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The current issue of the "Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies" includes researches on the ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary history of the countries of the Southwest Asia, as well as issues of source studies, archaeology and linguistics. A considerable part is devoted to the ongoing developments and processes in the Eurasian region. The periodical may be of interest for the orientologists, specialists in the field of Armenology and International Relations.

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ԲԱՆՔԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ (ԲԱԻ)

Տպագրվում է ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի գիտական խորհրդի որոշմամբ

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COMPUTER MODELING IN ARCHAEOLOGY: THE CASE OF BRONZE AND IRON AGE MONUMENTAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF ARMENIA*

*Hayk Avetisyan, Artak Gnuni, Levon Mkrtchyan,
Arsen Bobokhyan*

Abstract

The given contribution is devoted to the problem of computer modeling in archaeology. The territory of the Republic of Armenia is chosen as a target zone for investigations, which is considered in the context of historical and cultural developments of the neighboring countries. The chronological range of the given study is the Bronze and Iron Ages (3rd-1st millennia BC). The principles of computer modeling are applicable to the investigation of monumental architecture (fortifications, towers, cairns, kites, kurgans, dolmens), aiming at reconstructing both the complexes of the monuments and the historical landscape.

Keywords: *Archaeology, Computer, GIS system, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Armenia, “Cyclopean” constructions, Artsakh, Syunik.*

The statement of the issue and the perspectives of the investigation

This research is dedicated to the study of the traditions of the earliest monumental architecture in the territory of the Republic of Armenia, which is considered in the context of similar constructions in neighboring regions. In chronological sense the research focuses on the Bronze and Iron Ages (from 3rd to the beginning of the 1st millennia BC), which reflects the Kura-Araxes, Trialeti as well as the Lchashen-Metsamor cultural traditions.

The choice of the research topic is conditioned by the actuality of the scientific issue. Particularly, this study implies a theoretical, historical-archaeological and fieldwork investigation of the monumental architecture and

* The article was submitted on May 8, 2021: The article was reviewed on May 20, 2021.

then, as a result of it, a practical modeling and reconstruction of the relevant constructions and landscapes, which became a dominant direction in the current archaeological investigations. The actuality of the project specifically for Armenia is conditioned by the fact that Armenian archaeological heritage has never been systematically studied from the viewpoint of computer modeling. Thus, the supposed topic acquires both scientific-academic and practical significance in the context of publicizing archaeological knowledge and museification of the results.

The study of the monumental architecture is one of the important issues of modern archaeology, allowing to ascertain numerous problems connected to the social-economic and spiritual-cultural developments of ancient societies. Specifically in our case, the appearance of similar structures is considered in a contact zone of the ancient world, where the interactions between the farming civilizations of the Near East with the Eurasian steppe dwellers took place. The earliest monumental constructions of Armenia are mentioned in the travel notes of previous centuries alluding to their richness¹. In particular, Tavernier mentions a powerful fortress on the slopes of Ararat². Taghiadian and Parrot were the first who described the monumental cemeteries on the top of L. Ararat³. Haxthausen describes monumental structures (alignment, kurgans, and tower) not far from Yerevan: perhaps in Yeghvard. He was one of the first to use the term cyclopean architecture⁴. Berger mentions the importance of investigation of Syunik and Vayots Dzor alignments⁵. But the scientific study of monumental architecture began only at the end of the 19th century⁶. During the past century numerous papers appeared, where both the separate units⁷

¹ **Srvandzteants** 1862–1863: 88.

² **Tavernier** 1678: 16–20.

³ **Parrot** 1990: 97–99, **Taghiadian** 1846: 104.

⁴ **Haxthausen** 1857: 215–217.

⁵ **Berger** 1874: 43

⁶ **Ivanovski** 1911; **Atrpet** 1914; **Kalantar** 1925; **Barkhudaryan** 1935; **Piotrovski, Gyuzalyan** 1933; **Piotrovski** 1949.

⁷ **Khazdaryan** 1969, 1973, 1979; **Khachatryan** 1975; **Sardaryan** 1967, 2004; **Simonyan** 2013.

and the subzones of their spreading⁸ were discussed. The present literature creates opportunities for syntheses⁹. At the same time, essential acquisitions were attested in the study of monumental constructions of the Caucasus¹⁰, and especially that of the fortification systems.

During the last years, an attempt was made to summarize the available material on the one hand, and on the other hand, to put new materials into circulation. Significantly, since 1996 several dozens of monumental constructions (fortresses, towers, kites, cairns, alignments, cromlechs) were investigated in the territory of Armenia and Artsakh, particularly in the provinces of Aragatsotn, Shirak, Armavir, Vayots Dzor, Syunik, as well as Karvachar and Kashatagh regions. Separate cells of these constructions have been distinguished in different regions of Armenia: investigations allow us to consider several local-chronological versions. Aerial photographs of some monuments were realized, particularly in the southern regions of the Republic of Armenia and Artsakh. Preliminary mapping of the corresponding monuments of Armenia was realized by GIS system. The results of the mentioned investigations were partially published¹¹.

In spite of all this, numerous issues connected to the history of development of monumental structures still remain unsolved. Among them are:

The issue of origin of monumental constructions.

The issue of appearance, as well as socio-economic and political significance of the so-called “Cyclopean” constructions.

The issue of using various construction methods and techniques in different regions.

The extravert and intravert building of settlement cells, formation of separate fortified cells and their possible connections.

⁸ **Mikaelyan** 1968; **Khachatryan** 1975; **Esayan** 1976; **Biscione et al.** 2002; **Badalyan, Avetisyan** 2007; **Smith et al.** 2009; **Sanamyan** 2010.

⁹ **Areshyan et al.** 1996; **Kushnareva** 1996.

¹⁰ **Rasulogli** 1993; **Narimanashvili** 2009, **Reinhold** 2009.

¹¹ **Avetisyan et al.** 2014; **Avetisyan et al.** 2015a,b; **Avetisyan et al.** 2016; **Gnuni** 2010; **Gnuni, Khachatryan** 2010; **Gnuni et al.** 2011; **Gharibyan et al.** 2011; **Sargsyan et al.** 2014; **Avetisyan** 2012.

The issue of relations of monumental structures with the socio-economic and spiritual-cultic parts.

Ancient routes.

The issue of the relations of monumental constructions in different regions and their historical-cultural subtext.

Based on the above mentioned points the purposes of this investigation are:

To introduce the peculiarities of the monumental architecture of the Bronze and Iron Age Armenia in the context of synchronous Near Eastern and Caucasian regions, and to explain the paradigms of the existence or the absence of monumentalism in mountainous zones.

To separate and describe the types of monumental constructions in spatial and chronological context.

To consider the sphere of spreading of “Cyclopean” constructions, finding out the reasons of the origin of monumental way of thinking¹².

To describe the landscapes typical to the “Cyclopean” constructions, their natural and anthropogenic elements, comparing them with the examples of other regions, as well as, in accordance with this, and to map the fortresses and fortified settlements by using the GIS system.

To consider the monumental way of thinking in the context of historical and cultural relations and to visualize all this by the means of modern computer technologies.

The main purpose of such investigation is the modeling of the materials obtained by the archaeological research through three-dimensional images and videos. The need for modeling arises when the study of the object itself is difficult¹³. The graphic modeling of the archaeological objects aims at presenting to the public the history and the “trajectory” of development of the studied area and its features in a visible way¹⁴. Reconstruction and visualization of the historical units are perspective in the museum work, for

¹² For theoretical questions cf. **Trigger** 1990.

¹³ **Chernosvitov** 1989: 23.

¹⁴ **Chernosvitov** 1989: 23.

the development of tourism has a practical significance in the didactic-enlightenment field from the point of view of preservation of historical values and their dissemination. Important are in this context the graphic presentation of archaeological information facilitates, the process of getting acquainted with cultural values, giving a person the opportunity to acquire knowledge through bright. This is a modern method of being present in a virtual information system. Within this framework works are carried out in different regions of Armenia: Armavir (Haytagh, Arshaluys, Shresh Blur-Norakert), Aragatsotn (Ujan, Avan, Kosh, Voskehat, Shamiram, Parpi, Mughni, Lazaravan, Aragatsavan, Arteni), Kotayk (Kaputan, Oshakan, Aramus, Kamaris), Vayots Dzor (Spitak Kar, Kapuyt, Gomk), Syunik (Harzhis, Khoznavar) and Gegharkunik (Sotk, Artanish). The modeling of monumental architecture is a promising field of work, as it implies the possibility of large-scale reconstructions.

Working methods

In order to realize the mentioned steps the following methods are used:

The first stage of the study is the formulation of the problem and the study of the sources¹⁵, primarily cartographic ones. In this context, the method of studying the “Google earth” system with three-dimensional space photos is applicable. Suspicious points are compared with 1:25 000 and 1:50 000 topographic maps, supplemented by the information contained in them. The opposite process also takes place: the separate cemeteries, ruins, which are mostly abandoned villages or castles, are combined with space photos¹⁶.

Field surveys, documentation of monuments, if necessary, test trenchings, on the basis of which the constructive features of the structures and their components are to be theoretically defined.

Aerial photography of the monuments and their measurement. This method allows not only fixing the modern landscape and outlining the

¹⁵ Cf. **Kvirkveliya, Radilovski** 1994: 10.

¹⁶ **Sargsyan et al.** 2014: 150.

boundaries of large archaeological sites, but also it allows noticing the ancient riverbeds and irrigation systems¹⁷.

Classification, dating, drawing of the investigated objects.

Mapping of monuments by using GIS system with definition of landscape peculiarities¹⁸. A map is a mean of establishing patterns of distribution and relationship of archaeological complexes. In addition, archaeological maps are pivotal in solving issues of paleoecology and the relationship between humans and the environment¹⁹.

Preparing of available data for modeling.

As a result of working with the materials, renderings of models of constructions is created with different angles, from outside to inside: For getting 3D models Agisoft PhotoScan and Pix4Dmapper is applied, maps of altitudes are realized through Global Mapper, mapping and data base – through QGIS.

Based on the final processing of materials, appropriate three-dimensional models and videos are created.

Existing revisions are used in the final publications, enriching the scientific text, as well as in popularization of the material acquired.

Conclusion

Digital archaeology is a popular direction in today's world and such studies are being done in Armenia as well. However, these researches have never been systematic. The mentioned cooperation and the combination of the joint results increases the efficiency of research and representation, as well as creates a basis for applying the obtained images not only for scientific, but also for educational purposes. The results can be used to arouse interest among the public.

The result of the digital modeling of the archaeological monuments of Armenia will be composed of the catalogue of the monumental constructions of Armenia and a corresponding distribution map, modeling of the target

¹⁷ Doyel 1979: 15-17, 47-63; Avetisyan et al. 2019: 97.

¹⁸ Conolly, Lake 2006; Avetisyan et al. 2019: 97-98.

¹⁹ Lbova 1989: 181.

monuments and their landscapes and reconstruction of ancient routes. A work which aims at reconstructing the features of monumental constructions and introducing them in their landscape, historical and cultural context, while making the data available for the public by computer modeling has a great innovative potential.

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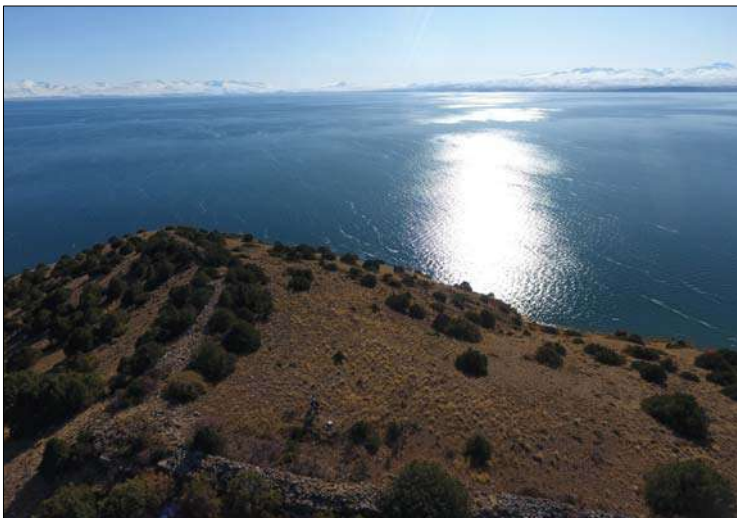
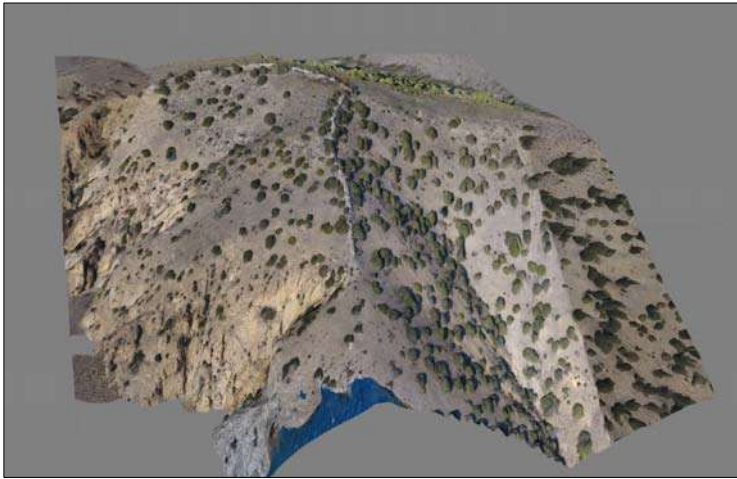
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Fig. 1. Preliminary example of computer modeling.

Air photo of Artanish peninsula fortress and its 3D/computer animation reconstruction



**ՀԱՄԱԿԱՐԳՉԱՅԻՆ ՄՈԴԵԼԱՎՈՐՈՒՄԸ ՀՆԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄԵՋ.
ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԲՐՈՆԶ-ԵՐԿԱԹԵԴԱՐՅԱՆ ԿՈԹՈՂԱՅԻՆ
ԿԱՌՈՒՅՑՆԵՐԻ ՕՐԻՆԱԿՈՎ**

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Բանալի բառեր՝ Հնագիտություն, համակարգիչ, GIS համակարգ, Բրոնզի դար, Երկաթի դար, Հայաստան, «Կիկլոպյան» կառույցներ, Արցախ, Սյունիք:

Ներկայացվող հոդվածը նվիրված է հնագիտության մեջ համակարգչային մոդելավորմանը: Որպես հետազոտության թիրախային գոտի է ընտրված Հայաստանի Հանրապետության տարածքը, որը դիտարկվում է հարակից երկրների պատմամշակութային զարգացումների համատեքստում: Հետազոտության ժամանակագրական սահմաններն ընդգրկում են բրոնզի և երկաթի դարաշրջանները (մ.թ.ա. III հազ. - I հազ. կես): Սույն հոդվածի շրջանակներում ներկայացվում են կոթողային ճարտարապետության հուշարձանների (ամրոցներ, աշտարակներ, դամբարանաթմբեր, դոլմեններ) համակարգչային մոդելավորման ու վերակազմության նպատակները և կարևորությունը: Աշխատանքի հիմնական խնդիրներն են.

1. ներկայացնել կոթողային ճարտարապետության առանձնահատկությունները,
2. բացատրել կոթողայնության առկայության և բացակայության պարադիգմները՝ լեռնային գոտիներում,
3. զատել և նկարագրել կոթողային կառույցների տիպերը՝ տարածական և ժամանակագրական կտրվածքով,
4. դիտարկել «Կիկլոպյան» շինարարության տարածման տիրույթը՝ պարզելով կոթողային մտածելակերպի առաջացման պատճառները,
5. բնորոշել «Կիկլոպյան» շինարարությանը բնորոշ լանդշաֆտը, դրա բնական և մարդածին բաղադրատարրերը՝ դրանք համադրելով այլ տարածքների օրինակների հետ,
6. ըստ այդմ՝ GIS համակարգի օգնությամբ քարտեզագրել համապատասխան հուշարձանները,

7. կոթողային մտածելակերպը դիտարկել պատմամշակութային փոխառնչությունների համատեքստում, և այս ամենը վերարտադրել թվային միջավայրում:

**THE NEW KINGDOM OF EGYPT AND THE EARLY STATE
ORGANIZATIONS OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND IN THE
SECOND HALF OF THE II MILLENNIUM BC
(BASED ON HISTORICAL SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL
EVIDENCE)***

Ashot Piliposyan, Armine Hayrapetyan

Abstract

The Ancient Near Eastern powerful states in the mid II millennium BC were not only directing and supervising the military-political, trading-economic, and sociocultural processes, but were also trying to obtain their dominance and control in the region. This was the reason that two conflicting groups gradually polarized in the region, where each state, despite its interests concerning the redistribution of spheres of influence in the ancient Near East, had to ally a more convenient political formation, given the current political situation and its capacities. As a result, the Hittite New Kingdom, Arzawa and Wilusa appeared to be in one of the groups, and the New Kingdom of Egypt, Kassite Babylonia and Mitanni were in the other one. The inter-state relations of these powers included both military-political and diplomatic rivalry, and a controlled system of well-organized transit trading and cultural relations. At the same time, each of the groups sought to urge other small early state organizations and tribal unions of the region to get involved in the alliance, contributing to the realization of prospective political plans with their capacities of raw materials, production of specific items and human resources. This was the situation also with the part of the early state organization of the Armenian Highland. Meanwhile, both the written sources and the archaeological excavations in general, testify the anti-Hittite orientation of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland and their tending towards Egypt-Mitanni-Kassite Babylonia alliance.

Keywords: *Armenian Highland, New Kingdom of Egypt, Mitanni, Kassite Babylonia, Early state organizations, Nairi, Etiuni, archaeology.*

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The Ancient Near East as well as the Mediterranean basin were the arena of tumultuous developments in the mid II millennium BC. The periodically recurring adverse natural and climatic phenomena (everlasting droughts, earthquakes, epidemics, floods, frosts, etc.), the active ethnic movements (the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, the wanderings of the Sea peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean and their establishment in its various parts, the entry of the Kassites into Babylon, etc.), the internal contradictions and inter-state conflicts of the local powerful states, as well as various other processes, had significantly changed the vivid ethno-political pattern of the region¹. The new states formed in the result of these developments (the New kingdom of Egypt and the Hittite empire, Kassite Babylonia, Mitanni) having overcome the long-lasting crisis, where not only directing and supervising the military-political, trading-economic, and socio-cultural processes, but were also trying to obtain their dominance and control in the region.

Apparently, this was the reason that two conflicting groups were gradually polarized in the region, where each state, despite its interests concerning the redistribution of spheres of influence in the ancient Near East, had to ally a more convenient political formation, given the current political situation and its capacities. As a result, the new Hittite Kingdom, Arzawa and Wilusa (Ilion-Troy) appeared to be in one of the groups, and the New Kingdom of Egypt, Kassite Babylonia, and Mitanni (Naharina) were in the other². The inter-state relations of these powers included both military-political and diplomatic rivalry (mainly to achieve dominance upon the territory of Levant), and a controlled system of well-organized transit trading and cultural relations. The latter was mainly realized through the maritime city of Ugarit, which since the fall of karum Kanish (Kanesh) trading center (19th-18th cc. BC), especially by the 15th-13th cc. BC had obtained a monopolistic position over the western transit trading route of the Near East³. At the same time, each of the groups sought to

¹ **Grayson** 1975: text № 21; **IDV** 1983: 420-421; **Yakobson** 1989: 198-199; **Kosyan** 1999: 8-16; **Kuzishchin** 2007: 48-64; **Nikol'skaya, Kločkov, Tomašević, Tkačenko** 2008: 178.

² **Chernykh** 1989: 24-25.

³ **Martirosyan** 1971: 219; **Shifman** 1987: 126-142.

urge the other small early state organizations and tribal unions of the region to get involved into the alliance, contributing to the realization of prospective political plans with their capacities of raw materials, production of specific items and human resources. This was the situation also with the part of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland (Hayasa-Azzi, Tegarama-Togarma, Alzi-Alshe, Nairi-Nikh(i)ria, and probably Etiuni)⁴. Meanwhile, both the written sources⁵ and the archaeological excavations⁶ in general, testify the anti-Hittite orientation of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland and their tending towards Egypt-Mitanni-Kassite Babylonia alliance. The data on the Togarma-Hittite, Hittite-Hayasa, Nairi-Assyrian and Mitanni-Etiuni (Ararat) relations were widely discussed in the special literature⁷. For

⁴ Indeed, as an early state organization, Etiuni is mentioned for the first time since the late 9th c. BC. Therefore, its inclusion in the list of the abovementioned “countries” is problematic at first sight. Nevertheless, the pattern of the historical-cultural realities of the 16th/15th - 10th/9th cc. BC reconstructed due to the excavations of the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sites of the central regions of the Armenian Highland (the territory of Kars, the Ararat Valley, Shirak, Gugark, Aragatsotn, Syunik, Goghtn, Masyatsotn) represents generalized processes of the uniform development of local societies, gradual rapprochement, development of identical forms of government, similar organization of landscape and living space, as well as lifestyle, establishment of equal moral standards, formation of similar spiritual and religious perceptions, and identical manifestation of material culture. The mentioned situation could be developed in the conditions of early state organizations and/or tribal confederations that co-existed side by side, faced similar socio-economic challenges, anticipated targeted and prospective common development, and possessed with certain levels of governance and control. The name of that formation in the mid-2nd mill. BC is yet unknown, but since the late 9th c. BC its territory was called Etiuni, according to the Urartian inscriptions. Therefore, taking into account the abovementioned, we are inclined to believe that the latter could be the initial stage of the same formation, and its origins, apparently goes back to the 17th-16th centuries BC (**Khazdadyan** 1982: 37; **Piliposyan** 2000: 43-44).

⁵ **Khachatryan** 1971: 19-23, 94-96, 130-132, 138-145; **Diakonoff** 1968: 210-211; **Kapantsyan** 1947: 22-60, 236-244; **Kosyan** 2004: 108-156.

⁶ **Piliposyan** 1998: 42-44; **Piliposyan, Hovhannisyan** 2003: 72-82; **Piliposyan** 2007: 41-52; **Piliposyan** 2010: 203-222; **Mkrtchyan, Piliposyan** 2011: 250-263; **Piliposyan, Zakyanyan, Gevorgyan, Poghosyan** 2013; **Piliposyan** 2014: 99-107; **Piliposyan** 2015: 52-72; **Piliposyan** 2018: 114-125.

⁷ **Kapantsyan** 1947: 37; **Korostovtsev** 1978: 112, 119, 124, 289; **Macqueen** 1983: 41-42; **Gurney** 1987: 28-33; **Avetisyan** 1984: 45; **Khachatryan** 1971: 128-145; **IDV II** 1988: 144-150; **Deller, Fadhil, Ahmad** 1994, 461-467; **Kosyan** 1997; **Kosyan** 1998; **Kosyan** 1999; **Tsakanyan** 2017: 161-172.

Mitanni, in particular, the mentioned developments are proved by the discoveries of Mitannian cylindrical seals⁸ from the archaeological complexes of the 15th-14th cc. BC (Lchashen, Artik, Aradjadzor, Metsamor, Aruch, Harich, Lori Berd, Qanagegh, Gegharot), that had been sent to the leaders of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland by the Mitannian rulers and high-ranked officials. As for the Kassite Babylonia, the discovery of royal symbols (a frog-shaped weigh made of sardonyx with a cuneiform inscription, an inscribed cylindrical seal made of agate) in Metsamor, represented personal property of the powerful rulers of the country (Ulam-Buriash, the Son of Burna-Buriash I⁹, and Kurigalzu I), also points at business affairs of the latter with the rulers of an early state organization (probably, Etiuni) of the Armenian Highland. The consideration of these facts allows to conclude that some of the 16th-14th cc. BC early state organizations of the Armenian Highland, in the complex military-political conditions formed in the region by the mid-2nd mill. BC, were not only involved in the military-political alliance of the Egypt-Mitanni-Kassite Babylonia, but had also taken clear anti-Hittite measures, which allowed to obtain various goods and raw materials of strategic importance (gold, tin, seashells, etc.) from the allies. In this context, the relationship between the Armenian Highland and the New Kingdom of Egypt was discussed relatively little (see below).

The matter is that due to the efforts of the first pharaohs of the 18th dynasty (1552–1305 BC) the New Kingdom of Egypt had expelled the Hyksos from the country and, expanding the borders, had spread its influence also over the Palestine and the Northern Mesopotamia¹⁰, coming close to the Taurus Mountains, the southern reaches of the Armenian Highland. For these rulers of Egypt, the position and attitude of the local early state organizations

⁸ **Piliposyan** 1998, 42:

⁹ **IDV I** 1983: 420-421; **Bertman** 2007: 99-100, 124-125; **Khanzadian, Sarkisian, Diakonoff** 1992: 75-83.

¹⁰ This is especially true of Thutmose III, who during his reign organized 17 victorious campaigns in Palestine and Northern Mesopotamia, conquered and turned into his ally Mitanni, and then reached the middle course of the Euphrates River. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/chronology/thutmosisiii.html>; **Aldred** 2004: 122.

would certainly matter. Therefore, it is possible that particular steps would be taken to solve those issues at this stage. Judging from the artifacts of the Egyptian origin found in different parts of the Armenian Highland, such contacts and relations really took place. They were of a practical nature and, apparently, formed mutually acceptable approaches to the complex situation in the region. So far, in order to identify the issues around which the parties could negotiate and come to a common understanding, then, judging by the written and archaeological sources, they would most likely include the following sub-items:

Recognition of local early state organizations' authorities as strategic partners and involvement of the latter in anti-Hittite activities;

The inclusion of some of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland in the general measurement system of Egypt and its allies;

The establishment of trade, economic and cultural ties that are of utmost importance for both sides to that date.

The first point mentioned is proved by the important archaeological finds of the 15th-14th cc. BC that were discovered in the burial complexes of high social rank, as well as the excavations of most powerful and organized settlements of the Armenian Highland at this period. In this regard, the scarab-seals, discovered from the ancient settlement of Metsamor are of paramount importance, since they are directly related to the reign of the pharaohs of the 18th dynasty of Egypt.

The first scarab-seal was uncovered in the vicinity of the fourth counterfort in the eastern part of the Metsamor citadel rampart. It has a hemispherical body and a smooth stamping surface, bearing a personal name¹¹ in Egyptian hieroglyphs imbedded in a deep ellipsoid royal cartouche, with the hieroglyph of "feather of truth" in the right part (**Tab. I, fig. 1**) that can be found very often on the seals of that period¹². The seal was made of

¹¹ Piliposyan, Zakyan, Gevorgyan, Poghosyan 2013: 19; Piliposyan 2015: 56.

¹² Khodjash 1999: 83-86, № 326-328.

steatite¹³ and was covered in turquoise glaze, the traces of which are still visible in the deep engravings of the hieroglyphs. Some orientalists have tried to read the name of the ruler of Egypt Tuthmose III (1479-1425 BC). In fact, the throne name of Tuthmose III “Menkheperre” was inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, as well as the scarab-seals and pendants with a circular Sun symbol or an ovoid symbol, a **Senet board** symbol (here sand hills with pointed summits) and the sacred scarab hieroglyphs (*Tab. I, fig. 2-13*)¹⁴. The Metsamor scarab-seal contains these hieroglyphs on the sealing side and apparently should be read as the “**Menkheperre**”, the throne name of Tuthmose III. The Metsamor scarab-seal repeats the stylistics of the scarabs with the names of the 18th dynasty pharaohs of Egypt and should most probably be related to the 15th c. BC, to the period of the reign of Tuthmose III or later.

The second scarab-seal (*Tab. I, fig. 14*) was found during the excavations of the burial no. 17. It was made of fine kaolin clay, fired and covered with greenish-turquoise glaze, which is preserved on the surface in residual form. It has a hemispherical body and a flat, ovoid sealing surface. The latter bears a cartouche encircling a falcon on the pedestal (the symbol of Horus), with a scepter or a flail on his back and in the lower part a crescent or a boat¹⁵. Interestingly, the images of a whip and a boat are more frequent in the titles of the 18th dynasty pharaohs¹⁶ (*Tab. I, fig. 15-23*). In the meantime, the hieroglyphic symbol of a falcon perched above a pedestal is deciphered as “Golden Horus name” and is considered as one of the five most important titles of the pharaoh. In particular, Tuthmose III, while talking of this title tells: “He (i.e., Amun) created me as a “*bjk n nbw*” - a **Golden Falcon**”¹⁷. The mentioned aspects directly point at the fact that both the scepter “*Uas-*

¹³ In our earlier publications we had mentioned that the seal was made of the finely seaved clay, but later investigations by geologists have proven its being made of steatite.

¹⁴ Khodjash 1976: 85-113, tab. I-IV; Piliposyan, Hovhannisyan 2003: 75-76, tab. 4.

¹⁵ Bonewitz 2003: 160, 168; Boonstra 2019: 154-156.

¹⁶ Khodjash 1976: tab. I-IV; Khodjash 1999: 87, № 358.

¹⁷ Helck, Otto 1999: 153; Allen 2000: 64-66.

scepter” and the flail “*nekhakha*” symbolized supreme power in Egypt.¹⁸ So far, we can assume that the scarab-seal uncovered from the burial no. 17 should also be related to the 18th dynasty of Egypt. The archaeological materials uncovered in this burial also refer to the same period (14th-13th cc. BC)¹⁹. It is possible that an Egyptian official handed the scarab to the person buried in the burial no. 17 of Metsamor on special purpose (recognition of power, advanced trade and economic ties, military support, etc.), expecting cooperation and fulfillment of certain allied obligations.

This cooperation continued also until the end of the New Kingdom of Egypt, during the reign of the pharaohs of the 20th dynasty. This is testified by the finds of scarab pendants uncovered from burials nos. 1, 18, 34 and 106 (12th-11th cc. BC) of the Horom cemetery (*Tab. II, fig. 1*). They were made of bitumen and covered with thin gold foil on the upper part²⁰. Close to the seal base, which was not gold-plated, two lateral reach-through holes were made for incorporating the pendant into a necklace, as made on the 15th-12th cc. BC Egyptian samples (*Tab. II, fig. 2-8*)²¹.

The golden foil fragments uncovered in the burial no. 1 allow us to assume that they belong to at least three similar scarab-pendants. The biggest foil fragment allows to reconstruct the whole decoration of the gold-plating. Two deep vertical lines split the surface into three equal parts, each covered with fine deep and dense oblique lines. The preserved edge of the foil fragment is decorated with a belt of oblique lines enclosed in two parallel grooves. The paleoanthropological materials of the burial testify its belonging to a man of 40-45 years old²².

¹⁸ **Badge** 2000: 227-231; **Lurker** 1998: 134-137.

¹⁹ They are still kept at the storage of the Historical-archaeological museum-reserve of “Metsamor” and are not yet published.

²⁰ **Piliposyan, Badalyan** 2007: 130-133, Tabl. LXXIII-2.

²¹ **Hassaan** 2017: 21, fig 5; **Tour Egypt** 2017 <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/picture05182004.htm>, <https://glencairnmuseum.org/newsletter/2020/3/6/sacred-adornment-jewelry-as-belief-in-ancient-egypt>

²² The studies of sex and age definitions of the anthropological materials were realized by the anthropologist, Associate Professor Ruzan Mkrtchyan, Ph.D.

The excavations of the burial no. 18 revealed three scarab-pendants made of bitumen, although the foil-covers where not found. There was a skeleton of a 40-50 years old male.

The discovery of gilding foil fragments from the burial no. 34 allows us to assume that two (or more) scarab-pendants should be buried here. Fine engravings on the preserved surfaces mainly repeat the ornaments of similar materials from the Horom burial no. 1. They belonged to a man of mature age.

At least five scarab-pendants were buried in the tomb no. 106, judging by the fragments of gilding foil. Their decorations represent different motives. Two dotted lines divided the whole surface into three horizontal sections, the first of which was the head of the scarab, the second one was the body (pronotum) and the third one was the lower body part (elytron). The head was decorated with the dotted crosshatching, the middle part-pronotum is covered with deeply engraved hatching net and the elytron part is decorated with a vertical dotted line, separating the surface into two dotted triangles, which looks like the lower part of the beetle's wings. Remains of a 45–55-year-old female were uncovered in the burial²³.

Only four relatively rich burials out of 160 excavated ones at Horom cemetery yielded similar objects. This fact allows us to assume that scarab-pendants were not accessible to everyone at this period; these objects belonged to the elderly representatives of the local Early Iron Age society elite, as symbols of power and position, and most probably apart from the high status and occupation they signified also the connection of their owners to the high-ranked officials or even the palace of the New Kingdom of Egypt.

These ties and relations are indirectly confirmed by another reality as well. This was the inclusion of some of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland in the general measurement system of Egypt and its allies, which meant the regulation of general trading activities, the assortment to be sold, transit routes, customs duties and other issues. The most important fact

²³ Mkrtchyan 2001: 110.

in support of this proposal is the frog-shaped weigh found in the Metsamor burial no. 8. It is made of sardonyx and bears a Middle Assyrian cuneiform inscription of Ulam-Buriash, the Son of Burna-Buriash I, the king of Kassite Babylonia²⁴. In particular, it directly indicates on the inclusion of the Ararat Plain (Etiuni) rulers in the measurement system of Egypt-Mitanni, Kassite Babylonia alliance²⁵. Since this period, the number of golden objects abruptly increases in the high social rank burial complexes of the Late Bronze Age local settled societies. It is possible that in return to the engagement in anti-Hittite activities, some early state organizations of the Armenian Highland, like other Near Eastern powers of an anti-Hittite orientation, had obtained the right to the shares of gold from the Egyptian Behen (Coptos) and Nubian (Kush and Wawat) mines and thereby had made their allied obligations firmer and more practical²⁶.

Another notable evidence of the establishment of trade, economic and cultural relations between the New Kingdom of Egypt and the early state organization of the Ararat Valley (Etiuni) consists of luxury items made of cornelian and agate, which were uncovered in the Metsamor Late Bronze Age burials (already partially robbed in antiquity) (*Tab. III, fig. 1, 3, 4*). Their direct parallels which were found in Egypt (*Tab. III, fig. 5-8, 11-15*), in the opinion of the investigators consisted of beads in the form of symbolic puppies, which were braided in the necklaces, dedicated to the elite and were worn over their clothes. Most probably, in addition to the aesthetic appearance, the latters were also attributed symbolic meaning and significance.

In the Near East, the Mediterranean Basin, and North Africa, the seeds of this plant, and especially the capsules, were widely distributed and were in

²⁴ Khanzadyan, Sarkisyan, Diakonoff 1983: 118.

²⁵ Piliposyan 2014: 100-107.

²⁶ Piotrovskiy 1983: 14, 17-20; Montet 1989: 139-141, 147-151.

large demand. They were not only used in the food, applied as a painkiller remedy, but also were source of psychotropic drugs²⁷.

The pomace, tincture, and the gum, as well as the psychotropic effects of the latter on humans were known in the region since very remote times²⁸. The earliest records on this matter are known from the Sumerian and Assyrian texts²⁹. Later mentions come from the Classical historians (Hesiod, Homer, Theophrastus, Diodorus Siculus, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Diagoras, Pliny the Elder etc.) as well as the ancient legends of the region (in particular, the legend of the Argonauts)³⁰. It is possible that already in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages the local priests were using it during some rituals to reach hallucination or state of ecstasy and in clairvoyance practices. It justifies the use of poppy capsules as symbolic objects, their duplication and imitation in various materials (gold, agate, cornelian, Lapis Lazuli, glazed clay, glass etc.) and wearing as specific ritual amulets.

Orientalists consider the Asia Minor, Armenian Highland, Greece, Iranian plateau and rarely North-Eastern Africa (Egypt) as possible areas of preliminary cultivation of poppies³¹. In regard to North-Eastern Africa, an opinion prevails concerning the occasional use of poppies in the early period (the 3rd mill. BC), and its spread which began since the 2nd mill. BC and was mostly related to the activities of the representatives of the 18th dynasty³². The sedative and analgesic means, as well as psychotropic drugs made of this plant

²⁷ **Goltsman** 2000: 6, 327-328; **Tomashevskaya** 2019: 43-44

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/337547952>

²⁸ **Merelin** 2003: 295-323.

²⁹ **Thompson** 1924: 46, 251, 261, 269; **Terry, Pellens** 1928: 54; **Anslinger, Tompkins** 1953: 1; **Kramer** 1954: 76-84.

