

# **Preservation of the Architectural Heritage of Armenia**

A History of its Evolution from the Perspective of  
the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century European Travelers to the  
Scientific Preservation of the Soviet Period

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## **Abstract**

Prior to the formation of the first Republic of Armenia in 1918, the general image of Armenian cities was similar to those of oriental Islamic world. The heritage of the traditional medieval Armenian architecture was not properly acknowledged by scholars. The non scientific, partial descriptions and representations of the nineteenth century European travelers was the only source available for Western architectural historians. The first comprehensive scientific study of Armenian architecture was published in 1918 by Josef Strzygowski based on the materials provided by Toros Toramanian and the systematic excavations by Nicholas Marr at Ani between 1904 and 1917. Strzygowski's polemical theory, claiming that Armenian architecture being the source of European Gothic architecture, ignited a long academic debate which marred further studies for at least the next half century. The revival of academic study of Armenian architecture in west occurred in late 1960s and early 1970s by the efforts of French and Italian pioneers. This thesis explores the history of the preservation of Armenian monuments starting from the late nineteenth century by scientific preservations at Ani up to the fall of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991.

The first section provides a reconstruction image of Yerevan and Gyumri and their main monuments during the nineteenth century as projected by European travelers. The condition of major monuments including Yerevan Fortress and its mosques, the Sardar Palace, stone buildings of Gyumri and the Russian fortifications are studied in detail. This section ends with an appendix introducing twelve significant European travelers, concentrating on how their educational background, occupation and motif for travel affected their description of the monuments.

Section two starts with a discussion on the representation techniques used by travelers to record the image of Armenian architecture in their travelogues and follows by studying the European traveler's opinion regarding the origin of Armenian architecture and how it affects the European architecture.

In section three, the first systematic study of Armenian architecture is discussed and three pioneer characters, Nicholas Marr, Toros Toramanian, and Josef Strzygowski and their role in preserving the built heritage of Armenian architecture is studied in detail.

Section four is dedicated to the opinions of significant architectural historians regarding the origin of Armenian architecture and its impact on European architecture. This section starts with a statistical study of two bibliographies including the publication of monographs and academic articles in Western languages. Based on the results of this study, this section is divided into three parts: 1- The Western, non Italian scholars, 2- Italian scholars, 3- Armenian scholars.

In section five, the theories and projects of preservation is discussed during the Soviet period. The attention to non-religious monuments and folk architecture, the excessive use of reinforced concrete in preservation projects, and the scientific restoration of Garni temple is explored. This section follows by three appendixes. Appendix two includes a catalog of twenty-eight restoration projects during the Soviet period and a study of Yerevan master plan concentrating on

understanding the relation between generating a master plan and preservation of historic monuments in urban context. Appendix three introduces the administrative structure of the entities responsible for preserving the historical monuments in Soviet Armenia, attention to tourist complexes, identification and registration of cultural monuments, the types of protective zones, and the education system of Moscow Architectural Institute. In appendix four, the author tries to represent the current situation of the preservation of historic monuments in Armenia by listing the major problems. Addressing the problems is out of the scope of this dissertation.

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## Introduction

The ideas of writing a dissertation about the history of preservation of Armenian monuments has started in 2013 in the beginning of my PhD course and developed during the next four years. It all started with a simple question. Why the number of Armenian ecclesiastical architectural monuments are so high with respect to the secular ones? Why there are so little information about ordinary people life and architecture? Without proper care and preservation, even the monuments built with the most durable materials – stone- will be lost especially in Armenian highland which is known for high seismic activities. Therefore, the main statement of this dissertation was formed, and it was gathering the preservation history of Armenian monuments in a single study. During my studies at UCLA’s Young Research Library, I developed a second statement which was the impact of Josef Strzygowski’s polemical theory on rising attention towards Armenian architecture and therefore, its preservation. Having studied architecture in Politecnico di Milano - both bachelor’s and Master’s- and learning the Italian language, I became familiar with Adriano Alpagò Novello and the CSDCA monographs published about Armenian monuments. Being an Iranian Armenian, Persian was my second language. Before starting academic study of architecture, due to personal interest, I became familiar with traditional Persian architecture and admired its unique characteristics. The question of the origin of certain architectural forms occupied my mind from those years. I applied my interest and knowledge of Persian architecture in writing my bachelor and master dissertation. Contrary to graceful feminine forms of Persian architecture, the masculine, basic, and harsh forms of Armenian architecture and their proportion and harmony caught my attention and became the main topic of my PhD dissertation.

The architecture and the national identity of a nation are intertwined. Architectural heritage loyally reflects the culture and identity of its creators. According to Ronald Suny, the national ideologies “may be in people unconsciously and may need to be brought forth or willed into consciousness.”<sup>1</sup> The architecture is one of the best tools to create this national ideology.

Tracing back the architectural heritage of some nations is more difficult. In the Armenians case, the historic architectural monuments are scattered in five different countries - Republic of Armenia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Republic of Turkey, Republic of Azerbaijan, Republic of Georgia - with

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<sup>1</sup> Suny, Ronald Grigor. "Constructing primordialism: Old histories for new nations." *The Journal of Modern History* 73.4 (2001): 862-896, p. 870.

contradicted rules and policies with respect to their preservation. In this thesis, I am studying the evolution of the preservation of architectural heritage in the boundaries of the current Republic of Armenia – same as Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic- starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the end of the Soviet period.

Before the annexation of Eastern Armenia to Russian Empire, the general image of most Armenian cities was like that of Persia and in some periods, non-Armenians formed the majority of the population of Yerevan.<sup>2</sup>

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, contemporary to the rise of national identity in Europe, each country tried to create an image to unite the nation. This awareness of national identity arrived Caucasus with a time lapse of about a hundred years in the beginning of the twentieth century which led to the creation of an architectural style called Neo-Armenian by Alexander Tamanian. From Persian dominance in sixteen and seventeen centuries, to the creation of Soviet Armenia in 1921, various historical events affected the creation of this national style. The systematic excavation of Ani under the supervision of Nicholas Marr, the arduous attempts of Toros Toramanian in surveying and documenting the Armenian monuments was an initial phase of creating awareness towards safeguarding and preserving monuments. Later, Josef Strzygowski's publication of *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* in 1918 using Toramanian's materials, raise international attention to Armenian art and architecture in an unprecedented manner. Strzygowski's publication coincided the tumultuous years of WWI instability in Caucasus. Armenians were in blink of extinction and only miraculously survived. The need for a national identity was in its climax. Alexander Tamanian was the person who combined the wealth of materials created in previous years by Nicholas Marr and Toros Toramanian, with his talent and knowledge of classical architecture and created a new national architecture style which became popular in the years while the country built its capital from scratch. Tamanian also was responsible for creating the new capital's master plan. After centuries of living under foreign dominion, Armenians were not aware of the wealth of their cultural

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<sup>2</sup> Some Armenian academicians claimed that there was no evidence at all that there had ever been a Muslim majority in Erivan. I had relied on official Russian censuses and the work of George Bournoutian and Richard Hovannisian. See George Bournoutian, *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807–1828: A Political and Socioeconomic Study of the Khanate of Erevan on the Eve of the Russian Conquest* (Malibu, Calif., 1982), pp. 61–77; and Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), pp. 13, 15.

heritage. The art and architecture of this people were scattered over Armenian highland which itself was divided between Ottoman and Persian empires and was left to deteriorate under layers of ruins and sediments. The educated classes were abroad, mainly in Tbilisi, a true cultural center of the Armenians during the Russian domination. According to Ronald Suny, "Tbilisi, at one time had an Armenian majority, and Erivan was primarily a Muslim town at several points in its long history."<sup>3</sup>

Before its annexation to Russian Empire in 1830, the general image of Eastern Armenia was that of Persian cities. Armenians were forming a minority in Yerevan, the center of Erivan Khanate, and the city was divided into two distinct sections. The citadel and the town. The Khan of Erivan entitled also *Sardar*, and Persians in general were living in citadel and Armenians in town.

The Armenian art and architecture was unknown and not studied. Even when the interest towards orient was in its zenith in Europe in nineteenth century, Armenia and Caucasus in general were unknown and not studied. The prevailing image about Armenia was that of a biblical name where Noah's ark had landed.

After eastern Armenia's occupation by Russian empire, the number of European travelers increased. Each traveler, with his/her distinct scholastic background and travel purpose, construct a unique and often distorted image of the region. A number of these travelers were appointed from Russian government to explore and create geographical maps of the newly annexed region and some had military missions. Each traveler has recorded the land through his/her own perspective but the common feature of these travelogues with respect to Armenian architecture is their efforts to fit it in Western architectural styles and scholastic divisions which they were already familiar with. Difficult travel conditions, long distances between monuments and scarcity of scholastic materials for the Europeans, together with western categorization of architectural styles led to considering Armenian architecture as a peripheral branch of Byzantine architecture while Byzantine architecture itself was still not well defined in nineteenth century, covering a wide range of period and area.

After Jacques de Morgan, a french scholar, has done some excavations in caucasus and published a two-volume book in french by Leroux in 1889 called *Mission scientifique au Caucase: études*

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<sup>3</sup> Suny, Ronald Grigor. "Constructing primordialism: Old histories for new nations." *The Journal of Modern History* 73.4 (2001): 862-896, p. 863.



*archéologiques & historiques*, the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences decided to ban Europeans from doing archaeological excavations in the Caucasus and as a compensation, dedicated more fund and resources to the region.

Nicholas Marr, the well-known Georgian linguist (page 85), had already studied Armenian monuments for his dissertation in 1890 and 1892, convinced academy to do excavations in Ani. He had systematically excavated the city from 1904 to 1915, till the beginning of the WWI.

While Toros Toramanian (page 90) was ready to leave Europe to study the Armenian city of Ani, he had read the travelogues of European travelers in order to be familiar with the city but after visiting the city itself, first of all he became fascinated by the wealth of materials and the greatness of the city and second he noticed the scarcity of materials at hand for a European scholar and therefore, he decided to dedicate more time in Ani and study Armenian architecture which later became his lifelong occupation.

Toros Toramanian was a laborious architect who surveyed many monuments and prepared the architectural drawings and reconstructions (pages 115-156) for them and between 1905 - 1917, worked for academy and has played a significant role in introducing Armenian architecture to Russian scholars. His polemical reconstruction of Zvartnots cathedral (page 115 and 186) in 1905 initiated a vigorous debate among scholars. He has published several articles in the journal of Russian Academy of Sciences and local armenian periodicals as well as *Anahit* magazine in Paris. Toramanian believed that Armenian architecture has not introduced correctly in west and since his first years of working in Eastern Armenia, was dreaming to properly present Armenian architecture in Europe.

In 1908, he was accepted as a scholar of Armenian architecture on behalf of his efforts and studies by the Russian Academy of Sciences and was given a certificate. Later in 1913, while Professor Josef Strzygowski (pages 100 and 157) asked Toramanian to join him in a study, despite economic difficulties, he traveled to Vienna with about 1100 pieces of his works and presented them in an Exhibition of Armenian and Georgian architecture in Vienna University. After the exhibition, he signed a contract with Vienna University and left his materials in Vienna in order to return to Armenia, complete his studies in two years and sent back the materials to be used in a book dedicated to Armenian architecture. After one year of his returning to Armenia, the WWI broke out and he was not able to travel to Europe.

In 1918 Professor Strzygowski published his polemical work *Die Baukunst der Armenien und*

*Europa* using Toramanian's drawings. This book was the most comprehensive Armenian architecture book which raised the awareness and attention towards Armenian architecture.

By the time of the First Republic in 1918, Armenians were aware of the wealth of their cultural heritage and the power of architecture in building nations. The reason for this awareness is a mix of rising nationalistic ideologies and abundance of scholastic materials.

During the short-lived first republic of Armenia, while the country was facing the refugee crisis of the genocide survivors, Turks and Kurds encroachment and the Bolsheviks' threat of coup d'etat, the preservation of cultural and architectural heritage was not a marginal concern for the government and for Alexander Tamanian, a well-known academician from Saint Petersburg who had recently moved to Armenia because of the Bolsheviks' taking over of the country. He has formed a committee for preserving architectural heritage and in 1919, organized three expeditions to different regions of Armenia to prepare a list of cultural monuments and dedicated funds to them. After the Soviets took over Armenia, Tamanian left Armenia for Tabriz in Iran and lived there till 1923.

While the first republic of Armenia established on 28 May 1918, the biggest and most advanced Armenian city, Alexandrapol (former Gyumri), which was transformed from a village to a modern city according to Tsarist standards, was occupied by Turks. Therefore, the new government was forced to announce Yerevan as the capital of the state. Yerevan was little more than a rural town and there was not even one proper building for holding parliament meetings.

Alexander Tamanian, already being a well-known academician in Saint Petersburg, dedicated his life to modernize and equip the city adequate for a state's capital. He implemented Ebenezer Howard's garden city theories in Yerevan's master plan at the same time, trying to preserve the current texture. Working in a small milieu of scholars, Toros Toramanian and Alexander Tamanian were continuously exchanging information. During his first two years of living in Armenia, they did some exploration trips to Ani and Tamanian studied the elements of traditional Armenian architecture in the most appropriate place, from the greatest master, Toros Toramanian. Later, he combined Russian neoclassic architectural with traditional Armenian elements to create a national style reflecting the newly born nation's needs and dreams. He very well adopted these medieval architectural forms and decorations with contemporary functions and constructions.

By the time of forming Soviet Armenia, a bifurcation of ideologies emerged between traditionalist and constructivist architects.<sup>4</sup> The constructivists announced their separation with the history and put their maximum effort on new forms and functions. This bifurcation in Armenian architecture continued till the beginning of 1930s when the Stalinist terrors started, and their architecture was banned and they themselves were exiled to Siberia.<sup>5</sup> The so called “Tamanian style,” although born as a sort of “patriotic” architecture, survived because it lent itself well to many of the demands of the “socialist realism,” such as its accentuated monometalism and its detachment from rationalist and constructivist theories, promoted in the Stalinist period.

The years before WWII were dominated by Stalinist terror and the dominant style in art and architecture was socialist realism. It is worth to notice that the examples of socialist realism architecture are rare in Armenia.

After WWII, the systematic study of Armenian architecture and its preservation continued to flourish. Many examples of systematic and scientific preservation of architectural preservation took place in this period which is studied in detail in the correspondent section.

The post-Soviet reality of preservation of architectural heritage is out of the boundaries of this dissertation, but a brief description of the situation is demonstrated as an appendix at the end of the dissertation.

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on Bolshevik’s took over Armenia see: Matossian, Mary Allerton Kilbourne. *The impact of Soviet policies in Armenia*. Brill Archive, 1962; Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: The human development sequence*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> For more information on Stalin terror see: Gellately, Robert. *Lenin, Stalin, and Hitler: The age of social catastrophe*. Alfred a Knopf Incorporated, 2007.

# Section I

## The Question of Armenian Image

### Introduction

Since the beginning of the early modern period, the historical Armenia, under the foreign dominion of Ottomans, Persians, and Russians, was divided into Eastern and Western parts for centuries. Because of a century long Persian-Turkish geopolitical rivalry in the sixteenth century, significant area of the region was under continuous war. From 1639 by signing the Treaty of Zuhab<sup>1</sup> to 1828 by signing the Treaty of Turkmenchay, Eastern Armenia was ruled by successive Iranian dynasties and Western Armenia by Ottomans.<sup>2</sup> In 1604, due to the scorched earth policy implemented by Shah Abbas I of Safavid dynasty, Armenians living in the entire Ararat plain were forced to leave their homeland and migrate into the interior lands of the Empire.<sup>3</sup> Many towns and villages were destroyed to discourage Armenians to return. For the next two centuries, until the occupation of Eastern Armenia by Russian Empire and a forced return of Armenians from north-western Iran, Armenians were not forming a majority in the demographic of the region.<sup>4</sup> Yerevan, the biggest city of the Khanate, had more mosques than churches and the general architectural image of the city was Persian (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of Zuhab, also called Treaty of Qasr-e-Shirin was an agreement signed between the Safavid and Ottoman Empires on May 17, 1639. It ended the Ottoman-Safavid War of 1623-1639 and was the last war in almost 150 years of continuous wars. The result of the treaty was permanent separation of the Caucasus between the two countries. While East Armenia, eastern Georgia and Azerbaijan remained to Persia, western Georgia and western Armenia became part of Ottoman territory.

<sup>2</sup> Herzig, Edmund, and Marina Kurkchyan. *The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity*. Routledge, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Bomati, Yves, and Houchang Nahavandi. *Shah Abbas: empereur de Perse: 1587-1629*. Perrin, 1998. (Perrin, Paris, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> Bournoutian, George A. *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule: 1795-1828*. Vol. 13. Mazda Publishers, 1992, Table 12, The Population of the Khanate of Erevan, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

The nineteenth century European travelers has frequently written about the more Islamic image of Yerevan in their travelogues.

Therefore, Armenians had lost their hope after centuries of living under foreign dominion and were unaware of the value of the architectural heritage which their ancestors had so abundantly built and was scattered all around the country. In this context, the Armenian Church was the only element of unity and hope for the masses. The only material form of any sort of connection with the heroic past were the relics kept in Etchmiadzin and, yet these relics were only implying to biblical legends and first Christians and not to Armenian kings or homeland. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Armenian Church understood its significant role as both ecclesiastical and secular leader and started printing books and pamphlets in Armenian to educate and enlighten the people.<sup>6</sup>

In this chapter, the author is trying to reconstruct the image of Eastern Armenia in the nineteenth century through the lens of the European travelers. Although there is no lack of historical information about the era, there are little information about the buildings and architecture of the region specifically non-monumental architecture which was built of earth and other ephemeral materials and were easily destroyed because of time and elements.

By the occupation of Eastern Armenia by Russians in the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gyumri, the second large city of the country started a rapid Russification phase. The city changed its name to Alexandropol after the Tsar's visit and Russians built a garrison in the outskirts of the city. It soon became an important military stronghold against Turkish invasions. This rapid transition is recorded in the travelogues of the European travelers and will be discussed in this chapter.

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<sup>6</sup> For more information about the role of Armenian church and its involvement in politics see: Hovannisian, Richard G. *Armenia on the Road to Independence, 1918*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; Nalbandian, Louise. *The Armenian revolutionary movement; the development of Armenian political parties through the nineteenth century*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963; Migirditch, Dadian. "La société arménienne contemporaine", in *Revue des deux Mondes*, June 1867, pp. 803-827;



Figure 1: Capture of Erivan Fortress by Russia, 1827 (by Franz Roubaud). The dominant image of the city is Oriental. There are more Mosque domes and minarets visible and no Armenian Church or belfry can be seen.

While in the beginning of the twentieth century the country announced its independence, it needed a new capital. To build a new capital, the traces of the Persian image was deliberately destroyed. The destruction of the Persian image and the mild attempts for safeguarding its heritage is discussed in next chapters.

### **Eastern Armenia, its Population, General Image, and Architecture**

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly because of Shah Abbas the Great's forced deportation of Armenians in 1604, the population of the area started to decrease.<sup>7</sup> Later, during Nader Shah's reign (1736-1747), a significant number of Armenian merchants left the area and migrated to India because of heavy taxation.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, at the beginning of the nineteenth century many Armenians were kept captive in Iran and later during the Russo-Persian Wars, about 20,000 Armenians moved to Georgia.<sup>9</sup> According to George Bournoutian, during the annexation of Erivan Khanate to Russian Empire in 1827, less than 20 percent, about 15,000 of the total number of 102,000 were Armenians and the

<sup>7</sup> Olson, James Stuart, Lee Brigance Pappas, and Nicholas Charles Pappas, eds. *An Ethnohistorical dictionary of the Russian and Soviet empires*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1994, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Brice, William Charles, ed. *An Historical Atlas of Islam [cartographic Material]*. Brill, 1981, p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> Yapp, M. E. "The Cambridge history of Iran. Volume 7. From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic. Edited by AveryPeter, HamblyGavin and MelvilleCharles, 1993, p. 339.

remaining were Muslims including Persians, Azeris and Kurds. But the situation changed dramatically by the signing of the Treaty of Turkmenchay between Iran and Russia. About 57,000 Armenians came from Iran to Armenia, while at the same time, about 35,000 Muslims left the area.<sup>10</sup> These deportations and depopulations dramatically changed the demography of the country. At the end of the eighteenth century there were more Muslims, Kurds, Turks, and Persians living in Armenia than Armenians (fig. 2). Therefore, Armenians, not having the majority of population and any role in the government, lost their national pride and no significant architectural monument was built during the period. On the other hand, numerous monuments were built using Iranian architectural style and even materials. Following, is the description of the European travelers starting with Jean Baptist Tavernier and Sir John Chardin in seventeenth century and ending with Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch in the beginning of the twentieth century.



Figure 2: Persians selling dried fruits in Yerevan market. Photo by D. Yermakov, 1916.

### **Yerevan City**

In the following paragraphs, the author's attempt is to reconstruct a general image of the Eastern Armenia through the lens of the nineteenth century European travelers. The first image to be reconstructed is that of Yerevan, the seat of the governor and the most prominent city of the Erivan Khanate.

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<sup>10</sup> Bournoutian, George A. *Eastern Armenia in the last decades of Persian rule, 1807-1828: a political and socioeconomic study of the khanate of Erivan on the eve of the Russian conquest*. Vol. 5. Undena Publications, 1982.

According to Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Yerevan is in 64 degrees, 20 minutes of longitude; 41 degrees, 15 minutes of latitude; in a plain abundant with all necessary supplies for human life and specifically good wine.<sup>11</sup> Tavernier has provided the reader with an interesting illustration of Yerevan. In this illustration, he highlighted the fortress, the residential area where Armenians lived, the roads, the river, the garrison, and various natural and artificial features (fig. 3). Jean Chardin wrote about the mountains surrounding the town in all sides and the two rivers flowing from North to South (fig. 4).<sup>12</sup> Sir Robert Ker Porter provides us with a more detailed information. According to him, the Zengay (Hrazdan) River appeared to be a narrow and rapid stream near the city but after being augmented by minor rivers, became wider and wound away in the plain until it joined the Arax River about twenty miles from the town of Yerevan. Another smaller river called Querk-boolak, ran to the northeast but on arriving at the city, divided into many little canals which used to irrigate the surrounding gardens and was totally lost.<sup>13</sup> All travelers concordantly admit that the country possessed great natural beauty and fertile soil which produced large revenue. Ussher described the gardens and orchards of the city as being so dense that from the top of a neighboring hill, it looked like a big orchard and the only visible elements were the great square and the government house.<sup>14</sup> According to the German traveler Max von Thielmann, the fruits grown in Yerevan had exquisite quality, especially the grapes and the apples.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, and John Phillips. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a Noble Man of France Now Living, Through Turkey Into Persia, and the East-Indies, Finished in the Year 1670: Giving an Account of the State of Those Countries,...; Together with a New Relation of the Present Grand Signor's Seraglio, by the Same Author.* RL and MP, 1678, London, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Pinkerton, John. *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world: many of which are now first translated into English; digested on a new plan.* Vol. 9. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1811, p. 152.

<sup>13</sup> Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820.* Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, Vol. I, p. 196.

<sup>14</sup> Ussher, John. *A Journey from London to Persepolis: Including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia; with Numerous Coloured Illustrations.* Hurst and Blackett,... successors to Henry Colburn, 1865, p. 274.

<sup>15</sup> von Thielmann, Max Franz Guido Freiherr. *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia and Turkey in Asia.* J. Murray, 1875, p. 186.



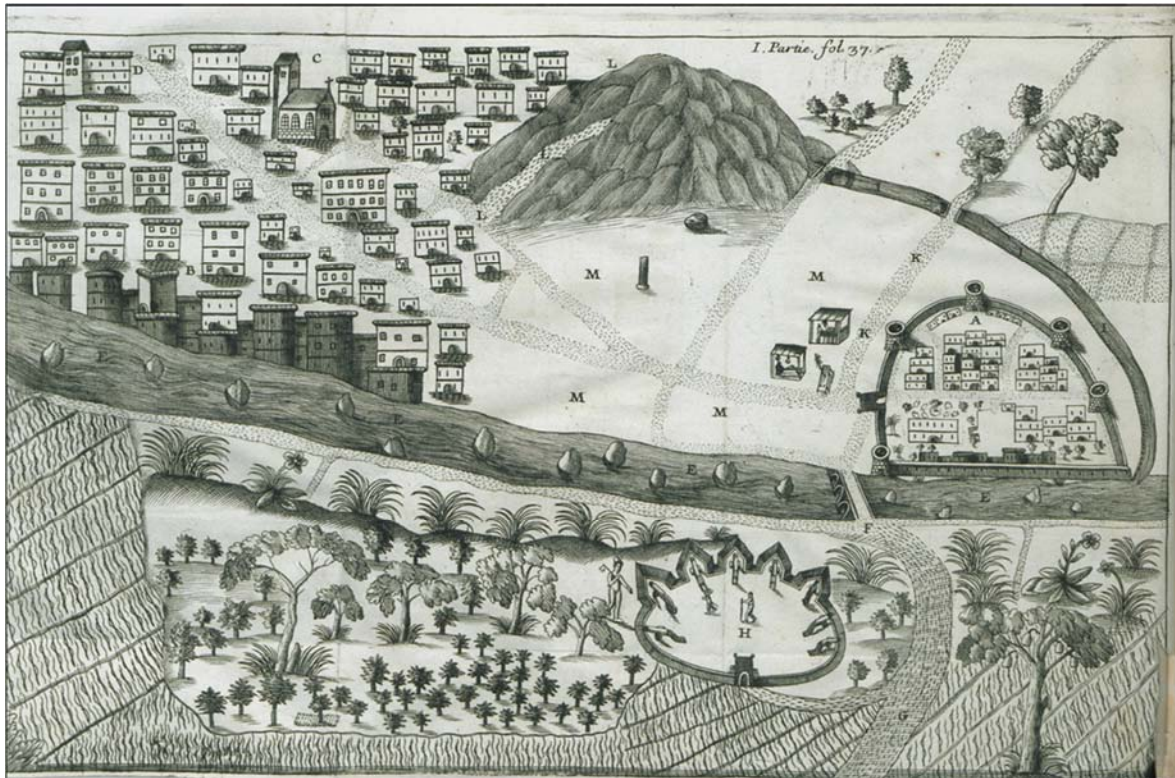


Figure 3: The illustration of Yerevan by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, published in 1676 in *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, opposite page 14. The legend is as follows: A- The town and Fort, B- The Suburbs, inhabited by Armenian Christians, C- The Church, D- The Convent, E- The River of Sangui-cija [Hrazdan], F- The Stone-Bridge, G- The Highway for the Caravans, H- The Fort which Sha-Sefi built to batter the City, I- The River that falls from the Mountain, K- The Highway to Tauris [Tabriz], L- The Way to Teflis [Tbilisi], the chief City of Georgia; and the Way to the Mountain where the Kan of Erivan goes twice a Summer to drink, M- The Market-places, for Sale of Goods.

The town was divided into two distinct parts. The fortress accompanied by the governor's gardens in south, and the city with its square, market, great mosque, and Armenian quarters and churches in north. According to Tavernier, most of the population including merchants and artisans were living in North, out of the fortress (fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> Chardin has recorded the same distinct areas and the distance between them, being about a "cannon-shot."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Tavernier, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686, p. 153.



Figure 4: The illustration of Yerevan by Sir John Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686, opposite page 254.

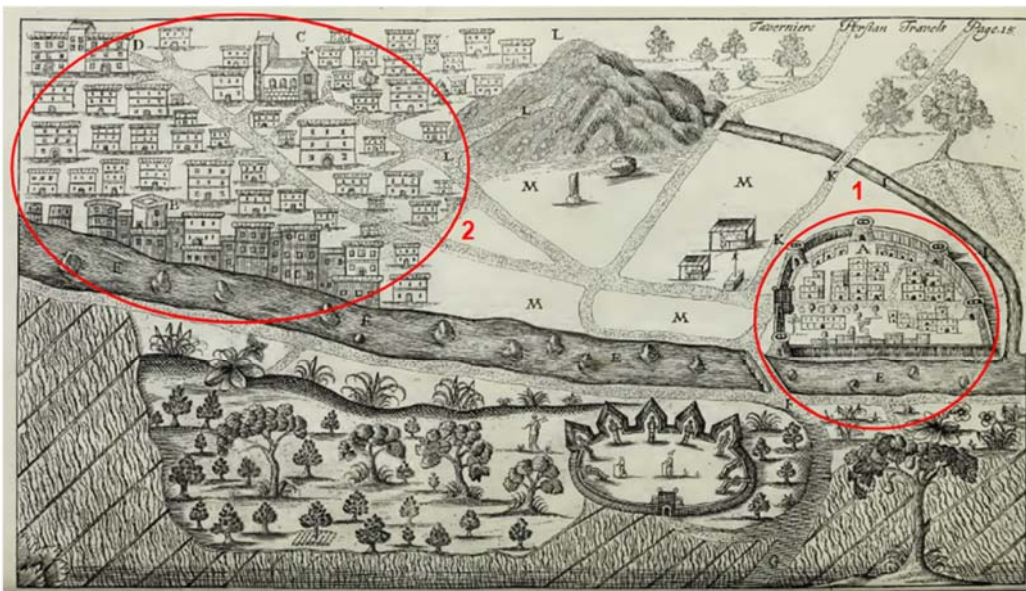


Figure 5: The two distinct parts of the town are highlighted in Tavernier's illustration of Yerevan. 1- The fortress where the Khan of Erivan and the Persian inhabitants were living. 2- The town itself where Armenians were living. Although Armenians were allowed to have shops in the fortress, they had to live in the evening before the closure of the gates.

The travelers agreed upon the fact that except the mosques and the governor's palace, there was no monumental architecture in Yerevan. Chardin wrote about an old stone tower, being an antique work with several inscriptions and provided us with an illustration of it (figs 6-8).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.



Figure 6: The illustration of Yerevan provided by Sir John Chardin. 1- The fortress, 2- The ancient stone tower.

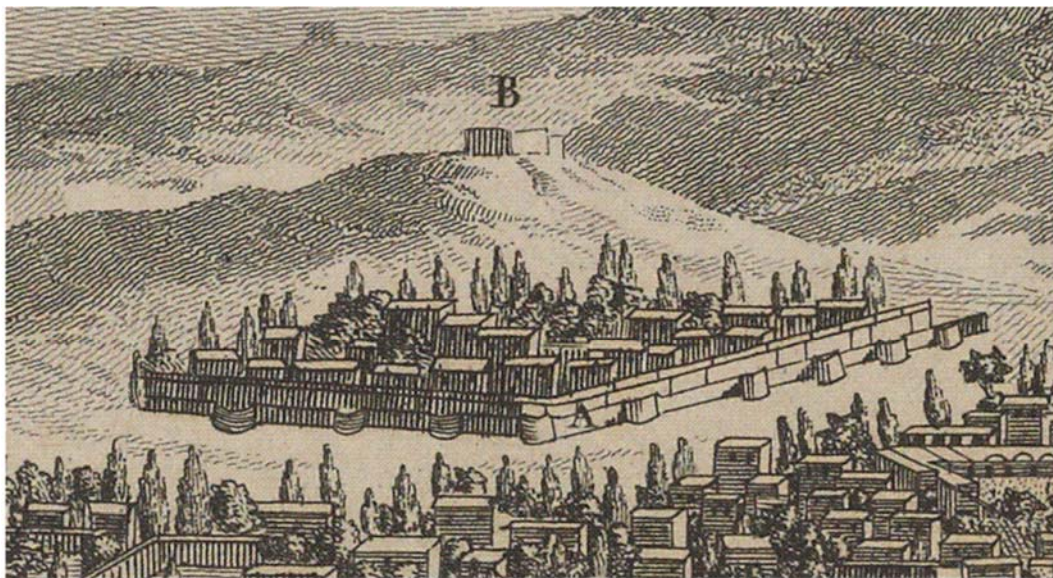


Figure 7: A close-up view of the Yerevan fortress provided by Chardin. The building on top of the hill facing the fortress, indicated by letter B is the garrison built by Shah-Safi. Nowadays, the old Ararat Brandy Factory occupies the site.

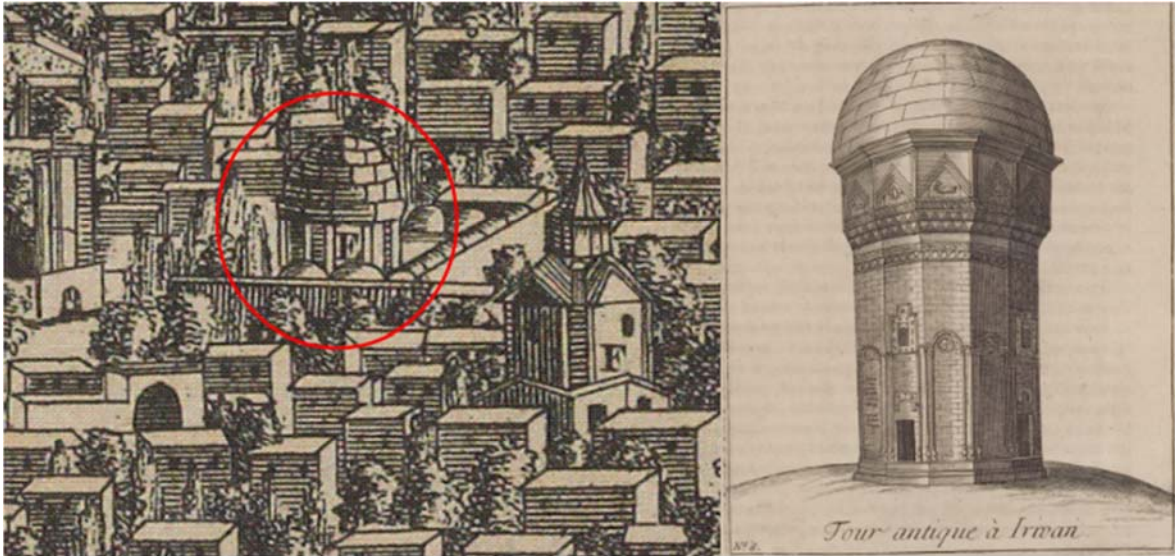


Figure 8: Left: A close-up view of the ancient tower, circle no. 2 in figure 6. Right: Drawing of the ancient stone tower, from Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686, p. 256.

In nineteenth century, Robert Ker Porter was curious to find the tower, but he was informed that a lightning struck it several years ago and was greatly damaged. Its material was used to repairs in the town.<sup>19</sup> Marie-Félicité Brosset described the streets of Yerevan being only traced by clay walls, generally cracked and partially crumbled, houses in earth, hidden in the depths of the courtyards and only reached by numerous detours.<sup>20</sup> About twenty years later, Thielmann had the same opinion about the streets of Yerevan explaining them as “narrow, winding lanes extending between walls of yellow clay utterly conceal the houses, and exclude all view, so that a stranger never knows where he is” (fig. 9).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ker Porter, p. 198.

<sup>20</sup> Brosset, Marie Félicité. *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie, exécuté en 1847-1848: 3e et dernière Livraison*. l'Académie impériale des sciences, 1851, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Thielmann, p. 186.

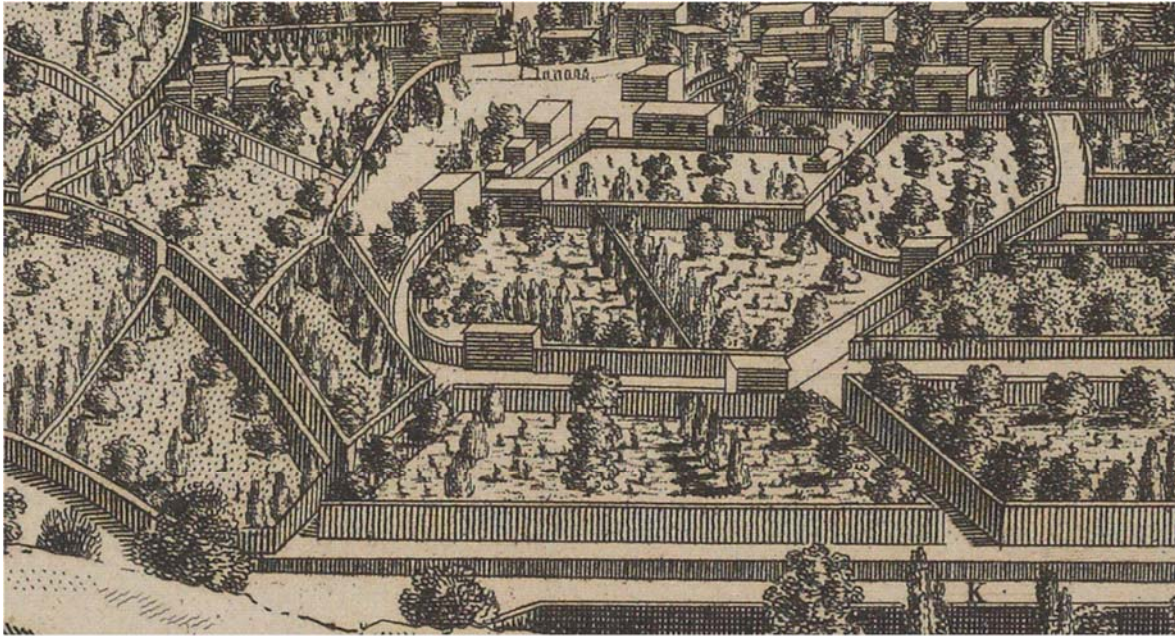


Figure 9: A close-up view of the narrow winding streets with high mud walls hiding everything behind. Many travelers have described this feature of the city. From Chardin's illustration of Yerevan, 1686.

Two travelers, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux and Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch have explained the city to have two distinct planes (figs. 10-11). The street plane and the roof plane. Dubois declared his passion for walking on the flat roofs of Yerevan's buildings from where he could catch a glimpse of what was happening in caravanserai and the neighboring bazaar.<sup>22</sup> He compared the scene with the bazaar in Tbilisi to highlight the provincial appearance of Yerevan's market with half closed shops and poorly stocked merchandise. According to him, the city was sad and sullen with no people to see after the sunset and there was nothing "more dead in the evening than this town, except a cemetery."<sup>23</sup> About the two distinct planes of the city, Lynch highlighted that Yerevan was an oriental city and most oriental cities had two planes. During the summer, the clay walls of the houses absorbed the heat of the sun made the interior of the rooms basically not inhabitable. Therefore, about an hour before the sunset, the entire population moved from the lower apartments to the open platforms of the roofs, floored with mud and sometimes protected by low balustrade which received the freshness of the evening breeze. The first and the last meals of the day were served on the roofs, and people enjoyed the sleep beneath the stars. According to Lynch, the cut made by the narrow streets were scarcely visible and the roofs appeared to be joined

<sup>22</sup> de Montpéroux, Frédéric Du Bois. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Vol. 6. Gide, 1843, Vol III, pp. 348-9.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

together composing a “single and elevated stage above the landscape of dim earth and flashing stream.”<sup>24</sup>

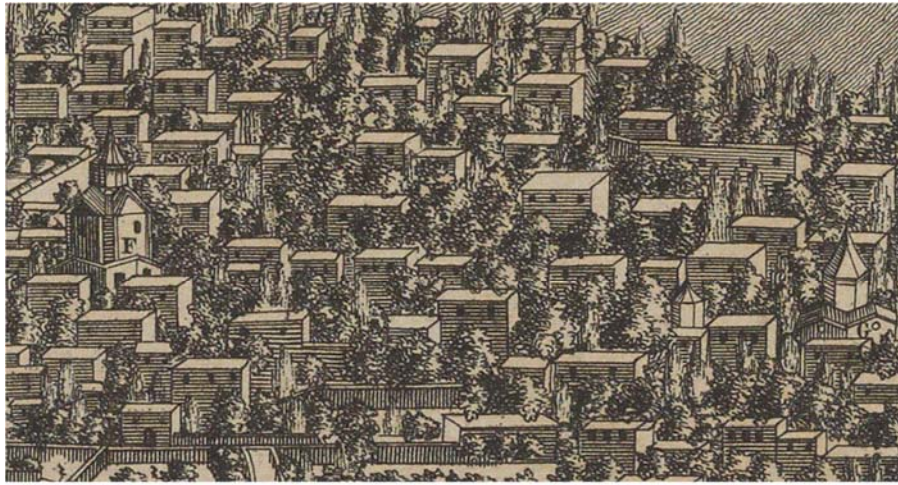


Figure 10: Close-up view of the drawing by Sir John Chardin, 1686. The two distinct floors, the street floor and the roof floor described by Dubois and Lynch are visible. The general image of Yerevan had not changed by the time Lynch visited the city in 1898.

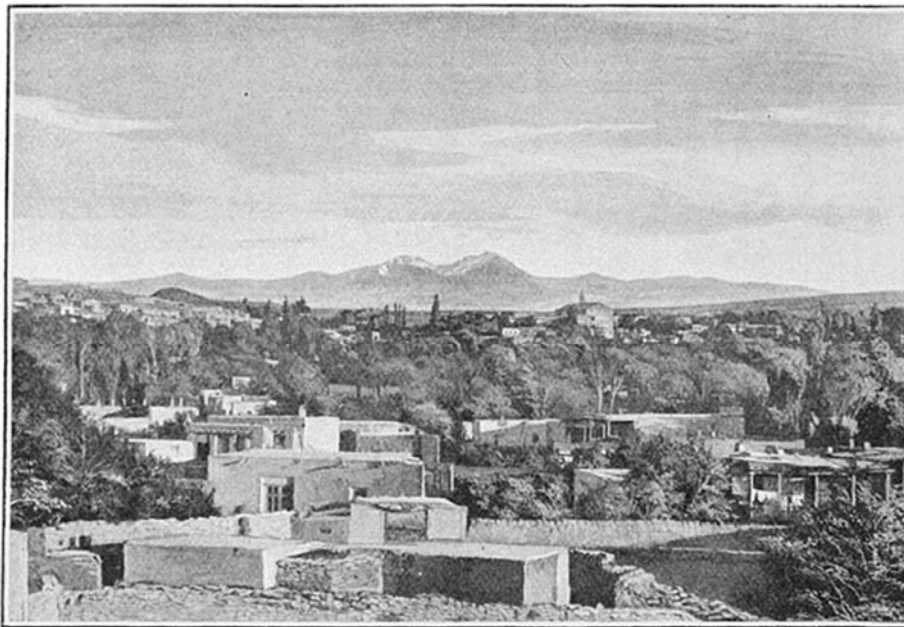


Figure 11: View of mount Alagoz from a house-top in Yerevan. Photo by Lynch taken in 1898. From Lynch, Vol I, 1901, figure 41, p. 208.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were seven Armenian churches in the city of Yerevan and each church had its own school.<sup>25</sup> But these Armenian churches were not

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<sup>24</sup> Lynch, Harry Finnis Blossie. *Armenia, travels and studies*. 2 Volumes. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1901, Vol I, pp. 206-7.

monumental buildings. According to Chardin, the churches were “small, sunk deep in the earth.”<sup>26</sup> Tavernier has recorded four Armenian churches and one monastery in the city.<sup>27</sup> But it seems that in the course of the time, these churches have lost their appeal because the only nineteenth century traveler who wrote anything about the Armenian churches of Yerevan is Brosset. He wrote about Saint Sarkis church and informed us that it was “repaired seven or eight years ago.”<sup>28</sup>

Three travelers have visited Yerevan during the second half of the nineteenth century. John Ussher in 1860, Max Von Thielmann in 1872 and Henry Finnis Blossé Lynch in 1894 and 1899. These travelers have recorded information which alludes to social and physical changes. Attempts of Russification, even though far lesser than that of Alexandropol had started. The general image of the city was somehow the same as Ussher described in his arrival to the city, but a new theatre and a Girls school had been added. According to Ussher, in 1860, a new theatre had just been built in which he and his friend, together with the governor’s family, were entertained by a performance of some private theatricals performed by the young lady pupils of the government school, attended specifically by the girls of the upper classes.<sup>29</sup> While describing the general scene of Yerevan, Ussher recorded that there was “very little European architecture ... anywhere to be seen.”<sup>30</sup>

According to Thielmann, in 1872, there was no hotel at Yerevan, but the travelers could accommodate, have breakfast, and dine at the club where the local beer was very palatable.<sup>31</sup> He believed that except the Russian quarter which was unimportant, the town was altogether Persian.<sup>32</sup>

The only significant monument out of the fortress was the great mosque of the city. Dubois described it to be in the same style of the fortress mosque but much larger with three domes and a square courtyard planted with beautiful trees and a fountain in the middle (figs. 12-14). Besides the summer and winter mosques, the other constructions were used as residences for hajis and mullahs, which one could hear their praying all day long.<sup>33</sup> According to Brosset,

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<sup>25</sup> According to Bournoutian, those seven Armenian churches were: St. Anania, St. George (in the fortress), and Saints. Peter and Paul, St. John, St. Sarkis, St. Katoghike, and St. Zoravar. George A. Bournoutian, *The Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule, 1795–1828* (Pasadena, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1992), p. 205.

<sup>26</sup> Chardin, p. 153.

<sup>27</sup> Tavernier, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Brosset, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> Ussher, pp. 273-4.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>31</sup> Thielmann, p. 186.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Dubois, Vol. III, p. 347.

that was the only building which was announcing itself with some magnificence. He described it as a “mosque with minaret, covered in enameled bricks in various colors.”<sup>34</sup> Ussher believed it to be the “most handsome” building in Yerevan.<sup>35</sup> Thielmann had noticed two mosques worthy of description and he called them the two “perfect gems.” The first was the great mosque and the second was a mosque behind the bazaar, which he came upon by chance and described it as “not large ... [but] most attractive, owing to its graceful construction, and richness in magnificent glazing and the four splendid elm trees ... surround the fountain bubbling in the outer court.”<sup>36</sup>



Figure 12: The Great Mosque in Yerevan, known as the Blue Mosque. Drawing by Frederic Dubois de Montpereux published in 1840. Atlas III of *Voyage Autour du caucase*, Plate XXIII.

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<sup>34</sup> Brosset, p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Ussher, p. 278.

<sup>36</sup> Thielmann, p. 186.





Figure 13: The courtyard of the Great Mosque of Yerevan, Photographed by Lynch in 1898. From Lynch, Vol I, 1901, Fig. 44, p. 214.

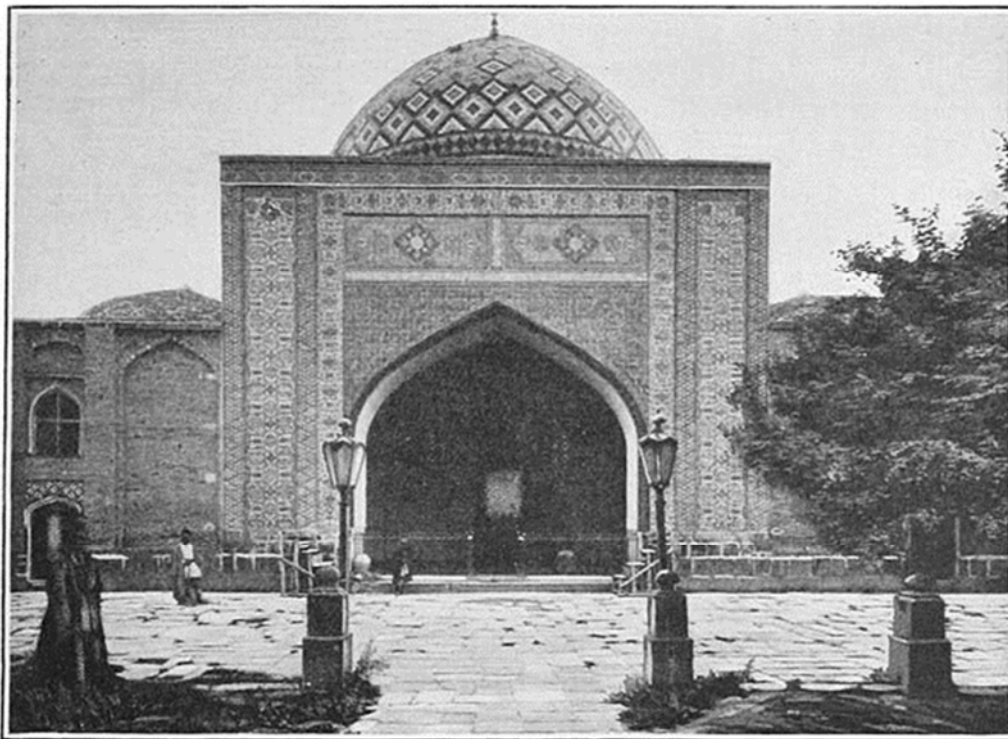


Figure 14: The Great Mosque of Yerevan, Photographed by Lynch in 1898. From Lynch, Vol I, 1901, figure 45, p. 215.

### The Fortress of Yerevan

The fortress, including the Sardar Palace, harem, mosques, markets, homes for the Persians, and the garrison, was the more significant part of the city during the Persian dominion. This role changed dramatically by the occupation of the Russians. The fortress lost its defensive importance due to a more modern fortification recently built in Alexandropol, present Gyumri. Various new functions were introduced to the buildings, the harem changed into a hospital and later a lazaretto, the mosque changed into a Russian church, and the Sardar Palace remained unchanged but decaying until the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 15).

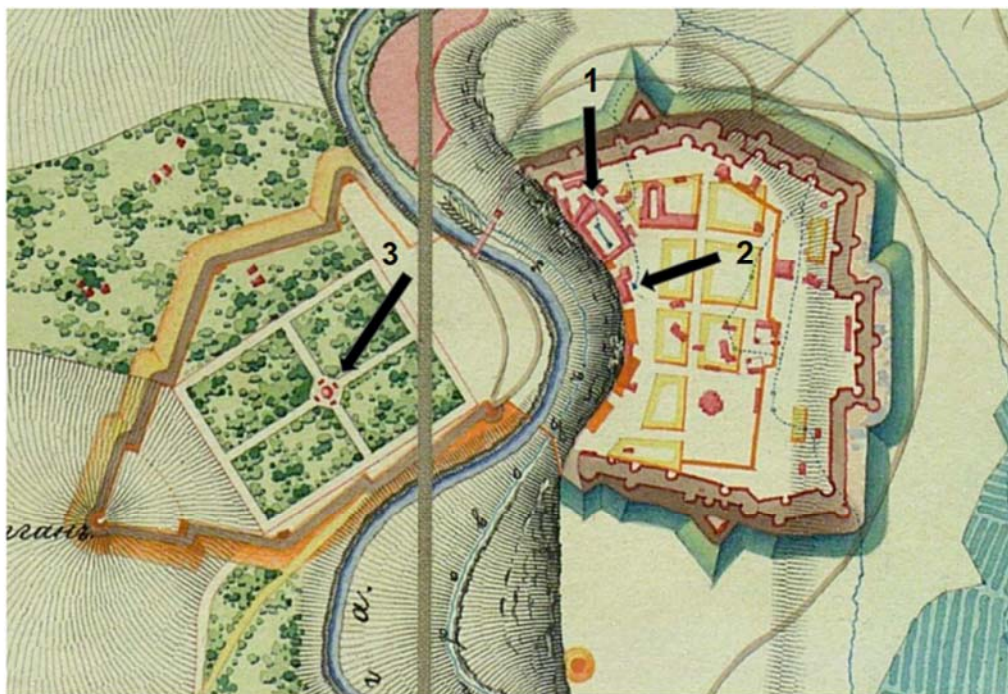


Figure 15: Map of Yerevan Created by Russians in 1830. 1- The Sardar Palace. 2- Fortress Mosque. 3- The Summer House in gardens of Sardar. From *Atlas of Fortresses of the Russian Empire, 1830 – 1840*, Plate XXIV.

Further, the fortress will be described through the eyes of the travelers, Tavernier and Chardin, following Robert Ker Porter, the only nineteenth century traveler who has visited the country before the Russian occupation, early visitors after the occupation including Dubois, Brosset, and finally the later nineteenth century travelers including Ussher, Thielmann, and Lynch.

While approaching Yerevan from Vagharshapat, the travelers had to pass the Zanga River (Hrazdan) over a stone bridge. Tavernier described it as a fair bridge with three arches and the little chambers under the arches which were used by the governor to retire in the heat of

the summer afternoons.<sup>37</sup> Ker Porter believed that the bridge was “the only object in the town that did not appear in a state of ruin or decay.”<sup>38</sup> By passing the bridge, the fortress was located on the right hand side, on top of a high hill (fig. 16-17). It was facing the Hrazdan River gorge on one side and was surrounded by mud brick walls on the other three sides. According to Chardin, the fortress itself might be considered a small city.<sup>39</sup> Ker Porter recorded the recent strengthening of the fortifications by European engineers, but he believed that it could not be rendered as a station of importance because it was commanded on every side by hills at a very close distance.<sup>40</sup> Wilbraham, a British officer had expected to find the fortress almost impregnable, and was surprised to find a “mere Turkish fort.”<sup>41</sup> At the time of Wilbraham’s visit, seventeen years later than Ker Porter, the fortification was already started to decay due to no repairs.<sup>42</sup> According to Tavernier, in seventeenth century, while Yerevan was still an important stronghold for Persians, it was secured by double walls with several towers. But like most of the houses, the walls were built with mud which made them more vulnerable to rapid decay because of rain than cannon shots.<sup>43</sup> In the first half of the nineteenth century, Ker Porter described the walls to have numerous towers in a line of defense about two kilometers.<sup>44</sup> According to Ussher, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the mud walls and the bastions were in a tottering and ruinous condition.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Tavernier, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Ker Porter, p. 197.

<sup>39</sup> Chardin, p. 152.

<sup>40</sup> Ker Porter, p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> Wilbraham, Richard. *Travels in the Trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia: and along the southern shore of the lakes of Van and Urumiah, in the autumn and winter of 1837.* J. Murray, 1839, p. 89.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Tavernier, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Ker Porter, p. 197.

<sup>45</sup> Ussher, p. 275.

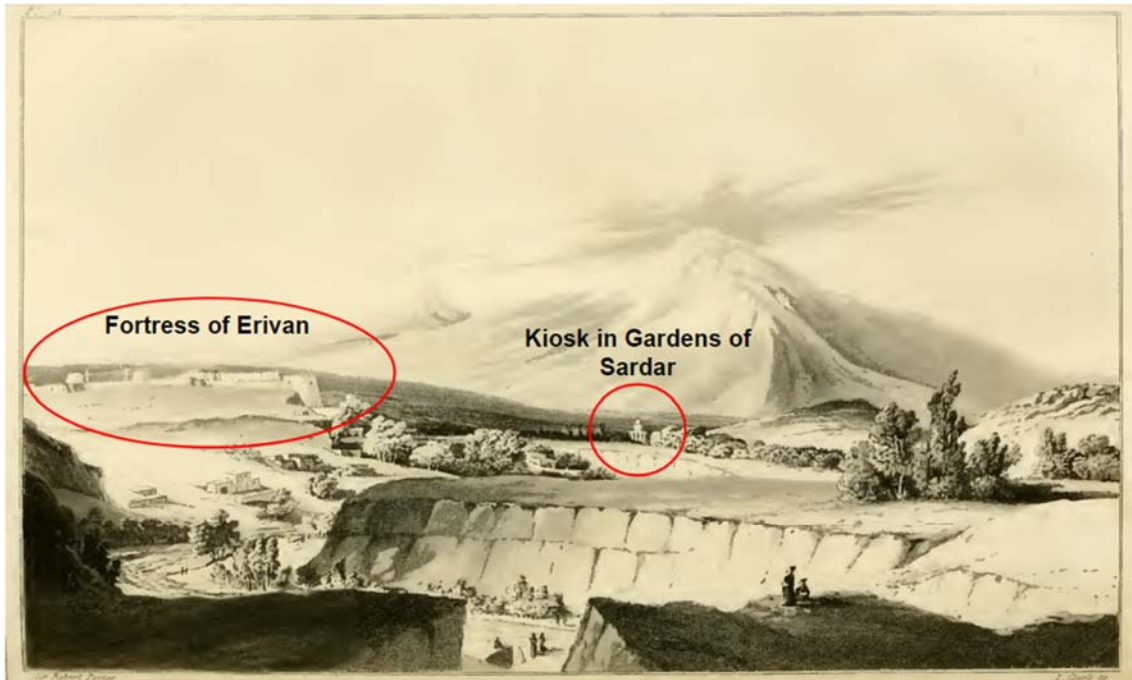


Figure 16: Picturesque representation of Mount Ararat depicting the view towards south from the rooftop of an apartment in Yerevan. The fortress is visible on the left and the summer house and gardens in the middle. From Ker Porter 1821, Vol II, opposite page 623.

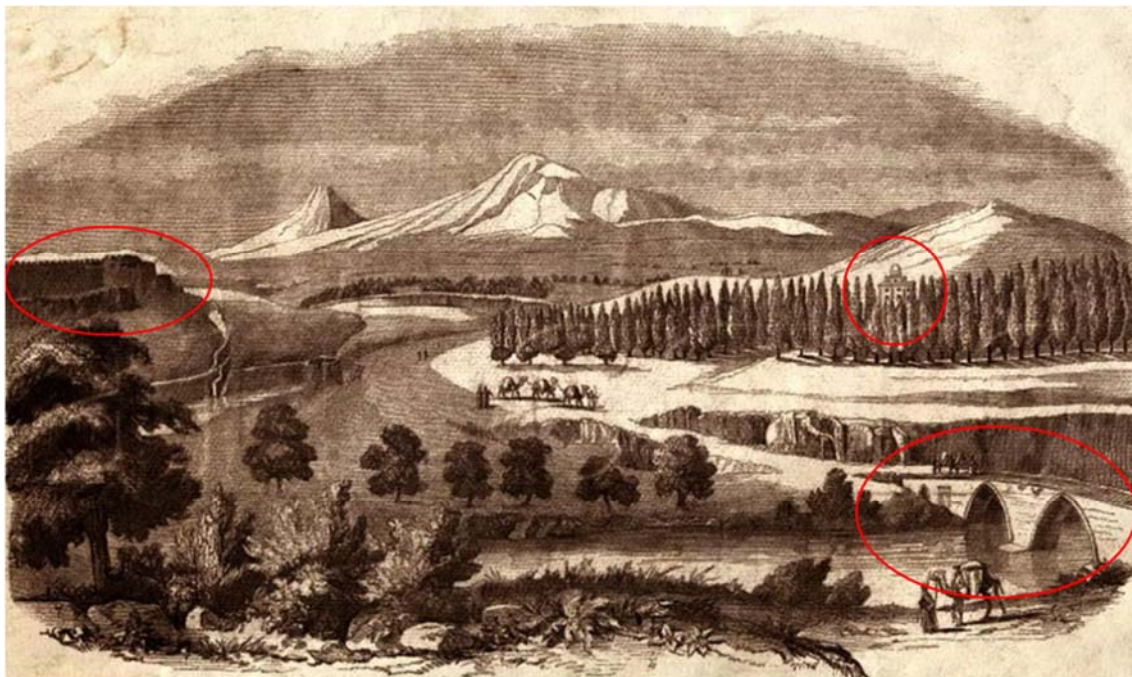


Figure 17: Picturesque representation of Mount Ararat. The Yerevan Fortress, the summer house, and the stone bridge over the Hrazdan River are highlighted. Illustration from Dubois, Atlas III, plate XXXIV.

In the seventeenth century, only the governor or Khan of Yerevan and the military officers and soldiers were living in the fortress.<sup>46</sup> Chardin has recorded the number of houses to be about eight hundred, inhabited by Persians only. Although Armenians had shops inside the fortress to work and trade, they had to leave the fortress in the evening.<sup>47</sup> By the time Dubois has visited the fortress in 1834, six years after its occupation by the Russians, there were two mosques in the fortress, one converted into a church by adding “four monotonous porticos” similar to porticos all around the Russia, the other which was “the most beautiful one, covered with mosaics depicting flowers, vases, and entire pages of Quran, with an entirely enameled dome” was converted into an arsenal (fig. 18-19).<sup>48</sup>



Figure 18: The Fortress mosque converted into an arsenal after the Russian occupation. Illustration from Dubois, Atlas III, plate XXIV.

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<sup>46</sup> Tavernier, p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> Chardin, pp. 152-53.

<sup>48</sup> Dubois, Vol. III, pp. 346-7.



Figure 19: Ruin of the Persian mosque in the fortress wall. One of the photos from the trip through Armenia during the period 7 June to 2 July 1925. Property of National Library of Norway, taken by Fridtjof Nansen.

Brosset described them to be “painted in the vivid colors of Persia.”<sup>49</sup> Even though he was not able to enter the mosque of women, or the harem, he has seen it through a narrow opening and described the harem to be “adorned with canals, thick trees, and gushing waters, now transformed into a lazaretto.” (fig. 20)<sup>50</sup> The converted mosques is described by Brosset to be “white and green, of a half-Persian architecture, afflicts with the grayish tint of the buildings in clay.”<sup>51</sup> According to Ussher, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the buildings inside the fortress were used by Russians for different purposes. Some were converted into arsenals and some into sheds for artillery and gun-carriages.<sup>52</sup> In 1872, while Thielmann visited the glazed mosque, it was “very much destroyed” but still worthy of notice. Its

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<sup>49</sup> Brosset, p. 7.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Ussher, p. 277.

courtyard was “paved with bombs” and in the interior, “cannon-balls and shells [were] heaped up like potatoes in a cellar.”<sup>53</sup>



Figure 20: The inner courtyard of the harem of the Yerevan Sardar Palace, converted into a hospital. Illustration from Dubois, Atlas III, plate XXVII.

The most remarkable building of the fortress was the governor’s palace known as Sardar Palace and its mirror hall (figs. 21-3). It is described by Chardin to be “a very spacious and delightful place in summer.”<sup>54</sup> The mirror hall was the place where the Khan reposed and received his special guests. According to Dubois, no other Khan’s palace in Crimea could compete its luxury.<sup>55</sup> Other than describing its appearance, Dubois has recorded the dimensions, its decoration technique (thousands of small pieces of mirrors cut and fitted in big frames), and the paintings representing Shah of Persia, his son Abbas-Mirza, the former Sardar of Yerevan, the heroes of Persian mythology such as Rostam and Sohrab, his grandson Borzou, and etc. Because of Dubois meticulous descriptions and provided illustrations, a very detailed image of the distribution of the buildings, their decoration and the construction technique can be reconstructed. His description of the mirror hall is as follows: “The long side of this room, which looks to the courtyard and the large apartments of Abbas-Mirza, is

<sup>53</sup> Thielmann, p. 187.

<sup>54</sup> Chardin, p. 153.

<sup>55</sup> Dubois, Vol. III, p. 335.

open and brimmed with two columns with capitals completely covered by mirrors which reflect the wave of three jets of water dropping in a large stone basin.”<sup>56</sup> Dubois dedicated the next three pages to detailed description of the paintings which were distributed on three walls of the mirror hall. The description of the smaller niche with the stained glass window which was opening to the river gorge, the splendid scenery of the landscape, the river gorge, the gardens and the village below, the physical location of the palace, and the harem with respect to the river comes next and he finalized the description by providing information about the two great pyramids (big and small Ararat mountains) visible from the window and considered sacred for Armenians.<sup>57</sup>



Figure 21: Exterior view of Sardar Palace in Yerevan Fortress. Photo by Dimitri Ivanovich Yermakov, beginning of the twentieth century.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.339.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 342-3.



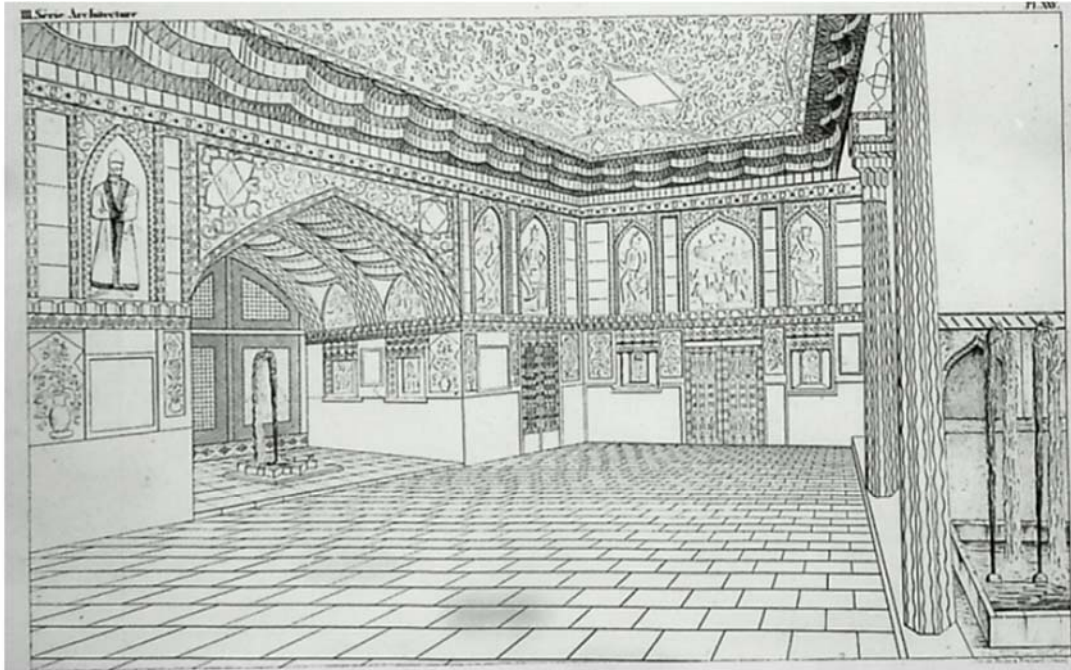


Figure 22: Interior view of the mirror hall of the Sardar Palace, created between 1831-34. Illustration from Dubois, Atlas III, plate XXV.

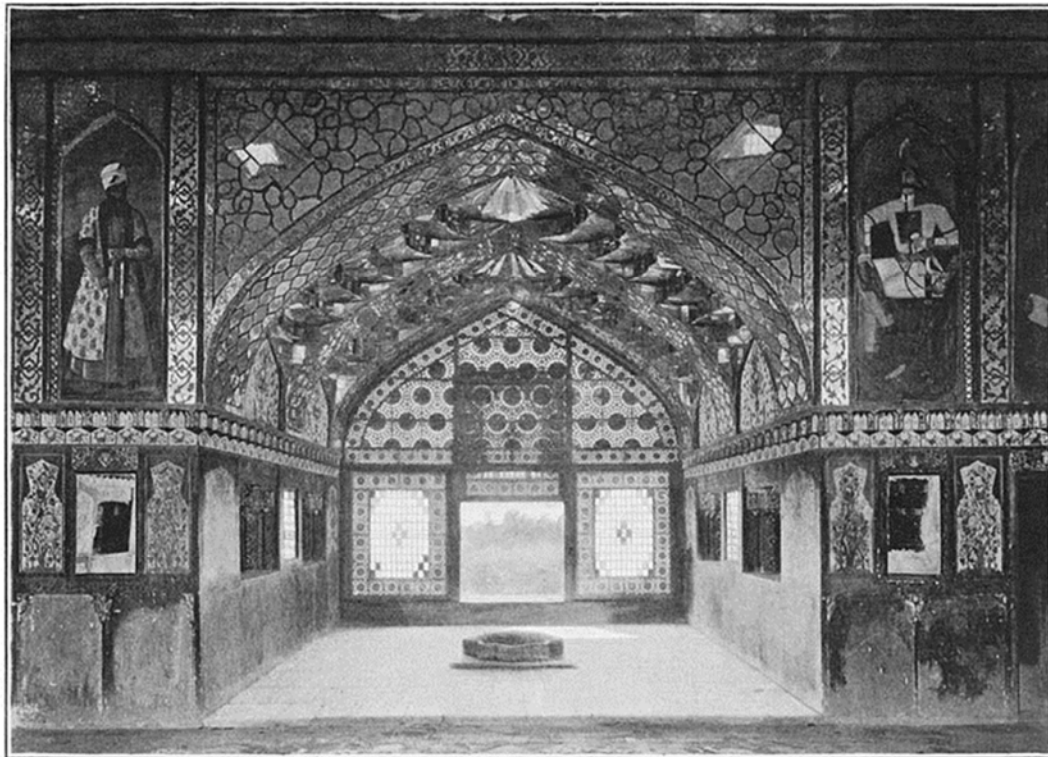


Figure 23: Interior view of the mirror hall of the Sardar Palace, photographed by Lynch in 1898. From Lynch, Vol I, figure 46, opposite page 216.

According to Dubois, the harem was converted into barracks by the Russians. Its courtyard was about sixty meters long and forty meters wide, crossed by a large stone canal, filled with running water suitable for bathing. Apartments closed each side of the court with four open lounges in the center of each facade, like that of the mirror hall, but less elaborate (fig. 20). It was where the wives gathered around their master and it was there that a “a gesture decided the misfortune or the happiness, it was there that one was jealous, and now, the soldiers dry their shirts,”<sup>58</sup> Brosset believed that the mirror hall was the only chamber preserving traces of its splendor past which one could judge the magnificence of the Khan.<sup>59</sup> Lynch has provided the reader with a photo of the interior of the mirror hall.

Using both textual and representational documents provided by European travelers, an image of Yerevan city and its monuments in nineteenth century was created. This image is more Persian than Armenian. There were no significant Armenian churches in the city, the homes were made of mud bricks and the overall image of the city was not attractive. In the end of the nineteenth century, as later travelers mentioned, efforts for modernization of the city started but with a very slow pace. On the other hand, Gyumri, located closer to Tbilisi and Baku, the other two main cities of Caucasus, saw a more rapid and early modernization phase. In the next section, the goal is to create the image of the Gyumri in nineteenth century like the one is done for the Yerevan.

### **Gyumri/Alexandropol<sup>60</sup>**

While in the beginning of the nineteenth century, Gyumri became officially part of the Russian Empire by signing the Treaty of Gulistan on 1 January 1813, it was little more than a village. Under the Russian dominion, it soon became one of the fastest developing cities in the Caucasus mostly because of a major Russian fortress built in its outskirts (fig. 24). In 1836, the Russian Tsar Nicholas I visited the city and changed its name from Gyumri to Alexandropol. According to Lynch, Tsar’s visiting initiated an even more rapid modernization and Russification phase.<sup>61</sup> It was finally formed as a town in 1840 and became the center of the newly established Alexandropol Uyezd.<sup>62</sup> Following continuous extension of the Russian fortification during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the establishment of the

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>59</sup> Brosset, p. 7.

<sup>60</sup> Prior to the Russian occupation, the city was called Kumairi, from 1840 to 1924 Alexandropol, from 1924 to 1991 Leninakan, and from 1991 Gyumri.

<sup>61</sup> Lynch, Vol. I, p. 125.

<sup>62</sup> Alexandropol Uyezd was a county of Erivan Governorate of the Caucasus Viceroyalty of the Russian Empire.

railway station in 1899 caused significant growth and it became the largest city in Eastern Armenia.

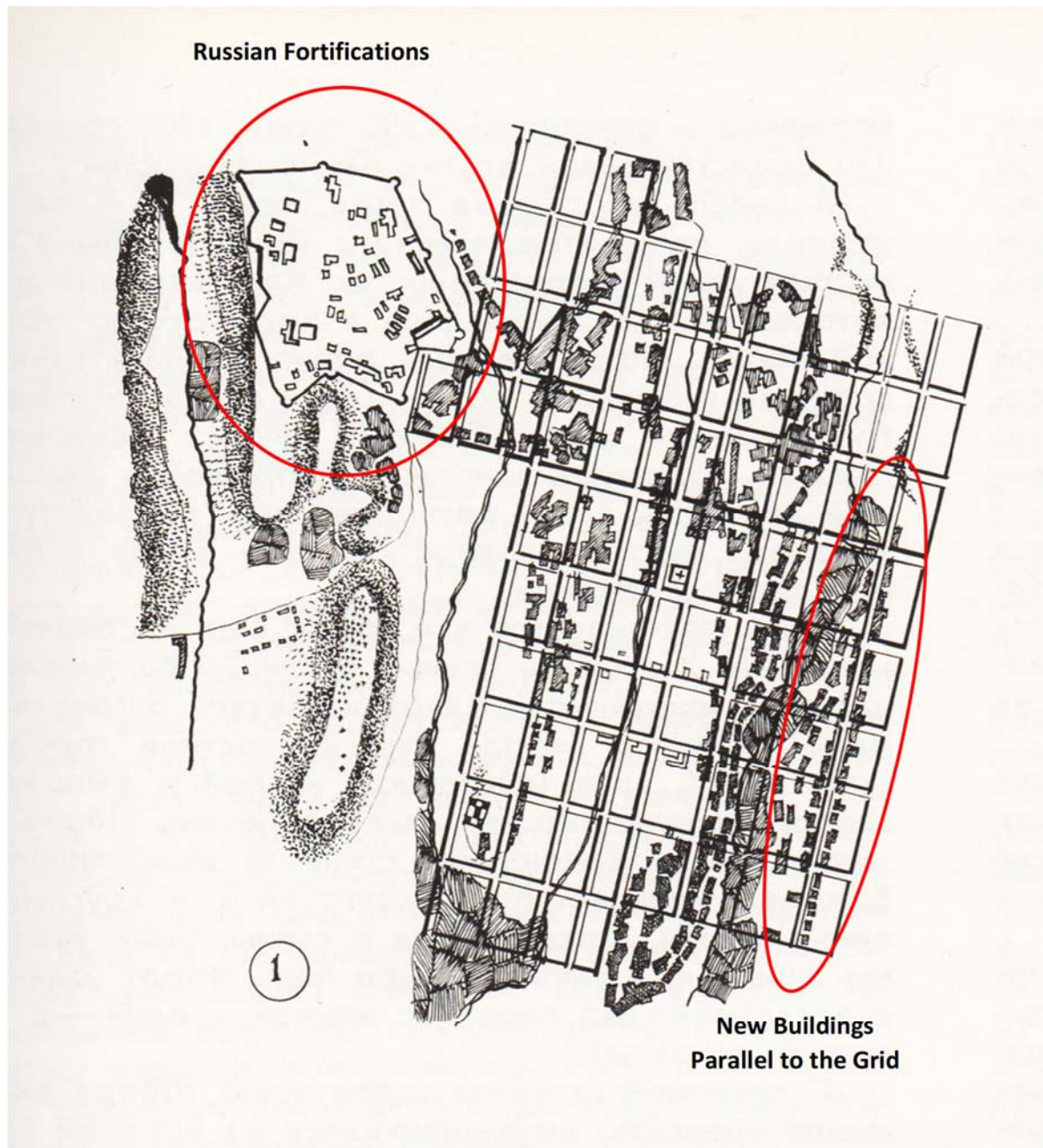


Figure 24: The map of Gyumri, then Alexandropol in 1837. The Russian fortification is located on top left side of the map outside the recently imposed grid during the russification phase of the city. A few contemporary constructions in accordance to the regular pattern are visible in the right side of the image. Source: Harutyunyan, Varazdat. *The Stone Memory of the Armenian Nation*. Yerevan, 1985, p. 8.

In 1817, Ker Porter visited Gyumri and described it as a strong Russian post against Turks, in a good position, with a considerable garrison, and rapidly expanding.<sup>63</sup> In 1835, William John Hamilton recorded the fortifying activities of the city stressing the large quantities of timber bought from the Turks.<sup>64</sup> According to him it was a striking irony that Russians were using timber from Turkish side to fortify a city so close to their frontier which could be used for further aggressions.<sup>65</sup> In 1860, John Ussher wrote that from a distance, the most prominent objects were two large churches but on a closer approach, the bastions and detached towers of the fortress came into view, and shortly after, the immense range of barracks inside the fortress became visible. He continues his approach to the town by describing the “scattered mud huts ... which were soon succeeded by houses built of limestone in the most solid manner, chiefly only one story high.”<sup>66</sup> Ussher was informed of the existence of a hotel, kept by a German colonist but was surprised to find a modern hotel with a clean room and a sober host.<sup>67</sup> Ussher provided the reader with a detailed description of the Russian fortress which is a valuable source for the contents of this thesis. According to him, the great size and the solid construction of the fortress and the barracks was striking. There were two or three stories buildings with limestone walls with the most excellent workmanship. There was a large church in the center with an open square in front, surrounded by barracks. The square was used as parade-ground. Artillery sheds and rows of stabling were between the outer walls and the buildings inside. The fortress could accommodate about fifteen thousand men. It was protected by a steep rock on the East and on the North, where it seemed to be weaker, detached walls and round towers were built like those of Linz in Austria which constitute a formidable system of defense.<sup>68</sup> The other late nineteenth century traveler who visited Alexandropol in 1872 is Max Von Thielmann. Like Ussher, he was surprised to find a “tolerably clean” hotel, the same hotel described twelve years earlier and the owner seems to be the same German, Herr Gross from Wurtemberg.<sup>69</sup> Thielmann believed that Alexandropol’s importance lied chiefly in the fortress which “according to European ideas, is regarded as a fortification of some strength, but according to Oriental notions is quite

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<sup>63</sup> Ker Porter, p. 168.

<sup>64</sup> Hamilton, William John. *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia: With some account of their antiquities and geology*. Vol. 1. London, 1842, p. 195.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ussher, p. 227.

<sup>67</sup> Ussher, p. 227.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>69</sup> Thielmann, p. 157.

impregnable.”<sup>70</sup> According to him, unlike the fortress, the town was not particularly remarkable. The Church of the Holy Savior located in the southern side of the Vartanians Square had not been completed yet.<sup>71</sup> Thielmann believed that it was most tastefully constructed in the Armenian architecture with red and black stones.<sup>72</sup> The most comprehensive description of Alexandropol is provided by Henry Finnis Blosse Lynch who visited the town in 1898 (fig. 25).

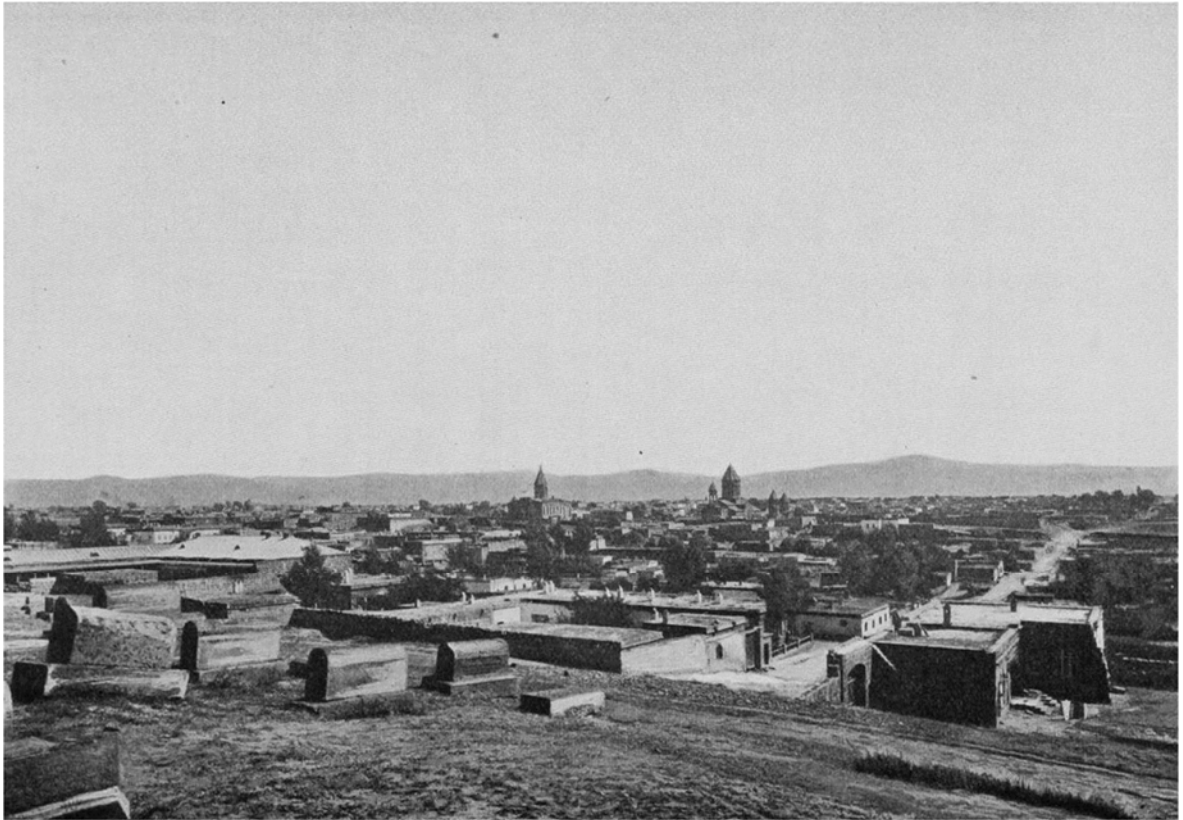


Figure 25: Alexandropol from the Armenian cemetery. From Lynch, Vol. I, figure 24, opposite page 125.

According to Lynch, the population of the city was twice as large as that of Yerevan.<sup>73</sup> He believed that the inhabitants of Gyumri had inherited the love of building from their ancestors, and the craft of the excellent masonry, admired in their ancient monuments had not become extinct.<sup>74</sup> Luigi Villari, an Italian traveler who visited Alexandropol in 1906, described the general image of the city. According to him, the houses were all of solid stone,

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>71</sup> The construction of the Holy Savior Church had been started in 1858 and finished in 1872. It was consecrated in 1873.

<sup>72</sup> Thielmann, p. 157.

<sup>73</sup> Lynch, p. 124.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

dark grey or red in color, solid, usually two stories high, disposed in a regular plan, the straight streets crossing each other at right angles (fig. 26). There were a few public buildings of somewhat more imposing appearance — a town-hall, Government offices, schools, and several large churches, well-built but uninteresting and plain. In the middle of the town was the “inevitable bazar, less picturesque than those of Erivan or Tiflis, and near the post-office the no less inevitable town garden.”<sup>75</sup>



Figure 26: Alexandrapol, 19th century. The general view of the northern part of the city. Source: Institute for Armenian Studies of Yerevan State University, unknown author.

By comparing the images created using the travelogues of the European travelers, it is clear that at the end of the nineteenth century, Gyumri had more modern facilities than Yerevan. But other useful information can be extracted from the travelogues. Many travelers have recorded information about the village houses in Armenia. These information are specifically valuable because very little physical evidence of them has survived due to low quality materials used in their construction. Following, there is a reconstruction of the village house and church in Armenia based upon the observations of European travelers.

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<sup>75</sup> Villari, Luigi. *Fire and Sword in the Caucasus*. TF Unwin, 1906, p. 293.

## **The Architecture of Village Houses**

There is little left of the vernacular architecture of the village houses in Armenian plateau mostly because of their ephemeral materials and construction techniques. Despite the abundance of stone, the basic construction material was earth and mud for the walls and timber for the roofs. Most villages were built underground for various reasons which are recorded and described vividly by travelers. Austen Henry Layard has quoted Xenophon to highlight the old tradition of building village houses in the region.<sup>76</sup> According to Xenophon, the Armenian village houses were built under ground with an entrance resembling to that of a well, but spacious below. There was another entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses, humans were living together with goats, sheep, cows, and fowls. Robert Ker Porter who traveled to Armenia in 1817-20, described the village huts to be like a “large rabbit hole,”<sup>77</sup> with a room of four to five meters wide and often greater in length which filled the whole area. The room was dug about one meter below the surface of the ground, which gave a height to the room, which was not perceptible from outside. At one end, commonly near the door, a space was always left undug, forming a sort of distinct chamber, not divided otherwise from the sunken part, by just elevated floor. At one side of the superior section, the hearth with its chimney was built, opposite to them, a small hole in the roof for light. The floor was the bare earth, beaten very hard, covered with carpets spread along the sides for the people to sit and sleep on. The walls were merely dried mud, with recessed spaces left in them which hold the property of the family. Over the fireplace, there was a small hollow for hanging candles. Ker Porter recorded that “whenever [he] happened to be their guest, though [he] always, on such occasions, burnt [his] own candles.”<sup>78</sup> The rest of the spaces was assigned to pigs, sheep, and horses. Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux who traveled in 1831-4, provided us with valuable information about the heating system and the daily life of the inhabitants. He described the heating system to be by means of a terracotta amphora, buried in the area of the apartment; there was a fire in the morning; bread was then baked; then the opening of the oven was covered with boards and flat stones, and this was the place of honor. They sleep there, they eat there, they talk around it, and it was hot because the apartment was separated from the stables and well closed, no heat was lost. The light came only through a hole in the ceiling, which served as window and chimney, and that one mouth

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<sup>76</sup> Layard, Austen Henry. *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert*. New York, 1853, p. 12.

<sup>77</sup> Ker Porter, pp. 166-7.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

carefully covered with straw in the evening to keep the warmth (fig. 27-8).<sup>79</sup> In most village homes, the animals were living under the same roof with the patrons but in a specific area with a difference in floor height. In this way, the patrons could benefit the heat produced by the animals in cold winters, but it had its disadvantages. William John Hamilton had recorded his one night staying in such a home as to be no better than their usual lodgings, even worse in some respects, as their horses were under the same roof, and only separated from them by a low railing.<sup>80</sup> Building the villages underground had another advantage. There were not easily recognized from a distance and they were deliberately built far from the roads to prevent the government officers and marching troops to locate them. According to Hamilton, “at a distance, a stranger would have had some difficulty in recognizing it as a village, for the houses were all underground, appearing like low heaps of rubbish, with a few walls or mounds of stones on them.”<sup>81</sup> Layard wrote that while approaching to a village, it was not uncommon for a traveler to find his horse’s forefeet down a chimney and himself in the middle of the family circle gathered under the roof.<sup>82</sup>

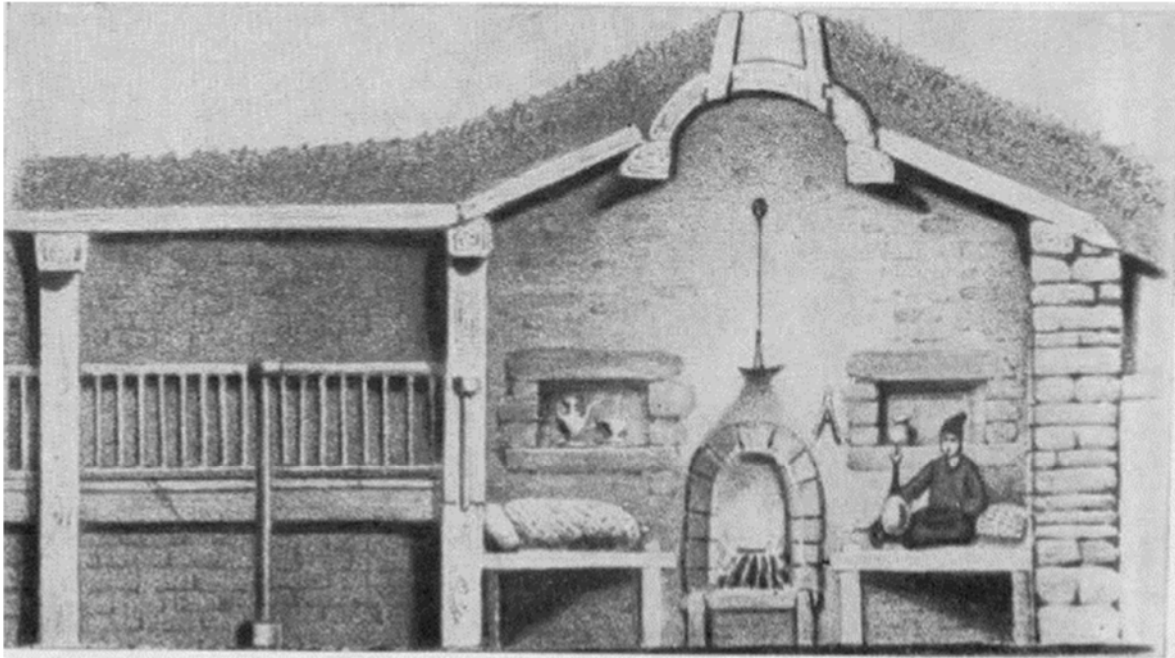


Figure 27: Cross section of a village house. From Dubois, Atlas III, plate XXXII.

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<sup>79</sup> Dubois, Vol. III, pp. 400-1.

<sup>80</sup> Hamilton, p. 196.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Layard, p. 12.



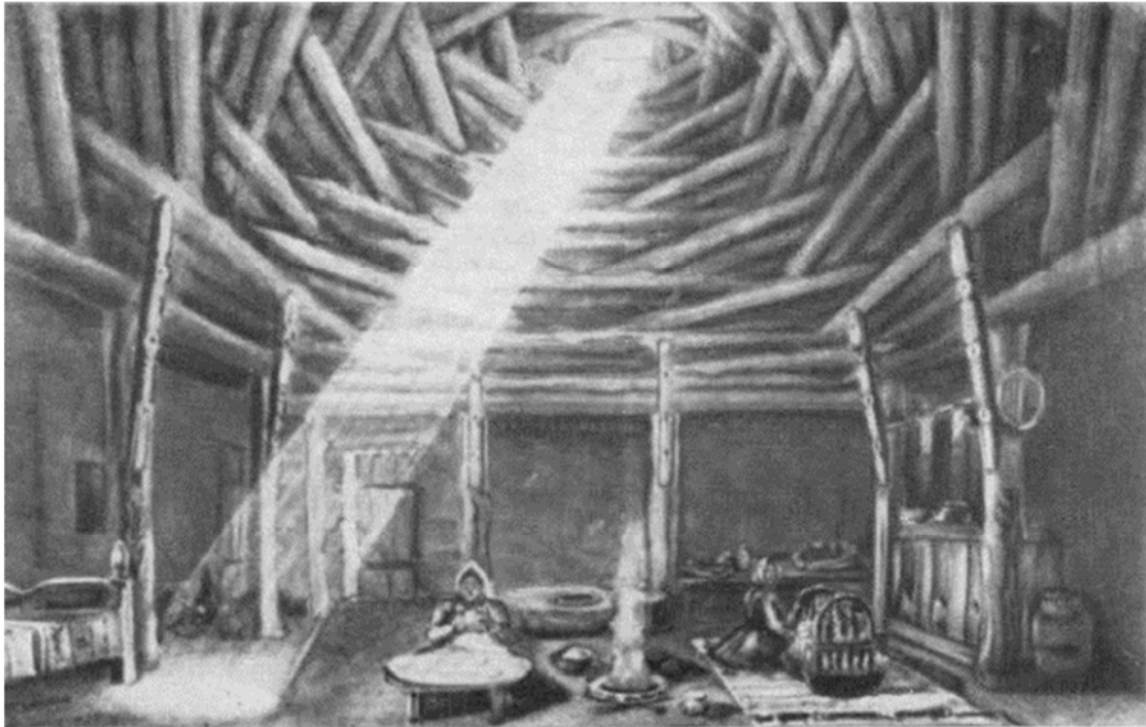


Figure 28: Inside a village house at Martuni, house belonged to Soroyan family. Image from Khalpakhdjian, Hovhannes. *Civil Architecture of Armenia, Residential and Public Buildings*, Moscow, 1971, p. 63.

### **Village Churches**

The village church was the most important building. Therefore, its construction was different from village huts. Dubois has provided us with a complete description of a common Armenian village church. His description is not limited to the architecture. According to him, nothing was simpler and poorer than the interior of one of those village churches. The exterior wall was stone bonded with clay or bad lime; two rows of fat beams not squared as columns, supported the earthen roof; basically, a species of niche closed by a bad curtain, shaped the sanctuary where the priest stood in torn surplice, to read the prayers. All little boys entered on their knees and sang or recited prayers in turn. The oldest of locals sat outside the choir, and everyone knelt on his straw mat or on his sheep skin that usually marks his rank, kissing the earth and whispering the words of the priest or responding to it aloud. The women, standing aside in a half-veil, filled the back of the church behind the men and went out first, looking down.<sup>83</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, the image of Yerevan was not significantly altered from its pre-Russian occupation period. No new monumental buildings was added and the existing

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<sup>83</sup> Dubois, pp. 441-2.

ones were suffering from lack of restoration and neglect. The low quality construction material caused a rapid decay to the general image of the city. On the other hand, Gyumri was experiencing a rapid modernization phase. Entirely new areas had been created based upon the modern urban grid with straight, perpendicular streets. New stone buildings were built along those streets using colorful tuff stone, the traditional construction material of Armenia. The combination of red and black tuff and the European styles created a unique image for the city. Apart from the two main cities, the general image of the countries built heritage was consisted of an abundance of half ruined churches and monasteries which had not been restored for centuries. Many of Armenian architecture monuments were suffering heavy damages by frequent earthquakes and no restorations.

## **Appendix 1**

### **Catalog of Significant Travelers through the Region**

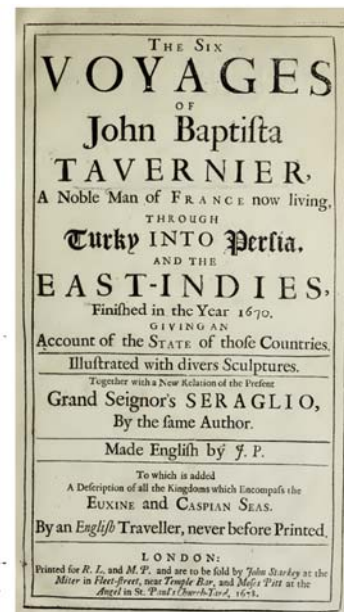
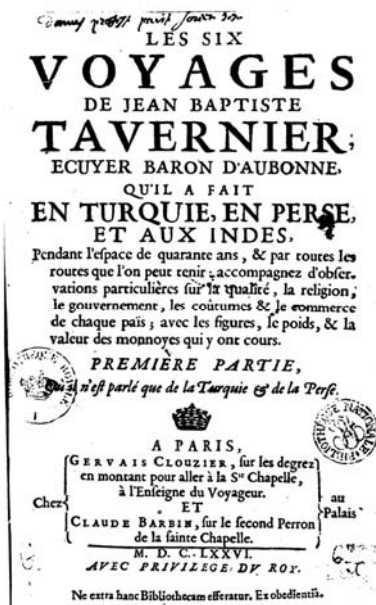
- 1- John-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689)**
- 2- Jean Chardin (1643-1713)**
- 3- Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842)**
- 4- Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux (1798-1850)**
- 5- Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802-1871)**
- 6- William John Hamilton (1805-1867)**
- 7- Richard Wilbraham (1811-1900)**
- 8- Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-1880)**
- 9- Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894)**
- 10- John Ussher**
- 11- Max Von Thielmann (1846-1929)**
- 12- Henry Finnis Blossé Lynch (1862-1913)**

## 1- John-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689)<sup>1</sup>

**Travel to Armenia: Several times between 1630-1668**

**Publication Date: 1676**

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier was a seventeenth century French gem merchant and traveler. He travelled several times between 1630 and 1668 to Persia, India, and East Indies at his own expense. Business was the main motivation of these travels. Despite not having financial necessity, he occupied himself in writing his travelogue after his last travel in 1668 by the order of the king Louis XIV. It was published in Paris in 1676 in two volumes called *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*. Two years later, John Philip translated his travelogue into English and published it in London in 1678 called: *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a Noble Man of France Now Living, Through Turkey [Turkey] Into Persia, and the East-Indies, Finished in the Year 1670: Giving an Account of the State of Those Countries,...; Together with a New Relation of the Present Grand Seignor's Seraglio, by the Same Author.*<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Biographical information from: Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, and Valentine Ball. *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676 with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, Notes, Appendices, Etc.* Macmillan, 1889, pp. xi-xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, and John Phillips. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a Noble Man of France Now Living, Through Turkey [Turkey] Into Persia, and the East-Indies, Finished in the Year 1670: Giving an Account of the State of Those Countries,...; Together with a New Relation of the Present Grand Seignor's Seraglio, by the Same Author.* RL and MP, 1678, London.

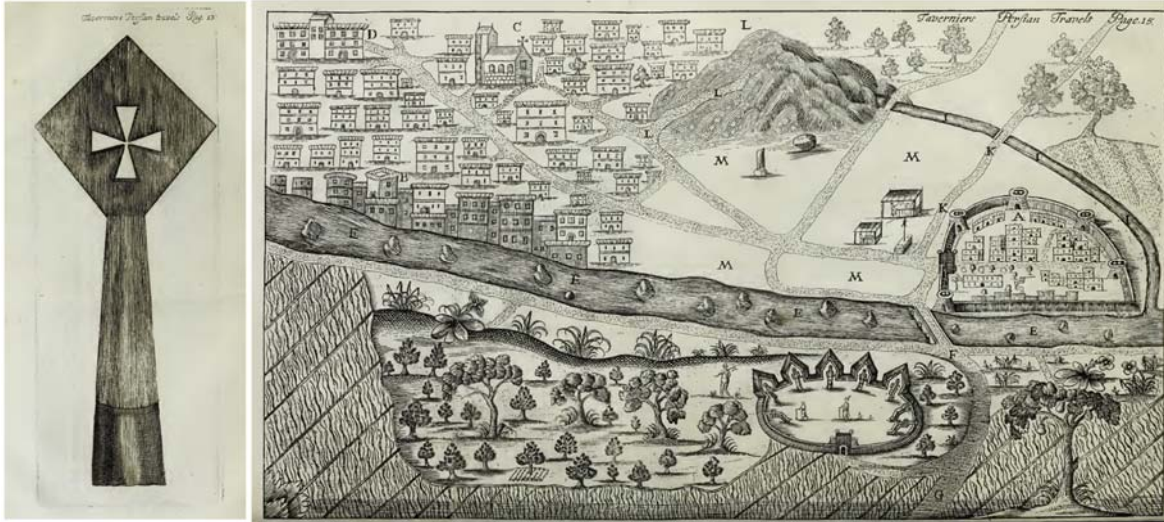
Left: Tavernier's portrait in the beginning of the French version. Middle: The title page of the French version. Right: The title page of the English translation.

The English translation of the book is divided into two main parts: 1- The Contents of the Persian Travels, 264 pages, 2- The Contents of the Indian Travels, 214 pages. The first section is divided into five books or chapters with the following names: 1- The Several Roads from Paris to Ispahan [Isfahan] the Chief City of Persia, through the Northern Provinces of Turkey, pages 1 to 52, 2- The Several Roads from Paris to Ispahan [Isfahan], the Capital City of Persia, through the Southern Provinces of Turkey, and through the Deserts, pages 53 to 98, 3- Roads through Turkey into Persia, through the Northern Provinces of Europe with a Description of Several Countries, Lying upon the Black and Caspian Seas, pages 99 to 140, 4- Description of Persia, pages 141 to 194, 5- A Political and Historical Description of Persia, with the Roads from Ispahan [Isfahan] to Ormus [Hormuz Island], pages 195 to 257.

There are 23 copper plates, 9 in Persian travels and 14 in Indian travels. Following is the list of 9 plates regarding the Persian travels: 1- The Spear: p. 13, 2- Erivan: p. 15, 3- Money of Persia: p. 51, 4- Bagdat: p. 87, 5- Comouchs: p. 129, 6- Persian Seals: p. 178, 7- Persian Seals: p. 179, 8- Gomrom: p. 257, 9- Candahar: p. 258.

In the beginning of the book, Tavernier has provided the reader with a monetary exchange rate table including Persian and Indian moneys into French and English.

His description of Armenia occupy a small portion of the first book, pages 8 to 15, and one paragraph in third book, page 120 which depicts the meeting with the Khan of Erivan in one of his voyages. Although the pages dedicated to Armenia are limited, it is significant that two out of nine copper plates are dedicated to Armenian subjects.



Left: Geghard Spear which according to the legend, is the one which has been used to pierce the side of Christ.  
 Right: The illustration of Erivan. Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, and John Phillips. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, a Noble Man of France Now Living, Through Turkey [Turkey] Into Persia, and the East-Indies, Finished in the Year 1670: Giving an Account of the State of Those Countries,...; Together with a New Relation of the Present Grand Seignor's Seraglio*, by the Same Author. RL and MP, 1678, London, opposite pages 13, 15.

Tavernier is not a professional travel writer. He is a merchant who pays specific attention to roads, caravanserais, custom rates, measurements, exchange rates and anything regarding business and trade. He neither had the equipment nor the taste of a professional travel writer but in all that referred to business and trade, his knowledge is vast.<sup>3</sup> In writing his travelogue, he combined notes from various journeys considering certain routes and created a confusing chronology of events.

In order to understand the level of attention he pays to business and trade, it is useful to confront it with the description of ruins of Ani.

The following are examples selected from the first book, implying to the level of attention he dedicated to anything regarding trade and business: "...the officer of the custom house accompanied with the Basha's Lieutenant, comes here and ties all the bales and chefts<sup>4</sup> with cross cord, upon which he puts a seal, to the end that when merchants come to the town, they may not be able to take out any bags of money, or any pieces of stuff on purpose to hide them till

<sup>3</sup> Chisholm, Hugh, ed. (1911), "Tavernier, Jean Baptiste", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 26 (11th ed.), Cambridge University Press.

<sup>4</sup> Cheft (چفت) means latch, fastener, and holdfast. I am not sure if this is the same Persian word.

they go away. ... After the three days are over, he comes and opens all the bales and chefts, and takes a particular account of all the merchandise.”<sup>5</sup>

“...A League and a half from the place where you ford it [the Arax River] the fourth time, upon the top of a high Mountain stands a Fortress call’d Kaguifgan, which is the last place which the Turks possess on that side. The Customers that live there come to the Caravan to take their Toll, which is four Piasters for every Camel loaden, and two for every Horse loaden.”<sup>6</sup>

He tried to record the exact location of the fort by counting how many times they forded the Arax River. Although he has recorded a distance (a league and a half), the river can easily change its course in next season. Therefore, this is not a scientific and reliable recording of a location keeping in mind that they did not cross a bridge which is a longer lasting physical object. This is more like an instruction for future merchants.

And the following paragraph, all that he wrote about the ruins of Ani, implies how little he occupies himself with the architecture: “There are the ruins of several monasteries among the rest two that are entire, supposed to be royal foundations.”<sup>7</sup>

Despite its deficiencies, Tavernier’s travelogue is one of the first in its kind and is a valuable primary source for any historian who is studying any given territory in vast territories of Persia and India.

## **2- Jean Chardin (1643-1713)<sup>8</sup>**

**Travel to Armenia: 1673**

**Publication Date: 1686**

Jean Chardin, also known as Sir John Chardin was a seventeenth century French jeweler and traveler. His father was a wealthy merchant, jeweler and he started working in family business from a young age. He traveled to Persia twice. First, in 1669, staying for two years, and second in 1671, staying for six years. He passed Armenia in his second journey in 1673 traveling from Constantinople to Kaffa via Black Sea, from Kaffa to Gori, Tiflis, Yerevan, Tabriz, and Isfahan.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Tavernier, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Biographic information from: Van der Cruysse, Dirk. *Chardin le Persan*. Fayard, 1998; Digne, Danielle. *Le joaillier d'Isfahan*. Librairie générale française, 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Vartoogian, Jack Lewis. *The Image of Armenia in European Travel Accounts of the Seventeenth Century*. Columbia University, 1974, p. 285.

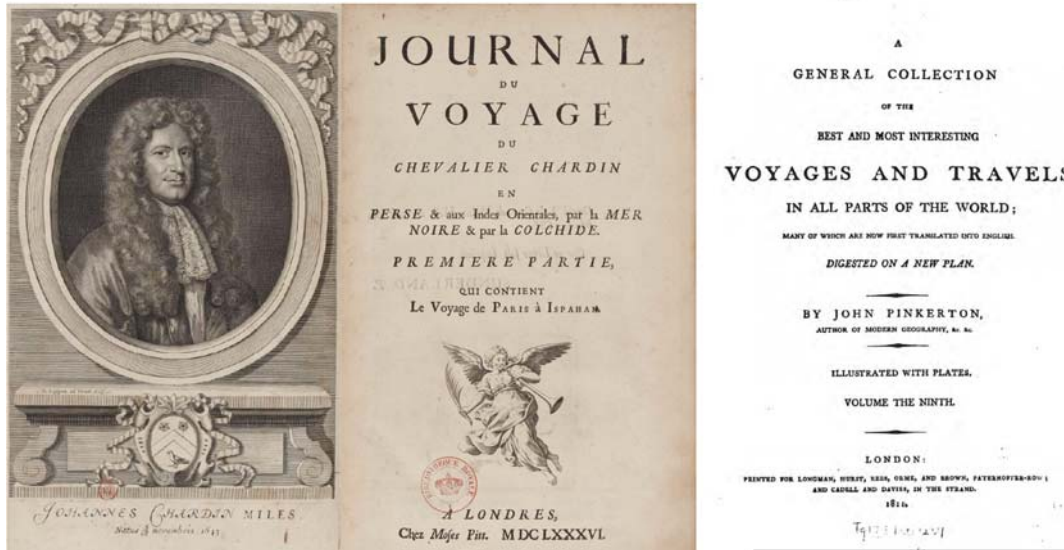
He projected to publish his travelogue in four volumes. The first volume of this book containing the author's journey from Paris to Isfahan, was published in 1686 in Paris, London and Amsterdam.<sup>10</sup> An English translation was issued concurrently. The other three volumes were published in Amsterdam in 1711. Several editions and translations appeared in following years but the four volumes have never completely translated into English. The most complete translation of the four books in English is that of John Pinkerton which is a ten volume book containing a collection of voyages in all parts of the world and is printed in 1811 in London and Paris.<sup>11</sup> A translation of Chardin's four books is included in the ninth volume, pages 138 to 167. Due to limited space and high cost, the English translation has published just two copper plates relating to Chardin's voyages but the original French version, published in 1686 in London, contains eighteen copper plates. The list of the copper plates are as follows: 1- The portrait of the author, 2- The title, 3- The map of Black Sea: p. 1, 4- Tbilisi: p. 220, 5- The patent of the King of Persia: p. 228, 6- The feast of Tbilisi: p. 237, 7- Erivan: p. 254, 8- Ancient tower in Erivan: p. 256, 9- Etchmiadzin: p. 258, 10- Etchmiadzin: p. 258, 11- Tabriz: p. 289, 12- Sultanie: p. 310, 13- Qom: p. 324, 14- The tombs of the last two Persian Kings: p. 325, 15- Sepulcher of Abbas II: p. 332, 16- Sepulcher of the first Sophie: p. 332, 17- Kashan: p. 344, 18- The caravanserai in Kashan: p. 345.

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<sup>10</sup> In this thesis, the author refers the first volume in French printed in London in 1686. Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686.

<sup>11</sup> Pinkerton, John. *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world: many of which are now first translated into English; digested on a new plan*. Ten Volumes, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1811.





Left: Tavernier's portrait published in the beginning of the French version. Middle: The title page of the French version. Right: The title page of the English translation.

Four of the copper plates are dedicated to Armenian towns and monuments which are an illustration of Erivan, an illustration of Etchmiadzin with the walls and other churches, an illustration of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral with a plan of the building, and an illustration of an old tower in Yerevan.

According to John Westby Gibson, Chardin used a plain and graphic style in writing which faithfully recorded what he saw and heard.<sup>12</sup> Chardin has recorded detailed information regarding the demographic information of towns and material culture of people. Following is an example of the information he gave while visiting Tbilisi: "Teflis has in it fourteen churches, which is very much in a country where there is so little devotion. Six of them are appropriated to the Georgian service, and maintained by them, and other eight belong to the Armenians. The cathedral called Sion is built all of hewn stone, and stands on the bank of the river. It is an ancient building, in good repair, composed of four bodies, and has a great duomo in the middle. The great altar stands in the middle of the church, and the inside is full of paintings, after the Greek manner. The Armenians have also several monasteries here; in one of them, they say, they have St. George's skull."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Gibson, John Westby, "Chardin, John". In Stephen, Leslie. *Dictionary of National Biography*. 10. London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1887.

<sup>13</sup> Pinkerton, John. *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world: many of which are now first translated into English; digested on a new plan*. Vol. 9. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1811, p. 151.



The four copper plates regarding Armenian subjects published in Chardin's French version travelogue. Top left: An illustration of Yerevan. Top right: The old stone tower in Yerevan. Bottom left: Etchmiadzin with its walls and two other churches. Bottom right: Etchmiadzin Cathedral plan and 3D representation. From Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686.

The fact that there are more Armenian churches than Georgian in 1673 in Tbilisi is significant. It shows that there were a large number of Armenians living in the city. His description of Sion cathedral is not detailed. According to Chardin, it is built of “hewn stone” and is located on the bank of the river. There is no information of neither the type and color of the stone nor the technique or instruments used in hewing them. He simply used the word “ancient” for dating the monument. The same can be said for the preservation status of the building which he referred as “in good repair”. There are no dimensions, how “great” is the dome in the middle? Inside is full of paintings but what does “full” mean? Does it mean that the entire interior is covered by paintings or some parts are covered? There are no names for Armenian monasteries.

Following is an example of how villagers live in the forests between Armenia and Georgia near Dilijan: “Here is plenty of water, and the ground is very fertile, and a great many villages to be

seen on every side, some of which stood so high upon the points of the rocks, that they were almost indiscernible..... The most part of the houses of these villages are no better than caverns or hollow places made in the earth; the rest are built with timber, and covered with turf. These sort of buildings are very convenient, being cool in summer, and warm in winter.”<sup>14</sup>

Despite the lack of accuracy which is indispensable for professional travel writing, his information is still useful and one can extrapolate valuable facts from reading between the lines.

### **3- Robert Ker Porter (1777-1842)<sup>15</sup>**

#### **Travel to Armenia: 1817,1820**

#### **Publication Date: 1821, 1822**

Robert Ker Porter was a Scottish artist, author, diplomat, and traveler. He studied painting in the Royal Academy and became one of the first British panorama painters. He received a silver palette from the Society of Arts in 1792. In 1805, he was appointed the historical painter of Tsar Alexander I and was given the task to do the murals for the great chamber of the Admiralty in St. Petersburg.<sup>16</sup> In 1817, A. Olinen, his wife’s cousin, a Russian Count, Imperial Secretary of State, and then President of the Academy of Fine Arts, brought to his attention the differences between the three rendering illustrations of the same bas relief in Persepolis.<sup>17</sup> These were illustrations made by Jean Chardin in 1674,<sup>18</sup> Carsten Niebuhr in 1765,<sup>19</sup> and Cornelis de Bruijn in 1704.<sup>20</sup> “Comparing the four, Porter’s practiced eye at once recognized how strongly subjective differences had influenced the artists in their treatment of the same subject.”<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 152.

<sup>15</sup> Biographical information from: Armstrong, William M. "The Many-sided World of Sir Robert Ker Porter." *Historian* 25.1 (1962): 36-74; Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveller." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24.

<sup>16</sup> Armstrong, William M. 1962, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Armstrong, p. 46; Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, pp. v-viii.

<sup>18</sup> J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient*. Cf. his *Journal du voyage du chevr. Chardin en Perse*, 3 vols. (London, 1686; Amsterdam, 1711).

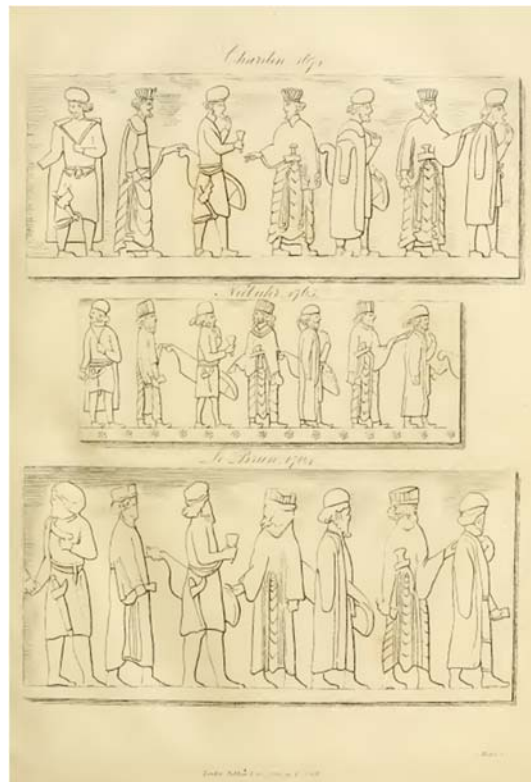
<sup>19</sup> Niebuhr, Carsten. *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*. Vol. 1. Möller, 1774.

<sup>20</sup> De Bruyn, Cornelis. *Voyages de Corneille Le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales. Ouvrage enrichi de plus de 320. tailles douces, des plus curieuses, representant les plus belles vuës de ces Païs, leurs principales villes;... Le tout dessiné d'après nature sur les lieux. On y a ajoûté la route qu'a suivie Mr. Isbrants, ambassadeur de Moscovie,... Et quelques remarques contre Mrs. Chardin & Kempfer. Avec une lettre écrite à l'auteur, sur ce sujet. Tom. I [-Tom. II]*. Chez les freres Wetstein, 1718.

<sup>21</sup> Citation in citation: C. W. Ceram, *March of Archaeology*. (New York, 1958), p. 189. Unfortunately neither Ceram, nor Armstrong have recorded any information regarding the creators of the illustrations. Ker Porter has recorded three illustrations and no information about the fourth one was found. I extracted the information regarding the

Mons. Olinen proposed Ker Porter the task of creating an accurate representation of the bas reliefs. “Indeed, I conjure you, in the name of *Holy Antiquity*, to mark down nothing but what you actually see; nothing suppose; nothing repair.”<sup>22</sup>

Ker Porter, still active and determined to see the artifacts for himself, accepted the proposal and in August 1817, proceeded south by the way of Constantinople to Tehran. The entire journey took thirty months and the result was his elaborately illustrated two-volume work.<sup>23</sup>



Illustrations of the same bas relief in Persepolis made by Jean Chardin in 1674 (top), Carsten Niebuhr in 1763 (middle), and Cornelis de Bruijn in 1704 (bottom). Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, between pages vi and vii.

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three illustrations from Ker Porter’s travelogue, the illustration between pages vi and viii and the information given in Preface of the book.

<sup>22</sup> Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, p. vii.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.



Illustrations of the same bas relief in Persepolis made by Ker Porter. Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, Plate 37.

The first volume starts with a portrait of Fath-Ali Shah Qajar, King of Persia (reigned 1797-1834) during Ker Porter's journey. He provided the reader with a list of Persian monarchs and described the reason of its inclusion to be for clarifying the riddle of names of Persian kings and monarchs.<sup>24</sup>

Ker Porter has not divided the text into chapters or sections. On top of each page, there is a word or a phrase regarding the contents of the page and a table of contents in the beginning of the book which he referred to "something between the copiousness of an index, and the brevity of a mere head of chapters."<sup>25</sup>

The book starts with a threefold map of Persian Empire created by himself using his own observations and various resources available both in Saint Petersburg and London.<sup>26</sup>

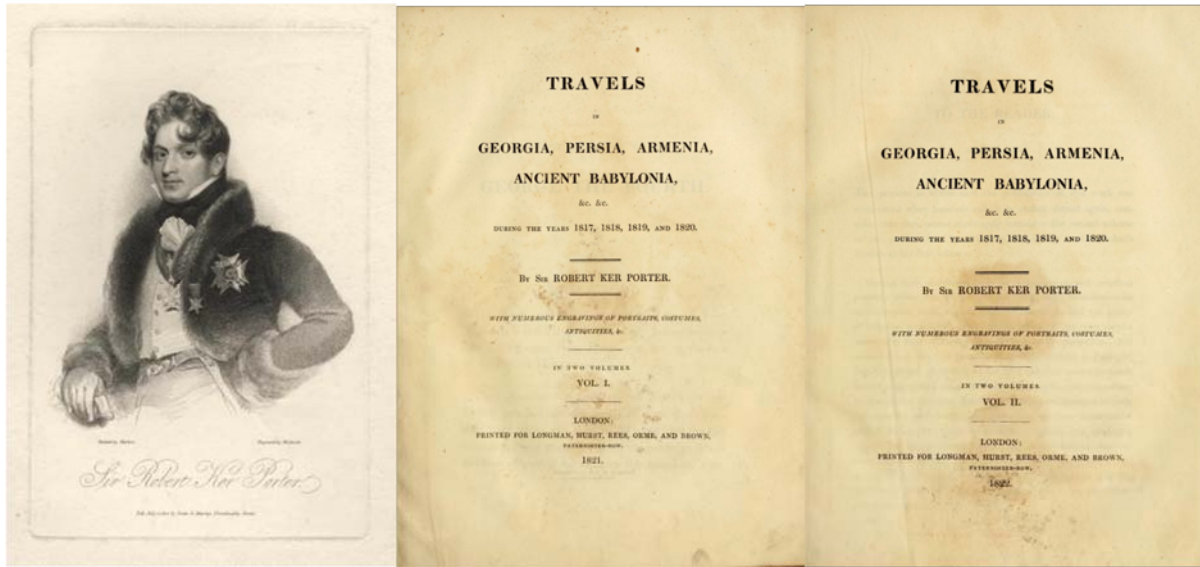
His description of Eastern Armenia starts with Gyumri in page 168 of the first volume. The title of the pages regarding Armenia are as follows: Goumri: 168, Preparations for Visiting Anni: 169, Turkish Frontier: 170-171, Anni: 172, Ruins of Anni: 173-175, Monastery of Kotchivan: 176, Kotchivan, and Enters the Persian Frontier: 177, Talys: 178, Depopulated Country: 179, A Chappow, or Foray: 180, Plain of Ararat: 181, Ararat: 182-185, Monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen: 186-188, The Holy Spear: 189, Relics: 190, Seasons Near Ararat: 191, Buffaloes: 192-193, Departure from Eitch-mai-adzen: 194, Erivan: 195-199, The Sardar of Erivan: 200, Erivan: 201-202, Ardashir: 203-206.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. xi.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. ix-x.



