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THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMENIANS. THE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE GEOGRAPHIES THEY INHABITED AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH CAUCASIA*

(ERMENİLERİN KÖKENİ, YASADIKLARI COĞRAFYALARLA İLGİLİ IDDIALAR ve GÜNEY KAFKASYA'DA İSKÂN ETTİRİLMELERİ)

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Abstract: This article provides information about the origins of the Armenians and the geography they lived in, their migration to the South Caucasus, and the establishment of today's Armenia. When sources regarding the emergence of Armenians on the historical stage are examined, different information is encountered. Interestingly, Armenians never called themselves Armenians, on the contrary, they called themselves "Hayk" and their country "Hayastan". In addition, the historical roots of the Armenian people hold an important place in terms of their interaction with the Islamic world in both the early and middle ages. Research shows that the migration of Armenians from the West to the East, that is, from Europe

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to Asia, lasted for centuries and that this migration process extended from the Balkans to Asia Minor (Anatolia) and from there to the Caucasus. Namely, in the early XIX. century, Tsarist Russia mass-migrated Armenians from Anatolia and Iran to the South Caucasus, that is, to the geography of today's Armenia, in order to create a buffer zone between itself and the Ottoman and Oajar states. During this period, the Tsarist State used Armenians as a tool for its own interests in its invasive policies against the Ottoman and Qajar states. While discussing the issues, an attempt was made to benefit from the information provided by important Armenian and Russian sources.

Keywords: *Islamic History, Armenians, South Caucasus, Azerbaijani Turks,* Ottoman, Tsarist Russia.

Öz: Bu makalede Ermenilerin kökeni ve yaşadıkları coğrafya, Günev Kafkasya'ya göçleri ve günümüz Ermenistan'ın kuruluşu hakkında bilgi verilmektedir. Ermenilerin tarih sahnesine çıkısıyla ilgili kaynaklar incelendiğinde farklı bilgilerle karşılaşılmaktadır. İlginçtir ki Ermeniler kendilerine hiçbir zaman Ermeni dememişler, aksine kendilerine "Hayk", ülkelerine ise "Hayastan" demislerdir. Avrıca Ermeni halkının tarihi kökleri hem erken hem de Orta Çağ'da İslam dünyasıyla etkileşimleri açısından önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Araştırmalar Ermenilerin Batı'dan Doğu'ya, yani Avrupa'dan Asya'ya göçünün yüzyıllarca sürdüğünü ve bu göç sürecinin Balkanlar'dan Küçük Asya'ya (Anadolu) ve oradan da Kafkasya'ya kadar uzandığını göstermektedir. Şöyle ki 19. yüzyılın başlarına gelindiğinde Çarlık Rusya'sı, Osmanlı ve Kaçar devletleriyle arasında bir tampon bölge oluşturmak amacıyla Ermenileri Anadolu ve İran coğrafyasından Güney Kafkasya'ya, yani günümüz Ermenistan coğrafyasına kitlesel olarak göç ettirmistir. Bu dönemde Carlık Devleti, Osmanlı ve Kaçar devletlerine karşı istilacı politikalarında Ermenileri kendi çıkarları için bir araç olarak kullanmıştır. Konular ele alınırken önemli Ermeni ve Rus kaynaklarının sağladığı bilgilerden favdalanılmava çalısılmıstır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslam Tarihi, Ermeniler, Günev Kafkasva, Azerbaycan Türkleri, Osmanlı, Çarlık Rusya'sı.

Introduction

Christian historical literature contains various discussions and writings about the origin and rise of Muslim peoples. However, these writings often portray Muslims and Islam in a negative light, as they are often written from a Christian perspective. Some early period Christian writers often tried to explain the origins of Islam and Muslims as a movement influenced by other religions in the Arabian peninsula (especially Judaism and Christianity) and treated the development of Islam as a kind of "deviation". For example, John of Damascus¹, an 8th century Byzantine Christian theologian, characterized Islam as a "deviation" and argued that the principles of Islam were stolen from Christian beliefs. His criticism was influential in shaping the negative attitude towards Islam in the Middle Ages.

There are numerous theological, historical and philosophical works by Christian writers in the Middle Ages that unfairly criticize Islam and Muslims. In this regard, we can cite the work of the Reverend Henry Martyn, Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism (Islam).² The work contains many criticisms of the Prophet Muhammad's (Pbuh) message. These criticisms may be related to Martyn's misunderstanding or incomplete understanding of Islam.

In the modern period, Christian historians and scholars have not only continued the same path, but have also conducted a number of objective and scientific studies on the origins of Islam and Muslims. In this context, the number of studies aimed at understanding the historical origins of Islam, the culture of Muslim peoples, and the social, economic and religious structures at the time has increased. In this regard, we can mention the name of the Scottish priest William Montgomery Watt. Watt has done important work on the history of Islam and especially on the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh). In his book Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman³, he examines the personality and leadership of the Prophet Muhammad (Pbuh) from a scholarly perspective. Bernard Lewis, another American historian, is also worth mentioning. Lewis is one of the most renowned Middle East experts of the 20th century. He has

Saint John of Damascus, The Fathers of The Church, Volume 37, traslated by Frederic H. Chase Jr. (Nyu York: 1958), 153-160; Şevket Yıldız, Oryantalizm ve İslam Tarihine Oryantalist Yaklaşımlar, (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2023), 25-28; Muhammed Fethullah ez-Ziyadi, El-İstişrak: Ehdafuhu ve Vesailuhu, (Dimeşk: 1998), 25-26: Necip el-Akîkî, el-Müsteşrikûn (Mısır: Dâru'l-Maârif, 1964) 120.

Henry Martyn, Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism, (Cambridge: Printed by J. Smith, Printer to the University, 1824).

³ W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

written a number of valuable works on the history of the Arabs, the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic world in particular. His works provide important insights into how Islam is perceived in the West and the historical development of the Arabs. As an example, we can cite Lewis's *The Arabs in History*⁴. This is a classic work that examines the historical development of the Arabs. Another important work of Lewis is *The Middle East: A Brief History of the* Last 2000 Years⁵. This work is a survey of the last two millennia of the Middle East. Lewis examines a wide range of historical periods from the late Roman Empire through Byzantium, the Arab Islamic Empire, the Ottoman Empire and the modern Middle East. It would be accurate to say that the author has left an important academic legacy with his writings. Among late orvantalists H. A. R. Gibb, M. Rodinson, Albert Hourani, F. Rosenthall, J. Schacht, W. Fischel, L. Gardet, S. D. Goitein can be mentioned.

Muslim writers have also studied the history, origin, beliefs, and relations of Christian peoples with Christianity and Judaism and included these topics in their works. For example, we can mention Al-Milal wa'n-Nihal⁶, Mugaddimah⁷ and Islam at the Crossroads.8

In the last century, Armenians' numerous works on Greater Armenia (from the Black Sea to the Caspian), the so-called Armenian Genocide, and territorial claims against Türkiye and Azerbaijan have made it necessary for Turkish academics to conduct studies on these issues. In the course of the researches, we have found that the studies are mostly aimed at refuting the so-called Armenian Genocide argument. In addition, we realized that there are few studies on the origin and migration adventure of Armenians. In this context, we believe that this study, which we have conducted based on the information from Armenian and Russian sources, will contribute to the research to be conducted on the aforementioned issues

Armenians had some interactions with Muslims in the early periods of Islam. In order to understand these interactions, it is very important to look into the relations of Armenians with the Islamic world. This study on the origins of Armenians can contribute to understanding the place of both ethnic and religious diversity in Islamic history by examining their relations with the

- Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History, (London: Printed in Great Britain by The Ancor Press Ltd,
- 5 Bernard Lewis, The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years, (New York: Scribner, 1995).
- İmam Ebü'l-Feth eş-Şehristânî, El-Milel ve'n-Nihal, translated by Prof. Ali Muhsin Sıddıki, (Karaçi Üniversitesi: 2003), 306-334.
- İbn Haldun, Mukaddime, c. 1, Haz. Süleyman Uludağ, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2013), 477-482.
- Muhammad Asad, İslam at The Crossroads, (Punjab: Arafat Publications, 1947), 32-82.

