind mingle into one entity, simple yet mysterious, drowned in blood yet invincible. What is perhaps more important still, despite the grief, gloom, and the black mist shrouding Nairi, is that an uplifting optimism aesthetically and emotionally informs the poems, most of which were written during World War I, when the Armenians looked death in the eye. (It is interesting to mention here that Tërean had been politically active since his student days. A Social-Democrat, he became a Bolshevik in 1917 and served in the higher echelons of the Soviet government. As the voice of Armenia, he met with Lenin on several occasions, went to Brest-Litovsk with Trotsky, and worked under Stalin at the Nationalities Commissariat.)

There is splendor and captivating mystery to Tërean’s lyrical style. Limpid and elegant, it flows melodiously, in pulsating rhythm and rhyme. He employed synesthesia, onomatopoeia, assonance, and alliteration (with an abundance of sibilants) to impressive musical effect and formed new compound words. Although Armenian verse is syllabic, he experimented stress patterns, and introduced forms such as the triolet and ghasel (ghazal).

AWETIS AHARONEAN’s (1866–1948) literary output consists of short stories, reminiscences, travel notes, plays, some poetry, and ethnographic studies. Among his better works are his short stories and novelettes set in his native province or in other parts of Armenia proper. He received immediate recognition for his initial works such as Patkemer (Scenes), in which he depicted refugees fleeing the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s, and Azatutean ćanaparhin (On the road to freedom), which became a part of the revolutionary canon, depicting the activities of Armenian revolutionaries. Portrayed in his other short novels and stories are peasants clinging to traditional values in a world where they are treated as second-class subjects. In this gloomy and cruel microcosm, sometimes characterized by massive scenes of destruction, Aharonean’s anguished characters, often given to fatalism, almost invariably meet a tragic end. His main preoccupation here lies not so much with the reasons for his heroes’ misery as with psychological analyses probing the tortured depth of the human soul.
Given entirely to imagination, Aharonean pays hardly any attention to characterization or construction—flaws that are characteristic of even his best short stories. His solicitude for his fellow countrymen and for human suffering are revealed in his haunting descriptions, which are further dramatized by his notable skill in depicting nature. His style, highly emotional throughout, is often marred with mawkishness, but is colorful and flows smoothly. His lyricism and analytical abilities have led some critics to draw parallels between him and the Russian writer Leonid Andreev. It has also been noted, more appropriately perhaps, that his patriotism and style are more in tune with those of one of his celebrated masters: Hachatur Abovean (q.v.).

MURATSAN (1854–1908) was one of the few leading authors who swam against the tide of progress and reform sweeping the Armenian intelligentsia in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. With little or no regard for socioeconomic and political factors, he saw the responsible, mature, and inward-looking individual, and the subordination of the personal to the common good, as the basis for human prosperity. Appalled by the secular and enlightened nationalism of the liberals and the irreparable damage he claimed it caused to Armenian solidarity, Muratsan appeared on the literary scene as a convinced conservative and a staunch proponent of national unity, tradition, and religion.

The debate since the 1840s between the Russian westernizers and Slavophiles, and its subsequent manifestations, stimulated similar disputes over Armenian identity and the role of the Church of Armenia in defining and perpetuating the national ethos. Unlike the Armenian liberals, Muratsan held that loyalty to the Church of Armenia was of utmost importance. Three of his short novels illustrate the point in an intolerant fashion. Hay bolokakanı ėntanikë (The family of an Armenian Protestant) elaborates how the conversion of an Armenian to Protestantism leads to the destruction of his family and his own demise. Im katolik harsnatsun (My Catholic bride-to-be) is an attack on Roman Catholicism, as is Andréas Erêts (Andreas the priest), which is based on the story of Andréas, a martyr whose death is commemorated in an elegy by Nersës Mokatsi (q.v.) and recounted by Arakfel Dawrižetsi (History, xxvii).

The countryside occupied a prominent place in Muratsan’s thought, because he believed a purer form of life and the best elements and traditions of nationhood had been preserved there, holding the only hope for a bright future. And Muratsan sounded the alarm at its decline. It was also partly in response to the then prevalent calls for young people to go on missions of enlightenment in rural areas that he wrote three of his better
known novels. *Horhrdawor miandznuhi* (A mysterious sister) is the story of Sister Anna, who has moved away from the city to promote literacy and religious zeal in the countryside. In *Noyi agrawë* (Noah’s raven), a peasant educated in Tiflis and St. Petersburg refuses to return to his needy parents in his native village. In *Arakealë* (The missionary), an inspired volunteer determined to illuminate and serve the peasantry flees back to the lap of luxury from the very first village on the shores of lake Sewan.

One of the attractive qualities of Muratsan’s literature is his attempt to probe the depths of human behavior, the sole domain where human destiny takes shape, almost independently of objective factors. His creed that the individual ego should be submerged to achieve social harmony found its best expression in his historical novel, *Gêorg Marzpetuni*, whose eponymous character is a military leader. Action unfolds in the first half of the tenth century, the twilight of Arab rule, with King Aşot Erkât and Catholicos-historian Yovhannês Drashanakerttsi as two of the more prominent characters in the novel. Muratsan plunges the reader into a dramatic situation, where all but the central hero are in thrall to their passions and personal ends. King Aşot Erkât is in love with a noble’s wife and has thus alienated her husband as well as his own queen, father-in-law, and a number of other powerful and vengeful figures, while he, the desperate king, is in a state of agony and debilitating apathy. It is Gêorg Marzpetuni, Muratsan’s ideal character, a patriot at peace with himself and motivated only by overall national interests, who tries to keep the country together. The work, certainly one of the best historical novels, makes for a tense and gripping reading, in a flexible Eastern Armenian with a good deal of Classical Armenian forms.

**Şirvanzade** (1858–1935) is one of the pre-eminent masters of prose and drama. He is a chronicler, with a cold clear eye and probing psychological insight, of the Transcaucasian cities, large and provincial, and the profound economic and social changes that propelled the region into an era of bustling economic activities and attendant consequences, particularly after oil fields lit up the skies of Baku, attracting capitalists and workers alike. Abiding by the tenets of realism as he saw it (he detested naturalism), he held his heroes hostage to the socioeconomic conditions enveloping them. Traditional values crumbled, bringing down with them all those individuals and families who clung to them, while simultaneously opening up opportunities for agile entrepreneurs with little or no regard for anything but wealth and power. He shed no tears for the old, but observed and negated the new with forceful skepticism. His sympathy certainly lay with the victims of economic oppression and
social injustice, but even the slightest expression of sentimentality was always firmly held in check. There occur in his narrative at times annoying instances of hollow aloofness. His somewhat inflexible objectivity as an author might be one of the factors accounting for this. His belief in reproducing the unadorned truth might be another. And the occasional unevenness of his aesthetic feel for the language might be the third element. For he never had formal instruction in Armenian, and initially, if very briefly, he wrote for Russian periodicals. Yet the sweep of his work is so broad, evincing so many merits, and his insight into human character and actual realities is so incisive that his exalted position among the shapers of the canon is permanent.

Sirvanzade began by contributing to the periodical Mšak of Tiflis on the oil fields of Baku and wrote his first, touching short narrative on the degradation and worthlessness of workers in the oil fields (Hrdeh nawtagortzaranum). Namus (Honor, or good repute), his first major novel, was widely recognized. It takes place in Shamakhi, the author's birthplace, and is artistically documented by his intimate familiarity with the local mores and mentality. The two heroes, Susan and Seyran, fall victim to circumstances generated by uncompromising adherence to traditional customs and concepts of personal dignity, poverty, moral degeneration, and the power of money. Fatma and Asad (in Fatman ew Asadë) meet a similar fate for more or less identical reasons. Arambin (A married woman), with elements of romanticism, deals with the issue of divorce. Varvara, the heroine, is abandoned by her husband and subjected to cruel intolerance. She is unable and unwilling to remarry due to rigid divorce laws, and to avoid “staining” her father's honor, she wastes away.

The 1890s were a productive decade for Sirvanzade. Of his many works, Zur yoyser (Vain hopes), Arsën Dimaksean, Tsawagarë, or Cha rogì (The epileptic, or evil spirit) stand out and precede his masterpiece, Kaos (Chaos). The first is an intriguing novel in which the hopes and expectations of lovers and aspirants dissipate in the moral, social, and economic confusion of the time with dire consequences. Arsën Dimaksean, a dedicated social educational reformer but a physically unattractive character, faces mighty foes with murky ends and fails in matters of the heart. Mesrop Čanašean (1908–74) in his history of modern Armenian literature, Patmutiwn ardi hay grakanutean, has seen in the situation arising from Arsën’s ugly appearance a possible parallel with É. Rostand’s Cyrano de Bergerac. The unfortunate epileptic is Sona, a wonderful, innocent young woman, who meets a violent fate in an evil and superstitious society.

Kaos is set in Baku at the end of the nineteenth century, by which time the oil industry had done away with all the hues and colors of a
backward, indolent society, repainting it starkly in black and white. It is the story, or rather the chaos, the savage feud over money, that rends Markos Alimean’s family apart after his death. Markos, an oil magnate, has designated his son, Smbat, to oversee the execution of his will, which calls on Smbat to rectify the mistake he committed by marrying a Russian (as opposed to an Armenian) woman and to extricate his brothers Mikayêl and Arşak from the mire of dissipation. The discord in Smbat’s own family, the passion he shares with his brother Mikayêl for the same woman, Šušanik, and a doctored will provide the main springs of action and suspense in the novel. Numerous other characters and families form part of the conflict, which Širvanzade blends into the larger social picture in a magisterial fashion, as his memorable protagonists undergo profound transformations under the impact of industrial capitalism.

A number of shorter works followed Kaos. Melania is the sad story of a beautiful young woman bursting with life, married to an older, physically incapable man who attempts to maim her to ward off potential suitors. Širvanzade had shown his ability to explore the inner recesses of women’s soul in an earlier short story, Ōriord Liza (Miss Liza), in which Liza, in sharp contrast to Melania, responds to the promptings of her heart rather than her mind. It must be remembered, though, that the situations in both stories are very different and that Liza was an unmarried woman when she promised to marry a person she loved, before succumbing to the mysterious charm of another. Arsitê (The artist) tells of an ebullient teenager, Lewon, intoxicated by his love for music and the theater, and of the eventual collapse of his dreams and his suicide in a society where money, not art, sets standards and priorities. In sharp contrast to Lewon, another teenager, Vardan of Vardan Ahrumean, which Širvanzade wrote in a semi-satirical vein a year after Arsitê, is obsessed with money like his father and is groomed, under his tutelage, as a would-be vampire.

Širvanzade also enjoys fame as one of Armenia’s leading playwrights. His Ewgingê attracted much attention, despite his as yet unfocused views on women. Ewgingê, an innocent soul, is in agony for having loved someone else at one point in her teen years, and eventually bares her heart to her husband. Mihran, after an almost violent reaction, forgives her, recalling his sinful associations before his marriage to Ewgingê. Unêr irawunk (?) (Was she right?) is a far more sophisticated discussion of women’s emancipation. Hersilê, artistically gifted and a believer in women’s independence, is pitted against an older husband who thinks of her as only a wife and mother. She wittingly avoids the traditional, self-defeating denouement (suicide) and walks away from him. Of a piece with this drama is Armenuhi, in which the title character, who is all “poetry,”
is captive to her dull, tyrannical husband, Samson. With her husband’s unexpected consent and with assistance from her admirer, Armenuhi is able to begin a new life.

*Patui hamar* (For honor; or, A debt of honor) had its premiere in Baku in 1904, and it has been a most popular drama ever since. It sketches conflicting characters in a family, the Ėlizareans, who are on the verge of disintegration amid the social, economic, and moral disorder afflicting a society, usually defined as bourgeois by Soviet Armenian critics. Margarit, a genuine champion of truth and honesty, pays dearly for her principles in a deadly conflict with her father, Andrēas Ėlizbarean, who has amassed wealth and gained social standing by ruthlessly trampling partners and rivals alike. The characters, victims all of the changing rules of the business of life, drift helplessly to a sad confrontation, some driven by their passion for money and desire to maintain their public reputation, and some (Margarit, Artasēs) by an inbred sense of integrity.

In a way, *Awerakneri vray* (On the ruins) is a sequel to *Patui hamar*. It chronicles the collapse of a family, in this case due to the inability of a traditional merchant-businessman to compete with a new breed of sophisticated capitalists and the nouveaux riches whose enterprises rise on the ruins of the old. *Arhawirkī ērerīn* (In the days of terror) takes place near the borders of “Turkish Armenia” and depicts one aspect of the Armenian massacres and deportations: the participation of Armenian volunteers in the initial Russian thrust and withdrawal at the outset of World War I. The play reflects the hopes the Armenians pinned on Russia for deliverance from certain death and concludes with the retreat of the Russians and Armenian refugees. *Morgani īnamīn* (Morgan’s in-law) is Širvanzade’s only full-length comedy (the other being *Šarłatanē*, The charlatan; or, Humbug, a one-act comedy, 1908), which he wrote after Armenia had become Soviet. It derides wealthy émigrés who fled the Bolshevik Revolution and settled in Paris, but who are still bent on maintaining their corrupt lifestyle by trafficking in cocaine and dreaming about selling off the oil fields and property they left behind to wealthy Americans. The main characters are Petros Mintoyean and his son Žorž (Georges), who is heavily in debt and bamboozles his father into believing that he is about to marry the niece of [J. Pierpont] Morgan. Of great literary and historical significance is Širvanzade’s memoirs, *Keankī bovits* (From the crucible of life), a lively and insightful account of people, places, and events.

*LEO* (1860–1932), a prominent cultural figure with remarkable impact on Armenian intellectual activities, is best known for his history of Armenia, a vibrant account in a most engaging style. He is also known
for his history, documents, and ideology of the Armenian Question; studies of the life and work of outstanding individuals, religious, and intellectual leaders (Mesrop Maštots, Catholicos Yovsëpf Arlutean, 1743–1801, Stepanos Nazarean, 1812–79, Grigor Artzruni, 1845–92); history of certain schools in Karabagh and Erevan; history of Armenian printing and merchants (hojas), etc.; and many other works still in manuscript form. After Armenia became a Soviet republic (Leo was invited to lecture at the State University of Erevan), he revised some of his views and works. It was a hasty revisionism with unconvincing results.

Leo also engaged in literary activities as an adherent of the school of realism. He wrote some literary criticism; sketched the portraits of some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Armenian writers; introduced Russian, French, and English authors to Armenian readers; wrote a history of Eastern or Russian Armenian literature from its origins to the 1900s; and formulated his own literary vision in the form of short stories, novels, and plays, almost all of which he wrote at the earlier stages of his career. Armenian rural regions, sad and squalid, impoverished and forlorn, where superstition, ignorance, and old traditional values had a strong hold over peasants, make up the central theme of some of his short works, which are narrated in a lively style. His stories in an urban setting depict innocent victims of the "monstrous" bourgeois system. But a large part of the blame for many a misfortune Leo placed on religious (i.e., Christian) passivity and pacifism, despite the occasional, favorable stance he had for similar traditional values. Artsah (Karabagh) forms the backdrop, either partially or wholly, to a few of his short stories and his patriotic novel Meliki aljike (The Melik’s daughter).

LEWON MANUÈLEAN (1864–1919) tried his hand in poetry, plays, and prose. His verse, covering such issues as honesty and the defense of truth, the Armenian massacres, social and other topical concerns, bears the marks of H. Hovhannisyan’s influence and now mostly seems rather turbid. Shakespeare was his idol and he wrote drama and “dramatic poems,” as he called them, which are thought-provoking and have a greater appeal than his collection of poems. “Tigranuhi,” based on Movsês Horenatsi’s account (Tigranuhi, sister of Tigran and wife of Aždahak), illustrates the clash of personal and public interests. In “Galilew ew Milton,” a Dominican (i.e., the Inquisition), science, and free thought (Galileo and Milton) confront one another (Manuèlean must have been aware of Milton’s Areopagitica). In “Potorik” (Storm), an indomitable poet, Diagoras of Melos, is seen rebelling against the gods. “Sasuntsi Dawit ew Msray Melik” illustrates one episode from the Armenian epic. Similarly,
"Dëpi ver" (Upward climb) represents a dramatic stage in H. Abovean's life. Manuëlean's novels (Chalabineri aršawankë, The Chalabi invasion, and Hortakuatz keank, A shattered life) are insignificant. His dramas, which, broadly speaking, tackle the dangers threatening the family, were staged in many cities. His Rusahay grakanutean patmutiwn (A history of Russian Armenian literature) covers the nineteenth century and was for a while used as a textbook.

VRTANÈS PAPAZEAN (c.1866–1920) was a prolific writer despite his constant peregrinations in the Armenian communities of the Caucasus, Iran, and the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps this was partly due to the reputedly Armenian gypsy blood running in his veins and may to a degree explain his attraction to the wide range of topics and lifestyles he covered in his short stories, tales, allegories, novels, plays, essays, literary criticism, and ethnographic and social articles. He made the first attempt to narrate the history of Armenian literature from its origins to his own time. His contributions to both Eastern and Western Armenian periodicals brought an even greater degree of public familiarity with Armenian affairs on both sides of the Russo-Ottoman border. His first short stories and narratives revolve around social injustice and inequality, usury, excessive taxation, moral decline, and economic hardship in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. These stories are uneven and often characterized by verbosity, yet they contain some of his better works.

There was a marked turn in Papazean's literary style and approach, and some formerly vague trends became more pronounced after his return from a nearly four-year sojourn as a student in Geneva. While his prose became more economical, his embrace grew wider, and he raised issues of broader regional and universal importance in Persian, Kurdish, or Armenian settings and short allegorical works. In his blistering attack on old values and stagnation (Èmbost erger, Rebellious songs), some saw the influence of Nietzsche, which Papazean vehemently, but not altogether convincingly, rejected. But he readily admitted his admiration for and the influence of Ibsen (Brand and The Master Builder, in particular), which was embodied in his heroes, whose drive and aspirations (and eventual destruction) distinctly recall some of Ibsen's unusual characters. Among some of his better shorter works, most of which conform to the principles of realism, while some are in the romantic mold, are: "Nkarichë," "Enicheri," "Laloy," "Beram," "Rašid," "Hat Saba," "Mi gišer Karachobanum," "Lur-da-lur," "Ayiša," "Anna," "Ḥentë," "Santoy," "Èmbosti mahë," and "Višap." His novel Emma discusses currents of thought and Armenian life in Transcaucasia; Asi is
dedicated to Luristan's rebellion against Nasreddin Shah; *Alemgir* is about the turbulent Teheran in the 1890s (following the granting of tobacco monopoly to the British), and in its sequel, *Azerfeza*, the "worshippers of Mithra" are told to use fire to consume or eradicate corruption and tyranny.

Of Papazean's plays, *Zayr* (Rock) was well received after its premiere in 1905 and was quite popular in Erevan for a few decades after World War II. Beyond a shadow of a doubt, ideological considerations played a role in staging this production, and Gurgen Janibekyan's (1897–1978) interpretation of Grigor Ala's role much enhanced its popularity. Indeed, Grigor Ala, a vast landowner and a ruthless usurer, is a powerfully drawn character, who manages to frustrate the efforts of an inspired young man bent on defeating the system and restoring justice in a provincial Caucasian town in czarist Russia. As in much of his later work, so in this drama, Papazean observed and exposed the old world order in good and frequently elegant Eastern Armenian and portrayed (despite Soviet Armenian claims of his inability to grasp the pivotal role of the proletariat) individuals, groups, and masses struggling for a better life.

Wide public recognition was slow in coming to Nar-Dos (1867–1933), who belonged to the conservative circle of Armenian intellectuals and contributed to their mouthpiece, the periodical *Nor dar*. His moderate outlook, it has been suggested, led some to consider him and his confrères less talented than the liberal intellectuals. Although he witnessed the Sovietization of Georgia, all of his work except for a few insignificant additions belongs to the pre-Soviet era.

In his prose, in the form of short stories, short novels, and novels, Nar-Dos is concerned mainly with the psychological profiles of his heroes rather than plot and action. All his protagonists are contemporary types, and almost all appear as fully developed characters. Although they may at times seem simple, transparent, and somewhat indistinguishable, they are complex and subtly dissimilar. Conflict and action spring from the irreconcilable nature of their mentalities, which was what attracted Nar-Dos most.

Through his tendentious literature, Nar-Dos sought to mirror life "as it was," to offer psychological analysis, and to inspire and guide. In his early pieces, his heroes subordinate the personal to public interests. The unhappy and the poor, the illiterate and the superstitious, the consequences of drinking and uncivil behavior, and similar topics make up the main themes in his series titled *Mer talē* (Our quarter). With his *Anna Saroyean*, Nar-Dos began to chart the depths of human emotions. This is the tragic story of a sensitive soul, Anna, and the impoverishment
and destruction of her formerly wealthy family. But his Spanuatz alawni (Slain dove), Paykar (Struggle), and Mahē (Death) are among his best.

When Nar-Dos converted his Spanuatz alawni into a play, there were suggestions in the Russian press that it might have been inspired by Chekhov's The Seagull. Nar-Dos went on public record to refute the suggestion and maintain that it was based on his own work published years earlier. Nevertheless, despite his assertion, there are certain similarities common to both works but not enough, perhaps, to claim a formative influence by Chekhov. Sāra, whose honor and innocence have been violated by Tusean, is now married to Sisakean. Sāra's obsession with revenge is an expression of her insistence on respecting the rights of individuals, the flagrant violation of which is glossed over by society. Tusean believes in unrestricted, egotistical freedom and acts on his principles. Sisakean is the spineless and spiritless husband unable to understand, let alone respond, to his wife's emotions, concerns, and humiliation.

Paykar is about the clash of the old and the new. The representatives of the modern reflect the formal aspects of change, denying the traditional as totally incompatible with the progressive. Caught between these two tides is the heroine (Manē), who, although not a conservative, is not prepared to sacrifice the better aspects and accomplishments of the old for the falsehood and formal sophistry of newfangled concepts. The novel was partly inspired by the rivalry between the conservative periodical Nor dar, to which Nar-Dos contributed artistically and administratively, and the liberal periodical Mšak.

Mahē was to echo the rising patriotic sentiments among the Eastern Armenians in the 1890s, but with changes forced by the czarist censorship, it was transformed into a psychological novel with only vague references to the movement. The central theme, as the author himself saw it, was that of life and death seen from the perspectives of active optimists and passive pessimists, which remotely echoed some of the serious dilemmas facing the Armenians at the time.

LEWON ŠANT (1869–1951) wrote prose, verse, and drama. A few of his poems were popular in his time, but almost all of his poetry is now part of his less-read oeuvre. This is also true of his novels. Drawn to universal values and Symbolism, Šant increasingly looked beyond the immediate Armenian scene, receiving his intellectual and aesthetic nourishment from Europe and giving shape to his distinct literary approach largely in his plays. There is something of Greek tragedy, Nietzsche, Ibsen, G. Hauptmann, and Maeterlinck in his work. Many,
if not most, of his characters are brought to life from within, with little or no attention to the locale, mores, action (with the exception of his plays), or other means of characterization. They are, especially his *dramatis personae*, individualistic and passionate; they symbolize and cling to certain concepts, pursue lofty aspirations, dream in ever changing moods, and suffer in dignity as they search for the meaning and mode of their existence. Herein, perhaps, lies the disquieting charm and intellectual elegance of some of his work.

His novel *Dursetsinerë* (The outsiders) illustrates the clash of public interests with personal interests. Similarly, *Derasanuhin* (The actress) elaborates the conflict of individual aspirations in personal relations. *Dardźë* (The conversion) outlines the contrast of religious and mundane philosophies, which foreshadows one of the main themes in his *Hin astuatznér* (Ancient gods). His last work, *Hoginerë tzarawi* (Thirsty souls), deals with marriage, family, and fidelity. His first three plays were variations on the aforementioned themes. *Esi mardë* (The man of the I) deals with the issue of national and personal ends through the characters of a revolutionary and a traitor. *Urisi hamar* (For others) is the story of a woman sacrificing her own happiness for that of her father, brother, and sisters. And *Cambun vray* (On the road) depicts a fighter who has given his life to his country, submerging his own happiness and aspirations.

To many, *Hin astuatznér* is his best drama. It marked a fresh phase in his creative work in that Sant now turned from the real world to the realm of ideas. It revived, in a new form, the clash of body and soul, a long-standing dilemma in Armenian literature. The leading characters, Vanahayr (Abbot) and Abelay (Deacon), have turned away from the world, the flesh, and the devil. With the financial assistance of an old flame, the princess, Vanahayr has erected on the islet of Sewan (now a peninsula!) a new church on the ruins of an old temple as a monument to their old love, but also as an irrevocable renunciation of worldly life. Seda, niece of the princess, falls off the boat taking them to the monastery for a visit and plunges into the waters of Lake Sewan. Abelay rescues her, gives her a new life, but fatally compromises his own as fleshly desires tear him apart. To eradicate his past root and branch, Vanahayr envisions replacing the church he had built with a new one.

*Kaysrë* (The emperor; literally, The caesar) portrays the reigns of emperors Nicephorus II Phocas (d. 969) and his successor John I Tzismises (d. 976), who was of Armenian stock, and their drives for power and fame. A timid Nicephorus ascends the Byzantine throne with the help and prodding of an ambitious and adventurous John, who shortly thereafter overthrows Nicephorus with the help of Empress Theophano,
consort to Nicephorus. John, "the emperor," is a restless character, who thrives on danger and challenge, and for whom life is but a game. He abandons Theophano, but his love for Hanna, although mutual, remains unattainable. Hanna, a forceful and interesting character, shuns evanescent glory and sentiment, withdrawing to a monastery with her love for John intact and immune to all threats and temptations.

Nominally, the person referred to in Șltayuatzê (The chained one) is Artawazd I, son of King Artašēs I. According to a traditional story, Artawazd is bound in chains in a cave in Mount Masis (Ararat) with his two dogs gnawing at his shackles to free him. There are two interpretations to this legend, both of which are articulated by characters in this play. Eznik Kołbatsi sees Artawazd in a somewhat positive light: He will one day emerge and rule the world. But Movsēs Horenatsi relates that he will destroy the world. In the play, the fictitious events take place in Ani. The mob rises against its ruthless rulers and seizes power, but this bold initiative brings no advantages to the simple folk. The play illustrates the corrupting effects of power and the futility of attempting to gain freedom with the help of others or external forces. Symbolically, therefore, the title of the play is a reference to all human beings in whose chest there lives a tyrant whom the individual must kill if he is to be free. Yakob Öšakan (q.v.) found this play to be reminiscent of G. Hauptmann’s Die versunkene Glocke.

Inkatz berdi išhanuhin (The princess of the fallen fortress) has Cilicia as its background and pits a prince, Goł Vasil, against Princess Anna. Vasil kills Anna’s husband and children and captures their fortress with an eye towards possessing her too. Bent on revenge, Anna weaves a web of intrigues that eventually lead to grisly crimes, including the murder of Vasil’s two sons by their own father and Anna’s suicide. Öšin Payl’s plot echoes some sad events in Cilicia in the 1320s. Prince Öšin, Lord of Korikos, and Ŗita, daughter of Prince Smbat, admire one another, but Cilicia is rent apart by religious strife of political significance between those faithful to the national church and the followers of the papacy. Putting national interests above all else, Öšin becomes regent and tries to restore peace in the land, but his efforts are frustrated. He declines Ŗita’s assistance to rescue him from gaol, and they both meet a tragic end.

KOSTAN ZARYAN (1885–1969) abandoned French for Armenian at a time when a search for new aesthetic and national values was already under way. After the 1915 slaughter of most of the explorers and innovators, Zaryan carried on the mission with intriguing experiments. If the originators of the pagan movement (Varužan, Siamantō, et al.)
raked up their roots in polytheist Armenia, Zaryan sought to uncover the essence and mystery of the Armenian soul. Steeped in Western culture and contemporary literary trends, Zaryan embarked on a literary journey that was at once aesthetic, metaphysical, contemplative, and cultural. Armenian letters was enriched by his craftsmanship, style, and interpretation of the artistic, the beautiful, and the mysteries of the human soul. Like that of any committed writer, Zaryan’s œuvre indeed has its flaws and failures, but his detractors have no leg to stand on.

An acquaintance of many contemporary European giants of the arts and literature, Zaryan was respected by some Armenian intellectuals but shunned by others and never attained widespread popularity. All his works were listed in the Soviet Index and prohibited until the early 1960s, when he returned to Soviet Armenia after a forty year exile; only a few were published thereafter. Many of his writings, especially those of the 1920s and 1930s, appeared in installments in the periodical press and still remain inaccessible to the public at large, though quite a few have been recently disinterred. His literary commentary on the human condition and his own nation attracted sophisticated readers, but few others. Since the 1970s there has been a revival of interest in his work. That his art was shaped under the formative influence of Western thought is beyond the slightest shadow of doubt. Although some of the sources of this influence are clearly evident to the informed reader, no detailed scrutiny has yet been undertaken to pinpoint them in a more specific and comprehensive fashion.

Zaryan’s first collection of verse in Armenian was Örerí psakè. (It is difficult to say what exactly he had in mind by the Armenian word psak, which has numerous meanings: crown, prize, circle, accomplishment, wreath, garland, halo, etc. Perhaps he meant something like the “crown” in the sense of “circle,” or “course of the days,” since poems 1, 5, and 10 in the series of poems for which the collection is named are titled “Morning,” “Noon” and “Evening,” respectively.) The cycles making up the collection express varying and contrasting moods, captured with vivid imagination through sensations and impressions of light, color, and sound. The collection was a bold experiment with words, imagery, form, and style, but it suffered from repetition, infelicity, instances of studied effect, and choppy sentences (which, in this case, was not an expression of Zaryan’s favorite tenet of omitting details to put the reader’s imagination to work). But Zaryan’s poetic talent found its best expression in a long poem titled Tatragomi harsë (The bride from Tatragom), one of his two best known works and which still generates controversy. It is the story of a newly married young man, Yovan, who shortly after his
marriage joins Armenian guerilla fighters (hayduk or fidayi) to defend their village against Kurdish attacks. He leaves behind his wife, Sana, who for long years hears nothing of her husband and, overpowered by her carnal desires, succumbs to a Kurd, a man from the ranks of the mortal enemy. Yovan’s comrades-in-arms decide that Sana must die and that Yovan must carry out the verdict. Written with verve in a laconic and eloquent style, this exquisite poem mingles epic elements and symbols with bare drama, offers revealing insights into the hearts and minds of its heroes, and boldly raises a host of sensitive issues and values of a political, social, and cultural nature. Sana’s frailty and fate, seen in the wider context of national and Ottoman issues of the 1900s, has been the subject of sharply conflicting and unsettled interpretations.

Zaryan’s prose is a rewarding chronicle of countries and cultures that he came to know intimately as the wandering Armenian. Such observations and analyses are invariably suffused with keen insights into the Armenian experience both in Armenia and abroad. Himself an émigré par excellence, Zaryan incessantly pursued his quest for the underground roots of Armenian vitality and the spiritual forces of the nation. He had candid criticism for the failings of his fellow countrymen: the obsessive importance they attached to tradition, which Zaryan regarded as merely a graveyard; their tendency to adapt and imitate rather than discover and invent; their obliviousness to universal principles and values; and their shallow approach to culture. Yet, he identified with this very culture even as he sought to transform it by impressing on the Armenians the need for introspection in the search for the intrinsic national values that made up the Armenian quintessential self.

In *Antsordë ew ir ċamptan* (The wayfarer and his route), Zaryan depicts the Armenian atmosphere and mentality in Istanbul, then under Allied occupation, shortly before his departure for Armenia in 1922. He then speaks of his three-year sojourn in Soviet Armenia, under rather rough and rigid terms, and his return to Europe. Conditions in Armenia, the Armenian community of Tiflis, repatriated Armenians in Armenia, Armenia-Diaspora relations, Armenian hopes vainly pinned on Europe, anti-Russian sentiments, flashbacks to his childhood, and reminiscences of colleagues put to death in 1915 are some of the moments and elements Zaryan masterfully captures in his eloquent and engaging narrative. *Bancoopē* (i.e., *banvorakan kooperativē*) *ew mamuti oskörnerē* (The bancoop [i.e., workers’ cooperative] and the bones of the mammoth) brings together Soviet Armenian impressions and reminiscences, along with descriptions of Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Switzerland, and Spain. Here too, Armenia, Armenians, Armenian culture, the search
for the Armenian soul, philosophical reflections, writers, literature and society, irreconcilable conflict between religion and science, and nations and nationalism are topics that Zaryan discusses in an illuminating and entertaining fashion. Similarly, *Kzin ew mi mard* (The island and a man) consists of a string of meditations on man and his alienation from himself, the earth, and the universe (written on the island of Corfu, where the author made the acquaintance of Lawrence Durrell). It also concerns the intricate relationship between man and nature and the latter’s powerful impact on the former’s thought, countries, art and literature, and many of the topics mentioned above. Continuing his effort to unravel the mysteries of universe and man, Zaryan suggested, in these and in other works not discussed here, that man would find much gratification if he restored the old bonds that once linked him to the earth.

One of Zaryan’s best known works is his novel *Nawê leran vray* (The ship on the mountain). Ara Herean, the central hero, is a professional sailor, who is intent upon operating a boat in Lake Sewan as his contribution to the rebuilding of Armenia in the years 1919 to 1921. He purchases a ship in Batumi but is unable to transport it beyond the heights of Kanaker, to the north of Erevan, due to the political situation. When Zaryan settled in Soviet Armenia in 1962, he expunged the anti-communist and anti-Russian aspects from a revised edition of the novel and added an epilogue enabling Herean to realize his dream with the help of the newly established Soviet regime. It was a regrettable and, perhaps more importantly, unnecessary redaction. Some critics, particularly Soviet Armenian ones, have seen the ship, stranded on the heights of Kanaker, as an indictment of the pre-communist system of Armenia. The revamped version lent much support to this interpretation. But political orientation may not have been Zaryan’s foremost concern, as he was also critical, if less bitterly, of the political chaos in the first Republic of Armenia. The ship embodied one of Zaryan’s principal remedies for the revival of Armenia and Armenian spirit: self-reliance. Ara Herean’s ship was not built in Armenia. By contrast, another character in the novel, Mikayël Tumanean, builds a boat on the very shores of Lake Sewan and uses it for military purposes. Hence, it seems that Zaryan’s sympathy lay with the enterprising local and national elements, with no pronounced concern for their political persuasions. The novel, certainly one of the best in the Armenian literary tradition, masterfully encompasses most of the vital aspects of the Armenian realities of the day, giving a large role to Armenians of the dispersion. As usual, Zaryan provides incisive, provocative, and at times controversial analyses of cultural, social, political, and philosophical nature.
Soviet Armenian Literature

An Overview of the Soviet Armenian Realities

Armenia became Soviet at the end of 1920. Initially, together with Georgia and Azerbaijan, it made up the Federal Union of Transcaucasian Republics, which in 1922 was replaced by the Federalist Soviet Socialist Republic of Transcaucasia. In 1936, all three republics were individually incorporated into the USSR. The events that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of the Armenian National Movement, and the emergence of Armenia as an independent republic are well known. As a sovereign state, Armenia elected as its first president in October, 1991 Dr. Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a prominent scholar of Armenian studies. With his tenure there began a new era for Armenia, which is beyond the scope of this introduction.

In the early twenties, Armenia appealed to Armenians abroad for assistance. The Committee to Aid Armenia (Hayastani դիտնային կոմիտե) was set up in 1921 (and was dissolved in 1937), with branches in Armenia as well as abroad (Greece, France, Germany, Bulgaria, the United States, Iran, Rumania, England, etc.). Many intellectuals responded to the appeal of the government to return and help rebuild the country. Between the years 1921 and 1982, an estimated two hundred thousand Armenians were repatriated from the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Some of them, along with tens of thousands of local Armenians, lost their lives to the Stalinist terror, as did scores of intellectuals and some of the best writers. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed fighting against Nazi Germany, and the Church experienced a catastrophic period of persecution. Only after the last wave of terror in the late forties and the death of Stalin in 1953 did Armenia slowly recover relative freedom in matters cultural and intellectual.

Soviet Armenia's relations with the Armenian Dispersion were governed by politics and ideology. The twenties saw a relatively open
relationship with the Dispersion, which was not the case in the following decade. During World War II, Armenia appealed to Armenians everywhere to help defeat the Nazis. The Dispersion responded immediately and generously, raising considerable monetary funds to help the Red Army war effort. During the cold war era, Armenia maintained practically no relations with the Dispersion. The sixties saw a rapid thaw and activation of relations: Armenia sent books and textbooks, dance ensembles, writers, and soccer teams abroad and offered free higher education to Armenian students from abroad. At first rigidly selective, such exchanges acquired a flexible, broader scope in time, but they were never entirely free of political considerations.

The Church of Armenia was fortunate indeed to have Archbishop Georg Chorekchyan (1868–1954), a student of philosophy and theology (Leipzig, 1889–94), as locum tenens (1941–45) at a most dramatic and fateful period in her history, following the murder of Catholicos Հորեն I, Muradbegyan (1873–1938, supreme patriarch from 1932). A sagacious administrator endowed with a keen mind, he seized upon a number of favorable circumstances in the concluding years of the war, rallied the Armenians of the Dispersion to the Soviet war effort, and initially took part in abortive Soviet diplomatic moves to reclaim Armenian territory from Turkey. Unanimously elected Catholicos (Georg VI, 1945), he actively promoted the repatriation movement (1946–48), reopened the theological seminary and the printing press in Ėjmiatzin, launched the periodical Ėjmiatzin, and securely placed the Church on an irreversible, though slow and limited, course of regeneration.

Soviet rule was in many ways beneficial to Armenian culture. A centralized system, despite its many serious drawbacks, and substantial state subsidies helped create within a relatively short period of time a solid cultural infrastructure in an utterly destitute Armenia. Armenian was proclaimed the state language. A policy to obliter ate illiteracy was adopted in 1921, the orthography was reformed in 1922, and elementary education was made mandatory in 1930. The state theater, the national public library, and the state museum were established in 1922 and were followed by the film studio, the conservatory (1923), the national opera (1933), the Academy of Sciences (1943, in existence since 1935 as the Armenian section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), the repository of manuscripts (1959; the Matenadaran, named after Mesrop Maštots on the basis of the Ėjmiatzin holdings), and numerous other centers and institutions of culture, education, and research. Anniversaries of writers and cultural figures were observed. Books were published in massive runs to meet the needs of a cultured and demanding reading
public. Annual literary prizes named after Y. Tumanean, A. Isahakyan, D. Demirçyan, G. Sundukean, M. Nalbandean, and S. Zoryan (q.q.v.) were instituted, all in 1980. Anniversaries of major figures and events (such as the millennial of the epic Sasuntsi Dawit, David of Sasun, in 1939) were observed locally, by Moscow, and at times throughout the republics of the Soviet Union.


THE ASSUMPTION WAS THAT THE SOVIET REVOLUTION WAS TO BRING IN ITS WAKE A NEW WAY OF LIFE AND, THEREFORE, A NEW KIND OF ART AND LITERATURE. OLD TRADITIONS WERE TO BE DISCARDED. THE TENTIES WAS A DECADE OF EXPERIMENTS; THE OLD WAS REJECTED WITH ENTHUSIASM, AND THE SEARCH FOR THE NEW WAS INTENSE, BRINGING FRESH APPROACHES TO LITERATURE BOTH IN FORM AND CONTENT. LYRIC POETRY WAS NEGLECTED; INSTEAD, GENERAL OR UNIVERSAL VALUES AND SENTIMENTS WERE EMBRACED. A FEVERISH PREFERENCE FOR DEPICTING DAILY LIFE, THE BUILDING OF IRRIGATION CANALS, MECHANIZATION, ELECTRIFICATION, AND OTHER SUCH CHANGES THAT CHARACTERIZED SOVIET ECONOMIC POLICY, AS WELL AS A STRONG SENSE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE "ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC" EAST (MUSLIM COUNTRIES FROM ALGERIA TO IRAN), INSPIRED SOME ARMENIAN WRITERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, EHIŠE CHARENTS (Q.V.) AND MANY OTHERS REALIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PAST AND AESTHETIC AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF POETRY; THEY KNEW THEY COULD CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD CIVILIZATION ONLY THROUGH ARMENIAN CULTURE.

WITH NO LITERARY THEORY YET FIRMLY FORMULATED BY THE PARTY, THINGS WERE IN A STATE OF FLUX IN THE TENTIES. AN OVERRIDING CONCERN WAS THE NATURE AND ROLE OF THE NEW "PROLETARIAN" LITERATURE AND HOW TO CREATE A LITERATURE THAT WAS NATIONAL IN MANNER BUT SOCIALIST IN MATTER. BORROWING CERTAIN ELEMENTS FROM THE RUSSIAN FUTURISTS (ESPECIALLY V. MAYAKOVSKY),
the imagists, and the principles of "proletarian culture" ("proletkult"), three writers, E. Charents, A. Vštuni, and G. Abov, proclaimed a manifesto (14 June 1922, since known as the Declaration of the Three). They rejected the pre-revolutionary literature, which they claimed was a dying tradition, afflicted by such maladies as nationalism, romanticism, pessimism, and symbolism, and infected by such concepts as the "fatherland," "immaculate love," "desert and loneliness," "twilights," "oblivion and dreams," and the like. They saw themselves as "disinfectors" who wished to bring in fresh air and to counterbalance bourgeois nationalism with "proletarian internationalism" and immaculate love with "healthy instinct." They also sought to bring literature, heretofore immured in "salons," out into the streets and to the masses, and to focus on subjects of actual importance, such as class struggle, all in a style and imagery characteristic of the new lifestyle.

The group disbanded quickly, with E. Charents disowning its nonsensical creed. But the Association of Proletarian Writers of Armenia came into existence at the end of 1922, and extreme views led to acrimonious disputes. The Party, while recognizing the importance of a free atmosphere for literature to develop, denounced insularity and parochialism and called for an universal socialist literature in 1925. In April of the same year, G. Mahari (q.v.) and others formed a splinter group in Gyumri, named *Hoktember* (October), to oppose the appalling rigidity of the Association's members. That autumn, E. Charents initiated *November* (November), and members of the short-lived *Hoktember* joined the group. There were at least two other literary associations, including the circle of *ulekits* ("companion") writers (D. Demirçyan, V. Totô vents, S. Zoryan, et al.), who steered clear of these bitter partisan clashes. But the lines of battle were drawn. Although the two warring parties merged into the Union of Proletarian Writers of Armenia (1926), they failed to bury the hatchet. The members of the former Association continued to adhere unimaginatively and stubbornly to dogma and violently attack and denigrate Charents and his camp. The gap widened and the two groups became implacable foes even after the Party had decreed the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia (1932, actually founded in 1934) and had defined its literary theory. In due course, Armenian writers unions were established in Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabagh.

This most pernicious confrontation continued into the thirties. The central concept for Charents and his circle was that the local or national proletariat was the concrete basis of literature, not the abstract and "homeless" international proletariat. In other words, national traditions and literature formed the foundation on which an "internationalist"
literature would rise. One of the bizarre aspects of the situation was that their opponents, the Proletarians, by form understood mainly the language, which they also rejected as the former vehicle of capitalist values. Having no substitute, they vulgarized the literary standard, using the spoken idiom, a dialectal mishmash with a strange phraseology. A far more ominous problem was the relationship between a writer’s ideology and the topics he chose to illustrate; the choice of the latter, they held, clearly mirrored his political profile. He who wrote, for instance, about the past was denounced as a propagandist of the old, stigmatized as an enemy of the Revolution, and called a “class enemy,” a “people’s enemy,” “nationalist,” “individualistic,” “bourgeois,” and so on. Thus, the Party amassed much “ideological” ammunition to justify the ruthless annihilation of the intelligentsia in the late thirties. From the mid-thirties to the early forties, the arena was left to political propagandists and “political minstrels,” literally and figuratively speaking, who sang Stalin’s praises in dreadful poems. The war period brought a torrent of patriotic, rhetorical propaganda and some satire. To fuel patriotism, Moscow winked at local manifestations of national pride as expressed in historical novels.

But restrictions were reinforced and reprisals ensued immediately after the war. In the second congress of the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia (1946), works dealing with the past and written in the concluding years of the war were condemned: Demirçyan’s Vardanank, it was pointed out, overemphasized the role of church and religion in the national liberation movement; King Pap in Zoryan’s eponymous historical novel was lionized as a democrat; Zaryan’s Ara Geletsik idealized the past; and Širaz was sternly warned that he was following an extremely pernicious path by making excessive use of religious, mystical references, and imagery, and by elaborating only on national themes. During this period, literature depicted Soviet society as being free of conflicts; the only conflict was the one between man and nature. Repatriation and repatriated Armenians and Mount Ararat as a symbol of lost territory and culture were also fairly common themes.

The post-Stalin era in Armenia began with Anastas Mikoyan’s speech in a meeting with his “electorate” in Armenia on 11 March 1954. R. Patkanean, Raffi, E. Charents, A. Bakunts (q.q.v.), and others were rehabilitated. There followed a period that witnessed the gradual return of lyric poetry and the exploration of human behavior. The next phase in Soviet Armenian literature was the drive launched by a new generation, spearheaded by Paruyr Sevak (1924–71) and others, to broaden the thematic scope beyond love, nature, and patriotism, to destroy the shackles of parochial insularity, and to explore the universal context of the
human condition in this age of sweeping changes and giant technological advances. The trend, existing side by side with the traditional, was taken up by yet a younger generation, excluded from this book.

Armenian literature developed under considerable influence from Soviet Russian literature. In general, especially after the war, socialist realism set the tone. Love, patriotism, humanitarian concerns, World War II, Soviet solidarity and fraternity, and Soviet routine (which only suffered from “correctable” and “temporary” flaws) were some of the prevalent themes. The basic premises of ideology, Party, and government were believed to be faultless and were never questioned. With the exception of pro-Soviet, pro-peace praise, and anti-imperialistic propaganda, political criticism was a taboo, as was the genocide. Noteworthy changes began to appear in the mid-sixties, especially in the wake of the massive demonstration in Erevan, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide. Historians and writers alike elaborated on this man-made tragedy, and the past, both immediate and distant, became a popular theme. In fact, the historical novel had not been discontinued after the war, and Armenian authors continued to evoke historical figures and events, which they invariably reinterpret and often embellished beyond recognition. Earlier, a number of literary experiments had been introduced by Charents in rhyme and rhythm, prosody, and literary devices and technique. There were other changes. The term “ballad,” for instance, acquired a new meaning in Soviet Armenian literary terminology. It became, especially for Charents, a kind of Soviet martyrlogy. It depicted the heroics of contemporary heroes, most of whom had served the cause of the Revolution.

Eastern Armenian underwent the influence of Russian, too. The dramatic increase in Russian schools in the sixties was a factor. But overall, Russian was simply indispensable for communication, education, learning, career and social advancement, information, and daily routine. An extreme but telling case of the ravages of Russian was that of the newspaper Sovietakan Hayastan, the Party organ, which daily translated leading articles and official texts from the central organs, such as Pravda. Lack of time was obviously a difficult challenge to overcome, but religious faithfulness to the original resulted in some absurd words, expressions, and patterns that were alien to Armenian, bringing to mind some parallels, often remote, from the long history of the Armenian tongue (e.g., Hellenizing Armenian, or the arbitrary application of the patterns of Latin). As said, this was an extreme case, but Russian patterns of expression slowly and imperceptibly penetrated the literary standard as well. Loan words and place names that were borrowed “through” Russian
were calques or simply Russian forms, reflecting their endings and gender. Eastern Armenian was regulated by a number of academic committees.

**A Survey of Soviet Armenian Literature**

Damned and banned since the mid-thirties, **ELIŠE CHARENTS** (1897–1937) was rehabilitated following Anastas Mikoyan’s speech on 11 March 1954, delivered at a meeting in Erevan. Soon thereafter, Soviet Armenian criticism restored him to the foremost position in the Soviet Armenian literary canon. He is often thought of (with Mayakovsky as the leading originator) as one of the principal founders of Soviet verse. His works are now seen as signposts and symbols of his time, and his turbulent life, cut short at forty, as a record of both literary and political developments in the opening decades of Soviet rule in Armenia. Some of his fiery propaganda verse (e.g., his “Leniniana”), embodying the sincere hopes millions of people pinned on the October Revolution, now have only a historical value. Such poems are considerable in number, and although ideology resonates through most of his work, it contains a great many of the brightest pages of literature ever written in Armenian.

Traditionally, critics associate the origins of Soviet Armenian literature with Hakob Hakobyan and Šušanik Kurlinyan, the first to write “proletarian” literature. But the laurel for forging a new literary tradition must be given to Charents, who labored passionately to fashion an aesthetic realm for the Red Regime, for which he fought with word and weapon. It was a tortuous, somewhat erratic, and eventually fatal process. There was the pull of his national identity. It had of late, especially since the beginning of the twentieth century, given rise to visions of a homeland: the remote, misty land of Nairi that fed romantic political expectations. Charents was given to such dreams until his shocking march in 1915 in the ranks of Armenian volunteers supporting the Russian war effort against the Ottoman Empire. It inspired his long poem “Danteakan araspel” (Dantesque legend), wherein Charents leads the reader through the Armenian inferno of 1915. Death, devastation, and innocent optimism contrast sharply in the poem. A little later, in his “Vahagn” (whom some contemporary poets had invoked triumphantly), Charents buried the remains of this old god, humiliated and slain by Armenia’s enemies. The symbolic end of Vahagn’s myth marked the beginning of a new phase in Charents’s political orientation. He soon committed himself, body and soul, to Bolshevik Armenia.

But charting his own literary course was not to be as simple a task. The great masters of Armenian literature, past and present, crowded his path. Particularly in his early years, he was under the spell of Vahan
Tërean’s poetic output (e.g., “Erek’ erg thradaluk aljkan,” Three songs for a pale girl). He repudiated Tërean’s art, only to repent many a time. He was then attracted to the Russian symbolists (e.g., his collection “Tziatzan,” Rainbow). Seized by revolutionary fervor, he wrote two long poems in 1918, “Soma” and “Amboñnerê ḫelagarvatz” (The frenzied masses), while fighting for Tsarytsin in the ranks of the Red Army. Both were sheer dynamite, an indictment of the old world order and a romanticized panegyric of the revolution and the power of the masses. These were followed by his “radio-poems” and the first of his three celebrated “visions” of death. The latter took shape in the autumn of 1920, during the Turkish onslaught on Armenia. In it, Charents offers himself as the ultimate sacrifice in hopes of sparing his country further suffering. There followed his “Amenapoem” (a sort of “Everyone’s poem,” sharing certain similarities with Mayakovsky’s “150.000.000”), a reflection of the fateful events of the time, and “Charents-name,” an autobiographical poem intertwined with contemporary realities to 1921.

By the early twenties, Charents had certain obvious affinities with the principles of the Russian Lef (Left front of art). Furthermore, Armenia had become Soviet and the matter of re-evaluating or discarding the old literature and fashioning a new one had emerged as an imperative. Although he had already introduced some innovative trends, Charents, with G. Abov and A. Vštuni, issued in June of 1922 the “Declaration of the Three,” totally rejecting old Armenian literature. This brought him much closer to the Russian futurists. But as always, Charents rapidly shifted between extreme moods and remained a knotty bundle of contradictions. As an artistic expression of the new principles (class struggle, sexual instinct, iron, technology, the color red, style, movement, rhythm, speed, etc.), Charents wrote the long poem “Romans anser” (Loveless romance), a brilliant vulgarity. In the same nihilistic vein he worked on his novel, Erkir Nairi, and soon completed his “Talaran” (Songbook). Erkir Nairi placed Charents in the thick of the most pernicious controversies and the most painful dilemmas of the day. It was meant to deliver the coup de grâce to an ailing romantic mentality that, as he saw it, had turned into a demoralizing malaise, epitomized by an amorphous, nonexistent fatherland, Nairi. He went all out to define and destroy the inebriating myth of Nairi as a web of associations of antiquity, legitimacy, national vainglory, parochial patriotism, indolent nostalgia, debilitating insularity, and unfulfilled rosy dreams. Ever since the annexation of the Khanate of Erivan by Russia in 1828, the issue of reviving historic Armenia had by the 1870s slowly risen to the top of the national agenda, reducing almost all other concerns into insignificant issues. An intense,
dramatic period of alternate hopes and utter disappointments had begun with the Balkan Wars, only to end with the cataclysm of 1915. And the first Republic of Armenia had survived for barely thirty months. For Charents, these setbacks spoke loudly of the ineffectiveness of Armenian mentality, identity, and, above all, leadership that he saw unfit for attaining national aspirations in this rotten, odious old world. Now that a new world was on the rise, with Armenia a part and parcel of the larger historical processes, it was time to jettison, once and for all, the old legacies that weighed down heavily on the Armenian spirit, impeding its wholesome progress.

Erkir Nairi is a politically charged satirical novel. Kars, a provincial city, is the setting, just before the outbreak of World War I. Though not a novel in the conventional sense, it ably captures the atmosphere in Charents’s birthplace. In a rapid tempo, in short and sharp sentences, Charents describes Kars, a typical Nairian town, ramshackle and squalid with a deadly dull routine—a far cry from the romanticized vision of Nairi. In the second part of the novel, Kars and its leadership are seen during the war; in the third part, the fall of Kars and the destruction of the dream are described. The tragic backdrop to all this is the heinous crime perpetrated against the Armenians during the “imperialistic” war, with Charents plunging into unforgiving criticism of the leadership for its incompetence, naivete, and petty bourgeois romanticism. But the author looked forward to the remaining tiny stretch of Nairi, now a Soviet Socialist Republic, where the country was being built anew. This unusually dynamic experience of soul searching, sustained throughout with an invigorating honesty, was controversial. Charents’s demolition work, some of his views and generalizations, and his technique (caricature, hyperbole, a sarcastically cutting style, etc.) have all been seen by some as unnecessarily extreme.

As Erkir Nairi appeared in installments in the periodical press, Charents completed the cycle “Talaran” (Songbook), a collection of lyric poems. This was an abrupt return to the moods and modes of the old literature he repudiated, an imitation in many ways of Sayeaf-Növay’s style. But the series bore the imprint of Charents’s artistic character and appeared at a time when a trend to banish lyric poetry was restricting the imagination of Soviet Armenian authors, who were now entirely given to the political and economic agenda of the new system. The collection concluded with a most popular poem, “Es im anuş Hayastani arevaham bārn [or bārn] em sirum” (“I love the sun-drenched fruit [or name] of my sweet Armenia”); there is some uncertainty as to which of the two words Charents used, but the academic edition of his works opted for bar). No Armenian poem treating the same theme in modern times seems to
be as popular as this poem, whose figurative and connotative epithets powerfully and memorably evoke Armenia’s spirit and story. At this juncture, Charents wrote poems for Lenin and other politically motivated works (*Poezozufna, Kapkaz tamaşa, Komalmanah*), still rejecting the legacy of the past.

In late 1924 Charents left for a seven month tour of Europe (mainly Italy, Germany, and France). The West had a benevolent impact on his thought. Qualifying his literary position as vulgar and erroneous in letters from abroad, Charents noted that the great masters of the past had faithfully but creatively echoed their respective epochs, and the mentality of the ruling classes reverberated in their work. The new proletarian literature, he went on, lamentably lacked this essential quality and had become a lifeless literature in the form of pitiable *agitkas*. Having set aside “the drum of the *Lef*,” he was now ready to imbibe imaginatively the art of the masters and, maintaining the highest professional and aesthetic standards, to fashion a new literature as a mirror of the socialist mentality and lifestyle. Two of the memorable poems born during the trip were “Stambol,” which to the author was an “international prostitute” and stood as a symbol of bloody conquests, decadence, and anti-communism, and “Elegia grvatn Venetikum” (Elegy written in Venice), evaluating the political and poetic stance toward Soviet Armenia of Avetik* Isahakyan (q.v.) and like-minded Armenians in the Armenian Dispersion.

In 1926, having shot and wounded a sixteen-year-old girl, Mariana Ayvazyan, Charents ended up in the Erevan House of Correction. (It has been suggested that Charents committed this violent act to draw the party’s attention to his insupportable plight. Cf. A. Zakaryan, ed., *Elise Charentsi datavarutyunë*, Erevan, 1995 [Banber Hayastani arhtivneri, 1995/1].) He published his sympathetic diaries under the title *Hisolutyunner Yerevan ii ullich tnits*. He attained a high level of artistic creation with his “Hmbapet Savarsë” (Captain Shavarsh), which offers revealing psychological insight into the life of a soldier against a background of the harrowing events of the day. By now, Charents had ruefully made peace with his predecessors and had outdistanced a very talented group of young contemporaries. His only quarrel now was with a host of rigid adversaries (e.g., Nairi Zaryan, q.v., and the critics Gurgen Vanandetsi, 1898–1937, and Norayr Dabalyan, 1904–55), who similarly aspired to chart a fresh literary course.

In the early twenties, especially after the appearance of his two volumes in Moscow (1922), Charents had already come under venomous attacks that denounced him as a nationalist-bourgeois-chauvinist-individualist-egotist-pornographer-reactionary, among other things. The gap grew ever wider as Charents unequivocally adhered to his losing proposition that the
national tradition was the irreplaceable premise on which a new literature with universal dimensions and international significance would rise.

In *Epikakan lusabats* (Epic dawn, 1930), which consisted of the poems he wrote in 1927–30, Charents evaluated his maturing art. He passed harsh judgment on his wayward experiments and paid tribute and aspired to the art of Yovhannës Tumanean, Vahan Terean (q.q.v.), and Pushkin—a genuine echo of their own time that was distinguished by dazzling sophistication and amazing simplicity. Charents continued his public polemic against his antagonists, who paradoxically advocated the same principle. But most of them were mere versifiers who barely touched the inner world of their contemporaries, and who shunned lyricism and sang in a bombastic version of the spoken dialect the praises of metal, tractors, vulgar physical love subordinated to instinct and ideology, communist solidarity, revolutionary figures, the Muslim East, and North Africa and the Orient as rising anti-imperialistic powers (especially in the early and the mid-twenties). Alternating between a lyrical and epic tone in this collection, Charents contemplated Armenia’s immediate and revolutionary past, and the various stages of his life and accomplishments, always predicated on the contemporary history of his fellow countrymen.

His last collection, *Gîrk čanaparhi* (The book of the road), was printed in 1933, but its distribution was delayed. Additions and revisions were forced before it was made available to the public in 1934, at a most unpropitious period in the history of the Soviet Union. Its content provided much ammunition for ill-wishers, rivals, and critics, who, as before, unleashed a heavy barrage of hostile criticism for his ideological failures. Broadly speaking, in this book Charents summed up his bold revisionist views on some fundamental aspects and epochs of Armenian history, thought, and letters; offered wisdom and guidance to generations yet to come; and ruminated in a lyrical vein on the meaning of life, the human soul, and the elements of abiding artistic creation.

The cycle of historical pieces in largely chronological order evaluates the principal stages in the Armenian experience. It begins with the long poem “Sasuntsi Davitë,” in which Charents claims that obsequiousness and conformity accounts for the hazy and gloomy past of his country. (He made Dzenov Ōhan into a pusillanimous and cringing character and released Pük’r Mher from his captivity to destroy the forces of evil, an unmistakable reference to the advent of communism.) His attack on the Armenian ruling classes is particularly virulent in the next poem, “Pɑmtutyan karufinerov” (Along the crossroads of history). Charents heaped all the blame on them for the misery of his people. In “Depi lyarë Masis” (Heading for Mount Masis), Charents imaginatively
recreated H. Abovean’s last night before his disappearance. Abovean is seen reviewing his papers and life, dismissing renewed doubts—doubts that have been gnawing at his heart for a long time now—and questioning his political orientation. In thinly veiled critical allegory, “Mahvan tesil” (Vision of death) assesses the views of writers, intellectuals, and other figures (e.g., L. Alişan, P. Durean, Ř. Patkanean, Raffi, D. Varužan, q.q.v., and others) who shaped Armenian mentality in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. The break with the sad, uninspiring past, both distant and immediate, and adherence to the new revolutionary era and the Soviet regime occurs in “Zrahapat ‘Vardan Zoravar’” (The armored car ‘General Vardan’), thus completing Charents’s sweeping review of the Armenian experience.

The second cycle (“Taler ev ḡorhurdner”) is made up of poems for the travelers, the sick, the illuminators of manuscripts, the dead, masons and architects; it counsels future generations, city builders, tillers, and song makers. This is followed by “Arvest kertufyan” (The art of poetry) and “Girk’ imatsufyan” (Book of the intellect), made up of rubaiyat, distichs, and other poems, and which includes the famous “Patgam” (message) that alerts the Armenians that their only salvation lies in their unity (literally, “collective power”). A wide range of topics is covered under these subtitles, including words of wisdom, philosophical contemplation, literature as art, polemical lines, politics, history, cultural topics, and self-evaluation. Some critics have suggested that Charents was aware that this would be his last book (based on his line “Du gites, or ko matyann ays veijin...” “You know, that this last book of yours...”). However, the Armenian for “last” could also mean “latest”). There is clearly a pervasive sense of urgency and anxiety and a good many parting words to lend support to this suggestion. Charents, who sang the new as the old crumbled around him, now saw the new degenerate into cruel totalitarianism. That he was disillusioned with the central leadership and apparatus (Beria had already embarked on his monstrous mission) is beyond doubt, but whether or not he was disillusioned with the lofty ideals of the new political philosophy cannot be said with certainty.

The book is among the very best collections and is unrivaled in many respects. Not only does it distill the contributions (new patterns of meter and rhyme, rhythm and cadence, and genre and diction) of a genius who had just begun to mature, it is the brightest reflection of the latest, albeit thorny, phase of the Armenian experience. Here, as elsewhere in his work, Charents unveiled new aspects to the Armenian soul and audaciously explored fresh grounds for a new literature and identity with cruel but salutary honesty. There is some noise and rhetoric in some of his works,
but such flaws are far outweighed by the better part of his oeuvre, which remains one of the best responses yet to calls made by Vahan Terean and other contemporaries to elevate Armenian literature to a higher plane of universal significance.

Aksel Bakunts’s (1899–1937) life was cut short at the terribly young age of thirty-eight. The usual array of ideological charges were brought against him, including chauvinism, idealization of the past, rejection and alienation from socialist society, and so on. Such attacks were unleashed early in his career and intensified immediately after the appearance of his first collection of short stories, Mtnadzor. The eighteen pieces included here set the tone, scope, artistic principles, and interests of the author. The majestically mountainous region of Zangezur was one of the principal settings, and life in this remote, primitive rural area came under his artistic scrutiny. Out of the drama and anguish of the individual, whether inflicted by the harsh rules of fellow individuals, religion, custom and tradition, political upheavals, or nature, sad stories come to light of suffering that speak of the brutal truth in a context free from feelings of pity or maudlin sentimentalism. This proved to be a bitter pill to swallow. It was obvious that Bakunts, despite treating the topic in his own way, was not going to proclaim loudly and falsely the advent of a new lifestyle. The latter had as yet had no effect on the countryside, and Bakunts was not prepared to swallow the blanket ideological prescriptions hook, line, and sinker. Nor was he prepared to give up his uplifting aesthetic principles, the in-depth exploration of the human soul, or his literary creed and freedom.

The stories dealing with the Soviet period far outnumber those focused on the pre-revolutionary era. In the opening decades of the new regime, no changes were visible in the remote parts of the Armenian countryside (in Bakunts’s “Mrots,” for instance, some families are still celebrating the pagan Armenian New Year, Nawasard). This was Bakunts’s domain. With keen eyes, he looked deep into the inner world of the Armenian peasant and into the complex relationships with his fellow human beings and nature. His aim, emanating from his literary creed, was to capture the essence of all this—a task which in his better stories he accomplished brilliantly.

A tragic picture of the Armenian peasantry emerges from Bakunts’s artistic accounts. “Alpiakan manušak” (Alpine violet) brings together some of the finer aspects of Aksel’s craftsmanship and literary-aesthetic principles. It has a simple plot. An archaeologist and a painter visit a remote village, where they encounter a beautiful woman whose picture the
artist paints. The woman’s husband returns from the fields after the visitors depart and, in a rage of jealousy, hits his wife with a club. Night falls, and another day in their lives comes to a close. The author concludes the story by describing a beetle, intoxicated by fragrant pollen, who seems to think that the world is an alpine violet. Out of these bare elements, Bakunts fashions a dramatic story on the rough life in inaccessible and forgotten villages, the ugly plight of beautiful women, and the still-existing gap between rural and urban areas, which looks beyond deceptive appearances in search of the deformities and beauties of the human soul.

“Namak rusats tagavorin” (A letter to the king of the Russians) is the story of a saintly old man whose son is in exile in Siberia. In infinite faith and hope, he writes a letter to the czar to have his son released. After a long wait, he is told to appear at the police station. He is beaten and thrown out, his mouth bleeding. Yet he still awaits a reply, and on his dying day he requests his wife to announce the good news at his grave as soon as she hears from the czar. In “Bruti tlan” (The potter’s son), the peaceful and creative life of a potter is shattered and his wife dies when their son is killed fighting for the Bolsheviks. Dilan dayi and Sona of “Mirhav” (Pheasant) have an unspoken love, but she is married off to someone else and dies within a year. Dilan dayi sustains himself into old age with memories of his unalloyed and unfulfilled love. The characters in “Tzirani poł” (The apricot wood flute; poł, here, is a flute-like wind instrument) are survivors of the Armenian massacres and deportations in Sasun who have settled in Eastern Armenia. Pining for home in the mountains of Sasun, Hazro, the central character, plays his instrument to alleviate the painful longing that smolders in his heart. In “Spitak dzin” (The white stallion), horses are requisitioned from the villagers. To save his horse, Simon cuts a wound in its back. The horse is taken away anyway and remorse cuts Simon deeply. “Mtnadzor” is a dark story of the evil aspects of human nature.

Kyores (i.e., the city of Goris, Armenia) is a work of biting satire, a kind of chronicle that has no plot or individual characters in the true sense. It deals with the clash of the old and the new before the Soviet era, and it is close in tone and intent to Charents’s monumental Erkir Nairi (The land of Nairi), which seems to have sparked Bakunts’s imagination, and Gurgen Mahari’s Ayrvol aygestanner (Burning orchards), which was written long after Bakunts’s death. This work was an expression of Bakunts’s desire to try his hand at novels. His first attempt, Karmrakar, remained incomplete; only its initial part was published. The central theme was to be the changes that reshaped social life in rural areas at the turn of the twentieth century. Bakunts undertook extensive research into the life and work of Հաչատուր
Above an before embarking on a novel dedicated to him, of which only fragments have been published.

Certain elements of Gogol’s “Nevsky prospekt” are found in Bakunts’s “Provintsiai Mayramutë” (The sunset of the province). His work shares certain similarities with that of Knut Hamsun and the Russian Mikhail Prishvin (1873–1954), whom Bakunts knew personally, but neither seems to have had a formative influence on him. Although he learned much from both Armenian and non-Armenian masters, he fashioned his own distinct tradition. Bakunts’s nature imagery is fresh, epic, and hauntingly beautiful. His lyricism is vibrant, and his touch is delicate in his exquisite observations of the innermost realms of human nature, its drama, frailties, defeats, and triumphs. Modern Armenian prose attained crystalline elegance in his best stories.

Vahan Totovents (1894–1938) tried his hand at verse early on, but later emerged as one of the notable masters of Soviet Armenian prose. Although he wandered far and wide before settling in Armenia, he was a prolific author of short stories, novels, plays, essays, and articles in the periodical press. The latter dealt with topical issues of importance in the early Soviet years of Armenia. His short novel, Doktor Burbonyan (original title Hayastani Ton-Kišorë, The Armenian Don Quixote) is a satirical writing with a hallucinating caricature of a windbag political propagandist as its central character. The novel owes something of its structure to Eruand Ötean’s similar works. His impressions of life in the early twentieth-century United States, articulated in the form of short stories, scenes, and personal experiences, appeared under the title Amerika. Perhaps the only bright note in this collection is his heartfelt sympathy for the plight of black people, which is demonstrated in three of the twelve stories making up the cycle. The remaining pieces are a bleak commentary on the “gilded” dirt of capitalism and its dehumanizing effects on society. A similar condemnation of capitalist and bourgeois lifestyles is found in his most extensive novel, Baku, an attempt to depict the proletariat and its struggle at the turn of the century. The novel suffers from a number of major flaws and confirms that Totovents excelled in more compact formats. Of his shorter works, Hovnantan ordi Eremiayi (Jonathan, son of Jeremiah) is an impressive piece. Through the life of a potter-sculptor, it sings the praises of human creativity and industry, art and liberty, and deplores outdated values, views, and religious shackles. One of his best works in this category is Bats-kapuyt tzelikner (Light blue flowers), which was made into a film by Armenfilm in Erevan (Henrik Malyan, 1980), titled “Ktor mê erkink” (A piece of
It is the touching story of an unconventional marriage between a prostitute and an orphaned young man in a remote region steeped in conservative traditions. His best play, which met with great success at the time, remains his *Nor Byuzandion* (New Byzantium). It won an all-Union prize, was translated into several languages, and was performed on many stages both inside and outside Armenia. The plot unfolds in Constantinople immediately after the 1819 beheading of the male members of the celebrated Tiwzean Armenian Catholic family (more commonly known as Duzian, its Western Armenian pronunciation) on the orders of the sultan (Mahmut II, 1785–1839). Survival, rivalry, revenge, and intrigue sustain a chilling sense of turpitude, dramatically illustrating the precarious fate of individuals and societies under arbitrary rule in an atmosphere of religious fanaticism.

Tofovents’s unsurpassed effort was his *Kyankê hin hrovmeakan čanaparhi vra* (Life on the old Roman highway). Consisting of fragmented memories of his birthplace, the work is written with broad strokes in robust colors and sharp contrasts. The locale, the small circle of characters, and the constant presence of the author endow the narrative with a considerable degree of unity. In a trenchant, warm style, sparingly laden with lyrical metaphors and imagery, with thinly veiled nostalgia, poignant emotions, humor, and sarcasm, he evokes a quotidian routine, mores, intriguing characters and events, and glimpses into the mentalities of ruler and ruled, Turks and Armenians. In form and scope, the novel is very different from the autobiographies of S. Zoryan (*Mi kyanki patmutyun*) and G. Mahari (*Mankutyun; Patanekutyun*). But this is not its only distinction, nor does it explain its immense popularity. Besides its historical value as an absorbing record of a lifestyle that has all but vanished, the book is an illuminating inner and geographical journey by a candid pilgrim with a keen eye for the bleak and the beautiful in human life.

**DERENIK DEMIRÇYAN** (1877–1956) began his literary career long before the Bolshevik Revolution, but flourished after the establishment of the Soviet regime in Armenia. At first he wrote verse, but he later moved on to prose, writing comedies, dramas, short stories, novels, art reviews, and essays in the periodical press on various topics. He was thus a prolific and multifarious writer, touching on a wide range of topics, but until the twenties he was outshone by the younger glories of Armenian literature such as Y. Tumanean, A. Isahakyan, V. Têrêcan, and E. Charents (q.q.v.). Ideological considerations were yet another barrier. Demirçyan was one of the leading figures of the so-called “companion” writers who adhered
to neither of the two main factions of writers competing to set the tone for the new Soviet Armenian literature. At least for a while, he tried to steer clear of politically motivated literature, and official criticism was more often than not unfavorable towards him. Another factor was the uneven quality of his literature. Although a re-evaluation of his oeuvre (as well as those of all other Soviet Armenian authors) would be a timely review, it would in all likelihood still sustain the prevailing judgment.

Demircyan was given to philosophically analyzing his topics of interest and to probing the depths of human behavior and its infinite manifestations, rather than characterization. This is true of many of his writings, with the notable exception of his best works, for which he gained a bright and permanent standing in modern Armenian literature. His comedy, Kaj Nazar (Nazar the brave), finally brought him wide popular acclaim. This was a rather bold undertaking on his part, because some famous authors (Tumanean, Isahakyan, and others) had already written adaptations of this folk tale. Strictly speaking, Nazar was more than just an adaptation; Demircyan fleshed out its bare plot with new details and episodes, creating a remarkably witty comedy. The main concept was to show the catastrophic consequences of the incompetent despots and timid, cringing rulers who held arbitrary power. Social realities and some philosophical tenets were also satirized. The denouement (Nazar’s fortunes eventually eclipse) proved to be somewhat controversial, especially in view of the fact that other versions of the story end with Nazar’s triumphant reign. There can be no doubt that the Armenian political leadership and parties were one of Demircyan’s main targets, but some critics have sensibly argued that many political arbiters of human destiny are exact replicas of Nazar. A telling example of such political terror was the fate that befell Demircyan’s comedy, Napoleon Korkotyan, which, in a story reminiscent of Gogol’s Revizor, mercilessly exposed corruption at a sovkhoz, a new economic institution created by the new system. Official criticism shot down the play as a distortion of the bright realities of Soviet life.

The history (old and new, e.g., the drama Hovnan metzatun on 1915 and its impact) and destiny of his own people were among the dominant themes in Demircyan’s work. This took on a more pronounced importance in the thirties, when (from positions of “vulgar socialism”) the past and patriotism were still seen as expressions of “bourgeois nationalism.” Demircyan’s Girk tzalkants (The book of flowers), a short piece of prose written with inspiration from Kostandin Erznkatsi, told its readers about some of the creative principles and continuities in Armenian culture. What exactly Demircyan meant by the title is difficult to say with
uncertainty. He may have had in mind a very special kind of florilegium, a repository of some of the facets of Armenian culture. But it is also an unmistakable reference to the illuminated manuscript created by the abbot of a monastery, a novice by the name of Zvart, and a scribe named Tade. The abbot, a former architect, writes an illustrated treatise on creating and building as two elements of vitality in life. Inspired by him, Zvart composes a poem on flowers as symbols of eternal beauty and revival, and Tade illuminates the manuscript with floral patterns. The manuscript survives for centuries through overwhelming odds and is at last salvaged at a market in Damascus. The work was a synthesis of Demirçyan’s views of the intellectual and artistic creativity of his people, a hymn to those often anonymous monks, creators of the tradition, and to the touching ways in which such treasures were fostered and handed down to posterity.

In 1938 Demirçyan wrote an enthusiastically received (and splendidly staged) drama, Erkir hayreni (Fatherland), about eleventh-century political life in Armenia. King Gagik II, the central hero, is seen fighting for his country and crown against deadly Byzantine threats. But the jewel of Demirçyan’s literary endeavor is Vardanank, an extensive historical novel that he completed in about four months in 1943. The event (the battle of Awarayr, A.D. 451) and the theme are well known from the work of the historians Elişë and Lazar Parchesi. Successive Armenian historians have also elaborated on the episode, and more recently playwrights have invoked it on stage. The Armenians’ resolve to die rather than renounce their Christian faith has emerged as one of the fundamental aspects of the Armenian self-image. Nonetheless, the purpose for which the war was fought and the course advocated by the two most influential figures of the time, Vardan Mamikonean (commander in chief of the Armenian forces) and Vasak Siwni (marzpan, i.e., “viceroy” of Armenia), have been reinterpreted.

While faithful to historical accounts, Demirçyan placed a far greater emphasis on the political rather than the religious interpretation of the battle of Awarayr; the Armenians, he averred, fought to maintain their national identity. Vasak Siwni remained a traitor to Demirçyan, who explained but did not mitigate Vasak’s betrayal. He held that Vasak had a carefully considered political agenda that called for compromise, a line that brought him into a collision with Vardan Mamikonean, who favored outright confrontation with Tcesiphon. Furthermore, Vasak’s two children were held hostage at the Persian court. Therefore, as a father and as an ambitious and vainglorious politician, Vasak, his name now synonymous with treason, had a limited range of choices. (A more or less similar explanation is found in Stepanos Örbelean’s Patmutiwn
The plot revolves round essentially one minor and two major conflicts: Armenia-Persia, the partisans of Vardan and Vasak, and the disenchanted masses and their rulers (the naharars, the nobles) in Armenia. The novel is written with gripping verve, in an excellent Eastern Armenian with appropriate Classical Armenian forms for purposes of characterization. The initial parts are protracted, there is some repetition, and certain social aspects are covered in an inadequate fashion. But Demirçyan ably recreated the political and cultural atmosphere of the era that generated wide support for the Armenian military by the public at large.

