ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՊԵՏԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱԼՍԱՐԱՆ
ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՖԱԿՈՒԼՏԵՏ

ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԵՐ

ВОПРОСЫ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ

JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

№ 19

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ
ԵՊՀ ՀՐԱՏԱՐԱԿՉՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ
2021

**Հրատարակվում է Երևանի պետական համալսարանի
արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի
գիտական խորհրդի որոշմամբ**

Խմբագրական խորհուրդ՝

Մելքոնյան Ռուբեն պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր (խմբագիր)
Մելիքյան Գուրգեն բ.գ.թ., պրոֆեսոր
Խառատյան Ալբերտ պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթակից-անդամ
Սաֆրաստյան Ռուբեն պ.գ.դ, պրոֆեսոր, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ ակադեմիկոս
Հովհաննիսյան Լավրենտի բ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ թղթ.-անդամ
Հովհաննիսյան Դավիթ բ.գ.թ., պրոֆեսոր
Սաֆարյան Ալեքսանդր պ.գ.թ., պրոֆեսոր
Ոսկանյան Վարդան բ.գ.թ., դոցենտ
Քոչարյան Հայկ պ.գ.թ., դոցենտ
Սարգսյան Լևոն պ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր
Կարապետյան Ռուբեն պ.գ.դ.
Տեր-Մաթևոսյան Վահրամ պ.գ.դ.
Գրեկյան Երվանդ պ.գ.դ.
Ռեպենկովա Մարիա բ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր (Ռուսաստան)
Կուզնեցով Վասիլի պ.գ.թ., դոցենտ (Ռուսաստան)
Էքմեքչյան Լեոնա PhD (ԱՄՆ)
Իլյա Յակուբովիչ բ.գ.դ, պրոֆեսոր (Գերմանիա)
Ահմադջան Ղուրոնբեկով բ.գ.դ., պրոֆեսոր (Ուզբեկստան)

© ԵՊՀ հրատ., 2021

ԲՈՎԱՆԴԱԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ

Արաբագիտություն

Հայկ Քոչարյան, Մոհամմեդ Հաջ Իբրահիմ
«ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՅԵՑԱԿԱՐԳԸ 21-ՐԴ ԴԱՐՈՒՄ. ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՍԱՀՄԱՆՄԱՆ, ՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՈՒ ԻՐԱՎԱԿԱՆ ՁԵՎԱԿԵՐՊՄԱՆ ԽՆԴԻՐՆԵՐԸ» ՀԵՏԱԶՈՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ (ՄԱՍ Ա) 7-23

Սոնա Տոնիկյան
ՂՈՒՐԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ ԸՍՏ ԲԱԴՐ ԱԴ–ԴԻՆ ԱԼ–ՋԱՐԿԱՇԻԻ ԵՎ ՋԱԼԱԼ ԱԼ-ԴԻՆ ԱԼ-ՍՈՒՅՈՒՏԻԻ («ԱՊԱՑՈՒՅՑԸ ՂՈՒՐԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐՈՒՄ» ԵՎ «ԿԱՏԱՐԵԼՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՂՈՒՐԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐՈՒՄ» ՏՐԱԿՏԱՏՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԵՄԱՏԱԿԱՆ ՎԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՓՈՐՁ) 24-34

Մեղա Տիգրանյան
ՔՐԻՍՏՈՍԻ ԱՍՏՎԱԾԱՅԻՆ ԷՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԵՎ «ՍՈՒՐԲ ԵՐԲՈՐԴՈՒԹՅԱՆ» ԴԱՎԱՆԱՆՔԻ ՄԵՐԺՈՒՄԸ ԻԲՆ ԹԱՅՄԻԱՅԻ (1263-1328) «ՔԻԹԱԲ ԱԼ- ՋԱՎԱԲ» ԱՇԽԱՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՕՐԻՆԱԿՈՎ 35-51

Մոհամմեդ Հաջ Իբրահիմ
«ԱՐԴԱՐԱՑՎԱԾ ՊԱՏԵՐԱԶՄԻ ՏԵՍՈՒԹՅԱՆ» ԿԻՐԱՌԵԼԻՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ «ԱՀԱԲԵԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԴԵՄ ՀԱՄԱՇԽԱՐՀԱՅԻՆ ՊԱՅՔԱՐԻ» ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՏՈՒՄ 52-65