³⁰ **Kritikos, Papadaki** 1967: 17-38; **Grinkevich, Sorokina** 1988: 9-12.

³¹ **Tschirch** 1923: 647; **Gabra** 1956: 41-42, fig. 1-4; **Merrillees** 1962: 287- 292; **Niggorski** 1999: 537-542; **Arnott** 1999: 268-271; **Manniche** 1999: 26-34; **Julyan, Dircksen** 2011: 75-90.

³² In any case, the detailed medical examination of the mummy of the Chief palace builder Hay of the son and successor of Thutmose III - Amenhotep II (1428-1397 BC) did not reveal any trace of a psychotropic drug (in particular, opium) which indicates on its low distribution and moreover its application in the 15th c. BC (**Muzzio** 1925: 249-253; **Bisset, Bruhn, Curto, Holmstedt, Nyman, Zenk** 1994: 99-114; **Bisset, Bruhn, Curto, Holmstedt, Nyman, Zenk** 1996: 200).

started to spread in Egypt since this period. There is also an opinion that the initial samples of this plant and/or the products made of it were imported from Cyprus, Asia Minor or adjacent territories³³. Due to the high demand and multiple uses of poppies in the 15th-14th cc. BC, this plant and its derivatives were spread in Egypt so quickly, that they were at some point involved in the sphere of ritual-religious processes³⁴. This can explain the depiction of flowers and capsules of the poppies on the walls of a number of palaces and temple complexes of this period, as well as on the wall paintings of the tombs of the pharaohs, the members of their families and high-ranking nobles³⁵. Most probably, the same should be said for the poppy-capsule-shaped beads of agate, cornelian, glass, glaze-covered clay and other materials, which appear in the mentioned tombs of the Egyptian elite since the 15th c. BC³⁶. Moreover, the special clay molds (**Tab. III, fig. 9, 10**) uncovered in Tel Amarna testify that the mass production of these glass and glaze-covered clay beads had begun³⁷. Interestingly, this type of adornments is not found in the contemporaneous archaeological complexes of Cyprus, Palestine, Asia Minor, the Mediterranean and Persia, which points at purely Egyptian origin of these artifacts.

In contrast to these regions, the earlier representations of this plant in the Armenian Highland are observed in the late phase of the Middle Bronze Age Trialeti-Vanadzor culture (20th-18th cc). They were uncovered in the Lori Berd burials no. 61, 77 and 94 and represent golden hollow objects (pinheads) in the form of poppy capsule and were adjusted to silver pins (**Tab.**

³³ **Podosyonov** 2020: 22 may, <https://knife.media/ancient-opiates/>

³⁴ **Hepper** 1990: 14; **Wilkinson** 1998: 53; **Wilson** 2015: 54-57
info@ancientegyptmagazine.co.uk

³⁵ **Saleh, Sourouzian** 2007: ill. 79; **Rosso** 2010: 84-86.

<https://www.atthemummiesball.com/poppies-ancient-egypt/>

³⁶ [https://www.pinterest.com/pin/323977766948025576/;](https://www.pinterest.com/pin/323977766948025576/)

[https://www.pinterest.es/pin/225186854_4141485/;](https://www.pinterest.es/pin/225186854_4141485/)

[https://www.pinterest.es/pin/258957047295045040/;](https://www.pinterest.es/pin/258957047295045040/) [https://www.reddit.com/r/ArtefactPorn/comments/ab786l/golden_earrings_and_necklace_from_tomb_kv56/;](https://www.reddit.com/r/ArtefactPorn/comments/ab786l/golden_earrings_and_necklace_from_tomb_kv56/)

³⁷ http://www.ancientresource.com/lots/egyptian/amarna_egypt.htmlAmarna

III, fig. 2³⁸. Whether they had only aesthetical significance or were related to other perceptions connected with the poppy-plant, is not clear. However, it is characteristic that the discussed objects were used to pin the cloths or hair, and seem to coincide with the hair decorations of the Poppy Goddess uncovered not far from the Knossos Palace and preserved at the Heraklion Archaeological Museum (**Tab. IV, fig. 12**)³⁹. Concerning the beads in poppy-capsule shape, they were spread in the Ararat Valley in the 15th-13th cc. BC and are known up to now only from the Metsamor burial complexes no. 5, 8, 18, 19 and 20. Judging from the form, materials of which they were made (cornelian, agate), technology, and the period, they were quite similar to the Egyptian samples, and therefore, should be either imported, or imitated here, at least, part of them. In any case, the existence of these objects only in Egypt and in the Ararat Valley, the center of the Armenian Highland, allows to assume direct relations between these two political units and hint that apart from the military cooperation they consisted also of trading, social, elite and other spheres. In this regard, it is not excluded that the appearance of poppy-shaped pendants and necklaces in the center of the Armenian Highland is due not only to the willingness of showing high social status through artifacts and dressing up like the powerful ally, but it might be an indication of relation to another important field of activity, to special ritual ceremonies. It should be mentioned that since the mid-II mill. BC the number of *kernos*-shaped vessels increases significantly in the burials of the rich Late Bronze Age burials of the local elite (Lchashen, Lori Berd, Metsamor, Dilijan, Haghartsin, Ijevan,

³⁸ **Devejian** 2006: 25, 47-50, 91, Tabl. III-1, 3, 4, Tabl. IV-6: It should be mentioned, that a similar pin (the only difference is that the pin is made of gold) was accidentally discovered in the central part of the Asia Minor and, according to the publishers, dates back to the time of the New Hittite Kingdom.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327403>

³⁹ **Kritikos, Papadaki** 1967: 23; **Burkert** 1987: 23, 30; **Sakellarakis** 1987: 91

<https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674362819>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poppy_goddess; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poppy_goddess; <http://albertis-window.com/2013/10/minoans-the-poppy-goddess-and-opium/>

Tsaghkalanj, Hrazdan, Verin Naver, Qarashamb etc.) (**Tab. IV, fig. 8-10**)⁴⁰. These vessels in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean basin were directly related to the cults of the goddesses Demeter and Persephone⁴¹. The vegetal symbols of the latter were poppies and the mature capsules. Judging by the engraved and/or incised images⁴² on the Near Eastern Middle and Late Bronze Age seals (Ur, Uruk, Akkade, Kish, Tell Asmar, Abu Salabikh, Babylon, Chogha Mish etc.) and clay tablets (Sfiré, Tell Hadidi, Mari, Tell-ed-Dhiba'i, Haradum) (**Tab. IV, fig. 1-3, 11-13**), the *kernos*-type vessels and especially their contents were used during special rituals. In the meantime, the participants of the ceremony (tribal leaders, rulers, military leaders, priests, priestesses, etc.) drank or smoked the tincture filled in this vessel (as well as the smoke from the plant mass - pomace and/or hemp), through thin pipes (apparently, reed rods) and falling in hallucinations performed divination. It is possible also that the poppy-decorated necklaces and pendants uncovered both in the Egyptian and Armenian Late Bronze Age burial chambers belonged to these people.

Another interesting aspect linking the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland with the New Kingdom of Egypt is connected to some mutually imported peculiarities of the burial rituals of the mid-II mill. BC.

The matter is that in the burial complexes of the Armenian Highland (Nerkin Getashen, Lchashen, Hacarat, Tolors, Artik, Lori Berd, Metsamor, Shirakavan, Kuchak, Verin Naver, Nor Oshakan Garajamirli, Kyudurlu etc.) of the final phase of the Middle Bronze Age (18th-16th cc. BC) and the Late Bronze

⁴⁰ **Khanzadyan, Mkrtchyan, Parsamyan** 1973: 129; **Devejyan** 1981: 38-39, Tabl. XI-1, 2; **Kushnaryova** 1977: 66, image. 79, Tabl. XV-2; **Biyagov** 1980: 81, Tabl. II-1; **Ghafadaryan** 1982: 118, Tabl. XII-2; **Piliposyan** 1982: 13-15; **Piliposyan, Gevorgyan, Abgaryan, Zakyan** 2015: 42, Tabl. XXIII-2; **Kalantaryan, Piliposyan** 1996: 78-79; **Zakyan, Mamikonyan, Simonyan** 2020: 45.

⁴¹ **Zhyulen** 1961: 123; **Barreca** 1974: 121; **Krasnovskaya** 1986: 51; **Vinogradova, Kapterev, Starodub** 1997: 215-216.

⁴² **Heinrich** 1931: tab. 62, 63, 69; **Woolley** 1934: pl. 194/22, 23; **Frankfort** 1955: fig. 375; **Parrot** 1958-1959: 72-75, tab. XXVIII-XXX; **Al-Gailani** 1965: 36-37, tab. 5/54; **Brandes** 1979: pl. 30; **Buchanan** 1981: 124-127, ill. 332-337; **Collon** 1987, 146, 149, 152, p. III. 627, 640, 660, 668; **Kepinski-Lecomte** 1992: 367, 414, fig. 149/1-2; **Beyer** 1996: 21-26, fig. 1-6.

Age (16/15th - 13/12th cc. BC) among other artifacts were found perfect bronze objects⁴³ which the archaeologists conventionally call “standards”. The latter, as objects signifying especially high rank, position and occupation, according to the ritual, together with the other funeral materials, were placed in the burial chamber. These are mostly highly artistic massive objects, of up to 40 cm height and consist of an anchor-shaped base, tower-shaped trunk, and a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic upper part (**Tab. V, fig. 1-5**). They could represent the tripartite structure of the world for the local societies of the II mill. BC. The lower, basic part would then represent the netherworld (*Chthonos*), the tower-shaped core would signify the human world (*Chaos*), and the upper part - the heaven (*Cosmos*). In this respect, it can be noticed that the lower part looks like a symbolic boat. The samples with figures of various animals on the upfolding ends of the base spread since the transition period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (16th-15th cc. BC) and are known from Lchashen, Lori Berd, Artik, Metsamor, Kuchak and other contemporaneous sites⁴⁴. Some samples uncovered in the Lchashen royal burials allow us to discuss their certain role and significance. On the samples found from the burials no 1 and 9, where the composition consists of a pair of horses, a battle chariot, warrior-hunters and a symbolic scene of hunting, there are miniature models of such standards with the mentioned boat-shaped bases (**Tab. V, fig 1, 5**)⁴⁵. Such images can be seen on the preserved engraved scenes of the clay andiron excavated in the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age layer of Dvin (**Tab. V, fig. 6**)⁴⁶. It should be mentioned as well that the significant part of these “standards” was uncovered from intact burial

⁴³ Lalayan 1931: 197-199, p. 197; Mnatsakanyan 1957: 146-153; Martirosyan 1964: 110-111, Tabl. X, p. 3, 4; Esayan, Mnatsakanyan 1975: 253-261; Khachatryan 1975: 217-218, p. 129; Arešyan, Simonyan, Sargsyan, Kocharyan, Ohanyan 1979: 216-220; Esayan 1980: 23-29, tab. 27-33, 37-40; Devejian 1981: 27-32, p. 6, 8; Khanzadian 1995: 51-55, pl. 15; Shanshashvili, Narimanishvili, Narimanishvili 2016: 136-139, tab. LXIX-LXXIII.

⁴⁴ Petrossian, Sandrot 1996: 89, ill. 48.

⁴⁵ Mnatsakanyan 1957: 8; Mnatsakanian 1960: 4-6; Esayan 1966: 139; Esayan, Mnatsakanyan 1975: 260.

⁴⁶ Kushnaryova 1977: 12.

chambers placed *in situ* in the frontal part of the wooden four-wheeled carts or double-wheeled battle chariots, which directly relates them to the royal transportation means⁴⁷. The figurines of water birds and frogs that can sometimes be found on the up-folding ends of the bases indirectly suggest the idea of these lower parts to be symbolic boats.

In this regard, it is interesting to find out why the standards with boat-shaped bases appear in the royal burials of the Armenian Highland since the mid-II mill. BC. The idea of a boat and/or its model as a symbolic transportation measure to the underworld was not typical for the funeral rituals and perceptions before, and, therefore, it should be an imported phenomenon. When discussing the issue in this light, the ties and relations between the New Kingdom of Egypt and the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland since the mid-II mill. BC once again becomes important. As a result of these relations, some rulers of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland, together with the adoption of a group of elite symbols (scarab-seals, new measurement system, high social ranking by the poppy-adornments, group sacrifices of accompanying personnel etc.), adopted also the idea of the boat as a transportation means to the underworld and placed its material representation in the form of the base of standards and placed them in the tomb⁴⁸. From this point of view, by the compositional details and some peculiarities of spiritual perceptions, the mentioned boats are rather similar to the ones depicted on the wall paintings and bas-reliefs of the Middle and mostly of the New Kingdoms of Egypt (**Tab. V, fig. 7-10**). The boats floating to the netherworld depicted there, are very alike to the boat-shaped base of the Armenian Late Bronze Age standards, the canopy with the pharaoh or with its mummy on the bier in the center are parallel to the

⁴⁷ Brilyova 2011: 62.

⁴⁸ Of course, the idea of going to the netherworld by boat is fixed already in the III mill. BC mythological texts of Mesopotamia, the engravings of some seals, and especially in the epic dedicated to Gilgamesh, but the absence of such representations in the Early Bronze Age societies of the Armenian Highland (according to archaeological materials) allows to link this phenomenon especially to the Egyptian and Mediterranean realities of the Late Bronze Age. On this matter see <https://www.ancient.eu/article/221/the-mesopotamian-pantheon/>.

quadrilateral tower-shaped trunk⁴⁹, and the Ba bird⁵⁰ depicted over the canopy (the deity accompanying souls to the netherworld) to the water birds⁵¹ in the upper part of the Armenian standards. Therefore, it is also possible that in the Middle and New Kingdoms of Egypt and on the territory of the Fertile Crescent (including the Armenian Highland), as a result of cultural relations formed between the ruling elites, the Egyptian funeral ritual endorsed the ceremony of interment on a four-wheeled cart, which until then does not seem to be found in elite funerals. The acceptable example of the above-mentioned phenomena can be the kind of a golden funerary barge model belonging to the 17th dynasty pharaoh Kamos (alternate spelling Kamesu, 1554-1549 BC) and uncovered in the sarcophagus of his wife Ahhotep, which is furnished elaborately with four wheels of the Near Eastern funeral cart (**Tab. V, fig. 11**).

The provided materials allow us to assume that some early state organizations of the Armenian Highland in the 15th-13th cc. BC (especially in the regions of Shirak, Lori and Ararat Valley) had established connections with the rulers of the New Kingdom of Egypt. Taking into consideration the fact that the territory laying between the North-Syrian steppes in the zone of the Egyptian influence and the central (Ararat Valley) and north (Shirak) parts of the Armenian Highland was vast, and the relations from North Syria to the Armenian Highland could be realized in general through the only available passage: the Pass of Mardin, it can be possible that some early state or tribal organizations (including Alzi, Nairi, Ishuwa, Arme-Shub/pria etc.) of the 15th-13th cc. BC of this zone also participated in these processes⁵². It should be

⁴⁹ **Snisarenko**, <https://history.wikireading.ru/176338> ; <http://redstory.ru/world/legendy/03.html>; It should also be noted that this cultural influence applies not only to the Armenian Highland. An exactly similar structure is typical for the bronze boat models of Mediterranean (mainly Nuraghi) origin dated back to the mid-II mill. BC (**Tab. V, fig. 12-14**).

⁵⁰ **Zabkar** 1968: 73-89.

⁵¹ **Avdiev** 1948: <http://flibusta.site/b/516280/read>; **Vandersleyen** 1971: 138; **Höber-Kamel** 2003: 23; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamose> .

⁵² Of course, it is not excluded that the above-mentioned early state and tribal organizations would have played a decisive role in this case, but the scarcity of written sources, as well as the

mentioned as well that these relations did not determine solely a unilateral vector from Egypt and its allies to the Armenian Highland. Undoubtedly, there was also a path in the opposite direction, and the early state organizations also exported the required assortment to the international market.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of written sources does not yet allow to speak in detail about the size, role and significance of the participation of the inhabitants of the Armenian Highland in these processes. However, there is some data, and their study clearly indicates that in the conditions of military-political, socio-economic, ethno-cultural complex and contradictory processes started since the mid-II mill. BC some of the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland managed to simultaneously realize transactions even with the warring parties. In particular, this aspect is evident from the letter of the Old Hittite king Hattusilis I addressed to Tunia (Tuni-Teshub), the leader of the Hurrian political organization. The latter orders to organize transportation of certain amount of iron (!) from the city of Nihria to the land of the Hittites⁵³. Even more eloquent is the data from the cuneiform tablets found at the excavations of the ancient settlement of Tell al-Rimah in Mesopotamia. They directly tell that in contrast to Kanesh (in Asia Minor), the Nihria (Nehria, Neheria) *karum* of the Armenian Highland not only did not cease to exist in the first half of the II mill. BC, but instead, had become an important transit trading center. It should be mentioned that in these texts the *karum* is mentioned both as Nih/hria (Ni-ih-ri-a) and as Nairi (Na-i-ri), allowing to presume the identity of these geographical names at the mentioned period⁵⁴. One of the inscriptions (IM-57821) of Tukulti-Ninurta I prove the mentioned aspect, where the discussed toponym appears as “KUR.KUR. Né-hé-e-ri” (Countries of Neheri) in the 12th line, while in the line 28 it is mentioned as “KUR.KUR. Na-i-ri” (Countries of Nairi)⁵⁵. According to the data of the Tell al-

poorly studied local archaeological sites of the Late Bronze Age period, so far forces us to refrain from comments of this nature.

⁵³ **Salvini** 1996: 107; **Avetisyan** 2002: 18-19.

⁵⁴ **Wiseman** 1968: 179, 183, 187, TR-3005, TR-3019.

⁵⁵ **Deller, Fadhil, Ahmad** 1994: 459-465.

Rimah cuneiform inscription, Nihria-Nairi was exporting large amount of tin to North Syria, Northern and Central Mesopotamia. In particular, one of the texts reports on a transaction for 50 minas of tin signed by the merchant Upal-Marduk⁵⁶. It is also possible that other tablets concerning the trade of tin, which do not mention the country, may be related to Nairi⁵⁷. Alongside with this, metal-ware called “nihriyatum” was exported, as well as cereals (both wheat and barley), boar fat in special containers and wool of “hudadu” type, which supposedly was processed in special pits⁵⁸. The same tablets testify about another “country” in the south of the Armenian Highland, the land of “Kadmukhi”, which exported high quality barley to Mesopotamia. One of Tell al-Rimah tablets (TR-3007) recounts on such a transaction, mentioning also Kubi-Eresh, the son of a certain Shubria, the representative of Kadmukhi⁵⁹. Like a number of large and successful powers of the ancient Near East, the early state organizations of the Armenian Highland, apart from the raw materials and finished goods, sent also people of different professions and labor to the neighboring countries. In particular, Hayasa-Azzi was sending chariot makers and charioteers to the Kingdom of Hattusa, Kummaha was sending soldiers for the security service in the Hittite capital, and Nairi was sending skilled builders from the countries of Kadmuhi and Shubria to Mesopotamia⁶⁰. An interesting evidence is preserved in one of the Middle Assyrian cuneiform tablets. According to the latter, out of 993 foreigners that had taken part in the construction of the city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, 720 were Shubrians, 174 Kadmuhians and 99 Nairians⁶¹. In the meantime, as each Shubrian had got 6 minas of wool, the majority of Kadmuhians and Nairians

⁵⁶ Wiseman 1968: TR-3019.

⁵⁷ Wiseman 1968: TR-3002, 3006, 3011, 3012, 3021, 3030. Saggs 1968: TR-2015, 2030, 2057, 2058, 2081.

⁵⁸ Kupper 1982: 17; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1989: 23; Wiseman 1968, 179; CAD.H 1956-1968: 222.

⁵⁹ Wiseman 1968: 180.

⁶⁰ Saporetto 1970: 224, 283; HŽP 1971: 199; Freydank 1976: 86-88; Güterbock, van den Hout 1991; Kosyan 2017: 207.

⁶¹ Freydank 1976: 86-87.

had got 20 mina each, and some of them even 1-3 talents of wool. Hence, we can assume that the Shubrians were used as hard labor, while Kadmuhians and Nairians were masons and masters.

In this context, it is possible to make some assumptions about the possible export of raw materials and certain products from the Armenian Highland to the New Kingdom of Egypt, as well as about transactions for the transportation of craftsmen and specialists.

In particular, the Late Bronze Age merchants of the Armenian Highland could be mediators in the export of certain quantities of Lapis Lazuli from the Iranian plateau (the mountains of Badakhshan) to Egypt⁶². It was highly demanded especially during the reign of the pharaohs of the 18th dynasty of Egypt, and the latter, as it was mentioned above, was engaged in cooperation with the leaders of some early state organizations of the Armenian Highland and could get the necessary raw materials through them.

The next important sphere, where Egypt and some early state organizations of the Armenian Highland could cooperate since the mid-II mill. BC was the industry of weapons, in particular chariot making and issues of its skillful operation. Indeed, already on the wall paintings of the pharaohs of the 18th dynasty, sometimes are depicted images of battle chariots, however, according to prevailing proposal, as a military weapon, they were of unique character, apparently borrowed from Hurrians and, at this stage, they rather symbolized supreme power, than were perceived as military transportation means⁶³. Meanwhile, in the period of the New Kingdom, the battle chariots appear in the regular Egyptian army as a separate unit, and as far as the chariot makers and the charioteers from the Armenian Highland (i.e., Hayasa-Azzi) were especially renowned in the region at that period (see above), it is then not excluded that they took part in retraining and modernization of battle

⁶² **Kulikov** 1982: 82, 122, 152; **Kesley** 2010: 27-28, 34-35, Provided by: Minds@University of Wisconsin; <https://core.ac.uk/display/10597540>; **Zinkina, Ilyin, Andreev, Aleshkovskiy, Koprotaev** 2017: 157; **Pasturo** 2017, <https://gemsvally.ru/lazurit/>, <https://books.google.ru/books?id=NdEkDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=ru#v=onepage&q&f=false>

⁶³ **Helck** 1978: 337-340.

chariots of the regular Egyptian army⁶⁴. It is also possible that the experienced craftsmen of the Armenian Highland (in particular, from Subartu-Shubria, Kadmuhi and Nairi) participated in the construction of palaces and temples realized by the pharaohs of the New Kingdom of Egypt and especially during the reign of the 18th dynasty.

So far, concluding this concise discussion about diverse targeted processes established between Egypt and the early state organizations of the southern and central regions of the Armenian Highland (Nairi, Ishuwa, Shubria, Kadmuhi, Etiuni, etc.) in the mid-II mill. BC, we can assume that they had mainly military-political, trading-economic and socio-cultural orientation. Mutually beneficial for each of the parties, they resulted in a long-term (16/15th-12/11th cc. BC) uninterrupted cooperation, although with variable efficiency related to the military-political fluctuations.

Table I



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⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that the king of the Hittites Mursilis II (1320-1290 BC) during one of the campaigns to Hayasa-Azzi, after seizing the fortress of Dukkama (Tukkama), incorporated 3000 captured fighters of the latter into his army (Godawa-Chrzanowska 2020: 376). To this we should add the fact that battle chariots either complete or partial and/or their remarkable bronze models were uncovered during the excavations of the Late Bronze Age burials of the ancient cemeteries of Lchashen, Lori Berd and Keti (Voskehask). In any case, at the first sight the Egyptian battle chariots are closer to the Armenian samples rather than the ones from the Asia Minor.



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Table II



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Table III



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Table IV



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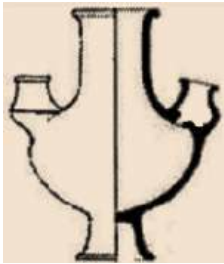
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Table V



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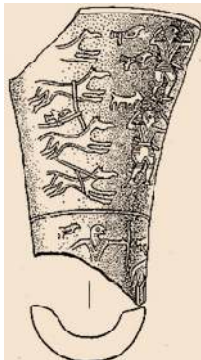
3



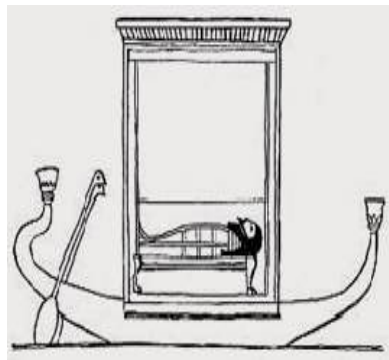
4



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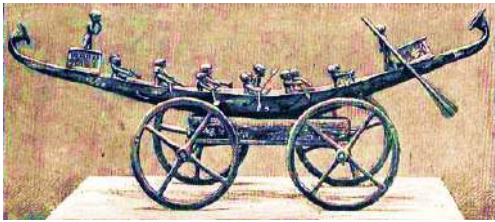
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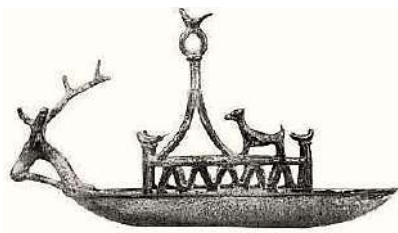
10



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Abbreviations

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**ԵԳԻՊՏՈՍԻ ՆՈՐ ԹԱԳԱՎՈՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԵՎ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ
ԼԵՆՆԱՇԽԱՐՀԻ ՎԱՂՊԵՏԱԿԱՆ ԿԱԶՄԱՎՈՐՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ
Մ.Թ.Ա. II ՀԱԶԱՐԱՄՅԱԿԻ ԵՐԿՐՈՐԴ ԿԵՍԻՆ
(ըստ գրավոր սկզբնաղբյուրների և հնագիտական տվյալների)**

Աշոտ Փիլիպոսյան, Արմինե Հայրապետյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհ, Եգիպտոսի Նոր թագավորություն, Միտաննի, Կասսիտական Բաբելոնիա, վաղպետական կազմավորումներ, Նաիրի, Էթիոնի, հնագիտություն:

Հին Մերձավոր Արևելքն ու Միջերկրականի ավազանը մ.թ.ա. II հազ. միջնամասում բուռն զարգացումների թատերաբեմ էին: Այստեղ ձևավորված նոր տերությունները (Եգիպտոսի և Խեթական նոր թագավորություններ, Կասսիտական Բաբելոնիա, Միտաննի) հաղթահարելով տևական ճգնաժամը, արդեն ոչ միայն փորձում էին ուղղորդել ու վերահսկել տարածաշրջանի ռազմաքաղաքական, առևտրատնտեսական և սոցիալ-մշակութային գործընթացները, այլև ձգտում էին անհատապես գերիշխողն ու թելադրողը դառնալ դրանցում: Ըստ ամենայնի, սա էր պատճառը, որ տարածաշրջանում աստիճանաբար բևեռվեցին երկու հակամարտող քաղաքական խմբավորումներ: Դրանցից մեկում հայտնվեցին Նոր Խեթական թագավորությունը, Արծավան և Վիլուսան (Իլիոն-Տրոյա), իսկ մյուսում՝ Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորությունը, Կասսիտական Բաբելոնիան և Միտաննին (Նահարինա):

Խմբավորումներից յուրաքանչյուրը ձգտում էր իր կողմը գրավել և դաշինքի մեջ ներքաշել նաև տարածաշրջանի մյուս ոչ մեծ վաղպետական

կազմավորումներին ու ցեղամիություններին, որոնց ենթակայության տակ գտնվող հումքային պաշարները, կոնկրետ արտադրական կարողությունները և մարդկային ներուժը կարող էին օժանդակել նախանշված քաղաքական հեռահար ծրագրերի իրագործմանը:

Նմանատիպ խնդիր առկա էր նաև մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսի Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի վաղպետական կազմավորումների մի մասի համար և, դատելով գրավոր աղբյուրների ու հնագիտական հետազոտությունների ընձեռած տվյալներից, վերջիններս ընգծված հակախեթական դիրքորոշում էին դրսևորել՝ աջակցելով Եգիպտոս-Միտաննի-Կասսիտական Բաբելոնիա խմբավորմանը: Այդ են վկայում Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի վաղպետական կազմավորումների առաջնորդներին առաքված և տեղի մ.թ.ա. XV-XIV դդ. թվագրվող հուշարձաններում (Լճաշեն, Արթիկ, Առաջաձոր, Մեծամոր, Արուճ, Հառիճ, Լոռի բերդ, Քանազեղ, Գեղարոտ) պեղված միտաննական, կասսիտական և եգիպտական իշխանական տարբեր խորհրդանշանները:

Այս համատեքստում հատկապես քիչ են քննարկված Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի և Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության միջև ձևավորված փոխառնչությունները: Բանն այն է, որ XVIII հարստության (մ.թ.ա. 1552-1305 թթ.) առաջին փարավոնների ջանքերով հզորացած Եգիպտոսի Նոր թագավորությունը մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսին ընդհուպ մոտեցել էր Տավրոսյան լեռներին՝ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի հարավային մատույցներին: Ուստի փարավոնների համար բոլորովին էլ միևնույն չէր, թե ինչ դիրքորոշում և վերաբերմունք հանդես կբերեն տեղի վաղպետական կազմավորումները: Չի բացառվում, որ այդ փուլում երկուստեք իրականացվել են կոնկրետ քայլեր նշված խնդիրները հստակեցնելու համար: Դատելով Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի տարբեր հատվածներում հայտնաբերված, եգիպտական ծագում ունեցող արտեֆակտներից, նման շփումներ ու փոխառնչություններ իսկապես կայացել են, կրել են գործնական բնույթ և, ըստ ամենայնի, ձևավորել փոխընդունելի մոտեցումներ տարածաշրջանում ստեղծված բարդ իրավիճակի հարցում:

Այդ արտեֆակտների առաջին խումբը կազմում են բերովի կոյաբզեզ-կնիքները (սկարաբեյներ) և նմանատիպ զարդակախիկները: Սրանք

հայտնաբերվել են Մեծամորի միջնաբերդի և թիվ 17 դամբարանի (**աղ. I, նկ. 1, 14**), ինչպես նաև Հոռոմի դամբարանադաշտի թիվ 1, 18, 34, 106 դամբարանների (**աղ. II, նկ. 1**) պեղումների ժամանակ և իրենց բազմաթիվ զուգահեռներն ունեն մ.թ.ա. XV-XI դդ. նորեգիտպական համապատասխան նյութերում (**աղ. I, նկ. 2-13, 15-23**): Հայաստանյան հնագիտական համալիրների համակողմանի ուսումնասիրությունները ցույց են տալիս, որ կոյաբզեզ-կախիկները ժամանակին ոչ բոլորին են հասու եղել, որպես իշխանության և դիրքի ուրույն խորհրդանշաններ՝ պատկանել են տեղի ուշբրոնզեդարյան-վաղերկաթեդարյան հասարակությունների վերնախավերի տարեց ներկայացուցիչներին և, ըստ ամենի, սոցիալական բարձր կարգավիճակից զատ մատնանշել նաև վերջիններիս կապերը Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության բարձրաստիճան պաշտոնյաների, գուցե՛ն՝ արքունիքի հետ:

Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության և Արարատյան դաշտի վաղպետական կազմավորման (Էթիունի) միջև երկուստեք առավել կարևորություն ներկայացնող առևտրատնտեսական և մշակութային կապերի հաստատման մի այլ ուշագրավ վկայություն են նոնեսի (խաշխաշ, կակաչ) պարկուճի տեսքով պերճանքի առարկաները, որ պեղվել են Մեծամորի ուշբրոնզեդարյան (մ.թ.ա. XV-XIII դդ.) դամբարանաբլուրներից (**աղ. III, նկ. 1, 3-4**): Եգիպտոսից հայտնաբերված սրանց համաժամանակյա զուգահեռները (**աղ. III, նկ. 5-8, 11-15**), մասնագետների կարծիքով, որպես բարձրաստիճան անձանց համար նախատեսված հատուկ առարկաններ, ազուցվել են վզնոցների շարի մեջ և/կամ կրվել հագուստի վրա: Ձևով, նյութի ընտրությամբ (սարդիոն և ագաթ), պատրաստման տեխնիկայով և ժամանակով հայաստանյան օրինակները միանգամայն նույնական են եգիպտականներին և, ըստ այդմ, կամ ուղղակի ներմուծման արդյունք են, կամ էլ դրանց մի մասն ընթացքում նմանակվել է տեղում: Ամեն դեպքում, այս արտեֆակտների առկայությունը միայն Եգիպտոսում և Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի կենտրոնում՝ Արարատյան դաշտում, դարձյալ ենթադրել է տալիս երկու քաղաքական միավորների միջև գոյություն ունեցած անմիջական կապերի մասին և մատնանշում, որ ռազմական համագործակ-

ցությունից զատ դրանք ներառել են նաև առևտրական, սոցիալական, էլիտար և այլ ոլորտներ:

Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության հետ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի որոշ վաղպետական կազմավորումների ունեցած փոխառնչությունների մի ուշագրավ փաստ էլ կապված է թաղման ծիսակարգի մեջ մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսին երկուստեք արված որոշ նորամուծությունների հետ: Բանն այն է, որ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի միջին բրոնզի շրջափուլի վերջի (մ.թ.ա. XVIII-XVI դդ.) և ուշ բրոնզի (մ.թ.ա. XVI/XV-XIII/XII դդ.) դամբարանային համալիրներում, նյութական մշակույթի տարբեր առարկաների հետ հայտնաբերվել են նաև բրոնզաձուլ եզակի իրեր, որոնց հնագետները պայմանականորեն «զինանշաններ» են անվանում: Սրանք բարձրարվեստ, զանգվածեղ արտեֆակտներ են, ունեն մինչև 40 սմ բարձրություն և կազմված են մակույկաձև հիմնամասից, աշտարակաձև կոթունից և կենդանակերպ, թռչնակերպ կամ մարդակերպ վերնամասից (**աղ. V, նկ. 1-5**): Հետաքրքիր է այն հանգամանքը, որ մակույկաձև հիմնամաս ունեցող քննարկվող զինանշանները Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի իշխանական դամբարաններում սկսում են կիրառվել հատկապես մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսից: Այս տեսանկյունից հարցը դիտարկելիս, դարձյալ առաջնային կարևորություն է ձեռք բերում մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսից Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության և Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի որոշ վաղպետական կազմավորումների միջև դրսևորված կապերն ու փոխառնչությունները: Դրանց արդյունքում, հավանաբար, Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի վաղպետական կազմավորումների որոշ առաջնորդների կողմից, էլիտար մի խումբ խորհրդանշանների հետ եգիպտացիներից փոխ է առնել անդրաշխարհ տանող մակույկի գաղափարը և դրա առարկայական դրսևորումը հավելվել իշխանական դամբանախցի գույքակազմի անհրաժեշտ մաս հանդիսացող զինանշանի ստորին հատվածում: Չի բացառվում նաև, որ Եգիպտոսի միջին ու նոր թագավորություններում և Բերրի կիսալուսնու տարածքում (ներառյալ Հայկական լեռնաշխարհում) մ.թ.ա. II հազ. կեսին իշխող վերնախավերի միջև ձևավորված մշակութային փոխառնչությունների արդյունքում էլ եգիպտական թաղման ծեսում հայտնվել է քառանիվ սայլի վրա արվող հողարկավորման արարողությունը, ինչը մինչ այդ կարծես թե չի հանդիպում տեղի էլիտար թա-

ղումներում: Նշվածի ընդունելի զուգահեռը Եգիպտոսի XVII (Թեբեական) հարստության փարավոն Կամոսին (անվան հին տարբերակը՝ Կամեսու, մ.թ.ա. 1554-1549 թթ.) պատկանող և նրա կին Յահիոտեպի սարկոֆագից հայտնաբերված անդրաշխարհյան մակույկի ոսկե մանրակերտն է, որ վարպետորեն համալրված է մերձավորարևելյան թաղման դիասայլի չորս անիվներով (*ադ. V, նկ. 11*):

Ի մի բերելով մ.թ.ա. II հազ. երկրորդ կեսին Եգիպտոսի նոր թագավորության և Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի որոշ վաղպետական կազմավորումների միջև ձևավորված բազմաբնույթ գործընթացների մասին այս համառոտ շարադրանքը, կարելի է եզրակացնել, որ դրանք առավելապես ռազմաքաղաքական, առևտրատնտեսական և սոցիալ-մշակութային ուղղվածություն են ունեցել, եղել են փոխշահավետ կողմերից յուրաքանչյուրի համար, ինչի արդյունքում էլ մի տևական շրջան (մ.թ.ա. XVI/XV–XII/XI դդ.), կախված տարածաշրջանում կոնկրետ իրավիճակներում ձևավորված ռազմաքաղաքական վայրիվերումներից, գործել են փոփոխական արդյունավետությամբ, բայց առանց ընդհատումների:

RIVER TRAFFIC ON THE EUPHRATES*

Aram Kosyan

Abstract

In two articles representing his journey by the Upper Euphrates E. Huntington, well-known US geographer, describes the river transportation on sheepskin rafts which was practiced by the local population, mostly Armenians. The description of kellek (sheepskin raft) by E. Huntington leaves no doubt that they are similar with the raft which was used by the people of Mesopotamia according to Herodotus.