Islamic world in depth. It can also offer a new perspective on interfaith relations, social structures and cultural transfers. Moreover, it can also help to develop a broader understanding of the dynamics of identity, belonging and integration between different nations and communities in Islamic history. Furthermore, assuming that Muslims were denied the right to live in Europe for centuries after the fall of Andalusia⁹, the fact that Armenians lived in peace and prosperity under the rule of Muslim states in Anatolia and Iran for centuries can offer an important perspective on how different ethnic and religious groups lived together in Islamic lands. 10

Claims Regarding the Origin of Armenians and the Geographies They Inhabit

There are some countries named after the nations living in them. There are also some countries whose names were given due to a geographical or governmental division. The original names of the communities living there have been forgotten and they are known by the name of the region they live in. For example, today Türkiye, Germany and France are countries named after the nations living in them. On the other hand, Italy, America (USA) and Canada are geographical names, not national names. The nations living on them have left their original names aside and adopted the name of the region they live in. In Anatolian lands in ancient times, there are geographical region names that have nothing to do with any nation in this way. Those who lived in those regions were known by the name of the region. For example, we can mention names such as Paflogonia, Pamflia, Cilicia, Cappadocia. There are no nations recognized by these names. But for those who lived in those lands, those names were used as attributes. Just like Istanbulites, Ankaraites, etc. 11

The name Armenia also refers to a region. Although Armenians call themselves "Hayk" and their country "Hayastan", there is no documented record on why the land they live in is called Armenia. Although some Armenian historians consider Armenians to be Urartians and claim that the name Armenia comes from the Urartian King Aramu, these claims are still unproven. The name Armenia, which is used as a geographical region, may have been used as a

Sevket Yıldız, Endülüs'ün Göz Bebeği Kurtuba, (Bursa: Emin Yayınları, 2023), 107-108; Fray Antonio Agapida, A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, translated to Arabic by Hani Yahya Nasri, (London/Beyrut: İntişarü'l-Arabî, 2000),405-413.

¹⁰ Şevket Yıldız, "Endülüs Medeniyetinin Kökleri ve Bir Arada Yaşama Tecrübesi", Uluslararası İnsan ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi, 8, no. 3, (2022), 294-300.

¹¹ Kamuran Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1985), 10.

geographical term after Aramu, forgetting its origin in time, and the people living there after that date may have been called Armenian. However, this name has no connection with the people we call Armenians today.¹²

There are many claims regarding the lack of actual information on the emergence of Armenians on the stage of history. Prof. Devid Leng, an English Caucasus expert and one of the Western advocates of Armenians, has stated that "the origins and racial characteristics of Armenians are still a mystery". 13

Based on their own legends, Armenian historians claim that their ancestors were "Hayk". Based on the name Hayk, they call themselves "Hay" and the geography they live in is called "Hayastan", meaning "home of the Hay". 14

Armenian historian Artak Movsisyan, inspired by his own legends, writes the following:

"Before Christianity, our ancestors believed that we were descended from the legendary hero Havk Nahaped. The first gods were gigantic and terrifying. Thanks to them, kindness and abundance came into the world. The human race flourished. People descended from giants. One of them was Hayk. According to cuneiform inscriptions found in ancient southern Mesopotamia (Sumer-Akadian), Hayk was the ruling God of Aratta, the most ancient Armenian state (XXVIII-XXVII century BC). The God Havk is the son of the God Hav, the creator of wisdom and the waters of the earth. God Hay created the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. In 301, after Christianity was forcibly adopted as the religion of the Armenians, everything pre-Christian was banned or reconstructed in accordance with the Christian faith. Under these circumstances, the pre-Christian 'Armenian Creation Legend' was shaped according to biblical references and a new legend was created. According to the new legend, Hayk was a descendant of Noah's son Habet (Yafes) and was the son of Torgom. For this reason, in the Armenian medieval written sources, Armenians were called the people born from Habet (Habetatsin), born from Torgom (Torgomatsin) and the Torgomian nation".15

¹² Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 10; Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, (Baku: Apostroff Yayınevi, 2014),

¹³ Devid Leng, Armyane. Narod-Sozidatel, (Moskva: Tsentrpoligraf. 2021), 12; Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armvane, 84.

¹⁴ Artak Movsisyan, Ermenistan Tarihi, translated ms. Marta Minasyan, (Yerevan: Yerevan Devlet Üniversitesi Yay. 2017), 6; Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 10.

¹⁵ Movsisyan, Ermenistan Tarihi, 8; Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 180.

The ancient Armenian historians Moises Khorenli and Torna Ardzrouni also claimed that the Armenian race descended from the Prophet Noah and that Noah's ark was anchored on Mount Ararat. Based on these claims, contemporary Armenian historians believe that Armenians have always lived in this region and write their history in this way. According to Kamuran Gürün, although there is no need to dwell on such legendary views, it is worth mentioning a point that these authors have forgatten. In such a case, it could be argued that the entire human race descended from the children of the Prophet Noah, and that the Turkish race likewise has the right to claim the land where it was born and derived. 16

Armenians state that their next hero was Aram. Artak Movsisyan writes the following on the subject: "According to the Armenian Legend of Creation, based on Hayk, our people were called Hay (Armenian) and our country Hayk or Hayastan (Armenia). Armenia began to be called Armenia after Hayk's grandson Aram, and Armenians began to be called Armen."17

The Armenian linguist Manuk Abegyan supports the observations of the British Prof. Devid Leng and makes some claims about the ambiguity of the issue: "What is the origin of the Armenian people? How and where did they get the name Armenian? Where and by what means did they come to the territory of present-day Armenia? Which peoples influenced them before and after their arrival in Armenia? Which peoples and how did they influence their language and ethnic structure? We do not have precise and detailed information about all this. However, certain conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the reports of Greek authors, cuneiforms, monuments and ancient legends preserved by Armenians, as well as linguistic studies". 18

Another Armenian writer Louise Nalbandyan said: "The origins of the Armenian people and the beginning of their history remain unclear to this day. However, some traces of early history are found in ancient writings, and recent linguistic and archaeological discoveries have shed light on the Armenian past".19

¹⁶ Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 11-12.

¹⁷ Movsisyan, Ermenistan Tarihi, 8; Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 10, 13.

¹⁸ Manuk Abegyan, İstorya Drevnearmyanskoy Literaturı, (Erevan: 1948), 7.

¹⁹ Louise Nalbandian, The Armenian Revolutionary Movement, (Los Angeles: Universitiy of California Press, 1963), 3.

Manouk Abegyan also provides interesting information about the historical origin of Armenians based on Herodotus. According to Abegyan, Armenians lived in Europe with the Greeks and Phrygians long before Christ, but later migrated to Asia Minor (Anatolia) and lived as neighbors of the Phrygians for a period. The Armenians then moved eastward and landed in Cappadocia, west of the Euphrates and south of the Kızılırmak River*. Here the ancestors of the Armenians came into contact with the Cimmerians, and through the Cimmerians they migrated further east.²⁰

According to Nalbandian: "In the VIII and VII centuries BC, another nation invaded Urartu. According to Herodotus, the nation that put an end to Urartu was the Phrygian Colonists known as Armenians. As time passed, the Armenians and Phrygians imposed their Indo-European languages on the Urartians, and the melding of these two nations eventually led to the emergence of the Armenian nation".21

According to Kamuran Gürün, Herodotus did not make such a claim as Nalbandian suggests. Moreover, Nalbandian's original idea is that Armenians emerged as a result of the melding of some Phrygian tribes coming to this region with local peoples. In other words, there was no Armenian nation in the geography where the Urartu State existed in ancient times.²²

It is known that Armenians were not the indigenous people of Anatolia. As we have mentioned above, even Armenian writers have stated that they are not a local people of Anatolia and that the Armenian race came to Eastern Anatolia from the Balkans. Even classical Armenian sources have supported this view.²³ It is also known that many peoples lived in Eastern Anatolia before the Armenians

In order to contribute to the subject, it is useful to mention the following ideas of Ekrem Memis:

Once known as the Halys River

²⁰ Abegyan, İstorya Drevnearmyanskoy Literaturı, 8-9. See also İ. Şopen, Noviya Zametki, na Drevniya İstorii Kavkaza i Evo Obitateley, (St. Petersburg: 1866), 26; Valeriy Bryusov, Letopis İstoriçeskikh Sudeb Armyanskogo Naroda, (Erevan: Armfana Yayınevi, 1940), 17-18; Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 13-14; Leng, Armyane. Narod-Sozidatel, 12, 13.

²¹ Nalbandian, The Armenian, 4.

²² Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 14. See also Leng, Armyane. Narod-Sozidatel, 13.

²³ Narodi Kavkaza, c. 2, (Moskova: 1962), 443; Bryusov, Letopis İstoriçeskikh Sudeb Armyanskogo Naroda, 17-18; Abegyan, İstorya Drevnearmyanskoy Literaturı, 8-9; Armeniya: Ensiklopediya Puteşestvennika, (Erevan: 1990), 29.

