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Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean's Pastoral and Scholarly Activities in Manchester (1873-78) and the Armenian Community

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Abstract This article presents an episode from the history of the Armenian community in Manchester during the pastorate of Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean (1873-8) – a prominent philologist, poet, traveller, and church figure from Vaspurakan. Some intracommunity issues, cultural and social activities of the Manchester Armenians, and their attitudes towards Łevond Vardapet, as reflected in the periodicals of the time, are discussed. Based on P'irłalēmean's notes and colophons, this essay also presents his works composed or arranged in Manchester (Dictionary of Provincial Words, Collection of Seals, Chronology, and the volumes of Armenian Colophons).

Keywords Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean. Manchester. Armenian community. Colophon. Manuscript.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 A Biographical Account of Łevond Vardapet. – 3 Łevond Vardapet in Manchester: Intra-Community Concerns. – 4 Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean's Scholarly Activities in Manchester. – 5 Concluding Remarks.



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1 Introduction

The Armenian community in Great Britain was formed in the 1830s when Armenian merchants from Constantinople, Smyrna and other places settled in London, Manchester, and Liverpool.¹ In 1862, Karapet Vardapet Šahnazarean (1862-66), a well-known clergyman and scholar of the time,² was invited from Paris to organise the spiritual and religious life of a small community of about thirty people. With the donations from Armenian emigrants, he rented a chapel for church services. Karapet Vardapet Šahnazarean was followed at intervals by Xorēn Vardapet Kiwroyean (1866-70; 1872-3), Sargis Vardapet T'ēodorean (1870) and priest Nerses Palapanean (1870-72).³ In 1870, the Armenian Church of the Holy Trinity was built on Upper Brook Street, where the Armenians used to live, with funds provided by the community members (Gouligian 2020, 19-22, 24). In 1873, after the resignation of Xorēn Vardapet Kiwroyean, on 15 August, the meeting of community representatives sent a letter to the Patriarchate of Constantinople (the Patriarch at the time was Archbishop Mkrtič' Xrimean) on the issue of electing a new leader. Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean, a famous clergyman, philologist, poet, and traveller, was chosen from the list of candidates and submitted by the Patriarchate.⁴

In his study on the Armenian community of Manchester, Bishop Mušeł Serobean provides some valuable details about the years of Levond Vardapet's pastorate (1911, 54-65). These are mainly drawn from the records of community meetings and other historical sources. Recently, in the National Archives of Armenia, I found the Provincial Dictionary, the Chronology, and the eighteenth volume of the Collection of Armenian Colophons⁵ compiled by P'irłalēmean in Manchester.⁶ Subsequently, it came to my attention that the Collection of Colophons (M6273) and the Collection of Seals (M10013) of P'irłalēmean, housed in the Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient

¹ For more on the formation of the Armenian community in Great Britain, cf. Eliazarean 1996, 43-59; 2013, 111-39; Mrmrean 1908, 47-50; George 2002.

² In 1863-64, he published the *Series of Armenian Historians* in his Paris-based printing house, and the *Erkragund* (The Globe) newspaper in Manchester. For more about Šahnazarean, see Kostanean 1910.

³ For the periods of their activities, cf. Serobean 1911, 26-54.

⁴ According to the Charter, the community had the right to choose the parish priest.

⁵ This volume contains colophons from the 1510-30s.

⁶ National Archives of Armenia, collection 332, catalogue 1, documents 653, 780, 781.

Manuscripts,⁷ were also compiled in Manchester. These works, which are also briefly outlined in the paper, are of great importance for the study of Armenian history and culture. The focus of this essay, however, is on P'irłalēmean's inscriptions and colophons, which shed light on his scholarly activities in Manchester. In order to gain an insight into the inner life of the Manchester Armenians and their relationship with their pastor during this period, I will discuss the series of articles dedicated to the Manchester Armenian community in the official journal *Ararat* of the Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin in 1875, as well as the 1877 publication by Vahan Vardapet Bastameanc', who travelled to Europe for educational purposes.

Thus, based on the works produced by Łevond P'irłalēmean in Manchester and the information provided in their colophons, as well as the archival documents and articles published in ninenteenth-century periodicals, this study aims to present the activities of one of the most prominent Armenian spiritual and cultural figures of the time in Manchester, exploring both his role as a pastor and his contributions as a scholar.