Keywords: *E. Huntington, sheepskin raft, Euphrates, river traffic, Herodotus.*

E. Huntington, the well-known American geographer (1876-1947)¹ describes his journey on *kellek* on the Upper Euphrates in the Spring 1901, accompanied by Th. H. Norton, US consul in Harput (Arm. Kharberd). According to the author, such means of transportation was practiced by local population, mostly Armenians. Besides navigation the author makes some useful remarks on localities along the course of the river and archaeological sites which he met during his journey.

Below we shall bring passages from the account of E. Huntington's journey. The first article contains some remarks on the rafts popular among the population of the Euphrates and its tributaries. The second article deals with extensive account of his journey of which we present only those regarding *kelleks* (Turkish word which means raft made of sheepskin). By E.

* The article was submitted on June 17, 2021: The article was reviewed on June 21, 2021.

¹ E. Huntington was professor of geography at the Yale University (USA) during the early 20th century, and is known for his studies on environmental determinism. He served as President of the Ecological Society of the USA in 1917, the Association of American Geographers in 1923 and President of the Board of Directors of the Society for Bio-demography and Social Biology from 1934 to 1938. E. Huntington participated in several geographical expeditions to Central Asia, Palestine, travelled in different regions of Western Armenia and Asia Minor.

Huntington, until 1901 neither a European nor even local had attempted to travel on such rafts from the Upper Euphrates to Northern Syria because of dangerous rapids. He refers to well-known German general H.von Moltke who tried to do it twice in 1838-1839 but was forced to abandon this idea very soon².

E. Huntington, The Valley of the Upper Euphrates River and Its People, Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Vol. 34, No. 5, 1902, 384-393, Chapter "Primitive Modes of Travel on the Rivers", pp. 89-90.

"On Assyrian monuments of 1000 B. C., or older, there are representations of rafts made of inflated sheepskins, and of men crossing the water on single inflated skins, with which they supported their bodies, while they swam with their feet. At the present time such rafts are the only means of navigation on the Euphrates River and its branches, except at some of the larger ferries. No attempt is made to go up stream, although in summer the current is very slow in many places. For thousands of years the habits of the people have remained unaltered. When they wish to cross the river to market a raft of skins is sufficient for the men, and the animals can swim alongside. If the river is high and dangerous, business can wait a week or two. In 1901 I floated two hundred and fifty miles on such rafts and saw no other means of locomotion, with the exception already noted. To be sure, I saw a raft of logs, on which sat almost naked Kurds, with strings of dried gourds around their waists for life-preservers and wooden tridents for paddles. But this was not a means of transportation; it was merely the easiest way of getting the logs to the place where they were to be used. At the main ferries there is what I suppose to be a relatively modern innovation in the shape of exceedingly clumsy, square-cornered wooden boats. They are low in front, in order that animals and, in the few cases where wagon roads have been built, wagons

² **Von Moltke** 1876: 289-291, 360-363. In July, 1838 Von Moltke started his journey from Palu but succeeded to reach only modern Kömurhan where he was forced to quit his undertaking because of rapids. His second journey (spring 1839) also failed because of rapids at Tilek.

may enter. The stern is high and overhanging, with a high platform, on which stands the steersman, who manipulates the mighty rudder, which is as long as the boat. Two rough planks, with rounded handles, are tied to pins close to the front of the boat, and serve as oars. Of course, these boats are carried far down stream before they can reach the opposite side, and have to be towed up stream along the bank - a very long and tedious process. Occasionally they are carried several miles down stream, or get stuck on sand bars in the middle of the swollen river."

Through the Great Canon of the Euphrates River, The Geographical Journal Including the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society XX. - July to December, 1902, pp. 175-200.

"Starting from that place, we rode to Akhor, on the bank of the Euphrates, at the eastern end of the Harput plain. The people of this village, Armenians, make a business during the winter of floating down the river to Kemur Khan on rafts of skins, fishing as they go. These rafts are known as *kelleks*, and the raftsmen are *kellekjis*. As there are no equivalent English words, I shall employ the Turkish terms. At Kemur Khan the *kelleks* are taken to pieces, and together with the fish loaded on donkeys sent by land across the neck of the river's bend to meet them. The fish are sold at Harput, and the rafts are taken back to the village, whence they start again. We had engaged two of these fishermen to take us down the river as far as we should choose to go, with the condition, imposed by them that they should be allowed to make a portage around one dangerous rapid, of which they had heard, in the lower gorge below Kemur Khan.

The making of the *kellek* took some time, although in the evening a number of entire sheepskins had been well soaked and left wet so that they might be pliable and ready for immediate use. In the morning they were inflated by blowing through the necks, the legs being securely tied so that no air could escape. At first the mouths of the blowers were at a distance of 8 or 10 inches from the necks of the skins, but as the later became fuller and more difficult to inflate, the men's mouths were brought nearer until they touched the skins. When a hole was discovered, it was quickly mended by putting a

piece of wood like a checker against the inside of the hole and tying the skin firmly around it. A light frame of saplings was tied together with ropes, and under this were tied the skins, about thirty in number, with the legs up. They were packed together so closely as to make the *kellek* water-tight. Thirty skins seemed to us very few for five people, but the fishermen's rafts consist of only six, and two men sit on one such *kellek*. The *kelleks* always go in pairs on long-fishing trips.

As the spring of 1901 in Turkey was unusually dry, the river was comparatively low, being about halfway between the extremes of flood and low water. As it was, the current seemed very swift even in the plain at Akhor. As soon as we began to float, we concluded that a *kellek* moves in the easiest, most delightful way that can be imagined. There is no jar or shake. The buoyant skins and pliant saplings adapt themselves to every movement of the waves. Half an hour after starting, we stopped for some time while the *kellekjis* gathered a great quantity of weeds, which they spread over the raft, partly to protect the skins from injury by our feet, but still more to prevent them from drying in the hot sun and cracking. Every hour or two they threw water over all exposed portions of the skins.”

In regard to the *kellek* seen by E. Huntington, one can speculate whether the raft used by the population of the Upper Euphrates area is similar to that reported by the Greek historian Herodotus where he describes the river traffic between Armenia and Babylon. According to the account, Mesopotamians use for navigation skins of animals.

Herodotus I.194³

“I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First, they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield.

³ Herodotus 1975: 244-245.

They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great; the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or more than one in the larger. So, when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia, they make more boats in the same way”.

The description of this navigation was discussed by several Armenologists. Unlike early Armenian historians like A. Garagashyan, G.A. Khalatyanc, J. Sandalgyan, K. Aslan who identify the tradesmen referred to by Herodotus with Armenians⁴, H. Manandyan in a small note shows that the Greek historian describes the activities of Assyrians who were mediators of river traffic between the Armenian Highland and Babylonia⁵. We shall agree with H. Manandyan in that indeed Assyrian tradesmen (i.e., Aramaeans since in the V century BC hardly Assyrians could have survived after late VII century BC) were operating in the south-western part of the Armenian Highland. But this proposal does not contradict the idea that the sheepskin rafts could have originated in Armenia.

The comparison of E. Huntington's description of *kellek* with that of Herodotus could force one to conclude that they are different, although the Neo-Assyrian reliefs leave no doubt that the Mesopotamian rafts were similar

⁴ **Garagashyan** 1895: 69; **Aslan** 1909: 75; **Khalatyants** 1910: 98; **Sandalgyan** 1917: 392. Later in the XX century this idea has been widely accepted by later Armenian authors.

⁵ **Manandyan** 1985: 410ff.

to the modern rafts made of sheepskin⁶. Probably, Herodotus's account was not full and the description of these rafts lacks some details.

The description of sheepskin raft by E. Huntington allows us to arrive to some conclusions.

- The procedure of making such rafts was simple and fast; it takes about one day.

- The rafts varied in size. For the fishing purposes two fishermen use a raft made of six sheepskins. As to the raft on which travelled E. Huntington and his companions (5 people) was constructed of 30 skins.

- The raft floats easily, without swinging.

- The traffic was practiced only down the river but not up.

In regard to vessels/rafts used by the population of the Armenian Highland it seems worth to mention a cuneiform Hittite text dated with the XV century BC which deals with the shipment of food for the Kaska workers by river⁷. Although the text does not specify the nature of the vessel, it could be speculated that the vessel under discussion was made of skins. Unfortunately, we do not know which river is meant in the text⁸. But it is certain that the Hittites used to have different types of such vessels, since here is mentioned "small vessel" (GİŞMÁ TUR).

Addenda

It goes without saying that rafts or boats made of animal skins were widely used in different parts of the world, and continue to be used until today. Nice illustration to this is China where such vessels are popular still from the III

⁶ See, for example, the photo on a relief from Nineveh (**Parpola** 1987: 39, Fig.13 where are depicted two types of boats, one regular, and on the left a raft made of skins). On another relief we see a fisherman sitting on a single skin, near regular boat (**Parpola** 1987: 53, Fig. 17b). See also Rawlinson 1880, Pl. LXII, Fig.2. See also the chapter in the study of R. Rollinger dealing with the navigation in the ancient Near East (**Rollinger** 2013: 33-44).

⁷ The text has been published by several scholars (**Garstang and Gurney** 1959: 33f.; **Hagenbuchner** 1989: 136ff.; **Hoffner** 2009: 81ff.; **Kosyan et al.** 2018: 75-78 etc.).

⁸ Euphrates (**Houwink ten Cate** 1970: 62 n. 31; **Ünal** 1974: 209f. etc.), Halys (**Garstang and Gurney** 1959: 33f.; **Forlanini** 1979: 184, n.105 etc.).

century AD. In ancient times the biggest sheepskin raft was composed of over 600 sheepskin bags and measured 22 meters long and 7 meters wide. There were three oars in the front and at the back. Each oar was controlled by two people. With a carrying capacity of 20 to 30 tons of goods, it could run over 200 kilometers per day⁹.

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⁹ <http://traditions.cultural-china.com/en/16Traditions2720.html>

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ԳԵՏԱՅԻՆ ՆԱՎԱՐԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ԵՓՐԱՏԻ ՎՐԱ

Արամ Քոսյան

Քանալի բառեր՝ Է. Հանթինգթոն, ոչխարի մորթի, Եփրատ, գետային նավարկություն, Հերոդոտոս:

1901 թ. ամերիկացի հայտնի աշխարհագրագետ Է. Հանթինգթոնը իր ուղեկիցների հետ միասին նավարկեց Եփրատի հոսանքով ներքև՝ տեղական բնակչության կողմից ավանդաբար օգտագործվող փչովի լաստանավով (ոչխարի ամբողջական տիկերից պատրաստված փոխադրամիջոց): Հեղինակի երկու հոդվածներում ներկայացվում է այդ լաստանավի պատրաստման եղանակը և նավիգացիոն առանձնահատկությունները:

Ըստ հեղինակի, այդպիսի լաստանավերի պատրաստումը շատ կարճ ժամանակ է պահանջում, դրանք տարբեր չափերի են հասնում, լողում են հանդարտ՝ առանց ցնցումների: Ընդ որում այդ լաստերով նավարկում են բացառապես հոսանքի ուղղությամբ, բայց ոչ դեպի վեր: Վերոհիշյալ լաստանավերը տեղական բնակչությունը (հիմնականում հայերը) օգտագործում է ինչպես ձկնորսական նպատակներով, այնպես էլ որպես փոխադրամիջոց ապրանքները Եփրատի երկայնքով ընկած բնակավայրեր տեղափոխելու համար:

Է. Հանթինգթոնի նկարագրած լաստանավը հիշեցնում է Հերոդոտոսի կողմից հիշատակվող փոխադրամիջոցը, որով Միջագետքի բնակիչները առևտրական գործունեություն էին իրականացնում Հայկական լեռնաշխարհի հետ: Սակայն Հերոդոտոսի աշխատության համապատասխան հատվածը թերի է այն առումով, որ նկարագրության մեջ պակասում են նման լաստերի պատրաստման տեխնիկայի որոշ մանրամասներ: Ակնհայտ է, որ երկու դեպքում էլ գործ ունենք միևնույն փոխադրամիջոցի հետ:

Փչովի լաստանավերը առ այսօր օգտագործվում են երկրագնդի տարբեր շրջաններում, մասնավորապես դրանք լայն տարածում ունեն

Չինաստանում, որտեղ դրանք վկայված են դեռևս մ.թ.ա. առաջին դարերում: Ըստ չինական աղբյուրների, Հան դինաստիայի օրոք հիշատակվում է մինչև 600 ոչխարների տիկերից պատրաստված լաստանավ (երկարությունը 22 մետր, լայնությունը 7 մետր), որոնք կարող էին տեղափոխել 20-30 տոննա բեռ:

L'EXÉCUTION DE SURÉNA: LES TENDANCES DANS LES RELATIONS DE POUVOIR CHEZ LES PARTHES*

Rouben Manasserian

Abstract

Le capitaine Parthe Suréna, victorieux des légions de Crassus fut exécuté par Orodès aussitôt après sa victoire éclatante. L'examen de ce fait portent à révéler les particularité du développement politique de l'Empire Parthe.

Les mots clés: *Suréna, Orodès, Arsacides, Parthes, Plutarque, Tiridate, Mithridate III, Rome, relations de pouvoir, G. Kochelenko.*

Les auteurs antiques dont les ouvrages sont des sources principales de l'histoire des Parthes traitent de façon passagère les problèmes de l'histoire intérieure politique de l'Empire Arsacide. Ce sont les guerres romano-parthes qui demeurent au centre de leur attention. En plus, en éffleurant les actes politiques des princes Arsacide Trogue Pompée, (Justin), Tacite, Plutarque recourent aux notions idéologiques et morales, telles comme crudelitas, insolencia propres à la mentalité traditionnelle de la police (civitas). Cette particularité de leurs renseignements dissimule les causes des contradictions qui déchiraient périodiquement l'Empire des Arsacides.

D'après le concept de G. A. Kochelenko la lutte politique dans l'Empire parthe fut suscité par les désaccords au sujet de l'attitude envers l'Empire romain, par l'intransigeance entre les partisans de la capitulation devant la Rome et ceux de la lutte opiniâtre¹. Les premiers furent les couches dominantes des villes hellénistiques de la Mésopotamie méridionale et les nobles Parthes hellénisés alors que les seconds se présentaient comme

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¹ **Kočelenko** 1963: 59.

aristocratie clanique des régions orientales². Se fondant sur cette thèse G. Kochelenko interprète la guerre fratricide entre Mithridate III et Orodès II. Déposé par l'aristocratie Parthe Mithridate III (58-57) dut s'enfuir en Syrie romaine. Il se rentra aussitôt en Mésopotamie, en trouvant l'appuie dans les cités hellénistiques et parmi eux en Seuleucie du Tigre. G. Kochelenko considère Mithridate comme chef des adeptes de la capitulation devant la Rome, de la reconnaissance de la prépondérance romaine³. Cependant il convient d'observer que Kochelenko ne prête pas' attention à l'indication nette de la source, celle de Justin que c'est par la suite de sa cruauté que Mithridate fut détrôné par le "sénat" parthe, une assemblée des chefs claniques. (Propter crudelitatem a Senatu Parthico regno pellitur: - Just., XLII, 4). Justin, donc ne mentionne pas l'attitude défaitiste de Mithridate vis-à-vis de la Rome, mais indique la cruauté de ce dernier.

Aussi nous paraît-il contestable l'interprétation faite par A. G. Boktchanine qui inverse la suite des faits. "Le calcul de s'appuyer sur la population hellénisée des centres civiques de la Mésopotamie suscita le mécontentement de la noblesse parthe" et "Mithridate fut déposé pour la cruauté"⁴.

En réalité, la tentative de Mithridate de s'appuyer sur les couches hellénisés de Babylonie et de Seuleucie du Tigre fut déjà entreprise après son détrônement, c'est-à-dire son rapprochement des cercles politiques aux aspirations pro-romaines fut conditionné par la conjoncture politique et de la sorte, ne reflétait pas ses buts initials. Or, ses buts qui lui imposèrent de recourir à la cruauté à l'égard de la noblesse demeurent non élucidés. Prenons en considération que le point de vue qui fait procéder la collision interne chez bles Parthes du désaccord au sujet de l'attitude à l'égard de Rome passe sous silence le fait que Orodès aussitôt après son avènement manifeste lui-même la cruauté. Il châtie de mort son excellent capitaine Suréna. Suréna, victorieux des troupes de Mithridate III et des légions de

² **Kočelenko** 1963: 59.

³ **Ibid.**

⁴ **Bokščanin** 1966: 43.

Crassus, chef de l'un de sept clans puissants - membre du "sénat" parthe fut de toute apparence lié au aristocrates semi-nomades orientales de l'Empire. Ce meurtre ne s'enchaîne pas au concept de collision entre les "défaitistes" et les "patriotes".

Ce n'est que Plutarque qui parmi les auteurs antiques a conservé l'information sur le meurtre de Suréna. Selon ses explications le vainqueur de Crassus tomba victime de la jalousie (φθόνος) royale de sa gloire.⁵ Rappelons-nous que Plutarque considère la jalousie comme motivation générale des actes des protagonistes de ses "Vies". Déjà chez Herodote la jalousie (φθόνος) insite la divinité de poursuivre et de châtier les acteurs pour leurs grandes réussites⁶. Il est évident que la version de Plutarque sur la jalousie royale est hors de la réalité politique.

L'exécution de Suréna ne fut pas prise en considération par G. Kochelenko et A.D. H. Bivar. (Ils passent même sous silence ce fait significatif)⁷. Propos du meurtre de Suréna A. G. Boktchanine suppose que "les des données des sources sont tellement maigres qu'il soit impossible d'émettre quelque opinion même la plus générale sur les causes de cette tragédie"⁸. A. N. Sherwin - White attribue une certaine hostilité envers le roi: "l'ambition dynastique"⁹. Une semblable opinion a été émise par K. Schippmann: "As for Surena, the victor of Carrhae, it, soon cost him his life. Probably fearing, that he would constitute a threat to himself, king Orodès II had him executed"¹⁰. "The execution of Suréna, the victor of Carrhae shows the relatively unlimited power of the supreme monarch in Parthia"¹¹.

La dernière assertion est en gros incontestable mais l'affaire de Suréna mérite un examen précis, vue les tendances dans les modifications du

⁵ **Plutarque** 1972. Crass, 33,7. La version de Plutarque de la mort de Suréna par suite de la jalousie d'Orodès fut partagée par **Momzenn** 1941: 285; **Debevoise** 1938: 92.

⁶ **Sobolevsky** 1955: 50.

⁷ **Kočelenko** 1963: 58; **Bivar** 1983: 56.

⁸ **Bokščanin** 1966: 61, note 93.

⁹ **Sherwin-White** 1984: 290, "Orodès eliminated his successful marshal on suspicion of dynastic ambition".

¹⁰ **Schippmann** 1987: 528.

¹¹ **Schippmann** 1987: 532.

pouvoir suprême chez les Parthes. Il nous convient de présumer que le meurtre de Suréna servit à Orodès de moyens de réaliser des combinaisons politiques de longue portée. L'exécution de Suréna est un acte marquant un coup d'État véritable. Il ne serait compris que si l'on prenne en considération les tâches politiques que les Arsacides, chefs militaires et héréditaires du peuple, aux institutions tribales, avaient visé dans leurs rapports avec la haute noblesse clanique. Orodès agit dans l'intention d'instituer l'empire centralisé au pouvoir despotique avec une noblesse servile, un État, en vrai acception de ce mot. Le conflit ne se déroulait pas en forme latente comme on l'estime¹². Au contraire il revêtu le caractère d'un affrontement ouvert, de la terreur déclenchée par la royauté. Le meurtre de Suréna fut la mesure d'effroi adressée à la haute noblesse, à l'assemblée des chefs des clans. Pour asséner ce coup Orodès choisit en tant que victime Suréna, son serviteur dévoué, mais aussi chef du clan le plus puissant. Ayant, donc s'emparé du trône à l'aide de la noblesse, insurgée contre Mithridate III pour sa cruauté Orodès la prit aussitôt à l'improviste, par le retour à la politique de son prédécesseur. L'exécution de Suréna, non-fondée et arbitraire fut la manifestation de la transformation du pouvoir suprême en pouvoir despotique. La nécessité de la justification de cette mort, c'est à dire de l'argumentation, du recours à l'esprit de ses sujets fut déjà incompatible au caractère nouveau du pouvoir devenu déjà une domination totale et immédiate sur l'individu, sur la personnalité d'un représentant de la classe aristocratique. On réduisait les chefs claniques à l'état des domestiques assujettis. Par son acte Orodès introduisait la peur (metus) en qualité de stimulant de leur soumission. Le sort tragique de Suréna sert de l'illustration de la formule de Trogue Pompée sur les Parthes. " Ils obéissent aux princes non par le respect, mais de la peur, (Principibus meta non pudire parent - Just., XLI, III).

La tentative de conjuration de Ornodopate en 51 prouve que les grands ne furent pas résigné complètement à leur nouvelle situation mais gardèrent leur rancune. Dans la formulation, présenté par Trogue Pompée la peur

¹² Ibid.

figure en qualité de facteur stable du processus de l'exercice du pouvoir. Cette pratique manifestement répressive de l'exercice du pouvoir se reflète dans la doctrine officielle présentée chez Dion Cassius. "Maître, moi le descendant d'Arsace, frère des rois Vologèse et Pacoros, je suis ton esclave, je suis venu vers toi, mon Dieu pour t'adorer comme Mithra. Je serai ce que tu me feras, car tu es mon sort est mon Destin"¹³. Ces paroles ont été adressées à Néron par le prince Tiridate au moment de son couronnement roi d'Arménie par l'empereur en plein Forum en 66. Tiridate prononça la formule protocolaire, admise à la cour royale arsacide. Cette formule protocolaire qui avait ravie Néron exprime les rapports d'une côté de la domination sans limites et de la soumission sans réserve de celle de l'autre. Le roi est un maître égale à Moira par son rôle à l'égard du sujet. Le maître dispose complètement de son sort, de sa vie et de sa mort. Le sujet, tout d'abord son physique, son corps comme l'indique Plutarque dans sa relation sur la situation des courtisans à la cour de Tigrane, roi d'Arménie, est l'objet du pouvoir. En 66 les relations de pouvoir formulées dans l'allocution de Tiridate ne correspondaient pas déjà aux réalités politiques de l'Empire Parthe. La formule ne devint qu'une formalité. Vers le milieu du 1er siècle de n. ère les forces centrifuges prirent le dessus. Les expériences de créer un empire centralisé au pouvoir autocrate et despotique subirent un échec final.

Cet époque particulière fut inaugurée par le coup d'État d'Orodès mais elle était précédée d'une époque de longue crise de l'ordre politique d'une société clano-tribale des nomades Parnes. Cette crise fut engendré par les vastes conquêtes territoriales sous le règne de Mithridate 1er. Les chefs Parthes claniques, conducteurs de ses propres forces militaires se transformèrent aussitôt en princes locaux pratiquement indépendants. Les possibilités des Arsacides d'exercer l'influence sur la noblesse se diminuèrent. Donc, la nécessité de régir ces territoires immenses, de les organiser dans une puissance unifiée imposait aux Arsacides la tâche de

¹³ **Dion Cassius** 1896: LXIII, 5, 2: ἐγώ, δέσποτα, Ἀρσάκου μὲν ἕκγονος, Οὐλογαΐσου δὲ καὶ Πακόρου των βασιλέων ἄδελφός, σόςδὲ δούλος εἰμι, καὶ ἠλθόν τε πρόυ σέ τόν ἐμόν Θεόν, προσκυνήσων σε ὡς καὶ τόν Μίθραν, καὶ ἔσομαι τουτο ὅ τι ἄν σύ ἐπικλώσης· σύ γάρ μοι καὶ μοίρα εἰ καὶ τύχη.

créer un système administratif et centralisé. Pour la réaliser il fallait aux Arsacides de dompter ses compagnons d'arme, les chefs claniques. Cette tâche les poussait inévitablement au conflit, d'autant que ils suivirent les mesures de coersition et de punition qui étaient établis dans une société à l'organisation orientée vers la guerre. La mobilisation des forces face au contre-offensive Seleucide de Démetrios II et Antiochos VII, et des invasions ravageuses des Sakaraukes ajournèrent la résolution du problème. Mithridate II enfin tenta de l'entreprendre. Les sources prouvent l'existence du système satrapal sous son règne. Mais déjà de son vivant ce système ne put empêcher l'explosion de l'Empire et son morcellement durant la période des années 91-70. Sous Phrahate III (70-58) l'Empire surmonta la crise et recouvra son unité. Mithridate III (58-57) reprit la tâche d'instituer autocratie. Orodès semble-t-il la réussit pour un certain delais. La catastrophe Parthe de l'an 38 en guerre contre la Rome de toute évidence réduisit à néan toutes ses entreprises dans le domaine intérieur politique. Les tentatives d'Artabane II (11-38) et des rois rivaux Godarze II et Vardan de rétablir un État despotique et centralisé se brisèrent complètement contre les particularismes de l'aristocratie clanique et foncière.

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ՍՈՒՐԵՆԱՅԻ ՄԱՀԱՊԱՏԻԺԸ. ՄԻՏՈՒՄՆԵՐ ՊԱՐԹԵՎՆԵՐԻ ՄՈՏ ԻՇԽԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐՈՒՄ

Ռուբեն Մանասերյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ *Սուրենա, Օրոդես, Արշակունիներ, պարթևներ, Պլուտարքոս, Տրդատ, Միհրդատ III, Հոռոմ, իշխանության հարաբերություններ, Գ. Կոշելենկո:*

Հունա-հռոմեական հեղինակները Պարթևստանի արքաների գործողություններն իրենց ավագանու նկատմամբ բնութագրում են հունական քաղաքացիական համայնքի (պոլիսի) գիտակցությանը բնորոշ բարոյագաղափարախոսական հասկացություններով, ինչպիսիք են «դաժանությունը», «հանդգնությունը», «նախանձը»: Պարթևական տերության մ.թ.ա. 50-ական թթ.-ից մինչև մ.թ. 50-ական թթ.-ի վերջը՝ շուրջ մեկ դար տևած ժամանակահատվածը բնութագրվում է արքայական իշխանության և տոհմիկ ավագանու միջև պարբերաբար բռնկվող բախումներով: Արշակունիները նպատակ էին հետամտում ստեղծել կենտրոնացված պետականություն և որպես դրա նախապայման նրանք տեսնում էին ավագանու նկատմամբ անսահմանափակ տիրապետության՝ (dominatio) հաստատման, հպատակի անձը՝ կյանքն ու մահը տնօրինելու մեջ: Տվյալ ներքաղաքական առճակատման շրջանակում հարկ է դիտարկել Սուրենայի՝ Կրասոսի հաղթողի և արքա Օրոդեսի հավատարիմ զինակցի, նաև տոհմային ավագանու հզորագույն ներկայացուցչի՝ նույն Օրոդեսի հրամանով մահապատիժը: Պլուտարքոսը բացատրում է Սուրենայի սպանությունը իր զորավարի ռազմական փառքի հանդեպ Օրոդեսի նախանձով: Պատմաբանները հավատ են ընծայում Պլուտարքոսի

այդ բացատրությանը կամ էլ անուշադրության մատնում Սուրենայի սպանության փաստը (Գ. Կոշելենկո, Ա. Բոկչանին, Ա. Բիվար): Շերվին-Ուայթը և Շիպմանն ենթադրում են, որ Սուրենան սպառնալիք էր ներկայացնում Արշակունի արքային: Իրականում Օրոդեսը, Սուրենայի օգնությամբ տապալելով ավագանու հանդեպ «դաժանություններ» գործած Միհրդատ III-ին (մ.թ.ա. 58-57 թթ.), գործեց առավել մեծ դաժանություն, հարված հասցնելով ավագանուն՝ մահապատժի ենթարկելով նրա ամենաազդեցիկ ներկայացուցչին: Սուրենայի մահապատիժը նշանավորեց իրական պետական հեղաշրջում: Արշակունիների գերագույն ժառանգական իշխանությունը՝ հասարակական-քաղաքական խնդիրներ կատարող գործառույթից բացի ձեռք բերեց համապարփակ տիրակալման բնույթ, որը անձնական կախվածության մեջ էր դնում ավագանուն արքայից, հավասարեցնում նրա կարգավիճակը պալատական ծառայի դրությանը: Բացառված չէ, որ նման քաղաքականությունն ուղեկցվում է ավագանու հողային տիրույթների սահմանափակման միջոցառումներով: Որպես իր տիրակալման միջոց Օրոդեսը սահմանում էր պատիժ: Ինչպես նշում է Պոմպեոս Տրոգոսը. «Պարթևները ենթարկվում են տիրակալներին ոչ հարգանքից, այլ վախից» (Just. XLI, III): Կյանքի համար վախը դարձվում էր իշխանության իրագործման մշտական գործոն: Աստվածացված տիրակալի անսահմանափակ իշխանությունը հպատակի անձի նկատմամբ՝ որպես միապետական գաղափարախոսության հիմնարար դրույթ, հռչակվում է Տրդատի խոսքում՝ ուղղված Ներոնին (Dio. Cass, LXIII, 5, 2): Սակայն 66 թ. այդ թեզն արդեն արարողակարգային էր, քանի որ չէր արտացոլում պարթևական պետության մեջ իշխող իրադրությունը: Օրոդեսի ծանրագույն պարտությունը Հռոմից 38 թ. ու մահը ի չիք դարձրեցին կենտրոնացված պետականություն ստեղծելու նրա ջանքերը: Այնուհետև Արտաբան II-ի (11-38 թթ.) և իրար մրցակից արքաների՝ Գոտարձեսի և Վարդանի (40-50-ական թթ.) արյունահեղ, բայց անհաջող փորձերը հաստատելու բռնակալական միապետությունը 60-70-ական թվականներին հանգեցրին Պարթևստանի մասնատվելուն 18 թագավորությունների: Թագավորական իշխանությունը սահմանափակվեց տոհմատիրական ավագանու իշխանության քաղաքական հաստատություններով:

ON THE ISSUE OF THE PARTHIAN PAHLAVS' SOCIO-POLITICAL NATURE*

Arthur Melikyan

Abstract

The role of the high aristocracy, the so-called pahlavs, is undeniable in the history of the Parthian state. In the second half of III century BC the assistance of the pahlavs to the Arsacid dynasty considerably contributed to the establishment of the Dahae and organization of their own state in Parthia and Hyrcania. During the following centuries the rises and crises of the political life of the Parthian statehood and even its final decline in the first quarter of the III century was due to the attitude of the Parthian pahlavs towards the Arsacid dynasty. In spite of the key role of the pahlavs, the issues of their ethnic origin, social nature, their number and the relations with the royal power are still poorly studying in historical science. We hope that this article will bring its contribution in studying the history of the Parthian pahlavs.

Keywords: *Arsacids, Parthia, Hyrcania, Dahae, Parni, Xanthii, Pissuri, Pahlav, Suren, Karen, synedrion, Strabo*

1. The setting of the issue

According to the point of view accepted in the historical science the emergence of the Parthian pahlavs¹ occurred parallelly with the conquest of Hyrcania and Parthia by the tribe of Parni (Aparni) and was strongly influenced by this fact. After defeating Andragoras, the Seleucid ruler of Parthia, and the war with varying success against the Seleucid king Seleucus II Callinicus, Arsaces, the tribal leader of the Parni, usurped the power of the

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¹ For the Parthian (Dahae) high aristocracy we prefer to use the epithet **pahlav** applied by the medieval Armenian authors. It is the alternated form of the middle Persian word “parthian” «**Parthava - Parθava**» and changing its meaning, the best reflects the privileged position of the narrow elite of the Iranian aristocracy in the period of the Arsacids.

king in accordance with the scheme of “the right of spear conquest” well-known from the political history of the ancient world, and the elders of the Scythian community of the Parni occupied the social position of the Parthian high aristocracy². All scholars more or less agree on this sequence of the events³.

In historical science, the Parthian Pahlavs were usually characterized by the epithets "**Parthian nobles**", "**wealthy houses**", "**great clans**", "**great houses**". Learning about the ethnic origin and social circle of Parthian state's high aristocracy constitutes a major problem for scholars. This is caused by the lack in sources of clear and precise information on Parthian society. The Greek and Latin authors writing about the state governed by the Arsacid dynasty were above all interested in politics: the conflicts with the Seleucids or with Rome; they paid attention to internal affairs only when these had an impact on the course of these conflicts. Most of these references are too general and circumstantial to base a credible reconstruction of the picture of the Parthian society on them⁴. Of course, they mostly focus on the aristocracy, and as a result the sources available on this group are sufficiently - numerous that we can determine its political status, ideological positions, political role in the Parthian state and the nature of its relations with the rulers.

Studies of the Parthian aristocracy are few. The first scholar to had thoroughly discussed this social group was J. Wolski⁵. In terms of studying the issue, the works of Ed. Dąbrowa⁶, S. Hauser⁷ are also of great importance. Many questions have already received their answers. In this article we will try to answer questions about the ethnic origin and social circle of the highest

² **Wolski** 1967, 1981, 1989, 1993; **Wiesehöfer** 2001: 139; **Dąbrowa** 2013: 54. This view was criticized by S. Hauser (**Hauser** 2005: 168-185; **Hauser** 2006: 295-319).

³ For the period and circumstances of the emergence of the Arsacid state and issues of their elucidation in the ancient bibliography see **Assar** 2004: 69-93; **Assar** 2005: 29-63; **Gaslain** 2005a: 221-224; **Gaslain** 2005b: 9-30; **Gaslain** 2009: 27-39; **Dąbrowa** 2008: 25-31; **Strootman** 2018: 129-150; **Overtoom** 2020: 27-93.

⁴ **Dąbrowa** 2013: 53.

⁵ **Wolski** 1967, 1981, 1989, 1993.

⁶ **Dąbrowa** 2013: 53-62.

⁷ **Hauser** 2005: 168-185; **Hauser** 2006: 295-319.

aristocracy of the Parthian state, and will address the quantitative composition of the Parthian pahlavs elsewhere.

2. The Genealogy of the Parthian Pahlavs

The creation of their own state in Parthia and Hyrcania and the transition from the nomadic lifestyle to sedentary one radically transformed the social structure and political system of the Dahae tribal confederation. They successfully resembled the best elements of the Persian and Hellenistic administration and were able to resist the hostile environment. However, in the first period the rule of Arsacids was predominantly based on the support of Dahae, therefore the influence of the prior relations of the Dahae tribal society on the formation of the new political realities must have been significant. Strabo, testifying that the Dahae confederation consisted of three tribes, the Parni (Aparni), Xanthii and Pissuri⁸, states that the Parni tribe led by Arsaces, initiated the rebellious movement against the Macedonian rule. However, it does not follow from this that the Parni had a dominant or leading position in the Dahae confederation and the leadership of Arsaces equally or partially spread on the Xanthii and Pissuri. Just the opposite, it follows from the fact of the large area of distribution of the Dahae tribes in the Trans-Aral steppes and the habitation⁹ with the Saca-Scythian tribes that the Dahae confederation was founded on egalitarian principle. The initiation of the Parni to conquer Hyrcania and Parthia could have hardly changed it, as the Parni themselves were not capable of completing the conquest and resisting the hostile treatment of the neighbouring countries without assistance from the Pissuri and Xantii. On the other hand, for the Pissuri and Xantii participation in the conquest of Parthia became a mighty leverage for maintaining the old tribal equality in the new conditions. From this viewpoint the opinion of J. Wiesehöfer that the social elite of Arsacid state originated exceptionally from

⁸ **Strabo** 1988: XI, 8. 2. «...καὶ τῶν Δαῶν οἱ μὲν προσαγορεύονται Ἀπαρνοὶ οἱ δὲ Ξάνθιοι, οἱ δὲ Πίσσουροι».

