THE LEGACY OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN SYRIA: A CENTURY OF DIASPORIC EXISTENCE, 1915–2015[1]

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The twentieth century represented one of the most transformative periods in the history of the Armenian people. The genocide by the Young Turk regime sought to annihilate the Armenian population across the Ottoman Empire during World War I and led to the dispersal of the survivors from their homeland to different parts of the globe. As each Armenian community evolved from an exilic refugee community to a stable diasporan community, it constructed its institutions according to the local cultural, political, and economic imperatives of the host society. Some Armenian communities, particularly in the West, stressed rapid acculturation, if not assimilation. Others, mostly in the Middle East, emphasized preservation of homeland culture, language, and traditions. This paper looks at the legacy of the Armenian community in Syria and the complexities involved in the institutionalization of diasporization.

This case offers a study of a population whose physical departure from their land of primordial ties necessitated the reconstruction of community and identity, while preserving homeland values, culture, and language within the cultural, political, and economic environment of the host society. The evolution of the Armenian community in Syria since the genocide offers a case study of the transformation of a community from a post-crisis exilic refugee community into a developing diasporan community, followed by a gradual decline. An examination of this case also contributes to diaspora and ethnic studies, encompassing such topics as identity and cultural preservation, marginalization and subalternization,[2] development and underdevelopment, diasporan community stability and turbulence, and the post-coloniality of Armenian diaspora studies. During the period under consideration, Armenian intellectuals in Syria and the Middle East were and remain "Third World" intellectuals, who functioned as diasporic "cultural brokers" legitimizing "minority discourses" in the temporal and spatial spheres of diasporic transnationalism.[3]

This paper explores three theoretical paradigms that encapsulate the institutionalization of a diasporan community and culture and contending conceptualizations and re-conceptualizations of diasporic community and identity in the process. As Stuart Hall has noted, diasporic identity emerges "out of very specific historical formations, out of very specific histories and cultural repertoires of enunciation."[4] Diasporan communities are dynamic

entities or organisms and often possess multiple personalities. One view may praise a diasporan community as a vibrant center for cultural production with active educational and cultural organizations. Another may lament seemingly insurmountable challenges, often involving existential questions plaguing the community, such as cultural preservation in foreign lands and the generational transmission of historical knowledge, cultural values and collective memory, as the younger generations lose contact with the community, its culture, language, and identity. Still another observer, concerned with potential political instability in the host society and/or military conflicts in the region, may consider such turbulent conditions as an existential threat to the diasporan community. Indeed, at times a seemingly stable diasporan community may suddenly reveal deep fissures in its constitution either as a result of the political, economic, and cultural vicissitudes of the host society, or because of conflicts, geopolitical shifts, and economic crises in the regional or international political economy, or intra-communal conflicts.

The challenge for diaspora studies is to capture the symptoms of each community's multiple personality disorders inherent in diasporic existence. Scholars in such fields as international relations, international political economy, world politics, diaspora studies, and in studies of ethnicity and nationalism have experimented with numerous theories to describe and explain such phenomena. The experience and legacy of the Armenian community in Syria present an excellent case study to test various theoretical approaches in diaspora studies and other academic disciplines.

One example should suffice. The modernization theory (for example, as advanced by W.W. Rostow[5]), which was particularly popular in the field of international political economy and related disciplines in the 1950s and 1960s, assumes that acculturation of ethnic minorities is inherent in the integrative processes of development and modernization. The cultural values and practices of ethnic groups, in routine direct contact with the dominant culture, converge into a greater ethno-cultural homogeneity.[6] The experience of the Armenian community in Syria since the 1920s offers a refutation to this theory. Although the Armenian community has secured economic integration, it has retained its distinct religio-cultural identity and resisted cultural integration into the dominant Muslim Arab culture.

A related point must be mentioned as well. Theories of migration offer different perspectives on issues associated with the movement of large numbers of people across international borders. One study identifies three such theories: the neo-classical economic equilibrium model, the historical-structuralist model, and the migration systems theory.[7] While these and similar theories enhance our understanding of international migration and community formation, they fail to elucidate the Armenian case. The Armenian

community in Syria emerged not as a result of voluntary, market-labor driven migration, but as a result of genocidal policies of forced deportation and death marches.[8]

Rather than attempt to address the various questions concerning such a vast topic, the more modest aim of this paper is to explore three contending paradigms regarding the Armenian community in Syria: diasporic idealism and the post-genocide revival paradigm; the diasporic realism paradigm; and the diasporic turbulence paradigm. Each paradigm captures certain aspects of the experiences of the community in Syria and its characteristics. Publications such as *Suriahay Darekirk* (*Syrian Armenian Yearbook*) and *Suriahay Daretsuyts (Syrian Armenian Almanac*), for example, offered their readers numerous articles and short stories that advanced these paradigms and collectively presented the multidimensional aspects of the Armenian diasporan community in Syria. The value of these paradigms is that they are applicable to the experiences of other Armenian and non-Armenian diasporan communities. These paradigms are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as certain overlapping is inevitable in such models. Further, the combination of all three is necessary to develop an accurate assessment of a community's experiences.

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY IN SYRIA: THREE CONTENDING PARADIGMS

The Armenian refugees in Syria commenced the herculean task of recovering from the genocide by rebuilding their lost homes and recreating their religious, cultural, and social institutions in a society that was mired in political turbulence and economic insecurity after WWI.[9] The emerging community achieved a certain degree of sedentariness,[10] as it adjusted to the imperatives of place and time. The first paradigm discussed here represents an idealist conceptualization of the Armenian community in Syria as a central agency in the revival and preservation of Armenian culture, traditions, and language inherited from the historical lands. The second paradigm examines the same community from the realist perspective, which challenges the idealist paradigm on various philosophical and epistemological grounds. The third paradigm considers the turbulent nature of the political situation in Syria after World Wars I and II, which exacerbated the sense of insecurity that plagued the post-genocide emerging Armenian community.

Diasporic Idealism and the Post-Genocide Revival Paradigm

Perhaps the most familiar narrative regarding the Armenian community in Syria depicts it as a place where the genocide survivors gradually rebuilt their communities and homes they had lost in their ancestral homeland. This view, referred to here as the "diasporic idealist and the post-genocide revival paradigm," represents one of the principal Armenian diasporan narratives

and is common in many other diasporan communities. This paradigm rests on the diasporan cultural ideals, values, myths, and sentiments of nostalgia toward the lost objects of experienced and imagined places, times in historical pasts and memories, the deep yearning to return, reclaim, restore, and revive all that was lost in traumatic ruptures of one's community, self, and identity.

