

Հայրենիքի համար

Հ. Գրիգորյան

Յունիս 2009

HISTORY OF ARMENIA

SCHOLARS PRESS
Occasional Papers and Proceedings

Armenian Studies

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc' i
HISTORY OF ARMENIA
Translation and Commentary by
Rev. Krikor H. Maksoudian

*To my parents,
Rev. Fr. Papken and Azadouhie*

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc̣i

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Atlanta, Georgia

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Hovhannes V, Catholicos of Armenia, d. 925.
History of Armenia

(Occasional papers & proceedings ; no. 3)

Translation of: Patmut'iwn Hayots'.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

I. Armenia—History. 2 Armenia—History—Bagratuni
dynasty, 885–1045. I. Maksoudian, Grigor H. II. Title.
III. Series.

DS175.H6813 1987 947'.9202 86-6688

ISBN 0-89130-952-7 (alk. paper)

ISBN 0-89130-953-5 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Printed in the United States of America
on acid-free paper

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FOREWORD

The translation of chapters XXIV–LXVII of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i's *History of Armenia*, with introduction and commentary, was accepted in 1973 by Columbia University toward the partial fulfillment of the Ph. D. degree. The sponsor of my dissertation was Prof. Nina Garsoian to whom I would like to express my thanks for her encouragement, inspiration, and help. Without her numerous comments, suggestions, and corrections this work would not be in the form that it is now. I am also grateful to Professors Morton Smith, Robert W. Thomson, and Robert Hewsen for several useful suggestions. I owe a special word of thanks to Dr. Linda Rose who edited the translation of the *History*. I would also like to thank my friends Antranik Poladian, Dr. Jack Vartogian, and Levon Avdoian for their help on numerous minor points, and my parents, my sister, and my wife for supporting me to carry out this task. Finally, I am grateful to the Mekhitarist fathers of Vienna, and especially to the late Fr. Ignatios Akian, with whom I studied Classical Armenian.

Since 1973 several new works, critical texts of medieval historians, philological and historical studies, translations of sources in western languages, and articles have been published that touch upon the various aspects of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i's *History*. I have changed all of my original references to older editions of sources and instead referred to the recently published critical texts. Of the recent studies published during the past ten years, I have used only those that seemed to me to be important for understanding the *History*.

In my introduction and commentary I could not fully benefit from R. W. Thomson's translations of Agat'angelos, Movsēs Xorenac'i, and Elisē, A. Ter-Łewondyan's *Armenia i arabskii khalifat*, the English translation of the same author's *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, M. Canard's new edition of J. Laurent's *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, and several other works, which appeared after I had finished writing my dissertation. Bringing up to date every single reference would have required major revisions in the introduction and the commentary.

Heeding the advice of some of my readers, I wanted to add to the introduction sections on the historical setting of ninth century Armenia

and to elaborate on the various literary aspects of the *History*, but decided not to do so, since these topics required a great deal of original research which I hope to undertake at a later time. The purpose of the present work is to make an important medieval source available to western scholarship.

INTRODUCTION

I

The tenth century Armenian historian and katholikos Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'ī was one of the major figures of the early Bagratid era; his pontificate coincided with the period when the Bagratid kings Smbat I and Ašot II Erkat' were making supreme efforts to end the Arab domination and liberate Armenia from foreign overlordship. During this period of unrest and upheaval, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'ī emerged as an important political figure of international caliber because of his high ecclesiastical position, whose jurisdiction extended not only over the subjects of the Armenian kings and princes, but also over the Albanians and the Georgians. By virtue of this fact, the Byzantine court considered Yovhannēs as a most useful diplomatic channel through whose intervention the Caucasian princes, constantly at war with one another, could be reconciled in order to protect themselves against the onslaught of the Arab emire of Ādharbaydjān. Despite the significant political and intellectual role played by Yovhannēs during the first two and a half decades of the tenth century, however, the importance of his accomplishments for the consolidation of the Bagratid state has been neither emphasized nor discussed sufficiently by modern historians and scholars. Yovhannēs's preeminent position likewise gave him an unmatched knowledge and particular insight into the events which he describes as an eyewitness and often as a leading actor in his *History of Armenia*. But here too, neither the crucial importance of Yovhannēs's *History* for the ninth and tenth centuries, nor the fact that most subsequent Armenian medieval historians, beginning with the Xth century, continuously used it as an authoritative account for the period in question have received their dues from modern scholars. Thus, a critical edition of the entire *History* has not yet been provided despite the multiplicity of extant manuscripts. In 1965 the Georgian Academy of Sciences published the second part of the *History*, (chapters XXIV–LXVII), based on a collation of five MSS in the State Manuscript Collection of Erevan. But since the MSS outside of the Soviet Union were not accessible to the editor of the 1965 Tiflis edition, these were not consulted, despite the importance and antiquity of some of them.

The situation confronting western oriental scholars (Byzantinists,

Arabists, Iranian and Caucasian specialists) unable to read the Armenian original is still more unsatisfactory. For the past one hundred thirty years they have depended heavily on the French translation of Saint-Martin, which is the only one available in any language. Unfortunately, this translation has always been notoriously inadequate. In the first place, the work was published posthumously, so that the translator could not reexamine or revise his version. Moreover, the text of the translation was then edited by Félix Lajard, who also wrote the "Introduction" and the notes to the text, and who was confessedly completely ignorant of Armenian.* In the second place, Saint-Martin worked from a single MS of the *History* and completed his translation by 1812, that is to say, twenty-five years before the appearance of the great *Nor Baṙgirk' Haykazean Lezui* [*New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*], which is indispensable for anyone working with the Armenian classics, and thirty-one years before the first edition of the *History*. The serious shortcomings of the Saint-Martin translation were noted shortly after its publication by Felix Nève, who was the first to criticize it. The number of mistranslations per page of the French version is so high that any attempt to list them would be far beyond the scope of this study. A few examples should in any case suffice to demonstrate its inadequacy.

S-M, p. 326

En effet il avait fait fléchir ses devoirs, et après avoir abandonné la province confiée à son administration, il s'était mis en route pour se rapprocher de *Gourgen, ischkhan des ichkhans du pays de Gugarg,*** et faire acte de soumission envers lui, quoique ce prince ne fût pas son souverain naturel.

S-M, p. 130

Il répondait à tout ce qu'il entendait, "qu'il était plus absurde de ne pas sortir, que de le faire, quand il n'y avait pas des causes et des raisons

Yov. LXIII, 7

After having deserted and disgraced his own domain, he decided to enter the service of *Gurgēn, a foreigner who was the presiding prince of the land of Gamirk'*. He also won over to his side the entire *naxarardom* in the province and instigated them to rise in rebellion.

Yov. XXX, 11-12

In response Atrnerseh answered that to halt his journey would be unwarranted and unaccountable, and that it

*Cf. preface to Saint-Martin translation, pp. xlvii-xlviii: ". . . je me suis appliqué à rendre clairs et lisibles, sans en altérer le sens, tous les passages qui, trop littéralement traduits, violaient à la fois les règles de la langue française et celles du raisonnement ou du goût. Mais privés, comme nous l'étions, de la connaissance de l'idiome arménien, nous ne sommes pas toujours parvenus à saisir dans la traduction française la pensée de l'auteur du texte original."

**All the italics are mine.

de troubles, d'agitation et de division, et *qu'il ne voulait pas laisser le royaume à Sempad.*" Il marcha donc à la rencontre de ce dernier.

Sempad se revêtit alors des habillements royaux, rejeta loin de lui ceux de deuil, et *envoya de très grands et trèsmagnifiques présents au sbarabied Apas, pour l'engager à s'en retourner.*

S-M, p. 122

Dans ce temps-là l'Arménien Vasag Pagour, qui était allié par mariage avec Aschod, ischkhan des ischkhans, fut créé ischkhan des Siouniens: Aschod lui accorda *beaucoup d'honneurs extérieurs et lui confia l'administration d'une multitude de principautés;* Vasag Pagour gouverna aussi la race de Sisagan.

might be a cause for confusion and turmoil. *Being given leave to depart, he set out and met Smbat, whom he forced to divest himself of his mourning attire and to put on the royal robes. After he had been honored by Smbat and given many valuable gifts, he returned to the sparapet Abas.*

Yov. XXVIII, 1

At this time, the presiding prince Ašot raised his son-in-law Vasak Haykazun, surnamed *Gabur-n*, as prince of Siwnik^c, and obtained for him *honors from the royal court. Ruling his principality with great might, the latter likewise extended his sway over all the people of Sisakan.*

In these examples taken at random, we find: a) confusion of place names, b) systematic misinterpretations of the text, c) misreading of names, titles and words. We should note here that on occasions Saint-Martin even turned perfectly good Armenian words into proper names; e.g., on p. 103 (= XXV, 15), Narcissus is accused "par le faux témoin Zratad", on whose identity the editor found no information (p. 412) for the excellent reason that *zradat* is a common word in Armenian (meaning 'unjust'), d) mistranslations of passages to the extent of distorting historical facts.

The literature on the life and works of Yovhannēs has been for the most part cursory and perfunctory. To this day no monograph has been devoted to the study of the *History*. Armenian political and church historians such as Ćamĉian, Ormanian, and Kogian considered Yovhannēs's role only as *katholikos*, and as a Xth century political figure.* Most of their information is derived directly from the *History* itself. There are relatively brief discussions of Yovhannēs's life and the literary merits of the *History* in all works dealing with classical Armenian literature. The most valuable among these is that of Manuk Abetyan, who dwells on Yovhannēs's *History* at some length and considers it a unique work which he treats as an autobiography.

*For full bibliography cf. note 4 in the "Biography".

Scholars have raised only one controversial problem in connection with Yovhannēs and his work. This concerns the katholikos's attitude toward the Chalcedonians. As early as the XVIIIth century Ć'amč'ian had clearly noticed that the anti-Chalcedonian statements present in the first part of the *History* are totally absent from the second part. He attributed this discrepancy to the composition of the first twenty-nine chapters before Yovhannēs's katholikosate.¹ This view has been challenged by M. Emin in the introduction of his edition of the *History*. In his opinion the *History* was written during the later years of the katholikosate of Yovhannēs as the introduction and certain passages in the *History* suggest.² This argument of Emin seems quite convincing, but in his attempt to refute the view of Ć'amč'ian that Yovhannēs was pro-Chalcedonian, he has gone to the other extreme, and presented the image of Yovhannēs as a man with fierce anti-Chalcedonian beliefs.³ That Ć'amč'ian's enthusiasm in declaring Yovhannēs a pro-Chalcedonian (on the exclusive basis of Yovhannēs's letter to Constantine Porphyrogenetos in ch. LIV) was not altogether due to scholarly objectivity, but rather to the desire of an XVIIIth century Mekhitarist monk to show that most of the important ecclesiastical figures in medieval Armenia were pro-Chalcedonian may be true. However, as we shall try to show subsequently, Yovhannēs was not necessarily anti-Chalcedonian to the degree of being a fanatical monophysite as Ĕmin's thesis suggests.

Because of the practical impossibility of collating the multiple manuscripts of Yovhannēs's *History of Armenia*, a critical edition of the text can regrettably not yet be attempted at the present time. However, since the only available translation of Yovhannēs's *History* is so notoriously faulty, and the critical text of Tiflis does not consider the readings of the 1867 Jerusalem edition, which is based on all eight MSS in the Library of the Monastery of St. James, we have attempted to remedy these lacunae in some measure by a translation based on the 1965 Tiflis edition and the MSS readings in the *apparatus criticus* of the latter, which have been systematically compared with the Jerusalem text. We have also included the preface, the first twenty-three chapters and the epilogue of the *History* which were omitted in the 1965 Tiflis edition. Our translation of these sections is based on the 1867 Jerusalem and 1853 Moscow (reprinted in Tiflis in 1912) editions.

In view of the fact that no scholarly study of Yovhannēs's life and *History* is available in any western language except for the two articles of F. Nève written a hundred years ago, it has seemed proper to reexamine the original sources on Yovhannēs to present the historical and literary

¹ Ć'amč'ian, *History*, II, 725.

² Cf. Ĕmin edition, 1912, pp. x-xii.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. iv-ix.

data on his life and work, and to raise a number of new problems. Finally the extensive development of Armenian historical research over the past century made the notes appended to the Saint-Martin translation obsolete, thus necessitating a new full scale commentary which has been appended to the text of the translation.

II BIOGRAPHY

The biography of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcī is known to us primarily from allusions to it in his own works, *i.e.*, *The History of Armenia*,¹ and the *List of Katholikoi*.² From the above two sources we learn more of his life and works than is known of other Armenian historians. The scanty details given by medieval Armenian historians of Yovhannēs's personal history in turn derived from these two works,³ and the same can also be said for modern biographers.⁴

¹*Patmu'iw'n Yovhannu Kat'otikosi*, Jerusalem, 1867. See below the section of "Manuscripts and Editions" for full references. [Hereafter, Yovhannēs, Jerusalem.]

²Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcī's list is the third found in appendices to *Samuēli K'ahanayi Aneč'woy Hawak'munk' i Groc'Patmagrac'* [Compilation of Historical Writings by the Priest Samuēl of Ani]. (Vašaršapat, 1893), pp. 272–277. [Hereafter, *List I*, pp. 268–269, *List II*, pp. 269–272, *List III*, pp. 272–277.] See also below, "Literary Works".

³Т'ов. Arc., pp. 243, 247. Asofik, pp. 7, 160, 168, 170. *List II*, p. 272. Orbelian, pp. 106, 226, 276, 502. Sam. Ani, pp. 3, 85, 95. Kir. Ganj., pp. 7, 81–82, 85. Mxit'ar of Ani, pp. 11, 15. Vardan, pp. 22, 87, 89. Step'anos Rošk'a, pp. 99–100. Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, pp. 182, 187. Yovhannēs the Priest, *M.C.*, II, 24. Dawit' of Bałēš, *M.C.*, II, pp. 316, 336. "Ays en patmagirk' amenayn [These are all the historians]," in Anasyan, *Armenian Bibliology*, I, p. LI. "C'ank patmagrac' Hayoc' [List of Armenian Historians]," in Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 13–14. Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LI. "Ork' en patmagirk' hayoc' [Who are the Armenian Historians?]," *H.A.*, (1952), pp. 63–65. N. Akinian, *The School of Bałēš*, (Vienna, 1952), pp. 309–311. Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LII. Ęazar Cahkec'i, pp. 646–647, cf. Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LIII. "Hay Patmagirner [Armenian Historians]," Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LIV. "Žotovoc'n Hayoc' Patmič'k' [Historians of the Armenian Councils]," Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LXXV. Mxit'ar of Ayriyank', cf. Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. L.

⁴Č'amč'ian, *History*, I, 14, II, 717, 725, 731, 733, 741, 742, 745, 763, 778, 780, 781, 785–788, 807–810, 815, 1014–1016. *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean catholikos*. Traduite de l'Arménien en français par M. J. Saint-Martin. (Paris, 1841), pp. III–XLVIII. Nève, *L'Arménie chrétienne et sa littérature*, pp. 317–340. Zarbhanalian, *History of Ancient Armenian Literature*, pp. 511–517. Nève, "Examen de l'histoire de Jean VI le Patriarche," *Univers Catholique*, No 96(1843). Durian, *History of Armenian Literature*, pp. 158–160. P'ap'azian, *History of Armenian Literature*, I, 150–153. Zaminian, *History of Armenian Literature*, pp. 139–141. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 1126. Ęazikian, *New Armenian Bibliography*, II, 77–80. K'ibarian, *History of Armenian Literature*, I, 221–223. Abelyan, *Works*, III, 479–493. Ač'aryan, *Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*, III, 558–559. Malxasyanc', *Literary Criticisms*, pp. 203–209. V. Teryan, *Tombs*, p. 27. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 81. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1018–1070. Galemk'earian, *Yovhannēs Kat'otikos*, pp. 502 ff. T'umanian, *Yovhannēs the Historian*, pp. 44, 47, 48. Afawnuni, *Yovhannēs Kat'otikos*, p. 381. Ošakan, *Yovh. the Historian*, p. 178. Mkryan, *Grigor Narekac'i*, pp. 99–104. Baxč'inyan, "Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcī," *Hayreniki Jayn*, August 25, 1971.

Very little is known of the early years of Yovhannēs, for he is extremely modest in giving details about the period of his life preceding his accession to the patriarchal throne. The date of his birth remains unknown; only through conjecture may one put it in the fifties of the ninth century. The basis for such a conjecture is, that Yovhannēs, according to his own testimony, was an old man when he wrote the introduction to *The History of Armenia*.⁵ The last datable historical event in the *History* is the transfer of the katholikosate from Dvin to Vaspurakan in c. 923–924.⁶ If we assume that Yovhannēs was in his seventies in 924, he would have been in his late forties or early fifties at the time of his assumption of the patriarchal dignity in 897/898,⁷ an age which is by no means unlikely for a new patriarch.

According to the *List of Katholikoi*, the place of Yovhannēs's birth is given as Drasxkert.⁸ This is obviously a variant form of the name Drasxanakert called the "great *dastakert* [āppanage] of Artašēs", which according to Movsēs Xorenac'i had been given in the IVth century as an inheritance to Kamsar, the ancestor of the Kamsarakan house, by king Trdat III.⁹ In the *List of Katholikoi* Yovhannēs still maintains that Drasxanakert was a "great *dastakert*" in his time, but such a claim must be due to local patriotism and archaism by the tenth century, since the name never appears after the earlier historians Movsēs Xorenac'i and Elišē. For later Armenian historians Yovhannēs came either from Dvin,¹⁰ or Gaṛni,¹¹ but Č'amč'ian justified this discrepancy by assuming that Drasxanakert was located in Ayrarat between Gaṛni and Dvin, near the district of Širak.¹² In my opinion the close relationship between Yovhannēs and his two predecessors on the patriarchal throne, Gēorg of Gaṛni and Maštoc', who was buried at Gaṛni, would be sufficient to account for one of the traditions, whereas the mention of Dvin as his birth place might be justified by the argument that Yovhannēs spent most of his adult life in that city on or near the premises of the katholikosate. The attempt of P. Tēr-Pōłosian to identify Drasxanakert with the modern village of Aštarak on the basis of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* seems a likely possibility.¹³

We are almost completely in the dark on the family background and

⁵Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, p. 7.

⁶*Ibid.*, LXVII, 17, and note in the "Commentary".

⁷On the date see *List III*, p. 277.

⁸*List III*, p. 277.

⁹M.X., II, 90. Elišē, p. 79. S. Kogian, *The Kamsarakans*, pp. 36, 73.

¹⁰Asohik, p. 160.

¹¹Kir. of Ganj., pp. 81–82. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 13.. Tayian, *Archives*, pp. 278–279, cf. Anasyan, *Op. Cit.*, p. LXXV.

¹²Kogian, *The Kamsarakans*, p. 36. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 626.

¹³Tēr-Pōłosian identifies the Strangira or Stranguria of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with Drasxanakert. *Topographical Investigations*, pp. 41–46.

early years of Yovhannēs. The only information that we possess is the fact that he was related to his predecessor, the *katholikos* Maštoc'.¹⁴ The degree of affinity is described as consanguinity.¹⁵ This has led Ormanian to believe that Yovhannēs was perhaps Maštoc's nephew either on his father's or mother's side,¹⁶ since a nephew succeeding an uncle is a common pattern in the annals of the Armenian church hierarchy. Under these circumstances the biography of the *katholikos* Maštoc' may provide us with useful information and some insight into the family and social background of Yovhannēs. We are fortunate in having a contemporary biography of Maštoc' written by his disciple Step'anos, according to whom Maštoc' came "i tohmē k'ahanayankan [from a priestly house]", in the village of Eḷivard, and "i žarāngac' menastanac' or anuamb srboyn T'ēodorosi, [from the heirs of the congregation bearing the name of St. Theodore]", where his father was a priest.¹⁷ The phrase *i tohmē k'ahanayankan* leaves no doubt that Maštoc' was from a long line of ecclesiastics. This house seems to have been quite influential during the course of the tenth century. Step'anos Orbelian, the historian of the province of Siwnik', states that Yakob, the tenth century bishop of Siwnik', was a nephew (brother's son) of our Yovhannēs,¹⁸ and in the tenth century, the bishoprics of Siwnik' and Vaspurakan were probably the most important ecclesiastical dignities after that of the *katholikosate*. According to the testimony of Samuēl of Ani, *katholikos* Step'anos III of Sewan, c. 968–972, was also related to Maštoc'.¹⁹ Before his accession Step'anos had been abbot²⁰ of the monastery of Sewan,²¹ a position which had also been held by its founder Maštoc', and it is not unlikely that he is to be identified with the biographer of Maštoc'. From Step'anos Asoḷik we learn that at the end of the tenth century the patriarchal see was occupied by Sargis of Sewan, who had been educated by his paternal uncle.²² Unfortunately the name of Sargis's uncle is not mentioned, but the fact that he had studied at Sewan in his youth suggests that the unnamed uncle was Step'anos. There is no chronological problem in making such an assumption, for Sargis, who died in 1019, would have been a young man in the sixties of the tenth century. Step'anos Orbelian says that this Sargis in turn placed on the see of Siwnik' the bishop Yovhannēs, who was related to him.²³ All these indications point to the

¹⁴Yovh., XXXVI, 5. XXX, 28. XXXII, 7, and the notes on these.

¹⁵*arean harazat ew merjawor golow nma*, "being related to him by blood.

¹⁶Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1017.

¹⁷Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, pp. 87–96. Cf. *List III*, p. 276.

¹⁸Orbelian, p. 253.

¹⁹Sam. Ani, p. 101.

²⁰*Vanakan*. On the usage of this word as 'abbot' cf. *NBHL*.

²¹Asoḷik, p. 182.

²²Asoḷik, p. 259.

²³Orbelian, p. 303.

fact that Yovhannēs's succession to the katholikosate was by no means accidental.

Yovhannēs is very laconic about his education. Both in the *History*,²⁴ and the *List of Katholikoi*²⁵ he calls himself a disciple of the katholikos Maštoč. We know from the biography of the latter that he had been educated and subsequently taught at the monastery of Mak'enoc'k'.²⁶ The course of studies at the above monastery was very much in the tradition of the earlier 'school of Siwnik',²⁷ where besides biblical exegesis and theology, the students studied philosophy, rhetoric and history, and Yovhannēs's acquaintance with works of this nature is clearly indicated in the earlier chapters of his *History*.²⁸ It is not clear where Yovhannēs actually studied with Maštoč. His knowledge of the history of Mak'enoc'k' might be indicative of his having been at that monastery,²⁹ but it is also likely that he had been a member of the congregation of the monastery of Sewan.³⁰ Most probably he was ordained a priest in the latter monastery, and spent the early years of his life there. Our first meeting with Yovhannēs in his own *History* is presumably as the *dran episkopos* [bishop in residence] of the katholikos Gēorg of Gaṛni, c. 894. Yovhannēs states that he was officially delegated to raise funds for the liberation of the katholikos when the latter had been incarcerated by the Sādjid emir Afshin.³¹ This seemingly straightforward statement, however, conceals a serious problem. In the list of Albanian katholikoi included at the end of Movsēs Dasxuranc'i's *History of the Caucasian Albanians*,³² the *dran episkopos* of Armenia at the time of the captivity of Gēorg is given as a certain Yovnan [Jonas].

"Lord Yovnan, eight and a half years.³³ He was court bishop [*dran episkopos*] of Armenia. While Gēorg was in captivity, he went to Albania without the permission of the catholicos Gēorg [of Armenia] and was consecrated there [as katholikos of Albania]; he also was reconsecrated by the same Gēorg."³⁴

²⁴ Yovh., XXXVI, 10.

²⁵ *List III*, p. 277.

²⁶ See the "Commentary" on XXIV, 12.

²⁷ Movsisyan, *Armenian Pedagogy*, pp. 79–95.

²⁸ Namely, chapters I–XXIII. See the section on the "Sources".

²⁹ Yovh., XXIV, 12.

³⁰ Maštoč founded this monastery after leaving Mak'enoc'k'; cf. Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, p. 90.

³¹ Yovh., XXXIII, 20. This is also Ormanian's interpretation of the passage. *Azgapatum*, I, 10007. The editor of Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, p. 214, note, believes that there is a corruption in this passage, and that *mer*, 'our', should be emended to *'i jern*, 'by means of', thus making the *dran episkopos* someone other than Yovhannēs. *v. infra* for the translation of the text. The idea is attractive, but there is no manuscript basis for such an emendation. Even palaeography cannot help us in such an attempt.

³² M.D., p. 346.

³³ On the chronology cf. Dowsett, *BSOAS*, XXI(1958), pp. 476–481.

³⁴ Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 231.

This information is also repeated by Kirakos of Ganjak, the XIIIth century historian, who used Movsēs Daxuranc'ī, whom he calls Movsēs Kałankatuac'ī.³⁵

“Lord Yovnan, eight and a half years. He was bishop-in-residence [*dran episkopos*] of Armenia. While Gēorg was in captivity, he went to Albania, and was consecrated there without the permission of the Lord Gēorg. When the princes of Albania ransomed Lord Gēorg, the latter dismissed Yovnan from his honor, but at the request of the princes of Albania because of their kindness to him, he [Gēorg] reconsecrated him.”³⁶

The variant readings in the *apparatus criticus* of Kirakos present the following alternatives: Yunan, yonan, yanun, yovnan. Yunan is a later form of Yovnan, whereas the remaining three variants, save for *yanun* [in the name of], which is an obvious corruption, are all derived from Yovnan. The name is known in the XIIth century to Mxit'ar Goš. In his study on the patriarchs of Albania, Charles Dowsett also identifies the above bishop as Yovnan,³⁸ although he uses the form Yovhan in his English translation of Movsēs Daxuranc'ī, unfortunately without stating his reasons for the change.³⁹ Finally the recent Armenian translation of Movsēs Daxuranc'ī, based on all the extant editions and the Erevan manuscripts, also has Yunan.⁴⁰ There can be no question then, that according to the MSS tradition of Movsēs Daxuranc'ī, Kirakos Ganjakec'ī and Mxit'ar Goš, the name of the *dran episkopos* of Armenia c. 894 was Yovnan. The uniformity of the name in the three lists indicates that they must have been derived from a single source which was presumably a list of Albanian katholicoi. Moreover, we must assume from this agreement, that in the relatively late period of Mxit'ar Goš, of Kirakos,⁴¹ and of the final version of the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* attributed to Movsēs Daxuranc'ī⁴² the form of the name to be found in this list was likewise Yovnan. The three centuries separating the late IXth century bishop Yovnan from our XIIth and XIIIth century sources make the identification of this *dran episkopos* of Armenia with Yovhan(nēs) entirely possible. Such a faulty transmission can furthermore be justified on paleographical grounds, since we find in Koriwn's *Vark' Maštoc'ī* [*Life of Mastoc'*]⁴³ the variant form Yovnan for Yovhan, which is an abbreviated form of Yovhannēs or 'John'.

³⁵ Kir. Ganj., p. 198. On the problem of the name of the historian of the Albanians, cf. N. Akinian, *Movsēs Daxuranc'ī*, pp. 44 ff., and Kir. Ganj., pp. 7, 194.

³⁶ Kir. Ganj., p. 198.

³⁷ Ališan, *Hayapatum*, II, 385.

³⁸ BSOAS, XXI(1958), pp. 476–481.

³⁹ Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 231.

⁴⁰ *Movsēs Kałankatuac'ī, Patmut'yun Atvanic' Ašxarhi*, Varag Arak'elyan, transl., p. 271. Hunan according to Soviet-Armenian orthography.

⁴¹ Zarbhanalian, *Hist. of Anc. Arm. Lit.*, pp. 685, 745.

⁴² Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. xx.

⁴³ Koriwn, p. 96, line 7, and note.

Yovhannēs's own testimony that he took the ransom for the katholikos Gēorg to prince Hamam of Albania,⁴⁴ thus showing that he was in Albania at the time, conforms entirely to the information in both Movsēs Dasxuranc'i and Kirakos that Yovnan had gone to that country during the captivity of the Katholikos. Later in his pontificate we must also take note of Yovhannēs's familiarity with the princes of Albania, where he spent some time after he was released from confinement. Furthermore, speaking of the Albanians, he calls them people "of our fold, and flocks of our pasture."⁴⁵ His partiality and tolerance for this country is finally reflected in his silence concerning the schismatic tendencies of the Albanian see, which had broken its ties with the Armenian Church at the death of the katholikos Gēorg, in 897.⁴⁶

The fundamental problem which stands in the way of such an identification is that of chronology. The dates of Yovnan according to Dowsett are 893/894–901/902,⁴⁷ which do not correspond to the chronology of Yovhannēs's life. The *List of Katholikoi*, T'ovma Arcruni, and the inscription of the tomb of Maštoc⁴⁸ leave no doubt, that Yovhannēs succeeded Maštoc^c as katholikos of Armenia in 897/898, at a time when Yovnan was presumably still occupying the see of Albania. Under these circumstances the following alternatives must be entertained:

- a. the possibility that the text of Yovhannēs's *History* (XXXIII, 20) is hopelessly corrupt, and that he was not in fact the *dran episkopos*, who would then be a certain Yovnan.⁴⁹ However, this assumption is not verified by any of the MSS and is not plausible on paleographical grounds.
- b. The possibility of more than one *dran episkopos* as Ormanian seems to suggest.⁵⁰ Yet, there is no indication that the *katholikoi* had more than one *dran episkopos*. Very little is known of this title, whose usage, to my knowledge, is first detected in Yovhannēs.⁵¹ Furthermore, this thesis would postulate two contemporary *dran episkopoi* of similar names who went simultaneously to Albania in 894.
- c. The possibility that Yovnan and Yovhannēs are one and the same. This would mean either that the chronology of Movsēs Das-

⁴⁴ Yovh., XXXIII, 20.

⁴⁵ Yovh., XLIV, 8. This passage might also be taken in reference to the subservience of the katholikos of Albania to that of Armenia. See the note to the above passage in the "Commentary".

⁴⁶ Orbelian, p. 276.

⁴⁷ Cf. note 38.

⁴⁸ See "Commentary" on ch. XXXVI, 8; T'ov. Arc., p. 274. *List III*, p. 277.

⁴⁹ See note 31 above.

⁵⁰ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1092.

⁵¹ Yovh., LXVI, 11. M.U., p. 259. Mxit'ar Goš, in Ališan, *Hayapatum*, II, 385–386.

xuranc'i is wrong, even though its internal agreement is quite precise, or that Yovhannēs retained the title and position of patriarch of Albania until 901/902, three or four years after he had ascended the see of Armenia; the practice of one person holding two ecclesiastical sees appears at a later period in the annals of the Armenian Church.⁵² Tempting as this last hypothesis seems, the existing evidence is not sufficient to permit a conclusion on this point, though some sojourn of Yovhannēs in Albania seems altogether likely.

In the scholarly and polemical literature of the past two hundred years, there has been considerable controversy between the Armenian Monophysite and Uniate writers, about whether Yovhannēs is the fifth or sixth among the *katholikoi* of that name. The source of the problem is Yovhannēs of Bagaran, whom the emperor Maurice had set up at Awan as *katholikos* of Byzantine Armenia (593-611).⁵³ We have no intention of reviving this dormant controversy, but it is important to examine Yovhannēs's view on the pontificate of his namesake of Awan. Ormanian quite correctly observes, that in the *List of Katholikoi* Yovhannēs considers himself the fiftieth pontiff after Gregory.⁵⁴ This leaves out Surmak, who is called *hakarāk at'oroγ*, 'anti-katholikos' in the *List*,⁵⁵ and Yovhannēs of Bagaran, also described as anti-katholikos in the *History*.⁵⁶ Consequently, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i recognized only four legitimate homonymous *katholikoi* among his predecessors: 1) Yovhannēs Mandakuni (478-490),⁵⁷ 2) Yovhannēs Gabeġian (557-574),⁵⁸ 3) Yovhannēs Imastasēr Ōjnec'i (717-728),⁵⁹ 4) Yovhannēs Ovayec'i (833-855)⁶⁰ and was in his own eyes Yovhannēs V, a nomenclature which we shall adopt here.⁶¹

Nothing is known of the inauguration of Yovhannēs's pontificate beyond his stereotyped assertion of his own unworthiness. It is not even

⁵²Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, II, 2159-2164.

⁵³On Yovhannēs of Bagaran see the following: Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, pp. 93-95. Sebēos, pp. 91, 112. Asoġik, p. 86. Vardan, p. 60. *List II*, p. 271. Anania of Mokk^c, *Rebellion*, p. 137. *List III*, p. 275. M.D., 268. Akinian, Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, p. 287. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 577-578. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 265. *Diegesis*, #108, #113. *Narratio*, p. 431. Kogġian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 223 ff.. A.C., p. 76. Uxtanēs, II, 36. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, pp. 127, 134-135, 144, 147, 148, 156.

⁵⁴*List III*, p. 277.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 273, 275.

⁵⁶Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, p. 94. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1019.

⁵⁷Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 126, 128, 130.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 147, 148, 158, 161.

⁶¹The title page of the Saint-Martin translation has Jean VI. Most western scholars have followed this work.

possible to state that he was consecrated at Dvin as was customary, since the city was in Muslim hands at the time.⁶² According to Ormanian, the first task of the newly ordained katholikos was to consecrate the church of the royal capital of Erazgawork^ć-Širakawan built by king Smbat I.⁶³ Unfortunately Yovhannēs does not mention his presence at the ceremonies.

In general despite the current view that Yovhannēs's *History of Armenia* is more of an autobiographical work than a history,⁶⁴ the author speaks very little of his personal life. On the contrary, he treats himself in a very impersonal way as he discusses the political history of his own lifetime. Throughout his *History* Yovhannēs emerges as a political figure of the first magnitude in a period of intense pressure from the outside and internal strife within the country. In his capacity as katholikos he plays the role of the 'supreme justice' of the land, for he is the one who constantly intervenes in domestic quarrels, reconciles the opposing sides, draws up treaties, and sees to it that conditions agreed upon are fully observed.

Thus, in 904 we find Yovhannēs in Vaspurakan, striving to persuade the local prince, Ašot Arcruni, to release his kinsman Hasan Arcruni. When Ašot blinds Hasan despite the agreement, Yovhannēs immediately excommunicated him,⁶⁵ thus displaying the political aspect of the sacerdotal authority invested in him. In the continuous rivalry of the two Bagratid kings (Ašot II Erkat^ć and his cousin Ašot son of Šapuh) the katholikos once again appears as the mediator between the two sides. In 915 Yovhannēs is successful in bringing the two kings to accept terms of peace,⁶⁶ but in the following year once again they opened hostilities, whereupon the katholikos once again made haste to intervene. Ašot Erkat^ć, the son of king Smbat I, and the legitimate successor to the Bagratid throne was the one responsible for the breach of the agreement, an act characterized as *držotut'iwñ*, 'perfidy', by the historian.⁶⁷ In this case, however, instead of excommunicating the king like the prince of Vaspurakan, Yovhannēs merely upbraids Ašot, because as *t'agawor Hayoc'*, 'king of Armenia', and as *archōn tōn archontōn*, 'presiding prince', like his father Smbat Ašot was 'the beloved son' of the emperor of Byzantium, the leader of the peoples of the East, and the benefactor and protector of the church.⁶⁸

Neither Ašot Erkat^ć nor the anti-king Ašot son of Šapuh ever dared

⁶² Ter-Lewondyan, *Chronologie*, p. 306.

⁶³ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1019. Yovh., XXXVI, 12–13.

⁶⁴ Abelyan, *Works*, III, 483.

⁶⁵ Yovh., XXXVIII, 3–16.

⁶⁶ Yovh., LVI, 12.

⁶⁷ Yovh., LVIII, 1–7.

⁶⁸ Yovh., LIV, 44–45, LV, 5.

to reject outright the proposals of peace offered by the *katholikos*. Judging from Yovhannēs's words,⁶⁹ they agreed to come to terms, but cast the blame for the hostilities on each other, and thus continued to fight until 918, when Ašot Erkat' received additional reinforcements from prince Gurgēn of Iberia. At this point the historian very laconically states, that he stopped the two cousins from coming to blows.⁷⁰ It is interesting to see the extent of the power and authority the *katholikos* claims to have exercised. Unfortunately, Yovhannēs does not specify the means by which he was able to prevent the battle, but there can be no doubt that he must have gone to the extreme of threatening the two kings with excommunication. In narrating the circumstances of the earlier excommunication of Ašot Arcruni, the *katholikos* alludes to the power of his curse which he believes to have caused the death of the above prince.⁷¹ In the medieval setting of the Bagratid world, the fear of the supernatural must not be eliminated as an important cause for the actions of kings and princes, and a real political weapon in the hands of the *katholikos*, though he apparently used it with circumspection.

Further evidence on the functions and authority of the *katholikos* in Bagratid Armenia is furnished by the incident concerning Vasak, the lord of Gefark'unik' and the brother of Grigor Sup'an II, the cousin of Ašot Erkat'.⁷² Once again Ašot was guilty of breaking the terms of a treaty between himself and Vasak. The *katholikos* upbraided the king for his action. But what is interesting is that the king found it necessary to defend himself. He did not at all try to justify his action, but disclaimed responsibility for the perfidy by casting the blame on Vasak.⁷³

The constant interference of Yovhannēs in the activities of king Ašot was due to the internal political situation of Armenia. On the one hand, the harshness necessarily displayed by Ašot Erkat' in curbing the centrifugal and secessionist tendencies of the Armenian *naxarars*, appeared excessive and inhuman to the *katholikos*. On the other hand, we must also note that the *katholikosate* was located in the city of Dvin, which was under Sādjid overlordship until 918 and ruled by the anti-king Ašot perhaps until the coming of the Byzantines in 922.⁷⁴ This made it necessary for Yovhannēs to remain on good terms with Ašot son of Šapuh toward whom he is very well disposed throughout the *History*. These two factors are definitely responsible for Yovhannēs's loss of respect for king Ašot Erkat'. The first indication of this appears in the description of Ašot II's blinding his seditious father-in-law and brother-

⁶⁹ Yovh., LVIII, 4–7.

⁷⁰ Yovh., LVIII, 12.

⁷¹ Yovh., XXXVIII, 16–17.

⁷² Yovh., LIX, 17 ff.

⁷³ Yovh., LIX, 20.

⁷⁴ Ter-Lewondyan, *Chronologie*, pp. 308–309.

in-law.⁷⁵ In a later chapter the *katholikos* becomes far more explicit, as he censures the insolence of the king in his attempt to impose his wishes by force.⁷⁶ Yovhannēs expresses his disgust shortly after narrating the circumstances of the final agreement of the two cousins on the terms of peace through his own mediation.⁷⁷

The political significance of Yovhannēs's position as *katholikos* can likewise be seen from his treatment by foreign states. In the spring of 902, the Sāḍjīd emir Yūsuf sent him lavish gifts along with those to king Smbat I and his son Ašot Erkat'. Yovhannēs's weight in matters concerning the internal political life of Armenia was equally appreciated by the Byzantines as we see from the letter of the patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos of Constantinople.⁷⁸ The absence of any theological and christological allusions in this letter demonstrates that the concern of the Byzantines here was political and not religious. Indeed, it was through the diplomacy of Yovhannēs, that Byzantium hoped to bring about an Armeno-Georgian-Albanian coalition.⁷⁹ The outcome was successful and Bagratid Armenia was saved from complete annihilation through the efforts of the activities of its *katholikos*.⁸⁰

The Bagratid kings also realized that the *katholikos* was a most useful diplomatic channel in dealing with foreign states, and much of Yovhannēs's life was devoted to international affairs. Yet, the outcome of such a role was not always successful. In 909 Yovhannēs was sent by Smbat and the Armenian *naxarars* to negotiate with Yūsuf on behalf of the newly established king Gagik of Vaspurakan.⁸¹ Naturally, the voice of Yovhannēs as *katholikos* of Armenia (inclusive of Vaspurakan) would have been more effective in dealing with the Muslim prince than that of any other diplomat. On this occasion, however, contrary to expectation, the patriarch was imprisoned and held until the winter of 910/911.⁸² Since the ransom given for the *katholikos* might entice Yūsuf to recapture him, Yovhannēs, upon his release, did not dare to return to Dvin, which was under Sāḍjīd sway, nor could he turn to Smbat, whose position was already precarious. Armenia offered him no safety, so that he chose to go northward, to Albania, and Gugark',⁸³ where he remained until 913/914.

⁷⁵ Yovh., LX, 32–34.

⁷⁶ Yovh., LXIII, 21.

⁷⁷ Yovh., LXIII, 3–6.

⁷⁸ Yovh., LIV, 2–15.

⁷⁹ Yovh., LIV, 16.

⁸⁰ Yovh., LIV, 24.

⁸¹ Yovh., XLII, 6.

⁸² Yovh., XLIII, 9, 14–15, 21. XLIV, 5–7.

⁸³ Yovh., XLIV, 9, 8.

Still another indication of Yovhannēs's political functions is the fact that in 914 he served as the official spokesman for the government of Armenia,⁸⁴ to announce to the Byzantine emperor the chaos reigning in the land, considered *de jure* Byzantine territory, as well as the execution of king Smbat, likewise *de jure* a Byzantine vassal.⁸⁵ It is important to remember, that before Ašot II Erkat' went to Constantinople in 914, Yovhannēs was the only spokesman for the Armenian people whom the Byzantine Empire officially recognized. It was in fact in response to his letter that an invitation was extended to Ašot Erkat' to come to Constantinople together with the *katholikos*.⁸⁶

In the extremely decentralized political milieu of 914–915, Yovhannēs realized the difficulty of his own situation. There were already two kings of Armenia (Ašot Erkat' and Gagik Arcruni), Ašot son of Šapuh, who was soon to become the third, and autonomous princes ruling in Arc'ax and Albania. Returning to Dvin, where the patriarchal see was located, was not desirable, for the Sādjjids were still in control of the city. Yovhannēs no doubt sought some means whereby he would not be associated with any one of the princes. It is most likely that this is the reason why he asked the Byzantine emperor for political asylum in Western (Byzantine) Armenia, and proposed to place his faithful flock under the Byzantine tutelage.⁸⁷ His delay in the district of Derjan in Byzantine Armenia on the pretext of visiting the holy places connected with the name of St. Grigor the Illuminator must have been for the purpose of awaiting an answer to his request. Apparently, Yovhannēs did not receive a satisfactory response from the Byzantine court, and after nine months of lingering returned to Armenia.⁸⁸ We must presume that he returned to Dvin, where Ašot son of Šapuh was ruling as king from 915. According to his own testimony, Yovhannēs decided to return to Bagratid Armenia after he had been assured by the promise of the ruling monarchs.⁸⁹ What this promise is we do not know. Yet, his statement to the effect that he was deceived by their promise seems to be a reference to the fratricidal warfare between the anti-king Ašot and Ašot II Erkat'.⁹⁰

The final scene of Yovhannēs's political life, that is to say, his flight from the Sādjjid lieutenant Nasr al-Subukī in 923,⁹¹ and his retirement to

⁸⁴Yovh., LIV, 60.

⁸⁵Yovh., LIV, 26–69.

⁸⁶Yovh., LV, 1.

⁸⁷Yovh., LIV, 61–63; 61–67.

⁸⁸Yovh., LV, 8–17.

⁸⁹Yovh., LV, 17.

⁹⁰Yovh., LXV, 14–15.

⁹¹On the date *see* Yovh., LXV, 18 and note.

Vaspurakan in 923/924,⁹² reflects the failure of his efforts to function as the arbiter of Armenia. Ousted once again from the patriarchal city of Dvin, which was now occupied by Nasr al-Subukī,⁹³ he was forced to seek asylum first with the anti-king Ašot in the city of Bagawan,⁹⁴ and finally with king Gagik of Vaspurakan. From the martyrdom of king Smbat I in 914, the katholikos, as the sole religious head of the Armenian church, had been a unifying force in the severely fragmented Bagratid kingdom. A great deal of Yovhannēs's political power was derived from this factor. He used his authority in trying to reconcile the feuding sides and the subsequent solidity of the Bagratid state from the thirties of the Xth century on demonstrates the ultimate success of the foundations he laid. Yet, neither the turbulent times nor his advanced age allowed him to see the outcome of his work. His retirement to Vaspurakan meant complete withdrawal and isolation.

We know relatively very little about Yovhannēs the churchman. No council or synod is recorded during his pontificate, and he himself says practically nothing about the church during this period. We learn from a later historian of the XIIIth century, that Yovhannēs was present with king Smbat at the consecration of the monastery of Tat'ew in 904.⁹⁵ The same historian mentions the name of Yovhannēs as a signatory to a number of deeds for grants made to the monastery of Tat'ew.⁹⁶ Among his religious works one may mention the canonization of those who were killed by Yūsuf; for these martyrs Yovhannēs set a day for annual commemoration.⁹⁷

From the *History* we know that Yovhannēs built at least two churches, one in Derjan,⁹⁸ and the other in Biwrakan.⁹⁹ It is interesting to note, that Biwrakan is called an *amroc'ik*, 'a little castle', which was bought by the katholikos. This would indicate that in addition to the possessions of the katholikosate, the patriarch himself could hold personal property like any other feudal lord.

The doctrinal stand of Yovhannēs on the continuous christological controversies dividing the Armenian church from the Byzantine has usually been considered as anti-Chalcedonian.¹⁰⁰ The basis for such an assumption is the number of anti-Chalcedonian statements that appear in the first part of the *History*.¹⁰¹ Yet, we must take note that all these

⁹² On the date see Yovh., LXVII, 19.

⁹³ Yovh., LXVII, 18.

⁹⁴ Yovh., LXVII, 17.

⁹⁵ Orbelian, p. 226.

⁹⁶ Orbelian, p. 238, p. 233. *Divan*, III, no. 666. *Divan*, IV, no. 1209.

⁹⁷ Yovh., LI, 42.

⁹⁸ Yovh., LV, 12.

⁹⁹ Yovh., LXV, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Kogian, *The Armenian Church*, p. 297.

¹⁰¹ Yovh., LV, 7. XXX, 38. The following are the references to the Council of Chalcedon

references are in the section of the *History* where Yovhannēs is heavily dependent on earlier anti-chalcedonian sources. Of the two references to the Chalcedonians in the later part of the *History*, *i.e.*, chapters XXIV ff., one appears in the letter of Maštoc^c to Abas, and as such is not directly Yovhannēs's work. The other follows Yovhannēs's letter to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, and is, as we shall see, more apologetic than antagonistic.

The change of attitude in the *History* concerning Chalcedon was thought to be due to the revival of the Armeno-Byzantine relations, and the pro-Byzantine sentiments of Gagik of Vaspurakan, with whom Yovhannēs took refuge *c.* 924 and spent the last years of his life.¹⁰² Unfortunately, earlier historians have not noted the possibility that the anti-Chalcedonian statements of Yovhannēs may not necessarily be his own, and that on the contrary the evidence in the *History* suggests a different approach. It is unwarranted to disregard the fact that Yovhannēs studied with his kinsman Maštoc^c, who was a former sympathizer of Chalcedon according to his own testimony,¹⁰³ and treatise.¹⁰⁴ We have already spoken about the partiality and tolerance of Yovhannēs for the schismatic and pro-Chalcedonian see of Albania. In connection with this, we must also note the interesting fact that many years after the death of Yovhannēs, during the pontificate of Anania of Mokk^c (944–966),¹⁰⁵ Yovhannēs's nephew, Yakob, bishop of Siwnik^c, rebelled against the katholikos and adhered to the Albanian see.¹⁰⁶ The nature of the controversy seems to be not only administrative, but also dogmatic, for the entire land of Albania was apparently riddled with Chalcedonianism to which both princes and bishops adhered.¹⁰⁷

The fact that the Constantinopolitan patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos considers the Armenians, the [Chalcedonian] Georgians, and the [pro-Chalcedonian] Albanians all part of the "faithful flock" of the monophysite katholikos of Armenia is extremely curious.¹⁰⁸ In connection with this statement we must bear in mind the prolonged and voluntary stay of Yovhannēs in the court of the Chalcedonian Atrnerseh, king of Georgia.¹⁰⁹ The reason given by Yovhannēs for not going to Con-

in Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, pp. 81, 85, 100, 111; the references to the "Chalcedonian heresy", pp. 101, 126; the references to "Chalcedonians", pp. 80, 82, 94. In addition to these there are no other references in the *History*. After ch. XXIV, there are only two references which we already have discussed, namely Yovh., XXX, 38, and LV, 7.

¹⁰² Kogian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 297–301.

¹⁰³ Yovh., XXX, 38.

¹⁰⁴ Maštoc^c, *Letter of Gēorg*, pp. 748–753.

¹⁰⁵ On the chronology of the katholikoi of tenth century *see* below.

¹⁰⁶ Orbelian, pp. 274 ff..

¹⁰⁷ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1098–1099. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, pp. 307 ff..

¹⁰⁸ *See* the letter of Nikolaos preserved in Yovh., LIV, 4, 7.

¹⁰⁹ Yovh., LIII, 34, XLIV, 9.

stantinople in Chapter LV, 7, of the *History* is likewise suggestive. Yovhannēs had prudently decided not to go to Constantinople despite the repetition of the imperial invitation, in order to avoid arousing any suspicion of adhering to Chalcedonianism.¹¹⁰ His cautious and somewhat defensive attitude is no indication of an anti-chalcedonian bias. For it is not fear of Byzantine pressure to convert to the Chalcedonian doctrine, that concerns him, but rather, the apprehension that people (presumably his own) might censure the acceptance of the imperial invitation. The usage of the idiom *akamb hayel*, 'to look askance at', in describing the attitude of people toward such a trip, and the attempt to avoid such suspicion seems to point to the existence in Armenia of a more extreme party ready to question the constancy of the katholikos's doctrinal stand. That Yovhannēs was not personally apprehensive of Chalcedonian contacts and pressures is evident from his own subsequent request to the emperor to be allowed to live in Byzantine Armenia in 914.¹¹¹ Whatever the reason for such a request, the fact that Yovhannēs was willing to live on Byzantine territory is in itself most significant.

None of this evidence seems to indicate that Yovhannēs's doctrinal position was as clearly anti-Chalcedonian as has been maintained. The picture that emerges from it is rather that of tolerance toward Chalcedonianism, and as such is far more consonant with what we know of Yovhannēs's broader diplomatic activity. Far from contradicting Yovhannēs's political activity directed to internal unification and improved internal relations, his religious stand seems to corroborate it.

It is not clear how long Yovhannēs lived in retirement in Vaspurakan, where he had gone in 923/924. Some historians put his death in 924, in other words at the point where his *History* seems to come to an end.¹¹² Ormanian, basing himself on chronological calculations, puts it in 929, whereas Kogian prefers 931.¹¹³ The tenth century historian Step'anos Asofik, whose word would be vital in this matter, unfortunately presents a corrupt text on the duration of the pontificate of Yovhannēs.¹¹⁴ On historical grounds it is patently possible to accept his attribution of a pontificate of only twenty-two years to Yovhannēs. Later historians assign him twenty-eight years,¹¹⁵ and in one instance thirty years.¹¹⁶ The twenty-two years mentioned by Asofik might very well have been twenty-eight in the original text of that historian, for such a

¹¹⁰ Yovh., LV, 7.

¹¹¹ Yovh., LIV, 65.

¹¹² Zarbhanelian, *Hist. of Anc. Arm. Lit.*, pp. 512–513.

¹¹³ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1063–1065. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, p. 297.

¹¹⁴ Asofik, p. 160.

¹¹⁵ Sam. Ani, p. 95. Kir. Ganj., pp. 81–82. Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 11. Dawit' of Bałeš, *M.C.*, II, 336.

¹¹⁶ Yovhannēs Awagerēc', *M.D.*, II, 24.

corruption can easily be explained on paleographical grounds. But even paleography is useless as an explanation for such hopeless corruption as the eleven years given in one list of *katholikoi*,¹¹⁷ or the seven years of another.¹¹⁸

The chronology of the *katholikoi* of the tenth century cannot be reconstructed only on the basis of such lists. It must be worked out from the few set dates which have come down from this period. We have already seen that the beginning of Yovhannēs's pontificate is set at 897–898. From Asofik we know that the *katholikos* Anania Mokac'i died in 965/966,¹¹⁹ while his successor Vahan was already given as the *katholikos* in a colophon of 967.¹²⁰ All the historians seem to agree that Anania had been *katholikos* for twenty-two years,¹²¹ which brings us back to the year 943/944 for the beginning of his pontificate. To Anania's predecessor Elišē, Asofik, supported by Samuēl of Ani, Kirakos of Ganjak, and Dawit' of Bałēš,¹²² assigns seven years.¹²³ Vardan in the XIIIth century, followed by Ormanian, has five years,¹²⁴ while two other lists give respectively three and four years.¹²⁵ Since the oldest of these sources, Asofik, has seven years, we must accept this as the more likely possibility, and consequently put the inauguration of Elišē's patriarchate in 936/937. All of our sources save one¹²⁶ go on to agree, that T'ēodoros, the predecessor of Elišē, occupied the patriarchal throne for eleven years,¹²⁷ which brings us back to the year 925/926. Finally Asofik along with two other sources¹²⁸ fails to mention the successor of Yovhannēs, the *katholikos* Step'anos, whose pontificate is said to have lasted for only a year.¹²⁹ According to this chronological calculation it appears that Yovhannēs died *c.* 924/925. If we assume, that he was elevated to the pontifical throne in 897 and died in 925, we obtain a *katholikosate* of twenty-eight years, which agrees fully with the above accounts of Samuēl of Ani, and Kirakos of Ganjak.

In support of this earlier date of 924/925 for the death of Yovhannēs

¹¹⁷ *List II*, p. 272.

¹¹⁸ Step'anos Rošk'a, pp. 99–100, follows Galanus, I, 210.

¹¹⁹ Asofik, p. 181.

¹²⁰ Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, p. 123.

¹²¹ Vardan, p. 89. Asofik, p. 171. Kir. Ganj., p. 85. Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 11.

¹²² Sam. Ani, p. 99. In the *apparatus criticus* the variants are five and eight. Kir. Ganj., p. 85. Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 11. Dawit' of Bałēš, *M.D.*, II, 337.

¹²³ Asofik, p. 171.

¹²⁴ Vardan, p. 89. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1081.

¹²⁵ Yovhannēs Awagerēc', *M.C.*, II, 25. *List II*, p. 272.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹²⁷ Sam. Ani, p. 99. Kir. Ganj., p. 85. Vardan, p. 89. Asofik, p. 170. Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 11. Dawit' of Bałēš, *M.C.*, II, 337.

¹²⁸ Yovhannēs Awagerēc', *List II*, and Asofik.

¹²⁹ Vardan, p. 89. Kir. Ganj., p. 85. Sam. Ani, p. 99. Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 11. Dawit' of Bałēš, *M.C.*, II, 337.

as against the views of Ormanian and Kogian, we have a letter of the patriarch of Constantinople Nikolaos Mystikos, which is addressed to a certain *archōn tōn archontōn*, whose name is not given.¹³⁰ In this letter we find a reference to the death of the katholikos of Armenia. Considering the dates of Nikolaos Mystikos (901–925), both Grumel and Jenkins concluded, that such a letter could have been written only *c.* 924–925,¹³¹ a date which coincides with the above calculations whereby there is no reason to extend the katholikosate of Yovhannēs beyond 925.

The only problem that might still cause us some hesitation on this suitable date for the above letter is the identity of the *archōn tōn archontōn*. According to Jenkins the unnamed figure was the Armenian king Ašot II Erkat^c, but in dealing with the problem of the letter, H. Bartikyan showed conclusively that *c.* 922–925 the relations between Ašot Erkat^c and the Byzantines were severely strained, so that Jenkins's identification of the *archōn tōn archontōn* could not be accepted.¹³² Another holder of this title must consequently be found in Armenia during the period which interests us.

We know that in this period the title was not necessarily hereditary in the senior Bagratid line of kings, since it was not granted to Ašot's brother and successor king Abas.¹³³ More specifically, we know from a letter of Romanos Lekapenos that the grant of the title originated in Byzantium and that the emperor could easily transfer it from one prince to the other.¹³⁴ In the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos¹³⁵ and in the above letter of Romanos Lekapenos, the *archōn tōn archontōn* of Armenia is given as Gagik, the king of Vaspurakan. It is not known when Gagik was made *archōn tōn archontōn*. Runciman's guess is that it was after Ašot Erkat^c's death in 929.¹³⁶ Yet, it seems to me, that in 924/925, the only possible recipient of the Byzantine patriarch's letter could have been Gagik, who was on good terms with the Byzantines and especially with the General John Kourkouas, as against the growing

¹³⁰ Migne, *P.G.*, CXI, col. 361–5.

¹³¹ Grumel, *Les Regestes*, no 717, pp. 197–198. R. Jenkins, *Letter 101*, pp. 75–80.

¹³² H. Bartikyan, *Letters*, pp. 251 ff.. Bartikyan, presumably misled by Ormanian's chronology of the katholikoi of the period, also made the unwarranted assumption that this letter was written to Smbat I in 909/910, during the captivity of Yovhannēs. Bartikyan's view is no more than a learned guess which cannot be substantiated.

The general assumption of the historians of the period is that Ašot Erkat^c remained the *archōn tōn archontōn* until his death in 929. This is based on this assumption that Ašot remained in good terms with Byzantium until his death. The allusion of Yovh., (LXIII, 7, and note in the "Commentary"), and the indication of Asołik, p. 170, clearly show, that Ašot Erkat^c was ill-disposed toward Byzantium perhaps as early as 921.

¹³³ *DAI*, II, 165. Runciman, *Rom. Lec.*, p. 159.

¹³⁴ *Rom. Lec., Epistolae*, pp. 406–407.

¹³⁵ *De Cer.*, 687, 4–5.

¹³⁶ See note 132.

estrangement of Ašot Erkat⁶ from the Empire. In the *Book of Letters*, a letter has been preserved under Gagik's name, wherein he seeks to bring about an ecclesiastical union with Constantinople.¹³⁷ It is important to note, that in such a crucial issue the name of the *katholikos* does not appear, which might point to the possibility, that the letter was written immediately after the death of Yovhannēs c. 925. In the light of these negotiations only Gagik could have expressed the desire of the Armenians to have their next *katholikos* consecrated at Constantinople, as mentioned in Nikolaos's own letter, whose recipient must all the more likely have been the new *archōn tōn archontōn* Gagik. On the basis of these observations we must assume that sometime before 924/925 the title of *archōn tōn archontōn* had been transferred from Ašot Erkat⁶ to Gagik; the reason for Yovhannēs's silence on this subject may be explained by the assumption that the title was granted to Gagik in 924, after the termination of the *History*. The last objection to the dating of Yovhannēs's death in 924/925 is consequently removed.

According to local traditions in Vaspurakan, Yovhannēs was buried in that province either at Joroy Vank⁶ or in the monastery of Ałt⁶amar in Lake Van.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *Book of Letters*, pp. 295–301.

¹³⁸ Č⁶amč⁶ian, *History*, II, 816. Šahxat⁶unian, *Description*, I, 192. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1063. E. Lalayian, *Azgagrakan Handēs*, 20(1910), No 2, p. 208. H. Oskian, *The Monasteries of Vaspurakan-Van*, I, 252, and 101. V. Teryan, *Tombs*, p. 27. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, p. 301.

III

THE LITERARY WORKS OF YOVHANNĒS DRASXANAKERTC'I

A) *The List of Katholikoi and the Theological Treatises*

Yovhannēs is considered to be the author of a number of works in addition to the *History of Armenia*, which we shall consider subsequently. The first of these is the *List of the Katholikoi of Armenia* (*Šar Hayrapetač'n Hayoc'*), published by Aršak Tēr-Mik'elian in the appendices to his edition of Samuēl of Ani.¹ This work begins with a prologue (pp. 272-273), which is a summary of the contents and includes the claim of the author, who calls himself on two occasions Yovhannēs katholikos of Armenia, to the composition of the work. This short prologue is followed by a section on the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, as well as on St. Grigor the Illuminator, followed by a list of the katholikoi from St. Grigor's successor Aṛistakēs to Yovhannēs of Drasxanakert, together with brief comments on the origin of each one, the duration of his pontificate, and occasional mentions of important religious and political events during his reign. The *List* ends with autobiographical remarks by the author, from which we learn that he was Yovhannēs Drasx[ana]kertc'i, a disciple of his predecessor Maštoc', to whom he claims to have been related by blood. The date is given as 346 of the Armenian era (+ 551 = A.D. 897), and the author maintains, in the first person singular, that he is the fiftieth katholikos after St. Grigor.

To my knowledge, the authenticity of this work has never been challenged by modern scholars. The external evidence generally supports such an identification, although it remains inconclusive. The information about himself given by the author, with the exception of his place of origin, also occurs in the *History*,² and except for minor discrepancies due to scribal errors, shows no disagreements with that of the *History*. Yet, it must be noted that the two works do not derive this information exclusively from each other. The *List* has occasional facts such as the social origin of katholikos Yovhannēs Mandakuni (Vth century), who is

¹Sam. Ani, pp. 272-277.

²Chapter XXXVI, 9-10.

said to be from a 'feudal house' (*yazat tanē*),³ which are not to be found in the *History*.

Since the external factors are insufficient to demonstrate the authenticity of the *List*, the literary style of the work must also be taken into consideration. The language of the prologue as well as that of the *List* is very similar to that of the *History*, indeed so much so, that one might even suspect that the *List* is perhaps the work of a later author using Yovhannēs's *History* and possibly a second source for the additional information. Contrary to such a view we must note, however, that extensive medieval citations or borrowings from the *History* were usually made verbatim,⁴ whereas Yovhannēs paraphrased his sources and emulated their stylistic characteristics. The parallel passages in the *History* are similar to those in the *List*, but not identical. On stylistic grounds there can be no question that the author of the *List* is one and the same as that of the *History*. That Yovhannēs could and would have compiled such a list is a very likely possibility, for as *katholikos* of Armenia he would have had at his disposal the archives of the *katholikosate*, *i.e.*, literary sources as well as older lists of *katholikoi*, whose existence are clearly known to us.⁵ Consequently, there seems to be no serious reason to doubt the authenticity of the *List of Katholikoi*.

Two polemical treatises have also been occasionally attributed to Yovhannēs. In 1896 Karapet Vardapet [Tēr-Mkrtč'ian] published a polemical work of an anti-Chalcedonian nature whose author according to its title was the VIIIth century *katholikos* Yovhannēs of Ōjun.⁶ Norayr Biwzandac'i considered this spurious and ascribed it to Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i on stylistic and dogmatic grounds,⁷ although his suspicions were not shared by all scholars and Ormanian in particular accepted the attribution to Yovhannēs of Ōjun.⁸ Biwzandac'i took it for granted that Yovhannēs was a staunch anti-chalcedonian. However, as we have seen above, the dogmatic stand of Yovhannēs toward Chalcedon was not as hostile as it was formerly thought to be, and we must note that Yovhannēs's interests in dogmatic and christological problems are very questionable. There is no discussion of theological nature to be found in the *History*, not even in connection with the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. Moreover, the establishment of

³ *List III*, p. 274.

⁴ *Sop'erk'*, VII, 5–30.

⁵ Cf. below in the section on the 'Sources'.

⁶ *Yovhannu Imastasiri Hayoc' Kal'utikosi xostovanuťiwn anšarž yusoy marmnac'eloy Banin K'ristosi ew ənddēm dawanotac' zmi K'ristos yerkus bnut'iwns*, [*Yovhannēs the Philosopher, Katholikos of Armenia, Confession of Firm Hope in Christ the Incarnated Word, and Against Those Who Profess One Christ in Two Natures*,], (Vaťaršapat, 1896). Yovhannēs of Ōjun is the only *katholikos* of that name who is referred to as 'philosopher'.

⁷ *H.A.*, (1897), p. 157. *Pazmaveb*, (1896), appendix.

⁸ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 835.

authorship by means of stylistic analysis alone is extremely dangerous. At most, we might accept that the author of the above work wrote in a style similar to that of Yovhannēs.

Finally, in his *Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names*,⁹ H. Ačařyan was misled by the statement of a *List of Katholikoi*,¹⁰ that two hundred years before Nersēs the Graceful (d. 1173) a katholikos by the name of Yovhannēs had written a treatise against the Monophysites. Ačařyan entertained the possibility of identifying the above Yovhannēs with Draxanakertc'ı, but his identification cannot be accepted, since the same *List* clearly specifies that Yovhannēs is the second name of the Chalcedonian katholikos Vahan (966/67-968/69).

Consequently, the above evidence suggests that Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'ı is not the author of the last two theological treatises attributed to Yovhannēs of Öjun and katholikos Vahan, and that his only other known work besides the *History* is the *List of Katholikoi*.

B) *The History of Armenia*

i) Contents

The *History of Armenia* by Yovhannēs Draxanakertc'ı is an extensive work composed of a "Preface" (pp. v–xii),* the *History* (pp. 15–450), and an epilogue (pp. 451–457). The division of the *History* into chapters with compendious headings is doubtless the work of a later editor, and it must be noted, that not all the MSS have divisions and chapter headings. In the present translation we have followed the subdivisions of the 1867 Jerusalem edition.

The "Preface" is primarily a summary of the author's purpose in the *History*, that is to say, a very brief description of the contents of the work, preceded by a prefatory section containing the author's philosophy of history. According to this only God possesses the knowledge of truth, whereas man, who has the wondrous urge to pursue the truth, can do so only with the help of God through his faculty of reasoning, since he is limited by his very nature. Thus, instead of producing figments of his imagination, the historian records the course of events with which he is well acquainted and which he transmits from one generation to the other for the benefit of the posterity.

After the above preliminary statement Yovhannēs continues to say that he has undertaken the present task at the suggestion of certain people, whom he does not identify. He assures these anonymous patrons that he will not duplicate the narrative of the earlier historians in the

⁹ Ačařyan, *Dictionary of Armenian Personal names*, III, 559.

¹⁰ Dařian, *Catalogue*, p. 109.

*All the references are to Yovhannēs, Jerusalem, 1867.

unadorned manner of the peasants (*əst get'jkac' anaruestic'*), but rather in rhetorical style, and finally remarks that extreme old age and the turbulent times force him to write in great haste in order to complete his work.

The *History* proper begins with the deluge and traces the origins of the Armenian nation to the line of Japheth (pp. 15–20, *i.e.*, chapter I). Beginning with Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians, and the son of Togarmah, the line of the Armenian Haykid *nahapets* (patriarchs) is brought down to Skayordi (pp. 20–26, *i.e.*, chapter II). Next in sequence come the kings of the Haykid dynasty from Paroyr to Vahē (pp. 26–31, *i.e.*, chapter III). Then, with Vafaršak, we have the establishment in Armenia of the Parthian Arsacid dynasty, whose rule continued until the fifth century (pp. 31–76, *i.e.*, chapters IV–XIV).

The period following the fall of the Armenian monarchy and marking the Sasanian domination of Armenia (pp. 76–103, *i.e.*, chapters XV–XVIII), is followed by an account of the Arabic invasions into Armenia from the forties of the seventh century (pp. 103–114, *i.e.*, chapters XVIII–XIX).

To the period of the Arab domination of Armenia from the late VIIth to early IXth centuries, Yovhannēs has devoted four chapters (pp. 114–138, *i.e.*, chapters XX–XXIII). In these chapters the *History* revolves around the *katholikoi* of the period; Yovhannēs speaks very little about major political issues, and if he does, his information is essentially marginal. The chapters on the events of the mid and late ninth century, that is until the accession of Smbat I Bagratuni to the throne in 890, are, however, quite informative on the gradual waning of the Arab domination and the emergence of the Bagratid house, following the ravages of Bughā (pp. 138–179, *i.e.*, chapters XXIV–XXIX).

The historical information in the remaining chapters (XXX–LXVII) is based on an eyewitness account of the events of the last decade of the ninth and the first two decades of the tenth centuries. The reign of king Smbat I (890–914) occupies the first twenty chapters of this section of the *History* (pp. 179–302), whereas that of his son Ašot fills the remaining eighteen chapters (pp. 302–450).

In the above thirty-eight chapters Yovhannēs emphasizes political history; religion interests him infrequently. We learn a great deal not only about the turbulent reigns of Smbat I and Ašot II, but also about the administrative and feudal system of the Bagratids as well as those of the princely houses of Siwnik' and Vaspurakan. This part of the *History* is also a basic source for the reconstruction of the history of the Sādjid emirs and their relations with the Bagratid and Arcruni kings. Finally, it is likewise of considerable importance for the history of Bagratid-Iberian, Bagratid-Albanian, Bagratid-Abasgian, and Bagratid-Byzantine relations.

Yovhannēs has appended to the *History* a verbose epilogue in the form of a letter addressed to the princes and kings of Armenia. Its purpose is apparently to introduce the *History* to them and adds nothing new to the *History*, except perhaps for the fact that it serves as a certificate for the authenticity of its authorship. The “Epilogue” is not really part of the *History*, for the latter already has a short and an effective ending (cf. end of chapter LXVII). Furthermore, it begins with the salutation of a letter, and in most of the MSS it is separated from the rest of the *History* as an entity within itself.

In the “Epilogue” the author discusses the usefulness of the *History* to the Armenian leaders, who should come to their senses with the help of the lessons of the past. Yovhannēs maintains that he undertook the task of writing the present work at the order of unidentified kings, and that his purpose was to provide his readers with a guide-book which might help them avoid future sufferings. He reinforces this idea with biblical allusions and homiletic admonitions, and finally asks the reader to remember him in his prayers.

There are no parallels to the “Epilogue” in the earlier or contemporary works of historical nature. The “Lamentation” appended to the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac’i is neither in the form of a letter, nor in any way similar to the “Epilogue”. The latter seems to possess certain features which are characteristic of colophons: a) mention of the patrons of the *History*, although not by name. b) the ending where the author expresses the wish to be remembered in the prayers of his readers.¹ Unlike most colophons, however, the “Epilogue” does not follow the stereotype, since it lacks the usual statement of Trinitarian theology and the date of composition, but this is not unusual for tenth century colophons. Asohik² and Grigor of Narek³ also do not have the above statement in the colophons of their works. But both of them end their works with requests which are similar to that of Yovhannēs.

In view of the above considerations, the “Epilogue” is neither a separate document, nor an integral part of the *History*. Its function is that of a colophon.

ii) The Time of Composition

Since the last datable events in the *History* are from c. 923/924,¹ it is plausible to assume that Yovhannēs wrote at least part of his work shortly thereafter, *i.e.*, following the katholikos’s retirement to Vaspurakan. In

¹Sanjian, *Colophons*, pp. 7–9.

²Asohik, pp. 284–286.

³Grigor of Narek, *Lamentations*, pp. 637–639.

¹Cf. the notes on chapters LXV–LXVII in the “Commentary”.

favor of this date we should mention that references of Yovhannēs to his old age and oncoming death in the "Preface"² and the *History*,³ whereas in his letter of 914 to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos,⁴ he merely alludes to his old age. However, as Abelyan has observed,⁵ such an extensive work as the *History* could not have been written in a short time by a man enfeebled by age and a lifetime of wandering. Abelyan's observations in regard to the change of attitude on the part of the katholikos toward prince Gagik Arcruni of Vaspurakan is quite important in this connection. For example, the extremely unfavorable treatment of Gagik in chapter XLIII, where the coronation of the latter in 908 is described as 'perfidy', changes to that of tolerance in chapter XLVIII, 1-3, 21, and ultimately to the acknowledgement of the prince as *ʿagawor Hayoc* ['king of Armenia'].⁶ Such discrepancies suggest that Yovhannēs wrote his work at different times and places. Ormanian thinks for obvious reasons that the appropriate times during Yovhannēs's life for the composition of such a work would have been his lengthy stays in Albania and Gugark^c, Derjan and Bagaran.⁷ One must add to these his years at Dvin in the patriarchate. During his very brief stay in Vaspurakan before his death, he must have revised and supplemented his compilations and compositions. The revision evidently was not so thorough as to eliminate from the early chapters expressions of opinions he had since changed.

As early as the XVIIIth century, Č'amč'ian suggested a change of tone in the *History*, which might indicate that the first part of the work had been written before Yovhannēs's katholikosate.⁸ The Mekhitarist historian had in mind the presence of the anti-Chalcedonian statements in the first part, and their total absence in the second.⁹ This suggestion does not seem necessary, since the material in the first part is totally dependent on earlier sources as we have already indicated, and need not reflect Yovhannēs's views. The stereotype anti-Chalcedonian phrases of the earlier section could easily have been drawn from the *Book of Letters* and the Lost List of Katholikoi,¹⁰ which Yovhannēs used to acquire his information for this period. Thus the dogmatic factor may be useless for purposes of dating the *History*, provided we suppose the author sufficiently indifferent about theological questions to take over, without

² Yovhannēs, Jerusalem, p. vii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, LIV, 61.

⁵ Abelyan, *Works*, III, 482.

⁶ Yovh., LXVII, 17.

⁷ Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1063.

⁸ Č'amč'ian, *History*, II, 725.

⁹ See above, "Biography".

¹⁰ Cf. "Sources".

alteration, expressions of opinions hostile to those of groups he was trying to conciliate. On the other hand, the notion of a change of theological position is not implausible especially since Yovhannēs's attempts to secure Byzantine protection, towards the end of his life, would have necessitated adoption of a position more friendly to Chalcedon.

The "Introduction" must be considered carefully in determining the date of the *History*. Here Yovhannēs makes it very plain that he is writing at a time of turmoil, when there were three kings at war with one another in Armenia.

There is, however, no mention of the transfer of the patriarchal see to Vaspurakan. Moreover, the author still seems to be ill disposed toward king Gagik of Vaspurakan, since he considers the latter an anti-king.¹¹ All of the above indications suggest a *terminus ad quem* of c. 923/924 (= the transfer of the patriarchal see to Vaspurakan), and a *quo* of c. 915/916 (= the beginning of the rule of Ašot son of Šapuh as anti-king). On the other hand the last three chapters and the epilogue were no doubt written in Vaspurakan before the final compilation of the entire work.¹²

iii) The Style of the *History*

Yovhannēs writes in a very rich, ornate style full of biblical quotations, and borrowings from the works of various Armenian and Classical authors. In these excerpts he repeats the content of his sources (sometimes without acknowledging them) very closely, but usually changes their word order or paraphrases the originals. Allusions to a particular author usually occur when Yovhannēs is drawing direct historical information from his work. We also find literary implications suggested by the context. Thus, in speaking on various occasions of the afflictions of contemporary noble men and women, Yovhannēs borrows passages from the VIIIth book of Elišē (an author of either Vth or VIth century)¹ describing the misery of the Armenian nobility after the great rebellion of 451 A.D.. This artificial style, which is based on imitation or outright borrowing, reflects the stagnant, if not moribund state of the classical idiom in the Xth century. One can observe similar stylistic characteristics in other Xth century writers such as T'ovma Arcruni and Step'anos Asofik.² Yovhannēs makes it quite clear in the "Introduction" of his

¹¹ Yovh., Jerusalem, pp. x-xi.

¹² For the time of composition of the *History* see also H. Baxč'inyan, "Hovhannes Drax-anakertc'u patmut'yan zamanakə," *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani*, (1976), No 3.

¹ On Elišē's date cf. Kiwleserian, *Elišē*, pp. 51-71. Akinian, *Elišē*, pp. 13-68. Tēr-Minasyan, *Elišē*, "Introduction," Elishē, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, transl. and commentary by R.W. Thomson, (Harvard, 1982).

² Abelyan, *Works*, III, pp. 485-486, 565.

work³ that he does not wish to write in the unadorned language of the peasants which he calls *geṭjuk ban*,⁴ thus implying that a demotic dialect (not to be confused with the ancestor of Modern Armenian) existed side by side with the classical language. The major difference between the simpler demotic, which is used by Grigor of Narek in some of his poems,⁵ and the ornate style of Yovhannēs lies in the use of various rhetorical devices, most of which are lost in translation. Ellipses are quite common in the classical idiom,⁶ but Yovhannēs suppresses words or phrases especially in contexts where he has borrowed from a given source.⁷ Inversions,⁸ asyndata,⁹ cognate accusatives,¹⁰ periphrases,¹¹ hyperboles,¹² metaphors, similies, anthetheses¹³ are devices which appear quite frequently in the *History*.

It has been argued that the involved style of Yovhannēs is perhaps due to the influence of Arabic,¹⁴ but as Ačāryan has pointed out, the style used by Yovhannēs was already in existence in the seventh century in the 'School of Siwnik',¹⁵ and need not be explained through foreign influence. In this connection we should not forget that Yovhannēs was a disciple of Maštoc' who had been educated at the monastery of Mak'ēnoc'k', one of the descendants of the 'School of Siwnik'. To my knowledge, Yovhannēs is the first to apply this richly ornate, rhetorical and artificial language to historical writing. The language of the earlier historians such as Agat'angelos, P'awstos Buzand, Koriwn, Łazar P'arpec'i, Sebēos and Łewond is not as rhetorical and mannered. Elišē and Movsēs Xorenac'i use many rhetorical devices, but their idiom is not an artificial one. As we have indicated above, the same ornate style can also be observed in the contemporary *History* of T'ovma Arcruni. Thus, it seems to be quite characteristic of the age, and consequently an additional proof of the correct attribution of the *History* to Yovhannēs of Drax-anakert.

The vocabulary of the *History* also reflects the patterns found in other tenth century writers. The general vocabulary and the idioms are fairly consistant and identical with those that are to be found in the Vth

³ Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, p. vi.

⁴ Yovh., XXVII, 4.

⁵ Grigor Narekac'i, *Taler*, pp. 31–32. Mkryan, *Grigor Narekac'i*, pp. 158 ff..

⁶ Cf. Bagratuni, *Grammar*, pp. 413 ff.. Aytinian, *Grammar*, pp. 462–463.

⁷ E.g., LII, 16.

⁸ LII, 1.

⁹ XXXIII, 3.

¹⁰ XLII, 14.

¹¹ XLV, 11.

¹² Ch. LII in general.

¹³ LIII, 2.

¹⁴ Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 81.

¹⁵ Ačāryan, *Hist. of the Arm. Lang.*, II, 173–179.

century classical translation of the bible. But Yovhannēs, like Grigor of Narek,¹⁶ has the tendency to create compound adjectives, verbs and nouns, most of which are *hapax legomena*. Such words are formed by taking the component parts of words found in his sources and constructing new forms. For example, from the idiom *gatt xt'el*, 'to bribe', in Elišē¹⁷ Yovhannēs makes a verb *gattaxt'el*.¹⁸ However, whereas most compounds of this nature are quite successful in Grigor of Narek, they are often awkward in the *History*, since Yovhannēs lacks a poet's sensitivity for words. There seems to be little doubt about the fact that the style of the *History* is the product of a writer well versed in the Armenian classics, but writing in a dead language sometime in the tenth century.¹⁹

iv) Authenticity

a) History

The authenticity of the tenth century *History of Armenia* written by the katholikos Yovhannēs has never been questioned, for the author of the *History* refers to himself a number of times, and leaves no doubt that he is the katholikos Yovhannēs V of Draxanakert, the successor of the katholikos Maštoc' (d. 897).¹

On numerous occasions, when the author speaks in the first person (singular or plural), it is quite clear that he is: a) a high church dignitary or a katholikos,² b) a contemporary of Smbat I, Ašot II Erkat' and Yūsuf, the Sādjid emir,³ c) a man who was the recipient of a letter from the patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos of Constantinople addressed to Yovhannēs the katholikos of Greater Armenia,⁴ d) and the author of a letter addressed to the emperor Constantine [Porphyrogennetos], which bears the signature of Yovhannēs katholikos of Greater Armenia.⁵ Thus, there seems to be ample internal evidence in the *History* that points to Yovhannēs Draxanakert'ci as the author of the work in question.

It is also necessary to examine the evidence from other contemporary and later sources concerning the authorship of the *History*. First is T'ovma Arcruni, the historian of the Arcruni house of Vaspurakan, and a contemporary of Yovhannēs,⁶ who speaks of Yovhannēs katholikos

¹⁶Gregory of Narek, *Lamentations*, XXV, iii.

¹⁷Elišē, p. 64.

¹⁸Yovh., XXXIV, 2.

¹⁹See also A.B. Sargsyan, "Hovhannes Draxanakert'cu k'ert'otakan aruesti šurj, P.-B.H., (1981), No 2, pp. 164–177.

¹Yovh., Jerusalem, p. 456; ch. XXXVI, 9–11; LIV, 28.

²Yovh., XL, 15; XLIII, 7.

³Yovh., XXX–LXVII.

⁴Yovh., LIV, 1–2.

⁵Yovh., LIV, 28, 44, 53–55.

⁶Abetyan, *Works*, III, 494 ff..

twice in his *History of the Arçruni House*,⁷ but fails to mention the fact that the *katholikos* is also the author of a *History* with which he nevertheless seems to be acquainted.⁸ We must underscore, however, the fact, that T'ovma very seldom mentions the sources of his work. The important factor here is that at the time of T'ovma the *History* attributed to Yovhannēs was in existence.

Our second source is Step'anos Asofik, an author of the late Xth century, in whose *Universal History* Yovhannēs appears quite frequently.⁹ In the first chapter of the first book of his *History*, Asofik discusses the sources of his work, and makes the following statement on Yovhannēs:

Finally, in the more recent past [there appeared] the histories of Šapuh Bagratuni, and of the Lord Yovhannēs *katholikos* of Armenia, who [lived] during the period of Ašot and Smbat, the first Bagratid kings.¹⁰

Thus, Asofik is aware of the fact that Yovhannēs is the author of a history, but from the present context the nature of this work is not clear. Somewhat later, Asofik mentions the pontificate of Yovhannēs and calls him *čartasan*, ['orator'], and *patmagir*, ['historian'].¹¹ There can be no doubt that Asofik has before him the present *History* attributed to Yovhannēs, since as we shall see in the "Commentary" to the text, most of his information for the period of Smbat comes directly out of this work.

The evidence from later sources, even though not as important as that of T'ovma and Asofik, also indicates the authenticity of the *History*. The direct and indirect references to the *History* by later writers such as Vardan (XIIIth century), Kirakos of Ganjak (XIIIth century), and Samuēl of Ani (XIIth century) indicate that in the Middle Ages this work, as we know it today, was attributed to Yovhannēs.¹²

On internal grounds the rhetorical and imitative nature of the style of the *History* as we have seen in the previous section is also quite suited to the tenth century.

As a final proof for the authenticity of the *History*, we must also note that in so far as is known, there is no evidence whatsoever pointing to the contrary, nor any other figure to whom the work might be attributed. Consequently, in view of the testimony of our sources and the absence of contradictory evidence, we must accept the authenticity of the *History of Armenia*.

⁷T'ov. Arc., pp. 243, 247. According to Norayr Biwzandaci, "T'ovma Arçruni ew Ananun Arçruni," *P*, (1905), p. 231, thinks that T'ovma Continuatus also had read the *History* of Yovhannēs.

⁸See "Commentary" for specific references.

⁹Abelyan, *Works*, III, 563 ff..

¹⁰Asofik, p. 7.

¹¹Asofik, p. 160.

¹²Vardan, p. 87. Kir. Ganj., pp. 81–82. Sam. Ani, p. 85.

b) The Letters

In his *History of Armenia* Yovhannēs included four letters whose authenticity must also be established.

The first of these is addressed to Abas, the *sparapet*, 'commander-in-chief', of Armenia, in response to a letter written by the latter *c.* 890, trying to attain the support of Maštoc^c, the abbot of the monastery of Sewan, in his attempt to depose the katholikos Gēorg II of Gaṛni in retaliation for the latter's favoring of the coronation of Abas's nephew Smbat I.¹ The author of the letter is given as the above Maštoc^c. The second letter, also attributed to the same Maštoc^c, is addressed to the victims of the great earthquake of Dvin in 893.² No question has ever been raised about the authenticity of these two letters, to which Yovhannēs would have had free access at the patriarchal archives as *dran episkopos*, 'bishop-in-residence', and later as katholikos. The letters have no immediate importance for the *History*, and could readily have been eliminated. But Yovhannēs must have had a reason for including them in his work. From chapter XXX of the *History* we learn that Abas wished a) to depose the katholikos Gēorg II of Gaṛni, b) to attract to his side the most saintly and scholarly figure of the period, namely Maštoc^c, and c) to replace Gēorg with Maštoc^c. Although Maštoc^c remained passive, according to *Letter I*, the fact that he was considered as a likely candidate by Abas is indirectly indicative of a possible disagreement or even dislike between Gēorg and Maštoc^c perhaps due to the anathema pronounced by the katholikos on the latter because of his pro-Chalcedonian tendencies.³ The dispute between the two clerics and Abas's schemes were no doubt known to all the contemporaries, who would have instinctively considered Maštoc^c the major opponent of Gēorg. The posthumous publication of the first letter would prove Maštoc^c's innocence of all the alleged accusations of complicity with Abas, and would comprise the formal admittance on the part of Maštoc^c of his grave error in Christological matters, while the second letter would serve to reinforce the image of the pious and humanitarian priest emerging out of the first letter. There can be no doubt that the second letter is authentic. Writing approximately thirty-five years after the earthquake of Dvin, Yovhannēs would have no reason (nor the audacity) to fabricate a letter such as this, knowing that his fabrication could easily be exposed by contemporaries. But such is not the case with the first letter, for unlike the second one it was addressed to an individual who was dead. Clearing the name of his teacher Maštoc^c posthumously of all suspicions and accusations would

¹ Yovh., XXX, 33–73.

² Yovh., XXXII, 8–21.

³ This is mentioned in *Letter I*, cf. XXX, 38.

have been quite a strong motivation for Yovhannēs to fabricate, as an act of piety, such an apologetic letter based on historical facts. Also a statement from Maštoc's pen about the sanctity of the office of *katholikos* would have enhanced his own (Yovhannēs's) position and authority. These considerations give me reason to suspect the authenticity of the first letter. We must note that a stylistic analysis of the two letters reveals many similarities with the *History*, but this does not mean that they are both fabrications. The stagnation of the classical idiom forced writers into the imitation of earlier patterns. Thus the similarity of style in the present case provides no satisfactory basis for the proof or disproof of the authenticity of the documents in question, especially since Yovhannēs, as Maštoc's disciple, would probably write in the same style as his teacher, and in that of the School of Siwnik in general as we have already noted.

The third letter is that of the patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos of Constantinople addressed to Yovhannēs *katholikos* of Greater Armenia.⁴ The occasion for it is the troublesome period during the incarceration of Smbat I at Dvin (913–914), and the purpose of the letter is to urge Yovhannēs to persuade the princes of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and Abasgia to come to terms, and work for their common welfare.

The authenticity of the letter of Nikolaos has never been questioned, despite the absence of the Greek original in the corpus of the letters of Nikolaos Mystikos, and the absence of any mention of it in any other contemporary or later historian. These negative external factors are offset by the internal evidence which points to the authenticity of this letter. 1) There is no conceivable reason for Yovhannēs to have fabricated such a letter. As a man of responsible position he could not act whimsically and produce fabrications which could easily be exposed. The *History* was intended for the princes and kings of Armenia, who were well aware of the events of their times. 2) There are references in the letter to similar letters sent to the *curopalate* of Iberia and the prince of the Abasgians. In view of the close relations of the above princes with the Bagratid kingdom, Yovhannēs would never have made such allusions, unless the letter were authentic. 3) The epistolary style of this letter seems to correspond to the 'bipartite' system characteristic of other letters of Nikolaos,⁵ by virtue of the fact that here also there are two different subjects presented in the same letter, namely how to seek consolation for such a severe calamity and how to go about saving the Christian nations of the East. 4) The reference to the *Sādjid* emirs as 'the

⁴Yovhannēs, LIV, 2–15.

⁵J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers Byzantins*, pp. 35, 123 note 26. Cf. R.J.H. Jenkins, *Letter 101*, p. 76. *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Miscellaneous Writings*, Greek text and English translation by L. G. Westerink, pp. 32–35, 146.

sons of Apisač^c is never seen elsewhere in the *History* of Yovhannēs, but the form *Aposatai* is quite usual in the Byzantine sources.⁶ “

5) Most important is the presence of Greek terminology underlying the Armenian text. Some of this terminology appears in the Greek letters of Nikolaos Mystikos or contemporary Byzantine sources, but is either alien to or rare in Armenian. Thus, for example, *vsemakan* = Gk. *Hagiotatos*, ‘most holy’, according to the *NBHL* (The standard Lexicon of Classical Armenian), is not used for human beings before Yovhannēs in Armenian, yet, in Greek we see it in the heading of a letter of Nikolaos to pope John.⁷ *Hogewor hayr* = G. *pneumatikos pater*, ‘spiritual father’, as such does not appear in the letters of Nikolaos, but it could be compared with *pneumatikon teknon* of the latter.⁸ To be sure, the word ‘father’ is usually reserved for the pope of Rome, according to Constantine Porphyrogenetos,⁹ but we must note that Constantine is writing a little later. The formula *i Nikotayosē otormut^ceambn Astucoy yark^cepiskoposē Kostandinupolsi*, ‘from Nikolaos by the mercy of God archbishop of Constantinople’ is the correct titulature translated literally from the Greek, *Nikolaos eleōi theou archiepiskopos Kōnstantinoupoleōs*, exactly as it appears in at least one of Nikolaos’s letters.¹⁰ The formula *i carayē carayic^c astucoy*, ‘from the servant of the servants of God’ is an expression which is not used by the hierarchs of the Armenian church before the XIIth century, but *doulos tōn doulōn* is not very common in Greek either.¹¹ *Astuacapsakeal*,¹² Gk. *theosteptos*, ‘crowned by God’,¹³ is very rare in Armenian, and always restricted to the emperor of Byzantium.¹⁴ Yet, it is so common as to be a stereotype in Byzantine usage, and is used by Constantine Porphyrogenetos himself.¹⁵ 6) The mention of Atrnerseh, the king of Iberia, by his Byzantine title *curopalate* is also significant, since Yovhannēs usually refers to the latter after his coronation as ‘king of Iberia’.¹⁶ All of these indications seem to leave no doubt that the letter of Nikolaos was indeed a translation from an authentic Greek original.

The fourth letter is written by Yovhannēs himself and addressed to the emperor Constantine [Porphyrogenetos] of Byzantium,¹⁷ but unlike the letter of Nikolaos, we have no parallel contemporary document with which to compare it. The titulature itself does not necessarily reveal

⁶ *DAI*, 44/8, 27, 51.

⁷ *NBHL*, under *vsemakan*. Migne, *PG*, CXI, 248.

⁸ Migne, *PG*, CXI, 285, 289.

⁹ *De Cer.*, II, 48.

¹⁰ Migne, *PG*, CXI, 289.

¹¹ Lampe, *Lexicon*, p. 385, col. 2.

¹² Yovh., XXXVI, 15.

¹³ Lampe, *Lexicon*, p. 636, col. 2.

¹⁴ *NBHL*, under the above word.

¹⁵ *DAI*, II, 10.

¹⁶ Cf. note 12.

¹⁷ Yovh., LIV, 26–69.

the time of the composition of the letter, but like that of the preceding one it demonstrates a close acquaintance with Byzantine protocol. *Ink'nakal*, which seems to correspond to the Greek *autokratōr*, together with *kaysr H'rovmayec'woc'*, 'emperor of the Romans', and *ōgostos*, 'augustus', are unquestionably part of the official imperial title,¹⁸ and similar to the formulae used in the letters of the XIIth century *katholikoi* Grigor and Nersēs addressed to the emperor Manuēl I Komnenos.¹⁹ We have seen, in discussing the preceding letter, that the formula 'crowned by God' is not only common in Byzantine usage, but also used by Constantine Porphyrogennetos in reference to himself.

There can be no question that Yovhannēs wrote this letter, since he both introduces it,²⁰ and refers back to it subsequently.²¹ Moreover, the style of the letter is definitely that of Yovhannēs, and some of its biblical allusions also appear elsewhere in the *History*.²² The remaining question is whether we have the actual text of the letter sent to Constantinople or a reworked version. The answer to this may be supplied by the interpretation of a certain passage in the letter. All the historical details in the letter are also known to us from the *History*. The *kathlikos* is merely informing the Byzantine court of the calamities that had befallen the Armenians in general and seeking imperial help. One item of information in it is, however, both new and valuable, this is the request for political asylum from the emperor on Yovhannēs's part. No other reference to this request can be found in the rest of the *History*. If this omission in the text indicates Yovhannēs's wish to avoid the subject for obvious reasons, the fact that such a passage has survived in the letter is proof of its authenticity. On the other hand, if the letter were a forgery, it would be very difficult to explain the presence in it of the above passage. As a cautious man Yovhannēs might have left it out altogether, but did not do so presumably in order to avoid mutilating the document. This consideration, consequently, gives us another reason for accepting the authenticity of this letter as well.²³

v) The Sources of the First Part

The first twenty-three chapters of Yovhannēs's *History of Armenia* are based on information provided by earlier sources. The fact that Yovhannēs followed the originals quite closely, and imitated their stylistic

¹⁸ Bréhier, *l'Origine*, pp. 161–178.

¹⁹ Nersēs Šnorhali, pp. 107, 108–109, 144. *Ōgostos*, *kaysr*, and *ink'nakal* are also used by M.X., III, v; III, xxix, etc..

²⁰ Yovh., LIV, 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, LV, 1.

²² *Ibid.*, cf. "Commentary" on ch. LIV.

²³ On the authenticity of the third and the fourth letters see Tēr Sahakian, "Erku diwanakan t'it'er," pp. 483–487.

characteristics makes their identification self-evident. In the following pages we shall try to trace the sources used by the historian, in these early chapters.

Chapter I—"The genealogy of the generations of Noah." p. 15, ll. 5–13,* the deluge and the salvation of Noah, cf. Genesis 8–9.

p. 15, l. 13–p. 16, l. 10. For the genealogy of Japheth the Armenian authors used an Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus, parts of which were excerpted by Anania of Širak.¹

Certain modern historians have considered Yovhannēs's identification of Tiras as the ancestor of the Thracians a significant fragment of an ancient local tradition concerning the origins of the Armenian people and their ties with Thrace.² Such notions based on a tenth century A.D. historian are unwarranted, since Yovhannēs is using Hippolytus at this point.

p. 16, ll. 10–15, Yovhannēs's interpretation of his source Jeremiah, 51: 27, as a reference to the subordination of the people of Ashkenaz by Togarmah is most unusual. Most probably the historian is trying to reconcile the twin appellations for the Armenian people, 'House of Togarmah' and 'People of Ashkenaz'.^{2a}

p. 16, l. 17, Among the descendants of Elishah are the Athenians, who do not appear in the Greek Hippolytus, but are present in Yovhannēs's work which derives its information from the *Anonymous Chronicle*, i.e., the Armenian Hippolytus, p. 5.

p. 18, ll. 13–16, The calculation of the number of years (= 400) between Japheth and Hayk is presumably Yovhannēs's own, but (p. 18, ll. 16–17) the source of the information on the number of years from Adam to the deluge is the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

p. 18, l. 25–p. 19, l. 13, The information on Mar Abas Katina and the origins of Armenian historiography is drawn from Movsēs Xorenac'i, I, viii and ix.³

p. 19, l. 13–p. 20, l. 2, The information on Hayk and the construction of the tower of Babel likewise comes from M.X., I, ix. *Chapter II*—"On Hayk and his descendants"—is based for the most part on M.X., I, v, vii, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xix, xx, xxi.

p. 23, l. 10, The name K'arawaz as the boundary of the realm of Sisak is

*All references are to Yovhannēs, Jerusalem, 1867.

¹*Ananun Žamanakagruf'iwon* [*Anonymous Chronicle*], ed. B. Sargisian, Venice, 1904, p. 5. Hereafter A.C.. Anania Širakac'i, pp. 357–399. Hippolytus, *Werke*, Band IV, Leipzig, 1929. Cf. also Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 1, note 1.

²Leo, *History*, I, 249. J. De Morgan, *History*, pp. 52–53.

^{2a}Agat'angelos, pp. 12,403,415; Koriwn, p. 22.

³On Movsēs Xorenac'i see S. Malkasyanc', *Xorenac'u arēlcvac'i šurjə* [*On the Problem of Movsēs Xorenac'i*], Erevan, 1940, and C. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 330 ff.. C. Toumanoff, *Pseudo-Moses*, pp. 467 ff.. Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, transl. and comment. by R.W. Thomson.

unknown to M.X., but appears in Stepʿanos Orbelian in a different context.⁴

- p. 23, l. 22, The collective plural “Aramaneakk” used for “Armēn” or “Armnik” of M.X., I, xii [Armenians] is very close to the Byzantine form *tōn Armeniakōn*.⁵
- p. 23, ll. 23–p. 23, l. 16, Aram’s division of Armenia into four parts is to be found in M.X., I, xix, and corresponds to the Justinianic partition of the sixth century,⁶ with echoes of the pre-Justinianic administrative system.⁷
- p. 25, l. 24–p. 26, l. 4, In reference to the patriarchs succeeding Anušawan, Yovhannēs says: “None of his descendants ruled over their ancestral domain, but certain others dominated over the people of Togarmah not according to family lineage but according to personal achievement.” Here Yovhannēs seems to have misinterpreted M.X., I, xix, the note on the predecessors of Joshua, who are said to have ruled “not by virtue of family lineage but by efficiency.”

Chapter III—“The Armenian kings from Paroyr to Vahē.” The source is again M.X., I, xxi, xxiii, xxii, xxiv, xxxi, xxx, xxxii.

- p. 28, ll. 10–14, The assertion that the information on the early Armenian kings was gathered from Chaldaean books found in Nineveh and Edessa, and put into written form during the reign of Tiberius is not found in M.X.. In the opinion of L. Ališan, this is a conclusion drawn by Yovhannēs from M.X., II, xxvii,⁸ where M.X. describes the founding of the city of Edessa by Abgar and the transfer of the royal archives to that city.
- p. 31, ll. 2–5, The time span between Hayk and Vařarřak is given as 2297 years, a figure not to be found in M.X., but which is based on the calculations of both M.X. and the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

Chapter IV—“The Arsacid kings from Vařarřak to Tigran II.” The source continues to be M.X., II, i, ii, iii, vii, viii, v, vi, ix, xii, xiii.

- p. 33, ll. 6–8, Yovhannēs is the earliest Armenian source to speak of the Davidic origin of the prince Bagarat, the ancestor of the Bagratids. This tradition was unknown to M.X.,⁹ but is familiar to Yovhannēs’s younger contemporary Constantine Porphyrogenetos.¹⁰ This conjunction is a probable indication of the genetic period of the legend.

⁴Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 478.

⁵*DAI*, 45. H. Bartikyan, *Constantine Porphyrogenetos*, p. 231, note 12. P. 318, note 20.

⁶*Corp. Jur. Civ.*, vol. III, *Novellae*, Nov. XXXI, pp. 235–239.

⁷On the pre-Justinianic system cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 73.

⁸Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 18.

⁹Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 328–329. Adontz, *Historical Studies*, p. 103. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 391.

¹⁰*DAI*, 45.

- p. 36, ll. 2ff., Two different accounts to be found in M.X., II, 9, one describing the coming of Bulgar refugees to Koł and the other speaking of the martyrdom of two Bagratid princes for not worshipping idols have been intermingled, so that those who come to Koł are no longer the Bulgar refugees, but Jews (=ancestors of the Bagratids) living among the Bulgars.

Chapter V—"On the kings Tigran II, Artawazd and Arĵam." The source is Movsēs Xorenac'i, II, xiv, xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv.

- p. 37, ll. 5–17, The information on the founding of the city of Amaseia derives from a short hagiographical work known under the title of *Patmut'iwñ Amasia k'atak'i ew yałags snndean ew varuc' srboyn T'eodorosi zōravarin [History of the City of Amaseia, and the Life and Works of the Blessed Theodore the Stratelates.]*¹¹

Chapter VI—"The legend of king Abgar." The source is M.X., II, xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv. There is no indication of Yovhannēs using any other source.

Chapter VII—"The martyrdom of the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, and the followers of Oski and Suk'ias." The historical information on the period comes out of M.X., II; 34. But Yovhannēs has also used a) The acts of the Apostle Thaddeus and of the Virgin Sanduxt.¹² b) The acts of the followers of Oski and Suk'ias.¹³ Both of these were widely current and used already before the time of Yovhannēs.

Chapter VIII—"The establishment of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia, and the circumstances of the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity." The source is M.X., II, lxxvii, lxxix, lxxiv, lxxviii, lxxx, lxxxii, lxxxix, xci. It is also quite possible, however, that Yovhannēs had under his eyes the so-called *History of Agat'angelos*, pp. 15, 20–24, 24–25, 26–30, and especially, pp. 460, 462, 464.¹⁴

Chapter IX—"The Council of Nicaea, and the death of Grigor the Illuminator." The source is M.X., II, lxxxix–xci. The description of the circumstances of the death of Arius also betrays knowledge of Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, xxxviii.

¹¹ First published in *Sop'erk'*, XVI, 55–57. A critical text was published by N. Andrikan, *Pazmaveb*, (1905), pp. 441–448. For bibliography cf. Anasyan, *Arm. Bibliology*, p. 26. We know neither the author nor the date of composition of this work. Ališan, *Arm. Christianity*, p. 166, attributes it to M.X. purely on stylistic grounds.

¹² *Sop'erk'*, VIII, 9–58, cf. N. Akinian, "The Martyrology of Thaddeus and Sanduxt," *H.A.*, (1969), pp. 399–426, (1970), pp. 1–35.

¹³ *Sop'erk'*, XIX, 33, 59–60, 61–62, 40, 63, 39, 65. Cf. Akinian—Tēr Połosian, "Martyrology of the Oskians and Suk'iasians," *H.A.*, (1970), pp. 4–6, 129 ff..

¹⁴ On the problem of Agat'angelos, cf. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican City, 1946). Ter-Lewondyan, *The New Arabic Version of Agat'angelos*, pp. 5–97. Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, transl. and comment. by R.W. Thomson.

Chapter X—"The death of Aristakēs and king Trdat, the katholikosate of Vrt'anēs and the martyrdom of Grigoris in Albania." The source throughout is M.X., II, xci, xcii, III, ii, iii.

The place of king Trdat's burial is given as the village of T'ordan, near the tomb of St. Grigor. This tradition, unknown to M.X., is presumably based on the medieval traditions whose existence is well-attested.¹⁵

Chapter XI—"The rule of kings Xosrov and Tiran, and the pontificate of St. Yusik." The source throughout is M.X., III, iv–v, x–xi, xii–xiii, xiv, xvi.

Chapter XII—"The pontificate of Nersēs the Great; his exile, and the Council of Constantinople." The source is M.X., III, xx, xxi, xxix–xxx, xxxiii.

p. 60, l. 7–17, The account of the ordination of Nersēs in Caesarea is not to be found in M.X.. Yovhannēs's information derives from P'awstos Buzand's *History*, IV, 4,¹⁶ most probably by way of another source.

p. 61, l. 18–p. 63, l. 25, On the subject of the elevation of the sees of Armenia, Constantinople and Jerusalem to patriarchal status during the pontificate of Nersēs, nothing is to be found in M.X.. Much of this information and the description of the nine orders of the Armenian hierarchy are derived from the letter of Solomon, the abbot of the monastery of Mak'enoc'k', which is preserved in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i,¹⁷ and partially in the letter of Maštoc' to the katholikos Gēorg of Garni,¹⁸ and from the letter of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Photius to Zak'aria katholikos of Armenia,¹⁹ all of which would have been readily available to Yovhannēs.

The execution of Valens by the hand of St. George is not known either to M.X. or P'awstos. The latter speaks of the supernatural intervention of SS. Sargis and Theodore, cf. IV, x.

Chapter XIII—"The rule of king Pap, the death of the katholikos Nersēs and the order of katholikoi until Sahak." The source is generally Movsēs Xorenac'i, III, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, xli, xlii.

The information (p. 67, l. 20–p. 68, l. 12) that during the pontificate

¹⁵ "On the death of king Trdat. . .," *Pazmaveb*, (1851), p. 75. Manandyan, *Critical History*, vol. II, part one, p. 135. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, II, 47–48.

¹⁶ P'awstos Buzand, a fifth century history writing on the fourth century, cf. Abelyan, *Works*, III, pp. 189 ff..

¹⁷ M.D., pp. 272ff.

¹⁸ "Letter of Maštoc' to the katholikos Gēorg of Garni," *Ararat*, (1902), pp. 751–752. For further discussion, cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, #85–88. N. Akinian, "The Martyrology of Thaddeus and Sanduxd," *H.A.*, (1969), pp. 418–422. K. Amatuni, *Autonomy of the Arm. Patriarchal See*, pp. 202–204. Akinian, *Kiurion*, pp. 15, 85, 250 ff.. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 640–646.

¹⁹ Akinian, Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, pp. 308–316. "Letter of Photius to Zak'aria Katholikos of Armenia," *H.A.*, (1968), pp. 61 ff., 129 ff..

of Sahak the bishops of Armenia ceased to receive ordination from Caesarea is not to be found in M.X.. Yovhannēs's source must have derived its information from P^cawstos, V, 29. It is not likely that Yovhannēs used P^cawstos, because the latter puts this during the katholikosate of Yusik II, who is not known to Yovhannēs.²⁰

Yovhannēs's favorable treatment of the katholikos Zawen is in contradiction with P^cawstos V, 2, and the fact that he was the brother of his predecessor Šahak is unknown to M.X.. The same thing holds true for Aspurakēs, the successor and brother of Zawēn.

Yovhannēs seems to be using a list of katholikoi which contained brief information on the patriarchs severally. For the sake of convenience we shall call this the *Lost List of Katholikoi*.

- p. 69, ll. 5–9, Yovhannēs explicitly mentions Movsēs Xorenacⁱ as his source on the late IVth century. This is the first mention of M.X. in Armenian historiography, and provides a *terminus ad quem* for the notoriously controversial date of this historian.

Chapter XIV—"The pontificate of Sahak, the invention of the Armenian alphabet by Maštoc^c, and the downfall of the Armenian Arsacids." The source is M.X., III, xli, il, l, li, liv, lv, lvi, lvii, lviii, lxiii, lxiv, lxv, lxvi, lxvii.

- p. 76, ll. 7–11, The fifth century practice of the bishop of Armenia to ordain bishops without the consent of the metropolitan of Caesarea is also attested by the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*.²¹ Yovhannēs presumably has drawn his information from the *Lost List of Katholikoi*. The author of the *Narratio* must also have used a similar list.

Chapter XV—"The martyrdom of Vardanank^c and Łewondeank^c." Yovhannēs's information of the great rebellion of the mid-fifth century seems to derive from a lost work by an unnamed author who concentrated mostly on the conversion of the Arcruni prince Šawasp to Zoroastrianism, and his building a temple in Dvin which was destroyed by Vardan Mamikonian. This story, which is unknown to the historians of the rebellion (Elišē and Łazar P^carpecⁱ), also appears in greater detail in T^covma Arcruni,²² according to whom the source of it is the *hamarotut^ciwn*, 'summary', of Abraham the Confessor, a fifth century author. Modern scholarship, however, has shown that the work was written in the seventh century perhaps by another Abraham.²³

Chapter XVI—"History of Armenia from the time of Vahan Mamiko-

²⁰ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, II, iii, 414, says that the Armenian katholikoi occasionally received ordination from Antioch, cf. Garsoian, *Paulicians*, pp. 222, and note 188, 224, note 204.

²¹ Garitte, *Narratio*, #31-33, pp. 65–66, 151, and 99, 101.

²² T^cov. Arc., pp. 77–78.

²³ Akinian, *Elišē*, II, 765–773. KIWLESERIAN, *Elišē*, pp. xii–xvii, and 137–151. HAC^cUNI, *Elišē*,

nian to the partition of Armenia by the emperor Maurice." The sources here are: a) Sebēos, pp. 66–70, 75–76, 80, 84f., for the political history.²⁴ b) The information on the *katholikoi* from Giwt to Movsēs of Eḡivard derives presumably from the *Lost List of Katholikoi*. c) *The Book of Letters*, (p. 49, on the emperor Zeno and Chalcedon, and pp. 277–278, 126–140, 141–142, 328, on the emperor Anastasius).²⁵ d) The acts of St. Yizitbuzit is the source for p. 84, l. 3–1. 16. The author of this hagiographical work was Petros of Siwnik'.²⁶ e) Archival materials on Kiwrion *kathlikos* of Iberia and the schism of the Iberian church, most of which are to be found in the *Book of Letters*. f) The source on the partition of Armenia by the emperor Maurice is not known, for Yovhannēs has information additional to that of Sebēos, p. 84.²⁷

Chapter XVII—"The deeds of Smbat Bagratuni, and the anathema pronounced on Kiwrion *kathlikos* of Iberia in the Council of Dvin." The sources are: a) Sebēos, on Smbat Bagratuni and the political events, pp. 96–97, 91, 111, 102–104, 106, 112, 115f., 121, 127–128, 128–130, 131–132. b) The *Lost List of Katholikoi* on the lives of the patriarchs from Abraham Aḡbat'anec'i to Ezr, and on church history in general. c) The archival materials on Kiwrion and the schism of the church of Iberia which are to be found in the *Book of Letters*. Yovhannēs's source for the Council of Dvin is thought to be the last letter of the *kathlikos* Abraham.²⁸ d) As the controversy between the *kathlikos* Ezr and Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i in regard to union with the Greeks is not recorded in Sebēos, we must assume a different source. The similar but not identical account of this in the XIIIth century historian Step'anos Orbelian suggests that Yovhannēs used the same source, which is thought to be the *History of Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i* written by Sołomon, the abbot of Mak'enoc'k'.²⁹

Chapter XIX—"The period of the Arab invasions in mid-seventh century." The sources are a) Sebēos for the historical information,

pp. 138–139, 168–170, 182–183, 194, 197–201. Norayr Biwzandac'i, *Koriwn Vardapet*, p. 29, 472–476. Anasyan, *Armenian Bibliology*, I, 110. Tēr-Połosian, *Etišē*, pp. 219–221.

²⁴ On Sebēos, cf. Abgarian, *The History of Sebeos* (Erevan, 1965). Ananian, "Who is the Author of the History of Sebēos?" *Pazmaveb*, (1970), pp. 5 ff., T'orosyan, "The Historian Sebeos," *Banber Matenadaran*, (1969), No. 9, pp. 59 ff.

²⁵ The *Book of Letters*, *Girk' T'it'oc'* in Arm., is a collection of documents of theological, christological and dogmatic nature dating from the fifth to the thirteenth centuries. As to the contents of the collection in Yovhannēs's time, see N. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, pp. 37–41.

²⁶ Akinian, "Petros Siwneac' Episkopos," *H.A.*, (1903), pp. 245 ff., (1904), pp. 18 ff., 77 ff., 105 ff..

²⁷ For the partition in general cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 231–233.

²⁸ Akinian, *Kiwrion*, p. 248.

²⁹ Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, pp. 31–36.

pp. 131–139, 146–148, 141, 143–145, 161–162, 164–166, 167–169, 174–176. b) Epigraphical material on the construction of the church of Mren.³⁰ c) The *Lost List of Katholikoi* on the life and works of katholikos Nersēs the Builder.

Chapter XX—"The events of the last two decades of the seventh century." Most of the information in this chapter derives from the *Lost List of Katholikoi*. Interestingly there is no trace of a reference to the *History* of Lewond.³¹ The reference to the battle of Erevan (on p. 117, ll. 14–16) might be from Sebēos p. 145.³² The material on the martyrdom of Surhan Dawit^c derives from a hagiographical source which might have also served as the source of the martyrology of Dawit^c published by Ališan.³³

Yovhannēs's source for the information concerning the construction of the cathedral of Aruč by Grigor Mamikonian might be, in addition to the *Lost List of Katholikoi*, the inscription on the church itself whose date had been questioned by Orbeli,³⁴ but which has now been demonstrated to be authentic.³⁵

Chapter XXI—"The battle of Vardanakert in 703, the mission of katholikos Sahak of Jorap^cor, the massacre of the Armenian *Naxarars* at Xram and the martyrdom of Vahan of Gohtⁿ." a) The first part of this chapter apparently is based on the *Lost List of Katholikoi*, since it is mostly concerned with the katholikos Sahak. b) The massacre of Xram and the events connected with it apparently derive from a hagiographical writing by Artawazd, the abbot of Erazgawork^c.³⁶

Chapter XXII—"The circumstances of the anathema pronounced by the katholikos Eġia against the Albanians, the pontificate of Yovhannēs of Ōjun and his visit to the court of the caliph in Damascus." a) The sources on the strained relations between the Armenians and the Albanian Church is the older version of the *History of Albania*, reworked in the Xth or the XIth century by Movsēs Dasxurancⁱ.³⁷ b) The long eulogy of the intellectual abilities and the

³⁰ Orbeli, *Selected Works*, p. 401. M. S. Sargsyan, *The Carved Figures of the Founders of the Church of Mren*, pp. 241–250. A.A. Manuč^carian, *Building Inscriptions of the Churches of Mren and T^calin*, p. 247. S.X. Mnac^cakanyan, *When Was the Church of Mren Constructed*, p. 149.

³¹ Akinian, *Lewond*, p. 76.

³² Yet, Allišan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 299–300, and Hakobyan, *History of Erevan*, pp. 193 ff., think that Yovh.'s reference is to a later battle. In that case, we must agree with Akinian, *Lewond*, p. 76, that Yovn. has used an unknown source. We should note that the older manuscripts of Sebēos have Hērewan instead of Erewan. On this subject see Sebēos, p. 314, note 512.

³³ Ališan, *Hayapatum*, II, 241–242.

³⁴ Orbeli, *Selected Works*, pp. 402, 421–422.

³⁵ A.N. Šahinyan, *Aruč*, pp. 78 ff..

³⁶ Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 75. Inglisian, *Arm. Lit.*, pp. 176–177. Sargisian, *Venice Catalogue*, II, 489, 497–8. Yovēp^cian, *Colophons*, pp. 51–52. The text is in *Sop^cerk^c*, XIII, 14–19, 35, 55–58.

³⁷ Akinian, *Movsēs Dasxurancⁱ*, pp. 21–52, and M.D., "Introduction" by Varag Ar-ak^celyan.

spiritual virtues of Yovhannēs are dependent on a number of sources. First, the rhetorical allusions to the works of Aristotle and commentaries thereon, collectively attributed to Dawit' the Invincible,³⁸ to the grammar of Dionysius Thrax,³⁹ and to the handbook of rhetoric by Theon of Alexandria⁴⁰ must be distinguished from the historical information which derives mostly from the *Lost List of Katholikoi*, and displays Yovhannēs's acquaintance with the canonical, theological and other works of his namesake,⁴¹ as well as the oral tradition preserved in the katholikosate of Dvin.

Chapter XXIII—This chapter is primarily a list of katholikoi from Dawit' of Aramonk' to Yovab of Dvin, with brief information on the origin and works of the pontifs. The source of it is undoubtedly the *Lost List of the Katholikoi*.

vi) Reliability and Value

In its earlier portion the historical value of the *History* of Yovhannēs must be determined in relation to the following two categories: a) the sources used by Yovhannēs that are still extant, e.g., the *History* of Movsēs Xorenac'i, b) the sources that are lost. Thereafter the reliability and importance of the second part of the *History*, which is an eyewitness account, must likewise be considered.

a) The initial twenty three chapters of the *History*, do not add anything new to our knowledge and repeat the information found in the older sources from which they were drawn, as we have shown in the preceding section. The value of Yovhannēs's Armenian text in these chapters is, therefore, limited to its possible use for corrections of corruptions, lacunae, and orthographical problems in such earlier sources as the *Histories* of Movsēs Xorenac'i or Sebēos.

b) Although lost sources, such as the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni, are also known to us from the works of other historians, few of the others have drawn as much from them as Yovhannēs, and the passages preserved are not always identical. Consequently, the *History* of Yovhannēs is indispensable for the events of the ninth century and before which are transmitted only through the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni,¹ and the *Lost List of Katholikoi*.

c) One of the major difficulties in demonstrating the reliability and

³⁸ Dawit' Anyat', *Works*, (Venice, 1932).

³⁹ Cf. Adontz, *Denys de Thrace et les commentateurs arméniens*, traduit du Russe, (Louvain, 1970).

⁴⁰ Akinian, *Theon*, pp. 91–116. Manandyan, *T'ēovneay yałags čaitasanakan krt'ut'eanč'* (Erevan, 1938), which is the Armenian version of the *Progymnasmata*, cf. L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, 1853–1856, II, 59 ff..

⁴¹ Yovhannēs of Ōjun, *Works* (Venice, 1860).

¹ Yovhannēs, XXIV, 17.

value of the part of the *History* which is an eyewitness account lies in the absence of contemporary sources with which to compare it. The only Armenian historians contemporary with Yovhannēs are T'ovma Arcruni, the historian of the Arcrui house of Vaspurakan, and his Anonymous Continuator, who both used Yovhannēs's work in their works for information on this princely family.² Moreover, since the contemporary Armenian and later Byzantine writers as well as the Arabic sources speak very little about this period, it is generally impossible to test the accuracy of the reports in Yovhannēs's *History*. At best, it may be possible to demonstrate with the help of non-Armenian sources the veracity of a few of them. Wherever possible, we have indicated in our commentary to the text the parallel descriptions of events in the Byzantine and Arabic sources. Here, a selection of three passages in Yovhannēs must suffice to demonstrate the reliability of the *History* at least on factual grounds. The first of these is the description of the earthquake of Dvin in 893, that is to say, an event of which Yovhannēs may have been an eyewitness.³ According to him, the tremors took place at night, the destruction was immense, and the numbers of the dead were very high. Here the account of the Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr agrees with that of Yovhannēs.⁴ According to the Arab author, an eclipse of the moon was followed by tremors which were repeated five times (Yovhannēs does not give the number, but merely says 'tremors'). The earthquake occurred at night, and save for one hundred houses the city was totally destroyed. The number of the dead rose to one hundred fifty thousand (once again, Yovhannēs does not give numbers, but his description differs but little from that of the Arab historian). The second series of events to be considered concern the rebellion of the Sāḍjīd emir Yūsuf against the caliph in A.D. 918/919, and his imprisonment.⁵ Here too Yovhannēs's narrative is confirmed by Ibn al-Athīr.⁶ Finally, the trip of Ašot II Erkat' to Constantinople is confirmed by the Byzantine sources.⁷

The claim to reliability of Yovhannēs's *History* may also be enhanced on the basis of the following consideration. According to the "Preface" and the "Epilogue", the *History* was written for a sophisticated audience composed of the kings and princes of the period, who were thoroughly aware of all the events described by Yovhannēs in the second part of the *History*. As a high church dignitary, the historian katholikos could not present a fictitious account to such an audience, and as a participant in the events described, the author could not publish a history, basically

²Cf. "Commentary" for specific references.

³Chapter, XXXII, and notes in the "Commentary".

⁴Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 323, cf. Xalatiānc', *Arab Authors*, p. 142.

⁵Yovhannēs, chapter LXI.

⁶Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 304, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 134.

⁷Cf. "Commentary" on chapter LV, 3-6.

intended for his contemporaries, which was factually incorrect and unacceptable.

It would have been also meaningless to write about contemporary events, if the audience of the *History* had not known that Yovhannēs himself was either an eyewitness to the incidents described, or the transmitter of first hand information acquired from the participants of these events. Although in accordance with the custom of his age Yovhannēs does not mention the names of his sources, they are obviously the very rulers whose deeds and misdeeds the katholikos has depicted in his work for the benefit of the country, and the common welfare. The modern historian might accuse Yovhannēs of not being critical, since he does not discuss his sources, but given the state of Armenian affairs in the twenties of the Xth century, when this work was written in order to bring the Armenian princes to their senses,⁸ disclosure and criticism of these sources would have produced an adverse and divisive effect. The katholikos could commit to writing only the results of an objective criticism of his sources which would have a pacifying or edifying effect on his audience. On two occasions only does he specify that his information is not direct. The first of these is his reference to the famine of 915 and the practice of cannibalism.⁹ Here the text of Yovhannēs suggests that he himself had commissioned trustworthy people to verify the situation for him. The second occasion is his account of the martyrdom of king Smbat I, and the miracles that occurred over his remains,¹⁰ which were observed by Christians as well as non-Christians. Such a rumor, which would normally have been exploited by most medieval historians, is apparently left to the discretion of the reader; the writer only speaks of those miracles which he himself has witnessed. The testimony of the above passage, I believe, shows Yovhannēs's critical and objective attitude even toward supernatural phenomena which would normally have been accepted unreservedly by the medieval mind.

The above inference concerning the objectivity of Yovhannēs raises the further question of personal bias and partiality in the *History*. By the very nature of his position and purpose Yovhannēs could not allow himself to favor one feudal house more than another, since his aim was to bring the princes and kings of Armenia to their senses by using the lessons of history like the reflections of a mirror.¹¹ We must underscore the fact that unlike most other Armenian historians, Yovhannēs was not the chronicler of a feudal house. His treatment of the Bagratid house does not reveal any partiality in that direction, although he has often

⁸ Yovhannēs, Jerusalem, p. 451.

⁹ Yovh., chapter LIII, 23.

¹⁰ Yovh., chapter XLIX, 14–16.

¹¹ Yovh., Jerusalem, p. 451.

been accused of this bias. Eighth and ninth century Bagratid princes are very seldom singled out. Ašot I is praised primarily as the restorer of the kingdom of Armenia. If the dates that I have proposed above are correct, and Yovhannēs indeed wrote his work sometime after 915/916, it is entirely understandable that he should be well-disposed toward king Smbat I who was martyred in 914. On the other hand, Yovhannēs's treatment of Ašot II Erkat', which has already been discussed in the "Biography", is not favorable at all. We have also noted the gradual change in the katholikos's attitude toward Gagik Arcruni king of Vas-purakan, and his friendly disposition toward the anti-king Ašot. All of these attitudes reveal that Yovhannēs's leaning toward one side or another, as reflected in the *History*, was due to the independence of the katholikos in pursuing his own politics rather than to a blind attachment to the ruling house.

As the katholikos of Greater Armenia, Yovhannēs was the head of the 'house of the katholikos', the ecclesiastical counterpart of the larger secular feudal houses, and a statesman whose prejudices were guided by his own beliefs and position. Thus, in the ninth and tenth centuries when it was not unusual for the Armenian princes to convert to Islam, Yovhannēs viewed such acts with great displeasure,¹² for understandable reasons, and his religious prejudices are not clearly distinct from his national pride. The Arabs are looked upon as the scourge of God sent to punish the Christians, *i.e.*, the Armenians, for their multifold sins.¹³ On the other hand, the Byzantines are considered to be saviors,¹⁴ although an underlying dislike toward all those Christian powers that threaten the Armenian kingdom can be observed.¹⁵ As a result of his independent stand in the Armenian politics of the Xth century, Yovhannēs's facts and interpretations are perhaps more reliable than those of the family historians, despite his religious prejudices.

Another index of the reliability and high estimate of the *History of Armenia* is its use by later historians. This importance and reliability must have been acknowledged even during Yovhannēs's own lifetime, since his younger contemporaries T'ovma Arcruni and T'ovma Continuatus occasionally draw information from him for the period of Ašot I and the early years of Smbat I. Unfortunately the *History of the Arcruni House* has not come down to us intact. The period dealing with the later years of king Smbat I and the reign of Ašot II are missing.¹⁶ Had this section of

¹² Yovh., LI, 47 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XLVI, 1-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, LIV.

¹⁵ Yovh., LII, 1.

¹⁶ Abet'yan, *Works*, III, 498.

the *History* of T'ovma survived we might have known a good deal more about his use of Yovhannēs's work.¹⁷

The late tenth century historian Step'anos Asofik is likewise dependent on the *History* of Yovhannēs. Like T'ovma he used the *History* as an authoritative source for the period of Ašot I, Smbat I and Ašot II,¹⁸ and occasionally borrowed not only facts, but also entire phrases from Yovhannēs.¹⁹ Asofik most probably also made use of Yovhannēs's work on the *katholikoi* of the eighth and ninth centuries.²⁰ It must be noted that the historians of the tenth century used the *History* primarily for information on the late IXth and Xth centuries, since they had at their disposal most of the original sources employed by Yovhannēs concerning the history of earlier centuries.

The method of approach changed with the historians of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. The latter used earlier sources without discrimination. In the compilations of Vardan and Samuēl of Ani the influence of Yovhannēs is seen even on periods where he is not a primary source. Sometimes the above authors draw passages from Yovhannēs almost word for word, and on other occasions they condense their source, but retain key expressions from the original. This makes it possible to identify their source specifically as Yovhannēs. Kirakos of Ganjak, on the other hand, prefers to draw from the *History* only his facts. There is no detectable evidence of the stylistic influence of Yovhannēs in his work.

The use of Yovhannēs's work in Step'anos Orbelian (XIIIth century) differs considerably from that of the other historians of the period. As the historian of Siwnik', he draws only the information that is necessary for his purpose, and supplements the latter with new evidence acquired elsewhere. By using mostly that section of the *History* which is an eyewitness account, Orbelian reveals an acute sense of critical approach to his sources of information.

It is interesting to observe that the medieval Armenian historians borrowed not only facts and stylish idioms, but even the archaizing terminology of Yovhannēs. Let it suffice to mention one example, namely the usage of the classical term *ostikan* for the Arab governors of Armenia. In the earlier fifth century sources the term *ostikan* is used as the title of the official in charge of the royal *ostan* (= "court").²¹ In the sources of the Arab period of domination in Armenia this title is never used for the Arab governors; Yovhannēs is the first to do so. He is then followed by Asofik, Vardan, Samuēl of Ani, Kirakos of Ganjak, etc., so

¹⁷ The parallel passages and borrowings of T'ov. Arc., as well as those of later historians have all been considered in the "Commentary" of the text.

¹⁸ Cf. the editor's note in Asofik, p. 377, n. 104.

¹⁹ Asofik, pp. 157-170.

²⁰ Cf. "Commentary" on chapters XXIVff..

²¹ Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 35.

that *ostikan* ultimately became part of the normal terminology of modern historiography.²²

The only blemish that lessens the value of Yovhannēs's work is his failure to record dates. Throughout the *History* only five dates²³ are given and these are of no historical importance in themselves, since they refer to the martyrdom of various persons, and are mentioned for hagiographical purposes. For the earlier period, Yovhannēs related events to the dates of the presiding patriarchs. As for the events during his own patriarchate, he usually gives the particular season of the year, but not the date itself. Since he was writing for contemporaries the historian apparently did not consider dates important. Despite this major flaw, Yovhannēs's *History* was regularly used by subsequent historians together with the last section of T'ovma's *History*, from which they probably derived their dates. Thus, for the balance of Armenian medieval historiography Yovhannēs remains the key source for the events of the late IXth and early Xth centuries.

The literary value of the *History* also deserves attention, for it is not without merit. Yovhannēs is perhaps the first Armenian historian to begin his work with Noah and come down to his own times.²⁴ He is also the first to have used the Anonymous Chronicle, *i.e.*, the Armenian Hippolytus and Movsēs Xorenac'i. After Yovhannēs it apparently becomes quite fashionable to produce such histories, but he seems to have been the one who set the pattern for this type of historiography, in which Sebēos and Šapuh Bagratuni were also used for the history of the sixth through ninth centuries.

Finally, a question has been raised concerning the genre of Yovhannēs's work,²⁵ and its ultimate value, which has been denigrated on the grounds that it is a chronicle and a record of miscellaneous memories.²⁶ Abelyan's view that this is an autobiographical work cannot be accepted in view of the scanty information given by Yovhannēs concerning his personal history. Nor is Malxasyan correct in considering the *History* a chronicle. Armenian chroniclers do not appear until the twelfth century.²⁷ Although Yovhannēs is not overtly critical of his sources in the first part of his work, he reveals his understanding of historical criticism by selecting authors that were considered reliable by his successors. The

²² Ter-Łewondyan, *Observations*, pp. 243 ff..

²³ Yovh., Jerusalem, p. 124. Chapter XXV, 69, XXVI, 28, XLIII, 20, LXVI, 62.

²⁴ I am fully aware that Movsēs Xorenac'i also begins with the creation, and ends with the events of fifth century. There is reason, however, to believe that Xorenac'i did not write in the fifth century, cf. Lewy-Adontz, *Moses of Chorene's History*, pp. 81–100, 593–599. Besides, unlike Yovhannēs, who is compiling an epitome, M.X. is writing a genealogy.

²⁵ Abelyan, *Works*, III, 483.

²⁶ Malxasyan, *Literary Criticisms*, p. 209.

²⁷ Abelyan, *Hist. of Anc. Arm. Lit.*, II, 64.

History is not a series of disconnected haphazard historical facts and memoirs gathered for no specific purpose, and thus lacking historical motivation or scope. On the contrary, this document is a political history of Armenia composed for the specific purpose of demonstrating to the contemporary Armenian princes the negative effect of their centrifugal tendencies on the internal life of the country. The singleness of this purpose is explained by a full account of the Arab threat from the southeast and is emphasized by the general panorama of the past glory of the Haykid and Arsacid kings as a background. The work thus displays a single design and consequent unity throughout. Moreover, Yovhannēs does not merely enumerate events without going into a discussion of causality. This interpretative tendency manifests itself particularly in the second part of the *History*, where he devotes a great deal of time to the discussion of events. Even superficial comparison of the *History* with T'ovma Continuatus will reveal the superiority of Yovhannēs's work from this point of view. For example, the fact that the problem of the control of the city of Naxjawan provoked the great controversy between the Arcruni prince Gagik and king Smbat I,²⁸ is ignored by the Arcruni historian, who gives a rather naive reason for Gagik's trip to the court of Yūsuf.²⁹

The purpose of the *History* seems to have limited the scope of the work, which is confined to Bagratid Armenia. Nevertheless, we obtain an occasional glimpse of external events. Such are the references to the great rebellions in the Islamic world in the Xth century,³⁰ which show the author's interest in contemporary events occurring outside the borders of Armenia.

These considerations leave no doubt that Yovhannēs's work is a history displaying many of the characteristics of this genre in the Middle Ages, and not a mere chronicle. Its value as a key document seems to have been recognized from the very time of its composition, and is particularly enhanced by the fact that far from being the work of a passive bystander it is the work of one of the major figures of the age who not only witnessed but participated in and guided the events of which he transmitted the record to future generations.

vii) Manuscripts and Editions

The *History* of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i has reached us in numerous manuscripts which are scattered throughout the world and are to be found in various libraries. None of these codices date from the Xth

²⁸ Yovh., XLIII.

²⁹ T'ov. Arc., p. 284.

³⁰ Yovh., LXIV.

century, and despite the fact that there are over fifty extant, an unusually large number for an Armenian historian, all date from much later periods. The earliest manuscript containing the complete text of the *History* is from 1689, and is in the State Manuscript Collection [Matenadaran] of Erevan.

The stemma produced in the "Introduction" of the critical edition of Tiflis indicates that the great majority of the MSS in the Matenadaran descend from a single archetype originally at the monastery of Amrdolu in Baġēš (Bitlis). The colophons of a number of codices found elsewhere also point to the same archetype. The existing stemma in the 1965 Tiflis edition takes into consideration with few exceptions only the MSS in the Matenadaran. Since the colophons of several codices do not make clear their line of descent from the archetype, thus necessitating considerable further study, the presentation of a new study seems unwarranted at the present stage. Consequently, we have merely grouped together all the MSS which reasonably seemed to derive from the archetype. Among these we have also included the MSS in the Patriarchal Library of the monastery of St. James in Jerusalem whose colophons did not indicate their origin, since none of them presented variant readings and errors which did not already exist in the descendants of the lost Baġēš codex, which we considered to be the archetype. In designating the MSS derived from the archetype, we followed the 1965 Tiflis edition in employing capital letters for direct descendants (A B C D E), and arbitrarily assigned lower case letters to the indirect descendants in order to facilitate our task. The order in which the MSS appear follows the date of the direct descendants with their respective offsprings.

A. MANUSCRIPTS

- α.—The archetype [lost] was in the monastery of Amrdōlu in Baġēš (Bitlis) c. 1680–1689. This is known from the colophons of *A*, *l*, *q*, *r*, and *Y*. Cf. also S. Tēr-Yakobian, "Vardan Vardapet's Catalogue of Books in the Monastery of Amirtōlu," *Ararat*, pp. 178–189.
- β.—Hyparchetype [lost], known from the colophon of *q*, was copied from the archetype by Vardan Yunanian in 1680 in the monastery of Amrdōlu in Baġēš (Bitlis). Cf. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 456. F. Macler, *Catalogue*, p. 116.
- q.—Venice, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 236, copied from the hyparchetype as indicated by colophon, cf. F. Macler, *Catalogue*, p. 116.
- r.—Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No 211, XVIIIth century manuscript copied from *q*. For full details cf. F. Macler, *Catalogue*, p. 116.
- l.—Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 152. No information available on the time, place and scribe. According to its

- colophon, it is an XVIIIth century copy of the hyparchetype, cf. Dashian, *Catalog*, pp. 455–456.
- Y.—Jerusalem, Library of St. James Monastery, No 375, incomplete text, was copied by Vardan Yunanian, the scribe of the hyparchetype, in 1685. The place is not mentioned. The manuscript has been in Jerusalem ever since 1740. The relationship between Y and the hyparchetype still requires clarification. Cf. Bishop Norayr Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, II, 299–301.
- A.—Erevan, Matenadaran [= Manuscript Library; the official name is Mashtotz Institute of Ancient Manuscripts], No 1896, copied from the archetype by Yakob the priest in 1689 in the monastery of Amrtölu. *Matenadaran—Catalogue*, I, 669. N. Akinian, *The School of the Batēš*, pp. 284–285. Yovhannēs, Tiflis, 1965, p. 0151.
- B.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 3537, copied at Ējmiacin by Fr. Petros Bert'umian in 1771. *Matenadaran—Catalogue*, I, 1036. It may have been copied from the archetype, cf. Yovhannēs, Tiflis, 1965, pp. 0151–0152, and stemma on p. 0162.
- γ.—Lost manuscript, copied from B for Petros Amiray of Č'rmškacag in 1790 at Ējmiacin under the direction of Isahak Bishop Gełamac'i, known from the colophons of *m*, *n*, *p*.
- δ.—Lost manuscript, copied from γ by Dawit' of Sebastia (Siwas) in 1811 or 1812, in Constantinople, known from *m*, and *n*.
- p.—London, British Museum, Or. 5091, copied from γ perhaps by a hand of the early XIXth century. F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue—British Museum*, pp. 304–305, No 120.
- m.—Jerusalem, Library of St. James Monastery, No 1302, copied from δ by Mesrop Vardapet in 1824 in Tigranakert. N. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, IV, pp. 530–531.
- n.—Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Fathers, No 298, copied from *m* by the scribe Manuk in 1825 in Tigranakert. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 726.
- a.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 3073, copied from B in Karin (Erzrum) in 1825. Yovh., Tiflis, 1965, stemma, p. 0162.
- b.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6908, copied from B in Karin by Yarut'iwn Oskerč'ian, in 1817, cf. Yovh. Tiflis, 1965, stemma, p. 0162.
- h.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 5590, copied from B by Yakob of Van in 1824, cf. stemma in the 1965 edition.
- i.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 4111, copied from B in 1806–1809, cf. stemma of 1965 edition.
- c.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 2721, copied in Constantinople by Grigor of Constantinople in 1829 from B, cf. stemma of 1965 edition.
- d.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6455, copied in Ējmiacin by Grigor Yovbianc' in 1854 from B, cf. the stemma of the 1965 edition.
- e.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 3729, copied from B by Daniël Melk'o-nian in 1839, cf. stemma of 1965 edition.

- f.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 3042, copied from *B* by Mkrtič^c Andreašian of Erevan, in 1839, cf. stemma of the 1965 edition.
- g.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6467, copied from *B* by Yovsēp^c Tēr-Yovhannisian in 1839, cf. the stemma of the 1965 edition. On the above three MSS cf. also H. Ačarian, *Catalogue-Tabriz*, pp. 126a–126b.
- j.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6296, copied from *B* by Yovhannēs Karapetian, in 1849, cf. stemma of the 1965 edition.
- k.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 1893, copied from *B* in Constantinople in 1821 for Yovhannēs Šahxat^cunian. In the margins are to be found the variant readings of A. Yovh., Tiflis, 1965, p. 0162.
- C.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 1892, XVIIIth century hand, no other information available, but may be copied from the archetype, cf. Yovh., Tiflis, 1965, p. 0158, and stemma, p. 0162.
- D.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 5692, copied from the archetype by Grigor Tēr-T^cadēosian in 1838, cf. Yovh., Tiflis, 1965, p. 0159, and stemma.
- E.—Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6537, copied in the XVIIIth century and illuminated by the monk Isahak in 1811. According to the stemma of the Tiflis 1965 edition, it may be copied from the archetype. Later, the manuscript was contaminated with inserted corrections based on readings in other MSS, cf. "Introduction" to the Ēmin edition.
- s.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 513, copied in Constantinople in the XIXth century. There is no other information available, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, II, 513.
- t.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 888, copied in Jerusalem by Grigor Jknjrcⁱ in 1780, incomplete, and no other information available, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue*, III, p. 395.
- u.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 551, incomplete and no other information available. Cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, II, 576.
- v.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 1101, copied in Izmir in 1826 by the priest Yovhannēs. There is no other information available, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, IV, 150–151.
- w.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 1020, no information available, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, IV, 34.
- x.—Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 1868, copied in Edessa in 1846 by Yovhannēs Eēnitiwneayian, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue—Jerusalem*, VI, 266–67. no information available.

The following MSS are known to have existed but have not been used by the editors either because they are lost or unavailable or because they are late and of dubious value as indicated.

1. Erevan, Matenadaran, No 4442, contains parts of the *History* copied from the printed text by Łewond P^cirfaleмянian and A. Bahatrian in 1871–1891.

2. Erevan, Matenadaran, No 6716, XIXth century, before 1887.
3. Erevan, Matenadaran, No 9626, copied by Barseł Tirac'u in 1830.
4. Erevan, Matenadaran, No 9705, copied by Yarut'iwn dasatu, in Constantinople, in 1833, 1847.
5. Erevan, Matenadaran, No 9811, no information available.
6. Vienna, Library of Mechitarist Congregation, No 39, XVIIIth century with variant readings, but not a choice manuscript according to Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 197.
7. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 238, XIXth century, perhaps copied by a Mechitarist monk; archetype unknown, cf. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 622.
8. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 248, copied by Petros Alt'inian in Constantinople in 1821. It has some variant readings, cf. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 637–638.
9. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 250, copied in Vienna c. XVIIth–XIXth century perhaps by a Mechitarist monk, cf. Dashian, *Catalog*, p. 642.
10. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 301, copied by Tēr Ełiazar in Constantinople in 1844.
11. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 326, copied by Vardan Pontac'i in Constantinople in 1812.
12. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 79, an anthology copied perhaps in the XIXth century and including passages from the *History*.
13. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Macler, No 212, copied in 1822 by Rubēn Yarut'-iwnian in Constantinople. It contains a few variants in the margins.
14. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Macler, No 213, copied in 1835 in Constantinople.
15. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Macler, No 214, copied in the XIXth century perhaps in Constantinople.
16. Rome, Pont. Leoniano Collegio Armeno, No 13, XIXth cent. with no information available, cf. Akinian, *Catalogue—Rome*, p. 64.
17. Rome, Pont. Leoniano Collegio Armeno, No 17, XIXth cent., no information available, cf. Akinian, *Catalogue-Rome*, p. 64.
18. Bucharest, Armenian Cultural House (*Hay Mšakoyt'i Tun*), XVIIIth century, no other information available, cf. Yovh., Tiflis, 1965, p. 0150.
19. Armaš, No 72, XIXth century, now lost.
20. Armaš, No 73, XIXth century, now lost.
21. Armaš, No 74, XIXth century, now lost. On the MSS of Armaš, cf. T'op'-č'ian, "The MSS of Armaš," *Hask*, I(1948), p. 79. *Catalogue*, pp. 216–18.
22. Constantinople, Arm. National Library of Galata, No. 178, XIXth century, now lost.
23. Constantinople, Arm. National Library of Galata, No 196, copied by Yovhannēs in Constantinople in 1841, now lost.

24. Constantinople, Arm. National Library of Galata, No 197, no information available. On the MSS of the Armenian National Library of Galata, cf. Kiwlēsērian, *Catalogue—Galata*, under the above numbers.
25. Erzurum—Karin, Library of the Sanasarian School, No 32, XIXth century, copied by the scribe Łazaros varžapet, now lost. Cf. Ačařian, *Catalogue—Sanasarian*, p. 26.
26. Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No 2058, copied by Karapet T'elian in 1843, cf. Bogharian, *Catalogue-Jerusalem*, VII, 104–105.
27. Jerusalem, St. James Monastery, No. 2845; no other information available. The manuscript contains two incomplete copies of the *History*. Cf. Bogharian, *Jerusalem-Catalogue*, IX, 59.
28. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 617, copied in Jerusalem in 1783 by the deacon Yarut'iwn. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 86–87.
29. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 618, copied sometime after 1680. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 88.
30. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 631, copied sometime during the XVIIIth–XIXth centuries. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 114.
31. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 730, copied in the XIXth century. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 269.
32. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 792, copied in the XVIIIth or the XIXth century. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 360.
33. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 811; no other information available. It is an incomplete copy. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 381.
34. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 826, copied in the XIXth century. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 404.
35. Vienna, Library of the Mechitarist Congregation, No 1069, copied in the XVIIIth century. Cf. Oskian, *Catalogue*, p. 735.

For a general article on the manuscripts and editions of Yovhannēs's *History* see H. Baxč'inyan, "Hovhannes Kat'otikosi 'Hayoc' patmut'ean' jeragrērə ew hratarakut'yunnerə," *Ėjmiacin*, (1974), No. 4, pp. 25–27.

B. EDITIONS

1. *Patmagrut'iwn Yovhannu Kat'otikosi am[enayn] hayoc'*. Трпagreal i s[urb] Erusalēm i patriargut'ean teařn Zak'ariayı ark'episkoposi i tparani Srboc' Yakobeanc' Ařak'eloc', [*History of Yovhannēs Katholikos of All Armenians*. Published in Holy Jerusalem during the pontificate of Archbishop Zak'aria, at the Press of the Apostles SS. James.](1843).
2. *Yovhannu kat'otikosi Draxanakertec'woy 'Patmut'iwn Hayoc'. i loys əncayec' Mkrtič' Ėmin tesuč' Lazareanc' čemarani arewelean lezuac'*. Moskva. i tparani Vladimiray Gotiē, [*Katholikos Yovhannēs of Draxana-*

kert, History of Armenia, published by Mkrtič' Ēmin, Dean of the Department of Oriental Languages of Lazarian Institute, Moscow, at the Press of Vladimir Gotie.] (1853).

A second impression of this edition appeared in Tiflis in 1912, as volume V of the *Lukasian Matenadaran* series. The latter was reprinted in the *Classical Armenian Text Reprint Series* (Caravan Books, Delmar, New York, 1980).

3. *Patmut'ium Yovhannu kat'olikosi*, i hayrapetut'eann T.T. Georgay norəntir vepap'ar kat'olikosi Amenayn Hayoc'. Hramanaw T.T. Esayeay srbazan ark'episkoposi ew patriark'i S. Erusaēmaw ew i patriark'ut'ean Kostandnupolsoy T.T. Pōłosi Srbazan ark'episkoposi. i tparani arak'elakan at'ofoy S. Yakovbeanc' yErusaēm, [*History of Yovhannēs katholikos*, during the pontificate of the newly elected Lord Gēorg katholikos of All Armenians. By the order of the Lord Esayi Archbishop and Patriarch of Holy Jerusalem, and during the pontificate of Archbishop Pōłos of Constantinople. At the Press of the Apostolic Holy See of St. James, Jerusalem, 1867.]
4. *Ioannes Draschanacertensis Historia Armeniae (786–925) A.D.*, textum armenicum cum versione georgica edidit, Introductione indicibusque instruxit E.V. Zagareišvili, Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Georgiae, Thbilisiis, 1965.

C. TRANSLATIONS

Histoire d'Arménie, par le Patriarche Jean VI, dit Jean Catholikos, traduite de l'Arménien en français par M. Saint-Martin. Ouvrage posthume, publié sous les auspices du ministère de l'Instruction publique, par Félix Lajard, Paris, 1841.

Ioannes Draschanacertensis Historia Armeniae (786–925 A.D.), textum armenicum cum versione georgica edidit. . . , see No 4 under "Editions".

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In the absence of a full critical edition of the text of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i's *History*, the first twenty-three chapters of the present translation are based on the 1867 Jerusalem and 1912 Tiflis editions, and the remaining forty-four on the 1965 semi-critical Tiflis edition. Any disagreements with the readings of the Tiflis text have been indicated in the *apparatus criticus* along with variants considered to be of historical importance.

The biblical passages in the *History* have been identified by chapter and verse according to the semi-critical Zohrab edition (1805) of the Armenian version. We must note that the citations of Yovhannēs do not always correspond to the Zohrab edition, since the historian either quoted them from memory, or paraphrased the words of the Scriptures in order to suit them to the context of his narrative, or had a different text.

The system of Armenian transliteration used is the standard Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste method.

SIGLA

- T — 1965, Tiflis edition.
- A — Erevan, *Matenadaran*, No. 1896. XVIIth century.
- B — Erevan, *Matenadaran*, No. 3537. XVIIIth century.
- C — Erevan, *Matenadaran*, No. 1893. XVIIIth century.
- D. — Erevan, *Matenadaran*, No 5692. XIXth century.
- E — Erevan, *Matenadaran*, No 6537, XVIIIth century = Ēmin edition (1853, Moscow).
- J — 1867, Jerusalem edition.
- J¹ — Alternate MS readings in the lower margin of the 1867 Jerusalem edition.
- M — Ēmin edition of 1853, reprinted in 1912 in Tiflis.

YOVHANNĒS DRASXANAKERTC'Ī
HISTORY OF ARMENIA

English Translation

PREFACE

1. Although the Word verily said of the Father that He held within His own control the ceasing of the ages, times and seasons, thus depriving us humans of the knowledge of what is very reliable and ever feasible, men, however, assisted by God and emboldened a little in small things with wonderfully moderate enthusiasm bequeathed to us with reasonable excellence the sequence of historical events of the revolving seasons that were either fixed or had passed, composing not pompous and imaginary epics, but making known [to us] the sound state of their souls. 2. Then they guided us in various matters of past bygone times so that we, who are removed [by time], may easily be able to question the fathers who teach us and the elderly who narrate to us. 3. Thus with their native intelligence they tried to do good to the world by readily fulfilling the needs that men have, and with a true understanding of thoughts they composed and set in writing the histories of the ancient times which I consider to be worthy of much respect, desirable and useful. 4. Thus I also have at this time gone into this subject matter, which I must say I undertook not with presumptuous pride in accord with my whim, but because I recognized the ceaseless stirring of the Holy Spirit in the understanding of those who asked me [to write]; thenceforth, as if forced by a certain captain, I rapidly sailed by means of oars in the skiff of this treatise and took the trouble of hastily composing this history. 5. However, I have not repeated like ignorant peasants events of historical value that the well versed poets, those wonderful and amazing men who lived before our time, recorded from the beginning, namely the transactions of kings that were narrated, the succession of princes, the circumstances of wars, the prospering of cities, districts, villages and households [*gerdastanae'*], and the works of the Arians and non-Arians, or the confusions and peace, lest childishly emboldened, I might duplicate what was already written and reject the art of the poets and make it look ridiculous to the readers. 6. And now, let me not waste more time on other matters in this introduction, since wretched old age holds death ready at the door, and my anxiety hastens me to narrate the disastrous calamities and the terrible turmoils that came upon and overwhelmed us.

7. Now then, with the usual shallow aptitude of my mind, I shall

precede to write with the swiftness of an energetic scribe. 8. First of all, turning to the books of the Fathers, in accordance with their earlier presentation, I shall make known in summary the ancient expansion of all the races and peoples that were descended from the sons of Noah, and then I shall separate from the other two our own Japheth and single him out. 9. [I shall show] that not only our nation is descended from him but that he was known as the ancestor of many other races. 10. Then, after surveying the entire genealogy of the Japhethids to our own Togarmah, and leaving the rest out of my narrative, I shall briefly compose a genealogy (of his generations): namely who among them devoted themselves to building activities, or political affairs and decent conduct, and who were the first to rule over us as kings; or else [how] after them Vařarřak the Parthian ruled over the house of Togarmah, and subsequently his descendants governed us. 11. During their time, the holy Christian order of faith was spread throughout the world and especially among the Armenian people by the Apostle Bartholomew, who was one of the twelve, and by the Apostle Thaddeus, one of the seventy,* who were both assigned by Christ our Saviour to our land as preachers and doctors. 12. After them I shall briefly speak about our holy enlightener Gregory who completed their apostolic mission by leading to the light the race of Togarmah from the wickedness of extreme idolatry. 13. Then I shall add [an account of] his sons and grandsons who became worthy of occupying his holy throne, and also of the rest of their successors until today, and of the deeds that were accomplished by them or by other people during their lifetime. Also [I shall comment on those] in whose days the glorious crown of the Armenian people was completely destroyed, and [narrate] how once again, through the coronation of the great prince Ařot as our king, we witnessed the renewal of the kingdom which had ceased long ago. 14. Although before us řapuh Bagratuni, a historian of our times, has written an account on his works, behavior, wisdom, contests, building activities and peacemaking, you will notice that I have utilized this [history] only to improve the present work so that the sequence of my narrative may not be disrupted, and show the reliability of this composition. The subsequent [section] shall be elaborate, wherein I shall dwell on the story of Smbat son of Ařot, who ruled over Armenia instead of his father, and on his courageous contests, vigorous trials, and well-regulated conduct. 15. [I shall show] how wisely he regulated the prosperity of our country. Besides him, we shall also tell you about the other *naxarars*: who among them displayed themselves in his days as illustrious, famous, magnanimous, well known and valiant men. 16. Again, [I shall describe] the turmoil, the universal persecutions that came from the southern region of Hagar, the destruction by sword, the trembling, famine, captivity and extermination of the wretched land

of Armenia. 17. Moreover, [you will read about]the painful death of King Smbat who died like a martyr by means of the Ishmaelite sword, which slaughtered many. 18. [You will also see] how before the king's death, through cunningness and subtlety the *ostikan* implanted enmity between king Smbat and the great prince Gagik, his nephew [sister's son], by crowning and making the latter rule as anti-king, 19. and how after the death of king Smbat there were three kings that ruled at the same time: Gagik Arcruni, Ašot son of Smbat, and his namesake, [Ašot] son of the *Sparapet* Šapuh, who were all in conflict with one another. [You will also learn] how Ašot, the son of the king, went to visit the Emperor Constantine, and in an elegant manner receiving a throne from him, was properly laden with eminence and an abundance of gifts, and sent back to his country. 21. [I shall tell you] how because of the hostility among the three title holders of "king", wicked deeds, turmoils, trembling and destructive confusions as well as unworthy works, unexpected devastation and fear of death were provoked.

22. Now, this should be sufficient for you as an introduction, where-with you should be able to embrace the truth of the words so that you may lend [your] ears and acquire the story by following my brief summary of the first books of the Divine Scriptures, and also of the chronicles of the reliable pagan historians, and compare them with our genealogical list. 23. They all say that the ancestors of the generations of all the lands are descended from the three sons of Noah, who multiplied and spread throughout the surface of the earth. 24. For even though the pagan writers give the forefathers' names in a different form from ours,—for example, they call Noah Xisuthra [K'siwsat'ros], and Shem Xerxes [K'serk'sēs],—yet they have identical stories about their lineage. 25. Thus both traditions transmit to us the [following] sequence of events: upon the arrival of the second age the Lord inundated, annihilated and completely cleansed the surface of the earth of the perverted, the impious, the lawless, the wild wanton cannibals and most wicked idolaters, until no rational or non-rational being remained but only the men from the pious families who heeded [the divine advice] to build Noah's ark, which was made out of timber. 26. He [the Lord] made them at once enter the ark into which they brought with them representatives of all the non-rational beings, both those that are pure and those that are impure. 27. Thus, entrusting them to an insignificant piece of wood, He saved them so that through them he might provide for the regeneration of the earth with the likeness of each specie, and in accordance with the former benefaction from the Lord God fill them as well with the blessings so that man might grow, multiply, fill and rule the earth and every thing that is in it.

28. Since you had the opportunity to see these, henceforth, if it

pleases you, let me set myself free from discussing the genealogies of Shem and Ham, and write briefly [about the descendants] of our own Japheth, following the sequence of my narrative. 29. For they are not at all necessary for the present treatise, and must be put aside for another time and place.

I

THE PROGENY OF NOAH

1. After the inundations descending from heaven and the drowning of all the living under the abysmal waters, and after the most unwilling navigation of Noah and his coming out on shore in Armenia in accord with the order of the Lord together with his children, their wives and still others and non-rational brutes, once again the earth began to quicken through divine supervision. 2. To our own Japheth [Yabet^ç] at first a son was born and was named Gomer [Gamir], and the territory in his possession was named Gamirk^ç from his name. 3. Then Magog was born, and the descendants of Magog are the Celts [Kelt^ç] and Galatians [Gałatac^çik^ç]. 4. Then came Maday who named the territory of his house Media [Mark^ç] after himself. 5. Subsequently, came Tubal [Tobēl], after whom the Thessalians [T^çētałk^ç] were named, and Meshech [Mosok^ç], who ruled over Illyria [Liwrikiā]. 6. The sixth son was Tiras from whom were born our very own Ashkenaz [Ask^çanaz] and Togarmah [T^çorgom] who named the country that he possessed Thrace after himself, as well as Chittim [K^çitiim] who brought under his sway the Macedonians. 7. The sons of Tiras were Ashkenaz, from whom descended the Sarmatians [Sarmatk^ç], Riphath [Rip^çat], whence the Sauromatians [Soramatk^ç], and Togarmah, who according to Jeremiah subjugated the Ashkenazian army and called it the House of Togarmah; for at first Ashkenaz had named our people after himself in accord with the law of seniority, as we shall explain in its proper place. 8. From Javan [Yawan], the ancestor of the Greeks, descended Elisha [Ełiša] whose progeny are the Sicilians [Sikilac^çik^ç] and Athenians [At^çenac^çik^ç], and Tarshish [T^çarsis], the ancestor of the Iberians [Vir^ç] and the Tyrrhenians [Tiwrenac^çik^ç], 9. and Kitris [Kitiim] whose offsprings are the Romans [H^çrowmayec^çik^ç].

Though the generations descending from Japheth were perforce set out here, yet, this was done only to the extent that a fairly brief description might acquaint you with the affinities of our race, where so many patriarchates and races are descended from one and the same generation. 10. For had nothing been said about these matters, and a clear

account of past events not given, you would be driven to doubts, and [in your hesitation] surely hold me in contempt in your thoughts, words and deeds. *11.* And now if you, Oh studious Reader, accept my efforts as accomplishments worthy of gratitude, and consider that I should not concern myself with [the history of] other kindred races as being a task in no way relevant to the present treatise and merely wasteful of time, I shall turn the flow of my narrative to our own Togarmah, in agreement with what I have already said.

Tiras who was the third in descent from Japheth begat three sons: Ashkenaz, Riphath and Togarmah. And as Tiras ruled alone over the Thracians, he thought that he should divide his own territories into three parts and hand these over to his sons to possess, and thus he carried out his intent. *13.* To Ashkenaz, who first named our people Ashkenazian after himself, he gave the suzerainty over the Sarmatians, and to Riphath that over the Sauromatians, *14.* whereas Togarmah inherited our own people, over whom he ruled, and called the former Ashkenazian the House of Togarmah from his own name.

15. You now know why we are called Ashkenazian as well as the House of Togarmah and thus can be quite certain of the narration concerning the patriarchy of our people, although there are some who give different accounts, and others who tell allegorical epics. *16.* Although the divine Moses did not give the timespans of our patriarchs one by one as unworthy of his narration, yet, comparing the genealogies of our own Japheth with those of Sem, we derive a period of four hundred years to Togarmah and the beginning of the rule of his son Hayk. *17.* From Japheth to the first man, Adam, there is a period of 2242 years. *18.* But, even though the Divine Scriptures transmitted to us the history [of the period] until the time of our own Togarmah, as was said above, yet they did not consider it worthy to set out in words the record of his generations, that is to say, how, whence, why or who ruled over the land of Armenia, and how her *naxarardoms* came to power.

19. A certain Mar Abas Katina, a man of Syrian extraction, proficient and well-versed in Chaldaean and Greek letters, was sent at the order of our [king] Vařarřak to the archives of the kings of Persia, and in his search he found there a trustworthy book that had been rendered from Chaldaean to Greek by the order of Alexander, son of Nektanebos. Although this book was extremely rich in historical accounts of many nations, yet, Mar Abas abandoned the histories of other nations as a vain effort, and excerpting only the parts that dealt with our people, he presented them to Vařarřak. *20.* Subsequently, from that source the testimony of our authentic stories became known to us and we learned that the handsome Hayk, that valiant and victorious champion, was the son of Togarmah, and the first patriarch and progenitor of our nation. *21.* This account likewise maintains that Hayk joined the colossal giants

who thought that they could carry out their insolent design to build the enormous and arrogant tower. 22. According to the Divine Scriptures, however, a terrible tempest, which arose seemingly by divine ordinance, toppled and destroyed the great tower, and proved to them the futility of their labor.

II

THE VALOR OF HAYK AGAINST BEL AND HIS DESCENDANTS

1. Then Nimrod [Nebrot^c], who is the same as Bēl, became arrogant and haughty, and exalting himself, attempted to impose his rule over all the other giants. 2. But our Hayk most vehemently resisted and liberating himself from the domination of Bēl, he immediately came to our land with his son Aramaneak, whom he had sired in Babylon, and also with his daughters, grandchildren, slaves born in the household, and outsiders who had joined him. 3. Nimrod, that is Bēl, pursued Hayk with his own forces, composed of men skilled in archery, swordsmanship and the lance; they encountered each other in a glen with a great tumult which was like the clamor of violent torrents streaming down. Assaulting one another in this manner they intimidated each other with great terror. 4. Soon our Hayk shot from his well-bent bow an arrow with three prongs that hit the iron-studded breastplate of Nimrod, and piercing through his back, pinned him down to the ground. Having killed him in this manner, Hayk ruled over the land as his own paternal lot, and named the country Hayk^c [= Armenia] after himself. 5. Subsequently, he regulated many civic transactions, and occupied himself with building the land. After a long life he died, having entrusted our land to his son Aramaneak.

6. While Aramaneak ruled over our people, he went and lived in a beautiful plain which was seemingly fortified with tall summits of dazzling whiteness and took possession of the courses of very rapid rivers that cut across and pass through its length, which is hollowed by their gurgling waters. Afterwards he built the valleys of the northern mountain and named the mountain Aragac after his name, while he called the territory at the foot [of the mountain] Aragacotn. 7. Then Aramaneak sired a son, Armayis, and having lived for many years, died.

8. On a hill along the bank of the Erasx River in the same plain Armayis erected a city as his place of residence. He built it magnificently with blocks of sandstone, and named it Armawir. 9. The writers

who preceded me have given sufficient accounts of the latter's valorous deeds. 10. After he had lived for many years, Aramayis sired a son, Amasia, and died shortly after his birth.

11. Amasia lived in the same city of Armawir, and built up the foot of the southern mountain which he named Masis after himself, and called the district situated in the valleys of the mountain Maseac'otn. After a few years he sired Gełam, and then he died.

12. Gełam set out to go around the mountain to the northeast on the shores of a small sea. There he built villages and *gerdastans*, and named the mountain Gełam after himself, and the settlement by the sea Gełark'uni. 13. Having sired two sons, Harma and Sisak, Gełam ordered the former to live in Armawir and rule over his paternal house. 14. To Sisak he gave for a place of dwelling the southeastern region extending from the shores of the lake to a plain traversed by the river Erasx where it flows in torrents and penetrates the narrow passages of a cavern which is now called K'arawaz by many. 15. Returning from there, Gełam built the great and beautiful *dastakert* of Gełami, which was later named Garni after Garnik, and died. 16. Harma begot Aram, and died after a few years.

17. There are many accounts concerning the valorous contests of Aram, who is said to have extended by much violence the entire boundaries of Armenia to the four corners of the Earth. Because of the glorious display of his might, the nations who live around us consequently call us Armaneakk' in his name. 18. Through many daring contests he brought under his sway not only those who could easily be subdued but also the Cappadocians [Kapuțkeç'is], and named that land Armenia Protōn from his name. To this day they give the above name to that [part of the] land of the Greeks. 19. He called the country extending from the so-called Armenia Protōn to the region of Pontus First Armenia, and the country between Pontus and the limits of the city of Melitene Second Armenia, and the territory from Melitene to the boundaries of Cop'k' Third Armenia, and the region from Cop'k' to the city of Martyropolis, and to the province of Ałjnik' in the west, Fourth Armenia. 20. These [were the territorial subdivisions extending] as far as the borders of his native domain; as for the entirety of his native land, he called it Greater Armenia. 21. After some time, Aram begot Ara the Fair, and having lived many years, he died.

22. Ara regulated the welfare of the land, and named his place of residence Ayrarat from his name. 23. After a number of years, the lustful, passionate and wanton Šamiram, hearing by way of rumor of Ara's comely fairness, through frequent embassies promised him generous gifts and munificent profits, provided that he would be willing either to take her as his wife, or at least fulfill her desires. 24. Upon his refusal, Šamiram hastened [her men] immediately to reach Armenia and en-

counter Ara not to persecute or kill him, but rather to subdue and seize him in order to carry out the will of her who desired lust. Although she had warned her men to keep the object of her passion alive, Ara was unintentionally killed amidst the warriors who were fighting. He was survived by his son Kardos. 25. The debauchee Šamiram, led by her former lust for Ara, named Kardos Ara after his father, and placed him in charge of supervising matters in Armenia. He also died in war with Šamiram, and was survived by his most clever son Anušawan Sosanuēr, an extremely prudent person in words and deeds, who formerly ruled over a part of our land, and subsequently conquered all of it. 26. He died after many years of life.

27. None of his children nor his children's children ruled over their ancestral domain. But certain others imposed their tyranny on the race of Togarmah not according to family lineage, but according to personal achievement. The following are the names of those [rulers]: Paret, Arbak, Zawan, P'arñak, Sur, during whose time Joshua caused the Israelites to take possession of the promised land. 28. Sur was succeeded by Honak, Vaštak, Haykak, Ambak, Arñak, Norayr, Vstam, Kar, Gořak, Hratn, Ėnjak, Gzak, Hōroy, Zarmayr, who died in the Trojan War along with the Aethiopian warriors, Perč, in whose time lived David the king of Israel, Arbun, Bazuk, Hoy, Yusak, Kaypak, Skayordi, and after all of these, one by the name of Paroyr who was of the lineage of Hayk.

III

THE REIGN OF PAROYR AND HIS SUCCESSORS UNTIL VAHĒ

1. At this time Paroyr expelled the foreigners, and having renewed the ascendancy of his family he ruled over [his domain]. 2. He was the first among the Armenians to have been magnificently crowned with a diadem, 3. for Varbakēs of Media, who had through his generosity won the friendship of valorous men and also drawn to himself along with the others our own valiant victorious Paroyr, granted him royal insignia and honor, and having seized the kingdom of Sardanapalus [Sardanapałł] together with these men, ruled over Assyria and Nineveh.

4. My mind, enraptured by that event, prods me to occupy myself with the composition of an encomium praising our people, for henceforth I shall with great pride give the succession of (our) kings and not patriarchs. 5. During his [Paroyr's] time the Arcruni, who were [the descendants] of the children of Sennacherib [Senek'erim], were ac-

corded welcome by him in order to establish their abode in Armenia. 6. Paroyr was survived by his son Hrač'ē, whose fame and physical appearance did justice to his name, since to the onlookers he always appeared to be handsome and with sparkles in his eyes. 7. The [Sacred] Scriptures acknowledge the captivity of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar during his time. 8. Hrač'ē asked Nebuchadnezzar [to let him have] a certain Šambāt, one of the important captives, whom he settled in our land with great honor and glory; the branches of the Bagratuni family are descended from the generations of the latter.

9. After Hrač'ē P'arñawaz succeeded to the leadership of our people. 10. He was followed by Pačoyč, and then by K'ronak, after whom came P'awos. 11. P'awos's successor was the second Haykak, and after him came Eruand, who begot Tigran the Great shortly after the commencement of his reign. 12. Should the reader be curious to find out the source of so many names and stories, let him know that the books of the Chaldaeans, which were written at the time of Tiberius and are to be found in Nineveh and Edessa, were delivered to our hands. 13. Now, Tigran, who seemed to be by virtue of his wisdom more soberminded than any of our kings, surpassed them all. 14. After accomplishing numerous deeds of valor, and regulating many civic transactions, he took away the power from the Medes, and took charge of it. 15. He also subordinated the Greeks in submission for a long period of time. 16. Then, having killed Astyages (Aždahak), he took the latter's court captive, and assisted by Anoyš, the mother of dragons, and holding Cyrus, he seized and annexed the domains of the Medes and the Persians,¹⁷ thus extending the borders of his own people to the ancient limits of our abode. More and more he exalted our people and endowed her with riches. He made all of those who had been under the yoke of certain others subservient and tributary to himself. 18. It is said that the [social] order of the *ostanik azats*, which has been preserved to this day under the same name, derives its origin from him, and is assumed to be of royal lineage. 19. Thus he was a very wise, virtuous, and assiduous man, praiseworthy in his ways and works, who conducted his life honestly. Moreover, since he kept himself in equipoise by treating everyone with equity, 20. the evidence of his noble contests was thus more complete than that of others. Numerous treatises would be necessary in order to praise him, but the great urgency of my anxiety does not allow me to spend time to glorify him; it rather forces me to turn to other matters that lie before us.

21. Tigran sired Bab, Tiran and Vahagn. In [sagas sung to the tune of] the plectrum and the lyre the latter is said to have fought against the *višaps* and vanquished them. 22. They compared his toils with those of the hero Herakles. The tradition about Vahagn holds that his life-size statue stood in the province (*nahang*) of Iberia, and was worshipped with

sacrifices. 23. From his line descend the Vahuni, [for] Vahagn had children, and the Araweneank^c traced their lineage from his youngest son Ārawēn. 24. Ārawēn begot Nerseh, and Nerseh was the father of Zareh from whom the Zarehawanean family descended. 25. Zareh begot Armog, Armog begot Baygam, Baygam begot Van, Van begot Vahē. 26. The latter was killed by Alexander the Macedonian, because he was indignant with him. 27. After this you will find no authentic account of the patriarchs that ruled until the time of Vałaršak the Parthian, since [our princes] rose against one another in barbaric confusion and resisted each other until they adopted the foreign-born [prince = Vałaršak-], who had easily come in as a native, and relinquished their own stories. 28. At this point do not enhance my labors, for I* have always respected brevity, authenticity and compression of style. 29. Be it as it may, the timespan from our own Hayk to the coronation of Vałaršak is 2297 years.

IV

THE REIGN OF VAŁARŠAK THE PARTHIAN AND HIS REFORMS; HIS SUCCESSORS UNTIL TIGRAN II OF NOBLE BIRTH

1. Henceforth, I shall briefly narrate about Vałaršak ruling over us as king and about his descendants who succeeded him on the throne and were called Arsacids (Aršakuni). As for the rest that is narrated by certain others, if it is a must for you to know, then I refer you to them [for further information]. 2. After Alexander son of Philip had conquered the world, he willed his domain to many with the understanding that the empire would be named after him, since he had ruled over all. 3. After his death, Seleucus ruled over Babylon, subordinating also the Parthians through a violent war. 4. Upon his death Antiochus, surnamed Soter (Sovter), succeeded him. 5. These sovereigns ruled for a period of approximately sixty years, at which time the Parthians rose in rebellion against the Macedonians. 6. Aršak the Brave, a descendant of Abraham through the line of the progeny of Keturah (K^cētura),—whom Abraham had married after the death of Sarah,—ruled over the Persians, Medes and Babylonians, and was called *Parthian*, that is, 'Vehe-mence'. 7. Invincible in numerous contests with heroes, Aršak took possession of all the kingdoms, and since he had despotically undertaken

the task of conquering the world, he crowned his brother Vałarřak, a prudent, wise and valiant man, as king of the Armenians. 8. After numerous victorious contests with his enemies, the latter properly regulated many civil transactions and works that were beneficial to the public. 9. First, he displayed on himself the splendor of royalty with all of its pomp. Subsequently, establishing *naxarardoms* under his immediate supervision, he stationed them in the royal court, and through the entire extent of his dominion; he appointed men that were honorable and helpful, descendants of Hayk and other valiant men. 10. First he designated as his coronant Bagarat, a descendant of the Jewish řambat, who, they say, was of the family of David, since he had willingly offered his services to him before most of the others, Vałarřak also appointed him *sparapet* [and put him] in charge of thousands and myriads of soldiers. 11. After this, having valiantly driven out the Greek forces, Vałarřak also took possession of Pontus and Caesarea, which is called Mazaca (Miřak), with the regions surrounding them. 12. From there turning toward the people living on the shores of the sea along the foot of the Caucasus mountains, he ordered the wild tribes of that region to refrain from plundering, pillaging, and indulging in other vile habits [such as these], and submit to the royal commands and tributes, so that the royal court might consider them worthy of the dignity of cushion and principedom.

13. Having properly taken care of matters outside of the royal court, Vałarřak adapted elegant court ceremonies such as were befitting royalty and useful in uniting the kingdom. 14. First of all, in accordance with the principles mentioned, Vałarřak appointed his coronant, and then the chamberlains, bodyguards, and the supervisors of the hunt to pursue deer and fowl for victuals, and servants as well as guardians of the throne, stewards of temples, cupbearers, eagle and falcon bearers, officers responsible for providing the summer quarters [of the king] with snow, and others who supplied the winterquarters [with provisions], the legion of shielded men, porters of the royal court, and eunuchs. He set as viceroy of his kingdom one of the descendants of the Mede Astyages (Ařdahak), whose family is now called Murac'an.

15. Regulating in this manner the details of court procedure, he subsequently, appointed prefects (*kołmnakals*), governors (*kusakals*), *nahapets*, *spasalars*, and commanders. He also set *bdeřxs*, one in the north, in the land of Gugark', and the other in the southeast, in the province of Ařjnik'. 16. He also arranged the hours of access to the royal court as well as the times for councils, assemblies, and festivities, and also designated two mentors, of whom the first had the task of calling to the king's memory his benevolent deeds, and of reminding him of what was right and philanthropic in case of unjust orders given by the king, the second monitor's duty was to prompt the king to the fulfillment of the laws and the exacting of penalty on the wicked. 17. He ordered the city dwellers to be held in higher esteem than the peasants. Yet, he decreed that the

former should not despise or lord over the latter, so that they would live together in harmony and brotherhood, which is the source of prosperity and peace. 18. Now, after having established such a proper order, and having left a good and notable name for himself, he died in Nisibis, having ruled for twenty-two years.

19. He was succeeded by his son Aršak who always followed his father's wonderful ways. 20. He immediately waged war against the people of Pontus and defeated them. It is reported that he plunged his lance, which according to rumor was dipped in the blood of snakes, deep into a rock, and left it there to be observed as a symbol of his might. 21. During his time certain Jews who had dwelled among the Bulgars in the valleys of the Caucasus settled down at the foot of Koł. 22. Two of them who had been tortured for not worshipping the gods were put to the sword over their ancestrel laws, like the blessed Eleazar and the sons of Simeon. 23. Aršak ruled for thirteen years. He was succeeded by his son Artašēs. 24. The latter contrary to former custom did not concede primacy to king Aršakan of Persia, and reduced the latter to subjection by force, so that Aršakan conceded to Artašēs the primacy, and he himself held the second (= junior) throne. 25. With a large army Artašēs marched forth to the west against the Lydians, and taking captive king Croesus, ordered him to be placed on an iron cauldron to be tortured. 26. Croesus instantly recalled the words of Solon: "One should not count his blessings until the time of his death." 27. Subsequently, Artašēs, reaching land by marching over the sea, conquered Pontus and Thrace. 28. He destroyed the Lakedaimonians, put to flight the Phokians, and accepted the submission of the Lokrians. Hellas offered sacrifices for the heroes. 29. But above all, he did not grow insolent; instead he shed tears saying: "Alas to this fading glory." 30. Subsequently, he decided to subjugate all the peoples of the west and filled the ocean with numerous boats to sail against many nations. There, suddenly a great confusion rose among his forces, who began to cut down one another, and Artašēs, who had vanquished so many nations, was slain with others by his own forces. He reigned for twenty-five years.

V

THE REIGN OF TIGRAN II AND HIS WORKS; THE RULE OF ARTAWAZD AND ARĴAM

1. After Artašēs, his son the second Tigran reigned; 2. he levied numerous troops to confront the Greeks who had come against him, and

forced the latter to turn back. Having entrusted Mazaka (Mižak) and the rest of Asia Minor to his brother-in-law Mithridates, he returned to his land. 3. The same Mithridates also went and occupied the city of Amaseia, which Amasia, the nephew of Nectanebo (Nek'tanib) had built a long time ago at the order of Alexander son of Nek'tanib, and fortified it with extensive bastions. Having annexed the city to Armenia, Mithridates adorned it, calling it a border town. 4. Here he built a palace on the northern bank of the R̄is river, 5. and erected on the eastern facade of the cavern monuments built with polished stones and houses with firm foundation, which resembled the structures that Šamiram had raised in Van and Xaznat'gełp'a. 6. Be it as it may, Tigran, after setting many laws and regulations, launched an attack on Palestine, and took captive many Jews. 7. At that time the Roman Pompey came upon Mithridates; even though the latter had gathered a massive body of troops against him, he suffered defeat at the hands of the multitude [of the Roman forces], and took flight in the region of Pontus. 8. Then Pompey conquered Mazaka (Mižak) and seized the son of Mithridates, the younger Mithridates, who was named after his father. He had the elder Mithridates, who had fled, poisoned through the treachery of Pilate's father, and entrusted the younger Mithridates to the Roman Gabianus (Gabianē) who sent the youth to Tigran, his maternal uncle. 9. A short time later, Mithridates, being scorned by his uncle Tigran, left him and found asylum with Caesar, who gave him the city of Mazaka, (Mižak) which he enlarged and endowed it with magnificent buildings, and called it Caesarea in honor of Caesar. From that time on the city was no longer under Armenian domination. 10. But Tigran, who had been afflicted with an ailment, designated Barzap'ra, the *nahapet* of the R̄štuni as *sparapet* of Armenia, who sent a certain Gnel of the Gnumi house with a large army to Palestine and Jerusalem. 11. There they displayed numerous deeds of bravery and valor, and putting Herod to flight, they made Antigonos king in his place.

They took captive Hyrkanos, the high priest of the Jews, and with a great number of others brought him to Tigran. 12. After this, Tigran lived only for a short time, and died after a reign of thirty-four years.

13. After Tigran's death, Antony (Antoninos), the king of the Romans, sent numerous forces to Jerusalem, which they instantly besieged and conquered. They put Antigonos to death and once again made Herod king of all Palestine. 14. Subsequently, Artawazd, the son of Tigran, ruled over Armenia, but unlike his father's illustrious glory displayed no valiant deeds of gallantry. But rather being a glutton and a slave of the belly, he gave chase to the hunt, and onager, and enlarged the dumps. 16. For this he was admonished by his own people. As if aroused by the prick of the word and awakened from his sleep, he gathered a large army and marching into Mesopotamia, which Antony (Antoninos), the king of the Romans, had taken from him, he defeated

and drove out the Roman armies. 17. But when Antony [Antoninos] was made aware of this, he personally gathered the multitude of his forces and ferociously attacked not only our Artawazd, but also other nations and kingdoms, all of which he deprived of their lords. Along with them he also seized our Artawazd in Mesopotamia, and totally wiped out the Armenian and Persian forces. 18. He presented to Cleopatra, who was in Jerusalem, Artawazd and the many riches from the spoils of war. 19. Subsequently, the Armenian forces gathered together at the order of Artašēs, the king of Persia, and set Arĵam, the son of Artašēs brother of Tigran, as their king. 20. The partial payment of tribute to the Romans by the Armenians was started by him. When Artašēs, the king of Persia, died, his son Aršawir reigned; being a young child he could not come to Arĵam's aid, and the latter was left without allies. 21. At this time Enanos Bagratuni was stripped of his honor and put to prison, because he had released and sent back to Palestine Hyrkanos, whom Tigran had taken captive and brought [here]. Since Zōray, the *Nahapet* of the Gnduni, had calumniated him before Arĵam, and as there was reason to believe [the calumny], Arĵam gave orders to torment him with all kinds of instruments of torture, so that he would either foresake the Judaic faith and adore the idols, or be hung on a cross and perish [together] with his family. 22. They put to death one of his relatives, and brought his sons to the place of execution. But being unable to endure the death of his son, he yielded to the will of the king with his entire family and was reinstated in his former position.

VI

THE REIGN OF ABGAR: HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY; HIS WORKS AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE ARMENIAN NATION

1. After twenty years of reign, Arĵam was succeeded by his son Abgar, 2. whom the ancients called *Awag* ['noble'] *Ayr* ['man'] because of the excellence of his wisdom. But as the Syrians could not pronounce it properly in our tongue, they called him Abgar. 3. At this time, that is in the days of the census when our Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, all of Armenia became tributary to the Romans at the order of the emperor Augustus. 4. There rose great dissention, discord, and confusion of war between Abgar and Herod, but the latter could not personally carry out the task since he had been afflicted with unbearable

agonies due to his insolence towards Christ and the massacre of the children in Bethlehem. 5. Subsequently, he sent a nephew (brother's son) of his with a large army. Upon reaching Mesopotamia, the latter gave battle to Abgar and was killed by him. 6. Soon after that Herod died, and his son Archelaus occupied his place. 7. Then, Aršawir, the king of Persia, also died and discord prevailed among his children as to whoever among them should rule in place of their father. 8. As a wise man Abgar went to reconcile them, and having persuaded them, he restored harmony in their midst, and made Artašēs king. 9. He separated [the families of] the remaining brothers and the sister into three houses with the following names: Karēni Pahlaw, Surēnay Pahlaw, (and the sister's) Aspahapeti Pahlaw. Subsequently, at a later time, the blessed Enlightener Grigorios, the living twig of the vine of Christ, [was descended] from the Surēni Pahlaw, and K'amsar, whose progeny were the Kamsarakans, [traced his lineage] from the Karēnay Pahlaw. Thus, these men were regarded as sprouts of royalty.

10. Abgar's body was infected by a severe malady. 11. Since Marixab, the bdešx of Aĥjnik', Šamšagram, the *nahapet* of the Apahuni, and Anan, the confidants of king Abgar had gone to Jerusalem and witnessed the wonderful healing of our God Christ, and upon their return had told the king [about this], the latter wrote a letter of supplication [to Christ], and begged Him to come and heal him from his ailment which no man could ever cure. 12. Having received the letter, our Savior considered it worth answering and wrote to him that those who believe without seeing him are more blessed [than those who believe after seeing him]. He also said, "To fulfill the Will of Him Who has sent me, I shall dispatch one of my disciples to cure your ailments and grant life to you and to those who are with you." 13. The messenger Anan brought the letter of the Savior to Abgar and with it he also carried the impression of the divine image which is still to this day preserved in Edessa. 14. Then, after the ascension of our Savior, in the thirtieth year of Abgar's reign, the apostle Thomas, one of the twelve, sent Thaddeus, one of the chosen seventy,* so that in accordance with the promise of our Lord Jesus Christ he might cure Abgar, whom He had considered worthy of receiving the evangelical tidings in writing. 15. [The apostle] came to the house of Tubia Bagratuni who had abided by his ancestral laws until that time. 16. Prince Tubia took the Apostle before the king, who noticed a miraculous sign on his face, and falling on his knees, prostrated himself before him. 17. The apostle put his hand on Abgar and cured him. He also healed all the sick and the ailing, both those in the court of the king, and those in the entire city. Abgar himself and the entire population of the

*seventy JM] twelve J¹.

city were baptized, and the numbers of the believers in the Lord increased day by day. 18. The blessed Thaddeus ordained a certain Addē, a mitre maker, and having left him in his place at Edessa, he came to Sanatruk, the nephew (sister's son) of Abgar, in order to preach to his subjects the divinity of Christ.

VII

THE APOSTASY OF SANATRUK AND THE ARMENIANS; THE MARTYRDOM OF THADDEUS, SANDUXT, THE BLESSED OSKEANK^c AND SUK^cIASANK^c

1. [King] Abgar, who had entrusted himself to a great hope and partaken in the glory of God by professing the immovable hope, died and ascended to the upper tower of Sion.

2. Subsequently, in Armenia they set up his nephew Sanatruk as king. Although the latter had believed in Christ at the beginning of the preaching of the apostle Thaddeus, yet, adhering to the suggestions of his *naxarars*,* he renounced his faith, and after a short period of time put the blessed apostle and (with him) his own daughter Sanduxt to death by means of torments and the sword; they were both transported into the light of everlasting life on the right side of the glory of God. 3. After this, Bartholomew, one of the twelve, whom the Lord had designated for the land of Armenia was at once tortured to death by Sanatruk; he was martyred shedding his blood in the city of Arasbenon in Armenia. His relics were also buried there as a source of pride to the Armenian people and as a cure for all those that were sick. 4. Forty-three years after the death of the blessed apostle Thaddeus, in the days of Artasēs king of Armenia, the holy apostle's disciples who lived at the sources of the Euphrates river and whose leader was called Oski proselytized and baptized certain Alans who were related to queen Sat'ēnik wife of Artasēs. 5. Because the baptized became day by day more resolute in their faith in [Christ] the Word of Life, the son of Sat'ēnik was irritated by them, and put the blessed Oski and his saintly companions to the sword. 6. Thereafter, the relatives of Sat'ēnik who had been baptized in [the name of] Christ, disturbed by the death of the blessed men, went away and took refuge on mount Ĵrabašx, where they satisfied [their

*adhering . . . *naxarars* J]—M.

dietary needs] with herbs. The nudity of their bodies was covered with hair from heaven's due, and because of that they were called he-goats [*k'osšk'*]. 7. Many years later when Xosrov king of Armenia was killed by Anak, and Armenia was in a state of anarchy, a certain Barlah* came from the court of the Alans and made written inquiries about the martyrs. Finding them on the mountain called Ĵrabašx, and having cross-examined them about their belief in Christ, he put them to the sword. 8. Thereafter that mountain was called Sukaw after Suk'ianos who was the leader of the saints.

VIII

THE ASSASSINATION OF KING XOSROV BY ANAK. THE ORIGIN OF SAINT GRIGOR, AND THE SECOND ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE ARMENIAN NATION

1. After Artasir of Stahr had assassinated Artabanus, the king of Persia, the Arsacids were deprived of the royal crown, and instead Artasir himself ruled. 2. Anak, who was from the house of Surēni Pahlaw and the Parthian Arsacid line, charmed by the numerous attractive promises of Artasir, and pretending to have detached himself from him, came to king Xosrov of Armenia so that through kinship he might reassure [Xosrov] of the cause of his flight and feigning friendship he would carry out his treachery without any difficulty, and attain the fulfillment of Artasir's promises, as the able historian Agathangelos exhaustively informs you. 3. Because of such reasons Anak set out and arrived at the district of Artaz where he encamped for the night. 4. Through divine ordinance the site of his camp happened to be located on the grave of the holy apostle [which was] in the nuptial chamber of the tent. 5. It is said that Saint Grigor's mother conceived him at this place. After the necessary period of time had elapsed, St. Grigor was born at the same location so that he might complete the spiritual work of the same man on whose [grave] he had come to being. 6. But after two years Anak remembering his vow to Artasir, assassinated Xosrov, but he and his entire family were also killed. The grace of God preserved only one soul whom the holy apostle had invested with the grace of his mission while the latter was still in his mother's womb, just as Christ had designated John the Baptist to be his precursor. 7. Subsequently, accord-

*Barlah M] Barlaha J.

ing to the reliable historian, certain nurses escaping the imminent and wicked attack carried two nursing male infants to the land of the Greeks, where one became versed in the matters of the crown and the other was instructed in missionary work in order to become the cause of our enlightenment. 8. When both of them had reached the age of maturity, the first, in accordance with his disposition, military skill and martial trials, acquired his ancestral crown in the third year of the emperor Diocletian, 9. whereas the other, after numerous and unbearable torments, extremely bitter agonies and fifteen years of confinement in the deep pit in the citadel of Artasat, ascended from the depths of poisonous [reptiles], and became resplendant in our salvation. With the joyful procession of the incomprehensible and ineffable Trinity shining within him like a ray of light, he cured the entire Aramian [= Armenian] race of the malady of idolatry. 10. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Trdat, he [Grigor] occupied the throne of the blessed apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus and thus became [for those of us] here a minister of holiness and our [spiritual] parent in accordance with the gospel, and a forefather.

11. After that, Grigor accompanied by Trdat visited Constantine, the emperor ordained by God, who honored the holy patriarch like a living martyr with gracious and befitting veneration, and falling on his knees sought votive supplications and blessings. After having honored him thus, Constantine had him and Trdat mount on a gold plated cart and saw them off on their journey amidst great splendor.

IX

THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA; CONCERNING ARIUS; AND THE RETIREMENT OF SAINT GRIGOR

1. At about this time there appeared Arius of Alexandria who was deceived by the demon and maintained that the Son was not consubstantial with the Father, not equal with Him and not born of Him before infinity, but rather created and begotten after time. 2. For this reason a council of bishops met in Nicaea of Bithynia at the order of Constantine and among those who were summoned was also our own Aristakēs. 3. There three hundred and eighteen church fathers through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit anathematized and rejected Arius from communion with the church in order to destroy his sect. The penalty that he paid was worthy of his impiety, since he died [as a result of] his bowels gushing out with his excrement. 4. Then our Aristakēs returned

from there bringing with him the twenty chapters of the canons of Nicaea which were worthy of acceptance. Greatly rejoicing at this, Saint Grigor added other chapters for the protection of the flock that was allotted to him. 5. Subsequent to the return of the blessed Aristakēs from the Council of Nicaea, Saint Grigor no longer appeared until his death; he quietly retired to the Manē caves in accordance with what is written, namely that a chaste person seeks solitude as a ship in trouble hastens to her haven. 6. The period from the time when the blessed Grigor, the author of our enlightenment and the precursor of [those who sat on] the apostolic throne, ascended the patriarchal throne to the time when he no longer appeared to anyone is thirty years.

X

THE DEATH OF SAINT ARISTAKĒS AND KING TRDAT

1. The blessed Aristakēs, the heir to the paternal throne, pursued in every way a holy and a righteous course by trying to subject his flock to the Will of Christ through the course set by Christ, and made an effort to keep them within the fold [of the church], some by their own will and others by force. He always held the power of the Holy Spirit girded like a sword upon his thigh and admonished those who were engaged in wicked acts against the Holy Spirit. 2. Among them was a certain Ark'ēlayos, the prefect of the province of Cop'k', who had been chided by Aristakēs for his wicked deeds. The latter chanced upon the saint on a certain highway in the province of Cop'k' and nursing rancor ventured to kill the blessed man by sword and fled to the region west of the Taurus. 3. Then the disciples of Aristakēs carried his body and buried it in the village [*awan*] of T'il in the district of Eketik'. 4. He had occupied the patriarchal see for a period of seven years. Perhaps I should not consider his internment a burial but an assumption from this world to that of the living where joyful bliss prevails eternally and one hears of no tidings of death.

5. Aristakēs was succeeded to the throne by his elder brother Vrt'anēs, even as it pleased the Holy Spirit. 6. But our spiritual radiance Saint Grigor, having lived for many years in the cave of Manē, was deceased, and was unknowingly buried by shepherds who had found him in a state of poverty. 7. Then, after many years, a certain hermit by the name of Garnik found his holy relics as if by divine ordinance and bringing them to the village of T'ordan buried them in the garden of

Saint Grigor's resort. 8. After a few years the blessed king Trdat was treacherously deceived by people of unpleasant and disobedient nature, and was given a deadly drink. His body was also buried in the same *awan* and the same garden near the grave of Saint Grigor, with whom he had equally struggled to turn away all the people from the ways of wickedness, thus becoming the second author of our enlightenment. 9. But while Vrt'anēs the Great was still in the district of Tarōn, in the chapel of John the Baptist and the martyr At'anaginēs, he was secretly threatened with death by the inhabitants of Mount Sim whom he constantly chastised for their unjust and perverse deeds. 10. When he perceived this, he yielded to the wickedness, and escaped to the district of Ekeḷik^ς, where he established his place of habitation.

11. After the death of Saint Trdat, the impious second Sanatruk of the Aršakuni house, whom Trdat had set up as *nahapet* in the city of P'aytakaran, rose in insurrection and crowned himself king. At his ungodly order the barbaric tribes of the north put the wonderful youth Grigoris, who had been appointed bishop of Albania from the house of Saint Grigor, to death in the Vatnean plain by means of the trampling hoofs of horses. They buried his saintly body in the village of Amaras in Lesser Siwnik^ς.

XI

THE REIGN OF XOSROV AND TIRAN AND THE PONTIFICATE OF SAINT YUSIK

1. After this Vrt'anēs the Great set out and went to the emperor Constantius son of Constantine and earnestly begged him to make Xosrov rule as king over the Armenians in place of his father Trdat, and pleaded as follows: "Let your sovereignty which is established by Christ prevail over us, and let not the godless Persians rule over us." 2. The emperor received the blessed man in a proper manner and carrying out his wishes set Xosrov as king over the Armenians. 3. After Xosrov's death Vrt'anēs the Great took Tiran, the son of Xosrov, and went to the emperor Constantius so that the latter might set him as king in place of his father. 4. Like the first time, the emperor greatly honored Vrt'anēs, and having readily complied with his wishes, gloriously crowned Tiran king, and sent him to Armenia. Upon his arrival the latter ruled over his ancestral domain. 5. Subsequently, Vrt'anēs the Great, the chosen vessel and the minister of the mysteries of God and the preacher of the apostolic tradition, completed the span of his life, and departing from

this world he went to the land of the living, having occupied the patriarchal throne for fifteen years. 6. He was buried with his ancestors in the village of T'ordan. 7. His son Yusik, who imitated the virtues of his ancestors and distinguished himself in every discipline, succeeded him.

8. After Constantius' death, the impious Julian ruled in Rome, and arrogantly turning against the knowledge of God, became an idolater and forsook Christ, and raised persecutions against the churches. 9. Thereupon, having taken hostages from our own Tiran, he made him condescend to his will. Then he ordered him to place in his church his variegated image which was designed in the likeness of those of demons. For out of fear Tiran had taken the image and at his own will placed it in his church in the district of Cop^c (sic). Because of that the blessed Yusik came to that place and tried to dissuade Tiran from his wicked thoughts through spiritual instructions. 10. But when he shut his ears [and refused] to listen to him, Yusik snatched the image [of the emperor] from his hands and throwing it to the ground trampled it under his feet and destroyed it. 11. Thereat Tiran went into a wicked rage and ordered Yusik beaten with clubs until he gave up his ghost. 12. Moreover, he also ordered the elderly Daniel who had cursed the king for such a wicked knavery suffocated. He was buried in the Hac'eac' Monastery. 13. But the body of the blessed Yusik was buried with his ancestors in the village of T'ordan. He had occupied the patriarchal throne for six years.

14. But the sons of Saint Yusik, Pap and At'anaginē, contrived a horrible destruction for themselves because of their foolishness which had darkened their hearts. For ignescent flashes [of lightning] glided down and destroyed both of them at the same place. At'anaginē alone was survived by a small child called Nersēs who was then in school at Caesarea. 15. Subsequently, since there was no one from the family of Saint Grigor, they chose a certain P'arnerseh from Aštišat and set him on the patriarchal throne. 16. The latter lasted for no longer than three years and died.

XII

THE PONTIFICATE OF NERSĒS THE GREAT AND HIS BANISHMENT. THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. Then King Aršak, the son of Tiran who had been deservedly blinded by the king of Persia, sent Nersēs, the son of At'anaginēs son of

Yusik, to Caesarea in accordance with the former practice so that he might be ordained patriarch. They say that wonderful portents appeared while Nersēs was standing with the clergymen [participating] in the ordination; the grace of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove descended on his head and astounded all the clerics of the church. 2. Thus adorned with light he returned and being zealous in spiritual matters he befittingly set all the rules of righteousness. 3. First he eradicated all the roots of cruelty and instead implanted mercy. He built houses for the poor, leprosoria for lepers, hospitals for invalids and all those that were disabled so that the ailing bodies of men could be comforted. For them he set a pension [that was collected] from the villages and the estates so that they might not be compelled to get out of their places of habitation. 4. He also founded inns, hotels, hospices and asylums in the towns and the villages. Moreover, in the hermitages he built cloisters and scetes for the celibate priests and the anchorites. 5. He prohibited marriage between close relatives and suppressed the indecent lamentations over the dead. Thereafter the people of our land appeared [to the onlooker] not as wild barbarians, but rather as modest city dwellers. 6. When the king and the *naxarars* of Armenia beheld the nature and the scope of his reforms and also took note of his austere ascetical behaviour, they decided with certain others to elevate him as well to the rank of patriarch. 7. For a short time before this Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, had had the relics of Saint John the Evangelist transported from Ephesus to Constantinople, and emboldened by this, he had set up a patriarch in Constantinople. 8. Subsequently, because of this precedent the Jerusalemites were likewise encouraged to establish their own see, since they considered [the elevation of their bishopric] to the patriarchal rank their privilege, because their city had witnessed the birth of the Word of the Father, as well as His coming among men, His baptism at the hands of John, and His crucifixion, burial and resurrection on the third day. 9. Until that time there were throughout the world only four patriarchates after the four evangelists: the see of Matthew at Antioch, that of Mark at Alexandria, that of Luke at Rome and that of John at Ephesus. But after these events, the total number of the patriarchates rose to six. 10. Subsequently, in like manner our king Aršak, and the *naxarars* of Armenia also took the liberty of setting Nersēs the Great as patriarch over the house of Togarmah, and deservedly presented as an authentic proof the holy apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus, whom the Lord had designated as the missionaries and evangelists of the race of Ashkenaz. Their relics are to be found among us, and the living martyr Grigorios received their throne. 11. After they [the Armenians] had carried out their intention, the total number of the patriarchal sees became seven. This is still so and shall remain to be so unto the ages of ages. 12. Thus, the hierarchy of the

Church was entirely completed in our country as well, since it was altogether invested with nine ranks, and the chief bishops of the Iberians and the Albanians were placed under Nersēs's jurisdiction as archbishops. 13. In Sebastia, Melitene and Martyropolis metropolitans were set up. Bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, lectors and psalmodists were appointed to the several jurisdictions. The latter were dispersed throughout and befittingly adorned all of the Armenian churches to the glory of God.

15. The Emperor Valentinian was greatly enraged at Aršak who had rebelled against him and ordered his brother Trdat, who was a hostage, to be put to death. Subsequently, having been informed of this, Nersēs the Great hastily came to the emperor and appeased his wrath. He was honored by Valentinian in a manner befitting patriarchs and receiving from the emperor the son of Trdat who had been put to death and the other hostages whom he had requested, he returned to Armenia with great peace.

16. Upon Valentinian's death his brother, the impious Valens, ruled and immediately sent the great general Theodosius with a large army against King Aršak. The latter was forced to beseech Nersēs the Great to go [to Theodosius] and beg for peace. Nersēs, not neglecting the holocaust threatening his flock, immediately took Pap, the son of Aršak, as hostage to the great general Theodosius. The latter heeded Nersēs's words and taking with him the patriarch as well as the hostage returned to the emperor. 17. However, the impious Valens did not even consider it worth seeing the holy man of God and gave orders to banish him with his clerics to a distant island where no provisions were to be found even for a day's survival. Nevertheless, at the order of God the sea threw out fish with the ebbing tide and fed them for eight months. 18. There is a rumor about the impious Valens that at the order of the mighty hand of God the holy martyr Georgios killed him in an incomprehensible manner and justly rendered him what he deserved for his wicked thoughts.

19. After him Theodosius the Great, a pious and a godly man, took over the kingdom. He repelled all the shady snares and established the foundations of stainless faith. Subsequently he ordered those whom Valens had banished in fetters to return to their respective places. Together with them he also fetched Nersēs the Great whom he kept with him until he had with his help converted the sacrilegious blasphemy of Macedon to the direction of true faith. 20. And then a council of altogether one hundred and fifty bishops met in Byzantium and pronounced anathema on Macedonius and all the *pneumatomachoi*.

XIII

THE REIGN OF PAP AND HIS WAR
AGAINST MEHRUŽAN THE APOSTATE;
THE DEATH OF NERSĒS THE GREAT
AND THE SUCCESSION OF THE KATHOLIKOI

1. Šapuh king of Persia seized Aršak the king of Armenia and putting him in fetters confined him in the fortress of Anuš, where Aršak pierced a sword through his heart and committed suicide. 2. When Nersēs the Great heard of his unfortunate death he earnestly asked the Emperor Theodosius to make Pap son of Aršak king of Armenia. Theodosius complied with his wishes and immediately sent Pap to Armenia with the blessed Nersēs. Upon their arrival they found Mehružan the Apostate with numerous forces ruling as the absolute master of Armenia. Then they joined battle at Jiraw, 3. and when the encounter beame intense, Nersēs the Great ascended Mount Npat and like Moses raising his arms toward heaven begged Christ with supplicatory prayers so that He would protect the army which was bearing His seal, where-with the warriors repugnant to God were defeated. 4. And the Armenian armies became strong and filled the entire plain [of Jiraw] with the corpses of the enemy. There Smbat in fact seized the impious Mehružan Arcruni and bending an iron rod into the shape of a crown and exposing it to sparkling flames, he placed it on his head and thus put him to death.

5. But King Pap always derived pleasure from wanton and lewd acts for which the blessed Nersēs continually chided and admonished him. 6. Deeply resenting this and not daring to do anything out in the open, Pap served Nersēs a deadly drink in the village of Xaf and deprived him of this life, [acting] as if he were innocent. His body was taken to the village of T'ıl and was buried there. Nersēs occupied the patriarchal see for thirty-four years. 7. After him they placed on the throne Šahak, a descendant of Ałbianos and a praiseworthy man endowed with virtue and religious instruction. Contrary to the former tradition they did not send him to Caesarea, but abandoning the earlier practice they adopted the rule applicable to patriarchs whereby the synod of bishops did the ordaining as in Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus, Constantinople and Jerusalem, so that the patriarchate [of Armenia] with its independent status would not become subordinate to certain others.

8. Subsequently, the Emperor Theodosius had King Pap seized and put to death, and instead he set up Varazdat, a descendant of the Aršakuni house, as king. In his second year the patriarch Šahak died,

having occupied the patriarchal see for six years. 9. On his throne they placed his brother Zawēn who distinguished himself by the same virtuous life. 10. Then Theodosius the Great also banished Varazdat to the island of Thule [T^ulis] in the Ocean and crowned the two sons of Pap, Aršak and Vařaršak. 11. In the second year of Aršak, Zawēn died after a pontificate of three years and his brother Aspura^kēs, who excelled in the virtues of his predecessors, succeeded him. 12. But Šapuh king of Persia made Xosrov, a certain Aršakuni, king in his part [of Armenia], since Aršak wished to rule over the western [or] Greek section. 13. If you wish to know about the conduct, disposition, bravery, lack of bravery and warfare of these two [kings], the *History* of Movsēs Xorenacⁱ will give you the full details.

14. After the death of Aršak Mesrop from Hac^eka^c in Tarōn, a pupil of Nersēs the Great and a clerk at the royal court, abandoned the worldly honors and turning to solitary life followed the path of the Celestial One. You will find sufficient [information about the ascent of his life and the miracles that God revealed through him [in his works] of those who narrated before us.

XIV

THE PONTIFICATE OF SAHAK THE GREAT AND THE SPREAD OF LITERACY AMONG OUR PEOPLE; THE DOWNFALL OF OUR KINGDOM

1. Subsequently, the great patriarch Aspura^kēs died after having occupied the patriarchal throne for five years. In his place king Xosrov set up Sahak, the son of Nersēs the Great. 2. And since Sahak was indeed a virtuous offspring [of his ancestors], the testimony of saintly and righteous works deservedly followed his footprints. Although he was in the world, like anchorites he bypassed the ways of the world through the practice of total humility, and together with his students carried out his well regulated ministry through ceaseless prayers. 3. Then Artašir, the son of king Šapuh of Persia, seized Xosrov, the king of Armenia, and confined him in the fortress of Anuš. In his place he crowned his brother Vřamšapuh. 4. Sahak the Great went to Artašir king of Persia, 5. and was greatly honored by him, because God makes his servants appear venerable and respectable before the infidels. Then the king circum-

spectly fulfilled all of his requests. 6. Upon his return the blessed Sahak instituted through our Vřamřapuh the concessions made by Artařir. Then Artařir, the king of Persia died, and Vřam ruled instead.

7. At that time Mesrop returned, bringing with him the characters of our language, which were presumably given to him by the providence of God's grace. At the order of Sahak the Great, he immediately summoned sober-minded, sagacious, intelligent children with soft voices, and founded schools in several districts so that he might most effectively enlighten [the people]. 8. After this he went to Iberia and invented an alphabet suitable for their language. There also he set up teachers and schools. 9. Then descending to the region of the Albanians, he created for them an alphabet that would suit their highly consonantal and harsh tongue, and there also founded schools. 10. Then he returned to Armenia and found the blessed Sahak ceaselessly occupied with translations. 11. But after the death of Vřamřapuh, the king of Armenia, Sahak the Great went to Yazkert, the king of Persia, and begged him to release Xosrov, who was in bondage, and send him to Armenia in place of Vřamřapuh. 12. Yazkert immediately complied with the wishes of the blessed man, and gave Xosrov the sovereignty of Armenia. 13. But upon his rule for the second time, the latter lived no longer than one year, and died.

14. But after the death of Yazkert, the second Vřam ruled instead in Persia. 15. He instigated numerous cruel atrocities against the people of Armenia and disrupted all good order and caused much destruction and corruption. Seeing the adversities of the evil, the blessed Sahak went to the side of the Greeks, for Armenia had been divided into two parts between the Emperor and the Persians. 16. Although at first Theodosius the Great looked scornfully at him with a mind not to accept him, after he had learned from several people that Sahak was filled with the divine grace, and that his life was entirely adorned with virtue, he received him with great honor and favor, as if he were an apostle of Christ. Moreover, he gave orders to instruct immediately the alphabet that had been granted by God through them [Sahak and Mesrop], and decreed that the expenditure for the schools come from the royal court.

17. Then the blessed Sahak immediately sent his grandson Vardan to Vřam king of Persia to seek peace. The king honored the wishes of the blessed man and set up Artařir son of Vřamřapuh as king of Armenia. 18. The latter was always wantonly engaged in lascivious licentiousness, which provided the *naxarars* with the excuse to bring accusations against him and to show their annoyance at him. They complained to the blessed Sahak, and sought to make him an accomplice in defaming Artařir before the king of Persia so that he would either bind the king of Armenia with fetters, or dethrone him. 19. Although Sahak could not demonstrate the falsehood of their slanders, he would not take upon

himself [the responsibility of] betraying his king into the hands of a heathen monarch, because he hoped to see the restitution of the fallen, and not the prostration. 20. "Far be it from me," he said, "to betray my sheep that has gone astray to the wolves. Although he is prodigal, he is confirmed with holy baptism; he is a prostitute, but a Christian; he is debauched in body, but not an infidel in spirit; he is wanton in conduct, but not a fire-worshipper." 21. And thus he would not exchange his diseased sheep for a healthy beast. 22. Although the blessed Sahak was thus equitable in his judgement, Vřam heeded those who had wicked thoughts, especially Surmak who had made a murderous sword out of his tongue, and expected to occupy the [patriarchal] throne in place of the blessed Sahak. 23. Subsequently, the king confined Artasřir in prison, and placed a Persian *marzpan* in charge of Armenia. In place of Saint Sahak he set the wicked-tongued Surmak who could not persevere for more than one year, since the same *naxarars* persecuted him.

24. After him Vřam set up a certain Syrian by the name of Brgišoy, an impudent and a rapacious man, who managed his household through housewives. 25. And since the *naxarars* also hated him, Vřam appointed another Syrian by the name of řmuěl, who was a follower of Brgišoy's conduct, especially in avarice. He ordered Sahak the Great only to teach and ordain those whom řmuěl had designated. 26. Subsequently, the *naxarars* approached Sahak the Great with supplications, but he did not consent to become their prelate for the second time. Nevertheless, he never ceased nursing the children of the church with the spiritual milk. 27. After the death of Vřam, his son Yazkert succeeded him. Then the blessed Sahak became severely ill and he was translated to Christ in the district of Bagrawan, in the village called Blur. In a mortal frame he displayed the behavior of incorporeal beings, and leaving behind the immortal memory of his goodness, he joined the angelic hosts, and sat in eternal bliss on the right side of Christ's throne. 28. His venerable body was taken to Tarōn and buried in the village of Ařtiřat.

29. Only six months later the blessed Mesrop also departed from this life in the city of Vařarřapat. He seemed to everyone to be entirely adorned with the ornament of the celestial powers. Over him a wonderful sign flashed, a crosslike radiance of light, which remained for a long time, until they carried his holy body to the village of Ořakan. The same crosslike luminous portent accompanied the coffin, and became invisible only after they had put him in his resting place.

30. The presbyter Yovsęp from the village of Hořoc'imanć in Vayoc' Jor occupied the patriarchal see as *locum tenens*. 31. However, at the order of Yazkert Surmak did the ordination for six years until he died. Then [Yazkert ordered] the blessed Yovsęp [to do] the ordinations in Armenia.

XV

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED VARDANIANS AND THE LEWONDIAN PRIESTS

1. At this time the reign of the Aršakuni dynasty in Armenia came to an end and along with it the patriarchal throne was also [taken away] from the house of Grigor, our thrice-blessed Enlightener. As each one did what he pleased, peace was disturbed and good order deteriorated. Then some of our *naxarars*, beguiled by the demon, forsook the Christian faith and obeyed the heathen laws. 2. The two senior members among them, Šawasp Arcruni and Vndoy from the city of Dvin, ordered a temple of Ormizd and a house of fire-worship to be built. Moreover Vndoy appointed his son Šeroy high priest [*k^rmapet*] and laid down laws that were in the Persian scriptures, namely several intolerable customs and wicked practices that were full of obscure gloomy and foul doctrines. 3. When the valiant Vardan, the grandson of Sahak the Great, learned that the good order in the church had been obscured and the annual feasts had lost [their former] splendor, he immediately gathered troops and daringly attacking them killed the impious Šawasp with a lightning stroke of the sword, put the *marzpan* Mškan to flight and seizing the abominable Vndoy burned him in the fire of the temple which the latter had built in Dvin. He had his son Šeroy hanged from a pole on top of the altar. In place of the altar he built a large church in the name of Saint Grigor and transferred there the patriarchal throne on which he set the great patriarch Giwt, since the blessed patriarch Yovsēp^c was in bondage with the blessed Lewondians. Although he was still alive, the *naxarars* of Armenia either considered it unreasonable to leave the flock of Christ without a pastor lest the heathen wolves might disperse the sheep, or acted according to the order of the blessed Yovsēp^c. 4. And thus good order in the holy church prevailed again and thenceforth 5. the Armenians submitted to the leadership of the valiant Vardan until the day of his death. He bravely fought many wars for his faith in Christ and with his numerous companions became worthy of accepting the unfading crown from the immortal King Christ.

6. After this the blessed katholikos Yovsēp^c was martyred. He had occupied the patriarchal see for a period of eight years. With him were also other blessed bishops and the Lewondian priests and their deacons [who were executed] in Persia by the impious Peroz, and who placed on their heads the crown of martyrdom that was wrought by the most holy hands of God.

XVI

THE WORKS OF VAHAN MAMIKONIAN AND THE KATHOLIKOI

1. At about this time the great patriarch Giwt, who was from the village of Ot^c mus, died after he had occupied the patriarchal see for ten years. 2. He was succeeded by Yovhan Mandakuni who was endowed with all the spiritual qualities. He set the offices of devotion and splendidly enriched all the canonical hours of the holy church and also wrote treatises that forewarned people about this life, which must be safeguarded, and bore salvation to their souls. 3. In his days Vahan Mamikonian, the son of Hmayeak and the nephew of the blessed Vardan, ruled over the Armenians. With the advice of the blessed patriarch Yovhannēs Mandakuni and with the help of his prayers he bravely vanquished all the forces coming against him, and collecting the taxes from our land rebuilt the churches that had been destroyed by the enemy. 4. And while Peroz was scheming to bring about the destruction of Armenia, suddenly, he and his men were all massacred by the K^cušans because of the prayers of the blessed man of God Yovhannēs.

5. Vařarř succeeded him as king of Persia. As he was a man who heeded people with good advice, he entrusted our land to Vahan. 6. The great patriarch Yovhan Mandakuni was united with Christ, after having occupied the patriarchal throne for six years. 7. Then Babgēn, who was his pupil, occupied the patriarchal throne. During his pontificate Peroz, who ruled over Persia, summoned Vahan to the royal court and giving him the *marzpanate* of Armenia sent him back to Armenia. 8. At about this time Zenon, the blessed king of the Greeks who pleased God with his life and his devotion to the faith, died. During his reign he had repudiated the misty, airy, boastful and wicked heresy of the Chalcedonians* and made the glistening brilliant and radiant apostolic faith flourish in the church of God. 9. After him the highly renowned Anastas ascended the throne of the kingdom of the Greeks. With a similar or perhaps even greater love of truth and a life pleasing to God he established the pious tradition of the Holy Fathers and by means of edicts anathematized all the heretics and the Council of Chalcedon.

10. At this time when piety prevailed in the land of the Greeks, Babgēn, the great patriarch of Armenia, held a council of the Armenian, Iberian and Albanian bishops in the New City [= Vařarřapat], in the Holy Cathedral of Armenia. They [*i.e.*, the Iberians and the Albanians]

*he had . . . Chalcedonians JJ—M.

likewise anathematized and repudiated** the Council of Chalcedon, since they had not yet accepted the doctrine that condemned their lands*** and stood firmly on the very same foundation of Saint Grigor. 11. And thus at this time there was unity of faith in the lands of the Greeks, the Armenians and the Albanians who had severally anathematized† and rejected the Council of Chalcedon. 12. But after thirty-five years of Orthodoxy had elapsed, the impious†† Justin succeeded Anastasius. Becoming full of wickedness he restored the Chalcedonian heterodoxy which had been extirpated, erased and eradicated,††† and renewed the unbearable threats of vexatious toils against holy and orthodox men and once again smeared the floor of the Holy Church with blood. 13. The great patriarch Babgēn died after he had occupied the patriarchal throne for five years.

14. Subsequently they set on the patriarchal throne Samuēl who was from the village of Arckē. During his time, Vard, the brother of Vahan, ruled over the Armenians. Having occupied the patriarchal throne for ten years, he also died. 15. After him they set on the patriarchal throne Mušē who was from the village of Aylaberic^ç in the province of Kotayk^ç. During his time Persian *marzpan*s ruled over the Armenians. Having occupied the holy see for eight years he died.

16. After him they set on the patriarchal throne Sahak who was from the village of Ułk in the district of Hark^ç. During his pontificate as well Persian *marzpan*s ruled over the Armenians at the order of King Kawat. 17. Having occupied the patriarchal throne for about five years he also died. Then they set on the patriarchal throne K^çristap^çor who was from the village of Tirarič in the district of Bagrewan. 18. He occupied the office of prelate for six years. 19. After him they set on the holy see Lewond who was from Lesser E^çrast [P^çok^çr E^çrast]. During his time Xosrov ruled over Persia instead of his father Kawat and subsequently Vardan Mamikonean rose against him, killing the *marzpan* Surēn in the city of Dvin, and entered the service of the Greeks together with the other *naxarars*. 20. Lewond died after having occupied the patriarchal throne for three years. 21. After him they summoned Nersēs, who was from the village of Aštarak in the district of Bagrewan, and set him on the holy see. 22. At this time Xosrov, the king of Persia, gathered numerous forces and sent them against Vardan. A fierce battle was fought in the plain of Xařamax and because of the assiduous prayers of the blessed Nersēs, the troops of Vardan wore out the Persians with heavy blows.

**repudiated JJ—M.

***since . . . lands JJ—M.

†anathematized JJ—M.

††impious JJ—M.

†††Becoming full . . . eradicated JJ—M.

23. In the days of Nersēs, Maxož of the village of K'unarastan in the district of Bešapuh, a magian by race who at the time of his baptism was named Yiztbuzit, which means "God has redeemed", suffered numerous torments at the hands of the *marzpan* Všnasn Vahram and received Christ's crown of martyrdom in the city of Dvin. The great patriarch Nersēs, accompanied by all the bishops and the clerics of the church, brought the blessed body of the holy martyr and buried him near the east side of the holy church of the katholikos' residence and built a holy martyrium with polished stones. 24. After he had occupied the patriarchal see for nine years, Nersēs died. 25. After him they set as patriarch of Armenia a certain Yovhannēs of the Gabelean [feudal family] who was from the village of Sncetuan. He occupied the patriarchal throne for seventeen years and died. 26. After him they placed on the throne of Saint Grigor Movsēs, a man of God, who was from the village of Etivard and had been nourished and educated in the holy patriarchate. 27. In the tenth year of his pontificate, and in the thirty-first year of Xosrov son of Kawat, king of Persia, the [calendrical] cycle of five hundred thirty-two years was completed. 28. Consequently, at the order of the great Movsēs scholars and those who were learned in that art set up the sequence of the Armenian era which is a perpetual cycle and the foundation for the different branches of the art. Thus, being endowed with a calendar of the annual feasts in the Armenian language, thenceforth they were relieved of the need to borrow from foreign nations the composition of useful [calendrical] models.

29. In accordance with former practice, this Movsēs ordained Kiwrion, the elder of the rectory of the Holy Cathedral [of Dvin], as archbishop over the province of Iberia, Gugark^c and Egrisi. 30. But shortly before Movsēs's death Kiwrion repudiated the right path of true order and religion that [the people of] those regions had learned from our orthodox fathers and, allured by his presumptuous ambition,* he adhered to the impious Council of Chalcedon, betraying the forefathers of the land. 31. Immediately thereafter, however, the treachery that he had devised came to naught. 32. Movsēs greatly disputed and admonished him with graceful words of advice familiar to God so that he would abandon the heterodox Hebraic aberration and turn to the true knowledge in accordance with the doctrine of the holy fathers. 33. But he did not wish to receive [medication] from the wise physician. Soon thereafter the life of the great patriarch Movsēs was terminated after he had occupied the patriarchal see for thirty years.

34. While the blessed patriarch Movsēs was still alive, Xosrov, the son of Kawat king of Persia, after numerous valiant and dauntless contests and the subjugation of many nations believed in the true God, the Only-

*and allured . . . ambition JJ—M.

Begotten-Son and the Holy Spirit of God because of the rising glimmer of the Divine light in his heart at the time of his death. Dishonoring and repudiating idolatrous impiety, he confessed that there was no other God than the One Whom the Christians worshipped. 35. Then, through the enlightenment of his second birth from the Holy Fount, he partook of the life-giving body and blood of the Lord and having embraced the Holy Gospel of Christ died three days later in extreme old age. 36. The Christians took his body and with the order of priests chanting sacred psalms they buried him in the cemetery of the kings.

37. His son Ormizd ruled instead. His relatives and certain other *naxarars* plotted against and killed him in his own chamber and in his place his son Xosrov became king. 38. However, since a certain prince Vahram plotted against him and declared himself king, he took refuge with Maurice the emperor of the Greeks. 39. The emperor helped out Xosrov, giving him many troops and Vahram was all at once killed by them in Ray [Herat].

40. Xosrov, the grandson of the Christian Xosrov, was once again established on the royal throne of Persia and since he was under obligation, Maurice asked him to concede Mesopotamia along with Dara and Nisibis and the part of Armenia which was called the Tanutirakan Gundn, with the exception of Ostan, [i.e.] the city of Dvin, and two other districts, namely Maseac'otn and the region of Aragac. 41. Besides these Xosrov left to Maurice all the other places [that extend] from the mountain called Ենձակ'isar to the village [*awan*] of Ařest and Hac'iwn. 42. Then the Emperor Maurice arrogantly changed the nomenclature of those provinces which our own Aram had successively demarcated. 43. First of all, Maurice renamed the country whose metropolis is Sebastia, and which was known as "First Armenia", "Second Armenia". 44. He renamed Cappadocia, whose metropolis is Caesarea and which was formerly known as "Second Armenia", "Third Armenia" and turned it into an eparchy. 45. He renamed Melitene, which has districts of the same name and is known as "Third Armenia", "First Armenia". 47. He annexed Pontus, whose metropolis is Trebizond, to Greater Armenia. 46. He registered in the imperial archives the so-called "Fourth Armenia", whose metropolis is Martyropolis—that is Np'rkert, as Yustinianunist ['Seat of Justinian']. 48. Turning to the province of Karin whose metropolis is Theodosiopolis, he annexed it to Greater Armenia. 49. And he renamed that part of Greater Armenia which extended from the region of Basean to the borders of Assyria [Asorestan] and had remained in the hands of the Greeks "Greater Armenia". 50. He named the region of Tayk' with her boundaries "Inner Armenia" [= Armenia Profunda], and the region around the city of Dvin "Innermost Armenia" [= Armenia Interior]. 51. Thus Maurice introduced all these changes and registered them in the royal archives.

52. This is the second time that I have written about the same subject. Lest you think that what I have previously described as the "First," "Second," "Third," and "Fourth" Armenias reflect on my ignorance, [be aware] that the former names were given by our own valiant Aram, whereas the latter were assigned by Maurice, the emperor of the Greeks. 54. Having satisfied your curiosity about these matters I shall again turn to the sequence of my narrative.

XVII

THE WORKS AND HEROIC ACTS OF SMBAT, AND THE COUNCIL OF DVIN

1. After Xosrov was restored to the royal throne of Persia, the brave Smbat Bagratuni waged many fierce wars there against all of his [Xosrov's] enemies and, defeating through dauntless combat all of his adversaries, forced them to submit to him. 2. Astonished at this feat, Xosrov was greatly pleased with Smbat and lavished on him numerous gifts; he also gave him the *marzpanate* of Vrkan. 3. Upon his arrival in that land Smbat found families there that had been taken captive from Armenia and were settled in the region of the great desert which borders on Turk'astan and is called Sagastan. 4. They had forgotten their native tongue and their knowledge of [Armenian] letters had greatly decreased. When they saw Smbat, they were greatly overjoyed, and at his order receiving instructions in the pronunciation of Armenian syllables they refreshed [their memory of] the language. After becoming versed in Armenian letters, they were reinstated in their faith. 5. Then Smbat ordered our great patriarch Movsēs to set a certain elder by the name of Abēl, who was one of them, as their bishop. 6. And thus he organized those who were in a distant land into a prelate of the great see of Saint Grigor [that has lasted] until the present time.

7. After Xosrov had given very desirable gifts and high honors to Smbat who had courageously subdued in combat all of his enemies, he ordered him to visit the land of his birth. 8. On his departure the latter sought Xosrov's order to rebuild the church in the city of Dvin which was named after Saint Grigor. 9. The king trustfully complied with his wishes. Thus having received his authorization, Smbat departed and arriving at his own land, he found Armenia without a prelate, since the great patriarch Movsēs had died. Then he set up Abraham, the bishop of Rštunik' who was from the village of Aḡbat'ank', as patriarch of Armenia and personally laid the foundation of the holy church, which is a beau-

tiful structure built with polished stones that are cemented with lime mortar. For the former edifice, which had been erected by the blessed Vardan, was built with bricks and wood. 10. The commander of the citadel [of Dvin], however, complained to the king that the church would be a menace to the fortress, but immediately received [the following] order: "Let the fortress be demolished and let the church be built on its site." 11. But the great patriarch Abraham through rules that were given by Christ and wonderfully virtuous works endeavored to find a way to convert Kiwrion and his adherents from their way of aberration. But instead of honoring the truth they only multiplied the sprouting shoots of avarice and ambitious demeanor. 12. Thus they exchanged the apostolic traditions of the thrice blessed Hcly Enlightener Grigor, who had opened before them the luminous gate of the true knowledge of God, for the Tome of Leo which professes the manhood of Christ. 13. Thereupon, at the order of the valiant Smbat and the other *naxarars*, the great patriarch Abraham held a council of many bishops in the city of Dvin. Applying their minds to the Divine Scriptures through flawless [divine] visitation that leads one to God and comprehending with a thorough understanding the true profession of faith of the holy fathers, they anathematized Kiwrion who had disunited the church of Christ and all of the followers and adherents of his wicked heresy. They also threatened our orthodox believers [living] in that province with painful curses so that they would not congregate, communicate, have business negotiations and establish marital ties with those who had gone astray by following Kiwrion the heterodox lest through such relationships they might meet each other and consequently the flawless and orthodox profession of our doctrine might be contaminated and the apostolic bastion might be torn down.

14. After this, at the order of the Emperor Maurice they set up a certain Yovhan, who was from the village of Bagaran in the district of Kog, as *katholikos* of the Greek section [of Armenia] and made him reside in the *komopolis* of Awan. There Yovhan built a holy church with a superb structure and around it he established his residence. 15. But the great patriarch Abraham, as it was previously mentioned, lived in the city of Dvin which was located in the Persian section, since the river Azat set the borderline between the two sides. 16. Although Yovhan was an upright man, righteous and virtuous in his ways, and had never gone astray after the Chalcedonian heresy,* yet, since he was an anti-*katholikos*, the homogeneous unity of the patriarchal see was split into two parts and subsequently both sides experienced excessive adversities. 17. After dauntless deeds of valor, virtuous accomplishments and the twin combats with Ep't'afē king of the K'ušans and his slaying the latter,

*and . . . heresy JJ —M.

Smbat died in extreme old age in the city of Ctesiphon. 18. They brought his body to Armenia and buried him in Daroynk^ε, which is in the district of Kog.

19. But the forces of Maurice rebelled against him, killed him in the palace and set up Phocas instead. 20. The latter marched with a great many forces to Basean in order to subdue the Armenians. But a certain Ašot who came to Armenia at the order of Xosrov marched upon the forces of the Greeks and defeated them so that one could not count the numbers of the dead in the battlefield. He also laid siege to the city of Karin, which he captured. 21. Two years later he transported the inhabitants of the city to Ahmatan. 22. Since the aged katholikos Yovhan had taken refuge in the city [of Karin], he also was seized along with the rest and taken to captivity where he died and his body was brought to Awan and was buried near the church that he built. He occupied the patriarchal throne for twenty-six years. 23. In the same year the blessed patriarch Abraham completed the course of his life [after a pontificate of] twenty-three years and departed from this world. He was succeeded by Komitas who was from the village of Ałc'k^ε. He had been the sacristan of the martyrium of the blessed Hřip'simeank^ε and subsequently had become the bishop of Mamikonean Tarōn.

24. After killing Phocas, Heraclius crowned his son instead and with numerous forces advanced on Asorestan [= Assyria]. 25. But Xořem who seized Jerusalem at the order of Xosrov annihilated all the male population with a horrible massacre and took many captives 26. among whom were their patriarch Zak'aria and the Holy Cross which had borne Christ.

27. At about this time the great patriarch Komitas adorned the martyrium of the blessed Hřip'simeank^ε which formerly had been a dark and small building, with a more wonderful befitting respectable and splendid structure. There he chanced upon the [relics of the] blessed lady Hřip'simē that became a source of much spiritual consolation for all the Armenians. 28. [The coffin] bore the seal of Saint Grigor and Saint Sahak. Subsequently the great patriarch Komitas as well stamped his seal on it, not taking the liberty to open it. The height of the blessed lady was nine spans [*t'iz*] and four inches. [*matuns*]. 29. After the completion of the holy church, he placed the relics of the blessed lady in the repository that he had prepared. 30. Then he ordered to dismount the wooden roof of the dome of the Holy Cathedral which is in the city of Vařaršapat and rebuilt it with proportioned and beautiful polished stones.

32. But Kutas,* the son of the first Xosrov, killed the second Xosrov, the king of Persia, and ruled instead. 32. Then Kawat gave the *marzpa-*

*Kutas M] Kawat J.

nate of Armenia to Varaztiroc', the son of the brave Smbat, and sent him to his land. 33. Upon his arrival, the latter found the great patriarch Komitas gone from this life. He had occupied the patriarchal throne for eight years. 34. Thereupon, with the consent of T'ëodoros the Lord of Rštunik' he set on the patriarchal throne a certain K'ristap'or from the Abrahamean house. 35. They say that the latter possessed a slanderous tongue which instigated the *aspet* Varaztiroc' to bear malice against his brothers. 36. When this became known, slanderous villifiers from his own household rose against him and fabricated indecent reports. Subsequently they passed the verdict to discharge him from his office not according to any of the laws of the upright but spontaneously at their own discretion. 37. Willingly escaping from the evil [the katholikos] went away and built a hermitage near the village of Ulik' in Maseac'otn. He gathered many monks and with his virtuous deeds and laborious toils distinguished himself in strict fasting and observance of prayers and nightly vigils. He occupied the patriarchal see for three years.**

38. Subsequently they set instead Ezz who was from the village of P'aražnakert in the district of Nig. He had been the sacristan of Saint Grigor [cathedral in Dvin].

XVIII

KATHOLIKOS EZR AND YOVHANNĒS MAYRAGOMEČ'I

1. During his [Katholikos Ezz's] time, Kawat king of Persia died and left his kingdom to his son Artašir who was of a tender age. 2. Thereupon Heraclius, yearning for the cross which had borne Christ, crowned Xořem king of Persia and in return requested from him the holy cross. The latter went to Ctesiphon and putting to death the child-king Artašir, immediately sent back the cross of the Lord to the Emperor Heraclius. 3. Immediately thereafter Xořem's troops killed him in his own kiosk in the hippodrome and crowned Bbor, the daughter of Xosrov and wife of Xořem. After her death [they set up] a certain Xosrov of the family of Sasan, 4. and after him Azrmik, the daughter of Xosrov, and after her Ormizd, the grandson of Xosrov, whom they strangled. 5. After him Yazkert, the grandson of Xosrov, ruled.

Heraclius, on the other hand, brought back to Jerusalem the cross which had borne Christ and put it in its place. 6. Moreover, he ap-

**for three years]] for four years M.

pointed Mažež Gnuni *strategos* and sent him to Armenia. The latter ordered the Patriarch Ezzr to go and associate with the emperor and enter into communion with him concerning the profession of faith. 7. He warned him: "should you not agree to go and unite, we would set up another *katholikos*." 8. And since Ezzr did not wish to be separated from his faithful flock, he consented to go to the emperor. 9. And upon his departure he did not take with him Yovhan, the sacristan of St. Grigor, who was the most accomplished theologian of his time and was renowned for his knowledge of the Divine Scriptures; he went with another person, his sister's son who was not well educated, to carry out the undertaking. 10. When they met the emperor, they sought from him a signed statement of faith. 11. He immediately wrote and gave them [a document wherein] he had anathematized all the heresies except for the Council of Chalcedon. 12. But both Ezzr and those with him, as if they were ignorant of the Divine Scriptures, could not perceive the crafty subtlety of the heresy which the imperial signature concealed like a bushel. They were betrayed and deceived with those who adhere to the Tome of Leo. 13. Then Ezzr received honors from the emperor and, accepting as a gift one third of the *komopolis* of Kołb with all of its salt [mines], he returned to his place with great pomp. 14. Upon his arrival the clergy of his church made haste [to greet him] in the customary procedure. 15. But the philosopher Yovhan, whom we mentioned earlier, did not go with the others to fulfill the demands of protocol. 16. And when the patriarch Ezzr entered the church, he inquired about Yovhan. 17. Subsequently Yovhan was told of this by some who reproached him [thus]: "Why did you not come to bow down before him?" 18. He gave them the following answer: "Why should I consider greeting or bowing down before a man who has undone the canonical articles of faith of our orthodox fathers and has thought of making us conform to the wicked Chalcedonian heresy.)*" 19. Thereupon Ezzr gave strict orders [to fetch him] and much against his will Yovhan was brought to his [Ezzr's] chamber. 20. When he was in his presence, the *katholikos* said, "You seem to have become presumptuously arrogant because of which you, who are suffering from distemper in your heart, did not come to greet and visit us." 21. Yovhan answered, "Audacity and boldness are not in my nature, but I claim to be an advocate of the truth. 22. You were deservedly called Ezzr,* because you have brought the Armenians to the verge [of destruction] by undoing the articles of faith of our orthodox fathers and by tearing down the apostolic bastion and destroying it for the man-worshipping Tome of Leo." 23. Then Ezzr ordered to box (with the fist)

*has . . . heresy JJ—M.

**Ezzr is the biblical name Ezra, but there is also the word *ezr* in Armenian meaning 'verge', 'edge', 'border', etc..

his chest and chin. 24. Thereat Yovhan raised his arms and said: "Behold I am leaving this tribunal rejoicing that I have become worthy to suffer indignity for the sake of the name of the Lord." 25. After having uttered these words he departed and set his residence in the Mayroy* Monastery which is situated in the glens of the mountain of the fortress of Bjni. And since Yovhan lived there, Ezz changed the name of the place from Mayroy* Monastery to Mayregom and gave Yovhan the surname Mayregomec'i.

27. Nevertheless, since Ezz had given orders to persecute Yovhan there as well, the latter went to the district of Gardman where he set for himself an austere course of life and pursued an entirely virtuous way of life under pressing and trying circumstances. 28. A slanderous rumor about him holds that he allegedly tried to introduce a wicked heresy into the holy church. On my part, however, I cannot agree that such a man could in any way have thought of destroying the structure of the true faith. 29. It is my opinion that this rumor was the work of some of his opponents and archenemies. 30. But should one attribute the sprouting of such a wicked heresy to his disciple Sargis, I also would not disagree with him concerning this, since I have personally read his harmful writing. But since Yovhan had disattached himself from Sargis, I maintain that his [Sargis's] heresy was beyond Yovhan's control.

31. Subsequently the Patriarch Ezz had the martyrium of Saint Gayianē, the structure of which was formerly gloomy and dark, torn down and had a larger and more magnificent edifice built with polished stones and lime mortar. Outside [the church] he arranged for a place of habitation for the priests who served the divine altar.

XIX

THE AFFLICTIONS THAT THE HAGARITES INFLICTED ON ARMENIA AND THE WORKS OF KATHOLIKOS NERSĒS

1. At this time, Varaztiroc', the son of the valiant Smbat, fleeing from Rostom, the prince of Atrpatakan, went to the Emperor Heraclius with his family and bondsmen. He went away to live abroad among the Greeks because Rostom was secretly plotting to kill him. 2. In the same period of time, the Emperor Heraclius made Dawit' Saharuni *curopalate*

*Mayroy M] Mayroc' J.

and set him up as prince of Armenia. The latter ruled for three years with wisdom, great distinction and much success. The magnificent church in the komopolis of Mren was built at his order. 3. But after three years, being dishonored by the *naxarars* and his forces, he was persecuted. 4. Subsequently, shaken by the wicked antagonism of the *naxarars* and their vain jealousy, the Armenians were completely destroyed. Only the pious prince T'ëodoros confronted the enemy invaders in as much as his meager resources [permitted].

5. At about this time there appeared Muḥammad [Mahmēt], the progeny of the maid Agar who according to Paul had come from Mount Sinai or the desert and had borne [children] into slavery. Treating with arrogance the nations that were confirmed in the name of Christ and were adherents of the true faith, he subsequently satiated the destructive abyss of his thoughts by never giving fill to his thirsty sword which he always nourished with the blood of the wounded heads of the enslaved princes of the enemy, namely the faithful whom he had attacked. Although he pretended that he was the adversary who was exalted by the order of God to become the herald of the truth of Abraham's faith and Moses' laws, yet, his godless religion deceived only the ignorant minds. For his judgment was unjust, his honor was worthless, his vows were untrustworthy, his offerings were not real and his mercy was merciless. 6. For as the Lord certainly did not concede to the son of the servant girl [the right] to become an heir along with the son of the *azat*, so also He did not enjoin the believer to share his lot with the non-believer.

7. Now, when the Hagarites became a large force they completely vanquished the armies of the Emperor Heraclius in Arabia. Then all the nations were struck with fear and capitulated in submission. 8. The Jerusalemites, however, immediately sent by ship the holy cross which had borne Christ to Constantinople so that it might not be seized again by the enemy and they themselves capitulated in submission to the Hagarites.

9. Then the Emperor Heraclius died and his son Constance ruled instead. 10. And because the *naxarars* of our land were disunited and there was no general commanding the armies, the infectious forces of Agar took the liberty of making inroads into Armenia from the region of Asorestan. Like the consuming flames of a blazing fire they quickly reached the district of Ararat, spoiled the entire plain and laid siege to the city of Dvin which they took. They inebriated their swords with the blood of the city, where the numbers of the dead were beyond count. They took thirty-five thousand captives to be sold as slaves and returned to Asorestan from whence they had come.

11. Immediately thereafter the Patriarch Ezr died, having occupied the patriarchal throne for ten years. 12. Then, T'ëodoros lord of Rštunik' and the remaining *naxarars* of Armenia made ready to set up

Nersēs, the bishop of Tayk^c, in place of Ezr. The latter, however, dumbfounded by the great numbers of the massacred among the captives of the city [of Dvin], thought of secretly slipping away, arguing that he lacked the ability to administer such a high office. 13. Nevertheless, heeding the entreaty and admonishment of the *naxarars*, he was enthroned. 14. After ascending the patriarchal throne, he had the numerous bodies of those who had fallen gathered and rebuilt the burnt martyrion of the great martyr Sergē [Sergios] on its original site. 15. After this, he built a sanctuary over the pit where Saint Grigor, the dedicated apostle of God, had been entombed amidst poisonous insects and had crushed the head of the perverse monster, thus transferring the Armenian people from the deadly depths of idolatry to the glorious light of the Son of God. 16. Again he trusted the Lord and not taking into consideration the repeated incursions of the enemy forces, he laid with wonderful enthusiasm the foundations of a large beautiful and most magnificent house of God which he named after Saint Grigor, and whose completion he entrusted to the wisdom of Christ the Builder. 17. At the founding of the God-built fold of the reasonable flock of Christ, he divided the relics of Saint Grigor and placed them under the four well-fastened pillars so that the celestial treasure might remain safe from the hands of the destructive enslavers and become the pride of Christian faith. 18. But he placed [Grigor's] venerable skull, which bore the seal of Christ, not in a niche but out in the open in a cabinet in the divine treasury so that it might give hope for the best to those who sought it and cure the sick. 19. The great patriarch Nersēs requested the authorization of the Emperor Constantine and set up T^cēodoros, the lord of Rštunik^c, as *strategos* of Armenia.

20. Until now the Hagarite caliph had never personally gone to war against anyone, but only sent forces to raid the ends of the world. 21. At this time, however, the caliph personally set out from the desert of Sin and crossing the sea with a large multitude proceeded in a southeasterly direction to Persia, Sagastan, Sind, Moran, Taran, Makuran and India, all of which he conquered and devastated. He overthrew the kingdoms of all the nations except that of the Łitanac^cik^c who are the Romans. 22. Soon the Emperor Constantine was betrayed and killed by his stepmother Mardinē, who set up her own son Eraklak instead. 23. However, the general Valentin, who arrived in a short time, put both Mardinē and Eraklak to death, and crowned Constans, the son of Constantine. 24. Then, since the *aspet* Varaztiroc^c had taken flight and returned from among the Greeks, the great patriarch Nersēs asked the Emperor to be reconciled with him, and succeeded in having him appointed as *curopalate* and *strategos* of Armenia. 25. Soon after he had taken over the authority of office, he passed away; they buried him in Darōn beside his father, the valiant Smbat. 26. Then Nersēs requested that his

[Varaztiroc] son Smbat be assigned to his father's office, and also T'ëodoros, the lord of Rštunik', be [re]instated as *strategos*. Thus our land was given a ruler and became temporarily secure from the wicked brigands of Agar.

27. Subsequently, after the universal downfall of the domains of all the nations, the ancient veil of the South was torn, and a new south gale, the death-bearing *xoršak* [simoon], blew on us, and having burned the seedlings of our spiritual orchards, severely wounded us with her sting. Thereafter, in a few years' time, the swift nations of the south stormed and dominated all the world. Seeing this, T'ëodoros and the other *naxarars*, terrified by the advent of the invaders, capitulated in submission to the Hagarites, seeking truce in exchange for death and concluding an alliance in exchange for hell. 28. And thus, they seceded from the Emperor. 29. The Emperor, however, gathered a large force and came to Armenia in order to take possession of the country. With the exception of Iberia, he found no other [land] that had remained obedient to him. 30. Then, greatly distressed by this, the Emperor Constantine thought of reducing the country to naught. 31. But he changed his mind after the patriarch Nersēs had pleaded with him. 32. And then, he gently came to the city of Dvin, and made his quarters at the katholikosate, where he ordered the Greek clergy to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the holy church, and there he professed the Council of Chalcedon. The Emperor, our patriarch Nersēs and the other bishops who had gathered* received the sacraments in communion. 33. Thus, whether willingly or unwillingly, they provided a cause for outrage among many. The faith which had been received from Saint Grigor and had remained constant until then was shaken. 34. One of the bishops, however, descended down the steps of the bema and quietly disappeared among the people. 35. When the action of the bishop was revealed, he was taken before the emperor who questioned him [as follows]: "Why did you not receive communion either with me or your patriarch?" 36. The bishop offered the [following] arguments: "I acted thus because of fear in my heart since while looking at the colorful painted images of your imperial majesties, which are imprinted on boards, we tremble, much less beholding your face in person and sharing the sacraments with you." 37. The emperor asked: "Now, will you receive the sacraments with your patriarch?" 38. The bishop answered: "[I shall,] as if with Saint Grigor. Nevertheless, he was responsible for my not sharing the sacraments with him. 39. Two years prior to this he ordered a council of bishops, who being of one mind with him signed a document anathematizing all the heretics and especially the Council of Chalcedon. I also was among them." 40. The emperor became furious at this and admonished Nersēs

*and the other bishops who had gathered JJ—M.

for his deceitful tongue. Subsequently that bishop also received the sacraments with them; he blessed the king [emperor] and the king blessed him.

41. Then, upon the entreaty of envoys from Constantinople, the emperor departed in haste, 42. and the Patriarch Nersēs, fearing the severe wrath of the lord of R̄stunik^ç, retired to Tayk^ç. 43. After the first and second incursions into Armenia and the total subjugation of the country, the Ishmaelites took hostages from all the magnates of the land their wives, daughters and sons. 44. T^çēodoros, the lord of R̄stunik^ç, however, with his family went to Asorestan with the Ishmaelite army. He died there and his body was brought back and buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. 45. After six years of persecution, when Nersēs the patriarch of Armenia was informed of the death of T^çēodoros and the cessation of the Ishmaelite invasions, he returned to his see. He and the *naxarars* being of the same mind set up as prince of Armenia Hamazasp Mamikonean who was a studious person fond of learning and well versed in all the branches of knowledge; he always tried to live up to the standard of the valiancy of his ancestors through the discipline of the arena. 47. But the Patriarch Nersēs, who found spare time for himself, surrounded the exterior of the magnificent church he had built with walls, within [the perimeter of] which he constructed his own residence that was build with well-fastened polished stones. 48. Moreover, he populated the place with a great many serfs [*erdumatdac^ç*] in accordance with the standards of city dwellers and, bringing water from the K^çasa^ç River, cultivated the sandy and rocky plain, planting orchards and gardens.

49. At this time once again the Armenians seceded from the Ishmaelite tyrants because of the extremely burdensome bondage and submitted to the service of the emperor. 50. And the great Nersēs asked the emperor to make Hamazasp *curopalate* and *strategos* of Armenia. When the caliph learned of this, he executed all the Armenian hostages, about 1775 souls. 51. From that day a spirit of discord was sent by God throughout all the Ishmaelite armies; friend rose against friend; holding their swords at their flanks they cut down one another in a terrible carnage. They also killed their caliph and set up someone else instead. 52. Then, the Ishmaelite forces in Egypt joined the Emperor Constantine and believed in Christ. As many as 16,000 people were baptized. 53. Subsequently, Mawi [Mu^çāwiyah] ascended to power and having also killed that particular caliph ruled over all the Hagarites and established peace throughout the entire land.

XX

THE RULE OF GRIGOR AS *CUROPALATE* AND THE MISFORTUNES THAT OCCURED IN ARMENIA

1. Three years after Hamazasp had received the honor of *curopalate* from the emperor, he died and was buried with his ancestors. 2. Then the great patriarch Nersēs together with the *naxarars* of Armenia asked the caliph Mawi [Mu'āwiyah] to set up to the post of prince of Armenia Grigor Mamikonean, whom he had retained as hostage. 3. Trustfully complying with their wishes, [the caliph] appointed Grigor to the office of prince [of Armenia] and made him the commander in chief of Armenia. 4. The latter was a pious and a God-fearing man, the author of numerous regulations, amendments, prosperity and peace, safety and well matched accomplishments. Although he was a layman, he conducted himself as if he were in a hermitage and strove for every righteous work. 5. Then, after a pontificate of twenty years, the great patriarch Nersēs resigned from this life and his body was buried in the resting place that he himself had built on the northern side of the magnificent church that he had erected as an edifice worthy of the see of his forefather [*i.e.*, St. Gregory the Illuminator]. Thus appearing blessed, renowned and excellent among the fathers, he went to rest in eternal life in company with the order of the apostles. 7. Following the great Nersēs, Anastas, who was from the village of Akori in Maseac'otn, succeeded to the patriarchal throne. 8. He had been the seneschal of the great Nersēs and while the latter was in exile in Tayk' he had supervised the construction of the magnificent church at his order.

9. At about this time, through divine visitation the pious prince Grigor Mamikonean lay the foundations of the beautiful church in the *dastakert* of Aruč and had it built in haste as a celestial abode on earth. To the south of it he built his palace on the edge of the rocky glen, where a limpid spring gushed bubbling through the recesses of the rocks, so that it covered the edge like a parapet on a bastion. And then, encircling it with a wall built with well-fastened stones that were cemented with lime mortar, he set it up as his place of residence. 10. He also built for the order of celibate priests a sanctuary wherein he raised a magnificent church to the east of the great *dastakert* of Ektivard. He established this as the residence of celibate priests for the salvation of his soul.

11. The great katholikos Anastas built the magnificent church in the monastery of the *dastakert* of Akori, his native place of residence, and set it as a domicile for the congregation of priests and other clerics of the church so that they servè the divine altar and tend to the welfare of guests, the needy and the poor.

12. At this time Dawit', who was of Persian origin and of royal blood, came to the great prince Grigor and begged him so that he would be given Christian confirmation. 13. Grigor accepted him with joy and ordered the katholikos Anastas to give him the confirmation of the holy baptism. And since Dawit' was formerly called Surhan, the great prince who had stood as his godfather during the baptism [*lit.* who had received him from the water of the holy font], renamed him Dawit' after his own father and gave him as his residence the village of Jag in the province [*nahang*] of Kotayk'. After a number of years he received the crown of martyrdom in the city of Dvin. 14. They say that the battle in the komopolis of Erevan took place at that time. Those who have written before us will give you sufficient information about the events of that battle.

15. The patriarch Anastas also took measures concerning the Armenian calendar, hoping that he could somehow make it immovable like the calendars of other nations so that the annual feasts or the times of the changing seasons might be stationary. For this purpose he summoned Anania of Ani, who was well versed in this science, and ordered him to design what he had wanted. 16. Anania undertook the task and according to the way of all nations devised with certainty the cycle of the Armenian era. He compared ours with certain more suitable systems so that we would not be required to have ours run parallel with [the calendar of the] Romans. 17. And while Anastas was thinking of setting the reforms in operation by a council of bishops, the end of his life came about, after he had occupied the patriarchal throne for six years. His successors neglected this matter and maintained the former eternally movable and unstationary system. 18. Subsequently, Israyël, who was from the village of Ot'mus, succeeded him on the patriarchal throne. 19. In his days Nersēs, the prince of Iberia, massacred [the troops] of a certain Bařabay, the commander of the Arab army in Armenia and drove him away. 20. Israyël occupied the patriarchal throne for ten years and died. 21. He was succeeded by Sahak who was on his father's side from the village of Ark'unasēn in Jorap'or and on his mother's side from the village of Berdkac' in the district of Mazaz. 22. He had been formerly appointed bishop of Țotakk' before being summoned to the see of Saint Grigor. 23. In the seventh year of his pontificate the hostilities from the region of the Khazars increased against the great prince Grigor who was killed and was buried with his ancestors. Thenceforth peace was disturbed and a severe tremor jolted the people of Armenia.

After Grigor, Smbat Bagratuni, the son of Smbat, ruled over the principedom of Armenia. 25. At this time a certain Mruan [Marwān], an Ishmaelite by race, came to Armenia as governor and launched attacks on all the fortresses in Armenia. And whatever he took possession of, he completely tore down and destroyed. 26. Although at first the isle of

Sewan in the lake of Gefam had not fallen into his hands, he conquered it after two years. 27. He took captive whatever people that lived in the fortress and, taking the spoils, completely devastated the fortress. 28. After Mahmet, another governor [ostikan] was sent to Armenia by the name of Abdllah [‘Abdullāh], a wicked, insolent and an impudent man, extremely malicious by nature; he implanted within himself the seeds of hypocrisy like the venom of a serpent and tortured the princes and the *azats* of Armenia with bonds and plundered the property and the possessions of many people. 29. Then he also put the great Sahak in fetters and sent him to Damascus. Along with him he also sent the prince of Armenia, Smbat son of Smbat. He plundered the entire ornaments of the churches of Christ and made the old and the young wail, mourn and grieve. 30. This was the Abdllah who seized the neophyte Dawit' whom we mentioned above; he tormented him with severe blows, fetters and imprisonment because of his belief in Christ and tried to persuade him to fall into his own abyss of perdition. 31. Since the blessed old man did not consent to this and bravely revealed his indignation, Abdllah had him nailed to a wooden board and shot an arrow through the heart of the saint, who gave up his ghost to Christ. The bishops and the priests took his body and buried it near the martyrium of Saint Yiztbuzit.

XXI

THE ANGUISH AND MISFORTUNE OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE ON ACCOUNT OF THE HAGARITES

1. At about this time, the battle of Vardanakert and the extermination of the Ishmaelite army took place. 2. On account of this, to this very day the Hagarites have a saying in their barbarous language: "Let us not be reminded of Vardanadert and its capture." 3. For the Armenian noblemen, who had been extremely vexed and annoyed, put their trust in the celestial visitation and turned against the marauders of the Ishmaelite army. 4. And while a certain Ogbay [‘Okbay], a great commander, was wandering with a large army around the region of Vanand, the Kamsarakan together with the *azats* of Vanand caught up with him and massacred his entire forces. [‘Okbay] himself fled and went to his caliph. 5. There he called to arms, (armaments and the lance) a large force and boasted with great bitterness that he was about to exact vengeance on the Armenians for his army, which had been struck, and that

he would burn, tear down and destroy the Armenian churches, take captive all of the population and mercilessly put them to the sword. 6. Upon learning of the terrible intimidations of Ogbay, Sahak, the blessed katholikos of Armenia who was still alive in Damascus, asked him to be allowed to go to him, hoping that he might find a way of dissuading him from his very bitter thoughts. 7. Upon [receiving] his order to come, the blessed katholikos went to Xařan, where he soon became gravely ill. Subsequently, in his own hand he wrote a letter of supplication with implorations and beseeching prayers, especially reminding Ogbay of physical death, which is the common lot of all men that pursues every mortal and hastily puts him in a coffin. Moreover, reminding him of the unbearable grief in hell, he again made it known to him that he himself was to die in a foreign land, so that he would calm down. 8. With such words of persuasion he begged him to turn away from his wicked thoughts and not carry out what he was about to do to the Armenians. 9. Then he ordered that after his death they put the above letter in the palm of his hand so that when Ogbay came he would receive it from his hands and perhaps feel so bad as not to carry out his impious designs. 10. But when the *ostikan* Ogbay was informed of the death of the blessed Sahak, he immediately dispatched emissaries with orders not to bury him until he had arrived. 11. And upon his arrival, he immediately approached the shrouded body of the man of God and according to their tradition he extended his hand towards him, as if he were alive, and greeted him in his tongue, saying *salamalêk*^s. 12. Then the power of the Holy Spirit moved towards the *ostikan* the saint's hand, which had fallen into disuse because of lack of breath, to offer the supplications. Greatly amazed by this he took the letter from his hands, read it and remarked: "Yes, your wish shall be carried out, venerable man of God." 13. He wrote a letter to the *naxarars* of Armenia and sent it to Armenia together with the holy body of the patriarch which he honored greatly. He pardoned the wrongs that they had done to him and turning back went to his place. 14. Thus God made Sahak more venerable in death than he would make us in life. With the help of his prayers a great salvation came to our land. 15. The great Sahak died after having occupied the patriarchal throne for twenty-seven years.

Eřia, who was from the village of Arĉeř in Aĉeovit, succeeded him on the patriarchal throne. 16. At this time, after the eighty-fifth year of their era [-anno Hegirae], 'Abd-al-Malik became the Ishmaelite caliph. 17. Soon thereafter his troops that were in Armenia burned a fire in our midst, since the satan had blown its wrath into them. Subsequently, by deceit, fraud, vain hopes and heartening promises they gathered in one place everyone, both the *azats* and the cavalry forces, and registered their names in the archives, as if to give them their annual wages. Then, depriving them of their arms, they imprisoned them in the temple of

God in the city of Naxĵawan, and shutting on them the gates with bricks, enclosed all the exits. 18. But when they [the Armenians] learned of the treachery, they chanted aloud the words of the children in the furnace. 19. Then the wicked prosecutors tore down the roof of the church, filled it with fire, and through incendiary material raised the flames higher than those of Babylon. Thus, the ceiling of the wooden church burned, and hot bricks mixed with smoke and fire fell from above, and killed all of them. Their ceaseless thanksgiving did not stop until they had exhausted their last breath. 20. The avenging foreigners, however, being secure from the fear of the brave troops, took captive the surviving families of those who had been burnt, and brought them to the city of Dvin, from whence they were sent to Damascus.

21. Thus, our land became a sea of tears, and was full of much lamentation. After ‘Abd-al-Malik, his son Walīd became caliph, and after Walīd his brother Sulaymān ruled for a short time, and after him, ‘Umar ruled, in whose time, Vahan, the lord of Goł’n, was put to the torture by the same (‘Umar), and suffering a great deal in the name of Christ, was adorned by Christ with the unfading crown in the city of Rūcap’ in Šam.

XXII

THE PATRIARCHATE OF YOVHANNĒS THE PHILOSOPHER AND HIS WORKS

1. In the days of the great patriarch Eĵia, a certain Nersēs, who was at that time the chief bishop of Albania, leaned towards the allurements of impiety, and accepted the heterodox doctrine of the wicked Chalcedonian heresy, and a certain princess, who was at that time in charge of Albania, agreed with him. 2. And thus, being of one mind, they both endeavored to convert the entire country to the man-worshipping heresy of the Tome of Leo. 3. But when the *naxarars* of the land learned of this, they informed the great patriarch Eĵia, who tried to the utmost of his ability, and for a second and a third time sent them many documents on matters of faith with divine commands, but they did not even consider turning away from their man-worshipping aberration. 4. Then, drawing on his wisdom and the charity of his heart, the great Eĵia wrote a letter to the Ishmaelite caliph ‘Umar, informing him [of the following], “There is a bishop here in our country, and also a princess, his accomplice, who have been disobedient to your majesty, and do not join us, who always remember and proclaim your name in our prayers. To the contrary, they are publicly announcing [the name of] the king of the

Greeks, and are contriving to return our land to him. Should you not hasten to remove them from our midst, they will very soon detach themselves [from you], and surrender to the Greeks with respect to their taxes and all of their transactions.”

5. Reading this letter, the caliph gratefully honored the envoy that had been sent by the great patriarch, and sent his chief eunuch with orders to bring immediately Nersēs along with the princess. 6. The eunuch came and putting them both in fetters, and mounting them on camels, took them to the caliph. 7. And thus, the great patriarch Elia removed this wickedness from [our] midst by wisely routing their spiritual death through physical toils. 8. Subsequently, he ordained another chief bishop in place of the heterodox Nersēs. 9. Then, completing the fourteenth year of his patriarchate, he died.

10. He was succeeded by the great philosopher Yovhannēs, who was learned and well versed in all the poetical writings, parts of speech and grammatical details, and also in the study of the species, and the genera of the species that fall under the topic of “substance” and are predicated on the individual. He also was not ignorant of the circumstantial differentiae, and the accidental predicates, both those that form a unity and those that do not. 11. Also being very competent in Theonic studies, which fully engraft into [the mind of] the connoisseur the fruits of the tree of culture, he set in writing with great erudition all the regulations concerning the hours of worship in the Church of Christ. With a beautiful style he enriched the offices and wrote commentaries on each one separately in order to console the clergy of the Church. 12. He also wrote other treatises of his own creation [designed] to make people repent their wicked deeds, and exhort them to do penance. 13. Devoting himself to everything that was righteous and sound, he diligently and arduously armed himself with spiritual works* through fasting, prayers, and nightly vigils. Underneath [his outer garments] instead of wool he wore intolerable cilice made of goat’s hair. 14. However, he adorned his external appearance with clothes of fine quality. Moreover, grinding gold with a file and mixing it with sweet ointments, he sprinkled it on his beard, which was white and reached down to the hem of his ephod. 15. This is the way he displayed himself in public so that he might be a source of joy to the well-wishers, and arouse fear in the wicked and the immature so that they might turn from evil to good. 16. And since the startling power of certain invisible fears cannot change man from bad to good as much as the stimulus of excellent ornaments that are visible, for this reason it became customary to adorn the inanimate stones of the church with beautiful ornaments. [And if stones could impress people,] then, [by the same token] a man could more so astonish the onlookers.

*works JJ songs M

17. Yet, these were not for all, but only for those who were entrusted with judicial duties. 18. For a certain *ostikan* of Armenia, one by the name of Walīd [Vlit^c], who had seen the man of God, happened to visit the caliph, and told him about the elegance of Yovhannēs. 19. Wishing to see him, the caliph immediately sent one of his servants to bring the man of God. 20. After he had been brought to the royal city with great honors, the caliph sent word to him that he wished to see him clad in his usual manner. 21. Adorning his fine stature all the more with elegant and splendid clothes and setting his gray beard like a golden bouquet, he took into his hand the staff, which was made out of ebony painted with gold, and thus, graceful and robust, he presented himself before the caliph. 22. Upon seeing him, the latter was amazed by his handsome and august stature. Then he ordered a chair for him to sit on, and began to inquire: 23. “Why do you dress so elegantly? Your Christ honored modest and humble clothes; so did his disciples.” 24. Yovhannēs answered: “Although Our God Christ’s divine glory was concealed by the flesh, which he took from us, as if by a curtain, yet, the miraculous signs of the divine power were not hidden and were disseminated to all. He placed in the hands of his apostles the same grace and the power to perform miracles which were sufficient for arousing the minds of men with the fear of God, and they had no need for impressive garments. 25. Today, however, since we are deprived of the grace of their numerous powers, we try to impress the simple and immature minds of men with the fear of God by means of splendid garments. 26. This is also seen with you, who are terrestrial kings. You impress the multitude with awe by means of purple and gold-embroidered garments, beautiful ornaments and armament. For should men behold you clad in cilice, or in wretched and vile clothes, they will not be awed by your unmanifested glory. 27. But if you wish to see me as I am, then let your majesty order these men to step out for a short while.” 28. And then, when they were left alone, he took off his outer garment and revealing his undergarment which was made out of goat’s hair, said: “This is the garb that covers the nudity of my parts. The outer garments are only for the eyes of outsiders.” 29. Touching with his own hands the cilice made out of goat’s hair, the caliph was disgusted and struck with horror. He asked, “How could the human body endure such intolerable cilice, unless God has given patience to its bearer?” 30. Subsequently, he bestowed on him great honors, adorning him over seven times with beautiful royal garments, and also giving him gold and silver, he sent him to his country. 31. Returning to Armenia, he lived for a few years, and died after having occupied the patriarchal see for eleven years.

XXIII

THE PATRIARCHATE OF DAWIT^c
AND OTHERS AND
THEIR WORKS

1. After him [Sahak], they placed on the patriarchal throne Dawit^c, who was from the village of Aramonk^c in the district of Kotayk^c. 2. This village belonged to the house of the katholikos, [and] even before the tortures of Saint Grigor, King Trdat had bequeathed it to him as a soul-scot. Trdat's edict has been preserved to this day. 3. Since Dawit^c, the man of God, was greatly annoyed by the heathen population of the city of Dwin, and numerous deeds of wickedness vexed him, torn with anguish, he came out of their midst in accord with what was written [in the Scriptures], and built in the village of Aramonk^c a church, which he adorned properly, and raised a suitable house in its vicinity. There living a virtuous life for thirteen years, he died, and was buried near the same church.

4. He was succeeded by Trdat, who was from the village of Ot^cmus, a saintly and chaste man, shining with virtue. 5. In his days the attacks of our wicked enemies from all quarters stopped with the help of his devout prayers. 6. And thus, he peacefully reached the point of Christ's summons, and died after having occupied the patriarchal throne for twenty-three years. His namesake Trdat, who was from Dasnawork^c, succeeded him on the patriarchal throne, and occupying it for only three years, died. He was succeeded by Sion who was from the village of Bawon. 9. Since early childhood the latter had been brought up and educated in the holy patriarchate and had displayed himself as one disciplined in the innate virtues. 10. Before [his elevation], he had been summoned to the bishopric of the province of Ałjnik^c. While he was still there tending to his faithful flock, a spring with copious waters [located] at the foot of the mountain which is called Šim dried up. Numerous vineyards, orchards with shrubs and arable lands were irrigated by its waters. 11. From that time the crop of the village began to wither and waste away, and it was reduced to a state of desolation. 12. The Ishmaelite governor of the province at that time, a man by the name of Sulaymān [Sulēyman], immediately summoned the bishop and begged him to find a way of making the waters of the spring flow again. 13. Then Sion notified all the members of his prelaty to attend in concert the Nocturns on a [Saturday] night when Sunday was at dawn. 14. And early on Sunday morning, accompanied by the faithful who were flocked together, he went with the holy cross to the withered and dried spring, and offered prayers blessing the site and striking it with the staff that was

in his hand. Suddenly, at the twinkling of an eye, the waters began to gush out of the spring in an abundant and limpid flow. The governor was greatly amazed at this and could never forget the signs that happened. 15. Subsequently, that *ostikan* rose to the position of governor of Armenia. Immediately after his arrival at the city of Dvin, the second Trdat died. 16. When this matter was made known to him, the *ostikan* immediately sent for Bishop Sion, and gave orders to bring him and set him on the patriarchal throne. For such reasons he was brought to this place. 17. In his days there took place the massacres of K'afin, Aren, and the komopolis of T'alın, where as many as seven hundred people were killed, and one thousand two hundred were taken captive. 18. After a most wonderful and solitary career of eight years he completed the course of his life and died. He was buried with his ancestors.

19. Subsequently, they summoned to the patriarchal throne Esayi, who was from the village of Ałapatruš in the district of Nig. 20. He had been formerly appointed bishop over the district of Golt'n, from which position he was elevated to the patriarchal throne. 21. It is narrated that he was the only child of a widow; reduced to a state of penury and wandering around with her suckling babe seeking alms, the woman attached herself to the house of the *katholikos*, and remained there unnoticed by most people. Since she never departed from the gates of the temple of the Lord, she was benumbed by the winter cold and parched by the summer sun. 22. When the priests asked her, "Why do you lodge in the open air and suffer with your suckling babe all the harshness of the elements, which you could avoid by seeking shelter with anyone?" 23. She gave only the following answer, "Don't you realize that I am nursing my son here with the expectation that he may become *katholikos*?" 24. The woman was almost like a prophetess concerning her child, for after being nourished and educated in the same patriarchate, he was first elevated to the episcopal rank, and then summoned to the august patriarchal office. After presiding with virtue for a period of thirteen years, he died and was buried with his ancestors. 26. After him they set up as prelate a certain Step'anos who was from the city of Dvin; he stayed for only two years. 27. Then Yovab, who was from Ostan and the court of the Curopalate, succeeded him and presided for only about six months.

XXIV

THE PLUNDER OF THE VESSELS OF THE CHURCH
IN THE VILLAGE OF BAGUAN,
AND THE USURPATION OF THE
ESTATE OF THE PATRIARCHATE

1. About this time, the caliph sent to Armenia a certain Yāzid as governor (*ostikan*). Upon his arrival at the city of Naxĵawan,¹ the latter sent prefects (*kusakals*) and officials (*gorcakals*) to the several regions. 2. And as the Arabs had [already] subjugated the district of Bagrewan, he sent there one of his distinguished officials as governor (*ostikan*). The latter went [to assume his duties], and arriving at the hermitage of Saint Grigor, which is in the village of Baguan,² he spent the night there. 3. It was then that he noticed the beautiful and very splendid gold and silver vessels of the divinely made altar, as well as the multicolored curtain of the sanctuary, the vestments and robes; he was lured by the wicked lust [of avarice], and he cunningly tried to find a way of appropriating the divine inheritance. 4. In accord with his wicked thoughts, he had one of the most unworthy of his servants strangled by a secret plot, and cast during the course of the night into a large and deep pit, whose entrance was barred. 5. In the morning, pretending to be ignorant of the matter, he conducted a search for the smothered corpse, and having imprisoned all the blessed monks, he bound them in fetters on the pretext that they were the cause of the disappearance of his servant. 6. Then, having inspected the living quarters of the clerics, he went and uncovered the pit [containing the corpse] of the servant in question which he himself had covered. At once, the man-eating criminal raised a shrill cry, and held the blessed men responsible [for the crime]. He immediately notified the governor [*ostikan*] of the misdeed the like of which had never been seen, and thus holding the immaculate blood [of the innocent] liable for his crime, he received orders from the governor to slay the blessed men without any trial before a tribunal. 7. Thereupon, the impious, sadistic and wicked executioner put to the sword all the members of the blessed regiment, over forty souls, and seizing at once all the vessels of the church, he satisfied his destructive and wicked lust. 8. The few that survived [ultimately] emerged from their places of refuge in the caves, and finding the corpse of the blessed men slain by the murderous steel, and the church of Christ deprived of the ornament of her altar,

¹Naxĵewan D.

²Baguanu] Gabuanu A.

they chanted pitiful dirges instead of joyful songs, especially since they had not been deemed worthy of even shutting the eyes of the dead. 9. Thus, they barely buried the [bodies of] the blessed, and were consoled through the [fulfillment of their] obligation toward their immaculate blood, so that their names were inscribed in the Register of Life along with those of the martyrs.

10. After the death of the patriarch Yovab, they set on the Holy See, Sołomon, 11. who was from the komopolis of Gaṛni. From his youth he had borne the yoke of the ecclesiastical state, and had devoted himself to many virtuous tasks in the great congregation of Mak'enoc'k'.³ He was also well versed in philosophy, and particularly proficient in psalmody. 12. Because in the days of Abbot Sołomon the congregation of Mak'enoc'k' was divided into two groups, the abbot went with half of the clerics of the congregation to live at Zresk, which is in the district of Širak. The [other] Sołomon [just mentioned] accompanied him, and having become a monk there, he spent his days in a cell, where he devoted himself to the ascetic life. 13. When they had taken him out of his cell, and were bringing him to the patriarchal see, certain *azats* asked the following question: "You are an old man made feeble by severe ascetic practices, why have you consented to accept [the duties of] the patriarchal office?" 14. In reply to their question he answered: "I shall go in order to have skillful artists paint my portrait on the wall of the cathedral with the other patriarchs." 15. It happened as he had predicted; for he lived no longer than one year, and died. He was buried with his ancestors, while his image was set forth in the holy church.

16. After Sołomon they set on the patriarchal throne Gēorg from the district of Aragacotn. 17. The Hagarites completely dominated and subdued the Armenian people, and the numbers of the nobility of the land decreased—while those that survived remained quiet and subservient to their sway—as a result of this, accounts concerning our princes of this period are missing from the present *History* [of Armenia]. 18. But if there be any information perchance available, you will find it adequately treated by our predecessor the historian Šapuh.

19. After Gēorg they set on the patriarchal throne Yovsēp' who was from the district of Aragacotn and the congregation of Saint Grigor. 20. During the pontificate of this patriarch, a certain governor (*ostikan*) named Khuzaima (Xuzima) came to the city of Dvin and tyrannized his subjects. 21. He noted the beauty of the superb estates (*dastakert*) of the katholikosate, that is to say, Artašat, Kawakert and Hořovmoc' Marg together with their fields (*agarak*). Led astray by his wicked desires and demonic avarice, he exerted great pressure on the patriarch Yovsēp' to turn the large estates over to him as though against a payment in silver.

³Mak'enoc'ac'] Mak'enac'oc' C

22. However, the great man put his life on the line, and yielded in no way to the wicked and iniquitous proposals of the governor. 23. In his anger the governor imprisoned the man of God, and binding him with fetters, had him beaten with a club, so that out of fear he might hand over what the governor wanted. 24. However, the patriarch set at naught the toils that had come upon him, nor did he give a thought to being beaten with rods. On the contrary, he bravely endured [all the tortures], placing this in the hands of God. 25. When the governor saw his demands thus rejected by the patriarch, he had three sacks filled with treasures, and setting these on the heads of his servants, he displayed them to the public. He instructed the men to enter openly the quarters of the patriarch, but to bring the treasures back insidiously⁴ through the rear entrance. 26. Then he spread rumors that he had purchased the estates (*dastakert*), and releasing the man of God from his bonds, he sent him home. 27. Subsequently, despite the great determination, fortitude and effort displayed by the patriarch before the tribunal of justice, he barely saved the *dastakerts* of Kawakert and Hořovmoc⁵ Marg alone from the hand of the wicked governor. 28. And it was thus that [the katholikosate] was deprived of Artařat thereafter. 29. Due to such wicked feelings of resentment the governor always resorted to insidious plots against the patriarch. At his order, his servants seized the brother of the Great Yovsēp⁶, and putting him to death at the sources of the Mecamōr River, cast his body into the lake which is to the north of these sources. 30. The patriarch Yovsēp⁶ died after a pontificate of eleven years. 31. He was succeeded on the Holy Throne by Dawit⁶, who was from the village of Kakaz⁵ in the district of Mazaz.

XXV

THE MASSACRE OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF MANY

1. At this time, the caliph sent to Armenia a governor named Khālid (Hawl) with a small force. [After his arrival,] the latter entered the city of Dvin and resided there. 2. But a certain Sawāda, a man of Persian⁶ extraction, who had taken as wife [a princess] of the Bagratuni house

⁴ *gattakcut'eamb* J¹] *gattagcuu'eamb* JABC, *gattakcut'eamb* D. *gattagnac'ut'eamb* T, 'in a secret going'? No such word is to be found in the *NBHL*, or *ABHL*.

⁵ *Kakazoy*] *Kakazayoy* D, assumes a nominative form *Kakaza*

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⁶ *Parsik*] *Kaysik* D.

[named] Aruseak dominated the greater part of our land through his wife's prerogatives, and occupied it as his own select portion. 3. Growing annoyed with the governor, and being envious of him, Sawāda sent a considerable army against him. Among [the allies of Sawāda] were the great *Sparapet* of Armenia Smbat, as well as the lord of Siwnik', and other *azat* lords. Then, Sawāda formed a plan either to snare Khālid in his power, or to eliminate him by treachery. 4. However, Khālid sent the patriarch Dawit' as an envoy to Sawāda, to the *Sparapet* Smbat and to Sahak, lord of Siwnik' [with the following message]: "Why is it that for filthy lucre's sake you behave insolently, and taking arrogant airs, you plot against me? If you do not wish to accept me, then stand aside and give me passage, so that I may take my leave from your midst without fear." 5. The Patriarch also begged and implored them earnestly [to heed his advice], but they did not wish to listen, whereat Dawit' was deeply dismayed, and departed.

6. But when Khālid learned their evil determination, he made the right choice, selecting as many as two thousand men, stout^{6a} in heart and skilled in the use of arms, and immediately went forth to war against them. 7. Their [Sawāda's] army was encamped along the bank of the Hurastan River, opposite the *dastakert* of Kawakert. 8. After Khālid had set upon them fiercely, and the two sides had clashed in battle, the forces [of Sawāda] turned to flight before the army of Khālid, [whose men] caused much bloodshed among them by trampling them under the hoofs of their horses. 9. Sahak, lord of Siwnik', remained among the dead, while the *Sparapet* Smbat and Sawāda fled having barely saved their lives. The soldiers who survived the sword together with them all dispersed going their separate ways, 10. and Khālid returned again to the city of Dvin.⁷ 11. The great patriarch Dawit' had the body of Sahak lord of Siwnik' brought to the holy patriarchate, where he had it buried in a grave near the holy church. 12. After Sahak's death, his son Grigor, surnamed Sup'an, succeeded to the realm [of his father]. 13. Subsequently the patriarch's days were fulfilled and he died after a pontificate of 27 years.

14. Dawit' was succeeded by Yovhannēs, who was from the village of Ovayk' in the district of Kotayk'. 15. After a period of eight years had elapsed from the time of his ordination, certain wicked calumniators from the very own household of the Katholikos uttered with malicious tongues evil slander concerning the blessed patriarch Yovhannēs, just as the blessed virgin Susanna (Šušan) [had fared] formerly at the hands of the bitter elders, or Narcissus (Narkesos) at the hands of the iniquitous

^{6a}All the MSS have *erksawors*. The dictionaries do not list such a word. I have followed the emendation of J, which has *eresawors* ['bold, courageous'].

⁷Duin B.

and unfair witnesses, or even the Word of God Himself at the hands of Judas and the impious highpriests. 16. And as the commander (*hramanatar*) and presiding prince (*išxan išxanac'*) of Armenia Bagarat Bagratuni happened to be near the Katholikos at that time, the unworthy and vain-tongued vilifiers of the man of God approached him and spreading their tongues around the land uttered their slanders before him. 17. Seduced by the diabolic tongues and venting hidden rancor, Bagarat treasured in his memory these foul slanders as words pleasing to his ears, and sent edicts to all not to accept the [authority of the] katholikos. In accordance with his audacity, he thought of setting up another patriarch. 18. When the great man Yovhannēs was informed of the satanic afflictions [awaiting him at the hands] of the prince, he checked Bagarat with a stroke of the spiritual sword, and went into hiding at the headquarters of Saint Sahak, that is to say the monastery of the Caves, where he devoted himself in solitude to perpetual prayers. 19. When this matter became known to the great *sparapet* Smbat, to Grigor, lord of Siwnik', and to the remaining *naxarars* of Armenia, they came together and held a synod of bishops, where they realized with certainty the deceit uttered by the empty and venomous tongues of the wicked slanderers, whereupon, they reestablished the man of God in the Holy See. 20. Thereafter, the church of Christ, which had lost Her adornment due to the banishment of her bridegroom, flourished anew seeing him return to her covered with the nuptial veil.

21. Prince Bagarat⁸ was particularly dismayed, because the re-establishment of the patriarch⁹ was done without his consent, and since he did not accept his authority, he waited for the right time to set someone else in place of Yovhannēs. 22. However, the wicked slanderers [of Yovhannēs] all met a violent death brought upon them by the scourge of the stern wrath of God. One fell from a high cliff, and his body was cut to pieces on the crags, so that no bone remained in place. 23. Another fell from a high roof in the course of the night and thus perished through the smashing of his limbs. 24. A third one falling into the river was carried away by the torrent, and could not even be buried in a grave. 25. Thus, by celestial ordinance terrible vengeance was exacted on them for their insolent tongues as an example to posterity, lest they should raise their sinful hands against the anointed of God.

26. Thereafter, the caliph Ja'far (Ĵap'ṛ) sent to Armenia a governor by the name of Abū Sa'īd (Apusēt'). 27. As soon as the latter had reached the district of Tarōn, he immediately had prince Bagarat¹⁰ bound with fetters and sent him to the caliph. Because of his iniquitous

⁸ *Bagrat C.*

⁹ *hayrapetin* *k'ahanayapetin* J¹, 'high priest'.

¹⁰ *Bagrat A.*

thoughts toward the blessed patriarch, the prince paid dearly for his crime as he deserved. 28. But the inhabitants of the Taurus mountain in accord with their seditious nature, gathered in one place, and uniting in a single body, suddenly fell in full force upon the governor Abū Saʿīd and killed him seemingly in revenge for prince Bagarat to their [subsequent] damage. Then, the soldiers of Abū Saʿīd were scattered to the winds and went to the caliph to bring him tidings of the disaster.

29. About this time, Grigor lord of Siwnik^ʿ, who was called Supʿan, and Babgēn, *nahapet* of Sisakan, quarrelled and levied forces to fight against one another. Supʿan was killed by Babgēn, and Supʿan's son Vasak flatteringly surnamed Gabuř, succeeded to the realm of his father.

30. When the caliph was informed of the murder of Abū Saʿīd, he raised an army, mustered his forces, and dividing them into detachments, handed them over to one of his slaves called Bugha whom he sent to Armenia. 31. He gave [to the latter] strict orders to bind with fetters and bring to him all the princes and lords of the land, and especially to slay all of the *řamik* cavalry that had ventured to carry swords on their thighs or to raise weapons. 32. If, however, any of the more distinguished should embrace the faith of Muḥammad, he should bring them with him. 33. Upon his arrival in the district of Tarōn with all his forces, Bugha struck the land like lightning. He had Ařot and Dawit^ʿ, the children of Bagarat, who had been taken captive, immediately seized along with the rest of their kinsmen. After confining them in prison, he scattered his forces over the entire district [of Tarōn] and into the glens of the Taurus Mountain. 34. First, they mercilessly put to the sword the inhabitants of the gorges of the mountain, whom they had seized. 35. Then, having slain with the sword some of the *gřehik* cavalry of the district, they seized the rest, and dragging them with ropes, brought them to the tyrant. 36. In accordance with the orders of the caliph, he segregated from the rest of the captives those that were handsome, brave, and healthy, in order to convert them to their impious faith, and ordered the rest of them to be put to the sword. 37. Thus, going round from one district to the other, he remained there for many days, until he had sent Prince Ařot and his brother Dawit^ʿ to the caliph along with their kinsmen. Then he departed from there and went to the region of Vaspurakan. 38. Although Ařot, the great prince of the Arcruni house, had taken measures to resist the violent Bugha with his warriors, yet, his *naxarars* were not of the same mind with him in this matter. 39. Thereupon, very much against his wishes he was compelled to go to Bugha, 40. who immediately seized him together with all of his kinsmen, and after a few days of confinement, sent them to the caliph with their wives and children. 41. Subsequently, he laid his hands on the districts, and gave orders to seize and bring to him every warrior that had taken sword in hand or raised a weapon. 42. As in the aforementioned regions, in Tarōn

as well, he performed the same atrocities. In a like manner, they segregated those of fine stature and the craftsmen from the rest in order to convert them to their faith, and put all the others [who fell short of these requirements] to the sword, covering the entire lower region with blood. 43. Bugha himself marched forth with the plundering troops, and reached the region of the capital city of Dvin.

44. When Smbat, the great *sparapet* of Armenia, saw the destruction brought about by Bugha, and the carnage wrought by the murderous sword which smote the peoples [of the above mentioned regions], he put his life at stake for the salvation of his land, and went to greet Bugha with numerous presents and gifts. 45. He was received by him with honor, and delivering himself in all matters to his will, he went before him as guide, and cleared the way, wherever he should wish to go. With great wisdom he was able to gain confidence of Bugha winning his vacillating and vain heart, so that the tyrant made the great *sparapet* his advisor and confidant.

46. And [in agreement] they marched forth together and entered into the city of Dvin. 47. There also he [Bugha] laid his hands on the adjacent districts and sent out plundering troops. Whenever the latter came across a body of soldiers that might have drawn their swords or raised their weapons they gave some of them as prey to the Ishmaelite sword, while they tied others by the neck with ropes and dragged them in this fashion before the tyrant. Here, once again he selected from all those whom [he had taken captive] in the region of Tarōn and the ones whom he had brought with him from Vaspurakan, and separating those of fine stature among the recent captives, he incarcerated them. 48. The rest they gave as prey to the merciless sword. As regards those in confinement, the decision was made to convert them swiftly to the faith of Muḥammad, 49. but when the tyrant Bugha asked them to forsake Christ and to embrace their faith, with wonderful passion and determination they took upon themselves the choice of going to Christ, rather than the evanescent enjoyment of sin. 50. They demonstrated clearly, that "the sufferings we now endure bear no comparison with the splendor, as yet unrevealed, which is in store for us." 51. Thereupon, [the mind of] the wicked tyrant was vehemently turned against the blessed, who were bound with fetters, confined in prison, showered with blows and starved, so that terrified by harsh travail, they might perhaps yield to the wishes of the tyrant. 52. Nonetheless, they bravely endured all insults, torments, racks and blows, until their bodies were completely wasted. 53. Thus, contemptuously setting at naught the anguish that they suffered, they underwent manifold torments and agonies, and confronted death with joy, because they were constantly invigorated by the stream of living water, which came from the side of Christ, and sprinkled over them. 54. When the tyrant saw that they were all resolute

and ready to die for their faith in Christ, he was full of indignation like a wicked beast. He ordered them put to the sword,¹¹ not all at once, but to be destroyed gradually over many days. Like sheep they were driven to slaughter, so that they might have a change of heart and forsake [their faith]. 55. However, instead of renouncing the good in favor of the evil, they gave up the evil for the good because of their faith in God. 56. And thus, with great perseverance they withstood many torments, and became companions of the meritorious. They perished by the sword and were crowned by Christ.

57. Among them there were, in particular, seven men, whose leader was called Atom from the village of Orsirank^c in the district of Ałbak. 58. And as they possessed joyful faces, handsome statures and skill in the use of arms, they did not kill them along with the rest. For they still hoped to be able to cast at least these into the pit of damnation. 59. They offered them many valuable gifts, treasures of gold and silver, and promised to give them villages and estates (*gerdastan*), as well as fame and glory at the royal court. 60. But the blessed revealed to them their determination in this matter, and like brave martyrs¹² they were reinforced in their faith, considering that Christ was their life, in accordance with the Scriptures, and deeming death an advantage. 61. Thereafter the wrath of the tyrant raged more fiercely (against them). He ordered merciless instruments of torture to be applied to them, and bade that they be subjected to every kind of torment and agony, which the tongue is incapable of narrating and the pen is unable to describe. 62. But, the hope in the promise and love of Christ, and the joy of martyrdom relieved them of the unbearable burden of their afflictions. Thus, recognizing the unshakeable determination of the blessed, the tyrant ordered them hung on gibbets. 63. While they remained hanging as if from a cross, the blessed Atom heartened his comrades by entreating them vigorously [with the following words]: 64. "Brethren, be not afraid of temporary death; for even though we are suffering for Christ, we are in communion with the Living God." 65. Then, instead of his eyes, he lifted up his heart to the heavens and said: "Jesus Christ, my hope, I come as a pilgrim to the annual feast of the great martyr George (Gēorg) to offer a scapegoat as a sacrifice to the glory of Thy Name. Henceforth, in place of the scapegoat I shall offer myself as a sacrifice to you. Thou, Who receivest sacrifices, accept the burnt offering of mine own self. Join me and those who are with me to the numbers of Thy blessed martyrs, who loved the day of Thy coming." 67. Thus, having suffered the torments of the great struggle with much perseverance, and having surmounted all the difficulties, they gave up their spirit and received from Christ the

¹¹*sroy T] hroy* JABC, 'fire'.

¹²*nahatakk^c] nahapeth^c* C, 'patriarchs'.

crown of immortality. 68. Although the congregation of the Christians was grieved at the slaughter of the blessed of God by the merciless sword, yet, they received much praise from Christ in the hand of the martyrs.

69. All of the aforementioned saints, the former as well as the latter, were martyred in the 302nd year of the Armenian (of Togarmah) era, altogether more than one hundred and fifty men, not including those who were sacrificed for the faith in other districts and cities, and whose names are also inscribed in the Register of Life.

70. The great patriarch Yovhannēs designated a memorial day for all of these saints; the anniversary of their death was honored every year on the 25th day of the month of Mehek[an] to the glory of the almighty God.

71. Among them there were some, who could not withstand the struggle, and becoming disheartened they turned back to the impious religion of the Ishmaelite tyrant. By forsaking their Christian faith at the instigation of the satellites of Satan, they but covered themselves with the ashes of the furnace. Saddened, pale and disgraced, perhaps also incapable of coping with their worldly needs, they lost their name and eternal life, which is the highest and the most glorious honor, and immediately became heirs to the flames of Hell.

XXVI

OTHER ATROCIOUS DEEDS COMMITTED BY THE GOVERNOR BUGHA, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF THE *SPARAPET* SMBAT

1. When the tyrant Bugha saw that everything conformed to his wishes, he sent troops against prince Vasak of Sisakan and his brother Ašot, as well as the other lords of their land with orders to seize and bring them immediately before him. 2. However, most of the lords who ruled over that region took refuge in the impregnable fortress of Bałk^c, and escaped from the oppressors. 3. Prince Vasak, who had barely eluded them, fled to the regions of the district of Kotayk^c. 4. Being immediately informed of this, Bugha sent forces to pursue and seize him. 5. When the troops caught up with the prince in their pursuit, he turned back, and cut all of them down with his sword. He then went eastward, to the land of Gardman,¹³ to the prince of that land, whose

¹³Gardmanac^c] Gardamanac^c BC, assumes a nom. form of Gardaman.

name was Ktrič. 6. But, there too the prince Vasak found no refuge from the enemy, for the prince of Gardman, beguiled by the devil, bound him with fetters and sent him forth to Bugha, calculating that Bugha might favor him for this. 7. The tyrant seized the prisoner, and subsequently, the raiding troops captured his brother Ašot and their mother, the great princess, both of whom were immediately brought to him [= Bugha] in the city of Dvin.

8. At this time the great patriarch Yovhannēs, who was visiting the prelacy of the district of Gełark'unik^ç, reached the end of his days and died in the [main] abode of the great congregation of Mak'enoc^çk^ç. He was buried on the same holy premises. Yovhannēs had occupied the patriarchal see for a period of twenty-two years.

9. The tyrant Bugha carried away [with him]¹⁴ those that had been captured and were kept in confinement. He marched to the eastern regions, after he had dispatched urgent orders to the *sparapet* Smbat to follow immediately after him and come to carry out their task. 10. The latter first ordered the calling of a synod of bishops in the komopolis of Erazgawork^ç, and they ordained as patriarch Zak'aria from the village of Jag in the district of Kotayk^ç. Putting himself under the protection of his prayers Smbat then went to the tyrant Bugha. 11. Meanwhile Bugha went and seized the great prince Atrnerseh, who lived in the fortress of Xaçen, together with the rest of his kinsmen. 12. From there he set out to go to the district of Gardman, where he laid siege to the fortress of Gardman, and seized Ktrič, the prince of the land, whom he bound with fetters. 13. Thence he marched forth into the province (*gawar*) of Uti and captured in the village of Tus Step'annos, also named Kon, whose people were called Sewordik^ç from the name of his ancestor Sewuk. 14. Subsequently, he also deceived Esayi, prince of Albania and seized him together with his relatives. The remaining lords and princes of the land of Albania were likewise subjugated by him; there was much bloodshed in that land as well. 15. Thereafter, they brought to him all the prisoners that were in bonds and in confinement, and he carried them away with him to the caliph. 16. He likewise brought with him to the royal court the *sparapet* Smbat with the promise that in return for his faithfulness the caliph would grant the lordship over all of Armenia as compensation, give him royal gifts and honors, and thus send him back to his land. 17. But when they had reached the royal court, and appeared before the caliph, they ranked him along with the rest of the prisoners and confined him in prison. Nor did they remember his faithful services to them. 18. After a few days, all the imprisoned lords and princes of Armenia and Albania were given the alternative either of converting to their impious faith by forsaking the worship of Christ,

¹⁴*areal*] *ar-ar'çal* J¹BC, 'sent away'.

and thus having received many gifts and honors from them, returning to their native lands and homes, or of being cut short of any hope of life through merciless torments, agonies and horrible death. 19. As they relentlessly terrified them day after day with threats of cruel torments and prolonged their anguish, some of them conformed to the royal orders, and embraced their ungodly faith. Others agreed to fulfill the wishes of the caliph at the appropriate time, even though they were not circumcised immediately.

20. The great *sparapet* Smbat, however, arming himself with the truth, stood bravely against the falsehood as became the excellency of his ancient years, his perfect faith in Christ and the hope for eternal life, which he always stored within himself. In no way did he go astray and follow their orders, as he deemed it better to die with Christ rather than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. 21. To those who asked he answered that it was impossible for him to forsake the Christian faith which he had received as a precious gift through the grace of baptism and to embrace a foreign, impious belief. He fearlessly opposed them thus not once or twice, but many times.

22. After they had tested his will, and recognized his unshakeable mind, they decided to destroy him by means of merciless torments. 23. Yet, heavenly Providence chose to liberate his soul from eternal damnation through the necessary price of corporeal death, so that dying a natural death, he was not stained with the guilt of forsaking the holy laws of Christ. Like a martyr he fulfilled within his flesh the manifestation of justification. 24. The assembly of Christians carried away his body with psalmody, songs of praise and spiritual chants, and buried him in the martyrdom of the holy prophet Daniel, where the latter had been cast into the lions' den. 25. After Smbat, his son Ašot succeeded to his father's extensive realm.¹⁵

26. Of the remaining princes I know of no one who did not disobey God, or did not go astray into the impious faith of Muḥammad. 27. Because they were terrified by the horror of transitory death, they failed to consider the bitterness of eternal damnation, and did not heed the awesome tidings proclaimed by Christ the Saviour which shall be heard at the Last Judgment: "Whoever disowns me before men, I will disown him before my Father in heaven."

28. Only Step'annos, colloquially called Kon by the *ramik*, whom Bugha had taken in bonds to the royal court after the Armenian *naxarars*, suffered martyrdom, after he had been tortured by many blows for confessing the name of Christ. The Father of Light crowned him and his name was inscribed in the Register of Life. His death took place in the 608th year of the Roman era.

¹⁵ After Smbat's death . . . realm.]—E.

XXVII

THE SUCCESSION OF AŠOT,
SON OF SMBAT, AND THE RETURN
OF THE ARMENIAN NAXARARS FROM CAPTIVITY

1. Henceforth, if it should please you, when narrating about the old men, I shall touch upon the simpler [events] in a limited way. 2. For it does not seem expedient to duplicate the narrative of Šapuh Bagratuni, a historian of our own times, who has given a precise account of the succession of Ašot, Son of the *sparapet* Smbat, that is to say, a history of his years as prince, the circumstances of his coronation, as well as the return of the Armenian princes and *naxarars* taken captive by Bugha, and the restoration to each one of his own realm. 3. He also has written on those who withstood the enemy troops with amazing fortitude, as well as on who oppressed whom, and where each one met his death. 4. Although he was unable to present comprehensively the truth in final form, or to give briefly a complete analysis of the evidence in accordance with the rules of rhetoric, yet, he is able to give you sufficient information in the vernacular (*geṭjuk baniw*) since he was well aware of events during his own time. 5. Now, leaving the complete narrative to him, I shall draw only what is necessary for the sequence of my history, and shall attempt to present you with an introductory summary. 6. As has already been said, the *History* of Šapuh gives a sufficient account of the might, bravery, wars, expeditions and attacks of Ašot, son of the *sparapet* Smbat, against others and those of others against him. from the time of his youth to the time when he was a young man: 7. Upon his succession to the *sparapetut'iw*n of Armenia in place of his father, Ašot was given greater recognition than almost all of his predecessors, because he accepted honors and rejected insults. Always engaged in beneficent acts, and forming close friendships with everyone through the goodness of his heart, he never fought against his enemies in battle, but rather turned them to righteousness by means of kind words, and brought them to his will by well taken measures. 8. Considering the acquisition of vain profits as harmful, he was generous toward all people, and won over the hearts of many in friendship, so that all admired him for this. 9. In this manner he carried out his duties as *sparapet*, until the fame of his virtue reached the royal court.

10. Subsequently, a governor named 'Alī Armanī was sent to Armenia; he set Ašot as presiding prince of Armenia in accordance with the orders of the caliph, and investing him with many robes as well as royal insignia, entrusted him with the taxes (*sak*) of Armenia and all the royal *bekar*. 11. Thus, he became first and foremost among the Armenian

naxarars, all of whom made treaties with him, as if with a true scion of royalty. 12. Whenever a suitable occasion presented itself, all of them likewise resolved to become worthy¹⁶ of being related to his house [through marriage], and to be distinguished from the other *naxarar* houses, as members of the royal family.

13. At this time, a severe earthquake in the city of Dvin wrought great damage in the houses, city walls and palaces. Desolation and tremors filled the city in general, and caused many people to perish. The fear of disaster was so immense, that no one remained under a roof, but lamenting their hardships they all fled to the market places and the streets. 14. The stinging frost of winter augmented their distress, so that many suffered frostbite from the cold. 15. The blessed patriarch Zak'aria offered powerful prayers to all merciful God with everlasting supplications and entreating solicitations and through divine ordinance¹⁷ he warded off the wrathful scourge of God, so that the Church of Christ remained undamaged from the immense severity of the peril.

16. About this time, the princes and *naxarars* of Armenia,¹⁸ who had been taken captive by Bugha, began to return gradually to their lands and homes one after the other. 17. Then, freeing themselves from the foul teachings of Muḥammad, which had been imposed on them much against their will, they embraced with exaltation their paternal religion given by Christ, and professed the worship of Christ not in secret with fear, but seemingly from the house tops. 18. The Lord was pleased, and made them live in hope, for which they were blessed and praised by Him. They broke up their fallow ground, but did not sow among thorns. Subsequently, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bride and the voice of the bridegroom were heard under their roofs. 19. They begot children and produced fruit. Each one lived on his own land and the Lord visited them and blessed them with good things.

XXVIII

PEACE IN ARMENIA AND THE UNITY AMONG THE NAXARARS

1. At this time, Ašot raised his son-in-law Vasak Haykazun, surnamed Gaburn, as prince of Siwnik', and obtained for him honor from

¹⁶The text is corrupt in all the MSS except for E and T, *lic'i mat'el*] *lic'i nma tu'eal* ABC, *lic'i nma tu'eal* J, *lic'i mat'el* D, make no sense. Also the form *tu'eal* does not exist.

¹⁷*azcec'ut'eamb*] *ayc'elut'eamb* D, 'visitation'.

¹⁸Hayoc' JABCD]—TE.

the royal court. Ruling over his principality with great might, the latter likewise extended his sway over all the people of Sisakan. 2. On the other hand Ašot appointed to the office of the great *sparapetut'iwn* of Armenia his brother Abas, a brave man, sturdy, vigorous and handsome in stature, robust and skilled in warfare. He had assisted his brother Ašot in bringing everyone to submission, had displayed his valiance on many occasions and in numerous places, and was renowned as well as distinguished among the multitude.

3. Now, after the death of Ašot, the great and illustrious prince of the Arcruni house, and his burial in the cemetery of his ancestors, his son Grigor, surnamed Derenik, succeeded to the principality [in his father's place]. 4. He was a proud man, prudent, and haughty in his manner, powerful in word as well as deed, who always tried to conduct himself with all propriety. 5. And as he was the son-in-law of Ašot, the presiding prince, the latter with paternal care and thoughtful love always gave him sound advice. At first he was willing to accept this instruction obediently and wisely and through it he brought all of his enemies to submission. 6. He busied himself peacefully with building and made his ancestral domain a safe place, secure from all plundering troops, in which to live. 7. Subsequently, however, he conducted himself in accordance with his own caprices, and did not heed the advice of his father-in-law as he had done earlier; thus he could not achieve his former success.

8. But the great prince of Siwnik^c Vasak, flatteringly surnamed *išxanik*, yielded to the presiding prince Ašot with great wisdom, meekness and temperance, and heeding his words of advice with care, kept them in his mind as precepts, whereby he brought a greater degree of prosperity on his domain and lived in peace in accordance with all the manifestations of piety.

9. At this time, the other prince of Sisakan, that is to say Vasak, flatteringly surnamed Gabuřn, died and was buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. His son Grigor, surnamed Sup^can, succeeded to his father's realm. 10. He surpassed his ancestors in wisdom, good fortune and erection of buildings, 11. and devoted himself especially to the construction and renovation of the churches of Christ. 12. Now the great and blessed patriarch Zak^caria, reaching the twenty second year of his prelacy, died and was buried in the cemetery of the holy fathers. 13. Then, the presiding prince Ašot chose an honorable man from the household of the katholikos Gēorg by name, from the komopolis of Garni, and ordered his consecration as prelate of the house of Togarmah.

XXIX

THE RULE OF THE PRESIDING PRINCE AŠOT AS KING, AND THE MURDER OF GRIGOR ARCRUNI

1. Nothing now could indeed please me more than [the task of] concentrating on words of praise about the presiding prince Ašot that comprise a sequel. 2. Having reached middle age, he was of great stature, tall, robust, with a cheerful countenance surmounted by dark eyebrows. He had a speckle of blood in his eye, a red ruby glowing in the midst of pearls, and his splendid white hair gave him distinction. 3. He was wise and soft-spoken, temperate at banquets. He neither would envy his betters nor would he look down upon those who were humble. He spread his care like a mantle over everyone. He held the scales evenly and first examined his own conduct before all others'. In short, he hindered nothing that was of benefit to humanity.

4. In view of the nobility of his family, the princes and *naxarars* of Armenia unanimously resolved to raise him up as king over themselves, and informed the caliph through the governor 'Īsā son of Shaikh. 5. Receiving this fitting request with friendly disposition, the caliph sent to Ašot a royal crown, which the governor 'Īsā brought and presented together with royal robes, gifts, honors, swift horses, weapons and ornaments. 6. Then they summoned the great patriarch Gēorg, who conferred on him the divine benediction of spiritual blessings instead of the anointment with the chrism, and crowned him king over the people of Ashkenaz.

7. Subsequently, Ašot introduced many significant regulations into his realm; he made arrangements concerning the feudal houses, the cities, the *šēns* and the *dastakerts*. The laws passed by him applied equally to mountain dwellers and to the inhabitants of temperately warm valleys. 8. He turned all level lands into farms (*agarak*), and folds (*gom*), and enriched the pastures with vineyards and orchards. In no way did he deny his kingdom the needed rules and ordinations,* and for the most part, he was more powerful and wiser than all the other kings. 9. Thus, he exalted [the name of] the people of Togarmah in his newly acquired kingdom.

10. Then, he laid his hand on the northern regions, where he subordinated peoples who dwelt in the valleys and far-reaching dales of the Caucasus. 11. He also brought into submission the barbarous peoples of Gugark^c and the marauders of the province (*gawar*) of Uti. Banishing

*The literal translation of this passage is: "In no way did he withhold all that which was appropriate for a kingdom, in a kingdom, and around a kingdom."

from their midst brigandage and murder, he turned all of them into obedient, law-abiding people, and set rulers as well as princes over them. Furthermore, he made an alliance with and paid a visit to the king of Egrisi, who as a constant vassal of Ašot faithfully rendered him service by an obligatory tribute (*partavcar*). 13. Basil, the great emperor of the Greeks, also offered terms of peace—which were in no way trivial, harmony¹⁹ and friendship to our king Ašot, whom he addressed as ‘beloved son’, and he communicated this to all the kingdoms in his dominion. 14. Thus, Ašot completed and perfected the chain of his virtuous deeds in accordance with the glorification that he had received.

15. About this time, the great prince of the Arcruni house, Grigor, surnamed Derenik, laid hands on the districts and cities of the region of Her and Zarawand, and subjected these places. 16. And although leaders of the Ishmaelite people, who laid claim through habitancy to the possession of the territories of these cities and districts, showed themselves in agreement with, and submissive to prince Grigor, yet, in their hearts they were at variance with him. 17. Then during the fall, when the great prince set out for the region of Her in order to meet the ruler of the city, the latter, on his way to meet the prince, treacherously concealed troops in a ravine in the vineyard. 18. Upon the arrival of the prince, the Ishmaelite forces suddenly came out of their hideout, and attacking the prince from the rear, instantly struck him down with sword, and threw him to the ground. 19. Betrayed by the infidels in this manner, he met his death, and was carried away to be buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. 20. His son Ašot, the grandson of king Ašot, succeeded to his great domain.

21. But the material that I have left out of my narrative, that is to say, the account of the valiant acts, struggles and wars of Ašot, is to be found in the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni, which will give you sufficient details on the good fortune of this man.

22. As for Vasak prince of Sisakan flatteringly surnamed *išxanik*, he died after living a godly and pious life, and was buried in the cemetery of his ancestors. 23. Then, his brother Ašot succeeded to his realm. He was an affable, peaceloving, pious and God-fearing man, who occupied himself entirely with the welfare of his paternal domain.

¹⁹ *hačut'ean* J] *nuačut'ean* T, ‘submission’.

XXX

THE DEATH OF KING AŠOT AND THE DISSENSION
 THAT AROSE BETWEEN THE SPARAPET ABAS AND
 THE CROWN PRINCE SMBAT AND CONCERNING
 THE KATHOLIKOS GĒORG

1. After the brilliant and complete restoration of the order of things in Armenia, king Ašot was taken gravely ill and died. 2. While still confined to his bed, he strove to advance the understanding of his soul with a zeal no less than that for his physical well-being. 3. For he summoned the great katholikos Gĕorg, and receiving from his hand the *viaticum*, [that is to say,] the redeeming body and blood of the Lord, he had great amounts of gold and silver distributed among the needy and the poor. 4. He also entrusted the patriarch with the entire contents of his treasury, the herds of horses and cattle and the flocks of sheep, so that he might divide all of these among the churches of the true believers, as gifts presented for the Holy Sacrifice, should there be need for them at any time and place. 5. And thus, he invisibly employed things that were externally profitable to cleanse and renovate the inner self of man. Subsequently, at a ripe old age he rested in Christ as befitted his gracious nature. 6. Since he died on the road, in an inn at a rocky place called K'arspaġn, they carried away his body in a coffin and brought it to the town (*awan*) of Bagaran, the royal residence, where they covered the coffin with robes and veils^{19a} interwoven and adorned with gold; and carefully selected²⁰ detachments of military forces clad in arms and ornaments stood guard. The great katholikos, accompanied by the rest of the clerics of the church, also came forth and solemnly chanted psalms and raised the voice of [their] praise. 7. His three sons, the senior [*gaherĕc*^c] princes of the royal house and other friends followed the coffin, and thus they arrived at the cemetery but without Smbat, the presiding prince of Armenia, who had gone to the region of Gugark^c to subordinate its people, and could not get back in time for the funeral rites. 8. There, arriving at the place, one could behold wailing virgins,²¹ princesses (*tġkin*), and mistresses (*tantġkin*) of the [*naxarar*] houses shedding tears and lamenting along with the multitudes of the *ġamġks* and *non-ġamġks* (*anġramġk*). Then, building a tomb [suitable] for royalty, they buried him in the cemetery of his ancestors.

²⁰ *ġtranġk*^c] *ġtaneġk*^c J, *ġntanġk*^c BC, 'with family'.

^{19a} 'veils'—*var-iwk*^c also means 'flags' or 'banners'.

²¹ *kusans*] JT, *gusans* D, 'minstrels'.

8a. Then receiving the ill-tidings, Smbat, the king's son, set out in deep grief and arrived at his estate of Erazgawork' [or] Širakawan. The great katholikos came to console him, and relieve him of his grief, so that he might not alter his noble and pleasant nature. 9. And, Atrnerseh, the great prince of Iberia, also came then to express his condolences.

10. Since Abas, the *sparapet* of Armenia and brother of the king Ašot, was stationed in the region of the principality (*petut'iwn*) of Vanand, Atrnerseh, in accordance with the demands of protocol, first diverged from the course of his journey in order to relieve the grief of the *sparapet's* sorrowful heart with words of consolation. Abas received him honorably and well, but did not want him to proceed to Smbat, lest they both hear of his plot, since he believed that he would then be forced to confront both, and thus be unable to obtain his wish; for he was seeking to usurp the kingdom. 11. In response Atrnerseh answered, that to halt his journey would be unwarranted and unaccountable, and that it might be a cause for confusion and turmoil. 12. Being given leave to depart, he set out and met Smbat, whom he forced to divest himself of his mourning attire and to put on the royal robes. After he had been honored by Smbat and given many valuable gifts, he returned to the *sparapet* Abas, 13. who was greatly enraged with him because of the slander of certain men to the effect that he had laid snares for the latter together with Smbat. He had him bound with iron chains and confined him in the fortress of Kars. 14. Thereafter, the dissension between the two became more intense. Both Smbat and Abas summoned the mass of their forces, and filled the land with devastation through their struggle. 15. Then, the great katholikos intervened, and advised them to speak of terms of peace; he beseeched [Abas] to send Atrnerseh back to his realm, and to do away with the torrent of his burning anger. 16. The *sparapet* acted craftily, and pretending to be in agreement stipulated as follows: "Let Atrnerseh return to me the two fortresses that he has taken away from my brother-in-law [sister's husband] Gurgēn, and send as hostage his son Dawit'. Then I shall let him go in peace."

17. Sealing the solemn contract accordingly, he handed it over to the great patriarch, 18. But after receiving what he had sought, he was again beguiled by the deceitful demon, and treated the intervention of the great katholikos with disrespect in that he did not release Atrnerseh. Overwhelmed through this with deep sorrow and bitterness of heart, the great patriarch was greatly disturbed, and departed thence to go to the district of Širak. 20. But when the *sparapet* learned that the attacks of the enemy troops had become more intense and had reached his own doorstep, he took asylum behind the bastions of the fortress [of Kars]. 21. Then Smbat, assembling a large force, raided the extensive hamlets (*šēn*) of Abas, that lay about the fortress, and where the refugees from the district found shelter. He despoiled brave men of their arms and

sturdy steeds, and confined Abas to the fortress as to a prison cell for many days, while he made frequent assaults. 22. Distressed and apprehensive because of this he [Abas] could find no other solution than to rely on his nephew's justice and so asked him to send as a hostage his son, who was his own namesake, as well as Ašot, the son of his brother Šapuh, so that he, on his side, might release Atrnerseh. 23. The peace-loving prince did not fail to comply with his wishes. Sending the hostages and receiving Atrnerseh in return, he sent him back to his own land with great honors.

24. Immediately after his return, Smbat was presented with a royal diadem at the order of their caliph, by Afshīn, the Ishmaelite prince of Atrpatakan and along with it he was given robes wrought with gold, and swift steeds bedecked with ornaments and shining armor forged with gold. 25. They came forth to meet him at the place of assembly, and returned to the holy church with the patriarch Gēorg, who pronounced the solemn blessings on him, and investing him with gold-embroidered robes covered with expressive designs, he placed on his head the royal crown. [Smbat] emerged from the spiritual nuptials to rule over all of Armenia. 26. In consequence of this, the *sparapet* Abas was greatly irritated and enraged at the katholikos for his actions, as he considered him responsible for the fact that he himself had been deprived of the crown, which had been given to Smbat. Bearing therefore a feeling of ill will, he summoned slanderous calumniators, who sprang from the patriarch's own household. Surrendering to the wicked demon the bridle of their soul, these uttered false reports worthy of the everlasting fire concerning the blessed patriarch. 27. And since they had previously let their impious tongues thread about the land, and had joined certain wicked men to their malicious ranks, they assumed that they could bring about the downfall of the blessed katholikos. 28. At that time, the blessed man of God Maštoc^c, who mirrored the radiance of God's inextinguishable light through divine permeation, shone forth with splendor on the island of Sewan. Because of the purity of his life, and the inspiring power of the Holy Spirit he saw the invisible in that which was visible. For this reason, all turned their eyes to him, since he could discern and perceive with clarity of mind the correct decisions concerning spiritual matters.

29. The *sparapet* entertained the thought that he might be able to entice the man of God and win him over to his wicked conspiracy. He, therefore, wrote him a letter in which he first lavished flatteries upon him; he then brought such serious charges against the katholikos, that it would be better for you not to hear of the unfruitful works of darkness, and recalled the testimony of the calumniators destined to perdition. 30. He also announced to him [his decision] to set him on the patriarchal see instead of Gēorg, should he but consent to come and join the assembly of the wicked. 31. Upon reading this, Maštoc^c sighed deeply in

his spirit and did not wish to write and answer. 32. But so that the wicked might not grow strong in their mischief because of his silence, he replied as follows:

33. "I received the order of your lordship, which I accepted with the love of the Spirit in accordance with my upbringing from childhood in the precepts of God, and because I realized that I was joined with you in the brotherhood of faith, for in your faith, you are beloved, according to Paul and not hateful. I humbly fell [upon my knees and] bowed down before the altar. 34. But should the particular characteristic of our angelic order, relieving us of the burden of responsibilities because of our incompetence, lead us into a divergent path, let us not seem to be rebellious; for God's command bids us submit to God rather than to men.

35. Following this, [let me say that] the entire message of your letter consists in the charge brought against the great patriarch, who is the vicar of Christ. As long as the cloak of holiness covers him, and he is honored with the high calling of God, he is the vicar of God by virtue of his apostolic office and I shall always call him thus.

36. Then, you have enjoined unto me with severity, arrogance, and ignorance beyond limit to anathematize him unjustly, and have used the anathema pronounced against me to demonstrate his folly.²² 37. I am surety for his acts before God, as I know of his boundless goodness, which is so greatly in accord with the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, that we hold him as an exemplar. He forgives immediately, and proceeds to perfection, especially as he has fled worldly life since his youth and reached old age.²²

38. As for the anathema pronounced on me it was entirely just and deserved; for I erred and going astray, on my own accord I removed the difference set by the holy fathers between us and the Chalcedonians. Therefore, with supplication, penance and worship I persuaded him to tear up the signed pronouncements regarding me with his holy hands. 39. But the overall aim of your letter is to make manifest the accusations of those who maliciously uttered false reports²³ at the order of Satan, the killer of body and soul from the beginning, calumniator and sower of strife. You have also urged us "Not to remain silent." 40. Behold my lord, you shall not see this done; for it is impossible to identify a transgression, as [it is impossible to trace] the path of a snake creeping among the rock. A sure witness to this is the prophet, who says: "They have searched out iniquity; and have wearied themselves with searching." 41. I know, and am confident in the Lord, that death awaits the sick man who has neglected his sins and hates his brother when he is among the *ramiks*,

²² "Then, thou hast . . . age."—T.

²³ *bansarkeal* [BCD] *bantarkēal* T, 'who were jailed'.

whereas, a minute vacillation on the part of a man of distinction and high position causes extensive harm to the public because of scandal; let alone the calamitous outcome of such a misdeed, should it occur.

42. But I am a sinful and a weak man; for my transgressions have gone over mine head; and they have pressed heavily upon me. I cannot be very jealous for the Lord God of hosts, and blinded by the beam in my eye espy the dark conduct of others.

43. I wrote what I wrote with many tears and a heart stricken with grief. 44. Let God show you the way of righteousness to go unto him, and accomplish your desires according to His Will; let Him speak justice and judgment in your hearts, lest your indiscriminate ears be stricken. This is unworthy of your highness. Judge for yourselves. 45. But let my name and memory perish from the face of the earth, my eyeballs see darkness, and not behold light; let my ears be clogged, and my stinking mouth become dumb and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; let the cloud and thick darkness of sins and the shadow of death cover me on all sides, if I proceed to see, hear or speak grievous things against the righteous, and utter unrighteousness loftily. 46. Let my tongue go forth upon the earth, pouring out mine indignation and sound forth with the sword at my lips. 47. God forbid, that I lift up mine hands against the anointed of God, and be banished for a crime that is unforgivable and irrevocable. 48. Heaven forbid, that I strive against the chosen of God like Korah (Korx) and Dathan. But if not, the earth shall open her mouth and swallow me together with the army of Abiram (Abirōn), and I shall go down alive into Hades.

49. This is my conviction, from which no one could turn me away be it by fear of Hades or promise of Heaven, and standing before the tribunal, I shall anathematize the transgressors who vexed you, as the purulent blood of my heart pours out. 50. Above all, remember also the laws inscribed by God, wherein it is written, that those things which are revealed belong unto the sons of men, and the secret things belong unto the Lord our God. For this reason He has set a day, when He will pass judgment on the secrets of men at the hands of Jesus Christ.

51. Now, abandon that which is beyond your ability, and do not judge by conjecture,²⁴ nor reprove according to report, until the coming of the Lord, who will bring to light what darkness hides, and fire will test each man's work, for surmises and opinions are semblance and empty shadows that are beyond truth, and are not considered evidence according to what God requires before the tribunal of the righteous, namely that [all facts] must be established by [the evidence of] two or three witnesses. This seemed to have pleased the pagan philosophers so much that they stole it from us, and having changed the words, they allegorically set it

²⁴ *i karcs datēk^c] i gorcs datēk^c J¹ AC*, 'judge according to works'.

forth as their own. Certainly, they respected²⁵ only the form, as [one would use] a plough for tilling or dropper²⁶ for medicine. 52. Now, I pray you not to be silent or free from care, but tend to justice. Public opinion and hearsay hold that those who are like unto you lack strength, and are overwhelmed by their mistakes. 53. But you also advise, that if perchance I am summoned to the patriarchal see, there should be no confession²⁷ of sins. 54. Who could come forth with an impudent face and be an unrighteous witness no less against the chosen of God. Is it for this reason, that the command of the Holy Spirit allows secrets in the souls? 55. Do not make trouble, as it is hard for *you* to kick against the pricks. For such thoughts on faith always lead one astray from every grace. Prince Bagarat, who entertained such thoughts for no reason, was not blessed, and we are all aware of the way the perishables shall perish.

56. If you order that there be a meeting, let it not be the assembly of the wicked inclosing, or of the zealous assailants, who formerly assembled together with Annas and Caiaphas on account of the Lord, and who have now gathered with regard to the anointed of the Lord, but let it be like that congregation which the Lord acquired in the beginning as His lot of inheritance, about which the prophet speaks as follows: "Assemble yourselves upon Mount Sion, ye priests and righteous old men. Proclaim fasts and supplications. Sanctify the congregation with tears and laments, for God will visit you." 57. In accordance with this the holy Nicaean Fathers labored on your behalf, and wearing boots on their feet set out to reach the holy resting-place, where they spent an entire year in fasting and praying. 58. They ate the dry bread of affliction, and drank the water of affliction, and lay on pallets spread on the ground. With excessive penance and groans they established as a mediator the Holy Gospels, so that they might not do anything according to their will. God looked at them and with enlightenment instructed them in what was worthy of instruction.

59. Well, mine unworthy self is willing to attend the assembly of the upright and the congregation of those that love good things, and to assist in their work with²⁸ prayers and ascetic practices. The same God, who is mighty and living, shall do what pleases Him. 60. Let me add, that I shall speak boldly against the folly of those who have urged this, and shall become surety, so that should God not visit us for some reason, I should be considered as an ally of the evil-doers and the lecherous [*mctneayk*^c] in everlasting reproach, but only let the meeting take place according to my instructions. 61. In taking into consideration the [wicked] tongues, do

²⁵ *patueal* JD] *patuireal* J¹T, 'they ordered'.

²⁶ *detadir* ABCD] *detatu* E, 'giver of medicine'.

²⁷ *xost* JT] *p^cast* J¹, 'proof'.

²⁸ *tarewor*, 'yearly' + T, —JC.

not be afraid, for it is not new that the tongue has been sharpened in bitterness, and the crooked bow made ready to shoot arrows of strife and conflict in order to strike and kill those who are upright in heart. Evil spirits run about feeling thirst for the honor of the blessed, and scheme to rebut it through the knavery of the sons of men in anger. 62. Now, those were tongues with which the prophets were condemned, beaten, and smitten with the edge of the sword. It was the zeal of the Pharisees and the cry of the Jews, whereby they lifted up their face unto the Word of God, and were lost to the ages and ages. 63. It was the violent passion of the priests, whereby they fought against God. 64. It was the rage of Judas, who went with closed eyes in order not to lose the thirty pieces of silver, and arrived where he belonged. 65. Those were intelligent and wise men, who were able to condemn the Son of God before God and the Emperor, and lawfully committed him to the judge unto their own destruction. 66. Remember those that testified against Stephen, James, the brother of the Lord and Narcissus, all three of them.²⁹ Do not be deceived, for the sons of men are wont to do things either by will or by the seduction of the devil. For this reason, the accounts of the wickedness of the impious witnesses,—who like a sharpened razor wrought deceit, loved wickedness more than goodness, and unrighteousness better than to speak righteousness,—are preserved in writing as a measure of precaution for posterity. 67. For the same reason, the prophet offers prayers in order to be delivered from evil men, who have sharpened their tongues like serpents, and under whose lips is adders' poison. 68. Let me also add this, that the man who is a detestable deserter cannot become a witness and come forth before the tribunal of the upright. He is persecuted openly, because he has defiled his face like that of a whore, and is no longer considered a human being. 69. According to the synodical order, the man who has confessed to the priest cannot become a witness, until the end of the time set by the holy canons, when overwhelmed by doing penance, he can call upon the leaders of the church as witnesses to his atonement. 70. Now, let the sinners first come forth and repent in sackcloth and ashes, and subject themselves to rules with all their heart. Only after this will their words be considered trustworthy. 71. Also the bishops shall be chosen and righteous, and some shall come from afar, so that they may not be unfairly biased. Likewise, let the blessed fathers of higher rank conduct the examination as they may wish, and be certain. Then, let those who are able to cover the holy altar and the holy see with fire-wood cloak their souls, as if mourning for the fall of the bridegroom, who took the place of Christ in the sanctuary of the bride, the Church. [Let them do] many other things that are contrary to the judgment of righteousness, things which I shudder to put in writing.

²⁹ *zeresin*] *erēc'in* J¹, 'the priest'.

72. What has been ordered by you will come true then. If you wish to choose someone different, the latter will have no other alternative than to fight against God either with violent force or distorted mind. 73. But now, complying with my advice, place your trust in God, so that in life after death your trial before the universal tribunal may be easy, and you may receive glory and honor from God throughout your days of life."

74. Upon reading this solemn letter, Abas was ashamed and gave the lie to the wicked traitors. For despite his having written such letters, he did not receive an answer in accordance with his expectations, but rather much blame. 75. This was all the more since certain ones of the arrogant, and excessively envious slanderers were seemingly struck by the divine wrath. 76. The iniquitous lips of one of them swarmed with worms before the eyes of everyone including myself, and he perished. 77. Another's bowels fell down forthwith together with the excrement. The traitor burned with high fever and parching heat, until pustules broke forth and he died. 78. The survivors, greatly distressed and trembling because of the deserved calamity, went to the patriarch to express their repentance, and were forgiven by him. The great *sparapet*, who was likewise greatly dismayed at heart and alarmed by the swift actions of God, threw himself down at the feet of the patriarch, with excessive immolations and tears, and begged forgiveness for his evil aberration. The patriarch received him with love and ungrudging heart, and with perfection of faith, in accordance with the wishes of the faithful suppliant, made them worthy of forgiveness and blessings.

80. These were engraved by me by letter with great awe as a memorial for you who are about to come, so that looking at the results of destructive calamities, no one might scheme and suffer the same torments, derision and scourges as those who fell with Judas and reached their [deserved] place.

XXXI

THE DISSENSION BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR (*OSTIKAN*) AFSHĪN AND KING SMBAT, AND THE INSURRECTION IN THE CITY OF DVIN

1. Placing his kingdom on a firm foundation, Smbat tried to establish peaceful relations with everyone in accordance with the words of Paul. First, in compliance with the alliance of his father, he did not withdraw

from the friendly affection of Leo Emperor of the Romans.³⁰ He honored the latter with many gifts and worthy presents in accordance with his gentle temper. 2. In return, the Emperor gave to him an exceedingly great many number of gifts, namely, beautiful weapons, ornaments, robes wrought with gold, goblets, and cups, and girdles of pure gold studded with gems. But a greater honor than these was, that the Emperor addressed Smbat as his “beloved son” by means of a treaty of friendship.

3. When the governor (*ostikan*) Afshīn, who had given the crown to Smbat, learned of this, as well as of the firm friendship and agreement with the Emperor, he was greatly distressed and irritated at these matters, [which he suspected to be] a plot against himself. He made haste to sever the ties of friendship between them, and having gathered numerous troops for this, he decided to set out and come to Armenia. 4. As soon as king Smbat realized the wicked schemes of Afshīn, he immediately mobilized his forces as well as the multitude of the *naxarars'* contingents, altogether thirty thousand brave warriors and skilled soldiers, and he marched as far as the district of Rōtokk³¹ near Atrpatakan in order to confront the foe. 5. But before he reached the enemy line, he sent an envoy to Afshīn with the [following] message: 6. “Why are you coming upon us in anger for no reason? If it is because of the alliance I have made with the Emperor, this was for your benefit also. [I thought that] I might obtain with ease those items that you yourself and the caliph needed from the land of the Greeks, and present you with noteworthy garments, ornaments and vessels for your own use. Likewise, I wished to clear the way for merchants of your faith, so that they might have access to their land, and enrich your treasury with the riches of the Greeks.”

7. When Afshīn heard the soothing tone of the above words, and saw the select bodies of men of war who had reached his border, he changed his evil threats into an offer of friendship. 8. Then, mounting upon fiery steeds, they set out to meet each other, and exchanged many royal gifts and presents, and after this Afshīn returned to Atrpatakan.

9. King Smbat turned back, and arrived at the capital city of Dvin. 10. Contrary to the condition that had been set at an earlier time, he did not find the inhabitants of the city submissive to him, and he also noted that they had paid less than the full amount of the royal tributes and taxes. Thereupon, they also shut the gate of the city before him. 11. He then laid a furious siege against them, and stirred up great confusion,

³⁰ Hořomoc^ć JT] Hřomayec^ćwoc^ć D.

³¹ Rōtokay of T in the gen. assumes the form Rōtok in the nom. sing..

However, the name appears in the gen. pl. in the majority of the MSS. Rōtokac^ć JABCD = Rōtokk^ć in the nom. pl..

pillage, devastation of forests and destruction by fire, all of which he frequently carried out over a period of two years so that distressed, irritated and harassed, they turned against one another. 12. Then the contenders who were the chief *ostikans* and commanders (*hramanatar*) of the city, two brothers, named Mahmēt and Umayi, came out by night and took flight. The forces [of Smbat] learned of this, and going after them in pursuit, seized and brought them to the king. 13. Putting them to the torture with chains and rods, and taking from them many treasures of gold and silver, Smbat sent them in iron fetters to the Emperor Leo.

Thereafter, he unquestionably bent the inhabitants to the yoke of his servitude, 14. and setting about to annex many³² lands, he watched over all of them, and brought them into obedience, some by means of gentle words, others by force. Accordingly the great Curopalate of Georgia and his adherents persuaded by the righteousness of his wonderful order all submitted to him. But whoever lifted their hands against him, he repressed with daring force, and subdued them beneath his feet. 15. Thus, he extended the boundaries of his domain as far as the city of Karin in the northeast, and to the farther side of Kłarj^κ, as far as the shores of the great sea and the borders of Egrisi, as well as to the foot of the Caucasus Mountains, that is to say, Gugark^κ, and Canark^κ as far as the Gate of the Alans, where he also seized the fortress guarding the pass. From there the boundary [ran] southward to the city of Tiflis (Tṗ^κxis) along the course of the Kur River, and [continued] on to the district of Uti, as far as the city of Hunarakert, to Tus and to Šamk^κor. 16. Thus he enlarged the limits of his domain and brought these beneath the yoke of the royal tributes, *behars* and taxes, and dedicated the weapon he used valiantly in battle as a sign of victory.

XXXII

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF DVIN AND MAŠTOC^κ VARDAPET'S LETTER OF CONSOLATION TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY

1. Unexpectedly, about this time during the course of the night severe tremors occurred in the city of Dvin and caused extensive destruction, terror, ruin and loss of life to the inhabitants of the city; for the

³²*bazmac^κ*—ET.

earthquake pulled down all the walls of the city, as both the palaces of the magnates and the houses of the common people (*iramik*) became in the twinkling of an eye like desolated tract of rocks. 2. It also demolished and destroyed the Divinely-built church of the katholikosate as well as the other martyria with solid foundations, which appeared to the onlookers almost like holes full of rocks. 3. The destruction of multitudes of men, who had suffocated under their roofs and mounds of earth because their minds had become as hard as rock and without compassion, made them resort to lamentations and tearful cries. 4. I shall not speak of the victims' relatives, sympathizers and spouses, whose cries and lamentations, as well as the piteous voices of the chorus of minstrels,³³ accompanied by the wails of black-clad women and griefstricken men reached up to the heavens. 5. As it was not possible to bury the multitude of corpses in graves, many were thrown into abysses, ravines and gorges. 6. Thus fear of the [divine] wrath terrified those who had survived.

7. Hearing of the divine scourge, the blessed man of God Maštoc^c, who dwelled on the island of Sewan in an exemplary manner of ascetic life, wrote as follows a letter to the afflicted who had survived: ^{33a}

8. "My gracious and beloved lords and dear brethren, I learned of the universal destruction, wherein the divine treader of the winepress³⁴ crushed you with immense force in anger for our multiplying sins. I was also informed of the sudden affliction of bitter tears and unbearable agonies of death that came upon you, and turned your joy into mourning. 9. Fire devoured everything and scattered the multitudes. Behold! Neither the expanse of the main, nor the summits of mountains could stop the swift-winged order. 10. Woe to that horrible day of destruction, when still seated at their splendid dining tables with food in their mouths, they were stupefied by the violent blow of boundless disaster. 11. Parents abandoned their children and children left their parents with pain. Their homes became their graves, and they were buried in their own dwellings as in a tomb. 12. Woe to you, fathers and brothers who suffered toils and oppression! The Lord spread His nets upon His people and with invisible swords struck them in one second. He dried them up like water and made them vanish like smoke, covering us all with blinding darkness. 13. Blessed are the eyes that did not behold this new and unheard of condemnation which we received in retribution. For there was a time when being of good cheer in the gladness of your hearts, you rejoiced together with your parents, brothers, families and

³³ *gusanac*^c]] *kusanac*^c J¹T, 'virgins', cf. XXX, 8.

^{33a} T omits Maštoc^c Vardapet's letter. My translation is based on J and M.

³⁴ *hnjanahar*]] *ardarut'iwun* J¹, 'justice'.

children, and made the Lord hear the sounds of blessing. Now, you are fired by unbearable perplexities and the sudden advent of blinding darkness. Even the shadow of consolation is not to be found, and you are left with no hope or alternative other than to cease to live or turn alone to God's love of mankind. *14.* For you know, that God has no other care than setting straight and redeeming mankind. Because we are wont to forget God and He in turn forgets us, He stirs us up in this manner in accordance with His mercy and love. *15.* For I agree with the Scriptures in regard to the scourge of God, whereby "He admonishes by the sword our wickedness and folly."

16. Again, do not wonder at the unfathomable judgments, whereby he destroys the upright with the impious. *17.* First, no one is upright, because we have all gone astray and have become unprofitable. Consequently, [you should not consider] it tragic, if death, to which we are bound, comes to us in retribution. *18.* Secondly, even as the upright as well as the impious benefit together from the sun, rain, and other goodly things, so also they drink together from the cup of destruction. But the reward and retribution of each individually will be deferred to the day of the Last Judgment.

19. Now, as the decrees that the Creator has set up apply also to us, and treat everyone impartially, accept willingly that which is contrary to your wishes, so that you may show proof of your wisdom, knowledge and faith. *20.* Express to Him the gratitude that you owe Him, the One who consoles your hearts' despair, because you are bound to him by oath in accordance with your Christian faith and upright life, and are confident in the fear of the Lord through virtuous and orthodox practice. *21.* He shall console your spirits and make you hopeful for a pure heart; He shall give natural relief to all of you that have survived, that is to say, both pastor and flock, and make you forget the great and profound grief. In return for the tribulations suffered by those who departed from this valley of grief, let an atonement be made for them as equals of the martyrs tortured for Christ. May He grant repose to their souls in the dwelling of light, and blotting out the record of their words, deeds, and thoughts let Him place them in the promised bliss, which is preserved for His beloved for the ages and ages."³⁵

22. This gracious letter was read in the presence of a great multitude, and the rest of the people having heard of it through hearsay consoled themselves greatly from fear of the Lord's rebuke. *23.* However, they considered themselves as worthy of that evil calamity as the infidels whose sins they shared, and spoke to one another thus: "It was just that Christians confounded in the smoke of the wrath of the heathen

³⁵ #8—#21, "My faithful . . . ages and ages."—T.

were found guilty, 24. because we did not come out of Segor and mingled with the Hagarites, from whom we learned their ways which proved for us a stumbling-block.

25. But now, let this much information concerning these miserable and indefensive calamities suffice you, lest further details might be annoying to your ears and let us look at subsequent events.

XXXIII

AFSHĪN'S WAR AGAINST KING SMBAT, AND THE CONFINEMENT OF THE KATHOLIKOS

1. When the perfidious *ostikan* Afshĭn, about whom we have already spoken, noticed the deserved successes of king Smbat, that is to say, the subordination of the northern nations by a mighty hand, and the submission of the beastlike tribes to his sway, he thought that Smbat might not maintain the accord of friendship between them thereafter, and discard his promise to obey him. 2. He also feared, that he might not pay the full amount of the tribute assigned to him. Therefore, he made haste to sever the roots of the ills which he thought to suffer at the hands of Smbat. 3. He, then secretly lay in wait and summoned the multitude of his forces on the pretext that he had received word to proceed in other directions. The multitude of his troops swarmed like gushing torrents, overflowing, destroying, annihilating and eradicating the foundations of the sound existing order. Of this, king Smbat remained ignorant, until the *ostikan* had reached Naxĵawan, and 4. although he tried to summon his forces with great haste upon receiving the evil tidings, yet, unlike the first time, he could not confront Afshĭn before the latter had reached the city of Dvin. 5. Thereupon, the king turned to the fortified strongholds, and sent edicts to all the regions. Immediately, all the *naxarars* of Armenia responded to the summons and assembled together with a large army. 6. On the command of the king the northern nations had also sent many warriors, namely, fierce archers as well as spearmen, armed with weapons and armour.

Subsequently, observing carefully the surroundings, they gathered in the village of Vĵan, which is situated at the foot of Mount Aragac. 7. On the other hand, the great katholikos Gēorg went forward to meet the *ostikan*, [with the hope] that he somehow might be able to melt his heart of rock, and take care of the reasonable flock of the Lord. At first Afshĭn received him with friendly disposition, and in accordance with his fellowship with the Anti-Christ, attracting his mind to his own way of

thinking, sent the latter as an envoy to king Smbat, in order treacherously to invite the king to come to him. The righteous and simple minded man of God, the *katholikos*, did not realize that Afshīn was trying to entrap the king, and forcibly bring him within his reach. 8. However, when the prudent king Smbat heeded the advice of the *naxarars* and did not venture to go, the *katholikos* returned to the *ostikan*. 9. Although all of them begged him frequently not to go back to the wicked heathen, yet, he could not be deterred from returning, lest he might break the oath that he had made to Afshīn. 10. When the *ostikan* realized that Smbat could not be beguiled by means of the *katholikos*' mission, he ordered Gēorg bound with iron fetters and handcuffs. 11. He himself marched against king Smbat, and pitched camp not far from him in the village of Doḡk'. 12. After three days, he mustered his troops and came to blows with the king. 13. [In the battle] the most horrid agony of death awaited the Ishmaelite forces at the hands of brave swordsmen and archers with well bent bows; a warrior would strike his adversary to the ground and slay him. The survivors were dispersed and turning to flight they reached the camp of the foreigners, which they could barely defend.

14. Thereupon, the wicked *ostikan* was subdued by the swelling waves of the sea and the foamy billows rising like mountains. Instead of exacting brutal punishment, he begged Smbat to pay him the royal taxes, and make an oath not to break his alliance with him. 15. Being concerned with the establishment of peace in the land, the king did not delay in complying with the wishes of Afshīn and sent him valuable gifts, in return for which he received prizes befitting the glory and dignity of kings. 16. After this, the *ostikan* departed, taking with him the great *katholikos* bound with the same fetters. 17. There, among the enemy the *katholikos* suffered the physically distressing agony of annoying and burdensome travail. He was assigned no attendant to wait upon him and either prepare his bed, or pour water for his hands, or offer him his towel, or hold a basin before him,³⁶ or bring water for him to drink and quench his thirst. 18. Tortured in this manner together with the blessed men who were in confinement, he made his bed always moist with tears. He devoted his time entirely to continuous psalmody and indefatigable prayers lest he might fail to reach the haven of life. 19. After he had spent two months in confinement, the Hagarite *ostikan* demanded gold and silver from the great *katholikos*. He put his seal on a solemn oath, whereby upon his [Gēorg's] giving the ransom, he would be set free from his bonds and sent to his see with honor. 20. The *katholikos* instructed us—being his bishop in residence, we were deeply concerned—and the other clerics of the church to approach the chief *naxarars* and the princes

³⁶“or offer . . . before him”]—J.

of the land in the customary manner for prisoners of war. We gathered at once the ransom demanded by the *ostikan*. At the orders of king Smbat, we were immediately sent to Hamam, the great prince of the East, 21. because the *ostikan* had reached the city of P^eaytakaran at that time, and had taken the great katholikos with him. No sooner had he arrived there, then our men hastened to meet him. 22. Demanding that the katholikos be returned to him, Hamam got him back and adding his own contribution to the money sent to him in order to fulfill the amount demanded, handed it over to the *ostikan* to carry away. 23. Wishing to see the great patriarch under Christian protection and his physical needs completely satisfied in that distant land, the prince tended to the katholikos like a servant, and sent him to Armenia. 24. When the parish saw the shepherd of the reasonable sheep return, it was filled with great joy. Solemn services were held in all the churches, and ceaselessly the divine liturgy was celebrated to the Glory of God.

XXXIV

THE RISE OF PRINCE AŠOT IN REBELLION AND THE WAR BETWEEN KING SMBAT AND AḤMAD

1. At this time, Ašot, the great prince of the region of Vaspurakan and the nephew of king Smbat, was beguiled by the fraudulent utterances of some, and violating the terms of agreement with his uncle king Smbat, set out for Afshīn in order to make manifest his whole-hearted submission to him in return to his gifts, without any realization of the evil that was in store. 2. Subsequently, upon his arrival he presented Afshīn with many worthy gifts, and secretly bribed his *naxarars* severally³⁷ with the other prizes that he had taken with him with the expectation of higher rank and honor, and [the hope] that they would grant him autonomy.^{37a} However, he received nothing more than what he had, except for the praiseworthy ornaments with which he was endowed and he was bidden farewell, whereafter he departed from there. The only thing that he acquired was the fatal wound in his soul.

3. King Smbat, on the other hand, observed silence, and awaiting a probable change of attitude on his part hoped that he might divest himself of disgraceful ignorance. However, Ašot paid no heed to this, nor did he turn to the harvest of goodly seeds. 4. A few days later, the

³⁷ *mium mium naxararac*^c] *mium naxararac*^c D, "one of the *naxarars*."

^{37a} Literally "make him the worthy recipient of autonomy."

great prince of Siwnik^c also did the same thing in the same way; he also went to Afshīn, and returned empty-handed like his predecessor. 5. Subsequently, however, regretting that he had severed relations with the king, he begged him with tearful eyes not to make anything out of his wrongs and deny him the fatherly patronage of former times. 6. King Smbat made no change at all in his attitude; he summoned him with loving tenderness as a beloved son, and bestowed on him great honors. 7. At that time, Gagik Arcruni had become pre-eminent by virtue of his wisdom, grace, valiancy and fortitude. Being the father-in-law of the great prince Ašot, about whom we spoke above, he summoned the latter with fruitless and insidious intentions in mind. Deceiving the three brothers—namely, his son-in-law Ašot, Gagik and Gurgēn³⁸—on the pretext of friendly pastime, and bringing them together, he bound them with iron fetters and confined them in prison. Then he took for himself the domain of Ašot and set himself up as prince of those regions with great power. 8. Although he was displeased with this, since it was contrary to his will, king Smbat made no attempt to inflict punishment on Gagik, who had usurped the principedom, especially since the latter had submitted himself totally to the service of the king.

9. Subsequently, when king Smbat saw that peace had been permanently established in Armenia, and the *naxarars* were in accord with him, he decided to conquer and subordinate the district of Tarōn, as well as the province of Ałjnik^c, lest the possessions of the feudal houses [in those regions] might be denied to their legitimate lords, 10. because the great Ishmaelite prince Aḥmad, who held under his sway Syrian Mesopotamia as far as Palestine, had seized Abu'l-Magra [Aplmaxr],—the son-in-law of the Arcruni family and a secretly converted Christian, who ruled over the province of Ałjnik^c in place of the *bdešxs*,—and confining him in prison, had appropriated the possessions of his house and [subordinated] the inhabitants of Mount Sim.

11. After a few years, Dawit^c Bagratuni, the great prince of Tarōn also died, and in his place they set up Gurgēn, the son of his brother. Subsequently, Aḥmad also opened hostilities against him, and the prince was killed in battle. 12. But Aḥmad made gradual progress, and tried to extend his sway over those regions. 13. And as the son of the great prince Dawit^c and the son-in-law of the king's brother Šapuh had brought frequent charges against Aḥmad, so much so, that the wickedness of the latter had been completely disclosed, thereupon, the king summoned the *naxarars* of Armenia and mustering all of his forces, approximately sixty thousand men, marched toward the mountain situated to the east of Tarōn, where he pitched camp in order to look into the situation. 14. But the brutal tyrant Aḥmad was stationed to the west of Tarōn,

³⁸ "namely, his . . . Gurgēn"] —D.

where he had encamped along the bank of the Euphrates River. 15. As there was a secret agreement between Aḥmad and Gagik,³⁹ the ruler of Vaspurakan, the latter insidiously induced the king to set out from there and march southward toward the komopolis of Hots on the pretext that it would be advantageous for them to carry out their undertakings in that area in war or in peace. 16. Suspecting nothing, the king went along with him.

17. But Gagik made haste to inform Aḥmad of his double dealing, and having set a definite time, asked him to attack accordingly. [In the meantime,] he led the multitude of the troops through mountainous, waterless, rocky, briary and impassable terrain, where the troops were forced to go on all fours, so much so, that many of them, weakened by thirst, dropped dead. 18. All the remaining forces, tortured, worn out, frustrated by erratic and nerve-wearing wandering, dispirited and out of breath because of their exhausting march, hardly reached a rivulet called T^ułx⁴⁰ in a certain village, where they remained like people beaten by clubs or paralytics. 19. In accordance with the time set by Gagik, Aḥmad forced his men to make haste, while dawn was divesting herself of the gloom of darkness, the invaders arrived and fell upon them. 20. Some of the forces that had been left behind, startled by the coming of the enemy, quickly put on their armor, weapons and ornaments, and mounted their horses. The king was the first to come out in the open and show himself. He was followed by certain others who marched at a gallop and putting the enemy forces to flight, dispersed them. 21. In view of such valorous competition, Gagik, from whom rose the stench of death because his heart was affected with spite, conceived of other wicked snares. Raising a tumult in the entire army, he ordered [his men] to tear down his tent and have the porters pick it up and turn on their heels. When the multitude of the troops noticed this, they considered it true and all did the same. 22. Seeing this, the king realized that his men could no longer succeed in the war. He withdrew his forces and turned to flight. 23. Ašot, a comely, inexperienced and innocent youth, of the great *naxarardom* of the race of Hayk and the son of the king's sister, lost his life there. Together with him there were other warriors, lords of less renowned houses, approximately fifty in number. The remaining forces were scattered and each man went his own way. 24. The king himself retired to the district of Bagrawan to overcome the fatigue caused by his labors. 25. Notwithstanding, the perfidious prince Gagik tried to conceal his insidious plots at the bottom of his heart as if under a bushel, without realizing that there is nothing hidden that could not be manifested. 26. Upon his return to Van in the district of Tosb,⁴¹ he indulged himself

³⁹Gorgkay A.

⁴⁰T^ułx D.

⁴¹*i Van i Tosb*] *i VanTosb* A, *i VanTosb* BCD

in amusements to the contentment of himself,⁴² in accordance with the maxim that "a [cheerful] countenance reflects a merry heart." 27. On the following day he clad himself in royal robes, and mounting on his mule, he made a tour of the place. 28. [Then,] Gagik, the brother of the great prince Ašot, accompanied by two other men from the Amatuni house who were of the same mind as he, suddenly drew their swords, and falling upon the presumptuous prince, stabbed him. Thus he fell to the ground and died. He was buried among his ancestors. 29. Ašot who had been in confinement was released, established in his ancestral domain together with his brothers.

30. Before these events took place, two of the principal and elderly^{42a} princes, Mušet of Mokk^ç, and Gurgēn of Anjewac'ik^ç, let animosity rage between themselves, and fought against one another in great uproar. In the course of the battle, prince Mušet of Mokk^ç was killed by Gurgēn. 31. Two years later, when Gurgēn had mounted on a swift horse, which he admired, and as he happened to cross a small ravine, the steed galloped neighing, and threw the prince down on his back. Having [thus] met his death, his body was brought back and buried among his ancestors. 32. His son Atom the great succeeded to his domain.

XXXV

AFSHĪN'S ATTACK ON SMBAT, AND THE SEIZURE OF HIS FAMILY

1. When the evil-loving *ostikan* Afshĭn learned of the wicked acts that had been committed, and heard of the flight of Smbat from the traitor, of the desertion and dispersion of the Armenian forces, the treason of the higher nobility (*awagani*), as well as the acute discord between those who had remained, he took advantage of the situation which he considered suitable for carrying out his wishes, and putting his mind to wicked thoughts, he rose with a roar, and set out like a violent torrent to come and inundate the house of Togarmah with tumultuous flow, and to pour the bitterness of his venom upon the head of the king. 2. Marching through the province of Uti, he came to the regions of Gugark^ç and Virk^ç with the intention of either subduing these [lands] first, or arous-

⁴²*ast xraxut'ean srtin*] —] *ast xroxut'ean srtin* ABCD, 'in accordance with the insolence of his heart'.

^{42a}Literally "with white hair".

ing confusion therein, lest Smbat might have any means of escape from him. 3. But as the *naxarars* of those regions could not be induced by him to rebel, and he could not conquer their impregnable fortresses by force, once again he entered Armenia through the district of Vanand, and decided to pursue Smbat. 14. When the king took refuge in the strongholds of the craggy glens of Tayk⁵, the *ostikan* realized that he could not harm him through treachery or subordinate him by warfare. Subsequently, he set out and besieged the fortress of Kars, which is in the district of Vanand, because Smbat's wife, the queen of Armenia, who clad herself in cilice and led an ascetic life,⁴³ and his daughter-in-law, who was the daughter of the king of Egrisi (Eger), as well as others, the wives of *azat* men, had found refuge there.

5. The guardian of the fortress was one by the name of Hasan, a very trustworthy fellow and overseer⁴⁴ of the entire household of the king. He was a member of Gnt'uni house of Canaanite origin. In the repository of the fortress were stored the treasures and the riches of the king. Upon inquiring and learning of this from people who were known to him, Afshīn with raging violence laid siege to the fortress. 6. Thereupon, considering the situation prudently Hasan realized that there was no hope of salvation for them from the gaping gates of destruction and coming to his senses at the will of the celestial providence, he demanded from Afshīn a solemn oath, assuring them safety from bloodshed and all other wicked acts in return to the fortress. 7. The latter immediately gave the desired assurance unhesitatingly. The gates of the fortress were opened, and Afshīn entered.

8. Despite the fear of the inhabitants of the fortresses of a seemingly huge and ferocious beast, Afshīn in no way exposed them to danger, death or confinement. On the contrary, he released the multitudes of the common people (*ramik*) and relieved them from all oppressions. He brought to the city of Dvin only the queen together with her daughter-in-law, Hasan the overseer of the royal household, and a small number of noble (*azat*) women, as well as the treasures and the riches of the king. Those who were subsequently taken [captive by him] were not threatened by any imminent danger; rather they were treated with the utmost respect, so much so, that a short time afterwards he even released Hasan to return to his king. 9. But when king Smbat returned to the fortress of Kars and saw all the things that had been taken by the enemy, he did not allow himself to be distracted from the hope of heavenly salvation. On the contrary, he raised his voice in giving thanks, and put his trust in the will of God, who would restore life to him and bring utter destruction

⁴³ *kronaworeal*, lit, 'having taken vows'] *kronaworealk* 'AD in the nom. pl. would indicate that the other ladies also had taken vows.

⁴⁴ *hramanatar*] *hramanakatar* J, 'executor'.

upon his enemy. 10. As he could not decide on a quarter in that region due to the severity of the winter season, he went from there to the strongholds of Erasxajor, the village of Kalzuan.⁴⁵ 11. Then envoys were sent back and forth between Smbat and Afshīn; making inquiries concerning this matter, each one tried to cast the blame of what had happened on the other. 12. Subsequently, the *ostikan* asked the king to dispatch his eldest son, and the son of his brother Sahak as hostages. 13. Also he asked for the hand of the daughter of Šapuh, the younger brother of the king, because he considered Smbat's oath untrustworthy and worthless. Only compliance with the above demands would give him assurance and undisturbed peace. 14. As the king became aware of the fact that the *naxarars* were not in accord with him, and finding no other way out of this, he unwillingly complied with Afshīn's wishes, and sent to him his son Ašot, as well as his brother's son Smbat as hostages. Also he gave to him in marriage the daughter of his younger brother Šapuh. [Upon her arrival,] he married her, and at the nuptials they danced to the tune of the *kak'aw*. Due to the severity of the winter season Afshīn did not wish to depart from there.

XXXVI

THE PONTIFICATE OF THE VARDAPET
MAŠTOC AND YOVHANNĒS THE HISTORIAN

1. At this time, the great patriarch Gēorg died in the province [*gawar*] of Vaspurakan, and the priests as well as the princes of the land together brought his body and buried it in the cemetery of Joroy Vank' in Tosp, near the church where our Holy Illuminator had laid down his staff and the table of the divine sacrament, which he used to carry with him prior to the establishment of holy churches in Armenia.

2. But when winter's sorrow yielded to milder weather, the *ostikan* sent back to the king his queen, whom he had treated with much respect.

3. He summoned Šapuh, the brother of the king, and treating him with consideration, gave him suitable gifts, and honored him like a close relative. 4. Then Šapuh bid farewell to his son-in-law Afshīn, and his daughter, as well as the other hostages, and the princess, that is, the daughter-in-law of the king, and returned to king Smbat.

5. Meanwhile, as the great patriarch Gēorg had departed from this world, the king and his associates elected to the patriarchal throne the

⁴⁵ Kalzwan A, Gałzvan C.

angelic and heaven-graced man of God Maštoc', whose soul was permeated by the divine inspiring power of the Holy Spirit, and who put forth shoots of fragrant flowers in the fragrant orchard of his soul. 6. He not only denied himself indulgence in gluttony, but also refused to partake of an ordinary diet of bread and water. In his frugality he satisfied his needs only by means of vegetables. 7. Greatly pleased by his wonderful and thoughtful manner, the king, the senior (*gahamecar*) princes and the illustrious *azats* set him up on the throne of the Holy Illuminator Grigor. This is not the occasion to praise the fruitful and productive sprouts that appeared in the rich orchard of his soul. Such eulogy must be postponed to another time and place. 8. But while the holy man of God by his miraculous and praiseworthy teachings was in the process of setting his faithful flock on the path of righteous works and deeds, he died [rested in Christ] without suffering any agony, after he had occupied the patriarchal see for only seven months.

9. After Maštoc' I, Yovhannēs, who wrote this book, a pitiable and wretched man, eager to quench my thirst for spiritual admonition, was set up on the holy see not because of my virtues, but rather due to the fact that I could not refuse the order of the king and the multitude of the *naxarars*. 10. Although I had been a disciple of the blessed Maštoc' ever since my childhood, and was related to him by blood, yet, being blinded by the beam of my sins, I did not deem myself worthy of noticing the mote in the eye of my brother, nor did I think that I was a foremost authority on the laws of the New Israel. 11. And yet, once again I preferred to manifest my obedience, which is the mother of all virtue, and thinking that obedience and manifesting no opposition were even better than a choice sacrifice, I was elevated to the present [office], and had as my only guiding hope the philanthropy of God.

12. At this time, the construction of the church which had been founded by king Smbat sometime earlier in the komopolis of Erazgawork⁴⁶ at a site near his royal palace, was completed. Thereupon, the church was consecrated according to the divine canons, and dedicated to joyous worship. 13. Smbat decorated the church with rare and beautiful ornaments, gold-broidered vestments, and flaxen curtains. He also installed on the altar of Christ an arch made out of pure gold which was studded with gems.

14. The great curopalate of Iberia, Atrnerseh, honored in every way the peace treaty and alliance with king Smbat. With great veneration he wisely submitted himself to the king like a son to his father, or more evident than this, like a servant willingly overwhelmed by the awe of his master in moderation, he always turned his eyes to him with utmost attentiveness and entrusted Smbat even with his life. 15. Being greatly

⁴⁶Erazgawor B.

pleased by this, king Smbat summoned him and treated him with kindness. Subsequently, he crowned Atrnerseh king with great glory and proper ceremony, outfitting him in armor befitting kings, he set him over the land of Iberia, and granted him the second place in his realm. 16. After his promotion to the royal rank, Atrnerseh displayed no insolence. On the contrary, he always made concessions humbly, and with his gentle disposition he continued to maintain the same relationship with king Smbat in accordance with their excellent, solemn understanding of before.

XXXVII

FREEDOM OF THE ROYAL FAMILY FROM CAPTIVITY; AFSHĪN'S PREPARATION FOR WAR AGAINST SMBAT; HIS DEATH

1. After these events, the *ostikan* Afshĭn, induced by certain half-truthful tattlers, once again returned to his practice of conniving, and devising insidious intrigues in his mind, began to wander around certain cities on the pretext of conquering them. Then he set out and came to the city of Tiflis from where like a storm he suddenly attacked the district of Širak. Since his mind had turned to its former aberration, he put his hopes in black magic with the expectation that he might be able to annihilate king Smbat through treachery and cunningness. 2. In view of this, the king immediately mustered a small force, and with great haste took refuge in the fortresses of Tayk^c, the possession of his beloved friend curopalate Atrnerseh. 3. But when the *ostikan* realized that he could not deceive the king,—for he had made the attempt more than once or twice—he gave up his intention, and made believe that he had come to visit the king in friendship and charity. 4. Then he set forth and arrived at the capital city of Dvin, where he tried to bind [the king] with a treaty of friendship exempt from deceit, and leaving there in his place his son Dīwdād with the great eunuch, he made haste to go to Atrpatakan.

5. At that time, the great princess, the wife of the king's brother Sahak, went to meet the *ostikan*. She brought with her gold, silver, and much money. 6. The meeting took place in the plain of Šarur,⁴⁷ where the princess presented the *ostikan* with the gifts that she had brought

⁴⁷Šaru J.

with her, and falling on her knees, she begged him, moaning tearfully, to return her son Smbat, who had been taken hostage by him from king Smbat sometime earlier. She brought to his attention the wretched state of her widowhood, and revealed her heart-rending privations, which deeply touched the *ostikan*, who took pity on her, and showed mercy; for very frequently wicked men do good deeds accidentally. 7. After accepting the gifts from the princess, Afshīn returned her son. On receiving this great present, she returned to her home.

8. But when king Smbat returned from Tayk^c, he went out to meet the great eunuch near the fortress of Ani on the bank of the Axurean⁴⁸ River, and the two men came to terms. 9. The eunuch was very pleased with meeting the king, so much so, that he admitted having seen no one like him. 10. Thereafter, the eunuch was of one mind with the king in word and deed, and having received many gifts and honors from Smbat, he went to the city of P'aytakaran. 12. Dīwdād, the son of Afshīn, however, remained in the city of Dvin and received a stipend (ročik) from king Smbat for a period of a little less than a year.

13. After taking leave of the king, on the way the eunuch allowed himself to be seduced by the temptation of licentiousness in the slanderous utterances of some whose minds inclined toward wickedness. He marched with a large force against Gēorg, the *nahapet* of the Sewordik^c, whose name owes its origin to their ancestor named Sew. 14. The eunuch attacked them in full force at an unexpected hour. Although the dauntless Sewordik^c resisted him valiantly, yet, they could not hold their ground because of the suddenness of the onslaught. The eunuch seized Gēorg with his brother whose name was Arues,⁴⁹ and brought them with him to the city of P'aytakaran. 15. Here their prospective executioners cross-examined them severely, and tried to convert them from the laws given to them by Christ to the impious religion of their Muḥammad. 16. Nevertheless, the [Sewordi princes] did not agree to their demands, nor did they exchange the salvation of celestial life for irreparable destruction and a worthless life. Consequently, by being executed, they inscribed their names in the Register of Life.

17. Sometime after this, the great eunuch, being distressed by Afshīn, deserted him, and taking with him the king's son Ašot who was a hostage together with the wife of his brother Mušet who had been taken captive in the fortress of Kars, he immediately came to king Smbat, and returned to him his son and daughter-in-law.

18. Greatly pleased with the providence of God, and with the deliverance of the captives, Smbat respectfully invited the great eunuch to come to him and [in appreciation for his service] gave him abundant

⁴⁸ Axuran JABC.

⁴⁹ Arewēsn D.

gratuities and gifts, whereupon he sent him to the region of Asorestan. 19. But on reaching the boundaries of Egypt, the eunuch was seized by his caliph and executed.

20. When the *ostikan* Afshin was informed of these matters, he roared with anger like a beast released from its cage. Greatly enraged at Smbat, he considered the latter the instigator and cause of the wickedness that he had received from his eunuch. He threatened the king with a greater storm and a worse torrent of wickedness. 21. He sent edicts to all the regions of his realm, and summoned immediately brave warriors with steeds, arms and ornaments, and legions of infantry soldiers. 22. But while the multitude of his forces were gathering together, and he was about to march forth, and pour the venom in his enraged and embittered heart on [the head of] the king, he was suddenly struck with an unbearable affliction. His abdomen was inflamed, and his insides decayed. His ruptured intestines burst out of his abdomen, and before his spirit had departed from his body, the stench of death rose from him. 23. He met his end in this painful condition, and descended to hell in utmost agony. 24. Many of his soldiers who had been struck by the same affliction and were in the same miserable distress, perished together with him. 25. Those that survived, dispersed and each went his own way. In this manner, king Smbat's prayerful supplications to God, which were also accompanied by all the tearful entreaties of us the clerics of the churches of Christ, were made audible to the ears of the Lord of Hosts. His arrogant feet did not trample us, nor could his lewd hands make us shake. The enemy who loved darkness could not attain joy in life and perished without hope. The faithful flock of Christ, led by her leaders became mightier in Christ, Who is Himself the vanquisher, and "whose will it is that all men should find salvation and come to know the truth."

26. When Dīwdād the son of Afshin heard of his father's death, he stealthily left the city at night and fled to the land of Atrpatakan.

XXXVIII

THE DISCORD BETWEEN AŠOT AND HASAN ARCRUNI, AND THE DEATH OF AŠOT

1. About this time, Ašot, the great prince of the Arcruni, who was of the descendants of King Sennacherib, set out to make a tour of his own domain with a small army, and having reached a glen called P^oarak Lmbay,⁵⁰ he spent the night there on an *agarek*, where the

⁵⁰P^oarak Šambay J.

Gabawonac'ik' (Gibeonites) lived, and took shelter under the roofs of houses because of the wintry season. 2. Hasan Arcruni, the son of Vasak who had renounced Christ, and of the paternal aunt of the very same prince Ašot, had his residence at the fortress of Sewan. 3. Upon learning that prince Ašot had encamped in this glen, he was deceived by the wicked wiles of Satan, and blinded by his own free will, he secretly mustered his forces, got ready his assassins, marshalled his warriors, bowmen, hatchetmen, swordsmen, and vigorous peltasts, and followed them closely behind. Marching through the night, they came upon the prince unexpectedly, and 4. surrounded the gates of the houses where prince Ašot and his retinue were spending the night. Having confined the latter within, they considered the enemy already apprehended.

5. Thereupon, Hasan with the help of the spear which he held in his hand, leaped like a deer onto the roof of the house in which the prince was, and began to run, when the roof caved in because of the heavy tramping of his feet, and with the roof Hasan himself fell in. 6. Here he was recognized by the guttural quality of his voice, whereupon they seized him immediately, and brought him to prince Ašot. 7. But when Hasan's men became aware of the confusion, they fled and vanished without a trace, like smoke blown away by the wind. 8. Thus the very pit which Hasan had dug [for someone else], swallowed him. 9. Prince Ašot put him in fetters, and brought him to the fortress of Sewan, where, standing before the gates, he demanded that the fortress be turned over to him. 10. However, Hasan's mother and brother—on his mother's side, but not on his father's—did not wish to give him the fortress under threat of force, because they could not be sure of the promises of the prince concerning the safe return of Hasan. 11. When the news reached king Smbat, he advised me to go and resolve the matter, with the expectation that perhaps I could close the doorway of destruction which Hasan had opened before himself. 12. I went and persuaded the princess to turn over the fortress in order to save Hasan from the danger of death and assure his safe return from captivity. 13. Then I acquired from the prince a solemn oath promising to release Hasan unharmed.

14. After receiving the fortress, I handed it over to the prince. Subsequently, attracted by the futile and wicked advice of certain *azats*, the latter had Hasan's eyes put out, and through ignorance brought damnation upon himself; for all those who break their oath, or heed not the words of an intervening prelate, or are easily swayed by the opposite view, bring about their own destruction, and cannot acquire for themselves a secure life. 15. But I employed the power invested in me by the gospels, and having excommunicated the prince, returned in deep sorrow. 16. After one year, recklessness and ignorance robbed Ašot's becoming, stately, and handsome stature like a garment. 17. Thus, still in the

prime of his youth, he met his end, and afflicted us with deep grief. 18. His brother Gagik succeeded to his large domain, and king Smbat set up his younger brother Gurgēn as *marzpan* of Armenia.

XXXIX

THE RULE OF YŪSUF BROTHER OF AFSHĪN
AS GOVERNOR, AND THE DEATH OF ŠAPUH AND
DAWITĀ BROTHERS OF KING SMBAT

1. When king Smbat learned that Yūsuf had succeeded to his brother Afshīn's domain, he decided never again to suffer treachery from the suppressed menace, nor make pacts of friendship with those whose rights had been taken away from them, and from whose mouths righteous words were always absent. 2. Then, he wrote a letter, and sent envoys⁵¹ with appropriate gifts to the Ishmaelite caliph in Babylon. He asked to be set free from the domination of the aforementioned dynasty, as the laws of God had dissociated him from them and their ways, which were always extremely prone to wicked deeds.

3. When the caliph read the letter and became aware of Smbat's demands, he immediately gladly carried out his wishes, and reducing the amount of the royal tribute, won over the heart of the king, to whom he extended an invitation to come to him. 4. Then, he sent to Smbat a magnificent royal robe, a crown, a gem-studded belt made out of pure gold, a precious sword and swift steeds in full-armor and ornament. 5. Upon receiving these, Smbat rejoiced greatly. Subsequently, like all the other tributaries, he also brought his neck under the yoke of the caliph. Thus, he submitted totally to the will of the caliph.

6. At this time, the great *sparapet* of Armenia, Šapuh, who was the brother of king Smbat, came prematurely to the end of his futile existence, and joined his ancestors. 7. Thereupon, king Smbat, accompanied by all of his kinsmen, came to the funeral. They greatly bemoaned Šapuh's loss and buried him among his ancestors in the cemetery located in the town of Bagaran.⁵² Then, in place of his father, king Smbat set up the handsome and comely youth Ašot, the son of Šapuh, as *sparapet* of Armenia. 9. Upon his succession to his duties as *sparapet*, the latter conceived the wonderful idea of building the beautifully ornamented

⁵¹ *despans* T] *despaks* JABCD, 'letters'.

⁵² Bagaranu] Bagranu JABC.

church of Bagaran on the bank of the Axurean River, and decorating it with many valuable vessels, he conducted the consecration ceremonies in a proper manner. 10. After this, in the komopolis of Kołb he founded another church, on which he spent a great amount of money, and tried very hard to bring it to completion with God's will. 11. A short time later, the king's other brother, Dawit^c, who was the presiding prince (*išxan išxanac^c*) of Armenia, and a humble man with a sense of equanimity in all his transactions, died. The king mourned his death greatly. In his anxiety, he was deeply immersed in the gloom of grief, and cast himself into the abyss of eternal sadness. With consoling words I restored in him the hope of eternal life, and saved the works of the kingdom from deterioration, so that he might take care of worldly necessities, a task which was entrusted to him by God in order that he might tend to His flock.

XL

YŪSUF SETS OUT AGAINST SMBAT; THEY COME TO TERMS AND CONFER HONOR ON ONE ANOTHER

1. The *ostikan* Yūsuf looked upon the secession of king Smbat as a very wicked act. Weighing his actions intelligently, he again tried to bring Smbat to his side and make him an ally, just as he had been formerly with his brother Afshīn. 2. At first, he asked the caliph to reinstate Smbat under his domination, but he was denied audience, and as he could not attain his goal, he rose in rebellion, and turning his back [on the caliph], gathered a large force. Then he set forth and reached the city of P^aaytakaran, from where he immediately marched through the province of Uti, and went as far as Tašratap^c.⁵³ 3. When the king learned of this, he sent forward a large force and occupied the defiles and the passes on the highways in the regions of Ašoc^ck^c⁵⁴ and Taširk^c,⁵⁵ in order not to allow the enemy to pass behind them. 4. But when Yūsuf realized this, he secretly circled about the mountain from the west, and marching through the lower flanks of the mountain, he reached the hither side, the district of Širak. After spending the night there, he made haste to reach the city of Dvin.

5. Although the king learned of Yūsuf's march toward the western side of the mountain rather late, and went in pursuit of him, he could

⁵³ Tašray tap^c D.

⁵⁴ Ašoc^cay D.

⁵⁵ Tašrac^c] Tašray AD.

not catch up with him. Therefore, he marshalled his forces in the komopolis of Aruč, in the glens of the Aragac Mountain. 6. When the *ostikan* Yūsuf realized that the king was getting close to him, he sent to him one of his venerable secretaries, a man of Syriac origin and a Christian by faith. By means of very friendly, pleasing and agreeable messages, and several generous, circumspect measures, he impressed on the heart of the king [the idea of a] treaty. He also removed from Smbat's mind all his fears and apprehensions, and left the payment of the royal taxes to him as he might wish and desire, provided that he would agree to a peaceful coexistence with Yūsuf. 7. Learning of these good tidings transmitted by the gratifying message, and being happy with it, Smbat responded to the secretary's pleasing proposals at the conclusion of the dialogue and reciprocated equally all the fruits of friendship. Then, they exchanged sealed copies of the solemn agreement that they had made. 8. Subsequently, the king again returned to the summit of Erasxajor, to the village of Naxćrajor, in order to spend the winter there. 9. As the *ostikan* wished to spend the harsh northern winter in the city of Dvin, 10. during the frigid chill of the season they treated each other with wonderful harmony and much friendship, exchanging generous gifts that were useful for the winter. 11. Then the king of Iberia, Atrnerseh, hurried there to visit Smbat out of respect, in order to celebrate with him the day of the great *Pasek*^c, that is Easter. [After the feast,] receiving many precious gifts from the king, [Atrnerseh] returned home. 12. King Smbat retired to his royal palace in the komopolis of Erazgawork^c. 13. When the bitter frost of the snows of the winter season disappeared, and spring breezes began to emanate from the south, the *ostikan* Yūsuf changed his place of residence, and prepared numerous swift steeds, spirited and fierce, decorated with embellished ornaments, armor, golden reins and tassels, as well as a crown made out of gold and sapphire, and over which was a diadem studded with rows of pearls and other valuable gems, and with these also numerous other precious, royal robes, which were embroidered with gold and beautifully braided veils. He sent these at once to king Smbat in order to honor him. 14. For Ašot the oldest son of the king he designated a new kind of distinction, by sending him a steed swift like the wind, and adorned with ornaments, armor, and multicolored garments. For his waist he provided a girdle studded with gems, and appointed him presiding prince [*išxan išxanac*^c] of Armenia. 15. In addition, I myself, who wrote this work, was cordially honored by the *ostikan* with robes suitable for a man in my position, and received a mule richly adorned with gold-plated ornaments. 16. The king was overjoyed by the generous gifts of Yūsuf, and having accepted them with much gratitude, reciprocated these equally with suitable beautiful and precious ornaments worn on robes, colorful outfits for officials dyed with the *kirmiz*, cups and musical instruments, a belt made out of

pure gold—the work of Roman craftsmen—and colored glass; in quantity what he gave was over ten times more than what he had received from Yūsuf. 17. After this, Yūsuf bid farewell to the king and retired to the region of Atrpatakan.

18. In those days, the Lord came down to the land of the Armenians. He protected everyone, and granted them success in all their undertakings. Each one lived in his own patrimony, and taking possession of the land that was his own, cultivated the vineyards and built orchards of olive and fruit trees. They sowed seeds free from thorns, and reaped fruits a hundredfold. At the time of the completion of the harvest, the granaries were overloaded. The wine cellars were full of the yield of the vineyards, and the mountains rejoiced, because the numbers of the grazing herds of cattle and sheep on their flanks grew larger. 19. Our chief *naxarars*, being secure and at ease from the onslaught of the enemy, erected in the hermitages, *awans* and *agaraks* churches built with solid stones that were cemented with lime mortar. 20. Nevertheless, they were surpassed by the prince of the race of Hayk, Grigor, and his brothers Sahak and Vasak, who ruled over the districts that surround the shores of the Sea of Getam as their patrimonial possessions.

21. Thus, God by his grace, granted to everyone abundantly a blissful state full of fruitful results. A fountain of goodness came forth from the House of the Lord, according to the prophet, and watered the valley of lots. 22. In addition to these happy circumstances, Leo the Emperor [king] of the Romans did not display a lesser degree of kindness toward king Smbat as his “beloved son”. His relations with Smbat were bound by an indissoluble pact of friendship, and he was wont to send him every year numerous gifts and honors. 23. On his part, in gratitude for the benevolence of the Emperor [king] of the Romans, Smbat returned the favors tenfold with generous gifts, befitting one who was more august than himself and a real father.

XLI

THE WAR AGAINST CONSTANTINE, THE KING OF EGRISI, AND THE SEIZURE OF THE LATTER; THE HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ATRNERSEH AND SMBAT

1. About this time, Constantine, the king of Egrisi, conducted himself in a whimsical and arrogant manner, and instead of lifting up his eyes to look straight forward, he turned to wicked thoughts. Having

gathered [his] forces, he marched forth to the northern regions, the valleys of the Caucasus Mountains, and also the land of the Gugarac'ik^c who lived near the gates of the Alans, in order to subdue them. 2. But as those people were obedient and subservient to king Smbat, Atrnerseh, the king of Iberia, immediately wrote a letter to the king of Egrisi, who was his son-in-law, and advised him to banish from his heart the vain, insidious and base schemes and not to oppose stupidly those who were higher than he. 3. However, when he shut his ears and did not wish to listen to his advice, and did not come to his senses, king Smbat marched against him with a large force, and also taking with him the king of Iberia, he went to meet Constantine in battle. 4. But when the latter realized that he could not withstand them, he retreated to a certain stronghold taking refuge there, sought for terms of peace from the king. 5. Smbat sent his father-in-law Atrnerseh and also some of his *naxarars* to talk to him about the [terms of] peace. When they met one another face to face, and were speaking of trivial things, suddenly, at the orders of Atrnerseh, the *naxarars* of the king seized the king of Egrisi, and drove him forth like a kid, the very same man who had come out of his den like a lion threatening to tear to pieces [all] the nations. 6. King Smbat seized numerous fortresses in the land of Vur and set up governors in that region. He brought with him Constantine of Egrisi, and putting him in fetters of iron, confined him in the fortress of Ani, however, not with contempt, but, on the contrary, with twice as many honors, he generously granted him all the [royal] robes, and through the innate benevolence of his heart assigned an allowance for his needs. 7. In this manner he kept Constantine in custody for a period of only four months. 8. But when Smbat noticed the sharp dissention among the people of Egrisi, who were sharply divided and prepared to set up as their king one who was more tyrannical than Constantine, because of his perceptive mind he did not show any reluctance in dismissing him immediately, and in setting him up in his former domain. 9. [He took this course of action,] first, because Constantine was the son-in-law of the king of Iberia, and Smbat did this in gratitude to the latter. Second, [he thought] that Constantine might perhaps thenceforth be obedient to him as his protégé, in return to the numerous favors done for him. 10. Subsequently, he dressed him in royal robes, placed on his head a golden crown studded with pearls, and girdled his waist with a golden belt set with gems. 11. He also equipped him with the proper things necessary for travelling, and putting under his command an army, sent him to his domain. After his return and the establishment of his rule in his patrimonial realm, Constantine distinguished himself by his submissiveness, and loyal service that he offered to king Smbat, whom he considered his benefactor, because of his fatherly care. 13. However, the king of Iberia was extremely annoyed at Smbat for the release of Con-

stantine, for he assumed that this was done out of hostility towards him and he began thenceforth to arm his warriors, although not openly, against his non-envious benefactor Smbat. 14. Smbat was amazed at his misjudgment and paid no attention to his inclination toward wickedness. On the contrary, he was always magnanimous in his friendship toward him, because his seditious designs made no sense to him.

XLII

THE PLOT OF HASAN AND ATRNERSEH TO ASSASSINATE SMBAT

1. About this time, the *ostikan* Yūsuf rose in rebellion against the great caliph, and caused extensive carnage, after having renounced the command from the court and having cast it off to be trampled in the streets. 2. When the caliph was informed of this, he immediately sent edicts and envoys to all the quarters of his domain and [asked them] to exact vengeance on the iniquitous rebel Yūsuf. 3. In like manner, he also sent one of his venerable secretaries to king Smbat with a strict decree, [demanding] that he might also venture to set forth with a large army in order to wreak vengeance of Yūsuf, and promising him to forego a year's tribute to the court. 4. Although the king was greatly displeased at this because of his pact with Yūsuf, he was unable to set aside the royal command, and against his wishes, as well as out of respect to the secretary, he drew up his forces, marshalled them into battalions, and ordered them to be ready in arms and ornaments. He pretended to be more zealous than the others in exacting vengeance on the rebel, and made believe that he had sent as many as one thousand men to guide his march through Vaspurakan. 5. After the departure of the secretary, the king sent a confidential letter to the *ostikan* Yūsuf, and [professed] that the army which he had mustered was drawn up to help him in the rear, and not for any other hostile purposes. 6. Although the *ostikan* believed what he read in the letter, at the instigation of wicked tongues he inclined toward to evil, and like an ancient python returning to its secure lair, he reverted to his wicked thoughts, and waited for the right time to pour his poison on [the head of] the king as well as his subjects, with the intention of annihilating, destroying, burning and slaying all of them. 7. Nevertheless, not wishing to reveal his wickedness at the moment, he wrote in response to the letter an answer, which appeared to carry the promise of life, but hidden underneath was the bitterness of death. 8. Subsequently, Yūsuf became docile in spirit, and submitting to the caliph in the proper

way, he once again was allowed to subdue his former domain. 9. Thenceforth, Smbat received strict orders from two separate quarters, that is to say, from the caliph and the *ostikan* Yūsuf, to pay the royal taxes twice, and bear the onerous yoke of servitude.

10. But as Smbat could not resist them by force, and envisaged the mischief by them to be imminent, he thought that if he were to pay the tribute for one year, and temporarily drive away the storm of wickedness, then God with His providential power would provide for the future. 11. So, he sent orders throughout his domain to collect one fifth of all the herds of horses and cattle, and flocks of sheep toward the payment of the unjust tax. He considered that the fifth would secure peace for them from the court, while the four fifths could easily provide for their livelihood. 12. But if peace were disturbed, then having possession of all five of the fifths would be of no avail to the safety of human society. He took this course of action, and paid the tribute for that year.

13. These taxes seemed extremely burdensome to the king's *naxarars*, who were too ignorant to foresee the mockery and the scourging that were about to come. 14. Then one of the distinguished *naxarars*, whose name was Hasan,—a prince in charge (*hramanatar*) of the entire domain of the king, and a man against whom no one dared to rise, so much so, that even the king always heeded his advice,—was afflicted with the evil passion of Achitophel, and venturing on undertakings that were wicked as well as subversive, he conceived the idea of killing the king. He brought about a breach between the king and some of his *naxarars*, among others approximately fifteen of the chief Vanandac'i and Hawuni;⁵⁶ *naxarars*, who were his kinsmen. Through pernicious double dealing he conducted secret negotiations with the king of Iberia, and they decided to assassinate Smbat, and set him [Atrnerseh] in his place as the one in charge [hramanatar] of the Armenians, provided that he would take part in the wicked scheme with them. 16. The latter was immediately snared by them, and then they ventured upon the task of assassinating the king.

17. Then they sent a certain man of the Hawuni house, the father-in-law of Hasan, and their accomplice in the wicked plot, as well as certain others who were of the same mind, and incited them to assassinate the king. The latter set out on the pretext of serving the king, and hiding their dark plot under a bushel, waited for the opportune time. 18. On the designated day, which had been set up by the king of Iberia and the second Achitophel Hasan, as well as the others who had joined them, for the assassination of the king in agreement with the Hawuni whom they had sent for that purpose, they thought that they could succeed in accomplishing their task, but unable to resist the fervor of their hearts,

⁵⁶Hawnunec'] Hawunec' J, = Hawuni in nom. sing..

they made haste to set forth to the district of Širak with a large army. 19. Immediately Hasan turned over the fortress of Ani to Atrnerseh, while they themselves remained stationed in the royal palace of Erazgawork^c, for king Smbat was in Taširk^c.⁵⁷ 20. Then, the king was informed by some about the details of the treachery that had been committed by Atrnerseh, Hasan and their accomplices, who were ready and waiting in Erazgawork^c. 21. Upon verifying these tidings, Smbat immediately set out, and hastily reached the district of Širak. Seeing the failure of their plot, Atrnerseh and Hasan were terrified. Quickly they ravaged whatever they could find, and taking the great riches deposited in the fortress of Ani, fled and took refuge in the strongholds of Tayk^c. 22. When the news of this upheaval was heard throughout the domain of the king, all the warriors gathered together as one, unified into a single soldiery clad in the same armor of truth, and protected with the girdle of fortitude. Death in avenging their king meant truly living to them.

23. Thus, when the whole army was gathered together, the king set out to meet the wicked enemy and the remaining embittered rebels. 24. Reaching the realm of Atrnerseh, every man prepared to die a martyr's death like David. They flung stones not merely at a single mound of flesh, but shed the blood of numerous warriors, until they were stopped by the king who made the remark that "the soul that sins shall die". He let the guiltless escape the sword and bid his men to lay hands only on the culprits. 25. Then, Atrnerseh of his own accord confessed the lure of wicked thoughts, and asked the king for forgiveness. 26. The gentle and peaceable Smbat accepted his apologies humbly, and offered him terms of peace, and took with him his oldest son as hostage. Also he received from him all the *naxarars* who had betrayed him, and blinding all of them, some he sent to the king of the Romans, and the rest to the king of Egrisi. 27. Thus, as if with the aid of Divine Providence, he was able to reestablish his suzerainty.

XLIII

THE COUNTER RULE OF GAGIK ARCRUNI AS KING, AND THE GREAT CONFUSION HE CAUSED

1. At this time, the chief *gaherēc*^c prince Gagik Arcruni begged king Smbat to return to him the city of Naxjawan, which had presumably

⁵⁷ Tašrac^c JJTašray T.

been in the possession of his house and family ever since his grandfather and father, since he considered the loss of the city a personal grief. 2. Nevertheless, as the king had previously given the city as a gift to prince Smbat of Sisakan, who was always devoid of the vanity of pride, and carried out all of his duties in faithful servitude, he did not wish to take back from the prince what he had given, nor make meaningless the honors that he had bestowed on him. 3. Being extremely annoyed at this, prince Gagik insidiously made malicious misrepresentations about the king. Thereupon, getting ready many gifts and prizes, he set forth to go to the *ostikan* Yūsuf in Persia, and having offered him the intended gifts, he then brought strong charges against the king for depriving him of [his rights]. 3a. Yūsuf received him with joy, and gave him a royal crown, as well as honors and gifts befitting royalty, whereby he schemed to dissolve the unanimity between [Smbat and Gagik], so that he could easily deceive each one separately. 4. Thereafter, like reptiles that stealthily crawl into the cavities of rocks, he did not reveal the *fait accompli* immediately. But when prince Gagik, bearing something like a crown, returned to his domain, great confusion and grief came upon everyone. For they perceived the shady schemes of the *ostikan*, who was about to open the gates of destruction, which no one but God could close.

5. Notwithstanding these, the king conceived the idea of vanquishing the evil with kindness. He did not terminate the payment of the customary taxes of servitude, until Yūsuf's wickedness was completely exposed. 6. But when the veil [of secrecy] was drawn aside, and we became aware of the raging threats of the barbaric Hagarite beast, then in compliance with the advice of king Smbat, who was desirous of good conduct, and the other *naxarars*, I set out, and went to Atrpatakan in Persia, to the embittered *ostikan* with numerous gifts and prizes from the royal treasuries, namely valuable gold-embroidered robes, and many cushions, which were the products of the colorful embroidery of women, as well as many horses, mules decked with ornaments and armor, and also treasures of gold and silver. 7. Besides these, I also took with me an additional gift that I could afford from the sacred repository of our house, so that somehow I might be able to come to terms of peace with him, before he poured his poison, laid desolate the stones of the holy church and took captive the people of Christ, and prevented Mother Sion from being deprived of her children. 8. Although at first he received me cordially, honored me with royal dignity and great respect, and also agreed to make peace in the land in every respect, as well as leave the king in peace, yet, I suspect that due to the intrigues of our own countrymen against him found reason to cherish his vain and insolent arrogance, so that his thoughts were not in agreement with his present statements.

9. Thereafter, alienated by fatal perfidy, he seized me and confined me in a dark dungeon, which was surrounded by numerous guards, whose overwhelming uproar surrounded and stupefied me. 10. While the vain arrogance of the *ostikan* came out thus against me, suddenly, like a flying bird there arrived Gurgēn, the *marzpan* of Armenia and brother of the crown-bearer Gagik. Out of inexperience and ignorance, he tried to persuade the *ostikan* to march upon our land. Then, prostrating himself before him in a cleverly calculated manner, he offered him gifts, and received from him credit befitting his position. From there he returned with the invitation of the *ostikan* asking his brother to come and visit him. 11. After a few months,⁵⁸ in accordance with his promise king Gagik came, and carried out his transactions. He paid the tribute faithfully, as custom and regulation demands, and presented Yūsuf with gifts from his copious treasures. All the decisions from their discussions concerned one thing only, namely to make preparations for their expedition into Armenia, and exact vengeance on king Smbat on behalf of one another. 12. Gagik did not realize that a blazing fire would spread in whatever direction it might find combustible material, and would devour and ravish everything without discrimination. He was once again crowned by Yūsuf, and also exalted with honors, and returned home to make the preliminary preparations for the arrival of the *ostikan* in Armenia.

13. But I had my eyes set on the arrival of king Gagik, because I hoped that somehow he might, as his Christian duty, help me to be released from my confinement. But my expectations were not fulfilled and I was subjected to more severe incarceration because of my sins. 14. But when the fresh breezes from the south melted the frost of winter, the *ostikan* drew up a large army, and with irreconcilable mischief in his heart, set forth and came to our land, where I followed him in fetters. 15. After he had reached the city of Naxjawan, he remained there for a few days, until Gagik and Gurgēn, his forerunners, who had been invited to come, arrived, and they marshalled the army into battalions. 16. Then, like brigands he turned upon the region of the province of Siwnik'. 17. The chief *gaherēc*' prince of Siwnik', accompanied by his brothers and all of his forces, made haste to hold the passes and defiles on the highways with manliness befitting their well-renowned fame. Buckling on their armor they raised their arms against him and cut down many of the enemy. 18. But as they had been forsaken by the providence of God, they could not check the mighty rage of the enemy, and took refuge in the fastnesses of caverns and in the glens of lofty mountains. 19. The impious *ostikan* turned back, and coming upon the fugitives who had been despoiled or left behind, he put some to the

⁵⁸ *amsoc* JT] *amsoy* AD, 'a month'.

sword and took the remaining captive. 20. These events took place during the great paschal feast of Easter, on the three hundred fifty eighth revolution of the Armenian (T'orgomian) era.

21. After remaining there for twelve days, the *ostikan* proceeded to march to the capital city of Dvin from a northeasterly direction. 22. Here he halted along the bank of the River Erasx. Soon Supan, the lord of Siwnik', arrived and submitted to the *ostikan*. 23. Being greatly amazed by this, Yūsuf became more vehement than ever in his wicked wrath against the king. 24. Subsequently, arming himself with devious tricks, he sent [envoys] to king Smbat, [and demanded from him] the total payment of the tribute of that year in return for positive terms of peace and his own departure. 25. Although Smbat knew that the demands of the stealthful enemy gave cause for no joy, in order to save himself from the reproach of God and men, he immediately complied with his demands and paid approximately sixty thousand *dahekans*. Upon receiving this, the *ostikan* immediately began to pursue Smbat as far as Iberia, until the latter took refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses. of Kłarj'k'.

26. On the other hand he incarcerated me in the city of Dvin, behind iron bars and in fetters. Thenceforth I was subjected to beating, confinement, the rack and incarceration in dark and narrow places by my executioners whose insults bore the stench of death. Also I was cast into the depths of pits and dungeons which I suffered in bitter agony. 27. From evening until dawn, the terrible clamor and the overwhelming uproar of the guards never ceased to bother me, and because of that I could not sleep and rest my body.

XLIV

SURRENDER OF THE SPARAPET AŠOT TO YŪSUF AND THE RELEASE OF THE KATHOLIKOS YOVHANNĒS

1. The *ostikan* Yūsuf roared liked a wild lion throughout the entire duration of the summer season, during which time he made preparation against Smbat, and was thus preoccupied for several days. 2. Nevertheless, unable to do any harm on that occasion, because the king had taken refuge in the fastnesses of high mountains and in abysmal valleys, he returned once again to the city of Dvin. 3. Here he was joined by the handsome, wise and generous sparapet of Armenia, namely Ašot,—the

son of king Smbat's brother Šapuh,—who had voluntarily come to surrender, and submit to the Hagarite. Perhaps he thought that like Joseph,^{58a} who was generously endowed with grace, he might possibly win over the good grace of the second Pharaoh, and be able to turn the wicked *ostikan's* disposition in favor of his own house, or, in accordance with his dreams, he might store sufficient amount of the symbolic grain as a precaution against the severe famine in order to provide for the livelihood of the new Israel, and save her from starvation, which was about to come.

4. But when Ašot saw that the Hagarite pharaoh did not acknowledge Joseph, and realized that he was cunningly plotting to torment our people, as well as being unable to attain what he had sought, he was terrified of the raging intrigues of the tyrant. At the same time, being in danger of death, because he could not find a way of disengaging himself [from Yūsuf], he was forced contrary to this wishes to submit to the will of the *ostikan* in everything, in deed as well as thought. In the course of their communication, he gradually yielded to him completely. Yet, even then, the fickle and base rogue could not completely win the confidence [of Ašot]. 5. The *ostikan* retired to Dvin in order to spend there the severe winter season. 6. Thereupon, I was compelled to ask for amnesty from the *ostikan*, as someone in time past was accustomed to ask the *sandaramet* Prodorjad.⁵⁹ I took this course of action not so much because of my fear of death, which is something temporary for God, but because he kept me for acquiring gold, and I had frequently paid the unjust exactions with the money that I had raised with the help of many [friends]. Yet, I had run short of funds, and as there was no one who could help me, I was forced to act accordingly. 7. Through the heaven sent succour I was able to get myself away from the blood-stained hands of the *ostikan*, and out of my fear of the obstinate Pharaoh, I ran away from him and went to Madian like Moses; like Elijah I fled the second Jezabel and took refuge in Sarephta of Sidon. 8. As the cruel devastations of the wicked enslavers extensively spread throughout our land, I heeded the order of the Lord and wandered from one city to the other in the region of Albania (Ałuank^ć) in the East, where I went to stay with the great prince Sahak, and their king Atrnerseh, who rules in the northeastern regions of the Caucasus. These people were of our fold, and flocks of our pasture. Each one of them out of obligation contributed his share of the large allowance set for me that paid for all of my needs. 9. Departing from there, we went to the region of Gugark^ć and resided there, expecting our salvation from the Lord.

^{58a}Yovsēp^ć BCJ!] Yusup^ć T J.

⁵⁹Prodoriaday JABCD] Protiriaday TE.

XLV

THE GALLANTRY OF AŠOT AND MUŠEĻ, THE SONS
OF THE KING; THE TREACHERY OF SEWORDIK,
AND THE CAPTURE OF MUŠEĻ

1. After the *ostikan's* arrival at Dvin, king Smbat returned from his place of refuge, and came to his estate in Eragzawork'. 2. But upon the arrival of spring when the weather grew warmer, the *ostikan* drew up a great number of troops to be sent against king Smbat, and putting them under the command of king Gagik as well as the rest of his *naxarars*, sent the conspirators against him in an underhanded manner. 3. When Smbat was informed by some of the insidious treason, he made haste to muster numerous forces and putting in their command his sons Ašot and MušeĻ, ordered them to avoid the highways. 4. Upon reaching the district of Nig, the latter noticed that the enemy, among whom was king Gagik, had pitched camp on a level plain in a valley at the foot of the mountain. 5. Presently, the enemy encountered them in such a way that against their wishes they were forced to make preparations for an attack without realizing the treachery of the troops from the province of Uti, who are called Sewordik'. 6. At that time, Ašot and MušeĻ charging into the arena before anyone, distinguished themselves in battle, and through numerous acts of gallantry played havoc with the lines of the enemy army, wherein they caused much confusion. 7. In the heat of the battle, when the fighting was carried at close quarter, troops from Uti turned suddenly on their heels, and in accordance with their insidious plan left voluntarily not to return again.

8. As Ašot was in that wing of the army, against his wish he was forced to retreat with them, for the assaults of the foreign invaders had become more intense. 9. MušeĻ, however, who had been cast into the midst of the enemy, displayed astonishing valor to everyone's amazement. Nevertheless, unable to withstand the multitude alone, he was seized and taken to the *ostikan*. 10. The latter was overjoyed at the capture of the youthful royal prince (MušeĻ), and held many a feast for his troops. 11. Thenceforth, considering such victories as fuel for the inflamed bitterness of his mind, he spread the extensive conflagration throughout our land, where at midday dusk, haze and somber darkness blinded the people of Ashkenaz, as if it were night. Putting our laborious toils on the scale, we discovered that the burdensome fetter weighed heavier on us than the stones in the valley of Achor, because the arrows of the invaders and the spears of the Lord struck us. 12. For the root of bitterness, which formerly the Lord had plucked out of the house of

Togarmah, once again was planted in the midst of our reasonable vineyards and turned into thorny bushes that are destructive and defiled.

13. Behold! Henceforward my heart will be tormented with agony and my stomach will shrink from shedding tears, for Providence disregarded us because of our lawlessness, and the righteous sun looked askance at us because of the black notoriety of our deeds. We fell into the hands of the obstinate second Pharaoh and his relentless agents, who inflicted on us more wounds, than [one would receive] from the shackle [used for] mixing mortar to make bricks. They destroyed us by striking blow upon blow. 14. Like a tempest, the deathly Ishmaelite winds blew bitterly and banishing us from our homes, disappeared whirling away like a dust storm. With the fierceness of torrents, inundating every land, they quenched their foolish spirit by driving us to slaughter like sheep. 15. Presently, the faculty of perception, which is located in the storage of my mind, has become so dull and blank in view of these events, that it is incapable of helping me to put to words my thoughts on the considerable number of misfortunes that came upon us. 16. Nevertheless, I shall call upon the outspoken Isaiah to come to my succor and teach me how to play the philosopher, and grieve for the wounds received by the recent blows brought about by the wrath and the admonitory mercy of the Lord. "Awake," He says, "Awake, stand up, and look at me, O Jerusalem, that hast drunk [at the hand of the Lord] the cup of calamity, the cup of wrath which thou hast drunk and drained, and there is none to comfort thee of all the children whom thou borest." 18. [I refer now] to another passage: "I looked for some one who could grieve with me but there was none; and I found no comforters." 19. In a third passage he [Isaiah] says: "And who shall sympathize with thee? Desolation, and destruction by famine and sword?"

20. Verily, in accordance with the foreboding prophet, our sons, who faint and are enslaved, persecuted and murdered, and lie at the head of all the streets, cannot comfort us. 21. And, indeed, such a deathly and acrid stench rose in our midst that even though we were honored and blessed with the kindness of God's will, we did not duly acknowledge Him from whom we received good things, and contrary to the call of duty, we were not thankful to the giver of comfort. Because of this we were admonished with such misfortunes, and repaid for the sins in our bosom sevenfold. 22. The prophet is in mourning with us when he says, "Judah has fallen, and the glory of Sion has been brought low." 23. For even the God-built churches of Christ were left forlorn by the Exalted, in the likeness of huts in vineyards, or gardeners' shelters in melon orchards. The gates of the churches were destroyed by axes and hammers. The host therein was burned and the altars raised in His name desecrated. The patrimony of the Lord was trampled under the heels of the impure and swine-like beasts wandering over the roads. The unblemished blood

of the clerics of the church was shed in vain like water, shed around Jerusalem. The roots of bitterness sprouted more from our house than from outside. 24. Some of the supposed pillars [of the kingdom] rose against the Lord. They sharpened their tongues with insidiousness and impiety, and spoke before our princes words that were deceptive and false. Liars and slanderers replaced men who were just and truthful in words. Before the eyes of our generals and chief princes the true pastors of the flock of Christ were dishonored. In their midst they received several pastors who brought disgrace upon them. 25. For this reason, we received insults from deceitful and insolent men, who made us the laughingstock of the nations that lived around us. The flock, together with her pastors, was snatched away by the harsh insurgents and condemned to captivity in order to be sold as slaves. 26. There were some with pure hands and unblemished hearts, who suffered the agony of many blows, tortures, fetters, torments, prison and unbearable toils. The latter were annihilated because of the iniquity of those who had exalted the scandalous aberration within themselves. 27. The bodies of the servants of the Lord were cast out as prey to the birds in the sky, and the bodies of the saints of the Exalted were given to the beasts to feed on. No one was left with the zeal of the Almighty Lord so as to be able to drive away those tillers of injustice from the house of the Lord, and those who wished to do this indeed suffered dishonor for their aberration.

XLVI

YŪSUF PUTS TO EXECUTION THE PRINCES THAT SURRENDERED, AS WELL AS MUŞĒĻ

1. Henceforth, once again I shall turn my words into laments, and with a sad heart shall not hesitate to consider the perilous toils that came upon us, namely the sickle flying through the air in accordance with Zacharias, and the double-edged sword purified with the blood of the children of our land, which slaughtered many and was sent to inflict vengeance on thieves, as well as the accomplices of the latter, liars and perjurers. 2. In this way we witnessed the spread of the wickedness that came from the south, and the exhausting tortures that were suffered by the children of our people, who were struck with famine, the sword as well as insidious snares to the degree; that [their torments] penetrated into their bodies, bones and minds. 3. At this point, let me not disregard also the other prophesy whereby, "I will meet them [...] like a panther, and those that are clad in wickedness, I will meet them by the way of the

idolatrous Assyrians of old." 4. Also, Moses, the man of God will confront me, and publicly announce to us the sad news of the vengeful retribution for our acts on the day of retaliation,^{59a} when the sword sharpened like lightning will come upon and insatiably devour the bodies of our chief princes who are wounded in captivity. 5. For those who formerly occupied seats in the highest places, and were highly exalted in the royal court, were easily deceived by the wicked *ostikan*, who made them pay their penalty by death.

6. Confining some in prison, he gradually executed them by sword, starvation and clubbing; the others, who he made believe were men respected by him, he condemned to death secretly. Thus, he first betrayed prince Grigor, descended from Hayk, and the son of king Smbat's sister. In accordance with my earlier account, he had submitted to Yūsuf's service. The latter gave him a deathly poison to drink, as a result of which the prince died in agony. His body was taken and buried in the sanctuary of Saint Šimon,⁶⁰ which had been built by him. 7. Likewise, the son of king Smbat, the valiant and youthful Mušeł, who had been seized because of the high treason of the inhabitants of the province of Uti, was subjected to the same torments, and given the fatal drug, whereupon he died. His body was claimed by the *sparapet* Ašot, who sent it to be buried in the ancestral cemetery of their family in Bagaran.

8. Similarly, the nephew of [king] Smbat, the youthful Smbat still in the prime of youth, was executed by the same insidious machinations, despite his willingness to enter into the service of the Hagarite. He was buried in Darōnk⁶¹ among his ancestors. 9. For this very reason I made mention of my grief for those beloved people, and bemoan [them] with tears and lamentations. For it was because of our sins, that our days ended in mist and perished hopelessly.

10. Subsequently, they killed in a similar manner certain *azats*, about whom it is not proper for me to speak individually at this time. Of the illustrious nobility that had surrendered to him or had fallen into his hands, almost no one survived the penalty of horrible and insidious death, save for the prudent king Gagik and the handsome *sparapet* Ašot, who weighed the matter carefully in their minds, and through their wisdom perceived at once the fate of the lords, their brothers. Being terrified of such an unbearable death, they submitted to the wishes of the *ostikan* in everything, and made haste to carry out their instructions. 11. Also the youthful Vasak son of Ašot, the *gaherēc* prince of Siwnik, who had willingly surrendered to the *ostikan*, was confined in prison. 12. However, one day when dusk had fallen, he suddenly put to use his

⁵⁹ *vrižuc* i *xndrut'ean* D] *vrižuc* *xndut'ean* T J. The reading of D is preferable. Cf. *NBHL*, I, 953, under "xndrut'iwn vrižuc".

⁶⁰ *Surb Šimoneay* T] *Surb Šimawneay* J.

⁶¹ i *Darōns* JT] i *Daroyns* D.

steel sabre, and having struck the guards headlong to the ground, traversed a considerable distance, and suspending himself from the bastion of the city, made his escape.

13. Before the outcry of the guards could be heard and a force could be gathered to pursue him, Ašot, in the confusion, was able to get himself on the road to the vineyard, and took refuge in the security of his ancestral homeland. 14. Subsequently, [Yūsuf's] wickedness was stripped of its outward pretexts. Some of the illustrious *azats* fell prey to the sword, slaughterer of multitudes. The rest were forced to take refuge in the glens and rocky gorges. Thereupon, everyone in the land withdrew in a state of terror to the caves, hid themselves in the woods and ascended to the craggy dens. 15. Even women of distinction, such as princesses, were seized by the conquerors. More than ever, they bore the heavy burden of physical toil, and in no way remembered of the luxury of *azat* motherhood which they had enjoyed. 16. Some of them were confined in dark prisons, clad only in cilice and coarse close. They were handicapped by poverty, and lacked their daily provisions. The *azats* enjoyed less tenderness than the unfortunate peasants.⁶² 17. Certain expectant mothers met their end in unbearable agony, and became their children's graves. 18. There were others, whose lives had been wasted by the pestiferous bitterness of death to the degree that they appeared in no way different from those who could not have a taste of this life. 19. Thus the fetters on the daughters of our land could not be released, nor could the old dust be shaken from the heads of the grief-bearing ladies on whom it remained affixed in the likeness of ashes in the furnace. Also they were tormented with calamitous agonies and numerous sufferings. 20. The containers of their ornaments stood in sorrow, and the vessels of their dining tables were left in disorder. Their nuptial chambers were filled with smoke. Thus, death prevailed, and having devoured the multitudes, it caused tears to be shed, and covered the entire face of the world. 21. Let these suffice; I shall return to the sequence of my history, in order not to leave my narrative incomplete.

XLVII

THE EXPLOITS OF SAHAK AND VASAK, AND THE CRUELTIES OF YŪSUF

1. At this time, Sahak and Vasak, the Hayk-descended legitimate brothers of Grigor, who had been executed by the *ostikan* for no reason,

⁶²"Some of them . . . with smoke." omitted in T.

took constant precautions to protect themselves during the period of the persecutions, and tried to see if they possibly could find a way of escaping these afflictions, and take refuge in the strongholds of their respective domains. They expressed the wish not to go to a foreign land, until the wrath of the Lord had passed away. 2. Thereupon, going on board ship, they sailed by means of swift oars as if in an ark, and found asylum on the island of Sewan with their wives and children and their mother, who was a devout Christian and an ascetic, and the *azat* troops,⁶³ for the torrential and muddy turbidity of the Ishmaelite brigands had become more severe than ever, and was blasting at the sandy foundations of our dwelling. 3. But when the cruel Hagarite with the effeminate tongue was made aware of this, he gathered his forces and sent them against the latter. Upon reaching the shores of the lake, the brothers found themselves besieged by the swords of the enemy.

4. Subsequently, the brothers who were strongly attached to one another, considered that the enemy might possibly drive them to a state of desperation, so that being unable to find a place of refuge because of the abysmal waters, they might fall into the muddy and wicked hands of the heathen tyrants. Consequently, strengthening the hands of their sailors, they sailed together with their mother as well as all their family and as much property as they could carry with them, and quickly reached the fortified district of Miap'or. 5. Entering the island-fortress, the Ishmaelite general ravaged whatever was left, and took a considerable amount of booty which he placed under guard. Then, ransacking the country, he followed their trail. 6. Turning back, the brothers attacked the enemy, wounded and slew many of them and put them to flight. Then, they themselves set out and took refuge in the cavernous strongholds of the pine forests of Gardman and Arc'ax,⁶⁴ where they waited for the Lord's help. 7. Here, their mother, who was the sister of king Smbat, and a woman renowned among the ascetics for her virtuous and most holy manner of life, died. A few years later, after they had returned and again controlled their ancestral domain, they brought her body and buried her in a grave near the church built by her in Šofak'a.⁶⁵

8. When the impious *ostikan* saw, that all of his governors and satraps were withdrawing from action because of the great victories achieved in all the regions of our land, and since there was no one who could stand against him, he sent a detachment of wicked brigands throughout the land of Sisakan, and beyond its borders to Taširk' and Kangark' and the shore of Lake Gefam. 9. Then, he sent king Gagik together with his

⁶³ *banakov* T] *bnakov* JC, 'inhabitants'.

⁶⁴ Arjaxay J.

⁶⁵ i Šafak'ayi J, i Šafagayi ABC.

naxarars and a large army to the fortress of Vałaršakert,⁶⁶ in order to besiege and seize it. The latter came to the fortress and for several days attacked it, but could not do any harm to it. 10. Although the people who were besieged inside the fortress had inflicted wounds on many of the enemy, the latter did not dare to disregard the orders of the wicked *ostikan*, and continued the siege for many days. 11. Meanwhile, the army which had been sent by the seditious *ostikan* to the different regions of our land raised [burning] flames throughout our country like fire struck by lightning in order to annihilate the race of Aram. Everyone, the *azat* as well as the *non-azat*, the powerful and the warrior, the pentecontarch and the judge, the adviser and the investigator, the wise and the prudent, the old and the young, were all betrayed into the hands of the tyrannical conquerors in accordance with the prophesy: "deceivers shall rule over you." 12. Thus the jealousy of the Lord of hosts showed us what to expect in the future, in the days of retribution.

13. Thereupon, everyone lamented with Jeremias and wished that their heads were seas, and their eyes founts of tears, lest they might cease their lamenting and moaning for the unbearable travails. For the Ishmaelite brigands spread their flames among our people like blazing fires in the woods and reeds. Everyone suffered, and every heart was afflicted with grief.

XLVIII

KING SMBAT REMAINS HELPLESS, AND SURRENDERS TO YŪSUF: THE ESCAPE OF GAGIK

1. In view of these events, king Gagik and his brother Ġurgēn at once realized that this wicked storm as well as the horrible crimes were brought upon the Church of Christ and the faithful people of God because of their guidance. Recognizing the deadly snares awaiting them, and terrified of the tyrant, they were admonished as if by the fear of God, and 2. feeling remorse in their hearts, did penance in accordance with the canons and decided to dissociate themselves [from Yūsuf] and to return to their domain. However, for the moment their plan did not succeed.

3. Subsequently, Gagik revealed his good intentions to king Smbat, and having come to secret terms with him, waited for the right time in order to carry out his plans and rid himself of the blame of the evil which

⁶⁶ Vałaršakerti D.

had occurred by displaying his wonderful piety. 4. Be that as it may, king Smbat had taken refuge in the strongholds of Erasxajor, and still entertained the hope that he could possibly quell the ignited flames of the wickedness that had been brought upon the people of Ashkenaz. 5. For he had taken into his confidence the great, wise and prudent prince of Armenia Grigor, and had asked the caliph for terms of peace on behalf of the entire flock of Christ, in order to put out the fire that had been set ablaze by the impious *ostikan*. 6. Although the great prince made every effort in his power, the royal court could not come to the assistance of king Smbat in compliance with the cunning prince's entreaties, because it was in a state of confusion at that time, due to the rebellions in Egypt.

7. But when Basil, the king of the Greeks, heard of these afflictions that had come upon us, he gathered numerous forces in order to come to the succor of Smbat, but suddenly he met his death which is the common lot of all men, and was succeeded by his brother Alexander, whose reign was filled with turmoil created by rebellious men, because of which he also could not come to the aid [of Smbat].

8. In addition the numbers of the kinsmen of our king, the princes, governors and certain chiefs had diminished through the deadly snares of the *ostikan*, as I narrated earlier. Those [who survived,] whether they were related to him or not, remained aloof from him both in deed and in thought, some very much against their will, and the others for no reason at all. They preferred to recognize [the domain of] foreigners rather than his. Those whom he loved with friendship dissociated themselves from him and joined the enemy. 9. Certain others, who were annoyed at him, even rose and disgracefully attacked him intending to kill him in compliance with the intrigues of the Hagarite, in a manner similar to that which had formerly befallen our Trdat.

10. Above all, the king took note that everyone was following his own wicked desires. Then he lost the hope of being rescued by men, and awaited only the heavenly succor. 11. Subsequently, he took refuge in the rocky fastnesses of Kapoyt, which is in the valley of Erasxajor. Here he remained, as the place was not accessible to man, and the yoke of Ishmael had become more burdensome than he could endure. 12. After a period of one year, the enemy laid siege to the stronghold. Thereafter, in compliance with the orders of the accursed *ostikan* the *ramik* raised the outcry of war and [caused] many people to perish with a horrible tumult which resembled the roar of rending beasts. 13. But the men in the fortress were a select lot, who skilfully calculated the capacity of their weapons, shot arrows from their deeply bent bows, hurled stones with slings, and always inflicted utter carnage on the brave warriors. 14. And as there were many believers in Christ who had joined the forces of the Hagarite, the latter always armed and sent them to fight against the fortress, whereas he spared his own men. 15. In view of all these crimes

and the loss of Christians, who were put to the sword, as if by executioners standing at hand, king Smbat offered himself the alternative of corporeal death and pronounced the verdict on himself, whereby he displayed his concern for the safety of others, and denied himself salvation. In accordance with the prophetic words of Joseph before the Lord, he considered that he alone should die, lest the entire people might perish. Like Eliezer he preferred death with valor to life with a stricken conscience. 16. Then, having asked the *ostikan* for a solemn oath, he descended to meet him. Thus, he saved all of the Christ-confirmed people from the danger of unnecessary death, both those that were under his command in the fortress, and those Christians who had come to serve under the aegis of the Hagarite. 17. But the insidious *ostikan*, in league with the cunning satan, who had formerly deceived Eve, presently also conversed with the prudent man with pleasant words. First he clothed him in gold-woven lace, laconian ornaments, and gauzy garments,⁶⁷ and tried to deceive him with fraudulent schemes, in order to show him that he was faithful to his oath. 18. Also as he was struck with the desire to amass riches in accordance with his avarice, he suspected that the king might possibly have a treasure stored away, and by revealing such equity on his part he might be able to get hold of it. Secretly devising wicked snares, he thought that he could please him like a fruitful tree, and deceive him in the manner of the son of destruction. 19. His wise listener did not trust him, for through his perceptive and keen mind he recognized the sweet [words of] flattery and the bitter outcome. 20. For a short while Yūsuf put a stop to his vengeful and insidious actions, and went to the district of Širak. Subsequently, like the sly serpent of Dan the plot that he had made came to naught.

21. Meanwhile, reflecting on these terrible disasters, the prudent Gagik was stricken with a sense of shame because of his vain deeds. His spirit as well as those of his princes was disheartened, and suddenly mounting his horse, he fled to his domain. Although the *ostikan* assured him that he would be set up as king of Armenia, Gagik prudently foresaw Yūsuf's death-spreading pretext devised by the insidious bitterness of his mind. For he who is afflicted with self-imposed blindness shall never be healed.

⁶⁷ *variwḵ*]] *zariwḵ* T, no such word is to be found in *NBHL* or in *ABHL*. Cf. *NBHL*, II, 784, under the word *var* where the present passage is also excerpted.

XLIX

THE SIEGE OF THE FORTRESS OF ERNĀK: THE
GLORIOUS MARTYRDOM OF THE BLESSED KING
SMBAT, AND THE MIRACLES THAT APPEARED
OVER HIS BODY

1. After the departure of Gagik, the *ostikan* came to the city of Dvin and harassed king Smbat for no reason at all. Subsequently, he made a conspiracy to put him to death, and blending death with life, confined him in prison and bound his feet with iron fetters. They had prepared for him a hellish prison, where, in accordance with the words of Job, they lay his bed in darkness, and turned his day into night. Light was denied to his eyes because of the darkness of the place. 2. The infliction of such travails, fetters, torments was continued for approximately an entire year. 3. After this, agitated like a boiling cauldron by the thoughts in his mind, the *ostikan* came to the stronghold called Ern ĵak, in order to eradicate, destroy and devastate it, for the pious princesses, the mother of Smbat the great prince of Siwnik^s, and his wife, who was the sister of Gagik, as well as the wife of Smbat's brother Sāhak, and other venerable men and women of the *azat* order had taken refuge there. 4. The *ostikan* also brought with him king Smbat bound in chains. There, in the vicinity of the fortress, they fought fiercely and ceaselessly raised the din of war.

5. Thereupon, the *ostikan* wanted Smbat to have a violent death and gradually began to subject him to destructive torments. Anxious to exact vengeance, he gnashed his teeth at him, and gave him up to the impious executioners, who tormented him severely, and poured the poison of their bitterness on him. Armed men caused frequent distress by clubbing and squeezing him between logs as well as torturing him on racks. 6. He was enfeebled and debilitated by severe starvation and thirst not so much because the executioners deprived him of the necessary nourishment, but due to the fact that he fasted more out of his own will, and offered his subsistence to God, just as formerly David, despite his thirst, had offered the water from the well of Bethlehem. 7. Thus, in no way was he spared by them even to a small degree. Whenever he had the opportunity of being alone, or reached the end of the hours of struggle against the executioners, he would devote his time to constant prayers, as well as supplicatory expressions of gratitude and blessings to Christ. Because of his unshaken faith in Christ, he became worthy of the mystery of the divine eucharist at the hands of a certain overseer [bishop?] of the law, who happened to be there due to the providential supervision of the Lord.

8. But when he was taken to his execution, the sight of the travails that he suffered were much more pitiable and horrible to the onlookers, than the actual tortures, whose memory alone is turning me to tears. 9. For the most defiled carnivorous beasts took possession of the poisonous breath of the serpent, with which the mouths of human beings spurt death. Then, turning from their love for satan to the destructive drug that would bring grief and evil, they took away from the king his towel and forcing it into his mouth, pushed it down his throat by means of rods, almost as far as the membrane of his heart. 10. Then they placed him on the rack, and stretching him from the chin as well as the neck, tied his joints with very strong ropes, as if to the press of a carpenter, and piled many pieces of furniture on top of his head. Often over ten men would fall on him like rocks, and thus by means of such devices try to suffocate him. 11. But after they had put to use the above method, and he did not cease breathing, again they commenced to inflict unspeakable and merciless tortures and torments on his privy parts, until he breathed his last. 12. After such unbearable anguish and agony, and terrible torments, they decapitated him with a sword. He departed from this life after a reign of twenty-two years. 13. Subsequently, the polluted and impious *ostikan* ordered him not to be buried. They stretched his cadaver on a pole, and crucified him in the city of Dvin. For he, who had been immersed in death with Christ by being baptized, was obliged also to share the cross with Him, and not lose the fortitude of dying like a martyr, in return for which there is considerable compensation. 14. In the place where the blessed and holy king had been crucified on a tall beam, some believers, as well as non-believers, claimed to have seen a brilliant light gleaming like a lamp with a radiant glitter far above the head of the king and bearing a resemblance to him. Those who saw this, testified to the veracity of their account. 15. Be that as it may, let us leave these matters to those who have witnessed [the above portent], and not hesitate to narrate what we ourselves have witnessed with our own eyes. 16. For the soil of the place where the blood from the venerable body had dripped, cured many who were sick, in danger [of death] or diseased. 17. Because of such signs, certain heathens converted to the Christian faith and by means of the light of the baptismal font were reborn in the Holy Spirit of God.

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THE ASSAULT ON THE FORTRESS OF ERNĬAK AND
ITS CONQUEST: THE VALOR OF AŐOT, THE SON OF
SMBAT, AND HIS REIGN

1. The impious *ostikan* remained where he was, and putting the fortress of Ernĭak under siege, did not move away from there, until he had stealthily seized the fortress. He opened the gate of destruction before the inhabitants of the stronghold, and put many of them to the sword which slaughters multitudes. The rest were taken captive for their [Ishmaelites'] wicked and sodomitical intentions. 2. Yŭsuf also took captive the renowned, religious, and wise mother of prince Smbat of Siwnik^ç, who was blessed among women, as well as his pious wife together with her suckling babe, and the wife of his brother Sahak, the lord of Siwnik^ç. He transferred the latter from the fortress and kept them in confinement at Dvin, in great distress and agony, so much so, that the mistress among them could not be discerned from the maid. 3. Those, who were caressed and fondled at one time in litters, now earned their living by means of their fingers, and thereby paid for the necessities of their daily subsistence, for their treasures were taken away from them, and their ornaments as well as household were ravaged. 4. Thus, in the royal palaces one could hear much wailing, crying and weeping. 5. But when the ill tidings of the calamity that had happened reached the ears of the beneficent prince Smbat, and his brother Sahak, while the former was in the region of Vaspŭrakan, and the latter in Gugark^ç, both of them unanimously raised arms with valor in order to fall upon the enemy and liberate their families from captivity. Nevertheless, being unable to marshall their forces immediately, and to come in time from afar in order to carry out their purpose before the confinement [of their families] in prison, they made preparations for a strong defense. 6. It was then, that the great princess, the mother of Smbat, and his son, the prince, died there, and were buried together near the gates of the cathedral of the capital city of Dvin. But the wives of the two princes were taken to Atrpatakan in Persia, where they were confined in prison. 8. On the other hand, king Smbat's son AŐot, who was well renowned and skilled in the art of warfare, displayed during the persecutions much valor accompanied by excessive vigor, and excelled over all his peers in bravery. 9. Before his father suffered the death of a martyr, AŐot, like an eagle soaring through the sky, dashed forward swiftly after the ravenous foreigners who sent their raiding forces

throughout our land. At first, in a short period, he reconquered and took possession of all the fortresses that were in his father's domain, and had been taken by the *ostikan*. 10. He immediately put to the sword the guards [that had been left] by the Saracens, and having fortified the strongholds with guards, bulwarks and large amount of provisions, he went in pursuit of the enemy, wherever there were raiding Ishmaelites. In every respect, through the fortitude of his heart, he almost recreated the Trojan War in his endeavors together with his legitimate brother Abas against his opponents. 11. Then, guided by reason, he put his trust in God, and falling upon the Ishmaelite army, which was encamped in the district of Bagrewand, he put all of them to the sword. 12. Having seized their chief priests,⁶⁸ he gave orders to turn them into casks and suspend them from the bastions of the fortress in order to inspire fear to the onlookers. 13. Then, he set out for the district of Širak and falling upon the [enemy] forces that were stationed there, slew them also by sword, and caused those that had survived to flee.

14. Upon his return, he marched to the region of Gugark^ς with great speed, and also took possession of all those strongholds in his domain. 15. Then unexpectedly—as if in an ambush—he came upon the army of the Hagarites in Tiflis, the capital city of Iberia. Here, he slew some by the sword, but seized those that were men of distinction, and putting them in iron fetters, confined them in prison, so that he might be able to liberate from captivity those Christians who had been seized by the wicked *ostikan*, by exchanging the former with the latter. 16. Having taken much booty and loot, he returned [from there] to the district of Taširk^ς, and learning that the Ishmaelite army had taken refuge in the strongholds of the glens of Ałstew,⁶⁹ he chose approximately two hundred select men, and attacked the Ishmaelite forces against whom he fought with great bravery, and putting all of them to the sword, took the loot and returned to his army. 17. Immediately after this, he went to visit prince Gurgēn, who was his very dear friend. They took counsel together concerning their mutual problems, and then he went to the strongholds of Aršarunik^ς. 18. Thereafter the defilers never raided his domain.

19. When the king of Iberia and his armies realized that the Lord had come to the aid of Ašot, protecting him and making him prosperous, they came to an agreement with him, and being of one mind with him, made Ašot king in place of his father. For they considered him to be in the position of honor of a monarch and entrusted the future to God Almighty.

⁶⁸erēc^ς T] erēc^ς J, ērēc^ς ABC, 'priest'.

⁶⁹Ałstewoy J¹, Ałstewoy T]J, Ałstewoy J¹, Ałtewoy B, Ałtewoy C.

LI

THE DAUNTLESS FEATS OF KING GAGIK; AND THE
DISASTROUS CALAMITIES THAT CAME UPON OUR
LAND, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF MULTITUDES

1. At that time, king Gagik together with his handsome⁷⁰ and pious brother Gurgēn made extensive preparations for war against the enemy, who had gathered in the region of Atrpatakan at the orders of Yūsuf. 2. Bracing themselves bravely with fortitude, together with the *spasalar*⁷¹ and *payazat* forces they felled many of the Hagarites. They did this not once, but quite often at the foot of the province of Korduk⁷² Rōtak⁷³ as well as Atrpatakan. As if startled by the horrible roar of pernicious beasts, the enemy forces were hampered [by these] from [carrying out] their savage raids. 3. Also the *ostikan* caused considerable confusion among the lords and feudal houses of Sisakan, who had retreated to their densely wooded valleys and cavernous fastnesses. The latter made many lightening assaults on the enemy, and sending their armies against them, shed much blood.

4. When the wicked *ostikan* noticed their consolidated strength in all of the provinces, he roared in great anger, and poured out the poison of his outraged heart rather moderately there. Thereafter, he continued to pursue them to the extent that everyone, both the *ramik* as well as the *non-ramik*, fled before the foreign satraps of their respective regions, and some of our people, panting for breath, could barely escape their bloody swords. For sinful passions had grown in the hearts of all and made us fruitful prey for death. 5. The foremost among the nobility had taken refuge in valleys, mountains, deserted places, crags, and strongholds. But the remaining multitude was barefoot, naked, vagrant, worn out by hunger, thirst and despair, and scattered all over the mountains as well as the plains. 6. Some were frostbitten by the wintry chill of the snow, and fainted whereas others were burned and parched by the sizzling heat of the summer. 7. Those who had been exhausted by the sudden flight, and had fallen into the hands of the wicked, were slain without discrimination or mercy and their blood sprinkled the face of the earth. Some were carried into captivity like senseless brutes. Many men and women as well as young children, who had grown weak,⁷⁴ were brought

⁷⁰ *vayel'c' aditak* [BCD] *vayel'c' agitak* T, no such word in NBHL or ABHL.

⁷¹ *spasalar* DE.

⁷² Korduac' T] Kordac' BC.

⁷³ Rotakac' T] Rōtakac' J, Rōtakanac' J¹.

⁷⁴ *nerk' eweal* T] *ereweli* JABC, 'renowned'.

into the midst of wolves like lambs in order to be slaughtered. 8. Those, whom they decided to sell, they separated from the rest. They would take away the son from the father, the brother from his brother, the wife from her husband, the mother from her daughter, the daughter-in-law from the mother-in-law, and the suckling babe from the breast of her mother. 9. The spectacle, that one would behold, was wretched, the laments were unsufferable, the cries, the breast-beating, the collapsing of eyelids, the shivering for one's life, the terror in the hearts of men, the wailing, the scratches on comely faces and the tearing of hair were unbearable. 10. Those who were not fit to be sold or used in sodomitic acts, were confined in prison bound with fetters. They tortured the latter severely, and in accordance with the foreign Homeric custom asked for the same amount of gold and silver from the rich and from the poor. 11. They condemned all of them, both young and old, to death through the same agony, and deprived them of life. Like the Solomonian leech, they slowly sucked the blood of the others because of the crazy wicked incentive of avarice and could not be satisfied. 12. As if out of mercy, they tricked some of them to partake of drinks containing deadly drugs, and planted poison in them, and they suffocated the rest in insidious ways. 13. They affected the lives of others with horrors, so much so, that while the latter were still on their feet and alive, they cut them open with a sword from the chest down, and before they had breathed their last, they pulled out their liver, parts of which were distributed among themselves, as if in fulfillment of the impious [precepts] of their religion. 14. Certain others who had been slighted and disregarded by them, and had ventured to depart quietly, they tracked down, and as if they were plants, pruned off their shoots with swords, axes, and sabres, crippled their hands and feet as well as all the other parts. 15. They tied the heads and feet of certain others with ropes, and made numerous strong men pull on them from two opposite ends, until their midriffs tore, and then, with the stroke of a double-edged sword at the waist divided them into two parts. 16. Nevertheless, as they still could breathe, either because of the burning heat of the calamity, or the hope of being saved by others, the part of the body that lies in the direction of the head stooped a little over the cleavage at the midriff, and tried to narrate the happenings during the disaster, or [transmit] the plea of others. Although their agony had made their faculty of speech quick, they could not complete the train of their thoughts.

[Yūsuf] ordered the others tied unsparingly, and beat their flanks and abdomen with lashes made out of cattle sinews, until the wounds would cut deeply into the flesh. 18. And while they were still alive, they were dashed to the ground and dragged. 19. They cut off the ears and noses of some, amputated parts of their bodies, and severed their fingers. After intolerable blows, certain others were tied down to logs, and

their feet were fastened in holes, so that it was impossible for them either to sit up or to recline in order to alleviate somewhat the fatigue from their tortures. 20. Also there were many among them who were questioned several times because of their faith in Christ, and given the promise of gifts, honors and great riches. They made ready for them robes decked with ornaments and valuable trimmings in order to attract their eye. To certain members of the nobility they offered treasures and estates, on the condition that they convert to their worthless faith.

21. Nevertheless, Christ, Who had awakened in them the redeeming will and the hope of wonderful repose, aroused them with the very same divine fire [to turn] to the holy love of God and kindled in them the inherent faith to withstand the enemy, so that they might be able to reject the wicked wiles of the devil, and wash off the livid smear of the rancor of their opponent, and cut off the roots of avarice in the spiritual war. 22. Thus, considering of no value all of the enemy's diabolically enchanting enticements, they did not stray in the direction of their flattering adulations, nor were they afraid of the horrible threats and torments that were being prepared for them. 23. And thus, as they had all become quite conscious of the responsibility to the Gospel of Christ's glory, they proclaimed from the housetops what was to have been spoken in whispers in closets, namely, "We are Christians and we cannot obey your impious laws." Thereafter, considering those that had not been convicted as guilty, the judges passed the death sentence on the latter and executed them by the sword, whereby they were given the wreath of victory and were crowned by God.

24. Certain others, who had been seized elsewhere, were brought before the judges, 25. and after they had been questioned, [the enemy] made many welcome and delightful offers of goodly gifts, only on the condition that they would consent to convert to the faith of the *Koran* or *Muhammad*. 26. The latter did not even deem the judges worthy of an answer, but conversed only with God in their minds, while in their hearts they believed in justice, and through their mouths confessed their salvation. 27. Subsequently, the enemy inflicted blows on their backs, slapped their chins, and clubbed their necks, and drove them to the place of their execution. 28. Grouping the blessed in one body, they posted about them the sabre-bearing executioners like a wall, and thus had the latter slay them by the sword. 29. But certain men of the enemy, who were present there, took notice of a comely and handsome youth by the name of Mik'ayel, from the land of Gugark', who was among the blessed. The virginal growth of his beard had not yet sprouted on his chin. Wishing to save him, the above men snatched him away, lest he might be killed with the rest. 30. The youth, however, raising his tearful eyes to heaven, received fortitude through the assistance coming from High, and tearing himself loose from them, made haste to join his friends, and willingly

offered his head to the sword. 31. Thus, he presented himself to Christ as a reasonable sacrifice together with all the other immaculate offerings and immolations, so that the Heavenly Father might smell the sweet savour.

32. At the time, there were also two brothers of Gnuni ancestry, whose names were Dawit' of the one, and Gurgēn of the other, both of whom had been seized by the enslavers and brought before the tyrannical *ostikan*. 33. The *ostikan* questioned the latter and promised to give them practically half of his domain as well as many robes, gold-broidered ornaments, expensive laconian and purple clothing, byssus, girdles, golden necklaces, and swift steeds richly adorned with armor and decorations. Then, stretching out his arms, he embraced and kissed them frequently, and flattered them with adulations, so that they might obey his commands, and spare the prime of their youth by converting to the impious religion that he himself worshipped. 34. Notwithstanding these, with beautiful passion they clad themselves in the armor of Christ, and proclaimed their good faith openly before everyone: "We are Christians, and do not have the wish to exchange the truth of God, Who holds immortality within himself and dwells in the unapproachable light, for your falsities which are naught and are worth naught." 35. Subsequently, when the hostile [*ostikan*] realized how their thoughts were fixed thus on the love of the supreme judge Christ, he ordered them put to the sword. 36. As they were brought to the arena like sheep about to be immolated, they offered mournful and supplicative pleas to God, so that He might reckon them among the holy martyrs, who loved the day of His coming. 37. And when the executioners were about to put the older brother to the sword, he begged them to kill his younger brother first, for he took into consideration that should the latter survive him, he might be terrified of the Ishmaelite threats because of his youth, since his newly blossoming beard had but recently sprouted on his chin. 38. Then, turning in the direction of his brother, he said, "Dear brother, first you present yourself to Christ, Who is our hope, and offer yourself as a reasonable sacrifice and votive immolation to Him, Who died for us and restored us to life." 39. The latter gave no thought to the toils, and not considering the agony of an intolerable death, willingly went toward the sword. 40. Thus, he was beheaded, and crowned by Christ with an unfading wreath.

41. Subsequently, the older brother also following a victorious war, and after fulfilling his destiny as well as preserving his faith intact, armed himself with the same spirit, and was killed by the same merciless sword. He came back to life in the eternal bliss of the Heavenly Kingdom. 42. All of these saints, whom I have mentioned, are always justly honored in the holy churches in yearly feasts. The day of their commemoration is set on the 27th day of the month of Mareri. 43. For they suffered

the toilsome blows and were enrolled as the sons of the Heavenly Sion. With dauntless faith they surmounted the wiles of the enemy and pruned off the branches of their death-bearing fruits. For nothing can be horrible there, where dwells the love of God the Father, and nothing can cause pain there, where the glory of Christ is to be found. 44. Thus, with divine wisdom they rejected everything that was defiant and wild, and purifying themselves from the filth of defiled and condemned men, turned death, which is inevitable, to life. Willingly they were driven like sheep in order to be immolated, and at the expense of momentary as well as trivial vexations they were impregnated by the awe and fear of the Lord, and in their labor gave birth to a soul that was redeemed. Their blessed prayers brought down the angels to save them, and because of their humility they reached the apex of Heaven. 45. From afar they heard the good tidings, and with joyful heart they trod upon their sufferings and death like incorporeal creatures. They were like the dauntless martyrs in death, and having set out came near to God in peace. They received the wreath of victory and were reckoned among the company of the children of the Heavenly Jerusalem. 46. As they had begun their agony with valor, by the same token, filled with heavenly love, they completed the contest of Martyrdom, and shone brightly like the sun in the midst of the universe. The names of these men are written in the Register of Life.

47. Nevertheless, certain wretched souls, possessed by satan, and terrified by momentary death, were swayed in their hearts toward their useless and vain promises. They surrounded themselves with the labors of deathly sins and inundated themselves with torrents of wickedness. Straying from the path of the true light, they were blinded by black darkness. Straying from the royal highway, they swerved from the limpid flow of the sweetness of the divine sacrament, and imbibed sufficiently the dregs of bitterness, which is the last [stage] of wickedness and the first step to idolatry. Having forsaken their faith, they were worse than the unbelievers. In no way did they derive any benefit from the promises made by the enemy, except to save their lives. On the contrary, quivering and shaking [in their fear], they were treated with hostility and were abused by all sides. 48. Thus, men of the *azat* rank were disgraced because of their apostasy, and having reached the limits of utter poverty, went to the extent of visiting the houses of the poor in order to beg for bread. The notoriety of their destructive and disgraceful aberration was the only thing that they achieved. 49. Their lips uttered no confession. In horrible bitterness they descended to hell, where the fires of Gehenna devoured them. 50. I wrote an account of these as a warning for all those who give thought to such acts.

LII

THE AGGRESSION OF FOREIGN NATIONS UPON
OUR LAND, AND THE DISUNITY AMONG OUR
NAXARARS

1. Now, I am compelled to utter words of a sorrowful nature, for the neighboring nations surrounding us, namely the Greeks, the people of Egrisi, Gugark^c and Uti, as well as the northern races living at the foot of the Caucasus considered carefully to shut the stable door after the horse was stolen so that the wicked *ostikan* would never find their cities, *awans* and villages in a prosperous state, and for this reason they tried to destroy everything that was to be found at the borders of their respective provinces. 2. Mixed among the latter were also thieves⁷⁵ and brigands, who rose in arms against our country. At their hands the god-built churches suffered numerous calamities, which left them in a state of waste, desolation and ruin. 3. They devastated many provinces and turned them into deserts, untrodden and barren, almost like a land through which men had never passed, and where the Son of Man had never dwelt. Thus, they turned the habitable places into wasteland. 4. In the encounters among themselves, they shed much blood and covered the face of our land with corpses. Generally taking great quantities of booty, each one carried a proportional amount to his respective land. 5. Thus, depopulated, barren, desolate and devastated, our *awans* and *šēns*⁷⁶ resembled the orchards that are full of bushes, where the shoots of the plants in the meadows dried out. Our cities were destroyed by lack of population; our tillers were worn out and in mourning. 6. Thus, our shame covered us, and through us the prophesy of Isaiah came to its fulfilment: "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned by fire; strangers devour your land in your presence; it is made desolate, and overthrown by foreign nations."

7. While we suffered such afflictions at the hands of the foreign invaders, we had our eyes fixed on our kings, as well as the princes, lords and *naxarars* of our land, and raised our hopes high, thinking that the latter would not succumb to the contest and fall, but make the attempt to find a solution to this misfortune, and befittingly unite in a common brotherhood with one spirit, and like David hurl the sling at the carnal pyramid of the new Goliath, or like Gideon and the cake of barley bread that tumbled and put to flight the forces of the enemy with the sword of

⁷⁵*awazakk*^c JT] *ramikk* J¹.

⁷⁶"our *awans* and *šēns*"] *andastank*^c *mer* J¹ABCD, 'our orchards'.

the Lord, or like Jael smite the nail into the temples of Sisera after making him drink the milk, or like Maccabee rescue themselves from the siege. 8. Thus [we expected] [them to liberate the catholic church, and liberate the necks of the faithful from the sway [of the enemy], as well as save the children of those that were killed. 9. However, this is not what we witnessed; on the contrary it was the exact opposite. For the poor tried to surpass the rich, and the servants, in accordance with Solomon, maneuvered to make their masters crawl on the ground, and mount the fiery steeds of the latter. They defied those who trampled them under foot and became arrogant in a great rebellion.

10. On the other hand, our kings, lords and princes tried to break up and take away the homes of each one of the original *naxarardoms*, and in accord with their whims, created new *payazats* and *spasalars* of their own. 11. Brother rose against brother, and kinsman against kinsman, because jealousy, malevolence, agitation and absolute hatred turned them against one another. 12. Thus, falling on one another en masse, they fought as enemies, and having always their swords ready at their sides, shed more of their own blood than that of the enemy. 13. They tore down with their own hands all of their cities, villages, *awans*, *agaraks* and houses. These crimes which they committed out of enmity were the cause of the invasions of the brigands against us, in accordance with the words of Solomon: "Hatred stirs up strife". 14. With us the other prophecy also came to its fulfilment: "Man shall fall upon man, and neighbor upon neighbor; the child shall strike the old man and the base shall [insult] the honorable."

15. Thus, every virtue, uprightness, prosperity, and peace crumbled, and erosion and desolation came in their place. 16. In view of these the prophet joins us lamenting the former affluence and the present disorder: "Before him is a garden of delight, and behind him a plain of desolation."

LIII

THE SEVERITY OF THE ELEMENTS AND THE FAMINE: THE CALAMITIES BROUGHT UPON BY THE ENEMIES, AND THE CARNIVOROUS BEASTS

1. In accord with the severe disasters [brought on us by the enemy], the elements of nature also turned on us the bitter impediments of evil. For the temperate northern climate gave way to the bitter southerly

gales, and the sweet desirable spring season turned into wintry desolation. 2. Formerly, our tillers were extremely zealous in the labor of their hands, whereas now they are dishearted, and disabled; then our granaries were full, while presently they are empty and discredited. 3. At one time flocks of sheep grazed joyfully in meadows covered with flowers, now, they are withered away and have greatly diminished in number. 4. Formerly, the plains were full of crops, whereas now, they are filled with sadness. 5. The valleys produced great amount of wheat, while presently they are flooded by hail and wicked storms. 6. In days of yore, the rain was pleasant and beneficial, whereas now it is useless, and tempestuous, and ruins the crops as well as the threshing floors, that is, if there are any crops. 7. Of old the mountains were clad in joy, whereas now, they are bereft of their adornments because of the lack of grazing animals. 8. We put to work ten yoke of oxen, and received one jar [full of crops in return]. We sowed, but reaped naught, planted, but did not get any harvest. The fig tree did not yield any fruits; the vine and the olive tree could not produce their yield. If we stored anything at all, it was given to others. 9. Thus, we realized the meaning of the divine words, "We toiled, and others have come in for the harvest of our toil." 10. In this manner we were deprived of any hope for the good, and shame covered our faces.

11. Thereupon, because of the ransacking of the enemy and the fruitless barrenness, severe famine also prevailed. 12. For the blazing fire that came upon us, and the merciless sword of the warriors that always poured on us the stench of death, continued [to scourge us] for a period of seven years. For this reason, those of us that survived migrated to the tents of Kedar, and were deprived of our possessions, allowances of supplies, and food. 13. Then the destructive famine began, and all the inhabitants of the province of Ayrarat in the cities, villages and *agarak*s were distressed. Discolored like corpses and in despair, they trembled. 14. Some who were rich, spent their possessions little by little for their daily subsistence, and ultimately reached the final stage of penury and destitution. 15. Others were forced to turn to herbs for food because of hunger, and accidentally having eaten either hemlock or certain other harmful plants, perished. For the menace of starvation forced them all to eat everything out of need. 16. Because of their fear of the danger, some sold their beloved children to the enemy for a small amount of allowance, and did not remember the heartrending duties of parents.

17. Due to the requirements of their needs, venerable women stripped their heads of veils and their bodies of clothing, and coming out in the open shamelessly, walked about begging. 18. Some, weakened, debilitated, and devitalized by the horrible famine, trembled like dead images and stumbled from side to side. Because of their languor, they collided into one another and fell down. 19. Others who had fallen on

the squares like great piles of corpses, and had been abandoned, while they were about to breathe their last, begged the passers-by to extend them a piece of bread, and perished thus. 20. But whenever rich men gave alms to the beggars, afterwards they turned against them in a merciless and harsh manner, because they felt sorry for themselves thinking that they themselves might become like the latter. 21. They all had ceased to set tables. Because of their state of utmost destitution, some of them ate the wheat before it was crushed and kneaded, while others snatched away the half-baked dough from the oven. 22. If they found any food, it was through labor, and the wretched nourishment which they acquired through toil was worthy of tears. 23. At this point, I tremble and shudder with horror at the account I am about to give. For trustworthy people verified the authenticity of this report, that certain mothers prepared meals for themselves out of the corpses of their famine-stricken children. 24. Others killed their friends treacherously in the likeness of sheep taken to be slaughtered and prepared meals for themselves. 25. These afflictions [that came upon us] should be mourned much more than the vengeance exacted on Jerusalem. For merciful women cooked their children with their own hands, and provided food for themselves. The babes that were wont to be fondled and caressed were thrown into the trash, in which they tumbled, and which they ate in place of food. 26. The tongues of suckling babes cleaved to the roofs of their mouths, because of thirst, as they were not suckled by their mothers. Children begged for a piece of dry bread and tears came down their cheeks. There was no one who would give them anything. In this way, they withered away and breathed their last in the bosoms of their mothers; children as well as parents in the cities were thus dispersed and lost. 27. Thus the children of our people were condemned to perdition because of our wickedness, and they were destroyed in the twinkling of an eye. 28. On top of all of these, the torments inflicted by the seditious elements brought destruction upon them. For those who had been captured by them were subjected to the agony of unbearable torments, with the expectation that possibly they might have some food in their possession. 29. If they found anything in the possession of anyone, they inflicted on him twice as many diabolic tortures. They inserted rods into the sexual organs of some, while they pierced the posterior of others with pieces of sharp wood, and poured ashes taken from furnaces hot with fire down their bosoms and heads. 30. They tied the privy parts of some with thongs, and suspended them from tall balconies until their parts were torn off. Very few people could survive this, and one could witness such things [done by them] not only to their enemies, but also to their kinsmen, friends and acquaintances.

31. Such was the disorder that prevailed over the cities, and the deathly night that covered the villages as well as the estates [*gerdastan*].

Nude corpses remained tossed on the streets and the squares. The sight was so horrible and disgraceful that no one could bury them in a grave. 32. In this manner, they became prey to dogs, carnivorous beasts and the birds in the sky. Subsequently, the rapacious beasts became accustomed to it and the numbers of the devouring wolves grew immensely. Thereafter, in place of corpses they began to devour the living by tearing them to pieces with their teeth, as if they were brutes. Both the venerable and the meek were cut down together by the claws of these beasts. The torpor about our sins also spread its mist over the innocent, and weakened them, for departure from this life is the common lot of all men, whereas honor and punishment are reserved for the designated day of retribution. 33. Thus death spread in a matter of few days, and devoured the people of Ashkenaz. Mishaps caused by wicked tempests struck every one, and because of our sins the shadow of death covered us. As we did not keep the covenant of the Lord, He abandoned us.

34. At the time of these afflictions I was an expatriate dwelling in Gugark^c and Iberia, with the wise king Atrnerseh, who was staying in that province. Although he honored me greatly as his guest and arranged for a generous allowance, yet, as my stay there was prolonged like that of Israel in the tent of Kedar, I was tormented by great grief and expected to be delivered by the Lord.

LIV

THE LETTER OF PATRIARCH NIKOLAOS OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO KATHOLIKOS YOVHANNĒS, AND THE LETTER OF THE LATTER TO THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

1. At that time, the great patriarch of Constantinople, Nikolaos, hearing of the calamities and the hardships that had come upon us, wrote me the following letter:

2. "To the most holy, God-loving, spiritual Father, and our very dear brother Lord Yovhannēs, Katholikos of Greater Armenia, 3. from Nikolaos, by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, and servant of the servants of God; greetings in the name of the Lord."

4. "I think that your God-loving lordship is not unaware of the deep sorrow and ceaseless grief of our heart on behalf of the Armenians, the

Iberians, and the Albanians, who collectively comprise your faithful flock upon whom the Ishmaelite Saracen tyrants have inflicted severe travail and afflictions. 5. Although we could not witness with our own eyes the visitation of danger upon your flock, as we are physically beyond range, yet, hearing of the trouble that your land is suffering at the hands of the wicked, we deplore it with deep personal grief, and mourn with great sorrow. 6. If those of us, who are at a great distance from you, have received these tidings through hearsay with such personal grief, then how much severer all these must have affected you, who partook of the torments together with your flock, and were persecuted as well as clubbed and beaten by the impious and wicked rebels. What could be done that might have been proper and fit? What could be said in consolation for such a wickedness? How could righteousness follow this in order to dispel the scandal which is close at hand?"

7. "Now, if it seems proper to your Holiness, first of all, it is necessary to call upon the divine Providence and succour at all times, and lifting up your arms, ask the Lord God with all your heart to have mercy on your flock, namely the Armenians, the Iberians, and the Albanians. Think of the public welfare, and never again tolerate its loss. Take upon yourself the task of admonishing all of them at all times in the knowledge of God, as well as that of binding and absolving them with the Christ-given authority, with which you were invested [to perform matters] in heaven and on earth. At least, stop the wicked hostilities that prevail among them. 8. Do not let them remain in their wild, beastly state, whereby they fall upon one another in rage in order to kill. Let them return to human rationality and Christian serenity, wherewith salvation will be granted to the rest of the people in the lands of Armenia, Iberia, and Albania."

9. "My Humility made haste to write to you first and give this brief friendly advice. 10. We sent another letter like this to your *curopalate*, and to the chief [prince] of Abasgia, whom we advised to listen to you, to forget their animosities, to seek friendship, unity and peaceful coexistence with one another as well as with the Armenian and Albanian princes, to come together unanimously and fight against the children of the ungodly enemy Apusič⁷⁷ so that you might not all perish, and the kindred races that are under your sway might not be shaken. 11. Now, your Holiness must try to extirpate the wicked animosities among them by talking to them face to face, or by means of letters, and encyclicals, as well as with [the help of] bishops, priests and holy men, and see to it that they attend to the supervision of such matters without any negligence. You must encourage them to turn to better things such as the redemptive mysteries and salutary works. For if you are thus of one accord

⁷⁷ "against the children of the ungodly enemy Apusič"—J. *ordwoc*'n, 'children'] *ordwoyn* D, 'son'. Apusačay D.

and unified, the destructive evil will be unable to bring any kind of affliction upon your land. 12. And while you yourselves carry out these matters, our Emperor who is crowned by God, will send large forces to your aid in accordance with the demands of the times, so that your *curopalate* as well as the chief [prince] of Abasgia, together with the princes and the nobility of Armenia might join our forces, and with the help of God and through your priestly intercession having fought against the enemy, the so called accomplice of the devil, might vanquish them."

13. "Only then, both you and we shall grant them remission for their sinful animosity, which they iniquitously allowed to prevail among themselves. 14. And as it befits your Holiness, you may grant each one his rights so that every individual may be led to restore himself in his former pious mode of life. 15. Hereafter, let there be the peace of Christ among you and let your prayers, which shine with holiness, be with our Humility."

16. Having read this, and having embraced it with the love of Christ, I was able to persuade the king of Iberia to these very same thoughts and ideas, so that he promised to pursue peace, friendship and equable harmony with all the princes as well as the lords of the lands of Armenia and Iberia, by making a solemn oath in regard to the above matter. 17. Subsequently, having heard of the grave afflictions caused by the tempests that befell the people of the Lord, I mourned greatly, and tears coursed down my eyes in the likeness of streams of water. 18. For I saw beauty departed from the house of the Lord, and His sanctuary seduced by the heathens. I also was a witness to the wailing, lamenting and moaning of His priests. Remembering the days of my misery, which were spread over my heart like a net, and having recovered by some degree my withered energy, I went to the land of Tarōn, where in return for the agonies that I suffered I received consolation from my kinsmen, as well as from the princes and the people, so that the soul within my body was stimulated.

19. However, our adversary who had trampled under foot the sanctuary of the Lord, still remained in the capital city of Dvin, and roaring bitterly, tried to see whom he could swallow. 20. He sent his armies to all the corners of our land, and also tried to carry out the wicked schemes that he conceived against king Gagik than against anyone else. When the latter became aware of Yūsuf's insidious complicity with the devil, and noticed that the invaders had reached the threshold [of his realm], taking with him his family, his treasures, as well as all the many people living in his domain, he went to the mountainous fastnesses of Mokk^c and⁷⁸ Korduk^c, where he sheltered the above. 21. He himself as well as his brother and the armed *spasalar* forces remained in Miĵerkrayk^c,

⁷⁸ *ew*]—T.

where they took precautions against the uncaged beast, by keeping themselves always on the alert. The great prince of Siwnik^c, Smbat, had also joined them and waited for God to send peace. 22. However, Ašot, the *sparapet* of Armenia still remained stationed in the torrents of wickedness, and as he could not sever his ties with Yūsuf, for this reason they [Gagik and his allies] carefully kept him under secret surveillance. 23. But the *sparapet* by means of a clever declaration succumbed in every way to the will of the *ostikan*, and secured only the safety of his own skin. 24. On the other hand, Ašot, the son of Smbat, whom the king of Iberia and his forces had set up as king over the Armenians, went from one stronghold of his domain to the other. He was victorious in many a contest and displayed heroic valor in battle against all of his enemies, not only the Saracens, but also the Iberians and the people of Gugark^c, who thought of doing evil to him. But while I was still in the district of Tārōn, I saw the tempestuous and ceaseless incursions of the brigands, and wrote a letter to the Emperor Constantine of the Romans in the following words:

26. "Sublime Autocrat and Emperor of the Romans, Augustus Constantine, who are crowned and glorified by God, Great and Victorious Kings of the universe, who are God-loving and pious, overseers of the public enlightenment during the course of this life, true peace-makers for all of us that exist, Images of the nine heavenly orders [of angels], Breeders of spiritual instruction, Genuine Leaders of so many nations and races, and indeed Godly Palm Trees planted in the house of the Lord. Greetings to you, peace, and much rejoicing as well as love from this catholic church, even though she is made captive by the enemy, and turned barren like a waterless desert, in the manner of a mother deprived of her children. Yet, She exists and remains for the love of the glory of God. 28. Greetings also from me, Yovhannēs, the humble katholikos of Greater Armenia. 29. Let the grace and peace of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ abound."

30. "We ourselves, and the bishops with us, as well as the entire congregation of the holy church were clubbed, beaten, tormented and persecuted by the deathly and insidious breath of Amalek, who emitted the wicked envy of the carnivorous devil, and in accord with his wild frenzy, brought on us the tempest of bitterness and the wrathful exasperation of unbearable revenge. 31. Nevertheless, we preserved within ourselves the grace of joy and love of the Lord. Like Paul supplicating, first let us offer ceaseless prayers, beseeching implorations, and conciliatory solicitations as well as express our gratitude, which is due to you, who are the invincible, majestic, God-crowned kings. May you live many years in accordance with the righteous fruition of this life, and the true peace of the heavenly king in the worthy and beautiful imperial palace which is the dwelling place of multitudes of men. 32. May you approach

readily and calmly the life-bearing mystery, which brings one closer to God, and in all piety, graceful sanctity, genuine joy and great exaltation may the termination of your lives bloom in repose befitting God. Accordingly, you have received for your benevolence a gift which is worthy of your heroic glory and virtuous lives, whereby you are pious and beloved, and have taken arms to exact vengeance on the gentiles. 33. O servant of God, our benefactor, autocrat, and Christ-crowned Emperor of the Romans, at this point I am forced to speak in an unusual manner concerning the afflictions that came upon us. It is about us who are in despair, that I am speaking. 34. We who are serving as spokesman have directed our thoughts your way with joyful expectation. We are doing this softly and gently, in accordance with what we were taught, namely "Let no one hear his voice in the streets." Your ears, which are familiar with the voice of God, do not need articulate sounds in order to comprehend, but rather, you recognize what is being sought of you through the operation of the divine wisdom, which is implanted in you.

35. And now I am grateful to Him, Who gave strength to your august imperial highnesses to come to our rescue. 36. For this reason, with the permission of your pious majesties let me make you aware of the report of the atrocious afflictions that we suffered. 37. For the covert envy of the enemy of righteousness rose against us with all of its might, and like an adulterer with dissolute passion, it dared to fall upon the immaculate nuptial chamber of the bride [of Christ], the church, in order to desecrate the inheritance of the Lord, and to violate his holy temple, as well as to subject the people of the Lord to harrassment, destruction, subjugation and annihilation, and grinding with its teeth, devour the new Israel and molest the place of the Glory of His name. 38. As long as all the nations acknowledged fear of you as a protective bastion against the enemies, and as long as we lived safely under the auspices of your imperial majesties, as if in a beautiful city, the nuptial veil of the bride [of Christ], the church, was never contaminated by the inhabitant of Kedar, who hated the kiss of holiness, and the tyranny of the accomplice of Beliar could not force the departure of the peaceful bridegroom.

39. "But as soon as we became negligent of our duties to you, the venom of the insidious serpent of Dan defied your righteous majesty, and there was no one to seek vengeance from our slanderer. Once again the accursed serpent began to crawl and stealing through the spiritual palisade, penetrated into the vineyards of the Lord of Hosts. 40. The fire, which was at one time extinguished, once again began to blaze, and cause extensive fiery conflagrations. 41. Those who had forsaken their belief in Christ raised persecutions against the holy church, and turned her into an orchard-guard's hut; like a forest, they hewed down her gates with axes and burned down the sanctuary of the Lord, and desecrated

the altar in His name. They offered impious sacrifices and impure victims in the house of the righteous. Those who had entrusted themselves to the Lord God they despised, and cast the bodies of the blessed of the Lord on high before the beasts and the birds in the sky. In vain was the blood of the clerics of the church shed, like the water poured around Jerusalem. 42. They also broke the strength of those hands that were engaged in war, and repelled them by means of extensive carnage and bloodshed. They scattered the *naxarar* houses of the race of Togarmah, and banished the city dwellers as well as the peasants under severe hardships. Some were confined in prison, and bound with fetters, or shut in unbearable torture chambers. Others were destroyed by the thirsty sword, or taken captive and sold with sadistic subtlety. Those that survived the evil servitude of the wicked, whether they were leaders or people of lesser rank, were all scattered throughout the face of the earth, and took refuge on mountains, in caves and crevices without any clothing, hungry daunted and terrified. As their lives were in danger, they perspired because of their fear of death. Like a twig that is shaken by the wind, they were forced to vacillate at the menace of afflictions, as if they were half dead. 43. In all this carnage, the hand of Amalek did not succeed in quenching with blood the thirst of the sword that slaughters multitudes. For it brought death to all through its insidious breath; for some it lay snares in secret by making them drink destructive and deadly drugs, and it consumed the rest with blazing fire. There were others that were suffocated, or cut down relentlessly by the slaughtering sword, until the foundations of our land were filled with the corpses of the dead. 44. At this time, what could I say concerning Smbat Bagratuni, the chief of all those in the East, and your servant, who spiritually became worthy of being called "my son" by you? For the wicked enemy was more severe in repaying the benefactor and protector of the church with greater evil than that done to anyone else. 45. Because of our sins the guardian of the flock of Christ was confined in prison by that insolent and impious man, and he, who had pacified the people of Ashkenaz from all the evil turmoils to a state of spiritual richness with the assistance of your imperial majesties, and had gathered the reasonable flock of Christ to the glory and praise of God, was subjected to the agony of severe torments at the hands of the enemy.

46. "In his old age he suffered the toilsome agony of being confined in prison and dark dungeons, unbearable pits and uncomfortable places. 47. Subsequently, by means of merciless flogging and torments that would hasten his death, [the *ostikan*] exposed Smbat to destruction by means of the thirsty sword, and deprived all of us of the care of your faithful servant.⁴⁸ And behold, presently internal strife, and disaster from above trouble us. But your prudent foster-son is no longer among us in order to advise and give every assistance to the warriors in battle.

49. Sedekia has been taken captive and Zorobabel is to be found nowhere, so that he may not renew the endangered sovereignty of the land of Armenia. 50. Hazael has been invited to come and fell Israel, and we are surrounded on all sides by warfare. Being ensnared by very wicked executioners, Maccabee is unable to save us from the menace of these afflictions. 51. Antiochus is forcing us to foresake our Christian faith, while Matthathias is no longer alive to withstand the belligerent tyrant. 52. Thus, the church of Christ has become desolate, and like a widow she is left unattended to and neglected, deprived and silent of her annual feasts. Also the flocks of Christ are stripped all at once of their paternal succour and overseer. Wretched, forlorn and abandoned, this eastern land of ours is moaning constantly due to tremulous agitations. With tragic lamentations and tears she is suffering the perennial disasters brought upon by the evil, which has come and taken possession of us, and [is bearing] the anguish of bitter torments."

53. "What account should I, Yovhannês, a most humble man, give of my sufferings, especially since I do not consider myself worthy of sharing the toils of the righteous. Yet, the fact that I was banished, and subjected to severe torments because of my sins, and that I was saved from the tribulations which I willingly confronted, make it necessary for me to boast like Paul of my weakness, for some accepted the afflictions with fortitude. I suffered greatly at the hands of the children of Hagar. I was confined in dark dungeons, cast into a muddy cell, and chained with iron fetters. They tormented me with racks, clubs and various other devices, which would have been sufficient to extinguish the breath in my body. 54. Although I am a tormented man, our Hope Christ, Who is known by His power, and cannot be described visually, preserved me physically and saved me from death. He returned me and those with me from captivity, like torrents coming from the south, and snatched me away from the claws of the dragon. Like Elija I fled to Sarephtha of Sidon away from Jezabel, the prophet killer. Like Paul I was suspended from the walls of Damascus and fled the entharch Aretas. 55. I suffered all these things, as I deserved. In accordance with the order of the Lord, I was pursued from one city to the other, until I reached the threshold of your mighty, august, and imperial majesties. From this far off land I seek from your pious and beneficent superintendence mercy not only for myself, but also for all the people of Ashkenaz with the hope that you may save the children of your servants who were killed. We all drank the goblet of wrath [given to us] by the southern tyranny. We imbibed to the dregs the cup of indignation and mortification at the hands of those who brought misery upon us. 56. I beg you to raise your hand out of your wisdom and kindness to the end against the insolence of the enemy, and rescue the inheritance which is yours, as well as to reestablish by great expenditure the majesty of the temple of God in the

Highest, which was seized and ravaged by the insurgents. 57. Turning to flight the wicked beasts, the rapacious wolves, the heathen insurgents and the wild barbarians, you should subordinate those parts which you had received in the beginning by virtue of your desirable laws which are full of mercy. 58. Shake off of us this dust, to which our waist is glued, and lift from our necks the yoke, which was imposed on us by the tyrant for the entire duration of our lives. Cleanse this land and city, which became the target of the hostility and envy of the impure, damned and wicked princes, who were hateful to God. In accordance with the prophetic instruction, you shall inherit bliss by giving back to the wretched daughter of Babylon the harm that she brought on us. 59. It is for this very reason that God chose your triumphant majesties, so that those who love God might acquire peace through your willing kindness, and repay in peace the services that they owe your imperial majesties, and reach God in a tranquil state.

60. "I have made these requests on behalf of the entire reasonable and faithful flock entrusted to me by the Lord. 61. But as for my own self, I have the following request to make your Christ-crowned, triumphant majesties: afflictions, distress, persecutions, toils, famine, the sword, and captivity, as well as the southern tyranny have agonized my old age. 62. At the present time, sitting along the banks of the Babylonian rivers, I am scorched by many tears, and remember the captivity of Sion. But I have found asylum under the protection of your merciful and imperial majesty, and have come to your threshold. I am not asking for a domicile and quarters that my predecessors the blessed vicars [of the Church] did not have, but those that they held under the protective arms of your ancestors at the beginning of our conversion, and made secure by the might of the Holy Cross of the Lord as well as the providential mercy of your imperial majesties, they tended in their respective times to the faithful flock with fearless ministrations, undistracted heart and unwavering faith. 63. This is something that I also wish to possess through the intercession of the life-giving and redeeming Holy Cross.

"Do not deprive me and those with me from prostrating ourselves before the Cross that carried God, and do not deprive us of meeting your majesties who are appointed by God. 64. For many years I have wished very much to pay a visit to you. Yet, until now I was hampered [in carrying out my wishes]. 65. I have also wished to provide my own people with a restful living quarter and a peaceful life within your august, magnificent, glorious and mighty kingdom, so that after being delivered from the hands of the Ishmaelites, and finding asylum under the auspices of your wings we might tend to the flock of God among us, and always offer our ceaseless prayers to God for the peace, safety, and stability of the power of your imperial majesties, whose might is acknowledged throughout the universe. With much assistance from you and by

means of your glory and grace we shall prepare the Armenian nation by turning them first into a people of the Lord, and then by the will of God into your own people. 66. For the following matter is quite clear to your glorious majesties; should I, who am a humble pastor of my flock, live under the auspices of the mighty and glorious Holy Cross, and under the tutelage of your imperial majesties, to what extent would the flock of God, and the inheritance of Christ follow my footsteps? They would rush in order to join the universal flock of your reasonable sheep congregated in the meadow and pursue their lives under the aegis of Roman supremacy, just like the people of Italy and all of Asia. 67. As for those, who will not come and who stray from the fold of the Lord's flock, you ⁷⁹ shall bear their judgement, whosoever they be, and I shall remain irreprouchable and free from blame.

68. "And now, may the exalted, blazing and radiant Holy Cross, which dwells in your universal and glorious city in the likeness of the sun shining amidst the celestial bodies, save the inhabitants of your court from all losses caused by the corruptible wiles of the devil, so that no surging tempest may come about through the swollen billows of the foreign invaders, nor the powerful storm be allowed to usher in destructive winter. Let no mountain-like surge or adversary of your praiseworthy selves be able to shake you by means of threats, or overwhelm your majesty, who art the protector of the laws of Christ, and whose name is exalted with glory from one end of the universe to the other. 69. May you rejoice greatly, and be merry in wonderful tranquility and in a perfect state of peace. Exult in your safety; by the mercy of the Exalted you shall never be shaken. Devote your time to blessing the Lord for His kindness, Him, who crowned you with a magnificently glittering diadem decked with valuable gems. May your righteousness rise in the strength of Christ, and let us bless your name gloriously, Augustus Constantine,⁸⁰ autocrat, and triumphant and beneficent king, Emperor of the Romans.

LV

KING AŠOT GOES TO THE EMPEROR, AND YŪSUF RETREATS BEFORE KING GAGIK

1. After they had read my letter to the Emperor, he considered that the wicked calamities from the south might still be abounding around us,

⁷⁹lit. "by you", *i jenf] i mēnf] JBC*, "by us".

⁸⁰Kostandianos] Kostandinos J, Kostandnos ABCD.

and learning of our distress and destruction as well as of the death of the beneficent and blessed king Smbat, whom they considered to be worthy of the lot of a martyr, thereupon immediately sent a certain T^εodoros Vaslikos⁸¹ in search of me and Ašot, son of Smbat, who was ruling as king. With many honors and affectionate tokens of intimacy, he also recalled the memory of the friendship established between his father Basil and Ašot's father Smbat, and urged us to make haste to pay a visit to him in order to make arrangements that would be mutually beneficial. 2. But as Ašot, the son of the king, had taken refuge in the fastnesses of his realm, whereas I myself was staying in the district of Tarōn, Vaslikos first came to see me. 3. Having accepted the invitation of the Emperor, I sent him to Ašot, the son of the king. Upon his arrival, Vaslikos presented the imperial edict to Ašot, who willingly gave his consent, and immediately set out on his way. In the course of his journey he was treated with much hospitality and given royal honors in the inns, and then he went to meet the Emperor.

4. Here, the Emperor honored him more than his *gaherēc* princes with a proper throne, and unlike the other honorable guests, gave him the majestic distinction befitting the progeny of a king. He treated Ašot almost as his equal, and exalted him with royal dignity. 5. At the same time, he bestowed on him the title "the son of a martyr", and "my beloved son", dressed him in glorious purple, and gave valuable gold-broidered robes, byssus with golden borders, and a girdle studded with gems for his waist. He was honored thus not once or twice, but many times. They also presented him with swift and spirited horses, which were decked with beautiful armor and ornaments, as well as many cups, and utensils, and many gold and silver wares. 6. They also bestowed great honors on the *naxarars* whom he had taken with him. Until their return they received bountiful largesses and generous allowances.

7. But I went to the district of Derjan,⁸² where I remained for a period of one month. Although during that time I received frequent and courteous invitations to go to the imperial court, yet, I decided not to go, thinking that there might be people who might look askance at my going there, and assume that I sought communion with the Chalcedonians. It was for this reason that I did not wish to go, lest I might scandalize the minds of the weak. 8. Subsequently, in accordance with my own wishes, I went to the sacred cave, where dwelled initially the blessed lady Mani, and after her the thrice blessed [Grigor] our Illuminator. At this place, despite the weakness of their bodies, they led the lives of incorporeal beings, and surmounted the tyrannical demands of [their physical] needs. Through their saintly lives they carried the contest of virtue

⁸¹ Vasilikosn D.

⁸² Derjan JAD] Derčan T.

beyond the limits set by the [divine] ordinance, and making themselves worthy of incomparable bliss, they were crowned by Christ in exultation and glory. 9. Also I saw there a small cavity dug in the depths of a cavern, which was difficult of access and unfit for living because of the ruggedness of the rocks. Therein people, who had dedicated themselves eternally to Christ, had set up a divine altar for their votive sacrifices.

10. I approached the cave with reverence, and stood by the rock where the source of our enlightenment [i.e., St. Grigor the Illuminator] had waited for two days for the death of the blessed Mani. Here, prostrating myself before the omnipotence of Christ, I went down to the spring with the sweet waters, with which the blessed comforted themselves from the heat of their sweaty toils and spiritual labors. This place also was surrounded with walls of solid rock, and was shut in by gates. The holy and immaculate hand of Gregory had drawn water from here to drink. 11. At this very place, I also, who am a wretch, with the help of the palms of my hands became worthy of tasting the water from the redeeming spring of him who renovated us, and whose seat I possess; were that, I could also follow his example. 12. I took with me some of the blessed dirt from the levelled mound, wherein the venerable and spiritual treasure [of relics] had been buried by the shepherds, and on which site a church had been built earlier at my orders with monumental stones cemented with lime. 13. There, in the glens and fastnesses of the caves, I saw people living, celibates as well as hermits who wore cilice and lay on the ground. They wore no shoes, and were poorly fed; as disciples of righteousness and descendants of virtue, they spent their time in continuous prayer, and supplicatory implorations. 14. The latter did not live together in one place, but were scattered along the foot of the mountain, where their living quarters are to be found. Everyone provided for his own physical necessities by toilsome sweat.

15. Receiving their blessings, I went to the village of T'ordan, where was the retreat of Saint Grigor. At this place are buried⁸³ significant and immortal treasures, that is the living relics of the saints who passed through life in all righteousness, and lit by the unapproachable light, shone like the sun. Kindled by the fire of the Holy Spirit, they glittered in luminous lustre with an unquenchable light and radiated the glory of God. 16. Spending the night there, I prostrated myself before the Lord, and cut off a twig from the ash tree, which the hand of the blessed Illuminator had planted. 17. Then I returned to the hermitages on the mountain side and joined the monks in prayer. I remained here for approximately nine months, until I was lured by the flattering words of our kings, and, deceived by their excellent promises, which they made in

⁸³ *cackeal han, aysink'n*] *cackeal han Astucoy* JAECD, 'God has buried'.

⁸⁴ *srhoc'n*] *srboyn J*, 'of the saint'.

the name of God, I returned to Armenia. 18. Nevertheless, I did not behold the results of the promises that they had made. On the contrary, occupying their minds with vain thoughts and obscure ideas, they went astray along the path of iniquity, and because of our own [leaders] our wretched land was shaken. 19. Once again I wished to move away from this domicile, and dwell in the same holy cave [mentioned above]. Were that death would allow me to carry out my wishes! But let this be according to God's will.

20. Be that as it may, as long as the impetuous asp remained in his den in the city of Dvin, he was completely occupied with wicked thoughts about how he could sting king Gagik with his venom, or utterly destroy and annihilate the king together with all of his *naxarars*. 21. Gagik, however, put his trust in the Lord, and raised not a small amount of uproar as well as confusion, which he stirred up against Yūsuf's governors, officials, armies and generals in the regions of Her, Zarewand, Marand,⁸⁵ and Naxjawan. For several days he fought in armed combat against the enemy forces and generals, and shed much blood.

22. Thereupon, when the wicked *ostikan* saw the solid strength of Gagik, whom he had always spurned as a dishonorable and despicable person, he was enraged at this, and with great anger went about to muster the multitude of his forces. 23. Upon reaching the region of Mardastan,⁸⁶ and the district of Tosb, he boasted arrogantly that he would annihilate and utterly destroy everything, and put to the sword all the *tohms*, families and children. 24. But when the Armenians saw the multitude of the Arab forces which had come upon them in great numbers, they took into consideration the faint-hearted people among themselves, whose hands were too weak to fight, and subsequently, singled out those who were unable to withstand the enemy in war, and marched forth to their colony, where they carefully also sheltered the latter in the strongholds. 25. They themselves, uniting in one body, and armed with weapons as well as armor, ascended to the flanks of the fortified mountains, or descended to the depths of valleys as well as the fastnesses in rocky crevices, and hastened from one place to the other before the pursuing enemy.

26. Due to the swiftness of their flight back and forth, waving like billows—according to Solomon “like roses leaping over the mountains of Bethel,”—the enemy forces could not catch up with them, nor could they follow their own caprices. 27. Then, for about two months almost as if demented by a certain depredation due to frantic thoughts, thanks to the Providence of God, they departed from there and went to the southern regions of the district of Rōtakk,⁸⁷ Her and Sałamas, and from

⁸⁵ew Maranday, ‘and Marand’]—JBC.

⁸⁶Margastan T, an obvious error.

⁸⁷Rōtkac^c J, Rōstka A, Rōtka D, Rōstkay T.

there to the city of Atrpatakan. 28. But the wicked tyrant forgot the ceaseless, unremitting, eternally loyal services of the *sparapet* Ašot, and his insensitive heart did not trust them, because he always heeded the advice of the wicked. 29. When he was about to invade the region of Vaspurakan, he sent to Atrpatakan in Persia the great and pious princess, the mother of the *sparapet*, together with his two sisters, who were in the region of Naxjawan. He kept them under guard as if they were hostages.

30. After a few days Yūsuf urgently summoned the *sparapet* Ašot to his court. Upon the arrival of the latter, who had responded immediately because of his fear for his family, he received him with honor, set a generous allowance, gave presents and honored him. 31. But when king Gagik and his kinsmen as well as his *naxarars* saw that the turbid torrents of the wicked had withered, and vanished, they all glorified God Who is provident. 32. Subsequently, they returned to their respective districts, cities, estates, villages, and houses. They had suffered no harm from the invasions of the wicked adversary; the few exceptions were those who had been hindered by the enemy from taking flight to the strongholds. 33. Also the wise, prudent, and righteous prince of Anjewac'ik', Atom, was of great assistance to king Gagik from the rear. Through his profound intelligence and especially by means of the divine Providence he drove out of his land and his father's domain without engaging in warfare all the torrents of wickedness that had been brought by the vicious invaders. He protected himself from all the fire-sprinkling wickedness of the enraged Yūsuf by taking refuge under the wings of God. 34. Also during these persecutions the prince of Mokk' Grigor, together with his brother Gurgēn many a time met the requirements of his service to Gagik. He and his land, which is covered with deep valleys and steep crags, were unscathed by the afflictions [imposed on them] by their oppressors.

LVI

THE RETURN OF KING AŠOT TO HIS FATHERLAND, AND THE CORONATION OF AŠOT SPARAPET; THE WAR BETWEEN THE LATTER; THE SUCCESS OF KATHOLIKOS YOVHANNĒS IN APPEASING THEM

1. Ašot, the son of king Smbat, heard of all the above matters while he was still in the domain of the Romans. Thereupon, with much gratitude and thoughtful promises of services, he asked for permission

from the Emperor to return to his ancestral realm. He revealed to the latter that the Lord had come to Armenia, and had brought beneficence to that land. 2. The Emperor Constantine, in view of the favorable conditions of the time, willingly gave his consent to the request of Ašot, and prepared for him many valuable gifts, great amounts of money, beautiful ornaments and weapons, gold-covered stallions with golden reins. In addition to these he bestowed on him many treasures, put in his command many Roman generals and forces, and sent him back to his land. 3. Having passed through several stages, Ašot reached his land, where he subordinated many people under his sway, and like a newly arrived guest expected to receive from many others their respects. 4. However, as [the inhabitants of] the large *dastakert* Kołb hostilely opposed him, and he could in no way persuade them to consent to submit themselves to him, Ašot consequently let them be taken captive by the Greeks.

5. It was at this time, that Ašot, the *sparapet* of Armenia, immediately took leave of Yūsuf and returned to the capital city of Dvin. 6. But as the cunning *ostikan* had secretly intended to arouse sharp animosity between them, with such insidious snares in mind he crowned the *sparapet* of Armenia as king, and gird up his loins with a sword, whereafter he sent him to his land. The latter and his name-sake, that is, the son of king Smbat, almost came to hostilities. 7. Upon his return, the *sparapet* found his land completely ravaged, some of his people massacred, others taken captive, while the remaining dispersed among the foreign nations, his beloved *dastakert* seized by Ašot, the son of king Smbat, and the Roman forces, and also the rest of his estates and villages ransacked. Thereupon, like foreign enemies, the *sparapet* and the king's son fought one another in the heat of battle, and tried to outdo one another in their antagonism and animosity. 8. And as both of them had been invested with the royal honor, they turned against one another in spiteful grudge and jealousy. For this reason, each one individually was incited more strongly in his attempt to establish his own sovereignty.

9. At this time, Smbat, the great prince of Siwnik⁶, came from the region of Vaspurakan to Ašot the son of king Smbat. The latter received him with great honors, and intimacy, and bestowed on him glorious distinctions. 10. There also came the great Hayk-descended prince Vasak, the brother of the childless prince Grigor, and he also was given the same honors in a befitting manner. 11. Subsequently, the two name-sakes, who had inherited the royal title, intensified the tumultuous confusion between them. 12. But by chance I returned from the distant land of my expatriation at the right time, and going back and forth, tried to persuade them, and establish the proper brotherly unity between them. Accordingly, both of them heeded me, and having received their willing consent, I set down among them the conditions of unity and peaceful co-existence.

LVII

THE UPRISING OF VASAK AND AŠOT AGAINST
KING AŠOT, AND THEIR DEFEAT AT THE HANDS
OF THE LATTER

1. Thereupon, king Ašot, the son of king [Smbat], came to the region of Gugark^c, near the great fortress which is called Šamšuldē⁸⁸ in Georgian, that is, 'three arrows'. For his father had reduced the people living in the vicinity of the fortress to submission, and appointed Vasak and Ašot, two brothers of the Gnt^cuni house, as commanders of the fortress and overseers of that province. 2. Ašot, in turn, demanded that they serve him in the same manner of subservience. 3. And as there was a very small amount of provisions for the soldiers there, he sent his forces to the nearby district, so that they would be able to provide for their livelihood, until he returned from there. 4. He himself, accompanied by his handsome brother Abas and two hundred fifty men, halted near the fortress called Sakurēt^c.⁸⁹

5. But when Vasak and Ašot saw that the numbers of his forces had considerably decreased, and that no help was available from anyone in his immediate vicinity, they became arrogant and gross, and stirring up much commotion, secretly summoned all of their forces; in order to carry out their task, they also took along⁹⁰ their families, as well as the detachments in Tiflis, and those in the glens of the Caucasus, all in all more than four thousand men, comprising swordsmen, shield-bearers, lance-bearers, and daggar-bearers, and attacked unexpectedly.

6. When they [the king's men] saw the great multitudes of the enemy forces surrounding them, with many tears and implorations they called upon the high arm of the Lord, Who could pursue a thousand foes with one hand. 7. Then, crossing themselves with the sign of the cross, they arrayed their lines of battle with a huge out roar, and armed with the manly armor of horsemen, they bravely and vigorously rushed upon them. At the twinkling of an eye they quickly cut through the multitudes protected by shields, and routed them. With only two hundred men they were able to cut down and disperse four thousand armed soldiers of the enemy. 8. Some of the latter they put to the sword, or shot them with arrows and struck them down with lances. On the other hand, having captured certain Saracens, they put some of them to death, and amputated the noses as well as ears of the rest. 9. However, they spared the

⁸⁸Šamšultē A.

⁸⁹Sakurst^c A.

⁹⁰unelov, lit. 'having'] *koč'elov* ABCD, 'summoning'.

Christians, whom they let loose after ravaging their possessions. Almost no one escaped, save for Vasak, who took refuge with a few of his men in the fortress of Šamšuldē.⁹¹ 10. Thus did they carry out this task, for like Gideon's cake of barley they tumbled into the host of the foreigners and completely annihilated them. Āšot himself together with his brother returned victoriously and joyfully with much booty to the region of Iberia, to his most beloved friend, prince Gurgēn.

11. But the peaceful prince of Siwnik^c took leave of the son of the king at Mount Aragac, and turning back he set forth to meet his three brothers, Sahak, the lord of Siwnik^c, Babgēn⁹² and Vasak, who had returned recently to their domains after escaping the attack of Yūsuf. 12. Subsequently, being of one mind in wonderful harmony, they ruled over their ancestral domain, and tried to renovate and rebuild their paternal realm, which had been subverted and destroyed by the enemy. 13. Also the respective wives of the brothers who had been taken captive were delivered from the hands of their captors after a period of two years, and returned to the tranquility of the court and chamber of their lords. 14. It was at that time, that the Hayk-descended brothers Sahak and Vasak, the legitimate satraps of the districts that surround the Sea of Gełam, returned from the distant land of their expatriation, and took over the rule of their hereditary realm.

LVIII

KING AŠOT MAKES WAR AGAINST [THE ANTI-KING] AŠOT AND IS DEFEATED BY HIM

1. King Ašot, about whom we were speaking recently, heard that the other king, namely his namesake and the son of his paternal uncle, was not abiding by the treaty that they had agreed upon, but that he had taken possession of the *awans* and *agaraks* surrounding the city of Vałaršapat. For this reason, seeking to arouse enmity between themselves and getting ready a great mob composed of numerous warriors and marauders, king Ašot attacked suddenly in the unexpected hours of the morning, and brought utter destruction upon the forces of Ašot, while the latter was unsuspectingly taking cover in the village of Vałaver.⁹³ After dispersing entirely Ašot's army and routing the latter with only the

⁹¹ Šamšultē AB, Šamsutē C, Šamsultē D.

⁹² Babkēn J.

⁹³ Vałaver T.

clothes he had on and his horse, the king plundered all of the possessions of the enemy, their weapons, ornaments, horses, and many mules. Then he returned to the city of Vaŋaršapat, where he remained. 2. But the other Ašot came to the city of Dvin and stayed there.

3. Thereupon, I arrived [in order to intervene] between them, and with bitter tears uttered many scolding words and expressed my utter disgust at the son of king Smbat for the deadly perfidy that he committed. 4. Although by means of my protest I tried to uproot from their midst the evil seeds planted by the wicked tiller, so that they might rid themselves of the cause of afflictions,—even though they yielded temporarily to my pleas and consented to come to terms of reconciliation, they did not abide by their noble promises. On the contrary, they immediately reverted to their wicked envy and thus argued with each other at the rebukable instigation of evil and jealousy. 5. Thereafter, each one pursued the other, and they went in circles around one another. Their own domains were completely ravaged and destroyed. They handed over the dignity and glory of their own families to foreigners and enriched them, whereas they spread their way poverty for themselves. 6. Thus, for a period of two years they fell upon one another like brigands.

7. As for myself, I cried ‘woe unto me’, for I often was forced to live with those who hated my greetings, because I was a peace-maker, and whenever I opened my mouth, they contradicted me. 8. Be that as it may, king Ašot, the son of king Smbat, went and married the daughter of the great prince Sahak, who was called Sewaday. On this occasion, while they danced and performed the *kak'aw*, the *ostikan* Yūsuf sent Ašot a royal crown and valuable ornaments for robes, both beautiful and becoming, horses with golden reins, together with valuable weapons and armor, and an Ishmaelite cavalry detachment to assist him. 9. After the investiture of the crown that the *ostikan* had dispatched, Ašot sent much money and treasures to the *ostikan*. Then taking with him also the forces of his father-in-law prince Sahak, he came to the gates of the city of Dvin, for the other king, who was his namesake, was stationed there. Subsequently, they sent their forces against one another in combat, and gave battle. 10. On my part, I always pleaded in favor of peace with the two sides individually, once, twice as well as three times.

10a. However, Ašot, the son of king Smbat, putting his hopes in the strength of his forces, and his own valiance, boasted arrogantly and haughtily, whereat the Lord was perhaps displeased. 11. When they met one another in battle, due to the restless fears of Grigor, the brother-in-law of the king's son [Ašot Erkat', and the son of prince Sewaday, the forces of Ašot, the son of king Smbat, turned to flight before the enemy and many of them were felled by the sword in accordance with the words of the sage, that “the Lord is against the haughty.” 12. Subsequently, the

son of king Smbat went to the great prince of Iberia, Gurgēn, and receiving from him a great number of soldiers, arrived at the city of Vałaršapat, but on this occasion I did not allow them to do battle with one another, and pleaded with them to use their brains. They heeded [my] sound advice, and wisely accepted the benefit of mutual friendship. 13. At this time, prince Sahak, who possessed the districts along the shore of the Sea of Gałam as his inheritance, died. He was survived by a son, his heir, still under age. They buried him in the cemetery near the church that was built by him in the village of Noratunk^c.

LIX

KING AŠOT, THE SON OF KING SMBAT, MAKES WAR
AGAINST PRINCE MOVSĒS, AND DEFEATS HIM

1. Then, Ašot, the son of king Smbat, went to the great prince Sahak, who was his father-in-law, and subsequently, followed by the latter as well as all of his troops, he went to the province of Uti in order to pacify the brutal insurrection of Movsēs, whom he himself had set up as prince and commander over the barbaric tribes of the province of Uti. 2. Then, the great chorepiscopus,⁹⁴ who ruled over the region of Gugark^c which is near the gates of the Alans, came to the assistance of the king with a large army. 3. But when Movsēs saw the multitude of the forces coming to him en masse, he also gathered a large mélange of daring but disorderly forces, rushing almost like torrents that stream headlong down the ravines, and rising in rebellion, made haste to drive the king out of their domicile.⁹⁵ 4. However, the king sent orders to Movsēs to put down his rigid haughtiness and submit to him in order to live in peace and quiet. 5. But Movsēs answered him with arrogance and rudeness. 6. Thereupon, the wise and intelligent king, accompanied by prince Sahak, armed his force, that was composed of the choicest warriors, with bows, swords and spears. They arrayed the right⁹⁶ and the left wings, and setting out like a company of brigands, soon reached the end of the valley, where Movsēs was holding out with all of his forces. There they fell upon the foe with a great uproar and struck them with horrifying terror. 7. When the forces of Movsēs saw the intensity of the adversary, they were suddenly dispersed here and there, and turning to flight, left

⁹⁴ *K^corepiskoposn] k^coriskoposn* JABD.

⁹⁵ *i bnaku^c enē iwreanc^c*—T.

⁹⁶ *ajins* JD] *arajin* T, *arajins* J¹, 'the front line'?

Movsēs alone. 8. Movsēs immediately hastened to leave the valley and fleeing westward, again found asylum in the province of Siwnik^c near prince Smbat,⁹⁷ with whose help he hoped to be able to find a way out of his problems. 9. While the king was delayed in the province of Uti trying to pacify the stiff-necked, fractious inhabitants of the land, Movsēs departed unexpectedly from the region of Sisakan, and decided to go to the great chorepiscopus of Canark^c, in order to win him over to his side by attractive promises and so ransom his domain. 10. When the king was made aware of these foreboding things, he immediately made haste to pursue Movsēs, and galloping his horse through the lines of the well-armed soldiery of Movsēs, caught up with him, and striking his steel helmet with his sword and piercing the strong helmet in the middle, he pinned Movsēs to the ground. Upon his return, he brought him back, and cauterized his eyes; for he whose blindness is by choice, shall never be able to regain sight. 11. After these matters had transpired accordingly in compliance with his wishes, the king went to the district of Širak, where he summoned with friendly disposition his brother Abas, whom he had set up as 'presiding prince', together with the latter's father-in-law, Gurgēn the prince of Iberia. He was not yet aware of the conspiracy that they had set against him because of their wicked jealousy. They met one another in the village of Orman, where Ašot honored them greatly, as it was befitting for kings, and bestowed on them many gifts. 12. And as the latter were unsuccessful in opening the gate of destruction there due to heavenly ordinance, they escorted the king who unsuspectingly came to rest in the komopolis or Erazgawork^c. 13. But, the former thought of plotting against the king under the guise of friendship, and having laid snares for him, they suddenly attacked with the intention of putting him to death unnoticed. 14. Nevertheless, shortly before this, becoming aware of the conspiracy, the king hastily took with him the son of his brother Abas, as well as the emigrants in Erazgawork^c, and barely escaping in the insidious hunt, went to the province of Uti.

15. But when they [the conspirators] arrived there, and realized that they could not carry out what they wanted to, they were struck with shame, and having looted the emigrants that had been left behind, turned back. 16. Thenceforth, violent hostilities commenced between them as a result of the preconceived wickedness above, which bore the stench of death. 17. Be that as it may, Vasak, the hereditary lord of Getark^cunik^c, apprehensive of the king, asked for a solemn oath, so that he might rest at ease at the coming and going of the king in and out of his territory. 18. I myself received the letter of assurance from the king and handed it over to Vasak. Subsequently, the latter went to the king, who at first received him with great honor, and assured him that he

⁹⁷ Smpat A.

would treat him as his coadjutor and as one who is of the same mind as well as a beloved brother. 19. However, sometime later he was inclined to believe the words of some who maintained that Vasak held in his possession letters sent to him by the other king Ašot and his father-in-law Gurgēn⁹⁸ through a messenger, and that these were full of cunning advice. For this reason, Ašot bound him with fetters of iron and confined him in the fortress of Kayean.⁹⁹ 20. Although I admonished the king in very caustic terms and upbraided him greatly for breaking his oath, and seizing Vasak and subordinating his domain, he lay the responsibility on Vasak. After he had delayed the matter for a few days, he consented to release him from prison, and set him up in his domain. However, I also did not pursue this matter for the time being [for the following reason: I was afraid] that due to his childish demeanor the king might be possessed by a wild desire, and having broken his word, might do something unbecoming [of him]. Thus, laying my trust in the succor of heaven, I postponed the care of the above matter to another time.

LX

PRINCE SAHAK RISES IN INSURRECTION AGAINST KING AŠOT, AND IS SEIZED BY HIM; ON THE WORKS OF OTHER PRINCES

1. About this time, the caliph sent to Armenia as governor (*ostikan*) a certain Hagarite by the name of P^rarkini, who placed on the head of king Gagik^c the crown that he had brought with him, and thus crowning him king over the Armenians for the third time, bestowed on him suitable prizes. 2. In return, the king also honored him greatly, and presented him with generous gifts. Moreover, he sent to the caliph a large amount of gold and silver, part of which was in lieu of the royal tribute, while the rest was offered as a gift. 3. The *ostikan* Yūsuf, however, greatly angered by these, gnashed his teeth horribly at king Gagik, and threatened him with intimidating words of imminent destruction. 4. Be that as it may, the splendid and the great prince Sahak,— who had adopted king Ašot as his foster son by marrying his daughter to him,—enticed by the words of certain malignant slanderers, drowned the voice of his great wisdom, and began to contrive evil against the king, as if against a foreign

⁹⁸Gurgenay] zgurginay AD.

⁹⁹Kayann BD.

enemy.⁵ And when the frost of the winter season disappeared, both of them respectively levied soldiers and prepared for war against one another. Thereafter, having arrived at the same place in the village of Axayeank,¹⁰⁰ they arrayed the warriors in line of battle opposite one another. 6. Then, the foremost members of the nobility admonished both of them for their arrogance and selfishness, and [urged them] to display themselves as exemplars of total virtue and fortitude. Thus, having persuaded the latter, they induced them to make a treaty of peace between themselves.

Then, the king and his father-in-law exchanged many a solemn oath in writing, and sealed their agreement with the sign given by Christ and the intercession of the Holy Cross. 7. After this, the king turned back, and immediately came to the gates of Dvin, where he shed much blood, and completely ransacking the place, reduced the arrogant and brutal rebels to submission. 8. At this time, Smbat, the great prince of the Sisakan house, as well as his three brothers were greatly annoyed by the Hagarite overlord, who tyrannized the district of Gołt'n at that time. They demanded that he return to them their hereditary fortress Ernĵak and the district at her foot, which had been given to the tyrant of Gołt'n by the *ostikan* Yūsuf. The tyrant, however, considering this a gift from the royal court, did not wish to surrender it. 9. Thereupon, the two sides summoned their forces and encountered one another in combat with the din of battle. 10. After the battle lines had been arrayed, the two sides met, and right then, when the forces of the Hagarites had raised an outcry almost at the point of defeat in order to turn on their heels, the Gibeonite forces of prince Smbat which were situated on the left-rear of the latter's brother Vasak, suddenly galloped their horses with wicked intent, and attacking Vasak en masse, knocked the valiant prince headlong to the ground. Then they turned on their heels and came to the city of Naxĵawan. 11. The corpse of the handsome youth was recovered from the battle-front by his brothers, who mourned greatly over him, and bearing his body buried him with their ancestors.

12. After king Ašot had forced the city of Dvin to submit to him, he turned his back and went to Iberia, where he took with him Atrnerseh, the king of Iberia, and they both declared war on prince Gurgēn in order to exact vengeance on him. With immense wickedness they caused unnecessary terror and utter destruction. 13. Although the other king Ašot and Abas, the brother of Ašot son of Smbat, had come to [the aid of] Gurgēn with a multitude, yet, they could not withstand the foe in battle and took refuge in the deep valleys and the densely wooded glens. 14. Nevertheless, even the inaccessible nature of the place could not ward off entirely the assault of the enemy, who raised before them the

¹⁰⁰ Axaycans JT] Axoyans J'.

protective shield of the multitude of their peltasts, and armed with bows as well as swords wounded and felled many of them, until the rebels promised to submit to them, and sought terms of peace. As for the destruction and devastation that they had caused to the land, they agreed to pay for it twice as much as the amount of the damage. 15. While they were thus on the very verge of coming to terms of peace, a messenger suddenly came to king Ašot with ill tidings from the province of Uti, and informed him of the incursion of his father-in-law Sahak, of the latter's vehement ransacking of everything, the seizure of the fortresses in Jorap'or¹⁰¹ by his men, as well as the driving of the fugitives of the land to the fortresses of his domain, and his retreat into the mountainous regions of his province.

16. Upon hearing of this, Atrnerseh, the most vigorous and prudent king of Iberia, put aside the task with which he had been occupied at the moment, that is to say, the matter concerning Gurgēn, who was his sister's son, and considering this as something that could be settled later at leisure, immediately and willingly sent king Ašot of Armenia to go and settle the affair of prince Sahak. 17. But Ašot left his forces behind, and chose only approximately three hundred men, with whom he quickly arrived at Jorap'or. Here, they first saw that the fortress of Kayean had been seized by prince Sahak, and Vasak, the lord of Siwnik', who was imprisoned there, had been set free and sent to the house of his father. Also Sahak released the remaining *azat* women who were held captive in the fortress, and set his own garrison in it. 18. Then in great haste he had also seized the other fortress which was near Kayean, and having put the guards to the sword, had forced the inhabitants of the land to migrate with all their families to the fastnesses of his realm. And as it was near the time of harvest, he had ordered the harvest prematurely reaped with scythes, and had given it to the raging fire, lest the king might struggle to find a foothold there.

19. But when king Ašot noticed the unpleasant distress and the confusion that had been brought upon his land, neither fearing the multitude of the forces of the princes, nor considering the paucity of his troops, he set out to meet them. The foe had pitched camp in the glens of a hill on the western side of the valley of Tawuš¹⁰² with the intention to ambush the king and entrap him. 20. There, having found a mound which was surrounded by boulders, the king ascended to the top, where he had pitched his camp that whole day and night. 21. Then, he sent one of the bishops as an envoy to prince Sahak with the following words: "What wickedness or damage did you suffer at my hands, in return for which you deemed me worthy of such severe disaster, such as I have witnessed? Didn't the solem oath that you made force you to regret your

¹⁰¹ Joroyp'or T.

¹⁰² Tawəšoy T] Tawrišoy J, Tawušoy, Tawšoy J¹.

actions? Why are you at this time so vainly anxious to shed my blood for no reason at all? 22. But now, suppress your anger and turn the vain and vicious snares that you have concealed to good use. Return to me only the two fortresses that you have seized, and restore the captives taken from this province. Thencefore there shall be uniform peace between us, just like that between a real father and his beloved son."

23. When the prince heard the words of the envoy, he considered it perhaps not worthy of an answer, and becoming enraged than ever more, told the bishop, "You remain here in my tent, while I go to meet him with my sword and give an immediate answer to his demands."

24. Having said this, he marshalled all of his forces, more than eight thousand men, and driving them forward he advanced them opposite the mound where the king was stationed. He ordered the infantry to seek shelter under their shields, so that the semblance of an impregnable bastion might be created, and in their rear he marshalled the cavalry armed with weapons and ornaments. 25. The advance guard, who were mounted on swift steeds, went from one side to the other in front of the peltasts. 26. When the sun rose, flashes of light sparkled from the multitude of unsheathed swords, helmets, brazen plates, that protect the back and the flanks, and the plates that cover thighs and arms. 27. When the king saw the vastness of the multitude of armed forces that were around him, he left behind the hundreds of men who had been exhausted because of the long journey, and having descended from the mound with only two hundred men, he came to confront the enemy. 28. Thereupon, displaying before God the solemn oath of the prince, the king said to himself: "If I have been in any kind of error, or if I have broken this oath, make amends to me, O Lord, for my wickedness and deception. On the other hand, if it was the prince who refused to abide by this, then compensate him for his wickedness, and save me from the iniquitous death which they have prepared." 29. Then he attached the text of the oath to the mantle of the cross which he was wont to carry before him, and suddenly his two hundred soldiers raised a loud cry in unison and made their horses run at a gallop. 30. The king was the first to distinguish himself in the arena, and like a tempest having dispersed the enemy in the twinkling of an eye, he drove every one away from the battle field, so much so that not even two enemy soldiers could be seen together. They were scattered on the mountaintops, in valleys, in the depths of glens, and in the dense thickets of the forests. Perhaps no one among them from the youngest to the oldest, was at fault except for two people, namely prince Sahak and his son Grigor, who were both seized and taken captive. 31. Then the king also seized the fortress of Gardman,¹⁰³ and brought the entire province under his sway.

32. Subsequently, struck with a vain fear of death, the king reasoned

¹⁰³ zGardmanay T] zGartmanay BC.

as follows: "Should I let go of the prince and his son, this would foreshadow my own death. On the other hand, should I keep such renowned men confined in prison, they would be rescued by others, as the case was with Vasak, and to be sure death would await me on my own threshold." 33. Overwhelmed by such a mindless apprehension, he blinded both of them without considering that the Providence of God, Which saved him on that occasion, would not let him suffer a second time the distress caused by the former menace. 34. The accomplishment of such a wicked deed made everyone lose confidence in him and alienated them.

LXI

THE RISE OF YŪSUF IN REBELLION; THE APPOINTMENT OF SUBUKI AS *OSTIKAN*, AND THE WORKS OF THE LATTER

1. A short time before this, the *ostikan* rose in rebellion against the Ishmaelite caliph, who, prevented by his fat belly, sent one of his ministers (*naxarar*) against him with a great force. Although Yūsuf was able to raise arms and inflict blows on the royal forces more than once, he was unable to stand against them, and was seized and brought before the caliph in fetters. 2. Thus, the grace of God called upon king Gagik, and saved him from the *ostikan's* ferocious and wicked threats. 3. But as soon as Yūsuf was seized by the caliph, 4. one of his [Yūsuf's] most venerable servants, a man by the name of Subuki, who had been set up as prince and commander over his entire house-hold, ruled over his domain by force, and after a short time was designated by the caliph as *ostikan* in place of Yūsuf. 5. Subsequently, the latter, rather than Yūsuf, made a treaty of peaceful coexistence with Ašot on the same terms, and granted him the title of *šahanšah*. 6. But the *ostikan* Subuki, who still had not forgotten in his heart the wicked venom of envy, which they always tried to shed on king Gagik, marshalled his forces a few days later, and sent them to the region of the district of Čuaš. 7. Although the inhabitants of the district had been previously aware of the wicked incursion of the enemy, they had been unable to migrate totally to the fortresses, before the enemy came upon them like lightning, and plundering the entire extent of the district, took much booty. Also they took captive the enfeebled men, women and young children, who had been unable to make haste in finding asylum in the fortresses. 8. But when king Gagik saw this, he wisely reasoned that he could not prevail against Subuki in battle,

and opened negotiations with the latter for terms of submission. 9. Thereupon, he sent a certain Gēorg Hawnuni, a man of clerical rank, to the *ostikan* Subuki with many gifts and prizes, and sought terms of peace. The *ostikan* accepted the gifts and made a solemn oath to cease holding the same spiteful grudge against the king.

10. Thus, the incursions of the enemy were stopped, and the domain of king Gagik enjoyed a life of peace and tranquillity, safe from the attacks of outsiders.

LXII

THE REBELLION OF VASAK, AND THE SUBORDINATION OF THE LATTER BY AŠOT

1. Subsequently, Ašot uncovered the layers of a rebellion organized by the Canaanite Vasak Gnt'uni, who was set in charge of the fortress of Šamšuldē, and the treason that he had devised came to naught. [Thereupon] he turned his back on Ašot, who was called *šahanšah*, and surrendered to prince Gurgēn of Iberia with the promise of turning over to him the great fortress, provided that he would give him in return the stronghold of Krust¹⁰⁴ in his own provinces. 2. Gurgēn immediately complied with the wishes of Vasak, and sent him a solemn oath bearing his seal. Trusting his oath, Vasak abandoned the fortress and came to prince Gurgēn. 3. As Vasak's brother Ašot had been killed by the armed forces of the province of Vur sometime prior to this, at the time of his departure, the prince entrusted the fortress to his young protégés. 4. As soon as he had met prince Gurgēn, the latter immediately made him turn back, and bringing him before the gates of the fortress, asked Vasak to turn it over to him. 5. However, the guards of the fortress refused to hand it over until he had restored Vasak to them.

6. While prince Gurgēn made preparations for war against the men of the fortress, the guards immediately informed the *šahanšah* [of their condition], and the latter came in haste to settle the matter. 7. Upon the arrival of Ašot at that place, Gurgēn was driven away from the gates of the fortress. Yet, the guards were unwilling to turn over the fortress even to Ašot, before he had restored Vasak to them. At this point, the king laid siege to the fortress and waited for the opportune time. 8. Meanwhile, Gurgēn persuaded the guards with many oaths that he would return Vasak to them, and he was invited by them to send forces, so that

¹⁰⁴ Krust J, *korust* J¹C, 'loss'.

they might surrender the fortress to the latter. 9. The prince sent three hundred vigorous archers, peltasts and swordsmen, and as soon as they had arrived, the guards opened before them the door of the secret passageway and they all entered the fortress. 10. But when the men of the fortress learned of the guards' deadly and insidious treachery, which they were about to commit, they abandoned the lower fortress and en masse rushed to the citadel, from where they fought fiercely against the forces of Gurgēn in the hope that they might be able to drive them out. 11. But Ašot, being unaware of these circumstances, thought that the men of the fortress had turned against each other. Thereupon, even he aimed his attacks from below at the citadel. 12. However, the men of the fortress, raising their voices from above, made the king aware of the circumstances, namely that they were fighting against the forces of Gurgēn seemingly on his [Ašot's] behalf. 13. Thereupon, Ašot cried out to them in a loud voice and said: "If you are struggling on my behalf, why don't you open the gates before me, so that I may enter and easily putting an end to the contest give you many wonderful prizes?" 14. Subsequently, the gates of the fortress were opened before him, and as soon as he had entered, he had all the forces of Gurgēn taken into custody, and after a few days deprived all of them of their eyes, nose and ears. 15. Thereafter, these northern nations were subdued by Ašot and became his subjects. By means of the propitious Providence of God he gradually became more powerful.

LXIII

THE REBELLION OF PRINCE AMRAM, AND THE DEFEAT OF THE ŠAHANŠAH AŠOT

1. After the above events had taken place, the *šahanšah*¹⁰⁵ arrived once again at the province of Uti, and admonished with harsh words those whom he had subordinated. If there were people who entertained arrogant thoughts, he took note and curbing their barbarous mores by means of well-suited words as if they were reins, turned them to positive thoughts. 2. Then he levied troops from among them, and setting out arrived at the district of Kotayk', from where he immediately sent an advance dispatch to the other king, the son of his paternal uncle, who was also called Ašot, so that because of the moral obligations of a common ancestry, and on behalf of their mutual benefit they might meet

¹⁰⁵ *šahnšah* D.

in order to establish friendship and peace, so that the authority that they held in common might not be forgotten and their domain deserted, filled with thorns, and bushes, or turned into a refuge of brigands. 3. He also made a solemn oath before me, so that I would not hesitate in promoting and preparing suitable conditions for peace, and that I might not allow clandestine snares and seditious degeneration to steal into their midst.

4. King Ašot also being of the same mind, accepted the dispatch with friendship, and immediately both of us set out to meet the so called *šahanšah*. 5. Then, on my suggestion and advice, whereby I appealed to them, they cleansed themselves of the mist of the shadowy confusion of wicked thoughts, and agreeing with one another in all matters, they came to a complete understanding, which they confirmed by an oath. 6. Soon both of them arrived at the gates of the capital city of Dvin, where they put an end to the aberration of the heathen officers, and brought them to submission. After much merrymaking and festivities held in honor of one another, the so called *šahanšah* took leave and went to his beloved province of Uti. 7. While he was still on his way, he was confronted by sad tidings brought from that very same region. For [the governor of the land] whose name was Amram, but the people had nicknamed him C'lik ['Little Bull'] for his robust physique, and whom the *šahanšah* had placed in charge of the transactions of the province, stumbled into darkness because of his wicked thoughts, and having revealed his true colors, renounced his allegiance to the *šahanšah*. After having deserted and disgraced his own domain, he decided to enter the service of Gurgēn, a foreigner [*ambnikn*] who was the presiding prince of the land of Gamirk⁶. He also won over to his side the entire *naxarardom* in that province and instigated them to rise in rebellion. 8. Subsequently, making the fortress of Tawuš ready for immediate use, he placed his family in the security of its fastness, so that unoccupied [with such concerns], he and his men might be able to carry out their task and easily lay the snares. 9. But when Ašot came to the province of Uti, he saw that the majority of the people had abandoned and turned their backs on him. Thereafter, there was no one that would help him except for a very small number of unimportant men. 10. Thus, when the catastrophe became clear to him, he withdrew and came to the king of Egrisi, giving him the assurance that he could with absolute confidence count on their former treaty of friendship, whereby he could expect to acquire desirable results. 11. The king of Egrisi received Ašot with friendship, and bestowing on him bounteous gifts, gave his consent with all his heart, soul and power in regard to all matters.

12. Subsequently, he gave Ašot much assistance, and having gathered numerous forces with winged steeds, iron-studded armor, and fearful helmets, iron-studded breastplates and strong shields, weapons,

ornaments and spears, he handed them over to him, so that with their help he might exact vengeance on his enemies. 13. Ašot immediately reached his destination together with his cavalry forces, and thought that by encouraging the numerous troops with him to fight like one man he might be able to find an immediate solution to the problem, and turn their arms ready at hand against the enemy. 14. Amram, however, who was called *c'lik* (little bull), as well as the rest of the rebellious brigands with him, summoned great numbers of forces to their succor from all parts, and took refuge in the thick pine forests along the bank of the River Kur. 15. As Ašot could not engage in combat with the enemy, he led away his forces and carelessly brought them into the narrow defile of a fortress, where there was no exit other than the one single narrow and difficult passage that they had taken, because precipices covered with mulberry bushes surrounded the place. 16. Thus, as if being confined in prison by their own will, they neither could bring in provisions from the outside, in order to satisfy their hunger, nor acquire water to quench their thirst, or obtain straw for the steeds. The entire army was distressed and annoyed by the thought of their insecure state. 17. Consequently, growing weak in their determination, they sent secret word to the enemy, and promised to hand over Ašot to them in fetters, provided that they would all go to their homes without suffering any harm. 18. When Ašot became aware of this, he was struck with great fear, and secretly affirming by oath the allegiance of his kinsmen and advisers, prepared steeds as swift [as birds], and mounting on them unexpectedly in the middle of the night, cut through the cavalry, and set forth to the fortress called Kak'awak'ar, in order to go from there wherever he could. 19. Upon seeing this, the enemy besieged the gorge at the entrance of that place, and subjected all the forces to plunder, so much so, that no one from among them could escape. They spared only their lives as the Christian canons demand, namely that no Christian should perish, not even one.

20. Unlike his previous campaigns, ever since that time the outcome of Ašot's invasions were not successful. 21. It seems to me that he turned his mind, which was formerly sound, to impure thoughts, and abandoned the sweetness of divine worship. Following the manner of the Pharisees, he enforced his arrogant will [on people]. It was perhaps for this reason that he brought upon himself this condemnation and could not attain the conclusion of his salvation.

LXIV

THE TEMPERANCE OF KING GAGIK; THE
DISCHARGE OF THE *OSTIKAN* YŪSUF, AND HIS
WICKED DEEDS

1. At this time, king Gagik, having come to his sense by his own clear thinking, made the impossible possible and devoted the rest of his life to the benefit of the people. For he strove heartily to keep himself away from wickedness, emulate closely his creator and according to the apostolic precept, "if possible, so far as it lies [with you], live at peace with all men." 2. In this way, through his innate genius, he was able to please all of his neighbors and relatives, whom he had bound to himself in friendship and obedience. Together with his beloved brother Gurgēn, as well as the rest of his relatives and people who had been honored by him, displayed his might and glory before the foe. He won over to his side the hearts of some, who had been pleased by means of gratuities, by the news of peace. On the other hand, against those who were stubborn, wicked and hostile to peace, he waged destructive war, and fell upon them with great forces, until he had brought them to submission. 3. Nevertheless, he did not disobey the caliph. On the contrary, by paying the taxes, though against his will, he was able to please the tyrant. Danger had taught him how to save himself and assist many others. 4. He acted accordingly for many years, so that the holy foundations of the Church remained undisturbed. Prosperity, peace, and renovation as well as security prevailed naturally over the land. Abundance and fertility were granted by the grace of God, and in this way they lived in their homes, as if in a peaceful haven. In accordance with the word of the sage, "Wisdom was praised in the streets (. . .) and attended constantly the gates of princes, [and] (. . .) spoke boldly."

5. At that time the Hagarite tyrant, called the caliph, was confronted by a great confusion, for rebellious adversaries appeared in the province of Egypt, which is in the region of Arabia. Also many horsemen, brigands and swordsmen rose on the borders of T'urk'astan, and together tried to exact vengeance on the tyrant in retaliation for the distress that he had caused them. 6. Subsequently, they stormed the royal city of Babylon, as well as almost the entire extent of the caliph's realm, and fought many fierce battles. They sprinkled the entire lower region with the blood of those that were killed, took many captives and turned the prosperous provinces and villages into deserts. 7. Yet, the leading men and the advisers at the royal court, in view of the advent of such calamities, attempted to attribute the cause of the disaster to one an-

other, whereupon one side would raise their fists against the other. *Āramik* agitators also appeared and raised an uproar. After this every one tied his sword to his side, and they shed a great amount of one another's blood. To be sure the ecstasy of their evil wickedness crushed them like bitter clusters under the press of Sodom.

8. At this time, a certain adviser at the royal court, who was called Mu'nis in their tongue, cunningly advised the caliph to dismiss from confinement Yūsuf, the *ostikan* of Persia, Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, whom he himself had seized and brought to the caliph, and asked him to reestablish the latter in his former position of authority, because, he argued, Yūsuf was an ingenious man, a mighty warrior, one who was feared by those who had either heard or seen him. He also maintained that Yūsuf had been set right by his (caliph's) instructions, so that he would not commit any error or go astray again by rising in rebellion, and that he was the man who could put a stop to the attacks and incursions of the enemy within the confines of his own province. 9. Thus he persuaded the caliph, who gave orders to release Yūsuf, and sent him with a detachment of forces to his former post as governor. 10. Thus Mu'nis made Yūsuf his protégé, one who would concur with him, obey and fulfill his wishes, as well as assist him in pouring on his enemies the venom of wicked vengeance.

11. Yūsuf, however, like a whirlwind hurried out impetuously and flying through Syrian Mesopotamia, passed through many places until he quickly reached the province of Korduk^c.¹⁰⁶

12. But as king Gagik had been informed of his coming, he anticipated it by forcing all the people of his land to flee, and taking the refugees with him, he sheltered them in the secure mountain glens of Kogovit and Caḡkōtn, whereat he consoled himself as follows: "Although we are terrified and shaken by catastrophies, yet, there is a chance that the people of Christ may not fall into the hands of the conquerors, and may escape becoming victims of the beastly Ishmaelite sword, and that the Christian laws may not be shattered by the disorderly faith of Hagar.

13. Thus, having placed the caravan of the refugees at the rear [of his army], the king and his brother Gurgēn along with the *azat* contingents and the cavalry clad themselves in armor, ornaments and spears. They kept constant and careful watch. 14. Likewise the great prince of Anjewac'ik^c, Atom, with ingenious prudence, anticipation, and thoughtful care led the people of his province to the mountain fastnesses of his realm, and sheltered them in the security of the depths of valleys, mountain gorges and the glens in the hills, and also guarded the refugees with his numerous armed men.

15. After having stopped within the confines of Korduk^c for a few days, the *ostikan* Yūsuf marched down from there and having reached

¹⁰⁶ *Korduac^c* JT] *Kordac^c* B.

the province of Anjewac'ik^c pitched camp there. He did not raise any wicked turmoil in that place, but like a serpent that releases its venom, he sent envoys to prince Atom and asked him to pay the royal tributes, as well as to bestow the usual gifts upon him, so that receiving these he might go away and leave the land exempt from ruin and destruction. 16. Then, the prince assumed that through prudence he could turn the oncoming oppressive defeat to the advantage of the people and not sparing his riches and money, immediately paid as much as he could, twice the amount that he owed. He also gave him copious gratuities. As for the taxes that remained unpaid, at his strict demand, hostages were given as surety from among the members of the *azat* class. 17. Having taken these, he marched in the direction of the Akanik^c mountain and came to the district of Ałbak, where he saw the whole country deserted by its inhabitants. 18. But when he realized fully that he could not carry out the wicked plans which he had devised (in his mind) for king Gagik, like an Indian divesting himself of the dark color of his complexion, and having covered the true color of his soul, he assumed the familiar white complexion, and sent envoys to the king for an immediate and compassionate reconciliation. 19. However, as he was avaricious and greedy, he demanded the royal tributes for many years, as well as personal gratuities for himself. He also reminded Gagik of the gratitude that he owed him for his coronation, and gave him leave to rule over all the Armenians.

20. But the king recognized the intention behind Yūsuf's thoughts and realized that there was no reason for him to be prone to baseness, nor to correct in any way the course of Yūsuf's wicked thoughts. With suitable prudence he kept wicked thoughts out of his mind, and with some hesitation chose the second course, namely that of paying two or three times the amount of the tribute, and all of the royal *bekar*, so that they might not clash and cause carnage in vindictive retaliation, for he maintained that "the outcome of wars was death, and an invitation to death meant the bottom of hell." Subsequently, he put unsparingly at Yūsuf's disposal his own possessions, and having gathered from all of his relatives, the *azats*, the *ramiks* and the *non-ramiks* silver, gold and great amounts of money, as well as horses and mules, he gave these to him together with bounteous gifts. 22. Having accepted these presents with much gratitude, Yūsuf immediately marched forth and came to the region of the districts of Her and Zarewand in the province (sic) of Rōtakk^c. 23. But as he himself was headed for the great city of Ray, which is in Persia, he sent a certain man by the name of Našr, who was called Subukī by the people, as *ostikan* to Armenia. He himself remained [in Rōtakk^c], until he had set up *ostikans*, deputies and officials in the region of Albania and Atrpatakan.

24. In this same year, those rebellious races about whom we spoke above found the chance to exact vengeance and closed the passes of the

Hagarite desert, which they falsely call 'the house of Abraham', until the travelers were all cut down. The numbers of the slain were estimated to be over thirty thousand. 25. They took captive the wives of the caliph as well as other people of renown, who were wont to travel futilely by the toilsome and unrewarding route. Having taken great amounts of money, gold and silver as booty, they all went to their respective lands. 26. A short time before the events narrated above, one of Yūsuf's venerable servants, whose name was Subukī,—the same man who held the post of *ostikan* after Yūsuf's confinement to prison, and made [the land] prosperous,—died in the city of Ardabil. Wherever there was the opportunity, Yūsuf took possession of his treasures and riches to the satisfaction of his avarice.

LXV

THE PRINCES OF SISAKAN ARE BROUGHT INTO
DANGER, AND KATHOLIKOS YOVHANNĒS IS
DISTRESSED

1. But Naşr, who was flatteringly nicknamed Subukī, and who had been sent to Armenia by Yūsuf as *ostikan*, marched forth and reached the city of Naxĵawan,¹⁰⁷ where he remained for a number of days, as his wife was there, and he succumbed to the delights of pagan customs. 2. Shortly after this, Babgēn, the younger brother of Smbat the prince of Sisakan, confronted him. He entertained in his mind foolish dreams, thinking that he might be able, by making a covenant with death, to acquire his paternal inheritance, of which he considered himself deprived because it was ruled by his brother Sahak. 3. For the time being, Naşr cunningly opened the gate of pity before him, and laconically promised to grant him his inheritance. For he expected and waited also for his brother Sahak¹⁰⁸ to come to him with the same purpose, so that he [Naşr] might rob both of them who had been deceived. Subsequently, Naşr also summoned Sahak, the lord of Siwnik' in a sympathetic spirit of friendship. 5. Responding as if to an invitation from the royal court, the latter ¹⁰⁹ immediately set out and came near Naşr with many gifts. Seemingly benumbed and in a certain state of lethargy, he made a treaty

¹⁰⁷Naxačawan ABCD

¹⁰⁸Isahakay J

¹⁰⁹*nora* JABCD] *nok*^sa T, 'they'.

with hell ignoring the wisdom in his heart, and not considering the matter completely, or even perceiving the outcome of the design. 6. But Naṣr conceived a plot, and having allied himself with both of them by word and not by heart, asked them to come with him to the capital city of Dvin, so that every one respectively being assured of his safety in that place, could tend to the welfare of the others. 7. Thus, because of such insidious deceit they set out and marched forth. 8. When they were approaching the komopolis of K'arunĵ, Naṣr was confronted by the foremost *gaherec'* princes and the glorious *nahapets* of the noble families of the city of Dvin. 9. But as he realized that ready-made success had come to him, he set aside the concealment of his wicked intention, and getting his hands on the latter, bound all of them with iron fetters, and confined them, over forty in number, in prison. 10. He remained that day at the place where he had spent the night.

11. And when daylight shed the darkness of night, he mounted the captives on camels and mules, and entered the city of Dvin. He took with him Sahak the lord of Siwnik' together with his brother Babgēn. 12. As soon as he had entered the city, he put the heathen captives in prison. Then, he bound with ropes both Sahak and Babgēn, who had been seized together, and putting them in iron fetters, confined them in prison. Thus, the deadly¹¹⁰ deception of the southerly gale condemned the brothers to incarceration, bonds and danger of death.

13. Having heard of the severity of the agonies which our faithful lords imbibed to the dregs along with the heathens at the hands of the wicked Hagarite's stormy tempests, I wept with bitter distress, as is characteristic of human nature. 14. Subsequently, certain faithful people warned me to make haste and escape the siege that threatened us. 15. The clergy who were with me, struck with fear, waited at the threshold of my house, and begged me to take leave and avoid the scourge. They reminded me of the command of the Lord: "You will be chased from city to city," and, "do not set yourselves against evil." 16. So I took flight not as much from my fear of temporary death, but because I considered the furious rage of the heathen aberration, and feared that the hidden snares of her satanic deception might entangle the clerics of the church, or bring upon us confusion along with the disreputable customs of the heathen, which would be detrimental to all healthy practices. 17. Thus, seemingly crazed and out of our wits, we sought the grace of God to show us [the proper course]. 18. And when the darkness of the night disappeared, and it was dawn, suddenly, at the twinkling of an eye, the darkness of night once again surrounded us. Absolutely amazed at this phenomenon, we noticed that the sun had been eclipsed at the morning hour. Subsequently, reflecting upon the rarity of the

¹¹⁰*mahašunc'* JACD] *yahašunc'* T, no such word is listed in *ABHL*.

phenomenon, [and realizing] that it was not the time for an eclipse of the sun, we acknowledged this as an authentic sign manifested to us by the Lord God. Thereafter, the confusion of the turmoil forced each one of the congregation to get away from the trial of those threats.

19. I was not at all idle in dismissing [from my mind] such doubts and did not follow them on the heels of their sins, but hastened with determination to take flight from there, before the advent of the danger. I took as my first examples the prophet Elijah and Peter, the head of the apostles. 20. Subsequently, leaving the Monastery of the Caves (Ayric' Vank'), which was the residence of the blessed Sahak,¹¹¹ and is located in the ravines of Mount Geł, in a small glen, we ascended directly to the Upper Monastery (Verin Vank'), where the quarters for the animals were to be found, and from there went to the hermitage of the celibate hermits on the island of Sewan. We were deprived of all of our human and animal possessions, and only thought of our salvation. Here, the brethren of the congregation joined us in raising our voices in blessing God. We remained in Sewan for a period of four days with firm hope. 21. Thereupon, all of our minds seemed to embark on boats, and setting sail to the thoughts in our hearts, we carried them out like hidden treasures from a depository, so that we could express in words the things that were stored within the depths [of our minds]. Our intention was as follows: to return once again to various sites near the holy patriarchal church; 22. as for the material possessions and the livestock which we had abandoned much against our will, to relinquish these willingly as gifts to the Hagarite Naşr, so that by the will of God his mind might be content. and Mother Sion might not be deprived of the children of her nuptial chamber, and we ourselves returning to our holy edifice might bless the name of our God.

23. And thus, those who became aware of this idea considered it to be the proper course. Once again we set out and arrived at the small fortress of Biwrakan, my own *jerakert* which I had acquired through *ganjagin*. Here I had built a church constructed with solid polished stones, which was richly ornamented and adorned with paintings. I had founded this place as a monastery for celibate priests. 24. As soon as we had reached Biwrakan, I immediately sent a letter to Naşr, and reminded him of the horrible afflictions that he had inflicted on certain others, namely confinement in prison, fetters, severe and deadly torments. I stated that I had fled fearing such agonies, and that should he assure me with a solemn oath [of my safety], with my mind at ease I would remain at the threshold of the church of my house, where I would bless God in His sanctuary, and according to my means I would continue sending him gifts as a tribute [for my well-being]. 25. Upon reading my

¹¹¹Sahakay AD] Isahakay JT.

letter, Naṣr immediately sent a solemn oath in accordance with the precepts of their Koran and with whatever terms of their religion that could be trusted. Thus, he freed my mind from all fears, whether of external attacks or of internal turmoils, of physical threats or remote intimidations. 26. Thereupon, I was assured by that oath that I could turn myself to useful and pleasing things and by the will of God remain at the threshold of our sanctuary.

LXVI

THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESS OF BIWRAKAN, AND THE CARNAGE THAT WAS MADE THERE

1. But a certain judge of the unlawful religion of Muḥammad, a man aged by wickedness, always tried out of complete animosity to mar the Christian faith and strengthen their heathen sect. In this way he made the bizarre outbursts of his mind and the bitterness of his heart's bile reach the ear of Naṣr. 2. "It is not fitting for you," he maintained, "to come to terms of peace with the Christians, who are degenerates, and in particular with the lawgiver of their aberrant sect, who always teaches them to utter blasphemous words against the doctrines of our faith, and calls the Arabs, who are the disciples of Muḥammad, dogs and wolves. 3. Now, why are you thus encouraging and spreading their sect to an even greater extent by means of your peace treaty with him? If you wish to become the guardian of his doctrine you shall regret your move tenfold, unless you listen to me. 4. Send a large army to take possession of the fortified Monastery of the Caves (Vank^c Ayrin), where you will find treasures, and much money, as well as the beautiful ornaments of the churches of the sectarian katholikos."

"Subsequently, you must hasten the very same numerous legions to go immediately in quest of the leader of the Christian aberration, and bring him in fetters before you and having ransacked all the possessions of the latter, let them bear those to you. Should the disordered mob show any opposition, they must inflict retribution on them, and relentlessly shed much blood."

5. Those that were of the same mind as the judge expressed the same view, and thus aroused him to bite like a wicked beast, and urged him to dishonor the heathen custom. Immediately Naṣr sent numerous forces, armed cavalry and infantry, to the monastery of the celibate priests which is located in a cave to the northeast of the komopolis of Garni. 6. Upon their arrival, they unexpectedly entered the cave, and

having seized the monks that were there, subjected them to great beating and torments in demanding from them the possessions that they had hidden. They tortured them to such an extent, that due to their excessive agonies some of the victims yielded their souls to Christ, although not immediately, but sometime later, and reached the blissful goal of their expectations, which is reserved for all those who love God.

7. Subsequently, they ravaged the entire ornamentation of the Church of Christ, namely the evangelical, prophetic, and apostolic holy testaments, also all the possessions, the great quantities of fodder for the animals as well as the numerous swarms of bees, and having burnt the beautiful structures that were in that monastery, they departed. 8. And when they confronted Nasr, and told him what they had accomplished, the result was that the insanity of their dissolute conduct turned the latter's mind to bizarre thoughts. He immediately set as his goal the contest between life and death, and sent out a large number of forces to come upon the fortress of Biwrakan by stealth, take me and the other clerics with me captive, put to the sword or enslave the remaining inhabitants of the fortress and ransack the place. 9. However, as I had learned of their shadowy and dark plots sometime earlier, and had pondered on the matter as on the previous occasion, I fled the evil in order to fulfill the command of the Lord.

10. We escaped and went to the royal palace of Bagaran, near Ašot, who ruled as king, so that the children of Mother Sion might not be totally drowned under the flood of the southerly gales of heathen deception.

11. But Sahak, our blessed bishop-in-residence, together with two particular priests, deacons and celibate monks remained there, either because the physical feebleness of the bishop as well as that of some of the others, or the pressure of time did not permit them to follow us, or even that they assumed that the calling of dedication to God and His foreknowledge of that had brought them close to the victorious contest and the crown of martyrdom. I am of the latter opinion, which I shall clarify somewhat later.

12. But when the Ishmaelite forces realized the firing of their secret darts had not remained unknown to me, and their clandestine snares had been uncovered, and when they found out that I had escaped, they stopped to pitch a camp, and having gathered numerous forces, made preparations in order to be ready, and thus outraged pour the poison of their serpentine wickedness on the faithful of Christ. 13. But when the inhabitants of Biwrakan were made aware of the irremediable intent of the heathen, and the impetuosity of the vehement floods of the torrents which were about to come, and realized that there was no means of escape because of the great numbers of women, young children, as well as enfeebled old men, who could not and were not fit to take flight, with

no place to turn to, they took shelter in their cellars in accordance with what had been written, and shut their gates behind them. Avoiding the enemy and escaping from him, they hid themselves behind the shield of their bastions away from the impious tribulation, and put their hope in the succor of God Almighty.

14. Among those who had entered the fortress were certain soldiers who were in the service of the princes of this world. As soon as they had heard whispers concerning the wicked intentions of the Ishmaelites, they came to the fortress from various places in order to lend assistance to the faithful, to the very end of the deadly contest. 15. As a general rule, one soldier would address a comrade in the following manner: "Until now we tried to please our generals by devoting our lives to the welfare of the public, but now as good soldiers let us share the passion of Christ and His faithful." 16. Having thus defied death, they wished to complete the course of the righteous war.

17. Subsequently, like an impetuous tempest the Ishmaelite forces reached the gates of the fortress with an impious and terrible uproar and unrestrained heathen vehemence. Thereupon, shielding the legion of their infantrymen on all sides, and guarding their rear with the armed cavalry that had come to join them, they attacked like beasts. 18. When the people of the fortress saw them turn to such deathly acts, they were seized by insanity. One after the other they ascended and crammed the tops of the bastions. On that day the two sides had scarcely met one another, when the night set in and the day came to its end. 19. On the following morning, when it was still dark, all the people of the fortress approached the gates of the holy Church, and asked the blessed bishop to give them of the body and blood of the Lord that might atone for their sins. 20. At this the latter moved his angelic lips and with gentle words instructed them on matters beyond our teachings,—subjects into the truth of which he had penetrated. He entreated the clerics together with the detachment of soldiers and multitudes of men to lift up their hearts in meditation without any grievances, and to beg for the confirmation of their faith in Christ, "lest your hearts be shaken from their devotion to Christ due to the war which is distressing us. Do not endeavor to implant your feet in this temporary life, as if it were eternal. Subsequently, the Lord himself will come to you in his flesh and blood, which you are about to receive, and condemn the sinful designs against His Body, His Church, which is you. 22. He will give you fortitude to vanquish the wicked darkness which encircles this world, and which has become thick around us.

Let them [the enemy] not befoul the robe of light with which you clad yourselves in Christ [covering yourselves] from the nudity of your forefather, and let them not snatch away from you the Christ-confirmed seal of the holy fount." 23. Thus he ignited their minds as if with fire,

and urged all of them to raise their voices in praise of the God of all, and exhorted them not to cease praying continuously. 24. Subsequently, having offered the awesome sacrifice to Christ, he apportioned the salutary mystery among both men and women, old and young, and all of all ages, in accordance with the sacramental tradition of the last rites. 25. But the shouts and battle cries of the Ishmaelite forces became more intense. The clamor, din and clash of their armor and shields resounded throughout the land like the artifice of the inhabitants of the district of Nakovos.¹¹²

Thereat, the people of the fortress who had crowded on top of the bastions turned their eyes to God in the hope that he might come to their succor to ward off the afflictions of war for them, so that they might not be affected by the satanical aberration of the heathen. 27. From above they gave battle to the enemy below, and shed much blood by striking many headlong to the ground.

28. But the blessed bishop together with the rest of the clerics occupied himself with daily prayers and supplications, so that the bloody and wild beasts might not contaminate the integrity of the Lord's flock, which the Lord Himself chose as his own inheritance and people, and called it His Body and His Part. He also exhorted the people in every way, "Not to be bound with fetters of sin because of their physical needs, and not be moved by the fear of temporary death, but to cleanse their souls and consider the outcome of their lives; to suffer with Christ His passion and imitate His faith in God." 29. Also the deacon T'ëodoros, the overseer of the edifice and instructor of men, offered them much advice in the following manner, "Although people stricken with a fatal ailment suffer until death, yet, they are relieved by the hope of recovery. 30. Now, do not let the peril of this ailment, which has afflicted us, hasten to inflict on you vain physical death, but let yourselves become stout in spirit and join the battle on behalf of the Christian faith, so that you may receive the laurel holding the hope of eternal life." 31. They resorted to such sound advice and no longer did they indulge in the physical comforts of life in any way whatsoever. On the contrary, armed with the mighty Spirit of their Lord, they fought with miraculous exertion and goodly war on behalf of their children and the flock of Christ.

32. Although the enemy, whose mind was plunged into the dark and dismal intent of exacting vengeance, had made frequent assaults for a period of seven days, they could not bring any harm to the fortress. 33. Then, one of the numerous soldiers in the fortress gave up the way of life-bearing Hope, and having renounced mercy as well as faith, immediately betrayed the fortress into the hands of the audacious and impious Hagaritres. 34. Greatly pleased at this, and rejoicing in their

¹¹²Nakovosn T] Nakovson JA, Nakovsovn D.

hearts, the latter immediately made an assault, and climbing over [the walls of the fortress] on ladders, stormed the fortress. 35. Subsequently, they revealed their hidden plots, and in a barbaric manner enforced their wicked plans on the people. In a mad frenzy of wickedness they made all of them prey to the merciless sword. The vain shedding of their blood flooded all the land below [the fortress], and the corpses of the dead were piled one on top of the other.

36. In the meantime, the blessed bishop, as well as the other clerics of the church offered prayers to God in daily vigils with extended arms, tears and implorations, so that He might not deprive them of His visitation. 37. Thus, the imitation [on their part] of the saints was resplendent and exalted in every respect. 38. But when the impious executioners arrived, and found them engaged in prayer in the holy church, they tried to terrorize them by brandishing their swords, pounding upon their shields, gnashing their teeth, and by their fiery red complexions. Yet, they were not terrified at all, nor were their hearts weakened by the fear of the foe's rage, for they were shielded by the Lord, Who protected them. 39. Subsequently, [the Arabs] drove them out of the church all at once, and having divested them of their scanty robes, condemned them to death. Because of the opaque shades of darkness they sealed the eyes of their hearts and turned upon them. At first, they cut with their swords the sinews of the blessed bishop, just as one would chop down a tree with the sharp strokes of an axe. Then, they severed his head [from his body] with a sword. 40. They carried away the blessed priests, the celibate monks, and the psalmodists to their death as if they were sheep, and immolated them like the votive and fragrant sacrifice of Christ. The latter also were beheaded.

41. Thus, all of them, seemingly clad in full armor, shielded themselves with the true faith, and became worthy of clothing themselves in the ornamentation of the light, and of the glory of the unfading crown. 42. But the deacon Tēodoros was not among them at the time of their execution, for prior to that he had been wounded by the arrows of the enemy. 43. The wicked executioners also sought to behead him, yet, he was in no way afflicted with grief, nor as a result of his youth did he break into tears in distress, but rather willingly and compliantly offered his neck. 44. Thus, they beheaded him. He set the seal of death on his devotion to the true faith, and was reckoned among the children of God. 45. They drove the rest of the people in the fortress to the place of torments, and pushing them forward like sheep, made them prey to the insatiable Ishmaelite sword. They beheaded all of them in order to take the heads with them to the *ostikan*, and thereby receive praise for their bravery.

At the time of their execution [those that were beheaded] uttered the following words: "Almighty God Our Lord, Who art All-merciful, and

All-caring, we thank Thee for giving us patience to suffer [the hardships] in this trial. For we did not forget Thee, nor did we forsake Thine covenant, or betray Thee in our hearts. Thou hast made us worthy of attaining the Light, Which is the lot of the saints. 46. Now, accept our congregation in peace, and save the children of those who were killed for Thee." 47. Thus they became worthy of the beneficence of the Benefactor. 48. Among the inhabitants of that place there were also certain heathens who were occupied with the cultivation of the soil, and paid taxes to us. 49. At the outset of the above happenings, they all gathered in one place, and called on to the enemy in their own tongue: "like you, we are of the fold of the prophet Muḥammad." When the executioners heard this, they turned their swords away from them, so that not one of them was lost. 50. These same heathens, out of compassion, urged the faithful one by one to come and mingle with them in order to be saved from the horrors of a fearful death. 51. However, the latter walked away, saying, "Christ is our life, and death is to our advantage." 52. Thus the deathbreathing¹¹³ thirsty sword could not make even one person waver in his love of Christ.

On the same day, and at the same time they were all presented to Christ as a perfect sacrifice in sweet savor, namely, 53. the blessed bishop Sahak, who left behind the sweet memory of a fruitful life, and was honored with the crown of Christ, and the blessed priests martyred together with the latter, Movsēs of the celibate order,¹¹⁴ and 54. the other Mevsēs of the order of the married priests, as well as the brothers of the latter, who were also priests, Dawit' of the ascetic order and Sargis of the secular order. 55. But Sahak, who was blind from the time of his childhood, very knowledgeable and renowned for his virtuous deeds, was taken to be immolated like a sheep and was illuminated with the unapproachable and immortal light. 56. In like manner they also beheaded the blessed man of God Sołomōn, who was from the land of Sagastan, and who had led a life of rigid austerity among us; in a miraculous manner he lived in flesh like an incorporeal being, and received the ineffable and luminous crown. 57. Finally with the deacon T'ēodoros, about whom we spoke in advance, and who was reckoned among the saints for his great patience, they were all together eight people.

58. The number of the remaining multitude, both men of military and lay order killed on that day was over two hundred. Their names are inscribed in the Register of Life. Almost no one survived, except for a few who had departed from there prior to the harvest of the sword in order to tend to their work. 59. Of the clergy of the church [only] a

¹¹³ *mahašunē* J] *hamašunē* T, 'unanimous'.

¹¹⁴ "Movsēs of the celibate order"—J.

deacon by the name of Gēorg escaped the unbearable horror of death, for he was conspicuous among the clerics of the church. For this reason, they did not cast him into the furnace of their effervescent wickedness, so that perchance they might acquire something from him and like leeches suck his blood. 60. He did not withstand the evil, and leaving behind everything that he possessed, set out to come to us. 61. It was he who narrated to us one by one the details of the above account. 62. All of these events took place in the 372nd¹¹⁵ year of the Armenian era, on the tenth day of the month of Ahekan.

63. The wicked Ishmaelite forces gathered in one place all the spoils taken from the dead, and the loot as well as the fodder for the numerous animals. They took captive the children and wives of those that had been killed, and having mounted the venerable heads of the massacred men on beasts of burden, made merry raising a hellish clamor and singing lewd songs and dancing. 64. In this way they took everything that came into their grasp, and continued their march. 65. At that time one could hear there the cries, unbearable laments, tearful moaning and the bitter imploration of the multitude of women and children. The horrible agony of the afflicted withered the hearts of all those that heard them, and caused them to break into bitter tears. 66. In view of the many woes in their hearts, they had no other consolation than the fact that their fathers', brothers', husbands', and children's blood, shed in vain, was offered to Christ as a gift. Emboldened by such hope, they lifted their hands and begged the Lord to save them from the unrestrained ravages of the impious conquerors, captors, and spoke in this manner: "Let not the feet of the arrogant come against us, and let not the hands of sinners move us." Along with the captives the Ishmaelite forces also had at their disposal two men who were porters, one was of military rank, whereas the other was a layman, and both of them had the same name, Kiwrakos.

68. When they confronted the impious *ostikan*, and brought forth the captives, the venerable scalps of the chosen of God, and the spoils, he was greatly pleased and rejoiced at these. Then he immediately gave orders to dismiss all the captives, and let them go wherever they wanted, for the prayers of the blessed who had been killed were remembered before God, and His Providence had them mercifully redeemed in the presence of their captors. 69. But a few people, still young, about ten in number, were kept by the enemy. A short time later I ransomed them at the price of silver, and thus rescued them from their aberrant faith. 70. On the following day, the *ostikan* ordered the two namesakes, whom they had brought along with the captives as their porters, to be taken before the tribunal [and given the option of] either worshipping their

¹¹⁵erek^c hariwr eot^canasun erku D, yerek^chariwrerordi eresnerordi erkroridi JTABCE, 'three-hundred thirty-second'.

impious faith, or perishing by the sword. 71. When the latter were brought before the judges, and questioned, they answered with a gleam of joy in their eyes, and determination in their hearts to go to heaven: "It is not lawful for us Christians to forsake the divine worship of Christ, and convert to the ungodly religion of Muḥammad. We are ready to die in the name of Christ, and do not desire to live with a guilty conscience." 72. Having realized that the porters' minds were set, they conducted both of them to the arena, and made them prey to the merciless sword. Thus, willingly tried, purified, and tested like silver in the flaming furnace of death, they rose to the apex of heaven, where they joined the orders of the angels, and received the crown of light and life. 73. The execution of these blessed men fell on the seventeenth day of the month of Ahekan.

74. Along with the captives they also had brought with them the soldiers who had betrayed the fortress into the hands of the heathen. They took the latter to the *ostikan* so that he might repay them for their favor, and relieve them of their annual taxes. 75. Meeting the *ostikan* they expected to receive rewards in recompensation for their services, but he immediately ordered them put to the sword. Thus, in accordance with what they deserved they died in agony, and all hope for life was lost to them. The trustworthy words of the wise poet, that "while there is life there is hope," come to their fulfillment with them.

LXVII

THE EXPOSURE OF THE PRINCES BABGĒN AND VASAK TO DANGER

1. Thereupon, Naṣr received orders from the great *ostikan* Yūsuf to go to the province of Atrpatakan, and either persuade the rebellious Gibeonites of those regions to submit to him, or slaughter them by the sword in battle. 2. Naṣr appointed one of his venerable servants, a man by the name of Bishr, as *ostikan* over the city of Dvin, and having turned over to him the lords of Sisakan, Sahak and Babgĕn, so that they might be retained in confinement and in fetters until his return from there, he himself set out in compliance with the orders of the *ostikan* Yūsuf. 3. But Bishr, whom he had left behind him, gathered a great number of forces, and set out for the district of Mazaz built by Geḷam, because he resented the fact that the so called *ṣahanṣah* had not submitted to them. 4. But as the latter had taken refuge in the impregnable fortress on the isle of Sewan, Bishr could not attain what he wanted. Thenceforth, he thought

of attacking the district, and taking captive the very few people that had remained, ravaging [their possessions], and putting them to the sword, for the entire land was in ruins and had been stripped of its population because of the looting of the enemy. But his wicked plot was not successful, because one of the venerable men [in the service] of the so called *šahanšah*, one by the name of Gēorg, went around the district to fortify the few strongholds of the land against the enemy. 6. But unexpectedly encountering Bishr, Gēorg was suddenly seized with fear, for there were no more than twenty men with him, whereas Bishr had about one thousand soldiers. Yet, placing his trust in God, he applied himself to the pursuit of victory against the foe. 7. Then, at a gallop he fell bravely and valiantly upon the enemy, and threw many of them headlong to the ground. Although a few of his men also perished by the sword of the enemy, yet the error of the Ishmaelite mind, which is inconstant like the wind, made them flee before him. 8. With unchecked fury the latter clad themselves in the mist of nocturnal darkness, and fed to the sword whomsoever they met on the road,—innocent and guileless priests, tillers of the soil, herdsmen, travelers, and paupers. 9. Thus, Bishr, condemned those innocent people to death, and having beheaded them, he brought their heads with him to the city of Dvin, boasted of his escape as if he had attained victory by personal valor and numerous battles. The number of those that were decapitated was more than twenty. 10. After halting for many days, he led a large force, twice as great as the former, and having supplied them with horses and arms, he set out to go to the shores of the lake facing the fortress of the isle of Sewan, so that he might make an unexpected assault on the so called *šahanšah*, and be able to entrap him in the snares of death, or confine him to prison. 11. But when the latter noticed the advent of such a powerful force at his threshold, he immediately launched eleven ships, with seventy of the *azats* and his servants embarking on board of these. The latter were brave men armed with well-bent bows, and well-versed in archery, so much so that they did not miss their mark even by a hair's breadth. 12. Finally, he also went on board with them, and they set sail in order to meet the enemy on sea. Putting to use their skill in archery, they maimed the eyesight of some of the enemy, and inflicted serious wounds on many others, or killed them. Thus they cut their way across the multitude of the enemy forces, and fled. 13. But Bishr took upon himself this humiliation and tried to take vengeance for it by marching directly upon the fortress of K'et¹¹⁶ so that he might launch an unexpected attack, and damage it somehow. 14. Yet, here also he could not do anything, for the aforementioned Gēorg,¹¹⁷ about whose bravery in war we spoke earlier, by chance happened to be in the fortress. When he noticed the multitude

¹¹⁶Gefayoy T, K'efayoy J, K'efaywoy AD.

¹¹⁷Gorg AC.

that had reached the gate of the fortress, he put on his armor and ornaments, and taking with him his spears as well as a small number of men, came out against the enemy. Thus, having joined battle with the cavalry forces [of the enemy], he slashed Bishr's steed with his sword, so that the latter barely mounted on another horse and made his escape. 15. Then, the rest of his fellow warriors also came to the assistance of Gēorg, and having slain great numbers of the enemy, turned the rest to flight. The superiority of one person above the many others [as shown] in the statement "David is more manly than the people of Geth'" could be applied to Gēorg. 16. The caravan of the enemy forces entered the city of Dvin in such disgrace, and tried to exact vengeance on the inhabitants of the fortress with numerous threats.

At first I had gone to Ašot, the scion of royalty, and remained with him until the transition of the seasons from summer to fall. 17. He bestowed frequent favors on me indicative of his good intentions, as well as the token of his friendship, and generous bounties for all of my needs. Subsequently, I took leave of him and went to the king of Armenia Gagik in response to his frequent invitations. 18. For the patriarchal residence together with its villages and estates (*gerdastan*) had been entirely seized by Našr, and we had been left without a residence. No one made any earnest effort to renovate the cathedral of the capital or struggle with spiritual cultivation to liberate the new Sion from her captivity; for the total number of the warriors had greatly diminished and declined. 19. Upon my arrival, king Gagik received me, and looked after my welfare with a genuine feeling of spiritual friendship, firm faith, and unwavering hope. Together with his brother Gurgēn he protected me with undeniable love, and tended to my physical needs. 20. Also he turned to his customary and cheerful thoughts, and assured us with certainty that he would see to it, to the best of his ability, that we returned to our place of residence, and in particular would be mindful of peace for the entire land and concerned about the establishment of the holy church, even as the laws of the Christians demand that the power of the holy faith be kept intact. Yet, this cannot be brought about unless the Lord is willing.

21. But, be that as it may, at this time, the *ostikan* Našr set out from Atrpatakan in Persia, and came to the region of Siwnik^c together with cavalry detachments. 22. And as Smbat the prince of Siwnik^c was staying in Vayoc^c Jor, which was his own district, because of his twisted mind the *ostikan* considered that the proper thing for him to do was either to march secretly against the prince and seize him, or to drive him away with a multitude of armed men in order to enslave and ransack [his land]. 23. However, when he noticed that Smbat had taken extreme measures of precaution by surrounding himself with many cavalry contingents and with fortifications, he offered him conditions of peace. After he had received many gifts from prince Smbat, he also agreed to

release his brother from incarceration, and set out to go to the city of Dvin. As soon as he had received the discharge of the unfair debt in *dahekans* from his younger brother whose name was Babgēn, he released and sent him to prince Smbat, 24. but retained in prison his brother Sahak until he had received the promised payment in *dahekans*. Then, he would release and restore him to his own domain.

25. But when the inhabitants of the fortress of K'eł heard of the arrival of the *ostikan*, they remembered the threats that he had made, and struck with terror, they thought in their uncertainty that should the fortress fall into the hands of the *ostikan*, they would be condemned to intolerable tortures and death. Subsequently, having mindlessly been seized by such fear, they evacuated the inhabitants of the fortress. 26. Then the soldiers also set out to go wherever they pleased. 27. After a period of two days, when the *ostikan* learned that the fortress had been evacuated by its inhabitants, he seized it and took possession of it without any difficulty; he also subjugated all the villages, *awans*, and *agaraks* in its vicinity.

28. Henceforth, let us not be unaware of the constant harvest of the wicked tillers, who reap us with shadowy siege, for if in accordance with the course that the Creator had designed for us we had directed our glance to the heavens above, and if we conducted ourselves in the image of the Creator, to be sure, we would have been saved by means of the redeeming power of the Lord, and would no longer have fallen into the hands of our enemies. But rather, we also would have slain our adversaries, who would fall to the ground because of their weakness, and many people would have called us "blessed on the face of the earth." 29. The Lord says, "If my people had listened to me, or if Israel had walked in my ways, I would have put down their enemies very quickly, and would have laid my hand upon those that afflicted them." 30. But as we have become dull like cattle and the irrational beasts, and revealed that the image of the Lord was distorted within ourselves, for these reasons the enemies of the Lord deceived us. Like the mud on the streets we were trampled by the swine that are nourished in the woods, and by those that travel along the highways, and the stones of the vale of Achor were piled on our heads.

A SEPARATE DISCOURSE COMMEMORATING HIS [YOVHANNĒS'S] NAME

1. God-loving pious kings, princes, leaders and commanders of Armenia, our brethren and apostles of the church, the glory of Christ, I

offer you as a gift this useful treatise. With this, which is like a reflecting mirror, I have invited you [to come] to your senses and rejected rash and disorderly boasting so that I may be exempt from this formidable tempest and the huge foaming waves that have risen, swollen and fallen upon the race of Ashkenaz. 2. My heart shivered with terror, shuddered and trembled, for the Lord sharpened his eyes upon us for our iniquity. 3. Since the eddying waves remained deeply swollen until the present time and did not calm down, I was forced to come here and hastened to have this history prepared. 4. I was at first pressed on by the sufferings that surrounded us and then by the urgent order of the kings that influenced my mind, convincing me not to waver at all in this matter. 5. Nevertheless, I did not at all consider reaching a goal that was beyond my ability only by writing mute characters; but through the echo of a full-voiced sound reverberating from century to century I bequeath this to you with sound judgement, lest the incomprehensibility (or loss) of ancient narratives make you want epics of certain others with branded conscience. But casting eyes on this treatise with a clear and open mind, each one of the future generations will see from what has been said here in particular the veracity of each and every account as he reads my presentation; 6. and thus far he shall be satisfied.

7. But henceforth I shall offer prayers for you who read [this book] so that you would never again be borne to this place of torments where we have now become universally lethargic in the smoke of sinners. But [I pray that you] listen willingly to my supplications and advice for unanimity; that you become children of Seth, who was a good gift, and be reckoned among the children of God; 8. that you do not mingle with the base, enticing and vile daughters of men who are of the race of the accursed fratricide Cain; 9. that you are not inundated by the wicked torrents of the underworld [*sandaramet*], dying in vain like the men of Noah's age who were drowned by the waters that descended from heaven and streamed through the earth, but as the evangelical net is cast into the sea, through a disciplined and restrained life you are gathered in the royal fisheries by means of hooks; 10. [I beg you] not to climb to the housetop of iniquity with your disorderly conduct nor let the diabolical storm with its sparkling flashes of sulphur whirl you around and set you on fire with a destructive blaze. But leaving Sodom and Segor, soar up to the spiritual height of the wonderful mountains of eternity where a holy torch is brightly ablaze for those who are alert and vigilant. 11. Do not go astray, either to the left or right side, from the main road by allowing your will [to follow] the seductions of the deceiver, since a multitude of brigands waits in ambush on both sides [of the highway] and death awaits those who fall into their hands. 12. Let neither the sham sun nor the moon harm you by day or night with a diabolical confusion that deceived and deceives us through the passions of our

nature. Set aside seductive thoughts about fickle desires so that the true sun of righteousness may rise in your hearts with divine love. 13. Shipwrecked because of a wicked and impure life, do not regret your straight and correct conduct, nor become the trampled mire in the ways like the salt that lost its taste. But remain perfectly safe and unspoiled by the slanderous violator in order to reach with joy the haven of life. 14. Do not consider pride in ancestral virtues sufficient for you lest by confiding in it you might become negligent of yourselves and sink into abysmal depths. For if the father steered the helm with skill and knowledge, what good will it do to the sons as they perish in a shipwreck? For this reason I do not think that the father's skill will be of any benefit to the sons' shipwreck. 15. Do not alienate yourselves from the mother who gave you a new birth into a living hope by the newly given living Word. 16. Do not be deceived by being aborted from the womb, nor strip yourselves naked of that luminous and redeeming garment in which you were properly clad from the womb of the [baptismal] font. 17. Do not speak lies, considering in vain what was taken as not taken, and disavowing the Beloved Son's divine commands that tower like a mountain. But with the warmth of a devout heart keep away from that which is harmful and hostile to the soul, and with a clear mind cast aside the sadness of the vain elements [of this life]. 18. Thus you also may perhaps soar up to the deep mysteries of even the triple orders of the seraphim, and properly divide the songs of praise with six-winged instruments that move quickly, being startled by some [of the wings] to restrain yourselves from even lifting [your] eyes toward heaven, not considering yourselves worthy of it. On the other hand, by certain others you may be stirred up to eternal exultations to worship the glory of God after the entrusted ones round about the throne. 19. Then, after the short span of this life, you shall become openly worthy of the glory of even entering the intelligible cloud of Mount Sinai. 20. You shall not be brought down like brushwood to the trial of fire on the day of scrutiny, but with wings that travel in clouds you shall soar up to the upper Sion, seeking to see the Lord. You shall not be thrown into the shade in a crevice of the rock and behold only the backside [or the Lord], but shall look directly at the entire stamp of the glory of the Father. 21. Leaving aside the somewhat trivial knowledge of the present, you shall acquaint yourselves with the splendor that is ready at hand; and then you shall know Him as He knew you.

22. Now, let this word of advice from me suffice you. But I, the unworthy and wretched Yovhannēs, humbly katholikos of Armenia, beg you who read and listen to the message of this history to deem my name worthy of remembrance in your holy and pious prayers. For on the last day of His visitation both you and I may perhaps receive our remuneration from the Lord Who is always blessed and glorified by all the creatures to the ages and ages. Amen.

COMMENTARY

The sources of the first twenty-three chapters of the *History* have already been discussed in the "Introduction" (section B, v). Here I shall give only specific references. In general *see* A. B. Sargsyan, "Movses Xorenac'i," pp. 160ff; A. B. Sargsyan, "Movses Xorenac'u," pp. 72ff..

NOTES TO THE PREFACE OF THE *HISTORY*

1-5

Yovhannēs is under the general influence of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicon*, I, 1-4.

"that He held within His own control" - cf. Acts 1: 7, and Eusebius, *Chronicon*, I, 2.

"of the revolving seasons" - cf. Agat'angelos, p. 10.

4

Cf. *M.X.*, Bk. I, ch. 1.

5

"like ignorant peasants" - cf. Ch. XXVII, # 5. For an interpretation of this passage *see* N. Andrikan, "Ditołut'iwn mə . . . P, 1905, p. 448. "reject the art of the poets . . ." -cf. Dionysius Thrax, p. 3.

8-10

Cf. chapters I-III and IV-XIV.

11

Cf. chapters VI-VII.

12

Cf. chapters VIII-IX.

13

Cf. chapters IX-XIV. On prince Ašot *see* chapter XXIX.

14-17.

"Sāpuh Bagratuni . . ." cf. chapters XXVII, XXIX, # 21 and "Introduction," section B, v.

"Smbat son of Ašot" - cf. chapters XXX-IL

18

"the *ostikan*" is Yūsuf b. Abū Sa'īd, cf. chapter XXXIX, # 1-5.

"Gagik" - cf. chapter XLIII.

19

On the reign of the three kings *see* chapter LVI.

20

The journey of Ašot Erkat^c to Constantinople is described in chapter LV.

21

Cf. chapters LVI–LVIII.

22

There is an echo here of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, I, 1. "the pagan historians" are probably those mentioned in Eusebius' *Chronicon* and Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History*.

24

For the identification of Noah with Xisuthra and Xerxes with Shem *see* *M.X.*, I, 4–6.

28

Yovhannēs's knowledge about the Japhethic origin of the Armenians derives from *M.X.*, I, 5.

CHAPTER I

1

Cf. Genesis, 8.

2–9

Cf. *A.C.*, p. 5.

7

Jeremiah 51: 27. Cf. V. Inglisian, *Armenia*, pp. 190–209.

11

Yovhannēs is under the influence of *M.X.*, I, ch. 6, the second paragraph.

15

For a discussion on the use of the names "House of Togarmah" and "People of Ashkenaz" *see* Nersēs Akinian, "Koriwn," p. 275.

16

The calculation of the number of years between Japheth and Hayk is probably based on the chronological tables in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. If this is true, the reading "four hundred" in the present text of Yovhannēs must be emended to "eight hundred" for the following reason: Eusebius states in his work (*Chronicon*, I, 68) that the period from the deluge to the time of Abraham is 842 years and later lists the first year of Abraham opposite the fortythird year of Ninos son of Bel (*Chronicon*, II, 34). Yovhannēs, knowing that Hayk and Bel were contemporaries, subtracted the first forty-two years of Ninos from 842 and acquired 800 which was later corrupted to 400.

17

Cf. *A.C.*, p. 5. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, I, 68–69.

18

Cf. *M.X.*, I, i.

19

Cf. *M.X.*, Bk. I, viii-ix.

On Nektanebos see *M.X.*, and H. Dashian, *Studies*, pp. 24–25. Also see Ch. Five, # 3.

20–22

CF *M.X.*, I, i.

CHAPTER II

1

On Nimrod/Bel cf. *M.X.*, I, v, vii, x.

2

Cf. *M.X.*, I, x.

3–4

M.X., I, xi, For arrows with three prongs see A.A. K'alent'aryan, "Duini ken-tronakan t'alamasi metale irerë," *Lraber*, 1971, no 6, p. 84.

#5–#8

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xii.

#9–#17

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xii. *M.X.* does not mention Maseac' otñ.

18

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xiii–xiv.

19–20

The source of this section is probably *M.X.*, I, xiv, but Yovhannēs is much more specific, betraying a general knowledge of the information in the *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, pp. 24–25, 29. Yovhannēs description is known to Samuel of Ani, p. 44 and Vardan, *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, pp. 14–15.

21

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xiv.

22–24

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xv.

25

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xx.

27–29

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xix, xxi.

For Honak *M.X.* has Hawanak; for Hratñ, Hrawt; and for Hawan, Hōroy. Yovhannēs's list lacks Vaštak and Haykak right after Honak, and Šawarš after Arñak. It is difficult to say whether these names had fallen out of Yovhannes's text or the manuscript of *M.X.* that Yovhannēs used.

CHAPTER III

3–4

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxi, xxii.

5

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxiii; the latter, however, attributes this to Skayordi.

6–11

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxii. In # 10 Yovhannēs has *Kronak* for *M.X.*'s *Kor-nak*.

12

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxvii.

13–15

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxiv

16

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxxi.

17

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxiv and xiv

18

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxx.

19

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxiv.

21–27

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxxi.

28

Cf. *M.X.*, I, xxxii.

CHAPTER IV

1–6

Cf. *M.X.*, II, i, ii, lxviii.

The source of Yovhannēs's definition of the name Parthian is not *M.X.*.

7

Cf. *M.X.*, I, viii, II, iii.

8

Cf. *M.X.*, II, iii, vii

9

Cf. *M.X.*, II, vii, iii.

10

On the Davidic origin of the Bagratids *see* the "Introduction".

Cf. *M.X.*, II, iii, vii.

11

Cf. *M.X.*, II, v, vi.

12

Cf. *M.X.*, II, vi.

13–14

Cf. *M.X.*, II, vii, viii.

15

Cf. *M.X.*, II, viii. *Spasalar* is used here as a synonym of *zōraglux* or *strategos*. See also C. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 96 and 97, note 143.
Cf. chapters LI, # 2 and LIV, # 21.

16–18

Cf. *M.X.*, II, viii.

19–20

Cf. *M.X.*, II, ix.

21–22

Cf. *M.X.*, II, ix and the “Introduction”.

23

Cf. *M.X.*, II, ix, xi.

24

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xi.

25

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xii–xiii.

26–29

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xiii.

30–31

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xii.

CHAPTER V

1–2

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xiv.

3–5

The source of Yovhannēs is the *History of the City of Amaseia*; see the “Introduction”. Recently P. Muratyan suggested that Yovhannēs’s *History* is the source of the *History . . . of Amaseia*. See the details in his article “T‘ēodoros zinuori vkayabanut‘yan xmbagrut‘yunnerə,” *Banber Erevani hamalsarani*, 1971, No 2, p. 178. The comparison between the two texts, however, shows that Yovhannēs, in his characteristic manner of drawing from the works of earlier writers, has epitomized the above passage.

6

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xiv.

7–8

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xv–xvi.

9

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xviii.

10–12

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xix. # 10 seems to be corrupt. I have tried to emend it by following *M.X.*.

13

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxi.

14–16

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxii.

17–18

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxiii.

19–22

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxiv.

CHAPTER VI

1

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxv, xxvi.

2–6

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxvi;

4—for the massacre of the children *see* Mat. 2:6.

7–10

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxvii–xxviii.

11

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxx.

12–13

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxxi–xxxii.

14–18

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxxiii.

CHAPTER VII

2–3

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xxxiv; for the hagiographical sources *see* the “Introduction”. *Ara-sbenon*—the name of this town has several variants. Cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 391–393, Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 29. Kogian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 25 ff..

4

Sop^herk^h, XIX, 59–60; 33.

5

Sop^herk^h, XIX, 61–62; 33.

6

Sop^herk^h, XIX, 63.

7

Sop^herk^h, XIX, 39–40, where Bařlah is said to be a Persian general.

8

Sop^herk^h, XIX, 65, 33.

CHAPTER VIII

1

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxvii–lxxix.

2

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxiv, Agathangelos, pp. 15, 20–21.

3–4 5–6

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxiv.

7

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxviii, lxxx, Agathangelos, pp. 23–25.

8

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxix, lxxxii, Agathangelos, pp. 24, 26–29.

9

'the deep pit'—cf. Agathangelos, pp. 71, 72, 114–116.
Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 435.

10

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xci.

11

Cf. Agathangelos, pp. 459–462

12

Cf. Agathangelos, p. 464.

CHAPTER IX

1–2

Cf. *M.X.*, II, lxxxix.

3

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xc, lxxxix; Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (the Armenian version), Book I, xxxviii.

4–6

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xc, xci.

CHAPTER X

1–7

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xci.

8

Cf. *M.X.*, II, xcii. *M.X.*, however, is silent about the place where Trdat was buried. Yovhannēs seems to be under the influence of a short text wherein the circumstances of Trdat's death and burial are narrated: "*Yatags mahuan Trdatay t'agawori Hzōri K'aḷi ew Arak'inoj*," *Pazmaveb*, (1851), p. 75; cf. H. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, part one, pp. 135–136.

9–10

Cf. *M.X.*, III, ii.

11

Cf. *M.X.*, III, iii.

CHAPTER XI

1

Cf. *M.X.*, III, iv, v. *M.X.*, however, says nothing about Vrtʿanēs's trip to Constantinople. He merely states that the chief bishop and the *naxarars* of Armenia sent a letter to the emperor and in III, v he presents the correspondence between Vrtʿanēs and the emperor.

2

Cf. *M.X.*, III, v.

3

Cf. *M.X.*, III, x.

4–7

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xi.

8–13

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xii–xiv. In # 12 “Hacʿeacʿ Monastery” is derived from *M.X.*'s “hermitage . . . of *Hacʿeacʿ draxt* [‘garden of ash trees’]”, see Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary by R. W. Thomson (Harvard Univ. Press, 1978), p. 267, note 7.

14–16

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xvi. According to *M.X.*, the prelacy of Pʿarnerseh lasted four years.

CHAPTER XII

1

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xvii–xviii. Pʿawstos Buzand, IV, iv, p. 73.

2–5

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xx.

6–14

On the establishment of the Armenian patriarchate see the Introduction. Yovhannēs seems to have greatly expanded the information in the Armenian epitome of Socrates Scholasticus' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 420–421. In a medieval life of Nersēs the Great, where this section of the *History* of Yovhannēs has been totally interpolated, there is the following statement right after # 11: “The great historian Socrates narrates that in the holy council of Constantinople it was decreed that Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia would have autocephalous patriarchal status.” *Sopʿerkʿ*, VII, p. 10.

15–16

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxi, xix.

17

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxix, xxx.

18

P^rawstos, IV, x, attributes Valens' assassination to Sts. Sargis and T^cēodoros.

19–20

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxiii.

CHAPTER XIII

1

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxv.

2

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxvi–xxxvii.

3–4

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxvii.

5–6

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxviii.

7

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxix.

8

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xxxix–xl. *M.X.*, however, assigns four years to Šahak. The discrepancy is due to the great similarity between the symbols for six and four in the miniscule script.

9–10

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xl.

11

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xl–xli. According to *M.X.*, Zawēn's patriarchate lasted four years. The symbols for three and four are similar in both the majuscule and the miniscule scripts.

12–13

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xlii.

14

For further information on the life and works of Maštoc^c, Yovhannēs refers the reader to historians who preceded him. The latter are *M.X.* and Koriwn.; Yovhannēs does not seem to be familiar with Łazar P^carpecⁱ.

CHAPTER XIV

1

Cf. *M.X.*, III, xli, il.

2

Cf. *M.X.*, III, il.

3

Cf. *M.X.*, III, 1.

4–6

Cf. *M.X.*, III, li.

7–10

Cf. *M.X.*, III, liv.

11–13

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lv.

14

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lvi.

15–16

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lvi–lvii.

17

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lviii.

18–22

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lxiii.

23–24

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lxiv.

25–26

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lxv–lxvi.

27–30

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lxvii.

For the correct interpretation of this passage see Garitte, *Narratio*, # 31–33, p. 151; K. Amatuni, “Hay kat’oḏikosakan at’orin ink’navarut’iwnə,” *Pazmaveb*, cxxvi (1968), p. 194.

CHAPTER XV

1

Cf. *M.X.*, III, lxviii.

2–6

On the source of this passage see the section “The Sources of the First Part” in the “Introduction”. A similar story also appears in T’ovma Arcruni, pp. 77–78. Šawasp Arcruni is mentioned only once in Efiše, p. 193, and Łazar P’arpec’i, p. 86.

On the succession of Giwt see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 410–411, Step’anos Asoḓik, p. 80 and *List III*, p. 274. The transfer of the patriarchal throne to Dvin during the pontificate of Giwt is also known from *List II*, p. 270. Cf. Karapet Episkopos [Tēr Mkrtč’ian], “Yovhannēs Mandakuni ew Yovhannēs Mayragomec’i,” *Šotakat’* (Vol. I, Vařaršapat, 1913), pp. 85–87. Kogian, *Hayoc’ eketec’in*, p. 160.

According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 417–452 and especially 428–429, Giwt’s dates are 461–478. The ten years that Yovhannēs assigns to him is either

the result of a scribal error or the actual duration of his pontificate before being deposed by the king of kings.

According to Ehišē, p. 178, and Łazar P^carpecⁱ, pp. 101–102, Katholikos Yovsēp^c and his associates were martyred during the reign of Yazdagird II in 454.

CHAPTER XVI

1–2

Yovhannēs's source on the Armenian patriarchs is probably an early list that is no longer extant. See "Introduction".

3–4

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 66–67. The latter, however, says nothing about the role of Yovhannēs Mandakuni. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 451–482, and especially 474–475, assigns him the dates 478–490. The six years assigned to him by Yovhannēs Draxanakertecⁱ probably represents the period from 484 to 490. This means that the Persian court did not recognize Mandakuni as katholikos of Armenia prior to the treaty of Nuarsak in 484.

5–7

The source of this passage is unknown.

8–12

The historical information is mostly based on the documents in the *Book of Letters*, cf. "Introduction".

The earlier sources say nothing about a council of Armenian, Iberian and Albanian bishops in Vałaršapat/New City. Cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 507–509.

On the identification of New City/Kainē polis with Vałaršapat see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 469.

"in the holy cathedral of Armenia"—The literal rendition of the text is: "in the holy catholic church, the mother of the churches of Armenia". The reference is to the cathedral of Ējmiacin, cf. *Ašxar.*, p. 111, Łazar P^carpecⁱ, p. 186.

13

Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 488–490, assigns Babgēn twenty-six years (490–516). Most Armenian lists of katholikoi give three, five or six years: *List I*, p. 268, assigns five years, *List II*, p. 270, six years, Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 404, five years, Asofik, p. 81, three years.

14

Vard Mamikonean was already the *marzpan* of Armenia during the pontificate of Katholikos Babgēn. See *Book of Letters*, pp. 42, 47, 48. Cf. N. Akinian, *Etišē*, I, 232.

Samuēl's dates, according to Ormanian, are 516–526. *Azgapatum*, I, 519. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 427, for sources that disagree with Yovhannēs.

15–16

According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 521, Mušē's dates are 526–534. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 427–428.

The information that Persian *marzpan*s ruled in Armenia is taken from Sebēos, p. 67.

According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 527–528, the dates of Sahak are 534–539. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 428.

17

According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 527–532, the dates of K'ristap'or are 539–545. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 428.

18

Lesser Erast or Erast is probably a corruption of Arest, which is the form known to Asolik, p. 82, *List III*, p. 274. The *Narratio* has Aret, p. 404. Arest is well known as a place in Vaspurakan. See chapter XVI, # 41; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 341–342, Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 28–29.

19

Cf. Sebēos, p. 67. The rebellion took place in 571/572.

20

The dates of Lewond, according to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 533–534, are 545–548. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 429. Yovhannēs is in anachronism; Lewond was not a contemporary of the rebellion of 572.

21

On Nersēs II of Aštarak see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 535–556, Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 35, 154–156, 429. Kogian, *Hayoc' ekelec'in*, pp. 189–202, Ananian, "Patmakan yišatakan," *P*, (1957), pp. 111–121, (1958), pp. 64–72, 117–130.

22

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 67–68 and Akinian's comments in *Ehišē*, III, 153, 234 note 5.

23

Cf. the *Life of Yiztbuzit* in Vark' ew vkayabanut'iwnk' srbc', II, 124–130. and Akinian's comments in *Ehišē*, III, 195–196.

24

According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 535, 556, Nersēs's dates are 548–557.

25

On Yovhannēs Gabelean cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 557–566, Kogian, *Hayoc' ekelec'in*, pp. 202–207, Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 240, 204–205. Gabelean's dates are 557–574.

26

On Movsēs of Ešivard, whose dates are 574–604, see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 567–614, Kogian, *Hayoc' ekelec'in*, pp. 207–211, Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 223, 430.

27–28

Yovhannēs's source on the origin of the Armenian calendar is not known. On the Armenian calendar see Dulaurier, *Recherches*, Vol. I, Grumel, *La Chronologie*; N. Akinian, *Kiwriion*, p. 113 and note; I. Adamian, "Haykakan t'uakani masin gitelik'ner," *P*, (1966), pp. 183ff., 216ff., (1969), pp. 244ff., (1970), pp. 108ff.; Ēd. Ałayan, "Hayoc' bun t'vakani skizbā ew Haykyan šr'jannerā," *VANA*, 1983, No 11, pp. 3ff.; H. Badalyan, *Hayoc' tomari patmuč'yun* (Erevan, 1976); H. Badalyan,

Օրա՛ււյ՛ւց՛ի թաժմա՛տ՛յւն (Erevan, 1970); B. E. T՛umanyan, *Arje՛rn tomarac՛ււյ՛ւց՛* (Erevan, 1965); B. E. T՛umanyan, *Hay astlagitu՛t՛yan թաժմա՛տ՛յւն* (Erevan, 1964); B. E. T՛umanyan, *Tomari թաժմա՛տ՛յւն* (Erevan, 1972); X. Siwrmelian, *Tōmaragrut՛iւն օժժանուր Էկեժե՛ւհ Էւ կ՛աժակ՛աժան* (Venice, 1818).

29–31

The general sources on the Armeno-Georgian schism are the documents in the *Book of Letters*, pp. 110–195. However, Yovhannēs has additional information about Kiwrion’s biography. The cathedral where Kiwrion served was the one in Dvin, which was dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator. N. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, p. 169 note 2. Լ. Ališan, in *Ayrarat*, p. 214, is wrong in assuming that the cathedral in question is that of Ējmiacin. “In accordance with former practice”—For an interpretation of this passage see N. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, pp. 9–20. On the schism in general cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 588–592; Kogian, *Hayoc՛ Էկեժե՛ւհ*, pp. 212–218.

32

Yovhannēs is probably referring to the letter of Katholikos Movsēs to Kiwrion which is mentioned in the *Book of Letters*, pp. 136, 138.

33

On Movsēs’s dates see above note under # 26.

34–37

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 69–70.

38

Cf. Sebēos, p. 75.

39

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 76, 80. Sebēos, however, states that Vahram was killed in Bahl Šahastan. On Ray/Herat see M. H. Darbinyan-Melik՛yan, “Ditofo՛t՛յւննը,” p. 163.

40–41

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 76, 84. According to Sebēos, Maurice did not ask for these territories. Xosrov himself promised and delivered them. Sebēos also does not mention Dara, Maseac՛ otn and the region of Aragac. The last two places either are the results of a miscalculation on Yovhannēs’s part (cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 228 note 4), or are derived from an unknown source.

Tanutirakan gund is the province of Turuberan. Cf. Լ. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 420; Avdalbegyan, *Hayagitakan hetazotu՛t՛յւննը*, pp. 141–145; Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 180–181.

Ostan—On this name see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 228; Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 215; Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 240–241; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 114.

Arēst—cf. chapter XVI, # 18 and note.

Յ՛նակ՛իսար—Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 231, 339; Ēp՛rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 843, II, 280.

42–51

The source of this section is not known. *See* Introduction.

52–53

Cf. chapter II, # 19–20.

CHAPTER XVII

1–5

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 96–97. The latter does not mention Sagastan.

For the expression “Armenian syllables” cf. *M.X.*, III, liii.

Sebēos does not mention the name of Katholikos Movsēs in connection with the events narrated in # 1–5

6

Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 587, takes “until the present time” literally, *i.e.*, until the early tenth century. His interpretation can be substantiated by the information in chapter LXVI, # 56, where Yovhannēs mentions a certain monk by the name of Sołomovn who was from Sakastan.

7–10

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 99–100. The latter does not give the place of origin of Katholikos Abraham. Yovhannēs’s source is probably the lost list of katholikoi. According to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 655–656, Abraham’s dates are 607–615. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 268, based on Sebēos, pp. 187–188, puts his death in 610/611.

On the cathedral of Dvin and its sponsor *see* chapter XV, # 3.

11–13

Yovhannēs’s sources are the letters exchanged between the katholikoi Abraham and Kiwrion, *Book of Letters*, pp. 164–176, 176–186, and Abraham’s encyclical, pp. 189–195. N. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, pp. 247–248, thinks that the council of Dvin mentioned here is identical with the council of 607 that was held at the order of Smbat Bagratuni. *See Book of Letters*, p. 149. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 639, is convinced that this is a later council. Yovhannēs’s text clearly suggests a second council.

14–16

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 91, 112. The latter, however, does not say that Maurice set up as patriarch. He also does not give any information about the place of Yovhan’s origin, his headquarter in Awan and his residence. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc’i probably found these details in the lost list of katholikoi.

On Yovhan *see* Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 577–78, Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 251 and 246ff..

On Kog and Bagaran *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 364–365, 411.

The reign of Yovhan as katholikos in Byzantine Armenia and the construction of the cathedral of Awan did not coincide with the pontificate of Abraham; this is an obvious anachronism.

“and had never gone astray after the Chalcedonian heresy”—This statement is in contradiction with Sebēos, p. 91, and may be an interpolation. It is not conceivable that Maurice would have tolerated a non-Chalcedonian as katholikos of Byzantine Armenia.

17–18

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 102–104. Kog should be corrected to Kogovit, as Sebēos has.

19

Cf. Sebēos, p. 106.

20–21

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 111f. Ašot should be corrected to Aštāt as Sebēos has. Ahmatan is the same as Hamadan, cf. Markwart, *Eranšahr*, p. 70.

22

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 111–112. The latter says nothing about Katholikos Yovhan's place of burial. On the duration of his pontificate see Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 265 and 431. Yovhannēs's source on this section is probably the lost list of katholikoi.

23

For the duration of Abraham's pontificate see Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 430. The twenty-three years' pontificate assigned to him by Yovhannēs is chronologically impossible. The text may have originally read "three years".

On Komitas see Sebēos, p. 112. The latter, however, does not mention former office of Komitas as the sacristan of the martyrrium of Hr·ip'simē. The term *p'akakal*, 'sacristan', is not used for Komitas in the pre-tenth century sources.

24

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 112–113.

25–26

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 115–116.

27–29

Cf. Sebēos, p. 121.

30

Cf. Sebēos, p. 121. The latter merely states that Komitas replaced the wooden roof of the cathedral with a stone structure.

31

Cf. Sebēos, p. 127. . According to Sebēos, Kawat was the son of Xosrov II.

32–33

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 128f. On the duration of the pontificate of Komitas see Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 268, 431. His dates are 610/611–628.

34–38

On K'ristap'or see Sebēos, p. 129. Yovhannēs's version of the story about K'ristap'or is not only different from that of Sebēos but also more detailed. See Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 681, Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 300, Kogian, *Hayoc' ekelec'in*, pp. 236–237. On Ulik' cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 462. On Ezer cf. Sebēos, p. 129. The latter does not mention his place of origin.

CHAPTER XVIII

1-5

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 129–130. For Azrmik Sebēos has Azarmiduxt.

6–8

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 131f. Instead of Mažēž he has Mžež.

9

Sebēos says nothing about these events; Yovhannēs's source is not known. Katholikos Ezz's nephew was Tēodoros K'rt'enawor, cf. Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, p. 33. Yovhan was the sacristan of the cathedral of Dvin. See chapter XVII, # 8. On Yovhan see K'enderyan, *Yovhan Mayragomeci*, and K'iparian's article in *P*, (1963), pp. 230, (1964), p. 14, Tēr Mkrtč'ian, "Yovhan Mandakuni," *Šołakat* (Vałaršapat, 1913), p. 110.

10–11

Cf. Sebēos, p. 132.

12

The source of this passage is not Sebēos. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 307–308. Yovhannēs. has probably derived his information from the lost list of katholikoi.

13

Cf. Sebēos, p. 132.

14–27

The encounter between Ezz and Yovhan is not known to Sebēos. On this subject cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 312, 319.

24

"worthy to suffer indignity . . ." - Cf. Acts 5:41.

26

On Mayroc' vank' see Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 270–276, G. Sargsyan, "Mayravank'," *Ējmiacin*, (1958), No 4. On Bjni see Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 433–436, H. Ełiazaryan, "Bjnii vank'ə," *Ējmiacin*, (1963), No 9–10, and No 11.

27

Yovhan's trip to Gardman is also known from the Georgian sources. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 283.

28–30

Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 349, 366.

31

The source on the church of S. Gayianē is not known. T'oramanyan; *Nyut'er*, II, 47 and Orbeli, *Selected Works*, pp. 387–390, have shown that the present-day structure is from the seventh century.

The 1867 Jerusalem edition of the *History* of Yovhannēs has the following additional sentence at the end of this chapter:

"This is when they began to build *žamatuns* ['porches'], which did

not appear in Armenia until that time." M. Emin considered this passage an interpolation in note 203 of the Moscow edition. The earliest *žamatuns* in Armenia date from the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries. Nowhere else in the *History* does Yovhannes speak of *žamatuns*; they did not exist at his time.

CHAPTER XIX

1

Cf. Sebēos, p. 132.

2

Cf. Sebēos, p. 133. The latter knows nothing about the church of Mren. Yovhannēs's source is probably the building inscription on the church itself. In it the name of Dawit^c appears with the Byzantine titles *patrik[ios]* and *curopalate*; he is also called "*sparapet* of Armenia and Syria". See Orbeli, *Selected Works*, p. 401, M. S. Sargsyan, "Mren," *P-B.H.*, (1966), No 4, pp. 241–250. S.X. Mnac^cakanyan, "Mren," *P-B.H.*, 1969, No 3, p. 149, A.A. Manuč^caryan, *K^cnnu^tiwn*, pp. 63ff..

#3–4

Cf. Sebēos, p. 133.

5

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 134–135.

"according to Paul" - The reference is to Galatians 4: 24.

6

Cf. Second Corinthians 6:15

7–8

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 135–136.

9

On the name Constantine see Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 92, note 1.

10

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 138–139.

11

Cf. Sebēos, p. 139. The duration of the patriarchate of Ezr is not given by Sebēos. His dates are 630/631–641. See Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 301.

12–15

Cf. Sebēos, p. 139, for the succession of Nersēs. The remaining information does not appear in Sebēos and its source is not known. This is the first we hear about the martyrdom of S. Sergius in Dvin. On Xor Virap, or the pit where St. Gregory the Illuminator was incarcerated, see Ališan, *Ayyarat*, pp. 435–440. T^coramanyan, *Nyut^cer*, II, 131–132.

16–18

Cf. Sebēos, p. 147. The latter, however, merely states that the cathedral was dedicated to the heavenly hosts, *erknawor zuart^cnoc^cn*. On the "cabinet" see T^coramanyan, *Nyut^cer*, II, 88. Yovhannēs was well acquainted with the cathedral of Zuart^cnoc^c, which was still standing in his time. His information, therefore, is based on first hand knowledge.

19

Cf. Sebēos, p. 139.

20–21

Cf. Sebēos, p. 139. The latter has Sənd for Sind, Srman for Moran, Turan for Daran. The correct forms are Sind, Kirman, Turan, Makuran. See Markwart, *Ēranšahr*, pp. 31–34.

Litanac'ik' is probably the corrupt form of *Latinac'ik'*.

22–23

Cf. Sebēos, p. 141. The latter has Eraklos instead of Eraklak.

24

Cf. Sebēos, p. 144.

25

Cf. Sebēos, p. 144, who has Dariwnk' for Darawn. Yovhannēs refers to this fortress as Daron, Darawnk' or Daroynk', cf. ch. XVII, # 18, ch. XLVI, # 8.

26

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 144–145, who says nothing about the role of Nersēs. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 340, thinks that Yovhannēs “mistaking Sebēos’s indication as to his [Smbat’s] succeeding to his father’s dynastic position, makes him succeed Varaztiroc' as Prince and Curopalate of Armenia . . .” But Yovhannēs makes no statement about Smbat’s appointment as Prince and Curopalate!

27–28

Cf. Sebēos, p. 164.

29–31

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 164–166. The latter, however, does not single out Iberia.

32–40

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 167–168.

39

“Two years prior to this”—Sebēos has “four years”. See Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 340.

41–42

Cf. Sebēos, p. 169.

43–44

Cf. Sebēos, p. 174.

45–46

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 174–175.

47–48

Cf. Sebēos, p. 175, who only states that Nersēs hastened to complete the construction of the cathedral. The source for the rest of the information given by Yovhannēs is not known.

On the term *erdumard* and the cathedral of Zuart'noc' in general see Avdalbegian, *Hayagiyakan hetazotut'yunner*, pp. 148ff. and 156 and V. Harut'yunyan, “Zvart'noc',” *IANA*, (1962), No 12, pp. 41–60.

49

Cf. Sebēos, p. 175.

50

Cf. Sebēos, p. 175. The latter says nothing about the role of Katholikos Nersēs.

51–53

Cf. Sebēos, pp. 175–177. Sebēos's *History* ends here.

CHAPTER XX

On the sources of this chapter *see* the "Introduction".

1

On the duration of Hamazasp's rule *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 405–411.

2–3

The same information is also in the *History* of Łewond, p. 14. who has more details. Yovhannēs does not show any signs of being acquainted with Lewond's work. Cf. N. Akinian, "Łewond," p. 76. On Grigor Mamikonean *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 438–439, Artamanov, *Istoriia Khazar*, p. 190, Ter-Łewondyan, "Hayoc' Iřxan," *B.E.H.*, (1969), No 1, pp. 241–247.

5–6

Yovhannēs had probably seen the tomb of Nersēs. On the latter *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 432, Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 744–746. His dates are 641/642–661/662.

7–8

On Anastas *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 345, 432 and Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 745–750. His dates are 661–667.

9

On the church of Aruč *see* A. Manuč'aryan, *K'nnuťyun*, pp. 100–104. The participle *himnadreal*, 'lay the foundations', echoes the verb *himnadrec'aw*, 'was founded', in the building inscription of the church.

10

On the hermitage of Elıvard *see* Aliřan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 196–201. H. Eřazaryan, "Elıvard," *Ĕjmiacin*, (1962), No 7, A. Manuč'aryan, *K'nnuťyun*, p. 99. Yovhannēs is the original source of information on Elıvard, which is repeated by Vardan, p. 70. His relative, teacher and predecessor, the Katholikos Mařtoc', was the son of a priest who came from the above hermitage, which was dedicated to St. Theodore. *See* Step'anos Monachus, pp. 89, 93.

11

Cf. Aliřan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 470–474. T'oramanyan, *Nyuťer*, II, 112. This is the earliest reference to the church that Anastas built.

12–13

On the source of this passage *see* Introduction. On Jag and Kotayk' *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 446, 365.

nahang—On geographical terms *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 243, note 1. The term *nahang* was usually not used for the Armenian districts and provinces. Kotayk' was really a 'district' (*gawař*). The translator of Acts 23: 34 renders the

Greek word *eparcheia* as *nahang*; yet, little later, in Acts 25: 1, he uses *išxanutʿiwn*. In both the longer and shorter versions of the *Ašxarhacʿoycʿ*, pp. 6, and 586–587, *nahang* means ‘zone’. All of these indicate that *nahang* was not a clearly defined term. Cf. “Glossary.”

“received him from the water of the holy font”—The phrase seems to echo *M.X.*, II, xc.

14

On various interpretations and the proposed source of this passage see “Introduction” and Avdalbegyan, *Hayagitakan hetazotutʿyunner*, pp. 145–147, H. Manandyan, *Hayastani glxavor čanaparhmeri . . .*, pp. 144–147. According to Samuēl of Ani, p. 83, his source on the battle of Erewan was Šapuh and Asofik. Šapuh is non other than Šapuh Bagratuni about whom see the Preface of Yovhannēs’s *History*.

15–17

For an interpretation of this passage see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 748–749, Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 345, Tʿumanyan, “Širakacʿi,” *P-B. H.*, (1971), No I, pp. 189–190. Anania introduced the leap year into the Armenian calendar. Cf. Chapter XVI, note for # 27–28 and especially I. Adamian’s article mentioned there. On Anania in general see Anasyan, *Armenian Bibliology*, I, 731–774.

18

See # 20 below.

19

Barabay is an otherwise unknown personality. The reference to him in Vardan, the thirteenth century historian, derives directly from Yovhannēs. Cf. Muylidermans, *la Domination*, p. 93, note 1. Nerseh prince of Iberia is either the one who commissioned the Armenian translation of the *Life of Silvester* in 678, or the king of Kartli. See Yovsēpʿian, *Colophons*, p. 50, Melikʿ-*Baxšyan*, *Armenia*, p. 90 note 4.

20

On the dates of Israyēl (667–677) cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 433 and Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 751–754.

212

On Mazaz see V. Inglizian, “Erekʿsrbean,” *H.A.*, (1966), No 1–3, p. 1 note 56. On Jorapʿor see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 353. On the villages of Arkʿunašēn and Berdkacʿ see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 410, 413.

On Sahak see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 753–800, Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 350–354, 433, Kogian, *Hayocʿ eketecʿin*, pp. 251–258.

22

Rotakkʿ—cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 261.

23

Yovhannēs seems to be using a source other than the *Anonymous Chronicle* attributed to Anania Širakacʿi, *A.C.*, p. 80, where the war with the Khazars is listed under the first year of the Emperor Justinian II, *i.e.*, 685 A.D.. Yovhannēs’s source is not Lewond, p. 16, who seems to be following the *Anonymous Chronicle*.

There is controversy about the date of the Khazar raid. J. Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, p. 12, thinks that it took place in 689.

24

Smbat—This name is probably a scribal error for Ašot, since Asolik, p. 100, Samuēl of Ani, p. 81, and Vardan, p. 70, who have all used Yovhannēs, have Ašot. *See also* Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, pp. 10ff., Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 341, Akinian, “Hay Bagratuneac’ . . .” pp. 302–303.

25

Mruan is identical with Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam (683–685), Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 192. The name of the governor (*ostikan*) of Armenia is not given, but little later, in # 28, we learn that he is called Mahmēt. On the latter *see* Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 44 note 1, Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, pp. 15ff., Muyldermans, *la Domination*, p. 94 note c.

26–27

The events narrated in this section are not known to Lewond. *See* Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, p. 15. Movsēs Dasxuranc’i (Bk. III, xvii) knows of these from an independent source. Cf. Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 207 note 7. These events took place either in 693 or 696/697.

28

Lewond is silent about Abdalla.

29

On the motivation of Shak’s arrest and exile *see* Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 352, Kogian, *Hayoc’ eketec’in*, pp. 354–355. On Smbat *see* Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, pp. 25–27, Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 341, Akinian, “Hay Bagratuneac’ . . .” pp. 304–307.

30

On the source of this passage *see* chapter XX, # 13 and “Introduction.”

31

The martyrrium of Saint Yiztbuzit is mentioned in chapter XVI, # 23.

CHAPTER XXI

1–3

On the sources of this chapter *see* the “Introduction”.

Vardanakert—The battle of Vardanakert which took place in 703/704, is also known to Lewond, pp. 24f., who knows the place as an *awan*. Yovhannēs’s source, however, is not Lewond, but probably Šapuh Bagratuni, cf. chapter XXIV, # 18. On the date *see* M. H. Darbinyan-Melik’yan, “Ditołut’yunner,” pp. 154–159.

4–5

Ogbay—is identical with Muḥammad ibn-‘Uqbah. *See* Melik’-Baxšyan, *Armenia*, pp. 127–131, 300–302.

Kamsarakan—The Kamsarakan whose name is not mentioned is Prince Nerseh Kamsarakan. *See* Kogian, *Kamsarakans*, pp. 155–156. Lewond knows

nothing about these events. Yovhannēs's source is probably Šapuh Bagrtuni's *History*.

6–14

Łewond, pp. 28–31, also has a similar account, but there are differences which indicate that Yovhannēs is using another source.

15

The dates of Katholikos Sahak are 678–705. See Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 434. See also M. H. Darbinyan-Melik'yan, "Ditołut'yunner," pp. 159–160.

On Elia see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 799–818, Kogian, *Hayoc' ekełec'in*, pp. 258ff..

On Arčēš, which is in Ałēovit, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 329, Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 39. According to Asołik, p. 102, Elia was the bishop of Bznunik'. See also *List I*, p. 271, *List II*, p. 276.

16

The dates of ʿAbd-al-Malik are 685–705. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 205–207.

17–21

On the hagiographical source of this section see the "Introduction".

22

The dates of al-Walīd are 705–715; those of Sulaymān are 715–717 and those of ʿUmar II are 717–720.

R·ucap' in Šam is identical with Rušáfah in Hishâm. See Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 106.

On Vahan of Gołt'n's *Life* see the "Introduction".

CHAPTER XXII

1–8

This story also appears in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i's *History*, Dowsett, *M.D.*, pp. 189–197. According to N. Akinian, *Movsēs Dasxuranc'i*, p. 21, the discrepancies between the two accounts are due to Yovhannēs's having used an older edition of the *History of the Albanians*. On the Christological controversies in Albania see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 810–814; Kogian, *Hayoc' ekełec'in*, pp. 366–373.

According to Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, the Albanian princess who adhered to Chalcedonianism was called Spram. The same historian puts these events during the reign of ʿAbd-al-Malik.

9

The duration of Katholikos Elia's pontificate should probably be emended from fourteen to thirteen, *i.e.*, 705–717/718. Asołik, p. 102, who is following Yovhannēs, has thirteen. In *List III*, p. 276, we read three, but this is an obvious corruption for thirteen. One of the manuscripts of Samuēl of Ani, p. 85, also has thirteen. The change from thirteen to fourteen must have taken place at an early date, since Vardan, p. 72, and most of the manuscripts of Samuēl of Ani assign Elia fourteen years.

10–30

On Yovhannēs *Imastasēr*, ‘the Philosopher’, see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 817–850; Kogian, *Hayoc’ ekelec’in*, pp. 264–271. Yovhannēs’s sources on the life and works of his namesake are discussed in the “Introduction”.

“regulations concerning the hours of worship”—Cf. Yovhannēs Awjncē’i, pp. 31–34, 34–45.

“commentaries”—Cf. Yovhannēs Awjncē’i, pp. 98–111, 112–119, 120–125, 130–134.

“other treatises”—Cf. Yovhannēs Awjncē’i, pp. 9–31. See Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 835–836.

“Walid”—Nothing is known about this Arab governor from the other sources. A. Tēr-Łewondyan *Armenia*, p. 272, thinks that he officiated in 717. Yovhannēs does not mention the name of the caliph with whom Katholikos Yovhannēs Awjncē’i had an interview. Vardan states that it was ʿUmar, whereas Kirakos mentions the name of Hishām. See Muldermans, *la Domination*, p. 100, note 3. If Tēr-Łewondyan is correct about Walid’s date, then ʿUmar II (717–720) is the caliph in question.

31

Yovhannēs Awjncē’i’s dates are 717/718–728/729. Cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 843–844.

CHAPTER XXIII

1

On the sources of this chapter see the “Introduction”. On Katholikos Dawit’ see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 849–868; Kogian, *Hayoc’ ekelec’in*, pp. 271ff.. On Aramonk’ see Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 289. Efišē, p. 79, knows this place as Eramawns.

2

Yovhannēs probably saw King Trdat’s edict; he is certainly aware of its existence. The authenticity, however, of such a document is highly questionable.

3

On the transfer of the patriarchate to Aramonk’ see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 853–854. On the church of Aramonk’ see Manuč’aryan, *K’nnuťyun*, pp. 75–76.

“in accord with what was written”—This passage probably refers to Deuteronomy 16: 3.

Katholices Dawit’c’s dates are 728–741.

4–6

On Katholikos Trdat see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 869–879. On Ot’mus cf. Chapter XVI, # 1 and chapter XX, # 18. Trdat’s dates are 741–764.

7

On Trdat II see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 877–880. His place of origin, Dasnawork’, is a district in Tawruberan. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 322. Trdat II’s dates are 764–767.

8

On Katholikos Sion *see* Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 879–892. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 411, puts Bawonk^c in the district of Dasnawork^c in Tawruberan, whereas Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 881, is of the opinion that it is in the district of Aragacotn. Yovhannēs uses the name of the village in the genitive plural, *Bawoneac^c* the nominative form of which would presumably be *Bawonik^c*.

10

Mt. Sim—Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 316; Markwart, *Tigrisquellen*, pp. 202ff. and chapter X, # 9.

12–15

Sulaymān—About this governor *see* Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 7 and 12. The 1867 Jerusalem edition of Yovhannēs's *History*, p. 135, has the reading Suliman. The latter is probably a corruption of *Sulamī*, *i.e.*, 'of that Sulaym tribe' from which the governor descended. It seems to me that Sulaymān/Sulami is non other than Yazīd ibn Usayd as-Sulamī, who was governor of Armenia for the second time from 759–769. These dates are certainly in agreement with those of Katholikos Sion. Cf. Ter-Łevondyan, *Armenia*, p. 274. The Arab sources indicate that Yazīd was governor of *Djazira* sometime in the 750s. Cf. Laurent, *l'Arménie*, Nouvelle édition . . . par M. Canard, p. 427. The province of Aġnik^c, where Sion presided as bishop, was part of *Djazira*. Cf. Ter-Łevondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 54. Yovhannēs's testimony about Suleyman/Suliman's position as governor of Aġnik^c prior to his coming to Dvin substantiates the above hypothesis that he and Yazīd are one and the same.

17

K'afin, Aren and T'alin—On K'afin *see* Ališan, p. 118, who puts this event in 774. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 180, identifies Aren with Areni, which is known from the seventeenth century. For T'alin *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 364. Kirakos, p. 72, who used Yovhannēs's *History*, has Mren in place of Aren. Mren is considerably to the west of K'afin and T'alin and definitely out of the way. Therefore, Kirakos's reading cannot be correct.

18

Katholikos Sion's dates are 767–775.

19

On Katholikos Esayi *see* Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 893–906.

Nig—Cf. chapter XVII, # 38.

The name of the village of Aġpatruš as Eġpatruš appears in all the sources dependent on Yovhannēs's *History*. Cf. Asoġik, p. 105, Samuēl of Ani, p. 89, Vardan, p. 75, *List II*, p. 272, *List III*, p. 276; Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 679.

On Got'n *see* Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 346.

25

The dates of Katholikos Esayi are 775–788.

26

On Step'anos *see* Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 905–910. His dates are 788–790.

27

On Yovab *see* Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 909–910.

Ostan—Cf. chapter XVI, # 40.

“the court of the curopalate”—Ormanian, *see* above, thinks that this is one of the quarters of the city of Dvin.

CHAPTER XXIV

1–2

- 1) The date must coincide with that of the governorship of Yazīd, 787/788–788/789 A.D.. Cf. Ter-Łevondyan, *Armeniia*, p. 276.
- 2) *Yazīd*—that is, Yazīd ibn Mazyad, governor of Armenia. For his dates *see* above. Cf. Markwart, *Armenian Bagratids*, p. 37, note 1. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 30. Muyltermans, *Domination*, pp. 107, 109. Ter-Łewendyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 55–56. Łewend, p. 166, mentions him in passing. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, no. 33.
- 3) Vardan, p. 76, seems to have made use of Yovh.’s account on the plunder of the church of Baguan.
- 4) The caliph in question is Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809).
- 5) *Naxjawan*—a city on the Araxes, cf. Hűbschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 455.
- 6) *Bagrewan*—a district in the province of Ayrarat, cf. Hűbschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363.
- 7) *ostikan*—an archaism, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Observations*, p. 243, and “Introduction”.
- 8) *Baguan*—or Bagawan, a village in the district of Bagrewand well known as the holy city of pagan Armenia, cf. Hűbschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Ėp’rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 355–360. Inćičian, *Description*, pp. 406–410. Sargisian, *Itineraries*, pp. 221–222. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 527–533. Ališan, *Greater Armenia*, p. 48. Haykuni, *Bagrewand*, pp. 272–283.
The church, later known as Uć Kilise [‘three churches’], a designation derived from the fact that the church had three altars, was said to have been built by St. Griger the Illuminator and named after St. John, cf. Agat’angelos, p. 433. Orbeli, “The Bagawan Inscription of 639,” in *Selected Works*, pp. 371–404. S.X. Mnac’akanyan, *The Inscription of Bagawan*, pp. 213–225.

3

Despite H. Kurdian, *Rug Weaving*, p. 27, and V. A. Abrahamyan, *Handicrafts*, p. 189, I have translated *zarkanelis* not as ‘rugs’, but as ‘robes’. The *NBHL* gives the following Gk. equivalents: *epiblēma*, ‘patch’, *anabolē*, ‘mantle’, *enduma*, ‘garment’, *perizōma*, ‘girdle’, none of which suggest the meaning ‘rug’.

10–12

- 1) *Katholikos Solomon*—(791–792), cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 911–914.
- 2) *Gairni*—the site of a well known fortress and a pagan temple, situated thirty five kilometers to the southeast of modern Erevan, cf. Hűbschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 365. The writers of the Bagratid period always refer to it as a komopolis. *See* Aṙak’elyan, B., *Cities*, pp. 88ff. .
- 3) *Monastery of Mak’enoc’k’*—is in the district of Sotk’ in the province of Siwnik’.

Cf. Ališan, *Greater Armenia*, p. 79. Ališan, *Sisakan*, pp. 40, 68. Orbelian, pp. 143, 179, 340.

- 4) *Solomon, the abbot of the congregation of Mak'enc'k'*—cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 839. M.D., pp. 309, 359, 393. Orbelian, p. 132. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 46. Ališan, *Sisakan*, p. 66. Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, pp. 710, 722, 725. Akinian, *Kiurion*, p. 249, note 3. M. Van Esbroek, "Salomon . . ." *Armeniaca*, pp. 33–44.
- 5) *Zresk*—an otherwise unknown place name in the district of Širak in the province of Ayrarat, cf. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 801.

14–15

- 1) The duration of Solomon's pontificate—Asofik, p. 106, Sam. Ani, p. 90, *List II*, p. 272, *List III*, p. 276. Kir. Ganj., p. 75, Vardan, p. 76, Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 10, all agree with Yovhannēs who seems to be their source.
- 2) *his image . . . in the holy church*—Apparently it was customary to paint the pictures of the deceased katholikoi on the walls of the cathedral of Dvin, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 912.

16

- 1) *Katholikos Gēorg* - (792–795), on the times and works of this katholikos see Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 913–914.
- 2) *Aragacotn* - a district in Ayrarat situated at the southern foot of Mt. Aragac, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 364. Yovh. does not give the name of the town or village of Gēorg's origin. Later historians are all in agreement in so far as the district of Aragacotn is concerned, but disagree on the name of the town: Asofik, p. 106, has Aštarak, Sam. Ani gives no toponym, *List II*, and *List III* which is attributed to Yovh., have Biwrakan.

17

The Hagarites completely dominated - Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 914, takes this as a reference to the period succeeding the massacres of Arcēš and Bagrewand in 775, since this date is a marking point indicating a more oppressive policy on the part of the Arabs toward Armenia.

18

The historian Šapuh - is Yovh.'s major source for chapters XXIV–XXIX. He is usually identified with Šapuh Bagratuni, the son of the anthypatos Ašot. The *History* of Šapuh, which covered the events of the ninth century until the death of Ašot I Bagratuni c. 890 (cf. Yovh., Jerusalem, 1867, pp. ix, 166–XXVII, 2; 168–XXVII, 6; 179–XXIX, 21), is now lost. In 1921 Bishop Mesrop Magistros published a work under the name of Šapuh, and tried to show that this is the long lost *History*. The majority of the scholars studying the problem of the lost *History* rejected the authenticity of the newly published work, since it contained more material than what was described by Yovh., and revealed dependence on T'ovma Arcruni. The stylistic analysis of the work indicated that it could not have been written before the XIth century. Cf. Pseude-Šapuh, pp. I–XIX. Akinian, *Šapuh Bagratuni*, pp. 174–225. Abelyan, *Works*, III, 514–516. Kanayan, *Šapuh Bagratuni*, p. 137. Avdalbegyan, *Armenological Investigations*, pp. 178–192. Galēm'arian, *Šapuh Bagratuni*, p. 59. Zarbhanalian, *Hist. of Anc. Arm. Lit.*, pp. 503–506. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, I, 188–192. K'iparian, *Hist. of Arm. Lit.*, pp. 216–218. Tayian, *Šapuh Bagratuni: Manuscripts*, p. 69. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 68, note 31.

There are also a small number of presumed “fragments” of the lost *History* of Šapuh in certain MSS, cf. Erevan, *Matenadaran - Catalogue*, No 3078 and 3076, and Bogharian, *Catalogue - Jerusalem*, III, No 999, whose contents have been published by Yovsēp’ian, *Colophons*, pp. 99–104, 1040. The first of these fragments is a homiletic piece under the title *i Šaphoy patmuťean*, ‘in the History of Šapuh’. The second, under the heading *ays i patmuťenē Šaphoy Bagratunwoy ē*, ‘this is from the History of Šapuh Bagratuni’, is a discussion between two philosophers about fasting. The third fragment also is about fasting. The problem of these three fragments has not been solved. We can be certain of one thing, however, that Yovhannēs does not seem to be acquainted with any of them. This holds also true for the story of the crown of Constantine the Great which is attributed to Šapuh by Uxtanēs, I, Ixxv, cf. also Asofik, p. 13.

19

- 1) *After Gēorg* - The duration of Gēorg’s pontificate is not specified in the *History. List III, List II*, pp. 276, 272, Asofik, p. 106, Sam. Ani, p. 90, Kir. Ganj., p. 75, all give him three years, *i.e.*, 792–795, cf. # 16.
- 2) *Katholikos Yovsēp’c* - (795–806), In addition to Yovh.’s testimony, there is very little information available on this katholikos, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 913–920.
- 3) *The congregation of Saint Grigor* - Asofik, p. 106, has “from the village of St. Grigor,” which would refer to the village of P’arpi in Aragacotn, where there was a church presumably built by St. Grigor the Illuminator, cf. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 159. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 914. On the other hand, Avdalbegyan, *Armen. Investigations*, p. 159, rejects the above theory, and assumes that the ‘congregation of St. Grigor’ simply refers to the church of Zvart’noc’ and the nearby village. His opinion is substantiated by the passage from Yovh.’s *List of Katholikoi*: “from the district of Aragacotn, and the metropolitan church of St. Grigor,” *List III*, p. 276. The term ‘metropolis’ is no doubt an archaism for the nearby Vałaršapat, the ancient capital of Armenia.

20

Khuzaima - governor of Armenia 802–806 A.D.. Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178. Ter-Lewendyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 61. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 41. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, no. 45. al-Ya’qūbi, II, 519, cf. Xalat’ianc’, *Arab Writers*, p. 114, Ter-Lewendyan, *Armeniia*, p. 279, gives 803 as the beginning of his rule.

21

- 1) *Artašat* - the ancient capital of Armenia, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 408.
- 2) *Kawakert*, otherwise an unknown *dastakert* on the Huraztan River, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 440.
- 3) *Horovmoc’ Marg* - “Meadow of the Romans”, situated in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 445.
- 4) *Dastakert* - is usually land (village, town, etc.) assigned for the maintenance of a ruling house, that is to say, an appanage. Cf. Sarkissian, *Dastakert*, pp. 43–50. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 315.

29

Mecamor River, in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 362, 452. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 66. On the problem of Mecamor’s shifting bed, cf. Ter-Lewendyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 66.

30

Eleven years - Asoġik, p. 106, Sam. Ani, p. 90, Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 10, Vardan, p. 80, Kir. Ganj., p. 75, all seem to follow Yovhannēs here.

31

1) *Katholikos Dawit'* - (806-833), cf. *Azgapatum* of Ormanian, vol. I, pp. 919-926.

2) *Mazaz* - a district in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 365.

3) *Kakaz* - or *Kakaġ* - Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, II, 263, otherwise unknown.

CHAPTER XXV

1

1) *At this time*—c. 806-833, i.e., during the pontificate of Dawit', see note XXIV, 31.

2) *Hawl* or *Höl*—is usually identified with the governor Khālid ibn Yazīd. Daghaschean, *Gründung*, p. 8. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 85, note 20, assigns to him the dates 827/8-832 A.D.. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 49, considers such an identification impossible without any serious substantiation. Ut'mazyan, *Siunik'*, pp. 57-61, and *Bābek*, pp. 214-215, shows convincingly, that such an identification is possible. Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178. Ter-Łewondyan, *Armenüa*, p. 282, puts the beginning of his rule in 829.

3) The caliph is al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.D.).

4) The source for this chapter is presumably the *History* of Šapuh Bagratuni, cf. XXIV, 18, and the *Lost List of Katholikoi*.

2

1) *Sawāda*—on the identity of this prince, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 74-79. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 117.

2) *Of Persian extraction*—For a full discussion about the origin of Sawāda cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 66-67.

3-11

The rebellion of Sawāda and the Armenian princes against the Arab governor—For a general treatment of the subject, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 77-78. A similar account is given by Ya'qūbi, II, 564, cf. Xalat'ianc', *Arab Writers*, p. 117. Concerning the disagreement of Yovh. and Ya'qūbi on the name of the Arab governor (*Höl* in Yovh.), cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 78. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 111, note 4, puts the rebellion in 830.

The later sources, especially Vardan, p. 80, have followed Yovh.. Cf. also Orbelian, pp. 166-67.

7

Huraztan River or *Zanga*—in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 370.

Kawakert—cf. above, XXIV, 21.

9

1) *Smbat*—the *sparapet*, 'commander-in-chief', of Armenia, 826/7-855. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, pp. 65 ff.. Akinian, *Arm. Bagratids*, pp. 325 f..

2) *Sahak, the lord of Siunik'*—Ut'mazyan, *Siunik'*, p. 75, 306, lists him as the prince of Getark'unik' (the district on the western shores of Lake Sewan, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 47.) c. 821-831/2.

3) Vardan, p. 80, says that both of the above princes perished. Obviously he misinterpreted the text of Yovh.. Muyldermans, *Domination*, p. 121, note 3.

12

Grigor Sup'an—the prince of Getark'unik^c, 831–851, cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik^c*, pp. 307–308, and Orbelian, pp. 162, 168, 175–176, 194, 220, 223, 231, 234, 297.

13

After a pontificate of twenty-seven years—List III, p. 276, List II, p. 272, Sam. Ani, p. 91, and Mxit'ar of Ani, p. 10, all agree with Yovh.. The twenty-five years given by Asofik, p. 106, and Kir. Ganj., p. 77, can be explained on paleographical grounds as having derived from 'twenty-seven'. The thirteen years given by Vardan, p. 80, seems to be a hopeless corruption. Orbelian, p. 168, has followed Yovh, very closely in this and the following sections.

14

- 1) *Yovhannēs Ovayec'i*—katholikos from 833 to 855, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 925–948.
- 2) *Kotayk^c*—a district in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 365.
- 3) *Ovayk^c*—a village near the city of Dvin, Cf. Łafadaryan, *Dvin*, p. 236, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 218.

15

- 1) *Susanna*—Šušan in Arm., cf. Daniel XIII.
- 2) *Narcissus*—The bishop of Jerusalem, II–III cent., cf. Eusebius, I, 465 f., 505, 513, II, 33–39. Awgerian, *Lives of Saints*, XII, 299–300. Yovh.'s source is most probably the Armenian version of Eusebius, pp. 438 ff..

16

- 1) *Bagarat Bagratuni*—Presiding prince and brother of Smbat *Sparapet*, (830–851). Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, pp. 63 ff.. Akinian, *Theodore Aboukara*, pp. 131–133. Akinian, *Łewond*, pp. 271 f.. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 286–298. Markwart, *Die Genealogie*, cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 311, note 33. Leo, *Works*, II, 752, note 129.
- 2) On the title *išxan išxanac^c*, usually rendered as “presiding prince” or “prince of princes”, whose earliest usage is the one in the present context, cf. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, pp. 63–64.
- 3) There are similarities between the account of Yovhannēs Ovayec'is unjust sufferings and that of the katholikos K'ristapor in chapter XVII.

18

Ayric^c Vank^c—Monastery of the Caves, is modern Getart to the south-east of Erevan, cf. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 153–164. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 336–351.

26

- 1) *Abu Saïd*—began to rule as governor in 849. Cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 92–93. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178.
- 2) *Ja'far al-Mutawakkil*—caliph from 847–861 A.D.. Orbelian, p. 169 has followed Yovh..

27–28

- 1) On the descendants of the princes of Tarōn, cf. DAI, 43. Adontz, “Les Taronites,” in his *Études*, pp. 192, 220.

- 2) Asoġik, p. 107, Vardan, p. 80, Sam. Ani, p. 92, have followed Yovh.. However, T'ov. Arc., p. 116, says that at this time Abu Saïd was dead, and the man who took Bagarat prisoner was Yūsuf ibn Abi Saïd, cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 98. T'ovma's account is in agreement with the Arabic sources, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 82.

29

- 1) *Babgēn*—the senior prince (*gaherēc' išxan*) of Siwnik', 848–851/2 A.D.. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 290–291, and the references to Orbelian, pp. 168, 297. The latter has drawn his information from Yovh. on the Siwni princes of the period.
- 2) On the territorial nature of war between the princes of Siwnik', see Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 78 ff..
- 3) *Vasak Gabur'*—the prince of Geġark'unik', 851–859 A.D., Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 310–311. Orbelian, pp. 169, 172–174, 297–298.

31 ff.

The invasion of Bugha al-Kabīr in 852—*EI*, I, 637. Melik'-Baxšyan, *Armenia*, pp. 363–376. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 83–86. Leo, *Works*, II, 434–453. Muyltermans, *Un procédé*, pp. 24–25. Muyltermans, *Domination*, p. 122, note 4. Daghbaschean, *Gründung*, p. 11. Vasmer, *Chronologies*, p. 95.

the Arabic sources confirm Yovh.'s account. Cf. Tabari, III, 1409, Baladh., 211, Ya'kūbi, II, 598, Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 39, cf. Xalat'ianc' *Arab Writers*, pp. 65, 78, 98–100, 123, 141.

The Armenian sources, Asoġik, p. 107–109, Sam. Ani, pp. 93–94, Vardan, pp. 80–81, and Kir, Ganj., p. 78, have followed the account of Yovh.. T'ov. Arc., pp. 122–200, however, gives a much more extensive account. Presumably his source is also Šapuh Bagratuni, but T'ovma does not abbreviate as much as Yovh..

33

Ašot and Dawi'—cf. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 67. Akinian, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 318. A third brother is also mentioned by Asoġik, p. 107, and T'ov. Arc., p. 220. Orbelian, p. 170 has followed Yovh. slavishly.

35

grehik—the term commonly used to designate commoners, cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 333.

37

Vaspurakan—This province covered the areas on the northeastern, eastern, and southern shores of Lake Van. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 261. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 249. Avdalbegyan, *Armen. Investigations*, p. 141. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 82.

38–41

- 1) Ašot Arcruni—the prince of Vaspurakan, cf. Melik'-Baxšyan, *Armenia*, pp. 366–368. T'ov. Arc., pp. 107–111, 131–139, 209–219.
- 2) On Bugha's raids in Vaspurakan, cf. Vardanyan, *Vaspurakan*, pp. 15, 18–19. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 361–364.

43

On the march of Bugha to Dvin, cf. T'ov. Arc., p. 168.

44

Smbat—cf. T'ov. Arc., pp. 137–138, where Smbat is called the prince of Mokk'. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 66. Daghaschean, *Gründung*, p. 26, note 1. Leo, *Works*, II, 436–437.

50

The sufferings. . .—Romans, 8:18.

51–71

The martyrdom of the second Atomians—Yovh. as well as T'ov. Arc., p. 171, are using a hagiographical source. T'ovma's information is not dependent on Yovh's account, since he has additional facts not to be found in Yovh. . . But all the other medieval historians, *i.e.*, Asofik, p. 108, Samuël of Ani, p. 93, Vardan, p. 80, have followed Yovhannēs.

The village of Orsirank' in the district of Ałbak is in Vaspurakan, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 335.

59

gerdastan—According to Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 132, this term refers to the collective body of living possessions (*i.e.*, serfs, slaves) on an estate.

60

Cf. Philippians, I: 21.

69–70

The year 302 of the Armenian era corresponds to A.D. 853. The twenty-fifth day of Mehekan in the year 853 fell on Nov. 17 according to Ormanian, *Azagapatum*, I, 946.

The difference between the Armenian era and ours is 551 years. This is due to the fact, that the 200-year cycle of Andrew of Byzantium used by the Armenians was completed in 552, and upon transferring to the quinentenary cycle of Aneas the year 552 was considered as year one. This view is held by Dulaurier, *Recherches*, I, 52. Ormanian, *Azagapatum*, I, 572–573. Semyonov, "Armenian Era," *Ėjmiacin*, (Sept.–Oct. 1950), pp. 56–59. Grümel, *Chronologie*, pp. 139–145. In more recent studies the year 553 has been seriously considered as the first year of the Armenian era on the basis of fact that it corresponds to the first year of the quinentenary cycle of Aneas. Badalyan, *On the Armenian Era*, pp. 63–72. This would make the difference between the Armenian era and ours not 551, but 552 years. As this is still a controversial matter, we have preferred to use the more acceptable 551 in converting the Armenian era.

Orbelian, p. 170, has followed Yovh.'s account.

CHAPTER XXVI

1

Vasak—the senior prince of Siwnik', cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 292–294. *Ašot of Siwnik'*—cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 296–298, and the references to Orbelian therein, which show the dependence of the latter on Yovhannēs.

The incursion of Bugha into Siwnik^ć is put in 853, cf. Ut^ćmazyan, *Siwnik^ć*, p. 85. His invasion is also described by Orbelian, p. 170 ff., who seems to have used the information in Yovh. on Siwnik^ć in this and the following sections.

2

The fortress of Bałk^ć-Bałk^ć is the name of a district with at least seven fortresses. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 348. Ut^ćmazyan, *Siwnik^ć* p. 85. Hakobyan, *The Kingdom of Siwnik^ć*, p. 76. Scholars have usually taken this passage as referring to the fortress of Bałaberd in the district of Jork^ć, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 348. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 294–295. Ėp^ćrikian, *Dictionary*, I, pp. 376–377.

3

Kotayk^ć—cf. above, XXV, 14, and note.

5

Gardman—a district in Uti, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 352, Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 46–47. Mnac^ćakanyan, *Albanian Lit.*, p. 78. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 484–485, note 211.

8

- 1) *Gełark^ćunik^ć*—a district in Siwnik^ć, cf. XXV, 9, note 2.
- 2) *Mak^ćenoc^ćk^ć*—cf. above, XXIV, 12. It should be noted that *Mak^ćenoc^ćk^ć* is not in *Gełark^ćunik^ć*.
- 3) Yovhannēs Ovayec^ći's death occurred in 855, according to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 946. Vardan, p. 80, *List II*, p. 272, *List III*, p. 276, are in agreement with Yovh. in assigning him 22 years of pontificate. However, Asołik, p. 109, perhaps due to scribal error puts his death in 853.

9

The eastern regions—is clearly in reference to Albania, cf. XXVI, 14. On the usage of the above expression for Albania, cf. Mnac^ćakanyan, *Albanian Lit.*, pp. 85–86.

10

- 1) *Eragawork^ć*—also called Širakawan, is situated in the district of Širak in Ayrarat. It became the capital city of the Bagratids under Smbat I. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 424. Hakobyan, *Historical Geography*, p. 142.
- 2) *Zak^ćaria*, *katholikos of Armenia*—855–877 A.D., cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, pp. 949–982. Kogian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 275–281.
- 3) *Jag*—a village in *Gełark^ćunik^ć*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 446.

11

Atrnerseh—one of the sons of Sahl i Smbatian, the lord of Šak^ćē, and the man who was responsible for the capture of Bābak. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 457 d, 460 ff. Adontz, *Historical Studies*, pp. 128–129, 135. *Xač^ćēn*—was part of the easternmost province of Arc^ćax, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 349, note 1. Hakobyan, *Historical Geography*, pp. 252–253.

13

- 1) Province of Uti—situated in north-eastern Armenia, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 270 ff. . .
- 2) *Tus*—according to Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 240, note 1, *Tus* is the acc. pl.

form of a nom. pl. Tuk^c. On such toponyms in the acc. Cf. Muradyan, "Place Names in Armenia," *Lraber* (1971), No 4, pp. 21 ff. .

- 3) On the Sewordik^c and their Magyar ancestry, cf. *De Cer.*, II, 48. T^covma, p. 187, Asolik, pp. 107, 181. Grigor Magistros, *Letters*, p. 133. Nalbandyan, *Arabic Sources*, p. 178. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica*, Bd. II, pp. 261–262. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 36, 38. Minorsky, *History*, pp. 164–165. Artamanov, *Khazars*, p. 127, note 59, 349. H. Grégoire, *l'Habitat des Magyars*, pp. 266–278. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 26, 74. The Armenian sources say nothing about their Magyar ancestry.

27

Matth. 10: 33.

28

- 1) *Kon*—NBHL gives the following meanings:

- a) *kōnos* in Gk., 'a cone'.
- b) *eikōn* in Gk., 'icon'.
- c) skin, complexion, rye, tanner.

It is not possible to say which one of these meanings was applied.

- 2) *608 of the Roman era*—according to this method of calculation, the year 248 following the millennium of the founding of Rome is considered year one, cf. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 146 ff.. Akinian, *Calendars*, p. 54. Thus, 608 + 227 = 835 A.D..

CHAPTER XXVII

1

The literary allusion is to the Armenian "Introduction" of Porphyry, *i.e.*, *Isagoge sive quinque voces*, p. 133.

2

On the historian Šapuh Bagratuni, cf. above, XIV, 18, and note.

5

The literary allusion is to Porphyry, p. 133.

7

On the succession of Ašot to the *sparapetut'ium*, 'office of the commander-in-chief', of Armenia—cf. T^cov. Arc., p. 191, "There remained only Ašot son of the *sparapet* [Smbat] . . . whom Bugha left in charge of their land." According to Adontz, *Historical Studies*, p. 71, this occurred in 856.

10

- 1) *'Ali ibn Yahya al-Armani*—cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 460 f. . According to Tabari, III, 1408, Ibn al-Athir, VII, 78, cf. Xalat'ianc^c, *Arab Authors*, p. 101, p. 141, Nalbandyan, *Arab Sources*, pp. 164–165, note 181, Asolik, p. 110, and Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 96, 'Ali came to Armenia in 862. See Muyldermans, *Domination*, p. 127, note 6, for arguments in favor of 861. See also Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178/179.
- 2) *Presiding prince*—*išxan išxanac^c*, for the title cf. above, XXV, 16.

Yovh.'s account is supported by Tabarī, III, 1408, cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 97. For the date of the investiture with this title in 862, cf. Thopdschian, *Innere*, pp. 123, 132. *Polit.*, pp. 131–132. Laurent, *l'Arménie*, pp. 267, 346. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 182. Daghabaschean, *Gründung*, p. 42. Mlaker, *Chronologie*, pp. 881–886.

3) *sak*—in this passage means 'head tax', cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 363–365. Manandyan, *Critical Hist.*, vol. II, part two, pp. 103–104.

4) *bekar*—according to Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 365, this word is the equivalent of the European *corvée*. In Yovh., however, it is simply used in reference to the tax paid to the Arab court, cf. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 213–219. On the taxes in kind during the period of Arab domination of Armenia, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Taxation in Kind*, pp. 52–59.

11

Treaties—this seems to be a reference to the marriage alliances between Ašot and Vasak Gabur' (cf. XXVIII, 1), the prince of Gefark'unik', as well as Grigor Derenik (cf. XXVIII, 4), prince of Vaspurakan. Other such alliances are discussed by Adontz, who assigns them the date 862–863, *Historical Studies*, pp. 77–78, and Yovh. XXXIV, 13.

12

Royal family—This might be a passing reference to the fact that Ašot and his wife were called king and queen before the actual coronation of Ašot. Cf. *M.C.*, II, 159 ff. .

13–15

The earthquake of Dvin—also mentioned by T'ov. Arc., p. 231, took place in 862/863. Asofik, p. 110, has followed both Yovh. and T'ov. Arc. . Sam. Ani, p. 95, puts it in 865, but a difference of two to three years is usual with Sam. Ani due to his method of calculation, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 966.

16

The return of the Armenian naxarars, 'feudal lords'—according to T'ov. Arc., p. 201, this took place in the year 306 of the Armenian era (+ 551 = 857/8 A.D.).

Orbelian, p. 172, has followed Yovh. in this and the following sections, cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, p. 91.

17

Housetops—cf. Matth. 10: 27. Luke 12: 3.

18

Made them live in hope—cf. Hosea 2: 18.

They broke up . . . cf. Jeremiah, 4: 3.

The voice of mirth . . . cf. Jeremiah 7: 34.

CHAPTER XXVIII

#1

1) *Vasak Gabur'*—cf. XXV, 29. *Vasak*, who was the prince of Gefark'unik', was installed as prince of all of Siwnik' during the captivity of the hereditary prince of that

- land, namely Vasak Išxanik, cf. XXVI, 1–7. Ut‘mazyan, *Siwnik*^c, pp. 311, 293.
- 2) *Haykazun*, ‘Hayk descended’—cf. M.X., I, xii.
- 3) The name of Vasak’s wife, who was the daughter of Ašot I Bagratuni, is given as Mariam, cf. Yovsēp‘ian, *Colophons*, p. 90. Orbelian, pp. 169, 172, 174, 176, 297.
- 4) *Sisakan*—is used as an alternate name for *Siwnik*^c in the tenth century, cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 332.

#2

Abas—Asofik, p. 110, calls him *manukn*, ‘youth’. Cf. also T‘ov. Arc., pp. 221–222. The *sparapetut‘iwn*, ‘office of the commander-in-chief’ of the Armenian forces was hereditary, cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 339. Already from the middle of the VIIIth century, the office had become hereditary in the Bagratid family. To my knowledge the first Bagratid prince who held this office as Smbat son of Ašot the Blind, who died in the battle of Bagrewand in 775, cf. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 29. He was most probably succeeded by Bagarat, who died at Darband in 786, cf. Markwart, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 30. Akinian, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 314. From 786 to 826 no one is mentioned as *sparapet*, Akinian, *Arm. Bagratids*, p. 327, but after 826 Smbat son of Ašot Msaker and father of Ašot I Bagratuni was invested with the title, cf. Akinian, *Arm. Bagratids*, pp. 327, 328. Under the early Bagratids, the office was still in the family until Ašot son of Šapuh and *sparapet* of Armenia betrayed his uncle king Smbat I, and surrendered to the Sādjid emir Yūsuf, cf. XLIV, 3.

3

Ašot Arcruni—the prince of Vaspurakan, cf. XXV, 38. T‘ov. Arc., p. 217, says that Ašot died in 874 A.D. in the district of Van-Tosp, and was buried in the monastery of the Holy Cross in the district of Ałbak in Vaspurakan.

Grigor Derenik—Cf. T‘ov. Arc., pp. 217 ff., who, as might be expected, has a great deal more on the Arcruni princes than Yovh..

5

The name of Grigor Derenik’s wife was Sop‘i, cf. T‘ov. Arc., p. 229. She was the prince’s second wife, T‘ov. Arc., p. 207. The date of the marriage according to T‘ov. Arc. was 311 of the Armenian era (+ 551 = 862/3 A.D.).

6–7

The following factors must have influenced Ašot’s attitude toward his son-in-law: 1) Derenik’s capture of the *curopalate* Ašot son of Bagarat Bagratuni and prince of Tarōn, cf. T‘ov. Arc., pp. 222–223. b) The accusations brought by a certain Yamanik against Derenik, cf. T‘ov. Arc., p. 224, and Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 107–110. c) Finally, the impetuous nature of Derenik.

8

Vasak Išxanik—the prince of *Siwnik*^c, cf. XXVI, 1–7. He must have returned from captivity with the other *naxarars* in A.D. 857/8, cf. XXVII, 16.

9

- 1) Vasak Gabur’s death occurred in 855, cf. M.D., p. 380. Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 219, note 3.
- 2) *Grigor Sup‘an*—should not be confused with his paternal grandfather of the

same name, XXV, 12, 19, 29. He was the prince of Gelark'unik' 855-912/3 A.D., cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 312-313.

12

Zak'aria's twenty-two years of pontificate is unanimously agreed upon by the later sources who seem to have followed Yovh.. T'ov. Arc., p. 218, however, assigns him only eighteen years. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 979, prefers to assign him twenty-two years.

13

Gēorg katholikos of Armenia—877-897, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, pp. 981-1014. *Gairi*—is mentioned here for the second time as a *komopolis*, cf. Ch. XXIV, II. See also Kostanianc', *Inscriptions*, p. 5. We have followed Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 126, in rendering the word *giwtak'atak'* as 'komopolis', cf. Mark 1: 38.

CHAPTER XXIX

2

The description of Ašot Bagratuni is full of allusions to that of Smbat Biwratean in M.X., II, lii, cf. the description of Ašot's stature and eyes with that of Smbat.

3

The allusions in this section are to the description of Tigran son of Eruand, M.X., I xxiv, where one can find almost every word and phrase used by Yovh..

4-6

- 1) *The coronation of Ašot* - T'ov. Arc., is silent for very obvious reasons. Asofik' account, pp. 157-159, is similar to that of Yovh.. Vardan, p. 85, and Kir. Ganj., pp. 79-80, have also followed Yovh..
- 2) *'Īsā ibn Shaikh ibn Khālid* - governor of Armenia, A.D. 869-882/3, Laurent, *l'Arménie*, p. 347, No 91. Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 220. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 179. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 98, 101, thinks that 'Īsā could not have brought Ašot's crown, since the coronation, as we shall soon see, took place after his death in 88/883 A.D., when his son Ahmad was the governor. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 102-103, Adontz, *Historical Studies*, p. 86. Yovh. occasionally has the tendency of confusing the son with the father and vice-versa. Cf. XXV, 26, 27, 28, and XLVII, 7, LV, 1. Such discrepancies must be attributed perhaps to the old age of the historian and his failing memory, but in this case we must also consider the possibility of 'Īsā bringing the crown before his death, cf. *M.C.* II, 158.
- 3) *The date of the coronation* - Ć'amč'ian, *Hist.*, II, 703, Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 992, Daghbaschean, *Gründung*, p. 71, note 2, Akulian, *Territorien*, pp. 11-12, Laurent, *l'Arménie*, p. 282, note 3, 347, 95, have considered 885 as the date of coronation on the basis of Orbelian, p. 175, Sam. Ani, 95. Kir. Ganj., pp. 79-80, and T'ov. Arc., p. 229. The scholars who put this event in 886 or 887 follow Vardan, p. 85, and Asofik', p. 159, whom they try to reconcile with T'ovma. Cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 314. Mlaker, *Chronologie*, pp. 881-886. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 193. Adontz, *Historical Studies*, pp. 86-92. Ara-k'elian, *Gairi*, I, 86, argues for a much earlier date, c. 869, when Ašot I

Bagratuni was *de facto* king of Armenia. The basis of this view is epigraphic evidence.

In a colophon of the year 333 of the Armenian era, (+ 551 = 884 A.D.) written by Grigor Maškewer, the date of the coronation is given as [Wednesday, August 26,] 884. *M.C.*, II, 157. This evidence had escaped the notice of scholars until very recently.

4-6

The reason why Ašot was not anointed during the coronation ceremony was perhaps due to the fact that coronation fell on a Wednesday, a day of fasting in Armenia in commemoration of the betrayal of Christ. Cf. *M.C.*, II, p. 157. There can be no doubt that the Bagratid kings were usually anointed, cf. Orbelian, p. 176.

7

Arrangements - This is taken by Połosyan to be a reference to the founding of a new feudal structure by the first Bagratid king. *Serfdom*, p. 127. *Cities* - Zoryan thought that Ašot merely enlarged and helped the development of the already existing cities. *Feudal Armenia*, p. 196, note 3. Unfortunately both of the above authors have not realized that Yovh. is alluding here to M.X., II, vi, and vii, where the first Arsacid king of Armenia, Vařarřak, is said to have laid the foundations for the social order of his land.

8

The comments of Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 319-320, concerning the *agaraks*, 'fields', and *goms*, 'stables', based on this passage do not have any value for the historian of the Bagratid period, since Yovh.'s source here as in the preceding sentence is M.X., II, v, vi.

10

Cf. M.X., II, vi.

11

Gugark'—Situating in the north and bordering on Iberia, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 275-276. Akinian, *Kiwrion*, pp. 164-165. According to *Chron. Iber.*, 259, cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 489, the Georgian Bagratid prince Guaram had allotted the district of Ařoc'k' in the province of Gugark' to Ašot sometime before 876. Toumanoff, pp. 489-490, thinks that Tařirk' was also included in the allotment.

Uti, cf. above, XXVI, 13.

Yovh. is still imitating the stylistic characteristics of M.X., II, vi.

12

Egrisi—The ancient Georgian name for Imereti, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 83-84.

13

The dates of the Emperor Basil I are 867-886. Yovh.'s account presents no problems if we accept the date 884 as the year of Ašot's coronation as king. Cf. above, # 4-6. For a discussion on the titles of the Bagratid kings cf. Leo, *Works*, II, 753-754, note 131.

Beloved son—cf. Const. Porph., *De Der.*, II, 48. M.U., p. 23.

15–21

On the circumstances of the death of Grigor Derenik, cf. T'ov. Arc., pp. 226 ff. The date is 885, *M.C.*, II, 159.

Her and Zarawand—Her is the district around the city of Her, modern Khoi, and Zarawand is the district to the south of Her, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 260. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 51–52, 63. Vardanyan, *Boundaries*, p. 228. Both districts were situated in *Parshahayk*^c, cf. Markwart, *La province de Parskahayk*^c, pp. 252–314.

V. Melik'ian, "The Circumstances," *Andastan*, (1953), No. 4, is of the opinion that Ašot was behind the assassination of his son-in-law Derenik. In the absence of clear evidence, such a view cannot be accepted. Cf. Leo, *Works*, II, p. 754, note 132.

The lord of Her according to T'ov. Arc., pp. 226ff. was Abu-'l-Faris ibn Abu Mansur. T'ovma calls him Ablbers.

22

Vasak Išxanik—cf. XXVIII, 8, and XXVI, 1–7. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik*^c, pp. 293–294, puts his death in 892/3.

23

Ašot—cf. XXVI, 1, 7. Senior prince of Siwnik^c, 892/3–908, Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik*^c, pp. 296–298.

CHAPTER XXX

1

The death of King Ašot I—T'ov. Arc., p. 230, puts it in 890, Sam. Ani, p. 95, in 892 (on the chronological problem in Sam. Ani, cf. XXVII, 13). Asofik, p. 159, puts the beginning of Smbat's reign in 891, whereas Vardan, p. 86, puts it in 895, and Kir. Ganj., p. 80, in 890. The accepted date seems to be that of T'ovma, cf. the literature on the coronation of Ašot I, in XXXIX, 4–6, note.

6

K'arsparn—seems to have been located in the vicinity of the city of Bagaran, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 410 f.. Ėp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 355–357. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 64–69.

Royal residence—this description leaves no doubt that Bagaran was the capital city of Ašot I.

7

Gugark^c—cf. XXIX, 11.

gaherêc—'senior prince', cf. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 100.

8a

Erazgawork^c-*Širakawan*—cf. XXVI, 10.

9

Atrnerseh prince of Iberia—cf Adontz, *Historical Stud.*, p. 94, 123–124.

Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 203, 354. Markwart, *Georgian Bagratids*, p. 141.

10

Abas Sparapet—cf. XXVIII, 2.

Vanand—a district in Ayrarat, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 361 and 363. Apparently, this district was the personal possession of Abas. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 65.

13

Fortress of Kars—this is the first mention of this famous fortress. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 440. Ēpʿrikian, *Dictionary*, II, 336–351. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 79–88.

16

Gurgēn—prince of Iberia and lord of Artanuĭ in 890, cf. *DAI*, 46, 7, 9. Markwart, *Georgian Bagratids*, pp. 149–150.

Dawitʿ—the son of Atrnerseh prince of Iberia, cf. Markwart, *Georgian Bagratids*, p. 142.

22

Šapuh—was the brother of Smbat I and the son of king Ašot I. His son Ašot ruled as anti-king from c. 915/6, cf. LVI ff..

24

Muḥammad Afshīn b. Dīvdād—cf. *EI*, I, 637. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 179, 44. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 112–121. Lane-poole, *Dynasties*, p. 126. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 999–1000, put the coronation of Smbat in 891 A.D., during the caliphate of al-Muʿtamid (870–892). According to Asoĭk, p. 162, who has followed Yovh. quite closely, Šapuh, the brother of Smbat, was the one who brought the crown to Smbat after having received it from Afshīn.

25

According to Orbelian, p. 176, Smbat was anointed.

27

“tongues . . .”—cf. Psalms 72: 9.

28

Maštoc—cf. XXXVI, 5, and “Introduction”.

Sevan—is the island in the present day Lake Sevan, which is usually called Sea of Geġam by Yovh., cf. XL, 20, XLVII, 8 etc.. Monasteries built there are Bagratid foundations of Mariam princess of Siwnik^c (874 A.D.) and the daughter of king Ašot I. Cf. Ališan, *Sisakan*, p. 80.

29

“The unfruitful . . .”—cf. Ephesians 5:11.

30

“the assembly . . .”—cf. Psalms 21: 17; 25: 5; 63: 3.

31

“sighed . . .”—cf. Mark 8: 12.

33

On this letter *see* the “Introduction”.

“with the love . . .”—cf. Rom. 15: 30. I Corinth. 4: 21. Colos. 1: 8.

“beloved”—cf. I Timoth. 6: 2. “hateful”—cf. Titus, 3: 3.

34

“to be rebellious”—cf. Hosea, 4: 16.

35

“the high calling . . .”—Philip. 3: 14.

“cloak of holiness”—for an interpretation of this passage cf. Gatʿrčian, *Liturgies*, p. 740.

38

Chalcedonians—cf. Čʿamčʿian, *Hist.*, II, 925, Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 988–989. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, p. 296, and also “Introduction”.

40

Psalms 63: 7.

42

“for my transgressions . . .”—cf. Psalms 37: 5.

“be jealous . . .”—cf. III Kings 19: 10, 14.

“beam”—cf. Matth. 7: 3–5; Luke 6: 41–42.

44

“the way of righteousness”—cf. Prov. 2: 20; 8: 20.

“accomplish . . .”—cf. Judith 10: 8.

45

“my eyeballs . . .”—cf. Prov. 20: 20.

“my tongue . . .”—cf. Psalms 136: 6. “utter . . .”—cf. Psalms 72: 8.

48

Korah . . . Dathan . . . Abiram—cf. Numbers 26: 9–10.

“I shall go down alive . . .”—cf. Psalms 54: 16.

50

Cf. Deut. 29: 29.

51

“do not judge . . .”—cf. Is. 11: 3.

“bring to light . . .”—cf. I Corinth. 4: 5.

“fire shall try”—cf. I Corinth. 3: 13.

“in the mouth of two or three witnesses”—Matth. 18: 16. II Corinth. 13: 1.

54

“with an impudent face”—cf. Prov. 7: 13.

55

Bagarat—presiding prince of Armenia, cf. XXV, 14–25.

“hit it hard . . .”—cf. Acts 26: 14.

56

“the assembly . . .”—Psalms 21: 17.

“assemble . . .”—cf. Joel 1: 14; 2: 16. Not quoted directly.

57

“holy resting place”—cf. Exodus 15: 13.

58

“bread of affliction”—cf. III Kings 22: 27.

“mediator”—cf. Hebrews 9: 15.

60

mcbneayk^c—'filthy ones' cf. Garsoian, *Paulicians*, p. 208.

61

"tongue has been sharpened"—cf. Psalms 139: 4.

"crooked bow"—cf. Psalms 77: 57.

66

Steven—Acts 22: 20.

James—cf. Awgerian, *Lives of Saints*, X, 247–262.

Narcissus—XXV, 15.

"sharpened razor"—cf. Psalms 51: 5.

67

Cf. Psalms 134: 1, 3.

68

deserter—The informers were from the household of the *katholikos*, cf. XXX, 26.

70

"repent . . ."—cf. Matth. 11: 21.

77

The description is similar to that in ch. IX, where the circumstances of the death of Arius are given. *Yovh. Jerusalem*, p. 52.

CHAPTER XXXI

2

beloved son—cf. XXIX, 13.

On the legal aspect of Afshin's concern, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 113.

4

Ārotok^c—also written *Ārotak*^c, is a tenth century designation for the area north of Lake Urmiah which contained the districts of Her and Zarewand, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 260.

9

The reference to Dvin as 'capital' or 'metropolis' is also to be found in T'ov. Arc., p. 300. The city was under Bagratid domination until 894. Ter-Lewondyan, *Chronologie*, pp. 305–306. *Arab Emirates*, pp. 263 f.. *EI*, II, 678–781. Minorsky, *History*, pp. 23–25, 60, 65.

10

full amount—This seems the appropriate translation here of the word *sak* which has the meaning of 'predetermined amount' in this context, cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, vol. II, part two, p. 103. See above for another definition of *sak*, XXVII, 10.

12

Muhammad and Umayya—are otherwise unknown, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 113–114. Ter-Lewondyan, *Chronologie*, p. 305. On the particular usage

of the word *ostikan* with the meaning 'overseer', cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Observations*, pp. 245–246.

13

The significance of the reconquest of Dvin is discussed by Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 114. Ařarak'elyan, *Cities*, I, 71–75. According to Asołik, p. 161, the city was taken on Good Friday. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1004, puts it in 892, on April 21.

14

The great *curopalate* of Iberia was Atrnerseh, cf. Markwart, *The Georgian Bagratids*, p. 149.

15

Canark'—a Caucasian people living near the Darial pass. Cf. Minorsky, *History*, p. 162, note 1. *De Cer.*, II, 48. LIX, 9.

The boundaries of Smbat's kingdom: Karin—Theodosiupolis, or modern Erzurum, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 224, 231, 288. Kłarj'k', a district in Gugark', Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 354–357. The great sea is the Black Sea. Egrisi, cf. XXIX, 12. Gugark', cf. XXIX, 11. Gates of the Alans is the Darial Pass, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 32. Uti, cf. XXVI, 13. Hunarakert, on the Kura River to the southeast of Tiflis was the eastern boundary, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 355, 455. *Ařar.* p. 28. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 63. On the southern border see Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 113. On the eastern of Albanian border were the cities of Tus, cf. XXVI, 13, Šamk'or in Uti, cf. Ališan, *Greater Armenia*, p. 85, Vardan, p. 100, note 5. In general see also Ter-Łewondyan, *Administrative Divisions*, pp. 63–72.

16

bekar—cf. XXVII, 10.

weapon—Šahinyan, *Koš*, p. 200, thinks that Smbat built a *xar'k'ar*, 'cross stone', to commemorate his victory.

CHAPTER XXXII

1

The earthquake of Dvin—T'ov. Arc., p. 230, puts this in 893, which is the third year of Smbat I. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 323, cf. Xalat'ianc', *Arab Authors*, p. 142, confirms T'ovma's statement by giving the exact date which corresponds to 14 December 893–12 January 894 A.D.. *řamik*—'common people' of *non-azat* rank, used as a general term, cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, part one, p. 356.

7

On Mařtoc'—cf. XXX, 28, and XXXVI, 5, as well as the "Introduction". On the letter see "Introduction".

12

"vanish like smoke"—cf. Psalms 101: 4.

17

Cf. Psalms 52: 4, Romans 3: 12.

21

pastor—This, no doubt, refers to the *katholikos*.

24

Segor—cf. Gen. 14: 2, 8. 19: 22, 23, 30. Deut. 34: 3. Is. 15: 5.

CHAPTER XXXIII

1

About whom we have already spoken—cf. XXX, 24, XXXI, 3–8.

successes of king Smbat—cf. XXXI, 10–16.

2

tribute—According to Ibn Miskawayh, I, 16, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 113, Afshīn collected the taxes in the name of the caliph.

3

Naxjawan—a city on the Araxes, cf. XXIV, 1. This new invasion apparently took place soon after the earthquake of Dvin, perhaps in the Spring of 894.

“lay in wait”—cf. Psalms 9: 9.

4

unlike the first time—cf. XXXI, 4.

6

The village of Vžan is situated in the district of Aragacotn in Ayrarat, Hübschmann, Ortsnamen, p. 364. This village is otherwise unknown, except for a mention of it in the XVIIth century historian Aṛak’el of Tabriz, pp. 391, 395.

“observing carefully”—*dēt akn i ver ambarnal* in Arm., cf. I Mac. 6: 43.

7

“heart of rock”—cf. Ezek. 11: 19. 36: 26.

12

The village of Dołs was situated in the district of Aragacotn in Ayrarat, cf. Ēp’rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 609.

20

The captivity and liberation of Geōrg must be placed within the year 894, since his incarceration did not last much more than two months, cf. XXXIII, 19. Cf. also M. D., p. 383.

Hamam—prince of Albania and grandson of Sahl i Smbatian was later crowned as king of Albania. Adontz, *Hist. Stud.*, p. 131, Ačāryan, *Dict. of Personal Names*, III, 25. S. Barxudaryan, *Tombstone of Hamam*, pp. 61–63. Mnac’akanyan, *Albanian Literature*, pp. 183 ff.

21

P’aytakaran—city in the province of P’aytakaran, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 270. Markwart, *Eranšahr*, p. 122. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 88, who identifies it with Oren-kala in the plain of Mili. P’aytakaran did not fall within the boundaries of Bagratid Armenia.

22

the amount—*sak* here means the 'amount' of money paid as ransom, cf. Avdalbegyan, *Armenological Investigations*, pp. 378–379. On *sak* cf. also XXXI, 10. XXVII, 10.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1

At this time—the year is still 894.

Ašot—the son of Grigor Derenik and Sop'ci, cf. XXVIII, 5, XXIX, 20. T'ov. Arc., attributes the cause of Ašot's action to the usurpation of prince Gagik Apumrvan Arcruni in Vaspurakan. King Smbat openly favored the latter, cf. XXXIV, 8, and Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1007. Lee, *Works*, II, 518, Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 117.

2

expectation of higher honor—apparently the Arcrunis were already aspiring to the kingship as early as 894.

secretly bribed—*galtaxt'ēr*—an unusual verb, and perhaps a *hapax legomenon*, cf. NBHL, under the above word, based on Elišē, p. 64, *galt xt'ēr*, which has the same meaning. Here and in the following two or three sections Yovh. is alluding to a passage in Elišē concerning the traitor Vasak of Siwnik' in the Vth century.

4–6

The great prince of Siwnik' is none other than Vasak Išxanik, XXVI, 1–7, XXVIII, 8, XXIX, 22. For his identification in this passage, cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, p. 294.

he begged . . .—*xalapatelov atersēr*, cf. Elišē, p. 66.

7

Gagik Arcruni—to be distinguished from the prince of the same name who also appears in this passage. The first Gagik was the son of Vahan Arcruni, T'ov. Arc., pp. 139, 215, and an unidentified daughter of king Ašot I, T'ov. Arc., p. 269. He was appointed as *ostikan* of Vaspurakan by Šapuh, the son of king Ašot I, T'ov. Arc., p. 228. His daughter Seda was married to Ašot Arcruni, cf. T'ov. Arc., pp. 233, 238, 241, 249. T'ovma Arcruni's information concerning these derives partially from Yovh.. The additional material was obtained presumably from Arcruni family archives and traditions.

The capture of the three brothers took place after Ašot's return from Afshin. Cf. T'ov. Arc., pp. 234–235. According to T'ovma, Ašot was confined to Nkan, cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 311, 464, 510, Gagik to Sewan (in Vaspurakan), *Ibid.*, pp. 309, 311, 370, 464, 512, and Gurgēn to Kotoŕn, *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 442, 513.

8

T'ov. Arc., p. 233, goes further than this, and says that king Smbat I suggested to Gagik Apumrvan Arcruni and Gurgēn Anjewac'i, that they seize Vaspurakan as their ancestral domain. This version of the story merely reflects the bias of T'ovma in favor of the ruling Arcruni house.

9

According to T^{ov}. Arc., p. 236, Tarōn had already been conquered. *the [feudal] houses*—The reference is to the Bagratid lords of Tarōn, who are identified as Ašot son of Dawit^c Bagratuni (XXV, 33, 37), and Abu'l-Maghra, the nephew of Dawit^c, cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 327, 321 ff., 496.

10

The *bdešxs* were the marcher lords of Arsacid Armenia, cf. Markwart, *Bdešx*, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 154–192.

Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Shaykh—lord of Northern Syria and Mesopotamia, cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 102–103. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 318–319. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 179.

11

Dawit^c Bagratuni—the son of the presiding prince Bagarat, cf. # 9.

13

The son of Dawit^c is called Ašot by T^{ov}. Arc., p. 236, cf. *DAI*, II, p. 160. For the location of the camp, cf. T^{ov}. Arc., p. 237.

15

Hokš—was located on the border of Aḥjnik^c, cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 322, 464, 488.

18

T^{ux}—Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 320, 323, 489, identifies it as a river, whereas according to Hakobyan, *M.C.*, II, 232, note 6, there was a village of the same name.

23

Ašot—prince of Getark^cunik^c, one of the sons of Grigor Sup^can, cf. T^{ov}. Arc., p. 237, and Ut^cmazyan, *Siwnik^c*, pp. 313–314.

24

Bagrawan, also Bagrawand, and Bagrewand, in the province of Ayrarat, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 42.

25

“bushel”—cf. Matth. 5: 15; 10: 26. Mark 4: 21–22.

26

Cf. Prov. 15: 13, which Yovh. has paraphrased.

28

T^{ov}. Arc., p. 238, gives the names of the four accomplices: Šapuh, Vahan and Saray of the Amatuni house, and a certain Apusakr Vahuni.

30–31

On Gurgēn, cf. J. Laurent, “Gurgen Ardzrouni,” *R.E.A.*, II (1922), fasc. 2. On the death of Gurgēn, cf. T^{ov}. Arc., p. 234.

CHAPTER XXXV

1-3

Afshin invaded from the north in order to deprive Smbat of any possibility of escape to the regions of Uti and Gugark^c. Cf. Lee, *Works*, II, 522.

4

Tayk^c—On a later occasion, XXXVII, 2 Smbat took refuge with Atrnerseh the *curopalate* of Iberia in Tayk^c, but it seems that at this time he went to the portion of Tayk^c which was his own possession. Atrnerseh's territory covered only part of Tayk^c. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 492. Hakobyan, *Historical Geography*, p. 261.

Kars—cf. XXX, 13, where the fortress is said to have been in the possession of Abas. It seems that after Abas's death it passed into the hands of Smbat.

The name of Smbat's queen is given as Šahanduxt, Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, pp. 180, 184. The daughter-in-law mentioned here was the wife of Mušel son of Smbat I, cf. XXXVII, 17.

5

- 1) Asofik, p. 161, has condensed the contents of this and the following passages.
- 2) *of Canaanite origin*—This information is derived from *M.X.*, I, xix.

10

- 1) *Erasxajor*—was a district in Ayrarat. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 55-57. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 321. Inčičian, *Description*, pp. 389-391. The name is not used by the later historians. Already in *M.X.*, II, xc, Erasxajor appears as the ancient name for Aršarunik^c; Yovh. has revived the archaic name for contemporary Aršarunik^c, which is well known to Asofik, pp. 173, 176, etc.
- 2) *Kalzuan*—was on the borders of Aršarunik^c, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, II, 263, 366. Arak'elyan, *Cities*, I, 87. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 57.

12

Smbat's oldest son was the crown prince Ašot Erkat^c. Sahak's son is identified as Smbat, cf. XXV, 14.

13

The name of Šapuh's daughter is unknown.

14

- 1) The chronology of the events narrated in chapters XXXIV and XXXV is very uncertain. For a possible reconstruction cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1011-1012. One might distribute, however, the above events; there can be no question that they fall sometime between 895-897, since the preceding and following chapters supply datable events which provide *termini a quo* and *ad quem*.
- 2) *kak'aw*—is said to be a medieval dance, cf. *NBHL*.
- 3) *the winter season*—Afshia was most probably in Partaw, cf. T'ov, *Arc.*, p. 239.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1

- 1) *At this time*—The year is A.D. 897, cf. Asofik, p. 159, T'ov. *Arc.*, p. 243, has 898.

This does not agree with the general chronology, cf. below in this chapter and the “Introduction”. Asoġik derives most of his dates during this period from T’ovma. No doubt, he also took the information on the date of Gēorg’s death from the above passage of T’ovma, where he must have read 346 of the Armenian era, (+ 551 = A.D. 897). The reading 347 in the present text of T’ovma is most probably the result of a scribal error.

- 2) We do not know why Gēorg was in Vaspurakan. Ormanian’s view, *Azgapatum*, I, 1012, that he had gone there to reconcile the feuding Arcruni princes requires substantiation.
- 3) The monastery of Joroy Vank^c was near the village of Ahawakank^c, T’ov. Arc., p. 238, and Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 340. The traditions of the monastery are also known to T’ovma, who must have used the information in this passage, cf. p. 63, and Oskian, *Vaspurakan*, I, 251–254.

4

The princess—in question was not the wife of Ašot Erkat^c, the crown prince, as it is suggested by Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1011. At the time Ašot was not yet married, cf. LVIII, 8. It seems to me that the reference here concerns the wife of Ašot’s brother Mušel, cf. XXXVII, 17.

5

On Maštoc^c, cf. XXX, 28, and XXXII. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1013–1018. Kogian, *The Armenian Church*, pp. 294–297. Yovsēp’ian, *Colophons*, pp. 87–96. Orbelian, pp. 106, 160, 226, 243–244, 276, 502, and the “Introduction”.

8

Maštoc^c died in A.D. 897, as we know from his tombstone. Yovsēp’ian, *Colophons*, pp. 97–98. Lalayan, *Ethnograph. Journal*, I, 1012. *Ararat*, (1907), p. 179.

11

The biblical allusion “Obedience . . .” is to I Kings 15: 22.

12

According to Asoġik, p. 161, who has used the information available in this passage, the name of the church was *Amenap^crkič^c*, ‘All-Saviour’. Cf. Ališan, *Širak*, p. 9. *Hist. of Arm. Architecture*, p. 190.

13

arch made out of pure gold—On the use of such arches over the altar cf. Yovh. of Ōjun, pp. 162–163. Gat’rčian, *Liturgies*, p. 731, who has also suggested, p. 740, note 3, that this passage could be a reference to the *tetrškeles*, which is a ‘quadrupes’ placed over the paten.

14

Atrnerseh—mentioned as *curopalate*, cf. *DAI*, 43.
See also XXX, 9–22.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1

Chapter XXXVII covers the events of the period following Yovhan.’s ordination as *katholikos* until the death of Afshīn, *i.e.*, A.D. 897–901.

2

On Tàyk^c—cf. XXXVI, 14.

#4

the great eunuch—was a renegade Greek called Yovsēp^c, ‘Joseph’, whom the Arabs knew as Wašīf. He was in charge of the city of Partaw. T^cov. Arc., p. 242. M.D., p. 384. Ter-Łewendyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 120. The literal translation of the Armenian title *mec nerk^cinapetn* is ‘the great chief of the eunuchs, *nerk^cinapet* = Greek *archieunouchos*.

- 1) For the historical background, cf. XXXV, 13–14.
- 2) *widowhood*—the date of Sahak’s death is not known.
- 3) *Šarur*—This plain lies to the south of the city of Dvin along the Araxes, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 366, and Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 70.

8

Ani—The latter capital of the Bagratids was still a fortress at this time. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 284. Aṙak^celyan, *Cities*, I, 75–80.

11–13

- 1) *P^caytakaran*, cf. XXXIII, 21.
- 2) *ročik*—‘pay or allowance’, on the interpretation of this word, cf. Ter-Łewendyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 119; M.H. Darbinyan-Melik^cyan, “Ditołut^cyunner,” pp. 162–163.
- 3) *Sewordik^c*—cf. XXVI, 13. M.D., p. 384, considers the brothers “Georgian generals”, cf. Dowsett, *M.D.*, p. 223, note 1.
- 4) Afshīn’s death occurred in 901. Ter-Łewendyan, *Arab Emir.*, p. 119.

25

“whose will . . .”—I Timoth. 2: 4.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1

- 1) *Ašot Arcruni*—cf. XXIX, 20. XXXIV, 1–3, 7–8, 28–29.
- 2) *Sennacherib*—The legend of the Assyrian origin of the Arcruni family appears in *M.X.*, I, xxiii.
- 3) The date of the events narrated in this chapter can be calculated with the help of T^covma Arcruni. According to Yovh. XXXVIII, 16, Ašot died one year after these events. T^cov. Arc., p. 249, says that Ašot was born in 325 of the Armenian era (+ 551 = A.D. 876), and died at the age of twenty-nine, that is in A.D. 905. Therefore the date for these events must be 904.
- 4) *P^corak Lmbay*—was a district in Vaspurakan according to T^cov. Arc., p. 275.
- 5) *agarak*, ‘field’, T^cov. Arc., p. 275, knows this place as the village of Płuans.
- 6) *Gibeonite*—This name is used to distinguish the non-Arab inhabitants from the Arabs. Yovh. mentions them on two other occasions. Cf. LX, 10, and LXVII, 1.

2

- 1) On Hasan cf. T^cov. Arc., pp. 222–225, 274–276. Hasan’s father Vasak was married to the sister of Grigor Derenik Arcruni, Ašot’s father.
- 2) *Sewan*—cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 309, 311, 370, 464, 512. This fortress

must be distinguished from the island of Sewan. The former was located in Vaspurakan.

18

Marzpan—The exact functions of the holder of this office are not clear from the present context. Połosyan's view that the *marzpanate* during the Bagratid era corresponded to the 'ministry of foreign affairs', *History*, p. 63, cannot be substantiated. Gurgēn's relations with a foreign state are known only in connection with the establishment of the Arcruni kingship, cf. XLIII. It seems that T'ovma, p. 239, has borrowed the title from Yovhannēs. At this point it is very difficult to say whether the term *marzpan* is an archaism on the part of Yovh. for an office whose function is not known to us, or a real title borrowed from that of the ancient Persian *marzpan*s (= governors) of the V—VIIth centuries, but with different functions than that of the above. On the earlier usage of the title and its origin, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.*, p. 193. Adontz-Carsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 165—182.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1

Yūsuf b. Abul-Sādī, A.D. 901—928. Cf. Minorsky, *History*, pp. 19, 43, 60, 70. *EI*, I, 637. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 44, 179.

2

The caliph was al-Muqtafi, A.D. 902—908.

6

- 1) *Šapuh*—the brother of king Smbat I, cf. XXXIV, 13, XXXV, 13—14, XXXVI, 3—4.
- 2) *Sparapetut'ium*, 'the office of the commander-in-chief', cf. XXVIII, 2.
- 3) *futile*—It is not clear why Yovhannēs uses the expression *snotiasēr* about *Šapuh*.
- 4) *Šapuh's* death is thought to have occurred sometime after 903. Yovsēp'ian, *Colophons*, p. 104.

7

- 1) *Bagaran*—It seems that beginning with Ašot I, this city became the family burial place of the Bagratid royalty. Cf. XXX, 6.
- 2) Ašot son of *Šapuh*, whom we have already seen in XXX, 22, must be distinguished from the crown prince Ašot Erkat'.

9—10

- 1) The church of Baguan is most probably the *Tapanatan Surb Kat'otikē*, 'Holy Cathedral of the Cemetary', cf. Inčičian, *Description*, pp. 447—448. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 493—495. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 356.
- 2) On Kołb, which is situated in the district of Čakat' in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 364, where it is mentioned as a village. In the Bagratid era, Kołb had become a komopolis, cf. Ařak'elyan, *Cities*, I, 86—87, 125.

11

Dawit^ç, the other brother of king Smbat I, is also known from T^çov Arc., p. 273, and Yovsēp^çian, *Colophons*, pp. 101, 104, The title 'presiding prince', *išxan išxanac^ç*, was at one time held by king Smbat I, cf. XXX, 7.

CHAPTER XL

2

Taşratap^ç—The modern plain of Lori, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 354. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 85.

3

- 1) *Ašoç^çk^ç*—a district in Gugark^ç, or northern Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 365. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 36.
- 2) *Taşirk^ç*—also Taşir, a district in Gugark^ç which contains within itself the plain of *Taşratap^ç*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 354. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 85.

4

Yūsuf apparently used the same route as his brother, cf. XXXVII, 1.

5

Aruç—mentioned as a *dastakert* in chapter XX, Jerusalem, p. 116, turns up as a komopolis under Smbat I. It is situated in the district of Aragacotn in the province of Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 364.

8

Erasxajor—later the district of Arşarunik^ç, cf. XXV, 10.

14

As 'presiding prince' *išxan išxanac^ç* Aşot succeeded his uncle. Cf. XXXIX, 11, on Dawit^ç Bagratuni.

16

On kirmis, "cochineal", cf. Melik^çset^ç-Bek, "Kirmiz," *IANA*, (1946), No 2–3. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities*, p. 153. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 239–240. On colored glass see Ařak^çelyan, *Cities*, I, 257 ff..

20

This Grigor is Grigor Sup^çan II, the prince of Geřark^çunik^ç, see XXVIII, 9. On his brothers Sahak and Vasak, cf. Ut^çmazyan, *Siwnik^ç*, pp. 314–315.

21

"A fountain . . ."—cf. Joel 3: 19.

22–23

That king Smbat I corresponded with the Emperor Lee is also gathered from *DAI*, 43, 30 ff..
beloved son—cf. XXIX, 13.

CHAPTER XLI

1

- 1) The year according to Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 492, is A.D. 904.
- 2) *Constantine*—cf. also Asofik, p. 163, who has followed Yovh..

Melik⁵set⁵-Bek, *The Georgian Sources*, I, 202. Khonelidze, *Political History*, pp. 92–103.

3) *Gates of the Alans*—cf. XXXI, 15.

4) *Gugark⁵*—We know from XXXI, 15, XXX, 7, XXIX, 11, that Ašot I had annexed these northern areas to his kingdom, and that Smbat I inherited the latter as part of his patrimony.

2

Constantine had seized most of Atrnerseh's kingdom. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 492.

6

in the land of Vur-[i Vuri Ašxarhi]—This place-name is unknown to our sources. The editor of the critical edition of Yovh. has emended the name to Guria in the Georgian translation, cf. p. 110, and has placed a question mark after it. Such an emendation is paleographically possible, and in agreement with the Georgian source according to which Smbat II conquered Iberia, cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 492, note 247. However, such an identification is fraught with difficulties. a) Guria seems to be unknown to the early and medieval Armenian sources. b) It is not likely that Guria would be referred to as *ašxarh*, 'land' or 'province'. c) In LXII, 3, Yovh. says that Ašot Gnt⁵uni was killed in the land of Vur. A little earlier, describing the circumstances of Ašot Gnt⁵uni's death, Yovh. makes it quite clear that the latter died in a battle fought near the fortress of Sakurēt⁵ (LVII, 4 ff.), which is situated in the district of Jelet⁵i in *Zena Sop⁵eli K⁵art⁵lisa*, (cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 63, 119) which is the Georgian translation of the Armenian *Verin Ašxarh Vrac⁵*, 'Upper Country of Iberia', cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 83, and Markwart, *Topographie*, p. 50, note 100. Apparently, *Verin Ašxarh* without the *Vrac⁵* was very common, for the Byzantines borrowed the term as *Beriasax*, *De Cer.*, II, 48.

The above indications seem to point more in the direction of *i verin ašxarhi*, than the name Guria proposed by the editor of the critical edition of Yovh., for the emendation of *i vuri ašxarhi*.

CHAPTER XLII

1

At this time—The date of Yūsuf's rebellion, and that of the other events described in this chapter seem to be c. 907–908, since Yovh. in ch. XLIII puts the coronation of Gagik as king in the same year, and lists the events of the following winter and spring under the year 909, cf. XLIII, 14–20.

Orbelian, pp. 183 ff. has followed Yovh. very closely in this and the following five sections.

2

The caliph at this time is al-Muktafi, A.D. 902–908.

3

The tribute to the court was paid through Yūsuf, cf. XXXIX, 3, XL, 6.

4

pact with Yūsuf—cf. XL, 7.

11

tax—The usual amount of the tax was ten per cent, cf. Leo, *Works*, II, 534. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 218.

14

The Hasan mentioned here is most likely identical with Hasan Gnt'uni, whom we met earlier (XXXV, 5, 8). The reason for such an identification is due to the following consideration. Both Hasans have the same title of *hramanatar*, 'commander'. Moreover, both men seem to be connected with fortresses where royal treasures are kept. The first of the two Hasans was of the Gnt'uni house, whereas the second Hasan is related to the Hawnuni house by marriage (# 17). The latter is also said to have been related to the Vanandac'ik'. We know of no family by this name in the tenth century, although the sources mention frequently the princes of Vanand, cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 192–194, 207–208. *Vanandac'ik'* simply refers to Vanand and its inhabitants. This is the way Asołik, p. 270, understands the term when he calls Abas, the Bagratid king of Kars, king of the Vanandac'ik'. The fact that Yovh. considers the second Hasan a kinsman of the Vanandac'ik' does not disprove out identification of the latter with Hasan Gnt'uni, who could have been considered a Vanandac'i by virtue of his official position as the guardian of the fortress of Kars in the district of Vanand.

On the Hawnuni family, cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 236–238.

14–18

Achitophel—cf. II Kings, 15–17. I Chron. 27: 33.

21

Tayk'—cf. XXXV, 4. XXXVII, 2.

24

The quotation is based on Ezekiel 18: 4.

26

The oldest son of Atrnerseh was called Dawit', cf. Markwart, *Georgian Bagratids*, p. 149. *Also see*, ch. XXX, 16.

The king of the Romans is Leo VI, the Byzantine emperor.

The king of Egrisi is Constantine whom we have seen in ch. XLI, 12.

CHAPTER XLIII

1

- 1) *At this time*—908 A.D.. For a discussion of the chronology, cf. XLII, 1.
- 2) *Gagik Arcruni*—the prince of Vaspurakan, cf. XXXVIII, 18. XXXIV, 28, 7.
- 3) *Naxjawan*—On the claim of the Arcruni and Siwni princes cf. Ališan, *Sisakan*, pp. 311–312, 498. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 96–103. *See also* T'ov. Arc., pp. 232, 245–247. According to Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 123, Smbat gave the city to the prince of Siwnik' in retaliation for the close relationship between the Arcruni and the Sādjjids. It seems to me that Smbat also had in mind the great strategic value of this stronghold, which he would have preferred to see in the hands of the Siwni princes at the time of an attack from the south, since the latter proved to be more loyal to him than the Arcruni.

2

Smbat prince of Sisakan—Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik*^ç, p. 298–300.

#6

For a detailed discussion of the robes taken by Yovh. see Abrahamyan, *Handicrafts*, p. 177.

10

Gurgēn—the brother of Gagik Arcruni, cf. XXXVIII, 18. XXXIV, 7.

17

The *gaherēç*^ç, 'senior', prince of Siwnik^ç was Smbat, cf. above # 2. His brothers were Sahak, Babgēn, and Vasak. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik*^ç, pp. 300–302.

Orbelian, pp. 185–186, has made use of Yovh. in this and the following sections dealing with Siwnik^ç.

20

358 of the Armenian era corresponds to 909/910. Easter fell on the first of April in that year. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1030. Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 252.

22

Sup'an the lord of Siwnik^ç—Grigor Sup'an II, the lord of Gełark'unik^ç, and nephew of king Smbat I, cf. XL, 20, XXVIII, 9.

25

Ktarjġk^ç—had been annexed to Armenia during the early years of Smbat I, cf. XXXI, 15.

CHAPTER XLIV

3

Ašot—son of Šapuh, cf. XXX, 22. XXXIX, 8.

Joseph—is no doubt the biblical Joseph, and not Yūsuf the Sādjid emir. The reading *Yusup*^ç in certain MSS and editions seems to suggest the latter, but we have preferred that of J¹, B, and C, *i.e.*, Yovsēp^ç, 'Joseph'. The mention of the pharaoh leaves no doubt that the person in question is the biblical Joseph.

5

The winter season—would correspond to the winter of 909/910, since it is the first chronological reference after the paschal feast of 909, cf. XLIII, 20.

6

*sandaramet Prodoria*d—This seems to be an allusion to M.X., III, lxii, "They did not seek answers from the chief sandaramet Prodeiad." The fact that this deity is mentioned by M.X. in connection with the city of Alexandria, leaves no doubt that it is none other than Proteus, a servant of Poseidon with the ability to give the right answer if held in his right shape. Cf. Homer, *Od.*, IV, 385 ff., where it is said that his dwelling place is *hypo spessi glaphyroidia*, *i.e.*, in hollow caves on the spheres of Egypt. This is presumably why he is called *sandaramet*, a word designating the underworld. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 74. See especially Pseudo-Callisthenes, #77, #84, #139. Also see M.H., Darbinyan-Melik'yan, "Di-tołut'yunner," pp. 160–161.

to *Madian like Moses*—cf. Exodus 2: 15.
the second Jesabel—cf. III Kings 17: 9–10.

8

Atrnerseh—prince of Albania and the son of Hamam (XXXIII, 20). Cf. Anania of Mokk^c, *Rebellion*, p. 131. Melik^cset^c-Bek, *Georgian Sources*, I, 203. III, 67. Adontz, *Historical Studies*, p. 132. S. Barxudaryan, *Arc^cax*, pp. 68 ff.. Masudi, near Laurent, *l'Arménie*, p. 277, note 1, also acknowledges him as the son of Hamam.

On the phrase “people of our fold” see “Introduction”, and Mnac^cakanyan, *Albanian Literature*, pp. 58–59.

Prince Sahak was the Bagratid lord of Arc^cax and founder of the kingdom of P^carisos. He was the son of Grigor and grandson of Atrnerseh mentioned in XXVI, 11. Cf. Adontz, *Historical Studies*, pp. 136–137. S. Barxudaryan, *Arc^cax*, p. 74. Sahak, also known as Sawada, gave his daughter in marriage to Ašot Erkat^c, the son of king Smbat I, cf. LVIII, 8.

For our translation of the word *sak* as ‘allowance’ cf. Avdalbegyan, *Armenological Investigations*, p. 377.

CHAPTER XLV

2

- 1) *Spring*—This is the Spring of 910 which followed the winter season mentioned in XLIV, 5.
- 2) *conspirators*—Asohik, p. 164, lists them Atrnerseh, the *curopalate* of Iberia, and Ašot son of Šapuh.

3

- 1) *Ašot*—the crown prince, surnamed Erkat^c, cf. XXXV, 14, XXXVII, 17. XL, 14.
- 2) *Mušet*, cf. XXXVII, 17.

4

- 1) *Nig*—is a district in the province of Ayrarat. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 365; according to Asohik, p. 165, the place where the battle took place was called Jknavac^car.
- 2) The mountain in question is no doubt Aragac on whose eastern flank the district of Nig was situated. *Ašxar*, p. 34.

5

Sewordik^c—cf. XXVI, 13. XXXVII, 13.

11

Achor—All the MSS and editions have *Nak^covr*, ‘Nahot’. I have emended it to Achor on the basis of Joshua 7: 24–26. “Then Joshua took Achan son of Zerach . . . and . . . brought them up to the Vale of Achor . . . Then all the Israelites stoned him to death, and they raised a great pile of stones over him . . . This is why to this day that place is called the Vale of Achor.”

17

Cf. Is. 51: 17. Yovh.’s citation differs considerably from that of Zohrab and Bagratuni editions of the Armenian Septuagint, which have identical readings with the Gk..

18

Psalms 68: 21.

19

Cf. Is. 51: 19.

20

Cf. Is., 51: 20.

22

Cf. Is. 3: 3, 8–9.

23–25

From our house—Soviet scholars believe that this passage is a reference to the contemporary T'ondrakec'i heretical movement. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 390–391. Yovh. was one of the katholikoi who anathematized this sect according to the testimony of the XIth century writer Grigor Magistros, *Letters*, pp. 154, 167. Furthermore, Asołik, p. 160, maintains that the sect first appeared during the pontificate of Yovh., cf. also Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 367–371. A. Hovhannisyan, *Smbat Zarehawanc'i*, pp. 10–12, and *Liberational Mind*, i, 337 ff., showed conclusively that Asołik misinterpreted his source, and that the pontif in question is not our historian, but Yovh. Ovayec'i, cf. XXV, 14, and ff..

Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 390–391, also raised the question of the authorship of a treatise which condemned the T'ondrakec'i heresy. Grigor Magistros attributes this work to a certain *k'ahanayapet*, 'high priest' [= katholikos], who is called *eraneli*, 'blessed', and *surb*, 'saint'. *Letters*, p. 153. The Soviet-Armenian scholar reflects the possibility of Yovh. Kath. having authored an otherwise unknown treatise, and takes the passage in the letter of Grigor Magistros as a reference to ch. XLV, 23–25 in the *History*. We cannot agree with this view. Yovh. Drasx. has been called *eraneli* only once, cf. T'ov. Arc., p. 243, but never *surb*. The only Yovhannēs katholikos who could qualify is Yovh. Ōjniec'i, whose treatise against the Paulicians is quite well known. On this problem *see also* N. Garseoian, *Paulicians*, p. 140.

CHAPTER XLVI

1

"The sickle . . ." cf. Zacharias 5: 1–2.

3

Cf. Hosea 13: 7–8.

4

Cf. Deut. 32: 41.

6

Grigor—is Grigor Sup'an II, the prince of Gełark'unik', cf. XXVIII, 9, XL, 20, XLIII, 22.

Orbelian, p. 188, has followed Yovh.'s account. There is no reason to postpone the death of Grigor Sup'an to 912/913, cf. Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik'*, pp. 312–313. This event clearly took place in 910 A.D.

7

Ašot son of Šapuh had already surrendered to Yūsuf, cf. XLIV, 3.

Bagaran—the well known city on the Axurean River, cf. XXXIX, 7, 9. XXX, 6.

8

Darōnk^ε—also known as Dariwnik^ε, the ancient burial ground of the Bagratids in the district of Kogovit in Ayrarat. M. Yovhannisian, "Fortresses," *P-B. H.*, (1963), No. 4, pp. 42ff. Ēp^εrikian, *Dictionary*, I, 597f. *Smbat*—the son of Smbat I's brother Sahak, cf. XXXV, 12, XXXVII, 5–7.

11

Vasak—son of Ašot senior prince of Siwnik^ε, cf. Ut^εmazyan, *Siwnik^ε*, pp. 302–303, and XXVI, 1, 7. XXIX, 23.

15, # 20

Cf. Ehišē, p. 200. Cf Ehišē, p. 201.

CHAPTER XLVII

1

1) *At this time*—It is still 910 A.D.

2) *Sahak and Vasak*—princes of Geṭark^εunik^ε, cf. XL, 20.

3) *Grigor*—Grigor Sup^εan II, cf XLVI, 5–6.

4) Orbelian, p. 189, has made use of the information on Siwnik^ε in here.

2

The mother of the above princes was Mariam, the sister of king Smbat I, cf XXVIII, 1 and note.

3

The lake in question is Sevan.

4

Miap^εor—a fortress between Gardman and L. Sevan, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 453.

6

Gardman, cf. XXVI, 6, 12.

Arc^εax—situated to the south of Uti. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 349ff.

7

Šotak^εa—Orbelian, p. 190, has Šotuagay.

8–9

Taširk^ε—a district in Gugark^ε, cf. XL, 3. XLII, 19.

Kangark^ε—a district in Gugark^ε situated to the north of Taširk^ε. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 354. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 57–58.

Vataršakert—a fortress in the district of Bagrewand in Ayrarat. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 468; modern Alashkert, Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 81.

11

Cf. Isaiah 3: 2–4.

CHAPTER XLVIII

4

Erasxajor—The archaic name for the medieval Aršarunik^ճ in Ayrarat, cf. XL, 8. XXXV, 10.

5-6

Grigor—prince of Mokk^ճ is the famous Krikorikios of *DAI*, 43. Cf. Canard, *Hamdanides*, I, 466-467. *DAI*, II, 160. *De Cer.*, I, 24. T^ճov. Arc., pp. 232, 246. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 345 and 497.

Rebellions in Egypt—After 905 A.D. Egypt was governed by governors set by the Abbäsüd caliphs, cf. Hitti, *Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 455.

7

Basil—should be corrected to Leo. The error was probably caused by carelessness on the part of the author.

11

Kapoyt—This fortress is situated in the province of Siwnik^ճ, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 438-439. Ēp^ճrikian, *Dictionary*, II, 278-279.

12

After a period of one year—The commonly accepted date for these events is 913 A.D., cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1035. This assumption can be further substantiated by # 7, where there is a reference to the death of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI and the ascent of Alexander to the imperial throne, which happened in 912. In # 11 Yovh. says that Smbat retreated to Kapoyt in Erasxajor. We have seen in a number of eralier passages that Smbat usually spent the winter season in this area (XXXV, 10. XL, 8). Thus, it seems very probable that the Bagratid king spent the winter of 912-913 in the fortress of Kapoyt.

17

"laconian ornaments"—See M. H. Darbinyan Melik^ճyan, "Ditołut^ճyunner," p. 161.

20

Dan—cf. Gen. 49: 17.

CHAPTER XLIX

2

1) *For an entire year*—913-914. Cf. Orbelian, pp. 190-191.

2) *Ernjak*—is in the province of Siwnik^ճ, and identified with the ruins of the modern Alinja-kala, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 426. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 51.

3) Prince of Siwnik^ճ Smbat's mother is called Šušan and his wife Sop^ճi. Sahak's wife's name in unknown. She was the daughter of Atrnerseh of Gugark^ճ. Orbelian, pp. 185-186.

6

The well of Bethlehem—cf. I Chron. 11: 17-18.

12

Twenty-two years—Asofik, p. 165, puts Smbat's death in the 364th year of the Armenian era (+ 551 = 915). The last digit in the above number, *i.e.*, 4, could easily have been a misreading of 3, thus giving us 363 of the Armenian era, which agrees with the date given by the synaxary, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1038. *M.C.*, II, p. 162, note 48. This date also seems to agree with the general chronology in the *History*. The twenty-two years of kingship assigned to Smbat by Yovh. may be justified on the basis of the following considerations: 890—Smbat succeeds his father, 891—he is crowned king; 891–913, *i.e.*, for twenty-two years, he rules as king; 913–914, he is incarcerated and killed.

CHAPTER L

1–4

Erñjak—cf. XLIX, 3.

Orbelian, pp. 191–192, has made use of this chapter, where there are many allusions to Elišē, pp. 200–201.

10

Abas—we know of him from XXX, 22.

11

Bagrawand, also Bagrewand, and Bagrawan, cf. XXXIV, 24.

16

Ałastew is in Uti, Asofik, p. 280. Ēp'rikian, *Dictionary*, I, 114.

17

Gurgēn—prince of Iberia. Č'amč'ian, *History*, II, 777, considers him prince of Abasgia, but Yovh. clearly calls him 'prince of Iberia', cf. LVII, 10. LVIII, 12. LIX, 11, and Khonelia, *Political History*, pp. 95–104. Markwart, *Georgian Bagratids*, pp. 148–149.

Aršarunik'—The ancient Erasxajor, situated to the south of Kars, on the left bank of the River Arax. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 40.

CHAPTER LI

1

1) *At that time*—The year is still 914.

2) *Spasalar and payazat forces*—The term *spasalar* is unknown to Movsēs Xorenac'i. For the Iranian origin of the word, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 239, and for its usage in Georgia, Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 96–97, note 143, where the evidence from the work of the VIIIth century Gerogian writer Leontius Mroveli shows that the *spasalars* were generals under the dukes (*eristav*). The term is used four times in Yovh.:

- a) Yovh., Jerusalem 1867, p. 34, l. 21—where Vałaršak, the first Arsacid king of Armenia sets up governors, satraps, *nahapets*, *spasalars*, generals (*zoraglux*), and *bdešxs*. No doubt, the source of this section is M.X., II, viii, but the word *spasalar* is Yovh.'s contribution.
- b) Yovh. LI, 2, king Gagik withstands the Arab onslaught together with the *spasalar* and *payazat* forces.

- c) LII, 10, the kings of Armenia make an attempt to create new *payazats* and *spasalar*.
- d) LIV, 21, king Gagik and his brother Gurgēn halt at *Miḡerkrayk* with the *spasalar* forces.

The *spasalar* forces are quite distinct from the royal Bagratid forces which fight under the command of the *sparapet*. These were called *Marzpetakan gund*, M.U., p. 3. In the above four references to Yovhannēs, we must note the following: 1) the relationship between *spasalar* and *payazat* forces. 2) the connection of the *spasalar* forces with Vaspurakan and Gagik Arcruni.

The clarification of the term *payazat gund* might give us an insight into the usage of the term *spasalar* in the Xth century Armenia. The word *payazat* by itself means 'heir', cf. *NBHL*, and usually refers to the heir of a throne or a house or even a hereditary office such as the *sparapetut' iwn*. Although we do not have sufficient proof, it seems logical to assume that a *payazat gund* would be composed of the *payazats* of the Arcruni princes as well as the vassals of king Gagik, and thus remind us of the earlier *sephakan* or *Vaspurakan gund*, cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 182, 249. *Spasalar gund* cannot be identical with *Payazat gund*, since we find only the *spasalar* forces with Gagik and Gurgēn after they have sheltered all their subjects in the security of the mountains of Mokk', LIV, 20. Unlike the *payazat gund*, *spasalar* forces seem to have been directly connected with Gagik and Gurgēn. Unfortunately we do not see either terminology in T'ov. Arc. and T'ov. Continuatus.

10–11

Homeric custom—This is presumably a pun on the word *homēros* which could also mean 'hostage' in Gk., cf. *L.S.*, under the above word.

Solomonian leech—cf. Prov. 30: 15.

15–20–29

double edged sword—On the use of this weapon in Armenia cf. K'alant'ar-yan, *Weapons*, p. 247.

On "estates", (*gerdastan*) cf. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 133.

Asofik, p. 166, has made use of this section.

32–33

Dawit' and Gurgēn Gnuni—Asofik, p. 167, and Vardan, p. 87, have both followed Yovh. Cf. Č'amč'ian, *Hist.*, II, 1035. Ač'aryan, *Dict. of Personal Names*, II, 511. Oskian, *Gnuni*, pp. 47–49.

"laconian clothing"—Isaiah, 3:22. Cf. M. H. Darbinyan-Melik'yan, "Ditoḡut'yunner," p. 162.

42

The 27th of Mareri—Asofik, p. 168, and Vardan, p. 87, put it on the twentieth of Mareri, which is given as May 27th by the synaxary. Cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, 1043. The latter date is according to the calendar of Yovhannēs Sarkawag (XI–XII centuries). The 27th of Mareri according to the ancient Armenian calendar known to Yovhannēs of Draxanakert corresponds to February 2.

48–50

Cf. Ehišē, pp. 139–140.

CHAPTER LII

2

Thieves and brigands—Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 387–388, tries to show that this is a reference to a peasant rebellion in Armenia.

6

Is. 1: 7.

7

1) *David and Goliath*—cf. I Kings 17.

2) *Gideon*—Judges 7: 13 ff..

3) *Joel and Sisera*—cf. Judges 4: 18–21.

4) *Maccabee*—reference to Judas Maccabee. Cf. M.X., III, lxviii.

9–14.

1) *in accordance with Solomon*—cf. Proverbs 22: 7.

2) This entire section is taken by the Soviet scholars as further reference to the peasant movements in the Xth century: Połosyan, *Serfdom*, pp. 392–396. Manandyan, *Critical History*, vol. II, part two, pp. 43, 71. Sahakian, *Peasant Rebellion*, pp. 243–253.

10

Created new payazats—Ut‘mazyan, *Siwnik*⁶, p. 268, thinks that the rebellious lower classes were responsible for the formation of the new system. This is the exact opposite of what the text of Yovh. says, cf. S. Melik⁶-Baxšyan, in the review of the above work in *P-B. H.*, No 1, p. 264. For a correct interpretation, cf. Hovhannysyan, *Episodes*, I, 104.

13, 14, 16

Cf. Proverbs 10: 12.

Is 3:5

Joel 2: 3.

CHAPTER LIII

1

Spring season—This is the spring of 914, *i.e.*, soon after the martyrdom of king Smbat I.

8

Ten pairs of oxen—S. E. Hakobyan, *Hist. of Arm. Peasantry*, p. 71, considers this part of the Xth century agricultural technology without realizing that it is an allusion to Is. 5: 10.

9

Cf. John 4: 38. The Scriptural text reads: “Others toiled and you have come in for the harvest of their toil.”

12

seven years—the medieval historians interpreted this as a reference to the period from 916 to 921, cf. Vardan, p. 87. Asołik, p. 170, Sam. Ani, pp. 98–99. However, Adontz, *Etudes*, pp. 277–278, has conclusively shown that the seven year period

begins with the incarceration of Yovh. in 908, and ends in 915, *i.e.*, after his return from Byzantine Armenia.

CHAPTER LIV

2–15

The letter of Nikolaos patriarch of Constantinople—cf. the “Introduction” for a discussion on authenticity. The date of this document must be set c. 913. This assumption is based on the following considerations: a) Yovh. is still in Gugark^ς. b) Smbat’s death is not known to the Byzantines. c) The fact that the letter is addressed to Yovh. and not Smbat proves that the latter was not accessible, that is to say, he was in prison.

10

prince of Abasgia—*awagn Ap^ςxazac^ς*, is not Gurgēn of Iberia, but Constantine of Egrisi, cf. Khonelia, *Abkhazia*, pp. 95–104.

14

“in his former pious mode of life”—The Armenian test reads: “*yaraḡagoyn isk i kargs k^ςahanayavarut^ςeann.*” For *k^ςahanayavarut^ςeann* J has *k^ςahanayapetus^ςeann* [highpriesthood or hierarchy], and D *k^ςahanayut^ςeann*[priesthood]. K. Tēr Sahakian, “Erku diwanakan t^ςt^ςer,” p. 485, prefers the reading *k^ςahanayapetus^ςeann* and takes this passage as a reference to the restoration of unspecified rights to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Georgian church. This interpretation is unacceptable. In the first place, Yovhannēs was in no position to deprive the Georgian church of any of her rights, since he himself was at the mercy of the Georgian court (*see* ch. LIII, 34). Secondly, the letter of the patriarch of Constantinople totally avoids doctrinal and jurisdictional issues and concentrates on the restoration of unity and harmony among the kings and princes of Caucasia. The passage in question seems to refer to the Caucasian princes who had been feuding with one another. The patriarch asks Yovhannēs to forgive and grant them their rights so that the former order would be restored. In this context *K^ςahanayapetus^ςeann* and *k^ςahanayut^ςeann* make no sense. The alternate reading, *k^ςahanayavarut^ςeann*, is also preferred by the editors of the *NBHL*, II, p. 968. It is a hapax legomenon and literally means ‘priestly order or function’. The word is probably used in the sense of *k^ςatak^ςavarut^ςiwn* [conduct or mode of life]. The phrase *i kargs k^ςahanayavarut^ςeann* seems to echo the Philonic *zk^ςatak^ςavarut^ςeann k^ςanunsn* [the rules of conduct], *see NBHL*, II, 971.

21

Spasalar—LI, 2 and note.

mijerkrayk^ς—lit. ‘land in between’, is usually used in reference to Asia Minor, cf. *Ašxarh.*, shorter version, pp. 600–604. Here, however, the area in question must be sought on the borders of Siwnik^ς and Vaspurakan, as the context suggests. P^ςawstos, p. 151 calls Ayarat the *mifnašxarh* of Armenia. It is very possible that the reference here is to southern Ayarat.

26–69

The letter of Yovhannēs to Constantine Porphyrogenetos—cf. “Introduction” for discussion of authenticity.

The date of this letter is controversial because of the fact that Yovh. addresses certain unidentified 'kings' in addition to Constantine, cf. # 26, 35–38, 45, 55, 59. Most of the earlier scholars, who had noticed this, thought that the 'kings' in question were Romanos Lekapenos and his sons. Č'amč'ian, *History*, I, 778. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, p. 299. Tēr-Sahakian, *Armenian Emperors*, II, 427–446. Consequently, they argued that the letter was written soon after the coronation of Romanos Lekapenos (in 920), that is sometime between 920 and 921. The same scholars put the trip of Ašot Erkat' to Byzantium in 921. In the notes of ch. LV we shall see that the trip of Ašot was not in 921, but 914. The letter is closely connected with the trip of Ašot, since the latter was invited to go to Constantinople as a result of Yovh.'s letter, cf. LV, 1–3. Thus, there can be no question raised in regard to the *ad quem* of the letter. As Yovh. mentions the martyrdom of King Smbat I, as a event that has occurred recently, we can with some certainty assume that the letter was written in early 914. We are still faced with the problem of the 'kings', who are occasionally called 'august' and *ink'nakal*, 'autokrator', words which indicate the imperial rank of the 'kings'. The only possible suggestion that I can think of is that Yovh.'s 'kings' are the regents of the young emperor, at whose head in 914 stood the empress Zoe. Runcimam, *Rom. Lec.*, p. 52.

34

Cf. Matth. 12: 19.

#49–51

Cf. M.X., III, lxviii.

53

"to boast like Paul"—Cf. 2 Cor. 11: 30.

54

- 1) *Like Elija*—III Kings 17: 9–10. 18: 4, 13. 44: 7.
- 2) *Like Paul*—II Corinth. 11: 32.

67

Cf. Galatians 5: 10.

CHAPTER LV

1

- 1) *Tēodoros Vaslikos*—cf. *DAI*, 43. *De Cer.*, II, 44. Adontz, *Etudes*, pp. 221–222. *DAI*, II, 162.
- 2) *Basil*—should be emended to Leo, cf. XLVIII, 7, XL, 22. XXXI, 1.

2

- 1) *in the fastnesses of his realm*—cf. LXIV, 24. Most probably Ašot was still in Aršarunik', L, 17.
- 2) *Tarōn*—cf. LIV, 25.

3–6

Ašot's trip to Constantinople—cf. Asoĭik, p. 169. Vardan, p. 87. Theophanes Continuatus, p. 387. Georgius Monachus, p. 879. Sym. Mag., p. 722.

On the date of Ašot's trip to Constantinople Adontz's arguments conclusively point to 914. For general discussion and bibliography on this subject see Runciman, *Rom. Lec.*, pp. 249 ff., Adontz, *Etudes*, pp. 265 f..

There can be no question that Ašot II was recognized as *archōn tōn archontōn* by the emperor as early as 914, since according to Yovh. he was called a 'beloved son', an appellation given only to a person holding such a position. Cf. XXXI, 2. XXIX, 13, and the note in the commentary.

7–8

Derjan—the classical *Derxenē*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 213, 287.

Mani—The cave is already mentioned in the first part of the *History*, Jerusalem, p. 55. Yovh.'s sources of information are the local traditions and Movs. Xoren., II, 91.

10

where the cause of our enlightenment . . . the blessed Mani—is not to be found in M. X., II, 91. This tradition is also seen in an otherwise unknown writer by the name of Simēon, who wrote on the life of St. Grigor presumably in the tenth century, cf. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, II, 72, note 4, and p. 105.

At a later period a monastery was built on the site of the cave. Cf. Oskian, *Barjr Hayk'*, pp. 31ff..

13–14

On this monastery of hermits, cf. Oskian, *Barjr Hayk'*, pp. 26 ff..

15

T'ordan—cf. Oskian, *Barjr Hayk'*, pp. 29–30. M. X., II, 91. On the controversial problem of the burial ground of St. Grigor, cf. Kogian, *The Arm. Church*, p. 106.

17

nine months—We must assume that Yovh. went to *Derjan* immediately after Ašot's departure to Constantinople, and remained there for nine months until 915, when he returned to Armenia.

21–23

Her and Zarewand—cf. XXIX, 15.

Mardastan—a district in Vaspurakan, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 343.

Tosb—cf. XXXIV, 26.

Marand—is a district in Vaspurakan, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 451.

26–27

Cf. Song of Songs 2: 8–9.

Rotakk'—cf. XXXI, 4. LI, 2.

Satamas—a district in Parskahayk' in the vicinity of the city of Salamas, cf. Markwart, *Eranšahr*, p. 305. *Südarmenien*, p. 207.

33–34

1) *Atom*—cf. XXXIV, 32.2) *Grigor*—XLVIII, 5.3) *Gurgēn*—It is very tempting to identify him with the Apoganem of Const. Porph. *DAI*, 43.

CHAPTER LVI

1

The events narrated in this chapter must be placed during 914–915, cf. Adontz, *Etudes*, pp. 276–277.

4

Koṭb—cf. XXXIX, 10. This komopolis was the territory of Ašot son of Šapuh who had built a church there.

7

The *dastakert* in question is *Koṭb*.

9

Smbat—the prince of Siwnik^c, cf. XLIII, 2, 17, L, 2–6, XLIX, 3. Orbelian, p. 193, has made use of the material in this chapter on Siwnik^c.

10

Vasak—cf. XLVII, 1. XL, 20.

Grigor Sup'an II—cf. XXVIII, 9. XLVII, 1. XLVI, 6. XLIII, 22. XL, 20.

CHAPTER LVII

1

Šamšuldē—a fortress in Iberia. The correct etymology is 'three bows', cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 465, under *Šamšoidē*.

reduced the people . . . to submission—cf. XXX, 7. XXXI, 15.

Gnt'uni house—Members of this family seem to have been in charge of the Bagratid castles, cf. XXXV, 5. XLII, 14 ff..

4

Abas—cf. XXX, 22. L, 10.

Sakurēt—in the district of Jelēt'i in Iberia, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 63.

10

1) *Gideon's cake*—Judges 7: 13. Cf. also Yovh. LII, 7.

2) *Gurgēn*—the prince of Iberia, cf. L, 17.

11

1) *the prince of Siwnik^c*—is Smbat, cf. LVI, 9.

2) *Sahak*—cf. XLIX, 3. L, 2.

3) *Babgēn*—Ut'mazyan, *Siwnik^c*, p. 302.

4) *Vasak*—cf. XLVI, 11.

5) On Siwnik^c in general cf. Orbelian, 193–194.

12–13

Cf. XLIX, 3, and L, 2, 5–7.

after two years—i.e., 914 + 2 = A.D. 916.

14

Sahak and Vasak should not be confused with the princes of the same name mentioned above in # 11. The former are the brothers of Grigor Sup'an II, the prince of Geṭark'unik^c, cf. LVI, 10. XLVII, 1 ff.. XL, 20.

CHAPTER LVIII

1

The events narrated in this chapter (# 1–5) fall under the year 916, cf. ch. LVII, 12–13 and notes.

- 1) *Vatawer*—near Dvin, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363.
- 2) *agarak*—The exact meaning of this word in the present context is uncertain, cf. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 321.

6

two years—A.D. 916–918.

8

Sahak—cf. XLIV, 8. On the *kak^caw* see Ch. XXXV, 14 and note.

11

Cf. Proverbs 3: 34.

12

Gurgēn—see L, 17. LVII, 10.

13

Sahak—the brother of Grigor Sup^can II, cf. LVII, 14, and note. The name of his son is not known, cf. Orbelian, p. 194.

Noratunk^c—is probably same as the village of Noratus in Gefark^cunik^c, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 456.

CHAPTER LIX

The events narrated in this chapter must be placed under the year 918, cf. LVIII, 6.

1

- 1) *Sahak*—cf. LVIII, 8 and note.
- 2) *Movsēs*—is otherwise unknown. He might have been of Sewordi origin. On the Sewordik^c, cf. XXVI, 13.

2

- 1) *the great chorepiskopos*—Some of the MSS, viz., JABD, have the reading *k^coriskoposn* (the final *n* is the definite article in Armenian). In # 9 of this chapter we learn that the *k^coriskopos* presides over the Canark^c, cf. XXXI, 15. According to the Arab historian Mas^cūdī, the term chorepiskopos, *koriskūs* in the Arab text, is the 'common title' of the kings of Canark^c. Minorsky, *History*, p. 160. The Georgian form of the title is *k^corikoz*. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 417, note 37.
- 2) *Gates of the Alans*—see XXXI, 15, XLI, 1.

4

Cf. M. X., I, xi.

8

Smbat—the prince of Siwnik^c, see XLIII, 2 and note.

9

Sisikan—see XXVIII, 1, and note.

10

steel helmet—On the use of such armor, cf. K^calant^caryan, *Armor*, p. 72.

11

- 1) *Abas*—cf. LVII, 4.
 2) *presiding prince*—cf. XXV, 16.
 3) *Gurgēn*—cf. LVII, 10. LVIII, 12. L, 17.
 4) *Ormani*—is otherwise unknown.

12

Eragzawork^с—cf. XXVI, 10. XXX, 8a. Ašot Erkat^с normally spent the winter season in or near his capital, cf. XL, 8–12. XLV, 1. This suggests that we are in the winter of 918/919.

14

the son of Abas—This is most probably Ašot III, the Merciful, who ruled as king from 952–977, cf. Leo, *Works*, II, 577 ff..

17

Vasak—the brother of Grigor Sup^сan II and Sahak, and the last survivor of the principedom of Geṭark^сunik^с, cf. XL, 20, XLVII, 1 ff., LVI, 10, LVII, 14. Orbelian, p. 298, pp. 194–195. The latter has drawn his information on Vasak from Yovh..

19

Gurgēn—is normally identified with Gurgēn prince of Iberia, cf. L, 17, and Leo, *Works*, II, 559.

Kayean—is situated in the district of Jorap^сor in Gugark^с, Êp^сrikian, *Dictionary*, II, 271–274.

CHAPTER LX

1

P^сarkini—This name is unknown to the other sources. T^сov. Continuatus, pp. 286–287, knows that Gagik was crowned but does not give the name of the governor who bestowed on him the honor.

The caliph is still al-Muqtadir (908–932).

at this time—919.

for the third time—The other two occasions when Gagik was crowned are described in XLIII, 3a, and 12.

4

Sahak—cf. LIX, 1, and note.

5

The year is still 919 A.D..

Axayean^с—also Axoyean^с and perhaps Aṭaen^с is located in Geṭark^сunik^с, cf. Êp^сrikian, *Dictionary*, I, 71. Hakobyan, *The Kingdom of Siwnik^с*, p. 191.

8

Smbat prince of the Sisakan house—the prince of Siwnik^с, cf. LIX, 8, and note.

three brothers—Sahak, Babgēn, Vasak, cf. LVII, 11.

Gott^сn—a district in southern Siwnik^с, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 346. The name of the Arab emir is not given anywhere. On the emirate of Gott^сn generally cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Duin sous les Salarides*, pp. 240–41. *Ern^сjak*—fortress in Siwnik^с, cf. XLIX, 3.

Orbelian, pp. 195 ff. follows Yovh. concerning the events of Siwnik⁶.

10

Vasak—see also XLVI, 11.

Gibeonite forces—According to Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 136, and Ut⁷ma-zyan, *Siwnik⁶*, p. 121, these are Turks. This is also the interpretation of Orbelian, p. 195, who says, “he [Smbat] brought with him also Scythian Turks who lived in his land under tents.” Cf. also Kanayeanc⁶, *Ararat*, (1913), No 11, pp. 1072–1077, V. Vardanyan, *P-B. H.*, (1973), No 1, 115f..

12

Gurgēn—the prince of Iberia, cf. L, 17. LVII, 10, LVIII, 12. LIX, 11, 19.

15

Jorap⁸or or *Jorop⁸or*—a district in Gugark⁶, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 353.

17

Kayean—cf. LIX, 19, and Mat⁹ewosyan, *Kayan berd*, pp. 53 ff..

19

Tawuś—in Uti, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 353.

24

impregnable bastion—On military tactics of this type of defensive action, cf. K¹⁰alant¹⁰aryan, *Armor*, p. 73. Abrahamyan, *Handicrafts*, p. 82. Aġak¹⁰elyan, *Cities*, I, 151.

26

On the armor mentioned in this section see K¹⁰alant¹⁰aryan, *Armor*, p. 72. Abrahamyan, *Handicrafts*, p. 76. Aġak¹⁰elyan, *Cities*, pp. 149–150.

29

“the text of the oath”—see Hac¹¹uni, V., *Erdumn*, pp. 96–97, note 2.

30

Grigor—cf. LVIII, 11.

31

The fortress of Gardman—is in the district of Gardman, Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 46. For a correction of Eremyan’s faulty identification cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 479 n. 180, 483–484 n. 205, 484–485 n. 211.

CHAPTER LXI

1

The rebellion of Yūsuf and his apprehension took place in 919, cf. Huart’s article in *EI*, IV, under the item “Sadjids”, and also Ibn al-A¹²thīr, VIII, 304. Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, p. 126. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 179.

Orbelian, p. 196, has made use of the information in this chapter.

4

On Subuk see Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 134 ff..

5

Šahanšah—This is the first time that the title is mentioned in the *History*. On the

etymology and Iranian origin of the word cf. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, p. 207. The title is not used for Ašot I and Smbat I. Apparently it was given to Ašot II Erkat^c in recognition of the predominance of the main Bagratid line over the other kings. Cf. Leo. *History*, in *Works*, II, 756, note 140. For the usage in XIth century Persia cf. Minorsky, *Dailamites*, p. 18.

6

Čuaš—a district in Vaspurakan, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 345.

9

Gēorg Hawnuni—is otherwise unknown.

CHAPTER LXII

1

Canaanite—On the Canaanite origin of the Gnt^cuni, cf. *M.X.*, I, 19.

Vasak—cf. LVII, 1–9.

Šamšuldē—cf. LVII, 1, and note.

Gurgēn—the prince of Iberia. IX, 16.

3

Ašot—cf. LVII, 9. We must assume that he was killed with his soldiers. *the province of Vur*—Cf. XLI, 6 and note.

CHAPTER LXIII

2

Kotayk^c—a district in Ayraat, cf. XXV, 14.

2

1) *Amram*—It seems that the latter replaced prince Movsēs of Uti, cf. ch. LIX.

2) *Gurgēn*—John Kurkuas, the Byzantine general. Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 183. Adontz, *Etudes*, p. 283. According to Asolik, p. 170, the Byzantines launched an expedition on Dvin c. 921/922. Yovh. is silent about it, but the role of John Kurkuas in Amram's rebellion clearly indicates the strain in Armenian and Byzantine relations.

3) *Gamirk^c*—is the Armenian name for Cappadocia, cf. Yovh. Jerusalem, p. 15. A.C., pp. 5, 9, 11, and Hippolytus, *Werke*, p. 12. *M.X.*, p. 12. *M.D.*, p. 10.

8

Tawuš—cf. LX, 19.

10'

the king of Egrisi—Constantine, cf. ch. XLI.

12

iron-studded armor—On this type of armor cf. K^calant^caryan, *Armor*, p. 70.

Kak^cawak^car—is located in the region to the southeast of Šamšuldē, cf. *Atlas*, p. 105.

CHAPTER LXIV

1

The date of the following events must be placed in 922 when Yūsuf was released from prison. For references on Yūsuf's imprisonment and release, cf. LXI, 1 and note. The biblical reference is to Rom. 12:18.

2

Gurgēn—see LI, 1.

4

Cf. Proverbs 1: 20–21.

5–10

Mu'nis—is not known to T'ovma Continuatus.

11

Syrian Mesopotamia—cf. XXXIV, 10.

Korduk^c—LIX, 20, LI, 2.

12

Kogovit—a district in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 364.

Całkotn—a district of Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363. Both districts are on the borders of Vaspurakan. The mountain chain in question is the Aladağ range which separates Vaspurakan from Ayrarat.

14

Atom—prince of Mokka^c, cf. LV, 33. XXXIV, 32.

17

Akanik^c *Mts.*—are located between Anjewac^cik^c and Ałbak, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 371, 395.

Ałbak—Cf. XXV, 57.

22

Her, Zarewand, Rotakk^c—in the area of Khoi, cf. LV, 21, 27.

23

Naşr al-Subukī—see Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 129, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, p. 137.

26

Subuk—cf. LXI.

Ardabil—This is the earliest reference to the name in this form, cf. Nalbandyan, *Arab Sources*, pp. 13, 129 note 30.

CHAPTER LXV

2

On Babgēn, Sahak, and Smbat, cf. LVII, 11. Orbelian, pp. 197 ff.

8

1) *K'arunĵ*, a komopolis near Dvin, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 479. Ara-k'elyan, *Cities*, I, 88.

- 2) *foremost gaherēc' princes*—the reference is to the city senate of Dvin, cf. Ter-Łewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 233, 255. The passage has been misinterpreted by K. Kafadarian, *Les Fouilles*, p. 292.

15

Cf. Matth. 23: 34. 5: 39.

18

the eclipse—According to Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 464, there were two eclipses of the sun in 923, on May 18 and Nov. 11. It is more likely that the above passage refers to that of May 18, 923, for travelling on the mountains in the region of the monastery of the Caves (Ayri Vank') in November would have been very difficult. For chronology cf. also LXVI, 62.

20

- 1) *Monastery of the Caves*—Ayri Vank', cf. XXV, 18. The connection of Katholikos St. Sahak (IV–Vth centuries) with the monastery is not mentioned by the earlier sources.
- 2) *Mount Geł*—in Gełark'unik', cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 363.

23

- 1) On the church of Biwrakan, cf. A. Iakobson, *Biwrakan*, p. 116–124. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 156–158. There is now no trace of the fortress: cf. S.V. Harut'yunyan, *Anberd*, p. 90, Manuč'aryan, A.A., "Ditołut'yunner," p. 224.
- 2) *Jerakert*—This term seems to appear with *dastakert*, cf. Sarkissian, *Dastakert*, p. 49. See "Glossary".

CHAPTER LXVI

4

Monastery of the Caves—Ayric' Vank', cf. XXV, 18. LXV, 20.

10

Ašot—not Ašot Erkat', but the anti-king Ašot, who was the lord of Bagaran. Cf. XXXIX, 7, 9.

25

Nokoves—an unidentified place name.

62

332-nd year of the Armenian era—i.e., 332 + 551 = 883, which is an obvious corruption. It is preferable to accept the reading of D, which is 372, i.e., A.D. 923, a date which also agrees with our chronology. The corruption in the majority of the MSS can be explained on palaeographical grounds.

66

Psalms 35: 11–12.

75

While there is life there is hope—The source is Euthalius, who in turn has taken his line from Theocritus IV, 42. On the Armenian Euthalius cf. Zarbhanalian, *Catalogue*, pp. 173 ff. and Łazikian, *New Arm. Bibliography*, under *Ewt'at*. The above quotation is from *Aters Ewt'ati*, see *Matenagrut'iwnk' Ewt'ati*, p. 211.

CHAPTER LXVII

3

1) *Mazaz*—cf. ch. XXIV, 31.

2) *built by Getam*—The source of the tradition is M.X., I, xii.

3) *Šahanšah*—is Ašot II Erkat'.

5

Gēorg—nothing more is known of the Gēorg whom Č'amč'ian, *History*, II, 811, calls Marzpetuni, but does not give his source.

13

K'et—A fortress in Siwnik', cf. M. Yovhannēsian, *Geḗi*, p. 302.

15

the superiority—The source of this passage is the Armenian version of Dionysius Thrax, p. 15.

16

The Fall season in question is still in 923.

22

Vayoc' Jor—'Valley of Lamentation', in Siwnik', cf. B. N. Harut'yunyan, *Vayoc' Jor*, pp. 85–96.

29

Cf. Psalms 80: 13–14.

30

Achor—The text reads Nak'ovr. On the emendation cf. XLV, 11.
trampled by the swine—cf. XLV, 23.

NOTES ON THE EPILOGUE

On this "Separate discourse" or epilogue *see* the Introduction.

1

"God-Loving pious kings" are Ašot Erkat', Gagik Arcruni and Ašot son of Šāpuh. *See* the "Introduction."

"Our brethren and apostles of the church" are the bishops and prelates of the church.

"like a reflecting mirror"—I Corinth. 13: 12. Agat'angelos, p. 469.

2

"The Lord sharpened his eyes"—Job 16: 10.

3

"I was forced to come here"—'here' refers to Vaspurakan, cf. ch. LXVII, 19.

"and hastened to have this history prepared"—This passage suggests that Yovhannēs had assistants.

4

"by the urgent order of the kings"—There is a similar reference in the Introduction of the *History*, # 4, where Yovhannēs Paraphrases Movsēs Xorenac'i, Bk. I, i.

5

“incomprehensibility (or loss) of ancient narratives”—seems to echo Porphyry, p. 133.

“branded conscience”—I Timothy 4: 2.

8

“daughters of men”—Genesis 6: 4.

“the race of Cain”—cf. “Vasn aweteac‘n Sēt‘ay,” *Ankanon girk‘ hin ktakaranac‘*, p. 321.

9

“net is cast into the sea” cf. Matthew 13: 47.

10

“to the housetop of iniquity”—Isaiah 22: 1.

12

“sun . . . by day”—cf. Isaiah 60: 19.

13

“become the trodden mire . . .”—Matthew 5: 13.

15

“new birth into a living hope”—I Peter 1: 3.

18

“the triple orders of the seraphim”—cf. Isaiah 6: 1–4.

20

“like brushwood”—Isaiah 47: 14.

“in a crevice . . . the backside”—Exodus 33: 22–23.

“stamp . . .”—cf. Hebrews 1:3.

21

“know Him as He knew you”—cf. I Corinth. 13: 12.

GLOSSARY OF FEUDAL TERMINOLOGY

- Agarak*, first mentioned in XXIV, 21, is used in the sense of open ground suitable for tillage, cf. Połosyan, *Serfdom*, p. 315.
- Aniamik*, cf. XXX, 8, means *non-ramik*. See the word *ramik*.
- Awagani*, cf. XXXV, 1, refers to the collective body of *awags*, 'senior, seignior', Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 115, note 186.
- Awan*, cf. XXX, 6, appears in the Armenian version of the Bible thirty-six times for the Gk. *kōmē*, 'village, country town', and seven times for *epaulis*, 'a fold'. See Sarkissian, *Dastakert*, pp. 45–46.
- Azat*, cf. XXIV, 13, lit. 'a freeman', used in reference to the lower nobility. Cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 342–343. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 117, note 190, 123–126.
- Bekar*, the tax paid by the Armenians to the Arab court. See XXVII, 10, and note in the commentary.
- Dahekan*, cf. XLIII, 25, derives from the Persian *dahgān*, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 133. In the Middle Ages this term was probably used for the Byzantine *solidus*. See Manandyan, *Critical History*, vol. II, part two, pp. 246–249.
- Dastakert*, 'an appanage', cf. XXIV, 21, note.
- Gaherēc* 'prince', 'senior prince', cf. XXX, 7, note in the commentary.
- Ganjagin*, cf. LXV, 23, refers to the money given for the acquisition of a possession (usually land). Cf. the citations in *NBHL* under this word.
- Gawař*, cf. XXVI, 13, is usually used by Yovh. to designate the districts within the provinces. Occasionally, however, he uses the word with the names of provinces, where one would ordinarily expect *ařxarh* or *nahang*. For a discussion of these terms see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 240 ff.
- Gerdastan*, is an estate or a household as well as the serfs included in it. Cf. commentary on XXV, 59.
- Gorcakal*, cf. XXIV, 1, 'an official'. The *sparapet*, 'commander-in-chief', for example, was considered to be a *gorcakal*. Cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 185, 339, 354.
- Grēhik*, 'a commoner', cf. note on XXV, 35.
- Hramanatar*, seems to be a *gorcakal*, usually in charge of a fortress, cf. XXV, 16.
- Iřxan iřxanac*, 'presiding prince', or literally, 'prince of princes', cf. XXV, 16, note.
- Jeřakert*, seems to be identical with *dastakert* with which it appears in LXV, 23. See also note on the above.
- Marzpan*, originally a Persian office whose function is no longer clear in the Xth century. See note on XXXVIII, 18.
- Nahang*, 'a province', cf. XXV, 47, and see above under the word *gawař*.
- Nahapet*, cf. XXV, 29, is the title of the head of a princely house. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 114.

- Naxarar*, cf. XXV, 19, is a 'feudal lord', cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 342 ff..
 Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 115 ff..
- Ostikan*, cf. XXIV, 1, is the Armenian title of the Arab governors and officials. Cf. note on XXIV, 1.
- Āramik*, cf. XXV, 31, is a very general non-restrictive term referring to all those who are below the rank of *azat*. Cf. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 233.
 Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 127, note 222.
- Āočik*, 'a stipend', cf. note on XXXVII, 12.
- Šahanšah*, the title of Ašot II Erkat', cf. note on LXI, 5.
- Sak*, 'head tax', cf. note on XXVII, 10. We have discussed the other meanings of *sak* in connection with their contexts.
- Šēn*, cf. XXIX, 7, 'a village', cf. Sarkissian, *Dastakert*, p. 45.
- Sparapet*, 'commander-in-chief', cf. XXVIII, 2, and Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 354 ff.
- Spasalar gund*, seems to be the army of king Gagik Arçruni, cf. Note on LI, 2.
- Tantikin*, also *Tikin*, 'queen' or 'princess', cf. XXX, 8, Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, p. 314.
- Tohm*, cf. LV, 23, 'family' or 'house', which included all the members of a given feudal clan. Adontz-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 305, 333.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX OF ARMENIAN PLACE
NAMES

IN CHAPTERS XXIV–LXVII

E = Eremyan, *Armenia*, the map.

PROVINCES

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Ałjnik ^c	Arzananē Arabian March Beth Arzōn	XXXIV, 9–10	E. G-4
Ayrarat	plain of Ararat		E. B-5, G-6
Arc ^c ax or Arjax	Karabagh	XLVII, 6	E. B-6, G-7
Barjr Hayk ^c	Armenia Interior or Armenia Prima		E. G-3, G-4
Gugark ^c	Gogarenē	XLVII, 6; XXIX, 11; XXX, 7; XXXV, 2; XXXI, 15; XLI, 1; XLIV, 9; L, 5, 14; LI, 29; LII, 1; LIII, 34; LIV, 24; LVII, 1; LIX, 2.	E. B-5, B-6
Korčayk ^c	Gordyenē		E. D-5
Mokk ^c	Moxoene	LIV, 20	E. G-5, D-5
Parskahayk ^c	Persarmenia		E. G-6, D-6
P ^c aytakaran	Kaspianae		E. G-7, G-8
Āotakk ^c	Her and Zarewand dis- tricts in Parskahayk ^c	XXXI, 4; LI, 2; LV, 27; LXIV, 22;	

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Sisakan	cf. Siwnik ^c	LIX, 9; LI, 3; XLVII, 8; XXVIII, 1.	
Siwnik ^c		XXVIII, 1; XLIII, 16; LIX, 8; LXVII, 21.	E. B-6, G-7
Tawruberan			E. G-4, G-5
Tayk ^c	Tao Armenia Pro- funda	XXXV, 4; XXXVII, 2; XLII, 21	E. B-4, B-5
Uti	Otenē	XXVI, 13; XXIX, 11; XXXI, 15; XXXV, 2; XL, 2; XLV, 5; XLVI, 7; LIX, 1, 9, 14, 15; LXIII, 1, 6, 9.	E. B-6, B-7
Vaspurakan		XXV, 37, 47; XXXIV, 1, 15; XXXVI, 1; LXII, 4; L, 5; LV, 29, LVI, 9.	E. G-5, G-6

DISTRICTS

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>Province</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Ałastew		Uti	L, 16	
Ałbak	Baškale ka- zasi	Vaspurakan	XXV, 57; LXIV, 17	E. G-6
Anjewac ^c ik ^c	Norduz	Vaspurakan	LXIV, 15	E. G-3
Aragacotn	Talin, Aš- tarak, Ejmiacin, Hoktem- beryan regions	Ayrarat	XXIV, 16	E. B-6
Aršarunik ^c	Erasxajor	Ayrarat		E. B-5
Ašoc ^c k ^c	Łukasyan region	Ayrarat	XL, 3	E. B-5

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>	
Bagrawand	plain of Alaškert	Ayrarat	XXXIV, 24; L, 11; XXIV, 2	E. G-5
Čakatk ^ć	The region of Kołb	Ayrarat		E. G-5
Całkotn		Ayrarat	LXIV, 12	E. G-5
Čuaš	the plain of Ađ çay	Vaspurakan	LXI, 6	E. G-6
Derjan	Tercan Kazasi	Barjr Hayk ^ć	LV, 7	E. G-4
Daranali		Barjr Hayk ^ć		E. G-3
Erasxajor	Aršarunik ^ć	Ayrarat	XXXV, 10; XL, 8; XLVIII, 4, 11	
Ernĵak		Siwnik ^ć	XLIX, 3; L, 1; LX, 8	E. G-6
Gabełeank ^ć		Ayrarat		E. G-5
Gardman		Uti	XXVI, 5, 12	E. B-6
Gefark ^ć unik ^ć	Kamo and Martuni regions	Siwnik ^ć	XXVI, 8; LIX, 17	E. B-6
Got ^ć n	Aprakunis and Ordubad regions	Vaspurakan	LX, 8	E. G-6
Gzełx	Gzekh	Ałĵnik ^ć		E. G-4
Her	the region of Khoy	Parskahayk ^ć	XXIX, 15, 17; LV, 21; LXIV, 22	E. G-6
Jorap ^ć or	Alaverdi region	Gugark ^ć	LX, 15	E. G-6
Jork ^ć		Siwnik ^ć		E. G-7
Kangark ^ć	Kangari	Iberia	XLVII, 8	E. B-6
Kłarĵk ^ć	Calarzene	Iberia	XXXI, 15	E. B-4

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Kogovit	the region of Doğu-Bayazet	Ayrarat	LXIV, 12	E. G-5
Korduk ^c	Corduenaë	Korčayk ^c	LI, 2; LIV, 20	E. D-5
Kotayk ^c	Kotayk ^c	Ayrarat	XXV, 14; XXVI, 3, 10; LXIII, 2	E. B-6
Marand		Vaspurakan	LX, 21	
Mardastan		Vaspurakan	LV, 23	E. G-6
Mazaz		Ayrarat	XXIV, 31	E. B-6
Nig	Aparan region	Ayrarat	XLV, 4	E. B-6
Ostan	the region of Artaxata and Dvin	Ayrarat		E. B-6, G-6
P ^c orak Lmbay		Vaspurakan	XXXVIII, 1	
Salamas	the region of Salamas	Parskahayk ^c	LV, 27	
Šarur	Norashen region	Ayrarat	XXXVII, 6	E. G-6
Širak		Ayrarat	XXIV, 12; XXX, 19; XXXVII, 1; XI, 4; XLII, 18, 21; XLVIII, 20; L, 13; LIX, 11	E. B-5
Tarōn	Mush region	Tawruberan	XXV, 27, 33, 42, 47; XXXIV, 9, 11, 13, 14; LIV, 18, 25; LV, 2	E. G-4

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Taširk ^c	Stepanavan and Kalinoy regions	Gugark ^c	XL, 3; XLII, 19; XLVII, 8; L, 16	E. B-6
Tosp	the region of Van	Vaspurakan	XXXIV, 26; XXXVI, 1; LV, 23	E. G-5
Vanand	the region of Kars	Ayrarat	XXX, 10; XXXV, 3, 4	E. B-5
Vayoc ^c Jor	Azizbekov and Eghegnajor regions	Siwnik ^c	LXVII, 22	E. G-6
Zarawand or Zarewand	the region of Zeyravanda	Parskahayk ^c	XXIX, 15; LV, 21; LXIV, 22	E. G-6

CITIES—TOWNS—VILLAGES

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>Province</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Alans-Gate of the Alans	the Darial Pass			XXXI, 15; XLI, 1; LIX, 2	E. A-6
Artašat	Artaxata	Ayrarat	Ostan	XXIV, 21, 28	E. G-6
Aruč	Talish	Ayrarat	Aragacotn	XL, 5	
Ani		Ayrarat	Širak	XXXVII, 8; XLI, 6; XLII, 19, 21	
Axayeank ^c or Ax- oyeank ^c		Siwnik ^c	Geŕark ^c - unik ^c	LX, 5	
Ayric ^c Vank ^c	Geŕard	Ayrarat	Mazaz	XXXV, 18; LXV, 20; LXVI, 4	
Bagaran	Bakran	Ayrarat	Ar-	XXX, 6;	E. G-6

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>	
			šarunik ^c	XXXIV, 8, 9; XLVI, 7; LXVI, 10	
Baguan	Uç Kilise	Ayrarat	Bagre- wand	XXIV, 2; XXVI, 2	E G-5
Balk ^c		Siwnik ^c	Jork ^c	XXVI, 2	E. G-7
Biwrakan	Byurakan	Ayrarat	Aragacotn	LXV, 23; LXVI, 8, 13	E. G-6
Daroynk ^c or Darōnk ^c	Doğu- bayazit	Ayrarat	Kogowit	XLVI, 8	E. G-4
Dols	Doğs	Ayrarat	Aragacotn	XXXIII, 11	
Dvin	Dvin	Ayrarat	Ostan	quite often	E. G-6
Eraz- gawork ^c or Širaka- wan	Baş-Šora- gyal	Ayrarat	Širak	XXVI, 10; XXX, 8a; XXXVI, 12; XL, 12; XLII, 19, 20; XLV, 1; LIX, 12	E. B-5
Ernjak	Alinjja- kale	Siwnik ^c	Ernjak	XLIX, 3; L, 1; LX, 8	E. G-6
Gardman		Uti	Gardman	LX, 31	
Garni	Garni	Ayrarat	Mazaz	XXIV, 11; XXVIII, 13; LXVI, 5	
Hołs		Ałjnik ^c		XXXIV, 15	
Hořov- moc ^c		Ayrarat		XXIV, 21, 27	

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Marg				
Hunarakert		Iberia	XXXI, 15	E. B-6
Jag		Siwnik ^ϸ	Gefark ^ϸ -unik ^ϸ	XXVI, 10
Joroy Vank ^ϸ		Vas-purakan	Tosb	XXXVI, 1
Kakał		Ayrarat	Mazaz	XXIV, 31
Kak ^ϸ a-wak ^ϸ ar				LXIII, 18
Kałzuan	Kagyzman	Ayrarat	Gabel eank ^ϸ	XXXV, 10 E. B-5
Kapoyt		Ayrarat	Erasxajor	XLVIII, 11
Karin	Erzrum	Barjr Hayk ^ϸ	Karin	XXXI, 15 E. G-4
Kars	Kars	Ayrarat	Vanand	XXX, 13; XXXV, 4, 9; XXXVII, 17 E. B-5
K ^ϸ arspařn		Ayrarat	Ar-šarunik ^ϸ	XXX, 6
K ^ϸ arunĵ		Ayrarat	Ostan?	LXV, 8
Kawakert		Ayrarat		XXIV, 21, 27; XXV, 7
Kayean		Gugark ^ϸ	Jorap ^ϸ or	LIX, 19
K ^ϸ eł		Siwnik ^ϸ		LXVII, 13, 25
Kołb	Duzluca	Ayrarat	Čakat ^ϸ	XXXIX, 10; LVI, 4 E. B-5
Mak ^ϸ e-noc ^ϸ k ^ϸ		Siwnik ^ϸ	Sotk ^ϸ	XXIV, 11; XXVI, 8
Miap ^ϸ or		Uti	Gardman	XLVII, 4

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>	
Nakovson			LXVI, 25		
Naxčraĵor		Ayrarat	Erasxajor	XL, 8	
Naxĵawan	Nakhi- chevan	Vas- purakan	Naxĵawan	XXIV, 1; XXXIII, 3; XLIII, 1, 15; LV, 21, 29; LX, 10; LXV, 1	E. G-6
Noratuns		Siwnik ^ε	Geġark ^ε - unik ^ε	LVIII, 13	
Ormani				LIX, 11	
Orsirank ^ε		Vas- purakan	XXV, 57		
Ovayk ^ε		Ałbak			
P ^ε ayta- karan		Ayrarat	Ostan?	XXV, 14	
		P ^ε ayta- karan		XXXIII, 21; XXX- VII, 11, 14; XL, 2	E. G-7
Sakuret ^ε		Iberia	Jelet ⁱ	LVII, 4	E. B-6
Šaġak ^a		Siwnik ^ε	Geġark ^ε - unik ^ε	XLVII, 7	
Šamk ^ε or		Uti		XXXI, 15	
Šamšuldē		Iberia		LVII, 1, 9; LXII, 1	
Sewan	Seyvan- kala	Vas- purakan	T ^ε ořna- wan	XXXVIII, 2, 9	
Širakawan	cf. Erazga- work ^ε				
Tašratap ^ε		Gugark ^ε	Taširk ^ε	XL, 2	
Tawuš		Uti	Tawuš	LX, 19; LXIII, 8	
T ^ε ordan		Barjr Hayk ^ε	Daranafi	LV, 15	E. G-3

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>		<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>	
T ^u łx	Kizil-dere	Ałjnik ⁶	Gzelx	LIV, 18	
Tus		Uti		XXVI, 13; XXXI, 15	
Vałar- šakert	Alashkert	Ayrarat	Bagre- wand	XLVII, 9	E. G-5
Vałaršapat	Ĕjmiacin	Ayrarat	Aragacotn	LVIII, 1, 12	E. B-6
Vaławern		Ayrarat	Ostan?	LVIII, 1	
Van	Van	Vas- purakan	Tosp	XXXIV, 26	E. G-5
Vžan		Ayrarat	Aragacotn	XXXIII, 6	
Xač ⁶ en		Arc ⁶ ax		XXVI, 11	
Zresk		Ayrarat	Širak	XXIV, 12	

MOUNTAINS—LAKES—RIVERS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Equivalents</i>	<i>References</i>	<i>Map</i>
Akanik ^c Mts.	Merkez-dağ	LXIV, 17	E. D-5
Aragac	Mt. Aragac	XXXIII, 6	E. B-6
Axurean River	Kars-çayi	XXXVII, 8; XXXIX, 9;	E. B-2
Erax River	Araxes	XLIII, 22	
Geł	Mt. Aghmagham	LXV, 20	E. B-6
Gełam, Sea of	Lake Sevan	XL, 20; XLVII, 8; LVII, 14; LVIII, 13	
Hurazdan	Zanga or Hrazdan River	XXV, 7	E. B-6
Kur River	Kura River	XXXI, 15	
Mecamor River	Sev ĵur	XXIV, 29	E. B-6
Sim	Sasun Mts.	XXXIV, 10	
Taurus Mts.		XXV, 28, 38	

Prof. Nina Garsoian's "Toponymy," in Adonts-Garsoian, *Armenia*, pp. 139*-246, has been very useful for the compilation of the above lists.

Black Sea

Kharik

TAV Ks

BARIR HAY Ks

AYRARAT

Vanand Kars

Kanin

Araratnia

Rax R.

Bagrewand

Veterisakert

Talō

TAWRUGERAN

Bagrasan

AL JNK Ks

Mt. Sin

L. Van

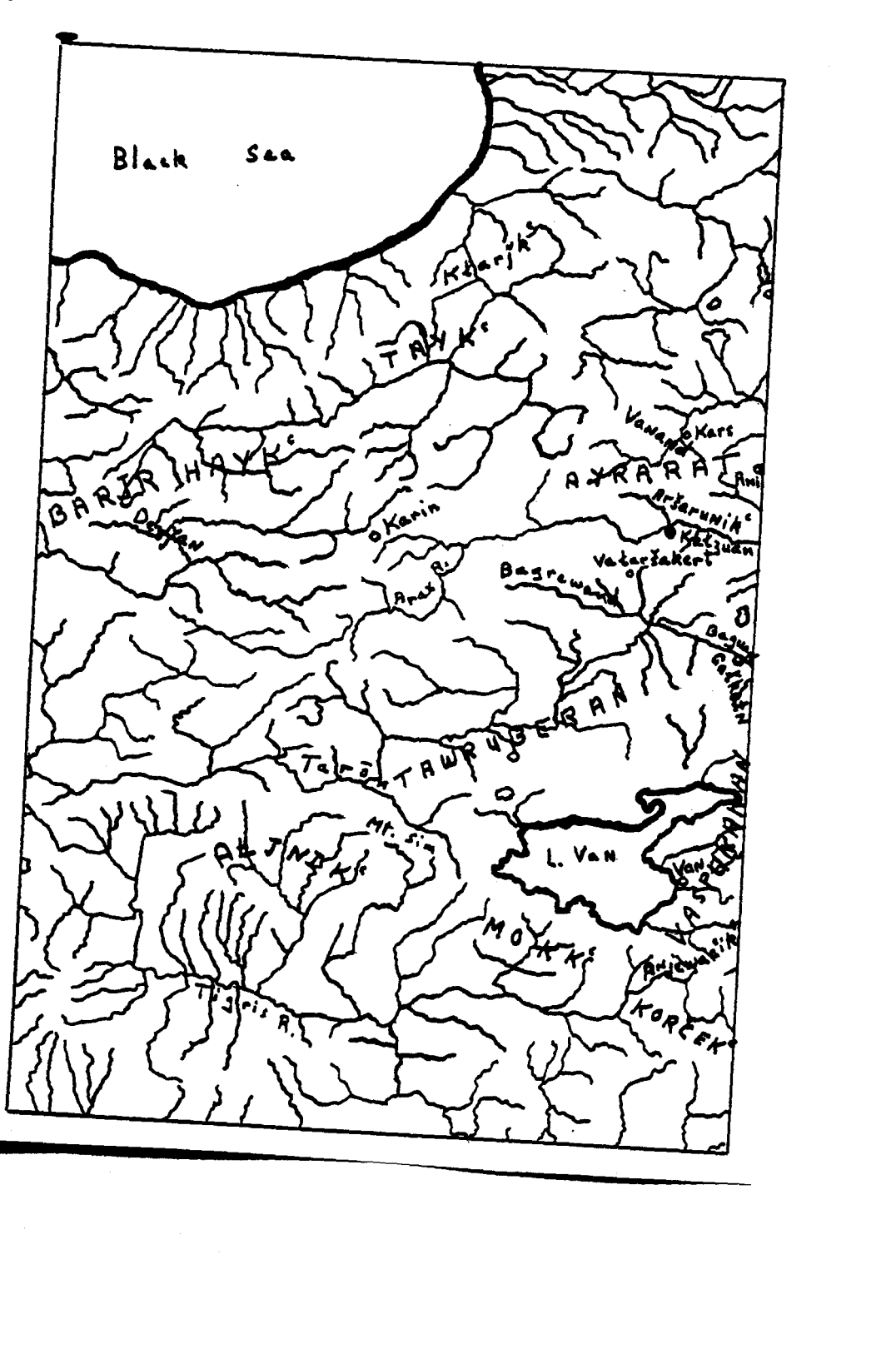
MOY Ks

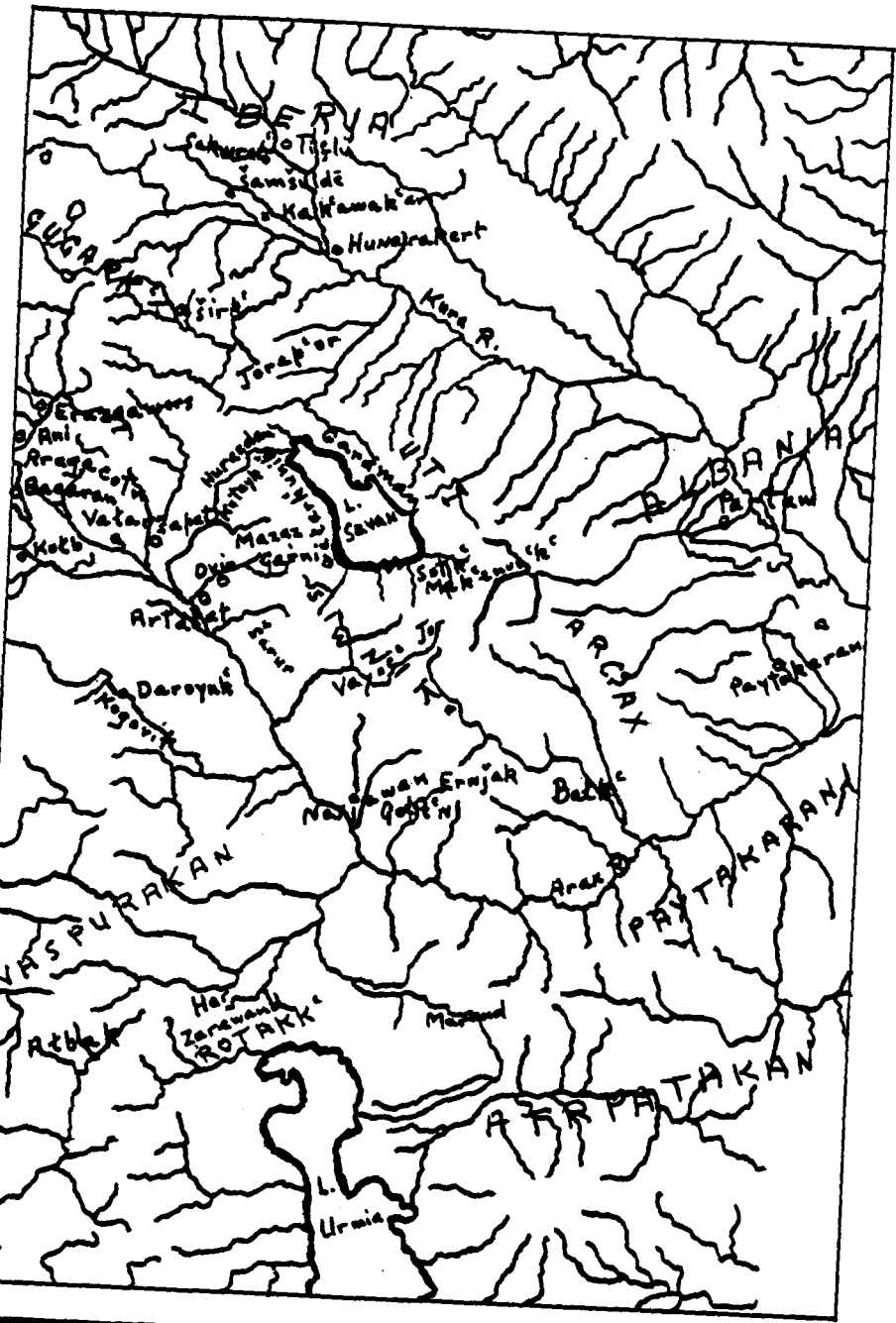
Vanand

Araratnia

KOREA

T. J. R.





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ABBREVIATIONS

- A** = *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice).
- ABHL** = *Arjērñ bařaran hayērēñ lezui* [*Portable Dictionary of the Armenian Language*], (Venice, 1865).
- An** = *Andastan* (Paris).
- A.R.** = *Armenian Review* (Boston, Massachusetts).
- At** = *Ararat* (Vařarřapat).
- B** = *Byzantion* (Brussels).
- BHGI** = *Banber Hayastani gitakan instituti* (Erevan).
- B.M.** = *Banber Matenadarani* (Erevan).
- BSOAS** = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London).
- B.Z.** = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (München).
- Ca** = *Caucasica* (Leipzig).
- CSCO** = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain).
- CSHB** = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn).
- EI** = *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1913–1948). New edition (1954–).
- Ēj** = *Ējmiacin* (Ējmiacin, Armenia).
- H.A.** = *Handēs Amsorya* (Vienna).
- HHT** = *Hask Hayagitakan Taregirkʿ* (Antilias, Lebanon).
- H.J.** = *Hayrenikʿi Jayn* (Erevan).
- H.K.** = *Hayastani Kočʿnak* (Boston-New York).
- IANA** = *Izvestia Akademii Nauk Armianskoi SSR* (Erevan).
- LCL** = *The Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Massachusetts).
- L.S.** = *Liddell and Scott Greek-English Lexicon*, new edition, S. Jones and R. McKenzie ed. (Oxford, 1958).
- M.H.** = N. Akinian, *Matenagrakan Hetazōtutʿiwnner*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1922–1964).
- MSOA** = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin).
- NBHL** = *Nor Bařgirkʿ Haykazeañ Lezui* [*New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*], compiled by G. Awetikʿian, X. Siwrmēlian, M. Awgerian. S. Somalian ed., 2 vols. (Venice, 1836).
- P** = *Pazmaveb* (Venice).
- P-B.H.** = *Patma-banasiraken handes* [*Historico-philological Journal*], (Erevan).
- P.G.** = *Patrologiae cursus completus*, J.P. Migne ed. *series Graeca*.
- R.E.A.** = *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris, 1920–1932). New series (Paris, 1964–).

*Also see the Addenda below.

- S = *Sion* (Jerusalem).
 SCBO = *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*.
 T^c = *T^cēodik, Amenun Tarec^coyc^cə* (Constantinople-Paris).
 TGAI = *Telekagir gitut^cyan yev arvesti instituti* (Erevan).
 Tr = *Tačar* (Constantinople).
 VANA = *Vestnik Obshchestvennykh Nauk* (Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armi-
 anskoi SSR, Erevan)
 ZAP = *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* (Marburg).

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<i>page and line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
17 1.21	Derjan	Derjan
18 1.26	Derjan	Derjan
28 1.1	geġōkac ^c	geġjkac ^c
30 1.17	Derjan	Derjan
33 #19	šurō	šurj
45 #37	Ar.ak ^c elyan	Arak ^c elyan
56 1.25	Yarut ^c -iwnian	Yarut ^c iwnian
87 1.16	[information	[information]
87 1.17	[in his works]	[in the works]
88 1.3	the king of Persia	the king of Persia,
97 1.31	Hrip ^c simē	Hrip ^c simē
101 1.32	Constance	Constans
104 1.23	<i>erdumatdac^c</i>	<i>erdumardac^c</i>
112 1.5	[Sahak]	[Yovhannēs]
112 1.11	Dwin	Dvin
130 #20	<i>ētranōk^c</i>	<i>əntranōk^c</i>
	<i>ētaneōk^c</i>	<i>əntaneōk^c</i>
	<i>ēntanōk^c</i>	<i>əntanōk^c</i>
130	#191	#19 ^a
130 #19 ^a	<i>var.iwk^c</i>	<i>variwk^c</i>
139 1.19	Kġarōk ^c	Kġarj ^c k ^c
142 1.23	Naxōawan	Naxjawan
146 1.31	succeed	succeed
162 1.36	Naxōawan	Naxjawan
164 1.30	Naxōawan	Naxjawan
171 1.5	Ašot	Vasak
176 1.15	Ern ĵak	Ernĵak
202 1.37	the childless prince Grigor	prince Grigor who was bereaved of his child
228 1.24	Mevsēs	Movsēs
256	#212	#21
257 #29	Shak's	Sahak's
284 #8	latter	later
286 #22–23	Lee	Leo

287 #6,1.11	Beriasax	Beriasach
288 #1 3)	Naxōawan	Naxjawan
289 #25	Kłarōk ^c	Kłarjk ^c
290 #11	'Nahot'	'Nahor'
296 #7 3)	Joel	Jael
304 #1, 1.4	IX, 16	LX, 16
305 #14	Mokk ^c	Anjewac ^c ik ^c
306 #25	Nokoves	Nakovos

The following footnote on p. 64 has been left out:

*seventy JJ twelve M.