⁹ **Strabo** 1988: XI, 9. 2. About the original habitat of the Dahae see **Pyankov** 1979: 195, n. 4.; **Balakhvantsev** 2018: 80-106.

the Parni tribe, seems unacceptable¹⁰. It would be more reasonable to think that in the conditions of parity of the three tribes in the Dahae tribal confederation, the initiation of the struggle against the Macedonian rule elevated Arsaces from an ordinary tribal chief into the hegemon of the Dahae chief tribes (*primus inter pares*) but without giving real power over two fraternal tribal chiefs, and the latter formed Arsaces' entourage.

The rather slow process of the establishment of the royal authority during the reign of Arsaces I (c. 247-211 BC) must be explained by the inertia of the old tribal lifestyle¹¹. This is apparent not only from the slow and cautious change of Arsaces I's insignia and titles¹², but also from the saga in M. Khorenatsi's "History of Armenia"¹³ about the origins of the Parthian pahlavs, which is a distant echo of the resistance of the Dahae tribal council on the rise of the Arsacids.

In the first half of 230s BC while making his second attempt to gain a foothold in the territory of Parthia, Arsaces I had to resist the anti-Dahae alliance of Seleucus II (c. 246-225 BC) and Diodotus I (c. 255-235 BC) which was possible only in the case of concentration of military potential and finding recognition in the role of all-union military leader. It is natural that this could have been at the expense of the rights of the tribal councils of the Xantii and Pissuri. As it is seen from the taking the title of «*Karen*» "Krnny"¹⁴ by Arsaces I, motivated by the need to gain a foothold in the newly conquered territory, the Dahae elders agreed to this partial concession¹⁵. It is noteworthy that even after his establishment in Parthia and the official coronation in Asaak¹⁶, Arsaces I assumed not the title of "king" (*βασιλεύς*) of the Hellenistic monarchs, but the title of "autocrat" (*αυτοκρατορ*), still emphasizing the

¹⁰ Wiesehöfer 2001: 139.

¹¹ Sellwood 1980: Type 1-4. For the numismatic iconography and the changes of titles of Arsac I see Assar 2005: 29-35; Melikyan 2012: 33-69; Koshelenko, Gaibov 2013: 327-347.

¹² Melikyan 2012: 69-70:

¹³ Movses Khorenatsi 1981: II, 28.

¹⁴ Sellwood 1980: Type 3.

¹⁵ Melikyan 2012: 62-64:

¹⁶ Isidoros 2013: 11.

military and **heavy-handed** nature of his rule¹⁷. Although this fact was interpreted in various ways¹⁸, we believe that Arsaces I's abdication of the royal title was conditioned not by relinquishing monarchic ambitions, but by the resistance of the Dahae elders. It is possible that by allegedly resigning from the monarchy Arsaces I paid a tribute to the old tribal traditions of the Dahae and the self-esteem of the Dahae elders¹⁹ or provided an opportunity to the Dahae elders to live under the illusion of the old tribal (chieftaincy) equality.

In a brief narrative of Arsaces I's state-building, Justinus does not mention his social transformations. The author only mentions that "*Arsaces not only reached royal power, but also organized his kingdom ...*"²⁰. However, the author's phrase "**organized his kingdom**" itself implies social initiatives, too, first of all, the definition of the place and role of the Dahae society and its nobility in the newly established state and its legal relationship with the royal authority. The fact that Arsaces I adopted the titles of the Hellenistic courts shows that palatial ranks of hierarchy were introduced in the earliest period of the Arsacid state²¹.

Unfortunately, there are no official sources that reflect the hierarchical system of the early Arsacid period, like the ones about the early Sassanid period. For this reason, the questions concerning the hierarchical system of the Arsacids and the place of the pahlavs within it were often treated based on the assumption that the Sassanids inherited the four tier hierarchy ranking of the nobility from the Arsacids and therefore the pattern of the period of the early Sassanids (subject kings (šahrdārān) members of the royal house (wāspuhragān), representatives of authoritative clans (*wuzurgān*) official (*azādān*) class) objectively reflects the administrative-political image existed during the late Arsacid period²². This opinion is yet to be supported by

¹⁷ See **Bikerman** 1985: 12; **Olbrycht** 2011: 230, footn. 4.

¹⁸ **Masson, Romodin** 1964: 102-103; **Koshelenko** 1968: 65; **Koshelenko** 1971: 212; **Strootman** 2018: 129-150.

¹⁹ **Melikyan** 2012: 63-64:

²⁰ **Justinus** 1886: XLI, 5.5.

²¹ **Wiesehöfer** 2001: 139.

²² **Frye** 1983: 316; **Lukonin** 1987: 120; **Khurshudyan** 2015: 7-20.

evidence²³. However, even though we accept it with substantial reservations, it must be noted that his methodology does not allow to specify nor the initial social position of the Parthian pahlavs, neither their number. One can not ignore the circumstance that in the c. 500 year between the second half of the III century BC and the first quarter of the III century AD external and internal transformations of the Arsacids (evolving from a regional local state into an empire, long-lasting wars with the neighbours, permanent fights for the throne, federalism of the state, etc.) would have influenced the radical changes in that hierarchical system, as well. Therefore, the hierarchical systems, the number of the Parthian pahlavs included in it and the social-political position that existed in the first and last period of the Arsacid rule could not have been identical. Nevertheless, the investigation of Shapur I's trilingual inscription of Kaaba-i Zardusht (ՏՃԶ)²⁴ allows us to suppose that the hierarchical systems of the early Arsacids and the early Sassanids had principal commonalities. In ՏՃԶ the court lists of Papak, Ardashir I (224-241) and Shapur I (241-272) are compiled on the principle of honoral relations²⁵. That is, the place of a courtier was determined by his nobility and then by its office²⁶. From this one can conclude that the early Parthian royal hierarchy was created on a similar principle. In the early period of the Arsacid state, when the monarchy was still in its infancy, the king was regarded as the "first among equals" by the inertia of the old tribal coexistence, the Dahae elders must have fixed their positions and become recognizable not only in war, but also in peace²⁷. Unfortunately, except the mythical saga by M. Khorenatsi, there is no other information about this process. Similarly, it is unknown what Iranian term defined the social position of the Parthian pahlavs. K. Toumanoff, A. Mousheghyan and others attributing an Arsacid ancestry to the Parthian pahlavs, assume that in the Parthian royal hierarchy they were the social

²³ Wiesehöfer 2001: 139.

²⁴ Sprengling 1953; Honigmann, Maricq 1953.

²⁵ Daryaee 2007: 65–72.

²⁶ Khuršudyan 1992: 69-74.

²⁷ Wiesehöfer 2001: 139.

stratum of «*wāspuhragān*»²⁸. Moreover, from the sociological and legal point of view comparing “*seven great houses of the wāspuhrān*” with the «*Caucasian lesser, non-dynastic, nobility*» Toumanoff significantly maintained that the “*political and social importance of . . . [these Parthian families] was commensurable with that of the greatest of the Caucasian [dynastic] Princes*”²⁹. However, as we will see below, the hypothesis of the Arsacid origin of the pahlavs is the result of source study misconception. In fact, their position in the Parthian society should have been equivalent to the social class described as “wuzurgān” (“nobleman”) in the Sassanid lithographs with the difference that in the Sassanid court “wuzurgān” was the third, and in the Arsacid state, as it had not yet evolved into an empire and become federal, it should have formed the sub-peak of the social hierarchy.

3. The social-political nature of the Parthian pahlavs

The written sources solidarily confirm the tribal origins of the Parthian high aristocracy. Thus, there is much evidence of the Parthian nobility in the writings of Tacitus, Plutarch, and Dion Cassius. However, these Roman authors **mention** only the representatives of the two clans, Suren and Karen, not by a person (nomen), but by a lineage name (cognomen)³⁰. This distinction speaks for itself about the special position of the Suren and Karen clans in the Arsacid state.

Seneca calls the elite of the Parthian tribal elders “megistanes” (Greek μεγαστᾶνες), describing them as the heads of the noblest clans³¹. Suetonius describes the closest circle of the Arsacid kings with the same epithet³². Justinus (Pompeius Trogus) calls the high aristocracy of the Arsacid state

²⁸ Toumanoff 1963: 262; Frye 1983: 316; Moushegyan 2007: 246-299:

²⁹ Toumanoff 1963: 262.

³⁰ Tacitus 1886: VI, VI. 42; XII, 12-13; Plutarch 1932: Crassus 21; 23; 24; 28-33; Dio Cass. 1955: XLVIII, 16.1; XLVIII, 20.4; XLVIII, 21.1; XLVIII, 26.1-3;

³¹ Seneca 1996: 140-147.

³² Suetonius 1914: IV. 5; Josephus 1937: XI, 3.2.

standing close to the king "rank of councillors" (*ordo probulorum*)³³. In Agatangelos's "Armenian History", Karen and Anak, representatives of the high Parthian aristocracy, are characterized by the expressions "a chief **patriarch** of the Parthian state"³⁴ and "high-ranking official, **ancestor-strategus**"³⁵, which makes apparent their patriarchal (tribal) nature. For M. Khorenatsi, too, the notion *pahlav* means socio-political status and concerns a narrow group of esteemed "Parthian lords" standing higher from other rulers and subject kings³⁶. M. Khorenatsi repeatedly uses the phrase "*Parthian and Pahlavik nations*"³⁷, which also has an element of social differentiation, such as existing in the contrast between "senior minister" and "junior minister" used in the Armenian reality. The author describes the social position of the pahlaviks as "most honourable", which is identical to the title of *τιμώτατα* used by Greek authors³⁸. One can conclude from it that M. Khorenatsi's use of the term pahlav (in Tabari's History pahlavs are called "fahlav"³⁹) within its social meaning is close if not equal to the Herodotus's term "*first Persians*"⁴⁰ about the earliest Achaemenid period and Xenophon's term "*honourable Armenians*"⁴¹ about Yervandian (Haikazian) Armenia. Both cases concern the narrow circle of the social elite standing after the king, which had a sub-ethnic, tribal origin. Therefore, we can state with more or less confidence that the term pahlav/fahlav used in the sources had an eponym meaning in intersocietal scales.

³³ **Justinus** 1886: XLI, 2. 2. «Closest to the kings in rank are the councillors [*ordo probulorum*], and from among them they choose their commanders in war [*duces*], as well as their leading politicians in peace [*rectores*]»:

³⁴ **Agatangelos** 1983: 25

³⁵ **Chunakova** 1980: 204.

³⁶ **Olshausen** 1877: 18-19.

³⁷ **Movses Khorenatsi** 1981: II, 71; II, 72.

³⁸ Probably Tabari's use of the term "*bihkanid*" about the pahlavs must have the same meaning. (**Tabary** 1987: 77):

³⁹ **Tabary** 1987: 77 (683).

⁴⁰ **Herodotus** 1914: III.68-70; III. 77: **Briant** 2002: 28-29.

⁴¹ **Xenophon** 1998: III, 1:

The honorary title of «*relatives*» (*συγγενοι*)⁴² given by Strabo is more telling for the revelation of the social nature of the members of the upper strata of the Arsacid hierarchy.

Literal perception of the phrase “*relatives (of the king)*”, as well as honouring each other with the word “brother”⁴³ in the context of palatial code of conduct and in the official correspondence leaned some medieval authors and even many modern scholars to the opinion that the Parthian pahlavs were of Arsacid origin⁴⁴. But in reality it was a widespread title in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic courts bestowed to the persons very close to him and brought up together⁴⁵. Narrowing the social circle of the “relatives” it comes down to a close circle of the aristocracy “equal in origin”. In the Arsacid state it could be identical only to the class of the tribal elders of the Dahae.

In the Seleucid court the title of “relative (of the king)” had a personal nature⁴⁶, while Plutarch's mention⁴⁷ of the “*clannish*” right of the patriarchs of the Suren clan to crown the Parthian kings shows that the honorary position of the pahlavs in the court of the Arsacids was hereditary. Unfortunately, the Classical sources are silent on the similar “clannish” rights of the other Parthian pahlavs. One can assume that having such functions they were practically deprived of the opportunity to interfere in the state life by right and became involved in the military and administrative affairs only by the order of

⁴² **Strabo** 1988: XI, 9. 3.

⁴³ **Bikerman** 1985: 43, no. 135.

⁴⁴ See **Buzand P'avstos** 1987: 4, 33; **Khorenatsi Movses** 1981: II, 28; **Warner, Warner** 2013: 185.

A. Mušegyan believes that the pahlavs were of Arsacid origin and tries to represent them as the social class of “wāspuhragān.” The author draws parallels with the similar phenomenon witnessed in the Armenian court from the point of view of Khorenatsi's story about distributing domains to the “Pahlaviks.” (**Mušegyan** 2007: 246-255, 291-299):

⁴⁵ **Xenophon** 1914: I, VI. 1; I, VI. 10; **Josephus** 1937: XI, 3. 2; **Bikerman** 1985: 4-43; **Strootman** 2013: 38-53.

⁴⁶ **Bikerman** 1985: 41-42.

⁴⁷ **Plutarch** 1932: Crassus. 21. Moreover, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king”, **Tacitus** 1886: VI, VI. 42; **Lukonin** 1983: 704.

the king⁴⁸. It was in the interest of the Arsacids to strengthen the royal power at the expense of the elders, although the fact is that with this method the Arsacids were not able to undermine the public authority of the pahlavs based on the "right of origin". With the territorial expansion of the Parthian state the Parthian pahlavs accumulated great economic power, partly due to war spoils and in part to their participation in international trade. Thanks to the patriarchal power and large material resources, they had spacious domains, a vast subordinate population, and a large number of private troops⁴⁹.

According to Strabo, in Arsacid court "relatives (of the king)" formed a separate council which in fact was similar to Herodotus's "royal council" of "first Persians". It is known that the "royal court" of the Achaemenids did not have institutional existence based on special and inviolable rules issued by the king. Its sessions and discussions were exceptionally dependent on the will of the king, and the membership in the council was not imposed on the king, but the latter choosed its advisers from the aristocracy⁵⁰. In the case of the Arsacid "royal council" the relations seem to be different. Strabo referring Posidonius, reports: «*Council of the Parthians, ... consists of two groups, one that of kinsmen, and the other that of wise men and Magi, from both of which groups the kings were appointed*»⁵¹. This makes apparent that in the Arsacid state life the position of "relatives (of the king)" was incomparably stable and their "council" albeit adjacent to the king, was institutional. Otherwise, Strabo referring to philosopher, geographer and historian Posidonius of Apameia (around 135-51 BC) would not have spoken about the "council of the relatives" as a fact existing in his times. Probably, the longevity of the "constitutional" rights of the Parthian "synedriion" (**Συνέδριον**), the tribal representative body of the Dahae, was due, on the one hand, to the viability of the old tribal patriarchal traditions in the Dahae society and on the other hand, to the

⁴⁸ Justinus 1886: XLI, 2. 2.

⁴⁹ Farrokh 2007: 157; Dąbrowa 2013: 55-56.

⁵⁰ Briant 2002: 128-129.

⁵¹ Strabo 1988: XI, 9. 3; «... ὅτι τῶν Παρθυαίων συνέδριόν φησιν εἶναι Ποσειδωνίου διττόν, τὸ μὲν συγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ σοφῶν καὶ μάγων, ἐξ ὧν ἄμφοῖν τοὺς βασιλεῖς καθίστασθαι». Josephus 1965: XVIII, 44.

intention of the Arsacids to acquire political support of the highborn elders in the newly established state. In any case, the preservation of the right of the Parthian "synedrion" to elect (**καθίστασθαι**) the king was not the result of the Arsacid tradition, but the inability to overcome the order of the old tribal past. From the abovementioned report of Strabo follows that, like in other societies transited from tribal lifestyle to early state societies, in the Dahae society, the council of elders, as the highest representative body of the people, was the supreme bearer of the state authority. Apparently, the Dahae elders clung to that right. Moreover, the right of the elders to elect a king automatically makes clear the reverse right to dethrone an already elected king⁵². Based on numerous source and numismatic facts, G. Koshelenko, G. Assar and others conclude that the first victim of the above-mentioned right of the Dahae elders was Arsaces I's son and successor, Arsaces II⁵³. Justinus, speaking of the brutal rule of Mithridates III (57-54 BC), testifies that he "... *was expelled from the country by the council of the Parthian elders (Senatus Parthorum) for his cruelty*"⁵⁴. There is plenty of evidence in the sources about the king-making and anti-royal activity of the Parthian elders. However, we believe that the above-mentioned examples are enough to come to an unequivocal conclusion: if the Parthian **synedrion** continued to be the supreme bearer of the state authority in the period of incomparably high level of maturity of the Arsacid state, then its role should have been greater in the earliest period of the formation of the state⁵⁵. In fact, it would be right to consider the political decision on "willingly accepting the kingdom of Ardashir, son of Sasan" instead of the Arsacids, made by the Parthian Pahlavs at the beginning of 220s, within the bounds of the above-mentioned competencies of the Parthian synedrion, which became the reason for the fall of the c. 500 year old state of the Arsacids.

⁵² See. **Dąbrowa** 2010: 125.

⁵³ **Koshelenko** 1976: 33-34. **Assar** 2004: 81.

⁵⁴ **Justinus** 1886: LXII, IV. 1, «*Mithrdates rex Parthorum... propter crudelitate a senatu Parthico regni pellitur...*»: see. **Tacitus** 1886: II, 2.1.

⁵⁵ **Melikyan** 2012: 69:

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ՊԱՐԹԵՎԱԿԱՆ ՊԱՀԼԱՎՆԵՐԻ ՍՈՑԻԱԼ-ՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ԷՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԻ ՇՈՒՐՋ

Արթուր Մելիքյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ *Արշակունիներ, Պարթևստան, Վրկան, դահեր, պարներ, քսանթիներ, պիզոններ, Պահլավ, Սուրեն, Կարեն, սինեդրիոն, Սպրաբոն:*

Մ.թ.ա. III դ. երկրորդ կեսին Վրկանի ու Պարթևստանի տարածքում սեփական պետության ստեղծման և քոչվորական կացութաձևից նստակեցության անցնելու հանգամանքները արմատական փոփոխություններ առաջացրին դահական հասարակության ավանդական սոցիալ-քաղաքական հարաբերությունների մեջ: Պետության ստեղծման նախաձեռնողը պարների (ապարների) առաջնորդ Արշակն էր, որի ցեղապետական տոհմն էլ յուրացրեց արքայական իշխանությունը: Սակայն դահերի միության մյուս երկու ցեղերը՝ քսանթիներն ու պիսուրները, շնորհիվ այդ գործընթացին իրենց մասնակցության, նորահաստատ պետության մեջ կարողացան պահպանել իրենց ավանդական իրավահավասարությունը: Սրանց ցեղապետական տոհմերը Արշակունիների նվիրապետական

համակարգում կազմեցին հատուկ, ըստ էության, ներփակ սոցիալական շերտ, որի ներկայացուցիչներին դասական հունա-հռոմեական աղբյուրները հատկանշել են «megistanes» (հուն. μεγιστανες), «ordo probulorum», իսկ հայ և արաբ հեղինակները՝ «պահլավ» (պարթև) և «ֆահլավ» մակդիրներով: Պարթևական հասարակության մեջ պահլավների սոցիալական խավի ներկայացուցիչները կոչվել են «արքայի ազգականներ»: Այն ոչ թե ուղղակի ազգակցականություն էր ենթադրում, այլ աքեմենյան և հելլենիստական արքունիքներում տարածված պատվատիտղոս էր, որը տրվում էր արքային առանձնապես մոտ կանգնած, նրա հետ դաստիարակված անձանց: Ամենայն հավանականությամբ Սելևկյաններից յուրացված այս տիտղոսի սոցիալական իմաստի ընդունումը, ինքնին, նեղացնում է «ազգականների» սոցիալական շրջանակը և հանգում է ազնվակա-նության «*ծագմամբ հավասար*»-ների մի փակ խմբի, որը Արշակունիների պետության մեջ կարող էր նույնական լինել միայն դահերի ցեղային ավագանու խավին:

Արշակունիների պետական համակարգում պահլավների սոցիալական շերտը կազմել է առանձին պետական հաստատություն՝ խորհուրդ: Ըստ երևոյթին, այն նման է եղել Աքեմենյան դարաշրջանի «առաջին պարսիկների» «արքայական խորհրդին», բայց ունեցել է անհամեմատ կայուն քաղաքական կշիռ և ինստիտուցիոնալ բնույթ: Պարթևական պահլավներից բաղկացած «*ազգականների խորհուրդը*» իր առանձին գոյությունից զատ, «մոզերի և իմաստունների» խորհրդի հետ մտել է պարթևական բարձրագույն ներկայացուցչական մարմնի՝ «Պարթևական սենատի» մեջ, որը, դատելով աղբյուրների վկայություններից, եղել և մինչև վերջ մնացել է Պարթևական պետության բարձրագույն կրողը: Եվ թեպետ Պարթևական պետության գոյության ողջ ընթացքում պահլավները երբևէ չվիճարկեցին Արշակունիների արքայատոհմի գահակալական իրավունքները, այնուամենայնիվ, շնորհիվ պարթևական արքունիքում և հասարակության մեջ ունեցած բարձր հեղինակության, նրանք ի զորու եղան պահպանել իրենց ազդեցությունը Արշակունիների ներքին ու արտաքին քաղաքականության վրա:

GENERATIONS OF WARFARE AND THE FUTURE OF THE HYBRID WARS*

Artsrun Hovhannisyan

Abstract

The article is about the generations of war and expounds on Hybrid wars. Its connection to the model of generational divisions is detailed. Today, as well, with the Cold War is over, the hyperactivity of the US in the military-political arena has brought forth a similar storm. The American war machine is in a victory march. At the same time a variety of ideas and theories of war are brought forth and being discussed. There are differing views on how generations of war should be classified. In my opinion, the main spheres of human development, such as that of commerce, economics, politics, science, education and culture, are the main determining factors. Taking into consideration the various factors, wars have been divided into the following six generations. Fifth generation warfare's necessity became apparent during fourth generation wars. The main elements in question were automated control systems and precision-guided armament. Along with new political, economic and social developments, these ensured new victories. Again, in this generation, armies chose to avoid operations that required large scale mobilization, and instead tried promptly sending small groups into battle, avoiding large-scale preparatio. The issues in the fields of war, as well as the issue of waves of communication, reached their peak. This generation, once and for all, confirmed the importance of force accumulation on any platform, anywhere in the world. Fifth generation wars brought armies to a point where they retired from classical combined arms warfare; Electro-Fire Battle is more commonly applied. Trenches and engineered structures are nearly extinct. This was yet another example of believing in the superiority of quality over quantity. The effects of information became a decisive factor. These were the wars of the digital media industry.

Keywords: *Generation, warfare, electro-fire Battle, digital media industry, precision-guided armament, air force, attack, defence, USA, control systems*

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After major geopolitical changes and shocks, new forces always emerge, or one of the old superpowers gains more power and starts a new phase of active military-political work with new attacks. This in turn results in a period of large-scale practical and theoretical review and evaluation of the principles and regulations in the field, which in turn brings forth new proposals. There was a similar period after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era with Carl von Clausewitz and the general rise of thought in German military science. The periods after the two World Wars were similar, and they resulted in an abundant flow of new military theories by Fuller, Foch, Guderian, Tuchachevski, Hart and others.

Today as well, with the Cold War being over, the hyper-activity of the US in the military-political arena has brought forth a similar storm. The American war machine is in a victory march. At the same time a variety of ideas and theories of war are brought forth and being discussed. It is hard not to see the high ambition, stretched projections, and unbelievable developments of wars as discussed in the works of Clark, Luttwak, Toffler, Cebrowski, or Krefeld. Today, "irregular wars," "hybrid wars," "information wars," "cyber wars" or "bloodless wars" are terms that are in fashion. However, as always, these suggestions and predictions become more modest and moderate over time. Those maximalist predictions will return to reality, bringing with them interesting, important, yet *moderate* innovations and solutions.

Wars go through a cycle where an era of wars of exhaustion is followed by an era of lightning wars and vice versa. Meanwhile, armies with the classically large, exhausting model are being faced with irregular armies or armed groups that are often winning battles against them. This is the result of the military idea of *permanent struggle*. Sun Tzu, however, says that dragged out wars are not favorable. They exhaust the soldiers and the nation. This idea has been well examined by staffs, who usually give preference to short-war planning.

Army structure, tactic, readiness, numerous security factors, etc. are subject to the following two models: Firstly, small-scale forces executing fast-paced operations, and secondly, slow-paced operations conducted by large

forces. In other words, we have blitzkriegs or wars of exhaustion. Their proportion is a separate topic of discussion. Often, small armies with high-readiness attack and defeat armies that operate with large numbers¹.

Authoring main innovations in military science, victorious are the armies that accomplish short-term operations. The point is that such armies, which give great value to high readiness, knowledge in the field, and constant creative thinking, are *innovating*.

In the initial phase of a battle or war, better prepared, skilled armies are more successful. However, in the following stages, armies that are ill-prepared, yet with more resources, might gain prevalence. By their nature, all leadership plans initially suggest complete defeat of the adversary with rapid, victorious operations, but a number of political and military factors make those operations prolonged.

There are differing views on how generations of war should be classified. In my opinion, the main spheres of human development, such as that of commerce, economics, politics, science, education and culture, are the main determining factors. Taking into consideration the various factors, wars have been divided into the following six generations:

First generation wars were those of the Ancient World and Medieval times, before the introduction of firearms, namely the era of cold weapons – bows and arrows. The wars of this generation are from the period up to, and during feudalism. Of course, these wars are further divided into sub periods which take into account, for example, the emergence of a new army division or the application of new methods².

Second generation warfare is determined by the introduction of firearms, which completely changed the range and scale of destruction.

¹ **Mockaitis** 1990: 10-29; **Galula** 1964: 8-39.

² This, as well as the other changes, are considered separate generations of war by some analysts. However, I do not share this opinion because these solutions didn't bring forth such significant changes in military art as later did the gunpowder, internal combustion engine, jet engine, nuclear energy or digital technologies. Of course, there were some revolutionary solutions for various problems, but they simply did not result in major systematic changes.

Certainly, these wars developed over long periods of time, and they are such that they can be divided into sub-classifications, yet those are merely parts to the whole. For example, the multi-shot rifling guns that appeared at the end of the 1800s, compared with the first ever firearms, gave completely different possibilities to the military. At the turn of the 20th century, the improvement of firearms had a significant impact on the arts of combat, yet we maintain that this was merely the further development of second-generation wars.

Both of the above two generations of war lasted multiple centuries. Accordingly, their respective sub-periods were also long and often spanned over many decades. In the case of both generations, the primary attack on the battlefield was delivered by live force. Operational art was just being born, and wars were fundamentally wars of exhaustion using linear tactics. Finally, these two generations were also directly linked to the agricultural economy of the time.

Third generation warfare was that of the locomotive, internal combustion engine, automatic firearm, and coordinated artillery. It was an era of mechanical development. With regard to their volume, these wars were on a completely different level. These were *world wars*. The concept of *rear* disappeared. The volume and speed of maneuvers were unprecedented. Death tolls reached millions. In the Combined-arms warfare was clearly formed in military art. The theater of war expanded, and communication lines were pulled across nearly the planet. These are the wars of the industrial era. In other words, the political developments were inspiring the nature of new wars. From a purely military point of view, this is the era of Napoleonic and German military schools, the latter having developed under the influence of the former.

At the end of each warfare generation, core characteristics and resources of the next generation come forth. The features of third generation warfare reached their peak during World War II, but we continue to see their manifestations to this day. Third generation wars stood out with informational

and advocacy factors coming to light³. It moved on from the distribution of leaflets to the use of radio and television⁴.

Fourth generation warfare's primary features had already emerged at the end of WWII. It was an era of new technological solutions, era of invention of new physical phenomena, such as nuclear energy (both as a weapon and reactor) and the jet engine were. Local management systems emerged. It was these factors, as well as the strong ideological and new political-military alliances that established the general guidelines for fourth generation warfare, that is, small-scale, fast-paced wars⁵ where armored forces and vast artillery of the previous generation gradually lost their prominence (yet engineered structures continued to grow in importance). With respect to the informational factor, this was the era of television. In fact, the American army was defeated in Vietnam because of it, and also because the military mind, overly engrossed in nuclear weapons, didn't properly make enough room for the informational element in their plan⁶.

Fifth generation warfare's necessity became apparent during fourth generation wars. The main elements in question were automated control systems and precision-guided armament. Along with new political, economic

³ After printing/publishing, wide usage of the radio brought the first large-scale informational operations, which were during WWI. Informational preparations were clearly established prior to any military operation.

⁴ Napoleon's publications, musical and theatrical propaganda yielded to Goebbels' radio and films with nearly live stream on American television. In the next generation of warfare, this led to the defeat of the US in Vietnam, which was the first victory of the informational factor over other combat factors.

⁵ In general, the speed of operations increased from generation to generation, because that is what overcoming the rules for that warfare demanded, and technical means were being invented for this reason.

⁶ After conducting a study of the Vietnam War, American theorists discovered an interesting fact. During WWI the ability to transfer data was 30 words per minute while 4,000 soldiers covered 10 km² of defense zone. During WWII, information flow doubled while human density slightly decreased. During the Arab-Israeli War (1960s), data exchange was 50,000 words per minute while the defense density in the same area was 150 soldiers. Finally, in 1991, it was possible to transfer 192,000 words per minute while the manpower density was 23.4. Thus, there is a correlation where the higher the capacity of information exchange, the less manpower is needed for solving the problem.

and social developments, these ensured new victories. Again, in this generation, armies chose to avoid operations that required large scale mobilization, and instead tried *promptly* sending small groups into battle, avoiding large-scale preparations⁷. The issues of the fields of war, as well as the issue of waves of communication, reached their peak. This generation, once and for all, confirmed the importance of force accumulation on any platform, anywhere in the world⁸. Fifth generation wars brought armies to a point where they retired from classical combined arms warfare; Electro-Fire Battle is more commonly applied. Trenches and engineered structures are nearly extinct. This was yet another example of believing in the superiority of quality over quantity. The effects of information became a decisive factor. These were the wars of the digital media industry. This was the era when data was exchanged via computers. In this era, we saw more instances of irregular combat operations, which were to become more frequently applied in the following generation of warfare, where combat groups involved are small, mobile, and well-equipped, and they run battles that are not bound by management of hierarchical structures. That is the hybrid war. And without a doubt, this era belonged to the *American* military school.

Sixth generation warfare also brings us new key features. The political-military features that underlie the requirements of sixth generation wars are the following: In the 50s the British theorist Liddell Hart described and promoted the "Indirect Approach" military strategy, which, in essence, at the strategic level, was the same as what we described being used in US and UK

⁷ Of course, few have succeeded in this, and as a phenomenon in military art, it is exceptional.

⁸ The US, which initiated this generation, gained ultimate supremacy in air, water, land and space. The issue of securing communication between the various war arenas is of strategic importance. It was the Macedonian who moved the war arena to another continent, securing a period of war that was an operational success in terms of depth. However, it was purely on land. Prior to that, the Parthians had already gone to other continents, but they had not gone deep. Later, Rome repeated this and also tried it by sea. Complete intercontinental communication channels were established by the British. But it was only the US that was able to establish complete, developed world-wide communication channels, in sync, on land, air, sea and space. Today, the US is the only power that can conduct combat operations on all mentioned dimensions, on any point of the globe, rapidly gathering all the necessary forces.

geopolitics. This theory was already in use long before it was presented as it was, but after its promotion, it became *widely* applied on the operational and military levels. These are strikes that bypass the firm defensive positions of the enemy. They are activities that are meant to distract the adversary and throw him off balance. The West (and specifically the British and American militaries and their military-political machines) is making more and more use of this approach. The indirect approach will also be more applicable in new generation wars thanks to new technical possibilities.

Many include conflicts of global politics to fall within the definition of "War". For example, the West's sanctions against Russia and North Korea, or the race between US and China, would be examples of war under this definition. *Politically*, it may be acceptable to speak this way, and the term "hybrid war" is frequently used in that sense. However, by standards of classic military science, this definition is completely wrong. Such phenomena, at most, can be referred to as "conflicts," which *may* include certain combat actions. The specialists who argue for such a broad definition of "war" bring as an example the longstanding conflict between the West and the Soviet Union, cleverly pointing out that the situation was referred to as the "Cold War" even though, they assume, there was no direct fighting. However, in my view, that is not a relevant example because during the Cold War there *were*, in fact, many real combat actions and direct clashes between the USSR and Western countries. At first, they took place in territories of *other* countries, but there were clashes within Soviet territory as well. I contend that conflicts that mainly focus on the economy, politics, or propaganda, and *not* on the military, are not wars, and it is wrong to refer to them as such. Antagonism is a category of politics, which is on the political plane of those who order wars, and it may be longer, deeper, and undertake multiple wars, or it may not. Yet, these days many incorrectly refer to such situations as "hybrid wars".

The irregular operations and battles are the foundation of the Hybrid war while the mixture of regular and irregular operations is sometimes called a complex structure. This is true but temporary as wars become sophisticated in

one way or another from generation to generation and they can emerge as one after the establishment of the new generation.

These expected irregular combat actions mean the use of well-trained forces working in small numbers. Commonly, for a generation's wars whose intrinsic military systems and rules are fixed for a long period of time, their shortcomings give birth to a counterweight system. Primarily, military systems whose armies were distinguished by *quantitative* characteristics (3rd or 4th generation wars) were replaced by military systems with distinguished *qualitative* features (5th or 6th generation wars). Military systems based on the qualitative (5th or 6th generation wars) will later be replaced by systems based on the quantitative again (7th or 8th generation)⁹.

Of course, this does not entail that all new generation wars will be fought based on quality, or that they will reject all traces of quantity. Rather, it is about which trends will be prevalent.

Issues of New Generation Warfare

The first half of the 21st century coincides with a period of transition. What we are witnessing is the state of transition from fifth to sixth generation warfare, and this is called “hybrid,” “transitional,” etc. The widely used “irregular warfare” is an inaccurate term. It was first put into circulation by the British Colonel Charles Colwell, but with a correct explanation. In its current use, the term is distorted¹⁰. This was later established in American military documentation¹¹.

⁹ At the end of the second generation warfare, armies had become such that they possessed characteristics of extremely high quality. Knights, left over from the feudal system, were individually of high quality. Each of these knights, served by dozens of people, meant these military units were massive and sluggish. They became extinct under the pressure of the new model of mass armies. Of course, any new generation has the feature of new technology, but what underlies a generational shift is the difference between models.

¹⁰ Callwell 1990: 21.

¹¹ **U.S. Marine** Corps Combat Development Command, June 2006, Tentative Manual for Countering Irregular Threats: An Updated Approach to Counterinsurgency Operations (Quantico, Va., June 7, 2006), p. 1.

The war may emphasize transitional, hybrid and irregular combat actions. However, we should keep in mind that they need to be brief, because prolonging them eventually makes them regular. The point is that irregular combat actions are viewed as a retreat from classical combat operations. It is seen as a new phenomenon of unusual, irregular fighting style, or as some effective way for fighting against classical war machines.

This is not a contradiction of old and new wars but rather a transition which displays parts of both old and new generations. Irregular combat operations are a recurring phenomenon in warfare, which, however, do not single-handedly ensure a victory. If an army is incapable of switching to classical regular operations in situations that require it, it can not win¹². That is, the transition from irregular to regular and vice versa must be smooth and constant. This will mean that the army is capable of using old methods and styles, and it has *also* adapted to the new, incomplete one. This is the only way that armies can defeat such powerful enemies¹³.

I believe that a number of the definitions of “irregular wars” and “irregular actions” have a short life¹⁴, and that is a problem.

The definition of “hybrid war” that I propose resolves the above problem. **A *hybrid war* is the mixture of old and new, regular and not-yet-regular combat actions and methods that are used on a given occasion as a temporary solution. It is constant, yet a *flexible* solution for the occasion, as it is able to change its environment and how it manifests itself. In the near future, these displays of the old and new generations, once refined, will unite to form a new, distinct generation of warfare.**

At the same time, however, in certain situations they can appear separately, or somehow go astray. Currently, this merger, this refinement of

¹² Gray 2007: 30-41.

¹³ Hoffman 2007: 7-13, 43; Biddle Stephen and Jeffrey A. Friedman "The 2006 Lebanon Campaign and the Future of Warfare: Implications for Army and Defense Policy" Carlisle, PA: US Army Strategic Studies Institute, September 2008) <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military-library/report/2008/ssi_biddle-friedman.pdf>

¹⁴ **Joint Warfighting Center.** Irregular Warfare Special Study. Norfolk, Washington D.C.: U.S. Joint Forces Command, August 4, 2006, pp. 2-3.

the irregular and its transition to the regular, has given birth to a new scientific dispute. From this, some specialists have coined the term “compound wars”¹⁵. However, we believe that this is the result of not properly understanding the time-consuming merging process and the formation of a new generation.

Strategies of new generation warfare will be fully dependent on the global economic system, where anything is possible to dictate through the governing model of “soft power,” which involves convincing, providing proof, somehow creating dependency, and so on. Superpowers execute *even* direct military invasions with the blood of others.

However, operations executed with such small groups may also last long. We noticed this towards the end of 2014 in Iraq, similar phenomena could be observed also in Ukraine. This gave birth to the expression, “green people,” or troops without distinctive badge. The number of people and the quantity of military equipment exceeded tens of thousands, yet there were no clear borders or defining trenches of sides.

Below are some important, distinctive features of combat actions associated with irregular or so-called *hybrid wars*.

1. The structure and quantity of units are non-classical.
2. There is quick status change of units and their members from civilian to military and vice versa.
3. There is no clear subjugation with regards to a hierarchical structure.
4. There are no clear systems of *rear* or supply.
5. There are no clear military lines or divisions during combat actions, but rather they are more target-oriented actions, especially around infrastructures.
6. Operations are decentralized.
7. There is a lot of mobilization.
8. There is limited bias in the use of force types. That is, an equal number of infantries, artillery or other divisions are used.

¹⁵ Williamson, Mansoor 2012: 3-7.

9. There is flexibility to transition from classical to guerilla warfare, to subversive actions, and back.

10. There is minimal use of classical combined-arms battle (and often its portions are supplemented with a substitution force type), yet there is high capability when it becomes necessary to put this play in action.

11. There is flexibility for a quick change in plans at tactical as well as operational levels, all while clearly safeguarding strategic plans.

These are the precepts of new warfare and combat operations that differ from predecessors and, particularly, from guerilla actions.

At this point we can see the synthesis of irregular actions and regular classical warfare more. We may soon witness these characteristics in the transitional wars between the fifth and sixth generation. This is what is properly referred to as “hybrid warfare”.

For the sake of invulnerability, irregular groups often work separately, change their names, positions, and commanders, and sometimes they may take responsibility for the actions of another. Although these wars and combat actions definitely have similarities with ordinary guerilla actions, they are certainly not a complete duplicate. Scientific debates on this issue are now held everywhere. Chinese military theorists call this warfare “unrestricted military operations”. It is hard to say whether this expression correctly captures this new warfare, as there have been plenty of wars in previous generations where military operations were also unrestricted.

Similar “low-intensity” combat operations (as it is accepted to call in the West) will later be conducted by such armies, supranational military organizations, whose *modus operandi* will be characterized by the above listed innovations. These groups may be used by governments, but being that they are not regular armies, they will become increasingly more self-reliant and unpredictable organizations.

Such wars may last long mainly because of inequality between the sides and because they will be conducted in an irregular manner¹⁶. The long and

¹⁶ Borum 2011: 35-45; Mitchell 2010:89-97.

non-intensive conflicts will also solve strategic problems. They will be conducted suddenly and, in several places, simultaneously, and being components of strategic moves, they will be used by powerful economic alliances to exhaust their rivals. These are the political, economic, social and scientific foundations which will determine the rules of sixth generation warfare.

The main factors of this generation are informational-psychological, technological and nanotechnological, which defeat the enemy without physically wounding them. In the near future, battles will likely be Net-Platform Centric¹⁷, which are managed and interconnected by network and attacks from platforms, and even further development may lead them to be informational-psychological wars where the main weapons may be nano-weapons and biological-weapons. Initially such warfare can appear in the form of cyber-attacks and operations. The early successes in this field brought forth some exaggerated views on cyber wars; however, time has revealed that, at best, these are just war platforms or large-scale operations, but in no way are they yet complete wars on their own.

Any new generation of warfare, even when it fully replaces the previous generation, will have adopted features from the previous generation. New generations are always enriched by the old ones. Methods, mediums and ways are often repeated in new generations. The nature of war has not changed. In other words, when we say that the influence of machine guns, tanks and artillery will not disappear suddenly with a newer generation, or will even remain in that new generation, we are talking about the features of third and fourth generation warfare. Along with the rekindling and magnification of combat operations, there will be a certain degree of return to classical warfare (not completely classical, but rather a synthesis). The irregular will be refined and will become common. Hence, it can be assumed that the transition from one generation to another is evolutionary and represents a link between the

¹⁷ We explain in further detail what Electro-Fire Battles and Net-Platform Centric Wars mean in other work.

old and the new rather than a borderline separating the two. It is, consequently, based upon the innovative character of operational change and development.

Those technical innovations have become the basis for generational change, and in turn, wars, as huge clients, have caused the further development of those innovations. All technical innovations which have ensured generational change, while enabling military theorists to conduct lightning model wars, have continually been hindered by *political* clients (who are, in a sense, the “owners” of wars); and here lies the main misconception. Carried away by the possibilities of new weapons, servicemen and scientists believe quick victories, or that just one strike is enough. However, it is the political considerations of the clients of war that determine whether the war will end quickly or not (and even if sometimes it is determined by circumstances, they are nevertheless political). To say that it is *politics* that decides the model of wars, or its course, is to say that *it* is the big strategy which determines the military-arts and tactical models. Although it is true that a good military system can conduct blitzkrieg wars, it is directly dependent on the political situation, stability, etc.

In war, the biggest mistake of commanders and leaders, which, as a rule, have led them to defeat, has been the fact that they had prepared only for wars like those from the past. Not all military commanders realize the nature and requirements of new generation warfare. A commander may have become a hero in previous wars, or conducted operations brilliantly, yet that commander may not have any understanding of the nature of future warfare. Even with his great talent and bravery in WWI, General Ludendorff could not understand the nature of new warfare. By continuing to emphasize the role of the infantry, he did not see the important role of land or mobile forces¹⁸. In the 1930s, a significant portion of Soviet servicemen who had gone through a civil war had the same problem.

¹⁸ Bezil 2012: 303.

The *strategy* of new generation warfare will not have major changes either. The countries or alliances with strong, self-sufficient economies, comprised of numerous elements, will be powerful. These economies will be dominating others, and they will also produce the apparatus of the future. Today, America is switching from large factories with smokestacks to an economy that produces high-tech products, and nearly none of those factories have such smokestacks. America is a leader in the production of electronic devices such as computers, phones, high-quality batteries, various electrical appliances, electrical cars, 3D-printers, and the biggest, as well as the largest number of, civilian aircraft.

In the future, the countries that will be powerful will have a stable political system as well as a strong cultural and value system. That is, they will have faith in their strength and believe they are special. Morale, will-power is among the key factors and applies even at the strategic level. These are the necessary basic conditions for being powerful. And changes, too, are necessary, in order to correctly understand the essence of the future.

The main problem on the strategic and tactical levels of the new generation wars, including those in the coming 6th generation, is the rapid development of situations and the quick change of rules, which leave no time for situational decision-making. And new innovations are quickly outdated. This issue of quick changes, which is, in fact, one of the most serious problems in hybrid wars, is also the key to future victories, whose secret is not understood by all. As the great Italian military theorist Giulio Douhet says, "Victory smiles upon those who anticipate the changes in the character of war, not upon those who wait to adapt themselves after the changes occur." Those changes are linked to globalization, interconnectedness (which results in the formation of large blocks and alliances), dramatic growth of populations, dramatic developments in technology, and the drastic decline of moral and spiritual values. All of the above-mentioned points us toward the emergence of new forces, accordingly toward competition and wars for influence over new areas. However, this also implies changes in how the nature of war is

manifested, at least superficially, as the so-called “civilized and bloodless” wars.

In the Old World, those armies that were capable of conducting an organized mobilization and maneuver of troops gained predominance. The Macedonian did that, and maneuvered through Asia Minor and entered a new world. Napoleon organized maneuvers of huge armies throughout Europe’s territories. As for the British hegemony, it was the result of continental communication established by the Navy. Today, the most powerful army in the world enjoys that title, again thanks to the fact that for the first time in human history it is capable of transcontinental maneuvers with the world’s largest expeditionary army, leaving no corner on the planet out of reach.

Force concentration, formation and particularly the old rules and speed of maneuvering, are rapidly changing. It is important to understand their essence, and moreover, to foster these changes. To look forward, to see the future, to build the future, means having dreams and aspirations. Human history has repeatedly confirmed that victory belongs to those who have dreams and chase after them.

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ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԱՍԵՐՈՒՆԴՆԵՐԸ ԵՎ ՀԻՔՐԻԴԱՅԻՆ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄՆԵՐԻ ԱՊԱԳԱՆ

Արծրուն Հովհաննիսյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Պատերազմասերունդներ, պատերազմ, էլեկտրակրակային մարտ, թվային տնտեսություն, գերճշգրիտ հարվածային միջոցներ, օդուժ, հարձակում, պաշտպանություն, կառավարման համակարգ:

Աշխարհում կան պատերազմասերունդների բացատրության տարբեր մոտեցումներ, նույնն էլ վերաբերում է հիբրիդային պատերազմներին: Մենք այս հոդվածում կդիտարկենք մեր մոտեցումները ռազմագիտական այս բարդ հարցերի շուրջ:

Մեր կարծիքով պատերազմասերունդների և առհասարակ պատերազմի հարցում որոշիչ են մարդու սոցիալ-տնտեսական զարգացման հիմնական, առևտրատնտեսական, քաղաքական, գիտական, կրթական ու մշակութային ոլորտները, այսինքն՝ ընդհանուր քաղաքակրթական ամբողջությունը: Մարտավարական հարթության մեջ որոշիչ են մարդուն խոցելու հիմնական միջոցը և մարտական գործողությունների տարածական հնարավորությունները: Պատերազմների սերունդները կապված են այդ ամենի արդյունք հանդիսացող տեխնիկական զարգացման հետ: Մենք, համամիտ ենք, որ, նկատի ունենալով տարբեր գործոններ, պատերազմները կարելի է բաժանել մի քանի սերունդների, որոնք իրենց հերթին կարող են բաժանվել ենթափուլերի: Հատկանիշներն ու առանձնահատկությունները գալով նախորդ սերնդից՝ հաջորդ սերնդում լիովին չեն մերժվում, այլ լրացվում են և հաստատվում:

Պատերազմի առաջին սերունդն ընդգրկում է մինչ ֆեոդալիզմի ու ֆեոդալիզմի ժամանակաշրջանը ներառյալ: Այլ կերպ ասած՝ այս սերնդին բնորոշ է սառը զենքի գերակշիռ կիրառությունը՝ հեռամարտի, մերձամարտի և պաշտպանական միջոցների:

Երկրորդ սերունդը դեռևս պայմանավորված է ոչ արդյունաբերական քաղաքակրթությամբ, որի շարժիչ ուժն էր հողագործ և անազատ մարդը:

Երրորդ սերնդի պատերազմները արգասիքն էին երկրագնդի առաջավոր հասարակության բուրժուակապիտալիստական փուլի: Սրանք ինդուստրիալ դարաշրջանի պատերազմներն են:

Չորրորդ սերնդի պատերազմներում արդեն առկա են սեփական կանոնները՝ փոքր մասշտաբների, սակայն սրընթաց պատերազմներ, որտեղ նախորդ սերնդի օրոք վճռորոշ դեր ունեցող մասնավորապես զրահատանկային զորքերն ու մեծաքանակ հրետանին աստիճանաբար սկսեցին զիջել իրենց դիրքերը, չնայած ինժեներական կառույցների դերը շարունակեց բարձր մնալ: Ռեակտիվ և ատոմային գործոնը դուրս մղեցին հին գործոնները, իսկ պատերազմների տարածքներն էլ հասցրին ոչ միայն ծովերի խորքը, որի առաջին փորձը կատարեց դեռ պատերազմների երրորդ սերունդը, այլև թատերաբեմի ամբողջ խորություն և տիեզերք:

Չորրորդ սերնդի պատերազմներում էլ հասունացան հինգերորդ սերնդի պատերազմի գաղափարն ու անհրաժեշտությունը: Այս սերունդը տիեզերական և համակարգչային տեխնոլոգիաների դարաշրջանի տնտեսության ու սոցիալ-քաղաքական գործընթացների հետևանքն էր, որի հիմնական գործոնները ավտոմատ կառավարման համակարգերն էին և գերճշգրիտ սպառազինությունը: Դրանք քաղաքական, տնտեսական ու սոցիալական նոր զարգացումների հետ միասին ապահովեցին նոր հաղթանակներ:

ARMENIA AND SYRIA - WHAT SHAPES THE RELATIONS?¹*

Mushegh Ghahriyan, Grigor Vardanyan

Abstract

The article discusses the major tendencies of the development of Armenian-Syrian relations during the last 30 years based on the primary sources, including the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Armenia, other official documents, and statistical data. The research is an attempt to explain what determines the relations between the two countries and the dynamics of these relations. It represents political, economic and social factors determining the relationship between Armenia and Syria.

Keywords: *Armenia, Syria, bilateral relations, interests, Armenian community, politics, economy, trade, Turkey, the Syrian war.*

Introduction

After declaring its independence in 1991, the Republic of Armenia initiated the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries. Among various regions and countries, the newly independent state launched diplomatic activities in the Middle East. The Syrian Arab Republic was one of the first states to recognize the independence of Armenia and to build relations with the latter.

In Armenian perceptions, Syria and the Syrian people have always been portrayed as a friendly state and people, and this image is based upon traditional ties, the presence of the Armenian community in Syria, thousands of Armenian repatriates and the noble treatment of the Syrian people towards the Armenians in the period of the Armenian Genocide, as their help saved tens of thousands of lives of Armenians and gave a new shelter in the country.

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One noteworthy fact in the Armenian-Syrian relations is the visit of the Syrian president Hafez al-Assad to the Armenian SSR in 1980, when he paid a visit to the Soviet Union.

The Armenian-Arab, Armenian-Syrian ties, the relationship between Armenia and Syria, various aspects of these relations have always been in the frame of the research interests of Armenian scholars and have predominantly studied in light of the friendly nature of these relations. The historical factor has a unique place in the discourse of bilateral relations. Historical realities have played a certain role in the relations between the independent republic of Armenia and the Arab countries and especially in the development of the Armenian-Syrian relations. The factor of the Armenian community in Syria has also influenced political decisions adopted in Armenia concerning bilateral relations, such as the opening of consulates in Syrian Aleppo and Deir ez-Zor, the continuation of the work of the Armenian diplomatic representations during the Syrian war, etc.

The research is an attempt to represent various dimensions, political, economic and social, determining the relations between the two countries. The social dimension includes traditional ties, contacts between the societies and the Armenian community in Syria. In the 1990s, the economic component had an important place in the bilateral agenda. However, because of the blockade imposed by Turkey and the outbreak of the war in Syria, later hindered economic cooperation. The political aspect of relations includes the search for mutual interests in various issues. Both countries have maintained close relations with Russia and Iran. Besides, there have been some elements of cooperation concerning Turkey. Two countries have cooperated in international organizations assisting and promoting each other's attitudes, positions and candidates. As for Armenia, the issue of recognition of the Armenian genocide has been essential, as well.

Setting the context

There is plenty of literature and publications addressing the historical context of Armenian-Arab relations. It is no exaggeration to argue that the Armenian diaspora has a certain impact on the foreign policy decision making

process in Armenia. Syria and the Middle East as a whole are considered to be the core of the Armenian diaspora, which keeps alive the traditions, language and culture of the western part of their homeland. While agreeing with the role of the presence of the Armenian factor in foreign countries, as well as the historical narratives, in this article we skip the discussion of this phenomenon and focus on the political and economic issues in the relations between Armenia and Syria.

The main imperatives of the Armenian foreign policy since 1991 have been the Nagorno Karabakh question and the international recognition of the Armenian genocide. The Republic of Armenia allied itself with Russia and became a member of Russia-led organizations, like the CSTO, EEU, CIS. At the same time, Armenia declared the course of European integration and building closer relations with key European countries and the USA. Before 1991, Syria was a close partner to the Soviet Union. Syria was in the forefront of the pan-Arab movements, advocated the case of the Palestinians in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and was involved in the political processes and military conflicts in the neighboring states. Syria has been critical of US regional policy. Since 2011, many Western and Arab countries have cut official relations with the Assad regime and imposed sanctions on it. Armenia and Syria have foreign policy priorities distant from each other. However, there are other situations where the interests of these countries coincide.

The period of the establishment of relations

Chronologically, the relations between Armenia and Syria can be divided into 3 periods: the establishment of relations, the freezing of relations and the restart period, which also correspond to the administration of the three Armenian presidents, although are not determined by them, as the Republic of Armenia has always maintained a good level of relations and the Armenian policy towards Syria has been continuous².

² For example, Armenia, except for a short period in the mid-2000s, was represented in Syria at the level of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the level of the Syrian representative was sometimes reduced to the level of a caretaker.

In 1991, immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Republic of Armenia and the Syrian Arab Republic started to build relations and expand ties in various fields. On December 28, 1991, Syria officially recognized the independence of Armenia, and on March 6, 1992, the two countries signed an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations³. In November 1992, the embassy of Armenia was opened in Damascus, and Syria's embassy in Yerevan has been operating since September 1997. Parallely with the deepening of bilateral relations, the states signed another agreement on opening an Armenian consulate general in Aleppo. And in 2010, the third Armenian consulate started to operate in Deir ez-Zor⁴. Until 2019, Syria was the only Arab country where Armenia had more than one diplomatic representation⁵.

On 25-27 April, 1992, the first president of Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, paid a visit to Syria. The Armenian delegation was met with a high-class diplomatic reception. The president of Syria, Hafez al-Assad, welcomed Ter-Petrosyan at the airport. Other senior officials, spiritual leaders of the Armenian community and the representatives of various Armenian national organizations were also present at the welcoming ceremony⁶. Later, president Ter-Petrosyan appreciated the visit as very constructive and effective. The visit of the Armenian president was highlighted in the official circles of Syria and was assessed as historic⁷.

In the 1990s, the economic component had an important place in the bilateral agenda. In these years Syrian economy, which had been heavily dependent on the Soviet aid, was in crisis due to the halt of financial flows on the one hand and international sanctions on the other. The planned, inefficient economy with large state participation, faced serious difficulties⁸.

³ **Bilateral relations**, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/sy>

⁴ **Armenia-Syria, bilateral relations**, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/bilateral-relations/sy>.

⁵ Armenia opened its consulates in Dubai in 2019 and in Erbil in 2021.

⁶ During the visit the Syrian press wrote that Syria is a homeland for three acting presidents, Hafez al-Assad, Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the President of Argentina, Carlos Menem.

⁷ «**Hayastani Hanrapet'ut'yun**» **oratert**, 20.10.1994.

⁸ More about the Syrian economy in 1980s see **Volker Perthes** 1992: 37-58

Syria was interested in receiving engineering and professional assistance which it had from the Soviet Union in the previous decades.

In its turn, newly independent Armenia was in a harsh economic condition because of the earthquake in 1988, the war (ended in 1994), the change of the economic system and the transition to free market relations. Nevertheless, the professional capabilities and the production capacities of the Republic of Armenia were of serious interest to Syria. In particular, Syria was interested in Armenia's heavy, chemical industry and electrotechnological field. Because of the sanctions, Syria did not have many options for buying spare parts for its infrastructure, and Armenia was a possible supply market⁹.

For its part, Armenia, taking into account its experience in the field of science and technology, sought to participate in the projects for the construction or repair of the infrastructure in Syria. In the 1990s, Armenia negotiated the participation of its companies in railway, energy and other projects. Major ones included the construction of sections of the railway in northern Syria, the planning of the Damascus metro, and the re-equipment of dams and reservoirs.

However, the limited finances, bigger and more influential competitors left no chances for the Armenian companies to win tenders. Particularly, the Russian companies were winning the majority of tenders in the energy sector considering the debt of Damascus to Moscow reaching 12 billion USD. In this sphere, the companies from the Gulf region which were investing in Syria's economy competed with the Russian companies. In 1997, an Armenian delegation led by the minister of transport visited Damascus to hold negotiations on the planned construction of the Damascus metro line. However, the Syrian side preferred to sign a memorandum with the representatives of the Teheran metro¹⁰. It demonstrated the regional influence of the greater states with whom Armenia was not capable of competing.

⁹ **HDA of the MFA of the RA**, case 254, list I, p. 47: The construction of Damascus metro has not started as of 2021.

¹⁰ **HDA of the MFA of the RA**, case 150, list II, p. 111.

Armenia, with a shortage of food and other goods, was in search of cheap import markets, and Syria was a suitable candidate. However, Turkey's blockade of Armenia since 1993 significantly hindered overland and railway communication between Armenia and Syria. It extended and complicated trade routes, making the import of Syrian goods more expensive compared with other countries.

In the 1990s, the logistic obstacles, financial and economic problems in both countries impeded mutual investments. Similarly, trade was affected: in 2000, the trade volumes between Armenia and Syria barely reached 1.8 million USD and from this the export from Armenia was 0.1 million USD, export from Syria was 1.7 million USD¹¹.

The trade between RA and SAR in 1995-2000 according to the Statistical Committee of the RA.

	Exports (thousand USD)	Imports
1995	286.7	570.5
1996	200.4	411.8
1997	2754.1	4981.9
1998	1295.5	3925.3
1999	12.1	1755.5
2000	145.1	1752.4

¹¹ **HDA of the MFA of the RA**, case 309, list VII, p. 74. In 1990s among the factors breaking the development of the economic relations between Armenia and Syria were the blockade imposed on Armenia by Turkey, Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Armenian strained relations, the tough economic conditions in Armenia and Syria, underdeveloped financial and banking sectors in both countries which was a key obstacle for business deals, the economic protectionism in Syria, problems in communications, including launching regular flights. Particularly, the regular flight from Yerevan to Damascus failed to launch. These obstacles were too hard to overcome despite the experience of the Armenian community in trade. The Armenian businessmen offered their assistance to bring investments to Armenia, to establish regular cargo transportation routes, but they did not succeed, too.

In the 1990s, when Armenia was in difficult conditions, Syria provided humanitarian assistance several times. In 1992, the delivery of grain was of vital importance for Armenia as the country was in a severe food crisis. In 1995, Syria supplied Armenia with 7000 tonnes of fuel without compensation¹². In 2000, notwithstanding the ban on the grain export, Syria provided 1000 tonnes of grain seeds and 500 tonnes of potato seeds to Armenia suffering from drought¹³. In this regard, in his message to the president Hafez al-Assad, the second president of Armenia, Robert Kocharyan, appreciated the Syrian people, the President, and also invited Syria to participate in the reconstruction of the disaster area in the north of Armenia¹⁴.

Since 1992, Armenia has been trying to prevent Azerbaijani efforts in the Arab countries to represent the Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts as it had a religious nature which would have been very dangerous for Armenia considering the ongoing war in the region.

It could have complicated Armenia's relations with Muslims, and particularly with the Arab world. The diplomats of Armenia always touched upon this issue to avert the use of the religious factor. For this purpose, Armenia was working not only in a bilateral format but also trying to benefit from their influence in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference) in order not to allow the fixing of Azerbaijan's position in its documents and declarations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Syria and the presidency of the Parliament announced their position that the tough position of the OIC will hinder the peace process and blow the efforts of the OSCE Minsk Group to the conflict settlement¹⁵. In its turn, the Syrian government was seeking Armenia's support on the issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Palestine, Jerusalem and supporting its candidates on the international platforms.

¹² HDA of the MFA of the RA, case 258, list I, p. 89.

¹³ HDA of the MFA of the RA, case 309, list VII, p. 32.

¹⁴ HDA of the MFA of the RA, case 51, list VI, p. 24.

¹⁵ HDA of the MFA of the RA, case 151, list II, p. 130.

The educational and cultural relations between Armenia and Syria were developing relatively stable. During the Soviet Union period, hundreds of Syrian students studied in Armenian universities every year, and in the early 1990s both countries signed the student exchange agreement. With a short hiatus, the exchange program continued until 2011, when the war in Syria erupted. Cultural cooperation was quite intense, with frequent exhibitions, visits by cultural organizations, ensembles, organization of cultural days, festivals, and film screenings.

Cooling of the relations

The factor of Turkey evolved into a serious problem for the development of Armenian-Syrian relations. In terms of political relations, the Syrian government was cautious about expanding its ties with Armenia both in the periods of strained relations with Turkey and when they were flourishing¹⁶.

Syria often refrained from sending high level delegations to Armenia considering the possible reaction from Ankara and the Turkish press capable of having a negative impact on Damascus. The number of visits, their representativeness speak for this argument. In the first decade of relations, the president, prime-minister, and a number of ministers of Armenia paid multiple visits to Syria, but not a single one from the Syrian side. In 1995-1996, the Armenian government sent 7 delegations to Syria, including the visit of the Armenian prime-minister and received only 2. Those two visits were at ministerial level. In the beginning of the 2000s the number of mutual visits was significantly reduced.

On June 10, 2000, Hafez al-Assad, the president of Syria, passed away. The delegation of the Republic of Armenia headed by president Robert Kocharyan attended the funeral. In his condolence telegram, the Armenian president stated: "Syria and the entire Arab people have lost one of the

¹⁶ For instance, the tension between Syrian and Turkey in 1998 on the Kurdish issue and the rapprochement of the 2000s. Syria was vulnerable especially to the water issue as the upper streams of the largest rivers flowing through the country, Euphrates and Tigris, are located in Turkish territory and Ankara was capable of creating serious problems through hydro engineering.

greatest politicians who has made a great contribution to shaping the modern history of the Arab world"¹⁷.

Bashar al-Assad, the son of Hafez al-Assad, came to succeed him as the president of Syria. The incumbent made a cautious attempt at political and economic reforms and liberalization. To combat hardships in the economy, Syria initiated a rapprochement with Turkey resulting in immediate growth of trade. The rapprochement of Syria and Turkey impacted the foreign policy of Syria, as well. Under Bashar al-Assad, relations between Syria and Turkey improved, especially with the Justice and Development Party which came to power in Turkey in 2002. The rapprochement of the two countries also had an impact on the relations between Syria and Armenia. After 2001 and until 2009, no visits were made at the level of presidents, prime ministers, and speakers of parliaments.

Two high rank visits took place in this period: on August 27, 2001, then the minister of defense of Armenia Serzh Sargsyan visited Syria and signed an agreement on military cooperation¹⁸. In the same year, the speakers of the parliaments of Armenia and Syria paid official visits to Damascus and Yerevan correspondingly.

In April 2006, the minister of foreign affairs of Armenia, Vardan Oskanyan, met Bashar al-Assad in Damascus. In December of the same year, Mukhlis Pharaoh, the Syrian chargé d'affaires in Yerevan, called his country "Armenia's Arab brother in the region." Commenting on the presence of the Armenian peacekeepers in Iraq, the diplomat said that "being an Arab, I am against Armenia's intervention in Iraq's military affairs, but as a diplomat, I am well aware of why Armenia appeared there"¹⁹.

From 2001 to 2008, the relations between Armenia and Syria cooled which was manifested in several spheres including the lowering of the

¹⁷ **Assad, Syria and Armenia: a snapshot of last 12 years**, 24.07.2012, <https://mediamax.am/en/news/region/5482/>

¹⁸ **Agreement on military technical cooperation between the Government of RA and the Government of SAR** (August, 2001, Damascus), <https://www.mfa.am/en/bilateral-relations/sy>.

¹⁹ **Assad, Syria and Armenia: a snapshot of last 12 years**

diplomatic rank of the Syrian representative from ambassador to charge d'affaires, significant reduction in the visits of official delegations, a short pause in educational and cultural cooperation, changes of the previous warm tone in congratulatory messages.

In the 2000s, trade and economic relations did not make significant progress and were limited to the activities of small and medium Armenian businesses. The factors that hindered the development of bilateral economic ties remained the same: the difficulty of land communication, the complicated bureaucratic arrangements for import and export in Syria, the difficulties of bank transfers and withdrawal of profits from Syria, the uncompetitive prices of goods, the lack of mutual interest.

In addition to sea and land communication, there were problems with air communication, as well. As of 2008 Syrian and Armenian airlines operated one flight a week, which however did not have the expected result²⁰. The overall situation in Syria in the end of the 2000s also negatively impacted the Armenian community, as amid the intensification of external pressure on Syria and the growth of the extremist movements, the Armenian businessmen from Aleppo were concerned for their own capital, prompting them to turn their attention to Armenia²¹.

Restart of relations

Sargsyan's and Assad's visits: Restart of relations

Armenia-Syria relations have improved since 2008. In the first quarter of 2009 first Edward Nalbandyan, Armenian foreign minister, paid an official visit to Syria and in June the Armenian side welcomed Syria's foreign minister Walid al-Muallem in Yerevan. In June 2009, Syria's president Bashar Al-Assad paid an official two-day visit to Armenia at his counterpart's invitation. This visit was parallel to the process of Armenia-Turkey reconciliation. And this somehow proved that the Syrian government, which had very close relations

²⁰ **Interview with the ambassador of Armenia to Syria**, 25.09.2008, http://www.noravank.am/arm/articles/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=2346

²¹ **HAD of the MFA of the RA**, case 108, list 13, p. 41

with Turkey, then felt hands free in the context of its relationship with Armenia. During his visit, president al-Assad expressed his personal commitment to contributing to the process of reconciliation between Armenia and Turkey²²:

During the negotiations, President Serzh Sargsyan highlighted the importance of Armenia-Syria relations and mentioned: “We have friendly relations with Syria. However, we consider the whole potential of our relationship has not been unleashed yet”. President Sargsyan underlined that he had an opportunity to visit Syria as Defense Minister of Armenia in 2001 and had very warm memories of Syria. President Sargsyan added that Armenia is very much interested in a completely new level of relations with Syria focusing on the economic dimension and, of course, this visit of President Assad was a good stimulus for updating and outlining future development of partnership between the two states”.

The President of Syria said that the Armenian community has powerful potential which would allow the two countries to find the ways to implement objectives set during this meeting. The President of Syria also highlighted the importance of establishing a conducive environment for the businessmen of the two countries and assured that the Syrian side would be persistent in that matter²³. Notwithstanding the Armenian official protocol, the Syrian president did not visit the Tsitsernakaberd memorial. The intention not to harm relations with Turkey can explain this cautiousness.

Months later, on March 22, 2010, Armenia’s president, Serzh Sargsyan, arrived in Syria. Bashar al-Assad expressed his belief that mutual visits of the presidents would be a new impetus for enhancing Armenia-Syria relations. The presidents of Armenia and Syria praised the level of political dialogue

²² Shugaryan 2016: 121

²³ **President of the Syrian Arab Republic Bashar Al-Assad arrived to Armenia for a two-day official visit**, 17.06.2009, <https://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2009/06/17/news-582/>

between the two countries. The Presidents of Armenia and Syria lauded the current level of the political dialogue between the two countries²⁴.

Serzh Sargsyan and Bashar al-Assad touched upon the fulfillment of the agreements reached during Assad's visit to Yerevan, highlighting the necessity to intensify contacts between business circles which would facilitate economic and trade partnerships between the two friendly countries.

According to the official statement on the visit the President of Armenia discussed the deepening of the Armenian-Syrian economic cooperation, the importance of fostering relations in the economic area and the necessity of more active contacts between the business communities through the organization of expos, conferences, and similar events. President Sargsyan noted that the large Armenian community of Syria could become a facilitator of economic interaction²⁵.

The visits of the foreign ministers and the presidents were an endeavor to give impetus to Armenian-Syrian relations. The new phase in Armenian-Syrian relations fits in with the Armenian policy of intensifying contacts with the Arab world. In its turn, Syria was freer in developing relations with Armenia during the normalization of Armenian-Turkish relations. The phase of renewal of relations could not remain unaffected by the war that started in Syria in 2011, and the crisis is still unresolved as of 2021.

The Armenian genocide and Syria

In 2020, Syria became the second Arab country after Lebanon to recognize the Armenian genocide. Notwithstanding Armenian-Syrian close ties and the large and organized Armenian community, the discussion of Armenian genocide recognition and its possibility has become apparent only in recent years²⁶.

²⁴ **Official visit of President Serzh Sargsyan to Syria**, 22.03.2010, <https://www.president.am/en/foreign-visits/item/2010/03/22/news-94/>

²⁵ **Ibid.**

²⁶ **Ghahriyan 2020: 386.**

In 2009, the President of Syria, Bashar al-Assad arrived in Armenia for the first time, but did not visit the Armenian genocide memorial, according to the state protocol of the visits of foreign officials to Armenia. That decision of the head of Syria was due to Syrian-Turkish relations which had been successfully developing in the first decade of the 21st century. The discussion of the topic of the Armenian genocide at state level started to be discussed openly only after the deterioration of Syrian-Turkish relations in 2011. In an interview given to AFP in 2014, the President of Syria compared the atrocities taking place in Syria with the annihilation of 1.5 million Armenians and Assyrians by the Ottoman government²⁷. Several days later, the ambassador of Syria to the UN spoke about this question. In 2015, on the occasion of the centennial of the Armenian genocide, the Parliament of Syria paid a tribute to the victims of the genocide in its special session²⁸.

In his message to the Speaker of the Armenian National Assembly, Galust Sahakyan, the Speaker of the Syrian Parliament, Muhammad Jihad al-Laham expressed the solidarity of the Syrian government and people with the fraternal Armenian people on the occasion of the 99th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, which “the Turkish government repeats in the north of Syria against the Armenians in Kessab and other Syrians”²⁹. In 2015, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, Syria was represented at the level of the Speaker of the National Assembly, Muhammad Jihad al-Laham³⁰.

Speaking on the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide, the President of Syria stressed that “100 years ago the Armenian people were

²⁷ **The president of Syria compared the terrorist acts in the country with the Armenian genocide perpetrated by Turkey**, 21.01.2014, <https://armenpress.am/arm/amp/746970>.

²⁸ **Merzavor Arevelk’um Hayots tsexaspanutyán č’anačumə drakan dinamika e ardzanagrum, [The recognition of the Armenian genocide in the Middle East has a positive dynamics]**, 14.02.2020, <https://armenpress.am/arm/news/1004971/>.

²⁹ **HDA of the MFA of the RA**, case 149 list 20, p. 29

³⁰ **President meets with Speaker of Syrian People’s Council Mohammad Jihad al-Laham**, 22.04.2015, <https://www.president.am/en/press-release/item/2015/04/22/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-meeting-with-Syrian-Parliament-speaker/>

subjected to genocide. Unfortunately, history repeats itself today. Today, the Syrian people are facing the suffering of the Armenian people³¹. In 2019, the Syrian parliament approved the teaching of the Armenian genocide topics in Syrian schools³².

The Parliament of Syria recognized the Armenian genocide on February 13, 2020. In response, the Parliament of Armenia welcomed the unequivocal decision of the Syrian parliament. In its resolution, the Parliament of Syria condemned the perpetration of the Armenian genocide by the Ottoman authorities at the beginning of the 20th century. The resolution also condemned any attempt at negation of the crime and the distortion of the truth and affirmed that the crime is one of the gravest and most horrible acts against humanity. The resolution expressed the sympathy of the People's Assembly towards the friendly Armenian nation and recognized that the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians and other nations were systematically subjected to ethnic cleansing and massacres by the Ottoman Empire, and called on the world and international community to recognize the Armenian genocide, too³³.

The position of Armenia in the Syrian conflict

Armenia's official stance towards the Syrian conflict is largely shaped by the presence of the Armenian community in Syria, the necessity to protect Armenian cultural heritage and the need to adopt a balanced position to successfully maneuver between the partner countries supporting Assad and renouncing his rule to reduce possible pressure from them.

³¹ Edward Nalbandyann aycelec Siria, [Edward Nalbandyan visited Syria], 27.05.2015, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2015/05/27/min-syr/5280>.

³² Siriayi avag dprotsnerum Hayots tseğspanutyanteman arden partadir kdarna. Nora Arisyan [The subject of the Armenian genocide will become mandatory in the high schools of Syria, Nora Arisyan], 22.04.2019, <https://www.shantnews.am/news/view/350627.html>.

³³ 15 شباط 2020 مجلس الشعب يتبنى بالإجماع قراراً يدين ويقر جريمة الإبادة الجماعية المرتكبة بحق الأرمينيين في الدولة العثمانية
The People's Assembly unanimously adopts a resolution condemning and approving the crime of genocide committed against Armenians by the Ottoman Empire,
[https://www.parliament.gov.sy/arabic/index.php?node=554&nid=21625&First=0&Last=2459&CurrentPage=6&mid=&refBack=.](https://www.parliament.gov.sy/arabic/index.php?node=554&nid=21625&First=0&Last=2459&CurrentPage=6&mid=&refBack=)

Armenia's position was neutral in the UN³⁴, including the resolutions strictly condemning the cases of violation of human rights by the Syrian authorities³⁵. Maintaining their neutrality at the same time, the Armenian authorities continued to congratulate their colleagues on the occasion of official holidays and pay visits. Taking into consideration that, since the start of the conflict in Syria, Armenia has remained one of the few countries to send delegations to Damascus. They were often received personally by President Bashar al-Assad. In May 2015, the minister of foreign affairs, Edward Nalbandyan, arrived in Damascus³⁶. This visit can be assessed as a return visit for the presence of the high level Syrian delegation at the events of the 100th anniversary of the Armenian genocide in 2015.

In 2013, the minister of foreign affairs of Armenia represented the position of the official Yerevan towards the Syrian conflict: “The Armenian government not only closely monitors the developments in Syria, but it has also taken appropriate steps at different levels. The efforts are primarily aimed at ensuring the security of the Syrian-Armenians.”³⁷ Speaking on the conflict resolution, the next minister highlighted: “The Republic of Armenia is sure that the Syrian crisis must be resolved through dialogue considering the interests of all groups living there”³⁸.

In June 2014, Syria held presidential elections, which most countries in the world did not recognize. Armenia was one of the few countries that

³⁴ **Armenia abstained from voting UN General Assembly Resolution on Syria**, 04.08.2012, <https://armenpress.am/eng/news/689490/armeniya-vozderzhalas-v-golosovanii-v-genassamblee-on.html>

³⁵ **General Assembly Adopts Resolution Strongly Condemning ‘Widespread and Systematic’ Human Rights Violations by Syrian Authorities**, 16.02.2012, <https://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11207.doc.htm>.

³⁶ **Edvard Nalbandyann aytselts Siria, [Edward Nalbandyan visited Syria]**, 27.05.2015, <https://www.mfa.am/hy/press-releases/2015/05/27/min-syr/5280>

³⁷ **Siriakan č'gnažami hartsum Hayastani dirk'orošumə či pokhvel, [Armenia's position on the Syrian crisis has not changed]**, 29.08.2013, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/25089872.html>.

³⁸ **Mnatsakanyanə nerkayatsrets Siriayi č'gnažami kargavorman hartsum HH dirk'orošumə, [Mnatsakanyan represented the position of Armenia and the settlement of the Syrian crisis]**, 04.03.2020, <https://artsakhpress.am/arm/news/122242/mnacakanyany-nerkayacrec-siriayi-tchgnazhami-kargavorman-harcum-hh-dirqoroshumy.html>.

recognized those elections. Armenia's President Serzh Sargsyan congratulated Bashar al-Assad on his victory in the elections³⁹.

Armenia was involved in the Syrian developments from a humanitarian point of view. During the years of the conflict, Armenia provided economic and humanitarian assistance to Syria, which was primarily aimed at the Armenian community, which was in a difficult situation.

In 2019, Armenia sent a group of deminers to Syria in cooperation with Russia. To justify its decision to send a mission to Aleppo, the Armenian government referred to the humanitarian crisis in Syria and especially in Aleppo caused by the military operations, the UN resolutions, the written requests of the Syrian side, as well as the presence of a large Armenian community in Aleppo⁴⁰. An 83-member group of Armenian specialists comprising humanitarian deminers, doctors and security personnel arrived in Aleppo, Syria on 8 February, to provide humanitarian aid to the Syrian people⁴¹. This issue was regularly discussed in previous years, but Armenia did not consider it preferable to send a mission. This issue also caused political complications for Armenia. On the one hand, Russia wanted to involve as many countries in Syria as possible for internationalization of its mission, and on the other hand, Western countries, particularly the United States, expressed its disapproval towards the intention of sending an Armenian mission to Syria⁴².

At this stage, the rapprochement between Armenia and Syria was facilitated by common interests in certain regional issues. This is primarily due

³⁹ **President Serzh Sargsyan sent congratulatory message to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad**, 13.06.2014, <https://www.president.am/en/congratulatory/item/2014/06/13/President-Serzh-Sargsyan-congratulation-to-President-of-Syria/>

⁴⁰ **Humanitarian group of Armenian specialists arrives in Syria**, 08.02.2019, <https://armenpress.am/eng/news/963539.html>.

⁴¹ **Armenian specialists arrive in Syria**, 08.02.2019, <https://mil.am/en/news/5921>.

⁴² **AMN-n čī pašpanum Hayastani ev Rusastani mijev hamagorc'aktsut'yunə Siriayum arak'elut'yan harc'ov**, [The United States does not support cooperation between Armenia and Russia on the mission in Syria], 13.02.2019, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/29767739.html>.

to the threat posed by Turkey to both countries. The next circumstance was the good neighborly relations between the two countries with Russia and Iran.

Despite the war in Syria, some efforts were made to develop economic relations between the two countries. During this period, an attempt was made to relaunch the Damascus-Yerevan flight. In 2017, the regular direct flight of the Syrian "Cham Wings" airline to Yerevan-Damascus was announced, which aimed to facilitate communication between the two countries, to be an additional impetus for the development of bilateral relations⁴³. However, it failed to fulfill its goal.

Armenia-Syria trade turnover has increased sharply in 2014, which is due to the growth of exports from Armenia. In 2017 exports from Armenia to Syria exceeded \$ 50 million annually, and Syria's exports reached to about 2% of Armenia's total exports. The sharp increase is due to the export of tobacco products from Armenia⁴⁴.

Armenia was also interested in participating in the reconstruction of Syria's economy and infrastructure. This has been stated several times during meetings between Armenian and Syrian officials⁴⁵.

Conclusion

The human factor - historical ties, human contacts have played a visible role in Armenian-Syrian relations, which is reflected in the speeches made during the official contacts between the two countries. That is the basis for political relations. Over the past 30 years, Armenia and Syria have tried to harmonize their interests and approaches on various issues, but regional factors and developments have had a serious impact on Armenia-Syria relations.

⁴³ **Siriayi khorhrdarani naxagahə bardzr e gnahatum Hayastani het bardzr makardaki haraberut'yunnerə, [The Syrian parliament highly appreciates the high level relations with Armenia]**, 21.06.2017, <https://www.aravot.am/2017/06/21/893178/>.

⁴⁴ **Official website of State Revenue Committee**, <https://petekamutner.am/Content.aspx?itn=csCIExportStatistics>

⁴⁵ **Delegation headed by Suren Karayan had several meetings in Syria**, 01.11.2017, <https://www.mineconomy.am/news/772>; **Armenia-Syria**, 11.04.2017, <https://armcci.am/?p=4807&lang=en>.

Notwithstanding the convergence of interests on a number of issues, the foreign policy priorities of the countries differed significantly. Armenia was building its security environment within the framework of bilateral and multilateral relations with Russia, through membership in European structures and closer relations with the United States. Syria, for its part, being under Western sanctions, was largely focused on deepening ties with regionally influential countries.

With limited resources, these two countries were not able to pursue an active policy in all directions, which left its mark on Armenian-Syrian relations. Although in various periods of the Armenian-Syrian relations the Syrian authorities conditioned the relations with Armenia with their relations with third countries, particularly Turkey, and the Armenian-Syrian relations did not develop to their full potential, nevertheless those relations have been at quite high level for the last 30 years⁴⁶.

Armenia has provided political, economic and humanitarian assistance to Syria, especially since 2011 when the war began and has not ended yet. During the years of crisis, Syria-Armenia relations have developed mainly in the direction of humanitarian assistance. However, it should be emphasized that the Republic of Armenia was the only UN member state that never stopped the work of its diplomatic missions in Syria, despite the difficult situation.

In 1991-2021 the Armenian side paid 14 official and working visits in total and in the same period only 4 Syrian visits took place⁴⁷. This difference can be explained inter alia by the existence of a vast Armenian community in Syria, but other realities also have their role, such as the historical - moral responsibility Armenians felt towards Syria.

The sequence of events in recent years has evidently demonstrated that both countries have common interests in light of Turkey's regional policy. The political instability and uncertainty in Syria and Turkey's direct involvement in Syria's affairs negatively impacted Armenia, too. During the Autumn war of

⁴⁶ Compared to the dynamics of relations with other Arab countries.

⁴⁷ **Official website of the MFA of the RA, Bilateral Relations, Syria.**

2020 in Nagorno Karabakh, Turkey recruited thousands of mercenaries in the northern territories of Syria under its control and transferred them to the conflict zone. Therefore, the Armenian-Syrian agenda needs an upgrade to level up these relations and to counteract security threats. The recent developments may trigger the two countries to reevaluate their relations considering Turkey's expansive policy in its immediate neighborhood and its tough stance towards Armenia and Syria.

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ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ-ՍԻՐԻԱ ՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ ՁԵՎԱՎՈՐՈՂ ԳՈՐԾՈՆՆԵՐԸ

Մուշեղ Ղահրիյան, Գրիգոր Վարդանյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Հայաստան, Սիրիա, երկկողմ հարաբերություններ, շահեր, հայ համայնք, քաղաքականություն, տնտեսություն, առևտուր, Թուրքիա, Սիրիական պատերազմ:

Հոդվածում քննության են առնվում Հայաստանի և Սիրիայի միջպետական հարաբերությունները 1991 թվականից սկսած: Երկու երկրների

հարաբերություններին վերաբերող բազմաթիվ հարցեր եղել են հայ հետազոտողների հետաքրքրության շրջանակում: Հողվածում, հիմնվելով սկզբնաղբյուրների, մամուլի հրապարակումների և հարցազրույցների վրա, ներկայացվում են այն գործոնները, որոնք ձևավորում են հայ-սիրիական միջպետական հարաբերությունները: Հողվածում լուսաբանվում են երեք հիմնական գործոններ՝ հումանիտար, քաղաքական և տնտեսական: Հումանիտար գործոնը՝ պատմական իրադարձությունները, մարդկային կապերը, հայ համայնքը Սիրիայում, էական ազդեցություն է ունի Հայաստանի և Սիրիայի հարաբերությունների վրա:

Քաղաքական առումով երկու երկրները փորձում են համագործակցության եզրեր գտնել թե երկկողմ հարաբերություններում, թե տարածաշրջանային խնդիրներում: Արտաքին գործոնները հայ-սիրիական հարաբերությունների վրա մշտապես մեծ ազդեցություն են ունեցել:

Ժամանակագործեն երկու երկրների հարաբերությունները կարելի է բաժանել երեք փուլի՝

1. 1990-ական թթ., որը ներառում է երկու երկրների հարաբերությունների հաստատման, միմյանց ճանաչելու, համագործակցության եզրեր գտնելու շրջանը:

2. 2000-ականներին, հիմնականում պայմանավորված սիրիա-թուրքական հարաբերություններով, հայ-սիրիական հարաբերությունները որոշակիորեն սառում են, դադարում կամ նվազում է համագործակցությունը տարբեր ոլորտներում:

3. Երրորդ փուլը կարելի է անվանել հարաբերությունների վերագործարկման շրջան, որը սկսվեց 2009 թվականին երկու երկրների արտաքին գործերի նախարարների և նախագահների փոխայցելություններով և տնտեսական ու քաղաքական համագործակցությունը խթանելու փորձերով:

2011 թ. սկսված սիրիական հակամարտությունն իր ազդեցությունն ունեցավ թե հայ-սիրիական հարաբերությունների, թե հայ համայնքի վրա: Սիրիայի հետ հարաբերություններում Հայաստանը մանևրում էր համաշխարհային ուժային կենտրոնների միջև, որոնց մի մասը չի ճանաչում Բաշար ալ-Ասադի իշխանությունը Սիրիայում, իսկ մյուս մասը պաշտպա-

նում է Սիրիայի գործող իշխանությանը: Այս փուլում, պայմանավորված սիրիա-թուրքական հարաբերություններով, Սիրիան ավելի անկաշկանդ էր մի շարք հարցերում, այդ թվում՝ Հայոց ցեղասպանության ճանաչման գործում, որը տեղի ունեցավ 2020 թվականին:

THE ISRAELI FACTOR IN IRAN-AZERBAIJAN RELATIONS (2005-2013)*

Armen Israyelyan

Abstract

The article deals with Israel's factor which influences Iran-Azerbaijan relations. The article highlights the following issues when assessing the impact of the Israeli factor on Iran-Azerbaijan relations:

- *Represent Israel's foreign policy priorities on Azerbaijan,*
- *Assess the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran on Azerbaijan-Israel cooperation and analyze Iran's policy within this context,*
- *Analyze Azerbaijan's motives for strengthening cooperation with Israel.*

The nuclear program, Iran's missile systems, the Shia factor, the Iranian-speaking peoples of Azerbaijan (Tats, Talish), the activities of Azerbaijani Shia opposition figures, the 760-kilometer border between Azerbaijan and Iran – these are the main factors underlying Israel's policy towards Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan first of all justified the establishment of relations with Israel with the expectation of receiving military-political assistance from Israel in the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

During the presidency of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013), when one of the scenarios for suspending Iran's nuclear program was considered a military attack, the territory of Azerbaijan was considered a platform for attacking Iran. While Baku has made every effort to exclude the Iranian factor in Azerbaijan-Israel military cooperation, the Iranian military-political management has always been skeptical of Baku's assurances, claiming that Israeli drones could easily be used for reconnaissance against Iran.

- *During Hassan Rouhani's presidency, as compared with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's presidency, positive developments took place in the relations between Azerbaijan and Iran, and bilateral economic cooperation strengthened. In order to weaken Israel's influence in Azerbaijan, Iran replaced its policy of harsh response to Azerbaijan with*

* The article was submitted on May 5, 2021: The article was reviewed on May 10, 2021.

economic cooperation. Iran was more concerned about the growing influence of Israel in various spheres in Azerbaijan than the use of a possible Israeli threat against Iran from the territory of Azerbaijan, which has always been raised in the past.

- *Azerbaijan tried to bring counterargument against Israel-Azerbaijan relations with Armenia-Iran relations.*
- *In order to weaken Iran's religious influence, Azerbaijan, on the one hand, repressed the country's Shiite opposition figures, and on the other hand, Baku managed to obtain military-political support from Israel by exploiting the Iranian-Shiite "threat".*
- *According to Iranian experts, the strategic relations between Azerbaijan and Israel have been established in the South Caucasus, in particular due to Iran's wrong policy towards Azerbaijan.*
- *Currently, if in the Middle East, Iran more or less manages to control the threats appearing from the proxy war with Israel, than on its immediate border Iran is trying to avoid a direct confrontation with Israel. During the Second Artsakh War, the transfer of Israeli UVC of the territory of Iran, and in this regard, Iran's cautious statements are evidence of that.*

Keywords: Iran, Azerbaijan, Israel, Middle East, Azeri, Shia, military.

In the studies published over the last decade by the leading Iranian “Think tank” on Azerbaijan and Israel relations, assessment to Azerbaijan-Israel relations has been given within the frames of factors influencing Iran-Israel and Iran-Azerbaijan relations. The choice of chronological boundaries of the study is conditioned by the circumstance that during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2013) the relations between Iran and Azerbaijan were severely strained. The Israeli factor had a significant impact in this matter.

The article highlights the following issues when assessing the impact of the Israeli factor on Iran-Azerbaijan relations:

- Represent Israel foreign policy priorities on Azerbaijan,
- Assess the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran on Azerbaijan-Israel cooperation and analyze Iran's policy within this context,
- Analyze Azerbaijan's motives for strengthening cooperation with Israel.

According to the ideology of Ben-Gurion's doctrine¹, non-Arab Muslim countries have a significant role to play in Israel's foreign policy. Strengthening of Israel's relations with Azerbaijan shall be first and foremost to be viewed from that point of view. One of the reasons for the strain in the relations between Iran and Azerbaijan is not basically Azerbaijan-Israel relations, but the fact that Azerbaijan, in view of discrepancies in the relations between Teheran and Baku², directly or indirectly contributes to the implementation of Israel's policy regarding Iran. According to Iran, Israel-Azerbaijan relations are directed against Iran. The main goal is to weaken Iran's religious and cultural influence on Azerbaijan³.

The nuclear program, Iran's missile systems, the Shia factor, the Iranian-speaking peoples of Azerbaijan (*Tats, Talish*), the activities of Azerbaijani Shia opposition figures, the 760-kilometer border⁴ between Azerbaijan and Iran - these are the main factors underlying Israel's policy towards Azerbaijan⁵.

For Israel, the presence on the Iranian border is especially important in view of the fact that the Iranian-sponsored groups in the Middle East are in fact present on the Israeli border⁶.

If Iran justifies its presence in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon in terms of forming an "Axis of Resistance" with the participation of the groups "Hezbollah" and "Hashd al Shaabi" operating in those countries then Israel views the actions of these groups as a threat focused against its national interests. According to Israel, Iran's goal is to build a "continental corridor" connecting Iran to the Mediterranean Sea under the name of "Resistance Front"⁷.

¹ **Zielinska** 2020: 236.

² **Israyelyan** 2016: 199-204.

³ Hebs-e azaye hezb-e islam dar Azarbaijan jozv-e prujehaye Israel ast. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2QnglCB>, accessed April 22, 2021.

⁴ **Saidel** 2014, Available at <https://mida.org.il/2014/09/02/hurt-iran-without-airstrikes/>, accessed April 27, 2021.

⁵ **Rezazadeh** 2014: 15.

⁶ **Harel** 2017, Available at: <https://bit.ly/3sFlzbj>, accessed April 22, 2021.

⁷ **Adesnik** 2019: 13.

One of the issues on Israel's agenda in Azerbaijan was the implementation of economic and cultural programs in the southern Iranian-speaking regions of Azerbaijan⁸. Israel pursued the following two goals:

1. to approach the Iranian border under pretence of investing in agriculture.
2. to establish contacts with the Iranian-speaking population of Azerbaijan in order to influence possible separatist actions in Iran.

It is mentioned in the report released in January 2016 of Azerbaijani opposition periodical "Yeni Musavat" that the Israeli Military Intelligence Organization was indirectly involved⁹ in the protest campaigns which took place at the Eastern Azerbaijan state of Iran in 2006¹⁰. In this context, Brenda Shaffer, a senior Jewish expert of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD), runs active operations related with the issues of ethnic groups of Iran. For some period of time he held the position of Advisor to the Director of the State Oil Company of the Azerbaijan Republic (SOCAR) and co-authored a two-volume book on "Separatist movements in Atrpatakan" with the Ambassador of Azerbaijan to Iran Javanshir Akhundov (2009-2016). In April 2021, a monograph entitled "Iran Is More Than Persia" by Shaffer was published¹¹.

Another important factor in Israel's focus is the influence of Azerbaijan's Shia opposition figures on the country's domestic and foreign policy¹². There is a belief in Iranian public and political circles that Azerbaijan's anti-Shia policy, as well as the participation of Baku in separatist demonstrations in Iran, is

⁸ Suspicious travels of the Israeli ambassador to different cities of Azerbaijan", available at: <https://bit.ly/3w2pcd5>, accessed Jun 08, 2021

⁹ Israel's Foreign Policy Priorities on Iran, available at: <https://bit.ly/3x1mJQl>, accessed Jun 28, 2021

¹⁰ Iran newspaper has been suspended, available at: https://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/story/2006/05/060523_mf_cartoon, accessed Jun15, 2021

¹¹ **Shaffer** 2021: 14-17.

¹² Kaffash: "Pishnhad-e hokm-e sangin az suye dadsetani-e Baku baraye Elham Aliev ra mahkum mi konim", Available at: <http://fa.arannews.com/News/67970/>, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Persian).

encouraged by Israel¹³. The reason is that some of the Shia opposition figures in Azerbaijan received religious education in Iran and they are fundamentally against the strengthening of Israeli-Azerbaijani relations¹⁴.

The Azerbaijani authorities, accusing the country's Shia opposition figures of espionage in favour of Iran¹⁵, restricted their activities¹⁶, most of whom are currently imprisoned. Iran, in its turn, accuses the Azerbaijani authorities of bringing baseless accusations against Shiite figures¹⁷.

Jewish lobbyists with economic interests in Baku¹⁸ provide significant support to Azerbaijan on international platforms. According to Iran, in order to exert pressure on Azerbaijan, international human rights advocacy organizations pursue a dual policy on the human rights structures in Azerbaijan. Raising the issue of Azeri political prisoners, their reports do not refer to the criminal cases brought against Azeri Shiite opposition figures accused of collaborating with Iran¹⁹.

Iran considers the dual policy of Azerbaijan towards the Muslim countries, and in this context the influence of Israel on the foreign policy of Azerbaijan reflects the fact that Azerbaijan officially avoids mentioning the "Quds Day", and does not give a clear assessment of the policy of Israel towards Palestine. This happens in the case where Teheran believes that the reputation of Iran's supreme leader in the Islamic world, his concern towards the violation of rights of Muslims in Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as consideration of the

¹³ “Bazdasht-e jasusan hamzaman ba monaghesheye Gharabag”, Available at: <http://www.anaj.ir/?p=8823>, accessed April 22, 2021. (Persian).

¹⁴ **Kazemi, Heshmati** 2017, “12 rahbord-e zed-e Irani-e Israel dar Azarbaijan”, Available at: <https://www.mashreghnews.ir/news/802200/>, accessed Jun 29, 2021 (in Persian)

¹⁵ **Nalbandi** 2021: “Sarkub-e Khomeinichiha tamami nadarad”, Available at: <https://bit.ly/3mM2mCl>, accessed May 4, 2021 (in Persian).

¹⁶ **Cornell** 2011: 279-280.

¹⁷ **Movsum Samedov** 2016, Available at: <https://www.kavkaz-uzel.eu/articles/196743/>, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Russian).

¹⁸ “Brenda Shaffer mamur-e Israel baraye tajziye Iran kist?” 2020, Available at: <https://bit.ly/39zyNyE>, accessed May 4, 2021 (in Persian) .

¹⁹ **Adeli** 2012, “Zendaniyan-e siyasi-e eslamgara hamchenan da زندan”, Available at: <https://bit.ly/2PUoaPW>, accessed May 5, 2021 (in Persian).

Karabakh issue on the same level with the Palestinian issue had an important role in terms of drawing attention of Islamic world to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

In response to Iran's concerns over the strategic cooperation between Israel and Shiite Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan points to the close relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Armenia²⁰.

In general, Israel has always been concerned about the fact that after rising to power of Shiite forces in Azerbaijan, its presence in the region will be endangered.

The most important factor influencing the relations between Iran and Azerbaijan is the military cooperation between Israel and Azerbaijan. The formation of Iran's position on this issue is influenced by the security environment on Iran and the ongoing growth in Iran-Azerbaijan relations. As relations between Baku and Teheran improve, the Israeli factor shifts from a security threat to a matter of political manipulation.

In response to Iran's accusations, Azerbaijan has provided Teheran with various justifications for establishing strategic relations with Israel²¹. Depending on the level of Iran-Azerbaijan relations, Tehran has objected to or acknowledged them.

Azerbaijan first of all justified the establishment of relations with Israel with the expectation of receiving military-political assistance from Israel in the settlement of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict²². Deep military cooperation established between Israel and Azerbaijan after Ilham Aliiev came to power²³.

During the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, when one of the scenarios for suspending Iran's nuclear program was considered a military attack, the territory of Azerbaijan was considered a platform for attacking

²⁰ "Iran and Armenia against Azerbaijan and Israel" 2017, Available at: <https://haqqin.az/news/91385>, accessed April 22, 2021. (in Russian).

²¹ **Asadi** 2012: 8.

²² **Omid** 2016: 143.

²³ **Kamran** 2011: 73.

Iran²⁴. Taking into account the tensions in Iran-Azerbaijan relations during that period and the 33 day war in 2006 between Israel and “Hezbollah”, Baku and Tel Aviv viewed Iran as a common threat. Israel has deployed reconnaissance devices in the southern regions of Azerbaijan near Iran, and ballistic missiles and UAV catching radar systems were installed in “Sitalchay”, located 50 km from Baku²⁵. In this context, Israel's attention to the southern regions of Azerbaijan is particularly noteworthy²⁶.

Iran was convinced that the active cooperation between Azerbaijan and Israel, especially in that period, was connected with Iran's nuclear program. According to the military cooperation agreement with the cost of \$1.6 billion signed between Azerbaijan and Israel in 2012, Azerbaijan acquired various types of unmanned aerial vehicles, anti-ship missile systems, various naval weapons (Gabriel-5 anti-ship missile systems, Barak-8 anti-aircraft missile systems, EL/M-2080 Green Pine Radioorientation systems, Shaldag Mk.5 patrol boats, Saar-62 patrol boats, Saar-72 rocket boats, Hermes-900 unmanned aerial vehicles, etc.)²⁷. In response to a note of protest from the Iranian Foreign Ministry against the transaction, Azerbaijani Ambassador to Iran Javanshir Akhundov assured that "The weapons acquired from Israel are not designed for Iran, but will be used in the war against Karabakh"²⁸. During his visit to Iran in March 2012, Azerbaijani Defense Minister Safar Abiev assured the Iranian side that Azerbaijan would not take any "hostile" step against Iran²⁹.

It is noteworthy that shortly after S. Abiev's visit to Teheran, Israeli Defense Minister Avigdor Lieberman announced at the end of his visit to Baku

²⁴ **Frenkel** 2012, «Israel's new ties to Azerbaijan worry neighboring Iran», Available at: <https://www.miamiherald.com/latest-news/article1939973.html> accessed Jul 12, 2021.

²⁵ **Rezazadeh** 2014: 17.

²⁶ **Panahi** 2015: 61.

²⁷ **Asadi** 2012: 13.

²⁸ **Robinson** 2012: “Iran va Azerbaijan: Hamsayegan-e negaran” 2012, Available at: https://www.bbc.com/persian/iran/2012/06/120609_i23_lp_neighbours_iran_azarbayjan_fr, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Persian)

²⁹ “Azerbaijan: ejaze hamle be Iran az harim-e khod nemidahim” 2012, Available at: <https://p.dw.com/p/14JnO>, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Persian)

that the issue of Iran was also discussed at the meeting with the President of Azerbaijan. In addition, “Foreign Policy” bulletin reported that Israel had received permission to use Azerbaijani airports to attack Iran³⁰.

While Baku has made every effort to exclude the Iranian factor in Azerbaijan-Israel military cooperation, the Iranian military-political management has always been skeptical of Baku's assurances, claiming that Israeli drones could easily be used for reconnaissance against Iran³¹. The Minister of Defense and Armed Forces Logistics of Iran Hossein Dehghan also mentioned that he had personally communicated with Ilham Aliev about the Israeli drone that crossed the territory of Iran from Azerbaijan.

“We warned the Azerbaijani side and expressed our concern, but the President of Azerbaijan did not accept it easily,” underlined the head of defense authority of Iran³².

One of the reasons for the strained relations between Iran and Azerbaijan regarding Israel is related to the attacks on Iranian nuclear specialists in Azerbaijan. The development of the nuclear program was one of the foreign policy priorities of Islamic Republic of Iran during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The nuclear program was considered a means of ensuring the independent functioning of Iran's political, economic and security systems. That is why the attacks against Iranian nuclear scientists in Azerbaijan was quite sensitive issue for Iran and had a negative impact on Iran-Azerbaijan relations.

During interrogation, Jamali Fashi, who carried out the assassination of Iranian scientist Masoud Ali Mohammadi, confessed that he had visited Baku for several times and met with Israel's intelligence agency - Mossad representatives³³.

³⁰ **Perry** 2012, “Israel's Secret Staging Ground”, Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/03/28/israels-secret-staging-ground/>, accessed April 22, 2021.

³¹ **Barry** 2016: 64.

³² **Kazemi, Heshmati** 2017: 12 rahbord-e zed-e Irani-e Israel dar Azarbaijan”, Available at: <https://www.mashreghnews.ir/news/802200/>, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Persian)

³³ “Amel-e teror-e Ali Mohammadi be dar mojazat avikhte shod” 2012, Available at: <https://www.isna.ir/news/91022615326/>, accessed April 22, 2021 (in Persian)

Over the years, the perceptions of Iranian public and political circles on Azerbaijan-Israel relations have changed. If in the early 2010's Iran considered the increasingly strengthening military cooperation between Azerbaijan and Israel as a threat to its interests, and high-level public concerns were heard about it in Teheran, then after 2013 as a result of positive changes in Azerbaijan-Iran relations Iran's approaches to Israel-Azerbaijan cooperation changed.

Conclusion

- During Hassan Rouhani's presidency, as compared with Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's governing period, positive developments took place in the relations between Azerbaijan and Iran, and bilateral economic cooperation strengthened. In addition to the military cooperation between Azerbaijan and Israel, Iran has become increasingly concerned about the growing influence of Israel in various spheres in Azerbaijan. Iran is particularly concerned about the fact that Israel has managed to influence the decisions of the Azerbaijani leadership on Iran. In order to weaken Israel's influence in Azerbaijan, Iran replaced its policy of harsh response to Azerbaijan with economic cooperation. Iran was more concerned about the growing influence of Israel in various spheres in Azerbaijan than the use of a possible Israeli threat against Iran from the territory of Azerbaijan, which has always been raised in the past.

- Azerbaijan tried to bring counter-argument against Israel-Azerbaijan relations with Armenia-Iran relations.

- In order to weaken Iran's religious influence, Azerbaijan, on the one hand, repressed the country's Shiite opposition leaders, and on the other hand, Baku managed to obtain military-political support from Israel by exploiting the Iranian-Shiite "threat".

- Studies show that a significant part of armament supplies from Israel to Azerbaijan took place in 2009-2013, at a time when tensions between Iran and Azerbaijan were at their peak.

- Azerbaijan put into turnover the thesis on "Comprehensive assistance to Armenia by Iran" through its agents of influence for the purpose of diverting the attention of the Iranian military-political leadership from the

Azerbaijan-Israel strategic cooperation, as well as to influence Iranian public opinion.

- According to Iranian experts, the strategic relations between Azerbaijan and Israel have been established in the South Caucasus, in particular due to Iran's wrong policy towards Azerbaijan. A discourse on Israel is currently underway in a narrow circle of experts in Iran³⁴. For example, Faezeh Rafsanjani, the daughter of Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani (1989-1997) (a prominent public figure who was imprisoned in 2012 for her political activities), believes that Iran should take into account the fact that, regardless of Iran's attitude towards Israel, Israel is recognized as an independent country by UN. Israel not only exists as a state, but also has very good relations with many of Iran's neighboring countries, with which, by the way, Teheran also has good relations.

- Currently, if in the Middle East Iran more or less manages to control the threats appearing from the proxy war with Israel, then on its immediate border Iran is trying to avoid a direct confrontation with Israel. During the Second Artsakh War, the transfer of Israeli UVC to the territory of Iran, and in this regard, Iran's cautious statements are evidence of that.

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³⁴ **Arman Meli newspaper, 2020,** Oct 6: № 839, 6.

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**ԻՍՐԱՅԵԼԻ ԳՈՐԾՈՆԸ ԻՐԱՆ-ԱԴՐԲԵՋԱՆ
ՀԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐՈՒՄ (2005-2013 ԹԹ.)**

Արմեն Իսրայելյան

Քանալի բառեր՝ *Իրան, Ադրբեջան, Իսրայել, Մերձավոր Արևելք, շիա, ռազմական:*

Ադրբեջանի և Իսրայելի հարաբերությունների վերաբերյալ Իրանի առաջատար հետազոտական կենտրոնների կողմից վերջին տասնամյակի ընթացքում հրապարակված հետազոտություններում Ադրբեջան-Իսրայել հարաբերություններին գնահատական է տրվում Իրան-Իսրայել և Իրան-Ադրբեջան հարաբերությունների վրա ազդող գործոնների համատեքստում:

Ուսումնասիրության ժամանակագրական սահմանների ընտրությունը պայմանավորված է այն հանգամանքով, որ Իրանի և Ադրբեջանի հարաբերություններում լարվածությունը գագաթնակետին է հասնում Մահմուդ Ահմադինեժադի նախագահության շրջանում: Ի թիվս մի շարք խնդիրների՝ երկկողմ հարաբերություններում լարվածության առաջացման հարցում նշանակալի ազդեցություն է ունեցել Իսրայելի գործոնը:

Հոդվածում Իրան-Ադրբեջան հարաբերությունների վրա Իսրայելի գործոնի ունեցած ազդեցությունը գնահատելիս առանձնացվել են հետևյալ խնդիրները՝

1. ներկայացնել Ադրբեջանի հարցում Իսրայելի արտաքին քաղաքական առաջնահերթությունները,
2. գնահատել Ադրբեջան-Իսրայել համագործակցության վերաբերյալ Իրանի Իսլամական Հանրապետության դիրքորոշումը և այդ համատեքստում՝ վերլուծել Իրանի քաղաքականությունը,
3. վերլուծել Իսրայելի հետ համագործակցությունը խորացնելու Ադրբեջանի շարժառիթները:

Միջուկային ծրագիրը, Իրանի հրթիռային համակարգերը, շիզմի գործոնը, Ադրբեջանի իրանախոս բնակչությունը, Ադրբեջանի ընդդիմադիր շիայական գործիչների գործունեությունը, Ադրբեջանի և Իրանի 760

կիրմետրանոց սահմանը՝ դրանք այն հիմնական գործոններն են, որոնք ընկած են Ադրբեջանի նկատմամբ Իսրայելի քաղաքականության հիմքում:

Ադրբեջանն Իսրայելի հետ հարաբերությունների հաստատումն առաջին հերթին հիմնավորել է Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի հակամարտության լուծման գործում Իսրայելից ռազմաքաղաքական աջակցություն ստանալու ակնկալիքով:

Թեև Բաքուն փորձել է ժխտել Ադրբեջան-Իսրայել ռազմական համագործակցության մեջ Իրանի գործոնի առկայությունը, Իրանի ռազմաքաղաքական ղեկավարությունը մշտապես կասկածանքով է վերաբերել Բաքվի հավաստիացումներին:

Հասան Ռոհանիի նախագահության շրջանում, ի տարբերություն Մահմուդ Ահմադինեժադի կառավարման շրջանի՝ Ադրբեջանի և Իրանի հարաբերություններում տեղի են ունեցել դրական զարգացումներ, խորացել է երկկողմ տնտեսական համագործակցությունը: Բացի Ադրբեջանի և Իսրայելի ռազմական համագործակցությունից՝ Իրանին սկսել է ավելի շատ մտահոգել Ադրբեջանում տարբեր ոլորտներում Իսրայելի ազդեցության մեծացման փաստը: Իրանին հատկապես մտահոգել է այն հանգամանքը, որ Իսրայելին հաջողվել է ազդել Իրանի վերաբերյալ Ադրբեջանի ղեկավարության որոշումների կայացման վրա: Ադրբեջանում Իսրայելի ազդեցությունը թուլացնելու նպատակով Իրանն Ադրբեջանի նկատմամբ կոշտ հակազդեցության քաղաքականությունը փոխարինել է տնտեսական համագործակցությամբ:

Իրանի կրոնական ազդեցությունը թուլացնելու նպատակով Ադրբեջանը մի կողմից երկրի ընդդիմադիր շիա գործիչների նկատմամբ բռնաճնշումներ է իրականացրել, իսկ մյուս կողմից Բաքվին հաջողվել է իրանական-շիայական «սպառնալիքը» շահարկելով Իսրայելից ռազմաքաղաքական աջակցություն ստանալ:

Ուսումնասիրությունները փաստում են, որ Իսրայելից Ադրբեջան սպառազինության մատակարարումների նշանակալի մասն իրականացվել է 2009-2013 թթ., ճիշտ այն ժամանակահատվածում, երբ Իրան-Ադրբեջան հարաբերություններում լարվածությունը հասել էր գագաթնակետին:

Ադրբեջանն Իրանում իր գործակալների միջոցով Իրանի ռազմա-քաղաքական ղեկավարության ուշադրությունն Ադրբեջան-Իսրայել ռազմավարական համագործակցությունից շեղելու, ինչպես նաև Իրանի հասարակական կարծիքի վրա ազդելու նպատակով շրջանառության մեջ է դրել «Իրանի կողմից Հայաստանին ցուցաբերող համակողմանի աջակցության» մասին թեզը:

Իրանի փորձագիտական շրջանակների գնահատմամբ՝ Ադրբեջանի և Իսրայելի միջև ռազմավարական բնույթի հարաբերությունները հաստատվել են Հարավային Կովկասում, մասնավորապես Ադրբեջանի նկատմամբ Իրանի վարած սխալ քաղաքականության պատճառով: Իրանում ներկայումս փորձագիտական նեղ շրջանակներում Իսրայելի թեմայի շուրջ դիսկուրս է ընթանում: Օրինակ, ԻԻՀ նախագահ Հաշեմի Ռաֆսանջանիի (1989-1997 թթ.) դստեր՝ Ֆաեզե Ռաֆսանջանիի (*հայտնի հասարակական գործիչ է, քաղաքական գործունեության պատճառով 2012 թ. բանտարկվել է*) համոզմամբ՝ Իրանը պետք է հաշվի առնի այն իրողությունը, որ անկախ Իսրայելի նկատմամբ ԻԻՀ վերաբերմունքից, Իսրայելը ՄԱԿ-ի կողմից ճանաչված է որպես անկախ երկիր, և այն ոչ միայն գոյություն ունի, այլև Իրանի հարևան երկրներից շատերի հետ լավ հարաբերություններ ունի, որոնց հետ Թեհրանն էլ իր հերթին լավ հարաբերություններ ունի:

Ներկայումս, եթե Մերձավոր Արևելքում Իրանին քիչ թե շատ հաջողվում է կառավարել Իսրայելի հետ պրոքսի պատերազմից բխող սպառնալիքները, ապա իր անմիջական սահմանին Իրանն ամեն կերպ փորձում է խուսափել Իսրայելի հետ ուղիղ բախումից: Արցախյան երկրորդ պատերազմի ընթացքում իսրայելական ԱԹՍ-ների անցումն Իրանի տարածք և այդ առնչությամբ Իրանի զգուշավոր հայտարարությունները դրա վկայությունն են:

TWO ARMENIAN PERSONAL NAMES WITH ŠAH ‘KING’*

*Hrach Martirosyan*¹

To the memory of Samvel Karapetyan

Abstract

There are a great number of Armenian compound personal names with the element šah ‘king’ of Iranian origin (Middle Persian and New Persian šāh ‘king’). It occurs: (1) in both masculine and feminine names; (2) with both native Armenian and foreign components; (3) either as the first or the second component; (4) often in doublet forms with a reversed order of the components. For instance: masculine Šah-amir and Amir-šah, Šah-paron and Paron-šah, Vahram-šah; feminine: Šah-xat’un and Xat’un-šah, Šah-tikin. Also note masc. Šah-aziz vs. fem. Aziz-šah, masc. Sult’an-šah vs. fem. Šah-sult’an, masc. Melik’-šah vs. fem. Šah-melē/ik² (the latter is sometimes masculine, cf. Middle Persian > Syriac Šāh-malīk, also masculine³).

*This paper aims to interpret two hapax legomena in which the component šah became synchronically unanalyzable due to phonological changes. In one of them, šah is the second member of the name (gen. Artamšin < *Artam-šah/y-in), whereas in the other it is the first one (Šašt’i < *Šah-st’i ‘Šah-Lady’).*

Keywords: *Middle Persian, New Persian, Armenian, Šah-amir, Vahram-šah, Sult’an-šah, Šah-paron, Melik’-šah.*

1. Artamšah, gen.-dat. Artamši-n

In an inscription from Hořomos (Širak), 1266 CE, one finds dative *Artamšin* as the name of a relative of *Mamukst’i* (for the latter, see § 2)⁴. The

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² See **AčařAnjn s.vv.**

³ **Gignoux** / Jullien / Jullien 2009: 129 Nr. 395.

⁴ **Karapetyan** 2015: 466; see also **Ališan** 1881: 26b; **Kostaneanc’** 1913: 109.

nominative of this personal name (henceforth: PN) is not attested. Three suggestions have been made for the nominative form:

- **Artamuš* (Ališan 1881: 182a);
- **Artamšah*, with *šah* ‘king’ (AčaṅAnjn 1, 1942: 304);
- **Artamiš* (Karapetyan 2015: 466).

Below I will argue that Ačaṅyan’s reconstruction is the correct one.

This name, in my opinion, is based on **Artam* from Old Iranian **R_otā[~]ma-*: Elam. *Ir-da-ma*, Aram. *’rtm*, Babyl. *Ar-ta-am-ma-*’ m., Gr. (Egypt.) *Ἀρτάμης* m., etc. The Iranian name is interpreted as **R_ota-* + **ama-* ‘impetuosity, strength, power’, thus: ‘having power of/from *R_ota*’ (cf. Av. *ama-*, Skt. *áma-* ‘id.’ ‘power’),⁵ compare Arm. *Aršam* from the Iranian m. PN **Ršāma-* < **rša-ama-* ‘having power of a man/hero’ with **ršan-* ‘man, hero’, cf. OPers. PN *Ršāma-* [a-r-š-a-m], Gr. *Ἀρσάμης*, Elam. *Ir-šá-um-ma*, Aram. *’ršm*, Lyc. *Arssāma-*, Babyl. *Ar-šá-am-ma-*’, *Ar-šá-am-mu*, *Ar-šá-am*⁶.

The auslaut of the Armenian name needs an explanation. One might start with Ačaṅyan’s **Artam-šah*, with the well-known Iranian word for ‘king’ (Middle Persian and New Persian *šāh* ‘king’), which is also found as a PN not only in Iranian languages but also in Arabic, Armenian, etc.⁷ The intervocalic -*h-* has been lost in the dative, which is the only attested form; thus: **Artamš(əh)-in*. This is confirmed by several clear examples such as *Šahnšayi*, *Šahanši* and *Šayinši* (genitives of *Šahanšah* or *Šaha/inšay*) and *Asuši* (genitive of *Asušah*)⁸. In a colophon from Van, 1460 CE⁹ one finds f. PN *Xat’unš-in*

⁵ Alternatively, one assumes a two-stem short name **R_ota-m-a-* to **R_ota-manah-* ‘*R_ota*-minded’. For the forms, see **Schmitt** 1972: 87-89, 2002: 83 fn. 6, 2011: 101-102, 104; **Huyse** 1990: 37 Nr. 34; **Tavernier** 2007: 297; **Zadok** 2009: 102 Nr. 65; **Schmitt / Vittmann** 2013: 46-48. For the **ama-* component, see also **Martirosyan** 2019: 332a on *Amatuni*.

⁶ **Hübschmann** 1897: 27; **AčaṅAnjn** 1, 1942: 294; **Brandenstein / Mayrhofer** 1964: 106; **Mayrhofer** 1977: 43, 1979: 12; **Benveniste** 1966: 85; **Schmitt** 1978: 23-25, 1982a: 375, 1982b: 18, 1998: 180, 2006: 77-80; **Ayvazian-Terzian** 1999-2000: 414; **Zadok** 2009: 86-87, 98.

⁷ **Justi** 1895: 271ff.; **Hübschmann** 1897: 58f.; **AčaṅAnjn** 4, 1948: 102.

⁸ See **Avagyan** 1973: 298, 376-377.

⁹ See **HayleṅHiš** XV.2, 1958: 146.

and m. PN *Sult'anš-in*, which are the genitive-dative forms of *Xat'unšah* and *Sult'anšah* frequently spelled also *Xat'unšay* and *Sult'anšay*¹⁰.

Decisive proof is provided in the very same inscription of Hošomos, in which *Artamšin* is followed by *Varhamšin*, which should be interpreted exactly in the same way, viz. genitive-dative of *Varhamšah*.

One may wonder if *Artumšē* attested in a post-1602 colophon and reflecting *Artumšah*¹¹ belongs here too. Note that from the 12th century the element *Šah* frequently yields *Šay* (cf. above)¹², thus *šah-n*, with def. article *-n*, and becomes **šay-n > šē-n*. Compare *Amiršē-n < *Amir-šah/y-n* and *Surmanšē-n < *Surman-šah/y-n* in a colophon from the church called Tivriku Surb Astuacacin, 1694 CE¹³.

We may thus safely conclude that the nominative of *Artamš-in* is indeed *Artamšah*, consisting of **Artam* and *šah* 'king'.

2. *Šašt'i*

This is a f. PN only found in a colophon from the *Koḥbay monastery*, 1289 CE,¹⁴ as the name of a sister of Dawit' and priest (*k'ahanay*) Vardan. It is not recorded in *AčaḥAnjn*.

I interpret this name as consisting of *šah* 'king' and **st'i* 'Lady'¹⁵. The latter member reflects Arab. *sit(t)ī* 'My lady, lady' (cf. also NPers. *sittī* 'My lady, lady'¹⁶) and is found in Armenian both independently (f. PN *St'i* or *Sə/it'i*) and as the second component of such feminine compound names as:

Gohar-s(i)t'i, with *gohar* 'gem', thus 'Gohar/Gem-Lady';

¹⁰ *AčaḥAnjn* 2, 1944: 450 and 4, 1948: 583-585.

¹¹ *AčaḥAnjn* 1, 1942: 319.

¹² *Gyulbudalyan* 1973: 114; *Avagyan* 1973: 298.

¹³ *Srvandztyants T'A* 1, 1879: 220; *AčaḥAnjn* 4, 1948: 590

¹⁴ *HayjeḥHiš* XIII, 1984: 621; *Harutyunyan* 2018: 210-211. I am indebted to Khačik Harut'yunyan for this information.

¹⁵ *Martirosyan apud Harutyunyan* 2018: 210 with fn. 56.

¹⁶ See *Steingass* 1892: 657a.

Mam-st'i, with *mam* 'mother', thus 'Mother-Lady' (also *Mamuk-st'i*, with *mamuk* 'grandmother')¹⁷.

These Armenian f. compound names are comparable with *Gohar-tikin* and *Mama-tikin* respectively, both consisting of the same first members *gohar* 'gem' and *mama* 'mother', and the native Armenian word for 'lady', namely *tikin*¹⁸.

Thus, the f. PN *Šašt'i* can be interpreted as **Šah* + *st'i* 'Šah-Lady' (with assimilation *š...s* > *š...š*); compare Arm. f. PN *Šah-tikin*, with Arm. *tikin* 'lady' as the second member of this compound name¹⁹.

The striking parallelism between all these names can be observed in the table below.

	+ <i>tikin</i> 'lady'	+ <i>st'i</i> 'lady'
<i>gohar</i> 'gem' +	<i>Gohar-tikin</i>	<i>Gohar-s(i)t'i</i>
<i>mam(a)</i> 'mother' +	<i>Mama-tikin</i>	<i>Mam(uk)-st'i</i>
<i>šah</i> 'king' +	<i>Šah-tikin</i>	* <i>Šah-st'i</i>

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¹⁷ Also note f. PN *Mehrast'i*, attested in a 13th century colophon (*zhanguc'eal mayrn im zMehrast'in ew zk'oyrn im zAřuan*, see **HayJeřHiř XIII**, 1984: 887) and probably consisting of **Miřra-* > **Mehr(a)*-component and *St'i* 'Lady'.

¹⁸ **AčařAnjn 1, 1942:** 486; **3, 1946:** 186-187; **4, 1948:** 491-492, cf. 473; **Avagyan 1978:** 291-294, 1986: 194-199. For *Mamukst'i*, see also § 1.

¹⁹ See **AčařAnjn 4, 1948:** 131.

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ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԿՈՒ ԱՆՁՆԱՆՈՒՆ՝ ՇԱՀ ԲԱՂԱԴՐԻՉՈՎ

Հրաչ Մարտիրոսյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Միջին պարսկերեն, Նոր պարսկերեն, հայերեն, Շահ-ամիր,, Վահրամ-շահ, Սուլթան-շահ, Շահ-պարոն, Մեյիք-շահ:

Հայկական մի շարք բաղադրյալ անձնանուններ ունեն շահ բաղադրիչը, որ արտացոլում է պարսկերեն *šāh* ‘արքա’ բառը: Այն հանդիպում է արական և իգական անձնանուններում որպես առաջին կամ երկրորդ բաղադրիչ, ընդ որում՝ ոչ միայն օտար ծագման բաղադրիչների հետ, այլև՝ հայկական բաղադրիչների, կամ համեմայն դեպս որպես հայակազմ անունների բաղադրիչ. նաև՝ հաճախ ունենք նույն բաղադրիչների հակառակ դասավորություն: Օրինակ՝ արական *Շահ-ամիր* ու *Ամիր-շահ*, *Շահ-պարոն* ու *Պարոն-շահ*, *Վահրամ-շահ*. իգական՝ *Շահ-խայթուն* ու *Խայթուն-շահ*, *Շահ-տիկիկին*: Հմմտ. նաև՝ արական *Շահ-ազիզ* vs. իգական *Ազիզ-շահ*, արական *Սուլթան-շահ* vs. իգական *Շահ-սուլթան*, արական *Մեյիք-շահ* vs. իգական *Շահ-մելե/իք* (վերջինս երբեմն արական է. հմմտ. միջին պարսկերեն > ասորերեն *šāh-malik*, որ նույնպես արական է):

Հոդվածում ներկայացվում են երկու անձնանուն, որոնցում *շահ* բաղադրիչի ներկայությունը չի գիտակցվում. այլ խոսքով՝ հնչյունական փոփոխությունների պատճառով բաղադրությունը դարձել է անթափանց:

Առաջինը Հռոմոսի 1266 թվականի արձանագրության մեջ *Վարհամ*-ի դուստր *Մամուկսթի*-ի (այս անձնանվան շուրջ տես հոդվածի երկրորդ մասում) ազգականներից մեկի անունն է, որ դրված է *Արտամշին* տրական հոլովածևով: Ուղղական հոլովածևի վերականգնման տարբեր փորձեր են արվել՝ **Արտամուշ* (Ղևոնդ Ալիշան), **Արտամ-շահ* (Հրաչյա Աճառյան) և **Արտամիշ* (Սամվել Կարապետյան): Դրանցից առաջինն ու երրորդը որևէ կերպ չեն հիմնավորվում: Ուսումնասիրությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ առավել հավանականը **Արտամ-շահ* տարբերակն է, որ Աճառյանը դնում է հարցական նշանով ու առանց վերլուծության:

Այդ անունը, ամենայն հավանականությամբ, կազմված է **Արտամ* (իրանական **R. t̄ā-ma-*, էլամ. *Ir-da-ma*, արամ. *’rtm*, բաբել. *Ar-ta-am-ma-*, հուն. [Եգիպտոս] *Ἀρτάμησ*) արական անձնանունից և վերոհիշյալ *շահ*

բաղադրիչից: Այսպիսի բաղադրությունների սեռական-տրական հոլովաձևերում հնչյունական կրճատման պատճառով *շահ* (երբեմն՝ *շայ*) բաղադրիչից հաճախ մնում է միայն բառասկզբի շ-ն, օրինակ՝ *Խաթունշահ/յ*, սեռական-տրական *Խաթունշահ-ին*; *Շահանշահ/յ*, սեռական՝ *Շահանշահ-ի* և *Շայինշահ-ի*: Հենց Հոռոմոսի այդ նույն արձանագրության մեջ մեր քննության առարկա *Արտամշահ-ին* ձևին հաջորդում է *Վահրամշահ / Վարհամշահ* անձնանվան *Վարհամշահ-ին* հոլովաձևը, որն այլևս կասկած չի թողնում, որ *Արտամշահ-ը* **Արտամշահ* անձնանվան հոլովաձևն է:

Երկրորդը *Շաշթի* իգական անձնանունն է, որ վկայված է մի ձեռագիր հիշատակարանում (Կողբ, 1289 թ.): Այն, կարծում եմ, ներկայացնում է **Շահ-սթի* բաղադրությունը ($շ...ս > շ...շ$ առնմանությամբ)՝ կազմված *շահ* ‘արքա’ և արաբական ծագման **սթի* ‘տիկին’ (հմմտ. *Գոհար-սթի*, *Մամ(ուկ)-սթի* և այլն) բաղադրիչներից, հմմտ. նույն կաղապարն արտացոլող *Շահ-տիկին* անձնանունը: Այս բաղադրիչներով իգական անձնանունների կաղապարային ներդաշնակությունը հստակորեն երևում է հետևյալ աղյուսակում:

	+ <i>տիկին</i>	+ <i>սթի</i> ‘տիկին’
<i>գոհար</i> +	<i>Գոհար-տիկին</i>	<i>Gohar-ս(ի)թի</i>
<i>մամ(ա)</i> +	<i>Մամա-տիկին</i>	<i>Մամ(ուկ)-սթի</i>
<i>շահ</i> +	<i>Շահ-տիկին</i>	* <i>Շահ-սթի</i>

SOME REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE IRANIAN STRATUM OF CAUCASIAN PERSIAN (TATI) LEXICON*

Artyom Tonoyan

Abstract

The Caucasian Persian (Tat), being the only Southwest Iranian language, which is descended from Early New Persian and is spoken in the eastern part of Transcaucasus, is of great interest in the context of the study of the problems related to areal and historical-comparative linguistics, as well as in concern of the revision of issues related to historical contacts and interactions between Iranian languages and peoples in Transcaucasus.

Keywords: *Caucasian Persian, Iranian stratum, Middle Persian archaisms, Northwest Iranian borrowings, Northwest Iranian substratum, Northern Talysh, Southwest Iranian loans, Caucasian Persian inherited lexicon.*

The study of the Caucasian Persian vocabulary shows that this language has had active contacts with various non-Iranian and Iranian languages in different historical periods.

1. **Southwest Iranian** stratum, which includes:

- Inherited lexicon of Caucasian Persian, which is almost identical to that of Early New Persian,
- Middle Persian archaisms,
- Direct or indirect borrowings from New and Modern Persian.

2. **Northwest Iranian** stratum, which includes:

- Northwest Iranian substratum,
- Lexemes of Northwest Iranian origin inherited from the Early New Persian,
- Borrowings from the Talyshi.

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Introductory notes

Caucasian Persian (Tati)¹, which in different historical periods has been in direct and indirect contact with both Iranian and non-Iranian, including Arabic, Russian, Armenian, Caucasian and Turkic languages, is influenced by all these languages, especially in the part of lexicon².

The issue of the stages of the formation of the Caucasian Persian cannot be considered completely resolved yet. However, both linguistic facts and historical evidence confirm that, although the core of the language is Early New Persian³, its formation and development must have taken place on the fertile ground of other Western Iranian language or languages⁴.

In other words, on the one hand, there is a tangible presence of Middle Persian, which is proved by a number of lexical archaisms preserved in various, especially Central and Quba dialects⁵, on the other hand, there is a substratum of a Northwest Iranian (NWI) dialect, the traces of which can be seen in the dialects of this language, spoken in the regions of Ismayli and Shamakhi. There is a strong linguistic basis for such an assumption, and the relevant historical data and toponyms of historical Shirvan also confirm that approach.⁶ In addition, the southern border of historic Shirvan coincided with the northern border of the spread of Northern Talysh, which suggests

¹ The Caucasian Persian language, also known as the Tat or Caucasian Tat language, at present lacks a literary tradition and belongs to the south-western subgroup of Iranian languages. Historically, it was widespread in the area, which approximately coincided with the lands of the medieval Shirvanshah kingdom or the territories of Baku, Shirvan and Quba khanates in the 19th century. Nowadays the Caucasian Persian is the native language of the ethnic group of Iranian descent that is settled in the Apsheron, Baku, Sumgayit, Khizi, Siazan, Shabran, Quba, Khachmaz, Ismaili and Shamakhi districts of the Republic Azerbaijan. In various parts of the above-mentioned regions the Iranian-speaking population has different endoethnonyms, such as Pars, Lohij, Dağli, and Tat (**Miller**: 1929).

² See, e.g., **Gryunberg** 1961b: 11-23 and **idem** 1963: 112-113, also **Voskanian** 2016: 240-248.

³ **Gryunberg** 1961a: 106-114.

⁴ See, e.g., **Tonoyan** 2014: 193-197 and **idem** 2015a: 147-148.

⁵ There is a widespread opinion, according to which the spread of Middle Persian towards the north of Araks river was due to the Iranians, who as soldiers of the Sasanian army, appeared in the northern parts of Transcaucasus in the 6th century AD to protect the borders of Iran from the attacks and invasions of the northern tribes (**Minorsky** 1934: 697-700).

⁶ **Minorsky** 1958: 13-20.

that there must have been active contacts between Caucasian Persian and Northern Talyshi languages in above-mentioned region. In this regard, Veliyev-Baharli writes: “*We know from history about the movement of the Tats to the Caspian gates, the northern coastal region of Azerbaijan, where they came into direct contacts with the Talysh people. However, this connection was broken by the Turkic tribes, who wedged themselves like a wedge between these two neighboring people, forcing them to leave inaccessible mountains or continuously become Turks*”⁷.

Taking into account the presence of Middle Persian lexical archaisms in various dialects, as well as the possible traces left by the Northwest Iranian languages, including the Northern Talysh, on the Caucasian Persian, the examination of the Iranian lexical stratum of this language should be based on the following points:

Southwest Iranian (SWI) stratum

1. The SWI stratum of Early New Persian lexicon should be considered as a native lexical stratum in Caucasian Persian language. Moreover, only words that bypass the phonetic laws specific to Caucasian Persian can be considered borrowed from New and Modern Persian.

2. In all cases, if the lexeme existing in Caucasian Persian is Southwest Iranian in phonetic form, but does not have such evidence in Early New and Modern Persian, should be considered as Middle Persian archaism, which has been preserved from some Middle Persian dialect in Caucasian Persian.

Northwest Iranian (NWI) stratum

If the Caucasian Persian word in its phonetic form is Northwest Iranian, it could have appeared in that language in three following ways:

1. From the Early New Persian, where some of the Northwest Iranian words were inherited from Middle Persian and are considered to be Parthian borrowings, while others are directly derived from various Northwest dialects. In this case, the proposed law is valid when the

⁷ Veliyev-Baxarly 1921: 46.

corresponding word is widely used and abundantly attested in classical Persian.

2. From the Talyshi, if the corresponding word is defined as of Northwest Iranian origin, is presented in the Tat dialects (Apsheroni and Central) which are spoken relatively close to the spreadzone of Talyshi. In addition, words of such type must exist in the corresponding or similar phonetic form in Talyshi.

3. From any other language of the Northwest Iranian branch, on which the Caucasian Persian or any of its dialects could be layered. In this case, it is possible to assume and prove, based on the data of early Arab historiography⁸, that some Iranian peoples, in particular Kurds and Deylamits, appeared in Shirvan earlier than the spread of the Early New Persian in the eastern part of Transcaucasus. A prerequisite for this point is that the corresponding word should first be defined as of Northwestern Iranian origin and be used in dialects far from the Talysh-speaking area, as well as be absent in Talyshi.

SWI inherited lexicon in Caucasian Persian

Like other languages, the inherited lexicon of Caucasian Persian includes mainly the native stock of words, which consists of:

- More than 200 simple verbs like *bardan* < Early NP *burdan* “carry”, *daran* < Early NP *dādan* “give”, *čiran* < Early NP *čīdan* “to gather, reap”, *āmāran* < Early NP *āmadan* “to come”, *suxtan* < Early NP *suxtan* “to burn”, *zaran* < Early NP *zadan* “to hit”, *biran* < Early NP *budan* “to be”, *guftiran*//*kutiran* < Early NP *guftīdan* “to say”, *güftan*//*giftan* < Early NP *giriftan* “to take” etc.

- A large number of animals, birds and plant names, such as *xug* “pig” < Early NP *xūk*, *gürg*//*girg*⁹ < Early NP *gurg* “wolf”, *xarguš* < Early NP

⁸ See **Jakubovskij 1926**: 65, also **Tonoyan, Sargsyan 2016**: 262-272.

⁹ *í//ü* and *ü//i* vowel changes typical for the Caucasian Persian dialects (cf. *dil*//*dül* “heart”, *giftan*//*güftan* “to get”, *birīstan*//*bürüstan* “to roast, fry, bake”, *dūzd*//*dīzd* “robber, thief”, *pūšt*//*pišt* “back”), is one of the phonological features of the eastern dialect group of Azerbaijani (e.g., *bibi* > *bübü* “paternal aunt”, *şəkil* > *şəkül* “picture, form”, *siz* > *süz* “you”,

xargūš “rabbit”, *ruvi* < Early NP *rōbāh* “fox”, *kalāq* < Early NP *kalāy* “crow”, *šir* < Early NP “lion”, *sag//say* < Early NP *sag* “dog”, *as* < Early NP *asb//asp* “horse”, *giov* < Early NP *gāh* “plant”, *dār* “tree” < Early NP *dār* “wood”, *talū* < Early NP *talū* “thorn” etc.

- Names of some geographical and natural phenomena, celestial bodies, seasons, times such as *xāk* < Early NP *xāk* “earth”, *kuh // kūh* < Early NP *kōh* “mountain”, *dāhār* “cave” < Early NP *dahār* “rock, scar”, *māh* < Early NP *māh* “moon”, *dara* < Early NP *darra* “canyon”, *rāh* < Early NP *rāh* “way”, *šāhāngum* < Early NP *šabhangām* “evening”, *zimistun* < Early NP *zimistān* “winter”, *pariz* < Early NP *pādiz* “autumn”, *zimilarz* “earthquake” (cf. Modern Pers. *būmlarz*), *tagarg* < Early NP *tagarg* “hail”, *ruz* < Early NP *rōz* “day”, *sāl* < Early NP *sāl* “year” etc.

- Kinship lexemes, such as *māy//moy//mö* < Early NP *mādar* “mother”, *piyar* < Early NP *pidar* “father”, *zan* < Early NP *zan* “woman”, *duxtār* < Early NP *duxtār* “girl”, *birār* < Early NP *barādar* “brother”, *xuvār* < Early NP *xāhar* “sister”, *birārzara* < Early NP *barādarzāda* “nephew, son of a brother”, *xuvārzara* < Early NP *xāharzāda* “nephew, son of a sister” etc.

- Somatic lexemes, such as *sar* < Early NP *sar* “head”, *gardun* < Early NP *gardān* “neck”, *dūš* < Early NP *dōš* “shoulder”, *išqam* < Early NP *šikam* “belly”, *dül* < Early NP *dil* “heart”, *ruru* < Early NP *rūda* “intestine”, *čüm* < Early NP *čašm* “eye”, *angūšt* < Early NP *angušt* “finger”, *pūšt* < Early NP *pušt* “back” etc.

- Numerals, pronouns, qualitative adjectives etc.

SWI loans

Modern Persian and Caucasian Persian, as descendants of early New Persian, naturally have a huge number of words with the same phonetic

sifət > *sūfət* “face” etc.). The easternmost border of this vowel change is Türkan in the Apsheron peninsula, westernmost is Birinci Ərəbcəbirli in Göyçay district, southernmost is Xol Qarabucaq in Neftçala, and northernmost is Xudat in Xachmaz district, that coincide almost exactly with the borders of the area where Caucasian Persian was spoken. Consequently, it could be regarded as a result of Caucasian Persian phonological influence on the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani (Tonoyan 2019: 370-371).

form that cannot be considered Persian borrowings in Caucasian Persian. However, there are certain phonetic laws that are specific only to Caucasian Persian, and therefore the exceptions to these laws should certainly be considered Persian borrowings in Caucasian Persian.

The above-mentioned laws are as follows:

1. Old Iranian dental *-t- shifts to -r- in intervocalic position, while in Early NP it shifts to -ḍ- (>-d-),

2. Old Iranian labio-dental *v- is preserved in anlaut, while in Early NP initial *v- shifts to b-.

If these historical phonetic laws are taken as a basis, then the following words of Caucasian Persian should be considered as borrowings from New Persian directly or in some cases indirectly through Azerbaijani. The following are examples of this group:

Lah. *haftod* “seventy” (< Early NP *haftād* < OIr. **haftāti-*),

Lah. *haštod* “eighty” (< Early NP *haštād* < OIr. **aštāti-*),

Lah. *nāvād* “ninety” (< Early NP *navad* < OIr. **navatī-*),

Lah. *xudo* “God” (< Early NP *xudā* < OIr. **xwatāya-*),

Abš. *bahar* “spring” (< Early NP *bahār* < OIr. **vāhara-*),

Abš. *šad* (in other dialects *šar*) “happy” (< Early NP *šād* < OIr. **šyāta-*),

Abš. *šudan* “to be, to become” (< Early NP *šudan* < OP. *šuta-* (past participle),

Abš. *piyada* “on foot” (< Early NP *piyāda*),

bist (in all dialects) “twenty” (< Early NP *bīst* < OIr. **visat-*)

banöšā (in all dialects) “violet” (< Early NP *banāšā* < OIr. **vana-vaxša-¹⁰*),

burun (in all dialects) “rain” (< Early NP *bārān* < MP *vārān*).

MP archaisms

There are a number of lexemes used in different dialects of Caucasian Persian, which have phonetic appearance typical of SWI languages, but have no evidence in New Persian. At the same time, it should be noted that some of these words are attested in Middle Persian. Therefore, taking into account

¹⁰ Müller 1893: 368.

the above-mentioned two points, they can be considered as Middle Persian archaisms in Caucasian Persian.

The following are two examples of Middle Persian archaisms in Caucasian Persian:

zafru “down, under” (cf. MP *zurf*¹¹, Parth. *žafra*¹² and NP *žarf*, which is a NWI loan in NP) < OIr. * *ǰafra-* “deep”

hāmi “summer” (Qub. *homi*, Lah. *homin*, Abš., Šm̄. and Central *hāmi*) < MP *hāmīn*¹³ < OIr. * *hāmīna-*¹⁴.

NWI substratum and borrowings

As was mentioned, words of NWI origin could appear in Caucasian Persian in three main ways:

1. Northwest Iranian, probably Deylamit substratum
2. Early New Persian
3. Talyshi language

In regard to the classification of the Northwest Iranian lexical substratum and borrowings according to the mentioned three groups which are left for further detailed examination, it should be mentioned that any word in Caucasian Persian can be placed under this group if it complies with the following historical phonetic laws:

- The preservation of Old Iranian labio-dental **v-* in anlaut
- The shift of the Old Iranian predental-prepalatal consonants **ǰ-(-ǰ-)* and **č-(-č-)* to predorsal-prepalatal *ž* in anlaut and intervocalic position.

In addition to the words corresponding to these two points, this group may include those words which do not exist in Classical and Modern Persian but are present in the neighboring Talyshi or other Northwest Iranian languages and have other phonetic features specific to the languages of the Northwest Iranian branch.

¹¹ Nyberg 1974: 232.

¹² Durkin-Meistererents 2004: 198.

¹³ Mackenzie 1986: 41.

¹⁴ Rastorgueva, Edelman 2007: 351.

The following examples of this group are:

varf “snow” (cf. Gil. *varf*, Tal. *voə*, Kaš. *vafr* // *fafr*, Early NP *barf*) < Olr. **vafra-*,

vār (Lah. *vor*) “wind” (cf. Tal. *vo*, Gil. *va*, Maz. *vā*//*vo*, Early NP *bād*) < Olr. **vāta-*,

valg “leaf” (cf. Tal. *vəlg*, Gil. *vəlg*, Maz. *varg*//*valg* //*valk*, Early NP *barg*) < Olr. **varka-*

virixtan (Abš. *gurixtan*) “to flee” (cf. Tal. *vite*, Early NP *gurixtan*) < Olr. **vi-raēča-*

vini “nose” (cf. Gil. *vini*, Tal. *vini*, Maz. *veni*) < Olr. **vaina-ka* (cf. Av. *vaena-*)

žuži “ hedgehog” (cf. Tal. *žaže*, Early NP *žūž(a)*, MP *zuzak*) < Olr. **ǰū/uǰaka-*

tiž “sharp” (cf. Tal. *tiž*, Parth. *tēž*, Early NP *tiz* (<MP *tēz*) <Olr. **taiǰa-*

giž “madman” (cf. Tal. *giž*, Kd. *giž*, Early NP *gēǰ*) < Olr. **gaiza-*

The words phonetically of Northwest Iranian origin are numerous in Caucasian Persian and are not limited to the given list. There are some words of NWI origin not included in the list, which also are borrowings from Talyshi, e.g. *kila* “girl” found in the Lahiji and Shamakhi dialects and *delna* “woman” used in the central dialect¹⁵.

As a summary, it should be noted that although Caucasian Persian is a SWI language, but in different historical periods has had active contacts with various NWI languages, traces of which are preserved in the lexicon of this language. The proposed methodology for classifying NWI strata can be revised after the publication of new dialect data. A more detailed study of existing dialects and the publication of new material in the future could make it possible to review the methodology proposed in this article for the classification of NWI strata of Caucasian Persian.

¹⁵ Tonoyan 2015b: 76.