The term nostalgia is derived from the Greek words nóstos (return) and *álgos* (suffering). Nostalgia - in Armenian: *garodakhd, hayrenadenchutiun*, or *hayrenapaghtsutiun* - has traditionally signified profound pain and sorrow rooted in a sense of loss, depression, despair, and alienation, longing to return to one's home and homeland, sentiments believed to be associated with "homesickness" and "immigrant psychosis,"[11] and "the realization that some desirable aspects of the past are out of reach."[12] Nostalgia may be considered a natural emotional outcome for people living a fragmented life in the age of globalization.[13] However, recent research in psychology indicates that nostalgia also exercises more positive, "bolstering effect on self-esteem."[14]

As one observer has noted, such images of the homeland "give the Diaspora communities a rather nostalgic and romantic character - the institutions of the old world are idealized and the geography of the homeland sentimentalized."[15] Yet, Svetlana Boym stresses that even if one chose to resist "sentimentalization" of the memory of the homeland or of the immigration and diasporic experience, nostalgia in essence "depends on the materiality of place, sensual perceptions, smells and sounds," and locale is "remembered sensation and the material debris of past life."[16] In many instances, the narrative of nostalgia "progresses from a negative life scene to a positive or triumphant one";[17] the Armenian diasporic experience after the genocide was no exception.

The idealist paradigm emphasizes that national nostalgia and collective memory represent powerful forces that enable even the most downtrodden individual to reassert his or her identity and build a new community. Contrary to the diasporic realist paradigm (discussed below), this paradigm highlights the human drive to control one's environment, to give expression to collective aspirations, and to realize collective objectives. This paradigm reflects a sense of triumphalism in efforts to overcome that singular trauma of forced deportation and loss of home and family. It is imbued with heroic aspirations and imaginations, particularly in compensation for the ravages of traumatic experiences.

The idealism of diasporic heroism seeks to maintain the culture, language, and traditions of the homeland and therefore to perpetuate the nation and to immortalize its ancient and modern heroes, all as a collective reaffirmation of ethnonational identity as distinct from the dominant culture of the host society. The post-trauma survivors' diasporic existence, according to this paradigm, is

temporary, to be rectified through the revitalization of pre-trauma community life - that is, through the (re-)establishment of homeland cultural and political organizations, religious and educational institutions, compatriotic societies. For ethnic groups, the principal challenge is to retard, even to halt, the homogenizing tendencies of the dominant host culture.[18] The ultimate project is to defy diasporic death and to realize the nostalgic longing to return to the lost homeland, which, paradoxically, successful diasporization and hence permanence renders a myth. This "myth of return"[19] constitutes one of the fundamental properties in the construction of the idealized revival and restoration of the "lost" because of the genocide.

Further, this idealism is also premised upon service and loyalty to the *patria*,[20] upon an ethos of civic duty, service to the community, and loyalty to its leaders, for the preservation of the *mos maiorum* ("ways of the ancestors").[21] The envisioned "heroic future"[22] - the notion of the inevitability of the return to the homeland - motivates members of the diasporan community to recreate the institutions of the homeland, its culture and customs, and sustains the memory of the dead and their martyrdom. The restitution of historic Armenia or Greater Armenia necessitates such heroism and steadfast dedication to the sacred cause.[23] For example, according to the heroic idealist paradigm, the Armenian athletic and scouting organizations established in Syria after the genocide - Homenetmen (Hay Marmnagrtagan Enthanur Miutiun; Armenian General Athletic Union), Homenmen (Hay Marmnamarzagan Miutiun; Armenian Sports Union), and Kermanig Vasburagan - represented the institutionalization of "heroic" characteristics (eg, national pride) and galvanized individual and collective energies to cultivate patriotism.[24] They symbolized the heroization of the individual and the collective affirmation and valorization of the diasporic "communal identity and unity."[25] Joining the "Homenetmen Family," for example, promised the homeless orphans and refugees a community based on the ideals of "civic virtue" and civic heroism, which in turn would contribute to the construction or re-construction of the homeland institutions and culture left behind in the land of their ancestors. Such an assessment, of course, is not confined to athletic organizations but is applicable to all diasporan cultural, educational, and religious institutions.

The narrative reflecting the idealist paradigm appears in publications soon after WWI. The preface of *Suriahay Daretsuyts* introduces the inaugural issue with the assertion that the survivors of the genocide in Syria cast away their sense of despair and remained dedicated to the development of their national literature and art, science, and culture.[26] In the same volume, G. Yeretsian contends that the Armenian nation for centuries has possessed the will and power to resist and to create, and to recover from destruction and bloodshed.

In Syria, he notes, refugees, emaciated and barely surviving, have built their new communities in their physical and moral struggle to live. God, Yeretsian avers, has engraved in the Armenian soul the power to live and to create.[27]

An article in *Suriahay Darekirk* notes the deep gratitude Armenians felt toward the Syrian people for their willingness to accept refugees in large numbers. The article notes that despite their dire physical and economic conditions and the unstable situation in Aleppo and other parts of Syria, Armenians engaged in various commercial activities and contributed to the post-war economic recovery. Armenians, the article concludes, now expected to live in harmony with their neighbors in an environment of freedom.[28] The Armenians of Damascus, comments another article, had established five Armenian schools (three national, one Catholic, and one Protestant) by 1928. Having arrived as refugees, they had successfully integrated into the host society, although they continued to yearn to return to their fatherland.[29]

In a short article in *Suriahay Darekirk*, Aleksander Khadisian, who had served as prime minister of the first Republic of Armenia from 1919 to 1920, expresses great hopes and expectations regarding the future of the Syrian community. Khadisian states that the Armenian community in Syria, despite the catastrophic conditions since WWI, represented a bright spot for the future of the nation. With its large and active Armenian population and geopolitical location, particularly as it was situated close to Cilicia and in a sea of Islam, the community in Syria held a special position among the diasporan communities. All expected the community to contribute to the revival of Armenian culture, language, politics, and spirit, Khadisian writes. He hastens to add that the Armenian community needed to develop a culture of collective unity, to cultivate close ties with Arab and French authorities, and to develop communities in seaports. It was necessary, Khadisian argues, for the community to acknowledge its responsibilities as an active center of diasporan life. While the community was experiencing severe political and economic crises, Khadisian adds, it had nevertheless begun to rebuild its destroyed life and community since the forced deportations. It was necessary to prevent emigration to other parts of the world (e.g., South America) and instead encourage emigration to Armenia.[30]

Similarly, in a letter dated 1933, Vazken Shushanian, a genocide survivor, notes that although emerging as a refugee community and having experienced traumatic crises, the Armenian community in Syria, more than any other diasporan community, could achieve a revival of Armenian culture.[31]

The idealist paradigm has delineated the cultural contours of the dominant narrative for a century. In his book *Garodi Gancher Haleb Kaghakits* (*Calls of Yearning from the City of Aleppo*), Vanik Santryan includes a number of interviews conducted in Aleppo in the late 1980s and early 1990s,

biographical summaries, and journalistic reports. These papers demonstrate the close relationship between historical memory, nostalgia, and art. Upon interviewing artist Garo Sahagian in Aleppo in 1989, Santryan comments that Sahagian's art stressed Armenians' determination to survive and to return to their homeland.[32] In an essay on pianist Jaklin Harutiunian, Santryan reports that while her impressions of the United States were not positive, she believed "Aleppo was different"; the Armenian community in the ancient city struggled against the "white genocide" (*sbidag chart*) and inspired her to contribute to the advancement of diasporan community life, against the forces of globalization.[33]

