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The Processes of Transformation of the Armenian Diaspora: From Gaghtashkharh to Spyurk

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Abstract: *The Armenian Diaspora is considered one of the largest and most organised diasporas in the world. Over the centuries, Armenians, as a result of forced or voluntary migration, left their homeland and settled in foreign countries. Dispersed Armenians have become organised, have established their organizations in host countries and always have tried to keep contact with Homeland. The Armenian Diaspora has undergone various transformations over the decades and centuries due to many reasons. As a result of these transformations, many different changes took place in the Armenian Diaspora, which gave it a new qualitative and quantitative character. The article examines the transformation processes of the Armenian diaspora, their results, and the pre-genocide and post-genocide Armenian Diasporas are subjected to comparative analysis.*

Key words: Armenian Diaspora, Processes of Transformation, Spyurk, Gaghtashkharh, Emigration, Genocide, Ethnic Identity

Introduction

One of the unique aspects of Armenian history is that a major part of Armenians used to live outside their motherland for hundreds of years. According to various data, there are currently 9-10 million Armenians throughout the world. It should be noted, that only one third of them live in the Republic of Armenia. The remaining 7 million live in different countries of the world. According to some researches, Armenian communities exist in 117 countries of the world and dozens of pan-Armenian

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organizations are currently active.¹ This mass of Armenians is considered the Armenian diaspora. As well-known diaspora scholar Khachik Tololyan has aptly noted: “The sun never sets on the Armenian diaspora”.² However, the Armenian diaspora is not a homogeneous phenomenon, it is multi-layered and heterogeneous. The Armenian Diaspora has undergone various transformations over the decades and centuries due to many reasons. The process of transformation continues even in our days. In order to understand the nature of the Armenian diaspora, it is necessary to analyze the features of its formation and development in different historical periods and the main transformation processes.

Armenian immigrations and the time factor in the formation of the Armenian diaspora

Due to historical fate, different masses of Armenians left their motherland and settled in neighboring, as well as distant countries, as a result of which the Armenian diaspora was formed. The emigration of Armenians was caused by a number of internal and external reasons. In some cases, they had a *voluntary* nature, that is, they were conditioned by socio-economic or political reasons (the destruction of Armenian kingdoms and duchies in different historical eras). However, the main reason for the emigration of Armenians was *violence* by foreign invaders. Dozens of deportations are known throughout Armenian history.

The first migrations in Armenian history date back to the 4th century CE due to the Persian-Roman wars and the First Division of Armenia between those countries in 387. In the following centuries, emigration from the territory of Armenia continued.

The emigration of Armenians became especially large as a result of the destruction of the Armenian Bagratid Kingdom in 1045 and the policy implemented by Byzantium, when the local Armenian kings and princes massively surrendered their estates to Byzantium and moved to the hinterlands of the empire, particularly settling in historical Cilicia and its adjacent territories.³ A large mass of Armenians also migrated to northern Crimea, then also to Poland and Hungary.⁴ The volume of emigration from the territory of Armenia gradually increased starting from the 11th century as a result of foreign invasions by Turks-Seljuks, Tatar-Mongols, various Turkic tribes,⁵ and throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, the territory of Armenia

¹ Hakobyan, 2017: 46-47, 495-518.

² Tololyan, 2000: 107.

³ Garsoian, 1997: 193-198.

⁴ Kovacs & Pal, 2013: 186.

⁵ Bedrosian, 1997: 241-271.

became a theater of military operations for the Ottoman-Persian wars, which were accompanied by the Armenian with forced deportations.⁶

Here we would like to mention that as a result of the movements of Armenians within the Byzantine Empire, an interesting process took place. Armenians, leaving the borders of their historical motherland, gradually became the majority in Cilicia, located on the north-eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. It should be noted that Armenians started settling in Cilicia in the 1st century CE. They formed their own principalities here in the 11th century.⁷ In 1198, with the crowning of Leo I, King of Armenia, who represented the Rubenid Dynasty, Cilicia became a kingdom, taking under its influence all of Cilicia and the surrounding territories.⁸ The famous diaspora scholar Khachik Toloyan calls the creation of an Armenian state in the territory of Cilicia “territorialized diaspora or diasporic state”.⁹

The Armenian kingdom of Cilicia survived until 1375, after its destruction, a new emigration of Armenians began, as a result of which a significant part of the Armenians of Cilicia settled in the territory of Eastern Europe.