**STEFAN ZORYAN**’s (1889–1967) prose reflects the changes that shaped Eastern Armenian realities in the opening decades of the twentieth century. His initial short stories, permeated with melancholy and subtle humor, tell of the mentality of ordinary people, dispirited by the harshness of a dull life. Zoryan chooses ordinary situations and seemingly insignificant events, and viewing his subjects from fresh angles, opens up the inner life of his heroes with penetrating details. These are sad people, enslaved to the circumstances surrounding them, living by inertia with no awareness or prospects for a brighter present or future (notably his first collection, *Thur mardik*, Sad people). His subsequent short stories deal with a wider variety of characters, good and bad, honest and dishonest. The clashes here occur for monetary considerations or for apparently unimportant issues, with serious, sometimes fatal, consequences. His lyrical but detached tone adds to the inner drama, especially in his portraits of rebels who refuse to tolerate or give in to corruption and moral decline. Zoryan was unable to match these fine accomplishments in his works that mirrored the dramatic events of the years 1918–21. His *Helkomi nahagahê* (Chairman of the revolutionary committee), for instance, is somewhat shallow. A better work, though still inferior to his earlier achievements, was *Amiryanneri ẽntianikê* (The Amiryan family), which pitches fathers against sons, the traditional and the parochial against the new and progressive, all against a revolutionary background. Zoryan’s eloquence in the short story owes something to Chekhov and, to a lesser degree, Dostoevsky.

When Moscow unofficially relaxed restrictions on literature during World War II, Zoryan seized the opportunity, as did D. Demirçyan, to write his historical novel *Pap tagawor* (King Pap [c368–c374]). This was followed by *Hayots berdê* (The fortress of Armenia) in 1960 and by *Varazdat* [Aršakuni, ca. 374–378] in 1967. In terms of historical chronology, *Hayots berdê* dealt with the earliest period of this trilogy. It
depicts the reign of King Arşak II (c350–c367), father of King Pap. The novel focuses on Arşak’s policy and the building of Arşakawan, a city of refuge. Zoryan’s purpose was to reinterpret the extremely unfavorable view Armenian historians held of Arşak. Indeed, Zoryan believed that Arşak initiated a centralized and independent policy (vis-à-vis Rome and Ctesiphon) in an attempt to consolidate the hold of the monarchy over the country and the centrifugal tendencies of the naḥarars. Arşak, Zoryan reasoned, embarked on the building of Arşakawan with a view to making it into an impregnable fortress for all of Armenia, a fortress that was to be far stronger than those of the naḥarars, and an effective focus of loyalty and unity. But foes from within and without disabled Arşak and destroyed his plans.

As Zoryan saw it, Pap of Pap tagawor shared his father’s concerns and adhered to his political principles. But unlike his father, who never hesitated to put to the sword entire houses of naḥarars, Pap tried to appease them and to win them over. Pap also attempted to curb the immense power of the Church of Armenia while at the same time trying to make her an independent national church. In Varazdat, the concept of self-reliance is propounded. This novel lacks the flare and depth of the former two. In all three works, Zoryan on some occasions wanders away from the historical record and in many instances reinterprets the received tradition. To him, as to many of his contemporaries who surveyed the scene of Armenian history and its bitter lessons, the future of a prosperous Armenia lay in its unity. In these novels, the masses and representatives of social classes emerge, in the best traditions of socialist realism, as one of the most vital, indispensable forces shaping the destiny of Armenia. Almost all of his characters are lively and skillfully sketched; save for some dull ideological passages, the novels, especially Hayots berdê, rank with the best in the genre. Zoryan wrote in a vivid, incisive, and limpid style.

GURGEN MAHARI (1903–69) was one of the writers forging a new literary tradition in the twenties and thirties. After a brief association with the proletarian writers, he collaborated with Charents. Mahari came under mauling attacks and was twice exiled for long years. Yet, the corpus of his literature is considerably large and contains some of the luminous pages of twentieth-century Armenian literature.

Going through the usual phases, by the early thirties Mahari had found his own voice. His rhymed lines, in the form of both short and long poems, were at first pessimistic in tone. Seized by the fervor generated by hopes pinned on the new system, Mahari, in the manner of all his contemporaries, sang songs of steel and the color red and wrote agit-operets
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("operettas") and agitkas (propaganda in various short literary forms) from positions of Russian futurism and the Lef (Left front of art). But soon, swimming against the tide in the company of daring souls, he turned to lyric poetry, arguing for and asserting his own literary creed. He excelled in short forms of verse, distinguished by refined sensibilities, bright and captivating colors, an enchanting sense of humor, and a serene, dreamy nostalgia. He wrote of love and nature and of the childhood he was forced to leave behind in the city of Van, his birthplace. Throughout Mahari's life and work, this beloved city remained a hovering presence and a focus of identity, lit up by fond memories or scarred by indelible scenes of death and destruction. Even though his longing for his birthplace was never touched by chauvinism, pessimism, or idealization, it occasioned fierce criticism by his ideologically motivated adversaries, among whom was Nairi Zaryan (q.v.), ironically also from the region of Van and who had similarly experienced and survived the 1915 massacres and deportations.

From the early twenties, Mahari simultaneously tried his hand at prose, which some critics believe better suited his talent and temperament. Love, the family and its structure (a burning issue at the time), and the independence of the individual within society attracted Mahari's attention. He established himself as one of the masters of Soviet Armenian prose with a cycle of short novels: Mankutyun (Childhood); Patanekutyun (Adolescence, 1930); and Eritasardutyun semin (On the threshold of youth), published a quarter of a century later. The next anticipated part, Eritasardutyun (Youth), remained unfinished. The first novel once again took him to his native Van; the second depicted the flight of the Armenians of Van to Eastern Armenia in the Russian Empire; and the third illustrated Mahari's first years in Armenia and certain parts of Transcaucasia. All three reflect the harrowing ordeal and its devastating impact on the Armenians. From 1937 to 1954, Mahari was exiled and forced into silence.

After his rehabilitation, Mahari put together a collection of verse and his Lrutyun dzaynê (The sound of silence, 1962), a collection of short stories from life in the early decades of the Soviet regime and in Siberia. Perhaps the best short novel of the Siberian exile cycle is Tzalkat pšalarer (Barbed wire in bloom). This work was first published in 1988, though its smuggled manuscript had been serialized much earlier in Beirut. It tells of the author's trial in Erevan and the years of exile he spent at a camp in Vologda, north of Moscow. Mahari's last novel was Ayrvol aygestanner (Burning orchards), which immediately aroused indignant criticism for "distorting" certain aspects of recent Armenian history (the revised version appeared posthumously in 1979). The novel
concentrates on Van, especially the year 1915, and illustrates its self-defense and eventual fall. It is an indictment of Ottoman Turkish policy towards the Western Armenians in general and the Armenians of Van in particular. But it is also critical of Armenian political leadership, hence the hue and cry when the book first appeared. All this takes place against a vividly detailed background of social, political, and cultural realities in the city of Van.

Many of Mahari's works appear fragmented and seem to lack unity and meticulous plot. The author appears to be narrating in a kind of relaxed stream of consciousness, seeking and revealing the truth as he saw it. Prescriptions, guidelines, and genres never really restricted either the flight of his imagination or the inquisitiveness of his mind. Sparkling wit, teasing humor, and biting sarcasm are characteristic of his unconventional style, as are his lyricism and emotive powers. A spontaneous optimism renders his work memorably charming.

**MKRTICH ARMEN** (1906–72) was actively involved in the search during the twenties and thirties for a new literature to rise from the ashes of the old. His collections in verse echo such concerns, prevalent at the time when praise of technology and iron emerged in the works of many writers as a politically, socially, and aesthetically predominant theme. His initial short stories also elaborate on the rise of a new mentality, new criteria for human relationships, and new economic and socio-political realities. Among his better short novels are *Skaut No 89* (Scout no. 89), a criticism of the institution he came in touch with during his years at the American orphanage in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri); *Gagatneri ergé* (The song of the summits); and *Erg kalaki masin* (A song for the city), both of which depict the conflict of the old and the new and illustrate Armen's pronounced preference for urban life. One of his earliest novels was *Yerevan*, a juxtaposition of the old and the newly rising Erevan. (The plan for rebuilding Erevan was then a burning issue, and almost all the writers expressed their views on the architectural future of the capital.)

Armen was among the intellectuals exiled to concentration camps during the Stalinist purges and one of the very few to return home in the early fifties. His observations took shape in a collection titled *Patviresetin handznel dzez* (roughly, "I was requested to deliver this to you"), which contains a few brilliant sketches about the shockingly tragic life at camps in the freezing north. This was followed by a novel titled *Zirayr Glents*, the story of a victim returning to his family after his release from a concentration camp. But Armen's best and enduring work remains his short novel *Hetnar albyur* (Heghnar fountain), one of the finer
accomplishments in Armenian prose. Ultra-orthodox communist writers such as Nairi Zaryan (q.v.) were inflexible and fiercely denounced the work, but the public and most critics greeted it warmly. The plot unfolds in Alexandrapol, Armen’s birthplace, and illustrates the destruction of some honest, ordinary people by the formidable powers of traditional values and religious intolerance. Love, wedlock, the family, individual dignity, and contributions to society as the ultimate personal fulfillment are the basic issues presented in this moving piece. His characters are original, good-hearted, and lively natives of Gyumri-Leninakan, a provincial town with an authentic Armenian lifestyle. Armen knew its dialect (it was his own) and put it to excellent use. Drama, lyricism, an incisive analysis of the heroes’ behavior, and a spare but forceful style all combine to make this work a rewarding read.

A good deal of controversy surrounds the life and work of NAIRI ZARYAN (1900–69), the censorious literary crusader of the pre–World War II period. He was the most prominent, passionate, and talented writer of the Association of Proletarian Writers of Armenia, a hotbed of the “Proletkult” (Proletarian culture), or the “Left,” and the informal leader of the relentless opposition (with devastating, sometimes deadly, consequences) to some of the greatest authors of the Soviet era: Charents, Bakunts, Mahari (q.q.v.), and others. Zaryan called for a new, ideologically motivated literature that was epic in tone, international and universal in character, and focused on the rebuilding of the country and people of the Soviets. He found lyric poetry to be abominable, untimely, and therefore unacceptable; employed a bombastic rhetorical style; and paid very little attention, if any, to the aesthetic and artistic aspects of form. Zaryan made extended visits to many a kolkhoz and sovkhoz, factory and construction site, for inspiration and authenticity in depicting the rise of the new communist world. In his verse of the twenties, Zaryan described, mostly in the spoken language, the changing economic picture (irrigation, hydraulic power plants, etc.), the unrest and conflicts in Armenia from 1918 to 1921, the revolution and its heroes, and the might and promise of the new regime held.

His long poem Řušani karapë (1935), named after a stretch of land (a kind of frontage), was considerably original and marked a turning point in his literary career. It depicted the early stages of collectivization and its attendant problems. Unlike his earlier works, many of his characters here are lively and credible, as are his imagery and his description of the countryside. A number of critics suggested, and the author agreed, that there is something of Tumanecan’s style in this poem. Shifting to
prose, in 1937 Zaryan published the first part of his novel *Hatsavan* (a village in Armenia), which in a way was a sequel to *Rušani karaput* in that it dealt with covert resistance to collectivization by former landowners and saboteurs. Here again, most of Zaryan’s characters grow out of circumstances and are deeply affected by the new economic order. If the first part of *Hatsavan* was a noteworthy accomplishment, its second part (1947) left much to be desired. In the thirties, Zaryan also wrote humorous and satirical verse, mostly tackling literary matters.

World War II inspired Zaryan to change the manner and matter of his verse. Stalin received his fair share of panegyric and so did the soldiers of the Red Army, Armenian and non-Armenian. He had earlier dismissed Grigor Narekatsi and other old glories, but now he turned to them and to Armenian history, language, and culture (e.g., his *Dezyn hayrenakan*, Voice of the fatherland) to inspire his fellow countrymen at home and on the front. But his best effort remains *Ara Geletsik* (Ara the fair, 1944), an adaptation for stage of Movses Ḥorenatsi’s account of the legend. Writing in a solemn style and an epic breath, Zaryan made many changes in Ḥorenatsi’s version. For instance, Ara and Šamiram (Semiramis) are mutually attracted; Nuard, wife of Ara, plays an important role as a patriotic mother and a devoted wife; and the whole atmosphere in the drama is politically charged (there are echoes of German-Soviet relations, such as the emphasis on the abrogation by Šamiram of the peace treaty between Urartu and Assyria). A patriotic and faithful Ara is eventually able to rise above personal ends in order to fight and die for his country. Some aspects of the denouement and characterization have been criticized, but the play has been popular since. Zaryan was prolific after the war too, writing many plays and lyric poetry, some of which casts a retrospective glance at his past and clarifies some of his extreme views.

**SERO ḤANZADYAN** (1915–1998) was one of the prominent Soviet Armenian novelists of the post–World War II era. Ḥanzadyan early abandoned his initial attempts in verse and wrote a large number of short stories, short novels, and novels of contemporary life in Armenia, the past, and World War II (during which he fought in the ranks of the Red Army). He elaborated on the latter theme in novels such as *Mer gndi mardik* (The men in our battalion) and *Erek tari 291 őr* (Three years and 291 days). Some of his novels tackled contemporary social, economic, and agricultural issues, including *Hotê* (The land), *Kajaran*, and *Sevani lusabatsë* (The dawn of Sevan). What spread his fame far and wide, however, was his first historical novel, *Mhitar Sparapet* (Mekhitar,
commander-in-chief), an extensive book illustrating the struggle of the Armenians of Siwnik and Artsah in the 1720s under the leadership of Dawit Bek and his successor, Mētʿar. The novel was a labor of love, a record of valor, dedication, patriotism, and not-so-subtle praise for Russian might, assistance, and the fraternity of the two peoples. Despite Hanzadyan’s gripping style, the novel is protracted and suffers from a number of flaws.

Hanzadyan’s next historical novel, *Hosek, Hayastani lerner* (Speak, you mountains of Armenia), focuses on the Armenian genocide during World War I. Apart from depicting death and destruction, the work is an indictment of the Young Turk leadership as well as German leadership (for its complicity in the crime perpetrated against the Armenians by the Young Turk regime). The novel also highlights the pro-Russian orientation of the Armenians and their resistance despite disunity and dispersion. In *Taguhin hayots* (Queen of the Armenians), Hanzadyan zooms backwards from the twentieth century into obscure periods of Armenian history to prove that the Armenians were indigenous to Armenia and that their origins as a unified nation occurred much earlier than is generally assumed. The setting is Hayasa in the fourteenth century B.C. under Huganna (i.e., Hukannas) and his heir Karanni[s] and the Hittite Empire under Mursilis II. It is the aim of Karanni[s] and particularly his wife, Mari-Luys, to unite the Armenian tribes and introduce monotheism into Hayasa-Armenia. For his fiction, Hanzadyan may have relied on I. M. D’iakonov’s *Predistoriia armianskogo naroda* (The pre-history of the Armenian people) and, since there are a number of parallels, on the history of Egypt under Akhenaton (Amenhotep IV).

Hanzadyan’s *Andranik* had been suppressed for years before its publication in 1989. It appeared as the Soviet Union raced towards its collapse and the movement for Karabagh and independence gathered momentum in Armenia. With General Andranik (Ozanecan, 1865–1927) as its central hero, the novel analyzes the course of events in the recent history of Armenia, illustrating the plight of his small nation and its inability to control its destiny, despite its heroic struggle and military contributions to the war effort on the side of the Allies. Hanzadyan has nothing but furious contempt for Western apathy to the predicament of his nation and disdain for czarist Russian policy during World War I. He dwells at some length on British disapproval of Andranik’s plans for military assistance to the Armenians of Artsah (Karabagh), implying that the map and fate of both Armenia and Artsah would probably have been very different had Andranik been allowed to extend military assistance to his fellow countrymen in 1918. Despite his anti-communist statements
in the late 1980s, Hanzadyan called in this novel for self-reliance and alliance with Bolshevik Russia. Some lurid scenes, verbosity, haste, and infelicities mar this novel. Such shortcomings are found in many of his extensive works, but Hanzadyan was an experienced craftsman who wrote with verve and imagination.

HOVHANNES ŞIRAZ’s (1915–84) first collection of verse was met with wide and warm acclaim. Amid rhymed euphoria for steel, tractors, industrial technology and the like, he delighted his readers with his lyrical microcosm, ablaze with dazzling colors of nature. This was shortly followed by Siamanto ev Hjezare (also Հաչեզարե, or Հեչեզարե), perhaps his most popular narrative poem, which has an Armenian shepherd and a half-Armenian, half-Kurdish girl as the central characters of a tragic love story. In more ways than one, it established his style and foreshadowed some of the themes that would fascinate him most: love, human destiny, nature, and patriotism. Şiraz’s first book unfolds for the reader the natural beauty of his native region, Şirak, in Eastern Armenia, and his poem has as its backdrop the area around Lake Van in the historical Armenian province of Vaspurakan in Western Armenia. In the context of Armeno-Kurdish relations, land and landmarks, oppressive traditions and history, religious and social injustices are all fused into one with Siamanto’s suffering and unhappy fate, in a powerfully emotional and highly romantic style adorned with an endless string of fresh, vivid metaphors and imagery. The topographical and geographical designations that emerge as appealing symbols still in captivity under Ottoman rule would have an even greater presence in his verse composed after the fifties.

Many threads in Şiraz’s art intimately linked him with folklore, popular mentality and expression, Avetik Isahakyan, Sayeaf Növay (q.q.v.), and the minstrelsy. But Şiraz, like most of his predecessors, had his own distinct literary personality. He once said that he felt the tumult of the “white element of Niagara” in his chest and that the colors of the rainbow made up the strings of his lyre. Indeed, passion and emotional lyricism are the two salient features of his verse through which he sought to unravel the secrets of eternity, human character, fate, virtues, and the aesthetically beautiful. For Şiraz, man was the master of his own destiny; although still imperfect, he held the potential and promise of becoming perfect (“Bibliakan,” A biblical poem). Made up of divine and “satanic” elements, human beings could elevate themselves to impeccable standards by renouncing their devilish ways (“Bnutyan gluhgortzotsë,” Nature’s masterpiece). Moral rectitude and unalloyed love were essential; for vain ambitions would lead to corruption and hinder human happiness
("Siraname," a love story, originally published as *Rustavtsi Šoťan ev Tamarë*, Shota of Rustavi and Queen Tamar). Perhaps no other Armenian author has so reverently worshipped mothers and motherhood (*Hušardzan mayrikis*, A monument to my mother, and many other poems). But, to put it mildly, Širaz had a rather poor and traditional view of women; he distinguished only between mothers (always saintly) and other women (frequently satanic). In terms of style, Širaz’s love poetry has a number of affinities with Middle Eastern literary traditions and his confrères, old and new. Eyes, eyebrows, cheeks, and lips are common in his imagery. Redeeming features of his work include the frequent flash of his sterling talent, demonstrated by sudden fresh epithets and images, and sincere sentiments bursting with emotion.

Patriotism accounted for much of Širaz’s immense popularity. It nettled the establishment, but the establishment never grasped the nettle. Many criticized Širaz for repetition, worn-out platitudes, and narrow-minded nationalism. But Širaz continued unperturbed, and his entourage of young admirers recited his censored patriotic poems at literary events and public gatherings. He furiously rejected taboos and restrictions placed on political topics, toponyms, and symbols that covered up historical facts and expunged associations in compliance with Soviet central policy. Širaz invoked many an old Armenian figure, event, and toponym to highlight his numerous concerns. Held in the highest esteem is Mesrop Maštots, the genius who invented the Armenian script, ("Hayots hraslCe: Mesrop Maštots," The marvel of Armenia: Mesrop Maštots), an indestructible shield for the mother tongue and national identity. The most frequently cited symbol in all of his poetry is Mount Ararat. It epitomizes Armenia and Armenian suffering and aspirations, especially the consequences of the 1915 genocide: almost total annihilation, loss of a unique culture and land (including cities such as Ani and Van), and an implicit determination never to recognize the new political borders. Numerous poems, short and long, have been inspired by each of these and similar topics; for instance, the genocide is commemorated in short works and a long poem, *Hayots danteakanê* (The Dantesque inferno of the Armenians). The heroes of the Armenian liberation movement (e.g., General Andranik Özanean, 1865–1927), the worldwide dispersion of the Armenians, their future and their ties to the homeland, unity of the Armenian people, prosperity of Armenia, and visions of a bright future are also a part of his patriotic verse. The opinion, whether motivated by ideology or artistic refinement, that Širaz was becoming repetitive was undoubtedly valid. It was reinforced by Širaz’s own disinclination to experiment with new forms of expression. He felt that good poetry was that which touched the reader’s heart. And
many of his vibrant, impassioned poems of love and his concern for peace and the destiny of his people struck a responsive chord in his readership.

HAMO SAHYAN (1914–93) wrote traditional poetry but in a voice all his own. From an initially rhetorical style, he refined his verse into a delicately fashioned world of warm sentiments, fine impressions, deep colors, scents, and sounds, all infused with a gentle sense of nostalgia and drama. With a fascination for nature up hill and down dale in his native region of Zangezur, Sahyan refracted through his soul nature's awesome forms and formations, seasons and elements, trees and twigs, breeze and brooks, to reveal his own state of mind and unrequited, elusive moods. His communion with his birthplace was such that he at times felt he was nature incarnate. With his native landscape as nearly the only mise en scène for his verse, Sahyan did indeed court monotony, and dangerously so. But more often than not, especially in his mature years, his eloquent and subtle imagery, resembling a fine embroidery, along with his unalloyed sentiments and dignified simplicity endowed many of his poems with charm.

Sahyan himself once stated in one of his poems that he was neither Sayeaf-Növay nor Nahapet K'uchak; unlike those deep seas he was just a simple lake. Neither passion nor passionate love are found in his poetry. Instead, loneliness and an intoxicating, languorous longing for his vanished youth and an unsettling ambiguity permeate his lyrical verse, in addition to a subtle tension and a sense of unfulfillment. Although fully aware of his colleagues’ experiments, he showed no interest in innovative trends. He remained faithful to traditional patterns and wrote in a tidy, unadorned, and unobtrusive style. This and his austere, intensely personal sentiments distinguished him from other traditionalist writers. The fresh angles he discovered as he contemplated the inseparable affinities human beings shared with nature distinguished him from all other Soviet Armenian poets.

SILVA KAPUTIKYAN (1919— ) made her literary debut on the eve of World War II, but published her first major collection in 1945. Included in it is “Hosk' in ordun” (A word to my son), which is still her most popular poem. An exhortation for her son not to forget his mother tongue, the poem concerns one of her two major themes, national identity. (Her other favorite theme is lyric poetry.) National identity is symbolized in the poem by Mount Ararat, the capital Erevan, the Armenian language, and figures and events of the past and present and inspire her devotion to her homeland. Her nationalism is enveloped in the larger context of Soviet patriotism, which brought her All-Union popularity and laurels (such
as the USSR State Prize for Literature in 1952). The unhappy course of her people’s history left a profound mark on her poetry, as did the revival of Armenia as a Soviet republic and, particularly, the protection the USSR afforded Armenia. Her patriotism is free from chauvinism and extremism, and her poetry places much emphasis on peace and prosperity. In poems commemorating the genocide (e.g., *Mtorumner čanaparhi kesin*, Reflections at the halfway point), despite her unallayed wrath, she found the survival of her nation, the rebuilding of Armenia, and its rosy future to be the most eloquent and most promising response to the attempt to destroy her people.

Although Kaputikyan’s first collection was met with adverse criticism by some, she was soon recognized as one of the gifted poets of her generation and as the leading poetess of Armenia. Her preeminence owed much to her candid lyric verse. Youthful sentimentalism disappeared fast, and her love poetry blossomed into tender yet proud sentiments and sensibilities. Hers was an unrequited emotional affection. Hence her disappointments, handled delicately and ingeniously; hence also her charming sense of anticipation and poignant longing, all of which add a light touch of drama to her verse, making it vibrate with life and lofty feelings of love.

Kaputikyan wrote two well-known travel books. The first, *Karavan-nerē deĕ kaylum en* (The caravans are still on the move) is a description of her visit to Middle Eastern Armenian communities. The second, *Hčankar hogu ev kartezı gıynerits* (A mosaic composed of the colors of the soul and the map), is an account of her visit to North American Armenian communities. While the former is a highly emotional encounter with the descendants of the survivors of the genocide of 1915, the latter is a sober scrutiny of the Armenians of the United States and Canada. Both have historical value as records of the Armenian realities in two very different regions seen through the keen, if biased, eyes of a Soviet Armenian observer. Both are eloquent testimonies to Kaputikyan’s excellent prose, written with verve in an attractive Eastern Armenian.

**GEVORG ĖMIN** (1919–1998) was inclined from the outset to avoid the trodden path of poetry. But like so many of his generation, Ėmin was subjected to fierce attacks for wayward ideological and artistic failures. There was amid all this senseless criticism some validity to the observation that Emin’s style was somewhat careless and his love poetry rhetorical. The blend of sentiment and intellect he sought remained elusive. In the mid-fifties as the Stalinist rigidities loosened somewhat, Ėmin and his colleagues spoke loudly of the need for exploring the complexities of
human character and relations. A decade later, he cast his net even wider to capture the concerns and aspirations of generations who had experienced Dayr al-Zūr (the final destination of the deportations during the genocide), the Gestapo, and Auschwitz. Such thoughts and the negative aspects of technological advances, alienation, the cold war, the nuclear arms race, and the devastating effects of the inequal economic order in the West all preoccupied Ėmin's imagination. These issues found their way not only into Ėmin's thought and imagery, but also into the hearts and minds of his readers, sharpening their alertness to world peace and overall human concerns. His intellectual poems rejected parochialism and mediocrity, bombastic and vain patriotism, and paralyzing traditional styles and mentality. Instead, they promoted wider, universal perspectives and are among his most attractive works, ranking him among the leading poets whose work has introduced innovative trends into Soviet-Armenian verse.

During World War II, Ėmin wrote sorrowfully of agony, devastation, and the senseless loss of human life. Repatriation (hayrenadardzutyun) of Armenians to Armenia from abroad was another theme that engaged his attention in the aftermath of the war. As he charted his own course, Ėmin made no attempt to conceal his contempt for hackneyed poems, produced en masse in the late thirties and forties, in a vulgar imitation of the art of minstrels and folkloric formulae. Wit, irony, and sarcasm sharpened the edge of his rhymed commentary. In the same vein, Ėmin often humorously stripped his love poetry of its romantic veil. He saw himself and all poets as citizens, not so much in the Soviet style, but rather as prompters, always on the qui vive; for despite immense progress, little had changed in human character. Profoundly proud of his national heritage, he has sought to interpret the defeats and unhappy destiny of his people with pride and dignity, allegory and wit, hope and renewal; he has sung, in an affectionate tone, the praises of his homeland in prose (e.g., Yot erg Hayastani masin, Seven songs about Armenia).

Literature of the Post-Genocide Dispersion

An Overview of the Realities of the Post-Genocide Armenian Dispersion

Dayr al-Zūr, in the Syrian desert, was the final destination of the survivors of the Armenian genocide of 1915. Few returned from this town, but those who had been driven to larger cities in western Syria, from Aleppo to Damascus, stood a much better chance of survival. Some of them settled in Syria, some in Lebanon, some went farther south to Palestine and Egypt, and some to Greece, France, the United States,
and South America, giving rise to a new Dispersion. From the fifties there occurred some substantial shifts in the demographic distribution of the Dispersion. Many Armenians left Egypt following the overthrow of the monarchy, and a considerable number left Syria for Lebanon in the early sixties (as Egypt and Syria merged to form the United Arab Republic). Almost at the same time, many thousands of Armenians left both countries for Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Australia. In the mid-seventies, some Cypriot Armenians fled the Turkish invasion of the island and settled in the United Kingdom, and a little later, during the Lebanese civil war, many more sought safety in France, Canada, and the United States. The latest large exodus was caused by the Iranian revolution, while the Persian Gulf war displaced many as well. In the eighties, large numbers of Armenians left Soviet Armenia, mainly for California.

In the wake of the genocide and the French withdrawal from Cilicia, the Catholicosate of Cilicia (with its seat at Sis, now Kozan, Turkey) went into exile in Syria, and within a few years permanently relocated in Antilias (Antelias), then a village immediately to the north of Beirut. In 1916, the Young Turk government arbitrarily dismissed Patriarch Zawên Eliayean, Paltattsi, of Constantinople (two terms, 1913–16, 1919–22) from office and sent him into exile in Baghdad. In a similarly high-handed fashion, the government abolished the Armenian National Constitution and placed the Patriarchates of both Constantinople and Jerusalem and the Catholicosate of Alťamar under the jurisdiction of the Catholicosate of Sis, whose incumbent head, Sahak II, Hapayean (1849–1939, reigned 1902–39), was appointed Catholicos-Patriarch of all Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, with his seat in Jerusalem. Gabriël Archbishop Çevahircean (d.1923) sat in Constantinople as “patriarchal” locum tenens (1916–18). Although it retained its title, the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Turkey was in effect reduced to a see overseeing the Armenians of Istanbul and a few very small communities in Turkey that had survived the genocide. The Catholicosate of All Armenians in Ŭjmiaztzin was severely suppressed, but after World War II gradually regained some of its rights.

The post-genocide Armenian Dispersion is a complex reality that defies definition in precise and absolute terms. Scattered far and wide and subject to diverse influences, no two communities abroad are alike, and no attempt will be made here to describe any such entity in any specific detail. In general terms, what seems to be common to all the communities is the existence of a number of institutions that represent and organize them: the Armenian Church; the political parties; charitable
organizations; the periodical press; cultural, social, and compatriotic societies; an educational network; and to a lesser extent, athletic clubs. These organizations neither exhaust the list nor are they characteristic of every community. Broadly speaking, most refugees and emigrants belonged to one of two camps: pro-Soviet Armenian or anti-Soviet Armenian. Attitudes towards Soviet Armenia, the genocide, and an all-out effort to perpetuate Armenian identity defined the characteristic aspects of the Dispersion.

None of the traditional political parties folded after the Bolshevik takeover of Armenia. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation (the Dashnak party), driven out of Armenia in 1920, tried to entrench itself firmly in the Dispersion and embraced an unremittingly anti-Soviet line. An independent and united Armenia was still the dream, as was the party’s wish to return to power some day. The Social Democratic Hnchakean party supported the new regime, as did the Armenian Democratic League (the Ramkavar party), despite the wide ideological gaps separating them. Hence, a point worthy of note: Support for Soviet Armenia on the whole did not emanate from Marxist convictions (the Armenian communists were a tiny minority), but rather from a belief that Soviet Russia afforded Armenia solid protection against Turkish designs, and from a wish to see this last stretch of land flourish as a viable entity. This divergence of views manifested itself in various forms and in varying degrees of intensity. The parties by no means shied away from violence (including assassinations) against each other in the United States and, particularly, Lebanon, whose confessional system allowed a greater degree of ethnic-religious autonomy and enabled the parties to exercise a greater control over the community. But Armenian communities elsewhere enjoyed no such autonomy, and the Church remained by far their most influential institution. In an effort to strengthen its hold over the Dispersion, the Dashnak party in the mid-fifties seized full control of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antilias, Lebanon. The latter now began to expand its jurisdiction either by wresting sees from Êjmiatzin (e.g., that of Iran, a traditional pillar of support for Êjmiatzin throughout its history) in the Middle East, Europe, and the Americas, or by creating new ones. This hierarchical schism, allied with a number of other factors, rent the Armenian communities apart throughout the length and breadth of the Dispersion. For a while, such was the degree of fanatical partisanship that in certain circles and in certain communities, one was born to a party rather than one’s ethnic roots.

These organizations, one and all, regarded the fostering of Armenian identity as their foremost mission. It was their response to the genocide,
the ungodly crime that haunted their collective memory, and at once impeded and inspired their intellectual and mental energies. The Dashnak party was particularly active in this realm, not only for patriotic reasons, but also because its future hinged upon that of a vibrant Dispersion. Ideological and geographical distances, Soviet Armenian insularity and hostility to Armenian "bourgeois, nationalist" political organizations (especially the Dashnak party), the cold war, and a greater degree of integration into the host countries accentuated the differences between a divided and estranged Dispersion and Soviet Armenia. In the post-Stalin era, a thaw began in the late fifties. Students from the Dispersion were offered scholarships to study in Soviet Armenian institutions, cultural exchange intensified, and Dashnak attitudes mellowed towards Soviet Armenia (beginning in the seventies). But the new ties were selective and partisan in nature and limited in scope. Furthermore, the Dispersion, now prosperous and with deep roots in host countries, had many faces and spoke in multiple voices due to some major economic, social, cultural, and political shifts. And Armenians' perceptions of their own self-image exhibited striking variations in national values. If language, for instance, was the most essential element in the Middle Eastern Armenian identity, it was of little or no importance for most Armenian-Americans, and it even became a source of muffled tension between the latter and new immigrants from the Middle East. A fragmented Church, torn between its religious-spiritual and national-cultural missions and further weakened by a general decline in religiosity, was no longer as effective as before. The United States and France ceased to play a leading role in literature and culture in general. Younger Armenians in increasing numbers began writing in English and French, and a new identity began to take shape in the West. The unspoken truth, long discerned by perceptive observers, now became apparent to most Armenians: The Dispersion was to be a permanent reality.

But a new era was taking shape as the old died. From the sixties onward, cultural activities were renewed with unprecedented zeal in the Middle Eastern communities, which assumed a leading position in the Dispersion. But not for long. The Armenian-American community, which had been showing signs of revival since the fifties, established its superiority in the late seventies. Several factors accounted for this, but a fresh impetus for both communities came from unlikely quarters: Soviet Armenia. The massive demonstration in Erevan commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the genocide not only introduced new perspectives for the Armenians in the homeland, but it also provided a new élan for a languishing cause: to gain international and Turkish
recognition of the forgotten genocide in more effective ways. The effort towards this end took various forms, including acts of violence, and was launched and supported by both the traditional organizations and some new cultural, professional, and political structures. With the outbreak of the Artsah-Azerbaijani war, the earthquake, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the birth of an independent Armenia, there began a new phase in Armenia’s relations with the Dispersion. When local forces led Armenia to independence and the traditional political parties, especially the Dashnaks, tried to participate in Armenia’s political life and vied for power, some substantial differences in outlook and mentality, hitherto neglected and still unacknowledged, that set Armenia and the Dispersion apart (and divided the Diaspora itself) became glaringly apparent.

The post-genocide literature took shape in the Armenian communities of the United States, France, and the Middle East. The first had been an active center, particularly in the wake of the massacres of the mid-1890s, with numerous periodicals (Boston taking the lead) and fierce political rivalries. This activity abated somewhat after 1908, when some intellectuals, in exile since the 1890s, returned to Constantinople after the Young Turk coup. The literature produced here by the more important writers was essentially of a retrospective and nostalgic nature. Most of the masters had been born in the “old country,” in or near Harberd (Harput), where Tİkatintsi (q.v.) had reigned supreme. But while they reminisced about the immediate past, life in the New World was not lost upon them; the effects of American society on Armenians transplanted to or born in the United States were almost as central to their literature as the destroyed lifestyle they restored for posterity. Some writers tackled the social and political problems afflicting American society at large, and echoes of Armenian politics reverberated in many a work. But disruptive political infighting (sometimes intensified by external factors, such as World War II or the cold war) found its fiercest expression in journalism and in attitudes towards Soviet Armenia and the Church. Armenian authors in the United States adhered to traditional patterns, and no literary experiments or innovative trends distinguished their output. William Saroyan and Leon Surmelian inaugurated Armenian-American literature in English, which, of course, is a different story.

In sharp contrast to the United States, France witnessed profound transformations and experiments in Armenian literature. There, the “Desert Generation,” the shocked and confused survivors (some of them orphans) of the genocide, faced a superior and sophisticated culture beside which their own tradition paled, giving rise to serious, tormenting questions as to its validity and viability. Adaptation almost invariably meant
assimilation. Although overwhelmed by it, they also perceived a moral, social, and economic crisis damaging the fabric of Western civilization between the two wars. Renewal was the key. The literature they created was a tortuous quest for clues to fresh values and a new self-definition. It was nihilistic; it rejected the past (just as some Soviet-Armenian writers had earlier, but under entirely different circumstances and for entirely different ideological and aesthetic purposes) and showed the “retreat” (i.e., assimilation, alienation, or fall) of the first generations. The short-lived periodical *Ment* (We) appeared as the mouthpiece of a similarly short-lived literary coterie by the same name, made up of fifteen young writers (S. Šahnum, V. Šušanean, Z. Orbuni, N. Sarafian, H. Zardarean, N. Pēšikrašlean, B. Tõpalean, P. Mikayëlean, Š. Narduni, and others) who put their signatures to a manifesto initiating this revisionist approach and espousing the cause of literary and intellectual reform. Compared to the *Mehean* group, the *Ment* circle was far more modest in tone, ambition, and style. They sought to cultivate camaraderie and solidarity among their members, thereby creating bonds among young writers scattered in four corners of the earth, which in due time would give rise to a common creed that would recognize the individuality of writers along with national threads and concerns common to them all. The credo was stated briefly and in general terms—an early indication, perhaps, of the disparity in the views of its founders and, hence, the temporary nature of their association. Some of these authors looked more sympathetically to Soviet Armenia. A smaller but vociferous group of writers, some of whom were communists, pragmatically concentrated on the present and saw the problem in a much larger context. Capitalism was the culprit, but it became the lesser evil when fascism raised its head. They took up arms and died for France fighting against the Nazi armies.

The writers who survived the genocide were active at cultural institutions in Egypt, Palestine (the seminary at the Patriarchate), Cyprus (the Melgonean, i.e., Melkonian, School in Nicosia), Lebanon (the Nšan Palačean, Yovakimean-Manukean, Daruhi Yakobeian, and Sahakeian in Beirut), and Syria. Following the death of the last great writers in the forties (e.g., Têkêean, Ŭšakan) and the founding of schools, Lebanon and Syria, now with larger Armenian communities than any other Arab countries, set the tone for the cultural initiatives in the entire Middle East and North Africa. Although political orientation polarized the community, and most writers took clear positions vis-à-vis Soviet Armenia, the rich literature developed here was of a traditional character, devoid of innovative trends and almost free from crises of identity. There were no threats to the language, religion, cultural institutions, or autonomy
of this entirely Armenian-speaking community, at least until the sixties, when certain restrictions were imposed on political and cultural activities and the teaching of Armenian language and history at schools in some Arab countries. The Armenians of Iran, a most vibrant community, also contributed their share to Armenian literature and culture.

A Survey of the Literature of the Post-Genocide Dispersion

**Hamastel** (1895–1966) is usually referred to as a “giwlagir” (a compound word made up of the Armenian for village “giwl,” in the sense of countryside, and the word for letter or writing, “gir,” in the sense of a writer), a term that has acquired the full force of convention, but does no justice to Hamastel, who cast his net beyond the generally accepted definition of the designation. In much the same way, identifying the era and group of writers he belonged to is somewhat difficult and can be arbitrary; for there seems to be equal ground to assigning him to the last phase of Western Armenian literature or to the nascent tradition forged by writers of the new Dispersion. Properly speaking, since no characters born and brought up in the Armenian Dispersion appear among his protagonists, Hamastel belonged to the last generation of Western Armenian authors, with senior colleagues such as V. Têkêean, E. Ôtean, and Y. Ösakan, who had fortuitously escaped the nightmare of 1915. But he has also been recognized as one of the writers of the post-genocide Armenian Dispersion. Geographically, chronologically, and (to a certain degree) thematically speaking, this makes much sense. After all, his literature, as a chronicle of a microcosm that had all but vanished shortly after he had left it in 1913, in many ways documented the inestimable loss suffered in 1915.

Hamastel wrote short stories, a novel, plays, prose poems, and some verse. Of his two plays, the one titled “Hayastani lemeru srngaharê” (The flutist from the mountains of Armenia) is about the hold the spirit of the homeland exercises over the hearts of its children, especially for the early emigrants abroad (in this case, those living in the U. S. state of Maine) who, unwilling and unable to assimilate, immure themselves in a world of dreams, a mental replica of their former homeland, with an almost demented nostalgia as their only spiritual sustenance. The novel *Spitak dzjajovorê* (The white horseman), contrived as a grand novel, proved to be a failure. Hamastel’s intention was to flesh out the spiritual and heroic aspects of the Armenian quintessential self against the backdrop of recent Armenian history. His premise was built upon preconceptions, such as that the Armenians are a people of romantic sentiments, faith, and heroes. The result was a curious mixture of fact and fantasy, hyperbole, legend, and epic that lacked coherence and genuine characters.
In contrast, Hamastel was at his best in his short stories, which grew out of a lifestyle he knew and identified with intimately. The setting is primarily the Harput area, but some of his heroes are transplanted onto American soil. The latter, mainly peasants, are unable to shed their old lifestyle or to adapt themselves to the new environment; thus, they lead an insular life with an undying yearning for their homeland. But Hamastel is in his element depicting fellow countrymen in their original habitat. Here he brings the region to life, describing its everyday routines, customs, and superstitions, along with a host of memorable characters, drawn in masterful strokes, in a colorful and most engaging diction. Some are mean, crude, or brusque, but most are good-hearted, honest, and simple-minded people with entrenched values and a profoundly moving attachment to the soil. With subtlety, discretion, and penetrating skill, Hamastel lays bare their soul and mentality before the reader. He does so in an eloquent and detached manner, radiating his immense love in a vibrant, unadorned, and splendidly spontaneous style. It is these works that rank him among the masters of short prose in twentieth-century Armenian literature.

VAHÈ HAYK (1896–1983), in bright colors and a lyrical style, initially contemplated his impressions of his native region, its magic and majesty, the spell it cast on him, and allegorically narrated its sad fate. All this revealed some of the affinities he shared with a master he admired, Rubèn Zardarean (q.v.). But soon Hayk shifted his emphasis onto the Armenian realities in the United States, occasionally stealing retrospective glances at his birthplace as if it were an entrancing dream. Hayk wrote with some social awareness of the clash of traditional Armenian attitudes with American values, the alienation renting the Armenian family apart, the power of money, the rapid retreat the Armenian language suffered as English began to replace it, and the bleeding wounds afflicted by 1915. With few exceptions, his characters are Armenians, rich and poor, good and evil. With a sense of urgency he emphasized, as did most of his colleagues, the importance of maintaining the vernacular as the most important pillar of Armenian identity, whose roots went deep into the now ravaged native soil, but whose memory and distant hope of regeneration Hayk now saw in his image of Soviet Armenia. Hayk also wrote some works of a historical and philological nature.

BENIAMIN NURIKEAN (1894–1988) made a conscious effort to capture for posterity images of life in and around his native village. His prose, economical and simple, consists of short stories and also of vignettes and profiles of real people and events that added a touch of authenticity and verisimilitude to his account of his birthplace. Its enchanting landscape
dominated by two mountains, its customs, mores, and details of daily routine are all part of the picture Nurikean painted for the reader. Nurikean also echoed what he saw as the emotional and economic hardship and the cultural distress that the survivors of 1915 experienced in the United States, where the specter of assimilation seriously threatened the Armenian identity. Soviet Armenia was a symbol of survival and a source of hope for some of these characters and for Nurikean himself. He was the principal founder and editor of a literary periodical, *Nor gir*, which for over fifteen years played a vital role in promoting Armenian letters in the United States.

**ANDRANIK ANDRÉASEAN**'s (1909–96) prose covers a wide range of topics: from the Spanish Civil War and the struggle of Ukrainian partisans, to the plight of African Americans and academic life in the era of McCarthyism; from the Armenian genocide and his sad days at orphanages at Corfu, to scenes from Armenian life, social injustice, and racism in America and the destructive appeal of an utterly corrupt Hollywood. He paid little attention to the artistic aspects of his literary output, which suffers from protraction and pontification. As an ideologically motivated writer, the ravages of capitalism, poverty, economic disparity, discrimination, and concern for the peace and prosperity of his homeland and mankind are central to his work.

**YAKOB ASATUREAN** (1903—) wrote poetry at first, but he later turned to prose. His novel *Yovakimi tornerē* (Joachim’s grandchildren) remains his best literary effort. It is a journey back to his childhood and teenage years, recreated in a simple and spontaneous style, with his birthplace and the catastrophic carnage of 1915 as its background. Although somewhat disjointed, the novel is an unadorned record of the harrowing ordeal he and his resilient fellow countrymen experienced, and makes for sober reading. After a long hiatus, Asaturean published *Yovakimi tornordinerē* (Joachim’s great-grandchildren), a kind of sequel to his first novel. Here Joachim’s posterity is seen in the United States, caught between conflicting (old and new) loyalties, memories, and challenges. *To lač mawer* (Thou, homeless lad) is a literary account of a visit he paid to his native region, which vividly evoked a painful past.

**SURĒN MANUELÉAN** (1906–80) covered a variety of topics, but his pages evoking his birthplace and childhood remain his best. The collection *Argawand akösner* (Fertile furrows, as the author translated it) chronologically depicts portraits and episodes of his fellow compatriots against the landscape of his native region, the horrors of the genocide,
his years at orphanages, and his and his fellow countrymen's early days in the United States. The volume concludes with wartime stories repudiating jingoism and the dehumanizing nature of war. Manuëlean is in his element, especially in the first part of the book, which he narrates with spontaneous élan, heartfelt emotions, and in a sharp style mixed discriminately with elements of his dialect. A few similarly impressive pieces are found in his other collection of short stories, Dgal më šakar (A spoonful of sugar).

ARAM HAYKAZ (1900–86) feigned apostasy, and unlike his family, survived the 1915 wholesale slaughter and deportations. As a Muslim (and having been renamed "Muslim"), he was adopted by a Turkish family and lived mostly among Kurds for nearly four years (1915–19). A goodly part of his prose touchingly recalls various aspects of this experience: the harrowing agony of the nightmare and its impact on Armenian orphans forcibly or willingly converted to Islam to escape certain death; and penetrating glimpses into the lifestyles of Armenians, Kurds, and Turks. The genocide also looms large in his other writings and permeates his outlook, especially his views vis-à-vis Turks and Kurds. Longingly and lovingly narrated recollections of his birthplace; impressions of Armenian realities in Constantinople under Allied occupation, where he spent a short while before crossing the Atlantic; and interesting descriptions of and searching reflections on his Armenian and non-Armenian neighbors in New York, invariably seen in their ethnic context, constitute the principal topics of his literary output. His sympathetic impressions of a visit to Soviet Armenia are included in his volume Karōt (Longing). Autobiographical and subjective elements are ever-present in Haykaz's writings, most of which are in the form of vignettes, recollections, and episodes from real life. His immense love for nature and his inquisitive look into innocent and seemingly simple aspects of life enabled him to observe certain aspects of human behavior, some sad and some delightful. Although at times repetitive or protracted and chatty, Haykaz's prose is on the whole limpid, disarmingly frank, and engagingly humorous.

ŽAG YAKOBEAN's (1917–) earliest work was greeted favorably by established poets such as Vahan Tēkēean and critics such as Nikol Albalean (1873–1947). The latter noted the limpid and vivid qualities of Yakobean’s verse and the distinctness of his expression. Tēkēean had earlier expressed similar ideas, but had also observed the limited realm of Yakobean's inspiration and its lack of force and depth. Neither of the two eminent men of letters was mistaken in recognizing in Yakobean a fresh voice; in time he emerged as one of the visible poets of the
post-genocide verse of the Dispersion. Echoes of M. Metzarents’s and V. Terean’s poetic visions have already been discerned in Yakobean’s poetry; to these one must add the influences of Siqamantöö, D. Varužan, H. Širaz, S. Kaputikyan (q.q.v.), and Paruyr Sevak (1924—71). Yakobean skillfully assimilated impulses from these poets and fashioned his own world, where songs of piety and patriotism abruptly relegated almost all else to a negligible position, conveying to his readers a message of “hope and light,” as Yakobean put it in one of his poems (“Im ergers,” My songs, in his collection Ulunkaşar, String of beads). In tender and calm lines, Yakobean sings of Christ with exaltation and takes pride in the Church of Armenia and her fathers and saints, such as Grigor Lusaworich, Grigor Narekatsi, and Nersës Šnorhali. After initially jejune pieces, Yakobean’s religious poetry improved rapidly, and it always remained closest to his heart. But an equally cherished theme for Yakobean was his patriotism, which pulsated with extraordinary zeal. It covered a wide range: historical figures, events, toponyms, pride in Soviet Armenia as the homeland (whose official atheism was his greatest disappointment), a profound concern for the Armenian Dispersion and language, and the threat of assimilation. Yakobean eschewed political entanglements and refused to face the reality of a fragmented Dispersion. His patriotism is often naive, shrill, and almost invariably opens up the wounds the genocide inflicted on the souls of the survivors in general and the writers in particular. Repetition and verbosity take much away from his verse, especially his longer pieces. But his better poems, although smaller in number, are written in a fresh voice, with distinct diction and energetic emotion.

ŠAHAN ŠAHNUR (1903—74) attained immediate fame with his novel Retreat without Song (Nahanjë arants ergi), which still stands out as perhaps the most powerful landmark of Armenian Dispersion literature, epitomizing its turbulent emergence. The context, indeed the entire plot, revolves around the crestfallen love story of Petros, turned Pierre, with a French woman, Nenette. To a certain degree, the main theme is an encoded elaboration of the subtext, the dissolution of Armenian identity, exemplified by a number of secondary characters, who are assimilated into French society in varying ways. As a whole, the novel is a subliminal reaction to the genocide, illustrating its consequences.

The hue and cry raised over the novel, though understandable in some ways, cannot be taken seriously. Pornography and other such accusations were hurled at the author, who had in fact dared to question established authorities and assumptions, puncturing some outdated sensibilities, both ethnic and ethical. The novel does suffer from a number
of flaws. The author himself pinpointed its shortcomings: instances of infelicity in diction, simplicity of construction, sporadic sentimentality and pathos, and an “imperfect acquaintance” with “national history.” However, it was not so much the facts as the spirit that the critics assailed. Yet the very merit of this novel is the élan it derived from an honest, unencumbered probing into Armenian realities. As for the attempts of antagonists and apologists alike to cite the author’s age at the time he wrote this work (he was twenty-six), the game is not worth the candle, as the saying goes. This novel stands on its own merits. It is the gem of the literature of the Dispersion; it set a world on fire with its tormenting self-scrutiny, its tenderly memorable characters, and its riveting narrative, which is written in a forceful style and forthright tone.

Šahnur’s second work, Yaralëzerun dawacanutiwnë (The treason of the gods) is a collection of seven short stories. Three of these are about life in Istanbul; two depict first-generation emigrants to France; one is set at a sanatorium; and another, the story that lends its title to the collection, is a reflection on Armenian political inaptitude, disunity, and failure. The first three show the dull, inane routine of ordinary Armenians. The ones set in Paris show Armenians on the horns of a dilemma: either resisting assimilation or becoming absorbed into the French system and finding themselves in a cul-de-sac. This collection can be seen as a sequel to the novel. For cultural and political reasons, Šahnur suggested that the present and future of the Armenian Dispersion was bleak.

Shortly after the appearance of the aforementioned collection, a crippling illness forced Šahnur to spend his remaining years bedridden in hospitals or sanatoriums. For long years, especially in the forties, he wrote in French and only occasionally in Armenian. He slowly returned to Armenian literature, committing to paper reflections and recollections, essays, short stories, and literary criticism, brilliantly living up to expectations raised by his return. Although his critical attitude towards Armenian institutions, political and otherwise, remained unchanged, a certain amount of optimism came to characterize his outlook. (We learn of his debilitating physical agony and occasional despondency only from the letters he wrote to French friends, no traces of which are found in his literature.) He remained faithful to his old, healthy credo, that “Armenianism” was a finite topic, but that the Armenians themselves offered an infinite realm for literary reflection of universal importance. His incisive observations and reflections, his aesthetic views, his artistic sincerity and integrity, and the dynamism of his literature, all expressed in an eloquent and vigorous style with trenchant wit and dignity, rank him among the best writers of the twentieth century.
VAZGĚN ŠUŞANEAN’s (1903–41) work resonates with deep yet tender echoes of the genocide of 1915. Of his poems, the longest, titled “Erkir yişatakats” (A land of memories), merits special mention. It reflects in a raw, unpolished, and emotive touch the deportation of his family (parents, brother, and sister), their death, and his brief return home. The bulk of his prose that has been collected (a considerable corpus of writing is still scattered in the periodical press) has appeared in the form of letters, diaries, reminiscences, and novels. The latter almost invariably suffer from technical imperfections and verbosity. But what redeems his prose and may explain his rising popularity since the fifties is his lust for life, which characterizes his spontaneous and candid narrative, sketched in robust colors with sensuous hues, affectionate sentiments, and warm-hearted concern for mankind, the lower and working classes in particular. Amid the dismal uncertainty and utter despair that seriously threatened Šušanean’s generation in the years immediately following the nightmare of 1915, his voice refreshingly sang of impassioned love, nature, moral and intellectual integrity, and political regeneration. Despite his markedly leftist tendencies, he was not a class-conscious author; his political convictions were instead motivated by his concern for his country rather than international solidarity. He never really came to grips with some of the political, cultural, and moral tenets of his adopted country or with the loss of his immediate family, which is a common thread in all of his work. Yet neither hatred nor vengeful rhetoric mars his recollection of the tragedy and its consequences for uprooted Armenians, now scattered far and wide under foreign skies. He reacted with alarm to intellectual stagnation, and although he looked back to the days of his childhood with yearning, he was essentially a forward-looking writer concerned with the culture and spiritual rejuvenation of his fellow countrymen. In many an instance, pagan values revived by senior colleagues (D. Varuzan, et al.) inspired his definition of love.

Among some of his better works are the novels Örere getetsik chen (The days are not attractive), Čermak Varsenik (White Varsenik), both of which are set in the countryside, and Amran gişerner (Summer nights), written in the form of a diary. The central characters in Garnanayin (Vernal) exchange letters on love and social-cultural topics. In his Siroy ew arkatzi tlakê (Of loving and adventurous youngsters), Šušanean reminisced with gushing affection about a love affair that had begun in Tiflis and concluded in Batumi. The setting was his unhappy stay in Armenia, which he recalled in a few flashbacks and with some political commentary as part of the Armaş Agricultural School that had been relocated in Armenia for eight months in the years 1920–21. (Leon Z.
Surmelian speaks of the same episode in his *I Ask You Ladies and Gentlemen.*

**ZAREH ORBUNI**'s (1902–80) first short novel, *Pordze* (*The attempt*), was one of his best accomplishments. It deals with the quandary of a family of four genocide survivors stationed in Marseilles. Narrated in a simple, wry style, it tells of the impact of displacement and disintegration on the new Armenian Dispersion in France. This emerged as one of the dominant themes in his other short novels and stories, where, taking his cue from contemporary European and French literature, Orbuni delved deeper into the psychology of his characters, much to the disapproval of some Soviet Armenian critics. His characters, usually poor and humble, are led into a state of confusion and moral disarray by their mental anguish, in an environment whose moral and social aspects Orbuni decidedly disapproved. The unobtrusive, subtle presence of the genocide is felt throughout, as its children, deracinated and dispirited, are held hostage to tradition and the burden of identity and struggle to survive. His short stories do not fully fit the traditional definition of the genre. The external world does not play a large role in these pieces, in which the author delves into the hidden realms of the self in an economical prose, with bright imagery and a distinct ability to articulate abstract thoughts and impressions. Variations in the mood and tone of his first-person narrative are by no means unusual. At times he speaks in stream of consciousness and at others in a discursive manner, with Kafkaesque and surrealistic touches here and there. Some of Orbuni's non-Armenian characters appear in his cycle of ten short stories, subtitled "*I horots srti*" (*From the bottom of the heart*), wherein Orbuni recalls his experience as a prisoner of war in a Nazi camp. Of this series, "*Penthesilea, Penthesilea*" and related stories of human turpitude, hubris, and haughtiness are hauntingly memorable.

**ŠAWARŠ NARDUNI** (1898–1968) was a journalist, a studious but amateurish philologist, and a prolific author, who preferred short prose pieces, chiefly in the form of tales, stories, recollections, observations, and reflections. His work is uneven in quality. Save for his best (and they are small in number), many of his writings, though distinguished for their eloquent locution and imagery, are shallow, weak in structure, and lacking in focus. His best is found mainly in his book *Melediner, metediner ...* (Melodies, melodies ...). Perhaps the relative abundance of phrases, quotations, images, and topics from Classical Armenian texts as well as from the Bible (especially the Old Testament) are partly due to the awe in which Narduni held the Armenian language (always associated with what many consider the mysterious appeal of Classical
Armenian) and to his penchant for the traditional, the mythical, and the mystical. Narduni characterized the aforementioned collection with a sensuality through which, he said, he sought fulfillment by fathoming agony. Such sentiments resonate in most of the stories, in which Narduni, with idealized nostalgia and melancholy, recollects his birthplace and its enchanting nature and retells with wistful elegance local folk tales, stories, and vignettes of human love, amatory sentiments, and turpitude. Narduni had an excellent command of Armenian. In this regard, he shares an affinity with A. Bagratuni (q.v.) and, to a certain degree, Y. Öşakan (q.v.), in matters related to the sensual realm.

HRACH ZARDAREAN (1892–1986), son of Řubēn Zardarean (q.v.) and a noted novelist, is remembered chiefly for his two novels, both of which took stock of a rapidly deteriorating Diaspora. Mer keankę (Our life) juxtaposes two brothers; the elder is the embodiment of a traditional Armenian outlook, but is at the same time the denunciation of some elements of that mindset. He has both fallen heir to a legacy of passivity, timidity, and cringing before the Turk, which has deeply bruised his soul, and is the beneficiary of his fathers’ virtues. So, in the murky world of business, governed by the law of the jungle, he is barely able to eke out a wretched existence and is bereft of any fulfillment. By contrast, his younger brother is a cold-blooded pragmatist, an observer of raison, and a worshipper of Mammon. Zardarean’s second novel, Orbatsol mardik (Orphaned men; the Armenian title employs a present participle for the past participle used here, giving the word a sense of continuity), is the story of a musician who is determined to remain faithful to the gods of his forefathers. He struggles amid a sea of people who, in the name of individual liberties and independence, are denying parents and rejecting ethnic-national loyalties, the homeland, and the arts. Although Zardarean, like some of his colleagues (e.g., Š. Šahnr, q.v.), dismissed certain recent manifestations of the Armenian experience, he felt, unlike some of them, that the Dispersion was not beyond redemption. Moral integrity and a fervent allegiance to the national ethos, the mother tongue, the ancestral land, the national church, and genuine piety were the most important factors. Zardarean’s third volume, Žamanak ew ḥorhurdık īwr (Time and its mysteries), is made up of short reflections on things philosophical, ethical, social, literary, and cultural. Instances of prolixity mar his otherwise animated and lucid style, in which some of his best characters illuminate the depths of the self.

NIKŌLOS SARAFEAN (1905–72) has been slowly gaining the recognition he deserves as a writer of note. Acceptance has been slow in coming
for a number of reasons. An intellectual gap, the author once observed, separated him from his fellow Armenians in the Dispersion as well as from those in Soviet Armenia. The latter were not even aware of his existence. “Official” criticism in the Dispersion had been initially unfavorable to his work; its heaviest gun, Y. Öşakan, had dismissed Sarafian’s first two collections for contrived originality and insincere expression. Furthermore, his work is difficult to understand, let alone to accept and assimilate; his imagery and ideas are not always clear or comprehensible. Sarafian’s bold new approach, which defied conventional definitions of identity and showed his alienation not only from himself but also from his compatriots (both in the Dispersion and in Soviet Armenia) and from the host society, seemed manufactured and was unacceptable to many a reader. It transpires from some of his essays that he was familiar with the work of St. John of the Cross, Kierkegaard and Existentialisme, and French literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially Symbolisme and Surréalisme.

Three of his collections in verse, Anjrpeti mē grawumē (anjrpet means a partition, boundary, or a gap, space; grawum, from gravel, is to conquer, to occupy, to seize; hence, The conquest of a boundary or an expanse; or, Filling up a void), Telatutwînm ew makêtatsutîwm (Ebb and flow), and Mijerkrakan (Mediterranean), and his prose piece of reflections, Vënsëni antarê (i.e., Bois de Vincennes), form a complementary cycle and the original part of his work. It is important that the reader be mindful of Sarafian’s peregrinations and his experiences in Russia in his teens, because the indelible mark they left on his outlook find a manifest expression in these works. In the age of cogwheels and conveyors, the author sees himself as a rootless voyager on an endless journey into uncertain realms, and he is unwilling to look back lest he suffer the fate that befell Lot’s wife. There arise two paths: one that splits him off from his childhood, and another that separates him from city and society. These two do not always run parallel, but instead criss-cross over his embattled identity. And the farther he goes from his point of departure, the emptier he feels. Lonely and sad, the poet is in both internal and external exile in a world that lacks love and compassion. In order to reconstitute his soul, fragmented in its agonizing search for a spiritually gratifying realm, the poet recalls his childhood through a number of symbols and metaphors (e.g., ships, trains, railways, the propeller, the motorcar), in this case water and trees, which he eventually replaced with the sea (the Black Sea and the Mediterranean) and the wood (Bois de Vincennes, southeast of Paris). In this region of his split personality, Sarafian makes no connections to his Armenian origins. The reference to King Artawazd of Armenia, whom
tradition has kept in fetters for over two millennia now, shows how time has been unkind to Sarafean and like-minded people awaiting spiritual liberation.

Still afflicted by the same malaise, Sarafean comes full circle in his second collection. Nature, the wood and the sea in particular, become the poet’s intellectual habitat. The motorcar, symbolizing technical progress and new ideas fathomed against time and space, helps the poet accomplish more than effects of dynamism; it at once creates and reflects the distances within the poet and those between him and society. It also casts him as a perennial traveler or explorer. As the car hurtles through a wood at night, the trees recede and disintegrate into the darkness left behind; out of this tenebrous realm the well-lit road springs forward, like a phoenix rising from its ashes. Similarly, all falsehood, old convictions, and connections die away in the recesses of the author’s soul, signifying the demise of his youthful hopes for a bright future and his faith in the West. From this chaos emerges the author’s state of mind. Idle and bored, he feels no affinity with either the cruel world around him or his homeland, which he at one point had loved with an “idiotic zeal.” Alienation breeds destructive urges, but early recollections forge a new perspective. The author rejoices in his childhood, which he likens to the sandy ground revealed by the tide receding on an ebb. But this proves to be a delusion, since his childhood conjures up memories at once joyful and painful. The circle repeats itself as the tide starts to come in, drowning visions of his early years. When these old dreams die, the author feels reborn for a fleeting second. Then he realizes that he is carrying the sea within him, along with its eternal ebb and flow. Nonetheless, he concludes on an optimistic note; as a citizen of the world, he is inspired by the efforts of mankind to conquer the future.

Sarafean continued his inner journey in his prose writing Vënsëni antarë. Here, in the form of observations, associations, descriptions, and sensations, he touched upon a wider range of topics, including war, politics, the destiny of his nation, Soviet Armenia, and repatriation to Soviet Armenia, all viewed from his own angle. The same sense of isolation prevails. An ideological barrier separates him from the homeland, where, he believes, he would have felt “more foreign and less free.” But some striking changes transformed the author’s outlook in the two decades preceding the publication of his last collection, Mijerkrakan, wherein he makes peace with his nation. He identifies with its trials and tribulations for enlightenment and spiritual accomplishment. He and his people are now on the same elevated plane of intellectual and universal values. Although the gap between them is gradually bridged, it is never fully closed.
Some of Sarafean’s other works complement or amplify the themes discussed above in a different style and temperament. *Ișanuhin* (The princess) is the distressing story of a Turkified Armenian girl married to a *pasha* and that of her brother. Narrated in a lyrical tone and interspersed with passionate passages, it sharply contrasts with Sarafean’s other works, in which his equanimity and restrained emotions camouflage his eerie unease. A short novel with a weak structure, the work is a sadly helpless, fulminating revenge on paper for the unacknowledged genocide. Excruciating pain overwhelms the author in his long poem *14*, made up of reflections occasioned by *14Juillet*. Flotsam in a French sea, he speaks of blood as a symbol of both life and death and as the highest price paid for progress that never materializes. Revolutions, he avers, never serve their purposes. The passion and jubilation with which the French marked the fall of the Bastille disturbed him for two reasons. Firstly, such passion bred violence, and the author speaks with concern, though without specific references, of imminent bloodshed in Europe. Secondly, the French remembered only their dead, overlooking the poet’s nation, its sacrifices, and accomplishments. He professed to have no homeland, yet he could not sever his ties, forged at an early age, with an unsympathetic France as the land of promise. Hence his agony. But therein lay his hope and consolation: Life, he postulated, renewed itself through pain.

**ANDRANIK TZAŬKEAN** (1913–89) attracted fame as both a writer and a journalist-publicist, whose periodical *Nayiri* (1941–83) remains an indispensable record for students of the Armenian Dispersion. He published only one collection of verse, *Aɾagastner* (Sails), and bade farewell to poetry in a long poem titled *Tult ai Erewan* (A letter addressed to Erevan). His imagination was fired by a scurrilous attack of a political nature, launched by the Soviet Armenian poet Gevorg Abov (“Menk' chenk' moratsel,” We have not forgotten). As the self-appointed target of Abov’s criticism, Tzarukean responded in Eastern Armenian and in a style, technique, and vocabulary reminiscent of Soviet Armenian verse, particularly that of Ehiše Charents (q.v.). The thrust of his poem is to forge a sense of unity with Soviet Armenia by transcending or glossing over the irreconcilable ideological differences that stand between himself and the homeland. Indeed, making some sweeping generalizations, Tzarukean patches up the political disunity and rancor that bedevils the embattled Armenian Dispersion and its relations with Soviet Armenia, projecting the floodlights instead on a common ground: that of the patria and patriotism. He does so in a highly effective dramatic style that, though not always free of sentimentality and self-pity, attains a bewitching power in
the concluding parts of the poem in which Tzarukean, with contagious spontaneity, pledges his selfless loyalty to Soviet Armenia.

The poem reverberates with echoes of the 1915 holocaust, as do Tzarukean’s other works, since he himself was a survivor of the calamity. *Mankutiwn chunetsol mardik* (Men deprived of childhood) sketches a series of intimately knit episodes from Tzarukean’s own childhood and that of other orphans, innocent children lacking parental affection and care. There is something cruel about the atmosphere in which these orphans grow up, alienated from themselves and society at large, and given willy-nilly to their instincts for survival. Narrating with verve and poignant sorrow, Tzarukean recalls memories of the saddest phase in his life, one that he believed should have been the happiest. In certain ways, *Erazayin Halêpê* (Charming Aleppo; literally, Dreamlike) is a sequel to the former and shows the author and some of his friends at a slightly later phase in their lives. With delight and nostalgia, Tzarukean draws portraits of Armenian friends, characters, and local dignitaries and captures aspects of Armenian realities in Aleppo. *Verjin anmetê* (The last innocent) is a political novel. It delves into the character of a political activist, whose mentality and political outlook are shaped by his father and are out of touch with reality. The larger picture of this novel deals with the relations between Soviet Armenia and the Dispersion; the subtext deals with the activities and attitudes of certain political leaders and elements, including father and son, the two central heroes. There seem to be many authentic elements to this novel which, like Tzarukean’s other works, is written in a trenchant and eloquent style with revealing insights into the inner world of his characters. Tzarukean’s last novel, *Serê Elefnin mëj* (Love and genocide, 1987), concerns the bloodthirsty destruction in 1915 of the Western Armenian intelligentsia, its flower and flower-bed alike. More specifically, it encompasses the last year in the life of the poet Ūrubën Sewak (q.v.), one of the intellectuals rounded up in April of 1915. The novel discusses his banishment to Çankiri and his murder, together with Daniël Varužan (q.v.) and others, on the way to Ayaş. Tzarukean’s age must have taken its toll; the novel is a hasty and shallow sketch, flawed in structure and technique, and lacking the vigor and zest of his style.

**VAHĒ-VÄHEAN**’s (1907–1998) poetry, especially his first collection, *Arew-andzrew* (Sun-rain), bears the imprint of the genocide, which he survived as a child. Under a pervasive mood of anxiety and occasional pessimism there lurk painful memories of irretrievable loss, uncertainty accentuated by concern for the fate of mankind, and antiwar sentiments. His introspection, though in the main cerebral, is blended with a good
deal of lyricism. Vahë-Vahean derived some inspiration from Petros Durean, Misak Metzarents, Daniël Varuzan, and Vahan Tëkëean (q.q.v.), but spoke in his own voice throughout. Soviet Armenia, a cardinal theme, is celebrated with deep affection as a safe, peaceful, and prosperous land, betokening the revival of the Armenian people. These same themes—patriotism, altruism, melancholy and despondency, love and longing, and a greater sense of stoicism and optimism—preoccupy the poet in his second collection, *Oski kamurj* (Golden bridge), as well as his subsequent collections, in which a number of bridges are extended between the past and present and the personal and public. From the ashes of a grievous implosion, Vahë-Vahean’s optimism emerges triumphantly in his fourth collection, *Yuşardzan Vahramis* (A memorial to my Vahram), written in memory of his younger son, Vahram (1944–76), who was tragically killed in a car accident. Two contrasting moods characterize Vahë-Vahean’s verse. World War II, the Lebanese civil war, the fragmented Armenian Dispersion with an obscure future, and concern for society at large aggravate his harrowing memories of World War I. The rebirth of Armenia, lofty ideals, and a personal determination not to yield to bleak sentiments and situations nourish his optimism. He writes in an eloquent and felicitous Western Armenian, with meticulous attention to structure, rhythm, and rhyme. His emotions are balanced by his intellect, radiating the solicitude of a concerned human being.

**MUŞEL İŞHAN** (1913–90) wrote prose and verse. His prose consists of two novels, a short novel, and an autobiographical work, *Mnas barov mankutïwn* (Farewell, childhood), which recalls the flight of his family from his birthplace to Damascus before the advancing armies of Kemal Atatürk. His plays bear no marks of distinction. Some are curious and naive experiments: *Mer-nilë orkan džuar ê* (Dying is so difficult); *Sainaranên elat mardê* (The man who came out of the refrigerator); *Postal* is an adaptation of G. Zöhrap’s famous short story bearing the same title; *Paroyr Haykazn ew Movsêş Horenatsî* (Paruyr Haykazn [i.e., the rhetorician Proaeresius] and Movsês Horenatsi) elaborates on the same idea advanced by Raffi in his novel *Paroyr Haykazn*, that is, the importance of serving one’s own nation before anyone else’s; *Mardorsê* (The sniper) depicts a ruthless arms dealer; and *Kilikioy arkan* (The king of Cilicia), perhaps his best, underlines the significance of keeping national ideals alive in the face of adversities. But Ishan excelled as one of the well-known poets of the Dispersion. Although his cherishing love for home and the homeland manifests itself in various forms, it is mainly a spiritual bond expressed in tender, deep sentiments and quietly
smoldering longing. His mother tongue, loyalty to national and traditional values, dreams, ideals, prayers, and aspirations often form a spiritual abode for him. The genocide remained a bleeding wound in the form of sad memories and unhappy survivors, as did the fate of Armenians under foreign, albeit hospitable, skies. His call for shielding Armenian identity from the threats of assimilation was gentle but firm and sincere. Poems of disappointment and despondency are found in his work, as are poems of altruism and a general concern for mankind. He wrote with heartfelt sympathy for the downtrodden, the poor, and the neglected. Universal suffering, personal grief, vanity of life, and certainty of death are themes that are found in almost all of his collections of verse. But almost equally prevalent are Ishan’s warm hymns to life, composed in a traditional style, yet with glowing warmth and sincerity.

Mirrored in Eduard Pöyačean’s (1915–66) literature, particularly his prose, are some aspects and impact of the dolorous fate that befell the inhabitants of the six Armenian villages in the vicinity of Musa Dagh (then in the region of Alexandretta, now Hatay, Turkey). Faced with certain death in 1915, they accomplished an extraordinary feat of self-defense against superior Turkish forces, a tour de force that inspired Franz Werfel’s acclaimed novel, Die vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh. Evacuated to Port-Said, Egypt, aboard French and British warships, they returned to their homes after the armistice of 1918. By a cruel twist of fate, they unwillingly abandoned the region for the last time when French imperialism ceded it to Turkey in 1939. Most of them moved to the village of Ayncar in Lebanon, and many of them settled in Soviet Armenia in the forties.

Pöyačean composed poetry, but he never quite found his own poetic voice. Still, passion and vigorous diction endow a few of his poems with distinction. Dreams, songs, and love formed the essence of life for him. He sang of unrequited love, human suffering, and lofty ideals, with sadness and occasional pessimism. In some instances, he mistook a convoluted style for sophistication and verbosity for spontaneity, especially in his verse glorifying his birthplace. In other cases his sentiments were rather vague. His Letter to my children (Tut zawaknerus) contains a few bright passages (particularly the one on Šamiram’s love for Ara) along with conventional counsel on his preference for moral-social and intellectual values over the material aspects of life. But it is his other prose pieces that more elegantly represent the original and enduring aspects of his literary output.

In his best pages, bitterness, anxiety, and a strong sense of disappointment mingle with tenderness and elegance to characterize the tone
of Pöyaçean's sinewy style. His protagonists, drawn from real life, are ordinary mortals with both good qualities and bad. Some are naive and some superstitious; some are topers and some maniacs; some are mean swindlers but most are honest. What they all share in common is a pining for home in Jabal Músâ: its mountains in the proximity of starry skies, its lush nature, its invigorating air, and their gardens and houses perched high on cliffs. Dying away from home becomes a greater agony than fear of death. Thus, most of them lose interest in living and simply peak and pine. In a robust style with subtle humor and irony, Pöyaçean captured a number of interesting characters and created some memorable stories in which his sympathy and concern touched upon certain values of universal appeal. Although Pöyaçean refused to reconcile himself to the defeat inflicted upon his fellow compatriots and himself (he was only a few months old at the time of the fabulous self-defense of Musa Dagh), he had little hope beyond the willpower to survive in anticipation of better days. Such days must have seemed distant. He was an anti-Bolshevik and pinned no hope on Soviet Armenia. And he was a passionately partisan observer of his people's Diaspora, rent apart by political stances on Soviet Armenia, the conflict within the Armenian Church, and the Lebanese civil war.

SIMON SIMONEAN (1914–86) highlighted the consequences of the genocide and its impact on survivors from Sasun, some of whom found refuge in Aleppo. His finest short stories revolving around this subject, indeed some of his best works, narrated in a crisp, dramatic, and often pungent style, are found in Lernakanneru verjaloyse (The twilight of the mountain dwellers [montagnards]), a poignant depiction of the gallant Armenians from Sasun, written with pride, passion, and fondness for his fellow compatriots. (Simonean's forefathers reportedly emigrated from Sasun to Aintab, now Gaziantep, Turkey.) It is almost a documentary record in that the author knew most of his heroes from childhood, historical figures one and all, who languished under foreign skies, away from their ancestral mountainous habitat. Wit and sarcasm are typical of Simonean's style, as are verbosity and an excessive use of puns and similar associations. Such is the case, for instance, in some of his short stories dealing with Soviet Armenia and its relations with Moscow and the Armenian Dispersion, and with his stories highlighting Armeno-Turkish relations.