Խաղիջե Ամմաղ Մեհրաբի
ՀԱՎԵԼՅԱԼ ՀԱՐԱԿՑԱԿԱՆ ՄԱՄՆԻԿՆԵՐԸ ՂՈՒՐԱՆՈՒՄ. ԼԵԶՎԱՎԻՃԱԿԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ՎԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ. 66-76

Թյուրքագիտություն

Նաիրա Պողոսյան
ՀԱԿԱՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԴՐՍԵՎՈՐՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ ԹՈՒՐՔԱԿԱՆ ՄԱՄՈՒԼՈՒՄ ԽՈՋԱԼՈՒԻ ԴԵՊՔԵՐԻ ՀԻՇԱՏԱԿՄԱՆ ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՏՈՒՄ (2021Թ. ԱՌՑԱՆՑ ԼՐԱՏՎԱՄԻՋՈՑՆԵՐԻ ՄՇՏԱԴԻՏԱՐԿՈՒՄ) 77-86

Գոռ Հովհաննիսյան
ՍԱՆ-ՍՏԵՖԱՆՈՅԻ ՌՈՒՍԱԿԱՆ ՀՈՒՇԱՐՁԱՆԸ 87-92

Անուշ Քեխյան
ՍԻՐԻԱՅԻ ՀՅՈՒՍԻՍՈՒՄ ԹՈՒՐՔԻԱՅԻ ՌԱԶՄԱԿԱՆ ՆԵՐԿԱՅՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ՏԱՐԱԾԱՇՐՋԱՆԱՅԻՆ ԳՈՐԾԸՆԹԱՑՆԵՐԻ ՀԱՄԱՏԵՔՍՏՈՒՄ 93-104

Անահիտ Քարտաշյան
ՀԱՍԱՐԱԿԱԿԱՆ ԵՎ ՀԱՄԱՅՆՔԱՅԻՆ ՏՈՆԱԿԱՏԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ԶՄՅՈՒՌՆԻԱՅԻ ՀԱՅ ՀԱՄԱՅՆՔՈՒՄ ՕՍՄԱՆԻԶՄԻ ԳԱՂԱՓԱՐԱԽՈՍՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՄՐԱՊՆԴՄԱՆ ԳՈՐԾԻՔ 105-114

Աստղիկ Պողոսյան
ԱՀՄԵԴ ԱՂԱՕՂԼՈՒԻ ԳՈՐԾՈՒՆԵՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԹՈՒՐՔԻԱՅՈՒՄ 1920-1930–ԱԿԱՆ ԹՎԱԿԱՆՆԵՐԻՆ. ՀԱՄԱԳՈՐԾԱԿՑՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ ՄՈՒՍԹԱՖԱ ՔԵՄԱԼԻ ՀԵՏ 115-128

Իրանագիտություն

Արեգ Բազրատյան
ԳՐԱՔՆՆՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԻՐԱՆԱԿԱՆ ՍՓՅՈՒՌՔԻ ԱՐՁԱԿԱԳԻՐՆԵՐԻ ԱՉՔԵՐՈՎ 129-144

Ալեն Հայրապետյանց
ԻՐԱՆԻ ԶՐԱԴԱՇՏԱԿԱՆՆԵՐԻ ԼԵԶՎԻ ՈՐՈՇ ԲԱՌԱՊԱՇԱՐԱՅԻՆ ՄԻԱՎՈՐՆԵՐԻ ՇՈՒՐՋ 145-156

Աննա Գևորգյան
ՄԱՐՏԻՐՈՍՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԻՐԱՆԻ ԺԱՄԱՆԱԿԱԿԻՑ ՔԱՂԱՔԱԿԱՆ ԽՈՍՈՒՅԹՈՒՄ. ԳԵՆԵՐԱԼ ՍՈՒԼԵՅՄԱՆԻՆ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ՄԱՐՏԻՐՈՍ 157-164