In 2010, a year before the current crisis, Feliks Pakhchinyan published a book titled *Haleb: Prgutian Ap* (*Aleppo, the Coast of Salvation*), in two volumes, the first dedicated to Hafiz al-Asad and the second to Bashar al-Asad. Pakhchinyan notes that Armenians in Aleppo and Syria in general felt safe and secure because of their good relations with the Asad regime in power since 1970. Armenian intellectuals served the community and struggled to preserve and advance their culture despite feeling marginalized and alienated. Such heroic struggles, Pakhchinyan writes, constituted martyrdom.[34] Offering a fusion of history and myth, Pakhchinyan states that the Armenian community in Syria held a special significance among the diasporan communities, for both historical Armenia and Syria have for centuries lived together in great harmony, because of their cultural similarities and because they shared the same rivers and mountain ranges.[35] Finally, according to Pakhchinyan, Aleppo has served as the "land of salvation" in two contexts. First, for the survivors of the deportations during the genocide, Aleppo and Syria in general served as the "land of hope and salvation."[36] Second, the Armenian community in Aleppo, having built a vibrant and prosperous community with a deep sense of patriotism and attachments to the homeland (that is, post-Soviet Armenia), contributed to its economy during the twin crises of the earthquake of December 1988 and the war in Karabagh.[37]

While Pakhchinyan's *Haleb: Prgutian Ap* was published a year before the current civil war, Zaven Khanjian's book, *Haleb Arachin Gayaran: Mangutiun Unetsogh Dghu me Hushere* (*Aleppo, First Station: The Memoirs of a Boy who Had a Childhood*),[38] was published in 2012, a year after the civil war had begun. Yet, Khanjian makes no more than a passing reference to the crisis unfolding in Syria. Khanjian's remains the quintessential book of diasporan nostalgia, whose objects of longing or nostalgia encompass reminiscences of life in Aleppo and the homeland of his ancestors.

In his preface, Khanjian states that the history of the Armenian community in Aleppo inspired him to author this volume as an affirmation that the generation without a childhood had built, with great dedication and sacrifice, a

community that enabled future generations to have a childhood.[39] "My aunt Noyemzar belongs to the pantheon of heroes," Khanjian writes. She had arrived in Aleppo as an orphan and gained the respect of her family and community through her hard work. She represented the generation without a childhood but worked to guarantee a happy childhood for her children.[40] In the final analysis, Khanjian writes, Aleppo as well as "paradisiacal Kesab" were imbued with Armenianness; Aleppo and Kesab were Armenian;[41] and Aleppo was the pulsating heart of the Armenian diaspora.[42]

The subtitle of Khanjian's book, *Mangutiun Unetsogh Dghu me Hushere* is in reference to Antranig Dzarugian's book *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig* (*People without Childhood*). This leads us to another perspective regarding the Armenian community in Syria. Some genocide survivors could entertain no thoughts of romanticism, in the classical sense of the mythological, heroic idealism. Their experiences had shattered all idealistic, romantic visions of "intoxication with beauty."[43] In a century confronted with such demonic leaders as Talaat, Hitler, and Stalin, people grew wary of such notions of hero and hero worship. There emerged the anti-hero,[44] exemplified by those who perform the not-so-glorious tasks of working in manual employment as gardeners, carpenters, and mechanics, and remain invisible in history books, in contrast to the traditional, elite oriented writing of history.[45]

Diasporic Realism Paradigm

Contrary to the idealistic views, in the realist intellectual tradition diasporas essentially represent loss of homeland culture and identity. Armenian literary works and political declarations offer numerous examples of statements on or lamentations of diasporic loss. The popular Soviet Armenian poet Hovhannes Shiraz, for instance, lamented the loss of Armenian culture and identity in the diaspora and urged his diasporan compatriots to relocate to the homeland. Rabbi Yehoshua Kemelman, in his book entitled *Diaspora Is Jewry's Graveyard*, maintained that Jewish communities in the diaspora were dying, culturally and physically because of assimilation.[46]

The diasporic realism paradigm underscores a different reality of the Armenian diaspora in general and the community in Syria in particular than the one depicted by the first paradigm. The diasporic realism paradigm builds upon the long tradition of realism, which emerged as an influential intellectual movement against idealism in France in the early part of the nineteenth century and subsequently in England and other parts of the West. As far as I am aware, the concept of "diasporic realism" has not been employed in diaspora and ethnic studies, with the exception of María Alonso Alonso's valuable study, *Diasporic Marvellous Realism,* with reference to "the ongoing process of transculturation found in literary production" by

Caribbean authors in the diaspora.[47]

A realist conceptualization of diasporas differs significantly from the idealistic approach discussed above. One of the principal instigators of realist thought in the twentieth century was the magnitude and frequency of violence committed by human beings against each other. Humans could be praised for their achievements in the natural sciences, technological and industrial innovations, and political democratization. However, the violence witnessed simultaneously with such advances, most significantly during the First and Second World Wars, brought massive human suffering, economic crises, dislocation, and genocide. Hopelessness regarding the human condition and the imperatives of sheer survival resulted in the prevalence of realism and anti-heroic sentiments among many intellectuals.[48]

Thus, diasporic realism interrogates, challenges, and even rebels against the idealist, heroic, and triumphalist narratives (discussed above), and it operates against national and nationalist orthodoxies.[49] Just as in literature realism aims to represent ordinary people instead of monarchs and aristocrats, ambassadors and generals, diasporic realism focuses on ordinary people in their daily functions and mundane habits of life, in an authentic, "down-to-earth" manner, grappling with subjects such as success and failure, splendor and misery.[50] Devoid of the heroism common in idealistic visions of relations and communities, diasporic realism methodologically and epistemologically is predicated upon first-hand experiences and direct observation. Historically, according to many of its leading proponents – e.g., Gustave Courbet (1819-77), Émile Zola (1840-1902), Stendhal (Henry Beyle, 1783-1842), and Charles Baudelaire (1821-67), to name a few - it is through realism and objective reality that the individual frees himself or herself from the burdens of the past, "anti-modern nostalgia."[51] And as in the political philosophy of realpolitik, diasporic realism privileges the factual, the empirical above the abstract theoretical, the ideological, or the conjectural.

Arthur McDowall's observation regarding realism as a philosophy applies to diasporic realism as well. He writes: "As a theory of being or existence, realism is a philosophy of self-effacement rather than of self-assertion."[52] Diasporic realism identifies this as a central characteristic of the diasporan self. This is not to suggest that diasporic realism by definition proposes a strictly pessimistic view of the world and human nature. However, the diasporan self is forced daily to deal with the foreign, unfamiliar, hostile environment in the host society, and the various ethno-identity specific adversaries, in order to live, to function, and to survive. Migration, particularly if caused by forced deportation, places refugees in a hostile environment, where the victims are compelled to adjust to physically hostile and emotionally and morally unfamiliar cultural topographies.