His first literary effort was a satirical piece, Ké hndrui ... ḥachadzelwel (Please ... organize conflicting functions; or, Please ... boycott [the festivities marking the ten-thousandth anniversary of the birth of the Armenian people]). The title is an allusion to Armenian disunity. The
text examines, in a straightforward fashion, certain aspects of Armenian history, national traits, and political parties (e.g., Bel blaming Hayk, the eponymous forefather of the Armenians, for migrating to the north, thereby injecting the Armenian character with a nomadic strain and abandoning an oil-rich region!). The concept offered intriguing possibilities, but the narrative, although amusing, rather hastily touches upon a few topics and is obviously incomplete. Simonean’s sense of purpose is diffused in exciting or unusual events and details, and his strokes are uneven. One is left with a similar impression by Simonean’s next novel, Anžamandros, despite its extensiveness and far better structure. Reflecting Simonean’s own independent thinking, the narrative is anti-capitalist, anti-bourgeois, anti-communist, and anti-revolutionary, with topical allusions to some political issues and concerns. The author explained the compound title as made up of anžamanak (Armenian for timeless, eternal) and the word andros, man (sic; the genitive of Greek anēr, man). It is a novel within a novel; thus, Anžamandros is the protagonist of a novel by the architect Arsen Zamanean (from zamän, time, presumably in the sense of transient and mortal, in contrast to the timelessness of Anžamandros), who is the central character of Simonean’s novel. Anžamandros, punished for loving instead of warring, is condemned to reappear on earth after a 9999-year slumber. His life at his second coming and that of the other characters (an architect and revolutionaries) bear certain resemblances, but they are also dissimilar in many ways. What Simonean sought to illustrate was the lure of the unknown; more importantly, the elusive nature of love and happiness, the only true and imperishable bond between human beings, a dream relentlessly pursued since the time of hirsute, quadrupedal ancestors. Furthermore, he held that unfulfilled sentiments and unattained goals rendered human life tragic; hence the beauty and attraction, at times fatal, of the unreachable.
Bio-Bibliographical Entries:
Authors Born between
1500 and 1920
ABOV, GEVORG (1897–1965)

Pen name: Gevorg Abov.

Born Gevorg Abovyan in Tiflis and educated at the local Nersisean school. Writer, translator, and literary critic. With E. Charents and A. Vštuni (q.v.), he made up the rebellious literary group that wrote the famous “Declaration of the Three” (1922), inspired by the new political system in Armenia. The declaration rejected the past and called for a new Armenian literary tradition. Abov was the secretary of the Association of Proletarian Writers of Armenia (1925–31), director of the Armenian State Theater (1928–31, named after Gabriel Sundukyan in 1937), director of the Matenadaran (1940–52, the national repository of manuscripts and a research institute named after Mesrop Maštots in 1962), and editor of Telekagir (renamed Lraber in 1966) of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR (1961–64).

Texts

Miayn kinë. (Tiflis, 1919). (Poetry).
Danakë bkin. (Moscow, 1923). (Poetry).
Edini front, kaňakakan agitka. (Moscow, 1924). (Poetry).
Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1928). (Stories).

Other works

Dašnaksutynnn antsyalum ev ayžm. (Erevan, 1929; Valarsapat, 1930).
Siro ev ardunatyun metz ergichë, Sayat-Novan. (Erevan, 1945).
Gabriel Sundukyan, kyankn u gorznuneutynë. (Erevan, 1953).

ABOVEAN, HACHATUR (c1809–1848)

Born in Kanakler, near Erivan, now a suburb of the Armenian capital. Educated at Ejmiatzin (1819–22) and at the Nersisean school in Tiflis (1824–26). In 1829 he scaled Mount Ararat with Friedrich Parrot (1791–1841; a professor of natural philosophy at Dorpat University and a Russian imperial councilor of state), who later arranged for a Russian state scholarship for Abovean to study at Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia). Upon his return, Abovean accepted an appointment as supervisor of the Tiflis district school (1837–43), a position that he also held in Erivan from 1843 to shortly before his mysterious disappearance on 2 April 1848.

Collections

Tër Sargsean, S. Erker. (Moscow, 1897).

Texts

Nahašawil ktutëan i pëts noravaržits. (Tiflis, 1838, 1862; Erevan, 1940). (Textbook).
VërkHayastani, olb hayrenasiri. (Tiflis, 1858; Baku, 1908; Constantinople, 1931;
Abovean

Parap vahti հադալիք. (Tiflis, 1864). (Fables; includes the play Fëdora).
Antip erker. (Tiflis, 1904). (Unpublished works).
Hazarpeşen. (Tiflis, 1912; Erevan, 1941). (Poem).
Bayatiner. (Erevan, 1939, 1941). (Poetry).
Aṙakner. (Erevan, 1941). (Fables).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1941). (Poetry).
Zrtsaran. (Erevan, 1941). Ėntertsaran. (Erevan, 1941).
Turki alijikë. (Erevan, 1941). Also published as Turki aḥchikë. (Erevan, 1984). (Story).
Harutyunyan, G. "Hachatur Abovyani antip dambanakan čarë." EJ, 1948/7–9, 56–60. (Funeral oration).

Translations

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
LPA, 159–63.
PAAM, 75–79.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Shervinskii, S. Stikhotvoreniiia. (Erevan, 1948).
———. and Gervorkian, M. Izbrannoe. (Moscow, 1948).

Bibliographies

Criticism
Abrahamyan, H. “Nyuter Abovyanı masin.” BM, 1 (1941), 189–94.
Aivazian, S. Predvestie zari: Roman o Kh. Aboviane. (Moscow, 1983). (Translated by V. Dolukhanian).


Bakunts, A. Ḥachatur Abovyan anhayt batsakayumē. (Erevan, 1932).


“Ḥachatur Abovean hariwrameakin arṭiw.” ANA, 1906/1–2, 1–12.


Chubarayan, V. “Mi aŋark Ḥachatur Abovean grakan ew hasarakakan gortzunēteyunē.” Lumay, 10 (1905/2), 64–72.

Dar’ian, V. Voskhozhdente Khachatura Aboviana na Ararat. (Erevan, 1980).


“Mez lusavorchi žaʁangnerē.” (Erevan, 1987).

Ezkeyan, L. “‘Verk Hayastani’ vepi šarəhysukan mi kani aɾandznahatkuṭyunnerē.” BEH, 1990/1, 190–98.


Ḥachatur Abovyanē ašhaṛhagruytnē usutsich. (Erevan, 1986).

Gasparyan, G. Bariaran Ḥachatur Abovyanī erkerum gortzatzyvatv barbaɾayin ev ūtar baɾeri. (Erevan, 1947).


“Ḥachatur Abovyanī mahvan 100-amyakē.” EJ, 1948/7–9, 40–55.


Ḥachatur Abovyanī ‘Verk Hayastani’ vepi steltzagortzman patmutyunē. (Erevan, 1956).

—. “Աբովյան կիևյան ձերբաղյացք.” Դ, 1962/9, 49–64.
Karapetyan, H. Hachatour Abovyanë "Verk Hayastani" vepi patmakan akunknerë Hovh. Tumanyanì usumnasirminb. (Erevan, 1982).
Karapetyan, N. Hachatour Abovyanë ev sovetahay patmavepë. (Erevan, 1988).
Łanalanyan, A. Abovyanë ev żolovrdakan banahyusutynë. (Erevan, 1941).
Łazaryan, V. "Hachatour Abovyanë 'Verk Hayastani' i galaparakan bovandakutyan mì k'ani hartser." PBH, 1966/1, 139–54.
———. "Hachatour Abovyan 'hasarakakan gortzuneutyunë'". (Erevan, 1979).
Muradyan, H. Žamanakakitsnerë Hachatour Abovyanì masin. (Erevan, 1940).
———. Sovremenniki o Khachature Aboviane. (Erevan, 1941).
Partizuni, V. Hachatour Abovyanì. (Erevan, 1952).
Śahaziz, E. Hachatour Abovyanì kensagrutyunë. (Erevan, 1945).
Śahnazarean, Y. Hachatour Aboveani hasarakakan ew grakanakan gortzuneutivnë. (Moscow, 1899).

———. “*Khachatur Abovian–vydaiushchiia armianskii pedagog.*” (Moscow, 1957).


———. *Khachatur Abovian i ego sviti s peredovymi predstaviteliami Azer-baidzhana XIX veka.* (Baku, 1960).


Ter Astuatzatreants, H. *Hachatur Abovean*. (Tiflis, 1905).


———. *Hachatur Abovean*. (Tiflis, 1897).

Tereryan, A. *Abovyani steltzagortutyunê*. (Erevan, 1940).

Yarutiwnean, I. “*Zgatsmunkneri ašharh (Hachatur Aboveani Erkeri atriw).*” *Lumay*, 3 (1898/1), 273–320.


———. “*Nor nyufer Abovyani kensagrutyun hamar.*” *T*, 1948/4, 31–46.

**ABOVYAN, ANUSHAVAN** (1862–1938)

A native of Uzunlar (now Özdun), a village in Tumanyan, Armenia. A schoolmate and a friend of Yovhannêş Tunyan (q.v.). He received his elementary education in Jalalôlli (now Stepfanavan, Armenia), and spent most of his life in Tiflis. The main theme of his prose is life in Eastern Armenian villages.

**Texts**

*Patkerner (giwlakan keankits).* Book 1. (Tiflis, 1906).


**ABRAHAM EREWANTSİ** (18th c.)

No biographical details are available for this eighteenth-century historian, who describes the Perso-Ottoman military confrontations in Transcaucasia and Iran in his “History of the Wars, 1721–1736.”

**Texts**

*Patmutiwn paterazmastn 1721–1736 t‘*. (Erevan, 1938; Venice, 1977). (Edited by S. Čemčemean; edition also includes an edited version of the text by Mattêos Ewdokiatsi, a Mekhitarist monk).
ABRAHAM III, KRETATSI, Catholicos of Armenia (d. 1737)
Also known as Rotostotsi, Tekirtatsi, or Trakatsi. Abraham was born in Candia (Crete) to a Greek mother and an Armenian father. He was the prelate of the Armenians of Rodosto (Tekirdağ) 1709–34, and was elected Catholicos of Armenia in 1734. A close acquaintance of Nāder Shāh (1688–1747), he wrote a history of the wars the Persian ruler fought in Transcaucasia in 1734–36.

Text (history)

Other works (encyclicals)
Galamk'earagan, G. Kensagrutiwn Sargsis arkep.-i Sarafean ew zamanakin hay katolikeayk. (Vienna, 1908), 160–66.
Patmutyun (Erevan, 1973), 179–86. (Also found in Patmagrutiwn antsitsn iwrots ew Natr-Şahin parsits).

Translations
FRENCH

RUSSIAN
Patmutyun. (Erevan, 1973). (A critical text of history with Russian translation, Povestvovanie, by N. Korganian [i.e. N. Lorlanyan]).

Criticism

AÇÊMEAN, ARSËN (1899–)
A poet born in Odur, a village near Divriği (Turkey). He was educated in Constantinople and at the Sorbonne, and taught in the Armenian communities of the Middle East.

Collections
ADÈLEAN, AZARIA (1871–1903)
Pen name: Azaria Adèlean.

ADÊLEAN, AZARIA (1816–1846)
A native of ParaLar, a village near Erevan. A self-taught minstrel (ašul).

ADAM, AZBAR (1816–1846)
A native of ParaLar, a village near Erevan. A self-taught minstrel (ašul).

Texts
Siroy ew hayreni erger. (Lyon, 1927).
Gasa-Bella. (Beirut, 1942).

AČÊMEAN, MKRTICH (1838–1917)
Born in Constantinople and educated in the local Armenian schools and at the Murat-Rapayêlean of Venice (1852–58), where Lewond Ališan (q.v.) was one of his teachers. Upon his return to his birthplace, he worked for the telegraph company and wrote poetry in his spare time.

Texts (poetry)
Žpitk ew artasuk. (Constantinople, 1871).
Vahagn: diwtsaznergutivn. (Constantinople, 1871).
Loys ew stuerk. (Constantinople, 1887).
Garnan hover. (Constantinople, 1892).
Trtšun yanger, hunki burumner, loys ew stuerk, garnan hover. (Constantinople, 1908).

Translations
FRENCH
APA, 45–46.

RUSSIAN
AAP, 403–5.

SPANISH
APAS, 123–25.

Criticism
Born Azaria Daniëlean in the village of Mehti, Armenia. Educated in his birthplace, in Baku, and at the Riga Polytechnic, where he studied chemistry (1892–1901). Taught in Erevan and in his birthplace until his early death of consumption. His prose deals mainly with social problems in rural areas.

Collections
Erkeri žolovatzu mek hatorov. (Erevan, 1950).

Texts
Skesurë. (Tiflis, 1899).

Translations (Russian)
Kavkazskaia zhizn', Book 1, (Tiflis, 1896), 27–50.

Criticism
Albalean, N. "Lochalë ibrew tip hay vipagruțean mëj." Murç, 1897/7–8, 1060–69; 1897/9, 1247–63.

AFRIKEAN, GÉORG (1887–1918)
A teacher by profession, the poet Afrikean, nephew of Avetik Isahakyan (q.v.), was educated in his native Alexandrapol (later Leninakan and now Gyumri) and in Šuši, Artsah (Karabagh).

Poetry

AGAPEAN, ARŠAK (c1860–1905)
Born in the village of Lali (now Nor Lala, Ijevan, Armenia). A cousin of Harutyun Çuluryan (q.v.). Attended the Nersisean school in Tiflis, but there is conflicting information as to whether he completed his studies at the school. He taught before attending the Tiflis Institute for Teachers (1882–86), following which he resumed his teaching career in various places in Transcaucasia. His prose deals with life in the countryside.

Collections
Erkeri žolovatzu. (Erevan, 1934).

Texts
Musini gangatë. (Tiflis, 1890).

Criticism

AHARONEAN, AWETIS (1866–1948)
Born in the village of Igdrimawa near Igdr (Eastern Turkey). Attended the Georgean Seminary and audited courses at Lausanne (1898–1901) and at the Sorbonne (1901–02). After his return from Europe in 1902 as an already well-known author, he emerged as an active political figure. In 1917 he was elected chairman of the Executive Council of the Armenian National Council in Tiflis.
In 1918 he led the Delegation of the Armenian Republic to Istanbul for talks on the Treaty of Batum, and in the following year he headed the delegation of the Armenian Republic to the Paris Peace Conference. In that same year he became president of the Armenian Parliament in Erevan, and in 1920 he signed the Treaty of Sèvres on behalf of Armenia, which was later replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne. He lived in France after the establishment of Soviet regime in Eastern Armenia.

**Collections**

Žolovatzu erkeri. 10 vols. (Boston, 1947–1951). (Vols. 7 and 9 have imprint Venice, St. Lazarus).

**Texts (short stories, novels, travel accounts)**

Bašon. (Tiflis, 1899).
Paškeren. (Moscow, 1899; St. Petersburg, 1909).
Helcerë. (Tiflis, 1902).
Italiyum. (Tiflis, 1903).
Keanki dasë. (Tiflis, 1903).
Mrrki surbë. (Tiflis, 1903).
Araxë. (Tiflis, 1904).
Mayrerë. (Tiflis, 1904).
Artsunki hovitë. (Baku, 1907).
Gaylerë oñnum eën. Ašnan gišerin. (Tiflis, 1907).
Azatutean čanaparhin. (Tiflis, 1908; Boston, 1926; Teheran, 1956).
Keanki vëpë. (Tiflis, 1908).
Lrutiwn. (Tiflis, 1909; Boston, 1924).
Andundë. (Tiflis, 1910).
Hawari mêj. (Tiflis, 1910).
Partuatzner. (Constantinople, 1912).
Aszu krakë. (Tiflis, 1912).
Švetsarakan giwilë. (Tiflis, 1913).
Hayrenikutis hamar. (Boston, 1920).
Čambordë. (Boston, 1926).
Karët hayreni. (Boston, 1927). (Poetry).
Katuškë. (Cairo, 1927).
Im girkë. (Paris, 1927, 1931).
Menuteans mêj. (New York, 1938).
Im bandë ew erazneris ašhârkë. (Boston, 1943).

**Other works**

Hrët kënë. (Tiflis, 1897).
Kristaţtor Mikayëlean. (Boston, 1926; Buenos Aires, 1945).
Sardarapatits mînchev Sewr ew Lôzan. (Boston, 1943).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**FRENCH**
"Le chêne séculaire." *La semaine littéraire* (Geneva), July, 1, 1911.
"Les deux aveugles." *Bibliothèque universelle*, (Lausanne), September, 1912.
———. "Le Cavalier noir." *REArm*, 10 (1930), 201-12.

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
APA, 101-5.

**GERMAN**
Smbatiantz, A. Bilder aus Turkisch-Armenien. (Èjmiatzin, 1910).

**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**
ALG, 139-44.

**ITALIAN**

**RUSSIAN**
Dolina slez’. (Tiflis, 1907).
Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1912). (Universal’naia biblioteka, 712).

**SPANISH ANTHOLOGY**
APAS, 163-66.

**Criticism**
Aharonean, V. *Yisataki handës nuiruatz Awetis Aharoneanin*. (Beirut, 1948).
Awagean, Y. *Yobelean Awetis Aharoneani karasnameay grakan gortzunëutean, 1890-1930*. (New York, 1930).
Varandean, M. “A. Aharonean.” HK, 8 (1929–30/7), 67–79.

ALAMDAREAN, YARUTIWN (1796–1834)
Born Géorg Alamdarean in Astrakhan and educated at the local Alababean School. He was ordained a married priest in 1814, and spent the years 1813–24 in Moscow organizing the newly founded Lazarean Institute. He became the first director of the newly established Nersisean School in Tiflis (1824–30), and took the vows of celibacy (1828) before his exile to Haflbat (1830) by the Russian authorities for his nationalist views and activities and his close ties with Catholicos Nersës V, Astaraketsi (1770–1857). In the early 1830s, Alamdarean was appointed Father Superior of the Monastery of Surb Hach in Nor Nahijewan, where he was killed under somewhat mysterious circumstances. Among the better-known students of this poet, playwright, and teacher were H. Abovean (q.v.) and S. Nazarean (1812–79), a celebrated journalist, critic, orientalist, and founder of the periodical Hiwsisapayl (i.e., the northern lights, aurora borealis).

Collections
Patkanean, k’. Chapaberakank. (St. Petersburg, 1884). (Poetry).

Texts
Hamařôt baæraran i ɾusats lezué i hay. (Moscow, 1821). (Russian-Armenian Dictionary).

Poetry
PHA, 1, 78–79.

Other works
“Arak: Arïwtz ew êš.” BM, 1 (1941), 188. (Fable).

Criticism

**ALASYAN, VARSENIK** (1898–1974)
Born in Jahri, a village in the region of Nakhijewan. She received her secondary education in Tiflis. Worked for the Armenian daily *Komunist* and the Armenian radio program, both in Baku. Except for a few plays, she wrote verse.

**Collections**
*Hatèntir.* (Baku, 1955).

**Texts**
*Banasteltzutyunner.* (Tiflis, 1926).
*Öreri ergê.* (Baku, 1933).
*Mayrakan huyzer.* (Baku, 1937).
*Erjanik mankuryun.* (Baku, 1938).
*Tzitiki hindê.* (Erevan, 1940).
*Tonatzar.* (Erevan, 1941).
*Banasteltzutyunner.* (Baku, 1947).
*Banasteltzutyunner.* (Erevan, 1948).
*Garun.* (Erevan, 1952).
*Tzitiki hindê.* (Erevan, 1957).
*Nver erehanerin.* (Erevan, 1958).
*Banasteltzutyunner.* (Erevan, 1959).
*Lirika.* (Baku, 1964).
*Mayramutis şoleroj.* (Erevan, 1971).

**ALAVNI,** (1911–1992)
Born Alavni Grigoryan in Taylar, a village in the region of Kars, and educated in Leninakan (now Gyumri). As an editor and journalist, she worked for Soviet Armenian periodicals, Armenian radio, and other organizations. She wrote both prose and poetry.

**Collections**

**Texts**
*Arteri lirikan.* (Erevan, 1930). (Poetry).
*Mantaš.* (Erevan, 1934). (Poetry).
*Kakavdzor.* (Erevan, 1937).
*Arevanzatik.* (Erevan, 1937).
*Abuzeyt.* (Erevan, 1938).
Pavlik Morozov. (Erevan, 1940).
Ordin. (Erevan, 1942).
Partizan Vasyan. (Erevan, 1942).
Vanka oskedzehié. (Erevan, 1943).
Zruys germanakan generali ev chalik aklori masin. (Erevan, 1944).
Im talarané. (Erevan, 1944). (Poetry).
Erg amarënamuti. (Erevan, 1947).
Inch tesel em u sovorel, akanj arek patmem dzez él. (Erevan, 1947).
Hayrenikii hamar. (Erevan, 1950).
Mer hakayin çambarum. (Erevan 1952).
Hayreri mankutyuné. (Erevan, 1959).
Nra mtermakan ašlarhum. (Erevan, 1975). (Reminiscences about Avetik Isa-
zhakyan).
Mišt kanchot dzayner. (Erevan, 1983).

Translations

GERMAN
Movsessian, L. “Herbstaufgang.” Armenische Grammatik (Vienna, 1959), 282–
83.

RUSSIAN
Sadovskii, A. Shirak. (Moscow, 1956).

Criticism

ALAYEAN, ŁAZAROS (1840–1911)
Born in the village of Bolnis Hachen (now Hachen, in the region of Bolnisi,
Georgia). Received his elementary education in his birthplace and attended the
Nersisean school in Tiflis for one year (1853). He worked as a compositor in
Tiflis, Moscow, and St. Petersburg (1861–67); edited the periodical Ararat (1869–
70); and taught in Armenian schools in Transcaucasia (1870–82). Suspected as
a member of the Hnchakean party, Alayean was banished to Nor Nahijewan and
Crimea (1898–1900). Died in Tiflis.

Collections
Ëntir erker. (Erevan, 1939).
Ëntir erker. (Erevan, 1956).
Erkeri žolovatzu. 3 vols. (Erevan, 1973–74).
Erkeri žolovatzu. 4 vols. (Erevan, 1979–).

**Texts**

Srëng hovuakan. (Tiflis, 1882). (Poetry).
Aregnaean kam Kâhardakan ašharh. (Tiflis, 1887; Beirut, 1955; Erevan, 1984). (Folk tale).
Banasteltzutiwnner. (Tiflis, 1890, 1903). (Poetry).
Im keanki ghawor dépkerë. (Tiflis, 1893; Erevan, 1955). (Reminiscences).
Ţamanakakis atenahösutiwn. (Tiflis, 1898).
Hêkîatner. 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1904). (Folk tales).
Keôrôllî. (Tiflis, 1908; Constantinople, 1924). (Prose).
Hazaran blbul. (Erevan, 1983). (Folk tale).
Aslan bala. (Erevan, 1986). (Folk tale).

**Translations**

**French**

LPA, 174–75.

**Russian**

Anait. (Erevan, 1983).
Aregnaean ili zakoldovannyi mir. (Baku, 1902).

**Russian collections**

Izbrannoë. (Erevan, 1941).
Skazki. (Erevan, 1952).
Skazki. (Erevan, 1989).

**Russian anthologies**

ABS, 471–518.
BPA, 297–98.

**Bibliographies**


**Criticism**

ALAZAN, VAHRAM (1903–1966)

Pen names: Vahram Alazan, Hordzank'.

Born Vahram Gabuzyan (also Garbuzyan), in Van. Fled his native city during the Armenian genocide of 1915 and settled in Erevan. Editor of the periodical Tpagrakan banvor, 1922–30; chairman of the Association of Proletarian Writers of Armenia, 1923–32; editor of Grakan tert, 1932–36; and secretary to the Union of Writers of Armenia, 1933–36. Siberia looms large in some of his verse and prose. Although exiled for many years, Alazan survived the Stalinist purges.

Texts

Tarineri halê. (Erevan, 1922). (Poetry).
Hrabhapoezia; žayrkum arajin. (Erevan, 1923). (Poetry).
Aşhatankayin. (Erevan, 1924). (Poetry).
Gyuli gişerê. (Erevan, 1925). (Poetry).
Öriord Olga. (Erevan, 1925). (Story).
Poem gyuli masin. (Erevan, 1926). (Poem).
Dasalikê. (Erevan, 1927, 1934). (Story).
K'sanvetsê. (Erevan, 1928). (Poetry).
Patnvazkner. (Valarşapat, 1929). (Stories).
Eraguyni u mahi erkrum. (Erevan, 1931). (Prose).
Tîri ev arčiči herosnerê. (Erevan, 1933).
Makarumner. (Erevan, 1933). (Poetry).
ALEKSANDR I, JULAYETSI, Catholicos of Armenia (d. 1714)

No biographical details are available for this author, save that he had been Abbot of the Monastery of Amenaprkich in Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan, 1697-1706) before ascending the throne of Ejmiatzin, as Catholicos of Armenia (1706-14). Died in office and was buried in Ejmiatzin.

Texts
Girk atenakan or asi vičabanakan. (New Julfa, 1687). Later edition, Girk or kochi atenakan. (Constantinople, 1783).
Gryoyk or kochi alōtamatoys. Published in Gandzaran uhtakanutean, alōtamatoys ew zbōsaran. (Nor Nahijewan, 1790). Later edition, Alōtamatoys, Gandzaran uhtakanutean, alōtamatoys ew zbōsaran hogewor... (Moscow, 1840).
Azgasēr araratean, 1848/12, 91–95. (Text of his first will).
Encyclical to the Armenians of Burvar, and Encyclical to the Armenians of Šrškan.
Letter to Peter I of Russia. In *Hay-rus örientatsiayi izagman ŏndirê*, A. Yovhan-

Translations (Russian)
Ezov, G. A. *Snosheniia Petra Velikogo s armianskim narodom*. (Petersburg, 1898), xlv–xliv. (Translation of his letter to Peter I).

Criticism

**ALIKSANEAN, AWETIS** (1910–1984)

**Texts (prose)**
*Anunë Masis drink*. (Erevan, 1968). (Includes selections from the two above).

**Translations (Russian)**
ALIŞAN, LEWOND (1820–1901)

Alışan (from Ottoman Turkish.alişan, “illustrious,” etc., itself a loan from Arabic alîyy al-sha’n, through Persian alî-shân) received his elementary education in his birthplace, Constantinople. In 1832, he joined the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice and became a monk upon completing his studies in 1840. He subsequently held administrative positions at the Monastery of St. Lazarus and taught and supervised at Mekhitarist schools in Paris and Venice. He edited Baznavèp briefly (1849–51) and embarked on a European tour in 1852–53, which took him to England, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy. After 1872, by which time he had established himself as a popular poet, Alışan devoted himself entirely to research. His scholarly contributions provided an impetus to Armenian studies and brought him recognition from European scholars, learned societies, and academic institutions.

Collections


Texts (literary)


Ènd elewneaw yamayurean batsavayri hörhrdatzutïn. (Venice, 1874). (Prose).


Texts

Vark s. Gëorgay Zöravarin. (Venice, 1849).


Hawakumn patmutean Vardanay Vardapeti. (Venice, 1862).

Kirakosi vardapeti Gandzaketswoy hamanü patmutïn i Srboyn Grigorë tsawurs iwr. (Venice, 1865).

Labunbey diwanagri dpri Edesioy Tufî Abgaru yeleal yasorwoyn i dzeîn s. tarmanchats. (Venice, 1868).

Hosrov Andzewatsi. Meknutiun alötiis pataragin. (Venice, 1869).

Vark ew vkayabanutïn̄ srbois. 2 vols. (Venice, 1874).


Girk vastakots. (Venice, 1877).

Sahman benediktean vanats. (Venice, 1880).

Abusahl Hay, Patmutiun ekeletseats ew vanoreits Egiptosi. (Venice, 1895, 1933).


Vasn vanoreits or i s. kalakn yErusalêm èst nahneats merots galtiarên tarmnutëmb. (Venice, 1896).

Other works (historical and topographical)

Kalakakan ašharhagrutïn nkaratsoyts patkerök. (Venice, 1853).

Telagir Hayots Métzats. (Venice, 1855).

Le Haygh, sa période et sa fête. ([Paris], 1860; Venice, 1880).

Physiographie de l’Arménie. (Venice, 1861, 1870).

Nûmark haykakank. (Venice, 1870).

Snorhali ew paragay iwr. (Venice, 1873).

Geonomia Armena. (Venice, 1881).

Haykakan ašharhagrutïn. (Venice, 1881).
Širak. (Venice, 1881).
Tableau succinct de l’histoire et de la littérature de l’Arménie. (Venice, 1883).
Skewr’ay vank, vanakank ew Srbarann. (Venice, 1884).
Sisuan. (Venice, 1885).
Ayrarat. (Venice, 1890).
Sisakan. (Venice, 1893).
Hay-busak kam haykakan busabarutiwn. (Venice, 1895).
 numérique
Hay Venet kam Yarêçhutiwnk hayots ew venetats i ŽG-D ew ŽE-Z dars. (Venice, 1896).
Arşaloyês kristonëutean hayots. (Venice, 1901).
Hayapatum. (Venice, 1901).
Zardankark Ayetaranî Milkê taguhwoy. (Venice, 1901).
Hayastan yařaj kan zîneln Hayastan. (Venice, 1904).

Translations

ENGLISH
Also in The New Armenia, 8/12 (1916), 188; 21/2 (1929), 24–25.
--------. “The Easter Has Come.” Armenia (Boston), 4/11 (1911), 16.
Picturesque Armenia. (Venice, 1875).

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
AP, 95–114.

FRENCH
L’Arménie pittoresque. (Venice, 1872).
Ayas, son port et son commerce et ses relations avec l’Occident; extrait du “Sissouan” ou l’Arménio-Cilicie. (Venice, 1899).
Bayan, G. Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan. (Venice, 1888).
Hékîman, M. J. S. Théodore le Salahounien, martyr arménien. (Venice, 1872).

**French anthologies**

*LPA*, 164–65.

**German**

*Das pittoreske Armenien.* (Venice, 1893).

**German anthologies**


**Italian**


Elia d’Alessandro, *insigne artista manufatturiere armeno-veneto, e la Famiglia Alessandri.* (Venice, 1876).


*Vardan il Grande.* (Venice, 1875).

**Modern Western Armenian**


———. “Heturni olbë ir zawaknerun vray.” *B*, 97 (1939), 308.


———. “Arandzar Sepuh Amatuni gtapet haykakan hetzelazorin.” *B*, 98 (1940), 22.

———. “Hayots ahelazor Trdat ťagawori mahë.” *B*, 102 (1944), 82–86.


**Russian anthologies**


*VAM*, 143–46.

**Russian bibliographies**


**Criticism**


ALLAHVËRDI, AŞUF (1820–c1890)
Born in the Armenian village of Livasean in the district of Chahar Mahall, Ishafan, Iran. Learned the art of minstrelsy from aşuf Yart'un Ölli (q.v.). He made the traditional pilgrimage to the monastery of Surb Karapet in Muş to seek divine
grace in his art, and as an itinerant ašul, he traveled widely in Iran, Iraq, and the
Caucasus. He wrote in both Armenian and in what is now called Azeri Turkish.

**Poems**

*EPNA*, 40–74.

*THG*, 43–44.

**Criticism**


**ALPIAR, YARUTİWN** (1864–1919)

Pen names: Krizant'em, Ratamës.

Born in Smyrna and educated in Constantinople. A journalist and writer of humor. He lived in Europe and Egypt, where he published a periodical titled *Paros*. A considerable part of his writings is still buried in periodicals.

**Texts (prose)**

*Fantazio, ardzak ew hamardzak grakanutwim*. (Constantinople, 1913).

*Sog-mog*. (Constantinople, 1915).

*Kmayki izalikner*. (Constantinople, 1917).

**AMIR ÖLLİ** (c1740–1826)

Born to an affluent and well-known family in Burvar, Isfahan, Amir Ölli at an early age settled in Nor Jutay (New Julfa), then a center for Armenian minstrels. Fascinated by them and learning their art, he followed their path and soon made a name for himself as a popular ašul. He, too, traveled to the monastery of Surb Karapet in Muš, where Armenian minstrels traditionally sought divine grace in their art.

**Poems**

*SHA*, 142–53.

*THG*, 37–38.

**Criticism**


**ANANYAN, VAHTANG** (1905–1980)

Pen names: For a list of pen names used by this author see B. Melyan’s *Vahtang Ananyan (matenagitutyun)*. (Erevan, 1980), 18–19.

Born in Pòloškislisa (a village, renamed Šamaliyan, and now well within the confines of the city of Dilijan, Armenia) and educated in Dilijan. He fought in the ranks of the Soviet army in World War II, and practiced journalism before and after the war. Hunters, hunting, nature, and wildlife are featured widely in this author’s short stories and novelettes. His best writings have been translated into more than two dozen languages.

**Collections**

*Orsordakan patmvazkner*: 8 parts. (Erevan, 1947–77).

*Patmuvazkner orsordakan keankë*. (Beirut, 1955).


**Texts (stories and novels)**

Och mi gayl mer handerum. (Erevan, 1930).
Krake օղակ մեջ. (Erevan, 1930).
Patkerner kholozayin dašteris. (Erevan, 1931).
Paykar bambaki ankaňutyan hamar. (Erevan, 1932).
Dali tańta. (Erevan, 1934).
Ors. (Erevan, 1934).
Mantišakaguyn bardżunknerum. (Erevan, 1935).
Karandžavi bnakichnerë. (Erevan, 1936).
Džohki dran gatiɲikë. (Erevan, 1945).
Martı dašterum. (Erevan, 1946).
Paterazmits heto. (Erevan, 1947).
Yovazadzorı gerinerë. (Beirut, 1955; Erevan, 1956; Cairo, 1959).
Orsordı ordin. (Beirut, 1955).
Leñayın katzannero. (Erevan, 1956).
Pokrik mayrer. (Erevan, 1958).
Karmrahaýt. (Erevan, 1960).
Lernı hayrenı. (Erevan, 1963).
Ur en tanum katzannero. (Erevan, 1980).

**Other works**

Zorâkarz. (Erevan, 1931).
Bambaki frontê paykari front. (Erevan, 1931).
Bołševikoren lațzel nsi problemê. (Erevan, 1931).
Kołntesutyan šinararutyún himnakan օղակ. (Erevan, 1932).
Te inchpes aroțjanum è manr erkragortzi høgebanutynunë. (Erevan, 1932).
Erkri veratmnundë. (Erevan, 1935).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


FRENCH
Makotinskaya, E. "Un mécérant." La Littérature soviétique, 1946/12, 39–45.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Asty. (Erevan, 1952).
Detstvo v gorakh. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1952).
Giul'-Nazarians, A. Rasskazy okhotnika. (Moscow, 1947).
———. Okhot nich’i rasskazy. ([Moscow], 1953).
———. Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1952).
———. Po gornym tropam. Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1956).
———. Nebylitsy i byli armianskikh gor. (Moscow, 1957).
———. U “Volch’ikh vorot”. (Moscow, 1957).

SPANISH

Bibliographies
Melyan, B. Vahtar’g Ananyan (matenagitutyun). (Erevan, 1980).

Criticism
Gardišyan, L. "Vahtar’g Ananyan." SG, 1961/6, 88–100.
Karapetian, L. Pevets prirody i cheloveka. (Erevan, 1987).
———. Vahtar’g Ananyan, kanach ašharhë. (Erevan, 1975).

ANAYIS, (1872–1950)
Pen name: Anayis.
Born Ew Primë Awetisean and educated in Constantinople. She spent the latter part of her life in Bulgaria, Rumania, Switzerland and her final years in Paris. She published her literary works in the leading periodicals of the time (Arewelian Mamul, Biwzandion, Masis, etc.), but published them in book form only in the 1940s.
Texts

*Uletsoyts hay aljkan.* (Paris, 1940).

Translations (French anthologies)


Criticism


ANDRÈAS ARTZKETSI (17th–18th c.)

Andrëas is presumed to be a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century author.

Poems

“Awal andzn im yöyj trtmeal ė.” MPT, 55.
SUM, 2, 527–41.

ANDRÈASEAN, ANDRANIK (1909–1996)

Born in Hazari, a village near Çemişgezek (Turkey). A writer of short stories, novels, and journalism. During the Armenian massacres of 1915, he found shelter in orphanages in Transcaucasia and Greece, and after a short stay in France (1924–28), he sailed for New York in 1928. In the course of his long career in journalism, he was editor of the organs of the Armenian Democratic League: *Nor ôr* of Fresno (1937–57) and *Paykar* (Baikar) of Boston (1957–69). Moved to Los Angeles in 1970.

Collections

*Spitak ardarutyun.* (Erevan, 1960).
*Darnutyun bažakë.* (Erevan, 1984).

Texts

*Spitak ardarutwn.* (Fresno, 1938). (Stories).
*Karmir aspataki őragrën.* (Boston, 1947). (Stories).
*Verjın kavanë.* (Beirut, 1956). (Stories).
*Taragir erkünkï tak.* (Boston, 1967). (Stories).
*Erkar gișerîn mëjën.* (Beirut, 1974). (Novel).
*Armarmin sëreb.* (Los Angeles, 1983). (Stories).
*Gerezman ew yarutnwn: vëp Metz Elerînî šrjanën.* (Los Angeles, 1985). (Novel; second volume in a projected trilogy, titled *Pluzum ěw veratznund*).
Antonean

Translations

**ENGLISH**


**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*KNS*, 176–86.

*PCN*, 18–28.

**Criticism**


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ANOYŠ, ARMÈN (1907–1958)

Pen name: Armên Anoys.

Born Armên Marašlean in Urfa and educated in Aleppo and Beirut. A survivor of the genocide of 1915, he grew up in a French orphanage in Aleppo, where he eventually settled and taught after a brief sojourn in Damascus.

**Texts**

*Örerun het*. (Beirut, 1933). (Poetry).

*Srteru ergê*. (Beirut, 1938). (Poetry).


*Erkir hrovki*. (Cairo, 1956). (Poetry).

*Etê apri*. (Tehran, 1957). (Poetry)


ANTONEAN, ARAM, (1875–1951)

Pen names: A. A., Aybayb, Ėtlvays, Mara, Mêrsêtês.

Born and educated in Constantinople. A novelist and journalist. Witnessed the genocide of 1915 and later depicted his experiences in his literary collection titled *Ayn sew örerun*. He also published the texts of Ottoman Turkish telegrams transmitting ciphered orders for carrying out the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915. Edited a number of literary and satirical periodicals (*Tatik, Loys, Kaɾapnat, Hasharan*) and a daily, *Surhandak*, and assumed the directorship of the A. G. B. U. Nubar Library in Paris from 1928 to 1951. He is also the author of textbooks and historical accounts. Many of his writings published in periodicals are yet to be collected.

**Texts**

*Ćšmartuțiwnê, vipak*. (Constantinople, 1909). (Story).

*Kawê ardzanner*. (Constantinople, 1910). (Satire).

*Yarutîwi Şahrikewan*. (Constantinople, 1910).

*Şîrvanzâdê: kensagrakan nöter ir grakan gortzunêutean yobeleanin aŕtiw*. (Constantinople, 1911). (Biography of Şîrvanzade).

*Gandzaran*. (Constantinople, 1912). (Textbook).
Arakel


**A_RA_KE_L DAWRIŢE_SI** (d. 1670)

A native of Tabriz, Iran. Studied at the feet of Pilippos I, Albaketsi, Catholicos of Armenia (d. 1655), and took holy orders in Ëjmiatzin. Was held in high esteem by his contemporaries as a learned vardapet. In his formal capacity as nuncio (Nuirak) of the catholicos, he traveled in Greece and the Middle East (Isfahan, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Athens, etc.). Began writing his celebrated history in 1651 at the request of his tutor and mentor, Catholicos Pilippos I, Albaketsi, and completed it in 1662. He is believed to be the first Armenian historian to have been published in his lifetime. Died in Ëjmiatzin.

**Texts of his History**


**Poems**


*KNZ*, 2, 38–40.


**Translations**

**MODERN ARMENIAN**


Arakelyan, V. *Patmutyun*. (Erevan, 1988).

**FRENCH**


**RUSSIAN**

Patkanov, K. P. *Dragotsemye kamni, ikh nazyvania i svoistva po poniatiiam armian v XVII veke*. (Petersburg, 1873). (Chapter 53 of his history).


**Criticism**


Araks was born Araks Avetisyan in Larakilisa (later Kirovakan, now Vanadzor, Armenia) and educated at the Mariamean-Yovnanean school for women in Tiflis. She pursued her higher studies at the State University of Erevan (1930) and the Institute of Communist Journalism in Moscow (1933), and subsequently worked as a journalist for various publications and organizations. Short stories were her favorite form of literary expression, and she wrote many of them for children.

**Collections**

*Erker.* (Erevan, 1954).

*Erker.* (Erevan, 1965).

**Texts**

*Erek patmvatzk.* (Tiflis, 1926).

*Patmvatzker.* (Erevan, 1926).

*Es jurn ira çamptov kna.* (Erevan, 1928).

*Alvan. Nargo.* (Erevan, 1928).


*Komerituhu namaknerë.* (Erevan, 1934).

*Hrašali savarmakë.* (Erevan, 1937).

*Mankakan patmvatzker.* (Erevan, 1937).

*Tzalkadzortsi Tatikë.* (Erevan, 1939, 1972).

*Lauriki arkatkerë.* (Erevan, 1941).

*Lipo.* (Erevan, 1942).

*Tapastani arcýutzë.* (Erevan, 1942).

*Nînakakir alikë.* (Erevan, 1942).

*Amenakrterë.* (Erevan, 1944).

*Azatutyan hrtirër.* (Erevan, 1945).

*Karmir tzalikner.* (Erevan, 1945).

*Hpart ser.* (Erevan, 1947).

*Karmir droš.* (Erevan, 1949).

*Zvart dzayner.* (Erevan, 1951).

*Bibi.* (Erevan, 1956).

**ARAKS,** (1903–1978)

Pen name: Araks.

Born Araks Avetisyan in Larakilisa (later Kirovakan, now Vanadzor, Armenia) and educated at the Mariamean-Yovnanean school for women in Tiflis. She pursued her higher studies at the State University of Erevan (1930) and the Institute of Communist Journalism in Moscow (1933), and subsequently worked as a journalist for various publications and organizations. Short stories were her favorite form of literary expression, and she wrote many of them for children.
Araksmanyan

Pataniner. (Erevan, 1960).
Potorkits heto. (Erevan, 1980).

Translations

**RUSSIAN**
Schastlivye passazhiry. (Erevan, 1952).
Shatirian, M., and Ostrogorskiy, V. Snova zhizn’ (Rasskazy). (Erevan, 1952).

ARAKSMANYAN, ALEKSANDR (1911–1982)
Pen name: Aleksandr Araksmanyan.
Born Aleksandr Manukyan in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia) and educated in Tbilisi. A playwright, novelist, and critic. He taught in various places before settling in Erevan in 1943. From 1968 to 1973, he was editor of the periodical Ékran, for the cinema.

Collections
Manukyan, Èm. Hrdeh. (Erevan, 1984).

Texts
Gyazbel leران galtnike. (Erevan, 1942). (Story).
Čanaparhordutyun apaku ašharhum. (Erevan, 1951).
“Pśrvatz Afrodite (Vipak-elelutyun).” SG, 1981/12, 5–8.
Ostayn. (Erevan, 1982). (Story).

Other works (portraits of actors of the Soviet Armenian theater)
Davit Malyan. (Erevan, 1957).
Tartroni arahetnerov. (Erevan, 1976).
(Essays on the theater).

Translations (Russian)
Mikael Nalbandian. (Erevan, 1952; Moscow, 1953).

Criticism
ARAMUNI, VAHAN (1914–1966)
A poet and novelist born in Kars. In 1934, he completed his studies in Armenian language and literature at the State University of Erevan and began working as a journalist.

**Texts**
- Baleniner. (Erevan, 1945). (Poetry).
- Sat ban chem uzum. (Erevan, 1968).

ARAMYAN, VALTER (1909–)
A novelist and translator born in Valarsapat (now Ejmiatzin). He worked at the Matenadaran upon his graduation from the department of Armenian language and literature of the State University of Erevan (1932).

**Texts (stories and novels)**
- Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1956).
- Ŗusa, ordi Argištî. (Erevan, 1957).
- Mire bolorê hol dardzan[?]. (Erevan, 1970).
- Veradardz. (Erevan, 1983).
- Hotorjurtseriner. (Erevan, 1987).

**Translations (Russian)**
- Zakon Taigi. (Moscow, 1957).

**Criticism**

ARANDZAR, (1877–1913)
Pen name: Arandzar.
Born Misak Guyumčean in Talas (near Kayseri, Turkey) and educated at the famous Sanasarean school of Karin (Erzurum) and in Zurich (1900–07). On
his return, he became the superintendent of the Armenian school in Alexandria (1907), and in Adana from 1908 to his death. Wrote satirical short stories.

Collections

Žolovatzu erkeri. (Tiflis, 1905).

Texts (prose)


Translations (Russian)

“Greben’ dla borody.” KHAN, 2, 162–75. Also published in RAN, 125–37.

Criticism

Hakobjanyan, A. Arandzar. (Erevan, 1972).


ARARATEAN, ALEKSANDR (1855–1885)

Born in Samsulda, a village in Georgia. Educated at the Nersisean School in Tiflis (1868–70). Devoted the best part of his short life to teaching and wrote poetry (some for children), short stories, and plays (including vaudevilles and comedies), mostly about life in Armenian villages.

Texts

Erku tumb kam Hēle siraharn. (Baku, 1877; Tiflis, 1895). (Story).

Knarik mankakan. (Tiflis, 1880). (Poetry).

Giwlakan halfay. (Tiflis, 1883).

Pnjik. (Tiflis, 1885). (Poetry).

Hīmmarkutwīn gawarākum usumnarānī. (Tiflis, 1889). (Essays/stories).

Sut ēgnawor. (Tiflis, [1891]). (Play).

Criticism


ARARATEAN, YARUTIWN (1774–1830s?)

Born in Valaršapat (now Ėjmiaztin), where he lived until 1795. He then moved to Tiflis and joined the Russian army in Transcaucasia (1795–96). Permanently settled in St. Petersburg in 1797. Traveled to Paris in 1817, and after two years in Europe, he went on an extensive tour in the Middle East and North Africa. In 1831, he left St. Petersburg for India and never returned. His autobiography, his only published work, originally written in Armenian, first appeared in Russian.

Texts

Zhizn’ Artemiia Ararat’skago . . . (St. Petersburg, 1813). (Russian).

Translations

Armenian

P’ròseants, P’réc. Valaršapatetsi Yarutìwn Ararațeani keanké. (Tiflis, 1892).
ARAZI, (1878–1964)

Pen names: Arazi, Fernando.
Born Movses Harutyunyan in the village of Šulaver (now Šahumyan, Georgia). Educated in his birthplace, in Tiflis, and in St. Peters burg. Considered to be one of the originators of Soviet Armenian literature. Well-known are his historical novel Israyel Öri, and above all, his short story “Arevê” (The sun).

Collections

Entir erker. (Erevan, 1946).
Entir erker. (Erevan, 1948).

Texts (short stories and novels)

Patmvatzkner. (Tiflis, 1923).
Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1926).
Trakor. (Erevan, 1926).
Patmvatzkner. (Baku, 1928).
Aproler. (Erevan, 1929).
Luyser. (Erevan, 1931).
Karmir Karon. (Erevan, 1931).
Pioner Saron. (Erevan, 1931).
Pokrik šinarner. (Erevan, 1931).
Ekvorner. (Erevan, 1933).
Ardzak poenner. (Erevan, 1935).
Norr teverov; Lusni šolov; Jревi tsolkum. (Erevan, 1935).
Pokrik heroš. (Erevan, 1937).
Anbaht orskanner. (Erevan, 1937).
Akuunkner. (Erevan, 1938).
Mankakan patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1938).
Mišik. (Erevan, 1938).
Ayrvol horizon. Book 1. (Erevan, 1940).
Ardzak poenner. (Erevan, 1941).
Erek kajer. (Erevan, 1942).
Hayreniki kanch. (Erevan, 1942).
Anhaltner. (Erevan, 1944).
Haltakan tziler. (Erevan, 1950).
Mankakan patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1952).
Patmvatzkner ev vipakner. (Erevan, 1953).

Translations

ENGLISH

FRENCH
E (Kara-Sarkissian), 132–33.

RUSSIAN
Arsharuni, A. Povesti i rasskazy. (Moscow, 1961).
Sukiasian, S. Izbrannyie rasskazy. (Moscow, 1934; Erevan, 1952).

Criticism

ARLUTEAN, YOVSEF (1743–1801)
Born in Sanahin, a village in northern Armenia, to a family that traced its descent from the Zakarean princely family. Attended the Ejmiatzin seminary, took holy orders, and was consecrated bishop in 1769, at the early age of twenty-six. Served as the primate of the Armenians of Russia (1773) and of the Armenians of Crimea (1780). Played an instrumental role in founding the towns of Nor Nahijewan (by Armenians from the Crimea) and Grigoriopolis (by Armenians from Moldova and Bessarabia). Initiated and actively pursued political plans to liberate Armenia from Ottoman and Persian yoke with Russian assistance and to revive Armenian statehood under Russian protection. He was elected Catholicos of Armenia in 1800, but died in Tiflis before assuming office.

Texts
Örinak handisawor tzanutsman ew olboy ... asateal srbakron tearn Youseptay arkepiskoposê i mayratakakn Řoman ... (Madras, 1790, 1792).
Tetrak hamarit anuaneal durin okormutean. (Nor Nahijewan, 1792). (On the founding of the city of Grigoriopolis).
Karoz. (Nor Nahijewan, 1795).
Hôsk asateal i Youseptay psakazeats s. arkepiskoposê hiwsisayin kolmans eleal amenayn azgis hayots ... (Astrakhan, 1796).

Criticism
Lëô. Yovsef katolikos Arhitean, (Tiflis, 1902).

ARMEN, ENOVK (1883–1968)
Born in Efkërë (Efkere), a village near Kayseri, Turkey, and educated at the Kedronkan Armenian school and Robert College of Constantinople. A journalist and writer. Edited a number of periodicals and taught for a brief period in Constantinople. From 1931 until his death he lived in Marseilles.

Texts
Kinë. (Constantinople, 1906). (Stories).
Trkahay grakanutiwnë mamuU azatutean tuakanin. (Constantinople, 1909). (About Western Armenian literature in 1908).

ARMEN, MKRTICH (1906–1972)
Pen name: Mkrtich Armen.
Born Mkrtich Harutyunyan (also Alikyan) in Alexandrapol (later Leninakan and now Gyumri, Armenia). Educated in his birthplace. A graduate of the State Institute of Cinematography in Moscow. He was one of the founders of the short-lived Union of Writers in Leninakan, known as ‘Hoktember.’ Driven to exile in Siberia with numerous Armenian writers and intellectuals, Armen was one of the few who survived the ordeal and lived long enough to relate his harrowing experiences in his later works.

Collections

Texts
Širkanal. (Leninakan, 1925). (Poetry).
Zubeida. (Erevan, 1928). (Story).
Patmvaztkner. (Erevan, 1928). (Stories).
Gazayin eraz. (Erevan, 1931). (Poem).
Erevan. (Moscow, 1931).
Kino. (Erevan, 1932). (Story).
Skaut No. 89. (Erevan, 1933, 1937). (Novel).
Gagatneri ergë. (Erevan, 1933). (Stories and essays).
Hianali sermer. (Erevan, 1934). (Story).
Arajin patmvaztkner. (Erevan, 1934). (Stories).
Arajin patkomner. (Erevan, 1935). (Novel; Patkom = patani komunar).
**Arpiarean**


*Meržvatzneri handipumë.* (Erevan, 1936). (Prose).

*Uraḫ or.* (Erevan, 1936). (Story).

*Erek siravep.* (Erevan, 1936). (Stories).

*Errord militionerë.* (Erevan, 1937). (Story).

*Yasva.* (Erevan, 1953). (Novel).


*Patmvazkner.* (Erevan, 1957). (Stories).

*Guynzguyn tagavorutyun.* (Erevan, 1959). (Story).

*Oske hndzan.* (Erevan, 1959). (Stories).


*Patviretsin handznel dzez.* (Erevan, 1964). (Stories).

*Indz pnirot aljikë.* (Erevan, 1965). (Stories).


**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*WM*, 155–57.

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

Yéghiaian, A. E, 46–49.

**GERMAN**


**RUSSIAN**

Atsvor. (Tiflis, 1935).


*Dve povesti.* (Erevan, 1956).

Folian, P. *Skaut No. 89. Povest'.* (Tiflis, 1935).


Martirosian, E. *Zubeida.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930).

Mnatsakanian, P. *Rodnik Egnar.* (Moscow, 1936).

*Solntse uporoga. Povesti i rasskazy.* (Moscow, 1959).

**Criticism**


———. *Mkrtich Armen (Kyankn u stelizagortzuryumë).* (Erevan, 1981).


**Arpiarean, Arphar** (1851–1908)


Born aboard a ship (near Samsun, Turkey) bound for Constantinople to a family originally from Apucheh, a village near Akn (Egin, now Kemaliye, Turkey).
Received elementary education in Constantinople and pursued studies at the Murat Raftayčel school in Venice. On his return to the Ottoman capital in 1870, he found employment in the Armenian Patriarchate and private business. Contributed to Mšak of Tiflis for almost three decades, promoting closer relations between the Eastern and Western Armenians. Was instrumental in launching in 1884 of three important periodicals: Arewelk, Masis, and Hayrenik. That same year, he visited Tiflis and Eastern Armenia to cover for Arewelk the election of a new catholicos of Armenia in Ejmiatzin. By now he was known not only as a bright writer and journalist, but also as the leader of a new breed of writers, the Realists. Following a brief incarceration for political activities, like so many of his colleagues, he fled the Ottoman capital, which had been stained with Armenian blood during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s, and settled in London in 1896. He then lived in Paris, Venice, and, eventually, Cairo, where a third attempt on his life proved fatal.

**Collections**


Stępányan, G. Êntir erker. (Erevan, 1951).

Galayčean, A. Amboljakan erker. (Jerusalem, 1972). (Only the first volume has been published).

Sahakyan, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1987).

**Texts**

Noravëpk. (Constantinople, 1885). (Stories).

Apušê. (Conseantinople, 1886). (Story).

Simonakan têtrêê. (Constantinople, 1889). (Story).


Datapartealê ew Erazi mê ginê. (Cairo, 1928). (Stories).

Hndamolik aljikê. (Constantinople, 1928). (Story).

Katak mê. (Cairo, 1929). (Story).

Patmutiwn ZT daru Türkiyo hayots grakanutean. (Cairo, 1943). (History of nineteenth-century Western Armenian literature).

**Works in periodicals**


**Translations**

**English**

**RUSSIAN**

Ter-Akopian, Kh. “Karmir zhamuts (Krasnaia lepta).” *Rus. Mysl’* (Moscow), 1905/8, 71–120.

**Criticism**


Šahpaz, S. *Arpiar Arpiarean*. (Beirut, 1987 [cover says 1988]). (Makes use of some of Arpiarean’s papers).


Yušardzhan olbaisereal Arpiar Arpiareani. (Constantinople, 1911).


**ARŠAKEAN, HERANOYŠ** (1887–1905)

Born in Constantinople. Attended local Armenian schools but was unable to complete her studies because of her rapidly failing health. Died of consumption. Only a small part (twenty-four poems) of her literary output has been published posthumously.

**Poetry**

Nazareants, H. *Heranoys Aršakean, ir keankë ew banasteltzutiwnnerë*. (Constantinople, 1910).


**Translations**


**Criticism**


**ARSĒN DPİR KOSTANDNUPÖLSETSİ** (18th c.)

Arsēn is known to have been a student of Patriarch Yakob Nalean (c1706–64) of Constantinople. His only known work is an encyclopedic compilation.

**Text**

*Girk sahanats yognadimi irošteants*. (Constantinople, 1749).
Asatur

ASAPOV, (17th c.)
No biographical details are available for this poet, who is presumed to have lived in Nor Julay (New Julfa), Isfahan, in the seventeenth century.

Texts
SUM, 2, 297–305.

Criticism

ASAR SEBASTATSI (16th–17th c.)
It is thought that the author was a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century physician from Sivas.

Texts

Criticism

ASATUR, ZAPÊL (1863–1934)
Pen names: Anahit, Oriord Alis, Sipil (i.e., Sibyl).
Born Zapêl Hančean in Constantinople and educated in local French and Armenian schools. One of the earliest Armenian women to write poetry in the modern period. Began writing verse and prose at an early age. Played a particularly significant role in founding the “Azganuér hayuheats enkerufiwn” (1879–95, 1908–15), a society whose primary task was to set up girls schools in the Armenian provinces. After her first husband’s death, she was married to Hrant Asatur (1862–1928) and collaborated with him on highly acclaimed textbooks of Armenian language and literature.

Collections
Kertvatzner. (Erevan, 1935).
Erker. (Erevan, 1965).

Texts
Aljkan mê sirtê. (Constantinople, 1891). (Novel).
Tsolker. (Constantinople, 1902). (Poetry).
Knoj hoginer. (Constantinople, 1905). (Stories).
Magnis. (Constantinople, 1909). (Poetry; written with Alpíaslan).
Harsê. (Boston, 1938). (Play).

Other works
Gortznakan kerakanutiwn ardi ašharhabari. 3 vols. (Constantinople, 1877, 1899, 1902).
Asaturean

Gortznakan dasēntatsk franserēnē hay targmanutean. First year. (Constantinople, 1902).
Asatur Z., and Asatur, H. Tangaran hatēntir hatuatznneru, ardzak ew otdawor. (Constantinople, 1908, 1911).

Translations

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

FRENCH
"La Vierge du couvent," "La Malade," "Sur le point de passer."
La Patrie, 1909/24, 172–74.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 93–96.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
ALG, 126–27.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
LPAM, 175–87.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
BPA, 447–50.

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 159–62.

Criticism
Mańk, H. Zapēl (Sipil) Asatur. (Constantinople, 1949).
Minasyan, A. Sipil–Zapel Asatur. (Erevan, 1980).
Stepanean, K. “’Tsolker’ ew ir knnadatnerē.” AM, 1902, 776–82.
———. “Nor girker.” AM, 1902, 566–71. (On Tsolker).

ASATUREAN, YAKOB (1903–)

Pen name: Maţaktsi.
A native of Çomakhl, a village near Kayseri in Turkey. Educated in the local Hrimean elementary school. Writer, singer, and musicologist. Survived the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915, and fled the Syrian desert, finding shelter in the orphanage set up by the Armenian General Benevolent Union in Jerusalem. He permanently settled in New York in 1920.
Aslanean, Luiza (1906–c1945)

Pen name: Las.
Born in Tabriz. Studied in her birthplace, Tiflis, and later in Paris, after moving to France with her husband in 1923. Was active in Armenian communal life in Paris and, later, in the French Resistance. In July, 1944, she and her husband were arrested by the Nazis, taken to a concentration camp, and never seen again. Aslanean’s literary output consists of a novel and a few short stories. A considerable number of her manuscripts as well as her diaries were confiscated by the Nazis.

**Texts**

_Gtizis durs._ (Beirut, 1956).

**Translations (Russian)**

“Boloto.” _PCN_, 76–89. Also published in _KNS_, 98–112.

**Criticism**


Aslanyan, Mkrtich (1906–)


**Texts (novels and short stories)**

_Potorik._ (Erevan, 1947).
_Kolarkvaz heterkerv._ (Erevan, 1950).
_Anerevyuyt čakat._ (Erevan, 1954).
_Ašhen Satyan._ (Tbilisi, 1955).
_Erb sksvum e dznhalē._ (Erevan, 1963).
_Anhangist bnavorutyunner._ (Erevan, 1967).
_Havasarum chors anhaytov._ (Tbilisi, 1973).
Afmacean

Kesgišerits ants. (Tbilisi, 1977).
Čakatagrer u čampaner. (Tbilisi, 1979).

AŠOT, GUSAN (1907–)

Pen name: Gusan Ašot.
Born Ašot Dadalyan in Goris, Armenia. After receiving his elementary education in Baku, he briefly returned to his native Zangezur in the late 1920s and permanently settled in Erevan. Continued the tradition of Armenian minstrelsy in Soviet Armenia.

Texts (poetry)

Ašulakan erger. (Erevan, 1946).
Gusani serē. (Erevan, 1955, 1958 [with musical notation]).
Siro krakner. (Erevan, 1971).
Sri nvagner. (Erevan, 1979).
Tzovasttiks. (Erevan, 1982).
Leñnerē kanchum en. (Erevan, 1988).

ASTUATZATUR, (16th c.?)

Author known for his only published poem, “Ayn arajin źamanakin.”

Poetry


Translations (French)


ATMAČEAN, MAŘI (c1909–)

Born in Bafra, Turkey. Sister of A. Sema (q.v.). She grew up in orphanages, following her father’s murder during the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915. In 1926 she settled in France permanently. Her first poems appeared in A. Sema’s literary journals Jank and Mšakoğt.

Texts (poetry)

Hrelen ašтарač. (Erevan, 1970). (Selections from previous collections).
Yaweržakan ulinerov: tzalakağ. (Paris and Beirut, 1974).

Criticism

ATRPET, (1860–1937)
Pen name: Atrpet.
Born Sargis Mubayeajean in Kars. A prolific and multifarious writer. Having been educated in Kars and Constantinople, he lived mostly in Transcaucasia, wandering from one city to another (Alexandrapol, Tiflis, Akhalkalak, Baku, etc.), and in Tabriz. In the mid-1890s he was incarcerated by the Russian government for his political activities in the ranks of the Hnchakean party. Touring Europe in 1905–06, and spent the rest of his life in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia). Many of his works are still scattered in Armenian periodicals.

Collections
Erkeri žolovatu. 10 vols. (Tabriz, 1904–1911). (Vol. 9, Alexandrapol, 1911; vol. 10, Tiflis, 1911).

Texts
Almast. (Tiflis, 1890; Moscow, 1891; Tabriz, 1905). (Novel).
Šušan. (St. Petersburg, 1890). (Play).
Šarraf. (Tiflis, 1893). (Drama).
Šhnoı̈ts. (Nor Nahijewun, 1898). (Short novel).
Ko’ı̈-Etik. (Tiflis, 1898). (Novel).
Bersai Arakelë. (Nor Nahijewun, 1899). (Short novel).
Tulumbajiner. (Nor Nahijewun, 1899). (Story).
Zarrangner. (Nor Nahijewun, 1899). (Story).
Örinakan įaı̈rang. (Tabriz, 1903).
Dimakner. (Tabriz, 1904).
Jawahir. (Tabriz, 1904). (Novel).
Vipakner. (Tabriz, 1904). (Stories).
Čarahnat. (Tabriz, 1905).
Kareli ė sirel [?]. (Tabriz, 1905).
Vičak. (Tabriz, 1905).
Čwałë. (Tiflis, 1911).
Irani patuhaserë. (Tiflis, 1911).
Agrawneri tasibë. (Alexandrapol, 1912). (Story).
Višapamuyr. (Alexandrapol, 1912). (Story).

Other works
Halifat. (Nor Nahijewun, 1899).
Imamat. (Alexandrapol, 1906).
Holatiruțiwnë Kovkasum. (Alexandrapol, 1906).
Hay tagaworneri ew kalakneri dramnerë nahnak ten žamanakneriws minchew Trdat. (Tiflis, 1913).
Čorohi awazanë. (Vienna, 1929)

Translations (Russian)
“Zharekha iz oserd’ia.” KHAN, 1, 6–66. Also published in RAN, 53–58.

Criticism
T. H. “Atrpet, Erkeri žołovatzu, hator 1, Tawriz, 1904.” Murč, 1904/6, 147–51.

**AVAGYAN, ABIG** (1919–1983)

**Texts (short stories and novels)**

- Valē. (Erevan, 1951).
- Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1965).
- Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1966).
- Haravayin tend. (Erevan, 1971).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**
WM, 221–33.

**FRENCH**

**Russian**

**AYVAZEAN, ELIŠÊ** (1890–1993)
Born in “Araratean dašt” (the plain of Ararat, in Eastern Armenia). Educated at the Nersisean school in Tiflis (1907–10) and at the Gēorgean seminary in Ëjmiatzin (1912–14). Attended courses at the Sorbonne. He lived alternately in Paris and Istanbul. Wrote prose and poetry.

**Texts**


**AYVAZYAN, BAGRAT** (1862–1934)
Pen name: Raśid.
Born in Tiflis. Graduated from the Nersisean school in 1882 and taught in Armenian schools in Transcaucasia (1882–97). He subsequently held administrative
positions as an archivist and secretary within the Armenian Church and community in Georgia, while producing his short stories, novelettes, and historical novels. He died in Tiflis.

**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Mur horšeris: patker nerkay keankits.* (Tiflis, 1888).

*Ašot Erkat: patmakan vël. 2 parts.* (Tiflis, 1893–94, 1900; 1903; Cairo, 1936; Beirut, 1940; Teheran, 1959; Erevan, 1964).

*Tanjanki bovits: vël irakan keankits.* (Tiflis, 1895).

*Hiwsisi arziwë: patmakan vël.* (Tiflis, 1901).

*Sew yaltanak: vëlïk.* (Tiflis, 1903).


(Also widely known as *Anii kortzanumë*).

*Sasunë ayrxvum ê.* (Tiflis, 1913).

**AYVAZYAN, SUREN** (1915–1981)

Hndzoresk, a village in the region of Goris, Armenia, is the birthplace of this novelist. Having studied pedagogy in Goris, Ayvazyan specialized in Armenian language and literature at the State University of Baku (1942), fought in the ranks of the Red Army in World War II, and as a journalist worked in the Armenian daily *Komunist* of Baku (1945–52). Settled in Erevan permanently in 1953.

**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Anavart gorgë.* (Baku, 1947).

*Horadzortsiq.* (Baku, 1951).

*Leïntsiner.* (Erevan, 1955).

*Huïchë.* (Erevan, 1957).


*Anšej krakneri klzin.* (Erevan, 1960).

*Koltntesutyan nahagahë.* (Erevan, 1960).

*Hovivë.* (Erevan, 1963).

*Bari aravot.* (Erevan, 1964).

*Jratatsi čanaparin.* (Erevan, 1964).

*Čakatagirm hayots.* (Erevan, 1967).

*Bardzunki vra.* (Erevan, 1969).

*Ka ev hetmahu kyank.* (Erevan, 1971).

*Garuns dzyuneri tak.* (Erevan, 1972).

*Aravot luso.* (Erevan, 1976).

*Hndzoresk.* (Erevan, 1982).

*Asur, hey Asur.* (Erevan, 1985).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**RUSSIAN**

Dolukhanian, V. *Predvestie zari: Roman o [Kh. Aboviane]*. (Moscow, 1983).

Gevorkian, M. *Zangezurskie rasskazy.* (Erevan, 1957).

Sud'ba armianskaia. (Erevan, 1980).

Criticism

AZARIA JUŁAYETSI (16th c.?)
Possibly a sixteenth-century author. He is often confused or identified with Azaria I, Julayetsi, Catholicos of Sis (1534–1601).

Poetry
“Ararich hayr erknayin.” KNZ, 4, 31–32. Also published in PHA, 1, 42–43.
“Olł Adamay” [“Adam nstel durên drahtin”] MKH, 139–40. Also published as “Tal Adamay merkanal” in KNZ, 4, 32–34, and in PHA, 1, 41–42. (According to H. Anasyan, this poem is by Yovhannës Pluz Erznkatsi).
SUM, 1, 285–98.
“Tal vasn ginwoy yAzariayë asatseal” [“Ararich tër k’alsratsaw i yAdamay”].

AZARIA SASNETSI (d. 1628)
Also known as “Hlu” (i.e., “good-natured, obedient”), Azaria was from Sasun, but he spent most of his life wandering in Asia Minor and Constantinople. He is known for his works dealing with astronomy and the calendar. His literary fame rests on his poem on the ravages of the Jelalis, during which most of his close relatives perished. He himself was captured by the Jelalis but somehow managed to flee. He was buried at sea, but his body was reportedly washed ashore near Tripoli (Lebanon) and interred by pious Maronites.

Texts
SUM, 2, 350–87.

Criticism

BABKENTS, (1860–1917)
Pen names: Babkents, Gabriël-Mačkal.
Born Gabriël Mnatsakanean in the village of Davalu (now the city of Ararat, Armenia). A novelist and journalist. Educated in Erevan and Tiflis. Pursued
his higher studies at the University of Odessa. Wrote short stories and novels from rural life, and as a journalist, he looked into the economic problems of the peasantry (e.g., lack of arable lands, inadequacy of irrigation systems). Died in Erevan.

**Texts**

*Murç*, 1894/5, 682–90. 1894/11–12, 1524–34.

**BAGRATUNI, ARSÉN** (1790–1866)

Arsën Komitas Bagratuni, also known by the surname Anfimosean, was born in Constantinople. Poet, grammarian, and translator. Was sent to St. Lazarus at age eleven and took the orders there in 1810. After visits to Paris, Rome, and Russia, spent a quarter of a century (1831–56) in Constantinople as the chaplain of the famous Tiwzean family (commonly pronounced and better known as the Duzian family). Returned to St. Lazarus permanently in 1856. Still of some significance are a few of his linguistic-grammatical works and translations into Classical Armenian from Greek and Latin authors. He also published several historical texts and the Bible. But the crown of his literary writings remains his epic poem “Hayk Diwtsazn” (Hayk the hero).

**Texts**

*Hayk Diwtsazn*, vëp. (Venice, 1858). (Poem).

**Other works**

*Kerakanutiwn galliakan*. (Venice, 1821).
*Tarerk hayerën kerakanutean, dpratants itots hamar*. (Venice, 1846, 1848, 1850, 1856, 1860, 1864, 1869, 1874–75).
*Hayerën kerakanutiwn i pëts zargaselots*. (Venice, 1852).
*Yalags hnhman L ew L tarits*. (Venice, 1852).
*Skzbunk ultit ḥorheloy ew barwok keloy*. (Venice, 1857).

**Translations (Italian)**

*Porane, Episodio del Poema eroico HAİK*. (Venice, 1859).
*Tesa, E. Le due sorelle, frammenti dal poema epico Haig*. (Venice, 1925).

**Criticism**


**BAKUNTS, AKSEL** (1899–1937)

Pen name: Aksel Bakunts.

Born Aleksandr Tevosyan in Goris, Armenia. Interrupted his studies at the Gërorgean seminary in Ejmiatzin to fight in the ranks of Armenian volunteers in fateful battles in Erzurum, Kars, and Sardarapat. He then studied at the polytechnic institute in Tiflis and the agricultural institute in Kharkov and worked in Goris until 1926, when he settled in Erevan. An agromonist by profession, he increasingly became active in literary circles, and overnight he established himself as an exquisite master of the short story. He also wrote screenplays for a number of Armenian films. Just as his genius began to bloom, Bakunts became a victim of the Stalinist purges: He was arrested in August, 1936, and is believed to have been put to death in July, 1937.

**Collections**

*Patmuatzkner.* (Paris, 1938, 1941).
*Andrewew. Tžirani polë.* (Beirut, 1954).
*Erker.* (Erevan, 1955).
*Elbayrutyan enkuzeninerë.* (Erevan, 1959).
*Grakanutyan masin.* (Erevan, 1959).
*Alpiakan manusak.* (Erevan, 1969).
*Patmvatzkner.* (Erevan, 1975).
*Mirhav.* (Erevan, 1971).

**Texts (short stories)**

*Galusti vikë.* (Erevan, 1926).
*Hovnatan March.* (Erevan, 1927).
*Mtnadzor.* (Erevan, 1927).
*Patmvatzkner.* (Erevan, 1928).
*Spitak dzin.* (Moscow, 1929).
Hachatur Abovyani “anhayt batsakayumë”. (Erevan, 1932).
Sev tsereli sermnatsanë. (Erevan, 1933).
Andzrevë. (Erevan, 1935).
Elhayrutyan ūnuzennerë. (Erevan, 1936).
Sev tsereli sermnatsanë. (Erevan, 1936).
Kërim Davon. (Erevan, 1936).
Muroyi zrutsë. (Erevan, 1960).


Translations

ENGLISH

Wixley, A. “This Is Javo Speaking from her Flat.” IL (later SL), 1936/5, 21–24.

FRENCH


GERMAN


RUSSIAN

Povesti i rasskazy. (Moscow, 1962).

SPANISH


Bibliographies


Criticism


Aksel Bakunts, ocherk tvorchestva. (Moscow, 1965).
Aksel Bakunts. (Erevan, 1971).
“Aksel Bakuntsi .REACTARZOR ńołovazun.” PBH, 1979/2, 3–16.
Gasparyan, P. “Aksel Bakuntaş indepes or "SG, 1986/1, 131–36.
“Aksel Bakuntsi kyanhrn ur arveste.” (Erevan, 1974).
“Aksel Bakuntsi lezvakan arvestë.” (Erevan, 1974).
Mkrtchian, L. Aksel Bakuntsë ope ăhardah ńołovadayunte arajamartik ęhördayhav grakanutean mijë. (Münich, 1959).
BARHUDAREAN, GEORG (1835–1913)
A native of Tiflis. A writer, translator (especially from German), and teacher. Attended school in Tiflis and continued his education at Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia). Taught in Armenian schools in Transcaucasia, and contributed to the principal periodicals of the time, particularly Hiwsisapayl of Moscow. His poems express a concern with social injustice and promote patriotism and unity.

Texts
Barepašt mardik. (Tiflis, 1889). (Play).
Banasteltzutiwnner. (Tiflis, 1897). (Poems).

BARSESELEAN, GEŁAM (1883–1915)
Pen names: Gelô, Net, Ösin-ZarTönk.
Born and educated in Constantinople. A writer and journalist. With Šawarš Misakean (c1884–1957) and Vahram Tatul (q.v.), published the literary weekly Azdak (Constantinople, 1908–09); became one of the editors of Azatamart (Constantinople, 1909–15) and a supporter of the periodical Mehean (Constantinople, 1914). He was arrested and put to death during the initial stages of the Armenian genocide of 1915. Wrote short stories, short prose pieces, and lyrical impressions.

Texts

Criticism

BAŠALEAN, LEWON (1868–1943)
Pen names: Menik, Tapařik, Tzitzemnak, Armēn Zarpareas (a collective pen name shared with Vahan Tëkēean and Surēn Partweean), L. Zartumean.
Born and educated in Constantinople. A writer of short stories. Joined the ranks of the Hncakean party and collaborated closely with A. Arpiarean in editing the Hayrenik daily. Fled the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s, settled in Europe in 1896, and subsequently published Nor keank in London. Financial hardship compelled him to work for a French oil company in Baku, from about 1903 to 1920. He then settled in Paris, became absorbed in the activities of the Armenian National Delegation, the Central Committee for the Armenian Refugees, and the Armenian General Benevolent Union. Visited Soviet Armenia in 1924 to organize the construction of settlements, schools, and hospitals in Erevan and its suburbs, with financial assistance provided by the Armenian General Benevolent Union. Died in Vichy.

Collections (stories)
Patmuatzkner. (Aleppo, 1945).

Works in periodicals

Translations

ENGLISH
A. S. “Yuletide.” Armenia (Boston), 2 (1905/2, 3), 36–41. Also published in Armenia (Boston), 4 (1911/8), 1–3.

RUSSIAN
“Poprannyi obet.” RAN, 186–90.

Criticism

BAŠINJALEAN, GEORG (1857–1925)
Born in Shňa, Georgia. Studied the art of painting in Tiflis (1876–78) and St. Petersburg (1879–83) and spent most of his life in Tiflis. Tourd Italy and Switzerland (1884), briefly resided in Paris (1899–1901), and mounted successful exhibitions of his paintings (mainly landscapes) in numerous cities. An accomplished artist, he also took a keen interest in literature and wrote short stories, plays, travel notes, and some literary criticism. Died in Tiflis.

Collections

Texts
Nkarchi keankits. (Petersburg, 1903).
Usanolner. (Tiflis, 1912).
Èskizner. (Tiflis, 1913).
Nkarchi keankits. (N.p., 1914 [includes second impression of vol. 1 1903, 370–90]; Erevan, 1950).

Translations

RUSSIAN
KHAN, 2, 141–46. (“Iz dnevnika dvorianina.”)

Criticism
BES, GAREGIN (1910–1986)

Pen name: Garegin Bes.