2 A Biographical Account of Łevond Vardapet

Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean⁸ (baptismal name: Martiros) was born in the city of Van, in 1830 [figs 1-2]. In 1852, three years after settling in the Monastery of the Lim Desert, he was ordained a deacon in the Surb Nšan Church in Van, and in 1860 he received the rank of Vardapet.⁹ In 1859 P'irlalēmean moved to Varagavank', where he carried out spiritual, educational and cultural activities; he was the agent of the magazine Arcui Vaspurakan, reporting and participating in its publishing work. However, he spent most of his life travelling in Western and Eastern Armenia, as well as in the Armenian-populated areas of the Ottoman Empire, copying thousands of manuscript colophons, epigraphic inscriptions and epitaphs, collecting provincial words and chronological sources, and recording ethnographic material. Łevond Vardapet is best known for compiling the first collection of the Armenian manuscript colophons (cf. Awetean 2018, 239-45). Thanks to this collection, we have information about many manuscripts that are now thought to be lost (Ter-Vardanean 2015, 48-50). P'irlalemean left his

⁷ Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, is marked in this paper with the sigla M.

⁸ In George 2002, 25, Łevond Vardapet is mentioned as "Vartabed Perghalenian".

⁹ While describing and studying the Homiliary 4677 from the Maštoc' Matenadaran collection, I came across Levond Vardapet's autobiographical colophon, on the basis of which I conducted a separate research; cf. Melk'onyan 2020, 408-20. Therefore, the details of his biography and literary legacy will not be discussed in this article. Cf. also *Murč* 1903, 73-87; Tēr-Mkrtič'ean 1996, 249-61.

own inscriptions in the manuscripts he used, which are relevant to the study of the history of individual manuscripts (cf. Sirinian 2003, 83-6; 2005, 235-6, 238; 2022, 234-44). During his third visit to the Mother See in the summer of 1889, Łevond Vardapet compiled the collection of epitaphs of the St. Ējmiacin Congregational Cemetery (cf. Harut'yunyan, Melk'onyan 2021, 141-61). Of particular interest are his travelogues, in which he describes Armenian churches and monasteries, the everyday life of the people, their customs, dishes, etc. (P'irłalēmeanc' 1871; 1882). In December 1890, accompanying Archbishop Mkrtič' Xrimean, P'irłalēmean left for Jerusalem, where he died in 1891 (at the age of 61), and was buried in the local Armenian cemetery.¹⁰ The colophons in M9027 indicate that he continued to classify and collect sources in Jerusalem. The manuscript ends with the inscription "14 April 1891, in Holy Jerusalem",¹¹ which was probably the last note written by Łevond Vardapet.



Figure 1 Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean. Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, "Personal archival fond", file 187, doc. 39/9

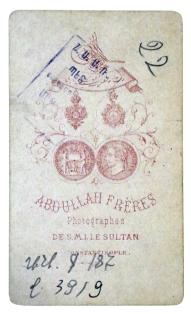


Figure 2 The verso of the picture with the seal of the photographers. Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, "Personal archival fond", file 187, doc. 39/9

10 The versified epitaph of 15 lines was composed by Mkrtič' Xrimean, cf. Aławnuni 1929, 235; Sawalaneanc' 1931, 1285-6; Melk'onean 2022, 352-3.

11 M9027, 101ν։ 1891 ապրիլ 14 ի Սուրբ Երուսաղէմ. All translations from Armenian are made by the Author.

3 Łevond Vardapet in Manchester: Intra-Community Concerns

Thus, in 1873, after being elected the parish priest of the Armenian community in Manchester, Levond Vardapet left for Great Britain. At that time, there were about 80-90 Armenians living in Manchester, mostly merchants and students from the Ottoman Empire and Russia (*Ararat* 1875, 9: 358).

This is how P'irlalēmean describes his arrival:

The undersigned, a humble parish priest of the Armenian community of Manchester, was appointed, at their request, inspector and pastor of the little spiritual flock of Christ, in September 1873, under the Patriarchate of Archbishop Mkrtič' Xrimean, and with his *kondak* [pastoral letter] of blessing and a letter of recommendation, relying on God, I left Constantinople, set out on a journey and came by sea on a steamer named Hagia Sophia to Liverpool, one of the principal and commercial cities of England, and from there I came by a railway carriage to Manchester to our dearly loved people.¹²

From the extensive autobiography included in his Collection of Seals [fig. 3], we learn that before coming to Manchester, P'irlalēmean had settled in Constantinople; in 1872, he was elected a National Deputy (uqquyhu thtuhnhuuu), and on 29 April 1873 he received from Archbishop Nikołayos Alasean the high degree of special authority and Supreme Vardapet (cf. M10013, 36v-37r). In the same source, he mentions the exact date of his departure for Manchester:

On the fifteenth of September, leaving Constantinople, he^{13} went to Smyrna, Malta and Liverpool, and from there to Manchester, where he remained until Saturday 7 June 1875, when he wrote briefly about his past. (37*r*)