Արման Սաֆարյան
ԵԱՏՄ ԵՐԿՐՆԵՐԻ ԵՎ ՉԻՆԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԿՐԹԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱԿԱՐԳԵՐԻ ՀԻՄՆԱՀԱՐՑԵՐԻ՝ ԶԼՄ-ՆԵՐՈՒՄ ՈՒ ՄՈՒԼՏԻՄԵԴԻԱՅԻՆ ՏԱՐԱԾՔՈՒՄ ԱՐՏԱՑՈԼՄԱՆ ՇՈՒՐՋ. ԻՐՈՂՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ ԵՎ ՀԵՌԱՆԿԱՐՆԵՐ 165-174

Գրախոսություն

Ամալյա Պետրոսյան
Լիլիթ Մովսիսյան. Ադրբեջաներենի դասագիրք, Եվրոպրինտ, Երևան, 2019, 232 էջ 175-177

CONTENT

Arabic Studies

Hayk Kocharyan, Mohammed Haj Ibrahim
"PARADIGM OF TERRORISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEFINITIONAL, THEORETICAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORISM" SURVEY (PART ONE) 7-23

Sona Tonikyan
QURANIC SCIENCES ACCORDING TO BADR AD-DĪN AL-ZARKASHI AND JALĀL AL-DĪN AL- SUYŪTI (COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TREATISES "THE EVIDENCE IN THE HOLY QUR'ĀN SCIENCES" AND "THE PERFECT GUIDE TO THE SCIENCES OF THE QUR'ĀN") 24-34

Seda Tigranyan
REJECTION OF THE DIVINE ESSENCE OF CHRIST AND THE CONCEPT OF THE HOLY TRINITY ON THE EXAMPLE OF IBN TAYMIYYAH'S (1263-1328) "KITAB AL-JAWAB" 35-51

Mohammed Haj Ibrahim
IMPLEMENTATION OF JUST WAR THEORY FRAMEWORKS ON THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERRORISM 52-65

Khadija Ahmad Mehrabi
SUPPLEMENTAL PREPOSITIONS (HURŪF AL-JARR) IN QURAN: LINGUO-STATISTICAL ANALYSIS 66-76

Turkic Studies

Naira Poghosyan
REFLECTIONS OF ARMENOPHOBIA IN THE TURKISH MEDIA IN THE CONTEXT OF KHOJALY EVENTS COMMEMORATION (BASED ON THE MONITORING OF THE ONLINE MEDIA IN FEBRUARY 2021) 77-86

Gor Hovhannisyan
RUSSIAN MONUMENT IN SAN-STEFANO 87-92

Anush Kekhyan
THE MILITARY PRESENCE OF TURKEY IN THE NORTH OF SYRIA IN THE CONTEXT OF REGIONAL PROCESSES 93-104

Anahit Kartashyan
PUBLIC AND COMMUNAL CELEBRATIONS AS A TOOL FOR FOSTERING OTTOMANISM AMONG THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF SMYRNA (IZMIR) 105-114

Astghik Poghosyan
AHMET AGHAOGLU'S ACTIVITY IN TURKEY IN THE 1920-30S. COOPERATION WITH ATATURK 115-128

Iranian Studies

Areg Bagratyan
CENSORSHIP THROUGH THE EYES OF IRANIAN DIASPORA WRITERS 129-144

Alen Hayrapetyants
ON SOME LEXICAL UNITS IN THE LANGUAGE OF ZOROASTRIANS IN IRAN 145-156

Anna Gevorgyan
THE MARTYRDOM IN THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF MODERN IRAN. GENERAL SOLEIMANI AS A MARTYR 157-164

***

Arman Safaryan
ON THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OF THE EAEU COUNTRIES AND CHINA IN THE MASS MEDIA AND MULTIMEDIA SPACE: REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES 165-174

Review

Amalya Petrosyan
Lilit Movsisyan. Azerbaycan language. Yevroprint. Yerevan, 2019, 232pp. 175-177

Anahit Kartashyan[1]

PUBLIC AND COMMUNAL CELEBRATIONS AS A TOOL FOR FOSTERING OTTOMANISM AMONG THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF SMYRNA (IZMIR)[2]

Key words: *Armenian community, the Ottoman Empire, Ottomanism, non-Muslim subjects, Western-oriented education*

Introduction

This paper introduces the case of incorporation of the Armenian community of Smyrna (Izmir) into the imperial project through imperial and communal celebrations and social events. The presented paper argues that both Armenians' participation in imperial celebrations and local authorities' participation of Armenian community's celebrations and social events were intended to build loyalty towards the Ottoman state and limit the rising foreign influence among the Armenian community of Smyrna (Izmir).