"The name Armenian is first found in the inscriptions of the Persian King Darius in the 6th century BC. The name Armenian is a name given by the Persian King in reference to the name of the region. As it is understood from the cuneiform sources, the Eastern Anatolia Region was called Armanu or Armenia since the 3rd millennium BC. In other words, approximately 1600 years before the arrival of Armenians, the Eastern Anatolia Region was called Armenia. The King of Persia had named the Armenians under his rule, who were probably immigrants from the west, Armenians, meaning those who lived in the region of Armenia. It should be clarified that Armenians try to show the Urartians (9th-6th centuries B.C.), who lived on these lands before them, as their ancestors and thus try to prove that they are the real owners of the region. However, philological studies conducted by the Armenians themselves have clearly demonstrated that the language used by the Armenians is of Indo-European origin. On the other hand, the language of the Urartians is related to the language of the Huri tribe, who inhabited almost all of Eastern Anatolia and part of Southeastern Anatolia in the 3rd millennium B.C., and who are claimed by scholars to be Proto-Turks, and is of Asian origin. Therefore, such a claim by Armenians is completely unwarranted and false. Because from a philological point of view, there is no way such a view can be correct. If there are those looking for a relative to the Urartians, from a Fhilological point of view, we can say that the Turks are the most worthy of this kinship".24

Armenians probably came to Anatolia as a result of the Thracian migrations in the VIII century BC and lived in various parts of Anatolia for about two centuries. In time, taking advantage of the collapse of the Urartu State, they settled in the lands around Lake Van in the early VI century B.C. on the condition of accepting the hegemony of the Persian Kings and paying taxes to them. Therefore, the history of Armenians in Anatolia does not go back further than the VI century BC. However, according to cuneiform documents, Turks had been present in Anatolia since the end of the III millennium BC and played an important role in the fate of this region. Eventually, Armenians lived under the rule of Persian kings, Alexander the Great, then Seleucids, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans for centuries.²⁵

²⁴ Ekrem Memiş, "Ermenilerin Kökeni ve Geçmişten Günümüze Türk-Ermeni İlişkileri", Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 7, no. 1, (2005), 4; See also Gürün, Ermeni Dosyası, 13.

²⁵ Memiş, "Ermenilerin Kökeni" 5; Nalbandian, The Armenian, 12-13, 14-15; Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 92-94.

Although Armenians claim to have an independent Armenian state in Anatolia, it is known that they have not been able to establish a long-lasting independent state or states that left their mark on Anatolia. It is also an undeniable fact that they did not have a complete population majority in Anatolia. Although Armenian sources are available to illuminate the last thousand years of Anatolian history, it is not possible to say that the Armenian language is the only influential language in Anatolia, that is, a language used by other peoples besides themselves. On the other hand, apart from a few church architectures in Anatolia, there are no permanent material and cultural values belonging to Armenians that have left their mark on the region. Moreover, considering the civilization and cultural levels of the Hittite, Persian, Urartian and Roman states in Anatolia, it is not possible to compare Armenians with the peoples living in these states. Although some Armenians claim that their roots are linked to Urartu, when their linguistic structure is compared, it is obvious that this claim is not true either. Therefore, under these circumstances, the claim that Anatolia is the "historical Armenian homeland" is weak.²⁶

Thus, if we take a general overview of the phases of the migration of Armenians from Europe to Asia, starting with the emergence of Armenians in the Phrygian region and in the west of Asia Minor together with the Cimmerians, we can say the following: First: The first homeland of Armenians was the Thracian region in the Balkans. Second: Asia Minor, where they settled from Phrygia in the west to Lake Van in the east. Third: In the course of the historical process, Armenians found a new homeland in the Caucasus. The Caucasus, where Armenians found a new home, was the regions of Revan, Nakhchivan and Karabakh. Armenians were settled in the Caucasus with the military support of Tsarist Russia since the beginning of the XIX century and established the State of Armenia in 1918 ²⁷

The Forced Migration of Armenians to the South Caucasus by Tsarist Russia

Before we discuss the historical facts about the mass migration of Armenians by Tsarist Russia to the South Caucasus, i.e. the geography of present-day Armenia, it would be useful to draw attention to the history of the geography in question.

²⁶ Seyit Sertçelik, Rus ve Ermeni Kaynakları İşığında Ermeni Sorunu, Ortaya Çıkış Süreci 1678-1914, (Ankara: SRT Yay. 2018), 4.

²⁷ Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 93, 95.

Although some historians claim that the presence of Turks in the Caucasus began with the Seljuks' domination of Azerbaijan from the XI century onwards and that Turkish tribes became the settled people of the region during this period, an examination of the sources reveals that the presence of Turks in the Caucasus dates back to long before Christ. Many chronicles and ancient stone tombs prove this. For example, the Sakas came from east to west in the VII-VI centuries BC and established the Saka State in the Caucasus under the leadership of Alp Ertunga (Efrâsiyab). The Persian emperor Cyrus II fought the Sakas under the command of Tomris Hatun on the banks of the Ceyhun (Amuderya) river and was defeated in this war. After the Sakas, Turkish tribes migrated from Central Asia to the west under different names, and some of them settled in the Caucasus on the passage route. The Huns, Bulgars, Sabirs and Ogurs settled in the region in the first centuries of AD. There are different records of the migration dates of these tribes. For example, Söhret Mustafavev, based on the 11th century Georgian historian Leonti Mroveli, states that the Bulgarians lived in the Caucasus in the IV century BC and that they were called Bunturks or Turanians.²⁸

The following information is also mentioned in early Islamic sources: One day before Mu'awiya sent an army to Azerbaijan, he asked his advisor Ubayd Ibn Shariyah what Azerbaijan was. Ubayd said: "It has been the land of the Turks since time immemorial".29

However, it is a historical fact that in the last two centuries some Armenian and Soviet historians have tried to prove the existence of an imaginary Armenian state in the South Caucasus, the ancient Azerbaijani lands, and have attempted to distort historical facts. However, until the last two centuries, there was no Armenian state in the South Caucasus 30

The first arrival of Armenians in the Caucasus began in 1441, when, with the permission of the Karakoyunlu ruler Jahan Shah, the Armenian Church moved from Sis in Cilicia to Üçkilise (Echmiadzin), which was the territory of the Karakoyunlu State. Since 1443, the village of Ückilise and its environs were taken from the Muslim Turks by the Armenian Gregorian Church on

²⁸ Şöhret Mustafayev, "XVIII-XX. Yüzyıllarda Tarihi Azerbaycan Toprağı-İrevan Hanlığının Arazisine Ermenilerin Göç Ettirilme Politikası", Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, 31, no. 91, (2015), 71.

²⁹ Neşvân b. Sa'îd el-Himyerî, Mülûkü Himyer ve Akyâli'l-Yemen ve Hulâsatü's-Sîreti'l-Câmi'a li-'Acâibi Ahbâri 'l-Mülûki 't-Tebâbi 'a, (Beyrut: Dâru'l-avde, 1978), 114-115; See also Süleyman Aliyarlı, Azerbaycan Tarihi Üzre Kaynaklar, (Bakü: Çırak Neşriyatı, 2007), 57.

³⁰ Yagub Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, (Bakü: Azerbaycan Milli İlimler Akademisi Yayınları, 2019), 12, 193.

various occasions, and over time the Armenian population increased in this geography. According to historian Yagub Mahmudov, in a document dated 1687 and kept in Matenadaran*, it is written as follows: "We Armenians either buy the lands belonging to Azerbaijani Turks, take them as a gift or seize them by force". After the XVIII century, Üçkilise was included within the borders of the Revan Khanate. This is how the land ownership of the Armenian Church and feudal Armenian lords was formed in the XVth and XVIIIth centuries.³¹

In the following historical process, Tsarist Russia systematically moved Armenian families from Iran and Anatolia to the South Caucasus region, resulting in a permanent population shift in favor of Armenians. This process will be discussed under the following three subheadings:

a. Transformation of the Revan Khanate into an Armenian province

The name of the city of Revan, which is now called Yerevan, is mentioned as Irevan or Irivan in medieval written sources and archival documents.³² There is information in historical sources that the city of Revan was a geography inhabited by Turks starting from the VIII-VII. centuries BC. In the travelogues written by the travelers who visited the region, it is seen that the city of Revan is a part of Azerbaijan and that the population of the region consists of Muslim Turks. For example, Evliya Çelebi, who was in Revan in 1647, wrote:

"In 1509, the Safavid Shah Ismail ordered his loyal vizier Revan Gulu Khan to build a fortress on the eastern bank of the Zengi River. Revan Gulu Khan fulfilled Shah Ismail's order and built this castle in 7 years and named it Revan. This castle is made of brick and is a strong castle. There are about 2600 houses and many mosques belonging to Muslim Turks in the city of Revan".³³

^{*} The Mashtots Matenadaran Institute or simply Matenadaran. It is an archive of ancient Armenian manuscripts in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia. It contains approximately 17,000 handwritings and roughly 300,000 archival documents. Since 1962, it has been named after St. Mesrop Mashtots, the creator of the Armenian alphabet. Since 1997, it has been on the list of UNESCO's Memory of the World Program.

³¹ Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 40; İrade Memmedova, "İrevan Hanlığı'nın Nüfusu", *Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi*, 4, no. 11, (2017), 28: Şöhret Mustafayev, "Ermenilerin Göç Ettirilme Politikası", 72-73

³² Nazim Mustafa, İrevan Şehri (Türk İslam Varlığı Nasıl Yok Edildi), (Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi, 2015), 6.