No other literary work that has emerged from Aleppo captures the multi-dimensional layers of emotions and identity as brilliantly as Dzarugian's *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig*.[53] Dzarugian was raised and received his education in Aleppo, established the *Nayiri* monthly journal in Aleppo (1945-52), and continued its publication after he moved to Beirut (1952-83). *Nayiri* served as a forum for renowned and emerging intellectuals (e.g., Hahop Oshagan, Mushegh Ishkhan) who published literary pieces and critical analyses of the various aspects of diasporan existence, and their search for healing in the exilic community.[54]

Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig depicts life in the orphanage in Aleppo, where Dzarugian spent three years after the genocide, while his father was held in a prison in Marash where he was later killed. Despite his difficult childhood, Dzarugian emerged as one of the most articulate and visible, albeit controversial, intellectuals in the diaspora. *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig* challenges hegemonic triumphalist narratives undergirding Armenian identity. As I have stated in an article, it represents "a narrative of catastrophic rupture and violence, a narrative of identity lost in profound trauma, a 'narrative of displacement' and of 'dismemberment,' to borrow Stuart Hall's words. It also represents the narrativization of layers of power relations beneath which the individual succumbs to deformities of sorts and, as Fanon has put it, becomes an 'individual without an anchor, without horizon, colorless, stateless, rootless'."[55]

Another major work by Dzarugian, *Yerazayin Halebe* (*Ethereal Aleppo*), serves as a representation of "minority discourse" and the aestheticization of marginalization, depicting diasporic life in the margins, or more accurately in the margins of the marginalized. While in *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig* life is devoid of familial permanence and stability, *Yerazayin Halebe* deploys the family, albeit in its truncated form, as the locus of emotional stability grounded in Dzarugian's mother, even if in an environment of precarious physical safety. It also focuses on the unheroic individual, such as the uneducated, semi-literate, but wise, street-smart Mihran Effendi.[56] Mihran Effendi built hotels in Aleppo and later in Beirut.[57] As a true diasporan realist, Dzarugian completes his story of Mihran Effendi with a note that the Hotel Omar Khayam that Mihran Effendi had established in Beirut and managed for fifty years, was destroyed during the civil war in Lebanon.[58]

Yerazayin Halebe is not devoid of nostalgia. In fact, the entire volume epitomizes Dzarugian's passion for or obsession with the nostalgic. Dzarugian on a number of occasions remembers with deep sentimentality the nights in Aleppo, when he and his mother would place their beds outdoors to sleep beneath the open sky, gazing at the shining stars. He reminisces: "The most glittering stars in the sky, the largest and brightest moon are found in the

deep nights of Aleppo."[59] There in Aleppo, he reports, the sky at night served as his daily diary, an illustrated memorial book, where he recorded his daily experiences.[60] Further, "They did not mix milk with water, and Aleppo was as pure as *halib* [milk] in my days."[61] For twenty years, he states, Aleppo functioned as the heart of the diaspora.[62] Dzarugian's brief excursions into romanticization notwithstanding, it is noteworthy that eight of the twelve stories in *Yerezayin Halebe* end with the death of the protagonists. With the death of his friend Nshan, Dzarugian writes in one story, so died the happy days of their youth in *yerazayin* Aleppo.[63]

Dzarugian's *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig* is representative of the intellectual tradition of critical realism. He, not unlike Honoré de Balzac and Charles Dickens, was critical of the culture and customs of his contemporaries, Armenians and non-Armenians alike, and he aimed to "expose the falsities and inadequacies of the current society."[64] Both *Mangutiun Chunetsogh Martig* and *Yerazayin Halebe*, like Dzarugian's many other works, underscore social injustice and what Johann Galtung referred to as "structural violence" - poverty and misery, social and cultural degradation.[65]

The theory and method of the narrative employed by Dzarugian serves, to borrow a phrase from Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, to "decolonize the mind,"[66] in struggles against the hegemonic narrative and the traditional values it represents. What Arjun Appadurai states regarding recent studies in anthropology applies to Dzarugian's works: "Recent work in anthropology has done much to free us of the shackles of highly localized, boundary-oriented, holistic, primordialist images of cultural form and substance."[67] As representations and manifestations of diasporic existence, minority discourses are the "product of damage, damage more or less systematically inflicted on cultures produced as minorities by the dominant culture."[68] In the Armenian case, the systematic "damage," the genocide effectuated by the Ittihadist regime in Constantinople, was followed by the development of the Armenian community in Syria in the context of the intensification of Arab and/or Syrian nationalism, which rendered the Armenian community and Armenian culture marginal in Syrian politics and culture.

Whereas the idealist post-genocide revival paradigm projects a unilinear trajectory toward progress, development, and upward social-economic mobility, the diasporic realism paradigm makes no such assertions. Rather, the reality of existence is the result of a multiplicity of social, economic, and political factors well beyond the control of the individual, the ordinary and downtrodden, invariably marginalized, unheroic person. The most a person can achieve is survival in the Darwinian cosmos.

Diasporic realism therefore represents a counteroffensive against the

mysticism and orthodoxies of abstract idealism and heroism, whether in the tradition of German idealist metaphysics[69] or Armenian idealist metaphysics. As a research program, diasporic realism searches for patterns and properties of real experiences, of the actual material conditions of the diasporic existence, of relations between diasporic entities, and of relations between those entities and their homeland counterparts and compatriots, in a methodological and epistemological shift from "the absolute to flux, from teleology to multiple material causality, from the *a priori* to the empirical, from the deductive to the inductive, from speculation to observation."[70]

Just like all paradigms, so does the diasporic realism paradigm contain certain anomalies, a subject beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to note that the fundamental deficiency in the diasporic realism paradigm is its inability to account for active human agency, individuals who do play key roles in the development of a diasporic community and may actually even be regarded as heroic figures by members of that community. The diasporic realism model fails to explain cultural production and the proliferation of community organizations based on altruistic, voluntary activities, as suggested by the idealistic, heroic paradigm.

Diasporic Turbulence Paradigm

The diasporic turbulence paradigm centers on the notion of "turbulence" in its various social, economic, political, cultural, and religious manifestations. Advanced by James Rosenau in the fields of political science and international politics within the context of his analysis of "postinternational politics,"[71] the theoretical framework offered regarding "turbulence" may gainfully be used to evaluate diasporic conditions and experiences – e.g., systemic (mal)adaptations in domestic politics, or institutional and leadership (in)stability in a diasporan community. Rosenau's turbulence model stresses the "flux and transition" in a seemingly "functioning . . . stable structures. It allows for chaos even as it hints at coherence."[72] Within the domestic sphere, the analysis focuses on such concerns as structural centralization or decentralization of authority, leadership legitimacy, chaos and stability, routine accessibility of political institutions to citizen participation and articulation of interests and values, and citizen alienation and powerlessness.[73] According to Rosenau, "Authority relations in crisis are thus fragile and uncertain. They hint at change, collectivities in flux, and the regrouping of lines of authority."[74] He further adds that "authority crises overlap and cascade across collectivities, forming linkages among them on an issue or regional basis," giving rise to questions of political legitimacy within a nation-state as well as across borders and leading to fragmentation and "proliferation of subgroups."[75] The applicability of such an analytical framework to the case of Syria, particularly

since the commencement of the current civil war in March 2011, seems quite obvious.

The literature on ethnicity has offered various analyses of the evolution of specific diasporic communities, but it has paid insufficient attention to the mode of the emergence of diasporan communities and its impact on their evolution, and diasporic turbulence in an environment of political instability. This is particularly true regarding the Armenian community in Syria, the problems associated with the chronic political leadership instability and political turbulence experienced in Syrian politics from WWI until the rise of Hafez al-Asad, and the impact of such an environment on the Armenian community.[76] Although a detailed discussion of the emergence of the Armenian community in Syria cannot be offered here, such a study would reveal the character of the tensions between an ethnic minority and the state, how an ethnic community perceives itself, and the extent to which an ethnic community can address its needs for physical security. The latter becomes particularly essential as the Armenian community in Syria emerged under extremely inauspicious circumstances, both because of the conditions in which Armenians arrived in Syria during the genocide and because of the highly volatile political situation on the ground in Syria.[77]

In his valuable study, Nikos Papastergiadis examines some of the key factors that have contributed what he refers to as the "turbulence of migration" during recent years.[78] Clearly, the Armenian experience of "turbulent migration," which included genocidal mass deportations and wholesale murder, proved far more catastrophic than that demonstrated by mere patterns of migration related to the global political economy in the past several decades. The traumatic experiences of the extremely violent nature of the forced marches to Aleppo and the Syrian desert were followed by the construction of new communities by the refugees, a process which took place within political, economic, religious, and cultural environment that, with varying degrees of fluctuation, encompassed turbulent tensions of "unsettledness and uneasiness, of activism and alienation," which in turn and ineluctably defined the refugees' diasporic belongingness.[79] Diasporic existence, then, as in the Armenian case in Syria, can be characterized as "turbulent," mired in a profound sense of uncertainty regarding the identity and belongingness of the "diasporan self," the relationship between the diasporan self and his or her community, the relationship between the diasporan self and host society, and the relationship between the diasporan community and the state of the host society.[80]

That the Armenian community operated in a politically turbulent environment was clear to many observers during and after the genocide. In

determining a permanent location for the exiled Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, Catholicos Sahag II Khabayan initially considered the ancient city of Aleppo, historically one of the major dioceses of the Cilician Catholicosate. Thousands of refugees from Cilicia and other Ottoman provinces were in northern Syria, and Aleppo could serve as a central station for relief activities. Catholicos Sahag II, however, preferred Beirut because he viewed Syria as a "permanent political volcano."[81] In fact, the attack on the Armenian community in Aleppo in February 1919 by Syrian-Arab nationalists, in which more than 50 Armenians are believed to have lost their lives,[82] offered sufficient proof concerning the volatile and violent situation endured by the Armenian refugees in times of political turbulence.[83] Nearly fifty years later, Gordon Torrey in his book on Syrian politics and the military similarly characterized the political situation in Syria as "a volcano waiting to erupt."[84]

More than the political situation in Syria worried observers, however. Hagop Oshagan highlighted the fact that the Armenian community itself was in a state of turbulence. Writing from Jerusalem in September 1941, Oshagan congratulated Dzarugian for having established the *Nayiri* journal. Oshagan commented that the community in Syria offered opportunities for intellectual advancement, and that he hoped the community would support the project. Yet, Oshagan argued, the Armenian community in Syria was too divided, too partisan to guarantee the success of such an enterprise.[85]

In an article in *Suriahay Daretsuyts*, Levon Chormisian draws the reader's attention to the chronic instability experienced by Armenian intellectuals in Syria. They were condemned to live in foreign lands, Chormisian notes, and therefore never experienced the joy and honor of serving their fatherland. Armenian intellectuals traveled from Syria to Paris, to London, to the Balkans, or to the United States, and failed to secure a sense of stability, as any place outside the homeland is a foreign land, including Syria.[86] Armenian intellectuals wished to live and experience the cultures of more advanced societies so that they too could enjoy the benefits of cultural modernization. While their aspirations were understandable, Chormisian writes, the loss of intellectuals to foreign countries had deleterious ramifications for the Armenian community in Syria and its culture. No serious intellectual could contribute to the cultural production of his or her nation without contact with the immediate authenticity of place, Chormisian states. Further, intellectuals had an obligation toward the community. The schools needed accomplished teachers, the management of community organizations required effective leaders, the community lacked talented actors on its stages and thoughtful speakers at its podiums. Armenians, Chormisian comments, needed to organize their community in ways profitable to the cultural life and stability of the community but instead suffered without able leaders. The 50,000

Armenians in Aleppo remained leaderless, and the few intellectuals who visited the community showed little interest in the needs of the community. It was true that the local economy was not conducive to profit and prosperity, Chormisian concludes, but the pain and suffering of the community without its intellectuals would continue if some of those who had moved to other parts of the world did not return.[87]

By the late 1940s, the situation had radically improved, as demonstrated by the establishment of schools and the proliferation of various Armenian organizations, publishing houses, and publications. Yet, soon after World War II, largely in response to the political and economic conditions, a growing number of Armenians left Aleppo and Syria in general for Beirut and Western countries. Others, according to one source, 32,240 Armenians from Syria and Lebanon joined the repatriation (or *nerkaght*) movement to relocate to Soviet Armenia in 1946 and 1947.[88] The Armenian community in Syria thus entered a new phase of diasporic turbulence as a result of two intra-communal issues, which, however, were inextricably linked to geopolitical turbulences in international politics. The *nerkaght* ineluctably became an integral part of the rapidly escalating Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, with enormous ramifications for Armenian diasporan communities. While at first the Armenian political parties - the Tashnagtsutiun, Hnchakian, and Ramgavar parties - supported the repatriation, the Tashnagtsutiun shifted its position and vehemently opposed it.

In addition, the intense hostility between the Tashnagtsutiun, on the one hand, and the Hnchakian and Ramgavar parties, on the other hand, led to the crisis in 1956 surrounding the election of the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia. The election nevertheless took place on February 20, 1956, and elevated the Prelate of Aleppo, Bishop Zareh Payaslian, to the catholicosal throne of the Great House of Cilicia,[89] despite disruptive efforts by opposition groups, Catholicos Vazken of All Armenians at Echmiadzin, to prevent it. This political crisis generated another point in diasporic turbulence.

Syria itself entered a new phase of political turbulence soon after it secured national independence following the French withdrawal in April 1946. As Syrians commenced the task of nation- and state-building, the top political and military elite experienced violent leadership instability as a result of recurring coups and counter-coups. In March 1949, General Husni al-Za'im removed President Shukri Quwatli from office. In August 1949, Colonel Sami al-Hinnawi ousted Za'im, and in December 1949, Colonel Adib al-Shishakli led his own coup against Hinnawi. In November 1951, Shishakli in another coup forced the resignation of President Hashim al-Atasi and imposed a dictatorial regime until February 24, 1954, when Atasi organized a coup to oust Shishakli.[90] The environment of political

turbulence continued through the 1950s and 1960s, and the situation did not stabilize until Hafiz al-Asad consolidated his power in 1970. By then, however, many Armenians in Syria had lost confidence in the political-economic system. Chronic political turbulence, coupled with regional military conflicts, had undermined Armenians' sense of physical security. As I have pointed out elsewhere, for a people desperately attempting to rebuild their homes and communities in order to recover from the physical and psychological ravages caused by genocide, a permanent sense of political instability could only deepen fears of physical insecurity and amplify their sense of diasporic turbulence and impermanence.[91]

Since the 1970s, the Armenian diaspora, particularly in the Middle East, has experienced fundamental transformations. The civil war in Lebanon, the revolution in Iran, and the current civil war in Syria have compelled thousands of Armenians to flee their communities, while the turbulent regional geopolitical situation has led to an enormous loss of human lives.

Each of the three paradigms outlined above captures an essential dimension of the diasporic experience of the Armenian community in Syria and its legacy. Despite the various political and economic difficulties, Armenians in Syria had successfully maintained their culture, language, and identity, through their educational, social, cultural, and religious institutions. The following section can offer no more than a cursory outline of some of the institutions and personalities that have contributed to the construction of the legacy of the Armenian community in Syria.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DIASPORAN COMMUNITY: INSTITUTIONS AND PERSONALITIES

By the 1950s, the Armenian community in Syria had witnessed enormous accomplishments in building its cultural, educational, and compatriotic organizations and had contributed to diasporan cultural production while Armenian quarters emerged, for example, in Nor Kiugh (New Village; Meydan), Bostan Pasha, Davudiye, and so forth. The Armenian community in Syria experienced what Khachig Tölölyan and Kim Butler refer to as sedentariness as an essential diasporic stage in the diasporization process, whereby an exilic community develops its community organizations and transforms itself into a diasporic community.[92] The community had developed a diasporan "social form," a "type of consciousness," with a functioning "mode of cultural production," to borrow from Steven Vertovec.[93]

Two key agencies of cultural production - the Armenian press and educational institutions - demonstrate the achievements and challenges confronted in the evolution of the community, for the large part in the twentieth century. Since the genocide, the Armenian community in Syria has

served as one of the key centers of Armenian cultural development (as expected by the post-genocide revival paradigm discussed above). It retained and replicated, albeit with various degrees of local cultural influences, Armenian cultural traditions as inherited from the survivors of the genocide. About seventeen Armenian publishing houses were established during the mandate period prior to the 1950s. These included, for example, *Suriagan Mamul* (Syrian Press), *Arevelk* (Orient), *Yeprad* (Euphrates), *Araks*, and *Nayiri*.[94] In addition, approximately twenty Armenian educational institutions were established, including, for example, the Karen Jeppe Jemaran, Haigazian, Sahagian, Zavarian, Giligian, Mesrobian, Gulbenkian, Armenian Catholic St. Gregory the Illuminator, Zvartnots, Mkhitarists, and the Armenian Evangelical Nahadagats.

The community in Syria established about 44 Armenian Apostolic, Catholic, and Evangelical churches in the twentieth century, with affiliated educational and cultural institutions. They consist of 23 Apostolic churches; 13 Catholic churches, including, for example, the Holy Cross Armenian Catholic church in Aleppo; and 11 Armenian Evangelical (or Protestant) churches – e.g., the Emmanuel Church in Aleppo, the Armenian Evangelical Bethel Church, the Armenian Evangelical Martyrs' (Nahadagats) Church in Aleppo, and churches in Kesab, Damascus, and Homs.

Several compatriotic societies, each named after its city or region of origin prior to the deportations during the genocide, assisted the genocide survivors and facilitated the transition of refugees into stable ethnic communities.[95] Between 1918 and 1930, there were about 28 compatriotic societies in Aleppo, including the Committee of the Refugees from Sis (Sis Darakryalneru Hantsnakhump) and the Committee of Marash and Other Communities in Its Vicinity (Marashi yev Shrchagayits Hantsnakhump). Eleven compatriotic societies operated in Syria prior to the beginning of the civil war in March 2011.[96]

Among the sports organizations are the Homenmen sports and scouting organization established in Aleppo in 1921; the Ararat Sports Union, founded in 1923; and the Homenetmen, which was established in Istanbul in 1918 and in Syria in 1925.

The legacy of the Armenian community in Syria has a long list of personalities - religious leaders, writers, doctors, and so forth - who have made significant contributions to various aspects of the Armenian diasporan communities. It is impossible to present a comprehensive discussion of such personalities in this paper, but a small number will be mentioned for purposes of illustration. Among the leaders of the Armenian Apostolic Church, Zareh I Payaslian served as Prelate of Aleppo (1943-56) and Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia (1956-63); Karekin I Sarkissian served

as Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia (1983-94) and subsequently Catholicos of All Armenians at Echmiadzin (1995-99), as well as Rev. Haroutune Selimian (President of the Armenian Evangelical Community) and Krikor Bedros XX Gabroyan, Catholicos-Patriarch of Cilicia of the Armenian Catholic Church (2015-present).

Some of the familiar names in government who were born in Syria are Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the first president of the post-Soviet Republic of Armenia (1991-98). His family moved to Soviet Armenia during the post-WWII repatriation. Vartan Oskanian served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia (1998-2008). Sarkis Assadourian was the first Armenian elected to the Canadian Parliament (in office, 1993-2004). Samuel Der Yeghiayan currently serves as US federal district judge in the Northern District of Illinois. Jacobo Harrotian, a less familiar figure, served as an officer in the Mexican army under Victoriano Huerta during the Mexican revolution.[97]

A long list of scholars, public intellectuals, educators, and writers would include in the past Rizqallah Hassun (1825-80), Vahan Kurkjian (1863-1961), Puzant Topalian (1902-70), Hagop Barsoumian (1936-86), and Bedros Hadjian (1933-2012); and those currently active, Hagop Cholakian, Seta Dadoyan, Richard Hrair Dekmejian, Harut Sassounian, Toros Toranian, and Rita Vorperian. Artists and singers include Jean Carzou (Karnig Zulumyan, 1907-2000), Karnig Sarkisian, Paul Baghdadlian (1953-2011), and in the medical field, Asadour Altunian (1857-1950), Haroutiun Der Ghazarian (1882-1975), and Robert Jebejian (1909-2001), to name only three.

The leadership of such individuals and their contributions to the advancement of the Armenian community in Syria and the Armenian diaspora in general exemplify successes in the strengthening of Armenian diasporic culture and community life. The Armenian community in Syria and neighboring communities in the Middle East served as repositories of Armenian language and culture across the Armenian diaspora. As many Armenians from Syria moved to Lebanon in the turbulent decades of the 1940s–1960s and to the West they contributed to the cultural rejuvenation in Western communities in part of because of their knowledge of the Armenian language. The demise of the Armenian community in Syria because of the current civil war poses a major challenge to the future of Armenian diasporan community life.

CONCLUSION

The history of the Armenian community in Syria, as a case study, demonstrates that community institutions shape collective identity and national consciousness as an integral component of diasporic existence. The Armenian case also demonstrates a fundamental reality in diasporic existence: that the

cultural and physical survival of a diasporic community depends on the political vicissitudes of the host society and its government policies. The three paradigms presented in this paper - diasporic idealism and the post-genocide revival paradigm; the diasporic realism paradigm; and the diasporic turbulence paradigm - encapsulate certain characteristics of the Armenian community in Syria.