The first section of this paper outlines the main causes that lead the Ottoman Empire on the path of modernization. It explains and analyses how the Ottoman reformers seek to break with the Ottoman pre-modern past and transform the empire to a modern state in order to restore its prestige, power and be equal player in European state system. In the last section using the Armenian newspapers *Arshaluys Araratyan* (1840-1876), and *Meghu* (1856-1865) I discuss both Ottoman public celebrations (such as the ceremonies for birth or inauguration of sultans etc.) and local communal celebrations or social activities (such as Easter or public examinations and award ceremonies at Armenian schools). I argue that Ottoman public and local communal celebrations or social activities were an important tool for the local authorities of Smyrna (Izmir) in their attempt to demonstrate religious freedom in the Ottoman Empire, to build loyalty towards the Ottoman state and foster notion of Ottoman civic identity.

[1] PhD candidate at Saint Petersburg State University, Lecturer at Department of Asian and African Studies Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia, e-mail: akartashyan@hse.ru

[2] The initial version of this paper was presented at the conference "İzmir and the Region: Hundred Years of Social, Economic and Cultural Change, 1850 – 1950" organized by the Hrant Dink Foundation on November 24-25, 2017, in Izmir, Turkey.

How to preserve the integrity of the state

Recent studies on the XIX century Ottoman Empire[3] argue that the Ottoman state was a modernizing empire that sought to coordinate state policy against the background of international pressures to tie the empire together. The rise of the national liberation movement of the Balkan peoples (the uprisings in Serbia (1804-1813, 1815-1817), Greece (1821-1829), Nish (1833, 1835 and 1841) and Crete (1841)), the Egyptian conflict (1831-1841), become the reason for interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire by the foreign states. In this context international pressure, as well as economic dependence on foreign capital, territorial losses, emerged as a decisive impetus in reconsidering the real situation in the Ottoman Empire. Tanzimat[4] statesmen and Grand viziers Koca Mustafa Reshid Pasha (1800-1858), Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha (1815-1871) and Kechizade Fuad Pasha (1815-1869) were convinced of the necessity to continue the modernization[5] of the state for improving its image and saving its integrity. The Ottoman ruling elite were thinking about new political ideas, which would unite all subjects without distinction of religion and ethnic background.

In the middle of the XIX century the policy of Ottomanism (Turkish: Osmanlıcılık) was formed, which was the first non-religious ideological and political doctrine in the modern sense of the word, put forward by the Ottoman ruling circles to maintain the integrity of the state, and had the aim of putting an end to foreign states' intervention in the internal affairs of the

[3] Davison R.H., "Turkish attitudes concerning Christian-Muslim equality in the nineteenth century," *The American Historical Review* . 59, no. 4 (1954), 850. Fortna B., *Imperial Classroom (Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 280; Makdisi U., "Rethinking Ottoman imperialism: modernity, violence and the cultural logic of Ottoman reform," in The Empire in the city: Arab provincial capitals in the late Ottoman Empire, ed. Weber S., Philipp T., Hanssen J., (Würzburg : Ergon in Kommission, 2002), 29-48; Göçek F. M., "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Society," *Poetics Today: Cultural Processes in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I* 14, no 3. (Autumn 1993), 507-538; Deringil S., *The well-protected domains: ideology and the legitimation of power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*. (London-New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1998); Karpat K.H., *The politicization of Islam: reconstructing identity, state, faith, and community in the late Ottoman state*. (Oxford University Press, 2001).

[4] In historiography it is generally accepted that "the era of Tanzimat reforms" began with the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane of 1839 (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) and ended with the introduction of the first Ottoman constitution in 1876.

[5] The era of Ottoman modernization had begun with the military reforms of sultan Selim III (1761-1808), culminated with Tanzimat reforms.