Born Garegin Sarinyan in Šuši, Artsah (Karabagh); and educated at Stepanakert, Tiflis, and at the State University of Erevan. From 1944 to 1947 he was the secretary for the literary journal Sovietakan grakanutyun, and later he worked for the Armenian Theatrical Society in Erevan. A novelist and dramatist, he chose his themes from contemporary Armenian and Soviet life.

Collections


Texts (stories and novels)

Kyanki ergé. (Erevan, 1930).
Jorji Tenli. (Erevan, 1931).
Viškanerê bardzranum en. (Erevan, 1932).
Paykar. (Erevan, 1932).
Ardzak banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1933).
Herosneri stverum. (Erevan, 1939).
Krak. (Erevan, 1944).
Harazatner. (Erevan, 1946).
Petunts Galon. (Erevan, 1947).
Ayrvat, višer. (Erevan, 1967).
Tznund. (Erevan, 1971).
Golatsvatz arevê. (Erevan, 1974).
Taterakan novelner. (Erevan, 1976).
Im Charentsê. (Erevan, 1979).
Ergé kanchum ê. (Erevan, 1982).
Kyanki kenatsê. (Erevan, 1984).
Hušanovelner. (Erevan, 1985).

Translations

RUSSIAN

Arsharuni, A., and Glebova A. Mir nachinaetsia s menia. (Moscow, 1961).
Novelly. (Erevan, 1956).
Vozvrashchenie. (Erevan, 1952).

Criticism


BIWRAT, SMBAT (1862–1915)

Pen names: Hayk-Lewon, Lefnordi, Mtrak, Smbat Biwrat, Tab.
Born Smbat Tër-Lazarents in Zëy'tun (now Süleymanlı, Turkey) and educated at the Armenian seminary in Jerusalem. He sat in on courses in pedagogy at the Sorbonne and earned a living teaching in Armenian schools in various cities: Marash, Zëy'tun, Sis (Kozan), Samsun, Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, etc. As a member of the Armenian intelligentsia, he was arrested and murdered during the initial stages of the Armenian massacres and deportations in 1915. His novels, elaborating contemporary and past Armenian political activities and aspirations, were enormously popular at the turn of the twentieth century. The list below of his works is considerably incomplete.

Texts

A warayri aɾiwitze kam Vardenank. (Constantinople, 1909). (Play).
Verjin berdë. (Constantinople, 1914). (Drama).
Aɾiwni dzorë. (Constantinople, 1919). (Story).

Criticism


BORYAN, GURGEN (1915–1971)

Born in Ûushi, Artsah (Karabagh). A poet, dramatist, and translator. He pursued his higher studies at the M. Gorky Institute for Literature in Moscow; edited Grakan tert (1938–41); and twice acted as secretary to the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia (1938–41, 1950–54). In the years 1958–68, he first became the editor of Literaturnaia Armeniia, then that of Sovetakan grakanutyun. From 1968 to his death, he was the deputy minister of culture in the Armenian SSR.

Collections

Hatëntir. (Erevan, 1953).
Êtir erker. (Erevan, 1966).
Erker. (Erevan, 1982).

Texts

Čanaparh depi tzovë. (Erevan, 1940). (Poetry).
Martiki erdumë. (Erevan, 1941).
Mankakan banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1942). (Poetry).
Hratsolk. (Erevan, 1945). (Poetry).
Chamchean (1738–1823)
A native of Constantinople. An eminent historian, linguist-grammarius, and theologian. Joined the Mekhitarists of Venice in 1757 and took holy orders in 1762. For six years he was the pastor of the Armenian Catholics of Basra, Iraq, where he was in ill health. Returned to Venice in 1775 and completed his monumental History of Armenia, published in 1784–86. In 1795 he took up residence in Constantinople to recuperate and to organize a Mekhitarist school. There he was personally involved in the unofficial and unauthorized unity talks between the Armenian Apostolic and Armenian Catholic communities, which bore no fruit. Died and was buried in Constantinople.

Texts
Kerakanutiwn haykazean lezui (Venice, 1779, 1801, 1831, 1833, 1843; Calcutta, 1823, 1830; Tiflis, 1826; Šuši, 1833, 1839). (Grammar of Classical Armenian).
Charèg

Patmutiwn hayots. 3 vols. (Venice, 1784—86). (History of Armenia).
Nuagarun õrhnutœants, yorum meknin awag õrhnutiwnk Salmosaranin meroy. (Venice, 1801).
Hrahag eôtneki, eôtneak eôtambk dasaworeal. (Venice, 1802).
Pakter tônis surb Astuatatzatni. (Venice, 1805).
Hrahçan patmuteän hayots. (Venice, 1811; Calcutta, 1824). (History of Armenia).
Kiwlari tevêrih. Hay millêrinê tayîr hikeayêler îlê tûnnamîš. Chamchean hayr Mikayêl vardapetiñ layrêti îlê. (Venice, 1812, 1850, 1862). (This is a Turkish version in Armenian characters of the preceding title).
Meknutiwn salmosas. 10 vols. (Venice, 1815—1823).
Selan inkots. (Venice, 1816).
Patmutyan hayots. (Erevan, 1984). (A facsimile reproduction in three volumes of the original title as published in Venice in 1784—86).

Translations

Criticism

CHARÈG, ARAM (1874—1947)
Pen name: Vtarandi.
Born in Karin (Erzurum). A poet, translator, and teacher. Educated at the Artznean school of his birthplace, at the Gëorgean seminary in Ëjmiatzin, and in the Ner-sisean school of Tiflis. He also audited courses in Leipzig, Paris, and Switzerland. He led a wandering life, teaching in Constantinople, Smyrna, and Eastern Europe, before settling in France. In 1946 he was invited to take part in the second
conference of the Union of Soviet Armenian writers in Erevan. Died in Moscow, reportedly of an illness.

Texts

Banasteltzutiwnner. (Venice, 1900). (Poetry).
Vitôsi bazên. (Geneva, 1906).

Translations (Russian anthologies)

BPA, 509.

Criticism


CHARENTS, ELIŠE (1897–1937)

Pen name: Eliše Charents.

Born Eliše Solomonyan in the Western Armenian city of Kars (now in Turkey) and educated in the local Armenian and Russian schools. In 1915 he joined the Armenian volunteers supporting the Russian war effort on the Russo-Ottoman front in World War I. Took to arms a second time in 1918–19 to support the Red Army in the civil war. Settled in Erevan in the early 1920s, and along with G. Abov and A. Vštuni (q.q.v.), he issued the famous “Declaration of the Three” in June of 1922, which rejected the old and called for a new Armenian literary tradition. In the wake of his return from an extensive tour in Europe, he founded a union of writers, named “Noyember,” and worked for the state publishing house from 1928 to 1935. The termination of his position in this establishment marked the beginning of an orchestrated campaign to denounce him and his literature. By this time, he had become addicted to drugs, and the circumstances under which his life came or was brought to an end two years later are still somewhat uncertain.

Collections

Erkeri žolovatzu. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1922).
Žolovatzu poemneri. (Tiflis, 1927).
Erker. (Erevan, 1932).
Poemner. (Erevan, 1936).
Hatêntir. (Beirut, 1953).
ënir erker. (Erevan, 1954).
Grakanutyan masin. (Erevan, 1957).
ënir erker. (Erevan, 1957).
Knaerergakan, arvest kertolutyan, girk imastutyan, taler ev horhurdner, ergita-...kan, prkvatz patarîkner. (Erevan, 1967).
Banasteltzuryunner, poemner, balladner. (Erevan, 1976).
Muradyan, Ų. Erker. (Erevan, 1983).

Texts (verse)
Erek erg thradaluq aljkâ. (Kars, 1914).
Kaputacheay hayrenik. (Tiflis, 1915).
Dantêakan araspêl. (Tiflis, 1916; Beirut, 1954).
Tiatzanê. (Moscow, 1917).
Soma. (Tiflis, 1918).
Bolorin, bolorin, bolorin. (Erevan, 1920).
Poêzourûnâ. (Moscow, 1922).
Romans ansêr. (Moscow, 1922).
Kapkaz tamaşa. (Tiflis, 1923).
Poemner. (Constantinople, 1923).
Komalmanah. (Moscow, 1924).
Maçkal Sakoyi patmutyunê. (Erevan, 1924, 1936).
Stambol. (Constantinople, 1924).
Erek pokrik poêm ‘Lenin’ šarkits. (Berlin, 1925).
Myur de Federe. (Erevan, 1925).
Hišolatyunner Erevani ultich tînts. (Tiflis, 1927). (Impressions of life in the
Erevan correction house).
Rubayat. (Tiflis, 1927).
Chors ballad. (Moscow, 1929).
Epîkakan lusabats. (Erevan, 1930).
Girk kanaparhi. (Erevan, 1933 [1934]; Aleppo, 1946 [selections], 1954, 1959;
Boris Dzneladze. Ballad gndapet Tomsoni, komerit ti ev gortzaduli masin. (Erevan,
1934).
طمابايت ٔـُـُ. (Erevan, 1961).
Es im anush Hayastani. (Erevan, 1967, 1970 [in 12 languages]).
Ballad Vladimir Ilyichi, mužiki ev mi zuyg košiki masin. (Erevan, 1982).
Charents, A. “Charentsi antip namakê M. Šahinyanin (1933t. dekt. 1-in).” PBH,

Other works (letters and unpublished manuscripts)
Charents, A. “Elise Charentsi antip banasteltzyunner Vahan Teryani masin.”  
———. *Antip ev ohhavakvatz erker*. (Erevan, 1983).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**


**FRENCH**


Marcel, L.-A. *Choix de poèmes.* (Beirut, n.d.).


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

**APA**, 233–34.
**RUSSIAN**


*Akhmatova, M.* et al. *Izbrannoe.* (Moscow, 1956).


*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Kocharian, S.* *Leniniana. Stikhotvorenia i poemy.* (Erevan, 1980).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

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*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

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*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

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*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

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*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

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*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

*Khachatriants, Ia.* *Strana Nairi.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1926; Moscow, 1933, 1935).

**SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES**

APAS, 265–69.

**MULTILINGUAL**

*Es im anuș Hayastani.* (Erevan, 1967). (12 languages).

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**CRITICISM**

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——. “Elīše Charentsè erb è hiast'apuel hamaynavarutwinits.” *HK,* 30 (1952/2), 83–90.


——. “Puśkinyan poeitikan aperum (Charentsi poeziayi, depi puśkinyan poeziayi avandnerè uñvataut'yan masin).” *BEH,* 1984/2, 42–60.


Charents


Ananian, G. Charents i russkaia literatura. (Erevan, 1983).


---. "Patmutyan gelagitakan ēmbriņumē ev ardiakanuṭyunē." BEH, 1984/1, 57–73.

---. Elīše Charents. (Erevan, 1987).


Babayan, A. Charentsī ev Hoktemberē. (Erevan, 1967).


Bes, G. "Charentsīyan masunknerē." SG, 1974/2, 123–33.

---. Im Charentsē. (Erevan, 1979).

Biwzand, Ė. "Elīše Charents ev kinē." HK, 43 (1965/3), 1–12.


---. "Charentsī ev Puškinē." BEH, 1974/1, 140–47.


Charents

———. "Hay ergi patmakan ulin ev hay ergêçi čakatagarê." L, 1989/2, 57–60. (On Charents's "Orpes gorç, delin terevner. . .").
———. Eliše Charentsê. SG, 1959/5, 130–43.
———. Chors gagar, Tumanian, Isahakyan, Teryan, Charents. (Erevan, 1982).


———. “Charentsi mahvan tesînërê.” SG, 1972/6, 18–34.

———. Eritasard Charentsê. (Erevan, 1974).


———. “Charentsi erevanyan mayisê.” SG, 1975/7, 158–64.


Yakobean, S. Elîše Charents, grakan knnadatakan verluzutwtn. (Vienna, 1924).


———. Kalakatsi banasteltzê. (Erevan, 1985).


CHARHUTEAN, NUPAR (1920–)

Born in Marash (Kahramanmaraş, Turkey), Charhutean grew up in Aleppo. He lived in Damascus until the late 1940s and subsequently moved to Beirut, where he taught French and French literature. Initially, he wrote in French, but in the early 1950s he began writing both prose and verse in Armenian. He moved to California in 1986.

Texts (in Armenian)


Mahapartê. (Los Angeles, 1991). (Novel; first in a projected cycle of four novels, under the general title Arants astli camban).

Texts in French (verse)

Poèmes. (Beirut, 1941).
Salomé. (Damascus, 1949).
Berceuses pour des cadavres. (Beirut, 1953).

CHÊÔKIWIWREAN, TIGRAN (1884–1915)
Pen name: Mehekan.
Born in Gümüşhane, Turkey. Lost his parents at an early age and grew up in orphanages in Constantinople. Graduated from the famous Pêrpêrean school of Constantinople in 1907. Taught and engaged in public activities. Published the periodical Ostan (Constantinople, 1911–12) with Mikayêl Šamtançéan (1874–1926). Published some of his short stories and novelettes separately, but his poems are still scattered in the periodical press. Along with numerous colleagues, he was arrested and slain during the deportations and massacres in 1915.

Collections

Erker. (Erevan, 1984).

Texts

Hayreni dzayner. (Constantinople, 1910).
Vankê. (Constantinople, 1914; Erevan, 1962). (Story).

Translations (French)


Criticism


CHERAZ, MINAS (1852–1929)
Born in Constantinople to parents originally from the village of Cheraz, near Akn (Eğin, now Kemalîye, Turkey). A public and political figure, teacher, and writer. Educated in his birthplace. Taught at various Armenian schools, and was principal of the Kedronakan school (1886–89) in Constantinople. As secretary and interpreter, he accompanied the unofficial Armenian delegation to the Congress of Berlin (1878) in pursuit of the Armenian Question, which he continued to promote with British and Russian politicians. In 1889 he fled Constantinople and settled in London, where he published L’Arménie-Armenia to propagate the Armenian cause. He also lived in Paris (1898–08, 1910–18), Constantinople (1908–10), and Marseilles (from 1918 to his death).
Cheraz

Texts (literary)
Grakan pozdzer. (Constantinople, 1874). (Verse, speeches, criticism).

Other works (political, polemical, and philological)
Azgayin dastiarakutiw.Sn. (Constantinople, 1876).
Inch šahetsank Perlini vhežotven? (Constantinople, 1878).
Hayastan ew Italia. (Constantinople, 1879).
Grich ew sur. (Constantinople, 1881).
Haykakan hndir: (Venice, 1917).

Translations
ENGLISH
"Dangoudy." Armenia (Boston), 7 (1913/1), 14–17. (From Nouvelles orientales).
Also published in The New Armenia, 8 (1916/15), 232–34.
"Deunme Emine." Armenia (Boston), 4 (1911/10), 8–11. (From Nouvelles orientales).
"The Last Dance." Armenia (Boston), 4 (1911/1), 5–6. Also published in The Armenian Mirror, December 1, 1933, 2, 4; and The New Armenia, 8 (1916/10), 151.
"The Mendicant. An Armenian Legend." Armenia (Boston), 6 (1913/6), 181–82.
"New Year’s Day in Armenia." Armenia (Boston), 5 (1912/6), 166–67. Also published in The New Armenia (Boston), 10 (1918/1), 4–5.
"The Old Mountaineer." Armenia (Boston), 6 (1913/8), 244–45.
"The Pasha and His Wives." Armenia (newspaper), January 1, 1894, 2–3.

FRENCH
"Le pacha à quarante femmes." L’Arménie, 1894/63, 2–3. Also published in La Patrie (Constantinople), 1911/129, 205.

Criticism
Alpōyačean, A. Minas Cheraz, ir keankɛ ew gortzɛ. (Cairo, 1927).
Marshall, A. "Minas Tcheraz, a Biographical Sketch." Armenia (Boston), 6 (1913/8), 240–43.
"Minas Tcheraz." The New Armenia (Boston), 21 (1929/3), 40–41.

**CHIFTE-SARAF, ÖNNIK** (1874–1932)

Pen names: K’otak; Yovh. Tohmik; Yovhannës Aspet.
Born Yovhannës Abisoiòmean Aspet in Constantinople. A journalist and writer of short stories. Educated at the Kedronakan of his birthplace. In 1920, he was in Corfu looking after Armenian orphans. Spent the last decade of his life teaching in Marseilles and Geneva (1928 to his death). Most of his works, appearing in many periodicals, including *Masis* (Constantinople, 1901, 1903, 1904, etc.) and *Hay grakanutiwn* (Smyrna, 1911–12), have not yet been collected.

**Collections**


**Texts (prose)**

*Miamiti më arkatznerê (erb amuri ėr)*. (Constantinople, 1908).

**Criticism**

———. “Graakan kronic, anbaroyakan grakanutiwn.” *AM*, 1908, 703–6.

**CHÖPANEAN, ARŠAK** (1872–1954)

Born in Constantinople and educated at the local Kedronakan school. A poet, playwright, literary critic, publicist-journalist, and translator. Taught in Armenian schools, published his writings in the periodical press, and briefly edited the periodical *Tzatik*, before making Paris home in 1895. There, he soon established extensive and close contacts with leading French and European intellectuals. In 1898, he launched his celebrated periodical *Anaht* (1898–1911, 1929–40, 1946–49), and a short-lived monthly, *Veratznund* (1917–21). To the very end of his life, he tirelessly propagated Armenian culture, concerns, and aspirations through translations into French and the publication of literary texts and anthologies.

**Collections**

*Erker*. (Erevan, 1988).
**Texts**

Arşaloysi džayner. Parts 1 and 2 (Constantinople, 1891). (Prose and verse).

Ttrûmmner: hñegbanakan vipak. (Constantinople, 1892, 1924). (Story).

Trtûmmner: hawnakazoy banasteltzutean. (Constantinople, 1892). (Poetry).

Grutìwn: kertâtz. (Constantinople, 1892). (Prose).


Offrande poétique à la France. (Paris, 1917).

Hayastânê tûrk lützin tak. (Boston, 1918). (Armenian version of his L'Arménie sous le joug turc).


Hraškê. (Beirut, 1952). (Play).


Namakani. (Erevan, 1980).


**Other works and translations by Chôpanean**


L’Arménie; son histoire, sa littérature, son rôle en Orient. (Paris, 1897).

Le peuple arménien, son passé, sa culture, son avenir. (Paris, 1913).


Hayastânê tûrk lützin tak. [Armenian version of the above]. (Boston, 1919).

La France et le peuple arménien. (Paris, 1917).

La femme arménienne. (Paris, 1918).


Erkrašaržê artasahmani méj. (Boston, 1926).


Mer grakânuutwên. (Paris, 1926).


La nation arménienne et son œuvre culturelle. (Paris, 1945).


**Translations**


Poèmes arméniens, anciens et modernes. (Paris, 1902).


**ENGLISH**

“Before the Manger.” Armenia (Boston), 5 (1911/5), 133–34.
"What Shall I Do With My Soul?" *Armenia* (Boston), 6 (1913/10), 302–3.

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*ALP*, 118.
*AP*, 175–85.

**FRENCH**

"Le bonheur present–Rêve." *La Patrie* (Constantinople), 1909/33, 286.
"Le message divin." *La Patrie* (Constantinople), 1908/8, 95–96.
Minassian, J. "Hais-moi mais ne m’oublie pas." *La Patrie* (Constantinople) 1908/1, 12–13.
O. "Écstrènes." *La Patrie* (Constantinople), 1908/9, 106.
———. "Voyez-vous celui qui travaille là?" *La Patrie* (Constantinople), 1908/2, 25.
"Sonnet." *La Patrie* (Constantinople), 1908/5, 58.
*La vie et le rêve.* (Paris, 1913).

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APA*, 133–39.
*FPA*, 49–51.
*LPA*, 198–99.
GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
AD, 22-23.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
BPA, 457-58.
VAM, 172-75.

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 197-200.

Criticism
Abelean, A. “Mijnadarean hay banasteltzutiwne ew Aršak Chöpaneagon.” Z (amsöreay), 1 (1938/6), 43; 1 (1938/7), 52.
Armên, E. Aršak Chöpaneagon-keankë ew grakan u hasarakakan gortzunëutiwne. (Constantinople, 1913).
Marshall, A. “Arshag Tchobanian. A biographical sketch.” Armenia (Boston), 6 (1913/10), 298-301.
Nazariantz, H. Arsciak Ciobanian nella sua vita e nelle sue pagine migliori. (Bari, 1917).
(On *Namakni*, Erevan, 1980).

**ČUŁURYAN, HARUTYUN** (1864–1938)

Pen names: Giwlatsi, Set.
Born in Hašṭaṙaṙ, a village in Ijevan, Armenia. Graduated from the Nersisean school in Tiflis in 1890 and was ordained a married priest in 1898. Taught in Armenian schools in Tiflis, in his birthplace, and in other villages in Ijevan. In his prose encompassing life in Armenian villages, he focused on social-political concerns and criticized men of religion. The entire run of his *Chatoyi bahti aniwé* (Chato’s wheel of fortune) was confiscated and destroyed by the czarist censorship. Moved to Erevan in 1923, abandoned the priesthood, and resumed his teaching career in Soviet Armenia. Died in Erevan.

**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Aša surb Sargisê ew Malak tati hawatê.* (Tiflis, 1899).
*Aškati halê.* (Tiflis, 1902).
*Giwli ayrin.* (Tiflis, 1902).
*Chatoiy bahti aniwé.* (Tiflis, 1908).
*Şirinants Nahşunê.* (Tiflis, 1911, 1931).

**Criticism**


**DARBINYAN, MATEVOS** (1891–1937)

Pen names: For a complete list, see B. Melyan’s *Matevos Darbinyan (kensamatagniutyun)*, Erevan, 1970, pp. 309–11.
Born in the village of Tovuz, in the region of Șamşadin (now Tauš), Armenia. Wrote short stories, plays, poetry, and literature for children. Received his elementary education in his native village. Graduated from the Nersisean school of Tiflis (1908) and subsequently taught at Armenian schools in Transcaucasia. In 1922, with Hakob Hakobyan (q.v.), he founded the Armenian section of the Association of Proletarian Writers of Georgia. In the years 1930–32, he was head of the Armenian programs broadcast by radio Tiflis. His life was cut short during the Stalinist purges.
Collections
Payazat, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1959).

Texts
Vlastē-Komdezē-Kotorē. (Tiflis, 1925). (Stories).
Tšarm u Murčē. (Tiflis, 1925). (Story).
Šah-Zadei abasin. (Tiflis, 1927). (Tale).
Čutiknerē. (Tiflis, 1928).
Norē. (Tiflis, 1929). (Stories).
Komsomol: hakakronakan komedia. (Tiflis, 1930). (Comedy).
Parsadan. (Tiflis, 1930). (Story).
Zartnoi gyulē. (Erevan, 1930). (Stories).
Kolhozayin. (Tiflis, 1931). (Stories).
Čikute (čahčute). (Erevan, 1931).
Pokrik komunarē. (Erevan, 1931).
Oske teler. (Tiflis, 1932). (Stories).
Pokrik herosner. (Tiflis, 1934). (Stories).
Suldin u Buldin. (Erevan, 1936). (First published in Georgian).
Hālicka. (Tiflis, 1936). (Poetry).
Ţzavikn u hatikē. (Erevan, 1937).

Translations
Russian
Korganova, M. Pugovitsa. (Tiflis, 1932).
Shamtsian, M. Kikos. (Moscow, 1966).

Bibliographies

Criticism

DARBNI, ARŠAVIR (1910–1980)
Pen name: Aršavir Darbni.
Born Aršavir Mnatsakanyan in the village of Getasen, in the Hanlar region of Azerbaijan. Fabulist, poet, and playwright. Worked at the Armenian theater of Baku after his graduation from the institute of cinematography in Moscow. In the wake of World War II, he moved to Erevan and briefly held the position of secretary to the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia (1949–50).

Collections
Erker. (Erevan, 1972). (Intended to be 3 vols., but vols. 2 and 3 have not been published).

Texts
Erb batsvum ȅ manušakē. (Baku, 1948). (Play).
Mrgasati lusabatsë. (Erevan, 1952). (Prose).
Tzalikner ev šalikner. (Erevan, 1959).
Arevis pataz̨ anun. (Erevan, 1966).

Translations

FRENCH
Gaucheron, J. E.

RUSSIAN
Ginzburg, L. Basni. (Erevan, 1952).
———. Neobyknovennota vezhlivost'. Basni i stikhi. (Erevan, 1956).
Rassvet v Mrgashate. (Erevan, 1952).
Vanshenkin, K., and Ginzburg, L. Kotenok v kino. Basni i stikhi dla mладших.
vocrasta. (Moscow, 1959).

Criticism

DARFI, GÉORG (1907–1964)
Pen name: Georg Darfi.
Born Georg Yovhannisean-Hudoyean in Saramerik, a village near Salmas, Iran.
Dramatist. Following his studies in Tiflis (1915–17) and in a French school in
Tabriz, he engaged in teaching.

Texts (dramas)
Siauš ew Sudabë. (Teheran, 1936).
Ardarutean čanaparhin. (Teheran, 1955).
Oljovn kez, Milano. (Teheran, 1960).
Mesrop Maštots. (Teheran, 1963).
Arwnot tagë. (Teheran, 1964).
Ańkwelin. (Teheran, 1964).

DARYAN, ZARZAND (1912–1984)
Pen name: Zarzand Daryan.
Born Zarzand Movsisyan in the village of Kop (near Bulanik, northwest of Lake Van). A novelist and a writer of short stories and plays. Graduated from Erevan
State University and worked as a journalist.

Collections
DAŞTENTS, HACHIK (1910–1974)

Pen name: Hachik Daştents.
Born Hachik Tonoyan in Daştadem (a village in the region of Bitlis). Novelist, poet, and translator (primarily from English, and the works of Shakespeare in particular). Survived the Armenian massacres of 1915; was given shelter and education by American organizations in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumril, Armenia). Graduated from the State University of Erevan and studied English at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Moscow (1940). Taught at various institutions: Erevan State University (1940–41), the Briusov Institute for Foreign Languages in Erevan (1941–48), and the Polytechnic Institute (1960–66). Worked at the Institute of Art (1965–74).

Texts

Garanayin erger. (Erevan, 1934). (Poetry).
Bots. (Moscow and Erevan, 1936). (Poetry).
Ay du žulik Msra Melik. (Erevan, 1940).

Translations (Russian)


Bibliography

Petrosyants, V. Zarzand Daryan. (Erevan, 1988).
Davtyan, Margar (1910–1964)

Born in Şoroț, a village in Nahijevan, and educated at the Pedagogical Institute in Erevan and at the State University of Baku. Worked for the Armenian daily Komunist (Baku), and for the Armenian literary journal Grakan Adrbejan (Baku, 1957–64). President of the Armenian section of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan, from 1939 to his death.

Texts (novels and stories)

Dzoré. (Baku, 1933).
Arajan kinë. (Erevan, 1934).
Verjin čichë. (Baku, 1935).
Erjankutyun. (Baku, 1939).
Uthi čakatin. (Baku, 1942).
Tžiran izar. (Baku, 1944).
Veradarzd. (Baku, 1946).
Mer gyulum. (Baku, 1948).
Ureńu tak. (Erevan, 1949).
Mer kalakum. (Baku, 1950).
Lusavor uli. (Baku, 1952).
Erh zagum ě arevë. (Baku, 1954).
Vazë. (Baku, 1955).
Patmvatzker. (Baku, 1957).
Arajan šivë. (Baku, 1960).
Hapšatkvatz ser. (Baku, 1960).
Haverzakan ktak. (Erevan, 1965).
Kyankn ir hunov. (Baku, 1966).
DAWIT BALSETS (d. 1673)
Born in Balës (Bitlis). Became a celibate priest in 1647 and vanahayr (father-superior) of the Hndrakatar monastery in 1651. Known for his Chronicle and the manuscripts he himself copied or had copied. He was buried on the islet of Lim, Lake Van.

Texts

Secondary texts

DAWIT SALADZORETS (17th c.)
Dawit' is believed to have been a seventeenth-century poet from the village of Saladzor in Erzurum. No other details are known of him save that he was an orphan (“orbik”) who may have become a priest after the death of his wife and daughter.

Poems
“Govasank tzalkants.” Melu Hayastani, 1858, 21-23. Also published in Arewe-lean manum, 1884, 137-39, 177-79; Srundztantes, G. Hamov hotov (Constantinople, 1884), 278-85; KNZ, 2, 66-75; Banasër, 2-3 (1901), 87-97.
“Laripin sîrtn ê i suk, dartn ê ĵorun.” MPT, 35-36.

Translations
FRENCH
“La louange des fleurs.” RA, 3, 185-93; LPA, 140-46.

RUSSIAN

Criticism
DEMIRČYAN, DERENIK (1877–1956)
Born Derenik Demircöllean, in Ahalkalak, Georgia. Novelist, poet, and playwright. Educated at the Nersisean school (1897) and the University of Geneva (1905–10). Settled in Erevan in 1925. Elected to the Armenian Academy in 1953. In recognition of his contributions, the Derenik Demirčyan State literary prize for prose writings was established in Soviet Armenia in 1980.

Collections
Ěntir patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1950).
Antzanot ějer. (Erevan, 1974).
Ěntir patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1974).

Texts
Banasteltzutïwnner. (Tiflis, 1899). (Poetry).
Uhtaworner. (Tiflis, 1904). (Prose).
Och ays ašharhits. (Tiflis, 1905). (Poetry).
Banasteltzutïwnner. (Tiflis, 1913). (Poetry).
Dépi tiezerk. (Tiflis, 1913). (Poetry).
Garun. (Tiflis, 1920). (Verse).
Ţanotner. (Erevan, 1927). (Stories).
Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1928). (Stories).
Nrants żpitê. (Erevan, 1929). (Stories).
Chors erg. (Erevan, 1934). (Verse).
Nigyar. (Erevan, 1936). (Prose).
Žašid. (Erevan, 1936). (Prose).
Ţeti kolektivê. (Erevan, 1937). (Verse).
Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1938). (Stories).
Ěnkerner. (Erevan, 1942). (Play).
Arjuk-lrjuk. (Erevan, 1944; Aleppo, 1945). (Verse).
Banasteltzutïyunner. (Erevan, 1945). (Verse).
Tsavatz. ser. ([Erevan], 1945). (Novelette).
Ţtapar. (Erevan, 1947). (Verse).
Mankakan ašharh. (Erevan, 1949).
Girk tzalkants. (Erevan, 1985). (Story).
Sargsyan, V. "K'aj Nazar." BEH, 1989/1, 94–105. (Demircyan's incomplete novel.)

Translations

ENGLISH
Apresean, S. “Chargah.” Lraber, August 20, 1960, 4; August 25, 1960, 4; August 27, 1960, 4. Also published in Nor ašharh, 1959/14, 4; 15, 4; 16, 4; 17, 4; 18, 4; 19, 4.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
ALP, 73.
WM, 22–43.

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 123–24.
Gamarra, P. E. 114–24.
Kirazian, T. E. 124–32.

GERMAN

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
ALG, 129.
AN, 117–23.

RUSSIAN
Balasan, V. Izbrannoe. (Short stories and tales). (Erevan, 1950).
Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1954).
Vo imia zhizni. (Short stories). (Erevan, 1954).
Vo imia zhizni. Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1964).

SPANISH
SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 185–87.

Bibliographies

Criticism
DEW, (1901–1976)

Pen name: Dew.


Collections

Texts (poetry)
Im ergiterë. Banastelzutiwnneri arajin girk. (Teheran, 1947).
Srtni dzayner (banastelzutiwnneri zołovatzu, III). (Teheran, 1974).
Durean

Criticism
Sarean, A. *Yušamatean banasteltz-nkarich Dewi*. (Teheran, 1974).

DODOHEAN, GÉORG (1830–1908)
Born in Simferopol. A single poem, “Tzitzeńak” (Swallow), which may in fact be a translation or an adaptation, brought immediate and lasting fame to this poet. Attended the Lazarean Institute in Moscow, studied painting in St. Petersburg and law and economics at the University of Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia). Taught in St. Petersburg and in Armenian schools in northern Caucasus and the Crimea. A considerable part of his verse and prose is still unpublished.

Collections

Translations

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
*ALP*, 111–12.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
*PA*, 141–43.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
*BPA*, 285.
*VAM*, 86–87.

Criticism
Davtyan, Ū. “Gevorg Dodoheyan ev nra “Tzitzeńak’ banasteltzut’yan masin.”
*BEH*, 1984/1, 12–13.

DUREAN, ELİŞÊ (1860–1930)
Born Mihran Durean in Constantinople. Poet and scholar. Brother of Petros Durean (q.v.). Took the vows of celibacy and was renamed Elišê, in accordance with the traditions of the Church of Armenia, in 1879. Taught and held administrative positions in Partizak (Bahçecik, Turkey), at the seminary of Armaš (near Izmit, Turkey), and in Constantinople. Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, 1909–11; Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1921–30.

Collections
Ambotjakan erker. 9 vols. (Jerusalem, 1933–36).
Srbazan knar. (Jerusalem, 1936). (Complete works, 9).

Texts (literary)
*Druagner Manuk Yisusi keankênt*. (Jerusalem, 1926, 1950).
Other works

Ęntir asatsuatzk ötarazgi akanawor andzants . . . (Constantinople, 1882).
Patmutiwn hay matenagruatean. (Constantinople, 1885). (Complete works 1).
Ěntask i grots barbař. 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1927–29).
Ayyubënkh hayeren banasirutean. (Jerusalem, 1928).
Hayots hin krōně kam Haykakan diisabamutiuwn. (Jerusalem, 1933). (Complete works, 2).
Azygaiin patmutiwn. (Jerusalem, 1934). (Complete works, 3).
Hamarōt patmutiwn pilisoptayutean. (Jerusalem, 1934). (Complete works, 4).
Dasakan matenagrutiwn. (Jerusalem, 1935). (Complete works, 5).
Usunmasirutiwnk ew knnadutiwnk. (Jerusalem, 1935). (Complete works, 6).
Krōnneru patmutiwn. (Jerusalem, 1935). (Complete works, 7).
Baroyagitutiwn. (Jerusalem, 1936). (Collected works, 8; essentially a translation).

Translations

ENGLISH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 81–87.

Criticism

Gušakean, T. Elišē patriark Durean (ir kuhanayutean yisnameay yobelianin arrīw). (Jerusalem, 1932).
Kiwilēsēeian, B. Kensagruitiwn norin amenasrbutiwn T. Elišē s. arkep. Durean.
(University of New York, 1929).
Msakn u vardzkē, yobelianakan hratarakutiwn. (Jerusalem, 1931).

DUREAN, PETROS (1851–1872)
Born Petros Zēmpayean in Constantinople. Poet and playwright. Brother of Elišē Durean (q.v.). Educated at the Armenian school of Scutari. Upon graduation, he engaged in acting and journalism. Some of the historical plays he wrote were
performed in the Armenian theaters of Constantinople. His genius shone in the few poems he wrote in the last few years of his short life. Died of consumption.

**Collections**

*Talk ew tatergerutbynamek*. (Constantinople, 1872).

*Talk ew tatergerutbynamek, namakani, dambanakan yoduatzk dzezagir, otanawor, tapanagir*. (Constantinople, 1893).

*Banasteltzutbynamek*. (Baku, 1900; Valarsapat, 1904).

[Taler]. (Šuši, [1903]).

*Erger ew talar*. (Constantinople, 1908).

*Talk ew namakani*. (New York, 1918).

*Éntir kertuatzner*. (Vienna, 1922).

*Kertuatzner*. (Beirut, 1926).


*Taler, namakner, dambanakan*. (Beirut, 1940).

*Éntir kertuatzner*. (Aleppo, 1945).

*Taler-namakner (haturatsner)*. (Venice, 1945, 1959).


------. *Namakani Petros Dureani*. (Jerusalem, 1968).


**Texts**

*Aspatakutbynamek parskats i Hays kam Awerumn Ani mayrakalakun Bagratuneats*. (Constantinople, 1908). (Drama).

*Sew holer kam Yetin giser araratean*. (Constantinople, 1908). (Drama).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*ALP*, 18–19, 50, 82–84, 121.


**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AD*, 12–18.


**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APA,* 75–79.

*JM,* 138–49.

*LPA,* 176–80.

*PA,* 1–79.

*PAAM,* 80–81.

**ITALIAN**


Lucini, G. “Il fanciullo all croce.” *Sant,* 44 (1913), 303.

———. “Il mio dolore.” *Sant,* 51 (1913), 35.


**ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*LPAM,* 121–34.

Nazariantz, H. *Bedros Turian, poeta armeno. Dalla sua vita e dalle sue pagine migliore, con cenno sull’ arte armena.* (Bari, 1915).

**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AAP,* 397–402.

*BPA,* 440–44, 493.

*IZAP,* 9–16.

*SHAP,* 65–70.

*VAM,* 163–71.

**SPANISH**

*APAS,* 145–52.

**Criticism**


Atrușan. *Petros Durean: kunnakan aknark më ir keankin ew gorizin vray.* (Constantinople, 1911).


———. *Petros Durean dar më etk.* (Venice, 1974).


Ēksērčean, B. Dureani ēndardzak kensagruțtnē. (Constantinople, 1893).

--------. "Petros Dureani tpeal ew antip gortzerē." AM, 1892, 288.


Nazariantz, H. Bedros Turian, poeta armeno. Dalla sua vita e dalle sue pagine migliori, con cenno sull'arte armena. (Bari, 1915).

Orberean, R. "Dureanin 'Lčakē'." M, 1900/16, 247–49.


--------. "Namakner Petros Duryani masin." BEH, 1968/1, 142–54.


--------. "Petros Duryani steltzagortzakan čanaparhi skizbē." BEH, 1971/1, 72–84.

--------. "Petros Duryan." PBH, 1972/2, 31–44.


--------. Petros Duryanē vaveragrerum ev žamanakakitsneri hišolutyunnerum. (Erevan, 1982).


ÉGAZ, ŽUL (d. 1734)
According to the scarce biographical information available for Égaz, he was one of the earliest representatives of the Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan) school of Armenian minstrels. He died and was buried in New Julfa.

**Poetry**

*EPA*, 6–11.
*SHA*, 71–84.
*THG*, 45–46.

**Criticism**

Eremea, A. *Parskahay ašulner.* (Tiflis, 1930), 2–11.

ÉLIA KAHAHAY (16th or 17th c.)
An anonymous history depicting the tribulations of Elia, a Jacobite priest, at the hands of Turks in Ḥarberd (Harput, Turkey).

**Texts**

Aĉaṙean, Hracheay. *Patmutiwn Elia kahanayi (ŻŻ dar?).* (Valaṙşapat, 1908; also previously published in A, 1908).

**Translations**

FRENCH

(A translation of Basmadjian’s text).

ÉLIA MUŞELEAN (1689–?)
Also known as Elia Karnetsı or Elia Astuatzaturean Muşelean.
Born to a wealthy Armenian family in the village of Krman in Ḥotorjur (near Erzurum). Received a semi-religious education in Karin (Erzurum). There, he converted to Catholicism and helped the Catholic missionaries, but he soon turned to trade as his lifelong profession. His wide travels in Iran, southern Russia, Armenia proper, Transcaucasia, and Europe; his close connections with the Catholic missionaries and the ruling circles of the region; and his still nebulous plans for the liberation of Armenia add a touch of mystery to his life. He was the French consul in Meshad shortly before his arrest in 1734 by the Russians, who accused him of spying for Persia and incarcerated him for almost twelve years. Elia passionately blamed the Catholic missionaries for his misfortune, and for the mistrust and mistreatment, with which he was treated by the Armenians, the Russians, the Persians and the Ottoman Turks. He spent his last years in obscurity in Erzurum.

**Texts**

Criticism

ELIAYEAN, BIWZAND (1900–1995)
Born in Adana. Educator, historian, and writer. Survived the Armenian massacres of Adana and the genocide of 1915. Educated at St. Paul’s at Tarsus and at the International College in Smyrna. Fled Smyrna in the early 1920s and pursued his studies at the School of Religion in Athens and at the Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales in Geneva. Taught in various schools and institutions in the Middle East. From 1931 to his retirement and move to the United States in the early 1970s, he taught at the Seminary of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antilias, Lebanon.

Texts (stories)
Spiwrk. (Beirut, 1950).
Karawanê. (Beirut, 1979).

Other works
Krönk ew keank. (Jerusalem, 1932).
Melgonean krtakan hastautûwn. (Beirut, 1957).
Azuniyêi hay bușaranê. (Antilias and Beirut, 1960).
Mankavarzakan dasaḫosutûwnê. (Antilias and Beirut, 1965).
Atanayi hayots patmutiûn. (Antilias and Beirut, 1970).

ELIVARD, (1910–1990)
Pen name: Elivard.
Born Eliazar Tërêgen in the village of Kaynimiran (to the south of Lake Van). Brought to Jerusalem as an orphan after the genocide of 1915. Completed his studies at the Armenian seminary in Jerusalem and became a celibate priest in 1932 and renamed Elišê. Held numerous positions within the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and was the Armenian Patriarch of the Holy City from 1960 to his death. He wrote verse and prose.

Collections

Texts
Magdatinên metramomê. (Jerusalem, 1941). (Poetry).
Hortakman gişerner. (Jerusalem, 1943).
Leran vrayën eraniner. (Jerusalem, 1945).
Vardanank (taterahal vets ararov). (Jerusalem, 1951). (Play).
Karmir Zőravarë. (Jerusalem, 1975).
Lusamatean. (Brussels, 1980).

Other works
Narekë hay grakanutean mëj. (Jerusalem, 1947).
Hayastaneayts Ekeletsin erek ew aysör. (Jerusalem, 1948).

Criticism

ÈMIN, GEVORG (1919–1998)
Pen name: Gevorg Èmin.
Born Gevorg (renamed Karlen at a very young age) Muradyan in Aštarak, Armenia. Awarded the USSR State Prize for literature (1951 and 1976) and the Charents Literary Prize (1979). Specialized in hydraulic engineering at the Erevan Polytechnic Institute (1940), worked briefly at the Matenadaran, and took special courses in literature in Moscow (1949–50, 1954–56). Edited Literaturnia Armenia (1968–72) and worked at the Institute of Art in Erevan for many years. Visited the United States on a number of occasions.

Collections

Texts (poetry)
Nahaşavit. (Erevan, 1940).
Halalutyen tzhamorčë. (Erevan, 1942).
Nork. (Erevan, 1946).
Nor čanaparb. (Erevan, 1949, 1953).
Saryaknerë. (Erevan, 1952).
Hośir, Hayastan. (Erevan, 1952).
Erevani luyserë. (Erevan, 1957).
**Translations**


Der Hovanessian, D. *For You on New Year’s Day*. (Athens, Ohio, 1985).


--------. ['"The smell of grapes pervades the village air"] *SL*, 1973/4, 125.


--------. *Songs of Armenia*. (Moscow, 1979). (Selected poems; English and Russian texts).

Soghikian, M. *Seven Songs About Armenia*. (Moscow, 1981).


--------. ['"I want to write words to the music of the rain"] *SL*, 1979/7, 96.

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

SAP, 40–42.

**FRENCH**


Falk, C. [“J’ai fait un rêve: dans le monastère”]. OO, 177 (Sept. 1973), 146.


Gaucheron, J. “En ce temps.” OO, 123 (March 1969), 76.

———. [“Qu’est-ce qui est plus fort que l’homme?”]. OO, 167 (Nov. 1972), 54–55.


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

Gaucheron, J. E, 94–97.

LPA, 356–60.

**GERMAN**


**RUSSIAN**


Izbrannaiia lirika. (Moscow, 1968).

Lastochka iz Ashtaraka. (Moscow, 1988).


Muzyka dozhdia. (Moscow, 1986).

Novaia doroga. (Moscow, 1951).

Novaia doroga. (Moscow, 1951).

Oboldusev, G. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1947).

Ostrogorckaia, V. Ogni Erevana. Ocherki. (Moscow, 1956).


Pesnia mira. (Erevan, 1952).

Sel’vinskii, I. Tri pesni. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1957).

Sem’ pesen ob ArmeniL (Erevan, 1979).


Stikhi. (Moscow, 1963).

V nashem dome. (Moscow, 1954).

Vesennie vody. (Moscow, 1953).

**SPANISH**


**Bibliographies**

Hovhannisyan, É., and Babayan, É. *Gevorg Émin, Kensamatenagiytakan tsank.* (Erevan, 1982).

**Criticism**

Hovakimyan, V. *Gevorg Émin.* (Erevan, 1986).

**ÉMIN, YOVSEP** (1726–1809)

Born in Hamadan, Iran. Left for England in 1751, and having received military training there, he saw action in the Seven Years’ War. He then devoted himself to the cause of liberating Armenia. Approached the British first, then turned to the Russians, and later tried to forge an Armeno-Georgian alliance for the same purpose. His efforts bore no fruit. Spent his remaining years in India, after settling there in 1783.

**Text**

*The Life and Adventures of Joseph Émin, an Armenian. Written in English by Himself.* (London, 1792; Calcutta, 1918 [2d ed.]).

**Criticism**

Ioannsyan, A. R. *Iosif Èmin,* (Erevan, 1945).

**EREMIA dêlêpi KÊÔMIWRÊCAN** (1637–1695)

Born in Constantinople. Studied at the feet of an Armenian priest. Apparently completed his education through self-instruction as he is believed to have had a good command of Greek and Latin in addition to his mother tongue and Turkish. After his marriage in 1657, he briefly held the position of secretary at the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople (late 1650s–early 1660s). He traveled to Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Eastern Armenia and was intimately involved in Armenian national affairs in the turbulent decades of the second half of the seventeenth century.

**Texts**

*Govabanutıwn mörinanak teleats yErusalêm.* (Constantinople, 1678).
*ANA*, 11 (1903), 188–92. (5 poems).


Nšanean, M. *Ôragrutuwn Eremia chêlêpî K'êômiwrçeanani. Yaveluatz': a) tulter, b) ulerdzner, g) gandzer ew olbêr* (Jerusalem, 1939).


Vasn sut margarëin or kochiwr Sapëfayi Sewi. (Constantinople, n.d.).


**Texts (in anthologies)**

*SUM*, 2, 444–501.

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*CPA*, 107–8.

*TA*, 233–38.

**RUSSIAN**

*EPA*, 217.

**TURKISH**

Andreasyan, H. *Eremya Çelebi Kómürcüyan, İstanbul tarihi, XVII. asîrda İstanbul* (Istanbul, 1952).

**Criticism**


Erem[ean], S. “E. chêlêpî, taregrakan patmutiwn.” *B*, 60 (1902), 367–69, 473–79.


ERKAT, ARSÈN (1893–1969)
Pen name: Arsèn Erkat.
Born Arsèn Samlean in Amasia (Amasya, Turkey). Educated in the local Armenian school and in the Galustean school in Cairo. Sat in on courses at the Sorbonne. Resided in Egypt for almost six decades, and moved to Montreal in 1966. Numerous poems by this poet, who also wrote in French, are still scattered in the periodical press.

Texts (verse)
Ergetsi . . . nor serundin. (Constantiople, 1911).
Hncheakneru girké. (Marzuan, 1912).
Artzatê tsolker. (Marzuan, 1912).
Antzanöd stuerner. (Marzuan, 1912).
Eraz u višt (herosakan patmuatzkner). (Cairo, 1915). ("Heritage stories").
Hayastan. (Cairo, 1916).
Hayrenikis dapninere. (Cairo, 1916).
Tsaygatišerê. (Venice, 1920).
Arewä iwm hâhian erger. (Cairo, 1922).
Astuatzneru verjaloyšê. (Venice, 1925).
Kuzik-Petön (hêkeat). (Cairo, 1933). (Tale).
Sonatner. (Cairo, 1946).

Translations
French

Italian anthologies
LPAM, 273–76.

ERUHAN, (1870–1915)
Pen names: Aşuł, E. Gaftakan, Eruhân.
Born Eruand Srmakêšhanlean in Constantinople and educated in his birthplace. Joined the editorial board of Arewelk (1890), but fled to Bulgaria during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s. There as well as in Egypt (where he arrived in 1904), he continued teaching and published his short stories and novelettes in the Armenian periodical press. Returned to Constantinople in 1908 and assumed the editorship of Arewelk. Settled in Harput in 1913 to teach at the Armenian school in nearby Mezre. Like most of his colleagues, he and his family were arrested and slain during the Armenian genocide of 1915.
Collections

Harazat ordi ew Patmuatzkner. (Aleppo, 1953).
Hovhannisyan, S. Novelner. (Erevan, 1965).

Texts (stories and novels)

Keankin mēj. (Constantinople, 1911).
Harazat ordi. (Constantinople, 1913; Alexandria, 1936).
Amirayin ağiçek. (Constantinople, 1929, 1942; Erevan, 1949; Beirut, 1971).
(Novel; first serialized in the periodical press).

Texts in periodicals

ANA, 1 (1898–99), 275–78; 1907/6–9, 120–27.
HG, 1 (1911/1), 8–15.
Nawasard, 1914, 75–83.

Translations

ENGLISH

GERMAN

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
AN, 22–28.

RUSSIAN
KHAN, 1, 21–25; 2, 136–40.

Criticism


ESAYAN, ZAPEL (1878–1943)
Pen name: Šahan.
Born Zapêl Yovhannêsean in Constantinople. Attended local schools and the Sorbonne. After her marriage in 1900, she led a wandering life between Paris, Constantinople, and Transcaucasia. Escaped the arrest and subsequent slaughter of her colleagues in 1915 and actively helped shelter Armenian orphans. After a visit to Soviet Armenia in 1926, she settled in Erevan permanently (1933). Taught French literature at Erevan State University, but her career and life were cut short by the Stalinist regime.
Collections

Erkeri žolovatzu. (Erevan, 1937).
Erker. (Erevan, 1959).
Erker. (Beirut, 1972).

Texts

Snorhkov mardik. (Constantinople, 1907). (Stories).
Keltz hančarner. (Constantinople, 1909). (Novelette).
Aweraknerun mëj. (Constantinople, 1911). (Prose on the Armenian massacres in Adana).
Murati čampordurünnë Suazën Batum. (Boston, 1920). (On Murad [Sebastatsi, 1874–1918] and his activities).
Hogis aksoreal. (Vienna, 1922). (Prose).
Andzkuťevan žamin. (Salonica, 1924). (Prose).
Verjin bažakë. (Constantinople, 1924). (Prose).
Erb aylews chen sirer. (Constantinople, 1925). (Prose).
Silihtariparteznerë. (Erevan, 1935; Cairo, 1950). (Prose reminiscences).

Texts in periodicals


Translations

ENGLISH

Baliozian, A. The Gardens of Silihdar & Other Writings. (New York, 1982).

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

ALF, 17.

FRENCH

[Fantôme]. Humanité nouvelle, January, 1899.
“Sa vengeance.” La Patrie (Constantinople), 1908/6, 75–76.
**ESAYEAN, ÉMMANUELÉ (1839–1907)**
Born in Constantinople. Poet and playwright. Educated in his birthplace and at the Murat-Rapayélean school in Venice. Teaching paid his bills. Of his trilogy “Aršak B.–Gnël–Ohmpia,” only the first play, which is perhaps his best extant work, was published.

**Texts**
- Aršak. (Constantinople, 1870). (Drama).
- Hriştine. (Constantinople, 1872). (Drama).

**Criticism**

**FARMAN MANUK**
A medieval love poem of uncertain origin. Its only extant text is in Armenian.

**Texts**

**Translations**
**Criticism**


**GALÈMKEAREAN, ZARUHI (1874–1971)**


Born and educated in Constantinople. Her initial writings, both poetry and prose, appeared in Armenian periodicals of both Constantinople and New York, where she spent the latter part of her life.

**Collections**

*Haskakal.* (Erevan, 1965).

**Texts**

*Nuagk Ewterpêay.* (Constantinople, [1892]).

*Zartönk.* (Constantinople, [1892]).

*Mrmunjk.* (Constantinople, 1894).

*Törnikis gîrkê.* (Istanbul, 1936). (Travel account).

*Keankis čambên.* (Beirut and Antilias, 1952). (Prose).

*Örer ew demker.* (Jerusalem, 1965). (Prose).

**Translations (French anthologies)**

*APA*, 113–14.

**Criticism**


Mark, H. *Zaruhi Galêmkearean (keankn u gortzunêutiwnê).* (Istanbul, 1950).

**GAPASAHALEAN, GRIGOR (1740–1808)**

Born in Kayseri. Poet; also known for his works on Armenian music. Received his education at the monastery of Surb Karapêt, Kayseri, and in Constantinople, where he settled at an early age.

**Texts**

*Grkoyk or kochi nuagarân.* (Constantinople, 1794).

*Gîrk eražştakan.* (Constantinople, 1803).

*Grkoyks kocheteal ergaran.* (Constantinople, 1803).

*Nuagarân eražştakan.* (Constantinople, 1803).


**Poetry**

*PHA*, 2, 184–92.

**Criticism**


**GĂRŎNĔ, ARAM (1905–1974)**

Pen name: Aram Gărônê.
Born Aram Baldasarean in Tabriz. Poet; studied in his native city. Taught in France (1928–32) and in Iran (1932 to his death).

Texts (verse)

Ara ew Šamiram. (Tabriz, 1926).
Arewahas. (Teheran, 1942).
Tzalikner, tzalikner . . . (Teheran, 1942).
Ašnanamut. (Teheran, 1948).
Ašnan tzalikner. (Teheran, 1960).
Ardarutean čanaparhov. (Teheran, 1962). (Story).
Iriknamut. (Teheran, 1972).

GEORG MHLAYIM (18th c.)
Little is known about this vardapet, save that he studied in Paris (possibly at the Collège Louis-le-Grand), spent some time in Rome (as a visitor and as a prisoner), and had a good command of a number of languages. Most probably, he was a native of Constantinople, where he spent most of his life. His books were written in passionate defense of the doctrines of the Church of Armenia.

Texts

Girk vičabanutean ēnddēm erkabnakats. (Constantinople, 1734).
Čšmarit nšanakurtwen katuliķēutean. (Constantinople, 1750). (This is a second, separate edition of this work first published in the book above).
Čaš vawn tznnean Team meroy Yisus Kristosi. ([Constantinople], n.d.). (Several subsequent editions published in Constantinople in 1787, 1793, 1804).
Vkayutiuwnk hayrapetats yalags miyo bnotewa Kristoti, žolovealk i grotn latinatswots. (Constantinople, n.d.).

Criticism


GRAŠI, AŠOT (1910–1973)
Pen name: Ašot Graši.
Born Ašot Grigoryan in Baku, and educated at the State University of Erevan. Poet; from 1933 to 1946, the date of his final return to Erevan, Graši worked in Baku as a librarian and journalist and was at one point secretary of the Armenian Section of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan.

Collections


Texts (verse)

Mutk. (Baku, 1934).
Žolovrdi het. (Baku, 1938).
Knarak. (Baku, 1939).
Razmi knar. (Baku, 1942).
Krunk. (Baku, 1944).
Ampaberd. (Baku, 1945).
Im garunē. (Erevan, 1946).
Grig

ERAYOUTAN ASTI TAK. (Erevan, 1949).
ERGÈ TRCHUM È ASHARHOV. (Erevan, 1952).
IM SIRO POEMÈ. (Erevan, 1954).
SARRI SRINGÈ. (Erevan, 1957).
ZIAZANI YOT ERGÈ. (Erevan, 1961).
UR ES SIRO MOLORAK [?] (Erevan, 1968).
AREVI KUYRÈ. (Erevan, 1972).
KRUNKNERI ALBYUR. (Erevan, 1976).
IM SIRO LEGENDÈ. (Erevan, 1983).

Translations

ENGLISH

FRENCH
Mardirossian, L. [“O monde, tu n’es qu’un vaste mystère.”] OO, 123 (March 1969), 36.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Gory pivat. Stihii. (Moscow, 1946).
Inenem pravdy. Stihii. (Moscow, 1952).
Karabakhskiaa vesna. Stihii. (Moscow, 1941).
Pyl-Pugi. (Moscow, 1960).
Sem’ pesen radugi. (Moscow, 1959).
Shuba Pyl-Pugi. (Moscow, 1956).
Soldaty mira. (Moscow, 1950; Erevan, 1952).
Stihii. (Moscow, 1960).

SPANISH

Criticism

GRIG, GEVORG (1893–1987)
Pen name: Gevorg Grig.
Born Gevorg Grigoryan in Valarsapat (Ējmiatzin). Poet; went to schools in his native town, Erevan, and Tiflis. Taught in various schools in Eastern Armenia and in other parts of Transcaucasia. Retired in 1951 after losing his eyesight.

Texts (verse)
Erkari ergè. (Tiflis, 1925).
Gyulatsin u gaylè. (Tiflis, 1927). (Tale).
GRIGOR DARANAĻTSI or KAMAHETSI (1576–1643)
Born in Kamah (Kemah, Turkey). Historian and scribe. Studied at the celebrated monasteries of Mount Sepuh, near his birthplace, and in other religious centers in Armenia. Led a turbulent life, traveling widely and participating in Armenian communal and national affairs. For a while he shared the Patriarchate of Constantinople with two other bishops, but then he became the primate of the Armenians of Rodosto (Tekirdağ), where he seems to have spent his last years.

Text
Nšancen, M. Žamanakagrutıwn Grigor vardapeti Kamaheştwoy kam Daranaltswoy, (Jerusalem, 1915).

Texts (secondary)

GRIGOR ÖŠAKANSTI (c1756–1798)
Born in Ōšakan, Armenia. Poet and celibate priest. Member of the Ejmiatzin Brotherhood. Toured Armenian monasteries as the nuncio (“nuirak”) of the Catholicos of Armenia. Died and buried in Erzurum.

Poetry

Criticism

GRIGOR ŞLTAYAKIR (1669–1749)
Grigor (also referred to as Siruantsi) studied at the “university” of Amrdol (also Amrtol or Amlordi) in Bağl (Bitlis) and later became the Abbots General of the Monastery of Surb Karapet of Tarén (northwest of Muš) from 1710 to 1715. In
1717 he was appointed patriarch of Jerusalem, where he arrived only in 1721, after launching a campaign to repay the enormous debts of the patriarchate. He bore a chain for nearly a decade, until the successful conclusion of his campaign; hence his sobriquet Շլթայակիր (“The Chainbearer”). He spent four years in Constantinople (1736–40) defending the rights of the Armenian community in the perennial conflicts with the Greeks and Latins over the Holy Places. Died in Jerusalem.

**Texts**


**Criticism**


**GRIGOR VANETSI**

Vanetsi is thought to have been a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century author.

**Text**


**Works in anthologies**

*SUM*, 1, 386–96.

**GRIGORYAN, SAMVEL** (1907–1987)

Born in the village of Šušîkênd, Artsah (Karabagh). Poet. Graduated from Erevan State University. Grigoryan was the director of the Armenian radio program in Baku (1928–57), editor-in-chief of the Armenian literary journal *Grakan Adrbejan* (Baku, 1957–79), and secretary to the Armenian section of the Union of Writers of Azerbaijan.
Guyumčean

Collections

Hatêntir. (Baku, 1977).

Texts (verse)

Lirikakan huyzer. (Baku, 1934).
Hayreniki hamar. (Baku, 1939).
Hizah artzivé. (Baku, 1942).
Mor sirté. (Baku, 1944).
Liufyun. (Baku, 1949).
Kaspiakani aravotê. (Baku, 1954).
Jinj horizonner. (Baku, 1955).
Tzalkir, azat im hayrenikê. (Baku, 1961).
Tot aydpes lini. (Erevan, 1965).
Singara. (Baku, 1965).
Mayramuti k rakner. (Baku, 1973).
Nvirakan anunner. (Baku, 1974).

Translations (Russian)

Derzanie. (Baku, 1958).

GURJI-NAVÊ, (d. 1840)
An Eastern Armenian aşul.

Poetry

MKH, 446–47, 467–68.
PHA, 2, 75–97.
THG, 92–98.

GUYUMČEAN, YAKOB (1904–1961)

Born in Mersin, Turkey. Poet and novelist. Survived the Armenian carnage of 1915, but his parents and brothers did not. Returned to Adana for a few years (1919–22) and emigrated to Philadelphia (1924) via the Middle East.

Texts (verse)

Leninean erger. (New York, [1935]).
Potorik. (New York, 1936).
Egiptos (poëm) ew ardzak banasteltzutîwnner. (New York, 1938).
GYULNAZARYAN, HAŽAK (1918–)
Born in Erevan. Literary critic and writer of prose. Obtained doctorate in literature in 1972 and was awarded the Armenian State Prize for literature for the children’s and young adult fiction he wrote. Employed at the Institute of Literature since 1950.

Collections

Texts (stories and novels)
Char bazei mahē. (Erevan, 1938).
Tzuyli verjē. (Erevan, 1940).
Dašši tererē ev hyurerē. (Erevan, 1951).
Ov inch gite. (Erevan, 1952).
Lav čanaparhordnerē. (Erevan, 1953).
Bolorinn ē. (Erevan, 1954).
Kalaki aravotē. (Erevan, 1956).
Kesōr. (Erevan, 1957).
Šarkerum. (Erevan, 1959).
Öreri čanaparhē. (Erevan, 1962, 1982).
Inch-or tel verjanum ē horizonē. (Erevan, 1966).
Merasz ašharhi akama bnakichnerē. (Erevan, 1968).
Patvazkner Artutiki masin. (Erevan, 1970).
Patvo karē. (Erevan, 1970).
Nriani. (Erevan, 1971).
Zarmanali hekiatner. (Erevan, 1974).
Chularkvatz namakner. (Erevan, 1975).
Sibir. (Erevan, 1976).
Der dprots chenk gnum. (Erevan, 1979).
Moratskot tzerunu hekiatē. (Erevan, 1980).
Hetker getni vra ev getni tak. (Erevan, 1984).
Girk anaknakal. (Erevan, 1985).
Der dprots chenk gnum. (Erevan, 1987).
Im nkarich Gorē. (Erevan, 1988).
Jralats. (Erevan, 1989).
HACHATUR

Other works
Grakan hartserê nahařevolyution šrjani hay bolševikyan mamulum. (Erevan, 1954).
Aknarkner hay mankakan grakanutyan patmutyan. (Erevan, 1961).
Atabek Hnkoyan. (Erevan, 1968).

Translations
ENGLISH

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
WM, 158–62.

RUSSIAN
Aiartian, M., and Aiartian, G. Sledy na zemle i pod zemlei. (Erevan, 1987).
Kafrieliants, R. Kak ia poterialsia. (Moscow, 1969).
Mnatsakanian, M. Khoroshi eputeshestvenniki. (Moscow, 1961).

Bibliographies
Karapetyan, L. Hažak Gyulnazaryan. (Erevan, 1980).

HAČEAN, MKRTICH (1915–1985)
Born in Geyve (Turkey), and educated at the famous Kedronakan school in Constantinople. Poet and writer of short stories. Also wrote numerous articles dealing with music, painting and literary criticism. Spent the last three decades of his life in Mexico.

Texts

HACHATUR ÈRZRUMETSI (1666–1740)
Also known by the surname Arakleian. Born in Constantinople. Studied at the College of Propaganda and held pastoral-religious positions in Constantinople and Venice. Wrote in both Latin and Armenian on philosophical, theological, religious, and moral themes.

Texts
Girk kerakanutean. (Livorno, 1696).
Hamaröt meknutiwn Ergoy ergotsn Solomoni. (Constantinople, 1700).
Hamarôtutiuw baroyakani astuatzabanutean. (Venice, 1709, 1736).
Bank ew karozk yalags têrunakan tônis. 2 vols. (Venice, 1710).
Hamarôtakan imastasirutiwn. 2 vols. (Venice, 1711).
Čartasanutıwn. (Venice, 1713).
Nerazutıwn aër kristoneakan katarelutıwn. (Venice, 1733).
Karçarötagunel hamarötutiwn ëndhanrakani astuatzabanutean. (Venice, 1736).

Criticism

Hachatur EwdoKatsi (16th–17th c.)
Birthplace presumed to be Tokat. Visited Italy, where he had some bitter experiences. Wrote a history of Venice, the first two editions of which were attributed to Hachatur Ètovpatsi.

Text

Hachatur Õaspëk erëts kafatsi (1610–1686)
Born in Caffa, Crimea. A poet, scribe, teacher, and married priest. Spent most of his life in Crimea.

Poetry

Works in anthologies
SUM, 2, 128–52.

Criticism
\section*{HACHATUR JUŁAYETSI}
An eighteenth-century historian whose work contains detailed information on Iran and the Armenians of Iran in the eighteenth century.

\textit{Patmutiwn parsits.} (Valarşapat, 1905).

\section*{HACHATUR KAFAYETSI (c1592–1659?)}
Born Hachgruz in Caffa, Crimea. Renamed Hächatur on his ordination into married priesthood in 1624. Remembered for his chronicle regarding Crimea and its Armenian community.


\section*{Anthologies}
\textit{SUM,} 2, 125–27.

\section*{Translations}
\textbf{German}

\section*{Criticism}

\section*{HAKOBYAN, HAKOB (1866–1937)}
Pen name: Proletar.
Born in Elizavetpol (Kirovabad, and now Ganja, Azerbaijan). Generally recognized as the principal founder of Armenian Marxist-Proletarian poetry. Discontinued his education at his birthplace, moved to Tiflis in 1886, and sought employment in a variety of occupations. In 1921 he was appointed the “komisar” of all banks in Tiflis. In 1922, with some other colleagues, he founded the Armenian branch of the Association of Proletarian Writers of Georgia and edited its organ, \textit{Darbnots.}

\section*{Collections}
\textit{Nor aravot.} (Erevan, 1931).
\textit{Banasteltzutyunner.} (Erevan, 1935).
\textit{Énšir erker.} (Erevan, 1936).
\textit{Banasteltzutyunner.} (Erevan, 1948).
\textit{Erker.} (Erevan, 1951).
\textit{Im aššarhê.} (Erevan, 1956).
\textit{Banasteltzutyunner ev poemner.} (Erevan, 1958).
\textit{Banasteltzutyunner, poemner.} (Erevan, 1966).
Hakobyan

Texts (verse)
Banasteltzut'iwnner. (Tiflis, 1899).
Aşhatanki erger. (Tiflis, 1906).
Yelapōhakan erger. (N.p., 1907).
Nor aśrawōt. (Tiflis, 1910).
Yelapōhakan erger. (Tiflis, 1917).
Yišataki ksanvets komunarneri. (Tiflis, 1919).
Karmir alik. (Tiflis, 1921).
Yelapōhakan bem. (Tiflis, 1922).
Erku poem. (Tiflis, 1923).
Baylševik ë Şir-kanalê. (Tiflis, 1925).
Agitatori huşerîts. (Tiflis, 1927).
Leningradyan poem. (Tiflis, 1931).
Nor erger. (Tiflis, 1936).

Translations

RUSSIAN
Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1948).
Izbrannoe. (Moscow, 1951).
Pesni truda i revoliutsii. Stikhotvoreniiia. (Tiflis, 1932).
Stikhi. (Moscow, 1938).
Stikhi. (Moscow, 1966).
Stikhi i poemy. (Erevan, 1960).

Bibliographies

Criticism

**HAMASTEt,** (1895–1966)

Pen names: Hamastel, Öhan Tsogetsi.

Born Hambardzum Kêlênean in the village of Pêrçênê, near Harberd (Harput, Turkey), and educated in Mezirê (or Mezrê), in the same region. In 1913, he settled in the United States (Boston) and wrote about the indelible memories of his birthplace. Some of his work is still scattered in the periodical press, notably in *Hayrenik* of Boston.

**Collections**


Sevan, G. *Hayastani leñneru srngaharë.* (Erevan, 1989).

**Texts (stories)**

*Giwlë.* (Boston, 1924; Beirut, 1955).

*Andrew.* (Paris, 1929).


*Kajn Nazar ew 13 patmuatzkner.* (Cairo, 1955).

*Alôraran.* (Beirut, 1957).

*Aytzetomar ew uriš banasteltzutìwnner.* (Cairo, 1960). (Verse).


*Afajin sërê.* (Beirut, 1966).


**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**Criticism**


(New York, [1967]).


Šahinean, G. *Hamastet.* (Beirut, 1961).


HANENTS, GALUST (1910–1998)
Pen name: Galust Hanents.
Born Galust Hanane in Teheran and educated in Armenian and French schools in
the same city. Poet, teacher, and translator of Persian literature into Armenian.

Texts (verse)
Ambolj srtyov. (Teheran, 1957).
Hrašali zorütiwn. (Teheran, 1972).
Barew kez, mard. (Beirut, 1974).

HANZADYAN, SERO (1915–1998)
Born in Goris, in the region of Zangezur, Armenia. Studied pedagogy at his
birthplace and taught in the region until the outbreak of World War II. Fought in
the ranks of the Red Army, and later recorded his experiences in his Erek tari 291
ör, which won him the Armenian State Literary Prize in 1977. In the 1970s and
1980s, he was a consultant to the Union of Writers of Armenia and held various
political positions. He has visited the Armenian communities of the Middle East
and the United States.

Collections

Texts (stories and novels)
Orotani kirçum. (Erevan, 1956).
Karmir šu slander. (Erevan, 1958).
Harsutynune lenerunum. (Erevan, 1961).
Ayrvatz tunë. (Erevan, 1965).
Sevani lusabatsë. (Erevan. 1974).
Hayrenapatum. (Erevan, 1980).
"Hovhannes Shiraz." SG, 1985/1, 76–86.
Araksëpltorvum ë. (Erevan, 1985).
Hors het ev aṙants hors. (Erevan, 1986).
Inchpes hişım em. (Huşer). (Erevan, 1988).
Pêlê Puli. (Erevan, 1988).
Andranik. (Erevan, 1989).

Translations

**ENGLISH**

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**
WM, 163–68.

**FRENCH**

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

**GERMAN**

**RUSSIAN**
Izbrannye proizvedeniia. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1985).
Kafrieliants, R. Povesti i rasskazy. (Moscow, 1986).
———. Tri goda 291 den’: Frontovoi dnevnik. (Moscow, 1984).
Moi rodynye i sosedii. Rasskazy. (Moscow, 1959).
Strana semi dolin. (Moscow, 1968).

**Criticism**
———. “Sero Հանզադյանi steltzagortzakan lezvi kerjaakanan arandznahatkutyunnerê.” L, 1972/9, 82–89.
HATISEAN, MARIAM (1845–1914)
Born Mariam Marisean in Tiflis. Headed “Kovkasi hayuhearts baregortzakan ēńkerutiuwa,” a charitable-cultural society, from 1882 to 1907. Her novels and novelettes deal mainly with women’s social status and role.

Texts
Nor čanaparhi vray: vēpik. (Petersburg, 1894). (Story).
Pesay orsoňer. (Tiflis, 1894). (Story).

Criticism

HAVASI, GUSAN (1896–1978)
Pen name: Gusan Havasi.
Born Armenak Markosyan in Ayazma, a village in the region of Tzalka, Georgia. Lost his eyesight to an illness at the age of three. Began his apprenticeship in minstrelsy early in his life and before long emerged as a leading gusan. Spent the last three decades of his life in Erevan.

Collections

Texts (verse)
Burmunk. (Erevan, 1950).
Im knarē. (Erevan, 1961).
Hasmik. (Erevan, 1975).

Criticism

HAYK, VAHĒ (1896–1983)
Pen name: Vahē Hayk.
Born Vahē Tincean in Harberd (Harput, Turkey). Graduated from Euphrates College and continued his studies in Constantinople (1915–20). Settled in the United States in 1920. For many years he engaged in journalism, both as an editor and writer.

Collections
Hayreni tžan. (Erevan, 1960).

Texts (stories)

Other works
Hazar hing hariwrameak Vardanants paterazmin. (Fresno, 1952).
Lusawor dēmker mer ēreron vray. (Beirut, 1972).
Haykuni

Hayastani mankakan ašharhē ew anor mankakan grakanutyunē. (Fresno, 1974).

Translations

ENGLISH
TFA, 49–62.

FRENCH

RUSSIAN
KNS, 25–40.
PCN, 15–17.

Criticism

HAYKAZ, ARAM (1900–1986)
Pen name: Aram Haykaz.
Born Aram Chekemean in Sapin-Garahisar (Şebinkarahisar, Turkey). Took part in the defense of the city, and by professing Islam, he survived the genocide and World War I, in the service of Turks stationed in the mountains of Kurdistan (1915–19). Fled to Constantinople in 1919 and emigrated to the United States in the early 1920s. His prose reflects life in Western Armenia, Kurdistan, and the United States.

Collections
Aprēk erehēk. (Beirut, 1973).

Texts (stories)
Karōt: ardzak aprumner. (Beirut, 1971).
Chors tari Kiwritstani lefnerun mēj. (Beirut, 1972).
Erjankutniwn. (Beirut, 1978).

Other works

Criticism

HAYKUNI, ARMENAK (1835–1866)
Pen name: Armenak Haykuni.
Born Armenak Čizmēčean (or Chizmēčean) in Constantinople. Novelist, poet, and journalist. Educated in the local Armenian schools and at the Theological
Seminary at Bebek, founded by C. Hamlin in 1840. Published the first Armenian theatrical periodical, *Musayk Maseats* (1857–58), and founded with G. Chilinkirean (1839–1923) the periodical *Tzalik* (1861). Wrote one of the earliest novels in modern Armenian literature and a number of poems and plays that are still scattered in the periodical press. His attempts to explain biological, social, and political phenomena in a scientific manner, as well as his anti-clerical views, were vigorously opposed by the Armenian Church. His books listed under “other works” deal with such themes.

**Texts**

*Eliza kam Verjin Arewelian paterazmi žamanak teli unetsatz irakan dépk mé.* (Smyrna, 1861). (Novel).

**Other works**

-Bnakan ūnamatatzutiwn kam Aitchmord marts amenaharkawor mēk partakanuteanē. (Constantinople, [1859?]).
-Turfanta tikin ev iwr galaθarē amerikatsi Eritsakan karozchats vrayōk. (Constantinople, 1860).
-Platon i Vosbor, ēndēm dimakawor ‘Bari mard ew bari kristoneay’ anun grkīn. (Constantinople, 1860).
-Garnan tzaθikner kam Eritasardats ew őriordats ardi vičakē. (Constantinople, 1863, [1871?]).
-Gawltnik brootean kam Skzbunk mardkayin tznndakanutean ewropatsi imastasirats ardi druteanē hamemat. (Constantinople, 1863, [1871], 1895).
-Černmak kam Parson S. Papzean ew iwr Žamanakē. (Constantinople, 1863).
-Gereznmak eritasardats kam Tīptakan hiwandutiwnk, Ewropioy imastasirats ardi druteanē hamemat. (Constantinople, 1863, [1869], [1871?]).
-Usumnakēn zḥōsanats tuθr. [Constantinople, 1864?]. (Armenian history).
-Hāmarōti pamluθiwn ev aθharhagrutiwn hayots. (Constantinople, 1864). (History and geography of Armenia).
-Mah Oltimpiadayi taguhwoyn hayots. (Constantinople, [1864?]).
-Gawltnik klerakanutean kam Arithnaliits viθeru nkaragrutiumē. (Constantinople, 1864).
-Ašnan terewner kam Gaultnik eritasardats ev pataneats. (Constantinople, n.d.).

**Criticism**


**HAYRAPET, ABDIN ÖLLI** (18th c.)

This aşıul (minstrel) is believed to have lived in Julfa in the second half of the eighteenth century.

**Poetry**

-EPA, 35–39.
-MPT, 85.
C. Hechumyan

*PHA*, 1, 17–18.

**Criticism**


**HAYRAPETYAN, HAYRAPET** (1874–1962)

Born in Tanakert a village in Nahijevan. Translator, author of school textbooks, writer of poetry for children, teacher, and journalist for many decades. Received elementary education in Zak’atala, Georgia. Studied at the Nersisean school of Tiflis. Settled in Erevan in the 1930s.

**Collections**

*Èntir erker*: (Erevan, 1957).