The next mass emigration of Armenians from their motherland took place during the years of the Armenian Genocide. The first stage of the Armenian Genocide is considered to be 1895-1896. The massacres were carried out by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid, in which 300 000 Armenians fell victim. Avoiding pogroms, about 300 000 Armenians leave their motherland, settling in the territory of neighboring countries.¹⁰

The Armenian Genocide reached its peak during the First World War, when more than 1.5 million Armenians were massacred during the rule of the Young Turks, and about 1 million Armenians fled their historical areas of residence, settling in different countries of the world.¹¹

The last mass emigration of Armenians took place at the end of the 20th century as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, when hundreds of thousands of Armenians left the Republic of Armenia as a result of the difficult socio-economic conditions created in the newly independent Armenia. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, several hundred thousand Armenians left their places of residence as a result of the genocidal policy implemented by the Azerbaijani authorities.¹²

Thus, the Armenian diaspora was formed as a result of the emigration of Armenians in different historical periods. However, the Armenian diaspora can be divided into several types depending on the period of its formation, the reasons for its emergence

⁶ Alpayajian, 1955: 1-287.

⁷ Atamian-Bournoutian, 1997: 273-280.

⁸ Payaslian, 2007: 84.

⁹ Tololyan, 2005: 37.

¹⁰ Kirakossian, 2008.

¹¹ Kevorkian, 2011; Poghosyan & Gharmajyan, 2023.

¹² De Wall, 2003; Virabyan & Virabyan, 2024; Hovhannisyan, 2024; Martoyan & Hakhoyan, 2025.

and its characteristics. By the way, in the Armenian linguistic thinking, separate terms were used for different periods of existence of the Armenian diaspora, which has been also reflected in the professional literature.

Thus, the Armenian diaspora can be divided into three main types due to the time factor of formation.

- “Historical diaspora” – formed beginning with the 4th century up to the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian diaspora formed in this period is more commonly known as the Armenian “Gaghtashkharh”.¹³
- “Classical Diaspora” – the Armenian communities formed as a result of the Armenian Genocide. From the 1920s, the term “Spyurk” (Diaspora) began to be used for this new diaspora.¹⁴ Along with the term “Spyurk”, the term “Gaghut” (settlement) continued to be used in the sense of the Armenian community of any country.
- “Modern Diaspora” – Armenians who left the country as a result of difficult social and economic conditions due to the collapse of the Soviet Union. These Armenians outside the motherland are often characterized by the term “New Diaspora”.

It should be noted that the “Historical Diaspora” has mostly not been preserved. A part of it was either assimilated into the peoples, which dominated in the countries of residence of our compatriots (the host countries) or merged into the “Classical Diaspora”, which was formed after the Genocide. And the “New Diaspora” is in the process of diasporization and only after some time it will be possible to get a complete picture of it. It should be noted that in some countries these Armenian Diasporas exist separately from each other and they operate in parallel, competing or cooperating with each other in individual cases, but continuing to remain independent bodies.

The main directions and features of the transformation of the Armenian Diaspora

The main difference between the three Armenian Diasporas formed in different historical periods is not only caused by the time factor of their formation. They differ from each other in a number of main features. These features have emerged over the decades as a result of the transformations of the Armenian diaspora and are mainly the following:

- Causes and circumstances of formation,
- Structural features of communities,

¹³ The term “gaghtashkharh” is based on the word “gaghut”, which in Armenian is borrowed from Aramaic language. It is known that the term galut is also used in Hebrew as a term describing the Jewish diasporaWorld of gaghuts (communities).

¹⁴ This term in Armenian describes the Armenians living outside the motherland, the Armenian diaspora; Melkonyan, 2017: 149-160.

- Inter-community relations,
- The status of the motherland/the circumstances of the existence of statehood,
- The nature of Motherland-Diaspora relations,
- Perception of the idea of the motherland,
- Identity issues,
- The geography of the Diaspora,
- Demographic picture of the diaspora.

Let us make an attempt to analyze these features, showing their different qualitative aspects in the context of the transformation of the Armenian Diaspora.