Ottoman Empire[6]. In the frame of Ottomanism policy, the Tanzimat leadership raised a notion of egalitarian citizenship. This citizenship was a new form of civic identity "resisted a purely majoritarian, religiously or ethnically exclusive definition of community".[7]

In the second quarter of the XIX century such words as "equal treatment", "equality" entered the political vocabulary of the Ottoman establishment. The sultan Mahmud II in the mosque declared all his subjects equal:

I distinguish among my subjects: Muslims in the mosque, Christians in the church, Jews in the synagogue, but there is no deference among them in any other way.[8]

The Tanzimat reforms set in the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane of 1839 (Imperial Edict of Reorganization) officially declared all Ottoman subjects "equal" before the law.[9] In the first stage of Tanzimat reforms (1830s-1850s) the concepts of "equality" of all subjects without the distinction of religion and ethnic background, "the common territory" and "the common government" were formed. It was an attempt to develop a sense of citizenship and membership in a common "Ottoman" political identity.

Education as an important channel for incorporating the Ottoman Armenians into imperial project

The Ottoman reformers believed that larger Ottoman identity could be created if the state gave all its subjects equal rights and opportunities for welfare and Western-oriented education that was spread especially among

[6] Safrastian, R. A. *Doktrina Osmanizma v politicheskoi zhizni Osmanskoi imperii* [Ottomanism in the Political life of the Ottoman Empire]. (Yerevan: Izd-vo AN ASSR, 1985); Fadeeva, I. L. *Ofitsial'nye doktriny v ideologii i politike Osmanskoy imperii* /Osmanizm-panislamiszm [Official doctrines in the ideology and politics of the Ottoman Empire / Ottomanism-Panislamism]. (Moskva: Nauka, 1985); Zelenev, Y. I. *Osmanism i ego rol v obshchestvenno-politicheskoi zhisni Sirii. Vtoraya polovina XIX - nachalo XX v.* [Ottomanism and Its Role in the Socio-Political Life of Syria]. (SPB: SPBU, 1995); Eissenstat, H. *Modernization, Imperial Nationalism, and the Ethnicization of Confessional Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire*. //. In E. b. A., Nationalizing Empires (pp. 429-460). (Budapest- New York: Central European University Press, 2015).

[7] Salzmann, A. *Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire*. In e. M. Tilly, Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States (pp. 37-67). (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefiel, 199), p. 56.

[8] Quoted in Davison R.H., *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876 (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 31.

[9] The principle of "equality of all subjects" was reflected aslo in the preamble of the Ottoman criminal law, adopted on May 3, 1840, which ensured the safety of all subjects of the Ottoman state without exception (Gülhane hattı // Düstür 1. Tertip. Cilt 1. S. 4).

the non-Muslim subjects. Besides, it would be a powerful tool in the struggle for "the hearts and minds of young generation"[10] that for the best possible education preferred European universities and colleges and/or missionary schools.

It should be noted that Western-oriented education in general was an important channel not only for creating "Ottoman identity" but also for transforming Ottoman society. In his political testament, Fuad Pasha wrote:

Public education is the main basis for public transformation. Army, navy and state administration are connected with education[11].

The Ottoman modernizers believed that the transformation of the Ottoman society could be done only through public education and sought to reorganize it, raising the Ottomans "to the level of the civilization of the contemporaneous nations"[12]. Public education became one of the spheres where non-Muslims, particularly, Armenians cooperated with the state. The young generation of Ottoman Armenians, absorbed European ideas of liberty and nation were complaining about the lack of equality and good education. They were claiming that the life of the Ottoman Armenians could be improved if the state achieved progress and civilization. At this point both the Tanzimat leadership and the Ottoman Armenian youth were united around the idea of progress and civilization. This common vision made incorporation of the Ottoman Armenian youth into imperial modernization project easier. The Armenian newspapers of the time published both in the capital and provincial centres, very often raised the issue of civilization and progress. For example, *Arshaluys Araratyan*, published in Smyrna, wrote:

His Majesty Sultan is doing his best to raise the level of his people to the level of enlightened Europeans. As a result, day by day the Ottoman youth, educated in European universities, are spreading different sciences in the state.[13]

In this context, it is noteworthy to refer to the article published in the 5th number of "Meghu" newspaper, where, studying the situation of the nation at that time, the editor mentioned:

---

[10] Fortna B., *Imperial Classroom (Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire).* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[11] Akarlı E.D., *Belgelerle Tanzimat: Osmanlı Sadrıazamlardan Âli ve Fuad Paşaların Siyasî Vasiyetnâmeleri* [The Tanzimat with Documents: The Political testaments of the Ottoman Grand Viziers Ali and Fuad Pashas] (Istanbul: BÜY, 1978). S. 6.