Left: Portrait of Robert Ker Porter engraved in 1822 by Thomas Woolnoth, National Portrait Gallery, London: D5548. Middle: The first page of the first volume. Right: The first page of the second volume.

Three years later, in September 1820, he has passed through Armenia for a second time while returning to Russia and has recorded it as follows in the second volume: Ruins of Eski Julfa: 610, Its Fine Bridge: 611, Tomb of the Virgin: 612, Cemetery: 613, Sepulchral Ram: 614, Reception in the Ruins: 615, Ararat in a Storm: 616, Regulations of Post-Horses: 617, Extraordinary Snake: 618, Ardashir. Or Artaxata: 619, Ruins of Artaxata: 620, A city Planned by Hannibal: 621, Ruins of Artaxata: 622, Mourning of Hossein and Hassan: 623, Basaltic Valley: 624, Castle of Tiridates: 625-626, Architectural Fragments: 627, Castle of Tiridates: 628, Ruins of a City on the Mountains: 629, The Bursa of Tiridates: 630, Kayargast, or Seven Churches: 631, The Seven Churches: 632, Caves of St. Gregory: 633, Revisits the Monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen: 634, The Patriarch Epheme: 635, Mount Ararat: 636, The Ark: 637, Tackat Mountain or Courd Ougly: 638-639, 640: Ruins of Armavra, On the Aras, or Araxes: 641, Passes the Persian Frontier: 642, Neutral Land: 643, Chappows: 644, Village of Nakshivan: 645, Turkish Armenia: 646, The City of Kars: 647, Kars: 648.

There are sixty plates and three in between text illustrations in volume I. These sixty plates include: five maps, five landscapes, forty copies of bas reliefs and inscriptions, six architecture drawings of monuments (mostly Achaemenid sepulchral monuments), and four people. There are thirty plates and fourteen in between text illustrations in volume II. The thirty plates include:

three maps, thirteen landscapes, twelve copies of bas reliefs and inscriptions, and two people. No plate or in between text illustration is dedicated to Armenia in volume I. There are two plates and three in between text illustrations regarding Armenian subjects in volume II. The first plate, located opposite page 622 is a landscape view from the rooftop of a house in Yerevan, depicting Mount Ararat. He described the scenery as being “...a most beautiful and extensive view of the luxuriant country on the opposite side, its gardens and groves, the fortified residence of the Sardar; and beyond all, the far-stretching plain, closed with the double-headed and sublime Ararat.”<sup>27</sup> The second plate, located opposite page 624 depicts a landscape of Garni basaltic valley with the ruins of the temple visible in foreground on left. He described the scene as “The immense perpendicular heights, shattered and projecting in every variety of form, press in, between their nearly meeting bases, the narrow but rapidly pouring stream of the Gurney; and on one of the huge overhanging rocks, once stood the castellated palace of Tiridates, or, as the natives call it, the Tackt-i-Tiridate : its remains appearing in real decay, amongst the vast assemblage of rocky masses, so formed as to be mistaken for ruins.”<sup>28</sup> The first in between text illustration, page 614, is a sepulchral ram at Julfa cemetery which “...instead of having a flat stone at the feet, present the figure of a ram rudely sculptured.”<sup>29</sup> The second in between text illustration, page 621, depicts a map of the ruins in Artaxata. The third in between text illustration, page 627, demonstrates a pile of the architectural fragments of Garni temple.

While addressing himself as third person in the preface of his travelogue, he stressed on the fidelity and not altering the reality. “During three years’ travelling in the East, he kept a regular journal of all he saw worthy observation; and he wrote his remarks with the impression of the moment. From this diary, sanctioned by opportunities of comparing his own remarks with others, and first with second impressions, he collected the matter of these two volumes;...arranging their subjects, without altering the language to give it literary grace;”<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 623.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 624.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 613.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. v.



Top left: Landscape view of Mount Ararat from a rooftop in Erivan. The Erivan Fortress is visible on the left and the Hrazdan River gorge in foreground, Vol. II, p. 623. Top right: Landscape view of Garni basaltic valley. The ruins of Garni Temple are depicted on left, Vol. II, p. 625. Bottom left: A sepulchral ram at Julfa Cemetery, Vol. II, p. 614. Bottom middle: Map of the ruins in Artaxata, Vol. II, p. 621. Bottom right: Architectural fragments of Garni Temple, Vol. II, p. 627. Illustrations from Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, Volume II.

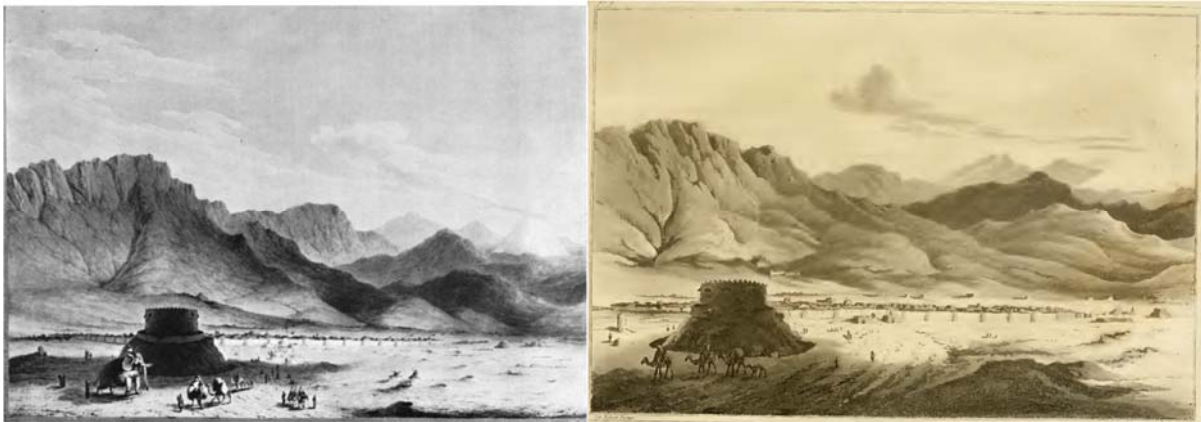
Before the invention of photography, there was a tendency among the engravers to alter the works of art or often completely falsify them. In the case of Robert Ker Porter, the original drawings and raw materials exist in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. The manuscript volumes contain over two hundred pictures.<sup>31</sup> There are about 100 more unpublished archaeological drawings in Leningrad.<sup>32</sup> According to Richard D. Barnett, Ker Porter can be recognized as a landscape artist of power and splendid vision with inclination towards a free range of romantic imagination which is common amongst humanist artists of early nineteenth century. Yet, when faced with an antiquity, he appears as an archaeological draftsman of high quality regarding the standards of his time. The number of his drawings and watercolor sketches -being too expensive to be reproduced in their original form and size- were reduced from two

<sup>31</sup> Citation in citation. Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveller." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24, citation no. 17: "Add.MS 14758.1&2. There are supplemented by MS 18281 (drawings made in Persia)".

<sup>32</sup> Barnett, p. 21.



hundred to eighty seven in the published book of 1822. His drawings of archaeological subjects were restricted to pen and ink outline sketches, and the watercolors to monochrome aquatints. “The aquatints give only a poor idea of the magnificent sweep and dramatic, indeed romantic, vigor of his art.”<sup>33</sup> In his drawings, he started with a pencil outline drawing and in the case of archaeological drawings and architectural plans, finished them with pen and ink.



Left: Original drawing of “View of the city of Tehran from the Isfahan Road”, by Ker Porter, Image from: Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveller." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24, Pl. IIIb. Right: The same drawing published in: Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1821, Vol. I, p. 312. In the published image, the elephant is eliminated and the mountains and clouds are altered.

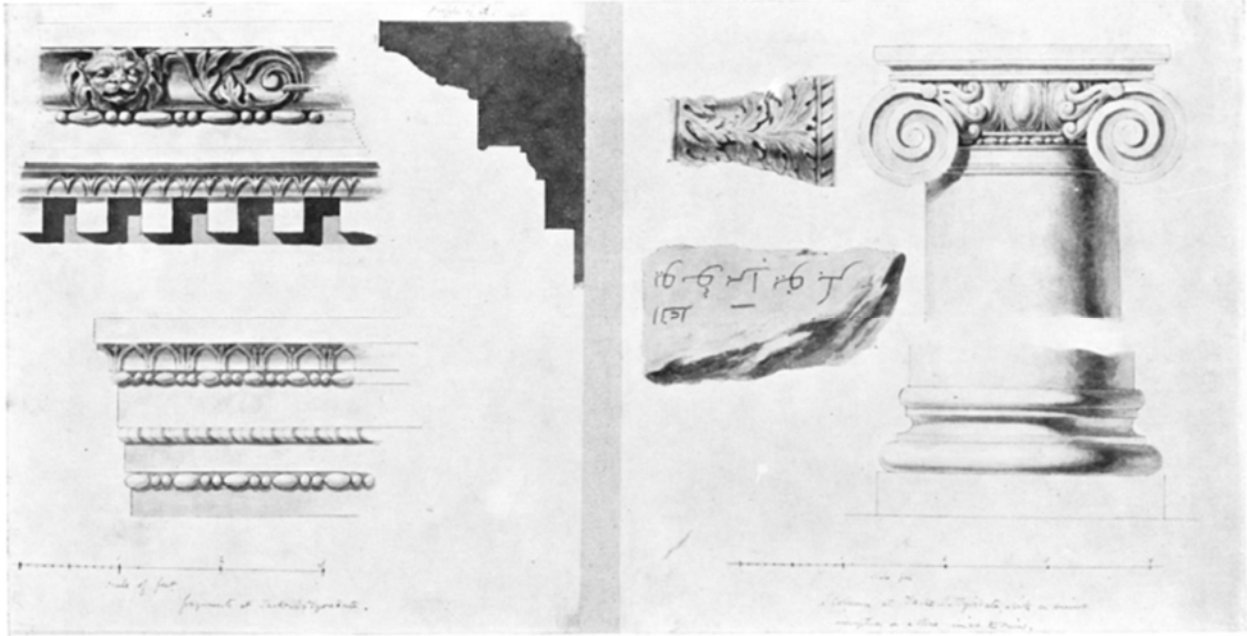
Despite his drawings’ accuracy, Ker Porter is a significant figure among the twelve travelers because he has visited Eastern Armenia while the borders between Persian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires were not yet consolidated. The Russo-Persian War of 1804-1813 ended with the Treaty of Gulistan and ceded Georgia, parts of Northern Armenia including city of Gyumri, and most of what is nowadays Azerbaijan to Imperial Russia.<sup>34</sup> The Russo-Turkish War of 1806-1812 left the borders unchanged but resulted in a vast number of depopulated Armenian villages.<sup>35</sup> The fact that he is the only nineteenth century traveler, discussed in this dissertation, who has visited Eastern Armenia before its annexation to the Russian Empire and has actually met with Persian Khan of Erivan in 1828, gives him a significant importance.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Daniel, Elton L. “Golestan Treaty”. *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Retrieved 6 November 2011; George A. Bournoutian, *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807-1828*, Malibu, California, 1982.

<sup>35</sup> Dowling, Timothy C., ed. *Russia at War: From the Mongol Conquest to Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Beyond* [2 volumes]. ABC-CLIO, 2014, p. 745.



An example of Ker Porter's drawing of antiquity, in this case, architectural fragments at Garni, unpublished in the book of 1822. This drawing is now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 14758, opposite f. 31). Image from: Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveler." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24, Pl. IIIa.

Ker Porter was trained as a “picturesque” landscape painter which made him sensitive towards geological phenomena. He used copious sentences in describing any natural scenes but with regard to architecture, he was not as meticulous and accurate. Following are excerpts from his travelogue explaining a natural scene and an architectural monument, the Garni basaltic valley and the ruins at Ani respectively:

“At the termination of the fourth hour we struck into the boldest and most extraordinary kind of valley I ever beheld. On the first view I might have supposed it the ruins of some vast city of the Titans in the antediluvian world; so castled, pillared, and overturned, appeared its gigantic details. The immense perpendicular heights, shattered and projecting in every variety of form, press in, between their nearly meeting bases, the narrow but rapidly pouring stream of the Gurney; ...the enormous cliff projections on which its towers have stood, are for the most part composed of basaltic columns; and the whole chain of the mountains on each side the valley, stretching north-east to the source of the river in the lake, are broken and cracked with the same. Their strata appear in every possible direction. Some rise from the earth in extraordinary serpent-like shapes, twining together, or shooting out from each other in a hundred radiated points; others, again, are perfectly perpendicular, forming vast, and sublimely pillared walls; in the next

cliff we find them horizontal, or traversing each other obliquely or, perhaps, tumbled together in all the different directions, standing, lying, and leaning, composing the wildest and most picturesque combinations. In short, I do not believe a more varied or extensive specimen of these extraordinary effects of nature's operations, can exist anywhere."<sup>36</sup> The explanation continues for another long paragraph and clearly implies to his fascination and love of landscape.

Ker Porter's description of ruins at Ani seems to be more romantic than scientific. "Several churches, still existing in different parts of the place, retain something more than ruins of their former dignity; but they are as solitary as all the other structures, on which time and devastation have left more heavy strokes."<sup>37</sup> But his habit of being copious and accurate, provide us with huge amount of information. An example of it is the description of Royal Palace at Ani. "...it seems a town in itself; and so superbly decorated within and without, that no description can give an adequate idea of the variety and richness of the highly wrought carvings on the stone, which are all over the building; or of the finely-executed mosaic patterns, which beautify the floors of its countless halls."<sup>38</sup> This description gives no information regarding its architecture style or state of preservation but is still able to convey a unique type of information which is lacking in Texier's descriptions of the same monuments.

#### **4- Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux (1798-1850)<sup>39</sup>**

**Travel to Armenia: 1831-34**

**Publication Date: 1839-43**

He was a Swiss travel writer, naturalist, archaeologist, and historian, known for his travel report from the Caucasus. He attended school in Neuchâtel and from the early ages, was interested in antiquities. From 1817 to 1819, he was a teacher of French in St. Gallen and until 1821, a private tutor in Courland. From 1821 to 1829 he was director of a school in Lithuania. During this time, he also traveled to Poland as a house teacher. From 1829 to 1831 he went to Berlin with his students, where he attended lectures by well-known professors such as August Boeckh, Carl Ritter, Leopold von Buch, and Alexander von Humboldt at the University of Berlin. From 1831 to 1834 he traveled the Crimea and the Caucasus. He was supported by the Russian government

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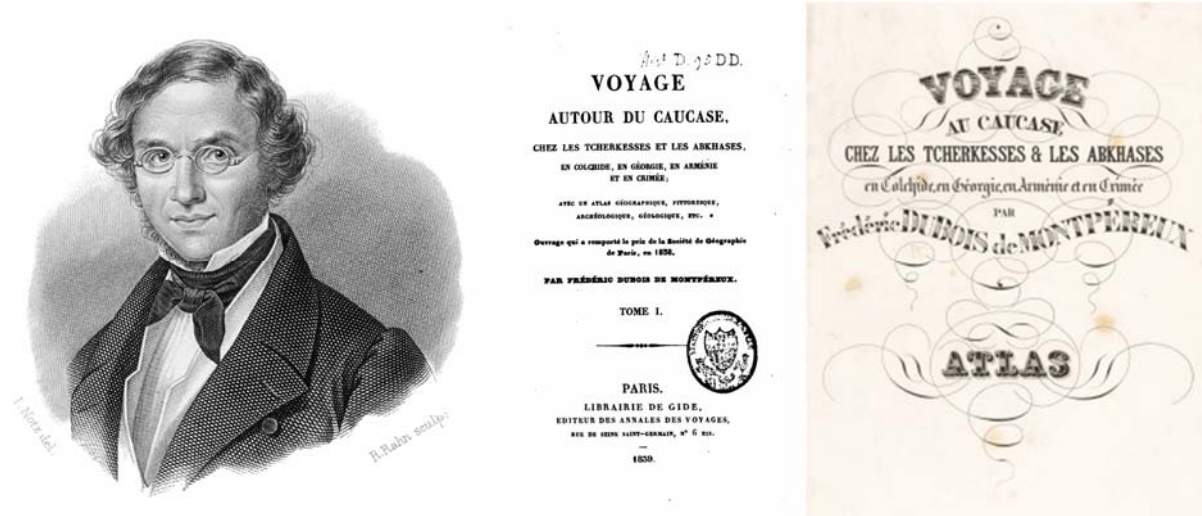
<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Vol II, p. 624-5.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 172-3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Biographic information from: Knoepfler, Dennis. "DuBois [DuBois de Montperreux], Frederic" *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Vol. 10.

and the military, which has just conquered the area from Persia. The report of his travel was published in six volumes between 1839 and 1843 in Paris accompanied by 196 plates printed in five atlases.<sup>40</sup> The amount of scientific data gathered and presented by Dubois, regarding geography, geology, archaeology, and architecture of the regions he traveled was unprecedented.

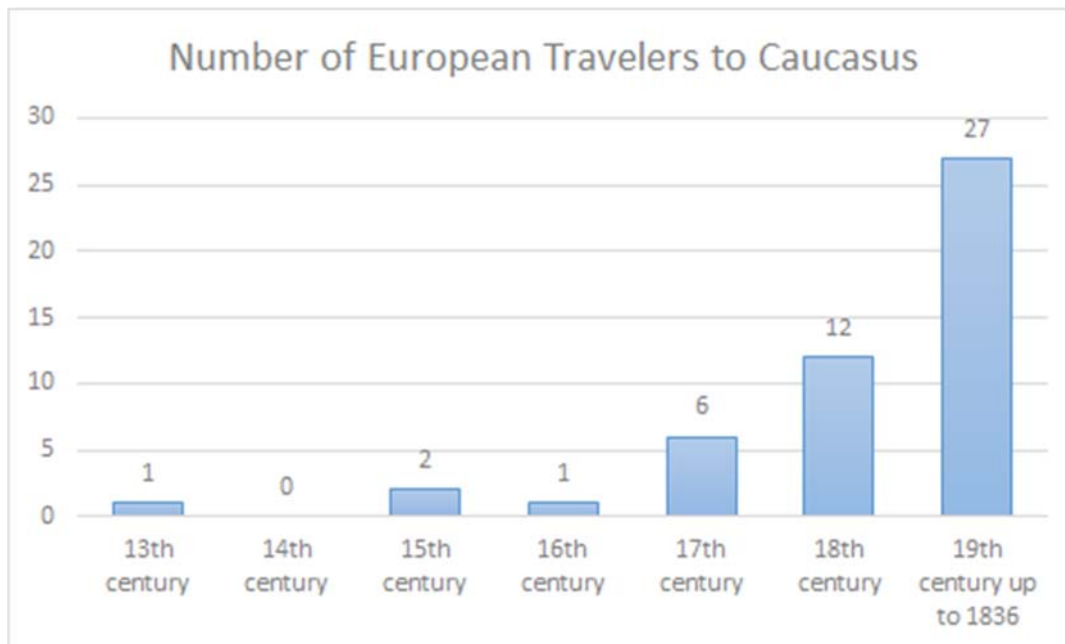


Left: Portrait of Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux created before 1850, unknown author, source: Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Neuchâtel. Middle: Title page of *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique*, volume I. Right: Title page of the atlas.

The book starts with a description of units, calendar, and transliteration system he adopted in the text and continues by providing the reader with the exchange formula of measurements from French to Switzerland, and Germany. He has followed the Russian or Julian calendar and in most cases has added the corresponding date in Gregorian calendar as well. Following the preface, there are two lists. The first, of quoted authors on the ancient geography and history of the Caucasus, Colchis and Georgia, starting with Homer, songs X and XI of the *Odyssey* and ending with *Memoria sulle colonie del Mar Nero nei Secoli di Mezzo, accompagnata da carte geografiche*, par.le C<sup>e</sup> L. S., in twenty six pages. The second list is a bibliography including the remarkable travels to the region starting with: “1253, Voyage remarquable de *Guillaume Rubruquis*, collection Bergeron. La Haye, 1735, and ending with: “1836, Description des possessions russes au-delà du Caucase, sous les rapports statistique, ethnographique,

<sup>40</sup> De Montpéroux, Frédéric Du Bois. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Vol. 6. Gide, 1843.

topographique et financier, redigé par ordre supérieur. Saint Petersburg, 1836, 4 vol. In-8, en russe.”<sup>41</sup> This bibliography contains forty-nine entries, sorted chronologically according to the travel date. The following chart, extracted using the data presented by Dubois, shows the dramatic increase in the number of European travelers to the Caucasus during the first three decades of the nineteenth century up to 1836, eight years after the annexation of the region to Russian Empire.



The dramatic increase of the number of European travelers to the Caucasus, according to the list provided by Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux in: *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Vol. 6. Gide, 1843, pp. xix-xxv.

Following is the complete list of the contents provided at the end of each volume.

**Volume I:** Departure from Sevastopol and arrival at Gelendzhik, on the coast of the Circassie: 1-52, History of the Cherkessian Nation: 53-162, Coast of Ciarcassie, from Gelendzhik to Gagra: 163-205, Abkhazia: 206-334, Samourzakhan. From Galazka to Encour: 335-345, Arrival at Redoute-Kale and drive to Koutais: 346-384, Koutais and its inhabitants: 385-397, Description of ancient and modern Kutais: 399-432.

**Volume II:** History of karthles or Georgian races, and mainly of Colchis: 5-168, Ghélathi: 169-213, Departure for Akhaltsikhe. Mountain range that separates the basin of Colchis from that of

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. xvii-xxv.

Akhaltaikhé: 214-305, Extinct volcanoes of Nakolakévi, Zeda Tmogvi, Vardsie: 306-336, Bardjom Valley: 337-350, Chain of Likhi or Sabachio: 351-373, Ratcha: 374-428, Letchekoum: 429-457.

**Volume III:** Mingrelia: 5-8, Souaneth: 9-18, Letchekoum: 19-20, Odichi: 21-81, Province of Gouria: 82-129, Mixtures and general remarks on Imereth: 130-139, Kingdom, of Imereth after the division of Alexander I, in 1442: 140-154, Route from Kutais to Tiflis: 155-224, Description of Tiflis: 225-274, Trip from Tiflis to Erivan: 275-331, Description of Erivan: 332-357, Excursion to Etchmiadzin: 358-381, Excursion to Garni, Geghard or Airivank and Artaxata: 358-381, Excursion to Koulpé, in Tigranocerta, in Amarat, on Ararat, Khovirab and Nakhchénn.

**Volume IV:** Excursion to Araxe Rapids as it exits the Armenian Basin: 5-199, Small excursion in Kakheti: 200-226, Trip from Tiflis to Pyatigorsk, crossing the Caucasus: 227-319, The Osses of the Caucasus and their historical and ethnographic significance: 320-459, Journey from Vladikavkaz to Pyatigorsk by Ekaterinograd and Georgievsk: 460-557.

**Volume V:** Travel from Pyatigorsk to Temryuk: 5-301, Turkish Chersonese: 302-310, The Crimean side from Theodosia to Soudak: 311-365, Routes from Soudak to Eski-Krim and Karasubazar: 366-461.

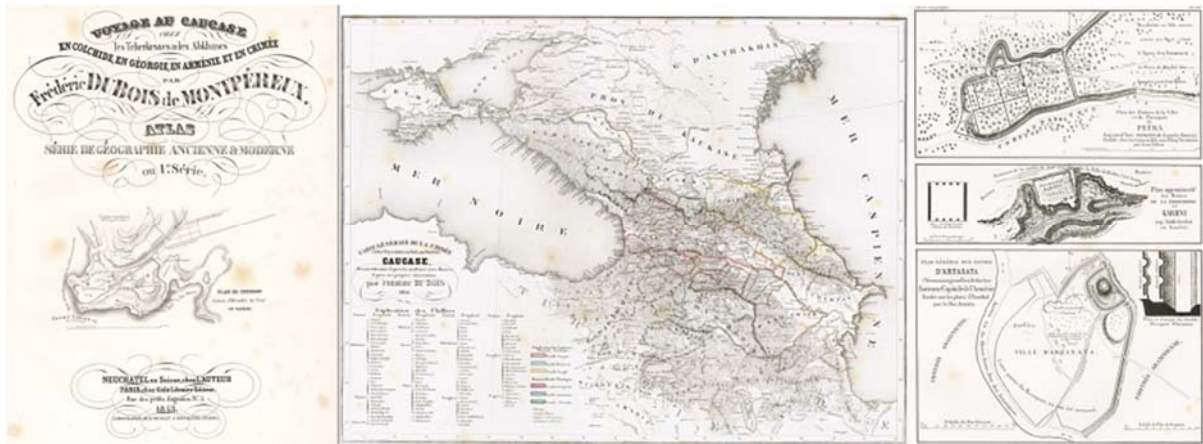
**Volume VI:** A few words about the geography and the ancient history of the Crimean coast: 5-117, Heraclastic Chersonese: 118-215, Northern slope of the tauric chain of the eracleotic Chersonese, in Simferopol: 216-388.

At the end of the sixth volume, there is a long and detailed Index: 393-456. Five volumes of large format atlases accompanied the six volumes, each dedicated to a specific category, which helped the reader to a better understanding of the texts.<sup>42</sup>

The first atlas consists twenty-four sheets including modern and ancient maps of different parts of the Caucasus and architectural plans of the most remarkable localities. There is a site plan of Garni and Arataxata in this section with a hypothetical reconstruction of Garni temple.

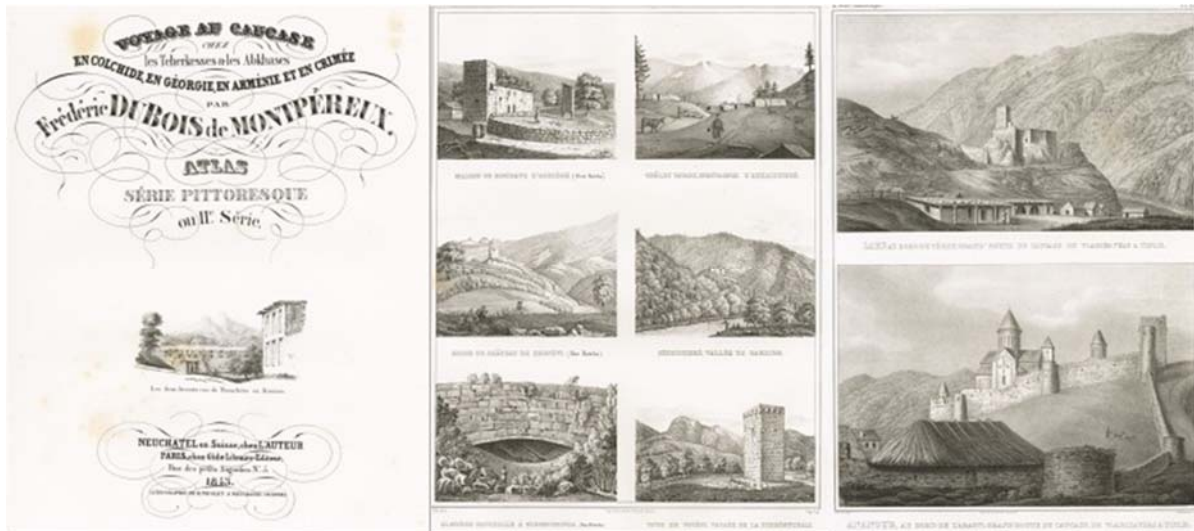
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<sup>42</sup> A low resolution copy of the contents of the five atlases is available at: <<http://grafika.ru/item/03-002167?r=5990>>



Left: The title page of the first atlas. Middle: Map of the Caucasus with the designation of the habitats and language boundaries of the peoples of the region, compiled according to the plans of the Russian General Staff (sheet I of the first atlas). Right: The ancient cities of Armenia Garni and Artashat (sheet XIX of the first atlas).

The second volume containing seventy-five plates is dedicated to the picturesque scenes of famous locations. According to Dubois, the second atlas compose “the most interesting of [his] collection.”<sup>43</sup>



Left: The title page of the second atlas. Middle: Castles and structures in Svaneti (sheet XIX of the second atlas). Right: Above, Strengthening Lars and below, the fortress of Ananuri (sheet XXX of the second atlas).

The third volume contains architectural drawings of monuments, perspective renderings and architectural details which “is intended to bring together monuments of Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian and Persian styles.”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. xiii.



Top left: The title page of the third atlas. Top middle: Etchmiadzin, architectural details, facade, plans and inscriptions (sheet VII). Top right: The palace complex in Garni (sheet XXXI). Bottom left: The Great Mosque in Yerevan (sheet XXIII). Bottom right: The central entrance to the mosque of the Yerevan fortress (sheet XXIV).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. This sentence implies that Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux considered Armenian and Georgian to be a separate style than that of Byzantine architecture.

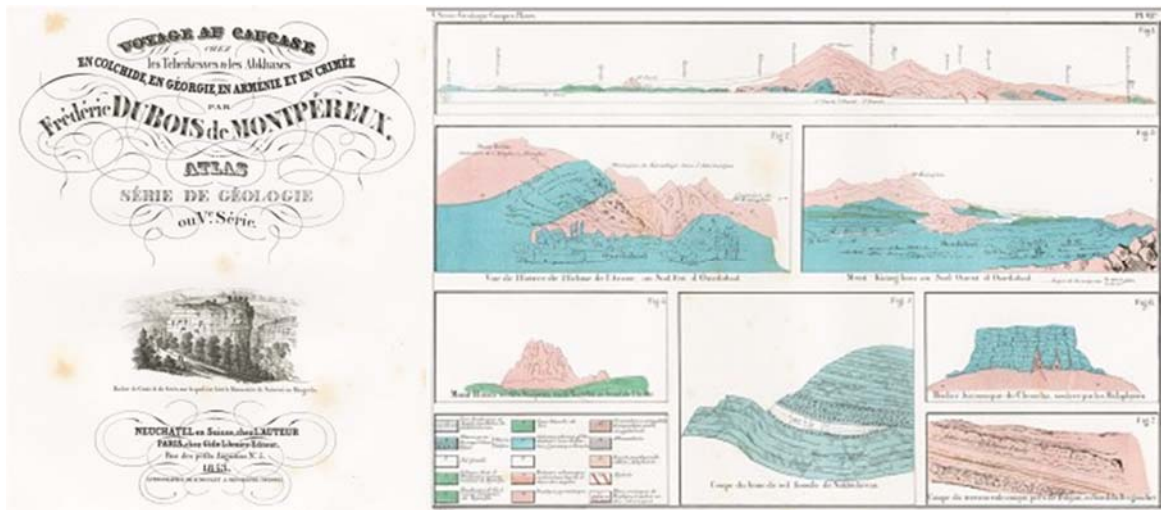


The fourth volume is dedicated to archaeology. “Under the rubric of archeology, I gathered antique vases, earthenware cooked, statues, crypts, tombs, the objects they contained, the bas-reliefs, inscriptions.”<sup>45</sup>



Left: The title page of the fourth atlas. Middle: Ancient Greek vases, amphora, discovered during the excavations in graves near Kerch in the Crimea (sheet VII). Right: Etruscan vase found during excavations in Kerch, depicting the battle of the Amazons, as well as the ancient Roman goddess of fertility Ceres (sheet XII).

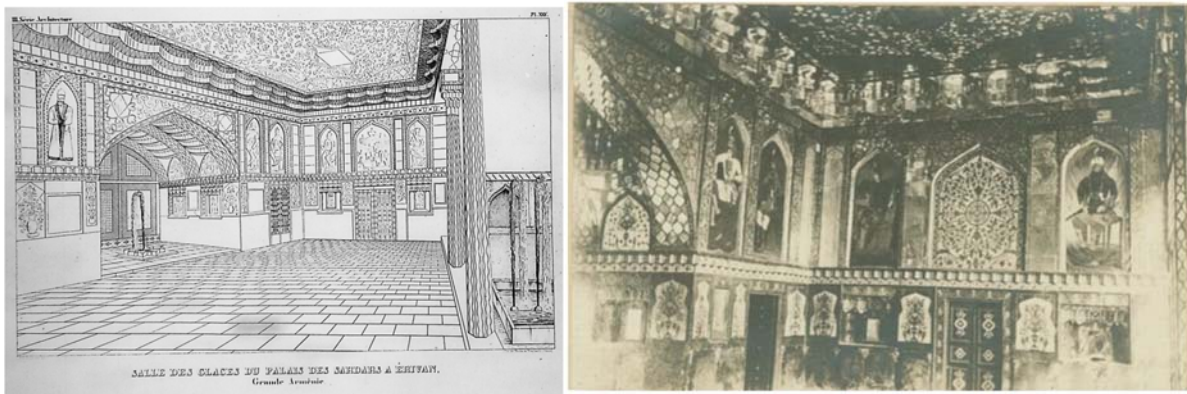
The fifth volume is devoted solely to geology and drawings of fossils.



Left: The title page of the fifth atlas. Right: Araks river basin in Armenia. Map of mineral deposits (sheet VII).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

Among the twelve travelers chosen for the accounts of this dissertation, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux is the first who has seen and recorded Erivan only three years after its annexation to Russian Empire. During his visit, the Erivan Fortress and Sardar Palace were still intact and his detailed description of the architecture and decoration of these monuments is the most valuable source for reconstructing the nineteenth century image of the town. Other than being attentive towards material culture and quotidian life, he has recorded the technique of decoration, paintings, and architectural spaces and details in a level way superior than that of Robert Ker Porter. The following lines are excerpts from his description of Sardar Palace at Yerevan: “Except the basement, walls, cornice, ceiling, everything is covered with thousands and thousands pieces of mirror, cut and processed. In large frames made of mirrors, you see ten paintings...The long side of this room, which looks at the courtyard and the large apartments of Abbas-Mirza, where we are staying, is opened and supported by two columns, entirely covered with mirrors, which their capitals reflect the waves of three fountains falling in a large stone basin.”<sup>46</sup> The scene is depicted in plate XXV of the third atlas. A comparison of the description and drawing with the photographs taken before the demolition of the palace reveals Dubois’s level of accuracy in describing the space.



Left: Dubois de Montperreux, depiction of the interior of the mirror hall of the palace of Sardar at Yerevan fortress. Plate XXV, atlas III. Right: A photograph taken from approximately the same view in early twentieth century. Photo from: *GULUSTAN.INFO*, retrieved on 6 Dec. 2017.

Robert Ker Porter and Frédéric Dubois de Montperreux were humanist antiquarians, much like other adventurers of their age, for whom historical texts still determined the way a landscape and its monuments should be imagined, despite the movement toward archaeology as a science in the

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 338-9.

first half of the nineteenth century. Their efforts characterized, above all, by an attempt to identify and describe material evidence that confirmed the historical records.<sup>47</sup>

According to Lori Khatchadourian, in their descriptions, interpretations, and drawings, Ker Porter and Dubois de Montperreux resorted neither to lore (as did Movses Khorenatsi) nor to anachronistic artistic embellishments (as did Chardin) but instead presented what they saw in the context of the history that they knew. Their site plans and sketches constitute the earliest known renderings of the classical art and archaeology of the South Caucasus.<sup>48</sup>

To understand Ker Porter and Dubois, we must cast our minds back to the state of almost total ignorance about the Ancient Near East, which prevailed in Europe, though the classical world had already received attention.<sup>49</sup>

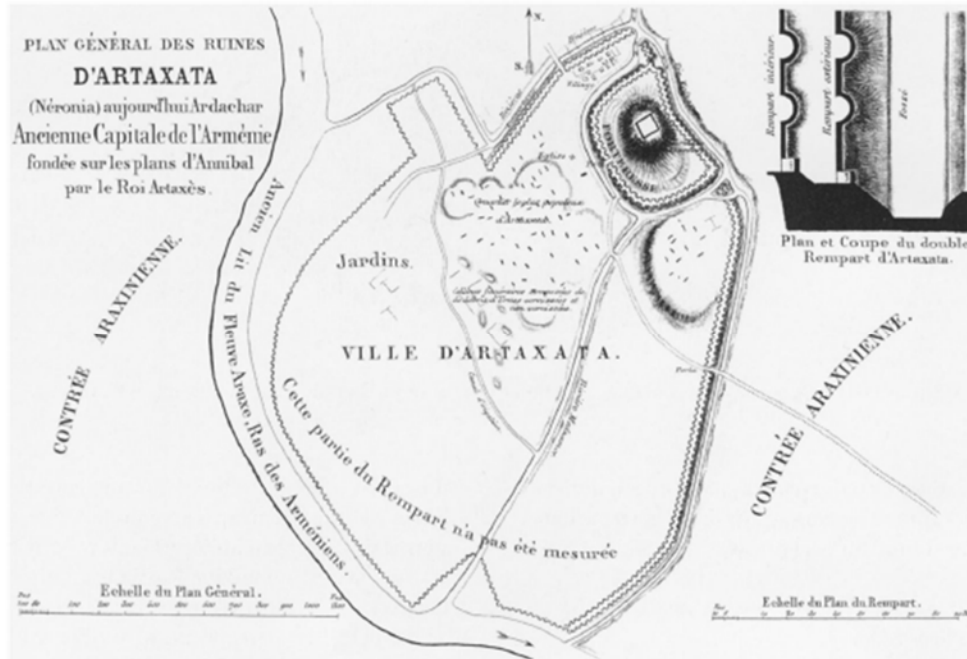


Frédéric Dubois de Montperreux, Reconstruction and site plan of Garni temple and ancient city of Garni. Atlas Vol I, Sheet XIX.

<sup>47</sup> Citation in citation. Khatchadourian, Lori. "Making Nations from the Ground Up: Traditions of Classical Archaeology in the South Caucasus." *American Journal of Archaeology* (2008): 247-278, p. 253; Citing Schnapp, Alain. *The discovery of the past*. Harry N. Abrams, 1997. For more information on humanist antiquaries versus scientific archaeology see: Schnapp, Alain. *The discovery of the past*. Harry N. Abrams, 1997.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>49</sup> Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveller." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24, p. 20.



Frédéric Dubois de Montperreux, Site plan of Artaxata and plan of its double walls. Atlas Vol. I, sheet XIX.

## 5- Félix Marie Charles Texier (1802-1871)<sup>50</sup>

**Travel to Armenia: 1839**

**Publication Date: 1842**

Félix Marie Charles Texier was a French historian, architect and archaeologist, trained as an architect in Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He was appointed inspector of public works in 1827 and was sent to exploratory mission by the French ministries of the Interior and Education to Asia Minor, traveled to Cappadocia and Lycaonia in 1833, and to Phrygia in 1834. In October 1836 he asked the French Ministry of Education for funding a trip to Persia, with the aim of making a collection of Asian and Persian monuments, along with those of India, in the fullest possible way. Since 1840, he was professor of archaeology at the College de France. He believed that Persian and Indian architecture were the origin of the architecture in Pont, Lycia and South Asia. In 1839 he traveled to Armenia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and, Asia Minor, for a second time, with La Guiche and Labourdonnais. On his travels, he published widely acclaimed reports in which he included descriptions and plans of ancient sites, inscriptions, works of art and historical

<sup>50</sup> Biographical information from: Ripley, George. *The American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*. 15, 1875 p. 680; Nouveau Larousse illustré, Dictionnaire universel encyclopédique, published under the editorship of Claude Augé, Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1898 - 1907.

monuments. He is considered the discoverer or the first Western visitor of many historical cities. His book regarding his 1839 travel was published in two volumes in 1842 in Paris called: “Description de l’Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie”.<sup>51</sup>



Left: Félix Marie Charles Texier, photo from MEMIM encyclopedia. Middle and right: Title pages of the first and second volumes of *Description de l’Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l’intérieur et de l’instruction publique*, printed in 1842 in Paris.

The first and second volume contains 395 and 401 pages respectively. The book starts with a nineteen-page table called “Geographical tables of a route in Armenia, Kurdistan and Persia”. This table includes four columns recording: 1- The time lapse between observations, 2- The time of observation, 3- The degree of compass, 4- Notes. Texier has meticulously recorded the data in very close time lapse with regard to the road condition (approximately four times in an hour). Following, is another table containing the altitudes of 134 locations called “Altitudes from the plateau of Iran or Armeno-Caucasian, from the barometric observations.”

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<sup>51</sup> Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l’Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l’intérieur et de l’instruction publique*, Paris, 1842, 2 vols.



Examples of drawings provided by Félix Marie Charles Texier in *"Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique"*, printed in 1842 in Paris. Left: View of the walls of Ani, Vol. I, plate 16. Middle: Ornament of the pillars and archivolts of mosque in Tabriz, Vol. I, plate 52. Right: Bas relief from the Throne Hall at Persepolis, Vol. II, plate 101.

The list of the chapter comes next which includes: Turkey: 3-14, Constantinople: 15-18, Hagia Sophia of Constantinople: 19-42, Trabzon: 43-48, Hagia Sophia: 49-57, Baybouth: 58-64, (The section called Armenia starts here) Erzurum:67-70, Ulu Djami: 71-74, Hassan-Kale: 75-85, Kars: 86-90, Ani: 91-102, Metropolis of Ani: 103-129, Bayazid: 130-142, Explanation of the Plates: 143-165, List of Plates: 166-167, Table of Contents: page 168. Following page 168, there are eighty plates as follows: Nine bas-reliefs and inscriptions, seven color plates of Persian tile decorations, thirty-four picturesque drawings of landscape and monuments, and thirty architectural drawings including site plans, plans, sections, elevations and perspective drawings. Following is the list of fifteen plates out of 80 regarding Armenian subjects. Plate 14: General plan of Ani. Plate 15: The main gate of Ani. Plate 16: View of the walls of Ani. Plate 17: View of the cathedral at Ani. Plate 18: Plan and section of the cathedral at Ani. Plate 19: West elevation of the cathedral at Ani. Plate 20: South elevation of the cathedral at Ani. Plate 21: Church near the river at Ani. Plate 22: Lateral elevation of the church near the river at Ani. Plate 23: Sepulchral chapel at Ani. Plate 24: The door of the chapel at Ani. Plate 25: View of the church at Tekor. Plate 26: Plan, architectural detail, and section of the church at Tekor. Plate 27: Lateral view of the church at Tekor. Plate 28: Elevation of the church at Tekor.

The chapters of the second volume are as follows: Van, 3-40. Tabriz, 41-58. Route from Tabriz to Sultanieh, 29-66. Mianeh, 67-70. Zanzan, 71-73. Sultanieh, 74-80. Route from Sultanieh to Hamadan, 81-82. Hamadan, 83-86. Kangavar, 87-92. Route from Hamadan to Isfahan, 93-101.

Golpayegan, 102-111. Isfahan, 112-147. Pasargad, 148-158. Persepolis, 159-200. Shiraz, 201-205. Shapour, 206-208. Explanation of the Plates, 209-234. List of the Plates, 235. Table of Contents, 236. There are seventy plates at the end of the second volume including bas-reliefs, inscriptions, picturesque views and architectural drawings of monuments located in Iran.



Examples of drawings provided by Félix Marie Charles Texier in *“Description de l’Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l’intérieur et de l’instruction publique”*, printed in 1842 in Paris. Left: Plan, section and details of the cathedral at Ani, Vol. I, plate 18. Middle: South elevation of the cathedral at Ani, Vol. I, plate 20. Right: Sepulchral chapel at Ani, Vol. I, plate 23.

Texier criticized his predecessors for involving their personal opinions and tastes in the drawings of Persepolis. According to him, his predecessors depicted several broken or damaged bas-reliefs as whole. Furthermore, contrary to other scholars, he disputed the fact that the bass-reliefs of Persepolis were painted.<sup>52</sup> He mentioned that the drawings created by Chardin and Lebrun were not valuable from the art historian’s point of view. The drawings published by Ker Porter, “infinitely superior and generally accurate, are incomplete, particularly as regards the details of architecture and, in particular, Persepolis.”<sup>53</sup>

At Ani, they divided the task. M. de Laguiche was responsible for drawing site plans and general plans, Bourdonnaie for the picturesque views, and Texier for the surveys and architectural drawings of the buildings.<sup>54</sup> Graduated as an architect from Ecole de Beaux Art made his

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., Vol I, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. v.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

drawings scientific and accurate. In depicting the architectural decoration, he was very meticulous. Regarding the actual state of the buildings, he depicts the ruins as there were and did not try to complete the building in its original state. Here is an example of his description of Cathedral at Ani “The dome inside presents a kind of bond between the Byzantine and the Gothic of certain churches in Europe. All the vaults were covered with white stucco and decorated with paintings, now almost completely destroyed. Although the central dome is ruined, the scattered remains on the ground are easily recognizable as it should have been its original appearance. The roof cover is made in the ancient way, with overlapping stone slabs and overlay tiles. There was no bell tower and a ruin next to the church could be the baptistery. The ornaments, as Ker Porter says, have something Etruscan. The capitals of the columns are simple and have Doric more than any other style.”<sup>55</sup>

The description is accurate and use of architectural language made his work superior to his predecessors. This accuracy also reflects on his surveys and architectural drawings. One can argue that his drawings of monuments at Ani are the first scientific drawings ever created.<sup>56</sup> He is also the first to highlight the question of originality. Which architectural style affected the other? His theory is that Arabs affected by Persian architecture, carried it with them to Armenia and from Armenia it was exported to Europe.

## **6- William John Hamilton (1805-1867)<sup>57</sup>**

**Travel to Armenia: 1835**

**Publication Date: 1842**

He was an English geologist and Member of Parliament, President of the Royal Geographical Society (1848-49) and Geological Society (1854-66). He was educated at University of Gottingen. In 1835, he made a geological tour and traveled to the Levant with Hugh Edwin Strickland, and continued on his own through Armenia and across Asia Minor. In his two volume travelogue, he described his motivation of the travel as “... to present discoveries

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

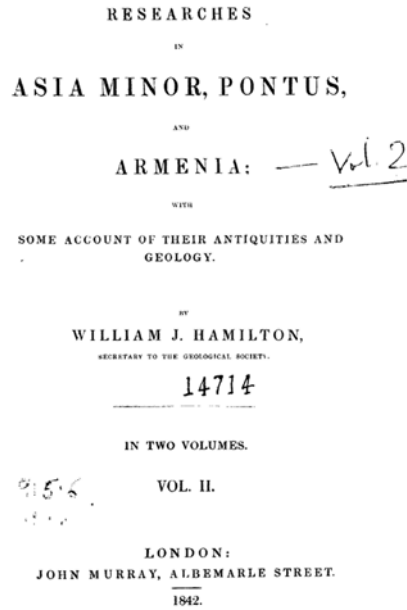
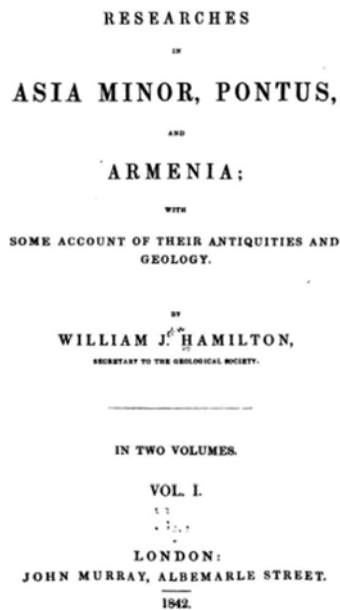
<sup>56</sup> In 1853, Austen Henry Layard wrote that Texier is “the only traveler who has tempted to give elaborate plans, elevations, drawings, and restorations of these interesting edifices.” From Henry, LAYARD Austen. *Discoveries in The Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert*. London, 1853, p. 7, citation.

<sup>57</sup> Biographical information from: Stephen, Leslie; Lee, Sidney, eds. "Hamilton, William John". *Dictionary of National Biography*. **24**. 1890, London: Smith, Elder & Co.



interesting to the antiquary, the geographer, and the geologist... to construct a more correct map of those parts of the peninsula through which I passed.”<sup>58</sup>

The first volume contains 544 pages in thirty chapters. He described ruins of Ani in chapter twelve, pages 197-201. Volume I contains six plates including Tombs of the Kings at Amasia, Castle of Tekiyeh, Mouth of ChaiAksu Chai, Castle of Tourkhal, Gateway of Ancient Temple, Rocks near Boghaz Kieui. Plates are depicting picturesque scenes and no scientific information. The second volume contains 369 pages in twenty-one chapters with five appendixes as follows: Appendix I: Notes, Appendix II: Routes in Asia Minor, Appendix III: Latitudes observed by W.J.Hamilton in Asia Minor in 1836, 1837, Appendix IV: Specimen of Itinerary, Appendix V: Greek Inscriptions. Volume II contains six plates including Necropolis of Cindus, Sandal and Kara Devlit, Conical Hills near Utch Hissar, Mount Argaeus, from Kala Hissar, Soanli Dere, and Gateway in the Ancient Walls of Isaura. There is a fifteen page Index at the end of the second volume.



Title pages of the first and second volumes of William John Hamilton's *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, printed in two volumes in 1842, London.

<sup>58</sup> Hamilton, William John. *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia: With some account of their antiquities and geology*, London, 1842, Vol. I, pp. v and vii.

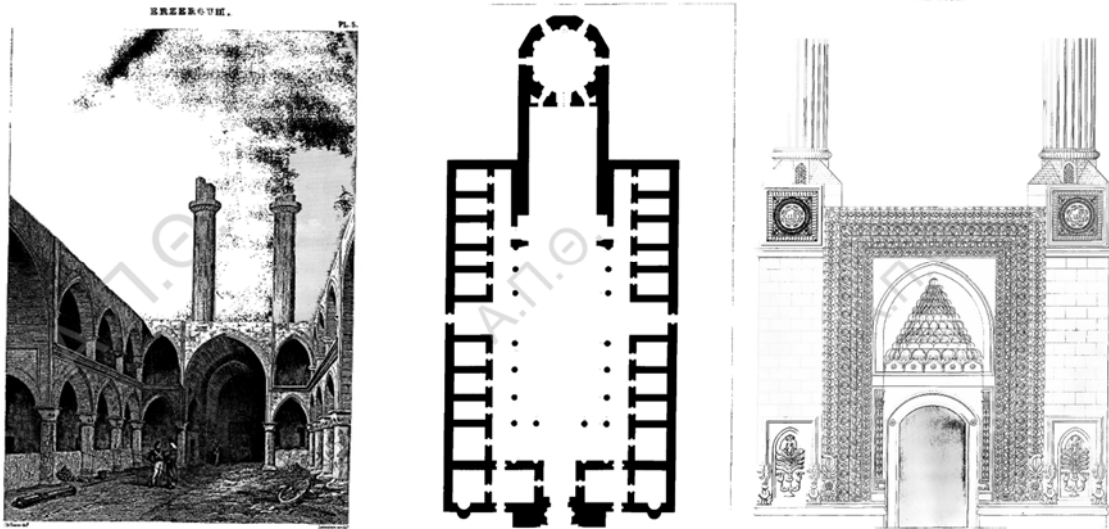
Hamilton did not visit the Eastern Armenia, which was part of the Russian Empire at the time and remained in the Turkish boundaries. He traveled to Asia Minor in 1835 and published his travelogue in 1842. Despite not being an architect, Hamilton was well aware of the architecture history and the dominant styles of each period. His knowledge of architecture terminology is significant. Here is an example of the scientific description of Chifteh Minareh or Oulou-Djami at Erzurum: “The most remarkable building in Erzerum is called the Chifteh Minarey, from two lofty minarets, now in ruin, which have been built on each side of the principal entrance. They are of a totally different style from the building itself, and are formed of small colored bricks and glazed tiles, and deeply fluted, so as to bear a strong resemblance, I am told, to those which are often seen in Persia...The architecture is a modification of Byzantine and Saracenic. The pilasters and cornices are covered with arabesque tracing and sculptures. On each side of the central nave are two rows of low round arches, supported by short plain columns with low capitals ; within the side aisles are doors leading to several small chambers, with varied arabesques and ornamental work round each doorway. On each side is a gallery over the aisles leading to another set of apartments, similar to those below, but not so highly decorated.”<sup>59</sup> His description is so complete that one does not need architectural drawings to imagine the appearance of the building. Interestingly, Texier visited the same monument four years later and included the architectural drawings of it in his travelogue, which he published it in the same year with that of Hamilton.

He is one of the first travelers to recognize Armenian architecture as a distinct style than that of Byzantine, and at the same time, compared Chifteh Minareh or Oulou-Djami with the buildings at Ani. “The building itself appears originally to have been a church of the same character as those which I afterwards saw at Anni, and may therefore be called Armenian.”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 178-9.



Plates 5-7, architectural drawings of Chifteh Minareh, provided by Félix Marie Charles Texier in “*Description de l’Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l’intérieur et de l’instruction publique*”, printed in 1842 in Paris, Volume I.

## 7- Richard Wilbraham (1811-1900)<sup>61</sup>

### Travel to Armenia: 1837

### Publication Date: 1839

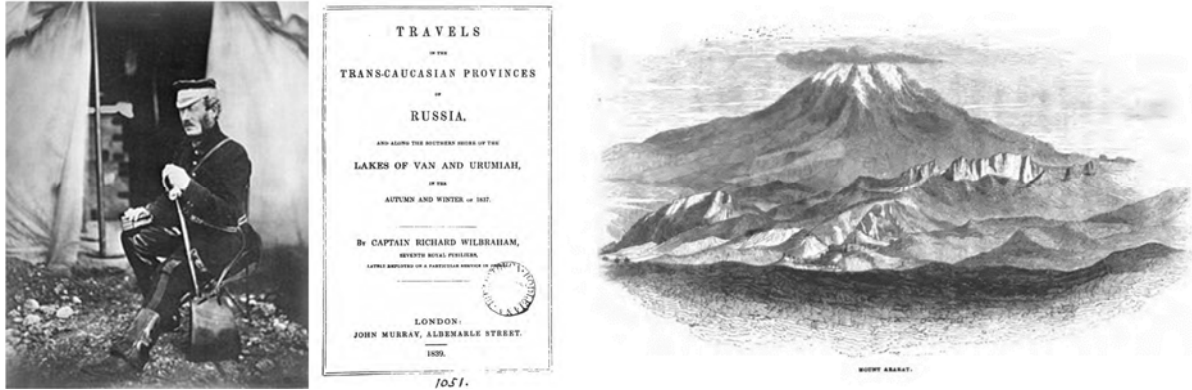
In July 1837 Richard Wilbraham was a young British officer attached to the service of Shah of Persia. As an aftermath to the Siege of Herat, which was in direct opposition to the wishes of the British Government, British officers in Tehran were dismissed.<sup>62</sup> According to Wilbraham, “seeing no prospect of employment for the remainder of the year, and being anxious to escape from the intolerable heat of Tehran ...” he decided to visit the countries between the Caspian and Black seas, Armenia and Georgia, while returning home.<sup>63</sup> He started his journey immediately from Tehran to Tabriz and from Tabriz to Sofian, Marand and Julfa. In Armenia he visited Yerevan and Etchmiadzin and continued his route to Tiflis. His book, *Travels in the Transcaucasian Provinces of Russia and along the Southern Shore of the Lakes of Van and Urmiah in the Autumn and Winter of 1837*, was published two years later in London and includes forty-two

<sup>61</sup> Biographical information extracted from: Wilbraham, Richard. *Travels in the Trans-caucasian Provinces of Russia*. London, 1839.

<sup>62</sup> Kaye, John William. *History of the War in Afghanistan*. Vol. 2. R. Bentley, 1851.

<sup>63</sup> Wilbraham, Richard. *Travels in the Trans-caucasian Provinces of Russia*. London, 1839, p. 2.

chapters in 477 pages. Chapters eight, nine, and ten are dedicated to Armenia. There are six picturesque illustrations in his book and one of them depicts Mount Ararat.



Left: Colonel Richard Wilbraham, outside his tent, Crimean War 1854-56. Unknown author, photograph Q 71544 from the collections of the Imperial War Museums. Middle: Title page of Wilbraham’s travelogue. Right: Mount Ararat, from Wilbraham’s travelogue, plate 1, opposite page 1.

He did not use a scientific language for recording the architecture of the monuments but his perspective as a military officer gave valuable information about road conditions, material culture, and Yerevan fortress which is useful to the contents of this dissertation. Here is an example of his description of Etchmiadzin monastery: “The churches themselves are of a rude and inelegant architecture, forming the shape of a cross surmounted by a species of cupola peculiar to the churches of Armenia, which rises from the centre of the roof in a cylindrical form, and is crowned by a low spire. The buildings are all of solid masonry, and the stone of which they are constructed is a deep red sandstone.”<sup>64</sup> Although not being an architect, he has tried to describe the appearance of the cathedral and he has noticed that the dome is different from other Armenian churches. Maybe he is alluding to the pointed blind arches on the drum which is a later addition. He has visited Persian towns and has seen different monuments of Persian architecture and that’s why he has noticed the “peculiar” combination of Armenian and Persian styles.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

## 8- Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-1880)<sup>65</sup>

**Travel to Armenia: 1847-48**

**Publication Date: 1850**

Marie-Félicité Brosset was a French orientalist specialized in Georgian and Armenian studies. In his early life, he attended theological seminaries in Orleans, where he studied Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic. Later on, he attended lectures delivered at the College de France where he studied Greek, Arabic, and Chinese languages. In 1825, he was elected to the Asiatic Society in Paris and from 1826 he devoted himself to the Armenian and Georgian languages, history, and culture. In 1837, Count Sergey Uvarov, the president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences invited him to Saint Petersburg. A year later, he was elected a member. He traveled to the Caucasus in 1847-48 and translated major medieval and early modern Georgian, Armenian and some Persian chronicles. He started his journey on first August 1847 from Saint Petersburg having a goal in his mind “to search for antiques; to gather, wherever... and in whatever form they present themselves, justifying evidences of the annals of Georgia; to derive from monuments the written testimonies; which can serve to prove or demonstrate to the affirmation of historians that the disdainful Europe hardly knows and appreciates it as legendary.”<sup>66</sup>

In 1851, the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences published his reports.<sup>67</sup> This publication shed light to innumerable problems regarding the dating of the monuments both in Georgia and Armenia. Brosse’s main concern was to define a reliable history for each monument using his experience and skill in reading the inscriptions both in Georgian and Armenian. He believed that “the history of Christian art can benefit a lot from the study of the truly admirable monuments and their dates. The date is gold, it is such an important thing in architecture that in recent times a learned society in France, proposed a prize for the discovery, on French soil, of religious monuments built obviously before the X century. Here [Caucasus], such a prize would be easy to win.”<sup>68</sup>

According to Brosset, the most reliable method to find out the date of a building is the inscriptions. He stated that “[the inscriptions] are undeniably the best and safest materials that

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<sup>65</sup> Biographic information from: Brosse, Lavrentii. *Bibliographie analytique des ouvrages de... Marie-Félicité Brosset... 1824-1879*. l'Académie impériale des sciences, Saint-Petersbourg, 1887.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. viii-ix.

<sup>67</sup> Brosset, Marie-Félicité. *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie en 1847-1848*. Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1851.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

critics can use, because they are not subject to any cause of alteration to which the written works are exposed to, often accused of partiality or uncertainty and that in any case easily deteriorate by the hands of the copyists. Only one evil can strike them, the degradation of the stone on which they are traced.”<sup>69</sup> Regarding this statement, it is worthy to mention that in Armenia, it is customary to reuse the older inscribed stone blocks in newer constructions. Therefore, dating a building, merely based on an inscription is not reliable and the scholars have to study other sources.

The book is accompanied by forty-five lithographic plates. Unlike his predecessors, who preferred to provide the reader with picturesque landscapes and sceneries of the monuments, for Brosset, architectural drawings were more valuable because of their ability to transform correct and technical information to European scholars who had never seen a monument of the kind by their own and their only media was the traveler’s drawings. Brosset, being a philologist himself, asked M. Tcherniavski, who was professional surveyor and inspector, to do the surveys, drawing the scenes, and copying the inscriptions.<sup>70</sup>

Brosset wrote about the plates: “I have attached the plates relating to the described localities. With regard to these plates, if you ask me why I give nothing picturesque, it is not that the subject does not lend itself to it. I would have especially strongly desired, from this point of view, to offer the collection of beautiful fortresses of Atsqour, Althoun-Qala, Tioumoulk or Thmogwi, Kherthwis and Bodchorma, but I am absolutely foreign to the arts of drawing ... Measured with the rigorous accuracy of the surveyor, except for the heights, because the tools we lacked, the plans that I present, start with the architect's thought and whenever possible, reproduce the work of the craftsman's hand”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. xi.



Left: Portrait of Marie-Félicité Brosset, unknown author, retrieved from the archives of RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences), SPF ARAN. Fund 789. Middle: Title page of Brosset, Marie-Félicité. *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie en 1847-1848*. Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1851. Right: Example of Brosset's drawing of the interior of the mosque at Ani. From: Brosset, M. *Les ruines d'Ani: capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe S, histoire et description*. Vol. 1. Eggers et cie., 1860, Plate XI.

## 9- Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894)<sup>72</sup>

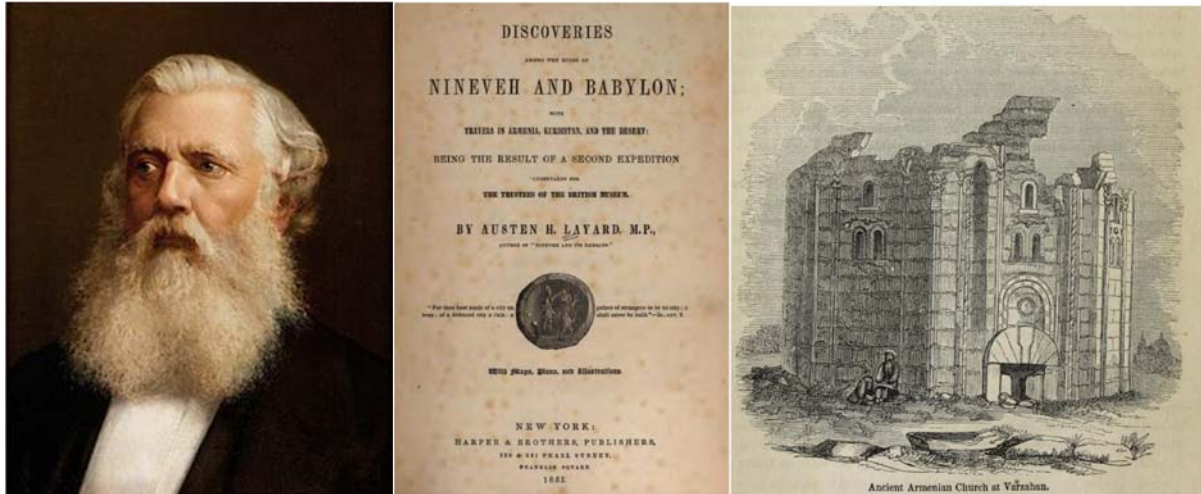
### Travel to Armenia: 1849

### Publication Date: 1853

Austen Henry Layard was an English traveler, archaeologist, cuneiformist, art historian, draughtsman, collector, politician, and diplomat. He uncovered a large portion of the Assyrian bas-reliefs and the legendary library of Ashurbanipal in 1851. He has studied in Italy, England, France, and Switzerland. He received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law from the University of Oxford. He founded the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1849, he returned to Constantinople as a representative to the British embassy, and in August of the same year started a second expedition to the ruins of Babylon and Mesopotamia. He published his travel accounts in 1853.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Biographical information from: Silverberg, Robert. *The man who found Nineveh. The story of Austen Henry Layard*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1964; Sinan, Kunalp, ed., *The Queen's Ambassador to the Sultan. Memoirs of Sir Henry A. Layard's Constantinople Embassy 1877-1880*, The ISIS Press, Istanbul, 2009.

<sup>73</sup> Henry, LAYARD Austen. *Discoveries in The Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert*. London, 1853.



Left: Portrait of Austen Henry Layard, unknown artist, located in British Embassy, Ankara. Middle: Title page of his travelogue. Right: Ancient Armenian Church of Varzahan, Layard, p. 6.

The book is divided into thirty-six chapters mainly dedicated to Babylon and Nineveh. The only part which he discusses Armenian architecture is on his way to Assyria, while he passed an Armenian village near Erzerum called Varzahan and has noticed the ruins of three early Christian churches, or baptisteries.<sup>74</sup> He drew a sketch of one of the churches believing it to be a baptistery and has described it with rich architecture terminology: “The knotted capitals of the thin tapering columns grouped together, the peculiar arrangement of the stone over the doorway, supporting each other by a zigzag, and the decoration in general, call to mind the European Gothic of the middle ages.”<sup>75</sup> Other than using scientific language to describe the monument, Layard posed questions regarding the origin of these “gothic” elements and their relation with the European Gothic architecture.

## 10- John Ussher<sup>76</sup>

### Travel to Armenia: 1860

### Publication Date: 1865

John Ussher was a British traveler who traveled with a friend for purpose of pleasure and amusement, the chief object of his journey “was to penetrate into the mountains of Daghestan, so

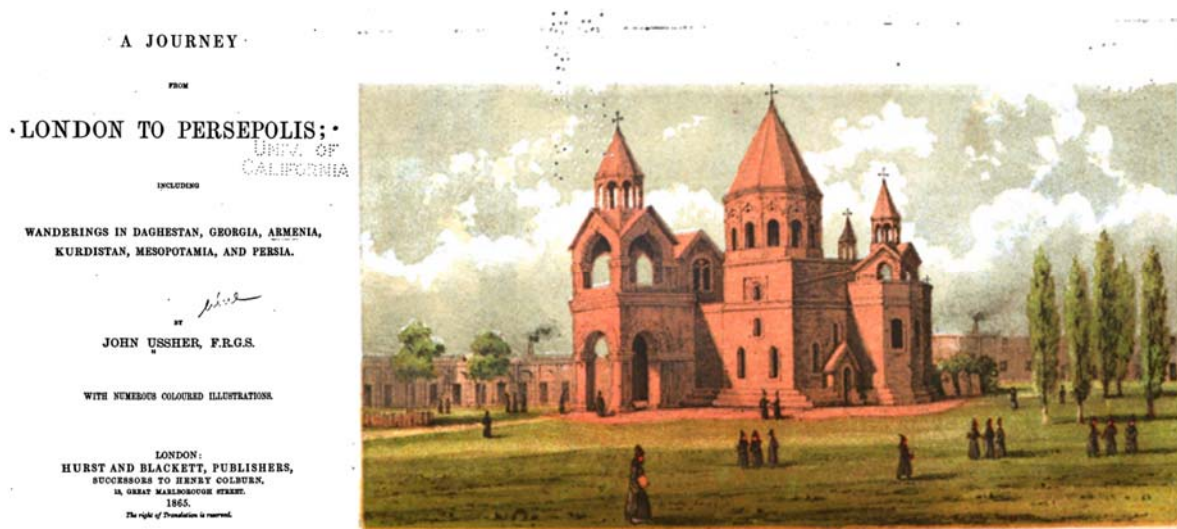
<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Biographical information from: Ussher, John. *A Journey from London to Persepolis: Including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia; with Numerous Coloured Illustrations.* Hurst and Blackett, London, 1865.



long the scene of the unequal conflict between Schamyl and the Russian Power.”<sup>77</sup> Not possessing any scientific acquirements, he has confined himself to recording what he heard and saw. His book, *A Journey from London to Persepolis: Including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, is divided into thirty-three chapters in 793 pages, including eighteen colored illustrations of picturesque sceneries. There are two illustrations regarding Armenian subjects: 1- Illustration number eight, Church of the Monastery of Etchmiadzin, page 259. 2- Illustration number ten, Akhthamar from Aghavank, page 328. The illustration of the Cathedral at Etchmiadzin is very similar to that of Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux’s (Plate VI of the third atlas), depicted about thirty years later from the same point of view.



Left: Title page of Ussher, John. *A Journey from London to Persepolis: Including Wanderings in Daghestan, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, and Persia; with Numerous Coloured Illustrations*. Hurst and Blackett,... successors to Henry Colburn, 1865. Right: Church of the Monastery of Etchmiadzin, *Ibid.*, p. 259.

His language is not scientific but his attention to material culture and detailed description of ordinary buildings provide us with valuable information. This is an example of his description of the Etchmiadzin Monastery: “On approaching it all that could be seen was a high wall with eight towers enclosing a space of ground of some extent, over which, in the center of the square, was visible the conical dome of a church. Around the wall were growing in rows some poplar trees, which were the more conspicuous from the dead flat on which they stood, and on which the

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. v.

monastery was built...On passing through this, we entered a cloister running around the inner court, in the center of which stood the church...”<sup>78</sup>

His description of the Yerevan fortress and the general image of the town is important to fill the gap between Brosset who visited Erivan in 1847-48, and Thielman who visited the town in 1872.

## **11- Max Von Thielmann (1846-1929)<sup>79</sup>**

**Travel to Armenia: 1872**

**Publication Date: 1875**

Max Von Thielmann was a German diplomat, politician, and Secretary of State in the Reich Treasury of the German Empire. He studied in Berlin and the Heidelberg, where in 1864, was a member of the Corps Saxo-Borussia. In the following years he worked at the German embassies in Saint Petersburg, Copenhagen, Bern, Washington, D.C., Brussels, Paris, and Constantinople. As a diplomat, he traveled extensively to the Caucasus and Persia and wrote travelogues. His book regarding Armenia, *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia, by Lieut. Baron Max von Thielmann*, was published in 1875 in Leipzig and concurrently an English translation in London.<sup>80</sup> Five years later, in 1880, it was translated into French and published in Paris.

He has studied the travelogues of his predecessors before starting the trip. He had discovered that “these materials were scarcely to be met with in any available degree, and that no work existed which could be employed in the sense of a hand-book.”<sup>81</sup> He considered Dubois de Montperreux’s book to be the most detailed and reliable of the Caucasus, “but his work was written a long time previous to the recent era of pacification, at which period the country first became accessible to the traveler, and is therefore out of date.”<sup>82</sup> The trip was programmed to be three months but later, it was extended to six months due to the addition of travel to Persia. The first volume of his book is divided into four chapters in 308 pages. Chapter I: Odessa to Poti, pages 1-49. Chapter II: Poti to Borshom, pages 50-136. Chapter III: Borshom to Tiflis, pages 137-216. Chapter IV: Tiflis to Petrowsk, pages 217-308. The Armenian subjects are recorded

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 256-7.

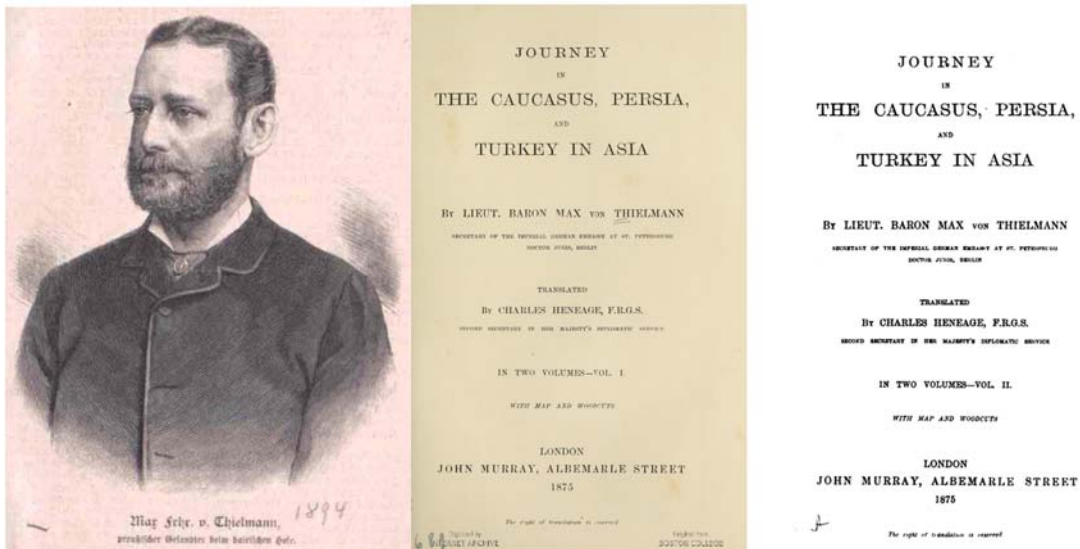
<sup>79</sup> Biographic information from: von Thielmann, Max. *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der asiatischen Türkei*. Duncker & Humblot, 1875.

<sup>80</sup> *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia, by Lieut. Baron Max Von Thielmann, Tr. by Charles Heneage*. London, John Murray, 1875.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. ix.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. ix,x.

under chapter III as follows: Alexandropol-The Alagoz-Drive to Ani-Ruins of Ani-Drive back-Road to Erivan-Mastara-Talyn-Village Architecture-Sardarabad-Etschmiadzin-See of the Patriarch-Situation of the Monastery-Cathedral-Stay at the Monastery-Erivan-Mosque and Fort-View of the Ararat-Excursion to Ararat-Monastery of Khorvirap-Aralych-The Ararat-Aghurri-Gorge of Aghurri-The Kipgol-Kurds-Aralych-Return to Erivan.



Left: Portrait of Max von Thielmann in 1894, unknown author, from Bildarchiv, Austria. Middle and right: Title pages of volume I and II respectively.

There are nine illustrations in the book but none of them related to Armenian subjects. His detailed observation of material culture, specifically his attention to village architecture, is the reason he has been chosen for the accounts of this dissertation.

## 12- Henry Finnis Blossé Lynch (1862-1913)<sup>83</sup>

**Travel to Armenia: 1893-94, 1898**

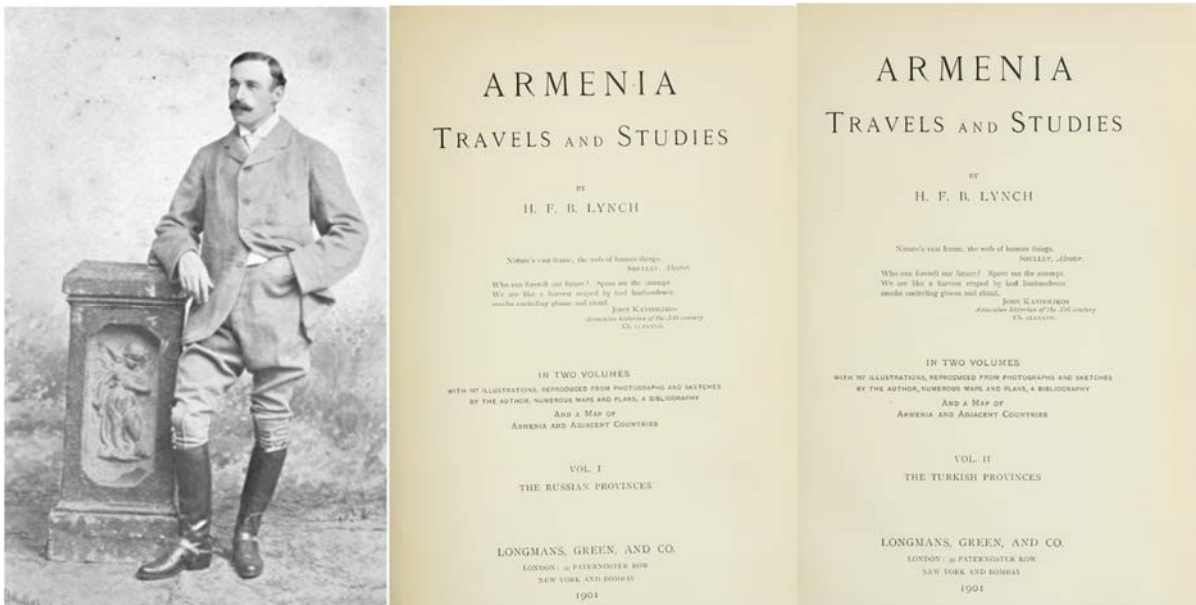
**Publication Date: 1901**

Henry Finnis Blossé Lynch was a British traveler and businessperson. He was born in London in 1862, of Irish and Armenian descendants. His maternal grandmother was an Armenian from Baghdad. The family owned Lynch Brothers, a company that traded and had naval lines in Persia and Mesopotamia. He was educated at Eton College, the University of Heidelberg, and Trinity

<sup>83</sup> Biographical information from: "Lynch, Henry Finnis Blossé (LNC880HF). *A Cambridge Alumni Database*. University of Cambridge; "Mr. H.F.B. Lynch", *The Times*, 26 November 1913, p.11.

College, Cambridge. He was interested in the Armenian question and made two visits to Armenia, between August 1893 and March 1894 and the second time between May and September 1898. He published his accounts in a two-volume book.<sup>84</sup> The book contains 982 pages with 196 photographs and drawings, sixteen maps and a comprehensive bibliography in twenty-five pages.

Lynch is the first traveler who dedicated an entire book to Armenia. He is also the first traveler to use photographs to depict the monuments and scenes. Many are dedicated to landscapes and portraits of famous and common people, but a large number are related to architecture, particularly to Armenian churches and monasteries. For Ani, there are as many as twenty-four photos. He dedicated four photos to the architectural monuments of Yerevan but all of them depicting Persian buildings and mosques and none to Armenian churches.



Left: Portrait of Henry Finnis Bloste Lynch, from the Armenian translation of his book, printed in 1902 in London. Middle and right: Title page of the first and second volumes respectively. Lynch, Harry Finnis Bloste. *Armenia, travels and studies*. 2 Volumes. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1901.

Lynch occupies himself with many descriptions of the geographic and geological aspects of the territory, the contrast between the majesty of the Armenian landscape and the misery of the

<sup>84</sup> Lynch, Harry Finnis Bloste. *Armenia, travels and studies*. 2 Volumes. Longmans, Green, and Company, 1901.

population that lives there. His descriptions of villages and cities, attention to the condition of the ordinary people, different ethnic groups, religions, and particular attention to statistics regarding educational institutions is significant.

The description of buildings at Ani is meticulous but not particularly original. He recognized the presence of different architectural languages being Byzantine, Gothic, and "Saracenic". He believed that "Ani is indeed a museum of architectural styles."<sup>85</sup> However, there are few implications regarding the dating of the monuments and the chronology of architectural styles. Generally, he referred to his predecessors and highlighted some inaccuracies.<sup>86</sup>

Apart from Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux who posed the question of preservation of Geghard Monastery,<sup>87</sup> Lynch is the only traveler who cared about the Armenian monuments and felt the responsibility to address the problem of their preservation. He wrote: "For all these reasons a special duty devolves upon the traveler to address a pressing appeal both to the Armenians and to the Russian Government for the preservation of these monuments ... the octagonal minaret has already succumbed. A like fate will presently overtake the chapel of the Redeemer ... The monastery of Horomos is falling into ruin ... The co-operation of the Russian Government should be secured in this laudable enterprise; nor need we despair that it will be forthcoming in such a cause. Much as that Government is inclined to discourage Armenian patriotism, it rarely omits to perform a service in the interest of culture when the appeal is general, and the interest are clear"<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 380.

<sup>86</sup> In many cases, Lynch refers to Texier and Brosset. He has published Brosset's plan of Etchmiadzin in his book.

<sup>87</sup> After visiting Geghard Monastery, he returned to Tbilisi and told Count Rosen, the Russian governor of Armenia, "how much he regretted that such monuments were neglected and abandoned without care in the bad weather and harsh winters of those valleys." de Montpéreux, Frédéric Du Bois. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Vol. 6. Gide, 1843. Vol. III, p. 398.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 391-2.

# Section II

## Complexity of an Armenian Image as Projected by European Travelers

### Introduction

Armenian art and architecture largely remained unknown to European scholars until the beginning of the nineteenth century by the occupation of Eastern Armenia by Russian Empire. In previous centuries, European travelers, on their way to Persia, have passed these lands and have noticed, recorded, and analyzed the features of medieval Armenian monuments in their travelogues. The European travelers highlighted specific features of otherwise a comprehensive image of Armenia, regarding their own interests, experiences, occupation, and their travel objective. Some were merchants or diplomats, more attentive to the local affairs related to customs and taxes, some military officers, more interested in defensive and civic infrastructure, some archaeologists, art, or architecture historians, more interested in monuments, their status, their original forms, and etc. The two seventeenth century French merchants and travelers, Tavernier and Chardin, paid specific attention to the archaism of the Armenian church, of which they not only registered the traditions and customs, but also the superstition, especially regarding its relics. Chardin has recorded the old story that people of Yerevan believe that they are the oldest people on earth and Noah and his family lived in the area were later, the city of Yerevan was built.<sup>1</sup>

After the occupation of Eastern Armenia by the Russian Empire, the number of travelers to the area dramatically increased.<sup>2</sup> Despite their motivation, they were the first to formulate general theories of Armenian architecture which explained its origins as well as its relations to Georgia,

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<sup>1</sup> Chardin, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> See appendix 1, Catalogue of Significant Travelers through the Region, fourth traveler, Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux, The Number of European Travelers to Caucasus up to 1836.

Byzantium, and the West. Their educational background and occupation played an important role in the quality of their recordings. They were inclined to record specific phenomena and, in some cases, completely ignorant towards other important facts. Armenian architecture captured the attention of many of these travelers and they have recorded them with different points of view. These recordings are not free of errors and are biased in some cases. Considering the remoteness of the monuments and the little number of travelers, there were not a large amount of materials available for western scholars to study it. Therefore, they relied on a limited number of architectural drawings and written interpretations of monuments. The more travelers documented their voyages, the more materials became available for scholars but the first attempts to scholarly document the wealth of this architecture took place at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century initiating by Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg and Professor Nikolai Marr's excavations at Ani.

In seventeenth century, twenty-six French, seventeen British, seven German and Austrian, six Italian, five Portuguese, four Dutch, two Spanish, one Flemish, one Polish, and one Swedish traveled to Persia and wrote their travelogue. Among these travelers, eighteen French, four British, five German and Austrian, four Italian, and one Dutch had passed from Armenia.<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter, the author is going to study the more relevant travelers who paid attention to the architectural image of Eastern Armenia and recorded some aspects of it. Some, possessing an architectural background, recorded more accurate image sometimes accompanied by architectural surveys and drawings. Some, being merchants or missionaries, paid more attention to recording customs and daily life. This chapter starts with a study regarding the different representation techniques used by European travelers to record the heritage of Armenian architecture and follows by a study of European traveler's opinion about the origin of Armenian architecture and its probable influence on Western architecture.

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<sup>3</sup> For a list of European travelers from 17th century to the beginning of 20th century, see: Bedrosian, Robert G. "Travelers' Accounts: Journeys to the Armenian Highlands and Neighboring Lands in the 17th through early 20th centuries." *History Workshop*. Web. 07 September 2017. <<http://rbedrosian.com/Trav/trav.html>>

## **Representation Techniques Used by European Travelers to Depict the Armenian Architecture**

Every form of representation can be understood and be interpreted as a project of knowledge. A representation is never objective. The author represents what is more important to him/her. Even a photograph is subject to the photographer's choice. European travelers have used different techniques of representation regarding the prevalent methods and ideology of their own time. In earlier time periods, starting from 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the bird eye's view representation of cities and monuments was popular in Europe. It is an elevated view as if the viewer is a bird flying over the object of representation. As flying machines were not invented yet, these representations were mostly drawn from direct observation at high locations like hills, mountains and in some cases, towers. This representation method had existed since the classical times, but its last great flourishing period was in mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Following are some examples of this kind of representation. Each traveler paid attention to different objects and different levels of accuracy. The following two illustrations of Erzerum are created in 17<sup>th</sup> century from the exact same point (figs. 1-2). In both cases, the authors tried to be loyal to the general layout, the surrounding mountains, the city walls, the buildings inside and outside the walls, and the gardens following the buildings outside the walls. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort drew a more realistic mountain and has clearly highlighted the double city walls while in Johann Baptist Homann's drawing, the mountains are less elaborate, and the double walls are not depicted. The above-mentioned travelers have depicted several Armenian cities from the exact same point which made it easy to highlight the objectivity of each representations. Following is the illustration of Kars, an important Armenian city (figs. 3-4). While Tournefort draw a more realistic depiction of mountains, river, city walls, and buildings, Homann paid less attention to details.





Figure 1: Illustration of Erzurum by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort from "A Voyage into the Levant made by order of the King, Vol II, p 260.

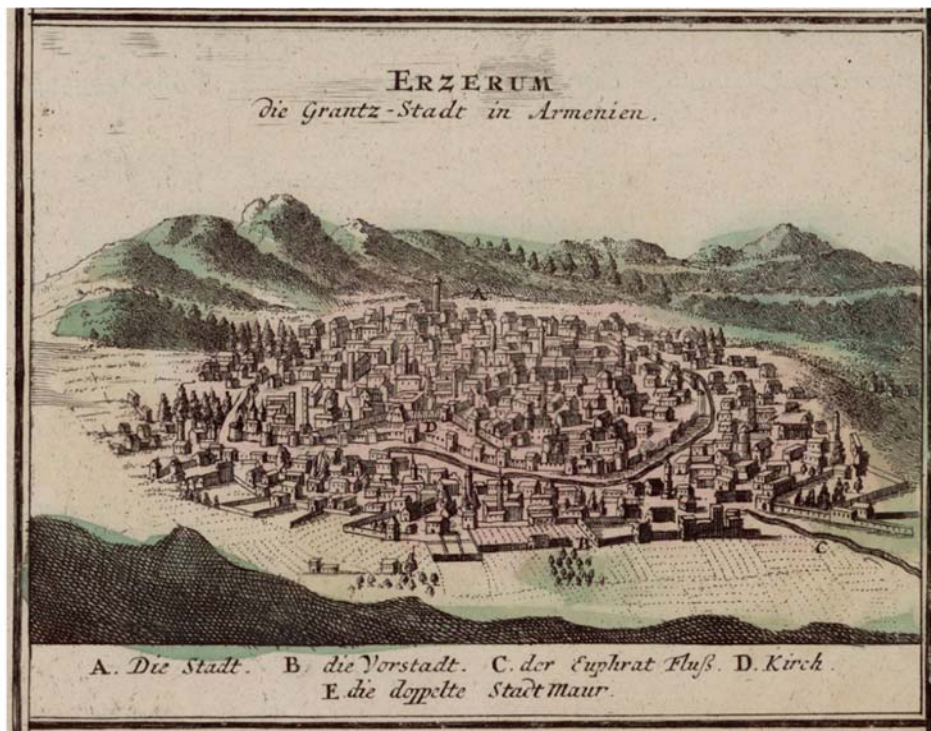


Figure 2: Illustration of Erzerum by Johann Baptist Homann (1663-1724). The translation of the legend is as follows: A- the City, B- the Suburb, C- the River Euphrates, D- a Church, E- the Double City Wall.

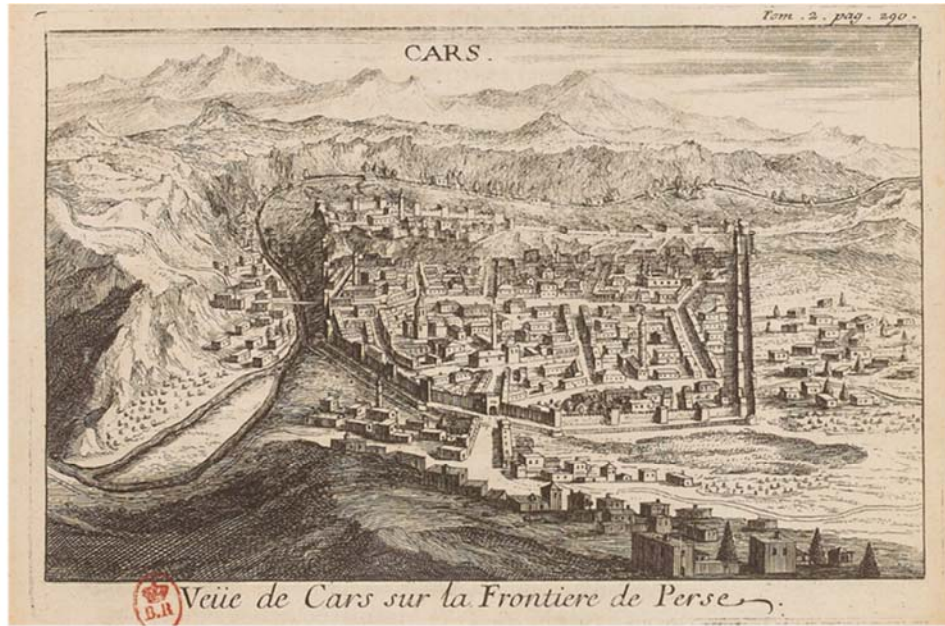


Figure 3: Illustration of Erzurum by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort from "A Voyage into the Levant made by order of the King, Vol II, p 290.

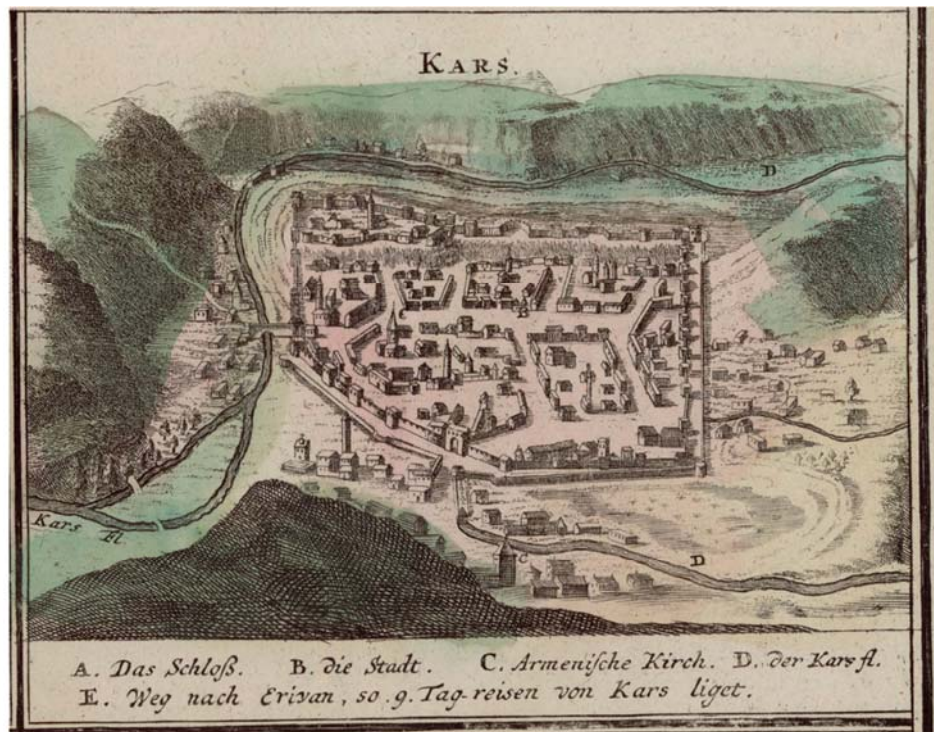


Figure 4: Kars, illustrated by Johann Baptist Homann (1663-1724), the translation of the legend is as follows: A- the castle, B- the city, C- an Armenian Church, D- the river Kars, E- the way to [the city] Yerevan, which is 9 days' journey from Kars.

Some travelers have used a combination of bird's eye view and flat representation technique. The following example is a depiction of Yerevan city in 1670 by Tavernier. In this illustration,

the author drew the houses of the city in a frontal view, without perspective while he tried to record a 3D effect in depicting the hills and mountains (Sec. I, fig. 3). The church, (letter C) is depicted showing both the frontal and side view while all other buildings, including those inside the fortress are all flat. The fortifications and the garrison with canons are a combination of perspective, axonometric and flat representation. The two constructions representing the market between the fortress and the city (next to the letter M) are depicted in an axonometric view. The artist tried to depict the richness of flora and fauna which some are real, some pure fantasy. We know from various sources that there were many fruit gardens around and inside Yerevan. There is a big pear tree (foreground, right) and various unrecognizable plants in the garden located in the other side of the river gorge. This illustration is a valuable source of information regarding the plan of Yerevan in seventeenth century which together with the textual documents of the era, can shed light to reconstructing the image of the city in various time periods.

Some illustrations are detail oriented, having the aim of conveying a specific message. The following illustration, created by Jules Joseph Leclercq in 1892, depicting a scene from outside Yerevan looking to Mount Ararat, highlighting the non-monumental village scene and the costumes of the people (fig. 5). The construction technique of the village house in the left side of foreground is recognizable. One might argue that the costumes are Europeanized.

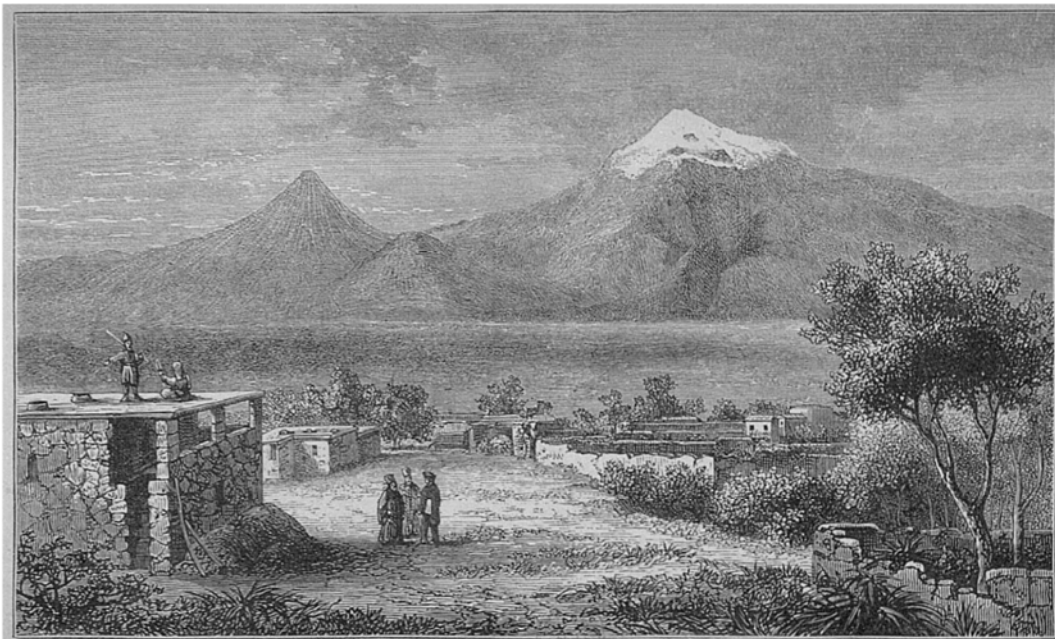


Figure 5: A detail oriented representation depicting the village houses and the customs. From Leclercq, Jules Joseph. *Voyage au Mont Ararat*, Paris, 1892, before title.

Due to continuous wars and instability of the area during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, very little European travelers have visited and therefore, depicted the area. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the region became stable, more people traveled and recorded the status in their travelogues. According to the prevalent ideas in Europe, the travelers of this period were inclined to depict picturesque scenes. Robert Ker Porter, a well-known landscape painter, passed from Armenia in his way to Persepolis. His objective was to correctly depict the bas reliefs of Persepolis without any attempt to complete or Europeanize it. Following is an example of his picturesque drawings of Yerevan in 1820. Between 1670 to 1820, little was changed in Yerevan, but the technique of the representation is completely altered. In this illustration, the fortress, the Hrazdan River gorge, and the Sardar Gardens are visible (Sec. I, fig. 16). This is a view from the top of the apartment where Ker Porter was staying in Yerevan. The empty space between the fortress and the city, marked by letter M in Tavernier's illustration, is visible in left. In another example, Dubois depicted the same view about twenty years later than Ker Porter (Sec. I, fig. 17). In Dubois' depiction, the stone bridge over the Hrazdan River is visible and the kiosk in garden is depicted with more detail and the trees of garden are all poplars.

There are attempts to survey and record the architectural monuments of Armenia by travelers. One of the first examples of depicting the architectural plan of Etchmiadzin is drawn by Chardin in 1686 (fig. 6). In this very interesting illustration, the church is not depicted in a bird eye's view. The viewer is far from the building, in south west, but in the same level of the church. In depicting the elevation of the church, the artist has most probably located in the roof of the rooms surrounding the courtyard where the church is located. However, the pavement is depicted in a bird eye's view but the building itself is frontal (the viewer is higher than the ground level but lower than the roof level of the cathedral.) An accurate plan of the building with scale is provided on top of the illustration on a piece of cloth held by two cherubs.

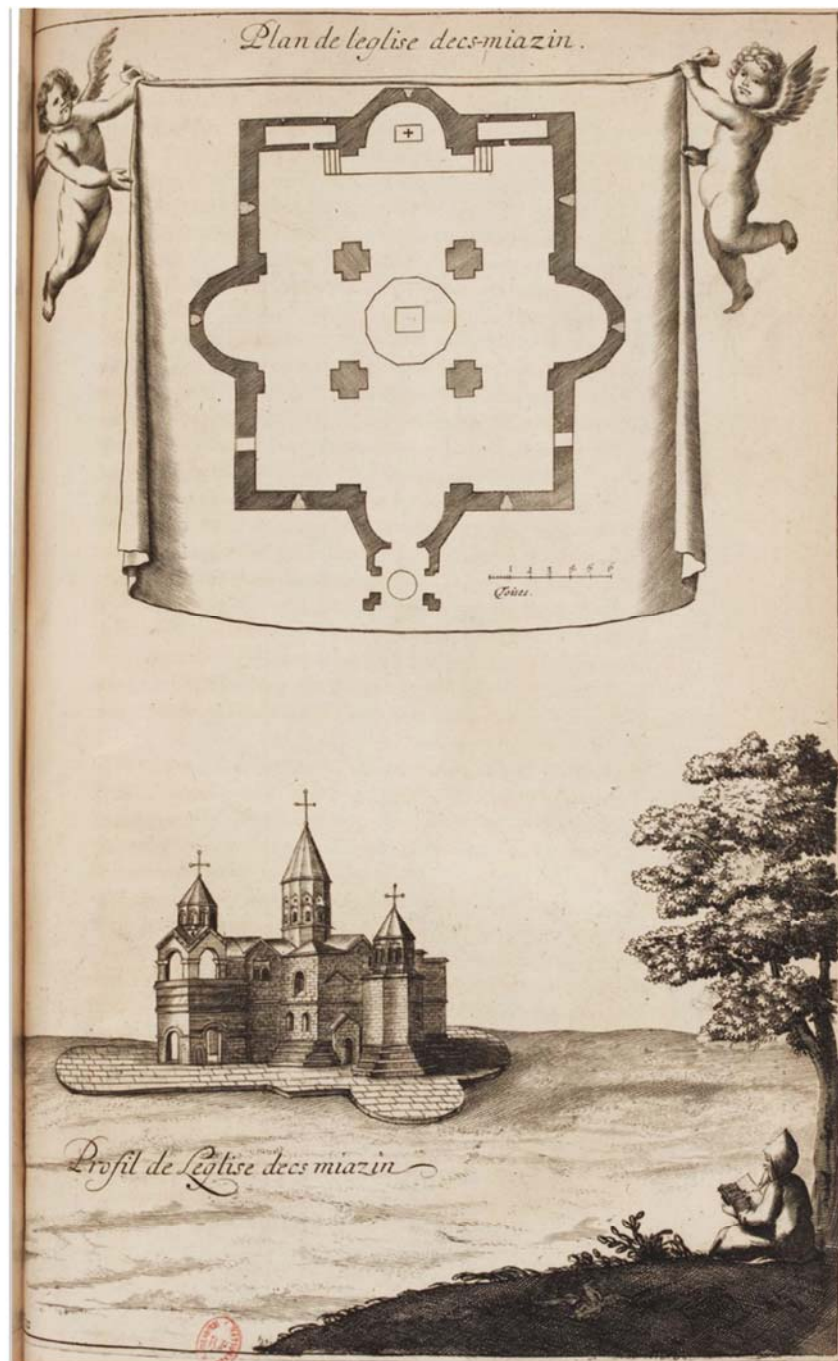


Figure 6: On top of the image, there is one of the first attempts of recording an accurate, scaled architectural plan of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral. On bottom of the image, there is a representation of the External view of the Cathedral. In this illustration, there are two viewpoints, one for the floor which is a bird's eye view and one for the building which is close to a frontal view. Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686, opposite page 259.

In the same travelogue, Chardin provided us with another depiction of Etchmiadzin, a bird eye's view showing the cathedral in the middle of a courtyard surrounded by two story Persian style rooms (fig. 7-8). There is a controversy. In both depictions, there are three domes, the

main dome, the dome on the bell tower in front of the entrance, and a smaller dome in one of the apses. In the first drawing, the smallest dome is depicted on the southern apse but in the second drawing, on northern apse. The second depiction reveals valuable information even if it is not accurate. The church is walled and there are fields in the courtyard cultivated by monks.



Figure 7: Scene of the City of Etchmiadzin. Chardin, Jean. *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales par la Mer Noire et par la Colchide*. London, 1686, opposite page 258.

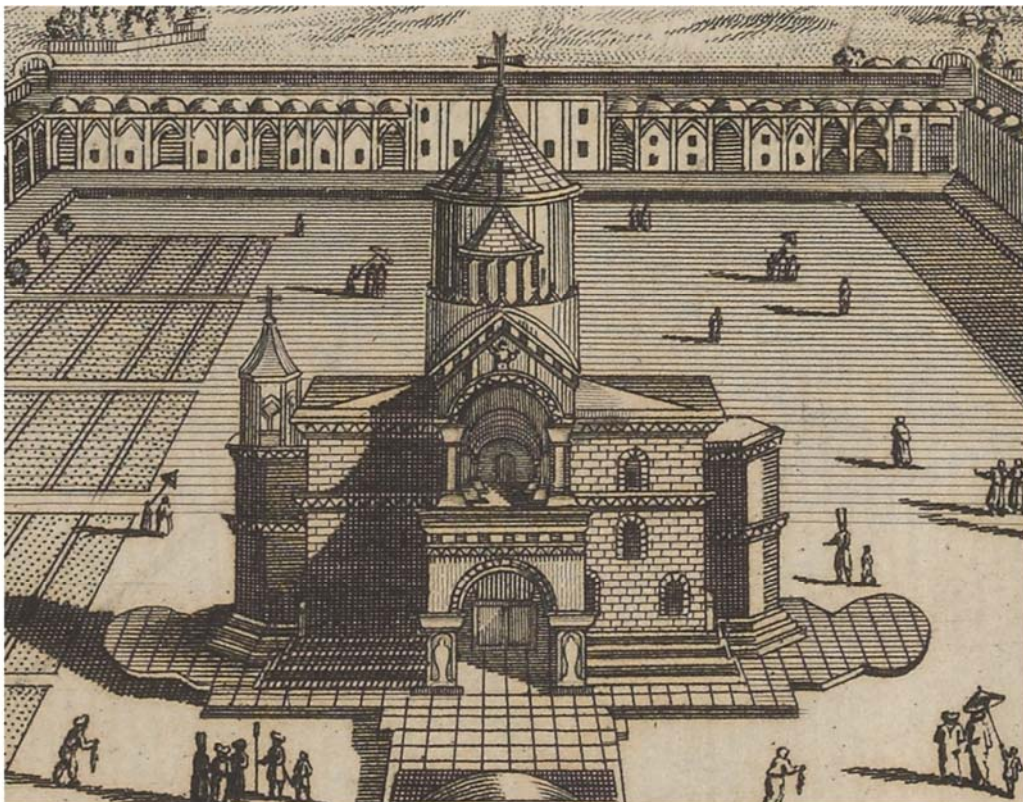


Figure 8: Close-up view of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral. There is no belfry on the southern apse while in the figure 6, the belfry is clearly visible on southern apse. Both illustrations are published in the same book by Chardin.

The next category of depictions is the perspective of single monuments. These depictions are drawn with different levels of accuracy. Following is an example of a perspective depicting of Etchmiadzin Cathedral by Dubois (fig. 9).



Figure 9: Perspective representation of a single monument with attention to costumes, flora and fauna. Depicted by Dubois in 1831. Atlas III, plate VII.

A very important category of depictions are the ones trying to record and show the current state of the monument. Texier is one of the first Europeans who visited Ani in 1839 with a professional team. In the following depiction of Ani cathedral, he left the already collapsed dome with simple line drawing but rendered the existing parts. The perspective depictions of the same team reveal that there are damages on other parts of the elevation which is not reflected in Texier's drawing. The portal is already half destroyed but Texier draw a complete portal. Therefore, one can argue that his drawings are a mix of real and complete state (figs. 10-13).



Figure 10: Left: The South elevation of Ani cathedral by Texier. Elevation differentiating the collapsed dome and the existing building. Meanwhile, the portal is depicted in original state. From Texier, 1842, Vol. I, plate XX. Top Right: A perspective view of the building drawn in the same expedition trip by Texier's team mate. The damaged portal is visible. From Texier, 1842, Vol. I, plate XVII. Bottom right: Photograph of the Ani Cathedral by Lynch. From Lynch, 1901, Vol. I, figure 72, opposite page 370.

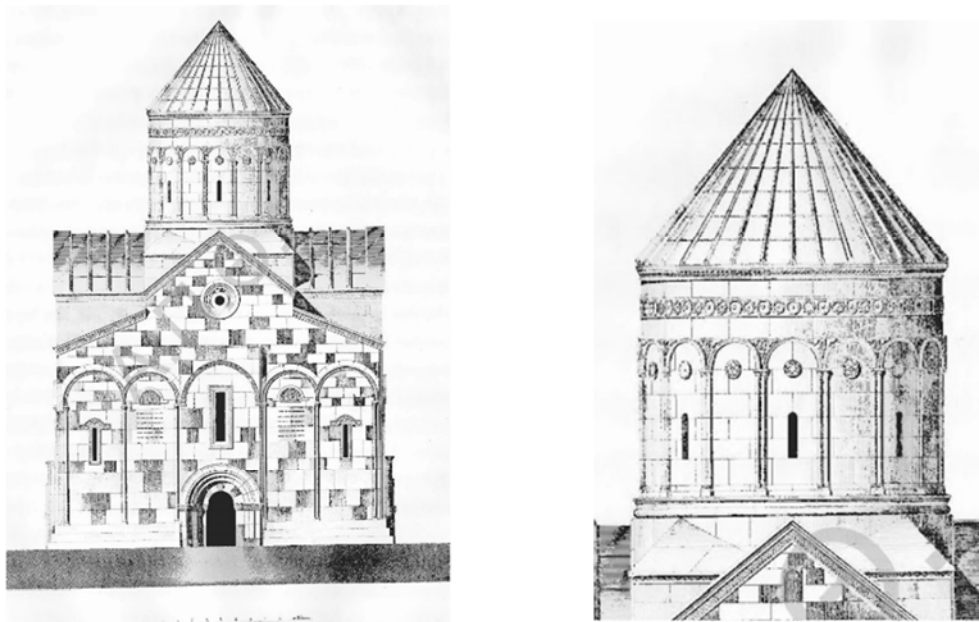


Figure 11: West elevation of Ani Cathedral depicted by Texier. The dome is reconstructed without differentiating the original and current status of the dome. From Texier, 1842, Vol. I, plate XIX.





Figure 12: Ani cathedral, by Brosset, 1860. The state of preservation is clearly visible. Although not a scientific survey, but there is no attempt to complete any damage. This category of depictions are valuable source to analyze the state of preservation in different time periods. From Brosset, M. Les ruines d'Ani: capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe S, histoire et description. Eggers et cie, Saint Petersburg, 1860. Atlas General, 45 planches, plate VIII.

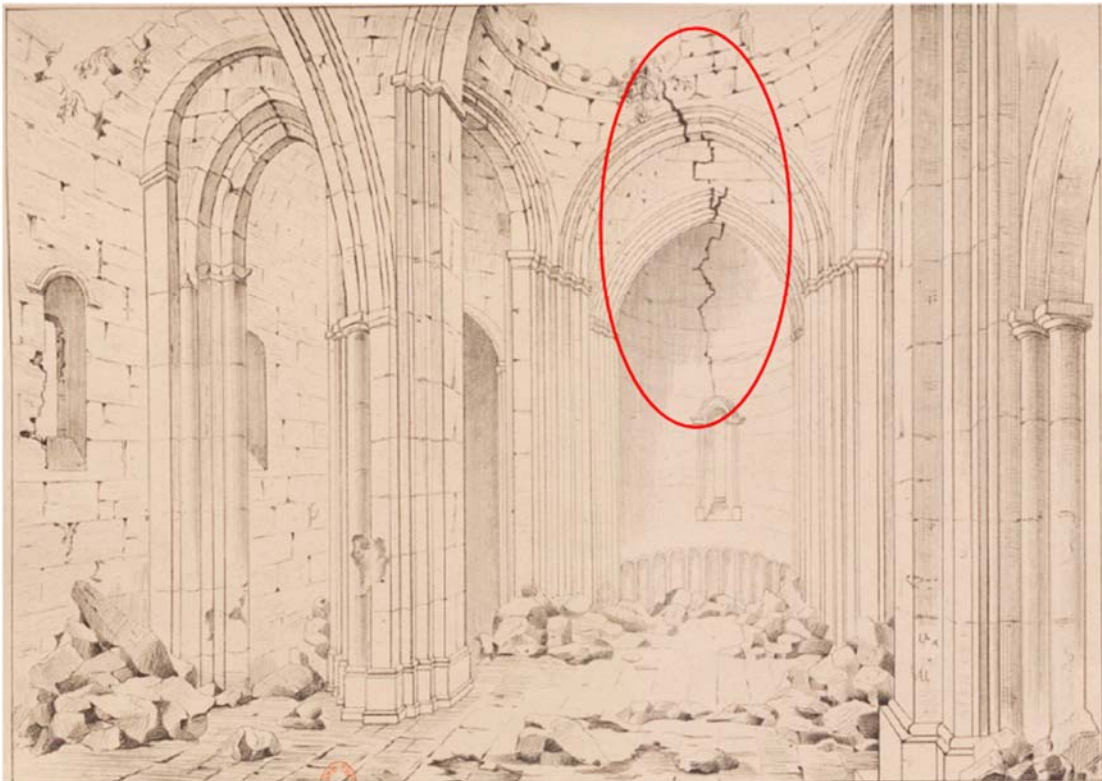


Figure 13: An interior view of Ani cathedral drawn by Brosset in 1860. The damages are clearly visible. From Brosset, M. Les ruines d'Ani: capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe S, histoire et description. Eggers et cie, Saint Petersburg, 1860. Atlas General, 45 planches, plate IX.

Studying the drawings provided by the European travelers as valuable primary sources, together with the textual documents, helped the author to reconstruct an accurate status of many Armenian monuments during the nineteenth century.

### **The European Travelers and the Armenian Architecture**

In this section, the author tries to trace and record the ideas regarding the origin of Armenian architecture in the travelogues written by European travelers. One of the first European travelers who visited Armenia in his way to Isfahan in seventeenth century is Jean Chardin. The names of Armenian monuments which he mentioned in his travelogue are as follows: Bjni Monastery (Surp Astvatsatsin monastery), Yerevan Fortress, Katoghike Church (Surp Astvatsatsin), Daf Sultan Mosque, baths and a caravanserai near Sardar Palace, Sardar Palace, Sevanavank, Etchmiadzin Cathedral, Saint Gayane Church, Saint Hripsime Church, Khor Virap monastery and twenty-five monasteries and five nunneries without mentioning their names. About Bjni and its monastery he wrote that it is a beautiful building located between the village and mountain. It is seven or eight hundred years old. The church is built of big stones and is very well preserved. The monastery is built according to local techniques surrounded by tall and massive stone wall. Close to the monastery, the ruins of an old fortresses and towers is visible.

He explained the Bjni monastery by using the word “beautiful” which is subjective and can be interpreted in infinite ways and about the dating of the building, he did not hesitate to record one hundred years tolerance. Furthermore, he recorded the construction technique by using the subject “big” for the name “stones” without referring to any scale. Regarding the preservation state, he used the phrase “very well preserved” which is subjective, but one can interpret the lines above as: a church which is made of finely cut stones and kept well preserved because of its importance. The term well preserved is problematic for another reason. In most cases, the common architecture in Armenia was constructed by mud which was not as durable as stone. Only the churches, monasteries and palaces were made of stone and the other buildings which were the living areas and other activities were made of ephemeral materials and less elaborate techniques. This is the main reason why most monasteries in Armenia has no trace of daily life and activities and only the finely built stone buildings are preserved.

The next place which Chardin gives information about its architectural image is Yerevan city and its fortress. Except the two churches which are not explained in detail, all other mentioned buildings including mosques, caravanserais, baths, the governor's palace, were in Persian style.

The biggest church was where the Catholicos was living. It was called Katoghike church (fig. 14). Next to the Katoghike church, there was an old tower built by stone. Chardin has provided us with an engraving depicting a scene of the City of Etchmiadzin in 1686. This engraving is particularly valuable because it depicts the three main monuments of the Vagharshapat, being the Etchmiadzin Cathedral, the Saint Hripsime, and the Saint Gaiane, prior to the modern restorations. Chardin has based this engraving on a model of 1660 by Jacob Peeters published in Antwerp and he only changed a few details most significantly the clouds and the number of visitors present in the courtyard (fig. 15).

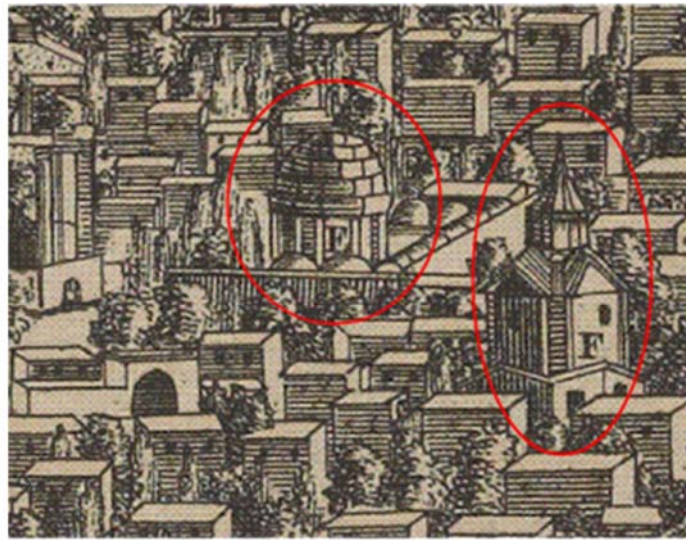


Figure 14: Close-up view of the Yerevan city by Chardin (Sec. I, fig. 4). The Ancient tower identified by letter E is in the middle of the image and the Katoghike Church by letter F on the right.

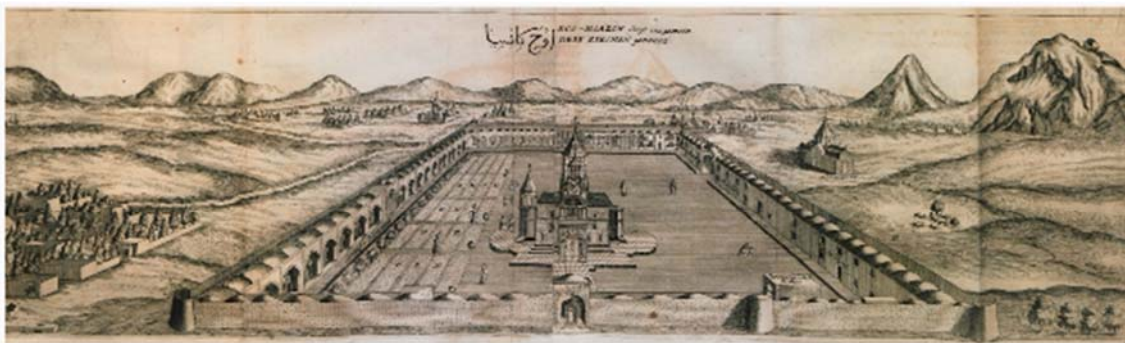


Figure 15: The original engraving of the city of Etchmiadzin published by Jacob Peeters in 1660.

In a detailed view of the section which depicts a church outside the walls, attention to details like the graveyard scene on a hill in front of the church or the walled gardens further away is significant (fig. 16).