¹² Serobean 1911, 54-5: Ստորագրեալս խոնարի դետ Մանչէսդրի հայ հասարակութեան, ըստ խնդրանաց նոցին կարգեցայ տեսուչ և հովիւ հոգևոր փոքրիկ հօտին Ք[րիստո]սի, ի 1873 ամի, յամսեանն Սեպտեմբերի, յաւուրս պատրիարքութեան Խրիմեան Մկրտիչ Արքեպիսկոպոսի, և Նորին օրինութեան կոնդակաւ և յանձնարարական նամակաւ, յԱստուած ապաստանեալ թողի զՊոլիս, անկայ իչու, և եկի ծովային ճանապարհորդութեամբ Այա Սօֆիա անուն շոգենաւաւ մինչ ի Լիվրբուլ, որ է մինն ի գլիսաւոր և ի վաճառաշահ քաղաքացն Անգղիոյ, և անտի ևս շոգեկառօք եկի ի Մանչէսդր առ սիրելի ժողովուրդս մեր. Serobean (55) informs that this inscription is found in the Register of Baptisms and Burials of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Manchester, on pages 52-5 of which P'irlalēmean wrote a Chronology.

¹³ The autobiography is written in the third person next to his private seal.

Armine Melkonyan Łevond Vardapet Pʻirłalēmean's Pastoral and Scholarly Activities in Manchester

1. THURS U. AUSPHUPPH Af Themps het & Angensu np 44 SCUND2 JERAGE AUPERADES APPAULETERS A June un us in how when SAUAPSE Jult to Ante hos sty you bedu sp hor how & 1820 with presu capt Apport to the with stay to yother to star Such a cure that Julnuy him topper approval have altranymution Alto 1 1923 he upinen, ginner manstours for under Ampathe Art tures Throute to the fight to unyou sty fines we may in justing more from ter & the A yeare. A 1855 Jun uput affait that tyses men got wingthe Aughour my junish twe un fur infor there to with house gulps wulkung fff of yong. In A 1824 muchikun halfans & ugethe when hungen yournot when hun kuch to with the new now reput forming in que fance to un styling they byo this. In the was fing du Submahan un with and Shythey

Figure 3 A fragment of P'irłalēmean's autobiography and his seal from Matenadaran-Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, M10013, fol. 32*r*

This autobiography was written two years after P'irlalēmean had settled in Manchester and assumed his duties as parish priest.

In the same year, 1875, an extensive series of articles, criticising the Armenian community of Manchester and its leader, appeared in the Constantinople-based newspaper *Ōragir*. The same material was republished in issues 9-12, 1875, of *Ararat* (1875, 9: 357-8, 10: 397-9, 11: 438-40, 12: 466-70). The anonymous author is referred to as "a friend of ours who has long been in those parts", "an honourable letter-writer", ¹⁴ suggesting that the author was a member of the community in Manchester, or at least one of the cities with an Armenian population in Britain. In the series of articles, under the general title "A few words on the Armenian colony in Manchester" (UuluչLupph hug quŋpuluulun.phuu uµnu puuh úp houp) and the subheadings "Mixed Marriages" (huunu uunuun.phu), "Fashion" (LnpudbLn.phu), "Piety" (Auptuyun.phub Barepaštut'iwn), "Merchantry" (Lugunu), the so-called 'vicious' practices of the community are discussed and criticised. The first of

¹⁴ Ararat 1875, 9: 357-8: "այն կողմերը երկար ատենէ ի վեր գտնուող մեր մէկ բարեկամ", "պատուարժան նամակագիր".

these was the problem of mixed marriages. Armenians were said to be marrying English women, thus alienating both themselves and their children from Armenian traditions and the Church. The author of the article urged them to follow the example of the Greeks living in Manchester, among whom mixed marriages were rare. According to him, the Greeks were more zealous, almost fanatical about their religion, and did not allow the children born of mixed marriages to "get lost in the Protestant mixture" (10: 397). Unlike the Armenians, they made every effort to raise these children as Greeks. The author criticises the Manchester Armenians for being fashionable and innovative, and the question was about church rites, the vestments of the clergy, the ceremony of the Holy Mass, church utensils and decorations. For instance, it is said that some members of the community suggested that there should be no candlesticks on the Holy Table, or that the officiating priest should not wear slippers, and should dress in a more European style, in general. It was even suggested that the "Greeting" part¹⁵ of the Holy Mass should be omitted, because "the English laughed at this kind of ceremonies" (399). The anonymous author has high praise for Armenian merchants, describing them as "talented, loyal, decent, thrifty and hardworking" (440). He sees the Armenians' "evil envy" of each other as the main obstacle to progress in this field. It is also said that when Armenians go to England, as soon as they learn a little English, they start mixing English words while speaking Armenian. In particular, the author criticizes the Armenians living in London, who were mostly wealthy merchants from India, for not knowing their mother tongue. And he asks a guestion: could they not hire an Armenian teacher to educate their children? He notes that, since the Armenians of London had no church and no priest, they celebrated Christmas and Holy Easter with the English; therefore, the priest of Manchester had to take care of the spiritual needs of the Armenian community in London as well. The author of the article does not mention P'irlalēmean by name, but he criticises him indirectly as well:

The pastor of Manchester should be patriotic and active, a learned man and not a careless clergyman; he should be able to travel to London and frequently visit his misled flock as a sacred duty, to supervise, and exhort them.¹⁶

¹⁵ This refers to the 'Kiss of Peace', when believers greet each other during Holy Mass with a kiss on the cheek, saying: "Christ is revealed among us".

Ararat 1875, 12։ 470։ Մանչէսթրի հոգևոր հովիւը պէտբ է որ ազգասէր, գործունեայ և լեզուագէտ անձ մը ըլլայ և ոչ անփոյթ հոգևորական մը, և կարող ըլլայ Լոնտոն երթևեկել և իրեն իբրեւ սուրբ պարտաւորութիւն զարտուղեալ հօտին ստէպ-ստէպ այցելութեան երթալ, հսկել, յորդորել զանոնբ.

The anonymous author even suggests that the Mother See of Holy \bar{E} jmiacin should pay for the transport so as not to place an additional burden on the community. In this regard, the editorial of *Ararat* has the following comment as a footnote:

We draw this paragraph to the attention of the Armenians of Manchester, our dear brothers and Rev[erend] Shepherd, and hope that they will hasten to report to His Patriarchal Holiness whatever is worthy and necessary in this matter.¹⁷

Levond Vardapet, published a reply article in the December issue of *Ararat*, signed "Pastor of the Armenians in Britain, S[upreme] Vardapet Levond of Tosp", ¹⁸ which also proves that his pastoral activity was not limited to Manchester, but included other cities where Armenians lived. P'irlalēmean expressed his regret that the editorial board of *Ararat* had reprinted the material published in Constantinople, perhaps believing it to be true. As he put it, the anonymous author had generalised a private flaw by criticising everyone.

The parish priest affirms the devotion of the Armenians of Manchester to the national values and the Armenian people, referring to their generous donation for the "Famine in Asia" (cf. *Ararat* 1875, 12: 466; see also, Ełiazaryan 2013, 133), thanks to which hundreds of people were saved from death. Without going into details, it is worth mentioning that in 1874-75, at the request of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Famine Committee, the Armenian community of Manchester donated 1,000 gold coins to help their compatriots in Western Armenia, particularly Van and Muš, who were in dire straits. In addition, the Armenians of Manchester discussed the importance of developing educational and cultural programs for the self-development of the Armenian people, raising the standard of living and providing sustainable support. The members of the community planned to form a Union of Armenians in Manchester whose aim would be

to help poor schools in Armenia, to protect Armenian rights, to contribute morally and materially as much as possible to useful national affairs, and to obtain valuable publications. (Serobean 1911, 57)

At a meeting on 11 February 1876, one of the active members of the community, G. Kiwmiwškērta, spoke about the oppressed condition of

¹⁷ Ararat 1875, 12: 470: Այս պարբերութիւնը Մանչեսթերի Յայոց, մեր սիրելի եղբարց և Արժ. Յովուին ուշադրութեան յանձնելով, կյուսամբ որ կփութան տեղեկագրել առ Վեհ. Յայրապետ ինչ որ յայսմ մասին արժան և անհրաժեշտ է.

¹⁸ Ararat 1875, 12։ 466։ Յովիւ Բրիտանիոյ Յայոց, Ղեւոնդ Ծ[այրագոյն] Վարդապետ Տոսպեցի.

the people in Armenia, the need for education and enlightenment. For this purpose, it was proposed to collect 8-10 gold coins per year from each member of the Armenian community in Manchester. Levond Vardapet, was enthusiastic about the idea and confirmed that with 10-15 gold coins it would be possible to open schools in the villages of Armenia. He was ready to donate his fortune to the schools of Armenia if a foundation was set up in Manchester for this purpose, and he was given control of the schools to be opened (60). Unfortunately, this promising plan never came to fruition.