[12] Mason, J. Three years in Turkey: The journal of a medical mission to the Jews. (London: J. Snow, 1860). P. 168.

[13] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 1. 10.08.1840.

The fate of Armenians depends on the course taken by the Ottoman Empire. Whatever the Ottoman Empire does to move to the civilization, they should do the same…[14]

Public education was a in the spotlight of the Ottoman reformers especially in the first phase of Tanzimat reforms. The reformers encouraged opening not only state-based schools but also non-Muslim schools. At the order of the sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861) Ottoman officials were visiting non-Muslim schools very often or were supporting educational initiatives. If in the capital these visits and support were continuous, the same could not be said about the provinces. Probably the explanation can be the attitude of certain governor towards the imperial reform programme.

According to *Arshaluys Araratian* in Janury 1845 the Sultan issued a decree to his vezir Mehmed Emin Rauf Pasha where he expressed his disappointment and embarrassment over the public education, demanding open new schools for all his subjects and raise the level of literacy[15].

We see that right after this decree in Smyrna (Izmir) Ottoman officials started visiting Armenian schools and support education initiatives. For example, *Arshaluys Araratyan* wrote:

The Governor of Izmir Reshid Efendi, following the sultan's decree donated 600 kurush for Syunyats association[16]. His son Ahmed Asim Bey who was the head of Izmir Custom office also donated 400 kurush[17].

In another issue *Arshaluys Araratyan* reported:

The formal mayor of Izmir, Hamdi Bey, who is now mayor of Konia, is a good friend of the Armenians. Like previous year this year also he donated 500 kurush for Syunyatc association[18].

Education initiatives of the Armenians community of Smyrna were encouraged by local authorities not only by donations but also by official visits. In 1841 Said Bey, the kiahya of defterdar of Smyrna Saleh Efendi, met with the Primate of Smyrna Diocese Archbishop Matevos. After the meeting, he visited Mesropyan Male College. *Arshaluys Aratyan* about this meeting reported:

Sayid Bey was very glad to see the progress of boys. He was pleased especially with the writings of those boys, who knew Turkish. He advised boys keep on learning and making progress in their studies…"[19].

---

[14] "Meghu". №5. 15.11.1856

[15] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 225. 27.01.1845.

[16] *Syunyats* association (Arm. Սյունյաց ընկերություն [*Syunyats ynkerut'yun]*) was raising money to open schools for Armenians of Aydin vilayet.

[17] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 225. 27.01.1845

[18] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 224. 13.01.1845.

In contrast with the late Ottoman Empire, when such visits were aiming to control non-Muslims schools, curriculums and history books, these visits were aiming to encourage educational initiatives of non-Muslims and gain their trust. In another issue of *Arshaluys Arartyan* we read about the visit of commanding officer of Smyrna Mustafa Zarif Pasha to Mesropyan Male College:

After meeting with all teachers, he met with students studying languages. Particularly he gave some texts to translate from Persian to those students who learnt Turkish (Arm.: Tadjkeren (*տաճկերեն*)). It bears to state that pashas like Mustafa Zarif Pasha who encourages education pay duty to the Ottoman state and make an investment in development of education in *Tajkastan* [the Ottoman Empire].[20]

Thus, the research of *Arshaluys Araratyan* let us argue that in the 1840s the imperial centre sought to incorporate Armenians into its reform project aiming to kill two birds with one stone: firstly, to raise the level of literacy and to use potential of non-Muslims who unlike Muslims knew European languages and were open to European-oriented education. Language skills were under the spotlight of reformers. Secondly, to demonstrate to its non-Muslim subjects and foreign states that the Ottoman state was becoming modern civilized state which tolerated all its subjects.