**Texts (verse)**

- *Mehuneri komunan*: (Erevan, 1931).
- *Mer getê*: (Erevan, 1931).
- *Hasmiki namakê*: (Erevan, 1931).
- *Kolhozi hamar*: (Erevan, 1934).
- *Uraĥ Hrayrê ev sagi saylê*: (Erevan, 1936).
- *Napastaki ev alvesi hekiatê*: (Erevan, 1938).
- *Im ergerê*: (Erevan, 1939).
- *Tsotikn u Šotikê*: (Erevan, 1941).
- *Kapavorê*: (Erevan, 1942).
- *Čagarn u alvesê*: (Erevan, 1945).
- *Pnjik*: (Erevan, 1948).
- *Im ergerê*: *Im hayrenikê, Bnutyun erger*: (Erevan, 1951).
- *Anlinazand ulikê*: (Erevan, 1953).
- *Häbvatz tzitiêkê*: (Erevan, 1983).

**HECHUMYAN, VIGEN** (1916–1975)

Born Vidok Hechumyan in Erevan. A graduate of Erevan State University (1940). Worked at the Matenadaran (1938–40, 1943–56); served in the Red Army in World War II (1940–43). In the mid-1950s, he began working as a journalist for the literary periodical *Sovetakan grakanutyun*.

**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Chatu ûhani patmutyunê*: (Erevan, 1943).
Zvartnots. (Erevan, 1945).
Tzalkoli ordin. (Erevan, 1954).

Translations

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
WM, 127–44.

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
Yeghiaian, A. E. 162–66.

GERMAN

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
AN, 177–99.

RUSSIAN
Nersesian, G. U nas na iuge. Roman. (Moscow, 1956).

SPANISH

Criticism

HÉKIMEAN, SRAPION (1832–1892)
Born in Constantinople and educated at the Murat-Rapayëlean school in Venice. Wrote poetry and drama, almost exclusively in Classical Armenian. Played an instrumental role in founding the first Armenian professional theater in Constantinople.

Texts
Talk, kertuatck ew tatrergraunw. (Constantinople, 1857). (Poems and plays).
Yulianë. (Constantinople, 1864). (Play).

Criticism

HISAREAN, YOVHANNÊS (1827–1916)
Born and educated in Constantinople. A teacher by profession, he wrote prose and poetry. Founded the periodical Banasër (1851–52, 1859), in which he published
his Հոսրով էվ Մակրուհի, reckoned to be the first novel in modern Western Armenian literature.

**Texts**


Ներն կամ կատարած աշխարհի. (Constantinople, 1867). (Novel).

Դիվան, որ է տալարան. (Constantinople, 1871, 1910 [expanded]). (Verse).

**Other works**

Կարչարոտ պատկեր Նաբոլեոն Պոնաբարտեմ վարությ. (Constantinople, 1847).

**HŇKO-APER** (1870–1935)

Pen name: Հոկո-Ապեր.


**Collections**

Էնիտիր էրկեր. (Erevan, 1940).

Հոլովացու. (Erevan, 1945).

Հատենտիր. (Erevan, 1950).

Արակներ. (Erevan, 1953).

Մանուկներին. (Erevan, 1954).

Էնիտիր էջեր. (Erevan, 1961).

Հեկյատներ ու պատմավարկեր. (Erevan, 1967).

Հոլովացու. (Erevan, 1979).

Hınkoyan, V. Êrker. (Erevan, 1980).

Gasparyan, M. Êrker. (Erevan, 1984).

**Texts (verse and prose)**

Բանասեթցան թորձեր. (Alexandrapol, 1890).

Գիվնածուն ew արջե. (Tiflis, 1909; Erevan, 1959).

Ահենս ու արջե. (Tiflis, 1910; Erevan, 1941, 1970).

Գուլ մակին. (Tiflis, 1911; Erevan, 1941, 1949).

Կի-կի-լի-կի. (Tiflis, 1911).

Թիթիւ ու օրբերե. (Tiflis, 1912).

Քրունկ ու ահենք. Էնկերե ուտիք է լինի. (Tiflis, 1912).

Պեսատսը մուկե. (Tiflis, 1912).

Ֆիրդուսի (925–1020). (Tiflis, 1912).

Նապաստակի տունե. (Tiflis, 1913).

Քարատսզն կիտրեր. (Tiflis, 1916).

Արակներ. (Tiflis, 1917).

Թաղատնե-անասնաբույծե է իր ագրոզրյությ. (Erevan, 1926).

Մեթ Հոկթեմբեր. Պատկոմքերին. (Erevan, 1927).

Թիհամերե. (Erevan, 1929).
Hovhannisyan

Arakner. (Erevan, 1930).
Erkatuli Erevan-Tiflis. (Erevan, 1930).
Pioner Hrachë. (Erevan, 1930, 1931).
Mardn inchov e campordum[?] (Erevan, 1931).
Motzakë. (Erevan, 1931).
Tramvayë Erevanum. (Erevan, 1934, 1936).
Mkner inchpes křvetsin katvi dem. (Erevan, 1936).
Arakner. (Erevan, 1937).
Banasteltzyunner. (Erevan, 1937).
Ex. (Erevan, 1939).
Mrgstan. (Erevan, 1939).
Girkë. (Erevan, 1940).
Hozn u agravë. (Erevan, 1940).
Gayln u garë. (Erevan, 1941).
Ki-ki-li-ki aklorn em. (Erevan, 1941).
Papn u šalgamë. (Erevan, 1941).
Tšatikner. (Erevan, 1943).
Katun, aklorn u alvesë. (Erevan, 1948).
Gayln u katun. (Erevan, 1957).
Žantahtë. (Erevan, 1966).
Melu. (Erevan, 1971).
Bklik dzknik. (Erevan, 1986).
Napastaknerë (ařak). (Erevan, 1987).

Translations (Russian)

Bibliographies

Criticism

HOVHANNISYAN, HOVHANNES (1864–1929)
Born in Valaršapat (fällițin). His verse paved the way for some new trends and traditions in modern Eastern Armenian poetry. Studied in Erevan, at the Lazarean (Lazarevskii) Institute in Moscow, and Moscow University (1884–88).
Taught for many years at the Géoragean seinary infällițin. Later in his life, he held administrative positions in the fields of education and culture in Baku and in Soviet Armenia.

Collections
Haténir. (Erevan, 1939).
Zaryan, R. Ňentir banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1945).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1949).
Hatěntir. (Erevan, 1953).
Erker; mihatoryak. (Erevan, 1959).
Hatěntir: kertvatzner. (Erevan, 1971).

**Texts (verse)**

*Banasteltzutiwnner.* (Moscow, 1887).
*Banasteltzutiwnner.* (Valarsapat, 1908).
*Banasteltzutiwnner. 1882–1912 yobelenakan hratarakuriwn.* (Valarsapat, 1912).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*AP*, 190–94.
*ALP*, 20, 60–61, 77.

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APA*, 97–100.
*LPA*, 181–82.

**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AD*, 32–33.
*ALG*, 124–25.

**RUSSIAN**

Arsharuni, A. *Izbrannoe.* (Moscow, 1949).
*Lirika.* (Moscow, 1963).
Rozhdestvenskii, V. *Stikhotvorenii.* (Erevan, 1940).

**Criticism**

Avdalbegyan, T. *Hovhannes Hovhannisyany, grakan-patmakan verutzutyun.* (Erevan, 1934).
HOVHANNISYAN, HRACHYA (1919–1998)

Collections

Texts (verse)
Im kyanki ergé. (Erevan, 1948).
Erkrord handipum. (Erevan, 1951).
Hrašali ayegepan. (Erevan, 1956).
Vayrî vard. (Erevan, 1968).
Sure dapnu vra. (Erevan, 1970).
Hayrakan erg. (Erevan, 1977).
Arevot kzu ergè. (Erevan, 1980).
Irîknayin lotanj. (Erevan, 1982).
Mštadalar tzařè. (Erevan, 1985). (Articles and essays).
Charentsi lapterê. (Erevan, 1988).

Other works
Ţamanaki şunchê. (Erevan, 1976).

Translations

ENGLISH
Tempest, P. [“Death’s terrifying just to those. . . .”] SL, 1979/9, 93. Also published in SL, 1980/6, 117.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
SAP, 33–35.

FRENCH
---------.
“Vie, ce que j’attends de toi?.” LS, 258 (1980), 140.
---------.
[“Qu’elle soit calleuse, la main du jardinier.”] OO, 167 (Nov. 1972), 131.
---------.
“Qu’elle soit calleuse, la main du jardinier.” LS, 258 (1980), 139.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Chudesnii sadovnik. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1960).
Chudesnii sadovnik. (Erevan, 1970).
Dikaia roza. (Moscow, 1980).
Moim tovarishcham po schast’iu. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1952).
Rozhdenie liubvi. (Erevan, 1956).

SPANISH

Criticism
Hrimean, Mkrtich (1820–1907)

Born in Van. He was one of the most popular religious-national figures of his time. Took the vows of celibacy in 1854 and became the abbot of the monastery of Varag (near Van) and the primate of Muş (Taron) in 1862. Established the first printing press in Western Armenia and published Artzui Vaspurakani (1858–64), the first Armenian periodical to appear in the region. In 1868, he was created bishop in Ejmiatzin, and a year later, he was elected Patriarch of Constantinople (1869–73). In his capacity as the formally recognized head of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, he initiated and submitted to the Porte, a detailed report documenting oppression and misgovernment in the Armenian provinces. In 1878, he headed an unofficial Armenian delegation to the Congress of Berlin to advance Armenian aspirations, and he served as the primate of Van (1879–85) soon after his return from Germany. The radical conclusion he drew from the Congress of Berlin, bitterly articulated in a famous sermon, promoted the legitimacy of self-defense among Armenians. Exiled to Jerusalem in 1890, he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians (1893–1907). His new position brought him into conflict with the Russian authorities, notably in 1903, when he and his subordinates, acting on instructions from him, defied the czar’s order calling for the confiscation of Armenian Church property and the closure of Armenian schools. His flock had long since venerated him as “Hayrik” (i.e., “father” with the endearing diminutive ik) in recognition of his selfless dedication to his people and homeland. His verse and prose reflect his patriotism, along with his religious, moral, social, and political concerns.

Collections

Amboľakan erker. (New York, 1929).

Texts (prose and verse)

Hrawirak araratean. (Constantinople, 1850, 1876).
Hrawirak Erkrin aweteats. (Constantinople, 1851; Jerusalem, 1892).
Margarit arkazyutean erknits. (Constantinople, 1866, [1876], 1887; Valarsapat, 1894).
Drahti ėntanik. (Constantinople, 1876, 1887, 1911; Tiflis, 1893).
Hachi car. (Constantinople, 1876, 1887; Valarsapat, 1894).
Yisusi verjin šabat. (Constantinople, 1876, 1887; Valarsapat, 1894).
Żamanak ew χορήγυρ ιΔυ. (Constantinople, 1876, 1909; Tiflis, 1895).
Vangoyż. (Constantinople, 1877, 1908).
Haygoyż. (Constantinople, 1877, 1908).
Siraḵ ew Samuĕl. (Constantinople, 1878, 1887; Tiflis, 1892, 1893).
Papik ew Törmik. (Valarsapat, 1894; Beirut, 1957).
Hôsk hrazarman Hrimean s. Patriarki Hayots Azgayin erespolanakan źolowov 64rd patmakan nistin mĕi or teli unetsaw 1873 Ögostos 3-in. ([Constantinople, 1873]; Constantinople, 1910).
Verjalaysi declaring. (Cairo, 1901).
Olbatosľ Ḥorenatsin. (Valarsapat, 1902).
Tźragir barenorogmants. (Constantinople, 1909).
Translators
English
(Armenian and English texts).

English anthologies
*AP*, 201–13.

Criticism
———. *Հրիմյան Հայոց: աշխարհի գալարան.* (Beirut, 1954).
Manuëlean, H. *Հրիմյան kensagratan tesutiwn, patkerov.* (Tiflis, 1892).

“Vehapar Hayrapeti tznndeana 80-rd taredarzē.” A, 1900, 163–68.


**HURYAN, TĀTUL (1912–1942)**

Pen name: Tatul Huryan.

Born Tatul Hachatryan in Tajrlu, a village in Surmalu, Russia (now in the easternmost part of Turkey). Poet. Studied in Baku and pursued his higher studies in Moscow. Killed in action in World War II, fighting in the ranks of the Red Army. He was posthumously awarded the E. Charents and N. Ostrovskii literary prizes.

**Collections**

Graši, A. *Asti.* (Baku, 1943).

*Banasteltzutyunner ev poemner.* (Erevan, 1949).

*Erkri het.* (Baku, 1951).

*Banasteltzutyunner.* (Erevan, 1956).

*Husardzan.* (Baku, 1970).

Duryan, L. *Lusapsak.* (Erevan, 1982).

**Texts (verse)**

*Holaryunē.* (Erevan, 1932).

*Dnepr.* (Baku, 1933).

*Hasak.* (Baku, 1934).

*Poemner.* (Baku, 1941).

*Frik.* (Erevan, 1945). (Play).

**Translations**

**RUSSIAN**

Balaslan, V. *Stikhi.* (Erevan, 1950).

———. *Stikhi i poemy.* (Erevan, 1952).

**Criticism**


**INTRA, (1875–1921)**

Pen name: Intra (i.e. Indra).

Born Tiran Chrakean in Constantinople. Studied at the celebrated Pêrpeērean school and taught at local schools. Traveled to Paris and Geneva (1897) and Egypt (1898). Symptoms of his mental imbalance progressed in the wake of World War I, and he turned to zealous preaching. In 1921, the Kemalists arrested him and sent him into exile. According to one of his companions, Intra went insane during the long march from Konya to the interior and died shortly after crossing the Tigris near Diyarbakir.

**Collections**

Texts

Nerašharh. (Constantinople, 1906; Beirut, 1955). (Prose).
Nočastan. (Constantinople, 1908; Beirut, 1958). (Verse).

Texts in periodicals

AM, 1904, 826–32. 1906, 147–52.
Širak, 1905/1, 46–52; 2, 93–100; 3, 188–90; 8, 109, 110; 9, 181–82; 10–11, 300.

Translations

ITALIAN

LPAM, 167–72.

Criticism

“Intrayi girkë.” SG, 1982/7, 143–44.

ISAHAKEAN, ISAHAK (1893–1916)

Born in Lazaratapat (now Isahakyan, in the region of Ani, Armenia). Poet; nephew of Avetik Isahakyan (q.v.). Educated in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia) and at the military school in Tiflis. Killed in action on the Russo-Turkish front in World War I.

Collections

Hekiat arevi tak. (Erevan, 1974).

Texts


Poetry


ISAHAKYAN, AVETIK (1875–1957)

Born in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia). Studied in his native city, at the Georgean Seminary in Ejmiatzin (1889–92, where H. Hovhannisyan
Isahakyan

was one of his teachers), and audited courses at the universities of Leipzig (1893) and Zurich (late 1890s). Returned home in 1902. After a second term of incarceration for anti-government activities, he went back to Europe in 1911 and lived in France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. He resided in Soviet Armenia, 1926–30, and then moved to Europe for a last time (Paris, 1930–36), before he permanently settled in Erevan in 1936. A member of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR (1943) and a winner of the USSR State Prize for literature (1946). From 1944 to his death, he was president of the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia. In recognition of his contributions to Armenian verse, the Avetik Isahakyan literary prize for poetry was established in Erevan in 1980.

Collections

Hatëntir. (Erevan, 1943).
Ardzak ejer. (Erevan, 1945).
Entir erker. (Erevan and Moscow, 1948).
Hušer ev hodvatzer. (Erevan, 1951).
Banasteltzutwinner. (Beirut, 1955).
Hayduki erger. (Beirut, 1960).
Lirika. (Erevan, 1968).
Hatëntir. (Erevan, 1975).
Selbosyan, L. Erker. (Erevan, 1980).
İncikyan, A. Teznot ev antznot ejer. (Erevan, 1988).

Texts

Erger u vêrker. (Alexandrapol, 1897). (Verse).
Hin-nor erg u vërkerits. (Baku, 1902). (Verse).
Banasteltzutwinner. (Baku, 1903). (Verse).
Erger u vêrker. (Tiflis, 1908). (Verse).
Aţa Nazar. (Constantinople, 1912; Beirut, 1939). (Prose).
Hayreni albiwrits. (Boston, 1920). (Poetry).
Isahakyan

Ašnan tsatikner. (Venice, 1922). (Poetry).
Sasmay Mher. (Vienna, 1922; Erevan, 1938; Beirut, 1952). (Verse).
Lilit.—Arevelyan tesilner. (Tiflis, 1927). (Stories).
Hamberank'i chibuhē. (Erevan, 1929). (Stories).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1930). (Verse).
Kakavn u alvesē. (Erevan, 1940).
Arjn u ődzē. (Erevan, 1941).
Arktazahnèrnerē. (Fresno and New York, 1943). (Prose).
Hanun hayrenik'i ev kulturayi paštipanutyun. (Erevan, 1945).
Arakner. (Erevan, 1946).
Im hušerits. (Erevan, 1946; Beirut, 1955). (Reminiscences).
Usta Karō ev Ōrte Yarāt. (Teheran, 1959). (Incomplete novel).
Nukim kalak'i heloknèrē. (Erevan, 1962). (Story).
Arakner. (Erevan, 1974).
Lilit. (Erevan, 1974).
Inčikyan, A. Hišatakurin. (Erevan, 1977). (Grakan ężańgutuyun, 10). (Diary).
Hamberank'i chibuhē. (Erevan, 1982). (Story).
Arevi mot. (Erevan, 1983). (Tales).

Translations

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSLATIONS


ENGLISH

Chrakian, E. Scent, Smile and Sorrow, Selected Verses (1891–1957) and Jottings from Notebooks. (Watertown, MA, 1975).
———. Selected Poetry and Prose. (Moscow, 1976).
Isahakyan


———. “Abu Lala Mahari.” Nor ašhar, 1963/37, 4; 38, 4; 39, 4; 40, 4.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

ALP, 6, 11, 29–30, 42.
AP, 249.
SAP, 5–7.
WM, 44–47.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES


Martirossian, L. “A Ravenne.” La littérature soviétique, 1957/1, 3.


FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

APA, 157–60.
FPA, 45–46.
LPA, 200–3.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GAMMARRE, P. E.
47–50.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES


Martirossian, L. “A Ravenne.” La littérature soviétique, 1957/1, 3.


FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

APA, 157–60.
FPA, 45–46.
LPA, 200–3.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES


GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES

AD, 38–40.
ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
LPAM, 247–54.

RUSSIAN
Isaakian, Avik, A. Ia upodobil serdtse nebu. (Erevan, 1988).
Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1952).
Izbrannoie. (Moscow, 1970).
Izbrannoie. (Erevan, 1974).
Izbrannye proizvedeniiia. (Moscow, 1952).
Izbrannye sochineniiia. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1956).
Izbrannye stikhi. (Moscow, 1945).
Mger iz Sasuna. (Erevan, 1939; Moscow, 1939).
Stikhotvoreniiia i poemy. (Moscow, 1960).

SPANISH
Agayan, H. Abu Lala Mahari. (Buenos Aires, 1929).

Bibliographies

Criticism
Asatryan, A. "Avetik Isahakyanı kyankë ev steltzagortzyunnerë." (Erevan, 1940).


---------. Isahakeani het Venetikum (usanolakan yiişer). (Teheran, 1946).


---------. Tvorcheskii put’ Avetika Isaakiana. (Moscow, 1963).


---------. Avetik’ Isahakyany sirergutyunë. (Erevan, 1985).

---------. Avetik’ Isahakyany hayrenasirakan poezian. (Erevan, 1987).


---------. Avetik Isahakyany. (Erevan, 1975).

---------. “Isahakyany steltzagortzakan ufu skizbë.” PBH, 1975/1, 23–32.


(Im karavanê).
——. *Avetik Isakian i Rossiiia*. (Moscow, 1988).
——. *Avetik Isahakyanê ev rus grakanutynë*. (Erevan, 1984).
——. *Chors gagat, Tumanyan, Isahakyan, Teryan, Charents*. (Erevan, 1982).
Kanayan, H. *Avetik IsahakyanÊ lezun*. (Erevan, 1940).
——. “Avetik IsahakyanÊ nañhovetakan šrjani hraparakaĥosutyunê.” *PBH*, 1969/1, 163–70.
Lanalanyan, H. *IsahakyanÊ lirikan*. (Erevan, 1940).
———. “Kir'akan orlort' o'cakan gortzatzutyun'nerë Av. Isahakyani gelarvestakan ardzakum.” BEH, 1984/1, 205–11.
———. “Mardasirutyun poezian.” BEH, 1975/2, 3–12.
Tzalkuni, Z. Avetik Isahakean. (Cairo, 1946).
Iwan, S. *Ob Avetike Isaakiane.* (Erevan, 1971).  

Zaryan, Ő. *Avetik Isahakyan.* (Erevan, 1974).

IŠAN, MUŠEŁ (1913–1990)  
Pen name: Mušel Išan.  
Born Mušel Čëntërëcean in Sivrihisar, Turkey. Poet, novelist, playwright. Education in Armenian schools in Damascus, Cyprus (Melkonian, spelled Melgonean) and Beirut. His higher studies at the University of Brussels (1938–40) were interrupted due to World War II. Returned to Beirut in 1940, and for many years he taught at the Nšan Palančëcean Čemaran, one of the leading Armenian high schools in Beirut.

**Texts**

*Tunerun ergë.* (Beirut, 1936). (Verse).


*Keank u eraz.* (Beirut, 1949). (Verse).

*Erek metz hayer.* (Beirut, 1951).


*Mušel Mamikonean.* (Beirut, 1951).

*Hatsi ew siroy hamar.* (Beirut, 1956). (Novel).

*Oljoyn kez, keank.* (Beirut, 1958). (Verse).

*Oski ašun.* (Beirut, 1963). (Verse).

*Tatapank.* (Beirut and Antelias, 1968). (Verse).

*Meñnilë orkun džuar e.* (Beirut, 1971). (Play).


*Spasum.* (Beirut, 1977). (Story).

*Sairananyen elatz, mardë.* (Beirut, 1979). (Play).

*Tateraḥaler.* (Beirut, 1980). (Plays).

**Other works**


**Criticism**


 Parsamean, M. “Nor vëp më—‘Hatsi ew loysi hamar.’ *HK,* 30 (1952/5), 111–12.

IWAN (1800–1865)  
Pen name: Iwan.

Yovhannës Sargsean Sargseants was a minstrel (*ašul*) from Astrakhan.

**Poetry**

*THG,* 142–46.
JAVAHETSI, (1874–1937)
Pen name: Javahetsi.
Born Lazaros Ter-Grigorean in the village of Gandza (Bogdanovka, Georgia). Brother of Vahan Ter-Grigorian (q.v.). Graduated from the Nersisian school of Tiflis and taught in Armenian schools. Life in the countryside, especially its social aspects, is a predominant theme in his short stories.

**Texts (stories)**

*Jawahkti alêiê.* (Tiflis, 1900).
*Krake.* (Tiflis, 1903).
*Patkerner. Book 1.* (Tiflis, 1905).
*Patkerner.* (Erevan, 1930).
*Patkerner.* (Erevan, 1936).

JIWANI, (1846–1909)
Pen name: Asûl Jiwani.
Born Serovbê Lewonean in the village of Karzah, in the region of Ahalkalak, Georgia. A distinguished ašûl. Mastered his art through apprenticeship and self-instruction. Moved to Tiflis in the mid-1860s. In 1868 he settled in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia), but he traveled extensively throughout the region. Lived in Tiflis from 1895 until his death.

**Collections**

*Ergeri zołovatzu.* (Erevan, 1936).
Sahakyan, A. *Erger.* (Erevan, 1988).

**Texts (verse)**

*Ašel Jiwanu ergerê.* (Alexandrapol, 1882, 1886, 1893; Tiflis, 1912).
*Ašel Laribihêkeatê, handerdzergerov. Pohadrutiwn.* (Alexandrapol, 1887; Tiflis, 1897; Constantinople, 1922).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**
*AP,* 121, 261–62.

**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
*RA,* 2, 297–311.
*TA,* 279–91.

**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**
*AAP,* 350–56.
*BPA,* 265–66.
*SHAP,* 29–30.

**Criticism**

Sahakyan, A. *Hayrenašunch knar.* (Erevan, 1965).
KAMSARAKAN, TIGRAN (1866–1941)

Pen names: Antsord, Asel, B. Tër-Zaêarean, Molorak, Net Nestor, Övkîtê, Piwnik, Şolegirîch, Z, ZZZ.

A native of Constantinople, educated in the local Aramean school. At the age of twenty, he became a literary celebrity thanks to his novel Varzapetin aijikê, which was acclaimed after a good deal of initial controversy. He rarely contributed to Armenian literature after fleeing Constantinople during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s. He first settled in Egypt (1895–1919) and then moved to Paris for good in 1919. Died in Vichy.

**Texts**

Varzapetin aijikê. (Constantinople, 1888, 1921, 1930; Cairo, 1941; Erevan, 1956). (Novel).


**Other works**

Širvanzadê ew ir gortzê. (Constantinople, 1911).

**Texts in periodicals**


**Translations (French)**

J. "Haro." *La Patrie* 1908, 113 (Constantinople).

**Criticism**


**KAPUTIKYAN, SILVA (1919–)**

A native of Erevan and a winner of the USSR literary prize (1952). Poet; early in her career she wrote poetry for children. Completed her training in Armenian language and literature at the State University of Erevan (1936–41), and studied at the Gorky Institute for literature (1949–50). Her frequent travels abroad have taken her to the Middle East, Europe, the United States, Canada, and Japan, resulting in two travel books.
Collections

*Banastetzutxwñner.* (Beirut, 1963).
*Hatëntir.* (Beirut, 1963).
*Hatëntir.* (Erevan, 1979).

**Texts (verse)**

*Hatutsum.* (Erevan, 1942).
*Saryakner.* (Erevan, 1942).
*Erku zruys manukneri het.* (Erevan, 1943).
*Vahanikë erazë.* (Erevan, 1943).
*Öreri het.* (Erevan, 1945).
*Zangvi apin.* (Erevan, 1947).
*Ays im erkin ê.* (Erevan, 1949).
*Depi Moskva.* (Erevan, 1951).
*Im harazatnerë.* (Erevan, 1951, 1953).
*Tanë, bakum, polotsum.* (Erevan, 1953).
*Srtabats zruys.* (Erevan, 1955).
*Bari ert.* (Erevan, 1957).
*Mi tarov êl metzatsank.* (Erevan, 1958).
*Arden gitem nkareï.* (Erevan, 1959).
*Menk őgnun enk mayrîkin.* (Erevan, 1961).
*Mer pošekul mekenan.* (Erevan, 1964).
*Yot kayaranner.* (Erevan, 1965).
*Im ejë.* (Erevan, 1968).
*Erg ergots.* (Erevan, 1970).
*Depi hörkë le rêan.* (Erevan, 1972).
*Im žamanakë.* (Erevan, 1979).
*Dzmeř ë galis.* (Erevan, 1983).
*Tzalkanots.* (Erevan, 1984).
*Girs mna hišatakol.* (Erevan, 1988).

**Bibliographies**

Išhanyan, Ř. *Silva Kaputikyan.* (Erevan, 1987).

**Translations**

*English*

Tempest, P. “Song of Songs.” SL, 1979/7, 93. Also published in SL, 1980/6, 68.
——. “Partings.” SL, 1969/1, 139.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
SAP, 36–39.

FRENCH
——. “Quand le téléphone se tait.” OO, 123 (March 1969), 60. Also published in OO, 167 (Nov. 1972), 77.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
Gaucheron, J. E. 93–94.
LPA, 361–64.

GERMAN
Remané, M. Kleine Gäste. (Berlin, 1961).

RUSSIAN
Chasy ozhidaniia: Stikhi. (Moscow, 1983).
Izbrannaiia lirika. (Moscow, 1956).
Izbrannye proizvedeniia. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1989).
Krovli Armenii. (Moscow, 1981).
Liritcheskie stikhi. (Moscow, 1955).
Lirika. (Moscow, 1964).
Masha risuet. [Stikhi. Dlia doshk. vozr.]. (Moscow, 1960).
Moi rodnye. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1952).
Moia stranitsa. (Moscow, 1970).
Moia tropka na dorogakh mira. (Moscow, 1989).
Ogonek v okne. (Moscow, 1961).
Smolianskaia, T. Meridiany karty i dushi. (Moscow, 1982).
Spendiarova, T. Masha ne plachet. [Stikhi. Dlia doshk. vozr.]. (Moscow, 1954).
Stikhi. (Moscow, 1947).
Stikhotvoreniia. (Moscow, 1959).
Tokmachiev, I., and Spendiariov, T. Maminym pomoshchnitsy. (Odessa, 1987).
Trevozhnyi den’: Stikhi. (Moscow, 1985).
V dobrej put. (Moscow, 1954).
V Moskvu. [Stikhi dla doshk. vozr.]. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1951).
Zhivu ia serdstem. (Erevan, 1963).

SPANISH
Alberti, R. y Maria Teresa Leon. “Mis origenes.” Literatura Sovietica, 1966/3, 139.

Criticism
Galstyan, H. “Nor pahanjneri hamemat.” SG, 1974/8, 130–38. (Also discusses P. Sevak, V. Davtyan).

KARAPET BAĻĪSETS (c1475–c1520?)
A poet and scribe who hailed from Ba leopard (Bitlis). He was a celibate priest (vardapet), and at some point he may have become the father superior of the monastery of Arakelots in Muş.

Texts (verse)


**Anthologies**

SUM, 1, 17–41.

**Translations (French)**


**Criticism**


**KAŘVARENTS, GĒORG (1892–1946)**

Pen name: Gēorg Karvarents.

Born Gēorg Arapačean in Bolu (northwest of Ankara, south of Zonguldak, Turkey) and educated in Smyrna and at the American College in Partizak (Bahçecik, Turkey). Taught in Constantinople until World War I. Survived the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915 and resumed teaching in Greece (1922–43). Died in Milan and was buried at St. Lazarus, Venice.

**Texts (verse)**

Gerezmani tzalikner. (Constantinople, 1921).

Tawil ewolean. (Athens, 1931).


**Criticism**


**KIČHIK-NOVAY, (18th c.)**

No biographical information is available for this ašul, save that he lived in Tiflis in the eighteenth century.

**Poetry**

MKH, 534–35.


THG, 51–53.

**KIWRČEAN, MELKON (1859–1915)**

Pen names: Awō, Hrand, Pontatsi, Šahēn, Šawasp, Tītakits i Pontos.

Equally well known by his real name and his pen name, Hrand. A journalist and writer of short stories. Born in the village of Hawaw (near Palu, Turkey). Attended Armenian educational institutions in the Ottoman capital and taught in Armenian schools in both Constantinople and Rodosto (Tekirdağ). Fled the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s and took refuge in Varna, Bulgaria. On
his return to Constantinople in 1898, he was arrested at the port and banished to Kastamonu. He returned to Constantinople ten years later and resumed his literary activities. Put to death by the Young Turks during the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915.

Collections


Texts in periodicals

M, 1890/3944, 339-42; 3945, 354-56; 3946, 376-79; 3951, 61-62. 1892/3972, 282-84. 1893/3982, 154-57; 3987, 231-33; 3989, 267-70; 3991, 300-2; 3993, 326-28; 3995, 360-62; 3997, 397-99.
HG, 1911/4, 10-15; 6, 8-13. 1913/10-11, 8-17.
Nawasard, 1914, 113-30.
HK, 30 (1952/5), 11.

Criticism

Azatean, D. "Amboljakan erker (Hrand)." HK, 9 (1930-31/9), 93-95.

KIVRČEAN, MIKAYĚL (1879–1965)


Born in Constantinople and educated in the local Nersèsean and Përpërean schools (1891–95). Settled in Alexandria, Egypt, in 1896, where he worked as a clerk in courts and as an employee of the Ottoman Bank. He was one of the founders of the literary periodical Širak (1905) and the newspaper Arew, which he edited from 1920 to 1923. Wrote a number of comedies jointly with E. Ötean, but a considerable part of his prose is still scattered in the periodical press, including his best work, Martik Ala, serialized in Nor Keank of London, 1898–99, under the pen name "Paroyr," but never completed.

Collections

Anunin gišerê ew ayl patmuatzkner polsahay Barkerê. (Cairo, [1963]).

Texts

Frankö-trkakan paterazmê kam Charšêčê Artin ala. (Cairo, 1903). (Comedy; written with E. Ötean).
Herosahal. (Cairo, 1928; Beirut, n.d.). (Play; written with E. Ötean).
I horots srti hösk ënd paštelwoyn. (Beirut, 1960).
K’san tari eik. (Beirut, 1961).

KOCHAR, HRACHYA (1910–1965)

Pen name: Hrachya Kochar.

Born Hrachya Gabrielyan in Kumlibujal, a village near Alaškert (Eleškert, Turkey), and orphaned in the Armenian massacres of 1915. Novelist and short story writer. He took refuge in Eastern Armenia and settled in Erevan in 1927.
Fought in World War II in the ranks of the Red Army. From 1946 to 1951, he was
the secretary to the Union of Soviet writers of Armenia and editor of the literary
periodical Sovetakan grakanutyun. In 1954, he briefly became editor of Ozni, a
satirical monthly. He was posthumously awarded the first Armenian State Prize
for Literature in 1967.

Collections
Kochar, M. Erker. (Erevan, 1980).

Texts (stories and novels)
Vahan Vardyan. (Erevan, 1934).
Ögsen Vaspuri ēnanaparhordutyunē. (Erevan, 1937).
Žamanakner. (Erevan, 1941).
Herosneri țnundē. (Erevan, 1942).
Naĥōryakin. (Erevan, 1943).
Srbazan ȳht. (Erevan, 1946).
Barekamutyun. (Erevan, 1950).
Vipakner ev patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1956).
Metz taregrutyan ējerits. (Erevan, 1957).
Spitak girkē. (Erevan, 1965).
Gndapeti patmatzē. (Erevan, 1967).
Eprati kamurjin. (Erevan, 1971).
Nahepetē. (Erevan, 1986).

Translations
ENGLISH
“Sister.” Armenian Tribune, December 14, 1946, 1, 4; December 21, 1946, 1, 3.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

FRENCH
Yeghiaian, A. E. 150–54.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
1966 [2 books]).
Frontovyye ocherci. (Erevan, 1944).
Iz stranits velikoi letopisi [V. I. Lenin i bol’sheviki Armenii]. (Erevan, 1970).
Lunnaia sonata. [Sbornik povestei i rasskazov]. (Moscow, 1959).
Mat. (Rasskazy). (Moscow; 1961).
Rasskazy. (Erevan, 1950).
Koryun

SPANISH

Criticism

KORYUN, MKRTICH (1913–1984)
Pen name: Mkrtich Koryun.
Born Koryun Mkrtchyan in the village of Łzlchahchah, in the region of Kars (now in Turkey). A poet, fabulist, and writer of children’s literature. Fleeing the Armenian massacres of 1915, Koryun’s family first moved to Alexandrapol (renamed Leninakan under the Soviets, now Gyumri) and later settled in Erevan. Acquired his education in Leninakan and Erevan, graduating from Erevan State University in 1937.

Collections
Hatënir. (Erevan, 1976).
Mihatoryak. (Erevan, 1976).
Anmél katakner. (Erevan, 1980).

Texts
Tzalikn u melun. (Erevan, 1937). (Verse).
Charikn u Kajarikë. (Erevan, 1938). (Tale).
Hanelukner. (Erevan, 1938). (Riddles).
Téalkadzor. (Erevan, 1938). (Verse).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1941). (Tales).
Mer patashanë. (Erevan, 1941). (Verse).
Partizanë. (Erevan, 1942). (Verse).
Arakner, hekiatner, patmavatzkner. (Erevan, 1945). (Fables and stories).
Kamo (Patmakensagrakan vipak). (Erevan, 1947, 1955, 1958 [revised and expanded]). (Story of Kamo [Simon Ter-Petrosyan, 1882–1922]).
Im nverë. (Erevan, 1954).
Manukneri het. (Erevan, 1956). (Verse).
Dasënker. (Erevan, 1967).
Im ëntertsaranë. (Erevan, 1971).
Anmel katakner. (Erevan, 1980).
Mankakan ašharh. (Erevan, 1982).
Toðan ev papi aøkerov. (Erevan, 1986).

Translations

RUSSIAN
Basni. (Erevan, 1952; Moscow, 1958).
Chuzhoi uspekh. (Moscow, 1962).
———, and II’in, M. Sil’nee l’va: Miniatiury s natury. (Moscow, 1980).
Gaikovich, B. Tevan-lezheboka: Po motivam arm. nar. skazok. (Moscow, 1982).
[“Vypusk dopolnitel’nyi,” 1983].

Criticism

KOSTANDEAN, YARUT (1909–1979)
Born in Bushire (Bushehr), Iran, and educated at an English school in Bombay. Poet. After a brief sojourn in Italy and England (1926), he resided in France from 1927 until his death.

Texts (verse)
Banasteltzuteamb. (Beirut, 1974).

Criticism

KRÅNEAN, BIWZAND (1912–)
Pen name: Biwzand Kranean.
Born Biwzand Çeçiçcan in Aintab (Gaziantep, Turkey). Poet and novelist. Fled his birthplace and spent a decade or so in Egypt. In the 1930s, he studied agriculture at the State University of New York. He moved to Los Angeles in the mid-1950s.
Collections

Tpaworutìwnner, Mer aruestagètnerè, Hastatùmnner. (Beirut, 1975). (His Amboljakàn erker, vol. 1).

Texts

Keànkè mërm ë hima. (Cairo, 1948). (Verse).
Ìentutìwn srbasìan. (Cairo, 1955). (Verse).

Translations (English)


KURLÈNYÀN, ÈUSHÀNÌK (1876–1927)

Born Èushànik Pòpolèyan in Alexandrapòl (Leninakan, and now Gyumri). Poet. Attended a Russian and an Armenian women’s school (Àrlutean) in her native city; played an active social and political role in the Armenian communities of the Caucasus. Recognized as one of the founders of Armenian Marxist-proletarian poetry.

Collections

Kurlènyàn, A. Hatëntir. (Erevàn, 1939).
Mkrtdîyàn, H. Èrkerì ñòòvatzu. (Erevàn, 1947).
Mîrzàbekyàn, J. Banasteltztùtyùnnner. (Erevàn, 1971).

Texts

Arsaloysi ëòlanjner. (Nor Nahìjèwan, 1907). (Poetry).

Translations

ENGLISH


ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

ALP, 51.
AP, 247–48.

FRENCH


FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

APA, 163–66.
LPA, 204–5.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES

BPA, 405.
SHAP, 49–62.
KURTIKYAN, STEPAN (1908–1986)
Born in Bursa, Turkey. Journalist and writer of short stories. Educated in his birthplace and at the Anatolia College in Thessaloniki. In 1927 he went to Erevan as a student, but he became a permanent resident and continued his education at the Abovyan Pedagogical Institute, the Institute for Foreign Languages, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. From 1946 to 1962, he was an assistant editor to the literary monthly Sovietakan grakanutyun, and he was its chief editor from 1962 to the early 1980s.

**Texts (stories)**

*Alpyan arotnerum.* (Erevan, 1935).
*Metz aršavum.* (Erevan, 1935).
*Herosuhinerë.* (Erevan, 1943).
*Arevo teraklzum.* (Erevan, 1947).
*Mi pokrik kyanki patmutyun.* (Erevan, 1947).
*Lernasharhi dustrë.* (Erevan, 1948).
*Herosneri mot.* (Erevan, 1950).
*Hetahuyzner.* (Erevan, 1950).
*Zruysner haruyki šurjë.* (Erevan, 1954).
*Hayreni legendner.* (Erevan, 1957).
*Mehanizatori kyanki ulin.* (Erevan, 1958).
*Hayreni holī vra.* (Erevan, 1960).
*Žamanakner ev mardik.* (Erevan, 1962).
*Andaluzyan leñerum.* (Erevan, 1966).
*Komitasyan bolanjner.* (Erevan, 1969).
*Prolomyan hovtašuşanner.* (Erevan, 1969).
*Lusašharh hanim zim guhan.* (Erevan, 1974).
*Vėratznund.* (Erevan, 1977).
*Artasahmani hay grobneri het.* (Erevan, 1984).
*Im kyanki chanaparhin.* (Erevan, 1984).
*“Hamastelï asharhë.” SG, 1986/5, 104–14.*
*Gndakaharek, es ochinch chgitem . . .* (Erevan, 1985).

**Other works**
*KIM-i entsatz ulin.* (Erevan, 1931). (KIM: Kommunisticheskii internatsional molodezhi).
*Komeritmiutyunë ašnanatsani frontum.* (Erevan, 1931).
*Mayor Mamikon Hachanyan.* (Erevan, 1945).
*Sovetakan Miütyan heros gvardiayi avag leytenant Řuben Hakobyan.* (Erevan, 1945).
Sovetakan Miutyan heros Hunan Avetisyan. (Erevan, 1945).
Milionater kolntesutyunnerum. (Erevan, 1951).
Herosutyan uitov. (Erevan, 1961).

Translations
ENGLISH

FRENCH
(Beirut, 1964), 61–64. (Adapted).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
AASL, 273–76.
RAN, 412–14.

ŁAZAR, BAŁER ÖLLI (18th c.)
Łazar, an ašut, was presumably a native of Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan).

Poetry
BM, 2 (1950), 187–90.
SHA, 104–43.
THG, 33–36.

Criticism

ŁAZAR JAHKETSI (d. 1751)
Łazar was nuncio of Ejmiatzin in Smyrna when he was elected Catholicos of all Armenians in 1738. Briefly ousted in 1748, he was reinstated to office in 1749 and held it until his death. Theological and religious themes dominate his works, some of which were written specifically in defense of the doctrinal positions of the Church of Armenia.

Texts
Girk aštaıtzašabanakan or kochi draht tsankali. (Constantinople, 1735).
Girk noraboys or kochi ergaran. (Constantinople, 1737, 1744).
Girk ašoƫis or kochi Astuaützaters. (Constantinople, 1742; St. Petersburg, 1786; New Nakhijevan, 1792, 1793).

ŁAZAR SEBASTATSI (16th–17th c.)
An author who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Texts (poems)
Sruandzteants, G. “Taş siroy cw urahtutean” (“Ţoz aţch’, am kani nayis holorov”).
Mananay, (Constantinople, 1876), 272–74. Also published in KNZ, 2, 23–27; 3, 56–62.

**Works in anthologies**

_SUM_, 1, 96–108.

**Translations**

**French anthologies**

_LPA_, 123–25.

_TA_, 215–21.

**Russian**

_AAP_, 243.

**Criticism**


**LEO** (1860–1932)

Pen names: Gawaiätsi, H. A. G., Hrahät, Léo, Rusahay.

Born Atrakel Babahanean in Süši, Artsah (Karabagh). Historian, writer, literary critic, and journalist. Received his education in his native Süši, and as a contributor and later as secretary (1895–1906), he forged a close association with the celebrated periodical _Mšak_ of Tiflis. Taught at the Gëorgean Seminary in Ëjmiatzin for one year (1906–07), and at the State University of Erevan, from 1924 until his death.

**Collections**

_Gelarvestakan erker_. (Erevan, 1959). (_Meliki aijikë ev Osku žhori mej_).

_Erkeri žolovatzu 10 hatorov_. (Erevan, 1966–). (9 vols. to 1989).

**Literary texts (Stories)**

_Skayordi_. _Nor tsaw_. (Šuşi, 1885).

_Koyri aijikë_. (Šuşi, 1888).

_Pandušt_. (Baku, 1888).

_Tayectos_. (Šuşi, 1888).

_Vahan Mamikonean_. (Šuşi, 1888).

_Koratzner_. (Šuşi, 1889).

_Armagin_. (Tiflis, 1890, 1897).

_Spanwatz hayre_. (Šuşi, 1891).

_Verjin vërkerë_. (Tiflis, 1891).

_Tatahman gišere_. (Šuşi, 1892; Tiflis, 1903).

_Aḥtahanuțiwn_. (Baku, 1893).

_Anzugakanë_. (N.p., [1893]).

_Meliki aijikë_. (Tiflis, 1898, 1905; Boston, 1933; Beirut, 1938). (Novel).

_Aytzaratzë_. (Baku, 1904).

_Karmir gišake_. (Baku, 1904).

_Vardanank_. (Tiflis, [1916]). (Drama).

**Other works**

_Uḥtawori yišatakaranë_. (Šuşi, 1885).

_Vep tê patmutiwn_. (Šuşi, 1887).

_Dawit ew Mher_. (Moscow, 1891).
Im yișatakaranê. (Șuși, 1891).

Ereweli mardik. (Baku, 1894).

Gladstön. (Tiflis, 1899).

Haykakan tpagrutiwn. 3 vols. (Tiflis, 1901–02, 1904 [revised]).

Grigor Artzruni. 3 vols. (Tiflis, 1902–05).

Stepanos Nazarean. 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1902).

Yovsêp katolikos Arlutean. (Tiflis, 1902).

Rusahayots grakanutriwnê skzbits minchew mer örerê. (Venice, 1904, 1928).

S. Mesrop. (Tiflis, 1904; Erevan, 1962). (Mesrop Maštots).

Hayots hartsê. (Tiflis, 1906).

Eresnameak Hayots baregortzakan ênkerutean Kovkasum, 1881–1911. (Tiflis, 1911).

Hay grki tönê. (Tiflis, 1912, 1913).

Patmutiwn Erewwani hayots temakan hogewor dprotsi 1837–1912. (Tiflis, 1914).

Patmutiwn Larabali hayots temakan hogewor dprotsi 1838–1913. (Tiflis, 1914).

Hayots hartsi vaweragrêrê. (Tiflis, 1915).

Vani tagavorutiwnê. (Tiflis, 1915; Fresno, 1950). (Vani Urartu tagavorutiwnê).

Hay hayrenikê. (Tiflis, 1916).

Hayots patmutiwn. (Tiflis, 1917 [vol. 1]; Erevan, 1946–47 [vols. 2, 3]).


Antsyalis: huṣer, ıtter, datumner (Tiflis, 1925).

Hojayakan kapitalê ev nra kalakakan-hasarakakan derê hayeri mej. (Erevan, 1934).


Criticism

A. Babahanean—“Lêô.” Kensagrakan-grakan aknark nra 25ameay yobeleani arîwiw. (Tiflis, 1908).


Awetisean, A. “Lêôi grakan yobeleanê.” HA, 22 (1908), 129–32.


Snchyan, I. “Leoyi mi antip așhatutyunê.” L, 1979/12, 58–64.


LEŘ KAMSAR (1888–1965)

Pen name: Leḵ Kamsar.

Born Aram Tovmasyan (also Ter-Tovmasyan) in Van and educated at the Gërorgean Seminary in Êjmiatzin (1909). Satirist. Participated in the defense of
Van and subsequently settled in Eastern Armenia. As a satirist, he contributed to the daily *Horhdayin Hayastan* (later *Sovetakan Hayastan*) from 1921 to 1935. Survived banishment during the Stalinist purges.

**Collections**
Žpht, rwn 5. (Beirut, 1980). (Collection includes two pieces by L. K.).
Erker. (Erevan, 1988).

**Texts (prose)**
Anvaver merelner. (Erevan, 1924).
Azgayin aybbenaran. (Erevan, 1926; Beirut, 1954 [selections]).
Vripatz artsunkner. (Erevan, 1934).
Grabar mardik. (Erevan, 1959).
Mardê tanu šorover. (Erevan, 1965).

**Criticism**

**LEṆENTS, (1866–1939)**
Pen names: Awö, LeṆents.
Born Awetis Nazarbëk (also Nazarbëkean) in Tiflis. Poet, translator, and one of the founders, along with his wife, Marô Nazarbëk (née Vardanean, 1864–1941, a resident of Tiflis, 1918–41, marriage ended, 1904) of the Social Democratic Hnchakean Party (Sotsial Demokrat Hnchakean Kusaktsufiwn). Educated in local schools. Pursued higher studies at St. Petersburg, Paris, and Geneva. One of the founders of the official organ of the party, *Hnchak* (1887). Collaborated with Marxists in European capitals. In 1923, he left Paris for the United States and joined the ranks of the American Communists. Traveled to Moscow and became a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1934. Nothing is known about him beyond this point, except that he died in 1939.

**Texts (verse)**
Azat žamer. (Tiflis, 1883). (Verse).
Banastezutšünwnner. (Petersburg, 1890). (Verse).
Awazakë. (Athens, 1892). (Poem).
Darbnewor. (Rusjuk, 1904).

**Translations (English)**

**ĻUKAS KARNETSI (c1722–1799)**
Born in the town of Kêli (or Kli, now Kiği, Turkey), southwest of Karin (Erzurum, Turkey). Studied in Ėjmiatzin and took the vows of celibacy in 1751. Served as the nuncio of the Mother See of Ėjmiatzin in Rumeli and Crimea. He was created bishop in 1763 by Siméon Erewantsi (q.v.), who had just ascended the
throne of Ejmiatzin. Primate of the Armenians of Smyrna, 1764–75. Succeeded his mentor, Simeon Erewantsi, as Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of Armenia (1780). Renovated Ejmiatzin and commissioned the celebrated artist Yovnat'yan Yovnafanean (1730s–1802) to paint murals and pictures for the cathedral. Died in office.

**Texts**


ŁUKASYAN, HOVHANNES (1919–)


**Collections**

Erkeri żolovatu. 3 vol. (Erevan, 1972–76).


**Texts**

Arakner ew banasteltzutwinnner. (Tabriz, 1944). (Fables and poems).

Banasteltzutwinnner, hekatiatner ew balladner. (Tabriz, 1944). (Verse).

Berdî Yišatakaran (M. Nalbandean). (Tabriz, 1944).

Zoya. (Tabriz, 1944). (Poems).

Jauanšir. (Tabriz, 1945). (Verse).

Rubayiner. (Tabriz, 1945). (Verse).

Katilner. (Tabriz, 1945).

Albiwr. (Tabriz, 1945).


Hasani hišatakaranė. (Erevan, 1953). (Prose).


**Translations**

RUSSIAN

Łunkianos


**Criticism**


ŁUL ARZUNI (17th–18th c.)

No biographical details are available about this ašul.

**Poetry**

*EPA*, 19–32.
*PHA*, 1, 263–66.
*SHA*, 85–103.

**Criticism**

Eremean, A. *Parskahay ašulner*. (Tiflis, 1930), 12–32.

ŁUNKIANOS KARNETSI (d. 1841?)

Łunkianos left his native Karin (Erzurum, Turkey) at an early age. Traveled to Iran and went on to Lebanon to become a monk, but he gave up his religious plans and moved to Egypt, where he engaged in commercial pursuits. Suffered losses in his mercantile activities, went to Aleppo, and wandered on to the Crimea, Eastern Armenia, and the village of Varevan in Ahalkalak, where his family had settled after fleeing Karin in the aftermath of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828–29. Spent the last days of his destitute life in the village. Wrote poetry in both Armenian and Turkish.

**Texts (verse)**


“*Kaluztk Łunkianos ergchi Karnetswoy. Ilahik*.” *M*, 3748 (1884), 493–94. (Reprinted from *B*).

“*Kırtuätzk Łunkianos ergchi Karnetswoy—Tıwrkmanik*.” *M*, 3760 (1885), 779–80. (Reprinted from *B*).

“Łunkianos ergchi Karnetswoy.” *M*, 3790 (1885), 229. (Reprinted from *B*).

**Translations**

**French**

*TA*, 265–78.

**Russian**

*RPA*, 237–38.

**Criticism**

H. A. T[royean], “Łunkianos ergich Karnetsi.” *B*, 41 (1883), 97–110.
MAHARI, GURGEN (1903–1969)

Pen name: Gurgen Mahari.
Born Gurgen Aćemyan in Van. Novelist and poet. Fled his native Van during the Armenian genocide of 1915 and found a home in orphanages in Dilijan and Erevan. Completed his studies at the State University of Erevan and devoted himself entirely to literature. Survived an eleven-year banishment in Vologda, to the north of Moscow, during the Stalinist era. Died in Lithuania but was buried in Erevan.

Collections

*Erker.* (Erevan, 1954).


Texts

*3 agit öperet.* (Erevan, 1924). (Verse).

*Titanik.* (Leninakan, 1924). (Verse).

*Erku poem.* (Erevan, 1926). (Verse).

*Erku mayr.* (Erevan, 1927). (with Mkrtih Armen).

*Kesgişeris minchev aravot.* (Erevan, 1927). (Poem).

*Bardinerë.* (Erevan, 1927). (Poem).

*Siro, handi ev Nitssayi partizpanneri masin.* (Erevan, 1929). (Stories).

*Mankutyun ev patanekaryun.* (Erevan, 1930). (Prose).

*Zigzagnerum, Elia Chubarin.* (Moscow, 1931). (Prose).

*Zruyts Novemberi masin.* (Erevan, 1932).

*Mrgahas.* (Erevan, 1933). (Verse).

*Eritasardutyun semin.* (Erevan, 1956). (Prose).


*Charents-name.* (Erevan, 1968). (Reminiscences about Charcants).


“Tzalkatı pıšalarer.” (Erevan, 1988).

“ İz pisem Gurgena Maari L. S. Pervomaiskomu.” *BEH*, 1989/1, 80–93.

Translations

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*SAP*, 21–23.

**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**


**RUSSIAN**

*Detstvo i otrochestvo.* [Povest’]. (Erevan, 1956).
MALÉZEAN, VAHAN (1871–1967)

Pen name: Zepiwr.

Born in Sulina (Rumania), but brought up in Constantinople, where he studied law. Poet. Spent his life in different parts of the world: Cairo (1898–1923), Brussels (1923–27), Paris-Marseilles (1927–45), New York (1945–48), before settling in Nice in 1948. In Cairo, he was one of the founders of the Sahmanadrakan Ramkavar Party, which later merged with other organizations to form the Ramkavar Azatakan Kusaktsutivn (Armenian Democratic League). Held administrative positions within the Armenian General Benevolent Union, founded in Cairo in 1906.

Collections

Hangaranq hatentir kertuatznner. (Beirut, 1961).

Texts

Mrmunjk. (Constantinople, 1890).
Anițeală. (Constantinople, 1892).
Yușardzan Arpiareani. ([Cairo], 1911).
Keronner, 1891–1911. (Cairo, 1912).
Taragri mè yušatetê. (Cairo, 1915).


Translations

FRENCH


FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

APA, 141–48.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES

BPA, 461–62.

VAM, 176–77.

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES

APAS, 201–5.

Criticism


MAMIKONYAN, NIKOŁAYOS (1860–1937)

A native of Gandzak, Kirovabad (now Ganja, Azerbaijan). Studied law at the university of Odessa. From 1917 until his death in Kirovabad, he lived and practiced law in Tiflis. His novels and short stories reflect country life.

Texts

Hazarits mêkê. (Tiflis, 1895). (Novelette).

Chhasutîwn. (Tiflis, 1899). (Novel).

Višap. (Tiflis, 1908). (Story).

MAMUREAN, MATTÉOS (1830–1901)


Born in Smyrna. Journalist, writer, translator, and educator. Studied at the Muratean school in Padua (1845–50) and sat in on courses at Cambridge (1856–57). Briefly resided in Constantinople and held clerical positions in the Armenian Patriarchate. Returned to his birthplace in 1865 and devoted himself to literature, journalism, and teaching. In 1871, he launched his celebrated monthly Arewelean mamul (1871–1909, 1919–22), which rapidly became one of the most influential Armenian periodicals.

Collections

Mamurean

**Texts**


*Angliakan namakani kam Hayu më čakatagirë*. (Smyrna, 1880, 1881, as Ankliakan namakani kam Hayu më čakatagirë). (Novel).

*Tunën durs*. (Smyrna, 1882). (Play).


**Works in periodicals**


**Other works**

*Hamarötpatmutiwn hayots minchew mer örrern*. (Smyrna, 1887).

*Arajin ëntertsaran*. (Constantinople, 1889, 1892; Smyrna, 1900, 1902).

*Artinin intesutiwn*. (Constantinople, 1891).

*Erkrod ëntertsaran*. (Constantinople, 1893 [5th printing], 1897; Smyrna, 1900). *Errord ëntertsaran*. (Smyrna, 1900 [7th printing]).

**Criticism**

Açariyan, H. “Matteos Mamuryan.” *EJ*, 1959/8–9, 36–42.
Ereman, S. “M-Rëos Mamurean ew iwr grakan yobelane.” B, 57 (1899), 493–
95.
Gasparyan, G. “Matfëos Mamuryani pîlisop’tayan hayatsk’nerê.” T, 1959/1, 43–
52.
L. “Grakan korustner.” Murč, 1901/4, 260–70.
Lazaryan, H. “M. Mamuryani hasarakakan-kałakakan hayatsk’nerê 1860–70
———. “Matteos Mamuryani ‘Sev lerin mardê’ vepi gataparakan bovan-
“Matteos Mamurean, inklurnoyn gruatzk’ner, târgmanut’iwnner.” A, 1901, 180–
81. (Includes bibliography).
Nalbandean-Kalantar, V. “Matteos Mamurean orpês kałakakan groł.” HK, 5
Sargsyan, S. “Matteos Mamuryani mardabanakan hayatsk’neri šurj.” L, 1988/11,
24–33.
Solomonyan, M. “M-Rëos Mamuryani hakakronakan hayatsk’neri dzевавorman

MANUÊL DΠR KOSTANDNUPOLETSI (18th c.)
Manuël also called himself Srmalkës, Kesarean, Karčik, and Pokr. His parents
were from Kayseri, but he was born in Constantinople. Most of his writings, some
of which are compilations, are polemical, written in defense of the dogmas and
traditions of the Church of Armenia.

Texts
Tetrak or kochi gawazan krknażör. (Constantinople, 1750).
Ergaran hakirê. (Constantinople, 1752).
Gîrk or kochi lutzîch tarakusanats. (Constantinople, 1755).
Tetrak or kochi achns achns șrtî. (Constantinople, 1780).
Gîrk or kochi achn lusatu. (Constantinople, 1782). (Turkish in Armenian charac-
ters).
Gîrk or kochi himn siugutean. (Constantinople, 1783).

MANUÊL KIWMIWŠHANATSİ (1768–1843)
Born Steptanos in Gümüşhane, Turkey. Received his education in his birthplace
and in Karin (Erzurum). Became a celibate priest in 1796. Engaged in teaching
and held office in several Armenian communities in Eastern Europe, Eastern Armenia,
and Crimea, where he died. His writings, some of which are still unpublished, deal mostly with Armenian affairs of his time.

**Texts**

*Patmutiwn antsits antselots Sëwanay vanuts.* (Valaršapat, 1871). (History; first published in A., 1871).

*Lüt armatoyn meryo.* (Constantinople, 1841).


**MANUÈLEAN, LEWON** (1864–1919)

Born in Nerkı̄n Agulıs in Nahıjevan. Poet, playwright, and novelist. Received his elementary education at Verin Agulıs, Nahıjevan, where Raffı̄ was one of his teachers. Studied at the University of Moscow (1886–90) and taught at the Gewartı̄n seminary in Ji̇miatı̄n, at the Nersı̄sı̄n school in Tı̄flıs, and in Alexandrapol (later Leninakan, now Gyumri).

**Collections**

*Ěntı̄r erker.* (Erevan, 1955).

**Texts**

*Chalabineri arşawankẽ.* (Tı̄flıs, 1891). (Story).

*Tı̄grauñuhi.* (Tı̄flıs, 1892). (Drama).


*Dęktı̄r Eruand Boșayeın.* (Baku, 1900). (Play).

*Dęp i ver.* (Petersburg, 1902). (Poem).

*Nkarı̄ch Tašceın.* (Tı̄flıs, 1903). (Play).

*Őtaruteı̄n męj.* (Tı̄flıs, 1903).

**Translations**

**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AD*, 37–38.

**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*UDS*, 71–75.

*VAM*, 96–98.

**MANUÈLEAN, SURÈN** (1906–1980)

Pen name: Siran Mihran.

Born in Šləm, a village near Palu, Turkey. Survived the massacres and deportations of 1915, and in 1926 he found his way to New York, via the Middle East, the Balkans, and France.

**Texts**

*Barak larer.* ([Boston], 1946). (Essays).

*Argawand akısıner: patmuatzını̄nner.* (Boston, 1949). (Stories).

*Dgal mę šakar.* (Jerusalem, 1965). (Stories and impressions of a visit to Soviet Armenia).
MANUKEAN, MARTIROS (1846–1922)
Born and educated in Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan). A merchant by profession and an ašut. Lost his eyesight at the age of twenty-seven. It is believed that at some point he traveled to Calcutta.

Poetry
EPNA, 84–101.

Criticism

MANUŞEAN, MISAK (1906–1944)
A native of Adiyaman, Turkey, Manušean escaped the fate of his parents, who were killed during the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915. Spent a few years in an orphanage in Lebanon and settled in France in 1925. In Paris he published the periodicals Jank (1930–31) and the weekly Zangu (1935–37), the former jointly with A. Sema (q.v.). A poet and a well-known leader in the French Resistance, Manušean was executed in Paris by the Nazis.

Texts
Banasteltzutviwnner: (Paris, 1946; Erevan, 1956, as Im ergē). (Verse).

Translations
French anthologies
Gaucheron, J. E, 83–85.
FPA, 41.
LPA, 324–36.

Criticism

MANVELYAN, MIKAYEL (1877–1944)
Born in Nerkin Agulis, Nahijewan. Actor and writer of short stories and plays. Studied acting in Moscow (1903–05). Appeared in leading roles in Western, Russian, and Armenian plays staged by Armenian theater groups in Tiflis. Visited Constantinople (1909) with the celebrated Abelean-Armênean theater troupe. From 1922 until the end of his life, he was employed by the Armenian State theater (later named after Gabriël Sundukean) in Erevan.

Collections
Erkeri žolovatzu. (Tiflis, 1917).
Èntir erker. (Moscow, 1936).
Èntir erker. (Erevan, 1947).
Erker. (Erevan, 1959).

Texts
Èskizner. (Baku, 1903). (Prose).
Èskizner. (St. Petersburg, 1905). (Prose).
Margar

*Patmuatzkner.* (Alexandrapol, 1906). (Stories).
*Patmuatzkner.* (Tiflis, 1912). (Stories).
*Victus vos salutat.* (Tiflis, 1912). (Verse).
Čakatagir. (Tiflis, 1913). (Story).
*Sptia izalikner.* (Baku, 1913).
*Varžuhn (patmuatz).* (Tiflis, 1913). (Story).
*Hêkiat.* (Tiflis, 1914). (Tale).
*Hrabuň (drama).* (Tiflis, 1916). (Play).
*Haryur čiptot (hin zinvor huşatevris).* (Larakılsa [now Vanadzor], 1926). (Story).
*Gortzadul.* (Erevan, 1927). (Prose).
*Zamankakıs melodram.* (Erevan, 1927). (Prose).
*Seq kalakê.* (Erevan, 1927). (Stories).
*Mi ghlarki patmutyun.* (Erevan, 1929). (Prose).
*Ašnan čançer (patmuatzkner).* (Erevan, 1931). (Stories).
*Anapatê ktsalki.* (Erevan, 1933). (Novelette).
*Patkerner tsarakan banakiis.* (Erevan, 1934). (Prose).
*Tokioyits Kioto (ćaponakan hekiat).* (Erevan, 1938). (Japanese tale).
*Tertikner im kyankits.* (Erevan, 1950). (Reminiscences).
*Trenin.* (Erevan, 1971).

**Translations**

**German anthologies**
AN, 170–76.

**Russian anthologies**
AASL, 73–77.
KHAN, 1, 87–91.

**Criticism**
——. *Zhizn i tvorshesstvo Mikaela Manveliana.* (Erevan, 1954).

**MARGAR, (1880–1944)**
Pen name: Margar.
Born Margar Awetisean, in Nor Bayazêt (now Kamo, Armenia). A novelist and short story writer. Educated at the Nersisean school in Tiflis. Taught in Teheran, Baku, and Tiflis, where he spent the last years of his life.

**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Erahtik.* (Baku, 1904).
*Halazanki tsunudê.* (Alexandrapol, 1905).
*Hogewarki tizalê.* (Baku, 1906).
*Golê (zinvori yışatakaranis).* (Tiflis, 1910).
*Hîkar imastun. Phndê kalaki zroytsnerê.* (Tiflis, 1911).
*Vêpiķner.* (Tiflis, 1913).
Margaryan

Margaryan, Maro (1915–1999)
Born in Sulaver (now Sahumyan, Georgia) and educated in local schools. Pursued her higher studies at the State University of Erevan, graduating in 1938. For many years she worked at the Committee for Cultural Relations with the Armenians Abroad.

Collections
Hatentir. (Erevan, 1985).

Texts (verse)
Mtermutyun. (Erevan, 1940).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1945).
Mor dzaynê. (Erevan, 1950).
Lirikakan lusabats. (Erevan, 1957).
Denhalis heto. (Erevan, 1965).
Örerı horkits. (Erevan, 1975).
Nvirunner. (Erevan, 1982).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1984).
Siro erger. (Erevan, 1985).

Translations

ENGLISH
Jacque, V. ["Little and eager the girl sped"]. SL, 1973/9, 130.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
SAP, 30–32.

FRENCH
Galin, M. [“Dans la plaine infinie”], OO, 177 (Sept. 1973), 146.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
Loriol, P. E, 92.
LPA, 352–55.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Golos materi. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1952).
Gornaia doroga. [Stikhi]. (Moscow, 1962).
Iz ognia liubvi i pechali. (Moscow, 1989).
Martiros

Lirika. (Moscow, 1960).
Netel’. (Erevan, 1983).
Razdu’m’e. [Stikhi]. (Erevan, 1956).
Stikhotvoreniia. (Moscow, 1955).

SPANISH

Criticism

MARK, HAYKANOYŠ (c.1883–1966)
Born and educated in Constantinople. Writer, teacher, and journalist. She edited the periodicals Tzatik (1905–07) and Haykin (1919–32). Most of her prose is still available only in periodicals.

Collections

Texts
Tzulutean paherës. (Constantinople, 1921).

Criticism

MARKOSEAN, HACHIK (1894–1977)
Pen name: M. Hachuni.
Markosean was born in Tlmadzor, a village near Terca, Turkey, and educated in Marzuan (Merzifon, 1900–07). He then worked in Samsun (1907–13) and emigrated to the United States in 1913.

Texts

MARTIROS HARASARTSI (16th c.?)
No biographical details are known about this author.

Texts (poems)
“Aysör ēmenk’ k’altsr ew yordor.” B, 33 (1875), 106.
Martiros


Anthologies

SUM, 1, 145–78.

MARTIROS LРИMETS'I (d. 1683)
Also known as Kefetsi Tat-am Martiros and Martiros Kafatsi. Born in Kafa, Crimea. Studied at the local Surb Nšan monastery, at Tokat, and at the feet of Astuatzatur Tarënetsi, who later became patriarch of Jerusalem and ordained Martiros into celibate priesthood. Patriarch of Constantinople for one year (1659–60). Created bishop c1661 by Catholicos Yakob IV, Julayetsi, of Ëjmiatzin, just before his departure for Crimea as the primate of the Armenian community. Closely involved in the controversies of the time and particularly known for his long, bitter opposition to Eliazar Ayntaptsi, who challenged the supremacy of the Mother See of Ëjmiatzin. Patriarch of Jerusalem for two short and turbulent terms (1677–80, 1681–83). Died in Egypt on his way to Jerusalem from Constantinople. Eremia chëlëpi Këômiwrcean is believed to have briefly studied under Martiros, who, apart from his literary work, is also remembered as a scribe and a sponsor of scribes.

Works in periodicals and anthologies

“Martiros Lrimetsu talerë.” Vem, 1934/5, 47–54; 6, 60–66. (9 poems).
Poturean, M. Martiros Lrimetsi ew ir kertuatznerë. (Bucharest, 1924).
“Yalags kalaîrîn Amasiu.” KNZ, 1, 38–41.

Translations (French)


Criticism

MEHEAN, KARÔ (1898–1984)
Pen names: Karô Mehean, Söseats Tlan.
Born Karô Lazarošen in Rodosto (Tekirdağ, Turkey) and educated in local schools. Survived the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915 and resided in Bulgaria until World War II. After the establishment of the Communist regime in Bulgaria, he was arrested and exiled to the Soviet Union. Lived in Paris after his release from the Soviet Union in the mid-1950s. Wrote short stories and plays.

Texts
Mayramuti hoginer. I. Verjaloysi tak. (Sofia, 1926).
Veratznundi örerën. (Sofia, 1927).
Ak sorakanî mê yușerën. (Beirut, 1969).
Orpês eraz ankrkneli. (Beirut and Antilias, 1980). (Stories).

Criticism

MELIK-ŠAHNAZARYAN, KOSTANDIN (1856–1940)
Pen name: Tmblachi ハウス.[
Born in Şuşi, Artsah (Karabagh), and educated in the local Armenian school and at the Gëorgean seminary in Ӗjmiatzin. Went to Montpellier, France, and Switzerland in the early 1880s to study agriculture and cheesemaking. After his return, he worked as an agriculturalist in Transcaucasia, and from 1919 until his death, in Armenia. He wrote extensively on agriculture, but listed below are his short prose writings (essays and short stories) written in a satirical vein, in the Armenian dialect of Artsah.

Texts
Lêlêtsê knanots pêné-prêşakê. (Tiflis, 1882).
Šôşvay ƙalin bêrn u şarê. (Tiflis, 1887).
Pšrank. (Şuşi, 1888).
Zuɾna-Tmbla. 3 vols. (Baku, 1900–01).
Zuɾna-Tmbla. 3 vols. (Valarşapat, 1907–08).
Pniţik. (Baku, 1907).

Criticism
Kostandin Karapeti Melik-Šahanazaryan (grakan 50–amyay ev guylata&Wn. (Erevan, 1924).

MELIK-ŠAHNAZARYANTS, SOLOMON (1862–1942)
Born in Şuşi, Artsah (Karabagh). A teacher by profession. Educated in his birthplace and at the Gëorgean seminary in Ӗjmiatzin. His prose writings deal with life in the countryside.
MELKO, ŠAMCHI (18th—19th c.)
Pen name: Šamchi Melko.
Born Melko Gulk'aneants. An ašul. Lived in Georgia (possibly Tiflis) in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. He was a wax-chandler by profession and seems to have had close connections with the Georgian court. Wrote in Armenian, Georgian, and in what is now referred to as Azeri Turkish.

Poetry
Tēr Aleksandrean, G. Tiflisetsots mtawor keankê. Vol. 1, (Tiflis, 1886), 36–37, 40–43.
THG, 39–42.

Criticism

METZARENTS, MISÂK (1886–1908)
Pen names: Misâk Metzarents, Şawasp Tziatzan.
Born Misâk Metzaturean in the village of Benkean (or Binkean) near Akn (Eğin, now Kemaliye, Turkey). Poet. Attended the local Armenian school, an Armenian school in Sebastea (Sivas, 1894–96), and the Anatolia College in Marsovan (1896–1901). Resumed his studies when he and his parents settled in Constantinople in 1902, but he was unable to finish the Kedronakan school, due to his rapidly worsening consumption, which soon claimed his life.

Collections
Tziatzan ev Nor taler. (Constantinople, 1924).
Oski arišin tak. (Arødak erkeru hawakatxo). (Constantinople, 1934).
Tziatzan, Nor taler ev Kertasvatzer. (Beirut, 1954).
Čanašean, M. Banasteltzutiuynner: Tziatzan, Nor taler. (Venice, 1959).

Kertasvatzer, babahumner, arzdak ejer, inknadatutean pordz mê. (Venice, 1960).
Akasianeru šukin tak. (Erevan, 1969).
Irikvan ejayner. (Erevan, 1974).
Texts
Nor taler. (Constantinople, 1907).
Tziatzan. (Constantinople, 1907).

Translations
ENGLISH

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
LPA, 240–43.
PAM, 190–96.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
ALG, 133–34.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
LPAM, 191–204.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
BPA, 471–72.
IZAP, 21–34.
Zimniaia noch’ (Erevan, 1987).

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 253–55.

Criticism
Azatean, T. Misak Metzarents: ir keankē. (Constantinople, 1922).
Gazanĉean, V. “Hayeatskner banasteltzutean vray ew Metzarentsi ‘Tziatzanē’.”
AM, 1907, 697–703.
MHITAR SEBASTATSI (1676–1749)

Born in Sebastea (Sivas), christened Manuk. As a monk, he founded the Mekhitarist Congregation (Mhitarean miabanutwa) at San Lazzaro, Venice. At the age of fifteen, he entered the monastery of Surb Nshan in his native town, embarking on the arduous life of a celibate priest. Traveled widely and preached extensively both before and after converting to Catholicism in 1695. In 1703, he launched his religious order in Constantinople, but he sought refuge in Methone to escape the increasing intolerance of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Ottoman authorities. On the eve of the Ottoman attack on Morea in 1715, he fled to Venice with his disciples. The Senate of Venice in 1717 responded favorably to Mhifar’s request, and the islet of San Lazzaro was offered to his order. Choosing the Benedictine rules for his congregation, Mhitar taught and organized the brotherhood on solid foundations. By the time he died, his disciples had attained noteworthy cultural accomplishments.

Texts

Hokumuni varuts. (Constantinople, 1705 [published anonymously]; Venice 1753, 1810).
Lutzmunq dżuarimsits ew takarukonats banits Alpertin. (Venice, 1716). (Published as a supplement to Hamařiůtuwn astważabanutean, by Albert Metzn, Venice, 1715).

Krtutiwn alótits. (Venice, 1718, 1772).

Ricorso fatto nell’anno MDCC-XVIII. (Rome, 1718).

Aybbenaran ew girk Kristoněakani vardapetutean. (Venice, 1725).

Duñ kerakanutean ašharhabar lezuin hayots, šaradreseat tačkakanaw lezuaw . . . (Venice, 1727). (Grammar of Modern Armenian in Turkish).

Girk Kristoněakani vardapetutean šaradreseat ašharhabarîw lezuaw ènd orum ew ergk talits. (Venice, 1727, 1732, 1771 [includes an additional section “alórfker.”]).

Hartsumn ew patashani zkerakanutenê ew zmasants norin. (Venice, 1730, 1759).

Kerakanutiwn grabaři lezu haykazean seri. (Venice, 1730). (Grammar of Classical Armenian).

Tòmar karčaròt. (Venice, 1733, 1747, 1748, 1771, 1786, 1789, 1807).

Meknutiwn Gros Žolovolin. (Venice, 1736).

Kristoněakan vardapeturiwn or i gortz atzi i mekneln zpaikers i žamanaki šataloy. (Venice, 1737, 1775).

Meknutiwn srboy Awetaranire teärn mercy Yisusi Kristosi or èst Matteüosi. (Venice, 1737).


Dzayn Kristosi ew hawatatseal hogwoyn. (Venice, 1753, 1810).

Alóťk i pëts iwrots asakertats. (Venice, 1832).

“Ančaľ anhas steltzoł goyuteants bnawits.” MKH, 105.

Patčark ork arberin ènndèm notsin ork asen tê och erbèk part è gnal ułlaparats i žamm Hayots. (Smyrna, 1879).

Hatêk i banits ew i grots Mḥiṭaray Abbahòr. (Venice, 1900).


Translations (Italian)

Frasson, G. Sei inni sacri. (Venice, 1977).

Criticism

Agonts, S. Pattrutiwn kenats ew varuts teärn Mḥiṭaray Sebastatswoy rabunapeti ew abbayi. (Venice, 1810).


Bardakjian, K. The Mekhitarist Contributions to Armenian Culture and Scholarship. (Cambridge, MA, 1976).

Mhifar

Férhafean, B. Mhifar Metz Sebastatsin. (Beirut, 1949).
Inglisian, V. Der Diener Gottes Mechitar von Sebaste, Stifter der Mechitaristen und Kulturapostel des armenischen Volkes. (Vienna, 1929).


Torosean, Y. *Vark Mḥīṭaray Abbayi Sebastatswoy*. (Venice, 1901).


**MIKAYĔLEAN, PAYLAK** (1905–1936)

A native of Erzinjan, Turkey. Poet and short story writer. His parents perished during the Armenian massacres of 1915, and he was adopted by a Turkish family. After 1918, he found shelter in orphanages in Constantinople and Greece. Spent the last years of his short life in France.

