

ETHNOGRAPHY

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32653/CH1941074-1081>

Research paper

Hasmik H. Galstyan
 Researcher
 Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS RA, Yerevan, Armenia
hasmikgalstyan1979@gmail.com

Hayk E. Hakobyan
 Ph.D. in history, Senior Researcher
 Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA, Yerevan, Armenia;
 Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts named after Mesrop Mashtots (Matenadaran) Yerevan, Armenia;
 Institute of Oriental Studies of Russian-Armenian University, Yerevan, Armenia
hayk.hakobyan.88@mail.ru

AL DEMON IN THE CONTEXT OF CAUCASIAN CONTACT ZONES

Abstract. The cultural landscape of the South and North Caucasus is marked by distinct religious characteristics, exhibiting a shared essence typical of contact zones. Within the religious mosaic of the local population, there is a blend of indigenous and imported, deeply ancient layers. Since at the core of people's worldview are beliefs connected not only with gods or God but also with all kinds of "lower," unclean beings that do not have the status of God, mythical creatures called demons and spirits, which interfere in human destinies, lives, living among people and transforming into them. In Armenian scholarly circles, the topic of lower mythology was initially addressed by Manuk Abegyan (1865-1944) in 1899 in his work "Armenian Folk Beliefs." Grounded in Armenian pre-Christian tradition, he labeled this phenomenon as "lower mythology," present among all peoples of the world, emphasizing the conservatism of thinking. The similarity of demonological representations among Armenians and neighboring peoples, including identical names with some linguistic nuances, was already observed in the 19th century within Armenian scientific circles. The peoples of the South and North Caucasus are primarily indigenous to the region, and comprehensive demonological studies providing a holistic picture of the region are lacking. Based on the above, this study aims to consolidate various theories of the origin of the demon/demoness "Al" and its functions. It also seeks to understand the pathways through which this character spread to the Caucasus, specifically the North Caucasus. The article employs interdisciplinary methods, drawing on existing literature on the subject, field ethnographic research, and information from Armenian manuscripts at Matenadaran (the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts). Based on the information provided in the article, it can be asserted that Al is a demon or demoness who harms newborns and women in labor. Additionally, Al has similar names and functions among the peoples of the South and North Caucasus. Considering the fact that there are three theories about the origin of Al - Iranian, Turkic, and Mesopotamian (with most experts inclined to consider Al as the demonization of the Iranian supreme deity Ahura Mazda), it is more likely that Al is either an indigenous character in the South Caucasus and the North Caucasus, or Al migrated to the North Caucasus through Armenian and Georgian substrates.

Keywords: low mythology, demon Al, Armenia, Dagestan, Georgia, Iran, contact zones

For citation: Galstyan H.H., Hakobyan H.E. Al Demon in the Context of Caucasian Contact Zones. *History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Caucasus*. 2023. Vol. 19. N.4. P. 1074-1081. doi. [org/10.32653/CH1941074-1081](https://doi.org/10.32653/CH1941074-1081)

ЭТНОГРАФИЯ

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32653/CH1941074-1081>



Исследовательская статья

Галстян Асмик Генриковна
научный сотрудник
Институт археологии и этнографии НАН РА, Ереван, Армения
hasmikgalstyan1979@gmail.com

Акопян Айк Ерджаникович
к.и.н., старший научный сотрудник
Институт древних рукописей им. Месропа Маштоца (Матенадаран);
Институт археологии и этнографии НАН РА;
Институт востоковедения Российско-Армянского университета, Ереван, Армения
hayk.hakobyan.88@mail.ru

ДЕМОН АЛ В КОНТЕКСТЕ КОНТАКТНЫХ ЗОН КАВКАЗА

Аннотация. Культурное пространство Южного и Северного Кавказа имеет ярко выраженную религиозную специфику, некую общность в целом, свойственную контактными зонам. Субстратные и крайне архаичные слои, как местные, так и «привозные», до сих пор составляют части религиозной мозаики местного населения. Народы Южного и Северного Кавказа, в основном, являются автохтонами региона, и многообразные демонологические исследования, которые бы показывали общую картину региона, отсутствуют. Исходя из вышеуказанного, данное исследование ставит перед собой задачу обобщить разные теории возникновения, конкретно демона/демоницы «Ал» и его функций, а также понять, какими путями данный персонаж распространился на Кавказе, в частности на Северном Кавказе. Данная статья написана с использованием междисциплинарных методов на основе уже изданной по теме литературы, собственных полевых этнографических исследований, а также сведений армянской рукописной традиции. Благодаря армянским рукописным источникам в описании демона Ал добавился персонаж скорпиона, что не встречается ни у одного народа региона и мира, где присутствует представитель низшей мифологии Ал. Исходя из сведений, приведенных в статье, можно утверждать, что Ал – это демон (или демоница), который вредит новорожденным и роженицам. Он также имеет схожее название и функции у южно- и северокавказских народов. Учитывая факт того, что есть три теории происхождения Ал – иранская, тюркская, и месопотамская (большинство специалистов склонны считать Ал демонизацией иранского верховного божества Ахурамазды), скорее всего Ал – либо автохтонный персонаж на Южном Кавказе и на Северном Кавказе, либо он перешел на Северный Кавказ через армянский и грузинский субстрат.

Ключевые слова: низшая мифология; демон Ал; Армения; Дагестан; Грузия, Иран, контактные зоны

Для цитирования: Галстян А.Г., Акопян А.Е. Демон Ал в контексте контактных зон Кавказа // История, археология и этнография Кавказа. 2023. Т. 19. No 4. С. 1074-1081. doi.org/10.32653/CH1941074-1081

At the core of peoples' worldviews are beliefs connected not only with gods or God but also with all kinds of "lower," impure beings that do not have the status of God, mythical creatures called demons and spirits, which interfere in human destinies, lives, living among people and transforming into them [1, p. 215–216]. In Armenian scholarly discourse, the topic of lower mythology was initially addressed by Manuk Abegyan (1865-1944) in 1899 in his work "Armenian Folk Beliefs." Grounded in Armenian pre-Christian tradition, he labeled this phenomenon as "lower mythology," present among all peoples of the world, emphasizing the conservatism of thinking [2, p. 16]. The similarity of demonological representations among Armenians and neighboring peoples, including identical names with some linguistic nuances, was already observed in the 19th century within Armenian scientific circles [3, p. 179–180].

Names

The character "Al," whose function is to harm women in labor and newborns, is common in Iran, Central Asia, Afghanistan, the Caucasus, and some parts of the Russian Federation (southern Russia and Siberia), among both Muslims and Christian peoples [4, p. 21]. Therefore, "Al" appears as one-rooted words: *al(k)* (Armenians), *ali* (Georgians) [5, p. 59], *al pab* (Lezgins) [6, p. 145–146, see also [6, p. 159], *albasti* (Tajiks)¹, *alazhen* (Talışy) [8, p. 84], *hal* (Udins), *alk* (Kurds) [9, p. 59], a form of the name which is most likely taken from the Arman language², *almas* (Ingush, Chechens) [7, p. 230; 10, p. 246], *almas* (Mongolian peoples), *albast*, *alvasti* (Tatars of Kazan, Crimea, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, etc. [11, p. 524, 12, p. 58; 13, p. 16]. Speaking about alk Archimandrite Ghevond Alishan (1820-1901) gives the following explanation: "As the simple word alk means 'a deep place akin abyss'" [14, p. 116], and is similar in sound to the Goths, Germans and their monolingual word 'hell': The Goddess of Hell of the Norsemen is also called Nel, which corresponds to the place of al's "residence" [14, p. 116].

Prof. G. Asatryan believes that "al or albasti (a demoness harming a woman in labor) and demon, which are witnessed in the folklore of all Eurasian and pre-Asian countries, is of Iranian origin" [15, p. 8]. Gr. Acharyan also claims that the word "al" comes from the Persian word *āl*, which means "a mythological creature in the form of an ugly female" [16, p. 90]. According to the famous ethnographer R. Seferbekov, "the demon Al is a Turkic-Iranian mythological character" [7, p. 158]. He also notes, "the name of the demon Al is a Tabasaran calque of the Turkic translation of the word 'al' (scarlet, red, bright light-red, pink), which has been fixed in the Russian language" [7, p. 167; see also 17, p. 138–148]. The word "al" in Armenian also means "bright red."

Functions

In almost all nations where this character exists, Al is an adversary of a female. As recorded by an Armenian ethnographer of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, E. Lalayan, who documented the mythological tale below in Javakheti: "When God created Adam, He created Al as his companion. She [was] fiery, one-eyed. Adam [was] bodily, Al [was] fiery:

1. Asatryan, G./Buyaner, D., Etymological Dictionary of Persian, Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming.

2. Ibid.

they did not match at all, so Adam did not like Al at all. God saw that Al could not be friends with Adam, so He created Eve. Since then, Al became an enemy of Eve and her descendants” [Աստված օր Աթամին ստեղծեց, անոր ընկեր ա Ալին ստեղծեց: Ասիկ հրեղեն էր, միայքսանի: Աթամ մարմնեղեն, Ալը՝ հրեղեն, հեշ իրար չէին սագե, ատոր համար ա Աթամը հեշ չէր սիրե Ալին: Աստված տեսավ, օր Ալ չկրցավ ընկերութեն էնե Աթամին հետ, Եվային ստեղծեց: Աս վախսովանից Ալը դուռման ընկավ Եվային ու անոր ջնսին»] [18, p. 236].

As already mentioned, Al’s malefaction is directed towards pregnant women and newborns. Analyzing the narratives found in the folklore of different peoples and their religious views in this context, it can be observed that despite various religions and doctrinal peculiarities, beliefs about Al are almost identical everywhere. After stealing the internals of a newborn – heart, liver, lungs – Al attempts to quickly overcome the first water obstacle: a ravine, a stream, after which it becomes impossible to save the newborn. In the beliefs of the peoples of Dagestan, “Taking on the appearance of a neighbor, relative, mother, and most often, a midwife (*gana-bab*), Al would appear before the woman in labor and start asking about her health or offer treats. As soon as the woman in labor opened her mouth, the demon grabbed her tongue and tore it out along with the internals (*yuklar-liklar, ghurdlarrudrarr adaghuru* – “takes out the heart, liver, lungs, and intestines”), which he then tried to drop into the nearest body of water. If the demon encountered a man on the way to it, Al seemed to return back and put the internals back in their place (*Laks*). If she managed to safely reach the water, she would lower the internal organs into it and rinse them, only to return them afterward, causing the woman in labor to die (*Turag*)” [7, p. 168]. Georgian Al, in their functions, correspond to Armenian water spirits, which, with their attractive appearance, lure men, dragging them underwater or cohabiting to multiply their watery tribe or kill [19, p. 17]. Thus, speaking about Al, it is necessary to note the fact of the interconnection of these characters of lower mythology with the water element, which serves as a watershed between this and the other world, between life and death. That is why crossing the watershed with the internals of a newborn signifies the infant’s transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead.

Appearance and Gender

In Armenian beliefs, Al³ is predominantly female, zoo-anthropomorphic, hairy, and with a thick mane. It is often described with snake-like hair (similar to the Gorgons) [20, p. 19], fiery eyes, copper claws, iron teeth, and boar tusks [21, p. 95]. It has an evil gaze, sunken cheeks, red, snake-like hair, thin, sinewy fingers armed with bronze claws, and large breasts on its shoulders [22, p. 369]. In Manuscript No. 6677, stored in the Matenadaran’s repository of ancient manuscripts and titled “Wisdom of Solomon,” Al is described among the 72 demons who came to the Old Testament king Solomon. The manuscript details the appearance and functions of this demon and provides a remedy for its malevolence. The text states: “... and one demon came to Solomon – appearing as a woman, two-headed, two snakes in two hands, a scorpion nearby. Solomon asked, ‘What is your remedy?’ And the demon replied: tie these spells (lit. – writings) on your hand, and it will be cured: the Gospel⁴, “батыге, хыкмеа,

3. The term “Al” also has synonyms such as *alipuchak, alapuchak* (Polis), *alapuchuk, aliparav* (Sivrihisar), *ala-yim*, which also indicate the femininity of this spirit.

4. Most likely, the Gospels, where Jesus Christ casts out demons from those who are possessed. See Matthew 8:28-34; Luke 8:26-39.

ea, шарахеан, тупай, хайхин” [ուսնն դնն եկաւ առ Սողոմոն՝ կերպն կնկա, Բ գլխացի, Բ օձ, Բ ձեռնուսն, սեկ արիտայ՝ քշտին: Ասէ Սողոմոնն՝ քն ամալն ինչն է, ճարն ինչն է: Ասէ դնն, էս գրերն կուռն կապէն, լաւանայ՝ Ավետարան, բասիհէ, հրքմեայ, հեայ, շարսիեան, թուպայ, հայիին]՝⁶. The text is unique in that it attributes a scorpion to the demon Al’s companions, which is not found in the descriptions of the appearance of this demon in the lower mythologies of the peoples mentioned above. In the oldest beliefs of some Iranian ethnic groups (Laks, Bakhtiari, Lurs, Galesh), Al also has the same functions and appearance resembling a woman or an old woman, specifically disheveled hair, sharp fangs, copper claws, sagging breasts, a copper nose, fiery eyes, and a huge hump, carrying the bloody liver of a newborn [13, p. 10]. In the beliefs of the peoples of Dagestan, describing Al, her red hair is particularly emphasized, which has a specific connotation also present in Armenian materials and is likely associated with scarlet fever [23, p. 21]. According to Georgian beliefs, “Al has the ability to transform into a familiar or friend, deceive and cause harm” [19, p. 18]. In addition to anthropomorphic form, Al could also take on a zoomorphic form, appearing as a red rooster (in most villages), a fox, a cat (in Tsuduk), a wolf called kafdar janavar with one eye on its forehead (in Kuzhnik), a creature with a monkey face and paws (in Upper Yarak), or combining zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms, in the form of a small woman with long loose hair and a rooster’s face. In some cases, Al would infiltrate the dwelling in the form of an atmospheric phenomenon – fog, which would then transform into an evil demon. In Armenian tales, Al would enter the room of a newborn in the form of a worm.

Means of Protection

In the ethnographic regions of historical Armenia, various means were used to safeguard the woman in labor and the newborn from evil spirits. Universally, items such as Narek [24, p. 103]⁷, Gospels [25, p. 233], Cyprian [26, p. 195], crumbs of the Eucharistic bread or regular bread, along with various amulets and objects with protective functions (metallic cross, chain, keys, bronze ring, saddle, lamp, pig’s hair, gun, bow, garlic, salt, ash, coal) were placed under the newborn’s pillow. Additionally, sharp-edged metallic items (knife, dagger, skewer, vessel, scissors, etc.) were used.

Summarizing the above, we can affirm that Al is a demon or demoness who harms newborns and women in labor. Additionally, Al has similar names and functions among the peoples of the South and North Caucasus. Considering the fact that there are three theories about the origin of Al – Iranian⁸, Turkic [27, p. 367], and Mesopotamian one, most specialists tend to consider Al as the demonization of the Iranian supreme deity Ahura Mazda⁹. Although, it is more likely that Al is either an indigenous character in the South and North Caucasus, or Al migrated to the North Caucasus through Armenian and Georgian substrates.

For a visual representation of the studied topic, we provide the following table with brief descriptions of the names, functions, gender, appearance, place of residence, precautions, and countermeasures, as well as countries where the demon Al is believed to exist.

5. The manuscript No. 6677, Matenadaran, p. 47b; also refer to ill. 1.

6. From the word عريط (‘iryat) meaning “scorpion,” see Steingass F., Arabic-English Dictionary, 1884, London, p. 691.

7. Narek, the book by the renowned Armenian theologian and saint Gregory of Narek, known as the “Book of Lamentations,” is considered and continues to be miraculous among Armenians.

8. Asatrian G., Buyaner D. Etymological Dictionary of Persian, Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming.

9. Ibid.

Table. Distinctive features of Als in Armenian, Georgian and Dagestani lower mythology

Country	Name	Function	Gender	Appereance	Place of residence	Precautions and counter-measures
Armenian	Ali, alk	It harms women in labor and newborns. They strangle women in labor, consume their flesh, especially the liver, causing harm to the child even in the womb. They kidnap newborns and take them to their king.	Male, female (rarely)	Anthropo-zoomorphic, furry, with fiery eyes, copper claws, iron teeth	They live in mountains, sandstones, often in the corners of houses or barns, and their king in a deep gorge.	Protective measures-prayer, crucifixion, holy books and incantations, use of sharp cutting stabbing metal objects.
Georgia	ali	It harms women in labor, newborns, lonely travelers, and others. They climb into stables and lure victims into water.	Male, female (alkali	Teeth of copper, a trail of glass, hair is dirty	They live in the woods, in rocks, in ruins.	The evil charms of Ali are countered by a «conspiracy» from Ali or the name of St. George
Dagestan	al	It steals the fetus from the womb, leaving a few drops of blood on the floor of the dwelling as a sign of its presence.	female	It appears in the guise of a cat, a woman with long loose bright red hair, as well as thin, long, arms and legs bony, hair gray, face ugly, breasts so long that they touch the ground and she throws them over her shoulders.	They inhabit water sources, caves, cliffs, gorges, village and its surroundings	It fears the dagger, the gun, the hammered iron nail, of Muslim out-loud prayers, God-fearing people and righteous people.

Acknowledgments. We express special gratitude to Prof. G.S. Asatryan and PhD in Philology A.M. Zeygam for valuable advice and remarks.

REFERENCES

1. Ivanov V. Lower mythology. *Myths of the peoples of the world*. Moscow, 2008 (2): 215-216. (In Russ)
2. Abeghyan M. *Der armenische Volksglaube. Inaugural-Dissertation der hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Jena zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde*. Leipzig: Drugulin, 1899.
3. Palasanian St. Oral Literature. *History of Armenian Literature*. Tiflis, 1865; 1: 179-180. (In Armenian)
4. Arakelova V. Al. Spirit Possession: The Caucasus, Central Asia, Iran, and Afghanistan. *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Culture*. Brill: Leiden, 2007; 3.
5. Chlaidze LA. *Myths of the peoples of the world*. V. 1. Moscow, 1987. (In Russ)
6. Mamedov A. Alpab (Lezgin belief). *СМОМПК*. Tiflis, 1892; 13: 145-146. (In Russ)
7. Seferbekov RI. *Characters of the lower mythology of the peoples of Dagestan*. Makhachkala, 2019. (In Russ)
8. *Introduction to the history and culture of the Talysh people*. Edited by G.S. Asatryan. Yerevan, 2011. (In Russ)
9. Egiazarov SA. A brief ethnographic sketch of the Kurds in the Erivan Governorate, with the addition of texts and a dictionary. *Notes of the Caucasian Department of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*. 1891; 13(2). (In Russ)
10. The Prayer of Almaz. *Historical-Archaeological Bulletin. Tavush*. № 21(1365): 246.
11. Dörfer Gerhard. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit I: Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen; II: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen: alif bis tā; III: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen: gim bis kāf; IV: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (Schluß) und Register zur Gesamtarbeit*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963-75 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 16 and 19-21).
12. Basilov VN. Albasty. *Myths of the peoples of the world. Encyclopedia*. Moscow, 1980; 1: 58.
13. Behruz Mohamad Rudbaraki Kelari. *Folk Beliefs of the Galesh, transcript of the dissertation for the candidate of historical sciences*. Yerevan, 2012.
14. Alishan G. *The old faith or the pagan religion of Armenia*. Yerevan, 2002.
15. Asatryan G. What is a fairy tale. Foreword. *Persian folk tales*. Yerevan, 2010.
16. Acharyan H. *Dictionary of Root words in Armenian*. Vol. A. Yerevan, 1971.
17. Seferbekov RI. On the mythology of the Tabasaranians, in Iran and the Caucasus. *Research Papers from the Caucasian Centre for Iranian Studies*. Yerevan (Tehran and Leiden), 2001; 5: 130-148.
18. Lalayan E. *Works*. Vol. 1. Yerevan, 1983.
19. Fähnrich H. *Leksikon georgische Mythologie*. Wiesbaden, 1999.
20. Malkhaseants St. *Armenian Explanatory Dictionary*. Yerevan, 1944. № 1.
21. Abeghyan M. *Works*. Vol. 7.
22. Gabikean K. *Dictionary of Sebast Armenian provincial language*. Jerusalem: St. Jacobean printing house, 1952.

СПИСОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

1. Иванов В. Низшая мифология // Мифы народов мира. Т. 2. М., 2008. С. 215–216.
2. Abeghyan M. *Der armenische Volksglaube. Inaugural-Dissertation der hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Jena zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde*. Leipzig: Drugulin, 1899.
3. Паласянян Ст. Устная литература // История армянской литературы. Т. 1. Тифлис, 1865. С. 179–180.
4. Аракелова В. Ал. Одержимость духом: Кавказ, Центральная Азия, Иран и Афганистан // Энциклопедия женщин и исламской культуры. Т. 3. Brill: Лейден, 2007.
5. Члаидзе Л. Мифы народов мира. Т. 1. М., 1987.
6. Мамедов А. Алпаб (лезгинское поверье) // СМОМПК. Тифлис, 1892. Вып. 13. С. 145-146
7. Сефербеков Р.И. Персонажи низшей мифологии народов Дагестана. Махачкала: ИИАЭ ДФИЦ РАН, 2019.
8. Введение в историю и культуру талышского народа / Под редакцией Г.С. Асатряна. Ереван 2011.
9. Егиазаров С.А. Краткий этнографический очерк курдов Эриванской губернии, с приложением текстов и словаря // Записки Кавказского отделения императорского русского географического общества. 1891. Т. XIII/2.
10. Молитва Алмази // Историко-археологический вестник. Тавуш. № 21(1365). С. 246.
11. Gerhard Dörfer. *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung älterer neupersischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen- und Timuridenzeit I: Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen; II: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen: alif bis tā; III: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen: gim bis kāf; IV: Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen (Schluß) und Register zur Gesamtarbeit*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1963-75 (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 16 and 19-21).
12. Басилов В.Н. Албасты // Мифы народов мира. Т. 1. М., 1980.
13. Бехруз Мохамад Рудбараки Келари. Народные верования Галеша. Автреф. дисс. на соискание учёной степени кандидата исторических наук. Ереван, 2012.
14. Алишан Г. Старая вера или языческая религия Армении. Ереван, 2002 г.
15. Асатрян Г. Что такое сказка // Персидские народные сказки. Ереван, 2010.
16. Ачарян Г. Словарь корневых слов армянского языка. Т. А. Ереван, 1971.
17. Сефербеков Р.И. О мифологии табасаранцев, в Иране и на Кавказе // Исследовательские статьи из Кавказского центра исследований Ирана. № 5. Ереван (Тегеран и Лейден), 2001. С. 130–148.
18. Лалаян Э. Сочинения. Т. 1. Ереван, 1983.
19. Fähnrich H. *Leksikon georgische Mythologie*. Wiesbaden 1999.
20. Малхасянц Ст. Армянский толковый словарь. Ереван, 1944. № 1.
21. Абегиан М. Труды. Т. 7.
22. Габикеев К. Словарь севастиийского армянского диалекта. Иерусалим: типография Святого Иакова,

23. Asatrian G. Armenian Demonology: A Critical Overview. *Iran and the Caucasus*. 2013; 17: 9-25.
24. Atayan A. Salmast. *Nor-Jugha*. Tbilisi: Printing house of the Most Savior Monastery, 1906.
25. Minasian L. *Rural word and thing*. Peria province, Nor Jugha, 1998.
26. Mkhitarants Agh. Fragments from Shirak Ambars. *Eminean Ethnographic Collection*. Vol. A. Moscow-Alexandropol: Lazarian Seminary Oriental Language Publishing House, 1901.
27. Ole Olufsen. Through the Unknown Pamirs. *The Second Danish Pamir Expedition 1898-99*. London: Heinemann, 1904.
23. Асатрян Г. Армянская демонология: критический обзор // Иран и Кавказ. 2013, № 17. С. 9-25.
24. Атаян А.Г. Салмаст // Нор-Джуга. Тбилиси: Типография Спасо-Преображенского монастыря, 1906.
25. Минасян Л. Сельское слово и вещь. Перия, Нор-Джуга, 1998.
26. Мхитарянц Аг. Фрагменты из Ширакских амбаров // Этнографическая коллекция Эминяна. Т. А. Москва-Александрополь: Лазаревской семинарии восточный издательский дом, 1901.
27. Оле Олюфсен. Через неизвестные Памиры // Вторая датская памирская экспедиция 1898-99 гг. Лондон: Хайнеманн, 1904.

Поступила в редакцию 02.12.2023 г.
Принята в печать 10.12.2023 г.
Опубликована 15.12.2023 г.

Recieved 02.12.2023
Accepted 10.12.2023
Published 15.12.2023