Causes and circumstances of formation

The Armenian Diaspora was formed for different reasons and as a result of different circumstances. It was already mentioned that the main reason for Armenians to leave their motherland was the loss of their own statehood and the persecutions by foreign conquerors, or forced emigration organized by them. The destruction of the Armenian Kingdom of Bagratid in 1045 and Kingdom of Cilicia in 1375 had a huge impact on the emigration of Armenians. A prime example of deportation of Armenians by foreign conquerors is the deportation organized by Shah Abbas from Persia in 1604, when more than 100.000 Armenians were forcibly moved to Iran.¹⁵ The medieval Armenian merchant class, which played a huge role in the trade between the East and the West, was mainly formed as a result of the emigrations in this period.¹⁶ Tololyan considers the period of 1605-1784 as the period of “the domination of the merchant diaspora”.¹⁷

Thus, the Armenian communities of the “Historical diaspora” were mainly formed as a result of forced deportations, and in some cases, voluntary emigration.

The reason for the emergence of Armenian “Classical Diaspora” was exceptional. It was the result of genocide and deportation committed against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War.¹⁸ Robin Cohen, among the Jewish, African, Irish and Palestinian Diasporas, which were formed as a result of suffering and tragedy, also calls the Armenian diaspora formed after the genocide “victim diaspora”,¹⁹ which is characterized by “Post-genocide Syndrome”.²⁰

And the Armenian “New diaspora” was formed after the collapse of the Soviet Union as a result of the voluntary emigration of a part of the population from Armenia, the main reason of which was the socio-economic problems that arose in the country.

¹⁵ Kouymjian, 1997.

¹⁶ Aslanian, 2006.

¹⁷ Tololyan, 2000: 121.

¹⁸ Toynbee, 1916.

¹⁹ Cohen, 2008: 18, 39-42.

²⁰ Dekmejian, 1997: 420.

The various reasons for the emergence of Armenian Diasporas formed at different times deal with their mentality, worldview, as well as general attitude towards the motherland.

Structural characteristics of communities

The Armenian communities of the diaspora, formed in different periods and as a result of different circumstances, had structural differences and peculiarities. The Armenian organizations operating in the Diaspora were also different.

No pan-Armenian diaspora organization has functioned in the “Historical Diaspora” or Armenian communities formed before the Armenian Genocide. Although two of the Armenian national parties, the Social-Democratic Hnchakyan Party (founded in 1887 in Geneva)²¹ and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (founded in 1890 in Tiflis),²² were founded outside the motherland before the Armenian Genocide, the main direction of their activities in this period was the national-liberation movement of the Armenian people, the struggle against Ottoman tyranny. There were no provisions regarding the Armenian diaspora in the programs of the Armenian national parties. Their activities in the Armenian communities of different countries were aimed at the sake of the motherland, its liberation or restoration of statehood.

These parties became diaspora-oriented organizations in the classical sense mainly after the Armenian Genocide. Especially after the establishment of the Soviet rule in Armenia in 1920, the Bolshevik authorities banned the activities of many organizations in Armenia, including national parties. As a result of all this, the Armenian diaspora became the main arena of their activity. In that period, many state, political, military, public figures and intellectuals also left Armenia under the pressure of the Soviet authorities. Based on the new realities, they started the process of forming the Armenian “Classical Diaspora” far from the motherland. Starting from this period, the Armenian national parties mainly transformed into Diaspora political organizations. And in 1921, the third national political organization, the Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (Ramkavar),²³ was formed in the Diaspora.

In the 1920s, the process of creating the so-called “Landless State” or “Spiritual Armenia” started outside the Motherland.²⁴ Gradually, other pan-Armenian structures, the Armenian General Benevolent Union, the Armenian Relief Society, etc., are starting to operate mainly in the Armenian diaspora. New organizations were also established. Indeed, in many “Classical Diaspora” communities, such as in Syria and Lebanon, original “landless states” were created, that is, there was a consolidated

²¹ Hovhannisian, 1997: 214.

²² Hovhannisian, 1997: 215.

²³ Dallakyan, 1997: 25.

²⁴ Yeghiazaryan *et al.*, 2017, 16-23.

Armenian population, political, cultural, charitable and various other organizations, spiritual-religious structures, etc.

“The historical Diaspora” and “Classical Diaspora” are significantly different from each other in terms of their structural features. Pan-Armenian diaspora organizations did not exist as such in the historical diaspora. In our opinion, the Armenian Apostolic Church was the only, as if to say, diaspora-oriented organization operating in the Armenian diaspora before the genocide. In the absence of statehood for centuries, the Armenian Church used to perform secular functions in the life of the Armenian people in addition to religious-ritual functions. Through its canonical seats and dioceses in different countries of the world, the church has been the main structure of the organization of Armenian communities, the church has coordinated the educational process, the church has been the official representative of Armenians in different countries. In other words, the Armenian Apostolic Church had a huge role and mission not only in the motherland, but also in the Diaspora,²⁵ becoming the “National Bastion”²⁶ of the Armenian communities of the Diaspora. Therefore, the Armenian Church can be considered the first Armenian “diaspora organization”, which continues its dynamic activities in the Armenian Diaspora up now.

The Armenian “New Diaspora” also differs from “Classical” and “Historical” ones by its structural features. In this period, new organizations began to form and actively function alongside the classical Armenian Diaspora structures. The new organizations created in the countries of the post-Soviet area and in some European countries even became more influential in some cases and left the traditional diaspora structures out of competition. As an example, we can cite the Union of Armenians of Russia, which was established in Russia about 20 years ago and is still active in our days,²⁷ etc.

Thus, the Armenian “Historical”, “Classical” and “New” Diasporas formed in different periods and under various circumstances are significantly different from each other in their structural features.

Inter-community ties

The researches show that the ties between the Armenian Diaspora communities that existed before the Armenian Genocide were significantly different in nature. In that period, there were no institutional ties between the Armenian communities of different countries. This was due to the absence of Diaspora Pan-Armenian structures in that period. As we have already mentioned, the Armenian Church with its Hierarchical Sees and dioceses acted as the only pan-Armenian organization, which in one way or another ensured the ties between the communities. Other actors of ensuring community

²⁵ Tololyan, 1988.

²⁶ Dekmejian, 1997: 425.

²⁷ The official webpage of The Union of Armenians In Russia.

ties were the Armenian merchants and the chains they had created,²⁸ as well as patriotic, family and personal ties.

In the post-genocide period, starting from the 1920s, a number of pan-Armenian political, charitable, etc. structures began to operate in the diaspora, which, due to their network nature, qualitatively changed the inter-community ties of the Armenian diaspora, making them more systematic and institutional. Among the “New Diaspora”, inter- community relations began to develop, which was also supported by the development of modern information technologies.

Motherland status/ the circumstance of the existence of statehood

The famous diaspora scholar Gabriel Schaefer typifies Diasporas taking into consideration the presence of a state in the motherland. With that circumstance, the latter typifies stateless and state-linked Diasporas.²⁹ Stateless Diasporas are those that do not have national states in their motherland. Theoretically, it is possible for the stateless diaspora to become state-linked and vice versa. Before the genocide, the Armenian diaspora transformed into a stateless diaspora after the destruction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, because there was no longer a national state in the motherland, and the territory was divided between different empires.

In 1918, the First Republic of Armenia was established, and after two and a half years of existence, Soviet rule was established in Armenia.³⁰ During the Soviet years (1920-1991), the relations between Armenia and the Diaspora, especially in the beginning, were rather difficult due to the policy conducted by Moscow, but, anyway, the Armenian Diaspora perceived Soviet Armenia as a native state, although not an independent one. The restoration of statehood of Armenia was after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. In other words, we can say that since 1918, the Armenian diaspora changed from a stateless status to a state-linked diaspora.

The main feature of state-linked diaspora is the nature of diaspora-motherland ties. In other words, the period of official Armenia-Diaspora relations begins in the period of “Classical Diaspora”, which, having its rises and declines, continues to this day.³¹ The national state, as a rule, develops and implements a special policy towards the diaspora, administrative bodies implementing state policy on diaspora issues are also being formed. We see all this in the case of the Armenian diaspora. Even in the years of the existence of the First Republic of Armenia (1918-1920), the first state bodies coordinating relations with the Armenian diaspora were created. After the establishment of the Soviet rule in Armenia, there were different structures that

²⁸ Aslanian, 2011: 363.

²⁹ Sheffer, 2003: 148-151.

³⁰ Hovhannisian, 1971: 36-65.

³¹ Sahakyan, 2015; Baser & Swain, 2009: 45-62.

were responsible for motherland-diaspora relations, such as the Committee for Aid to Armenia, which operated in the 1920s-1930s, as well as the Committee for Cultural Relations with Diaspora Armenians, which operated in the 1960s-1980s.³² Similar state bodies functioned even after the restoration of independence of Armenia, and in 2008, the Ministry of Diaspora of Armenia was established and has been operating for about ten years. Currently, Armenia-Diaspora relations are coordinated by the Office of the High Commissioner for Diaspora Affairs.³³

The nature of Motherland-Diaspora relations

The nature of Motherland-Diaspora ties is directly proportional to the existence of statehood in the motherland. In the absence of statehood, the ties of diaspora members and communities with the motherland are not coordinated and, as a rule, are of an individual-private nature. In the case of statehood, the Motherland-Diaspora relations become systematic and acquire an institutional character, as well as the interaction between the state and the Diaspora also begins.

All this is identical in the case of the Armenian diaspora. During the period of “Historical Diaspora”, when there was still no Armenian statehood in the motherland, the ties of the Armenian communities with the motherland were mostly of a private nature. In that period, the Armenian Apostolic Church was the only national structure that gave an institutional character to the motherland-diaspora relations. Hundreds of years ago, along with the formation of the Armenian diaspora, the Armenian Church spread throughout the world. As a rule, the core of the formation of Armenian communities in foreign countries was the local Armenian Church. The Armenian Church was also responsible for preserving the identity of the community. In fact, in addition to spiritual-religious functions, the Armenian Church has also assumed other important secular functions. As a result of the migration of Armenians, the Armenian Church today has four canonical seats, the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin (Armenia), the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia (Lebanon),³⁴ the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem (Jerusalem), the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople (Turkey)³⁵ and dozens of dioceses in many countries around the world.

As already mentioned above, after the restoration of the Armenian statehood, Motherland-Diaspora ties are gradually becoming more systematic and institutionalized.

³² Sahakyan, 2015: 159, 332.

³³ The official webpage of The Office of the High Commissioner for Diaspora Affairs of Republic of Armenia.

³⁴ The Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia was located in the city of Sis in Cilicia until 1921, and after the Armenian Genocide, it was moved and since then has been headquartered in Lebanon; Hovhannisyan, 2022.

³⁵ Ormanian, 1912: 3-89.

Perception of the idea of motherland

The perception of the idea of the Motherland is different among the representatives of the Armenians who left their motherland at different times and for different reasons.³⁶ Among the Diaspora Armenians, the ideas about the Motherland change over time. In particular, among the Armenians who were forcibly displaced from Western Armenia or Cilicia after the genocide and who survived the genocide and their descendants, the motherland of their ancestors is first of all perceived as their motherland, i.e. this or that settlement in Western Armenia or Cilicia, which the latter left as a result of the genocide. So, for the representatives of the “victim diaspora” the Motherland is idealized and perceived mainly only in positive aspects.

In contrast to the representatives of the “New Diaspora”, for the “Classical Diaspora”, the Republic of Armenia is perceived as the Motherland first and foremost.

It should be noted that there is a need for systematic research in the Armenian diaspora on the issue of the perception of the Motherland.

The issues of identity

The problem of preservation of identity is also on a quite different level among different strata of the Armenian Diaspora. Currently, the 4th-5th generations of Genocide survivors live in the Diaspora, who, as representatives of the classical Armenian Diaspora, have still preserved the Armenian language and many other components of identity, even though the last generation has faced many problems related to the preservation of identity. Among the representatives of the Armenian “New Diaspora”, issues of identity preservation are more worrying. Although the latter have left the Motherland relatively recently, problems have already arisen regarding the preservation of identity.

In recent years, some works have been carried out in that direction. For example according to the interim report of the “Armenian Diaspora Survey 2022” nearly six in ten (58%) in the US and nearly half (49%) in Ontario think of themselves as hyphenated Armenians—for example, Armenian-American, Canadian-Armenian, American of Armenian origin, half or partly Armenian.³⁷

We would like to point out that issues related to identity in the Armenian Diaspora also need systematic research, based on the results of which it will be possible to make more impartial conclusions. However, one thing is clear that the issues of identity preservation are at different levels among different strata of the Armenian diaspora.

³⁶ Pattie, 1999: 80-92.

³⁷ Tchilingirian, 2022: 9.

Geography of communities

In the early period of the historical diaspora, Armenian communities were mainly formed in the territory of Byzantium and Iran,³⁸ later organized Armenian communities appeared in Crimea, South Russia, East-Central Europe, Moldova, Romania, Hungary, (Transylvania), Poland, India, Egypt, the Armenian community of Iran is formed,³⁹ etc.

After the Armenian Genocide, the main centers of the Armenian “Classical Diaspora” became the countries of the Middle East, particularly Syria and Lebanon, where the Main Communities of the Armenian Diaspora were formed. During this period, the Armenian communities of Eastern and Western Europe, the Balkan countries were formed, and the Armenian communities of several countries of the USA and South America became organized and quite populous.⁴⁰ In other words, new diaspora centers were formed in the period of “Classic Diaspora”, and in some cases, the centers that existed in the historical diaspora, are preserved and developed.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the main destination of Armenian emigration was Russia, the USA, France and a number of other Western European countries. According to unofficial scientific data, the number of Armenians in Russia and the USA reaches more than 2 million in each country, and about 600.000 in France. The Middle Eastern direction of Armenian emigration ceased to exist. In the 1960s -1980s, due to the unstable situation and wars in the region, the movements from the Armenian communities of the Middle East to the countries of Western Europe and the USA gradually increased. A part of the latter also settled in the Republic of Armenia. As a result of all this, the population of the Middle East countries, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, and the Armenian population decreased significantly. For example, an Armenian community of Lebanese Armenians was formed in the USA with its own structures. The Lebanese-Armenians in America have a multi-layered identity. The latter is of Armenian origin, Lebanese by birth, whose place of residence is already in the USA. This problem also needs a thorough and systematic study.

Thus, we can conclude that the Armenian diaspora had a different geography in different historical periods. If in times of the “Historical Diaspora” and especially the “Classical Diaspora”, the Armenian communities were mainly located in the countries of the Middle East or Eastern Europe, then the main centers of the “New Diaspora” are Western European countries, the USA and Russia.

³⁸ Alpayajian, 1941: 101-406.

³⁹ Alpayajian, 1955: 287-631.

⁴⁰ Bakalian, 1993: 179-251.

Demographics of the Armenian Diaspora

The change in the demographic picture of the Armenian diaspora is largely directly related to the change in the number of Armenians in the motherland. During the “Historical Diaspora”, the majority of Armenians lived in the motherland, even though they did not have statehood, and only the minority lived in the diaspora. In the “Classic Diaspora” period, when 1.5 million Armenians were slaughtered in the Ottoman Empire as a result of the genocide and about 1 million emigrated, the relative weight changed completely. As a result of all this, Armenians are deprived of their natural right to live in a significant part of their historical motherland. Therefore, the number of Armenians living in the Diaspora gradually increases dramatically during the “Classical Diaspora” period. Despite the mass repatriation organized during the Soviet years, as a result of which about 180.000 Armenians returned to Soviet Armenia,⁴¹ this imbalance was not only preserved, but also began to grow as a result of emigration from Armenia in the post-Soviet period. As a result of all this, 2/3 of Armenians in the world live outside their motherland. This is an exceptional and unique phenomenon, which is almost not characteristic of other nations.

Naturally, the change in the demographic image of the Armenian Diaspora is directly proportional to the change in the geography of the Armenian Diaspora. As a result of the internal movements of the diaspora, as already mentioned, the number of Armenians in the countries of the Middle East decreases every year and increases in Russia and the countries of the West.

These two processes, the emigration from Armenia and the internal movements of the diaspora, condition the demographic transformation of the Armenian diaspora.

Conclusions

Thus, analyzing the Armenian Diasporas formed in different historical periods, we see that each of them has its own characteristics, which have been preserved for many decades. Taking that circumstance into consideration, we can claim that the Armenians living outside the Motherland, or the Armenian diaspora in the collective sense, consists of “parallel diasporas” that exist side by side at the same time. They have their commonalities and peculiarities.

From the time of its formation until today, the Armenian diaspora is undergoing continuous transformations. Studying this process, we can conclude that the Armenian diaspora has undergone and continues to undergo qualitative, quantitative and structural transformations.

⁴¹ Meliksetyan, 1985; Laycock, 2012.

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