Building loyalty towards the Ottoman state

However, the Ottoman state's agenda was changing in the 1850s, and particularly, in the eve of the Crimean war. Loyalty and security issues played an important role in relationship between Izmir local authority and the Armenian community. The imperial centre put task before local authority to foster loyalty of Armenians towards the state in the context of growing influence of Russia and England among Armenians of Smyrna. George Rolleston in his "Report on Smyrna" wrote that political sympathies of many Armenians were with Russia and "it was not based on political aspiration but on a natural preference of security and ease to the reverse state of things[21]. *Arshaluys Arartyan's* issues of the 1850s report that in this period European and Russian ambassadors and consuls very often visit or invite to their celebrations the Armenian bishops, patriarch and lay members. The same strategy also was adopted by Izmir officials:

[19] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N32. 02.05.1841.
[20] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 254. 08.03.1846.
[21] Rolleston G. Report on Smyrna. (London: printed by George Eyre and William Spottiswtoode, 1856). P. 45.

they invited non-Muslim religious leaders and lay members to participate in Ottoman public ceremonies or visited communal celebrations of Armenians. During these meetings in every fair opportunity, Armenians of Smyrna proved their loyalty and the local authority of Smyrna attempted to show that the Ottoman state did its best for the security, prosperity and progress of all subjects. For example, in annual award ceremony of Mesropyan Male College, which was one of important social events for Armenians, and when was celebrating the Translators Day, a religious holiday dedicated to Mesrop Mashtots, were participating community members and Primate of Smyrna Diocese Archbishop Poghos. Among the participants were also military and civil representatives from local authority, who as *Arshaluys Araratyan* described "honoured Armenians by their presence". The newspaper reported:

When one of the pupils had a speech in Turkish, where he thanked to his Majesty Sultan Abdulmecid, the audience cried, "long live the Sultan"… Then Primate of Smyrna Diocese Archbishop Poghos expressed his blessings to the Sultan and prayed for his health"[22].

In the 1850s along with the idea of loyalty, Izmir authority attempted to promote the idea of equality, security, common government and state. In Smyrna the idea of equality often was practiced by local authority during Easter. Like *Kurban bayram* during Easter local authorities of Smyrna every year were granting amnesty to all non-Muslims who committed minor crimes and offenses. On 03 April, 1865 *Arshaluys Arartyan* reported:

The Governor of Smyrna Rashid Pasha by the request of Christian religious leaders granted amnesty to those Christians who committed minor crimes and offenses.[23]

Another example demonstrates that communal celebrations were one of important channels to promote the idea of common government, which treat to all subject equally and do its best to establish justice and safety. According to a report of *Arshaluys Araratyan* in 1853 during the Easter the governor of Izmir, Ali Pasha, sent solders to ensure security of participants in the Armenian St. Stepanos church. The newspaper, particularly wrote:

We [Armenians] are thankful to governor of our province for improvement of security fortunately, there was no incident…[24]

The idea of common government and state was promoting during such Ottoman celebrations as celebration of sultans' coronation[25] and

[22] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 446, 17.07.1853.
[23] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 750, 03.04.1865.
[24] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 440, 24.04.1853.

inauguration of vali[26], in which were participating also religious leaders and lay members of Izmir Armenians. About such an inaugurations *Arshaluys Araratyan* reported:

The new vali of our vilayet Ahmed Rasim Pasha arrived from Constantinople at our city last week… Among with official and military officials and foreign consuls were also religious leaders of non-Muslims…. After reading the sultan's *hat-ı şerif* vali had a speech where, particularly, he said that he would ask to collaborate with him for the sake of society of Smyrna, for the justice and safety. In the same day our vali walked around the city and learned that the society is not safe in the city. He demanded to send out from Smyrna those who are suspicious. He also requested a special order not to let anyone to wear a gun. Those who violate the order must be punished.[27]

These public ceremonies, participated also by foreign consuls and merchants, were an opportunity to show that the empire was modernizing; it was becoming one of European modern states where all subjects were treated equally and are safe. *Arshaluys Araratyan* reported on such meetings. For example, in September, 1857 the Governor of Izmir Mustafa Pasha organized a ceremony for the opening of the Izmir-Aydin railway. Among the participants were local officials, foreign consuls and merchants as well as non-Muslim millets' religious leaders[28]. Such reports in the newspaper let me argue that these meetings were important also for the elite of the Armenian community. The newspaper underlines that in such an important ceremony as a part of the city were invited also Armenians.