The growing literature on the Armenian diaspora has made enormous contributions to our understanding of the evolution of the diasporan communities in the twentieth century. Yet, the field of Armenian diaspora studies is still in its infancy, and more needs to be done, particularly in theoretical explorations and broader conceptualizations and approaches to Armenian diaspora studies, especially in a comparative perspective. This paper has introduced the three paradigms not only for their application to the case under consideration here but also for their applicability to other Armenian as well as non-Armenian diasporan communities.

The diasporic realism paradigm underscores the point that analyses of the emergence and evolution of a diasporan community can integrate not only "minority discourses" with focus on poverty, economic hardship, orphans, and refugees in the hostland, but also narratives of various individual and community achievements, qua diasporic community, in the host society. The diasporic turbulence paradigm underscores the fact that despite structural integration, the absence of political and especially cultural integration heightens the volatility of an ethnic community's sense of belonging in the host society and renders attachments to local identities highly susceptible to the vicissitudes of political and economic fluctuations. This sense of volatility reinforces the propensity to emigrate and to develop a culture of temporariness in the diasporan community. Finally, the legacy of the Armenian community in Syria also offers substantial evidence bolstering the diasporic idealism and the post-genocide revival paradigm. This case represents the ability of the Armenian diasporic individual to overcome his or her childhood experiences in the orphanage, as Dzarugian did; to transform the narratives of profound trauma, the "narratives of displacement," into narratives of resilience and revival. The determined will of the Armenian individual and of the community enabled them to construct and re-construct the anchors of cultural and identity maintenance.

ENDNOTES

[1] This paper is an expanded version of the keynote address delivered at the conference on the Armenian Community in Syria.

[2] Simon Payaslian, "Diasporan Subalternities: The Armenian Community in Syria," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 16.1/2, 2007 [2012], pp. 92-132.

[3] Rey Chow, "Against the Lures of Diaspora: Minority Discourse, Chinese Women, and Intellectual Hegemony," in *Theorizing Diaspora*, Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (eds.), Malden, MA, Blackwell, 2003, pp. 163-183; Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, "Introduction: Minority Discourse: What Is to Be Done?" *Cultural Critique* 7, Fall 1987, pp. 5-17.

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[6] On modernization theory, see Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm*, Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1981, pp. 278-288; Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Development Theory*, 2nd ed., Los Angeles, Sage, 2010, pp. 21-26.

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[9] Ara Sanjian, "The Armenian Minority Experience in the Modern Arab World," *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 3.1, 2001, pp. 149-79; N.B. Schahgaldian, "The Armenian Diaspora: Problems of Modernity and Communications," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 6, 1989, pp. 115-23.

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[11] Isaac Frost, "Home-sickness and Immigrant Psychoses," *Journal of Mental Science* 84, Sept. 1938, pp. 801-847.

[12] Tim Wildschut, Constantine Sedikides, Jamie Arndt, and Clay Routledge, "Nostalgia: Content, Triggers, Functions," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91, 2006, p. 977; Tim Wildschut, Constantine Sedikides, Clay Routledge, Jamie Arndt, and Filippo Cordaro, "Nostalgia as a Repository of Social Connectedness: The Role of Attachment-related Avoidance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98.4, 2010, p. 573; Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*, New York, Free Press, 1979.

[13] For example, Terry Eagleton discusses nostalgia as being a result of capitalism (*Marxism and the Literary Critic*, London, Methuen, 1976; John Hall, *The Sociology of Literature*, London, Longman, 1979).

[14] Matthew Vess, Jamie Arndt, Clay Routledge, Constantine Sedikides, and Tim Wildschut, "Nostalgia as a Resource for the Self," *Self and Identity* 11.3, 2012, pp. 273-284; Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, and Routledge, "Nostalgia: Content," pp. 975-993; Wildschut, Sedikides, Routledge, Arndt, and Cordaro, "Nostalgia as a Repository," pp. 573-586.

[15] Denise Aghanian, *The Armenian Diaspora: Cohesion and Fracture*, Lanham,

University Press of America, 2007, p. 33.

[16] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books, 2001, p. 258.

[17] Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, and Routledge, "Nostalgia: Content," p. 976.

[18] Simon Payaslian, "Diaspora," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History, Vol. 2,* ed. Bonnie G. Smith, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 43-54; Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, London, Routledge, 1996, p. 208.

[19] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora* 1.1, Spring 1991, pp. 83-99; Aghanian, pp. 32-34.

[20] Kendrick, *Heroic Ideal*, p. 6.

[21] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[22] Ibid., the phrase appears on p. 149.

[23] Aghanian, p. 32.

[24] See, for example, Kendrick, p. 53.

[25] Ibid., p. 61.

[26] "Preface," *Suriahay Daretsuyts [Syrian Armenian Almanac] , Vol. 1*, 1924, p. xii.

[27] G. Yeretsian, "Hay Tseghi Timatragan yev Sdeghdzakordzagan uje" [The Power of Resistance and Creation of the Armenian Race], *Suriahay Daretsuyts, Vol. 1*, pp. 122-126.

[28] Vahakn, "Hayere Surio Mech" [Armenians in Syria], *Suriahay Darekirk [Syrian Armenian Yearbook] Vol. 1*, 1929, pp. 202-207.

[29] Suren Vartabed Kemhajian, "Damaskosi Hayots Surp Sarkis Vanke" [The Monastery of Holy Sarkis of Damascene Armenians], *Suriahay Darekirk, Vol. 1*, pp. 218-223.

[30] Aleksander Khadisian, "Suriahay Kaghutin Abakan" [The Future of the Syrian Armenian Community], *Suriahay Darekirk, Vol. 1,* pp. 5-7.

[31] Vazgen Shushanian, Letter to Antranig Dzarugian, 1933, *Nayiri* 1.4, 1942, p. 122.

[32] Vanik Santryan, *Karoti Kancher Halep Kaghakits [Calls of Yearning from the City of Aleppo]*, Yerevan, VMV Print, 2006, pp. 110-113.

[33] Ibid., p. 178.

[34] Feliks Bakhchinyan, *Halep: Prkutian Ap [Aleppo, the Cost of Salvation]*, 2 Vols., Yerevan, Gasprint, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 77, 85, vol. 2, pp. 23, 88.

[35] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 63, 85.

[36] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 56-59.

[37] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 46; vol. 2, pp. 98-99.

[38] Zaven Khandjian, *Haleb Arachin Gayaran: Mangutiun Unetsogh Dghu me Hushere [Aleppo the First Station, the Memoirs of a Boy with Childhood]*, Los Angeles, CA, Tekeyan Cultural Association, 2012.

[39] Ibid., p. 17.

[40] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[41] Ibid., pp. 75-76, 172-179.

[42] Ibid., p. 215.

[43] George J. Becker, *Realism in Modern Literature*, New York, Frederick Ungar, 1980, p. 36.

[44] Kendrick, p. 106.