³³ Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname (Azerbaycan Tarihine Ait Seçmeler), (Bakü: Azerbaycan Devlet Neşriyyatı, 1997), 50, 54-55.

The Origin of the Armenians, the Allegations About the Geographies They Inhabited and Their Settlement in South Caucasia

The French traveler Jan Sharden, who was in the region in 1673, wrote in his work that there were about 800 houses belonging to Muslim Turks, a mosque named Div Sultan, numerous baths and caravanserais in Revan, and that only the Turkish population, who were Safavid subjects, lived in the city.34

Historical sources mention about 15 mosques and only two Armenian churches (Pogos-Petros and Katogke churches) in Revan.³⁵ According to historian Nazim Mustafa, quoted by Armenian writer Yervand Shahaziz in his work "Ancient Yerevan", Shahaziz, confirming the information given by Jan Sharden, writes as follows: "Armenians had only shops there. They shopped during the day and in the evening they closed their shops and went home".36

This proves that the majority of Revan's population at that time consisted of Muslim Turks.

According to the Russian source titled "Collection of Documents", Israel Ori arrived at the palace of Peter I on July 25, 1701 and presented a report to the Tsar Peter I on ways to capture the Revan fortress. According to the report, the Armenians were in possession of gunpowder and other military ammunition stores in the city. Israel Ori stated that there were more than 300 Armenians living in the city and that if they cooperated with the Armenians, they would open the gate of the fortress to the soldiers and thus capture the city with a sudden attack.37

Until the XIXth century, local Muslim Turks always played the leading role in this geography, both as sovereigns and subjects. However, from the beginning of the XIXth century, in parallel with the invasion attempts of Tsarist Russia, Armenians began to arrive in the said geography and forcibly expel Muslim Turks from their homeland. There is no historical evidence that the Turkish population in present-day Armenia expelled Armenians from their villages and occupied their homeland. However, there is ample evidence of the Armenian population living in many villages with Turkish names. This fact is more than enough evidence to determine who is indigenous and who came later. Based

³⁴ Jan Şarden, Paristen İsfahana Seyahet, translated by Vagif Aslanov, (Bakü: Elim Neşriyyatı, 1994),

³⁵ Nazim Mustafa. İrevan Sehri. 15.

³⁶ Nazim Mustafa, İrevan Şehri, 23: Also see Memmedova, "İrevan Hanlığı'nın Nüfusu", 29-31.

³⁷ Armyano-Russkiye Otnoşeniya v Pervoy Treti XVIII veka (Sbornik Dokumentov), Tom II, (Erevan: Ermenistan SSCB Bilimler Akademisi Yay, 1964), 213.

on archival and historical sources from 1590, researchers estimate that 51,831 (67.5%) Muslim Turks lived in the city of Revan.³⁸

The Safavid State officially consisted of thirteen provinces called Beylerbeyliks. One of these provinces was the Chukursed Principality, centered in the city of Revan. The Chukursed principality was ruled by the chiefs of the Turkish tribes (Ustajlu, Rumlu and Qajar) appointed by the Safavids. The first ruler of the Chukursed Principality was Badr Khan Ustajlu from 1538, followed by Shah Kulu Sultan Ustajlu and Muhammad Khan Tokmak Ustajlu. The city of Revan's owners constantly changed during the wars between the Ottomans and the Safavids and Revan remained in the hands of the Safavids with the Treaty of Kasr-1 Shirin signed in 1639. During the long years of peace as a result of the treaty, the city of Revan developed considerably and turned into an appealing region thanks to its fertile lands.³⁹

During this period, there was an increase in the number of Armenians coming to Revan from neighboring countries. Even before the Treaty of Kasr-i Shirin, Emir Gune Khan Qajar, who ruled the Chukursed Principality during the reign of the Safavid Shah, Shah Abbas I (1571-1629), was known for his just rule without discriminating between the Christian and Muslim populations. Emir Gune Khan did not restrict the activities of the Armenian clergy, who had arrived in Revan from Cilicia in 1441 and sought refuge in the monastery of Echmiadzin (Üçkilise). Since then, the Echmiadzin has remained the religious capital of all Armenians.⁴⁰

After the Ottoman Empire conquered the region, it conducted a census in 1728 and created a detailed population register (mufassal defter). According to the census, 43,878 (61.73%) of the 71,077 people living in the region were Muslim Turks and 27,199 (38.26%) were Armenians. In the city of Revan alone, the total population was 3,385. Of this population, 2,156 (63.69%) were Turks and 1,229 (36.31%) were Armenians.⁴¹

³⁸ Fuad Aliyev and Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, (Bakü: Şark-Garb Yayınevi, 2007), 6, 11; Şöhret Mustafayev, "Ermenilerin Göç Ettirilme Politikası", 72-73; Tadeusz Swietochowski, Russian Azerbaijan, (1905-1920) The Shaping of National Identity in a Muslim Community, (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 15.

³⁹ Fuad Aliyev and Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 38; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 19; Nazim Mustafa, İrevan Şehri, 33.

⁴⁰ Fuad Aliyev and Urfan Hasanov, *İrevan Hanlığı*, 37; Şöhret Mustafayev, "Ermenilerin Göç Ettirilme Politikası", 72; Mahmudov, *İrevan Hanlığı*, 18, 20; Nazim Mustafa, *İrevan Şehri*, 39-40, 41.

⁴¹ Raif İvecan, "Revan Livası Yerleşim ve Nüfus Yapısı (1724-1730)", *Tarih Dergisi*, 50, (2012), 133-134, 137-138. Also see Ziya Bünyadov-Hüsameddin Memmedov, *İrevan Eyaletinin İcmal Defteri*, (Bakü: Elm, 1996). 14.

After the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, the Revan Khanate became one of about 20 khanates formed in the territory of North Azerbaijan. 42 Thus, with the establishment of the independent Revan Khanate within the borders of the Chukursed Principality, new pages were opened in the history of the region.

The Tsarist armies were not successful in their attacks on the Revan fortress in 1804 and 1808. However, in 1827, General Paskevich prepared a third attack and captured the fortress thanks to the secret support of the Armenians living in the city, burned more than 420 villages in the region and massacred tens of thousands of Turkish population.⁴³ On February 10, 1828, as a result of the Turkmenchay Treaty with the Qajar Empire, the Chukursed Principality, including the Revan fortress, was annexed by Tsarist Russia.44

As a result of the two Russo-Qajar (Russo-Persian) wars in the early 19th century, Tsarist Russia occupied 11 Azerbaijani khanates in the region and turned them into its own states.⁴⁵ On 21 March 1828, according to the edict No. 1888 signed by Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855), the khanates of Revan and Nakhchivan were abolished, and the Armenian province (Armianskaia Oblast) was established, and this situation continued until 1918.46

Thus, for the first time in the Caucasus, the physical-geographical definition of Armenia was legally established. It is quite significant that the region in question was called the Armenian Province, not Armenia. Of the 1,111 villages included in the newly created Armenian province, only 62 were inhabited by Armenians. These were Armenians who had moved to the region until 1828. As a result, the foundations of a Christian Armenian State, which acted as a buffer on the border line between Tsarist Russia and the Ottoman Empire, were laid. At the same time, a new source of tension was created in the South Caucasus. In a short time, upon the request of Tsarist bureaucrats and Armenians, hundreds of thousands of Armenian families from Persia and Anatolia were resettled in the region in order to Armenianize the newly established Armenian province.⁴⁷

⁴² Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 27.

⁴³ Kemal Beydilli, "1828-1829 Osmanlı-Rus Savaşında Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", Belgeler, 13, no. 17, (1993), 369.

⁴⁴ Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Possiyskoy İmperii, c. 3, (St. Petersburg, 1830), 126.

Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 279-280.

⁴⁶ Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov, c. 3, 272-273; (See., Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 366.)

Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 11-12, 235, 255, 366; Nazim Mustafa, İrevan Şehri, 71-72; Atahan Paşayev, XIX-XX. Asırlarda Ermenilerin Azerbaycan Halkına Karşı Arazi İddiaları, Soykırımları ve Deportasiyalar (Arşiv Sened ve Materialları Esasında), (Bakü: Çaşıoğlu 2011), 38.

Before the invasion of Tsarist Russia, the general population of the region was 107,224 people. Of this population, 76.24% were Muslim Turks and 23.45% were Armenians. After the Russo-Qajar (Russo-Persian) War of 1826-1828 and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829, the mass resettlement of Armenians from Iran and Anatolia rapidly changed the ethnic structure of the region. According to the census conducted in Revan between 1829-1832, 1,715 people (366 families) from Iran and 9,748 people (2,437 families) from Anatolia were settled in the city. As a result, the number of Armenians in Revan increased and reached 11,463 people. This policy implemented by Tsarist Russia continued rapidly in the following years.⁴⁸

The Tsarist Government abolished the Armenian Province with a law issued on 10 April 1840 and created the Revan and Nakhchivan districts. ⁴⁹ On 9 June 1849, with the decrees of Tsar Nicholas I numbered 23303, 23304 and 23305, the Yerevan Guberniia* was established within the borders of the former Armenian Province and Alexandropol (Gyumri) province.⁵⁰

Despite all these wars, the Turkish population in Yerevan Guberniia managed to maintain its presence in the region, even though it decreased. According to the census conducted in 1917, despite more than 100 years of genocide and forced deportations, the Turkish population was 373,582 (33.35%). The Armenian population reached 669,871 (59.8%).⁵¹

b. The Resettlement of Armenians Displaced from Iranian Geography

After the Tsarist armies occupied the provinces of Pambak on the northern border of the Revan Khanate in 1801 and Shuregel in 1804, the process of mass migration of Azerbaijani Turks from the region and the settlement of Armenians in the region began. After the Russo-Qajar wars of 1804-1813, 1826-1828 and the Russo-Ottoman wars of 1828-1829, the rise of Tsarist Russia in the region and the mass resettlement of Armenians in the regions of Revan and Karabakh as well as the entire South Caucasus continued to increase with each passing year.⁵²

⁴⁸ Fuad Aliyev and Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 15-16.

⁴⁹ Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 12, 271; Fuad Aliyev and Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 17; Rauf Gusevinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 280.

The administrative department that existed in Russia between 1708 and 1929. The guberniia system was first introduced by Peter I.

⁵⁰ Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Possiyskoy İmperii, c. 24, (St. Petersburg, 1830), 311-312.

⁵¹ Fuad Aliyev ve Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 17.

⁵² Nazim Mustafa, İrevan Şehri, 25; Fuad Aliyev ve Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 15.

The Russian author N. Shavrov comments on Tsarist Russia's resettlement of Armenians in the region as follows:

"We began our activity in the Caucasus by settling foreign peoples, not the Russian population. From 1828 to 1830, two years after the end of the 1826-1828 war, we settled 126,000 Armenian families in the South Caucasus, 40,000 from Persia and 84,000 from Anatolia. We established villages in the provinces of Tbilisi, Elizavetpol (Ganje) and Revan, where Armenians had never lived. We gave them the best lands and various privileges. In addition to the 124,000 officially settled Armenian families, there were also many unofficially settled Armenians. In total, it should be noted that more than 200,000 Armenian families were settled in the South Caucasus".53

Article 15 of the Turkmenchai Treaty signed between Tsarist Russia and the Oajar Monarchy on 10 February 1828 stipulates that the Armenians living in the Iranian geography came under the protection of the Tsar regime. According to the treaty, Armenians were exempted from customs and other taxes without any hindrance from the Qajar Monarchy. They were also given a one-year deadline for the transportation or sale of movable property and a five-year deadline for the sale or disposal of immovable property to leave Iranian territory.⁵⁴

The project for the resettlement of Armenians in the South Caucasus was actually prepared in 1827 in the diplomatic office for the South Caucasus region, headed by the tsarist regime's ambassador to Tehran, A. S. Griboyedov. Griboyedov took an active part in the resettlement of Armenians living under the Qajar state in the newly occupied lands of North Azerbaijan.⁵⁵ For this project, General Paskevich wrote to St. Petersburg on 11 May 1827, requesting Colonel Lazarev (Gazaros Lazaryan), an influential figure among Armenians, to assist him 56

On 14 February 1828, immediately after the Treaty of Turkmenchai, Lazarev informed Paskevich in a letter: "The Armenians did their best for our victory

⁵³ N. N. Şavrov, Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaze: Predstoyaşaya Rasprodaja Mugani İnorodtsam, (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Redaktsii Periodiçeskikh İzdaniy Ministerstva Finansov, 1911),

⁵⁴ Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov, c. 3, 130.

⁵⁵ Enikolopov İ. K. Griboedov i Vostok, (Erevan 1954), 129; See. Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 256-259.

Sergem Glinkoyu, Opisanie Pereseleniya Armyan Adderbidjanskikh v Predeli Rosii, (Moskva: v Tipografii Lazarevikh İnstituta Vostoçnikh Yazıkov, 1831), 97-107; See Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 370-372.

in wartime and now they want to leave their homeland and move to the newly annexed lands of the tsarist state".57

Ivan Chopin* conducted a census of Armenians settled in the South Caucasus between 1829 and 1832. According to Chopin's statistics, before the arrival of the Armenians, the population of Revan was 164,450 people, including 31,201 families. Of this population, 81,749 (51.53%) were Muslim Turks (16,078 families) and 25,151 (14.19%) were Armenians (4,428 families).⁵⁸

After the Treaty of Turkmenchai in 1828, 35,560 Armenians, including 6,946 families, migrated from Iran to the region defined as the Armenian Province.⁵⁹

Russian author Shavrov writes about these facts as follows: "After the end of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1828-1829, we moved more than 84,000 Armenian families from Anatolia and more than 40,000 from Iran to the regions of Karabakh, Ganje, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Borchaly, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki, where not a single Armenian lived. We settled Armenians in the best places and on fertile lands. More than 2,180,000 acres of fertile land were allocated for their comfortable living, and for this purpose private property worth 2 million manats was purchased from Muslims".60

Another Russian author Velichko provides the following information on the subject:

"After the Treaty of Turkmenchai, Armenian Colonel Lazarev, under General Paskevich, was sent to Tabriz to bring about 40,000 Armenian families to the South Caucasus. The Patriarch of Echmiadzin also

⁵⁷ AKTI, Sobranniye Kafkazskoyu Arkheografiçeskoyu Komissieyu, Arkhiv Glavnago Upravleniya Namestnika Kafkazskago, Tom VII, (Tiflis: v Tipografii Glavnago Upravleniya Namestnika Kafkazskago, 1878), 595.

Chopin, an ethnographer and historian of the Caucasus, was born in France in 1798. He came to Russia in 1820 and served for a long time in the tsarist administration in the Caucasus. In 1829, by order of General Paskevich, the governor-general of the Caucasus, he prepared a description of the newly annexed South Caucasus territories. In 1829-1832, he made a detailed study on Yerevan and Nakhchivan khanates, which were annexed to Tsarist Russia in accordance with the 1828 Turkmenchai Treaty and called the Armenian region. In 1830 he became an advisor to the Armenian regional government. In 1833 he became the chairman of the department of revenue and state-owned property of the Armenian Oblast, and after that he became a special officer of the chief administrator. See. A. Kupalov, "Sopen İvan İvanoviç", Russkiy Biografiçeskiy Slovar, (St. Petersburg: Tipografiya Glavnavo Upravleniya Udelov, 1911), s. 366.

⁵⁸ İ. Şopen, İstoriçeskiy Pamyatnik Sostayaniya Armyanskoy-Oblasti v Epokhu Yeya Prisoedineniya k Rossiyskoy-İmperii, (St. Petersburg: 1852), 525, 539-540.

Paşayev, Ermenilerin Azerbaycan Halkına Karşı Arazi İddiaları, 38-40, 42. 59

Şavrov, Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaze, 59.

participated in this activity and ordered the Armenian priests under the Qajar State to encourage the population to move to the South Caucasus. Then, after the Treaty of Edirne, we welcomed more than 10,000 Armenian families from Anatolia. The Patriarch Karapet of Erzurum alone led 70,000 Armenian families to move to the Caucasus. Since then, the migration of Armenians from Anatolia and Persia to the newly annexed South Caucasus began with an almost imperceptible trickle and has continued continuously with a rapid flow in the last few vears".61

On 24 December 1829, Colonel Lazarey, in his final report to General Paskevich, presented information on the results of the relocation of Armenians in a brief period of three and a half months, starting on 26 February 1828 and ending on 11 June 1829. For these actions, 16,000 gold and 400 silver rubles* were spent from the Tsarist State Treasury. Another 1,500 Armenian families who wanted to move remained in Iran because Colonel Lazarev could not find time and resources for them 62

Tsarist Russia's forcible expulsion of Azerbaijani Turks from their lands and resettlement of Armenians in the South Caucasus was a preparatory stage for the establishment of Armenia in the future. The historical evidence we have mentioned is clear evidence that Armenians were settled in regions where they lived in small numbers or did not live at all. It is historically proven that before the Treaty of Turkmenchai, the Armenian population in the South Caucasus was small. Tsarist patronage and policy towards Armenians continued until the beginning of the 20th century. From 1896 to 1908 alone (in 13 years), 400,000 Armenian families were resettled in the South Caucasus. 63

Shavroy describes this situation as follows:

"By 1897, the number of new arrivals in the region was no longer 10,000, as in 1894, but about 90,000. In 1896, General Sheremet'ev, in his report on Armenians living in the Caucasus, put their number at 900,000. In 1908, this number reached 1.3 million. During this period the number of Armenians increased by more than 400,000. Of the 1.3

⁶¹ V. L. Velicko, Kavkaz. Russkoye Delo i Mejduplemenniye Voprosi, (Bakü: Elim Yayınevi, 1990), 41.

Currency of the Tsarist State.

⁶² Glinkoyu, Opisanie Pereseleniya Armyan, 114-116, 131; See Memmedova, "İrevan Hanlığı'nın Nüfusu", 42-43; Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 376, 377-382.

⁶³ Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 309-311; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 11, 263, 272, 366; Memmedova, "İrevan Hanlığı'nın Nüfusu", 35, 49.

million Armenians currently living in the Caucasus, I million are not the autochthonous population of the Caucasus. We moved them here."64

c. Resettlement of Armenians Displaced from Anatolia

In 1828-1829, Tsarist Russia attacked the Ottoman Empire from the east and occupied Kars, Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe Ardahan, Beyazit, Erzurum, Mush, Oltun and Bayburd in a short time. Armenians living in Eastern Anatolia contributed greatly to the rapid advance of the Tsarist armies towards the interior of Anatolia. At the beginning of the war, 2,800 volunteer infantry and cavalry detachments were formed from Armenians. Since Armenian troops often acted in front of the Tsarist troops, General Paskevich assigned Armenian commanders to the captured regions. The appointed commanders conducted inhuman acts against the Muslim inhabitants of the region.⁶⁵

On 2 September 1829, the Treaty of Edirne signed between the Ottomans and the Tsarists also had a negative impact on the Azerbaijani Turks living in the Caucasus. According to Article 13 of the Treaty, Armenians were granted the right to migrate to the South Caucasus with their movable property within a period of 18 months under the auspices of the Tsarist State. 66 The withdrawal of the Tsarist armies from Eastern Anatolia after the agreement put Armenians who had betrayed the Ottoman Empire in a desperate situation. In order to save the Armenians from this situation, the Tsarist authorities decided to settle them in the Caucasus, which they had recently occupied. In this case, the numerical majority of Armenians was ensured in the Caucasus, which was the Ottoman border. For this purpose, on 10 October 1829, General Paskevich wrote the following in a report to Tsar Nicholas I:

"2,000 Armenians fought in the ranks of our soldiers in Beyazit, the majority of the Christian population celebrated our religious holiday in Erzurum, a volunteer battalion consisting of 800 Armenians was organized in Kars. Currently, a threat hangs over their families of 10,000 people. Please turn your attention to these unfortunate victims. Do not allow the Ottomans to take revenge on them for the love they showed to Russia. Therefore, I dare to request Your Majesty's permission to

⁶⁴ Şavrov, Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaze, 60.

⁶⁵ Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 383-393; See Vagif Arzumanlı ve Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, Deportasiya. Soykırım. Gaçkınlık, (Bakü, Gartal Yayınevi,

⁶⁶ Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov Possiyskoy İmperii, c. 4, (St. Petersburg, 1830), 628.

settle these families in the provinces of Georgia and Armenia. I think an average of 50 silver rubles would be enough for each relocated family."67

On 18 November 1829, with the approval of Tsar Nicholas I, General Paskevich set in motion a special committee to oversee the affairs of the Armenian families to be relocated and established 12-point rules for the committee's activities. He also stated in a letter to the governor of Georgia on 3 December 1829 that he had given orders for the army commanders to assist Armenian families who wanted to move. Many Armenian families, who were in good financial condition, took advantage of this opportunity, quickly completed their preparations and set off. The Armenians who were relocated from Kars and its surroundings were resettled in the villages evacuated by Muslim Turks in the Caucasus due to the climatic conditions of the region they lived in. General Pankratyev informed General Paskevich that 95 families were given permission to live in and around the Lori stream and General Bereman informed General Paskevich that 400 families from Kars were given permission to live in Gyumri.⁶⁸

General Paskevich's instructions were meticulously implemented. In addition to the newly created Armenian province (the Khanate of Revan and its surroundings), Armenians were also resettled in the Ganjabasar and Karabakh regions of Azerbaijan. Moreover, on 22 January 1830, General Paskevich informed the Tsarist War Minister Chernyshev in a telegram that 2,500 Armenian families who had migrated from Kars were being resettled in villages and cities evacuated from the Turks.⁶⁹

The Ottoman government could not remain indifferent to the mass resettlement of Armenians along the border under the auspices of the Tsarist military authorities. Therefore, in order to prevent this project, Sultan Mahmut II (1808-1839) issued a general amnesty for Armenians on 17 February 1830. In the general amnesty, a decision was taken to forgive the betrayal of the state and the atrocities committed against the civilian Muslim population during the Russian aggression and not to hold them accountable. However, despite these amnesties, the Catholicos of the Armenians of Erzurum was aware of the

⁶⁷ AKTI, VII/830.

⁶⁸ AKTI, VII/831-832; Ayrıca bkz. Vagif Arzumanlı ve Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 29-31.

⁶⁹ Recep Karacakaya, Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeni-Rus İliskileri (1841-1898), I. Cilt (Ankara, Basbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Yay. 2006), 12-13; AKTI, VII/832-833; Y. K. Sarkisyan, Politika Osmanskogo Pravitelstva v Zapadnov Armenii i Derjavi v Poslednev Çetverti XIX i Naçale XX vv, (Erevan: 1972), 64-65.

severity of the war crimes they had committed. After the Russians retreated, he expressed that they would not give up their intention to move because they were sure that they would one day be held accountable to the Ottoman Empire, albeit late.⁷⁰

As can be seen, despite the massacres committed by Armenians in Eastern Anatolia during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1828-1829, which was the first mass bloodshed between two peoples who had lived side by side for centuries. the Ottoman Empire showed the same tolerance to Armenians as it had shown to the Christian peoples living in the country, and did not adopt a policy of hatred towards them. In fact, the Ottoman Government ignored the massacre of tens of thousands of Muslim civilians and described this painful event as a "road accident" that occurred during the war. Therefore, the idea that Armenians were forcibly expelled from the Ottoman geography is nothing but a big lie. On the contrary, the Ottoman government tried to prevent Armenians from migrating.⁷¹

On 29 February 1829, General Paskevich, seeing that the deadline for emigration (18 months) was about to expire, sent a letter in Turkish and Russian to the governors of Erzurum and Kars, instructing the Armenian religious leaders Archimandrite Tatos, Mughdisi Karapetyan, and Aghajan Karapetyan, Ter-Hovanes Matevosov, Aghajan Osipov, and Hakop Hanakov to make some efforts to sell the properties, fields, etc. left by the Armenians.⁷²

The table below shows the number of Armenian families displaced from Anatolia until 3 April 1831 and the names of the places of resettlement.⁷³

⁷⁰ Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göcürülen Ermeniler", "^\\"; See Vagif Arzumanlı and Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 31; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 264-265.

⁷¹ Sertçelik, Rus ve Ermeni Kaynakları, 53.

⁷² Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 395, 398; Vagif Arzumanlı and Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 32.

⁷³ AKTI, VII/847; See Vagif Arzumanlı and Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 32-33.

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Province of emigration	Number of migrated families	Places of resettlement
Erzurum	7,298	5,000 families in and around Akhaltsikhe
Ardahan	67	1,050 families in and around Borchaly and Zalga 1,305 families in and around Pambak and Shorayel
Kars	2,264	2,264 families in and around Pambak and Shorayel
Kars and its surroundings	200	200 families in and around Armenian Province and Talin
Beyazit	4,215	In and around Armenian Province – Gokcha lake
Total	14,044 families	

It is a historical fact that more than 14,000 Armenian families moved from Anatolia to the South Caucasus. Assuming an average of six people per family, it can be estimated that more than 84,000 Armenians were settled in the South Caucasus. However, General W. Monteith and General Paskevich put the number of resettled Armenians at more than 90,000,74 while Armenian historians Shahatunyan and Tavakalyan put the number at 100,000.⁷⁵

According to the information provided by Kemal Beydilli based on official Ottoman records, 41,245 people from 8,249 families originating from the Iranian region and 100,000 Armenians from 20,000 families from Eastern Anatolia were relocated to the South Caucasus under the protection of Tsarist Russian forces 76

After the Treaty of Edirne, more than 106,000 Armenians consulted General Paskevich to settle in Akhaltsikhe. The first large influx of migrants was to Akhaltsikhe, and the second to the Borchaly region in the territory of presentday Georgia, where Azerbaijani Turks lived. General Paskevich resettled

⁷⁴ W. Monteith, Kars and Erzeroum: with the Campaign of Prince Paskiewitch in 1828 and 1829, (London: Printed by Spottiswoode and Co. New Street Square, 1856), 300; P. F. Stepanov, "Zametka o Karsskoy Oblasti", İzvestiya Kafkazskago Otdela İmperatorskago Russkago Geografiçeskago Obşestva, Tom VII, (Tiflis: 1882-1883), 181; Lagov, Armeniya, 18; Şavrov, Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaze, 60.

A. A. Şakhatunyan, Administrativniy Peredel Zakavkazskago Kraya, (Tiflis: Tipografiya Aşkhatavor, 1918), 168-169; See, Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 407-408.

⁷⁶ Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 410. (See Annex 4)

100,000 Armenians who had migrated from Erzurum in Akhalkalaki and Akhaltsikhe. In 1832, the majority of the population of Akhaltsikhe was now Armenians 77

For his role in the relocation of the Armenians of Erzurum, Archbishop Karapet was awarded the Order of St. Anna by the Tsarist Government on 20 October 1830. Afterwards, during his visit to Akhaltsikhe in 1837, Tsar Nicholas I personally met with Karapet and expressed his gratitude for his services. He also signed a decree on 24 April 1831 to allocate 380,000 silver rubles from the treasury to meet the economic needs of the Armenians on the condition that they would be returned without interest for 6 years.⁷⁸

According to the census conducted by Ivan Chopin in 1830, 21,666 Armenians. including 3,682 families, moved from Anatolia to the region defined as the Armenian Province.⁷⁹

After the Russo-Qajar (Russo-Persian) War of 1826-1828 and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1828-1829, 57,226 Armenians, including 10,628 families, were resettled from Iran and Anatolia in the present-day city of Yerevan, which was defined as the Armenian Province. Russian sources state that officially 124,000 and unofficially 200,000 Armenians were resettled.⁸⁰

During the First World War, about half a million Armenians living under Ottoman rule were resettled either in the South Caucasus region or in other provinces of Tsarist Russia. In June 1916, 160,000 Armenians were relocated to the South Caucasus, and in 1917, more than 300,000 Armenians were relocated to the South Caucasus with the retreating Tsarist armies from Anatolia. According to Armenian sources, approximately 350,000 Armenians migrated to the South Caucasus in 1914-1916. Most of the Armenian population was settled in Yerevan Province 81

From the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Armenians in the South Caucasus increased as follows: 51,530 (9.37%) Armenians out of a total population of 550,000 in 1822-1826, 159,086 (21%)

⁷⁷ Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 266.

⁷⁸ Vagif Arzumanlı-Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 33.

Şopen, İstoriçeskiy Pamyatnik Sostayaniya Armyanskoy Oblasti, 539-540; See Vagif Arzumanlı and Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 33; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 266.

⁸⁰ Şavrov, Novaya Ugroza Russkomu Delu v Zakavkaze, 59; See Vagif Arzumanlı and Nazim Mustafa, Tarihin Kara Sahifaları, 16, 35-36; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 270-271.

⁸¹ İstoriya Armyanskogo Naroda, (Erevan: Erivan Üniversitesi Yay.1980), 214; Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 316.

Armenians out of a total population of 750,000 in 1840, 334,242 (19.5%) Armenians out of a total population of 1,779,699 in 1873, 690,635 (32.4%) Armenians out of a total population of 2,186,500 in 1886, 784,347 (29.8%) Armenians out of a total population of 2,620,805 in 1897, and 1,208,615 (38.8%) Armenians out of the total population of 3,756,696 in 1916. In parallel with the massive increase in the number of Armenians, in 1849, the Armenian region was expanded into Azerbaijan and became the Yerevan Province of the Tsarist State. After the collapse of Tsarist Russia in 1917, the Armenian Ararat Republic was established on 28 May 1918 on a geographical area of approximately 9,500 square kilometres, including the city of Yerevan, with the support of the Imperialist powers.⁸²

On 28 May 1918, when the Armenian Ararat Republic was established in Yerevan Province, it was unclear which city would be the capital. On 29 May 1918, the Azerbaijani Government of the time announced that it had given away the city of Yerevan to the Dashnak Government to make it the capital in order to put an end to the massacres. Although members of the Muslim Council of the city of Yerevan Mir Hidayet Seyidov Bagher Rizayev and Neriman Bey Nerimanbeyov protested against this decision, the Armenians' demand was fulfilled 83

After the establishment of the Armenian Ararat Republic, the policy of "Armenia without Turks" was rapidly implemented. As a result of the mass killings against the Muslim Turkish population, while 373,582 Turks lived in Yerevan Province in 1916, this number dropped to less than 20,000 by the end of 1920. During this period, approximately 565,000 of the 575,000 Turkish population living in the region were massacred or forced to migrate.⁸⁴

Founded in 1918, the Armenian Ararat Republic became the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1920 as part of the USSR. In 1991, the present-day Republic of Armenia was established. Thus, the Yerevan Province, which was established a hundred years ago, became today's Republic of Armenia with a surface area of 29,800 square kilometres.85

The settlement of Armenians in the region continued in the following years. Between 1921 and 1936, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (ArSSR)

⁸² Rauf Guseyinzade, Kafkaz i Armyane, 310-312.

⁸³ Azerbaycan Cumhuriyeti Devlet Arşivi (ACDA), fon. 970, liste 1, dosya 1, 51-54.

⁸⁴ Ermenistan Azerbaycanlılarının Tarihi Coğrafyası, (Bakü: Genclik Neşriyatı, 1995), 35.

⁸⁵ Abdulla Mustafayev, Ermenistanın Soykırım ve Deportasiya Siyasetinde Nahçivan, (Bakü: ADPU Matbaası, 2013), 87.

government, with the approval of Moscow, relocated 42,000 Armenians from different countries of the world to Armenia. This process accelerated even more after the end of the Second World War. In November 1945, with the consent of the USSR Government, a special committee was established within the Armenian Government for the relocation of Armenians living in different parts of the world to the ArSSR and in 1946-1948, more than 100,000 Armenians from all over the world moved to the ArSSR. The policy of relocating Armenians living outside Armenia to Armenia continued in the following years.86

The information provided by the sources clearly reveals that almost all Armenians were relocated from Iran and Anatolia, as well as Syria, Greece, Lebanon, Bulgaria and Romania, and settled in the Caucasus on various occasions over the last three centuries.

CONCLUSION

There is a lot of information in Armenian sources about the emergence of Armenians in the Phrygian region together with the Cimmerians, their migration to the west of Asia Minor (Anatolia) and their long years of living in this geography by making Anatolia their homeland. However, it is an undeniable fact that not only Armenians, but also Turks, along with other peoples, have been living in Anatolia for nearly a thousand years. Although Armenians claim to have had a state in Anatolia, the existence of a long-lasting independent Armenian state that left its mark on the Anatolian geography is not mentioned in historical sources. It is also a fact that they did not have the majority of the population in Anatolia. In addition, although it is known that there are Armenian sources that contribute to Anatolian history, it is impossible to say that the Armenian language is the only influential language in Anatolia. Apart from a few church architectures belonging to Armenians in Anatolia, it cannot be said that there are permanent material and cultural assets that leave a mark on the region. Moreover, considering the level of civilization and culture of the Hittite, Persian, Urartian and Roman states in Anatolia, it is hardly possible to compare Armenians with the peoples living in these states.

In the early 19th century, Tsarist Russia, which annexed the South Caucasus to itself by winning the wars against the Qajar and Ottoman states and changed the ethnic landscape of the region, created a buffer line consisting of the

⁸⁶ Fuad Aliyev-Urfan Hasanov, İrevan Hanlığı, 22; Mahmudov, İrevan Hanlığı, 445.

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Armenian population in the South Caucasus against possible new wars against these states. With this aim, it relocated Christian Armenians en masse from Iran and Anatolia and settled them in the newly occupied regions of Revan, Nakhchivan, Karabakh and the surrounding areas. Thus, a new Armenian community began to emerge on the ethnic map of the South Caucasus from 1820 onwards. In addition, by resettling Armenians in the Caucasus, Tsarist Russia was not only to take precautions against possible attacks on Russian territory or to create a military cordon, but also to ensure that a society that would do what the Russians wanted was ready in the region. Armenians, on the other hand, took advantage of the historical opportunities and served the Tsarist State in the wars against the Qajar and Ottoman States and tried to establish a state for themselves in Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Tsarist Russia's colonial and occupying policy against Azerbaijani Turks in the South Caucasus was in line with the hostile plans of Armenians against the Turkish nation. Armenians were therefore a constant source of tension in the South Caucasus.

Consequently, the occupation of the South Caucasus by Tsarist Russia from the beginning of the 19th century started the tragic days of the Muslim Azerbaijani Turks who had lived in the territory of present-day Armenia for centuries. For the last two centuries, as a result of genocide and deportation policies against the Muslim Turkish population living in this region, the local Turkish population was forcibly removed from these regions or subjected to ethnic cleansing.

Appendix



Annex 1: Franz Roubaud's 1893 painting of the Yerevan Fortress siege in 1827 by the Russian forces under leadership of Ivan Paskevich.87

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capture_of_Erivan (Accessed January, 28 2025).





Переселение армян из Ирана на азербайджанские земли (Нахчыван, Иреван, Карабах) (рисунок русского художника В.Машкова). 1828 год.