**Texts**


**MIKAYELYAN, KAREN** (1883–1942)

A native of Verin Agulis, a village in Nahijewan. Novelist, short story writer, and translator. Attended the Nersisean school in Tiflis, sat in on courses at the University of Moscow, and studied philosophy at Jena, Germany. In the years 1925–27, he visited Europe and the United States to organize assistance for Soviet Armenia as a member of the Armenian Red Cross and the Committee for Relief for Armenia (HŌK = Hayastani öğnuťeăn komitë, 1921–37). His writings focus on social issues and the Armenian Dispersion.

**Collections**


**Texts (prose)**

*Zrkānki yoyzer (patmawatzkneri ew patkernerî ʒoloŭatzu).* Vol. 1. (Tiflis, 1907).

*Dzmran erekî (erkerî ʒoloŭatzu).* Vol. 2. (Moscow, 1912).

*Anmahakan kayz (pôhadrutyum).* (Moscow, 1924).
Minas 423

Majestic. Amerikyan karê patmvatzkner. (Moscow, 1928).

Other works
Hay žolovrdakan harstutyunner artasahanum. (Moscow, 1928).

Translations (Russian)
Otdalennye rasskazy. (Moscow, 1936). (Stories).

MINAS AMDETSI (c1630–1704)
Born in Diyarbakir, Turkey. Took the vows of celibacy in 1655, and in 1666 he was created bishop in Jerusalem by his close collaborator, Eliazar Ayntaptsi. Copied some manuscripts, such as Samuël Anetsi's chronicle, Mhîtar Gôş's Datastanagirk, and published, for the first time, Grigor Narekatsi's Book of Lamentations. From 1698 to 1702 he was the patriarch of Jerusalem. Died in office.

Texts
Azgabanutiwn tagaworatsn hayots yordwots yordis, hamaɾôteal i Movsisë Horenatswoy. (Constantinople, 1784). (Genealogy of Armenian kings; 2d edition published as Azgabanutiwn hayots, Vaḷarşapat, 1870).
“İ Markos vardapets ē asatseal govest bani i Minasë.” AMH, 6, 123–44.
“Minasay Amdetswoy Tultʻ orhnutean ar mayrakałakatsisn Urhayi.” AMH, 6, 145–55.
“Yakob kátufikosin tzaɾay Minas.” AMH, 6, 118–22.

Criticism

MINAS, ČEREAN ÖLLU (1730–1813)
A native of Ḥarberd (Harput, Turkey). A blind, itinerant aşuṭ who traveled throughout Armenia. Died while on a visit to Constantinople.

Poetry
SHA, 336–50.

Criticism

MINAS, LUTFI (1892–1957)
A native of the village of Kësrik near Ḥarberd (Harput, Turkey), the poet Minas emigrated to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1912. He was a graduate of Brown University.
Aygerg. (Boston, 1918).
Garun. (Boston, 1935).
Arpiakan. (Boston, 1947).
Pšruatž bžak. (Los Angeles, 1953).

Criticism

MINAS TOHÅTETSI (c1510–?)
Born in Tokat, Turkey. Minas emigrated to Poland in the 1540s, where he was employed as a secretary at the Armenian Cathedral in Lvov.

Texts (poems)
“Tal siroy” or “Tal geletsk i źam urańutean erku lezuē.” Girk dprutean ew Talaran (Constantinople, 1714), 209–11. Also published under the title “Tal karõtov aţ surb Lusavoriţ” in Girkuks or kochi talaran (Constantinople, 1740), 310–12.
“Govasank’i Grigor vardapetn.” AM, 1885, 123. Also published in AHPT, 111–12.

Works in anthologies
SUM, 1, 426–63.

Translations

GERMAN
Dan, D. Die Verfolgung der Armenier in der Moldau vom Jahre 1551, beschrieben vom Diakon Minas aus Tocat. (Czernowitz, [1894]).

RUMANIAN

Criticism
Gazančian, Y. “Minas sarkawag Tohatetsi.” Iris (Eudochia), 1912, 85–86.
MINASEAN, SEPUH (1825–1887)
Born in Constantinople. Playwright. Educated at the Murat-Rapayëlean school (1838–41) in Venice. Worked for the imperial Ottoman mint, except for the years 1863–68, which he spent in Paris as secretary to the Ottoman ambassador to France.

Texts
Helênië. (Venice, 1920).
Arşak Erkron. (Venice, 1921).

Criticism
Sargisean, B. Sepuh Minasean ew ir grakan erkasirutïwnnerë. (Venice, 1904).

MIRAKYAN, VAHAN (1866–1942)
Born in Šulaver, a village in Georgia. Poet; educated at the Surb Astuatzatzin monastery in Sanahin and in the town of Gori (Georgia). Taught in various parts of Eastern Armenia, the Caucasus, and Erevan (from 1924 on). Also wrote plays, most of them unpublished, and stories for children. His fame rests principally on his popular long poem "Lalvari orsè," about village life. Died in Tbilisi and buried in Erevan.

Texts
Arants lareri. (Tiflis, 1897). (Verse).
Manuši harsanikë. (Erevan, 1927). (Play).
Nor gyuli šemkin. (Erevan, 1927). (Verse).
Hožaratzi kinë. (Erevan, 1928). (Play).
Sev kat. (Erevan, 1938).

Translations (Russian)
Adamian, N. Okhota na Lalvare. (Erevan, 1942).

Criticism
———-. “‘Lalvari orsi’ steltzagortzakan patmutyunits.” T, 1963/5, 55–68.

MISKIN-BURJI, (1810–1847)
This ašul was a native of old Nahijewan, but he spent most of his life in Gandzak (Elizavetpol, Kirovabad, now Ganja, Azerbaijan).

Poetry
MKH, 211–12; 396–97; 448–49; 466–67.
THG, 86–91.
MNDZURI, YAKOB (1886–1978)
Pen name: Yakob Mndzuri.
Born Yakob Tëmircean in the village of Armtan (Armudan, west of Erzinjan), Turkey. Spent the years 1897–1907 in Constantinople, where he attended an Armenian school and, briefly, Robert College. Returned to his birthplace (1907–14) but settled in Constantinople for good on the eve of World War I.

Collections
Nadryan, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1986).

Texts (stories)
Krunk, usti kugas [?] (Istanbul, 1974).

Translations (Russian anthologies)
KNS, 121–140.

Criticism

MURATSAN, (1854–1908)
Pen name: Muratsan.
Born Grigor Tër-Yovhannëseean in Šuşi, Artsaht (Karabagh). Attended local schools. Taught for two years in his birthplace, toured his native province and the region of Siwnik, and settled permanently in Tiflis in 1878. Employed as an accountant, Muratsan wrote his plays, short stories, novelettes, and novels at his spare time. Although initially acclaimed, Muratsan received much wider recognition after his death.

Collections
Muratsani erkasirutwinnerë. 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1904, 1910).
Erker. (Erevan, 1980).
Erkeri zolovatzu. 5 vols. (Erevan, 1951–54).

Texts
Ruzan kam Hayrenasër öriord. (Tiflis, 1882; Erevan, 1944 [2d ed.]). (Drama).
Hay bołokakanty entanikë. (Tiflis, 1883). (Novelette).
Noyi agrawë. (Tiflis, 1889; Erevan, 1933, 1947 [published with Arakyalë, see below]). (Novelette).
Muratsan

Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1939). (Stories).
Andréas Erêts. (Cairo, 1941). (Novel).

Translations

ENGLISH

RUSSIAN
Amirov, R. Sviashchennik Andrias. (Baku, 1907).
Apostol. (Erevan, 1950).
Ioannisian, A. Georg Marzpetuni. (Moscow, 1945; Erevan, 1984; Moscow, 1990).
Karumian, I. Kakhodnevnye besedy. (Erevan, 1968).
Korganov, K. Georg Marzpetuni. (Erevan, 1940).
Ter-Akopian, N. Noev voron. (Moscow, 1961).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
ARAS, 1, 106–70.
RAN, 41–52.

Criticism
Alaneants, G. “Erku sarsapneri patashan.” Lumay, 1910/7–8, 78–89.
----------. Muratsanë ew nra knanadaturiwnë. (Tiflis, 1910).

----------. Muratsan.” HA, 23 (1909), 6–8.

“Muratsan (Grigor T. Yovhannisean).” A, 1908, 836–38.
----------. Muratsani kyankn u steltzagortutyunë. (Erevan, 1956).
Tērtēean, A. Muratsanē orpës mtatzol ew gelagēt. (Petersburg, 1913).

NAHAPET KUCHAK (16th century?)
The texts, mostly hayren, listed below have been erroneously attributed to this author, of whom very little is known. History has recorded the names “Nahapet” and “Kuchak,” but they apparently refer to two different individuals. One such Kuchak (more than one person bore this name) hailed from the village of Hārakonis, in the region of Van. In a seventeenth-century colophon, a Kuchak referred to his great-grandfather as “Nahapet varpet,” who was, he added, also known as “Ašēl Kuchak.” More recently, the enigmatic name “Nahapet Kuchak” has surfaced. Although there is no unanimity among scholars, Nahapet Kuchak is now considered the author of ten poems, most of them in Turkish.

Texts (verse)
“Hayreni kargaw.” KNZ, 3, 44–53.
———. “Nahapet Kuchaki antip talikner.” ANA, 1907/10–12, 184–89; 1909/1–2, 32; 1909/5–6, 108.
———. “Kuchakean talasarḳēr (noragiwt ew antip ʻkaʻeakner).” HK, 31 (1943/2), 57–75.

Hayreni kargav. (Erevan, 1957).
Éganyan, Ō. “Nahapet Kuchaki hayata tar kerken talerē.” BM, 5 (1960), 465–81. (7 poems in Armeno-Turkish, i.e., Turkish in Armenian characters; with Armenian translations).

Translations
ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
ALP, 4–5, 31.
**AP, 242.**
*A Hundred and One Hayrens.* (Erevan, 1979). (Translated by Ewald Osers; see *Haryur u mek hayren* above).

**FRENCH**

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
*CPA,* 97–100.
*LPA,* 108–14.
*RA,* 2, 179–94.

**GERMAN**
*Die armenische Nachtigall: Lieder des Nahabed Kutschak.* (Berlin, [1924]).

**RUSSIAN**
Ambartsumian, A. *Pesni liubvi.* (St. Petersburg, 1904).
Grebnev, N. *Aireny.* (Erevan, 1968).
*Haryur ev mek hayren. Sto i odin airen.* (Erevan, 1987). (Text in Armenian, German, and Russian).
Osers, E., and Mkrtchian, L. *A Hundred and One Hayrens, Nahapet Kuchak.*
(Erevan, 1979). (English and Armenian).
Stepane, A. *Stikhotvoreniia.* (Erevan, 1941).
*Sto i odin airen.* (Erevan, 1975). (See *Haryur u mek hayren* above).
Zviagintseva, V. *Lirika.* (Moscow, 1961).

**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**
*AAP,* 284–89.
*PPA,* 203–13.

**Criticism**
Abelyan, M. *Hin gusanakan žolovrdakan erger.* (Erevan, 1967), 11–280. (Vol. 2 of his *Erker*).
———. “Nahapet Kuchaki šurj.” *ANA,* 1907/6–9, 97–111.
Grigoryan, Š. “Ov ē, i verjo, Nahapet Kuchakê [?].” *L,* 1984/7, 34–42.
Kiwrtean, Y. “K’uchakëna talešarkeru hngayoyn tagrutviynner (niwter mj-nadarean hay talachapu’can hamar).” *Vëm,* 2 (1934/2), 41–53.
NALBANDEAN, MIKAYÊL (1829–1866)

Pen names: Dôn Èmmanuël, Koms Èmmanuël, Simëôn Manikean.

Born in Nor Nahijewan (Rostov na Donu, Russia). A writer and revolutionary activist. Complemented the elementary education he received in his birthplace with self-instruction. Abandoned his plans for priesthood, moved to Moscow in 1853, and audited medical courses at Moscow University (1854–58). Briefly taught Armenian at the Lazarean (Lazarevskii) Institute. In 1858, he collaborated with S. Nazarean (1812–79) in founding and editing, for a year or so, the famous periodical Hiwsisaptayl (i.e., the northern lights, aurora borealis, 1858–64). Visited Europe (Warsaw, Berlin, Paris, London) and Constantinople in 1859. Shortly after his return from a second tour abroad (1860–62, a long journey to India with numerous sojourns), he was arrested on charges of clandestine activities and collaboration with emigré-Russian revolutionaries residing in the West. He was imprisoned in St. Petersburg (1862–65) and later banished to Kamyshin (1865), where he died of tuberculosis. His remains were interred at the Surb Hach (Holy Cross) Armenian monastery in Nor Nahijewan.

Collections

Erkerê. 2 vols. (Rôstov Dôn [Rostov-na-Donu], 1903–06).
Hovhannisyan, A. Antip erker. (Moscow and Erevan, 1935).
Muradyan, N. Erkeri liakatar žolovatzu. 4 vols. (Erevan, 1940–49).
Muradyan, N. Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1941).
Èntir erker. (Erevan, 1953).
Daronyan, S. Erkeri liakatar žolovatzu. 6 vols. (Erevan, 1982–).
Muradyan, Ř. Erker. (Erevan, 1985).
Hakobyan, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1987).

Texts

Minin hősök, miwsin harsn. (Moscow, 1858 [printed but not distributed]; Erevan, 1971). (Novel).
Erku tol. Çmartutïwnë krôn ê, noran miayn hndretsêk, isk noranits ochinch. Robert Owen. (Paris, 1861; Erevan, 1939 [includes Azgayin tšwarutyn, see below]). (Polemical writing).


Kritika 'Sos ev Vârdîter' azgayin vipasanutyun P. Prõşyants. (Erevan, 1940).

(Criticism of P. Prõšyan’s Sos ew Vârdîter).


Madoyan, G. “Nor vaveragrer Mikayel Nalbandyani masin.” PBH, 1981/2, 104–32.

Hakobyan, P. “Nalbandyani antzanot ink’nagirë (Surb grki hin hayeren târmanutyvan bna gri summasirutyvan nyuterits).” E, 1989/8, 38–47.


Translations

ENGLISH

“Our Fatherland.” Ararat (London), 1915/19, 234.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES

ALP, 12–13.

AP, 39–42.

FRENCH


FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

APA, 39–44.

LPA, 168–69.

PA, 145–47.

ITALIAN

“Liberta.” Armenia (Torino), 1916/7, 10.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES

LPAM, 91–94.

RUSSIAN

Arsharuni, A. Stikhotvoreniia. (Moscow, 1967).

Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1979).

Khachatourian, A. Izbrannye filosofskie i obshchestvenno-politicheskie proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1954).

Sarkisian, Kh. Izbrannye sochineniia. (Erevan, 1941).


SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES

APAS, 119–21.

Criticism


Atanasyan, L. "Im handipumê Mikayel Nalbandyani het Erevanum." *EJ*, 1954/12, 18–19.


-----. *Mikael Nalbandian i russkie revoliutsionnye demokratiy*. (Moscow, 1967).


Galamdaryan, V. "Nor nuyter Mikayel Nalbandyani masin." *EJ*, 1955/3, 43–47.


Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հովհաննիսյան, Ա. "Միքայել Նալբանդյանի քենսագրության անհայտ մի եջ." Թ, 1954/6, 95-100.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հովհաննիսյան, Ա. "Միքայել Նալբանդյանի քենսագրության անհայտ մի եջ." Թ, 1954/6, 95-100.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.

Հարությունյան, Գ. "Քենսագրական բոշի Միքայել Նալբանդյան, 1860-1896." ՀՀ. 1949/5-6, 51-61; 1949/10-12, 48-55.
———. "Nor vaveragrer Mikayel Nalbandyanë masin." BEH, 1981/2, 104–32.
———, Nalbandyan, kyankë ev gortzë. (Erevan, 1980).
Osipova, V. "M. Nalbandian o probleme determinizma i svobody voli." T, 1956/8, 33–42.
Palean, E. Mikayël Nalbandeants tretesakan ţeôrian. (Baku, 1911).
Pechikian, E. "Gamať-K'atipa ew Mikayël Nalbandian." B, 87 (1930), 484–89.
Šahaziz, E. Mikayël Lazari Nalbandeants: kensagrutiwn. (Moscow, 1897).
———. "Nalbandeantsi noragiwt hnegoy nhagoyn namakneri aîriw." Lumay, 1905/1, 79–92; 2, 93–95.
Têr Astuatztarean, H. Mikayel Nalbandeants. (Tiflis, 1908).
Têrtêrean, A. Mikayel Nalban, asgutean hraparaka hôsê. (Alexandrapol, 1910 [cover says 1911]).

NALLEAN, YAKOB (c)1706–1764
Born in the village of Zimara, somewhere near or between the towns of Divriği and Akn (Egin, now Kemaliye), Turkey, but exact location unknown. Yakob was taken to Constantinople around 1720 and enrolled in the school set up by Patriarch Yovhannës Bahîşetsi Kolot (1715–41). Became a vardapet in 1728. Consecrated bishop in Ëjmiatzin the following year. Succeeded Kolot to the patriarchal seat of Constantinople in 1741, but he was dethroned in 1749. Briefly served as patriarch of Jerusalem, until his re-election as patriarch of Constantinople in 1752. Died in office.

Texts
Girk kochetseal vëm hawatoy. (Constantinople, 1733).
Girk kochetseal kristonêakan usaneli ew kam kristonêits varzîch. (Constantinople, 1737, 1747, 1806).
Girk meknutean alôîts srboyn Grigori Narekatsoy. (Constantinople, 1745–46).
Grkus kochetseal hogeşah erkuts čarîts srboyn Yohannu Oskeberanin yAndrian-deay grkoy errord ew chorrord čarîtsn otanaworeal. (Constantinople, 1746; Nor Nakhijewan, 1794).
Grkus kochetseal črag čsmartutean. (Constantinople, 1756).
Girk kochetseal zën hogewor. (Constantinople, 1757, 1787, 1820, 1844). (Parts 2 and 3 in Turkish in Armenian characters).
Girk kochetseal gandzaran tanutsmans. (Constantinople, 1758).
Girk alôîts amenayn andzants harkawor. (Constantinople, 1760).
Tetrak zunaynutenê kentsaloys, otanaworeal i hogeloys Yakob astua tzeban pa triarkê Kostandnupolsôy .... (Constantinople, 1805). (Nalean’s writing only 10 pages long).
“Olîb mör i valamerîk ordin.” MKH, 141.
“Im aregakêñ hawaretsaw.” MKH, 142.

Criticism
Nazaryan, Š. “Hakob Nalyanê ev nra chapelberakanê.” PBH, 1984/1, 80–84.
**NAR-DOS** (1867–1933)

Pen name: Nar-Dos.

Born Mikayēl Yovhannisean in Tiflis. Received his elementary education in the local Armenian schools. Worked as editor and administrator for several Armenian papers, particularly *Nor-Dar* (1890–1906) and *Surhandak* (1913–18), and devoted what little spare time was left to writing novels and short stories. Died in Tiflis.

**Collections**

*Entir patmvatzkner.* (Erevan, 1934).

*Erker.* (Erevan, 1977).


**Texts**

*Anna Saroyean; ētiwd.* (Tiflis, 1889, 1906; Erevan, 1933; Teheran, 1955). (Novlette).

*Spanuatz alawni.* (Baku, 1901; Erevan, 1929 [revised], 1986). (Short novel).

*Tantirojs alijkē.* (Tiflis, 1902). (Story).

*Noratizin manukē.* (Vaḷaršapat, 1904). (Story).

*Nor öreris mēkē.* (Tiflis, 1904 [cover says 1905]). (Story).

*Paykar.* (Tiflis, 1911; Cairo, n.d.; Erevan, 1957 [published with *Mahē*]). (Novel).

*Mahē.* (Tiflis, 1912; Moscow, 1934; Erevan, 1957 [published with *Paykar*]). (Novel).


*Erku bolševik: St. Šahumyan, S. Spandaryan.* (Erevan, 1935). (Written with A. Sirvanzade).

*Sakuln uht gnats. Inchpes bēšketsin.* (Erevan, 1938). (Stories).


*Patmvatzkner.* (Erevan, 1985). (Stories).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

AN, 29–46.

**RUSSIAN**

*Anna Sarioian. Ubity golub’.* *Bor’ba.* (Erevan, 1960).

*Arsharuni, A. Ubity golub’.* (Moscow, 1960).

*Balasan, V. Nash kvartal.* (Erevan, 1985).

*La i on.* (Erevan, 1963).

*Levonian, G. Anna Sarioian.* (Tiflis, 1902).

*Poslednie mogikane.* (Tiflis, 1935).

*Povesti i rasskazy.* (Moscow, 1955).
NARDUNI, ŠAWARŞ (1898–1968)

Pen name: Šawarş Narduni.

Born Askānaż Ayvazean in Armaş, near Izmit, Turkey. Attended school in his birthplace. Completed his medical studies in Paris (1927) after his suspension from the University of Istanbul for political reasons. Contributed to Armenian periodicals on numerous topics, including literature, philology, and history. Also published Hay boyz, a popular medical journal, from 1934 to 1967.

Collections

Nardeân patarag. (Beirut, 1968).
Grakan tsolker. (Beirut, 1975).

Texts (prose)

Alpōmhēkeatneru. (Athens, 1927).
Baner, baner inch baner . . . ardzak banasteltzutiwn ew hēkeat. (Paris, [1941]).
Other works

Es tesay žolovurdë. (Teheran, 1954).
Gragëlë, or ir Žolovurdë pniřelu elatz ě. (Teheran, 1954).
Ogin haykazants. (Cairo, 1954).
Mer hoterë, mer hoterë . . . (Beirut, 1966).

Criticism

------. “Girk’eru mōt: Erusalëm, Erusalëm . . . vipergutiwn Š. Narduni.” Z (amsōrcay), 1 (1938/6), 45.

NARPËY, HOREN (c1831–1892)

Pen names: Narpëy, Lusinean (Lusignan), and others.
Born Horën Galfayean in Constantinople. Brilliant orator and a highly acclaimed poet, playwright, and translator (mainly from French). Became a member of the Mhifarean Congregation after completing his training at St. Lazarus. Along with two other Mekhitarist monks (Sargis Têodorean and Gabriël Ayvazovskî, brother of the famous painter), he severed his ties with the order (1856) and returned to the Church of Armenia. Consecrated bishop in Èjmiâtzin, in 1867. A member of the unofficial Armenian delegation to the Congress of Berlin (1878). Denuded of his glory and withdrawn from public life by the mid-1880s, he was ungraciously suspended from all religious activities in 1892 by patriarch Horën Ašēgean of Constantinople (1888–94). Allegations that he was poisoned on orders from Abdulhamid II are unsubstantiated.

Texts

Aršak Erkrodr. (Theodosia, 1861). (Drama).
Alafranka. (Theodosia, 1862). (Comedy).
Vardenik. (Theodosia, 1863). (Verse).
Knarpandhtin. (Constantinople, 1868). (Verse).
Stuerk haykakank. (Constantinople, 1874). (Verse).

Other works

Pölsøy ‘Meluin’ 160 tuoy mēk hatuatzin patashi. [Constantinople, 1862].
Hayots Ekeletsin ew Andralernakank. (Constantinople, 1870).
Naĥкратaran franserën lezui. (Constantinople, 1873).
Naĥnakan kristonēakan ėšt vardapetutean Hayastaneayts S. Ekeletswoy. (Constantinople, 1877, 1890).
Kırlan kristonēakan ėšt vardapetutean Hayastaneayts S. Ekeletswoy. (Constantinople, 1877, 1887).
Translators

**ENGLISH**

"Vahan Mamigonian. Words and Music by Corène de Lusignan." *Armenia* (newspaper), July 1, 1894, 2.

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**


**FRENCH**

Archag II. (Paris, 1864).


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APA*, 47–58.

*PA*, 149–51.

**SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APAS*, 131–34.

**Criticism**


Hatsuni, V. *Norakert hay Lusineanner*. (Venice, 1953).

Šahaziz, E. "Horēn arkepiskopos Galafyaneč ew Nalbandeantsi Atšmikē."


**NATALI, ŠAHAN** (1884–1983)

Pen names: Nemesis, Šahan, Šahan Natāli.

Born Yakob Tēr Yakobean in Hiwsenk, a village near Harberd (Harput, Turkey).

Attended the local Armenian elementary school. Orphaned when his father was killed during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s. Continued his studies at the Pērpērean school in Constantinople (1897–1901). Taught in his native village (1901–04) and emigrated to the United States in 1904. He was one of the chief organizers of the assassination, soon after World War I, of some of the principal Young Turk Ottoman leaders, who had masterminded the Armenian genocide of 1915.

**Texts**

Šanter. (Boston, 1907) (Verse).


*Ōrēnki ew īnerutean zoherēn*. (Boston, 1909). (Stories).

*Kawutean erger*. (Boston, 1911). (Verse).

*Sēri ew atelutean erger*. (Boston, 1915). (Verse).

Mardē. (Smyrna, 1912). (Play).

*Aslan bēg*. (Boston, 1918). (Play).

*Vrēzi awetaran*. Vol. 2. (Boston, 1918). (Verse).
NERSES

Kezi. (Boston, [1920]). (Verse).
Nšmar Šahan Natalii grakan, hasarakakan yisnameay keankin. ([Boston], 1953).
(Includes poetry).

Other works
Kargawor 'hayrer". (New York, 1917).
Turkerē ew menk (veraghanatunner). (Athens, 1928; [Boston], 1931).
Erewani hamadzaynagirē. (Boston, 1941).
Girk matutsman ew hatutsman. I. Ayspēs spannetsink. II. Yaweluatz. ([Boston], 1949).
'Verstin yaweluatz: Aleksandrapoli dašnagri 'inchpēs"n u 'inchu'n paštōnakan vaweragreru ew yušagrakan vKayuțiwnneru losyin tak. (Boston, 1955).

Criticism
Nšmar Šahan Natalii grakan, hasarakakan yisnameay keankin. ([Boston], 1953).

NAZANI, (1870–1912)
Pen name: Nazani.
Ôhanēs Tër-Martirosean, an ašul, lived in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri).

Poetry
THG, 246–49.

NERSÈS MOKATSI (c1575–c1625)
Also known as “Bellu” and “Vanetsi” (i.e., from Van). Nersēs was born in the village of Asknjaws, reportedly located in the old Armenian region of Mokkē, south of Lake Van. Acquired his education at the famous school of the monastery of Amrtōl (also Amrdol or Amlordi), in Balēs (Bitlis). From 1616–21 he taught at the celebrated “Siwnēats Anapat” hermitage, near Tatew in Eastern Armenia. The Hermitage of Lim, which he founded on the islet of Lim in Lake Van, played a significant role in the revival of monastic life and Armenian culture in the seventeenth century.

Texts (verse)
"Vičananutiwn erkni ew erki." B, 5 (1847), 331–32.
"Nšhar Ṿrtytn or šnorhetsaw." B, 20 (1862), 232.

Criticism
NIRANI, (1822–?)
Pen names: Nirani, Šahri.
Yovhannës Šaramanean, a native of Valaršapat (Ējmiatzin), was a self-taught ašul.

Poetry

MKH, 571.
THG, 105–9.

NOR-AYR, (1912–1981)
Pen name: Nor-Ayr.
Born Norayr Harutyunyan in the village of Mawrak in the region of Kars. Novelist. Educated in Leninakan (now Gyumri) and Nor Bayazet (now Kamo, Armenia). Completed special courses in journalism (1931) under the auspices of the Communist party of Armenia and edited a number of local periodicals. Held various cultural and administrative positions, and from 1957 to 1974 he was the secretary to the Kirovakan (now Vanadzor) section of the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia.

Texts (stories and novels)
Čartarapetuhin. (Erevan, 1932).
Prkutyun paros. (Erevan, 1938).
Hyuranotsi aljikê. (Erevan, 1946).
Olortnerum. (Erevan, 1947).
Novler ner ev vipakner. (Erevan, 1949).
Luysar. (Erevan, 1950).
Antari ergê. (Erevan, 1959).
Metz Parni. (Erevan, 1961).
Nvirakan srter. (Erevan, 1965).
Anapati ašavotê. (Erevan, 1968).

Translations (Russian)

Aram. (Moscow, 1970).

NOR TETRAK OR KOCHI YORDORAK Š ARADRETSEAL SAKS STAPELOY ERITASARDATSN, EW MANKANTS HAYKAZANŞN I VEHHEROTEAL EW I HEŁGATSEAL TMRUTENÉ KNOY TZULUTEAN
This important book reflects aspects of Armenian political thought, especially the views of some leaders of the Armenian community in India in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. It is a patriotic exhortation intended to awaken the timid and indolent Armenian youth and to prompt readers with the prospect of a future Armenia, revived through self-reliance. It reviews Armenian history and the causes for the collapse of Armenian political power and analyzes a number of favorable economic and geographic factors meant to inspire optimism. Author uncertain. Originally, it was attributed to Yakob Šahamirean, and later to Movsês Balramean. Some believe it was a collective effort.
Norents

Texts
Nor tetrak or kochi yordorak šaradretseal saks stapeloy eritasardatsn, ew mankants haykazantsn i veheroteal ew i helgatseal tmrutenë knoy tzulutean. (Madras, 1772–73).

Criticism
Mnatsakanyan, A. “Ovē ‘Nor tetrak, or kochi yordorak . . . ’ grki helinakë?” PBH, 1962/2, 131–42.
Polosyan, S. “Azatagragan galap^ahosufyune ‘Nor tetrak or kochi yordorak’ grkum.” BEH, 1972/2, 86–100.

NORENTS, VALARŠAK (1903–1973)
Pen name: Valarsak Norents.
Born Valaršak Eritsean in Šenik, a village in the region of Sasun (south of Muş, Turkey). Poet. Received his elementary education in his native village. Survived the Armenian massacres of 1915. Grew up in orphanages in Tiflis and Leninakan (now Gyumri). Attended the Nersisean school and settled in Erevan. In 1925, he participated in the founding of “Noyember” (November), a literary society, which soon merged with its rival, “Hayastani proletarakan groñeri asotsiatśia” (Association of Proletarian Writers of Armenia), to form a new union of writers, “Hayastani proletarakan groñer miutyn” (Union of Proletarian Writers of Armenia). Survived many years of exile under Stalin.

Collections

Texts (verse)
Öreri čampin. (Dilijan, 1925).
Irikun. (Erevan, 1926).
Erkrdor girk. (Erevan, 1930).
Lirikakan front. (Erevan, 1932).
Banasteťzut Çyunrn. (Erevan, 1936).
Čanaparhner. (Erevan, 1956).
Im ašhrhē. (Erevan, 1958).
Pšė šapik. (Erevan, 1959).
Dareri avand. (Erevan, 1968).

Other works
Tasnerku tari (Sovetakan Hayastani 1920–32) mšakuyayin kyanki notagruṭyun. (Erevan, 1933). (Written with Vahram Alazan).

Translations
FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
Rebec, J. P. E, 81–82.
LPA, 314–15.

RUSSIAN
NURIKEAN, BENIAMIN (1894–1988)
Born in the village of Hiwsenik, near Harberd (Harput, Turkey). Received his elementary education at the village school and at the school founded by Tlkatintsi (q.v.) in Harberd. Arrived in the United States in 1913. Graduated from Columbia University in 1920 and received his M. A. from the same institution the following year. One of the founders and editors of Nor gir, a journal of literature and the arts, published in New York (1936–54).

Texts (stories)
Aygekutf. (New York, 1937).
Karot hayreni. (Erevan, 1978).

Translations (anthologies)
KNS, 81–87.
PCN, 127–14.

Criticism

ÖZAN KARO (1890–1933)
Pen name: Öhan Karo.

Collections
(Prose and poetry).

ORBEREAN, ŘUBĒN (1874–1931)
Pen name: Rubēn Alikian.
Orbuni

Collections

Texts
Yisatakats tzalikner, otanawor ew ardzak gruatzk. (Constantinople, 1893). (Prose and poetry).

Works in periodicals

Translations (French anthologies)
APA, 149–56.

Criticism

ORBUNI, ZAREH (1902–1980)
Pen names: Heraz, Zareh Orbuni.
Born Zareh Èoksiiwzean in Ordu (Turkey). Novelist. His father was killed during the genocide of 1915, but he and his mother managed to flee to Simferopol. Attended the Përpërean school during a short stay in Constantinople (1919–22). Sailed for France, lived in Marseilles for two years, then in Paris (1924–30) and Strasbourg (1930–37). Editor, jointly with Petros Zaroyean (1903–), of two short-lived periodicals: Nor hawatk (1924) and Lusabats (1938–39). A prisoner of war in Germany from 1940 to 1945. Although most of his novels and short stories have been published separately, some of his verse and prose writings are still scattered in periodicals, and some are still in manuscript form.

Collections

Texts (stories and novels)
Pordzê. (Marseilles, 1929; Beirut, 1958).
Ösakan

Patmuatzkner. (Beirut, 1966).
Teknatzum. (Beirut, 1967).
Sovorakan or më. (Beirut, 1974).

Works in periodicals
3 (1931/4), 40; 2 (1931/5–6), 79–92; 3 (1931/1–2), 154. 8 (1937/1–2), 45–54.
6 (1954/2), 81–89.

Translations (Russian anthologies)
KNS, 171–75.
PCN, 35–47.

Criticism
12.
12.
613–14.

ÖSAKAN, YAKOB (1883–1948)
Pen names: Geljuk, Yakob Ösakan, Yakob Yovhannësean.
Born Yakob Kïwëçean in Şêëlêlz, near Bûrsa. Writer, critic, and teacher. After
elementary school in his birthplace, he attended the Armaş seminary for a year.
Began his lifelong teaching career in Bûrsa; moved on to Malgara and
Constantinople. There, jointly with Kostan Zaryan and Gefam Barselean (q.q.v.),
he launched the periodical Mehean (1914). With some luck and adroitness, he
managed, unlike most of his colleagues, to escape death in 1915, by fleeing to
Bulgaria disguised as a German officer. Returned to Constantinople after the
Armistice of Mudros and published the periodical Bardzravank (1922), with a
few old friends and confrères who had survived the butchery of 1915. He and
his colleagues left Constantinople for the last time in 1922. Taught in Bulgaria,
Cairo, Cyprus (Melkonian), and lastly at the St. James Armenian seminary in
Jerusalem. Died in Aleppo.

Collections
Kathank. (Jerusalem, 1946).
Snapcean, P. Erker. [Beirut and Antilias, 1973]. (Includes Tzak ptukë, Hači Murat,
and Hači Apterullah).
Literary works

Horhurdneru meheanë. (Constantinople, 1922). (Tales).

Erb patani en. (Constantinople, 1926). (Story).


Erb mer-nil giwenë. (Jerusalem, 1944). (Play).

Örn örerun: horhurd (mer zamanaknerë). (Jerusalem, 1946 [cover says 1947]).


Erbpatani en. (Constantinople, 1926). (Story).


Erek taterahaler: Nor psakë; Knkahayrë; Akloramartë. (San Francisco, 1990).

Other works


Vahan Têkêean. (Beirut, 1985).


Works in periodicals


**Criticism**

Andrēasean, A. "Ösakanı 'Datum’in vripankë.' Ani, 1 (1946), 275–82.
B[aluean], H. "I patiw Yakob Ösakanin (–Ösakan knnadatë)." Z (amsōreay), 1/2 (1937), 12.

Chak'ēran, G. "Yakob Ösakan." HK, 28 (1950/12), 33–47.
Mhitarean, G. "Yakob Ösakan." HK, 26 (1948/3), 84–89.


Tašcan, B. "Mayrineru šukin tak, grakan zroyts më Y. Ösakanı het." HK, 10 (1931–32/5), 125–38; 7, 151–60.

———. "Hanrayin gitzë Ösakanı grakanutean mëj." Z (taregirk), 1 (1937), 86–89.


**OSTANIK (1896–1954)**


**Collections**

Erker. (Teheran, 1972).

**Texts**

Hekekankner. (Erevan, 1913).
Ziwlfi erger. (Tabriz, 1921).
Erg ergots. (Teheran, 1934).
Šahēnı hrčitē. (Teheran, 1935).
Neraşhar. (Teheran, 1942).

**ŌTEAN, ERUAND (1869–1926)**

Pen names: E. M. Kiwrōt (with Miḳ'ayēl Kiwrčean), Erōt, Vahram, Vahram Vahramean, S. Žirayr.

Born in Constantinople. Satirist, novelist, journalist, and translator. Left the Përperan school after a year or so and was tutored privately. Contributed to Armenian papers and published numerous periodicals, most of them short-lived (e.g., Azat hōsk, Krak, Karapnat, Sew katu, Ignat ala, etc.). The Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s marked the first phase of his wandering life. He fled the Ottoman capital and lived in Athens, Vienna, London, Paris, and visited India (1904) before temporarily settling in Alexandria (1902–09). Returned to Constantinople after the Young Turk coup. He was deported to the Syrian desert in 1915, but survived and returned to his birthplace immediately after World
War I. Left Constantinople in 1922 and lived in Bucharest and various parts of the Middle East. Died in Cairo.

**Collections**

*Erkeri zołovatzu*. (Erevan, 1934).
*Entir erker*. (Erevan, 1988).

**Texts (novels and prose)**

*Aråkelutwîn mê i TzapłVAR*. (Constantinople, 1911; Venice, 1959). (Part of *Ènker Panjuni*).
*Pôlos paşa Nupar (kensagrakan nôter)*. (Constantinople, 1913). (Biography).
*Ènker Panjuni* (ir nor aråkelutiwnn Vaspurakani mêj ew ir aşĥarhayeatsknerê). (Constantinople, 1914). (Part of *Ènker Panjuni*).
*Ènker Panjuni Vaspurakani mêj. Ènkervarakan namakani ènker B. Panjunîê*. (Constantinople, 1914). (Part of *Ènker Panjuni*).
*Ariwnot yisatakner*. (Constantinople, 1920).
*Çepēntats norazînê* . (Constantinople, 1920; Alexandria, 1928).
*Chakër Avram kam Grigorin vreţê*. (Constantinople, 1920).
*Ergitzabanakan taretsoyts*. (Constantinople, 1920).
*Yelâtohutean makaboytnerê*. (Constantinople, 1920). (Stories).
*Èrgitzakan taretsoyts: 1922*. (Constantinople, 1921).
*Talakanin knikê*. (Constantinople, 1921). (Novel).
*Karkî arkaş mê*. (Constantinople, 1924).
*Azgayîn bærerar*. (Cairo, 1926). (Novelette).
*Es dresêsi chem arner*. (Constantinople, 1926 [cover says 1927]). (Novel).
*Ènker Panjuni i TzapłVAR ew Vaspurakan*. (Cairo, 1938). (Ill. by A. Saruhan; part of *Ènker Panjuni*).
*Ènker Panjuni tarâgrutean mêj ew Ènker Panjunii aşĥarhayeatsknerê*. (Cairo, 1939). (Ill. by A. Saruhan; part of *Ènker Panjuni*).
Tër-Minasean, A. Ôteani namakner, ergitzakan vaweragrer. 1. šrjan. (Constantinople, 1946).

Hambardžum ala. (Erevan, 1956). (Story).

(The first title is part of Ènker Panjuni).

Translations

ENGLISH


FRENCH

Cavezian, Z. Une mission à Dzablvar; lettres socialistes du citoyen P. Pantchouni. (Smyrna, 1922).

Feydit, F. Une mission à Dzablvar. (Venice, 1961).

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES


GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES

AN, 47–56.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES

KHAN, 1, 43–52; 2, 147–61.


Criticism


———. Èrvand Ótyan. (Erevan, 1957).

———. Èrvand Ótyan. (Erevan, 1965).


PAŁTASAR DPIR (c1683–c1768)

Also referred to as Grigorean, after his father; Kesarean, after his father’s native city, Kayseri; and Kostandnupolsetsi, after his birthplace. Born in Constantinople.
Poet, teacher, and publisher. Studied at the feet of Bishop Astuatzatur Julayetsi, a nuncio of the Catholics of All Armenians. Until his death, he taught and supervised at the Kum Kapu school of the Armenian Patriarchate, founded by Patriarch Yakob Nalean (q.v.). Many of those who studied under him later became distinguished men of letters or leaders (including Siméon Erewantsi and Petros Lapantsi q.q.v.). Paltasar is credited with the publication of several old Armenian texts of importance (e.g., Afakel Siwnetsi, Adamgirk; Grigor Tawetsi, Girk hartsmants, etc.). Died in Constantinople.

**Texts**


[" Krutu w kristonēːkan"] Pu gir k ọlturki kristonēːkan hawatkēmeza igitza lē kerēk ọlan pir gach ê yörenilēçēkēlē hayca pilmēyēn kristoneay ebhaylarēmēz ichin tiwērēkē ūrakadrel olantu, vē atēnē Krutu w kristonēːkan tētēk. (Constantinople, 1742, 1777, 1816, 1816, 1820). (In Armeno-Turkish).

Örīnakk barewgrats norapēs šaradrelseal. (Constantinople, 1752, 1786, 1807, 1827).

Anuamb Astutzoy Hōr ew Ordwoy ew Hogwoyn Srboy. Grkoyk or koči Tsank girk Nor Kitakaranin. Or paranakē yınkean zbans omans erewelis edeal ēst aybbe-nakan kargin handerē; hamaraṭuov ghoisin ew hamaraṭsn tēnatsn . . . (Constantinople, 1753).


*Tataranik siroy ew karōtēnats ew ayl i Paltasar Dprē i veray zanazan gunits.* (Constantinople, 1768). (Verse).

[Tataran]. (Constantinople, 1768). (Verse; published untilted).


*Tatikner siroy ew karōtēnats.* (Erevan, 1958). (Verse; ed. by Š. Nazaryan and As. Mnatsakanyan).

Nazaryan, Š. *Tatikner.* (Erevan, 1985).


"I nịnmanėd arkayakan." *MKH*, 469.
“Zis ko siroyn, ov nazeli.” MPT, 56–57.
“Sat siro k'ez barew . . .” MPT, 57–58.
“Zandzn im ayspēs achk’ yartasus.” MPT, 58.

Translations

**French**

*LPA*, 149–50.
*RA*, 2, 264–83.

**Russian**

*AAP*, 313–14.

Criticism

Nazaryan, Š. *Pałtasar dpir*. (Erevan, 1985).
———. “Narckatsiakan šaržumë 18–rd darum Pałtasar dprî knarerguťan mēj.”
*B*, 1986/1–4, 202–35.

**PANOSEAN, ALEKSANDR** (1859–1919)

Pen name: Alpfaslan.
Born in Constantinople and educated at the Nupar-Šahnazarean Armenian school there. Poet and translator; wrote children’s literature and comedies. Also wrote in French.

**Texts**

*Soler u isoler*. (Constantinople, 1884). (Verse).
*Teknatzuner*. (Constantinople, 1901). (Comedy).
*Aygekut*. (Constantinople, 1908). (Verse).
*Azat knar*. (Constantinople, 1908). (Verse).

Criticism


**PANOSEAN, SMBAT** (1909–)

Born in Tiflis. Orphaned at a very young age and raised in orphanages. Moved, along with hundreds of other orphans, to Jerusalem in 1922. Graduated from the Melkonian Educational Institute of Cyprus (1926–30). Following a sojourn in Beirut (1930–33), he permanently settled in Latakia, Syria. His novels and short stories reflect realities of the Armenian Dispersion of the Middle East.

**Texts**

*Anardzagang kayler*. (Beirut, 1949).
*Or mrrkaw ēin zatwatz*. (Beirut, 1953).
*Sērē or gin chunēr*. (Beirut, 1968).
*Vark Komitas Kutinatsii*. (Beirut, 1970).
PAPAYAN, ARAMAŠOT (1911—)

Collections
Piesneri žołovatzu. (Erevan, 1950).
Ariașahmanyan pesatsu. Piesneri žołovatzu. (Erevan, 1982).
Metz harsanik. (Erevan, 1987).

Texts
Metz harsanik. (Erevan, 1960).
Tzizal. (Erevan, 1965).

Translations
ENGLISH

RUSSIAN
Da, mir perevernulsia: P’esy. (Moscow, 1988).

Criticism

PAPAZEAN, VRTANĖS (c1866–1920)
Pen names: Aprō, Vardgēs, Vrtanēs.
Born in Van. Writer, literary critic, historian, teacher, and translator. Taught and trained at schools in Agulis, Nahijewan; Tabriz (1875–78); the Gēorgean Seminary in Ejmiatzin (1878–79); and Geneva University (1891–94). His peregrinations, mainly as a teacher, took him to numerous cities in many a region: Transcaucasia (Erevan, Tiflis, Baku, Šuši); Russia (northern Caucasus, Astrakhan, Moscow); Western Armenia (Van, Erzurum); Iran (Teheran, Tabriz); and many other cities. Fled Russia in 1912, traveled abroad (Bucharest, Bursa), but was back in Transcaucasia by 1915 and settled in Ejmiatzin in 1919. Died at a hospital in Erevan.

Collections
Patmvarzkner ev zruytsner. (Erevan, 1946).
Ēntir erker. (Erevan, 1951).
Patmvarzkner. (Beirut, 1955).
Sargsyan, R. Erker. (Erevan, 1987).
Öhanyan, A. Vana katun. (Erevan, 1988).

**Texts (stories, essays, novels, plays)**

Enicheri. (Tiflis, 1889).
ћг-саба. (Hay bošaneri keankits). (Tiflis, 1890).
Lalö. (Tiflis, 1890).
Parskakan zroytsner. (Tiflis, 1890).
Тоътал. (Tiflis, 1890).
Ćgnawor Elö. (Moscow, 1891).
Ginegorzi aljikê. (Tiflis, 1891).
Patkerner tiwrkahayeri keankits. (Moscow, 1891).
Anyagê. (Tiflis, 1892, 1919).
Sasuntsi Ōhan. (Moscow, 1892).
Erek patker. (Baku, 1894).
Turisti yišoluywinner. (Tiflis, 1895).
Santê. (Hay bošaneri keankits). (Tiflis, 1898; Constantinople, 1910).
Hay bošaneri vranneburn. (Tiflis, 1899).
Hay bošaner. (Azgagrakan usummasirutwin). (Tiflis, 1899).
Gzer keankits. (Tiflis, 1899).
Èmma: vêp žamanakakits Barkerits. (Tiflis, 1901).
Patmuatzkner. (Tiflis, 1901).
Korsuazc ardarutwin. (Chinakan legenda). (Baku, 1902).
Abatayi daštun. (Baku, 1903).
Asi (vêp parskakan keankits). (Tiflis, 1903).
Aspet. (Tiflis, 1903).
Тъхол хоzë. (Baku, 1903).
Ђелол ew uriš patmuatzkner. (Tiflis, 1903).
Lur-du-lur. (Baku, 1903; Erevan, 1937; Beirut, 1954).
Višap (zroyts). (Baku, 1903; Erevan, 1940).
Alëmgir. (Tiflis, 1904).
Ђелол akatalhner ew Draht. (Tiflis, 1904).
Metz t’akank ew Arıwtsi mahê. (Tiflis, 1904).
Patmuatzkner tiwrkahayeri keankits. (Tiflis, 1904).
Paytari hogin ew Ankeltz èntzay. (Tiflis, 1904).
Višap ew uriš zroytsner. (Tiflis, 1904).
Azrfeza: (vêp parskakan keankits). (Tiflis, 1905).
Eruk třčun. (Tiflis, 1905).
Žayr. (Tiflis, 1907; Erevan, 1946).
Patmutiwn hayots grakanutanean. Vol. 1 (Erevan, 1907; Tiflis, 1910; [Constantinople, 1931]), Vol. 2 (Constantinople, 1913, [1947]).
Haji bêk. (Constantinople, 1909).
Mšuš. (Tiflis, 1909).
Patkerner. (Trebizond, 1909).
Artašêš Erkord. (Baku, 1910).
Gagik Erkord. (Baku, 1910).
Lewon Erkord. (Baku, 1910).
Sahak ew Mesrop. (Baku, 1910).
Toros Išhan. (Baku, 1910).
Vardanants paterazmē. (Baku, 1910).
Zroytsner. (Suši, 1911).
Giwits: patkerner. (Tiflis, 1913).
Ttë nawakits minchew tzařē: (mankakan patmuatzk). (Tiflis, 1917).
Gārnukē (mankakan piasa). (Tiflis, 1918; Constantinople, 1930).
Erashi vrayov. (Erevan, 1945).
Mankutean yušerën. (Beirut, 1950, 1959). (Translated from Eastern Armenian into Western Armenian by L. Šant).

Translations

ENGLISH
“Drops of Blood.” Armenia, 6 (1912/5), 143–47.

FRENCH

RUSSIAN
Bagaturova, N. Piatna krovi i drugie rasskazy. (Moscow, 1911).
Giul’-Nazarov, F. Drakon. (Petersburg, [1906]).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
KHAN, 1, 104–6.
RAN, 59–63.

Criticism
——. Vrtanes Papazyan. (Erevan, 1956).
PARONEAN, YAKOB (1843–1891)
Born in Edime. Satirist, journalist, and teacher. Received some schooling in the Armenian and Greek schools in his birthplace. Lived in Constantinople from the early 1860s to his death. Engaged in acting and several other occupations before taking up accounting and journalism as his lifelong professions. Editor and/or publisher of a number of periodicals: *Poł arawōtean* (1870), *Metu* (1872–74), *Tatron* (1874–77), *Tyatro* (1874–75, possibly longer), *Tatron barekam mankants* (1876), and *Hikar* (1884–88), where most of his writings were first published. Contributed to some Eastern Armenian periodicals (e.g., *Pordz, Ardzagank, Paros Hayastani*), thereby avoiding Abdulhamid II’s censorship, gaining wide fame but little fortune. Died of consumption in Constantinople.

**Collections**
- *Hoshosi dzeratetre; Ptoyt mē Pōlsyō talerun mēj; Հիկար գուշակութիւնկ*. (Tiflis, 1892, 1900).
- *Taretsoyts ew gušakutiuṅk Hikari*. (Tiflis, 1892; Cairo, 1936).
- *Ergizabanakan hatwaţner*. (Alexandrapol, [1904]).
- *Atannaboyzn areweleean; Erku ājrov tawary mē; Pṛoxyg*. (Constantinople, 1910).
- *Arevelyan atannabuţ; Paltasar albar; Kalakavarutyun vnasnerē*. (Moscow, 1927).
- *Azgayin jojer; Hoshosi dzeratetre; Tzitzal*. (Moscow, 1927).
- *Metzapatiw muratskanner; Puȝit mē Pōlsyo talerun mēj*. (Moscow, 1927).
- *Hndalov . . .* (Boston, 1947).

**Texts**
- *Atannaboyn āreweleean*. (Constantinople, 1868; Tiflis, 1899. (Comedy).
- *Azgayin jojer*. (Constantinople, 1880, 1904, 1924; Tiflis, 1891, 1896). (Satire).
- *Ptoyt mē Pōlsyō talerun mēj*. (Constantinople, 1880; Tiflis, 1892). (Satire).
- *Metzapatiw muratskanner*. (Constantinople, 1888; Tiflis, 1891, 1895, 1900; Sofia, 1933; Erevan, 1934, 1936, 1950; Beirut, 1955; Venice, 1955; Cairo, 1962). (Satirical novel).
- *Kalakavarutean vnasnerē*. (Tiflis, 1900; Erevan, 1934, 1959, 1976; Cairo, 1954). (Satire).
- *Paltasar albar*. (Constantinople, 1910). (Comedy).
Paronean


Pstik kit ev fransen lezu. (Erevan, 1927). (Satirical prose).


Translations

ARABIC


ENGLISH


Megerditchian, E. Gentleman Beggars. (Boston, 1930).

--------. Uncle Balthazar. (Boston, 1933).

FRENCH


GERMAN

Hagop-Krikor. Herr Baltasar and Der Schmeichler. (Gstaad, 1971).

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES

AN, 57–66.

RUSSIAN

Balasan, V. Vysokochtymye poproshaiki. (Erevan, 1982).


--------. Diadia Bagdasar. (Moscow, 1937).

--------. Izbrannoie. (Moscow, 1950).


Criticism


Asatur, N. “Mefun Paroneani ğmbagrunteran ĕrov.” M, 3972 (1892), 275–79.


Ösakan, Y. “Yakob Paronean, verjaban: Paroneani derë mer grakanuțeun mëj.”


Partagcean, G. *Yakob Paroneani aylabanakan karg më erkerun patmakan dëmkern u dëpkerë.* (Boston, 1980).


Šețean, Y. “Y. Paroneani mëk kani yatkanšakan kolmerë.” *Fištakaran, V. Zardarean*, (Cairo, 1933–39), part 5, 43–44.

Ștepanyan, G. *Hakob Paronyan.* (Erevan, 1956).


PARSAMEAN, MERUŽAN (1883–1944)
Born in Apuchèh, a village near Akn (EĞİN, now Kemaliye, Turkey). Poet. Entrusted to his grandfather's care when his father was killed during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s. Studied at Arman (near İzmit, Turkey). Published the periodical Şanı (1911–15) in Constantinople. Made Paris his home in 1919, where he and his younger brother, Mkrtich Parsamean (1886–1966), published the periodical Keank ew aruest (1931–40). Also wrote in French.

**Texts (verse)**

*Anrjank.* (Constantinople, 1904).
*Patranki tzialkner.* (Constantinople, 1907).
*Eprüfàt zothéerë.* (Constantinople, 1908).
*Křizantëm.* (Constantinople, 1908).
*Mardkayin.* (Paris, [1938]).

**Translations**


**Criticism**


PARTEWEAN, SUREN (1876–1921)

Pen name: Surën Partewean.
Born Sisak Partizpanein in Constantinople. Attended the Përperian and Ke-dronakan schools in his birthplace. Took refuge in Paris during the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s and audited courses at the Sorbonne. Returned to Constantinople in 1908. Edited a number of periodicals (e.g., Valuan dzaynë, Dašink, Dzayn hayreneats, Azg, and others), and published collections of his
short stories. Fled Smyrna in the early 1920s and spent his last days in Egypt. Died in Alexandria.

**Texts**

*Harazan.* (Paris, 1901).
*Kilikean arhawirkë.* (Constantinople, 1909).
*Kaykayum.* (Smyrna, 1910).
*Hayuhiin.* (Constantinople, 1911).
*Ariwnin mateanë.* (Cairo, 1915).

**Other works**

*Egiptahay taretsoytsë.* (Cairo, 1914).

**Translations (English)**


**Criticism**


**PATKANEAN, GABRIEL** (1802–1889)

Born in Tiflis. Father of Rapayēl Patkanean (q.v.). A prolific writer, teacher, translator, and journalist. Grew up in Astrakhan (1805–27). Launched his teaching career in Nor Nahijewan (Rostov-na-Donu, 1827–46), where he set up a private school (1834–46). While in Nor Nahijewan, he became a married priest, but he was defrocked, jailed in Rostov (1853–60), and banished to the interior of Russia on false charges of plotting to assassinate the mayor of Nor Nahijewan. Returned from exile in 1863 and lived in St. Petersburg, where he resumed his teaching activities. Listed below are his literary works only.

**Texts**

*Šawars B.* (St. Petersburg, 1863).
*Hripisimē kam Prktiwn Hayastani.* (Rostov-on-Don, 1875).
*Mrmunjk Yisusi.* (Rostov-on-Don, 1875).
*Anušawan.* (Smyrna, 1875).
*Mah Pareti.* (Smyrna, 1875).
*Sanduht.* (Constantinople, 1876).
*Zawan.* (Smyrna, 1877).
*Pañak.* (Smyrna, 1877).
*Paroyr.* (Smyrna, 1876).

**Criticism**

A, 1879, 233.
Nazaryan, Š. *Gabriel Patkanyani kyankn u grakan-hasarakakan gortzuneutyunē (1830–60akan tvakanner).* (Erevan, 1956).
Salyan, M. *Patkanyanner.* (Erevan, 1982). (History of the Patkanyan family).
“Tagawor kayser šnorhâtz nerumn dadaratz kahanay Gabriêl Patkaneanin.” A, 1879, 100.

PATKANEAN, ŘAPAYÉL (1830–1892)

Pen names: Ahtamerkean, Asûl Karapet, Ĉankov Mamuk, Gamar-Katîpa, Hamchi, Hêçï-ala, Nštrak, Siwliwk, M. Veyelchean, and others.

Born in Nor Nahijewan (Rostov-na-Donu) to a well-known family of intellectuals, whose traditions found their fullest expression in Řapayêl’s literary output. Educated in his father’s school in his birthplace. Irregularly attended the Lazarean (Lazarevskii) Institute (1843^-9), the University of Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia, 1851–52), and the University of Moscow (1852–54), and completed his higher studies at the University of St. Petersburg (1855–60). In 1852, he founded, with two fellow students (Geòrg K'ananean and Mnatsakan Tìmurean), a literary coterie that they named Gamar-Katîpa (by inserting an a between the initial letters of their first names, GaMaR, and combining the first two letters of their last names), and which Patkanean later assumed as a pen name. He returned to his birthplace in 1867 and became a teacher. During these years he also wrote novels and short stories.

Collections
Èntir ašhatasirutìwnk. 3 vols. (Vols. 1 and 2, Petersburg, 1893; Vol. 3, Nor Nahijewan, 1904).

Banasteltzutìynner. (Èrevan, 1941).

Mankakan banasteltzutìynner. (Èrevan, 1941).

Mankakan erger. (Èrevan, 1944).


Topçhyan, S. Erker. (Èrevan, 1980).

Papoyan, Ō. Erker. (Èrevan, 1984).

Texts

Gamar-Katîpayi banasteltzutìwnkë. (Moscow, 1864). (Verse).

Patmatzknër Nor-Nahîjewani očov. (Petersburg, 1875). (Stories).

Azat erger. (Tiflis, 1878; Geneva, 1903). (Verse).

Pampuliòs. (Rostov-on-Don, 1879). (Play).

Nor Nahîjewani knar. (Rostov-on-Don, 1879). (Verse).

Mankakan erger. (Tiflis, 1880). (Verse).

Gamar-Katîpayi banasteltzutìwnkë. (Moscow, 1881). (Verse).

Tikin ew nažîšt. (Tiflis, 1884). (Novelette).

Šaterên mêkê. (Nor Nahîjewan, 1905). (Story).

Chahu. (Tiflis, 1909; Èrevan, 1946, 1951). (Story; tr. from Nahîjewan dialect by S. Lisitsëan).

Garun. (Èrevan, 1941).

Teitsernak. (Èrevan, 1941).


Translations

ENGLISH

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
*AL*, 48, 49–54.
*AP*, 66–94, 250.

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
*LPA*, 170–73.
*PA*, 81–113.
*PAAM*, 84–88.

GERMAN
Leist, A. *Drei Erzählungen*. (Leipzig, n.d.). (Mein Nachbar; Der verodete Hof; Ich war verlobt).

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
*LPAM*, 97–104.

RUSSIAN
Chalkhush’ian, G. *Armianskaia poeziia v litse Rafaila Patkaniana*. (Rostov-on-Don, 1886), 41–58.
*Pevets grazhdanskoi skorbi. Izbrannye stikhotvoreniia*. (Moscow, 1904).
Vermishev, I. *Nozhichek.—Rasskaz vodovoza*. (Tiflis, 1889).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
*AAP*, 374–82.
*ABS*, 347–409.
*ARPO*, 143–44.
*BPA*, 271–82.
*RAN*, 15–25.
*VAM*, 25–54.

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES

Criticism

Chalkhush'ian, G. *Armianskaia poezia v litse Rafaila Patkaniana*. (Rostov-on-Don, 1886).


Ishanean, B. *Hasarakakan galafarnerê Ř. Patkaneani ew S. Šahazizi banasteltzutiverneri mêj*. (Tiflis, 1910).


Pechikean, E. “Gamař-Katipa ew M. Ŋalbandean (irents 100–ameakin arîtov).” *B*, 87 (1930), 484–89.


———. *Patkanyaner*. (Erevan, 1982). (History of the Patkanyan family).


PATMUTIWN ŁAPANTSWOTS
A history of the wars fought in the 1720s by Dawit Bëk and his companions. Believed to have been written by Fr. Lukas Sebastatsi Stepanosean (1709–52), a Mekhitarist monk, who based his narrative on the eyewitness accounts of Stepan Šahumean (18th c.) and Tër Awetik (18th c.), both of whom had been close collaborators of Dawit Bëk.

Texts
Stepanosean Gulamireants, A. Ėntir patmutiwn Dawit Bëgin ew paterazmats hayotsn Haÿanu ork elen ënddêm turkats i merum žamánakì, ayn ë yami Tëarn 1722, ew hayots 1171. (Ėjmiatzin, 1871).

Criticism

PATMUTIWN PARÉZI EW VENNAYI
An adaptation of a text by Yovhanës Tërntszi (16th–17th c.), a well-known publisher and translator. J. -P. Mahé has maintained that the European source of Tërntszi’s version is an Italian translation of the original Catalan (Paris E Viana; cf. R. H. Kévorkian, Catalogue des “incunables” arméniens . . . . Genève, 1986, p. xiii). However, some scholars believe that the original (Paris et Vienne) was penned in French by Pierre de la Cépède of Marseilles in 1342. A Turkish translation made by Eremia chëlëpi Këômiwrcean (1637–95) from an Armenian version (which Këômiwrcean maintained was derived from a Latin original) appeared in Constantinople in 1871, under the title Hikeayëi Faris vë Vëna, rêêîf òlunmuś latin lisănënta vë têrcêmè òlunmuś hay lisănëna, ër ëhlì mëarif zat marifetîylë, Homeros istillahi îlë, vë tekrar têrcêmè òlunmuś lisani tïwrkiyë, mêvzûn vë mugaffa ôlarag, Eremia Chëlëpi Këômiwrceants marifetîylë . . . .

Text

PAYAZAT, SERGO (1909–1971)
A native of Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri), Payazat was educated in Tiflis and worked as a journalist in Erevan. Wrote prose, verse, and plays.

Texts
Erku erg gyulerin. (Tiflis, 1926).
Hoňasen. (Tiflis, 1929).
Manr mardik. (Erevan, 1931).
Kahnuti siraharméř. (Erevan, 1948).
Other works


PAYTZARÊ, (1859–1904)

Pen name: Paytzarê.
Born Varšam Trdateants in the village of Giwlagarak (now in Lori, Armenia). An ašul. Spent most of his life in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri).

Poetry
Ašul Paytzarëi (Varšam Trdateants) ergerë. (Tiflis, 1895). THG, 201–5.

PÆRPÆREAN, RÆTÆOS (1848–1907)

Born in Constantinople and educated at the local Nersèsean school. A celebrated educator and poet. In 1876 he founded his own school, the Përparean, destined to become a prestigious institution, where generations of Armenians and a host of prominent Armenian intellectuals were educated. The school moved to Cairo in 1924 and was closed in 1934.

Literary texts (verse)
Arain terewk. (Constantinople, 1877).
Hohk ew yuşk. (Venice, 1904).

Other works
Mardik ew irk. (Constantinople, 1886).
Dastiaraki më höskerë. (Vienna, 1901).
Dprots ew dprutiwn. (Vienna, 1907).

Criticism

PÆSIKTAŞLEAN, MKRTICH (1828–1868)

Pen name: Hrant.
Born in Constantinople. Received his education at the Mekhitarist school in the district of Pera in his birthplace. Pursued his studies at the Muratean school in Padua (1839–45). Upon his return, he taught and was intimately involved in community affairs, distinguishing himself by his artistic gifts and patriotic zeal to promote unity and enlightenment among his fellow countrymen. He was one of the first Romantic authors. Composed verse and wrote drama in both Classical and Modern Armenian. He is also remembered for founding and acting in the Armenian theater of Constantinople. He died of consumption, which had much earlier claimed the lives of his parents and his brother, and which eventually killed his sister.

Collections
Matenagitutwiwnk M. Pêsiktaşleani. (Constantinople, 1870).
Pëšikfašlean

Taler. (Tiflis, 1903).
Talk ew tatergutinvk. (New York, 1917).
Incikyan, A. Taler. (Erevan, 1947).
Taler. (Erevan, 1961).

Texts (plays)
Erek kajer. (Tiflis, 1885). (Comedy).
Awazakats. (Constantinople, 1909). (Comedy).
Aršak. (Constantinople, 1909). (Drama).
Vahan Mamikonean. (Constantinople, 1910). (Drama).
Vahë. (Constantinople, 1910). (Drama).

Translations

ENGLISH

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
AL, 47, 48–49.
AP, 60–65.
ALP, 89.

FRENCH
Besse, L. “La bonne nouvelle.” L’Arménie (London), December 1, 1897.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 33–37.
LPA, 166–67.
PAAM, 86–91.

GERMAN

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
AD, 18–21.
ALG, 121.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
LPAM, 75–87.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
ABS, 2, 523–27.
BPA, 431–36.

Criticism
Pësikfašlean

———. "Pësikfašlean ew tatronê hayots mëj." Lumay, 7–8 (1906), 5–45.

Ereman, S. "Baê u knar." B, 87 (1930), 269–70.
Erítsean, S. "Im tzanórutuíw pi Pësikfašleani het." Pordz, 1877/4, 186–97.


Safaryan, V. "Erb ë grvel Pešikfašlyani ‘Koñnak’ pièsê?" L, 1966/1, 75–82.


Siruni, Y. "Aruestagêtê Mkrtich Pešikfašleani mëj." HK, 11 (1932–33/8), 100–110.


Pësikfašlean, Nšan (1898–1972)

A native of Constantinople and a resident of France. Received his incomplete elementary education in his birthplace. Although his fame rests upon his satire, Pësikfašlean was a prolific author of plays, verse, and prose writings, some of which are still strewn in the periodical press while others are still in manuscript form.

Texts

Râppi (knaravêp). (Constantinople, 1931).
Mer drahtên. [Paris, 1948].
Yuzumê. (Beirut, 1953).
Sadayêlin pochin tak u şukin: vêp. (Cairo, 1954).
Yisusi dimankarê. (Cairo, 1957 [cover says 1958]).
Melki karê. (Beirut, 1960).
Erknayin zoysts. (Beirut, 1961).
Bžiškner ew hiwandner. (Beirut, 1964).
Hndkahawer. (Beirut, 1973).

Other works
Taterakan dêmker. (Beirut, 1969).

Criticism
Baluean, H. “‘Sidonna’, helinaq Nšan Pêšiktâslean, patmucen ew aruesti
Chöpancan, A. “Yisus ew Nšan Pêšikrashlean crankarê.” ANA, 3 (1931/3–4), 88–

PETROS DI SARGIS GILANENTS (d. 1724)
Biographical information regarding this author is sketchy. He spoke a number
of languages and participated in the Armenian liberation movement in the first
quarter of the eighteenth century. Stimulated Russian interest and influence in
northwestern Iran by supplying the Russians with vital information about the
region and by forming an “Armenian squadron” to fight alongside the Russians.
Killed in action in Resht. His only surviving work is a chronicle that covers the
years 1722–23.

Text
“Zamanakagrufiwn Petros di Sargis Gilanênts jutayetswots barbarov gratz.”

Translations
ENGLISH

RUSSIAN
“Dnevnik osady Ispagani afganami, vedennyi Petrosom di Sarkis Gilanents v
1722 i 1723 godakh. Materialy dla istorii Persii. Perevod i ob’iasneniia
K. Patkanova.” (St. Petersburg, 1870). (Prilozhenie K XVII-mu tomu Zapisok
Imp. Akad. nauk, no. 3).
PETROS ŁAPANTSİ (d. 1784)

Petros was from the region of Łapán (Siwnik) and as a nuncio or primate he spent most of his long life in Constantinople and the neighboring cities. He died in Nicomedia (Izmit, Turkey).

Texts (verse)

Grkoyk kochetseal ergaran. (Constantinople, 1772).

MKH, 106–8; 388; 390–91; 417–26. (4 poems).


Translations

FRENCH

LPA, 151–53.

Criticalism


PETROSYAN, MADAT (1867–1944)

Born in the village of Koti (or Kotigel, renamed Šavarşavan, now in Noyemberyan, Armenia). A writer of short stories. Worked as a mechanic for a while and was active in social and public activities in Tiflis.

Texts

Patmuatzkner. (Tiflis, 1906).

Patmuatzkner, grkuyk 2–rd. (Tiflis, 1911).

Nor darbnots. (Tiflis, 1925).

Patmvatzkner. (Tiflis, 1928).

Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1930).

Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1931).

Mišt patrasl. (Erevan, 1932).

Pionerê hngamyakum. (Tiflis, 1932).
POLOTEAN, KARAPET (1914–1986)
Born in Marash (Kahramanmaras, Turkey). Novelist and poet. Miraculously survived the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915 and found shelter in Aleppo, where he received his elementary education. Taught in Addis Ababa (1929–31) and moved to Marseilles permanently in 1931.

Texts
Veradardz. (Cairo, 1955).
Krakê şapikê. (Beirut, 1966). (Continuation of Arziwnerê anapatin mëj).

Other works

Criticism

POŁOSYAN, HŘIPSIME (1899–1972)
Połosyan (Asilyan) was born and educated in Tiflis and attended the Transcaucasian University. Poetess and translator, mostly from Russian into Armenian. Wrote poetry principally for children. She was active in Sergei Gorodetski’s “Tsekh poetov” and published her first poem in Russian in 1919. Worked as a literary editor for the monthly Mankakan tziler of Tiflis (1930–31). In 1934 she moved to Erevan, where she briefly headed the children’s literature section (1937–38) of the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia.

Texts
Banasteltzutyunner. (Tiflis, 1930).
Metaks. (Tiflis, 1931).
Mekenaneri ertê. (Tiflis, 1932).
Mayrakan. (Erevan, 1936).
Lusni vra. (Erevan, 1936).
Margartatzalki ev lusatitiki hekialê. (Erevan, 1937).
Pokrik pioneri ev polkapi masin. (Erevan, 1939).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1942).
Ordineri het. (Erevan, 1942).
Hndutyun. (Erevan, 1948).
Pöyäčean

Banastełztutyunner. (Erevan, 1950).
Karda ays girkê-tes inch ê darrum mirgê. (Erevan, 1951).
Hušardcan. (Erevan, 1951).
Im tališê. (Erevan, 1953).
Havatarmutyn. (Erevan, 1954).

Translations

ENGLISH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
Gamara, P. E, 71–72.
LPA, 286–87.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Vernost’. (Erevan, 1956).

SPANISH

Bibliographies

PÖYAČEAN, EDUARD (1915–1966)
A native of the village of Hëter Beg (Musa Dagh, Turkey). Educated in his birthplace and at the Çemaran in Beirut, 1930–35. He taught in Beirut until his death. Numerous writings of his, both in prose and verse, are still scattered in periodicals.

Collections
Erker. (Beirut, 1972).

Texts (prose and verse)
Sër ew višt. (Beirut, 1944).
Hołê. (Beirut, 1948).
Tuût zawaknerus. (Beirut, 1960).
Tomar taragri. (Beirut, 1963).
Erku namakner. (Beirut, 1964).
Other works: Dêmker. (Beirut, 1967).
PRÖSEAN, PERČ (1837–1907)

Pen names: Pahlavuni, Perč Pröseants, Yovhannës Pröš Aštaraketsi.
Born Yovhannës Tër-Arakele in Aštarak, Armenia. He was educated in his birthplace and the Nersisean school of Tiflis (1852–55), following which he worked as a teacher, photographer, and a charcoal dealer in various cities of the Caucasus (Tiflis, Śūši, Agulis, etc.) and southern Russia (Astrakhan). He briefly contributed to the influential Msak and later to Pordz, and he settled permanently in Tiflis in 1887, when he was invited to teach Armenian at the Nersisean school. Towards the end of his life, Pröšan made a short trip to Europe. He died in Baku but was buried in Tiflis.

Collections

Erkeri žolovatzu. 3 vols. (Erevan, 1953–54).
Erkeri žolovatzu. 3 vols. (Erevan, 1974–75).
Sarinyan, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1987).

Texts

Sös ew Varditer. (Tiflis, 1860, 1888, 1903; Erevan, 1887, 1953; Baku, 1905). (Novel).
Alasi. (Tiflis, 1863). (Play).
Kruatzalik. (Tiflis, 1878). (Novel).
Hatsi hndir. (Tiflis, 1880, 1900; Baku, 1904; Erevan, 1940, 1968). (Novel).
Šahën. (Tiflis, 1883; Baku, 1905). (Novel).
Tsetser. (Tiflis, 1889). (Novel).
Bldé. (Tiflis, 1890). (Novel).
Skizbn erkants. (Tiflis, 1892). (Novel).
Yušikner. I šrjan. (Tiflis, 1894).
Aktsizchin. (Tiflis, 1896). (Story).
Mikël Atens Abdulë. (Tiflis, 1896).
Na. (Tiflis, 1896). (Story).
Ezidi Mkrtchents tunë. (Tiflis, 1899). (Story).
Mer Hechon. (Tiflis, 1899). (Story).
Yunön. (Tiflis, 1901). (Novel).
Hušer. (Erevan, 1940).

Translations

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Ioannisian, A. Iz-za khleba. Roman. (Moscow, 1950; Erevan, 1952; Moscow, 1955).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
ABS, 1, 42–83.
Raffi

Collections

Punj. 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1874).
Psak. (Tiflis, 1884).
Hent[é] ew Jalaléddin. (Moscow, 1890; Vienna, 1905; Athens, 1931).
Vëpikner ew patkemer. 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1892, 1893).
Raffi

473

 próxima mélîkut’îwnnerê; Larabali astlagêtê; Gahtîk Larabali. (Vienna, 1906). (2d title by P. Zubov).

Tamazyan, A. Chors pâtnmvat’k. (Erevan, 1941).


**Texts**

**Hentë.** (Šuşi, 1881; Moscow, 1890; Vienna, 1905, 1966; Boston, 1937). (Novel).

**Dawit bêk.** (Tiflis, 1881, 1891; Vienna, 1903, 1963; Beirut, 1935; Athens, 1935; Erevan, 1941, 1980). (Novel).

**Hamsayi mélîkut’îwnnerê.** (Tiflis, 1882, 1895; Vienna, 1906).

**Osê akatal.** (Tiflis, 1882; Vienna, 1903, 1956; Baku, 1903; Constantinople, 1922; Erevan, 1927, 1980; Alexandria, 1937; Beirut, 1966). (Short novel).

**Hachagoli yisatakaranê.** (Tiflis, 1883–84, 1895; Vienna, 1905; Constantinople, 1922; Cairo, 1936; Boston, 1956; Paris, 1957, 1984; Beirut, 1956, 1979 [abridged]). (Novel).


**Jalalëddin.** (Moscow, 1884, 1890; Vienna, 1905; Teheran, 1959). (Short novel).

**Samuël.** (Tiflis, 1888; Vienna, 1898, 1906; Athens, 1936; Erevan, 1940, 1957, 1984; Beirut, 1956, 1979 [abridged]). (Novel).

**Hay kînê and Hay eritasardat’îwnê.** (Tiflis, 1889). (Articles).

**Minê ayspês, miwsn aynpês.** (Tiflis, 1890; Vienna, 1930). (Incomplete novel).

**Arțîw Vaspurakanî** ("nuër Vaspurakan Arztwoyn"). (Tiflis, 1893). (Poem).

**Paroyr Haykazn.** (Tiflis, 1894). (Story).

**Ov èr melavor.** (Tiflis, 1895). (Story).

**Taçkâhayk.** (Tiflis, 1895; Vienna, 1913).

**Zahrumar.** (Tiflis, 1895; Vienna, 1930). (Novel).

**Salbi.** (Vienna, 1911). (Novel).

**Parskakan patkemner.** (Vienna, 1913; Erevan, 1961 [selections]). (Stories and essays).

**Samuël.** (Boston, 1924). (Play; adapted by H. Bagratuni).

**Jalaleddin. Hent.** (Erevan, 1982).

**Pâtnmvat’kner ev vîpakner.** (Erevan, 1986).

**Translations**

**English**


**English anthologies**

AP, 124, 243–46.

**French**

Ioannisian, A. *Contes persans; Bibli-Scharabani; Les khaz-pouches*. (Paris, 1902).

**German**


**Russian**

Bogaturova, N. *Dzhalaleddin*. (Moscow, 1911, 1915).
*Iskry*. (Erevan, 1986).
Kara-Murza, N. *Zolotoi petukh*. (Tiflis, 1892).
———. *Son Vardana*. (Moscow, 1915). (From *Hentê*).
Khachaturian, E. *Samvel*. (Erevan, 1982).
Khitarova, S. *Zolotoi petukh*. (Moscow, 1959).
———. *Zolotoi petushok*. (Erevan, 1980).
Lisitsian, S. *Zolotoi petukh*. (Erevan, 1948).
Vermisheva, I. *Bibi-Sharabani*. (Tiflis, 1889).

**Russian anthologies**

ABS, 1, 129–343.
*SBAL*, 7–14; 100–8.

**Spanish**

Agemian, B. *Las memorias del Hurtacruz*. (Buenos Aires, 1949).

**Criticism**

—. “Raffi hancârê ew irakan mtnolortê.” HK, 16 (1937–38/1), 58–73.
Chôpanean, A. “Raffi.” ANA, 8 (1937/5–6), 27–58.
Esayeian, Y. Raffi, nra keankê ew grakan gortzunêtiwne. (Tiflis, 1903).
Harutunyan, G. Raffi sgalı mahê ew kensagrutiwnê. (Tiflis, 1888).
Karapetean, B. Hariwr taraat erkhosutiwn. (Teheran, 1986).
Raffi

Manukyan, S. *Raffi Jalaleddini tzagumê*. (Erevan, 1932). (Comparison with *Die Räuber*).


---. “Mi êj Raffu ‘Kaytzeri’ steltzagortzakan patmutiynits; Arşak Raffu antip namakê; Raffu dhratarakvatz dzetagrerits.” *SG*, 1985/12, 100–28.

---. *Raffin çamanakakisnisner huşerum. Žotovatçu*. (Erevan, 1986).


**SAHAZIZ, SMBAT** (1840–1907)
The youngest of six brothers, Šahaziz was born in the town of Aštarak, in Eastern Armenia. He was educated at the Lazarean school in Moscow (1851–62) and taught at his alma mater until his retirement in 1897. Following the publication of his two verse collections in the 1880s, Šahaziz wrote little poetry, devoting himself instead to teaching and journalism.

**Collections**
Incikyan, A. *Ëntir banasteltzufyunner*. (Erevan, 1941).

**Texts**
*Azatutean zamer*. (Moscow, 1860).
*Lewoni vištê*. (Moscow, 1965).

**Other works**
*Hraparakahös dzayn*. (Moscow, 1881).
*Tëizâli toprak*. (Tiffis, 1892).
*Amañayin namakner*. (Moscow, 1897).
*Yisolutiwnner Vardanants tôni airtw*. (Moscow, 1901).
*Mi kani hòsk im ëntersolmerin*. (Moscow, 1903).

**Translations**
*ENGLISH*

**ANTHOLOGIES**
*ABS*, 2, 499–507.
*AD*, 35–36.
*ALG*, 123–24.
*ALP*, 46.
*APA*, 59–62.
*BPA*, 289–94.
*PAAM*, 82–83.
*VAM*, 55–85.

**Criticism**
Berberean, M. Siryo ew vsti ergichel. (Valaršapat, 1908).
Šahaziz, E. Smbat Šahazizi kensagrutyunë. (Erevan, 1934).
Veselovskii, Iu. Armiantski poct Smbat-Shakh-Aziz. (Moscow, 1902, 1905).

ŠAHEN, GUSAN (1909–1990)
Pen name: Gusan Šahen.
Born Šahen Sargsyan in Łurdubulal (a village later renamed Krasar, in Łukasyan, Armenia). A minstrel and professional singer.

Texts


SAHINYAN, ANAHIT (1917–)
A native of the village of Vardablur (Stepanavan, Armenia). A novelist. She graduated from the State University of Erevan in 1941. From 1942–47 and 1953–58, she headed the children’s section at Haypethrat (Hayastani petakan hratarakchutyun), one of the major state publishing houses in Soviet Armenia. For several years starting in 1969, she was editor of the monthly Pioner.

Collections


Texts

Vayelk. (Erevan, 1942).
Barekamner. (Erevan, 1944).
Geletsik linelu galtnikë. (Erevan, 1965).
SAHNUR, ARSAK (1872–1942)
Born and educated in Aštarak, Armenia. A writer of short stories and a professional teacher. Taught at various cities in Transcaucasia.

Collections
Arevi čamţan. (Erevan, 1939).

Texts
Hawar ašharhum. (Erevan, 1909).
Azatararé. (Erevan, 1926).
Haram-katnaker aljiké. (Erevan, 1926).
Errordutyan galtniké. (Erevan, 1929).
Gyulakan patkerner. (Erevan, 1933).
En sev örerits. (Erevan, 1936). (Poem).
Meliki aljiké. (Erevan, 1944).

Criticism

SAHNUR, Sahan (1903–1974)
Pen names: Šahan Šahnur, Armen Lubin (in French writings).
Born Šahan Kereštečean in Constantinople. Graduated from the Përpeřeen school in 1921. In 1923, he left for France, where he and a number of writers initiated a literary movement, “Menk,” and launched a periodical bearing the same name (1931–32), with a view to shaping a new tradition. Both the movement and its organ were short-lived. By this time Šahnur had established himself as a famous, if controversial, novelist with his first novel, Nahanjë arants ergi. In the late 1930s, Šahnur’s fragile health deteriorated rapidly. He spent the better part of the last
two decades of his life undergoing treatment in hospitals in France. Curiously,
most of Šahnur’s prose writings are in Armenian, while most of his poetry is in
French. Of this issue, he once commented, “Pourquoi j’utilise l’arménien en prose
et le français en poésie? Je ne le sais pas. C’est venu ainsi,” (cf. his posthumous
collection, Les logis provisoires, p. 7).

Collections
Erker. 2 books. (Erevan, 1982–85).

Texts
Tertis kiraknöray ñiwë. (Beirut, 1958).
Zoyg më karmir tetrakner. (Beirut, 1967).

Works in periodicals
Z, 1 (1929–[30]), 338–42. 2 [1931], 18–22.
ANA, 3 (1932/5–6), 50–56.

Works in French
Sainte patience, poèmes. ([Paris]: Gallimard, [1951]).
Transfert nocturne. (Paris: Gallimard, [1955]).
Les hautes terrasses; poèmes. (Paris: Gallimard, [1957]).
Les logis provisoires. ([Montemart]: Rougerie, [1983]).

Translations
ENGLISH
Kudian, M. Retreat Without Song. (London, 1982).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
KNS, 3–19.
PCN, 153–64.

Criticism
Chöpanean, A. “Aroijn u vataroijn Šahan Šahnuri grakanutean mëj.” ANA, 10
(1939/1–2), 79–93.
SAHRIAR (1855–1918)
Pen name: Sahriar.
Born Hambardzum Arak’elean, in Şuşi, Artsah (Karabagh). A journalist, novelist, and short story writer. Educated in his birthplace, Tabriz, Baku, and briefly in Moscow. Taught in Baku. Settled in Tiflis and formed a life-long association with Grigor Artzruni (1845–92) and his Mşak as an editor and member of the editorial board. In 1915 he organized a committee to help the Armenian survivors of the genocide. He was assassinated in Tiflis.

Texts

Elöi kōr bahtë. (Tiflis, 1903). (Story).
Tasn ew erku patmuatzk. (Tiflis, 1909). (Stories).

SAHYAN, HAMO (1914–1993)
Pen name: Hamo Sahyan.
Born Hmayak Grigoryan in Lor, a village in Sisian, Armenia. Took up residence in Baku in 1927 and studied at the local pedagogical institute (1935–39). Became a journalist following his discharge from service in the Soviet Navy during World War II. From 1965 to 1967, he was the editor-in-chief of the literary weekly Grakan tert (organ of the Union of the Soviet Writers of Armenia). His verse collection, “Sezam, batsvir,” won him the Armenian State Award for poetry in 1975.

Collections


Texts (verse)

Orotani ezerkin. (Erevan, 1946).
Aragast. (Baku, 1947).
Slatski mej. (Baku, 1950).
Ţiatsanë tapstanum. (Erevan, 1953).


Karapneri ergê. (Erevan, 1968).


Sezam, batsvir. (Erevan, 1972).


Žayrits masur e katum. (Erevan, 1979).


Dalži izatîk. (Erevan, 1986).

Translations

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**


**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

Gamara, P. E, 89–91.

*LPA*, 346–51.

**GERMAN**


**RUSSIAN**


*Na vysotakh*. (Erevan, 1956).


**SPANISH**

Criticism


Mkrtchyan, V. Hamo Sahyani banasteltzakan bnaptisotayıtyunë. (Erevan, 1987).

Mnatsakanyan, V. “Hinn u norë orn ê?” SG, 1968/9, 139–56.


ŠAKİLYAN, ARIS (1900–1959)

Pen names: A. Š., Varužnak Aris.

Born and educated in Dörtyol (Turkey). Taught in the Armenian schools of Alexandretta (Iskenderun) and Damascus and edited the periodical Ėprat (1929, 1931–32, 1936–37, 1943–45) before settling in Soviet Armenia in 1947.

Texts

Delin erger. (Aleppo, 1927).


Kar u chkar. (Aleppo, 1946). (Stories).

Mer Hayastann ê. (Erevan, 1949).

Hêkiatner. (Aleppo, 1950). (Tales).

Bahtn u ašhatankë. (Erevan, 1956). (Tales).

Indznits kez hrat. (Erevan, 1957). (Tales).


SAŁATELYAN, LEVON (1884–1968)

The village of Kuchak (in Aparan, Armenia) is the birthplace of this dramatist, who graduated from the Georgean Seminary of Ӗjmiatzin in 1908 and from the Institute of Commerce in Moscow in 1916. He worked as a professional economist in various parts of Armenia.
Sandal, (1858–1922)
Pen name: Sandal.
Born Aleksandr Petrosean in Tiflis and educated at the local Nersisean school. Belonged to a group of Armenian writers who focused their work on the countryside. He was a teacher by profession and briefly taught in Western Armenia (Mus, 1883–84). In the late 1880s he found clerical employment in Moscow and St. Petersburg, but he spent his last days in Tiflis in utter poverty.

Texts
Vişap. (Tiflis, 1884). (Stories).
Pokrik astl. (Moscow, 1892). (Novel).

Criticism
Larajyan, G., [ and Arkomed, S. T.] Sandal ev nra veperê. (Tiflis, 1929 [cover says 1930]).

Sant, Lewon (1869–1951)
Pen name: Lewon Šant.
Born Lewon Nahaşpetean in Constantinople and later changed his name to Selbosean, after his father, Selbos. Educated in the famous Scutari College, at the Gêorgean Seminary in Ëjmiatzin (1884–91), and in various German universities (1893–99). A playwright, novelist, and poet. Taught in Armenian schools in the Caucasus (1906–11) and in Constantinople (1911–13), and left for Europe in 1913, fortuitously escaping the fate of his colleagues, who were slain in 1915. He returned to the Caucasus in 1915, but left just after the Bolshevik Revolution, only to return to the region in the following year. He engaged in political activities on behalf of the Armenian Republic (1918–20) and was incarcerated in Erevan following the establishment of Soviet regime in Eastern Armenia. After spending the years 1921–26 in Europe, and following a brief stay in Egypt, he settled in Beirut in 1929. There he became one of the founders of the Čemaran (renamed Nšan Palančean čemaran in 1950), a well-known secondary school.

Collections
Lewon Šanti erkerê. 9 vols. (Beirut, 1946–47).
Lewon Šanti erkerê. 2 vols. (Los Angeles, 1988).
Topchyan, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1989).

Texts
Le̱an aliįkê. (Tiflis, 1893, 1904). (Poems).
Translations

ENGLISH
Baytarian, H. The Princess of the Fallen Castle. (Boston, [1929]).

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 115–18.

ITALIAN

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 175–76.

Bibliographies

Criticism
Aršaruni, A. “Shtaywatzi datavarutviwne.” HK, 30 (1952/11), 19–22.
Banecan, G. “Lewon Šanti.” HK, 30 (1952/1), 23–32.
———. Hin astuatzner Šanti. (Valarsapat, 1913).
Gelard, Y. Lewon Šant. (Beirut, 1969).
Šahinean, G. Dziwnern i ver: menagrutiwn L. Šanti masin. (Beirut, 1967).
Sarafyan, H. *Levon Šant*. (Erevan, 1930).
Tét-Pělosen, G. *Lewon Šant’ Ŵi astuatnerč ew Stepannos vanakani yişatakaranč.* (Šuši, 1913).
Tēr-Rubinean, G. *L Šant, nra erkern ew Ŵi astuatner draman.* (Tiflis, 1913).

SARAFEAN, NIKOŁOS (1905–1972)
Born aboard a ship bound for Varna from Istanbul, Sarafian grew up and received his elementary education in Varna, Bulgaria. Spent the years 1914–17 in Rumania, Odessa, Rostov, and Novorossiysk, and, fleeing the region, then ablaze with the flames of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, returned to Varna. Moved to Constantinople with his family after the Armistice of 1918 and attended the Kedronakan. Within a few years he left for France via Marseilles and settled in Paris in 1923.

Collections
*Chaptatsoy erker.* (Antilias, 1982).
*Erker.* (Erevan, 1988).

Texts
*Anjrpeti më grawumë.* (Paris, 1928).
*Mijerkrakan.* (Beirut, 1971).

Works in periodicals

Translations

French anthologies
*LPA,* 318–21.

Italian anthologies
*LPAM,* 301–6.
Sarmen

Criticism

SARGIS APUCHEHTSI
A seventeenth-eighteenth century author from the village of Apucheht near Akn (Eğin, now Kemaliye, Turkey).

Texts and criticism
Mkrtchyan, M. *Sargis Apuchehtsi, usumnasirutyun ev bnagrer.* (Erevan, 1971).

SARKAWAG BERDAKATSI
Presumed to be a sixteenth-century author, Sarkawag is known by a single poem, “Hialol zkez govel piti.”

Poetry
*KNZ*, 1, 46–47; 3, 67–69.
*SUM*, 1, 281–84.

Translations
French

French anthologies
*CPA*, 104–6.
*RA*, 3, 155–63.
*TA*, 181–85.

SARMEN, (1901–1984)
Pen name: Sarmen.
Born Armenak Sargsyan in Pahuank’, a village in the ancient Armenian region of Řštunik’, south of Lake Van. His parents were killed during the genocide of 1915, and he was raised in orphanages. Completed his studies at the State University of Erevan (1932). He wrote the national anthem of Soviet Armenia.

Collections
Haiêntir. (Erevan, 1951).

Texts (verse)
*Dašterë žptum en.* (Leninakan, 1925).
*Třichk.* (Moscow, 1935).
*Septo.* (Erevan, 1939).
*Ergastan.* (Erevan, 1940).
*Herosakan mah.* (Erevan, 1940).
*Astler.* (Erevan, 1942).
Hayrenik. (Erevan, 1944).
Tzalkunk. (Erevan, 1945).
Srti dzaynov. (Erevan, 1947).
Yot erjanikner. (Erevan, 1950).
Tzalkazor. (Erevan, 1952).
Karoti krakner. (Erevan, 1957).
Erger. (Erevan, 1959).
Hayots sirt. (Erevan, 1960).
Banasteltzi albyurë. (Erevan, 1961).
Im hayreni aljiknerë. (Erevan, 1971).
Kyrořöll. (Erevan, 1974).
Hayos u Karrlos. (Erevan, 1979).
Hayi ačker. (Erevan, 1980).
Huysi hasmikner. (Erevan, 1987).

Translations

**ENGLISH**


**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

Gaucheron, J. E, 78–79.

LPA, 298–99.

**RUSSIAN**


Radosť i slava. (Erevan, 1952).

Rodnye gory. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1959).


**Bibliographies**

Manukyan, A. Sarmen-80. (Erevan, 1983).

**Criticism**


**SARYAN, GEŁAM** (1902–1976)

Pen name: Gelam Saryan.
Born Gelam Baldasaryan and educated in Tabriz. Emigrated to Soviet Armenia in 1922. At first he settled and taught in Leninakan (Gyumri, 1922–26), but he later moved to Erevan and worked as a journalist. From about 1935 until his death, Saryan devoted himself entirely to literature. In 1970, his collection of poems titled “Krizantem” won him the Armenian State Prize for literature.

**Collections**

*Hatêntir*. (Erevan, 1945).
*Hatêntir*. (Erevan, 1951).
*Erker*. (Erevan, 1956).
*Ĕntir erker*. (Erevan, 1974).
Saryan, N. *Banasteltzutyunner ev poemner*. (Erevan, 1982).

**Texts (verse)**

*Siraki harsanikê*. (Leninakan, 1925).
*Yankersi hortakumê*. (Leninakan, 1926).
*Patmvatzkner*. (Erevan, 1928). (Stories).
*Ŏtar mardé*. (Erevan, 1929). (Story).
*Erkîr ʰorhrdayin*. (Erevan, 1930).
*Erkate őtnadzayner*. (Erevan, 1933).
*Erk erg*. (Erevan, 1935).
*Gyulnara*. (Erevan, 1935).
*Ispaniayi patani herosnerê*. (Erevan, 1936).
*Banasteltzutyunner*. (Erevan, 1940).
*Tian u mahê*. (Erevan, 1941).
*Hayreniki hamar*. (Erevan, 1942).
*Pahakê*. (Erevan, 1942).
*Balladner*. (Erevan, 1944).
*Paɾki taçaɾê*. (Erevan, 1944).
*Banasteltzutyunner*. (Erevan, 1947).
*Hrašali serund*. (Erevan, 1950).
*Banasteltz*. (Erevan, 1954).
*Balladner*. (Erevan, 1957).
*ⱪalênkerner*. (Erevan, 1957).
Saybon

Krizantem. (Erevan, 1968).
Bažak elbayrutyan. (Erevan, 1970).
Ur gnal [?] (Erevan, 1984).

Translations

ENGLISH

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
SAP, 18–20.

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
FPA, 54–56.
Gamarra, P. E, 79–81.
LPA, 300–6.

GERMAN

RUSSIAN
Adalis, A. et al, Izbrannye stikhi. ([Moscow], 1936).
Ballady. ([Moscow], 1945).
Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1945).
Stikhovoreniiia. (Moscow, 1948, 1956).

SPANISH
Alberti, R. y Maria Teresa Leon. “Nube pequenita.” Literatura Sovietica, 1966/3, 144.

Criticism
Bazyan, S. Erek urvagitz—Nairi Zaryan, Širaz, Gelam Saryan. (Erevan, 1941).

Saybon, Ašot (1905–1982)
Pen name: Ašot Šaybon.
Born Ašot Gasparyan in Tiflis and educated at the Nersisean school. He was one of the first Armenian writers to write science fiction; he also wrote poetry and drama. Gave up his teaching career and interrupted his studies at the State University of Erevan in 1936 to study cinematography in Moscow.
**Sayeaf-Növay**  

**Texts**

*Dinamo nvag.* (Tiflis, 1925).
*Karmir kalaki šrmolikê.* (Tiflis, 1925).
*Nairi kucha.* (Tiflis, 1925).
*Zrahavor garun.* (Erevan, 1931). (Prose).
*Brigadirikê.* (Erevan, 1932).
*Pokrik lernagortzner.* (Erevan, 1932).
*Verelki erger.* (Erevan, 1932).
*Kovkas.* (Tiflis, 1935).

**Allo, lsum ek [?], menk hyusism enk.** (Erevan, 1938).

**Hayrenakan lirika.** (Erevan, 1944). (Verse).

**Spitak stverneri ašharkum.** (Erevan 1951, 1963). (Science fiction).


**Tiezerakan övkanosi kapitannerê.** (Erevan, 1955, 1986). (Science fiction).

**Erkir moloraki galtniknerê.** (Erevan, 1960). (Science fiction).

**Ansovor patmutyyn.** (Erevan, 1965). (Novel).

**Translations**

**Russian**

Karagezian, L. *Suvorovtsy.* (Erevan, 1952).


**Criticism**

Abovian, A. *Ashot Shaibon.* (Erevan, 1980).

**Sayeaf-Növay,** (1722?–1795)

This celebrated *ašul* (minstrel), born in Tiflis, was originally named Arutin or Yarutìwn. Wrote and sang in Armenian, in Georgian and in what is now known as Azeri-Turkish. He was initiated into the minstrelsy in the tradition of Armenian *ašuls*: by seeking divine grace at the monastery of Surb Karapet in Muš. His talent soon brought him wide recognition, royal patronage at the Georgian court, and a good deal of misery in matters of the heart. His latter years are not well documented. At one point he became a married priest and was renamed Stepanos. But in the wake of his wife’s death in 1768, he joined the brotherhood of the monastery of Halbat in northern Armenia as a celibate priest. According to many accounts, he was killed by the Persians invading Tiflis for declining apostasy.

**Collections**


**Texts**

Ahverdean, G. *Gusank. I. Sayeaf-Növay.* (Moscow, 1852).

*Sayeaf-Növa, azgayin ergich (ašul).* (Tiflis, 1882).

*Sayeaf Növay.* (Tiflis, 1914).

*Sayeaf-Növay.* (Baku, 1914).

*Sayat-Nova: hayeren haleri žolovatzu.* (Erevan, 1931).

*Sayat-Nova: taler.* (Beirut, 1931).

Levonyan, G. *Hayeren haleri liakatar žolovatzu.* (Erevan, 1935).
Abrahamean, R. Sayet-Novayi tallerë. (Teheran, 1943).
Matean imastutean, geletskutean ew anmatoyts siroy. (Alexandria, 1944).
Polpatean, E. Sayet-Nōvay. (Beirut, 1952).

Translations

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
ALP, 14, 35, 74, 85, 110.

FRENCH
Gardon, V. (“Ce sacré monde est une fenêtre.”) AND, 16 (1965), 76–77.
Martirossian, L. [“Sagesse en toi . . .”; “Tel un rossignol . . .”]. OO (Sept. 1963), 141–44.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
LPA, 155–58.
P4, 115–39.
PAM, 183–87.
TA, 251–61.

ITALIAN

RUSSIAN
Lirika. (Moscow, 1963).
Stikhovtorenia. (Leningrad, 1961, 1982).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
AAP, 333–39.
ARPO, 59–77.
BPA, 227–36.

MULTILINGUAL

Bibliographies
Criticism

——. “Siro ev ardarutyun metz ergiçë Sayar-Novan.” (Erevan, 1945).
——. “Sayat-Novayi Davtari ev mi kani ʰaleri masin.” PBH, 1979/1, 233–44.
Durgaryan, K. “Sayat-Novayi azdetsutyuné antsyalı hay aşıhneri ev banasteltz-
Ereman, A. “Sayat-Novayi erkeri çakan yatkanišneri ev aruestë.” HA, 78
(1964), 181–84.
Gaisarian, S. Saiat-Nova; zametki o zhizni i tvorchestve velikogo armianskogo
poeta. (Moscow, 1963).
Gazanchean, R. “Sayat-Novayi banasteltziwné (verlutzakan pordz).” B, 121
(1963), 218–23.
Gevorgyan, N. “Sayat-Novayi aliflamaneri ev larhejani eras.” PBH, 1982/1,
98–108.
———. “Sayat-Novayi haleri mi kani patkerner meknabanutyun masin.” PBH,
1984/4, 199–207.
114.
Hachikyan, H. “Sayat-Novayi gelagitakan hayatskneri bnaghrman šurj.” PBH,
1963/3, 45–52.
Hakobyan, P. “Sayat-Novayi Halbati vankum linelu hartsi šurjë.” PBH, 1969/3,
209–25.
———. “Dardzyal Sayat-Novayi Halbati vankum gtnvelu masin.” PBH, 1973/4,
157–71.
Harutyunyan, G. “Sayat-Novayi ‘Geln u chobanë’ halı mi nor variantë.” EJ,
1947/5–6, 55–56.
Hovhannisyan, N. “Sayat-Novayi hayeren haleri arandznahatkyunnerë.” L,
1990/9, 48–56.
Hovhannisyan, S. “Sayat-Novayi aržekavornan patmutyunits.” SG, 1987/10,
92–100.
90.
———. “Žolovrdakan banarvesti artatsolumè Sayat-Novayi ererum.” PBH,
1982/1, 17–25.
Melikset-Bek, L. “Vratsakan albyurnerë Sayat-Novayi masin.” PBH, 1963/3,
17–43.
Mirzoyan, I. “Sayat-Novayi haterum ögtagortzvatz mi šark’ otarazgi baferi mekn-


———. “Sayat-Novayi gortzatzatz ni kani artabahututyunnerin masin.” L, 1974/2, 44–49.


———. Nor ërjer Sayat-Novayi kyankiits. (Erevan, 1989).


SEMA, A. (c1910–1940)

Pen name: A. Sema.

Born Gelam Atmačean in Bafray (Turkey). Having lost his father and other members of the family to the Armenian massacres of 1915, Sema sought shelter in orphanages. He then lived in Istanbul (1919–24), Aleppo (1924–25), and eventually settled in France (1926). Took up residence in Paris in 1928 and attended courses in literature, history, and social sciences at the Sorbonne. Began publishing his poetry and prose in this period, and launched two literary periodicals: Janék (1930), jointly with M. Manușean (q.v.), and Mșakoyr (1935–37). He was killed fighting for France in May, 1940.

**Texts**


**Translations**

**ITALIAN**

LPAM, 309–11.

**RUSSIAN**

“Bez rodiny.” PCN, 142–52.

**Criticism**


ŠERAM, GUSAN (1857–1938)

Pen name: Gusan Šeram.

Born Grigor Talean in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri). A popular așul (minstrel) with no formal education. Subsequently settled in Tiflis (1915–35), but he spent the last three years of his life in Erevan.

**Texts**

Ergich Grigor Taleantsi knarê. (Alexandrapol, 1902).

Gangati şanter. (Alexandrapol, 1905).

Sêr ew kriw. (Alexandrapol, 1907).

Anjur partez. (Alexandrapol, 1913).

Anzusp arșaw. (Alexandrapol, 1915).
Sevunts

Erger. (Erevan, 1946).
Siro erger. (Erevan, 1948). (Includes score).

Criticism
Eremean, A. Ašul Grigor Talean. (Venice, 1930).

SETEAN, YOVHANNÈS (1853–1930)
Pen name: Eosěy Vanaıntnseh.
Born in Constantinople. Poet. Studied at the Kedronakan and taught in Armenian schools in his birthplace. Fled the Armenian massacres of the mid-1890s and settled in Cairo permanently.

Collections
Arsaloysën verjalosy. (Cairo, 1912).

Texts
Grakan zbŏsank. (Constantinople, 1882).
Yuzman ŭamer. (Constantinople, 1888).
Blun i ver. ([Constantinople], 1896).
Taragrin knarē. ([Cairo], 1912).

Criticism
Yovhannës Setean. (Constantinople, 1913).

SEVUNTS, GAREGIN (1911–1969)
Pen name: Garegin Sevunts.
Born Garegin Grigoryan, in Hndzoresk, a village in Goris, Armenia. Novelist. Studied Armenian language and literature and received military training in Baku. Worked for the Armenian newspaper Komunist (Baku, 1935–38) and edited the Armenian monthly Horhrdayin grot (Baku, 1938–41). After active service in the Soviet Army (1941–45), he resided permanently in Erevan. In Armenia, Sevunts pursued journalism and administrative work.

Collections

Texts (novels)
Depi erkir. (Baku, 1935).
Tsovahoršum. Book 1. (Baku, 1938).
SEWAK, RÜBEN (1885–1915)

Pen name: Rubēn Sewak.

Rubēn Chilinkirean was born in Silivri (Turkey) and educated in his birthplace as well as at the American school in Partizak (Bahçecik, Turkey) and the Përpërean school of Constantinople. Studied (1905–11) and practiced medicine in Lausanne. Returned to Constantinople with his Swiss-born wife in 1914. Made a name for himself as a leading poet and writer of short stories and as a highly respected professional. He was tortured to death near Çankırı (northeast of Ankara), soon after the collective arrest of Armenian intellectuals in April, 1915.

Collections

Karmir girkë, Siroy girkë, Tsriw kertuatzer. (Jerusalem, 1944).

Texts

Karmir girkë. (Constantinople, 1910). (Poems).
Bžiškin girkën prtsuat, ėjer. (Salonica, 1925; Jerusalem, 1943). (Prose).

Translations

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

LPA, 229–30.
**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**
- AAP, 530–38.
- DILS, 37–54.
- IZAP, 75–92.

**SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES**
- APAS, 247–52.

**Criticism**


Kirakosyan, V. “Ruben Sevaki azgayin-kalakakan poezian.” *PBH*, 1965/1, 63–74.


**SÈYEAD, (1810–1872)**
Pen name: Sèyead.

Petros Tër Yovsëpean Madareants was a minstrel born in Artsah (Karabagh) and educated at the Nersisean school of Tiflis. Little else is known about him save that he rose to the rank of captain in the Russian cavalry and spent the last part of his life in Constantinople.

**Poetry**
- THG, 79–85.

**Criticism**
*MKH*, 590.

**SEYRANYAN, BENIK (1913–)**
Born in Koti, a village renamed Šavaršavan (in Noyemberyan, Armenia). Educated in Tiflis, where he resided from an early age. In 1958 he received his first degree in education from the H. Aboyvan Pedagogical Institute of Erevan (by correspondence). For many years from the early 1930s onward he worked as a journalist for the daily *Sovetakan Vrastan* (previously *Proletar*) and headed the Armenian section of the Union of Soviet Writers of Georgia. His literary works consist of prose and plays.
**SEZA, (c1903–1973)**

Pen name: Seza.

Born Siranoys Zarifean in Constantinople. A writer of short stories and sister of the poet Mattêos Zarifean (q.v.). Educated at the American College for Girls in Constantinople, which she left for Beirut in the early 1920s. Pursuing her higher studies at Columbia University (late 1920s through early 1930s), she obtained an M.A. in journalism and literature. Back in Beirut, she launched her well-known monthly *Eritasard hayuhi* (1932–34, 1946–68).

**Translations**

**RUSSIAN**

Golubaia pesnia: Povesti, rasskazy, novelty. (Moscow, 1984).

Perim, A. *Puti i sud’by: roman.* (Tbilisi, 1982).

**SIAMANTÖ (1878–1915)**

Pen name: Siamantō.

Born Atom Earçanean in Akn (Eğin, now Kemaliye, Turkey). Studied in Akn and Constantinople and sought safety in Europe during the Armenian massacres...
of the mid-1890s. In Paris, he attended literature classes at the Sorbonne, and shortly after his return to Constantinople in 1908, he sailed for Boston on a visit to the United States that lasted until 1911. In 1913–14 he visited Tiflis and Eastern Armenia (most memorably Ejmiatzin and the village of Öşakan), and returned to the Ottoman capital via Geneva. He was one of the intellectuals rounded up in Constantinople in April and murdered in the interior in mid-1915.

**Collections**

*Ambolyakan erker.* (Beirut, 1974).
*Ambolyakan erker.* (Antflias, 1989).
*Ambolyakan gortzer.* (Paris, 1902).
*Ambolyakan gortzê.* (Boston, 1910). (Includes “Hayreni hrawêr”).
*Čhtir erker.* (Erevan, 1957).
*Siamanto, Daniel Varuzan, Erker.* (Erevan, 1979).

**Texts**

*Diwtsaznôrën.* (Paris, 1902).
*Hayordiner.* 1st cycle. (Geneva, 1905).
*Hogewarki ew yoysi jaher.* (Paris, 1907).
*Hayordiner.* 1st and 2d cycles. (Paris, 1908; Constantinople, 1908).
*Karmir lurer barekamês.* (Constantinople, 1909; Beirut, 1969).
*Surb Mesrop.* (Constantinople, 1913).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**

———. *The Song of the Knight.* (Constantinople, 1912).

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

*AP*, 141–67.

**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

*APA*, 171–79.
*Gaucheron, J. E*, 50–52.
*FPA*, 64–65.
*JM*, 58–71.

**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*ALG*, 131–32.

**ITALIAN**

“Caucazo!” *Armenia* (Torino), 1917/5, 5.

**ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*DLA*, 13–16.

*LPAM*, 207–11.

**RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AAP*, 527–29.

*ARPO*, 193–98.

*BPA*, 474–78.

*DILS*, 11–16.

*IZAP*, 55–70.


**SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES**


**Criticism**


——. *Siamanto*. (Erevan, 1970).


——. *Siamantöyi ‘Diwtsaznörëni’ masin grakan hoher*. (Venice, 1974).


**SIMÈON APARANETSI, “METZN”** (d. 1615?)

Born in the village of Aparan in the southern part of Lake Van. Studied in the famous monastic schools of Bałës (Bitlis) and Ostam. Took the holy orders and taught at various monasteries in Armenia proper. Died in Van.

**Texts (verse)**

Vipasanutwin saks Pahlawunatson zarmi ew Mamikoneantsn seri. (Valaršapat, 1870).
Siméon I, EREWANTSı (d. 1780)

A native of Erevan, Siméon received instruction in religious studies in Ejmiatszin. He became a vardapet in 1747 and was created bishop in 1754. As nuncio of the Catholicos of Ejmiatszin, he visited many parts of Western Armenia and Armenian communities in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Elected Catholicos of All Armenians in 1763, a position he held to his death. One of his several memorable initiatives was the founding of the printing press in Ejmiatszin in 1771.

Texts

Girk handisuteants tônits kayserakanats. (Ejmiatszin, 1771, 1833, 1915).
Girk alôritos or kochi zbósaran hogewor. (Ejmiatszin, 1772).
Tataran pokrik. (Ejmiatszin, 1772, 1777).
Karg talman hayrapetats, episkoposats ew kahanayits. (Ejmiatszin, 1777).
Girk or kochi partavcar. (Ejmiatszin, 1779–83).

MKH, 59–63. (2 poems).
Jambr. (Valarsapat, 1873).


MPT, 59–63. (3 poems).

Criticism

Gevorgyan, P. “Simeon katolikos Erevantsi jankerê hayots ekeletsu miasnuty an ev hay žolovrdi azgapahpanman gortzum.” EJ, 1972/12, 35–41.
Simėon was as a child among the Armenians forcibly deported from Julay (Julfa) to Isfahan at the turn of the seventeenth century. In Nor Julay (New Julfa), Simëon studied under Hachatur Kesaratsi and collaborated with him closely. He taught at various monasteries and universities in Iran and Eastern Armenia and wrote works concerning grammar and philosophy. Died in Tokat.

**Texts**

*Girk or kochi kerakanutiwn.* (Constantinople, 1725).

*Girk tramabanutean.* (Constantinople, 1728, 1794).

*"Yarajaban Meknutean Prokii (hatuatz).*" *PHG*, 523.

*"Es çi azat azgi.*" *MPT*, 39–42.

**Anthologies**

*SUM*, 2, 260–66.

**Criticism**


———. *Simeon Julayetsi.* (Erevan, 1971).


Simëon was as a child among the Armenians forcibly deported from Julay (Julfa) to Isfahan at the turn of the seventeenth century. In Nor Julay (New Julfa), Simëon studied under Hachatur Kesaratsi and collaborated with him closely. He taught at various monasteries and universities in Iran and Eastern Armenia and wrote works concerning grammar and philosophy. Died in Tokat.

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*"Yarajaban Meknutean Prokii (hatuatz).*" *PHG*, 523.

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**Criticism**


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**Texts**

*Girk or kochi kerakanutiwn.* (Constantinople, 1725).

*Girk tramabanutean.* (Constantinople, 1728, 1794).

*"Yarajaban Meknutean Prokii (hatuatz).*" *PHG*, 523.

*"Es çi azat azgi.*" *MPT*, 39–42.

**Anthologies**

*SUM*, 2, 260–66.

**Criticism**


———. *Simeon Julayetsi.* (Erevan, 1971).


SIRAS, HMAYAK (1902–1983)

Pen name: Hmayak Siras.

Hmayak Oskanian was born and educated in Karakilise (northwest of Alashkert, i.e., Eleškirt), Turkey. A novelist and short story writer. Following a seven-year

SIMONEAN, SIMON (1914–1986)

A native of Aintab (Gaziantep, Turkey). A journalist and novelist. Educated in his birthplace and, after his family’s deportation, at Krtasirats Elementary School and other schools in Aleppo. Was one of the first students to graduate from the newly founded seminary in Anrilias, Lebanon (1930–35). He taught in Aleppo (1935–46) and at the Anfilias seminary (1946–55), while also acting as editor of Hask, of the Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia. Set up the Sewan publishing house in 1955, and three years later launched his well-known weekly Spiwrk (1958–74).

Texts (stories)

Kê ħndrui... hachadzewel. (Beirut, 1965). (Satirical prose).
Hmbapet Aslani aljikê. (Beirut, 1967).
Leñakanneru verjalysê. (Beirut, 1968).
Le rê ew čakataqir. (Beirut, 1972). (Includes some new stories and revised selections from Siptanay kajer and Leñakanneru verjalysê).

Other works

 Hin hay matenagrutiwnê orpēs entahol ardi hay grakanutean. (Beirut, 1975).
sojourn in Tiflis (1914–21), he put down roots in Erevan. Studied at the State University of Erevan and held administrative positions in party organizations before his admission into Moscow University as a journalism student. Siras was the editor of Horhdayin (later Sovetakan) grakanutyun (1938–40, 1954–57) and a secretary to the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia (1938–41, 1946–48).

**Collections**

*Erker.* (Erevan, 1956).


**Texts (stories and novels)**

*Hartsrek nrants.* (Moscow, 1931).

*Kyanki karotē.* (Erevan, 1934).

*Mamen u Ašen.* (Erevan, 1934).

*Lafife.* (Erevan, 1935).

*Amar.* (Erevan, 1936).

*Chgrvatz örenk.* (Erevan, 1936).

*Talismank.* (Erevan, 1936).

*Sasuntsi Davit.* (Erevan, 1939).

*Anahit.* (Erevan, 1940, 1964).

*Chariki erazē.* (Erevan, 1941).

*Hayr ev ordi.* (Erevan, 1946).

*Hayr ev ordi.* (Erevan, 1947).


*Elbayrutyn.* (Erevan, 1952).

*Nahöryakin.* (Erevan, 1954).

*Ananun aljik.* (Erevan, 1969).


*Żamanaki hanguytsnerum. Ask.* (Erevan, 1982).


**Translations**

**RUSSIAN**

*Anait.* (Moscow, 1949, 1958).


**Criticism**


**ŠIRAZ, HOVHANNES** (1915–1984)

Pen name: Hovhannes Širaz.

Born Önik Karapetean in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri). His father was killed during the Turkish onslaught in 1920, and his childhood was unhappy. After a brief teaching career in his birthplace, Širaz moved to Erevan and completed
his studies at the State University of Erevan (1937–41). He was awarded the Armenian State Literary Prize in 1975.

**Collections**

Hatêntir. (Erevan, 1949).
Hatêntir. (Erevan, 1971).

**Texts**

Garmanamut. (Erevan, 1935).
Arevi erkir. (Erevan, 1938).
Beveri arumê. (Erevan, 1938).
Pokrik hovivê. (Erevan, 1938, 1943).
Bronze arțivê. (Erevan, 1940).
Erg Hayastani. (Erevan, 1940).
Banasteltçî dzaynê. (Erevan, 1942).
Ergeri gîrî. (Erevan, 1942).
Lîrika. (Erevan, 1946).
Im ênker Lorikê. (Erevan, 1950, 1960).
Rûstâvtsî Šotan ev Tamarê. (Erevan, 1952; Beirut, 1952).
Ôdzîn u melun. (Erevan, 1953).
Banasteltçutyunner. (Erevan, 1971).
Yotnapatun. (Erevan, 1977).
Hêlalutyan amenetsun. (Erevan, 1982). (Poem).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**

Tempest, P. [“You, cherished homeland, in my heart . . .”]. *SL*, 1979/7, 95.

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**


**FRENCH**

Falk, C. [“Qu’est-ce qu’un cœur de femme? Un verre de cristal”]. *OO*, 177 (Sept. 1973), 147.
Martirosyan, L. “Poèses: Les colombes ont fui ... ; Mes enfants m’appellent ... ; Qu’elle est triste la demeure ...” LS, 1958/3, 153–54.

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
FPA, 66–67.
LPA, 340–45.

**GERMAN**

**RUSSIAN**
Adamian, N. *Moi tovarishch Lorik.* (Erevan, 1952).
Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1956).
*Pamiatnik materi: Stikh i poema.* (Moscow, 1981).
Spendiarova, T. *Rodnik. Stikh.* (Moscow, 1945).
*Stikh.* (Moscow, 1939, [1952]).
*Stikh i poemy.* (Moscow, 1960).
*Stikhotvorenita i poemy.* (Moscow, 1956).

**SPANISH**

**Bibliographies**

**Criticism**
———. *Hovhannes Širaz.* (Erevan, 1984).
———. *Hovhannes Širazi mayrakanē.* (Erevan, 1976).
Bazyan, S. *Erek urvagitz—Nairi Zaryan, Širaz, Gelam Saryan.* (Erevan, 1941).
Grigoryan, A. *Patumner Širazi masin. (Hušer).* (Erevan, 1987).
———., et al. *Hovhannes Širazi masin.* (Erevan, 1974).

**ŠIRIN (1827–1857)**

*Pen name: Širin.*
Yoĥhannis Karapetian, a popular ašul, was a native of Kolb, a village near Erevan. He lost his eyesight at the age of two and served his apprenticeship with minstrels in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri) and Karin (Erzurum). Spent his short life as an itinerant ašul, writing and singing in both Armenian and what is now called Azeri-Turkish.

**Poetry**
Hovhannisean (sic), Oskan, Ereventis. *Zanazan ergk paron Hovhannësi [sic]* Karapetian ašeş Širin makanwanelay. (Moscow, 1856).

**Criticism**
*MKH*, 588–89.

**ŠIRVANI (20th c.)**
*Pen name: Širvani.*
An early twentieth-century author whose original name was Łewond Ḥachpaneane.

**Poetry**
*THG*, 256–64.

**ŠIRVANZADE (1858–1935)**
*Pen name: Širvanzade.*
Aleksandr Movsisian was born and educated in Šamaĥ (Shemakha, now in Azerbaijan). Went to Baku and worked as a clerk in the local government (1875–78), as an accountant for oil companies (1878–81), and as a librarian for the Mardasirakan Armenian Society of Baku (1881–83). He then lived in Tiflis (1883–1905) and was briefly employed as a secretary to the weekly *Arztagan* (1885–90). He spent the years 1905–10 in Paris, and from 1911–19 in the Caucasus.
Went abroad for a final time (1919–26) before returning permanently to Erevan in 1926. Died in Kislovodsk and interred in Erevan.

**Collections**

Zholveratu erkeri. 4 vols. (Tiflis, 1903 [Vols. 1–3]; 1912 [Vol. 4]).

Havakatzupokrik erkeri. (Erevan, 1930).

Erkeri liakatar zholveratu. 8 vols. (Erevan, 1930–34).

Entir erker. (Erevan, 1939).


Tsamakyan, A. Erker. (Erevan, 1982).


**Texts**

Gortzakatari yiisatakaranits . . . ew Hrdeh nawtagortzaranum. (Tiflis, 1884). (Stories).

Hnamatan. (Tiflis, 1885). (Novelette).

Namus. (Tiflis, 1885, 1901; Constantinople, 1920; Erevan, 1937). (Novel).


Zur yoyser. (Tiflis, 1890). (Novel).

Tasnuhung tari antsatz. (Tiflis, 1890; Erevan, 1937 [published with “Fatman ev Asadë”]). (Story).

Arsen Dimaksean. (Tiflis, 1893). (Novel).

Vëpiknen. (Tiflis, 1894). (Stories).

Krak. (Baku, 1896; Erevan, 1937). (Stories).

Tsawagarë. (Tiflis, 1897). (Story).


Melania. (Tiflis, 1899; Erevan, 1938). (Novelette).


Ewginë. (Tiflis, 1903). (Drama).

Patui hamar. (Tiflis, 1905; Constantinople, 1920). (Drama).

Awervakeri vray. (Tiflis, 1911). (Drama).

Tsawagarë ew Jhudi akanjë. (Tiflis, 1911). (Stories).

Šarlatanë. (Tiflis, 1912). (Comedy).

Char ogi. (Tiflis, 1914; Constantinople, 1923; Erevan, 1934, 1937). (Drama).

Kortzanutzë. (Tiflis, 1914). (Drama).

Armenuhi. (Tiflis, 1916). (Drama).

Eot patmuatzknen. (Boston, 1920). (Stories).

Artistë. Fatman ew Asatë. Öriord Liza. (Boston, 1924). (Stories).


Morgani hnamin. (Erevan, 1930, 1934). (Comedy).


Hrdeh navtagortzaranum. (Erevan, 1937, 1956). (Story).

Im kyankits. (Erevan, 1938, 1953).

Išhanuhi. (Erevan, 1948). (Drama).
**Herosi veradarde.** (Erevan, 1949). (Story).


**Fatman ev Asadè.** (Erevan, 1960). (Story).

**Orn ë mayrê.** (Erevan, 1963). (Story).

**Kyanki bovis. Hîşolutyunner.** (Erevan, 1982).


**Madoyan, G. “Širvanzadei namaknerê Raffu masin.” Banber Hayastani arxivneri, 1986/2, 63–76.**

**Patmvatzkner.** (Erevan, 1986).


**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**


**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

*AN,* 82–113.

**RUSSIAN**

Adonts, G. *Khaos.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930).

Aivazian, S. *Khaos.* (Tiflis, 1936).

*Chesti.* (Tiflis, 1902; Moscow, 1912; Moscow and Leningrad, [1927], 1929, 1930).

Goiian, G. *P’ery.* (Moscow, 1958).


———. *Khaos.* (Moscow, 1956; Erevan, 1983).

———. *Zloi dukh. Povesti i rasskazy.* (Moscow, 1959).

Khatisov, Al. *Liza.* (Tiflis, 1891).

Korneev, B. *Namus.* (Tiflis, 1935).

*Iz gornila zhizni.* (Tiflis, 1932).

*Iz-za chesti.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941).

*Izbrannoe.* (Moscow, 1952).


Melik-Karakozova, M. *Pozhar na neftianom zavode.* (Tiflis, n.d.).

*Ogon*. (Erevan, 1939).


*Sojranie sochinenii.* 3 vols. (Moscow, 1957).

*Sochineniia.* 3 vols. (Tiflis, 1935 [Vol. 1]).

Ter’ian, V. *Zloi dukh. Povest.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1929; Tiflis, 1934; Moscow, 1959).
Bibliographies

Criticism

Antonean, A. *Širvanzadë.* (Constantinople, 1911).
Babayan, A. “Metz groli čšmartatsi dimankarë.” *SG*, 1962/1, 137–42.
Gyulbudalyan, S. *Aleksandr širvanzadei lezvakan mšakuytë.* (Erevan, 1966).
Kamsarakam, T. *Širvanzadë ew ir gortzë.* (Constantinople, 1911).
Kiparean, K. “Širvanzadëi vëperë.” *B*, 84 (1927), 114–18.
L. E. *Knna kan hayeatsk Širvanzadëi ‘Arsën Dimakseany’ vëpi masin.* (Tiflis, 1893).
Malhas, G. *Širvanzatë ew ir erkë.* (Constantinople, 1911).
Meliksetyan, S. *Mtermakan Širvanzaden.* (Erevan, 1965).
Mrkchyanyan, V. “Širvanzadei realistakan arvesti mi kani bnnoros gtzerë.” *PBH*, 1959/1, 144–53.
Širvanzadë ew ir gortzë. (Constantinople, 1911).
Širvanzadei steltzagortzutynunë (hodvatneri žolovazu). (Erevan, 1959).
Tamrazyan, H. *Aleksandr Širvanzade.* (Erevan, 1956).
——. *Dramaturgia Shirvanzade.* (Erevan, 1956).
——. *Şirvanzade: hamarot aknark.* (Erevan, 1958).
——. “Şirvanzaden ev nra nahordnerę.” *SG*, 1960/7, 123–42.
——. *Şirvanzade, kyankë ev gortzë.* (Erevan, 1961).
——. *Şirvanzade, zhizn' i tvorchestvo.* (Erevan, 1962).
——. Təltəndi tznundë (*Şirvanzadei kyankits*). (Erevan, 1971).
Tərtərean, A. *Şirvanzade, hay ēntaniki ev inteligenti vipasanë.* (Tiflis, 1911).
——. *Şirvanzadei grakan tiperi hanragitaranë.* (Erevan, 1959).
——. *Şirvanzadei ēstetikan.* (Erevan, 1963).
——. “Şirvanzaden arevmtaevropakan ‘Nor arvesti’ knnadat.” *PBH*, 1963/1, 3–14.
Toțovents, V. *Şirvanzade (kensagrutyun).* (Erevan, 1930).
Vanandetsi, G. *Şirvanzadei stetzagortzutyan himnakan gzërë.* (Erevan, 1930).
Yakobean, S. *Şirvanzade, grakan-knankan usummasirutwin.* (Tiflis, 1911).

**SITAL, KARAPET** (1891–1972)

Pen name: Karapet Sital.
Karapet Sahinean was born in Kašt (or Kaçet), a village near Şatah, south of Lake Van. Poet; educated in local schools and in American institutions in Van and Tabriz. Lived in Philadelphia from 1914 until his death. Was a staunch supporter of and a frequent traveler to Soviet Armenia, where some of his books were published. He used Armenian and Kurdish folklore extensively in his poems.

**Collections**

*Lusabats.* (Erevan, 1936).
*Payktari erger.* (Erevan, 1953).
*Dyutsaznakan.* (Erevan, 1957).
*Oske hundz.* (Erevan, 1962).

**Texts (verse)**

*Gusanerger.* (New York, 1919).
*Gişerëni minchew lusabats.* (Philadelphia, 1931).
SRAPEAN, ARAMAYIS (1910–1969)
Born in Geyve (southeast of Izmit, Turkey). After his father was slain during the 1915 massacres, Srapean grew up in orphanages in Constantinople and Corfu.
Educated at the Murat Rapayëlean school (1925–29) of Venice, where he and some other orphans had been sent in 1923. Specialized in medicine in Milan and served in the Italian Army in France and the Balkans. Resided permanently in Milan. Wrote both prose and poetry.

**Collections**

*Anavart ert.* (Erevan, 1971).

**Texts**

*Handipumner Musayin het.* (Venice, 1949).

*Azoloyën Venetik.* (Venice, 1953).

*Zënki tak.* (Venice, 1956).


**SRUANDZTEANTS, GAREGIN** (1840–1892)

Pen names: Garegin Sruadzteants, Vard.

Born Ôhannës Sandents in Van and educated at the seminary of the monastery of Varag near Van. Ethnographer, folklorist, teacher, and writer. Toured certain parts of historic Armenia (1860–61) in the company of his mentor, (Mkrtich) Ḥrimean Hayrik (q.v.), and took the vows of celibacy in Karin (Erzumm) in 1864. In 1878 he was commissioned by Nersës Varžapctean (1837–84), Patriarch of Constantinople, to tour Western Armenia to report on his fellow countrymen. As on his previous visits, Sruandzteants recorded, thus preserving, fragments of a rich tradition that all but perished in 1915. He was created bishop in Ëjmiatzin in 1886. Served as primate of the Armenians of Trebizond and of Tarōn and as father-superior of the monastery of Surb Karapet in Muş. Spent the last few years of his life in Constantinople.

**Collections**


**Texts (literary)**

*Ṣuṣan Ṣawaršana.* (Constantinople, 1875). (Play).

**Texts (folklore)**

*Grots u brots ew Sasuntsi Dawit kam Mheri duṙ.* (Constantinople, 1874).

*Hnotes ew nororts.* (Constantinople, 1874).

*Manana.* (Constantinople, 1876).


*Hamov-hotov.* (Constantinople, 1884; Tiflis, 1904; Paris, 1949–50).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH**


**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**


*AP*, 253–54.

**Criticism**

———. “Garegin Srvandztantsi orpes azgagraget.” *EI*, 1946/1, 37–42.

**STEPANOS DAŞTETSI** (17th–18th c.)
A widely traveled native of Isfahan, Stepanos was educated in Nor Julay (New Julfa) and Isfahan. Many of his writings are still unpublished, including those of a theological and religious nature that he wrote from a Roman Catholic viewpoint.

**Texts (verse)**
Abrahanyan, Ő. “Stepanos Daştetsi.” *T*, 1956/12, 101–17. (Includes several texts).

**Criticism**

**STEPANOS RÖŞKA** (1670–1739)
Stepanos, noted for his chronicle, was born in Kamenits (Kamenets-Podolsk) and was also known as Kamenetsatsi or Kamentsi. He studied in Rome, and as a man of religion, he served the various Armenian communities in Poland.

**Texts**

**Criticism**
Dachkévytch, Ya. REArm, n.s. 3 (1966), 471–77. (Review of Oskean’s article listed below).

“Stepanos Rośka.” B, 43 (1885), 247.

Ł. M. “Tesut’iwn i Gandz lezuin hayots kam i Steptanean bararan.” B, 10 (1852), 86–95.


**STEPANOS, TOHATETSI (1558–?)**

Born in Tokat. Married at age nineteen and became a priest in 1580. Fled native town after the Jelali onslaught in 1602. Arrived in Constantinople in 1603 and went on to Crimea, where he taught and copied manuscripts. Returned to Tokat in 1621, but nothing is known of him after this date.

**Texts (verse)**


“I veray čanči.” KNZ, 1, 62–64.


**Anthologies**

SUM, 1, 501–30.

**Criticism**


**STEPANYAN, ANŽELA (1917–)**

A native of Tiflis. Novelist; educated at the State University of Erevan. Taught German (1942–46), worked for the Committee for Cultural Relations with Armenians Abroad (1969–74), and worked for some years for the monthly Sovetakan grakamutyun beginning in 1975.

**Texts (novels and stories)**

Kuyrer. (Erevan, 1947).


Gunavor kayler. (Erevan, 1967).

Erb iñum ē erekon. (Erevan, 1974).

Mormok. (Erevan, 1982).

**Translations**

RUSSIAN

Criticism

SUNDUKEAN, GABRIËL (1825–1912)
Pen names: Hadid, Hamal.
Born in Tiflis; educated at the University of St. Petersburg (1846–50). Had a good command of a number of Western and Middle Eastern languages and held administrative positions within the Russian bureaucracy. Began to write rather late in life. Spent all of his life in Tiflis except for the years 1854–58, when he was banished to Derbend (Dagestan, Russia).

Collections
Èntir erker. (Erevan, 1938).
Harutyunyan, S. Erkeri liakatar žolovatzu. (Erevan, 1934).
Erkeri žolovatzu. 3 vols. (Erevan, 1973–75).
Hatëntir. (Erevan, 1976).
Erker. (Erevan, 1980).

Texts
Giseruan sabrè her ē. (Tiflis, 1866, 1901, 1908).
Kandatz ŵjah. (Tiflis, 1873, 1882, 1905).
Hañabalay. (Tiflis, 1881, 1904).
Èli mèk zoh. (Tiflis, 1884, 1888, 1902).
Amusinner. (Tiflis, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1905).
Õskan Petrovichn en kinkumë. (Tiflis, 1899, 1906).
Ew ayln kam Nor Diiginës. (Tiflis, 1907).
Bahnësi bohchay. (Tiflis, 1908).
Sër ew azatutëwn. (Tiflis, 1910).
Gabriël Sundukeantsi ktakë. (Tiflis, 1912).
Hamali maslahatナnë. (Tiflis, 1912).

Translations
ENGLISH
Megerditchian, E. Bebo. (Boston, 1931).

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
AL, 81–142. (“The Ruined Family”).

GERMAN
Rubenli, L. Die ruinierte Familie. (Leipzig, n.d.).

RUSSIAN
Izbrannoë. (Moscow, 1953).
P’esy. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941, 1949).
Suprigi. (Tiflis, 1897).
Russian anthologies
Ter’ian, V. SBAL, 11–62. (Pepo).

Bibliographies

Criticism
Abov, G. Gabriel Sundukyan. (Erevan, 1953).
Arveladze, B. Sundukyanë ev vrats irakanutyunë. (Erevan, 1976).
———. “‘Haťabala’ katakergutyun steltzman patmutyunits.” BEH, 1982/1, 152–58.
———. Gabriel Sundukyani steltzagortzutyunë. (Erevan, 1988).
Gyuli-Kevhyan, H. Gabriel Sundukyan. (Erevan, 1944).
Harutyunyan, S. Gabriel Sundukyani kyankn u steltzagortzutyunë. (Erevan, 1934).
Şahaziz, E. Gabriel Sundukyan: kensagrakan nyuter. (Erevan, 1927).

ŠUSHANEAN, VAZGÈN (1903–1941)
Pen name: Yovhannës Trakatsi.
Önnik Šušanean was bom in Rodosto (Tekirdağ, Turkey) to a well-to-do family. Survived the genocide of 1915, which claimed the lives of his parents, sister, and brother. Ended up in France in 1922, after short stays in his birthplace, Armenia, and Istanbul. Lived in various parts of France, studying and working as an administrator in the French educational system in Nemours (1933–35) and Rouen (1935–40). Died in a hospital in Paris, and his remains were interred in an unidentified spot. A considerable part of his work is still scattered in the Armenian periodical press.

Collections

Texts (prose and novels)
Garnananayin (siroy hez namakner). (Paris, 1928; Beirut, 1956).
Amran gişerner. (Cairo, 1930).
Siroy ew melki partez. (Beirut, 1958).
Mahuan aragastë and Arajin sërë. (Beirut, 1959).
Čermak Varsenik. (Beirut, 1960). 

Works in periodicals
Tatiadean


Bibliographies
“Abmoljakan tsankë Vazgên Šušaneani grakan ašhatankneru.” HK, 21 (1943/3), 111–12.

Criticism

TADĒOS TOHÂTETSI (16th c.?)
No biographical information is available on this poet, who is believed to have written in Armenian and in Turkish.

Texts
Kiwrtean, Y. “Mijnadarean hay talasats Tåtos sarkawag Tohâtetsi.” HK, 13 (1935/11), 74–82.

Anthologies
SUM, 1, 464–98.

Criticism

TALIADÈAN, MESROP (1803–1858)
Born in Dzoragiwl, near Erevan. Sent to the seminary at Ejiâmiatzin, he was ordained a deacon, but he never became a priest. In the early 1820s, he left Armenia for India, returning to Ejiâmiatzin in 1831 after completing his studies at the Bishop’s College in Calcutta. Lived briefly in Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan, 1834–36), where he met his first wife; in Tabriz (1837–38); and in Constantinople (1838). From the Ottoman capital he was banished to Trebizond for suspected Protestant sympathies. After an adventurous escape, he returned to India, married for a second time (1841), and roamed Calcutta as a peddler. His business enterprise failed, and he set up a school and published Azgasër (1845–52; later Azgasër araratean). Following the death of his second wife, and in view of unending conflicts with the community, he sold his printing press and set off for home. He never completed his journey; he died and was buried in Shiraz.

Collections
Gelarvestakan erker. (Erevan, 1965).
Taliadean

Nanumyan, Ř. *Ulegrutyunner, hodvatcner, namakner, vaveragrer.* (Erevan, 1975).

**Texts**

Astuatzasër ew azgasër hasarakutean hayots ṁrkeal kalakin Erewanay srbakrōn kahanayits, baretznund išhanats ew hamayn barepašiōn čoloivrdots. (Calcutta, 1828).

*Vēp Vardgisi T[eğ]n Tuhats.* (Calcutta, 1846).
*Čanaparhordutwxn Mesrovbay D. Taliadeants V. A. sarkawagi srboy Ėjmiatzni i Hays.* (Calcutta, 1847).
*Sōs ew Sondiπi.* (Calcutta, 1847; Constantinople, 1871).
*Tutak Taliadeants.* (Calcutta, 1847).

*Vēp Varsenkan skayuhwoy aluanis: i hnuṭeants hayreneats poheats yardi oč ew gir M. D.* (Calcutta, 1847).

**Elerergutiwxn yōrhas Tankay Taliadeants.** (Tiflis, 1893).

**Other works**

*Ditsabanutiwxn.* (Calcutta, 1830).
*Mesrovbean aybbenaran.* (Calcutta, 1840).
*Mesrovbean saradrich hay ew angliakan lezuats. Child's First Attempt at English and Armenian Composition.* (Calcutta, 1840).
*Patmutiwxn hin Hendkastani vanyišatăk daruts anti tsyaɾdžakum mahmetakanats. History of Ancient India, From the Earliest Ages to the Invasion of the Mahomedans.* (Calcutta, 1841).
*Patmutiwxn parsits.* (Calcutta, 1846).
*Zuarcahös arakč parsits. Targmaneal handerdż yaveluatzovk.* (Calcutta, 1846).
*Čar dastiarakutean ōrjordats.* (Calcutta, 1847).
*Karg ew kanonč surf Sanduht dprotsi ōrjordats ew paronkats.* (Calcutta, 1847).
*Mesrovbean arajnord mankants.* (Calcutta, 1847).
*Vkayabanutiwxn srboyn Sandhtoy.* (Calcutta, 1847).

**Criticism**


Mkrean, Y. *Kensagruṭiwxn Mesrovbay Dawtean Taliadeants Erewantswoy.* (Tiflis, 1886).

Nanumyan, Ř. *Mesrop Taliadyan.* (Erevan, 1948).

Sargsean, Y. *Ditolagir i veray kensagrutean Mesrovbay D. Taliadeantsi*. (Constantinople, 1888).

**TAPALTSYAN, KRISTAPOR** (1910–1967)
Born in Kop, a village near Bulamk, northwest of Van. Novelist; educated in Leninakan (now Gyumri), at the State University of Erevan, and at the Gorky Institute for Literature in Moscow. Worked as a journalist, editor, and in administrative positions in the field of education.

**Texts (novels and short stories)**
- *Hayrenik*. (Erevan, 1942).

**Translations**

**RUSSIAN**

**TARGYUL, LYUSI** (1905–1955)

**Texts**
- *Čanker*. (Erevan, 1931). (Story).
- *Êdiki arajin hamergê*. (Erevan, 1937).
- *Ulti parê kamrjî vrâ*. (Erevan, 1940).
- *Eražîštê*. (Erevan, 1942).
- *Pokrikneri metz gorzê*. (Erevan, 1942).
Lusni sonat. (Erevan, 1944).
*Te inchu hozi ktn erkat e khl hagtsrin.* (Erevan, 1947).
*Zalkan.* (Erevan, 1948).
*Pionerakan hostum.* (Erevan, 1952).
*Patmavzhker.* (Erevan, 1954).
*Tvcho tazelker.* (Erevan, 1955).
*Komitas.* (Erevan, 1956).

**TARONTSI, SOLOMON** (1905–1971)

Pen name: Solomon Tarontsi.

Born Solomon Movsisyan in Kop (a village near Bulanik, northwest of Lake Van). Emigrated to Eastern Armenia with his parents in 1914. Studied at the State University of Erevan (1930). Wrote both verse and prose; also worked as a translator and journalist.

**Collections**

_Novelner._ (Erevan, 1962).


_Kamrjvol after._ (Erevan, 1973).

_Metraget._ (Erevan, 1980).

**Texts (poetry and prose)**

_Arovat._ (Erevan, 1930).

_Kriv Dnepri het (esti Maršaki)._ (Erevan, 1932).

_Serundneri ergé._ (Erevan, 1933).

_Dareri legendé._ (Erevan, 1934).

_Astlapš._ (Erevan, 1934).

_Adavia._ (Erevan, 1936).

_Hopop._ (Erevan, 1938).

_Banasteltzyunner._ (Erevan, 1940).

_Tzyyl tian._ (Erevan, 1940).

_Agivaré._ (Erevan, 1941).

_Erjankutyun etinevts._ (Erevan, 1941).

_Razmi šeptor._ (Erevan, 1941).

_Krak._ (Erevan, 1942).

_Paterazm._ (Erevan, 1942).

_Mi turop lutsku hamar._ (Erevan, 1942).

_Zruyt shataker Šreyteri, zinvor Piki ev mi aklori masin._ (Erevan, 1942).

_Asper Liparit._ (Erevan, 1944).

_Krake kařulinerov._ (Erevan, 1944).

_Davti ergé._ (Erevan, 1946).

_Ampropits heto._ (Erevan, 1948).

_Chjikę._ (Erevan, 1948).

_Stalingrad._ (Erevan, 1951). (Verse).

_Metz aňorya._ (Erevan, 1953).

_Banasteltzyunner._ (Erevan, 1954). (Verse).

_Kapuyt heruner._ (Erevan, 1956).

_Aveli luys._ (Erevan, 1958).
TATREAN, ATRINË (1915–)
Born in Çorum, Turkey. A novelist, playwright, and poet. Educated in Armenian and French schools in Constantinople. Her higher studies in Germany and Austria were interrupted by World War II. Later, she resided in France. Some of her early plays and stories are for children.

Texts


TATREAN, VAHRAM (1900–1948)

Texts

Dëpi anapat (pütsuat, ëjer ëragrës). (New York, 1945). (Diary).
TATUREAN, AHARON (1886–1965)

Pen name: Aharon.

Born in the village of Övacek (Ovacik, near İzmit, Turkey). Educated in Constantinople and in the Murat Rpařešëlean school in Venice (1907–09). Survived the Armenian massacres and deportations of 1915. After a brief sojourn in Constantinople and Bulgaria, he pursued his studies in Prague (1923–28) and settled in France in the late 1920s.

Texts

*Magalatner.* (Paris, 1938 [cover says 1937]).


*Söseats antar.* (Paris, 1948 [cover says 1949]).


*Ankrkneli aprumner.* (Cairo, 1971).

*Hin kertuatzner.* (Beirut, 1971).

*Verjin katilner.* (Beirut, 1971).

Translations (Italian anthologies)

*LPAM*, 279–83.

Criticism


TÉKÉEAN, VAHAN (1878-1945)


Born in Constantinople. Attended the Përpērean and Kedronakan schools in his birthplace. Spent several years in Europe (Liverpool, Marseilles, Hamburg) working for various businesses. Arrived in Egypt in 1903, and with a number of colleagues, he founded the literary periodical Širak (1905) and Arew (1915). Returned to Constantinople in 1908, visited Eastern Armenia in 1910, and went back to Egypt in 1914. As a member of the Armenian National Delegation based in Paris, Tékéean traveled to Armenia in 1919 and spent the next two years in Constantinople. During these years he was actively involved in efforts to locate and shelter Armenian orphans. Under his leadership, the Ramkavar and Azatakan parties merged in 1921. Wandered far and wide in the years 1922–24, before settling permanently in Egypt. Died in Cairo and is buried next to A. Arpiarean and E. Ötean.

Collections

Amboljakan erker. (Cairo, 1949–50). (Only vols. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 have appeared).
Hatēntir. (Beirut, 1954).
Hayergutiwn ew Hatēntir kertuatzner. (Beirut, 1958).
Hatēntir. (Beirut, 1978).

Texts (verse)

Hayergutiwn ew ayl kertuatzner (tpagreal ew antip). (Cairo, 1943).
Talaran (šark kertuatzneru). (Cairo, 1944).
Łazarean, V. Mamuli mēj ipuatz ev antip erker u namakner Vahan Tēkēeanēn. (Beirut, 1987).

Translations

ENGLISH

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 167–69.
FFPA, 53.
JM, 78–106.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 167-69.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 167-69.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
IZAP, 97–110.

SPANISH

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES

Criticism
Alpôyaçean, A. Vahan Têkêean iibr hanrayin mard ew hraparakagir. (Beirut, 1988).
-----., "Vahan Têkêean [čaf]." ANA, 1933/3–4, 109–11.
Eremean, S. "Vahan Têkêean." B, 90 (1933), 497–512.
Lazarean, I. Vahan Têkêean. ([Los Angeles], 1984).
Öšakan, Y. Spriwikë ew iraw banasteltzütiwnë (V. Têkêeani aritov). (Jerusalem, 1945).
-----., Vahan Têkêean. (Beirut, 1985).
Tëmïrcipasean

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TÉMÎRCIPASEAN, EÌIA (1851–1908)

Pen names: A. Azatahohean, Ėgnawor, Čin Yakob, Grasër Atom, Z. Haytnü, Hur Hayran, Melania, Monazn, Mšak, Nurania, Šarzęants or Šarzęnts, Tëwaniö, and others.

Born in Constantinople. Received his elementary education at the local Nersësean and Šahnazarean schools. In the 1870s, he briefly studied at Marseilles and worked for the Ottoman bureaucracy as an interpreter. In the 1880s, he taught in Armenian schools, contributed to numerous Armenian periodicals, launched the periodical Grakan ew imastasirakan šarżum (1883–88), and edited Erkragunt (1884–88). Overwhelmed by consumption and ever-worsening mental and emotional disturbances, Tëmîrcipasean committed suicide.

Collections


Sargsyan, R. Erker. (Erevan, 1986).

Texts

Šahnazareani më hîçin parz knutiwnë. (Constantinople, 1870).


Nor keank. A. Azgayin lezu, paštpanutìwn Minas Cherazi ēntrolakan ašharha-
barin. (Constantinople, 1879).

Pitzak. (Constantinople, 1879).

Plisopayakan bararan. 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1879).

Haiëntir ēnteriutaçk. (Constantinople, 1881).

Aljkants dastiarakutean vray čar. (Constantinople, 1890).

Šrijagayutiwn im talis mëj. (Constantinople, 1890).

Tarerkpatmufean imasiasirutean. (Constantinople, 1891).

Grpani baråran hayerëne gâllierën, 25000 bar. (Constantinople, 1894).

Works in periodicals


AND, 14 (1963), 82.


M, 1892/3957, 28–29; 3959, 71; 3962, 117–18. 1893/3978, 101; 3981, 136–41;

3982, 146–48. 1899/7, 204–7; 8–9, 247–50; 10, 300–303, 313–14. 1901/8,

113–15; 11, 166–68; 12, 179; 13, 193–95; 15, 232–33; 17, 260; 20, 309–11;

21, 324–25; 23, 355; 24, 369–71; 26, 403; 29, 454–55. 1902/26, 408–9; 29,

460–61. 1906/1, 5; 2, 26; 3, 43; 4, 64. 1907/3, 57–58; 6–7, 111; 9, 169; 15,

293; 23–29, 576. 1908/9, 179; 12–13, 238.

Translations

**ENGLISH**

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**
*ALP*, 98–100.

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
*APA*, 67–73.

**ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

**SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES**
*APAS*, 139–44.

**Criticism**
Atușan, “Elia Tëmirçiipəsənən.” *HG*, 1 (1911/12/2), 5–9; 4, 4–8; 8, 16–21; 9, 15–19; 11, 8–12; 2 (1912/13/1), 14–18; 3, 22–26; 5, 31–34; 8, 11–15; 9, 6–9.
“Elia Tëmirçiipəsənən.” *A*, 1908, 631–32.
———, “Tıtraîktəsətiwən.” *AM*, 1887, 135–42.
———, “Tıtraîktəsətiwən.” *AM*, 1893, 342–44.

**TÉÖLÉOLEAN, MINAS** (1913–1997)
Pen names: Armêñ Amatean, Nočeats Tlan, Vazgêñ Vanandean.
Born in Partizak (Bahçecik, Turkey). Writer, teacher, literary historian, and a prolific journalist. Educated in Armenian schools in Istanbul. Lived and taught in Bulgaria (1936–37) and Rumania (1937–38). In 1944, he moved to Aleppo where
he co-edited the daily *Arewelk* (1946–56) and taught at and became first principal of the Karen Jeppe secondary school (1947–56). After brief sojourns in Egypt (1956–57) and Lebanon (1957–60), he settled in Boston in 1960, where he served as the Armenian Revolutionary Federation’s executive secretary (1960–66) and edited the daily *Hayrenik* from 1966 to his retirement in 1978.

**Texts**

*Nähergank.* (Sofia, 1937). (Poems).

*Mtnolort.* (Aleppo, 1945). (Verse and prose poems).

**Other works**

*Kerakanutiwn.* (Aleppo, 1950). (2 parts; elementary grammar).


*Hayastaneaytis eketsin ew hay eketsakanutean kochumë.* (Montreal, 1986). (Articles previously published in *Hayrenik*).

**TER-GRIGORYAN, GRIGOR** (1916–1981)

Born in Erevan. Dramatist. After a brief teaching career (1931–34), he studied construction at the Erevan Polytechnic Institute (1939), a profession he practiced for only a few years. Studied history at the Hachatur Abovyan Pedagogical Institute of Erevan (1947). Held administrative and political positions within the Soviet Air Force, the government, and the Communist party. From 1951 to 1955, he was the secretary of the Union of Writers and editor of *Grakan tert*. From 1955 to his death, was editor in chief of *Ozni*, the only Soviet Armenian satirical periodical.

**Texts**


*Garman andzrev (piesneri žolovatzu).* (Erevan, 1962).

*Tasë tari.* (Erevan, 1969).

*Im helë Portos.* (Erevan, 1977).

*Amen inch kam ochinch (Piesner).* (Erevan, 1987).

**Translations**

**RUSSIAN**

*Dramy i komedii.* (Erevan, 1981).

Pogodin, N. *Etizvezdynashi.* (Moscow and Erevan, 1949; Moscow, 1950; Erevan, 1952).

**Criticism**

Avagyan, H. *Grigor Ter-Grigoryan.* (Erevan, 1983).

**TÊR KARAPETEAN, GEŁAM** (1865–1918)

Pen names: Asolik, Mšoy Getam, Tâtrak.

Born in the village of Hêybian on the plain of Muš. Educated in the venerated monastery of Surb Karapet and the Armenian school in the town of Muš. For many
years, though with some interruptions (e.g., working for the Armenian church in Diyarbakır, 1894–97), he worked as a secretary in the Armenian church in Muş. Elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1908, he moved to Constantinople in early 1909. A selection from Tër Karapetean’s short stories and novelettes previously published in the periodical press in Constantinople was published posthumously.

Texts

Criticism

TER-MARTIROSYAN, ARTAES (1892–1937)
Born in Alexandrapol (Leninakan, now Gyumri, Armenia). A poet and literary critic. After graduating from the Institute of Commerce in Moscow (1917), he became a Bolshevik revolutionary and was incarcerated twice, once in Tiflis and once in Erevan, for his participation in the May rebellion against the Armenian Republic. Resided in Moscow from 1924 until his death.

Texts (verse)
Aşnut. (Alexandrapol, 1912).

Poetry

TËR SARGSENTS, SEDRAK (c1853–1941)
Pen name: Tewkants (brother of Aristakës vardapet Tevkants). Born and educated in Van. A novelist and poet. Found employment in Constantinople as a private tutor and teacher, but he returned to Vaspurakan, the region around his native Van, to teach. After a visit to Transcaucasia in 1884, he settled in Europe, residing mainly in England and France. Died in Nice.

Texts
Vaḵarani m’kaytzer. (Constantinople, 1875). (Verse).
Ṣahēnn i Sipir kam Galtakan hayē. (Constantinople, 1877, 1911). (Novel).
Manukneru arkayutwin. (Constantinople, 1878).

TËR-STEPANEAN, MIHRAN (1899–1964)
Born in Dörtyol (now Turkey) and educated in the local Armenian school and the Pêzazean school in Constantinople. Survived the genocide of 1915 and worked as an interpreter for the French administration in Cilicia. After the French withdrawal from the region, he took up residence in Syria and held a high-ranking position in the Syrian bureaucracy. In his birthplace he edited, with Martiros Tër Stepanean, the short-lived periodical Nuik (1914), and with Aris Šaklyan (q.v.), the weekly Sisuan (1920–21). Contributed to a number of Armenian periodicals, especially the daily Zartönk of Beirut, Lebanon. Wrote verse and prose.
Tërean

Texts

Yoysi haroykner. (Beirut, 1959). (Prose).

TÉR-YOVHANNISEAN, GABRIël (1837–1920)

Pen name: K'ajberuni.
Born in Uzuntafa, a village in Ijevan, Armenia. Novelist. After graduating from the Nersisean school of Tiflis, he studied medicine in Moscow. He has also written ethnographic and travel accounts.

Texts


Criticism


TÉREAN, VAHAN (1885–1920)

Pen name: Vahan Tërean.
Born Vahan Tër-Grigorean in Gandza, a village in Georgia. Educated in Ahalkalak (Akhalcalaki, Georgia), Tiflis, the Lazarean (Lazarevskii) Institute in Moscow, the University of Moscow, and the University of St. Petersburg, where he studied under N. Marr. Supported the Bolshevik Revolution and held administrative positions within the “Commissariat for Armenian Affairs” based in Moscow. His fragile health deteriorated seriously, and he died in Orenburg on his way to Central Asia.

Collections

100 otanavor. (Tiflis, 1930).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1936).
Isahakyan, A. Banasteltzutyunneri liakatar žolovatzu. (Erevan, 1940).
Èntir kertuatzner. (Aleppo, 1945).
Mtnšali anurjner, Gišer ew yušer, Oski hêkiat, Veradardz, Oskê štray, Pšê psakê, Erkir Nayiri. (Venice, 1956).
Erker chors hatorov. (Erevan, 1972–79).

Texts

Mtnšali anurjner. Book 1 (Tiflis, 1908; Beirut, 1939).
Banasteltzutyunner. Vol. 1 (Moscow, 1912).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1980).
Panoyan, O. Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1982).
Davtyan, V. 100 banasteltzutyun. (Erevan, 1985).
Translations

ENGLISH
Evans, G. ["Glory to you, rubescent . . ."] *SL*, 1966/3, 11.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
*SAP*, 8–10.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
*APA*, 207–11.
Loriol, P. E, 57–58.
*JM*, 111–32.
*LPA*, 231–36.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
*ALG*, 130.

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
*DLA*, 3–4.
*LPAM*, 237–44.

RUSSIAN
Partizuni, V. *Stikhi*. (Moscow, 1950).

Uspenskii, L. *Izbrannoë*. (Erevan, 1941).

BIBLIOGRAPHIES
Melikian, S. *Vaan Ter’ian na russkom iazyke: bibliografiia perevodov i kriticheskoi literatury*. (Erevan, 1956).

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
*APAS*, 241–46.

Criticism
Ałatabyan, S. "Vahan Teryan." *PBH*, 1975/1, 8–22.


Grigor’ian, K. *Vaan Ter’ian: ocherk zhizni i tvorchesva*. (Moscow, 1957).


Grigoryan, K. *Vahan Teryan*. (Erevan, 1956).


Tërzean, Tovmas (1840–1909)

Born in Constantinople to an Armenian father and an Italian mother. A poet and playwright. Educated at the Murat-Rapayêlean school in Venice (1852–58) and became a teacher upon his return. Wrote the libretto for Aršak II (in both Armenian and Italian), the first Armenian opera, which was based on the accounts of both Pawstos Buzand or Buzandaran patmutiwnk, i.e., The Epic Histories, and Movsès Horenatsi. It was put to music by Tigran Chuhaëcean (1837–98) in 1868 and remains popular today.

**Collections**


**Texts (plays)**

_Sanduht_. (Constantinople, 1862; Venice, 1871; Jerusalem, 1881 [includes French text]).

_Aršak II_. (Constantinople, 1871).

_Yovsép Geletsik_. (Venice, 1872).

**Other works**

_Banali hay-gallierên kerakanutean Öllêntorfi druteamb_. (Constantinople, 1868).

_Nor kerakanutiywn gallierên lezui Öllêntorfi druteamb_. (Constantinople, 1868).


_Erkordakan krtutiwn_. (Constantinople, 1878–79).
Mtamarzutıwın ĝest Bēlisiēi. 2 vols. (Constantinople, 1879, 1885 [Vol. 1]).
Kerakanutıwın ėşharhabar lezui. (Constantinople, 1882, 1884).
Naḫnakan ėntertsaran patkerazard. (Constantinople, 1884).

**Translations**

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**
ALP, 44–45.

**FRENCH**
Fëruhhan, M. Sanduht. (Jerusalem, 1881). (Armenian text with French translation).

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
APA, 63–66.

**ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES**
LPAM, 107–18.

**Criticism**

**TIWSAB, SRBUHI** (c1841–1901)
Born Srbuhi Vahanean to a well-to-do family in Constantinople. Educated privately. One of her tutors was Mkrtich Pēšik’ašleän (q.v.). Her deteriorating health compelled her to seek treatment in Paris (1889–91). Her daughter’s untimely death in 1891 shattered her, and she spent her remaining years in total seclusion.

**Collections**

**Texts**
Mayta. (Constantinople, 1883).
Siranoys. (Constantinople, 1884 [cover says 1885], 1925).
Araksıa kam Varžuhi. (Constantinople, 1887 [cover says 1886]).

**Criticism**
Zöhrap, G. “Mayta.” Erkragunt, 10 (1883), 305–12.

TLKATINTSI, (c1860–1915)
Pen names: Parnak, Tlkatintsi.
Born Yovhannës Yarutjewean in the village of Tlkatin (Huylu, near Harput, Turkey). Moved to Harput at an early age and studied at the local Smbatean school. After teaching in a numbr of schools, he became permanently associated with the Kedronakan school of Harput, which attained prestige as one of the finest schools in the Armenian provinces under his directorship. At the outbreak of the Armenian massacres of 1915, Tlkatintsi went into hiding at the home of a Muslim friend, but he was caught and imprisoned. He was killed outside Harput, after having learned of the deportation of his second wife, his only son, and his six daughters, who were never seen again.

Collections
Tlkatinšin ev ir gortzë. (Boston, 1927).

Texts
Or mëkun etewë[?] (Boston, 1912).

Works in periodicals
M, 1899/8–9, 239–40. 1905/13, 201–3. 1906/18, 273–75; 19, 292–93. 1908/10, 198; 11, 216; 12–13, 244; 17, 352; 18, 373.

Criticism
Parsamean, M. “Gawaři harazat ēmē Tlkatintsin.” *Z* (amsaṭert), 2 (1957/1–2), 9, 12.
———. “Tlkatintsin.” *AM*, 1908, 574.

TNKÈREAN, SÔNA (1918–1986)
Born Sōna Tēr Margarean in Constantinople. Short story writer. Educated at the celebrated Esayean and Kedronakan Armenian schools of her birthplace. Taught and held administrative positions in the local Armenian schools. She lived in the United States for the last five years of her life.

**Texts (stories)**

TÔPALEAN, BIWZAND (1902–1970)
Born in Aintab (Gaziantep, Turkey). A survivor of the genocide, he took up permanent residence in France in the 1930s. Set up a printing press in Paris (“Araks”) and published the literary periodical *Andastan* (1952–69). His artistic talent found expression in both poetry and painting.

**Collections**
*Arejvagal*. (Erevan, 1968).
*Hatēntir*. (Paris, [1970]).

**Texts**
*Arejvagal (kertuatzn)*. (Paris, 1936).

**Translations**

**French anthologies**
*LPA*, 307–8.

**Italian anthologies**
*LPAM*, 293–98.
Torgomyan

Criticism

TORGOMYAN, TZERUN (1896–1986)
Pen name: Tzerun Torgomyan.
Born Tzerun Deltrikyan in Van. Received his elementary education in his native city, which he fled amid death, destruction, and deportation, finding his way to Tiflis. Became a journalist and published the literary almanac Hrazdan (Tiflis, 1918), along with Ardzaganka and Karmir astt (both in Krasnodar, 1918–21). Blinded in the early 1930s due to an accident.

Collections
Erker. (Erevan, 1948).

Texts (novels and stories)
Alayi peşkešē. (Tiflis, 1930).
Pâmvatžcker. (Tiflis, 1930).
Hordžankum. (Erevan, 1931).
Mîray dîrer. (Tiflis, 1935).
Kanach bardzunkner. (Tiflis, 1935).
Kaputâk jërëri mot. (Erevan, 1936).
Ţpiatsol kyanke. (Erevan, 1936).
Hndutyun. (Tiflis, 1936).
Bnutyan grkum. (Erevan, 1939).
Artzâte żâpaven. (Erevan, 1940).
Bldan jurë. (Erevan, 1940).
Harazat larer. (Erevan, 1947).
Pâmvatžcker. (Erevan, 1951).
Herosi mahov. (Tbilisi, 1956).
Pâmvatžcker. (Erevan, 1956).
Alekotz tzevè. (Erevan, 1965).
Anmorâts dîrer. (Erevan, 1967).
Hogetov huyzer. (Tbilisi, 1975).
Andzâver martike. (Tbilisi, 1978).

Translations
RUSSIAN

Criticism
TOTOVENTS, VAHAN (1894–1938)
Born and educated in Mezre (Harput, Turkey). Left his birthplace in 1909, went to Paris and New York, and studied at the University of Wisconsin (1912–15). As a volunteer, he participated in the self-defense of Van and Erzurum. Spent the years 1917–20 in Transcaucasia and visited the United States a second time (1920–22), before returning to Armenia permanently in 1922. The Stalinist purges claimed his life.

Collections
Hayreni patmuatzkner. (Beirut, 1939).
Erker. (Erevan, 1957).

Texts
Awerak. (Constantinople, 1906, 1908).
Sring. (Constantinople, 1909).
Olb anmahutean. (Tiflis, 1917). (Poem).
Tonon. (Tiflis, 1917; Beirut, n.d.). (Story).
Arewelk. (Tiflis, 1918). (Poem).
Aravqtin mej. (Tiflis, 1921).
Garunin sirti. (Constantinople, 1921).
Hayastani Ton-Kišoteti. (Constantinople, 1921).
Patmuatzkner, arajin šark. (Constantinople, 1921). (Stories).
Patmuatzkner. (Boston, 1921). (Stories).
Doktor Burbonyan. (Valarsapat, 1923). (Satirical novel).
Mahan bataleon. (Erevan, 1923). (Play).
Polpate čaš. (Erevan, 1924). (Play).
Selbosē. (Erevan, 1924).
Im horakuyrē. (Erevan, 1925). (Stories).
Nor Byucandion. (Erevan, 1925; Beirut, 1958). (Play).
Sasma tżer. (Erevan, 1925). (Play).
Krītiko-tzizal. (Erevan, 1927).
Amerika. (Erevan, 1929). (Stories).
Asatur ev Kleopatra. (Erevan, 1929). (Story).
Lao-ho. (Erevan, 1929, 1930).
Erku sur. (Erevan, 1930). (Play).
Srīvanzade. (Erevan, 1930). (Biography).
Hay azgi “frkikh” dašнакнерē. (Moscow, 1931).
Hovnatan ordi Eremitayi. (Erevan, 1934). (Story).
Hrīktvaz tżer. (Erevan, 1934). (Story).
Bats-kapuyt tznikner. (Erevan, 1935). (Story).
Mohrakuyt. (Erevan, 1936). (Play).
TUMANEAN, YOVHANNÉS (1869–1923)

Born in the village of Dsel (Lori, Armenia). Received an incomplete education in Jalalölli (now Stepanavan, Armenia) and the Nersisean School in Tiflis (1883–87). Resided permanently in Tiflis and was closely involved in community affairs. Such activities brought him into conflict with the Russian authorities, who incarcerated him twice, in 1908–09 and 1911–12. Founded (with others) and headed the Union of Armenian Writers in Tiflis (1912–21). From 1915–22, he actively organized relief for orphans and refugees fleeing the Armenian genocide and sought support for the Armenian state. Visited Constantinople in 1921 and underwent serious surgery upon his return. Died at a hospital in Moscow on his way to Berlin for treatment. He was buried in Tiflis.

Collections

Banasteltzutiuwnner. (Constantinople, 1922 [cover says 1923]).
Erkeri žolovatzu. (Erevan, 1926).
Makintsyan, P. Êntir grvatzkner. (Erevan, 1929).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1930).
Poemner. (Erevan, 1933).
Charents, E. Gelarvestakan erker. (Erevan, 1934).
Legendner, balladner, erger. (Erevan, 1934).
Tërn u zašan ew uriš patmvatzkner. (Bucharest, 1934).
Patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1937).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1938).
Erger. 5 books. (Erevan, 1938).
Hekiatner. 2 vols. (Erevan, 1938).
Kendanineri keankits. (Erevan, 1938).
Tumanyan, N. Erker. (Erevan, 1938).
———. Tumanyanê knnadat. (Erevan, 1939).
Hatêntir. (Erevan, 1940).
Ênêr erker. 2 vols. (Erevan, 1940–41).
Erger, kařeakner . . . hêkiatner. (Venice, 1944).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1944).
Pêchikean, E. Žolovrdakan erger. poēmner. (Venice, 1944).
Mankakan erger: (Erevan, 1945).
Patmuazkner u hêkiatner. (Cairo, 1945).
Kauatzoyp. (Cairo, 1948).
Patmuazkner. (Erevan, 1948).
Ênêr erker. (Erevan, 1953).
Hatêntir. (Erevan, 1959).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1967).
Sahazizyan, A. Asuytner, tevavor hosker; kensagrakan ev matenagitakan
Erker. (Erevan, 1980).
Sahazizyan, K. Banasteltzutyunner, kar'yakner, poemner, legendner ev balladner.
Kar'akney ev balladner. (Erevan, 1987).
Hêkiatner. (Erevan, 1988).

Texts (verse, stories, and tales)
Banasteltzutyunner. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1890, 1892).
Dašnakner. (Tiflis, 1893, 1896 [revised]).
Lorêtsi Sakon. (Tiflis, 1896).
Banasteltzutyunner, 1892–1899. (Tiflis, 1899).
Yovanhânês Tumaneants. (Tiflis, 1899).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Tiflis, 1903).
Hazaran-Bibul. (Tiflis, 1903).
Anoys. (Tiflis, 1904, 1916; Constantinople, 1921 [with Tmkaberdi ašumê], 1922,
1959; New York, 1923; Aleppo, 1925; Beirut, 1935 [with Tmkaberdi ašumê],
1953; Cairo, 1946; Erevan, 1952).
Legendner. (Tiflis, 1904).
Sasuntsi Davitë. (Tiflis, 1904; Erevan, 1934, 1936, 1941, 1943, 1950; Cairo, 1939; Istanbul [n.d.]).
Gikorë. (Tiflis, 1907, 1908; Erevan, 1924, 1936; Istanbul, 1939 [in Western Armenian], 1960; Beirut, 1970). (Story).
Kakawi ergë. (Tiflis, 1908).
Aluësë. (Tiflis, 1909; Erevan, 1939).
Anyalt aklorë. ([Tiflis], 1909; Erevan, 1976).
Garnik ahpër. (Tiflis, 1909; Erevan, 1946).
Mi katil melr. (Tiflis, 1909, 1911; Erevan, 1936, 1948; Paris, 1969 [in Western Armenian]).
Tzitë. ([Tiflis], 1909).
Ulikë. (Tiflis, 1909).
Hōsol dzukë. ([Tiflis], 1910).
Tērn u tzarān. (Tiflis, 1910; Erevan, 1925, 1936, 1985).
Oski kakâlê: hndkan hekâtiat. (Tiflis, 1911; Erevan, 1985).
Pokrik dznorsë. (Tiflis, 1912).
Hayrenikis het. (Tiflis, 1916).
Kâreakner. (Tiflis, 1920; Erevan, 1934, 1938).
Gēlê. (Erevan, 1925, 1983).
Eljerun. (Erevan, 1928).
Ajravors. (Erevan, 1929).
Gabo bidzur šaramapahutyunê. (Erevan, 1935).
Kalnu twornerê. (Erevan, 1938).
Trchuni mitzmunkê. (Erevan, 1939).
Čamfordner. (Erevan, 1939).
Pisiki gangatê. (Erevan, 1941, 1983).
Pokrik erkragortzê. (Erevan, 1944).
Polos-Petros. (Erevan, 1945).
Motzakn u mrjlunê. (Erevan, 1948).
Tzalikneri ergë. (Erevan, 1950).
Chahchaḥ tagavorë. (Erevan, 1957).
Sutasanë. (Erevan, 1958).
Katsin ahper. (Erevan, 1959).
Osku kargas. (Erevan, 1959).
Irikun. (Erevan, 1976).
Bzezi dprotsë. (Erevan, 1983).
Sutasanë. (Erevan, 1984).

Translations

ENGLISH

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
AP, 186–89.
SAP, 1–4.
WM, 59–62.

FRENCH
Champenois, J. Œuvres choisies. (Moscow, 1969).
“Dans les montagnes d’Arménie,” “L’Adieu de Sirius,” “La vieille bénédiction,”
Gaspard, A. La geste de David le Sassouniote. (Geneva, [1945]).
“A minuit, suspendue au ciel . . .” Pour les peuples d’Orient. 1913/16, 9–12.
FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 107–12.
Gamara, P. E., 43–47.
FPA, 47.
LPA, 191–97.

GERMAN
"Das Licht des Herrn. (Gedichte)." Armenier und Armenien. (Sofia, 1941), 57.
Das Taubenkloster. (Berlin, 1972).

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
AD, 40–44.
ALG, 128.
AN, 67–71.

ITALIAN

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
LPAM, 151–63.

RUSSIAN COLLECTIONS
Gorodetskii, S. Izbrannye stikhovitveryenia. (Tiflis, 1919).
Izbrannoe: stikh i proza. (Tiflis, 1937).
Izbrannye proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1937).
Khachatriants, Ia., et al. Skazki. (Erevan, 1985).
Khitarova, S. Izbrannye proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1946).
Legendy i skazki. (Erevan, 1948).
Lirika. (Moscow, 1969).
Madatian, A. Skazki. (Erevan, 1948).
Safrazyan, K. Banastetxutynner, ktyakner, poemyen, legendner ev balladner.
(Erevan, 1986). (Russian and Armenian).
Shaginian, M. Izbrannye socheninia. (Erevan and Moscow, 1950).
Shervinskii, S. Izbrannoe. (Erevan, 1941).
Tumanian, N. Izbrannye proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1952).

SPANISH ANTHOLOGIES
APAS, 167–72.

MULTILINGUAL

Bibliographies
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### Criticism

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———. *Yovhannës Tumanean, mardë ev banasteltzë.* (Boston, 1936).


Arustamyan, S. *Hovh. Tumanyani steltzagortzutyan usutsman im pordżë.* (Erevan, 1980).


Atabekian, M. *Ovanes Tumanian—literaturyny kritik.* (Erevan, 1946).

Avdalbegyan, T. *Hay gyulë Hovhannes Tumanyani erkerum.* (Erevan, 1925).


Baluean, H. “Yovhannës Tumaneanei ‘Anuš’ë.” *Z* (amsatert), 1 (1955/1), 2; 2, 2; 3, 4; 4, 7.


Gyulnazaryan, H. "Hovhannes Tumanyani antip banasteltzutyunnerê." L, 1979/1, 26–36.


Harutyunyan, G. "Mi 'partük'i patmutyun." EJ, 1948/2, 68–73.


Hovhannes Tumanyanê ev rus grakanutyunê. (Erevan, 1956).


———. "Hovhannes Tumanyani ātajin žolovatun ev nra ardzaganknerê." BEH, 1979/1, 73–89.


———. *Tumanyani poemnerë*. (Erevan, 1964, 1986 [revised ed.]).
———. *Chors gaga’t, Tumyan, Isahakyan, Teryan, Charents*. (Erevan, 1982).
Karinyan, A. *Hovhannes Tumanyan (hušer, hodvatzer)*. (Erevan, 1971).
Reprinted separately, Vienna, 1923.
Hovhannes Tumanyan's poetry in 1969.

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"Loretsi Sakon' poem steltsagortzakan patmutyan mi k'ani hartser."


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Hovhannes Tumanyanë ev arevelahay gelarvestakan grakanutyan lezun. (Erevan, 1986).


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Miasnikian, A. Yovhannes Tumaneani steltsagortzutean sotsialakan arţékë. (Tiflis, 1923).


Petrosyan, L. "Hovhannes Tumanyani lezvi ev oĉi mi k'ani arandznahatkutunnerë." PBH, 1961/1, 72–81.

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Hovhannes Tumanyani gelarvestakan erkeri bararan. (Erevan, 1976).


Safrabezkeyan, I. Traditiș mirovii literatury i formirovanie esteticheskih vzgliadov Ovanesa Tumaniana. (Tiflis, 1982).


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"Hovhannes Tumanyani t'argamanan t'argiatnerë." T, 1962/12, 93–104.

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"Tumanyanë ev germanakan poeziyan." SG, 1973/6, 144–49.


TUMANYAN, HENRIK (1916–1982)
Born in Astarak, Armenia. A poet and journalist. Pursued his higher studies at the Gorky Institute for Literature in Moscow. Served in the Soviet Army in World War II and worked as a journalist for various daily newspapers and journals in Soviet Armenia.
Tzarukean

Texts

Garananayin. (Erevan, 1932).
Karutsoher. (Erevan, 1933).
Arevatzag. (Moscow, 1936).
Hayrenikis het. (Erevan, 1939).
Aštarak. (Erevan, 1948).
Mer tunë. (Erevan, 1952).
Ergi tzmundë. (Erevan, 1960).
Siro hraškë. (Erevan, 1967).
Serë chi tzeranum. (Erevan, 1971).
Čakatagir. (Erevan, 1975).
Tûrineri mijov. (Erevan, 1978).

Translations

RUSSIAN

Rodnoi pritok. (Erevan, 1956).
Stikhi. (Moscow, 1958).

TURINJ, (1790–1875)

Pen name: Tûrînj.
Born Toros Maṛtaļan, in Karkanj (Shemakha, Azerbaijan). A minstrel (ašûl).
Spent most of his life in Astrakhan.

Poetry

Čărâk, 1 (1858), 38–39.
THG, 61–69.

TZAＲUKEAN, ANDRANIK (1913–1989)

Pen names: A. Tzař, Arsên Bagratean, V. Hažak, Vazgên Tërunean.
Born in Gûrûn, Turkey. When his father was slain during the genocide, he sought
shelter in orphanages in Aleppo. Educated in Aleppo and continued his studies
at the Čemaran (a well-known high school later renamed Nšan Palâncen) in
Beirt. Returned to Aleppo in the mid-1930s and taught. Launched his popular
periodical Nayîrî in Aleppo in 1941, relocated to Beirut in the early 1950s, and
published as a weekly until the early 1980s. Together with S. Simonean’s Stpıwīk
and a few other periodicals, Nayîrî is a valuable chronicle of Armenian literary,
cultural, political, and social realities.

Texts

Elerabaht kertöner. (Beirut, 1932). (Armenian poets who were killed or died
young).
Mohramanê. (Beirut, 1935). (Humorous prose).
Tult ar Erewan. (Aleppo, 1945, 1946, 1948; Cairo, 1945; Beirut, 1950; Boston,
TZATUREAN, ALEKSANDR (1865–1917)

Pen names: Artziwean, Sitakean, Slakean, and others.

Born and educated in Zakatala (Zakataly, Azerbaijan). After the death of his parents, he moved to Tiflis (1881) to pursue his education. But both the Nersisean school of Tiflis and the Gëorgean Seminary at Ejmiatzin denied him admission. He became a private tutor in 1886 and moved to Moscow permanently in 1888. There he translated Russian poets into Armenian and helped Russian writers publish anthologies of Armenian literature. His health deteriorated rapidly, and he headed south for treatment and recuperation. He died soon after his arrival in Tiflis in early 1917.

Collections

Entir banastetzutyunner. (Erevan, 1937).
Grakan zarangutyun, 1. (Erevan, 1961). (Letters of Tzaturean and Nar-Dos).

Texts

Banastetzutiwnner. 2 vols. (Moscow, 1891, 1898).
Smbat Šahazizeani eresnameay yobeleanâ (1862–1892). (Moscow, 1894).
Eresun ew hing tari. (Moscow, 1898). (Also dealing with S. Šahazizean).
Grchi hanakner. (Moscow, 1901).


Translations

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
ALP, 43.

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 121–22.
Tzerents (1822–1888)
Pen name: Tzerents.
Born Yovsêp Šismanean in Constantinople. Studied with the Mekhitarists at St. Lazarus, Venice (1837), but later specialized in medicine in France (1848–1853). Believed that Armenian solidarity transcended religious loyalties, and he was intimately involved in communal affairs, particularly in the so-called Hasunean conflict that rent the Armenian Catholic community apart. After his wife’s death, he was posted to a medical position in Cyrprus (1876–78), but lived in Tiflis thereafter. He frequently traveled to Armenia and Constantinople. Suffered devastating grief over the untimely loss of his daughter in 1885 and never quite recovered; he died and was buried in Tiflis.

Collections
Sełbosyana, L., and Nersisyan, V. *Erker.* (Erevan, 1983).
Sargsyan, R. *Erker.* (Erevan, 1985).

Texts (historical novels)
*Toros Lewoni.* (Constantinople, 1877, 1911; Tiflis, 1881, 1902; Boston, 1917; Aleppo, 1933; Beirut, 1935, 1956).
*Erkunk T. daru.* (Tiflis, 1879; Constantinople, 1911, Beirut, 1936; Cairo, 1940; Boston, 1944).
*Tëôdoros Ršuni.* (Tiflis, 1881; Constantinople, 1911; Beirut, 1936; Cairo, 1941).
Other works

Ewropakan kalakakanutean nerkay žamanaknerus hay azgin vray ēratz azdetsutivnē. (Constantinople, 1873). (About the influence of European politics on Armenians).

Translations

ENGLISH

Toros Levoni. Armenian Stories. (Boston, 1917).

RUSSIAN


Criticism

Ötean, E. “Yovsëp Šišmaneán (Tzerents).” M, 3997 (1893), 387–90.

VAHĒ-VAHEAN, (1907–1998)

Pen name: Vahē-Vahean.
Born Sargsis Aptalean in Gürün, Turkey. Survived the carnage of 1915 and spent a few years in Aintab (Gaziantep, Turkey) and Aleppo, attending local Armenian schools, before settling in Beirut, Lebanon. Graduated from the engineering school of the American University of Beirut (1930), but gave himself over to teaching and cultural activities. Taught at the celebrated Melkonian Educational Institute in Cyprus (1935–46), at the A. G. B. U. Daruhi Yakobean High School for Women in Beirut, and at the Eruand Hiwsisean Armenian Studies Program. From 1946 to 1955, he published the literary monthly Ani.

Collections

Matyan siro ev mormoki. (Erevan, 1971).
Hatēntiir. (Beirut, 1986).
**Texts**

Yaralêznerun haštutivnê, hayrenakan yušer. (Beirut, 1953). (Impressions of a visit to Soviet Armenia).

**Translations**

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**

Viguier, M. E, 85–86.
LPAM, 327–38.

**ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES**

LPAM, 287–90.

**Criticism**

“Hogevin barekamê geletsiki ev ardari . . . (hartsazruyts).” SG, 1981/5, 125-29.

**VARUŽAN, DANIËL** (1884–1915)

Pen name: Daniël Varuzan.
Born Varuzan Chpugkearean in Brğnik, a village near Sebastea (Sivas, Turkey). Educated in the Mekhitarist schools in Constantinople (1896–1902) and the Murat Rapayëlean of Venice (1902–05). Pursued his higher studies at the University of Ghent, Belgium (1905–09). Upon his return home, he taught in Armenian schools in Sebastea (1909–11), Tokat (1911–12), and Constantinople (1912–15). He was among the Armenian intellectuals arrested on the night of 24 April 1915. A little later in the year, he was brutally murdered in the interior.

**Collections**

Ênûîr erker. (Aleppo, 1946).
Tarontsi, S. Erker. (Erevan, 1946).
Namakani. (Erevan, 1965).

**Texts**

Tselin sirtî. (Constantinople, 1909; Jerusalem, 1953).
Hetanos erger. (Constantinople, 1912; Jerusalem, 1953).
Hatsin ergé. (Constantinople, 1921; Jerusalem, 1950; Erevan, 1964).
Harcë. (Erevan, 1946; Aleppo, 1946; Beirut, 1952; Erevan, 1977).

Translations

ENGLISH
X. “When God Wept.” Kilikia, 9 (1965/1), 64.

ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES
AP, 168–74.

FRENCH

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES
APA, 197–206.
CPA, 129–212.
JM, 14–54.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES
ALG, 132–33.

ITALIAN

ITALIAN ANTHOLOGIES
DLA, 5–9.
LPAM, 221–34.

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
AAP, 517–22.
ARPO, 154–92.
BPA, 481–84.
DILS, 19–34.
IZAP, 39–50.

Criticism
Daniël Varuzani ‘Hetanos ergerē’. (Constantinople, 1913).
Èsacanean, L. Daniël Varuzan (keankē ev ir gortzē). (Constantinople, 1919).
———. Daniel Varuzan stelcgortzutyunē. (Erevan, 1982).
Kiwcēčean, Y. “Mer banasteltznerē—Daniël Varuzan (Tšelins ērter u Hetanos erger).” HG, 1912/12, 4–14. 1913/1, 8–14; 2, 6–12; 3, 5–12; 4, 14–18; 5, 28–31.
Narduni, Š. “Entrakayakan ew tsfayin larē hay žamanakakits banasteltzutean mēj ew Daniël Varužan.” Z (amsörey), 1 (1938/6), 41; 7, 50.
Patrik, A. “Ogekochmumer (usutschis Varužani yišatakın).” Z (amsörey), 1 (1938/6), 42; 7, 51; 2 (1939/8), 60.
———. Daniël Varužan. (Bucharest, 1940).

VERDYAN, BOGDAN (1919–1993)
Born in Elizavetpol (Kirovabad, now Ganja). A novelist and linguist. In 1941, he graduated from the Pedagogical Institute in Erevan (later named after Haçahatur Abovean) and obtained a doctoral degree in 1970. Following his discharge from the Red Army after World War II, he served his alma mater in a number of teaching and administrative positions.
Texts

Kez hamar, Leningrad. (Erevan, 1951).
Leñneri ordin. (Erevan, 1952).
Inçhes ë gališ erjankutyunë. (Erevan, 1958).
Errord kërše. (Erevan, 1975).

Other works


Translations

RUSSIAN

Dolukhanian, V. Ognennye volny. Roman. (Moscow, 1980).
Ioannissian, A. Rozhdennyi v gorakh. Roman. (Moscow, 1965).

VESPER, (1893–1977)

Pen name: Vesper.

Collections


Texts

Kayaranner. (Tiflis, 1925).
Këndani ev kërke mardkants het. (Tiflis, 1931).
Payzarustyun. (Erevan, 1936).
Manukneri het. (Erevan, 1937).
Telikn u Melikën. (Erevan, 1938).
Elevni. (Erevan, 1939).
Urañ im dzi. (Erevan, 1939).
Vëts harvat. (Erevan, 1940).
Mayisyan varder. (Erevan, 1941).
Nkarich hayriki hostumë. (Erevan, 1942).
Aygn ë batsvum. (Erevan, 1944).
Hišatak. (Erevan, 1948).
Arajin ašun. (Erevan, 1956).
Andzrev ev arev. (Erevan, 1957).
Hrazdan. (Erevan, 1959).
Horelbor sring. (Erevan, 1960).
Mayreni erger. (Erevan, 1965).
Šušani šafrakner. (Erevan, 1968).
Vṛtanēs

Translations

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
AAP, 620–21.

Criticism

VṛTANĒS SṚNKETSI (16th c.)
Born in the village of Gilan (the town of Azagiran in Nakhichevan, now in ruins) in
Eastern Armenia. Emigrated to Poland and later became bishop of the Armenians
of Kafa in Crimea.

Texts
(Also published in HA, 34 [1920], 360–63, and in AHPT, 31–37, titled “I
Vṛtanēs vardapetē asatseal banks ays, Omn metzatun unēr . . .”).
“Astuatz, Hayr erknavor, zkēn gohanam, Tēr . . .” HNV, 396–400. (Also pub­
lished in AHPT, 47–53, titled “Tāl nor nahatakin Kristosi, surb Paron
Lusin.”).
“Hayastanayts hazar tēvin . . .” HNV, 401–8. (Also published in AHPT, 38–47,
titled “Tāl Vṛdanēs vardapetē asatseal yalags nor vkayin Kristosi surb Paron
Lusin . . .”).
“Vkayabanutīwn Paron Loys Kafatswoy.” HNV, 386–94. (Prose; titled “Paron
Loys Kafatsi”).
“Aybēn minchew i kēn kēz gohurīwn, Tēr, Bareats kōts gohanamkē yawitenits
Tēr . . .” HA, 34 (1920), 359. (Also published in AHPT, 29–30, titled “Tāl
azniw ew geletsik . . .”).
“Aybēn minchew i kēn Kristos melay kēz, Bazum hrovuteants hetewetsay es . . .
” HA, 34 (1920), 283–84. (Also published in AHPT, 15–16, titled “Vṛtanēs
vardapeti, Vasn haštutean . . .”).
“Aybēn minchew i kēn govetsi zēz, Aybēn minchew i kēn elbayr melay kēz . . .
” HA, 34 (1920), 284–85. (Also published in AHPT, 16–18, titled “Norin
Vṛtanisi asatseal”).
“Aybēn minchew i gīrn verjin melay asem es Kristosin, Bazum baniw hrovuteants
hetewetsak i het charin . . .” HA, 34 (1920), 285–88. (Also published in
AHPT, 18–23, titled “Otanawors norin Vṛtanisi asatseal e ”).
(Also published in AHPT, 23–29, titled “Norin Vṛdanisi”).

Anthologies
SUM, 1, 223–50.

Translations

FRENCH

Criticism
“Vṛtanēs Sṛnketsi (1500?–1570?).” PHG, 457–59.
VSTUNI, AZAT (1894–1958)
Born Karapet Mamikonean in Van. Poet; received his education in the local Ermeanean school, at the Kedronakan of Constantinople (1908–11). Audited courses at the Sorbonne (1911–14). Spent the years 1914–1918 in Tiflis, and after a brief stay in the Crimea (1919–20) he traveled to Iran and Iraq to organize the repatriation of Armenians to Soviet Armenia. Became the first chairman of the Association of Writers of Soviet Armenia, the first literary organization to be founded in the Second Republic of Armenia. He was one of the writers making up the famous group known as the “Three” (along with E. Charents and G. Abov, q.q.v.), who rejected the past and advocated forging a new Armenian culture that would befit the new socialist society.

Collections

Erker. (Erevan, 1935).
Èntir erker. (Erevan, 1941).
Hatèntir. (Erevan, 1944).
Erkeri żolovatzu. (Erevan, 1947).
Erker. (Erevan, 1956).
Èntir erker. (Erevan, 1971).

Texts

Kamawori yušatetrits. (Baku, 1915).
Srtis laterên. (Baku, 1915).
Banasteltzutiwnner. (Tiflis, 1918).
Huzank u zang. (Alexandrapol, 1923).
Neo Orientana (zarfnol Arewelki erger). (Erevan, 1923).
Salamname. (Tiflis, 1924).
Arewelkë hur ė hima. (Erevan, 1927).
Banasteltzutyunner. (Erevan, 1929).
Hosum ė radio Alžirê. (Erevan, 1931).
Ram-Roy. (Erevan, 1936).
Lusademim. (Erevan, 1939).
Nor serundê. (Erevan, 1941).
Vili Volf. (Erevan, 1941).
Erb kaytakê ʔaylatakum ė. (Erevan, 1942; Aleppo, n.d.).
Mankakan ʔazmaχat. (Erevan, 1942).
Mankikn u katvikê. (Erevan, 1944).
Ser ev atelutyun. (Erevan, 1946).
Mankutyan Ŏrer. (Erevan, 1953).

Translations

FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES

FPA, 57–58
LPA, 244–45.
RUSSIAN
Kreitan, G. Govorit radio-Alžhir. Poema-satira. ([Tiflis], 1933).
Izbrannye stikhi. (Moscow, 1937).
Stikhi. (Erevan, 1952).
Stikhi i poemy. (Tiflis, 1936; Erevan, 1951).

Criticism

YAKOB KARNETSI (1618–?)
Born in Karin (Erzurum). Historian. He was ordained a priest in Ӗjmiatzin in
1641, and is believed to have spent most of his life in his native city.

Texts
“Hakob Karnetsu Žamanakagrutyunê.” Manr Žamanakagrutyunner, Vol. 1, (Erevan,
1951), 237–44.
“Patmutiwn S. Astuatatzin ekeletswoyn Karnoy.” Telagir Verin Hayots: yištaka-
karan ŽE daru, Yakovb Karnetsi, (Valarşapat, 1903), 53–61.
“Patmutiwn vasn hörn merum Georgan kahanayin ê . . .” Manr Žamanakagrutyunner,
Vol. 1, (Erevan, 1951), 246–49.
“ chánuatz Karnoy kałakin, or koçetsaw Ŵėdupōlis, or ayżm 杈rüm venaydzay-

Translations
FRENCH
Hakovb Karnêtsi. Erzeroum ou topographie de la Haute-Arménie. Traduit et
annoté par F. Macler (tirage à part du J.As.). (Paris, 1919).

YAKOB SSETSII (17th c.)
Yakob was a priest who took the vows of celibacy upon his wife’s death.

Texts (verse)
Tzovakan, N. “Yakob erëts Ajpan Ssetsi ew iŵr patmakar mêk otanaworô.” Hask,
14 (1945/1–2), 28–31. (“Saradrutïwn vardapetats hayots i Gôsay hetê otiw
çhapel, êst anuan ergoli ew çhapolî.”).
including “Saradrutïwn . . .”, first published by N. Tzovakan in Hask).

Anthologies
SUM, 2, 267–76.
Yakobean

Criticism

YAKOB TOḤATETSI (c1560–1660s)
Born in Tokat. Spent most of his life in Moldavia and Poland. Also known as Batuk (or Batukents) Yakob erëts; he was a priest and a man of letters, a scribe, and a translator.

Texts (verse)
"Olb i veray erkrin Ölahats." *AMH*, 4, 13–21.
"Olb i veray Ewdokia kalakin or ayzhm asi Tôhat." *Hayapatum*, 608–10.

Anthologies
*SUM*, 1, 531–73.

Criticism

YAKOBEAN, ŽAG (1917–)
Born in Jerusalem. Moved to Cairo with his family at an early age and was educated in local Armenian schools. Traveled to Beirut (1938) for medical studies, but World War II forced him to continue his studies in pharmacology in Cairo. Graduated in 1942 and served three years in the Egyptian Army as a chemist. He then lived two years in Melbourne, Australia (1949–51), five years in Cairo (1951–56), ten years in Beirut (1956–65), two more years in Melbourne (1965–67), before making Los Angeles his home in 1967. Since the 1960s, religious themes have been predominant in his verse.

Texts (verse)
*Galmi ćamban*. (Cairo, 1938).
*Melralusin*. (Cairo, 1943).
*Mesropašunch*. (Cairo, 1946).
*Mard më meraw . . .* (Cairo, 1947).
*Veratznund*. (Cairo, 1949).
*Yisus, Kiraki, Hayastaneayts Ekeletsi*. (Beirut, 1959).
*Jahert*. (Beirut, 1964).
*Yisusaboyr*. (Beirut, 1965; Pasadena, 1994).
*Žagapunj*. (Beirut, 1969). (Includes some prose).
*Hayatrop*. (Beirut, 1970).
*Ulunkašar*. (Pasadena, 1983).
*Krunkë kê kanchë*. (Pasadena, 1986).
Hogin haykakan. (Cairo, 1987). (Selections).
Ogin aprilean. (Cairo, 1990). (Selections).
Hayrenatrop. (Cairo, 1992). (Selections).
Hay žolovurdi ogetën zoyg bardzunknerê. (Cairo, 1993). (Selections).
Mesropatrop. (Cairo, 1993). (Selections).
Eötnöreay mah. (Pasadena, 1995).
Anmaš hritak. (Cairo, 1995). (Selections).
Aprileank kșanchorsi. (Cairo, 1995). (Selections).

Translations (English)
Selected Poems. (Cairo, 1988; Pasadena, 1993).

YARTUN ÖLLI (c. 1760–1840)
A native of Asdabad (Chahar Mahall, Isfahan, Iran). An ašul. Was instructed in the art of minstrelsy by both Amir Ölli and Łul Yovhannês (q.q.v.). Made the traditional pilgrimage to the monastery of Surb Karapet in Mus to seek divine grace in the art, a long-standing custom for Armenian minstrels.

Poetry
Ereman, A. Ašul Yartun Ölli. (New Julfa, 1920; Teheran, 1946).
THG, 59–60.
SHA, 213–64.

YARUT́WIWNEAN, ARTASÉS (1873–1915)
Pen names: Karō, Manišak, Pan, Šabēn-Kar, Uruakan.
Born and educated in the town of Malgara, Turkey. A poet and literary critic. In 1912, he moved with his family to Constantinople, taught in Armenian schools, and worked for a French insurance company. He was among the Armenian intellectuals slain in 1915.

Collections
Gišervan čampjordè. (Erevan, 1968).

Texts
Lkuatz knar. (Constantinople, 1902).
Erkunk. (Constantinople, 1906).
Nor knar. (Constantinople, 1912).

Criticism
YOHANNES

Paylak, "Artašes Yarutiwneani 'Nor knare'." *HG*, 1912/2, 29–34.

**YOVASAP SEBASTASI** (c1510–?)
Born in Sebastea (Sivas). A deacon of the Armenian Church. Instructed by his father, who was a scribe and a poet. Emulating his father, he copied manuscripts and wrote poems of love, religion, and history in spoken Armenian.

**Texts (verse)**
"Tał uralbutean, siroy." *TH*, 109–16. (Published anonymously; "Yayn arajın zamanakái").
"Dardzexamples hayeën." *CHE*, 32–35. (Published under the name Yovasap Piwstasi)
"Tër im g'tatz, Astuatz bari..." *A*, 1918, 267.


**Translations**

**FRENCH**
*LPA*, 115–17.
*RA*, 2, 137–49; 3, 139–46.

**RUSSIAN**
*AAP*, 290–92.

**Criticism**


**YOVHANNES JULAYETS** (1643–1715)
Born in Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan, Iran). Also known by the sobriquet "Mrkts" or "Mrguz." Took his holy orders as a vardapet (a celibate priest) in 1669. Had a good command of Arabic and Persian and used the latter in some of his works, many of which are still unpublished. He wrote mainly on philosophical and theological themes and was often involved in theological disputes with Catholic missionaries and Muslim theologians and rulers.

**Texts**
*Girk kamərt vəsn iskapes ew چسمارت haowatoey ew dawantean uñlapař katolikë ew čenthan [sic] Hayastaneayts ekeletswoy. (Nor Julay, 1688; Constantinople, 1713 [two editions]).
Hamarot kerakanutwina ew tramabanutwina. (Amsterdam, 1711).
Girk patmutean. (Calcutta, 1797).
Girk or kočă qrbaznaqortzuwęń. (Madras, 1812).
Criticism

YOVHANNËS KAMENATSI (16th–17th c.)
No biographical information is available on this author, whose written history depicts the Polish-Ottoman War of 1621.

Text

Translations (Russian)

Criticism

YOVHANNËS KARNETSI (c1755–c1820)
No biographical details are available on this poet, save that he was born in Karin (Erzurum) and was a teacher and a scribe. He wrote in both Armenian and Turkish and rendered poetical works from Armenian into Turkish and vice versa.

Texts
“Yałags metzi sovoyn ew slufean . . .” B, 42 (1884), 118–22.
“Karnetsi omn Yarutiwn anun eritasard nahatakeal i ylzmir . . .” HNV, 620–26. (Published as “Yarutiwn Karnetsi”).
“Yałags umemn Varvar anun ariasirt aljkan . . .” HNV, 646–73. (“Patmutiwn Devnêkti nahatakatsn” is a shorter version of this poem).


YOVHANNÊS ŁRIMETSI (d. 1848)
Little is known about this author, who is also referred to as Yovhannês Surencants Pottiantsi. As a secretary and translator, he was active in Ëjmiatzin and helped draft the preliminary version of the Polozhenie (“Statute,” promulgated in 1836), which regulated the affairs of the Armenian Church in the Russian Empire. He was the prelate of the Armenians of Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan, Iran) from the early 1840s until his death.
Yovhannës

Text

Translations (Russian)
Brosset, M. “Opisanie monastyrei Akhpatskago i Sanaginskago, arkhimandrita Ioanna Krymskago” (Description des monastères arméniens d’Haghbat et de Sanahin, par l’archimandrite Jean de Crimée, avec notes et appendice par M. Brosset. VIIe Série, tome VI, no. 6, St. Pétersbourg, 1863; an abridged version of the original).

YOVHANNËS, ĖUL (c.1740–1834)
Birthplace uncertain. An architect and builder by profession, he turned into an itinerant ašul after making the traditional pilgrimage to the monastery of Surb Karapet in Mūsh, where Armenian minstrels went to seek divine grace in the art. Died in Nor Julay (New Julfa, Isfahan, Iran).

Poetry
B, 86 (1929), 48.
Eremeian, A. *Ašul Ėul Yovhannës.* (Venice, 1929).
SHA, 160–212.

Criticism
Eremeian, A. *Ašul Ėul Yovhannës.* (Venice, 1929).
———. “Nor Julayi 18–19 dareşrjani k'ak'akačan dépkerê ew ašul Ėul Yovhannësi patmakan antip tâlerê.” *Ditsawan,* 1 (1923), 124–36.

YOVHANNËS SEBASTATSI (d. 1830)
Presumably born in Sebastea (Sivas, Turkey). Birthdate unknown. Took the vows of celibacy as a vardapet in 1797. Primate of the Armenians of Sebastea from 1809 to 1829. Wrote a history of Sebastea and a number of poems.

Texts
*Nerbolakan nuagergutïwnk yörende i srbazan Yovhannës arkepiskopos Sebastaçswoy.* . . . (Tiflis, 1825).
“Yōhannës Sebastatsi patmich.” *Diwan hayots patmutean,* G. Alaneants, Vol. 10 (Tiflis, 1912), 385–438. (Excerpts from his “History of Sebastea.”)

Criticism

YOVHANNËS VANANDETSI (1772–1840)
Pen name: Yovhannës Vanandetsi.
Born Amirzadê Mirzayean in Van. Educated at the Ktuts monastery on the islet of Ktuts in Lake Van, and in Constantinople, where he resided briefly from 1792 to
1798. Moved to Smyrna, married in 1802, and became a priest in 1817. From the
time of his arrival in Smyrna until his death, he taught at the celebrated Mesropean
school that was founded in 1799.

Texts (poems)
Artsakan Hayastani. (Constantinople, 1836).
Kerakur kahanayits. (Èjmiatzin, 1841).
Oski dar Hayastani. (Smyrna, 1841).
Čar nerbolakan i surb hachen Kristosi. (Moscow, 1853).
Tesaran handisits Haykay, Aramay ew Arayi. (Smyrna, 1856).

Criticism
Oski dar Hayastani, (Smyrna, 1841), 1–16. (Biography).

YOVHANNÉSEAN, SARGIS DPIR [c1735–1805]
Born in Constantinople. Also known as Sargis dpir Saraf Yovhannësean. He
was a teacher by profession and wrote a number of books, some of a historical-
descriptive nature, most of which are still in manuscript form.

Texts
K‘iwrtean, Y. “Kanon‘ ew sahmank‘ Palatu sb. Hreštakapetats ekeletwoyn
(1778ën noragìwt vaweragrutiwn më Sargis dpir Saraf Yovhannëseanë).”
Šolakat, 1952, 112–16.
Vipagrutiwn Kostandnopolis mayrakatalatin. (Jerusalem, 1967). (Previously pub­
lished in Sion; a description of Constantinople).

Criticism
Bampukčean, G. “Sargis dpir Yovhannësean ew ir antip tapanagim u norayayt

YOVHANNÉSEAN, VAHAN (1894–1977)
Born in the village of Tzhalfptila (Akhaltsikhe, Georgia). Joined the Mekhitarist
Congregation of Venice in 1908, and having completed his studies in Rome (1916–
22), he took the vows of celibacy in 1922. Supervised or taught at Mekhitarist
schools in Italy (1922–29), France (1931–37) and Aleppo (1948–55). At the
outbreak of World War II, he was principal of the Armenian school in Addis
Ababa. Drafted into the Italian Army as a chaplain and was captured by the
British. He was released in 1946, returned to Venice, and founded the monthly
Mhitarean ɛntanik in 1947. Primarily a poet, but he also wrote short stories and
plays.

Texts
Hayreni krakaran. (Venice, 1930).
Srteru ergë–Vanki ɛzalikner. (Venice, 1939).
Haykakan giwlê. (Venice, 1948).
Hēlê mardkutiwn. (Venice, 1948).
Tawrosi ariwtzê. (Venice, 1959).
Es u du. (Venice, 1960).
Hogineru hangruanë. (Venice, 1970).
Gayianëi vrežë. (Venice, 1971).
Leñeru ergë. (Venice, 1971).
Lezun or kë meñini. (Venice, 1973).
Erazneru kžin Sûrb Lâzar. (Venice, 1974).

Translations (Italian)

Criticism

YOVHANNISIK TZARETSI (c1560–?)
Very little is known of this priest, also known as Yohanisik Vardapet, whose chronicle reflects historical events in Transcaucasia between 1572 and 1600.

Texts
Samueli kahanayi Anetswoy Hawakmunk i grots patmagrats yalags givti žamanakats antselots minchew i nerkays tzyrakał arareal. A. Tër-Mikelean, (Valaršapat, 1893), 185–200. (Reprint of above).

YOVNAȚAN NAŁAȘ (1661–1722)
Born in the village of Šorot in the region of Nahijewan. A poet and artist. Acquired some formal education at the monastery of Sûrb Tovma in Agulis, but was basically self-taught. Traveled widely, and for a while in the 1710s he was the favorite poet in the Georgian court. Just as vivid as his portraits and murals, his poetry encompassed themes of nature and love, merrymaking and satire.
**Texts**

"Tal urahutean." **Črakal,** 1861, 216.

"Tal i veray katui, zor mkern tani talel." **MKH,** suppl., 45.

"Orhanuivn gelatsi iritsi." **MKH,** suppl., 46.


"Gawaratkan erger. Ginergutivn̄' Nalaş Yovnafani." **M,** 3755 (1885), 657–58 (includes four poems).

"Tal Nalaş Yovnafanê asatseal." **M,** 3789 (1885), 208.

"Julayetsik' ank', ku partzenk." **Lumay,** 1899, 275–76.

"Grem kartes yoyž obali." **Lumay,** 1899, 276–80.

"Govem srtiw urahakan." **Lumay,** 1899, 280–82. ("Govasank Gurjustanoy").

Chöpanean, A. **Nalaş Yovnafan asulê ew Yovnafan Yovnafanean nkarîchê.** (Paris, 1910).

Mkryan, M. **13–18 dareri hay ašharhik grakanutyun.** (Erevan, 1938), 235–70.


Abrahamyan, R. "Nalaş Hovnafani mi anhayt banasteltzutyunê." **T,** 1956/1, 95–100.


Mnatsakanyan, A. **Tater.** (Erevan, 1983).

**Translations**

**FRENCH**

**CPA,** 109.

**LPA,** 147–48.

**RA,** 2, 283–95.

**TA,** 24–47.

**RUSSIAN**

**AAP,** 304–12.

**BPA,** 218–21.

**Criticism**


Dr. Bazil. "Yovnafan Nalaş." **B,** 69 (1911), 476–78.


———. "Nalaş Hovnafani taleri šaraharutyamb bard nañadasutyunnerê." **PBH,** 1985/2, 138–44.


Işhanyan, R. "Nalaş Hovnafani steltzagortzutyan lezvakan bnuťagirê." **L,** 1972/1, 40–50.


**ZAKARIA AGULETSI** (1630–c1691)
A merchant born in Agulis, Nakhijevan, Zakaria kept a detailed diary of his travels in the Middle East and Western Europe.

**Text**
*Aguletsu Oragrutyunè*. (Erevan, 1938). (Diary).

**Translations (Russian)**
*Dnevnik Zakariia Agulisskogo*. (Erevan, 1939).

**Criticism**

**ZAKARIA, EPISKOPOS GNUNEATS** (16th c.)
Born in the village of Hžiž on the shores of lake Van, hence his sobriquet, “Hžižetsi.” Also identified as “Lmetsi,” for his possible religious and educational association with the island of Lim in Lake Van, and as Zakaria “Gnutisi” for having briefly been bishop of the ancient Gnuneats province north of Lake Van. He is believed to have studied at Altamar, where he may have mastered the art of copying and illuminating manuscripts. It appears that he visited Rome. He was in Constantinople in the 1540s, but no other details are known about the latter part of his life.

**Texts (verse)**
“I kēn tēr haytsem, hayr gťakan.” *MPT*, 20–22.

**Translations (French anthologies)**
*RA*, 2, 123–32.

**ZAKARIA KANAKEERTSI** (1627–c1699)
Born in Kanakeîr (now a northern suburb of the Armenian capital). Studied at Yovhannavank (near Aštarak, Armenia). A deacon of the Armenian Church. Devoted his life to teaching. His history seems to be his only written work.

**Text**

**Translations (Russian)**
ZARDAREAN, HRACH (1892–1986)
Born in Harput, Turkey. Son of Ruben Zardarean (q.v.). Attended some of the distinguished Armenian schools of the time: Sanasarean (Karin), Kedronakan (Constantinople), and when he escaped his father’s fate and found safety in Transcaucasia, he resumed his studies at the Nersisean of Tiflis, the Georgian seminary at Ejmiatzin, and the district school in Erevan. Took up residence in Paris, attended courses at the Sorbonne, and eventually specialized in dentistry. Numerous short stories and other writings by him are still scattered in the periodical press.

 texts
Topchyan, Al. Mer kyankë. (Erevan, 1982). (Articles).

works in periodicals
Z, 1 (1938/3), 17; 4, 27; 5, 37.

ZARDAREAN, RUBEN (1874–1915)
Pen names: Adhk Ehovayi, Aslan, Ètzahar, and others.
Born in Siverek, Turkey; educated in Harput. Taught in Armenian schools. Incarcerated in 1903 for suspected political activities. Fled to Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1905, and published the periodical Razmik (1906–09). Returned to Constantinople in 1909 and launched the daily Azatamart (1909–15). In this period, journalism and political activities absorbed most of his attention and left him with no time to add to his small but fine literary writings. Participated in the Congress of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Daşnaktsûtïwn), held in Erzurum in 1914. He was arrested by the Young Turk regime on the night of 24 April 1915, and was put to death a little later in the year.

collections

texts
Metraget. (Constantinople, 1914).
Tsaygaluys. (Erevan, 1959).

Criticisms
Works in periodicals


**Nawasard**, 1914, 7–18.


Translations

**ENGLISH**


**FRENCH**


**ITALIAN**


**RUSSIAN**


**Criticism**


Orberean, R. “Vaḥ, es mernëi.” *AM*, 1902, 205–9. (Criticism of work of the same title).


Rubēn Zardareani ‘Baygaloyse’. (Constantinople, 1913).
ZARKEAR, (1824–1874)
Pen name: Zarkear.
Abraham, whose surname is unknown, was born in Shemakha (now in Azerbaijan). An ašul who resided in Baku for most of his life.

Poetry

Zarkeari knare. (Baku, 1909).

THG, 165–72.
ZARYAN, KOSTAN (1885–1969)

Born Kostan Eliazaryan in Shemakha, now in Azerbaijan. Educated in a Russian school in Baku (1890–95). Pursued his higher studies in Paris (1895–1901), and in Brussels (1901–04). Learned Armenian in Venice (1910–13); went to the Ottoman capital, and published, jointly with colleagues such as Yakob Öşakan (q.v.), the short-lived periodical Mehean. Fortuitously escaped the fate of his colleagues, slaughtered in 1915 on orders from the Young Turk ruling circles, and lived in Italy for a while. Returned to Constantinople after World War I and published another short-lived periodical, Bardzravank (1922) jointly with V. Tëkéean, Y. Öşakan and others. Took up residence with his family in Soviet Armenia in 1922, but returned to the West, having taught for three years at the University of Erevan. From 1925 to his second and final return to Soviet Armenia in 1961, he lived in Italy, France, the United States, and the Middle East. Published The Armenian Quarterly (1946) in the United States and lectured on Armenian studies at Columbia University (1944–46). Despite recent publications, some of his work still lies buried in periodicals.

Collections


Erker. (Erevan, 1985).

Texts
Öreri psakē. (Constantinople, 1922; Beirut, 1971). (Verse).

Tutragomi harsē. (Boston, 1930; Erevan, 1965). (Poem).

Erek erger aselu hamar vištē erkri ew vištē erkni. (Vienna, 1931). (Verse).

Nawē leran vray. (Boston, 1943; Erevan, 1963 [revised ed.]). (Novel).


Works in periodicals

Nawasard, 1914, 132–33.

HK, 4 (1925–26/2), 23–33; 4, 40–41; 7, 7–9; 11, 10–12. 7 (1928–29/11), 1–12. 8 (1929–30/2), 55. 6, 1–44.

ANA, 1929/1, 8–13; 4, 37–38.


Zaryan

Ani, 1 (1946), 57.

Translations

**ENGLISH**
———. *Bancoop & the Bones of the Mammoth*. (New York, 1982).
———. *The Island & a Man*. (Toronto, 1983).
(Excerpts).

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
(Translation of the original 1943 edition).

**RUSSIAN**

**Criticism**

**ZARYAN, NAIRI** (1900–1969)

Pen name: Nairi Zaryan.
Hayastan Eliazaryan was born in Հարակոնիս, a village near Van. Losing his parents to the horrors of 1915, he fled to Eastern Armenia and found shelter in orphanages in Dilijan and Erevan. Participated in the defense of Eastern Armenia against the Turkish onslaught of 1918. Graduated from the State University of Erevan (1927), pursued his higher studies in Leningrad, and practiced journalism for a while. President of the Union of Soviet Writers of Armenia, 1944–46. He also held various political positions (deputy, etc.) in local party and government organizations, traveled abroad extensively, and was decorated on numerous occasions.

**Collections**
*Haiêntir*. (Erevan, 1951).

**Texts (verse, prose, and plays)**
*Hranuşê*. (Erevan, 1925).
Zaryan

Jrantski kapuyt erkrum. (Erevan, 1926).
Noyemberyan örerin. (Tiflis, 1926).
Chin adjik. (Erevan, 1926).
Harvatzner. (Erevan, 1933).
Ôdachu Hanrin. (Erevan, 1934).
Amrots. (Erevan, 1935).
Haveršakan gagatner. (Erevan, 1939).
Dyutsaznagirké. (Erevan, 1940).
Mankakan. (Erevan, 1940).
Aršak ev Šapuh. (Erevan, 1941, 1943).
Martakoch. (Erevan, 1941).
Vreč. (Erevan, 1942).
Ţasman zavaké. (Erevan, 1942).
Lsek, darer. (Erevan, 1943).
Dzayn hayrenakan. (Erevan, 1943).
Šikatsatz hogov. (Erevan, 1943).
Hitleré zooparkum. (Erevan, 1944).
Amenagazan. (Erevan, 1947).
Tnamerdz aygi. (Erevan, 1947).
Albyuri mot. (Erevan, 1950).
Armenuhi. (Erevan, 1950).
Ulegrutyuner. (Erevan, 1953).
Arev u stver. (Erevan, 1957).
Paron Petros u ir nahararneré. (Erevan, 1958).
Du indz kGINEstres. (Erevan, 1965).
Spasum ekez. (Erevan, 1968).
Erkrord kyank. Inknapatum. (Erevan, 1982).

Translations

**ENGLISH**

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**
SAP, 14–17.

**FRENCH**

**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**
Gamarra, P. E, 72–78.
LPA, 288–97.

**GERMAN**
ZÖHRAP, GRIGOR (1861—1915)
Born in Constantinople. Educated in Armenian elementary and secondary schools. Studied engineering and law at higher institutions in his native city. Eminently active in public life as a writer, a journalist, a brilliant and audacious lawyer, and an illustrious professor of law. Elected to the Ottoman Parliament.

RUSSIAN
Antokol’skii, P. Vechnye vershiny. Stikhi. (Moscow, 1940).
Ara Prekrasnyi. (Moscow, 1947).
Aramuni. Poema. (Moscow, 1953).
David Sasunskii. Povest’ po motivam arm. eposa. (Moscow, 1968).
Golos rodyiny. (Erevan, 1944).
Dudintseva, V., and Taronian, A. Gospodin Petros i ego ministry. (Moscow, 1961).
Ia doma. Stikhi i poemy. (Moscow, 1960).
Izbrannoje. (Moscow, 1949).
Izbrannoje. [Moscow, 1954].
Izbrannyye stikhi. (Moscow, 1937).
Izbrannyye proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1947).
Opymoe pole. (Moscow, 1956).
Otchii dom. Izbr. stikhi i poemy. ([Moscow], 1958).
Stikhi. (Moscow, 1963).
Serebriakov, K. Tam tsvela vishnia. lapon, ocherki. (Moscow, 1965).

SPANISH

CRITICISM
———. ”Nairi Zaryani ulegitzê.” SG, 1980/12, 104–25.
———. Nairi Zaryan. (Erevan, 1982).
in 1908 and distinguished himself as an eloquent orator and a dedicated public figure. Stood up for his fellow countrymen and was stunned by the carnage in Adana, coming so soon after the dawn of freedom and fraternity as proclaimed by the Young Turks. Instrumental in reviving the Armenian Question in the early 1910s. He was arrested on 20 May 1915, a few weeks after the collective round-up of Armenian intelligentsia on 24 April 1915, and was brutally murdered in the interior a few weeks later.

Collections

Amböjakan hawakatzo y noravēperu ew patmuatzkneru. (Constantinople, 1959).
Amböjakan erker. 2d ed. (Beirut, 1971).

Texts

Keankê inchpës or ê. (Constantinople, 1911; Beirut, 1959, 1975). (Stories).
Lur tsawer. (Constantinople, 1911; Beirut, 1956, 1971). (Stories).
La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents. (Paris, 1913). (Published under the pseudonym Marcel Léart).
Êjer ulewori më ôragrën. (Smyrna, 1922; Beirut, 1959). (Travel notes).
Potorikê. (Constantinople, 1924). (Story).
Mer keankê . . . (Constantinople, 1945).

Translations

ENGLISH
Andreassian, K. “Submission.” Armenia, 4 (1911/12), 16.

FRENCH
GERMAN
AN, 5–21.

RUSSIAN
Salakhian, A. Novelly. (Moscow, 1962).

RUSSIAN ANTHOLOGIES
DILS, 57–152.
KHAH, 1, 3–20; 2, 3–26.
RAN, 26–40.

Criticism
Alpöyačean, A. Anhetatsol demker: Grigor Zöhrap (ir keankë ev ir gortzë.) (Constantinople, 1919).
Ekplitatean, M. “Grigor Zöhrapi keankën.” HK, 29 (1951/10), 38–53.
Mamurean, H. “Masis ew A. Mamul.” AM, 1900, 494–95.
M[mamurean], M. “Mi urpa tahyan [ē]?” AM, 1900, 650–52.
———. Grigor Zöhrap. (Beirut, 1959).
ZORYAN, STEPan (1889–1967)

Pen names: St. Roöffor, Stepan Zoryan.

Born Stepan Aräkelyan, a native of Larak’ilisa (Kirovakan under the Soviets, but renamed Vanadzor following Armenia’s independence). Educated locally. Moved to Tiflis in 1906 and worked mainly as a journalist. From 1919 until his death, he lived in Erevan, holding numerous academic, cultural, editorial, journalistic, administrative, and political positions locally and in some all-Union organizations. Elected to the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1965. An annual state prize named after him, for translations from or into Armenian, was established in 1980.

Collections

Erkeri žolovatzu. 6 vols. (Erevan, 1940–54).
Patmvatzkiner. (Erevan, 1980).

Texts (prose)

Thur mardik. (Tiflis, 1918). (Patmvatzkiner, vol. 1).
Erkatulin. (Moscow, 1925).
Helkomi naňagahë. (Erevan, 1926).
Tzovanë. (Moscow, 1926).
Elektrakan lampë. (Erevan, 1927).
Huzan Arson. (Erevan, 1928).
Chalankë. (Erevan, 1930).
Vardadžori komunë. (Erevan, 1930).
Mi gišer antažum. (Erevan, 1931).
Heros komunarë. (Erevan, 1932).
Spitak kalak. (Erevan, 1932).
Dzmrän gišer. (Erevan, 1935).
Sev Seton. (Erevan, 1935).
Pordzank. (Erevan, 1936).
Haloš ayguyn. (Erevan, 1937).
Šamon. (Erevan, 1937).
Tnörmnek ev urtiš patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1937).
Vanuşè. (Erevan, 1938).
Šunn u katun. (Erevan, 1940).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1941; Aleppo, 1950).
Smbat Bagratuni. (Erevan, 1941).
Pokriš patmvatzkner. (Erevan, 1944).
Hrašali sringē. (Erevan, 1945; Cairo, 1960).
Parz hoginer. (Erevan, 1945).
Melkē. (Cairo, 1946).
Sarašeni tlnerē. (Erevan, 1951).
Hekiatner. (Erevan, 1957).
Hayots berdē. (Erevan, 1959; Beirut, 1960).
Savarnol droš. (Erevan, 1960).
Varazdat. (Erevan, 1967).
Im Tumanyanē. (Erevan, 1969).

Translations

**ENGLISH**

“A Mother.” International Literature (later SL), 1943/6, 43–45.

**ENGLISH ANTHOLOGIES**

WM, 63–101.

**FRENCH**


**FRENCH ANTHOLOGIES**


**GERMAN**

Löffler, G. Sterne hinter den Bergen. (Berlin, 1962). (Slightly abridged).

**GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES**

AN, 124–69.
RUSSIAN
Babaian, A. Devushka iz biblioteki. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930).
———. Devushka iz biblioteki. (Erevan, 1939).
Ioannisian, A. Tsar’ Pap. Ist. roman. (Moscow, 1946; Erevan, 1967).
Izbrannye novelly. (Erevan, 1948).
Izbrannye proizvedeniia. (Moscow, 1956).
Izbrannye rasskazy. (Tiflis, 1934).
Khachatriants, Ia. Belyi gorod. (Moscow, 1933).
———. Iablonevyi sad. Povesti i rasskazy. (Moscow, 1948).
Krylatoe znamia. (Moscow, 1954).
Obitateli belogo doma. Rasskazy i povesti. (Erevan, 1937).
Povesti i rasskazy. (Moscow, 1952).
Predsedatel’ revkoma. Rasskaz. (Tiflis, 1934).
Rasskazy dlia detei. (Erevan, 1946, 1952).
Tadeosian, A. Sem’ia Amirianov. (Moscow, 1967).
Ter-Martirosian, A. Rasskazy. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1930).
U kolodisa. Smert’ Oana. (Tiflis, 1934).
Zimniaia noch’. (Tiflis, 1936).

SPANISH

Criticism
Hovsepyan, G. Stepan Zoryani steltzagortzutyunë. (Erevan, 1951).
---. Stepan Zoryan, tasakan tvakanner. (Erevan, 1960).
Ter-Sarkisian, L. “Sintaksis originala i perevod: (Roman S. Zor’iana “Tsar’ Pap” v perevodakh na rus. iazyk.” BEH, 1989/1, 205–12.
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Avakian, A. *Armenia and the Armenians in academic dissertations*. (Berkeley, CA, 1974, 1987 [suppl.]).
Babadzhanian, R. Armeniia i armianskaia kul’tura v dorevoliutsionnykh izdaniakh Akademii nauk SSSR (bibliografiia). (Erevan, 1974).

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Bibliographies


Dwight, H. G. O. “Catalogue of all works known to exist in the Armenian language of a date earlier than the seventeenth century.” *JAOS*, 3 (1853), 241–88.


*Erevani petakan hamalsaranı hratarakutyunneri bibliografiya*. Erevan, 1964–.


*Ferhatean, P. Tsutsak hayagatikan hratarakuteants yEwropa*. (Vienna, 1919).


*Grki taregir*. (Erevan, 1936–).


Hakobyan, G., and Ishanyan, R. *Girkē Sovetakan Hayastanun: matenagitutyun*.


Bibliographies


Patcanian, M. “Catalogue de la littérature arménienne depuis le commencement du IV. siècle jusque vers le milieu du XVII.” MA, 4 (Petersburg, 1860), 75–134.


Salmaslian, A. Bibliographie de l’Arménie. (Paris, 1946; Erevan, 1968 [revised ed.]).


Sovetahay gradaranagitakan bibliografia 40 tarum. (Erevan, 1962).


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5

Special Topics
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———. “Hay zolovrdakan hekiafneri graîman patmufy units.” BEH, 1986/1, 126–33. (On the process of transcribing folktales).
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_Chekhov i literatura narodov Sovetskogo Soiuza_. (Erevan, 1982).
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Bahatrecan, A. *Hin hayots talachapakan aruestê, knnakan tesutiwn.* (Šuši, 1891).


Gasapcean, S. *Talachaputiwn ardi hayerên lezvi, handerz tzanöruteamb chapta-kan ew šeštel otanawomeru vray.* (Constantínople, 1895).


Hiwrm[iwz], E. “Haykakan talachaptutiwn.” *B*, 31 (1873), 97–106.


Nazlean, Y. *Knnakan usumnasirutiwn ew ŋtatsk bnik-hay talachaptutean.* (Cairo, 1959).


Ruben vardapet. “Hetanos Hayastani ašharhik ergeri talachaptutyunê ekeletshakan ergerum.” *EI*, 1944/7–9, 27–32.


Tirakean, Y. *Haykakan talachaptutiwn.* (New York, 1918).


Note to the reader: There are two contemporary literary Armenian standards: Eastern (spoken in the Republic of Armenia, the former soviet dispersion, and Iran, and, in recent decades, notably in Northern America as well) and Western (spoken by the descendants of the survivors of the genocide of 1915, now dispersed throughout the world). Of the many differences between these two standards two are of central relevance to us here: the phonetic and orthographic systems. Eastern Armenian has maintained the phonetic values of Classical Armenian but uses a new spelling system. Western Armenian has maintained the traditional spelling system of Classical Armenian but not all of its phonetic values. The following brief and simplified explanations of the shifts in the phonetic values and of a few fundamental spelling differences are meant to help the reader find an entry for an author in an easier fashion.

1. Basically, the following two columns of consonants have “reversed” their sounds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>w̥</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>q̣</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ŋ̣</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>Δ̣</td>
<td>ts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>ʒ̣</td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The “Western” consonants in the first column are pronounced the same way as the following corresponding aspirated consonants: ʰp = p; ʰp = k; ʰp = t; g = ts; ʒ = ch; hence, the “identical” pairs of consonants in Western Armenian and some of the spelling difficulties faced by students of Western Armenian. Here are some examples to illustrate the resulting differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Eastern pronunciation</th>
<th>Western pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Տերենց</td>
<td>Tzerents</td>
<td>Dz erents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Կյուրեկեան</td>
<td>Կյուրեկեան</td>
<td>J ūurean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Պարոնեան</td>
<td>Paronean</td>
<td>B aronean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բաճիեալեան</td>
<td>Bašinjalean</td>
<td>P ašin ch alean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Գաբրիեալեան</td>
<td>Gabriélean</td>
<td>K a p riélean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Կամսարական</td>
<td>Kamsarakian</td>
<td>G amsara g an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The transcription system in this Guide follows the Classical/Eastern phonetic system; consequently, the names mentioned above, for instance, should be looked up under the forms listed under “Eastern pronunciation.”

2. As for the soviet orthographic reform, one principal change is very important to remember. The system reduced the dual phonetic value of the letter “y” (j, ǝ) to one sound: y. In traditional spelling it is pronounced as an “h” at the beginning of a word and as a “y” in the middle of words (its value in final position is not of much relevance here); thus, Փոփխում is pronounced as “Hakob” or “Hagop” (Western), and Ծխվա as “ays.” The new system spells this and similar words beginning with a “y” (e.g., Յովհաննէս) with an “h” instead (Hovhannes), while leaving the phonetic value of “y” unchanged in middle position. Also, the letter “y” replaced the letter բ = e in the diphthong բու = ea (always pronounced “ya”); hence the “yan” in surnames: Simonyan, as opposed to the traditional Simonean. But this and similar changes, such as the replacement in the middle of words of “ǝ” with “e,” as in “Տերեն-Տերյան”; of “ö” with “o,” as in “Պոլոսեան-Պոլոսյան”; of “w” with “v,” as in “Ավետիսեան-Ավետիսյան” (the system did away with “w” as a separate, independent letter); of “u+vowel” with “v+vowel,” as in “Մանուելեան-Մանվելյան”; of the diphthong “iw” with “yu” when followed by a consonant in the middle of a word, as in “Յարուֆունեան-Յարուֆունյան”; etc., are less crucial to this index since they occur in middle or rearward positions in names.
Index I
Principal Authors

This is an author list and an index of all the principal Armenian writers featured, discussed, or referred to in both the narrative and bio-bibliographical parts of this Guide; of their pen names; and of some variant forms of their names (i.e., Armenian forms rendered in accordance with Western Armenian phonetic values, and/or general, "unscientific" rendering of such forms into English, French, Russian, and other languages.) The latter are cross-referenced to names appearing in this index only, but most of these names are found in Index II as well. Such cross references nearly always appear without the Armenian surname endings ean, ian, yan (e.g., Hagop. See Hakob; Yakob). Authors' real names and pen names are listed, with cross references to the form used as the primary entry. Also listed are individual titles analyzed or referred to in the narrative part of the guide and critical literature by principal authors listed under "Criticism" in the bio-bibliographical section.

Names in bold capital letters are those of the principal authors. Page numbers in bold italics refer to the discussion of the work of an author and/or to the bio-bibliographical entry for the author. Works are listed under the Armenian title; English translations are cross-referenced to the Armenian. Both traditional and new (reformed or "soviet") orthography have been maintained.

A.A. See Antonean, Aram (1875–1951)
A. Azataohean. See Têmirçipâsea, Elia (1851–1908)
A. Ş. See Şaklyan, Aris (1900–1959)
A. Tzar. See Tzarukean, Andranik (1913–1989)
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This index is necessarily selective. It is chiefly an index of critics and literary historians whose writings appear under “Criticism” in the bio-bibliographical part and in parts 3, 4, and 5 of this Guide. As a general rule, editors and translators have been excluded, but exceptions have been inevitable. This index also includes all critics and authors, Armenian and non-Armenian alike, to whom or to whose works references have been made in the narrative part. This is in addition an index, not always exhaustive, of certain subjects and place names. Only a single reference is made to names occurring more than once on the same page. Armenian clergymen are listed by their first name.

No cross-references are made to Armenian surname endings ean, ian, yan (though they are used to distinguish identical Eastern and Western Armenian forms), nor to diacritical marks that do not essentially alter the phonetic value of a letter, nor to inconsistencies in spelling (e.g., P è chikean / P e chkean). Thus, the traditional Tèrtèren, and the reformed Tertryan, are grouped together. Only a few cross-references are given from the variant forms of Armenian names with a view to complementing the extensive list of such references in Index I.

Due mainly to the lack of certain letters in the Russian script, Russian forms of Armenian names pose a major problem. Thus, Hakobyan/Yakobian is rendered as Akopian, Janpoladian as Dzhanpoladian, Lazaryan as Kazarian, etc. If the bearer of such a surname writes exclusively or mostly in Russian, and no other authors with the same name are found in the index, no cross-references are given to the corresponding Armenian form of that name (e.g. Agaian / Ağayan). If, however, the author writes solely in Armenian, or in both Armenian and Russian, or his/her Armenian writings are frequently translated into Russian, a cross-reference is made from the Russian form to the main Armenian entry (e.g., Dzhrbashian, E. / Jrbaşyan, Êd.). Diacritical marks and slight variations in spelling and transcription systems (e.g. Armenian “š,” “ž” = Russian “sh,” “kh”) are disregarded if both first and last names of the same author are, or appear to be, identical (e.g. Terzibaşyan, V[ahram] / Terzibashian, V[agram]; Gaissarian, S. / Gaisarian, S.; Ayvazyan / Aivazian; Aleksanean-Aleksanian-Aleksanyan; Amirhanian / Amirkhanian). A cross-reference is provided if the initial letter or both or either of the last or first names is different in the Russian form (e.g., Khachatrian / Հաչատրյան; Orbeli, H[ovsep] / Örbeli, H[vosep]).
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