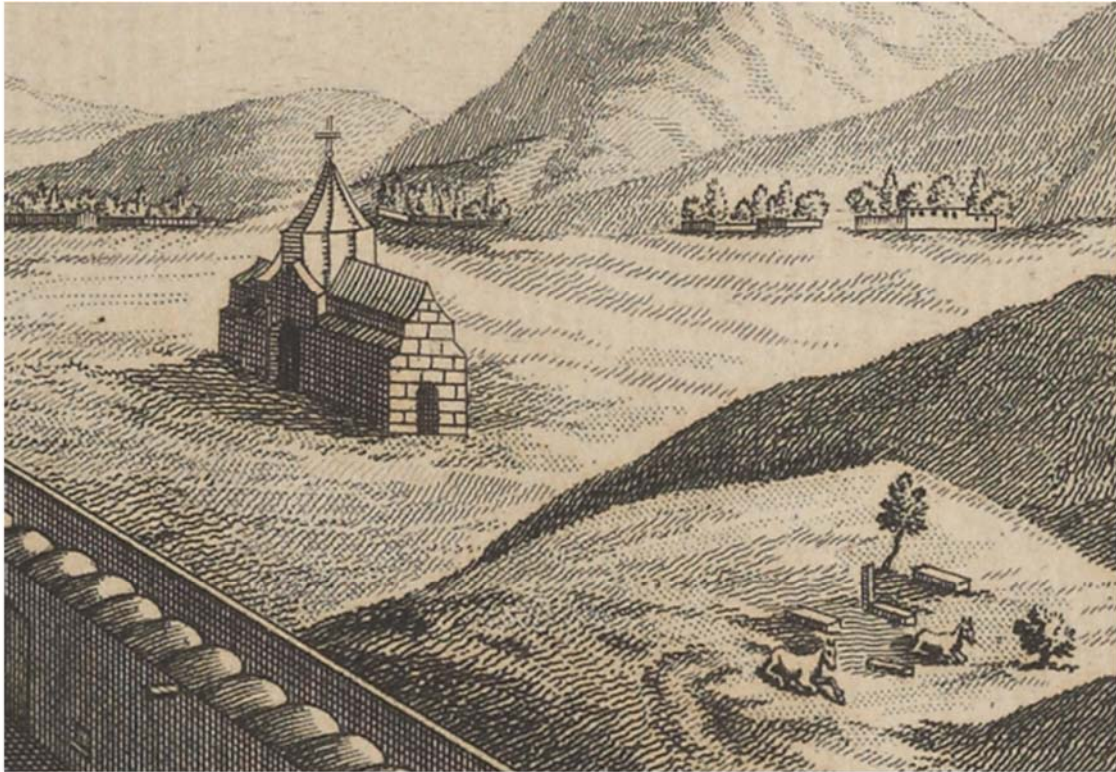


Figure 16: Close-up view of Etchmiadzin by Chardin (fig. 7), attention to details like the graveyard on top of the hill and the walled gardens in the background is significant.

The cathedral is depicted in a walled rectangular courtyard surrounded by Persian style loggias. The left half of the courtyard seems to be covered by vegetable gardens (figs. 7, 15-18). There are several visitors in the courtyard with different clothing styles with respect to their nationality or rank.



Figure 17: A close-up view of the main entrance gate to the Etchmiadzin Cathedral and the surrounding walls (from fig. 7). Attention to the Persian style entrance gate and the costumes are significant.

In a detailed view of Etchmiadzin Cathedral, only northern bell tower is depicted which means that by the time of the creation of this drawing, the other bell towers had not been constructed yet. The drum is depicted without the pointed arches which gives the building an eclectic Persian-Armenian image (fig. 8).

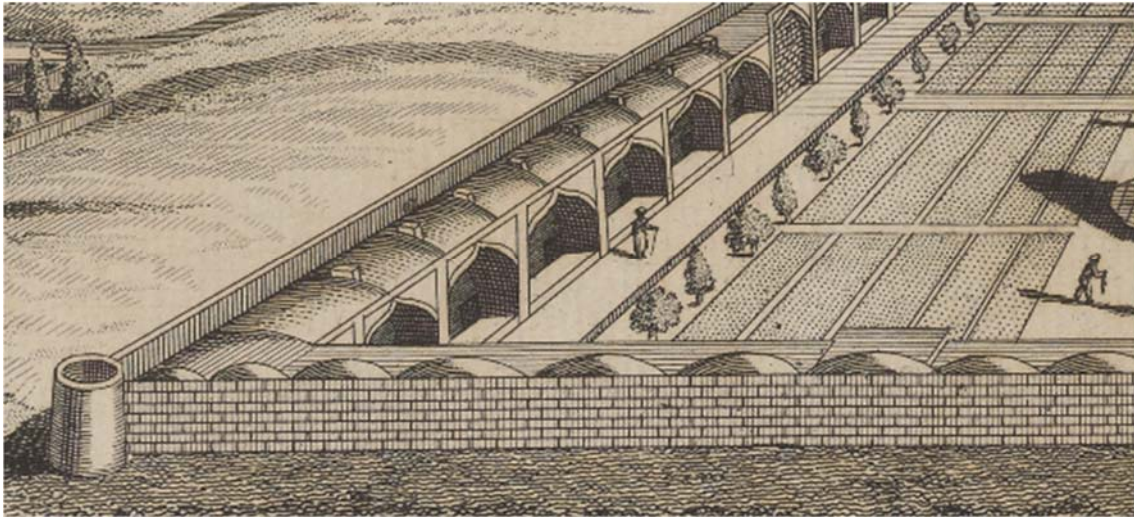


Figure 18: A close-up view of the surrounding walls and loggias of Etchmiadzin (from fig. 7). The loggias are in Persian style and from their way of depiction, looks more like brick or adobe construction than stone.

The first nineteenth century traveler in the list of European travelers is Robert Ker Porter, a Scottish landscape painter and diplomat. He was not an architect or art historian and was influenced by the humanistic ideas of his time. As mentioned before, his importance lies in the fact that he was the only nineteenth century traveler who visited Armenia before its annexation to the Russian Empire. He was very attentive to the picturesque scenes and provided the reader with detailed descriptions of places he visited. This is how he described the scenery of Tbilisi while he had recently left the city in his way to Armenia: “Gardens and vineyards, shaded with tall poplar-trees, shelve down to the river, brightening the stream with their waving reflections.”<sup>4</sup> He was so obsessed in describing the landscape which in many cases, he neglected the built environment and architecture. This obsession is noticeable in describing the Haghpat Monastery. “High over our heads, to the southward, rose a succession of heights; and, on the summit of one of the boldest, we saw the monastery of Akpet [Haghpat], an extensive building...”<sup>5</sup> The only adjective he used to describe the monastery is “extensive.”. Absolutely no architectural description of the structures is provided. It seems that he had a distinctive

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<sup>4</sup> Ker Porter, Vol. I, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 160-1. Haghpat Monastery have never belonged to Dominican order.

picture dedicated to specific architectural style, at least in his mind, of what he called Armenian architecture. In describing a bridge, he used the words “the work, unquestionably, of the Armenian sovereigns,” and he continues “The architecture of the bridge is curious, and the style of the Christian emblems, which are sculptured on it, sufficiently testify its origin...The most eminent was the cross; and round it, fretwork, with other figures, carved in a very masterly manner.”<sup>6</sup> It seems that he is describing a khachkar embedded in the bridge which is common in Armenian architecture, and in this case, his idea of Armenian architecture is connected to the image of khachkars with their intricate fretwork and Armenian characters which is not far from the reality. Apart from the khachkar and Armenian characters, it seems that Ker Porter does not assign individual architectural style to buildings in Caucasus and consider all of them having similar characteristics. “...indeed, there is a general resemblance amongst all this class of ruins, on the southern side of the great chain of the Caucasus.”<sup>7</sup> But in a very early period of nineteenth century, he has mentioned a connection between these ruins and Gothic architecture. He describes the cloister surrounding a ruined church to be “of the pointed order; but much less so, than in any species of the Gothic. This rather flattened form prevailed in the windows, doors, and throughout the body of the church, wherever it was necessary the arch shape should be introduced.”<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately he has not provided us with an image of these arches or its construction material. There are many examples of Armenian churches constructed in brick in Persia which fits well in Ker Porter’s description. The way he described the pointed arches being “of pointed order; but much less so, than in any species of the Gothic,” is like arches frequently used in Persian architecture, but it is highly improbable for Ker Porter to confuse Persian arch with Gothic arch keeping in mind that he continued his travel to Persia and visited most Persian architecture monuments (figs. 19-20). There are examples of Armenian churches in Iran which comply with Ker Porter’s description of using the same pointed arches.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 164.

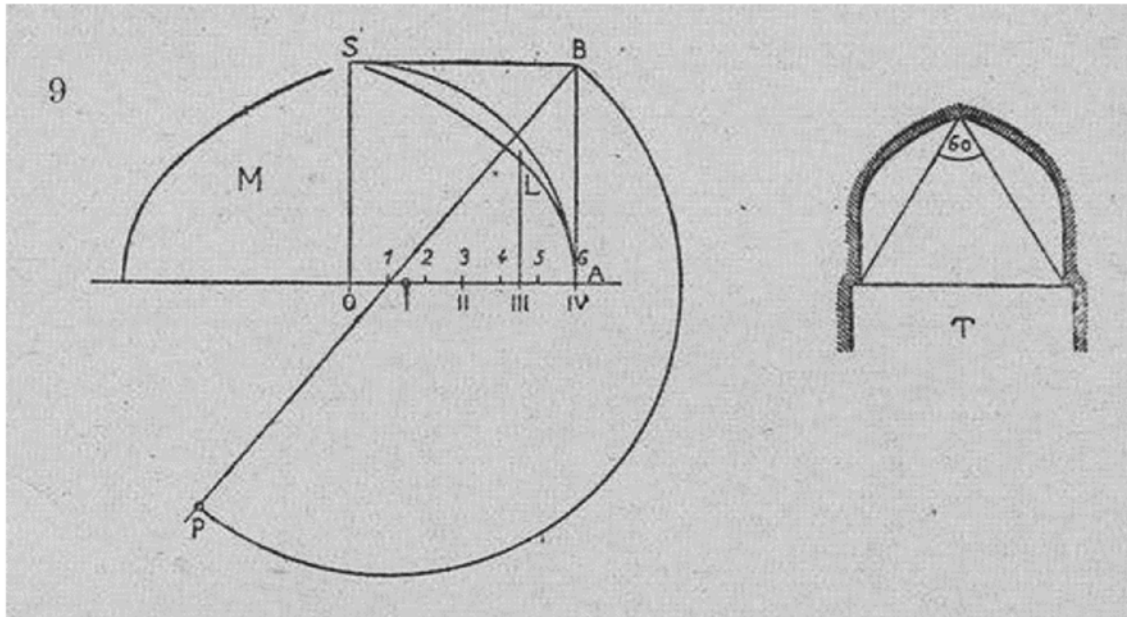


Figure 19: Persian Arch. From Choisy, Auguste. *Histoire de l'architecture*. Vol. 2. Slatkine Reprints, 1899. Vol. II, p. 94.

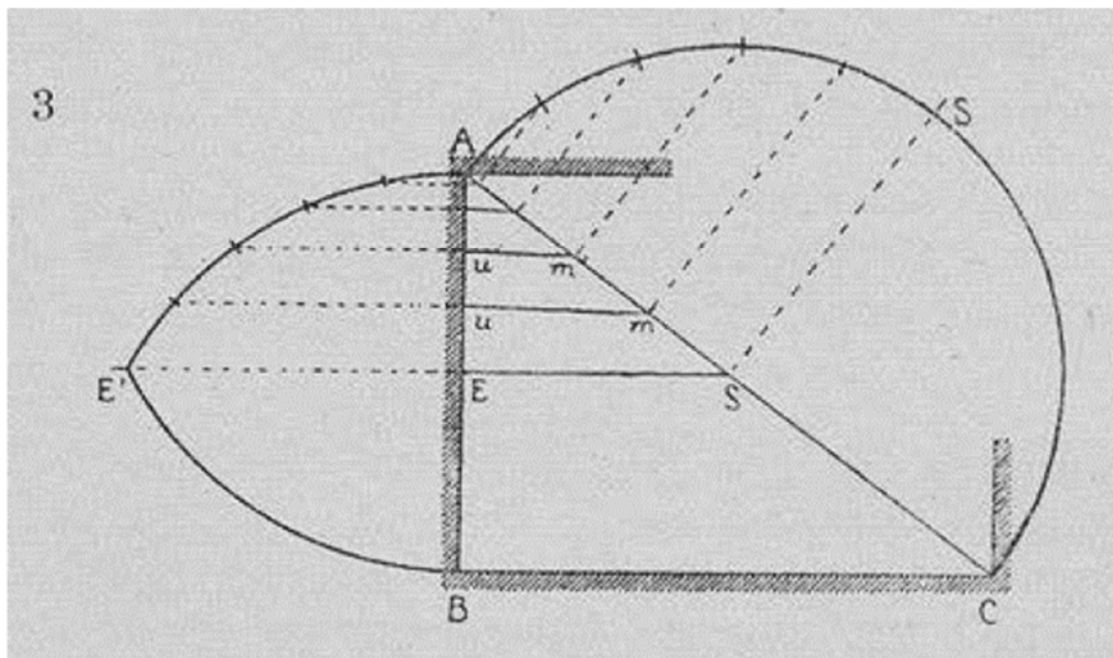


Figure 20: Gothic Arch. From Choisy, Auguste. *Histoire de l'architecture*. Vol. 2. Slatkine Reprints, 1899. Vol. II, p. 214.

While Ker Porter visited Ani in 1817, the roads were unsafe. Ani was in Turkish boundaries and Yerevan in Persia. A group of ten armed equestrians accompanied him in his journey from Gyumri (in Russia) to Yerevan (in Persia) and he visited Ani in this journey. The ruins impressed him. From his descriptions, he tried to connect the ruins of the city to its former grandeur, recorded in historical texts. According to him, the still existing churches of the city

“retain something more than ruins of their former dignity.”<sup>9</sup> and the palace “once of the kings of Armenia,” to be “a building worthy the fame of this old capital.”<sup>10</sup> For Ker Porter, Ani is an Armenian, or more comprehensively for a European traveler of nineteenth century, Christian capital, destroyed by barbarian attacks of Muslims, Mongols, and Turks. For him, the still standing churches reflect the heroic acts of the Christian subjects who tried to defend the city. Unlike his ability to describe the landscape and natural scenery, while confronting architectural complexity and beauty, his sentences are less elaborate. To describe the decorations of citadel palace, he wrote: “...no description can give an adequate idea of the variety and richness of the highly wrought carvings on the stone, which are all over the building; or of the finely-executed mosaic patterns, which beautify the floors of its countless halls.”<sup>11</sup> The use of general subjects in describing the architecture does not provide the reader with the necessary information to reconstruct the architectural images. While he continued visiting the ruins, he was so overwhelmed by the scenes and wrote about his admiration of its firm and finished masonry and accomplished workmanship of the capitals of pillars and the nice carvings of the intricate ornaments which he had not seen anywhere else even in “the most celebrated cathedrals of England.”<sup>12</sup> He described another building as “enriched with borders of the pure Etruscan, formed in red, black, and yellow stone.”<sup>13</sup> Being the first time to encounter this kind of architecture, his attempt to connect it to a context which is familiar to him is noticeable. First, he compared them with cathedrals of England but could not find any similarity, impressed by the site, he considered them even more celebrated. Then he tried to connect them to Etruscan decorations. Finally, in his attempts to understand or categorize this architecture, he found something specific which united them. “Houses, churches, towers, embattled walls, every structure, high or low, partake the prevailing taste, and on all, we see the holy insignia carved, large or small, in black stone.”<sup>14</sup> This might be considered his attempt to define a style later called Armenian architecture. He lamented his inability to record the Armenian inscriptions found everywhere on the walls, next to the crosses. Besides extreme cold which prevent him to use any kind of drawing tools, he had to leave the city because it was the end of the day and even ten armed men might not be able to protect the team from probable attacks of the local

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 172.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 172.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 173.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 173.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 173.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 174.



bandits.<sup>15</sup> In 1817, the body of the urban texture of the Ani was still recognizable even without any excavation activity. On his way from citadel to the main gate, to exit the city, Ker Porter noticed the small apartments of the city habitants and “could not but think of the interesting stories of antiquity, which might be lying hid beneath those mighty fragments of columns, walls, and heaps of stones.”<sup>16</sup> His romantic feelings urged him to register his final scene and feeling as follows: “... and took a last look of the majestic relics of Anni, lying a vast solitude, on the grey and wintry plain; for no living creature appeared, even as a single looker-out, from the murderous bands reported to infest the city.”<sup>17</sup> It seems that after visiting Ani, Ker Porter had formed an idea of Armenian architecture. On their way from Ani to Etchmiadzin, their route took them to two small churches which he described to be “of the same character with those in Ani.”<sup>18</sup>

After visiting Ani, he entered the Persian border and the first place visited was Etchmiadzin. He described the cathedral’s architecture to be “of a rude character, when compared with even the roughest styles of Gothic churches that may be seen in England.”<sup>19</sup> Why did he compare Etchmiadzin Cathedral with a Gothic church in England? Did he notice any resemblance? It is more probable that he did this comparison out of habit and he just wanted to highlight the eclectic character of the structure. He visited the cathedral after seeing the sublime architecture of Ani and his level of disappointment in seeing an eclectic, out of proportion amalgam of various architectural styles and tastes was increased. Ani set his level of expectation way higher.

According to R. D. Barnett, considering the romantic imagination of Ker Porter’s time, nevertheless, when faced with an antiquity, he appears as an archaeological draftsman of high quality, but lack of academic architecture and archaeological knowledge influenced his descriptions of architectural monuments.<sup>20</sup> He provided the reader with detailed descriptions of landscape both accurate and romantic but regarding architecture, either he completely neglects any description (as in the case of Haghpat monastery) or limited himself to use of general terms.

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<sup>15</sup> It is worthy to mention that Ker Porter’s main goal was to record Persian bas reliefs which other travelers failed to register loyally and correctly. Therefore, copying the Armenian inscriptions was not his priority but he noticed the valuable information which could be revealed by deciphering them. For more information, see appendix one, traveler three, Robert Ker Porter.

<sup>16</sup> Ker Porter, Vol. I, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> Barnett, Richard D. "Sir Robert Ker Porter—regency artist and traveller." *Iran* 10.1 (1972): 19-24, p. 21.

Dubois visited Vagharshapat accompanying an interpreter given by general Bedoutoff and a low Cossack officer in spring, when the snow was slowly melting, and the weather was becoming more favorable. He called the excursion “my saint pilgrimage.”<sup>21</sup> He described the landscape and the irrigation system, without which nothing could grow. He believes the irrigation system to be very well understood in Armenia: “The lands destined to be eternally sterile, are fertilized by prodigies of art, through canals a verst<sup>22</sup> of length which cross mountains of lava.”<sup>23</sup>

Dubois first impression of Etchmiadzin and its churches is quite interesting. He compares the perspective from far away to be like that of Egyptian monuments: “The monastery itself promises by far the perspective of the three domes of its churches, arise as Egyptian monuments on the plain, which made them given by the Turks the name of Utche Kilissa or the three churches. A fourth, more distant, does not group with the three.”(fig. 9)<sup>24</sup> In his reconstruction drawing of Etchmiadzin, Dubois gave a detailed drawing of the cathedral, but he added his assumptions of the original image of the building. Based upon the remains of a fragmented pediment embedded in the western section of northern facade of the cathedral, he concluded that the original elevation of the structure should have had three pediments with the central one bigger than the two lateral ones (fig. 21-22). The reason of this assumption might be his European background and knowledge of architectural techniques and styles. By comparing a photo of current Etchmiadzin with Dubois’s reconstruction, one can notice that he has altered the main roof elevation and flattened the roof to some extent. Other than this alteration, he created a very detailed and accurate reconstruction. He continues: “the perimeter of the church was decorated with a very simple cornice of Corinthian taste ... On this cornice, on each side of the church, were three pediments, the more elevated one carrying the dome ...”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> De Montpéroux, Frédéric Dubois. *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Vol. III, pp. 358.

<sup>22</sup> Verst is an obsolete Russian unit of length. It is defined as being 500 sazhen long, which makes it equal to 1066.8 meters (from Wikipedia).

<sup>23</sup> Dubois. Vol. III, pp. 358-9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

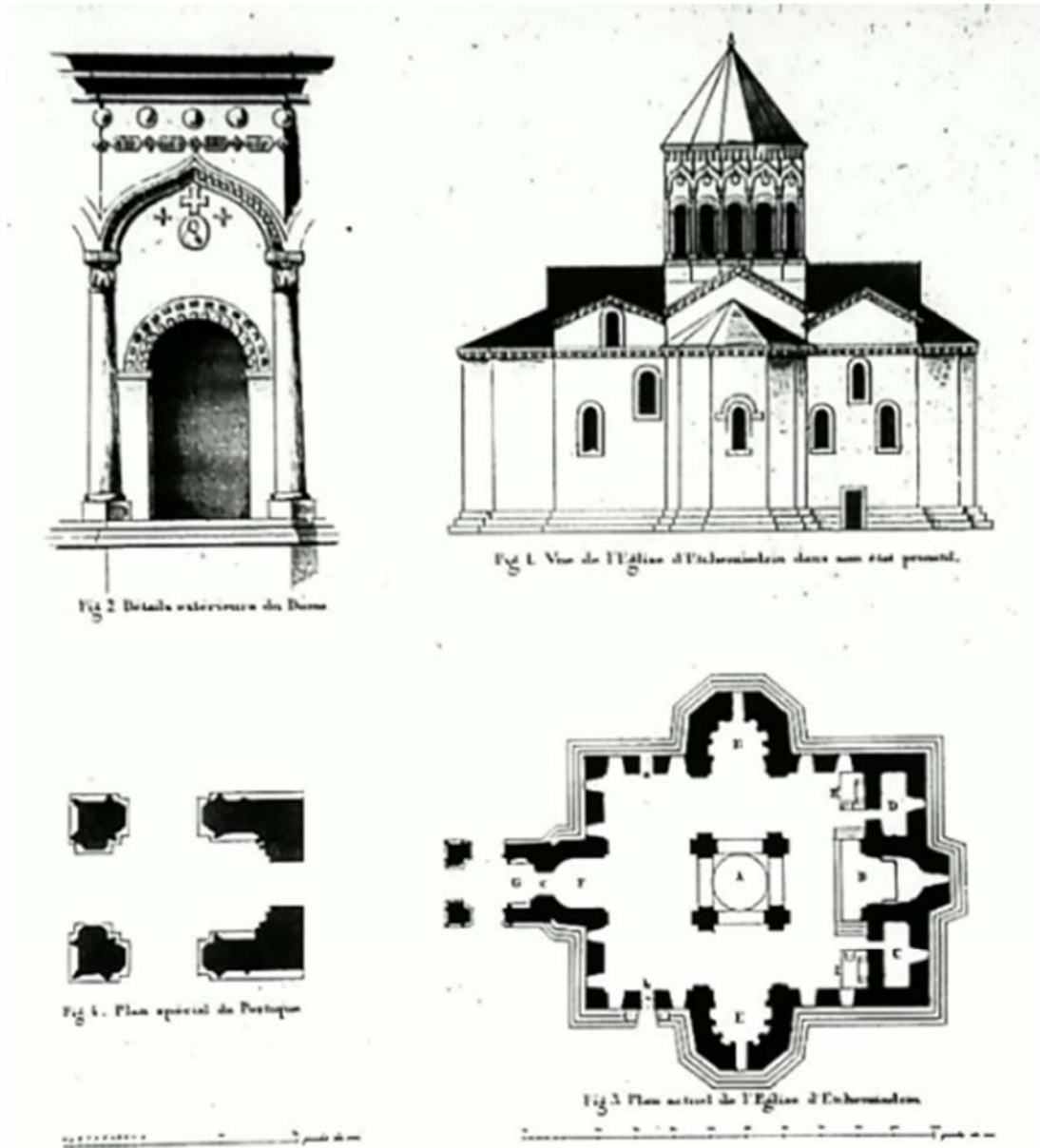


Figure 21: Architectural drawings of Etchmiadzin Cathedral. Top Left: Detail drawing of one bay of the drum. Top right: Reconstruction image of Etchmiadzin Cathedral. Bottom left: Plan of the campanile of the cathedral. Bottom right: Plan of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral. Drawings by Frederic Dubois de Montpereaux, Atlas III, plate VII.

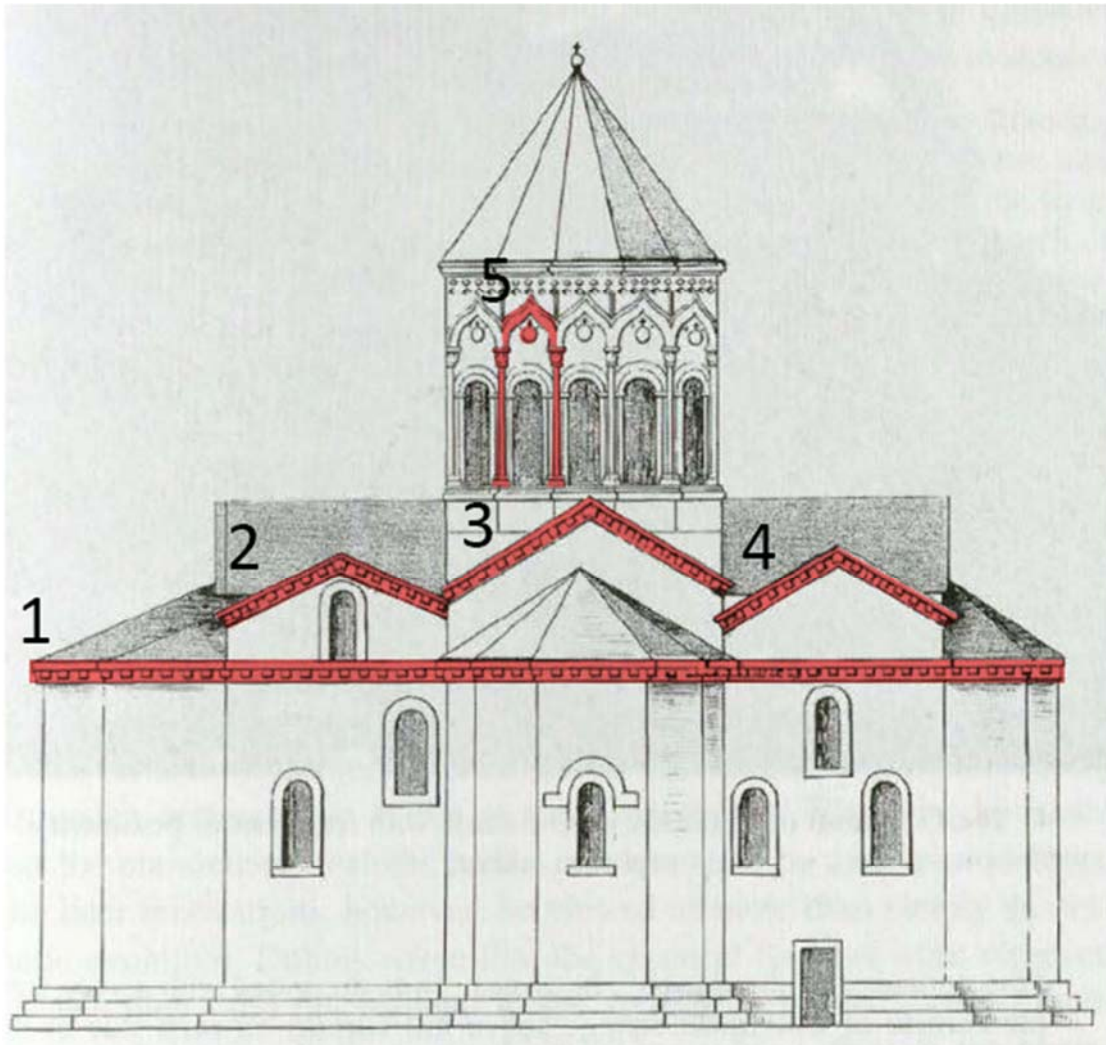


Figure 22: The reconstruction of Etchmiadzin Cathedral by Dubois. 1- Dented cornice surrounding the building. 2- Lower lateral pediment. 3- Higher central pediment close to dome. 4- Lower lateral pediment. 5- One bay of the blind arched decoration of the drum. Original image from Dubois Atlas III, plate VII, colored by the author.

There are minor inaccuracies in Dubois's reconstruction. There is no evidence of three sectioned pediments and his reconstruction can be attributed to his enthusiasm for classical forms and his educational background of Hellenistic culture. In his reconstruction, he kept the drum which is pierced with windows and decorated with pointed arcades. These features are more Persian and did not emerge in Armenia till thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dubois' drawing, one of the first hypothetical reconstructions of the cathedral, is still considered seriously in discussion of its original phase.

Dubois was aware of Armenian history. When approaching Vagharshapat, he compares it with the great city of Vagharshapat and say that the churches and the constructions around them seek in vain the greatness of the old city. While approaching the city, Dubois mentioned a large

pile of carved stone which he had been said to be the gate of old Vagharshapat which were located on the left side of the road. These descriptions match with the site of Zvartnots which was not excavated yet. From Dubois' perspective, there is a reason for the presence of classical elements in Etchmiadzin which is: The Armenian king Trdat's desire to assimilate with the culture of the Late Roman Empire. Dubois cites both the classical features at Etchmiadzin and the late third century Ionic temple at Garni as an evidence:

“Trdat, contemporary of Constantine and great friend of the Romans, among whom he was raised, wanted to introduce Greek architecture into Armenia. He constructed ... the magnificent temple or palace of the Ionic order, of which one admires the superb ruins at Garni. The first church of Armenia was also constructed under Trdat ... and its pediments and dentils demonstrate this...<sup>26</sup>Thus, in adopting the Roman civilization, also wanted to introduce Greek architecture into Armenia.”<sup>27</sup>

“While approaching, other objects attached to the churches gradually appear and group themselves around them, but they seek in vain the great city of Vagarchabad, in the midst of which these three churches were built. They have remained, but what surrounded in antiquity disappeared and leveled like the rest of the plain; which is easy to explain when one knows that all houses and all the walls in this country are commonly in clay. We plow this land which is very productive. The only remnant of antiquity, besides the churches, is a large pile of carved stone which is said to have been an old door of the city of Vagarchabad. It is located on the left, long before the appearance of the vast gardens enclosed by clay walls, from the present village of Vagarchabad. one can thus judge the vast extent of the old town.

It is necessary to note the importance of the presence of these foreign elements. These foreign elements had much more political significance with respect to our days. Most people were illiterate, therefore being the only media for transferring ideas, the presence of foreign graphical and architectural motifs always bore political meanings. Another example of the presence of this foreign element is in Zvartnots which Dubois had not visited. Nerses the III, known as Nerses the Builder used Roman elements in external walls of the cathedral while the Islamic army was conquering the ancient world, he used them to demonstrate his loyalty to Roman Empire.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Vol. I, p. 407.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. Vol. III, p. 374.

<sup>28</sup> Maranci, Christina. "The Archaeology and Reconstruction of Zvart'notc'." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014): 69-115.

Dubois' theory on presence of classical elements on Etchmiadzin's façade is problematic because despite numerous modern excavations, the fourth-century state of it has still not been produced. About the Etchmiadzin's cathedral he notes that the classicizing features are in part obscured by later remodeling. The later renovations, however, are not perceived by Dubois as evidence for a new architectural style. In his opinion, the classical features were removed because they did not "respond to the style of Armenia ... pediments and dentils all disappeared."<sup>29</sup> This sentence is very significant because Dubois is talking about style of Armenia which means he believed that this kind of architecture has a style for itself and is not a regional development of Byzantine architecture. It is also interesting to note that he compares it with Egyptian architecture.

Another important monument which he visited and described is S. Hripsime church. He believes the simplicity, massiveness, and grandeur of S. Hripsime church are key elements of the Armenian architecture style (fig. 23). His opinion of Armenian style's connection to Egypt and Near East is visible in this text: "The Armenians stayed faithful to this antique oriental genre, to this luxury of ornaments and carvings, to the massive forms that one observes in the porticos of Persepolis, the tombs of the kings, and [forms] which were perhaps only the echo of the monuments of Egypt ..."<sup>30</sup>

Then he suggests the origins of Armenian architecture in Persia and Egypt. He just believes that Armenians incorporated foreign traditions into a distinct and completely different style which created by them and is "sacred to them".<sup>31</sup> He also wrote, "The Armenians soon returned to their old style. One does not see them imitating the Greeks."<sup>32</sup> It seems that this old style which he is talking about is referring to Egyptian or Persian and using classical elements was just a temporary action with more political reasons.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. Vol I, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. Vol I, p. 407.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. Vol I, p. 407.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Vol III, p. 374.



Figure 23: Dubois drawing of Hripsimeh Church, from *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Atlas III, pl. VIII, fig.1.

According to Dubois, following the construction of Hripsimeh and Gayane, other Armenian buildings were built on their model. Later, this style penetrated north, into Caucasus. In his visit to Georgia, he compares the church of Sion at Ateni to Armenian style and concludes that Georgians “were loyal copyists.”<sup>33</sup>

Dubois visited the monastery of Geghard and provided us with a picturesque illustration of the rocky vally (fig. 24). He described the rocky landscape and its unstable situation as being “great and severe”.<sup>34</sup> About the narthex (gavit) of the main church, like Etchmiadzin, he tried to connect some elements to classical style (fig. 25). He compared the ceiling with Roman coffered forms which is very unlikely in both structure and style. About the stalactite decoration

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* Vol I, p. 409.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol III, p. 392.

of its dome he writes, “the ancient type of Arab or Moorish formula with which the Turks and Persians ornament their niches and sometimes their vaults.”<sup>35</sup>



Figure 24: Geghard Monastery by Dubois. From *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Atlas II, pl. XXXV.

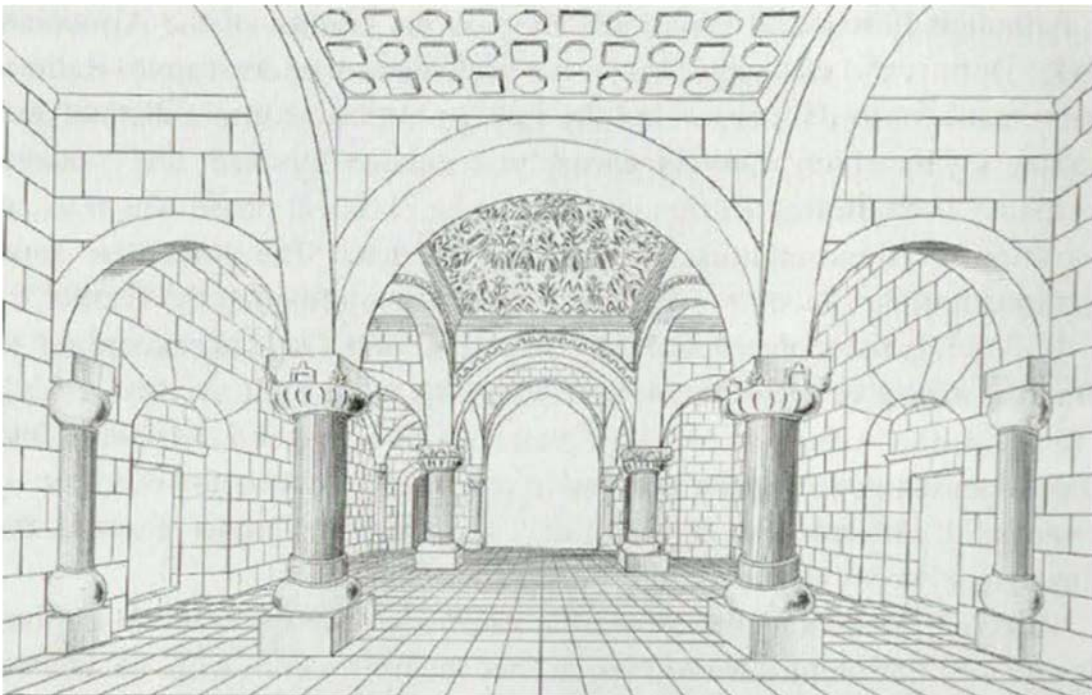


Figure 25: Dubois's drawing of the gavit (narthex) of Geghard Monastery. It is interesting how Dubois draw the classical elements of coffered ceiling next to the Persian style stalactites. The Stalactite dome decoration is more loyal to the actual building than the coffered ceiling. From *Voyage autour du Caucase*. Atlas III, pl. X.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 393.



Furthermore, he wrote: “One well recognizes here the fantastic oriental taste ... not a capital is spared for work; it is the same with the vaults and other details ...”<sup>36</sup>

Very interestingly, Dubois regards the decorations at Geghard as later phase of development in Armenian architecture. The churches of Hripsime and Gayane at Etchmiadzin demonstrate their age by simple proportions, he writes, “those constructed later are always enriched with sculptures and carvings ...”<sup>37</sup>

According to Cristina Maranci, From Dubois’ notes about Armenia which is scattered in different parts of his book, it is possible to extract a chronology of Armenian architect’s development. Dubois starts with an indigenous Armenian architecture connected to ancient Persia and Egypt, followed by a brief classical phase. Furthermore, by remodeling of Etchmiadzin and eliminating the classical elements monuments like Hripsime and Gayane with their massiveness and simple proportion, the classical elements are replaced by the original ones and in next phase, influenced by Islamic architecture, more decorative elements are inserted in Armenian architecture.<sup>38</sup>

It is important to note that the number of monuments which Dubois has visited are very limited and he didn’t visit Ani because of problems with Turkish officials. He declares his sorrow of being so close to Ani and not being able to see it.<sup>39</sup>

When Dubois traveled to Caucasus, there was a general interest and enthusiasm regarding Egypt and Egyptology in Europe and especially in France after Napoleon’s conquest of the country. This may be the reason Dubois tried to connect Armenian architecture with Egypt. References to Egypt occur frequently in Dubois’ travelogue. Despite the lack of modern perspective, Dubois’ account is one of the most important nineteenth-century western work on Armenian architecture. Dubois does not see Armenian architecture as a hybrid style or a branch of Byzantine architecture, but rather attributes to Armenian architecture an indigenous style which is almost universally accepted today (fig. 26).

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. Vol. III, p. 395.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Vol. I, p. 407.

<sup>38</sup> Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian architecture in historiography: Josef Strzygowski and his legacy*. Vol. 2. Princeton University, 1998, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. Vol. III, p. 437. 1 verst is 1.067 kilometers.

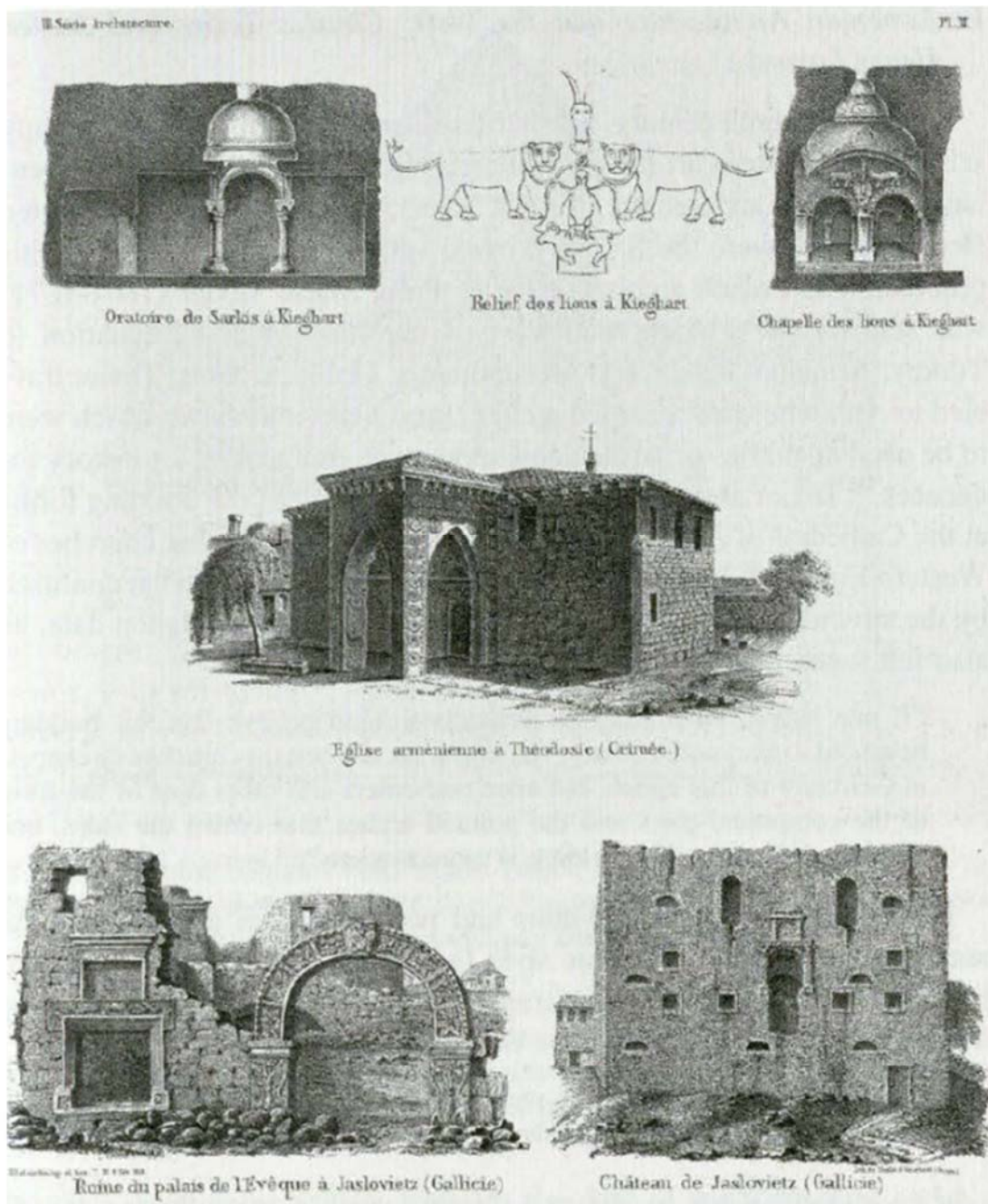


Figure 26: Miscellaneous drawings, entitled "Monumens de style armenien". It is interesting how Dubois tried to identify an autonomous Armenian architecture, using elements with origin from very different places and cultures even outside Armenia proper. This is a totally different image of today's Armenian architecture definition. Frederic Dubois de Montpereux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Atlas III, pl. XI.

Texier criticised his predecessors of involving their personal opinions and tastes in the drawings of Persepolis. Furthermore, contrary to other scholars, he disputes the fact that the

bass-reliefs of Persepolis were painted.<sup>40</sup> With respect to other travelers, his drawings are more scientific. In many cases, he provided the reader with architectural drawings of the buildings which by comparison to modern surveys, are highly accurate (figs 27-28). In depicting the architectural decoration, he was very meticulous. About the actual state of the buildings, he depicted the ruins as there were and did not depict a hypothetic original form of the buildings. The drawings of Ani's fortifications are a good example of his accuracy (fig. 29). About the architectural style of the buildings in Ani (the churches, the fortifications, the palaces, and the thumbs) he wrote that they had no similarity with other oriental constructions and they seemed to be specifically Armenian.<sup>41</sup> He concluded that Muslims were also allowed to stay in the city, as there is a mosque and two minarets. According to Texier, the architecture at Ani was a combination of Byzantine and Arabic styles.<sup>42</sup> In a short description about the cathedral at Ani he wrote about the crosses designed from volcanic tuff stones of darker colors and that the church had been completely covered with frescoes of religious subjects and Armenian scripts.<sup>43</sup> Texier noted that the cathedral at Ani possessed some features similar to gothic architecture including the pointed arches and clustered pilasters. He also connected the external blind arches to Italian Romanesque architecture.<sup>44</sup> He wrote: "If one judged by the façade alone, one could believe that this building belonged to the tenth century, because it recalls certain churches or chapels in Germany that date to this epoch, but once one enters the interior and takes note of the form of the compound piers and the pointed arches that crown the sides, one may not doubt that this building is more modern."<sup>45</sup> Because of compound piers and pointed arches Texier doubted the structures date to be the tenth century but later he accepted that it is a phenomenon independent of European gothic architecture: "All those who have studied medieval art in Europe will be inclined to consider this edifice as a product of the thirteenth century. It bears this effect in all its aspects, but the inscribed date on the portal proves that it is much more ancient, and that the pointed arch was in use in Armenia at a time when Romanesque style was the only one used in Europe."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique*, Paris, 1842, 2 vols, Vol I, p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Therefore, Texier is one of the first travelers who notes and attributes a specific style to Armenian buildings.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

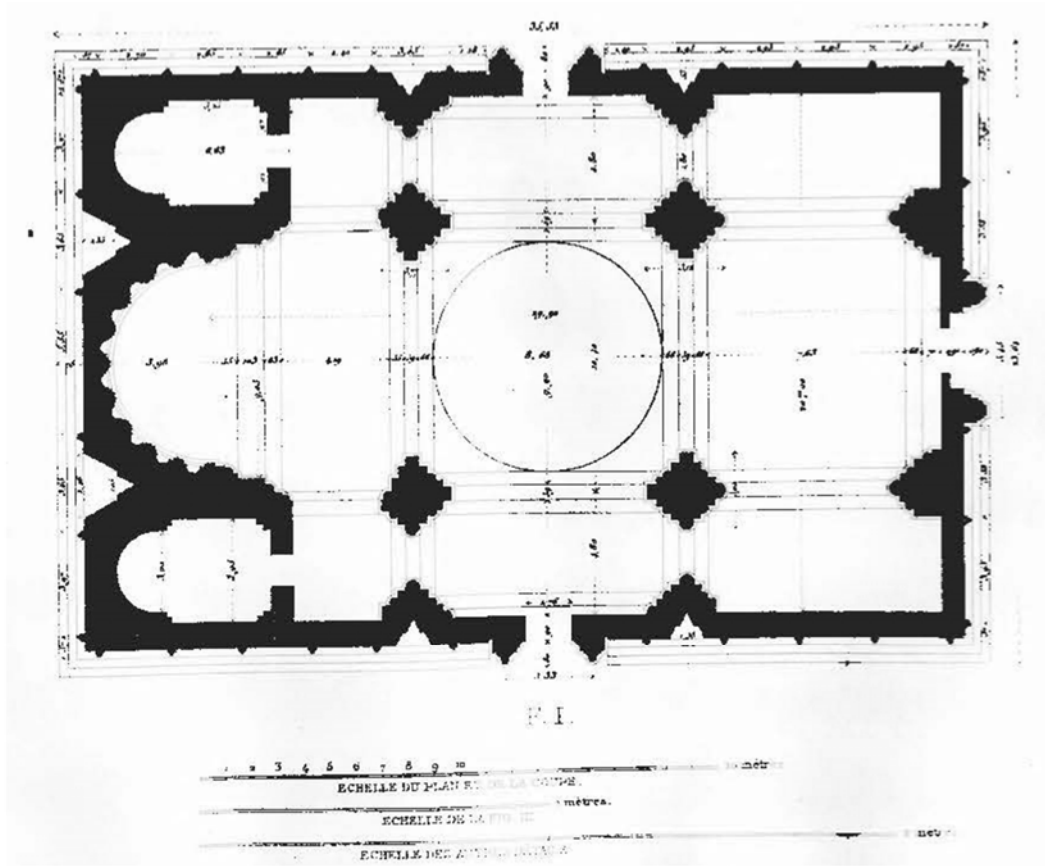


Figure 27: Plan of the Ani Cathedral by Texier. This is one of the earliest scientific drawing of Armenian monuments created in 1839. From Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique*, vols 2, Paris, 1842, Vol I., plate 18.

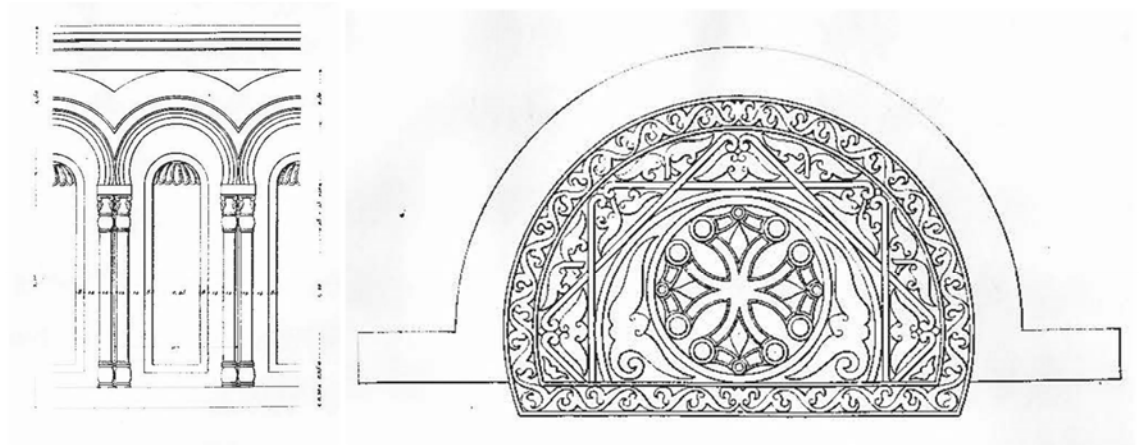


Figure 28: Examples of architectural drawings by Charles Texier. From Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique*, vols 2, Paris, 1842, Vol I., plate 18.



Figure 29 : The fortifications of Ani. From Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique, vols 2, Paris, 1842, Vol I., plate 16.*

Austen Henry Layard believed that Texier was the only traveler who provided the reader with accurate architectural drawings and in some cases, the reconstructions of those interesting buildings.<sup>47</sup>

Layard wrote about a village called Varzhahan and he described the ruins of an Armenian church in detailed architectural terms and provided the reader with a drawing of it (fig. 30). According to him, those ruins were octagon in shape which could have been a baptistery. The interior walls were still covered with remains of frescoes with vivid colors and rude forms, resembling Byzantine decoration. He described the capitals to be thin, knotted, and grouped together. The peculiar arrangement of the stones over the doorway particularly interested him. The decoration in general reminded him of European Gothic style. He recorded the date of the structure to be before the twelfth century. Layard conclude that Armenian architecture needs to be studied to shed light to the question of its connection to the Gothic architecture of the West. He suggested the probability of its influence on European architecture.<sup>48</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, a huge amount of data regarding Armenian architecture had been created in various travelogues but no systematic and academic study had been conducted on the field. This created image was mixed with myths and historical legends and was partial due to Eurocentric values of the time. Each traveler, according to his inclination,

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<sup>47</sup> Layard, footnote in page 7.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

created an incomplete image of the country, its people, culture, art, and architecture. While for the first time, Toros Toramanian visited Ani, he had no idea what he was going to see. His only source had been the traveler accounts. His first impression was that no traveler had been able to record the vast richness of the materials awaiting someone to decipher.

The academic study started by Nickolai Marr's excavations at Ani and later continued by the attempts of Toros Toramanian. The next chapter is dedicated to these two pioneers in the field of Armenian architecture and its preservation and to the theories of Josef Strzygowski which by being bold and contradictory, elevated the question of Armenian architecture, its origin, and its influence on European architecture to an unprecedented level.

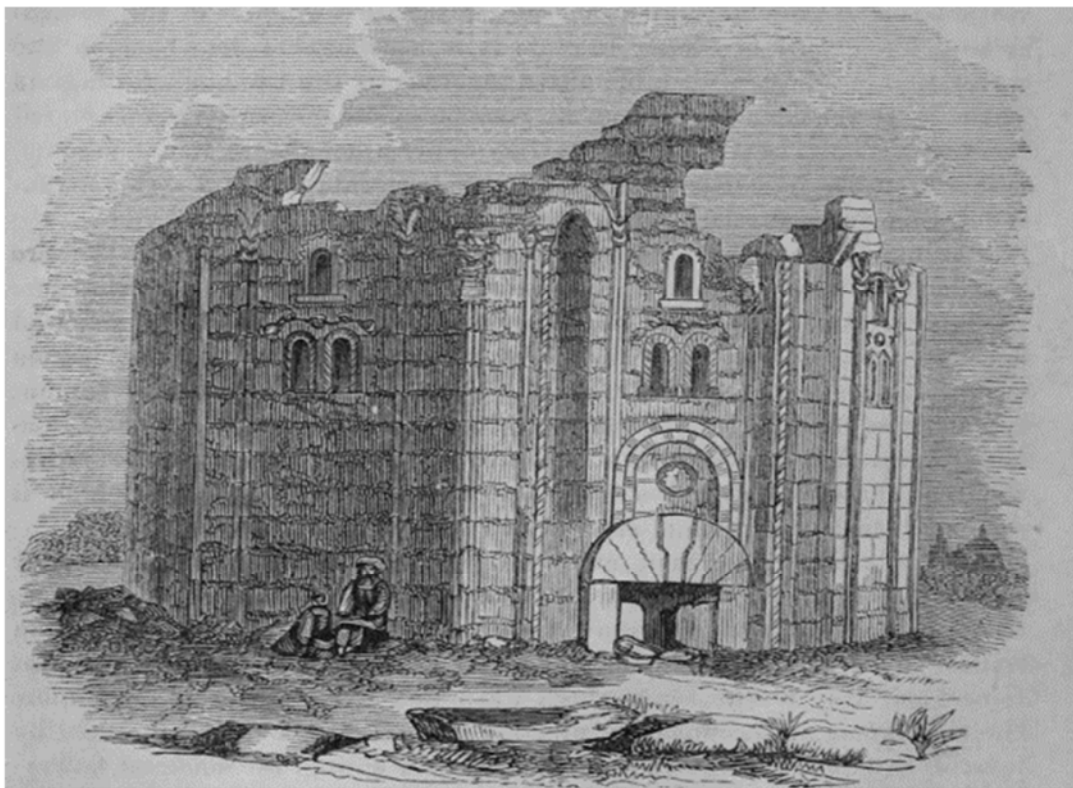


Figure 30: Drawing of Varzhahan Church. From Layard, Austin Henry. *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. Harper & Bros., 1853, p. 6.

# Section III

## Systematic Study of Armenian Architectural Heritage

### **Introduction**

In this section, the author tries to introduce the transition from non-scientific studies of Armenian heritage done by European travelers, into the systematic study of the Soviet period. There are three pioneers who significantly affect this transition:

Nicholas Marr, a ground-breaking scholar, who influenced generations of archeologists and historians, who was of non-imperial beliefs and suggested that Ani was not a purely Armenian city, it was not destroyed in one night by Muslim attacks, it lived and died naturally, it was a metropolitan center for different ethnicities. Being free from nationalistic prejudices, he did a more comprehensive study and educated the next generation of architects from Russia, Armenia, and Georgia. Toros Toramanian, influenced by the theories of Nicholas Marr, surveyed and gathered the largest catalogue of Armenian monuments ever, provided material for Josef Strzygowski's book, he was not a zealous nationalist, but open minded -studied in Istanbul, lived and worked in various European countries- both in his philosophy and his designs. Josef Strzygowski, by his controversial theory, challenged the Eurocentric legacy of Western scholarship. With his nouvelle

approach to the theory of architectural development he was opposed by the classic academia and not really appreciated by the scholarship in Armenia.

### **Nicholas Yakovlevich Marr (1865-1934)<sup>1</sup>**

Nicholas Yakovlevich Marr was born in Georgia from a Scottish father and a Georgian mother. In 1888, he graduated from the Department of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University as a linguist specialized in the languages and history of the South Caucasus. In 1899, he defended his *Magisterskaia* dissertation on medieval Armenian literature. After his graduation, he became interested in archaeology and executed short time excavations in Dvin. From 1904 to 1917, he directed an archaeological expedition team who systematically excavated the ruins at Ani under the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission of St. Petersburg. In 1911, the Minister of Education L. A. Kasso appointed him the dean of the Oriental Faculty at St. Petersburg University. He became a member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in 1912, and in 1915, his innovative work in archaeology awarded him its highest honor, the Uvarov Prize (fig. 1).

Marr visited Armenia for the first time in 1890 for doing a research on Armenian manuscripts for his master dissertation. For fulfilling this task, he visited Etchmiadzin and Sevan monasteries. According to Mnatsakanian, this is when Marr became interested in medieval Armenian art and architecture.<sup>2</sup> It was about half a century which Russia had conquered the Caucasus, but no systematic study had been executed in the area by Russians. According to McReynolds, the publication of French amateur archaeologist Jacques De Morgan's two-volume *Mission scientifique au Caucase* (Paris, 1889-90) was an impetus for Russians to investigate more efforts in studying the archaeology of the Caucasus.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, in 1892 while recently graduated from

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical information see: "Avtobiografia" (1927), in N. Ia. Marr, *Izbrannye raboty*, 5 vols, Leningrad, 1933, 1:6-13 (hereafter *IR*); V. A. Mikhankova, *Nicholas Yakovlevich Marr*, Moscow, 1948; and Mnatsakanyan, Stepan Khachatuni. *Nikoghayos Mare yev Haykakan Chartarapetutiune [Nicholas Marr and the Armenian Architecture]*, in Armenian, Yerevan, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> Mnatsakanyan, Stepan Khachatuni. *Nikoghayos Mare yev Haykakan Chartarapetutiune [Nicholas Marr and Armenian Architecture]*, Yerevan, 1969, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan had worked in Russian Armenia as the manager of a copper mine in Alaverdi and his interest in archaeology of the region was representative of the increasingly active European interest. From McReynolds, Louise. "Nicholas Marr: Reconstructing Ani as the Imperial Ideal." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 102-124, p. 107. In 1879, the organizers of the Fifth Archaeological Congress approved the opening of the newly acquired region to Russian archaeological and historical research. According to Ekaterina Pravilova, "the idea of beginning the exploration of this area with the excavation of medieval Ani was soon rejected, however, in favor of a more ambitious quest: the search for the lost Armenian city of Armavir. This idea was also abandoned: Alexei Uvarov, who initiated the excavations, mistook the



the Faculty of Oriental Languages, and despite lacking the required skill and knowledge, the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission authorized Marr to travel to Ani and investigate the possibilities of an archaeological excavation.<sup>4</sup> During this short expedition, Marr did limited excavations at Ani focused on the Christian churches and specifically the Church of the Holy Redeemer and the late twelfth-century church sponsored by the Bakhtagheki family which according to Klein, was not carried out scientifically and caused significant collateral damage to the structures.<sup>5</sup> According to Lindsay and Smith, up to the Russian revolution, the antiquarianism deeply influenced the archaeology of the Caucasus. The aristocracy funded much of the archaeological projects and the aesthetic value of the unearthed artifacts was more important than its historic value.<sup>6</sup>

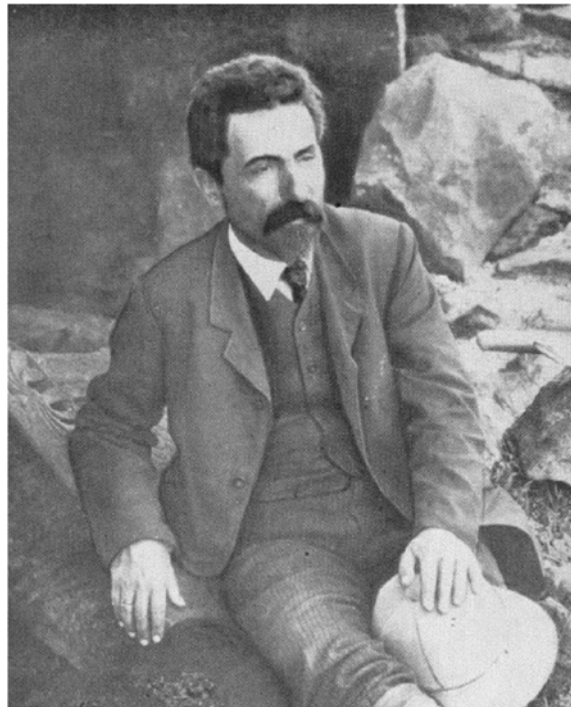


Figure 1 : Archaeologist Nicolai Iakovlevich Marr at Ani, 1908. Photo from *Letters of Toros Toramanian* (Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, opposite page 8.

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ruins of Armavir for the remnants of the fourth-century CE citadel." From Pravilova, Ekaterina. "Contested Ruins: Nationalism, Emotions, and Archaeology at Armenian Ani, 1892–1918." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 69-101, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Mikhankova. *Nicholas Iakovlevich Marr: ocherk ego zhizni i nauchnoi deiatel'nosti*. Moscow, 1948, p. 39 in McReynolds, Louise. "Nicholas Marr: Reconstructing Ani as the Imperial Ideal." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 102-124, p. 107. The Armenian community in St. Petersburg petitioned against his choice but no other educated Russian had the skills to communicate with locals in three languages being Georgian, Armenian, and Persian.

<sup>5</sup> Klejn, Leo S. *Soviet Archaeology: Trends, Schools, and History*. Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 197.

<sup>6</sup> Lindsay, Ian, and Adam T. Smith. "A history of archaeology in the Republic of Armenia." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 31.2 (2006): 165-184, pp. 167-8.

In 1892, after one month of excavations at Ani, Marr traveled to Bagaran, Talin, Horomos, Oghuzli, Shirakavan, Dailar, Bagnair, Kosh, Aruch, Ashnak, Mren, with specific attention to the ruins of Sahmaddin's palace and the inscription found on a piece of stone over the gate. Likewise, in 1893, after doing the excavations according to the program, he traveled to Shirak, Lori, Nakhichevan, Dvin, Garni, Bagaran, Maghasberd, Shirakavan, and Shirvanjugh and studied the ruins of monuments and inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Marr's interest in studying material culture of Armenians other than isolated monuments and his attempt to connect and extract information from a larger context was innovative in the archaeological studies of the Caucasus. He is the first person to apply the scientific methodology in archaeology at the end of nineteenth century in the Caucasus. As mentioned above, besides excavations at Ani, Marr applied a less systematic study to the archaeological sites of the region specifically to the North and West slopes of Mount Aragats. His attempts to understand and study the relation between Ani and its nearby monuments was innovative with respect to the traditional focus on single monuments or sites. The publication of monographs and catalogues with the highest standards of the day and with detailed information and numerous photographs set standards for large-scale excavations.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that in future years, after the revolution, the Soviet Archaeology was reorganized in the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture, subsequently to "National Academy of the History of Material Culture," and Marr was appointed its first director.<sup>9</sup> This shift from antiquarianism to attention to material culture had huge impact in future years decision making. The academy funded studies and preservation projects regarding vernacular, civil, non-religious, non-monumental, and mundane aspects of human life. The result is publishing various monographs in further years and scientific preservations of non-monumental structures all around the USSR.

During the two years of excavations, studies, and researches that follows at Ani, Marr started to articulate his understanding that "Armenia is located in space where other civilizations meet."<sup>10</sup>

No excavation was carried out till 1904. According to Vera Tolz, Marr developed professional relationships among "Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms" which later halted the

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<sup>7</sup> Mnatsakanyan, 1969, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Lindsay, Ian, and Adam T. Smith, 2006, p. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Lindsay, Ian, and Adam T. Smith, 2006, p. 171.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by McReynolds, Louise in "Nicholas Marr: Reconstructing Ani as the Imperial Ideal," p. 109, from N. Ia. Marr. K voprosu o zadachakh Armenovedeniia // Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniia. 1889. Vol. 324. P. 242.

excavation project for some time because of Russia's fear of Armenian nationalism.<sup>11</sup> The Russians were well aware of how Armenian nationalists were trying to use the excavations at Ani in favor of their own goals.<sup>12</sup> But some historians has recorded another reason for halting the excavations which is less realistic. According to Mnatsakanian,<sup>13</sup> Marr did not agree to execute more excavations because the Academy did not fund for a museum which he suggested to be built in Etchmiadzin for the artifacts to be kept in one place and Marr did not want to scatter them in various Russian museums.<sup>14</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century in Russia, “the existence of distinct and self-conscious nationalities justified scholars’ works and efforts and provided rationale for the structure of disciplines and academic institutions. In this sense, the revival of Armenian cultural life and historical memory must have been essential for Nicholas Marr.”<sup>15</sup> In his dissertation defense in 1899, Marr addressed the tasks of Armenology and stressed the role of Russian scholars in helping national minorities to learn more about their own “homeland.”<sup>16</sup> He believed that Armenians’ interest in Ani was a very recent phenomenon, and was limited to nationalist groups who were trying to find material evidence to connect to the glorious past of Armenian kings. According to Marr, “However, the glory of Ani, among the Armenians, hardly dates from long time ago, specifically among the local Armenians...The contemporaries did not regard Ani with high esteem...it only began, that Ani became the bearer of the glory of the Armenian people, by the rebirth of Armenia in the Russian Empire, the incarnation of its nationalist idea, and that they wanted to see the gestures and the splendors of the Armenian kings.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Tolz, Vera. *Russia's own Orient: the politics of identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Oxford University Press, 2011, chapter 5.

<sup>12</sup> For more information regarding the growing nationalism among Armenians and its connection to excavations at Ani see: Pravilova, Ekaterina. "Contested Ruins: Nationalism, Emotions, and Archaeology at Armenian Ani, 1892–1918." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 69-101, pp. 79-82.

<sup>13</sup> Mnatsakanyan, 1969, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> When the chairman of the IAK, Count A. A. Bobrinskii visited Ani in 1891, he collected fragments for display in the Hermitage Museum. A year earlier, De Morgan had carried away artifacts and Marr was concerned about keeping the artifacts in situ. Later, in 1911, he proposed and designed the building of a museum in Garni which was not accepted (Mnatsakanian, p. 27).

<sup>15</sup> Pravilova, Ekaterina, 2016, pp. 82-3.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted from Vera Tolz's *Russia's Own Orient*, p. 39 in Pravilova, Ekaterina. "Contested Ruins: Nationalism, Emotions, and Archaeology at Armenian Ani, 1892–1918." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 69-101, p. 83.

<sup>17</sup> Marr, Nicholas. Ani, la Ville Arménienne en Ruines d'après les Fouilles de 1892–93 et 1904–1917 // *Revue des Études Arméniennes*. 1921. Vol. 1. pp. 395-410, p. 396.

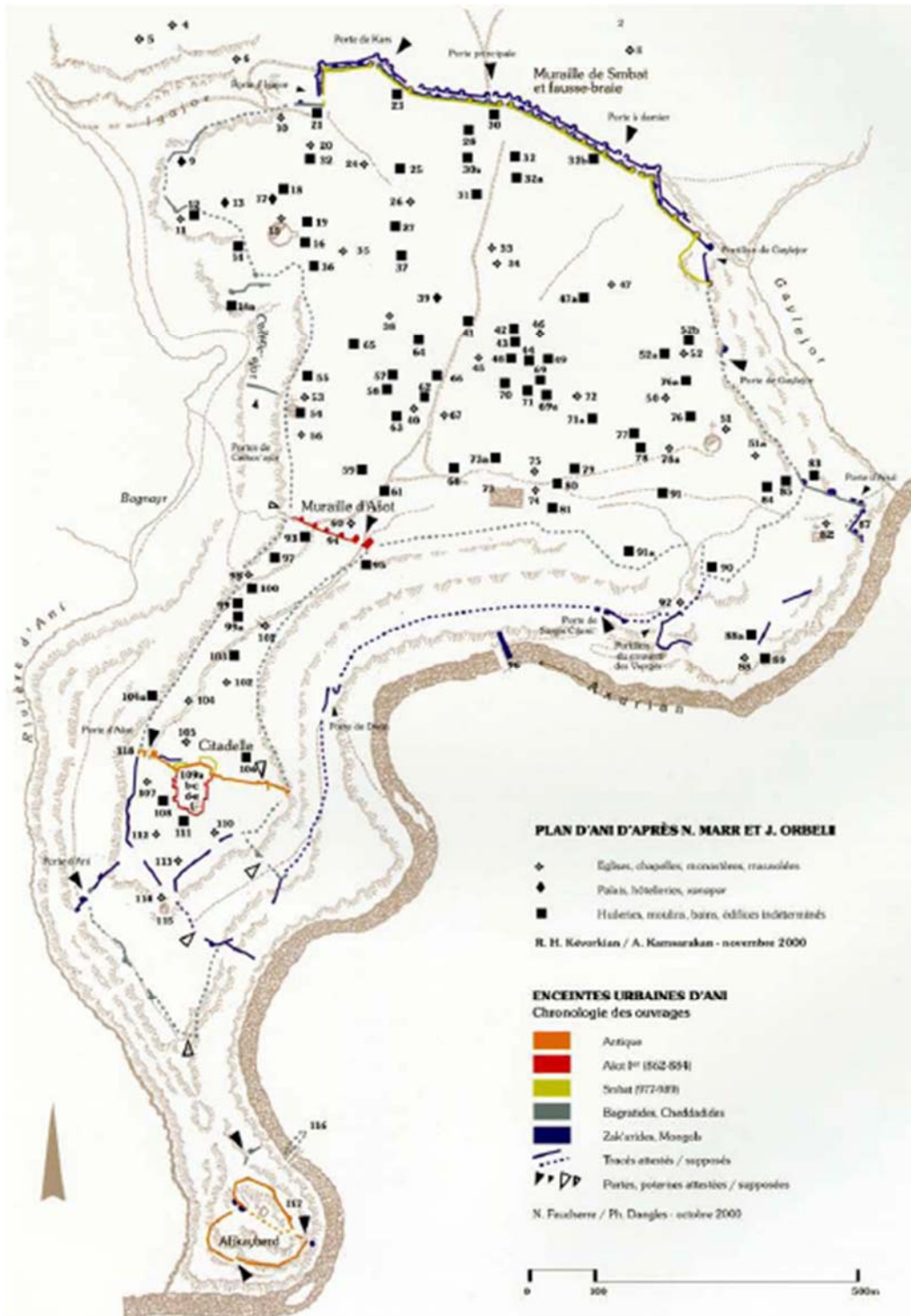


Figure 2: Plan of Ani, after Nicolai Iakovlevich Marr and Hovsep Orbeli, redrawn with additional material by Raymond Kévorkian and Adèle Kamsarakan (from Raymond Kévorkian, ed., *Ani: Capitale de l'Arménie en l'an mil* [Arles, France: Actes Sud, 2001]).

The second phase of excavations at Ani started in 1904 and lasted till 1917 (fig. 2). Marr's interest in cultural material continued to flourish in Ani. He started the second phase by concentrating on the main roadway through the city, from the citadel to the gate in the outer walls. According to Marr, "scholars and society at large are primarily interested in . . . elegant Ani, its graceful construction, not only the beautiful churches, but also the striking city walls with their turrets." But, as he continued, "We can't forget that simple people also lived in Ani, petty traders and artisans, working people. The study of their way of life, however unsophisticated their unremarkable dwellings . . . presents no less social-historical interest."<sup>18</sup>

His local companions in excavations at Ani, apart from Toros Toramanian were archaeologist I. A. Orbeli, photographer Aram Vruyr, historian and archaeologist Ashkharbsk Kalantar (Kalantarian), Byzantine historian N. G. Adonts, architect N. M. Tokarskii, and art historian G. N. Chubinov (Chubinashvili).<sup>19</sup> During the years of excavations at Ani, and his contribution with various scholars, Marr influenced on these young scholars, architects, historians, and photographers which guarantee the continuation of his methods in the Armenian architecture milieu in decades to come.

The Imperial Archaeological Committee dedicated 950 rubles for constructing a museum for the artifacts at Ani but this amount was not sufficient. Therefore, being aware of Ani's significant for Armenian nationalists, Marr and his team organized several lectures among the Armenian communities in Tbilisi and Baku (they sold tickets) to encourage Armenians for funding the project. They also published postcards and pamphlets and dedicated its revenues to the task (fig. 3). In December 1904, the Armenian diaspora community of St. Petersburg (the council of the Armenian Churches) provided 2000 rubles for the continuation of excavations and continued to sponsor Marr's works, providing between 2000 and 3500 rubles annually.<sup>20</sup> According to Mnatsakanian, between 1904 and 1909, the Russian Imperial Archaeological Committee dedicated 1400 rubles (roughly 10% of the costs), St Petersburg University, 543 Rubles and Armenian public organizations, thanks to Marr's lectures, had gathered 28000 rubles.<sup>21</sup> In 1906, he finally opened

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<sup>18</sup> N. Ia. Marr. *Raskopki v Ani v 1904 godu*. St. Petersburg, 1906. pp. 10-11. Quotations from McReynolds, Louise. "Nicholas Marr: Reconstructing Ani as the Imperial Ideal." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 102-124, p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> McReynolds, Louise. "Nicholas Marr: Reconstructing Ani as the Imperial Ideal." *Ab Imperio* 2016.1 (2016): 102-124, p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Pravilova, Ekaterina, 2016, pp. 84-5.

<sup>21</sup> Mnatsakanyan, 1969, p. 17.

the first museum at Ani. He used the remains of the Manuche mosque for this purpose. By 1908, a second building with a library, workshop, photo lab, and a Department of Architecture and Epigraphy was dedicated to the artifacts found in the site (figs. 4-5).<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3: An example of a postcard depicting the Catholicos Matteos II Izmirlian, photographed at the Ani museum with the statue of King Gagik I, during his formal visit in 1909. Published by Ani Museum. This postcard became popular among Armenians of Istanbul. Photo from: Watenpaugh, Heghnar Zeitlian. "Preserving the Medieval City of Ani." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73.4 (2014): 528-555, p. 534.

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<sup>22</sup> McReynolds, Louise. 2016, p. 110.



Figure 4: Repository of Ani, partial views of the museum exhibits. Photo by A. Vruyr, taken between 1907 and 1915. From Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 241.



Figure 5: Repository of Ani, partial views of the museum exhibits. Photo by A. Vruyr, taken between 1907 and 1915. From Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 242.

In 1908, Marr hired the well-known Armenian architecture Alexander Tamanian to design a museum for Ani. This was Tamanian's first encounter with Armenian medieval architecture, but the project was never realized.<sup>23</sup>

Due to Marr's efforts, Ani became a famous tourist site and according to Russian State Historical Archive, in the summer of 1917, before the WWI, 2000 tourists visited the site.<sup>24</sup>

The systematic excavations at Ani and long years of studying its artifacts and inscriptions influenced Marr's ideas about Ani, its origin and demise. The general belief about Ani is that it was a Christian, Armenian city, surrounded by enemies, Muslims in this case, which despite its heroic resistance, finally collapsed, was looted, and never recovered. This idea was formed because of limiting the archaeological studies to inscriptions and isolated monuments. For Marr, the material evidences found during excavations were equally important as the inscriptions. According to Marr, "Brosset was appropriate for his time, but that was only written texts. Now we have linguistics and archaeology, and the shift has been from European humanism to universalism."<sup>25</sup>

But according to Marr, the city continues its prosperous life and had a natural demise. He believed that "the traditional history of Bagratid Armenia, based on literary sources, is not only qualified and mythological, but also irrelevant and lifeless compared to the life that unfolds before us, as we acquaint ourselves with the material culture collected from our digs...it would be as if anthropological questions were decided on the basis of religious or nationalist-cultural grounds."

The materiality of his evidence gave Marr the authority to determine the "real-historical" interpretation from "dry facts."<sup>26</sup> According to McReynolds, Marr believed that Ani reached its cultural zenith not under Bagratids but under foreign rules.<sup>27</sup> Marr repeatedly emphasized Ani as a metropolitan center for studying medieval urban life, not limited to Armenology, but also to other nations.<sup>28</sup> About blossoming Armenian art and architecture under muslim rules Marr wrote: "In the digs in front of the Manuche mosque, along the street were architectural details on the frontal face of the mosque when Armenian art was blossoming [under] Muslim rule in Ani, but an

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Russian State Historical Archive (henceforth RGIA). F. 565. Op. 8. Ed. khr. 30697. L. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Marr. Kavkaz i pamiatniki. P. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Marr. O raskopkakh. P. 2.

<sup>27</sup> McReynolds, Louise. 2016, p. 114.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



international urban population right alongside the native Armenian trading class living peacefully with Persian-Muslim traders.”<sup>29</sup>

McReynolds believes that Marr intended to reconstruct the monuments at Ani in a form of open museum and Toros Toramanian was one of the few educated architects familiar with Armenian architectural history which enabled him to reconstruct and eventually create drawings of the original state of destroyed buildings. These drawings were intended to be used for reconstructions which never took place.<sup>30</sup> According to Smith, Nicholas Marr’s investigation at the medieval Armenian capital of Ani is a turning point in the scientific aspirations for archaeology in the region. “The "Marr School" included many of the brightest Armenian historical scholars of the next generation, including the architectural historian Toros Toramanyan, the orientalist Iosef Orbeli, the archaeologist and philologist Ashkharbeck Kalantar.”<sup>31</sup> The work of N. Marr and his collaborators did not limit itself in the field of ruins: they are at the same time instructed to deepen problems concerning the city and its history, and enriched so considerably the specialized literature of a long series of books and articles which, to be little known in Europe, are nonetheless indispensable to the knowledge of the phenomenon.<sup>32</sup>

Marr’s method in preservation of architectural monuments is considered scientific and modern (fig. 6). The reconstruction of the missing parts took place only to prevent the future collapse of the building and only in the most endangered parts, mostly near the foundations. The architectural decorations and stone carvings were not imitated, and the new stones left plain and easily recognizable from the original ones. A very good example to demonstrate his method is the preservation intervention on the Church of Apostles facade. In old photos of the building, the highly damaged facade is visible (fig. 7). Treasure hunters have dug the foundations and the villagers have plundered the stone blocks and the structure was in risk of collapse. But in the photos taken after the preservation project, the building is secure from future collapse with easily distinguishable original and new constructions (figs. 8). In another preservation project at Ani, the team consolidated the Armenian Chalcedonian Church named “Georgian” with the same

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<sup>29</sup> Marr. Ani. P. 118.

<sup>30</sup> McReynolds, Louise. 2016, p. 107.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, p. 170.

<sup>32</sup> Cuneo, Paolo. *Les ruines de la ville d'Ani, capitale arménienne et métropole cosmopolite du moyen âge en Orient: un problème urgent de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur*. Monumentum, 1970, p. 8.

philosophy of no falsification and the use of easily distinguishable original and new materials (fig. 9).

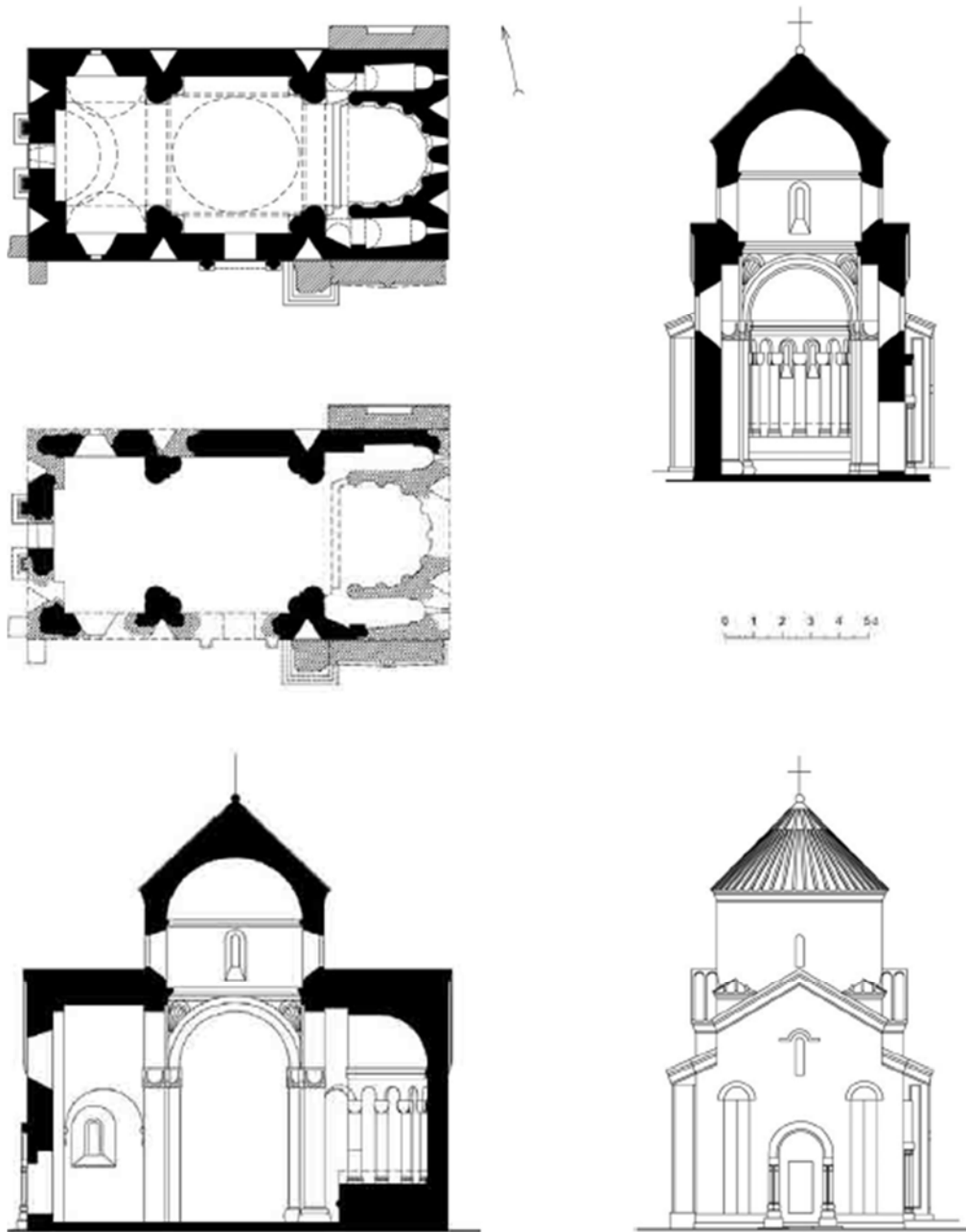


Figure 6: Architectural drawings, survey and reconstruction by Nicholas Tokarski, a member of Professor Marr's team at Ani, in 1911. Top Left: The plan of the "Unique" Church: A reconstruction and a measurement. Top Right: A reconstruction of the "Unique" Church: a transversal section. Bottom Left: A reconstruction of the "Unique" Church: a longitudinal section. Bottom Right: A reconstruction of the "Unique" Church: Reconstruction of West elevation. Image from Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 157.



Figure 7: The facade of Holy Apostles Church (Surb Arakelots) at Ani before its partial preservation intervention. Photo from Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 116.

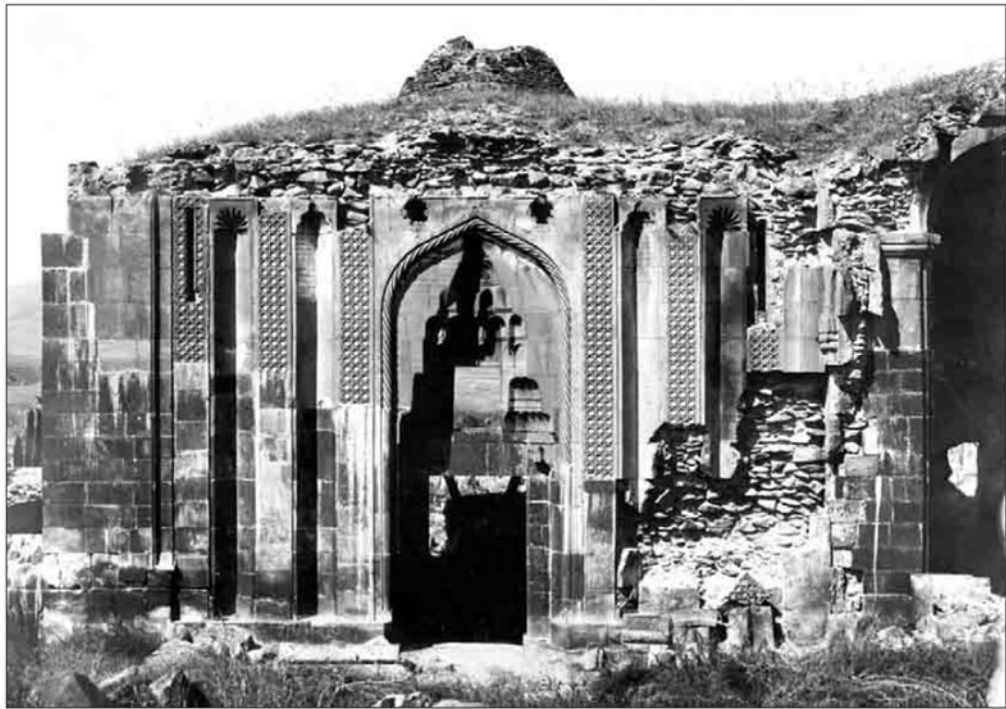


Figure 8: The facade of the Holy Apostles Church (Surb Arakelots) after the preservation project under N. Marr's supervision. This is an example of early scientific preservation. The new stones are plain and easily recognizable and no attempt of falsification took place. Photo from Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 116.



Figure 9: Top: The Armenian Chalcedonian church named “Georgian” from the north-east before its partial restoration implemented in 1904 (photo 1900-1904). Bottom: The same church after the partial preservation. Photo between 1904-1910. Photos from Karapetyan, Samvel. *Ani-1050*, Yerevan: RAA, 2011, p. 211.

In another example of preservation, the task is recorded by Marr in the Ani notebook as an unknown individual (later known to be Khatchik Vardaped) had sent 100 rubles through Toros Toramanian specifically for the restoration of the Shepherd Chapel. The monument was so badly damaged which Marr thought to deny the request and return the money. But thanks to Toramanian's leadership and master Hamaiak's skills, significant part of the construction was restored. They spent only 25 rubles from Ani's budget. "The monument was saved and will be remained standing for decades."<sup>33</sup> Marr has stressed that only 25 rubles of Ani's budget has been spent in this preservation project and seems that he could not dedicate more percentage of the budget to preservation activities.

During the WWI Ani was looted and all the artifacts of its museum was lost. Marr harked back to his original obsession, linguistic studies, and in later years, posed his "Japhetic theory"<sup>34</sup> on the origin of language. According to Louise McReynolds, the attention to Marr's absurd linguistic theory has jeopardize his "genuinely innovative insights he provided into material culture at the turn of the twentieth century."<sup>35</sup>

They tried to make Ani a tourist destination. Marr himself played the role of a guard for tourists. In the last summer, more than 2000 tourist were visiting Ani each year.

Excavating Ani needed the resources which only governments could provide. In early nineteenth century, the site did not have stable borders. There were Russo-Persian and Russo-Ottoman wars. No European country could invest in such a tumultuous place. Therefore, the travelers, even someone like Texier whose travel motif was exactly documenting the Armenian monuments, could operate only in a limited area and monument. Ker Porter describes the roads to be unsafe.<sup>36</sup>

The scientific method in archaeology achieved mainly by stratigraphic reading, the analysis of the found context, the documentation which itself includes photography, surveys, etc., attention not only to the more important artifacts but to everything which is found, compare the direct findings including the artifacts, the building materials, buildings, etc. with the indirect sources like historical texts, inscriptions, representations, etc. Marr was the first who applied the above-mentioned methods at Ani, even if the scientific method in archaeology has been established and

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<sup>33</sup> Marr's archives, A 940, p. 161. There was only one Shepherd church at Ani which, located outside of the walls, which was completely destroyed because of 1966 earthquake.

<sup>34</sup> In his Japhetic theory, Marr claimed that the Kartvelian languages (indigenous languages of Caucasus, spoken primarily in Georgia) are related to the Semitic languages of the Middle East.

<sup>35</sup> McReynolds, Louise. 2016, p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> Ker Porter, pp. 169-70.

formalized in 1960s. Marr used two levels of communication to share and distribute the information. The academic level publications in journals and the lectures held in various cities of Caucasus both to share the information and find patrons for funding the project. The team tried to gather extra investment by publishing postcards and catalogues. An example of the publications by Museum at Ani introduces a building called the Palace Church. This catalogue which has published in 1915 and included twenty plates, depicting the scientific method of introducing a monument. It is published in three languages; Russian, Armenian, and French. The catalog contains a brief introduction to the monument, very accurate architectural drawings, scientific survey of the status, rendered architectural details and decorations, and seventeen photographs. The drawings published in the catalogue are executed by two students of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, P. Kniagnitzki and O. Kiandarianzes which demonstrate the two different approaches to documenting the state of the monuments (figs. 10-14).

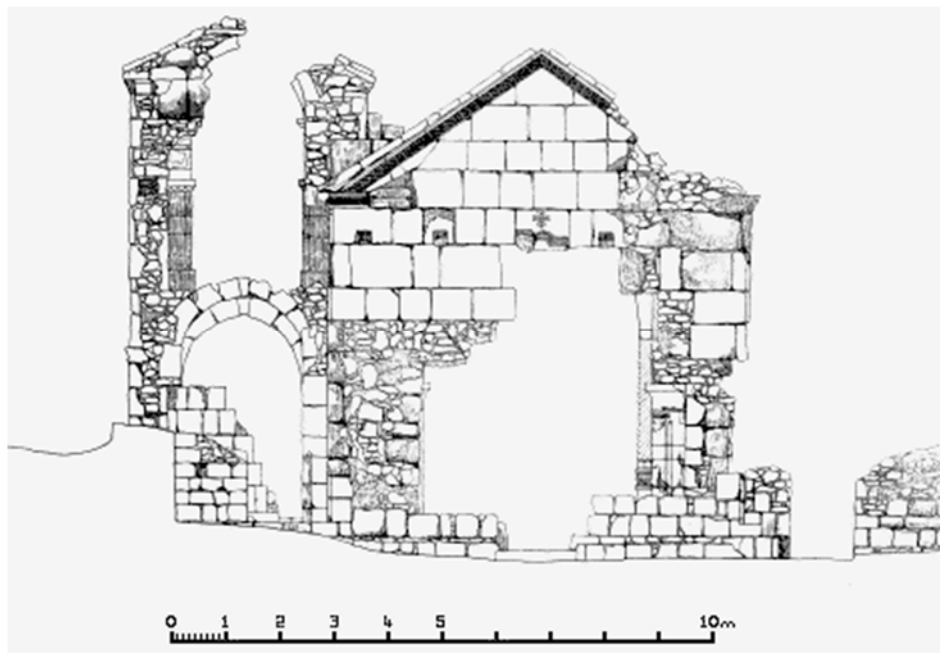


Figure 10: Palace Church at Ani, West elevation. Accurate survey of the current status of the monument. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 5.

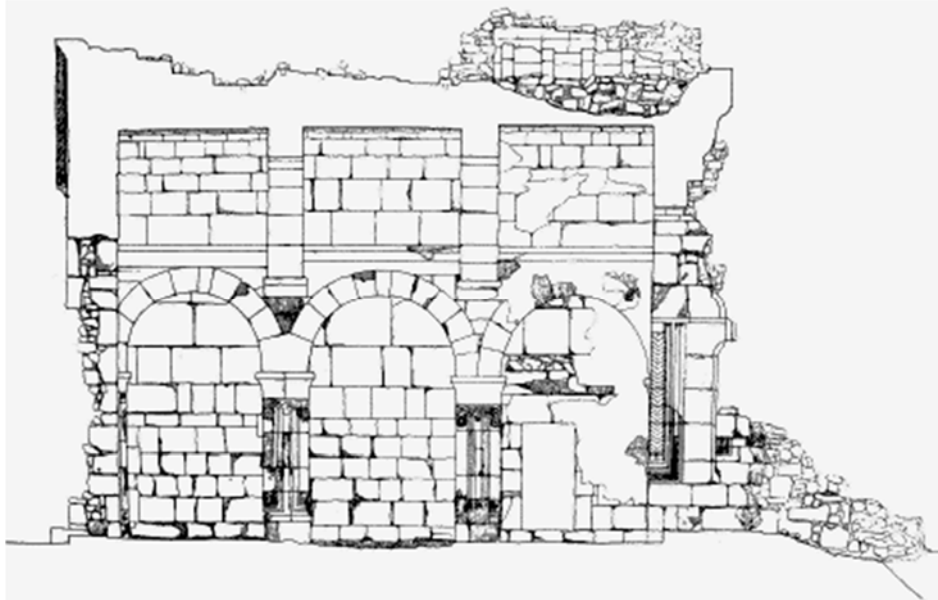


Figure 11: Palace Church at Ani, Longitudinal Section. Accurate survey of the current status of the monument From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 8.

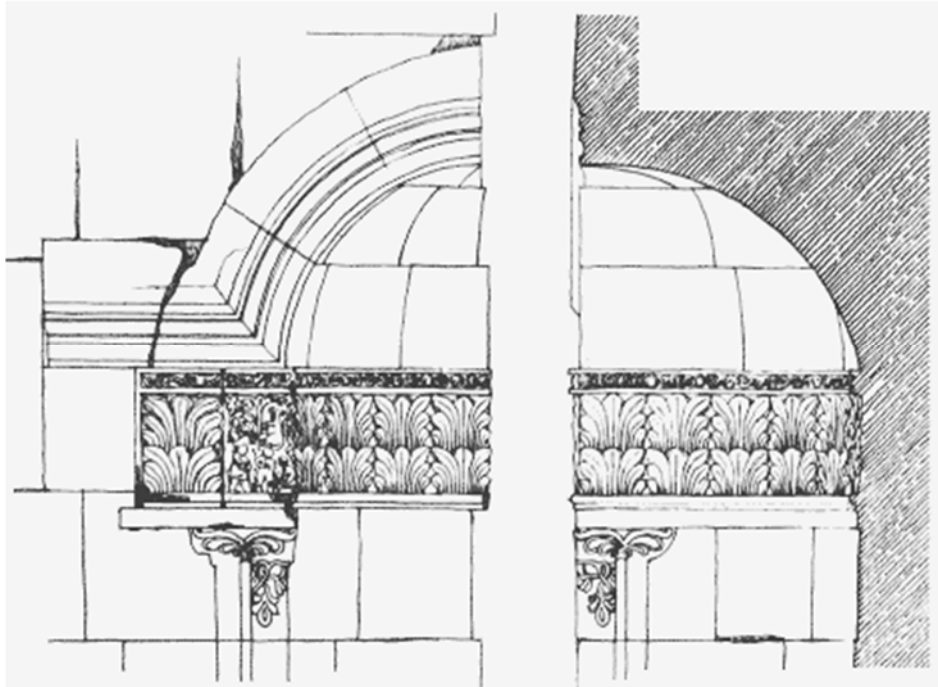


Figure 12: Palace Church at Ani, Architectural decorations. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 10.

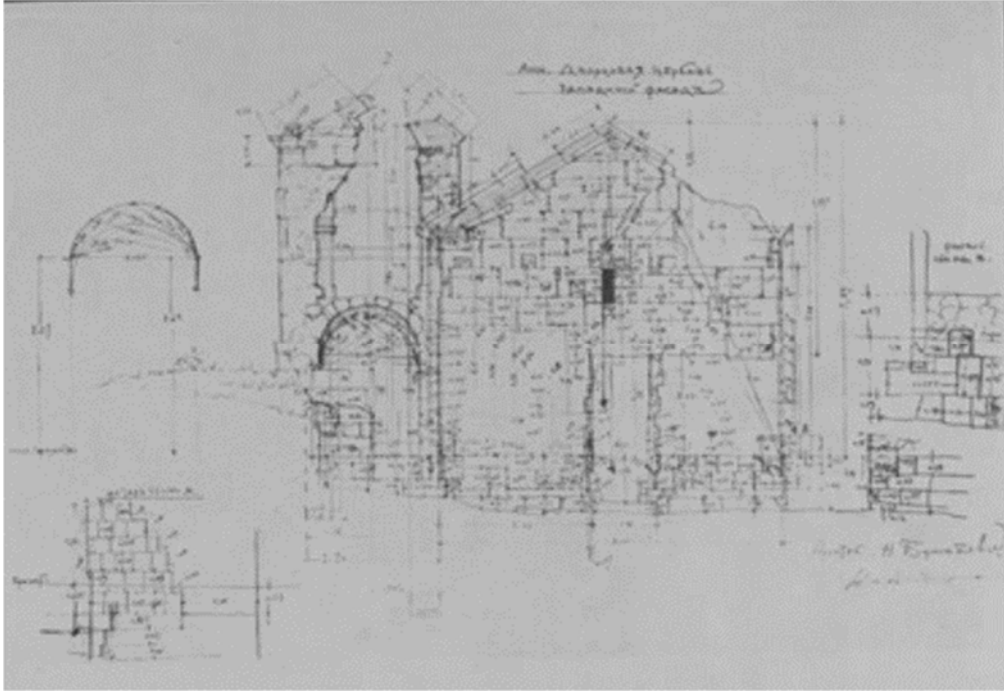


Figure 13: Palace Church at Ani, survey. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 13.

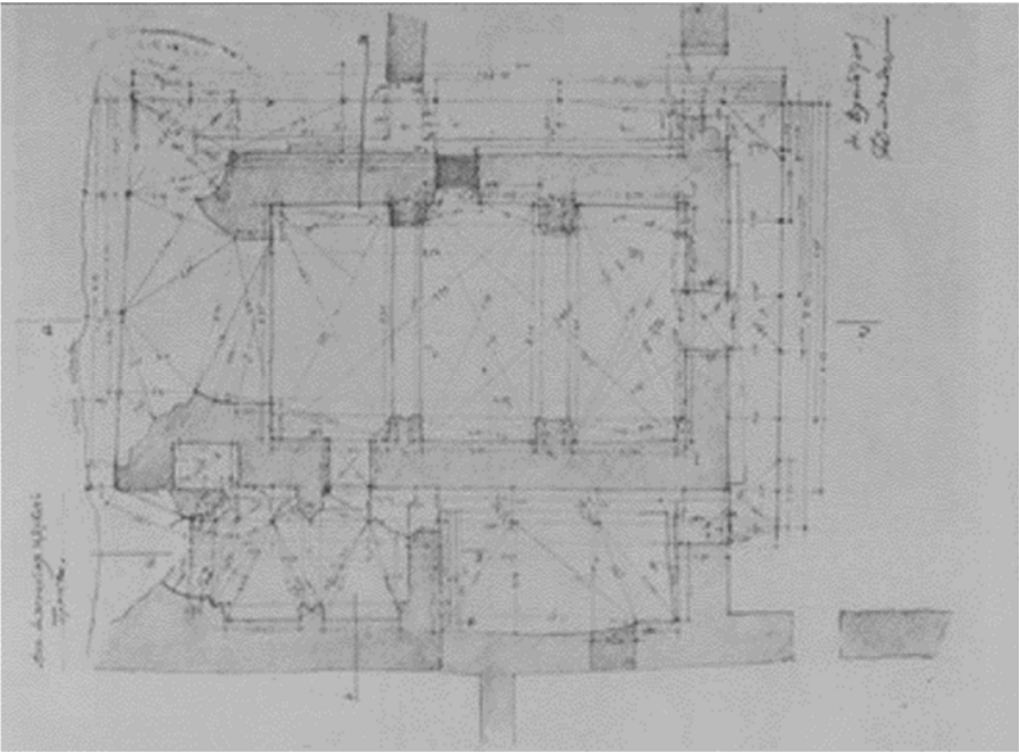


Figure 14: Palace Church at Ani, survey. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 15.



### **Toros Toramanian (1864-1934)<sup>37</sup>**

Toros Toramanian was born on 18 March 1864 in the village of Sebinkarahisar in northeastern Turkey. He completed his high school education and went to Istanbul at the age of twenty to pursue higher education. He worked as a stonemason for two years. After successfully passing the entrance examination of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, he started studying painting but after one year he changed to architecture. He graduated as an architect in 1893. Two years later, he was forced to flee the massacres perpetrated during the reign of the sultan Abdul Hamid II. He lived in Belgium, Sofia and finally in Varna where he practiced architecture from 1896 to 1900. He moved to Romania in 1900 and in 1902, he traveled to Egypt, Greece, and Italy before going to Paris where he attended lectures on art history. He returned to Bulgaria in 1903 and continued his practice in architecture. Together with Karabet Basmadjian, the director of “Banaser” magazine, they set up the project of a mission to Ani, to study the monuments of the ancient capital of Armenia.<sup>38</sup> Despite of lacking the necessary funding for the project, Toramanian and Basmadjian began the journey in 1903. Once there, they discovered the immensity of the task and Basmadjian returned to Paris to raise the necessary funds which was never fulfilled. To prepare himself for the task, Toramanian studied the travelogues and books published by Charles Texier, Frederic Dubois de Montpéreux, Auguste Choisy, and Nicholas Marr.<sup>39</sup> About his experience in studying these materials he wrote: “I first studied and compared all previously published materials related to the architecture of the area. Unfortunately, I must admit that there were more errors than accuracies. Part of it was merely tragic ones, without scientific explanations and the other part, self-willed and unfaithful copying. It is natural that those researches were insufficient because they were obliged to study in limited time of days and weeks, something which needs years to study.”<sup>40</sup> Visiting Ani had a profound impact on forming Toramanian’s future career. He described Ani: “Today the ruins of Ani offer such a painful and sad scene, stripped of all natural and artistic attraction, that those who have made a certain unfavorable opinion cannot be condemned. At the same time, however,

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<sup>37</sup> For biographical information see: *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (Armenian), Yerevan, 1968; *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyun Patmutyan]*, (Armenian) Yerevan, 1942; Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian architecture in historiography: Josef Strzygowski and his legacy*. Vol. 1. Princeton University, 1998; Baladian, Ani T. "Toros Toramanian." *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 81.1 (2002): 17-19.

<sup>38</sup> Baladian, Ani T. "Toros Toramanian." *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 81.1 (2002), p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyun Patmutyan]*, (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, p. 84.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

I cannot forgive those who spend long years studying the city and, consciously or not, are not able to perceive the bitter truth of the fact that the traces and vestiges of a rich life, of a great diligence, of an infinite charm, of an endless richness are still ineradicable today.”<sup>41</sup>

He was forced to leave Ani for Etchmiadzin after four months due to economic conditions. In 1904 Toramanian was invited to work at the excavations of Zvartnots by Khatchik Dadyan, an amateur archaeologist who, at the time, was studying theology in Etchmiadzin.<sup>42</sup> Toramanian did not have experience in scientific archaeological excavations at the time.<sup>43</sup> However, according to Baladian, “he had the idea to examine all the fragments found on the spot, one by one, considering their place and position (fig. 15).



Figure 15: Toros Toramanian, in front of Saint Gregory of Tigran Honents Church at Ani. Photographed by Aram Verouyr in 1907. Image from *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, opposite page 96.

<sup>41</sup> Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel*, Yerevan, 2016, p. 102.

<sup>42</sup> Archimendrite Khatchik Dadyan was an amateur archaeologist. Not having academic education in the field, his excavations in numerous monuments was carried on without scientific documentation. In 1927, the People’s court of Vagharshapat sentenced him to two years imprisonment for the accusation of treasure hunting around Hripsime.

<sup>43</sup> According to Kleinbauer, “These excavations were poorly and even devastatingly handled, including the use of dynamite, resulting in the irreparable loss of valuable physical evidence, have nonetheless clearly established the ground plan of the church.” Kleinbauer, W. Eugene. *Tradition and Innovation in the Design of Zvartnotz*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 3.

This strictly archaeological approach, allows him to propose a model of reconstruction giving an overall idea of the building before its destruction on the ninth century.<sup>44</sup> He proposed a three-story reconstruction which was not accepted among the scholars of the time (figs. 16-17). His polemical proposal was printed in Armenian Periodical “Murch” in 1905 which opened a vigorous scholarly debate among art and architecture historians.<sup>45</sup> However, a stone model of St’ Gregory was later discovered at Ani which was built according to Zvartnots cathedral and was strikingly similar to Toramanian’s reconstruction.

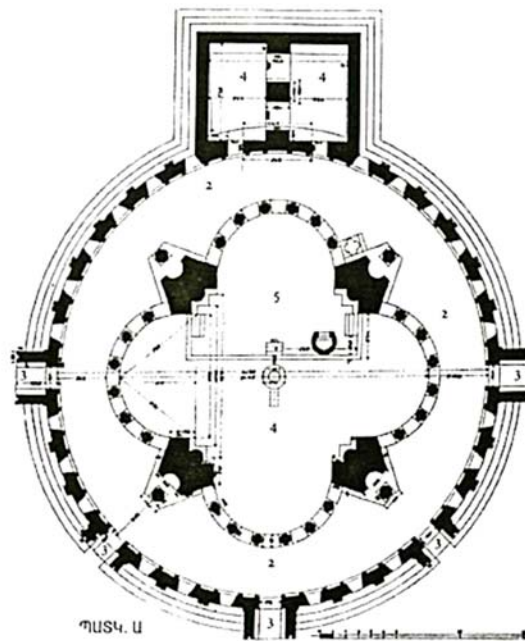


Figure 16: T'oramanyan's 1905 plan of Zvartnots showing an eastern exedra. Image from *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyán Patmutyán], (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, p. 312.

In 1904, Toramanian met Nikolas Marr and worked alongside him in excavation project at Ani. Assisting Professor Marr from 1904 to 1914 gave him a profound understanding of Armenian architecture and its preservation methods. “Nicholas Marr created a legacy in educating archaeologists from Georgia, Armenia and Russia and Toramanian was one of them.”<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Baladian, Ani T. 2002, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> Toramanian, Toros. “Armenian Architecture, Zvartnots Church.” *Murch*, No. 5, 1909, pp.186 - 197.

<sup>46</sup> *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyán Patmutyán], (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, p. 302.

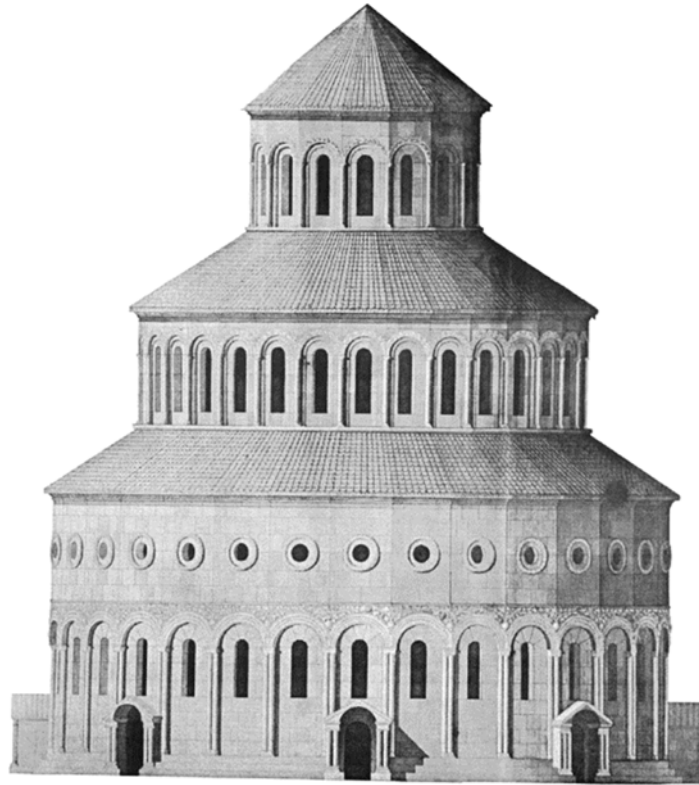


Figure 17: The reconstruction of Zvartnots by Toros Toramanian. Image from *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyán Patmutyan], (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, p. 302.

Thanks to Marr's efforts, a meeting for inspecting and evaluating Toramanian's contribution to Armenian architecture was held on May 10, 1908 in Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, Department of Archaeology. In this meeting, the committee members discussed the quality of Toramanian's reconstruction drawings (fig. 18). Toramanian did not record the accurate existing state of the buildings. He more occupied himself with the typology and spatial distribution of the buildings. This approach is clear in his drawings (figs. 19-21). Members of the Department of Oriental Studies, Art and Archaeology including G. K. Caleman, N. B. Kondakov, and S. F. Oldenburg were present. After a long and serious inspection of Toramanian's drawings, they accepted him as a member of the academy.<sup>47</sup> It was during the years of working with Professor Marr in excavations of Ani that he started publishing his studies in Armenian journals including

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<sup>47</sup> All the members of the committee approved his drawings except for the realistic rendering of animals in the architectural details which according to the committee members were immature and in some drawings the shadows were not rendered correctly. In fact, the animals which caused the debate were the ones sculpted in the entrance of a caravanserai in Ani and themselves were sculpted in a rudimentary state. *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, p. 101.

“Anahit” in Paris, “Murch” (the hammer) in Tbilisi, and “Azgagerakan Handes” (Ethnographic Review) in Tbilisi, which made him known among scientific circles of Armenian studies.



Figure 18: Left: A reconstruction drawing of the Narthex of the Holy Apostles' Church at Ani by Toros Toramanian, 1908. Image from: *Toros Toramanian, Letters, (Armenian)*, Yerevan, 1968, opposite page 48. Right: Photograph of the same building by Lynch. From Lynch, Vol II., Figure 91, opposite page 385.

In 1913 Toramanian accepted Josef Strzygowski's invitation to Vienna to participate in the Armeno-Georgian art and architecture seminar at the Department of Art History at the University of Vienna. Toramanian, not being able to afford the costs of the travel, referred to Stepan Listsian, a close friend and well-known personality among Armenian community of Tbilisi.

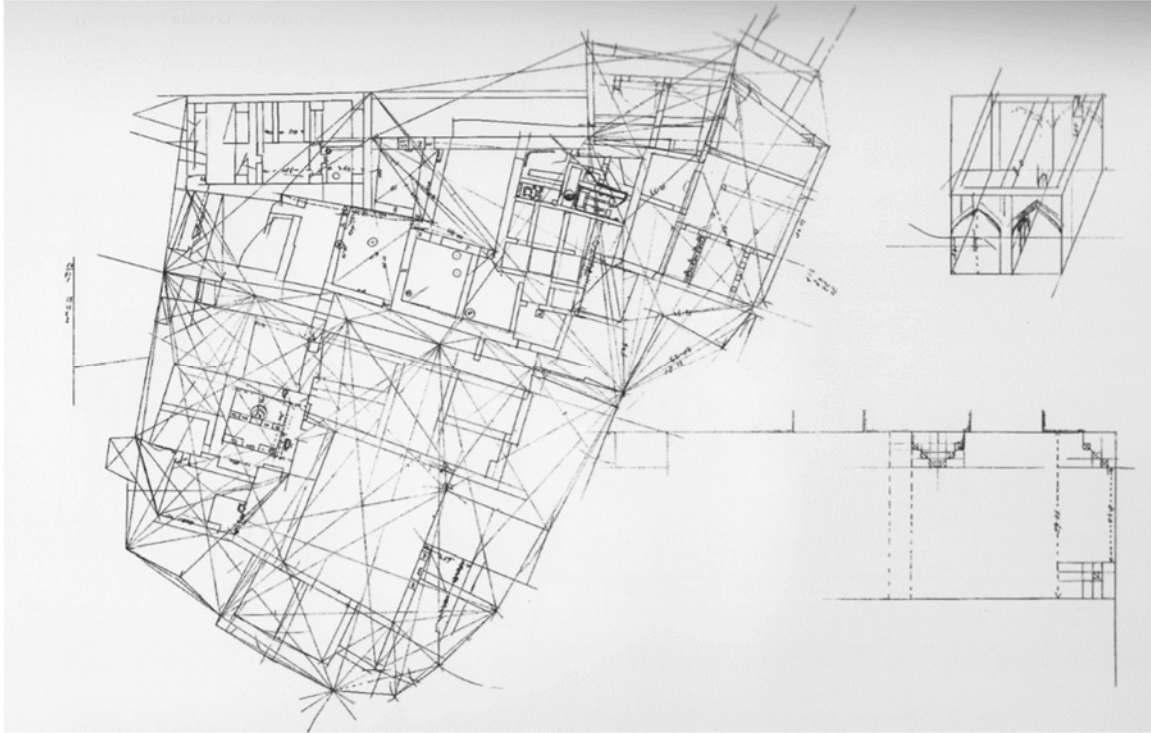


Figure 19: Survey of the palace complex at Ani Citadel by Toros Toramanian. Top right: Drawing of the water reservoir. Bottom right: Plan of the north-western large hall. Image from Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 2016, p. 203.

Lisitsian succeeded in gathering 600 rubles through a fundraising campaign among wealthy Armenians which covered the costs of the travel.<sup>48</sup> By Strzygowski's request, Toramanian bring about 1100 architectural surveys, drawings, negatives, and photographs with him. They signed a coalition contract and Toramanian was responsible to complete the materials in two years and bring them back to Vienna.<sup>49</sup> The goal was to publish a comprehensive book as a joint coalition between Toramanian and Strzygowski. While Toramanian was continuing the surveys in Armenia, the WWI started and Toramanian could not return to Europe after two years, not being able to contact with Toramanian, Strzygowski proceeded with the publication of the book and it was published in 1918 titled *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (The Architecture of the

<sup>48</sup> In a letter written on 22 April 1913 from Vienna, Toramanian thanked the Armenian community of Tbilisi by saying: "Armenian architecture finally entered the European scholar and gained an honorable place next to other nations' architecture and I hope that it will rise to its deserved position. Stepan Lisitsian's son, Levon Lisitsian, was studying at Vienna's University at the time and was Strzygowski's student. All the correspondence between Toramanian and Strzygowski was through Lisitsian due to language barrier. In a letter written by Levon Lisitsian to his family dated 24 February 1914, he is complaining about his dire situation in mediating between Strzygowski and Toramanian. See *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, p. 425.

<sup>49</sup> See note 5 of letter 117 in *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, p. 420.

Armenians and Europe), in which he claimed to have traced the origins of Gothic architecture to Armenia. In the book, Strzygowski acknowledged Toramanian's efforts and announced the source of the materials but Toramanian was not satisfied with the result and believed that Strzygowski abused him.<sup>50</sup> In a letter written on 12 February 1929 to Stepan Lisitsian, Toramanian wrote: "The unfortunate incidents of WWI forbade my next year's return to Vienna, the roads were closed. The famous Professor Strzygowski did not wait for me, or lost his hope, contrary to our agreement, he published the two volumes."<sup>51</sup>

Throughout his career, Toramanian embarked about studying Armenian architecture and was very concerned about the scientific preservation of the monuments as to the level of academic knowledge of the day. Although a controversial figure, he covered many official positions which enabled him to implement certain reforms and initiatives in the field. By the establishment of the Soviet Armenia, his first official title was assigned by the revolutionary committee on May 26, 1921 as a member of the "Scientific Institute of Etchmiadzin."<sup>52</sup> Later, on 12 September, he moved to Etchmiadzin along with his family and dedicated his life to fulfilling the responsibility of safeguarding the monuments of Armenian architectural heritage until 1931. In 1923, the

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<sup>50</sup> This occurrence is described in detail in note 1, Letter 114 in *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, p. 419. In a letter written by Strzygowski in 1925, he described the event from his perspective. A complete translation of the letter from German is as follows: "Dear Mr. Toramanian, I was happy for your letter and that you are living in good circumstances. To the demands, which you put to me, I have to notice. 1- With regard to what you call "employee-fee," you have never worked with me, but just provided me the materials. I have the gratitude for this in my work, I believe, as clearly as possible. In the first place, thanks to my Lord, I have made my free choice for you. Thanks to my Lord, I voluntarily gave you out of my honorarium on May 3 and 7, 1919, 4300 Kronen say four thousand three hundred Austrian Kronen at the New Vienna Savings Bank for you. The savings book is in my hands. 2- Your drawings are at your disposal. 3- I have already twice, the second time by Mr. Wesendonk sent a copy of my work to you in Tbilisi, so already sacrificed two copies for this purpose: a third I am not in a position to risk. I would like to ask you to send an official representative of your government to me with a personal authorization issued by you (Wien IX Horlg. 6). I will then proceed with what you want. In other respects I ask to greet Father Nerses; I hope that it is just his ingenuity to clothe your demands in a robe that made me no good impression. I expected from Armenians to be grateful for my work and from you for recognition that I had saved your life's work. In Best Respect, Josef Strzygowski. 4 January 1925, Vienna." *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, pp. 300-1.

<sup>51</sup> *Toros Toramanian, Letters*, (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, p. 352.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 445, Letter 155, note 4. On February 5, 1921, the Revolutionary committee (հեղկոմ) of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) (Հայկական Խորհրդային Սոցիալիստական Հանրապետություն ՀՍՍՀ) founded the first scientific institute (գիտական հաստատություն). The Historic-Cultural Institute of Etchmiadzin based on the foundations of Etchmiadzin's manuscript library. In the second meeting, on February 6, they decided to invite Toros Toramanian as an architect to work in institute. Later, because of February adventures, this institute was annulled and in April, after establishing Soviet Armenia, the rights of the institute were restored. In the May 26 meeting, its name was changed to "Scientific Institute of Etchmiadzin" (Էջմիածնի գիտական ինստիտուտ) and in the meeting of September 20, Toramanian was accepted as a member of the institute.

“Committee for Preserving Armenian Antiquities” was established.<sup>53</sup> According to a decree issued by the Public Education Commissariat on 30 December 1923, Toros Toramanian was nominated as one of the three architects of the above-mentioned committee.<sup>54</sup> Toramanian was entitled the “Head of Architecture Department” of the History Museum of Armenia from 1930 till 1932. During these two years, he was responsible for preparing a list of significant Armenian monuments. He listed twenty-one monuments with a brief historical and architectural description for each.<sup>55</sup>

Toramanian’s acquaintance with Armenian architecture started in 1903 with expedition to Ani. Being an architect and lover of art helped him to immediately acknowledge the importance of the site and its study for Armenian nation. He wrote about this experience that “...these ruins contain answers to many questions that are still raised in the Armenian history of art, but unfortunately, so far, they have seen by researchers who have not used hoe and spade.”<sup>56</sup>

In his article about the Zvartnots church published in 1905 he writes: “I decided to stay and work at Ani to save the remains of the glorious past of our great people from oblivion and to show them to the world.”<sup>57</sup> It is worth mentioning his enthusiasm and reaction after visiting Ani which had such a deep influence on him. He wrote: “After seeing the beautiful curves of the twigs and admiring the surprising lightness of the leaves and flowers, I would stop appreciating the ancient Rome, Byzantine, Arabia and Spain.”<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 445.

<sup>54</sup> According to the 18 December 1923 decree issued by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic council, the Armenian Committee for preserving antiquities was established as a specific scientific-administrative authority to which the protection and study of all monuments located in the territory of Soviet Armenia was assigned. According to another decree issued on 30 December, the first committee was composed of five individuals: Alexander Tamanian as president, Ashkharbek Kalantar as assistant, Toros Toramanian, Senekerim Ter-Hakobian, Martiros Saryan as members.

<sup>55</sup> The complete list is printed in *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyun Patmutyan]*, (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010.

<sup>56</sup> Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel*, Yerevan, 2016, p. 94.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted from: Baladian, Ani T. "Toros Toramanian." *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 81.1 (2002), p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel*, Yerevan, 2016, p. 120.



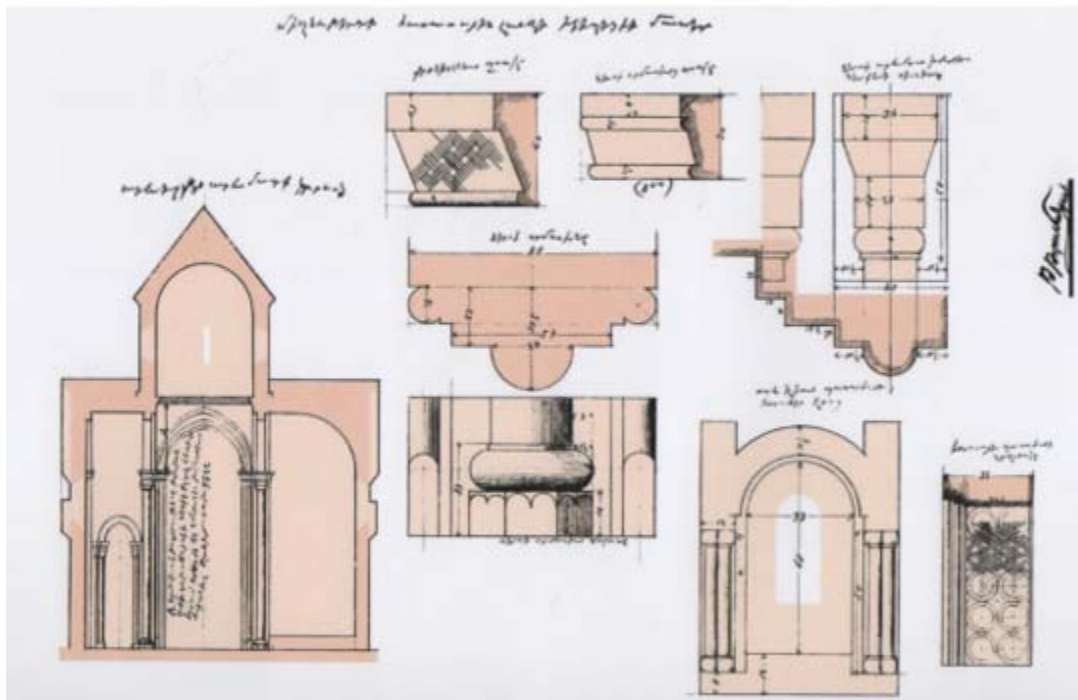
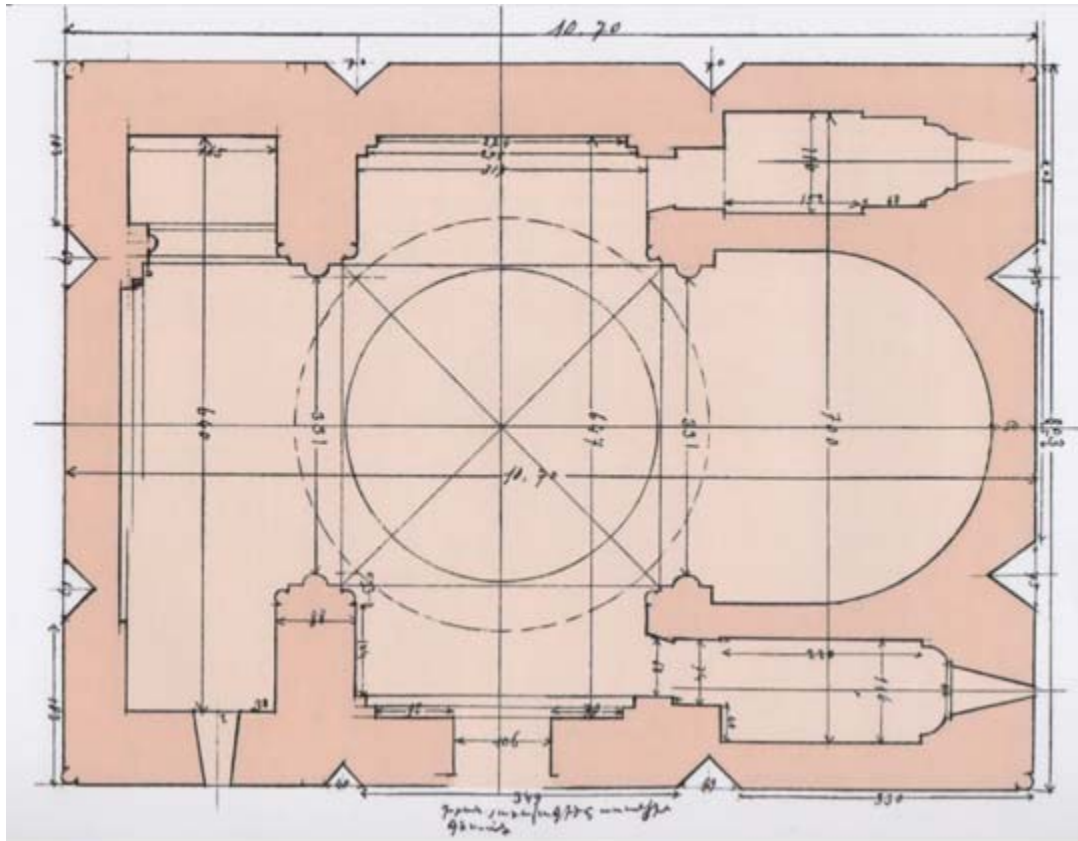
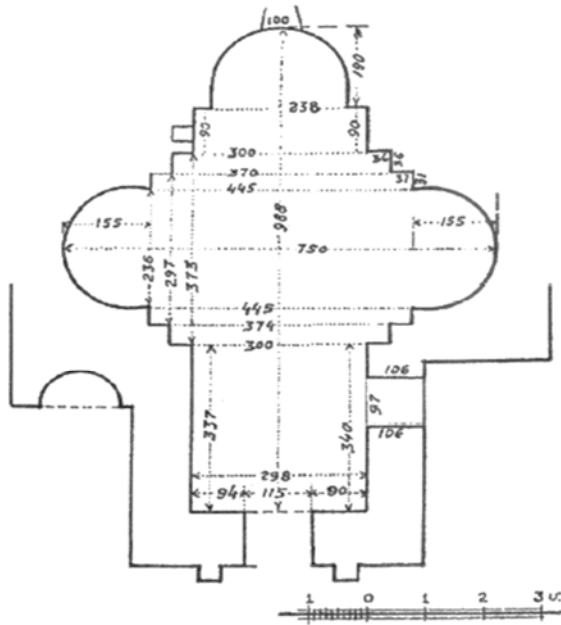
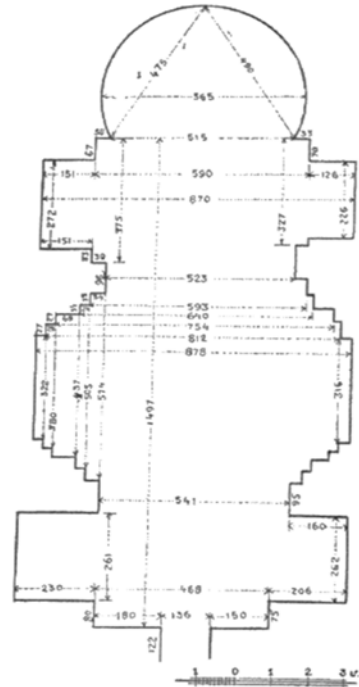


Figure 20: Top: Plan of the church located on the southern slopes of the citadel at Ani. The preservation status of the building is not recorded in this plan. The highlight is on the typology and the dimensions. Bottom: Section and details of the same church. From Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 2016, p. 232.



Նկ. 144. Թալինի փոքր, Ներսէ Կամարականի շինած եկեղեցու Հատակազօծի Ներքին չափերը



Նկ. 198. Մուլլազասումի եկեղեցու Հատակազօծի Ներքին չափերը

Figure 21: Toramanian has many drawings of Armenian monuments which he only recorded the interior profile of the building with detailed measurements. This indicates his attention to typology versus the status of the monument. Left: The small church in Talin. Right: The church of Mullazasum. From *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyan Patmutyan], (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010.

Being an ardent student of Marr’s school of archaeology and being in direct contact with the recently formed imperial ideas about classes and nations, influenced on forming his own ideology. Toramanian believed that the reason Armenians were so miserable in the beginning of the twentieth century lies in their zealous religious beliefs. According to him, “Armenian historians made a big mistake in not recording the secular events of Armenian nation by exaggerating anything related to religion. Studying material culture of a nation and the heroic legends of their kings is as important as its religion. Little studies have been executed regarding secular architecture. This is the reason they are all in bad condition and only the religious monuments were preserved by continuous renovation and reconstruction.”<sup>59</sup> Toramanian was convinced that through systematic excavations and studying the material culture of the remaining artifacts and evidences, it is possible to reconstruct a richer context of Armenian culture which historians were

<sup>59</sup> *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyan Patmutyan], (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, p. 88.

unable to register. “What has remained, to our days, of the magnificent palaces mentioned in the Armenian historiography? Almost nothing, just ruins.

Fortunately, some of these, keep vestiges of their original splendor...that help us to restore the arrangements of their sections. These surviving fragments come to substantiate available historical documentation.”<sup>60</sup>

For Toramanian, Armenian architecture reached its zenith in 7th century: “I can certify that the level of the development of Art and the 7th century Armenian architecture remains unsurpassed.” He continued “...the 12th-14th century Armenian architectural monuments cannot be compared with those of previous periods...during the Georgian domination, many religious buildings were erected but they cannot be compared with the masterpieces of the early Christian period and up to the eleventh century.”<sup>61</sup> He even stressed that “those who consider the period between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to be the peak of the development and civilization of the Armenian Nation are in great error.”<sup>62</sup>

Similar to Marr’s ideas with regard to Ani, continuing a prosperous life under non-Armenian sovereigns, Toramanian has recorded: “The artistic characteristics and elegant style of the smallest monuments built during the last period, clearly shows that the Armenians who suffered under the tyranny of the foreigners, were as talented and industrious as their ancestors.”<sup>63</sup> The same fact, “continuous prosperity” has two completely different interpretation for Marr and Toramanian. For Marr it signifies the continuous prosperity of a metropolis which continues its life regardless of the nationality or religion of its rulers but for Toramanian, it signifies the “suffering” of Armenians who were the former owners of the city, “under the tyranny of the foreigners.” It is clear that Toramanian’s vision is influenced by patriotic ideologies.

Toramanian’s ideas with regard to origin and influence of Armenian architecture on the architecture of other nations is reflected in the next lines: “Armenians have been builders since the beginning of time. They inherited the art of building from their ancestors. “Stoney Armenia” gave our architects and masters inexhaustible building material. Our bricklayers and stonemasons had at their disposal a universally usable material -our volcanic stones, which they easily carved into shapes of their liking. Our nation embodied its soul, its aspirations, dreams, and taste in that

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<sup>60</sup> Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel*, Yerevan, 2016, p. 93.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

obliging material. Since the very beginning, our nation has adopted certain basics from its ancestors and mixed them with it the innovation deriving from experience, accepting the influence of its neighbours - the Persians and the Mesopotamians, it has also developed new elements and sensitivities to the already accumulated phenomena. It has coordinated the building materials with the climate, harmonizing it with the landscape and with its mental, spiritual, and domestic demands of its people. And thus, through centuries of effort and development, the Armenian style has been created - a unique type, whose footprint is hence assured and unshakeable. Ani is the mirror or the Armenian culture. Look at the cathedral carefully, set your eye on it, it is the soul of our style. Look how majestic and simple it is. It is simple since it has been refined by the centuries long culture, it has thrown away the superficial elements thus becoming a pure crystal. When one looks at the cathedral of Ani or at the churches of Tekor, Yererouk, Hripsime, they seem like a luminous vision. The beauty of most other nations' art is touching, sometimes stimulating and rebellious, but the beauty of our art inspires serenity, relaxation, leading us to contemplation. This is the essence of the art and philosophy of the Armenian architecture. When this style achieved its pinnacle, it began to spread out. The treasures of our art gliding down from our stony plateau spread into Byzantium, Italy, Germany, and France. Our migrant masters, our architects and the persecuted Tondrakians, took with them their skills and knowledge. The conquering nations accepted and spread these treasures which became a source of aspiration, thought, and novelty for the Byzantine, Roman, and Gothic builders and even for the Arabs. In my opinion, the question of influence is secondary. It suffices that our culture and art have its indisputable place in the history or architecture of the nations.”<sup>64</sup>

The above paragraph is self-explanatory. It is worth mentioning for a second time Marr's influence on forming Toramanian's ideology. Armenian architecture has both influenced and been influenced by other nations. For Toramanian, it is more important that European scholars accept and acknowledge the position of Armenian architecture among other nations' architectural style. He wrote the following sentence after Charles Diehl, the French leading authority on Byzantine art and history, recognized Armenian architecture to be an independant style: “The architectural pearls of Ani raised such interest and admiration that many researchers were forced to recognize

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<sup>64</sup> Isahakian, A. *The Architect Toros Toramanian*, IV Vols, Yerevan, 1959, pp. 91-104.

the value of its heritage; in addition, a famous scholar finally admitted that the Armenian architecture developed independently, according to its own laws and traditions.”<sup>65</sup>

Toramanian, like Marr had a scientific method. First, he studied historical documents regarding the site or monument, second, he applied a scientific archaeological excavation and documented the process. Third, he published his knowledge by writing journal articles or monographs. He also considered material culture as a substance to enrich the textual and archaeological evidence. His scientific approach to the archaeology can be demonstrated by some examples. He used the architectural style and the colors of the stones to suggest a dating for the buildings. He noticed the crudely curved in dovetail shape on the cubic blocks of stone, a method for connecting stone blocks in Hellenistic periods, abandoned in medieval times, and suggested that these stone blocks have been originally part of ancient Greek or Roman constructions. Many ancient buildings have been used as stone quarries. He has used the words “ruins destroyed with care” for this phenomenon.<sup>66</sup>

Toros Toramanian is one of the major figures in the history of Armenian architecture who not only reshaped and redefined Armenian architecture and its preservation, but he also tried to introduce it to western scholars and define its true position among other architectural styles. He was instrumental in raising awareness towards Armenian architectural heritage and was active in various researches, academic and government entities. His global influence and carrier was defined by his actual research and preservation projects, his interaction with Nicholas Marr, Josef Strzygowski, and other Armenian scholars. According to Tiran Marutyan, “he was the initiator and the creator of an exploratory school of architects, whose pupils have continued the work of their master, enriching it with new explorations and scientific monographs.”<sup>67</sup> His attempts to define architecture as a source for understanding the social life of past worlds is significant.<sup>68</sup>

His influence on Armenian architecture and its preservation goes well beyond the Armenian boundaries. Without his meticulously recorded information, Josef Strzygowski’s work would not be as comprehensive and influential. Alexander Tamanian, the creator of the new Armenian national style was a friend of Toramanian and his deep knowledge of medieval architectural

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<sup>65</sup> Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel*, Yerevan, 2016, p. 107.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75.

<sup>67</sup> Marutyan, Tiran. *At the Sources of Armenian Classical Architecture*. Yerevan: Mughni, 2003, p.350.

<sup>68</sup> *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyan Patmutyan]*, (Armenian) Yerevan, 2010, pp. 18-21.

decorative elements and their implementation in the new style is deeply indebted to Toros Toramanian's efforts.<sup>69</sup>

### Representing Palace Chapel at Ani

The Palace Church is located at the eastern edge of the palace complex in Ani's citadel (fig. 22). It was a single hall rectangular church with the approximate interior dimensions of 6x10 meters, barrel vaulted with two sets of pilasters and ribs which divided the interior space into three bays of equal size (fig. 23). The ribs were supported on four pilasters that formed an arcade of three arches along the northern and southern walls. It had three entrances, the main entrance in the middle of the western facade, the second entrance between the two pilasters of the southern wall and the third entrance, between the apse and pilaster on the northern wall. The third entrance was connecting the church to a small chapel annexed to its northern wall (fig. 24).

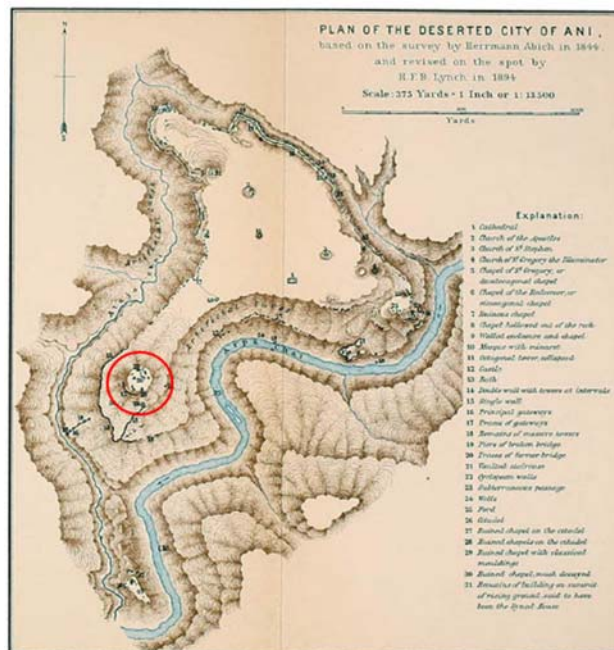


Figure 22: The citadel is highlighted in General plan of Ani, based on the survey by Hermann Abich in 1844 and revised on the spot by Henri Finnis Lynch in 1894. From Lynch, Vol. I, opposite page 390.

<sup>69</sup> Alexander Tamanian studied architecture in Saint Petersburg and before the Russian revolution of 1917, experienced neo-classical style in the service of the Tsar and Muscovite, for the Russian nobility. It is there that he put into practice and exercised his mastery of Neo-classicism and probably what allowed him to take up with so much talent, the conception of a capital, Yerevan with her sense of monumentality, the urban scale, and sensitivity towards the urban greenery and the concept of garden city. Later, in Armenia, he combined the Neo-classical and traditional Armenian elements and created the new style which dominated Yerevan's historic core and is known as "Neo-Armenian" or "Tamanian" style.

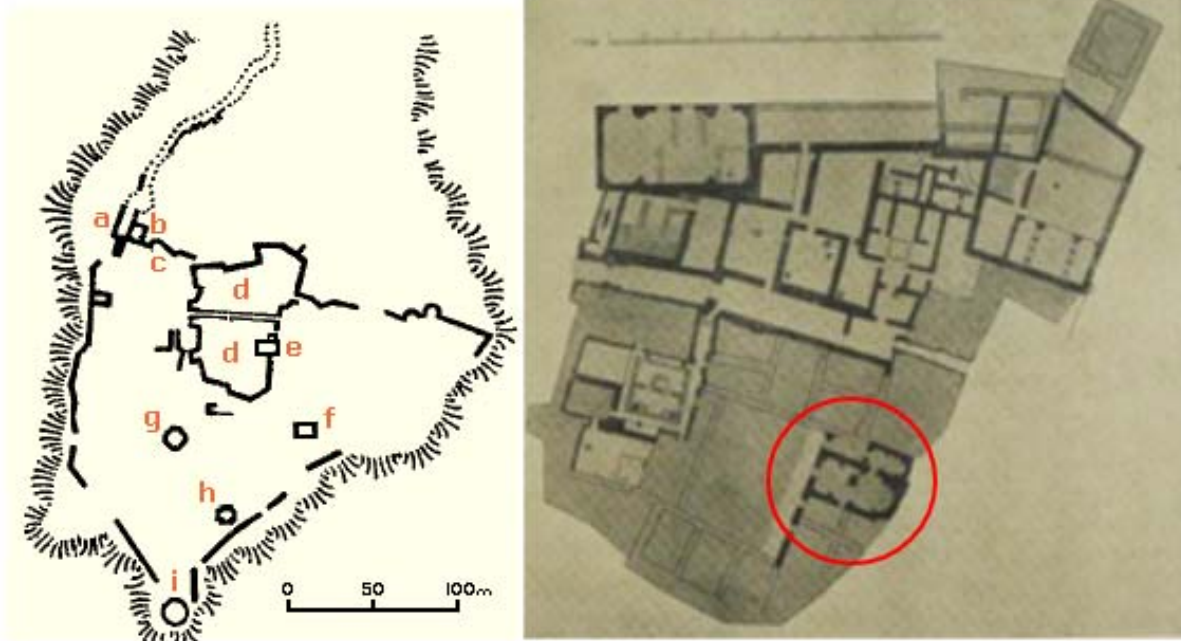


Figure 23: Left: The Citadel hill at Ani. The letters d indicate the palace and the letter e the palace church. Right: General plan of the Citadel Palace and the location of the Citadel Church in the complex. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 1.

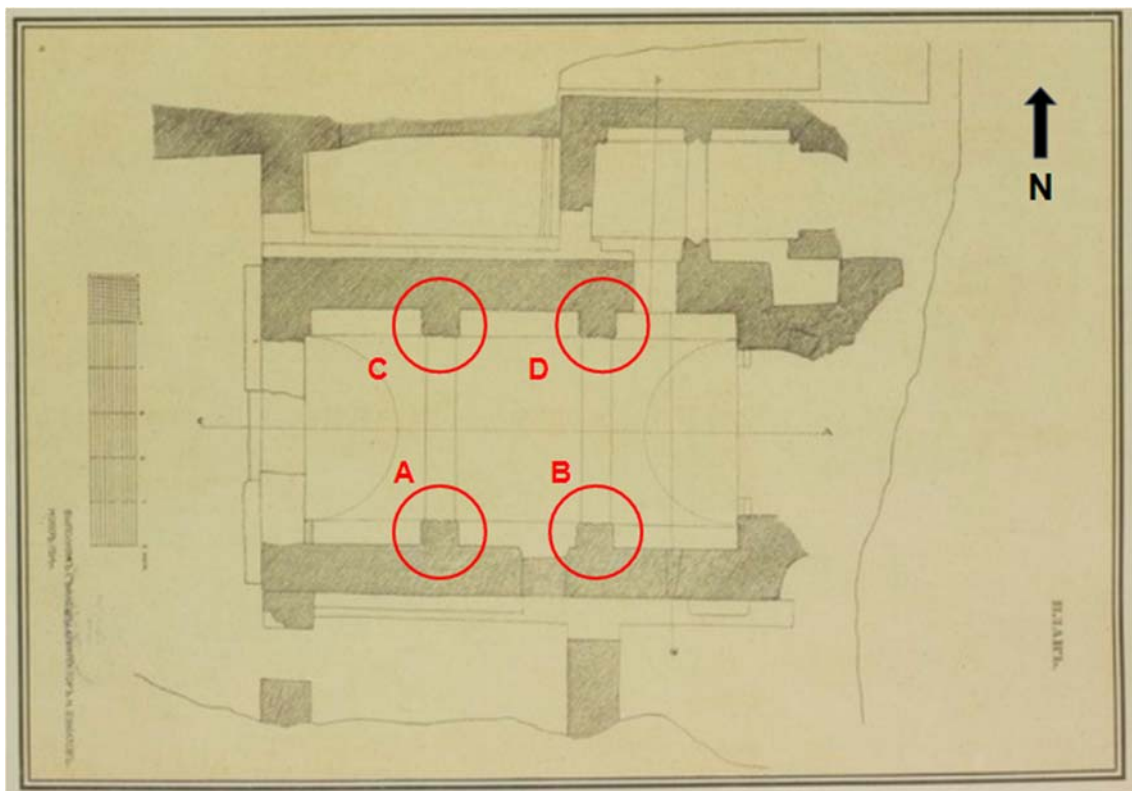


Figure 24: The plan of the palace church at Ani. From *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 12.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the eastern elevation including the apse was destroyed. The Western elevation, including the main entrance was partially damaged. In 1912, Nicholas Marr's team executed a partial consolidation intervention. They consolidate the Western elevation, protecting it from further imminent collapse but left the apse intact. The 1966 earthquake destroyed the southern wall and the vault leaving only the northern wall standing.

The pilasters of the southern wall contained figurative carved decorations. In this case study, I am going to compare three sets of drawings. 1- A perspective view published by Brossett in 1861, 2- The set of drawings published in portfolio of the building, 3- Drawings by Toros Toramanian.

1- Perspective view: In 1860, French orientalist Marie-Felicite Brosset published a two volume book called *Les ruines d'Ani: capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe S, histoire et description*. In these two volumes, he studied the inscriptions at Ani. Following these two volumes, in 1861, an atlas including 45 plates of landscape, buildings, and architectural decorations of Ani was published. The plate number XIV, titled "Room in the citadel, opening to the West" depicts an interior perspective view of the Palace church (fig. 25). This is not a standard architecture representation method, therefore, there are no measurements. It seems that the proportion is a little distorted and the ceiling height is exaggerated. But the preservation status of the construction is clearly transferred. In this view, only half of the pilasters are visible. The two pilasters on left, A and B, on the left have a decoration of something like an animal's head, like devils. The two on right, pilasters C and D have a geometric round decoration. All pilasters have a freeze of round medallions. Lynch, visited the monument about 40 years later. He has photographed the building and published some of them in his book. He argues that "The devils are more or less imaginary, and there appears to be only one of them in the actual design..."<sup>70</sup> Considering that Lynch has visited the monument about the remains of a broken figure, it is probable that there were two figures in the original design.

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<sup>70</sup> Lynch, footnote 1, page 379.



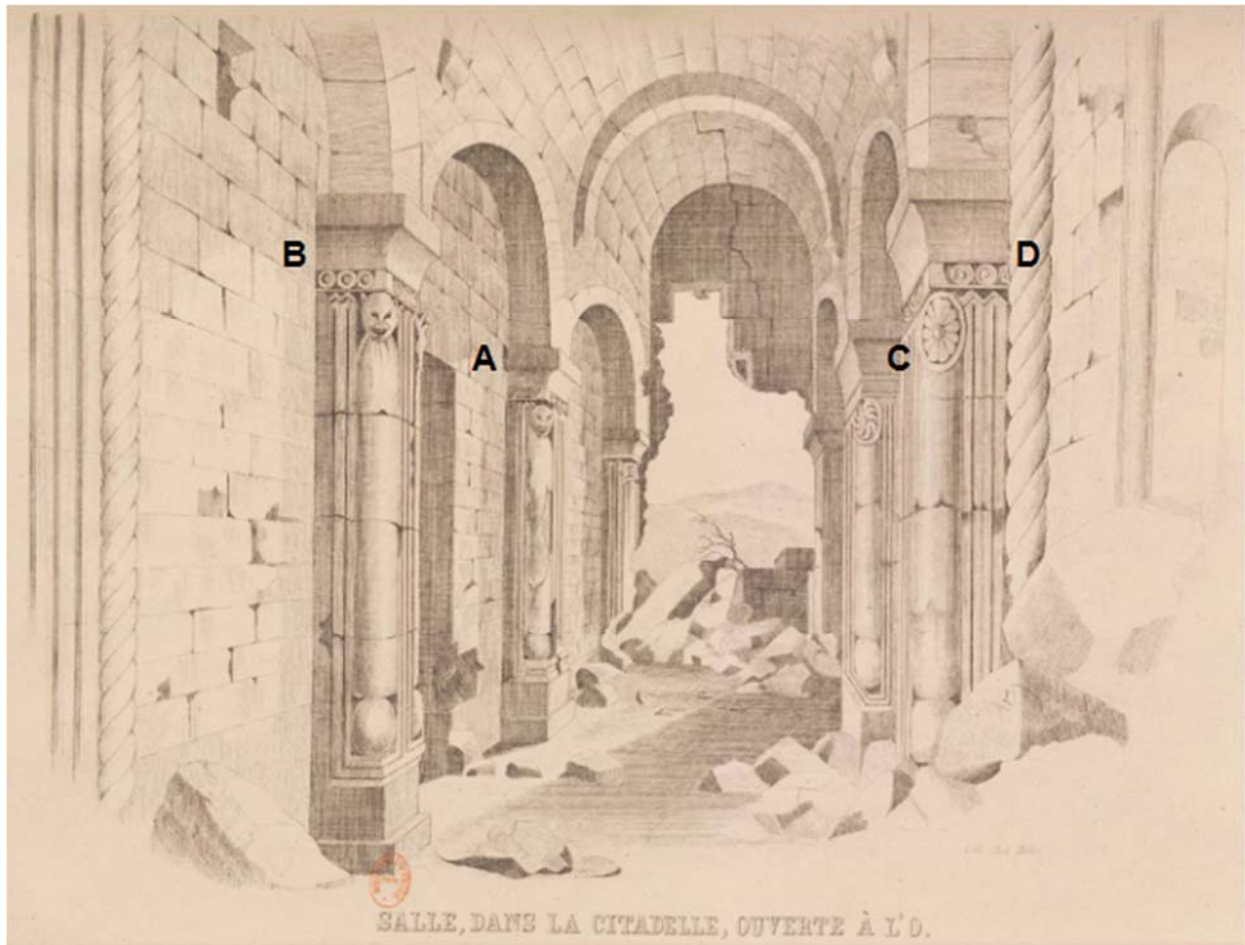


Figure 25: Perspective view depicting the interior of the Palace Church, view from East (apse), looking to West (the main entrance). Perspective drawing from Brosset, M. *Les ruines d'Ani: capitale de l'Arménie sous les rois Bagratides, aux Xe et XIe S, histoire et description*. Vol. III, Atlas General, 45 Planches, 1861, plate XIV.

2- The Museum of the Antiquities of Ani published a portfolio of the Palace church. This portfolio includes architectural drawings and photographs from 1912 (by P. Kniagnitzki) and 1913 (by O. Kiandarianzes). The task was completed by the architect N. Bouniatov in 1914 and the portfolio was published in 1915.<sup>71</sup> There are two types of drawings printed in this portfolio. Unfortunately, the scripts are not readable in digital version, therefore it is not possible to assign the correct author. But the style of measurement is different. In one set, the measurements are provided through a scale in the lower part of the drawing together with the section of the architectural decorations. In another set, each measurement has drawn separately next to its corresponding object and the

<sup>71</sup> Information regarding the publication of the portfolio from Virtual Ani website, retrieved on 09/01/20. <<http://www.virtualani.org>>

section of the decoration is drawn in the middle of the pilasters which made them confusing and hard to understand. There are the photographs of internal view of South and North walls, depicting all four pilasters but unfortunately there are the drawings of only two pilasters both on the southern wall (A and B) (figs. 26-29).

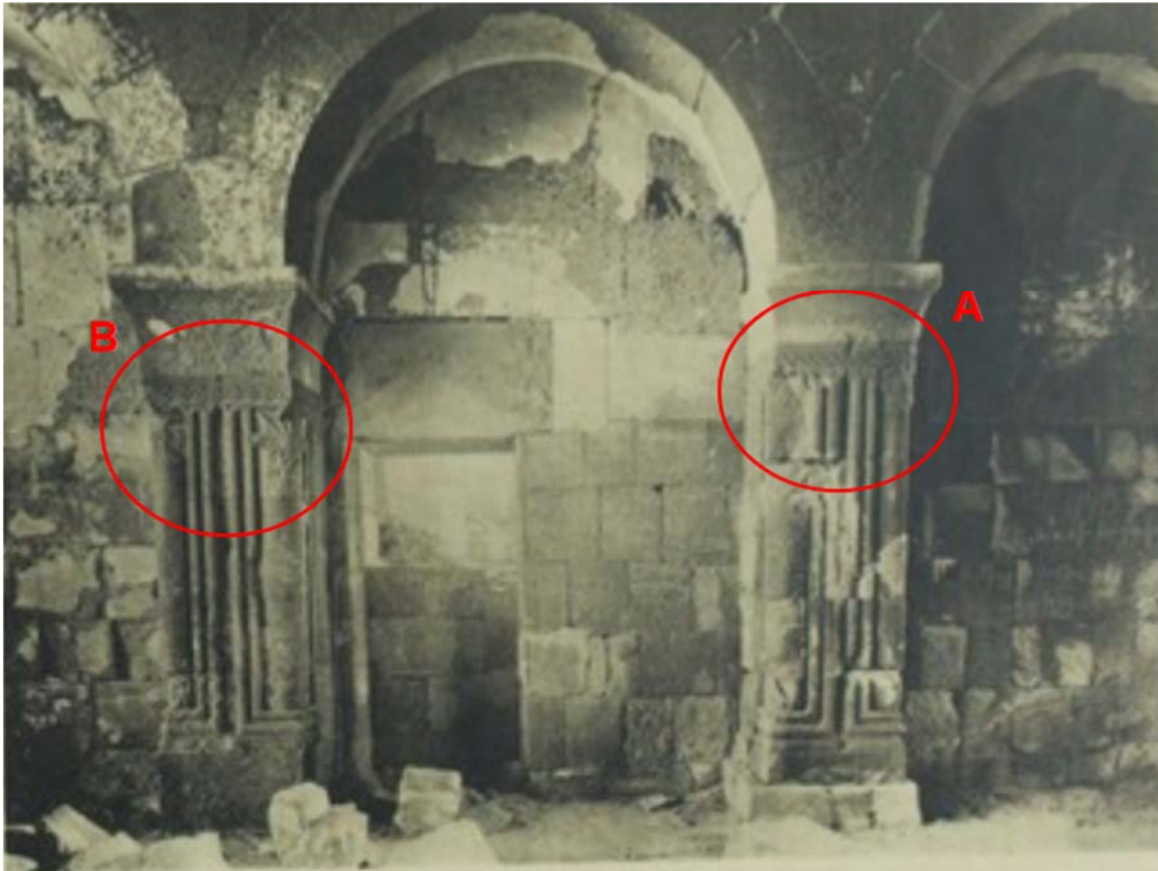


Figure 26: Pilaster A with the destroyed figure on the left and the eagle grabbing the sheep on the right. Pilaster B with the destroyed figure and the left and the partially destroyed figure on the right. Photo from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 25.

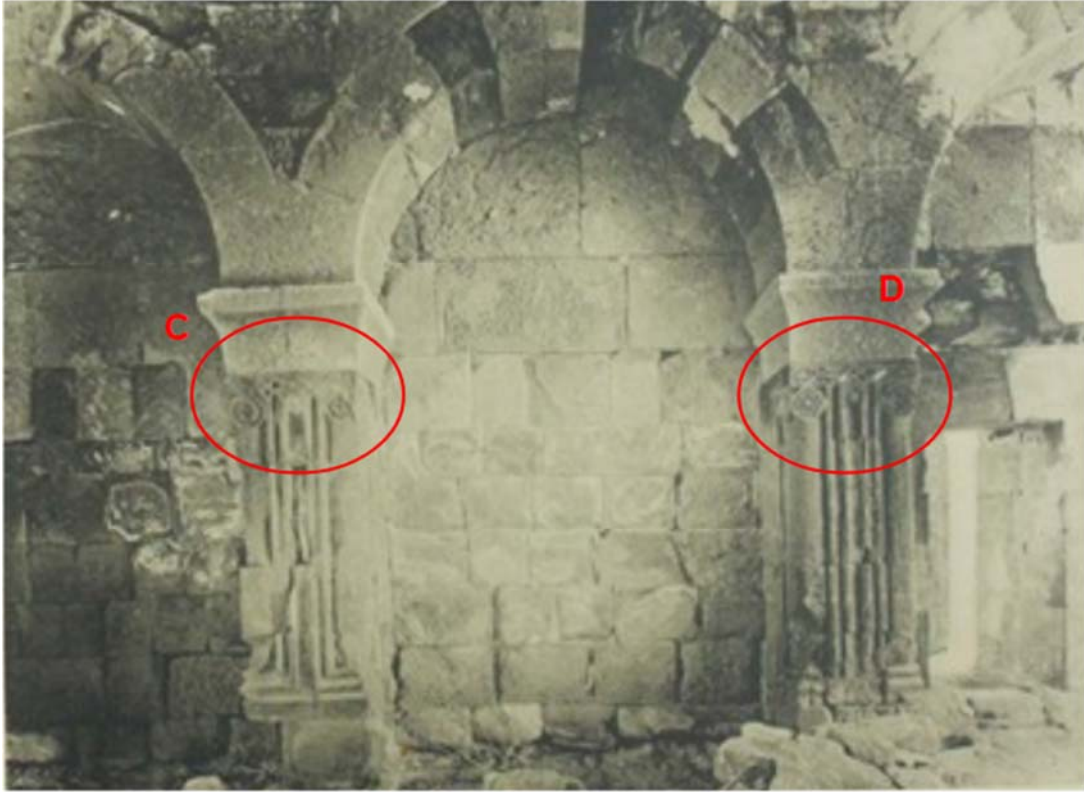


Figure 27: Pilasters C and D with geometric decorations. Photo from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 26.

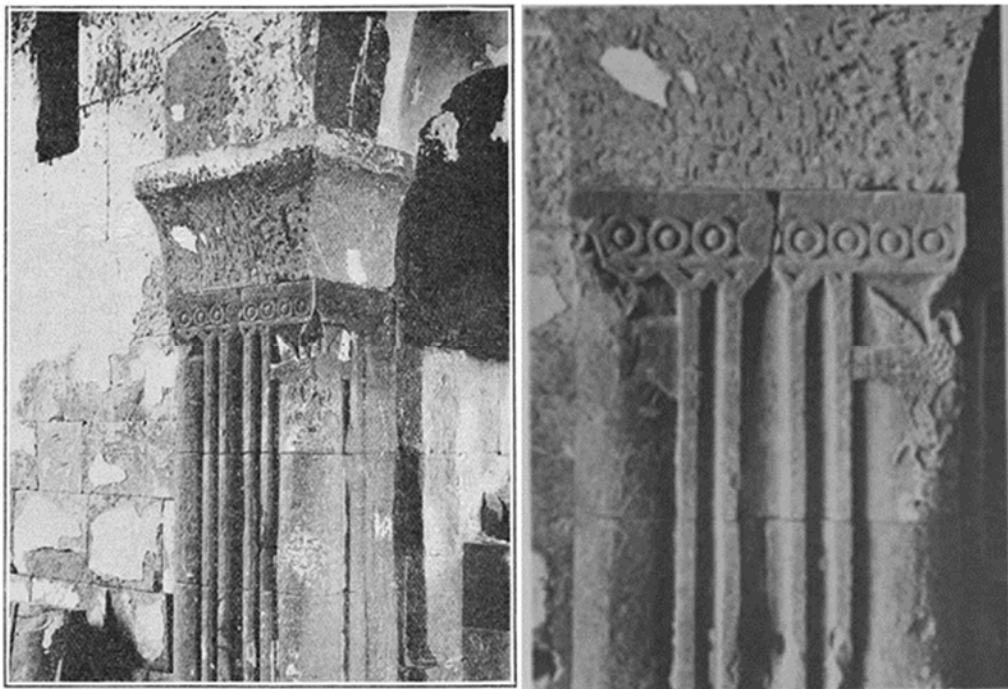


Figure 28: Photos of the pilaster B. Photo on the left from Lynch, Vol I., Figure 82, p. 379. Photo on the right from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 25.

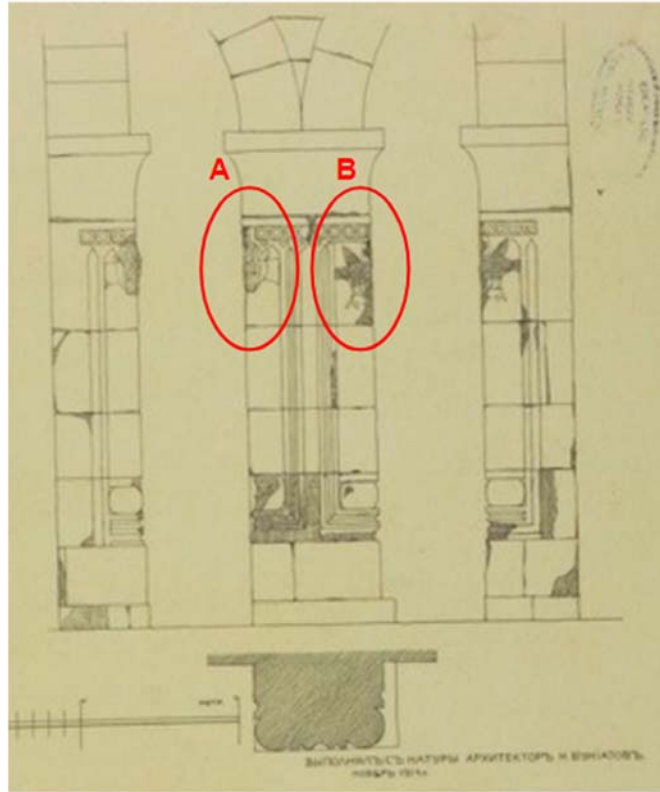


Figure 29: Detail of pilaster B on South wall. Letter A indicates the destroyed carved figure and letter B indicates the figurative eagle grabbing a sheep. Image from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 14.

3- Drawings made by Toros Toramanian and published in *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture, [Nyuter Haykakan Chartarapetutyun Patmutyan]*, (Armenian) Yerevan, 1942 and a revised edition published in 2010.

Comparing two drawings of pilaster B with a photograph taken in the same period. 1- Published in portfolio. 2- By Toros Toramanian.

The drawing published in portfolio is more accurate. It is also rendered more artistically with shadows. It depicts the missing parts and cracks. The level of accuracy is high. For example, the fourth medallion from left is missing an inner circle in the photo and the drawing loyally depicts it. Toramanian's drawing is crude, does not depict the cracks and missing parts. One might consider the figure on left unfinished instead of broken. The shape of the eagle's wing is distorted (fig. 30).

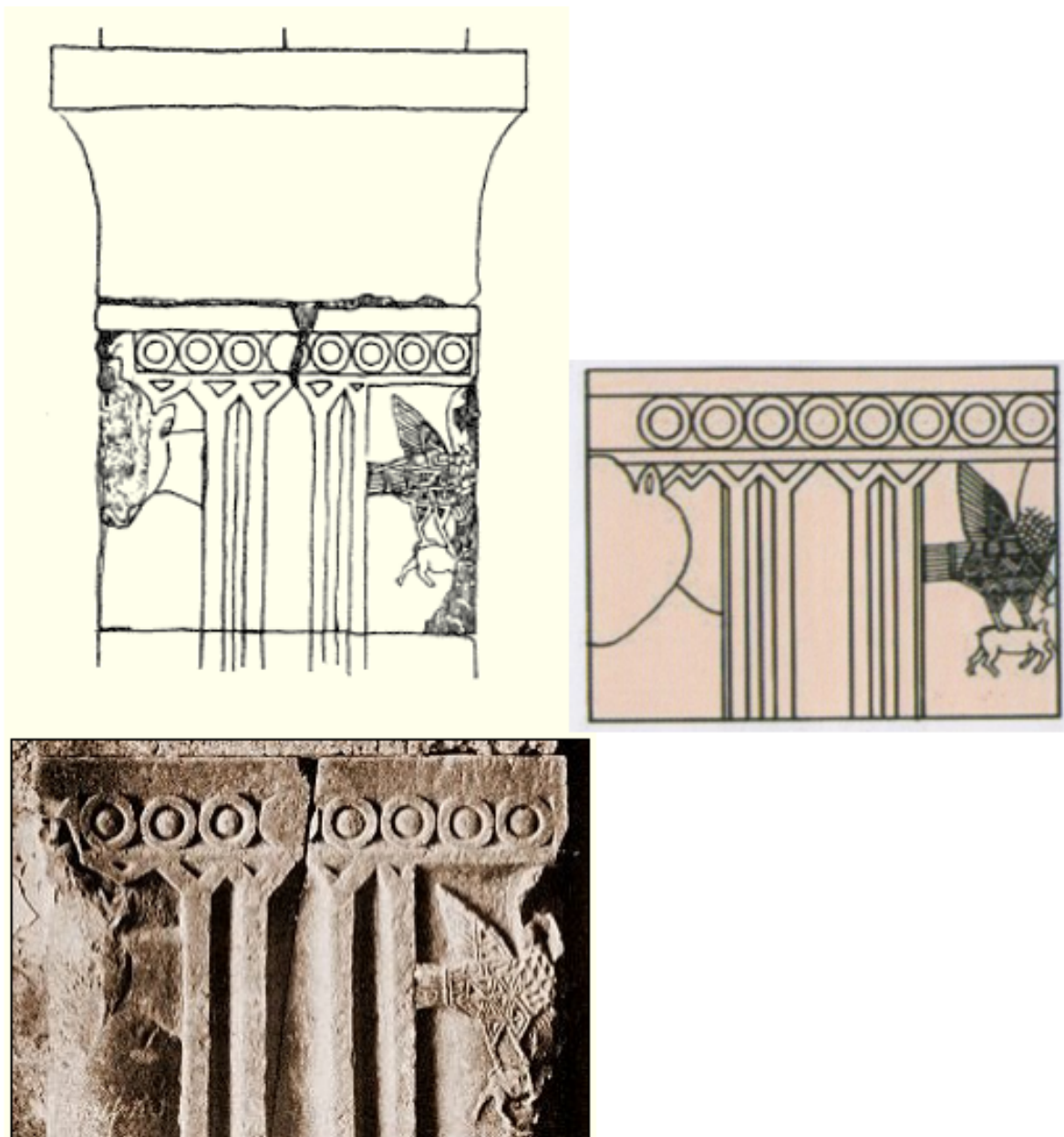


Figure 30: Drawings of the decorated capital of pilaster B. Top left: A close-up view of fig. 29. The cracks and broken parts are clearly visible and compared to a photograph taken in the same period, shows the exact and loyal representation. Top right: Drawing by Toros Toramanian. In this drawing, the cracks are not visible, it is not clear whether the figure is broken or left uncarved. Drawing from Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 2016, p. 213.

Comparing two drawings of pilaster (A) (figs. 31-32). Unfortunately, there is no photograph of this pilaster published neither in portfolio nor by Lynch. The drawing published in portfolio seems to be more accurate, with shadow rendering and stressing the broken or missing parts.

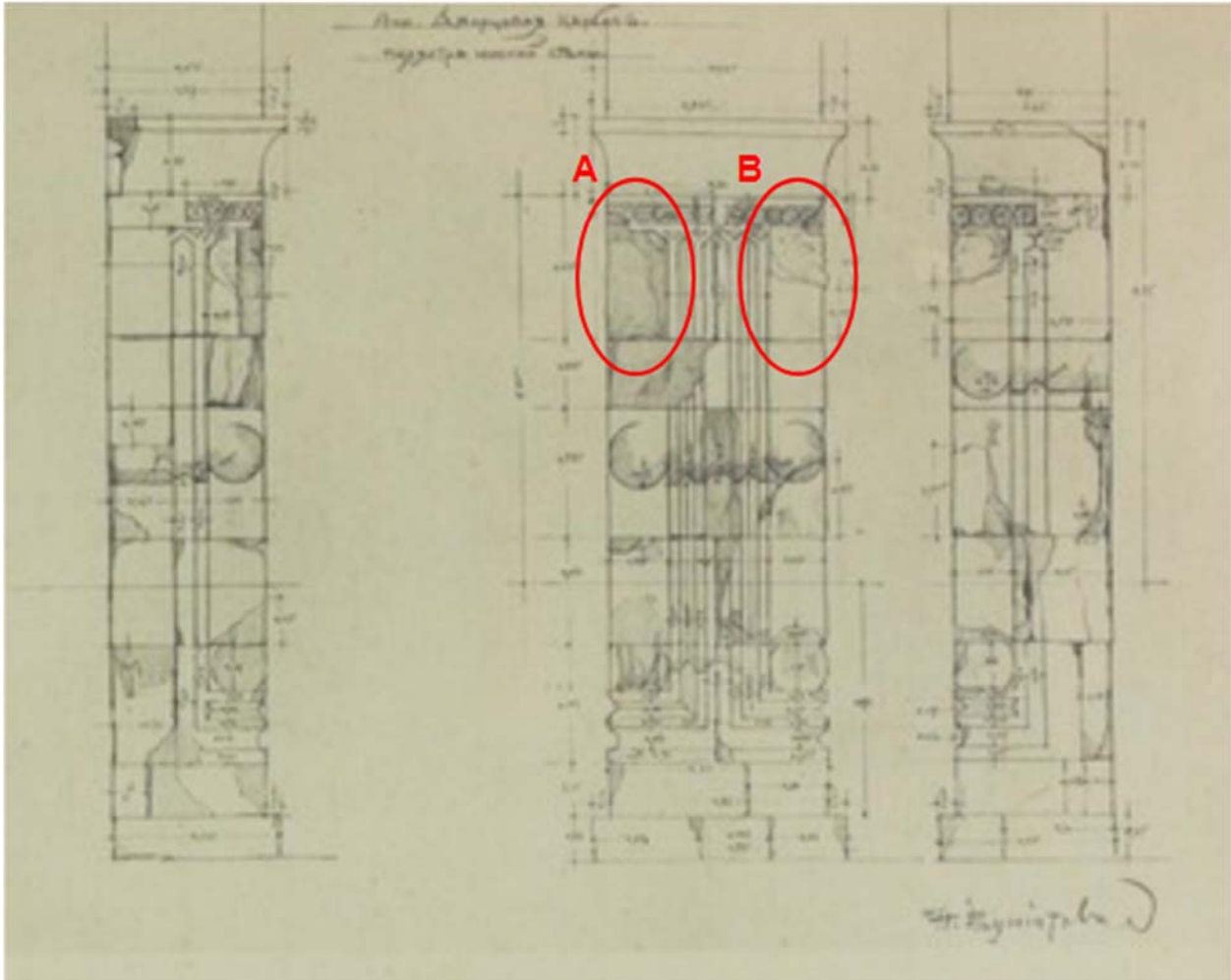


Figure 31: Detail of the pilaster A on the South wall. Letter A indicates the already completely destroyed figure and letter B indicates the partially destroyed figure. Image from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 21.

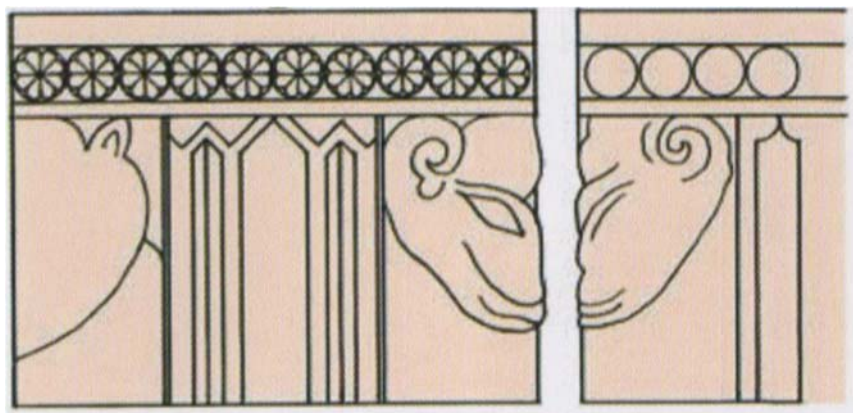


Figure 32: Drawing of the pilaster A by Toros Toramanian. The broken parts are not recognizable. Image from Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 2016, p. 213.

In the end, there is a comparison between an in-time photo and Toramanian's drawing depicting pilaster (D). Apart from not depicting the cracks and broken edges, the motifs themselves are distorted (fig. 33). The large medallion on the left depicts a six-sided star inscribed in a circle. The vertices of the star overlap the surrounded circle but in Toramanian's drawing, they are completely inscribed in it. The large medallion on the right is also a little distorted from the reality. The frieze on top of the pilaster is also distorted. In reality, the two leaves in the middle are smaller and are not covering the straight lines which form two triangles which is totally missing in the drawing. Toramanian's drawings are in a lower quality with respect to those published in the portfolio. The surveys and drawings in portfolio are done by two pupils of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts who had probably spent a short period of time in Ani and has dedicated their whole time and energy to the survey and drawing of one single building. This cannot be compared with surveying and documenting a large number of monuments dispersed in the whole country with difficult access.

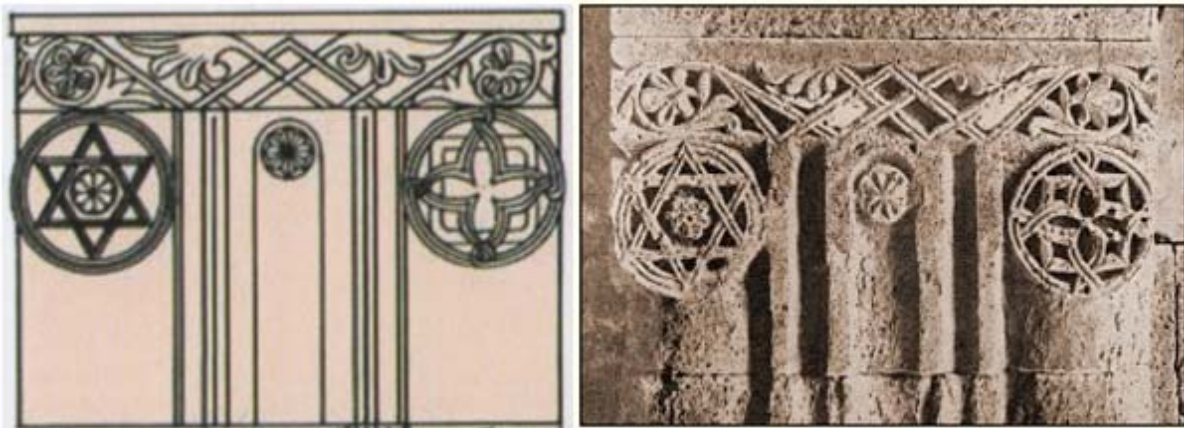


Figure 33: Left: Drawing of the pilaster D from Toramanian, Toros. *The Monuments of Ani Citadel* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 2016, p. 213. Right: Photo of the pilaster D from *Monuments de l'art armenian, Ani. Eglise du Palais*, Publication du Musee d'Antiquites d'Ani, 1915, p. 25. The drawing is not accurate. Pay attention to the star in the left circle or the frieze decoration.

## Josef Strzygowski (1862-1941)<sup>72</sup>

Josef Rudolph Thomas Strzygowski was born on March 7, 1862 in Biala, Austrian Silesia (currently part of Poland), the son of a clothing manufacturer. His mother, Edie Trass von Freydenfeldt, belonged to a minor noble family. He was raised in Biala (modern Bielsko-Biala) in Austrian Silesia, an ethnic borderland populated predominantly by Poles. Attending Gymnasium in Jena and Realschule in Brunn, Strzygowski entered his father's weaving plant as an apprentice at age eighteen. Two years later, however, he made an abrupt career change and entered the University of Vienna, from where he transferred to the University of Munich to complete a dissertation on images of the Baptism of Christ. Conducted under the supervision of the art historians Heinrich Brunn and Carl Robert. The thesis sought Eastern influences, particularly those of Syria in representations of the Baptism. After completing his dissertation, Strzygowski received a scholarship from the German Archaeological Institute and spent the next three years in Rome. In 1887, he wrote *Cimabue und Rom*. According to Suzanne Marchand, he “emphasized Christian themes and Byzantine sources for western forms, but retained the orthodox tone and prefatory source criticism typical of contemporary professionals in the field,” but he already had posed to himself the question that would frame his life’s work.<sup>73</sup> The question was: “What is Rome, what, in reality, is Italian and European art?”<sup>74</sup> He received his Habilitation in Vienna in 1887, where, at the age of twenty-five, he became a lecturer. After Rome, Strzygowski embarked on a long trip, traveling to Thessaloniki, Mount Athos, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, and then eventually to Turkey and Egypt. In 1892, he obtained a teaching position at the University of Graz, where four years later, he was named Counsellor. During his tenure at Graz, Strzygowski published more than seventy articles on a broad range of topics, arguing in most cases for the importance of the East in the formation of early Christian and medieval art. His growing fame earned him a position at the University of Vienna at the Kunsthistorisches institut in 1909. When Franz Wickhoff, the chairman of the department died, the faculty, by majority of only one vote, decided to appoint the position

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<sup>72</sup> Biographical information from: Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian architecture: constructions of race and nation*, Peeters, 2000; Marquand, Allan. "Strzygowski and his Theory of early Christian Art." *Harvard Theological Review* 3.3 (1910): 357-365; Marchand, Suzanne L. "The rhetoric of artifacts and the decline of classical humanism: the case of Josef Strzygowski." *History and Theory* (1994): 106-130.

<sup>73</sup> Marchand, Suzanne L., 1994, p. 117.

<sup>74</sup> Strzygowski, Josef. *Europas Machtkunst im Rahmen des Erdkreises*, 3rd ed. (Vienna, 1943), xiv. From Marchand, Suzanne L. "The rhetoric of artifacts and the decline of classical humanism: the case of Josef Strzygowski." *History and Theory* (1994): 106-130, p. 117, note 30.



to Strzygowski. At the same time a second chair, previously occupied by Riegl, was filled by art historian Max Dvorak. Dvorak, was perceived as supporter of classical art historical theories in the scholarly tradition of the time.

The critical emphasis of this art historical tradition was based upon the idea of the Hellenistic tradition of the "Vienna School". His predominant position at the university was intended as a counterbalance to Strzygowski's less conventional outlook. The two co-chaired the institute until the early death of Dvorak in 1921. Dvorak's position was immediately filled by Julius von Schlosser, who proved to be a more aggressive rival for Strzygowski and his non-Eurocentric ideas. Personal hostility between Strzygowski and Schlosser caused a split in the Institute. Claiming "birthright", Strzygowski became the Chair of the "First" Institute, while Schlosser chaired the "Second". This situation lasted until Strzygowski retired in 1933. When his Institute was dissolved, Strzygowski would complain bitterly about this event in subsequent years. However, he remained extremely active, founding a society for comparative art history, and publishing several books and articles until his death on January 2, 1941.

In his early academic carrier, St. already was inclined to believe a significant influence by the Eastern cultures. In later years he specifically embraced the theory that Armenian art and architecture influenced greatly the development of Byzantine and central European artistic creation, but it is not sufficiently acknowledged by Western scholars. According to him, Armenian art, although in part influenced by both Hellenistic and Iranian cultures of 5th and 6th centuries, has outstanding and unique original elements. These particular elements are definitely an Armenian creation which influenced the Byzantine art in a significant manner.<sup>75</sup> These include, among others, the combination of longitudinal nave and dome, or the evolution of tetraconch typology - which became part of the Byzantine artistic legacy.<sup>76</sup> A further critical architectural feature is the evolution of the floor plans of Armenian churches. While there has been a tradition of basilical type of construction, Armenia ultimately tended to concentrate upon centrally plan buildings. Christina Maranci has summarized Strzygowski's theory as follows: *Centrally-planned buildings, emerged in Armenian church architecture in the fourth century. And, although in the fifth century the basilica form of construction was introduced in Armenia, it was short lived and*

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<sup>75</sup> Strzygowski, p. 30.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 777.

as early as in the 7th century the centrally planned churches become the most predominant feature of Armenian architecture.<sup>77</sup>

Strzygowski's new approach to an evaluation and revisiting of established art historical interpretations created two radically different reactions. On the one hand his open minded and comparative view of the development of the cultures in East and West was a forerunner of the new wave of a global vision of mankind's evolution.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand while he promoted a more innovative art historical approach, he was still burdened by a cultural heritage that was centered upon a German world with emphasis on Aryan tradition. In this context his natural inclination was to favor Armenian architecture over the Georgian. After all Armenians were Indo-Europeans and closely related to the Iranian cultures. Regarding Strzygowski's recognition of a superiority of Armenian architecture over the Georgian, Christina Maranci suggested two reasons.<sup>79</sup> The first reason is the respective proximity of Armenia to the cultural centers (Persia, Byzantine, and Syria) than Georgia<sup>80</sup> and the second reason is the racial distinction between Armenians who are Indo-Europeans or Aryans and Georgians who are classified as a Caucasian people.<sup>81</sup> Strzygowski felt that the study of Armenian architecture had been neglected in comparison to that of Georgian. He confessed that his understanding of the Georgian monuments was too weak for them to be examined in his work. He stressed in wanting to bring Armenia into the foreground which Georgia had occupied until then.<sup>82</sup> For Strzygowski, studying Armenian architecture had another significance which was connected to the race. By giving more credit to Armenian architecture, he wanted to connect the Aryan race of Germany to that of Iran through Armenia. To put it into the context, pan Germanism was rising in the beginning of the twentieth century and the idea of Pan-Germanic architecture which linked the Aryans of Iran, through the Armenians, to the anti-Papal Germany of northern Europe, as opposed to the Habsburgs of Austria and Papalists of Italy had clear political intentions. In the introduction of *Die Baukunst*, Strzygowski wrote: "It is the duty

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<sup>77</sup> Maranci, Christina. "The Historiography of Armenian Architecture." *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 28 (2002): 287-308, p. 294. Christina Maranci has studied Strzygowski's theory in her PhD dissertation ... which has been published later ...

<sup>78</sup> See: Elsner, Jás. "The birth of late antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901." *Art History* 25.3 (2002): 358-379; Orell, Julia. "Early East Asian Art History in Vienna and Its Trajectories: Josef Strzygowski, Karl With, Alfred Salmony." *Journal of Art Historiography Number* (2015).

<sup>79</sup> Maranci, 2002, p. 292.

<sup>80</sup> Strzygowski, 1918, p. 725.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>82</sup> Strzygowski, 1918, p. 725.

of the North to trace its culture back to Armenia, Persia, and India ... [and] open up the old Aryan land routes again.”<sup>83</sup> As Christina Maranci stated, Strzygowski had already formulated this idea of pan-Aryan architecture versus that of Catholic Habsburgs and Papal Italy as early as 1900.<sup>84</sup>

As mentioned before, Strzygowski believed that Greeks and Syrians tried to influence and penetrate Armenian Church through religious doctrine, architectural typologies and forms. The architectural forms of a basilica discourage liberalism but a centrally planned building, which he believes is Armenian, is more democratic. Basilicas were considered the instrument of power over the people. This is a very political interpretation of architecture which Strzygowski used to formulate his theory. According to him, “the ecclesiastical spirit of Greeks and Syrians had never penetrated so forcefully as in the literature. The church buildings contain the soul and spirit of the national awakening.”<sup>85</sup> Unlike most scholars, for Strzygowski, the flood of translation activity during the fifth century which brought Greek and Syrian ideology into Armenian world, is considered the victory of foreigners over national identity of Armenians. According to him, “by the fifth century, the Armenian church lost its national independence through the infiltration of Greek church forms ... the original independent church was infected with elements...”<sup>86</sup> but in the seventh century, “the churches that the bishops built according to techniques from Syria and Asia Minor were again forced back ... by the form of the domed building that had already emerged in the fourth century and from then on, prevailed.”<sup>87</sup> He believes that “the victory of the nation reveals itself in the first glance at the building ... the dome immediately prevails.”<sup>88</sup> By accepting Strzygowski’s theory over Armenian and Greek conflict, one should imagine the fifth century Christian world very polarized. He strongly linked the political conflict to architectural forms which might not existed in reality. “The Armenians wanted ... only one thing: to eradicate the Greek-Syrian influence that the ecclesiastical movement of the fifth century brought about.”<sup>89</sup> According to the recent theories of globalization, the ancient world was more connected than we imagine in the twentieth century.

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<sup>83</sup> Strzygowski, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Maranci, 2002, p. 293.

<sup>85</sup> Strzygowski, 1918, p. 663.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 668.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 679.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 459.

While Strzygowski had already published many articles and well developed his architectural historical theories, he summarized his theory in the publication of *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* was published in 1918, introducing Armenia as a very significant birthplace for European art and architecture. The book was published in Vienna in two volumes and 880 pages largely using the raw materials provided by Toros Toramanian. As Charles Diehl stated, it was far more than a comprehensive and rich catalog of Armenian architecture monuments. It contained the most controversial theory about the origin of Armenian art and architecture and its influence on Medieval Christian architecture of Europe.<sup>90</sup>

Despite the authenticity of the theory, the attention it attracted to Armenian art and architecture went far beyond the boundaries of a similar publication. According to Suzanne Marchand, the least contribution of Strzygowski's publication to humanity is that it helped the universities, museums and other cultural institutions to forsake Eurocentrism and imperial arrogance of nineteenth century and embrace multiculturalism of late twentieth century.<sup>91</sup>

The book was never completely translated into Armenian or Russian. Therefore, Armenian scholars never completely embraced Strzygowski's theories. In fact, Armenian patriots could have extracted many pleasant messages from the text. Following are two examples from his book which could have been used by Armenian nationalists. The first, appraising Armenian architecture among Byzantine and even Renaissance architects: "As regards St. Sophia, it must be admitted that Anthemius de Tralles and Isidore de Milet, as high technicians in Hellenistic schools, understood the meaning of the Armenian method of construction, as well as the more recent Leonard and Bramante have recognized."<sup>92</sup> And the second, "We hope that the Armenians celebrate a resurrection, so much wished for by the authorities of the land, and enter a time when they may be compensated for all their trials of centuries-long slavery and spiritual exhaustion."<sup>93</sup>

Interestingly, Strzygowski was one of the pioneers to use the potentials of actually photography in a systematic manner to substantiate his vision of art history. Even Though it was published in 1918 and the photography had already been introduced for many years, it is the first book regarding Armenian architecture which systematically used photography for developing observations on

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<sup>90</sup> Diehl, Charles. "L'architecture Arménienne Aux VI et VII Siècles." *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 1 (1921): 221-231, p. 222.

<sup>91</sup> Marchand, Suzanne. "Appreciating the Art of others: Josef Strzygowski and the Austrian Origins of non-Western Art History." *Von Biala Wien: Josef Strzygowski und die ....* Vienna: European University Press, 2015, p. 259.

<sup>92</sup> Strzygowski, p. 780.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Armenian architecture.<sup>94</sup> According to Suzanne Marchand, Strzygowski belongs to the first generation of scholars who were “really able to capitalize on this new technology.”<sup>95</sup>

It is not surprising that the theories advanced by Strzygowski and the impressive volume of documentation that he was able to provide, created a series of strong reaction in the academia of the time. Some scholars were more open minded and intrigued by this new challenge. Others felt threatened in their traditional views of the development of art and architecture in the western world. Charles Diehl, the French leading authority on Byzantine art and history claims that there are no facts in Strzygowski’s theory. According to Diehl, there is a strong political and artistic dependence of Armenia on Byzantine. Armenian art therefore, in the period of its origins, has not particularly influenced the nascent Byzantine art. Diehl even question the independent development of Armenian architecture. He believes that Armenian monuments of VII century does not attest to an original inspiration and when, in the first half of the seventh century, Byzantine art reached its zenith, it powerfully influenced not only Armenian architecture but many other regions. He claimed that Armenian art of the seventh century, despite certain oriental features, “must, in the last analysis ... be categorized only a province of the Byzantine art.”<sup>96</sup> He concluded by saying: “To want to give it [Armenian art] more important role, to want to make it an original and creative art, of which all the rest is eliminated, is really to slide to the paradox, and has a somewhat puerile paradox.”<sup>97</sup>

As early as in the 1910, and despite of the resounding voice of opposition to Strzygowski’s theories, few scholars worldwide expressed their supporting views in various academic meetings and publications. Allan Marquand, the American art historian, is one of the first supporters of Strzygowski’s theory. According to him, the domed cruciform church existed in Armenia as early as the seventh century and later became popular in Byzantine Empire. This type of architecture, later spread to Asia Minor, Venice, and France from Constantinople. He believes that the abundance of centrally planned domed churches in Asia Minor proved the strong connection between East and West. In the beginning of the twentieth century, while Strzygowski wrote *Orient oder Rome*,<sup>98</sup> Marquand posed the question: “How much of the early art in Italy was due to

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<sup>94</sup> Lynch had used photography in his travelogue published in 1901 but he did not do a systematic study and research.

<sup>95</sup> Marchand, 2015, p. 268.

<sup>96</sup> Diehl, Charles. “L’architecture Arménienne Aux VI et VII Siècles.” *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 1 (1921): 221-231, p. 230-1.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>98</sup> *Orient oder Rome* was published in 1901 and shows that Strzygowski has established his theory in earlier years.

initiative of Italian artists and how much was borrowed?"<sup>99</sup> To answer this question, he suggested that a most careful study of specific examples is to be done. He argues that Rivoira, in his monumental work of Lombardic architecture, "has given us the best general treatise from the Italian point of view."<sup>100</sup> Rivoira's patriotic spirit forced him to search for the origin of all subsequent European art in Italy and according to Marquand, surprisingly, one can find the prototypes of many later architecture inside the confines of Italy. Marquand believes that the origin of European art is not unique and limited to a specific region or race. Italy, according to him, from very early years of its foundation, had been influenced by older civilizations and "due to the influx of foreign artists, to the importation of foreign works of art, and to the impression made upon the minds of Roman conquerors by the great monuments of the older civilizations" it is impossible to exclude the role of the foreign influence. He finishes his article by stating that increasing our knowledge of East reveals that Rome was not the only center of early Christian art. In 1910, before Die... Marquand announced that the value of Strzygowski's work is not in his "attacks on classical or Christian art, but in the enthusiasm and the energy with which his scholarly efforts have opened new vistas into the art of Asia Minor and Armenia, Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople."<sup>101</sup>

After 1918, Strzygowski shifted his interest to the indigenous artistic traditions of Northern Europe. He never developed any further works to study the art and architecture of East. It seems that he had abandoned the theory of Armenian origin but in reality, he had found in Armenia, what he had sought to support his theories. He clarifies this phenomenon by writing: "In Armenia, for the first time, I felt firm ground under my feet and for the first time I was able to tarry. It appears that with [Armenia], my activity in the Orient, with which I had preserved, searchingly, since 1889, has actually come to an end. I turn back again to Europe and German Austria and wish to regard both from a vantage point that I earned outside of those lands."<sup>102</sup>

In Orient oder Rome, as early as 1901, Strzygowski posed the question of the Roman-Greek or Eastern origin for Western architecture. In 1918 he answered the question. He thinks that the origin of European architecture is in the East. His general synthesis is that the origin of European art and architecture is in the East. This is his general vision and can be extracted to India and Egypt (East

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<sup>99</sup> Marquand, Allan. "Strzygowski and his Theory of early Christian Art." *Harvard Theological Review* 3.3 (1910): 357-365, p. 364.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 365.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 877.

in general). His polemical book came out at the wrong time in 1918, after the WWI, in 1921, advocating Armenian influence in Europe, with political pressures against nationalism and the general context.

In the next chapter, regardless of its authenticity, the author studied the impact of Strzygowski's theory on preservation of the architectural heritage of the Armenian monuments.

# Section IV

## The Theories of Josef Strzygowski and their Impact Upon Understanding of Armenian Architecture

### **Introduction**

This section starts with a statistical study of Armenian architecture scholarship in western languages. The author has studied two bibliographic lists. The first regarding the articles about Armenian architecture published in western journals and the second, regarding the monographs about Armenian architecture published in western languages. This statistical study follows by the western scholars ideas about Armenian architecture, its origin and influence on western architecture. Due to significant contribution of Italians during 70s and 80s, the western scholars are divided into non-Italian and Italian scholars. The Italian scholars are divided into Roma and Milan sections. In the end, the Armenian scholars' opinions about the origin of Armenian



architecture and its influence on western architecture is studied. The aim of this section is to analyze the impact of Josef Strzygowski's theories on the Armenian architecture scholarship and its preservation.

### **Armenian Architecture Scholarship in the Twentieth Century, A Bibliographic Study**

Counting the number of publications, related to a certain topic in a given period seems to be a reasonable criterion to assess the increase or decrease of international interest on that topic. Defining the highest and lowest number of publications and relate them to the historical events is a good starting point for this study. Therefore, the author has chosen two bibliographical lists. The first list contains the articles related to Armenian architecture, published in western journals. The second list contains the monographs related to Armenian architecture in western languages.

The author started the study by three hypotheses: 1- The publication of *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* by Josef Strzygowski in 1918, had a huge impact on the field. 2- The number of publication decreased after 1930s because of Stalin's policies and its impact on Armenian architecture scholarship. 3- A significant increase in number of publications in 1970s due to the exhibition of the Armenian architecture in Rome and a continuous growth of it related to the five international symposia on Armenian Art held from 1975 to 1985 in Italy and Armenia.

The information of each publication including the year and language, has entered in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet file, and the following charts have been extracted.

### **The First List: Articles on Armenian Studies in Western Journals**

The first list is published in a book called *A Bibliography of Articles on Armenian Studies in Western Journals 1869-1995*, compiled by V. N. Nersessian and published by Curzon Caucasus World in association with British Library in 1997.<sup>1</sup> The items of this book are categorized in seventeen sections as follows: Archaeology, Armenian Church, Art, Bible, Bibliographies and Biographies, Dispersion, Geography and Topography, Historiography, History, Legends and Folklore, Linguistics, Comparative Linguistics, Literature, Manuscripts, Medicine, Patristics and Travel. The Art section itself is divided into eight subsections as follows: 1- Architecture, 2- Sculpture, 3- Miniatures and Paintings, 4- Metalwork, Pottery, Photography, 5- Carpets, Rugs, Textiles, 6- Mosaics, 7- Music, 8- Printing, 1512 - 1850. The Architecture subsection contains 245

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<sup>1</sup> Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997.

entries. This study is based on the list of these 245 articles with the entry numbers from 531 to 776 printed in pages 33-46.

In the first attempt to interpret the list, the author has created the following chart based on the number of publications in each year (fig. 1). The year 1978 with 39 publications is the largest figure. The second largest figure is the year 1981 with 30 articles, the third and fourth largest figures are years 1973 and 1967 with 12 articles each. There are three articles in the list between 1905 and 1909. Starting from 1919, following Strzygowski's polemical publication, except the years between 1923 and 1925, there are one or two articles each year till 1937. Not surprisingly, there are no articles from 1939 to 1947 which coincided with World War II. Following Stalin's death in 1952 and starting Krushev's era, there is a very slow but steady growth in the number of the publications. Between the years 1965 and 1975 there is a more homogeneous distribution with a relatively higher number of publications and a minimum number 6 and maximum number of 12 publications in each year with respect to previous years in which the number of the publications was never higher than 3 in one year. There is a significant surge in year 1979 with 39 articles, three times higher than the previous highest rate which was 12 in 1973. The next high point is 1981 with 30 articles. Both of these years coincide with the first and third Symposium on Armenian Art held in Yerevan and Milan-Venice-Milan respectively. From 39 articles of the year 1978, 26 (66% of total) are articles presented in the first symposium and from 30 articles of the year 1981, 27 (90% of total) are articles presented in the third symposium. The highest number later than 1981 belongs to 1984 with 9 articles and there is a steady decline with only four articles from 1989 to 1995. I don't know why there are only articles presented in first and third symposium and others are excluded but their huge impact is significant. The three hypotheses, to some extent, are proved to be true. The relatively low number of publications immediately after 1918 can be attributed to lower number of articles in general and considering that this is not a comprehensive list and there are other sources such as the newspapers, the periodicals, and articles in other fields of art and not only architecture.

In a second attempt, the author has chosen the four above mentioned years and created the following charts based on the language of articles printed in each year (fig. 2). It is clear that the number of articles in Italian language are covering a large amount of the total in three of the charts which are related to years after 1969 in which the first Italian article appears in the list. Before Italian language impact, French articles form the majority of the articles. From the following pie

charts, it is clear that the Italian language occupies the highest percentage of the publications in three years with the highest number of publications and interestingly, in the fourth highest year, which is 1967, there is no Italian article. This shows that the number of Italian articles had a significant increase after 1967 which confirms the third hypothesis. According to the following charts, the overall number of articles (not only Italian) have increased since 1967 which indicates an increase of international interest on the field.

In a third attempt, the author has analysed the number of articles by language (fig. 3-4). Among 245 entries, 63 (26%) are in English, 104 (42%) are in French, 18 (7%) are in German, 56 (23%) are in Italian and 5 (2%) are in Polish, Romanian and Turkish. Due to little percentage of articles in languages other than the four above mentioned, the author has decided to exclude the others and concentrate on the four main ones.

Furthermore, another series of charts have been extracted based on the number of publications in each four languages (fig. 5-8). In an attempt to decipher the four charts, one can see that the distribution of English and French articles is more homogenous between 1903 and 1990 than German and Italian. The least homogeneous is Italian with no article from 1903 to 1969. The first article is in 1905 in English and the second is in 1907 in German. The first French article appears in 1921. By excluding the peak years of 1978 and 1981, there is a large number of publications in French in 1960s which is relatively higher than other languages. This reveals an interest among French scholars earlier than Italians. The English and French articles' charts are similar to each other and the main difference is the number of the articles which in this case, the French articles are almost twice as English ones. Both languages have distinctive increase in 1960s and their peak is in the beginning of 1980s. There are more English articles after the 1980s peak than French ones. The German articles, nevertheless their relatively low number, follow the same general pattern of English and French. The Italian chart is significantly different from the other three. First, there are no articles before 1969, and second, the highest number of Italian articles in a year (26 in 1978) is way higher than the other three languages. If we limit ourselves to this study, it reveals that Italians started their contribution relatively late but with a very strong impact in 1980s.

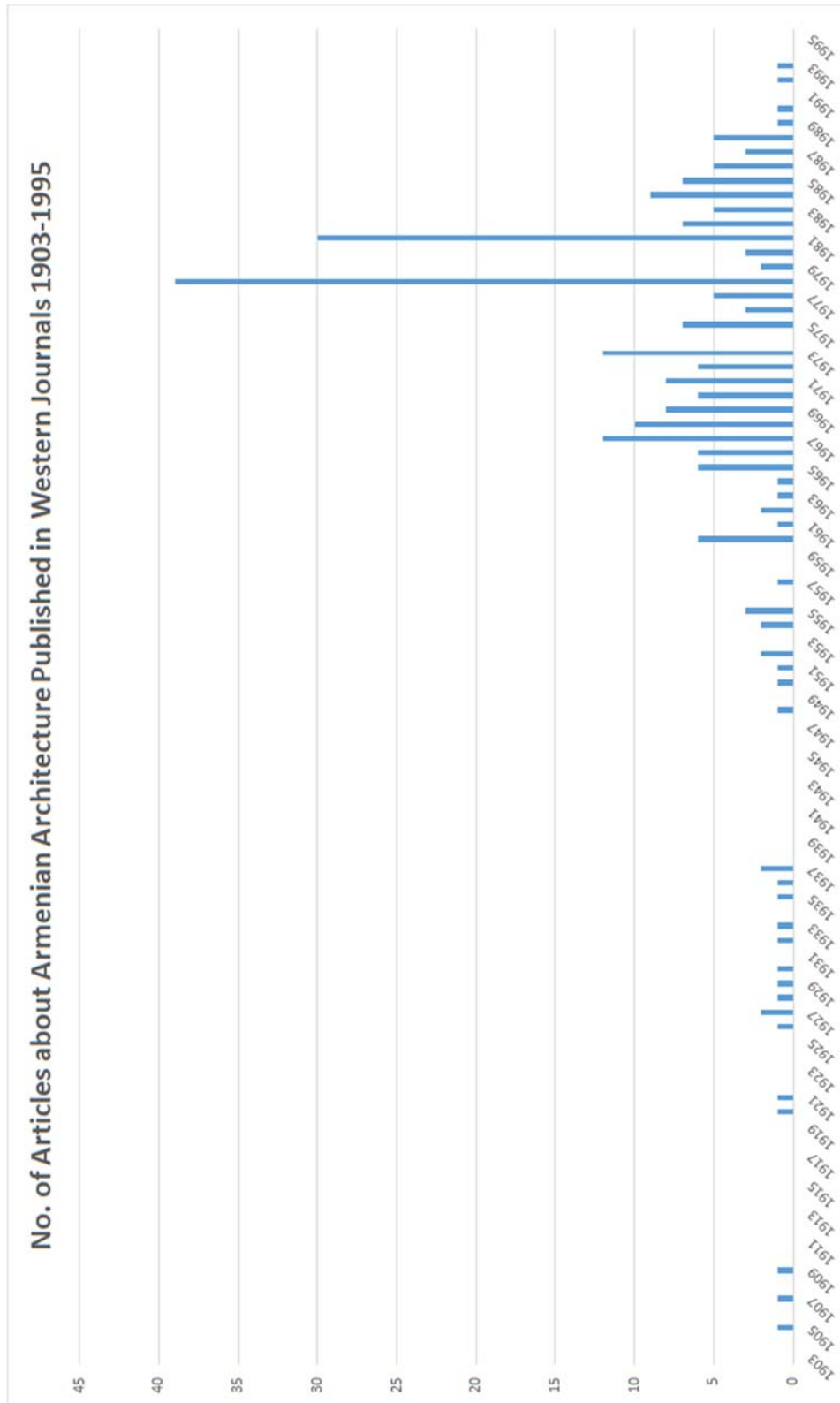


Figure 1: Number of articles regarding Armenian architecture, published in western journals. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995. Curzon Press, 1997.

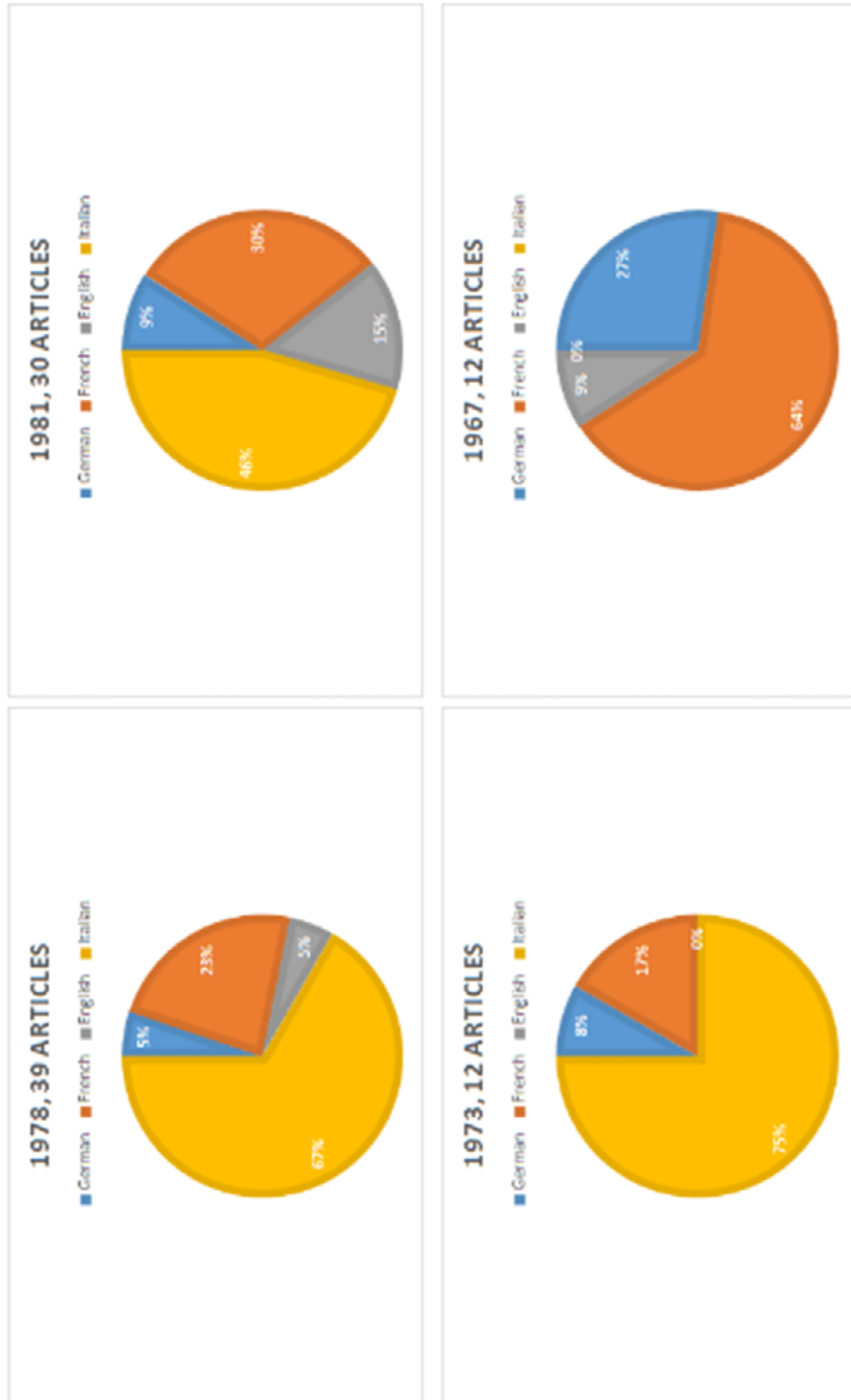


Figure 2: The percentage of each language in four years with highest number of publications including 1978 with 39 articles, 1981 with 30 articles, 1973 and 1967 with 12 articles each. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995, Curzon Press, 1997.

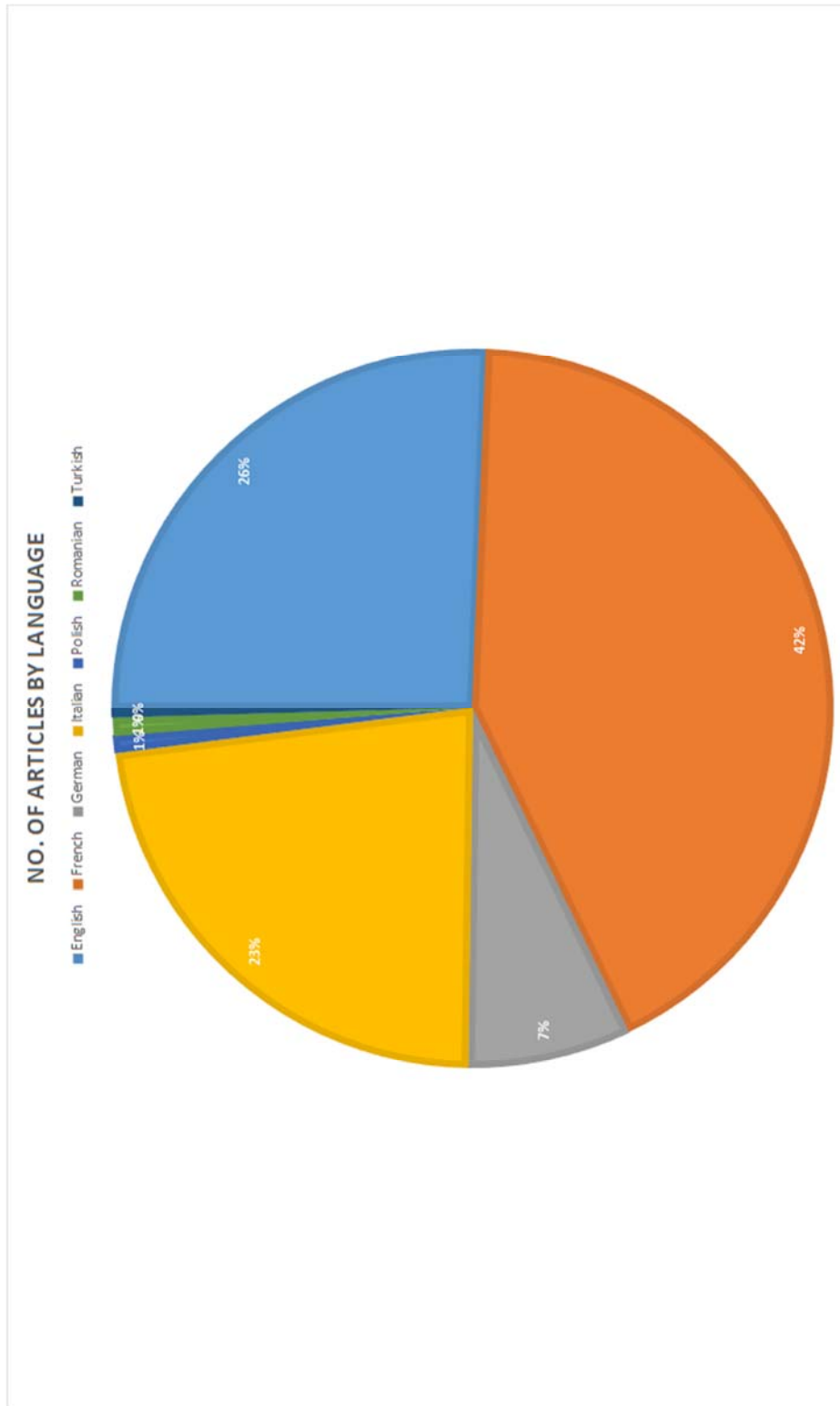


Figure 3: Number of Articles Published in Western Journals by Language. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995. Curzon Press, 1997.

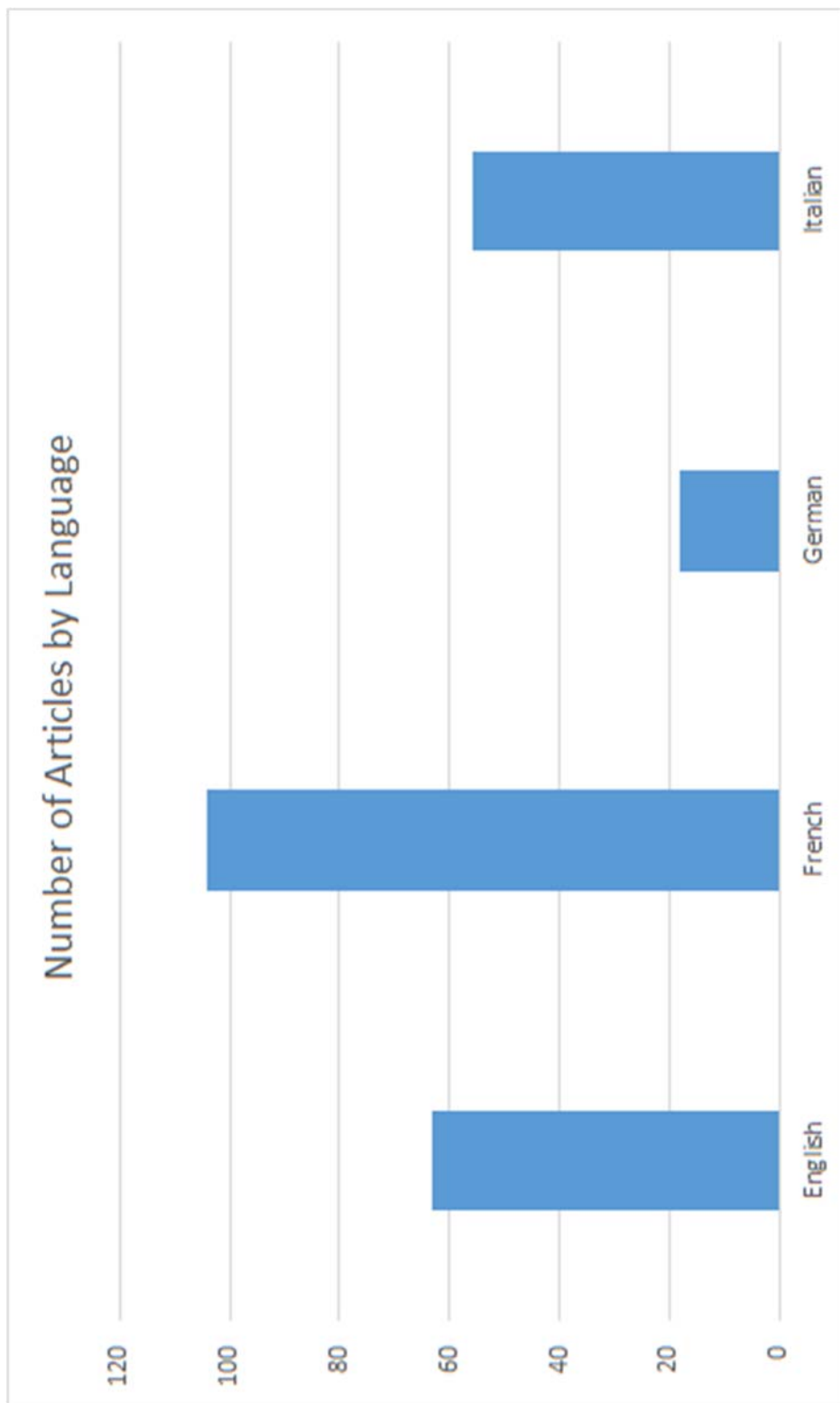


Figure 4: Number of Articles Published in Western Journals by Language. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997.

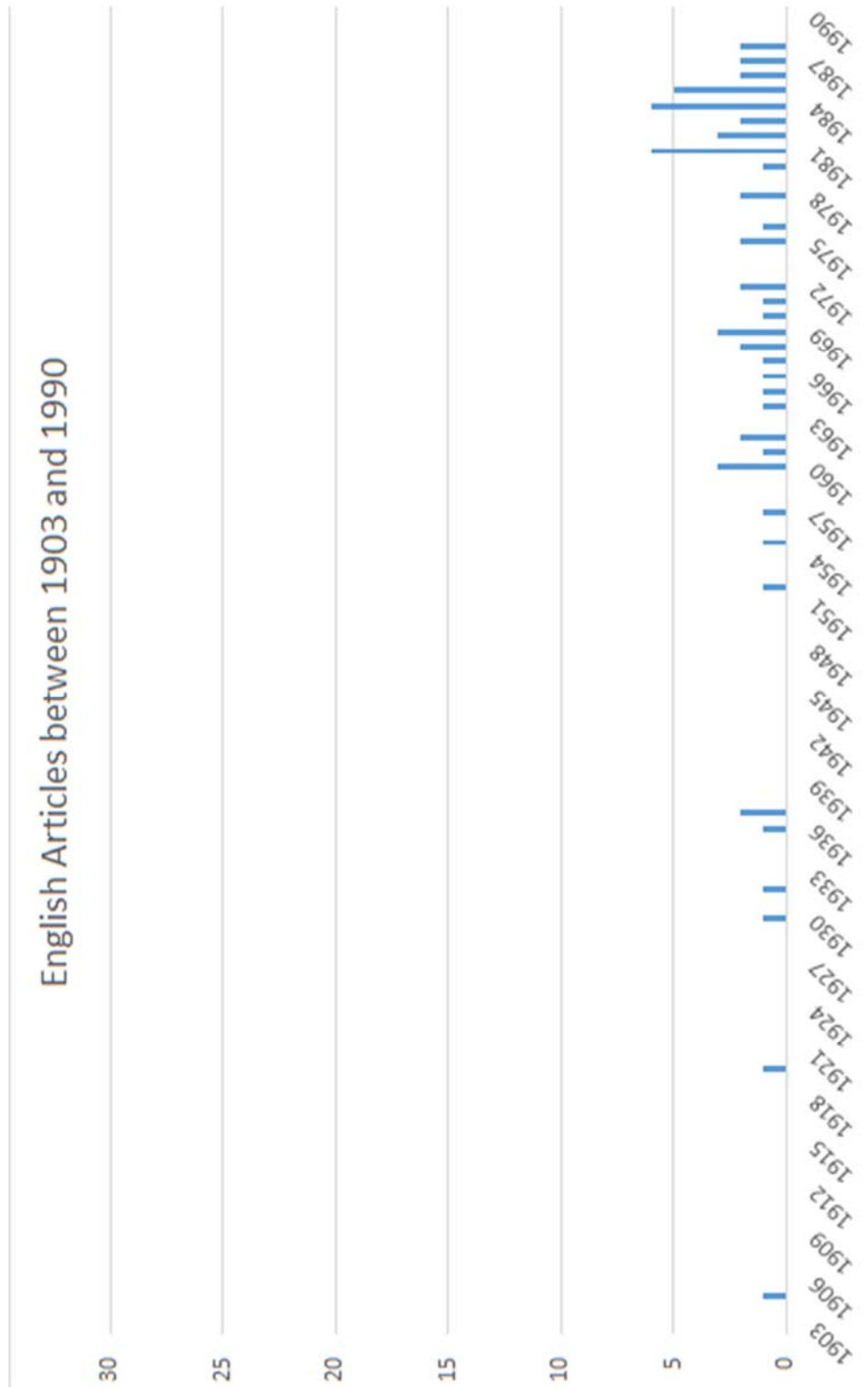


Figure 5: number of English Articles published in Western Journals by Year. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995. Curzon Press, 1997.



### French Articles between 1903 and 1990

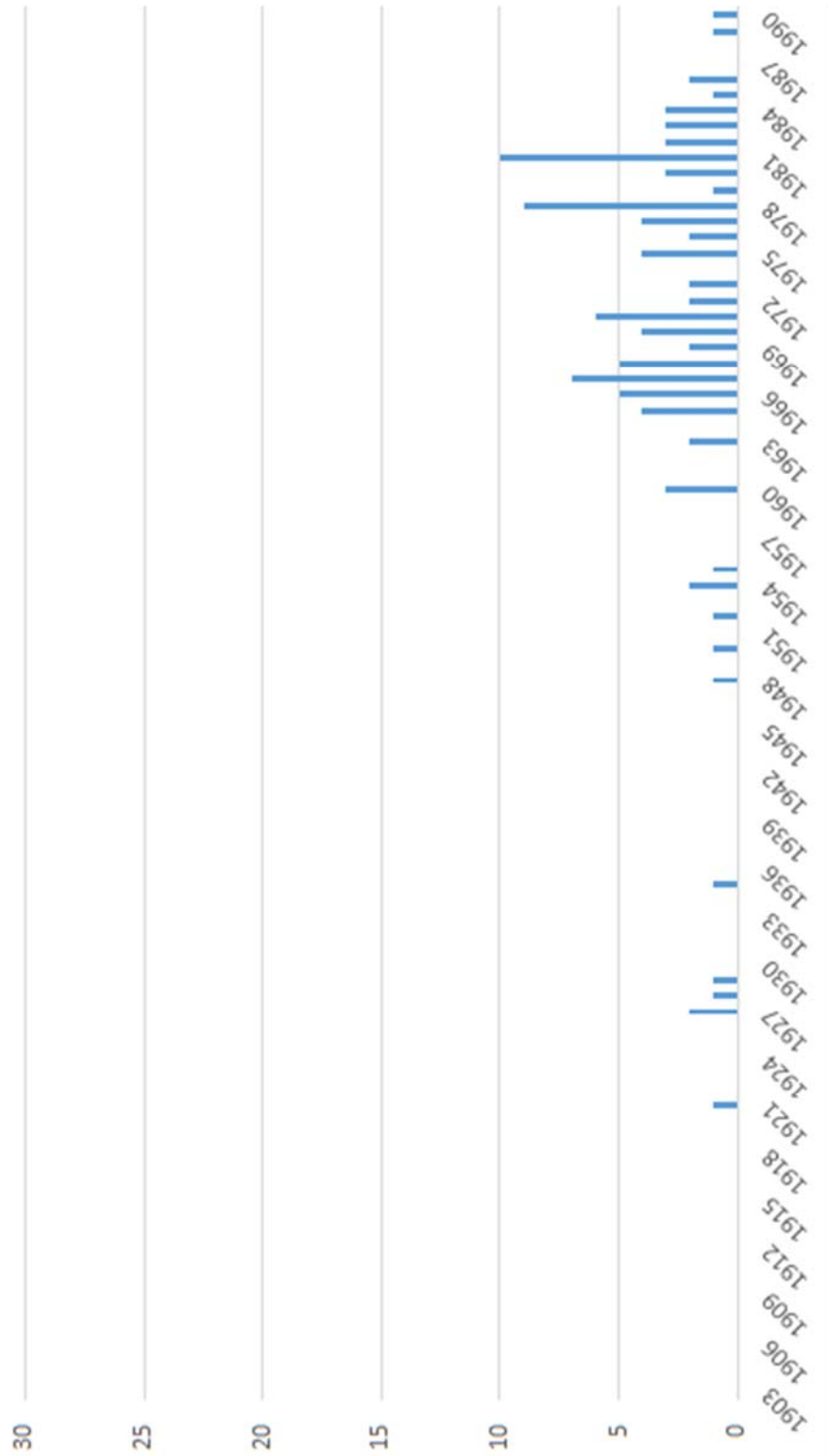


Figure 6: Number of French Articles published in Western Journals by Year. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997.

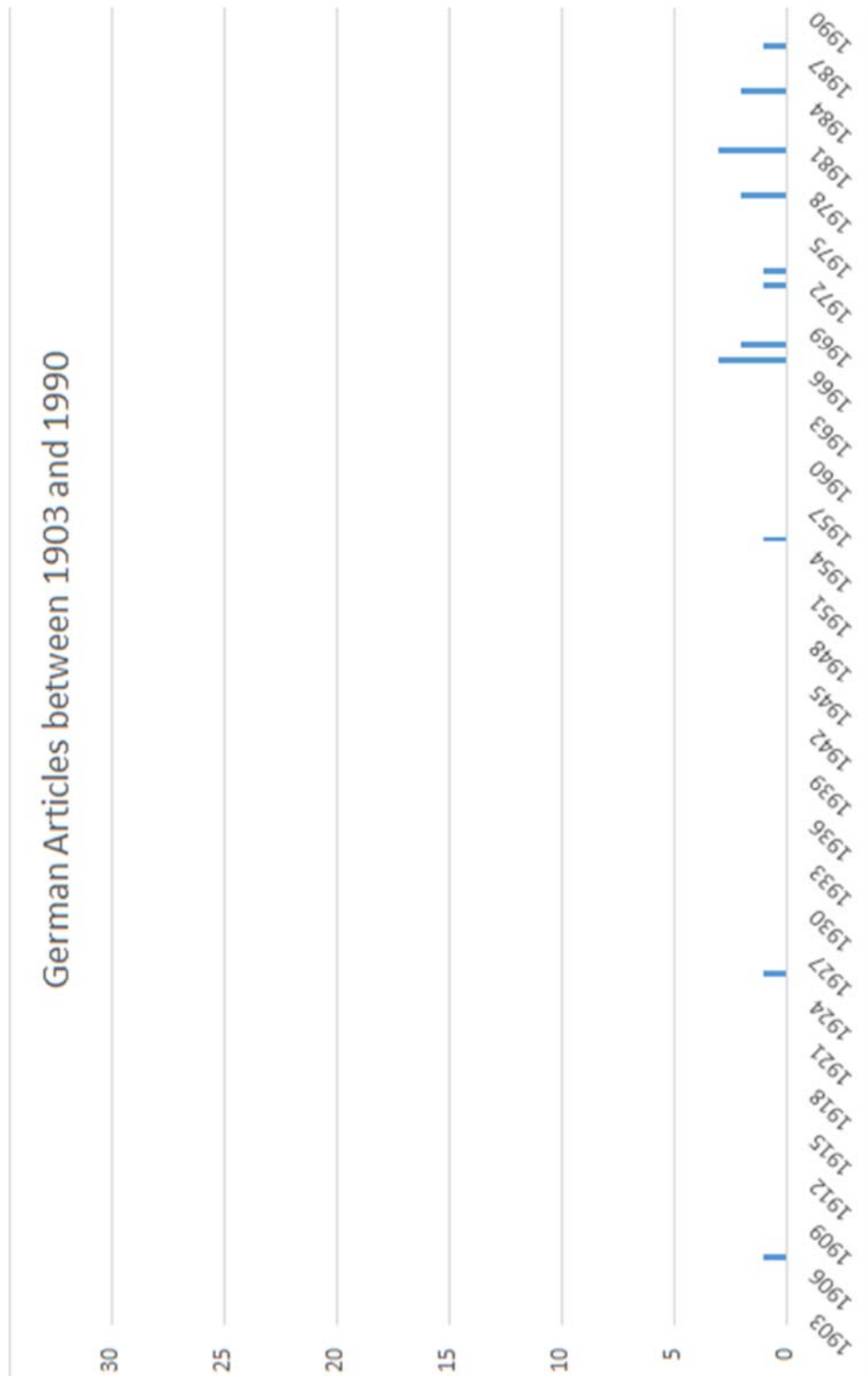


Figure 7: Number of German Articles published in Western Journals by Year. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997.

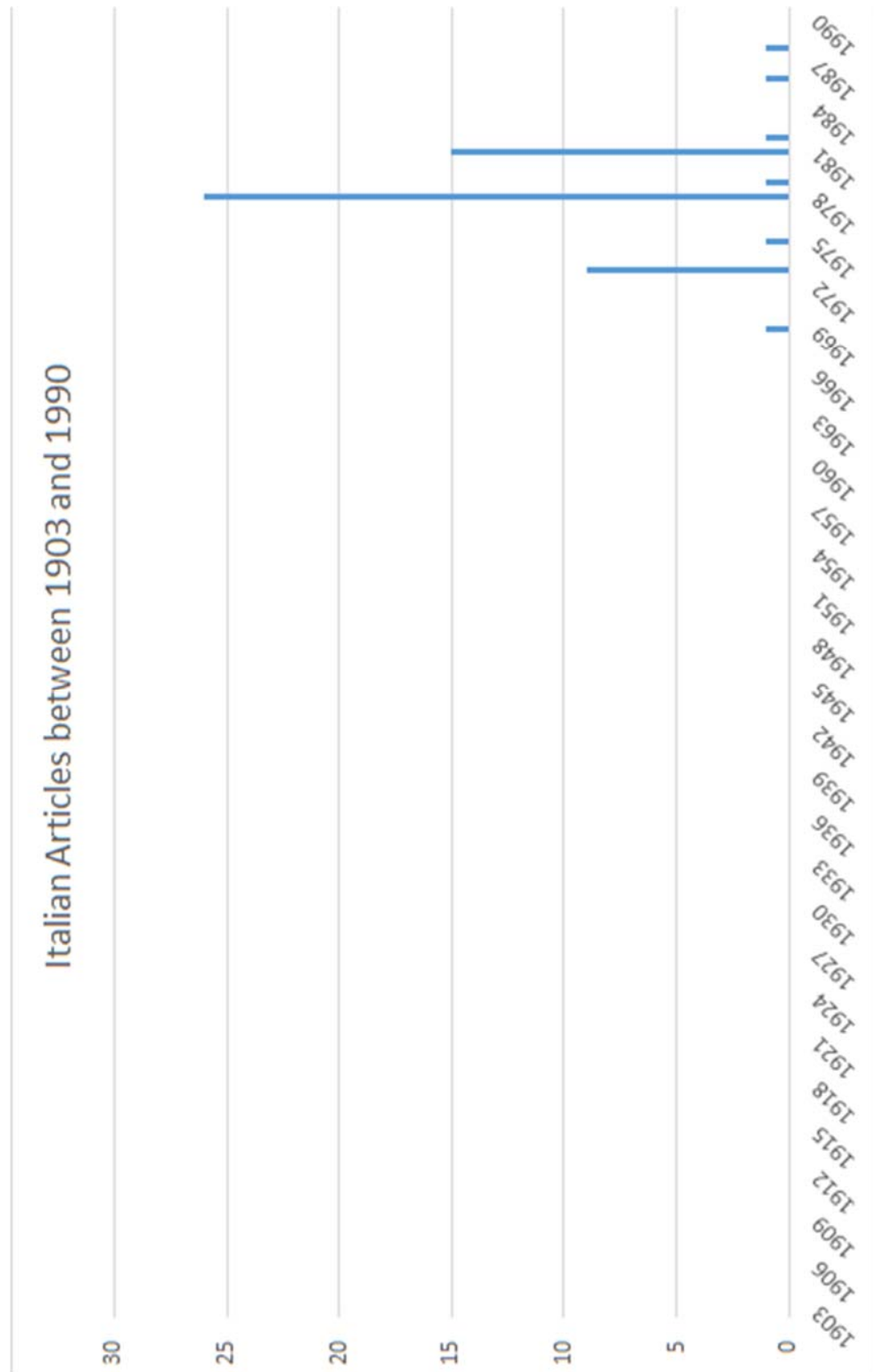


Figure 8: Number of Italian Articles published in Western Journals by Year. Conducted by the author based on Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997.

## **The Second List: Monographs Published in Western Languages on Armenian Architecture**

The second list is published in a book called *Armenian Architecture Bibliography* by Satenik Gejian and edited by Murat Hasratian, printed in Yerevan, in 1997.<sup>2</sup> This bibliography includes Armenian, Russian and Foreign literature published from 1830 to 1985 on Armenian architecture. The literature is presented in separate sections according to languages (Armenian, Russian and Western). With each section, the materials are divided according to the corresponding themes: 1- Architecture and urban design, 2- Architectural decoration, 3- Architects, Sculptors, Painters, 4- Topography and travel, 5- Albums and guides, 6- Historians, 7- Historical research, 8- Epigraphy, 9- International symposiums.

The Architecture and Urban Design section consists of 139 Armenian books, 719 Armenian articles, 146 Russian books, 315 Russian articles, 82 books in Western languages and 166 articles in Western languages. According to the author, this bibliography is compiled mainly on the basis of native and foreign books, journals existing in Yerevan scientific libraries and of other sources. This study is based on the list of 82 books printed in Western languages with the entry numbers from 2796 to 2878 printed in pages 204-208.

The distribution of number of books is more homogenous with respect to the number of articles even if the number of books is limited to one in most years (fig. 9). The overall distribution of the number of books per year is similar to the one related to the number of articles. The first book of the list is in French printed in 1893, *Les Architectes par leurs oeuvres, ouvrage rédigé sur les manuscrits de feu Al. du Bois* printed in Paris. The first significant peak is 1925 with 3 books, one of them Charles Diehl's *Manuel d'Art Byzantine*, and 1928 with 4 books. Stalin years affected the list of books in the same manner as the articles and the most significant surge starts with 1968 with 6 books and the highest peak is 1973 with 8 books in one year. The high number of books remain till 1981 and then there is a steady and continuous decline till 1990.

The pie charts below have been extracted from the four years with the maximum number of books and are divided into four languages (fig. 10). Each language is shown with its percentage in respective year. The Italian books form the majority in all four years mainly due to the large number of CSDCA and Rome division publications. The number of German books is significant

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<sup>2</sup> Gejian, Satenik. *Armenian Architecture Bibliography*. Yerevan, 1997.

in 1973 with respect to previous years. The following charts demonstrate the number of books by language (figs. 11-15).

The result of the study somehow reflects the three hypotheses. Even if the impact of Josef Strzygowski's book is not immediate and clearly visible in the immediate years after its publication, it is the main impetus for rising attention towards Armenian architecture in next decades and its international interest revival in 1980s. Although the Italian's role in the international revival is clear, but the impetus which stimulate the Italians is in need of more research and study. The question is what caused Italians to form the greatest impact on the Armenian architecture scholastic history. How much an individual's role like Armen Zarian or Adriano Alpago Novello affected this phenomenon?<sup>3</sup> How much was the role of political affinity between Italian socialist parties and Soviet regime in Moscow if any? These are main questions waiting to be answered in future.

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<sup>3</sup> For more information about Armen Zarian and Adriano Alpago Novello see the Italian Contribution section.

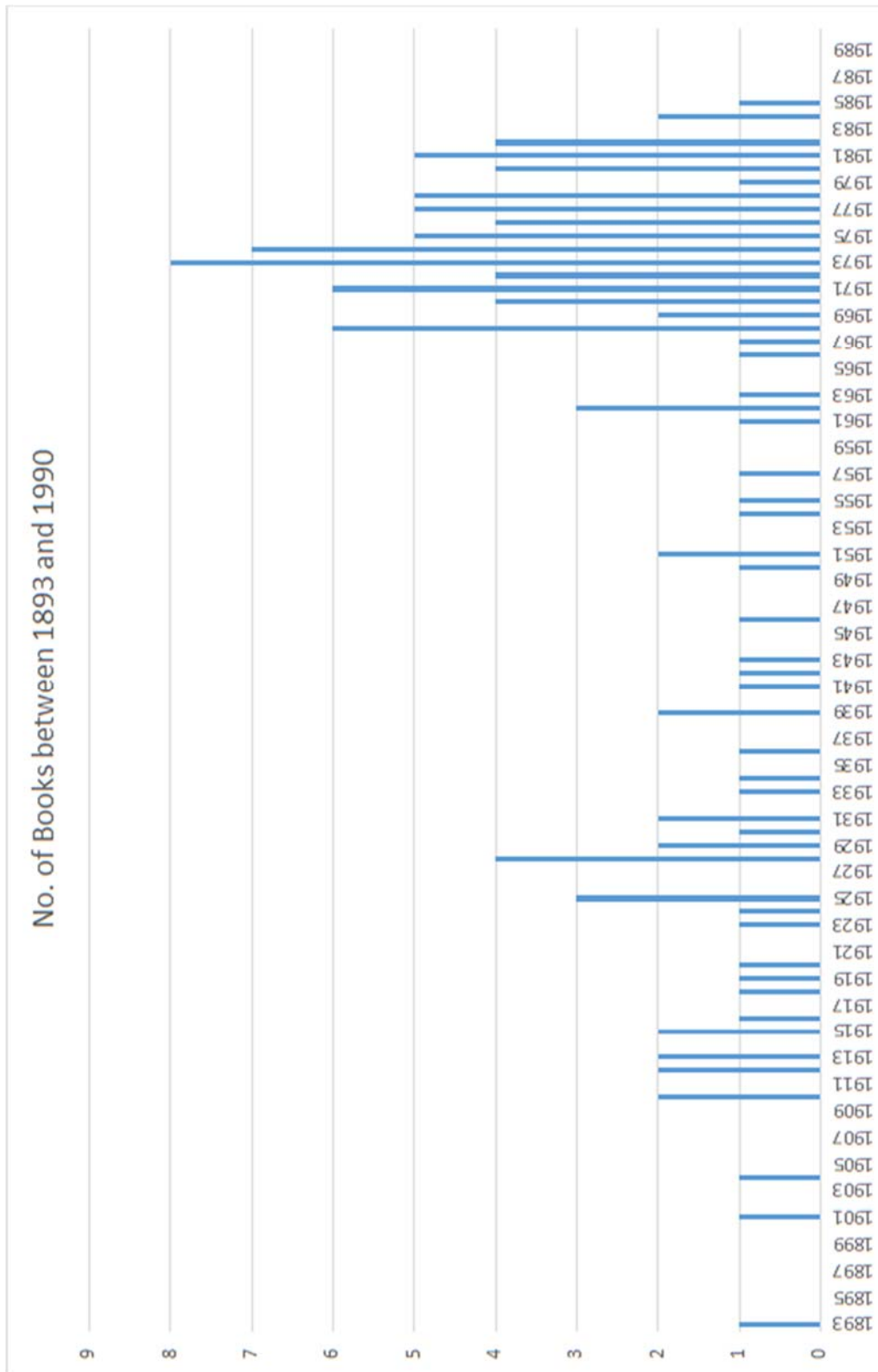


Figure 9: Number of books regarding Armenian architecture by year. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

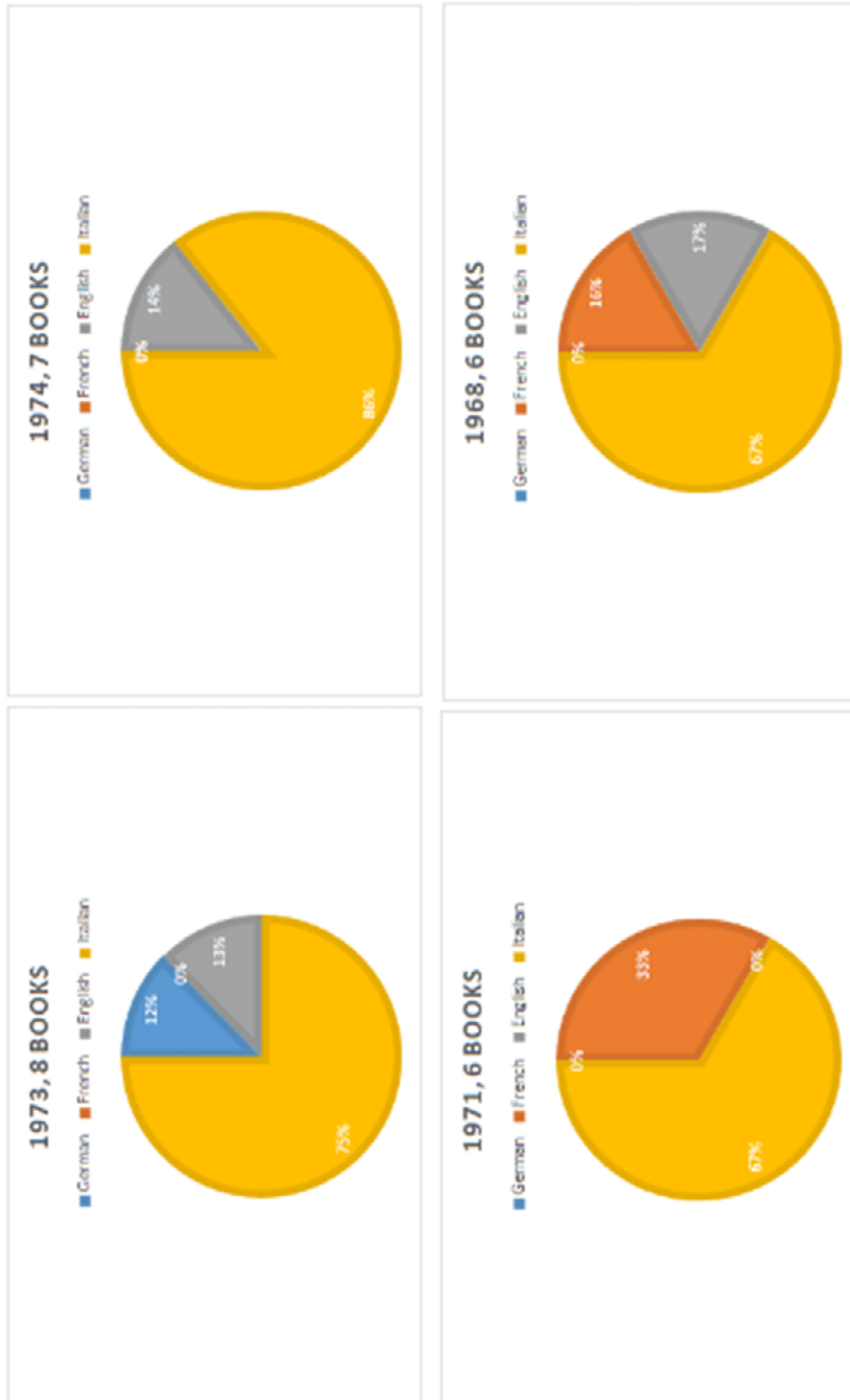


Figure 10: Four years with the highest number of books, divided by four main western languages (German, French, English, Italian). Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

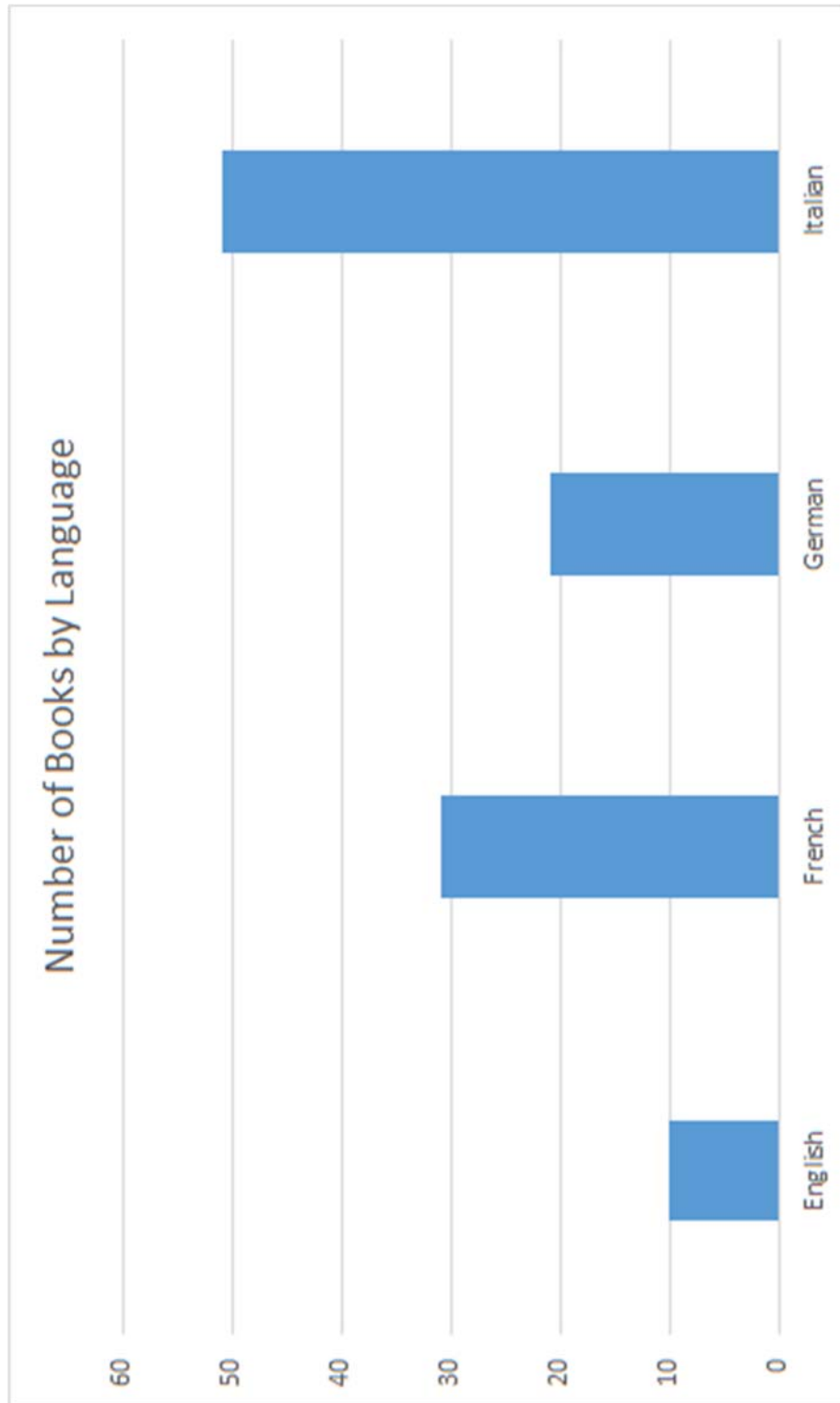


Figure 11: Number of books regarding Armenian architecture by Language. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.



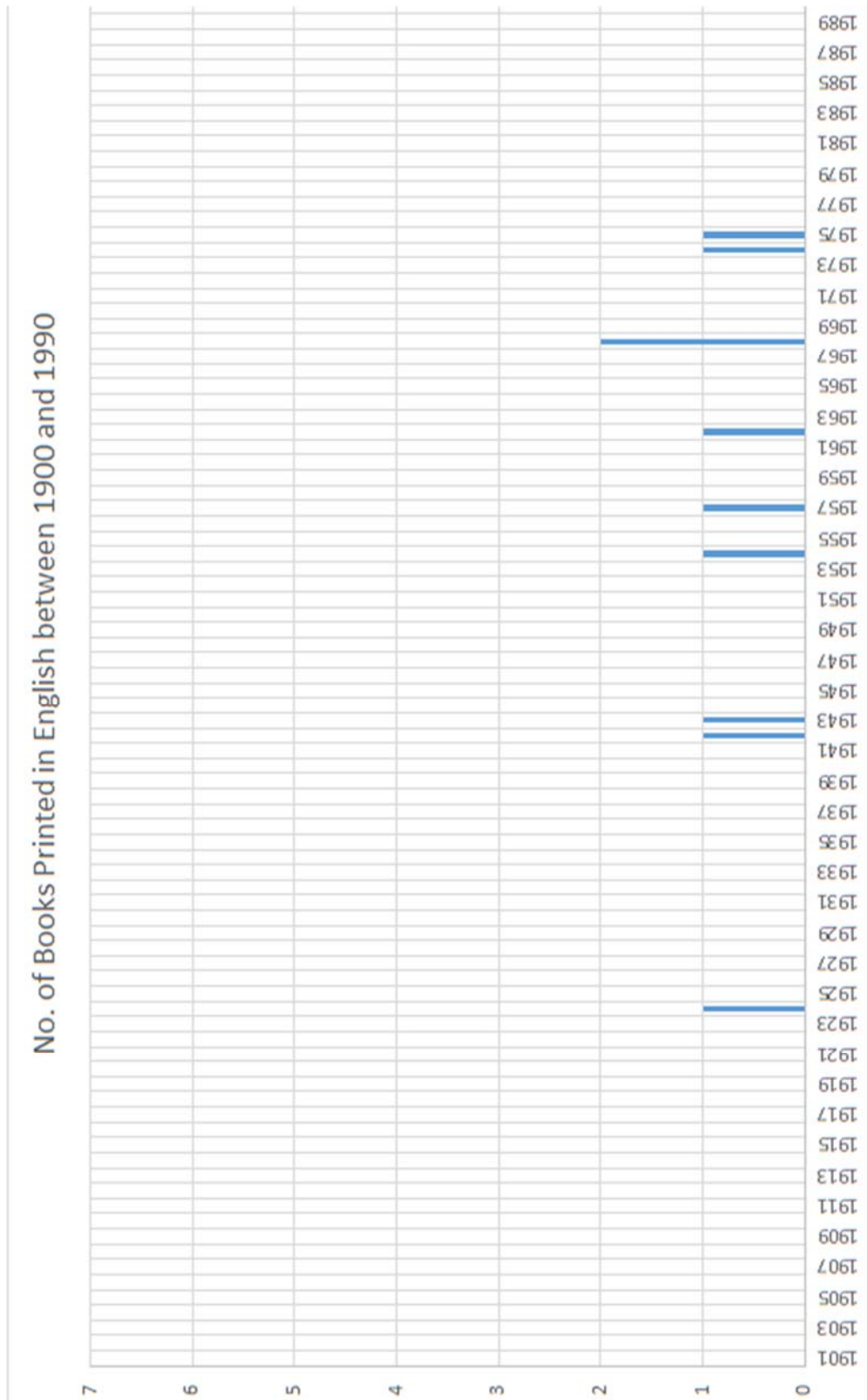


Figure 12: Number of Books published in English by Year. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

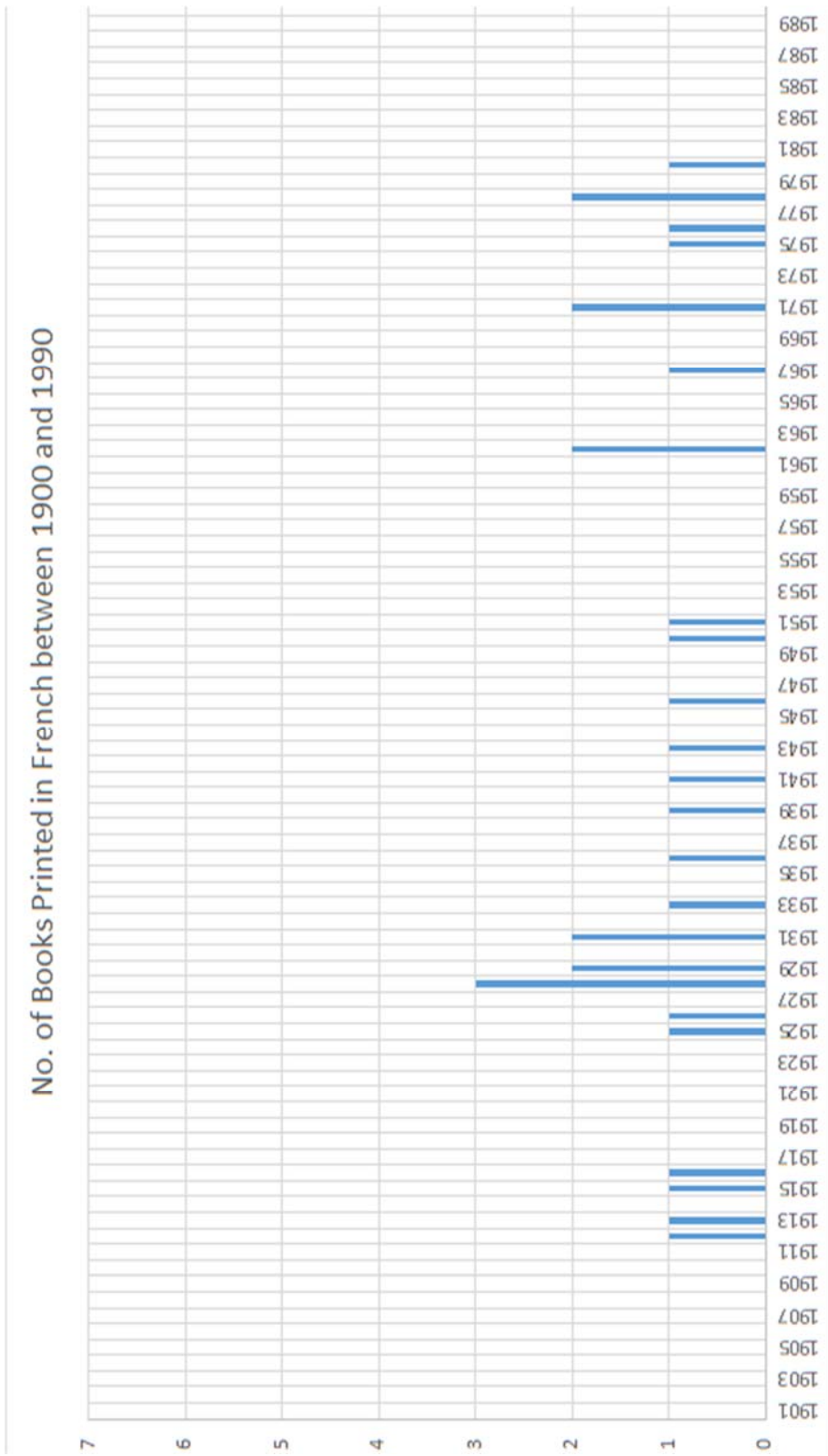


Figure 13: Number of Books published in French by Year. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

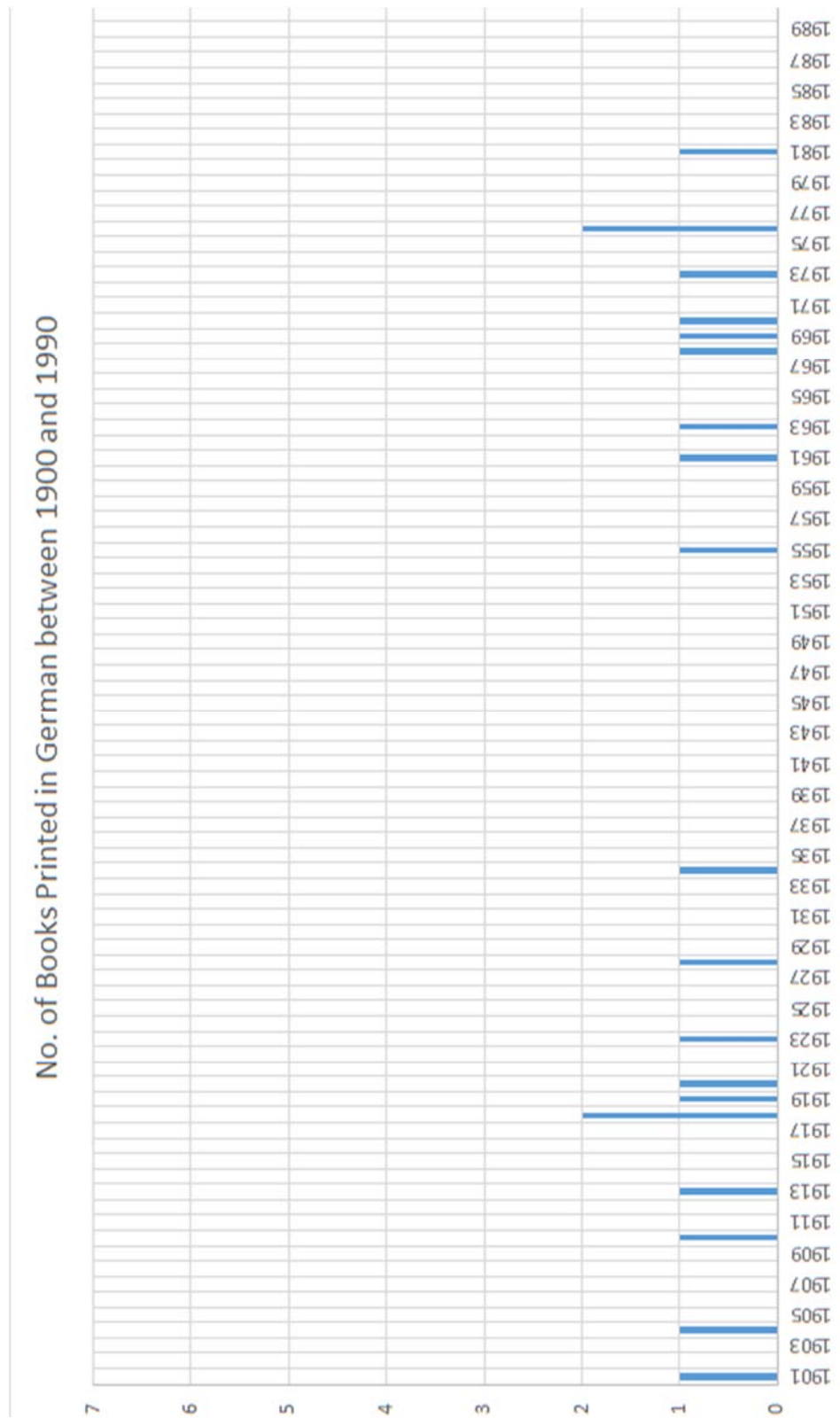


Figure 14: Number of Books published in German by Year. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

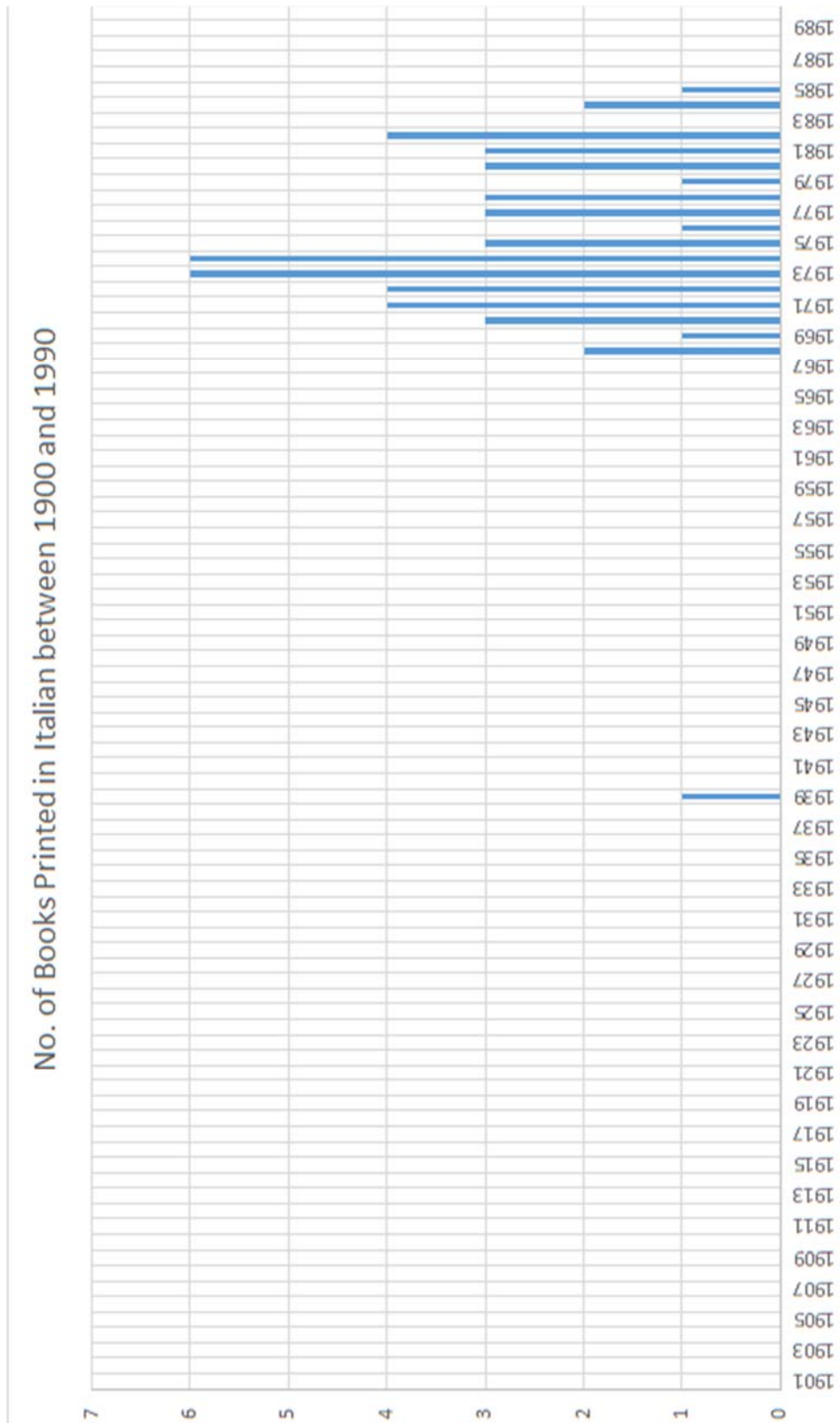


Figure 15: Number of Books published in Italian by Year. Conducted by the author based on Gejian, Satenik. Armenian Architecture Bibliography. Yerevan, 1997.

## **Western Scholar's Opinions Regarding the Origin of Armenian Architecture, Its Evolution, and Influence on Byzantine Architecture and Josef Strzygowski's Theory**

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the notion has been forming in some circles that medieval and early post-medieval European architecture had its origin in Armenia. As it is discussed earlier in this chapter, the theory has been associated with the recognized authority on the history of art, the Viennese Professor Josef Strzygowski.<sup>4</sup> However, its origins can be traced back to the latter years of the mid nineteenth century, to the suggestions of Charles Texier and Sir Austen Layard.<sup>5</sup>

In an attempt for a more comprehensive study of Armenian architecture scholarship, the author has conducted a bibliographic analysis and based on its result, has decided to dedicate separate section to the contribution of Italian scholars to the field. Therefore, this chapter is divided in two sections, the first is dedicated to Western scholars other than Italians and the second is dedicated to Italians.

### **Non-Italian Western Scholars**

Thanks to the pioneers in the field, Charles Texier and Frederic Dubois de Montpereux and their voluminous travelogues, the Armenian monuments have been already well presented to Western scholars and with numerous descriptions and detailed drawings, they explained the particular features and peculiarities of Armenian architecture and its affinities with the architectural art of the West. They especially stressed the use of horseshoe and pointed arches (ogives) by Armenian builders at a period long before the first appearance of Arabic, Romanesque, and Gothic styles of architecture. They also pointed out the influence of Armenia on the architecture of neighboring lands.<sup>6</sup>

At a later date, the same ideas were advanced by the French architectural historian Auguste Choisy.<sup>7</sup> He believed that Armenian architecture was influenced by Sassanid architecture from

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<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive understanding of Josef Strzygowski's theory see Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian architecture: constructions of race and nation*. Peeters, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Félix Marie Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse, de la Mésopotamie, publiée sous les auspices des ministres de l'intérieur et de l'instruction publique*, Paris, 1842, 2 vols; Layard, Austin Henry. *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. Harper & Bros., 1853.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter II, The Image Created by European Travelers.

<sup>7</sup> Choisy, Auguste. *Histoire de l'architecture*. Vol. 2. Slatkine Reprints, 1899.

Persia.<sup>8</sup> In the second volume of his elaborately illustrated book, he noticed that Syrian and Armenian architecture schools are specific because of exclusive use of stone as construction material.<sup>9</sup> In separate sections, he described Syrian and Armenian domes on square base and used illustrations to clarify his ideas (figs 16-17). It is interesting to note that for explaining Armenian dome on square base, he used pointed arches that more resemble to Persian in style which confirms his idea or Persian origin of Armenian architecture. There are not many examples of pointed arches in Armenian architecture and the most conspicuous one is Ani's cathedral. If one omits the clustered piers supporting the dome of Ani cathedral, the result will be more like Persian architecture than Gothic. He believes that the use of pendentives in Armenian domes are influenced from Constantinople. Therefore, Armenian architecture is something between Persian and Byzantine. Persian because of using pointed arches and Byzantine because of using pendentives which replace the Persian squinches.<sup>10</sup>

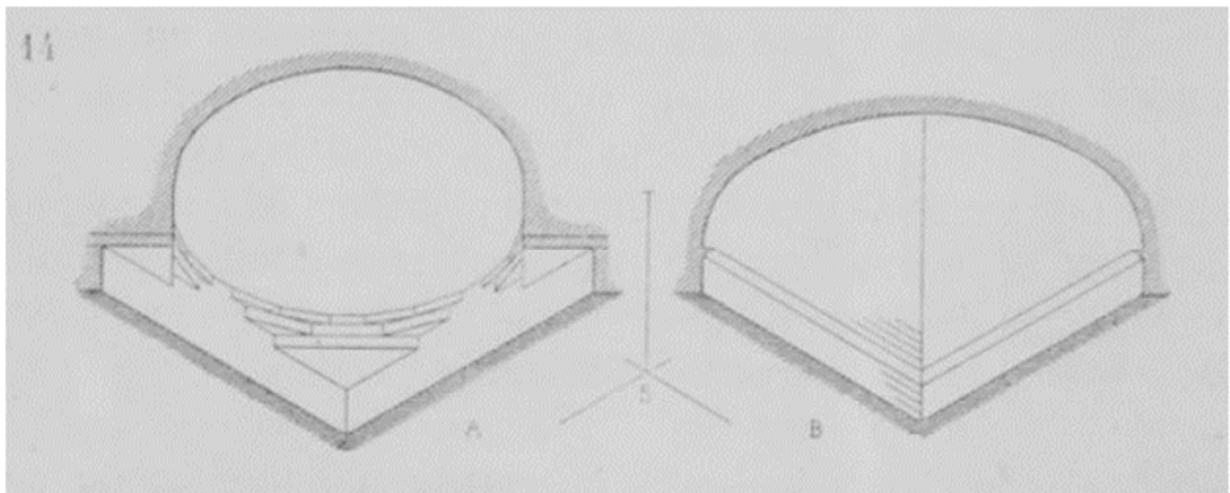


Figure 16: Syrian dome on square base according to Choisy. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*. Slatkine Reprints, 1899, vol. II, p. 18.

He dedicated another paragraph and illustration to Armenian rib vault. The illustration is depicting the narthex (gavit) of Haghpat Monastery (fig. 18). In the short description about it, Choisy states

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

that it is “exactly conceived” the same spirit of Cordoba mihrab and evidently, they use the same model as inspiration.<sup>11</sup>

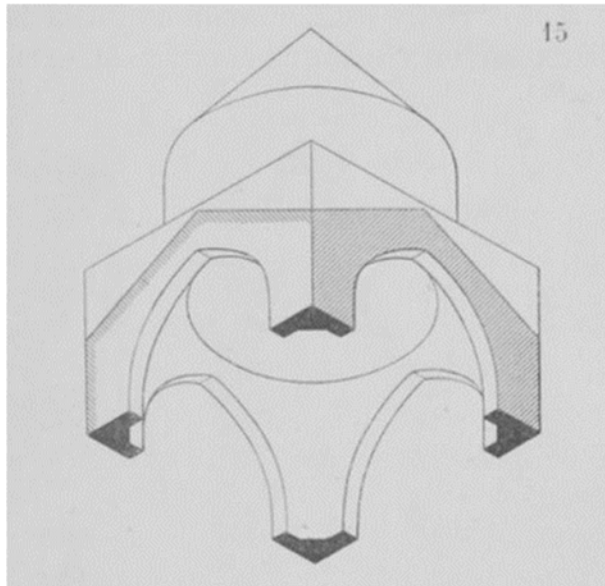


Figure 17: Armenian dome according to Choisy. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*. Slatkine Reprints, 1899, vol. II, p. 21.

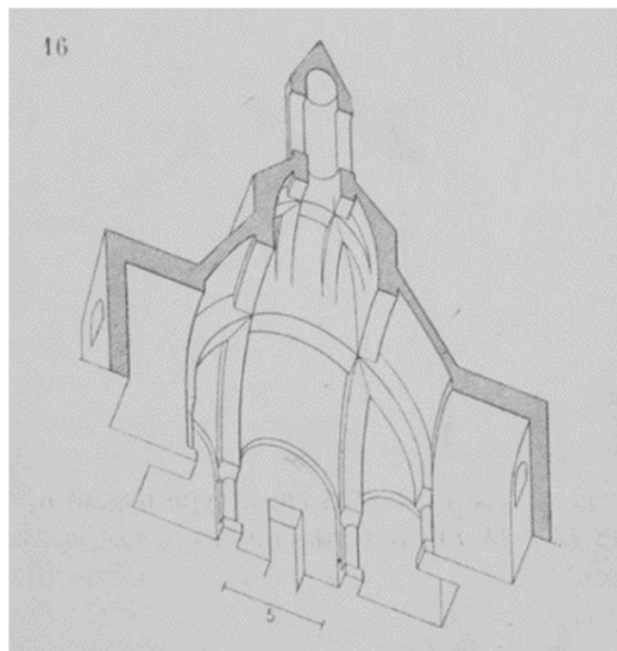


Figure 18: The illustration of Armenian rib vault used in Choisy's book. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*. Slatkine Reprints, 1899, vol. II, p. 22.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., “la voûte est conçue exactement d'après le même esprit que celle du mirhab de Cordoue. Évidemment l'une et l'autre se rattachent à quelque modèle commun.” pp. 22-23.

Furthermore, about the Armenian churches architectural plans, he stated that while Armenian architecture was flowering under Bagratunis at 11th century, the Byzantine architecture was already fully established. Armenia borrowed the general idea of its plans. The Armenian plan is a variation of the Greek plan of the 10th century. According to him, in Byzantine architecture, the exterior reflects the interior distribution of spaces while Armenians hide them under an artificial symmetry. A rectangular perimeter, with the dome situated exactly in its center, V shaped triangular niches concealing the apse, a conventional regularity.<sup>12</sup> About ornamentation, He believes that the usage of foliage motifs on exterior of Armenian churches, especially in decorating the blind arches which circumscribe the Armenian Church, has a Sassanid origin (fig. 19).<sup>13</sup>

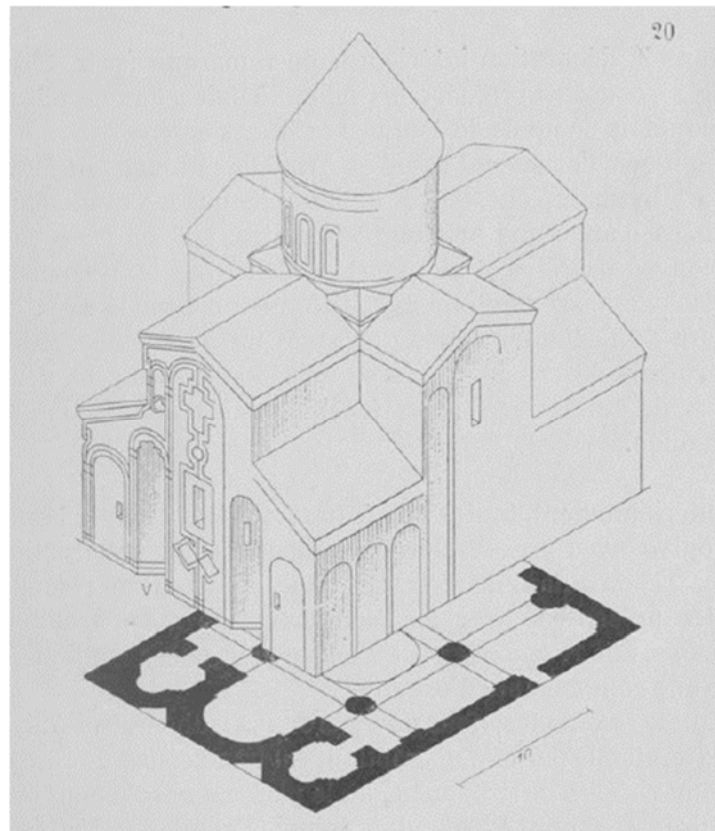


Figure 19: Choisy's illustration to demonstrate that 11th century Armenian Church plan is a variation of 10th century Greek plan. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*. Slatkine Reprints, 1899, vol. II, p. 59.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 60.



He highlighted the diverse cultural and commercial routes which Armenian architecture got influenced and had spread as far as Ireland and Scandinavia (fig. 20). He suggested various possibilities about Armenian architecture and the origin of certain decoration motifs. When he stated that “Among the Christian nations, Armenians were under protection of Caliphates of Baghdad and perhaps Armenian art and architecture reflects it,” he might refer to those elements in Armenian architecture which appeared in the same period and resembles more to Islamic architecture.<sup>14</sup>



Figure 20: Map of the Mediterranean and Near East Showing “Current of Influence”. Choisy, *Histoire de l'architecture*. Slatkine Reprints, 1899, vol. II, p. 59.

Choisy’s book is remarkable because of the level of attention he paid to details of the architectural elements and decorations and the construction techniques and materials of different nations. He also tried to create a network which described the influence and connectivity of these architectural elements and the influence they had on each other.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 136.

One of the major figures in forming the foundation for academic study of Armenian architecture, Toros Toramanian was the first to raise the question of formation of distinct characteristics of Armenian architecture as early as fifth century C.E. After conducting intensive and accurate measurements of Armenian monuments and executing excavations at the ancient capital city of Ani and the church of Zvartnots, he published the results of his research in works of very significant proportions.<sup>15</sup> Being a student of the Academy of Fine Arts of Istanbul, French was the only European language he was fluent in. Therefore, he has always been influenced by Choisy and by such scholars as Charles Texier and Dubois de Montpereux and has analyzed the works of his predecessors in the field of Armenian architecture.<sup>16</sup> His reconstruction of the churches of Tekor, Zvartnots, and the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin, played a significant role in highlighting the question of Armenian architecture's origin. He outlined its cardinal problems, unveiled the successive steps of its development and revealed its originality. Toramanian prepared the ground for Josef Strzygowski and his polemical theory.

Strzygowski's works are known universally.<sup>17</sup> In his celebrated *Orient oder Rom* his main question is where must the credit go for the foundation of Christian art? To east or West?<sup>18</sup> The old traditional school's answer is West (Rome) and Strzygowski's is East. In his attempt to prove this theory, he studied the origin of dome, of sculpture and other evidences of Christian art in Northern Iran and the Altai. The people of these countries built sun-dried brick domes over their square dwellings for centuries. According to Strzygowski, the dome over a square passed from Iran into Armenia where it was perfected in the fourth century, giving birth to other types of domes. Later, Armenian master architects, who often traveled to Byzantium and West, diffused their art wherever they went. Strzygowski's theory kindled a lively debate and encountered violent criticism among

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<sup>15</sup> *The Zvartnots Church* (Murch, Tiflis, No. 5, 1905); *The Etchmiadzin Cathedral*, Azgagrakan Handes, Tiflis, XIX, 1910; *Porches and Jamatoun*, Azgagrakan Handes 1911; *The Tekor Church*, Tiflis, 1911; *The Royal and Princely Palaces of Armenia*, Guegh-harvest, vol. VI, 1917; *The Pre-Christian Armenian Architecture*, Bulletin of the Scientific Institute of Etchmiadzin, Etchmiadzin, 1920-21; *The Materials of Construction and Their Mode of Use in Ancient Armenia*, Yerevan, 1932, and others. In 1942, these works were collected and, along with other unprinted papers of Toramanian, were printed in one volume (*Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture*, Yerevan, 1942, in Armenian). In 1948 a second volume of Toramanian's work was published. These two volumes were republished in one volume in 2003, Yerevan.

<sup>16</sup> Toramanian, T. *Materials for the History of Armenian Architecture* (in Armenian). Yerevan, 2003, pp. 16,84,103.

<sup>17</sup> The more important works of Strzygowski include: *Das Edjmiadzin-Evangeliar*, Vienna, 1891; *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901; *Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1916; *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918; *Origin of Christian Church Art*, Oxford, 1932; *The Ancient Christian Art of Syria*, Paris, 1936 (G. Millet collaborator).

<sup>18</sup> For a more recent perspective and wider understanding of Strzygowski's *Orient oder Rom* see: Grigor, Talinn. "Orient oder Rom? Qajar "Aryan" Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History." *The Art Bulletin* 89.3 (2007): 562-590.

the scholars of the time in general<sup>19</sup> and G. Rivoira in particular who gave a great deal of space in his works to Armenian architecture in an attempt to prove that it received its form and nature from Rome.<sup>20</sup>

Prior to him, Dieulafoy,<sup>21</sup> Choisy,<sup>22</sup> and Ainaloff<sup>23</sup> has suggested in their works, the importance of Eastern influence. Schnasse<sup>24</sup> in particular, following the works of Texier and Dubois de Montpereux, had mentioned the value of Armenian architecture. O. Wulff<sup>25</sup> and L. Brehier,<sup>26</sup> Strzygowski's contemporaries, described the role played by the East in the formation of Byzantine architecture. M. Gluck,<sup>27</sup> W. M. Ramsay, G. L. Bell and M. Rott,<sup>28</sup> made valuable contributions by their researches in Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

Francoise Henry in 1932 while working on Ireland's sculpture, noticed Armenian influence in the Architecture of the area.<sup>29</sup>

Many scholars recognized the creative role of Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt in forming the foundations of Christian art but none has exaggerated its role as the center of the single hearth from which the characteristic of Christian art and architecture has been developed.

In the beginning of twentieth century, Gabriel Millet does not completely accept Strzygowski's oriental theory. Prior to Strzygowski, Millet showed Eastern influence on Medieval Greek architecture. According to Millet, the development of Christian art is governed by two influences: The Hellenistic and the Eastern. Constantinople is more influenced by the first while northern Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Caucasus were more influenced by the latter. In

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<sup>19</sup> See the following publications for the debate kindled by Strzygowski: Wilhelm August Ritter von Hartel, Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1895; Riegel, Alois. "Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn." *Teil II, Kunstge* (1901); Kraus, Franz Xaver. *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1896.

<sup>20</sup> Rivoira, Giovanni Teresio. *Moslem architecture: its origins and development*. H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 194-199.

<sup>21</sup> Dieulafoy, Marcel. *L'art antique de la Perse: ptie. Monuments de Persépolis*. Librairie centrale d'architecture, 1885.

<sup>22</sup> Choisy, Auguste. *L'art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*, Paris, 1882, and *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1899.

<sup>23</sup> Ainaloff, D. *Les fondations hellenistiques de l'art byzantin* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1900.

<sup>24</sup> Schnaase, Carl, et al. *Geschichte der bildenden Künste: Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten*. 2nd Edition, Düsseldorf, 1866-76, vol. III.

<sup>25</sup> Wulff, Oskar. *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Berlin, 1914-18, 2 vol; Brehier, L. *Orient ou Byzance* (Revue-Archeologique, Paris, 1906, II) and *L'art byzantin*, Paris, 1924.

<sup>26</sup> Bréhier, Louis. *L'église et l'Orient au moyen âge: les croisades*. Lecoffre, 1907; *L'art byzantin*. Henri Laurens, 1924.

<sup>27</sup> Heinrich Gluck was Strzygowski's student who wrote the only chapter (about basilicas and their origins) not written by Strzygowski himself in *Die Baukunst* pp. 137-158.

<sup>28</sup> For more information on their involvement see William H.C. Frend, *The Archaeology of Early Christianity. A History*, London, 1996, p. 142.

<sup>29</sup> Henry, Françoise. *La sculpture irlandaise*. Leroux, 1933.

Constantinople, the buildings are more picturesque with graceful and supple lines, large windows and relatively light pillars. In East, the buildings are simple and severe, the walls are heavy, the windows are narrow and the pillars and supporting vaults are massive. He believes that Byzantine art have been partly influenced by Constantinople and partly by the East while Constantinople's contribution was not considerable. He writes: "Everything considered, the balance is on the side of the East. For in its austere forms, Greek architecture constrains us to bring to mind the severe facades of Armenian... We do not maintain that the Greek school only copied from the churches of Armenia. But to one trained to observe the nuances it is plain that, behind the Byzantine exterior, there exists certain features foreign to Constantinople which establish parentage and tie the Greek school with the East."<sup>30</sup> Later on, he became much more mindful on Strzygowski's theory which is manifested in the introduction he wrote on the translation of one of Strzygowski's works regarding Syria.<sup>31</sup>

Charles Diehl, long opposed to Strzygowski's theories, inserted an important notice on Armenian architecture in the second edition of his *Manuel* (1925-26). He showed the part played by Armenia in the "Macedonian Renaissance" of 867-1057.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from the authenticity of Strzygowski's theory, and the fact that he relied on Toramanian's unpublished genuine materials in his publication, his contribution to introducing Armenian architecture and its monuments to Western scholastic milieu can hardly be underestimated.

After Strzygowski, Jurgis Baltrusaitis did important work in the field of Armenian architecture. He came to Paris from Lithuania in the 1920s.<sup>33</sup> He was interested in the relationship between Caucasus and the medieval West. In analyzing Romanesque sculpture, he remarked that its compositional laws, geometric and ornamental character, and iconograph and choice of figures resembles the art of Sumeria and those derived from it. According to him, Sumerian art had influenced Europe from the beginning of its civilization but once again, after centuries, this influence has been increased during the medieval period and under the influence of Armenia,

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<sup>30</sup> Millet, Gabriel. *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, Paris, 1916, pp. 296-97.

<sup>31</sup> Millet, Gabriel. Introductory essay to, Strzygowski, Josef. *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie, son caractère et son évolution d'après les découvertes de Vogüé et de l'expédition de Princeton; la façade de Mschatta et le calice d'Antioche*. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1936.

<sup>32</sup> Diehl, Charles. *Manuel d'art byzantin*. 2nd edition, Paris, 1925-26.

<sup>33</sup> For more information about his biography, see Chevrier, Jean-François. *Portrait de Jurgis Baltrusaitis [suivi de] Art sumérien, art roman de Jurgis Baltrusaitis*. Flammarion, Paris, 1989.

Georgia and Daghestan.<sup>34</sup> Certain Iranian and Muslim elements (figures of men and animals, dragons and eagles carved on the monuments of Sanahin, Geghard, Akhtamar, Ani), were added to Armenian sculpture which in first place was influenced by Sumerian civilization. The Armenians played the role of a bridge between the ancient civilizations of the East and the Romanesque style. In a review written by Jeanne d'Ucel in 1930,<sup>35</sup> he wrote that Baltrusaitis presents his subject in detail and the publishers have built a remarkably attractive book from what is generally considered in the Western world a limited subject, with 179 plates and 120 detail drawings of many churches unknown to the West. In his other book, Baltrusaitis continued to compare Romanesque, Armenian and Georgian architecture. In this book, he claims that the designs of Armenian and Georgian monuments are governed by two distinct geometric stylizations, one forming the exterior perimeter of the building and the other, the interior.<sup>36</sup> The result of these two distinct geometric forms is exaggerated thickness of the walls. He did not mention that this exaggerated thickness is the result of centuries of construction technique experience in a high seismic zone. Although influenced by the East, the Romanesque style of building rejected this geometric method and built the wall as a tectonic unit, giving to it just enough body to fulfill constructional requirements.

Baltrusaitis established the relationship between Gothic and Armenian architecture. According to him, among the different factors which led to the birth of Gothic art are a group of Armenian monuments dating from the tenth to the early eleventh centuries. He believes that the oldest examples of the attempts to solve the problem of the vault in an analogous manner to that of Gothic architects are to be found in those tenth and early eleventh Armenian buildings.<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to note that Toramanian guided Baltrusaitis through Armenia in the late 1920s and Baltrusaitis dedicated one of his publications to Toramanian.<sup>38</sup>

The English authority O. M. Dalton is also an adherent of the Oriental school. In his work *East Christian Art*, published in 1925, his main attempt was to bring up to date the former volume *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, printed in 1911, by the inclusion of the material made available

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<sup>34</sup> Baltrušaitis, Jurgis. *Etudes sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie*. Libr. E. Leroux, 1929.

<sup>35</sup> d'Ucel, Jeanne. *Books Abroad*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Oct. 1930), pp. 363-364

<sup>36</sup> Baltrušaitis, Jurgis. *Art sumérien, art roman*. Ernest Levoux, 1934.

<sup>37</sup> Baltrušaitis, Jurgis. *Le Problème de l'ogive et l'Arménie: par Jurgis Baltrusaitis*, Impr. des Presses universitaires de France, 1936.

<sup>38</sup> For more information about the relationship between Toramanian and Baltrusaitis see *Toros Toramanian. Letters* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1968, pp. 330, 343, 345, 347 and 350.

in the period between the dates of publication of the two books.<sup>39</sup> This book includes a large chapter on East Christian architecture (159 pages), which was omitted from the first book. This chapter states the more recent theory concerning the origin of Byzantine architecture, and its evolution to the fourteenth century. A rather large section is dedicated to the theories of Strzygowski.<sup>40</sup> Dalton made a cautious conclusion. According to him, if Rome has not been responsible for the development of Hellenistic art in an original manner, but she extended her own influence over the art and architecture of the Empire's provinces.

According to the eminent historian of the Romanesque art and the art of the Eastern Roman Empire, Andre Grabar, it was unsound to debate the question of "the East or Rome," and to seek to place one against the other. It was just as wrong to probe in the origin of this or that motif in Armenia, Syria, Rome, or Byzantium, because it was not only difficult but even impossible to determine the moment and birthplace of an architectural idea.<sup>41</sup> He believes that all different typologies which are associated to Christianity were known and used in different locations of Roman Empire even before Christianity. He admitted that Rome had not been the birthplace of these type of structures, agreeing with other scholars that Rome had been the tributary of the East. But with the advent of Christianity, these types of edifices were associated to the latter. Christianity made them her own. Therefore, Armenia must be considered to have been the heir to pagan Hellenistic world and not to Iran. Thus, he introduced the idea of "Orient-Rome" into the larger conception of Hellenism. About the Armenian and Byzantine architecture, Andre Grabar does not deny the independence of them. According to him, Armenia had been created the very first national Christian architecture which preceded the European architecture of the Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup>

Since the mid-1950s, two French scholars, Jean-Michel and Nicole Thierry have produced more than sixty publications on medieval Armenian monuments.<sup>43</sup> Their contribution add considerably

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<sup>39</sup> The first publication is: Dalton, Ormonde Maddock. *Byzantine art and archaeology*. Clarendon Press, 1911 and the second one is: Dalton, Ormonde Maddock. *East Christian art: a survey of the monuments*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1925. In the 14 years period between these two publications, Strzygowski's polemical work was published which caused a debate among the scholars of the time.

<sup>40</sup> Dalton, Ormonde Maddock. *East Christian art: a survey of the monuments*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. 70-158.

<sup>41</sup> In a course at l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, and Grabar, André. *Le Martyrium: research on relic cults and art from the end of antiquity to the opening of the Middle Ages*, Paris, 1946.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> For a complete list of their publication see the following website: "Jean-Michel Thierry (1916-2011)" *ACAM*, 28 August 2017. <http://www.acam-france.org/bibliographie/auteur.php?cle=thierry-jeanmichel>

to the Western-language bibliography in the field.<sup>44</sup> They started their contribution in publishing articles about the Armenian monuments in Eastern Turkey in mid 1950s. Those monuments were little known or completely unknown for the scholars in west and their publications were among the first modern studies of the monuments.<sup>45</sup> While Nicole Thierry was concentrated on sculpture and mural painting, Jean-Michel Thierry dedicated his publications to architecture. Despite the large number of his publications, he kept a relatively uniform format. He started with an introduction to the history of the region, followed by a detailed description of monument and an inscription analysis in the end. In 1989, Nicole, Jean-Michel Thierry and Patrick Donabedian collaborated in writing a comprehensive book called *Armenian Art* which spans the pre-Christian era to the late medieval period including sections on painting, sculpture, and architecture.<sup>46</sup> This book contains numerous high-quality illustrations and a 125-page catalog of Armenian main sites starting with Agarak and ends with Zvartnots covering 99 significant monuments. A detailed comparative study of Armenian architecture was not the Thierry's goal. Their main concentration, specifically about monuments in Eastern Turkey and their fragile preservation situation, like Armen Hakhnazarian, was to enrich the field through photography, visual records, and descriptions.

Despite the existence of relatively large Armenian communities in East and West coasts of the United States, particularly in Fresno, California since the beginning decades of the twentieth century and Los Angeles in later decades, their contribution to the field flourished in a later period by Sirarpie Der Nersessian's publications on Armenian art.<sup>47</sup> Sirarpie Der Nersessian trained in Paris under Gabriel Millet and Andre Grabar, migrated to United States and carried out her important scholarly work during her teaching appointments at Wellesley College and Harvard University.<sup>48</sup> Her work is focused on the style and iconography of manuscript illumination and sculptural programs in relation to Byzantium.<sup>49</sup> Like Jean-Michel Thierry and Armen

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<sup>44</sup> From 245 entries in the architecture section of Nersessian, Vrej N., *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*. Curzon Press, 1997, 22 entries belong to Jean-Michel and Nicole Thierry, including their publications in collaboration with each other or other scholars of the field.

<sup>45</sup> Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian Architecture Construction of Race and Nation*, Peeters, 2001, p. 220.

<sup>46</sup> Thierry, Jean Michel, Patrick Donabédian, and Nicole Thierry. *Armenian art*. New York: HN Abrams, 1989.

<sup>47</sup> For information about the Armenian communities in United States see: Hovannisian, Richard G., ed. *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, Volume II: Foreign Dominion to Statehood: The Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 2. Macmillan, 2004, pp. 413-445.

<sup>48</sup> Maranci, Christina. *Medieval Armenian Architecture Construction of Race and Nation*, Peeters, 2001, p. 221.

<sup>49</sup> Der Nersessian, Sirarpie. *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire: a brief study of Armenian art and civilization*. Harvard university press, 1945 and *Aght'amar: church of the Holy Cross*. Vol. 1. Harvard Univ Pr, 1965.

Hakhnazarian, she conducted a general survey on the field. Her commentary with regard to the question of Armenian art and architecture, its origin and influence on neighbouring countries is brief: “A great many questions concerning the origin and development of Armenian architecture, of its relationship to the art of the neighboring countries, especially Syria and Anatolia, and the influence that Armenian art here in turn exercised, remain unanswered”.<sup>50</sup>

### **The Italian Contribution**

Italians played a significant role in reviving the scholastic interest on Armenian architecture in 1970s and 1980s.<sup>51</sup> From 245 entries in the architecture section of *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995*, 56 articles or 23% of total are in Italian and 63 articles or 26% are presented in the first and the third International Symposium on Armenian Art took place in Bergamo and Venice respectively.<sup>52</sup> Among the 113 entries in *Armenian Architecture Bibliography*, which contains books and monographs printed in western languages on Armenian architecture, 51 entry or 45% are in Italian. Even though the Italian contribution started relatively late with respect to the French, English or German ones,<sup>53</sup> its impact is far more than the others. In the 1960s, several Italian scholars occupy themselves with the study of Armenian architecture. The Italian scholars were mainly divided into two groups.<sup>54</sup> One in Milan at

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<sup>50</sup> *Armenian Art*, 1989, p.48.

<sup>51</sup> See the previous section titled: Armenian Architecture Scholarship in the Twentieth Century, A Bibliographic Study.

<sup>52</sup> As a result of Italian and Armenian scholar’s contribution, five international symposia on Armenian Art were organized. With regard to the number of scholars and papers and the vast area covered, these events were unprecedented in Armenian art and played a great role in reviving international interest on subject.

<sup>53</sup> There is no single Italian article before 1969 in the architecture section of *A bibliography of articles on Armenian studies in western journals, 1869-1995* and only one book is printed in Italian before 1969 (The book is Frasson G. *L' Architettura armena et quella di Bisanzio*. Roma: Him, 1939.) But even only by considering the mere number of articles and books, 26% and 45%, the impact is huge.

<sup>54</sup> There are Italian scholars from cities other than Rome and Milan who were interested in Armenian architecture. I hereby highlight a corpus of studies conducted by Architecture History researchers of the Turin Polytechnic, within the entourage of the school of Paolo Verzone, which may be inserted even simply in a monographic note of the paragraph “The Italian Contribution”. Such researchers are Giulio Ieni and Claudia Bonardi, who were encouraged by Paolo Verzone, a great historian and archaeologist – leading the Hierapolis archaeological mission in Frigia (Turkey) to develop studies on the expressions of the Armenian architectural heritage. Five photograph albums collected by Giulio Ieni have been preserved in Georgia section of the Fondo Paolo Verzone (Paolo Verzone photograph archive) of the DIST (Interuniversity department of regional and urban studies and planning) at the Turin Polytechnic (a portion of the archive registry is attached in a separate file). Among publications by Giulio Ieni (who cooperated between the Seventies and Eighties with Adriano Alpago Novello, Father Boghos Lévon Zékiyan of the Armenian Academy of Saint Lazarus run by the Mekhitarist Fathers of Venice, and with Gabriella Uluhogian), I hereby report two articles published on Armenian study magazines: 1) Giulio Ieni, *Alcune soluzioni costruttive fra Armenia e Regione Balcanica*, in “Bazmavep. Revue d' études arméniennes”, vol.139 (1981), n.3-4, pp. 412-423; 2) Giulio Ieni, *L'architettura dei portali in Armenia durante il XIII- XIV secolo*, in “Bazmavep. Revue d'études arméniennes”, vol.140



Politecnico di Milano under the direction of Adriano Alpago Novello, and the other at University of Rome, directed by Paolo Cuneo and Geza Da Francovich.<sup>55</sup> Adriano Alpago Novello, later in 1976, officially founded the Centro Studi e Documentazione Della Cultura Armena in Milan which played a significant role in forming scientific expeditions to Armenia, Turkey and Iran, together with photographing and documenting a large number of Armenian monuments in next ten years and archiving the publishing the results. Both groups cooperated with the Academy of Sciences in Yerevan and achieved an unprecedented level of integration of Armenian and Western scholarly sources and points of view.<sup>56</sup>

Contrary to their predecessors of other Western scholars of other countries, the Italians' goal was not concentrated on a comparative study of Armenian architecture and an understanding of it within the larger context of Early Christian architecture. They have been more concerned with the preservation, documentation of the materials and the exploration of local architectural traditions.<sup>57</sup>

## Rome

The Rome team began activities in early 1960s by a series of scientific expeditions to Soviet Armenia, Eastern Turkey, and Northeast Iran. These expeditions were funded by the National Research Council and implemented as part of the research activity of the Medieval Section of the

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(1982), n.3-4, pp. 379-396. Moreover, a volume in memory of Ieni including the article's re-edition has been recently published: Chiara Devoti, Antonella Perin, Carla Solarino, Carlenrica Spantigati (a cura di), *Giulio Ieni (1943-2003). Il senso dell'architettura e la maestria della parola*, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria 2015; see in particular the section "Studi sull'architettura e sull'arte armena, georgiana e bizantina", pp. 62-64 with a re-edition of the papers "Alcune soluzioni costruttive fra Armenia e Regione Balcanica (1978), pp. 65-73; "L'arte dei Khatchkar" (1981), pp. 75-83 e ancora "L'iconographie de la Vierge dans certains reliefs armeniens du tard Moyen-Age" (1977), pp. 85-93.

Successively, Claudia Bonardi has edited the following publication: Claudia Bonardi (a cura di), *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, Atti del convegno internazionale Torino, Genova, Livorno, 8-11 marzo 1997, Giornate di studi a Torino e Genova, La Morra, Associazione culturale Antonella Salvatico, 2013.

<sup>55</sup> For more information about the formation of the groups and their further achievements see the introduction of: Cuneo, Paolo, and Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi. *Architettura armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*. De Luca, 1988; the catalogue of the exhibition called *I Pionieri dell'Architettura Armena* curated by Gaiane Casnati and Maria Licia Zuzzaro, printed October 2011 and the catalogue of the exhibition called *Architettura Medievale Armena*, held in Rome from 10-30 June 1968, De Luca Editore.

<sup>56</sup> Christina Maranci has conducted a very comprehensive study on the scholarship of Armenian architecture regarding Italian scholars in her PhD dissertation called *Medieval Armenian Architecture in Historiography: Josef Strzygowski and his Legacy*, Princeton University, 1998 and later in a book called *Medieval Armenian Architecture Construction of Race and Nation*, Peeters, 2001.

<sup>57</sup> From the 125 entries in the category of Western books in *Armenian Architecture Bibliography* conducted by Satenik Gejian, printed in Yerevan, 1997, 38 entries belong to the publications of Centro Studi e Documentazione della Cultura Armena (CSDCA) under two distinct series of publications called *Documenti di architettura Armena* (14 volumes), and *Ricerche sull'architettura Armena* (24 volumes). 5 volumes under the name of *Studi di architettura medievale Armena* printed in Rome from 1971 to 1982. A total number of 34% of the total publications are conducted by Italian contribution of CSDCA and University of Rome.

Institute of Art History of the Faculty of Literature of the University of Rome. The first group (composed of architects Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi, Paolo Cuneo, Maurizio Guidi, and Gianluigi Nigro) traveled to Soviet Armenia in the summer of 1966,<sup>58</sup> where established the first direct contacts with the scholars of the Academy of Sciences of Yerevan and together, they executed a series of surveys of numerous buildings of early Christian and Medieval periods. The result of the first trip was a rich and up to date documentation of surveys, researches and publications thanks to the Committee of the Preservation of Historical Monuments of the Soviet Armenia. The second group (composed of architects Ugo Argnani, Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi, Enrico Costa, Paolo Cuneo, Maurizio Guidi) traveled to Eastern Turkey to visit the Armenian historical buildings. Their trip started with the region of lake Van and continued to Kars and Ani and a short visit to Azerbaijan province in Northwest Iran. In exploring the churches of lake Van region, professor Fernanda de Maffei accompanied the group.

The work done by the Mission in East Turkey has proved to be particularly valuable in documenting the buildings which were in great danger of completely disappearing without any trace for future generations. In this case, the Tekor church is a good example.

The result of these two expeditions was a large exhibit on Armenian architecture at Palazzo Venezia in Rome. The exhibition was curated by architects Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi, Enrico Costa, Paolo Cuneo and several scholars contributed by writing general essays on Armenian architecture in the catalogue.<sup>59</sup>

Geza de Francovich wrote about the goal of the exhibition in the introduction of the catalogue: “To illustrate, clarify and fix the various aspects of the structures and the wall technique of Armenian medieval buildings, to establish the various phases of its evolution and the relationship

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<sup>58</sup> But why Italians? Did the ideological affinity between the strong socialist political party in Italy and the Soviet regime in Moscow play a role in smoothing the bureaucratic obstacles facing any western scholar who wanted to obtain a USSR tourist visa? In his travelogue to Armenia, (Armen, Garbis. *In Armenia: impressions, sketches, travelogue and historical notes on the eventful last years of a Soviet republic*. Ottawa, 1993.) Armen Garbis, an Armenian-Canadian architect who held a British passport, wrote about the difficulties he faced in traveling to Armenia in 1987. I did not find any clue to prove this assumption of mine but a well-known Armenian-Italian architect called Armen Zarian who accompanied with his family, repatriated to Armenia in 1960s, played the role of a catalyst between the scholars of Armenia and Italy. In long conversations with Professor Marco Brambilla (the chairman of the Preservation institute of Architecture faculty at Tehran National University in 1977 and a participant in two expedition trips to NorthWestern Iran in 1977 and 1978 organized by CSDCA in collaboration with Tehran National University, a colleague and friend of Armen Zarian, Adriano Alpago-Novello and Paolo Cuneo) explained his role in detail.

<sup>59</sup> For more information about the exhibition, see the catalogue published in 1968 by De Luca Editore publishing called *Architettura Medievale Armena*.

(even today much debated) with its contemporary civilizations and successively, to be able to analyze and clarify the peculiar architectural characteristics and to fully appreciate its universal expressive qualities.”<sup>60</sup>

The next essay in the catalogue following the introduction is called *La Civiltà' Figurativa Armena*, written by Fernanda de Maffei presented a broad history of Armenian architecture, focusing on the formal development and structural problems of the monuments. According to De Maffei, the history of Armenian architecture in its current phase, suffers from various fundamental problems starting with the question of its origin, the dating of its monuments, the classification of the monuments based upon a typologic method (starting with Strzygowski), the discussion of the authenticity of the inscriptions which are basically used for dating the monuments, the most controversial problem of the origin of the dome on square base, which many scholars were occupied, and finally the relation between Armenian architecture and Byzantine world, Greek-Byzantine world, and generally the Western world. She continues by admitting that she has no comprehensive and ready answer to the above-mentioned problems and maybe in future, by further excavations and discoveries or by a wider and more thorough study of the subject, it may be possible to provide an answer.<sup>61</sup>

It is interesting to note that she studied the early Christian basilicas without addressing the problem of their origin and attributes the similarities between Armenian and Syrian basilicas to their common late antique heritage.<sup>62</sup>

Further, under *The Domed Churches*, she stated that the real and proper Armenian dome, distinguished from the neighboring architecture not only for its angular joint, but primarily for the existence of the “drum” which itself became an independent element with maximum importance, giving the whole structure a distinct verticality both internally and externally. The problem of supporting a dome is not a new one. It is the same as a vault. Its weight must be distributed as evenly as possible on the base and not concentrated on certain points. In this case, a high drum is transferring and distributing the load onto the structure below whether being four arches (in Tekor) or four semicircular cylindrical apses (in Soradir) which play the role of a solid base for the dome.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Architettura Medievale Armena*, Rome, 1968, p.10.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

She continues by saying that it is obvious that this kind of dome has nothing in common with the Byzantine world as Charles Diehl<sup>64</sup> or more recently Krautheimer<sup>65</sup> claimed, nor with Anatolia as Guyer<sup>66</sup> stated or with Sassanian and Iranian world in general as Strzygowski<sup>67</sup> claimed.

Not being able to find satisfying comparative materials neither in Sassanian Iran nor in Byzantine, she uses the non-Armenian monuments to highlight the unique quality of Armenian architecture rather than to make speculations on its relations with neighboring countries. Like Adriano Alpagò Novello, she is interested in the possibility of indigenous forms and she assumes that Armenian barrel vault has its origins in Urartian architecture.<sup>68</sup>

Although she is aware of the problem of the origin and the relation of Armenian architecture and its neighboring countries, she prefers not to establish a position on it. In years to come, in 1973, she would change her opinions with regard to the origin of Armenian dome in two essays in the *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*. One article focused on the origin of the Armenian dome in which Da Maffei found Iranian influence and precedents for Armenian squinch construction and the second, the Urartian origins of Armenian medieval architecture specifically the three-aisled type of Armenian basilica and the wall construction technique. She claimed that the ancient architecture of local people can explain the Armenian architecture. She is the only Italian scholar who while stressing local origins, is also interested in making comparisons with other architectural traditions.

Paolo Cuneo can be considered the most significant Italian scholar of Rome division. He has produced several publications.<sup>69</sup> He has written two articles in the *Architettura Medievale Armena* which are: *Introduzione all'architettura Armena*, *L'architettura Armena del Primo Periodo: IV-VII Sec* and the *Schede degli Edifici* in collaboration with Enrico Costa. In his comprehensive two volume books<sup>70</sup>, his aim is to categorize and classify the monuments. He made a very interesting attempt to categorize the monuments based upon their architectural typology but less effort on answering the questions of origin and influence of Armenian architecture on neighboring

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<sup>64</sup> Diehl, Charles. "Manual d'Art Byzantin. 2 vols. Paris: 1957." *Byzantium: Greatness and Decline*.

<sup>65</sup> Krautheimer, Richard. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*. The Pelican History of Art, 1965.

<sup>66</sup> Guyer, Samuel. "Die Bedeutung der Christlichen Baukunst des Inneren Kleinasiens Für Die Allgemeine Kunstgeschichte." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 33.1 (1933): p. 313.

<sup>67</sup> Strzygowski, Josef. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*. Vienna, 1918.

<sup>68</sup> *Architettura Medievale Armena*, Rome, 1968, p.17.

<sup>69</sup> There are nine articles and one book in the two bibliographies related to Armenian architecture written by him.

<sup>70</sup> Cuneo, Paolo, and Tommaso Breccia Fratadocchi. *Architettura armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*. De Luca, 1988.

countries. His studies in regional schools of Ani and Shirak is very significant. He has a monograph about the cathedral of Kutais.

According to Christina Maranci, Cuneo distances himself from the monuments and their specific contexts and instead creates an artificial world in which the churches are deprived of location, period, patron, and function.<sup>71</sup> This, by no means diminishes the importance of his work. His tendency to categorize the monuments is visible in two articles which deal with different typologies of constructions: early basilicas<sup>72</sup> and centrally planned churches.<sup>73</sup> In these articles, he provides as many as possible the monuments which share the same typological features in the same page and provides which like his two volumes book, provides a complete catalogue of same types architectural plans. Other than thousands of photographs, Cuneo's book provides scholars with a comprehensive bibliography with about 2800 entries and hundreds of monuments. In the introduction of the book, Cuneo admits that his book is more a reference than an analysis of the material.<sup>74</sup>

## **Milan**

In March 1976, Adriano Alpagò Novello officially announced the establishment of Centro Studi e Documentazione della Cultura Armena (CSDCA). It was already active for a decade under the name of Centro di Studi di Architettura Armena with support of Manoukian family in Milan. The goal of the institution was archiving research materials, photographs, plans and translations of Armenian scholarship, providing an excellent research center for scholars and students, organizing expedition trips to Armenia, and produce various publications related to Armenian architecture as well as its preservation and other related issues. The first expedition to Armenia organized by Centro Studi with the support of Manoukian family took place in 1968.

In 27 October 1968, an exhibition consisted of photographic documentation of this trip, called "Armenian Architecture from IV to XVIII Centuries" was inaugurated in Brera, Napoleonic Hall in collaboration with Unione Cultura Armena d'Italia (Armenian Culture Union of Italy) and Academy of Sciences of Yerevan, announcing the launch of a series of publications aimed at

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<sup>71</sup> Christina Maranci's dissertation, p. 252.

<sup>72</sup> "Le basiliche paleocristiane armene", *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina XX*, 1973, pp. 217-239.

<sup>73</sup> "Le chiese paleocristiane armene a pianta centrale", *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina XX*, 1973, pp. 241-261.

<sup>74</sup> Cuneo, Paolo. *Architettura armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*. De Luca, 1988, p.11.

"presenting through monographic studies of the main monuments of Armenian architecture. First volume: Haghpat."<sup>75</sup> In next years, the above-mentioned exhibition toured different cities all around the globe and gave a new revival to Armenian architecture and its preservation issues among Western scholars.<sup>76</sup>

The second expedition trip to Armenia took place in August-September 1969. On September 5, a protocol was signed between Centro Studi, Academy of Sciences of Yerevan, Institute of Fine Arts and Institute of Humanities of Milan Polytechnic University about the permanent staying of researchers in Armenia and further collaboration between the institutions as follows:

1- Armenian scholars' advice about expedition trips of Italian researchers.

2- Monographic publications in Armenian and Italian.

3- For each monographic publication, 200 copies go to Fine Art Institute in Yerevan. The text is signed by Adriano Alpago Novello and Rupen Zarian.

It is interesting to note that in this detailed information under the activities for year 1970, there is an entry announcing Armen Zarian's approval of the idea for translating Strzygowski's work and his willingness to carry on the task.<sup>77</sup>

The third expedition trip took place in Summer/Fall 1970 and was consisted of two separate trips. One to Eastern Turkey and one to Armenia. The goal was photographing and documenting medieval buildings.<sup>78</sup>

The Centro Studi published two types of journals: the *Documenti di architettura armena* and the *Ricerca sull'architettura armena*. The *Ricerca* was produced in hectograph and varies in format. Some issues of the *Ricerca* were produced in collaboration with the center in Rome.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Gaiane Casnati, Hakopig Manoukian's niece, one of the main collaborators with the activities of the institution provided me with this detailed information with regard to the foundation of CSDCA by Adriano Alpago Novello and Manoukian Family. I spent several weeks in March and October 2016 in Venice and Milan branches of CSDCA with the aim of digitizing part of the archival materials regarding Armenian architecture in Iran and had the opportunity to study some unpublished materials of CSDCA.

<sup>76</sup> The exhibition was held from 2 to 25 May 1969 in Genoa, Palazzo Congressi, in June 1969 in Vienna, in October 1969 in Bari, in March 1970 in Buenos Aires in National Museum of Belas Artes, in February 1973 in Lisbon in Gulbenkian foundation, in June 1973 in Beirut in Ministry of Tourism, October/November 1975 in Tehran and Isfahan.

<sup>77</sup> There is no information about which book or article is this about (most probable *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*) and any further attempts in carrying on the task.

<sup>78</sup> In 10 December, the *Il Giorno* newspaper dedicated a whole page to covering the mission.

<sup>79</sup> At the end of 1971, six monographs were published, and the number raised to ten at the end of 1972. In 1974, the Saint Thaddeus monograph was printed for second time and the Haghpat for a third time.

Issues often contain translations of articles previously appeared in Armenian publications as well as articles in Western languages. Most of the issues are devoted to specific topics rather than interpretation and comparative questions. Two issues seem to be different (vols. 4 and 12). They include sections on the relation of Armenian architecture with west. There are a collection of quotations and comments from numerous authors of the field. It is interesting to note that there are no comments from Strzygowski. According to Adriano Alpago Novello, the reason of this exclusion is because of the nature of Strzygowski's work which is not conducted to be disassembled in smaller parts.<sup>80</sup> This is rather an odd explanation because there is no basic difference between Strzygowski's work and other scholars such as Rivoira or Baltrusaitis. Adriano Alpago Novello discusses in the preface of the first volume about how the scholars have been chosen: "This first part examines the writings of a group of authors beginning at the end of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, then skipping the years of the polemics (that today are not of particular importance) on the origins of Armenian architecture and its influence on the development of domed architecture and of the monuments of the medieval West, and concentrating attention on recent works (from 1946 to today)."<sup>81</sup> This statement clearly reveals that the CSDCA's main goal is documenting the Armenian architecture both photographic and surveys rather than concentrate on the question of its origins and influences on neighboring countries.

In the frontispiece of all issues, it is written "During the first decades of the twentieth century, Armenian architecture was at the center of a lively discussion between the orientalist theories of Strzygowski and the western-Roman theories of Rivoira regarding the origins of medieval architecture. Once the dilemma between Rome and the East had been overcome, the position of Armenia as a link between the two worlds - because of its geographical position and historical events - become undeniable."<sup>82</sup> It seems that in Adriano Alpago Novello's perspective, the question of origin of Armenian architecture and its influence is rather obsolete and it is time to document each monument independently with as much detail as possible and live the above-mentioned dilemma to the reader's perception. For him, a true presentation of monuments is more important.

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<sup>80</sup> *Ricerca*, vol. 4, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> *Ricerca*, vol. 1, p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> This paragraph appears in the frontispiece of all issues of *Documenti*.

In his book *Gli Armeni*,<sup>83</sup> translated into English,<sup>84</sup> the chapter six is entitled *Armenian Architecture from East to West* and is written by himself. In this article, he stressed upon the role of Armenia as a bridge between East and West, a true and proper “crossroads of history.”<sup>85</sup> He also brings out the analogy between the Armenia and the Coptic area of Ethiopia and regards them with basically similar features but he stresses that this statement is still in need of further scientific research.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, he praised Strzygowski for the rediscovery of Armenia and its architecture in the first decades of the twentieth century by writing *Die Baunkunst der Armenier und Europa*. According to Alpago Novello, Strzygowski systematically collected and distributed the results of the painstaking research and analysis of the less known Armenian scholar Toros Toramanian.<sup>87</sup>

With regard to construction technique, he wrote that the Armenian building technique is apparently linked with the Roman methods rather than Syrian models which did use stone, but in large blocks, side by side and dry-walling. The Byzantine method of building was also quite different, using both stone and red bricks - which are particularly unknown in Armenia - in a conventional technique to build much lighter structures.<sup>88</sup>

For the most part, Adriano Alpago Novello saw little derivations from outside the borders in Armenian architecture. With regard to the basilicas, he viewed them as a primarily indigenous development. In an article on Ezeruyk in the *Documenti di architettura armena* he wrote: “in conclusion, the primitive structure was probably encapsulated by a series of characteristic imported additions deriving from the particular religious and cultural relations with Syria. Strangely, time seems to have wanted to do justice to this “outer skin”, by causing it to fall away from the monument, as a result of the numerous earthquakes in the region.”<sup>89</sup>

According to him, the true Armenian nature of domed hall was derived directly from the three-aisled basilicas as the result of a search for spatial unification that was typical of Armenian architecture.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Alpago-Novello, Adriano. *Gli armeni*. Jaca book, 1986.

<sup>84</sup> Alpago-Novello, Adriano. *The Armenians*. Rizzoli Intl Pubns, 1986, pp. 131-191.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 131-132.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* p. 133.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* p. 134.

<sup>89</sup> *Document*, 9, p. 17.

<sup>90</sup> Alpago-Novello, Adriano. *The Armenians*. Rizzoli Intl Pubns, 1986, p. 136, continued on p. 185. The search for spatial unification is mentioned by several scholars including Strzygowski.



He excluded the possibility of Byzantine influence on Armenian architecture highlighting the local traditions. While there are similarities in plans, there are also fundamental disjuncture between two traditions. Furthermore, he compares the St. Gayane domed basilica with Byzantine monuments: “The well-known inscribed cross with the dome borne by four free-standing supports was the basic layout formula for religious architecture in various Byzantine provinces from the ninth century onward. Very significantly this solution had already matured in the seventh century in Armenian structures such as St. Gayane near Etchmiadzin. Even though, from the architectural view, the fragility, pictorial approach, and grace of the Byzantine solutions diverged sharply from the logic and rigor of the Armenian prototypes.”<sup>91</sup>

Alpago-Novello’s essay continues with a discussion of Armenian architecture in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. He compares the development to contemporary movements in Romanesque architecture. He notes the use of blind arcading, as at Ani, that “can be loosely linked to the similar previous choices in the Medieval West, or more directly to specific areas of the Italian Romanesque.”<sup>92</sup>

As a conclusion to Adriano Alpago-Novello’s perspective on the subject, one can summarize that he gave more value to the indigenous development than foreign influence as he clearly states in *Armenian Architecture from East to West*, “It is true that the Armenian sacred buildings were often influenced by their contact with various dominating cultures (or ancient models), but this occurred merely in superficial aspects such as decoration or the facade.”<sup>93</sup> Therefore, the similarities between Armenian and Western architecture remained unexplained and according to him “There is no real reason to quarrel about the origins of Christian art or quibble about the construction dates of individual monuments, in which one might tend to date earlier or later out of some blind provincialism.”<sup>94</sup>

### **The Italian-Armenian Contribution**

The Italian-Armenian cooperation continued in next years. After the earthquake in 1988, Italy contributed to the reconstruction efforts by not only building a hospital and an entire village in Spitak, but also by sending a group of experts for the assessment of the damage suffered by the

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 186.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

local monuments. The project implemented by Politecnico di Milano, in full cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of Armenia as well as other Armenian institutions.

Furthermore, Armenia and Italy signed an agreement on cultural, educational, scientific and technological cooperation in April 2003. Later, in 2008, the Armenian Ministry of Culture officially inquired about the possibility of developing a cooperation project in the field of conservation and restoration of local cultural heritage. An Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) mission was organized in Yerevan in October 2009 and the project called “Training and Support to Local Institutions for the Preservation and Conservation of Armenian Heritage” was designed to respond the explicit request and to enhance the long-lasting tradition of cultural cooperation between two countries.

The project “Support to local institutions for the protection and conservation of cultural heritage in Armenia”, established on April 6th, 2011 between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Italian Republic and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Armenia, with the goal of providing technical assistance to local authorities in preserving the artistic and architectural heritage. This project focused in particular on training: over the three years between 2011-2014, several courses, seminars, lectures and restoration works were carried out, involving a large number of young architects and restorers. The hallmark of this cooperation is organizing the master course comprise of two two-yearlong first and second level specializing Master’s courses in Architectural Preservation and a one year first level Master’s course focused on Monuments Preservation Design which were organized by Politecnico di Milano with the cooperation of Yerevan State University of Architecture and Construction.

The Italian interest on Armenian architecture mainly took place in 1970s. By this time, almost two decades after the devastations of World War II in Europe and Soviet Russia, Josef Strzygowski and his theory of the origin of Medieval Christian architecture was marred under his racial superiority ideas. Discussing any idea with minimum connotation of racial superiority was considered a big taboo worldwide and more specifically in Europe. Therefore, it is not surprising that Italians choose not to concentrate on any problematic connotation and instead, concentrate on cataloging and documenting the existing heritage and trying to suggest preservation policies.

At the same time, there is inestimable value to the work done by Italian scholars both in Rome and Milan. The vast amount of materials gathered in *Documenti*, *Ricerche* and publications by Roman group are essential, not only for documentary preservation but also for further research in the field.

The preservation of the monuments in Soviet Armenia and Karabagh had its roots back to 1920s and the first republic and later continued in Soviet period. After only ten years, with the progressive affirmation of Stalinist centralism, any attempt to preserve or encourage the cultural identity of Armenians was severely banned and the result was the destruction of many historical monuments in Yerevan and other locations. While Khrushchev became the leader of USSR in 1953, the policy about other republics was changed and they were given more freedom in demonstrating national identities but not religious ones. The result of this shifting was the reconstruction of Garni temple and Erebuni fortress which had no religious characteristic.

In eastern Turkey, after fifty years of abandonment, the monuments located in different previously Armenian communities suffered from neglect, improper use of the buildings, and frequent earthquakes. The discouraging policies of the state in preserving the identity of the monuments and in many cases trying to relate them with Urartu and Byzantine periods and eliminating their Armenian identity led to improper preservation projects. Because of all above mentioned reasons, any attempt to document or research by scholars of any nationality and not only Armenians was considered suspicious and halted immediately by militant force.

### **Armenian Scholars' Opinions Regarding the Origin of Armenian Architecture, Its Evolution, and Influence on Byzantine Architecture and Josef Strzygowski's Theory**

For a comprehensive understanding of human history in general and architectural history in particular, clarifying the influences of various nations on each other's crystallization of ideas in the form of artistic and architectural expressions is indispensable. It is also important to consider the importance of geography, climate, local materials, and traditions in forming the national architecture of any given society or region in the world. Likewise, identifying those architectural elements that are inherent and born from the local traditions and those that are influenced by others is significant. The initial statements of Josef Strzygowski regarding the influence and impact of Armenian architecture upon the architecture of the western world where, if not bold, almost revolutionary. Many scholars in the west have debated, discussed, opposed and expressed various opinions in this regard.<sup>95</sup>

For a comprehensive understanding of Armenian architecture and therefore, its scientific preservation, it is very imperative to understand what is the point of view of Armenian scholars in

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<sup>95</sup> See chapter III, Systematic Study of Armenian Architectural Heritage.

this regard. For presenting an Armenian perspective on this issue, five Armenian architectural historians have been chosen based on the number of their publications, academic achievements, and influence in the field. Following a brief biography, highlighting their positions and titles, the author has tried to summarize their main ideas regarding Armenian architecture's origin and its influence on the architecture of other nations in order to be able to form an Armenian point of view.

The first Armenian scholar is Stepan Mnatsakanian. Born in 1917, he was a Doctor of Architectural Science and Director of the Department of Architecture at the Armenian Academy of Sciences Institute of Art. Professor Mnatsakanian is the author of a number of monographs and articles, among which are *The Architecture of Armenian Narthexes* in 1952, *The architecture of Armenian rural settlements* in 1956, *The Syunik School of Armenian Architecture* in 1960, *Nicholas Marr and Armenian Architecture* in 1969, *Zvartnots and the monuments of the Same Type* in 1971, *Armenian Secular Sculpture* in 1976, *Kunst des Mittelalter in Armenia* in 1981, *Aghtamar* in 1983, and *Compositions of Inscribed Cruciform Domed Constructions in Armenia and Byzantium in V-VII Centuries*, 1989.<sup>96</sup>

According to Stepan Mnatsakanian, there is no single construction in Armenia which resembles the classical domed basilicas of Byzantine. Therefore, he thinks that it is erroneous to address Armenian three nave, domed constructions, despite many scholars did, as “domed basilicas”. He suggests to call these monuments (Tekor, Odzoon, Gayane are some examples of this type) “Cruciform Domed Constructions” because of their basic difference in the system of the dome support.<sup>97</sup> In an article called “Pre-Ani Stage in the Development of Armenian Architecture” presented in the Yerevan’s International Symposium on Armenian Art in 1978, he re-stated the idea that Armenian cruciform domed monuments were the prototypes of Byzantine cruciform domed buildings.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> “Stepan Mnatsakanian.” *Abrilbooks*. Abrilbooks, 2017. Web. 9 Aug. 2017. <<http://www.abrilbooks.com/stepan-mnatsakanian>>

<sup>97</sup> Mnatsakanian, Stepan. *Compositions of Inscribed Cruciform Domed Constructions in Armenia and Byzantium in V-VII Centuries* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Academy of Sciences, 1989. Print, p. 145.

<sup>98</sup> Mnatsakanian, Stepan. *Pre-Ani Stage in the Development of Armenian Architecture* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of Armenian SSR Institute of Arts, 1978, p. 5.

Furthermore, he states that the inception of domes in Armenian buildings is not an arbitrary phenomenon. It is directly connected to the consecration of dome as symbol of holy sky by church at the end of the fifth century. Therefore, domed churches become ubiquitous in Armenia.<sup>99</sup>

Stepan Mnatsakanian has a more conservative opinion about the influence of Armenian architecture on Byzantine architecture. He believes that due to close relations between Armenia and Byzantine Empire, it is quite legitimate to assert that the penetration of architectural schemes and concepts could not take place in one direction only. According to him, the idea of four-pylon cruciform domed structure was incepted in Armenia and passed to Byzantine and in tenth to thirteenth centuries became the main construction type of Orthodox Church as well and spread widely all-over Eastern Europe.<sup>100</sup>

The second Armenian scholar is Tiran Marutyan. He has studied architecture at the Architectural Department of Yerevan Construction Institute (current Yerevan State University of Architecture and Construction) from 1930-1935 and received an engineer-architect qualification in 1937 with honorable marks. Between 1933 and 1935, he has worked with Alexander Tamanian on Yerevan's development master plan and in the studio of Gevorg Kochar and designed the master plan of several Armenian villages. From 1939 to 1992 he has worked in the Armenian institute of hydro energy and has been the main architect since 1952.

In 2002, the Union of Architects of Armenia has dedicated a volume of "Armenian Masters of Architecture" to him reflecting his complete works.

From 1959, he was involved in the history and theory of Armenian architecture, authored six monumental, meaningful, comprehensive monographs, "Zvartnots and Similar Temples" (1963), "The Architectural monuments of Taik" (1972), "Avan Temple" (1976) "Architecture monuments of Ancient Archpriest Ancestors" (1978), "The Origin of Armenian Classical Architecture" (2003), including thirty articles about Armenian monuments.

His 1989 monograph in Russian "*Architectural monuments of Zvartnots, Avan, the Cathedral of Ani Mother of God ...*" gained him the title of Laureate from the 1991 international Biennial of Architecture in Sofia. He defended his thesis on "Zvartnots and Similar Temples" monograph, and in 1992 received the degree of Doctor of Architecture with defense of the dissertation "Avan Temple and Similar Monuments".

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<sup>99</sup> Mnatsakanian, 1989. Print, p. 146.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

Tiran Marutyan was a member of the Union of Architects since 1935 and was awarded three diplomas of the Presidency of the Armenian SSR (1945, 1953, 1960). In 1961, he has been honored with the rank of Honored Builder of Armenia, for over thirty years he has been a member of the Presidency of the Republican Council for Preservation of Historical Monuments of Armenia and in 2002 he was awarded the Order of Alexander Tamanyan Gold Medal.

He died in 2007 and is buried in Yerevan Pantheon.<sup>101</sup>

About the place of Armenian art and architecture among other nations' style, he believes that Armenian style of architecture has been acknowledged by the scientific world as an independent national style, and has gained its honorable place and meaning in the world of art.

He believes that in study of Armenian architecture, the chronology of the construction of the monuments and some other questions which have significant importance, are completely neglected. According to Tiran Marutyan, the precise and comprehensive study of the history of Armenian architecture is not possible unless the scholars clarify the interrelation between Armenian and Georgian architecture.<sup>102</sup> Tiran Marutyan believes that Caucasian Albanian and Georgian architecture depend heavily upon Armenian architecture and their differences are not such great as to classify them as distinctly separate and individual schools of architecture. This style should be called Armenian because the neighboring nations began to utilize it at a time when it already existed and was adopted as national style of the Armenian architecture.<sup>103</sup>

According to Tiran Marutyan, the role attributed to the cathedral of Ani in the formation of Roman and Gothic architecture, remains in force, moreover, justice demands that the term Armenian-Gothic be adopted for this style of architecture.<sup>104</sup>

Tiran Marutyan is like most Armenian architectural historians who feel their obligation to pay homage to Strzygowki's theory of the Armenian architecture influence on European architecture, although its impact may have been less dramatic than what Strzygowski suggests. In a book about Armenian architecture in Tayk<sup>105</sup> region, after explaining the evolution of basilica and cross

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<sup>101</sup> Marutyan, Harutyun. "Tiran Marutyan (1911-2007)" *Architect Tiran Marutyan*(in Armenian, translated by author). Web. 8 August, 2017.<[http://www.tiranmarutyan.am/New%20Folder/tiran\\_marutyan.htm](http://www.tiranmarutyan.am/New%20Folder/tiran_marutyan.htm)>

<sup>102</sup> Marutyan, Tiran. *At the Sources of Armenian Classical Architecture* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Mughni, 2003, p.350.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p.354.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p.353.

<sup>105</sup> Tayk was a historical province of Greater Armenia, one of its fifteen ashkhars (worlds). The Tayk province covered contemporary Turkish districts of Yusufeli (Kiskim) in Artvin Province and Oltu, Olur (Tavusker), Tortum and Çamlıkaya (Hunut) to the north of İspir in Erzurum Province. To its southwest is found the ancient region of Sper.

shaped domed architectural typologies, and combining the domination of eastern altar in basilicas and verticality in domed constructions, he wrote that this aspect of Armenian architecture has found its expression in some Renaissance European buildings.<sup>106</sup>

He also states that the Armenian architecture, beginning from its early stages to its renaissance in the sixth, seventh, and tenth centuries “by right” should be classified together with Greek and Roman architecture.<sup>107</sup>

The third Armenian scholar is Murad Hasratyan. He was born in Yerevan to an educated family in 1935 and is an Armenian architectural historian. He graduated from National Polytechnic University of Armenia in 1958. From 1958 till 1964, he has worked in Institute of Yerevan Master-plan and since 1964 in the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. He became a Candidate of Sciences<sup>108</sup> with defending his dissertation on the 17th and 18th century architecture of the Syunik region in 1969. Since 1988, he has been the head of Architecture Department in Institute of Art at the National Academy of Sciences. Since 2006, he has been the associate member at National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. He is teaching at Yerevan State Academy of Fine Arts since 1999 and as a professor since 2003. Several buildings have been built according to his plan in Yerevan. He is one of the first scholars who has explored and studied the ancient Armenian monuments of Dashmash, Saragap, ancient monuments of Tashir, Artsakh, Amaras, Dadivank, Gtchavank, Khratravanq, Armenian churches in Tbilisi, explore the Armenian-Byzantine, Armenian-Georgian and Armenian-Iranian architectural relations.<sup>109</sup>

About the origins of Armenian architecture, Hasratyan believes that as the world’s only Christian state for nearly two decades in the beginning of the fourth century B.C., Armenia independently developed its own types of church buildings, with “none to borrow or copy” from neighboring countries.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, he writes that the Armenian Church’s independence from Western

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<sup>106</sup> Marutyan. Tiran. *Armenian Architectural Monuments: Tayk* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh, 1978, p. 10.

<sup>107</sup> Marutyan, 2003, p.353.

<sup>108</sup> The Candidate of Sciences is the first postgraduate scientific degree in some former eastern bloc countries which is awarded for original research that constitutes a significant contribution to a scientific field.

<sup>109</sup> Biographical information from Wikipedia page in Armenian translated by the author. “Murad Hasratyan.” *Wikipedia*, Wikipedia, 22 Feb. 2017. Web. <[https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D5%84%D5%B8%D6%82%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%A4\\_%D5%80%D5%A1%D5%BD%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%A9%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6](https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D5%84%D5%B8%D6%82%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%A4_%D5%80%D5%A1%D5%BD%D6%80%D5%A1%D5%A9%D5%B5%D5%A1%D5%B6)>

<sup>110</sup> Hasratian, Murad. *Early Christian Architecture of Armenia in* (in Armenian). Incobook: Moscow, 2010, p. 52, and Hasratian, Murad, and Zaven Sargsyan. *Armenia 1700 Years of Christian Architecture* (in Armenian). Moughni Publishers: Yerevan, 2001, p. 21.

Christian Churches “remaining an island in a sea of pagan beliefs” was among the key factors in the formation of national Armenian ecclesiastical architecture.<sup>111</sup>

According to him, it is possible to establish the plan and volume composition of Armenia’s early churches by analyzing the heathen temples that preceded them. He describes these temples as rectangular stone structures extending from east to west and sitting on a stepped stylobate with an apse in eastern side, either prominent or recessed in the wall rectangle under a wooden or vaulted ceiling and a tile gable roof. Furthermore, he consolidated his idea by two examples: Garni as a temple with vaulted ceiling and the Temple of Anahit in Artashat as a wooden one.<sup>112</sup> His explanation of a heathen temple is general and can be applied to either Greek or Roman temples, Urartian, Persian, or Syrian buildings. He did not provide an explanation for the origin of these temples respectively.

About the three-aisled basilica composition, he wrote that it has been known in Armenia a full thousand years before the conversion to Christianity, in the reception halls in Urartian cities.<sup>113</sup>

He claimed that building materials, the abundance and richness of all kinds of building stones, the specific natural conditions (varied terrain and climate, and high seismicity), and the country’s geographical position (wedged between East and West which predetermined Armenia’s active involvement in world trade) played a crucial role in the development of Armenian architecture.<sup>114</sup>

About the connection between Armenian and Georgian architecture, he believes that it may be attributed to close political and church contacts between the two countries, direct creative contacts between their architects, similar natural conditions, building techniques, and building material but he does not address the issue of which architecture precede or influenced on the other one.<sup>115</sup>

In the conclusion of the *Early Christian Architecture of Armenia*, he quoted N. Tokarsky’s opinion about the relation between Armenian and Hellenism world saying “It is, therefore, wrong to attempt to shut out Armenian art and architecture from Hellenism in a desire to stress independence from any kind of influence. It is exactly the fact that, having passed through “the Hellenistic stage,” Armenian culture managed later to find its own paths in development, testifies to its real individuality.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Hasratian, Murad, 2010, p. 83.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 83.



According to him, the Syrian influence on Armenian architecture of the fourth and fifth centuries is exaggerated due to Armenia's close religious ties with Syria.<sup>117</sup>

He believes that Armenian architects were single-mindedly developing a range of tetraconchs beginning in the late sixth century. The single domed structure had been more widespread in Armenia than in Syria and Byzantine Empire.

And finally, according to him, “whenever an old central domed scheme was borrowed, it was interpreted in a special way by Armenian architects who never failed to take it many steps further toward an architectural and artistic wonder.”<sup>118</sup>

“Speaking about any national architectural school in the Middle Ages, its typological identity should be regarded as the basic criterion: even a single new type of religious building was a great creative success for a given country's architects, particularly in early Christian Armenia, whose architects produced several new original compositions of monumental structures, making a valuable contribution to the treasure-trove of world architecture.”<sup>119</sup>

In my view, He believes that Armenia had not been completely isolated from its neighbors but other nations' influence on Armenian architecture is exaggerated.

Armenian architects have always borrowed ideas from other nations but took those ideas many steps further and have created various typological and formal expressions.

Interestingly while Hasratyan speaks at length about the origin of Armenian architecture, he avoids direct analysis of the major topic of the influence of Armenian architecture upon the architecture of the west.

The fourth Armenian scholar whose ideas are studied in this dissertation is Alexander Sahinian. Alexander Arami Sahinian was a Soviet Armenian architectural historian, who was the head of the Architectural Department of the Institute of Arts of the Armenian Academy of Sciences between 1958 and 1982. Born in Vardablur village in Northern Armenia, he graduated from the architecture department of the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute in 1937. He was employed by a state design institute until the eruption of World War II. Between 1942 and 1944, he served in the Soviet Army and returned to Armenia wounded. Upon his return, Sahinian was admitted into the postgraduate

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

program of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and began the archaeological excavations at the Aparan (Kasakh) basilica. Since 1946, he worked at the Art Institute of the Academy of Sciences. Sahinian defended his dissertation on the architecture of the Aparan basilica in 1952. He directed the excavations at the Etchmiadzin Cathedral in 1955-56 and 1959 during which the fragments of the original 4th century church and the foundations of the pre-Christian temple were unearthed. Between 1968 and 1974, he directed the project of reconstructing the only Greco-Roman temple of Armenia, the Garni temple, which had been collapsed in the 17th century by an earthquake.

Sahinian believes that the Armenian architecture of early Christianity, being in close contact with architectural art of Greece, Rome and particularly neighboring Hellenistic countries (Asia Minor and Syria, Persia etc.) produced remarkable monuments peculiar to the period. However, based on rich local traditions, characteristic of Near Asia art, it had its original features of development.<sup>120</sup>

Inheriting, developing and enriching constructional traditions of local ethnic strata of the Armenian highland, Khayasa and Urartu, the Armenian architecture also localized and elaborated such architectural forms from other countries, which harmonized with its inner features of development (climate, nature, building materials, time, spiritual culture and customs of the people) and, undergoing gradual crystallization, pertained its deeply national features.<sup>121</sup>

According to Sahinian, the process of formation of the Armenian national architecture and manifestation of its peculiar aspects had started way back in the pre-Christian period.<sup>122</sup>

In his monograph about Kasagh basilica published in 1955,<sup>123</sup> he wrote that this typology of Armenian architecture has not been studied adequately. Either it has been completely neglected by European travelers (Duboi, Texier, Brosset and others) or is presented distorted and biased by others (Josef Strzygowski in *Die Baunkunst der Armenier und Europa*, Heinrich Gluck in *Die Hellenistische Uberlieferung; Das tonnengewolbte Langhaus* inserted in Strzygowski's mentioned work, Vol I, pp. 373-417).

He distinguished between Soviet and European scholars. It seems that he despises European nineteenth century scholars for being bourgeois. He is an ardent Soviet scholar. He believes that Toramanian's true opinion for relating the Armenian early Christian basilicas to local pre-Christian

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<sup>120</sup> Sahinian, Alexander Arami, *The Architecture of Garni Antique Structures* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Academy of Sciences, 1983. Print, p. 232, 236.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>123</sup> Sahinian, Alexander Arami, *The Architecture of Kasagh Basilica* (in Armenian). Yerevan: Academy of Sciences, 1955.

temples, instead of Byzantine, is not accepted among the Soviet scholar's due to lack of research and study and instead, the idea of Syrian origin of these structures is widely accepted.<sup>124</sup>

According to Shahe Der-Kevorkian<sup>125</sup>, Alexander Sahinian is among those scholars of Armenian architecture who has collected a vast amount of material about the Armenian architecture of antiquity and early Christian periods specifically fourth to sixth centuries. He has carried out scientific research works on several significant monuments of the above-mentioned period, Garni, the Kasagh basilica and the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin. He pointed out the connections between the composition of early basilicas with pre-Christian architecture both by its internal structure and spatial and volumetric organization.<sup>126</sup>

About the three-nave basilica of Ereruk, Alexander Sahinian wrote: "On one hand, Ereruk sheds a certain light on some issues of the origin and further evolution of Armenian national architecture, and on the other hand, it contributes to the correct interpretation of cultural associations, and mutual influences between neighbouring countries."<sup>127</sup>

Another Armenian scholar, Shahe Der-Kevorkian was born in 1944 in Aleppo, where he obtained his primary education at L. Nazarian - G. Gulbenkian school. In 1964, he enrolled in the faculty of architecture of the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute and graduated in 1970. From 1971 to 1976 he conducted postgraduate studies in the same institution and prepared a thesis on the *Relevancies of Armenian and Syrian early-Christian Architecture (On the Sample of Basilicas)* under the direction of academic Professor Varazdat Harutunian at the Armenian Academy of Science. Since 1970s, during his numerous scientific expeditions, Shahe Der-Kevorkian made detailed studies of both Syrian and Armenian early medieval single-nave and three-nave basilicas. The French Institute of Archaeology in Beirut invited him to participate in the study of Hellenistic and early Christian monuments in Northern Syria (the temple of Sheikh Barakat, the single-nave basilica of Qirqbize and the three-nave basilica of Qalb Lozeh. In 1981, he was invited to participate in the *Third International Symposium Dedicated to Armenian Art* in Italy. He believes that the pioneer scholars of Armenian architecture of nineteenth century did not have enough material at hand.

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>125</sup> See the next scholar.

<sup>126</sup> Der-Kevorkian, Shahe. *On the Relevancies of Early Christian Architecture of Armenia and Syria*. Yerevan: Gitutiun, 2013, p. 24.

<sup>127</sup> Sahinian, 1955, p. 106.

Therefore, they overestimated the influence of Syrian architecture on Armenian early-Christian monuments. He wrote: “The role of Syria in spreading Christianity in Armenia was over-evaluated and the role of Cappadocia was under-evaluated.”<sup>128</sup>

He believes that monumental halls with the composition of three-nave basilicas existed in Armenia before the adoption of the Christianity and single-nave basilicas were built in Armenia on the basis of pre-Christian temples already existed in the country. The decoration of portals, window frames, capitals, and column and pilaster bases of some Armenian churches, built in early Christian period of fourth and fifth centuries, reveals the influence of Syrian early Christian art.<sup>129</sup>

He believes that the only example of early Christian church in Armenia which reveals a more direct Syrian influence is the basilica of Ereruk and it is an exception in the above-mentioned period architecture and has major differences from other Armenian three-naved basilicas. And finally, he concludes that Syrian and Armenian early Christian architecture are two distinct schools.

Shahe Der-Kevorkian’s thesis is that the Armenian architecture was created and developed independently in the early middle ages, and that the presence of some elements of Syrian construction and building art in certain Armenian churches had no influence in the creation of the Armenian national school of architecture.

The last Armenian scholar studied is Vahan Hagopian (1903-2005), an American-Armenian architect. In a publication called *Armenia the Cradle of Gothic Architecture*,<sup>130</sup> dedicated to the 30th Annual of Women’s International Exposition, held from November second to eighth 1953 in New York by Armenian Exposition Committee, Vahan Hagopian, an AIA architect, expresses his opinions about the origin of Armenian architecture and its influence on medieval Europe. In his article *The Relation of Armenian Architecture to Gothic Architecture*, Vahan Hagopian refers to Josef Strzygowski as “the distinguished Viennese authority on the history of art” and conveys his ideas that “the elements of this [Gothic] art was brought to France by Armenian and Antiochese artisans in the retinue of the chieftains of the Germanic tribes who settled in France at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire.” Furthermore, he continues to convey Strzygowski’s theory of the dissemination of these elements to west through intercommunication and travel which were

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<sup>128</sup> Der-Kevorkian, Shahe. *On the Relevancies of Early Christian Architecture of Armenia and Syria*. Yerevan: Gitutiun, 2013, p. 142.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>130</sup> Hagopian, Vahe. *Armenia, the Cradle of Gothic Architecture: Armenian Program*, 30th Annual Women's International Exposition, November Second to Eighth, 1953, New York City, p. 3.

more extensive than is generally realized. He dedicated a separate paragraph to European scholars' theories with regard to origin of Gothic architecture. He wrote about Viollet-le-Duc and his consideration of Gothic as a specific occidental creation evolving in France out of Romanesque architecture<sup>131</sup> and Dieulafoy and his theory of Gothic origins in Persia and Syria<sup>132</sup>, and Corroyer thought of it being a derivative of Byzantine.<sup>133</sup>

He concludes his article by stating that although Armenian ogive arch antedates that of West, but it does not reflect all the facets of Gothic structure. The local traditions, foreign influences, and spontaneous and original solutions are important as well, but Armenian art had its definite and important part to the genesis of Gothic construction.

Not being an academician, he belongs to a large group of Armenians who widely embraced Strzygowski's theory about Armenian origin of Gothic architecture and furthermore, expanded it to other architectural styles (Romanesque at least in his case).

In the Armenian traditional architecture, there are just too many specific, eccentric and particular elements to be ignored as being indigenous and self-developed. This pertains to sophisticated floor plans, details, construction techniques and elaboration of several architectural components.

The above reflects the interpretations of some of the major Armenian scholars who have addressed this issue.

It is remarkable to note that while a large number of Armenians in general are proud to embrace Strzygowski's theory and to advocate the great impact of Armenian architecture upon the development of European architectural traditions, especially during the Gothic period, most prominent Armenian architectural historians and scholars are more cautious in their interpretations and mostly consider the Armenian architecture as an independent development with influences from the region (Syria, Iran, Greco Roman) and propose more of an architectural influence upon regional (Georgian and Byzantine) architecture.

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<sup>131</sup> For Viollet-le-Duc's opinions about architecture in English, refer to Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. *Lectures on architecture*. Vol. 1. Courier Corporation, 2013; Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène Emmanuel. *The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the 'dictionnaire Raisonné'*. Braziller, 1990; Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. *The architectural theory of Viollet-le-Duc: readings and commentary*. MIT Press, 1990, and Viollet-le-Duc, Eugene Emmanuel. *Discourses on architecture*. J.R. Osgood, 1875.

<sup>132</sup> Dieulafoy, Marcel. *L'art antique de la Perse: Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides*. Vol. 1. Librairie centrale d'architecture, 1884.

<sup>133</sup> Corroyer, Édouard Jules. *Gothic architecture*. Macmillan, 1893.

# Section V

## Awareness and Architectural Preservation in Soviet Armenia

### Introduction

This section starts with a brief history of architectural preservation in Armenia and continues by the activities that took place between 1920 and 1930. Following is a description of the Soviet administrative system, its methods for registering monuments, defining protective zones, interventions regarding developing tourist activities in historical sites, and the educational system. Attention to folk architecture during the Soviet period is also discussed and the abundant use of reinforced concrete in realizing preservation projects of various monuments is criticized. In the end, the author tried to analyze the above-mentioned policies through two case studies, the Yerevan Master plan and the Garni Temple. A catalog of twenty-eight preservation projects realized during the Soviet period, represented in appendix, complements this section. This catalog highlights the prevalent methods and approaches towards preserving the ecclesiastical architectural heritage of Armenia, a contradiction between ideologies.

## **A Brief History of Architectural Preservation in Armenia**

During medieval and early modern era, a mixture of myth and history was connected to major ruins that scattered all around the Armenian highland. Legends like Ara the beautiful, an Armenian ruler and Queen Semiramis of Assyria who built a stone fortress at Van Kale are recorded by Moses Khorenatsi in the second half of the first millennium.<sup>1</sup>

A major alteration of such interpretation connected to the ancient monuments and ruins took place by Russian occupation of the land and arriving of European travelers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Writing from a historicism and aesthetic point of view, European travelers interpreted sites like Ani as an expression of Armenian national identity. Rising attention to ruins and monuments helped the nation in transferring from ignorance and neglect to a state of awareness of national character and identity.

Only at the end of the nineteenth century, a systematic effort to understand these material remains, succeeded by the non-scholastic and partial descriptions of the early travelers.

In 1718, Peter the Great formalized the Russian collecting of antiquities by a decree asking the district governors and military commanders to collect and send artifacts to St. Petersburg. Following the access to Black Sea coast after 1774, many artifacts gathered in St. Petersburg which stimulated the founding of an archaeological museum in Kerch in 1826. According to Adam T Smith, they produced an archaeological imagination more aroused by legacy of Greece than by an interest in regional history.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of Society of Imperial Archaeology in 1851 in St. Petersburg and the Imperial Archaeological Commission (IAK) in 1859 was another milestone to conduct a more systematic study on the field. In 1852, the Russian Imperial Geographic Society opened a Caucasus department in Tbilisi and held the first exhibition of antiquities and ethnographic materials from the region in 1855. In 1867, the Museum of the Caucasus opened in Tbilisi gathering artifacts from donated private collections.

It is important to note that the first general survey of the ancient monuments of the Armenian Highland was initiated by Ghevond Alishan in Venice. To create a detailed list of known sites, he

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<sup>1</sup> Khorenatsi, Moses. *History of the Armenians*. Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Avetisyan, Pavel, Ruben Badalyan, and Adam T. Smith. "The Archaeology and Geography of Ancient Transcaucasian Societies Volume I, The Foundation of Research and Regional Survey in the Tsaghkahovit Plain, Armenia." *Traditions of Archaeological Research in Armenia*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 2009, pp. 9-20.

corresponded with Vartapedes (teachers) in several Armenian provinces. The result was a series of publications about Oregional studies which stressed the role of a comprehensive study about ancient ruins to understand the historical formation of the Armenian Highland.<sup>3</sup>

A regional branch of the Imperial Archaeological Commission was established in Tbilisi during the 1880.

The position of the Caucasian antiquities within Russian imperial archaeology was formalized in 1881 by organizing the fifth archaeological congress in Tbilisi which stimulated considerable interest within the local intelligentsia in the antiquities of the South Caucasus.

Nikolai Marr's investigation at Ani forms a milestone in the history of archaeological research in the South Caucasus. He was a Georgian trained in philology in the Department of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University. He was interested in Ani mainly because despite other Armenian capitals like Artashat and Dvin, it was the only major historically attested early Armenian capital in Caucasus with certain and attested location. For Marr, as a linguist, Ani has other factors worth of studying. It was a city with cosmopolitan qualities. It was a meeting place of Christian and Islamic worlds. For a period in its history, it was host to a collaborative Georgian and Armenian principality. Nikolai Marr was an ardent advocate of pluralist national formation. Therefore, a site like Ani with vestiges of diverse cultural background could provide him with invaluable raw material for further study of his beliefs.<sup>4</sup>

The first season of excavation at Ani was conducted in 1892. Later, from 1904 to 1917, a more systematic annual program was organized and Toros Toramanian became a main contributor in the excavations. In years between 1904 and 1907, the archaeological site of Ani became an active location for young archaeologists to study the theories of archaeology and numerous scholars were emerged from it which one can call Ani or Marr's school of archaeology.<sup>5</sup> Marr combined excavations of Ani with a regional survey of major monuments on the western and northern slopes of Mount Aragats and later, Toramanian continued this legacy. An effort to understand Ani in

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<sup>3</sup> Some examples of these series are: Alishan, Ghevond M. *Shirag: Dechakroutiun Badgeratsoyts*. Venice : S. Lazar, 1881; Sissouan: *Ou L'Arméno-Cilicie, description géographique et historique avec carte et illustrations, traduit du texte arménien, publié sous les auspices de Son Ex.Noubar pacha*. Venice: S. Lazare, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> See Section III, Systematic Study of Armenian Architectural Heritage.

<sup>5</sup> The Marr School included many young scholars who would become the leading characters of the next generation in the fields ranging from architectural history (Toros Toramanian) to philology (Iosef Orbelli) to archaeology (Ashkharbeck Kalantar) to medieval history (Nikolai Tokarsky).



relation to nearby historic monuments was a significant deviation from the ordinary archaeological method of other contemporaries with focused concentration on a specific location.

In 1915, he forwarded a strong theoretical attack on the aristocratic pretensions of European and Russian humanism.<sup>6</sup> He complained that European humanism presumes a single model of cultural achievement, rendered in the image of great powers and a singular narrative of historical development. One can claim that with respect to singular narrative, Nikolai Marr and Josef Strzygowski had the same perspective. Both tried to contradict the dominant and singular contemporary narrative and introduced controversial theories. In further years, Marr moved away from archaeological research and concentrated on his own approach to historical linguistics.

The last years of the Ani excavations were tumultuous times that deeply impacted the archaeological research in the region. The expansion of World War I in South Caucasus between Russia and the Ottoman Empire brought the immense horrors of the Armenian Genocide and the short-lived emergence of independent republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. With the creation of Armenian Republic and its capital at Yerevan, two new institutions were founded which formed the future activities of the field: Yerevan State University and Yerevan State Museum.

With the advances of the Red Army into the South Caucasus and the formation of the new Transcaucasian Socialist Republics, the Yerevan Museum and State University were reconstituted within the framework of a new Soviet Armenia.<sup>7</sup> A new Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities was founded in Yerevan in 1923 as part of the People's Kommissariat of Education. The following year, the Armenian Institute of Science and Art was inaugurated, which together with the former three institutions, continued to shape the archaeology and architecture preservation research in Armenia to the present.

During the Stalinist attack upon intellectuals, new models of culture history emerged. The theory of the role of economy in driving social and political transformation is one of them which generally fits well within the prevailing Marxist theoretical current that served as analytical dogma within the Stalinist period.

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<sup>6</sup> Marr, Nikolai I. *Kavkazskii kul'turny mir i Armenia*. Yerevan: Gandzasar, 1995, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> For a political history of the time see: Suny, Ronald G. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

During the Stalin period, the site of Garni gain importance. Visible remains of monumental Greco-Roman architecture had been reported at the site since the eighteenth century,<sup>8</sup> but the occupation at Garni spanned a broad horizon from the third millennium B.C. through the first millennium C.E. A skilled team of scholars worked and trained on Arakelyan's project, which was focused primarily on the classical-period Armenian kingdoms and their ties to countervailing cultural currents emanating from the south (Parthis) and the west (Rome). In later years the reconstruction project of Garni took place by the supervision of Sahinian and is considered one of the best examples of the restoration of monuments in Soviet Armenia. The same is true for the site of Erebuni, a major Urartian citadel. A large scale restoration project took place and a museum was created in the location to show the artifacts found during the excavations. The walls of the citadel were restored to certain height and some rooms were reconstructed with frescoes inside to show the grandiose of the Urartian architecture (fig. 1). It is significant to note these great projects were both pre-Christian sites which promote the construction of a national identity highlighting the Urartu and Greco-Roman culture of Armenia rather than the Armenian Church.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Khatchadourian, Lori. "Making Nations from the Ground Up: Traditions of Classical Archaeology in the South Caucasus." *American Journal of Archaeology* (2008): 112/2, pp 247-278.

<sup>9</sup> For more information about the restoration project of these two sites see: Sahinyan, Aleksander Arami. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983; and Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978.



Figure 1: One of the reconstructed chambers in Erebuni, Yerevan during the restoration project by K. Hovhannesian and architect L. Barseghian.

### **The Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Monuments in Soviet Armenia 1920 – 1930**

Numerous churches, monasteries, fortresses, palaces, bridges, ancient settlements, burial grounds, khachkars, etc. have been preserved in the first decade of Soviet Armenia. Ancient Armenia has long attracted attention but the first steps towards preserving its history and culture in a modern and scholarly way were only taken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through the efforts of antiquaries and lovers of the past some small repair work was done, but most monuments were left without proper care and protection, with the result that many of them deteriorated catastrophically. In Tsarist Russia, there was no state legislation about the preservation of ancient monuments and such efforts as were made by archaeologists, antiquaries and the like were insufficient to protect the past from destruction.

Until the establishment of Soviet power, the Etchmiadzin monastery/museum was the only major center in Armenia collecting relics of the past, and these were chiefly of a religious nature (manuscripts, church vestments and accoutrement, jewelry and a few purely archaeological objects). During the early years of Soviet power in Armenia, very difficult conditions prevailed. The main task facing the people was the restoration of the economy after the destruction of the Civil War. But it was during this time that the government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia (SSRA.), following the example of the RSFSR government, began to take active steps to preserve its cultural heritage. Immense work was undertaken in the building of museums and the preservation of objects of cultural and historical value. Some of the first steps in this direction taken by the Soviet government were the separation of the church and the state and the nationalization of cultural institutions, which had been under control of the Church. On December 19, 1920, the Revolutionary Committee of the SSRA adopted a decree which stated that the "cultural and educational institutions (schools, archaeological and ethnographic museums, book depositories and printing houses) belonging to the church together with all their movable and immovable belongings are declared state property and are to pass into the control of the People's Commissariat of Education."<sup>10</sup>

In the twenties, new scientific and state institutions were set up, which became centers for the study of history and culture. On February 5, 1921, a decree of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia established a historical and cultural institute at Etchmiadzin. In August 1921, on the initiative of the People's Commissariat of Education a small picture gallery was set up, which in the same year was to form the basis of the state Museum of Armenia, whose first director was the painter, M. Saryan. By the end of 1921 the State Museum had four departments: archaeological, historical-bibliographical, ethnographical, and fine arts.

During the first years of its existence the Museum was primarily concerned with accumulating exhibits. The museum staff began to collect items of historical and cultural value, purchasing them from state and social organizations as well as from private individuals. Soon the number of exhibits was such that the rooms allocated to it in the building of the People's Commissariat for Education became too small. The Museum was therefore given three new rooms in the House of Culture

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<sup>10</sup> Document No. 312 from the collection, entitled "*The Great October Socialist Revolution and the Victory of Soviet Power in Armenia*", Yerevan: 1957, p. 455.

which was then being built (this building is now the State Museum of Armenian History). By 1925 the State Museum had enough space to be able to organize its first exhibition, which was dedicated to the fifth anniversary of Soviet Armenia. The State Museum received the exhibits from the museum at Ani, which had been saved from the Turks and preserved until that time in the monastery at Sanahin (the Ani museum itself together with all the material that was left in it, was destroyed by the Turks when they seized the town). In 1929 the State Museum also received antiquities from the Etchmiadzin Museum.

During the first years of Soviet power museums were organized in various regions of Armenia: Dvin, Talin, Hripsime, Zvartnots, Nor-Bayazet, Oshakan, Sanahin, Tsakhkadzor, Noraduz and others. In January 1923, the Monastery Museum of Etchmiadzin was nationalized and put under the control of the People's Commissariat for Education.

At the same time, the State Museum of Armenia began to be increased with exhibits from museums in Russia and the other Soviet Republics. The government of Soviet Russia considered it necessary to preserve and return to the repressed peoples of the Russian empire those objects of historical and cultural value which had been removed at various times and under various circumstances. On October 1, 1921, a decree of the All Russian Central Executive Committee renamed the former Lazarevsky Institute in Moscow the "Soviet Armenian House of Culture" and all its exhibits came under the control of the SSRA.<sup>11</sup> Soon manuscripts, paintings, coins etc. that had belonged to the Lazarevsky Institute were sent to Yerevan.

In the early twenties collections of paintings from the Etchmiadzin Museum which had been evacuated to Moscow during the First World War were returned to Armenia. At the same time, the property and library of the Armenian ethnographic society were brought back to Yerevan from Tbilisi as were items from the Armenian museum of Nor-Nakhichevan near Rostov and from the Armenian Church at Rostov-On-Don.

In later years the State Museum received in addition to those exhibits which related to Armenian history and culture a number of other valuable items from the museums of Moscow and Leningrad. This demonstrates the new nationalities policy of the young Soviet state and the new relationship between peoples of the former Russian empire, which were now to be based on respect for the history and culture of all peoples.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 635.

In late 1924, Moscow sent a gift of 27 paintings including the works of Aivazovsky, Makovsky and Polenov, several rare works of old Armenian masters, 10 ancient icons and other ancient implements. Three paintings by G. Bashindjaghian and one large canvass from V. Surenyants were received from Tbilisi. In 1928 the Hermitage presented the State Museum of Armenia with 30 paintings by Russian and European artists.

During the first years of Soviet power monuments of art and culture began to be considered as the national heritage of the people. Care for objects of historical and cultural value was considered a matter of state importance. On December 18, 1923, the Council of Peoples Commissars of Armenia issued a decree which stated that: "All monuments of art and antiquity situated within the territory of the republic, whether preserved in their entirety, partially destroyed or completely destroyed, or whether found singly or in groups, are, together with all their surrounding land - this to include ancient settlements, sites, fortresses, monasteries, whether visible on the surface or scattered over the earth and whether preserved in their original location or transferred to some other place - to be considered state property and to be preserved and protected by the state".<sup>12</sup> This was the first government decree, which showed that the preservation of the cultural heritage of Soviet Armenia as that of the RSFSR had become the province of the state. The foundations had been laid for the state legislation on the preservation of monuments of historical, cultural, and artistic value.

In February 1924, the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR provided the Commissariats of Education in the Union and Autonomous Republics, including the Peoples Commissariat for Education of the SSRA with special funds for guaranteeing state preservation of objects of cultural value in museums and monuments of antiquity etc. These funds were to be provided: a) from entrance fees, publications, and the sale of the rights to publication and b) from exploitation of the land and buildings, not of cultural or historic interest themselves, but connected with the museums, palaces, parks, reserves, etc.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1921, a Committee was founded for the preservation of ancient monuments and objects of cultural value in Armenia. In 1922 this Committee ceases its activity, but in 1923 it was reconstituted as a state scientific and administrative body controlling monument protection

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<sup>12</sup> Arkhiv Gosstroj of the Armenian SSR, No. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Article 321, Collection of Statutes and Laws of the Workers and Peasants' Government of the RSFSR, 1924, No. 34, p. 443.

throughout the republic. Its first president was A. Tamanyan. The chief work of this Committee during the 20s was determining, registering, and mapping monuments, establishing their level of preservation, carrying out necessary restoration work and organizing the protection of the monument.

This Committee for the Protection of Armenian Antiquates relied on the help of the Soviets and the local population. In many regions of the republic successful work was carried out by members of the Committee who were local workers in the fields of culture and education together with Soviet and party functionaries, who acquainted the population with the government's decree of December 18, 1923, and constantly explained the necessity to preserve objects of historical and cultural value which had now become the heritage of the whole people. This work immediately began to produce tangible results. Peasants, building workers and even school children began to bring in objects of antiquity that had been found accidentally and which often turned out to be articles of real value to the museum. The Committee for the Protection of Armenian Antiquities began to receive from all over the republic the results of accidental finds during building and earth work. People began to be interested in the history of their country and year by year the number of visitors to the museums of history, art and local culture increased.

Special expeditions were sent out by the Committee to register the ancient monuments found in the various regions of the republic. The first of these, organized in 1925 registered the historical monuments at Lori. All monuments in the regions of Alaverdi, Stepanavan and Kirovakan were photographed and measured. All lapidary inscriptions were collected, and prints were made of them. From 1926 to 1928 similar expeditions visited many spots in the Sevan region. Excavations were carried out on Urartian monuments (inscriptions from Rusa I and Argishti, from which prints were made, and the fortresses at Bglu and Zagalu, etc.) cromlechs, dolmens, menhirs, vishaps together with 18th and 19th century monuments. In 1930 the region of Leninakan was also investigated.

Together with the registration and study of antiquity, the expeditions were set the task of arranging the permanent protection of the monuments. According to A. Kalantar, secretary to the Committee for the Preservation of Armenian Antiquities, most monuments viewed in the Sevan region were in good condition. An unfortunate exception was at Noraduz, where in 1928 the local authorities had built a bridge across the river Kyavar out of khachkars and the stones from shrines which had

been pulled down for that purpose. The expedition had to take urgent steps to restore the damage done to these ancient monuments.<sup>14</sup>

During the twenties, the first steps were taken to preserve monuments of historical and archaeological value found near the sites of building projects. Archaeological excavations were begun, simultaneously with building, on sites that came under threat of destruction. The Committee organized excavations on the site of the Shirak canal, the Yerevan and Karaklis hydroelectric power station and the Ararat combine.

All archaeological excavations in the republic could be undertaken only by specialists and with the permission of the Committee. There were strict penalties against independent excavations including imprisonment. Thus in 1927 the People's Court of Vagharshapat sentenced Archimandrite Khachik Dadyan to two years' imprisonment for treasure hunting. Being prior of the monastery at Hripsime, Archimandrite Khachik undertook independent investigation in the grounds of the monastery without the permission of the Committee. Furthermore, he carried out no scientific documentation. Considering the old age of the accused, the Court commuted his sentence to six months' imprisonment.<sup>15</sup>

During the first decade of Soviet power work was begun on the restoration of Armenian architectural monuments. With this aim in view the Committee examined more than 300 monuments. It turned out that almost all the monuments needed some sort of work done on them, but 32 were in an advanced state of deterioration and were threatened with total destruction. But at that time the Committee had few resources at its disposal for this kind of work. Nevertheless, in these difficult conditions partial restoration was begun on the churches of Hripsime and Zvartnots and at Talin, Hakhpat Tsakhkadzor and other places. Two monuments were restored completely: the 5th century basilica at Yereruik and the Sanahin Bridge, an outstanding feat of engineering construction from the early 13th century.

In the late twenties, the Committee began work on saving the frescoes from the church of Poghos and Petros in Yerevan, part of which dates to 1131 C.E. Armenian artists together with G. O. Chirikov, one of the best restoration workers in the country worked for a month and a half, but

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<sup>14</sup> Newspaper "Zarya Vostoka" 11<sup>th</sup> October 1928, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 30<sup>th</sup> March 1927, p. 2.



taking the frescoes down from the walls was a difficult job, for they crumbled badly. It was therefore necessary to carry out work on them in situ.

Overall, the decade from 1920 to 1930 saw much work accomplished in the field of monument preservation. A tremendous amount of work was done on museum building, a considerable part of the antiquities was systematized and the collection of works of art took on a more scientific and purposeful character. But most important of all was that during this period the foundations were laid for Soviet legislation on the preservation of monuments of historical, cultural, and artistic value.

### **The Society for Protection of historical and Cultural Monuments**

Armenia and Georgia were the first republics to found the society for protection of historical and cultural monuments in 1959, six years earlier than Moscow. People showed enthusiasm in becoming member of these societies. The number of members with respect to the population of the republics were significantly high in Armenia and Georgia. This is due to the bound which these people had with their national pride. They linked the membership in this society with the patriotism. These societies had more than 26 million members in all Soviet Union level in 1970. The following table depicts the number of members in Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia and Armenia (fig. 2). The following chart demonstrate the percentage of the members compared with the total population of each republic (fig. 3). The highest percentage belongs to Belorussia with 33.3% and the second highest belong to Armenia with 31.7%.

	Number of Members	Population in 1970	Percentage
Russia	9,000,000	130,000,000	6.9%
Ukraine	6,000,000	47,000,000	12.7%
Belorussia	3,000,000	9,000,000	33.3%
Georgia	800,000	4,700,000	17%
Armenia	800,000	2,518,000	31.7%

Figure 2: Number of the members of the Society for Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in various republics in 1970.

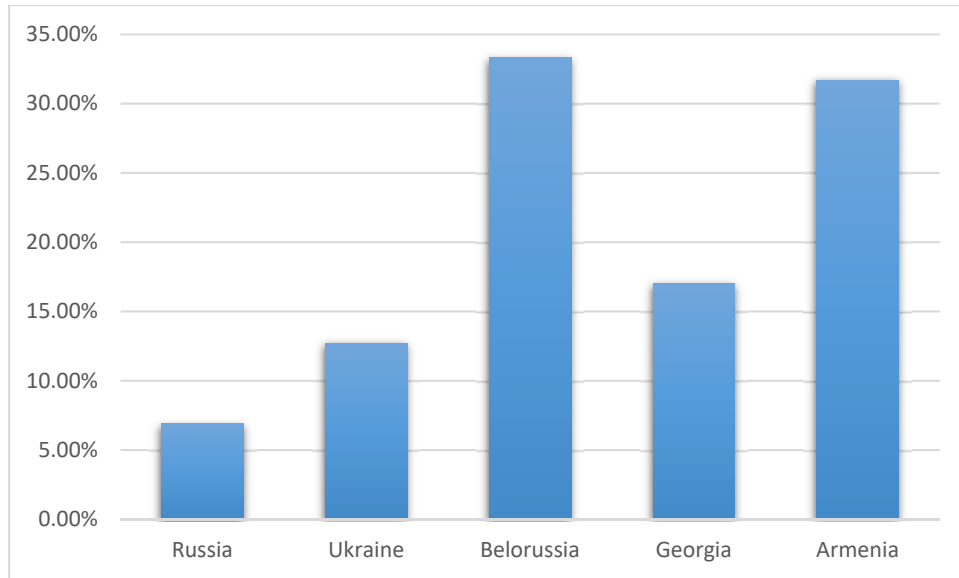


Figure 3: The percentage of members of the Society for Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments to the total population in various republics in 1970.

### **Attention to Folk Architecture in Soviet Armenia**

During the Soviet period, as an alternative to the religious and secular monumental architecture, the attention shifted to the architecture of people, which created an opportunity for a number of scholars to study and review the patrimony of civic architecture and its development in Armenia. This includes in major parts houses, bridges, fountains, baths, caravanserais and etc. (figs. 4-6). Among the major scholars who actively participated in this research, were in particular, Vardanian, Khalpakhchian, and Papukhian.

Surprisingly, the oppressive communist system which was actually predominant in helping to preserve the cultural values of various regions all around the Soviet Republics, were, at the time, not internationally acknowledged. Thus, there is a large body of documentation and studies that forever will remain in the patrimony of civic architecture.

Before the systematic study of the Soviet period, the European travelers were among the first to capture and record glimpses of Armenian folk architecture and life of ordinary people. Dubois and Texier wrote about their experience of staying several nights in Armenian village houses and even sleeping in stables with animals. They wrote about Armenian village houses and churches in their travelogues.<sup>16</sup> In a separate booklet printed in Vienna in 1892, Parsdan Ter-Movsisiants has

<sup>16</sup> See Section I, Village houses.

described the architecture of a number of village houses in Meghri and Gandzak region, together with their affiliated furniture and items.<sup>17</sup> The booklet was translated into Armenian in 1894 in Vienna. Yervand Lalayan has studied the folk architecture and furniture of the regions of Sisian, Gandzak, and Borchaloo which are printed between 1898 and 1901 in *Ethnographic Journal* in Tbilisi.<sup>18</sup> A more systematic study of folk dwellings is conducted by Professor Stepan Listsian.<sup>19</sup> This study is dedicated to Upper Armenia (Present day Turkey, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Erzincan), Karabakh, and Meghri which includes sketches, plans, sections, and details. Professor R. Aghababaian has studied the textual evidences of the past in order to clarify the construction types and techniques of the wooden domes of Georgian village dwellings.<sup>20</sup> Professor Aghababaian has studied the influence of folk architecture on the dome construction of monumental building. This study is considered a valuable source for the dome construction techniques of Armenian and Georgian churches.

In another study, the author, Professor M. Ilina has tried to systematically study the various types of wooden dome shaped coverings of village dwellings in various regions of Caucasus. He concludes that the wooden dome covering of village houses is not limited to Caucasus region and has independently been developed in other countries.<sup>21</sup> In his book, other than religious monuments, N. M. Tokarski has dedicated a special section to civic architecture types.<sup>22</sup> The architects V. M. Haroutunian and S. A. Safarian have addressed in a separate section, the 18th and 19th centuries dwellings. This section is not elaborated and only gives a hint about the Armenian folk architecture.<sup>23</sup> Stepan Mnatsakanian has addressed the question of how folk architecture has influenced the church construction in different periods.<sup>24</sup>

The study of folk architecture continued in following years of Soviet period. According to Soghomon Vardanian, the architectural theorists in western countries limited their studies to the monumental, religious and secular buildings and did not address the architectural evolution of ordinary people's dwellings. He stressed on the necessity of systematic study of Armenian folk

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<sup>17</sup> Ter-Mowsesjanz, Parsadan. *Das Armenische Baueruhaus*, Vienna, 1892.

<sup>18</sup> Lalayan, Yervand. "Sisian", *Ethnographic Journal*, Tbilisi, No. 1, 1898; "Gandzak District", *Ethnographic Journal*, No. 1, 1899; "Borchaloo District", *Ethnographic Journal*, No. 7-8, 1901.

<sup>19</sup> Listsian, Stepan. *To the study of Armenian Christian Dwellings* (In Russian), Tbilisi, 1925.

<sup>20</sup> Aghababaian, R. *Architecture of the Georgian National Dwelling* (In Russian), Tbilisi, 1945.

<sup>21</sup> Ilina, M. *The Ancient Types of Dwellings of Transcaucasia* (in Russian), Moscow, 1946.

<sup>22</sup> Tokarski, N. M. *Architecture of Ancient Armenia* (in Russian), Yerevan, 1946.

<sup>23</sup> Haroutunian, V. M. and S. A. Safarian. *The Monument of Armenian Architecture* (in Russian), Moscow, 1951.

<sup>24</sup> Mnatsakanian, Stepan. *Architecture of the Armenian Vestibule* (in Russian), Yerevan, 1952.

dwellings before their complete extinction as early as 1930s.<sup>25</sup> After twenty years of studying and surveying the various types of village dwellings he published the results in *The Architecture of Armenian Folk Dwellings* which was printed in Yerevan in 1959.<sup>26</sup> The book contains 131 pages and is divided into nine chapters. The author starts with cave dwellings of various regions of Armenia and their evolution from caves into the primitive single space dwellings which animals and humans lived together under a single covering, further division of animals and humans by differentiating the floor height, and eventually, development of complex floor plans. There are drawings and surveys of actual buildings and many details and construction techniques. In separate sections, the author has studied the typologies of entrances, verandas, column decorations, balconies in two story houses, and roof constructions.

In 1971, Khalpakhchian published the *Civil Architecture of Armenia, Residential and Public Buildings* in Russian.<sup>27</sup> In this 247-pages book, divided into seven chapters, Khalpakhchian started with villages and monasteries. He described the differences of villages constructed on mountains, hills, and plains with discussing the village plans and the relationship between the buildings, the street texture, and construction materials. In this section, he discussed the distribution of various buildings, their relations, and the division of religious and secular constructions inside the walls of the monasteries. In chapter two, he dedicated sixty pages to village houses, starting from cave dwellings to the most complex plans. He did not limit this chapter to village houses only and continued by studying the most complex floor plans of defensive architecture (Amberd) and monumental secular palaces (Ani citadel palace), as a type of residential architecture. The following five chapters are dedicated to schools and libraries, refectories, caravanserais, baths, and fountains. In each chapter, he started with the oldest possible example and continued to the most recent ones. There are surveys, drawings, architectural details, and photographs to clarify the text. There are examples of regional studies with a more profound attention to the various typologies of spatial distribution, coverings, roof constructions, decorations, etc. An example of this type is *The Folk Architecture of Syunik* by N. Ppukhian.<sup>28</sup> In this publication, the author has dedicated 164 pages to the study of folk architecture of Syunik and has profoundly described the climate, terrain, construction techniques, and conducted study of various column shapes, decoration of wooden

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<sup>25</sup> Vardanyan, Soghomon. *Architecture of Armenian Folk Residential Houses* (in Armenian). Yerevan, 1959, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Khalpakhchian, O. *Civil Architecture of Armenia, Residential and Public Buildings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1971.

<sup>28</sup> Papukhian, N. *The Folk Architecture of Syunik* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1972.

balconies, doors, windows, etc. In another monograph published in 1985, S. Matevossian studied the people's architecture of Gyumri.<sup>29</sup> In recent years, a monograph is published regarding the old Yerevan's folk architecture.<sup>30</sup>

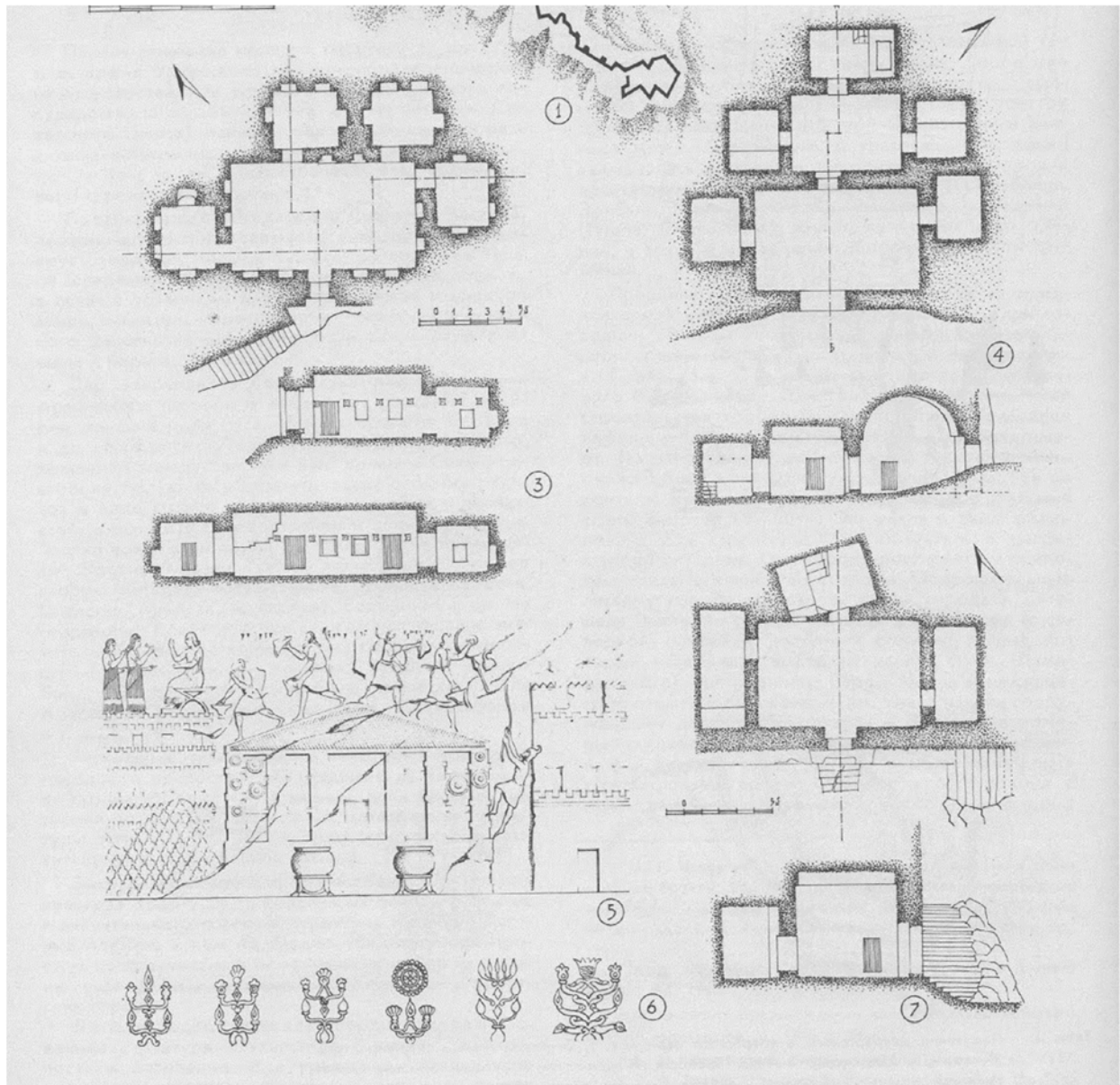


Figure 4: Cave dwellings, plans, sections and architectural decorations. Image from Harutyunyan, Varazdat. *Stone Memory of the Armenian Nation*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Matevossian, S. *The Folk Architecture of Gyumri* (in Armenian). Yerevan, 1985.

<sup>30</sup> Melkumian, R. *The Architecture of People's Homes of Old Yerevan*. Yerevan, 2007.

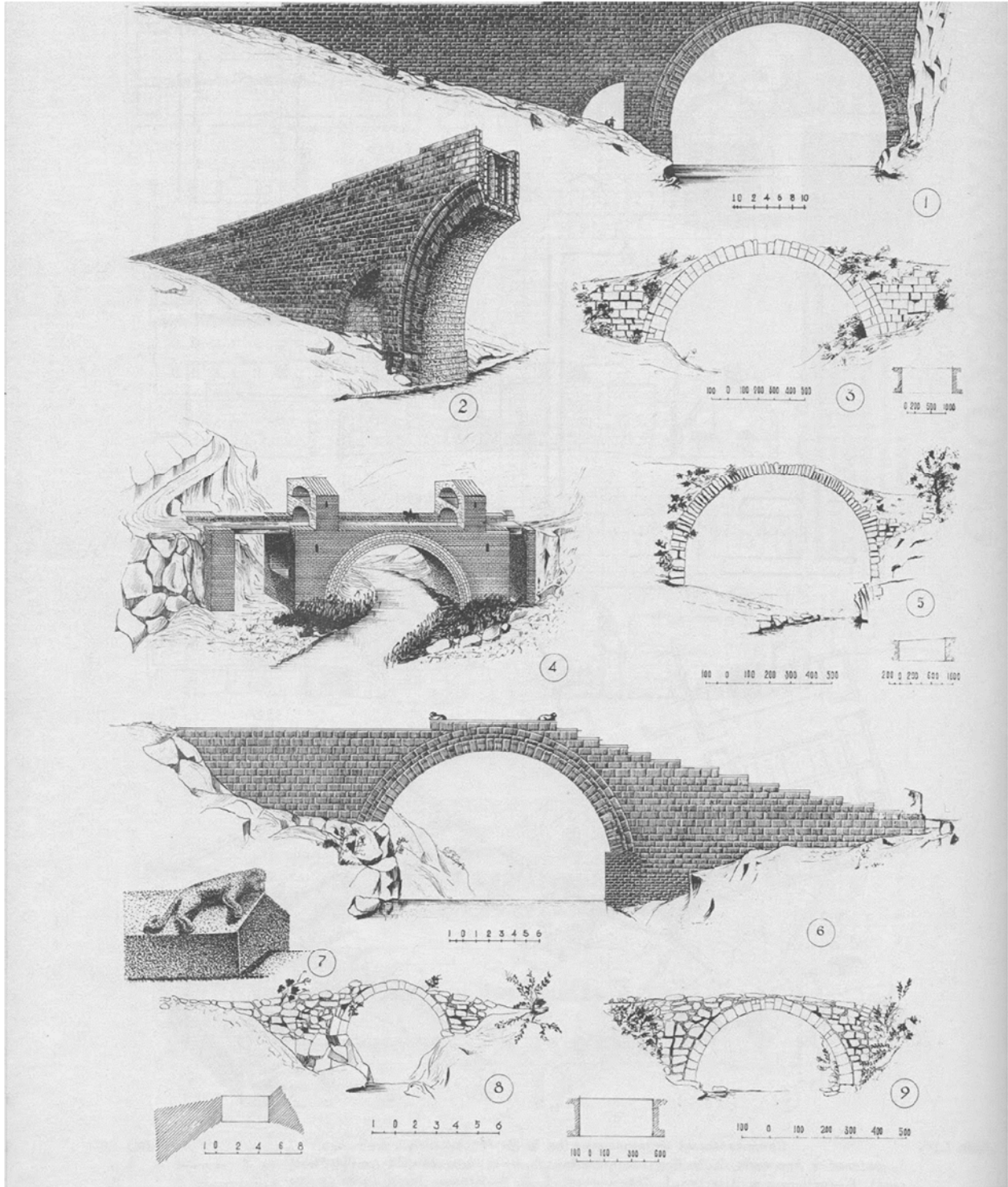


Figure 5: Medieval bridge construction. Image from Harutyunyan, Varazdat. *Stone Memory of the Armenian Nation*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 100.

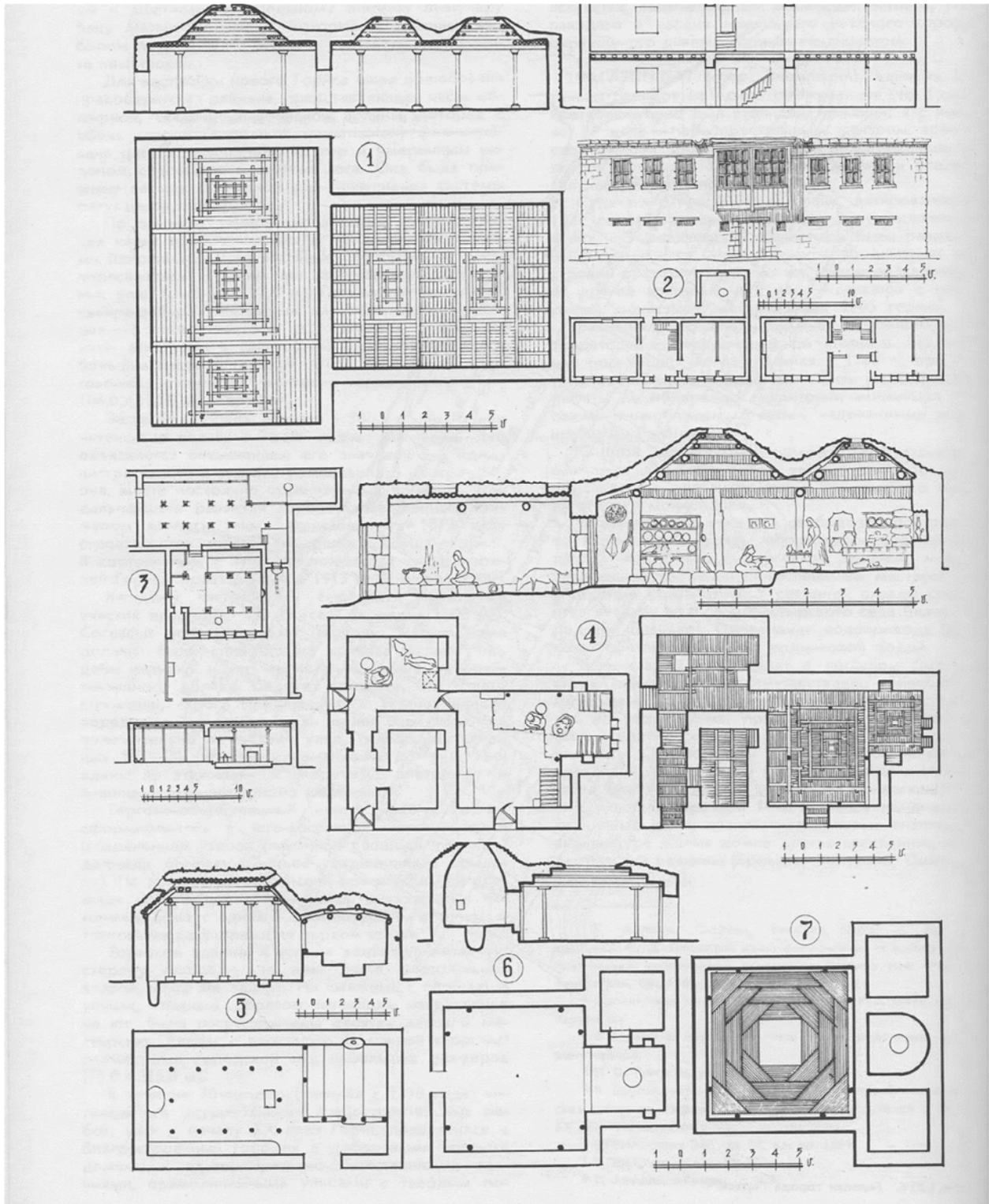


Figure 6: Village homes, attention to roof construction is visible. Image from Harutyunyan, Varazdat. *Stone Memory of the Armenian Nation*, Yerevan, 1985, p. 100.

## **Architectural Restoration Theories and Techniques in Soviet Armenia**

By the time of its independence from USSR in 1991, a well-organized administrative system was formed in Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic which was responsible for safeguarding the built heritage of the country. A large amount of funds and budgets were allocated to the preservation of historical monuments. There was an integrated and intricate educational system comprise of universities and workshops. Historians, architects, and preservationists were educated at the universities while the stonemasons, carpenters, and all the necessary workforce were being trained in specific workshops. The result of this contribution was numerous preservation projects realized according to standards of the soviet preservation philosophy.

There was a list of historical monuments protected by legislation. Due to lack of private property, and land speculations, generous protective zones were allocated to the historical monuments. The above mentioned systems were working in accordance with each other. All projects were under direct control of the central administrative body. No building project could be implemented in a protective zone or no monument could be deleted from the list of the protected historical monuments for further demolition or alteration.

Within the framework of the knowledge of the time, they were acting always within a reasonable parameter, specially being somehow isolated from the mainstream development of architectural preservation in European countries.

According to the tourism attraction policies already thought at the universities, potential sites were being chosen and interventions like creating the necessary infrastructure for tourism and preservation projects for the architectural monuments were realized.

Regarding the preservation policies, there was a grey area between preservation, reconstruction, and restoration. While the process of the evolution of the preservation of historic monuments in Europe is well defined and expands in other areas including to be more cautious about any intervention on a historical building, in the Soviet Republics, it was not well defined. Therefore, various republics in fact were implementing the philosophy of the preservation in slightly different manners. In Armenia, there was a general tendency of providing a more complete image of the preserved building even in the cost of a false, not authentic construction.

In accordance with Soviet ideologies, there was a prevalent interest in pre-Christian archaeological heritage. The reconstruction of Garni, a pagan temple and the preservation project of Erebuni, the Urartu citadel, with great propaganda are a testimony to it. Attention to civic, military and common



architecture and the twentieth century built heritage were significant. However, despite of the existence of a strong ideological contradictory between the Armenian State and the Armenian Church, the preservation of religious monuments has always been considered in Armenia. A nation without civic leaders for centuries, was forced into a system where church lost its authority. This results automatically in more decision making by state officials than church officials. Although the church had less authority, but the Armenian churches were a reflection of national identity. The civic leadership of Armenia takes it upon itself to restore the heritage of Armenian people which clearly must include the immense richness of ecclesiastic architecture, which is an integral part of the Armenian national identity. The local governments in fact solicit implement funds for the preservation of religious monuments and implement the entire project within the guidelines of the Soviet preservation philosophy.

I would like to emphasize that during the Soviet period, the process of historical preservation may not have been at the most current level of knowledge, expertise, and details as compared to European countries, but it provided a general framework that was quite sensitive to the integrity of the monument itself.

After the independence, Armenia had a unique one-time chance to upgrade the above mentioned policies according to universally accepted guidelines and became the paradigm for the other republics in implementing good policies to preserve its built heritage. But unfortunately, a large number of the implemented legislation and architectural preservation were actually lost or ignored during the post-Soviet era because of the perceived democracy, financial pressure, and land speculation.

As it pertains to the use of concrete and metal mesh frames for the reconstruction of the monuments, it must be pointed out that the technology and the level of knowledge of the time was perceived to be beneficial to the actual preservation process, and it is only at later times that the preservation community based upon real experiences, reconsiders the use of reinforced concrete in the structural strengthening of historical buildings. They were acting in good faith based upon the technical knowledge they had access to at the time. Many of the admirable preservation projects were hampered by using the concrete itself.<sup>31</sup> This is however due to a dual aspect. In the first place, the different interaction of concrete as a material with the existing older building materials

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<sup>31</sup> The preservation project of Erebuni is worth mentioning. The use of concrete in between the adobe blocks caused a future rapid deterioration of the structure leaving concrete joints exposed.

was not known or well-studied at the time. Secondly, it was an intellectual point of view that assumed new technology will be superior to the traditional building systems or construction techniques. Following are two examples demonstrating this phenomenon in Etchmiadzin restoration project in 1956 and Yeghvard Church in 1969. In the preservation project of Etchmiadzin, the pilasters carrying the drum were strengthened by steel reinforced concrete. A concrete continuous foundation was built under the pilasters and further, the pilasters and the arches were completely covered.<sup>32</sup> The two freestanding pilasters of the belfry were also strengthened by steel reinforced concrete (fig. 7-9). In another preservation project, the rotunda of the XIV century Yeghvard Church in Ashtarak region was strengthened using abundant steel reinforced concrete (figs. 10-11).<sup>33</sup>

It is worth mentioning that during the restoration project of Aruch (see appendix two), the whole vaults were covered by 20 cm steel reinforced concrete diaphragm which totally altered the structural behavior of the building. In another example, the preservation project of Talin Cathedral, the remains of steel bars are still protruding from the concrete walls and the concrete diaphragm is visible above the main arch supporting the drum (see appendix two).

While discovered by the same people at the time, in 1980s, and despite a series of negative experiences, there is still an ongoing tendency of using mediocre construction techniques including the use of cement, in the preservation efforts of recent years.

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<sup>32</sup> Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 94-100.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-14.

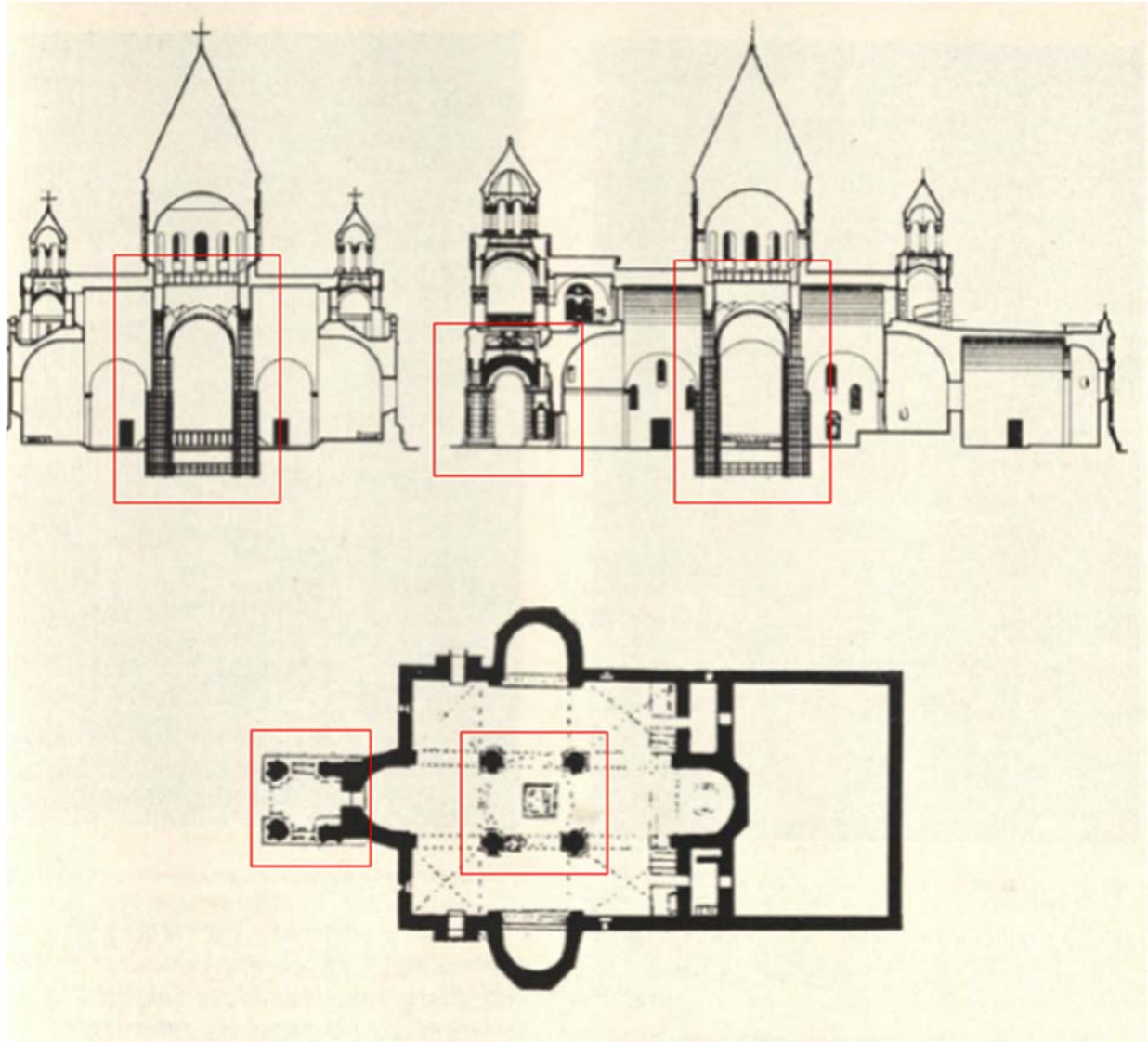


Figure 7: Etchmiadzin cathedral sections and plan demonstrating the pilasters and arches strengthened by reinforced steel concrete during the preservation project of 1956. Image from Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 93.

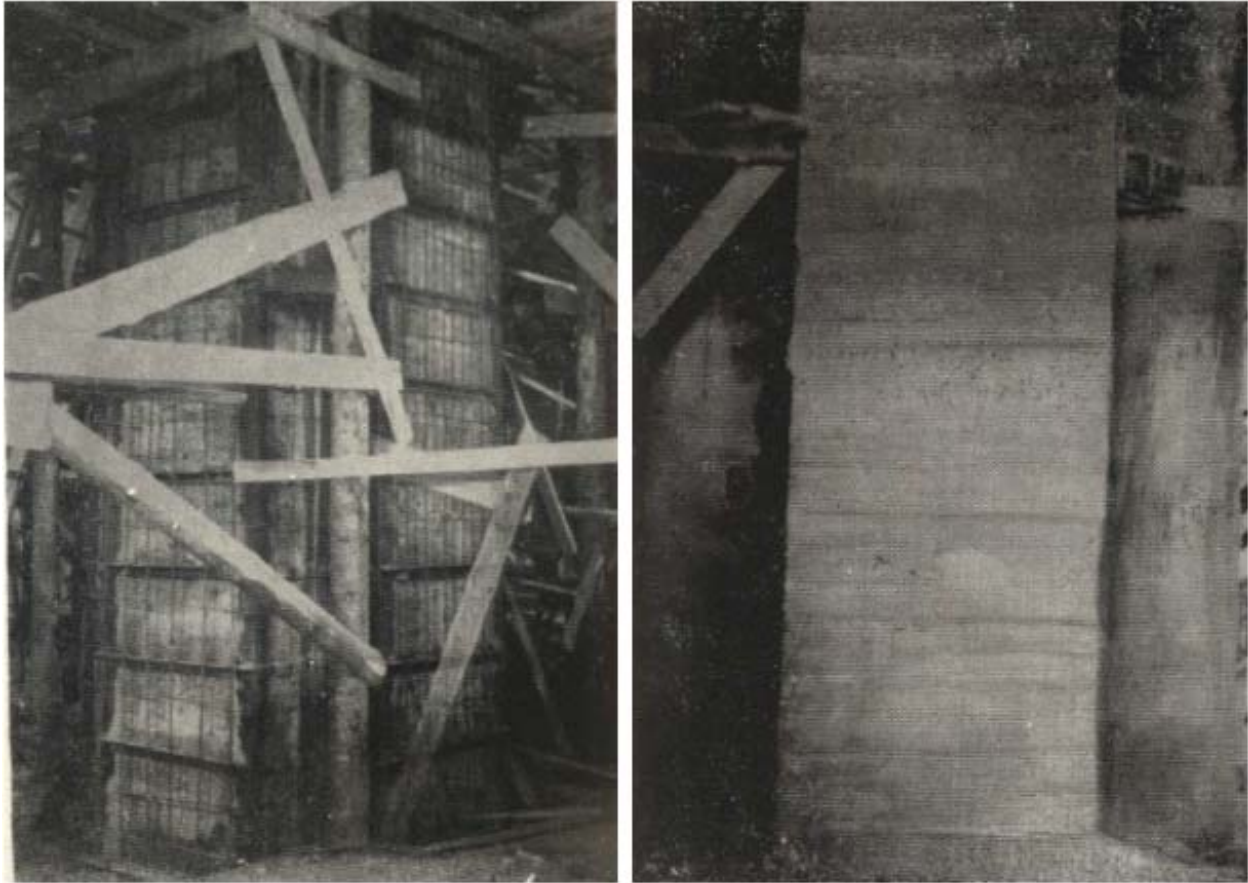


Figure 8: Left: One of the columns in Etchmiadzin covered by steel mesh before casting and pouring of concrete. Right: The same column after pouring concrete and removing the wooden cast. Image from Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 94.



Figure 9: Strengthening of the main arches under the dome by steel reinforced concrete. . Image from Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 95.

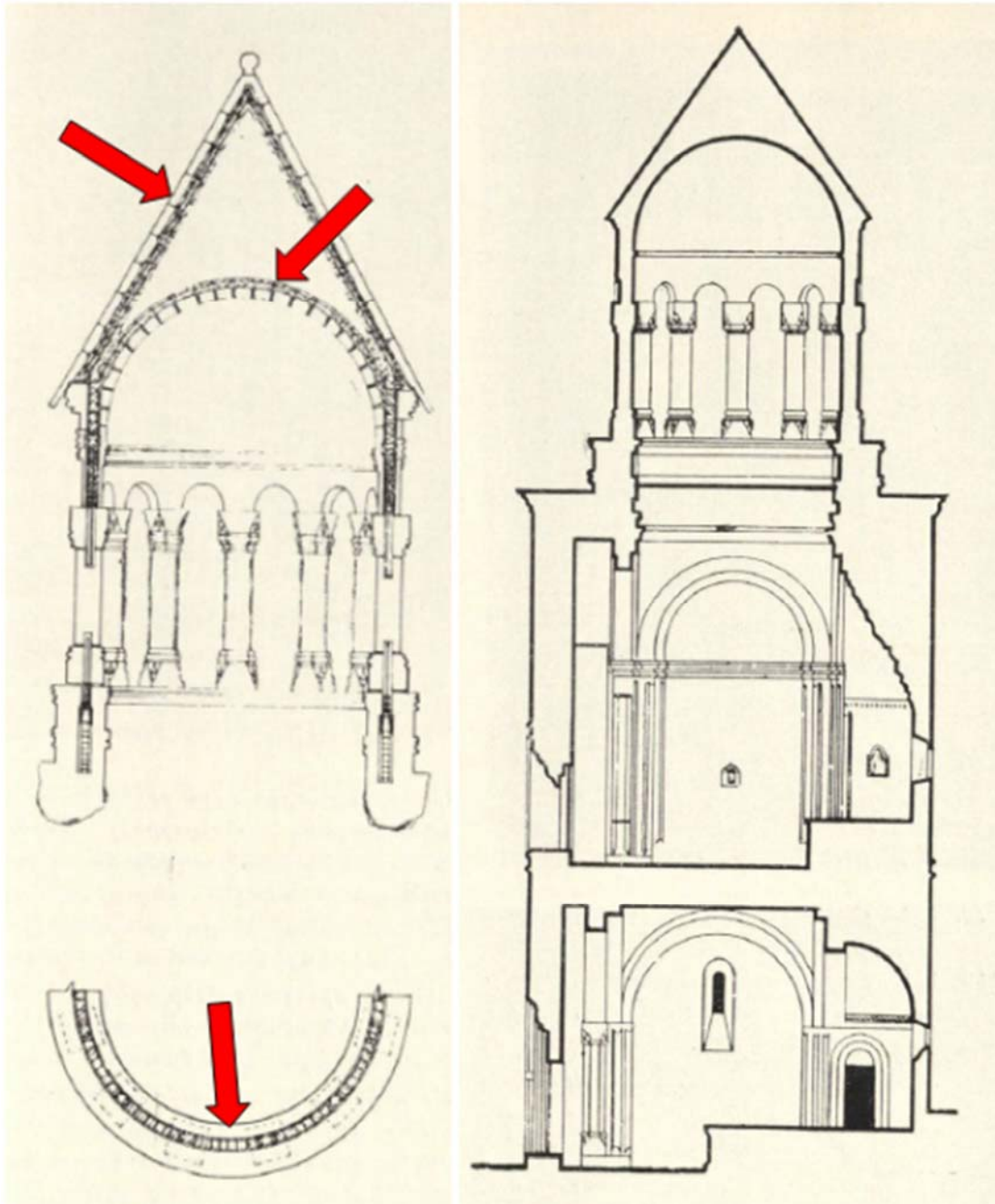


Figure 10: Yeghvard Church restoration project in 1969-1971. The dome, roof and the rotunda columns are consolidated using steel reinforced concrete. . Image from Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, p. 111.

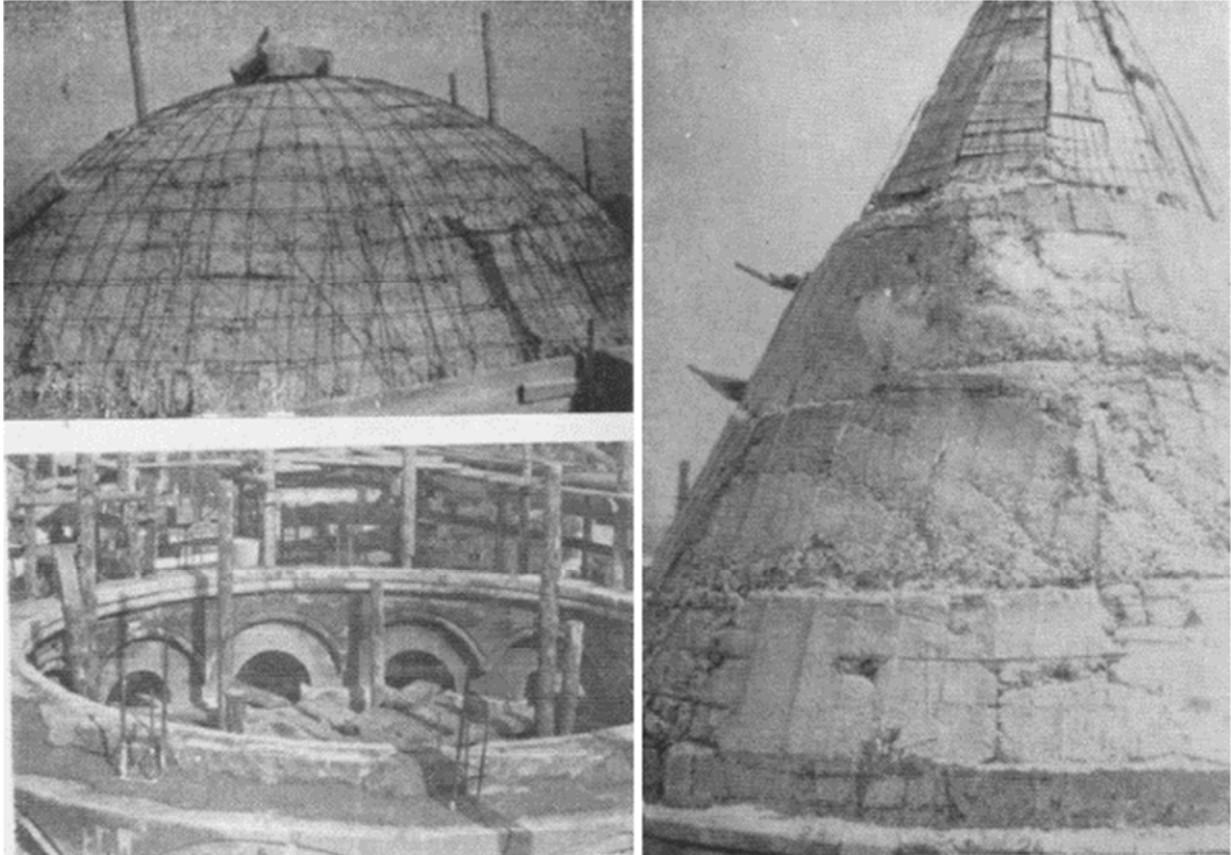


Figure 11: Yeghvard Church restoration project in 1969-1971. The dome, roof and the rotunda columns are consolidated using steel reinforced concrete. Image from Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978, pp. 112-13.

## Case Studies

### Garni Temple from Picturesque to Scientific Representation

The temple of Garni is an ionic temple located in the village of Garni. It is the best known structure of pre-Christian period in Armenia. The exact date of its construction is unknown but scholars agree that it probably was built by king Tirdates I in the first century CE as a temple to the sun god “Mihr”. In this section I am going to compare the architectural drawings created in different period starting from Frederic Dubois de Montperreux in 1834 and ending with Aleksander Sahinian’s reconstruction drawings and analyses in 1968.<sup>34</sup>

The Garni temple has always drawn the attention of native and foreign scholars and travelers. Robert Ker Porter visited the structure in 1820 on his way back to Europe. The valley of Garni impressed him a lot. After long descriptions of the unique characteristics of the valley and the shape of the cliffs, he mentioned the ruin of Garni being “on one of the huge overhanging rocks, once stood the castellated palace of Tiridates, or, as the natives call it, the Tackt-i-Tiridate: its remains appearing in real decay, amongst the vast assemblage of rocky masses, so formed as to be mistaken for ruins.”<sup>35</sup> He provided us with a picturesque drawing of the valley with the ruins of Garni temple visible from a distance located on the left of the illustration (fig. 12). In another drawing, he depicted the architectural fragments of the temple (fig. 13).

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<sup>34</sup> For more information about the Garni Temple reconstruction project see: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983.

<sup>35</sup> Ker Porter, vol. 2, p. 624.

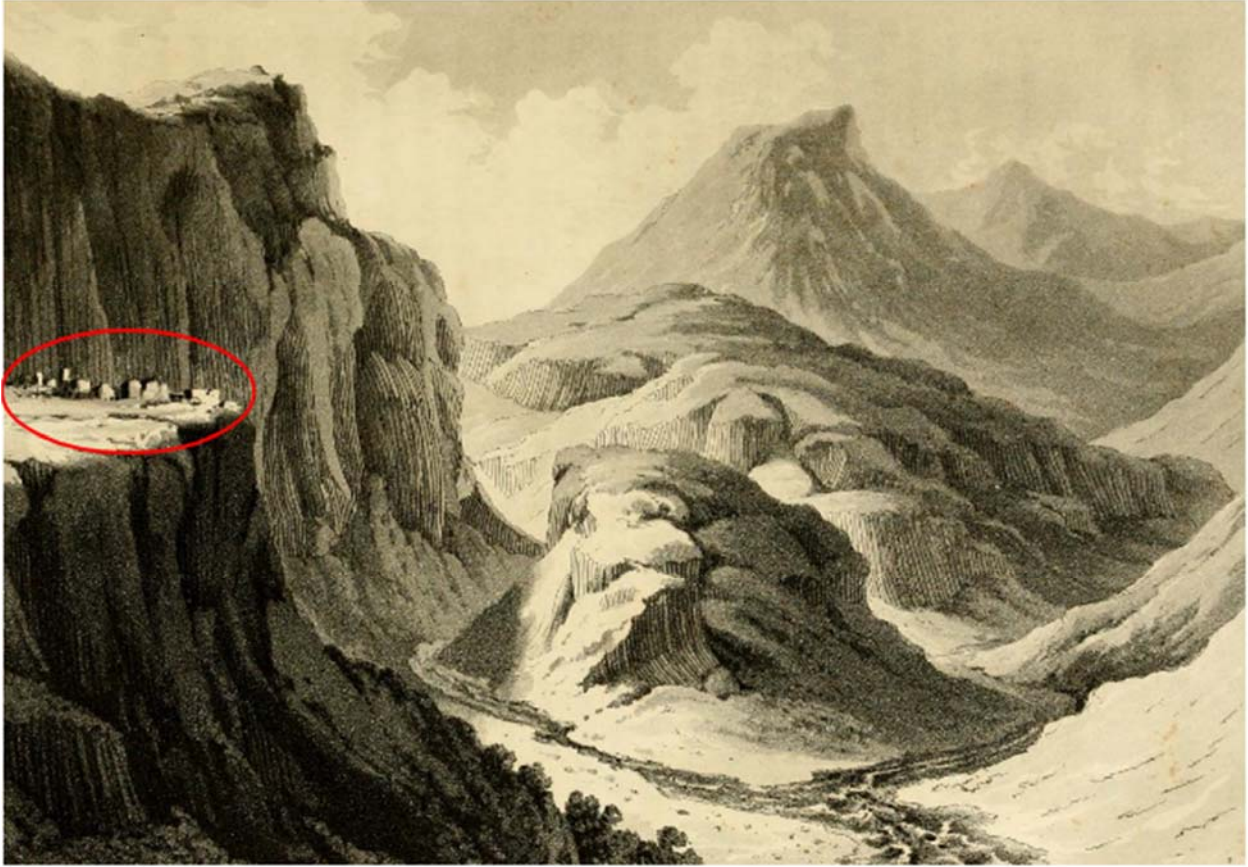


Figure 12: A typical example of a “picturesque” representation of Garni valley with the temple ruins on left and the unique shape of the cliffs drawn by parallel vertical lines. Drawing by Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia... During the Years 1817... 1820*. Vol. II, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1822, opposite page 624.

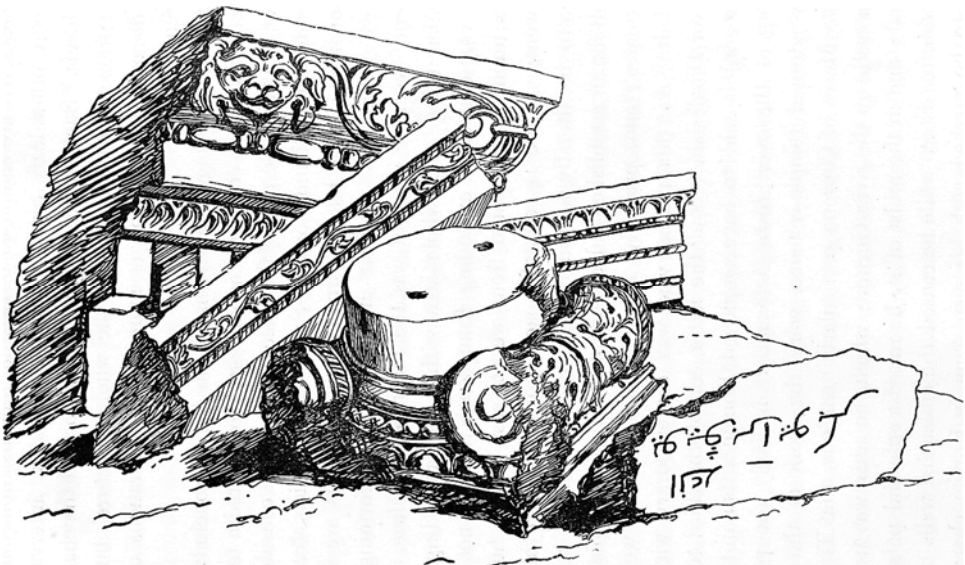


Figure 13: Architectural fragments of Garni temple. Drawing by Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia,*



Frederic Dubois de Montpéroux who visited the ruins in March 1834, described it as “a confused cluster of waist stones, sections of columns that are crushed between the huge fragments of frieze and architrave, beautiful capitals thrown here and there hardly resembles a throne, to the throne of Tirdate, name given to him. Never does a building undergo such a revolution.”<sup>36</sup> Dubois has examined the ruins carefully and has come to conclusion that the building should have been destroyed by an earthquake because the shafts of the columns were covered by fragments and were invisible, they have yielded first.<sup>37</sup> According to Dubois, the “respect of the Armenians is so big for these debris, that no one of them would like to remove one stone a fragment of cornice for his use, much less let him do to others”<sup>38</sup> and that is the reason why the majority of the original stone blocks were intact for its reconstruction in mid twentieth century. Dubois wisely concluded that considering the shape and size of the building, it cannot be part of the palace building which Tirdate had built for his sister Khosrovi Dukht. “There is a beautiful Greek temple which Tiridate had erected in honor of some Armenian deity, either Ardimet or Anahit (Diana or Venus), next to the house of his sister, whose ruins, as we have seen, are not seen in the temple; but the architecture is much simpler;”<sup>39</sup> He has reconstructed the plan and elevation of the building in the third atlas, plate 31. According to his reconstruction, the temple does not have lateral colonnade and the main elevation consists of a high podium with six columns crowned with a pediment (figs. 14-16).

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<sup>36</sup> Dubois, vol. III, p. 387.

<sup>37</sup> Dubois, vol III, p. 388.

<sup>38</sup> Dubois, vol III, p. 388

<sup>39</sup> Dubois, vol III, p. 389.

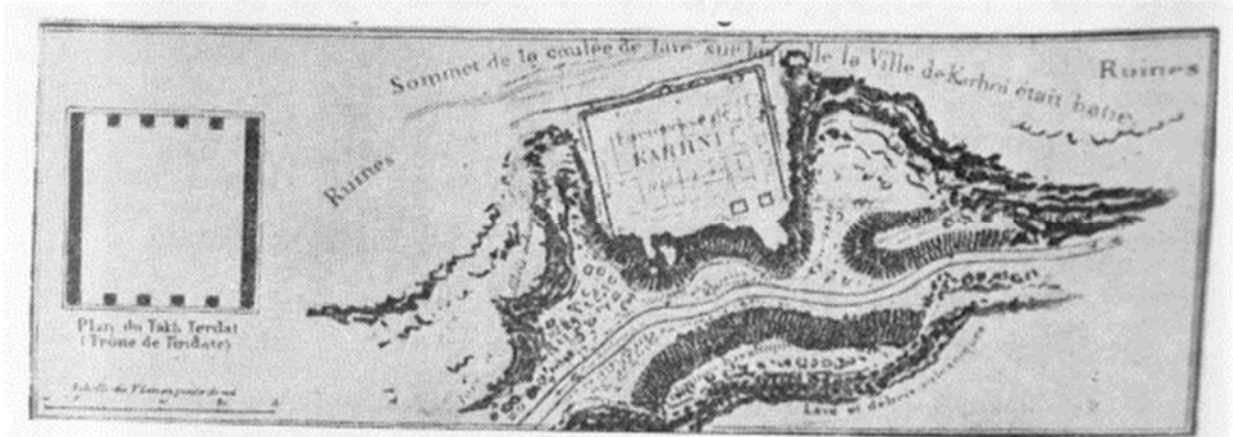


Figure 14: The first representation of Garni temple which address the issue at the architectural scale. Dubois made serious mistakes in the drawing of the original state of the building. He considered the temple without lateral colonnade. Image from de Montpéroux, Frédéric Du Bois. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Atlas I, plate XIX.

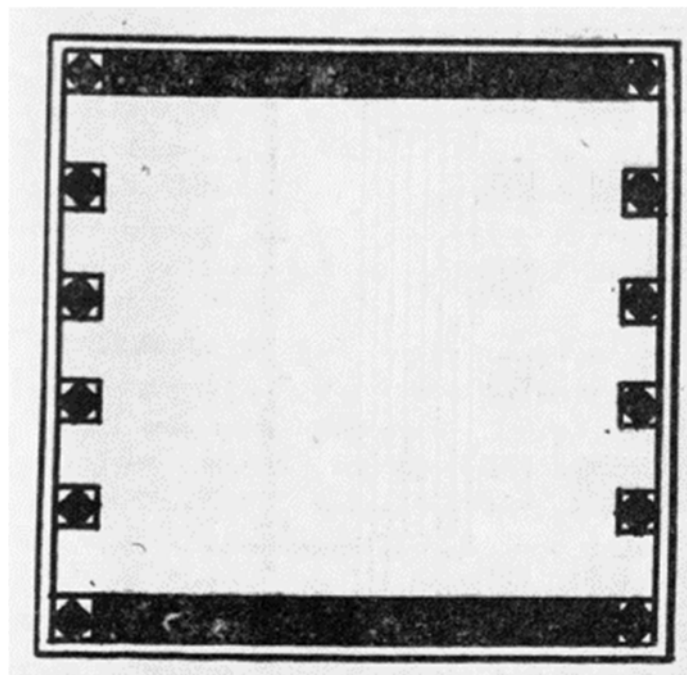


Figure 15: The reconstructed plan of Garni temple by Frederic Dubois de Montpéroux. Image from Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 65.

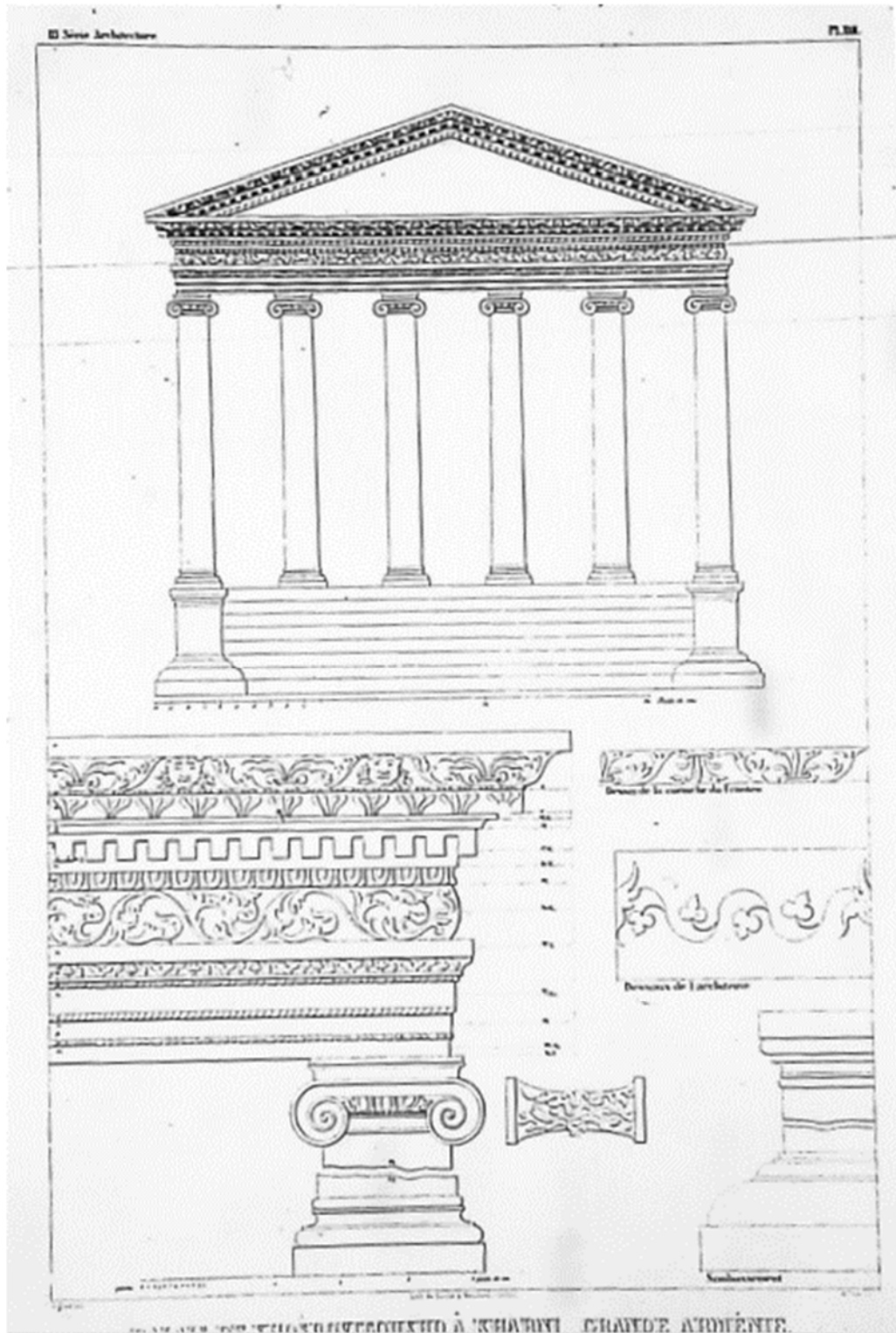


Figure 16: The reconstruction of the elevation of Garni temple by Frederic Dubois de Montpéroux, detail of the entablature, capital and frieze. He considered the elevation with six Ionic columns crowned by a highly decorated pediment. Image from de Montpéroux, Frédéric Du Bois. *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée: avec un atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique, etc.* Atlas III, plate XXXI.

After almost a century, in 1912, K. Romanov suggested another reconstruction. His draft consisted of a plan (peripter) and main facade (high podium, six columns crowned with a pediment. His draft differs from Dubois's by its professionalism. Despite Dubois, he has shown the entrance on the elevation and the figures on the two lateral podiums. Dubois paid more attention to the frieze decoration and architectural decoration which was considered more important in nineteenth century (figs. 17-18).

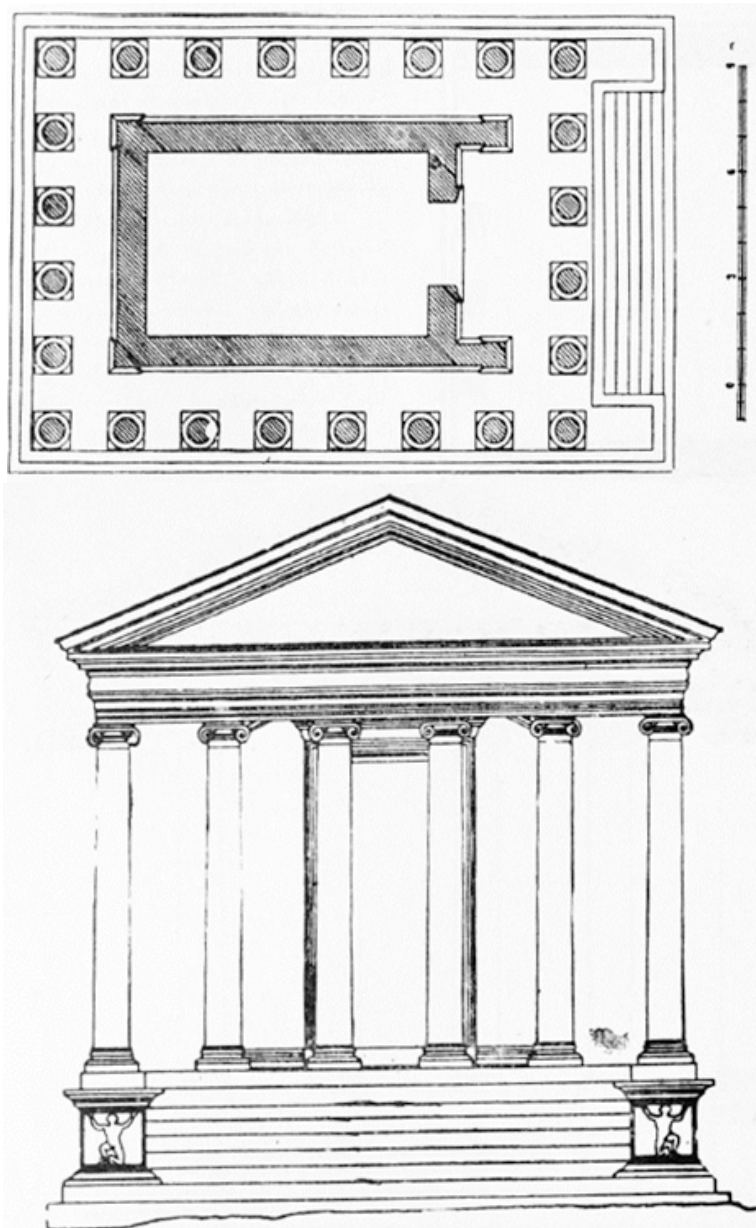


Figure 17: Reconstructed plan and elevation of Garni created by K. Romanov in 1912. These are the first scientifically founded architectural study with attention also to the construction techniques of the building and not only to its external appearance. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 66.

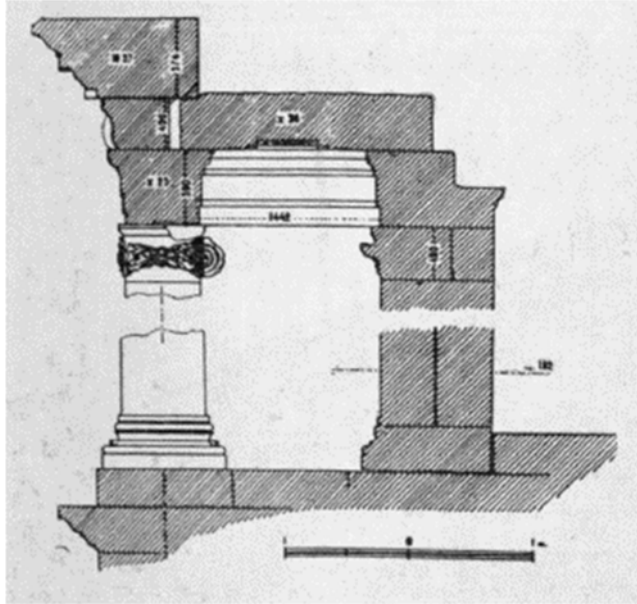


Figure 18: Section of the portico, Garni temple. Drawing by K. Romanov, created in 1912. He was the first scholar who studied the construction techniques other than the appearance of the temple. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 67.

In 1933, N. Buniatian presented the complete reconstruction with subsequent measuring after detailed theoretic studies. In the reconstructed elevation, the stone blocks are visible which elevate the level of accuracy with respect to the previous reconstructions (fig. 19-20). Bouniatian has worked with Marr at Ani which made him very attentive to archaeological aspects of the project. In 1968, Aleksander Sahinian worked on a new draft based on the studies of N. Marr, remnants scattered around the ruined temple, and various fragments and pieces found from other parts of the territory (figs. 21-22). Before the reconstruction, the podium was almost intact (fig. 23). The initial places of the columns being unknown, their laying out and spacing were based on the dimensions of the architraves. Sahinian determined the height of the walls with absolute exactness. After detailed studies, he concluded that the cella had vaulted stone roofing and the statue of the worshipped deity stood in the rectangular niche of which ten stones have been preserved (figs. 24-28). In this reconstruction project, Sahinian highlighted the original and new additions by using stone blocks without decoration, next to the original ones which are highly decorated (figs 29-33).

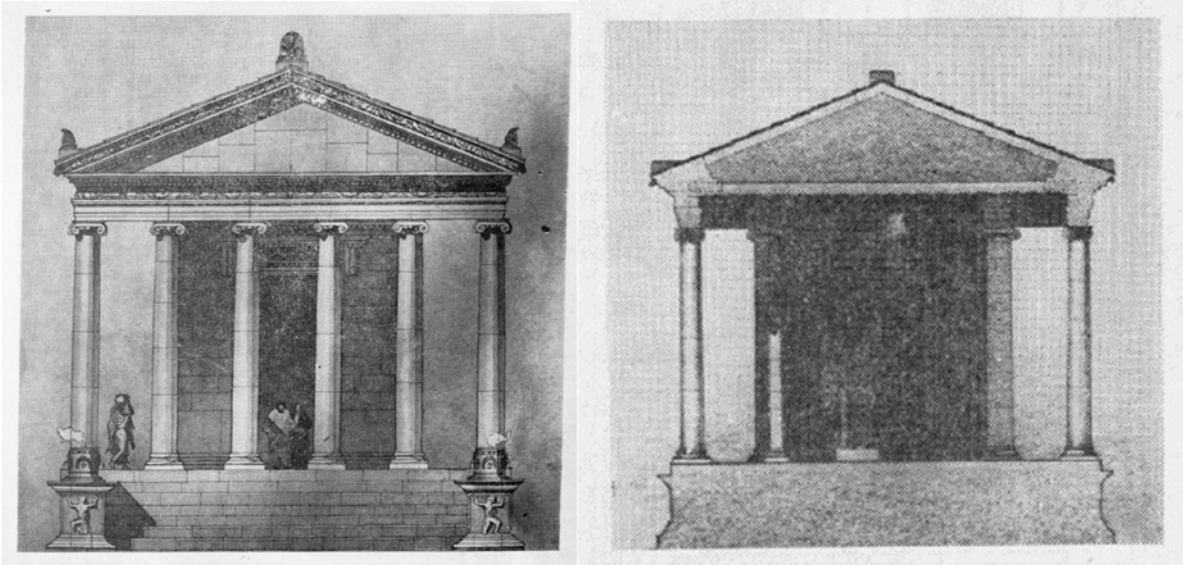


Figure 19: Reconstructed elevation and section of the Garni Temple by N. Bouniatian in 1933. He has worked with Nickolai Marr at Ani and is attentive to archaeological aspects of the project. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 69.

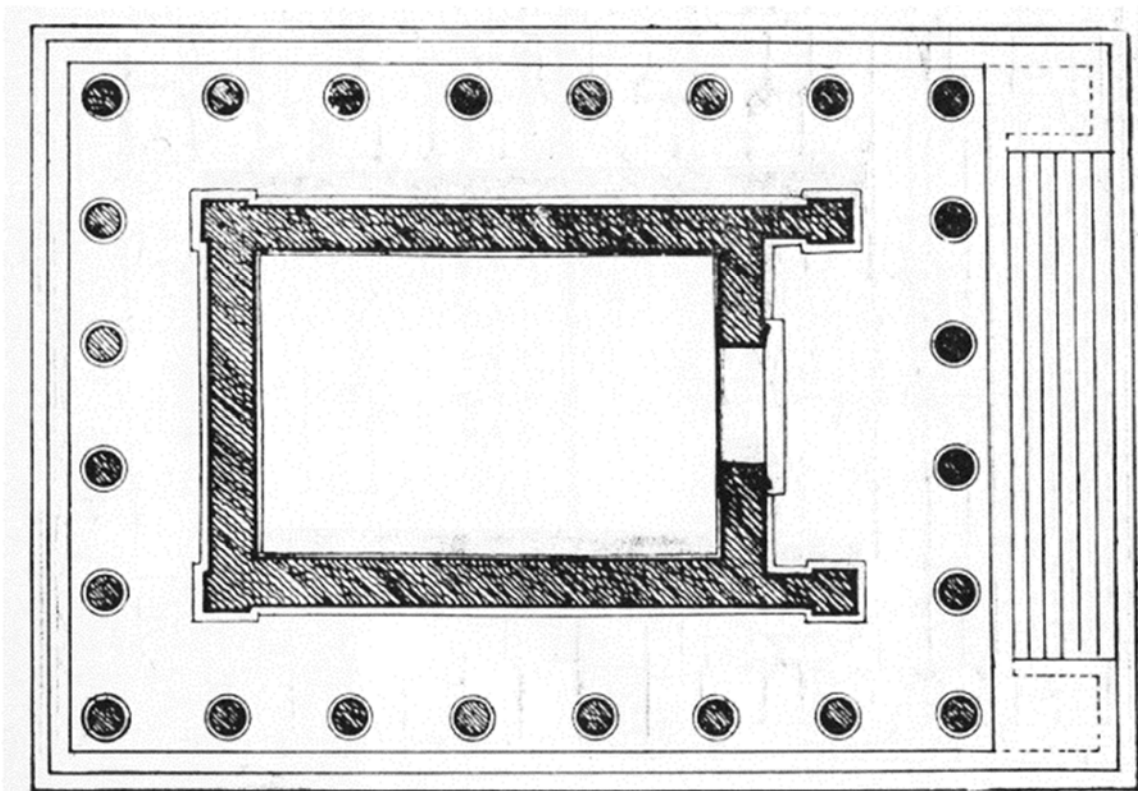


Figure 20: Reconstructed plan of the Garni Temple by N. Bouniatian in 1933. He has worked with Nickolai Marr at Ani and is attentive to archaeological aspects of the project. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 69.

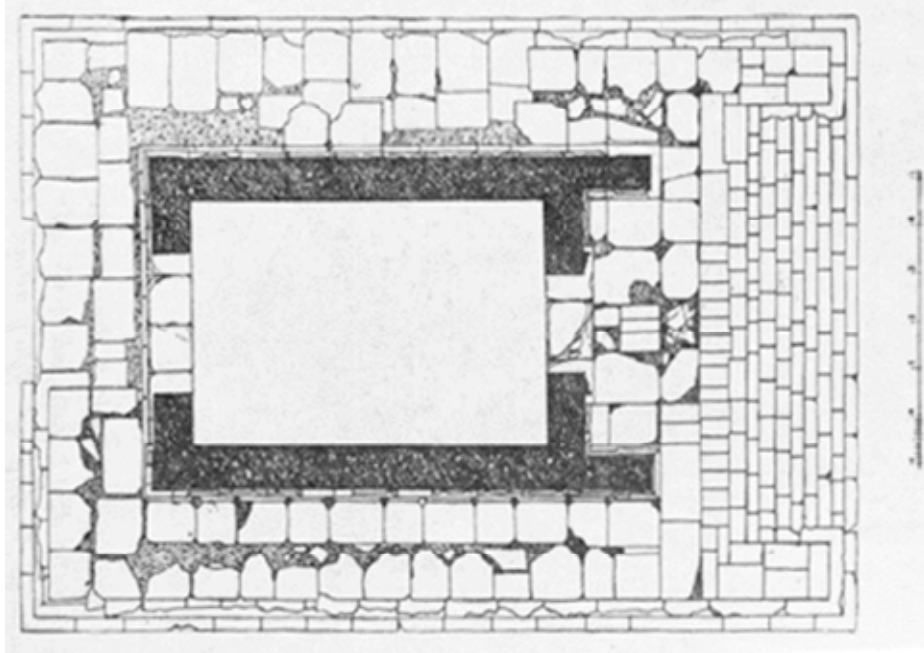


Figure 21: The plan of Garni Temple before its reconstruction. Drawing by A. Sahinian. Each stone block is represented accurately according to the existing situation. No columns are added because their layout was unknown. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 70.



Figure 22: Left: Fragments of the temple frieze, capitals, and columns. Photo from: Sahinian, Alexander. *Architecture of Ancient Structures Garni* (in Russian), Yerevan, 1988, plate 50. Right: Toros Toramanian next to fragment of pediment. Photo from: Strzygowski, Josef. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*. Vienna, 1918, Vol I, p. 344.

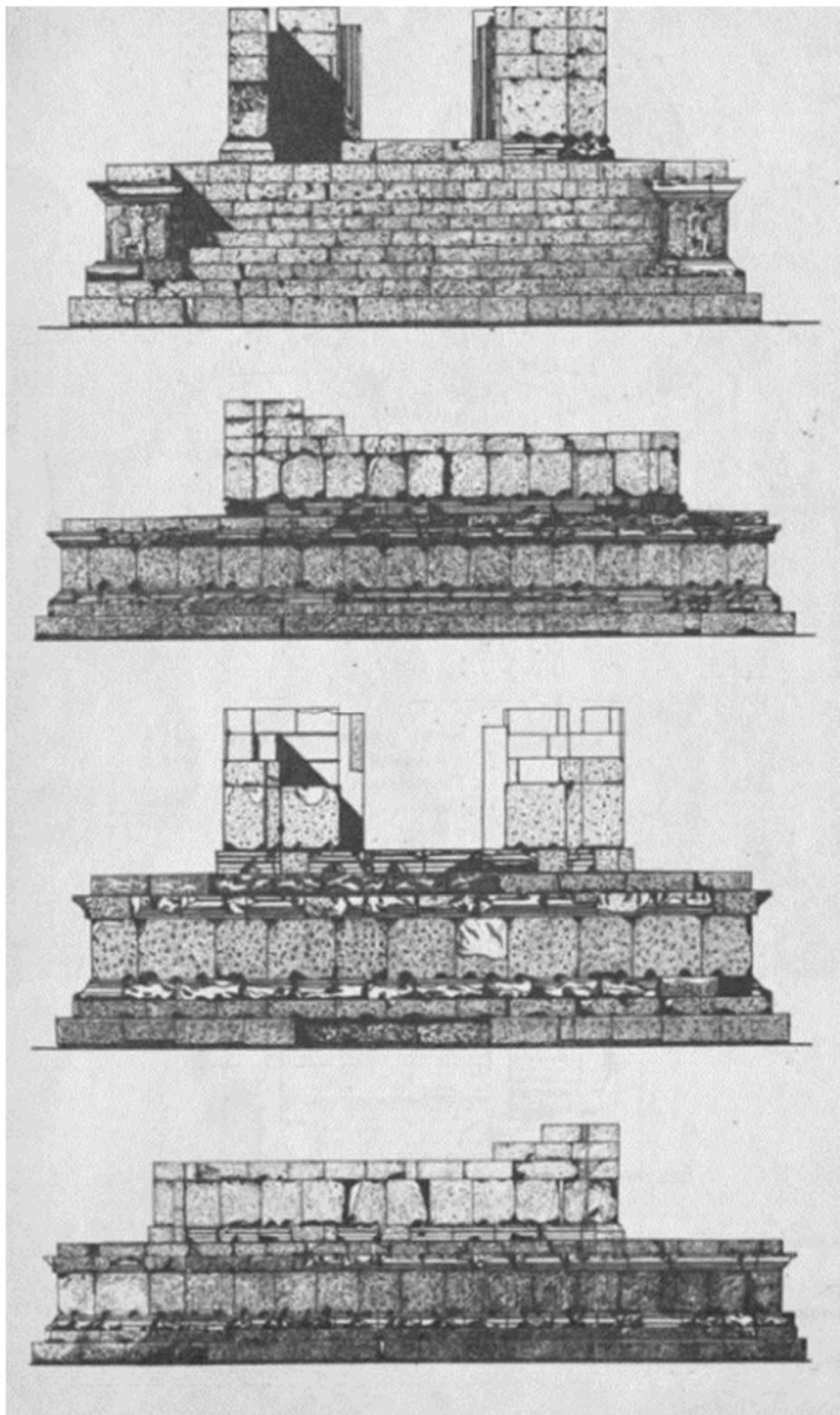


Figure 23: From top: North, West, South, and East elevation of the Garni Temple before its reconstruction. Drawings by Aleksander Sahinian. Image from: Sahinian, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 71.





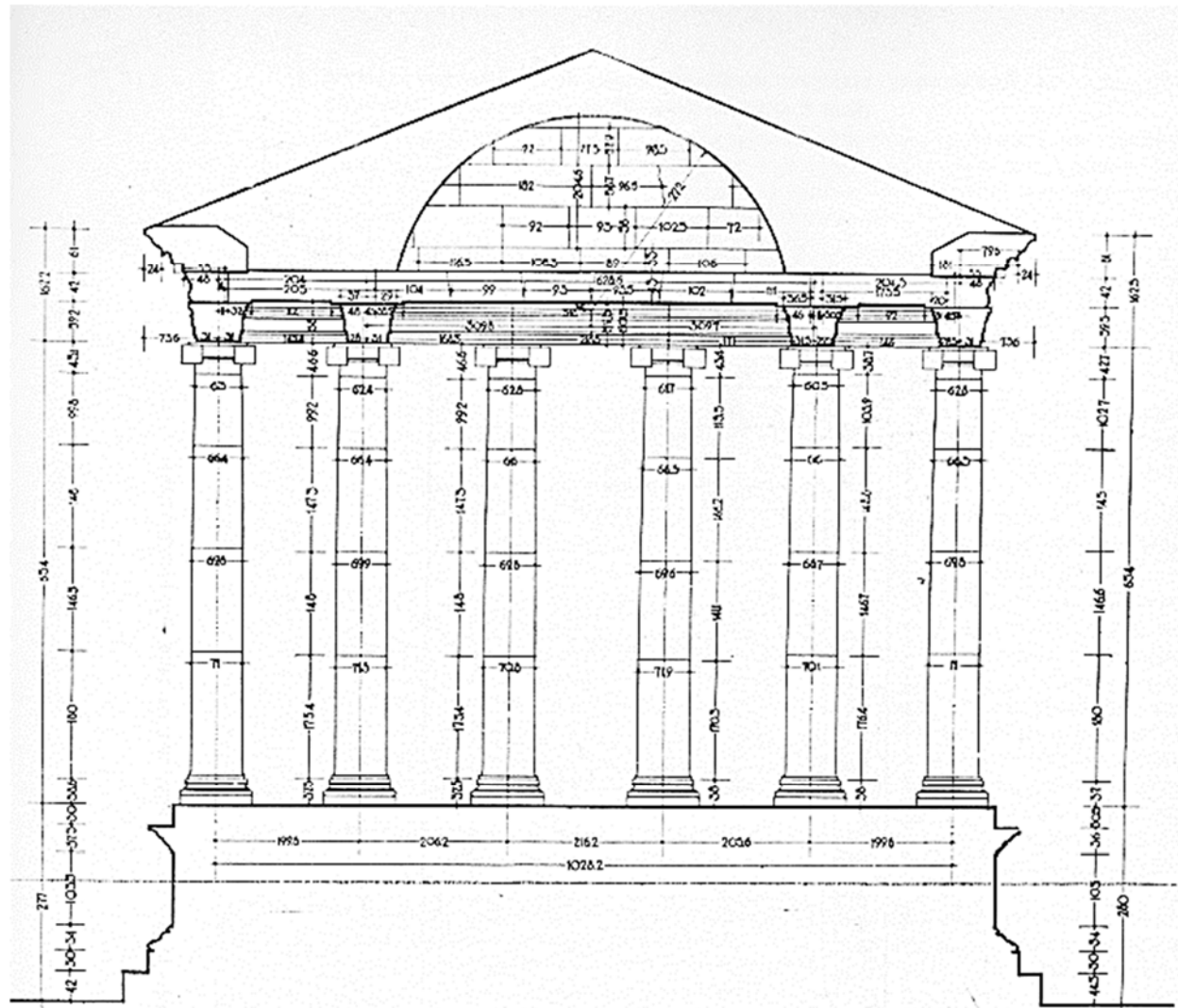


Figure 25: Reconstruction of the barrel vaulted ceiling with dimension of each stone block. by Aleksander Sahinian in 1968. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 78.

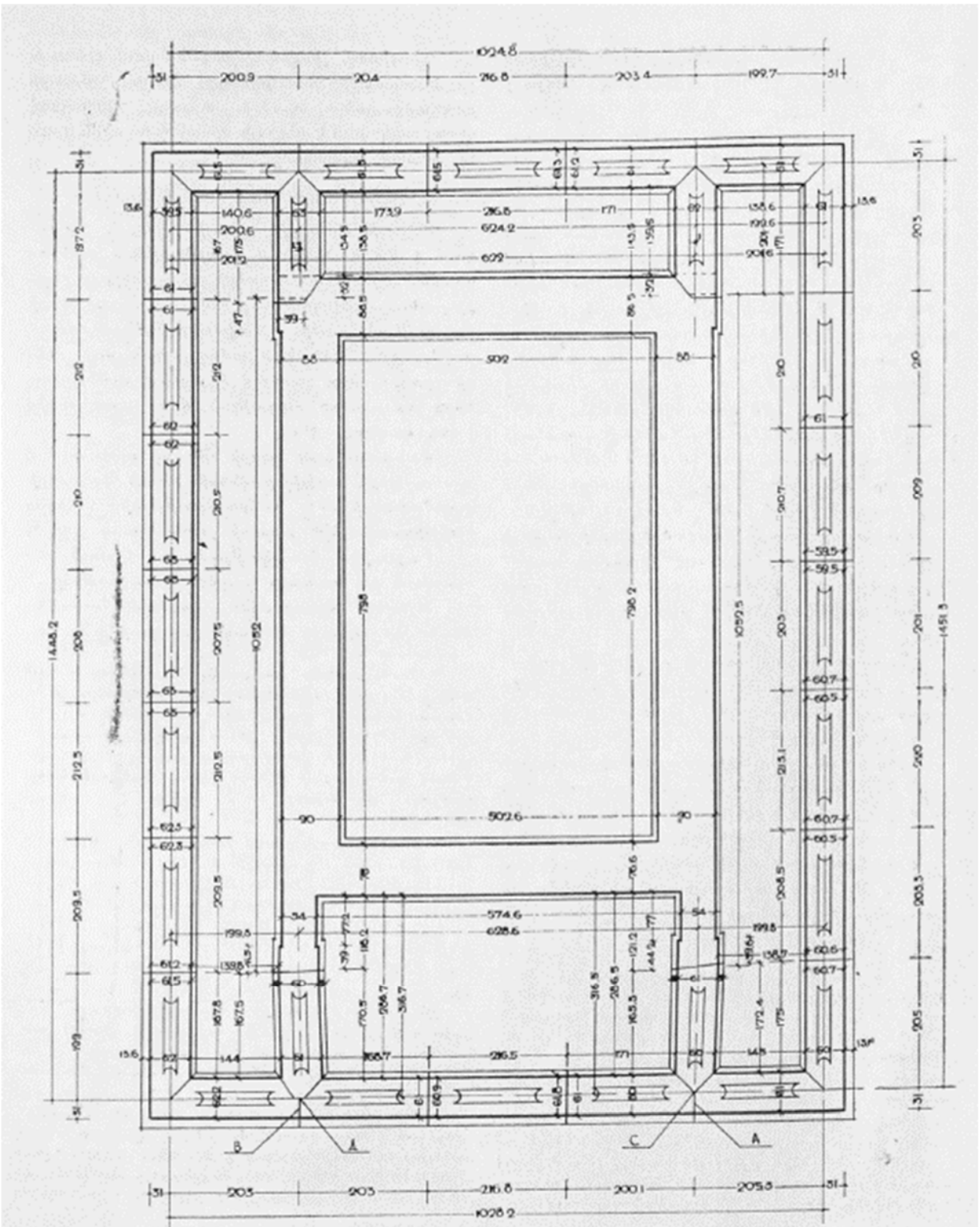


Figure 26: Reconstructed roof plan. The detail measurement and location of each architrave is defined. Drawing by Aleksander Sahinian. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 76.

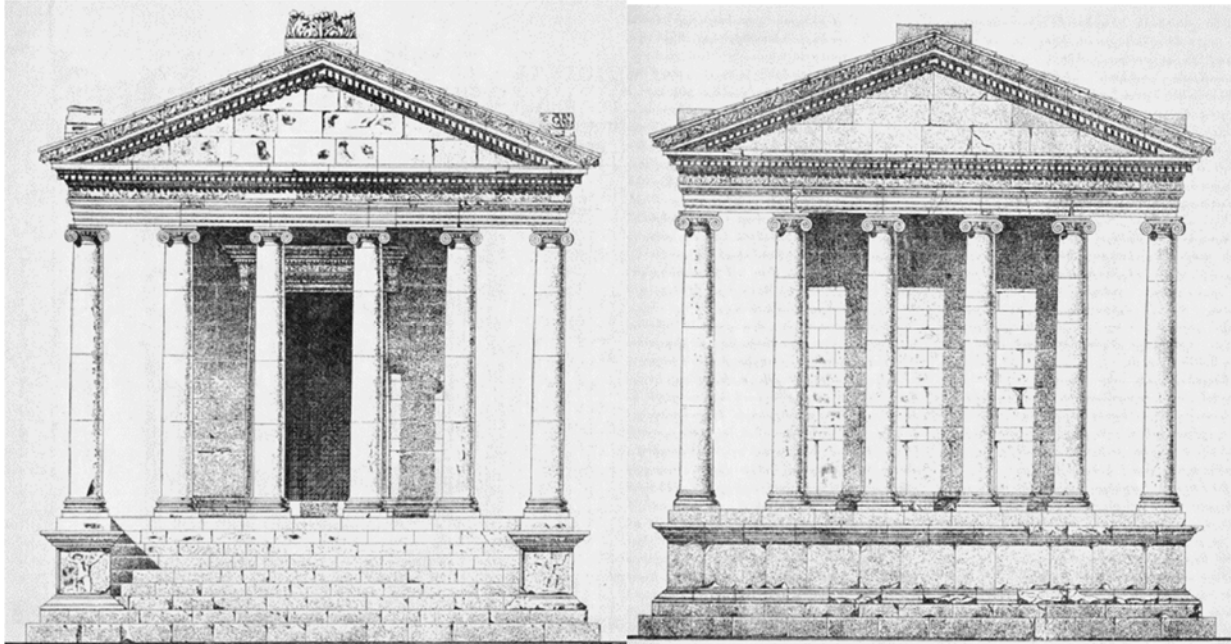


Figure 27: North and South elevations of Garni Temple. Drawings by Aleksander Sahinian. Images from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 91.

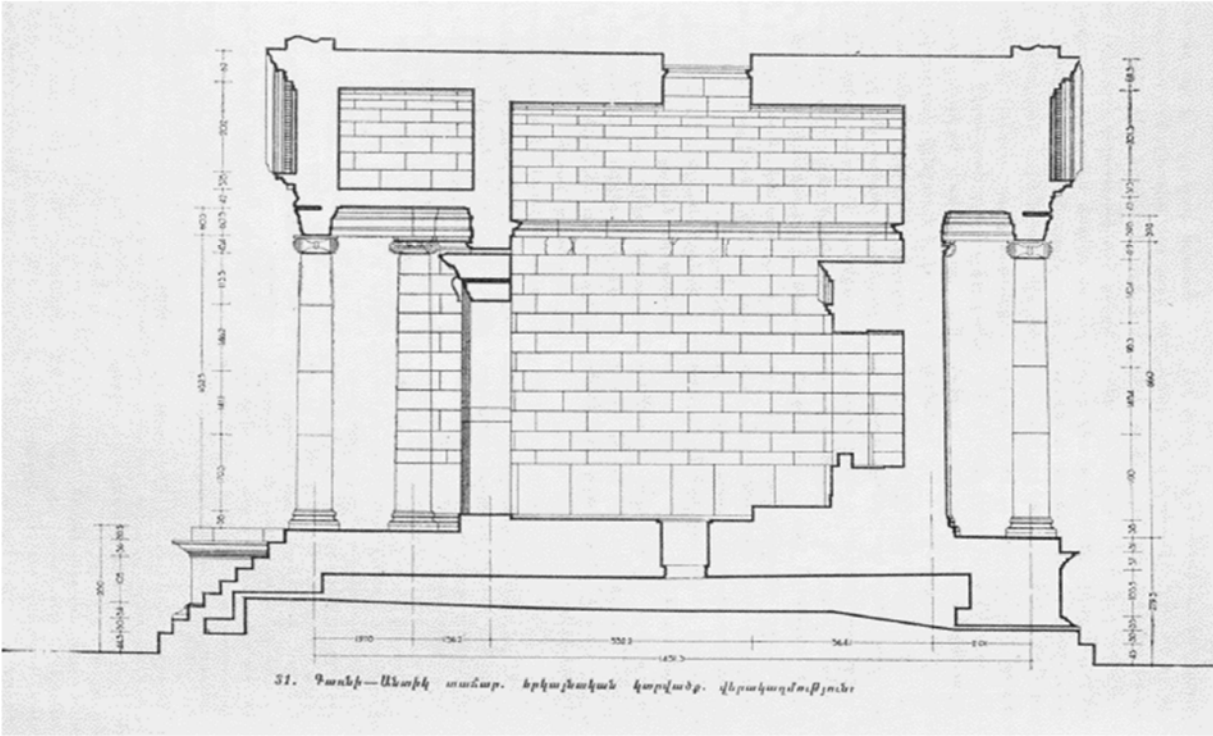


Figure 28: Longitudinal section of the Garni Temple. Drawing by Aleksander Sahinian. Image from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, p. 82.

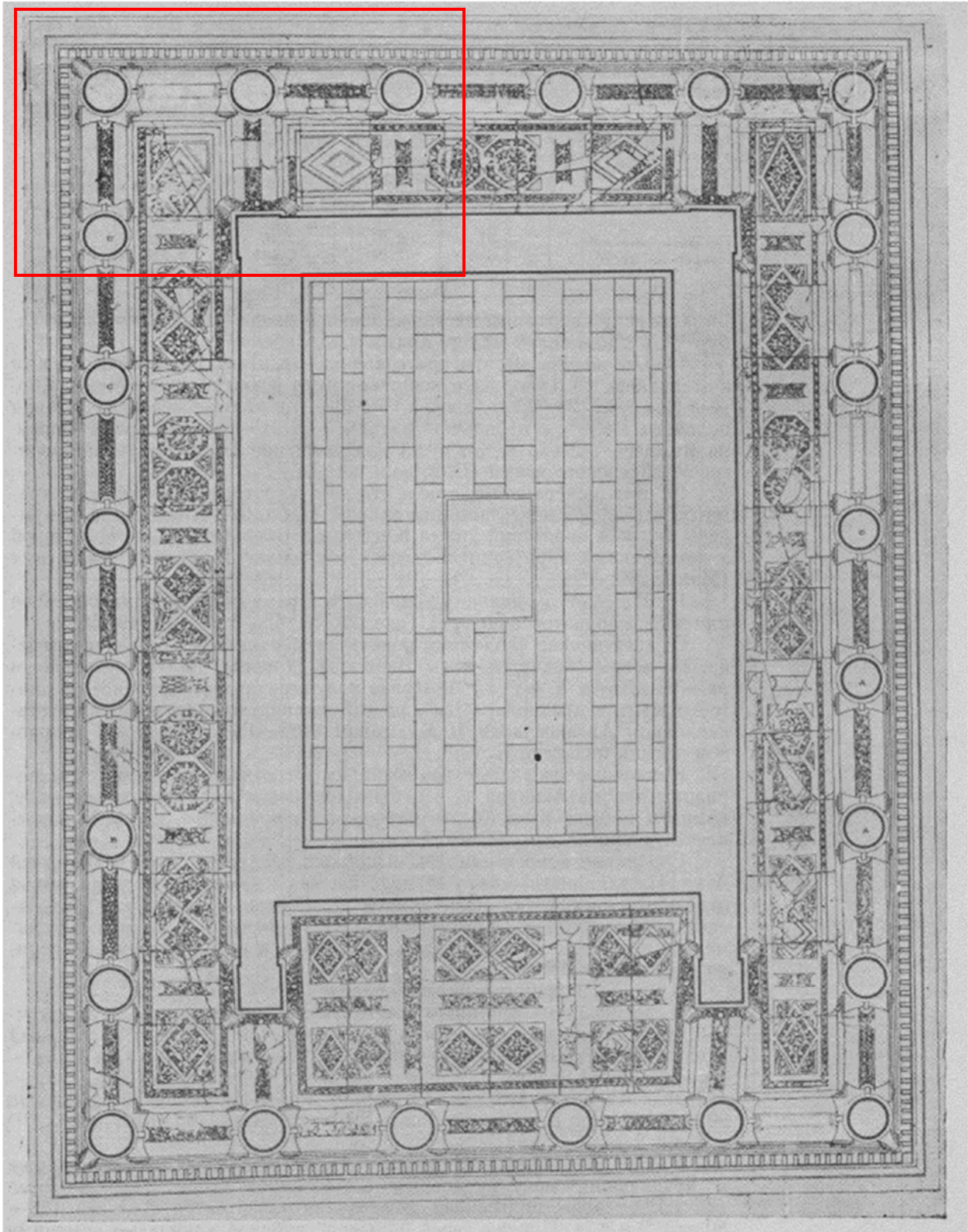


Figure 29: Roof plan of Garni Temple differentiating the original and new stone blocks. The new stones are recognizable by their plain without decoration surface. Images from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, opposite page 130.

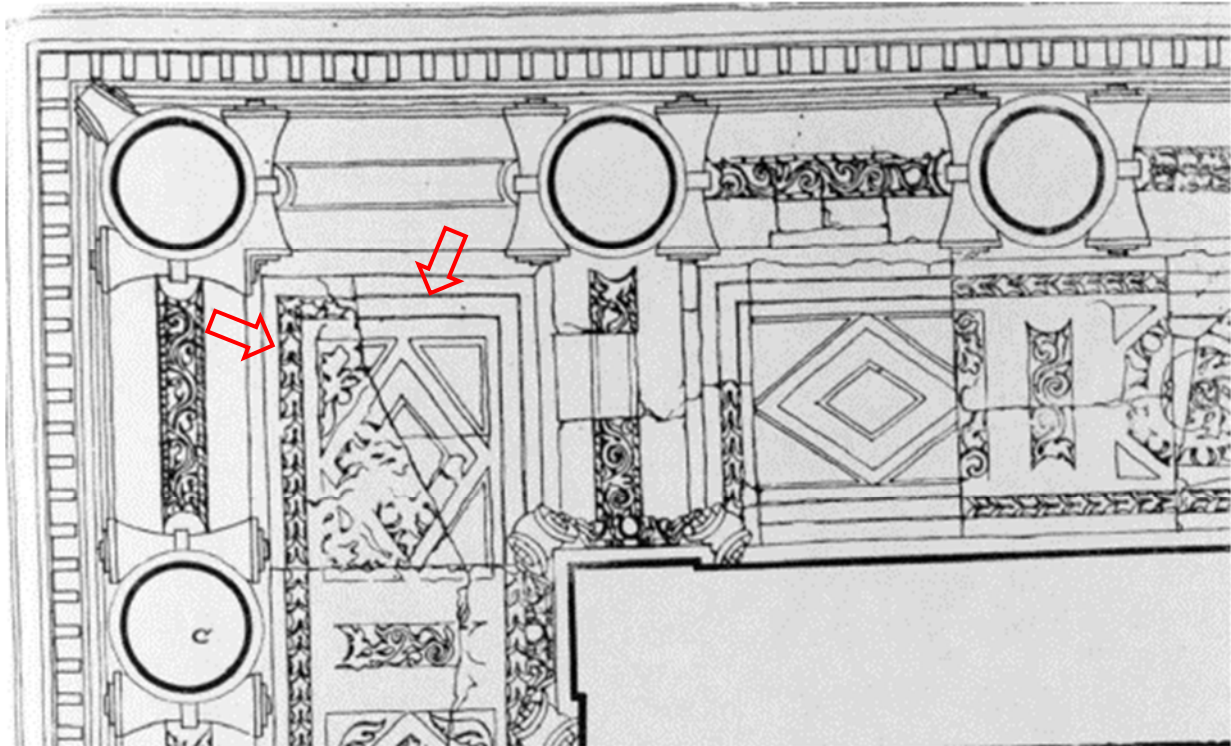


Figure 30: A close up view of the roof plan. The new stones are recognizable by their plain without decoration surface. Images from: Sahinyan, Aleksander. *Garnii antik karuytsneri chartarapetutyune* [Architecture of the ancient structures of Garni]. Yerevan, 1983, opposite page 130.



Figure 31: A photograph of the ceiling of the Garni temple highlighting the original and new stones. Photo by Author.



Figure 32: Garni Temple. The original and new stones are recognized by less elaborate and plain carvings with respect to the originals which are heavily decorated. Photo by Hayk R. Yeghiazaryan.

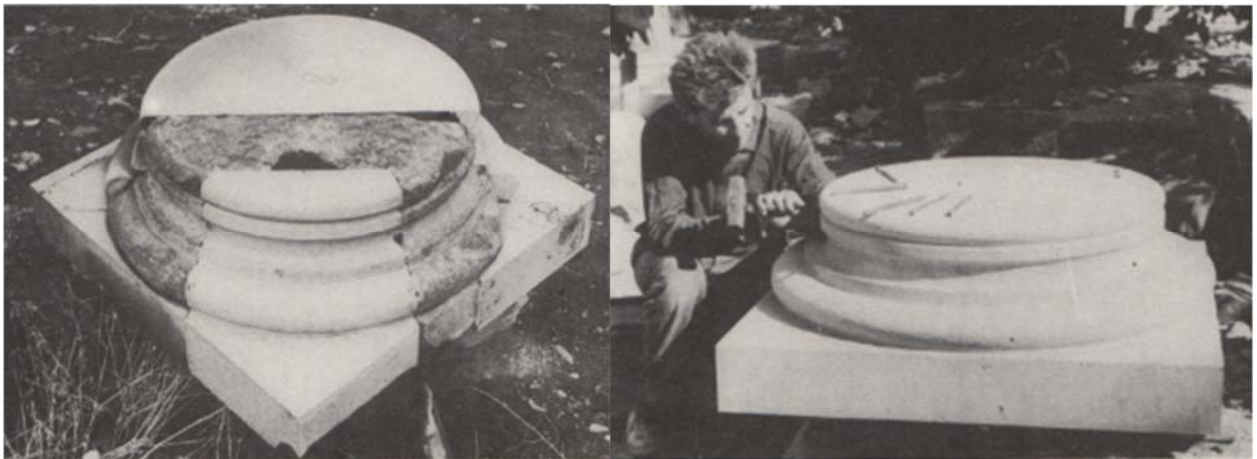


Figure 33: Left: Completion of the base of a column at Garni Temple, using the original and new stones next to each other. Right: New base of a column at Garni Temple. Photos from: Sahinian, Alexander. *Architecture of Ancient Structures Garni* (in Russian), Yerevan, 1988, plate 91.

## Yerevan Master Plan

The city of Yerevan is in a plain, next to the Hrazdan River and has a long history of human settlement. Adam T. Smith believes that its location, on the foothills of Gegham Mountain was very favorable and gave the opportunity to the inhabitants to exploit the lowland soils while at the same time using the upland pastures. Its location is also favorable for trade routes. Whenever it was peace, the trade thrived, and the city prospered.<sup>40</sup> According to Baiburtyan, the site of Shengavit is the earliest known built settlement located on the banks of today's Lake Yerevan, which goes back to the Early Bronze Age.<sup>41</sup> However, the ancient Yerevan's history is strongly bound with the Urartu Kingdom. The Urartu kings built two fortresses in the vicinity of modern Yerevan. Erebuni fortress in the Gegham foothills (served as an administrative capital during the eighth century BC) and Karmir-Blur located two kilometers downstream from Shengavit (built by Urartian ruler Rusa II as the empire's regional center.)<sup>42</sup> Karmir-Blur was destroyed following the collapse of the Urartian Empire and Erebuni became a major hub for the Achaemenid Persian Empire during the sixth - fourth centuries BC.<sup>43</sup> While during the early second century BC, Artashes I, built a new capital called Artashat on the banks of the Araks River, Erebuni lost its importance.<sup>44</sup> In next centuries, a Sassanian governor relocated the provincial seat to Dvin, thirteen kilometers north, in the Gegham foothills (Kalantaryan 1996) but little is known about the middle Hrazdan Valley, the location of modern city of Yerevan during this period. According to textual sources the place was inhabited by the fifth century CE and in 658 CE, Arab armies conquered a town named "Erewan".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Smith, Adam T. "Yerevan, my ancient erebuni': archaeological repertoires, public assemblages, and the manufacture of a (Post-) soviet nation." *Regimes and Revolutions: Power, Violence, and Labor in Eurasia between the Ancient and the Modern* (2011), p. 59.

<sup>41</sup> Baiburtyan, E. A. Kultovyj Ochag iz Raskopok Shengavitskogo Poselenija v 1936-37 gg. *Vestnik Drenej Istorii* 4: 255-259.

<sup>42</sup> For more information about Erebuni and Karmir-Blur fortresses see: Oganiesian, K. L. *Arin-Berd I: Arhitektura Erebuni*. Yerevan: Akademiya Nauk Armianskoe SSR, 1961; and Piotrovskii, B. B. *Karmir-Blur III: Resultat Reskopok, 1951-1953*. Yerevan: Akademiya Nauk Armianskoe SSR, 1955.

<sup>43</sup> Ter-Martirossov, F. I. The Typology of the Columnar Structures of Armenia in the Achaemenid Period. In *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC: Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West*, edited by I. Nielsen, pp. 155-163. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Arakelyan, B. N. *Artashat I*. Yerevan: Izdatel'stvo Armianskoi S.S.R., 1982.

<sup>45</sup> Sebeos, *Sebeos' History*. Translated by R. Bedrosian. New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1985.



During the medieval period, the town was passed among Bagratid, Seljuk, Mongol, Ottoman, and Safavid Persians.<sup>46</sup> According to Adam T. Smith, the town was fragile and prone to “boom-and-bust” cycles which was directly connected to the stability of the trade routes. In early modern period, Yerevan gained importance due to the continuous struggles between Ottoman and Safavid Empires and between the early sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, it was passed fourteen times between Turkish and Persian rulers. However, during the seventeenth century, the town was devastated first by Shah Abbas I’s forced deportation of Armenians in 1604 and second by an earthquake in 1690 which completely destroyed its medieval structures. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, the French gem merchant and traveler visited Yerevan several times between 1630 and 1668 and has seen the medieval Yerevan’s urban texture before its destruction by the earthquake. He has provided us with an illustration of the city in his travelogue (Sec. I, fig. 3). This illustration is a bird eye view of the city looking from west to east from somewhere over the garrison which was located on the other side of Hrazdan River gorge and overlooked the fortress itself. This illustration clearly shows the division between the city and fortress.<sup>47</sup>

Jean Chardin, another French jewel merchant and traveler, visited Yerevan in 1673. He published a more detailed illustration of Yerevan in his travelogue which is looking towards the city from the opposite point of view from that of Tavernier (Sec. I, fig. 4). According to Chardin, “Erivan is a great city, but dirty.”<sup>48</sup> It had no monumental building but there were many vineyards and orchards.

Persia conquered the region in 1753 and until its annexation to Russian Empire in 1827, the town experienced a period of peace and economic growth (Bournoutian 1922: 44). According to Bournoutian, despite being a primary regional center in Ararat Plain for about two hundred years, the city’s population was only six thousand.<sup>49</sup> The city witnessed a significant expansion of both population and urban fabric in the early nineteenth century. The city covered an area of about two hundred and fifty hectares while its gardens and orchards extended over twenty-eight kilometers. According to Bournoutian, the city had three quarters including about 1,700 houses, 850 stores, 89

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<sup>46</sup> Simonyan, A. P. *Erevan: Ocherk Istorii, Ekonomiki i Kul'tury Goroda*. Izdatel'stvo Erevanskogo Gos. Universiteta, 1963.

<sup>47</sup> Tavernier, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> Chardin, p. 152.

<sup>49</sup> For more information see Bournoutian, G. A. *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807-1828: A Political and Socioeconomic Study of the Khanate of Erivan on the Eve of the Russian Conquest*. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1982.

mosques, 7 churches, 10 baths, 7 caravanserais, 5 squares, 2 bazaars, and 2 schools.<sup>50</sup> In early nineteenth century, Russian's were determined to capture the whole Caucuses. Yerevan's fortifications pushed them back twice in 1804 and 1808 but General Paskevitch captured the city in 1827 and by signing the treaty of Turkmenchay, it was annexed to Russian empire since 1828. According to Adam T. Smith, Yerevan was little more than a fortified town with mud walls and narrow crooked streets when General Paskevich captured it in 1827. Figure 2 demonstrates the situation of Yerevan in 1808.

The distinct areas described by Tavernier and Chardin are clearly visible in the map of 1808 (fig. 34). The areas were still separated with no urban fabric to fill the in between spaces. The important historical monuments are highlighted in red. Two monuments in the fortress, most probably mosques, two in area B, the Blue Mosque and probably S. Sarkis church, two in Kond, one S. Hovhannes Church and the other one unknown, one in north, between areas C and D, probably Zoravar Church, three in area D, one probably Katoghike Church and the other two unknown, and two in the area E which are unknown. Five concentrated centers are visible. The fortress in south is the densest (Letter A). The second important center is Kond in North mostly inhabited by Armenians. There are two important monuments in Kond (Letter C). In between is a village close to the river called "Dzoragiugh" [Valley Village] and the government buildings and the Blue mosque in the middle (Letter B). The large buildings with internal courtyards are probably caravanserais which the nineteenth century travelers have recorded in their travelogues (fig. 35). This area was called Chahar Tagh. There is another center on the right which is surrounded by orchards called "Demirbulagh" neighbourhood (Letter D).

There are several straight streets visible in between areas in the 1808 map which are mostly the lines dividing the gardens and orchards without any buildings in them.

By the Russian support of Armenians' resettlement to the region, the population of Yerevan grew up to more than twenty-nine thousand in early twentieth century but the Russian administration left the urban fabric of the city untouched. The city grew without any plan to be able to accommodate the new population (fig. 36). The straight streets of the north disappeared while the irregular urban texture grew mostly around "Demirbulagh" area (Letter D).

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 38-47.



Figure 34: Yerevan map in 1808. A- The fortress, B- Chahar Tagh area, C- Kond area, D- Demirbulagh area. The distinct residential quarters are visible. The large buildings with courtyard in area (B) are probably caravanserais and the highlighted building is the Blue Mosque. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.



Figure 35: Examples of caravanserais in old Yerevan. Images from Khalpakhchian, O. *Civil Architecture of Armenia, Residential and Public Buildings* (in Russian), Moscow, 1971, pp. 202 (top) and 204 (bottom).

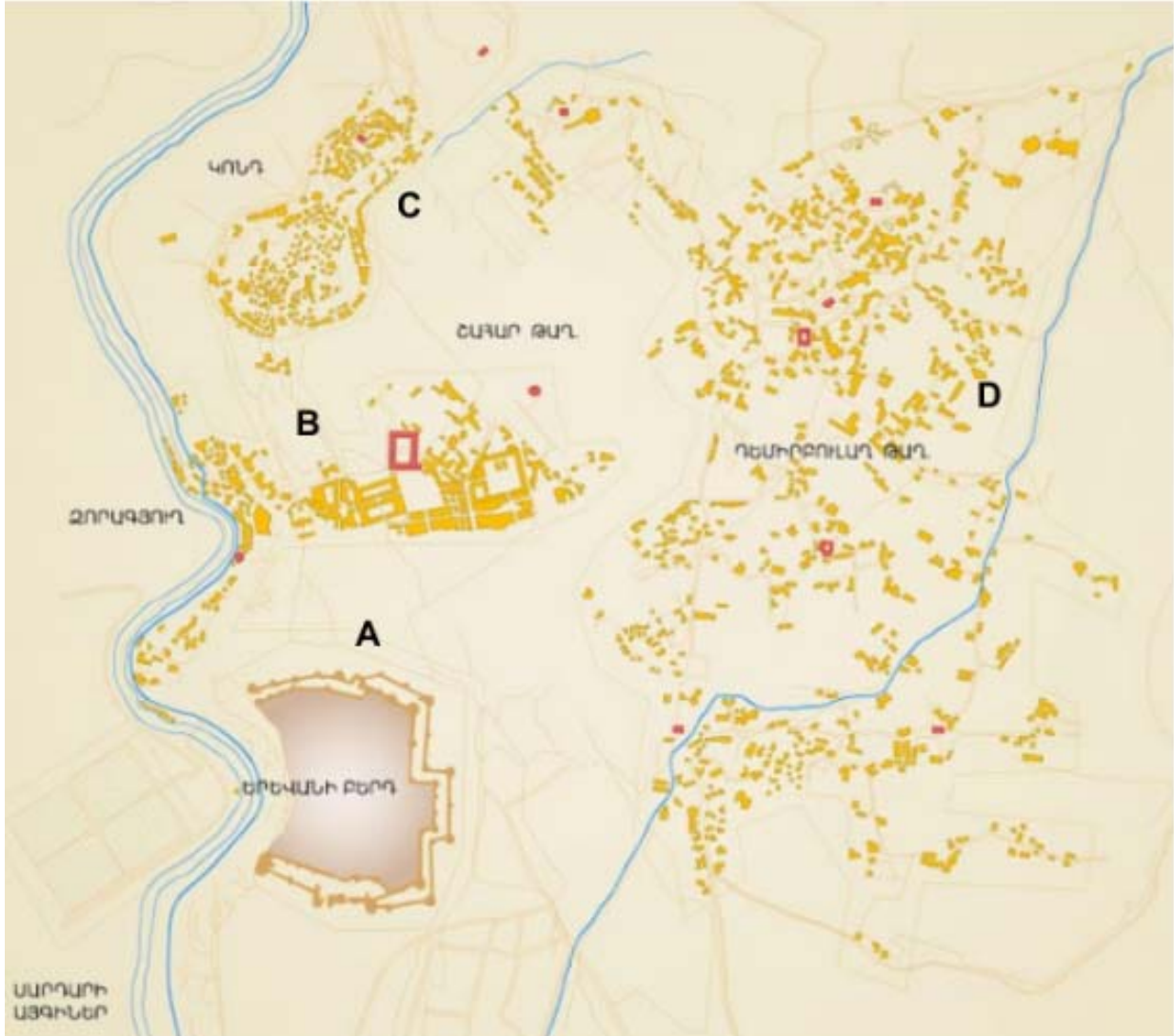


Figure 36: By the Russian support of Armenian's resettlement in the area, the population grew from 6,000 to 29,000 between 1827 and 1856. With no town planning project, the urban texture grew irregularly mostly around "Demirbulagh" area (Letter D). Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

An ambitious master plan was proposed in 1856 but was not completely realized (fig. 37). According to this master plan, straight perpendicular streets cut through the existing urban texture. The main street spurred the cutting of a main arterial road that is today Abovian Street. The 1856 proposed master plan left the areas A, B, and C untouched and the straight modern streets did not cut through them. For the areas A and C, one can argue that because of the topographic difference, it was not possible to simply apply the same perpendicular grid. But the area B, (Chahar Tagh) is in the same level as the new proposed streets but they respect the existing texture and did not cut them. Pay attention to the main street which is passing next to the Blue Mosque. It was very close

to the monument and could affect it dramatically by shifting the main entrance from South to North. There is an open square visible in South of the Blue Mosque which is typical in Islamic town planning. This square was the main public space of the area which was affected. There are a row of relatively large buildings and an English Garden (Letter B) proposed to be built facing the main street passing between the Fortress and Chahar Tagh area.



Figure 37: The 1856 proposed master plan. A is today's Abovian Street and B is the English Garden. The new buildings in Russian style called the "Black Buildings" were constructed in the open space between the previously constructed areas. These buildings are shown in grey. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

In general, except the “Demirbulagh” area (Letter D), the proposed master plan respected the existing structure of the city and the historical monuments.

The 1856 master plan was partially realized. An analysis of this master plan, the realized sections compared with the existing ones, and superimposed current main nodes is done by “Yerevan Project” from Department of Yerevan Master Plan (fig. 38).



Figure 38: Analysis of 1856 Yerevan master plan realized by “Yerevan Project” the Department of Master Plan. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

Today's Hanrapedutyán, Nalbandian, Abovian, Terian, Tumanian, Pushkin, and Gelkavor Streets which are built according to 1856 master plan are indicated by red line. These streets did not cut through the "Chahartagh" Area. The existing historical monuments are indicated with red circles with number which are: 1- S. Sarkis Church, 2- The Blue Mosque, 3- S. Hovhannes Church, 4- Kozerni Chappel, 5- Katoghike Church, 6- Zoravor Church. The future urban nodes added by Alexander Tamanian are highlighted in purple line which are: Shahumian Square, Republic Square, Opera Square, Sakharov Square, and Grigor Lusavorich Church.

In next years, Alexandropol (modern Gyumri) became a more significant hub in Caucasus together with Tbilisi and Baku. Russians built a military stronghold in outskirts of the city and after Tsar's visit, the city started to rise rapidly both culturally and economically. In 1869, the walls of the Fortress of Yerevan were demolished, and Sardar's palace and other structures suffered a rapid decay.<sup>51</sup>

The next map of Yerevan is created by Mehrabov in 1911. The city is relatively small, surrounded by gardens. The Kond area is still intact due to its topography but there are two new streets visible in close vicinity in East and South of the Fortress and a diagonal short street connecting the English Garden to it.

The two-main north south axis of Abovian and Nalbandian are clearly visible. In the middle of Nalbandian Street, there is a square which was not present in 1856 master plan. This is today's Sakharov Square (fig. 39).

Until the Soviet period, Yerevan was little more than a provincial town with no significant architectural monument and no designed urban development. At the end of the nineteenth century, a Russian official described Yerevan as "fiery mud oven ... Mud houses with flat mud roofs, mud streets, mud squares ... nothing but mud."<sup>52</sup>

The first two decades of the twentieth century was full of events. Following the 1915 genocide, large number of immigrants tried to find shelter in Eastern Armenian cities and due to struggles between Armenians and Turks, no place was safe except Yerevan. The first republic was formed. Yerevan was chosen to be the capital because it was the only main city not occupied by Turks. After the Bolshevik takeover in Russia, Alexander Tamanian came to Armenia. During the two

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<sup>51</sup> Yaralov, Y. *Yerevan*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*



years of First Republic, Alexander Tamanian formed the first committee for preserving antiquities and tried to save Sardar Palace from demolition.<sup>53</sup>



Figure 47: Map of Yerevan in 1911. The new streets in south and east of the fortress and the diagonal one connecting it to the English Garden is highlighted. The main north south axis are Abovian and Nalbandian streets. Map created by B. Mehrabov. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

<sup>53</sup> Aleksander Tamanyan (1878-1936) A Collection of Documents and Materials, Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2000, doc. 116, p. 154.

In 1924, Alexander Tamanian designed the first Yerevan master plan. In a report written in 1924, Alexander Tamanian described his designed master plan<sup>54</sup>. Following is a translation of the significant parts of the report: “It is possible to divide the construction of the city into two parts: the Old Persian and new Russian. The fortress was the heart of the old Yerevan during the Persian dominance. On left side of today’s Abovian Street, Armenians were living and on it’s right side, Persians were living. These areas lack urban image, their streets are not streets in European standards, and they are more narrow and irregular passages which are often dead ended. Constructing the Abovian and some other main streets gave Yerevan the shape of a city, but no other change has been made since. This is a not enough situation and if continued, the city will face invincible problems. At least twice area is needed. We are facing a problem, expanding the city, constructing big buildings for accommodating the population. Continuing the construction in the boundaries of current plan will create great density which will create health problems for the next generations. Therefore, we need to take big and courageous steps to overcome this problem. The city is located on both mountain and plain boundaries. In north there is a specific plateau and in south, plain farmlands. This phenomenon promotes the city's development. There are major hubs around the city, Ghamarlou, Vagharshapad, Ashdarak, Oshakan, Akhda and etc. Economically, these areas are appealing to center which is Yerevan.

The city needs to have a center and some areas which are very well connected to the center by means of circular streets. The streets are 20-42 meters wide according to the importance and length. The residential streets need to be narrower, 12-17 meters. The streets should have wide sidewalks with tree lines along their length. The tree lines are indispensable because of the hot climate of the city. 10-15% of the area should be dedicated to parks, 9-10 square meter for each resident. It is also necessary to have streets without buildings. Filled with trees and green areas called “city’s lungs” providing clean air for the center. This is very much like Vienna after demolishing the city wall. New government buildings will be in the center, around the main square. The commercial zone will be close to the center, on the south west of the square. There will be a covered market and chains of shops. Merchants will have stores in this area. It is important that shops be close to the center. The industrial zone is in south, close to the railroads. The state stores and railroad industry are also located here. The prevalent winds in Yerevan are from North to South so the city

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<sup>54</sup> *Aleksandr Tamanyan: hodvatsner, p’astat’gh’t’er, zhamanakakits’nerē nra masin.* [Alexander Tamanyan, Articles, Documents, Contemporaries about Him.] Yerevan, 1960 pp. 19-24.

will be protected from the dust and smoke of the industrial zone. The arts and entertainment district is located 350 meters north from the main square. The state theater, the conservatory is in the middle of large gardens in this area. The university zone is 50 acres and is in north east. In Europe, physical wellness is very important for the wellness of the next generation, therefore, two stadiums are designed. One in the north west, the other south west. The state museum including eight sectors in a circular shape according to the topography of the hill is in the Kond area. A large flower garden is designed in the middle of the eight museum buildings. The area is connected to the center with the streets and a large staircase in the middle looking towards the city (this is very much like today's museum are in cascade.) A tunnel is connecting the city to the other side of the Kond. Between the museums and commercial zone, there is a big land, on the slope of the river gorge, protected from dust and sun drenched which is dedicated to parliament representatives (fig. 40).” The above lines are Tamanian’s words describing his master plan. It is clear that he was well aware and influenced by Garden city ideas. Different zones, with different functions, well connected to each other. All other areas are dedicated to residential zones.

Tamanian was the chair for the preservation of antiquities in 1917 in Saint Petersburg. He founded the first committee for preserving the antiquities in Armenia during the first Republic and he became the chair of the same committee when he returned from a self-exile to Tabriz in 1921. In Tamanian’s master plan, the old Yerevan’s urban texture is cut through by direct street lines. The Persian period areas were not suitable for a capital city. They were rural with low material and not worthy of saving. In the following map, I superimposed Tamanian’s master plan on the previous map of Yerevan created in 1920 (fig. 41). He pretty much respected the existing texture outside the three red circles. These are the streets created in 1856 by Russians. He only widened some streets to adapt them with the standards of a city of 150,000 inhabitants. In his plan, he designed new large-scale buildings on Kond hill although it is not realized, but according to the plan, no respect to old urban texture. Same for the Chahartagh area (circle B) and the Demirbulagh area (circle C) (figs. 50-51).

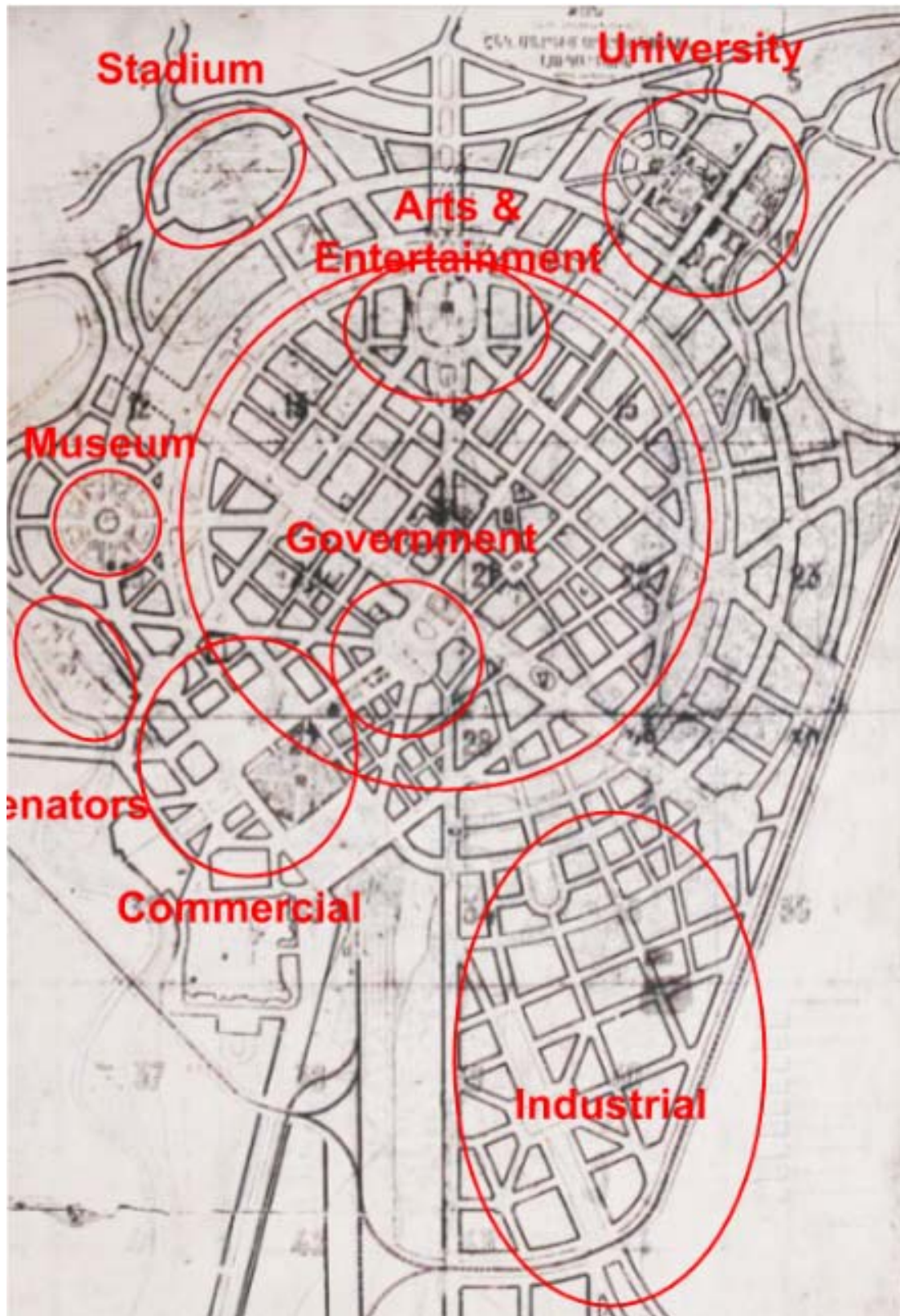


Figure 40: The zoning of the city according to a report written by Alexander Tamanian in 1924. Image from *Aleksandr Tamanyan: hodvatsner, p'astat'ght'er, zhamanakakits'nerë nra masin*. [Alexander Tamanyan, Articles, Documents, Contemporaries about Him.] Yerevan, 1960, opposite page 32, analyzed by author.



Figure 41: Tamanian's master plan superimposed on a previous map from 1920 to highlight the changes. Except the areas in three circles A, B, and C, he respected the existing urban texture created by Russians in 1856. He widened some streets to adapt it to a city of 150,000 inhabitants.

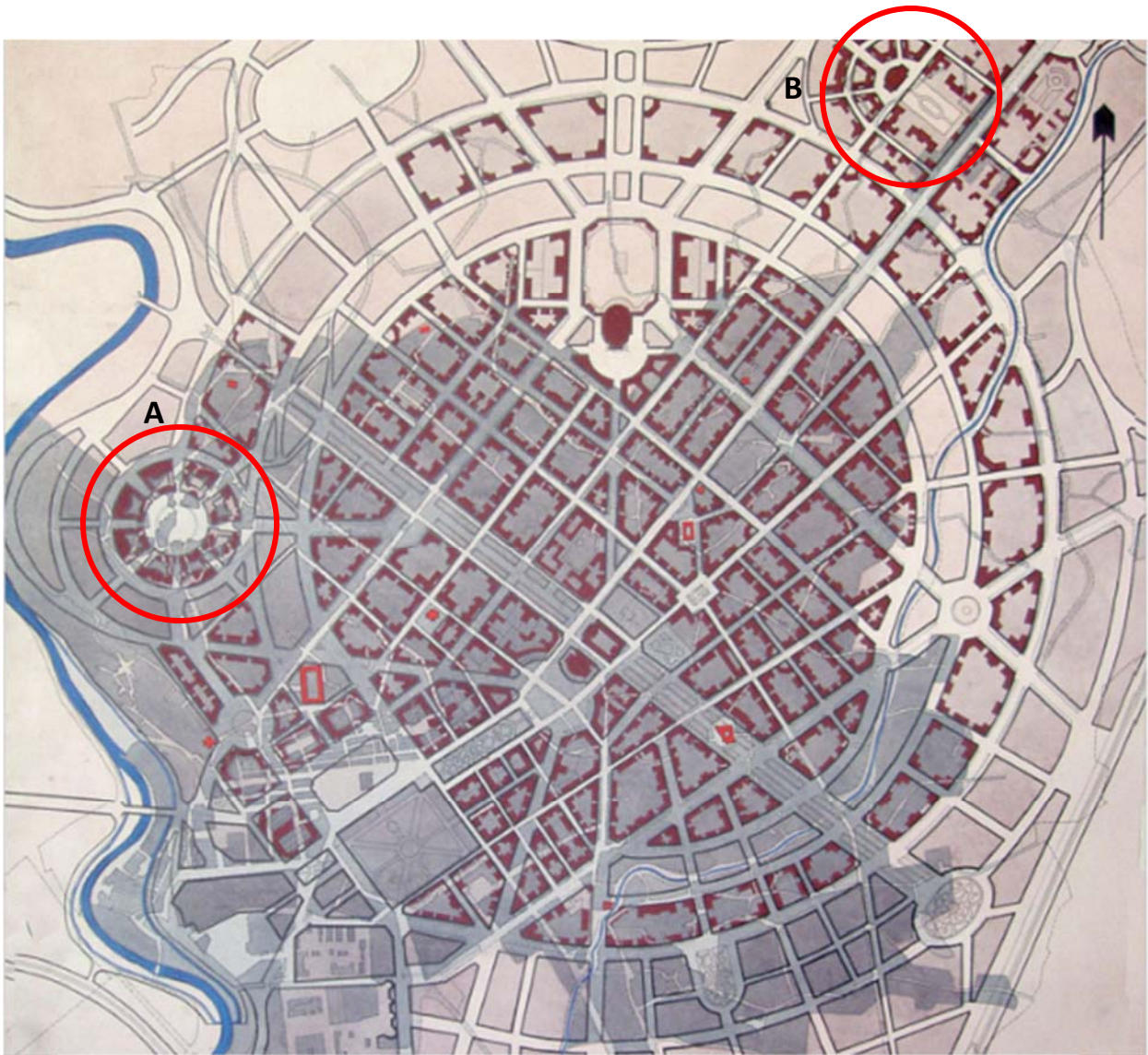


Figure 42: Another attempt to compare Tamanian's master plan with the existing urban texture. The gray areas are existing and the red ones are the buildings designed by Tamanian. According to the European standards of the time, he created large city blocks with buildings facing the streets and large internal courtyards. He dedicated the Kond area (A) to museums and designed eight monumental buildings with a large circular square in the middle and connected it to the city center by large monumental stairs. He dedicated a large area (B) to university and its accessories. Map created by "Yerevan Project", courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

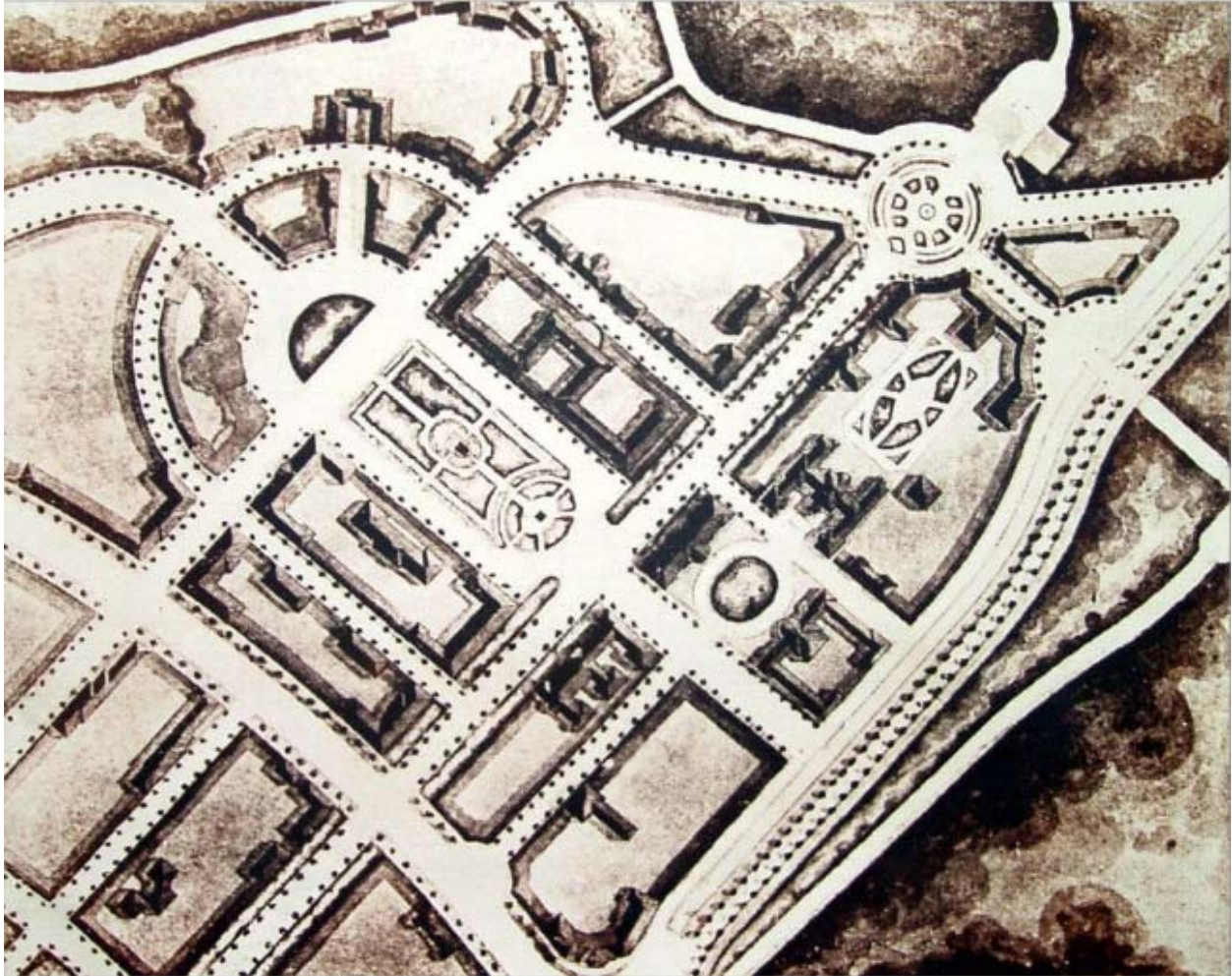


Figure 43: A close-up view of the university zone designed by Alexander Tamanian in 1924 Yerevan master plan. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

The urban planning of Yerevan goes through three phases. Phase one being the original plan, goes for 150,000 inhabitants. Phase two, the natural growth and immigration. Phase three, the government policies to increase the population to reach one million in order to receive fund for building metro system. Following is a map of the city in 1957. The historical monuments are colored by red, the Persian period buildings by yellow, the Russian period buildings by blue, and the Tamanian buildings by pink (fig. 44).



Figure 44: A map of Yerevan created in 1957. This map was used to create the 1960 master plan. In this map, the historical monuments are highlighted by red, the Persian period buildings by yellow, the Russian period buildings by blue, and the Tamanian period buildings by pink (fig. 52). In 1957, the four distinct areas (fig. 44) of Persian period, except the fortress were still intact. The Russian buildings were concentrated in the areas between them and little Tamanian style buildings (covering large city blocks with a big communal internal courtyard fig. 50) were constructed. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.



In 1957, the four distinct areas of Persian period (fig. 36), except the fortress were still intact. The Russian buildings were concentrated in the areas between them and little Tamanian style buildings (covering large city blocks with a big communal internal courtyard fig. 42) were constructed. In the master plan of 1969, created by architects M. Mazmanian, F. Markosian, and E. Papian (fig. 45), the new additions are colored by dark green, the existing buildings by dark red, and historic monuments by light red. In this master plan, the buildings which have no color and are demonstrated by the profile line are destined to be demolished. The number of buildings which were designed in Tamanian's master plan are dramatically increased meaning that the city remained consistent in realizing the 1924 plan. It is significant to notice that all Persian and Russian period buildings are destined to be demolished and large scale projects are going to replace them. These large scale projects are not limited to constructing buildings. There are large scale urban parks designed to be built. Following is a close up view of the three areas: 1- The Northern Avenue, an attempt to connect the opera building to the Republic Square. All Persian style buildings are destined to demolish. It is not clear whether a street is going to be built or the area is going to become an urban park. Five large buildings are designed to be built in between the opera building and Republic Square. Notice that the buildings around the Katoghike Church in Abovyan Street are destined to be demolished (fig. 46). 2- Kond area. All existing buildings are destined to be demolished, Tamanian plan for building a museum quarter is neglected and new buildings are scattered all around the hill with no clear urban grid (fig. 47). 3- The Persian area in south of the Republic Square. All existing buildings are destined to be demolished. A large urban park with an artificial lake is designed to be built. Large buildings are projected to be built in the whole area (fig. 48).



Figure 45: 1969 Yerevan Master Plan created by architects M. Mazmanian, F. Markosian, and E. Papiian. The new additions are colored by dark green, the existing buildings by dark red, and historic monuments by light red. In this master plan, the buildings which have no color are destined to be demolished. Many large scale projects are designed to be built in Kond, South of Republic Square and between the opera building and the Republic Square. The number of Tamanian style buildings have significantly increased since 1957. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

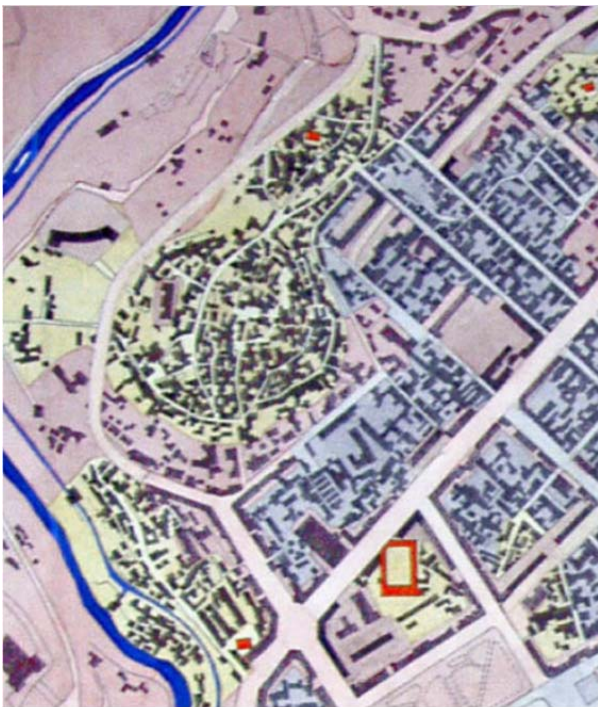


1957 Map



1969 Master Plan

Figure 46: Area 1: The Hyusisayin (Northern) Street. All Persian style buildings are destined to demolish. It is not clear whether a street is going to be built or the area is going to become an urban park. Five large buildings are designed to be built in between the opera building and Republic Square. Notice that the buildings around the Katoghike Church in Abovyan Street are destined to be demolished.

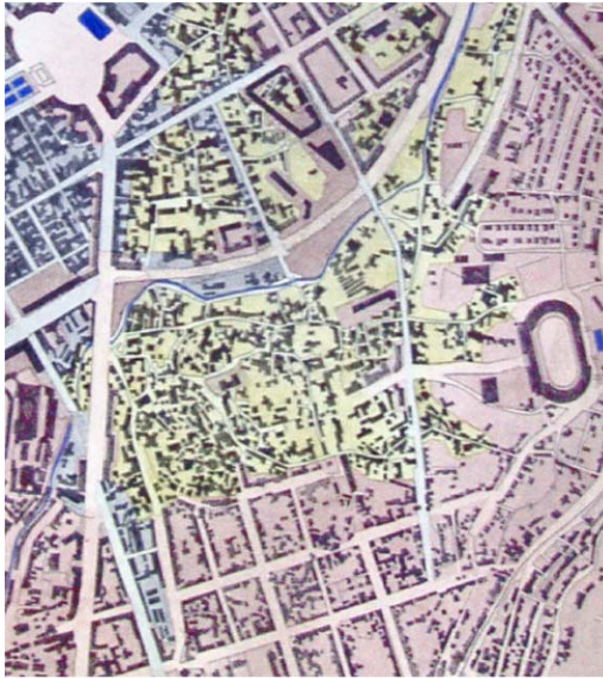


1957 Map

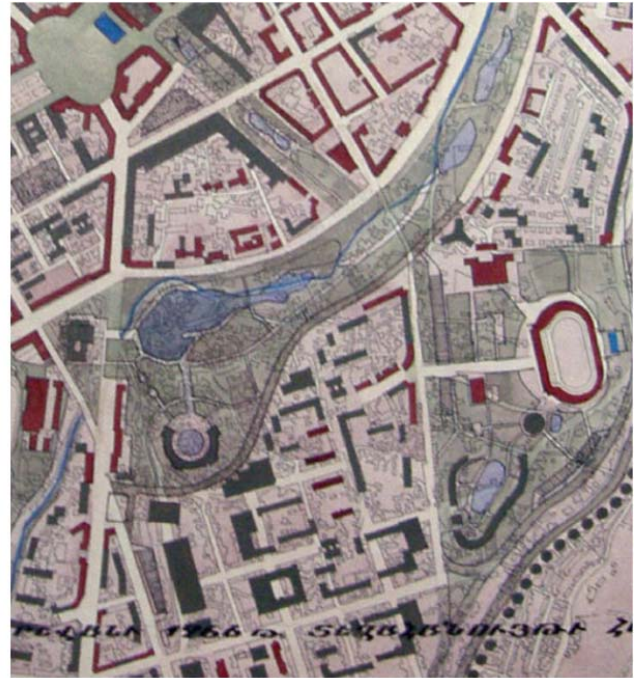


1969 Master Plan

Figure 47: Area 2: Kond. All existing buildings are destined to be demolished, Tamanian plan for building a museum quarter is neglected and new buildings are scattered all around the hill with no clear urban grid.



1957 Map



1969 Master Plan

Figure 48: Area 3: South of the Republic Square. All existing buildings are destined to be demolished. A large urban park with an artificial lake is designed to be built. Large buildings are projected to be built in the whole area.

Another master plan was designed for Yerevan in 1979 (fig. 49). The Hyusisayin Street corridor and its connection to the Monument building on top of the hill through the Cascade monumental staircase is designed in this master plan. The buildings in Hyusisayin Street are designed in tower typology, the urban parks are respected, the Russian period buildings are destined to be demolished and the green linear park of Vernisaj is going to be continued till Kond. The Kond itself is altered by wide streets and large scale buildings. This master plan is going to be compared by a map of existing buildings of 1988 (fig. 50). The legend is as follows: Historical monuments are colored by red, Persian period buildings by yellow, Russian period by blue, Tamanian period by pink, and post-Tamanian constructions by dark green. Despite the ambitious plan of 1979, little is realized in 1988. The Hyusisayin Street has not been constructed, the Kond is intact. The urban park in south of the Republic Square is realized even though in a smaller scale than it was projected in 1979 master plan. The new constructions are concentrated in the South. No large scale project is realized in the historic core of the Yerevan. The Russian period buildings are all intact (figs. 51-53).



Figure 49: Yerevan Master Plan of 1979. The Hyusisayin Street corridor and its connection to the Monument building on top of the hill through the Cascade monumental staircase is designed in this master plan. The buildings in Hyusisayin Street are designed in tower typology, the urban parks are respected, the Russian period buildings are destined to be demolished and the green linear park of Vernisaj is going to be continued till Kond. The Kond itself is altered by wide streets and large scale buildings. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.





1979 Master Plan

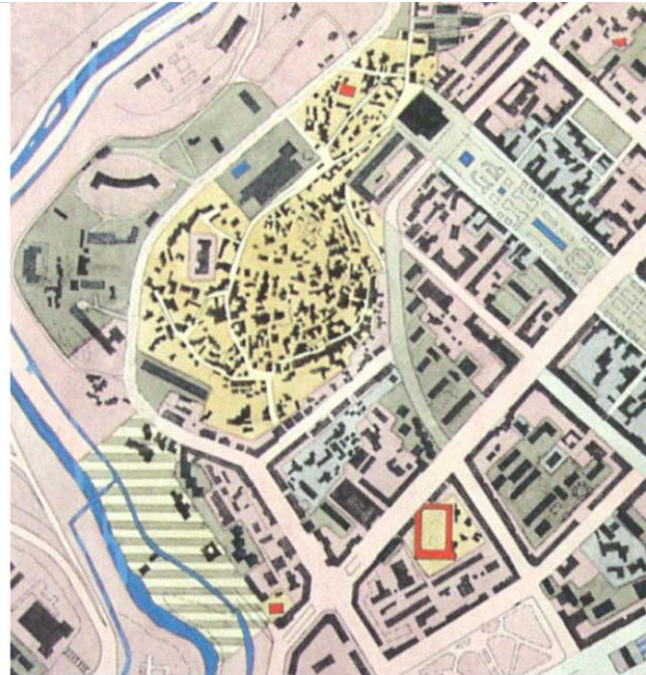


1988 Map

Figure 51: Area 1: The Hyusisayin (Northern) Street. Ambitious modernistic projects are designed but none are realized. Central Yerevan has very little changed. All large scale projects are realized in suburbs.

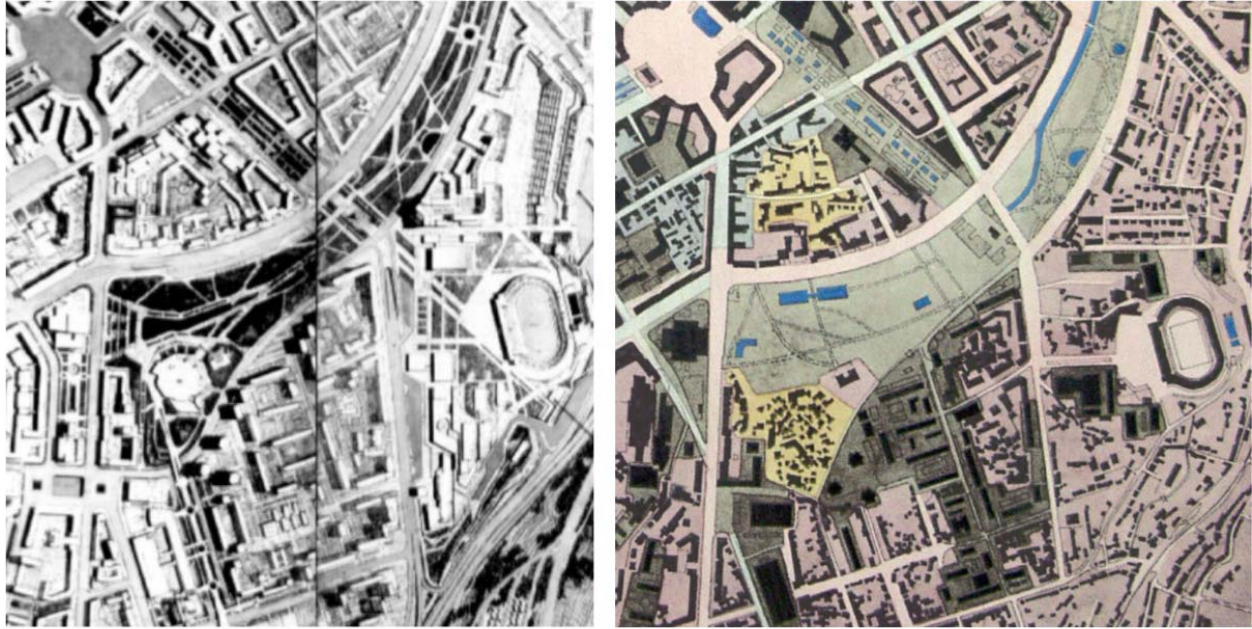


1979 Master Plan



1988 Map

Figure 52: Area 2: Kond. Only two new buildings according to the 1979 plan are constructed. The urban texture is intact.



1979 Master Plan

1988 Map

Figure 53: Area 3: South of the Republic Square. Part of the urban park is built in place of Persian period buildings but no large-scale project is realized.

During the Soviet Period, despite the ambitious modernist projects for the historic center of Yerevan, the large-scale projects were realized in the suburbs and the core kept its human scale very much loyal to what Aleksander Tamanian had designed in 1924. The urban development during the Soviet period was more sensitive to the original plan and tried to maintain as much as possible its characteristics. The consistency of the planning philosophy is significant. The figure created by K. Ayvazian in 2006, demonstrate the changes took place in historic core of Yerevan between 1979 and 1991 (fig. 54). It is clear that the Tamanian style buildings comprise the majority of the urban texture and the irregular urban grid remained from the Persian period is still visible in three previously studied areas. The new contractions are shown by dark to light blue regarding their height. The green belt designed by Tamanian as a major element of Yerevan city is intact and there are no major constructions in Hrazdan River gorge. There are very few high-rise buildings in the historic core and they are mostly located whether close to or outside the circular ring and not in the center. Therefore, the skyline of the city is respected.



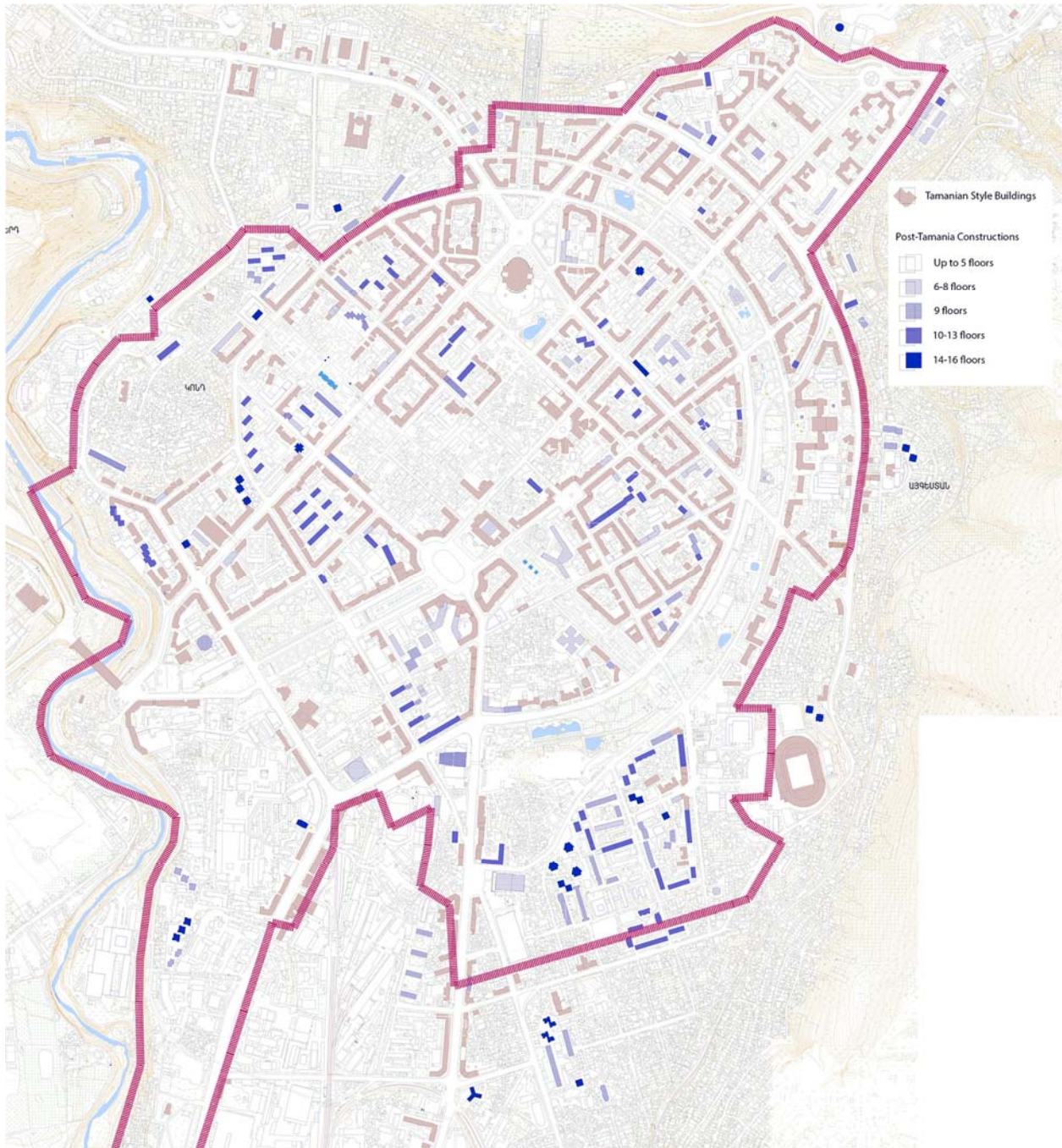


Figure 54: The existing and new additions between 1979 and 1991 in historic core of Yerevan city. The Tamanian style buildings are comprising the majority of the constructed texture and there are few high-rise constructions in the center. Therefore, the visual integrity of the skyline is respected. Image from the Department of Historic Preservation of Yerevan, courtesy of Karen Simonyan.

Armenians, like many other nations, were sensitive about preserving their architectural heritage. During the centuries, according to the knowledge of the day, they tried to preserve the legacy of their predecessors but the interest towards Armenian architecture in West, has started by the accounts of the nineteenth century travelers. It intensified in the beginning of the twentieth century following the Strzygowski's publication -even though 1918 was not the best moment in history for bringing out the polemical theory of eastern origin of European architecture- and revived in the early 70s and 80s in Italy. It diminished since then and did not continue to the twenty first century due to various complicated reasons which is out of the scope of this dissertation.

The methods of preservation have seen changes during the centuries. In this dissertation, I tried to record the history and development of the preservation methods, policies, and tendencies. The first systematic efforts took place at Ani by Nicholas Marr. His preservation methods were advanced with respect to his time and is considered one of the best examples. Between 1917 and 1945, while Armenia faced various difficulties including the immigrant's crisis following the genocide and Stalin oppressions, the country had limited resources to dedicate to preservation of architectural heritage but the first steps towards forming an administrative structure took place in the years immediately after the formation of Soviet Armenia. During the years of stability and development, in 1960s and 1970s, many monuments were preserved according to latest internationally accepted policies and guidelines (see appendix 2). Using concrete in consolidating the monuments is considered the weakness of these projects but avoiding over reconstruction and falsification is considered their point of strength. During the second republic, after 1991, the administrative structure was destroyed and the bounds regarding private property and protective zones were disappeared. Therefore, economic benefit and speculation lead to demolishing a large part of the historic urban fabric of Yerevan. Regarding the preservation of monuments, many previously preserved projects, which were left unfinished due to lack of information, were completed leading to a tendency of creating a complete even though false image of monuments. Corruption lead to giving projects to unauthorized and improper contractors, causing bad quality preservation projects, using unauthentic materials and techniques.

After the 1991 deterioration in preserving the monuments, there is a hope that the new government change its policies and be more sensitive towards authentic preservation of Armenian monuments

in general. This will not happen without proper contribution between internationally accepted universities and institutions, international financial support, and training local specialists.

Regarding the technological advancement in digitizing and creating sophisticated 3D models, it is necessary to create complete 3D models of Armenian monuments and integrate all existing documentation of previous preservation projects in an easy to access method and use this information for future projects. The initial attempts in recording the Armenian monuments in GIS system took place by support of Politecnico di Milano but never completed.

Regarding the future academic studies, exactly on hundred years after the publication of Strzygowski's polemical work, it would be interesting to develop a PhD dissertation to evaluate Strzygowski's theory and try to answer the fundamental question of the origin of European architecture with a new perspective and without political and nationalistic biases.

In the beginning of the formation of a new government in Armenia, even though during the years between 1991 and 2018, because of corruption and land speculation, a large portion of invaluable architectural heritage of Armenian people is lost forever, the contribution of the scholars and politicians is needed to guarantee a better policy towards the preservation of Armenian monuments. It is never late for a fresh start and be hopeful for a brighter future.

## **Appendix 2**

### **A Catalog of Architectural Preservation Approach during the Soviet Period**

- 1- The Amberd Complex**
- 2- Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Areni or Arpa**
- 3- Artavazik Church**
- 4- Aruch Surb Grigor Church**
- 5- Avan Monuments in Yerevan**
- 6- Bjni, Holy Mother of God Church**
- 7- Goshavank or Nor Getik**
- 8- Hovhannavank Complex**
- 9- Karmravor Church**
- 10- Kecharis Complex**
- 11- Lmbatavank**
- 12- Mankants or Surb Sion Church**
- 13- Surb Marianeh Church**
- 14- Marmashen Monastery**
- 15- Mshkavank**
- 16- Noravank**
- 17- Ptghni Church or Ptghnavank**
- 18- Selim Caravanserai**
- 19- Sevan Peninsula Monuments**
- 20- Surb Hovhannes of Sisian**
- 21- Spitakavor Monastery**
- 22- Saint Stepanos Church of Kosh**
- 23- Talin Cathedral**
- 24- Talin Caravanserai**
- 25- Tegher Monastery**
- 26- Tsiranavor Church**
- 27- Yeghegis, Surb Nshan Church**
- 28- The Basilica of Yereruyk**

The aim of the following section is to demonstrate the Soviet policies regarding preservation of built heritage in Armenia using numerous case studies. The monuments are sorted alphabetically according to the monument name recorded during the Soviet period. Each case study has a specific characteristic that reveals certain approach towards numerous problems regarding the restoration of Armenian monuments from the construction technique, material, and historical point of view.

The information regarding each preservation project is extracted from the following monographs.

1- The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia<sup>1</sup>

2- The Restoration of Architectural Monuments<sup>2</sup>

The projects does not belong to a specific architect. They generally demonstrate the Soviet policies. Apart from the following cases, there are examples of projects, which have been implemented, in a larger scale and with national level propaganda. The Erebuni and Garni projects are examples of these large-scale interventions. Monographs regarding these projects have been published in Soviet Armenia, which are added in the bibliography.

I would like to emphasize that during the soviet period, the process of historical preservation may not have been at the most current level of knowledge and expertise and details as compared to European countries. However, it provided a general framework that was quite sensitive to the integrity of the monument itself. In fact, there are numerous examples of not reconstructing a monument if precise facts and information were not available and this was reflected in the process of the preservation of that particular monument. In some cases, after the fall of Soviet regime, further reconstruction projects are implemented and the stone domes of many churches, which were covered with temporary structures, are completed. In these cases, a recent photo is added to the project.

All photographs have been credited to proper sources. All black and white photos are extracted from the two above-mentioned sources.

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<sup>1</sup> Hovhannisian, Konstantin. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments in Soviet Armenia*, Yerevan, 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Harutyunyan, Varazdad. *The Restoration of Architectural Monuments*. Yerevan, 2003.

**1- The Amberd Complex:** The Amberd complex is located in southern slopes of Mount Aragats. It is founded in tenth century but changed in thirteenth century during Zakarians period. The complex includes the palace (X-XIII), the bath (XIII), the church (XI) and the archaeological site.

During the 1970-76 restoration project, the walls, the dome system and the roofs of the church were restored, a new road was constructed to reach the complex but not being enough to carry the necessary masonry and equipment, a large amount of the masonry was carried by helicopters. The palace bath was also restored up to its roof, however, the domes remained uncovered because of unreliable information about the original shape of its roof.

Project: Yu. Tamanian.

Restoration architect: A. Avedisian.

Stonemason taskmaster: M. Gasparian.



The Amberd church before and after the restoration project of 1970-1976.



Left: Using Helicopter to bring the masonry to the site. Right: Stonemasons installing a stone block.



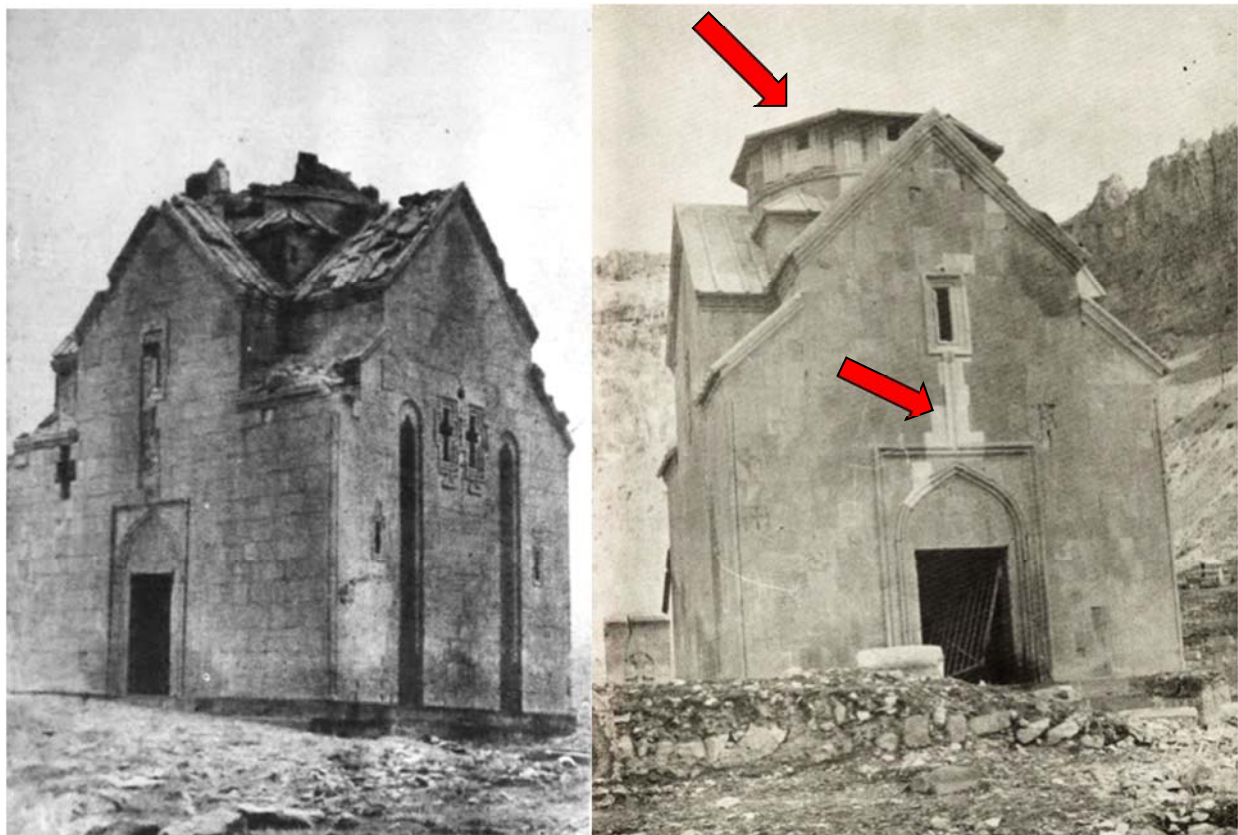
Left: The current situation of Amberd Church. Right: Highlighting the difference between the original and new stones by using plain, not decorated stone blocks. Photo taken by Vahe Simon in May 2017.

**2- Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Areni or Arpa:** The Surb Astvatsatsin church is located in Yeghegnadzor region. It was built in 1321 by architect Momik. It is a single-nave, two aisled domed church. It was destroyed in 1840 because of an earthquake which caused its dome to collapse. Restoration started in 1967 and ended in 1971. The surroundings were cleaned from alluvium layers, which a significant part of the building fragments were recovered. Using these fragments, together with newly hewn stones, the interior and exterior face of the walls were restored. The arches, the vaults, the first row of the drum, the cornices, and the floor slabs were restored. Due to little recovered material, the dome was not reconstructed and a tin roof was installed for protecting the interior from the rain water.

Restoration architects: A. Abrahamian (1967), Sh. Makian (1968), G. Danielian (1969-71).

Stonemasons master: P. Marabian

In 1998, the dome of the church was reconstructed by the patronage of Artashes Tusmezjian from Istanbul.



Surb Astvatsatsin Church or Areni before and after the restoration project of 1967. The damaged stone blocks were replaced by new ones and the roof slabs were restored but the dome was not reconstructed due to uncertainties regarding its original form. Instead, the drum was covered by a tin roof to protect it from penetrating rain water.





Current situation. A brand new stone dome, not recognizable from the original construction is added in 1998.  
Photo by Narek Sargsyan, October 2014.

**3- Artavazik Church:** Artavazik Church: Is located on the southern slopes of Mount Aragats, East of Byurakan village. It was built in VII century and in XIII century the rotunda shape belfry was added. Before the restoration project, the dome, vaults, roofs and southern wall of the church were destroyed, but the belfry was standing. The conservation activities of 1958 were preceded by cleaning the ruins and creating a road to reach the monument. Then, the western elevation of the monument was restored, partly by new masonry, one segment of the vault, roof, slabs and cornices. According to traditional style, clay pots were used to fill the gap between the vault and the roof to lighten the load. The eastern Khachkar was consolidated and repaired with its pedestal.

Restoration architects: A. Abrahamian, D. Avetisian.

Stonemasons masters: P. Marabian, O. M. Menejian.

The belfry collapsed in 2006.



Artavazik Church, before and after the restoration project of 1958.



During the restoration activities of 1958, according to local traditional construction techniques, clay pots were used in decreasing the load of the masonry between the vault and the roof.



Left: The monument before the collapse of the belfry in November 2005. Photo by Vladimir Gulyan. Right: Current situation of the monument. Photo taken by Vardan Voskanian taken in March 2018.

**4- Aruch Surb Grigor Church:** The Historical Saint Gregory sanctuary in Aruch is located in Ashtarak region in a village with the same name. It is built in VII century by the order of Grigor Mamikonian. The remains of a basilic shape temple is located near the monument.

In the early 1940s, the monument was on the verge of collapse with destroyed walls and roofs. The western segment was heavily damaged with its vault in dire condition, the buttressed walls of south and north were without roof. The dome was completely destroyed. The same with the eastern part. The excavations revealed that the foundations were also heavily damaged.

During the 1946 restorations, smaller stone blocks had been used for repairing the walls. Later, during 1958 restorations, the small size stone blocks were replaced with the original size stone blocks. Strengthening the vault started from the heavily damaged western segment. Altogether, during the restorations, applying innovative methods, little wood were used which helped to keep the costs low.

Because of strengthening needs, beforehand, the stone vault was covered with 20 cm steel-reinforced concrete diaphragm with a web created by 10mm rods, which alloyed the vault stones together.

This concrete web significantly reduced the lateral load on walls. The same method was used to strengthen the eastern vault.<sup>3</sup>

The missing stones were completed. The number of missing stones were higher in western vault. The broken stones were also replaced with the new ones. By strengthening the vaults, the whole structure of the building was significantly consolidated specifically due to damaged hinges and junctions. Furthermore, it was possible to cover the roofs with tuf slabs according to original construction. While the roof repairs were completed, it was necessary to rise the drum with one layer of stone blocks. Because it was so heavily damaged and was located lower than the roof level and it was not possible to stop the rain water from penetrating the building. Then the interior of the monument was brought to order, the apse bem/stage was covered by stone slabs. The heavily damaged floor in east and south east of the apse and the elevation of the stage was laid again. The destroyed windows were also brought to order.

For the above-mentioned restoration activities, the similar color tuff stone was used, quarried

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<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, it is universally accepted that using concrete together with traditional masonry caused further deficiencies. This was not known in 1950s and 1960s. Concrete was considered the last and best technology for consolidating historical buildings and it was not limited to Soviet Armenia only. Many examples of applying concrete reinforcement before 1980s can be found all over the world.

from a plane near the Bazmaberd village. After the restoration activities were finished, the area was partially improved. The extra earth was removed and trees were planted. New iron doors were installed which without opening the doors, gave the opportunity to look inside the monument.

The restoration activities took place between 1946 and 1965 with intervals.

The survey was done by H. Hakobyan, G. Donoyan, N. Papukhyan, A. Harutyunyan.

Project by: A. Harutyunyan.

Stonemason master: M. Menejyan.

The dome opening is not covered today. There is a debate about how to cover it. As the general tendency of Armenians, the majority of Armenian architects intend to reconstruct a stone dome and return the building to its original shape and dignity. Some suggest to cover the opening with new easily recognizable materials like the glass domes in Goshavank.



Aruch Surb Grigor Church before and after the reconstruction project of 1958. Both eastern and western vaults are covered by a 20 cm diaphragm of steel reinforced concrete to consolidate the stone blocks. The missing stones of the walls are restored and the roofs are covered by stone slabs. The dome is not reconstructed.



Current situation of Aruch Surb Grigor Church. The difference between original and later addition is highlighted.  
Photo by Nina Stoessinger, July 2009.

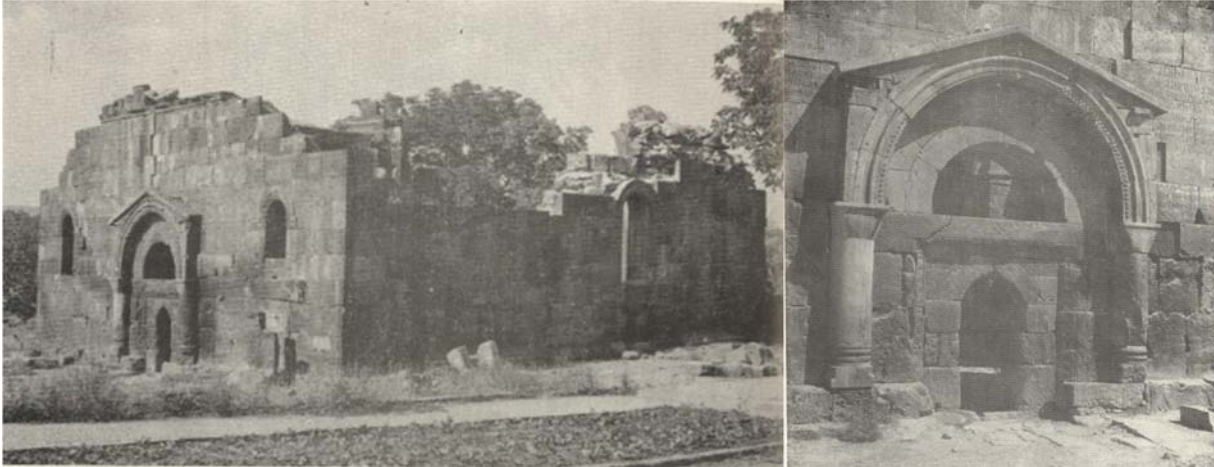
**5- Avan Monuments in Yerevan:** The Avan monuments are located in Yerevan in Avan region. Those are a four-apse church from 6th century, the oldest church within the limits of Yerevan City, and the Surb Hovhannes Church from 13th century.

In 1940, under the supervision of Nicolai Tokarsky, parts of the 6th century church was consolidated.

Partial restorations and conservations took place in 1968 and the road to the monuments was paved and a parking was built. The residential houses, visually obstructing the monuments view were removed.

Restorer foreman: H. Gasparyan

Stonemasons master: Y. Sargsyan



The 6th century monument in Avan after the consolidation project of 1968.



Current situation of the 6th century monument in Avan. Photo by Samvel Martirosyan, March 2016.





The Holy Mother of God Chapel in Avan, Yerevan. Top and middle: The monument before and after the restoration projects of 1968. Bottom: Current situation of the monument. Photo by Vardan Voskanian, May 2017. The stone monument in front of the chapel does not exist in 2017.

**6- Bjni, Holy Mother of God Church:** It is located in Hrazdan region in a village by the same name. It was founded as a monastery by Grigor Magistros in the beginning of the XI century. During the 1957 - 59 restorations, the highly decayed masonry of the upper parts of the walls, the pediments, and the lost roof slabs were restored. The surrounding walls of the site were rebuilt. The chapel was also restored.

Restoration Architect: H. Hakobyan

Stonemason masters: M. Menejyan, H. Gevorgyan.



Bjni Holy Mother of God Church before and after the restoration project of 1957-59.

**7- Goshavank or Nor Getik:** The architectural complex is located in Gosh village of Dilijan district. It is founded in XII century while the construction activities continued till XIII century. Mkhitar Gosh, the famous scholar, political actor, and writer was actively involved in the foundation of the complex. The complex includes the Astvatsatsin Church (1191-96), its narthex (1197-1203), Saint Gregory Church (1237-1241), Saint Gregory the Illuminator church (1208-1241), and the book depository and bell tower (1241-1291). The rough stone constructed walls of

the refectory are standing. In the south west of the complex is located the small Saint Gregory church (1256), and on the western slopes, Mkhitar Gosh mausoleum.

Despite its solid basalt construction, the monuments have reached us in quite damaged condition. Therefore, all structures and their walls were restored. The bell tower was restored along its entire two story. The other buildings, the upper part of the walls and the roof slabs. In some monuments, during the previous restorations, the roofs were covered by earth which were removed and covered by stone slabs. A thoroughly restoration was applied to the domes, the dome of the Astvatsatsin church was relaid entirely. In consolidating the structures of the buildings, steel reinforced concrete was used in junctions. The baluster shape iron doors were installed.

Restoration architect: V. Khachatryan, H. Gasparyan.

Stonemason master: Y. Sargsyan.

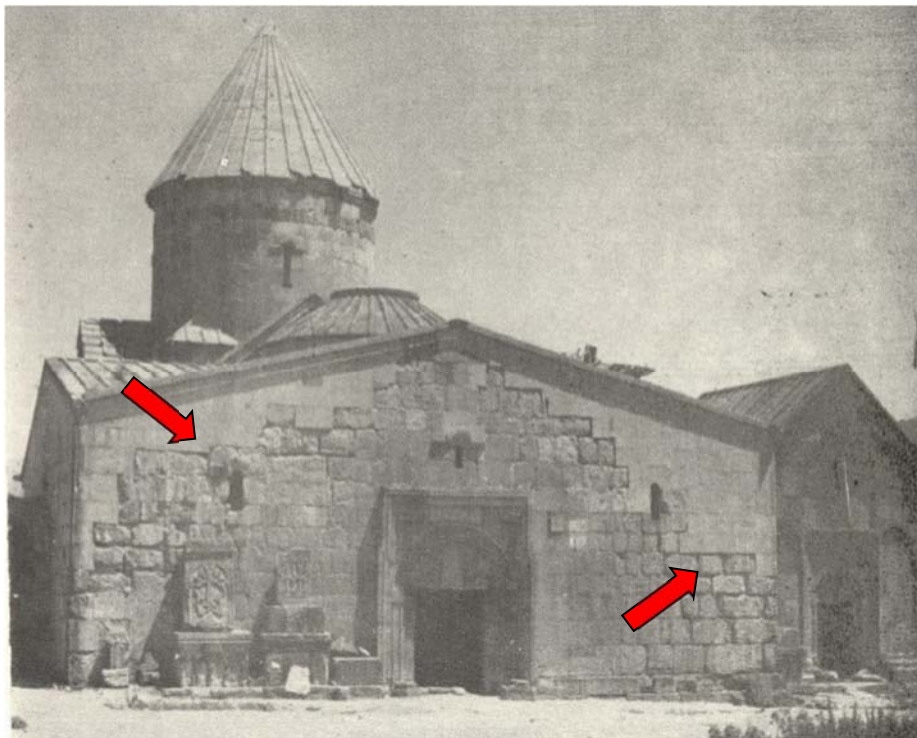
In 1978, the entire surroundings were improved.



The drum of Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Goshavank before the restoration project of 1957-59. A large amount of the original basalt stones are standing but in verge of collapse.



The western elevation of the narthex, Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Goshavank before the restoration project of 1957-59. The stone blocks on upper levels are heavily damaged, the roof needs to be repaired and some stones are missing.



The western elevation of the narthex, Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Goshavank after the restoration project of 1957-59. The new stones are easily recognizable



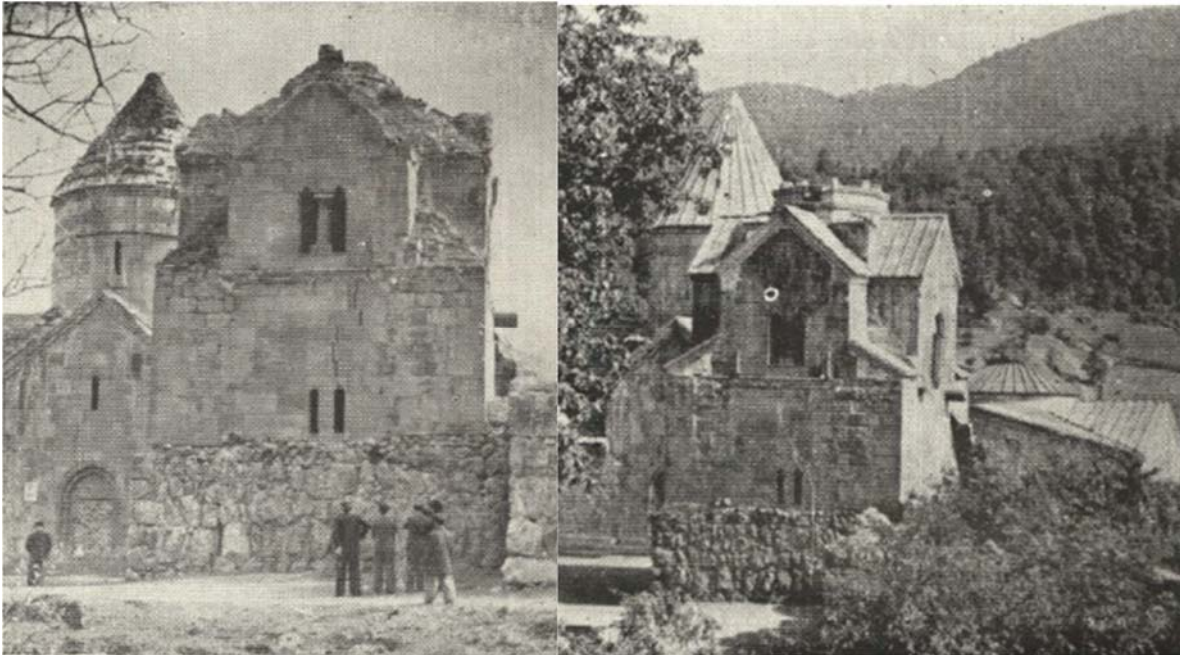
Goshavank in 2015. The missing domes are not replaced by new stone constructions. This photo is taken in 2015, before the latest restoration project which restored the stone roof of the main dome. Photo by Tigran Kuchatyan.



Goshavank in 2017. The main dome is recently covered by new stone slabs. Parts of the scaffolding is still visible. Photo taken in August 2017 by Tigran Karapetyan.



Goshavank, Surb Grigor Church, before and after the restoration project of 1957-59. The missing stones are replaced by new ones but in different color, the roofs are restored and the dome covering which was completely lost was restored by new stone slabs.



Goshavank belfry, before and after the restoration project of 1957-59. The missing stones are replaced and the roofs are restored. The first row of the drum is laid with new stone but the construction of the drum and dome did not take place. The opening is covered by glass and steel structure.

**8- Hovhannavank Complex:** Hovhannavank Complex: Is located in Ashtarak region in the village of Ohanavan. The single nave basilica church was built in the fifth century. The big church called Hovhannes Karapet is built in 1216 by Vache Prince, the narthex was built in 1250 by Vachutyan Kurd prince.

The big church was collapsed in 1918 and the fragments remained inside. The facade and roof of the narthex was partially destroyed. The surrounding walls were in bad condition. The first restoration activities took place in 1948 while the northern side of the west elevation of the narthex together with the columns and cornices of the rotunda were restored and its roof was covered by tin.

Restoration architect: A. Balasanyan

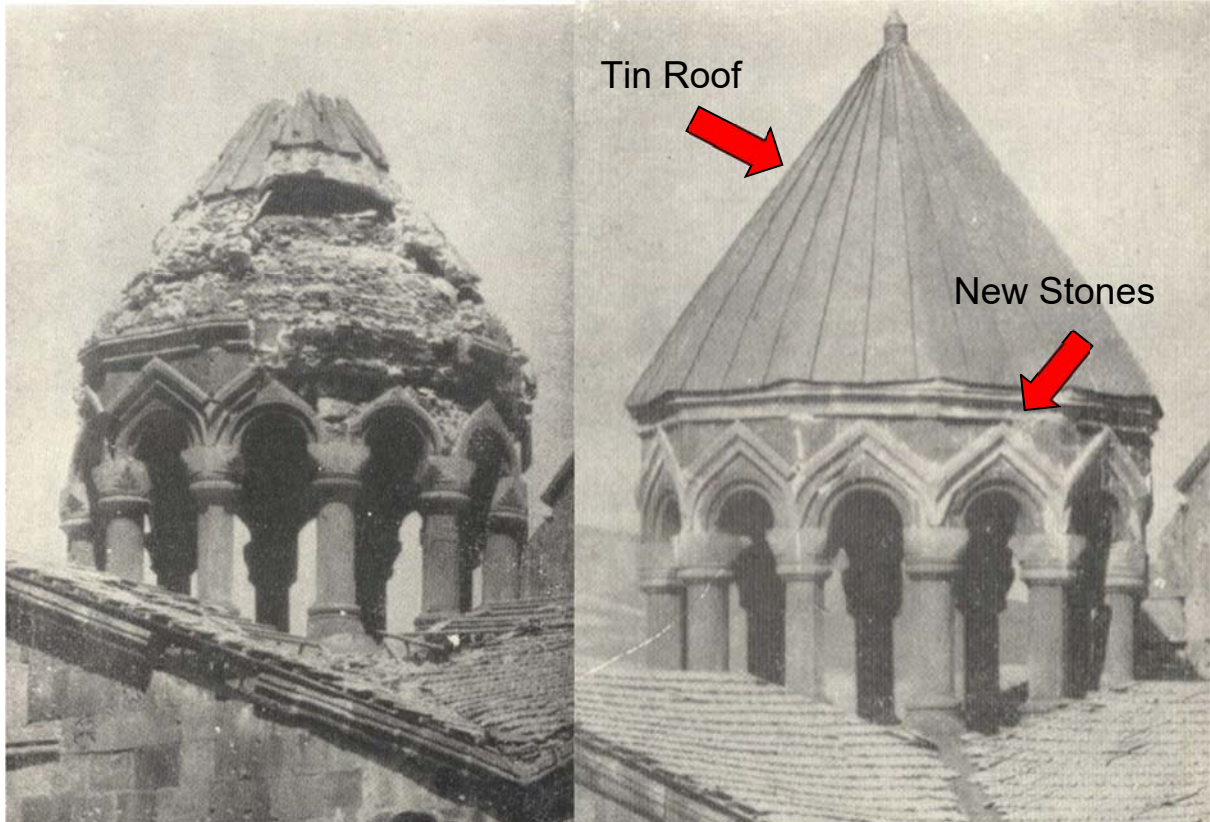
In 1954, the pediment of the basilica church and the cornices of the northern wall were restored.

In 1974, the ruins inside the big church were removed, the exterior surrounding walls were repaired, the destroyed old building located in the courtyard was removed and the area was flattened.

Restorer foreman: Sh. Makyan

Stonemason master: P. Marabyan.

The dome of the Hovhannes Karapet church was reconstructed after the independence of Armenian republic.

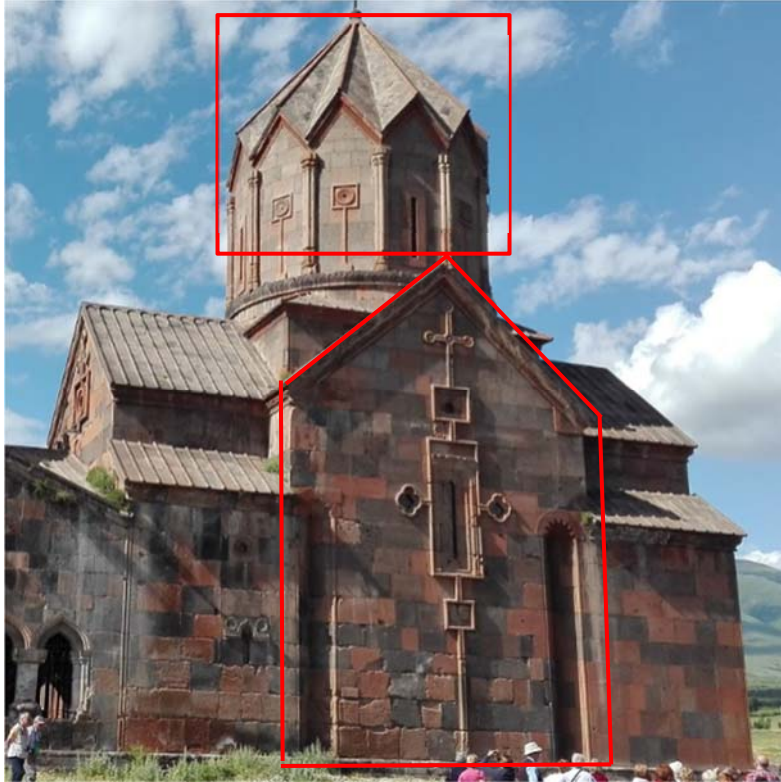


The rotunda before and after the restoration project of 1948. The roofs, cornices and the missing stones were restored, the rotunda was restored up to the dome covering and was covered by a tin roof.



The new stones used in 1948 restoration project are easily recognizable. Photo by Hasmik Martirosyan, July 2017.





The Southern elevation was restored during the 1954 restoration project and the dome is a recent addition. Photo by Alba Anfuso, June 2017.



Hovhannavank. Photo taken by Ando Khachatryan in April 2016.

**9- Karmravor Church:** Karmravor Church is located in Ashtarak, built in VII century. In the beginning of the XIX century, a three nave rough stone building with wooden columns and flat roof covered by earth was attached to the church. By this addition, the graceful proportions of the original building was lost and the western facade became invisible.

In 1956, that later addition, already half ruined, was removed and the surroundings were cleaned and ordered. Three khachkars were restored and raised in southern part of the courtyard. At the same time, the ruined buildings and fences were removed. The damaged stylobate and walls were restored, stone benches were installed.

In 1972-73, the interior plasters were removed and the original frescoes were restored.

Restoration architects: A. Harutyunyan, V. Khachatryan, H. Gasparyan.

Stonemason masters: M. Menjyan, M. Melikyan.



Karmravor Church before the restoration project of the 1956. The XIX century half ruined added building is still visible.



Karmravor Church during and after the restoration project of 1956.



Karmravor Church in 2016. Photo by Ashot Davtyan.

**10- Kecharis Complex:** It is located in Tsaghkadzor village of Hrazdan district. The complex is founded by Grigor Magistros and includes Saint Gregory Church (1003), its narthex (XII), Saint Nshan Church (XIII), the Cathedral (XIII), Saint Harutyun Church (1220), some khachkars, and the tomb of architect Vetsik.

The complex was restored in 1939, 1947-48 and 1957-58.

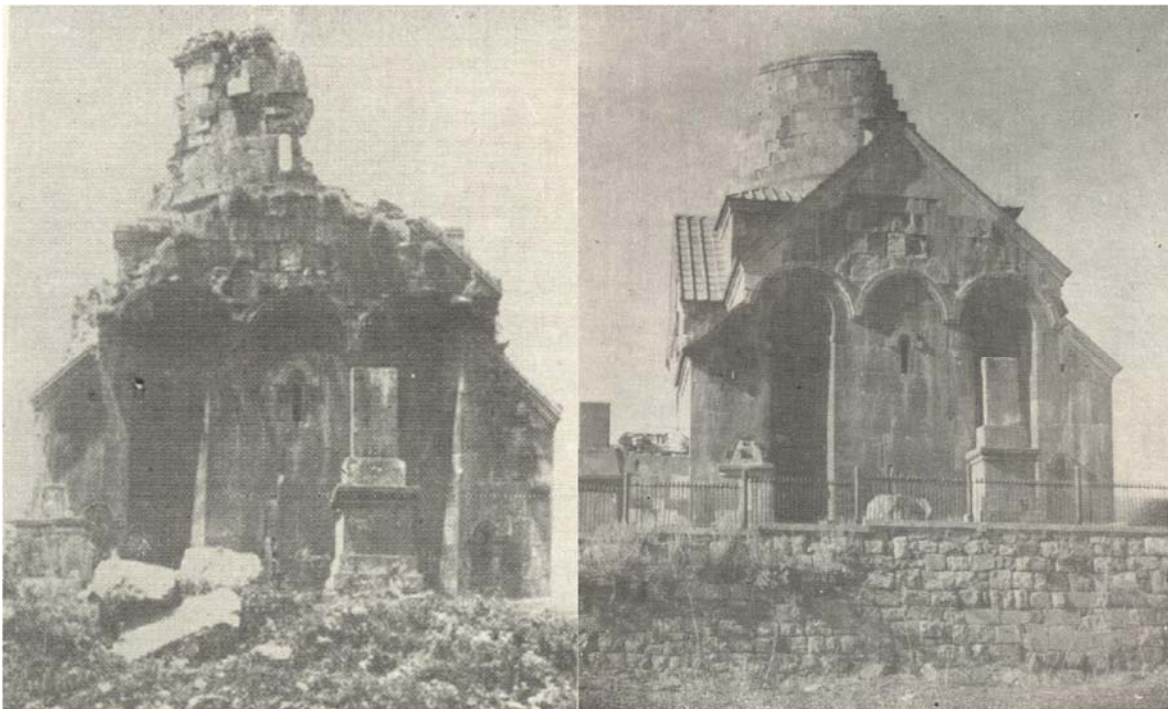
In 1939, small consolidation activities took place on the Saint Gregory Church.

In 1947-48, separate segments of the roofs were repaired by stone slabs.

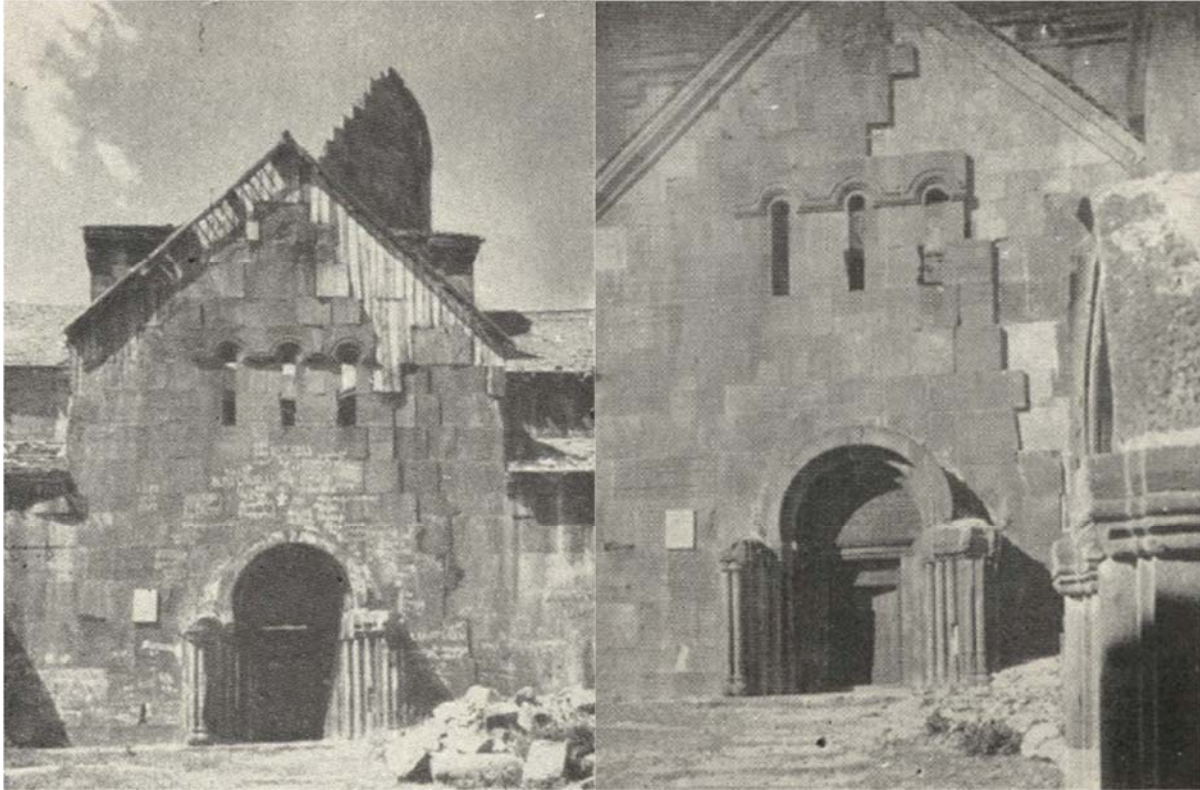
In 1957-58, the walls, cornices, entrances, and domes were restored and the roofs were covered by basalt slabs. The half restored drum of the cathedral was covered by tin roof and the entire area was improved (fence, retaining walls, plantation, and lighting). The khachkars were strengthened and fixed in their original locations.

Restoration foreman: S. Petrosyan, H. Gasparyan.

Stonemason master: Y. Sargsyan.



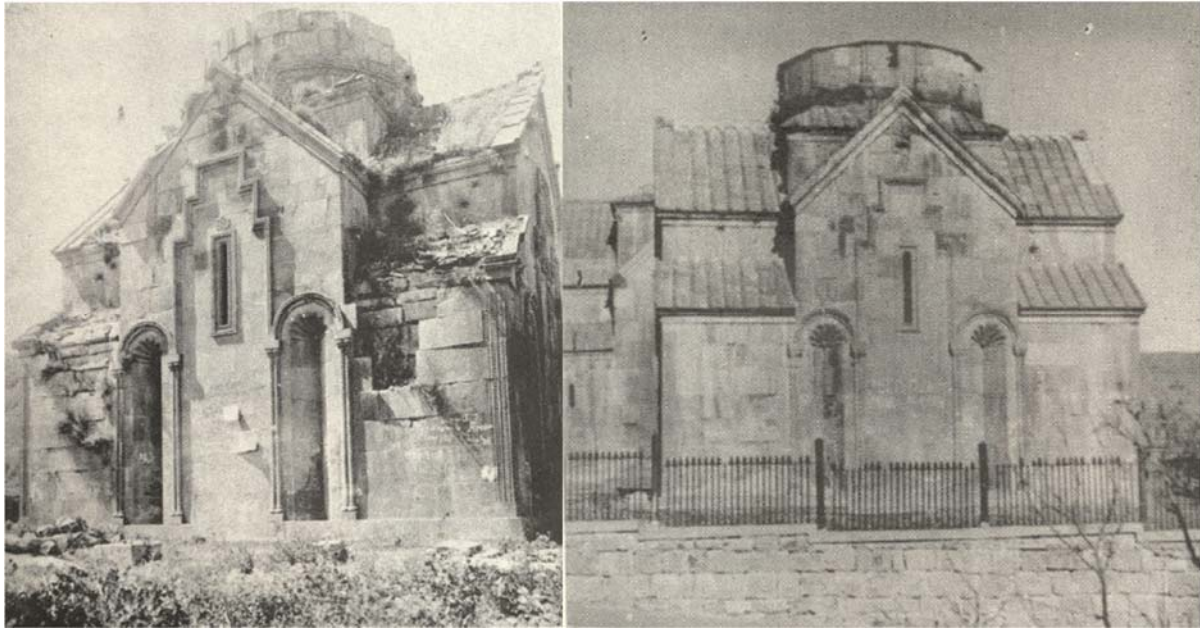
Eastern elevation of the Saint Gregory Church in Kecharis, before and after the restoration project of 1957-58. The new and original stones are recognizable and the drum is not entirely reconstructed.



Southern elevation of the Saint Gregory Church in Kecharis, before and after the restoration project of 1957-58. The new and original stones are recognizable and the drum is not entirely reconstructed.



Surb Harutyun Church of Kecharis before and after the restoration project of 1957-58. The missing stones of upper layers, the cornices, the roofs and the dome cover were restored.



Surb Nshan Church of Kecharis before and after the restoration project of 1957-58. The missing stones are replaced by new ones, the cornices and roofs are restored, the drum is covered by a tin roof.

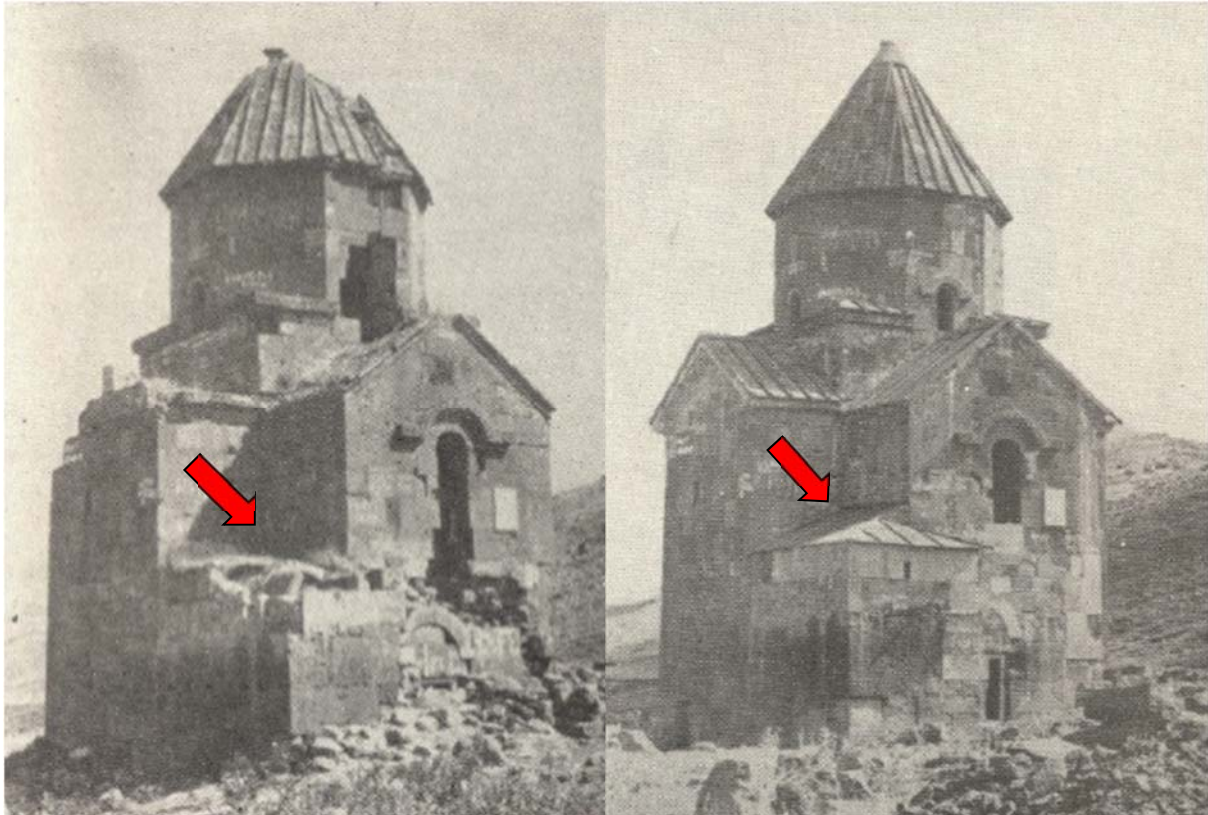


Kecharis Complex in 2015. The domes are reconstructed by unrecognizable stone masonry. Photo by Vahagn Mosinyan, October 2015.

**11- Lmbatavank:** Lmbatavank or Saint Stepanos church is located in 2 km distance from the Artik town in the southwest direction. It is built in VII century. The restoration activities took place in 1954 and 1955. After cleaning the surrounding, the foundations were completely unearthed and restored. Segments of the walls both from inside and outside, stone roofs, the whole dome, and cornices were restored. Due to the unknown original form of the covering of the chamber attached to the north western side of the monument, it was covered by tin and it is left for future research.

Restoration architect: S. Petrosyan.

Stonemason master: K. Abajyan.



Lmbatavank before and after the restoration project of 1954-55. The broken and missing stones were replaced by new ones, the cornices and roofs were restored. The chamber attached to the church was covered by a tin roof because of uncertain original shape.



Lmbatavank in 2016. Photo by Hayk Ghazaryan.

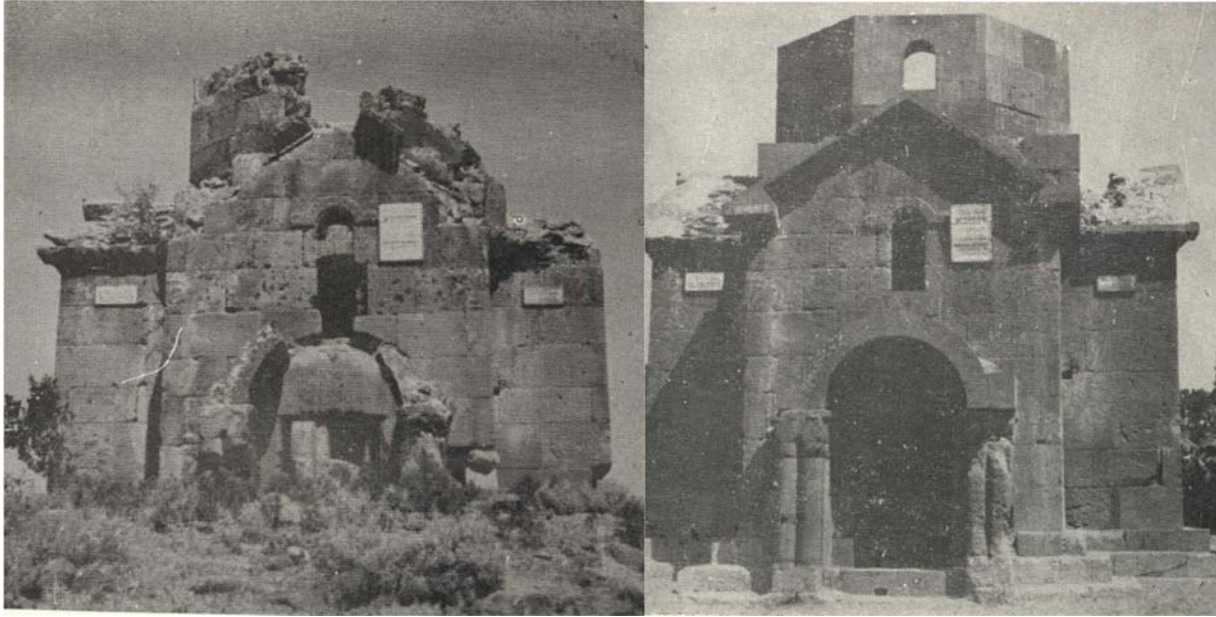
**12- Mankants or Surb Sion Church:** It is located in the suburbs of Oshakan Village in Ashtarak. It is built in VII century. The monument was half ruined, without dome, the outer skin of walls were fallen, and the bases were decayed. The entrance and the roofs were also half ruined.

In 1950, the missing masonry was completed, the destroyed wall were completed by new stone blocks, and the entrance, the cornices and the drum were restored. One row of new stone was laid on top of the original masonry to protect them from further decay. The dome was not reconstructed due to uncertain original form and was left open. In order to differentiate between the original and new, the new stones were plain, without ornamentation.

The surrounding of the monument was cleaned and leveled.

Restoration architect: A. Balasanyan.





Western elevation of Mankants or Surb Sion Church before and after the restoration project of 1950. The missing stones of walls, cornices and roofs are restored. A new row of stone is laid on the drum to protect the existing ones but the dome is not reconstructed.



The cornices and drum of Surb Sion Church before and after the restoration project of 1950.



Surb Sion Church in 2017. A new stone dome is reconstructed. Photo by Samvel Martirosyan, September 2017.

**13- Surb Marianeh Church:** It is located in Ashtarak and is built in 1281. In 1838, a belfry was added to the southern wall, which accommodates the entrance. In the beginning of the twentieth century, a hall was added to the western elevation which remained unfinished. In 1950, during a partial restoration project, the inner and outer faces of the walls were restored, the cornices were repaired, the weathered segments of the drum were repaired and the roofs were covered with new stone slabs.

Restoration architect: A. Balasanyan.

Stonemason master: Y. Sargsyan.

In 1978, the surrounding and site was completely improved.



Surb Mariane Church before and after the restoration project of 1950. The missing stones, cornices, and roofs were restored.



Surb Mariane Church in 2016. Photo by Nicola Pina.

**14- Marmashen Monastery:** Is located in Akhurian region, close to Vahramaberd village. The complex includes five churches. The main church was built between 986-1029 by Vahram Pahlavuni, the other churches are built in XI and the narthex in XVIII.

Before the restoration, other than the main church, the others were standing half ruined and partially destroyed.

The restoration project began in 1954 and 55. During the excavations, the foundations of the round church were completely unearthed. The existence of the round church completely changes the perception of the architectural composition of the complex.

The restoration project included covering of the walls with stone blocks, restoration of cornices and roofs. The southern church, contrary to traditional forms, did not have protrusions where the drum meets the roof, and they restore it likewise.

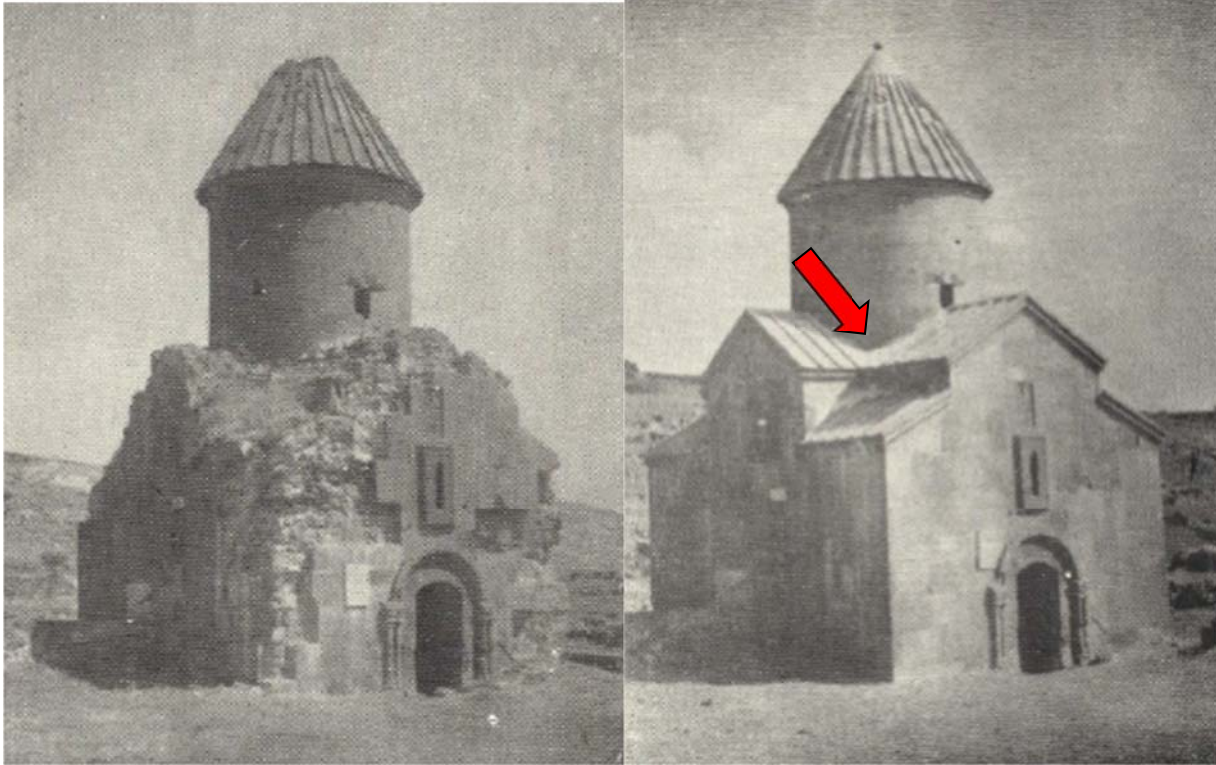
Other than the above mentioned restorations, improving the surroundings continued till 1978.

Restoration foreman: H. Gasparyan, V. Khachatryan

Stonemasons master: Y. Sargsyan.



Marmashen Monastery before and after the restoration project of 1954-55. The church located on the North of the main church was the most damaged one. The eastern elevation was completely lost together with part of the northern elevation, vaults and the dome. These lost segments were not reconstructed, the masonry was consolidated. The lost pediments and roofs of the southern church was restored.



The southern church before and after the restoration project of 1954-55. Unlike Armenian architecture tradition, this church does not have the protrusion where drum meets the roofs and it was restored likewise.



Left: A detail view of the southern church in Marmashen highlighting the missing common traditional Armenian architecture element. Right: An example of the above mentioned element.

**15- Mshkavank:** It is located in Noyemberyan region, 3 kilometers from Koghb Village, in the middle of the forest and is built in X-XIII centuries. The church is a vaulted hall, with gabled roof. The narthex is built on a system of crossing arches.

Both buildings were quite damaged because of the pressure from the roots of the surrounding trees.

The restoration activities took place in 1955-57 and started with destroying the damaging roots.

Then the floor blocks (stylobate) were inserted, covered by floor slabs, realization of new layers both internally and externally, relaying the vaulted coverings, and their completion with new stones blocks, restoring cornices and the roof slabs.

Restoration architect: H. Hakobian.

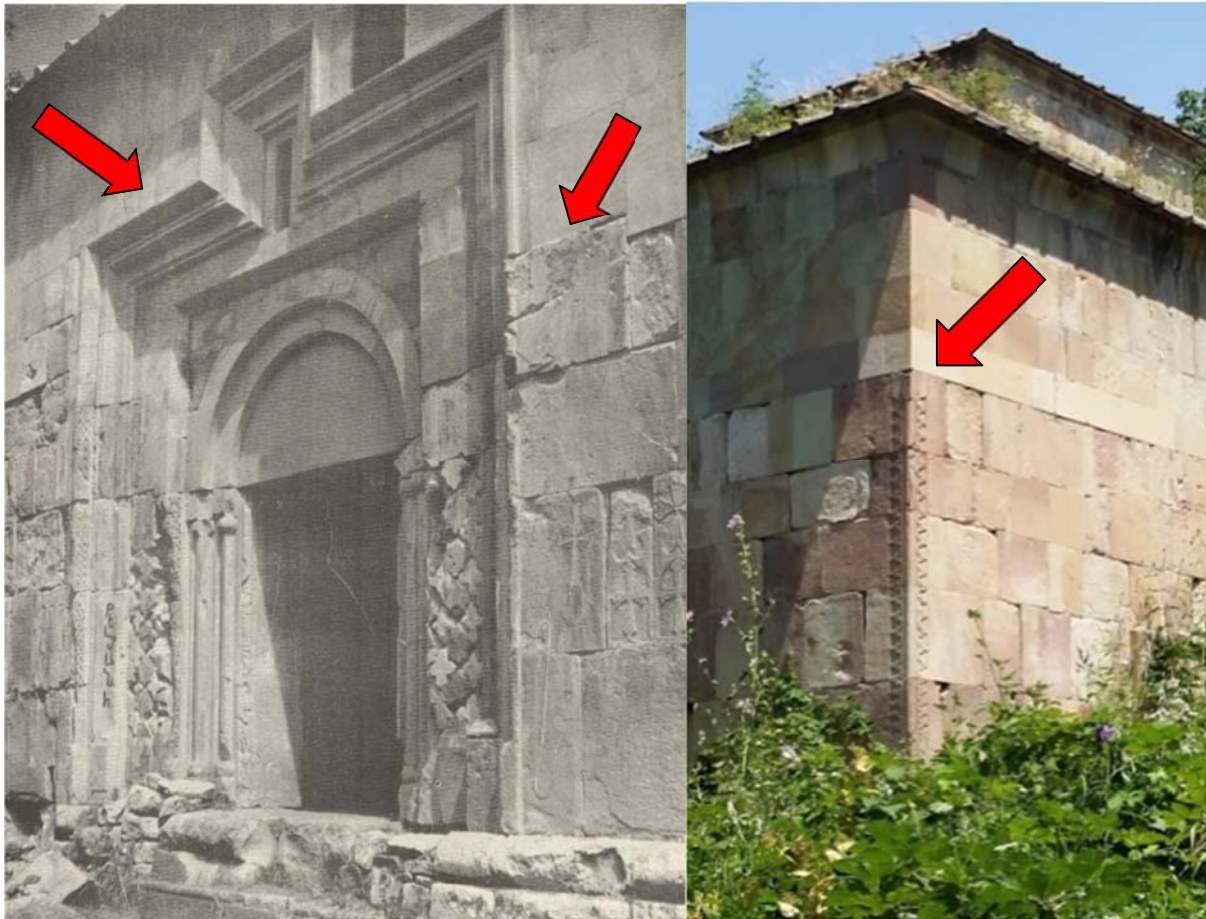
Stonemason master: H. Grigoryan.



Mshkavank, before and after the restoration project of 1955-57. The broken and missing stone blocks were replaced and the cornices and roofs were restored.



The western elevation before and after the restoration project of 1955-57.



The entrance and detail of wall highlighting the recognizable original and new material.



**16- Noravank:** The complex is located near the town of Yeghegnadzor, 2.5 kilometer from Amaghu village, on the sloped mountainside of a deep gorge. This historically significant traditional Armenian architecture complex is built by the representatives of the Orbelian family of Syunik. The complex includes Saint Karapet church (1221), the attached chapel to its western elevation (founded before 1232 and rebuilt in 1261), the Orbelian family mausoleum attached to its northern walls (1275).

In south west of the monument complex is the two-story church-mausoleum of Surb Astvatsatsin built in 1339 by Burtel Orbelian. The architectural composition of this church reminds the two story church-mausoleum of Surb Astvatsatsin in Yeghvard (1301). In both cases, the mausoleum is in the first floor, the church is in the second floor, the third is a rotunda shape construction which is completely destroyed in Noravank but is intact in Yeghvard thanks to continuous and timely restorations.

Despite the common architectural composition and spatial distribution, the exterior of Noravank is superior artistically, both because of the proportion and symmetry of ornaments and the richness and the delicacy of its application. All this is clearer on the spot, in the monument's roof and in the common view of powerful mountains. The symmetric steps towards the second floor are worth mentioning which are completely destroyed in Yeghvard. These totally functional architectural elements are masterfully combined with the aesthetics of the building.

The Surb Astvatsatsin church of Noravank was probably destroyed because of an earthquake. The rotunda and the pediments were completely lost. The walls were also highly damaged.

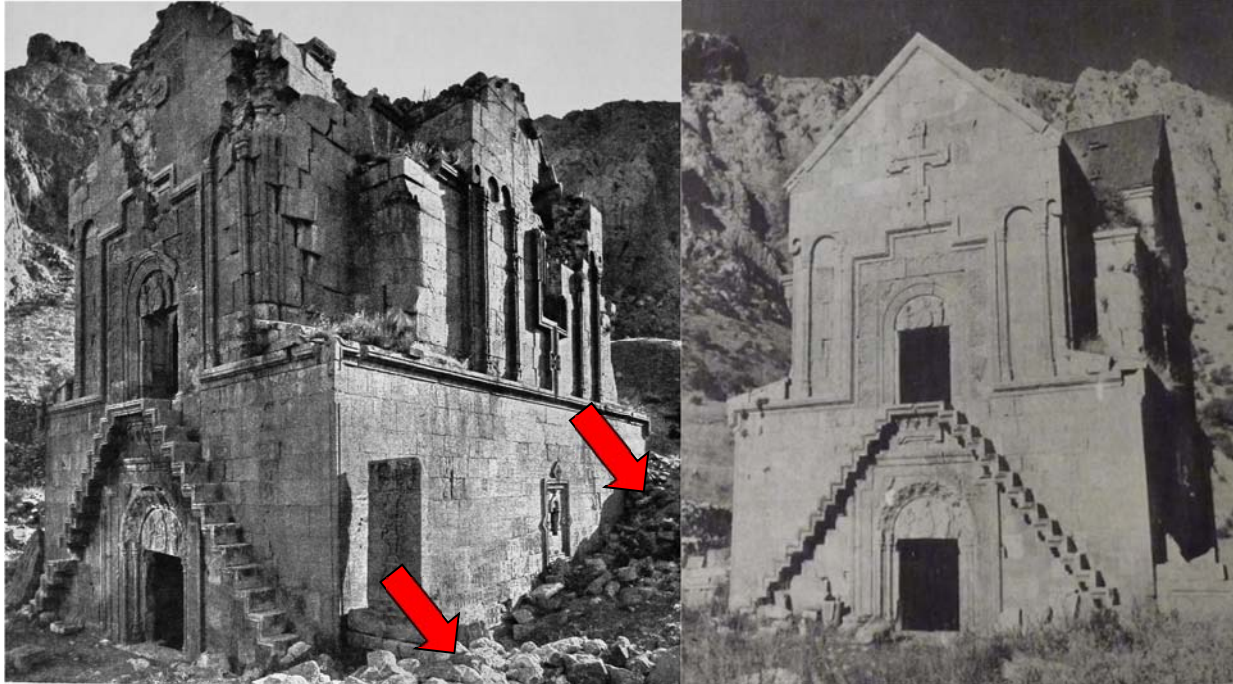
Regarding the dire situation and emergency, the restoration activities started in 1948. After its destruction, all the fragments were remained in place, covered by debris and earth of centuries. The team excavated the area and unearthed the fragments to be able to have an estimation of the amount and condition of the reusable masonry. After studying the fragments, it became clear that a significant amount of the fallen masonry, with its ornamentation was intact and usable. These activities were done by A. Balasanyan. After the excavation and studying of the remaining masonry, the accurate restoration project was prepared based on the unearthed masonry. Therefore, it was decided to relay the second floor facade of the eastern and northern walls which were heavily decayed. During the process, the entire second floor facades were laid on the ground, while the missing parts were completed by the unearthed fragments. This approach significantly increased the speed of the work and minimized the chance of any mistake.

It is clear that like Yeghvard, there was a colonnade rotunda with a dome on top of the building but large part of its fragments were lost making it impossible to reconstruct it.

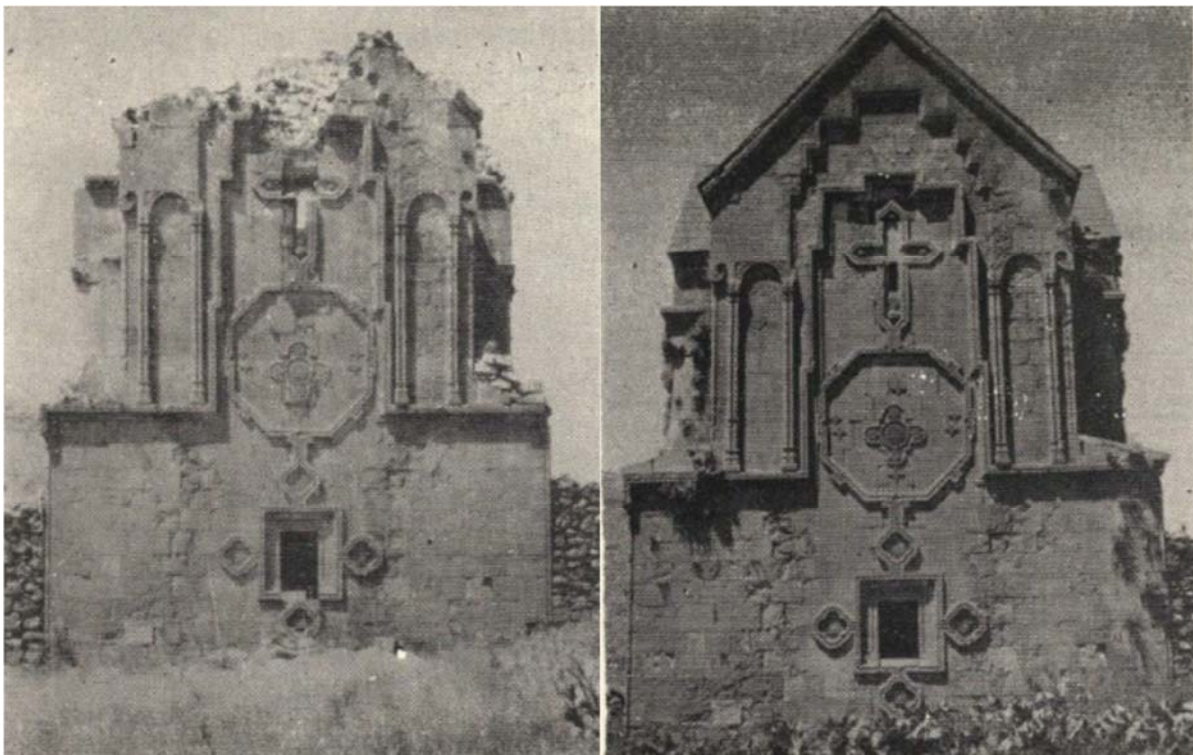
The arches carrying the dome and the vaults were restored. The whole monument, like other cases, was covered with tin roof, which was necessary to protect the monument from the elements and safely keep it for future studies. It is an approved restoration rule to leave the missing parts without decoration or fill the gaps with materials which are clearly pronouncing the difference between original and addition.

At the same time, there was a partial restoration on quite decayed junctions of the narthex. A thoroughly restoration of this significant complex is planned. As a preparation, an appropriate road has been constructed in the quite inaccessible gorge.

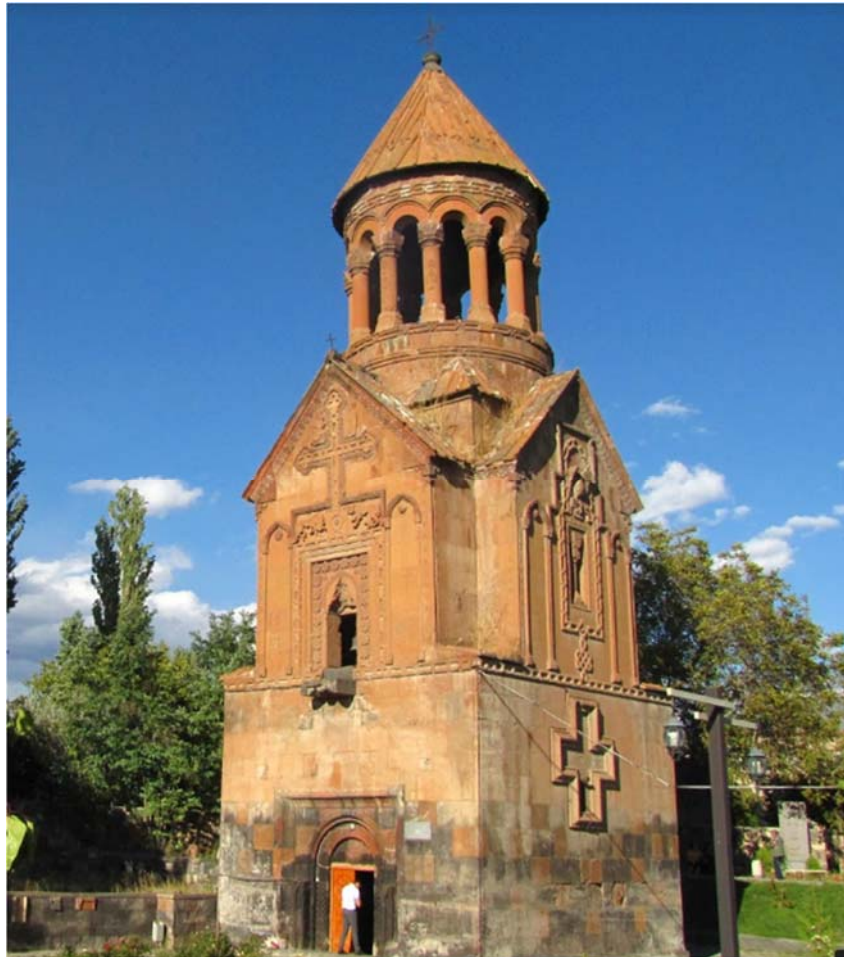
In 2000, the destroyed rotunda was rebuilt. The complex was suggested to be recognized as a world heritage site by UNESCO but was denied due to heavy reconstructions.



Surb Astvatsatsin Church and Mausoleum of Noravank before and after the restoration project started in 1948. The fragments of blocks scattered around the building are highlighted. The restoration project was concentrated on recovering the ornamented fallen stone blocks around the building and reuse them in reconstructing the elevations. Left photo from Strzygowski, Josef (1918) "Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa Vol. 2", p. 708.



West elevation of Surb Astvatsatsin Church and Mausoleum of Noravank before and after the restoration project started in 1948. At the end of the restoration project, the rotunda was not reconstructed and the second floor was covered with a tin roof.



A similar architectural composition is the Surb Astvatsatsin Church and Mausoleum in Yeghvard. The rotunda and dome of this monument has been consolidated using steel reinforced concrete during 1969-71 restoration project. (see earlier in this chapter). Photo by Arthur Igityan, September 2013.



A detail view of ornamentation in Surb Astvatsatsin of Yeghvard.



Detail of more elaborate ornamentation in Surb Astvatsatsin of Noravank.



The two recently constructed rotunda and dome in Noravank Monastery. The complex was suggested for entering the list of the World Heritage Sites of UNESCO but was denied due to heavily and not authentic reconstructions.



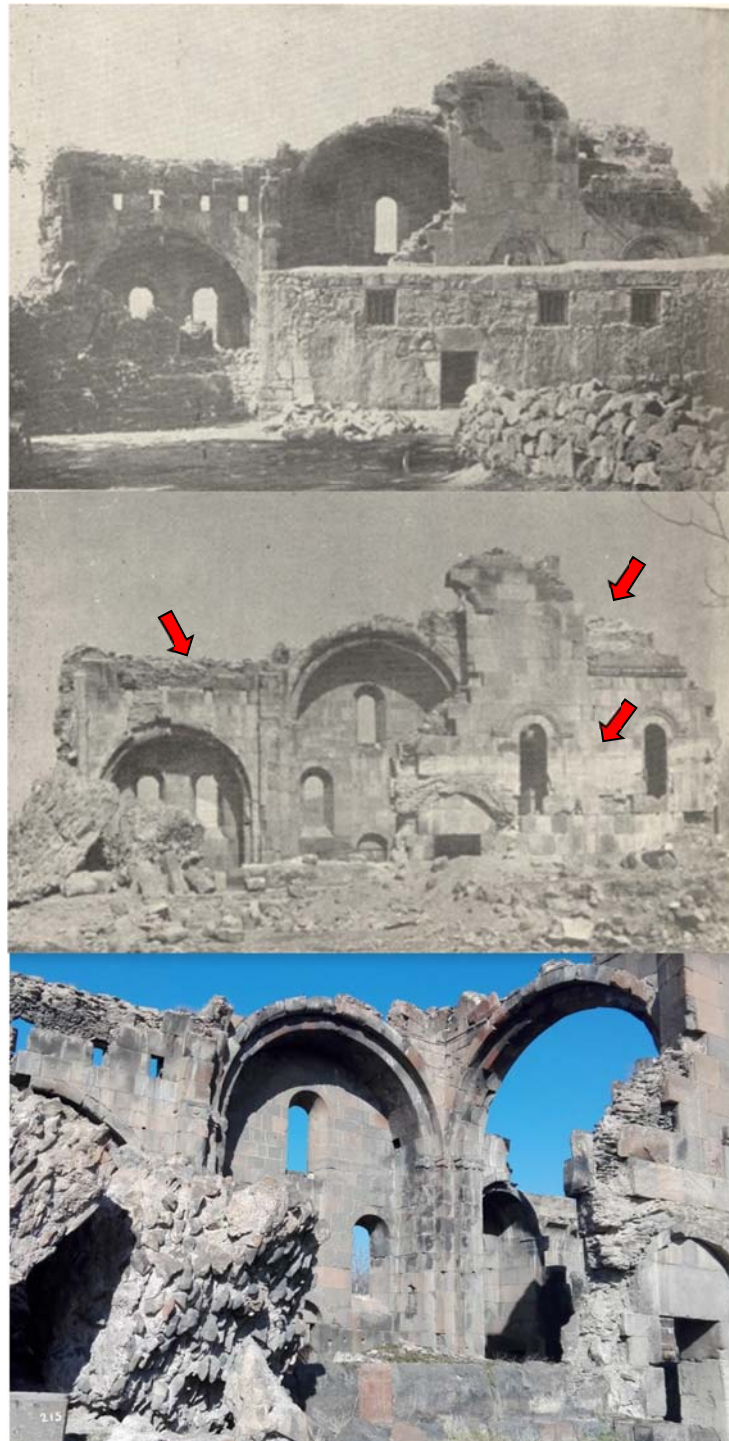
Interior view of the recently constructed rotunda in Surb Astvatsatsin of Noravank. The new arches are resting upon the old ones. Photo by Diego Delso.

**17- Ptghni Church or Ptghnavank:** Is located in Abovyan region in a village with the same name. It is built in the beginning of the VII century and belonged to domed hall type. Only the northern and part of the southern walls are remained which are connected to each other by dome carrying arch. During the restoration project of 1959, the masonry of the walls were consolidated, the junctions of the north-eastern vaults were injected. At the same time, the half ruined storage building, attached to the remainings of the southern wall was removed. For improving the area, the remaining of old surrounding walls were removed and new fence and fountain were built.

Restoration architect: A. Harutyunyan.

Stonemason master: O. M. Menejyan.

In 1978, new improvement activities were realized on the surrounding area.



Top and middle: Ptghni Church before and after the preservation project of 1959. The loose masonry were consolidated and the attached half ruined storage building was removed from the southern remaining facade. Bottom: Ptghni church in 2018. Detail of consolidated masonry and surviving arch connecting the northern and southern walls. Photo taken by Narek Sargsyan in February 2018.

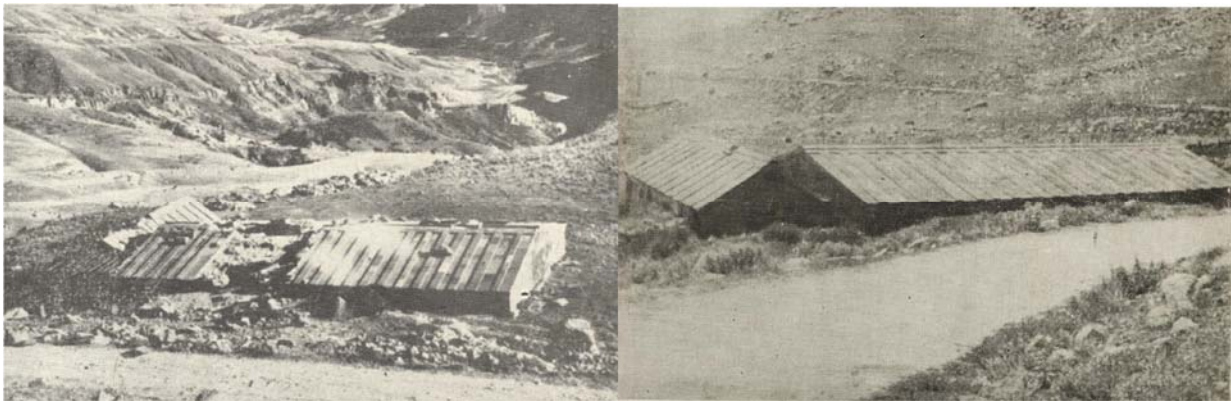
**18- Selim Caravanserai:** Is located in the peak of Selim mountain pass in Vayots Dzor. It is built between 1326 and 1337 by Chesar Orbelian. Before the restorations, the middle segment of the structure was destroyed along its width. Some interior arches and vaults were broken, and the whole structure was in the verge of collapse. The large basalt roof slabs were also decayed, therefore, the rain waters were easily penetrated inside the monument.

The restoration activities started in 1955 and ended in 1959. All the above mentioned deficiencies were fixed. The interior space was cleaned from centuries of debris and an iron door was installed in the entrance.

The surroundings were flattened.

Restoration architect: A. Harutyunyan

Stonemason master: O. M. Menejyan.



Selim Caravanserai before and after the restoration project of 1955-59. Restoring the roof to stop the rainwater was the major priority during this restoration project. Therefore, after restoring the damaged arches, the activity concentrated on restoring the basalt roof slabs.



Detail of the restored roof of Selim Caravanserai after the restoration project of 1955-59.



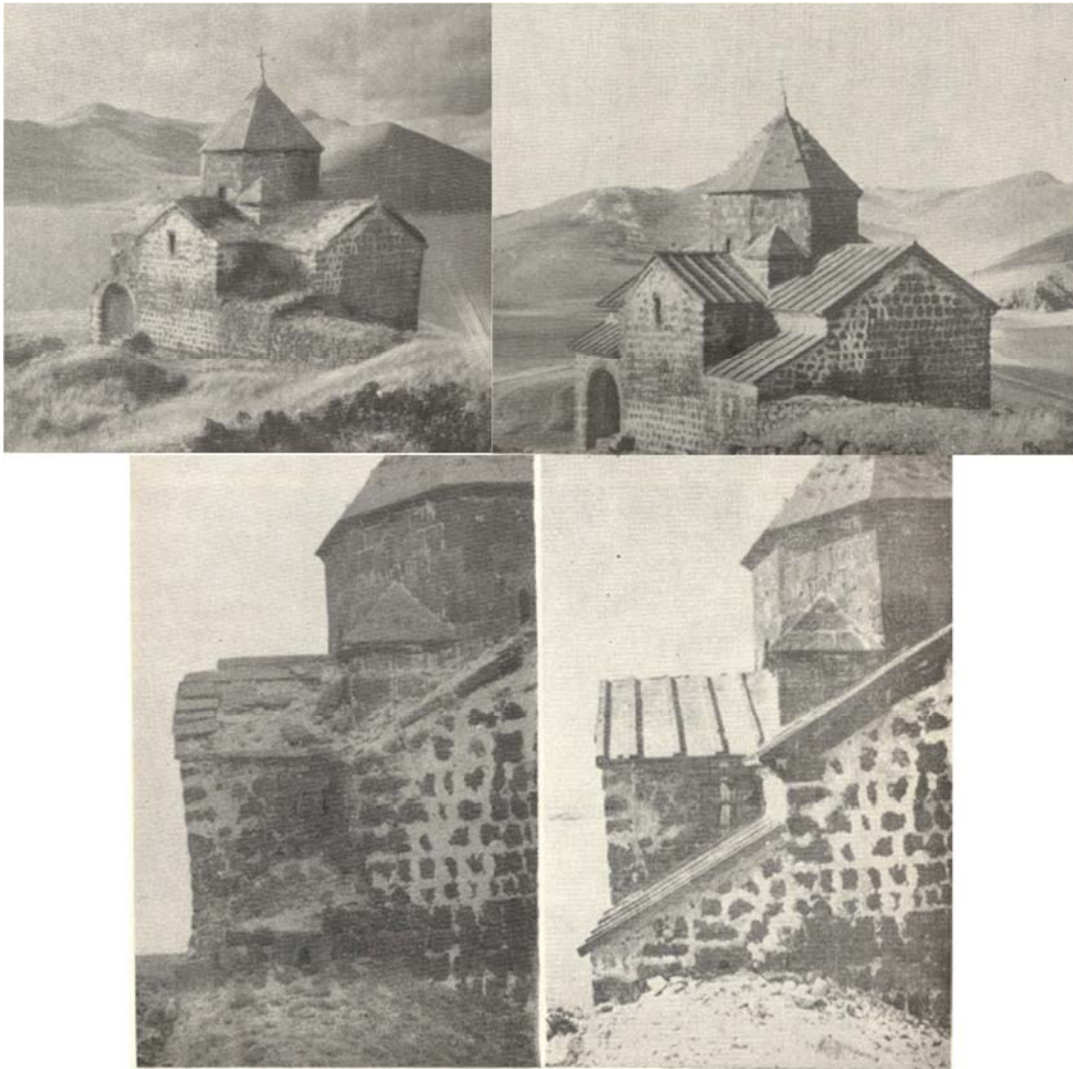
**19- Sevan Peninsula Monuments:** The two triconch churches called Saint Arakelots and Saint Karapet, are built in 874 by Princess Mariam of Syuni family. The monuments are constructed with rough stones. Before the restorations, the rough stones and the roofs were quite damaged because of the elements, the rainwater was penetrating the roofs, the walls and the vaults were damped.

In 1953, 1956 and 1958, the restoration activities took place by restoring the walls and relaying new roof slabs.

In 1967-69, basalt steps were constructed connecting the base of the peninsula to the monuments.

Restoration foreman: H. Gasparyan, V. Khachatryan.

Stonemason master: O. Menejyan, H. Gevorgyan.

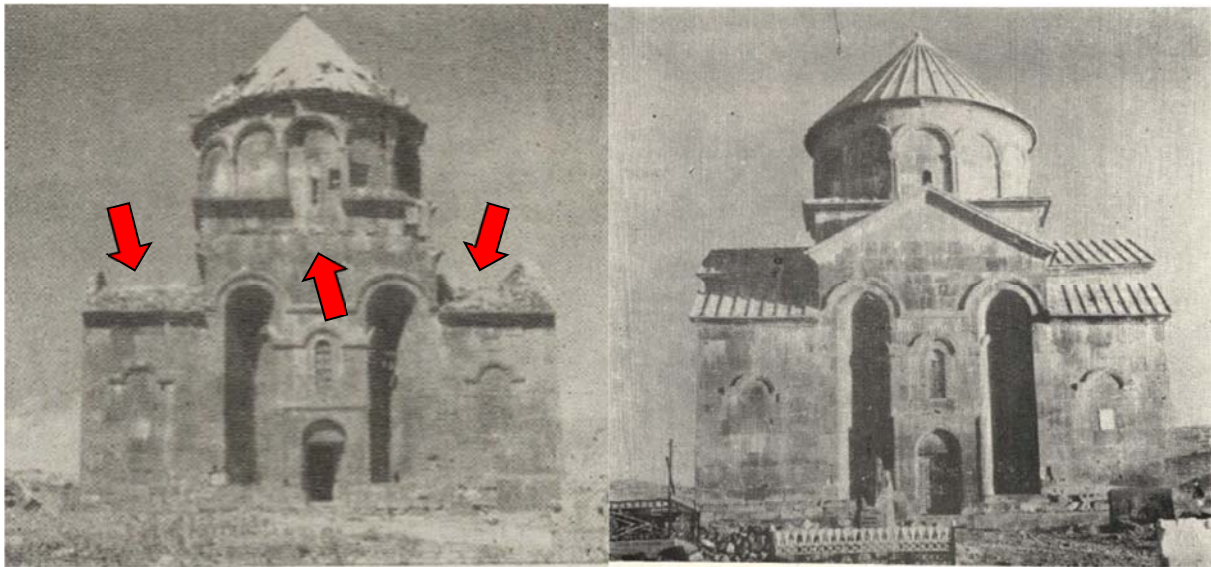


Top left and right: Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Sevanavank before and after the restoration projects of 1953-58. This restoration project was concentrated on restoring the roof slabs and fixing the problem of penetrating rain water. Bottom left and right: Detail of the roof before and after the restoration project of 1953-58.

**20- Surb Hovhannes of Sisian:** This centrally planned domed church is located in the center of Sisian region. It is built in 681-689 by Prince Kohazad and bishop Hovsep. Before the restorations, the dome and the pediment were damaged. The basalt monument was restored in 1959 to 1961. During the restoration activities, the destroyed parts were laid and the monument regained its original appearance.

Restoration architect: D. Avedisyan.

Stonemason master: Y. Sargsyan.



Surb Hovhannes of Sisian before and after the restoration projects of 1959-61. Left: The missing pediment and damaged roofs are highlighted. Right: The pediment is restored using new stone blocks and the roofs were restored.



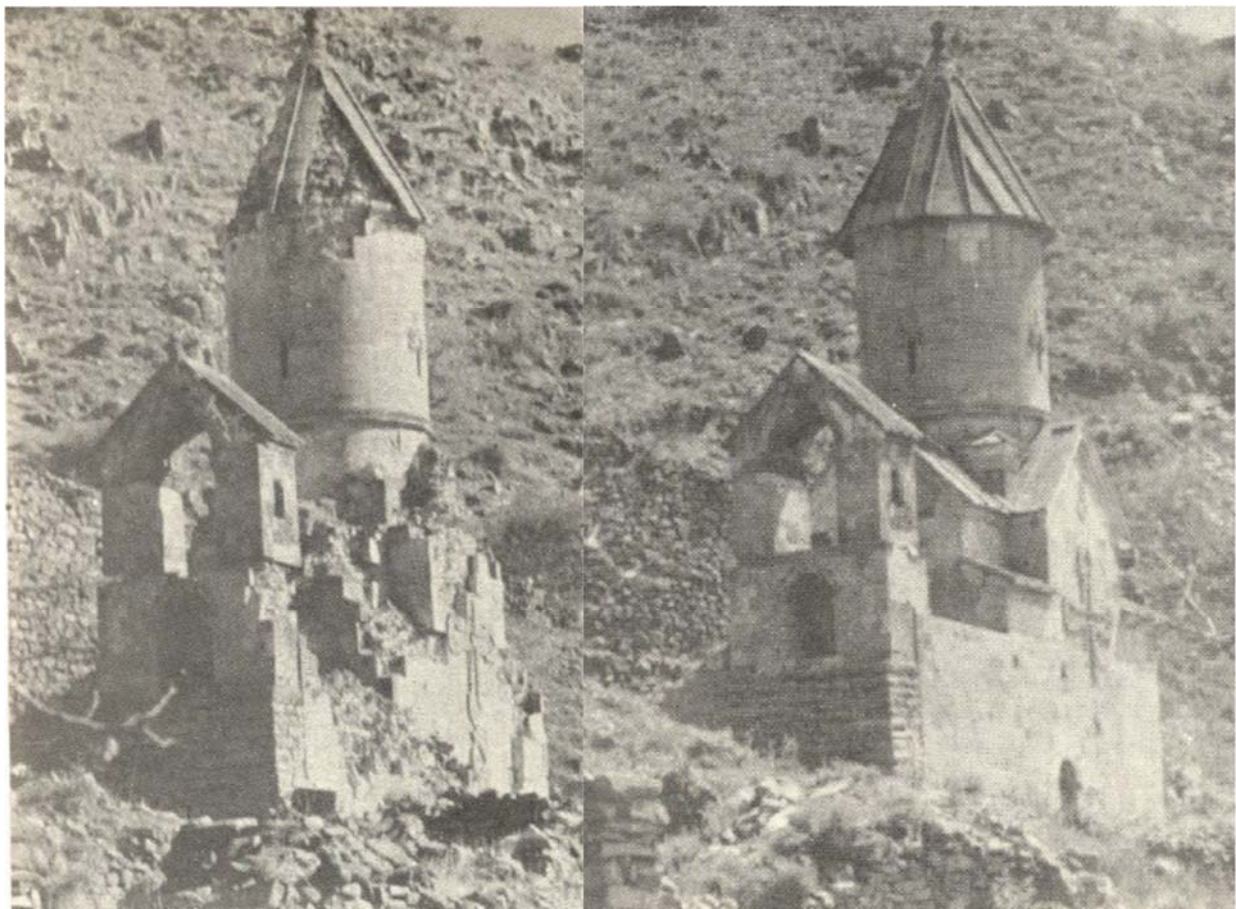
Surb Hovhannes of Sisian in 2010. Photo by Shaun Dunphy.

**21- Spitakavor Monastery:** The Spitakavor Monastery: Is located in Yeghegnadzor close to Vernashen village on a mountain slope. It is consisted of Surb Astvatsatsin Church and the attached narthex. It is founded by Proshh princes in 1321. In 1330, Hovhannes and his wife Taji has built the two story belfry with unique composition. The monastery was protected by walls which segments have remained. It is worth mentioning the decoration in form of a big crooked cross located on the eastern wall of the church which its broken lines, convey the strength of the deformation the structure has suffered.

The restoration activity consisted of re-laying the upper parts of the walls, up to the highest point of the dome.

Restorer architects: G. Danyelyan (1970), Sh. Makyan (1971).

Stonemason master: P. Marabyan.



Surb Astvatsatsin Church and its belfry in Spitavank Monastery before and after the restoration project of 1970-71. The pediments were destroyed and there were missing stones on drum and belfry.



The eastern elevation of Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Spitakavor Monastery. Left: Before the restoration project of 1970-71. Right: Current situation of the eastern elevation. Photo by Vardan Mikayelyan taken in June 2017.

**22- Saint Stepanos Church of Kosh:** Saint Stepanos Church in Kosh: Is located in Ashtarak region in Kosh village. It is a centrally planned cruciform domed building. It is assumed that the building is built in VII century. Before the restoration activities, the monument was half ruined. Large amount of the inner and outer wall stones had fallen down and the dome system was completely destroyed.

During the 1974 and 76 restoration project, the walls were completely restored, both externally and internally, by newly hewn stones; the roof was restored up to the drum. The roofs were covered by basalt slabs with semicircular junctions.

Restoration architect: H. Gasparyan.

Stonemason master: M. Menejyan.

Recently, a new dome is constructed.



Saint Stepanos Church of Kosh before and after the restoration project of 1974-76. The pediments and upper section of the walls were heavily damaged and the dome system was totally lost. The pediments and missing stones were restored, the roofs were reconstructed and the first row of drum blocks were laid. The dome was not reconstructed because of unknown original form.



Saint Stepanos Church of Kosh. Left: The monument in 2007. Photo by Arthur Igtyan. Right: The dome is recently reconstructed. Photo by Samvel Karapetyan taken in May 2017.



Saint Stepanos Church of Kosh, interior dome view. The line between the restoration project of 1974-76 and the recently built dome is highlighted.

**23- Talin Cathedral:** It is located in a district with the same name and is built in VII century by Kamsarakan princes. There is a smaller church near the monument and archaeological sites.

The cathedral was in dire situation, with only the southern half of the drum standing. The upper layers of the walls and pediments were unrecognizable. The roofs were heavily damaged.

Restoration project has started in 1958 and continued till 1980s with intervals. This project included the restoration of all sections and junctions. Large amount of new stones were used and the upper layers of the walls, the pediments, the cornices and roofs, except the western nave were restored. The destroyed masonry were consolidated but the main vault and southern nave left unfinished. During the restoration, the architects used large amounts of concrete both with reinforced steel rods and without.

The socles, floor slabs, walls, arches, vaults, roofs, drum, and etc... also the stone carved ornaments.

Project by H. Hakobian followed by A. Stepanian.

Architects: G. Donyan, A. Harutyunian, D. Avetisian, A. Avetisian.

Stonemason masters: V. Makarian, M. Gasparian.



Talin Cathedral before and after the restoration project which took place in various phases between 1958 and 1980. The project mainly concentrated on consolidating the loose masonry, restoring the missing stones, pediments, and roofs. The monument was heavily damaged, therefore, they did not cover the nave neither construct the drum and dome.



According to the policies of the time, large amount of steel reinforced concrete was used in consolidating the loose masonry. Concrete was used as a more high tech alternative for traditional lime mortar. The remainings of protruding steel rods are still visible in various parts of the monument. Photo taken by Travis K. Witt in November 2016.



As the monument was heavily damaged, any restoration project would have included using a large amount of new masonry. In this case, the upper sections of walls, the pediments, the cornices and roofs are all restored from new masonry. Photo by Travis K. Witt.





Talin Cathedral. The drum is completely reconstructed. The difference between the original and new masonry is highlighted. Photo by Arman Barseghyan in August 2017.



Talin Cathedral. Using steel reinforced concrete in restoring destroyed walls are visible. Photo by Seda Khachatryan, November 2015.



Talin Cathedral. Abundant use of concrete in consolidating the main arch supporting the dome is visible. Photo by Narek Sargsyan, August 2011.

**24- Talin Caravanserai:** Located in Ashtarak region near the village by the same name, is built in XIII century. It was a large building which only the northeastern section of external wall and three of supporting arches (the ones supporting main vault colonnade) were standing.

In 1956, the restoration activities initiated with partially restoration of the building. Project by Yu. Tamanian. External and internal walls, arches and vaults, realization of new masonry, cornices and roof slabs.

Restoration architect: H. Hakobyan, Stonemason master: P. Marabyan.

Recently, a small segment of the main vault and the aisle on the opposite side has been reconstructed to show the original form and size of the building. The lower part of the walls are laid to give an idea of the spatial division.



Talin caravanserai before and after the restoration project of 1956. The side vault is reconstructed and covered by a roof.



Talin Caravanserai with recently added segment of the main vault. This is an interesting example of preservation project which other than the grandeur of the building, clearly shows the construction techniques and materials.  
Photo by author, August 2014.

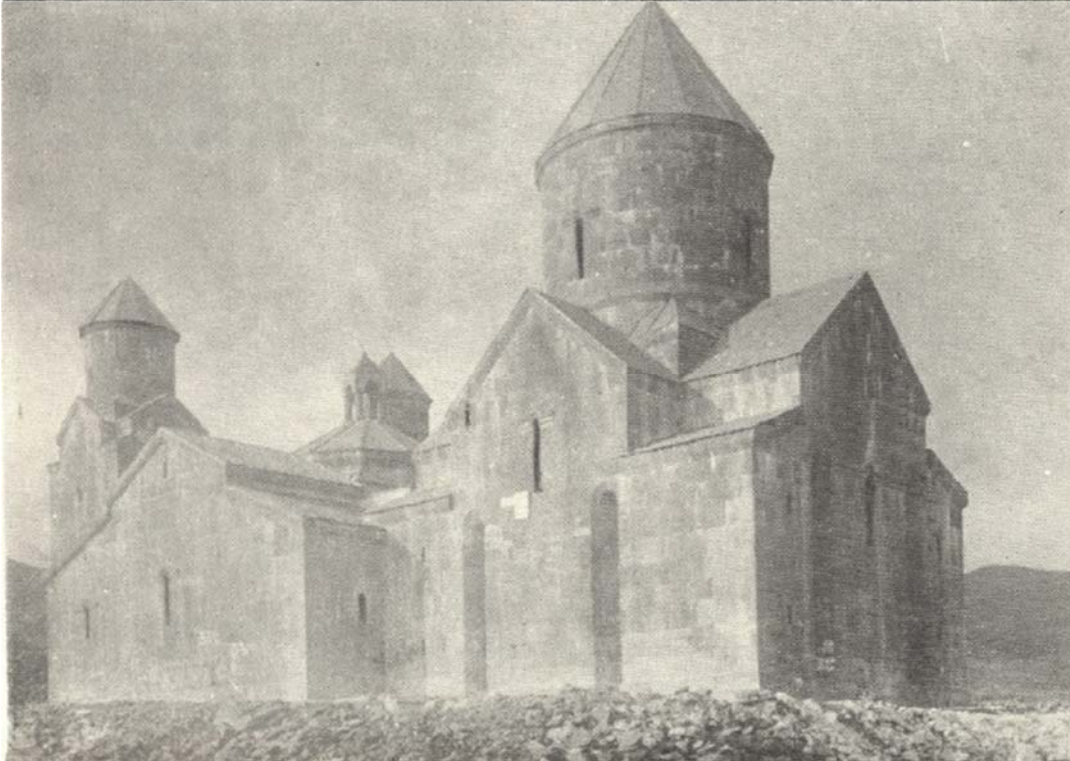
**25- Tegher Monastery:** Tegher monastery includes Surb Astvatsatsin church and its narthex. It is built by Vache prince and his wife Mamakhatun in 1232. It is located on southern slopes of Mount Aragats. The monument is noticeable by its rare composition of the three domes. The structure was highly damaged during the 1948 earthquake, by multiple cracks and fallen covering of walls and domes. Between 1950 and 1953, the entire restoration took place up to the relaying of the drums and the roofs. The hoods were reconstructed by tin.

Restoration architect: H. Hakobyan.

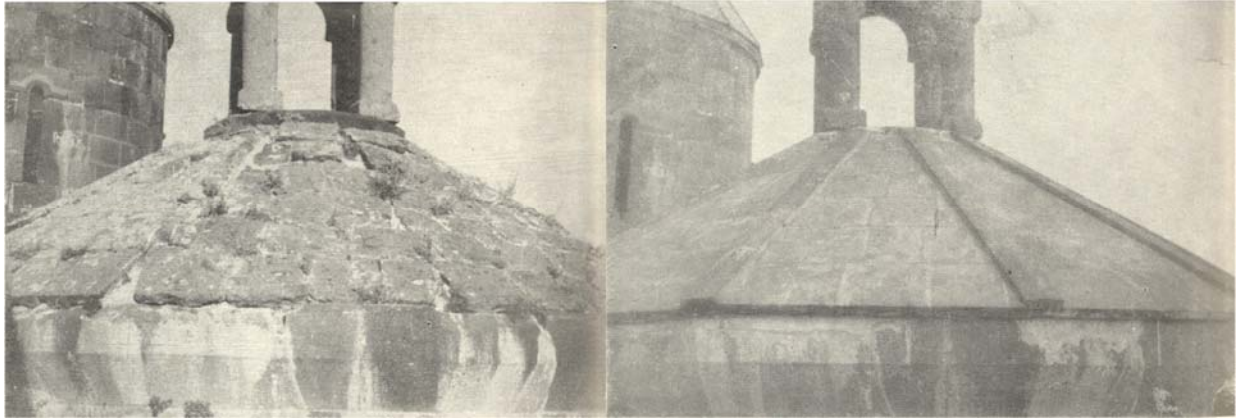
In 1975, another restoration project initiated and the roofs and hoods were reconstructed by stone. Steel reinforced concrete was used for the consolidation of the structure.

Restoration architect: A. Avedisyan

Stonemason master: M. Gasparyan.



Tegher Monastery, before and after the restoration project of 1950-53. The upper parts of the walls and roofs were restored. The domes were covered by tin hoods.



The dome of the narthex in Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Tegher monastery before and after the restoration project of 1975 during which the tin roofs installed in 1953 were replaced by stone roofs.



Tegher Monastery, current situation. Photo taken by Tigran Baghdasaryan in June 2015.

**26- Tsiranavor Church:** Tsiranavor Church: It is located in Ashtarak and built in V century in a three naved basilica form. In 17th century it was modified and converted to a fortress. In 1815 it was destroyed and left with the ruins inside till 1963 when the restoration project initiated. During the cleaning and removing of the ruins, many fragments of the walls, arches and vaults together with one khachkar were recovered. Using these fragments, parts of the original

constructive elements were restored, the apse dome and the two abutments with their arches, capitals and vaulted coverings were rebuilt. All later additions were removed.



Tsiranavor Church, before and after the restoration project of 1963. The area was cleaned and the apse and the southern abutments were reconstructed using recovered stone blocks.



Tsiranavor Church. Current situation. Photo by Samvel Martirosyan, April 2016.



Tsiranavor Church. The reconstructed apse is covered by a steel reinforced concrete diaphragm during the 1963 restoration project.



**27- Yeghegis, Surb Nshan Church:** It is located in Yeghegnadzor region. It is built in 13th century. Before restorations, the pediments and the roofs were destroyed, the dome and the drum were damaged.

In 1974 the restoration activities took place according to Yu. Tamanyan's project.

Restoration architect: A. Abrahamyan.

Stonemason master: P. Marabyan.



Surb Nshan Church in Yeghegis, before and after the restoration project of 1974. The upper section of the walls, the pediments, cornices, roofs, drum and dome were restored.

**28- The Basilica of Yereruyk:** It is located near the Anipemza village in the Shirak province. It is built in 5th century. Is half ruined, without roof, which was originally a wooden structure. The external loggias, south west chamber, and the stylobates were destroyed.

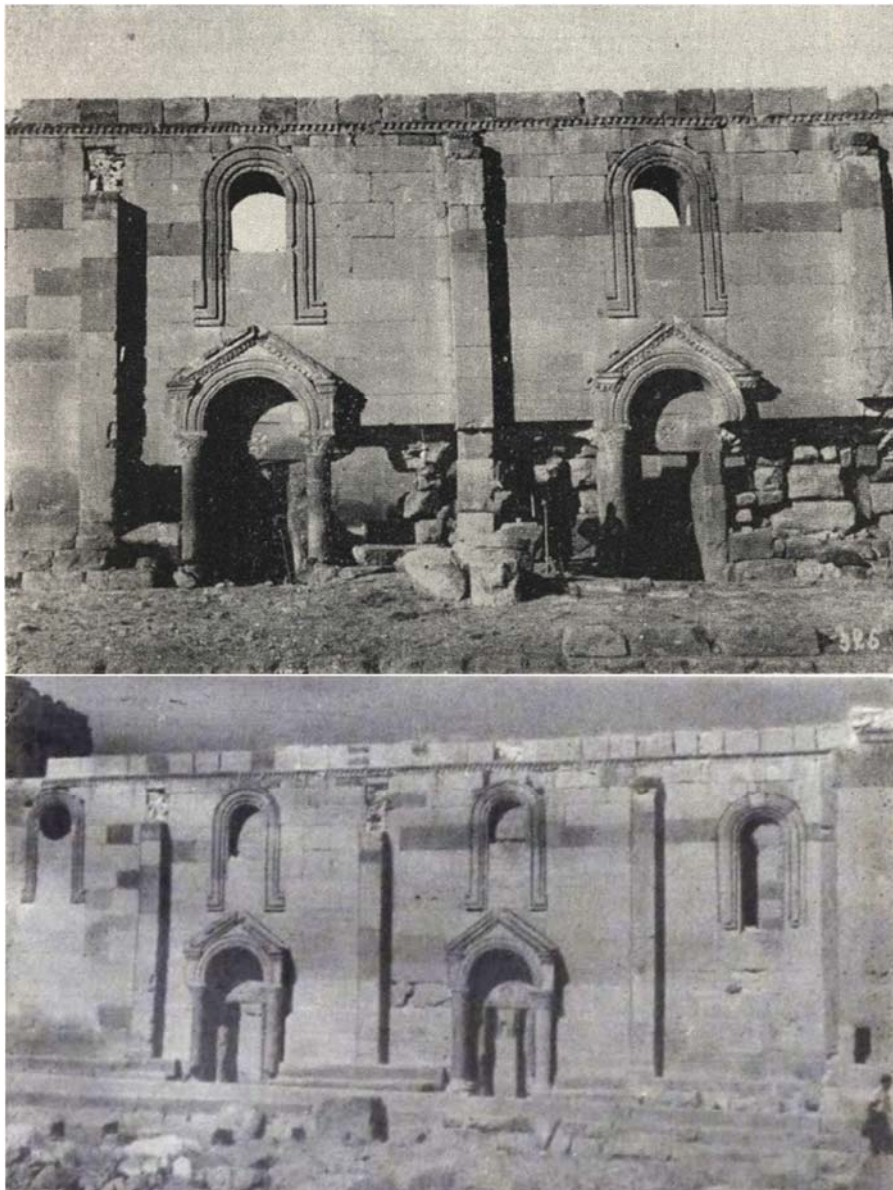
The first partially restoration activities took place in 1927 by Toros Toramanian supervision.

In 1958, during another partially restoration project, parts of the stylobates were relaid, rows of stone blocks were added to the walls, and the completely lost lower stones of the south west chamber were relaid.

The studying of twenty-eight preservation projects, realized mainly between 1950 and 1975, reveal a general tendency which can be summarized as follows:

- A number of rather substantial interventions: In many cases, the monuments where in verge of destruction and in immediate need of intervention. The main goal of the project was not to revive the monument in its original status in any given moment in history. In such cases, whenever there is inadequate information about the original form, the project is limited to consolidation and not reconstruction. There are examples of not completed domes and roofs which were covered by tin structures both to leave it expose to further studies and to easily recognize the new invention from the original one.
- Attention also to religious heritage: Despite the existing contradiction between the Soviet ideologies and religion, there was no tendency of leaving the religious monuments to decay. Except the monumental examples of Soviet Preservation projects, Erebuni and Garni in this case, which are both non-religious structures, many churches and monasteries were preserved and, in some cases, extra budget was spent for building infrastructure to reach the monuments.
- A tendency towards integral reconstruction when the state of the building and the available information allows it, however, highlighting the difference between the added and original parts through simplifications of the decorative elements or using materials in different colors.
- Maintaining the state of ruin in parts which were impossible to rebuild, which were however consolidated and made safe.
- Covering the openings in modern materials, specifically for domes which were impossible or too expensive to reconstruct.
- Use of steel reinforced concrete, generally hidden from view.

- Use of simple temporary structures to cover the buildings on which no action was taken. All above mentioned methods were widespread throughout European countries in those years, as documented in the catalog of the 1964 Venice Convention, during which the “Venice Charter” was signed and for many decades considered the standard resolution for the preservation of architectural heritage universally. It is worth mentioning that in Venice Convention, the USSR participated in a significant manner presenting thirty-three preservation projects, representative of all the republics of the Union, including the Monastery of Kecharis (presented as Kecharissky) from Armenia.



The Basilica of Yereruyk before and after the restoration project of 1958.

## Appendix 3

### Soviet Administrative Structure

Understanding the administrative system responsible for preserving the historical monuments in Soviet Armenia is necessary to be able to interpret and analyze the numerous preservation projects conducted before its independence in 1991. Therefore, in the following pages, the concentration is on explaining the bureaucracy of this complicated system, starting from highest level, the all-union including the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the lowest one, the so called local level. The following information is extracted from report written after a field trip in 1975.<sup>1</sup> According to the May 1972 US-USSR Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Environmental Protection, the US Historic Preservation Team, one of the eight subgroups established by the US Working Group, was formed to deal with Topic IV.3 of the joint US-USSR cooperation program, entitled “Improvements of the environment with regard to places of historic monuments.” From May 25 to June 14, 1974, the US team visited the Soviet Union including Moscow, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), Tbilisi, and Yerevan. The purpose of the visit was to study the current principles, policies, and practices of Soviet historic preservation, with emphasis upon the procedural and legal aspects involved in the registration, protection, and adaptive use of historic monuments; on registration programs and techniques; and on the role of the private and academic sectors in Soviet preservation.

**All-Union Level.** At the highest point of the administrative pyramid, stands the Council of Ministers of the USSR, a large body of more than fifty members (fig. 1). The administrative units which make up this body include ministries, state committees, and other specialized agencies. Ministries administered specific sectors of the nation’s economic, political, military, and socio-cultural life. Their names ordinarily indicated their field of responsibility. All-Union ministries, which were organized on a highly centralized pattern, directly administered activities and enterprises under their jurisdiction. They also operated through counterpart ministries bearing the same name in each of the republics. The state committees and other specialized agencies differed

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<sup>1</sup> *A Report by the US Historic Preservation Team of the US-USSR Joint Working Group on the Enhancement of the Urban Environment*, Washington D.C., 1975.

from ministries in that their duties ordinarily involved developmental, coordinative, and planning functions rather than direct administrative operations.

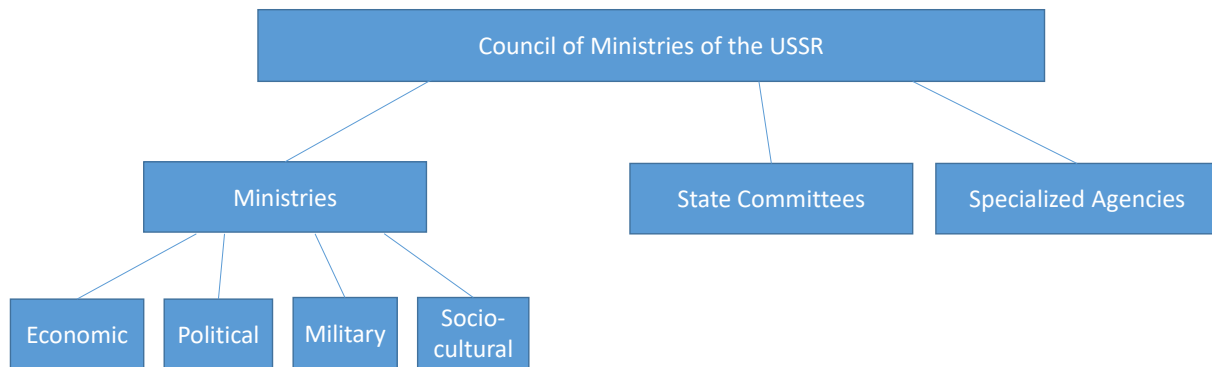


Figure 1: The Soviet Administrative Structure, All-Union Level

**Republic Level.** Each republic of the USSR also had its own council of ministers, with ministries, representatives of state committees and other specialized agencies (fig. 2). The republic ministries operated under the immediate supervision of the councils of ministers and legislative organs of the individual republics. Legally, the ministries in the constituent republics were also responsible to their superior ministry in Moscow. In the unlikely event of a conflict between all-Union and republic authorities, the center in Moscow would prevail.

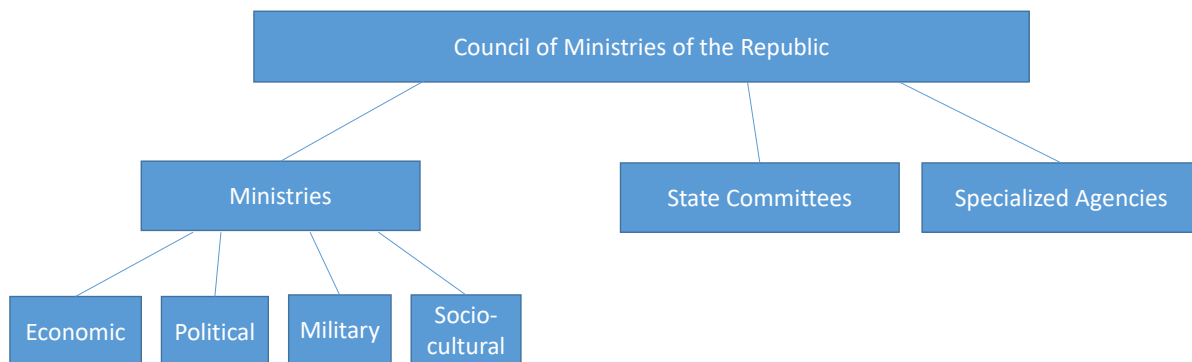


Figure 2: The Soviet Administrative Structure, Republic Level

**Local Levels.** Below the level of the republic, there were usually at least three subordinate layers of administration (fig. 3). The first involved the autonomous republics, which constituted regional administrative units for ethnic minorities within each constituent republic. The second involved

the territorial (oblast') or enlarged rural district units. The third was comprised of towns, villages, and hamlets, which might be described as local units. The urban areas operated under a separate regime. The largest cities, such as Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev, were directly subordinate to their respective republics and were themselves broken up into regions. At each level of this hierarchy there were various departments and administrations which were responsible both to the executive committees of the council elected at that level and to the administrators exercising corresponding functions at the next higher level.

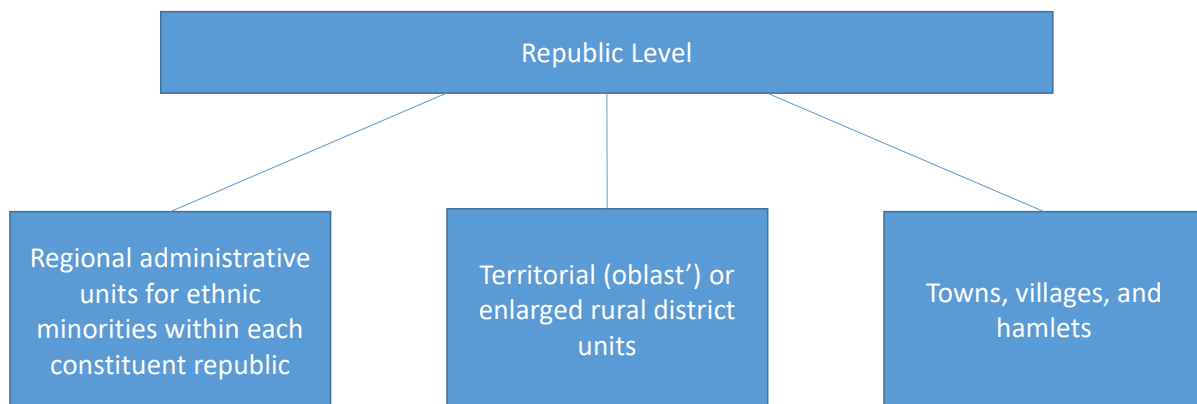


Figure 3: The Soviet Administrative Structure, Local Level

### Specific Policies

**Reconstructions** was an active policy that the Soviets did not hesitate to rebuild if the architectural significance of the structure warrants it. The reconstruction of Garni temple is an example of this policy.

**Adaptive Use.** Adaptation of historic buildings to modern use was very much a part of Soviet preservation practice in 1970s. The determining factor in restoring a structure was often the question of whether the building merits restoration on the basis of its architectural value. In the past, Soviets have tended to restore a building and then find a use for it. Much more emphasis had begun to be placed on finding an adaptive use as soon as possible, preferably before development of plans for restoration in 1970s.

**Intrusion on Historic Scenery.** Though the Soviet Union had instigated a nation-wide policy regarding rigid control of new construction in an important historic district and compatibility of

old and new buildings within less significant areas, it was abundantly apparent that this policy had been often violated.

**Moving Historic Structures.** Soviet preservationists would rather leave historic buildings in their original setting. They would however, moved historic structures in certain circumstances. In cities, for example, a background historic building of marginal significance might be moved to a compatible historic setting rather than be compromised by — or demolished to make way for — overpowering modern construction. Another trend involved the moving of significant wooden and vernacular structures from isolated parts of the country, where access, maintenance, and protection were minimal, to selected sites for the purpose of establishing so-called outdoor architectural museums.

**Tourist Complexes.** Soviets believed that historic sites had great value in promoting both domestic and foreign tourism. Such recognition had, in turn, supplied a compelling rationale for advocating historic preservation. One of the institutes under the State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture, the Central Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Planning of Trade-Service Buildings and Tourist Complexes, had responsibility for developing master plans for tourist complexes and regions. For each region, the Institute began by identifying not only the historic sites and structures, but also the indigenous traditions of folk art and cuisine, together with noteworthy archaeological and literary sites and landscape scenes. Next, the Institute devised a master plan for development of a region, every aspect of which was rationalized in terms of careful economic analysis (fig. 4). The salient parts of such a master plan included the determination of historic buildings requiring restoration as museums and rehabilitation for adaptive use; prescription for the number of hotel and-or motel facilities needed; specification of the number and type of various tourist orientation and service facilities, together with the particular aspects of native traditions and crafts to be promoted in each; and location of both existing and projected highways needed to provide tourist and service access to the various parts of the region. After the plan was approved, at the national and then the local levels, implementation of it was undertaken by the local—usually the district (oblast')—level of government.

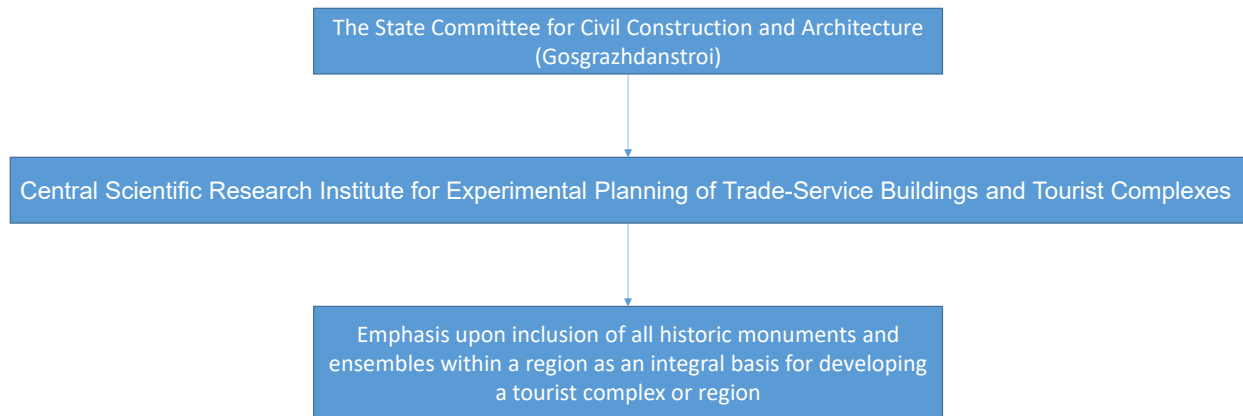


Figure 4: Soviet Policies regarding Promoting Tourism

### **Identification and Registration of Cultural Monuments**

The Ministry of Culture of the USSR and its republic counterparts had been given the responsibility to formulate and administer national preservation policy in the Soviet Union. The Ministry of Culture of the USSR was responsible for coordinating the work of its republic counterparts on the identification and preservation of cultural and historic monuments. This included the development of criteria for the registration and protection of landmarks, urban centers, and entire towns, as well as the administration of a network of offices of state inspection of monuments and a number of restoration workshops which planned and supervised the actual restoration and maintenance of registered monuments.

On October 2, 1967, the College of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR issued a joint resolution directing the Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Culture to develop a codex of Soviet cultural monuments to be preserved, which was to be called the Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the Peoples of the USSR. The two organizations were likewise instructed to develop organizational and scholarly measures to facilitate the preparation and publication of such a compendium. In January of the following year, the Ministry of Culture of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR also established the Editorial-Publication Council for the Register, which includes over fifty leading Soviet scholars from all the major humanistic disciplines, to oversee the preparation and publication of the Register.

The primary task of developing the methodological basis for the Register and its publication was assigned to the Institute of Art History within the Ministry of Culture of the USSR, which had



advocated the creation of such a compendium. By the end of 1967 a special Office of the Register of Cultural Monuments of the Peoples of the USSR was established within the Institute to direct work on the compilation and publication of the Register. The process began with the attempt to review anew the vast body of existing material pertaining to thousands of cultural monuments in order to verify the data and facts known about them, as well as to conduct extensive supplementary research in order to establish monuments which have heretofore been little-known.

### **Procedures for Identifying, Surveying, and Registering Cultural Monuments**

The process of identifying and surveying cultural monuments in the Soviet Union, developed in the beginning of 70s, reflects the Ministry of Culture's belief that the preservation of monuments must have basis in scholarly documentation. Conceived as being preliminary to the official inclusion of cultural monuments in the Register, this survey process was systematized in the spring of 1972 by the introduction of two successive phases of identification and documentation: completion of the "registration card" (uchetnaia kartochnka), followed by the more comprehensive "registration certificate" (pasport).

**Registration Card.** Representing the initial record in the registration process and preceding the more comprehensive registration certificate, the registration card is also used for developing statistical analysis pertaining to the indexing and classification of cultural monuments. The same form, a single card 14.5 cm by 20 cm, was used for recording all stationary archaeological, historical, architectural, and monumental sculptural landmarks.

On the face of the card were noted general data pertaining to the monument, including its name, type, date, location, present use, physical condition, type of protection, and available scholarly documentation of the monument and its site. An index number, designed to convey both location and type, was affixed at the upper right-hand corner; this number was subsequently employed to identify all documentary material pertaining to the monument. A photograph and schematic plan, together with a brief history and description, was provided on the reverse side of the card.

The card should have been signed by the person filling it out and by the Inspector for the Protection of Monuments in whose jurisdiction the object was located in order to certify the accuracy of the information conveyed on the card.

Three copies were made of every registration card. Two copies, filled out in the language of the particular constituent republic in which the recorded monument was situated, were filed with the

ministry of culture of that republic and with the local preservation agency, respectively. The third copy, filled out in Russian, was deposited with the Ministry of Culture of the USSR.

**Registration Certificate.** This comprehensive form constituted the basic document for registering cultural monuments in the Soviet Union. As with the registration card, the same form (a folded list 210 mm. by 297 mm.) was used for recording stationary archaeological, historical, architectural, and monumental sculptural landmarks.

The first page contained general data about the monument, including its name, date, typological characteristics, historical and current use, and location (specified in terms of both republic and the protective jurisdiction of the nearest preservation agency). An index number, described for the registration card above, was noted at the upper right-hand corner (fig. 5).

The second, third, and fourth pages provided detailed information about the monument, arranged according to several categories (figs. 6-9). These included a history of the monument; a description of it; basic bibliography and iconographic material pertaining to the monument; an analysis of its physical and structural condition; an inventory of the protective zones established around, or otherwise affecting the monument; and information about original, present, and anticipated use.

Completion of the registration certificate may be undertaken only by professionals commissioned by preservation agencies at either the republic, district, or local levels. The professional is required to affix his signature, indicate his official position (or profession), and note the date the certificate was completed. In addition, all certificates must carry the signature of the Inspector for the Protection of Monuments in whose jurisdiction the monument is located in order to certify — and thereby assume full responsibility for — the accuracy of the information contained therein.

As is the case with registration cards, three copies are made of every registration certificate. Two copies are filled out in the language of the particular constituent republic in which the monument is situated. One of these is filed with the ministry of culture of that republic; the other, with local preservation agencies. The third copy of the certificate, completed in Russian, is deposited with the Office of the Register in the Institute of Art History within the Ministry of Culture of the USSR. The certificate is designed for computerization; a central computer bank for storing the information contained on these forms is currently being developed.



1.6.203.7 (Հ)  
1.6.203.13 (Հ)

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄՇԱԿՈՒՅԹԻ ՆԱԽԱՐԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
ՊԱՏՄԱՄՇԱԿՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԺԱՌԱՆԳՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԳԻՏԱՀԵՏԱԶՈՏԱԿԱՆ ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆ

**ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԵՎ ՄՇԱԿՈՒՅԹԻ ԱՆՇԱՐԺ ՀՈՒՇԱՐՁԱՆԻ  
ՊԱՀՊԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԳՈՏԻՆԵՐԻ ՆԱԽԱԳԻԾ**

ՀԱՍՏԱՏՈՒՄ ԵՄ  
ՀՀ մշակույթի նախարար

ՀԱՄԱՁԱՅՆ ԵՄ  
ՀՀ տարածքային կառավարման և  
գարգացման նախարարություն

«\_\_\_» \_\_\_\_\_ 20 թ.

«\_\_\_» \_\_\_\_\_ 20 թ.

Մարզը ----- Երևան  
Համայնքը (վարչական շրջան) ----- Կենտրոն  
Բնակավայրը ----- ք. Երևան  
Հուշարձանը /պահպանական միավորը/ ----- Բնակելի տուն, 1895 թ., 1898 թ.,  
վարչական շենք նահանգապետարանի, XIX դ. վերջ - XX դ. սկիզբ  
Պահպանական գոտիների տարածքը ----- .3 հա  
Այդ թվում`  
Հուշարձանի տարածքը ----- .07 հա

ՀԱՄԱՁԱՅՆ ԵՄ  
Երևանի քաղաքապետ

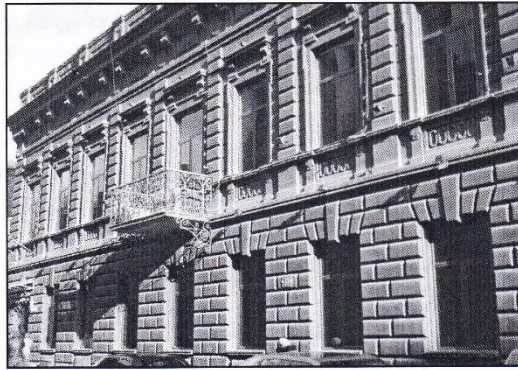
«\_\_\_» \_\_\_\_\_ 20 թ.

ՀՈՒՇԱՐՁԱՆԻ ՊԱՀՊԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԳՈՏԻՆԵՐԻ ՏԱՐԱԾՔԸ ՊԱՍԿՈՒՄ Է ՊԱՏՄԱՄՇԱԿՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՆՇԱՆԱԿՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
ՀՈՂԵՐԻ ԿԱՏԵԳՈՐԻԱՅԻՆ, ՈՒՆԻ ԱՅՐ ՀՈՂԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԱՐ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՕՐԵՆԱԳՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
ՍԱՀԱՆՎԱԾ ԿԱՐԳԱԿԻՃԱԿ ԵՎ ՕԳՏԱԳՈՐԾՄԱՆ ՈՒՅԺԻՄ: ԱՅՐ ՏԱՐԱԾՔՈՒՄ ՀՈՂԱՀԱՏԿԱՑՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ,  
ԳՅՈՒՂԱՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ, ՇԻՆԱՐԱՐԱԿԱՆ ԵՎ ԱՅԼ ԱՇԽԱՏԱՆՔՆԵՐԸ ՀԱՄԱՁԱՅՆԵՑԿՈՒՄ ԵՆ  
ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՀԱՆՐԱՊԵՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՄՇԱԿՈՒՅԹԻ ՆԱԽԱՐԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԵՏ:

Figure 5: An Example of the first page of the “Armenian Republic Monument Registration certificate.” The first page contained general data about the monument, including its name, date, typological characteristics, historical and current use, and location (specified in terms of both republic and the protective jurisdiction of the nearest preservation agency). An index number, described for the registration card above, was noted at the upper right-hand corner.

# ՆԿԱՐԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ - ԲՆՈՒԹԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ՏԵՂԵԿԱՆՔ

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ քաղաք  
 Կենտրոն վարչական շրջան  
 ԲՆԱԿԵԼԻ ՏՈՒՆ, 1895 թ., 1898 թ.  
 Հանրապետության փող. 30  
 ՎԱՐՉԱԿԱՆ ՇԵՆՔ ՆԱՀԱՆԳԱՊԵՏԱՐԱՆԻ  
 XIX դ. վերջ-XX դ. սկիզբ  
 Հանրապետության փող. 32



Բնակելի տունը պատկանել է Լահանզադյան ինժեներ Մ. Ֆոն դեր Նոնենին և կառուցվել է նրա նախագծով: 1923 թ. ազգայնացվել է և հատկացվել կազմակերպությունների (կուսպրոց, 1922-1937 թթ.՝ հայկական դիվիզիայի շտաբ և այլն): 2000 թ. ՅՅՀ Հայաստանի Գերագույն մարմնի գրասենյակն է:

Փողոցի կարմիր գծի վրա է, Տիգրան Մեծի պողոտային հարող հատվածում: Ուղղանկյուն հասակագծով երկհարկ շինություն է: Բաղկացած է կից երկու մասնաշենքից, որոնք կապակցված են երկայնական, ընդիստուր միջանցքով: Դեպի փողոց դիրքորոշված ճակատները տարբերվում են ճարտարապետական լուծումներով և հարդարանքով:

Նահանգական վարչության շենքը (ճարտարապետ՝ Վ. Միրզոյան) երկհարկ է, ուղղանկյուն հասակագծով, միջանցքի երկու կողմում դասավորված սենյակների համակարգով: Խորհրդային իշխանության տարիներին և մինչ օրս, կառույցի երկրորդ հարկը և առաջինի մի մասը բնակելի են. մյուս մասը գրա-պետական հուշարձանների պահպանման հայկական ընկերությունը, 2014 թ. նաև՝ ԲԿՕՄՕՍ-ի Հայաստանի ազգային կոմիտեն): Աջակողմյան եզրից նախասրահի մեջ բացվող մուտքը ընդհանուր է հարակից, կիսալեռքատեղա նկուղով միանարկ շինության համար. որը նախապես եղել է պարսից հյուպատոսի տնավայր, 1920 թ. տեղակայվել են տարբեր կազմակերպություններ, 1964 թ.՝ Պատմական հուշարձանների պահպանման հայկական ընկերությունը: Սրահի պատերը զարդարված են գունեղ որմնանկարներով, հայելապատ խորշերով և գանձան դեկորներով: Ճակատի հարթաբանքում առանձնանում է կանոնակալ պատուհաններից վեր, միջևանատու մ տեղորված քանդակազարդ վարդյակը:

Երևանում պահպանված XIX-XX դդ. եզակի շինություններից են: Աչքի են ընկնում գլխավոր ճակատների ճարտարապետական սիմետրիկ լուծումներով, կարգապահ հարդարանքով: Պահպանական գոտին ներառում է նաև Հանրապետության 32 հասցեի բակի կողմում գտնվող, նույն ժամանակաշրջանի երկհարկ բնակելի շենքը:

Պահպանական գոտու սահմաններն անցնում են Հանրապետության փողոցի երբանցքով (1-2), նվ (2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, 7-8, 8-9, 9-10, 10-11, 11-12, 12-13, 13-14, 14-15)՝ ներքին բակով և վերջինիս հարակից տների կողային ու ճակատային պատերով, եվ-ամ (15-16)՝ Հանրապետության N 30 շենքի եզրապատով, հս-ամ (16-1)՝ շենքերի հանդիպակց



պետության փողոցի երբանցքով (1-2), նվ (2-3, 3-4, 4-5, 5-6, 6-7, 7-8, 8-9, 9-10, 10-11, 11-12, 12-13, 13-14, 14-15)՝ ներքին բակով և վերջինիս հարակից տների կողային ու ճակատային պատերով, եվ-ամ (15-16)՝ Հանրապետության N 30 շենքի եզրապատով, հս-ամ (16-1)՝ շենքերի հանդիպակց

Պահպանական գոտին մաս է կազմում Երևանի պատմության և մշակույթի հուշարձանների պահպանման գոտիների նախագծի՝ մշակված «Երևաննախագիծ» ՓԲԸ-ի կողմից, հաստատված 19.07.2010 թ., և մտնում է Հանրապետության նրապարակի թիվ 1 հատվածի N 2 խմբային պահպանական գոտու մեջ (որի ընդհանուր մակերեսը 344888, 89 քառ. մ է), և կառուցապատման կարգավիճակում 1-ին գոտու մեջ, ըստ որի նոր կառուցվող շենքի վերին եզրի բարձրությունը փողոցի մայրի մակերևույթից չպետք է գերազանցի 20 մետրը, առավելագույնը՝ 6 հարկ հարկայնությամբ:

Մանրամասները տես՝ «Երևանի պատմության և մշակույթի հուշարձանների պահպանման գոտիների նախագիծ», հատոր 1, տեքստային մաս:

Առանիտ Գրիգորյան  
 Վահագն Հովհաննիսյան

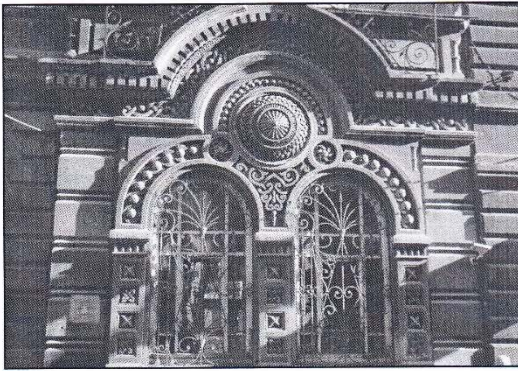


Figure 6: An Example of the second page of “Armenian Republic Monuments Registration certificate.” Photographs, together with a brief history and description, was provided on this page of the certificate.

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ քաղաք, ԲՆԱԿԵԼԻ ՏՈՒՆ, 1895 թ., 1898 թ. Հանրապետության փող. 30, 1.6.203.7 (2),  
 ՎԱՐՉԱԿԱՆ ՇԵՆՔ ՆԱՀԱՆԳԱՊԵՏԱՐԱՆԻ, XIX դ. վերջ-XX դ. սկիզբ, Հանրապետության փող. 32  
 1.6.203.13 (2)

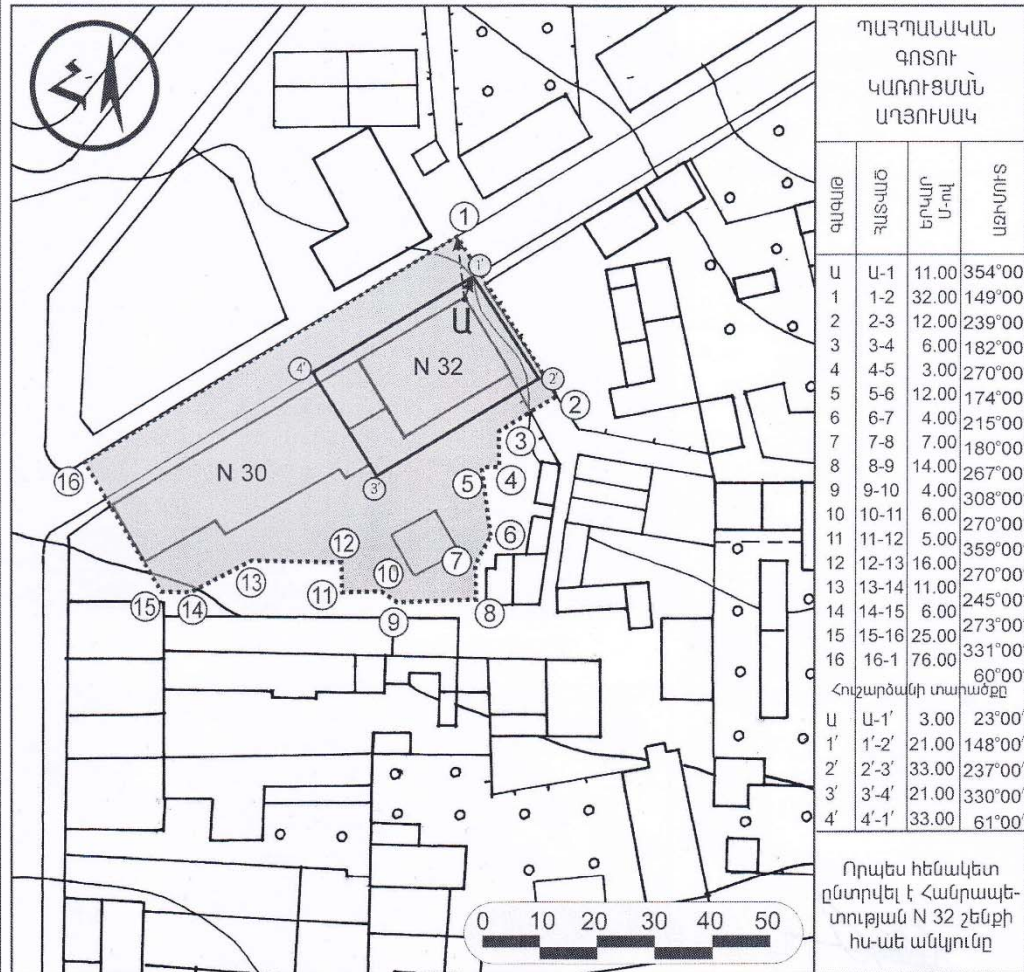
Հուշարձանի պահպանության գոտու օգտագործման պայմանակարգը (ոեժիմ)

h/h	Աշխատանքը / գործունեությունը			Թույլատրվում է	Արգելվում է	Ծանոթություն
	անվանումը	ենթահամարը	բնույթը			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Հողային	1.1	հետախուզում և հնագիտական պեղում			
		1.3	ինժեներական ստորգետնյա ուղեգծեր			
		1.4	այլ			նվազագույնը՝ 0.6մ հեռավորությամբ
2	Բարեկարգում	2.1	խոտածածկ			
		2.2	թփուտներ			հնագիտական հետազոտությամբ
		2.3	ծառատունկ			
		2.4	հետիոտն անցուղիներ			
		2.5	ճանապարհներ			
3	Ճարտարապետական փոքր ձևեր և վերգետնյա ինժեներական ուղեգծեր	3.1	աղբաման, աթոռ ... և այլ			
		3.2	սան. հանգույց			ժամանակավոր
		3.3	ավտոկայանատեղի			
4	Տնտեսական	4.2	հուշարձանի բնույթին համապատասխան (տեղեկատվական բացիկներ, քարտեզներ, հուշանվերներ)			
		4.3	սպասարկման 1-ին անհրաժեշտության (ջուր)			կառուցել ունի ջրամատակարարում, կոյուղի և էլեկտրական սնուցում
		4.4	սպասարկման 1-ին անհրաժեշտության (բուժ. կետ)			գտնվում է քաղաքի կենտրոնում և առանձին բուժ. կետի անհրաժեշտություն չկա
		4.5	աննդամթերքի առևտուր			
		4.6	կենցաղային նշանակության առևտուր			
		4.7	բացօթյա սրճարան			

- Աղյուսակի բնույթը սյունակը կարող է լրացվել անվանը համապատասխան նոր տողով
- Տեսողական ընկալման լավագույն միջանցքները (ուղղությունները տես գծագրական մասում) և դրանց մակերեսները՝ .... հա
- 4-7-րդ սյունակները ենթակա են լրացման՝ կախված յուրաքանչյուր հուշարձանի առանձնահատկությունից

Figure 7: An Example of the second page of “Armenian Republic Monuments Registration certificate.” The second, third, and fourth pages provided detailed information about the monument, arranged according to several categories. These included a history of the monument, a description of it; basic bibliography and iconographic material pertaining to the monument; an analysis of its physical and structural condition; an inventory of the protective zones established around, or otherwise affecting the monument; and information about original, present, and anticipated use.

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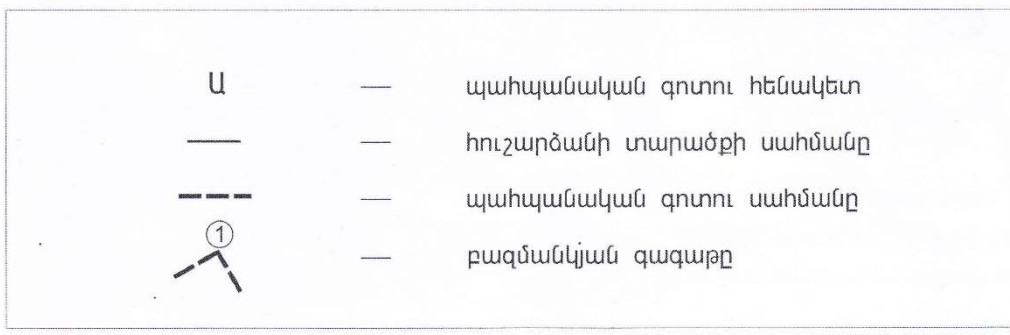


Figure 8: An Example of the second page of “Armenian Republic Monuments Registration certificate.” This page demonstrates an inventory of the protective zones established around, or otherwise affecting the monument.

# ՀՈՒՇԱՐՁԱՆԻ ՏԵՂԱԴՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ

ՀԵՌԱԿՐՈՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ՝

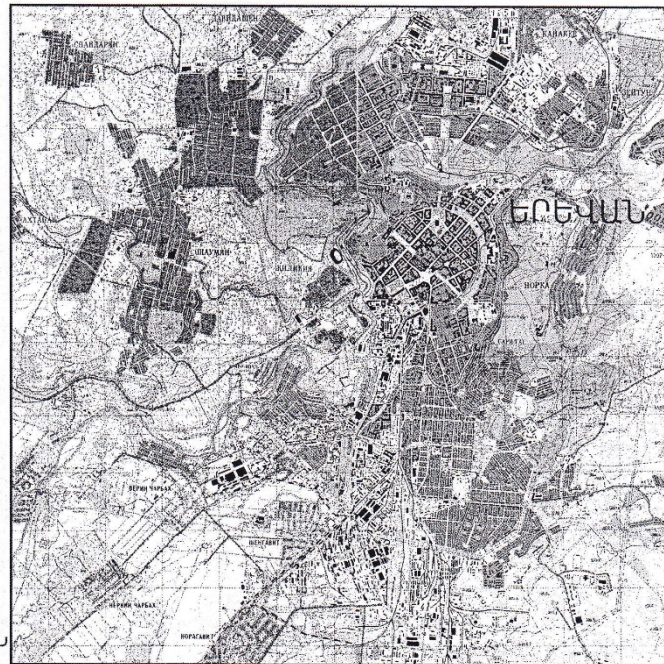
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ՔԱՐՏԵԶ - ՍԽԵՄԱ  
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ճարտարապետ՝ Կ. ՀՈԿԱՆՆԻՍՅԱՆ

Figure 9: An Example of the second page of “Armenian Republic Monuments Registration certificate.” This page demonstrates the exact location of the monument.

Once it has been accepted and approved, the certificate becomes the official document certifying registration. This action is taken by the Ministry of Culture of the USSR for monuments of international and national significance; by the ministries of culture of the constituent republics when the monument is of republic or local significance.

### **Criteria for Registration and Inclusion in the Register**

Three basic prerequisites form the basis for the criteria established for registration and inclusion of cultural monuments in the Register. The first focuses upon “stationary” rather than “movable” cultural monuments, excluding the latter category (museum and archival objects such as painting, sculpture, musical scores, play scripts, movies, manuscripts, books, and models) from inclusion in the Register. The second stipulates that stationary cultural monuments could qualify for registration and inclusion in the Register on the basis of either their international, national (all-union), republic, or local levels of significance. The third prerequisite followed from the classification of stationary cultural monuments as encompassing those monuments of archaeology, history, architecture, or monumental art demonstrating artistic, historical, and scholarly value.

In identifying and designating archaeological, historical, architectural, or monumental sculptural landmarks as cultural monuments of the USSR, numerous factors were considered in determining their artistic, historical, and scholarly value.

**Archaeological monuments** were judged on the basis of their significance for studying the economic, social, political, and cultural history of the peoples populating the country, in illuminating questions of the origins, migrations, and settlement patterns of primitive tribes, as well as in studying the country’s material culture and technological development. Valid archaeological remains located underground and providing sufficient evidence of past cultures must be sufficiently stabilized and preserved to reveal the construction of a building type, traces of living processes, or architectural and artistic details. Archaeological monuments or remains that shed light on cultures no longer in existence and lacking any other excavated evidence were considered especially valuable for preservation purposes.

**Historical Monuments** were judged on the basis of their historical and political significance, as reflected in the association with important events and personalities in the history of the country or of their particular region. The scholarly significance of the monument derived from the extent to which it reflects the level of scientific, technical, and socio-cultural development of the period.



**Monuments of Architecture and City-Planning** were selected on the basis of numerous considerations. These included the value of the monument in revealing the social foundations and living processes operating in the society which created it; its significance and place in the historical development of the country's architecture, as well as in the development of a local school or tradition; and, finally, the extent to which its aesthetic, functional, and technical solutions were both perfected and synthesized within the monument as a whole.

As a rule, all architectural monuments dating through the 18th century, as well as outstanding examples from the 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, were eligible for inclusion in the Register, as were all historically evolved architectural ensembles and city-planning complexes, irrespective of the artistic value of individual component buildings, and noteworthy natural landscapes with unique topographical and planning features.

**Monuments of monumental art** were subdivided into two categories. The first, consisting of stationary monumental sculpture, was judged on the basis of the quality of its artistic expressiveness and technical execution. The second group, consisting of monumental painting applied directly to architectural monuments, was likewise judged on the profundity of its technical execution, originality, and artistic content.

**Memorial monuments** to outstanding cultural personalities might also be included if the artistic quality of the monument played a significant role in the development either of the national culture or of the culture of a given region. The significance of the personalities or events being commemorated by the memorial were likewise taken into account.

#### **The Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the Peoples of the USSR**

Completion of the registration card and certificate constituted the essential preliminary steps for inclusion of cultural monuments into the Register by providing the necessary scholarly documentation to establish the basis for registration. Local cultural organizations, working with representatives of the republic ministries of culture, were chiefly responsible for the conduct of this work. The Ministry of Culture of the USSR funded this operation through its Institute of Art History, Office of the Register, to organizations at the local level. Local chapters of the Society for the Protection of Historic and Cultural Monuments were likewise drawn into this undertaking.

**Protective Aspects of the Register.** As soon as a cultural monument was registered with the local cultural offices and eventually with the republic ministry of culture, it received governmental protection at these respective levels. After further documentary research, the potential nomination

to the Register might be submitted to the Ministry of Culture of the USSR for inclusion as a cultural monument of national, or all-Union, significance. When this was achieved, the cultural monument received national protection.

**Scope:** The Register of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the Peoples of the USSR was intended to be the official government document listing all cultural monuments coming under governmental protection at either the all-Union, republic, or local level. It was likewise projected to be the most complete scholarly reference work on registered Soviet cultural landmarks, containing all the basic information and providing access to available source material about them. Its format was intended to be encyclopedic in the best sense of the word providing a clear picture of the rich cultural heritage of the Soviet Union for domestic and foreign consumption alike. Very complete scholarly articles were projected for monuments of national and international significance, while monuments of republic and local significance would be treated in shorter but equally authoritative entries. It was thus anticipated that the Register will become an indispensable research tool for use by historians, architects, artists, and institutions of higher learning, as well as by governmental agencies and professional and civic organizations involved in the protection of Soviet cultural monuments. Because of the all-encompassing scope of the publication, it was anticipated that the text of the Register must be concise and written in a style easily comprehensible by the widest circle of readers. Moreover, it was proposed to be richly illustrated and reflect the highest standards of the printer's art. It would be published in Russian for the Russian Republic, and in the national language of the various republics, with parallel texts in Russian, for each of the constituent republics.

### **Protective Zones**

The protective zones were established for each registered cultural monument or group of monuments. Their purpose was to facilitate the preservation and maintenance of monuments and their environs, to reveal and exploit their architectural, artistic, and planning attributes, and to create the necessary conditions enabling the populace and tourists to become familiar with them. Three types of protective zones had been developed in the Soviet Union to assure and enforce the protection of registered cultural monuments. The first, known as a **“protective zone”** (okhrannaia zona), sought to preserve both the monument itself and its immediate surroundings by prohibiting either demolition of the monument or intrusion by new additions to the building itself. The second type of zone, the so-called **“zone regulating construction”** (zona regulirovkazastroiki), was

designed to preserve the setting that had historically evolved around the monument, including not only the architectural and planning system in which it had evolved, but its visual and natural environment as well. New construction, though permitted within this zone, was strictly regulated in terms of height, density, and compatible land use. The third type, known as the “**preservation zone**” (zapovednaia zone), had been developed to preserve entire historically evolved architectural and planning ensembles, in which the historic ensemble as a whole rather than the individual building and its surroundings constitutes the registered cultural landmark. The protective aspects of this zone included emphasis upon the preservation, stabilization, restoration, and adaptive use of surviving historic buildings, as well as upon control of new construction to harmonize with the historic character of the area.

The precise determination of the boundaries, size, and character of the planning of the protective zone had to be based upon the location of monuments, their use, as well upon the historical topography of the locale and the natural limits and configuration of the surrounding territory.

**Zones regulating construction.** These zones were established, apart from the protective zones, for ensembles, complexes, and individual monuments with the aim of preserving their traditional environs and their relationship to those environs. Zones regulating construction established boundaries to permit the preservation of the historically formed planning system and the character of the natural and architectural context of the monuments. These zones were normally used to protect revolutionary and military monuments, palace ensembles, garden and park ensembles, retail rows, monasteries, courtyards, estates, city squares, and other groups of monuments in their surrounding urban fabric or natural landscape.

**Preservation Zones.** Cultural monuments in the Soviet Union were increasingly being viewed as comprising more than individual buildings and sites. The preservation zones (Zapovednik zona) in such cases had been established to preserve the historically evolved architectural and planning component of a town which includes an ensemble of buildings, monuments, and planning elements. The entire area was considered a designated monument, and restoration of the architectural and planning fabric of the area was a primary objective. Emphasis was placed on adaptive use of surviving structures as well as strict controls on new construction to assure proper harmonization with the historic and architectural character of the area.

**Preservation Programs in Schools of Architecture.** The growth of popular interest and professional involvement in historic preservation in the Soviet Union is manifested in recent efforts

by leading Soviet schools of architecture to institute formal training programs in preservation. These efforts reflect, as well as provide further impetus for, the development of new concepts and techniques for preserving and restoring historic monuments and sites in the Soviet Union.

**The Moscow Architectural Institute** had taken the lead in establishing an innovative but controversial program in the first years of 1970s which interested architecture students could pursue specialized training in preservation. As in the case of the other five areas of specialization at the Moscow Architectural Institute, students were admitted into the Department of Architectural Restoration at the end of four years of general study in the Architecture Faculty. Students were asked to declare their preference for a major area upon entering the Institute, although they could change at a later date before enrolling in one of the specialized programs in their fifth year; these major areas included City Planning, Housing and Public Architecture, Industrial Architecture, Rural Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Restoration Architecture. The curriculum used by the Department of Architectural Restoration consisted of three courses taken during both semesters of the fifth year, together with the diploma project which was developed in the first semester of the sixth year. The first of the two-semester courses, entitled the “History of the Architecture of the Peoples of the USSR,” was designed to supplement rather than replace a comparable survey of the subject given at an earlier year. Despite its title, the course concentrated on the history of Russian architecture. Developed expressly for students in the restoration program, this course dealt in far greater depth with the attendant building techniques and related socio-economic aspects, focusing on the development of Russian architecture from the tenth through the nineteenth centuries; twentieth-century Russian architecture was presently excluded from consideration, it was explained, because the immediate needs of the Soviet preservation program placed a premium on earlier buildings by virtue of their being both in more abundant supply and more urgently threatened with destruction. Entitled “Methods of Architectural Restoration,” the second two-semester course was designed to provide students with a comprehensive historical, theoretical, and practical survey of Soviet preservation. The course began by tracing the historical development of Soviet preservation practices, focusing upon the principal philosophies, methods, and case studies in this development. There follows an examination of the legal aspects of Soviet preservation, in terms both of enabling legislation and of statutory requirements and regulations (such as, for example, the protective zones, the zones regulating construction, and the preservation zones). Next to be studied were the methods of documenting a building; these include the generic

problem of building types, methods of archival research, techniques of inspecting the fabric of historic structures, and documentation of their architectural and structural aspects. The second semester of the course begins with a review of restoration techniques and case studies. The next topic was adaptation of historic buildings (both in historic ensembles and in new parts of a city) to viable new uses. The course concluded with examination of the problem of moving historic buildings from various isolated regions of the country to a single site for the purpose of creating a museum-village; emphasis was given to the current trend of assembling wooden and vernacular structures on a single site to develop a planned "outdoor architectural museum." The third course, entitled "Practical Work on Restoration," represented the augmentation of the fifth-year design studio to concentrate upon solving specific preservation and restoration problems. The first problem required the design of a specified building type dating from a particular period in Russian architecture. The student was required to immerse himself in the given historical milieu in order fully to grasp the particular way in which the structural, architectural, and aesthetic forms were created in the given period, as well as to ascertain the specific socio-economic circumstances of the particular occupant(s) of the building to be designed. In other words, the student was forced to conduct the kind of research of these various aspects of the problem that would enable him to design the assigned building as if he were an architect practicing in the given period; he was not permitted to use any architectural, structural, technical, or aesthetic elements or techniques emanating from a later period. The objective of the problem, was not replication. Rather, it was to develop in the student a profound understanding of the complex problems that were involved in producing a building in any given period of the past, and thereby establishing a basis for his comprehending and respecting the essential integrity and scope of a historic structure. The assignment in the preceding year, for example, called for the design of a new townhouse for an officer in the Imperial Russian Army who, returning home at the conclusion of the War of 1812, discovers his old house in Moscow burned to the ground. The second problem related specifically to the documentation of restoration proposals. The building assigned, usually a registered monument, would have been substantially altered or demolished. The student was required to develop a project for restoring the building to its original appearance. Detailed plans, sections, elevations, and other graphic and descriptive material must be developed on the basis of sufficient verifiable documentation to establish the authenticity of the proposal. In the event that the original appearance cannot be ascertained with any verifiable precision, the proposal should specify the

earliest aspect of the building for which supporting evidence has been developed; conjectural reconstruction drawings, though permissible, cannot be supplied as the basis for reconstruction or restoration of the building. The second part of the problem involved developing a viable adaptive use for the restored building. The third problem required the student to design a new structure and supporting environment attached to or adjoining a historic building, usually a registered monument. The objective of this assignment was to focus upon the particular problem of integrating a new design to its historic setting in a systematic and viable fashion, through either harmonic contrast or harmonic stylization of existing architectural elements, without undermining the integrity and requirements of either the contemporary design or its historic surroundings. The fourth and final problem concentrated on a town planning scheme involving either preservation/renewal of a registered historic town or ensemble, or the creation of an outdoor architectural museum. This assignment required the student to investigate, through documentation and (if possible) on-site research, the historical patterns of development for both specific and prototypical Russian towns and settlements. In the case of creating an outdoor museum, students were required to research various building prototypes, and to determine the proper mix and site orientation of structures to be included in accordance with planning patterns and traditions endemic to the kind of town or settlement being simulated in the given museum complex. Use of existing buildings was not required, but students were encouraged to examine actual examples of building prototypes to be specified in their proposal.

In developing his diploma project, the student was expected to conduct a detailed on-site inspection and inventory of his project site. The scope of the diploma project was conceived by the department as a synthesis of methods and elements developed successively in all four prior design problems. Accordingly, it was expected that the student would select a suitable historic town or ensemble (such as a monastery or Kremlin), for which a comprehensive preservation plan must be developed on the basis of a systematic analysis of the project site's historical development. The preservation plan should include the restoration of all extant registered monuments contained within the complex, the appropriate adaptive use of all existing buildings, provision for relocating appropriate historic buildings to simulate that portion of the historic fabric of the ensemble which might not have survived, and the design of such new building elements as were deemed essential within the framework of the preservation plan. In addition, the diploma project should include an assessment of the established protective zones both within and around the ensemble and recommend whatever

modifications seem appropriate. The graphic presentation of the plan must be supported by comprehensive written documentation of both the historical development of the ensemble and the solutions developed in the diploma project.

# **Appendix 4**

## **The Reality of Post-Soviet Architectural Preservation**



## **Deficiencies in preservation of architectural heritage in post-Soviet Armenia**

- The revision of the list of protected monuments and legislation and their legal weakness, possibility to remove from the list of the protected monuments, those buildings that the property decides to restructure heavily or even to destroy to replace them with more profitable buildings
- The religious architecture and the redemption of the Armenian Church, which tends to operate autonomously, based on criteria that are not scientific and more “image”
- The buildings of the Russian period (black houses) which are surmounted by modern buildings in height (saving only the façade on main street) to exploit the land rents, or demolished and rebuilt in a small neighborhood for tourists (provided that it is just an excuse to demolish them without too many protests) or left abandoned (Gyumri, Ashtarak), the demolition of buildings from the Russian era and the idea of building a small tourist district of the North Avenue area with their facades dismantled
- Internal courtyards and privatized “historic” public green spaces
- Edification of the Sardar Gardens area
- Neglect of the Soviet-era buildings, except for government buildings and a few monumental buildings (museums, theaters, etc.) the buildings of the Soviet period, which are preserved only if they are seats of government institutions or are in “Tamanian” style, while those left to private individuals are destroyed or left to decay
- An interest strongly centered on tourism with works such as the Tatev cableway
- Disinterest in residential and industrial buildings, An abandonment to its destiny of popular architecture
- Building Speculation at the expense of the heritage of the Russian era (the so-called black houses) that is demolished or heavily renovated, keeping only the facades on the main streets
- Neo-Armenian revival in the construction of new churches and contemporary poor maintenance of the old ones (with few monumental exceptions)
- Bad restoration work carried on by incompetent companies (luxury bathroom floors in the churches of Sanahin and Tatev, fantasy reconstruction of the bell tower in Noravank, reconstruction of the walls/residences of the monks in Khor Virap, heavy restructuring of the market in Mashtots Avenue)

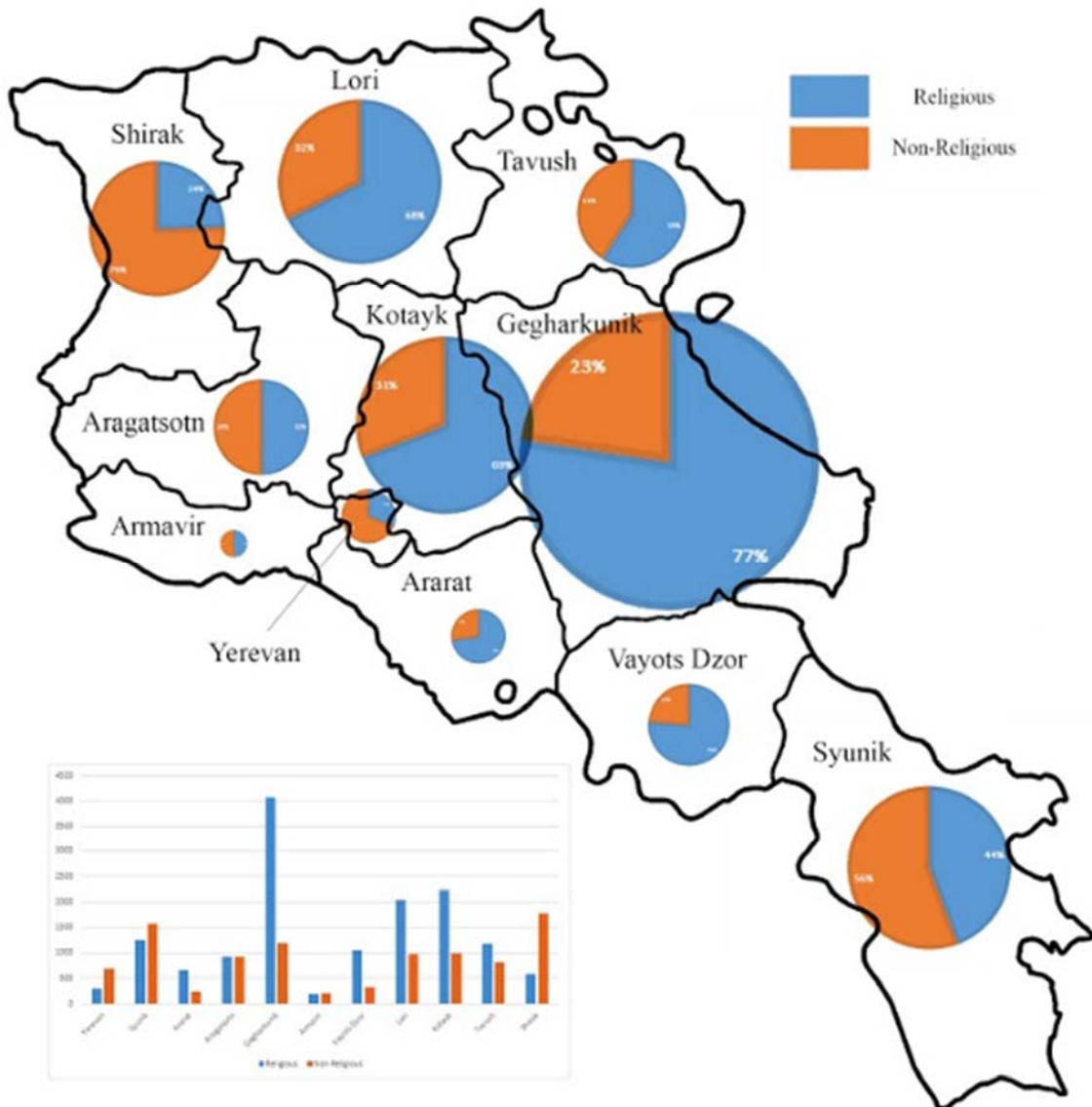
- Widespread corruption
- The privatization of public spaces (the green of Tamanian's plan)
- The wild and abusive privatization of collective spaces within the Soviet era blocks
- Etc.

### **The traditional Armenian architecture:**

The main structures of this period are churches and monasteries. Very little non religious architecture has survived the tumultuous history of the country. Armenians have strong bound to religion. Religious monuments are considered the epitome of the survival of a nation under harsh conditions. This attention to religious monuments is well reflected in the list of protected monuments of Armenia. I studied the 2012 list of protected monuments considering religious versus non religious monuments in ten provinces of Armenia and the city of Yerevan with its special administrative status as the country's capital. The following chart is the result of the study. In this study, the religious monuments are considered to be khachkars, churches, chapels, and cemeteries. All other types of monuments are considered non-religious type. The number of religious monuments protected by the list is significantly higher than the non religious monuments in Lori, Tavush, Kotayk, Gegharkunik, Ararat, Vayots Dzor. In two provinces of Aragatson and Armavir, the two figures are almost equal. In Shirak, Yerevan and Syunik, the number of non religious monuments is higher than the religious ones. Yerevan and Gyumri are two biggest cities of Armenia. In Yerevan, the number of residential buildings, memorials, and statues have resulted total number of higher non-religious monuments. The reason for Shirak province is the high number of nineteenth century Russian architecture protected by the list (1041, the largest number of residential buildings protected among ten provinces and Yerevan city. The second largest figure is Syunik with 272 and the third largest figure is Yerevan city with 263 protected residential buildings.) The reason why the number of non-religious structures is higher than religious ones in Syunik is the the large number of residential buildings (272) and caves (254).

	Yerevan	Syunik	Ararat	Aragatsotn	Gegharkunik	Armenia	Vayots Dzor	Lori	Kotayk	Tavush	Shirak
Khachkar	220	698	494	517	3575	90	799	127	1811	662	121
Church	28	311	92	240	270	60	132	5	259	269	241
Cemetery	61	243	71	158	232	54	120	437	162	254	213
Statue	78	18	5	7	2	13	4	17	5	5	26
Fountain	37	128	42	67	21	44	22	68	67	75	75
Residential Building	263	272	9	70	6	41	190	34	25	114	1041
Engineering	12	1	6	5	0	6	0	1	1	4	8
Memorial	23	93	43	60	18	34	18	39	55	65	59
Bridge	4	29	0	10	5	0	10	23	3	11	9
Settlement	6	26	13	36	23	33	7	46	16	20	59
Fortress	1	55	11	98	77	7	13	30	55	96	87
Tower	2	9	0	42	2	5	0	5	6	2	1
Road	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1
Burial	8	92	10	168	105	27	17	136	71	69	155
Village	1	130	45	77	90	7	64	137	78	144	83
Cave	39	254	8	47	21	1	6	49	50	16	29

The number of different types of protected monuments in ten provinces of Armenia plus the Yerevan City according to the Armenian Republic Government's Official List of the cultural and historical monuments, taking into consideration the government decree N,N 206, issued on March 04 2010.



The number of religious versus non-religious monuments in the Armenian Republic Government's Official List of the cultural and historical monuments, taking into consideration the government decree N,N 206, issued on March 04 2010. The charts are extracted by the author.

The religious monuments are not in risk or demolition because they are highly respected but there is another problem. The over restoration and falsification. Armenia is located in a highly seismic active region. Many monuments have been destroyed or heavily damaged because of the earthquake. The exaggerated attention to religious monuments caused to falsification and over restoration of many medieval structures in Armenia. Preservation, according to internationally accepted methods is not popular among Armenians. The authenticity always comes second with respect to a complete restoration according to original design. This original design is not well documented in most cases which results to imaginary additions according to the taste of the

architect. This is what happening to the local and village churches. The situation is not much better for the first grade internationally accepted monuments. The preservation and restoration projects are carried out by incompetent companies and architects who are not using accepted methods and materials. Following is an example of changing the pavement of the narthex in Sanahin Monastery, one of the three World Heritage Sites in Armenia. Despite the visual effect of juxtaposing industrially cut low quality travertine next to the medieval decorated tombstones, they assembled the new stones so close to the old ones which in some places caused the old ones to break. In some places, the new stones have completely isolated the old ones which will cause rapid degradation of the old ones by high number of tourists walking on them.



Sanahin Monastery narthex, before adding the new pavement. Photo from <https://mediturgia.ru/dostoprimechatelnosti/dostoprimechatelnosti-armenii/monastyr-sanain-dostoprimechatelnosti-i-mesta-sily-armenii/>



General view of the narthex after the addition of the new pavement. Photo taken on 30 September 2016 by Diego Delso.



A close-up view of the new pavement, pointing out the damage caused to the medieval tombstones in Sanahin Monastery, one of the three World Heritage Sites of Armenia. Photo taken on 30 September 2016 by Diego Delso.



Despite its visual affect, the addition of the new pavement, so tightly next to the medieval tombstones will cause further damage. Photo taken on 30 September 2016 by Diego Delso.



Isolating medieval tombstone, not perfectly level, will cause its rapid degradation by high number of tourists walking on them. Photo taken on 30 September 2016 by Diego Delso.

Falsification and over restoration is another problem with the Armenian traditional monuments. The 13th century monastery of Noravank is a good example of the falsification and over restoration. The Surb Astvatsatsin Church of the Noravank Monastery, completed in 1339 according to the design of Momik, was heavily damaged in the beginning of the twentieth century because of various earthquakes. In previous preservation activities during Soviet period, the walls of the church were restored and the fallen roof had been covered with a plain hipped roof. In 1997, the drum and its conical dome was rebuilt based on existing fragments. The monastery was submitted to the tentative list of UNESCO on Aug. 25 1995 because of its originality of the design, particularly those built by the architect Momik but was denied because of over restoration.



Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Noravank Monastery in the early 20th century. Photo from Strzygowski, Josef. *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1998, Vol. 2, p. 708.





Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Noravank Monastery after its walls preservation.



Surb Astvatsatsin Church in Noravank Monastery after the 1997 reconstruction of the dome.

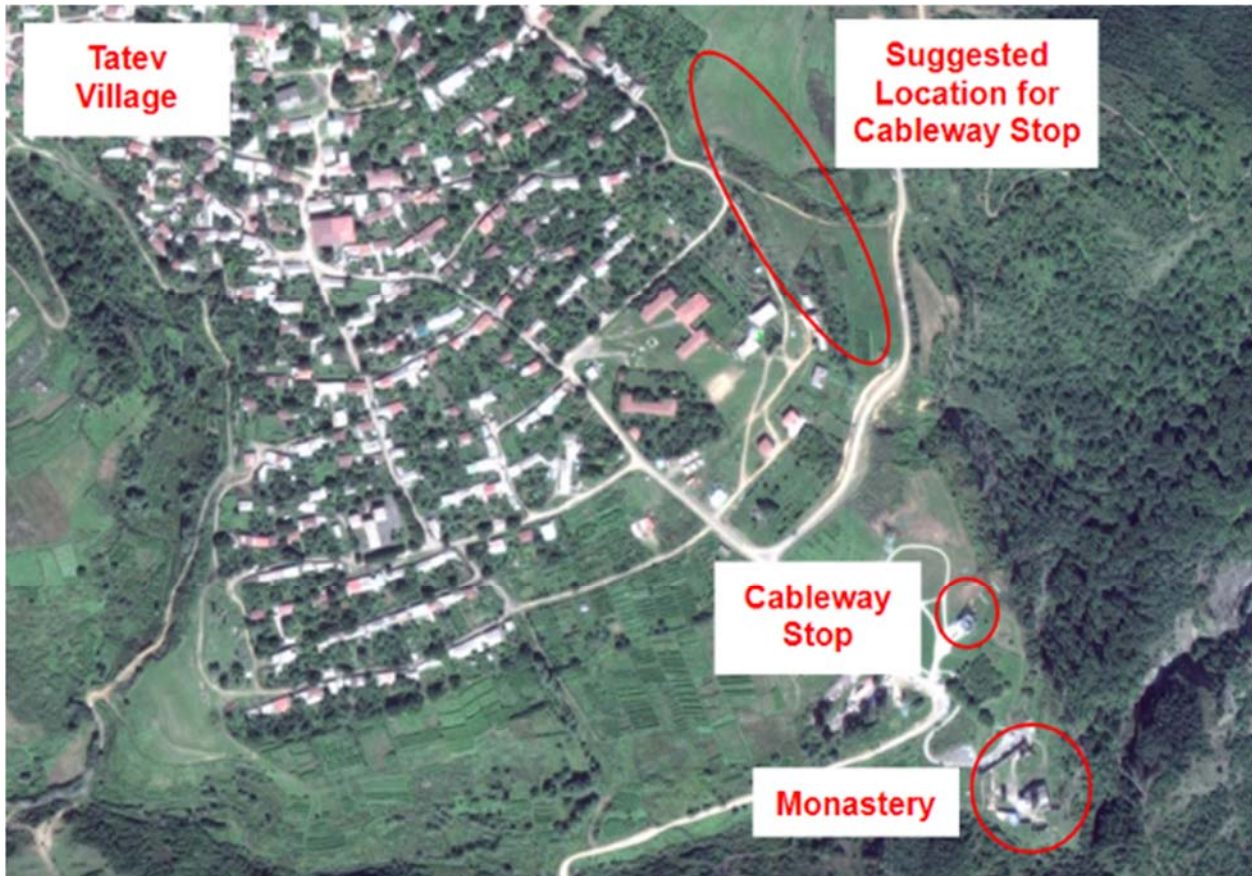
### **Tatev Monastery and the Wings of Tatev Cableway**

Wings of Tatev is a 5.7 Km cableway connecting Halidzor and Tatev monastery in Syunik Province of Armenia. According to Guinness World Records, retrieved on 23 August 2011, it holds the record for the “Longest non-stop double track cable car. It has become a major tourist attraction source for the area since its opening in October 2010.

The Tatev village is constructed on a slope looking down to the monastery. Despite being so close to the Monastery and cableway, it is suffering from depopulation and economic depression. The cableway project could have been a solution in case of a more comprehensive study and a better choice of its location. The stop is located very close to the monastery, on the lower part of the slope where the village is located. Most visitors do not climb the slope to enter the village and leave the area without having any positive impact on the economy of the village, not mentioning the negative visual impact on the medieval monastery. A more comprehensive study could have connect the Halidzor to a higher point in Tatev village so that the tourists would pass the village and spend a day in it.



Satellite view of the Tatev village, Monastery and Wings of Tatev cableway. The upper stop of the cableway is located too close to the monastery. Despite the negative visual impact, the tourists do not enter the village in their course of visiting the monastery.



A suggested better location for the upper stop would have been in a higher point to connect the cableway to the village, forcing the visitors to walk through the village on their way to visit the monastery.



A view from the village towards the monastery and cableway stop. The slope discourages many visitors to climb towards the village.



Negative visual impact of the upper stop of the cableway on Tatev Monastery.



A close-up view of the upper station near Tatev Monastery.

## Architecture under Persian Dominion

This kind of architecture was concentrated in Yerevan, which was considered the center of the Iranian defenses in the Caucasus during the Russo-Iranian Wars of the 19th century.<sup>1</sup> Most of the vestiges of this architecture was destroyed during the 1920s and 30s modernization of the city. The only well-preserved monument is the Blue Mosque located in center of Yerevan which underwent a total restoration funded by Iran, completed in 1999.



Blue Mosque, Yerevan. A modern view. Taken in July 2005. Photo from Wikimedia (CC-BY-SA-3.0)

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<sup>1</sup> See Persian Image, the first section.



Ruins of Abbas Mirza mosque in Yerevan. Photo by Marco Brambilla, 2006.

### **Nineteenth century Russian/Tsarist architecture**

This kind of architecture is concentrated in two main cities. Gyumri and Yerevan. Both have suffered serious risks and damaged.

#### **Gyumri**

The earthquake of 1988 heavily damaged the urban texture of Gyumri. A number of events affected the aftermath of the earthquake which left the city in a neglected and depressed state. The independence of Armenia in 1990 and the Nagorno-Karabakh War from 1988-1994 are some reasons of this depression. The city never recovered from the heavy damage of earthquake. Therefore, many damaged buildings are still in bad preservation condition. But the situation is better than Yerevan because the city has not experienced a sudden development and due to

depression, building speculation has not affected the urban texture. There are examples of authentic preservation activities carried out by international investments.



An example of nineteenth century stone architecture in Gyumri, completely restored after the earthquake of 1988.  
Photo by Marco Brambilla.





An example of nineteenth century stone architecture in Gyumri during the restoration activities. Photo by Marco Brambilla.



An example of homogenous nineteenth century facade in Gyumri. Photo by Maurizio Boriani.



An example of homogenous nineteenth century facade in Gyumri. Photo by Maurizio Boriani.

## **Yerevan**

Building speculation at the expense of the heritage of Russian nineteenth century architecture. There are little buildings of this era left intact in Yerevan. Many of the previously protected monuments are demolished and high-rise buildings are constructed. The downtown Yerevan has completely lost its former homogenous texture. The construction of Northern Avenue, started in March 2002 and officially opened in 2007, heavily affected the urban texture. It was planned by Alexander Tamanian in 1924 master plan but never realized during the Soviet period. The urban texture of this area was remained intact and many nineteenth century residential homes were still intact by the time of the construction of the Northern Avenue in 2002.



A 1980s aerial photo of Yerevan before the high-rise constructions, depicting Tamanian's vision of the Armenian Capital with Mount Ararat view in background. 1- The Northern Avenue location. The different urban texture is visible. 2- Old Yerevan Project location.



Altering Yerevan's urban texture and skyline starting from 1995. This photo is taken from Republic Square looking towards North. The high-rise buildings of Northern Avenue are visible in the background. Photo taken by the author in August 2014.



A view of Northern Avenue. Photo by the author taking in August 2014 during its entirely renovation project which converted the two-story underground parking into an underground shopping mall.



Construction of high-rise residential buildings in the site of former Yerevan fortress. Photo taken in August 2014 by the author.

The nineteenth century Russian architecture (so-called black houses) were protected by the low in Soviet period. Due to the protests with regard to destroying the heritage, a decision was made to dismantle the stone facades of black houses and keep them for future rebuilding of a tourist area which reflects the nineteenth century environment of Yerevan.



Left: Dismantling the facade of a nineteenth century stone building in hope of rebuilding it in a new location. Right: Hayk Bianjyan at the store of the dismantled building. Photo taken by Lena Nazaryan.

Despite the questions regarding the authenticity of such practice, dismantling and rebuilding, many stone pieces will break during the project. Where are they going to be stored? Is it a closed area or open space? Who is responsible for who knows how many years between dismantling and rebuilding? Are they going to be built with exact old design? What about the lost or broken pieces? It seems that this project has nothing to do with heritage preservation and is carried out to bypass the protests.

Another tendency is to keep the original facade and construct high-rise out of proportion buildings and connect them to the nineteenth century facade causing it to be dwarfed and completely altering its original appearance.



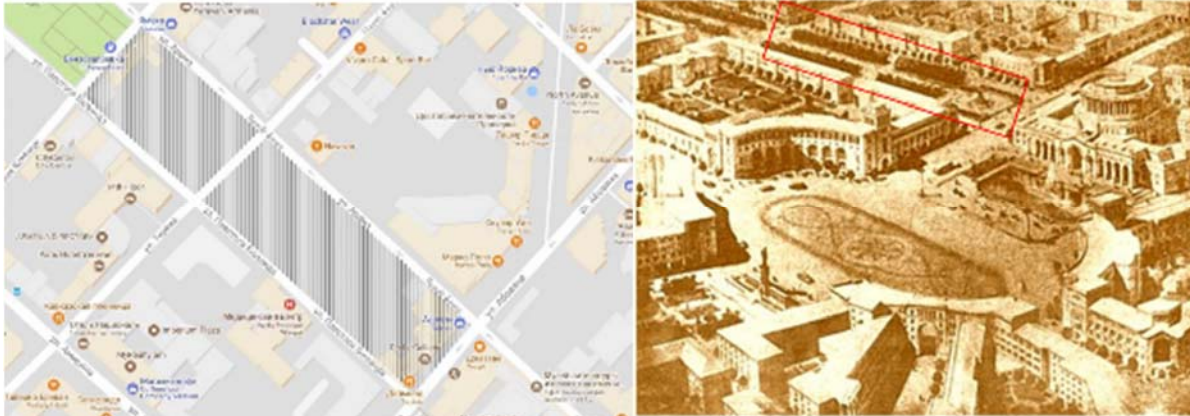
An example of constructing high-rise buildings by keeping the original nineteenth century facade.

In 2000, by government decree, many areas in downtown Yerevan were under the protection of historical and cultural elements recognised as “priorities of the public interest”. According to an article published in JAM news, “The authorities declared the city a living organism, and the parts that are hindering its vital functions should be removed from time to time. As a result, elitist new buildings have been erected in the center of Yerevan.”<sup>2</sup> In 2004, the government issued the decree #1616H which approved the list of the historical and cultural monuments in the city of Yerevan. The list contained 975 buildings which many of them were demolished later. In 2008, Armenia signed the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe and under article 21 of the Constitution of the Armenian Republic, on Protection and Use of Immovable Historical and Cultural Monuments and Historical Environment, the demolition of buildings with local

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<sup>2</sup> Mkrtychyan, Gayane. New Yerevan Destroying the Old One. *JAM News*. October 30, 2016.

importance is only allowed with government permission. It seems that none of the above mentioned laws are useful in protecting the monuments.



Left: The area of Old Yerevan Project in center of Yerevan. Right: The same area with respect to Republic Square.



The model of the Old Yerevan project recently approved to be executed.



The area of Old Yerevan project. The building around the Republic Square is visited on upper left and the remaining old structures which are going to relate to the project are visible in the middle of the photo.



The nineteenth century buildings which are going to be connected to the Old Yerevan project under a plastic ceiling are visible on the foreground.



According to ARMENPRESS, Armenian news agency, after two years of delay, finally on April 25, 2017, the government authorized the Yerevan City Hall to sign the agreement with the EMC CJSC, a joint private company owned by Swiss-Armenian businessman Vartan Sirmakes, to define the obligations, rights of the state, and the acquirer in the process of alienating the property enclosed in the territory of Abovyan, Buzand, Koghbatsi, and Arami streets in downtown Yerevan.<sup>3</sup> The deadline for launching the process of property alienation is 30 June 2018. The project is categorized as “Urban development” program and boosts to restore the “Old Yerevan” historic-architectural environment by private investments. The culture minister Armen Amiryan reassured “the historic-cultural environment of Yerevan will be fully preserved with the Old Yerevan program.”

According to the architect of the project, Levon Vardanyan, “This project is designed to recreate the lost heritage and to reveal to us the beautiful architecture and urban environment of Yerevan of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.”

The Architect: Levon Vardanyan

Location: Between the streets Abovyan-Buzand-Koghbatsi-Arami.

Area: 150 thousand square meters useable area

Intention: Creating the atmosphere of old Yerevan with its courtyards, wooden balconies, cellars. 14 monument building (already existing) will be joined to other 16 buildings dismantled in recent years. If they are dismantled, how can they be joined together? Are these 16 buildings going to be rebuilt exactly using the same original design? What does it mean to say “by government decision, the buildings must have 3 floors plus attics? The original buildings were single or two-story constructions. How is this change from single story to three story going to reflect in the original stone blocks? Are the upper floors going to be built with new stone? Are the old blocks going to be used but under a new design? There are going to be three underground floors. The first underground floor are going to be cellars with vaulted ceiling, the other two are going to be parkings.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> ARMENPRESS, *Prime Minister Boosts Old Yerevan Project Implementation*, 27 April 2017. Retrieved on 11/01/2018. <<https://armenpress.am/eng/news/888494/prime-minister-boosts-old-yerevan-project-implementation.html>>

<sup>4</sup> For more information about the project visit: <<http://www.construction.am/news/676-old-yerevan-project-abovyan-buzand-koghbatsi-arami/>>

### **Soviet Period Architecture:**

Soviet Period architecture can itself be divided into the following categories: Tarnanian or New Armenian style buildings, constructivist and modernism, high-rise residential buildings, monumental architecture. The Tarnanian style buildings, so called New Armenian style are well preserved. They are considered to be the nation's pride, return to traditional elements of Armenian architecture which are sacred and highly respected. Soviet period buildings, with exception of government and a few monumental buildings such as museums, theatres, etc. are neglected. There is a tendency to deliberately eliminate any trace of the Soviet Period. The Soviet era residential buildings are in total neglect.



An example of Tarnanian or New Armenian style building around Republic Square in Yerevan. Photo by author taken in August 2014.



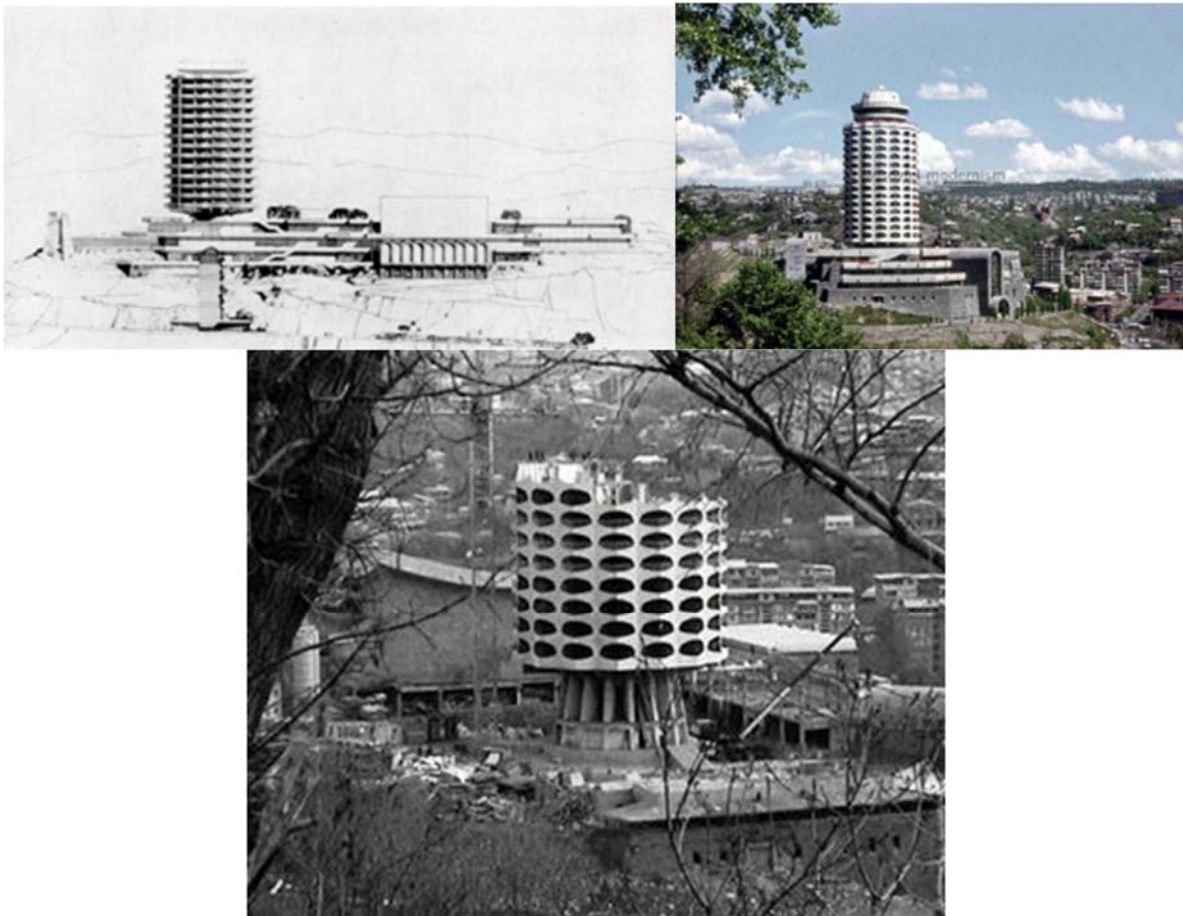
The History Museum of Armenia and the National Gallery located in Northern side of the Republic Square is an example of monumental well-preserved buildings of Yerevan.



A high-rise residential building in Yerevan. Photo taken by author in August 2014.

Because of highly profitable speculations, many public buildings were sold in recent years and the private owners were succeeded to eliminate them from the list of the protected monuments. These buildings were further demolished or irreversibly altered.

The Palace of Youth, built in 1979 by A. Tarkhanyan, S. Khachikyan, and H. Poghosyan and added to the list of the protected monuments in 1990, was eliminated from the list in 2004, sold to private property and demolished in 2006. This building was an example of Soviet modernist architecture which was sacrificed during the construction boom of Yerevan.



The Palace of Youth, built in 1979 by A. Tarkhanyan, S. Khachikyan, and H. Poghosyan. Demolished in 2006.

### **Preservation and the Role of the Social Media in Armenia**

The growth of internet and using social media has a positive impact on raising people's attention to losing the architectural heritage of Yerevan City. Following are two examples, one successful (Saving the summer theatre of Cinema Moscow) and a not successful one (the covered market of Yerevan).

The successful example is preventing the open-air theatre located at the eastern side of the Cinema Moscowa from demolition. The cinema was built after the demolition of Saint Paul and Peter church, an Armenian Apostolic church in Yerevan originally from 5-6th centuries, in November 1930 on Abovyan Street. Many religious structures were destroyed across the country during the Soviet period to eliminate religion. The cinema was designed by architects Tiran Terkanyan and Gevork Kochar and was opened on 12 December 1936. The cinema was privatized in 1999 and opened in September 2000 after a major renovation. On February 25, 2010, the Armenian government approved a proposal to manage Moscow Cinema Ltd. and acquire the land currently occupied by the cinema’s outdoor theater on Abovyan Street in favor of the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, for building a new church at the site of what was once the Saint Paul and Peter Church. A group called “Save Moscow Cinema Open-Air Theater” was formed and enlisted about 5000 members and collected over 18,000 signatures during the petition to stop the project. Many Armenian architects and intellectuals have spoken in favor of protecting the structure from demolition. The project is seen by some critics as an example of the expanding influence of the Armenian Church into state affairs. However, the plan was later withdrawn due to the limited space of the location.<sup>5</sup>



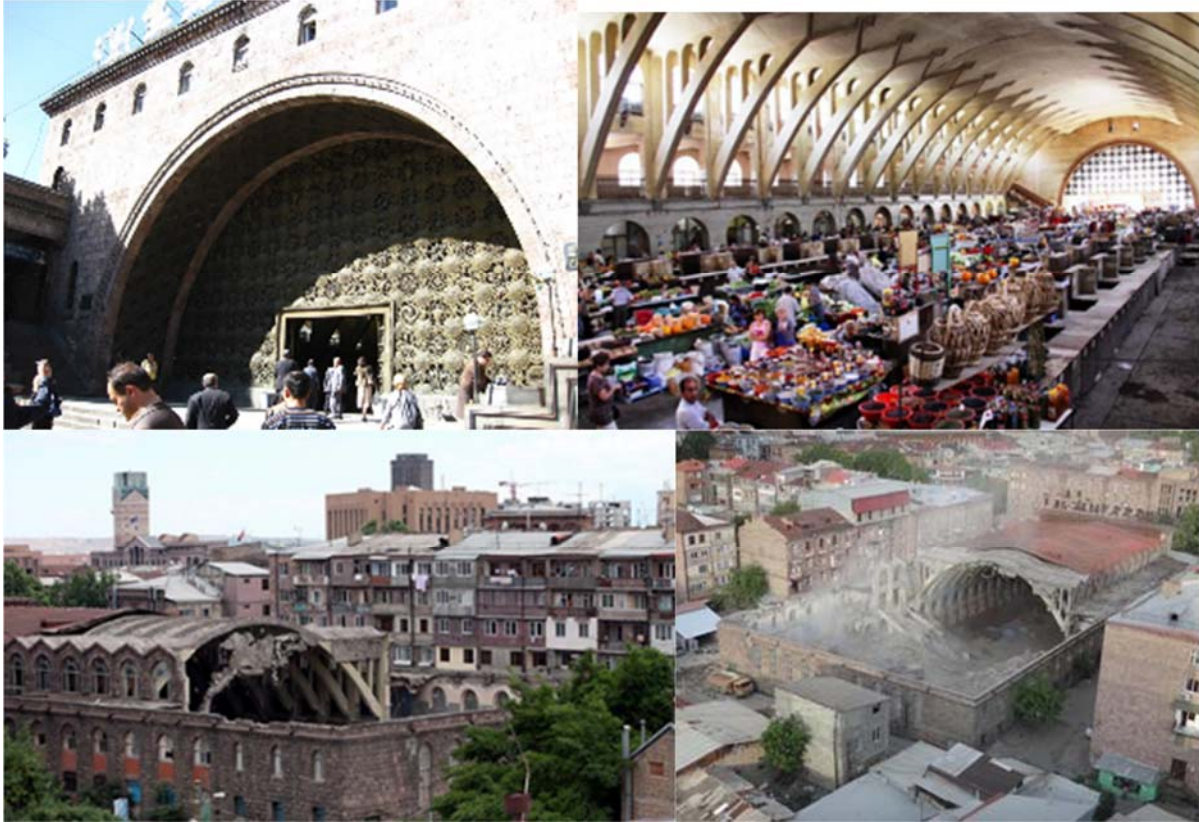
Left: Saint Paul and Peter Church during its demolition in 1930. Right: Cinema Moscow Building a after its restoration in 2000.

<sup>5</sup> For more information about the incident, see: Hayrumyan, Naira. “Church Disputes: Advocates of Moscow Cinema Oppose Construction of New Church” *ArmeniaNow.com*, 06-04-2010. Retrieved on Jan. 13 2018. <[https://www.armenianow.com/social/22081/yerevan\\_church\\_moscow\\_cinema](https://www.armenianow.com/social/22081/yerevan_church_moscow_cinema)>



Left: Open-air theater, Cinema Moscow (additional info will be added for the photo). Right: The Open-Air theater, photo taken in 2010.

The not successful example is the alteration of the covered market of Yerevan, a modernist building built in 1952 by G. Aghababyan and A. Arakelyan was eliminated from the list of the protected monuments in 2004. In 2010, despite unprecedented protests (organized in highly popular and rapid growing of use of internet and social media), this unique building was partly demolished and converted to a three-story shopping mall with a third floor food court and children play area. Although the main facade was restored according to its original design, the internal space, previously a single large rectangle hall was dramatically altered by dividing the space into three separate floors which completely changed the spatial perciving of the enclosed space.



Yerevan closed market before and during the construction activities which altered it to a three story shopping mall.

Some modernist buildings are left neglected without necessary restorations. in Cinema Russia and Zvartnots Airport old terminal are examples. In a statement released in October 2013, the “Armenia” International Airports announced that no resources will be allocated for maintaining the old building of “Zvartnots” Airport and will not bear any responsibility in case of accident or damage. The company addressed the building as “hazardous and fallen into disuse building that does not fit with modern aeronautical standards.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ghazanchyan, Siranush. “Armenia” International Airports not to Renovate the Old Building of “Zvartnots” Airport. *Public Radio of Armenia*. October 3 2013. Retrieved on January 13 2018. <http://www.armradio.am/en/2013/10/03/armenia-international-airports-not-to-renovate-the-old-building-of-zvartnots-airport/>



Zvartnots airport old Terminal.



Interior view of the Zvartnots Airport terminal during its operation.





The decayed concrete structure of the old Zvartnots terminal.

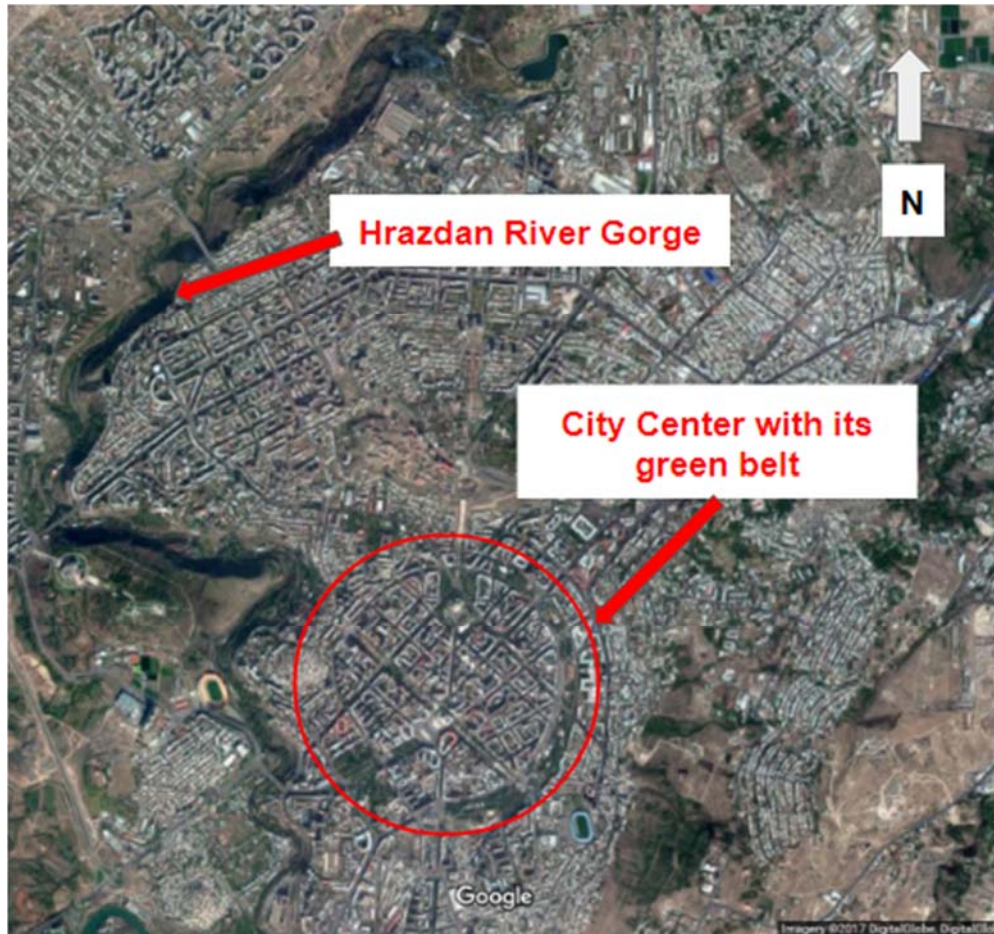
### **Urban parks, greenery, and public spaces**

Yerevan is a relatively green city. Many travelers have admitted this fact.<sup>7</sup> The city is located in a favorable and unique land. It is surrounded by hills from three sides and is open towards the Ararat plain with wonderful view of Ararat Mountain. The Hrazdan river with its deep undulating gorge adds to the richness of the landscape. Like a Adolf Loos's raumplan theory, Yerevan's districts are located in different elevations. Starting from the highest from the North, the Arabkir area, to the lowest residential areas in South, Shengavit and Nor Aresh and continuing to the former industrial area the the southern suburbs of the city. This variation in elevation gives unique opportunities to the city. The western hill, across the Hrazdan river gorge, accommodates the Karen Demirtchian Sport/Concert Complex and the Armenian Genocide Memorial. The Mother Armenia Statue and The Monument, still waiting to be connected to the Cafesjian Center for the Arts known as Cascade which is a popular open space statue museum and tourist attraction center. The eastern hills with the Soviet era high high rise residential buildings called Nor Nork are completely separated from the center but well connected by public transportation system. Aleaxander Tamanian, the architect of Yerevan, designed the modern city according to the garden city theory, a fashionable urban design theory of the time which includes a generous green ring around the center. Other than the surrounding hills, the Hrazdan River gorge, and the green belt,

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<sup>7</sup> See the Persian image section.

city has many parks and public and semi public greenery. But like the nineteenth century Russian architecture, many of these green areas heavily suffered during the construction boom and the demand for open air cafes and restaurants which are mostly located in the public lands of the green belt.



The Hrazdan gorge and Alexander Tamanian's green belt are visible in this google satellite image.



A close-up view of the Yerevan City Center and the main urban elements in the green belt.

After the independence, due to rapid growth in number of tourists, especially Armenians of diaspora, the business related to cafes and restaurants became popular and money making. The green belt of the city seemed to be the best place for the new cafes and restaurant.



Left: Construction of a gym in the green belt. Right: Caption will be added. Photo from google satellite images.



The tree branches are cutted for making room for the constructions inside the green belt. Photo by Marco Brambilla.



Open air cafes and restaurants in the green belt. By Marco Brambilla.



Use of public area for private benefit. Photo by Marco Brambilla.



More examples of using the green area for open air cafes and restaurants. Photos by Marco Brambilla.

**Privatization of the Hrazdan River Gorge**



Examples of Hrazdan River gorge green area before the construction of restaurants and cafes. Photos by Marco Brambilla.



Examples of privatization and constructions in Hrazdan River gorge. Photos by Marco Brambilla.

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