Annex 2: Russian painter Vladimir Ivanovich Moshkov's painting "Transportation of Armenians from Iran to Azerbaijan (Nakhchivan, Revan, Karabakh)" dated 1828.88

Заглавная страница, https://shorturl.at/cYleX (Accessed January 28, 2025)

и приложение.

XPHCTIANE!

По дошедшимъ до менядосшовърнымъ слухамъ неблагонамъренные люди стараюшел распроспранишь не шокмо нельпыя и лживый ивстий, но даже веслишь сшрахъ въ просивпинхъ дозволение переселипъся въ благословенную Россио, и шъмъ опирапиннь желаніе сердець ихъ.

-Repainible in 1.p.

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Въ опивращение сего и по довъренносии ко миъ Армянскаго народа, по долгу обязанносии, возложенной на меня Главнокомандующимъ нашимъ, объявляю вамъ, чио великодушный Монархъ Россійскій даенть желающимъ переселинься надежное, спокойное и счасиливое убъжнице въ Его государсшвь. -Въ Эривань, Нахичевань и Карабахь, гдь сами избереше, получише вы въ изобили хльбородную землю, ошчасии засъянную, коей десящая шолько часшь обрабопъваещел въ пользу Казны. — Вы OCBOбождаениесь въ продолженін шести ліпть опть всякихъ подашей и, для переселенія бъдивіннямь изъ

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васъ, подана буденъ помощь. — Ть, кон имьюшть эдъсь недвижимосшь, опправивь семейства свои, могушъ осшавишь по себъ повъренныхъ для продажи оной, срокъ косй опредъленъ по Туркманчайскому пракшашу до плин льшъ; имена осшавшихся съ описью имупреспив ихъ доставлися много къ Посланнику или Коммисару , при Его Высочесник Аббась Миров пребывающемъ, дабы опи, лко подданные Виликаго Государи, были подь высокимъ Его покровишельствомъ. - Въ Россін увидише вы шерпимость въръ и равенсиво правъ Русскаго съ прочими подданными Государи, и забудеше всь горесши, вами

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перпимыя. - Тамъ найдеше вы новое ощечество, населенное Хрисппанами, и не увидише болье угисшеніе свящой въры! Тамъ будение вы жинть подъ покровишельсивомъ законовъ и почувеннуете благониворное ихъдъйснийе.---Тамъ наконецъ вы улучшише благосостолийе ваше, и малыя пожериво-Bantin , CALMARDIGHT BANTE, вознаградашей сшокрашно.-Вы оснивните родипу, любеопую для велка-FO; NO OZHR MERCAL O DOMль Хриспіанской должна приводинь вась въ восторгъ.

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Annex 3: Armenian Colonel Lazarev's appeal in Russian and Armenian languages on Armenians to move from Iran to the South Caucasus as soon as possible. The appeal was made on 30 March 1828 in the city of Urmia.⁸⁹

	Tablo V	N ^o
İran'dan göçürülen Ermenilerin	Hâne \)	8.249
genel yekûnü	Kişi	41.245
Osmanlı resmî kayıtlarına göre Erzurum'dan göçürülen	Hâne	4230
Ermenilerin yekûnü	Kişi	21.150
Toplam olarak Doğu Anadolu'dan	Hâne	20.000
göçürülen Ermeniler	Kişi	100.000

Annex 4: Statistics provided by Kemal Beydilli based on Ottoman archives.⁹⁰

Sergem Glinkoyu, Opisanie Pereseleniya Armyan Adderbidjanskikh v Predeli Rosii, 107-111.

⁹⁰ Beydilli, "Doğu Anadolu'dan Rusya'ya Göçürülen Ermeniler", 410.

ERMENÎ SÎLAHLÎ CETELERÎNÎN ERÎVAN'A BAĞLI BÖLGELER VE KÖYLERDE YAPTIKLARI MEZALİM

Г. ПРЕДСЕДАТЕЛЮ СОВЕТА МИНИСТРОВ АЗЕРБАЙЕКАНСКОЙ РЕСПУБЛИКИ.

> Уполномоченного Веди-Басарского ралона и Миллистана Эриванского уезда Магеррама Алкева

SAHBAEHNE.

По условию вакличенного перемирия тюрки очищая Кавича, стайи покидать и фриванскую губарнию. Положение мусульман стало критическим, так как было лено, что начинается истребление их арминами. Вскоре после ухода турвиких войск, из фривани для покорения мусульман фриванской губериии, был двинут мощный вооружения отряд армин под комендованием полуженика долужанова, последнии, обратившись и мусульменам с возванием приввал их к покормости и обещах, заили фриванскую губериим, водястрить в ней полима порядок, законность и дружественими отношения с мусульменами. рить в ней сульменеми.

ом приввал их к покорности и обещая, ванля оривенскую губернию, воднострить в ней полный ворядок, законность и дружественных отношения стульманеми.

Довержение полновнику и обещаниям, провозглаженным им возванием к мусульманем ми, жители, ведя-васарского рабона, пропустали его с отрядом в село "Аввелу".

Долковник долуженов обещаниемсе в отношении мусульстви его с отрядом в село "Аввелу".

Долковник долуженов обещаниемсе в отношении мусульстви вножением, находившимся в его отряде намто Арту с вольковыми частями выревая и прутыманское население в селок: Семе-ветану, Авреба-ветания и мета
ко, Ужеси этой ревене не поддавляся описанией; над прупами убетых стара
ков кенции и дето: совершалное безоердечных глумления: распаривлясь в ратих кивоти, выколивались у их глаза, а иногра тулы и дежгались. В этих же селониях былк выревани и находившеся там бетонии в исколько сот дув_Маневинися и полковнику Долуженову делегатам былс обещано, что совия за будет прекращема, но обещание не исполняюсь. Продвинувающу
ся в оторону Шарура Долуженову организованными силами мусульман было собещено, что невесено тляжее поражение и он вынужден был в порядке оттупления занять село "Аввелу в Ту же, прибливательно, пору в селок: Вера
как выревать мителе: саначеных селоний, дахная в Шагабау прибили арминикае отряды, кое намивальной делогами. Не породу забранных венью и выпурации в декумень, кое к сегчас находятся в их ружах и поджергалтя безчестиям. Не породу забранных венью не селоний венью собещения в плен несколько сот кресивых велужных венными стравить ком должения венью породу забранных венью в породу забранных венью не селоний венью породу забранных венью не селоний венью породу забранных венью породу забранных венью породу забранных венью породу забранных венью породу забранных венью породу забранных венью породу за на сестом не последоваться не последоваться не породу в приста в примента в породу в породу в приста в породу в приста в при не породу в приста в при не породу в приста в при не породу в приста в при не породу в пр

разда образав. Образавания против со-озных доржав. Образавание после сделанного Гепоном заквления, армянския регунярныя войска напали на село "авшар", которое находится на разстолья ник Тарт версты от села давалу. В этом селе население было заперто 2/12.

по домам, при чем часть запертих в домах же была котреблена, а другая часть успела спастись бегством. После этих Анварских собетий, началась бомбардировка брокевиком и вазодом артелерии, как сеторыя раположеми почти и полотиа желемой дороги, Полуго вримение восле вестирия раположеми почти и полотиа желемой дороги, Полуго вримение восле вестирия раположеми почти и полотиа желемой дороги, Полуго вримение действонной иниверсации и предолгалась пеступрать и не инже село вести предолгалась весть дней, она биле остановлем английским полковинком, имне генерал-губернатором баличевани даухеи, которые мною был пределеньем место военных действия и видел, как разоренные бембердировкой села, видел и беронированиями поезд и пужки, поставлению выше села выжел ведел и беронированиями поезд и пужки, поставлению выше села выжел и дархем действий и фермения против села берин Пределено и места военных действий и фермения претив села берин Пределено даржения действий и фермения претив села берин Пределение действий выже и вести и выже берин действий и начали бембардировку и военных дества. Немедленно об этом сообщи Помендужему бакичевенской мусульнанию берин берин берин пределения дества. Немедленно об этом сообщи Помендужему бакичевенской мусульнай регорамин прехратить исстигательную поед при выже участи, прекратив оточь начали грабить и фенсать выжеуказанным села: Авшер, Авлей др., дом поед берин деступление. Арминской регор валон и мелятоте- на усельность берин меня ведел комендур английской регор выжетоте- на усельность берин меня ведел мусульнания меня перед Правительством фенси усельном особеждения вабранных примениям создатимя мусульманских хенями во избежание невух на втой почве кровопролятия; устранны решельную не могут; чельных применть вымения пределенных примения пред Правительством Дренних действий указ, в коем об каить, что бери-бесарского рейсна и микому устриления бильнения подвательных пределения действа вабранных примения пределения, Перамен рабон и микому устриления перед фенеральных пределения в пределения дейс

Juel 10 марта 1919 года. Pop. Baxy.

10.3.1919 BCA. 930 01. 4-61-1 ADA. 970-1-41

Annex 5: Armenian atrocities committed by armed gangs in the regions and villages of Yerevan.91

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