Returning to Levond Vardapet's reply published in *Ararat*, he sees the reason for mixed marriages in the scarcity of Armenian families, which forced Armenians to marry English women. However, he considered it important that they were married according to the rites of the Armenian Church. Finally, he sees the construction of the Holy Trinity Church as a proof of devotion to the Armenian Church and national values. According to P'irlalēmean: "They need encouragement and incentives, not gossip, and they expect exhortation and inspiration from the editorial of *Ararat*".¹⁹ P'irlalēmean's reply was immediately followed by a statement from the editorial board, saying that they did not want to upset their compatriots, but that by publishing the article they wanted to draw attention to the problems in the community and at the same time encourage them to stick to Armenian rituals and traditions (cf. *Ararat* 1875, 12: 466-7).

Vahan Vardapet Bastameanc', a monk of Holy Ējmiacin and a famous lawyer, who travelled to various European cities from October 1876 to August 1878 in order to master French and German, and also to study ecclesiastical law, provides relevant information about the Armenian community of Manchester and Levond Vardapet.

In his article "The Armenians living in Manchester", published in the December 1877 issue of the *Ararat* journal, he praised the Armenians of Manchester, whom he described as mainly engaged in trade, having offices, speaking fluent English and enjoying great sympathy from the locals (Bastameanc' 1877, 464-8; reprinted in Tēr-Vardanean 2018, 399-402). Speaking of their national feelings, Bastameanc' writes: "Blessed would be the Armenian nation, if the Armenians abroad were as fervent and patriotic as they are" (1877, 465). He gives a detailed description of the Armenian church in Manchester, and the three-storey building next to it. According to the author, the community had only one Vardapet,²⁰ assisted by the believers, who wore a surplice during the divine services, especially those from the Armenian-populated areas of the Ottoman Empire, who

¹⁹ Ararat 1875, 12: 466: Սոբա բաջալերութեան և խրախուսանաց պետբ ունին բան թե բամբասանաց և յԱրարատայ խմբագրութենեն յորդոր և բաջալերութիւն սպասեն.

²⁰ Naturally, the information for this period refers to Łevond Vardapet.

were skilled in church singing. As Bastameanc' reports: "The Vardapet gets a free apartment, fuel and light (gas) and a servant, ten gold coins (70 rubles) a month and clothes if necessary" (466). He was required to administer all the sacraments free of charge. Although there was no treasury in the church, many people still rewarded their priest. According to his assessment, "The honourable Łevond Vardapet P'irlalēmean is, indeed, a beloved and respectable person for his sweet character, gentle and decent morals. A native of the Ottoman Empire (Van, I think), he is a man of considerable worldly experience, well versed in the written language and has many handwritten works on national history and chronology" (467).²¹ Bastameanc' emphasises that the local Armenians preserve their mother tongue and speak Armenian beautifully. In addition to these virtues, he also addresses the problems of life within the community. The first of these was the disagreement over Levond Vardapet, which divided this small community into two parts: the majority loved and respected their pastor, and the smaller part was made up of the younger people,

who wanted to have a European-like scholar and an enlightened clergyman, either to shine more brightly among the foreigners, or to establish various scholarly enterprises, such as a printing house, a magazine, etc. (467)

In fact, this disagreement over P'irlalēmean's personality arose a year before Bastameanc''s visit to Manchester. At the general meeting of 28 January 1876, Yovhannēs Andrēasean, one of the active members of the community, while expressing his satisfaction with P'irlalēmean's work, suggested that he be replaced by someone more competent as a pastor, who spoke fluent English and would, if necessary, correct "the wrong ideas about our religion and nation" (Serobean 1911, 59). Finally, the question of replacing the parish priest was raised, and the community was divided with 20 votes in favour and 12 against P'irlalēmean.

After some time, however, Łevond Vardapet resigned, and asked to be allowed to go to Constantinople in order to publish his works. His resignation was accepted at the community meeting on 2 August 1876, but for some reason P'irłalēmean reconsidered his decision and stayed on for another two years, until 1878 (61-2). At this point, it is difficult to say what caused him to change his mind. On the other hand, since the Armenian community of Manchester and England took an active part in the political and national issues and

²¹ It should be added that in June 1877 P'irłalēmean and Bastameanc' officiated the funeral of T'ēodor vardapet Kiwroyean in Paris, see Serobean 1911, 44.

especially in the events on the eve of the Berlin Congress of 1878,²² and probably due to external problems, the intra-community issues were temporarily suspended.²³ However, after the Congress of Berlin, P'irlalēmean, seeing the unfavourable attitude towards him and considering his tenure no longer useful, sent his resignation to the Patriarchate. At the meeting on 18 September 1878, the Manchester Armenians accepted P'irlalēmean's resignation. Patriarch Nersēs II Varžapetean also accepted his resignation and appointed Priest Yovhannēs Mkrean as parish priest (118). But the Armenians of Manchester rejected Mkrean's appointment. In the end, Esayi Vardapet Astuacaturean, of the Congregation of the Mother See of Holy Ējmiacin, was chosen and appointed in October:

As the Pastor of the Armenians living in the city of Manchester in England, Reverend Levond Vardapet P'irlalēmean resigned from his position, Reverend Esayi Vardapet was appointed as the Pastor according to the choice and request of the Armenian people of the place. ²⁴

Esayi Vardapet arrived in Manchester at the end of November²⁵ after which P'irłalēmean left Manchester (he was still there on 26 November, as we learn from a colophon in M6273, f. 302ν). He described the new parish priest, as "good-natured" and "eager to learn" clergyman (cf. Serobean 1911, 141-2).

²² Discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this article. On the involvement of the Armenian community of Great Britain in the preparations for the Congress, cf. Serobean 1911, 66-108. For more about the Armenian question at the Congress of Berlin, cf. Kostandyan; Hovhannisyan 2010, 436-47.

²³ According to Serobean (1911, 115), the lack of records means that there were no community meetings between December 1876 and September 1878.

²⁴ Ararat 1878, 10: 399։ Անգղիոյ Մանչեսթեր քաղաքում բնակեալ Վայոց հոգեւոր հովիւ արժ[անապատիւ] Ղեւոնդ Վարդապետ Փիրղալեմեանց հրաժարուելով իւր պաշտօնեն, ըստ ընտրութեան եւ խնդրանաց Վայկազն ժողովրդեան տեղւոյն՝ արժ[անապատիւ] Եսայի Վարդապետ Աստուածատրեանց հոգեւոր հովիւ կարգեցաւ.

²⁵ For this information Serobean refers to P'irlalēmean's Chronology mentioned above, see note 12.

4

Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean's Scholarly Activities in Manchester

In 1875, a Reading Room was established next to the Armenian Church of Manchester, and P'irlalemean was elected Chairman of the Council. The Reading Room was designed for the acquisition and reading of newspapers and magazines, published mainly in the Ottoman Empire, Russia and elsewhere. The Council, under the leadership of P'irlalemean, was to organise the purchase of new volumes and publications (selection of content and fundraising) (57-8). As we learn from Łevond Vardapet's letter of 1875 to priest Giwt Alaneanc', a prominent historian, translator, editor and publisher of the time, P'irłalēmean had proposed that Giwt join him in Manchester with the aim of organising book publishing and establishing an Armenian school.²⁶ Despite the internal problems and external political challenges, the years of P'irłalēmean's activity in Manchester were a relatively guiet period, after constant travelling and holding various spiritual and organisational positions. In Manchester, therefore, the prolific clergyman managed to organise, process and chronologically arrange the various materials and sources he had collected over the years. In this respect, his dictionary entitled Collection Dictionary of Provincial Words (Ժողովածու բառատետը գաւառական բառիզ) is of great interest.²⁷ In the preface to one of his travelogues (Journey to the Mother See and thence to Constantinople), among thousands of colophons, epigraphic inscriptions and epitaphs, P'irlalemean also mentions over 2,500 provincial words, which he collected, "with their original sound and meaning".²⁸ He collected these words during his travels, often noting in the margins of the Dictionary the place where a particular word was used. In the margins of some pages of the Dictionary, usually after the group of words of each alphabetical letter, P'irlalēmean left a short note indicating the place, year, month and day of the completion of his work, such as: "1874 Jan[uary] 14 Monday in Manchester".²⁹ It is clear from the colophons that the Provincial Dictionary was compiled and almost entirely classified in

²⁶ The letter is kept in the fonds of Giwt Alaneanc' from the collection of the RA Museum of Literature and Art. For the publication, cf. Melk'onean 2022, 354.

²⁷ I found the Dictionary, which was thought lost until now, in the fonds of the priest Giwt Alaneanc' at the RA National Archives. Most probably, P'irlalēmean left his unpublished works in Constantinople before leaving for Jerusalem. Giwt Alaneanc' reports that in 1898 he brought P'irlalēmean's works, collected in three sealed bundles, from Constantinople to Ējmiacin and handed them over to the Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtič' Xrimean Vanec'i; cf. Alaneanc' 1912, 54 (6^).

²⁸ P'irłalēmeanc' 1871, 4 (Դ)։ Իրենց բուն հնչմամբ և նշանակութեամբ.

²⁹ National Archives of Armenia, fonds 332, catalogue 1, doc. 780, f. 2r։ 1874 յունվ[ար] 14 երկուշաբթի ի Մանչեստեր.

Manchester between January 1874 and May 1877. He left his main colophon on folio 22v:

I have copied here with the laborious work of arranging in alphabetical order the disordered notebook of this provincial dictionary, written on 25 June 1872, for the richness of the Armenian language. The sixth of February 1874, Carnival Wednesday, in the English city of Manchester. Compiler of this work Łevond Supreme Vardapet P'irłalēmean of Tosp.³⁰

According to another note on the same page, he added 311 words to various sections of the Dictionary in May 1877. The final colophon on f. 33*r* indicates that P'irłalēmean completed his Dictionary much later, on 13 December 1888, when he was in Constantinople, serving at the Surb Nikołayos Sk'anč'elagorc (St. Nicholas Thaumaturgus) Armenian Church in Topkapi.³¹

In Manchester, he compiled another important work, the *Seal Collection* (4upuqhp, lit. 'Book of Seals'), which contains a total of 468 seals (including those in Arabic letters) of nineteenth-century Armenian personalities, Catholicoi, ecclesiastical figures, educational institutions and national associations, literary and educational centres, and churches. Next to each seal, P'irlalēmean presented biographical information, significant events related to the owners of the seal, and also mentions the purpose of the seal's use. He wrote an extensive autobiography for his own seal (M10013, 32*r*-37*r*). The scribecompiler left his colophon in the lower margin of the last page of the manuscript:

This Book of Seals was completed by Levond Vardapet of Tosp in the city of Manchester in England on 14 June 1875, the day of Saturday, the feast of (Gregory the Illuminator's) deliverence from Xor Virap.³²

During the months from August to November 1874 in Manchester, as noted in the short colophons (61ν , 73ν , 85ν , 97ν , 109ν , 114ν), he compiled an extensive chronology covering the events of the years

³⁰ National Archives of Armenia, fonds 332, catalogue 1, doc. 780, f. 22v: 1872 յունիս 25-ին գրեալ խառն տետրակն գաւառական բառարանիս մեծատաժան աշխատութեամբ ըստ այբբենական կարգադրութեան վերածելով աստ օրինակեցի ի պետս ճոխութեան լեզուիս Յայոց։ 1874, փետ. 6 Բարեկենդանի չորեքշաբթին ի Մանչէստէր քաղաքն Անգղիացւոց։ Յաւաբող գործոյս Ղևոնդ Ծ[այրագոյն] Վարդապետ Փիրղալէմեան Տոսպեցի.

³¹ National Archives of Armenia, fonds 332, catalogue 1, doc. 780, f. 33*r*.

³² M10013, 57r։ Աւարտեցաւ կնքագիրս ի 1875 ամի յամսեան յունիսի 14 յաւուր շաբաթու ի տօնի ելն վիրապեն, ձեռամբ Ղևոնդ վարդապետի Տոսպեցւոյ ի Մանչեստեր քաղաքն Անգղիոյ. I am preparing the Provincial Dictionary and the Seal Collection for publication.

35-1871, based on a variety of sources: historical sources, colophons, inscriptions, epitaphs, seals, letters, and eyewitness accounts.

P'irlalēmean arranged the 23 precious volumes of Armenian colophons he had collected, under the title "Colophons or Relics of Armenian History"³³ in 1878 – the fifth and last year of his pastorate in Manchester. On the title page of the collection, he mentions the names not only of the Catholicos of all Armenians (Gevorg the Fourth), the Patriarchs of Jerusalem (Archbishop Esayi) and Constantinople (Archbishop Nersēs), but also of the Queen of England, Victoria:

Taking refuge in God, I have begun to write this in the commercial city of Manchester in Great Britain, under the auspices of our Holy Trinity Church, in the fifth year of our pastorate here, and in the forty-eighth year of my life, during the days of Her Majesty Queen Victoria of England, who has been on the throne of Great Britain for 42 years.³⁴

The title pages of each volume of the colophon³⁵ indicate that he began his work on 10 February and completed it on 26 November 1878, just before his return from Manchester.

During his stay in Great Britain, Levond Vardapet also travelled to London and studied the Armenian manuscripts in the British Museum, as we learn from the notes next to some of the colophons included in the *Nōtark' Hayoc'* collection, such as the note after the colophon of a Hymnarium from 1435:³⁶

On 25 November 1877, in England, in the capital city of London, in the great museum of the place, which is called the British Museum. $^{\rm 37}$

It is noteworthy that P'irlalēmean, in his aforementioned letter to the priest Giwt Alaneanc', expresses his fascination with the museums, factories, and antiquities of England, which he says are "sadly

36 For a detailed description of this manuscript, cf. Conybeare 1913, 96-104.

³³ M6273, 2*r*-302*v*։ Յիշատակարանք կամ նշխարք պատմութեան Յայոց.

³⁴ M6273, 2r։ ՅԱստուածն ապաստանեալ սկիզբն արարի գրութեան սորին ի Մանչեստեր վաճառաշահ բաղաքն Բրիտանիոյ, ընդ հովանեաւ Սրբոյ Երրորդութեան եկեղեցւոյն մերոյ ի հինգերորդ ամի հովուութեանս որ աստ և ի քառասուն եւ ութ ամի կենաց իմոց։ Յաւուրս Վիբտորիայ վեհափառ թագուհւոյն Անգղիոյ որ քառասուն և երկու ամաց հետէ նստեալ կայ ի գահն մեծին Բրիտանիւոյ.

³⁵ M6273, 2r, 13r, 27r, 41r, 55r and elsewhere.

³⁷ P'irlalēmean 1888, 113: Ի 1877 ի նոյ. 25. յԱնգղիա ի մայրաքաղաք նորին ի Լոնտրայ. ի մեծ թանգարան տեղւոյն որ կոչի Փրիթիշ Միւզում. Cf. pp. 52, 161, 165 for similar notes.

lacking today in Tačkastan³⁸ and our sweet motherland" (Melk'onean 2022, 354).

5 Concluding Remarks

Łevond Vardapet P'irłalēmean, a monk from Vaspurakan, from the Varag Monastery, a famous philologist, poet and traveller, was the parish priest of the Armenian community of Manchester from September 1873 to November 1878. According to the testimony of Vahan Vardapet Bastameanc', a monk of St. Ējmiacin who travelled to Europe at that time, the community paid all the expenses of the priest's stay, including free accommodation, fuel, light, and a servant, ten gold coins a month, and clothing. The priest, on the other hand, was obliged to administer all the sacraments free of charge. P'irlalemean was a much loved and respected priest because of his sweet character and gentleness, and certain disagreements about his personality were mainly due to his lack of knowledge of English and, perhaps, the circumstance that he neglected his duties of more vigorous social and political activities, expected outside the community. However, it is certain that P'irlalemean was devoted to his small flock: it was he who responded to the accusations against the community published in 1875 in the official journal Ararat of the Mother See of St. Ējmiacin, in which the anonymous author accused the Manchester Armenians of marrying the English, not following the national and church traditions, and not properly protecting the mother tongue. In his reply, the parish priest reaffirmed the devotion of the Manchester Armenians to the national values and the Armenian people, citing their generous donation to the "Famine in Asia", thanks to which hundreds of people were saved from death. He also noted that although Armenian men married English women because of the scarcity of Armenian families, they followed the rites of the Armenian Church. Finally, the spiritual leader considered the construction of the Holy Trinity Church (in 1870) as a proof of their devotion to the Armenian Church. It is noteworthy that Levond Vardapet dedicated his Notark' Hayoc', published in Constantinople in 1888, "In memory of the noble Armenians of Manchester".³⁹

During his stay in Manchester Levond Vardapet systematised the various sources he had accumulated over the years, as evidenced by the colophons he left on the pages of the manuscripts housed in the Matenadaran and the National Archives of Armenia. Thus, the *Dictionary of Provincial Words*, consisting of more than 2,500 words,

³⁸ The Ottoman Empire.

³⁹ P'irłalēmeanc' 1888, 3 [Գ]։ Ի յիշատակ ազնիւ ազգայնոց Մանչէսդէրի.

was almost entirely classified in Manchester between January 1874 and May 1877. During the months of August and November 1874, he compiled an extensive Chronology of the events of the years 35-1871. based on a wide variety of sources. On 14 June 1875, he completed another important work, the Seal Collection (M10013), which contains a total of 468 seals (including those in Arabic letters) of nineteenth-century Armenian personalities, Catholicoi, ecclesiastical figures, educational institutions and national associations, literary and educational centres, and churches. P'irlalēmean compiled his Collection of Armenian Colophons (M6273) during the fifth and last year of his pastorate in Manchester from 10 February to 26 November 1878. Taking advantage of his stay in Great Britain, the industrious monk travelled to London and studied the Armenian manuscripts in the British Museum, copying some of the manuscript colophons and adding them to his collection. P'irlalemean was the head of the council of the Reading Room established next to the Armenian Holy Trinity Church in 1875 and even intended to found an Armenian school and publishing house.

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