Abbreviations

Apsh.	Apšeron dialect (Caucasian Persian)
Av.	Avestan
Gil.	Gilaki
Kash.	Kashani dialect
Kd.	Kurdish
Lah.	Lahīj dialect (Caucasian Persian)
Maz.	Mazandarani
MP	Middle Persian
NP	New Persian
NWI	Northwest Iranian
OP	Old Persian
Old Ir.	Old Iranian
Parth.	Parthian
Qub.	Quba dialect (Caucasian Persian)
Shmkh	Shamakha dialect of Caucasian Persian
SWI	Southwest Iranian
Tal.	Talyshi

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ՄԻ ՔԱՆԻ ԴԻՏԱՐԿՈՒՄ ԿՈՎԿԱՍՅԱՆ ՊԱՐՍԿԵՐԵՆԻ ՔԱՌԱՊԱՇԱՐԻ ԻՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ՇԵՐՏԻ (ԹԱԹԵՐԵՆ) ԾԱԳՄԱՆ ՇՈՒՐՋ

Արտյոմ Տոնոյան

Քանալի բառեր՝ Կովկասյան պարսկերեն, իրանական շերտ, միջին պարսկական հնաբանություններ, հյուսիսարևմտահրանական փոխառություններ, հյուսիսարևմտահրանական ենթաշերտ, հյուսիսային թալիշերեն, հարավարևմտահրանական փոխառություններ, կովկասյան պարսկական բնիկ բառազանծ:

Կովկասյան պարսկերենը (թաթերեն), լինելով Այսրկովկասի արևելյան հատվածում խոսվող իրանական լեզուներից միակը, որ պատկանում է դրանց հարավ-արևմտյան ճյուղին և սերում է վաղ նոր պարսկերենից, մեծ հետաքրքրություն է ներկայացնում և՛ արեալային լեզվաբանության, և՛ հատկապես պատմահամեմատական լեզվաբանության, իրանական լեզուների և դրանց կրող ժողովուրդների միջև պատմական շփումների և փոխազդեցությունների ուսումնասիրության համատեքստում:

Կովկասյան պարսկերենի բառապաշարի ուսումնասիրությունը բացահայտում է վերջինիս՝ ինչպես ոչ իրանական, այնպես էլ իրանական լեզուների հետ ունեցած առնչակցությունների և կրած ազդեցությունների տարբեր շերտեր, որոնք արդյունք են ինչպես նորագույն, այնպես էլ պատմական ավելի վաղ շրջաններում ընթացած շփումների և փոխազդեցությունների:

Հոդվածում ներկայացված են մի քանի դիտարկումներ կովկասյան պարսկերենի և դրա բարբառների իրանական շերտի տարբերակման

շուրջ: Այս լեզվի բառապաշարի ուսումնասիրությունը թույլ է տալիս իրանական ծագման բառերի համար առաջարկել դասակարգման հետևյալ մոդելը՝

1. **Հարավարևմտաիրանական շերտ**, որի մեջ մտնում են՝

- կովկասյան պարսկերենի բնիկ բառազանձը, որը գրեթե նույնական է վաղ նոր պարսկերենի հետ,

- միջին պարսկերեն հնաբանությունները,

- նոր և ժամանակակից պարսկերենից արված ուղիղ կամ միջնորդավորված փոխառությունները:

2. **Հյուսիսարևմտաիրանական շերտ**, որի մեջ մտնում են՝

- Մինչև լեզվի ձևավորումը տվյալ տարածքում խոսված որևէ հյուսիսարևմտիրանական լեզվից կամ լեզուներից պահպանված և հետագայում կովկասյան պարսկերենին անցած բառային ենթաշերտ:

- Լեզվի ձևավորման վաղ շրջանում վաղ նոր պարսկերենից ժառանգված հյուսիսարևմտաիրանական բառեր:

Թալիշերենից կատարված փոխառություններ:

ՄԻՋԱԶԳԱՅԻՆ ԳԻՏԱԺՈՂՈՎ ԵՎԻՐՎԱԾ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ ՀԻՄՆԱԴՐՄԱՆ 50-ԱՄՅԱԿԻՆ

2021 թ.-ի հունիսի 24-ին ՀՀ ԳԱԱ նախագահության նիստերի կլոր դահլիճում կայացավ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի հիմնադրման 50-ամյակին նվիրված «Արևելագիտության արդի հիմնախնդիրներ» խորագրով հոբելյանական միջազգային գիտաժողով, որը կազմակերպել էր ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտը:

Գիտաժողովին ներկա էին ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի առաջատար հետազոտողներ, վերլուծական տարբեր կենտրոնների հետազոտողներ, ՀՀ գիտական, ուսումնական, գիտահետազոտական տարբեր հաստատությունների մասնագետներ, ինչպիսիք են ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս Աշոտ Մելքոնյանը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հնագիտության և ազգագրության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթակից անդամ Պավել Ավետիսյանը, ԵՊՀ Արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի նախկին դեկան, պրոֆեսոր Գուրգեն Մելիքյանը, Հայոց ցեղասպանության թանգարան-ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, պ.գ.դ. Հարություն Մարությանը, Մատենադարանի տնօրեն, պ.գ.դ. Վահան Տեր-Ղևոնդյանը, Թունիսում ՀՀ դեսպան Արշակ Փոլադյանը, ԻԻՀ դասպանության մշակույթի կենտրոնի տնօրեն Հոսեփ Թաբաթաբաին, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԳԿՄԿ տնօրեն Արմեն Սարգսյանը և այլք:

Բացման խոսքով հանդես եկավ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ հայագիտության և հասարակական գիտությունների բաժանմունքի ակադեմիկոս-քարտուղար Յուրի Սուվարյանը: Ողջույնի խոսք հղեցին ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս Ռադիկ Մարտիրոսյանը և ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն պ.գ.թ. Ռոբերտ Ղազարյանը:

Իր խոսքում Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն Ռոբերտ Ղազարյանը շեշտեց, որ Հայաստանը կազմում է արևելքի մաս, հավելելով՝ «մենք արևելքի ժողովուրդ ենք և պարտավոր ենք լավ ուսումնասիրել արևելքը և արևելքի ժողովուրդներին»: Նա ընդգծեց նաև միջազգային գիտական կառույցների հետ կապեր հաստատելու կարևորությունն ու

անհրաժեշտությունը արևելագիտության նկատմամբ հայագիտական մոտեցումները արտահանելու և տարածելու տեսանկյունից:

Ելույթով հանդես եկան ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի նախկին տնօրեններ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթակից անդամ Նիկոլայ Հովհաննիսյանը և ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս Ռուբեն Սաֆրաստյանը:

Գիտաժողովի ընթացքում տեղի ունեցավ ՀՀ ԳԱԱ վաստակագրերի, պատվոգրերի և Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի շնորհակալագրերի հանձնում:

Զեկուցումներով հանդես եկան՝ ՌԴ ԳԱ Հեռավոր արևելքի ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, պ.գ.դ. Ալեքսեյ Մասլովը «Քննարկումներ արևելագիտության զարգացման ուղիների մասին, դասականի և նորարարությունների միջև» թեմայով, ՌԴ ԳԱ Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի փոխտնօրեն, պ.գ.թ. Ալեքսանդր Սկակովը «Ռուսաստանյան հնագիտությունը Կովկասում 21-րդ դարի սկզբին» զեկույցով, Կոռնելի Կեկելիձեի անվան Վրաստանի ձեռագրերի ազգային կենտրոնի ավագ գիտաշխատող, պ.գ.դ. Խաթունա Գափրինդաշվիլին «Հայսմավորքի կառուցվածքը և առանձնահատկությունները» թեմայով, ՌԴ Կուբանի համալսարանի ռեկտորի առաջին տեղակալ, սոց.գ.դ. Թեմիր Խագուրովը «Երիտասարդությունը համաշխարհային և տեղական բազմաէթնիկ հանրայթում. սոցիալական լարվածության նոր դիտանկյուններ» թեմայով, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱԻ Արևելյան աղբյուրագիտության և պատմագրության բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.դ. Ազատ Բոզոյանը «Հայոց եկեղեցին Տիեզերական եկեղեցու նվիրապետական համակարգում և այբուբենի ստեղծման նշանակությունը» թեմայով:

Ելույթներով հանդես եկան նաև ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱԻ Քրիստոնյա Արևելքի բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.դ. Ալեքսան Հակոբյանը, ով ներկայացրեց «Կովկասյան Աղվանքի թագավորությունում քրիստոնեության պաշտոնական ընդունման թվագրման մասին (313-315 թթ.)» թեմայով զեկույցը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱԻ Իրանի բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.թ. Գոհար Իսկանդարյանը «Իրանում ԱՄՆ-ի ռազմավարության գործիքակազմը 1950-60-ական թվականներին» զեկույցով, Զինաստան - Եվրասիա քաղաքական և ռազմավարական հետազոտությունների խորհրդի տնօրեն, ք.գ.թ. Միեր Սահակյանը «Զինաստանը և Թուրքիան փոփոխվող աշխարհակարգում» թեմայով,

ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱԻ Թուրքիայի բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.թ. Քրիստինե Մելքոնյանը «Խորհրդա-թուրքական հարաբերությունները 1941 թ. (ըստ ՌԴ ԱԳՆ արխիվային փաստաթղթերի)» զեկույցով, և գիտաժողովը եզրափակեց ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ԱԻ Միջազգային հարաբերությունների բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.թ. Եվա Հարությունյանի ելույթը «Ճապոնիայի մերձավորարևելյան քաղաքականությունը 2015 թ. անվտանգության օրինագծի ընդունումից հետո» թեմայով:

Գիտաժողովի շրջանակներում ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտը համագործակցության հուշագրեր ստորագրեց Կոռնելի Կեկելիձեի անվան վրացական ձեռագրերի ազգային կենտրոնի, ՌԴ Կուբանի պետական համալսարանի և ՌԴ Գիտությունների ակադեմիայի Հեռավոր արևելքի ինստիտուտի հետ:

Գիտաժողովը լուսաբանվել է ինչպես տեղի՝ հայկական լրատվամիջոցներում այնպես էլ միջազգային որոշ թերթերում, ինչպիսին է Ստամբուլում լույս տեսնող հայատառ «Մարմարա» քաղաքական հասարակական օրաթերթը (հղում՝ <https://www.normarmara.com/arsiv2021-1/240621lu.html>):

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE DEDICATED TO THE 50TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSTITUTE OF
ORIENTAL STUDIES OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF
THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA**

Jubilee international conference dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA took place on June 24, 2021, in the Round Hall of the Presidium of NAS RA, entitled "Contemporary Issues of Oriental Studies" which was organized by the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA.

Attending the conference were leading researchers of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, researchers of various analytical centers, specialists of various scientific, educational and research institutions of the RA, such as Director of the Institute of History of NAS RA academician of NAS RA Ashot Melkonyan, Director of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography Corresponding member of NAS RA Pavel Avetisyan, former Dean of YSU Faculty of Oriental Studies, Professor Gurgen Melikyan, Director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, Doctor of Historical Sciences Harutyun Marutyan, Director of Matenadaran, Doctor of Historical Sciences Vahan Ter-Ghevondyan, RA Ambassador to Tunisia Doctor of Historical Sciences Arshak Poladyan, Director of the Cultural centre of the Embassy of IRI Dr. Hosein Tabatabai, Director of the ISEC of NAS RA Dr. Armen Sargsyan and others.

Yuri Suvaryan, Academician-Secretary of Division of Armenology and Social Sciences of NAS RA made the opening speech followed by the greeting speeches of Academician of NAS RA Radik Martirosyan and Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA Candidate of Historical Sciences Robert Ghazaryan.

In his speech Robert Ghazaryan stressed that Armenia is in actuality part of the East, adding that "we are eastern people, so, we must study the East and its people very well". He also emphasized the importance and necessity of establishing contacts with international scientific organizations in

terms of exporting and spreading Armenological approaches to Oriental Studies.

Speeches were made by former directors of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA Nikolay Hovhannisyan, Corresponding Member of NAS RA, and Ruben Safrastyan, Academician of NAS RA.

During the conference certificates of honor and letters of gratitude from the Institute of Oriental Studies were awarded.

Reports were made by Alexey Maslov - Director of the Institute of the Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, on the topic "Discussions on the paths to the development of Oriental Studies: between classics and innovations", Alexander Skakov - Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Candidate of Historical Sciences, on the topic "Russian archaeology in the Caucasus at the beginning of the 21st century", Khatuna Gaprindashvili - Senior Researcher at the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Doctor of Historical Sciences, on the topic "The structure and original part of Armenian Synaxarion", Temir Khagurov - First Vice-Rector of the Kuban State University of RF, Doctor of Social Sciences, on the topic "Youth in a global and local multiethnic society: new perspectives of social tension", Azat Bozoyan - Head of the Department of Eastern Sources and Historiography of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Doctor of Historical Sciences, on the topic "The Armenian Church in the hierarchical system of the Ecumenical Church and the significance of the creation of the Alphabet".

Speeches and reports were also made by Aleksan Hakobyan - Head of the Department of the Christian Orient of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Doctor of Historical Sciences, on the topic "On the dating of the official adoption of Christianity in the kingdom of Caucasian Albania (313-315)", Gohar Iskandaryan - Head of the Department of Iran of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Candidate of Historical Sciences, on the topic "Toolkit of the US strategy in Iran in 1950s-1960s", Mher Sahakyan - Director of "China-Eurasia" Council for Political and Strategic Research,

Candidate of Political Sciences, on the topic "China and Turkey in a changing world order", Christine Melkonyan - Head of the Department of Turkey of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Candidate of Historical Sciences, on the topic "Soviet-Turkish relations in 1941 (based on archival materials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation)", and the conference was concluded by the report of Eva Harutyunyan - Head of the Department of International Relations of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Candidate of Historical Sciences, on the topic "Japan's Middle East policy following the adoption of the Security Bill in 2015".

Within the framework of the conference, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the NAS RA signed memorandums of cooperation with the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, the Kuban State University of the Russian Federation, and the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The conference was covered both in the local Armenian media and in some international newspapers, such as the Istanbul-based socio-political daily newspaper "Marmara" (available at: <https://www.normarmara.com/arsiv2021-1/240621lu.html>).



ԵՐԻՏԱՍԱՐԴ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԵՏՆԵՐԻ 41-ՐԴ ԳԻՏԱԺՈՂՈՎ

Ա.թ. հուլիսի 9-ին ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտում կայացավ Երիտասարդ արևելագետների 41-րդ ամենամյա գիտաժողովը, որը նվիրված էր ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Հին Արևելքի բաժնի առաջատար գիտաշխատող, պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր, վաստակաշատ հայագետ **Արտակ Մովսիսյանի** հիշատակին: Բացման խոսքով հանդես եկավ ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, պ.գ.թ., դոցենտ Ռոբերտ Ղազարյանը:

Գիտաժողովին ներկա էին և ողջույնի խոսքով հանդես եկան ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ՀՀԳԲ ակադեմիկոս-քարտուղար, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս Յուրի Սուվարյանը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի տնօրենի խորհրդական, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթակից անդամ Նիկոլայ Հովհաննիսյանը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ պատմության ինստիտուտի տնօրեն, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս Աշոտ Մելքոնյանը, ԵՊՀ պատմության ֆակուլտետի դեկան, պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր Էդիկ Մինասյանը, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի Հին Արևելքի բաժնի վարիչ, պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր Արամ Քոսյանը: Նրանք իրենց խոսքում բարձր գնահատեցին Արտակ Մովսիսյանի ավանդը պատմագիտության զարգացման ասպարեզում՝ կարևորելով այն եզակի ժառանգությունը, որ թողել է պատմաբանը հաջորդ սերունդներին:

Գիտաժողովին մասնակցեցին շուրջ 40 գիտաշխատողներ, մագիստրոսներ, ասպիրանտներ Հայաստանի տարբեր գիտական և կրթական հաստատություններից: Մասնակիցների զեկուցումների թեմաները վերաբերում էին տարբեր արդի հիմնախնդիրների, պարունակում էին գիտական նորույթ, իսկ ելույթներն աչքի էին ընկնում ուշագրավությամբ և գիտականությամբ:

Գիտաժողովի ավարտին տեղի ունեցավ ամփոփում և վկայագրերի հանձնում:

Գիտաժողովին ներկայացված լավագույն զեկուցումները կիրառարակվեն ՀՀ ԳԱԱ արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի՝ «Մերձավոր Արևելք. պատմություն, քաղաքականություն, մշակույթ» գիտական հոդվածների ժողովածուի հերթական համարում:

THE 41TH CONFERENCE OF YOUNG ORIENTALISTS

The 41st Annual Conference of Young Orientalists was held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia on July 9, 2021. It was dedicated to the memory of **Artak Movsisyan**, honored Armenologist, leading researcher of the Department of Ancient Orient of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Doctor of Sciences (history), professor. Robert Ghazaryan, the director of the Institute made an opening speech.

Yuri Suvaryan, Academician-Secretary of the Division of Armenology and Social Sciences of NAS RA, academician of NAS RA; Nikolay Hovhannisyan, advisor to director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Corresponding Member of NAS RA; Ashot Melkonyan, director of the Institute of History of NAS RA, Academician of NAS RA; Edik Minasyan, dean of the Faculty of History of YSU, Doctor of Sciences (history), professor; and Aram Kosyan, Head of the Department of Ancient Orient of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA, Doctor of Sciences (history), professor were present at the conference and made opening speeches. In their speech, they highly appreciated Artak Movsisyan's contribution to the development of historiography, emphasizing the unique legacy that the historian left to future generations.

The conference was attended by about 40 researchers, graduate and postgraduate students from different scientific and educational institutions of Armenia. The topics of the participants' reports were related to various current issues, contained scientific novelty, and the speeches were remarkable and were distinguished by scientific approach.

At the end of the conference certificates were handed out.

The best reports presented at the conference will be published in the next issue of the collection of scientific articles of the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA - "Near East: History, Politics, Culture".



**ՀԱՅԵՐԵՆ ԵՎ ՌՈՒՍԵՐԵՆ ԱՅՐՈՒԲԵՆՆԵՐԻ ԼԱՏԻՆԱՏԱՌ
ԳՐԱԴԱՐՁՈՒՄՆԵՐ**
**THE LATIN TRANSLITERATION OF THE ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN
ALPHABETS**

Հայերեն	Armenian Transliteration	Русский	Russian Transliteration
Ա ա	A	А а	A
Բ բ	B	Б б	B
Գ գ	G	В в	V
Դ դ	D	Г г	G
Ե ե	E	Д д	D
Զ զ	Z	Е е	E
Է է	Ē	Ё ё	Yo
Ը ը	Ǽ	Ж ж	Ǟ
Թ թ	t'	З з	Z
Ժ ժ	Ǟ	И и	I
Ի ի	I	Й й	Y
Լ լ	L	К к	K
Խ խ	Kh	Л л	L
Ծ ծ	c'	М м	M
Կ կ	K	Н н	N
Հ հ	H	О о	O
Ձ ձ	Dz	П п	P
Ղ ղ	Ǿ	Р р	R
Ճ ճ	č'	С с	S
Մ մ	M	Т т	T
Յ յ	Y	У у	U
Ն ն	N	Ф ф	F
Շ շ	Ǟ	Х х	Kh
Ո ո	Vo	Ц ц	Ts
Չ չ	Ǟ	Ч ч	Ǟ
Պ պ	P	Ш ш	Ǟ
Ջ ճ	J	Щ щ	Ǟč
Ռ ռ	r'	Ъ	“
Ս ս	S	Ы ы	Y
Վ վ	V	Ь	‘
Տ տ	T	Э э	Ē

Ր ր	R	Ю ю	Yu
Ց g	Ts	Я я	Ya
Ու ու	U		
Փ փ	p'		
Ք ք	k'		
Ա	Ev		
Օ օ	O		
Ֆ ֆ	F		

ՈՒՂԵՑՈՒՅՑ ՀԵՂԻՆԱԿՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԱՐ

«Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի» մատենաշարը հրատարակվում է ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտում 1960 թ.-ից: Գիտական պարբերականը ընդգրկում է Հարավ-արևմտյան Ասիայի **երկրների հին և միջին դարերի, նոր և նորագույն ժամանակների պատմության, ինչպես նաև աղբյուրագիտության և բանասիրության** հարցերի վերաբերյալ հետազոտություններ: Զգալի տեղ է հատկացված նաև տարածաշրջանի քաղաքական զարգացումների, միջազգային հարաբերությունների և այլ հիմնախնդիրների լուսաբանությանը: Պարբերականում հրատարակվում են նաև աշխատություններ նվիրված Ասիայի և Հյուսիսային Աֆրիկայի այլ տարածաշրջանների միջև հարաբերություններին:

Պարբերականի հոդվածները հրատարակվում են հայերեն, ռուսերեն, անգլերեն և այլ եվրոպական լեզուներով:

Պարբերականը լույս է տեսնում տարեկան 2 անգամ: Հոդվածները հարկավոր է ներկայացնել տվյալ տարվա առաջին համարի համար՝ մինչև տվյալ տարվա **մայիսի 15-ը**, իսկ երկրորդ համարի համար՝ մինչև **սեպտեմբերի 15-ը**:

Պարբերականին հոդվածներ կարող են ներկայացնել միայն **գիտական աստիճան** ունեցող հետազոտողները (*գիտական աստիճան չունեցողները՝ միայն խմբագրության որոշմամբ*):

Ժողովածուի պաշտոնական կայքէջը՝ <http://www.orientcpnme.am>, էլեկտրոնային հասցեն՝ journal@orient.sci.am:

Հոդվածներին ներկայացվող պահանջներ

Հարկավոր է որպեսզի հեղինակները իրենց հոդվածները համապատասխանեցնեն «Բանբեր արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի» պարբերականի ոճային հետևյալ պահանջներին՝

Հոդվածի ծավալը պետք է լինի մինչև 15 էջ՝ ներառյալ նաև ամփոփումները և գրականությունը (ավելի մեծ ծավալը՝ խմբագրության որոշմամբ):

1. **Հոդվածի շարվածքը** ներկայացնել և՛ էլեկտրոնային (Word - doc, docx), և՛ թղթային տարբերակներով (Երևանից դուրս, կամ արտասահմանից ուղարկվող հոդվածները՝ միայն էլեկտրոնային տարբերակով, ժողովածուի էլեկտրոնային հասցեին՝ journal@orient.sci.am) (**շարվածքը՝ 12 տառաչափ, 1.5 միջտողային բացվածք, 3500 բառից ոչ ավել**):

2. Հայերեն տեքստերը ներկայացնել **GHEA Grapalat** տառատեսակով, **այլ լեզուներով՝ Times New Roman** (նույն սկզբունքով նաև ծանոթագրություններում և գրականության ցանկում):

3. **Հոդվածի** վերնագիրը և հեղինակի անուն և ազգանունը պետք է լինի մեծատառերով:

4. Հոդվածի տեքստից առաջ, բանալի բառերից հետո տալ նաև հոդվածի բովանդակության վերաբերյալ **համառոտ շարադրանք** (այն պետք է ներկայացվի այն լեզվով, որ լեզվով ներկայացվում է հոդվածը, շարվածքը՝ 12 տառաչափ, միջտողային բացվածքը՝ 1, **250 բառից ոչ ավելի**: Հայերեն տեքստերը ներկայացնել **GHEA Grapalat** տառատեսակով, **այլ լեզուներով՝ Times New Roman**):

5. Հեղինակը ներկայացնում է նաև իր հոդվածի անգլերեն վերնագիրը և իր անունը և ազգանունը անգլերեն (եթե հոդվածի տեքստը հայերեն է): Եթե հոդվածի տեքստը անգլերեն կամ եվրոպական այլ լեզուներով է և հեղինակը արտերկրից չէ, ապա նա ներկայացնում է իր հոդվածի վերնագիրը և իր անունը և ազգանունը նաև հայերեն:

6. Հոդվածներին կից ներկայացնել նաև հայերեն և անգլերեն **10 Բանալի բառեր (Keywords; Ключевые слова)**:

7. Եթե հոդվածում կան **հապավումներ**, ապա հոդվածի վերջում՝ Գրականությունից հետո տալ նաև հապավումները՝ բացված վիճակում:

Ծանոթագրությունները տալ ներկայացվող հոդվածի ամեն էջի տողապահում (Footnote):

8. **Ծանոթագրությունները** տալ ըստ հղված աշխատության լեզվի:

9. **Ծանոթագրությունների** միջտողային հեռավորությունը՝ 1, տառատեսակը՝ հայերենի դեպքում՝ **GHEA Grapalat** տառատեսակով, **այլ լեզուներով՝ Times New Roman**, տառաչափը՝ 10:

10. **Ծանոթագրությունների** մեջ նշված հեղինակների ազգանունները և տարեթիվը ընդգծել թավ (Bold), նմանապես նաև հոդվածի վերջում տրվող գրականությունում:

11. **Ծանոթագրությունները (հոդվածներ, գրքեր, զեկուցում)** տալ հետևյալ կերպ՝

Պողոսյան 2019, 36:

Poghosyan 2019: 36.

Погосян 2019: 36.

12. **Ծանոթագրություններում ներկայացվող համացանցային հոդվածները և կայքերը** տալ հետևյալ կերպ՝

Պողոսյան Պ., *Վերնագիրը*, ամսաթիվը, էլեկտրոնային հասցեն:

13. **Ծանոթագրություններում ներկայացվող հոդվածներ օրաթերթերից՝**

Պողոսյան «Օրաթերթի անունը չակերտների մեջ», օրաթերթի ամսաթիվը և համարը:

14. Եթե **ծանոթագրություններում** տրվում է նույն ազգանունը կրող երկու անձ՝ հարկավոր է նշել նաև (այդ դեպքում միայն) անվան առաջին տառը՝

Պողոսյան Պ. 2019, 36:

Պողոսյան Կ. 2019, 115:

15. Եթե **ծանոթագրությունում** նույն հեղինակը նույն տարում հրատարակել է երկու կամ ավելի աշխատություններ և դրանք հղվում են ներկայացվող հոդվածում՝ հարկավոր է ներկայացնել հետևյալ կերպ՝

Պողոսյան 2019ա, 36:

Պողոսյան 2019բ, 76:

Poghosyan 2019a: 36.

Poghosyan 2019b: 76.

16. **Ծանոթագրություններում** եթե նույն հեղինակի նույն հղումն է կրկնվում իրար ետևից հարկավոր է հայերենի դեպքում տալ այսպես՝

Նույն տեղում: Անգլերեն և այլ եվրոպական լեզուներով տրվող ծանոթագրությունների դեպքում՝ **Ibid.**, ռուսերենի դեպքում՝ **Там же**.

17. **Հոդվածում ներկայացվող նկար, քարտեզ և աղյուսակ**

Հոդվածում նկարներ, աղյուսակներ և քարտեզներ ընդգրկելու դեպքում դրանք պետք է ունենան առնվազն 300 խտություն (300 dpi): Հոդվածում նկարները, աղյուսակները և քարտեզները հարկավոր է համարակալել և վերնագրել:

Հոդվածի վերջում ներկայացնել նաև ԳՐԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ (անգլերենի դեպքում՝ BIBLIOGRAPHY, ռուսերենի՝ ЛИТЕРАТУРА (տալ մեծատառերով, թավ (Bold):

18. **Գրականության ցանկը ներկայացնել այբբենական կարգով**: Օգտագործված գրականությունը ներկայացնել հետևյալ հաջորդականությամբ՝ հայերեն, ռուսերեն, անգլերեն կամ այլ եվրոպական լեզուներով:

19. **Գրականության ցանկում աշխատությունը (գիրք, հոդված) նշել ամբողջական՝**

Պողոսյան Պ. 2019, հոդվածի կամ գրքի վերնագիրը, տպագրության վայրը, տարեթիվը, էջերը:

20. **Գրականության ցանկում ներկայացվող անտիպ արենախոսությունը ներկայացվում է հետևյալ կերպ՝**

Պողոսյան Պ. 2019, Վերնագիրը (անտիպ թեկնածուական ատենախոսություն, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտ): Գրքի դեպքում նշել նաև հրատարակչատունը;

21. **Գրականության ցանկում ներկայացվող համացանցային հոդվածների և կայքերի** հասցեները պետք է նշվեն ամբողջությամբ և հնարավորության դեպքում նաև այն օրը, երբ վերջին անգամ այցելել եք այդ կայքը:

22. **Գրականության ցանկում ներկայացվող հոդվածներ օրաթերթերից, ամսագրերից՝**

Պողոսյան Պ., Վերնագիրը, «Օրաթերթի անունը չակերտների մեջ», օրաթերթի ամսաթիվը և համարը:

23. **Գրականության ցանկում ներկայացվող գիտաժողովի տպագրված թեզիս կամ հոդված՝**

Պողոսյան 2019, զեկուցման կամ թեզիսի վերնագիրը, Գիտաժողովի վերնագիրը, անցկացման վայրը և ամսաթիվը:

24. **Գրականության ցանկում եթե նույն հեղինակը** ներկայացված է մի քանի աշխատություններով, ապա հարկավոր է այդ աշխատությունները ներկայացնել ըստ տպագրման տարիների հաջորդականության:

25. Եթե հոդվածը ներկայացվում է հայերեն՝ հարկավոր է Գրականությունից հետո տալ նաև անգլերեն **ամփոփում** (200 բառից ոչ ավելի) /հարկավոր չէ գրել ամփոփում բառը/: Անգլերեն կամ եվրոպական այլ լեզվով ներկայացված հոդվածի դեպքում՝ հայերեն ամփոփում: Ռուսերենի դեպքում՝ հայերեն և անգլերեն ամփոփումներ:

26. Ուշադրություն դարձնել նաև պարբերականում և կայքէջում տեղադրված հայերեն և ռուսերեն այբուբենների **լատինապատ գրադարձումներին**: Գրականության ցանկում հարկավոր է հայերեն և ռուսերեն գրականությունը տալ այդ գրադարձմամբ (եթե հոդվածը անգլերեն կամ այլ եվրոպական լեզվով է), միևնույն ժամանակ նաև փակագծերում նշել նաև տվյալ աշխատության մեջ օգտագործված գրականության վերնագրի անգլերեն տարբերակը:

Ամփոփումները պետք է հանդիսանան տեքստի սեղմ բովանդակությունը: Հայերեն ամփոփման տառաչափը 12, միջտողային հեռավորությունը՝ 1, **GHEA Grapat** տառատեսակով: Անգլերեն, ռուսերեն ամփոփումների դեպքում **Times New Roman** տառատեսակով: Ամփոփումների տեքստից առաջ պետք է մեծատառերով գրել հոդվածի վերնագիրը (կենտրոնում): Յուրաքանչյուր ամփոփման տեքստից առաջ գրվում են համապատասխան լեզվով Բանալի բառեր

(Keywords, Ключевые слова): Բոլոր լեզուներով տրվող Բանալի բառերը պետք է լինեն նույնական:

Հոդվածի վերջում ներկայացնել նաև հեղինակի գիտական աստիճանը, նշել աշխատանքի վայրը, պաշտոնը և e-mail հասցեն:

Հոդվածները հարկավոր է ուղարկել միայն հետևյալ էլեկտրոնային հասցեին՝ journal@orient.sci.am

Հոդվածը ստանալուց անմիջապես հետո հեղինակները կտեղեկացվեն այդ մասին, ինչպես նաև դրա հրատարակման նպատակահարմարության և գրախոսման հանձնելու մասին:

Հեղինակների ուշադրությունն ենք հրավիրում հղումների հետևյալ համակարգի առանձնահատկությունների վրա և ակնկալում որպեսզի հոդվածների ներկայացման ժամանակ դրանք խստորեն պահպանվեն: Սույն համակարգի սկզբունքները չպահպանելու դեպքում ժողովածուի խմբագրական խորհուրդը իրավունք է վերապահում հոդվածները չընդունել քննարկման (հղումների համակարգին կարող եք ծանոթանալ նաև՝ <http://www.orientcpnme.am> կայքում):

Բոլոր հոդվածները գրախոսվում են, մերժման դեպքում չեն վերադարձվում:

Գրախոսման գործընթացը

Հոդվածը ստանալուց հետո, եթե այն չի մերժվում, խմբագրությունն այն ուղարկում է համապատասխան մասնագետի՝ գրախոսման համար: Գրախոսը պարտավոր է մեկամսյա ժամկետում ներկայացնել իր կարծիքը ըստ գրախոսման ձևի: Գրախոսի դրական կարծիքի դեպքում հեղինակը տեղեկացվում է այդ մասին և, անհրաժեշտ փոփոխություններ կատարելուց հետո խմբագրություն ուղարկում հոդվածի վերջնական տարբերակը:

***«Բանբեր Արևելագիտության ինստիտուտի» պարբերականի
խմբագրություն***

GUIDE FOR THE AUTHORS

The journal "Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies" has been published at the Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA since 1960. This scholarly journal publishes research on the ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary history of South-Western Asian countries, as well as on source studies and philology. Significant attention is also paid to the coverage of political developments in the region, international relations and other issues. The periodical also publishes works on the relations between other regions of Asia and North Africa.

The articles of the periodical are published in Armenian, Russian, English and other European languages.

The periodical is published twice a year. Articles must be submitted for the first issue of the given year by the **15th of May** of the same year, and by the **15th of September** for the second issue.

Articles can be submitted to the journal only by researchers with a **scientific degree** (*for those who do not have a degree, only by the decision of the editorial board*).

The official website of the collection is: <http://www.orientcpnme.am>, e-mail: journal@orient.sci.am.

Requirements for the articles

Authors should bring their articles in line with the following style requirements of the periodical "Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies":

*The **volume** of the article should be **up to 15 pages**, including summaries and bibliography (larger volume by editorial decision).*

1. To submit the article **layout** in both electronic (Word - doc, docx), and paper versions (Articles sent from abroad or outside Yerevan, only in electronic version, to the e-mail address of the periodical: journal@orient.sci.am) (**layout: font size - 12, line spacing - 1.5, not more than 3500 words**).

2. To submit the texts in Armenian in **GHEA Grapalat font**, and in other languages in **Times New Roman font** (the same principle in footnotes and in bibliography).

3. The title of the article, the name and the surname of the author should be in capital letters.

4. Before the text of the article, after the keywords, give a **brief summary** of the content of the article (it should be presented in the language in which the article

is presented, **the layout: font size - 12, line spacing - 1, not more than 250 words**. Armenian texts should be submitted in **GHEA Grapalat font**, and in other languages in **Times New Roman font**).

5. The author also submits the English title of his article, his name and surname in English (if the text of the article is in Armenian). If the text of the article is in English or in other European languages and the author is not from abroad, then he also submits the title of his article, his name and surname in Armenian.

6. To submit along with the articles also **10 Keywords (Բանալի բառեր, Ключевые слова)** in Armenian and English.

7. If there are **abbreviations** in the article, then at the end of the article, after the bibliography, give the list of the opened abbreviations.

*To give the **footnotes** under each page of the submitted article.*

8. To give the **footnotes** according to the language of the referenced work.

9. Line spacing of the **footnotes - 1, font in Armenian - GHEA Grapalat, font in other languages - Times New Roman, font size - 10**.

10. To **highlight** the surnames of the authors and the year mentioned in **the footnotes in BOLD**. To do the same in the bibliography at the end of the article.

11. To provide **the footnotes** (articles, books, reports) as follows:

Պողոսյան 2019, 36:

Poghosyan 2019: 36.

Погосян 2019: 36.

12. To give **the webpages and internet articles** presented in the footnotes as follows:

Poghosyan P., Title, date, web address.

13. To give **the articles in the footnotes from daily newspapers** as follows:

Poghosyan "The name of the daily newspaper in quotes", the date of the daily newspaper and the issue No.

14. If two persons with the same surname are given in **the footnotes**, it is necessary to indicate the **first letter** of the name (only in this case):

Poghosyan P. 2019: 36.

Poghosyan K. 2019: 115.

15. If in **the footnotes** the same author has published two or more works in the same year, which are referred to in the submitted article, it is necessary to write as follows:

Պողոսյան 2019ա, 36:

Պողոսյան 2019բ, 76:

Poghosyan 2019a: 36.

Poghosyan 2019b: 76.

16. If the same link of the same author is continuously repeated in **the footnotes**, in the case of Armenian it should be given as follows:

Նույն տեղում:. In case of footnotes in English and other European languages - *Ibid.*, In case of Russian - **Там же**.

17. Pictures, maps and tables presented in the article:

In case if pictures, tables, and maps are included in the article, they must be at least 300 dpi. In the article, the pictures, tables and maps should be numbered and titled.

*At the end of the article, to present the **BIBLIOGRAPHY** (in Armenian: **ԳՐԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ**, in Russian: **ЛИТЕРАТУРА** (in capital letters, Bold).*

18. **To submit the list of bibliography in alphabetical order.** To submit the used literature in the following order: Armenian, Russian, English or other European languages.

19. To indicate in the list of bibliography the work (book, article) in full:

Poghosyan P. 2019, the title of the article or the book, place of publication, year, pages.

20. The unpublished dissertations used in the bibliography are presented as follows:

Poghosyan P. 2019, Title (unpublished dissertation, Institute of Oriental Studies of NAS RA). In case of a book, also mention the publishing house.

21. **The URLs of the websites and internet articles** in the bibliography should be listed in full and if possible, also the day you last visited the site.

22. Articles in the bibliography from daily newspapers and magazines:

Poghosyan P., The title, "The name of the daily newspaper in quotes", the date of the daily newspaper and the issue No.

23. Published thesis or article of the conference presented in the bibliography:

Poghosyan 2019, title of the report or the thesis, title of the conference, venue, date.

24. **If the same author is presented in the bibliography with several works**, then it is necessary to present those works according to the sequence of the years of publication.

25. If the article is presented in Armenian, it is necessary to give **a summary** in English after the Bibliography (not more than 200 words) / it is not necessary to write the word summary /. In case of an article submitted in English or another European language: a summary in Armenian. In case of Russian: Armenian and English summaries.

26. To pay attention to the **Latin transliterations** of the Armenian and Russian alphabets posted in the Periodical and on the website. In the bibliography, it is necessary to give the Armenian and Russian literature with that transliteration (if the article is in English or another European language), at the same time to indicate in brackets the English version of the title of the literature used in the work.

Summaries should be the concise content of the text. In case of summary in Armenian: **font size - 12, line spacing - 1, font - GHEA Grapalat**. In English and Russian summaries - **Times New Roman font**. The title of the article should be written in capital letters before the text of the summaries (in the center). **Keywords (Բանալի բառեր, Ключевые слова)** are written in the appropriate language before each summary text. Keywords given in all languages must be identical.

To present at the end of the article, the scientific degree of the author, the place of work, position and e-mail address.

The articles should only be sent to the following e-mail address: journal@orient.sci.am

Immediately after receiving the article, the authors will be informed about it, as well as about the expediency of publishing it and submitting it for review.

We draw the authors' attention to the features of the following system of references, and expect that they will be strictly adhered to while submitting the articles. In case of non-conformity with the principles of this system, the editorial board of the journal reserves the right not to accept the articles for discussion (you can also get acquainted with the reference system at <http://www.orientcpnme.am>).

All the articles are reviewed and are not returned if rejected.

The review processes

After receiving the article, if it is not rejected, the editorial board sends it to the relevant specialist for review. The reviewer is obliged to submit his / her opinion

within one month according to the review type. In case of a positive opinion of the reviewer, the author is informed about it and, after making the necessary changes, sends the final version of the article to the editorial office.

***Editorial board of the Periodical
"Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies"***

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԻՆՍՏԻՏՈՒՏԻ
(պարբերականը մինչև 2020 թ. կոչվում էր
«ՄԵՐՁԱՎՈՐ ԵՎ ՄԻՋԻՆ ԱՐԵՎԵԼՔԻ
ԵՐԿՐՆԵՐ ԵՎ ԺՈՂՈՎՈՒՐԴՆԵՐ») ՄԱՏԵՆԱՇԱՐ

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15. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, Հատ. XV, Եր., ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 1989, 344 էջ:

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17. Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ, Հատ. XVII, Եր., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատ., 1998, 240 էջ:
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