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[47] María Alonso Alonso, *Diasporic Marvellous Realism: History, Identity, and Memory in Caribbean Fiction*, Leiden, Brill, Rodopi, 2015, p. ix.

[48] Kendrick, p. 186.

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[50] Becker, pp. 68-69.

[51] James H. Rubin, "Realism," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed., pp. 91-93.

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[56] Dzarugian, *Yerazayin Halebe*, pp. 39-40.

[57] Ibid., p. 55.

[58] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[59] Ibid., p. 67.

[60] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[61] Ibid., p. 88.

[62] Ibid., p. 254.

[63] Ibid., p. 257.

[64] Becker, pp. 122-123, on Critical Realism.

[65] On socialist realism, see Brandon Taylor, "Socialist Realism: 'To Depict Reality in Its Revolutionary Development'," and Esther Leslie, "Interrupted Dialogues of Realism and Modernism: 'The Fact of New Forms of Life, Already Born and Active'," in *A Concise Companion to Realism*, rev. ed., Matthew Beaumont (ed.), Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp. 160-175, 143-159. Esther Leslie discusses "revolutionary realisms" and "constructing realism Soviet-style."

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[67] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*,

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[68] Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd, "Introduction: Minority Discourse: What Is to Be Done?" *Cultural Critique* 7, Fall 1987, pp. 5-17; quote appears on p. 7.

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[70] Becker, p. 24.

[71] James N. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1990.

[72] Ibid., p. 6.

[73] Ibid., pp. 369-387.

[74] Ibid., p. 389.

[75] Ibid., pp. 390, 403.

[76] See, for example, Nicola Migliorino, *(Re)constructing Armenia in Lebanon and Syria: Ethno-Cultural Diversity and the State in the Aftermath of a Refugee Crisis*, New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2008. In his excellent study, *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011, Benjamin Thomas White captures certain aspects of the construction of minority communities in post-Ottoman Syria, but his focus is too narrow and does not explore the broader issues involved in relations between an ethnic community and the host society.

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[85] Hagop Oshagan to Antranig Dzarugian, letter, Sept. 16, 1941, *Nayiri* 1.2, Jan. 1942, pp. 33-34. See also Payaslian, "Diasporan Subalternities," pp. 92-132.

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[90] Torrey, p. 143; Sami Moubayed, *Steel & Silk: Men and Women Who Shaped Syria, 1900-2000*, Seattle, WA, Cune, 2006, s.v. "al-Quwatli, Shukri," pp. 308-314, "al-Nehlawi, Abd al-Karim," pp. 73-75, "al-Atasi, Nur al-Din," pp. 175-177.

[91] Payaslian, "Diasporan Subalternities," pp. 92–132.

[92] Khachig Tölölyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transition Moment," *Diaspora* 5.1, 1996, pp. 3-36; Kim D. Butler, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," *Diaspora* 10.2, 2001, pp. 189-219. See also Khachig Tölölyan, "Elites and Institutions in the Armenian Transnation," *Diaspora* 9.1, 2000, pp. 107-136.

[93] Steven Vertovec, "Three Meaning of 'Diaspora,' Exemplified by South Asian Religions," *Diaspora* 6.3, 1999, pp. 277-300.

[94] Migliorino, pp. 67-68.

[95] For a history of Armenian community organizations in Aleppo, see Varti Keshishian, *Halebi Haygagan Kaghtodjakhi Hasaragagan-Mshagutayin Gazmagerbutiunnere (1846-1915)* [The Community-Cultural Organizations of the Armenian Diaspora Communities in Aleppo (1846-1915)], Antelias, Catholiosate of Cilicia, 2001.

[96] Periotem.com.

[97] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacobo_Harrotian.

Սուրիահայութեան Աւանդը.
Դար Մը Սփիւռքեան Գոյութիւն (1915-2015)
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Հեղինակը կը ներկայացնէ սուրիահայութեան վերջին հարիւրամեակի աւանդը: Ան հակիրճ կ'անդրադառնայ գաղութին կազմաւորման՝ Ցեղասպանութենէն ետք, ապա եւ՝ կազմակերպման ու մշակութային վերելքին՝ մինչեւ Բ. Համաշխարհային Պատերազմ: Հիմնուելով սփիւռքագիտական տեսութիւններու վրայ, հեղինակը կը քննարկէ սփիւռքացման բարդութիւնները, ձեւափոխութիւնը՝ սկզբնական տարագիր փուլէն դէպի գաղութի եւ մշակոյթի կազմաւորումը, ինչպէս նաեւ փոփոխութիւնը՝ հայապահպանման հրամայականներուն հասկացութիւններուն մէջ:

Զեկոյցը կը քննարկէ հայկական սփիւռքի գոյութիւնը պատկերող գրական նմուշներ: Հակառակ տարբեր քաղաքական եւ տնտեսական դժուարութիւններու, սուրիահայութիւնը՝ մինչեւ 1960ականներու սկիզբը, ականատես եղաւ մշակութային հսկայ բերքի: Հիմնուեցան հայկական հրատարկչատուներ եւ տարբեր քաղաքական երանգներու օրաթերթեր: Զեկոյցը համապատկեր մը կը ներկայացնէ այն ճիգերուն, որոնք կատարուեցան կրթական եւ մշակութային հաստատութիւններու, համայնքային կազմակերպութիւններու, կուսակցութիւններու եւ եկեղեցիներու կողմէ՝ մշակոյթի պահպանման եւ գաղութային կեանքին համար:

Սուրիահայութիւնը Միջին Արեւելքի այլ գաղութներու կողքին, իբրեւ շտեմարան ծառայեց հայ լեզուի եւ մշակոյթի: 1940-60ականներուն Լիբանան գաղթած սուրիահայեր, ինչպէս եւ Արեւմուտք գաղթած միջին արեւելքցի հայեր նպաստեցին Արեւմուտքի գաղութներուն մշակութային երիտասարդացման:

Հեղինակը կը քննարկէ յարաբերութեան բնոյթը հայկական գաղութին եւ հիւրընկալ ընկերութեան միջեւ, եւ կը պնդէ, որ հակառակ տասնամեակներու ձեռքբերումներուն, ներկայ քաղաքացիական պատերազմին հետեւանքով մեծ սպառնալիք յառաջացած է գաղութի գոյատեւման:

Սուրիահայութեան պատմութիւնը ցոյց կու տայ, որ ընտանիքը, գաղութի կրթական հաստատութիւնները, եկեղեցիները, քաղաքական կուսակցութիւնները եւ մտաւորականութիւնը միաձուլուած՝ կը ձեւաւորեն անհատական եւ հաւաքական ինքնութիւնը եւ ազգային գիտակցութիւնը՝ իբրեւ անբաժանելի բաղադրիչը Սփիւռքի գոյութեան: Սուրիահայութեան պարագան կը հաստատէ, թէ Սփիւռքի հայօճախի մը մշակութային եւ ֆիզիքական գոյատեւումը կախեալ է հիւրընկալ ընկերութեան քաղաքական փոփոխականութենէն եւ անոր կառավարութեան վարած ընդհանուր քաղաքականութենէն: