

The Orontids of Armenia

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This study appears as part III of Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), pp. 277-354. An earlier version appeared in the journal *Le Muséon* 72(1959), pp. 1-36 and 73(1960), pp. 73-106.

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Maps appear as an attachment to the present document.

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1. The genesis of the Armenian nation has been examined in an earlier Study.¹ Its nucleus, succeeding to the role of the Vannic nucleus of Urartu, was the 'proto-Armenian,' H̄ayasa-Phrygian, people-state,² which at first occupied only a small section of the former Urartian, or subsequent Armenian, territory. And it was, precisely, of the expansion of this people-state over that territory, and of its blending with the remaining Urartians and other proto-Caucasians that the Armenian nation was born. That expansion proceeded from the earliest proto-Armenian settlement in the basin of the Arsianias (Eastern Euphrates) up the Euphrates, to the valley of the upper Tigris, and especially to that of the Araxes, which is the central Armenian plain.³ This expanding proto-Armenian nucleus formed a separate satrapy in the Iranian empire, while the rest of the inhabitants of the Armenian Plateau, both the remaining Urartians and other proto-Caucasians, were included in several other satrapies.⁴ Between Herodotus's day and the year 401, when the Ten Thousand passed through it, the land of the proto-Armenians had become so enlarged as to form, in addition to the Satrapy of Armenia, also the trans-Euphratensian vice-Satrapy of West Armenia.⁵ This division subsisted in the Hellenistic phase, as that between Greater Armenia and Lesser Armenia.

From Xenophon we gather a few glimpses of the social order that existed under satrapal control in cis-Caucasia: of the proto-Armenian clan-heads, ruling fortified rural settlements (*κωμάρχης, ἄρχων τῆς κώμης*),⁶ and — above them — dynasts (*βασιλεύς*), in particular of a king who was Cyrus the Great's ally and of his sons, Tigranes and Sabaris;⁷ and of some proto-Caucasian *βασιλεῖς* and *ἄρχοντες*.⁸ This was practically all that could until recently be said of these four centuries prior to the rise in 190 B.C. of the Artaxiad Monarchy of Greater Armenia: there was no historical continuity. There have, however, been a few historians who recognized the hereditary character of the Armenian Satrapy and its connexion with an Iranian family that favoured the

¹ I § 4-6.

² *Ibid.* at 48.

³ In this I follow Manandyan, *O nek.sporn.probl.*

⁴ I at n. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.* at n. 68.

⁶ *Ibid.* at n. 72.

⁷ *Ibid.* at n. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.* at n. 75.

name of Orontes.⁹ But it was left to the late Professor Manandyan to rediscover an entire period of Armenian history, which he showed to have been marked by the dominance of the Orontid, or — as he preferred to call it — Eruandid, (*Eruanduni*), dynasty.¹⁰ This period, as will be seen from the forthcoming remarks, was indeed the period of the Orontid Monarchy — the 'First Armenian Monarchy' — which spanned what has hitherto been deemed a lacuna separating the Urartian Monarchy and the Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads and which guaranteed the social and historical continuity of Armenia as it evolved from its proto-Armenian phase and passed into the Hellenistic age.

The eponym's *praenomen* Orontes is as Iranian as the dynasty itself, derived from the Avestan *aurand/aurvant* ('mighty,' 'hero') and related to the Pehlevi *arvand*;¹¹ its Armenian forms being *Eruand*, *Arawan*, and, possibly, *Hrant*;¹² and its Greek renderings being extraordinarily varied: *Ἀράτος*, *Ἀρδοά(ν)της*, *Ἀροάνδης*, *Ἀρταόρτης*, *Ἀρτάπανος*, *Ἀρτάνης*, *Ἀρσάνδης*, *Ἐβρόρτης*, *Ὀροάνης*, *Ὀρσάνδ(ρ)ης*, *Ὀρόντας*, *Ὀρόντης*.¹³

2. Perhaps the principal source for the Orontid house: the document that enables us to infer its continuity, its being, that is, a dynasty, is the Nimrud-*dağ* monument of Antiochus I, King of Commagene, a scion of that house, with its series of inscriptions, not all of which have come down to us, commemorative of his ancestors.¹⁴ On these and other inscriptions, on the numismatic data, and on the *obiter dicta* of classical authors that complement the framework provided by Antiochus of Commagene, as well as on the commentaries of the editors of the Nimrud-*dağ* and other inscriptions: Dittenberger, Jablbert and Mouterde, and those of Honigmann,¹⁵ the first part of the following stemma is principally based.¹⁶

⁹ Cf., e.g., Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 127; W.W.Tarn, 'Persia, from Xerxes to Alexander,' *CAH* 6 (1953) 20; 'The Heritage of Alexander,' *ibid.* 464; *JM* 10-11, etc.

¹⁰ Cf. *O torgovle; Armaviri hunaren arjanagrut'yunnerē nor lusabanut'yamb* (Erevan 1946); *Gaṙnii hunaren arjanagrut'yunē ew Gaṙnii hei'anosakan tačari kaṙuc'man žamanakē* (Erevan 1946) 55-59. Cf. also G. Tirac'yan, 'Ervanduninerē Hayastanun,' *IANA* 6/1958 53-71.

¹¹ Justi, *Namenbuch* 235; Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 29-40; cf. Markwart, *Südararmenien* 17*. Needless to say, the homonymity of the Syrian river is coincidental.

¹² Ps. Moses 1.22,24,31; 2.37-46; — 1.31; — 1.19.

¹³ Cf. *D I* 608 n.7; *JM* 27.

¹⁴ Cited here in *D* edition = *JM*, as *Inscr.*, followed by the number of the particular inscription and, in parentheses, the number of the page, as found in each edition.

¹⁵ Honigmann, 'Kommagene,' *RE Suppl.* 4 978-990.

¹⁶ This stemma does not include the branch of Commagene, for which see Honigmann, *Kommagene*.

THE ORONTID STEMMA

ORONTES.

Inscr. 390 (607) = 16 (33: cf. *infra*: Artasyras); cf. D 607 n. 6; JM 10.

ARTASYRAS (ARTASURAS).

Inscr. 264 (427; cf. *infra*: Orontes I), 390 (607) = 16 (33: Ἀρτασούραν τὸν Ἀροάνδρον), 391 (608) = 17 (33; cf. *infra*: Orontes I), 392 (609) = 3 (26-27; *ibid.*); Ctesias, *Pers.* 14, 19; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 12; cf. D 607 n. 6; JM 27, 10; Justi, *Namenbuch* 38 (No. 4); Puchstein, in RE 2/1 1308 (No. 2).

ORONTES I.

Inscr. 264 (427-430 : Ὁρόντης Ἀρτασύρου), 391 (608) = 17 (33 : Ἀροάνδρην Ἀρτασοῦρα, τὸν γαμήσαντα βασιλίσσαν Ῥοδογοῦνήν τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου θυγατέρα), 392 (609) = 3 (26-27 : *idem*, except Ῥοδογοῦνήν τὴν βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρσάκου θυγατέρα); Xenophon, *Anab.* 2.4.8; 2.5.40; 3.4.13; 3.5.17; 4.3.4; Demosthenes, *Orat.* 14.31; Ctesias, *Pers.* 20 (Ἀρτάπανος), 23, 29, 30, 31; Trogus Pomp. 10; Diodorus 15.2.1; 15.8.3; 15.9.3; 15.11.2; 15.90.3; 15.91.1; Polyaeus 7.14; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 27. Coins: B. V. Head, *Historia numorum* (2nd ed., Oxford 1911) 507; cf. D 428 nn. 4-5, 429 n. 8, 608 n. 7; JM 27, 10; Justi, *Namenbuch* 235 (No. 6); J. Miller, in RE 18/1 1164-1166 (No. 6); also Tarn, *From Xerxes to Alexander* 20-21. — Satrap of Armenia (401 B. C.), led the Satraps' Revolt against Artaxerxes II of c. 366-360 B. C., received, on submission, the Satrapy of Mysia. He married c. 401 B. C., Rhodogune, daughter of the Great King Artaxerxes II, and died c. 344 B. C.

ORONTES II.

Inscr. 393 (610) = 18 (34; cf. *infra*: Mithranes); cf. D 610 nn. 6-8, for his filiation. — He must be the Satrap of Armenia of his name who led the Armenian auxiliaries of Darius III in the battle of Gaugamela (1 October 331): Arrian, *Anab.* 3.8.5. It is extremely difficult to suppose that it was rather Orontes III (cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 79-80; H. Berve, in RE 18/1 1166 [No. 7]), because the latter most probably died after as late as 270/260 B.C., i.e., some sixty or seventy years after Gaugamela, and must, consequently, be presumed to have been a centenarian at the time of his death, which is unlikely. Orontes II, on the other hand, could be in his middle sixties in 331. At the same time, it is equally difficult to accept — what JM propose (11 n. 2, p. 34) as a possibility — that Orontes II (III according to JM, since the father of Artasyras is counted as the First: 10) reigned again after Mithranes down to about 316: for we

should then have to believe him to have died aged between 84 and 140! Cf. *infra* Orontes III.

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MITHRANES (MITHRENESES, MITHRINES).

Inscr. 393 (610) = 18 (34: βασιλέα ... \ANFN τὸν ἐκ βασιλείας Ἀροάνδου); Diodorus 17. 21.7; 17.64.6; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.17.3; 3.16.5; Curtius 3.12.7; 5.1.44; Dio Chrys. 73.2. The mutilated name of the above inscription, D 610 n. 6 would read, together with some others, as *Ορδάνην* or *Βαρδάνην*; Honigmann, 981-982, emends it as *Μιθράνην*. This JM 34 do not accept. Honigmann's identification, however, accords well with the cumulative historical evidence (§ 7.) Also Justi, *Namenbuch* 214 (No. 1); Grousset, *Histoire* 79; Berve, in RE 15/2 2156. A coin has been attributed to him by O. Blau in WNZ 9 (1877) 100, but erroneously: E. Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* (Paris 1890) cxci. — Iranian governor of Sardis, he passed to Alexander in 344 B.C., and, in 331, was named by him to be Satrap of Armenia.

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ORONTES III

Diodorus 19.23.3 (c. 317 B.C.: Ὀρόντου τοῦ σατραπείαν μὲν ἔχοντος Ἀρμενίας), 31.19.5-6 (βασιλέως τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρδοάτου; the difference in the spelling of the name must be due to the author's dependence on different sources; cf. also Markwart, *Berceau*, 231; Grousset, *Histoire*, 79 n. 4); Polyaeus 4.8.3. — Owing doubtless to the fact that not all the stelae of the Nimrud-dag monument with commemorative inscriptions on them have been preserved (cf. D 592; JM 2), we have no inscription referring to Orontes III. — Cf. also Justi, *Namenbuch* 235 (No. 7); Grousset, 79-80; Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 330; Berve, in RE 18/1 1166 (No. 7). The last mention of him is in Diodorus 31.19, who refers to him as a king, in connexion with the aid he lent to Ariarathes II of Cappadocia for defeating the Macedonian strategus Amyntas and thus regaining his State. This, according to him, took place after the deaths of Perdiccas and Eumenes (321 and 316 B. C.), but this is too vague to indicate any, even approximate, date. The defeat of Amyntas has been put at as low as 260 B. C. by Bengtson, *Strategie* II 77-78; and 270/260 B. C., by J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III/1 (Strasbourg, 1904), 296; cf. Manandyan, *K'nnakan tes.* 97-99.

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SAMUS

Inscr. 394 (611) = 5 (28; cf. *infra*: Arsames); cf. D 611 n. 5; JM 10-11 and n. 3: the city of Samosata in Commagene may have been founded by this Samus, who, then, must be anterior to c. 245 B. C., when Eratosthenes was writing, in whose work that city is first mentioned. As he must have followed Orontes III, he must be the King of Armenia with whom Ziaelas of Bithynia took refuge

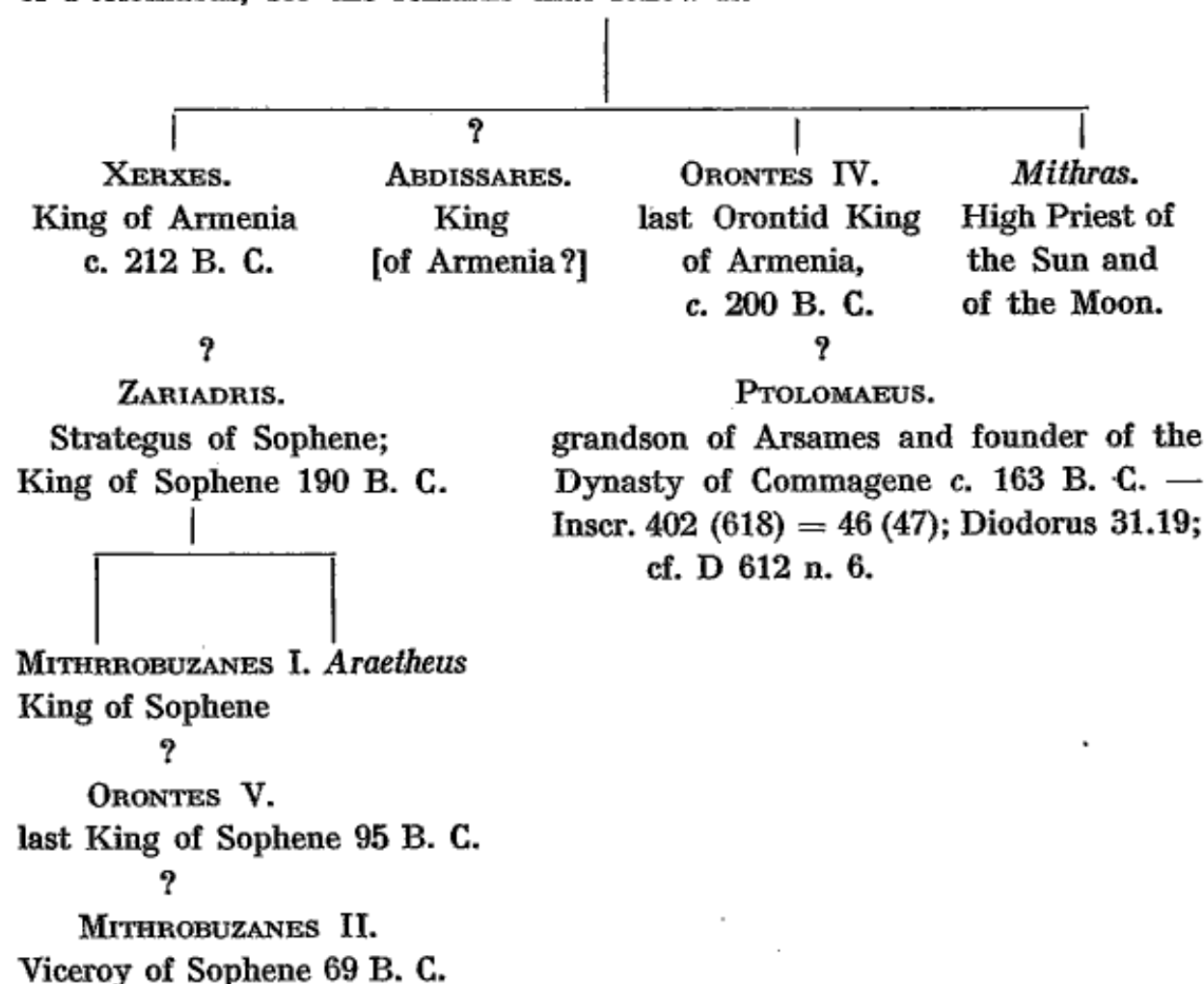
c. 260 B. C.: Memnon 22. Cf. Visconti, *Icon. greca* 322-325, Pl. xvi 3, for his coin.

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ARSAMES.

Inscr. 394 (611) = 5 (28: βασιλέα Ἀρσάμην τὸν ἐκ βασιλέως Σάμου; D 611 n. 5 proposed the reading [Ἀρ]σάμου, but see Honigmann 981-983; 'Samus' was the name used by the Commagenian dynasty); Polyaeus 4.17, (Ἀρσάβης). Coins: Visconti, *Icon. greca* 317-321, Pl. xvi 1; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie* cxciii, 211, Pl. xxix 2; J. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge* I (Paris 1923-1936) 191; — (βασιλέως Ἀρσάμου); cf. D 612 n. 6; JM 28; Grousset, *Histoire* 80; Markwart, *Süd-armenien* 50, 240-243; Justi, *Namenbuch* 29 (No. 10); E. Meyer, in *RE Suppl.* 1 141; Honigmann 980. — He must be regarded as the builder of the city of Arsamosata in the province of Sophene and of the city of Arsameia in Commagene. He offered asylum to Antiochus Hierax, one-time his brother Seleucus II's viceroy of Asia Minor, who had subsequently set himself up as an independent king, c. 240-c. 227 B. C., and ultimately lost his throne. — Both D 611 n. 5 and JM 28, 10 consider it necessary to intercalate another Arsames — 'the Second' — in the Orontid stemma between Samus and the father of Ptolomaeus, on the ground that, while five generations separate Arsames from Orontes I and Rhodogune, only three — *sic*: actually four — separate him from Mithridates I of Commagene the husband of Antiochus VIII's daughter Laodice and father of the builder of the Nimrud-dağ *tumulus*. I must, however, own that I fail to appreciate the alleged difficulty of this situation. In juxtaposing the Orontid and the Seleucid stemma, the following pairs of contemporaries are to be noted: (a) Seleucus I (born in 352/4 B. C.) and Mithranes: both were in the *entourage* of Alexander, though the regnal dates of the one (312-281/80) are lower than the regnal dates of the other (331-before 317); — (b) Seleucus II (246-226) with his brother Antiochus Hierax († 227) and Arsames (after 260-after 228); — (c) Antiochus III (223-187) and Xerxes (after 228-c. 212: § 3), who was of the generation of the father of Ptolomaeus of Commagene; — (d) Seleucus IV (187-175) and Ptolomaeus (c. 163). It ought to be remarked in passing that in both stemmata exactly the same number of generations separate (a) from (b), (b) from (c), and (c) from (d). Now, when we come to Mithridates of Commagene and Laodice, we discover that he was two generations back of her: he was a grandson of Ptolomaeus and she a great-great-grand-daughter of Seleucus IV. However, because a husband is usually older than his wife and also because belonging to parallel generations need not indicate the same age — Arsames may well have been a younger contemporary of Seleucus II, and Ptolomaeus of Seleucus IV — there is nothing extra-

ordinary in this situation. The need of inventing another Arsames cannot, therefore, be considered real.

For the sources for the remaining part of this stemma, except in the case of Ptolomaeus, see the remarks that follow it.



The uncertainties of this stemma may be somewhat compensated for by Antiochus I of Commagene's assertion of his direct descent, through Ptolomaeus, from Orontes II and Rhodogune and, through them, from the earlier Orontids and from the Achaemenids.

3. Xerxes was besieged by the Seleucid Antiochus III at Arsamosata, where he had shut himself up; then offered submission and the payment of the tribute once due from his father. Antiochus accepted this offer and even gave to Xerxes his sister Antiochis in marriage (c. 212 B. C.), who, however, soon had her husband murdered: Polybius 8.25; Joh. of Ant. fr. 53. For his coins, see Visconti *Icon. greca* 325-328, Pl. xvi 2; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie* cxciv-cxcvii, 212, Pl. xxiv 6, 7; Morgan, *Manuel* 192; — (βασιλέως Ξέρξου); cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 173-174 (No. 4); Grousset, *Histoire* 80. It is difficult to escape the impression that Xerxes was a son of Arsames, reigning as he did so soon after him and

being in possession of the city the other had founded. His father's tribute that Xerxes was obliged to renew may well have been imposed on Arsames by Seleucus II in retaliation for the support given to Antiochus Hierax. This filiation of Xerxes, however, has not occurred to any specialists in the field, who usually regard him as not an Orontid,¹⁷ the reason for this apparently being that Xerxes is not mentioned among the ancestors of Antiochus of Commagene (*infra* § 5). But, as has been already noted (§ 2), not all the inscriptions have reached us in the Nimrud-dağ monument, and that monument itself has to do only with that king's direct ancestors, whereas Ptolomaeus, the founder of the House of Commagene, could readily have been not a son, but let us say a nephew, of Xerxes.

The genealogical position of Abdissares is wholly unknown. The only reason for supposing him to have belonged to the Orontid Dynasty and been, consequently, a King of Armenia, is the striking similarity of his coins to those of Xerxes and, what is probably more significant, the identical shape of the head-gear of the two monarchs: cf. Visconti, *Icon. greca* 328-332, Pl. xvi 4; Babelon *Rois de Syrie* cxiv, 211-212, Pl. xxix 3-5; V. Langlois, *Numismatique générale de l'Arménie* (Paris 1859) 8-10; Head, *Hist. num.* 635; — (βασιλέως Ἀβδισσάρου); cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 1; Baumgartner, in *RE* 1/1 26-27. Though Babelon suggests (cxiv, cxv) that he may have been the father of Xerxes, it is more likely, in view of what has already been said about the probable parentage of Xerxes, that he was a brother of his.

4. The last Orontid sovereign of Armenia was Orontes (IV): Strabo 11.14.15; cf. E. Diehl, in *RE* 18/1 1166 (N° 9). He (Ἐβρόντης) and his brother Mithras (Μιθρά[ν]ης?), High Priest of the temple of the Sun and of the Moon at Armavira, are mentioned in the Greek inscriptions discovered there in 1927, as interpreted by A. I. Boltunova and Manandyan. One inscription contains an address of Mithras to King Orontes; another alludes to the King's tragic death.¹⁸

Not unnaturally, the Armenian historical tradition, which Pseudo-Moses of Chorene preserved in his *History of Armenia*, confirms and amplifies these data. There are several references. The most important, in Book 2, cap. 37-46, contains the account of the reign of King Eruand — of his brother the High Priest Eruaz (2.40, 48) — and of his struggle with, and overthrow by, King

¹⁷ Cf. D 612, n. 6: *qui manifeste non eiusdem atque Arsames domus esset*; JM 11 n. 4, 29 (that the headgear of Xerxes and Abdissares is different to that of the King of Commagene, as is remarked by JM, has nothing to do with their belonging or not belonging to the Orontids of Armenia).

¹⁸ Boltunova, 'Grečeskie nadpisi Armavira,' IAFAN (1942) Nos 1-2; Manandyan, *Armaviri hunaren arjanagr.*; cf. *O torgovle* 36-37. Trever, *Oč. po ist. Arm.* 134-137 (inscr. 4), 142-147 (inscr. 7). Trever does not fully accept the interpretations of Boltunova and Manandyan; cf. J. Mécérian S.J., in *BA* 2 (1935) 212/150.

Artashēs. As the former name stands for Orontes in Greek, so the latter renders here the Greek name Artaxias,¹⁹ which belonged, as will be seen, to the founder of the Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads. Pseudo-Moses displays in this connexion a more than usual chronological confusion. While, on the one hand, dating the accession of Orontes-Eruand as of the eighth year of the last Darius (III),²⁰ he at the same time projects the whole story into the Arsacid period of Armenian history by making of Orontes a successor of King Sanatruces (c. A.D. 75-c. A.D. 110).²¹ The first synchronism testifies to the fact that in some of Pseudo-Moses's sources the high antiquity of these events was clearly implicit. On the other hand, the projection of them to so late an epoch is due to an onomastic confusion that our historian must have found in some other sources. Orontes is confused with Arbandes, son of Abgarus VII of Osrhoene (A.D. 110-116);²² and Abgarus, confused with an earlier Edesene ruler of the same name whom legend made to correspond with Our Lord and become a Christian — and Pseudo-Moses gives his own version of this legend (2.30-34) —, is made a King of Armenia before Sanatruces (2.26-34). At the same time, Artaxias-Artashēs is confused with Axedares who reigned in Armenia c. A.D. 110, after Sanatruces.²³ However, the story preserved by Pseudo-Moses contains, as an integral part, a true synchronism, which remains unimpaired by all the superimposed mistaken elaborations: it is the ascription to Artashēs of the building of the city of Artashat (2.49), which is Artaxata, founded by the first Artaxiad.²⁴ That all this confusion is not due to Pseudo-Moses, is patent from the existence of a similar imbroglio in the *Primary History of Armenia*, where mention is made of a King Artashēs, son of Sanatruces, while Eruand and his brother, also Artashēs, are placed some two centuries earlier.²⁵ This erroneous tradition found its way into Iberian historiography as well; and Leontius of Ruisi speaks of the Armenian kings Iarvand and his brother Artashan, as living in the first century of our era.²⁶

The other references in Pseudo-Moses to the Orontids are merely passing: names inserted in the theogony of the early kings with which Book 1 of his work is concerned. Thus, Eruand is the father and predecessor of Tigranes,

¹⁹ See *infra* n. 27.

²⁰ 2.37 (157).

²¹ *Ibid.* For Sinatruces, see Asdourian, *Arm.u.Rom* 100-103; Debevoise, *Parthia* 235.

²² Manandyan, *O torgovle* 38-39. — Orontes, however, is not made a son of Abgarus.

²³ Asdourian, *Arm.u.Rom* 103; Debevoise, *Parthia* 217-218. See *ibid.* 213-269 for the involvement of both Armenia and Osrhoene in the Roman-Parthian politics in the age of the Antonines.

²⁴ Manandyan, *O torgovle* 48-53.

²⁵ *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 15-16.

²⁶ Leont. *Mrov.* 44-50.

the ally of Cyrus the Great (1.22); Aravan and Hrant are found respectively before and after him in the same theogony (1.31, 19). The first of these references is of considerable interest. Artaxias, who overthrew the Orontids, was, to all appearances, a local dynast. The Greek form of his name renders, it has already been noted, *Artasēs* which is the purely Armenian form of the name, of which the Iranian form, *Artaxšaθra*, is usually Graecized as Artaxerxes.²⁷ The dynasty he founded, moreover, showed a marked preference for the name of Tigranes, four out of the eight Artaxiad kings bearing it. This was the name, it will be recalled, used by the proto-Armenian kings remembered by both Xenophon and the Armenian historical tradition.²⁸ Whether Artaxias was descended from the proto-Armenian Tigranids, as Professor Adontz held to be indubitable,²⁹ or not, some genealogical connexion between them, real or pretended, seems definitely indicated. Now, the establishment of satrapal control in Armenia, of which the Orontids were the beneficiaries, must have reduced the rights of what local dynasts there were. Thus the struggle of Artaxias and Orontes IV assumes the double character of a national revolt against an Iranian dynasty combined with the dynastic hostility of the Tigranids, or their relatives, for the satrapal Orontids. At all events, the above reference to the succession of Tigranes after Orontes — and it is the habit of Caucasian historiography to designate the facts of succession among remote, chiefly foreign, rulers by terms expressive of genealogical relationship³⁰ — allegorizes this same event as the succession of the eponym of the Tigranids after the eponym of the Orontids.

5. There are two assumptions that have always been made by historians in connexion with this period of Armenian history, which are quite gratuitous and incorrect, which have introduced much confusion into the little information we possess regarding the Orontids, and which must be obviated before a clear picture of the Orontid period can be obtained. One of these assumptions is that the south-western Armenian province of Sophene was a distinct State, separate from the rest of Greater Armenia, before the time of Artaxias and Zariadris³¹ (what the situation was before the Achaemenian phase, is not our

²⁷ Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 28-29, 505; for a different opinion, which Hübschmann does not accept, see Justi, *Namenbuch* 36-37, cf. 34-36.

²⁸ *Supra* at n. 7.

²⁹ Adontz, *Armenija* 390 n. 1, cf. 427 n. 1. He even calls the Artaxiads 'Tigranids' 389-390.

³⁰ Cf. III/I n. 40. The early kings remembered in such a confused way by the Armenian historical tradition were more remote than any foreign monarchs to the minds of those who gave it the literary form in which it has reached us.

³¹ Cf., e.g., Manandyan, *O torgovle* 30-40; Grousset, *Histoire* 80; Honigsmann, *Kommagene* 980-981.

concern here). Thus, Manandyan³² speaks of the Orontid masters of Greater Armenia — and of the great trade route that passed through it connecting Iran and the Euxine and was controlled from the Orontid cities of Armavira and Eruandashat — as being distinct from the rulers of Sophene — a land closely bound to the Seleucid empire both culturally and economically. Accordingly, he reckons Arsames, the builder of Arsamosata in Sophene, among the latter and is unaware of his connexion with the former. Yet the evidence of the Nimrud-dağ monument for his belonging to the Orontid Dynasty is incontrovertible. That one and the same ruling house should have held both Armenia's central plain and its Syro-Mesopotamian frontier, presents nothing extraordinary, unless the separation of Sophene and Greater Armenia be assumed *a priori* to have existed at that time. Actually, Manandyan himself suggested that the Orontids must have led the proto-Armenian expansion from the valley of the Arsanias — the land of Hayasa and, inevitably, also the land of neighbouring Sophene³³ — to the valley of the Araxes, where they established their residence at Armavira.³⁴ What ground, then, can there be for conjecturing that they ever abandoned the southern part of the land which they had originally controlled? In this context, the following five points ought to be considered. First, there is no indication whatsoever that Sophene was politically distinct from Greater Armenia before Artaxias and Zariadris. Second, Strabo (11.14.15) is emphatic in stating the contrary: *κατεῖχον τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Πέρσαι καὶ Μακεδόνες, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ τὴν Συρίαν ἔχοντες καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν· τελευταῖος δ' ὑπῆρξεν Ὀρόντης ἀπόγονος Ὑδάρνου, τῶν ἐπὶ Περσῶν ἐνός· εἰθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ μεγάλου στρατηγῶν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολεμήσαντος διηρέθη δίχα, Ἀρταξίου τε καὶ Ζαριάδριος· καὶ ἦρχον οὗτοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος· ἡττηθέντος δ' ἐκείνου, προσθέμενοι Ῥωμαίοις καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐτάττοντο, βασιλεῖς προσαγορευθέντες.*³⁵ Third, Orontes III must have controlled Sophene, else his dealings with Cappadocia would have been difficult, if not impossible, to effect. Fourth, Polyaeus (4.17) speaks of the boundaries of Armenia — *τοὺς μὲν Ἀρμενίων ὄρους* — and not at all of Sophene, when relating the flight of Antiochus Hierax to the Court of Arsames, who was the builder of Arsamosata in Sophene. Finally, Xerxes, who ruled at Arsamosata after Arsames, is remembered by John of Antioch as 'lord of the Armenians' (fr. 53: *Ξέρξης τῷ Ἀρμενίων τυράνῳ*).

³² *Loc. cit.*

³³ *Supra* at n. 3.

³⁴ *Gaynii hunaren arjanagr.* 55-59; *O nek. sporn. probl.* 151.

³⁵ Strabo, indeed, could be interpreted as saying the opposite when, in 12.3.28 apropos of Lesser Armenia, he writes that *δυνασται δ' αὐτὴν κατεῖχον ἀεὶ, καθάπερ τὴν Σωφηνήν*, but it is impossible to tell whether *καθάπερ* refers to *δυνασται κατεῖχον* as modified by *ἀεὶ* or irrespective of it; in view of the context, we may presume the latter.

The other assumption is that whenever the title of king is applied in the sources to an Armenian dynast of the Hellenistic phase prior to the rise of the Artaxiad Monarchy, his attempted or achieved independence of foreign control must necessarily be presumed. Actually, it was the policy of Alexander, at the beginning of his career at any rate, to leave the local dynasts on their thrones in exchange for no matter how tenuous a recognition of his suzerainty.³⁶ And under the overlordship of the Seleucid successors of Alexander there flourished a number of vassal kings; in their empire, as a matter of fact, local dynasts were not infrequently invested with the office of satrap.³⁷ Accordingly, although indeed it might on occasion imply the acquisition of political independence, the royal dignity, when it appears in the *obiter dicta* of ancient writers or in some epigraphic and numismatic data, need indicate no more than the acquisition or continuance of the status of a *vassal* king. Its appearance in the sources need not, consequently, be interpreted as solely revolt or secession. Yet it seems to have been precisely this assumption that lay at the basis of both the hesitation of some scholars³⁸ to admit the kingship of Orontes III, who in 301 B.C. became a Seleucid vassal, and the refusal to reckon among the *satrapal* Orontids those whom the sources entitle Kings — Xerxes, Abdissares, Arsames, as in the case of Grousset, or, with Dittenberger and Honigmann, Jalabert and Mousterde — who could not close their eyes to the evidence of Nimrud-dağ regarding Arsames — only the first two.³⁹

6. With all this in view, the history of the Orontid Dynasty may be further elucidated. Before this, however, a word about their 'prehistory.' Strabo (11. 14.15), recording what may be safely assumed to have been the tradition of the family, deduced it from Hydarnes, one of the Seven Persians who put an end to the reign of Pseudo-Smerdis (Herodotus, 3.70).⁴⁰ The genealogy of his family, the Hydarnids can be found in Just's *Iranisches Namenbuch*.⁴¹ It remains, however, to be seen how this claim can be squared with the Bactrian origin asserted of Orontes I in the *Pergamese Chronicle*.⁴² But what is of interest in this connexion is the fact that two undoubted Hydarnids were — before the time of Orontes I — successively Satraps of Armenia. They were Hydarnes (III) and his son Terituchmes.⁴³ The former's daughter Stateira was mar-

³⁶ Cf. Jouguet, *Impérialisme macédonien*, 93-94.

³⁷ Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Econ. Hist.* 502; Bengtson, *Strategie* II 3-8, 55-64; Manandyan, *O torgovle* 30.

³⁸ Cf. Markwart, *Berceau* 231; Grousset, *Histoire* 80.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; D 612 n. 6; JM 11 n. 4, 29; Honigmann, *Kommagene* 981.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ehtéham, *Iran Achém.* 47 n. 4, 102, 128 n. 1.

⁴¹ P. 397.

⁴² D No. 264, 427-428: 'Ορόντης δὲ Ἀρτασίου τοῦ γένος βάρτριος; cf. Honigmann, *Kommagene* 981; JM 11 n. 4.

⁴³ Berve-Schoch, in *RE Suppl.* 4 767-768.

ried to the Great King Artaxerxes II (404-358 B. C.), and so he must belong to the generation of Xerxes II (424 B.C.) and Darius II (424-404 B.C.); and the latter was married to Artaxerxes II's sister Amestris.⁴⁴ Thus they indeed belonged to two generations antecedent to that of Orontes I who was married to a daughter of Artaxerxes II. We may, accordingly, suppose one of three things: (1) that Orontes I, though not — as the son of Artasyras and grandson of another Orontes — a direct descendant of these two Hydarnid satraps, was nevertheless their collateral, a true Hydarnid himself, although we are ignorant of the degree of kinship that bound them together, and that he merely succeeded them in the satrapate that had become hereditary in their family; or (2) that Orontes I's wife Rhodogune was Artaxerxes II's child by his Hydarnid wife Stateira (along with Darius, Ariaspes, and Artaxerxes III) and that, consequently, Orontes II was a descendant of the Hydarnids, as of the Achaemenids, in the female line; or else (3) that the claim to Hydarnid descent had no basis in fact, but was due to the Orontids' following the Hydarnids in the same office.⁴⁵

7. The circumstances in which the Orontid Satraps of Armenia became kings and founded the hitherto unknown First Armenian Monarchy are not clear. As can be seen from their stemma, all the Orontids from the second to the last Orontes were styled Kings, even those that were Achaemenid and Alexander's satraps or Seleucid vassals. Admitting that from the point of view of their overlords some of the Orontid Kings of Armenia might be mere governors, what interests us here is precisely how, at the same time, they themselves conceived of their status. The most likely Orontid to have become the first King of Armenia is Orontes II, the first to be entitled *βασιλεύς* in the Nimrud-dag inscriptions; and the most likely date for this is that of the dissolution of the Achaemenid empire, 331 B.C. The end of that empire, sealed by the death of Darius III, when conjoined with Orontes II's own maternal Achaemenid descent and his *de facto* independence in Armenia, where the memories of the Urartian Monarchy must not have been obliterated,⁴⁶ can be easily conceived to have sufficiently prompted and sufficiently justified his taking the royal title. If it be objected that the royal dignity of Orontes II, and of Mithraenes, is found only in one Nimrud-dag inscription (393 = 18) and may, there-

⁴⁴ Justi, *Namenbuch* 397, 398-399. Also: 14, 311, 323, 368.

⁴⁵ For the possibility of the Hydarnid descent of the Orontids through women see JM 11 n.4. — The spurious claim of the Ariarathids of Cappadocia to be descended from both one of the Seven Persians and an Achaemenid princess, Cyrus the Great's aunt Atossa (Diodorus, 31.19), may have been inspired by their Orontid neighbours. The Ariarathid claim is not older than the second century B.C.: Niese 'Ariarathes,' RE 2/1 815.

⁴⁶ I n. 84

fore, be a mere projection into the past on the part of Antiochus of Commagene of a title only subsequently acquired by the Orontids, it must be remembered that Orontes I, for all his apparent velleities in that direction,⁴⁷ is not styled King in that monument.

The advent of Alexander had in no way interfered with the Orontid position. The conqueror's policy towards the dynasts who had been included in the Achaemenid empire has just been mentioned (§ 5). And so Armenia, Cappadocia, and some other realms remained unconquered by him and wholly autonomous.⁴⁸ Orontes, consequently, may have continued to reign in Armenia after Gaugamela, exactly as, let us say, Ariarathes I continued at that time to reign in the northern section of Cappadocia. But, within the same year 331 — after that victory — Alexander appointed Mithranes to be Satrap of Armenia (see the Stemma). Those unaware of his Orontid birth and, at the same time, cognizant of Armenia's independence have tended to regard this appointment as purely nominal.⁴⁹ But his origin, made probable on the basis of an interpretation the Nimrud-dağ evidence, changes the picture radically. It appears most likely that Alexander sent Mithranes, who had early passed to his side, to replace his father in Armenia, as his recompense and as a punishment for the other's support of Darius III. In this way, the local dynastic régime would have been interfered with the least. Orontes II, however, who was in his middle or late sixties at the time, could not have long survived those momentous events; and Mithranes, Satrap that he was from the Macedonian point of view, may thus have succeeded, from the Armenian point of view, to his father's kingship. There need, accordingly, be no hesitation to admit that Mithranes actually ruled Armenia; and to his rule the ascription to him of the royal title in the Nimrud-dağ inscription may bear witness.

Following Alexander's death, his Successors adopted an entirely different attitude towards the local dynasts. In 322 B.C., Cappadocia was occupied and Ariarathes I crucified by Perdiccas (Diodorus, 18.16); and, even a year earlier — immediately after Alexander's passing —, we hear of Neoptolemus as in control of Armenia⁵⁰. But Neoptolemus, involved as he was in the struggle of the Diadochi, in which he lost his life two years later, can hardly have caused a serious interruption, if any, in the history of Orontid rule in that country. As a matter of fact, in the case of Armenia we observe a development that was diametrically opposite to the aims of the new policy of the Diadochi. After

⁴⁷ Tarn, *Xerxes to Alexander* 21.

⁴⁸ Tarn, 'Alexander: the Conquest of the Far East,' CAH 6 423, 432,

⁴⁹ Tarn, 'Alexander: the Conquest of Persia,' CAH 6 383; Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 154; Berve, in RE 15/2 2156.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *Eumenes*; cf. Berve, in RE 16/2 2464 (No. 7).

321 B.C., Armenia was wholly free of even nominal Macedonian control. This *fait accompli* was tacitly admitted by the Diodochi themselves when, in the Partition of Triparadisus that year, Armenia was not mentioned among the satrapies that they apportioned to themselves.⁵¹ For twenty years to come, the Kingdom, for the first time after the fall of Urartu some three centuries earlier, enjoyed the position of a wholly independent sovereign State.⁵²

8. In 301 B.C., however, Armenia fell within the orbit of the Seleucid empire.⁵³ This signified that the Orontids reverted to the position of vassal kings that had been theirs under Alexander.⁵⁴ This — tenuous — overlordship of the Seleucids, Xerxes appears to have been the first to attempt to shake off, when he ceased to pay the tribute imposed (so it seems) on Arsames (*supra* § 3). The nature of this tribute is unknown to us. It may have been an extraordinary one, imposed over and above that which was ordinarily due from vassal to suzerain: a penalty for the aid rendered to Hierax; it may, on the other hand, have been but the ordinary tribute of a vassal. In either case, the refusal of Xerxes was tantamount to an assertion of independence, and invited Seleucid interference.⁵⁵ About 212 B.C., Xerxes was murdered, and was followed by Orontes IV, or — if Abdissares be accepted as indeed a King of Armenia (and this seems very likely) then — by Abdissares and Orontes. The latter was the last — *τελευταῖος* — King of Armenia of his house, for, sometime later, about 200 B.C.,⁵⁶ he was overthrown by Artaxias. The next we hear of is the presence of two Seleucid strategi in Greater Armenia: Artaxias, who held most, but not all, of the Kingdom, and Zariadris, who held Sophene. Thus the territory of the First Armenian Monarchy was for the first time divided.⁵⁷ Since they are spoken of by Strabo (*supra* § 5) as strategi of

⁵¹ Arrian, *Succ. Alex.* 34; Diodorus 18.39; cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Satrap* 154; Tarn, *Heritage of Alexander* 464; Grousset, *Histoire* 79.

⁵² If the evidence for the kingship of Orontes II and Mithranes be deemed insufficient, no doubt can be entertained as regards the royal status of Orontes III.

⁵³ Appian, *Syr.*, 55; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 80.

⁵⁴ Niese, in *RE* 2/1 815, casts doubts on the veracity of Diodorus's report of the aid given by Orontes III (Ardoates) to Ariarathes II of Cappadocia on the ground that Armenia 'war damals unter Gewalt der Makedonier'; this is to misjudge utterly the nature of both Alexander's and the Seleucids' suzerainty.

⁵⁵ If the tribute in question was ordinary, its introduction at the time of Xerxes's predecessor need not imply that it was only then that Seleucid overlordship was introduced. Apart from the witness of Appian for the year 301 as the date of its introduction (*supra* n. 53), the absence of tribute need not of itself signify political independence, since the subordination of one ruler to another can be expressed in a number of ways, not necessarily through such payments; but the refusal to continue to pay a tribute (whether regular or extraordinary) must indeed signify an attempt to undo that subordination.

⁵⁶ Cf. Diehl, in *RE* 18/1 1166.

⁵⁷ Strabo, 11.14.15; 11.14.5.

Antiochus the Great, it may be assumed that it was Antiochus who conferred that office upon them.⁵⁸ How this happened, remains obscure, and we can only make guesses about it. Those who have overlooked the Armenian evidence for these events: for the revolt of Artaxias and the overthrow by him of Orontes IV, see in the two strategi mere Seleucid officials.⁵⁹ Yet that evidence suggests that Artaxias was a local dynast who had overthrown Orontes IV and, as will be seen presently (§ 9), that Zariadris was an Orontid. This must give a slightly different and more complex character to the story. The change from the Orontid Monarchy to the rule of two strategi was, obviously, as favourable to the interests of the Seleucid government as it was disastrous for Armenia. It is legitimate, therefore, to suspect them of playing some part in the event. From what we know of the situation in the Seleucid empire at the time it is quite evident that even so energetic a monarch as Antiochus III cannot be presumed to have effected so radical a change in a vassal but autonomous State by direct action. An internal upheaval, like the revolt of Artaxias against Orontes IV, was clearly needed. We may still suspect that Antiochus had his hand in it, and for the following reason. It could be supposed that Orontes attempted to follow in the footsteps of Xerxes in refusing to accept Seleucid suzerainty and that the insurrection of Artaxias was, for all its local *raison d'être*, instigated, or at least connived at, by Antiochus III. At all events, Antiochus

⁵⁸ Though it appears, on the basis of all available evidence, very likely that, indirectly, Antiochus III was responsible for the fall of Orontes IV, there seems to me to be little in Strabo 11.14.15 to warrant the assumption that the latter was *écarté par Antiochos III* (JM. 11 n. 4). — For the office of *στρατηγός* or military governor endowed with civil functions, which in the third century B.C., and especially under Antiochus III, began to replace the rather solely civil satrap in the Seleucid empire and particularly in Asia Minor, see Bengton, *Strategie*; cf. I at nn. 93-94.

⁵⁹ E. g., Grousset, *Histoire* 80-81, where, moreover, emphasis seems to be laid on their 'noms iraniens'. Actually, Artaxias was more a purely Armenian than an Iranian *praenomen*: *supra* at n. 27. As for Zariadris, it must be borne in mind that the cultural imprint of the Achaemenian phase on Armenian society entailed a wholesale adoption of Iranian names and terms, so that an Iranoid name can tell nothing of the provenance of its bearer. The Orontids, indeed, were of Iranian origin; on the other hand two recently discovered inscriptions in Aramaic characters (in the vicinity of lake Sevan, in 1906 and 1932) mention *Artakš(a)šī/ē m'lek bar zī Zaritar*, which suggests that Artaxias I's father was named Zariadris: Trever, *OĖ. po išt. Arm.* 162-174; A. Borisov, 'Nadpisi Artaksija (Artašesa), carja Armenii,' VDI 1946/2; I. D'jakonov and K. Starkova, 'Nadpisi Artaksija (Artašesa I), carja Armenii,' *ibid.* 1955/2; A. Dupont-Sommer, 'Deux inscriptions araméennes trouvées près du lac Sévan (Arménie),' S 25 (1946-1948). Still another stele with an Aramaic inscription of Artaxias I has been discovered there in 1957. Here, too, the King is called 'son of Zareh' and, moreover, applies to himself the dynastic patronymic of Orontid (RWNDKN): Tirač'yan, 'Novonajdennaja nadpis' Artašesa I carja Armenii,' VDI 1959/1 88-90. This attribution, due doubtless to the King's desire to legitimize his position, may, however, have been warranted by a female descent from the dispossessed dynasty.

appears to have been quick in taking advantage of the situation that had developed. Somehow Artaxias was unable to establish his sway over the entire kingdom of Orontes; and it was Zariadris who held its south-western corner: Sophene, and also the westernmost section of Armenia north of it, between the Euphrates and the Arsianias (Strabo 11.14.5). We may further suppose that the local population there rallied round a scion of the old dynasty. Being more Hellenized than the rest of Greater Armenia,⁶⁰ and more anciently associated with the Orontids, Sophene can be expected to have been less sensitive to the claims of a national dynasty that was then being founded by Artaxias. At all events, Antiochus appointed both to be his governors — or, to put it differently: accepted the accomplished fact by recognizing both as his governors — each in the part of Greater Armenia already under his control. The dynastic enmity between them must have seemed a guarantee of this *divide et impera* policy, and their reduction to strategi — at least from the Seleucid point of view — must have resulted from this weakening division.⁶¹ If such was the policy of Antiochus III, it proved in the end to have been a miscalculation. After his defeat by the Romans at Magnesia, in 190 B.C., both Artaxias and Zariadris rose against him, and with the aid of Rome obtained in 188 B.C. the internationally recognized status of independent kings, one of Greater Armenia, the other of Sophene.⁶² Somewhat later, c. 163 B.C., another scion of the Orontids, Ptolomaeus, a grandson of Arsames, set himself up as king in Commagene, that had until then been a Seleucid province, and founded the royal house to which Antiochus I belonged.⁶³

9. The Kings of Sophene, successors of Zariadris, are rather scantily known. Their stemma was established by J. Markwart.⁶⁴ The Orontid origin of Zariadris is inferred from the following data. (1) The last King of Sophene, a descendant of Zariadris, who was dispossessed c. 95 B.C. by the Artaxiad King Tigranes II the Great of Armenia,⁶⁵ is called Artanes by Strabo (11.14.15): τοῦ δὲ Ζαριάδριος ὁ Σωφηνὸς Ἀρτάνης This name must be a contraction:

⁶⁰ Manandyan, *O torgovle* 31-32.

⁶¹ A similar pattern is observable in the partition of Armenia, A.D. 387: internal division seized upon by imperial neighbours.

⁶² Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 80-81.

⁶³ Cf. Honigsmann, *Kommagene* 980, 983. — That Commagene, or at least a part of it, may at one time have belonged to the Orontid Monarchy of Armenia, seems indicated by the connexion of the Commagenian cities of Samosata and Arsameia with, respectively, Samus and Arsames of Armenia: cf. JM 11 n. 3, 28.

⁶⁴ *Ērānšahr* 176 n.4. It is based on Diodorus 31.22; Polybius 31.17; Trogus Pomp. 35.11; and Strabo 11.14.15. — For the coin falsely attributed to Zariadris, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 506; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie* cxcvii-cxcix.

⁶⁵ Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 84-85.

Ἀρτ[ο]άν[τ]ης,⁶⁶ and, thus, another form of Eruand-Orontes.⁶⁷ — (2) Zariadris appears to have been a relative (a son?) of Xerxes.⁶⁸ The names *Zareh*, *Šawaš* or *Šawarš*, *Meružan*, and *Aršam* — Armenian equivalents of *Zariáδρις*, *Ξέρξης*, *Μιθροβουζάνης* and *Ἀρσάμης*⁶⁹ — were either favoured in historical times by the House of Artsruni, which was, it will be seen, of Orontid origin, or counted among that family's remote ancestors.⁷⁰ Two of the Artsrunid domains, moreover, bore the names of Zarehavan and Shavarshan.⁷¹ Then, the *Primary History of Armenia* (9) places Zereh, Shavarsh, and Armog (more correctly: Artok = Artanes)⁷² in the theogony of the early kings. Finally, Pseudo-Moses, on his part, makes in his version of that theogony (1.31) Zareh a grandson of Arawan (Eruand) and the father of Armog (Artoantes-Eruand).⁷³ Elsewhere (1.19), he mentions a Shavarsh, a descendant of Hrant (Eruand). It is obvious of course, that, as genealogical material, the arrangements of the *Primary History* and of Pseudo-Moses have little worth. What is of significance in them, however, is the grouping together of the dynastic names just examined, which makes it clear that in the historical memory of the Armenians the family of Zariadris and the Orontids were one and the same dynasty.

10. It may be useful to append here a chronological summary of the Orontid rulers of Armenia between 401 and 95 B.C.

A. Satraps of Armenia

Orontes I, c. 401-c. 344

Orontes II, c. 344-331

B. Kings of Armenia (The First Armenian Monarchy)

Orontes II, 331

Mithranes, 331-before 317

(Neoptolemus, Satrap, 323-321)

⁶⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 390 n.1 (*Artaontes*).

⁶⁷ Adontz, *loc. cit.* mistakenly identified *Artaontes* with *Vardan*.

⁶⁸ Adontz, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁹ *Zareh* < **Zarerh*: Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 40, 506; Justi, *Namenbuch* 381, 382-383. — *Šawa(r)š* < Old Pers. *Syāwaršan* (Hübschmann 61; Justi 299-300) or < Old Pers. *Xšayārša* (for which see Justi 173-174) and so was translated in the case of the Orontid King as 'Xerxes': Markwart, *Genealogie* 24-30; *Ērānšahr* 177 n.3; Adontz, *Armenija* 390 n.1. — For the other two names, see Hübschmann 52-53, 507; and Justi 209, 29.

⁷⁰ Thomas 1.6 (79,82), 8(102); cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 416 (genealogical table); Adontz, *Armenija* 390 n.1, 413-415; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176-177.

⁷¹ Markwart, *loc. cit.*

⁷² Adontz, *loc. cit.*; *infra* Part II nn. 57, 60a.

⁷³ Though indeed Ps. Moses makes of Arawan a grandson of Tigranes the ally of Cyrus the Great; cf. *supra* at nn. 7, 28.

Orontes III, before 317-c. 260

Samus, c. 260

Arsames, after 260-after 228

Xerxes, after 228-c. 212

[Abdissares]

Orontes IV, c. 212-c. 200

C. Kings of Sophene

Zariadris, Strategus, c. 200; King, 190

Mithrobuzanes I (defended by the King of Cappadocia against Artaxias I of Greater Armenia: Polybius 31.17; Diodorus 31.22)

Orontes V, c. 95: annexation of Sophene by Tigranes II of Greater Armenia.

11. As is clear from the combined evidence of the Armenian and of some non-Armenian sources, the Orontids of Sophene survived the annexation of their kingdom c. 95 B.C. Perhaps the most important bits of evidence — texts that compress a variety of indications — are found in the two versions of the Armenian historical tradition as found in the *Primary History of Armenia* (9) and in Pseudo-Moses, to which references have already been made above (§ 9) and which now follow:

Յայնժամ տիրեաց Շամիրամ 'ի վերայ երկրին Հայաստանեայց, և յայնմհետէ Ասորեստանեայց թագաւորքն տիրեցին մինչև ցմեռանելն Սենեքերիմայ. ապա ապստամբեցին յԱսորոց թագաւորացն ծառայութենէ: Եւ տիրէ ի վերայ նոցա Զարեհ որդի որդոց Արամանեկայ, այր զաւրաւոր և կորովի տղեղամբ. ապա Արմոգ. ապա Սարհանգ. ապա Շաւաշ. ապա Փառնաւադ. Սա ծնաւ զԲազամ և զԲազարատ [in the MSS: Բազարամ]. և Բազարատ ծնաւ զԲիւրատ [in the MSS: Բիւրամ], և Բիւրատ ծնաւ զԱսպատ, և որդիքն Բազարատայ ժառանգեցին զժառանգութիւնս իւրեանց ի կողմանս արևմտից. այսինքն է Անգեղ տուն. վասն զի կոչեցաւ Բազարատ և Անգեղ, զոր ի ժամանակին յայնմ'իկ ազգ բարբառսացն աստուած կոչեցին:

Then Semiramis possessed herself of the land of Armenia, and from that time until the death of Sennacherib the Kings of Assyria kept possession of it. Then [the Armenians] rebelled against their subjection to the Kings of the Assyrians. And Zareh, son of [one of] the sons of Aramaniak, ruled over them, a powerful man and a skilled archer. Then Armog; then

Sarhang; then Shavash; then P'arnavaz. And he begat Bagam and Bagarat. And Bagarat begat Biurat, and Biurat begat Aspat, and the sons of Bagarat gathered their inheritance in the western regions: the same were the House of Angel, for Bagarat was also called Angel and was in those days called a god by the barbarous people.

Pseudo-Moses gives a different and ampler list of the early kings. In Book 1. 4-5, he gives the genealogy from Adam to Japheth and then to Hayk (the eponym of the Armenians). Chapters 5, 9, 12, 14, 15, 19, and 22 deal with the posterity of Hayk and his eldest son Ar(a)maniak or Ar(a)menak. Chapter 22 terminates with Tigranes, ally of Cyrus the Great, 'son' of Eruand and grandson of Haykak II. At the end of that chapter, Pseudo-Moses mentions a version of the origin of the House of Bagratuni which deduced it from Hayk, only to reject it in favour of the Hebrew origin.⁷⁴ Chapter 23 contains an account of the descent of the Houses of Artsuni and of Gnuni from Sennacherib of Assyria, and ends with the remark that the House of Angel was descended from Pask'am, a grandson of Haykak, who must be Haykak II mentioned in the preceding chapter. Chapter 31 presents a variant of the Orontid genealogy that is found in the *Primary History*. Finally, in Book 2. 8 (107), he returns to the origin of the House of Angel in the following terms:

Իսկ զայր խոժռազեղ և բարձր և կոպտարանձն և տափա-
քիթ, խորակն և դժնահայեաց, 'ի զաւակէ Պասքամայ, 'ի
Հայկակայ թոռնէ, Տորք անուն կոչեցեալ, որ վասն առաւել
ժահադխմութեանն ձայնէին անդեղեայ, վիթխարի հասակաւ
և ուժով, հաստատէ կուսակալ արեմտից. և յերեսացն անպի-
տանութենէ կոչէ զանուն ազգին Անգեղ տուն :

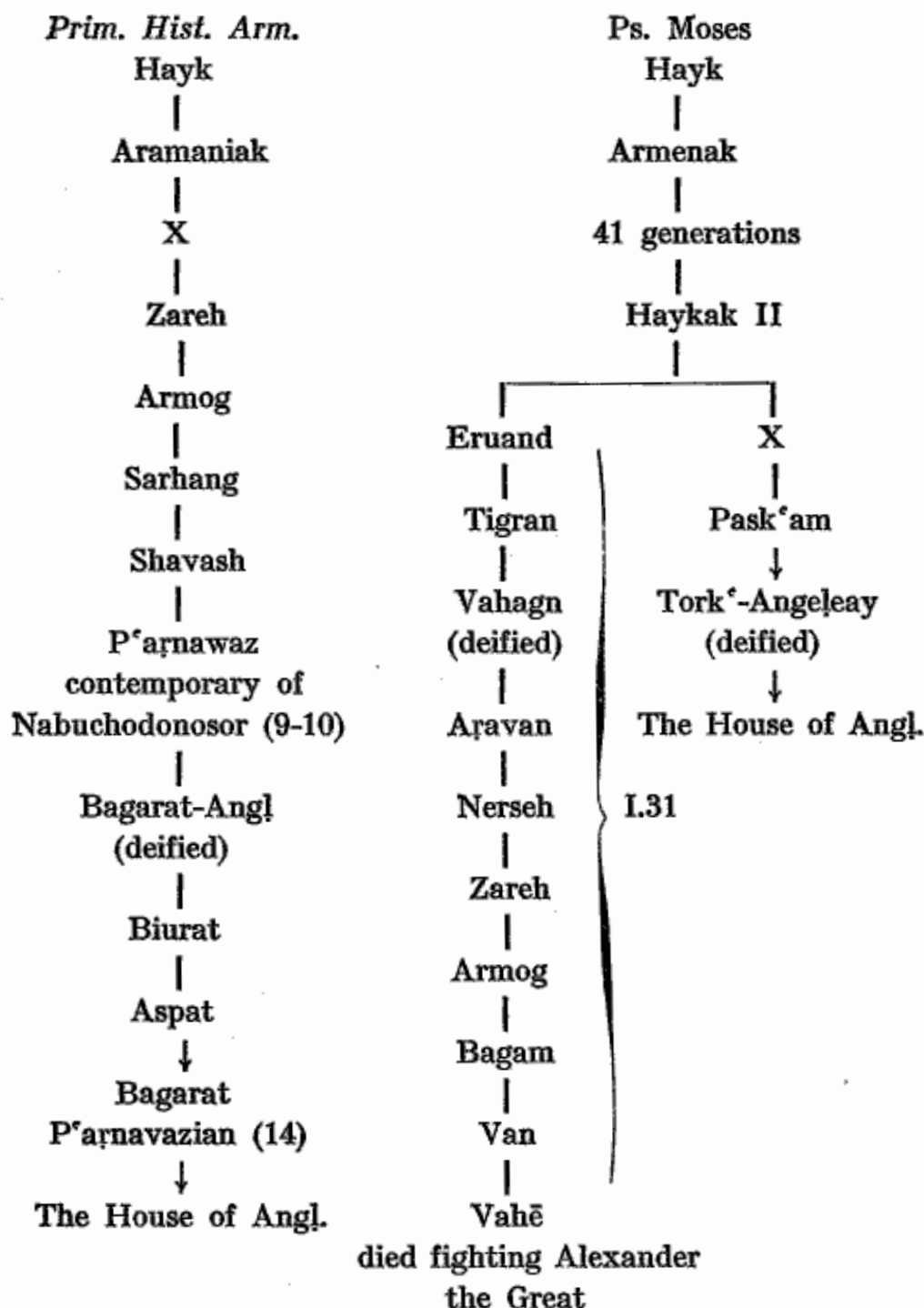
And he⁷⁵ set up as governor of the west a man, ugly and tall and awkward and flat-nosed, deep-eyed and fierce-glanced, [one] of the children of Pask'am, grandson of Haykak, named Tork', who because of his excessive monstrosity was surnamed *angeleyay* — [a man] of colossal stature and strength. And because of the meanness of his face, he calls his progeny House of Angel. [Follows an account of Tork's mythical feats reminiscent of those of Rustam and of Polyphemus].⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Infra* Part II.

⁷⁵ This refers to the mythical 'first Arsacid King of Armenia' Vologases, who was supposed to have reorganized Armenia in the second century B.C.; cf. I at nn. 174-176.

⁷⁶ Cf. Abel'yan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 26-29; Adontz, *Tarkou* 185-186.

The two versions, then, can be summed up as follows:



Needless to say, the historical memory of the Armenians at the time of the committing of these two versions to writing was quite defective. Zariadris, for instance, and the Orontids in general are made to antedate Alexander the Great. Telescoping is also much in evidence, especially in the *Primary History*, where one generation only separates Zariadris from Armaniak-Armenak (unless, of course, *ordi ordwoc'* be construed in the broad sense of 'descendant'), whereas

forty-two generations separate the latter from the Orontid eponym and forty-seven from Zariadris, in the work of Pseudo-Moses. The same telescoping is evident in the former monument's reference to Assyrian domination. Owing to the not infrequent confusion in Caucasian sources between 'Assyrian' and 'Syrian,' the régime that is supposed to have begun under Semiramis is made to end with the control of Armenia by the *Syrian* Seleucids, for it was against them that Zariadris rebelled. What, nevertheless, is of importance here is that both versions agree in affirming, albeit indirectly, the descent of the House of Angl from the Orontids: either in a direct line from Zariadris, as in the *Primary History*, or from Pask'am, a nephew of the Orontid eponym (*i zawakē Pask'amay*, referring to Tork', can of course mean that he was 'of the posterity of Pask'am'), in Pseudo-Moses.

12. Now 'House of Angl' (*Angel-tun*) was the name of an Armenian princely State, known as Ingilene to the Graeco-Roman world, which was situated precisely on the territory of the former Kingdom of Sophene. That territory, which was the south-westernmost province of Greater Armenia and which is referred to in the above sources as 'the west' or 'the western regions,' became, upon the annexation of Sophene by the Artaxiads, the 'Assyrian,' that is, Syrian, March of the Armenian Monarchy, its bulwark against the Seleucid empire and Osrhoene.⁷⁷ The chief fortress of Ingilene, and in fact of the entire Syrian March, was called Angl — to-day a place called Egil, close to the western Tigris (Arğana-su), some 9 1/2 km. west of the confluence of that river with the Dibene-su, in Turkish Armenia⁷⁸ — and from it the principality derived its name. It appears to be of a very ancient foundation and to have been known as Ingalawa already in the Hittite monuments of the fourteenth century B.C.⁷⁹ It was subsequently, the site of Carcathiocerta, the capital of the short-lived Orontid Kingdom of Sophene, and it contained the royal tombs.⁸⁰ From a Syriac source of the sixth century it is evident that this fortress-city was also known as 'the city of King Sennacherib of Assyria'.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Cf. II § 7-8.

⁷⁸ Markwart, *Südarmerien* 50*, 17,35,102,107,243; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* Maps I,IV; Cui-net, *Turquie* I 428, Map at p. 406 (where, mistakenly, Egil is placed east of the Tigris and near the Dibene-su); USAF Chart 340 A IV.

⁷⁹ Manandyan, *O nek. sporn. probl.* 98-99, 136-137; Forrer, 'Alzi,' RAss 1 88. — Lap'anc'-yan, *Xajasa* 200, derives its name, which may originally have had the general meaning of 'fortress,' from the Babyl. *ekall-u* and, in turn, from the Sumer. *egal* or 'hall.'

⁸⁰ Markwart, *Südarmerien* 33-38, 107-112. The tombs of the Sophenian kings were ascribed by the Armenian historical tradition to the Arsacid sovereigns. Cf. Manandyan, *O torgovle* 33-35. Cf. Pliny 6.10.26; the LCL translation erroneously renders 'Carcathiocerta' as 'Kharput.'

⁸¹ Markwart, *op.cit.* 98, quoting the chronicle of Ps. Josue the Stylites.

This, as Markwart explained, owed its origin to the fact that the rock, which formed part of the acropolis of Angl, contained, hewn on one of its sides but well-nigh obliterated in modern times, a relief of an Assyrian monarch accompanied by a cuneiform inscription. The name of Sennacherib being especially familiar through its biblical associations, the relief, and the city that contained it, were naturally enough attributed to that particular king.⁸² The above-mentioned confusion between 'Syrian' and 'Assyrian' must, I may add, have further contributed to that attribution, concerning as it did the chief place of the Syrian March.

It is, consequently, significant that the Armenian princely Houses of Artsruni⁸³ and of Gnuni⁸⁴ claimed descent from King Sennacherib's son Sarasar, who, according to the Bible, had slain his father (681 B.C.) and taken refuge in Armenia;⁸⁵ while the onomastics of the former house leave little doubt as to its Orontid origin.⁸⁶ The Armenian historical tradition which asserts this descent from Sennacherib also relates that Sarasar was established on the south-western frontier, near the Assyrian border.⁸⁷ What is meant here is, of course, the south-western *Syrian* March: the Assyrian border was, surely, in the *south*. Thus, the House of Sennacherib was identical with the House of Angl, both genealogically and territorially. As will be seen presently (§ 15), the genea-

⁸² Markwart, *op. cit.* 108-112.

⁸³ Thomas 1.1(26), 6,7(92); 3.13(313), 29(402-403); and see II § 12.8, for this house. In a recent article, 'Urartskoe proisxoždenie armjanskogo naxararskogo roda Arcruni,' *Sbornik v čest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* 29-38, S. Barxudaryan considers this house to have been of Urartian origin, in connexion with the term *Aršuni[ni]/Aršuniuni*, found in three inscriptions, one by Išpuini and Menua, the others by Menua alone; cf. Melik'išvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 146 (No. 27) 196 (No. 97), 197 (No. 99). It appears to be a toponym-ethnicon, though Melik'išvili, 148 n. 16, doubts that this is a proper name. If indeed a toponym-ethnicon, the location of the people-state designated by it was, according to Barxudaryan, 37, in the vicinity of the Arcruni domains. This, if true, might indeed be taken into consideration in connexion with the origin of the Arcrunis, were not their Orontid origin patent from so many other data. It can, nevertheless, be assumed that the *name* of this family, hitherto unexplained (cf. Barxudaryan 30), may indeed have been derived from the Urartian people-state, or its territory, over which it later came to reign. Barxudaryan (34-35) also cites the work of A. Xačatryan, attempting to prove the 'Aryan' origin of the Arcrunis: — this is precisely what their Orontid origin might be described as. In agreement with Barxudaryan (36) is also Lap'anc'yan. Cf. also Bănăţeanu, *Beiträge z. arm. Toponymie* 1071.

⁸⁴ See, for this house, II § 12.14.

⁸⁵ Sarasar's accomplice in the murder and companion in the flight was his elder brother Adramelech (in the Armenian transcription these names become *Senek'e/arim*, *Adramel*, *Sanasar*): 4 Kings 19.37; 2 Par. 32.21; Isai. 37.38; cf., for the Assyrian background of this event Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 125-128.

⁸⁶ Cf. *supra* at nn. 69-71. Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176-177, and Adontz, *Armenija* 390 n.1, 413-415, speak of the 'Kings of Sophene' rather than the Orontids; cf. *supra* at n. 31.

⁸⁷ Ps. Moses 1.23.

logical aspect of this synonymy springs from the territorial, and for reasons to be then adduced. Significantly, in both the *Primary History* and Pseudo-Moses's work passages dealing with the origin of the House of Angl are juxtaposed with references to Sennacherib of Assyria and, even, to the descent from him of the Artsrunis and the Gnunis (*supra* § 11).

13. In addition to this witness, be it ever so veiled, of the Armenian historical tradition, Classical authors also testify to the survival of the Orontids after the end of the Kingdom of Sophene. Both Plutarch (*Lucullus* 25) and Appian (*Mithr.* 12.84) mention among the three army chiefs of King Tigranes the Great of Armenia one named Mithrobarzanes. The correct form of that name, however, and one found in some MSS, is *Μιθροβορζάνης*, i.e., *Me(h)ruzan*, the name borne precisely by the son of Zariadris and favoured by the House of Artsruni.⁸⁸ Though no longer king, Mithrobuzanes was left in control of Sophene, no doubt as margrave of the Syrian March; and it was in this capacity that he met the invading Roman armies of Lucullus.⁸⁹ It is from him that Markwart and Adontz deduced the origin of the Artsunis.⁹⁰

14. There remains the problem of the religious implications of what the Armenian historical tradition has to tell about the Orontids and their Artsrunid descendants. Besides being a geographical, and genealogical, term, 'Angl' was also a religious one. It was the name of the pagan Armenian deity which corresponded to the Sumero-Akkadian solar god of the netherworld and of the dead, Nergal.⁹¹ The evidence of the Armenian historical tradition for the existence of the cult of Angl in pre-Christian Armenia is unmistakable in the texts cited above (§ 11); and, what is more, in the Armenian biblical translations the name of Angl is used for rendering that of Nergal.⁹² This Armenian cult appears to have had ancient roots. The chief god of the Hayasa pantheon was precisely an equivalent of Nergal; his name, of which we are not altogether certain, is rendered ideographically as ^dU-GUR in the list of the Hayasa divinities, included in that part of the Annals of the Hittite King Suppilluliuma

⁸⁸ Markwart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran I* (Göttingen 1896) 69; *Ērānšahr* 175-176; Manandyan, *Tigran* 99; cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 413-415 (where the correct form is used). Justi *Namenbuch* 209, however, lists the above personage under *Μιθροβαρζάνης*, while adverting to the existence of the other form. Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 176 n. 4, considers him to have been a son of Orontes V (Artanes); Adontz, *op. cit.* 414, thinks he was the other's son or brother.

⁸⁹ The reason for his coming to meet the Romans, as given by Plutarch, *Lucullus* 25, is obviously frivolous and a part of the Roman anti-Armenian propaganda of the time: cf. Manandyan, *Tigran* 99-101. Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 413-414.

⁹⁰ *Supra* n. 86.

⁹¹ For the connexion between the theophany of the sun and the cult of the dead, see, e.g., Eliade, *Patterns* 135-138, 141-149, 180.

⁹² 4 Kings 17.30; cf. *infra* II § 5.

which contains what may have been a treaty of the latter's father King Tuthaliya III (c. 1400 B.C.) with Karannis, King of Hayasa.⁹³ It is not perhaps too fanciful to suppose that the cult of Angl was not only a parallel, but actually also a survival, a continuation, of the more ancient Hayasa cult. The connecting link between these two cults can be sought in the proto-Armenian people-state. Since the Hayasa element played a leading role in that ethno-cultural formation,⁹⁴ the cult of the chief Hayasa deity can be expected to have survived and flourished in it. And between the culture of the proto-Armenians and that of the Armenians, the passage is unnoticeable.

How the name of the proto-Armenian and Armenian god was related to the city of Angl has not been explained. There are, however, sufficient data to enable us — at least tentatively — to establish the connexion between the two names. Since it seems certain that the toponym is of great antiquity and is, moreover, etymologically explicable,⁹⁵ it must follow that the name of the god was derived from the name of the city, and not *vice versa*, as is the case with the analogous connexion of god and holy city — K'art'los and K'art'li, Armaz and Armazi — in Iberia.^{96a} To be sure, we have Pseudo-Moses's explanation of the god's name (2.8); but this is but another example of his facile and often — as here — erroneous etymologizing: *angel* being the Armenian word for 'ugly'.⁹⁶

As the proto-Armenians expanded, under the leadership of their Hydnarid and Orontid satraps, they must early on have absorbed their immediate neighbour to the south, the region of Sophene with its fortress-city of Ingala-wa-Angl.⁹⁷ When the Orontids had lost the larger part of Greater Armenia and retained only the now separate land of Sophene, their capital, which at the same time was their necropolis, was the city of Angl, named now Carcathio-certa. The fact that it was their capital and their necropolis must have made it a holy city as well.⁹⁸ Whether the Satraps leading, from these regions, the proto-Armenian expansion were or were not in some special way associated

⁹³ Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 88-90; for the Hittite document in question, see Forrer, 'Hayasa-Azzi,' Ca 9 (1931).

⁹⁴ I n. 49.

⁹⁵ *Supra* n. 79.

^{96a} I nn. 120-121, 168.

⁹⁶ Lap'anc'yan, *Bogi Armjan* 273. For attempts at other explanations of Angl, see Karst, *Mythologie*, 64-69.

⁹⁷ *Supra* at n.34. Manandyan seems to regard as certain that the Hydnarids and the Orontids were one family, which, of course, is very likely: cf. *supra* § 6. — Sophene occupied the territories of the earlier Šupani and Išuwa; and Hayasa and Išuwa divinities appear to have been largely the same already in Hittite times: Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 76.

⁹⁸ See I n. 168.

with the presumably surviving cult of ^aU-GUR, is impossible to determine. But, on the other hand, a connexion of the Orontid Kings of Greater Armenia with the cult of Angl can be inferred from the Armenian historical tradition. Pseudo-Moses preserved a detail more revealing than he knew when he made mention (2.37) of an ancient tale regarding the last Orontid of Greater Armenia (Eruand). It is that, quite like the Minotaur, he was borne, by his Pasiphae-like mother, of a bull. Now the theophany of the sun in its Plutonian aspect tended to be connected with a cult of the bull, especially in the pre-Indo-European ethnic and cultural stratum of the Mediterranean world. What is more, the birth of this king suggests a special association, exactly like the one that obtained in the Minoan kingdom of Crete, between that cult and the monarchy. Indeed, the Kingdom of Aea (later Colchis), founded by a people related to the Hayasa, was marked by the same association and, moreover, appears to have stood in a special connexion with Crete. King Aeetes was a son of the sun god, and his sister — precisely Pasiphae — was the wife of Minos, who, in turn, appears to have been related to the Hurrian equivalent of Nergal.⁹⁹

This association of the Orontids with the Plutonian Angl appears thus to have existed before the formation of the Kingdom of Sophene; and the city of Angl may, consequently, have been their necropolis before it became also their capital Carcathiocerta. The necropolis, capital, and possibly holy city of a dynasty that stood in a special relation to the god of the dead may be expected to have been one of his cult centres. That all this involves too many suppositions and may, thus, appear unworthy of consideration, is readily granted; yet this alone seems to harmonize the scattered data of the historical tradition with the explanation of how — by becoming a territorial epithet — the name of the place became one of the names of that deity.

That deity had another name: Tork'. This becomes clear in juxtaposing the texts of the *Primary History* and Pseudo-Moses already cited (§ 11). Now, Tork' was the pagan Armenian equivalent of the Asianic Tarku or Tarhu, a god of vegetation and fertility.¹⁰⁰ How this syncretism of Angl-Nergal and

⁹⁹ For the association of the pre-Indo-European stratum of the Mediterranean world with the sun-theophany in its Plutonian aspect, see Ellade, *Patterns* 143. For that stratum itself: I § 5; the Hurrians and the Hayasa belonged to that stratum. For the connexion between Aea and Crete, see *ibid.* at nn. 56-57; Roux, *Argonautes*, esp. 281-283. and that between Minos and Nergal: Ungnad, *Subartu* 66-68; Ušakov, *Xett.probl.* 92 and n.4: — the Hurrian deity Saman-minuḫi (= Minos) is always named in the texts next to another — Naparwi; and, in turn, Naparwi forms a pair with Partaḫi. This pair appears identical with another — Parsi and Nagarsi, which are identified in ancient cuneiform texts with Nergal. For apparent indications of the prevalence of the cult of the bull in western Armenia (Turuberan), see Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 40,70,222 n. 1 (= 223). For representations of the Minotaur and of bulls on Colchian coins, see Lang, *Studies* 6,8,9; Roux 392.

¹⁰⁰ Lap'anc'yan, *Bogi Armjan* 273-276; *Xajasa* 97; and, for the connexion of the cult of

Tork' was effected, can be seen in the synthesis, achieved in the Asianic-Aegean world of the second millennium B.C., of the cults of the dead with the vegetation and fertility cults.¹⁰¹ Perhaps it was already at that time and on the Hayasa soil that this syncretism of the local equivalent of Nergal and the Asianic Tarku/Tarhu was achieved. 'Tork' may, accordingly, have been the original name of the tutelary deity of the Orontids, and 'Angl' the territorial epithet subsequently acquired by him.

15. The House of Angl can in the genealogical aspect of the term designate the Orontid Dynasty in general, and not only its surviving branches, since it was under the Orontids, while still Kings of Greater Armenia and then of Sophene, that the cult of Angl-Tork' flourished and since already then — as it would be natural to assume in the light of what we now know of the theophany of kingship in the religious climate of the time¹⁰² — the Orontids as a dynasty claimed descent from that deity. To be sure, the Armenian historical tradition, as has been seen, presents the matter quite otherwise, by making Angl a descendant of those whom we know as the Orontids and one deified in his day by the pagan Armenians. But it is obvious that the pagan claims of the ancient kings to a divine descent were, quite naturally, repulsive to the Christian historians who first recorded the historical tradition, and were, in consequence, obviated by them. In this way, for instance, Hayk, once the divine astral eponym of the Armenians and the direct ancestor of all the royal and princely dynasties of the land, was represented by these writers as merely a hero, though indeed a giant.¹⁰³ As for the cult of Angl-Tork', it must have been even more distasteful to the historians — with all its associations with the netherworld and fertility rites — than that of Hayk-Orion, whose position as ancestor was admitted. Nevertheless, the religion of Angl-Tork' must some-

Angl with that of Tork': *Bogi Armjan* 201-202; cf. Karst, *Mythologie* 64-69; Adontz, *Tarkou*. Adontz draws attention to the fact that the three names, Angl, Tork', and Pask'am (§ 11), appear to be related to the names of a bird or birds of the eagle or vulture type, and he connects this with the statement of Ps. Moses (2.8) to the effect that Angl-Tork', a descendant of Pask'am, left on rocks figures of eagles. He thus conjectures that the cult of Tarku and that of his near-equivalent, Tešub (both, by the way, were associated with the cult of bulls: *supra* at n. 99; I n. 151), became fused with a local — proto-Caucasian — totemistic cult of the vulture. Adontz would also connect the geographical names Thogorma and Tušpa with those of Tarku and Tešub.

¹⁰¹ Eliade, *Patterns* 352-353.

¹⁰² See I § 3.

¹⁰³ *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 2-10; Ps. Moses 1.5-31. The repugnance of Christian Armenian writers to the pagan past is especially pronounced in Ps. Moses: Carrière, *Huit sanctuaires* 18 n. 1, cf. 26-27. For this reason, no doubt, the *Prim. Hist. Arm.* mentions, whereas Ps. Moses omits, the divine character of Angl-Tork'. — Christian historiography reduces Hayk's theophany and makes him a son of Thogarma of Genesis: cf. I n. 168.

how have been better remembered than that of Hayk, else it is difficult to conceive why his divine status should have been alluded to at all. Yet because he was so offensive, he could not be allowed among the heroic ancestors of the kings and princes. So, instead of being treated as an ancestor, Angl-Tork' was made to pass for a *descendant* of the Orontids. The confusion of these early genealogies has already been noted (§ 9, 11).

As for the surviving Orontid branches of the Christian phase, he appears to have been simply repudiated by them as a forefather. The Houses of Artsruni and of Gnuni, on becoming Christian, must have soon become acquainted with the biblical tradition connecting the Assyrian King Sennacherib with Armenia. This tradition could become known to them before the invention of the Armenian alphabet, on the threshold of the fifth century and the consequent beginning of national Armenian literature, in either its Syriac or its Greek version. Since Syrian religious influence was very great in Armenia, especially before that event and especially in that part of the country which passed under Iranian control in 387 — and that was precisely the part where the Artsruni and Gnuni princedoms were situated — it was evidently the Syriac, rather than the Greek, version of the Bible that was first known to them.¹⁰⁴ They also must have become cognizant of the fact, already alluded to (§ 12), that — owing to some archaeological remains and under the impact of the biblical tradition — the city of Angl had come, precisely among the Syrians, to be called also City of Sennacherib. Moreover, by a strange coincidence, the biblical text (4 Kings 17) in which Angl stands for Nergal makes reference to a King of Assyria. Finally, as has already been noted, Sophene, the last kingdom of the Orontids, became the 'Assyrian' March of the Armenian Monarchy. Accordingly, in the synonymy: 'City of Angl' = 'City of Sennacherib' another synonymy was implicit, namely, 'House of Angl' = 'House of Sennacherib,' and so an obvious opportunity was seized upon of exchanging indeed a splendid, but no longer tenable, genealogical tradition — a *chimère*, Saint-Simon would have called it — of the pagan days for another that was no less splendid, really, and yet suitable for Christian princes. However, memories of the old tradition lingered on; and this accounts for the juxtaposition in the texts of the name of King Sennacherib and of the descent from him of these houses with the allusions to Angl and Tork' (*supra* § 11). Hence also, no doubt, Pseudo-Moses's repetitive insistence on his false etymology of 'Angl.'

16. Other princely houses of Armenia, besides those of Artsruni and of Gnuni, can be traced back to the Orontids; they now follow. (1) The Princes of Ingilene and Anzitene (*Anjit*) constituted, of course, the House of Angl *par excellence* and must have been the chief among the Orontid descendants,

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Abel'yan, *Ist.drevnearm.lit.* I 76-77, 82-88; Grousset, *Histoire* 125-127, 172, 174-176.

exactly as they were the chief dynasty of the Syrian March.¹⁰⁵ — (2) The Princes of Greater Sophene (*mec Cop'k'*) or Sophanene, still another State of that march, appear also to have been of Orontid origin.¹⁰⁶ One of them bore the significant name of Zareh;¹⁰⁷ another, that of Gaddana.¹⁰⁸ The latter name, besides being related to that of the Armenian princess Ghadana, who was the queen of Pharasmanes II of Iberia (c. A.D. 120),¹⁰⁹ and that of their son, King Adam or Ghadam,¹¹⁰ was obviously connected with the name of the chief Artsrunid castle of Hadamakert in Greater Albak.¹¹¹ — (3) The Princes of Shahian Sophene (*Cop'k' šahēi/šahun[w]oc'*), the fourth State of the Syrian March, may or may not have been Orontid. If the name of the principality be shown to signify 'Royal Sophene,' as suggested, e.g., by Markwart,¹¹² their Orontid origin must be regarded as highly plausible; this, however, is not certain.¹¹³ We do not hear of any of the princes of the Syrian March as repudiating their Orontid forefathers because of the pagan religious associations involved. But, then, we know next to nothing about them and nothing at all about what they claimed by way of genealogical tradition. This is due to the fact that they left the orbit of Armenia prior to the formation of Christian Armenian literature.¹¹⁴ (4) The Vitaxae of Arzanene, margraves of the Arabian frontier,¹¹⁵ were also ascribed by the Christian Armenian historical tradition a descent from one Sharashan, a descendant of Sanasar, who, according to Pseudo-Moses (2.8), was created Margrave of the Assyrian March and who also held Ardzni, i.e., the nucleal land of Arzanene.¹¹⁶ Once again, a telling confusion: both 'Sanasar' and the 'Sharashan' of Pseudo-Moses represent Sarasar, son of

¹⁰⁵ II § 7-8.

¹⁰⁶ Markwart, *Erānšahr* 178; II § 7-8.

¹⁰⁷ Faustus 3.12.

¹⁰⁸ *Cod. Theodos.* 12.13.6: *Gaddanae satrapae Sophanenae.*

¹⁰⁹ Leont. *Mrov.* 53, 54.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; *Roy. List I* 50 = Marr and Brière, *Langue* 571 (Marr, 623, considers the name to have been 'Dami' and *ga-* an enclitic particle).

¹¹¹ For the Arcruni domains, see II § 12.8.

¹¹² *Erānšahr* 177, 178.

¹¹³ Adontz, *Armenija* 38, and Garitte, *Documents* 234, consider the adjective in question as derived from a *nomen gentilicium*: 'Šahuni.' This name some would trace back to the patronymic *Šah-uhi*, borne by a Hittite prince (or perhaps dynasty) ruling over precisely western Sophene (Šupa) and Melitene in the eighth century B.C.: W. Belck *Beiträge zur alten Geographie und Geschichte Vorderasiens I* (Leipzig 1901) 50-52; Lap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 150 n. 1; Manandyan, *O nek. spor. probl.* 132; II § 7 at n. 65.

¹¹⁴ In 298 the Princes of Ingilene-Anzitene, Greater Sophene, and Lesser Sophene passed under the aegis of the Roman Empire; after 377, two more princely States from across the Arsianias shared their fate: II § 7.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* § 9.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* n. 130.

Sennacherib; whereas Arzanene was, as has just been noted, the Arabian and not the 'Assyrian' March, the reference to Assyria being, obviously, due to the family's connexion with the Orontid Kingdom of Sophene, which indeed had become the 'Assyrian' March. — (5) The Vitaxae of Adiabene, rulers of the Median March, were believed by Markwart to have been Orontid, and more particularly Artsrunid, and to have been transplanted by Tigranes the Great from Sophene, which was always ready to rise in revolt, to the Median frontier of his realm.¹¹⁷ — (6) The Princes Vahevuni or Vah(n)uni were the descendants of the divine Vahagn, the Armenian Heracles, according to Pseudo-Moses (1.31), and also his hereditary high priests.¹¹⁸ As Vahagn was a grandson of Eruand, father Aravan, and ancestor of Zereh and Armog (*supra* § 11), the Orontid origin of this dynasty seems obviously indicated. — (7) The little-known dynasties of Aravenian and Zarehavan or Zarehavanian were descended, according to Pseudo-Moses (1.31; cf. 2.8), from Aravan and from Zereh respectively (*supra* § 11), and are, therefore, to be regarded as Orontids; the latter house may have been a branch of the Artsrunis.¹¹⁹ — (8) The equally little known Eruanduni dynasty (literally: Orontids), mentioned by Lazarus (chap. 70) must likewise be of Orontid origin.¹²⁰ — (9) Last, but not least, there is the question of the Orontid origin of the princely house of the Bagratids,¹²¹ which will be considered in Part II.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* § 6.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* § 12.27.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* § 12.7; § 13.23. Only one Arawenean is mentioned in the historical part of Ps. Moses's work: Ērstom (3.43), and none of the other house, which is mentioned only in the genealogies of the early dynasts, at its beginning as a separate branch. The mediaeval Armenian geographers distinguish between the land of Zarehawan and that of Zarewand/Zarawand, north of it and always coupled with that of Her: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 338. Both names are derived from Zereh: Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 177; *Südarmenien* 555-556. All the three lands lay in the immediate vicinity of the chief Arcrunid domain of Greater Albak. In view of etymological identity and geographical adjacency, the distinction between Zarehawan and Zarewand appears somewhat artificial. The former was an Arcrunid land: *Ērānšahr*, *loc.cit.* And in the lists of the Armenian Princes found in the documents of the Gregorian Cycle (II § 5) the Prince of Zarewand and of Her is next to him of the Arcrunids, with but one other intercalated between them. The Prince of Zarewand and of Her may, thus, have been the head of an Arcrunid branch. This would explain the absence from the sources of the mention of any members of this family: if it was not a separate family, its members were indeed all Arcrunis. Ps. Moses, accordingly, preserved two separate versions regarding its origin: one for the Arcrunis, the other for the branch to which he applied the patronymic — rather than any territorial epithet — of Zarehawan/Zerehawanian; both, of course, pointing to the Orontid origin. He was wholly unconscious of this plurality and introduced (1.6) still another one by etymologizing the toponym Zarewand: cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 205 n. 1 (205-207), 555-556.

¹²⁰ II § 12.12.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* § 12.9.

II

1. Regarding the Orontid origin of the Bagratid Dynasty, the Armenian historical tradition is quite emphatic. The *Primary History of Armenia*¹ identifies the Orontid tutelary deity Angl(-Tork²) with the eponym of the Bagratids.³ That the Bagarat-Angl of that monument is indeed that eponym, is evident from his being made the father and grandfather, respectively, of two other Bagratid eponyms, Biurat and Aspat.³ A little farther in the same work (14), mention is made of the 'great feudatory' Bagarat P'ar[nav]azian, a descendant of Aramaniak. It has already been seen (I § 11) that the Orontids, as indeed a great number of Armenian dynasts, were deduced by the Armenian historical tradition from Aramaniak, son of the divine primogenitor of the Armenians, Hayk. The *praenomen* of that particular descendant of Aramaniak can leave no doubt as to his belonging to 'the sons of Bagarat' (*ibid.*). On his part, Pseudo-Moses (1.22) also refers to the tradition of the Bagratid descent from Hayk; but he does this reluctantly and merely in order to reject it, with some vehemence, for the Hebrew origin that he propounds. What may appear to constitute an inner contradiction in this otherwise consistent tradition is that the *Primary History* represents Bagarat-Angl as a son of P'arnavaz, who is none other than the eponym of the Iberian royal house of the Pharnabazids (P'arnavaziani),⁴ and that he applies, consequently, the Iberian royal surname, in its Armenian form of P'arnavazian, to Bagarat-Angl's descendant or kinsman just mentioned. This apparent contradiction is, however, patient of an explanation. But before this is attempted, Markwart's thesis about the *Primary History* and also Pseudo-Moses, and about the tradition they embody, must be examined.

¹ *Supra* Part I § 11.

² *Ibid.* § 14, for the Orontid connexion with Angl.

³ This is overlooked by Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 26, who fails to note the relation of Bagarat to the Bagratids. Cf. also *infra* at n. 67. Aspat = Aspet, for which see *infra* § 14.

⁴ That this P'arnavaz was indeed the eponym of the Iberian Pharnabazids is clear from the reference (9-10) to his submission to Nabuchodonosor. The story of the Babylonian king's connexion with the Iberians (of both Georgia and Spain) goes back to Megasthenes (Seleucus I's ambassador to India) and has been preserved by Abydenus (in turn, preserved in Eusebius, *Chron.* I. 10 and *Praepar. evang.* 9.41); by Josephus (in *Con. Apion.* 1); and by Strabo (15.1.6, where, however, Sesostris is mentioned in this context instead of Nabuchodonosor). For this matter, see Markwart *Genealogie* 71; Karst *Corpus juris* I/2/1 420-421. — For the Georgian surname of the Iberian dynasty, see I at n. 101; its Armenian form, apart from the *Prim. Hist. Arm.*, is also found in Faustus 5.15.

2. In one of his last works: on the genealogy of the Bagratids and the epoch of Mar Abas and Pseudo-Moses,⁵ the great Armenologist expounded a thesis which, if true, would greatly impair the worth of the historical tradition on which the present Study is largely based. Attention has not been drawn to it sooner because it concerns in particular the Bagratids, and here, in the Second Part, is, therefore, the place where it can best be discussed.⁶ The heart of the thesis is that both the *Primary History* and the work of Pseudo-Moses are ninth-century productions.⁷ There are four parts to Markwart's basic argument as it regards the first-named monument; and they will now be taken in the order which they follow in his study.

3. The *Primary History*, as we now have it, forms the opening part of the *History of Heraclius*, written in the seventh century by Sebēos, Bishop of the Bagratids.⁸ It purports to be the (originally) Greek work — *arjanagir* = 'inscription,' 'register,' or 'monument' is the word used⁹ — by Agathangelus, secretary of the first Christian King of Armenia — and for this reason it has also been called 'Pseudo-Agathangelus' — and to have been found in the book of one Marab the Philosopher of Mtsurn or Mtsurk' (*Mcurnac'i*).¹⁰ Pseudo-Moses, on his part, claims that the text of his History, 1.9-32 and 2.1-9, corresponds to an extract made by one Marabas Katina from a Greek translation, made by order of Alexander the Great, of a Chaldaean book¹¹. The two texts are thus associated, in this rather fanciful way, with one and the same name: of a Syrian, obviously, named Mār'Abbās. Apart, however, from the community of subject matter — the theogonic lore and early historical memory of Armenia — and from the fantastic attribution of the two texts to the same transmitter, there is nothing to indicate any interdependence, let alone identity, between them¹². They represent two parallel versions of one historical tradition; though the longer version found in Pseudo-Moses must, to some extent, have been expanded and even recast¹³.

As to what historical personage, if any, the attributions are made, is not altogether clear. Markwart identified him with Jacob or James, i.e., 'Abbās Mār Ya'qob, the learned Monophysite Bishop of Edessa († 708), who, ac-

⁵ *Genealogie*; this thesis was already briefly propounded by Markwart in *Untersuchungen* II (Leipzig 1905) 235.

⁶ For Markwart's opinions on the Vitaxae, as found in *Genealogie*, see II nn. 42, 43.

⁷ *Genealogie* 14, 56, 67.

⁸ See *Introd.* at n. 10.

⁹ Cf. the Georgian term *jegl*.

¹⁰ *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 1; cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 217, 327.

¹¹ Ps. Moses 1.8-9; 2.9, etc.; cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 216-219.

¹² *Ibid.* 328; cf. *supra* Part I § 11; see, however, *infra* n. 18.

¹³ Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 216-219.

according to Markwart, was further confused, in the *Primary History*, with his earlier namesake, the Bishop of Nisibis († 338), and thus the toponym *Mcurm* or *Mcurk*¹⁴ must be an error for *Mcbin*, i.e., Nisibis.¹⁴ The implied upshot of this is that neither the *Primary History* nor Pseudo-Moses can at all events be anterior to the end of the seventh century.

A clear distinction ought, however, to be drawn between the epoch of the personage to whom a given historical work may be ascribed, the time of its actual composition, and the antiquity of the information it contains. For Pseudo-Moses, Markwart's identification of Marabas is of little importance, since the compilation of his work must, for several reasons, be dated as after the *terminus a quo* implied in this identification.¹⁵ Admitting the correctness of the identification, it must still be repeated that what is attributed to Marabas, or James of Edessa, cannot in reality have come from his pen. It is now generally recognized that the part of Pseudo-Moses's History so ascribed contains, possibly in an embellished form, a great bulk of the ancient mythological and historical tradition of the Armenians.¹⁶ It would be difficult to presume a Syrian writer, whether James of Edessa or another, to have set himself to the task of recording that tradition. But it is also known that Pseudo-Moses harboured, alongside a historian's interest, a certain aversion to the pagan past of his people;¹⁷ and he, accordingly, may well have attempted to calm his scruples in this regard by attributing the information he had himself carefully gathered to a foreign ecclesiastic who was remembered for his translation and continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.

The case of the *Primary History* is different. Whereas in Pseudo-Moses references to Marabas are frequent and interwoven with the text, that to Marab the Philosopher occurs only once: in the preamble to the work; and if Sebēos, whose History contains the *Primary History*, is anterior to the above *terminus a quo*, so also and *a fortiori* must be the latter work, which has all the indications of being a shorter and more ancient version of the same historical tradition as is preserved in Pseudo-Moses, and one devoid of his literary embellishments.¹⁸ It could be supposed that the name of Marab the Philosopher, and even that of Agathangelus, as well as the entire preamble to the *Primary History* that introduces them, were later additions to that ancient text, made, quite possibly, under the influence of Pseudo-Moses.

¹⁴ *Genealogie* 18. — The name Katina is the Syr. *qaṭinā*, i. e., 'little,' 'minor': cf. Justi *Namenbuch* xvii.

¹⁵ *Infra* § 16-17.

¹⁶ I at n. 160.

¹⁷ *Supra* Part I § 15 at n. 103; Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 218-223. Hence his tendency to euhemerize the myths.

¹⁸ According to Marr, *O pervon. Istorii Anonima* 294, and Adontz, *Pervon. Ist. Arm.* 104, Ps. Moses's longer version depends on the briefer version of the *Prim. Hist. Arm.*

4. From the question of authorship, Markwart then passed to that of contents. He refused to admit the possibility that memories of Sopenian — that is, Orontid — times lingered on 'in so später Zeit,' meaning the mid-ninth century.¹⁹ He proceeded, accordingly, to interpret some of the names, found in what has here been construed as the end of the Orontid and the beginning of the Bagratid stemma (I § 11), not as names of persons, but as symbols — 'eponyms' he would call them, although in actual fact they must be the exact opposite — of geographical units. He thus saw in Zareh not a memory of Zariadris, but precisely such a symbol, or personification, of Zarehavan, a town in the canton of Tsalkotn.²⁰ Likewise, Bagam was said to symbolize, or personify, Bagauna or Bagavan in Bagravandene;²¹ Shavash, Shavarshan in Artaz;²² Nerseh — found in Pseudo-Moses and not in the *Primary History* — the town of Nersehat, also in Artaz;²³ and Biurat, the Bagratid *Stammburg* of Bayberd, in Syspiritis.²⁴ The reason for inserting some of these territorial symbols in the genealogy was, according to Markwart, a purely political one. Entrenched in Kogovit, the Bagratids of the mid-ninth century must have sought to enhance their position by laying claims — in this cryptic way — to the neighbouring provinces of Artaz, Tsalkotn, and Bagravandene. The absence of any personifications of Kogovit, or its chief fortress of Dariunk', was, he claimed, an additional proof of this theory.²⁵

Ingenious though it be, this theory will not stand a critical examination. In the first place, though it is true that, sometime in the years 855-862, the Bagratids indeed wrested from the Mamikonids the principedom of Bagravandene,²⁶ there is no evidence for attributing to them any designs on either Tsalkotn or Artaz, though such designs in themselves are quite plausible. Secondly, the argument about Kogovit and Dariunk' is little more than an argument from silence. Thirdly, and this is more important, Markwart, as will be seen presently (§ 5), held that the *Primary History* had been composed at the Court of Bagarat Bagratuni of Taraun, and for the furtherance of his political interests. Now Bagarat represented the western branch of the dynasty that was distinct from and inimical to the eastern branch, represented by his brother Smbat VIII, which alone could be interested in Bagravandene and the neighbouring regions. This proposed motivation of the entire work cancels

¹⁹ *Genealogie* 18.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 18-23; cf. *infra* n. 65.

²¹ *Genealogie* 23; cf. *infra* n. 63.

²² *Genealogie* 24-30.

²³ *Ibid.* 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 70. This is not very convincing.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 31.

²⁶ Grousset, *Histoire* 273-274; cf. II § 12.9, 18.

the motivation that was supposed to explain the territorial personifications in the genealogy.

Finally, an examination of the evidence of the two versions of the ancient historical tradition of Armenia demonstrates that memories of the Orontid and even earlier periods were contained, albeit confusedly, in that evidence and thus did still linger on at the time when the *Primary History* was set to writing and at the time when Pseudo-Moses compiled his work. In Part I (§ 11, 4, 9) of this Study, this evidence was examined in connexion with Orontid history, and indeed Orontid genealogy, and its relevance to both was established. Thus, of the names considered by Markwart as territorial symbols, two are those of actual Orontid rulers: Xerxes and Zariadris.²⁷ But the memory of the Orontids was also preserved in another way — precisely through their imprint on Armenian toponymy. Accordingly, the city of Bagaran in Ayrarat was built by the last Orontes²⁸ and that of Eruandashat, in the same province, was the last Orontid capital in Armenia.²⁹ It was doubtless also owing to the Orontids that there was a castle of Angl in Tsalkotn.³⁰ Markwart himself has once been led to infer from the evidence of the toponyms that some of the last Orontids — or the House of Sophene, as he thought of them — were transferred by the Artaxiads to the south-eastern frontier of Armenia.³¹ It is this migration that must account for the existence in those regions of the dynasties of Artsruni, Eruanduni, and Zarehavanian, which have all the earmarks of being Orontids. And it is to these Orontid branches that the toponyms of those regions, derived from Orontid *praenomina* — Eruandunik', Shavarshan, Zarehavan (canton), and Zarevand — must owe their existence.³²

²⁷ It is to be stressed again that the genealogical tradition in question is significant only as an embodiment of historical memories regarding personages and dynasties of the remote past (and dynasties, indeed, represented by eponyms), but that no indication of the exact kinship binding these persons can be expected from it: cf. *supra* Part I, end of § 9.

²⁸ Ps. Moses 2.40. Cf. § 11.

²⁹ Ps. Moses 2.39; cf. Manandyan, *O torgovle* 38-40.

³⁰ Lazarus 31 (127); Eliseus 3 (74); Sebēos 22 (102); Procopius *Bell. pers.* 2.25.5-15 (Ἀγγελόν). For Calkotn, see *infra* at n. 65.

³¹ *Supra* Part I § 16, at n. 117.

³² *Supra* Part I § 16. — As has been seen *ibid.* n. 118, 'Zarehawanean' seems to have been Ps. Moses's appellation for the Orontid Princes of Her and Zarewand or Zarehawan. Overlooking the evidence for their existence, Markwart considers the above dynastic name a figment of Ps. Moses's imagination and a symbol for the city Zerehawan: *Genealogie* 20. It must be remarked, however, that in the Armenian princely nomenclature territorial names were derived from cantons that constituted princedoms and not from towns. The cumulative evidence on the subject leaves little doubt as to the Orontid origin of the princedom in question. As for the origin of the name of the city of Zarehawan in Calkotn, it is true that Zariadris of Sophene could not have been its founder: *Genealogie* 20. It is equally true, that

In other words, it is by Orontid memories that both the toponyms and the genealogical tradition are explicable; it is, surely, hardly satisfactory to attempt to explain the genealogical tradition by the toponyms and leave the toponyms themselves unexplained.

5. Next, Markwart attempted to establish the exact epoch and circumstances of the compilation of the *Primary History*. His thesis, as has been mentioned, is that it was produced at the Court and for the political ends of Bagarat, Prince of Taraun and Presiding Prince ('Prince of Princes') of Armenia for the Caliph, in the years 830-851.³³ This he set out to prove in a very complex argument. The eponym of the Bagratid house in the *Primary History*, Bagarat, is, as has been seen, identified with the god Angl (I § 11). It has also been seen that Angl was the pagan Armenian equivalent of Nergal and that one of the manifestations of this equivalence consists in the fact that in the Armenian Bible, in 4 Kings 17.30 — in the phrase 'and the Cuthites made Nergel' — the name of the Cuthite divinity is rendered by *angel*. This Markwart would regard as fortuitous, the Armenian word in question being, according to his intimation, an approximation to the Septuagint rendering of 'Nergel' as *την <N>εργέλ*.³⁴ No doubt, had we but this biblical text for the existence of that equivalence, Markwart's suggestion might appear convincing. However, the cumulative evidence cited in Part I § 14-15 tends to show, on the contrary, that, so far from creating, this text merely reflects the identity of Angl and Nergal. Precisely the same is the case of Hayk whose name was

an Orontid Prince of the Zarehawanid dynasty would have had nothing to do in Całkotn. And yet that city, and another one named Zarišat, appear to have been situated not far from Eruandašat which was indeed founded by an Orontid: cf. Manandyan, *O torgovle* 119, 120. Are we to suppose that the name Zareh appeared in the Orontid family before their loss of Armenia? What complicates the situation is that the Artaxiads, too, appear to have used it. The father of Artaxias I was named Zareh (Part I n. 59), and a son of Tigranes the Great appears to have been called Sariaster (= Zariadris?): Valerius Maximus, 9.11 ext. 3 (cf. Appian, *Mithr.* 104); cf. *Genealogie* 21.

³³ For this personage, see Grousset, *Histoire* 349-351, 353-354, 358-359, 368-369; Laurent, *Arménie* 105-106, 117-118, 122-123, 126-127; cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 296-298, 495. — Following the death in 826 of Ašot IV, Prince of the Bagratids and Presiding Prince of Armenia for the Caliph, the Bagratid dominions were divided chiefly between his sons Bagarat and Smbat, the former becoming Prince of Tarawn, Xoyt', and Sasun, and the latter, Prince of Siracene and Aršarunik'. The Caliphate, pursuing the policy of *divide et impera* recognized Smbat as High Constable of Armenia and Bagarat as Presiding Prince of Armenia with the title of Prince of Princes, in 830. The Caliphate was eminently successful in its policy, and the relations between the two brothers and the branches they headed were not cordial. In 851, Bagarat fell from favour and was deported to Sāmarra, which he was not destined to leave.

³⁴ *Genealogie* 51-52; cf. *supra* Part I § 14 at n. 92.

made to correspond to that of Orion.³⁵ Moreover, the phonetic proximity of *ergel* and *angel* would hardly have been patent enough to suggest the use of the one for the other, unless the essential affinity between the two religious ideas represented by these terms had already been familiar to the translator.³⁶

6. Markwart's argument continues as follows: the biblical name Cuthites, *K'ut'* in Armenian, must have become confused with *Xut'*: that of the inhabitants of Khoyt', a canton of the province of Turuberan.³⁷ Thomas Artsruni, writing in the tenth century refers to the latter as 'marauders' (*meknakazenk'n Xut'ay*) and testifies to their loyalty to their prince, who happened to be Bagarat of Taraun.³⁸ Accordingly, while admitting that he was not certain as to whether the pagan cult of Tork' (whose identity with Angl [I § 14] he recognized) had persisted from pre-Christian days among the people of Khoyt', Markwart nevertheless felt certain that when the author of the *Primary History* wrote that 'Bagarat was also called Angel and was in those days called a god by the barbarous people' the reference was not to the legendary eponym of the Bagratid dynasty, but to Bagarat of Taraun, deified by his subjects of Khoyt' and, in the manner of the pagans of Lystra thinking St Paul and St Barnabas to be Mercury and Jupiter (Acts 14.10-12), identified by them with their old pagan deity.³⁹ There is, unfortunately, no evidence that the reference to a 'barbarous people' is anything other than the typical way in which many recently-Christian chroniclers were wont to refer to their recently-pagan ancestors⁴⁰ — and this may be an additional indication of the antiquity of the *Primary History*; or, finally, that any inhabitants, no matter how marauding of a land that had been Christian for some six centuries could possibly have manifested a completely polytheistic psychology that would have been perfectly natural to pagans who had never known Christianity.

³⁵ I n. 168

³⁶ The history of the Armenian biblical translations is not very clear, but the first translation of the Bible appears to have been made from the Syriac rather than from the Greek: Abelyan *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 84-85; Lyonnet, *Origines*.

³⁷ For this canton, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 325.

³⁸ Thomas 2.7 (201) describes the mountaineers of Xoyt' in connexion with their revolt against the Caliph's forces after the deportation of Bagarat of Tarawn (cf. *supra* n. 33); cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 358-359.

³⁹ *Genealogie* 52-54.

⁴⁰ Cf., e.g., among the Georgians, Leont. Mrov. 17; or the *Russ. Prim. Chron.* 14-15; or indeed Ps. Moses (*supra* at n. 17). The latter's attitude, since he wrote at a greater distance from the pagan days (cf. *infra* § 17), is more detached and more academic: he euhemerizes and attributes unpleasant traits to some gods that had been reduced to heroes, and he ascribes the raising of the idol of Vahagn to the Iberians (1.31), while admitting that he was an Armenian divinity, but he does not tax his ancestors with being barbarians.

7. Next, Markwart shifted somewhat his ground. Having just attempted to prove that Bagarat the Eponym had been modelled on Bagarat of Taraun, he went on to demonstrate that the latter had served as a model for the Eponym's descendant, Bagarat P'arnavazian. Before examining this point, the text of the *Primary History* (14) dealing with the latter personage must be quoted:

Մմա ընդ առաջ ելանէր Բագարաւան փառ[նաւ]ադեան յորդոցն Արամանեկայ նախարար մեծ հանդերձ զաւրու : Մատուցանէ նմա պատարագ ոսկի և արծաթ, և զարդարէ զնա ի սնդր և ի վակաս. պսակէ զնա ի թագ հայրենի. և նստուցանէ զնա ի վերայ ոսկիապատ ականակուռ գահոյիցն. և տայ նմա զգլխար իւր ի կնութիւն : Զսա արար Արշակ արքայ ասպետ Հայաստան երկրին, որ էր իշխան և հրամանատար ամենայն թագաւորութեանն հրամանաց գլուխ, և հայր արքայի, և եղբայր. որում եւ իշխանութիւն տէրութեանն այնորիկ : Նա կոտորեաց զհսկայսն, որ զաւրածողով եղեն ի վերայ նորա ի Միջագետս Ասորոց :

There came to meet him⁴¹ with an army Bagarat P'arnavazian, of the sons of Aramaniak, a great feudatory. He brought to him offerings of gold and silver and vested him with the robe and the ephod;⁴² he crowned him with the ancestral crown and seated him upon the throne of gold and precious stones; and he gave him his daughter in marriage. Him Arsaces the King made Aspet of the land of Armenia, that is, a prince and commander of the whole kingdom — the summit of authority, and [also] the King's father and brother. And to him he gave the principedom of the realm. He crushed the giants who had raised levies against him in Mesopotamia of the Syrians.

The name of Bagarat, the epoch that appears to be that of the early Artaxiads,⁴³ and the reference to Syria can leave but little doubt that the passage in question contains a memory of Bagadates, Tigranes the Great's viceroy of

⁴¹ The legendary first Arsacid King of Armenia, who was according to the *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 13, Arsaces, son of Arsaces the Great of Parthia (c. 250-248 B.C.), or, according to Ps. Moses 2.3, Vologases, brother of the same; cf. *supra* Part I at n. 75. — For the projection by the Armenian historical tradition of Arsacid rule to the third century B.C., see I at nn. 174-176.

⁴² 'Robe' is a tentative rendering of the word *sndr* otherwise unknown: cf. Markwart, *Genealogie* 16 n.1. For the royal, no less than priestly, significance of the ephod (*vakas*) in the ancient East Mediterranean world, see H. Thiersch, *Ependyton und Ephod, Gottesbild und Priesterkleid im Alten Vorderasien* (Stuttgart 1936); Fraine, *Royaute israel.* 204-205.

⁴³ Cf. *supra* n. 41.

Syria, with whom we shall deal presently (§ 12). This Markwart recognized, but, refusing to admit — wrongly, as we have seen — that memories so ancient could have lingered on, thought that this bit of information must have reached the compiler of the *Primary History* through some Greek or Syriac source.⁴⁴ The reference to the crowning of the King by Bagarat and the marriage to him of the latter's daughter, Markwart, in the same vein, would attribute to the influence of the text of Faustus, 5.44, telling how the Mamikonid Manuel, the all-powerful Regent of Armenia, set up c. 378 the young Arsaces III as King of Armenia, gave him his daughter in marriage, and married the King's brother Vologases to the daughter the Bagratid prince, hereditary Coronant of the Arsacid kings.⁴⁵ Once again, we see the tendency to make of textual influence a substitute for actual history. The compiler of the *Primary History*, who, for all the ancient traditions his work may contain, could not have set it to writing prior to the invention of the Armenian alphabet on the threshold of the fifth century, was undoubtedly no less aware of the royal alliance and the hereditary office (for which, see § 15) of the Bagratids than was Faustus, and so could project, independently of the latter, both the office — which was natural, since so many Bagratids had by then already held it — and the alliance to the epoch of their illustrious early ancestor.

8. But Markwart's argument centred on something else. He would see, to repeat, in the figure of Bagarat P'arnavazian, for all the admitted echoes of Bagadates, a projection into the past of the figure of Bagarat of Taraun. There are several points to this argument. First, it takes up the above text's statement that King Arsaces created Bagarat 'the King's father and brother.' Accordingly, this is interpreted as inspired by another text of Faustus, in Book 4.14, where the historian alludes to some domains in Taraun that belonged — in the fourth century — to the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia. The chief appanage of that dignitary, however, was the Principality of Mardpetakan, in Vaspurakan, whence came his title of *mardpet*.⁴⁶ His other title was indeed 'the King's father' (*hayr t'agawori*), so that he was usually referred to as *hayr-mardpet*. So, Bagarat P'arnavazian — we are told — was called 'the King's father' because he was modelled on Bagarat of Taraun, and Taraun it was where — five centuries earlier — the Grand Chamberlain had held some villages.⁴⁷ This is hardly serious. There is, moreover, a difference between 'the King's father' and 'the King's father and brother': the latter was not the title

⁴⁴ *Genealogie* 56.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 48.

⁴⁶ II § 7-8.

⁴⁷ *Genealogie* 48. In this connexion Markwart rather burns the man of straw in declaring absurd the idea that the Bagratids ever held the office of Grand Chamberlain.

borne by the Grand Chamberlains. More than that, the former title was not seldom used in the ancient East Mediterranean world to designate the chief ministers of kings: suffice it to recall here Aman in Esther 13.6; 16.11.

The argument continues with the suggestion that the words of our text: 'prince and commander of the whole kingdom' (*išxan ew hramanatar amenayn t'agaworut'eann*) resemble those with which the tenth-century historian John the Katholikos describes Bagarat of Taraun: 'commander and Prince of Princes of Armenia' (*hramanatar ew išxan išxanac' Hayoc'*).⁴⁸ Human speech being limited, it is not altogether unexpected that similar realities — being a commander, for instance — should be expressed by the same words. Here, moreover, the argument could be reversed, and John the Katholikos suspected of patterning his description of Bagarat of Taraun on that of the latter's celebrated ancestor. Markwart, finally, suggested, in a very involved manner which we need not trouble with, that Bagarat of Taraun's little-known brother Isaac, too, might have contributed somewhat to the creation of the figure of Bagarat P'arnavazian, and that the latter's expedition in Syria might have been a hint at some campaign or other that Isaac appears to have led on behalf of the Caliph.⁴⁹ Seldom has a scholarly elaboration stood in greater need of Ockham's razor.

Finally, although Markwart asserted elsewhere⁵⁰ that the Angl as a geographical term mentioned in connexion with Bagarat the Eponym could not have been other than the castle in Tsalkotn,⁵¹ he nevertheless suggested the possibility — quite correctly, to my mind — that the 'western regions' of the text of the *Primary History* (I § 11) might indeed have had the Angl in Ingilene in view; his reason for this being, however, that Bagarat of Taraun was known to have pushed his control in the direction of Arsamosata.⁵² As has already been seen and will be seen again, the Bagratid connexion with both Angl-castles is explicable by their Orontid origin.

9. The last part of Markwart's thesis concerns the Iberian, more particularly Pharnabazid, connexion of the Bagratids as is implied in the *Primary History*. It is explained in the following way. (I) By the fact that the Bagratid *Stamm-sitz* was in Syspirtis, in the valley of the Acampsis, on the Iberian frontier. (II) By the conjecture that a branch of the Iberian royal house might, sometime in the second century, have controlled that valley; and the Bagratids appear to have been a local dynasty. (III) By another conjecture that the Phar-

⁴⁸ John Kath. 115.

⁴⁹ *Genealogie* 48-49.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 47.

⁵¹ *Supra* at n. 30; *infra* at n. 65.

⁵² *Genealogie* 55, cf. 56.

nabazid link was introduced in Bagratid genealogy by that branch of the family which at the end of the eighth century settled in Iberia, founding the line of the Georgian Bagratids.⁵³ The two conjectures have little to support them, either in the Armenian or, what is more significant, the Iberian historiography; but the first observation is very plausible indeed.

10. The Bagratids were in fact princes of Syspirtis on the Armeno-Georgian frontier. The Greek Life of St Gregory (§ 98) entitles the Bagratid prince contemporaneous with the Conversion of Armenia Guardian of the Caucasian and Tzannic mountains.⁵⁴ More than this, the early Bagratids appear to have taken an active interest in the affairs of the neighbouring East Georgian kingdom of Iberia. The Iberian historical tradition recorded by Leontius of Ruisi knows of Sumbat Bivritiani commanding the Armenian military operations in Iberia under the Armenian kings Iarvand and Artashan.⁵⁵ This is a parallel of the story found in Pseudo-Moses (2.37-53) of Smbat, son of Biurat, the Bagratid, who flourished under Kings Eruand and Artashēs. As has been seen earlier (I § 4), these ancient royal names are projected by the Armenian historical tradition to the beginning of the second century of our era, which is precisely the epoch of their mention in the Iberian historical tradition. This projection, the latter tradition borrowed from the former, while on other points, except for the parallelism due to the community of subject matter, the two narratives, Iberian and Armenian, about Smbat the Bagratid show no traces of dependence on each other. One has the impression that the Iberian tradition had its own memories of Smbat's intrusion in Iberian affairs and that those who set it to writing merely consulted the Armenian tradition for the purposes of identification. At all events, this Sumbat is said to have penetrated as far north as the Duchy of Odzrkhe and to have built there the fortress of Samts'khe. And then, Juansher mentions in the reign of King Vakhtang I (c. 446-522) the *sep'ecul* Bivritiani and — no doubt the same person — the Bivritiani Duke of Odzrkhe.⁵⁶ This suggests that a Bagratid branch was for a time established in Iberia between the second and the fifth century. The fact of the Bagratids' being sovereigns of a territory on the Iberian frontier and, furthermore, of their participation in the life of Iberia itself may well have sufficed for the Armenian historical tradition to regard them as definitely

⁵³ For this line, see my *Bagr. of Iber.* I; II § 12.9; *infra* III; IV § 34-35.

⁵⁴ II § 12.9; *infra* § 13.

⁵⁵ Leont. Mrov. 47-49. It will be remembered that the south-western projection of Iberia, known as Upper Iberia, protruded towards the Black Sea and was situated, accordingly, due south of West Georgia or Egrisi (Colchis) and due north of north-western Armenia; and so of Syspirtis; cf. V.

⁵⁶ Leon. Mrov. 47; Juansher 156, 185, 189, 300. — For *sep'ecul*: *infra* at nn. 144-145.

connected with Iberia, that is, with the Iberian royal house, and to allegorize this link by introducing P'arṇavaz into the stemma of the *Primary History*.⁵⁷ There is, however, another possible — and more plausible, though not exclusive of it — explanation, which, like the other, must nevertheless remain in the realm of conjecture. According to the Iberian historical tradition, the original divine line of the Pharnabazids was followed on the Iberian throne, already in the third century B.C., by another which has been called the Nemrodid (i.e., 'Iranian') or Second Pharnabazid Dynasty. The first king of the new house was Mirvan I, related to the earlier kings in the female line.⁵⁸ His praenomen, a cognate of the Iranian *Mihrān*, may suggest his belonging to the Iranian family of *Mihrān*,^{58a} which, at a later date, indeed gave a royal dynasty to Iberia, that of the Chosroids.⁵⁹ The Orontids, however, also used this *praenomen*, as in the case of Mithranes (= *Mihrān*), son of Orontes II, and of Mithras (Mithranes?), brother of Orontes IV (I § 2). Moreover, the early Orontids could well have been described as Iranians. Finally, whereas we may merely infer the existence of the Mihranids at that early epoch, that of the Orontids is an historical fact; and the moment of Mirvan I's accession falls in the period of the Orontid Monarchy in neighbouring Armenia (I § 10). We have, in addition, the pattern of the Armenian royal cadets on the Iberian throne; thus, the rule of the Second Pharnabazid Dynasty was momentarily interrupted by that of a branch of the Artaxiads, then, at a somewhat later date, the Armenian Arsacids ruled in Iberia, and, finally, the Bagratids.⁶⁰ In fact the struggle of the Second Pharnabazid Dynasty and the Artaxiads in Iberia seems to have the character of a repercussion of the Orontid-Artaxiad struggle in Armenia. Accordingly, if the Second Pharnabazid Dynasty was indeed an Orontid branch,

⁵⁷ Markwart, *Genealogie* 74, would interpret the name Armog, which designates, in the genealogy of the *Prim. Hist. Arm.* and of Ps. Moses, the Orontid Artanes-Artoantes (*supra* Part I at n. 72 and § 11), as representing, instead, the King of Iberia, Artoces-Artag (in the first century B.C.). This change from 't' to 'm' in the *Prim. Hist.* (and, following it, in Ps. Moses) is the same as in 'Bagaram' and 'Biwram' for Bagarat and 'Biwrat.' Cf. *infra* n. 60a. — The use of the patronymic derived from Biwrat by Asolik and Samuel of Ani in application to Smbat VI († 726/7) and Ašot II († 690) Bagratuni is an obvious archaeologism evoked by the memory of the above-mentioned second-century Smbat; in the same vein, Vardan (76-77) compares to the same Smbat Ašot IV Bagratuni.

⁵⁸ I at n. 101 and n. 103.

^{58a} The immemorial antiquity of the *Vāspuhrān* houses (Ehtéšam, *Iran Achém.* 21 n. 4) may justify this suggestion. On the other hand, at this early epoch, we know of no historically ascertainable Mihranids.

⁵⁹ I n. 105; II § 25.1.

⁶⁰ For the Artaxiads of Iberia, see I n. 103; for the Arsacids: *ibid.* n. 105; and for the Bagratids: *supra* n. 53.

the inclusion of its eponym and its surname in the material containing memories of the Orontids as quite explicable.^{60a}

11. At all events, the cumulative evidence at our disposal quite forcefully indicates the Orontid origin of the Bagratids. We may now sum up this evidence. (I) Both the *Primary History* and Pseudo-Moses indicate this origin (this has already been noted in § 1); the latter indeed covertly, as a descent from the national and once-divine primogenitor Hayk, from whom Bagarat-Angl, the founder of the Bagratids according to the *Primary History* was himself descended, and he mentions it only in order to refute it.

(II) However, the vehemence of Pseudo-Moses's refutation is in itself an additional proof. It has been seen (I § 15) that the Christian scruples of the Orontid Houses of Arzanene, Artsruni and Gnumi forced them to exchange the traditional version of their descent from the Orontid tutelary deity Angl-Tork' for a new one deducing them from King Sennacherib of Assyria. It was undoubtedly the same sentiments that must have made the Bagratids abandon, in their turn, the Orontid claim and adopt instead a more general one that traced them to Hayk. The latter, it will be recalled (cf. I § 15), when reduced from his original position of part an astral deity and part a divinized primogenitor to that of a mere hero, proved far less objectionable to the early Christian writers than was the god of the netherworld and fertility, Angl-Tork'. Nevertheless, the earlier, pagan, claim must still have remained patent — the descent from Hayk including that from Bagarat-Angl — in the new one; hence Pseudo-Moses, who calmly recorded the Haykid origin — when it implied no connexion with Angl — of other princely houses,⁶¹ rejected it in the case of the Bagratids; and he proceeded to formulate an entirely different version that could match the new version of the Houses of Arzanene, Artsruni, and Gnumi. To this we shall return shortly (§ 16).

(III) A number of geographical and toponymical data point in the same direction. A link seems to be indicated by these data to have existed between the Orontid Dynasty and the name Bagarat and in particular one of its components, the Iranian root *baga*, indicative of divinity. The name itself, of course, is an Armenian rendering of the Iranian **bagadāta* ('god-given').⁶²

^{60a} In reference to n. 57 *supra*, it is to be noted that Artoces of Iberia was an Artaxiad, whose branch succeeded, and was followed by, what appears to be the Iberian branch of the Orontids. It would have been perfectly natural, however, for the later Armenian tradition to have remembered him among the latter. This might explain how — under the influence of that memory — 'Artoantes' could have been corrupted as 'Armog/Artog.'

⁶¹ Cf. I at nn. 168-170 and n. 173.

⁶² Adontz, *Armenija* 412; Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 174; Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 31. Hübschmann gives another possible Iranian etymology: **bagarāta* ('god's gift'). The Iranoid character of the name of the Bagratid eponym and of the Bagratid gentilitial title (§ 14)

Now the Orontid kings of Armenia controlled, as is known (I § 5), the central Armenian plain — the valley of the Araxes. There, on that river, stood the last capital of the Orontids in Armenia, Eruandashat (= *Orontasata); close by, the last Orontes (IV) raised the cities of Bagaran ('the god's place') and of Eruandakert (= *Orontocerta), as reported by Pseudo-Moses (2.39, 40, 42); there was in that vicinity also a place called Eruandavan (*ibid.* 2.46: 'Orontes's site'); while south of them lay the canton of Bagravandene or Bagrevand ('Bagarat's region'),⁶³ with its chief place of Bagauna or Bagavan ('the god's site'),⁶⁴ and it was adjoined in the south-east by the canton of Tsalkotn, once a part of it, which contained the castle of Angl, so named — it is difficult to doubt it — after the tutelary deity of the Orontids.⁶⁵ It has been suggested that 'Bagarat' was the Iranoid name for the proto-Caucasian Angl-Tork'.⁶⁶ That the Iranian dynasty of an Armenia that, though then entering its Hellenistic phase, had been deeply impressed by the 'Iranianism' of the Achaemenian phase should have employed Iranian or Iranoid religious terms, is hardly unexpected. It seems, however, more likely that the Orontid deity was referred to simply by the term *baga*: 'the god', for 'Bagarat' or 'Bagadates' must obviously have been the *praenomen* of one of the devotees of that deity, a name that an Orontid might be expected to bear; the relation between the two terms being the same as, say, between 'Mithras' 'Mithridates'.⁶⁷ In this

led Adontz to suppose (307-308, 400-402, 412-413) that the Bagratids were of Iranian (Median) origin; in this he was followed by K. Aslan, *Études historiques sur le peuple arménien* (Paris 1928) 154, and Laurent, *Arménie* 85. It may be asked whether the memory of Bagdattl, Dynast of Uššidiš, on the Armeno-Median frontier, in the eighth century B.C. (cf. II n. 223) may not have influenced these scholars. The name itself, in its various forms, was frequent in the world of 'Iranianism': cf. *infra* n. 71.

⁶³ For the etymology of 'Bagrevand,' see Adontz, *Armenija* 307; Markwart, *Südararmenien* 11* ('die Landschaft des reichen Spenders [Mithra]'; cf. *infra* n. 67); for the canton itself, Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363; Baumgartner, 'Bagraudanene,' RE 2/2 2774.

⁶⁴ See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 380, for the significance of the suffixes *-aran* and *-awan*. Ps. Moses, 2.46, offers a wholly fanciful etymology of 'Eruandawan.'

⁶⁵ Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 363; Adontz, *Armenija* 307: in Faustus, Calcotn is still a part of Bagravandene; *Tarkou* 192; cf. also *supra* n. 30.

⁶⁶ Abeljan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 26.

⁶⁷ And it was, as a matter of fact, to Mithras *par excellence* that the term *baga* was applied in Arsacid Iran, so that the name Bagadates as used in Iran (in whatever local form) was an equivalent of Mithridates or Mithradates: Herzfeld, *Paikuli* 153. In Orontid Armenia, the Mithraist connotation of *baga* need not have predominated. Yet in the syncretist climate of the times the fusion of solar Angl and solar Mithras (for this aspect of the Iranian deity, cf. Eliade, *Patterns* 150) was probably inevitable. The Commagenian Orontids invoked Mithras precisely in his aspect of the solar psychopomp: JM 15-16; Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 157. For the zurvanist-mazdaist aspect of the Nimrud-dag inscriptions, see *ibid.* 149-159. The association of both divinities with bulls must likewise have conduced to their syncretization. Cf. *supra* Part I § 14 and n. 98 and, for the cult of Mithras in Armenia, Trever, *Oč. po ist. Arm.* 77-95.

light, the toponyms Bagaran and Bagavan appear as semantic equivalents of Angl and of Angel-tun, all of them designating places sacred to 'the god' of the Orontid Dynasty. At the same time, a land situated close to the centre of Orontid power must have been called 'Bagarat's region' only because it was the appanage of an Orontid prince named Bagadates or Bagarat. At a later epoch, after the disappearance of Armenian paganism, when the ancient theogonies were euhemerized and so introduced in Christian literature, the distinction between the divinity and its devotee — between *baga* and *bagadāta* — must have become obliterated, and in the *Primary History* Bagarat is presented as a scion of the royal race whom the pre-Christian barbarians, i.e., pagans, divinized as Angl.

12. It is, of course, impossible to trace in an unbroken line the Bagratids, or for that matter any other Orontid branch, like the Artsrunis or the Gyunis, back to the Orontid kings. The social history of Armenia between the collapse of the Urartian Monarchy and the conversion to Christianity is known to us very tenuously. It is only after the latter event that national historical literature, risen shortly thereafter, begins to supply the historian with generous details of a social nature. For the earlier periods, we have to rely on foreign sources that concern themselves exclusively with political history.⁶⁸ However, in the earliest monuments of the Christian period, the Gregorian Cycle and Faustus, the Bagratid princes are shown among the highest of the realm.⁶⁹ The earliest mention of the *nomen gentilicium* Bagratuni is found in Faustus, where it is applied to a Bagarat;⁷⁰ which means that he was not the eponym and that the latter's *floruit* must be projected further back into the past. It is perhaps significant that one of the few glimpses that can be caught of the social structure of Armenia prior to the Conversion: Appian's few words about Tigranes the Great's realm, reveals the existence at that time, and among the highest personages, of another Bagarat or *Βαγαδάτης*, Tigranes's viceroy of Syria in the years 83-69 B.C.⁷¹ That he belonged to the family that was, probably only later, designated as Bagratid, has now been generally accepted by specialists.⁷² This appears all the more certain in context with the names

⁶⁸ Cf. I at n. 69 and § 12.

⁶⁹ II § 21.

⁷⁰ Faustus 3.7 (28).

⁷¹ Appian, *Syr.* 8.48, 49; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 90. The correct form *Βαγαδάτης* is found in some codd., whereas others give the corrupt form *Μαγαδάτης* (Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 174), which, regrettably, has been given preference by all the editors of the text of Appian.

⁷² Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 174-175; Adontz, *Armenija* 411-415; Manandyan, *Tigran* 51, 56; *O torgovle* 68, 71; *Probl. ob. stroja* 24. — It is to be borne in mind, however, that in the world of 'Iranianism,' this name could be met outside the Bagratid family: cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 57 (where the etymology given *supra* at n. 62 is not found).

given by Appian (and Plutarch) to two other high dignitaries of Armenia: *Μαγκαῖος*, who defended Tigranocerta against the Romans,⁷³ and *Μιθροβουζάνης*, who was in command of an army that was defeated by Lucullus (I § 13). The first of these two names — possibly *Μαγκαῖος* or *Μα[μα]γκαῖος* in the original text — reveals 'Mamik' or 'Mamkon' the eponymous designation of the Mamikonid Dynasty; the other is a name favoured by the Artsrunid branch of the Orontids (I, § 13).⁷⁴ That three chief personages of the Armenia of the Artaxiad period should have borne names peculiar to what the national literary monuments of the Arsacid and subsequent periods reveal as three of the greatest Armenian princely houses — the Bagratids, the Mamikonids, and the Artsrunids — can only with considerable difficulty be deemed a coincidence. And indeed, as has already been noted, the *Primary History* remembers Bagadates as Bagarat P'arnavazian of the family of the Bagratid eponym, Bagarat-Angl.

13. Bagadates was, thus, a contemporary of Tigranes the Great and he appears to have been, unlike Mithrobuzanes, unconnected with the House of Sophene. He must, then, be presumed to have belonged to an Orontid branch that had become separated from the royal trunk before the dynasty lost Armenia (I § 4); and in Armenia his house must consequently have remained. This consideration, as well as the above toponymical indications, show — to my mind conclusively — that Adontz was right when he considered Bagravandene to have been the original allod of the Bagratids.⁷⁵ However, in historically ascertainable times, the Bagratids held it no longer: it belonged to the patriarchal Gregorids and passed from them to the Mamikonids, from whom (as has been seen *supra* § 4) the Bagratids wrested it in the ninth century.

The Bagratid princedoms, before the setting up of Islamic overlordship, were: the canton of Syspiritis or Sper, with its chief fortress of Smbatavan or Bayberd (now Bayburd), in Upper Armenia;⁷⁶ the canton of Kogovit, with its chief

⁷³ Appian, *Mithr.* 12.84, 86.

⁷⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 411-415; Manandyan, *Prob. ob. strofa* 24; II § 12.18.

⁷⁵ Adontz, *op. cit.* 307-308.

⁷⁶ Adontz, *Armenija* 52-53, 122, 124, 394, 398; *Hist. d'Arm.* 281 n. 1; Markwart, *Genealogie* 11; *Streifzüge* 452; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 257, 287, 467; Garitte, *Documents* 228, 234; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 53, Map II; Gugushvili, *Division* 65; I at n. 240. This was the land of the remnants of the Hurrian Saspeires (Sapeires, Sabiri, Esperitae). In *Ērānšahr* 159, Markwart refused to identify with Sper the Syspiritis of Cyrillus of Pharsalus and Medius of Larisa (*apud* Strabo 11.14.12) and so interpreted the text, where it is found and which is given below, as to identify it rather with Šupria, in Assyria (cf. I n. 44). As a result, Adontz, in *Armenija* 398, postulated the existence of two toponyms Syspiritis, and, then, in *Hist. d'Arm.* 332, following Markwart more fully, restricted that toponym to Šupria alone, while reserving for Sper the term *Υσπιρίτις* found in the codd. of Strabo 11.14.9: *ibid.* 281 n.1, 322 n.2; cf. also Weissbach, *Υσπιρίτις* RE 4 A/2 1831-1832. All this seems to be due to a misunder-

fortress of Dariunk⁷ (now Doğubayazit), in Ayrarat;⁷⁷ the canton of Tamoritis

standing of Strabo. In two passages, 11.4.8 and 11.14.12 (citing here as his authority the work of Cyrillus and Medius), Strabo speaks of the settlement of the proto-Armenians, or, as he calls them, followers of the mythical eponym Armenus, in the Armenian Plateau. In nearly identical terms, he says that the newcomers settled in the lands of Acilisene and Syspiritis [and] as far as Calachene and Adiabene [both in the south]: λέγεται... τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶν [Ἀρμένῳ] τε οἰκίσαι τὴν τε Ἀκίλισσην καὶ τὴν Συσπιρίτιν ἕως Καλαχανῆς καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῆς... [and] ... τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀρμένου τοὺς μὲν τὴν Ἀκίλισσην οἰκῆσαι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Σωφηνοῖς πρότερον οὖσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Συσπιρίτιδι ἕως τῆς Καλαχανῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς ἔξω τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν ὄρων.

The two texts ought to be read together, complementing each other, and then the impression that Syspiritis must be in the neighbourhood of Calachene and Adiabene will vanish. It is obvious that Sper is meant here, and what is true here of Syspiritis must be equally true of Acilisene, and Adontz himself recognizes, as he must (*Hist. d'Arm.* 332), that the latter lay in Upper Armenia — i.e., precisely, in the vicinity of Sper. In the Gk Life of St Gregory 172, Sper is called Σουσπέρτις. Originally within the Armenian realm, it became in the mediaeval period a part of Georgia. It is the Ispir of to-day. Since in the above passages and in 11.14.9, Strabo places Syspiritis in Armenia, whereas the nationalism of some Soviet-Georgian scholars would claim Sper as a perennially Georgian land, the equivalence Syspiritis = Sper was flatly denied recently by Ingoroqva, *Giorgi Merč'ule* 506-511. He has suggested therefore, that Ἀκίλισση is an error for Ἀκίση. The latter form indeed occurs in Strabo, 11.14.5, where Zariadris is said to have been King of Sophene, Acisene, Odomantis etc. But this form must obviously be regarded as corrupt, because elsewhere Strabo couples Sophene with, precisely, Acilisene: 11.4.8; 11.12.3; 11.14.2; 11.14.12. In the last-named passage, Strabo, as has been seen, states that Acilisene was once held by the Sophenians. And, in any case, where and what was Acisene? Then, the Georgian sources tend to show that Sper — Speri — was not a Georgian land in early times: Juanšer 170 says that Vaxtang Gorgosai moved 'to the region of Armenia and stopped in the region of Speri' (და გლეგ ზუთიხა დღიხა ხავალი ხომხეთით კერძო, და დადგეს ზვერით კერძო). (In Q the *somzet'it'* of A is replaced by the *samxrit'* ['(region) of the south'] of the later M. P. 203: the Emperor came to Speri in order to enter Iberia (გამოვიდა ზვერად, გამოხლვად ქართლს). P. 226: the Byzantines seized Iberia's borders: Speri and the end of Cholarzene (წაბოღეს ბერძენთა ხაზღვარი ქართლისა: ზვერი და ბოლო კლარჯეთსა). The first and the last passages are admittedly ambiguous, but the second one is unequivocal. In this light, the border in question seems to have passed, precisely, between Sper and the 'end of Cholarzene'. The references to Speri (238) and to the 'Speri river' (= Acampsis) and the 'sea of Speri' (= the Euxine) found elsewhere in Juanšer and in Leontius of Ruisi prove nothing one way or the other. The next reference, just as equivocal, is in the twelfth-century *Hist. David III*. Finally, the decisive fact is that, whatever the presumed ethnic connexion between the Saspeires and the proto-Georgians, the Bagratid princes of Sper were within the Armenian political and cultural sphere.

⁷⁷ Adontz, *Armenija* 306-307; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 364-365, cf. 441; Markwart, *Genealogie* 11-12; *Streifzüge* 252; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 147 (Κονοβίτ of the Byzantines). In Faustus, 3.7; 4.40; 5.1, Dariwnk⁷ (also: Darawnk⁷, Darewnk⁷, Daroynk⁷, Darunk⁷) appears as a royal fortress housing Arsacid treasures. This made Adontz think that the canton itself had been a royal domain: *Armenija* 307. The implication of this was that the Bagratids could have acquired it only after the end of the Arsacid Monarchy. But occupying fortresses on

or Tmorik', in Gordyene;⁷⁸ and possibly the canton of Colthene or Golt'n, in Siunia.⁷⁹ The havoc wrought by the struggle accompanying the establishment of the suzerainty of the Caliphate over Armenia (A.D. 653/4) led to a considerable change in the politico-dynastic configuration of the realm. Numerous dynasties came to extinction or grew weak to the profit of others; numerous allods changed hands.⁸⁰ As a result, the Bagratids lost practically all of their original princedoms and acquired new ones; but the period of caliphal control is somewhat beyond the scope of this Study.⁸¹

princely territory was one of the royal prerogatives: I at n. 195; cf. the case of Ingilene: II at nn. 66-70. This, therefore, need not be regarded as equivalent to the royal possession of the territory itself. It is not known when Kogovit became a Bagratid princedom; possibly it had always been that, as a remnant of the Orontid appanage of 'Bagrat's region' (cf. § 11 [III]); but it was in the seventh century that Dariwnk' became the chief residence (*ostan*) and sepulchre of the dynasty. There is hardly any need to suggest with Adontz, 307, that, because a fifth-century Bagratid prince, Tiroc' I, took part in the affairs of the Great King's portion of Armenia (whereas Syspiritis lay in the Emperor's section), he must have belonged to a line different to that which held Syspiritis: a 'Persarmenian' line which, as Adontz concedes, may already then have held Kogovit. The simple fact seems to be rather that the Bagratids as a house held simultaneously domains in different parts of Armenia; 'cette division de leurs domaines était ... une cause de faiblesse; elle leur donnait par contre une grande sécurité contre les tentatives des maîtres étrangers de l'Arménie. Quand ils étaient d'accord avec Byzance, ou quand ils redoutaient leur voisin oriental, ils séjournaient dans la principauté de Sper. Mais ils avaient à Dariouk et dans son territoire, une forteresse et une principauté, qui devenaient leur centre d'action quand ils fuyaient les Grecs, ou quand ils étaient particulièrement en faveur auprès des maîtres de l'Arménie Orientale': Laurent, *Arménie* 86.

⁷⁸ Tumurru of the Assyrians, *Ταμωρίτις* of the Greeks (which some editors of Strabo, 11.14 5, have attempted to 'emend' as *Ταρωρίτις* was also known as Kordrik', but its chief fortress was always Tmorik': Adontz, *Armenija* 395; *Hist. d'Arm.* 210; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 336-337; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 350, 352-354, 383-386; cf. Garitte, *Documents* 219-220. According to Ps. Moses, 2.53, the Bagratids were established in this princedom already in the second century, in the person of Smbat, son of Biwrat (for whom, see *supra* § 10). By the beginning of the eighth century, the Bagratids appear entitled 'Prince of the region of Vaspurakan' (*Smbat išxann kolmann Vaspurakan*): Leontius 8 (27). Since practically the whole of Vaspurakan was held by various other dynasties (cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 315-321), this title must have been based on the Bagratid sovereignty over its two limitrophe regions, Kogovit and Tamorit: cf. Laurent, *Arménie* 86.

⁷⁹ Ps. Moses 2.53 also mentions the setting up of a Bagratid foothold in Colthene. If Bagratid indeed, the Princes of Colthene formed a separate branch, which Ps. Moses elsewhere (2.8) describes — owing, obviously, to the geographical position of Colthene — as a branch of the House of Siunia: cf. II § 12.10.

⁸⁰ Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 296-340; Laurent, *Arménie* 83-128.

⁸¹ After 750, when the Umayyads, whom they supported, were overthrown by the Abbassids (Grousset, *Histoire* 317-321), and especially after 772, when the Armenian revolt against the Caliphate, in which they took part, met with a crushing defeat (*ibid.* 323-334), the Bagratids suffered a temporary reversal of their fortunes and lost some of their possessions. Vaspurakan passed to the House of Arcruni. That Syspiritis was lost likewise, has been too

Now, if indeed the Bagratids originally held Bagravandene, it is not difficult to see why they came to lose it. The Artaxiads are known to have transferred some Orontid branches from their original allods in Sophene to the Median border.⁸² *A fortiori* then, they must have found the existence of an Orontid allod in the centre of Armenia itself quite intolerable. They may, we presume, have induced the Bagratids to exchange that allod for a more remote one, such as Syspiritis on the Iberian border. If Bagadates was the one who accepted this transaction, the application to him in the *Primary History* of the surname of Pharnabazid, indicative as it is of an Iberian connexion, becomes explicable.

14. Besides the surname of Bagratuni, i.e., Bagratid, the dynasty had another, short-lived, one of Aspetuni, which appears to have been the earlier of the two and was derived from the gentilitial title of *aspet*.⁸³ This title was derived by

readily believed by Laurent, *Arménie* 109. The installation there by the Emperor of a Bagratid prince in 837 need not be taken as signifying the return of Syspiritis to the dynasty. Actually, after 772, Ašot IV took refuge in the Bagratid lands on the Imperial frontier, where he had silver mines. This could only be Syspiritis. Already Strabo, 11.14.9, mentioned the gold mines of Syspiritis; and in the Ottoman *kaza* of Ispir, which represented a part at least of the old principality, there were gold mines, which were abandoned in the sixteenth century, and silver mines, still used at the end of the nineteenth: Cuinet, *Turquie* I 150; cf. Laurent 41. This source of wealth enabled Ašot to buy from the Kamsarakans the principalities of Aršarunik' and of Siracene. He then acquired also Ašoc' and a part of Tayk'. He came, finally, we do not know how (Laurent 104 states that he wrested it from the Arabs), in possession of Mamikonid Tarawn. His grandson, Ašot the Great seized Mamikonid Bagravandene. The Mamikonid principality of Bznunik' (with Xlat') seems to have also been acquired by the Bagratids already by 750, though it was soon to become an Arab emirate. See, for all this, II § 12.9; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 452; *Genealogie* 31; Laurent 93-98, 217; Grousset, 341, 373-374; V at n. 63. Laurent 93 states that the Bagratids acquired from the Mamikonids, c. 750, Muš and Baješ as well as Tarawn; but they appear in Bagratid hands only in the ninth century; and there is nothing in Leontius, 28, 33, 34, quoted by Laurent, 93 n. 7, 99, 94 and 110 n. 9, to support the assertion that Isaac Bagratuni was Prince of Tarawn, that Vasak Bagratuni was one also, and, *a fortiori*, that Vasak expelled the line of Isaac from Tarawn (for these princes, see *infra* III § 3). The most that the text of Leontius 34 warrants one to suppose is that Vasak held lands in the neighbourhood of Arčēš and of Vaspurakan and so, according to Markwart, *Streifzüge* 414-415, 'likely in Tarawn.' Some authors have attributed to the Bagratids the possession of Ingilene, which is a natural enough confusion arising from their Orontid origin: cf. Grousset 292; Laurent 85 (where the Bagratids are, wrongly, given the title of *mardpet*, for which, see II § 7-8). Cf. *infra* III at nn. 26-28.

⁸² *Supra* at nn. 31-32.

⁸³ The Gk Life of St Gregory 98: τῶν Ὀσπετιανῶν ἐπαρχῆς; Procopius *Bell. pers.* 2.3.12-18: τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν... γένος — a phrase misinterpreted as 'the tribe called the Aspetiani' in the LCL ed., I [1914], 273; yet a little below (280/281), the same word γένος is correctly rendered as 'family' [of the Arsacids]. See Markwart, *Streifzüge* 437; Adontz, *Armenija* 402, 417. The form *Aspetuni or, possibly, *Aspetean is not found in any Armenian sources, though it must have existed.

Adontz from the Old Pers. *viθapaitiš*⁸⁴ and, more convincingly, by Markwart and Hübschmann from the Old Pers. **aspapaitiš* or Master of the Horse.⁸⁵ That this term designated an Armenian office, i.e., that of commander of the cavalry, as has been assumed by some,⁸⁶ I am now prepared to doubt. Adontz has made it quite clear⁸⁷ that there was no room in the Kingdom of Armenia for such an office, next to that of High Constable, because the Armenian army, which to all intents and purposes was exclusively cavalry, was under the authority of the latter; this, to my mind, is decisive. It must be assumed, therefore, that, whatever the etymological significance of the term, it must have been merely a family title of the Bagratids, and not an office.⁸⁸ There are indeed hardly any references in the works of the Arsacid historians to Bagratids in command of the king's forces.⁸⁹

What makes the whole question somewhat involved is the fact that one of the Seven Great Houses of the Iranian empire was surnamed *Aspahbadh*.⁹⁰ And this *nomen gentilicium* appears to have been derived not from any term signifying Master of the Horse, but, parallelly with the Iranian term for High Constable, or *spāhbad*, from the Old Persian *spādapaitiš*.⁹¹ May it not be supposed, then, that in a similar way the Armenian gentilitial title *aspet* was derived, along with the name of the office of High Constable: *sparapet* or *asparapet*,

⁸⁴ Adontz *op. cit.* 401-402.

⁸⁵ Markwart, *Genealogie* 68; Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 109.

⁸⁶ Cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 291.

⁸⁷ *Armenija* 447.

⁸⁸ For Armenian gentilitial titles, see Adontz 400: *aspet* of the Bagratids, *mamak* of the Mamikonids, *małxaz* of the Xorxorunis. The *Prim. Hist. Arm.* 14, indeed appears to imply that the King of Armenia created Bagarat P'arnawazean an *aspet* (§ 7), but this must be due to the frequent fusion of this title with the office of Coronant in the Bagratid nomenclature; cf. *supra* n. 68.

⁸⁹ In Sassanian Iran, on the other hand, the office of Commander-in-Chief or High Constable = *Ērān-spāhbad* (Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 130-132; Ehtéham, *Iran Achém.* 63-64; from the Old Pers. *spādapaitiš*; also Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 240) seems to have co-existed with that of Master of the Horse = *aspabād* (Christensen 107-108, and n. 1; C. Huart and L. Delaporte, *L'Iran antique* [Paris 1952] 365) or **aspvārbaδ/aspvārbaδ* (Christensen 108 n. 1: this form 'serait plus vraisemblable'; it is derived from the Old Pers. **aspapaitiš* or **asabārapaitiš*; Ehtéham 65); cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 447; Huart 365; Christensen 107-108. The chief source for the existence of the second office is Theophylactus 3.8; though Christensen, 130-132, omits all mention of it when treating of the organization of the Iranian army.

⁹⁰ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 103-105; Ehtéham, *Iran Achém.* 21 n. 4; Justi, *Namenbuch* 306, 429.

⁹¹ Christensen, *op. cit.* 104 n.1. Ps. Moses, 2.68, derives the name of the Iranian family (*Aspahapeti Pahlaw*) from their position as commanders of the armed forces. What is especially interesting, Theophanes, *Chron.* 352, refers to the *Aspahbad* of the end of the fifth century as *Ἀσπέντιος*.

from the same Old Persian *spādapaitiš*?⁹² There remains, however, the somewhat baffling existence not only of parallel offices, in Armenia and in Iran, which was to be expected in the circumstances, but also of the parallelism between two great houses, one Iranian and the other Armenian, bearing etymologically equivalent names of *Aspahbað* and of *Aspet*. To be sure, there were other such parallelisms between the two societies. The Armenian Kamsarakans and Gregorids claimed to be branches of the Iranian houses of Kārin and Sūren.⁹³ After the Hellenistic phase of Armenian history, stretching from the Orontids to the advent of the Arsacids in the first century, a new phase of 'Iranianism' was entered by Armenian society: the impact of the Parthian empire of the Arsacid Dynasty of which the Armenian royal house was a branch. In this new phase, the Armenian aristocracy must have begun to pattern itself on the Iranian, exactly as the Arsacid Monarchy of Armenia tended to become institutionally a mirror of the Parthian empire. Thus it is entirely possible that, either through sheer imitation or for reason of a marital alliance, the Bagratids assumed in its Armenian form the appellation of the Iranian *Aspahbadhs*.

15. The great hereditary office of the Bagratids was that of Coronant or *t'agadir* of Armenia. The passage of the *Primary History* cited above (§ 7), which refers to the placing of the crown, along with the conferment of other regalia, by Bagarat P'arnavazian, and the documents of the Gregorian Cycle⁹⁴ are the earliest references to this Bagratid office-fief. A similar office existed in Iran, where it was vested in the House of Sūrēn,⁹⁵ and may have served as a model for the Armenian office, though Adontz supposes something like the same office to have already existed in Urartu.⁹⁶ The Bagratids appear to have held another office-fief, mentioned only in the Greek Life of St Gregory, of Guardian of the Caucasian and Tzannic mountains.⁹⁷ It implied the control of the Pontic Alps (Mt Paryadres), the north-western boundary of Syspirtis, and the position of a sort of assistant-vitaxa of the North.⁹⁸ The reference to Mt Caucasus, however, must be regarded as purely rhetorical.

16. With the Christian phase of Armenian history, succeeding the second 'Iranianism' of the Parthian phase, new fashions in genealogy were ushered into the princely society of Armenia. It has been noted (§ 11 [II]; I § 15) that, in the new phase, some Orontid branches abandoned their pagan tradi-

⁹² For *sparapet*, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik* 240; Adontz, *Armenija* 445; cf. II § 12.18.

⁹³ Cf. Ps. Moses 2.27, 28, 72, 73, 74, 82, 90, 91; II § 12.16; § 13.11.

⁹⁴ II § 5 Lists A and B.

⁹⁵ Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 18; Ehtésham, *Iran Achém.* 21 n.4 (= 23).

⁹⁶ Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 215.

⁹⁷ II § 5 List A.

⁹⁸ II 12.9.

tion of the descent from the god Angl-Tork'. And while the Bagratids at first retained the vaguer, and less objectionable, claim to a Haykid descent, the Houses of Arzanene, Artsruni, and Gnuni devised a wholly new one, to the Assyrian royal ancestry. The vogue of exotic origins among the Armenian Princes⁹⁹ enhanced the basic, religious, motivation of the change. It was in these circumstances that the Bagratids in their turn evolved an entirely new genealogical tradition, of Hebrew origin. Pseudo-Moses appears to have been the formulator of this new theory. Now the new Arzanene-Artsruni-Gnuni claim was prompted by the conjunction of a geographical synonymy ('City of Angl' = 'City of Sennacherib') with a biblical tradition (the flight of the sons of Sennacherib to Armenia). In a somewhat similar way, it was the conjunction of several near-homophonies and of two historical traditions, Jewish and Armenian, that seems to have given birth to the Hebrew claim of the Bagratids. Markwart has suggested that Pseudo-Moses must have been struck by a series of near-homophones in Josephus. There is a mention of Ananus, son of Bamadus (*Bell. jud.* 5.13.1) and of his companion (and one referred to together with him) Archelaus, son of Magadates (*ibid.* 6.4.2) — contemporaries of Titus — as well as the story of the High Priest Ananelus, Herod the Great's creature (*Ant.* 15.2.7). These names, Pseudo-Moses must have correlated with the memories of Bagadates, Viceroy of Syria (§ 12); and thus evolved (2.24) a composite and imaginary personage, the Bagratid 'Enanos the Aspet,' whom he made journey to Palestine, at the time of Herod the Great, and take part in Jewish affairs, of which he was cognizant through, precisely, the works of Josephus. These seem to have been the steps that led to the idea of the Jewish origin of the Bagratids. When once formulated, this origin was emphatically asserted throughout the History of Pseudo-Moses (1.22; 2.3, 8, 9, 33, 63). In connexion with this, Pseudo-Moses was able to indulge his love for etymologizing, when he proceeded (2.63; 1.22) to derive the typically Iranoid Bagratid *praenomina* of Bagarat, Smbat, Ashot, Varaz, from the Hebrew names Bagadia (Bagath), Shambat or Shambay, Asud, Azaria or Vazaria, and, by implication, the title of Aspet from the name Sap'atiay (Saphatias).¹⁰⁰ At any rate, even if Markwart's explanation be deemed unconvincing, the fact must nevertheless be recognized that no other Armenian source prior to the tenth-century John the Katholikos knows anything about the Hebrew claim of the Bagratids. So, if not *by* Pseudo-Moses, this theory must have been developed *at the time of* Pseudo-Moses, and he at least must be credited with putting it in its earliest-known literary form. Later, this theory underwent an important change. It was transformed into a tradition of such magnificence as outshone the genea-

⁹⁹ Cf. I at n. 245.

¹⁰⁰ Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 174 n. 6 (= 175); *Streifzüge* 428-430.

logical *chimères* of other dynasties: the imperial Chinese tradition of the Mami-konids and the royal Assyrian tradition of the Artsrunis. The latest Bagratid claim was one of their descent from King and Prophet David of Israel, the ancestor of Our Lord, the descendant in an unbroken line from Adam, and the archetype of kings. This implied that the Bagratids were not only the most ancient and, as it were, the most authentic dynasty in the world, but, moreover, kinsmen of Our Lord and of His Mother. This version arose and developed, however, not among the Armenian Bagratids, but among their Iberian cousins. The Iberian (East Georgian) line of the dynasty stemmed from Atrnerseh, or in Georgian: Adarnase, son of Vasak and grandson of Ashot III the Blind († 761), Presiding Prince of Armenia. Following the defeat of the Armenian insurrection against the Caliphate in 772, Adarnase removed to Iberia thus founding this line.¹⁰¹ The Georgian sources, at all events, are the first to mention the Davidic origin of the Bagratids. The earliest source is Juansher's *History of King Vaxhtang Gorgasal*, written between c. 790 and c. 800, where is related the arrival in Iberia, sometime after 772, of the above Adarnase, 'who was of the House of David the Prophet.'¹⁰² The next source is the stone effigy in low relief of Adarnase's son, the Curopalate Ashot I the Great of Iberia († 830)¹⁰³ from the church of Opiza, in Shavshet'i, which represents him in an act of offering a model of that church to Our Lord, seated upon a throne, blessing Ashot, and accompanied by the King-Prophet, represented in an attitude of supplication and identifiable by the ecclesiastical majuscules CDVT' (*Cinascarnetqueli DaViT'* = 'the Prophet David').¹⁰⁴ Here the allusion to the donor's descent from Our Lord's ancestor and the latter's intercession is unmistakable. The Life of St Gregory of Khandzt'a, written in 950/951 by George Merch'ule,¹⁰⁵ is next to refer, in Chapter 11, to the tradition of the Davidic origin as extant at the time of the Curopalate Ashot the Great. Finally, the *Chronicle of Iberia*, compiled in the eleventh century, mentions this tradition as existing at the time of Ashot's father Adarnase.¹⁰⁶ From the latter source

¹⁰¹ *Infra* III; IV § 34-35; *Bagr. of Iber.* I.

¹⁰² Juansher 243; cf. IV § 34, and n. 26.

¹⁰³ The date of his death is discussed in my *Chronology* 83-85.

¹⁰⁴ Amiranašvili, *Ist. gruz. isk.* I 212-213 and Table 111. Ašot is identifiable by an inscription. In another inscription from the same church, he is called the 'second builder' of it: Marr, *Dnevnik pojezdki v Šavšetiju i Klardžetiju* (St Petersburg 1911) 163. He must have been so called because, according to Juansher 178 the original builder of the monastery of Opiza was Artavaz, Duke of Cholarzene, *temp.* Vaxtang I (late fifth century). In the *Chron. Iber.* 260, however, it is Ašot's youngest son Guaram who is qualified as the second builder of Opiza: no doubt as the second, after his father, among the Bagratids.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Introd.* at nn. 54-55.

¹⁰⁶ *Chron. Iber.* 251; cf. IV § 34, and n. 27.

and from Juansher, it appears that the claim was not, in the days of Adarnase, as yet widely known.¹⁰⁷ This would suggest that it had just then come into being.

The first Armenian author to refer to this new theory — rather in passing — was John Katholikos († 931), as he was the first after Pseudo-Moses to mention the Hebrew theory.¹⁰⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus († 959) was the first to do so among the Byzantines. The latter's account betrays a definite Iberian influence and manifests an attempt at representing this theory in the form of a genealogy.¹⁰⁹ This genealogical formulation reached its complete and elaborate shape in the Georgian work of Sumbat, the *History of the Bagratids*, written about the year 1030.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Thus, the Chosroid princess of Iberia, whose son married Adarnase's daughter, is shown by the *Chron. Iber.*, 251, to have been ignorant of the Davidic origin of the Bagratids; and Juanšer, 243, while saying, on the one hand, that Adarnase was of the House of David, on the other hand describes Adarnase's father as 'related' (actually 'related by marriage' = *mzaxebul* [sic]) to the Bagratids; cf. *infra* III at n. 21; IV § 34.

¹⁰⁸ John Kath. 25: *զնազարաւ... զարմէ համբաւեն լինել յազգէ Դաւիթի* ('Bagarat... who is renowned for being of the House of David'). The Bagarat in question is the same as the one referred to in the *Prim. Hist. Arm.* as 'Bagarat P'arnawazean' (§ 7). In general, the Armenian Bagratids displayed little interest in the Hebrew theory and its Davidic development, as compared with their Iberian cousins with whom this legend became the basis of a dynastic-political myth. One may say that Ps. Moses launched this idea for the use of his Armenian patrons, but that it was their Iberian kinsmen who made use of it. The connexion of this idea with the Armenian Bagratids exists largely only in modern historiography, moulded as it has been by Ps. Moses: it is enough to remember the casual reference of John Kath. to realize this; cf. *infra* n. 110.

¹⁰⁹ *De adm. imp.* 45; cf. IV § 34 n. 35. The Iberian inspiration is evident in Constantine's avoidance of all mention of the Armenian past of the Iberian Bagratids; this tendency reached its fullest expression in the *History of Sumbat*.

¹¹⁰ IV Excursus A. — It is incredible that an attempt should have been made to-day to rehabilitate the theory of the Hebrew and Davidic origin of the Bagratids. In Jenkins, ed., *Const. Porphy. De Adm. Imp.* II, Runciman suggests (172) that 'we need not doubt their [the Bagratids'] Jewish origin: large numbers of Jews from the Assyrian captivity ... settled in Armenia, where, as in Babylonia, there were hereditary chiefs who claimed descent from David known as the "Princes of the Diaspora," till the high Middle Ages.' The reference given is to M. Brann and D. Chwolson, 'Evrei,' ES 11 (1893) 440-441, where, as a matter of fact, there is not one reference to Armenia, this entire section dealing with the Jews, and their Exilarchs (*reš galata*), in Babylonia. Referring to the same work, H. Rosenthal, 'Armenia,' JE 2 (1902) 117, introduces the words 'adjoining Armenia,' when speaking of the descendants of the Jewish captives of Nabuchodonosor 'in the Parthian and Persian countries.' The presence of Jewish settlers in Armenia is, of course, generally known; and it is just as well known that the Exilarchs did not reside there. At all events, the entire attempt loses significance when it is recalled that the Davidic claim originated not in Armenia, but in Iberia, and that even the Armenian theory of the Hebrew origin is a late one: it cannot be found in any source prior to the eighth-century work of Ps. Moses. The latter's ascription of

17. The correlation of the versions, Armenian and Iberian, of the third, Jewish, genealogical theory of the Bagratids bears upon the problem of the date of Pseudo-Moses. For over half a century the problem of the true date of the composition of his great work on the Armenian Antiquities has taxed the ingenuity of scholars. Pseudo-Moses himself supplies his readers with broad hints which make it possible to place his *floruit* in the second half of the fifth century¹¹¹ and which were once accepted, as now they are not, at their face value by the overwhelming majority of specialists. Being, thus, something of a deliberate mystifier, this author has deserved his appellation of Pseudo-Moses. As to the true date, scholarly opinions vary. Broadly speaking, there are three groups of theories on this subject: some ascribe this History to the seventh century,¹¹² others to the eighth,¹¹³ and still others to the ninth.¹¹⁴ These divergent views, and their mutual exclusion, were recently held up to irony by

a Hebrew (not Davidic) origin to the House of Amatuni, which Runciman assumes to be a corroborating evidence, is made rather hesitantly, along with another and totally different claim, which is probably the earlier one. For the possible origin of this claim in Ps. Moses, see II § 12.3. Somewhat more plausible, though as incapable of proof, is the suggestion of MacIver that the Hebrew theory may have been due to the conversion to Judaism of some pre-Christian Bagratids (as in the case of the House of Adiabene): *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Asotik de Tarōn* (Paris 1917) 7 n. 9 (= 8). In either case, the history of the claim is the best argument against its validity.

¹¹¹ Ps. Moses 3.61, 62, 68; cf. Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 198-199, 207.

¹¹² See, e.g., A. von Gutschmid, 'Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der armenischen Geschichte des Moses von Khoren,' BVSGW 27 (1876); and his article on 'Moses of Chorene,' completed by F.C. Conybeare, EB 11th ed. (1911) [between A.D. 634 and 643: this must be regarded as the definitive opinion of the last-named scholar]; A. Zaminean, *Hay grakan patmut'iwn* (Nakhichevan 1914) 110; L. Melikset-Bek, 'Xazary po drevnearmjanskim istočnikam v svjazi s problemoj Moiseja Xorenskogo,' *Sbornik v čest' Akad. I.A. Obeli* 112-118 [cf. *infra* n. 120].

¹¹³ E.g., Carrière, *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren: Études critiques* (Vienna 1893); *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren: Supplément* (Vienna 1894); G. Xalateanc', *Armjanskij ėpos v 'Istorii Armenii' Moiseja Xorenskago* (Moscow 1896); *Armjanskije Aršakidy v 'Istorii Armenii' Moiseja Xorenskago* (Moscow 1903); G. Tēr-Mkrtčean, 'Xorenac'woy žamanakě orošelu nor p'or,' At 1897 [after the end of the seventh century]; N. Akinean, 'Moses Chorenaci,' RE Suppl. 6 534-541 [Ps. Moses is identical with Leontius the Priest, c. 800]; Adontz, 'Sur la date de l'Histoire de l'Arménie de Moïse de Chorène: à propos de l'article de M. Hans Lewy,' B 11 (1936) 97-100; 'A propos de la note de M. Lewy sur Moïse de Chorène,' *ibid.* 597-599 [between the last quarter of the eighth century and 826]; Jānašia, *K kritike* 473-503 [not before the eighth century].

¹¹⁴ E.g., Mlaker, 'Zur Geschichte des Ps. Moses Chorenatsi,' Ar 2 (1927); 'Die Datierung der Geschichte des Ps. Moses Xorenaci,' WZKM 42 (1935) 267-286; Markwart, *Genealogie* [mid-ninth century]; Manandyan, *Xorenac'u avel'vaci lucumē* (Erevan 1934) [second half of the ninth century]; H. Lewy, 'The Date and Purpose of Moses of Chorene's History,' B 11 87-96; 'Additional Note on the Date of Moses of Chorene,' *ibid.* 593-596 [between 876 and 885].

a Soviet-Armenian savant, who reverted to the traditional date,¹¹⁵ and he has been seconded in this by another authority.¹¹⁶ While pointing out, quite justly the mutually cancelling divergencies of modern scholars when dealing with the question of when Pseudo-Moses *did* write, these two Soviet-Armenian authorities seem to overlook the fact of the solid agreement of all of them as to when Pseudo-Moses *could not* have been writing, i.e., in the fifth century. The best among the arguments against the traditional dating of Pseudo-Moses appear to me to be the following. (1) In 1.14, Pseudo-Moses projects into a remote past the division of western Armenia and some neighbouring lands into First, Second, Third, and Fourth Armenia, which division was instituted by the Emperor Justinian in 536.¹¹⁷ — (2) In 3.18, he speaks of the Iranians' penetrating as far as Bithynia in the course of a war on the Empire. This occurred, for the first time in history, in the war of 604-629.¹¹⁸ — (3) In 3.46, allusion is made to the institution, following the death of Arsaces III (c. 390), of the office of Presiding Prince (*aṛajnord ēr naxararac'n*), along with that of *comes Armeniae* (*komēss išxans*) in the provinces fallen under Imperial control. This can only be a reminiscence of the situation which resulted from Heraclius I's victory over Iran in 629. — (4) In 2.65, he refers to the Khazars (as at the time of the mythical First Arsacid King Vologases), which no Armenian source does prior to the Geography of Ananias of Siracene, of the end of the seventh century, once erroneously ascribed to the same Pseudo-Moses.¹¹⁹ At the beginning of that century, Sebēos does not mention the Khazars by name.¹²⁰ — (5) He makes use, in 2.62, of 'Vaspurakan' to designate the territory east of lake Van; this territory, however, came to be so designated only after the partition of Armenia in 591.¹²¹ Sebēos, in the early seventh century, does not yet know this term as a toponym, but uses *vaspurakan* adjectivally as an 'elevated' equivalent of 'Iranian' and thus indeed to designate the territory in question, which in 591 remained in the Iranian sphere.¹²² It is only in the *Narratio*

¹¹⁵ S. Malkasyanc', *Xorenac'u aṛelcvaci šurje* (Erevan 1940).

¹¹⁶ Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm.* III. I 198-209.

¹¹⁷ Adontz, *Armenija* 203; Gutschmid-Conybeare, *Moses of Chorene* 898 n.1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Introd.* at n. 11.

¹²⁰ Melikset-Bek, *Xazary*. The author's intention seems to be less to prove Ps. Moses's belonging to the seventh century than to demonstrate that no Armenian source of unquestionable dating prior to Ananias knows the Khazars. He does not altogether exclude the possibility of an interpolation; but the presence of other anachronisms makes this possibility extremely unlikely. — Sebēos, who does not use the term 'Khazar,' nevertheless refers to the Khazar king as 'great Xak'an of the North': 18 (104, 106), 19 (108, 109).

¹²¹ Adontz, *Armenija* 230-234.

¹²² Sebēos 3 (40); in 6 (76, 77), *vaspurakan* is an unmistakable synonym of 'Iranian.' Cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 232; Garitte, *La Narratio* 244.

de rebus Armeniae, compiled c. 700 and reaching us in a Greek rendering, that Vaspurakan first appears as Pseudo-Moses uses it.¹²³ — (6) He uses the term 'Sisakan' to designate the province of Siunia, in 1.12. Now this term makes its earliest appearance in the Syriac chronicle of Zacharias Rhetor (554);¹²⁴ but the earliest Armenian use of it is found in the Geography of Ananias of Siracene. What is important, however, is that in this source Sisakan is not yet treated as synonymous with Siunia, but as the name of a canton in the neighbouring province of Arts'akh.¹²⁵ It is only in the tenth century that John the Katholikos uses this term in the same sense as Pseudo-Moses; he is, by the way, the first Armenian writer to mention Pseudo-Moses.¹²⁶ — (7) For Pseudo-Moses, his dislike of the Mamikonids is a corollary of his devotion to the Bagratids. This can only have been the outcome of the dynastic policies of the two houses as they were shaped after the mid-eighth century.¹²⁷ — (8) The work of Pseudo-Moses is an antiquarian's production — one is tempted to suspect him of emulating the *Antiquities* of Josephus on whom he often draws — and his attention is focussed on the creative minority of Armenia, its class of dynastic princes. His treatment of the Armenian princely nobility, however, is strikingly anachronistic. It is marked by an obvious archaeologism as well as by an *étatiste* misapprehension of the dynasticist nature of that social group. This suggests that the Armenian Antiquities of Pseudo-Moses could hardly have been written before that group began losing its vigour and, what is more, its actuality, and so could attract antiquarian interest: before, that is, the ushering in, in the mid-eighth century, of the Abbasid-Bagratid phase.¹²⁸ — (9) Finally, the work of the 'Armenian Herodotus' belongs to the type of 'Universal Histories,' which flourished in the Armenian literature in the tenth-thirteenth centuries and was unknown to the early historians.^{128a} The

¹²³ *Narratio* 103 (40: 'Ασπουρανάν).

¹²⁴ Adontz, *Armenija* 421 n. 3.

¹²⁵ Ananias 33.

¹²⁶ John Kath. 135, 230, 245, 303, 307 (for Sisakan); 53 (for Moses).

¹²⁷ Adontz, *Sur la date* 99; Akinean, *Moses Chorenaci* 536.

¹²⁸ Adontz, *Armenija* 237-238, 489; I at nn. 171-172.

^{128a} Muyldermans, *Historiographie* 110-111. Since, as we shall see, Ps. Moses is anterior to the ninth century, this type of historical writing must be said to have been first resorted to by him. — In establishing this *terminus a quo* all reference of Ps. Moses's connexion with the *Eccl. History* of Socrates, the *Life of St Sylvester*, and the chronicle of Malalas has been deliberately avoided. This connexion has been used by both the old antagonists and the modern proponents of the fifth century as the *floruit* of Ps. Moses; cf. Abejyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 203-209. It is not, as can be seen, essential to our problem. Nor do I propose to enter here into the problem of the identity of Ps. Moses with Leontius, as posed by Fr Akinean (*supra* n. 113). An anonymous chronicle, brought down to A.D. 685, and ascribed in the MSS to Ps. Moses, has been found to be based on his work: Abejyan 318. It has also

cumulative effect of the above arguments points to the mid-eighth century as the *terminus a quo* of Pseudo-Moses. In accepting it we must part company with those who would assign him to the seventh century; what follows now will contradict the advocates of the ninth century as well, and in the first place Markwart (§ 2).

As is well known, the two lines of the Bagratid Dynasty, Armenian and Iberian, were long united by the close ties of dynastic and political co-operation: Christian Caucasia becoming thus, in the ninth-eleventh centuries, largely a sort of pan-Bagratid condominium.¹²⁹ In view of these ties between them, it would have been hardly possible for the new genealogical theory of the Iberian Bagratids to remain unknown to their Armenian cousins, or to the latter's historiographer; and Markwart is very right in observing that, had Pseudo-Moses been aware of the Iberian transformation of the Hebrew version, he would not have missed the opportunity of further glorifying his patrons by ascribing to them the Davidic ancestry.¹³⁰ Markwart was able to square this observation with his belief that Pseudo-Moses wrote in the latter part of the ninth century, only because of his confidence that the Iberian Davidic version had been formulated, under the influence of Pseudo-Moses, in the ninth-tenth century.¹³¹ But, as we know, the beginnings of the Iberian version — of necessity a derivative of the Hebrew theory set forth by Pseudo-Moses — can be traced back to the eighth century. And so Markwart's argument in favour of Pseudo-Moses's belonging to the ninth century must be abandoned. Markwart conjectured that that writer — quite the opposite of the compiler of the *Primary History* (§ 5-8) — was an exponent of the ideology of the eastern branch of the Armenian Bagratids (§ 4), who cryptically glorified Smbat VIII for his resistance and branded as a renegade Bagarat of Taraun for his temporizing, when faced with the Muslimizing pressure of the Caliphate¹³², and who wrote at the Court of Smbat VIII's son Ashot V, Prince of Princes (c. 862-885) and then King of Armenia (885-890).¹³³ Markwart's attempt to discover hidden

been ascribed to Ananias of Siracene. It can hardly be used for the dating of either. For the problem of Ps. Moses, cf. also A.O. Sarkissian, 'On the Authenticity of Moses of Khoren's History,' JAOS 60/1.

¹²⁹ The genealogical aspect of this dynastic condominium is treated in my *Bagr. of Iber. I*; the historical aspect, in M. Brosset, 'Histoire des Bagratides géorgiens, d'après les auteurs arméniens et grecs, jusqu'au commencement du xi^e siècle,' in *Additions IX*; and, with errors, by Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* (Cambridge 1929) cap. 8.

¹³⁰ *Genealogie* 76.

¹³¹ *Strelfzüge* 402-403 (not before the end of the ninth century), 428-430.

¹³² *Genealogie* 56-68; cf. *Untersuchungen II* 235. For the historical situation referred to, see Grousset, *Histoire* 368-369; Laurent, *Arménie* 125-127.

¹³³ For this personage: Grousset, *op. cit.* 372-397; Laurent, *op. cit.* 128, 284 and *passim*.

allusions to that effect in the *History of Armenia*, whatever its apparent persuasiveness, must fall to the ground before hard chronological facts. Because, even were one to persist in the old view which placed Juansher in the eleventh century¹³⁴ and to reject, accordingly, his testimony, as well as that of the *Chronicle of Iberia* and of the Life of St Gregory of Khandzt'a, as not being contemporary accounts of eighth-century events, there would still remain the fact of the Opiza relief made under the Curopalate Ashot the Great of Iberia (813-830), in other words, a witness of the beginning of the ninth century. It is interesting, too, that Ashot of Iberia died in the year of Bagarat of Taraun's accession to the principate of Armenia, twenty-five years before the latter's feigned apostasy,¹³⁵ and more than thirty years before the accession to the Armenian Principate of Ashot V. There can, moreover, be no valid reason for discounting the above several mutually corroborating data of the Georgian sources. Whith this, the rise of the Davidic theory — and this is the *terminus ad quem* of Pseudo-Moses — appears to date from the end of the eighth century, or, at the very latest, the beginning of the ninth. Since the mid-eighth century has been established as the *terminus a quo* of his activity, the latter part of the eighth century must be regarded as the epoch of the mysterious author of the Armenian Antiquities.

18. There remains, finally, still another learned construction which I find it my unpleasant duty to refute. Quite recently an attempt was made by the Soviet-Georgian scholar, P. Ingoroqva, to argue the purely Georgian origin of the Bagratids.¹³⁶ At the basis of this argument lies the hint of the *Primary History of Armenia* at the Iberian connexion of the Bagratids (§ 1, 9-10); but what is overlooked is that monument's massive evidence for their Orontid origin, as well as — it has been seen (§ 10) — the fact that, if there be indeed any truth in that hint, it must signify the Armenian, i.e., Orontid provenance of the Second Pharnabazid Dynasty of Iberia, rather than the Iberian provenance of the Armenian princely house in question. The rest of the argument is developed along the following lines: (1) the Bagratids were a branch of the Vitaxae (i.e., of Gogarene, or, as Ingoroqva puts it, of Armazi),¹³⁷ and the Vitaxae were a branch of the Iberian royal house (it is not specified which); (2) the Bagratids held Cholarzene and Javakhet'i, and so had the Vitaxae; (3) the Bagratids are called Vitaxae in the History of Juansher; (4) Sumbat Bivritiani (§ 9) is called *sep'ecul* in the same source, and this must mean a descendant of the royal house of Iberia; (5) the Bagratids were — at the same

¹³⁴ For the dating of Juansher, see *Introd.* at n. 52.

¹³⁵ A.D. 855: Grousset, *Histoire* 368-369; Laurent, *Arménie* 125-127.

¹³⁶ *Giorgi Merč'ule* 76-80, 442-443, 445-447.

¹³⁷ For the Vitaxae of Gogarene, see II § 10-11; cf. *infra* n. 142.

time — (Chosroid) Guaramids. Coming from one who is a great authority in the domain of history of literature, this opinion cannot be passed over in silence; neither can it be accepted. The plain fact is that the Bagratid descent from the Vitaxae of Gogarene is wholly imaginary. Cholarzene and, as it seems only eastern, Javakhet'i (not the whole of it) were indeed once included in the Vitaxate, but they were detached from it A.D. 363/387; at the beginning of the sixth century, Cholarzene and the whole of Javakhet'i became the appanage of the Guaramids — the younger line of the Chosroid Dynasty of Iberia; and at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, they, together with other Guaramid lands, were inherited by the Bagratids.¹³⁸ Thus, so far as these lands are concerned, there is no direct contact, even territorially, between the Bagratids and the Vitaxae. Genealogically, the Iberian Bagratids form one family with the Armenian; their Orontid origin has already been discussed; and their kinship to the Chosroid, i.e., Mihranid Guaramids can only have been in the female line.¹³⁹ The Second Dynasty of Gogarene (from the fourth century on) indeed belonged to the same Iranian house of Mihrān, of which the Chosroids and the Guaramids were another branch.¹⁴⁰ But this is not the same as being descended from a royal house of Iberia. As for the previous Vitaxae (of the First Dynasty), there is no indication at all of any kinship with any of the Iberian royal houses.¹⁴¹ The nearest approach to a relation is the theory of the Diarchy of Iberia, which would see in these earlier Vitaxae a line of co-kings parallel to the Kings of Iberia; this theory, I have not been able to accept.¹⁴² Indeed, some Armenian, *not* Iberian Bagratids, are once referred to as 'Vitaxae' by Juansher, but this is due to their coming in control of a part of Cholarzene that had once been in the Vitaxate.¹⁴³ Finally

¹³⁸ V § 11-12, 15.

¹³⁹ IV § 34-35.

¹⁴⁰ II § 11, Appendix A II, § 25.1,2.

¹⁴¹ II Appendix A I.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* Appendix B, for a discussion of Ingoroqva's views on the Vitaxate of Gogarene and the Diarchy of Iberia.

¹⁴³ Juanšer 244; cf. V n. 64; II Appendix A II (12). Mr Ingoroqva might have referred to another passage in Juanšer, 161, where the punctuation adopted by its modern edition, Q would seem to support his claim. In this passage, Vaxtang I of Iberia, addressing the people of Armenia, says: *անց տխրեն, քչազրտա մաթատ խղճնուտնտա արմազունտա, քաղաքնտա*, [*մօզրուտնտա* = 'and you, denizens of Armenia — Arsacids, Vitaxae, Bagratids ...' The phrase, however, is purely rhetorical — the figment, like the rest of the speech, of Juanšer's Thucydidean imagination. The King is made to mention the most illustrious names that first sprang to the mind of an eighth-century or early ninth-century, Georgian author: the old royal house, the Vitaxae of Gogarene, and the Bagratids. Another great house originating from the Armeno-Georgian frontier, the Mamikonids, had by the time of Juanšer apparently severed their ties with their place of origin, Tayk'-Tao. The omission of a coma, in the printed text between 'Vitaxae' and 'Bagratids' is thus wholly unwarranted.

the term *sep'ecul*, which some scholars have indeed attempted to interpret as denoting members of the Iberian royal houses, was in reality applicable to all the members of the princely class of Iberia.¹⁴⁴ And with the feeling of unity that in those days prevailed among the aristocracies of the three Caucasian kingdoms — Armenia, Iberia, Albania — an Armenian Bagratid prince was in Iberian eyes, and especially when on the Iberian soil, in very deed a *sep'ecul*.¹⁴⁵

The venture just examined appears to have been motivated by the same nationalist emotion as had prompted, already in the eleventh century, the historian Sumbat to omit in his *History of the Bagratids* all mention of the Armenian past of the royal house that had but recently unified Georgia and to trace it, through the local dynasty, the Guaramids, back to King and Prophet David of Israel.¹⁴⁶ This nationalist emotion, when it affects historiography, tends to afflict it with parochialism, to divide it into water-tight compartments. In this way, the history of one of the Caucasian nations, for instance, begins to be treated without regard to the closely, in fact inextricably, related pan-Caucasian, one may even say, East Mediterranean, context. It is this spirit that must also have moved Ingoroqva — very much in the style of Pseudo-Moses, though indeed for different motives — to endeavour to provide the unquestionably Iranoid *praenomina* Ashot, Bagrat (the Georgian form of the Armenian Bagarat), and Sumbat (the Georgian form of the Armenian Smbat) with a purely Georgian etymology.¹⁴⁷ For scholarship, the wages of parochialism is death.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ I at n. 132.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* at n. 261.

¹⁴⁶ IV Excursus A.

¹⁴⁷ *Giorgi Merč'ule* 94-99. One instance must suffice: *Bagrat* is made a variant of *Bakur*/*Bak'ar*, without a thought about the purely Iranian origin of both these different names, which the Greeks transcribed as *Βαγαδάτης* and *Πάκορος*/*Βακοόριος*.

¹⁴⁸ For a faithful continuation of the Ingoroqva tradition, see Sallia, 'La Tao-Klardjetie et ses monastères,' BK 36-37 (1961), 41-42 (1962).

III

1. If the history of the Bagratid Dynasty, the most celebrated of the Orontid lines, can be traced back to the period of the *pax achaemenia*, its genealogical history goes back only to the Conversion of Armenia (314), and is made possible by the subsequent rise of national Armenian literature. In this connexion, the discovery of the Greek Life of St Gregory and the rehabilitation of the Gregorian Cycle is of importance for the beginnings of Bagratid genealogy. On the other hand, the discovery of the oldest-known MS of the Georgian Royal Annals, the Queen Anne Codex, is of moment for the period of the division of the dynasty into the Armenian and the Georgian line, with which this Study is concluded. The Queen Anne Codex (A), copied in 1479-1495, discovered in 1913, and first published in 1942, shows some divergences from the more recent codices of the Annals, which are important for the historian.¹ The A version of Juansher's *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasal* gives the filiation of Adarnase, the founder of the Georgian line, quite differently to the other versions, and in a way which is fully supported by the Armenian historian Vardan. This enhances the historical worth of this version and encourages one to give credence to another passage in that History, where is found the only indication of the degree of kinship that existed between the branch of the Armenian Bagratids to which Adarnase belonged and another branch — a kinship that has hitherto remained unknown. On the basis of this text, however, and also of a highly plausible conjecture, the filiation of the Bagratids can be traced uninterruptedly back to the sixth century.

2. It may be useful to recall here — the question has been taken up in some detail elsewhere² — what appears to have been the fundamental principles of Armenian, and Caucasian, succession at the period studied here. The system of succession was strictly agnatic, and only in default of heirs male could it pass through women. For the rest, the pattern of succession was a mixed one: there was the basic norm and a by-norm. The norm was one of patrilineal seniority, that is, to give this system its modern appellation, primogeniture. Normally, thus, the succession passed from father to eldest son. However, in cases of the latter's minority, incapacity, or death in the lifetime of his father, it might pass, not to his son, but to his next brother, or to his father's next brother. Upon the latter's death and upon the majority of the original

¹ For these sources, see *Introd.*

² I at nn. 206-209.

heir or of his son, the succession would, though not always, revert to the elder line. An Armenian prince's position as the head of his house can be determined in several ways: (1) by a specific statement of the sources; (2) by the use in them of a specific title indicative of this position; (3) by the use of the gentilitia title of the family, like the Aspet of the Bagratids; (4) by the occupation of the hereditary office of the house — Coronant of Armenia, in the case of the Bagratids.³ It may, also, be gratuitous to overlook altogether the genealogical principle in the Roman and Arab appointments to the Principate of Armenia, so long as they were confined to a single family. Whenever genealogical relationship of various members of a dynasty who followed one another in the Principate can be ascertained, they tend to be coincident with the genealogical succession to the family headship. Often enough, to be sure, political circumstances brought about an infraction, on the part of the imperial overlords, of the genealogical principle. But, then, this departure can almost invariably be explained by the known historical facts. It would, consequently, be unwarranted to disregard genealogical facts in cases when the degree of kinship between various Presiding Princes of Armenia of the same house is not sufficiently known to us. Rather the succession in office is to be taken into consideration when attempting to determine a family's genealogical succession.

3. Below are the list and, whenever possible, the filiation of the Bagratids from the time of the Conversion to the moment of the separation of the lines of Armenia and Iberia, in the eighth century. Heads of the house are preceded by roman numerals and their names are written in small capitals; they are numbered as from the year of the Conversion (314).⁴

THE BAGRATID STEMMA

I. SMBAT I.

Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, Coronant of Armenia, 314. — Docs. of the Gregorian Cycle (II § 5, Lists A and B). His *praenomen*: Ps. Moses 2.83. Markwart, *Genealogie* 11; *Streifzüge* 436, tends to split the Bagratid prince of the story of the Conversion into two persons, one for each list.

II. BAGARAT I.

Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, 330/353. — Faustus 3.7; 4.4. Ps. Moses 2.83 (he was the son of Smbat). Markwart, *Genealogie* 11; *Streifzüge* 437, splits Bagarat, also, into two persons: one mentioned under Chosroes III of Armenia

³ For the nomenclature of the Armenian princes, see *ibid.* at nn. 228-229.

⁴ *Sigla*: a. = ante; c. = circa; p. = post; d. = daughter; * = born; x = married; † = died.

(330-339), the other at the consecration of the Katholikos Nerses I in 353. There seems to be no warrant for doing this to Bagarat I any more than to Smbat I. The dates are according to Ananian, *Data e circostanze*, e.g., 360. This is the first mention of the name of Bagratuni.

III. SMBAT II.

Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, Coronant, 367/374. — Ps. Moses 3.37: under King Pap (367-374); cf. Ananian 360.

IV. ISAAC I.

Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, Coronant, 379/387. — Faustus 5.44. His *praenomen*: Ps. Moses 3.41, 43 (*Sahak*). His daughter married Vologases co-King of Arsaces III (379-387); cf. Ananian 360.

Princess

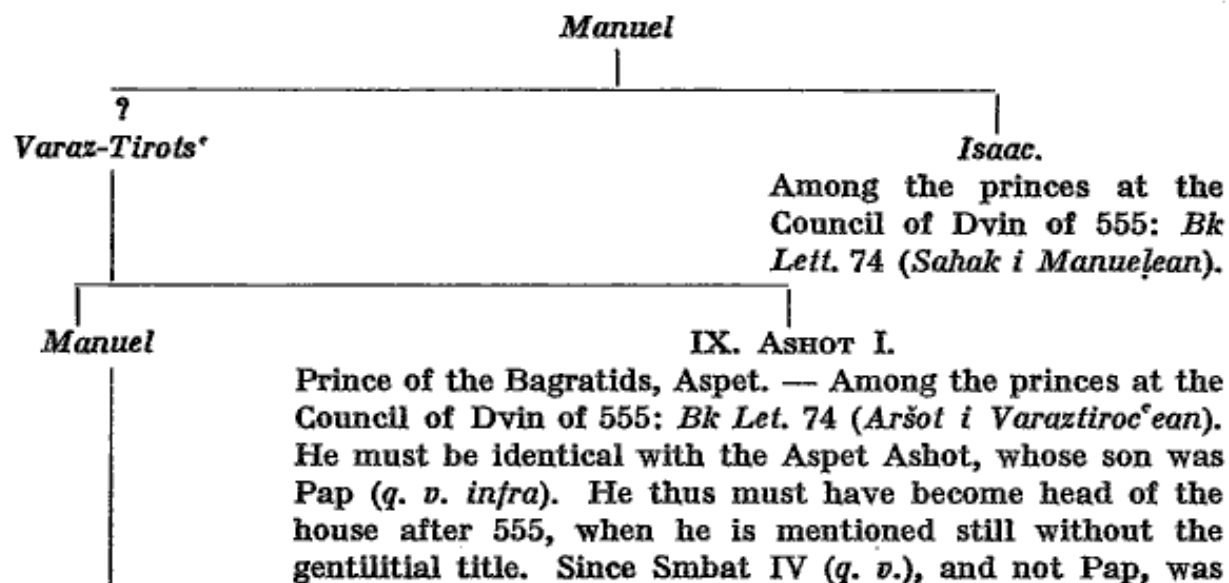
× 379 Vologases, co-King of Armenia.

V. SMBAT III. Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet. — Ps. Moses 3.58: ambassador, jointly with Vardan I Mamikonian, to the Great King Vahrām V, in 421; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 182-183.

VI. TIROTS^e I. Prince of the Bagratids, 450-451. — Lazarus 36; Eliseus 4 (119): an adherent of Visak of Siunia in 450-451.

VII. ISAAC II. Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, † 482. — Lazarus 68, 74: proclaimed *marzpān*, i.e., viceroy, by the Armenian insurgents, fell in battle; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 217-222.

VIII. SPANDIAT. Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, 505/6. — Among the fourteen princes present at the Council of Dvin of 505/6: *Bk Lett.* 42. He seems to have been the early Bagratid remembered in the schematic genealogy given by Const. Prophy., *De adm. imp.* 45 (*Σπανδιάρτης*).



the next head of the house, Ashot appears to have succeeded in Smbat's minority; hence he may have been the younger, and surviving, brother of Smbat's father Manuel.

X. SMBAT IV THE MULTI-VICTORIOUS.

† 616/7. Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet. Iranian Viceroy of Hyrcania, 595-602; adopted son of the Emperor Maurice; highest feudatory and third prince of the Sassanid empire; entitled 'Joy of Chosroes' by the Great King Chosroes II, 607. — Sebēos 10, 14-19, 33; Theophylactus 3.8.6 (*Συμβάτιος*); *Bk Lett.* 168-173; cf. John Kath. 59-73; Asolik 2.2 (who makes him Viceroy of Armenia). See also Grousset, *Histoire* 259-265; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 438-439; M. Artamonov, *Istorija Xazar* (Leningrad 1962) 143 note.

Pap.

Son of the Aspet Ashot, going, with other princes, to the Court of Ctesiphon c. 596; Sebēos 11 (90); cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 260.

XI. VARAZ-TIROTS' II.

† 643. Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet. Brought up and made a Cupbearer by the Great King Chosroes II, given the title of 'Eternal Chosroes,' 607. Viceroy of Armenia for the Great King, 628-p. 631; passes to the Empire; conspires against Heraclius, banished to Africa; escapes from Constantinople to Armenia; Prince and Curopalate of Armenia, 643. — Sebēos 17, 18, 28, 29, 32; Bagaran inscr. of 631 ('in the viceroyalty of Varaz-Tirots', Aspet of Armenia): I. Orbeli, in *XV* 2/1 (1913) 126; cf. John Kath. 75, 80, 85; Vardan 68. See also Grousset, *Histoire* 282-286, 298-299; Laurent, *Arménie* 333; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 438-440; Muyldermans, *Domination arabe* 86 n. 1.

Prince = ? = Varaz-Isaac.

Sebēos 28 (157), (the Aspet and his brother).

Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 439-440

Smbat.

Sebēos 32 (Smbat, son of Varaz-Sahak); Leontius 4 (14)?

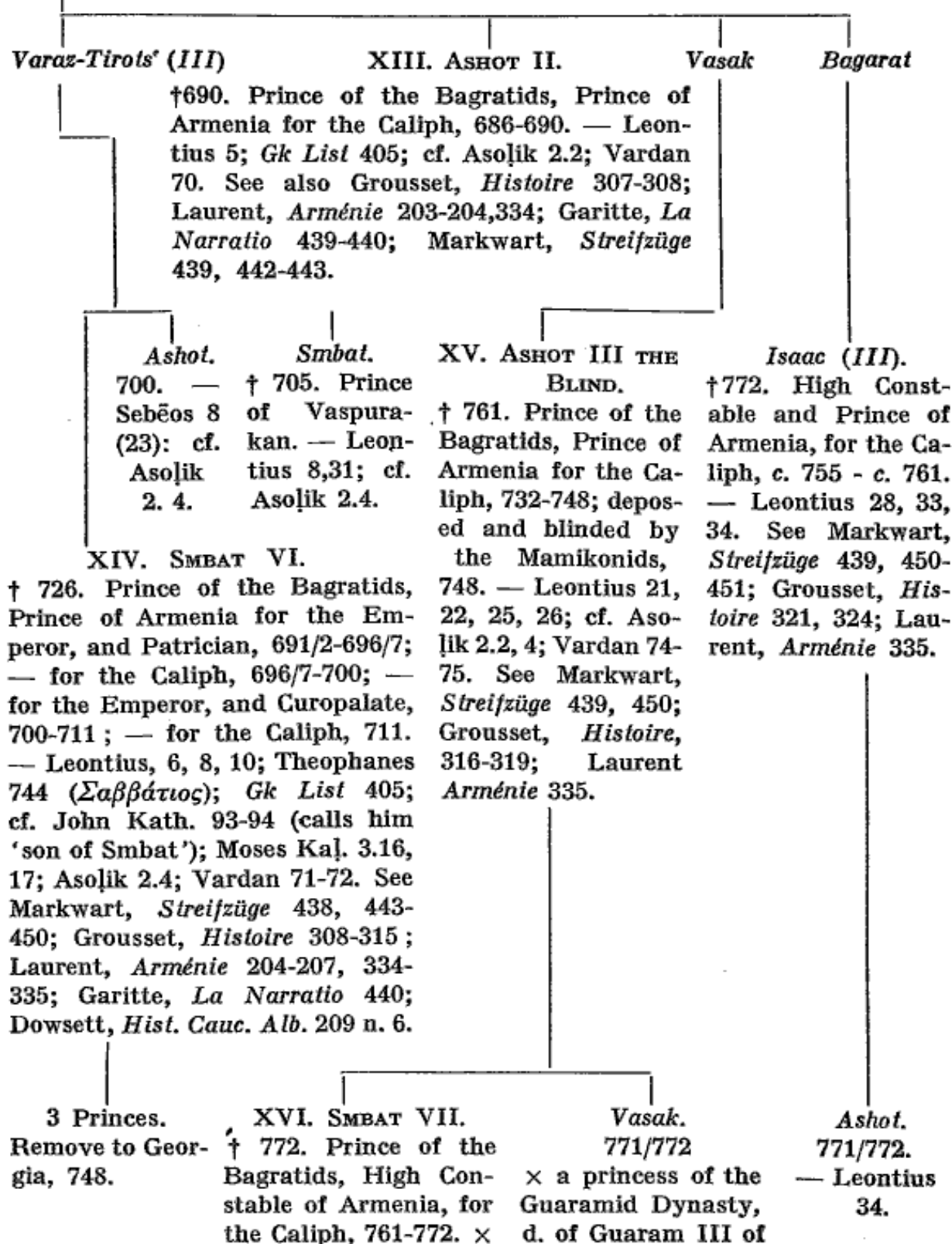
XII. SMBAT V.

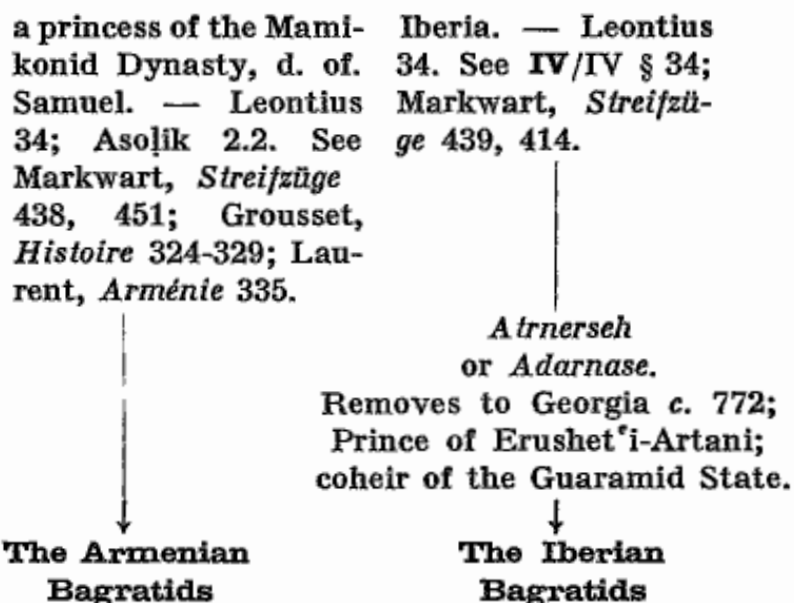
Prince of the Bagratids, Aspet, also Spatharocandidatus and Drungary in the Imperial service. × 643 a princess of the Arsacid Dynasty, d. of the Magister Manuel. — Sebēos 29, 32, 34 (where, 221, he is erroneously called 'son,' instead of 'grandson,' of Smbat IV: cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge* 440); cf. Leontius 6 (19) and John Kath. 85 (mistaking Sebēos's indication as to his succeeding to his father's dynastic position, make him succeed Varaz-Tirots' as Prince and Curopalate of Armenia, — an error that has since been repeated in

Prince.

Sebēos 32 (187) (Varaz-Tirots' II escaped together with his sons).

historiography: Manandyan, *infra*); Vardan 68. See also Grousset, *Histoire* 299; Laurent, *Arménie* 333-334; Markwart, *Streifzüge* 438, 442; Manandean (Manandyan), 'Les invasions arabes en Arménie (note chronologique),' B 18 (1948) 193-195; IV/II n. 21.





4. In his well-nigh exhaustive genealogy of the early Bagratids, Markwart did not take the trouble to specify which members of the house were its heads; he merely indicated what other dignities they might hold.⁵ It has been noted that the holding of a gentilitial title, like Aspet, and of an hereditary office, like that of Coronant, is a certain indication of family headship. However, the office fell into abeyance with the end of the Arsacid Monarchy of Armenia in the fifth century; and the title seems to have met with the same fate with the passing of Armenia from Sassanid to Saracen overlordship. After these two events, the Bagratids are no longer mentioned in possession of these two respective dignities.⁶ Accordingly, after Smbat V, the headship of the Bagratid Dynasty is to be determined, when direct testimony is lacking, on the basis of territorial data. The fact of holding the Principality of Kogovit-Dariunk' (that of Syspiritis tends to disappear from the sources: it seems to have become subsidiary to the other), of having one's princely Court and capital (*ostan*) in the fortress of Dariunk', of being buried in the princely necropolis there, — these are the indications which one must now seek.

Accordingly, the headship of Nos I-IX, except VI, is patent from their offices and gentilitial titles, as well as from direct indications; that of No. VI is directly specified, though neither the office nor the gentilitial title is mentioned. That Nos X-XII were heads of the dynasty, is clear from Sebēos: they held the gentilitial title and succeeded one another in the Principality of Kogovit-Da-

⁵ *Streifzüge* 438-439 and nn.; the Arm. augmented transl. by M. Hapozean (Vienna 1913), has not been available to me.

⁶ It is true that Smbat VI is called Aspet by one historian, but that historian is the tenth-century Moses Kal. (3.17).

riunk', and the first two were buried at Dariunk'.⁷ No. XIII held Dariunk' as his *ostan* and was buried in it.⁸ The reference, in a later source, to No. XIV as Aspet is, obviously, an anachronistic way of saying that he, too, was the head of the house.⁹ No. XV held Dariunk' as his Court and capital.¹⁰

5. In the above genealogical table, the link between Smbat V and Varaz-Tirots' (III) is nowhere specified in the available sources. Markwart admits it as probable that they were father and son.¹¹ This seems to be borne out by the consistency of the naming pattern: — (Manuel —) Varaz-Tirots' — Manuel — Smbat(IV) — Varaz-Tirots' (II) — Smbat (V) — Varaz-Tirots' (III) — Smbat (VI). The facts of succession, likewise, tend to justify one in regarding this link as highly plausible.

6. Another uncertainty of Bagratid genealogy has been the kinship of Ashot II and Smbat VI. The one was succeeded by the other in two capacities, both as Prince of the Bagratids and as Prince of Armenia. For want of any genealogical data one might be led to suppose Smbat VI to have been a son of Ashot II. This, however, was not the case: Smbat was a son of Varaz-Tirots', while Ashot was a son of Smbat and, moreover, the father of another Smbat, who is, in the text of Leontius, distinct from Smbat VI.¹² The filiation of Ashot is known only from Vardan, but there seems to be no reason whatever to doubt in this connexion his usual veracity. Nor could the two Princes be brothers, for Smbat had a brother named Ashot, whom Leontius shows to be distinct from Ashot II.¹³ We may, therefore, suppose, in view of the fact of the double succession, that Ashot II was an uncle of Smbat VI. He must, moreover, have been a younger brother of Smbat's father. This can be inferred from the above-mentioned naming pattern, according to which 'Varaz-Tirots'' would have been the name given to Smbat V's eldest son, as well as from the fact that Ashot II was succeeded (in 691) not by his own son Smbat († 705), but by Smbat VI: in other words, that his own succession was contingent on the minority of his elder brother's son. Now the father of Smbat VI, Varaz-Tirots' is known only from a passing remark of Leontius to the effect that the Emperor Tiberius III (698-705) sent an army against Smbat, son of Varaz-Tirots', who, in order to avenge the death of his father killed by the Byzantines, had mutilated

⁷ Sebēos 19 (109), 28 (156), 32 (188).

⁸ Leontius 5 (10,18).

⁹ *Supra* n. 6.

¹⁰ Leontius 25 (119), 26 (124).

¹¹ *Streifzüge* 438.

¹² The one is called 'Smbat, son of Varaz-Tiroc': 6 (19); the other, 'Smbat, son the Prince (*išxani*) Ašot': 8 (23).

¹³ Ašot, brother of Smbat VI is mentioned after the death of Ašot II: 8 (23).

some of their soldiers.¹⁴ Markwart conjectured that the murder of Varaz-Tirot's took place in reprisal for Smbat's first defection to the Arabs in 696/7.¹⁵ But Leontius does not say this. From his text it is clear, rather, that Smbat's action was a part of his defection, as due to his desire to avenge his father's death. It is unknown when Varaz-Tirot's was put to death by the Byzantines. It is highly probable that, tempted like his father and grandfather to take part in Palace conspiracies at Constantinople, he was less fortunate than they in saving his head. At all events, Varaz-Tirot's may well have been killed while Smbat his son was still a minor, and this may have paved the way for the accession of his younger brother Ashot II. Here, again, the naming pattern shows a remarkable consistency which tends to strengthen this conjecture. It would have been natural for Smbat V to name his eldest son after his father; for Varaz-Tirot's (III), son of Smbat V and brother of Ashot II, to have named his sons Smbat and Ashot; and for Ashot II to name his son, after his father, Smbat. Markwart's suggestion that Ashot II may have been a son of Varaz-Isaac's son Smbat has nothing to argue in its favour.¹⁶

Vasak and Bagarat were brothers;¹⁷ their parentage, however, has not been determined. Markwart conjectured that they might have been sons of Smbat of Vaspurakan, son of Ashot II.¹⁸ This would make Ashot III the son of Vasak one generation younger than the sons of Smbat VI, whereas, as will be seen,

¹⁴ Leontius 6 (19).

¹⁵ *Streifzüge* 444 and n. a.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 439; cf. Muyldermans, *Domination arabe* Tabl. 1 A and 93 n. 4, cf. 96 n. 2. Markwart must have been induced into this error by his belief that Ashot II succeeded in the lordship of Dariwnk', not Smbat IV, Varaz-Tirot's II, and Smbat V, as was the case (*supra* at n. 7), but Smbat, son of Varaz-Isaac. The latter is indeed mentioned by Sebēos 32(189) as being in Dariwnk' at a given moment, which can hardly be construed as his being the lord of that fortress. And so Markwart called this Smbat *Herr von Dariwnk'*: 439, 440-441; cf. Muyldermans *loc. cit.* — Asollik, 2.2, calls Smbat VI Biwratean, while the twelfth-century Samuel of Ani applies the same patronymic to Ashot II: 409. 'Biwrat' is of course, one of the eponyms of the early Bagratids: *supra* II § 24. In the second century, a Bagratid, Smbat son of Biwrat (*ordi Biwratay*) became the hero of an epic: Ps. Moses 2.37-53; Vardan 76-77. He is also remembered, as *Sumbat Bivritiani* by the Iberian historical tradition: Leont. Mrov. 47-49; cf. II § 10. Evidently, 'Biwratean,' like 'Aspetuni,' was a synonym of 'Bagratuni': cf. II § 14. Since the memory of the heroic Smbat son of Biwrat lingered on (Vardan, *loc. cit.*, singles him out as an ancestor [*naxoyn*] of Ashot I, King of Armenia), Asollik and Samuel of Ani are, obviously, indulging in archaism when referring to different Bagratids as 'Biwratids.' This is a flourish, and it cannot be taken as a basis for constructing Bagratid filiations, as is done by Justi, *Namenbuch* 417.

¹⁷ Leontius 28 (128): ... զԻսահակ որդի Բագարատայ ի նոյն տանէ իշխանին Աշոտայ, որ էր որդի հօրեղբոր նորա (... Isaac, son of Bagarat, of the same house as the Prince Ashot [III], who was his uncle's son).

¹⁸ *Streifzüge* 439.

the reverse is true. Thus Markwart's conjecture must be abandoned. And it is here that the Georgian historian Juansher may shed new light on this problem. As is known, after Smbat VI, the Caliph appointed to the Principate of Armenia, Ashot, son of Vasak Bagratuni.¹⁹ His exact kinship with Smbat VI has to this day remained unknown. It was from Ashot, however, that the subsequent Bagratids were descended: while his elder son Smbat VII continued the Armenian line of the dynasty, his younger son Vasak was the father of the founder of the Iberian Bagratids, surviving to this day.

The period of the reversal in Bagratid fortunes, following the overthrow of their protectors the Umayyads and then the failure of the insurrection of 771-772, saw members of this house seek refuge in the Georgian lands. The Armeno-Georgian marchlands often offered shelter to Bagratids in times of need: Smbat VI had found safety in Pontic Georgia at the beginning of the century. So now the Georgian historical sources signalize two arrivals of *émigré* Bagratids at the time when St Arch'il († 786) was still the head of the ex-royal house of the Chosroids.²⁰ One of the arrivals was Atrnerseh or, in Georgian, Adarnase, the founder of the Iberian line of the Bagratids; the identity of the other three princes, arriving together, remains yet to be determined. Here are the two passages relative to these arrivals.

A.

Then a certain prince came to him [= Arch'il] who was of the House of David the Prophet, Adarnase by name, a grandson of Adarnase the Blind; his father was related to the Bagratids and had been set up as duke in the regions of Armenia by the Byzantines. And during the oppression of Qru, he had come to the children of the Curopalate Guaram in Cholarzene and remained there. He petitioned Arch'il, saying: 'If thou wilt, make me as thy vassal: give me land.' And he gave him Shulaveri and Artani.²¹

¹⁹ Leontius 21 (112).

²⁰ See IV/IV § 34.

²¹ Juansher 243: მამინ მღვიდა მთავარი ერთი [წინაშე] მის[ხ]ა, რომელი იყო ნათესავისაგან დავით წინახწარმეტყველისა, ხანელით ადარნახე, ძიხწული ადარნახე ბრძიხა, რომლისა მამა მიხი მზანებულ იყო ბაგრატონაინთადგე, და ბერძენთა მიერ დადგინებულ იყო ერისთავად არეთა ზღმნიითისათა, და ტყვეობა მას ყრუისა მთავრულ იყო იგი შვილთა თანა გუარამ კურაპალატისთა კლარჯეთს, და მუნ დარჩომილ იყო. ითხოვა არჩილისგან და რქუა: 'უკეთუ ინებო და მეო მე ვითარცა მკჯდი შენი, მომეც ქუეყანა.' და მისცა შულავერი და არტანი. — Q (a) has: მღვიდა მიხა მთავარი ერთი. — (b) has: ძმისწული ('brother's son') (this 'emendation,' so completely at variance with the historical context, is most unfortunate). — (c) rightly replaces the A ბაგრატონთა (a decidedly less ancient form of the surname). Adarnase's father is said to be 'related by marriage' (*sic*) to the Bagratids; cf. *supra* II n. 107. The Byzantine connexions of Vasak

B.

And the nephews of Adarnase the Blind, who had burnt out the eyes of their paternal uncle — three brothers — came from Taraun to Shakikh and settled there with the permission of Arch'il.²²

Markwart has pointed out that 'Adarnase the Blind' can be none other than Ashot III the Blind.²³ Upon him, the *praenomen* of his grandson, the first of the Iberian Bagratids, was projected by the Georgian historian. The relation of Adarnase to Ashot is given incorrectly in the hitherto available, more recent, codices of the Georgian Royal Annals as 'nephew' (*disculi*, lit. 'sister's child'). But the most ancient recension, the Queen Anne Codex, only recently discovered and published, describes him, in the above passage, as 'grandson' (*jisculi*, lit. 'son's child'). This is confirmed by the Armenian historian Vardan, who shows exactly how Adarnase was Ashot III's grandson.²⁴

If the degree of kinship shown in Text A is correct, what about the one found in Text B? Who are the 'nephews' (*jmisculni*, lit. 'brother's children') of Ashot III, — the Bagratids who took part in the blinding of their paternal uncle (*mamis jmisa* [gen.], lit. 'father's brother')? Markwart thought they were Mamikonids,²⁵ relatives of Prince Gregory who blinded Ashot III; and the mention of Taraun, once a Mamikonid principedom, might be interpreted as supporting this view. Yet the text is clear in its — reiterated — insistence on the agnatic character of their kinship with Ashot; and unless it is accepted in its entirety, it might as well be rejected altogether: there is no possibility of construing it otherwise. Laurent inclines to consider them to be the descen-

Bagratuni, the father of Adarnase, are not clear. This may be a reminiscence of the Byzantine appointment as Prince of Armenia of Vasak's first cousin once removed, Smbat VI.

²² Juanšer 244: Նոլլո ժմիսֆլունի օճարնաք Բրմիսանի, ճլմլլտա ճաքֆլունք մամիս ժմաճա տլալնի, ֆարմլլցիճքք ճարլունիտ Մալլնաճ, Նամնի ժմանի, ճալմլլք-ճրնքք մլլն, Բրժանլլցիտա արլիլլիսիտա. — As in the preceding text, the A օճարնաք has been emended by Q.

²³ Streifzüge 414.

²⁴ Vardan 77: ՆԷ տալլր իլլխանն իսմալլլլ Սլոտի որլլլ Սարնլլրսլլնի որլլլ Վա- տակալ, որլլլ Սլոտալլ Հալլլլ իլլխանի՝ ճլրլլլլրն Վրալլ ('The Prince of the Ismaelites gave the land of Iberia to Ašot [the Great of Iberia, † 830], son of Atrnerseh, son of Vasak, son of Ašot [the Blind] the Prince of Armenia'); 81-82: տալ լլլնլլն յլլլլլ որլլլլ, Սմբատ՝ Նախնի թաճալլրալլն Հալլլլ, և Վառակ սլլլլլն թաճալլրալլն Վրալլ. որլլ որլլլն Սարնլլրսլլն, տորա՝ Սլոտ... ('he [scil. Ašot III] has two sons, Smbat, the author of the Kings of Armenia, and Vasak the founder of the Kings of Iberia, whose son [is] Atrnerseh; his, Ašot ...'). — It is to be greatly regretted that, in editing the collated text of the Georgian Annals, Q should have preferred the historically inadmissible reading of less ancient codices. Even in his earlier edition of Queen Anne's text alone (315), he offered *j[m]isculi* as a 'corrected' reading of the word in question; cf. also Q I 243 notes.

²⁵ Streifzüge 416.

dants of Isaac III, Ashot III's nephew. He assumes that Isaac was Prince of Taraun, that Ashot's son Vasak was subsequently also installed in that principality, and that, consequently, the line of Ashot must have driven that of Isaac from Taraun. Accordingly, thinks Laurent, some members of the latter line may have passed from Taraun to Georgia.²⁶ All this is based on nothing. There is nothing in Leontius, adduced by Laurent, that would justify the assumption that either Isaac or Vasak was Prince of Taraun. Markwart, it is true, thought, on the basis of some vague geographical indications in Leontius that Vasak might perhaps have been a lord in Taraun,²⁷ yet he concluded that the first ascertained Bagratid lord of that old Mamikonid principedom was Ashot IV and that he did not know how it had passed into Bagratid hands.²⁸

7. Who, then, were these three brothers? For that, we must return to Leontius. The Armenian historian narrates that, upon Ashot III's elevation to the Principate in 732, the 'sons of Smbat' declared against him. Almost immediately thereafter, he speaks of Gregory and David, princes of the Mamikonid Dynasty, who were banished by the Saracens to Yemen because of Ashot's complaints about their intrigues against him.²⁹ Ashot was a loyal vassal of the Caliphate and, in 736/7, took part in the campaign against the Khazars of Marwān ibn Muḥammad (later Caliph Marwān II).³⁰ Meantime internal struggles shook the Umayyad empire³¹ — the civil war of 744 — and Leontius again mentions the sons of Smbat: they had come back, or escaped, from Syria. They had been banished there, it would seem, when the Mamikonids had been sent to Yemen; now, finding, doubtless, the Bagratid princely State under Ashot III closed to them, they settled in Vaspurakan, where their cruelties made them universally disliked; then they rose in an open revolt against Ashot.³² Coming to Syria in person, Ashot complained to the Caliph — now Marwān II — about this matter. In his absence, however, the Principate was seized by Gregory Mamikonian: the Mamikonids, too, thus appear to have meantime returned to Armenia from their exile. The Caliph, taking into consideration Ashot's complaint about the sons of Smbat, and, informed about all that David, Gregory Mamikonian's brother, had done — he, thus, seems to have been the more serious culprit of the two — sent orders to the Viceroy of Caucasia to have him brought to justice. David was put to death and Ashot restored in power, while Gregory was obliged to become reconciled

²⁶ Laurent, *Arménie* 110-114, cf. 94.

²⁷ See *supra* II n. 81.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Leontius 21 (112, 112-113).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 22.

³¹ *Ibid.* 24.

³² *Ibid.* 25 (118-119).

with him. Ashot had once again proved loyal to the Caliph, fighting on his side in Syria and Iraq with his 15,000 horse.³³ The Umayyad Dynasty, nevertheless, was tottering, and as its control over Armenia relaxed, the princes began preparing a revolt, which Ashot III was constrained to join.

It was then, in 748, that Gregory Mamikonian wreaked vengeance on him: seizing him, he had him blinded by the retainers of David. He then passed to the Empire (in the region of Theodosiopolis) at the head of the insurgents. After his death, his brother Mushel headed the insurrection which apparently proved abortive.³⁴ Meantime the Umayyads were crushed by the Abbasids (750). The new régime spelled a far greater, especially fiscal, oppression for Caucasia and disgrace for the Bagratids, who had been loyal to the old caliphal dynasty. It was during this eclipse of the Bagratids that the Principality of Kogovit-Dariunk³⁵ seems to have passed to the House of Artsruni. Abbasid oppression finally provoked a really serious revolt of the Armenian Princes in 771, in which the Bagratids, forgetting the recent events, joined the Mamikonids. It was possibly in preparation for this political reconciliation that Ashot III's son Smbat VII, now ruling High Constable of Armenia for the Caliph, had married a Mamikonid princess: he is mentioned as a son-in-law of Samuel, Prince of the Mamikonids. Among the leaders of the insurrection was Mushel Mamikonian, called now son of Hrahat. The story of the revolt of 771-772 is too well known to be told here. It ended in the terrible defeat of Bagravandene, on 25 April 772, in which Smbat VII and the two Mamikonids, Samuel and Mushel, lost their lives.³⁶ Following this catastrophe, the Mamikonids saw the loss of most of their princedoms and so also the Bagratids, who, however, soon acquired others.³⁶

The activities directed against Ashot III by the sons of Smbat and by the Mamikonids, Gregory and David, appear to have been coordinated. This may be the reason why Leontius telescopes so much in dealing with them. He refers to the banishment of the Mamikonids to Yemen, but omits what seems to have been a similar banishment of the sons of Smbat, to Syria; while, on the other hand, he mentions the return from Syria of the sons of Smbat, he fails to mention the return from Yemen of the Mamikonids: they are simply back on the stage without any explanation. Ashot III, at the beginning of his Principate, complains about the Mamikonids, though it seems likely that he must have complained about the sons of Smbat as well. At all events, later on, he

³³ *Ibid.* 25 (119-121).

³⁴ *Ibid.* 26 (121-124).

³⁵ *Ibid.* 27-34.

³⁶ See, e.g., Grousset, *Histoire* 315-334, for the period covered by Leontius's narrative and for the aftermath of the insurrection of 771-772; cf. *supra* II n. 81 for the territorial changes.

complains of both. Finally, David was put to death for what must have been a serious political crime: was he not a chief participant, or even the instigator, of the revolt of the sons of Smbat? As will be seen, both parties may have been responsible for the blinding of Ashot. This close collaboration of the sons of Smbat and the two Mamikonids, and doubtless also the telescoping of Leontius, has led to a strange confusion. Already Vardan spoke of the opposition to Ashot, at the beginning, on the part of 'Smbat [*sic*, instead of 'the sons of Smbat'] and David and Gregory the Mamikonids.'³⁷ The text is vague, so that, even though the presence of the conjunction between the first two names shows that, while the last two persons were Mamikonids, the first was not, it could also be interpreted as implying, in a phrase marked by polysyndeton, that all the three of them were of that house. This is how it has been often understood in modern historiography.³⁸ Accordingly, there has been a tendency to fuse the sons of Smbat with Gregory and David, into Gregory and David Mamikonian, sons of Smbat. And this, in spite of the fact that whenever they are spoken of together by Leontius they are carefully differentiated;³⁹ that, for instance, while the sons of Smbat are relegated to Syria, the Mamikonids are banished to Yemen; that Musheł, son of Hrahat, cannot reasonably be considered as distinct from Musheł the brother of Gregory and David; that, finally, Smbat is a most un-Mamikonid and a most Bagratid name.⁴⁰

This name is, indeed, a clue. And so Markwart, taking it, interpreted the narrative of Leontius in a different way. To him, there was no doubt that the sons of Smbat must have been Bagratids, and, more than that, sons, precisely, of the Smbat who had been last, and most prominently, mentioned in Leon-

³⁷ Vardan 74.

³⁸ See the following note.

³⁹ The two parties are mentioned in proximity to each other only twice, and both times carefully distinguished. In 21 (112-113) Leontius introduces first the sons of Smbat; then, in the following sentence, he introduces Gregory and David, adding, by way of explanation, *որք էին ի տոհմէ Մամիկոնեան* ('who were of the Mamikonid race'). The second mention is in 25 (120) and has the following text: *իսկ Մարուանն տեղեկացեալ զամբաստանութիւնն զորդւոցն Սմբատայ և զոր ինչ արար ընդ նա Դաւիթ երբայր Գրիգորի...* ('So Marwān [II] was informed of the accusation against the sons of Smbat and of what thing David, brother of Gregory, had done against him [*scil.* Ašot III] ...'). For the rest, the sons of Smbat and the Mamikonids are mentioned separately: 25 (118-119), and 25 (120, 120-121), 26. — The fusing of the two parties into one is probably due to the translator of Leontius into French, Chahnazarian, in *Histoire par ... Ghévard*. Thus, where the original refers to the sons of Smbat the translator added *Grégoire et David ... (de Mamkon)*: 110 (= 21 [112-113]), 115-116 (= 25 [118-119]). In his *Hayoc' anjnanunneri başaran* II (Erevan 1944) 29 (No. 30), H. Ačaryan makes David Mamikonean a son of Smbat; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 318.

⁴⁰ It is true that the historical romance of Ps. John Mamikonean — the *History of Tarawn* — mentions, in chaps. 3 and 4, a Smbat Mamikonean, son of the hero, Vahan the Wolf; but the historical worth of this work is minimal: *Introd.* at n. 15.

tius's History, namely, the Curopalate Smbat VI.⁴¹ Indeed, any sons of Smbat VI would have been outraged by the elevation of Ashot III to the position of their father; nor can there be any doubt that the Caliphate would have been anxious to transfer the succession to the Principate to another, rather than let it remain in the line of that troublesome man who had several times proved traitor to both Caliph and Emperor. The question here, however, is not only of the transfer of the appointment to the Principate, which lay, theoretically, entirely within the Caliph's, or the Emperor's pleasure; there is also the problem of Ashot III's succession to the headship of the Bagratid Dynasty over the heads of Smbat VI's sons. This, too, could depend on the Caliph. It was one of the rights of the lords paramount of the Armenian Princes, whether the Kings of Armenia or their successors in that position, to inflict upon a felonious vassal the pain of forfeiture.⁴² Usually, the succession would revert to the rightful genealogical heirs; yet, occasionally, it might not. This was evidently such a case, and this can explain the tension that existed between the dispossessed sons of Smbat and Ashot III. This must have thrown them into the arms of the Mamikonids, who by the mid-eighth century were beginning to develop into the Bagratids' hereditary enemies.

On one point, Laurent was quite correct: his interpreting the word 'nephew' of the Georgian source in a broad sense. The sons of Smbat VI could not be the nephews — in the narrow sense — of Ashot III, because Smbat, son of Varaz-Tirots', and Ashot, son of Vasak, were not brothers. Georgian, however uses the term 'nephew' not only in its narrow and exact sense, but also in the broader sense of 'cousin once removed,' exactly as it uses the word 'cousin-german' (*mamis-jmiscul*, lit., 'father's brother's child') to denote more distant cousinships. As an instance, Ashot I (V), King of Armenia, is referred to in the *Chronicle of Iberia* as *mamis-jmiscul* of his third cousin (and brother-in-law) Guaram of Javakhet'i, son of Ashot the Great of Iberia.⁴³ Likewise, a distant cousin of Vakhtang I is called, in the first part of Juansher's work, his *mamis-jmiscul*.⁴⁴ With this in view, the genealogical connexion between Ashot III and Smbat VI can be pushed one generation back, and it can be assumed that the *jmisculni* of Ashot, who participated in his blinding, were not his nephews, but his cousins once removed and that, consequently, Smbat VI and Ashot III were cousins-german, and Vasak and Bagarat were, together with Ashot II and Varaz-Tirots', sons of Smbat V.

⁴¹ *Streifzüge* 438, 449.

⁴² See, for this, I at nn. 199, 204-205.

⁴³ *Chron. Iber.* 257; cf. *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 7.

⁴⁴ *Juansher* 151, cf. 159.

Leontius, when he comes to the final stage of the tragedy, the blinding of Ashot, no longer mentions the sons of Smbat. On the other hand, Juansher ascribes to them the part in the crime which Leontius attributes wholly to Gregory Mamikonian. However, the participation of the Bagratids in the affair can by no means be excluded by the decorous silence of the historian who wrote at the express command of a Bagratid prince.⁴⁵ To this decorous restraint may also be due the earlier ambiguities and telescoping of Leontius. It has just been seen that it is impossible to say when exactly Taraun was wrested from the Mamikonids. It may well have still remained in their hands in the mid-eighth century. In this case, the reference to Taraun in Juansher may be taken as an echo of the joint Mamikonid-Bagratid action against Ashot III.

8. The two arrivals, mentioned by Juansher, are given as though occurring at approximately the same time.⁴⁶ The two passages are preceded by the statement that 'twelve years had elapsed' after the event previously described. That event was Arch'il's accession to the headship of the dispossessed Chosroid Dynasty of Iberia, which took place in 736.⁴⁷ Now, twelve years after that was the year 748 — precisely the date of the blinding of Ashot III. This chronological detail rather confirms the veracity of the text regarding the existence of the 'nephews' of the victim. The text on the arrival of Adarnase contains, moreover, a synchronism. He came to Cholarzene 'during the oppression of Qru.' Now Qru ('the Deaf') or Murvan-Qru is the name given in Armeno-Georgian historiography to a composite figure: a combination of Muḥammad ibn Marwān, the Umayyad, and of his son Marwān ibn Muḥammad, subsequently Caliph Marwān II (744-749). The former was remembered for his atrocious execution of some Armenian princes at Nakhchavan in 705; the latter for having waged war in Caucasia in 736/7, while Hishām (724-743) was Caliph.⁴⁸ The mention of Qru in this case is an obvious error: both dates, 705 and 736, are too high for Adarnase, whose grandfather Ashot III was deposed, at the height of his political career in 748. What the Georgian historian must really have meant, and confused with the 'oppression of Qru' (which is mentioned in his narrative immediately before the accession of Arch'il), was the defeat of the Armenian Princes in Bagravandene in 772, in which Adarnase's uncle Smbat VII was killed and his father Vasak was last heard of. It was then that the Bagratids met with difficulties in Armenia and then that Adar-

⁴⁵ Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 363-364.

⁴⁶ A few lines separate the two passages and there is no indication that any time had elapsed between them.

⁴⁷ See IV/III § 26 etc.

⁴⁸ Markwart, *Streifzüge* 394 and n. 4, 397 n. 1 (402) 415-416; V. Minorsky, 'Tiflis,' *EI* 4 (1934) 752-753.

nase must have removed to Iberia. Accordingly, the date 748 — twelve years after the invasion of Qru and the accession of Arch'il — must apply to the second passage of Juansher; whereas the date of the event recorded in the first passage must be 772 or later. Through some error of redaction — and the closing section of Juansher displays many such errors⁴⁹ — the position of the two passages became reversed in the text.

9 Of the three sons of Smbat VI nothing more is known.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the posterity of Adarnase has survived, be it repeated, to this day. As has been seen, Adarnase acquired from Arch'il († 786) — between 772 and 786 — the lands of Shulaveri, that is, Erushet'i and Artani, in the upper basin of the Cyrus.⁵¹

⁴⁹ V n. 64; Juanšer, 244, appears to be referring a little later in the text once again to the 'nephews of Adarnase the Blind,' this time, however, as a branch of the Vitaxae. Since another branch of the Vitaxae, which he mentions in the same text, refers in reality to the posterity of Ašot III the Blind (i.e., 'Adarnase the Blind'), this second mention may be taken as an indirect confirmation of what has been established about the identity of the 'nephews' with the sons of Smbat VI. Cf. II Appendix A II (12).

⁵⁰ The Šakix of Juanšer, 244, where the sons of Smbat VI ('nephews of Adarnase the Blind') established themselves (*supra* at n. 22), is identical with the Arm. Šak'ē, the Arab. Šakī: Minorsky, *Caucasica* IV 506, 508; 'Shekkī,' EI (1926) 346-348; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 211 n. 5. In view of this, Sahl, son (= descendant?) of Smbat and lord of Šak'ē, who makes his historical appearance in the first half of the ninth century, must be related to the sons of Smbat VI. On the other hand, he is called Eranšahik and Zarmirhakan by Moses Kał., 3.19, 20, which implies his descent from the first royal house of Albania (II § 27.1). Thus, the evidence at our disposal would seem to indicate both a Bagratid and an Aranšahik origin for Sahl, only one of which, naturally, could be agnatic. Now it is far easier to suppose a *praenomen* and a lordship, than a *nomen gentilitium*, to have passed through a woman to another family. Quite erroneously Laurent ascribed to Vasak of Siunia, the presumable father of another Sahl or Isaac, who was the father of Atrnerseh of Xaç'en (II n. 250), the descent from (one of) the brothers settled in Šakix and, consequently, a Bagratid origin to the Princes of Siunia after Vasak: *Arménie* 110; in this Grousset followed him: *Histoire* 347.

⁵¹ The *Chron. arm.*, in rendering the passage on Adarnase's arrival (101), speaks of his receiving Riša, Šluer, and Atōnē. Artani-Atōnē is present day Ardahan, for which see V at n. 9. Šulaveri-Šluer is actually not a territory, but a river: a small western tributary of the Cyrus: Vaxušt, *Geogr. Descr.* 92 and Map I. As Brosset has suggested, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 249 n.5, the chronicler must have had in mind the region between that river and Artan which corresponds to the land of Erušet'i, or western Javaxet'i: Javaxišvili, *K'art' er. ist.* II 321-323; Vaxušt 96, 102 (for him Erušet'i is a separate province from Javaxet'i). And indeed the mention of Riša in the *Chron. arm.*, which is an obvious corruption of 'Erušet'i,' bears out this supposition. Some modern writers, unacquainted with Georgian, render Šulaveri as 'K(h)olaver', though a confusion, presumably, with the land of Kola. — Markwart doubted that Arč'il, the dispossessed Chosroid could have had anything to do with Adarnase's acquiring fiefs: *Streifzüge* 415. But Arč'il was the head of a former royal house at a time when the institution of the Iberian Principate was momentarily in abeyance: IV/IV § 33. So his sanction may conceivably have been sought even if these lands were, as Markwart suggests, possibly have been obtained from the Empire. Actually, this was hardly so: cf. the following note.

This was, most likely, a matter of inheritance.⁵² Later on, in the lifetime of Juansher, Arch'il's son and last Chosroid, that is, between 786 and 806/7, Adarnase acquired more territories, thus laying the foundation to the 'Hereditary Lands' of the Iberian Bagratids; this is discussed elsewhere.⁵³ Then, in 813, Adarnase's son Ashot the Great had the Principate of Iberia revived for him by the Caliph and received the title of Curopalate from the Emperor; both of these dignities became thereafter quasi-hereditary in his posterity.⁵⁴

⁵² IV/IV § 34.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; V § 21-26.

⁵⁴ Vardan 77 (*supra* n. 24); thereafter, Vardan tells the story of the murder of Leo V which brought Michael II to the throne, so that it is clear that it was Leo (813-820) who conferred the dignity of Curopalate on Ašot. Immediately before Ašot's elevation to the principate, Vardan mentions internal dissensions among the Saracens, which, as Markwart has shown, were the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun, in the years of H. 195-198 = A.D. 810/11-813/14. The date 813 is thus established: *Streifzüge* 405, cf. 421. — The *Chron. Iber.* 252 confuses Leo V with Leo III and speaks, consequently, of the bestowal of the curopalate as taking place after the expedition of Maslamah against Constantinople in the reign of an earlier Leo! Cf. Markwart 406. The traditional historiography of Georgia, the Vaxušt-Brosset tradition as it may be called, put the accession of Ašot at 786/7: cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Gé.* I/1 260; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 116. This was, obviously, due to the desire to make of Ašot an immediate successor of Arch'il who was martyred in 786. Recently, Prof. T'aqaišvili (Taqaišvili) propounded a new theory. In 'Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia,' G 1/1 (1935) 9-27, he put the accession of Ašot at 780, this date being, according to him, the unexplained beginning of the national Georgian era. Actually, however, the reason for the date 780 is perfectly well known. V. Grumel, in *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958), has shown conclusively that the Georgian Era, like the Armenian Era, was an adaptation of the short-lived Roman Era, which was elaborated in 363/364, but the beginning of which was projected, proleptically, to A.D. 248/249 (the beginning of the second millenary after the foundation of the City): Grumel 146-151, 151-153. This disposes of T'aqaišvili's argument against this origin (already suggested by Brosset), to the effect that in 248 the Georgians were not yet Christians: T'aqaišvili 13. The Roman Era, together with the lunar cycle of Constantinople, on which it was based, became outmoded, within two decades of its invention, through the adoption by the Court of Constantinople of the Alexandrian Cycle; but it passed to Christian Caucasia: Grumel 151. The year 780 is thus nothing other than the end of the Paschal Cycle of 532 years (19 lunar years multiplied by 28 solar years), the generally adopted basis of the perpetual calendar (Grumel 52-53), adapted to the Roman Era (248/9 + 532). The end of that cycle provided the Georgians with the opportunity of having their own national era, in imitation of their southern neighbours: Grumel 152. So the year 781 was the first year of the first cycle (*k'oronikon* = *χρονικόν*) of 532 years of this newly-born Georgian Era; the second cycle began in 1313. On this basis, the Georgians soon arrived at their own *Annus Mundi*; they dated the Creation 5,604 B.C.: exactly 12 cycles before A.D. 780 ($532 \times 12 = 6,384$; $6,384 - 780 = 5,604$). A still more fantastic result of treating things national microcosmically: as utterly independent of the outside is found in Ingoroqva, *Jvel-k'art. matiane*. He proposes to consider the national Georgian Era as coeval with national history; and counting two Paschal Cycles back of A.D. 780 he arrives, proleptically, at 284 B.C., which date he postulates to be that

Later still, in 888, his descendant Adarnase IV restored the dormant Iberian Monarchy. Thus the foundations were laid for the powerful mediaeval Kingdom of United Georgia, the vestiges of which survived well into the last century.⁵⁵

The posterity of Smbat VII continued the Armenian line which, manoeuvring adroitly between the weakening Abbasids and the predatory Basilids, also succeeded in converting the Principate of Armenia into an hereditary kingship, founding the Fourth Armenian — or the Second Orontid — Monarchy. Despite its initial success and its cultural achievement, however, the story of this Monarchy soon became one of political disintegration in a welter of warring States, sub-kingdoms, and anti-kings, until the Byzantines by ruse and the Seljuqs by force put an end to its nearly bicentennial existence. The branches of the Armenian line disappear thereafter from history.⁵⁶

of the half-legendary 'first King' Pharnabazus. — In support of his theory, T'aqaišvili adduced a brief chronicle he discovered in an eighteenth-century collection of MSS, in which it is stated that the kingship of the Bagratids began in the thirteenth *k'oronikon*: 'Saistorio masaleni' 2 (Mokle c'nobebi Sak'art'velos istoriidan) AG 2 (1911-1913) 56-59, esp. 60; *Chronology* 25-26. This little chronicle, however, is a late and rather defective compilation. Its reference to the arrival of Adarnase to Iberia, which precedes the statement that Bagratid rule began in 781, is a re-wording of the text of Juanšer (*supra* at n. 21). And, as in later codd. of the Annals, Adarnase is called *disculi brmisa* = 'sister's son of [Adarnase, *scil.* Ašot] the Blind.' The abbreviation sign mistakenly placed over *brmisa* induced T'aqaišvili to hold, forgetting the text of Juanšer, that this word was — instead of the genitive of *brma* = 'blind' — the genitive of the name *Ba(h)ram*: *Saist. mas.* 60; *Chronology* 25 ('son of the sister of Baram'!). And the statement that Adarnase 'took counsel with the children of Vaxtang Gorgasal' (წიგმელი ვხრანა შვილთა [*sic*] ვანტანგ გორგასალიბათა) — and obvious adaptation of Juanšer's words about his staying with the 'children' of the Curopalate Guaram (who was of the 'children' of Vaxtang), T'aqaišvili chose to interpret as meaning that he 'became related by marriage to' them: *ibid.*

⁵⁵ Cf. II § 12.9.

⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*; Grousset, *Histoire* 341-636; Laurent, *Arménie*, *passim*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF PERIODICALS, SERIAL PUBLICATIONS, COLLECTIONS, GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE, AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS.

A	= Queen Anne Codex of the Georgian Annals [Intro. 21].
AB	= <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABibl	= <i>Analecta biblica</i> (Rome).
AdG	= <i>Almanach de Gotha</i> (Gotha).
AG	= <i>L'Ancienne Géorgie</i> / <i>Jveli Sak'art'velo</i> (Tiflis).
AGWG	= <i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F.</i> (Berlin).
AIPhH	= <i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
Aktg	= <i>Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoj Arxeografičeskoj Kommissieju</i> (Tiflis).
AM	= <i>Azgayin Matenadaran</i> / <i>Nationalbibliothek</i> (Vienna).
AQ	= <i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
Ar	= <i>Armenica</i> (Leipzig).
At	= <i>Ararat</i> (Ejmiadzin).
B	= <i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	= <i>Bulletin arménologique</i> (<i>Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph</i>) (Beyrouth).
BAR	= <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> (Paris).
BASP	= <i>British Academy, Supplementary Papers</i> (London).
BIM	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> / <i>Enis, istorisa da mater. kulturis institutl akad. N. Marisa sax.</i> (Tiflis).
BK	= <i>Bedi Kart(h)lisa. Revue de kart(h)éologie</i> (Paris).
BM	= <i>Banber Matenadaran</i> (Erivan).
BO	= <i>Biblica et orientalia</i> (Rome).
BSE	= <i>Bol'shaja sovetskaja enciklopedija</i> .
BSOAS	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BVSGW	= <i>Berichte über Verhandlungen der königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	= <i>Eraĭ Čalašvili Codex of the Georgian Annals</i> [Intro. 21].
Ca	= <i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	= <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge).
CBMIB	= <i>Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae</i> (Brussels).
CGFAL	= <i>Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library</i> (Lisbon).
CHA	= <i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> (St Petersburg).
CHAMA	= <i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> (Paris).
CHR	= <i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CMH	= <i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> (Cambridge).
COS	= <i>Cambridge Oriental Series</i> (London).
CPEG	= <i>Corpus poetarum epicorum graecorum</i> (Leipzig).
GPh	= <i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).

- CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn).
- CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (Louvain).
- D = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig).
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*.
- DuCange, *Gl.gr.* = C. du F. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons 1688).
- EB = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- EESE = *Études d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie* (Paris).
- EHR = *English Historical Review* (London).
- EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
- ES = *Ėnciklopedičeskij Slovar'*.
- FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris).
- G = *Geographica* (London).
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig).
- GHA(f) = *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels: Fürstliche Häuser* (Glücksburg).
- HA = *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna).
- HE = *Histoire de l'Église, depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de: Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin* (Paris).
- HM = *Histoire du monde, publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac* (Paris).
- HMA = *Histoire du Moyen-Age (Histoire générale)* (Paris).
- HT = *Hratarakut'wn T'ip'lisi ėnk. Hayerĕn grk'ert hrat.* (St Petersburg).
- IAAN = *Izvestija Armjanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Erevan).
- IANA = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armjanskogo SSB* (Erevan).
- IANs = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- IGA = *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* (Leningrad/Moscow).
- IIAN = *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* (St Petersburg).
- IKO = *Izvestija Kavkazskago Otdjelenija Imp. Moskovskago Arzeologičeskago Obščestva* (Moscow).
- IOA = *Izvestija Obščestva obsledovanija i izučenijsa Azerbajdžana* (Baku).
- IZ = *Istoričeskije Zapiski* (Moscow).
- JA = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore).
- JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.
- JEH = *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (London).
- JM = L. Jalabert and R. Mousterde, S. J., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie I: Commagène et Cyrrestique* (Paris 1929).
- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
- K = *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leipzig).
- KAO = *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (Munich).
- KGE = *Kratkaja geografičeskaja ėnciklopedija*.
- KSINA = *Kratkie soobščenijsa Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- L = *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America* (Baltimore).
- LCL = *The Loeb Classical Library* (London/New York).
- LeM = *Le Muséon* (Louvain).
- LM = *Lukasean Matenadaran* (Tiflis).

- LOS = *London Oriental Series* (London).
 M = *Queen Mary Codex of the Georgian Annals* [Introd. 21].
 MA = *Mélanges asiastiques* (St Petersburg).
 MAK = *Materialy po arzeologii Kavkaza* (Moscow).
 Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*.
 MB = *Le monde byzantin (L'évolution de l'humanité)* (Paris).
 MBE = *Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica* (Rome).
 MDGKO = *Morgenland. Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin).
 MDO = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin).
 MGT = *Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* (Budapest).
 Mn = *Memnon. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des alten Orients* (Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig).
 Mo = *Moambe* (Tiflis).
 MSKI = *Masalebi Sak'art'velos da Kavkasiis istoriidan* (Tiflis).
 NNM = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (New York).
 NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).
 OCa = *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome).
 OCs = *Oriens christianus* (Leipzig).
 P = *P'orj* (Tiflis).
 PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*.
 PO = *Patrologia orientalis*.
 PSBF = *Pubblicazioni dello Studium biblicum Franciscanum* (Jerusalem).
 Q = Qauxč'išvili ed. of the *Georgian Annals* [Introd. 23].
 Qub = S. Qubaneišvili, *Jveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomaf'ia I* (Tiflis 1946).
 RA = *Rivista araldica* (Rome).
 RAss = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin/Leipzig).
 RE = Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
 REA = *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris).
 REAnc = *Revue des études anciennes* (Bordeaux).
 RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris).
 RHC(a) = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*.
 RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris).
 RSJB = *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* (Paris).
 S = *Syria* (Paris).
 SAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).
 SBE = *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* (Oxford).
 SH = *Sop'er k' Haykakank'* (Venice).
 SIA = *Studia instituti Anthropos* (Vienna).
 SM = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mjestnostej i plemen Kavkaza* (Tiflis).
 SMM = *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis moambe* (Tiflis).
 SMMn = *Sahak Mesropean matenadaran* (Tiflis).
 SSKG = *Sbornik sojedenij o kavkazskix gorcaz* (Tiflis).
 ST = *Studi e testi* (Vatican City).
 Spiski = *The Russian Empire, The College of Herald's of the Governing Senate, Spiski titulovannyh rodov i licam Rossijskoj imperii* (St Petersburg 1892).

- SZAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).
- T = *Traditio* (New York).
- TEB = *Traité d'études byzantines* (*Bibliothèque byzantine*) (Paris).
- TRAGF = *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii* (St Petersburg).
- TUAL = *Texte und Untersuchungen der altarmenischen Literatur* (Vienna).
- TUM = *Tp'ilisis Universitatis moambe* (Tiflis).
- TUS = *Travaux de l'Université Staline* (Tiflis).
- UMS(h) = *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series* (New York).
- V = King Vaxtang VI Redaction of the Georgian Annals [Introd. 21-22].
- Vn = *Vostan. Cahiers d'histoire et de civilisation arméniennes* (Paris).
- VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (Moscow).
- Vo = *Vostok* (Leningrad).
- VV = *Vizantijskij vremennik* / *Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά* (St Petersburg, later Moscow/Leningrad).
- WNZ = *Wiener numismatisches Zeitschrift* (Vienna).
- WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna).
- Z = T^e. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da sxva masala Sak'art'velos istoriisa* (Tiflis).
- ZIV = *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- ZMNP = *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija* (St Petersburg).
- ZVO = *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva* (St Petersburg).

II. LITERARY SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. CAUCASIAN SOURCES

a. Armenian

- Ananias = Ananias of Siracene (Anania Širakac'i), *Geography*, ed. Ašar-hac'oyc' Movsesi Xorenac'woy, Venice 1881. — The brief version: ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819 318-377.
- Arab Life of St Gregory, see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Aristaces = Aristaces of Lastivert (Aristakēs Lastivertc'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. Patmuŋiwn Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy (LM 6 1912).
- Arm. Agath., see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Artawazd, Abbot of Erašxavork', *Martyrdom of Saint Vahan of Colthene*, ed. Olbk' vasn ėoreac'n ašxarhis Hayoc' ew vkayabanuŋiwn srboyn Vahanay Golŋnac'woy (SH 13 1854).
- Asojik = Stephen Asojik of Tarawn (Step'annōs [Asojik/Asojnik] Tarōnec'i), *Universal History*, ed. S. Malxaseanc', *Step'annosi Tarōnec'woy Asojkan patmuŋiwn tiezarakan* (HT 20 1885).
- Bk. Lett. = *The Book of Letters*, ed. Girk' i'lfoc', *Malenagrut'wn narneac'* (SMMn 5 1901).

- Cyriacus = Cyriacus of Ganja (Kirakos Ganjakec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' arareal Kirakosi vardapeti Ganjakec'woy* (LM 3 1909).
- Eliseus = Eliseus (Elišē), *History of the Vardanians*, ed. *Elišēi patmut'iwn Vardananc'* (LM 11 1913).
- Faustus = Faustus of Buzanda (P'awstos Buzandac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *P'awstosi Biwzandac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Venice 1933.
- Gk Agath., see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Gk List = Greek List of the Katholikoi and Rulers of Armenia, *apud Narratio*.
- The Gregorian Cycle — I Recension: The Agathangelus. A. Arm. Agath. = The Armenian Agathangelus, ed. *Agathangelay patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 15 1914). — B. Gk Agath. = The Greek Agathangelus, ed. V. Langlois, in CHAMA 1 (1867) 109-193. — II Recension: The Life of Saint Gregory. A. Gk Life of St Gregory = The Greek Life of Saint Gregory, ed. G. Garitte, *Πράξεις καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Γρηγορίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας*, in *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (ST 127 1946). — B. Arab. Life of Saint Gregory = The Arabic Life of Saint Gregory, ed. N. Marr, *Kreščenie Armjan Gruzin, Abxazov i Alanov svjatym Grigoriem* (ZVO 16 1905) 63-211.
- Gregory of Akner = Gregory of Akner (Grigor Aknerc'i), *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*, Cambridge [Massachusetts] 1954.
- John Kath. = John VI of Drasxanakert (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertec'i), Katholikos of Armenia, *History of Armenia*, ed. *Yovhannu kat'olikosi Drasxanakertec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 5 1912).
- Ps. John Mamikonean = Pseudo-John Mamikonean, *History of Tarawn*, ed. *Yovhannu Mamikoneni episkoposi patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, Venice 1889.
- Koriwn = Koriwn, *Life of Saint Maštoc'*, ed. N. Akinean, *Koriwn, Vark' S. Maštoc'i* (TUAL 1/1 1952).
- Lazarus = Lazarus of P'arpi (Lazar P'arpec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Lazaray P'arpec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 2 1907).
- Leontius = Leontius (Lewond) the Priest, *History of Armenia*, ed. I. Ezeanc', *Patmut'iwn Lewondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc'*, St Petersburg 1887.
- Matt. Edess. = Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Uḡhayec'i), *Chronicle (Žamankagrut'iwn)*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Matt'eosi Uḡhayec'woy*, Jerusalem 1869.
- Moses Kał. = Moses of Kałankaytuk' or of Dasxurēn (Movsēs Kałankatuac'i or Dasxuranc'i), *History of Albania*, ed. M. Ėmin, *Movsēsi Kałankatuac'woy patmut'iwn Ałuanic' ašxarhi* (LM 8 1912).
- Ps. Moses = Pseudo-Moses of Chorene (Movsēs Xorenac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Srboy hōrn meroy Movsēsi Xorenac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 10 1913).
- Mxit'ar Goš, Code (*Daslanagirk' Hayoc' mecač'*), ed. V. Bastameanc', *Vaġaršapat* 1880.
- Narratio = *Narratio de rebus Armeniae (Διήγησις)*, ed. G. Garitte, *La*

- Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Édition critique et commentaire* (CSGO 132, Subsidia 4 1952).
- Prim. Hist. Arm.** = *Primary History of Armenia*, apud Sebēos.
- Sebēos** = Sebēos, *History of Heraclius*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Sebēosi episkoposi i Herakln (LM 7 1913).
- Smbat of Babarōn, High Constable of Armenia**, Code, ed. J. Karst, *Sempadscher Kodex... oder mittelarmerinisches Rechtsbuch*, Strasbourg 1905-1906.
- Stephen Orbellian** = Stephen Orbellian (Step'annos Ōrbēlean), *History of Siunia*, ed. K. Šahnazarean, *Patmuf'iwn nahangin Sisakan arareal Step'annosi Ōrbēlean ark'episkoposi Siwneac'*, Paris 1859.
- Thomas** = Thomas (T'ovma) Arcruni, *History of the House of Arcruni*, ed. T'ovmay vardapeti Arcrunioy patmuf'iwn tann Arcruney, Tiflis 1917. — Its latter part is Thomas Contin. = Thomas Continuatus.
- Thomas Contin., Ps. Uxtanēs** see Thomas.
- = Pseudo-Uxtanēs, *History of the Ibero-Armenian Schism (Patmuf'iwn bažanman Vrac' ew Hayoc')*, Vałaršapat 1871.
- Vardan** = Vardan, *Universal History*, ed. Hawak'umn patmuf'ean Vardanay vardapeti lusabaneal, Venice 1862.
- Ps. Vardan, Georg.** = *Geography* attributes to Vardan, ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819, 406-453.
- Ps. Zenobius** = Pseudo-Zenobius (Zenob) of Glak, *History of Tarawn*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Tarōnoy zor torgmaneay Zenob Asori, Venice 1889.

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- Samuel of Ani** = Samuel of Ani, or The Priest (Anec'i or Erēc'; end of the twelfth century), *Chronique*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 340-483.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Cart.** = Zacharias the Deacon (Zak'aria Sarkavag; 1626-1699), *Cartulaire de Ioannou-Vank*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 155-189.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Sofis** = Zacharias the Deacon, *Mémoires historiques sur les Sofis*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 1-151.

b. Georgian

- Basil** = Basil, Master of the Court (Basili, Ezos-Mojguari), *History of Queen Tamar (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'el'a T'amarisi)*, ed. Q II 115-150.
- Basil of Zarma, Chron. Iber.** = *Life of Saint Serapion of Zarzma*, ed. Qub 86-96.
- Conv. Iber.** = *Chronicle of Iberia (Matiāne K'art'liša)*, ed. Q I 249-317.
- = Gregory the Deacon (Grigol Diakonī), *The Conversion of Iberia (Mok'c'eva K'art'liša)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 50-59 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931, 511-514.
- Divan** = Bagrat III, King of Georgia, *Divan of the Kings (Divani mep'el'a)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in AG 2/3 (1911-1913) 28-54.

- George Hagior. = George the Hagiorite (Giorgi Mt'acmindeli), *Life of Saints John and Euthymius*, ed. I. Javaxišvili and A. Šanije, Tiflis 1946.
- Hist. David III = Arsenius the Monk, *History of King David III (II) (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'isa Davit'isi)*, ed. Q I 318-364.
- Hist. Eul. Sov. = First Historian of Tamar, *Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns (Istoriani da azmani šaravandedt'ani)*, ed. Q II 1-114.
- Hist. Five Reigns = Historian of George IV, *History of the Five Reigns*, ed. Q I 365-369.
- HVG, see Juanšer.
- Juanšer = Juanšer Juanšeriani, *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasal (C'xovreba Vaxtang Gorgaslisa)*, ed. Q I 138-244. — Its first part = HVG.
- Leont. Mrov. = Leontius Bishop of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli), *History of the Kings of Iberia (C'xovreba k'art'uef'a mep'el'a)*, ed. Q I 3-138.
- Mart. Abo = John, son of Saban (Ioane Sabanisje), *Martyrdom of Saint Abo (Martwlobay Haboysi)*, ed. Qub 54-71.
- Mart. Arč'il = *Martyrdom of Saint Arč'il (Cameba emidisa da didebulisa mo-camisa Arč'ilisi)*, ed. Q I 245-248.
- Mart. Eust. = *Martyrdom of Saint Eustace of Mc'xe'f'a (Martwlobay Eustat'i mc'xe'felisay)*, ed. Qub 44-54.
- Martyrdom of the Nine Infants of Kola*, ed. N. Marr, *Mučeničestvo olrokov Kolažeev* (TRAGF 5 1903).
- Mart. Susan = James the Priest of C'urtavi (Iakob C'urtaveli), *Martyrdom of Saint Susan (Martwlobay Šušanikisi)*, ed. Qub 34-44.
- Merč'ule = George (Giorgi) Merč'ule, *Life of Saint Gregory of Xanji'a (Šromay da mo'guacebay... Grigolisi ark'imandrilisay Xanji'isa...)*, ed. N. Marr, *Georgij Merčul: Žitie sv. Grigorija Xandztijskago* (TRAGF 7 1911).
- Mesch. Chron. = Meschian Chronographer (Žamt'aagmcereli). *History of the Mongol Invasions*, ed. Q II 151-325.
- Prim. Hist. Iber. = *Primary History of Iberia*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 48-49 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931 569-570.
- Roy. List = *Royal List I, II, III*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 49-50, 59-66, 66-67.
- Sumbat = Sumbat, son of David (Davit'isje), *History of the Bagratids (C'xovreba da ucqeba Bagratonian'f'a)*, ed. M 336-361.
- Vit. Nin. = *Life of Saint Nino*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 67-96; — 42 (1912) 1-57.

B. NON-CAUCASIAN SOURCES

- Acts = The Acts of the Apostles.
- Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani (Scriptores historiae augustae)*, ed. LCL.
- Aeneas Sylvius, *Ep.* = Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II, Pope), *Epistolarum liber I*, Basel 1571.
- Aeschylus, *Prom. vinct.* = Aeschylus, *Prometheus vinctus*, ed. LCL.

- Aeschylus, *Sept. con Theb.*
 Agathias
 Amm. Marcell.
 Anastasius Apocr.

 Anastasius the Librarian

 Anonym. *Peripl.* [Lond.]

 Apollodorus, *Bibl.*
 Apollodorus, *Perieg.*
 Apollonius Rhod., *Arg.*

 Appian, *Mithr.*
 Appian, *Syr.*
 Arrian, *Anab.*
 Arrian, *Peripl.*

 Arrian, *Succ. Alex.*
 Cassius Dio

 Cedrenus

 Chron. pasch.
 Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.*
 Cod. Just.

 Cod. Theod.

 Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*

 Const. Porphy., *De cerim.*

 I Cor.
 Ctesias, *Pers.*
 Curtius

 Demosthenes, *Orat.*
 Dio Chrys.
 Diodorus
 Ephorus
 Esther.
 Eusebius, *Praep. evang.*
 Eusebius, *Chron.*
 Ezech.
 Gal.
- = Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, ed. LCL.
 = Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. PG 88.
 = Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. LCL.
 = Anastasius the Priest and Apocrisiarius of Rome, *Epistola ad Theodosium presbyterum Gangrensem*, ed. PG 90 171-194.
 = Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia ecclesiastica ... ex Theophane contracta*, ed. PG 108 1205-1428.
 = Pseudo-Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (Codex Londiniensis), ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 2 128-141.
 = Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. FHG I 104-179.
 = Apollodorus, *Periegesis*, ed. FHG I 449-453.
 = Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, ed. R. Merkel, CPEG 4 (1852).
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Mithridatica*, ed. LCL.
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Syriaca*, ed. LCL.
 = Arrian, [*Anabasis*] *De expeditione Alexandri*, ed. LCL.
 = Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 3 80-107.
 = Arrian, *De rebus successorum Alexandri*, ed. LCL.
 = Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae romanae*, ed. V. P. Boissvain, Berlin 1955.
 = George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. CSHB (1838).
 = *Chronicon paschale*, ed. PG 92.
 = M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, ed. LCL.
 = *Corpus juris civilis: Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, II, 9th ed., Berlin 1915.
 = *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI*, Berlin 1905.
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 = I Corinthians.
 = Ctesias, *De rebus persicis*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1887.
 = Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, ed. LCL.
 = Demosthenes, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.
 = Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.
 = Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, ed. LCL.
 = Ephorus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 234-277.
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ed. PG 21.
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Chronicorum libri duo*, ed. PG 19.
 = Ezechiel.
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- Gen. = Genesis.
- George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1904.
- Hecataeus = Hecataeus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 1-31.
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