Conclusion

Bringing all of this together, I think Izmir reflects imperial dynamic: in the age of Ottoman modernity modernization and the reforms have led to a gradual administrative unification of the Ottoman Empire. The case of Izmir shows that in contrast with centre in provinces, implementation of reforms mainly was due to vali's attitude and demands of center were not implementing continuously.

Based on geopolitical situation the discourse in the Ottoman Empire was changing. If in the 1840-s for the Ottoman reformers, as Selim Deringil put into words, "Ottoman image management" became urgent and they

[25] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 756, 26.05.1865.
[26] "Arshaluys Araratyan". N 440, 24.04.1853.
[27] "Arshaluys Aratyan". N1007. 08.02.1875.
[28] "Arshaluys Aratyan". N554. 20.09.1857.

attempted to raise the discourse of civilization, encouraging opening both state-based and communal schools, in the 1850-s and 1870-s in the frame of war for the state became urgent the loyalty issue. Consequently, it plays key role in the relationship of the local authority and the Armenian community of Smyrna: the local authority intended to build loyalty towards the Ottoman state, increasing foreign influence among the Armenians. At the same time, the Armenians also sought to show their loyalty towards the local government and the state. In this process, communal and public celebrations and social events played an important role. It should be mentioned, that in contrast with the reign of Abdulhamid during Tanzimat reforms the nature of the ethno-religious co-existence was important for the centre and local authority and they did not intend to damage the socio-cultural habits and traditions of Armenians.

ՀԱՍԱՐԱԿԱԿԱՆ ԵՎ ՀԱՄԱՅՆՔԱՅԻՆ ՏՈՆԱԿԱՏԱՐՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐԸ՝ ՈՐՊԵՍ ԶՄՅՈՒՌՆԻԱՅԻ ՀԱՅ ՀԱՄԱՅՆՔՈՒՄ ՕՍՄԱՆԻԶՄԻ ԳԱՂԱՓԱՐԱԽՈՍՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՄՐԱՊՆԴՄԱՆ ԳՈՐԾԻՔ

Անահիտ Քարտաշյան

(Ամփոփում)

Սույն հոդվածը քննում է Զմյուռնիայի հայ համայնքի՝ օսմանյան կայսերական նախագծին կայսերական և համայնքային տոնակատարությունների և տարաբնույթ սոցիալական միջոցառումների միջոցով ինտեգրելու պրակտիկան: Ներկայացված հոդվածում առաջ է քաշվում այն պնդումը, համաձայն որի և՛ հայերի մասնակցությունը կայսերական տոնակատարություններին, և՛ տեղական ինքնակառավարման մարմինների մասնակցությունը հայերի համայնքային տոնակատարություններին և միջոցառումներին նպատակ ունեին Զմյուռնիայի հայերի մեջ սերմանել հավատարմություն Օսմանյան պետության հանդեպ:

Հոդվածի առաջին բաժնում ուրվագծվում է այն հիմանական դրդապատճառները, որոնք հանգեցրեցին օսմանյան պետության մոդեռնիզացիային: Այս բաժնում հեղինակը ներկայացնում է, թե ինչպես օսմանյան բարեփոխիչները փորձեցին խզել կապն օսմանյան նախամոդեռն անցյալի հետ և ստեղծել մոդեռն պետություն, որպեսզի վերականգնեն կայսրության վարկն ու դառնան Եվրոպական պետական համակարգում հավասար խաղացող: Հոդվածի վերջին

բաժնում ուսումնասիրելով «Արշալույս Արարատյան (1840-1876) », «Մեղու (1856-1865)» հայալեզու թերթերը՝ հեղինակը պնդում է, որ թե՛ օսմանյան հասարակական տոնակատարությունները (ինչպես օրինակ՝ սուլթանի որդիների թլպատման արարողությունն ու սուլթանների գահ բարձրանալու կապակցությամբ կազմակերպված տոնախմբությունները), և թե՛ տեղական համայնքային տոնակատարություններն ու միջոցառումները (ինչպես օրինակ՝ Զատկի տոնակատարություններն ու հայկական դպրոցների միջոցառումները) Զմյուռնիայի տեղական կառավարիչների համար կարևոր գործիք էին Օսմանյան կայսրության մեջ կրոնական ազատությունն ցուցադրելու և օսմանյան քաղաքացիական ինքնության գաղափարը ամրապնդելու համար: