The Geography of Ananias of Širak
(Ašxarhac'oyc’)
The Long and the Short Recensions
Introduction, Translation and Commentary
by
Robert H. Hewsen

1992

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TO MY MENTOR AND FRIEND

CYRIL TOUMANOFF
TABLES OF TRANSLITERATION

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**PREFACE**

The value of Classical Armenian literature has been appreciated in the Western World ever since the discovery that its corpus includes translations of numerous Greek texts that have not survived in the original. My own interest in the *Asxarhac'oyc* began in 1963, when, as a graduate student at Georgetown University, I first discovered that among these works derived from Greek originals there existed a geography containing the most systematic and thorough descriptions of Caucasia, Armenia and Iran that had come down to us from antiquity. The resulting study of the *Asxarhac'oyc*, and the annotation of its long and short recensions form the subject of this present work.

Four years were spent on the original translation and annotation of this text (1963-67), two years to its first revision (1970-72), and another two in revising it for publication (1987-89). Altogether, the present work is the result of twenty-five years of study in the field of Classical, Armenian, and Caucasian historical geography, eight of which were devoted exclusively to the study of the *Asxarhac'oyc*.

Since this work, by its nature, is intended for a limited audience, it has been necessary to reduce it considerably from its original form in order to make its publication feasible. For this reason, too, Greek quotations have had to be printed in transliteration, rather than in the Greek alphabet; the Armenian texts of both recensions have had to be omitted; and the Introduction greatly condensed.

Also, the need to sacrifice an extensive amount of annotation has resulted in the latter not fully reflecting the extent of the author's original conception. As it is, I have had to remind myself continuously that I was annotating a geographical text and not composing an historical geography of Armenia however much a desideratum such a work might be. In these matters, the reader's indulgence is asked.

A study of this kind has naturally required the aid of a great many people at every step along the way. First and foremost, it is an honor to extend my deepest gratitude to my mentor and friend, Professor Cyril Toumanoff, late of Georgetown University, who, for over twenty-five years and with unfailing generosity, has placed his vast learning and extensive library at my disposal. All that I know, I have learned under his guidance, and the high standards of scholarship set by him have been an unfailing source of inspiration.

In addition, it is both a duty and an honor to acknowledge the contribution of Academician Souren Tigranovich Eremyan of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, whose studies in regard to the *Asxarhac'oyc*, published over the past twenty-five years, as well as the maps which he has so generously presented me almost as soon as they left the press, have been indispensable to my own work, especially in connection with my annotation of the text. Indeed, although I have not always agreed with his findings and conclusions, and have augmented most of his notes, so thorough has been his commentary that in some areas beyond the range of my expertise, my notes have been little more than elaborated paraphrases of the ones he has already so competently supplied.

I also owe thanks to Dr. Robert W. Thomson, Professor of Armenian Language at Harvard University and Director of Dumbarton Oaks, for reading the original manuscript of this work and for providing many valuable suggestions; to Dr. B. L. Chookazarian, Deputy Director of the Mesrop Mashtoc Manuscript Repository (Matenadaran) in Erevan, Soviet Armenia, for his good counsel, and especially for supplying me with a xerographic copy of mss. 1267 and 3160 of the *Asxarhac'oyc* found in his institute; to the late Monsieur Haig Bérbérian, refounder and editor of the *Revue des études...*
INTRODUCTION

The anonymous Armenian Geography (Asxarhac’oyc’1 in Armenian; hereinafter: ASX) is one of the most valuable works to come down to us from Armenian antiquity. Besides being our chief authority for the historical geography of ancient Armenia and Caucasia, it is an indispensable handbook for research into the history, geography, and literature of the rest of Caucasia, and of the Persian Empire as well. Based largely on Greek sources, it is also valuable for students of the classical world, and may be profitably used in the study of Ptolemy’s Geography whose influence has been especially strong. The most important source for the ASX, however, seems to have been Pappus of Alexandria, and here again the Armenian compilation is of the greatest interest, for the geographical work of Pappus has been lost.2

The value of this Geography thus lends a more than academic interest to the question of its authorship, the date of its composition, and the relationship between its two recensions – a long (L) and a short (S) – that have come down to us. It was one of the first Armenian texts to be published, and one of the earliest to be subjected to that criticism which has brought into question the date and authorship of half a dozen major Armenian monuments. Although most of the later mss. attribute the ASX to Moses of Khoran (Moses Xorenac’3, hereinafter: MX), this ascription was disputed by Sainte-Croix as early as 1789,4 and a reassessment of the ASX’s traditional dating and authorship is one of the principle objects of this study.

In regard to the Armenian texts used for this translation, it should be pointed out that this work is not intended to include a definitive edition of the ASX, and no attempt has been made to present a reconstruction of the ‘primitive text,’ a project which at best could only be tentative.5 What I have tried to do is simply to bring the two recensions together and to translate both into English, using the readings of various accessible mss. and of previous editions only to elucidate the more difficult passages.

In annotating this translation, the author makes no pretense to possessing the vast erudition necessary to explicate every part of a geographical text covering the entire known world in antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Ultimately, the ASX is of interest to us because of what it has to tell us about Armenia, Iran, and Caucasia. The little it has to say about the rest of the territory it describes is hardly extensive, original or curious enough to require elaborate comment. While I have not neglected the rest of the text, I make no apologies for addressing my greatest attention to those original sections that have always been the most valuable in the interest of the work shown by specialists in whatever field. The unique contributions of my work are essentially four in number: First, in making my translation I have had access both to the original mss. (Venice 1245) of the unique long version of the text (L), and to what specialists at the Matenadaran consider to be the oldest (Mat. 582) and the best mss. (Mat. 1267 and 3106) of the shorter one (S), as well as to the oldest copy of all in the Armenian Catholic

1 From asxar ‘world’ and -c’oyc’ ‘show.’ The term asxarhac’oyc’ refers only to geographical works, the term asxarhagryen, literally ‘world-writing’ (i.e., ‘geography’) being used for geography as a branch of knowledge.
3 Petis de Saime-Crols 1789:217ff.
4 For such an attempt see Erenyian (1963), and idem. in PBH (1972-73).
monastery at Bzommar, Lebanon (ms. 204, dated 1178); second, setting aside Eremyan's blend of L and S into what can only be, at the present state of our knowledge, an artificial and ultimately misleading *Urtext*, I have made separate translations of L and S placing them on facing pages for easier comparison, thus allowing future students of the work to draw their own conclusions as to their ultimate relationship to one another; third, through the use of the extensive work of Eremyan and other scholars in Soviet Armenia, I have been able to bring the full weight of Armenian historical geographical scholarship to the attention of Western specialists who lack access to the Armenian language; finally, in dealing with those portions of the text relevant to Armenia, Georgia and Caucasian Albania, I have been able to bring the fruit of my own twenty-five years of study and research into the historical geography of these regions. If at times I have disagreed with my Soviet colleagues, this has always been done with a profound respect for their accomplishments and with gratitude for the groundwork they have laid, and upon which my own contribution ultimately rests. 

1. THE TEXT AND ITS PROBLEMS

Despite the great age of the ASX, the number of surviving manuscripts of the text, and its importance as a geographical source, the work is seldom referred to by Classical Armenian authors and is rarely quoted. MX, written probably in the late ninth or early tenth century, is the one author who seems to have been most familiar with the ASX, and this is possibly why in later centuries (though in only one of the earlier ms.) it was often attributed to his pen. Thomson cites five close parallels in the *History* of MX and the ASX, noting that the passages in question are common to both recensions or to L, and that there is nothing borrowed that is found only in S. According to Thomson, these borrowings are:

1. Moses (I.30) describes how the world was measured by order of Ptolemy using terminology that suggests parallels with both S and L but not direct quotation.
2. Moses (II.13) and the ASX (L) both mention the reputed death of King Arataēs of Armenia in Greece, although again there is no direct quotation.
3. Moses (II.81) describes China in terms borrowed from both S and L.
4. Moses' rejects any belief in the fabulous monsters said to exist in the Far East, in terms identical to those found at the end of L.
5. The description of Karin in MX (III.59), which contains parallels to the description of Greater Armenia in the ASX; has borrowed material common to both recensions or found only in L.

None of these parallels taken by itself is firm evidence of direct use of the ASX on the part of MX but taken together they support the argument that he was at least familiar with the text of L.

P'ovma Arcrum (YA) is another reasonably early author (tenth century) who knew of the ASX and who twice quotes it clearly (I.28; III.18) even while attributing it to Ptolemy of Alexandria. Curiously, the author of the thirteenth century Geography attributed — perhaps correctly — to Varden Areweli'i (the Great (VA), shows no acquaintance with our text at all, and his description of Armenia and the world at large — poor stuff compared to our ASX, whose own author was himself no Strabo or Pliny — appears to be based on a general idea of how such a description might be made rather than on any notion of updating an early geographical work (such as our text), which by chance may have come into his hands.

A. MANUSCRIPTS

In a study of this nature, it is customary to begin with a discussion of the various ms. of the text in question and to attempt to construct their stemma. Unfortunately, this is not yet possible in the case of the ASX, for sufficient information has yet to be published concerning the location and content of the more than fifty ms. which have come down to us. The overwhelming majority of these ms. — thirty-seven in all — is now to be found in the Matenadaran (the Mesrop-Maitoc Institute of Ancient Manuscripts) in Erevan, Soviet Armenia, where local Armenian scholars have determined that 1267 and 1360 are the best ms., and 582 the oldest; there are at least six in the library of the Mekhitarist Congregation, an order of Uniate Armenian Catholic monks on the Island of San Lazzaro in Venice (I was unable to elicit from them their exact number or catalogue numbers), and five in the library of the Armenian Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem. Surprisingly, there are only three copies in the Mekhitarists' sister monastery in Vienna, and only two in the library of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate at Bzommar, Lebanon, one of which, copied in 1178 and attributing the work to MX, appears to be the oldest in existence. Unfortunately, it is not a good ms. and many of its readings are quite corrupt. There are only modern copies of the ASX in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and there is only an incomplete copy, also modern, in ms. number 118 (Or. 5459) in the British Library. Neither of the two ms. in the library of the University of Tubingen is particularly good, although one (Ma XIII 70) is dated as early as 1432 and the other (Ma XIII 98) was copied in 1668; they have been of little use to this study. Both ascribe the text to MX. Saint-Martin knew of none in France in his time, but according to Dwight, there was supposed to be one in the Armenian College in Tiflis.

9 B.L. Chookaszian, Deputy Director of the Matenadaran, letter dated 15 April 1982.
10 Ibid.
12 Daškian (1895); also letter from Rev. Raphael Kostian of the Mekhitarists Congregation, Vienna, dated 21 September, 1964, and from Rev. Vahan Hovagimian of the same order, 7 March, 1960.
13 G.R. Cardona, 1969:83. Although this ms. was not available to me, from the concluding passages given by Cardona, as well as from the lengthy excerpts found in Keshishian (Vienna 1964, ms. No. 204, folio l-45), it is clear that, despite its age, this is a most disappointing copy. Besides being defective, its orthography of the various districts in Armenia is unusually faulty (Eketec' for Eketec', Saltjum' for Saltjum', Tobytanes for Tendabes — all careless errors for well known toponyms), and shows it be the end result of a very poor ms. tradition. Its only great variation is that it contains a precise trancing of all the known peoples of the world from the three sons of Noah but even this has been lifted in toto from the Chronicle of Samuel of Assy (twelfth century). The other ms. at Erevan (No. 158) is of the seventeenth century and contains a very ordinary text of the ASX with no significant variations.
14 Macle (1908). Ms. 202, contains in folia 294-307 a fragment of an ASX beginning with the passage on Syria and continuing to the end. This was copied by E. Dolatzer in 1850 from a ms. of the ASX in the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, which in turn was copied from a ms. in the Russian Museum. Ms. 207 contains the History of MX and the ASX published by the Whiston Brothers collated by Zohrash and two Venetian ms. The printed text and our collation is bound in one volume.
15 Cronybeare 1913:293, where, as usual, the ASX is cited under the authorship of Moses of Xoren. According to this catalogue, ms. or. 5459 contains in folia 316-335 an incomplete modern copy of the ASX.
16 Personal examination of the mss. February 1984.
17 Saint-Martin 1819:516.
18 Dwight 1853:243-88.
The ASX is one of the earliest examples of Armenian secular literature to have been published, and no less than eleven editions and translations of it have appeared.

1. S1668. This edition (of the ASX edited by Osan of Erevan, was part of an anthology of geographical fragments by Varden of Aygek, published in the same volume with a collection of tales and fables, the whole entitled *Girk’a al’zorabak’ ưn e al’vatabigir,* ‘Book of Geography and Fables,’ published by the French and Book of the Fox.’ The ASX in this edition is attributed to MX but, as is printed, is filled with errors and must have been based on a very faulty ms.

2. S1683. A reedition of the S1668 ‘corrected’ by Mathew of Vanond (but still very faulty) in Constantinople, the place of publication having been deliberately misrepresented on the title page as “Marseilles” (Marseilles) in order to prevent the Ottoman authorities from learning that the work had actually been printed in Turkey.

3. S1698. Published supposedly at Leghorn (Livorno), Italy, this edition was edited at Constantinople by a certain Eremia varshad of Mehri.

4. S1736. Based on S1683, this was published at the end of the Whitson Brothers’ edition of the History of Armenia (by MX) (London: 1736), both works accompanied by a Latin translation. Notwithstanding its numerous errors, S1683 was reprinted exactly as it stood without changes of any kind.

5. S1752. The fifth edition of the ASX was prepared by Sarks Varshad Sarafian of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice, and was published in Venice at the press of Antonio Perdoli.

6. S1819. This is the edition of Saint-Martin which appeared with a French translation in the second volume of his *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l’Arménie.* This was also based on S1683 as it appeared in the Whitson reprint (S1736), but at least Saint-Martin recognized the major errors and attempted, however inaccurately, to restore the text. His French translation was then prepared from his revision, and, although he is often guilty of careless errors of his own, his rendering is generally accurate.

7. S1843. A Venetian edition based on five mss. then held by the Mekhitarist monastery, collated with a sixth ms. in the collection of the monastery of Ejmiac in Armenia and published in pp. 617-640 of the collected works of Moses of Xoren,27 (cf. infra, #8, #9 and #11).

8. S1865. Another Venetian edition,28 I have been unable to secure any information about the mss. used in its preparation, but from its title it would appear to be nothing more than a reedition of S1843.

9. S1877. The edition of Kerovpe Patkanov (Patkanov), published together with a Russian translation.29 This was based on S1843 which Patkanov collated with S1736, and which thus had the benefit of the readings of seven different mss. even thought no new ones were drawn upon.

10. L. 1881. This is, to date, the only edition of the long redaction of the ASX discovered by the Mekhitarist father, Arshie Soukry.30 Found in the collection of the monastery at Venice, this ms. (No. 1245) dated 1605, was published by Soukry with a French translation,31 and Patkanov devoted an article to it two years later in which he translated certain passages from it into Russian. Soukry’s French translation, however, is not only free, but in places quite inaccurate. It is also poorly annotated and, like the previous translations, uses no scientific system of transliteration, giving the reader only a vague idea as to the actual pronunciation of the toponyms involved.32 Fortunately, in July 1987, through the kind efforts of Father Nerses Nersesean and Father Vartanes Oshoohadjian of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro in Venice, a microfilm of the text of the long version of the ASX (L), which occupies pp. 1-76 of ms. 1245 in the monastery library, and which served as the basis of L. 1881, was placed in my hands; and this has served as the basis for the revision of my own translation into English presented here.

11. S1994. Since 1881 the ASX has been republished only in Abrahamyan’s collected works of Ananias of Sirak.33 This edition was based on a Venice edition referred to only as W, but since S1944 and S1877 both were published within Russian territory, I take it that Abrahamyan refers to the same Venice edition used by Patkanov in the preparation of S1843, i.e., S1843. Abrahamyan’s edition, however, contains variants from the oldest ms. of the ASX in the Matenadaran, No. 582 (which he considered the best), and which he cites in the footnotes as ‘9.’

12. L. 1992-S1992 represents the editions and translations of the long and short recensions of the ASX offered here, the former, as stated above, based on the first fresh examination of the unique Venice ms. 1245 since its original and only previous publication by Arshie Soukry in 1881; the latter, based on ms. 582 collated with mss. 1267 and 1360 all of the Matenadaran, photocopied of which were provided me by the Deputy-Director, Mr. B. L. Chovakazian, who has assured me that they are regarded by Soviet Armenian specialists as the best mss. of the text in the repository’s collection. In 1992 V. Patkanov published a new edition of the ASX which, however, omits any elucidation of the text.

27 Patkanov 1877:8-9.
28 Shkroyermunc* Vromac*meri:armen* ‘vom *vomarmag*xum’ (Venice, 1843), in the series *Matenadrom* ‘Vromac*meri:armen*.
29 Patkanov, Idem. The title of this edition is identical to that of S1843 (Supra n. 24).
30 I have recently learned that the Hungarian scholar E. Schütze has also obtained a microfilm of L from the Mekhitarists of Venice and that he plans an edition that will correct the many errors in L. 1881 and that will be accompanied by a translation into some European language, possibly German.
31 Soukry 1881.
32 It was my intention from the beginning to make a fresh translation of L on the basis of the original ms. in Venice but this was impossible until the Mekhitarist Congregation supplied me with the promised microfilm of the text in 1987.
33 Abrahamyan 1944:336-354. Since 1944 the sections of L. 1881 and S1944 refer to Causcasia, Armenia, and Iran have been republished in the appendices to Ad.-Gag. (Niius Garsoian’s annotated English translation of Nicolas Adont’s master work *Armenia v epokha Justinian* (Armenia in the Period of Justinian), 1970:116*-1279).
addition to these, I have used the five mss., referred to above, in the Armenian Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem, photocopies of which were graciously sent to me by Mr. Sahag Kalsadjian; two of the three mss. in the Mekhitarist collection in Vienna (mss. 115 and 731; ms. 368 could not be made available to me until too late to be used); and the previous editions of Saint-Martin (1819), Patakano (1877), and Abrahamyan (1944) for the elucidation of obscure passages and toponyms in the text. In addition, I have not hesitated to draw upon the incomplete text of the ASX contained within the opuscule of Thomas of Cilicia ("T'ovma 'Klikhe'i = TK), which covers the sections from Greater Armenia to the end of the text (Appendix VII). My translation of S is thus based on the readings of nineteen mss., three of which are considered to be, respectively, the two best (1267 and 3160) and the oldest (582) in the Matenadaran, five being those held in Jerusalem, two being mss. in Vienna, six being those used in the preparation of 1843, which, collated with S1736, were used for the edition of 1877, and three being mss. of TK. In addition to the above, I have also had access to the reconstructed portions of the text prepared by S.T. Eremyan (from the beginning of the text through Greater Armenia and the Persian Empire) but these were of limited value because, despite his access to the nearly forty mss. in the Matenadaran, he preferred to rely for this exercise solely upon a collation of Soukry's edition (L.1881) with those of Patakano (S 1877) and Abrahamyan (S 1944), and thus used the readings of even fewer mss. than I have had access to myself.

C. Studies and Commentaries

It is to the perspicacity of Aršène Soukry that we owe the volume of later scholarship on Armenian historical geography that has emerged since his time. Having taken the trouble to examine what for all he knew was simply another copy of the short recension of the ASX in Venetian ms. 1245, this young Venetian Mekhitarist (he died at thirty) recognized it to be an important variant, and not only published it but took the trouble to translate it into French. There can be little doubt that the publication of this text led to the genesis of the study of Armenian historical geography among modern scholars. The ASX inspired the work of the Mekhitarist father, Lukas Indičean, the first Armenian geographer of modern times, whose StoragrutHwn bin Hayastaneayc* (1822) consists of little more than a rewriting and expansion of the description of Armenia found in the ASX in modern form. In Germany, it inspired the major work of Marquart (Markwart), his famed and still unsurpassed Eragonach nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Chorenac'i (1901), as well as Hübschmann's magistral Die Altarmenischen Ortsnamen (1904). In the United States it inspired my own work, while in Soviet Armenia it has led to the books and maps of Eremyan and Hakobyan, and has impressed the works of Petrosyan, Ulubayan, B. Harut'yunyan, and other scholars.

Apart from the above editions, most of which have been published with at least some commentary, the ASX has thus been the subject of considerable study and examination. Saint-Martin had the disadvantage of writing at a time when paleographic studies were in their infancy and when numerous reference works and major studies of oriental history and geography were not yet available. Soukry had more material to work with but he was not as erudite as Saint-Martin, and his edition is much too sparsely annotated. When it came to Armenian and Persian place names, moreover, neither Saint-Martin nor Soukry were able to clarify the numerous errors—mostly attributable to careless copyists—that had crept into the text.

It is to the German scholar J. Marquart (or, as he later spelled his name, Markwart) that we owe the first serious attempt to restore one of the more valuable parts of the ASX to its original form. Drawing upon his wide knowledge of history and his vast skill in oriental languages, Marquart prepared a monumental study of the Persian Empire as it is described in the ASX.34 Limiting himself to Sassanid Iran, Marquart attempted to restore each toponym to the form that it must have had in the original Armenian, and to identify and locate each place cited in the text. Then, in 1933, Von Mžik made a German translation of Part One of the introduction to the ASX into which he entered many important corrections which I have not hesitated to consider in preparing my own translation of this portion of the text.35

Most recently, the Soviet Armenian scholar, S.T. Eremyan, has attempted to do for the Armenian and Caucasian portions of the ASX what Marquart did for the Persian Empire. His preliminary study, Hayastane est "Asxarhac'yc".,36 was made to accompany a map of Armenia based on several years of research in the ASX. Using a scale of 1:250,000 Kms., Eremyan attempted to recreate the map of Armenia and Causasia as it is depicted in the ASX, placing each district of the area in its exact position insofar as it is possible to do so, along with the main cities and towns known to us from both the ASX and other sources. In his accompanying text, moreover, Eremyan presented a blend of the passages in the long and short recensions of the ASX which describe the regions of First Armenia, Second Armenia, Sarmatia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Greater Armenia, Mesopotamia and the Persian Empire.

Since the publication of this work, Eremyan has continued his weaving of L and S into a single text in an attempt to establish a kind of Urtext, which, however, given the complexities of the mss., can never be more than an academic exercise, dubious as a reconstruction, invalid as a substitute for the existing versions, and misleading in that it obscures rather than confronts the difficulties of the two recensions. For this reason, Eremyan's attempted reconstruction has not been listed above among the various editions and translations that have appeared in the past. It is a fundamentally different kind of work.

The last word, of course, has not yet been said on the subject of the ASX but the time is long overdue for a new edition of the text to be made available to Western scholars. This study, then, is an attempt to gather together the knowledge now available concerning one of the most remarkable Armenian works which has come down to us, and to use this material to elucidate its present translation into English.

D. Date and Authorship

In the two centuries since it was first translated into a Western language, the various problems concerning the ASX have given rise to a number of theories as to its date and authorship. We have already seen how as early as 1789 Sainte-Cros38 noticed the anachronisms within the text that made it impossible to accept the traditional ascription of the work to MX in the fifth century, but it was Saint-Martin who first entered into this problem in detail.

34 Marquart 1901:62.
35 Von Mžik 1933:1-16.
36 Supra n. 4.
37 Ibid.
38 Supra n. 3.
1. The Opinion of Early Scholarship

Through a close examination of S. Saint-Martin came to the conclusion that the Armenian author had based his work primarily on the lost Geography of Pappus of Alexandria and that he did not have a copy of Ptolemy at hand. After having thus settled the principal source for the ASX, Saint-Martin went on to demolish its fifth century dating and consequently its ascription to MX. To do this, he pointed out no less than nine anachronisms to prove that the work could only have been written in the ninth or tenth centuries. Among these are the mention of the Franks among the peoples of Gaul, the identification of the River Don as the Yezo of the Russians, the term Xrimn (Crimea) used for the Tauric peninsula, the mention of the Swank (Shirvanians) in Asiatie Sarmita, the mention of Basra and Kufa among the cities of Babylonia (both founded only in the Arab period), and the use of the Persian term farsakh (sic), not under its Persian form or even its Greek (parasang), but under the form p'arsax, clearly derived from the Arab variant farsakh sic. From these points, Saint-Martin concluded that what we have in the ASX is the lost Khborographta Oikoumenekht of Pappus of Alexandria, rendered into Armenian in an abridged form about the year 950 by an unknown translator.

Although most of the anachronisms cited by Saint-Martin can be dismissed simply as interpolations, a few cannot be so easily disposed of, and these, coupled with the others, present a considerable amount of cumulative evidence for a dating much later than the fifth century. The use of the term farsakh for measuring distances—a term that I doubt would have been substituted for an earlier Persian form—by itself would imply that the ASX dates from the Arab period. This, I feel, is Saint-Martin’s strongest point, although we cannot rule out the possibility that this too is the work of a later editor who substituted the Arab form for the, by his time, less familiar Persian one. Basically, Saint-Martin makes a good case for a later dating of the ASX but he leaves his theory insufficiently supported, and is unconvincing in his attempt to place the work in the tenth century.

In his introduction to his edition and Russian translation of 1877, K. Patkanov (Patkanean) dated the ASX to the seventh century and was the first to suggest Ananias of Sirak as the most probable author. He also shared Saint-Martin’s opinion (as do I) that the author did not use Ptolemy directly but had access only to Pappus of Alexandria.

In 1881 Aristene Soukry made a completely new appraisal of the ASX on the basis of the radically different version which he had discovered in ms. 1245 in the library of the Mekhitarist monastery in Venice. In the introduction of his edition—the 1. 881 referred to in this study—he attempted to prove that the ASX actually did date from the fifth century and was therefore attributable to the pen of MX after all. As proof of this thesis, Soukry offered such evidence as the style of the work, which he equated to that found in the History of Armenia attributed to MX; and also a number of what literary critics refer to as “parallelisms,” i.e., passages in the ASX which echo closely certain passages in MX. Soukry recognized that there had been numerous interpolations in the text at a later date (e.g., historical details, linguistic glosses and passages referring to flora, fauna, spices, and drugs) but considered these as being inferior in style to the main body of the text, and dismissed the attribution of the work to Ananias of Sirak if only because the latter’s style is far below that found in the ASX. In sum, Saint-Martin Soukry regarded the ASX as a fifth century work attributable to the hand of MX, either as an abridgement of Ptolemy or as a revised translation of such an abridgement made by Pappus of Alexandria. In the absence of Pappus’ Geography, Soukry opts for the former hypothesis, pointing out that the ASX

follows Ptolemy “step-by-step.” The numerous interpolations are in Soukry’s opinion the work of a seventh century editor, perhaps Ananias of Sirak.

Most of Soukry’s arguments, it must be admitted, seem to be inconclusive and to have been based on an a priori assumption that the ASX was written by MX. All he is able to demonstrate with his parallelisms is that either the author of the ASX had the History of MX at hand as he wrote, or, just as possibly, that the author of the History was drawing upon the ASX. Even if the ASX was in fact based on materials in MX, this in itself would be poor evidence for a fifth century dating since there is so much evidence to support the theory that the history ascribed to MX was written at the end of the eighth. As far as the style of the work is concerned, Soukry’s argument does not seem to have impressed such scholars as Abelyan or Eremyan, both of whom were better qualified to speak on this subject than Soukry would appear to have from the quality of his own translation of the ASX.

2. The Opinion of Later Scholarship

In his brilliant Einlahn, nach der Geographie des PI. Moses Chorenac’s (1901), Markwart dated the ASX to the eighth century and, as can be seen from his title, referred to the author as “Pseudo-Moses Chorenac’s,” reflecting the growing opinion that while MX may have flourished in the fifth century, both the History and the ASX attributed to him were from the pen of a later writer cloaking his work with the name of his illustrious predecessor. Fischer (1916) likewise believed the ASX to be the work of MX and that it was based on Ptolemy, Pappus, and the third century cartographer Agathodaimon, all of whose works MX would have had at his disposal. He also points out that the ASX is the earliest documentary evidence linking Ptolemy to the maps which have come down to us with his text, and that, except for the citation in the Byzantine lexicon (Suidas), it is the only text to mention the lost geography of Pappus of Alexandria.

Von Mirk (1953) calls the ASX “Pappos in Armenian dress,” and points out that the text, as we have it, contains extracts which in the archetype were mistranslated from the Greek, i.e., that certain Greek words were given Armenian equivalents which they could have had in another context but which they did not have in the text which was used as the basis for the ASX. He too refers to the author as “Pseudo-Moses.”

Although Markwart accepted MX as the author of the ASX, later Armenian scholars have tended to reject this and to attribute the ASX to Ananias of Sirak. Abelyan, in particular, actually includes the ASX as one of Ananias’ works, and, unfamiliar with the one at Bzommar (ms 204), dated 1178, which indicates that MX was the author, points out the oldest max. are anonymous. H. Bebrarian, refounding editor of the Revue des etudes Arméniennes and also editor of the critical text of the Geography attributed to Vardan (thirteenth century), makes no judgement as to the date and authorship of the ASX, attributing it either to Ananias of Sirak or to another author. In his opinion, the text began as a simple manual of geography but was continually subjected to interpolations by later copyists. He does not explain, however, why none of these interpolations seems to have been made after 800 A.D.

39 Saint-Martin II, 303.
40 Ibid., 305-14.
41 Patkanov, v-xvii.
42 Soukry, v-viii.
The great specialist on Ananias of Sirak, A. G. Abrahamyan, has stressed the fact that because of his secular views the works of Ananias were suppressed in the Middle Ages,48 and that several of them have come down to us anonymously or attributed to other authors. This, he believed, could account for the ASX having survived in mss. both anonymous and attributed to MX. For his part, Abrahamyan did not hesitate to include his edition of the ASX (1944) in his Collected Works of Ananias of Sirak, where,49 basing himself on his study of the various editions and mss. of the ASX at his disposal, he points out: (1) that not a single mss. of the ASX written before 1700 bears the name of MX with the exception of one, to which, however, the author's name was added only in the eighteenth century (Abrahamyan, too, was unfamiliar with the mss. dated 1178 at Bzommar); (2) that the original title of the ASX was probably Erkaxed'mk 'Geometry' (in its strict sense of earth measurement), by which title it is referred to by Gregory Magistros, rather than Aisarbarac'oyc, the former title also being found in the mss. copied in Lori and Mokk'; (3) that the anachronisms used by Saint-Martin to date the ASX to the tenth century are not found in any of the mss. of the text written before the seventeenth. Nor does Abrahamyan feel that a study of the oldest mss. justifies dating the work to the ninth. Rather, he feels that a careful examination of the text supports the dating of it to the early seventh century before the coming of the Arabs to Armenia. Finally, he considers the theory of Manandyan,50 that the author of the ASX was MX because the text contains expressions found only in the History of MX, to be erroneous, the same examples being found in other works known for certain to have been written by Ananias of Sirak. As a matter of fact, Abrahamyan asserts that there are no differences either in geographical names or in geographical theory between those found in the ASX and those found in other writings by Ananias. The text of the ASX shows, he points out, that its author knew that the world is round, an opinion held by Ananias of Sirak as we know from his references to the equator.

According to Abrahamyan, the opinion of Manandyan that the Itinerary (Appendix VI) is the work of the author of the ASX and is actually a continuation of it, is supported by the oldest mss. of the ASX (e.g. Mat. ms. 1267) wherein we find the author's indication that, having finished with the composition of the ASX, he now begins a summary of the distances between the principal cities in 'miles' (miklak'). Abrahamyan also believed that the ASX did not end merely with the Itinerary but was completed with an additional section whose title was Astablad'l'akan Erkaxed'mk'w'otimn, 'Astronomical Geography.' This material would have originally formed one of the chapters of the ASX, he thought, but had later become detached from some of the copies. Abrahamyan, although he did not publish it, found it preserved, however, in one of the oldest of the mss. of the ASX. In certain other mss. this astronomical section is found in a detached position from the rest of the ASX, while in the Matenadaran these are mss. containing this same astronomical material in which the author is cited precisely as Ananias of Sirak.

The fact that the author of the ASX lived at the same time as Ananias of Sirak, that the work is found in some of the mss. of astronomical and mathematical texts known to be the works of Ananias, and the inclusion in the ASX of certain passages drawn from other works of Ananias, all led Abrahamyan to the conclusion that the author of the ASX was indeed Ananias of Sirak. Based on the fact that S contains data not found in L, Abrahamyan was of the opinion that S was the original version of the ASX, while L was a later expansion of it.

The above points are of the greatest importance but, unfortunately, Abrahamyan's brevity makes it difficult to accept his interpretations as conclusive without further details. Indeed, we shall see below how Eremyan, at least at first, rejected his most important conclusion: that the author of the ASX was Ananias of Sirak.

On the basis of internal evidence, H. A. Manandyan regarded the History of MX to be a work of the ninth century.51 Using the same criterion, he dated the ASX to the same period and thus considered it to be probably a work of MX after all.52 Manandyan examined both the ASX and the Book of Rhetoric attributed to MX, and in his opinion there were no differences in style between them and the History. He dated all three to the ninth century together with the Itinerary, believing that the production of such geographical works as the ASX and the Itinerary would be a logical development only after the revival of trade which accompanied the Bagratid period (ninth through eleventh centuries).53

Manandyan's opinions on the ASX have been rejected by V. K. Caloyan, who holds them to be unconvincing and contradicted by recent findings. He is convinced that the ASX is the work of Ananias of Sirak.54

3. The Opinion of Recent Scholarship

A more recent scholar to address himself to the study of the ASX has been S.T. Eremyan of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, who has made its elucidation almost his life's work.55 The results of thirty years' investigation at length brought Eremyan to the opinion that the ASX was the text written to accompany an atlas of approximately fifteen maps which, unfortunately, have not survived. These would have included 1) a general map of the entire known world, 2) Western Europe, 3) Eastern Europe, 4) Libya, 5) Asia Minor, 6) North Caucasus with Sarmatia, 7) Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and Syria, 8) Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Arabia, 9) the Sasanian Empire, 10) Western Iran, 11) Scythia; i.e. Central Asia, 12) India, 13) Ceylon (Tnapobane), 14) China, and (15) Indochina or Southeast Asia. He feels that it is clear from the arrangement of the data in the ASX that the author organized his material according to the various maps it was meant to accompany.56 As copies of the maps were made, new data was interpolated, but none of this new material dates from later than the beginning of the eighth century. Eremyan takes this as further evidence that the text was meant to accompany an atlas, and that the maps ceased to exist after the early eighth century, else the interpolations would have continued to be made.57 Finally, as proof of his thesis, Eremyan offers his interpretation of the term aisarbarac'oyc, itself as meaning specifically an atlas.

According to Eremyan, the Greek term khoraqrapia, representing the depiction of a part of the world in minute detail, is rendered in Armenian as erkaxed'myun, a calque on the Greek geography. Aisarbarac'oyc, however, literally 'world show' (or 'country representation'), he sees as having been intended to mean a map showing the world or its parts. Later, however, this term would have come to be used to refer to any geographical undertaking once the maps of the original ASX had been lost.58

Eremyan shares Fischer's opinion that the map of Agathodaemon was probably the main source for the maps in the ASX.59 He believes that the author followed Ptolemy's text but points out that he

51 Man. 1934.
52 Man. 1947.
53 Ibid.
54 Caloyan 1957:156-171.
56 Ibid.
57 Ibid.:19.
58 Ibid.:17.
omitted whatever clashed with his own knowledge, and that he tried to make the rest conform to the realities of his own time.

While Eremyan's idea that the ASX, as it has come down to us, is the text originally written to accompany an atlas on the order of the one compiled by Ptolemy is intriguing, it is one with which I cannot agree. The evidence adduced by Eremyan, while suggestive, is hardly conclusive, and even he admits that the term asxarhagrut'iwn, which suggests a work 'showing the world,' i.e., an atlas, is not the original term used to describe the text, but rather asxarhagru'tiwn, which is merely another calque on the Greek word geographia, and which means precisely what we have at hand; a literary work describing the world. No trace of any maps such as the ones reconstructed by Eremyan has survived, nor is there any reference to such maps in any classical Armenian author. Even more compelling an argument against the existence of an atlas having originally accompanied the ASX is 1) the paucity of references to Ptolemy in the text itself, 2) the almost absolute lack of resemblance between the content of the ASX and that of the Geography of Ptolemy – with its endless lists of names, and coordinates, -

the author's explicit statement that he is following Pappus of Alexandria, and, finally, 4) his own absolute silence in regard to any maps supposedly accompanying his work. To my mind, the Greek model for the ASX was either Pappus' Geographia, itself, or a Byzantine epitome of it; the sort of handbook so common in Byzantine learned literature.

Originally, Eremyan dated the ASX to the period between 591 and 610. The terminus a quo he arrived at by noting the data in the ASX which could only reflect the political situation that existed from the Treaty of 591 between Byzantium and Iran (which ceded to the Byzantines vast portions of Greater Armenia, much of which had never been held by them before), and the recognition of Arab suzerainty over Armenia by the Armenians in 654. As for the terminus ad quem, his argument was essentially that in the pages of Armenian historians we see that Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia from a unity to the eyes of the Armenians, that they compete, in fact, "three brother peoples," and that this unity may also have been recognized abroad as in the pages of the Syriac historian pseudo-Zacharias the Rheter (l. 550). This unity Eremyan regarded as being a religious one based on the common rejection of the Council of Chalcedon by the churches of the three nations in question and their tacit acceptance of Monophysitism. It is also clear, as Eremyan pointed out, that Colchis, being part of the Byzantine Empire, and its clergy, having accepted Chalcedon, did not share in this religious unity, and would consequently be left out of it whenever the unity manifests itself in the sources. Thus, Eremyan saw this religious unity appearing in the ASX when the author presents detailed and original information on Iberia and Albania as well as on Greater Armenia, but not about Colchis, and that this detailed data apparently must have been obtainable because of the ecclesiastical ties which bound the three countries together. Eremyan went on to point out that the Iberian Church recognized the Council of Chalcedon in 608/9 and that by its separation from the Armenian Church at Chalcedon at that time, is also true. It is correct, too, that Ps. Zacharias the Rheter refers to all three of these countries as Armenia in the mid-sixth century. But the fact that certain Arab historians do the same long after 608/9 would suggest that whatever the unity was, it was not ruptured by the religious schism between the Armenian and Iberian churches. The Arabs organized Armenia, Iberia, and Albania as a single vicereignty called al-Arminiya, perhaps a survival of the Sasanian province of K9st-i Kapkoh (Ter Ghewondian 1968:321 ff.), and, despite the ban on social intercourse between the two peoples resulting from the religious schism, there was extensive cooperation between the Armenians and Iberians in the ninth and tenth centuries as shown in the text of John the Catholicos. Then, again, there is no real certainty that the unity of Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia reflected in the ASX was, in fact, a religious one. If we examine the text, we find that in its precision and attention to detail the section on these three countries is one with that on Sasanian Iran, i.e., the unity reflected may well be that of the Persian Empire to which in the seventh century Eastern Armenia, Iberia, and Albania – but not Colchis – belonged. This greater unity would have existed – at least on paper – until 636 when it was forever destroyed by the Arab invasions. In actuality, then, the unity reflected in the ASX may be purely a fortuitous situation due merely to our author's having had access to official Persian documents which contained full details on Iran and its Caucasian provinces even after the latter had passed out of the Persian Empire as a result of the Byzantine-Persian wars of Maurice and Heraclius. Our author would naturally have used what was available to him in the archives, and may have had no conscious intention of depicting a unity at all.

In my opinion, then, c. 610 is too early a date for the terminus ad quem of the ASX but the terminus cannot be later than 636, the year in which the Persian Empire was destroyed by the Arabs, as I shall attempt to demonstrate further on.

The next recent specialist to examine the question of the ASX was the Soviet scholar M. M. Xa'ar-t'yan. Writing in 1968, he became the second observer to reject Ananias of Sirak as the author of the ASX but on much stronger grounds than those put forward by Eremyan. Xa'ar-t'yan agreed that the text had been written to accompany a lost map but a single map of the world only and not an entire atlas. He felt that the author did not have the actual geography of Ptolemy before him but that he worked through an intermediary text (Pappus of Alexandria), and that the ASX should be dated between 570 and 622. In determining the authorship of the work he carefully compared the cosmological ideas contained in the too often neglected introductory section of the ASX with the parallel ideas to be found in the cosmological treatise of Ananias of Sirak, and found close to a dozen major points of difference of view, ranging from the opinion on the shape of the earth to that on the nature of the heat of the sun. In the latter case, for example, the author of the ASX describes it as a warm body, while Ananias describes it as cold. In dating the text, Xa'ar-t'yan bases himself on two factors: For the terminus ad quem he draws our attention to the fact that in the ASX both Rome and Ravenna are cited as being capitals of Italy. This, he states, can only have been after the Lombard

ditions fully support the acceptance of the year 691 as the earliest date at which the ASX could have been composed. But the arguments in favor of a terminus ad quem of c. 610 I do not feel are at all conclusive. That Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia form a unity in the text of ASX is clear, and that Colchis is not a part of this unity is also obvious. That a religious unity did exist between the three Caucasian countries before 608/9, which was broken by the schism of the Iberian Church to Chalcedon at that time, is also true. It is correct, too, that Ps. Zacharias the Rheter refers to all three of these countries as Armenia in the mid-sixth century. But the fact that certain Arab historians do the same long after 608/9 would suggest that whatever the unity was, it was not ruptured by the religious schism between the Armenian and Iberian churches. The Arabs organized Armenia, Iberia, and Albania as a single vicereignty called al-Arminiya, perhaps a survival of the Sasanian province of K9st-i Kapkoh (Ter Ghewondian 1968:321 ff.), and, despite the ban on social intercourse between the two peoples resulting from the religious schism, there was extensive cooperation between the Armenians and Iberians in the ninth and tenth centuries as shown in the text of John the Catholicos. Then, again, there is no real certainty that the unity of Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia reflected in the ASX was, in fact, a religious one. If we examine the text, we find that in its precision and attention to detail the section on these three countries is one with that on Sasanian Iran, i.e., the unity reflected may well be that of the Persian Empire to which in the seventh century Eastern Armenia, Iberia, and Albania – but not Colchis – belonged. This greater unity would have existed – at least on paper – until 636 when it was forever destroyed by the Arab invasions. In actuality, then, the unity reflected in the ASX may be purely a fortuitous situation due merely to our author's having had access to official Persian documents which contained full details on Iran and its Caucasian provinces even after the latter had passed out of the Persian Empire as a result of the Byzantine-Persian wars of Maurice and Heraclius. Our author would naturally have used what was available to him in the archives, and may have had no conscious intention of depicting a unity at all.

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60 For the details of this period see Grossetete, 1947:248-76; and Tozmannohl, 1963:179-80, n. 329.
61 Ps. Zacharias' History may possibly be a work by another author of the same name writing in Amida (Diyarbekir) and so not a good outside witness for the unity of Armenia (Bausenstark 1922:184).
62 Ps. Zacharias the Rheter (1924).
63 EL, "Arminiya." The Arabs divided al-Arminiya into First Armenia or Arzana (i.e., Albania), Second Armenia or Gurj (i.e., Iberia), and Third Armenia by which they meant Armenia proper. The capitals of the three Armennias were located respectively at Bedha's (Parsam), Tbilis (Tbilisi) and Dubat (Dusti).
64 Xa'ar-t'yan 1968:81-100.
Invasion of Italy (568) when the Byzantine holdings in the peninsula were reduced to a Rome-Ravenna corridor. The terminus a quo he arrives at by observing that the ASX refers to an Ostan i Marzpan in Caucasian Albania, i.e. the territory under the direct control of the Persian Governor-General (marzpan) which, whereas the institution of the marzpanate had ended with the invasion of Heraclius in 622.

Ingenious as Xa'xaryan's ideas are, and even though the resulting termini do not differ radically from the dates at which I have arrived, most of them will not stand up to close examination. The fact that the description of Italy in the ASX suggests a date no earlier than the Lombard invasion means little since there is already so much evidence to support a date for the text after this invasion and specifically after 591, while there is nothing in the argument from the mention of two different capitals to suggest that the text was written before that year. As for the terminus ad quem, Xa'xaryan's evidence for a date no later than 622 is tempting except that he overlooks the fact that the final Byzantine-Persian treaty left precisely this area (Caucasian Albania) under Persian control, and that the institution of the marzpanate continued to exist in Persian Armenia after 622, Varaz-Tir'oc' II Bagratuni holding that position in Armenia as late as 628-631.65

It should be noted that although Xa'xaryan categorically rejected Ananias of Sirak as the author of the ASX, A. G. Abramyan (sic, i.e., Abrahamyan) clung to his belief that Ananias did, indeed, write the text in the work he wrote in Russian on Anania Sirakaci with G. B. Petrosyan in 1970.

4. The Latest Opinion

The most recent word on the subject of the date and authorship of the ASX comes once again from S.T. Eremyan. Having continued his researches into the nature of the text, and having examined the various mas. containing it, as well as those containing the undisputed works of Ananias of Sirak, he has in recent years reversed the opinion advanced in his Hayasten 6t 'Asxarhacoyc' (i.e. published in 1963, namely that the ASX could not have been written by Ananias of Sirak. On the contrary, he now agrees that Ananias is indeed the author after all. This reversal fits in well with my own opinion, based, it must be admitted, to a certain extent on sheer intuition, that the ASX, dating as it does from the seventh century, and falling so well within the purview of Ananias' interests, could not have been written by anyone else - especially in view of the fact that Ananias appears to have been an isolated figure with no one comparable to him in Armenian intellectual history known to have been working before, during or after his time.

Eremyan bases himself on the investigations of A. S. Mat'ewosyan, who has demonstrated that the major scientific works of Ananias originally formed a single textbook called the 'K'vnikon (from the Greek Kanonikon), a compilation comprising all the major sciences included in the medieval curriculum, completed in 666. These sciences included what were then called 'the seven liberal arts,' and which, in the K'vnikon, are divided into two sections: 1) an introduction followed by treatises in arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy; and 2) a section containing treatises on calendrical studies, cosmography, philosophy, literature, and rhetoric. It would have been the chapter devoted to geometry (feredap'at'oum) which would have contained the geographical treatise originally known as Yalagi Asxarhagrat'oum and later, when copied separately, simply as Asxarhacoyc.66

67 As this goes to press, I have been apprised of the existence of two recent articles relevant to the ASX. In the first, G. Petrosyan (1986) raises the possibility of a new interpretation of the text; in the second, which appeared in the same journal, S. T. Eremyan (1986) responds to Petrosyan's suggestions. Fortunately, thanks to Mr. B. L. Chookastain, Deputy Direc-

II. The Asxarhacoyc': A Reexamination

In my opinion, the ASX was indeed the work of Ananias of Sirak, and to my mind there is no problem involved in his having lived c. 610-685, although his geographical text depicts Armenia, Caucasian and the Persian Empire as they were prior to 636. Ananias had probably been gathering data for his work for many years, and these were doubtless drawn from many sources of varying dates and quality, including archival materials no longer relevant to the time in which he was working. We probably exaggerate, moreover, the impact of the coming of the Arabs on the minds of the Armenians of the mid-seventh century, whose ruling class had already come to terms with the newcomers, and who probably were unaware of whatever changes had taken place within Persia and other parts of the Middle East after the Muslim triumph.

Now that we seem to have settled the question of whether or not the ASX was written by Ananias of Sirak, the reader may wish to turn to an examination of this remarkable individual about whom a surprising amount is known. For this, one is referred to Appendix II.
epitome of Marcian of Heraclia. Compare, for example, the description of Sarmatia in S with the latter's description of the same region:

S. The ninth country of Europe is the land of the Sarmatians, east of Germany. It begins at the River Vistula and has mountains bearing the same name [beginning near the Ocean [and extending] as far as the Unknown Land, and to the eastern extremity of the mountains called Ripis from which flows the River Tanais ... Among Christian countries there is the Thracian Peninsula, i.e., the Thrace, which is between the Lake of Byze and the Taurus Mountains and [between the] Pontus and the River Carcinitic [flowing] into the gulf of the same name.

Marcian: Sarmatia in Europe is bordered on the north by the Sarmatian Ocean near the Venetian Gulf, and by a region of unknown land; on the east by a river (which begins at the Carcinitic River); and the mouth of Byze and the Marmotic Marsh on the side next to the River Tanais.\(^71\)

Since there is no indication that our author was in any way acquainted with the work of Marcian of Heraclia, we must assume that the work of Pappus of Alexandria, which he specifically cites as his major source, was an adaptation of Ptolemy recast along the lines of Marcian's Periplus or that of similar works which have not come down to us.\(^72\)

A. Comparison of the Two Recensions

In regard to the relationship between the long and short versions of the \(\text{ASX}\), we find ourselves faced with the major problem in dating the work. Setting aside for the moment the omissions and rearrangements which occur in the contents of the two recensions, the most striking difference lies in their respective lengths; the long version \(L\) being nearly twice as long as the short \(S\). That \(S\) is an abridgment of \(L\) seems obvious, but this is an oversimplification of the problem, for, although a given passage in \(S\) is almost always shorter, it often contains information not found in \(L\) so that \(S\) might better be described as a "revised abridgment."\(^73\)

The suggestion of Abrahamyan (1944) that \(S\), which is the recension found in all but one of the surviving mss., in the original version of the \(\text{ASX}\), and that \(L\), found in a single ms., is an expanded version of it made by a later editor, seems unlikely. That the brief sections on the fifteen lands of Armenia might have been expanded is plausible enough, but it would have been extremely difficult if not impossible for an editor to have added Ptolemaic material to the portions of the text drawn from Pappus once the original version was completed. What does seem likely, however, is that while \(L\) is the earlier version of the two, the ms. we have of it is quite late. This is demonstrated by its faulty orthography, its missing sections (e.g. P'aytakaran and Utik'), and the fact that \(S\) occasionally contains other data (e.g. the reference to Ganjak §ahastan as a town of Media), which was probably Pappus once the original version was completed. What does seem likely, however, is that while \(L\) is the earlier version of the two, the ms. we have of it is quite late. This is demonstrated by its faulty orthography, its missing sections (e.g. P'aytakaran and Utik'), and the fact that \(S\) occasionally contains other data (e.g. the reference to Ganjak §ahastan as a town of Media), which was probably dropped out of \(L\) as one ms. was copied from another. There is no question, however, that \(L\), being longer, was not the version that scribes chose to have copied. S being considered satisfactory enough led to \(L\) becoming virtually extinct.

71 Marcian II,28, p. 41.  
72 Infra p. 44.  
73 Apart from the disparity in the material covered in the Asiatic section of the two texts, there are also a large number of discrepancies even in the passages which do cover the same material. Words are occasionally omitted in one text or the other, word order is altered, spelling varies greatly and so does grammatical form. These, however, seem to be mostly due to the errors of copyists and do not bear upon the problem at hand. Limitations of space preclude an exhaustive analysis of the differences between the two versions.

74 We are speaking here of the differences between \(L\) and \(S\). The variations between \(S\) and the other editions of \(S\) are not really significant.

Turning now to the differences in the contents of the two redactions and in the order of their arrangement, we find that, while these variations are generally not important ones, there is one major omission in that \(S\) fails to include the four-part description of the Persian Empire given in \(L\). This is the only major section of \(L\) which does not appear in \(S\), and I think its absence is significant. What the author of \(L\) was doing, I believe, was inserting into his work a description of the Persian Empire in toto as it was known to him at the time he was writing and as it was organized by the Persians themselves. Only after this does he describe province-by-province as these provinces were known to the Greeks and Romans and as they are cited by Ptolemy (and probably by Pappus). Thus, the author gives us a description of the Persian Empire twice: Persia as it really was and Persia as it was known to Ptolemy-Pappus. In \(S\), on the other hand, a compromise has been made whereby the names given to the four Persian divisions of the empire in \(L\) are applied as alternative names to four of Ptolemy's provinces of Persia cited in \(S\) while the section found in \(L\) on the divisions has itself been omitted. In my opinion, this important data was omitted in the abridged text because, when this redaction of the \(ASX\) was made, the Persian Empire had fallen to the Arabs and thus no longer existed as it was known to the original author.

The question of the three Armenias is another matter. \(S\) lists (Third)?\(^75\) Armenia, First Armenia, and Second Armenia in that order, while \(L\) lists only Second Armenia "which is today called First Armenia" and omits any mention of a Third Armenia. Both texts, however, cite a Fourth Armenia as a division of Greater Armenia. To understand this curious situation we must go into the historical background of these four divisions. The ancients, of course, already distinguished two different Armenias, the Greater and the Lesser (Armenia Major and Armenia Minor) separated from each other by the River Euphrates. Lesser Armenia began as a shadowy kingdom which early became a division of the Roman province of Cappadocia (A.D. 72).\(^76\) In the time of Diocletian (284-305) Lesser Armenia and Melitene were both separated from Cappadocia and merged to form a single province of Lesser Armenia with its capital at the city of Melitene.\(^77\) Later, under Theodosius I (379-395), this new province was broken into two parts (c.392), First and Second Armenia, with their respective capitals at Sebastia and Melitene, though neither of these cities had been included in Lesser Armenia by Ptolemy 200 years earlier.\(^78\) First Armenia comprised approximately 34,200 sq. km. and Second Armenia c. 34,500.\(^79\)

75 The word "extant" (third) is missing in \(S\) 1944 but is found in \(S\) 1819 and \(S\) 1877, although in the latter, while the text of the three Armenias remains the same, the enumeration runs Second, First, and Third Armenia in that order. The text of the \(ASX\) varies somewhat from \(S\) at this point, and Soukry (24-25), translating \(L\), attempted to correct it in the following way:

\[\text{The fourteenth country, Second Armenia, which is today called First Armenia, is east of Kilikia near the Taurus Mountains and the Amanos Mountains, which separate it from Commagene in Syria, and extend as far as the Euphrates...} \]

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77 The most detailed survey of the history and topography of Lesser Armenia is still to be found in Chapters IV and V of Al-Gaz (1970) Chapters IV-V, but see also Gütersloher 1914:34-44, 61-63, 68-70; Ermenyan 1963-37, 51, 88, 1970; 1973:249-52

78 Ptolemy (V.4.9) cites Sebastia (Sivas) as a city of Polemosic Pontos (a district of the province of Cappadocia), and Melitene (Malaya) as a city in a district of the same name also located in the province of Cappadocia V.6.21. The original capital of Lesser Armenia may have been at Banabka (Arm.: Kanaz).  
79 Ermenyan, 1963, map.
After the acquisition of the southwestern principalities of Armenia (Gk: ethebê; Lat.: gentes) in 298/9 c. 371 and those of the northwest in 390 (Roman: Armenia Interior 'Inner Armenia'; Armeniakan: Barjr Hây'k 'Upper Armenia'), the Roman Empire found itself in the possession not only of Lesser Armenia, but of a good quarter of Greater Armenia, as well. The territories comprising this quarter, while fully autonomous under local Armenian princes in all administrative, legislative, judicial, military, and fiscal matters, were still nonetheless parts of the Empire. In the sixth century, however, all of these Greater Armenian lands (together with those of Lesser Armenia), their autonomy suppressed, were reorganized by the Emperor Justinian (527-565) into four imperial provinces in the following way:80

1. First Armenia (Armenia Prima), with its capital at Justinianopolis (previously Cimin or Çermês, Gk: Trzmnia?) included all of Inner Armenia together with most of the original First Armenia (i.e., the districts around the cities of Satala, Colonia and Nicopolis) and the old province of Polemonia (Pontus). The cities of Tzoumina and Cimin as well as the islands of Trapaeus and Ceramus as far as the Black Sea.81

2. Second Armenia (Armenia Secunda) included the rest of the old First Armenia with the cities of Sebastia and Sebastopolis, to which were added the region around the Pontic Comana, Zela, and Berissa, all three of which formerly had been cities of Helenopontus and had never before been included in Lesser Armenia. Sebastia remained the capital of the new Second Armenia.82

3. Third Armenia (Armenia Tertia) was merely the old Second Armenia whose capital remained at Melitene but which was somewhat enlarged on the west by the addition of some territory formerly regarded purely as part of Cappadocia, e.g., the region of Cappadocian Comana.83

4. Fourth Armenia (Armenia Quarta) was usurped as far as Melitene, involving three principalities: Lesser Sophene (Pok' Cop'k), Ingilene-Anxite (Angelized-Anjit), and Greater Sophene or Sophanene (Mec' Cop'k), all of which was passed under the control of Rome at the signing of the Peace of Nisibis in 298. Then, some time between c. 371 and 387, two other principalities of Upper Armenia also included as vassals of Rome, Balatibit (Baladovit) and Asthianene (Haitseank). These six states were ruled for nearly 250 years by five princely houses forming a pentarchy (the ethebê or gentes but which, like those of Inner Armenia, were dispossessed of their rights by Justinian about 532. Four years later Justinian organized their former territories as the province of Fourth Armenia, with its capital at Martyropolis.84

After the Treaty of 591 between the Emperor Maurice (582-602) and the Persians, a further ad-

ministrative reorganization took place in Byzantine Armenia: Third Armenia, with its capital still at Melitene, became First Armenia and the term Third Armenia inexplicably fell out of use; First Armenia, or at least most of it, now became the province of Greater Armenia (Armenia Magna), by which name it was referred to by the Greeks, or Upper Armenia (Barjr Hây'k) as it is referred to in the ASX. It lost at this time, however, the land of Muzuron (Mnjar or Muzu'z) which was added to Fourth Armenia. Second Armenia with its capital at Sebastia remained unchanged in this period, but the term Fourth Armenia altered its significance somewhat, for Maurice, we are told, supposedly created a second province by this name. The original one was renamed Justiniana or the "Other" Fourth Armenia (Armenia Quarta Altera) and had Dadima (Dadem) as its capital. Since it is hardly likely that Maurice would have created two provinces with the same name, it appears that 'Other' Fourth Armenia should perhaps be read "the former" Fourth Armenia. This new Fourth Armenia, however, did not correspond exactly to the earlier Fourth Armenia, for it included Muzuron taken from the new Greater Armenia (the earlier Inner Armenia), but did not include Sophanene. The acquisition by the Empire of Arzaneen (Afj'ik), which had belonged to Rome from 298 to 363 and afterwards to Iran until this time, led to the creation of the new Fourth Armenia (also called Upper Mesopotamia), to which Maurice added Sophanene with the city of Amida on the right bank of the Euphrates which became its capital. Now in Fourth Armenia the ASX does not include Mnjar, which it places in Upper Armenia, while in Afj'ik it includes only that portion of Sophanene lying east of the Tigris, which it calls the district of Ny'nt or Ny'kert. The ASX further indicates that the River Kâh'a, separating Ny'nt or the west from Afj'ik on the east, was still the boundary between the Roman and Persian Empires as it had been between 387 and 591. Adonts felt that these discrepancies reflected changes which must have occurred in the troubled period after 591 (but obviously before the ASX was written). Apparently, to him, Arzaneen must have been retrenched to Iran at some time after that date and Muzuron transferred back to the new Greater Armenia. To my mind these discrepancies are more likely to be simple errors, nothing more, at least in the first instance, i.e., Ananias, referring to the frontier as it stood prior to 591 (when the Kâh'a was still the boundary between the two empires), and which he did not realize had been changed.

Maurice organized the great expanse of new territory in Greater Armenia which had passed under Byzantine control in 591 into three provinces. The first was called 'Inner Armenia' (Armenia Interior), and would appear to have corresponded to the land referred to in the ASX as Tururaban. The second was called 'Lower Armenia' (Armenia Interior), 'The region of Doubisios (Dvin) of Procopius' (broadly speaking), and corresponded, it would seem, to the Armenian land of Ayurat. The third province was Tayk' which was administered separately as 'Deep Armenia' (Armenia Profunda). The boundary between Tururaban and Ayurat as indicated in the ASX probably represents mutatis mutandis the line which separated the Byzantine provinces of Inner and Lower Armenia.84

80 Justinian's arrangement of this enumeration seems to have been for geographical convenience, the four Armenias together forming a square divided into quarters, with the enumeration beginning in the northeast quadrant and running counter-clockwise. For the development of these "Armennia" as described above, cf. Ad-Gar: Chaps. IV and VII; Laurent, 1919:303-04; Bury 1931, Vol. II:344-45; Stein 1949:11:289-291, 470, 471; Goubert, Vol. I (1951); and Toum., 1963:452, n. 59; Hubschmann:231-32.
81 According to Procopius (Apd. II. 13-15), the Emperor Justinian passed over Bazanis (Leontopolis) as his new civil capital for First Armenia because of its unfavorable location, and instead chose a place three miles to the west in the district of Tzoumina which he renamed Justinianopolis. Adonts (1919) took this new Justinianopolis to be identical with the modern village of Cimin just to the east of Erzincan. What Adonts failed to notice, however, was that Procopius states that the new Justinianopolis lay in the district of Tzoumina not necessarily at Tzoumina/Cimin, itself. More importantly, he does not note that Cimin is much further three than Roman miles west of Bazanis/Leontopolis (Arm.: Vizan; Tìr Vizàn). If Justinianopolis did lie at Cimin then Leontopolis could not have lain at Vizan, if Leontopolis lay at Vizan then Justinianopolis could not have lain at Cimin. It could, however, have lain at some site three Roman miles west of Vizan at some site within the district of Tzoumina which is all that Procopius claims. For all this see Jones 1971:222-26; Stein II, 1949:289, n. 1; Hambrock 1953:9-19; 95-94; Ercmen 1963:65, 83; Hewson 1983-84:273-278; AM Steins. II, 1949:289, n. 5; Ad-Gars: 36.
82 Ibid.
84 Adonts (1900) seriously states that Khorzani (Xorjoan/Xorjan) was also taken from the new Greater Armenia at this time but he is merely in error. The ASX makes it clear that Xorjan was a part of Fourth Armenia and geographically it is clearly a part of either Baladovit or Haitseank' and is separated sharply from Upper Armenia (Maurice's Greater Armenia) by high mountains.
85 Ibid.
86 For the administrative changes of 591, see GC, 174-175; Sibéos (Fr. transl. Mader. 27); Y. ed. Hier. 57; Ad-Gar:182; Laurent:304; and Goubert:290-302.
88 For all this cf. Ad-Gar: Chaps. IX. It is worth noting that, from the point of view of the Armenian princes, the boundaries between Byzantine Armenia and Persian Armenia are scarcely taken into consideration and are seldom reflected in the sources (Toumanoff. Ibid.:197). Proc., (Apd. II. 3:9), makes a specific point of how due to the laxness of the Byzantine authorities, the local Armenians were able to ignore the frontier almost as if it did not exist.
Introduction

The situation established in 591 endured until the administrative reforms under the Heraclid dynasty (610-711), when, after the beginning of the Arab invasions (c. 640), the Byzantine provinces of Armenia were reorganized into the Armeniak theme, a military command which included all of Lesser Armenia as well as such non-Armenian territories as the regions of Trapezus (Trebizond) and Caesarea, capital of Cappadocia, but which did not include any of the former Byzantine territory in Greater Armenia now overrun by the Arabs. The fact that Caesarea lay within the Armeniak theme perhaps explains why a later copier of the ASX included it in First Armenia which was certainly not true when the ASX was originally composed.98

After reviewing this history of the development of Byzantine Armenia we can look at the ASX and clearly see that the text of both S and L reflect situations unknown to us from Byzantine sources. S194, for example, speaks of Second Armenia as if it lay north of First Armenia, which in turn, lay north and east of (Third) Armenia. I., on the other hand, speaks only of Second Armenia "which is today called First Armenia," placing it in the same region as the Second Armenia which existed between the reorganization of Theodosius (387-390) and that of Justinian (536). Now, as we have seen, there was a time when a Second Armenia did lay north of First Armenia, but this was between 591 and c. 640, at which time there was no Third Armenia. Thus, at first glance, L would seem to have been written between 387 and 536, while S could have been written between 591 and c. 640 if only we could explain its citation of a nonexistent (Third) Armenia.

The sources of these discrepancies are partly connected with the confusion caused by the reorganization of the Armenias by Justinian and Maurice but are more entangled with the fact that the Armenians themselves also used numerals to indicate various regions of Western Armenia and were as changeable as the Greeks as to how they applied them over the centuries. Thus, First Armenia is used by the Armenians at various epochs to designate 1) the region of Sebastia,99 then 2) Melitene (after the time of Maurice),100 and then 3) Caesarea;101 Second Armenia to designate the region of 1) Caesaria, then 2) of Sebastia (again after Maurice),102 and then 3) of Erzinjan103 and Kamakh;104 Third Armenia to designate 1) Melitene and 2) the regions of Tarawn and Van in Greater Armenia; then 3) to the region of Caesaria alone (after the time of Maurice)105, and, finally, Fourth Armenia to refer not only to 1) Coyp'k (Sopene), as the Byzantines used it, but also to designate the region of 2) Martyropolis (Maiak'khin),106 3) the region of Mokk' in Greater Armenia107 and later 4) the regions called by the Byzantines Inner, and, by the Armenians, Upper Armenia. Although such sources as John the Katholikos (tenth century) and Vardan the Great Arwet'ci (VA, d. 1271) are late, we can be certain that in describing the events and situations of earlier eras they drew upon older sources, many of which are no longer available to us. If this were not the case, where would they have learned of these subdivisions which had disappeared in the seventh century? In this completely different history of the numerical subdivision of Armenia Minor we find our two seemingly irreconcilable texts becoming more clear, and that the following table may be drawn up to show how they coincide:

Examining this table, we find in its apparent discrepancies one of our main clues for the dating of the ASX. The statements given in the Armenian text reflect the point of view of the Armenians rather than that of the Byzantines, and, once the contradictory data is examined in the table, the statements in the two texts become clear. Thus, when S indicates Second Armenia as lying north of First Armenia, the text is describing the situation as it was between 591 and c. 640 when First Armenia was the region of Melitene and Second Armenia was the region of Sebastia to the north of it. The Third Armenia, which did not exist during this period, can be explained when we realize that to an Armenian author who knew of the existence of Fourth Armenia and of how the enumeration of Roman-Byzantine Armenias had changed over the centuries, it would be only natural to seek a Third Armenia to complete the list and, knowing that it might be located somewhere near First and Second Armenia, what would be more reasonable than to place it at the first logical point in the text? This interpretation is supported, as we have seen, by the fact that YK refers to the region of Caesarea as 'Third Armenia' when referring precisely to the time of Maurice even though Byzantine Armenia never included Caesarea until the formation of the Armeniakon theme some time after the reign of Maurice, and even though there was no Byzantine Third Armenia in the period 591-c. 640. In actual fact however, although 51819 (and presumably 51683 and 51736 upon which it is based) cites 'Third' Armenia, this enumeration is not found in the best ms. (Mat. 582 and 1267), which simply list 'Armenia' on its own, followed by 'First' and 'Second' Armenia as separate entries. These latter may thus be taken as two listings with the first, unnumbered, Armenia as an introductory paragraph (as found in ms. 1267), or as three separate listings (as found in ms. 582), where they are numbered as the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first countries of Asia. Ereymyan, 'reconstructing' the text according to his lights, reads these passages as two entries worded as follows:20

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98 John the Katholikos (Yovhanne stabilakanarets'), hereinafter YK, reigned 897-925/30 (1912); Fr. transl. Saint-Martin (1841); Chapter II; Engl. transl. K. Maksoudian (New York, 1987).
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid.
105 YK, Ibid.
106 Saint-Martin II:197.
107 VA, Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
Introduction

The 18th-century Second Armenia, that is called Third Armenia, extends east of Cilicia along the Taurus Mountains to the Armenian Mountains that divide it from Commagene of Syria as far as the Euphrates. It has also had other mountains, the Zagros Basilicorum and Orosmadon, and a homogeneous river [Orosmadon, and] the Py-râmyon, Parasit [Melas], Ciskias, and Caromous; and two gates leading into Syria.

The 19th-century First Armenia which is called Second Armenia, extends from Cappadocia, and extends lengthwise to the Euphrates, and has Mt. Ararat. It also has the River Halys and two other rivers [Iris and Gayl-get], and several large mountains.

Although Eremyan's version is conjectural, I am in agreement with him in reading from the better ms. that the author intended to list only two lands in Lesser Armenia, and that the 'Third' Armenia of S1663, S1736 and S1819 (all traceable back to the one ms. used in the preparation of S1668) is to be omitted.

Similarly, when L describes "Second Armenia which is today called First Armenia," and omits any mention of 'Third' Armenia, it again can only be describing the period between 591 and c. 640 when the old Byzantine Second Armenia of the period 387-536, after being called 'Third' Armenia by the Byzantines from 536 to 591, but still 'Second' Armenia by the Armenians, now became known as 'First' Armenia to both. Thus, the description of Lesser Armenia given in L, although incomplete, and the description given in S both correspond to reality, and depict the situation as it stood at the turn of the seventh century. In other words, Third Armenia could only have been omitted after 591. Though inconclusive by itself, this evidence, coupled with the other evidence adduced by Eremyan, strongly supports his dating of the ASX to after 591.99

In addition to the above evidence based on our examination of the development of the four Armenias, the description of the 'provinces' of Greater Armenia also contains good evidence for dating the ASX after 591. The ASX refers to both Turuberan ('Tawruberan?) and Vaspurakan as two of the fifteen aalignment (lands, countries, states, or 'provinces' if you will) of Greater Armenia, yet neither of these territorial designations is heard in this sense in any other Armenian work written at a date prior to the seventh century. Adontz,100 noting Maurice's reorganization of both the old and new Byzantine holdings in Armenia in 591, attributed the origins of these terms to the same date. Vaspurakan, as an elevated or poetic term for 'Iranian,'101 would have been the territory retained by the Persians after the partition of 591 with the exception of Siwink, which, as the ASX clearly shows (infra transl. V. 29.iv), was a separate entity (under the name Siuskan) within the Caucasian Region (K'utsi Kapko) of the Sassanian Empire. As such, Vaspurakan, in its imperial Iranian sense of 'Persian Armenia,' probably included Mokk as well (although the ASX treats Mokk as another separate entity probably because, like Siwink, it is formed a single large princely state). Turuberan, on the other hand, appears to have been the Armenian name for all of the princely and other territories of western Armenia which were now Byzantine property under the name 'Inner Armenia' but which were not already included in the states of Ayarat and Tayk, both of which had also just passed under Byzantine control. Tayk, as we have seen, was administered by the Byzantines as 'Deep Armenia';

99 It is true that the French version of L makes Melitén a city of Fourth Armenia but this is clearly an error of translation on Spouky's part. (infra VII B, n. 27). None of the districts cited in Fourth Armenia by the ASX includes any territory west of the Euphrates where Melitén is found. Nor did Byzantine Fourth Armenia, despite its many changes, ever include any such territory. S omits any mention of Melitén in connection with Fourth Armenia.

100 Ad. Grec.179H, n. 101.

101 Vaspurakan, as an adjective, is the Pahlavi vaspurakana, referring to the highest ranking nobility of Sassanian Iran and especially to the nobility of the Seven Great Houses of Persia who were known as vaspar-s. Adontz (180) felt that the true meaning of the term vasparakan was to be found in the expression Vaspurakan hamarek 'the reward of Vaspurakan' or 'the collector of tribute,' where vasparakan means simply 'Persian'. For the etymology of the term see Hüb., 1904:262, and Benveniste, 1966:25 and infra VII H, n. 144.

II. The Aksarbas'oyu: A Reexamination

the territories included in Ayarat as 'Lower Armenia'; and those in Turuberan as 'Inner Armenia'. Turuberan, then, must be considered to have been, like the much older Ayarat, a purely Armenian designation, namely, in this case, for 'Inner Armenia,' i.e., those lands now under Byzantine control lying to the west of Ayarat but east of the older Byzantine territories. Thus, in its description not only of the four Armenias but of the rest of the country as well, the ASX depicts a situation known to have existed only between 591 and 636 A.D.

B. Comparison of the Original Sections

Beyond question the most interesting and valuable contributions of the ASX are the original sections, which begin with Asatian Sarmatia and extend -- at least in L -- to cover the empire of Sasanian Iran. In these sections, Pappus, and through him, Ptolemy, are all but totally abandoned as guides, and a completely new set of data is supplied from the author's own personal investigations into various archival materials at his disposal. Problems arise, however, when we note the great number of differences which occur between the long and short recensions of these sections. Beginning with the list of tribes in Asatian Sarmatia, we note that L contains such Protojamic items as the Oudaï, Attōmāi, Istōdāī (sic, i.e., *Istōdāī, for which see infra l, n. 153), and Gerroi which are missing in L. In L, however, we also find the Turks and Bulgars included although neither became prominent in the region until the end of the sixth century. Both versions of the ASX, however, mention the Khazars, whose rise did not begin until the same period. In L we also note in connection with Albania that none of the Albanian districts taken from Armenia is included with those of Albania proper (which lay north of the River Kur), while in S we find the districts of Arcas included in Albania together with five of the eight Armenian districts of Utik. Here, therefore, the shorter recension gives a more detailed picture of Albania compared with the summary description found in L. When we come to the description of Greater Armenia, we note that in many sections, S includes more names of districts than do the corresponding passages in L, and this is true of the sections on Iran as well.

The comparison of the two redactions of the ASX thus reveals that S is more than likely of a later date than L and also that, rather than being a mere abridged version, it is an emended abbreviation, which attempts to bring the data on Armenia and Persia more into line with the realities of the time in which it was produced. The older text, L, would seem to have been written between 591 and c. 640,102 while the emended version, S, was probably written not too long after the Arab invasions, a few years after the latter date.103 As we shall see, it may perhaps be possible to narrow these termini still further.

102 Supra pp. 26-27.
103 In recent years the Hungarian scholar E. Schütz has been studying the ASX from the point of view of a specialist on the peoples of the Eurasian steppes, and in so doing he has adduced a certain amount of evidence for the chronological development of the interpolations into the text if not for its exact date. Noting, for example, that the Huns dwelt in North Caucasian till the Khazar conquest and that the Sabirs are last heard of in 578 he sees no problem in their names appearing in the ASX. On the other hand he notes that in the section on Central Asia, the description has been updated to reflect certain changes which took place in a later period after the original text of the ASX was written, but that the later redactor failed to exclude the earlier material, e.g., the reference to the Hephthalites (from the text of a lecture kindly communicated to me by Dr. Schütz in 1984).
C. Sources

The chief sources for the ASX are known to us, for our author cites several of them by name in his introduction: Ptolemy, Pappus of Alexandria, Marinus of Tyre, "Constantine of Antioch," Hipparchus, "Diodorus of Samos," "Dionysius," and "Apollo." Mention is also made, in the text, of one "Sopharius of Aminus" and of a certain "Abydenus." The sources upon which he drew for the original sections of this work, i.e., Sarmatia, Caucasian, Armenia, and Persia are uncertain, however, but there must have been considerable archival material available in Armenia itself concerning these regions. A large part of Armenia was in continual and intimate contact with the Iberians, Albanians, and other Caucasian peoples. Armenian merchants, ambassadors and clerics must have made frequent journeys to all these countries as well as to Khazaria, and it would not have been too difficult to gather the information with which the author provides us on each.

The exact manner in which the classical sources were used remains rather a puzzle, however. In the introduction to the ASX the Armenian compiler tells us that his work is based on the geography of Pappus of Alexandria (Khorographia Oikoumenikē)104 but Claudius Ptolemy is continuously being cited and quoted (and through him, Hipparchus and Marinus of Tyre), and his influence is everywhere felt throughout the work. Indeed, as we have noted before, as early as the tenth century, TA, quoting the ASX, refers to it twice as the Geography of Ptolemy (I.28; III.18). Already, a century ago, Soukry noted the relationship between I. and the Geography of Ptolemy and divided his text into sections following the latter (as Eremyan was to do much later). Eremyan, of course, has made much more of this resemblance insisting that the author not only followed Ptolemy 'step-by-step,' but actually had Ptolemy in hand as he worked. I cannot agree with this. There is no question that Ptolemy is an ultimate source for the work we call the ASX and that its author quotes him regularly and, through him, the authors whom Ptolemy, himself, quotes. The fact of the matter is, however, that the author of the ASX differs markedly from Ptolemy in many ways that suggest the passage of several centuries. Eremyan, in fact, in his discussion of the geographical order of the world provided by Ptolemy and divided his text into sections following the latter (as Eremyan was to do much later). Eremyan, of course, has made much more of this resemblance insisting that the author not only followed Ptolemy 'step-by-step,' but actually had Ptolemy in hand as he worked. I cannot agree with this. There is no question that Ptolemy is an ultimate source for the work we call the ASX and that its author quotes him regularly and, through him, the authors whom Ptolemy, himself, quotes. The fact of the matter is, however, that the author of the ASX differs markedly from Ptolemy in many ways that suggest the passage of several centuries. Eremyan, in fact, in his discussion of the geographical order of the world provided by Ptolemy and divided his text into sections following the latter (as Eremyan was to do much later). Eremyan, of course, has made much more of this resemblance insisting that the author not only followed Ptolemy 'step-by-step,' but actually had Ptolemy in hand as he worked. I cannot agree with this. There is no question that Ptolemy is an ultimate source for the work we call the ASX and that its author quotes him regularly and, through him, the authors whom Ptolemy, himself, quotes. The fact of the matter is, however, that the author of the ASX differs markedly from Ptolemy in many ways that suggest the passage of several centuries.

Obviously, the Geography of Ptolemy and the ASX follow a similar order of presentation but so do Strabo and Pliny, so that what we are actually seeing here is that the ancient geographers early established a tradition of describing the world beginning with Europe (either with Britain or Spain) and moving eastwards to China. In other words, the author of the ASX was following a classical rather than a strictly Ptolemaic order, and he could easily have obtained this arrangement from Pappus.

Pappus of Alexandria, the famed Greek geometer, is said to have flourished sometime between the reign of Diocletian (284-305) and the end of the fourth century.105 He is chiefly noted for his Mathematical Collection (Mathematike Synagogē) in eight books of which only the last five are complete, but we know that he also wrote a treatise on military engines, and commentaries on Ptolemy's Almagest (Megallē Syntaxis) and Harmonics (Harmonikē Bibliā). Pappus was one of the most significant figures in mathematics between Archimedes and the Italian Renaissance but apart from the ASX, we know of his Geography solely from its mention in the tenth century Byzantine lexicon known as the Souda.106

104 The term khorographia was devised by Ptolemy to indicate a description of a portion of the earth in minute detail, as opposed to Geography which would be an inclusive delineation of that part of the earth known to man, together with a description of its parts and general appearance. (Cf. papp. p. 13 for Eremyan's explanation of the corresponding terms in Armenian).

105 Suidae Lexicon (ed. Wolka, ),

106 The Souda states specifically (ibid.: 265 Pappos, Alexandrēs, philosophos, gumnos ton presbyteron Theodosis ton basileas, ote kai Theon o philosophos eléxarion, o graphan eis ton Ptolemaion Kanonon. Bibliā de antoī Khorographias

II. The Akhtarāʾīyyūs: A Reexamination

Constantine of Antioch is not known to us from any other source outside the ASX but, as Soukry has pointed out, the title of the work attributed to him - Christian Topography - makes it clear that our author identifies him with Pseudo-Cosmas Indicopleustes, an anonymous Christian author who wrote a work of that name, and who may also have been known as Constantine the Monk.107 The corruption of Indicopleustes to Antiochenus is, as Soukry suggests, quite plausible, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the author of the ASX preserved his true name. The Christian Topography (Topographia Kristianika) has come down to us and, though the citations from this work given in the introduction to the ASX are vague, they do fit the general content of the text. For example, in the ASX we read:

Constantine of Antioch in his Christian Topography says that the ark came from the East to us in the middle of the earth.

In Pseudo-Cosmas we read:

Men . . . having crossed the ocean in the Ark at the time of the deluge, reached our part of the earth and settled in Persian territory.108

And again:

. . . for men continued to live in the earth beyond (the Ocean) 2242 years for a course of ten generations, and, under Noah . . . they passed over to this (part of the) earth by means of the Ark.109

Just as important as these parallelisms, already noted by Soukry, is the way in which the author of the ASX, when quoting scripture, does so in exactly the same manner as pseudo-Cosmas and occasionally (e.g. Job 26:7) quotes the same verse. For all this, however, there is little in the ASX taken from the Christian Topography despite the latter's lengthy geographical passages, and it may be that its author, as so often with other works, was quoting this text through an intermediate source. Constantine of Antioch, as Soukry notes,110 is referred to in other Armenian texts.

With Constantine of Antioch indentified as Pseudo-Cosmas Indicopleustes, we have additional...
evidence for a later dating of the ASX than the fifth century to which the text has been traditionally ascribed for we know that the unknown author of The Christian Topography flourished in Egypt c. 550 A.D. and made a personal visit to Sinai, Ethiopia, and perhaps to Ceylon, all of which are described in his Christian Topography. He was, moreover, a geographer although, unfortunately, the geographical work which he refers to in his prologue113 has not come down to us.

I have been unable to identify Diodorus of Samos, referred to by Ptol. (1.72), and probably by Pappus as well. There were two geographers by this name in antiquity: Diodorus Periegetes (fl. late fourth century B.C.), whose birthplace is uncertain (and which could thus have been at Samos), and Diodorus of Sicily, who lived three hundred years later but whose Bibliothèque, however, does not contain the reference in question.

As for Apollo and Dionysius, I have been slightly more successful in identifying those authors than was Soukry. As he suggests, Apollo may be the Apollodorus mentioned by MX, but he could also be Appollonius of Perga, a geometer frequently referred to by Pappus, while the geographer Dionysius could be either Dionysius of Melusa (fl. 510 B.C.) or Dionysius Periegetes who lived probably under Domitian 81-96 A.D.) — and not in 500 B.C. (as Soukry says).114 The latter wrote a geographical poem, Description of the World, in 1187 hexameters which is of little scientific value but which was translated into Latin by Avienus (fl. 375), and through this version had a wide influence in the Middle Ages. Interestingly, the philosopher Cassiodorus, writing in the mid-sixth century refers to a map by Dionysius.115

Sophocles of Aminus (Soph'ar Minecwoy) and Abedenus (Abiv'en) are quoted once each. The former I have been unable to trace unless the name is a badly corrupted rendering of Porphyry of Tyre ("Pərph'əriaiveis"), but Abedenus is known as the author of a Chaldean history mentioned by classical authors, and in such Armenian sources as MX,116 TA (Preface)117 and GM.118 Abrahamyan cites the Isagoge (Eisogège), or "Introduction" [to the Categories of Aristotle] of Porphyry of Tyre (233-c. 305) as a source for the ASX but does not give any further information. I have examined the Isagoge but I fail to see how it relates to the ASX. The Bible is quoted, of course, as are such ecclesiastic writers as Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Eusebius — all well known to the Armenians.

Yet another source supposedly utilized by Ananias of Sirak has recently been postulated by Ereman.119 The Syedecemas (travel-guide) of Hierocles, written in 518. Ereman felt that Ananias had used this opuscule in the preparation of his map of Asia Minor, which, as we have seen, he believed was one of fifteen such maps which accompanied the ASX.120 I do not feel, however, that Ereman is correct in identifying the Syedecemas as a direct source for the ASX. There are some resemblances between the two works in regard to their descriptions of Asia Minor — e.g., Hierocles specifically states the number of cities in each province as Ananias often (but not always) does, and the numbers given are occasionally identical in their work (both Hierocles and Ananias agree, for example, in citing sixteen cities for Bithynia and thirty-eight for Phrygia) — but more often there is no agreement at all. There is, moreover, a complete lack of harmony in the order of provinces in each text. Not only is their arrangement different, but where Hierocles cites Lydia as a distinct province, and Phrygia as three separate provinces (Pacatiana, Salutaria and Pisidia), Ananias does not. In my view, Ananias must have had access to some Byzantine administrative text akin to the Syedecemas of Hierocles (and to the opuscule of George of Cyprus), but no direct acquaintance with either of these texts at least as they have come down to us.

The influence of the lesser authors cited above has thus been almost negligible and it would seem that even the references to Marius of Tyre and Hipparchus, all of which are found in Prolemy, probably existed intact in the work of Pappus. Prolemy and Pappus are thus the chief classical sources of the ASX but Prolemy to what extent? The ASX in the main bears an obvious but essentially superficial resemblance to the latter's Geography, and this led Soukry to become convinced that it was based directly on Prolemy's work and not on Pappus at all. Already in the tenth century, TA, as we have seen, quotes the ASX referring to it as the Geography of Prolemy (L.28, III.18). Abrahamyan even cites a quotation from one ms. of the ASX in which the author himself includes Prolemy among his sources,121 but this would not mean that Prolemy was used directly since we have no idea how dependent Pappus himself may have been on Prolemy for direct quotations.

I cannot agree that Prolemy has been used directly, for several reasons. First, Prolemy's Geography is a catalog of 8,000 place names — countries, provinces, cities, mountains, rivers, and islands — with the latitude and longitude indicated for each. It is, in effect, a design or an index for a fully detailed map of the world and, in the Renaissance, it was used precisely for the preparation of such maps. The ASX is a far less ambitious work and makes almost no attempt to locate specifically any of the places mentioned. There are a few indications of latitude and longitude early in the text but after describing Europe the use of latitudes and longitudes, which is Prolemy's Geography, is virtually abandoned. I suspect this was true in Pappus' Khorgaphia and that in this regard the Armenian text follows Pappus and not Prolemy. Second, although Soukry lauds our author as having had a "great sagacity" in the manner in which he abridged Prolemy, a glance at Prolemy's work will show that this is not the case at all. The Armenian geographer may have followed Prolemy's outline "step-by-step" but the data he adds or chooses to keep on each of Prolemy's regions is haphazard in the extreme. In its earlier chapters the ASX is quite sketchy only becoming detailed as one approaches Caucasia. Upon reaching Asiatic Sarmatia our author virtually abandons Prolemy — and thus Pappus, as well — describing that region as well as the Caucasian countries, Armenia, and the Persian Empire, according to information derived from local sources. He then picks up his classical source once again by redescrbing Persia as known to it, and the work then concludes much in line within Prolemy's framework.

Besides these departures, there is also a definite disparity in the order between the countries and provinces as listed in Prolemy and as they are listed in the ASX. That the ASX follows Prolemy in its geographical work of George of Cyprus (GC) is entitled Descriptio Orbis Romani. It was written between 591, the date when the Byzantines captured Dara (which the author includes in the Empire), and 606 when Urbevetus in Italy (where he author also includes) was lost to the Lombards. A freak imitation of the work of Hierocles, this little text is interesting for the exaggerated scope that it devotes to southwestern Armenia, apparently an interpolation by a later editor, probably of the ninth century, in which he describes an area with which he was obviously quite familiar.


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Introduction

main outline may be true enough but several of Ptolemy's provinces have been omitted altogether (Rhactia, Vindelica, the Pannonias, the Moesias, Iazyges Metanastae, and Dacia), while others have been reduced to mere subdivisions of other provinces. Ptolemy's island of Corsica, for example, which he describes in a separate chapter, has been made a subdivision of Italy in S, while his province of Achaia is reduced to a district of Hellas. How are we to account for these discrepancies other than to agree with Saint-Martin that the author of the ASX worked directly from Pappus of Alexandria and not from Ptolemy at all? The use of the geographical information in the text of the ASX, therefore, bears out the author's own unequivocal statements that his text is based on that of Pappus (with less important data drawn from the other sources cited in the introduction), and that the descriptions of Sarmatia, Armenia, the Persian Empire, and the Caucasian States are based on local information. Ptolemy, if consulted directly at all, has not been seriously followed at any point along the way.

D. Conclusion

The ASX is an attempt to present a geography of the world, not from an objective standpoint as did the Greek and Roman geographers who described the world to the best of their knowledge, but from a subjective - i.e. an Armenian - point of view. Thus, not unlike many modern atlases or geographical texts, it devotes a disproportionate amount of its coverage to the country in which it was written and to the immediately adjacent areas. The text is based, as its author himself tells us, on the lost Khrographia OsiosowneniK of Pappus of Alexandria, which was itself most likely an abridgment of Ptolemy's Geographikos Hyphegôsis while the other classical authorities cited, not already quoted by Ptolemy, were probably found cited in Pappus' work to begin with. The ASX begins with an introduction which is a greatly abridged and highly confused version of the introduction found in Ptolemy. It contains, however, considerable data not found in Ptolemy and which may be either original or an abridgment of the introduction to the Geographikos of Pappus. Much of this introduction makes no sense in its present form to the extent that it cannot possibly have come down to us as originally written by either Pappus or his Armenian adaptor, and I am inclined to believe that the fault lies with an early copyist who either did not understand what he was transcribing or was working from a badly mutilated ms.

Eremyan's analysis of the remainder of the contents of ASX is completely valid and need only be summarized here: The author, while following an earlier source, omitted whatever directly clashed with his own knowledge and attempted to make the rest conform to what he knew to be the realities of his own time. Western Europe and Africa, being furthest from the area of the author's interest, are the regions in which he relies most heavily on Ptolemy/Pappus. The text begins to grow more detailed in southeastern Europe where he attempts to link Armenian history to that of the Greeks. In Asia Minor and western Asia, he describes the situation as it was in the fourth through sixth centuries, keeping from his sources only what conformed to the realities of his own time. Little remains from the earlier sources on Sarmatia and Colchis, while Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia are described entirely from local materials. The core of the ASX is this description of Armenia and the neighboring regions, which, together with that of the Persian Empire, is entirely original and occupies almost a quarter of the text. Armenia and Caucasus, however, are described as they appeared in two different eras, i.e., as they were before 387 A.D. and as they were after 591; the situation of 591 being projected into the past and combined with that of 387 to create a wholly artificial picture of the region. The description of the Persian Empire is given according to the way it existed in the sixth-seventh centuries with Armenia, Iberia, and Albania cited as parts of the Sasanian realm (which they had been before that period). After presenting the description of Sasanian Iran, the author returns to his original source and the remainder of the ASX must be virtually a summary of the material included in Ptolemy/Pappus.

The short version of the ASX is almost one-half shorter than the long but it is more than a mere abridgment of it. As pointed out above, it frequently contains data not found in the longer version, and in certain passages, e.g., on Germany, is actually more detailed. The new details, when it is possible to date them all, seem to indicate that they were added after the advent of the Arabs in Caucasus which began in the 640's. The later editor seems to have been torn between a desire to bring the work into line with his own knowledge and the fear of departing too greatly from the original Armenian text and its sources. The new details of the seventh century were thus added to a text which, as we have seen, was already a conglomerate of material drawn from different periods. Both recensions have been subject to the hands of still later interpolators, but the fact that L contains fewer errors of spelling and of facts verifiable from other sources than does S, together with the other evidence cited above, all support our conclusion that L is the older of the two and, mutatis mutandis, the original version of the ASX.

As for the date of the original text, the only claim that the ASX has to being as old as the fifth century is that it was in later centuries attributed to MX who was supposed to have lived in the fifth century but who we now know flourished probably in the late eighth. Our examination of the various changes undergone by the four Armenians draws the termini of the ASX to a period between 591 and 636 A.D. The arrangement of these provinces as reflected in the ASX came into being, and the period of the Arab invasions when these subdivisions were abandoned by the Byzantines themselves, and their northern boundaries were reorganized into the Armeniakan Themata. Ostrogorsky dates this reorganization before 622 but it probably took place after the death of Heraclius in 641. Eremyan has attempted to narrow the termini still further but, as I have tried to show above, I do not feel that he has proven his case. Xac'atryan has also tried to bring the terminus ad quem to 622 but, as I have shown, his evidence, too, is questionable. The terminus ad quem can be lowered, however, if we note that the ASX gives a full description of the Persian Empire which was destroyed in 636 A.D. and describes Armenia, Iberia, and Albania as parts of it which they obviously could not have been after that date. In addition, we have as evidence the mention of two new provinces in Mesopotamia "recently established by the Persians" and of that to the River K'afirt which "divides the territory of the Greeks and Persians," neither of which statement could have been written or interpolated after 636. From this evidence, we can state with certainty that L, the original recension of the ASX, was written within a forty-five period between 591 and 636.

As to when the later and shorter recension was edited, we can only note that its omission of the description of the Persian Empire as it existed before 636 indicates that it dates from sometime after 636. For a discussion of the origin and formation of these themes see Ostrogorsky, 1957:87-88; Pertusi, 1958:1-40; Ostrogorsky, 1958:1-8; Karayannopulos 1953; Charran and Kargi 1962. The Armeniakan Themata was composed of territory that had formerly been part of Lesser Armenia and did not include any territory of Greater Armenia. Ostrogorsky 1958:1-8, but this early date, although described as "plausible" by Charran 1963:19, n. 43 has been contested by Karayannopulos and Pertusi, supra n. 111. See also Kargi (1967).
the Arab invasions which destroyed that empire, but there is nothing to indicate that it was prepared very long afterwards and certainly not after the turn of the eighth century. Both redactions contain numerous references to the Arabs, however, and both have undoubtedly been subjected to interpolation sometime after 636.

With the AŠX securely dated between 591 and 636, and MX dated most likely to the late eighth, the only other likely author for the work would be Ananias of Sirak, whose name was advanced long ago by Parkean, Abrahamyan, and Abeyan, he being the only seventh century author known to possess the necessary education and interests to have undertaken such a work. Eremyan, as we have seen, originally denied this ascription on rather weak grounds, and Xa'catayn on rather stronger ones, the latter's demonstration that the cosmological ideas found in the AŠX and those found in the Cosmography of Ananias differ radically from one another appearing to have settled this question conclusively. The work of Ma'evosyan, however, now accepted by Eremyan, would seem to prove conclusively that the AŠX formed part of a great Rannomion or textbook of learning used precisely in the type of school that Ananias founded in Armenia after his return to his homeland from Trebizond. While paying respect to Caloyan's erudition, then, I must keep with Abrahamyan, Ma'evosyan and Eremyan, and accept Ananias of Sirak as the author of the AŠX.

As we have seen, the AŠX is a melange of details drawn from sources ranging from the second through the seventh centuries with interpolations made as late as the eighth, and it is difficult to determine the original intent of its author or the purpose of the work. As a guidebook, it would have been useless to anyone traveling beyond the immediate neighborhood of Armenia, while even as a reference work its value would have been slight except as a geographical sketch of the most general sort. Its concern with Armenia is especially notable, for if the AŠX was intended for the use of Armenians, as it obviously was, any official, merchant, ecclesiastic or traveler would perhaps have more need for information about the outside world than for his own country and its immediate vicinity.

Eremyan ingeniously suggested that the AŠX was the text to accompany an atlas of some fifteen maps along the lines of Ptolemy's Geography, while Xa'catayn felt that it was the text for a single reference work its value would have been slight except as a geographical sketch of the most general sort. Its concern with Armenia is especially notable, for if the AŠX was intended for the use of Armenians, as it obviously was, any official, merchant, ecclesiastic or traveler would perhaps have more need for information about the outside world than for his own country and its immediate vicinity.

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK
THE LONG AND THE SHORT RECENSIONS
TRANSLATION
In the absence of a critical edition of the ASX, the present translation is based on my personal examination of the only ms. of the long recension (Venice MS. 1245) rather than of the published edition; and upon Matenadaran ms. 582 for the short recension, which has been collated with Matenadaran mss. 1267 and 3106 and with the published editions of Saint-Martin, Patkanov, and Abrahamyan. Bzommar ms. 204, the five Jerusalem mss. of the text (743, 1016, 1138, 1211, and 1288), two of the three Vienna mss. (115 and 731; ms. 368 was not available to me), and Tubingen mss. Ma XIII 70 and Ma XIII 98 were all deemed to be of insufficient value to be used in the collation of S, although all three were consulted for possibly useful variants; and these, where found, have been entered into the notes. The published editions S1683 (and S1736, and S1819 which were based on it), were similarly utilized.

Since the ASX is based on a classical original, I have followed standard English usage in transcribing all names of countries, etc., in their Latin forms both in the Introduction and in the translation itself. The names of towns also have been given in their Latin forms except in regard to such places as Rome, Constantinople, etc., where such a procedure would be pedantic. Greek forms for classical names, however, have been used throughout the notes, for here it was thought advisable for scholarly purposes to adhere as closely to the original forms as possible. In cases where there are no known classical or English equivalents of a given toponym, it has simply been transliterated directly from the Armenian and printed in italics. This latter procedure has naturally been used throughout those sections of the text that deal with Sarmatia, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia and Persia, where the text is not based on a classical original but rather upon local sources. Here, classical (and other) forms, where they exist, have been relegated to the notes. Financial limitations have regrettably precluded the printing of Greek, Armenian, Arabic, Persian and Georgian forms in their respective alphabets.

With rare exceptions indicated in the notes, toponyms found in the original parts of the text just referred to, have been recast in their corrected form. The original forms found in the ms. texts, themselves, together with the sources of their correction (Marquart, Hülschmann, Adontz, Honigmann, Manandyan, Ermenyan, Hakobyan, Toumanoff, et al.) have been relegated to the notes. The first Armenian form found in a given note is always the form found in the manuscript used for the translation be it of L or S. I have indicated with three dots (...) those places in the text where unknown words or passages that must have existed in the Greek or Armenian originals have obviously been omitted. Where the missing words may be found in Ptolemy, or else supposed, or are needed to make good sense in the English translation, these have been inserted in brackets: [...].

In regard to the transliteration of Armenian, the Hülschmann-Melllet-Beveniste system followed by the REA has been used throughout. Following Toumanoff (1963), an adaptation of this has been employed for Georgian toponyms as well. Turkish toponyms in Turkey have been spelled according to modern Turkish usage but those in the Soviet Union (as well as all other Russian words) have been cited in a conventional transliteration from Russian into English, based on that of the Library of Congress system without the ligatures, and with -ay substituted for -ai, which I simply prefer. Thusstream is gay when speaking of waterways in Turkey; chay when speaking of Soviet Azerbaidzhan (chai in Iran). The various systems in use for the transliteration of Iranian and Arabic, as well as the vast number of instances in which toponyms have altered their forms or changed entirely, has caused
numerous problems, especially when quoting older works which have not utilized the currently accepted systems. In general, however, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI)* has been followed for Arabic transliteration; the *Encyclopaedia Iranica (EIr)* for Persian. Full consistency has not been possible, however, a situation which will be appreciated by all specialists in the field whose indulgence is requested in this difficult and vexing matter.

In regard to Armenian surnames ending in -ean, I have everywhere in my notes followed the individual's own choice when writing in a Western language but have kept the -ean for those writing in Armenian (except for Soviet Armenian authors who, since the orthographic reforms of the early 1920's, spell their names with -yan). The names of Armenian authors writing in Russian, following Russian transliteration, have this termination uniformly transcribed -yan, as well.

Largely composed of place names and stock phrases used over and over again, and generally straightforward in style, the *ASX* is not a particularly difficult work to translate. Being an historian, I have prepared this edition for the use of other nonlinguists, and have equipped it with an historical and geographical commentary rather than a philological one which would be beyond my competence.

The classical Armenian (Grabat) of the *ASX* is often quite sketchy compared with English or French, and it is difficult to render much of the text into readable prose without a certain amount of free translation. In any case, I have had numerous occasions to be more faithful to the original Armenian than are either of the French translations.

An innovation in this translation is the numbering of the various sections of the text. Following the logical divisions found in the work, itself, and basing myself upon the enumeration of these divisions already found in certain mss., I have resorted to the practice employed with classical Greek and Latin texts, wherein the subject matter is divided into divisions and subdivisions which enable the reader to find a given section with ease. This has been a serious deficiency in works dealing with the *ASX* in which references to its contents have had to be based on the page numbers of one edition or another. In this translation, a toponym such as Cyzicus may be located in what is logically the second section of the fifth 'book' of the text, i.e., V. 2. It is hoped that this enumeration will be found logical and useful enough to become generally accepted.

The geographical nature of the text under discussion has made the addition of certain maps indispensable. Maps one through four are the work of the author as are maps seventeen and twenty-one. The remainder, however, are largely based on the map *Hayastan ȅst "Aḵarbaʿoyc'"-i* (Armenia according to the "Aḵarbaʿoyc") published by S.T. Eremyan in his book of the same name (Erevan, 1963). In the course of the author's researches, however, it became clear that certain portions of Eremyan's map stood in need of revision, and I have not hesitated to make such revisions as thought necessary. Those maps based directly on the map of Eremyan are designated as being "after Eremyan"; those based on the work of other scholars or on the author's conclusions are labeled accordingly. The maps are designed to illustrate the original sections of the ASX, not the totally derivative sections such as those covering Europe and Africa, and indicate only those places actually mentioned in the text, itself. Exceptionally, a few other names have been added in brackets as points of reference, e.g. [Van]. Obvious errors in the mss. have been corrected and indicated with an asterisk, e.g. *Samandar where the ms. has Mèndi.*
[1] In Holy Scripture we have found nothing definite about geography and are thus obliged to consult pagan [authors] who have developed geography by land and sea voyages, and have also confirmed it through geometry. Geometry derives from astronomy. They carefully observed under which [parallel of latitude] were situated the various places of the earth beneath the heavenly sphere, the length of the days and nights there, and those [stars] which appear constantly above the earth as well as those which always appear to be wandering below the horizon. By drawing a line beginning at the equator they determined the habitat of man, measuring it in stadia through travel and navigation. They ascertained the location [of the stars], their changes and phases, and also the appearance of other [stars] in other places.

[2] Over this Torrid Zone, the constellations and the signs of the zodiac rise and set while the Little Bear is [always] found above the horizon towards the north [at a distance of] 300 and 3/4 of a stadium [from the equator]. Here is [located] the island of Thule which separates the northern [regions] from the known land [i.e., inhabited earth] at latitude 63 [degrees], seventeen [minutes] as is shown by the meridian line of [containing] 360 [degrees]. [Now the latter, he notes, measures] 31,500 [stadia, since every degree] measures 500 stadia. But the [most] southern lands lie below the horizon and cause the other [stars] to appear differently as Diodorus of Samos says about India, that on the journey to Lymericum, one sees Taurus in the middle of the sky and the Pleiades in the middle of its horns.

[3] On the journey south to Azania, one must take direction from the star Canopus – which is [called] Hippus – and from Procyon in the summer. And much more appears about the stars even to the colder zone which extends to the inhabited earth opposite by Ethiopia, from the beginning of the land of Agysimba as far as Cape Praesum beneath the Winter Circle and under the invisible side [of the earth] below [the horizon].

[4] In this matter [the discussion of cosmography], it is first necessary to take a map of the inhabited earth in the form of a sphere and then, by analogy, a second map [with the aid of] an astronomical sphere whereby half of the great circle has 180 [degrees] for the habitat of man. To measure the earth astronomically, it is necessary to have such instruments as the astrolabe and the sundial, but it is also necessary to have the dioptra to measure the land [surface].
43

[1] The Geography

[5] Hipparchus has described by measurement the [location of] cities and has described the eclipse of the moon [observed] at Arbela at the eighth hour and in Carthage at the twelfth hour.29 Marinus of Tyre, in contrast, wishing to correct astronomy as much as possible in his description of travels, made his [measurements] according to the conjunction of the heavenly bodies.29 Turning to the air with instruments, he observed the light of the sun, moon and heavenly bodies according to the strange rules of the changes which are seen in the seven climates. Definition is a summary showing the nature of an object with all its evidence. This summary rejects everything which does not belong to the object and gives only that which does.

[6] The measure is equal to one degree; one degree equals 500 asparèz; the asparèz is the length of one stadium30 or, according to aerometry, 107 paces;30 the pace equals six feet; and the foot equals sixteen fingers.30 The stadium is thus equal to 643 feet less one [seventh];38 and the mile equals seven stadia.39 The Persian stadium,30 however, equals 143¹⁹ paces and [the mile] according to geometry, 1000 paces.31 The parasang5 is equal to three miles34 and the degree, according to geometry, is equal to 500 square stadia. The degree is, therefore, equal to seventy-one miles and ¾ [and] ⅙ and ⅛.47

[7] They therefore measured the land and sea, beginning at the Torrid Zone where nothing grows because of the sun, which reigns there from summer to winter, after which it returns to the said places [from which it came]. It is because of this that they say that the sun is smaller than the earth; [that] the sun is sixty-six degrees [in circumference]. It is further said that it is equal to two parallels, i.e., forty stations.35 It is said that through the emission of light it produces the heat in the Torrid Zone. From either side of this zone, the Ocean separates the habitat of man from the southern hemisphere which is called the Opposite Land.3 It is not there but in the northern hemisphere that is found the largest part of the habitable earth that is called 'created.'39 They also say that it is very circumscribed in its extent because of its spherical form, the same as the land opposite to the south, which is called 'arid.'41 It is said that [the Ocean] surrounds not only the Torrid Zone but the entire earth.

[8] Constantine of Antioch, in the Christian Topography,32 says that the Ark came from the east to us in the middle of the earth, but Ptolemy, from whom men measure the entire earth, does not say that the Ocean surrounds the Opposite Land completely, but only on one side to the north and south.35 He says that the Torrid Zone is three degrees from three degrees to one and in the southwest from four degrees to three. He also says that the Unknown Land surrounds all human habitation. As for the other three seas, i.e., the Indian, the Grecian and the Caspian (which is the Hyrcanian), he says that these are surrounded by human habitation. This is true, for the Grecian and Caspian have been explored by men. The same is true,33 I think, for the Indian Sea and not44 as some pagan authors; such as Dionysius and Apollo45 and their imitators say, that the Ocean surrounds everything. Constantine of Antioch disagrees with his contemporaries and he cites examples drawn from Holy Scripture, but we cannot cite these because we have no definite proof [from this source] since Holy Scripture uses both the singular and the plural indifferently: "Let the waters...be gathered in one union" and "in their unions,"46 and [again] "God called the assembled waters, seas."47

[9] As for the extent of the habitat of man from east to west, for the temperature and for the north and south, which are uninhabitable because of the ice and cold, the latter, [Constantine] based his discussions on examples drawn from Holy Scripture: "God said to Job: 'Hast thou considered the breadth of the earth?... Where is the way where light dwelleth?'"48 It is thus that he asked regarding the uninhabitable south and of the snowy mountains of the north behind, which, I think, the sun sets. Sopharins of Aminus was the first to say that "the measure of the earth is long."49 Against these, one can reply by the words of Isaiah that God created the habitable world,49 and that he made nothing useless and that he made it for habitation.50 Against those David replies: "You have established the entire world, the north and the south,"51 while Solomon said: "The Lord made the habitable and uninhabitable earth, the extremities inhabitable"52 and so forth.44
Rysadius, which forms a lake and then enters the sea; the Daradis°° which, formed by six other rivers and lakes, enters the Great Renowned Port;'°' the Massa,'°^ Ophiodes,'°^ Chusar'°'* and islands to the south called the Fortunate Isles.'^ To the west are six other islands which are found land and ocean are called Unknown, although the Ocean is known from navigation. There are six Ochema; the Nicas,'^ which comes from [the land of] the White Ethiopians;'^ the Stacher'* from Mt. opposite Inner Libya'^ and, to the north, are [another].'*

The rivers which enter the Ocean from the west are: the Masiholus°° which comes from Mt. Theon Ochema; the Nicas,' which comes from [the land of] the White Ethiopians;°° the Stacher°° from Mt. Bysadius,'° which forms a lake and then enters the sea; the Daradis°° which, formed by six other rivers and lakes, enters the Great Renowned Port;°°°° the Massa,'°° Ophiodes,'°°° Chusar°°°° and Salathus,'°°°° which come from Mt. Mandrus;°°°° and (finally) the large River Subus,*°°°°
Between the greater and lesser Atlas (mountains) flow the following rivers: first the Saga, then the Agna, Phoca, Diur, Asama and Cassas. Between the lesser Atlas and the city of Tingis are the rivers Lius, Subab, Lix, Zileia and Gaditanian. [A strait] called Septem, i.e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide. This strait separates Tingis from Spain. To the west, there are six other islands and to the north, four opposite Mauritania, and a strait called Septem, i.e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide. It flows from the Ocean like a river and gives birth to the Grecian Sea. There is also an island situated to the west.

[4] As the Ocean proceeds north and turns eastwards, it forms two large islands, Hibernia and Albion, which together are called the land of the Britons. And there is the Island of Thule, of which the greater part is regarded as part of the Unknown Land and which has given place to incredible tales. There is another island opposite the frontier of Sarmatia and Germany called Scandia, where dwell the Gods and several other nations. No ship has gone past this island and no man has reached [beyond]; this is what is called the Unknown Sea.

[5] There are three great seas which are surrounded by land: the first is the Indian, i.e., the Red Sea, whose latitude is 113°. From this gulf extend the Persian and Arabian Seas. The Persian has the shape of a brick a little towards the northwest. But the Arabian Sea, which is similar in shape to aocolynthus, is bordered on the south by the unknown and uninhabitable land. To the east is the land of the Chinese; to the north, the Indies, Carmania and the lands of Persia and Arabia; on the west, the lands of Egypt and Ethiopia which are in Libya.

[6] The second sea is the Grecian, which comes from the Ocean (long. 60°, lat. 36°) at the place called Septem, which means "seven" because it is seven miles wide. To the west is the island of Gadirus, in the Ocean, but at the sea has its width extending to the north and to the south. It extends [eastwards] as far as Syria, having 30° in length. Its limits are the lands of Syria and Phoenicia on the east and Judea to the southeast as far as Egypt; to the northeast, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Mysia, Hellespont and Bithynia, i.e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide, enters like a river from the Ocean into the Iberian Sea, which is the beginning of the Grecian Sea. Opposite Septem to the west, there is another strait called Septem, i.e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide. It flows from the Ocean like a river and gives birth to the Grecian Sea. There is also an island situated to the west.

[7] The third sea is that of Hyrcania, which is also called that of the Caspians. It extends from the mouth of the Arax and the Kur as far as the river Polytimeus, which means "precious." It is 23° long and is bounded on the west by the Armenian lands; on the northwest by Albania at the river Coesius; and then by the mouths of the Cheras, Sonas, Alonta and Udon rivers with the peoples of the same name, which flow from the Caucasus and enter the sea. The peoples who bear the names of these four rivers are counted among those of Scythia, that is, the Apstark. On the north side it is bounded by the land of the Scythians which extends to the mouth of the river 'lyas, which I believe is the Ematha, and by the Rhymius, Dace and Iaxares Rivers. To the east it is bordered [first] by the nation called Anaziekan Nombat, i.e., "second" by the mouth of the river Istrus, third by the province called Sagaraucua, fourth by the mouth of the river Polytimeus, mentioned above, which issues from Mt. Oxus by which is found the district of Sian; fifth and by the mouth of the river Oxus, near which is the nation of the Rybian and the three cities of Aspabata, Oixana and Dauba; and sixth the nation of Theoxia, near which is the River Margus in the land of the Margians, which seems to me to be the same as Merv and Mervi-rod. [Here are found] the Astaban nation and the River Maxera and a district of the same name, i.e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide. This strait separates Tingis from Spain.
Beginning at the same River Charinda and extending to the west, is the nation called the Anarian Medes. Here flows the river called Stratonos and here is found the district called [after the Derbices] whom I think are the Dailamites, and here also are the Gelae. Here flows the River Omdas [extending] as far as the mouth of the River Kordos and [here are also] the Cadusians, among whom is found the Altars of Gabas [and who extend] as far as the River Cambyses. On the west are two islands called the Dwodeisk, and another on the east called Talka.

The earth is similarly divided into three parts: Europe, Libya and Asia. Europe is to the west. The north, as far as the river of Tanais, which flows from the mountain of Rhea and enters the Maeotis Bay, is also part of Europe. To the south is Libya extending as far as the Red Sea, from the city called Anthedus, which is between the city of Rhinocolura and Gaza at the end of the Phoenician Gulf, and the Tanais River. Asia, however, occupies the north, south, and the middle of the east side as far as the Unknown Land. It is because of this that Asia is larger than the other divisions and is foremost among the divisions of the world. Libya is larger in area than Europe, it is second after Asia; Europe is third. It seems to me [that these are the three divisions] from Shem, Ham and Japhet.

As to the center of the earth, the habitat of man, Ptolemy says it is Arabia Felix [located] towards the southern end of the Persian Sea, which is also called the Sea of the Fish-eaters. But I do not believe this because the Gospel calls Arabia Felix, whence came the Queen of Sheba, the extremity of the earth. But I understand by center a place situated at an equal distance from all the extremities, and this is Jerusalem as all Holy Scripture attests although according to the measurements of Ptolemy it is too far towards the east. However, by putting together the two measurements, the space placed by Ptolemy in the south is eight degrees larger than that which is to the north. The result is that we preserve intact the twenty-four degrees because this figure is necessary. We have doubled 100 by 50 and we have measured in sequence. The same for the south [beginning] at the Torrid Zone; we have divided eight by four which reproduces exactly according to the geography of Ptolemy.

Having spoken of geography in general, we shall begin to describe each country according to Pappus of Alexandria, beginning west at the Ocean at the first degree of longitude to Spain and to the cape called Hieron, that is, "the great and marvelous." This cape extends further into the Ocean than any other land. It extends three degrees, which form 1550 stadia as we shall describe below.
[III] THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

[1] The first country of Europe is Spain, triangular in shape like an island in the midst of the sea. It is bounded by the Ocean on the west beginning at Cape Hieron (Lat. 46°, Long. 1°) and extending to the other cape called Nerion (Lat. 46°, Long. 5°). It is likewise bounded on the east by the Pyrenees Mountains and, on the south, by the Grecian Sea which begins at the same Pyrenees. It has the rivers Durius and Iberus but I wish to describe only the celebrated rivers and the great cities, passing in silence over the others.

[2] The second country of Europe is Britain. It is composed of two islands located above Spain and Gaul in the Northern Ocean. The name of the western island is Hibernia. In its southwestern part it has the shape of a grain of barley. (Lat. 38°, Long. 8°) There are sixteen large rivers there and various peoples. The other island is called Albion. Between these two islands are found four smaller ones.

[3] The third country of Europe is Gaul, which is also called Celto-Galatia; it is east of Spain (long. 30°, Lat. 47°). There are large mountains in Gaul and twenty-nine rivers of which eight fall into the Grecian Sea and twenty-one into the Ocean. A ferocious white bull, the bonasus, is found there, and also the large nation of the Franks, half of whom dwell in Gaul and half in Germany.

[4] The fourth country is Germany which is east of Gaul by the Northern Ocean and extends as far as the mountains of Sarmatia and the Danube, which is the Duenna, the Taurica, and the Tanais. Germany contains five nations, one of which is the Goths. It has three celebrated mountains, eleven large rivers of which three flow into the Danube. There are four forests filled with large trees, the desert of Satrapene, the desert of Ilimaeus, and it also has wild horses.

[5] The fifth country, Dalmatia, is southeast of the farthest point of Gaul (Lat. 48°, Long. 43°). On the east it is bounded by the River Danube, and it has six small provinces. Here is found the bonasus; a wild beast which throws its excrement at hunters to burn them. There are four islands in Dalmatia: By Macedon, there are the cattle [islands] called Skardona and Isa [which are off Lesser Dalmatia, whose coast] extends to the islands of Coryera and Melane. Opposite the Gulf of Rhizonicus, at the mouth of the River Drilus. On this island the blessed apostle took shelter.

[6] The sixth country, Italy, is an extension of Gaul beginning at Dalmatia towards Rome, where [are found] Venice, a district located in the water. There are forty-five mainland districts, and six provinces of which one is that of the Boeian Gauls with the celebrated city of Ravenna; and three large rivers, which are called the Arterinus, the Padus and the Rubicon and which flow into the Grecian Sea. To the south are the countries of Saterina, Latium, in which is the great Rome, Greater Greece, where the delightful Campania is located, near the Island of Sicily which has thirteen rivers although its mountains are not renowned.


[II] DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

[1] The first country of Europe is Spain, which is triangular in shape like an island in the midst of the sea. It is bounded by the Ocean on the north and west, the Pyrenees Mountains on the east and the Grecian Sea on the South. It is divided into three small provinces containing a large number of districts and cities whose names we consider it unnecessary to list. We shall not burden ourselves with districts and cities, thinking it sufficient to say that it contains great and famous mountains, large rivers and great cities; and, if it contains any other remarkable things, we shall pass over their number and distances and anything else that applies to a detailed description.

[2] The second, the lands of the Britons, are two islands located in the Northern Ocean above Spain. The one to the west is called Hibernia. It has the shape of a grain of barley and contains sixteen large rivers and many tribes. The other island to the east is called Albion; it is larger than the first and resembles a leech with many feet. It has twenty-five large rivers; and forests which contain extremely large trees. Around it are forty-five small islands and the large island of Thule.

[3] The third, Gaul, is east of Spain. On the north and west it is bounded by the Ocean and, towards the southeast, by the Grecian Sea. It is divided into four provinces in which are large mountains and twenty-nine large rivers. There are fourteen islands around it. It has cities as well as great and numerous peoples, in particular the nation of the Franks, and a ferocious man-killing white buffalo.

[4] The fourth is Germany which is east of Gaul by the Northern Ocean and extends as far as the mountains of Sarmatia and the Danube, which is the Duenna, the Taurica, and the Tanais. Germany contains five nations, one of which is the Goths. It has three celebrated mountains, eleven large rivers, nine islands and four forests filled with large trees. There are also iron mines.

[5] The fifth is Dalmatia which is east of Gaul and borders Germany. On the east it extends to the sources of the River Danube. To the north and east, it is bounded by the course of the same Danube and on the south by the Ionian Gulf. There are six provinces in Dalmatia, many cities and districts, six mountains, twenty rivers and five islands. In this country there exists a wild beast called bonasus, resembling a great ox, which throws its excrement at hunters and [by this means] burns them.

[6] The sixth is Italy which is east of Gaul. On the north it extends as far as Dalmatia; to the west and north it is bounded by the Alps and the Ocre Mountains; to the north and east by the Adriatic and the Grecian Sea; and to the south by the Tyrrhenian Sea. Italy contains six provinces, many cities and districts with mountains, and sixteen rivers. There are also seventeen islands one of which is Pontia from whence came Pilate. It has two capitals; the celebrated Ravenna and the great Rome. Italy has still other districts such as the Island of Corsica, also called Cymrus, which is 400 miles in circumference, and contains thirteen districts, six rivers and a mountain called the Golden, from which gold and silver are mined and which grow in the earth like asparagus.
[III] The Continent Of Europe

[7] The seventh country is Sardinia, a large island near the isle of Cyprus. It has twenty districts and also smaller islands around it, and its circumference is 980 miles.

[8] The eighth country is Sicily, a large island east of Sardinia, 350 miles from the latter. It has other small islands around it and is triangular in shape, 100 miles from end to end. It has five districts, eighteen rivers and two mountains. Parthenus and Bormos whose summit is always ablaze.

Now, let us return to the north which we have left and, from the other side of the Ocean and the Unknown Land, we shall continue the description of Europe towards the south as far as the Grecian Sea.

[9] The ninth country of Europe is the general land of the Sarmatians, east of Germany. It begins at the River Vistula and has mountains bearing the same name (beginning near the northern Ocean and extending) as far as the Unkown Land, and to the eastern extremity of the Rhippean Mountains from which flows the River Tanais, but all this is found towards the south. It (the Tanais) divides Sarmatia in two, Asia on the East and Europe on the west, and it flows into the Maeotis Bay. One can sail there as far as the Pontus Sea, then by the Pontus and the River Tyras which separates Sarmatia from the land of the Dacians on the south. Sarmatia contains small subdivisions among which is the Tauroc peninsula; i.e., the Chersonese, which is between Lake Byce and the Maeotis Bay and between the Pontus and the River Caerinitha which flows into the gulf of the same name. There are also several pagan peoples, one of whom is called the Hemaxoboi which means 'living in wagons.' It [Sarmatia] has seven mountains from which flow several rivers entering the Pontus, one of which is called Koe’t. It has a small lake, two islands and two pagan altars.

[10] The tenth country is the land of the Thracians, east of Dalmatia, near Sarmatia, beginning at the River Tyras and extending as far as the Danube. There are five small districts and others called Upper Mycia and Dardania, which is also called Tetrapolis. On the south side is Thrace proper and on the north side the large country of Dacia, where dwell the Slavs who form twenty-five tribes, in whose place invaded the Goths, who came from the island of Scandia which is called Emia by the Germans. But the Slavs crossed the River Tanais and conquered the other regions of Thrace and Macedonia and entered Achaea and Dalmatia. The armies of Thrace were composed of Tantalids, Sardians, Sicilidians, etc. There are two mountains in [Thrace] and one river, the Danube, which has six tributaries and which forms a lake, and an island called Peuce. On this island lives Asparuk, son of Kubrat, a fugitive from the Khazars, from the mountains of the Bulgars, who expelled the Avar nation and settled there. Here [in Thrace] is the magnificent Constantinople at the mouth of the Pontic strait which is called the Thracian Bosporus. Twenty miles from Constantinople is the city of Heraclea which is a theater which is one of the seven wonders of the world. From here, it is two hundred miles northwards to Rome.

The eleventh country, Macedonia, is east of the Grecian Sea and borders Dalmatia and Thrace. It contains six mountains, one of which is Citarius and another Olympus; six large rivers and thirty districts, [including] the great Thessaly whence the Armenians originated. It has green marble speckled with white. There are six gulfs. [Lat. 5°, Long 7°.]

[12] The twelfth country, Greece, borders Macedonia and has small districts [such as] Achaea and Epirus; Corinth, a city of Achaia, and Athens. It also has three mountains, five rivers, thirty-eight cities, and thirty regions among which are Achaean proper, Arcadia, Argos, Laconia, Elis, Messenia, and Sicily, where are located the temples of Poseidon. There is also the Peloponnesus, which has several citadels, and gulls bearing the same names. It has four large districts: Epirus, Achaia, Attica, the rocky Euboea, the large island of Crete and the peninsula of the Peloponnesus. It contains mountains, rivers, districts, cities, and a large number of islands with three temples dedicated to Hera, Artemis and Poseidon. The capital is the magnificent Athens. On the Isle of Mytros are found waters which change their course for no [known] reason and in which Aristotle was engulfed.
The Continent Of Europe

mountains, six rivers, and sixty cities, one of which is Lacedemone where green marble is found. In Greece there are several other cities and districts and nine mountains, among which are Parthenos, Helicon, and Dodona mentioned in mythology. It has forty-four islands, among them Crete. The Ceraunian mountains are located here, the city of Eleusine, the large island of Euboea, and one small island called Atalante. It is said of the latter that it was very useful to Artaxias, King of the Armenians, for resupplying his army while the ships, laden with provisions, were held back by the strength of the opposing currents. It is also said that Artaxias died there and that Aristotle was engulfed there. Euripus is its present name.

So much for Europe, the third part of the world.
[IV] Libya: The Second Part Of The World

The Lengthy Part Begins Here¹

[1] The first country of Libya is Mauretania which is called Tingitana² from the city of Tingis³ at the Straits of Hercules,⁴ i.e., Septem,⁵ opposite the island of Gadir⁶, where the Grecian Sea joins the Ocean (Lat. 36°, Long. 36°). It has five mountains,⁷ of which the most celebrated are the Lesser Atlas,⁸ and Mount Dordon,⁹ twelve rivers which flow into the Ocean and four others into the Grecian Sea. It contains sixteen nations and the Pyron-Pedion or 'Plain of Fire.'¹⁰

[2] The second country is Mauretania called 'Caesarian,'¹¹ east of Tingitana extending towards the south. It has seventeen rivers, three lakes, seven mountains and twenty-seven inhabited districts. It is said that there are copper mines in its mountains which also produce cinnamon, which is a red medicament.¹²

[3] The third country, Africa,¹³ is east of Caesarian Mauretania. It has eight mountains, nineteen rivers, eight lakes, forty-one districts, and five gulfs, of which two are called Syrtes.¹⁴ There is a certain plant there called the lotus,¹⁵ which, according to Homer, causes those who eat [of its fruit] to forget their homeland.¹⁶ It also has six islands, one of which is Malta from where, according to the prophet Ezekiel,¹⁷ wool is exported to Tyre,¹⁸ that is, the sea wool called byssus.¹⁹ Amber²⁰ is found here, a delicate plant from the sea, which petrifies in the sun; and also the red hyacinth.²¹ The capital is Carthage:²² then [There is] Tripoli:²³ that is, the three cities: Gibrini,²⁴ Kalania²⁵ and Oea.²⁶ Later, three other cities were built: Tissa,²⁷ Hidria²⁸ and Pontia,²⁹ which had, for their prince the wise Neroch Kamsaranak, patrician of Sirak and Lord of the Arsarunids.³⁰

[4] Four: Cyrenaica, which is called Pentapolis,³¹ is east of Africa where the Gardens of the Hesperides³² are. It has twelve districts, one of which is called Lek:³³ two islands, three rivers, which, uniting into one, is called Lathan³⁴ and flows into the sea; and one lake named Livaria.³⁵ It has the Lasanic caves³⁶ where are found man-eating monsters;³⁷ the centaur,³⁸ whose tail is like that of a bird; the lynx;³⁹ the hippocentaur;⁴⁰ the marmotte⁴¹ and other marvelous animals.

[5] Five: Marmarican Libya⁴² and all Egypt form a single country east of Cyrenaica [whose sea [bears] the same name [It extends as far as]] the coastal city of Anthedus⁴³ [which is situated between Rhincorura⁴⁴ and Ascalon⁴⁵ in the western gulf at the bifurcation of the Red Sea opposite Heroopolis.⁴⁶ It has twelve mountains, one of which is called Porphyritis.⁴⁷ There are two artificial canals,⁴⁸ three natural lakes, and three other lakes formed by tributaries of the Nile,⁴⁹ one of which, near the great Alexandria,⁵⁰ is called Ravenotia,⁵¹ which I believe is Lake Mareotis.⁵² But Egypt has [only] one river, the Nile, which is [the same as] the Gihon.⁵³ It begins in the Mountains of the Moon⁵⁴ near the Unknown Land to the south, and turns directly towards Egypt where it forms four islands. It is then divided into several branches which, uniting, form several islands and the above-mentioned lakes. One of these branches falls into the Heroopolis Bay⁵⁵ which is the western gulf of the Red Sea.⁵⁶ The other branches [fall] into the Grecian Sea. Egypt has forty-one districts, one of which is called Tainias.⁵⁷ Near the Red Sea⁵⁸ and the Arabian Gulf⁵⁹ dwell a nation of fish-eaters called Arabo-Egyptians.⁶⁰ Egypt has eleven small islands off the coast in the sea of the same name.⁶¹

[6] The sixth general⁶² country of Libya is Endos Libya⁶³ which means 'Inner' Libya. It is east of the

[IV] THE EIGHT COUNTRIES OF LIBYA

[1] The first is Mauretania Tingitana. Libya extends,⁶⁴ as far as Septem and, on the southwest, [as far as] the Ocean. Mauritania has six mountains, sixteen rivers, sixteen nations and the Pyron-Pedion or 'Plain of Fire'.

[2] The second, Mauretania Caesariensis, is east of Tingitana extending obliquely to the south to the country of the Gaetulians.⁶⁵ It has seventeen rivers, three small lakes, five mountains, many cities, twenty-five districts and one country in which are found copper mines. In the mountains is found the best cinnabar, which is a red medicament.

[3] The third is Africa which is east of Mauretania along the seacoast. It is divided into two provinces and one other special [division] named Tripoli. Africa contains eight mountains, eighteen rivers, forty-one districts, eight lakes, five gulfs, sixteen islands and many cities of which Carthage is the capital. In Africa is found a certain plant called the lotus, of which those who eat forget their homeland. There are also red hyacinth, and also amber, a delicate plant from the sea which petrifies in the sun and air.

[4] The fourth, Cyrenaica, which is Pentapolis, is located east of Africa on the seacoast. It has fifteen districts, three rivers, one lake, two islands, many cities, the Mountains of Hercules, the region which produces sylphium,⁶⁶ a certain place with monstrous beasts [called] the Garden of the Hesperides, and also the Lasanic caves.

[5] The fifth is Marmarican Libya and all Egypt which are east of the Cyrenaean country on the seacoast and west of the bifurcation of the Red Sea. Egypt has twelve mountains, two canals, three small lakes and three others formed by the Nile. It contains the River Nile, which is [the same as] the Gihon. It also contains forty-one districts, a large number of cities, and its capital is the great Alexandria. It also has eleven islands in the Grecian Sea and three in the Red Sea, as well as a sandy country devoid of water.
Western Ocean beginning at the Greater Atlas along the two Mauretania and Africa. It extends as far as Mount Theon Ochema, meaning 'Seat of the Gods,' which is in a red plain towards the north. It has eight mountains and ten rivers which flow into the Western Ocean. It has two other rivers, besides: the Bagrada and Cyniphus. Thirteen tribes dwell in Inner Libya of which one is that of the White Ethiopians and another, the Ethiopians of the forest. It is said that there are found the Pygmies, called by some the Pichithes, and by others, Thriphix. Here are the White Mountains, so-called because their soil is white like snow although Ptolemy says nothing of them. They tell of rhinoceroses which roam from the Ocean to Inner Libya as far as the Nile; they resemble the hippopotamus and are all males. No one knows how they procreate. They have a horn on their nose which is strong enough to break hard stones; they [can] easily kill an elephant. There are man-eating and wine-loving beasts there, and six islands where are found the descendants of the Rechabites who went there before the destruction of Jerusalem. They say that Zosimus preached there though in my opinion this is only an allegory.

[7] The seventh country of Libya is Ethiopia which is below Lower Egypt, located by Egypt along the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea and extending to the Torrid Zone towards the south. It has two rivers, branches of the Nile, which unite at first then, separating, form the island of Memnon and unite again. The other river, called Astasus, flows from the Lake of Colos and enters the Nile near the island. It [also] has eight mountains and three small provinces. Near the Barcarcan Bay, Azania, where are found a large number of elephants; the [land of the] cave-dwellers and thirty-six territorialized tribes among which one is called the Babylonians; [others] the Root-Eaters; and the Axumites. [The latter] a celebrated kingdom opposite Cape Prepostus which separates Adulis from Arabia Felix. It seems to me that Job made an allusion to this place when he said: “Watch the road of the Themmites you who see the roads of Sheba.” Here are the pygmies; the Ostrich-Eaters, the Tent-Dwellers and between these two the Central Ethiopians. It has twenty-seven islands in the Arabian Gulf, another one called Isle of the Magi and another, the Isle of Fowl. Ethiopia contains countries yielding incense and myrrhe. It has sandy and rainless countries as well.

[8] The eighth country of Libya is Lower Ethiopia which begins east of the Unknown Land near Inner Libya and Inner Ethiopia and is bordered on the south by the Unknown Land near which the Hesperidian Ethiopians, naked Dragon-men, dwell towards the southern part of the Torrid Zone. After them, towards the north by the Ocean, are the fish-eating Ethiopians, among whom is found an animal called ḫēbdā, resembling a sheep which lives a long time and feeds on fish. Near them dwell the Sathacene Ethiopians, among whom is found an animal [called] the dog-lion. To the north are the Small-horned Ethiopians, among whom is an animal like a giraffe, that is ferocious but aromatic. Near them live the Derbices and Dérmons among whom are ferocious and very dangerous leopards. To the south, extending to the Nile, is the region of Ethiopia where white elephants, rhinoceroses and tigers are found. To the east there are horse-tigers, satyrs and beautifully marked leopards. To the south, extending to the Nile, is the region of Ethiopia where white elephants, rhinoceroses and tigers are found. Further to the east there are horse-tigers, satyrs and beautifully marked leopards. To the south, extending to the Nile, is the region of Ethiopia where white elephants, rhinoceroses and tigers are found. Further to the east there are horse-tigers, satyrs and beautifully marked leopards. To the south, extending to the Nile, is the region of Ethiopia where white elephants, rhinoceroses and tigers are found.
[V] Asia

Asia is the first among the general divisions of the inhabited world. Its limits are Europe on the West, and the Unknown Land and Libya on the north, east and south. Its principal part is the Middleland located between the Grecian Sea and the Pontus. This is why it is called the 'Middleland'.

The first country of Asia is Bithynia, east of the imperial city of Constantinople with the Pontic straits called the Thracian Bosporus. Its limits are the Propontis, beginning at the temple of Artemis on the east side of the Pontus and extending as far as the mouth of the River Rhynhacus, and Mount Olympus. It has Mount Steninus, the rivers Elata, Hyppus, the mighty Sangarius, and the smaller ones which flow into it. Near Nicomedea is Lake Самоноеннис®® and the River Ascianus. Bithynia has five islands in the Pontic Sea of which two are called the Cyaneae. The city of *Prama* also has a lake.

There are two capitals, Chalcedon and Nicomedia, which have fourteen other cities under them and several emporia, that is, maritime and mercantile cities. On the banks of the River Rhynhacus a white earth is found called *argill*®® that is ground up to spread on the wheat; a basket of which is sufficient to protect 117 kgs. from being eaten by worms.

The second country is [comprised of] Greater and Lesser Mysia together which is also called *Hellespontos*®® and which borders Bithynia. It has four rivers and its capital is Cyzicus where there is a temple and another building which is one of the seven wonders of the world. It has three cities: Ilium, Dardanus and Troy®® whose war is narrated by Dictys and Homer. It has thirty-eight other cities.

The third country, Asia Proper, borders Mysia near the sea. Its chief cities are Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and Tralles,®® which have forty-eight cities under them. It has a small region, Lydia,®® whose capital is *Salutaria*, whose capital is *Synnada*®® and which has thirty other cities. It has five rivers. It also has the islands of Chios,®® with the city of the same name; *Psidium*,®® where mastix is found; *Icarus*; and *Samus*, with the cities of the same name;®® and *Cos*,®® mentioned by Luke.®® Ephesus was subject to Artemis.®® Here is the tomb of the evangelist St. John; and of the other John who was surnamed Mark though some say that this was another John.®®

The fourth country of Asia is *Lycia*®® whose capital is *Myra*.®® It has two mountains, four rivers and the island of Rhodes®® located in the sea of the same name. Storax is found there which is called *Ephesus*®® and [it has] six other [cities]. Asia produces *mastic* which comes from the gum tree.

The fifth country of Asia is *Phrygia*,®® which is east of Asia Proper and borders Lydia. It has three subdivisions of its own: [first] Pisidia,®® whose capital is *Antioch*®® and which has twenty-six other cities, one of which is called Cibotus,®® that is, the place where Noah's Ark was built.®® I do not know if this is true or legend. [Second] Pacatiana,®® whose capital is *Laodicea*®® (and which has) forty other cities, and [third] Salutaria,®® whose capital is *Synnada*®® (and which has) thirty other cities. It [Phrygia] also has thirteen lakes.

The sixth country, *Paphlagonia*,®® is east of the province of Honorias®® near the Pontic Sea, which is called the Galatian Pontus.®® It has the rivers *Zaliscus* and *Halys*,®® its capital is *Germanicopolis*, whose castle is Gangra,®® and it has thirteen districts.

The seventh country of Asia is First Galatia,®® east of Phrygia by Paphlagonia. It has the same rivers as the preceding.

The first division of the world according to size is Asia. It has several regions of which the first is the 'Middleland' which lies between the Grecian Sea and the Pontus. The first country of Asia is Bithynia, located east of the imperial city of Constantinople. It contains mountains, six rivers and one lake as well as three capitals, Nicaea, Chalcedon and Nicomedia, which have thirteen other cities under them as well as maritime towns and places of commerce. In Bithynia there is also found a kind of white earth which, when reduced to powder and spread on wheat, protects it from being eaten by worms.
The eighth is First Galatia which is east of Phrygia and borders Paphlagonia. A second Mt. Dindymus is found here [as well as] the same river [the Parthenius] which waters the aforementioned countries.
[8] The eighth country of Asia, Second Galatia, is east of Phrygia by First Galatia [extending] as far as Pamphylia. It has rivers which flow into the above mentioned stream [the Parthenius] and which [also] form lakes.

[8a] [Pamphylia is missing in L.]

[9] The ninth country is Isauria located to the east, by the sea, opposite the Island of Cyprus. It contains the Taurus Mountains. It yields gum, storax, colophonium, obergomphis, and calamite, all of which flow from the trees and are produced by the boring of a yellow-colored worm with black markings, like blight. Its capital is Seleucia which has twenty-three cities under it. The [above mentioned] gums must not be burned separately because they will not give a good odor but mixed with one another they are very sweet. A litre of these gums is worth one talent. The most precious [of the gums] is gathered by serpents who put it in their nests. Men kill these serpents to obtain the gums. The resinous trees are very slender, the largest has the thickness of a yoke. The worms penetrate these, burrowing to their depths, and then die causing the resin to flow down, through the providence of God.

[10] The tenth country is Lycaonia, east of Second Galatia near Isauria. It has broad, arid plains and small mountains.

[10a] [Second Cappadocia is missing in L.]


[12] The twelfth country, Polemoniac Pontus, is east of Helenopontus by the Pontic Sea.


[14] The fourteenth country is First Cappadocia, lies east of Second Cappadocia, and forms a separate province from it. It has the Antitaurus Mountains and other smaller ones. Its rivers are the Melus, the Halys and other smaller ones which unite with them.

[15] The fifteenth country is comprised of the First and Second Cilicia, east of Lycaonia and Isauria near Cappadocia on the seacoast by the Issic Gulf. It has the Taurus Mountains and six rivers: the Argyamagus, Calycadnus, Damus, Cydnus, Sarus and Pyramus. Its capitals are Tarsus and Anazarbus which have several lands and castles under them. Cilicia has two impregnable passes, Mallus and Platan, and is very fertile like the land of Jordan.

[16] The sixteenth country, the island of Cyprus, is east of the Paphlagonian Sea, near Cilicia and extends as far as the Phoenician Sea. It has Mount Olympus and four rivers. [The island is] three degrees long and one [degree] wide. Laudanum is found there which falls like dew on the grass, on the goats and [their] coats [and which is] used as incense.

[16a] [Third Armenia is missing in L.]

[16b] [First Armenia is missing in L.]
The eighteenth country of Asia is the territory of the Sarmatians. On the east it is bordered by the Ripaean Mountains, the River Tanais and the Maeotis Gulf, and on the west by the Pontus Euxinus. To the same coast, from east to west, flows the River Corax which means "crow." From there (Sarmatia extends) to the Caucasus Mountains to Iberia and Albania, as far as the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the River Soana but this River Soana is unknown to us. It (Sarmatia) contains the Ceronian and the Hippic Mountains which give forth five rivers (that flow) into the Maeotis Sea. The Caucasus gives forth two rivers. One, the Vardanes, flows to the Coraxic Mountains which begin opposite the Caucasus, extend toward the northwest and end between the Pontic and Macedonian seas. The (other) river, Psychrus by name, flows toward the Bosporus and to the original frontier, where the little city of Anakopia is located. To the north are the Turks and the Bulgars who are named after rivers: Kap' Bulgars, Doć Bulgars, Obontor Bulgars and Čadar Bulgars, whose names are unknown to Ptolemy. The son of Kubrat fled from the Hippic mountains.

There are many peoples dwelling in Sarmatia such as the Khazars, Buck, Barsilk, Apsilians, Abbhazians, Royal Sarmatians, Horse-Eaters, Naxalamataenak, Orflakerk, Siiskacik, Mit'tikacik, Amazonas, Alans, Xeburk, K'ugewok, Siyimk, Argawtek, Margoylk, T'akoyik, Argosk, Galansk, P'inol, Dualk, Huns, Ap'urk, Canark, among whom is the Gate of the Alans and the Cicen Gate. T'akoyik, Xusik and Kikk, are cannibals, among whom are the Gates of the Alans and the other gate called Cek eni (so called). There are many peoples dwelling in Sarmatia such as the Khazars, Buck, Barsilk, Apsilians, Abbhazians, Royal Sarmatians, Horse-Eaters, Naxalamataenak, Orflakerk, Siiskacik, Mit'tikacik, Amazonas, Alans, Xeburk, K'ugewok, Siyimk, Argawtek, Margoylk, T'akoyik, Argosk, Galansk, P'inol, Dualk, Huns, Ap'urk, Canark, among whom is the Gate of the Alans and the Cicen Gate. T'akoyik, Xusik and Kikk, are cannibals, among whom are the Gates of the Alans and the other gate called Cek eni (so called).
The Caucasus is then divided into two branches, one going directly to the Shirvanian and the other going north to where the River Arm* which flows north to the River Eti. The same branch then runs north to where the T'awaspa*; Hecmatakk'; Ismazk'; Paxak'; Koxs'; Pok'akanak; Bak'ank' and the Massagetae dwell as far as the Caspian Sea, to which a branch of the Caucasus extends containing the wall of Darband with a formidable tower built in the sea. To the north are the Huns with their city of Vata'can and others [besides]. The king of the north is the khanan, who is lord of the Khazars. The queen, or khatun, the wife of the khanan, is of the Barilk' nation.

[19] The twenty-fourth, Colchis, which is, Eger (sic), is east of the Pontic Sea bordering Sarmatia, Iberia and Greater Armenia. Eger has four small districts: Mamn提ditus, Egeviiikus, Xaziu* and Canius, which is Xadik'. It has several mountains, rivers, districts, cities, fortresses, towns and ports.

[20] The twenty-fifth, Iberia, which is Virk', is east of Eger near Sarmatia by the Caucasus extending to the frontier of Albania and Armenia along the River Kur. The districts of Iberia are: Kadarik', Artaranik', Savetel', Jauwak', Samuc'te, Mara', T'orgov, Atix, Taimiac, Manglesc'pr, K'welpr, Bobos配资, T'kehr, Kangarp, Tarir, Arat', Gian, Erizes, K'udt', K'arnis, Sac'sumel, Xaniss, C'turas, Jma, Balzalet, Xeurot, Ercov, Xeok, T'ianse*, Cup'a, K'ai*, C'elt', Velth', Yisuk'weida, Skh', K'urnar, Cobas配资, Jorop'sor, and the Iberian cities of Titlis, Sam'olde and Mce'ti (sic), where the Holy Cross is located. It also has fortresses and rivers stocked with fish.

[21] The twenty-sixth, Albania, which is, Athanak', is east of Iberia bordering Sarmatia along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea extending to the frontier of Armenia along the River Kur. Albania has fertile plains, many rivers and it produces very large reeds. It also contains cities, fortresses, and
original lands of Albania located between the great River Kur and the Caucasus. First, next to Iberia, is the district of Amti along the River Alman, and Kambet via the River Kur. To the South is the new city of Varzamanar with the town of Kindan and desert areas as far as the Kur. To the East of this river is the city of Géwag by the River Alman, the district of Béa via the Caucasus, and to the East, Sakd and the River Dégarn which along is found in the district of the same name by the River Sai. All these streams flow from the Caucasus, unite with the River Alman, and flow into the Kur. Then, to the East, is Kasd (capital) city of the Albanians, through the center of the district of which flows the River Sbøj southwards by way of Lesser Armenia.

[22] Twenty-two, Greater Armenia, is comprised of fifteen lands which are: first, Upper Armenia, i.e. the region around the city of Karin; second, Fourth Armenia; third, Aljnik, along the River Tigris; fourth, Taranav, i.e. Taran; fifth, Mogk [sic] by Assyria; sixth, Korč; seventh, Parškobayk, by Araratene; eighth, Vasparak, northwest of it; ninth, Siamn, along the Arax; tenth, Arjas [sic] which lies beyond it; eleventh, (the region of) the city of Payyakar, extending to the shore of the Caspian west of the Arax; twelfth, the land of the Utians, bordering Albania and the River Kur; thirteenth, Giğark by Iberia; fourteenth, Tayk, by Erge, and, fifteenth, Avrat [sic] in the midst of the rest.

[i.] The first land [Upper Armenia] has nine districts: Daranadi, Alman, Manew, Erekiti, Mananaw, Téréjaran, Ser, Tatik, and Karin. This region is the highest, not only of Armenia but of the whole world and this is why it is called the 'summit of the earth'. It issues waters to the four corners of the earth, giving rise to four very powerful rivers: the Euphrates to the West, the Arax to the East, the Gay to the South, and the Acampsis, i.e., the Voh, to the North. It has three large mountains. It has [among its] animals the stag, the goat, the wild sheep, the eagle, and pig; among wild fowl, the partridge, bustard, stork, etc. It also has hot springs and salt deposits and all the abundance of the earth.

[ii.] The second land of Armenia, Fourth Armenia, i.e., the region of Copk, borders Upper Armenia. It is bounded on the west by the region of the city of Meltene, on the south by Mesopotamia, and on the east by Tarasun. It has eight districts: Xorjan, to the northeast through which flows the other River Gayi by the castle of Kok, «Haltéank, where rise the sources of the Tigris; west of Xorjan is the district of Palatun with the castle of the same name. Opposite, to the south, is the district of Balasovit; to the west of it, Copk where the district of Nojik to the south in which are Cok and Hoti cetles; to the west of them, the district of Xavik, which are located the castles of Kvi, Kruik and Sok, opposite, to the south, is the district of Gzerég. Through [this province] flows the Arcanov River which joins the Euphrates at the city of Eusastotic. Circling towards the west, it reaches the frontier of Lesser Armenia, east of Meltene, after which it receives the River Kawkus coming from the West from the mountain called Zilgan Vastéen. Before its confluence with the Euphrates, it receives the River Kataomin, coming from the Taurus Mountains and, having been received by the Euphrates, it flows south and cleaves the Taurus where rock crystal is found. Fourth Armenia has animals, fowl and, among its wild beasts, the lion.

[iii.] Aljnik is along the Tigris and has ten districts: Alen, Npker, Kel, Kelluk, Taktik, Salu, Vanaçor, Xerbet, Gek, Salovaj and Sanaus. It has naphtha, iron, quantities of gall-nuts and the pheasant.
XIV  Ajnik' according to the ASxarha'cyc'c
Adapted from Eremyan

Map XIV

XV  Turuberan/
The region of Tarawn according to the ASxarha'cyc'c
after Eremyan

Map XV
The fourth land, Taruburan [sic], is east of Fourth Armenia and has sixteen districts: Xoyt, the valley of Aspakunik and Taraun, in which is found the River Mej which falls into the Euphrates. To the north is Asunik at Mount Sarmanc, which is called 'Summit of the Earth', and from which flow many springs. North of these is found Mardal, [extending] from Mount Melедак, as far as the [mountains called] the 'Goats' Teats, which separate it [Mardal] from Karin. Here are found the salak and jike and white and black naptha. On the east is the river Maric, which, flowing north, falls into the district of Basin and swells the Arax into a river. East of Mardal is the district of Gastooor; further east, Taurascap and further east, Dalar, to the south of these are Herb and Vazunik [extending] as far as the Asrik which flows out of Apahunik south of which is [Mount] Sarak, and the district of Bznunik which, beginning at the mountainous district of Nex Masik and surrounding the western shore of the sea of the same name, [extends] to the castle of Eruan. Here, to the south, between the Taurus Mountains and this sea, is the district of Erevark where there is a certain lake called Eliz. Here, owing to the mountain torrents, the earth is so moist that the cattle drink water out of the furrows [while ploughing], from the sowing to the maturation [of the crops] is only forty days, and the production is fifty to one. The length of the Sea of Bznunik is one hundred miles and the width, sixty. To the north is the district of Ahovai and to the west, Pahunik. Pistachios are found here, the kastanum, which is the chestnut, the sweeter honey in the world and also iron. It is said that in the Asrakan there is a sea-serpent (like the one in the Euphrates, whose [existence] we know of for a fact), similar to the kark-siam, which sucks the blood [out of people] and then abandons [them]. Some say that this is an animal and not a demon; but John said of the daughter of Herodias that she was more bloodthirsty asam, which is called Arsamunik, which is rich in wine. There are found the Bznunik, Marand, which has eleven districts: Aytians, Mot'ans, Osirians, Karatunis, Cabuk, and Lesser Albak. It has arsenic and among its fruits is the chestnut.

The fifth land, Mokk, is [further] east than Ahnik in the Taurus Mountains. It has eight districts: [another Iayr:] the District of Mules [inc. gawar]; the Valley of Arzunek, Vica; Mokk Proper, where the River Ord is found, the Royal District; Arzunek, north and west of the same name: Aryk, Cipam and Tekran. To the south, between the Taurus Mountains and this sea, is the district of Erevark where there is a certain lake called Eliz. Here, owing to the mountain torrents, the earth is so moist that the cattle drink water out of the furrows [while ploughing], from the sowing to the maturation [of the crops] is only forty days, and the production is fifty to one. The length of the Sea of Bznunik is one hundred miles and the width, sixty. To the north is the district of Ahovai and to the west, Pahunik. Pistachios are found here, the kastanum, which is the chestnut, the sweeter honey in the world and also iron. It is said that in the Asrakan there is a sea-serpent (like the one in the Euphrates, whose [existence] we know of for a fact), similar to the kark-siam, which sucks the blood [out of people] and then abandons [them]. Some say that this is an animal and not a demon; but John said of the daughter of Herodias that she was more bloodthirsty asam, which is called Arsamunik, which is rich in wine. There are found the Bznunik, Marand, which has eleven districts: Aytians, Mot'ans, Osirians, Karatunis, Cabuk, and Lesser Albak. It has arsenic and among its fruits is the chestnut.

The sixth land is Korik, east of Mokk. It has eleven districts: Korik, where Tman is [located], near Assyria; Upper Korik; Middle Korik; Lower Korik, Aytians, Mot'ans, Osirians, Karatunis, Cabuk, and Lesser Albak. It has arsenic and among its fruits is the chestnut.

The seventh land, Parshakhyk, east of Korik, wedges itself into Arapotan and the part of the Taurus Mountains called Kobi-Nihorakan as far as the River Erax. It has nine districts: Ayt, which is called Karikan; Muri District; T'ari District; Airis, I., Oved; Amis; Tambet; Zarebon; Zaratunw; and Her. It has the wild ass and the goat.

The eighth land is Vaspurakan, west of Parshakhyk by Korik. It has thirty-five districts: Arzunek, between Mokk and the Sea of Bznunik, where there are two islands Asur and Atti and the peninsula of Manukert; Top to the east of Bznunik; Bodunik; Arzunek; Darsi, [extending] as far as the district of Kogovit at the foot of High Masis; Arberani; east of the Sea of Bznunik where are located the islands of Ch'k'atun and Lim, the peninsula of Arik and Atestoun, which yields fish. To the east of these are Baasani, Arzunek, Top, Ermunik, Armya-Oty, Mardastan and Artz [extending] as far as Kogovit. East of these are Ak, Greater Albak, Anjayhor, Tomran, and Casius [extending] as far as the Arax; Rhusunik, Vznunik, Palunik, Golani, and Anejord.
[V] Asia

Ayrarat, which begins at this point in L, has been placed after Ayrarat, to facilitate comparison with the Ayrarat of S1944 which appears as the fifteenth land in the short redaction.232

[xii.] The twelfth, Gog en Gak,233 west of Uwik, has nine districts: Joropor,234 Kolbahor,235 Cobopor,236 Taiir,237 T'elkol,238 Kanarke,239 Upper Jauwak,240 Aytahana,241 and Kadarke.242 The analut is [found] here.242 eye,243 the quince244 and the box-tree.245 These [districts] have been taken from the Araxics by the Iberians.246

[xiii.] Tayk has eight districts:247 to the east is Kof where, at the village of Kris-Akun,248 rise the sources of the River Kur.249 This river flows along the entire western border of this district; it turns toward the north into Aytahana,250 descends to Samee251 and turns eastward to the Caspian Sea. West of Kof are Berduyor,252 Parizac'or,253 and Cabak254 to the east. The south, are Bucay,255 and Azordac'or with their respective streams256 which unite and descend into the Yoh.257 To the west is Areyap'or,258 near the Parzar259 mountains, where the Yoh, descending from Spor,260 passes by the castle of Tuwak261 in Klarke,262 and from there toward Colchis passing the districts of Ngil,263 Merd,264 and Mriti265 to the Pontic Sea.266 [The Yoh] is called the Akmerni by the Colchians and the Kabamara by the Chaldeans.267 Here are [found] figs, bitter pomegranates, the sumac, the quince, the palaxunk268 and the almond tree.

[xiv.] The eleventh (sic) land, Ayrarat,269 is in the center of the above-mentioned states, and has sixteen districts. Bordering Upper Armenia is "Basen"270 through which flows the River Arax which, merging with the River Mir'camsaur,271 separates "Gakhenek272 on the south from the Ahelenek273 and Happeunik274 on the north. This flows through Arvanunik275 south of which is found Bagrewand276 and Cakwun277 and to the north Vanand278 and Sirak,279 from which flows the River Azurian along with the Great River280 which, flowing east of the cities of Mauricopolis, i.e., Sirakala281; Ani;282 Omren,283 and Ermendatal,284 falls into the Arax.

The Arax,285 begins in Calkows286 at the place called Oskik,287 then flows north around Mount Npaz288 near the village of Bagrewand289 and enters the River Bagrewen.290 The Arax leaves to the North...
Jerusalem, which is cruciform in shape from being the center of the four parts of the world*® and which, through its sanctity, consecrates the faithful. 

[25] The twenty-fifth country of Asia, Rocky Arabia,*^ is east of Egypt and the Arabian Sea [beginning at] Heroopolis,*® [extending] to the western fork of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites crossed by the Israelites, extending as far as Syria and Judea. It has several cities including the capital, the Holy Jerusalem. Judea is also fertile and rich in fruits and has pleasant air. It produces milk and honey.

The twenty-eighth, Syria, is east of its own sea and north of Judea.**® It has nine small districts and the famous Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Carmel; the mighty River Jordan and many cities: Antioch, the capital, Damascus,* Ksrams,*® and Samaria; and two passes. It has broad, rich and fertile plains.

The twenty-ninth is Judea, east of the Phoenecian Sea, and bordered by Egypt and Rocky Arabia. It has three districts: Galilee,*® Samaria*® and Idumea,*® lakes Tiberias*® and Asphalites,*® which flows from Daphne [a suburb] of Antioch which is connected to the myth of Castalia.** It has mountains, rivers and fertile plains, as well as animals and birds and all kinds of produce, and also the Mother of Churches in the royal city of Vadarisapat. Such is the description of all Armenia.

[23] Twenty-three: on the Syrians. The country of Asia [called] Syria is located east of the sea of the same name. It begins at the city of Issus and the Cilician Gates[ and extends] to the River T'reas,*® which is also called the Chrysoorhoas,*® and to the Hippus Mountains. It has the following mountains: Pieria,*® Casius,*® Lebanon,*® Batanaea,*®, by the desert; Palmyrene,*® whose capital city is Havarin,*® by the Arabian Desert; and

Ararat,*® also flows from [Mount] Lebanon, separates the region of Armawir,*® and to the Hippus Mountains.* It is bounded on the south by the city of Issus and the Cilician Gates[ and extends] to the River T'reas,*® where are located the domed Mother-Cathedral*® and the chapels of the Martyred Women.*®

To the east rise the sources of the River Asphal, i.e., the Xarzmawar,*® which flows into the Mecameaur. Then, east of the latter, is the River Asat which is justly called 'noble' [kazat].** Its sources rise on Mt. Gezas*® at the place [called] Sazasak.* This [river] flows through Dwim watering the entire capital district of Armenia,*® and, flowing south, enters into the Arax. Here was built the city of Arsalut,*® which was formerly [located] the confluence of the Mecameaur [with the Arax] but today the Mecameaur has changed its course and it enters to the west. East of Dwim are the districts of Uragor*® and the region of Arc,*® the Valley of Woes,*® and the Plain of Sarur,*® between them, through which flows the River Arasunark*® by the city of Marwun,*® turning south going to join the Arax. A worm is found here which is the source of a red dye.*®

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Asia

[27a. Desert Arabia is missing in L.]

Pharanitis, which is foolishly called the home of Abraham; and three other districts. There is not a [single] river.

[27] The thirty-third is Desert Arabia which is bordered by Mesopotamia on the north, Rocky Arabia on the east and Khuzistan on the west. 189a Arabia has nine nations but not a single mountain nor a river.

[27a. Desert Arabia is missing in L.]
[28] The twenty-eighth country of Asia, Arabia Eudemon, i.e., 'the fortunate,' is near Desert and Rocky Arabia [extending] between the gulf of the Red Sea like a peninsula. It is bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea from the bifurcation [of the sea] to the Straits, and on the south, from Cape Palindromus as far as Cape Varaz and the straits of Carmania, where are [located] the eastern limits of the Persian Gulf. The same sea forms the frontier on the north as far as Desert Arabia; where live fifty-four nations among whom are the Sabaean nation, and where are located the lands of Niciphar, Myriis, i.e., 'the land of perfumes'; and the 'land of myth.' Another is the country of the Fish-eaters, and another, of the Tent-Dwellers. It has ten mountains, one of which is called Climax, i.e., the ladder, and another, the Mountain of Incense. It has four rivers and one spring called the Syax, on which the gods swear by its extreme coldness. It has one island called Dioscorides, which is 240 miles long and forty wide, and thirty-nine other smaller islands, one of which is called the Island of Wild Tortoises. East of the Sabelite Gulf are eight islands. Its borders by land and sea are twenty-eight degrees long and twenty-one degrees wide. South of its extremity are found the Unknown Land and the Barbaric Sea.

This country [Arabia] produces everything: gold, precious stones, silver and pearls. It was from here that the Queen of Sheba came to see King Solomon, bringing by ship, unsquared wood, incorruptible and resonant, and whatever is esteemed of every country, by ships which go there and also brought those products from China by a shorter route from the Indian Sea, and likewise from Persia. [Arabia] surrounded by the sea, enjoys all good things and is free from all ills such as invaders and wild beasts. They say that by chance the bird [called] the griffon is found there but I do not believe this. The inhabitants of the country are of three colors: some are quite black, others are half-way brown, and others are white; not much different from ourselves. Compounded aromatics are found here such as Xalami, that is, oil of musk; (2) Jabrak; (3) Madad; (4) Xaluk, i.e., the yellow bedstraw; (5) kedii; (6) dibhatanuran; (7) xataar, made with Roman oil; (8) bustak; (9) nard, made with clusters of nard; (10) jasmine, made with jasmine flowers; (11) sand, oil extracted from the pomegranate blossom, and (12) chickweed.

[29] The twenty-ninth country is Persia. Persia is divided into four parts, as follows:

[1] Kusti Xorbaran, i.e., the 'Western Region,' in which are nine provinces: Maymsaptaan, Mirandak, K'arskar, Prshshkan, Eranan Kar-Kaouo, Notaray, Sirakan, and Mayjiketh.

[2] Kusti Nitoj, i.e., the 'Meridional Region,' that is, the South, in which are nineteen provinces.

[3] Pad, Xusestan, Aspahan, Milanbazar, Anatarir, Keroman, Turan, Maymsaptaan, Spet, Valis, Saktestan, Zoplastan, Ger, an island in the sea; Meimakhik, which is also an island, Maaasen, Xabestan, Spaha, taken from the Indians and Dabulhel, likewise taken from the Indians.

[4] Kusti Xorstan, i.e., the 'Eastern Region,' in which are twenty-six provinces: Ahmadan, Koln, Varkan, Aprian, Mve, Mto, Haroo, Katalan, Nsai, Minakabzin, Talkan, Goshan, Andap, Vep, Hrunzakan, Paroz, Nabcri, Dzihazak, Varnan, Maijan, Glabshan, Bahnahibesh, Drefzaturashin, Kani, Ihamieh and Goshon.

[5] Kusti Kapieh, i.e., the 'region of the Caucasus Mountains' in which are thirteen provinces: Atapatakan; Arrom, [i.e.] Armenia; Varjan, i.e., Iberia; Ram, i.e., Albania; Balasakan; Sisakan; Atr; Gelan; Sanjan; Dzimak; Dinamuk; Dzihazand; Taprestan; Rouan; and Ami, of all of which we are going to speak.

[30] The thirtieth country of Asia is Media whose inhabitants are said to be descended from Madus, son of the king of Colchis, whose sister was Medea, who, enamored of Jason, betrayed the Golden Fleece, though no one can say by what manner they came to be brought here. They say that Arraxeres Oehus settled a party of Romans and Jews under tents by the Caspian but they are not known today. Ptolemy says that the Medes dwelled to the east and south of the Caspian and some
say that the Medes form a single principality. But Ptolemy says that their provinces are: Caspiane, Caduisia, Gilan and Dailam, and that the Median cities are Rē and Aspahan.

[30a] [Asyria is missing in L.1881.]

[31] The thirty-first country of Asia is Elymais, i.e., Khuzistan, which the Greeks call Susiana because of the city of Susa, and the Arabs, Basra. It is bordered on the west by the Tigris which separates Babylonia from Khuzistan, on the south by the Persian Gulf and on the north by Assyria. It has three rivers and five osts, that is, provinces, where the following cities are located: Ornīn, Sulūrta, Susa, which is mentioned by Daniel, and Gundir-Sapakh, where fine sugar is made. The land is good and fertile and there are two islands opposite in the Persian Gulf.

[32] The thirty-second country of Asia is Persia which is east of Khuzistan bordering Media. It has the city of Stabur whence came Artalir, son of Sasan of Sitb. To the north is the found the city of Parsa which is in the district of K-seahr which is perhaps the one mentioned by Ezechiel. It has two islands, one of which is called by Ptolemy [the island] of Alexander and the other, Sophira, which is mentioned by Jeremiah [who said]: "Gold comes from Sobat." Ten kinds of precious stones are found here: (1) Adar of which six dollar costs forty dihrems, (2) romia, (3) sēēsa, (4) gāk sa, (5) parmaunia, i.e., colorless, (6) parmulit, (7) havdram, (8) sahădram, (9) noynadram and (10) dasadram k'art'a, which we call anic.

[33] The thirty-third country of Asia is Ariana which is east of Media and extends as far as India, by Hyrcania and part of Scythia. It has eleven provinces: Scorpion province, Dynus, Hot Carmania and Krenatap, which the Persians call 'Cold Carmania'; to the north is the province of Parthia between Cold Carmania and Hyrcania, according to Ptolemy, but today, because of the city of Bahl, the Persians call it Bahl-Bamik, i.e., 'Morning Bahl.' The Holy Scriptures call all of Ariana 'Parthis,' but I think this is because the kingdom belonged to the former. This region is called Xorasan by the Persians, i.e., 'Eastern.' Here are said to be the following provinces: Kolma, Vrkan [Hyrcania], Apethram, Apxartark, Hrew, Guan, Goren, Govkah, where the royal horses are found, and Govkhan, [extending] as far as the river called Anang. It is said [of this river] that it carries sulphur and that it is wide and fordless like the Phison, which the Persians call Vehrot. It is also called the 'fordless' because by treaty the Persian and Indian nations cannot cross it. [There is] also the Plain of Hrew at the eastern end of Hyrcania, where the district of Vandgēs is located, where our holy prelates were martyred. In the province of Xuspi-Tauastan there is said to be found a poor grade of musk. It seems to me that the Jews, during their captivity, dwelled in the province of Koskan located, mentioned above, because the Holy Scriptures say that they dwelled by the River Gozan.

[34] Now we shall turn from the east to the north.

[35] The thirty-fourth country is Scythia which begins at the River Etil and extends lengthwise to the southeast as far as the Imaeus Mountains. Scythia is almost divided in two by the Imaeus [in which dwell] the Aparstark, who are Turks. On the north is the Unknown Land; on the west, the land of Sarmatia along the River Etil; to the south, the Hyrcanian Sea, Ariana, and India by the southern bend of the Imaeus Mountains, and [extending] still further to the Aeomades Mountains which also separated Scythia from India. To the east, it is bordered by China. It contains forty-three nations one of whom is the Fish-eaters, another the Milk-Drinkers and another, the Rhobosc, i.e., the land of Hreaw, which has been seized by the Persians. The other [nations] bear barbarous names of which it is unnecessary to speak, for today they are unknown and only the Bus nation graze the country. Scythia has mountains, and dry, waterless plains. It has five provinces [among which are] Sogdiana, i.e., Sagastan and Sakē. [Together], these two contain fifteen, rich industrious and
The thirty-fifth country of Asia is India, east of Ariana and Scythia by the Imaeus Mountains. It extends from there as far as the Aerodae Mountains and the border of China, and is divided into two parts east and west of the River Ganges. Proleny shows seven rivers here, each with its own name, which, uniting near the Gymnosophists, are called the Phison. There are [also] three rivers rising among the Gymnosophists: first, the Diamunas River, then the Ganges and then the Sarbas, which, uniting, are called the Indus. To the right of the River Indus are fifty-seven nations. Here are found animals which the Persians call sarpalunk. There are seventy-two nations east of the Ganges River [extending] as far as the land of the Sinae. Here are other districts called the ‘Golden’ and the ‘Silver.’ In their capital city abounds in gold and the musk ox resembling, in form and size, a four-month old goat except for the horns. Among the forty-three nations, are numbered the Hephthalites, Alkon and another, the Valcon, with their cities of the same names by a large river called the Demus. Ten other rivers flow from their mountains.

The thirty-sixth country of Asia is Sarabus, which, uniting, are called the /twoyon. To the right of the River Indus are fifty-seven countries separated by the River Hoon, i.e., the Phison. The western part contains fifty-eight peoples and the east, seventy-two. Some of these are cannibals, others feed on animals, others have tails, others are dwarfs with the noses of monkeys, wide faces and are white [in color]. Gymnosophists are found here who do no unjust deeds nor eat the flesh of animals. India has many mountains, rivers and islands. In India there is a wild beast like a goat with pointed horns with which it can kill a lion; a wild monster and another animal like a lion except that it has a long and pointed nose. Here are found giraffes, lions, monkeys, bearded roosters, elephants, tigers, large ants, [ant-lions], poison-eating rats, crocodiles, and the rhinoceros which is a large beast which has one horn on its head and can kill an elephant with its tongue, the griffon, the musk ox, and the horned ass [are also found]. Here there is gold, silver, copper, tin, pearls, the most precious stones, pepper, ginger and all aromatics [such as] aloes, musk, camphor, sandal, nayiboak, goyiboak, cassia, goyadak, sabawmar, davat, and many other medicinal drugs. [Here are found] also three [kinds] of valuable aloes: Indr [which is] like a porous comb, and which [costs] three dahekan per liter; [aloes] of Camp, [which smells?] like resinous pine, and [which, being] heavy, costs five dahekan per liter; and [aloes] of Kalak, which, being lightweight, costs [only] three dahekan per liter.

[35] The forty-first, India, is east of the land of Ariana and borders Scythia. India is divided into two countries separated by the River Hoon, i.e., the Phison. The western part contains fifty-eight peoples and the east, seventy-two. Some of these are cannibals, others feed on animals, others have tails, others are dwarfs with the noses of monkeys, wide faces and are white [in color]. Gymnosophists are found here who do no unjust deeds nor eat the flesh of animals. India has many mountains, rivers and islands. In India there is a wild beast like a goat with pointed horns with which it can kill a lion; a wild monster and another animal like a lion except that it has a long and pointed nose. Here are found giraffes, lions, monkeys, bearded roosters, elephants, tigers, large ants, [ant-lions], poison-eating rats, crocodiles, and the rhinoceros which is a large beast which has one horn on its head and can kill an elephant with its tongue, the griffon, the musk ox, and the horned ass [are also found]. Here there is gold, silver, copper, tin, pearls, the most precious stones, pepper, ginger and all aromatics [such as] aloes, musk, camphor, sandal, nayiboak, goyiboak, cassia, goyadak, sabawmar, davat and many other medicinal drugs. [Here are found] also three [kinds] of valuable aloes: Indr [which is] like a porous comb, and which [costs] three dahekan per liter; [aloes] of Camp, [which smells?] like resinous pine, and [which, being] heavy, costs five dahekan per liter; and [aloes] of Kalak, which, being lightweight, costs [only] three dahekan per liter.
The thirty-sixth country, Taprobane, is a large island of India and the largest island in the entire world. From north to south is 1,100 miles long and from east to west 150 miles wide. It lies beyond India and is surrounded by the Indian Sea. Rice is found there which is of a kind of millet; ginger, beryl, hyacinth and other precious stones, and also much gold and silver and elephants and tigers. It has two mountains in the center, one called Galba, which is the source of two rivers, and the other called Malaca, which is the source of three rivers. Here are found imperishable woods, ginger, fine pearls, and the most precious stones. There are two cities, they say, 150 miles apart. One is called Manakor and one called Royan. Between them is a mountain named Gaylase from which flows a river in which the most precious stones are found. There are twelve nations in the north who always dress their hair like that of women. Two of these nations are called the Hac'acan and the Hac'anka. In the south the plains are used for pasturing elephants. They say that one nation which dwells in this country is made up of women and that at a certain time of the year dogs come among the elephants and have intercourse with the women who give birth to twins, one male puppy and the other a female child. The sons cross the river to their fathers while the girls remain with their mothers. But I believe that this is just an allegory for they say the same about the Amazons in the Book of Alexander [the Great]. The Equator crosses the south of this large island. The thirty-seventh country of Asia is Smitaks, i.e., China. It is bordered by Scythia on the west, to the north and east by the Unknown Land and to the south by India and the land of the Sinae. China is a broad plain inhabited by twenty-nine nations, one of which, the cannibals, live by the Unknown Land. It has six mountains. Cinnamon and cassia are found in the Cassia Mountains, and the scythicum which is by nature the color of fire. It also has monsters, the musk ox and many peacocks. There is an abundance of saffron and fine silk with which the industrious inhabitants enrich themselves through textile manufacture. The king, called Čenbakur, resides in the city of Sera near the Unknown Land.

The forty-second, Taprobania, is the largest of all islands. It is 1,100 miles in length and 510 in width. It is east of India and has 1,378 other small islands around it. It has mountains, rivers and twelve nations. Gold, silver, precious stones; aromatics, elephants and tigers are found there. The men of this country dress their hair like that of women.

The thirty-eighth country of Asia is [that of] the Sinae near the Chinese. It is bounded by them on the north, on the east and south by the Unknown Land and on the west by India and the Green Sea extending as far as the Unknown Land. Five nations live here with rivers which bear the same names as themselves. Between the rivers and the sea live the fish-eating people called Ethiopians, who appear to have immigrated there. It is said that near the Unknown Land dwell humanoids, men with half a body, men with two faces, men with six hands, men with seal's feet, with dragon's feet; half bird, half beast, half man [and half beast], headless men, dog-headed men and all that sort of thing. To me these things are quite unbelievable; as for others, they may believe as they wish.
NOTE TO THE COMMENTARY

For the reader's convenience, this Commentary has been divided into ten sections, nine containing the annotations to the long recension of the ASX (L) and one containing those to the short (S). Section VII, containing the annotations to the portion of the text dealing with Greater Armenia, has been subdivided into fifteen subsections (VIIA, VIIB, etc.), each of which annotates one of the fifteen lands into which the author of the text divides the country. References in the Commentary simply to notes, whether supra or infra, refer to notes in the same section the reader is using. Notes in other sections of the Commentary are referred to by their section followed by the number of the note (e.g., 'III, n. 25' refers to note 25 in Section III; 'VIIIC, n. 18,' refers to note 18 in subsection C of section VII).

All abbreviations are contained in the list of abbreviations (p. 347), but the following should be noted in particular: all references to Toumanoff (Toum.), unless otherwise noted, are to his Studies (1963); all references to Eremyan (Erem.), unless otherwise noted, are to his Hayastane (1963); the abbreviations 'Ad.-Gar.' and 'Man.' refer, respectively, to Garsoian's English translations of Adontz's Armenian (1908) and Manandyan's O Torgovle (1945); the first published in 1970; the latter in 1965. Hon. = Honigmann 1935; Herz. = Herzfeld 1948 and Geig. = Geiger 1959. All unattributed Greek references are to Ptolemy's Geography (ed. Nobbe); all those to Pliny are to his Natural History (LCL ed.). All the works used are referred to by the author's last name with the date of publication and the appropriate page where the reference will be found (e.g. Hakobyan: 1968:218). Where only one work by a given author has been used, the date has been omitted (e.g. Akiner:112), the full reference being available in the Bibliography. Where two works by the same author were published in the same year, a short title has been given in place of the date (e.g. Mark. "Woher" and Mark. Sürdarmenien, both published in 1930). References to mss. and editions of the ASX, and to those of the opuscule of Thomas of Cilicia have been indicated as follows:

LONG VERSION OF THE ASX:

L. The sole ms. Venice 1245 (with French translation).

SHORT VERSION OF THE ASX:

A. Matenadaran ms. 582.
B. Matenadaran ms. 1267.
C. Jerusalem ms. 1211.
D. Jerusalem ms. 1288 (incomplete).
E. Jerusalem ms. 743.
F. Jerusalem ms. 1016 (incomplete).
G. Jerusalem ms. 1138.
H. Bzommar ms. 204.
J. Matenadaran ms. 3160.
K. Vienna ms. 731 (see Appendix X).
I. The Introduction

"The Zodiac is considered to lie entirely above the Torrid Zone and therefore in that zone the shadows change, and all the fixed stars rise and set. The Little Bear begins to be entirely above the horizon from the north shore of Okele which is 5,500 stadia distant. The parallel through Okele is elevated eleven and 2/5 degrees."

In the Armenian text, the 5000 degrees and the eleven have been lost (probably under the influence of the following passage where we are told that the Little Bear is distant from the pole by twelve and 2/5 degrees rather than by stadia), the 500 and the 2/5 retained.

"L: 'arac, which von Mžik (11, n. 50) considered to be a remnant of the word kobmanc, corresponding to peras 'end,' 'extremity' in Ptol. I.7.1. The singular of this word, kobmn, means 'region' or 'country'."

"ProtoL I.7.1: Epi toisyn toin polautos prōtous hypotithetai men kai autos tin Thoulen nésin, hypo ton parallēlon ton apohorizonta to boreia ton peres eignomēnēs bēmēn gēs, ton de parallēlon touton apodeiκthn eini esti malista aπebohonta ton omevmeron moiras, avg, boin estin o mevmerov klykta kai staudios de triemvrous khilious pentakosious, bēs tois moiras pentakosious engiwsa staudios pentakosious."

"First of all he [Marinos of Tyre] places Thoule Island as the terminus of a latitude on the parallel that cuts the northern part of the known world. And this parallel he shows, as clearly as possible, at a distance of 63 degrees from the equator, of which degrees a meridian circle contains 360. Now the latitude he notes as measuring 31,500 stadia, since every degree, it is accepted, has 500 stadia."

An echo of Ptol. (I.10.1), where the breadth of the inhabited world is given as 79 degrees 25 minutes i.e., about 80 degrees (63 + 17) Ptol. (I.7.1): 63 degrees (supra n. 9). For similar figures to these cf. Pliny VI.38.210: 'It is clear that Europe is a little less than one and a half times the size of Asia, and two and one-sixth times the width of Africa. Combining all these figures together it will be clear that Europe is a little more than ½ + ⅓, Asia ¼ + ⅓, and Africa ⅓ + ⅓ of the whole earth,' (infra n. 47).

1.1.7.1, the text quoting or, rather, misquoting Ptolemy’s quotation of Marinus of Tyre (supra n. 9).

Corrected from Ptol. (I.7.4), supra n. 7. Dioros Samiac’s; Ptol. (I.7.6): Diodōros ho Samios."

"Kereay soukry (translation, p. 2): cēra, where I have translated 'horns,' from ker = 'hock' in Armenian (cf. Gk: keraia; Ptol. I.7.6: tēn Pleiada kata mesiēn tēn keraian. 19144: kiseay. Stevenson (50) mistranslates keraia as 'masta'! Cf. Pliny (VI.74.87), who cites the Great Bear and the Pleiades."

Ptol. (I.7.6).

"At mēf memorandum, which von Mžik (12) saw as an equivalent of Gk: pros merosian 'from the interior of the country,' 'from inland,' which would be an error for ar mēf memorandum, the correct translation of Ptolemy’s pros mevmerov 'from noon' (I.7.6). But Gk mevmerov also has a secondary meaning 'south' so that the text could mean 'from the south'."

Ereweal 'appeared' instead of asac’ei said, ‘called,' the later two of which von Mžik considered the correct reading at this point. Cf. Pliny (VI.24.87), for the star Canopus."

Aproktikon. Saint-Martin’s interpretation of the Armenian Aproktikon as Latin apricus is incorrect. The entire passage is quoted from Marinus of Tyre via Ptolemy (I.7.6) and – probably – Pappos: Phēis gar hois kai hois men apo tēs Indikes tēn Līnirykhen plenontes, bēs phēis Diodōros ho Samios en to tōtē, ekubai ton Tauron meumouranonta, kai tēn Pleiada kata mesiēn tēn keraian. Hoi dēs tēn Azianian apo tēs Arabias amanagomenos eubouinov tōn ploun pros mevmerov, kai ton Kanōhon astera, hostis ekei legei Hippos, kai esti notosinatos. Astra de phonetai par autois ha par' bēmēn onde onomazetas, kai ho Kyon tou Prokynos proteros epitéllon, kai ho Oriaon..."
"He (Marinos) says that those who sail from India to Lymerika, as did Diodoros of Samos, which is related in his Third Book, tell us that 'Taurus is in a higher position in the heavens than it actually is, and that the Pleiades are seen between its horns. And, he continues, those who sail from Arabia to Azania sail straight to the south, and toward the star Kanopos, which is there called 'Hippos', i.e., 'the horse', and which is far to the south. Stars are seen there which are unknown to us by name, and the Dog Star rises before Prokyon and Orion.'"

"Hanjakan from the Greek thereios 'in summer' (hunjk = theros 'summer' (cf. Ptol. I.76).

"As'cakel for euerusal (supra n. 16).

"C'ama'k el gavst', which von Mzik (12, n. 45) considered a false translation of Gk: zōne katepygmenē 'colder zone' Ptol. (I.8.1).

"In the ASX, tizekēr and tizekaran appear to correspond, respectively, to Gk: oikoumenē, oikoumenēkōtōs (von Mzik, 12, n. 46).


"Text: 'three' rather than 'six', a confusion between the Armenian letter-numerals թ = 3 and վ = 6.

"Ptol. (1.3): hēs to Prasson akrōterion, kai tēn Aigysymsa khōnān, Aithiopēn, ousan kai hēs autōs phēsi, mede periorizousan apo notou tēn Aithiopian epi tēn katepygmenēn zōnēn pherein tēs aitōkoumenēntēs.

"Both of these last passages relevant to the size of the sun, are taken from the Christian Topography of Fr. Kosmas Indikopleustes (cf. Winsted's edition, 231 ff)."

"The parasang (bracte), a Persian measure widely used in antiquity and among the Greeks, usually equalled 30 stadia or about four miles. Among the Armenians, where it is found as fersenk, a variant of the Persian form (but in the ASX as p'aras), a corruption of the Arab form farakhab), it was usually equal to three mhōn as in the Itinerary (p. v. Saint-Martin II, 395; Man. 1965:171, and infra, Appendix IV).

"The square stadium is the largest measurement found in the writings of Posidonius, Marinus of Tyre, and Ptolemy (Von Mzik: 14, n. 68).

"The mile (mhōn), given here as the equivalent of seven stadia, would be 4249 feet or about four-fifths of a statute mile. According to the Itinerary attributed to Annanias of Sirak (infra Appendix IV), one mile was equal to five aparēs, so that it would appear as if the term mhōn was also used in a general sense with no specific distance intended.

"See Appendix X."

"The measure (Q'ap) corresponds to the Gk: metron, a measure in general; and the degree (maas) to the moira of Ptolemy, which equalled one degree in the mathematical sense. The term othosan, found in both L and S, and accepted by Eremyan 1972:213, is unattested in any other source (Saint-Martin infra."

"Von Mzik considered there to have been an error due to a confusion between the Armenian letter-numerals. Manandyan (ibid.) prefers '144'. (See Appendix X).

"The stadium of the Persians also varied in length. For a discussion of this question see Man. (1934; also idem. 1965:171, where he gives it 230.112 meters).

"After this word, according to Eremyan (1972:215, n. 10), a new section should begin whereas the editor of the ms. of L that this is so.

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Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

II:104), which reads: mnēsomaik Ókianioioi bathyrrwos en gar ekevoró pasa kh elections, hte nēsos aperitou stathulfiai. He also (16, n. 78) identifies Apollo with the Apollodoros of Athens (II. 140 B.C.) mentioned by Strabo (XIV.2,28, 5.22-24, who wrote a geographical handbook, Gēs Periodos, referred to by Stephen of Byzantium as Peri gēs or Periægetēs (ed. Holstein, et al., p. 647). For this Apollodoros, see FW 2855-2862.

38Gen 1:9.
39Gen 1:10.
40Job 38:18, 19.
41Supra p. 30.
42Isaiah 9:22.
43Ibid.
44Proverbs 8:26.
45Sologen 88:12, 13.
46The section reconstructed by von Mīk ends here where again there seems to be a break in the text although, as usual, there is no sign of this in the ms. of L.
47Job 26:7.
48Ibid. 26:80.10.
49There seems to be another interruption in the text at this point.
50Job 26:7.10.
51No authentic writings of St. Gregory the Parthian (Grigor Part'c'w) called 'the Illuminator' have come down to us. This quotation is found in Agathangelos (Agath'angelos), 259, where he is supposedly quoting the words of St. Gregory (ed. Thomson, 1976: Introduction).
52Psalms 24:2.
53St. Basil of Kaisarria (c. 330-391).
54Psalms 104:6.
55Aitararakan 'The Theologian' is the standard style used when referring to St. Gregory Nazianzos (c. 329-c. 389) in Greek and Armenian literature. This particular quotation is drawn from his Thirty-Fourth Oration (Paris, 1978). Eremeyan (1972:216, n. 18) took this entire series of biblical quotations to be an interpolation of a later copyist, but this view may be accepted by some Soviet scholars to see Ananias of Sirak as a sort of 'free-thinker' at odds with the Church (e.g., Xrlopyan Introduction).
56For this part of the text, see Abrahamyan (1940:25-34), which was unfortunately not available to me as I prepared this study.
57Sineaca'oc'; Prol. (VII.1): Sinac 'the Chinese,' probably from the Ch'in Dynasty that ruled China in the third century B.C., when, during the Hellenistic Era, the West first became even remotely aware of the country's existence.
58Satiracoc k'tzikk'; Prol. (VII.2.30) mentions three islands of the Satyrs, which are possibly Borneo, Palawan and Celebes in the Indonesian archipelago. The Satyrs are also cited by Pomponios Mela (III.9).
59Tapropo k'tzinn; Prol. (VII.4): Tapropant, the island of Ceylon (Srbi Lanka), whose size was for some reason much exaggerated in antiquity (infra IX, n. 98).
60Kalos; Prol. (III.5.8): Kalos limnē in Sarmatia.
61Asapusa. The mouth of the River Asopus was found in Akhhaia Prol. (III.15.8). Another River Asopus flowed through Corinth, but see Proleny's Asapua (IV.77).
62Pilea learn; Prol. (IV.7.26): Pylea oré, which may be the Mount Pelion of Homer (Iliad, ii, 744 passim, and Herod, vii, 129), which lay in Thessaly.

1. The Introduction

81'Te'kō'na leiris'; Prol. (IV.6.9): Theōn Okhēma. This range is also cited by Strabo (II.2), and Poponious Mela (III.9). The meaning of the name, however, contrary to Pliny (V.1.10), is not 'chariot': of the gods - 'chariot' being a secondary meaning of okhēma 'anything that supports' a 'seat, a 'prop', but rather 'seat' of the gods (J.O. Thomson 1948:65-76), as correctly perceived by the copyist/editor of A, who translates okhēma as at or. Much scholarship has been applied to the precise identification of this mountain. In fact, however, all classical references to it ultimately derive from the so-called Periplyon of Ianno the Carthaginian, which, despite wide and uncritical acceptance, has been demonstrated to be a Hellenistic forgery whose author, once he ceases to deal with the northernmost Atlantic coast of Morocco, knows nothing of West Africa (Cary and Warmington: 63-68).
82Fuk'is: Prol. (IV.7.29): Axomaitai, a tribe. The Azaomis Mountains would have lain in the territory of the Axumite kingdom, an important African state of the Roman period with its capital at Axum in Ethiopia.
83Fuk'is: Prol. (IV.8.3): Aitaipos Ikhthypargos.
84Sep'tios, i.e., Zephyros, the 'West Wind'; i.e., the West per se.
85Karkinītēs a'cy'; Prol. (III.5.9): Karkinites Kolpos, the Russian Karkinskiy Zaliv, which separates the northwestern part of the Crimean Peninsula from the mainland, but the largest maps that I have been able to examine (USAF JNC 1:2,000,000) show no river flowing into it.
86K'eršon; Prol. (III.6.5): Kherovosios, i.e., Kherson, the chief town of the Tauric (Crimean) Peninsula, kherosios meaning 'peninsula' in Greek.
87'Vos k'ala', an unusual example of a name being half translated by our author rather than being simply transliterated; Prol. (V.1.7): Dios polis, where, as in the AX, the name is written as two words.
88Salataria P'igac'oc'; (Prol. III.5.2).
89Dedala; Prol. (V.2.3): Dedala.
90Coom Likiroy 'the sea of Libya,' whereas Prol. (V.3.1): Lykiakon Pelagos. I have followed the rendering of Eremeyan (1972:216, n. 9): which is certainly correct.
91Aruka ko're, or Ετ' Ειγιπτος, which Soukry (Arm. text:10, n. 1) reads: 'ardak Mr directly to Mr,' Mr being the Arabic name for Egypt. Eremeyan (1972:217) omits this passage.
92Eranalak' a'tzish'; Prol. (IV.9.10): Hesperidōn kēpos.
93Nerk'sagyon Libnay; Prol. (IV.6.1): Libnēs tēs entos thesis, i.e., the Sahara desert region beyond the limits of the Roman Empire.
94Prol. (I.11; IV.6). The first six islands represent the Canary group; the second six possibly the Azores or even the Cape Verde Islands; the remaining four probably the Madeiras.
95Misit'los; Prol. (IV.6.7): Masebolon potamos, the Masbatat of Pliny (V.1.9). This and the following rivers are cited in no particular order but many are found in Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, where some order exists that can aid us in their identification. It should be noted, however, that ancient geographers were not particularly well informed about West Africa south of the Roman limits, and some of these rivers are simply given in a confused order in these sources, and are occasionally even mistranslated. There are only about a dozen rivers entering the Atlantic between Tanger and the coast opposite the Canary Islands, and very few can be matched to their classical equivalents with any certainty.
96Nikas; Prol. (IV.6.7): Nia potamos, the Senegal River (PW, 17:165-167), but I hardly believe that the ancients had ever ventured this far south.
97Spitak E't'c'upac'oc'; Prol. (IV.6.17) Lewkaisthiopes.
98'Stak'ir; Prol. (IV.6.7): Stakhter pot.
99Wesintaria lērent; (ibid.): Rosseidrion oros; Pliny (V.1.9): Rhysadis.
I. The Introduction

85 of inland seas – Mediterranean, Aegean, Black Sea, etc. Isidore of Seville is the first to use it in its modern sense.

123Sagadion is not cited by Ptolemy, and Eremyan (1972:217, n. 41), is certainly correct in emending the text to read Gadiron, the town of Gades (now Cadiz), which was indeed an island in antiquity.

124Tingit; Ptol. (IV.1.1); Mauritania Tingitana.

125Eremyan (1972:217) omits this passage which repeats information given above.

126Vetia; Ptol. (II.2): Iuvernii nicos.

127Alouion; Ptol. (II.3): Alouion nicos.

128Beritanac'oc al'asr; Ptol. (II.2): Bretanniké/Pretanniké.

129Touhid klii; (I.2.4.): Touhid nicos. The name Touhid was applied by Pythias of Marseilles (fl. 302 B.C.) to an island in the North Atlantic which, from the description preserved in Polybios' History (followed by Strabo in his Geography IV.5.5), would appear to have been Iceland. Other classical authors use the term so loosely, however, that it could refer to one of the Hebrides, Shetlands, Orkneys, Faroes, or even to the coast of Norway. Cf. Virgil, Georgics, I.30: Última Thule.

130Sarmata eu Germanaca or Skandé koc'; Ptol. (II.11.34): Skandia nicos; Pliny (IV.16.104): Scandiae; possibly southern Norway or Sweden. The Scandinavian Peninsula was taken for an island by the ancients.

131Gadè'; (ibid.): Ghatou.

132Ptolemy (VII.2) depicts the Indian Ocean as being land-locked.

133Artan Huagdak' asai Karmar Gou; By "Red Sea" the author is doubtless referring to the Arabian Sea here and, when speaking of the "Arabian Sea" in the same passage, he clearly has the Red Sea in mind. This confusion was rendered possible by the fact that the Greeks called the entire Indian Ocean the Erythraion Pelagos or Erythre Thalassa, from erythros "red,' so that this term was not only applied to what we call the Arabian Sea, but also to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea properly called, both of which are essentially gulfs of the Erythraion. (Periplus, pp. 50–51).

134Azzouz; read: "Azzayg. The kolokynthos or colocynth is a Mediterranean vine (citrullus colocynthis) related to the watermelon. The reference here is to its small gourd-like fruit, also known as the bitter apple, from which a cathartic drug is made.

135Gavturos. Gadiros would be Gades (Cadiz), whose site was formerly an island (Strabo, II.5.3).

136Kilik, infra IV n. 77.

137Savorio, infra IV n. 61.

138Papio lilia, infra IV n. 60.

139Lambka, infra IV n. 40.

140Karta, infra IV n. 32.

141Mitusa, infra IV n. 22.

142Elisopotis, infra IV n. 69.

143Birt'tania, infra IV n. 4.

144Kalkedon; Ptol. (V.I.1): Khalkédon, now Kadiköy on the Asiatic coast of Asia Minor opposite Constantinople. Here was held the fourth Ecumenical Council in 451.

145"el'gygnac'oc, lit. 'to the Egyptians.'

146Pretté.

147Vrečanin Ptol. (I.12.6): Hyrkania Thalassa.


149...miné'ew Caturpinitiviu get; Eretn. (218): miné'ew c'beran Penitimitos 'to the mouth of the Polytimetros.'

150Ptol. (VI.14.2): Polytimèios, probably the Zerafschan, which flows by Samarkand in Soviet
Uzbekistan, but which disappears in the desert before reaching the Oxos (Annu Darya) (PW XXI). (Ptol. ibid.) has this river flowing into the Caspian. The text has bazmapatik, which means 'multiple,' 'diverse' and also 'magnificent,' the author perhaps confusing the Greek politymétos 'much honored,' with polýtymetos 'much cut.' Ptolemy (VI.14.2) makes it clear that the former is intended. Bazmapatik is possibly a corruption of 'bazmapatiko 'much honored' which corresponds exactly in meaning to Ptolemy's polýtimetos (Liddell 1966). 18

Kesios; Ptol. (V.12.2); Kainos.

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left numerous traces of themselves in Caucasia, however, implying a migration from the mountains across Armenia and Albania to their later homeland in Iran along the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea (cf. Gehan, Gehanuni, Gehawu, etc., and perhaps Qulfa/Kolkhis, and Kol/Xola, all of which suggest a root G-L/K-L widespread in Caucasian toponymy, ethnonyms and hydronymy (for which see Toun: 56, n. 50; 57, nn. 50, 54; 60-61 n. 58). Recently, attempts have been made to identify the Gels with the Celts as a part of the new thesis of Gamrelidze and Ivanov that the Indo-European speakers originated on the Armenian Plateau. The Gels are said by Pliny (VI.18.48) to have been identical to the Cadusians (infra n. 197 for whom Gelai/Geleno was the Greek name, but this may mean simply that the two peoples were related to one another.

Omdas; Soukry (13, n. 4): Oroteres, but see Ptol. (VI.2.2): Amardos pot., now the Safid-rud but the name also included its upper reaches which are now the Qezel Ovuzan and, further upstream, the Zanjian.

Korosos; Kadlos, Kimros.

Kadiwets", more usually in Armenian: Katsik' (e.g., El, Engl. trans. Thomson, p. 168); Ptol. (VI.2.2): Kadoukoi; RA (ILS): Patria Cadousin, a country. We know little of the Kadiwets beyond what Strabo has to say (XI.13.3-4). Pliny (VI.18.48) tells us that the Gela were the same people as the Cadusians, the latter being the Greek designation for them. Other Greek and Armenian authors mention them only in passing. They appear, however, to have been a large, powerful and warlike people inhabiting the plains of the upper course of the Qara River (the ancient Kambyses; Arm.: Govzab; Eremyan, 1963: map; 1963: map) now the Qara-s«, in the extreme northwest of Iran to the east of Ardelli, although Marq. (1901:77) places them near Herat in Afghanistan, relating them to the Hunnic Kadiitser. The Kadousians have disappeared without a trace, their place having been taken by the Azeri Turks.

Gabaro Bagin’k'; Ptol. (VI.2.1): Sabaos Boomi; “Gabaros Boomi altars of Gabaros", but Armenian bagin’k’l’" especially in the plural, can also mean temple: Gabaro Bagin’k’ “Temple of Gabar." (Ananian:18; Thomson, Agathangelos 1976:3). Eremyan (46, 51) identifies this shrine with the Ewt’n’oparan Bagin’k’ “Temple of the Seven Niches” (i.e., "chapels") of a later passage in the ASX (L.12/13), the modern Kambir Kurgan in the ‘Dyshy area of southern Soviet Azerbaidzhan. Whether or not this Ewt’n’oparan Bagin’k’ of the ASX really existed is open to question. Ag. (22) refers to the yeawus bagin’ mehinek’n to which King Xosrov I went in pilgrimage, but Thomson (1976:41), translates this: “to the seven altars of the temples.” It may well be that the author of the ASX, familiar with the passage in Ag, misinterpreted it and took it to refer to the specific shrine of Gbaturu Bagin’k’ which really existed. Interestingly, Eremyan himself (1963:51) did not believe there was actually a district called Ewt’n’oparan Bagin’k’, thinking it to have been merely a shrine which he, however, identifies with Gabaro Bagin’k’.

Kambises; Ptol. (VI.2.1): Kambyses, a river of northern Media probably the Qara chau (supra n. 195) and not to be confused with the Kambisos in Caucasian Albania, Arm.: Kambeti, the modern Iora, for which see Pliny (VI.15.39).

Dovdeisk'. There are no ‘Dodeis Islands’ mentioned in the section. Ptolemy (at VI.2.8) has: Nexo de parakeenatia te Albania dyo eldeizis. “There are two marshy islands near Albania...", which our author (or Pappus?) misread: “There are islands near Albania, the Dodeis.”

Salka; Ptol. (VI.9.8): Talka, which Eremyan (219, n. 49) compares with the name of the Chelae peninsula on the east coast of the Caspian Sea in Soviet Turkmenia, suggesting an original Talakan. This peninsula could easily have been an inland two millennia ago when the level of the Caspian Sea was considerably higher than now and at which time the many other islands now found in the sea would have been submerged. (See Muraviev 1981, for a thorough discussion of the level of the Caspian Sea in antiquity and the geographical implications of its once having been considerably higher than it is today; and, for my commentary, Hrwesen, ASSCC II 1990). According to Pliny (VI.19.52), the only important island in the Caspian Sea was called Zazata (“Talandi”).

C’Tayani get; Ptol. (V.9.1): Tanais, the Don, which means ‘river’ in Ossetian and so, probably in Alanian and in Sarmatian before (cf. Danube, Dniester, Donets, Danou, Don—an, etc.).

Rha letmi; Ptol. (VI.10.4): Rhéa, a river of Margiana, or perhaps a misunderstanding of Ptolemy’s Rha (VI.14.1), the Volga, which divided Sarmatia from Scythia. Eremyan (219, n. 2), notes Ptol. (III.5.15): Rha. Later, in the ASX, the author confuses the classical name for this river, the Rha, with its Turkic name Eläi (sic), and cites them on two distinct rivers. On his map of Sarmatia according to Ptolemy (which he kindly sent to me prior to its publication), Eremyan regards the Rha as the upper reaches of the Volga and calls the lower course Ar’l.

Mivotin cov; Ptol. (III.6.4): Maïotès lamné, the Sea of Azov, whose size Ptolemy greatly exaggerates.

Ar’idom; Ptol. (V.15.2): Amthiddin, a city of Egypt but Eremyan (ibid.: 219, n. 6), accepts the reading Tenedos; Ptol. (V.2.19): Tenedos nésos.

Rnikorourwai; Ptol. (IV.5.2): Rhinochoroura, now el Arish.

Gazay; Ptol. (V.15.5): Gaza.

P’tîianîsce’c’ Coon’i. The Phoenician Sea would be the eastern Mediterranean where it reaches the coast of the Lebanon.

Tenedes; Ptol. (V.2.19): Tenedos nésos. Eremyan, (ibid.: 219, n. 6) prefers the reading of this passage as: "to the Tanais River [everything] is a part of Europe, but [everything is a part] of Libya and the south as far as the Red Sea and from the Red Sea and the city of Anhedon where is the great city of Rhinokolvia and Gaza at the end of the Phoenician Gulf." “Mini’la Tawnawi get Europiay e man.” But Libya, “[Zaretamratan] euw zharawayinn, mini’ew C’Karmir covw euw Karmir covew wz Am’idon k’aklak’ev, or gay i mi’f k’aklak’uc’ew Rnikorwey euw Gazay ezay P’tiian’ec’woc covwn.”

K’atkedon Bhis’anac’woc’; Ptol. (VI.2.1): Khalkeides, i.e., Chaledon opposite Byzantium/Constantinople/Istanbul, and site of the famous Council of 451 A.D. It is now Kadihyo.

Eremyan (ibid.: 220, n. 10), considered this last sentence to be an interpolation.


Ptol. (VI.17.13): Ikhthopagôi kolpos.

124... disoyx Saba; $1977; $1944: disoyx harawoy 'Queen of the South.'

Psalma, 73:12.

124. This quotation is found neither in Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical History nor his Chronicle and must come from one of his lost works such as the Plan of Jerusalem and of the Temple or his Chronography of Ancient Kings (Wallace-Hadrill:203).

125. Eremyan (ibid.: 220, n. 8), believed that everything from the words, “but I do not believe this,” to this point is an interpolation.

125. iorn instead of zor.

125. ... est $1877; ik$s; $1944: eedel.


125. Ut sun ‘80’. I have followed Eremyan’s reading of ‘60’ (ibid.).

125. After this word, S1944 has a question mark.

This simple clear-cut statement that the author is basing his text on that of Pappos of Alexandria rather than that of Ptolemy, should settle the question of his source.

125. Infra III n. 1.

No such description occurs at any point later in the text as it has come down to us.
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

II. EUROPE

1°Text: Etios; Ptol. (II.53); Strabo (III.1.4): Hieron akródieron; now Cabo de San Vincente on the Southwesternmost coast of Portugal.

2°Nerion; Ptol. (II.6.2): Nerion akródieron; or Artabron; (Strabo III.3.5): Nerion Finisterra, probably Cabo Naraqa west of La Coruna on the northwest coast of Spain (PW XXXIII "Nerium").

3°Perínea; Ptol. (I.15.2) Pyrénäis oros.

4°The term Yunos Coron, "Sea of the Yunos" (i.e., the Greeks, who are usually called Yunos 'Ionians' in Classical Armenian), is used throughout the text to refer to the Mediterranean. Ptolemy (II.4.1) calls this part of it the 'Inner' or 'Iberian' Sea, 'Iberia' here referring to the Iberian Peninsula.

5°Dourias; read: Dousias; Ptol. (II.5.1): Dúrias pot., now the Dourou.


7°Ereymyan (172:221) considers this last sentence to be an interpolation.

8°Bretannac asxarhn. Ptolemy (II.2:3) begins his description of Europe with separate chapters on Iovernia (Ireland) and Alesounion (Britain proper).

9°Uibernia; Ptol. (II.2): Iovernia nèos Bretannikè; Strabo (IV.5.4): Ierne; Pliny (IV.16, 103): Hibernia.

10°Garihatajew, i.e., oblong in shape, the term used by Pomp. Mela (III.6.7).

11°Ptol. (II.3): twenty-six rivers in Britain.

12°Alesounion; Ptol. (II.3): Alesounion nèos; Strabo (IV.5.4): Bretannikè; Pliny (IV.15, 102): Britannia (formerly): Albion.

13°Ptol. (IV.2.12): the islands of Monaoida (the Isle of Man), Mona (Anglesey) and Edrou Erinios 'the Wilderness of Edrou' (probably the small island now called 'Ireland's Eye').

14°Galibus or Kóli Gélgitgallatia; Ptol. (II.7.1): Keltogallatia.

15°Ptolemy (ibid.) cites twenty-nine rivers in Gaul: fifteen flowing into the Atlantic and the North Sea (counting three mouths of the Rhine), nine into the Mediterranean, and the remaining five flowing into other rivers before they reach the sea.

16°Spitak ou spadn gomel. Ereymyan (ibid.: 222) omits this reference to the gomel or buffalo.

17°Aggi P'tranak', who were obviously not drawn from Ptolemy's description of Gaul or from that of Pappos. Some Franks crossed the Rhine into Gaul as early as the fourth century and they may be said to have dwelled in both Gaul and Germany as late as the ninth (PW VII).

18°Germania; Ptol. (II.11): Germania Megale 'Greater Germany'.

19°Danob; Ptol. (II.12.1): Danobios pot.

20°Ptolemy (II.12) cites fourteen rivers if we count the Danube but not the Rhine. Our author could get eleven by not counting the three rivers falling into the Danube.

21°The four forests are named by Ptolemy (ibid.) but there is no mention of the desert, the plain, or the wild horses.

22°Saturena dal't; which Ptolemy does not cite but cf. Pomp. Mela: (apud Erem.: 222 n.5): Saturenae.

23°Elmeac' oc anapatn; Ptol. (II.11.10): e ton Eloméion Erinios.

24°Dalmitia: Ptolemy (II.16) describes Dalmitia as a part of a larger province of Illyria or Libournia. Here our author omits Ptolemy's provinces of Oxendelikia, Nérbon and both Upper and Lower Pamonia.

25°Ptolemy mentions no provinces within Illyria.

26°The bonos, correctly bonos, is a kind of wild bull, perhaps the aurochs, and is not mentioned by Ptolemy. This description is derived from Pliny (VIII.16) or one of his Greek sources, e.g. Aristotle, History of Animals (IX.45), probably by way of Pappos.

27°Ptol. (II.16): five islands for Dalmatia, and three for the rest of Illyria.

28°Stragon; Ptol. (II.16.13) Sardoina nèos.


30°Pôker Dalmitia, perhaps the Dalmitia paralia of Ptol. (II.16.3).

31°Kokidea, infra n. 32.

32°Melana; Ptol. (II.16.14): Korkoura è Melaina 'Black Korkyra.' Pliny (III.26, 152): Corcyna Melana. Here our author has interpreted the adjective melaina 'black' as a place name and then confused it with Melita (Malta), the island where St. Paul was shipwrecked (Acts 28:1). This island is actually Mljet near Dubrovnik.

33°Prazimo; Ptol. (II.17.5): Rhizonikos Kolpos.

34°Dibor; Ptol. (III.6.5): Drilos pot.

35°Ereymyan (222) omits this passage as an interpolation.

36°Hastai; Ptol. (III.1:1): Hasta.

37°Ieron cewas Venetox (nom. *Venetix) which, of course, was not mentioned by Ptolemy nor by Pappos either. What was happened here is that the author, having heard of Venice, the city, has identified it with the district which Ptolemy (III.1.25) — and probably Pappos — calls Ouenetia.

38°Ptolemy divides Italy by tribes and not by districts.

39°Ptolemy lists no provinces in Italy. Bia Galia; Ptol. (III.1.23): Boia Gallia. The Boioi are also cited by Polybius (II.17.7): Strabo (IV.9.5); and Pliny (III.115).

40°Kreta; Ptol. (III.1.25): Rabenens; now Ravena, at the time our text was written, the capital of Byzantine Italy.

41°Ptolemy cites twenty-eight rivers in Italy.

42°Atiäinos; Ptol. (III.1.25): Arianos pot.

43°Panos; read: Pados; Ptol. (III.1.24): Pados, the Po.

44°Ripikes; Ptol. (III.1.23): Raykéinos pot., the期one.

45°Saterina; Ptol. (III.1.69): Satournianna Kolonia, now Sabatina Etruria.

46°Latina; Ptol. (III.1.5): Latinos, i.e., the people of Latium, now Lazio, the province surrounding Rome.

47°Men Hiron; Ptol. (III.1.61): Asto Rohme.

48°Hellenik 'Meck' at oron cankalin Kampania; Ptol. (III.1.10): Megalè Hellados, 'Greater Greece' (Lat.: Magna Graecia), the standard name in antiquity for southern Italy.

49°Sikilia; Ptol. (III.4): Sikilia.

50°Ptol. (III.4): nine islands around Sicily; twenty rivers.

51°Sardion; (III.3): Sardoi nèos.

52°Kíron; Ptol. (III.2.1): Kyrnos, i.e., Corcica, whose Greek name was Kyrraos (Pliny II.6.80); Strabo (VI.1.1).

53°Ptolemy lists no districts in Corsica, only tribes.

54°Ptolemy does not give the circumference of Sardinia, but Pliny (III.7.4) makes it 565 Roman miles (c. 847.50 km).

55°Ptolemy does not give the distance from Sicily to Sardinia.

56°Ptolemy gives no specific districts for Hellas which he makes a division of Akhaios; he names, however, twenty rivers.

57°Par'tenos (infra n. 60).

58°Bornos. Neither of the two mountains here is mentioned by Ptolemy but Bornos, from its descri-
tion, can only be Mount Etma and is called by this name in other ms. available to Soukry (18, n. 6). Saint-Martin (II, 384) suggests that Boinos is a corruption. The text used by Saint-Martin (S1683) has Arkanos from the Arab.: barkan, which he suggests is only a corruption of the Latin Vulcan, god of fire, whence English volcano. Erem (1972:222): Urcanos.

44 The text is unclear at this point. The Unknown Land is the Agnostos Ge of Ptol. (V9.1, passim) and the Terra Incognita of Latin authors.


46 Vistula; Ptol. (III:5.2): Oswistonia, the Vistul, the chief river of modern Poland.

47 Ripe Lenin. The Rhipesian Mountains are mentioned by many classical authors but they appear to have been only a hypothetical range from which to trace the sources of the many large rivers flowing southwards into the Black Sea. It is also possible that they are an amalgam of the Carpathians and the Ural. (Marcian of Heraclea, 53).

48 Tanais; Ptol. (V9.1): Tanais, the river Don.

49 Meotis covak; Ptol. (III:16): Meotis Limn, i.e., the Sea of Azov.

50 Tyras; Ptol. (III:17): Tyras, the Dnieper.

51 Daka’oc’ aksarhni (ibid.): Dacia, whose territory embraced the general area of modern Rumania. It is interesting that although the region is known to our author, he does not devote a paragraph to it. It is likely that this was the case in the work of Pappos who also wrote after Dacia had ceased to be a Roman province in the third century.

52 Taurukan canv’ al’kin, asynikt’ e’ Sk’iron, (III:5.6): Taurikèn Khersonesìoù.

53 Binekan Lûn; (ibid.): e’ Byzèt limnè; Pliny (IV.12.88): L. Bucæus.

54 Karkinìtùs; Ptol. (III:5.2): Karkiniès rot; Pliny (V1.85).

55 Meotis Covak; Ptol. (III:5.1): Karkiniès kolpos.


57 Ayalèn’chi.’


42 The River Ko’o has caused problems of interpretation since the beginning of this century. Nothing comparable to this hydronym is to be found in Ptol. and we must look elsewhere for a solution. Westberg (1908:46-49) suggested, on the basis of the data in S, that Ko’o referred to the estuary of the Danube, a hypothesis in which he was followed by Artamonov (1962:168), and by Eremyan (1972:224). In his ‘Urteste’ formed by blending S and L, a version which Dashkevych (1973: 74-386) rightly called ‘contaminee,’ Eremyan read the passage in question as: ‘European Sarmatia has seven comparable to this hydronym is to be found in Ptol. and we must look elsewhere for a solution.

59 Ptol. (III:5.20): Dake’lefein.

60 Ripaia, Rhipaia.

61 Peuke, Amadoka, Bodinan, Peuke, Peukè, Pliny (IV.12.89) also knows of Lake Bucæus (sic, supra n. 70).

62 Agarthruk, ordian Xubrat’a, infra n. 98.

63 T’xazrac, nom. ‘Tzaxrih; Turkish: Qazar; Arab.: al-Khazar. (Tabari, Baladírui, Ibn Busta, Ibn Khlid Ôdabîhî, Mas’ûd, Ibn Ab’ham al-Kûfi, Ibn Fadlan, Istakhri, Ibn Harrâq, al-Muqaddàsî, al-Bakî, Ibn Ya’qûb, Ya’qûb, Münéjimbaâli, and Mahmud al-Kâliga; in the last: Khûzar). Heb.: Qazar, Qazar (Letter of the Qagan Joseph); Per.: Qazax, Qazariyan (Hudûd al-Allam); Byz.: Qazax (CP, Theophanes, I, p. 368); Slavic: Kozar’ (and various minor variations, Vita Constantinì, Vita Methodî, Old Rus Chronicles); Chin.: Ho-sa, K’osa (apud Golden, 1980).

64 An abundant literature exists on the Khazars for which see Dunlop (1954), Artxamonov (1962), Sinor, CHEIA (1990), and especially Golden (1980). See also infra V Sarmatia, nn. 1-114.


66 ‘Avaros æzg;’ Ptol. (III:5.20): Avaroiaros or Abarainos. The Ævars apparently were a people of Hunnic origin. Their first appearance in the Steppe country in the second century. Pursued by the Kûk Turks centuries later, they paused for a short time in the Volga-North Caucasian Steppes where they augmented their numbers by taking in more Oghur tribes. Enemies of the Sabirs (infra, Sarmatia, n. 111), whom they drove into this region, the Ævars soon continued their migration westward and by 567 had settled in Pannonia, the later Hungary. It is unclear if the Ævars of the North Caucasus (infra, n. 74) who speak a northeast Caucasian language rather than one of Turko-Mongolic origin (Geiger: 22) are connected with the Avars of Pannonia though it is clear that by Awa’k our author is referring here to the Hunnic rather than to the Caucasian Ævars. (Dunlop, 1954; Czegledy, 1960, 1969; Artxamonov, 1962; Golden, 1980; Sinor, CHEIA 1990).

67 This description of Thrace contains the first material which differs greatly from that found in...
Ptolemy. Much of it is of unknown provenance and reflects the great Völkerverwanderung of the fourth through eighth centuries. Asparukh, or Isperikh, was the son of the Bulgar khan, Kubrat or Qobrat (584-642) who was ruler of the Kurgur horde of the Bulgars, founded the state of Great Bulgar on the upper Volga, became its qagan, and converted to Christianity in 617. After his death, his state was dismembered into five separate hordes by his sons. Moving westward, one of them, Asparukh, khan of the Utrigurs, settled on the lower Danube about 650 crossing the river in c. 679 to settle in Byzantine province of Moisia where he established a state whose independence was officially recognized by the Byzantine government in 681. Vernadsky and Karpovich (1943); Dunlop (1960); Artamonov (1962); Elr II: 787; Sinor, CHEIA (1990). This passage is probably an interpolation into the original text, although the event described occurred early enough to have been inserted by the original author or one of his pupils. (Jones, CERP, Ch. 1).

The distance from Herakleia to Rome is c. 800 statute miles direct (c. 480 Km). Thessalians themselves. This testimony would link the Armenians with the locality of which both Gregory of Tours and the author of our text had been exposed. Peters, the editor of Gregory (1925:212, n. 24) states that this theater is otherwise mentioned only in the whole structure was completed from one rock. In addition, it was faced with Heraclean marble. E. P. Peters, the editor of Gregory (1925:212, n. 24) states that this theater is otherwise mentioned only in the ps.-Bede. Apparently, there was a list of seven wonders in the early medieval world to which both Gregory of Tours and the author of our text had been exposed.

Herakleia was fifty statute miles (thirty km.) from Constantinople. It is now Marmaraegluei. The distance from Herakleia to Rome is c. 800 statute miles direct (c. 480 Km).

Makedonia; Ptol. (III.12): Makedonia.

Ptol. (III.12): Twenty mountains.

Kitarion; Ptol. (III.12:19): Kitarion.

Olimbus; (ibid.): Olympos.

Ptol. (ibid.): Nineteen rivers and thirty districts.

Thessalia. The Thessalian origin of the Armenians was asserted by Kysilis of Pharsalos and Medios of Lariss (apud Strabo, XI.14.12-13), two contemporaries of Alexander the Great who were Thessalians themselves. This testimony would link the Armenians with the locality of Armenion (or Ormenion?) in Thessaly. The evidence given by these two authors for this identification is extremely unconvincing, however, and includes certain articles of Armenian costume and certain techniques of nature of the text. Probably the former is intended.

Arx; Ptol. (ibid.): Akhhaia.

Akhia; Ptol. (III.14.15): Akhhaia.

Arkadia; (III.16.19): Arkadia.

Ardesia; (III.16.20): Argeias; Argos.

Lakomikes; (III.16.9,22): Lakonikes.


Mimas; (III.16:7): Messenida.

Sikyon; (III.16:4): Sikyonida.

Pisidion; Ptolemy (III.16.5) mentions a temple of Poseidon in Akhhaia proper immediately below his description of Sikyonida, which he mentions briefly as containing the mouth of the River Syos. Apparently, our author (or his source) overlooked the fact that Akhhaia proper was now being discussed instead of Sikyonida.

Peleponnesos; Ptol.; (III.15): Peloponnesios.

Ptolemy (III.14) has six mountains in Akhhaia and eight rivers, but only thirty-three cities in the Peloponnesus not counting naval stations and 'harbors,' which would still raise the total to only forty-four.

Eakedemon; read: Lakademon; (III.16:22): Lakasaimon.

Ptol. (III.5): cites Akhhaia separately from the rest of Greece, i.e., from Epiros and Crete.

Parnassos; Ptol. (III.15:12): Parnassos oros.

Elkin; (ibid.): Elkon oros.

Tro'oon; Ptol. (III.14:7): Hehatompedon Didioneion.

Thirty-nine islands are named in Ptolemy's Akhhaia, including Krète and its five dependent islands and also Euboia. If the Mykonos Islands are counted as five, then the number can be raised to our author's forty-four.

Kr; Ptol. (III.17): Krête.

San'ta'kan learn; Ptol. (V.9.14,15,20,22): Keraunia or 'Thundering Mountains' (kerameios 'thundering') of which the Armenian is a translation.

Eleusia; Ptol. (III.14:7): Eleasos.

Eubia; (III.15:23): Euboea.

Atalanta; (III.15:23): Atalante, an island of Euboia.

The campaign of Artases I is described by MX (1.11-13) but his account of this monarch's reign is very involved and has obviously been confused with the reigns of other kings (Hewsen, "Moses" TADR 39.2 (1986).


Eurotos; this would be a reference to the strait called Euripos between Euboia and Boiotia (Saint-Martin, II:385, n. 36).

III. Libya

116 Akhia; (III.14.15): Akhaia.
118 Ardesia; (III.16.20): Argeias; Argos.
119 Lakomikes; (III.16.9,22): Lakonikes.
120 Ilia; (III.13:6): Eleasa.
121 Mimas; (III.16:7): Messenida.
122 Sikyon; (III.16:4): Sikyonida.
123 Pisidion; Ptolemy (III.16.5) mentions a temple of Poseidon in Akhhaia proper immediately below his description of Sikyonida, which he mentions briefly as containing the mouth of the River Syos. Apparently, our author (or his source) overlooked the fact that Akhhaia proper was now being discussed instead of Sikyonida.
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128 Parnassos; Ptol. (III.15:12): Parnassos oros.
129 Elkin; (ibid.): Elkon oros.
130 Tro'oon; Ptol. (III.14:7): Hehatompedon Didioneion.
131 Thirty-nine islands are named in Ptolemy's Akhhaia, including Krète and its five dependent islands and also Euboia. If the Mykonos Islands are counted as five, then the number can be raised to our author's forty-four.
132 Kr; Ptol. (III.17): Krête.
133 San'ta'kan learn; Ptol. (V.9.14,15,20,22): Keraunia or 'Thundering Mountains' (kerameios 'thundering') of which the Armenian is a translation.
134 Eleusia; Ptol. (III.14:7): Eleasos.
135 Eubia; (III.15:23): Euboea.
136 Atalanta; (III.15:23): Atalante, an island of Euboia.
137 The campaign of Artases I is described by MX (1.11-13) but his account of this monarch's reign is very involved and has obviously been confused with the reigns of other kings (Hewsen, "Moses" TADR 39.2 (1986).
139 Eurotos; this would be a reference to the strait called Euripos between Euboia and Boiotia (Saint-Martin, II:385, n. 36).

III. Libya

It is not clear whether skizhen laynait'sean ćap'oy implying the beginning of the broad measure ć i.e., the lengthy part) refers to the size of Libya as opposed to that of Europe, or to the increasingly detailed nature of the text. Probably the former is intended.

Text: Mauritonia, or Ko'c Tingonia; Ptol. (IV.I): Mauritania Tingitanē, i.e., Morocco.

Tifjigin ćak'; Ptol. (IV.I): Tingis Kaisarea; Pliny (V.I.2): Tingi, now Tanger.

Herkelen ćoroni'sjoc'; Ptol. (IV.I.1): Hérakleios portēmos.
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)

1Sept. Supra 1 n. 122.
3No further attempt will be made to compare the enumerations of our author with those of Ptolemy, it having been sufficiently demonstrated by now that our author did not have Ptolemy at his disposal as he worked.
4P’ok’tasat; read: “p’ok’t Atlas; Ptol. (IV.1.2): Atlas Elatton oros.
5Dordon; Ptol. (VI.1.2): Dyzikon Okeanos.
6Piron-Pedon, or e hragoyn dak. Ptolemy (IV.1.10) mentions this Pyrron (sic) pedon ‘Fiery Plain,’ which, as Saint-Martin has already suggested (II.385, n. 38), is probably a reference to the Sahara Desert.
7Mauritonia, or Ko’chi Késarína; Ptol. (IV.2.1): É ‘Mauritania é Kaisarénsia, i.e., roughly Algeria with its capital at lol Kaisareia, now Cherchel.
8Kinaáthi. Originally only red ochre (paroxide of iron) was the principle earth called cinnamon, but later the name was given to red sulphate of mercury (Spanish quicksilver), the only important ore of mercury (Schoff: 137). This drug is mentioned by Dioscorides (V.4.30, n. 131). There is no mention of yzan, which the Whistons, in S1736, read as yzan, ‘hyacinth,’ the stone called in Greek "hyakinthos." This drug is mentioned by Dioscorides (V.109). This drug is mentioned by Dioscorides (V.109).
9This scar of Armenian-Byzantine history, if it is not an interpolation, would be of value in dating the ASX. Nerse Kamsarakian was designated a curopalate and made presiding prince of Armenia by Nerseh Kamsarakan was designated a curopalate and made presiding prince of Armenia by Nero (Muralt: 339) tells of a letter from Pope Leo III dated 26 August, 812 which mentions that the Emperor Michael I (811-813) had sent a patrician and two other officials against the Moors who had pillaged the islands of Lampedusa; Pontia, and Isola Maggiore. The ASX may perhaps be referring to this latter incident. In this case may we not see our author’s Tisoba as a corruption of Isola?
10Kvärënakas or Ko’chi Petapetëvik’; Ptol. (IV.4.9, 4): Kyraíakeda Pentapolis. (Jones, CERP, Ch. XII).
11Erebokmaran pastzegbn; Ptol. (IV.4.9): képos Hesperidon.
12Luk’; Erem. (1972:227): (X)luk; Ptol. (IV.3.3): Khaledon.
13Alaz’or; Ptol. (IV.4.4): Latibin cot.

III. Libya

15Tadrakék’ ‘mant-eaters.’
16Kenoro; Erem. (ibid.): Kenotofos.
17Sagin.
18Spaínik.
19Arjankvuk’, cf. arj ‘bear,’ and modern Armenian arjafakinik ‘marmoset.’

(Jones, CERP, Ch. XI).
21An’ti’or; Ptol. (IV.5.12): Antíbdon.
22Rinokowras; (IV.5.12): Rinokowras, now al-Elahis.
23Askalon; (V.6.2; VIII.20.15; VIII.22.15): Askalôn.
24Kafac’ K’atak’; (IV.5.13): Heródon polis. The Armenian is a calque on the Greek ‘City of Heros.’
25Cinnanaten, literally ‘apricot-colored’ but here, as usual in Armenian, it translates the Greek porphyritos; ‘purple’ or perhaps ‘crimson’; Ptol. (IV.5.27): Porphyrites oros.
26Gubs erku sinuacys, which Saint-Martin translated as ‘two canals,’ and Soukry as ‘two cisterns.’ I am inclined to follow the former reading, taking the word gab, meaning ‘pit,’ ‘ditch,’ ‘hollow,’ ‘den,’ ‘well,’ ‘cistern’ or ‘abyss’ to refer to the canals cut between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. Gab, in the sense of ‘ditch’ and, by extension, ‘canal,’ would appear to apply here, especially since sinuac specifically refers to something artificially as opposed to naturally made.
27Nefus; Ptol. (IV.5.38): Neilos.
28Meon Akék’sandria; Ptol. (IV.5.9, passim): Alexandria.
29Ravananičia; Ptol. (IV.5.10): Sebeenniçikon, a mouth of the Nile.
30Marea liç; Ptol. (IV.5.20): Mariea limné, now Lake Mareotis.
31Gebon, which Eremyan (228) took to be an interpolation. The identification of the Nile with the biblical Gilon (Gen. 2:13) is at least as old as Josephus (Ant. I. 39).
32I Luuni Leri; Ptol. (IV.8.36): Seletén oros. Probably the Ruwenzor range.
33Eptololitois oros’; here simply transliterated, where above (n. 36) the same name was translated into Armenian; Ptol. (IV.17.1): Heriopolgetes Kolpos.

34The Gulf of Suez.
35Tania; Ptol. (IV.5.52): Tanis.
36Karmir ov; Ptol. (IV.7.4): Erythra Tholassa, the Red Sea.
37Arachatoc’ or ov; (IV.5.13, passim): Arachos kolpos.
38Jnuker asgyn, or Ko’cin Arab-Égypac’; Ptol. (IV.5.27): Arabagypitou ikhbyrophagaoi... The Egyptian Sea was probably the Mediterranean between Egypt and Cyprus.

39By éndhbanur aixarv ‘general land,’ I understand a region (such as Libya) rather than an organized administrative division (such as Egypt). Both Soukry and Saint-Martin ignored this term whenever it occurred in the text. I have tried to give it some meaning as the author must surely have intended.
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)

98

98 Endis Libia; Ptol. (IV.6.1): Entos Libyi.

99 There is a lacuna in the text after the word karmagoyos 'red colored' (Soukry, Arm. text: 19). The 'Red Plain' referred to is apparently the Sahara again.

99 Bagradas; Ptol. (IV.3.6): Bagradas, now the Medjerda (DGRG). Polybios (I.75) calls this river the Makaratas, from Mokar, the Phoenecian Hercules. Bagradas is an obvious corruption of the earlier name showing the familiar mutations of M to B and K to G.

99 Kionop’s; Ptol. (V.3.13, 6.11): Kionopy pot. (some ms.: Kinipht), Pliny (V.A.27): Cynopy, which places it in Cyrenaica. This river has not been satisfactorily identified (Müller:630).


99 ‘T’uuk azgo; Ptol. (V.II.17): Pygmyoii.

99 ‘Pik’s; unidentified; perhaps the Pygmies again?

99 ‘Triq’ik’; perhaps the Tebesh, a Nyangiya-speaking tribe of Uganda once much more extensive in its range (Mokhtar 1981:589).

99 Spitakelerink).

99 ‘Ringejertiir ‘nose-horn’, a calque on the Greek rhinokeros.

99 ‘Getai’ river-horse’, a calque on the Greek hippopotamos.

99 ‘Pixel, a word of Iranian origin.

99 ‘Raptos-, supos, a Nyangiya-speaking tribe of Uganda once much more extensive in its range (Mokhtar 1981:589).

99 ‘Raptos, supos; the Rechahim or Rechabites are mentioned in Jeremiah 35:18-19. A religious sect among the ancient Hebrews, they are identified in I Chronicles II: 55 with the Kenites, puritanical.

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Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) (R.H.H.). As before, I feel that Eremyan makes too much of this ecclesiastical break. Rather, it seems mentioned by Diodoros of Sicily (III.356), a word more commonly spelled

land between the Black and Mediterranean Seas), the author of the

in its description of the 'Middle Land'

that their influence was detectable in this part of the work. That the later changes made after the period

565). Since the

situation which existed at various times between the period of the reforms of Diocletian (284-305),

and the

in analyzing this portion of the text, it became clear to Eremyan

100

but it was certainly under Heraclius (610-642). Jenkins (1966:22-23) felt that the Emperor may have

Cyprus make it clear that neither of these was directly used by our author.

One thing that is clear, is that Ananias knows nothing of the thematic system which replaced the

earlier provinces of the Byzantine Empire. A considerable amount of debate has circulated around the exact date at which this system was established in Asia Minor (Ostrovskiy, ed., 1967; Kaegi 1967), but it was certainly under Heraclius (610-642). Jenkins (1966:22-23) felt that the Emperor may have founded them prior to his Persian campaign of 622 and I tend to feel that this is correct. At this time, Heraclius went out into the region where these themes were already established, and in 627 there is a mention of

tourmarkhos

of Pliny (VIII.27-69) with the Armenian letter օ' 'n' being mistaken by a copyist for ո' 'n'? The word may also be connected with that of the kepos, a long-tailed monkey mentioned by Diodoros of Sicily (III.356), a word more commonly spelled kebos. Infra n. 56 A.

IV. ASIA MINOR

1 In analyzing this portion of the text, it became clear to Eremyan (PBH 1(60) 1973-238-239, n. 4) that in its description of the 'Middle Land' (Mijerkrâk', the Anatolian Peninsula or Asia Minor, i.e., the land between the Black and Mediterranean Seas), the author of the

Descriptio Orbis Romani

is white clay, potters' earth or marl, see Strabo (XII.8.11).

IIlion, Dardanon, Troyada; (V.2.6): 'Elosis, Enoi;

Kyparissos, Thyrès, Patrai, Kydonia, Asinon, Termessos, Syene, Karia, Hemitra, etc.

eladas, Zopias, Sagans;

Kiania;

Kiania;

Kiania;

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Kiania;...
For Hierokles, Honorias is the thirty-second province of the Byzantine Empire and the thirteenth of Asia. (Jones, CERP, Ch. IV).

"Zosimos os zo He (read: "Zaliskos os zoi He"); Ptol. (V.4.3): Zaliskos pot., Halys pot., the latter of which is now, the Kizil Irnak.

"Germainopolis oro bera Gagra (read: "Germanopaulia, oros berdu Gagra"); Ptol. (V.4.5): Germanopolis, which was only later called Gagra. Here the author attempts to rationalize the two names by assigning the later one to the citadel of the town.

"Galatia Arafa; Ptol. (V.4): Galatia, Hierokles’ thirty-fourth province of the Byzantine Empire and fifteenth of Asia. (Jones, CERP, Ch. IV).

"Erkord Galatia. Although the text has Second Galatia (i.e., Galatia Salutaris) extending to Pamphylia, a glance at a map of Asia Minor in Classical times will show that Pisidia and Lykaonia separated these two provinces until the Byzantine period (see Hierokles). The AΣX counts Pisidia as part of Phrygia (supra. n. 45) but cites Lykaonia separately (infra n. 68; Jones, CERP, ch. IV).

"Camshaka; Ptol. (V.5): Pamphyliia, Hierokles’ twenty-seventh province of the Byzantine Empire and eighth of Asia (Jones, CERP, Ch. V).


"Kipros, i. e., Cyprus, infra n. 84.

"Leinr Tarosos, Ptol. (V.6.18): Taros oros. BP (III.14) uses the name C’wl for this range, an Armenian translation of the Greek taurus ‘bull.’

"Lin and xwngs, strakh, kacum browskim kalamaita… (Erem.: xwngs srapak siwtokrikos, spiggontit, kalamiot). Calomite (Gk: kalamos) signifies ‘reed’ or ‘cane’, but also referred to an aromatic native to Syria and Arabia.

"Eremyan (241) considered this sentence to be a later interpolation which it probably is.

"Selekivia; Ptol. (V.8.5): Seleukia Trakhheia, the metropolitan see of Isauria, now Silifke on the south coast of Asia Minor.

"Antonina interregnum?

"Likonia (read: ‘Likonyas’; Ptol. (V.4.10): Lykonia), a prefecture of Kappadokia from the first till the fourth century when it became a separate province and metropolitanae with its capital at Ikonion (Konya). This is Hierokles’ twenty-fifth province of the Byzantine Empire and sixth of Asia. (Jones, CERP, Ch. V).

"Elenopontos. The province of Helenopontos did not exist prior to the fourth century. Originally a part of the province of Kappadokia, after the breakup of the larger provincial units by Diocletian, this territory appears in the Verona Laterculus (c. 297) as the province of Diosopontos, and later in the Laterculus of Polemonius Silvius (written between 386 and 448) as Pontus Amaasia. Between the period of these two documents, Constantine the Great (306-337) renamed the province Helenopontos in honor of his mother, the Empress Helen, and this name appears to have remained in use, in spite of the evidence of Polemonius Silvius, for the Emperor Justinian (527-565) united Pontos Polemoniakos and Helenopontos into a single province bearing the latter name. As Eremyan points out (241, n. 1), the author of the AΣX is not aware of this change, and retains Helenopontos and Pontos Polemoniakos as separate units. This appears to have caused a problem for some copyists of the AΣX, however, for there is considerable variation in the treatment of Helenopontos in S (for which see infra n. 72), while L is noticeably laconic at this point in the text, only mentioning rather than describing the province, and doing so twice! The capital of Helenopontos lay at Amaseia (now Amasya), an important city and metropolitan see curiously not mentioned in the text. For Hierokles, Pontos
Polemoniakos and Lykaonia are still separate provinces, the former the thirty-ninth of the Empire and the twentieth of Asia; the latter the twenty-fifth and sixth.

Elionpontos, Helenopontos bordered Paphlagonia but in Ptolemy's time First Galatia separated its territory (Pontos Galatia) from Second Galatia (Galatia Salutaris).

Pontos Polemonakan; Ptol. (V.6:4): Pontos Polemoniakos. This is the thirty-ninth province of the Byzantine Empire according to Hierokles and the twentieth of Asia. For the Pontos see Bryer and Winfield (1985) and Sinclair II, ch. IV.

Elionpontos. There is no explanation for Helenopontos being cited twice in the text although the ms. is quite explicit in doing so. This can only be a simple copyist's error or misunderstanding of the original passage.

Arajin Papatokia (read: Arajin *Kapadokia). First Kappadokia was the name given to the central part of the former province of Cappadocia in the period 371-536. With its capital at Kaisarea (Kayseri), it formed a metropolitan see to which the Armenian Church was subordinate until the late fourth century when Greater Armenia passed under Persian domination. According to Hierokles (p. 12), First Kappadokia contained the cities of Kaisarea, Nysa, [Basilikai] Thermai, and Podanos, to which George of Cyprus (pp. 6, 61) adds Aipolis and Kikistê, with Kaisarea as the seat of the metropolitan, and the other five as seats of his suffragan bishops. For Hierokles, this is the thirty-sixth province of the Empire and the seventeenth of Asia. (For Cappadocia see Ramsay, 1890/1972; Herz, 1948: 109-12, 311; Jones, CERP, Ch. VII; Hild 1977; ANRW and Sinclair II, chs. VI, VIII Efr IV, VIIIb). For Kappadokia as Armenian territory see YK 11.18.

Aixtarahamar, a word which according to Eremyan (248, n. 4) is a special term corresponding to the Iranian šahrmar (cf. Sebênos, I, where Vahan, Prince of Siwnik' requests that the dīnav of Siwnik' (i.e., the administrative center to which the Prince of Siwnik' was subordinated), be transferred from the city of Drin to that of P'at'yrakan ['in the šahrmar of Ap'trakan']. Here, šahrmar is a subdivision of the Persian Empire supposedly established by Khosro Anosarvan (531-579). See Rawlinson, 1876: 429; Christensen 1944: 102; Toum. 1963: 158, n. 33; Ad.-Gar., 167 and infra IX: 1-2). According to Eremyan (ibid) an aixtarahamar was a district connected with the census used for the collection of taxes.

Antiavuros; Ptol. (V.6:8): Antiavuros oros, the concatenation of generally low mountains separating the valley of the Halys River from that of the Euphrates.

Mēlas eu ᾠάλι; (V.6:8): Melas, not to be confused with another Melas (now the Tohma-su) flowing into the Europhatres close to Meliteine. As Eremyan points out (248, n. 4) the Mēlas referred to here was a tributary of the Ais (Halys, now the Kisil Irmaq, the principle river of Anatolia).

Arajin eu Erkrdor Kilikayk'. Originally a single Roman province (Ptol.: V.7), in the time of Constantine I (306-337), Kilikia was divided into three provinces: Isauria, with its capital at Seleukia; First Kilikia centered at Tarsos, and Second Kilikia centered at Anazarba. For Hierokles, these are fifty-second and fifty-third provinces of the Empire and the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Asia. (Jones, CERP, Ch. VIII; Herzfeld 1948: 97; Edwards 1987).

Saïkekcan Cöyım; Ptol. (V.7:1): Issikon Kolpê, now the Gulf of Iskenderun.

Anımahalı, Kalidos, Damos, Kiednos, Sarios, Pirosos, Piramos; Ptol. (V.8:3): Oymagodos, Kalykadnos; (V.8:4): Lamos; (V.8:4): Kydinos, Sarios, Pyramos. (See Appendix X).

Tarsos; Ptol. (V.8:7): Tarsos, now Tarsus, birthplace of St. Paul.

Anarzabá; (V.8:7): Kaisarea pros Anazarbô.

Malis eu Platan; (V.8:7): Amanakai Pylaí 'the Amanos Gates', but Ptolemy does not give their respective names. For him (V.8:4) Mallos is a town.

...er kiria Yordanana. A biblical reference (infra VIII, n. 45).
River; Hon. (1935:85-87) identifies them with the passes of Kylinoros and Adathas of Byzantine sources.

V. SARMATIA AND NORTH CAUCASIA

1 Asxar Asiyor Sarmac'oc' basarakan 6, i.e., the vast steppe country between the Don and the Volga extending southwards to include North Caucasia known to the Greeks as 

Kythnos (for the major peoples of Sarmatia see Minns 1913; Rice 1957; Suliminsky 1970; and Ter-Mkrt'yan 1979).

2 Ripea, supra II n. 64.

3 Taynalias, supra I, n. 199.

4 Metest Cossak, supra I, n. 201.

5 Ekinivos Pontos cor; Ptol. (V.6; 9.7: 10.1): Euxinimos Pontos 'the hospitable sea,' not, as commonly supposed, in opposition to an original axios 'inhospitable,' cf. Pliny VI.11: 1: Azenvo), but from OP axsaina 'dark colored' (Högenmann and Buschmann 1986), a name preserved in the modern 'Black' Sea (Russ.: Chernoe More; Tk: Kara Demiz).

6 Kas' (PhhKdfkoh Kas' (Strabo XI.8.9), the former being the hospitable, the latter the hospitable sea,' not, as commonly supposed, in opposition to an original axios 'inhospitable.' (cf. Pliny VI.1: 10.1: Azenvo), but from OP axsaina 'dark colored' (Högenmann and Buschmann 1986), a name preserved in the modern 'Black' Sea (Russ.: Chernoe More; Tk: Kara Demiz).

7 Kaspios; Pl. (v.8.4): Koraxpot., whence Persian Kas' (Allen 1967:305). The chief historical interest of the range lies in the periodic raids of the northern tribes serving since antiquity as a natural frontier between Europe and Asia; between the barbarians of the steppe and the civilized lands to the south. The range extends for about 700 miles (1127 km.), is from 60 to 106 Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) to 112 miles (16,916 ft./5172 m.), the highest in the Middle East, to the semi-desert steppes of Azerbaijan and the lbus, humid, semi-tropical forests of West Georgia and Tbilisi. The climate varies from the harsh, continental extremes of the Armenian Plateau, with its long cold winters and short, hot, dry summers, to those of the rainless Ajpheron Peninsula extending into the Caspian Sea, and the humid port of Batumi near the Turkish border, which has the maximum rainfall and the warmest temperatures of any city in the Soviet Union. Flora and fauna are as varied as the topography, climate and elevation, a great number of natural resources are found in the region, while its ethnic complexity was noted as long ago as the 1st century A.D. More than fifty distinct people inhabit the range with its own language. The various tongues belong either to the Indo-European Family (e.g., Armenian, Ossetian, Kurdish, etc.), to the Turkic (Azeri, Turkmen, Karachay, etc.), to the Mongol (Kalmyk) or to the Palaeo-Caucasian (Georgian, Circassian, Chechen, etc.) and of Daghestan). The relationship between the various Palaeo-Caucasian languages is as yet unclear. In religion, the Caucasians are predominantly Christians (Greek Orthodox Georgians, Armenian Apostolics, Assyrians of both the Nestorian and Jacobite sects) or Muslims (Sunni: Kumuks, Balkars, etc., and mixed Shia-Sunni: Azeri, Talysh, etc.). The mountain tribes, however, frequently manifest only a thin strain of Christianity and are influenced by the reverent attitude toward the holy land (and the Holy Land) observed by many of the mountain tribes, which may still be detected the remains of a highly developed paganism. The Iranian-speaking Tats are mostly Jews, but some are Muslims and some belong to the Armenian faith. The Kalmyks are largely Lamaist Buddhists. For all these differences, however a community of customs, a shared history, and a similar way of life exists to at least some degree among all the Caucasian peoples and this gives the area what little unity it has.

History: North Caucasia. Man has existed in Caucasus since the early Stone Age and excavations have revealed that a single culture, called by Soviet Scholars eneselich ('copper-stone'), flourished on both sides of the range from c. 3250 to c. 2000 B.C. North Caucasus was dominated by the Iranian Scythings from c. 750-250 B.C. and then by the related Sarmatian tribes from c. 250 B.C. - 250 A.D. after which the Sarmatian Alans controlled the area until the great Volkerwanderung of the fourth-seventh centuries. In the seventh century, the Khazars, centered at Itil (CP DAI 372/Atib); near Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga, dominated the lesser states in northeast Caucasus (Alania, Sarit, Khaydan, etc.), although, given the difficulty of controlling the mountain people even in the fourteenth century, it seems unlikely that the domination of any of these nomadic polities was anything more than nominal in the range itself. Greek colonies existed on the Black Sea coast of northwestern Caucasus from the eighth century B.C. into the Middle Ages, and from these, Greek cultural influences penetrated the mountains and, still later, Christianity as well. The final destruction of the Khazar state in the tenth century led to a resurgence of the Alans, but their kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols, who in view of North Caucasia is divided into a western sector, the basin of the River Kuban, and an eastern, the basin of the Terek, the two separated by the low-lying Stavropol ridge, but both including the Steppe country sloping upwards to the Caucasus range. On the south, Caucasia consists of three sections: 1) Georgia in the West, subdivided into West Georgia (successively Kollkhis/Lazica/Abas- gia) located in the basin of the River Rioni (Phaistis), and East Georgia (ancient Iberia or K'art'li), located along the middle course of the River Kura (Cyrum/Meqvari); 2) Azerbaijan in the East (ancient Albania, later Arran, then Shirvan) the low-lying and arid Kura-Araz basin; and 3) Armenia, lying on the high mountainous plateau overlooking Georgia on the North and Azerbaijan to the East, and buttressed by the Lesser Caucasus (Melas Kaukhus) range. (See Appendix X)

Caucasia is remarkable for its diversity and there is little that its various regions share except their distinctiveness from the adjacent areas of Russia, Anatolia, Central Asia and Iran. The topography ranges from alpine regions, which include Mt. Elbruz (18,510 ft./5360 m.), the highest peak in Europe, and Mt. Ararat (16,916 ft./5172 m.), the highest in the Middle East, to the semi-desert steppes of Azerbaijan and the lbus, humid, semi-tropical forests of West Georgia and Tbilisi. The climate varies from the harsh, continental extremes of the Armenian Plateau, with its long cold winters and short, hot, dry summers, to those of the rainless Ajpheron Peninsula extending into the Caspian Sea, and the humid port of Batumi near the Turkish border, which has the maximum rainfall and the warmest temperatures of any city in the Soviet Union. Flora and fauna are as varied as the topography, climate and elevation, a great number of natural resources are found in the region, while its ethnic complexity was noted as long ago as the 1st century A.D. More than fifty distinct people inhabit the range with its own language. The various tongues belong either to the Indo-European Family (e.g., Armenian, Ossetian, Kurdish, etc.), to the Turkic (Azeri, Turkmen, Karachay, etc.), to the Mongol (Kalmyk) or to the Palaeo-Caucasian (Georgian, Circassian, Chechen, etc.) and of Daghestan). The relationship between the various Palaeo-Caucasian languages is as yet unclear. In religion, the Caucasians are predominantly Christians (Greek Orthodox Georgians, Armenian Apostolics, Assyrians of both the Nestorian and Jacobite sects) or Muslims (Sunni: Kumuks, Balkars, etc., and mixed Shia-Sunni: Azeri, Talysh, etc.). The mountain tribes, however, frequently manifest only a thin strain of Christianity and are influenced by the reverent attitude toward the holy land (and the Holy Land) observed by many of the mountain tribes, which may still be detected the remains of a highly developed paganism. The Iranian-speaking Tats are mostly Jews, but some are Muslims and some belong to the Armenian faith. The Kalmyks are largely Lamaist Buddhists. For all these differences, however a community of customs, a shared history, and a similar way of life exists to at least some degree among all the Caucasian peoples and this gives the area what little unity it has.

History: North Caucasia. Man has existed in Caucasus since the early Stone Age and excavations have revealed that a single culture, called by Soviet Scholars eneselich ('copper-stone'), flourished on both sides of the range from c. 3250 to c. 2000 B.C. North Caucasus was dominated by the Iranian Scythings from c. 750-250 B.C. and then by the related Sarmatian tribes from c. 250 B.C. - 250 A.D. after which the Sarmatian Alans controlled the area until the great Volkerwanderung of the fourth-seventh centuries. In the seventh century, the Khazars, centered at Itil (CP DAI 372/Atib); near Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga, dominated the lesser states in northeast Caucasus (Alania, Sarit, Khaydan, etc.), although, given the difficulty of controlling the mountain people even in the fourteenth century, it seems unlikely that the domination of any of these nomadic polities was anything more than nominal in the range itself. Greek colonies existed on the Black Sea coast of northwestern Caucasus from the eighth century B.C. into the Middle Ages, and from these, Greek cultural influences penetrated the mountains and, still later, Christianity as well. The final destruction of the Khazar state in the tenth century led to a resurgence of the Alans, but their kingdom was destroyed by the Mongols, who in view of North Caucasia is divided into a western sector, the basin of the River Kuban, and an eastern, the basin of the Terek, the two separated by the low-lying Stavropol ridge, but both including the Steppe country sloping upwards to the Caucasus range. On the south, Caucasia consists of three sections: 1) Georgia in the West, subdivided into West Georgia (successively Kollkhis/Lazica/Abas- gia) located in the basin of the River Rioni (Phaistis), and East Georgia (ancient Iberia or K'art'li), located along the middle course of the River Kura (Cyrum/Meqvari); 2) Azerbaijan in the East (ancient Albania, later Arran, then Shirvan) the low-lying and arid Kura-Araz basin; and 3) Armenia, lying on the high mountainous plateau overlooking Georgia on the North and Azerbaijan to the East, and buttressed by the Lesser Caucasus (Melas Kaukhus) range. (See Appendix X)
the fourteenth century succeeded for the first time in history in uniting Northern and Southern Caucasus under a single rule. When the Mongol Empire broke up in 1256, North Caucasus passed under the domination of one of its successor states, the Golden Horde centered on the lower Volga, and, as this power weakened in the fifteenth century, the native Circassian tribes gained control over Northwestern Caucasus while other local formations emerged in the Northeast most of which survived until the Russian annexations of the early nineteenth century. (Cf. Akhier 1989,passim.) History: South Caucasus. The earliest politics to emerge in South Caucasus were the Nairi states referred to in Assyrian inscriptions (c. 1,114-1,077 B.C.). These appear to have been later gathered into the Urartian federation centered in the basin of Lake Van, which became the chief rival of Assyria until destroyed by the Scythians in c. 612-585 B.C. and overrun by the Medes (c. 585 - c. 550). Thereafter, most of South Caucasus became a part of the Achaemenian Empire of Iran (c. 550-330) and then, at least nominally, of the Seleucid successors of Alexander (323-189). Locally, the state of Kolkhis had already emerged in Urartian times, Armenia after the fall of Urartu, Iberia after the death of Alexander and Albania not long after. Albania was destroyed in the Middle Ages. East and West Georgia were united in 1080, while Armenia, partitioned in 387 and kingless after 428, emerged in the ninth from Arab domination as several kingdoms, the last of which, Cilicia, was overrun by the Muslims only in 1375.

The location of the South Caucasians upon a plateau of the highest strategic and commercial importance has played a decisive role in their history, which has always moved on two levels: Internationally, they have been caught in the titanic struggles between the great powers which have risen on either side of them, Rome versus Iran; Byzantium versus, successively, Iran, the Arabs and the Turks; the Turks versus the Mongols; one Turkoman tribe against another; the Ottomans versus Iran, then Russia; and the Russians against the Turks and, in the form of NATO bases in Turkey, the United States.

Russia; and the Russians against the Turks and, in the form of NATO bases in Turkey, the United States. Byhen 1930; Hancar von Klaproth 1814; Golovin 1854; Mozer 1856; Perzold 1887; Freshfield 1888; Veidenbaum 1888, de included in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) of the USSR.

The three republics formed a larger administrative unit, the Trans-Caucasian Federation, which included the Karachai-Circassian Autonomous Oblast; and, finally, the Kabardino-Balkar, North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (T.S.F.S.R.) from 1922, but this was dissolved in 1936.

With the independence of action.

From Arab domination as several kingdoms, the last of which, Cilicia, was overrun by the Muslims only in 1375.

Tyrcae

Lerins zantzian

Korax oros

Krak's learn-
very problematic), our author specifically refers to the Western Kük Türk Qaganate ('empire'). Originally, vassals of the Juan-juan in Central Asia, the Kük Turks became independent in 552 and soon dominated Central Asia arriving at the Volga by 554. After crushing the Hepthalites or 'White Huns' of Transcaspia in 565, they assumed the latter's anomy to the Persian Empire. After unsatisfactory attempts to secure an effective anti-Persian alliance with Byzantium, the Kük Turks raided Byzantine territory in the Crimea and Lazikta. The power of the Kük Turks proved to be as ephemeral as its emergence was sudden. Civil war wrecked the qaganate for many years (582-603) during which many of their Oğur Turk vassals (Ps.-Zach. XII: Oğor) went over to the Avars. By the 630's, the qaganate had collapsed and the Kük Turks were destroyed by the Qarluqs in 766. The Kük Turks are notable for being the first important Turkic political formation, and their influence in administrative, military and dynastic affairs upon the various Turkic states, including the Khazars and Bulgars, which arose from their retreat back to Central Asia was profound (Grouzet 1946; Artamonov 1962; Barthold "Türks" El 8; Gumilev 1967; Golden 1980).

18 Bulgar'. The Bulgars, as their name implies (Turkic: bulğa-"mix'"), were a federation of closely related Turkic peoples largely of Oğur Turkish origin who were the most important Turkic formation in the Kázhar period. Their federation emerged in the stepspe of modern Kazakhstan to the east of the Caspian Sea and under Hun pressure, they migrated westwards and settled in the Ural region in the vicinity of the River Yaik; Gk: Daix (Men. Prot. quoted in PW s. v. "Daix") or (CP DAI 37/3:164): Geékh; AM (XXIII.6.63): Daicus; Russ. : Yaik, now the Ural, from Turkish: Yayq or Jayq, the Bulgar/Oğuric form for Yayq (Nemeth, HMK: 112-113; Golden:43). First mentioned by name in the late tenth century (ps-Zach. XII), by the seventh (under the leadership of Qobrat or Kubrat, a one-time vassal of the Avars who, with Byzantine aid cast off the Avar yoke), they had established a short-lived Khánate of Greater Bulgar located between the Sea of Azov and the Kuban River in northwestern Caucasus. After Qobrat's death, his state was divided among his five sons, and shortly crumbling leaving the field clear for Kázhar domination of the Steppes. It is Qobrat (584-642) whose son Asparuhi (679-701) is referred to by our author (supra II, n. 98) as having fled the Khazars (Dunlop 1952; NK l 1960: 404-466; Artamonov 1962; Obolensky 1966; Golden 1980). According to MX (II.6), those who settled in Armenia "below", i.e., "south of", Köt; but associates this event with a period before the birth of Christ so that we do not know what to make of this reference.

19 Kupi Bulkar, from the Kupi's or Kopi's River, now the Kuban (Patanov 1833:29; Artamonov 1962:164-166; Erem, 1973:2:262, n. 24).

20 Dači Bulkar (read: "K'k'i Bulkar"), correctly Dači Bulkar, i.e., the Bulgars of the Dnepr (Marq. 1901:140, 154, n. 47) perhaps the Kutrigurs; Ps.-Zach. (XII): Khortrigor; Proc. Goth. (VIII.5.2): Koutrigouroi (Artamonov:168; Erem.: ibid:262, n. 25).

21 Obestent Bikaner, Syr.: Umgner (ps-Zach. XIII); RA (IV.2): Patria Onogoria; (CF DAI, 000): Onogoroi, the Vlender Bulgar of MX (II.6), according to whom some settled in Armenia in the districts of Basan and Vanan to the latter of which they supposedly gave their name although the name Vanan is attested long before the Bulgars came upon the scene. The name is derived from mong.: baghatar 'hero' (Thomson, MX, 136 n. 9 quoting the Malx. ed. of MX ad. loc. and n. 77), Agathias (II.22.3, passim) mentions a fortress of Onogoroi in Lazikta, as well as the Onogoroi Huns (III.5.6).

22 C'darholkar; Erem.: (ibid.:27) "C'undar, which he connects with the Khazar town of C'undar in Daghestan (infra n. 111). Apparently, these Bulgars lived in the northeastern Caucasus steppes, perhaps along a tributary of the Terek.

23 Supra II n. 98.

24 Garik', which Eremyan (ibid.:263, n. 30) corrects to "Gašk and connects to the Hittite Gask or Kaliba: Proc. (V.19.25): Kerbeeto; Pliny (VI.4:7, 5.17): Ceretees; Ps.-Zakh. (XII): Khasár; Byz.: Kasakhos/Kasakhia, Geo.: Cerkezi; Arab.: Kasás; Russ.: Kasagi, Kadygi, later Chekeres, i.e., the Circassians of Western authors. The Ossetians still use the term K'tasag for the Adyge, a remnant of the Circassian homeland in northeast Caucasian when the bulk of population emigrated to Turkey in the nineteenth century. (Interiano 1502; Pallás 1812; Spencer 1836; Bell 1840; Longworth 1940; Liule 1927; Namitko 1939; idem. 1956; Luzbettak 1951; Tlaho 1955:145-162; idem. 1956; idem. 1957; Nogmov 1958; "Kazar/Chardezi", NK I:118: New El: "Adygehe" ibid.: 200-223; NY IV 1967:145-166; Kalmykov 1974; Akiner 1983:190-197, 215-220, 230-365; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:190 "Chekeres." At this point in the text our author has left the Sarmatian plains and has begun to cite the peoples of the Caucasian Mountains, more especially those dwelling in the north of the range which he describes from West to East. (For the theory that the non-Indo-European, non-Iranian and non-Turk-speaking autochthons of Caucasian represent the remnants of the primordial population of the ancient Mediterranean world to which Marr gave the name 'japhetic', see Marr 1923; Cavassri 1929; Steiper 1930; Gugulvili 1936; Mekisvili 1940; Vogt 1964; Toumanoff 1963).

25 K'k't'; Geo.: K'urt'auli, of which the earlier form would be K'urt'aur, one of the Alano-Ossetian tribes still known as the Kertstinti to the Russians as late as the eighteenth century (Erem., ibid., 263, n. 31).

26 Swank' (Swank' or Swank'); Proc. (VII.4:9); Soanoii, but cf. (V.9.25): Swanns/okolokhos 'Swanian Kolukois' cf. BP (III.7): Egeruswans' 'Kolkhian Swans'; Strabo (XI.2:19); Soanoii; Pliny (VI.11:30): Swans; Geo.: Soanoii, for the country, the Soanoii of Byzantine sources (Agathias: 4.9.1). The Swans are one of the main components of the Georgian people and still maintain their separate identity. Their name may represents the root S-N found so often in Caucasia (for which see Allen 1932). According to the Russian census figures there were 15,756 Swans in 1897 (Geig.: 15; BSE, 1st. ed. Vol. 30:371). In later censuses, they were included among the Georgians properly called. Called Swann or Swann in Georgian, they call themselves Swon (Swans), singular: Mushon or Mushons (Geig.; ibid.). This may show that they are related to, if not indeed descended from, the Moschi or Pliny (VI.4:11), the Mushki of the Assyrian monuments and the Biblical Mosch (Gen. 10.2), where they are always grouped with the Tabul (Gk: Tibarnerioi, Ibiera), who were among the ancestors of the Iberians or Georgians properly called. Toumanoff, 1963:56, 57, however, greatly doubts any connection between the Mushki and the Swans (Bermualdez 1875; Phillips-Wolley 1883; NK; NY IV; Diakonoff 1984).

27 Pitanum (read: *Pitanum); Strabo (XI.2.14); Pityoun; Proc. Goth. (VIII.1.4): Pitanwona; Geo.: Pitunia, now Pitsunda. The name is perhaps connected to Gk: pytis, cf. phtheiropoios, a species of local pine (Erem.:263, n. 33), and to the Phtheiropoioi of Strabo (XI.2.19), and Phtheiropoioi of Pliny (VI.14.4), the 'pine-seed-eaters' of this coast (as translated by Rackham, Pliny, ed. LCL 347), hardly the 'lice-eaters' as implied by Strabo (and accepted by H.L. Jones, Strabo ed. LCL 21.5, n. 3).

28 Amazor, i.e., Abaza, the ancient name for the Abkazzians, a people closely related to the Circassians but formerly inhabiting the Black Sea coast to the south of the Caucasian range as far as the Hippoos (Kodori) River. The author of the ASX obviously does not consider them to be a part of Kolkhis-Lazika, but includes them among the peoples of Sarmatia. The Georgians call them Adzax, whence the English and Russian forms, while the Turks call them Abaza. There were 72,103 Abkaz in 1897 and 74,000 in 1959 (Geig. op. cit.). This latter figure does not include 6,802 Abaza listed in the Turkish census of 1945, or the Abaza living in Russia proper who numbered 20,000 in 1959. (Vax.: tour: 1954; idem. 1963:256; Abaza 1959:34-40; "Avaz'ii" NK I 1960:232-242; NY IV 12:33-44; Akiner 1983:236-39; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:200).
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)

DAI

map). They are a branch of the Abkhaz

inhabit the coast between the Hippos (Kodori) and Drakon (Egrisis-c’qali) Rivers (Erem. 1979:

related

Abkhazian A.S.S.R. (as it was of medieval Abasgia), and a noted Soviet resort. (See Appendix X).

chabadze 1959;

possibly a tribal federation emerging out of the almagam of Iranian-speaking tribes that was the

topolis ‘city of Augustus’); Geo.:

renamed Sebastopolis for the Emperor Augustus (Gk.:

Georgia in the 790’s (Toum. 1963:256), numbered c. 80,000 (Catford 1977:284) and now form an

populated state centered at Magas (Arab.:

Tk.:

Sukhumi;

Bol’shoi Zelenchuk in the Karachai-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast’ (province), and with the later

Dedyakov, a city mentioned in Russian chronicles and tentatively identified with the ruins of Alkhan-

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Infra VI n. 2.

...azgagawar k’atuman ew vec’. By azgagawar, literally ‘people-district,’ I understand tribes who

possessed a recognized territory as opposed to being nomadic, but who had not reached the stage

where they had established state institutions as had the Bulgars (infra n. 18) and the Khazars (infra II

n. 95).

Arcaunat’ Erkiri; Gk.:

Agnostos ge Gtol. (V.9.1, passim), here, northern Russia.

T’agawonakan Armatark’ (read: ‘Sarmatk’ ew ‘Sarmatia’). Jakperl’; Prol. (V.9.16): Basilikoi Sar-

matiai Kai Modokai etnous. Eremyan (264, n. 43) rejects the suggestion of Patkanov (1877:37, n. 134)

that the Royal Sarmatians of Classical authors (Basilikai Sarmatiai) were the Bel’tsians (infra n. 47)

on the legitimate grounds that the Basilians were of Hunnic origin (Arzrunan 1962:131-132; Gol-

den 1963:143).

Jakperl’; Prol. (V.8.6): Hippophagoi Sarmatiai. This and the previous item, the Royal Sarmatians,

are ‘ghosts’ drawn from earlier authors. These are obviously not ethnics, but descriptive terms

are based upon the way of life of people about whom nothing else was known. Even our author, so
to well versed in the situation in North Caucasus in his own time refuses to part with them (cf. the

Infra n. 43).

Naxcamateank’; Prol. (V.9.16, 17): Ixanmatiai etnous, which Eremyan (1973:265 n. 46) connects

with the town of Expoloi or Hexapoli (V.8.11), and which, on the strength of the witness of the

ASX, connects to ‘Naxcamatiai, ‘Naxapoli, placing the latter in the site of Aksayskaya Stambia near

Rostov-on-Don, and cautioning one not to make a false identification with the eighteenth century

Armenian colony at Rostov called ‘Ner Nakhichevan’ after the Naxicawan on the Araxes in Armenia.

Eremyan (1968:83-84) recalls that the Chechens call themselves Naxzov. (Marr 1922:21; Nokoby;

Traho 1957:96; Gerg. 19; ‘Chechleny’ NK 1, 1960: 354-74; YV1: 184-90; Erem. 2 1963:72; idem.


infra n. 43).

V. Sarmatia and North Caucasus

tians’) inhabiting an hourglass-shaped region extending north and south of the Dauri Gorge. The eastern

Of Ottesi (everywhere miscalled ‘Osse-

eastern Ossetians of Caucasus called themselves Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Iratia (plur.); the west-

Dygor or Dipog (coll.), Dygorun, Dygoron (sing.) (q. v. infra nn. 56 and 61). The Ossetians in

1970 numbered some 488,000. (Von Haxthausen 1854; Miansarow 1874; Miller 1887; Tomaschek El

‘Alali’ 1893; de Zichy 1897; Kulakovski 1899; Buddeley 1908; idem. 1940; Taubler 1909; Bleich-

stein 1918; Cliurisn 1925; Byluk 1963; Verzaschky 1942-43; Thustriel 1951; Verzaschky 1951; Czog-


Serebiania 1969; Cibirov 1970; Beroev 1971: Kuznetsov 1971; Bachrach 1973; Abae-Barrel El;


infra n. 2.

...azgagawar k’atusan ew vec’. By azgagawar, literally ‘people-district,’ I understand tribes who

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Traho 1957:96; Gerg. 19; ‘Chechleny’ NK 1, 1960: 354-74; YV1: 184-90; Erem. 2 1963:72; idem.


Klarf’; S1819: Oljakerk’; S1877: Ortjakerk’; both of which are corruptions for BP (III.7) mentions the Ghark’ as a Caucasian tribe as does El (IV, p. 94): Ghara; Czarar. Apparently, judging from their place in the text, Eremyan (1973:2, n. 47) identified these Klarf’ with the Pessos of Ptol. (V.8.7), and suggested that the affluent of the Kuban called ‘P’stil preserved their name. Actually, however, since pse means ‘water’ in Circassian and is found as an element in several hydronyms of North Caucasus (e.g. Psykho, Pysyrtska, Psakho, Psbakda, Braya, Supsa, Inapce etc.) this proves little, and the tribe could have taken its name from the stream. In his view (ibid) P’stil/Pesvno and Klarf’ were alternative names for the same people, and he considers it probable that in the second century A.D. some of them migrated across the mountains to the lower course of the Corox River (Tk.: Coruh), where they would have established themselves in two districts to which they gave the tribal names: Klarf’ (Geo.: Klarf’; see: Tounn.: 442, 457-466), and Svarf’ (Geo.: Svarf’). Erem-

yan (1973:2, n. 47) considers it significant that Svarf’ occupies the valley of the stream called
V. Sarmatia and North Caucasia

115

Atdak is unclear (Golden, Private communication to the author). He associates their name with that of the Khazar toponym, places them in North Caucasia, as does Baladhurl, who refers to a land of Alans "which is called Barsalia," (Marq. 1901:484-485); Mx (11.58,65), like the author of the Basilikoi Sarmatai, according to Mark. (1938:136), Gk maza-ha-na pean their right breast to improve their archery — an obvious folk-etymology — nor to Proto-Indo-European. Almost as much has been written by modern authors attempting to locate or at least to identify them.

The etymology of the name is uncertain (supra n. 7). Eremyan (ibid., n. 64) identifies Buix or Burt with the modern Bashkirs, the Bajgalids of Arab authors (Marq. 1901:140, 154; Artamonov 1962:234-235), but this seems very unlikely (Golden, private communication).

Sev Ktzi, infra n. 51.

Graw Ktzi Erem. (267, n. 61): "[N]iğrav. This entire passage is a puzzle, but Eremyan following Kovalevski (1953:31-35), interprets it as follows: In ancient times there existed a branch of the Volga flowing through the North Caucasian steppe of which the row of lakes today called Sarpi and a number of salt flats are all that remain. "To the north of this lay the steppe country still called in Russian Chernaya temlya 'black earth.' This would be the Nësëöö Khara 'island district' of Ptol. (V.9.17) The Graw Ktzi 'Graw Island' should thus be read [N]iğrav 'Black Island,' from the Latin nigra 'black,' and its inhabitants would be the Melanchlaen of Pliny (VI.14.15) and Melanchblaino of Ptolomy (V.8.13), whose name means 'black-cloaked."

Adon; Erem. (ibid.): Afw/djon; Ptol. (V.9.12): Oudonos pot., the modern River Kuma.

Alandon; Ptol. (V.8.6): Alonti, Erem. (32): Alandon, the Alatai flumen of SHA Marcus 9.1; CIL 13, 8213 ad Alatius flumen secus Montem Caucasi (Mirford, ANRW VII.2.1224). The lower course of the Terek, the upper course of which was called the Dardarida (Pliny, VI.35; Geno:706, the latter quoted by Erem.:267; n. 63); Geo.: Lonetiki for the entire river (Barthold "Terek" EL 8).

Sondas; Ptol. (V.8.13): Ionas, Erem. (ibid., n. 64): Ionidas, from the tribe called Cranta, i.e., the Dido (infra n. 80), who presumably dwelled along the river of the same name. Eremyan (ibid., n. 64) identifies this with the modern Avar-Koisu River in Dagestan.

Getna; Ptol. (V.8.12): Gerro, a 'ghost' name from Ptolomy via Pappos, as indeed are the previous three tribal names, which, as our author clearly implies, appear to be based on the Greek names of the rivers along which they happened to dwell rather than upon any true local ethnonyms. The DGRG (1:89) considered the Gerro to have been one of Albanian tribes.

Atigor, one of the Alan tribes, literally the 'Alan-Digors,' which Eremyan (ibid., n. 68) connects to the Asaioi of Ptol. (V.8.10). The Digors still exist as one of the major Ossetian tribes (Geig.:46; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:205-206, where they are referred to as 'West Ossetians').

Xurbuk', Unmentioned by Ptolomy, Eremyan (ibid., n. 69) places them in the valley of the Jermuk (sic), a stream which flows into the Avar-Koisu River.

K'ut'etki: Geo.: Kadarr, an Alan-Ossetic tribe that dwelled around the sources of the Rioni River.

Arguel', Geo.: Arguel or Argule't a district which was also called Margulisi. Eremyan (ibid., n. 21), notes that the ASX here preserves the correct name for one of the Georgian tribes — Arguel or Marguel — who dwelled between the Kvirila River and the Argueli's (Lixi or Surami) Mountains. Here their territory formed one of the Iberian duchies (when it did not belong, as it often did, to Kolkhis/Lazika).

Arguel, eu Marsuly eu T'akory, which Eremyan (ibid., n. 268) reads "Arguel eu en Marsoly eu Skirumlik or eu T'akory," the Skirimlik' being borrowed by him from S.

Dik'orin Ardox aixkarin; i.e., "those Digors who dwell in the Ardoz land." Eremyan (ibid., n. 75), notes that the Svanas call the Digor the Saviari, which he connects with Ptolomy's tribal Saurarii (III.5.22).

Ardoz aixkar: the central territory of the Alans, and Eremyan (ibid., n. 76) notes that even today Oerduz means 'forested plain' in Ossetian. Ardoz was located in the plain of Ossetia, near the Digo­rian Mountains (Volkova:110-112).

Armna (nom.: Armen). The uppermost course of the Terek, whose ancient name is preserved in the modern stream called Armz.

Ardoz axgen. According to Eremyan (268, n. 78) this 'Ardozen nation' would be the main
mass of the Alans known as the Iron. MX (II.52) knows of the Ardox, referring correctly or incorrectly to King Arataos having settled Alani captives in the land of Sávarian (around the present town of Maku in the most northwesterly corner of modern Iran), which thereafter was called Arataos "because the land from which they were brought as captives is called Arataos to this very day."

44 Daşlanq; read Daranlcq; Geo.: Rara, the Armenian form coming from a Geo.: *Raraqmi, an area located in the upper course of the Rioni River.

45 Dávelq; Prob. (V.9.21): Oxallos; Pinty (VI.10.30): Velli (but correctly *Douallas/*Dinalli); and perhaps also his Thallic (VI.4.14). RA 69.18: Dıbalon (for their country), an Alan-Ossetian tribe located around the sources of the Ardon River which district was then called Daode's in Georgian; Oss.: Twał's. To this day the Ossetians in the vicinity of the Klukhor Pass are called the Tiwał-ti. The south Ossetians call the district Urs-Thallic'a, but in Georgian Maxzan Dzveli is the same meaning. The Dwali-Twahl of South Ossetia and of the Truso Pass, the Ossetians call Kudar-s. (Tomasech, PW; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:206: "Tial" where they are called "East" Ossetians).

46 Cexoyk'. According to Eremyan (269, n. 83), the name of this tribe is it the Arachi that is the middle of the district of Sacsamawni, the town of Sacsamini (Sukhumi) in Abkhazia, the district of Lećsam in West Georgia and in the Gk: Skymesina (infra n. 60).

47 Park', which Eremyan (ibid., n. 84) corrects to "Awark'. However another Alan-Ossetian tribe bordering directly upon the land of Upper Iberia (Verin alašx Vrac'), and whose name the Georgians calls all the Alan tribes Osos (mod. Geo.: Os). The territory of the Awark' corresponds to the Geo. Maxzan-Dzveli district around the sources of the Lixevi River (Erron. 42).

48 Canarq; Geo. (V.9.25): Sararatoo; Arab.: Sarandroo; for the cutting of the Alans 1959:161); Geo.: Canarik', a Christian people who dwelled around the sources of the Terek River (in modern Kazbegi region), which from their name is referred to in Georgian literature as Cnaretri now Xevi (Khevi) but by the Georgians there as Moxevran. According to Klaproth (1812:676) the Moxevran Os were called Cona, the entire district from the Darial Gorge to Kobi was called Son or Sena, and the Os of Mt. Kazbek (which Eremryan calls Mt. Cona on his maps, 1963, 1979) were called Seona. Minorsky (1985:162, n. 1) thought that the tribal name Canar has its source in the Vainakh languages of the Khevsks and Sonsks, (Sonkha zembya in the upper valley of the Terek River, whose name may be connected with that of the Canar), see Allen 1970:314-19. UU (18), for whatever value so late a source (eleventh century?) might have, relates the Canark' to the Jawaz' and the Trex' (i.e., Jawazets' and Tri泰asians), and all three to the Abkhazians, saying that they had merged to form the Vrac'q' 'Georgians'. The Canark' may indeed have had some connection with the Georgians, the name containing the root Tza, i.e. the Laz + the Svan plural -ar.

49 Alauni davis, the 'Gate of the Alans'; Prob. (V.9.11:15): Sarmatikai Pylai; Sarmatian Gates; Pert.: Darl-Alani or Dar-Alani; Geo.: Daranlam; Russ.: Darial, through which the Georgian Military Highway built by the Byzantine government in the nineteenth century (HSHI 1:136), Erem (ibid., n. 86) identified the Alan Gates with the Albanian Gates of Prolemy (VII.5: Albanian Pylli (Allen 1962:302-03) but I do not agree with this (infra n. 106).

50 Cek'en, which Eremyan (269) corrects to Cek'an, the modern Krestovaya Pass located between the Darial Pass and the village of Pasanauri on the Georgian Military Highway, at the junction of the White and the Black (or Gudamaqaris) Aragvi Rivers. Eremyan (ibid.) identifies this pass with the Sarmatian Gates of Prolemy (V.9.11, 15): Sarmatikai pylli. Reinsegs (1795, 1391, 393) cites a castle called Kunulis-Zigie (sic, i.e., Kunulis-Ciie), the castle of Kumi or Kumuli in the Krestovaya Pass. This name be may be related to the fortress called Cumaliny which Piny (VI.12.30) locates in the pass called the 'Caucasian Gates' which is probably the Cek'an Gates referred to here.

51... darin or ask' Cek'an, homunus asgi. The Celk'ank', Geo.: Calkalanieh, who dwelled along the upper course of the White Aragvi River. Eremyan (ibid., n. 88), connects this tribe with the village of Ciklani (Tiblkan).

52 Tórhek'; read: *Tórhek'; Prob. (V.3.9, 22): Toukori; Strabo (XI.2.11): Doskoi, which Eremyan (ibid., n. 89) thought was derived by way of the Armenian Tósk'; Geo.: Tósk for the tribe; Tías't for their country, located around the sources of the Alazan and Iora Rivers.

53 Xanč', which Eremyan (270, n. 90) corrects to *Xan'iq'; Geo.: Xan'iq, their name for the Avars, who still live in the raion (Soviet administrative district) called Xanqina (Khundzakh) on the shores of the Avar Koi-su River. (For the Avars of the steppe country, to whom the Caucasian Avars are possibly related, supra II, n. 97, and Czegledy 1955). The Avars of Daghestan speak a language, which, together with Andi and Dido, forms one of the six main divisions of the northeast Caucasian languages (Geig. 22). Ps.-Zach. (XII) knows the Avars as a Caucasian people, as does CP DM 29/17: passim, (YN IV.255-71; Akiner 1983:133-38).

54 The Xistik' (Engl.: Kisti), are one of the Chechen-Ingush peoples and it is from their name that the Georgians take one of their principal designations for the entire Chechen-Ingush population: Kit'i or Kit'i, whom they otherwise refer to as C'ecen'i or C'acani (Chachani, Geo.:19, Abaza: Catan). According to the Russian Census of 1897, there were still 413 Kists, but they have not been cited separately in Soviet censuses. Their present location is on the upper Assa, Argun and Alazani Rivers within the Georgian S.S.R. (ibid.).

55... eu apa Tósk' eu Xsk' eu Xistik' maráskhak' and then the 'Ucianas, Xužihs and Xišts, cambals.' In no part of the text it is clear whether or not the mardakerb', lit. 'man-eaters,' 'cambals,' a separate people is intended in addition to the first three, or if the term is a gloss describing the three together, or describing the Xists alone. In the face of this ambiguity, I have followed Eremyan (270, n. 91), whose explanation of this passage seems logical. According to him, Kit'i or Kit'i is the name given by the Georgians of Kaxeti to one of the Vainakh tribes who otherwise called themselves Mayseyrey or Mayseyvoy. From this etymology he suggests the possibility of a local source for the Greek name Modokai Pylai (V.7.21); or Amadoki (III:25) for one of the Sarmatian peoples, a name which Tomasechk (PW 1:171) interprets as 'eaters of raw meat' and identifies with the Anthropoboghapus 'man-eaters' 'cambals' of Herodotus (IV.18); Pinty (VI.20.53): anthropoboghapus Systhicans. Eremyan thought that the name of the AXI, understanding that the (Amadokoi were the Kists, and understanding the etymology of the Greek term as 'cambali', added the latter as a gloss to their name. Among the Bats or Boa-Bash, the Ingush are known as Kis-ti (sing. Quir-se; among the Kumyks, the Chechens, Ingush and Kists are known collectively as Meğçüli, and the Ingush in particular (Geig. 20) as Meğçüli, Meğçüley, perhaps from the name of the River Michigh (Akiner, 1983:197-201). Eremyan believed that from the etymology Mégçüli (sic) could come the Greek Modokoi, from an earlier Mishljeleko, and that Modokoi would be Ptolemy's general name for the Nakho-Chechen peoples of North Central Caucasus. For the Bats (the yafrk' of EHV, p. 147) see YN IV.228-246; for the Ingushi, ibid. 210-227. (Vlastov 1856; Berge 1859; Uslar 1864; Veidenbaum 1888; Avtorkhanov (Uralov) 1930; idem: 193; idem 1952; Baytugan 1956; Traho 1957; Karcha 1957; Geiger 1959; akiner 1983: ibid.)

56 Cèwak', which Eremyan (270) corrects to *C'erak'; Geo.: the C'erakini tribe, who lived in the area around the sources of the White Aragvi River.

57 Gagamaqark'; read: *Gudamaqark'; Geo.: Gudamaqarni, who lived along the gorge of the Black or Gudamaqaris Aragvi River.

58 Duræk', which Eremyan (ibid.) corrects to Durqakaq'; Geo.: Durükhi, for the tribe; Durjuketi for their country. They are the ancestors of the modern Ingush inhabiting the upper course of the Assa River. The Durjuki loom large in the earlier passages of the Georgian Annals, and their name must have once referred to the entire Chechen-Ingush nation in the Georgian language.
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

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Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

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| to be the same tribe that had once occupied a much larger area. According to Eremyan (271, n. 99), this village belongs to the same tribe along the upper course of the Samur River where the village of Akhty is found. Reading the name Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:160ff. (as found in V9.23)), he leaves his own choice of name that was related to the name Xenawdk' (Allen, Ex Pontio LV).

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The term was long used by Russian and Western authors for all of the peoples of Daghestan it is now considered to be properly applied to only ten of the thirty ethnic groups of the region: The Agul, Rutul, Tatskhor, Tabarsar, Budukh, and Xunj (or Kryzty), Khaingulag, Archun, Udin, and Lesgians properly called. Of these, the Udin live in three isolated clusters outside of Daghestan south of the Caucasus in Azerbaijan. According to Arab authors, the Persian Shah Khosro An‘aravân (531-579) appointed a ‘Xosran-Sah’ as ruler of the Lake, and they appear to have been under Persian suzerainty thereafter until the fall of the Empire to the Arabs. Under Persian domination again after 1500, the Lesgians established the Khanate of Kuban and later that of Darband (Akiner 1985:138). According to the Russian Census of 1970 (which used language as its criterion), the Lesgian tribes numbered: Lesgians proper: 311,000 (with another 13,000 ethnic Lesgians speaking another tongue); Aguls, 9000; Rutuls, 12,000; Tatskhir, 12,000; Tabarsans, 59,000; Budukhs, 1000; Dzhukid, 5000; Uldins, 4000; and Archins, 1000. Some of these peoples managed to rise above the tribal level. In the fifteenth century the Tsakhurs established a sultanate at the confluence of the Lop-e-nas and the Lop-en-i, which he equates with the Lup-en-i country. The Lupenians - to coin an English term for them - are frequently mentioned by Armenian authors (Aa 19; LP 35; Eh I, p. 10) and the Patria Lepon and town of Leponissa of RA (IL 2,12). The Ptolemy (VI.10.2) knows only of a locality called Louboin Khono ‘Louboin village’, which must correspond to the Lp’nak ‘city of the Lp’nak’ of MD (II.59), the modern village of Lupenissa at the point where the Lupen stream enters the Alazan. Allen (1962:316-17) cites the Lopotiscas-qaš (sic), at Mt. Lopeti, and a district of Lopeti, which he equates with the Lop-en-i country. The Lopetians - to coin an English term for them - are frequently mentioned by Armenian authors (As 19; LP 35; EI 1, p. 10 passim; MD 1.27 passim). They represent a forgotten Christian kingdom of South Caucasian antiquity, the upper Lop, itself called the Laban in a seventeenth century Russian source, the Kniga Bolshomu Cheretsev ‘Book of the Great Map’ (Erem.:271, n. 101). They seem to have flourished in the second-seventeenth centuries A.D., and in the RA (II.12) their country is treated as a distinct entity on a par with Greater Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Stania (Swirski?) and that of the Massagetai. EI (III, p. 76) refers to the Lop’nas River, generally taken to be identical to the Atbash (mod.: Akstafa), a right affluent of the Kur. On the basis of Eremyan’s information, however, we may consider the possibility that the Lop’nas was the Lop-en-i or even another name for the Alazan, or at least its uppermost, more mountainous, reaches (Hewsen 1988). The name of this people may be connected with that of the Caucasian Albanians (infra IV C, n. 65) with whom they are often associated, i.e. ‘Albanian’ (Hewsen, ASSC I).

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Heniochi mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. II.68), Strabo (XI.2.1, etc.), Pliny (VI.14.12), and Arrian (15) a name which he believed the ancient Greek mythographers had based on the etymology of a local tribal name that was related to the name Xenawdk’ (Allen, Ex Pontio LV).

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1. »Spik`, read: "Spik’", Pliny (VI.10.29): "Silvani; AG (I.10): Silvunus. All texts of the ASX have the Sibik’ followed by the Çilik’, but Eremyan (271) reads: 'Sibik’ or 'Çilik’ the 'sibik’, i.e., 'Çilik’ believing them to be the same people, although BP (III.7) also cites both the Sibik’ and Çilik’. In my view the correct form is Çilik’; (as found in As 20, EI IV, p. 94, and MD 1.14; II.39), but in Pappos the form given was probably 'Silboi' (not Serboi as found in V9.21). The author of our text must have preserved this form as Sibik’, while adding in the Armenian Çilik’, from BP (III.7), taking them to be different people, whereas BP had meant Çilik’ as a gloss on Sibik’, Eremyan (1973, n. 100) connected the name Sibik’ with the village of Sibha in Glama-Kazeri while recognizing that the tribe lived to the north in the deep valley of the Pirik’ (èl) Alazan River. MD (I.14), it should be noted, seems to indicate that the Çilik’ (sic) lived south of the Caucasian at the foot of the range (‘departing again from the town Lp’nk’), they passed into the land of the Çilik’ at the foot of the great mountain (the Caucasus). There is no suggestion that the party crossed the mountains to get to the Çilik’ though they may have done so. For the Çilik’ see Kretschmer in PW, s. v. Silv."

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2. Supra n. 85.
**Xorwan**; read: "Xorvan; also called Xorvan or Xayarvan, the region between the Gil-gil Chay and the Sumgait River just north of the point where the Apsheron Peninsula begins its extension into the Caspian Sea. In the sixth century, it was a feudal principality whose ruler was known as the *Xarsan-lah*. The center of this state was the fortress of Xorvan whose name Eremyan (ibid.) links to that of the *Xyayandark* erroneously written *Xaylandark* by El (II, p.12; VII, p. 141, 198), who perhaps inhabit this area before the rise of Xorvan (c. 510 A.D.). In dating the emergence of both Svan and Xorvan from c. 510, Eremyan doubtless connects their rise with the lapse of the Arsacid Albanian monarchy at about that time. Thomson (MX: 147, n. 12) suggests that the mysterious and otherwise unknown Caucasian people called *Xras* by El (IV, p. 94) might possibly be connected with Khuruan (sic.). Ulubayyan's suggestion (1981:44) that the *Xaylandark* represent the 'Celtic' (sic?) term (*Kelsakan bar*) 'highlander' is unworthy of refutation. El (p. 12) considers them to be 'Huns,' and this is usually accepted today.

*Xorven*; Arab.: 'the wall of Khurvan' (at the modern Mount Besh-Barmak), as this double rampart 220 m apart was called. Built on the left bank of the Gilgil-chay, they separated the districts of Svan and Xorvan from Xorvan (Erem. ibid., n. 106). This construction was the southernmost of the barricades erected to hold off the invasions of the steppe peoples (Trever 1959:274ff.).

**Supra** n. 63, 46.

*II*: 7; *T'awaspark*; El (VI, p. 129); *T'awaspark* for the people, (from Pers.: *Tabar-sarai* 'hatchet heads?'); ibid. (IV, p. 94); *Tawaspanar* for their country and its chief fortress. This would be the territory of the present-day Tabassaran-s, one of the tribes of Daghestan speaking a language that belongs to the Lezgin group of the N.E. Caucasian Languages. The *Tawaspanar*.Tabassaran tribe live to the west of Derbent on the banks of the Kurah River. Perhaps the Arab *Shandan*, and the ancestors of the modern Akhva (Akhusha) people of Daghestan (Erem.: 1973, n. 111); *BP* (III.7); *Imasak*. They are mentioned nowhere else.

*P'asxk'/P'osxk'*. It is not clear if the *P'asxk'* are a different people from the *Pus'ak* who follow them, infra n. 97.

*P'usxak*; 1944: K. 'Kos'; 81777: *P'ask*; the *P'ask* of *BP* (III.7) and *Pusxuk* of El (IV, p. 94), which Eremyan (ibid., n. 113) considered to be all the same form. It is significant, I believe that the Ubykhs, one of the main divisions of the Circassian peoples (YN: 689-704), call themselves *P'axos* (Luzbetak, n. 222), but Eremyan (227, n. 113) considers *P'askak*/*P'ask* to be variant forms of an identical name for one used by the Mahistuans (one of the Chechen tribes) for the Georgian, mountaineers known as the *Keçscars*. Eremyan notes that in Georgian sources only the terms *Psyos*, *P'oxos*, *Psyos*, *Psyos*, *P'oxos*, *P'oxos*, *P'oxos*, *P'oxos*, *P'oxos* are found, which in all probability included both the *P'ask-* and the neighboring *Xevsur-* and that in the so-called Armenian *Chronicle*, a twelfth-century Armenian abridgement of the *Georgian Annals* (*Kartl'is Ccrosveba*), the *P'oxoi* are called *P'asxk'/P'osxk'.

*P'ak'asxak* 1944: *P'ok'asnak*; El IV, p. 94: *P'makosan*. Eremyan (272, n. 114) accepts with difficulty the identification of these little-known people with the Turkic Pecheneg; Gk.: *Patzakinos*, referring the reader to Kansanac (141, n. 2). Golden, too, considers this improbable (private Communication). For the Pechenegs see Macartney (1929).

*Bagank*, also *Bazkank*; *Bak'ank*; *Bak'ank*, *Bagyank*, and *Dalt-i Bazkan*, the last of which...
by him so that his account of their history can basically stand. By identifying the Mask'urt'k as an Alan federation of 'Scytho-Sarmatian-Iranian' origin, Eremyan is able to project their kingdom into the remote past. Thus, although the Mask'urt'k are first heard of only in the fourth century, Eremyan places them on his map of Arscacid Armenia representing the period from the first to the late third centuries A.D. (H2P L), and even on his map of Armenia in the time of Tigranes the Great (95-56 B.C.) (1979). This is hardly tenable, however, for this Mask'urt'k state clearly cuts Albania off from the Caspian coast whereas all Classical authors Strabo (XI.4.13), Pliny (VII.15.36), and Ptol. (VI.12) make it clear that Albania reached the sea. What may have been the case, however, if the thesis of Mouraviev (1983) is correct, is that as late as the first century B.C. the Caspian lowlands (from north of Derbent to at least as far as modern Redzik, and inland as far as Yevlakh in Soviet Azerbaidzhan) were still under water so that Albania could have reached the sea without extending as far east as the present coastline. Even with this explanation, however, it is still clear that the Mask'urt'k could not have flourished in the Caspian lowlands while they were still under water or at least a vast swamp.

What seems likely is that Mask'urt'k federation was formed north of the Caucasus range, expanding southwards as the waters receded until they formed a wedge between Albania and the coast. It is very significant that the town of Darbend, with its elaborate walls and other fortifications designed to keep the nomadic hordes of the northern steppes from entering the civilized lands of the Middle East, does not appear to have been founded prior to the sixth century, nor do we hear of any need to fortify the litoral pass before the fifth. This would make sense if the Caspian waters, once higher, had already left no litoral pass until late in the Roman period when a coastal fortification would have become necessary.

This branch of the Caucasus would comprise the mountains of Daghestan.

...zparisp Darbanda, apparently constructed by the Great King Khosro Anōšrāvan (531-579), the double walls of Darband, the first in line of such constructions designed to block the coastal pass to northern invaders (supra, n. 88, 90, 100), are still standing, occupying a space of two-three km. between the mountain and the sea, but extending some 40 km. into the Caucasian range. For the best description of them in English see Minorsky 1958:86-89. The city of Darband (Per.: dar 'door', 'gate,' and band 'bound, 'locked'; i.e., 'the locked gate'); Geo.: Darbanda; Arm.; Čor or Čora pahlab (q.v.); Mem.: Darūbband; Ptol.: Darūbband (from Arm.: Čora pahlab); Arab.: Bāb al-abwāb 'the Gate of Gates,' later Bāb al-Lān, then simply Bāb; Tk.: Demir Kapası 'the Iron Gate'; Russ.: Derbent, lay on the Caspian Sea at the point where the Caucasus Mountains descended to the shore leaving a three km. litoral or coastal pass through which the nomadic tribes of the northern steppes could enter to ravage the civilized lands to the south. The fortifications of the pass are first mentioned in the time of the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450), but this seems to me to be too far south. Together they relate the forms warac, bari to tribal names of which that of the Baršil (q.v. supra n. 47) is the most likely. Moravick (1943:88), followed by Minorsky (1958:94), connects them with the name Berydia, a district of Khazaria mentioned by Theophanes (358). Marquet connects it to the mountain called Jabāl Wārsān found in Yehuda Hal-Levi (Marq. 1903:68). Arazanova (1962:83) located Varac'an in the vicinity of the modern Buinaksk; Marq. 1903:68; Hüb. 1904:412; Honigmann and Marnix 1953:80; Czegledy 1955; Arazanova 1962:183-190; Fy. Heritage:216; Maenschen-Helfen 1973:6; Golden 1980:90-93.

V. Sarmatia and North Caucasus

Proc., as we have seen (supra n. 105) refers to Tosour, and to Viratatarak and it is difficult to believe that the Byzantines had heard of Čoray pahlab but not of Darband. For what it is worth, considering the lateness of his date (eleventh century?), UU (65) asserts that "Čora is Darbend." Probably Čora or C'orda was the native name of a village at which the Persians founded Darband. The pass at Darband was little known to the ancients. Ptolemy (V9.15, 12.6) alone appears to be familiar with it as the 'Albanian Gates,' (unless these refer to a pass carrying the road through the eastern Caucasus from Saman into Daghestan; i.e., the 'Pahl Gates' of Erem. 1963; 1979). It is not to be confused with his 'Sarmatian Gates' (V9.11, 15), which are clearly the Alan Gates, i.e., the Darial Gorge; nor with his 'Gaspian Gates' (L12.5; V1.2.7), which, like those of Polybios (V4.45), Strabo (XI.12.1) and Pliny (V1.27.44-45), clearly lie in Media in the Talysh Mountains leading northwards into the Plain of Mujhan, i.e., into the land of the Caspians (infra n. 179A). For additional bibliography supra n. 105.

...peparis Darbanda, apparently constructed by the Great King Khosro Anōšrāvan (531-579), the double walls of Darband, the first in line of such constructions designed to block the coastal pass to northern invaders (supra, n. 88, 90, 100), are still standing, occupying a space of two-three km. between the mountain and the sea, but extending some 40 km. into the Caucasian range. For the best description of them in English see Minorsky 1958:86-89. The city of Darband (Per.: dar 'door,' 'gate,' and band 'bound, 'locked'; i.e., 'the locked gate'); Geo.: Darbanda; Arm.: Čor or Čora pahlab (q.v.); Mem.: Darūbband; Ptol.: Darūbband (from Arm.: Čora pahlab); Arab.: Bāb al-abwāb 'the Gate of Gates,' later Bāb al-Lān, then simply Bāb; Tk.: Demir Kapası 'the Iron Gate'; Russ.: Derbent, lay on the Caspian Sea at the point where the Caucasus Mountains descended to the shore leaving a three km. litoral or coastal pass through which the nomadic tribes of the northern steppes could enter to ravage the civilized lands to the south. The fortifications of the pass are first mentioned in the time of the Emperor Theodosius II (408-450), but this seems to me to be too far south. Together they relate the forms warac, bari to tribal names of which that of the Baršil (q.v. supra n. 47) is the most likely. Moravick (1943:88), followed by Minorsky (1958:94), connects them with the name Berydia, a district of Khazaria mentioned by Theophanes (358). Marquet connects it to the mountain called Jabāl Wārsān found in Yehuda Hal-Levi (Marq. 1903:68). Arazanova (1962:83) located Varac'an in the vicinity of the modern Buinaksk; Marq. 1903:68; Hüb. 1904:412; Honigmann and Marnix 1953:80; Czegledy 1955; Arazanova 1962:183-190; Fy. Heritage:216; Maenschen-Helfen 1973:6; Golden 1980:90-93.

Varac'an; read: *VARACAN or VARAJAN. Mentioned by MD (II.9) as the capital of the North Caucasian Huns in connection with events taking place in the late seventh century, Varac'an is almost certainly the Balanjar of Arab authors, and is also mentioned by VA in his Universal History (39).

Minorsky (1958:94) identified it with the Wartān (read: *Warasān) of Yq (1883:381), and the 'desert of Wartān' of Bal. (18:206, 209), and also (1937:453) with the large River Wārīn or Wārīn located twenty km. east of the modern Gumri, an important vassal state of the Khazars. Dwelling to the west of the Sabirs, they appear to have been a Turkic people, but we are uncertain as to which Turkic group they belonged or whether they were a Khazar tribe or a separate group that had come under Khorasan domination (Golden:90-93). The Huns had a highly developed urban life with at least three cities (infra nn. 108-110) and many fortified settlements (Arazanova 1962:183, 190). Armenian sources, e.g., As 19, 20; BP (III.7); El (I, p. 11); MX (III.60), tend to equate the Caucasian Huns with the Kusans, but they are frequently inexact in regard to them (Thomson, MX:63 n. 5; Fy. 216). The Huns had their own king, and their capital lay at Varac'an (infra n. 108), which Eremyan (1963:80) locates at Kafir-Kumux, a site near modern Gumri (Marq. 1903:68). Golden (1980:244-46), however, believes it is difficult to believe that the Byzantines had heard of *Waracan as having existed in the Classical period other than that evidence of early habitation has been found in excavations on the sites which may have been that of Varac'an. We really have no idea where in northeast Caucasian the city was located. Golden (1980:244-46) considered *Varafan or *Warad in the proper form of the name, but can find no etymology for it, and suggests the possibility that it was of Palaeo-Caucasian, i.e., non-Turkic, origin. (Kokovtsov 1932:86-87, n. 4; Minorsky 1958:92-94; Arazanova 1962:186, 208; Golden 1980:244-46.)

Č'ungsars, which Eremyan (274, n. 124) connects to *Č'ungsars and identifies with the late Unerdi, now the au尔 (mountain village) of Andrei.
VI. South Caucasus:

From this point onwards in the notes, all references to Eremyan are to his Hayastan'ēst "Asxarhac'oyc'" (Erevan, 1963), unless otherwise noted. All references to Toumanoff are to his Studies in Christian Caucasian History (Washington, 1963).

VII. South Caucasia:

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Surrounded by mountains and drained by the Rioni (Gk: Phasis) and its many tributaries, the coastal orientation of Kolkhis/Egrisi is very much in evidence even to the most casual observer, and it was united with inland East Georgia as the Kingdom of Sa'art'eb'o only from 1008 until the end of the fifteenth century, when West Georgia became known as Imereti’s "the land beyond [the Lisi/Surami Mountains]." Thereafter, until the Russian annexation in 1810, it formed a separate kingdom by that name (Russ.: Imperetiya) consisting of Imereti’s proper (the inland part of the plain) and the four dependent but autonomous principalities of Ap’xazk’ (Russ.: Abkhaziya), Samegrelo (land of the Eger’s), i.e., Egrisi, cf. Pol. (XI.9): Manraloi; Russ.: Mingrellya) Svaneti (Russ.: Svanetiya) and Guria (cf. Eger; Russ.: Guria). Significantly, Abkhazia is inhabited not by Georgians but by a people related to the Circassians, (Geig.:1.7; Toum.:437).-known as the Vi, n. 32). On the other hand, he is inconsistent, citing the Ap’xazk’ and Ap’siik’ as peoples of Sar­

The Akamtpsis or Voh, RA (II.12): Acapiachis; Geoi.: Speri (Tom.:505; n. 76), or Coroxis (Var.:78); Mod. Arm.: Corox; Tk.: Coruh. Both the Egyptian (i.e., Imereti) name, Akamtpsis, cited here, and the Armenian name, Voh, were known to the ancients, the former as Akamtpsis (Proc. Pers. VIII.2.8, for the lower course of the river), and the latter as Boii (ibid., VIII.2.6-9), but this river is also known to classical authors: Ptol. (V.6.7): Apaurus; Arrian (46, 42); Apaurus and also P. Arrian (7-9, 16): Aparus (See Appendix X).

The Megalopotan River (Gk: Megalos Potamos ‘Great River’) is now the Tk.: Bvritik Dere, which translates the Greek name. It enters the Black Sea near Ardejen between Rize and Batum (Erem.:65).

There was no district of Ki, and the redactor (or a copyist) of L has erroneously divided Egerwike into two names. S1683: Agrwike, which Saint-Martin read as Agevetek. Eremyan follows the reading of S for the four districts of Eger. S1819: Agerwike; S1877: Egerwike B Eretsi, Katsiaw.

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Aites" in Apollonius of Rhodes' "Voyage of Argo," III, (II, lines 423 and 1094; III, line 228) and reference is made to the "Ktyasian land" (IV, line 511), to the "Ktyasian mainland" (II, line 399), and to Asia as a "Ktyasian city" (II, line 1267). Apollonius, however, never explains this adjective although Prok. (Goth. VIII.14.49) does so. (Mourier 1894:80-83; Allen 1932:passim; Lang 1957:passim; Meskhi 1959; Çakarretxe 1960; Mepisashvili and Khurtisadze 1966; Gink and Cemegi-Topomis 1975; 64-65; Mepisashvili and Timtransdze 1979:passim; BSE.

Rodopolis: read: Romapoloias; Gk: Rhodopolis, i.e., 'Rose-city,' a near translation of the Georgian name Vard'cize; Varc'ze, 'rose'-castle' (Erem.:79), was located on the left bank of the Rioni where it is joined by the Xami-C'kali. Prok. (Goth., VIII.13.21) says it was totally destroyed by the Laz.

Ar'tina; Arrian 5, 6, 8; Athenai, from Laz meaning 'shady place'? (Breyer 1966:185); Ptol. (V.6.6); cape Athenei only; Tk: Pazar, a small port between Batumi and Rize.

Racon, Arrian (ibid.): Rhizous; Ptol. (V.6.5): idem., from Laz meaning 'a place where people or soldiers meet?' Breyer (ibid.). Prok. (And. III.7.3): Rhizous, where he considers it to be as big a fortress as any on the eastern frontier. Tk.: Rize. Prok. (Goth., VII.2.10) calls it a village.

Trapezous (abbreviated as T'), i.e., Trebizond; Ptol. (V.6.5): Trapezous; Arab.: Tarab法官za. Tk.: Trabzon. A colony formed by Greeks of Sinope about 700 B.C. It's locality marks the westernmost extension of the Caucasian peoples, here represented by the Muslim Georgian tribe called Laz, the Lzoi of Ptol. (V.9.4) who had given their name to the kingdom of Laziqke of Byzantine authors. It does not appear at all likely that the control of Lazika should have extended as far west as Athenai and Rhiizous, let alone Trapezous. Our author is probably thinking of these towns as lying in territory inhabited by the Laz rather than under their control. Trebizond never belonged to Lazika or to any other Georgian kingdom, and was a city of Cappadocian Pontus not of Caniw as the Greeks of Sinope believed, or (at least in the second century) the Tzanoi/Sanni) on the west.

Vib. Iberia

Although set down in their present form only in the eighth century, the historical traditions of the Georgian people indicate the origins of the Iberian monarchy under the Pharnabaizid dynasty as dating from the time of Alexander; the kingdom maintaining its historical continuity until the Russian annexation of 1801. Apparently formed through a blending of the Anatolian Kashti (Kolchians), Muski (Moskhians), perhaps the ancestors of the Svans (who call themselves Musiwari or Muswuni in the singular, Gei:15), and Tabalians (perhaps the ancestors of the Iberians) together with Kimme- rians, Scythians and whatever autochthons already inhabited southwestern and south central Caucasus (Toum. 1963:54-61), the various Kartvelian speakers have always recognized themselves as one people regardless of whatever political or tribal divisions may have existed among them. Iberia, like Armenia, remained a bone of contention between Rome and Iran until the Arab conquest, but in spite of its conversion to Christianity in 337, usually lying within the Iranian sphere, and, like Armenia and Albania, came to be ruled, at least for a time, by a branch of the Arsacids of Parthia. Tensions between Iberia and Armenia were strong largely because of conflict over the Armeno-Georgian marches so fully described by Tounamoff (1963-Study V) and elaborated upon by me (infra, VIII). At the time of the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran in c. 387 these marches reverted to Iberia as described in the AX, the details of which are reexamined in n. 20. Although the Iberian monarchy was suppressed in the period of Arab domination, when an Arab emir sat in Tiflis, it was restored, but only for a short time by the Bagratuni that had migrated to Iberia from Armenia in the previous century. Under the Bagratis, Iberia and Tsk' merged in 1000, and in 1088 Abkhazia (including all of West Georgia, the earlier Kolkhis/Lazika), was inherited as well, so that for the first time in history Georgia was a single state. With the capture of Tiflis from the Arabs in 1122, the United Georgian state (Geo: Sak'art'velo) entered its "Golden Age" conquering neighboring lands or reducing them to vassalage so that, under the dynamic Queen Tamara the Great (1187-1213), Georgia became a major power controlling both north and south Caucasus from the Black Sea to the Caspian and from central Armenia to Darband. With the coming of the Mongols, however, this period of glory was ended and the power, influence, and prosperity of the Georgian kingdom was shattered. Unity lingered longer, however, until, towards the late fifteenth century, Georgia broke into three Bagratid kingdoms East Georgia (Kaxeti), Central Georgia (K'art'li/Iberia) and East Georgia (Imereti), the last of which also disintegrated with virtually independent princes of Ap'zaxeti', Guria, Svaneeti, and Samegrelo (Mingrelia) ruling as nominal vassals of the Imeretian kings at Kur'azai. In 1562, K'art'li and Kaxeti were merged only to be annexed by Russia in 1801. Imereti was then annexed in 1810; Guria in 1828; Mingrelia (Oddia) in 1857; Lower or Free Svaneeti in 1829; Upper Svaneeti in 1858, and finally Ap'zaxeti' in 1864. After nearly four hundred years, Georgian unity was restored under Russian rule. Independent as a result of the Russian Revolution in 1918, Georgia was reunited with Russia in 1921 becoming a part of the Transcaucasian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic in 1922, and has been a separate Soviet 'Union' Republic since 1936.

The AX is unique in providing us with the only description we have of the fundamental districts of

The Mingrelians of central West Georgia; VII. The Laz or Cani, in the mountains of the extreme southwest (now in northeastern Turkey) and IV. The Svans in the upland valleys of the southwest Caucasian Mountains. The Georgians properly-called are divided into ten sub-groups: (1) The K'art'velians, of western East Georgia, (2) the Kaxeti'ans of eastern East Georgia (the islamized Georgians of Zakari'ali are called Inguli), (3) the Xuvra'-s, (4) the Pip's-, (5) the Tub or Tzani', (6) the Moxevians, (7) the Rakan-s of West Georgia, (8) the Gurians of southwest West Georgia, (9) the Imeretians of West Georgia and (10) the Mu'eretians or 'Mountaineers.' In the nearly two centuries of Russian rule, these ten sub-groups have tended to blend together, their cultural differences fading as they are absorbed into the mainstream of Soviet Georgian life.

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the three Caucasian countries, Iberia, Albania and Armenia, as well as those of the Persian Empire. While other sources make frequent reference to the larger geo-political divisions of these countries, especially to the Iberian duchies and Armenian principalities, none is directly concerned with the smaller entities, largely determined by the mountains and river systems of the area, out of which the larger units were formed. Before examining these basic units of East Georgia, it might be of value to pause for a moment over the greater divisions of which they were a part.

Georgia, taken together, consists of three main geographical regions: the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains, the Somxiti or Meschian Mountains that buttress the Armenian plateau along the north, and the central lowlands subdivided into the western or Colchian Plain and the eastern or Iberian Plain; the two separated by the low-rising Lixi or Surami range that connects the Caucasus with the Moschian Mountains to the south. West Georgia (Egrisi/Kolkhis/Lazi) which has already been discussed (supra n. 1), was a separate entity for most of its history being united to East Georgia (K'art'li/iberia) only between 1008 and the end of the fifteenth century and since the Russian annexations of the nineteenth century.

East Georgia (K'art'li/iberia) comprises two political formations divided into various regions three of which, Lower Iberia, and Inner and Outer Kaxeti, were of a purely geographical rather than political nature: (1) K'art'li proper (Russ.: Kartaliniya), which we may call 'West' K'art'li and (2) Kaxeti (Russ.: Kakheti), which we may call 'East' K'art'li, an area often independent of K'art'li proper and disputed between Georgia and her eastern neighbors. K'art'li proper consists of the three regions of Inner Iberia (Sidz K'art'li), Lower Iberia (K'vemo K'art'li) and Upper Iberia (Zemo K'art'li). Kaxeti or East K'art'li comprises the regions of Inner and Outer Kaxeti and, at times, of Hereti, which was occasionally a separate political formation as well. These two parts of K'art'li, divided into the regions just cited, were then grouped into the seven or eight Iberian duchies and these comprised in turn the districts of Iberia cited in the ASX. From all of this, we may derive the following chart of the divisions of Georgia in the broader sense of the term:

I. WEST GEORGIA (EGRISI/KOLKHS/LAZIKA/ABASGIA/IMERET'I)
   A. Ap'xazet'i
      1. Ap'xazet'i
      2. Ap'silet'i
   *3. Saro/Saroet'i (Missimiana)
   B. Svanet'i (Souania)
      *4. Upper Svanet'i
      *5. Lower Svanet'i
   C. Samegrelo (Egrisi proper/Ekretike/Egrewike/Manrilk'/Mingrelia)
   D. Imeret'i
      *imereti proper
      *Le'kumi
      *Ra'ca
      Argvet'i/Margvet'i
   E. Canet'i (Lazi proper/Tzani/Eshik'/Khaldia)

II. EAST GEORGIA (K'ART'LI/IBERIA/VIRK')
   F. Duchy of Inner Iberia (Sidz K'art'li)
      1. Gorati's-xevi
      2. Tanis-xevi
   
VIB. Iberia
3. Duan
4. A'sabet'is-xevi
5. Rexa
6. Guerdis-xevi
7. Kos'i/Kaspi
8. Sac'xumeti
9. Konis-xevi
10. Cs'razma
11. Bazaleti
12. Mitkiris-xevi
13. Jelet'i

G. LOWER IBERIA (K'VEMO K'ART'LI) or (GREATER) TAŠIRI
   a. *Tr'aslet'i
   b. *Duchy of Gardman/Xunani
14. Paruar
15. Manglisap'ori ('Manglisi Gorge')
16. Xanc'ixe/Hunarakert
   c. *Duchy of Gae'shani/Samviilde
17. Gae'shani/Samviilde proper
18. Palakac'xo/ Talisi proper
19. Abo's/kaikuli
20. Kuisap'ori
21. Kolhap'ori
22. Bolnop'ori
23. Cobop'ori
24. Jorop'ori
25. Kangani

H. UPPER IBERIA (ZEMO K'ART'LI/ZEMO SOP'ELI 'Upper Country'/Samc'xe/Mesxet'i)
   a. *Duchy of Cunda
26. Upper Javaeveti
27. Lower Javaeveti/Eruzet'i
28. Artani
29. Kola
b. Duchy of Ojrei
30. Samc'xe proper
31. A'zara
32. T'ori
   c. *Duchy of Klarjet'i
33. Klarjet'i
34. Savlet'i
35. Nigali/Ligani
36. Murgle
37. Mereti

I. TAO (Arm.: TAYK')
   a. *Upper Tao
38. Parxali
IV. TRIBAL LANDS (only occasionally held by the Iberian Monarchy):

39. Asisp'ori
40. Azordac'p'ori
41. Speri
42. O'k'ale
43. Bolxa
44. Partiicac'p'ori
45. Berdac'p'ori
46. Basiani (occasionally Iberian)
b. *Lower Tao/Caket'i

III. KAXET'I (EAST K'ART'LI)

J. *Duchy of Kaxet'i/Kuxet'i

a. *Inner Kaxet'i
47. Kaxet'i
48. Xerki
49. Ercu
50. T'anet'i
51. Cobenori
52. Cult'er'i
53. Velir-cine
54. K'ul-daba/Greater Kaxet'i
55. Suj'er'i
56. 'Tuset'i
57. Kizki/Sqaxi
58. Saingilo/Zakatali
b. *Outer Kaxet'i
59. 'Xevsuret'i
60. *Plave't'i
61. 'M'tule't'i
c. *Heret'i (Movakani)

The ASX makes no mention of the territories marked with an asterisk (*). The Titlin-s (IV, n. 73), Xevsur-s, Plav-s and M'tule-s were Georgian Mountain tribes in the upland valleys of the south central Caucasian range. Kiski and Saingilo were perhaps terms belonging to a later period than that of our text.

For the best description of Iberia in Classical times see Strabo (X.3), and Prol. (VI.11). For the early and medieval history of Georgia see LR and JJ in the K'art'lis C'sovreba, as well as the general Armenian, Arab and Byzantine sources. For modern works, consult Brosset 1842; idevm. 1849-50; idevm. 1858; Ioseliani 1866; Raddle 1878; Mourier 1888; idevm. 1894; Wardrop 1888;
asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

Little Caucasus on the northwest to Inner and Lower Iberia in the northeast, west to Acara and district; Arm.: (LR, 24) and which also included the land of Acara. In its broadest sense, the term Samc'xe included mountains and eastwards to Lake Paravani (Tap'aravani). This district contained many fortresses, chief of which was Saveli (Vax.:74-76, 82-96; Gug.:66). The name is basically the same as Mextesi's Mux-cxe-xi = 'land of the Meschians' (Allen 1932:17 and n. 3, 58). In the broad sense it was called Samc'xe-Saatabago, i.e., Samc'xe, 'place of the Atabeg' from the fact that the House of Jaqeli, Princes of Samc'xe, also possessed the hereditary office of Atabeg of Georgia. Part of the land was called Poc'i in Georgian (from an earlier *Poci = Mux-cxe*) and is now the Turkish region of Pouch. This region, as its name implies (the prefix is as *pla* = 'place' in Georgian), was the country of the Meschians or Moschians (Herz.:124), the Moskobi of Hekataios (Frag. 288), and Heroderus (III.94, VII.78) - Srebro's Moskhite Mountains (XI.2.15, 12.4, 14.1; XII.3.18), probably the Musbi of Assyrian records and the Mossoph of the Bible (422.10, 22). Proz. (Goth. IVZ); Meskobi, one of the component parts of the Georgian people (Toum.:56ff.). The origin of the name as that of a people is recalled by Sa in his Universal History (Pt. I), where the land is referred to by the plural form Mescxumi. According to Eremyan (119), Samc'xe, together with the districts of Achara and Tori (infra n. 306), formed the Iberian province of Mextesi, called Mozcxe by the Canians, and Averi by the Mingrelians (Egeians). Area: c. 2,650 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

Veri alasur Vrac'; Toumanoff (438ff.) describes Upper Iberia as containing the following nine lands: Achara, Nigali (or Ligan), Savset'i, Klarjet'i, and Tao, all in the basin of the Acapsa (Corub); and Samec'xe (or Mesev), Javaxvet'i, Artani, and Kola in the basin of the Kar. This is the Georgian Zena Sop'eli K'art'ina (Upper Iberian Country); Arm.: Veri alasur Vrac'; whence the Byzantine Verarxv (CP; DCA). It should be understood that the Georgian term Zena Sop'eli stood for various regions and was also the old name for Saka K'art'iel or Inner Iberia (Toum.:494), while Veriasxv refers to Klarjet'i in CP. Eremyan's description of Upper Iberia (83, 119) differs greatly from Toumanoff's owing to the former's misunderstanding that Zena Sop'eli still referred to Inner Iberia which, in the A5K, it no longer does.

Gotor ixewu; Geo.: Goratiixewi; Arm.: Goratiixewi (both Erem.:48), of which Gorgonatal, T'orgovat'isx, and Vax. are all corruptions. This district lay on the north bank of the Kur in the valley of the River Gorati which is divided into the modern town of Khvarethi. Vaxueh (479) cites a village of Gorati on the river and the region. Vax.:85-86), a village called Gorati on the Gorati itself.

Tornixueh; Geo.: Tanixueh; Arm.: Tanixueh (Erem.:84) of which Tornixueh, Tanixueh, and Tarnexx are all corruptions. This district lay on the right bank of the Kur in the valley of the Tana, Tejani, and Jambi streams. Its center was the town of Ateni. Vaxu (472) cites a village called Tanisx in the valley of the Tana.

Dekic'xe; Geo.: Dekh'ic'xe 'Dekh Fortress', located at the sources of the Tejani River (Erem.:85).

The Armenian suffix *or* is derived from the verb *per* 'to dig' and signifies a gorge or gully 'dug out' by a river.

Bobop'or; Geo.: Boboisixewi. This district was located in the valley of the Ganjagenta now the Mshabadara, a tributary of the Bolnisi River. The center of the district was the town of Bolnisi, now the village of Bolnisi-Khachen, in which is located one of the earlier Georgian churches, the fifth century Sion Basilica, containing the earliest known Georgian inscription. Area: c. 555 sq. km.

Purnx, the region surrounding the city of Thiili (Tilisi) is here referred to as Parvan (Erem.:37), a name which is connected with *parab-xodra or *parav-xodra, a term applied to the entire chain of mountain ranges extending along the northern rim of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Iran in the time of the Achaemenian Empire; (Mark. 1930:17-24; Toum.:450). Eremyan (ibid.) tentatively connects the name with P'anuvuri, which is the name of a lake in Javakhet in the mountains of southern Georgia, now called Lake Paravani, but which is used without the qualifying 'lake' in LR (24) and JJ (205). According to Eremyan (ibid.), this Parnx was the fifteenth district of the Vitaxate of Gugark and was located between the River Kur and the River Al (now the Algeti River, from Armenian al'sal' and get
"K'ordis' t'irxisxewu (the ms. text is unclear at this point). Eremany reads this as two names rather than one, but not as three as it is found in S1B19. (1) Geo.: Guardis-jeri (Vax:237) Arm.: Gu'el'dris-jori (Erem.:119) of which the forms K'ordis'ti, K'uld'i, and K'ur'di, are call corruptions. This district was located in the deep valley on the upper course of the stream called Mejjudla and was the district south of Mt. Orbocal, from the village of Cariarieni to the village of Vanat'i. Area: c. 225 sq.km. (2) Geo.: Kapsi; Arm.: Koxi (both Erem.:60), located in the valley of the stream called Resula, a northern affluent of the Kur. The center of this district was the fortress called Kapasia or Kaspi, now Up'lis'ce. Area: c. 575 sq.km. Vauxit (388 and Map 3) calls this region Wace.

"Sac'sumet'. Neither Vauxit nor Gugvulini mention this district, which Eremany (80) reads Sac'sumet (sic) and places on the upper course of the Lesser Liasvi. Here a village called Sac'seneti (Russ.: Satskheneti) is still found, and which is probably the Satskeri of Vax. (236 and Map 3) in the region he calls Sasanakango. According to Eremany (ibid.). The root of the name is C'sum (Mingrelian and Casian: Cxwumi or LeSxan), cf. C'sumni, mod. Sukhumi capital of Akhazia, from the tribe called Sxom'ok' or Sxun'ok' (i.e., the T'akoyr, infra, n. 81 A.). Area: c. 445 sq.km. (supra IV, no. 60, 67).

"Lex. The River Lex is the Greater Liasvi (Vax:236), a northern tributary of the Kur (Vax:Map 3; CIA, 1960).

"Xarnis{xewu; Geo.: Knis-xewi, K'snis-Xewi (Vax:217-39); Arm.: Knis-xew, of which Xarnis-xewi and Kanize are corruptions (Erem.:61). This district was located in the valley of the K'ani River. According to Eremany (ibid.), however, the lower course of this river formed a district of its own called Musnaroi (now the valley of Musnani), which he notes, is mentioned by Bal. as K'sorv (ibid.), where a village of this name still exists. Musnari is not included in the ASV, which has Bazal'st (infra n. 94 A.). Area of Knis-xew c. 300 sq.km.

"C'rasjmay: Geo.: C'rasxama (Vax:232); Arm. C'rasmay of which and: C'srasmaya and C'srasmaya are corrupt forms (Erem.:87). This district was located in a deep valley on the upper course of the K'sani River and one of its tributaries, a stream called C'arkhmula. Area: c. 550 sq.km.

"The River Aragu is the modern Aragvi or Aragwa, which enters the Kur from the north at Muct'ez (cf. supra Map X1.3.2). This is the Aragon of the Venetian (Vax:Map 3).

"Axacle'ixe 'New Castle', was a fortress on the right bank of the Aragvi River, north of Muct'ez opposite the village of Cimaramu (Sarabo, XI.3.5): Seuawona. A village called Axacleix is still found here, but is not to be confused with the Axacleix on the upper Kur which was founded in the late Middle Ages.

"Xil'a; read: 'Mc'x'at'a; Geo: M'c'xet'a (Vax:208) Arm.: M'c'xat'a (Erem.:71), Prol. (V10.2): M'est-leda; read: 'Mc'khsieda; Agathias (I1.22.5): Mekhsitsba, the ancient capital of Iberia until the court was transferred to Tbilisi by King Vazagandal in the fifth century. It is located on the north bank of the Kur, where it is joined by the River Aragvi. M'c'xet'a was the cultural center of Iberia and is still the seat of the Katholikos of the Georgian Church. For the excavations of the site see Ap'aikie, et al., 1958, and Cubinavilisi 1958.

"Bhr. Surb, Xac'x. The hill of the Holy Cross referred to in the passage is Juari, which overlooks M'c'xet'a and which is said to be the place where St. Nino of the Cappadocia, Illuminatrix of Iberia, erected the first cross in the country (cf. MX.II.86). S1877 and B omit surb 'holyc'.

"Supra n. 35.

"Cop'of'or: T opportun (467): Cop'of'or; SA (35): Cop, located in the valley of the Berdulji or Debeda River (Hub:553), and also called K'urd-V'ails-xewi in Georgian and Berchala by the Muslims (Vax:138). Eremany (56) places the district between the Shulveri and Debeda Rivers and cites as its center the fortress of Cob or Cop' (Geo.: Cop'a), whose ruins are found near the Sadakhil railroad station, and gives it an area of c. 450 sq.km., but see infra n. 55.
Eremyan. This fortress, originally known as Mtkuris-C’ixe and later by the Muslims as Alstew River (mod.: the Indzha (which must have once been called the River Hunarakert but, as indicated above, extended the duchy of Gardinan (also called Gardman on the right bank of the Kura River, itself, Kolbakoi along the whole of their respective valleys to the River Kur, itself, Kotbop’or along the valley of the Alstew (Akstafa), River (Hiib: 353, 355, 370), although Eremyan (ibid.) locates it in the valley of the Xorajar ‘deep-valley’ River, which he identifies with the Debeda in the district of Alaverdi. In the Middle Ages this district was called Jorapat in Armenia; Geo.: Jorajets (ibid.). Area: c. 475 sq. km. After Jorop’or, other mss. have the district of Xanc’ixe/Xanc’ixe (Vax.:168); Arm.: Xanc’ixe/Hunarakert, of which Xanc’ixe/Xanc’ixe are corrupted forms (Erem.:55). The linking of Xanc’ixe and Hunarakert rests on the identification of the fortress of Hunarakert with the fortress of Xunani (Mark.: 1904:23-27, 33-34), which is based on the Arab form Hanana for the latter name, which could refer to either Hunarakert or to Xunani but not to both. Hunarakert lay not in Xunani/Xanc’ixe but in Jorop’or (Toum. 1963:483, 484, n. 211), and was on the ethnic frontier of Caucasian Albania on the west (MXXII.8; MD.I.4). For Hunarakert, infra n. 56. Eremyan (ibid.) links the name Xanc’ixe to Khänäs, a river cited by Strabo (XL.3.2), which he identifies with the modern Khram (Xanc’ixe = "Xani Castle").

Eremyan (104, n. 1) identifies these rivers as the Cop’a, Kolba and the Joraget. In regard to the three districts of Cobop’or/Kolbakoi/Jorop’or we must correct a serious error on Eremyan’s maps – all of them. The Iberian Duchy of Gardabani as we have seen, lay in the valley of the Algeti River (Arm.: At’er ‘salt river’), were it included the three districts of Mangleac’p’or, Paruar and Xanc’ixe/Hunarakert. Eremyan, however, confusing Georgian Gardabani with the Armenian principality of Gardian (also called Gardabani in Georgian), moves the latter from its true location in the mountains to the east of Lake Sevan, and, knowing that the Iberian duchy of Gardabani included the fortress of Xunani or Hunarakert, places his Gardman on the right bank of the Kura River extending southerwards from Hunarakert to include the lower valleys of the modern rivers Debeda and Indzha (Inja, Erem. 1979). The real duchy of Gardabani, of course, certainly included the fortress of Hunarakert but, as indicated above, extended westwards from it to include the Alge River.

With Armenian Gardman moved back to its proper place east of Lake Sevan, and Georgian Gardabani placed west of Hunarakert where it belongs, the two mountain districts of Cobop’or/Kolbakoi/Jorop’or (previously confined on the east by Eremyan’s placing of Gardman along the River Kur cutting across the lower valleys of the Debeda and the Indzha), are now free to extend – as is logical that they should – down the entire length of their respective valleys to the River Kur itself, Kolbakoi along the Indzha (which must have once been called the River Kolb) and Cobop’or along the River Debeda, obviously once known as the River Cob. Jorop’or, on the other hand, occupied the valley of the Aksfver (mod.: Akstafa) where Eremyan places Mec Kuenk. (For the correction of this latter imbruglio see infra VII n. 209).

Narabert; read: "Hunarakert; Geo.: Xunani or Mtkuris-C’ixe (Erem.:63); Arm.: Hunarakert or Xunani (ibid.); S1877: Hunarakert, which Toumanoff (1963:483, 485, n. 211) follows, although he rejects its identification with Xunani as postulated by Marquart (1904; supra n. 54) and followed by Eremyan. This fortress, originally known as Mtkuris-C’ixe and later by the Muslims as Qiz-Qula, gave its name to the Iberian Duchy of Xunani, which was conterminous with the land of Gardabani ( infra n. 607).

Supra n. 27.

"Trel”; Toum. (440): ‘Trialet’i (Vax.: 156-160); Arm.: ’Trel’ (Hiib:354); Pliny (VI.10.11);

\[\text{VIB. Iberia}\]
We have one final clue and it is partly a negative one: the fact that although Kangark’ was a part of the Armeno-Georgian marchlands, the Georgian sources do not mention the district – which they call Kangarni (a plural), Kangari, K’uelanay or Kangarisai – until the eleventh century. At that time, however, we read in the Georgian Annals that:

Sultan Alp Arslan, King of Persia, arrived suddenly as was customary with his incursions. He invaded the district of Kangarni and [passed] into Triati’s which he devastated, and in one day his chargers reached as far as Kvelis Qerti (Kveli-City in Opiras, R.I.I.11). He then passed into Sawalet’s and Kheljet’s, and then into T’ar as far as Pasanakurri.

Despite its brevity, this is a most revelatory passage for, while not stating expressly where Kangark’ was located, it makes clear first, that it was the initial district invaded by the Turks coming from the south so that it must have lain along the frontier of Armenia (thus confirming what we have already learned from the Armenian sources); and second, that since the known districts of Georgia referred to in the passage are listed in geographical order, Kangark’ must have lain along the road to Triati/trekk from which Alp Arslan then turned westwards to invade Sawalet, Kheljet and Tayik (this confirming what the ASX tells us: Kangark’ lay south of Trekk’). No mention is made of either Jawaxk’/Jawak or Talin/Talir in this passage, and the only way to enter Trekk’ from Armenia without passing through one or the other of these omitted districts would be if Kangark’ lay along the Armenian frontier between them; i.e., if Jawak’ lay to the west of Kangark’, and Talir to the east. Such a location corresponds only to the Georgian lake district that Eremyan makes the eastern part of Upper Jawakx. The only explanation for the long silence of the Georgian Annals in regard to Kangark’ between its acquisition by Iberia in 387 and the invasion of Alp Arslan in the six centuries later must be that under Georgian rule Kangark’ was part of another district as was known by its name. What we are looking for then is a mountainous area near the frontier of Armenia south of Trekk’, more or less south (southwest?) of Talir, and in the vicinity of Jawakx and Artaban. The only logical site for such a district is the one just suggested: (part of) the mountainous lake district north of Alocol, lying along the Armenian frontier between the western part of Upper Jawakx and Trekk.

Since the ASX places the (larger?) Georgian lakes in Jawakx, my suggestion is that Kangark’ lay in the dense mountainous area in the southeastern part of Upper Jawakx’ around the lesser Georgian lakes today called Tumangel’, Madatada, and Khanchali. This region is not only mountainous, it also adjoins the Armenian frontier along the Armenian principality of Asoc’, and lies between Trekk’ and the rest of Jawaxk’. (For all this Hewsen XI.4, n. 228). No mention is made of Kangark’ in the Georgian Annals or the Chronicles, but in Hewsen XI.4, n. 228, it is said that when the Sasanian Persians wished to strengthen their position in Iberia after 365, they established the center of their military operations at Rust’avi (Bostan-K’alak’). The Iberian government would have continued to function in Me’xet’a, Tbilisi being as yet an unimportant place.

To return to the passage quoted from MX (II.8) above, where we are told that Gular received “the bleak mountain of Kangark’, the half of the land of Jawakx, Kolb, Cob and Jon.” There is no reason to assume that by the ‘half of the land of Jawakx’ the passage quoted from MX is referring to a different land from Kangark’. It is quite possible to read the passage “the bleak mountain of Kangark’ [namely] the half of the land of Jawakx’…”

It would appear from all this that, as already noted, it is incorrect to identify Kangark’ and Cobop-
Romans (Plut. Pomp.) two and one-half centuries later. Strabo (d.c.A.D. 20), tells us that the Albanians had previously been divided into twenty-six tribes each with its own king, but that by the time of his information (first century B.C.) they were all ruled by one (XI.4.6). This rise of one tribal chieftain to dominion over the others is essentially the earliest history of all four South Caucasian peoples (Toum.48-111). The Albanians had apparently formed a part of the satrapy of Media (Media) under the Achaemenids, and after Alexander’s death must have passed under the nominal rule of his successors. During the long struggle between Rome and Iran, however (first century B.C. — seventh century A.D.), Albania seems, with the exception of a brief period of Roman occupation under Trajan (c. 114 A.D.) and Heraclius (628), to have been securely within the Iranian sphere of influence.

Within this sphere, however, the Albanians appear to have become increasingly influenced by their more powerful and more culturally advanced Armenian neighbors to the west, and this was confirmed by the conversion of the Albanians to Christianity as a result of Armenian missionary activity between the early fourth and early fifth centuries.

With the partition of Armenia between Rome an Iran in c. 387, Albania profited from the disaster by acquiring the Armenian lands of Arc’ax, Utik’, Gardman and Koh, all included in the Arc’ax and Utik’ of our text (infra VII.f, n. 209; n. 163 A). At the same time, however, the Persians asserted a much more direct control over the coastal regions of Albania extending from the mouth of the Kurnorthwards to Darband which may well have been founded at just about this time. A Persian marzpan ‘governor-general’ was assigned to the ancient Albanian capital of Kabala/Kabalaka north of the Kurn while the kings moved to Partaw in the next territories south of the river. With the coming of the Arabs in the mid-seventh century, the Albanian hold on the lands north of the Kurn as well as on the lowlands to the south, was severely weakened. Arabs settled heavily in these areas and many of the natives converted to Islam. The fact that the country was ethnically diverse and that no real Albanian nationality had probably ever existed except in name, must have aided and accelerated this process. The Albanian monarchy had been terminated by the Persians in c. 510; the line of Presiding Princes of the House of Gardman established to rule the country by Heraclius in 628, came to an end in 822.

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With the sack of Partaw by a marauding band of Russian pirates sailing up the Kurn from the Caspian in 944 Albania ceased to exist. Although a number of pseudo-Albanian States emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries (in Sac’e-Kes’ertih’; Taﬁr-Joraget/Loti-Taﬁr; Kaxet’-Hareri’s; Patis; Xac’c’ and Utik’-Duzak; for all of which see Toum. 1984 and Hewsen TAVO maps B VII 16 and B VII 17). As one local Christian dynasty or another attempted to claim the leadership of the still numerous Christians of southeast Caucasia, the Turko-Mongolic invasions of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries virtually completed the islamicization of the country and resulted in its almost total Turkification. While the Albanian Church continued to exist as a Katholikosate within the Armenian Church until superseded by the Russians in 1828, the Albanians, save for a few thousand survivors of the Udi tribe (infra n. 163 A) and perhaps the Akhvaks (Geig.: 29) had long disappeared.

Albania originally was limited to the territory between the Caucasus Mountains and the River Kurn, extending eastwards from Iberia and Armenia to the Caspian Sea, an area consisting of c. 23,002 sq. km. (Erem.:34). According to Pliny (IV.15.36) and Ptolemy (VII.11), however, Albania extended the Caucasus along the Caspian coast, according to the latter, at least as far as the River Kasion. Considering the necessity of defending the literal path at this point, it would seem that, whether as an Iranian province or vassal, the country extended probably as far north as Derbent.

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including the districts of Ethi (or Xen'i), Kambec'an and Bex; 6) šāk'e, at the city of the same name and apparently including the districts of šāk'e, Goiž, and Goel'wu; 7) Balasakan centered perhaps at the town of Šamsi? 8) Amaras at the monastery of that name between the Kur and the Aax and apparently the district of Roš Parzann (the principality of Gorgașcal'); 9) Mec Kuenk' (or Kolman') centered at the monastery of that name and apparently including the principality of K'ob and the whole of Sawd'k 'Arcax (infra VII n. 209); and, finally, 9) Gardman, located most probably, at some monastery in the principality of that name, and presumably including the district of K'usti P'amē. For all this, see Hewsen TAVO B VI.14 (Map, where, unfortunately, the number IX for the see of Mec Kuenk' has been inadvertently placed in the territory of Gardman and IV, the see of Sakažen, has been placed in Utī Proper). The Albanian Katholikos also had under his jurisdiction the Kingdom of the Lupenians (Lp'ànk', supra V n. 87).

It was through this region that Pompey led his expedition into Albania in the winter of 66/65 B.C. and (31): the territory of the Kur now called the River lora (Erem. : 82). After the partition of Caucasia between Rome and Sasanian Iran in 387 A.D., Kabala became the first residence of the Albanian Church (MD:1.26); variants: Hasu, Haseon, Hroson. 

The most detailed accounts of ancient Albania is to be found in Strabo (XI.4.2) and Ptol. (VI.12). For the medieval period see the collection of Albanian antiquities compiled by MD. Yanovskii 1846; Brossat 1851; Barxudarean 1893; idem. 1895; idem. 1891 (II); Hewsen 1979; Mouraviev 1980; Ahanidze 1960; ANAZSSR 1962; Bunyatov 1962; Toum 1963; Erem. 1963; Klimov 1963; Hewsen 1964; Bunyatov 1964; idem. 1965; Melik-OGandzhanyan 1968; Hak. 1968; Mnac'akanian 1968; Anassian 1960; Karakashy 1970; Ad-Gar. 1970; Terzian 1973; Gaktsyan 1974; Khaklov and Balaev 1974; Ulubabany 1975; Aliyev 1975; Babaev 1976; Mamedova 1977; Akopyan 1979; Mouravev 1980; idem. 1981; Ulubabans 1981; Greppin 1982; Hewsen idem. DMA. "Albania" Mouravev 1983; Hitchins 1984; idem. 1985. *Mreb* "Udi"; Gorisoa 1989.439; Chaumont Elor Erem. (58): Kapulaks or Khabala, both of which forms are found as separate entries; Pliny (VI.11.29): Cabulaca; Arab: Kabalah, now Kabala village between the rivers Seboj (Lower Albania) and Kesios (Goek-chay), near the town of Niz. This city was the capital of Albania until the fifth century, when the royal residence was transferred to Partaw (infra n. 174 A).

After the partition of Caucasia between Rome and Sasanian Iran in 387 A.D., Kabala became the first residence of the marzpan, the Persian governor-general of Albania, and its district, comprising some 598 sq. miles (c. 1550 sq. kms.), became known as Ostan-l-marzpan "court" or "seat" of the marzpan. After the transfer of the Albanian capital to Partaw south of the Kurinc. 450, Kabala continued to exist and was an Albanian bishopric from at least the fifth century until as late as the tenth. Taken by the Arabs in the seventh century, Kabala became a part of the Kingdom of Shirvan. An irregular rectangle surrounded by a wall with 11 bastions, Kabala was a center for the production of corn and silk. It was destroyed by Timur (Tamerlane) in 1386-87. (Erem.:158; Izm-i-zaide in Aliyev 1956; Trever 1959; Gadir 1978).

The Seboj or K'talxwor is now the Tuljar-chay a northern tributary of the Kur (Erem.:60).

**...dēpi harawo est P'ok'h Hayo**. This sentence is omitted by Soukry in his translation as he was unable to make sense out of it. Mnac'akanian (1963:41), however, accepts the passage at face value, i.e., that the River Seboj flows south across "Lesser Armenia" before entering the Kur and that this was the name given to this portion of Albania probably because of its Armenian population. In connection with this interpretation of the passage, it is interesting to note that Plutarch, describing Pompey's campaign in Albania in 65 B.C., states that, unable to advance to the Caspian Sea, Pompey wintered in "Lesser Armenia". This passage has always been somewhat of a puzzle for it implies that after leaving Albania, Pompey marched all the way back across Armenia to pass the winter in Lesser Armenia west of the Euphrates. This would have been an odd peregrination to have made under the circumstances unless another Lesser Armenia, i.e. the one possibly referred to here, is intended. In a recent article Yu. R. Dzhafarov (1985) has suggested with considerable plausibility, that 1) the 'temple region' referred to by Plutarch (Pompey, 34) as the place where Pompey's army wintered; 2) the Anastis district of Albania mentioned by Dio Cassius (XXXVII.53.5) as the location of Pompey's camp in the winter of 65/66 B.C.; 3) the Aspis of the same author (XXXVII.7.5), where he places Pompey's second encampment in the winter of 65/64 B.C.; and 4) the temple of the moon-goddess Selene (read: Anahit), which Strabo (XII.4.7) assures us lay near the Iberian border, are all to be identified with the modern town of Kazakh (Arm.: Lazax, As(i)-pa=i= *Has(i)-pa=Ali-Kaz-ad=Kaz-ab*) in the lower valley of the Akstafa/Afctew (supra n. 55) just before that river enters the Kur. This line further identifies with the ancient locality of Yalw or Yalas Kox, one of the episcopal seats of the Albanian Church (MD:1.26); variants: Halw, Haliom, Hivlon. From this it is but a short step to his identification of Yalu with the Latsu of TP (XCI read: Lazax from a nominative *Lasax*, the Laius of RA (11.8), and with the Utian (and probably the Caucasian Albanian: R-H.H.) word for 'moon'. This is most persuasive given the close historical and political links between the Utian and the
Albanians amply attested in MD, and by the linguistic ties adduced by Greppin (1985) and others, but, while Dzhafavrov's identification of Yala, etc. with Lazak/Kazakh is suggestive and even plausible, I am not convinced that the frontier of Albania lay quite so far northwest as the Akstafa valley in the Middle Ages when Yala was one of the episcopal sees of the Albanian Church. In my view, Yala is certainly the Lazo (rectius: *Lazak*) of TP, and very likely the Aspis (read: *Hapia*) of Dio Cassius, but I would place this locality further to the southeast in Sakatain, in the direction of Samxor (Shamkhor). In any case, if the temple district of Albania indeed lay south of the Kyros/Kur, then this region must have been a part of Albania in the first century B.C., and with it all of Sakatain and perhaps even most or all of Utik. If this is true, then the acquisition of these lands by the Albanians in c. 387 A.D. may have been more in the way of a reacquisition. Since the River Seboj, flowing through 'Lesser Armenia', entered the Kur from the north, however, for Pompey's 'Lesser Armenia' to have lain around either modern Kazakh of Shamkhor, the district of that name must have lain along both banks of the river, which is not at all impossible. As for an Armenian population north of the Kur, it should be remembered that Strabo (XI.14.4) considered Kambiyene (Kambelai) to be the northernmost part of Armenia which he took at this point to extend as far as the Caucasus Mountains.

The speculations of Dzhafavrov do not exhaust the recent research being done in the historical geography of Caucasian Albania. In another extremely provocative article, S.N. Mouraviev (1983), noting that the level of the Caspian Sea has been falling steadily since the Russian annexation of the territory of modern Soviet Azerbaijan in 1806, has reversed the process to postulate that in the first century B.C. the waters of the Caspian Sea were sufficiently high to have inundated the entire Kur-Arax lowlands as far west as Yevlakh. Not only would this explain the confusion of certain Classical authors as to whether the Kur and the Arax united before entering the sea, or entered it by separate mouths, but it would also clarify the otherwise unfathomable description of Albania found in Ptolemy (XI.12). According to the latter (whose information almost certainly came from the intelligence gathered during Pompey's campaign in Albania some two centuries before his time), certain rivers of northern Albania that now flow south into the Kur, in his time debouched directly into the Caspian Sea. Using his new thesis as a guide, Mouraviev seeks the coastal towns of Ptolemy's Albania, with convincing results, not on the modern shore of the Caspian but far inland on the postulated ancient shoreline. Similarly, most of Ptolemy's inland towns he finds, with equal plausibility, simply by searching for them further to the West than anyone has hitherto thought to look. (Hewsen, TAVO map B V/14; idem. ASSC II, 1990.)

VII. GREATER ARMENIA

Although the origin of the Armenianse themselves may remain a matter of dispute (Adontz 1946; Ivanov 1960; Tournouff 1963; Diakonoff 1972; Gamskeridze and Ivanov 1980; Lolekov 1982; Diakonoff [Diakonov] 1982; Greppin 1985), what does seem clear is that the first Armenian state emerged as a result of the collapse of the Urartian federation on the Armenian plateau shortly after the fall of the Assyrian Empire to a coalition of Scythians, Medes and Babylonians in 612 B.C. (Tourn. 52/53). Whether the Armenians had their own kingdom under Median overlordship or were a part of the Median Empire 589-550 B.C. is uncertain, but c. 550 B.C. Armenia passed under the control of the Persians (ibid: 67) becoming part of the Achaemenid Empire of Iran for which see Ehtecham 1946; Herzfeld 1948; Frye 1963), a situation described by Herodotus (III.93) and vividly brought home by Xenophon in both his *Anabasis* (IV, V, and *Kypopotidae* (II, IV; III.1, 2, 3; VIII,7, 11). With the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C., Armenia accepted Macedonian overlordship under its hereditary Persian satraps of the Orontids (Arm.: Arsakuni) house. With the break up of Alexander's empire after his death (323 B.C.) the Orontids found themselves under the suzerainty of the Seleucids, the dynasty founded by his general Seleucus eventually centered at Antioch in Syria. After the defeat of the Seleucids by Rome at Paraitakene (190 B.C.) and as a result of the subsequent 'Treaty of Apamea' (189), no less than three independent Armenian states emerged: 1) Lesser Armenia (west of the Euphrates and east of Pontus under a dynasty about which we know nothing) with its capital perhaps at Kamak (Kemah) and later at Sebastia (Sivas); 2) Sophene (Arm.: *Copk*) east of the Euphrates (under a branch of the Orontids) centered at Angil or Arakhatk (Gk: *Karkathiokerta*, now Ejlil north of Dayarbekir); and 3) Greater Armenia (under the Artaxiad dynasty, Arm.: *Artashat*), itself apparently a branch of the Orontids (Hewsen, REA XVIII 1984), stretching from Sophene to Lake Sevan with its capital first at Arznavik (Gk: *Arznaviara*) in the Ayarat Plain, and then, successively, at Erusandat and Artalat, Strabo (XI.14.6): *Artaxata/Artatasa/all in the Ararat Plain. (For all this see Tournouff 1963:72-74; 277-305). A fourth branch of the Orontids also came to rule over the tiny kingdom of Komagwenz west of the Euphrates to the southwest of Sophene, but this was a Syrian rather than an Armenian state and need not concern us here (ibid: 277-85). Under Orontid rule, the Armenians appear to have expanded from their original holdings in the western portion of the Armenian plateau perhaps centered at Kamak (where the later kings of Armenia had their royal necropolis), spreading over central Armenia into the Ararat Plain to Lake Sevan (Hewsen, REA XIX 1985). Under the Orontid-Artaxiad, this expansion continued with Artaxias 1 (c. 180-161 B.C.), who seized Kaspiane (Arm.: *Kaspk'/P'aytakaran*), Phanoticus (read: *Sak'k'/Siwak'*) and Basoropeda (Arm.: *Barsatempak*') from the kingdom of Media Atropatene (Strabo, XI.14.5), and obviously those lands (Utik and Arcax) lying between them. Later, under Tigranes the Great (95-6 B.C.) Sophene was annexed after which Tigranes, profiting from the momentary weakness of the Romans and the Parthian Empire in Iran, rapidly built a great empire of his own stretching from the domains of his father-in-law Mithridates Eupator of Pontus (121-63 B.C.) to the Caspian Sea, and including the former kingdoms of Syria, Komagwenz, Oroshotis, Mygdonia, Arzanene, Arzax and greater Armenia, as well. Tigranes' Empire proved to be short-lived, however, and the Romans under generals Lucullus and Pompey soon cut him down to size. Forced to relinquish most of his conquests he retained only Sophene and, for a time, Gordyene as well. After this episode Armenia became a constant bone of contention between Rome and Iran, with almost constant warfare over the domination of the strategically located plateau, and constant border changes of which we are poorly informed. In 226 A.D., the Parthian Arsacids were overthrown as masters of Iran by the energetic and aggressive Persian dynasty of the Sasanids. Militant Zoroastrians consciously determined to revive the glories of Achaemenid Iran, the Sasanids aimed at nothing less than the complete expulsion of the Romans from Asia. Ruled by its own Arsacid branch since 117 and having converted to Christianity, the religion favored at Rome in the early fourth century, Armenia found itself driven to seek the protection of Rome. In c. 387, after years of warfare between Persia and Rome, with Armenia as the chief bone of contention, the two powers agreed upon the partition of the country along the frontier already established between two co-kings sharing Armenia between them, the smaller portion, the northeast sixth of the country, i.e., the Kingdom of Arsaces (Arash Il), passing to Rome; the rest, Persarmenia, the kingdom of Vologases (Vaharlik) passing to Iran. This partition was accompanied by the falling away of most of Armenia's borderlands on the northeast, the sequence "Treaty of Apamea" passing to Iberia; Arcaxa and Utik' to Albania; and Paytakaran (or Kas'k, Gk: *Kaspiane*), Parskahayk' (the principality of Zarawand-Hir; Gk: *Sigmahike*) and the principalities of Korak' (Gk: *Gordyene*) and Alik' (Gk: *Arzashene*) to Iran. Armenia never reco
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension) 149

1. As before in the notes which follow, all references to Erem. are to Eremyan’s 1963 work on the ASX; all those to Toum. are to Toumanoff’s Studies (1963) all references to Inc. are to his Storagruti- 
viev’ (1822), all those to Herz, to Herzfeld’s The Persian Empire (1948), and all those to Hak., to the second edition of Hakobyan’s Hayastani pntshakan alxarxac’oycu (1968).

2. As before when the author proceeds to describe Armenia as he interpreted it to have existed prior to the loss of its borderlands after the Roman-Persian partition of c. 387. Once again, as with Iberia and Albania, he is not concerned with the principalities of his own time or of the period prior to 387. Rather, he is listing the fundamental territorial units of the country — the gnedekh, i.e. ‘districts’ (and not ‘canton’ as it is all too often inaccurately translated in English and French.) Contrary to his treatment of the two previous Caucasian countries, the author, however, does group these fundamental 
districts into larger territorial units — fifteen in all — and this description has influenced virtually 
every attempt to depict the geopolitical structure of ancient and early Medieval Armenia. In fact, 
however, his description is very inaccurate for he has taken larger territorial units of his own time 
and projected them back into the past adding them to other larger territorial units which had existed 
in the past, but no longer did so at the time that he was writing. These larger units were in fact of different 
origins and different natures, and at no period did more than eight of them exist at the same time, 
although our author alludes to the loss of certain border lands to Iberia, Albania and to Atropatkan, he 
does not cite all of the lands lost to Persia, and a few of these found mentioned in earlier sources he 
does not even name. As far as the partitioning of the country, he is almost silent. The Roman-Persian 
partition of Armenia of c. 387 had given the Romans control over approximately one-fifth of Greater Armenia 
with a frontier running from just east of Karin/Thediosipolis (Erezurus, infra VII n. 12). Later, in 591, the imperial frontier was pushed eastwards to the shores of Lakes Van and Sevan, a 
situation only suggested in the ASX (infra VIII n. 92; for all these changes cf. supra pp. 17ff.).

Further on (infra IX, n. 2) we shall see how Iberia, Albania, and Armenia, once described as 
separate countries, are listed once again as subdivisions of the Persian province of K’atu’ Kaphoh, 
wherein two other Armenian lands Sisakan (sic., i.e., Siwnik’) and Balasakan (i.e., P’aytakaran), are 
cited with the same status. This somewhat overlapping and contradictory description is quite a revealing 
arrangement, however, for it enables the author to present Armenia both as Armenians themselves 
regarded it rightly to have been, and to contrast it with the realities of his own time. Eremyan (21) 
regards the exactness of the description of the ‘fifteen lands of Armenia,’ so long after it had actually 
existed, in this form, to be due to the author’s having drawn upon materials recording the hereditary 
lands of each dynastic family, records which were kept in the royal archives and which reflected the political 
and administrative subdivisions, for the most part predetermined by the mountains and 
hydrographical conditions of the country (ibid., 20). Eremyan does not explain, however, why the 
principalities of these dynastic families are in fact ignored as territorial units. For an analysis of the 
problems in the depiction of Armenia found in our text, the true picture behind it, and the history 
of the nature and development of the various units across the centuries, the reader is referred to Appen-
dix III and to the separate notes included here for each of the fifteen larger units as they appear in the 
text.

As before, all names are given as they appear in the ms. of L. Classical, modern and variant forms 
from other mm., other editions of the text, and from other Armenian sources are relegated to the 
notes. Eremyan (69) estimates the size of Greater Armenia as c. 285,195 sq. km.; Toum. (241) as 
c. 228,402 sq. km. which, as he points out, would make it larger than Great Britain (226,275 sq. km.).

(See Appendix X.)

A note on Armenian geographical terminology may be useful at this point. The most obvious 
discrepancies in this translation will be found in the rendering of certain geographical expressions
which appear over and over again in the text, but which it is not always practical to translate identically in varying contexts. Armenian uses several words to indicate countries, provinces, and subdivisions of provinces. As in English, each of these words presumably has its own precise definition. Asxarh, for example, usually means 'world'; bnaasxarh 'native land'; gawar, a provincial subdivision or district; erker 'country,' etc. As in English, however, each of these words can be used in a much freer sense, and Armenian authors tend to use them carelessly. In the description of Armenia, for example, the term asxarh as we have seen, is used to refer to Armenian lands which are then subdivided into gawark', a term usually, but inaccurately, translated as 'canton.' Iberia and Albanias, however, are themselves referred to as asxarhk' and their subdivisions as gawark'. Thus, in the eyes of our author, these two Caucasian countries were placed on the same level as provinces of Armenia, being designated by the same term even though we know they were considered separate lands by the Armenians, Persians, and Byzantines alike. At the same time, all three of these countries - Armenia, Iberia, and Albania - are cited as asxarhk' of Persia in the description of the Sassanian Empire. Clearly we must be able to translate these terms with some freedom if we are to make any sense of the text. It should be pointed out that in the works of Armenian authors prior to the time of Justinian (527-565) no distinction is made between asxarh and gawar, the terms being used interchangeably for districts which, as Toumanoff points out, could be larger or smaller with some - which some find it convenient to call 'lands' - containing others, which have been called 'canton,' more accurately 'district.' Therefore, the terms take on a more precise meaning, however, culminating in the very distinct differentiation made in the ASX, where it treats of Armenia, breaking the country down into fifteen asxarhk' containing many smaller gawark'. (See Appendix III.)

The essential interchangeability of the terms asxarh and gawar is nowhere more evident than in this first passage where, having just informed us that Armenia is divided into fifteen gawark', the author proceeds to describe each of these gawark' as an asxarh subdivided into gawar. Obviously, any attempt to translate these terms is doomed to suffer from inexactitude and inconsistency from the beginning. Throughout this section on Armenia then, I am translating the term asxarh as 'land' when it refers to one of the fifteen asxarhk' of Armenia - for this is what they juridically were - rather than by the conventional term 'province' which they certainly were if by 'province' they would be understood to have been territories either conquered by, or completely subordinate to, the central Armenian government. The subdivisions of these lands, also called gawark', by our author, I am translating as 'districts,' for their status, whether as sovereign states, municipal territories, or simply as subdivisions of larger units, not only varied from time to time and from place to place, but in the greater number of cases is largely unknown to us. For the relationship between the 'asxarh' and the gawark' see Appendix III and Toum. (129, n. 227); for the history of the terms, Hüb.:240-44.

VIIA. Upper Armenia

The land of Barji Hayk', i.e., 'Upper Armenia' lay on the mountainous plateau south of the Black Sea coast and the Pontic coastal range. After the partition of 387, this region became the realm of Arsaces III under Roman suzerainty and claimed the name of Inner Armenia (Armenia Interior). Hitherto, it does not appear to have formed a distinct entity of its own. No classical source recognizes any greater unity in this part of Armenia prior to 387, and even the term Barji Hayk' "Upper Armenia" is not found in any Armenian source prior to the ASX. Upon the death of this sovereign (c. 390), as we have seen, the Romans allowed no successor and placed the region, renamed Inner Armenia (Armenia Interior), under a civil official, the Comes Armeniae 'Count of Armenia.' In 528 Justinian made this region officially a province placed under a praeses, with the name, once again, of Armenia Magna. In 536, with his reorganization of Byzantine Armenia (infra p. 18ff.), Upper Armenia became First Armenia, under the rule of a Proconsul and retained this name until at least the reign of Heraclius (610-641). Eremyan estimates its size as 23,860 sq. km. We are not certain as to what was the original 'capital' of the land, but it would seem to have been Karin, perhaps the location of a royal estate, upon whose site, the Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) - and not Theodosius II (408-450) as stated by Proc. Aed. (III:5.2, 4, 5) - raised the great fortress of Theodosiopolis (infra n. 12). Theodosiopolis remained the center of the territory until Justinian established the province of First Armenia, when the capital was moved to Cumina/Cimin (Gk. Toumanon), which was renamed Lentiniarnopolis. At the time of its acquisition by the Romans in 390, the former kingdom of Arsaces III was comprised of the Mamikonid principality of Ekelesc' (infra n. 7), which included Daranah and probably MjanJur Mur; the Bagratid principality of Sper (infra n. 10); and the Arsacid royal land of Karin, which probably included Shgomk'/Satalagomk'. Karin was probably administered directly by the Romans containing, as it did, their chief fortress of Theodosiopolis. The Mamikonid and Bagratid principalities were suppressed by Justinian in 536, and their owners appear to have withdrawn to Persarmenia. The Arscacids, however appear to have left their lands after their annexation to enter the life of Persia. There were some thirteen fortresses in Upper Armenia (Yovhannesean 1970). (In.:1-36; Hüb.:244-45; T'asean (Dashian) 1921; Kosean 1925; Surmenean 1947; Oskean 1951; K'art'velian suffix in Th. 377,469); Tk.: Kemah, not to be confused with Ani in the district of Sirak in Ayrarat, capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, nor with Ani of Arbn (infra n. 5). (Inc.:1-414, Upper Armenia became A'dana or Ahiwn, whose site, the Emperior Theodosius I (379-395) - and not Theodosius II (408-450) as stated by Proc. Aed. (III:5.2, 4, 5) - raised the great fortress of Theodosiopolis (infra n. 12). Theodosiopolis remained the center of the territory until Justinian established the province of First Armenia, when the capital was moved to Cumina/Cimin (Gk. Toumanon), which was renamed Lentiniarnopolis. At the time of its acquisition by the Romans in 390, the former kingdom of Arsaces III was comprised of the Mamikonid principality of Ekelesc' (infra n. 7), which included Daranah and probably MjanJur Mur; the Bagratid principality of Sper (infra n. 10); and the Arsacid royal land of Karin, which probably included Shgomk'/Satalagomk'. Karin was probably administered directly by the Romans containing, as it did, their chief fortress of Theodosiopolis. The Mamikonid and Bagratid principalities were suppressed by Justinian in 536, and their owners appear to have withdrawn to Persarmenia. The Arscacids, however appear to have left their lands after their annexation to enter the life of Persia. There were some thirteen fortresses in Upper Armenia (Yovhannesean 1970). (In.:1-36; Hüb.:244-45; T'asean (Dashian) 1921; Kosean 1925; Surmenean 1947; Oskean 1951; K'osean 1925; Hüb.:222; Ad-Gar.: Ch. III; Hiib. HV; Hewsen TAVO B VI 14 et seq.; Sinclair II, Ch. V).}

I. Daranah, usually written Daraxanabac' [gawar]; Byz.: Daranah (Hon., Map II); Sebōy (cited by Hüb. 283) has the plural form Daranadalk'n, i.e., 'The Daranalians,' whereas the Byz. form Daranalac', Hüb.:(283-348) derives the name from Arm.: daran 'a container' and ali 'of salt,' with the sense of 'belonging to.' Similarly, referring to the large number of salt springs in the area but Adontz, 45-46, shows that ali is the Kart'velian suffix 'ali (Class. Arm.: -ali; Geo.: -el) and has the sense of 'belonging to' (Ad-Gar.:40). Daranah - belonging to (land of) the Daranacs' (Gk. Drileia?).

The center of this district was the fortress of Ani or Kaxas, Byz.: Kamakba (CP DA1, 3,226) or Kamarhon (Th. 377,469); Tk.: Kemah, not to be confused with Ani in the district of Sirak in Ayrarat, capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, nor with Ani of Arbn (infra n. 5). (Inc.:1-414, Upper Armenia became A'dana or Ahiwn, whose site, the Emperior Theodosius I (379-395) - and not Theodosius II (408-450) as stated by Proc. Aed. (III:5.2, 4, 5) - raised the great fortress of Theodosiopolis (infra n. 12). Theodosiopolis remained the center of the territory until Justinian established the province of First Armenia, when the capital was moved to Cumina/Cimin (Gk. Toumanon), which was renamed Lentiniarnopolis. At the time of its acquisition by the Romans in 390, the former kingdom of Arsaces III was comprised of the Mamikonid principality of Ekelesc' (infra n. 7), which included Daranah and probably MjanJur Mur; the Bagratid principality of Sper (infra n. 10); and the Arsacid royal land of Karin, which probably included Shgomk'/Satalagomk'. Karin was probably administered directly by the Romans containing, as it did, their chief fortress of Theodosiopolis. The Mamikonid and Bagratid principalities were suppressed by Justinian in 536, and their owners appear to have withdrawn to Persarmenia. The Arscacids, however appear to have left their lands after their annexation to enter the life of Persia. There were some thirteen fortresses in Upper Armenia (Yovhannesean 1970). (In.:1-36; Hüb.:244-45; T'asean (Dashian) 1921; Kosean 1925; Surmenean 1947; Oskean 1951; K'osean 1925; Hüb.:222; Ad-Gar.: Ch. III; Hiib. HV; Hewsen TAVO B VI 14 et seq.; Sinclair II, Ch. V).
untested in any other source. Aššarha'oyc' (Long Recension) 153

As it did, the entire upper half of the valley of the later Baytberd; Proc. (61, n. 58) regards as a remnant of the Subareans or Hurrians. Although the district (which formed the center at the fortress town of Derjan. Both the plain and town are still called Dercan after the Emperor Leo (457-474) suggests that this adjustment took place in his time, the Byzantine Armenia did not normally attend ecclesiastical councils held within Persarmenia, this suggests that the Gayl in Fourth Armenia as the Mirus 'other' Gayl (infra VII B n. 29), he specifically tells us that this Gayl flows from Upper Armenia to the south, which corresponds to the Mirus Gayl. The Gayl, properly called, i.e., the Kelkit flows to the west from the mountains which separate Upper Armenia (and the whole of Greater Armenia) from Lesser Armenia and which cannot really be said to flow out of Upper Armenia. As for the river flowing south from Upper Armenia, this would be the Miruz or Muzur, a major tributary of the Miws Gayl which could be taken for its main course. - (See Appendix X).

Area: c. 2,250 sq.km. 8 Mananaılı reads Mananaılı; Seb. has the plural Manada'lk (Hub. 287). The name, like Daranak (supra n. 4), is a compound signifying perhaps 'place of the Mananaeae', a people later dwelling in the Caucasian region of Media. Later it was known as Lakhtoy Valley and then as Upper Derjan (Erem. 64). Located between the Manana Valley, now the Tziusawuyu, and the Bagirbaba-Haq Mts. (Ad-Gar. 42). Its chief town was Vlan, (Byz.: Basanini or Leontopolis; Tk.: Vican). There is some question as to at what period Mananaılı passed to the Romans. An Armenian bishop of Mananaılı attended the Council of Artašat in 450, but not the first (505) or second Council of Dvin (555). Since bishops within Byzantine Armenia did not normally attend ecclesiastical councils held within Persarmenia, this suggests that Mananaılı did not pass to imperial control until some time between 450 and 505 in some adjustment between the Byzantine-Persian frontier. The fact that its chief locality was renamed Leontopolis after the Emperor Leo (457-474) suggests that this adjustment took place in his time, the emperor perhaps receiving the district from Persia in return for not becoming involved in the Persian wars against the Armenians (451-484). None of this can be proved but for the evidence seems to support the arguments against it. The Gayl (Gk: Karin; NRA 106) or karin, which Hiibschmann (439) suggests that the latter being the preferred reading of Erem. 106: idem; yors kalkat' city of Karin'; Byz.: Theodosiospolis (supra n. 3). Area: c. 2,275 sq. km. 9 Tarkat Erek.

9 The Gayl (Gk: Lykos; Lat.: Lycus); Tk: Kelkit-gay (from Arm.: Gayl get 'Gayl River'), a tributary of the Yeişl Irnak (Gk: Iri), which enters the Black Sea just east of Samus (Amisos). The Greek name translates the Armenian gayl 'wol'. Here our author appears to be confused for, although he clearly distinguishes the Gayl in Fourth Armenia as the Mirus 'other' Gayl (infra VII B n. 29), he specifically tells us that this Gayl flows from Upper Armenia to the south, which corresponds to the Mirus Gayl. The Gayl, properly called, i.e., the Kelkit flows to the west from the mountains which separate Upper Armenia (and the whole of Greater Armenia) from Lesser Armenia and which cannot really be said to flow out of Upper Armenia. As for the river flowing south from Upper Armenia, this would be the Miruz or Muzur, a major tributary of the Miws Gayl which could be taken for its main course. - (See Appendix X). 10 See 127 n. 11. 11 Evri elpi'ra 'horned deer'. "Ay k'asa, read ayi'ak 'al chamois'.

12 Ai'w eu arti', Erem. (90): ai'w eu arth. The gk: karin, ai'w or ai'ros, is a kind of male sheep perhaps a wild one or a kind of deer. The ai'w or ai'ros is the female of the species. Again only one animal, not two, is intended, the male and female.

13 The fertility of this region and the astonishing variety of game birds and water fowl to be found here are still observed, as the numerous hot springs (YK: passim).

14 Fourth Armenia (ms.: Haraf Hayk'); read: C'orrord Hayk'), also called C'orac' Khorinth Region of Cop'k'; was a Byzantine province in southwest Armenia located in the valley of the Aracani River (infra N 42), i.e., the southern arm of the upper Euphrates, and in those of its tributaries. Here in the
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)
155
was to remain for over 160 years. In 298 the territory of the old kingdom, or at least its western and
Seleucid Empires. As a result of the Romano-Seleucid Treaty of Apameia (189 B.C.) Greater Ar­

macedonia, or at least its western and southern parts, passed to the Empire, there to remain until the coming of the Arabs 50 years later.

Originaliy consisting of six lands forming three princely states 1. Lesser Sophene-Disyaren, 2. Anzinian-Englizian-Garnond, and 3. Greater Sophene, the territory was enlarged in 377/8-387 through the Roman acquisition of the rest of the old kingdom consisting of four more lands forming two additional princely states (4. the principality of Ashtianene and 5. Balabitene-Khorzane, which to­

gether appear to have formed a single principality). As a result of this acquisition, there came into being a collection of ten lands divided among a pentarchy of five dynasties known to the Romans as

'other Armenia' (Armenia Altera) to distinguish it from the Lesser Armenia west of the Euphrates which had been Roman since A.D. 72. The five dynasties were known to the Romans as 'satrapes' (satrapiae) or 'nations' (Lat.: gentes; Gr.: ethnê) and had the fully sovereign status of civitates foederatae under Roman suzerainty, maintaining their executive, legislative, judicial and fiscal inde­

pendence and having immunity from Roman garrisons and taxation.

Between 528 and 536, a series of enactments of the Emperor Justinian reduced the pentarchs from seven to five, transforming them into the application of Roman inheritance laws. In 536, the separate states of the pentarchy were consoli­
dated into one Byzantine province of Armenia IV (Armenia Quarta) and placed under the administration of a consul residing at the new capital of Martyropolis; Arm.: Martirosac’ K’adak’; Mubarkin earlier, Nypter or Ny Perk’; Syr: Mefrk; Mafarkin or Maferkar (Syr.), Arab.: Mafarkin, Miyafarkin or Mayafarzin, Tk.: Farkin; possibly the Maipa of Ptolomy (V13.21), now Silwan, but certainly not Tigranakerta (Sinclair III.361-68).

The province of Armenia IV established by Justinian in 536, kept its original form for only 55 years. After the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in 591, which gave the Byzantines inter alia the land of Arzanene (Arm.: Afn or Arzam; Pet.: Aron) enjoining Armenia IV on the east, a new province was created by taking Nypter/Ny Perk’ from Armenia IV, and adding it to Arzanene together with the rest of Greater Sophene (Sophanene) lying south of the Tigris. This new province was given the name of Upper Mesopotamia (Mesopotamia Superior) or Armenia IV and had its capital at Amid (Dayar­

beikir). The original Armenia IV, now designated Justiniana or 'Other Armenia IV' (Armenia Quarta Altera), having lost Nypter/Ny Perk’, was enlarged on the north by the addition of Muzurun (Arm.: Muzawr or Mênjor) which lay north of Lesser Sophene and which had formerly been a part of Armenia I. Some of these changes did not last, however. Sometime before the coming of the Arabs (636), Arzanene proper was retroceded to Iran and Sophanene separated from Nypter, which probably reverted to the original Armenia IV. Muzurun, moreover, was transferred back to Armenia I (as it is shown in our text) probably at the same time as the other changes just cited. The original Armenia IV officially passed under Arab domination in 653 and when the Byzantines reacquired the region it was organized as the Mesopotamian Theme, so-called because of its location between the Arzianas and the upper course of the Tigris. There were some thirty-two fortresses in Fourth Armenia (Yovhaniansean 1792).

The population of Armenia IV was very mixed containing Armenians as well as Syrians and a

people called Uta (a Hurrian/Urartian remnant?) in Anziniêna (Ad-Gar: 587 nm 7, 10, quoting John of Ephesus de Beati XXXI, P. 122; Ivii p. 184). Bishops from Ingiljêna, Anziniêna and both Sophenês attended the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Area of "Other Armenia" (298-377/8-387) c. 33,800 sq.km; (387-536): c. 44,490 sq.km; of Armenia IV (536-591): c. 26,715 sq.km; (591-628): c. 24,095 sq.km; (628-c. 653): c. 26,715 sq.km; of Justiniâna or ‘Other’ Armenia IV (591-628): c. 35,307 sq.km. (based on Eremyan’s estimates for areas of the individual districts: 116-18, but including Angel-tun which Eremyan (ibid.) makes a part of Ahfîn’.

The description of this region found in the ASK corresponds to the situation which obtained between 536 and c. 650, while, the giving of its alternative Armenian designation as Cop’ac’ Kołm ‘Region of Kop’k’ recalls its earlier status as a land of Greater Armenia. Marqout (1901:171-72, 177-78) and, following him, Toumanoff (166), mistakenly, I believe (Hewsen: DMA 1), took this region to have comprised the ‘Syrian’ (ac) March of the Armenian Kingdom (correcting from the ‘Assyrian’ of the sources). For all this see infra VII C, n. 45 (Inâî 1822:37-61; Marq. 1901:165-79; Hüb:245-48; Güterboch 1914; Mark. 1930; Toum. 1963:166-82; Erem. 1963:57; Hâk:229-35; Ad-Gar: Chaps. II, VI, VII, Wheeler 1977); HSS 5; Hâwen 1984; idem: 1987; Garsoian 1989:456-58; DMA 1; idem: TAWO V 8 14, et seq.)

Soukry (40) translated this passage “Quatrième Arménie à côté de la Sophène... possédant la ville de Mînên,” but this is clearly wrong, not only because Fourth Armenia never included the territory of Melînêna (Malaya) but because the Armenian reads: Corrord Hayk’ or çop’ac’ Kołm ... Mel­
tine K’adak’ avy s'hâmanî ’ét mînîc’.

Xorjan: read: Xorzejan; Adontz (39): Xorjes 51877; Xorjej; GC (903): Orizanian (Proc. Khor­
zan) (Blon. Map 1), or Khorzane. Located along the [Miw] Gayl R., now the Pirsawiy, the chief place of this district was the fortress of Khorzane or Kôbê; Tk.: Kigi. Xorjean was not a separate principality and probably belonged either to the princes of Balahovit the upper valley of whose river, the Miws Gayl [infra n. 29], it occupies, or to those of Halitsane from which it is separated by a modest spot. Area: c. 3,450 sq.km.

Miw Gayl the ‘other Gayl’ to distinguish it from the Gayl referred to supra VII A., n. 14; also called the K’el Rive; Tk.: K’igj or, Pirsiwia (Erem.:70).

Supra n. 18.


Gebatnam: read: Gebatnam; the Venice, 1884 ed. of Korin, p. 19 Panahakan tâu as does LE, p. 41; GC (962a): Klaima Palên. The chief place in this district were the fortress of Palân; GC (Ad-Gar:529): Karatun Palioun; Tk.: Bajîn; and the town of Hozan, which later often gave its name to the entire district. The latter is probably the Urartian Xûzana and is still called Hozan (Erem.:76). Located on the lower course of the [Miw] Gayl R. (Ad-Gar:46), the name of this district signifies ‘house’ (i.e., ‘land’) of Pahn (Hüb.:463), a name probably connected with that of the Balâ/Pala people of Hitte records. Area: c. 1,740 sq.km.

The text has handeps ‘oppositie’ which should be handerj ‘with’ (Erem.:107; a correction already suggested to me by K. Makosoudian on an earlier occasion).

Balahovit; read: Balaborsit; Hüb. (294): Balaborsit, Balacorsit, S1865: Balacorsit; Gk: Balabigys; GC (962): Klima Balabiteinian or Balakhtane (Just. quoted by Hüb.: ibid.) or Klima Belakhtane (Proc. Aed. III.1.26). The name mean ‘Valley of Bali’ from its chief town, Bali; (later
Romanopolis, Hüb. 294, but see Honigmann who puts Romanopolis at Capaljur. Sinclair identifies it with Horéber/Harpaj'; Tk.: Pala, which is believed to date back to Assyrian and Urartian, i.e., pre-Armenian times, and to be connected with the Bala or Pala people of Hittite records (Toum.:172). After 387 this district was usually called Arsamusat or Almatai after it chief city Arsamusat; Ptol. (V.13.19): Arzamatas, from Arslamot-sat 'joy of Arslam' (Mark. 1966:285) after Arzam (Arsamas), Oriental ruler of the kingdom of Armenia in the third century B.C. (Toum.:281)? Polybius calls it Arzamosata, 'the beautiful plain'; MA calls it Anthis, of which Anthiënë is a corrupt form. Strabo (XI.14.6) has Asktiën. Area, Toum. (137): c. 1,500 sq. km.; Erem. (43): c. 1,750 sq. km.

35 Cop'k', i.e., Cop'k Sahuneac 'Cop'k of the Sahuni'; Cop'k Sahit 'Royal Cop'k'; Marq.: 177, 178 or Cop'k Sahouni; Hüb. (229); Ptol. Cop'k or Sahounac Cop'k; S1877: Cop'k Sahounac; also Miter Cop'k', 'the other Cop'k' (BP VI.4); Chald.: Šupani or Caparni (Hüb.294); Urart.: Šupri(an) (Erem.:357); Gk.: Sôphânê (Strabo XI.14.6); Cod. Just.: Sophena; Byz.: Topôpônê (Hüb.298); Syr.: Šôfân (eye) (ibid.). Its central was the holy town of Herapawlis; Gk: Hierapolis (PW XVI); Mod. Arm.: Çmaskac; Tk.: Çemigêzek. The adjective Sahunac was perhaps derived from the princely house of Sahuni which ruled the district (Erem.: ibid.); or, as Toumanoff (167) points out, the family may have taken its name from the district, whose name goes back to Hittite and Urartian times. Area: c. 2,460 sq. km.

36 Anjit'; Erem. (36): Anjit'; Hüb. (300): Hanjit'; S1877: Hanjít'; Assyri: Enzi, Enzie (Hüb.; ibid.); Prol. (V.13.18): Anzetênê; (probably related to the same of Anznita in Prot. V.12.8); Just. (Nov. 30): Anzetena GC (959): Kâmak Anzetênê; Assyri: Anzi, Hanizit (Hüb.; ibid.); Arab.: Hanizit, Hanizit (Yl., cited by Hüb.: ibid.) located around the fortress of the same name, now the village of Tilensiz. Area, Toum. (137):c.7,300 sq. km.; Erem. (ibid.): c. 8,285 sq. km.

37 Covk' castle lay on the island of Covk' in the lake of the same name ("Covk' little sea", now Lake Gölcük or Hazar south of Harput) or perhaps on its south shore, and is not to be confused with the fortress of Covk' which existed in Cilicia in the later Middle Ages. (Herz.:142-43; Erem.:56-57).

38 Horvárd; Hüb. (301): Xerberd; Lat.: Zetas; Arab.: Hisn Zyad (Erem.:63); Byz.: Bherpete; Tk.: Harpaj'.

39 Dögêk'; SA has an accussive variant Dednis (Hüb.:302); GC (960): Kâmak Dögemiz (from an Arm. locative: Dögêk'). This district was located between the Ephrataes and the town of Çmaskac; (Tk.: Çemigêzek). Toumanoff (224) erroneously calls it the region of the fortress of Anq in the eleventh-twelfth centuries (infra n. 45). Area: c. 700 sq. km.

40 Kna'ak is perhaps the modern Kararav (Erem.:61), and Kna'ak perhaps Ptolomeus' Kawkaba (V.13.15), and the modern village of Rapor (Erem.:90). Sok Castle is now the village of Sorok (Erem.:81), perhaps Ptolomeus' Zygora (V.13.14); (Hewsen 1982:129).

41 Gaurwêg; read: *Gaurêk'; Hüb. (303): Gorêk, Gaurwêg, or Dorek'; S1865: Dorek'; S1877: Gorêk'; Urart.: Gaurâbeg (Erem.:47); GC (Ad.-Gar. 53'): Gärêyî. The chief center of this district would appear to have been Lustara'c, now Kabad Madyen (infra, n. 43). Area: c. 1,728 sq. km. Sa'ânet-Martin (II:311) quotes YM as saying that Satax was a name given to the region of Arjjk' in the time of Heracles (610-641), supposedly derived from its reigning Prince George Sataxos, i.e., 'the loquacious'. There is no region of Arjjk' in Fourth Armenia, however, and Eremyan omits both the Sadaq of $1819 and the Covk' of L. to obtain eight districts for the land.

42 The Arcanian River; Assyri: Arcaniis; Pliny, V.20: Arcaniis; Proc. Aed. (L.17): Arsonis, is the so-called eastern (actually 'southern') arm of the Ephrataes now known as the Murash-us (Erem.:38). Lusat'arit, now Kabad Madyen on the Ephrataes, where it is joined by the Arcanian/Arsanitius Murat (Erem.:34). The name perhaps survives in the village of Lusat'arit or Lusatôrik in the Çarsan-
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

159

fifty years later, however, further alterations must have taken place for Sophanene south and west of the Tigris is no longer part of the new province (A§X ibid.).

In 640 the Arab general 'Ilyad ibn Ghunm invaded Arzan from Syria. Amida and Martyropolis surrendered without resistance (al-Baladhuri, Hitti trans.:275). Geographically a part of upper Mesopotamia, the arableization of Arzan had probably begun even before this time but under Arab rule the region became heavily settled with both Arab and Kurdish elements. Although Arzan was the first part of Armenia to be colonized by the Arabs (Tur-Ghewondyan 1976:25-27, 29), some Armenians must have remained there for a long time for Sion, Katholikos of Armenia (767-775), had been previously the Bishop of Arjnik'. Under Arab rule Arzan was merged with upper Mesopotamia to form the ottakasten (province) of Jaxira (ibid.:36).

Against this background, the question of the location of the Arabian March should be no problem for our sources are quite unequivocal in regard to it. Known in As as the Vitaxate of Arjnik' (112795) or of Aruanast (126873), both names serve to identify it: the vitaxate comprised the principality of Arjnik' (GK: Arzaneh), which lay in the northern (left) bank of the Tigris River. Thus, it lay opposite Aruanast (Per: Arabistan) by which name the Armenians understood the territory around the city of Ninibia, a region called Mygdonia by the Greeks, and which perhaps comprised the otherwise unidentified Syrian land of Beth Rehim (GK: Rehimine).

Despite the logical location of this margravate, Marquart when discussing it (1901:165-79), has confused specialties in a similar manner to the way he has confused them by his treatment of the Assyrian March ( supra VII. B. n. 26). Believing that the lands ceded to the Romans in 298 cited in Marquart's groups by Peter the Patrician comprised in fact two of the Armenian vitaxates, he has placed the latter groups of ceded territories — Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdkene, Kordouene, and Rehimine — into the Arabian March just as he has gathered the others — Ingilene, Anzitene, and the two sophenes — together as parts of his so-called 'Syrian' March.

While he has not erred in his location of the vitaxate in this case, Marquart has certainly confused its territorial content by greatly enlarging it. Again, he it repeated, there is no serious reason to believe that the lands cited in two groups by Peter the Patrician comprised in fact two vitaxates and hence, there is no reason for including the lands of Moxoene, Zabdkene, Kordouene, and Rehimine in the Arabian March. For Arjnik’ see Sinclair III:297-99, 357ff.

Having settled this matter, however, there does remain some questions in regard to this vitaxate. According to the ASX, the land (asxar) of Arjnik’ included the ten districts (gusan) of Ny'ret or Ny'ret/Ny'ret/Ajnik, Ajnik, K'elt'al-K rut, Kutik, Aznawor, Erret'Krez, Ghzeb, Sahnoy Sora and Sansasak. Our question here is whether or not the vitaxate of Arjnik’ included the entire land of Ajnik’ with its ten districts as cited in the ASX, or only the nuclear principality of Ajnik or Arzan. It seems likely that the former situation was the case. Apart from the fact that the very name, Ajnik’, used for the vitaxate, is that of the greater entity described in the ASX and not of its nuclear district of Ajnik/Arzan, there is no indication that any of the districts included in Arzan were of their own. Thus, far from being a super-dynast presiding over several other princes with their individual principalities grouped under his military jurisdiction as Marquart supposed, the Prince of Arjnik’, as vitaxa, ruled over the nuclear district of Ajnik/Arzan (which was probably his own personal demesne) and also over a number of smaller princeless lands which formed his princely domain — probably including Sansasak’ (to be discussed below). Notably, Sansasak’ in fact went to Ny'ret/Ny'ret/Erret’Krez (as we shall see below). These lands, together with Ajnik/Arzan, would have formed both the principality of Ajnik’ and also the vitaxate of Arjnik/Aruanast.

A second question is whether the large district of Sansasak’ included in Ajnik’ in the ASX actually
belonged to it in earlier times and had then later formed a part of the vitaxate. The fact that Greeks referred to the region solely in the plural (Sanasouniitai) had suggested that Sanasunk' was in fact a tribal territory under its own chieftains. This is possible, but there is little evidence to support it. Since the names of most Armenian districts are frequently found only in the plural, it is always possible that the Greek form Sanasouniitai is an Armenianism, i.e., a direct Greek translation of the Armenian Sanasounitai – the 'Sanasuniats'. More importantly, MX (II.8) makes it quite clear that the Vitaxate of Añjk' included the region of Sanasunk':

"And Sarasani from the house of Sarasa he (King Vafarsak) appointed as great lord and governor of the southwest, on the borders of Anysia (Ansysiotes) on the bank of the Tigris River, granting him as province Arzn and the district around it, and the Taurus Mountains, that is Sim and all the Khursh" (Γε, Kleeneneri, the mountain pass).

The mountain called Sim (Simsar) is precisely the name given by the Armenians to the Taurus range where it bordered the plain of Muš on the south separating it from Sanasunk', the later Sasan. Whatever the truth of the account of MX, he leaves no doubt that the sheer location of Sanasunk', stretching as it does across the river valleys leading southwards from the mountains which border the Plain of Tarawn (Muš) on the south – these valleys forming logical invasion routes in spite of their difficulty – strongly supports the idea that Sanasunk' would be an important part of any vitaxate designed to protect Armenia from an invasion from this quarter, just as it protected Armenia from invasion via the Armenian Fortresses.

The names of most Armenian districts are frequently found only in the plural, it is always possible that the ‘Sanasuniats’ referred to the region solely in the plural.

According to the same author, however, Arzanene was a subdivision (klima) of this eparchy of Upper Mesopotamia, thus reflecting the settlement of 591 when Arzanene, acquired by Rome in 298 and ceded back to Persia in 363, was acquired once again.

**VIIC. Añjk’**

Therefore, when the AŠX tells us that the region of Np’yret/Np’yrt’er (Martyropolis) was a part of Añjk’, it is referring to the period after 591, when the Byzantine government must have reorganized Añjk’/Arzanene and Mec Cop’k’/Sophanene into a new province, whereas when the same source tells us that the Añjk’/Arzanene separated the Roman and Persian Empires, its author is referring to the situation which existed in the period prior to that year. In its description of Añjk’, then, the AŠX is referring to the same region which the Greeks called ‘Upper Mesopotamia’ or the ‘Upper Fourth Armenia.’ The text errs only in that it omits from its Añjk’ the lands of Upper Mesopotamia lying south of the Tigris, i.e., the three lands (Tur Abdin, Aruatan and Mec Cop’k’) which Eremyan refers to as Mijajget’ Hayoc’, i.e., Armenian Mesopotamia – in its smaller sense.

Returning to the vitaxate, the function of the Arabian March is very clear: It defended Armenia from an invasion from the lowlands of Mesopotamia, not only via the Bilis Pass, but also by way of any of the narrow river valleys to the west of it leading through the Taurus Mountains to the Tarawn plain.

As for the holder of the vitaxate, there seems to be no question at all: The Prince of Añjk’ and the Vitaxate of the Arabian March – the Great Vitaxate – were one and the same individual, and both princi­pate and office were probably abolished at about the same time in connection with the reforms undertaken on the Persian side of the frontier by Khosro I Anšaršan in the time of the Emperor Justinian (527-565). (Inc.: 62-87; Heub.: 248-51; Marq.: 166-70; Mark. 1930: passim; Hon.: Map; Her.: 148-50; 232; Toun.: passim; Eren.: 34,116; Hak.: 236-44; Ad-Gar.: passim; HSH 1; Hewsen 1987; idem. ZAVO B 14, et seq.; Garsoian 1989; 457; Sinclair III, passim.)

**Idem.** The Tigris River has three principal sources all in Armenia: (1) its western or main arm has its origin in a small lake about 30 km. northwest of Diyarbekir (Amida) about three km. from the Euprates at Telek. (2) The Batman-va (or Kaliti, infra n. 50) has its source in the NHateps Mts. and joins the Tigris about 28 km. below Diyarbekir. (3) The Sîrt-va, a union of the Batlis-va and the Bolat-va (Arm.: kerm, infra VII E, n. i00), which enters the Tigris about 22 km. below the entry of the Batman. (Mark.: 1930; Her.: 140-41; 147-48; see Appendix X).

Anzitene (Hanjit), so that by a process of elimination, the southernmost land must have consisted of Greater Sophene (Mec Cop’k’ or Sophanene, which, as its name implies, must have comprised a large territory.

According to the same author, however, Arzanene was a subdivision (klima) of this eparchy of Upper Mesopotamia, thus reflecting the settlement of 591 when Arzanene, acquired by Rome in 298 and ceded back to Persia in 363, was acquired once again.
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension) established in southwest central Armenia after the Byzantine-Persian repartition of Armenia in 591 the short-lived Armenian name for the Byzantine province of the defense of the Armenian heartland), is unknown to any other source and appears to have been ‘mouth of’ i.e., ‘gate to the Taurus’, associating it with the people. Its center was the mountain castle of Sanasun, the later village Sala,’ or ‘Valley of the Salun (or Salin) Mts.’ (Hiib.: Sala). The entire land of Afjnik’ is referred to later in the Arzan, or ‘Valley of the Salun/Salin River,’ now the Mamisel’ River to get from Mec Cop’k’ (Sophanene) to Aljnik’ (Arzanene), suggests that the latter was the Armenian name for the K’ahrt’. According to Hübschmann (312), in the Byzantine period the K’ahrt’ was called the Khłomaron’ but this appears to be erroneous. Khłomaron, obviously flowing near to the fortress of that name, would be the Byzantine name for the earlierNikephorion; the Armenian Arzan, now the Garzan-su, possibly the site of ancient Tigranokerta (supra n. 48).

The river K’ahrt’ is apparently Syc.: Kallath (Hibb.: 307); Proc. Acad.: (III.2.3-2) Nymphios from nymphé ‘bride,’ evidently a mistranslation of the Syriac name which is similar to the Syriac word for ‘bride.’ Contrary to the opinion of Adontz (Ad-Gar.:376, n. 10; 377, n. 19), this river is not to be confused with the Nikephorion which, according to Pliny (VI.31.129), entered the Tigris further downstream and so probably corresponds to the Arzan River now the Garzan-su. Rather, it would appear to be his Parthenias ‘virgin,’ a Greek name doubtless related to the same error of translation that produced Nymphios. The statement in BP (V.27) that in the fourth century one crossed the Mannišel River to get from Mec Cop’k’(Sophanene) to Arzac’h’ (Arzanae), suggests that the latter was the Armenian name for the K’ahrt’. According to Hübschmann (312), in the Byzantine period the K’ahrt’ was called the Khłomaron’ but this appears to be erroneous. Khłomaron, obviously flowing near to the fortress of that name, would be the Byzantine name for the earlierNikephorion; the Armenian Arzan, now the Garzan-su, possibly the site of ancient Tigranokerta (supra n. 48).

The ms. of L: Sša’má under Arzac’h’, and Šša’má under Mesopotamia. Marq.: (216) gives the Arz动画 form as Sādātīm; [sic] ‘Shāt Dam’ ‘River of Blood.’

Erem. (89): Ke’l; a name possibly connected with that of the river K’ahrt’ and the town called K’łumar; Assyr.: Kullami’er; Gk: Khłomaron, located near the present village of Mağslıg. Area: c. 350 sq. km. (See Appendix A).

Erem. (59): Ke’t; which he locates around the Maden-su. Area: c. 352 sq. km.

Erem. (85): Tatık; located on the Tatık River, now the Tatık-su. Area: c. 350 sq. km. S1944 follows this with a district called Sahu which must be an error.

¼Nnuc’ Jor; Erem. (31): ¼Nnuc’ Jor; S1877: ¼Nnuc’jor, located on the stream called today the Güzel-dere. The name is perhaps from ¼Nnuc’ + Jor ‘Fine Valley’ (Hibb.:312). Area: c. 202 sq. km.

¼Erzêk’ Jor; Erem. (51): ¼Erzêk’ Jor; Hib.: (239): ¼Erzêk’ Jor; S1877: Åkerbêti; located around the present town of Erzurum south of Erzincan. It is possible, however, that the term ¼Erzêk’ Jor is the corrup one and that the region of the later town of Steer (Tk.: Ste) is intended. Area: c. 175 sq. km.

¼Salajor; Erem. (79): Salajor; Hibb.: (314): ¼Salajor; S1865: Salajor, perhaps ‘Valley of the Sala,’ or ‘Valley of the Salun (or Salin) Mts.’ (Hibb.: ibid.) or ‘Valley of the Salun/Salin River,’ now the Ro-su, a tributary of the K’ahrt’ (Bıtan-su, supra n. 50). Area: c. 350 sq. km.

¼Sanasun; Erem.: (79): Sanasun; S1865; Sanasun; S1877; Sanasun; GC (148); Sanasun; for the people. Its center was the mountain castle of Sanasun, the later village of Sasan (Tk.: Sassor or Kdărlik) and its dependencies. Area: c. 2,400 sq. km.

Ghe or; Gk: kekhûs; Lat.: gallas; Russ.: cherni’nyi.

¾Hwucz dehuk; read *haw dehuk (Erem.:91), a word which occurs nowhere else, and which he is unable to interpret. Soukry (41) translated it as francolins (Engl. idem.).

VII. Turuberan

The āxarak of Turuberan (text: Turuberan, which Eremanya (85) corrects to *Turuberan, a mouth of i.e., ‘gate to the Taurus’, associating it with the Tauroy Beran or Birtis Pass, so important to the defense of the Armenian heartland), is unknown to any other source and appears to have been the short-lived Armenian name for the Byzantine province of Armenia Interior ‘Inner Armenia.’ Established in southwest central Armenia after the Byzantine-Persian repartition of Armenia in 591 (supra p. 19), this agglomeration was more commonly known as Kolm Taraunoyu.

Prior to 591 this larger area seems to have been totally unorganized and, in the fourth century, the earliest period for which we have information, appears to have consisted of ten separate principalities. 1) Bznunk’ (including the district of Erevank’), which was taken from the Bznunk family after its massacre for treason in the early fourth century and given to the Armenian Church; 2) [East] Tarwæn which belonged to the Sk’jun family until the same period when it was taken from them and given to the House of Mamikonean; 3) [West] Tarwæn, which was the property of the House of Vahèvun, hereditary high priests of the Armenian pagan religious establishment, but which after the conversion of Armenia to Christianity was granted to the Gregorid family hereditary patriarchs of the Armenian Church; 4) Palun’k, which is omitted in the ASX but which was ruled by the Paluni family until it removed to Vuspakan (infra VII H. n. 177) apparently in the fifth century when its original lands passed to the Mamikonean; 5) Archunun’k which belonged to the Princes Manawazuni, a house last heard of in the late fifth century A.D. (Toum.:212); 6) Varahunun’k, the property of the Princes Varunžâwi, probably centered at Xnnuzin (Tk.: Hınıs), and which perhaps included the adjacent districts of Dasnawark’ and Tuaracatap’; 7) Hark’; centered at Manawazakert, which belonged to the Princes Manawazean (of putative Urartian origin) but who became extinct in the early fourth century after which their lands (which probably included the small but contiguous district of Koroi) passed to the Armenian Church specifically to the Bishop of Manawazakert; 8) Xorxofuni’k centered at Arçek which belonged to the Princes Xorxofuni; 9) Apahunun’k, the land of the Apahun family which probably included the adjacent princeless district of Dalari; and, finally, 10) [West] Alovost, centered probably at Arçek and the ancestral land of the Princes Gunik. In addition to these principalities the land of Turuberan/Turaiuberan also included the district of Marsali which had early passed to the Armenian Church and which may have been a part of the Royal Domains prior to that event. It should be noted that the inclusion of Dasnawark’ and Tuaracatap’ in the principality of Varahunun’k and that of Dalar in Apahunun’k is based only on geographic proximity and the fact that these three districts, like Marsali, had no princes of their own. All four of them — Dasnawark’, Tuaracatap’, Marsali and Dalar, for all we know, may have been a band of royal lands linking the definitely Royal Domain of Karin with the Royal Domains in Ayarat. We don’t know. Eremanya (JHS 2:112, Map) takes them to have been royal but includes with them several other lands that we know were not (Daranah, Varahunun’k, etc.).

In the extreme southwest Turuberan/Turaiuberan also included the princeless districts of Aspakuneac’ jor and Xoyt’. The former is geographically a part of (East) Tarwæn and with it probably belonged to the Sk’un family. Xoyt’, from its description in TA (II.7) may have been a pre-Armenian Hurrian tribe whose tribal enclave ruled by its own chieftains. As can be seen, L asserts sixteen as the number of districts in Turuberan but lists only fourteen. Various ms. of L, however add Koroi and Xorxofuni’, both of which Eremanya (116) accepts, the former cited by CP (DIA 44) and the latter well-attested in Armenian sources (Toum.: 208-09). For these see infra X an. 137 A and 138 A. To these additional districts Eremanya (76, 116) adds a principality to the northwest of Tarwæn which had probably been absorbed into the latter before the ASX was compiled (Toum.: 212). Eremanya (ibid.) gives Palunik’ 475 sq. km. It was located in the valley of the present Boglan (‘Paluni’) River, centered at the town of Ciwnkert Ptol. (Val.134): Sogkara (or Zogoraka), read *Sanokartah; later known as Porpõe, now Haraba-Barbas. There were at least twenty-five fortresses in Turuberan (Yovhannesean 1970). (For Turuberan see: Inc.: 88-132; Hibb.: 251-54, 322-30; Toum.: passim, Eremanya, 85, 116; Hak.: 159-72; Ad-Gar.: passim, HJSF 12: 133-34; Hewsen TAVO B VI 14, et seq.; Sinclair 1, Ch. 1).

Xoyt’, Eremanya. (55): Xoyt’, Hib.: (163): Xaw’ or Xoyt’; TA (ILY): Xoyt’; Byz.: Khothaitai (Hibb.: ibid.); Arab.: Kənib (Yt cited by Hibb.: ibid.) or Khothiuwa (Bal, cited by Hibb.: ibid.). Located on the Xoyt’ River (now the Hoyut, called Hoyut further downstream), one of the headwaters of the
Garzan-soyn, a tributary of the Tigris. Here dwelled the mountain warriors known as the Kuv're or Meknakanen'k' Xut'ay, 'Mauroads of Xoyt' (TA: ibid.), whence the Byz.: Khotabaitai. According to Stephen of Siwnik (Sepp's Siwniew), the people of Xoyt spoke one of the eight Armenian dialects which he cites as existing in his time (eighth century). Area: c. 1,190 sq. km. 64

64 "Asphakene'c' for: Erem. (98): Apakuneac' or Aspakanuneac' for, 'Valley of the Aspakunik,' i.e., 'hunters' (Hiib.: 325), from Per. asp 'horse,' a word used in Armenian as well. S1877: Aspakunik'. (CP DAI, 44): Apakbounes. Originally a part of Tarawn (Ad-Gar.: 244), Aspakunik was located in the Simser Mountains in the valley of the Aspakan River (now the Satas), a branch of the K'Altir (Batu)-san, perhaps on the main road from Tigranart to Artashat. The name survives in the modern village of Spakunik' or Aspakunik' (which was probably the district center), in the valley of Talovik. According to Alikian (1901: 297, 299), this district was also called Kogosti. Area: 665 sq. km. 65

65 Tarawn; Erem. (85): Tarawon; Tac. (Ann. 14.24): Towlraunam. Proc. Pers. (II.25.35): Tarawon Khoria (CP DAI: 43) Tarwinn; Hon.: Map I: Tarowinn; Arab.: Tarwun; comprised the broad plain of the Sultan and was watered by the Rivers Aracani (Gk.: Arasian; Tk.: Murad-su) and Mel (Tk: Kara-ay). The name Tarawn was used for three distinct entities: I. Lesser Tarawn which was divided into I) West Tarawn, once a state center located in the region of Vahtan (Asiatic), which belonged to the House of Vahanuni (Vahunum), hereditary High Priests of Armenia, but which passed to the Gregorids, hereditary Primates of Armenia, after the conversion of Armenia to Christianity (c. 314), and then to the Mamikonids through marriage (ante 438); 2) East Tarawn, located in the castle of Obkan (SurbHo: Okanet; Tactius: Castellum Volandum), belonging to the Princes Skuni, who were dispossessed by the Mamikonids in the fourth century and who have last been heard of in the fifth; and 3) Aspakunik' or Aspakanuneac' for, 'Valley of Aspakunik,' which had no known princes and could have belonged to either East or West Tarawn. II. Greater Tarawn, which consisted of the three above lands together with the districts of 1) Arlamunik', which from its name may have once belonged to the descendants of Arlam, Oronitid King of Sophene, but which in historical times was held by the House of Mandakuni until the latter disappeared (c. 502 A.D.), and which, like East and West Tarawn, passed to the Mamikonids; 2) Paluni'k' in the valley of the tiny River Menaskut (Tk: Boglan), whose princes migrated to the region of Lake Van in the fourth centuries and whose territory, with the town of Cwinkert or Porpes (Tk: Paqapun), passed to the Mamikonids as well; and, finally, 3) Xut' or Xoyt', a tribal territory in the Taurus Mountains which became Mamikonid at about the same time (infra. 62). III. The term Tarawn or Kobryn Tarawonc 'Region of Tarawn' was also occasionally applied by the Armenians to the whole of Tawruberan or Turuberan, the Armenian name for the Byzantine province of Inner Armenia founded in 591. This province, as we have seen, included all of the above six districts (and thirteen others besides) until the Arab invasions of the seventh century. Linguistically, Mamikonid Tarawn formed a separate episcopate which was the see of the Bishop of the Mamikonianen paexcellence, one of the three attached to the Mamikonid House. In the eighth century, the Mamikonids passed to the Bagratids under whom Tarawn formed a separate principality, but the Mamikonids had taken refuge in the Empire, and when the Byzantines annexed Tarawn in 966/7, the Mamikonids appear to have returned there, at least in the south (Toum.: 219). In 1058 Tornik Mamikonian drove the Turkish invaders from Tarawn and after the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert (1071), founded the line of the Tornikids at Mur, who held Greater Tarawn with Alimilats, Hafitnak' and Sanaunik' (Sawun) until dispossessed by the Muslim Shahs of Armenia (Shah-Arman) in 1189/90. Thereafter Tarawn ceased to have a separate existence, passing successively to the Mongols, the Turkomans and, finally, under Sultan Selim (1512-20) to the Ottoman Turks. Tarawn was one of the most fertile and densely populated districts of Armenia and Armenian sources cite some 150 towns, villages, forts, and monasteries here. The main roads from central Armenia to Mesopotamia passed through the plain as did the southern road from central Armenia to Anatolia. Area: Lesser Tarawn (i.e., East and West Tarawn) 3,195 sq. km.; with Aspakunik'; c. 3,850 sq. kms.; Greater Tarawn c. 7,695 sq. km. 66

66 The River Mel (Melget or Mebeget) is the modern Kara-su and perhaps the Tleboox of Xanehong (Anah. IV). Hübschmann (323) cites a form Melis found in YM and in ZG. 67 "Ailmunik'; Arlamunik'; Hiib.: (327): Arlamunik'; S1877: Ailmunik'. Originally a part of Tarawn (Ad-Gar.: 244) located in the valley of the Biwrakan River (Tk: Bingöl-su) and around the sources of the Kinek River (Gömenkaya). Area: c. 2,180 sq. km.

The Taremaic Mountains or Katar Erkii 'Summit of the Earth'; Byz.: Sarmazon, are the modern Bingöl range; Tk.: Bingöl Dağ (Erem.: 80).

68 "Mardali, which Hübschmann (327) tentatively identifies with Arab: Marbâlah, located at the sources of the River Eger, now the Egri-Çay, one of the headwaters of the Euphrates. The name is apparently from Mard, the name of a people + ali (supra VII A, nn. 4, 8; infra VII H, n. 167) Area: c. 2,905 sq. km. 69

69 According to Eremyan (70) the Meledak Mountains are a southern spur of the Palendak range lying south of Erzurum. 70 The Ayepkünk', i.e., 'goat's teats,' are another modern Palendak range, perhaps Strabo (XI.14.2); Mt. Abos; Pliny (V.22.83) Mt. Asia, (read: 'Abâ'), both of which mountains are discribed as the source of the Euphrates which would fit the Ayepkünk'.

71 The meaning of salak is unknown. Eremyan (98) reads it as aract 'silver,' citing a Pahlevi legal text in which salak is used to refer to smelted silver.

72 From the context this would be to appear another mineral but the term jilk is not found in any other source and its exact meaning is unknown (Erem.: 96).

73 Murc get; Erem. (71): the Macmurc or Muric River, now the Hasanakule-su. 74 Infra VII M, n. 268.

74 Erem. (49): Dasanunor'; rejecting the reading Gastover of L (which Soukry, 42 reads as Arga­tor); Hak. (166): Dasanor'. According to Eremyan (ibid.), this district apparently lay around the present Sassar, east of Tdkekm. Area: C. 725 sq. km.

75 Tvaracatap'; Erem. (86): Twaracatap'; Hiib.: (327) and Hak. (166): Twaracatap'. In the eleventh century, Mt. Hasiroc Tvep (cited by Hiib.: ibid.). Hübschmann (476) interprets the name to mean 'Shepherd's Field' from Tvarac Tvaracatap' 'shepherd' and 'field,' but Eremyan (86) sees in it the Urartian Taraxati-xaba, now the plain of Karapuzi on the Gök-su River. Area: c. 760 sq. km.

76 Dalari; Erem. (48): Dalar; Hübschmann (328) cites the variants Gorosar and Salafir; located in the valley of the modern Emelimi-ade (Dar-Gar.: 246). Area: C. 1,850 sq. km.


78 Vazonik'; Erem. (82): Varaznunik'; Arab.: Ba'januni'; Bal. cited by Hiib.: 328); located in the valley of the Xusnis River (Tk: Hinun). Toumoffri rejects the reading Varazunik' as being the work of modern scholars influenced by the existence of the princely family of Varaznunik' in Ayyaror. This Varazunik' is not to be confused with the district of Vazonunik' in Vaspurakan, or Varazunik' in Ayyaror (q.v.). Area: c. 2,000 sq. km.

79 Apabnunic' (gen.); Erem. (36): Apabunik'; which he derives from an earlier 'Apabnik' connected to a people called Apareb, dwelling south of the present day Talysh; CP (DAI: 44/17, 19, 23): Apakbourne; Arab.: Ba'januni'; Geo: Auponiu (Melčet'st-beg 191). The chief city of this district was Manzikert; GK: Minyas (Jos. Ant. I.36); Manzikert, CP (ibid.); Arab.: Manajeld (Yt. cited by...
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)

submerged beneath the rising waters of the lake. Eremyan (86) places it not far from Tatvan on the
Ziuqune; Arzike, Tigris, and was located in a gorge through which passed the main road from Mesopotamia onto the
was an important fortress in Bznunik' on the Balales River (now the Bitlis-5«), a tributary of the

whence the name; Mod. Arm.: Vana Lie'Lake Van', from the town of Van in Tosp; Tk.: Van

"^Erivark'),

considerable fluctuations in depth. The waters of the lake, which are impregnated with borax, have
Lake Van formerly contained seven islands of which only four still exist, the lake being subject to

Strabo (XI.14.8):

south of the lake

westwards around its western shore, south to the castle of Bafales. Mark. (1966:282) sees this as the

that the Sarak range begins at Mt. Nex-Masik' on the north shore of the lake and follows the shore

the second highest peak in Armenia, Mod. Arm.:

exist today

Arman in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Also included in this district were the two off-shore islets
Bznuneac Cov,

originally a part of Hark' located on the southwest shore of Lake Van which was thus often called
Bznuneac Cov, 'Sea of the Bznunis' (infra n. 84). The chief town of this district was Xlat'; CP (DAI:
191-96): Khlatal or Khlat; Arab.: Khaltal (bak. cited by Hüb.: 328); Tk.: Abh. seat of the Shah-
Arman in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Also included in this district were the two off-shore islands of Cigan, whose name is connected with that of Mt. Sipan (infra n. 83), and Tok'ean, neither of which exist today (infra nn. 88, 89), due to a rise in the level of the lake.

...i Nex Maeac'; Erem. (72): Nex-Maski', an extinct volcano which, at 14,547 ft. (3,000 m) is the second highest peak in Armenia, Mod. Arm.: Sipan; Tk.: Siphan-Dagi. The sense of the passage is that the Sarak range begins at Mt. Nex-Maski' on the north shore of the lake and follows the shore westwards around its western shore, south to the castle of Balalex. Mark. (1966:292) sees this as the
'Mt. Bari' of classical authors (e.g., Jos. Ant.: 1.3.6).

Bznuneac', gawar ... homanun covun; Bznuneac Cov, or Ritanuneac Cov from the names of the princeous houses which owned territories along the lake; also 'Topay Liq 'Lake of Top', a district south of the lake (infra n. 150); Alti Cov 'Salt Sea'; Arcei Cov 'Sea of Arcei' a town on the northeast shore; Assy., Babyl.: 'Upper Nairi Sea' as opposed to Lake Urnna which was the 'Lower Nairi Sea'; Strabo (XI.14.8): Arisht also called Thothius (see); Prot. (V.12.8): Thyotus (and ibid.) Arisht (or) Arishtone or Arisseta, a later name probably referring to the northeast arm of the lake, which extends to Arcei, whence the name; Mod. Arm.: Vana Liq 'Lake Van', from the town of Van in 'Top'; Tk.: Van Gölü. Lake Van formerly contained seven islands of which only four still exist, the lake being subject to considerable fluctuations in depth. The waters of the lake, which are impregnated with borax, have
been analyzed by Lynch (II:468) and contain a single fish, a kind of trout called tarex. The lake is 1,662
m. above sea level, has an area of 3,733 sq. km, and is 25 by 63 km. at its greatest extent. (Herz.: 142-
43; Garsoian 1989:455).

c'verdn Batei; Baladie; Byz.: Baladis; Arab.: Badlis; Mod. Arm.: Batei; Tk.: Bitlis. This city was an important fortress in Bznunik' on the Babâlé River (now the Bitlis-si), a tributary of the Tigris, and was located in a gorge through which passed the main road from Mesopotamia onto the Armenian plateau (Erem.: 44).

Ertevarq; Erem. (51): Ertevarq'; Hüb. (329): Ertevarq'; TA (IV:3): Ertevarq (Hüb.: ibid. read:
"Ertevarq'), now the district of Karcakan on the southern shore of Lake Van (Erem.: 51). Area:
400 sq. km.

Art'ke; Erem. (39): Arcêk; a town on the north shore of Lake Van not far from Adiljevaz; Urart.:
Zapane; Byz.: Arzâke; Arab.: al-Jauz, whence Tk.: Alitvir. As the waters of the lake have risen, the
island of Arcêk, opposite the town, has been submerged.

C'apan; Erem. (56): Cipan or Cipanay Anapat 'Wilderness (i.e., 'hermitage' 'Monastery') of Cipan.' This island is now the peninsula of Abadag on the western shore of the lake.

Tok'ean. We are not certain as to the exact location of this islet, which, like Arcêk, has been
submerged beneath the rising waters of the lake. Eremyan (86) places it not far from 'Tavan on the
western shore.

Elegi; Erem. (50): Elegi Lj, once a lake covering a square km. but now only canefields near Elegis
(village (Tk.: Göllyö), on the southern shore of Lake Van. This marsh is the source of the River Keč'an

now the Kecan deres which enters the eastern arm of the Tigris (Arm.: ferm get 'warm river'; Tk.:
Bohtan su) and thus one of the sources of the Tigris. This marsh is the Elegonean of Pliny (VL31.127)
which he considered to be the principal source of the Tigris. Elegi is 'reed.'

I am indebted to Prof. Garsoian of Columbia University and to her then assistant, Dr. K. Mak-
soudian, for the interpretation of this difficult passage.

(Supra n. 72).

'Alitvir; Boun. (205): Afovist; TA (III.29): Barilovit. Eremyan (33) derives Afovist from al'ti 'of
salt' and honit 'valley', i.e. 'salt valley' (but see supra VII A. n. 4). Originally a part of Apsahunik' (Ad-
Gar.: 246) this district was located along the northeast shore of Lake Van, half, (west) Afovist, in
Tawruban, and half, comprising this second (East) Afovist, in Vaspurakan. The chief town of the
district was apparently Arcei (Tk.: Erçia). Eremyan, ibid., includes the city of Zaristat in West Afovist
but this is apparently an error. West Afovist, as we have seen belonged to the Princes Guni whereas
East Afovist was a royal possession (containing, for example, Arestawan, the 'Royal Fisheries').

Zarist described by MX (III.23) as a 'royal city' must have been located in East Afovist and the
boundary between the homonymous districts must have lain to the west of Zaristat and not to the east
of it as on the maps of Erem. (1963; 1979). Taking Zaristat to lie in West Afovist, Eremyan thought that
West Afovist must have been its 'municipal territory' ('k$laq' aqin territorir). But we know that East
Afovist was the 'royal' Afovist so that the Afovist held by the Gunni family could have only been the
one to the east. Now Toumanoff (205) states that the House of Gunni owned Afovist with the city of
Arcei, and Arbeneti to the east with the city of Berkiti. In MX (II.22), however, we read that King
Artavazd (Artavazdes, 55-30 B. C.) assigned these districts to his brothers and sisters for their support
and (II.61; III.22) that later kings did the same. This would explain why the latter calls Zaristat in
Afovist a 'royal city' (III.23). Apparently, the Guniids acquired these lands after the fall of the
Armenian monarchy in 428. When the Byzantines and the Persians partitioned Armenia between
them in 591, the new boundary between the two Empires passed directly through Afovist separating
the Byzantine province of 'Inner Armenia' from Persian Vaspurakan. Out of this division were born
the two Afovists which I designate 'East' Afovist and 'West,' the former remaining in Guniid hands,
the latter eventually passing to the House of K$beruni. Toumanoff (206) errs, I believe, in implying
that the K$berunids acquired the whole of Afovist. Later, in the Arab period, this district was thus
known as 'K$berunvark'. Area: c. 1,575 sq. km.

(Supra n. 80.

P'atuk, read: 'p'atuk (Erem.: 97).

Maltamik'ir; read: mal himnir, the red mas' which Ereymian (96) relates to Skt. maśa and Kurdish
mai 'lenli' 'broad bean' pisum sativum NHB (II:228): 'a small pea or legume.'

The word k'ar'k'am is not found in the dictionary; it may be a copyist's error for something else
or it may not even be an Armenian word. It would seem to have been a kind of lamprey. I am
indebted, once again, to Prof. N. Garsoian for the interpretation of this rather obscure passage.

Eremyan (108, n. 1) considered it to be an interpolation and omitted it from his reconstruction of
this part of the ASX.

This description of Salome it not found in the Biblical account, but see Appendix X.
The citation of Mokk' as one of the supposed fifteen lands of Armenia is an excellent example of how the text cites Mokk' as having nine districts but lists eight, omitting the 'other' Ibars which I have restored from S.

After Siwnik' and Tayk', Mokk' was the third largest principality in the country and its princely house one of the most powerful. Area: c. 2,962 sq. km. (Inc.: 133-136; Hüb.: 254-259; Mark.: 1930:336, 342-345, passim; Erem.: 77.1, 117; Hüb.: 245; Ad-Gar.: passim; HSH 7; Sinclair I, Ch. I).

As with many Armenian principalities, the exact boundaries of Mokk' are not altogether certain, and Eremyan's maps (1963; 1979) as well as that in the(7:696) are not in full agreement as to its extent to the northwest. Using Eremyan's original boundaries, however, its area would have been c. 2962 sq. km.

The princes of Mokk' were of immemorial dyanstic origin, and supplied the king of Armenia with royal district. This region was also the center of the tiny Jrubuska state in the eleventh-eighth centuries B.C., according to Eremyan (ibid.) but he offers no source for this identification.

The principality of Mokk' may be illustrated by the example of Armenia. To all appearances Mokk' was the smallest of the fifteen lands in question, and is often cited as such. When we examine the real structure of Armenia in this period, however, i.e., as a federation of many principalities, it becomes clear that

Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension)
170

VII F. Körtyák

114 Körčék;' Toun. (181, n. 140); Kortëk'; Erem. (60); Körtyák', which he derives from an earlier *Korčis'ayc', while Hübbschmann (259) felt that the derivation of the name from *Kurd-ak'/*Kurd-is Armenians,' as well as from *Kurt-i-yk' going back to the Kyrtii 'Kurtians' of classical authors, were both false, as they probably are. Adontz (Ad-Gar.323) believed that the name Körčék' was indeed derived from that of the Kyrtians, whom he regarded as the ancestors of the later Kurds, and that this name was not to be confused with that of Korduk' (infra n. 115), which he thought referred to the Kardoukhoi of Xenophon, a people generally regarded by specialists as having no connection at all with the Kurds. (Lehmann-Haupt 1937; but see also Nikitine 1986: Chap. 1, for other opinions).

Strabo (XI.14.2): Gerdýénye. Area: 14,707 sq. kms. Eremeny accepts eleven as the correct number of districts in the land but revises the spelling of several.

The sources – both Armenian and Classical – are very confusing in regard to the historical geography of this region in large part due to the multiplicity of terms used to describe it. In an earlier study (Hewsen 1987) I went into great detail attempting to sort out the various contradictions and to make some kind of sense out of them. The results of that study need only be summarized here. For the perorations which led to the following deductions, the reader is referred to the article itself.

1. Originally, there existed a Kardoukhatian (Kurdish?) Kingdom lying between Armenia and Adiabene which was one of the states that emerged in the Middle East as the Seleucid Empire declined – a partial reconstitution, as it were, of the territory controlled by the Kardoukhatian tribes under nominal Achaemenid rule in Xenophon's time. This kingdom, probably based to the east of the Eastern Khabur River, must have been known to the Armenians as Körtyák' (or *Körčék/Körčék'?) and to the Greeks as Gerdýénye, both -ínt and -íyk' being locative suffixes so that the root of the Armenian and Greek forms of the name would be, respectively Korč/Gard.

2. West of this kingdom, between the Eastern Khabur River and the Tigris, lay the district of Tmorič', so-called from its central fortress of T'man located somewhere close to the mountain once called Sararad or Ararad (BP III.10) and later Judi Daght (Tk. Habis tepes). Apparently, this district was not – at least then – a part of Gerdýénye, and may have been retained by the Seleucids of Syria until it was seized by Armenia during the expansion of the early Artaxiad in the mid-second century B.C. (Strabo, XI.14.5). Under Armenian rule, this Tmorič' must have consisted of two districts rather than one: First, Korduk' to the west, which occupied the lowlands along the Eastern Khabur and which classical authors call Corduena/Kordouene; and second, 'Tmorič' proper to the east, the Tamorič' (as read: *Tamorič') of Strabo (XI.14.5) which BP (IV.50) refers to as amar 'unassignable,' i.e., 'mountainous,' and which, after Strabo (d. c. A.D.20), ceases to be mentioned by classical authors at all.

Strabo specifically tells us that the Armenians seized *Tamorič' from the Syrians, but makes no mention of either Kordouene/Korduk' or Gerdýénye, which lay on either side of it. I would assume that Kordouene, the westernmost of the three, remained under Seleucid control while Gerdýénye remained independent. Unless Strabo's *Tamorič' is taken to refer to the entire complex of Kordouene/Tamorič'/Gerdýénye, which seems unlikely, then the conquest of Tamorič' by the Artaxiaits would appear to represent an Armenian wedge thrust down the valley of the Eastern Khabur between the Kingdom of Gerdýénye on the East and Seleucid Tamorič' on the West.

3. In the time of Tiranes the Great (first century B.C.) the kingdom of Gerdýénye and the Seleucid land of Tamorič' were both conquered by the Armenians and appear to have been amalgamated into one territory. Thereafter, this appears to be the kingdom of Gerdýénye known to the Romans, a large territory extending from the Tigris River to the Zagros range, corresponding exactly to the Körtyák' of the ASX.

4. Sometime in the second century A.D., probably as a result of the organization of Trajan's new Roman provinces in the East or the subsequent abandonment of the conquests by Hadrian (117-138), Gordyene ceased to exist as a kingdom and was added to Armenia, where, apparently, it was once again separated into two parts, the western half forming a principality called Korduk'; the eastern half called Körčék' (MXIII.64) or perhaps, alternatively, from its three westernmost districts (Kipper, Middle and Lower Körčék') it was known as Körčék'/Körčék' (IV.50). This eastern half of the new Armenian acquisition was probably held as a royal territory by the Armenian crown for, as mentioned above, MX (II.64) seems to tell us that the "last Tigran" (i.e. King Sohaimos) settled there the three youngest of his four sons by his Roman wife Rufa (Toum. 1963:213).

From all this it seems likely that Gordyene and Adiabene, probably merged by Trajan into his province of Assyria, were separated upon Hadrian's withdrawal of Roman occupation of the area, Adiabene being revived as a vassal kingdom of Parthia but Gordyene being given (along with Rufa!) to Sohaimos, Hadrian's Syrian appointee to the Armenian throne.

In the fourth century, Korduk' and 'Tmorič' appear as separate entities in BP (IV.50) as do Kordik'/Körčék'. While BP uses both of the latter terms, he never does so in the same context which supports, however weakly, my view that they were at time used interchangeably. In my opinion, Körčék' was the westernmost district of Körčék'/Gerdýénye (to which it often gave its name, i.e. Körčék'/Gerdýénye), had once included Korduk' and hence the former name might be used as a synonym for 'Korduk' or vice-versa. This alone explains BP's use of the terms Körčék', 'Tmorič' and Körčék' in one breath and Korduk', 'Tmorič' and Körčék' in another.

In the period referred to by BP (c. 363) when Korduk'/Corduena/Kordouene formed a single principality not under independent control (Town. 181-182), 'Tmorič' was probably a princeless district held by the Prince of Korduk' in his capacity of vitaxa, the area being the amar or 'stronghold' part of his otherwise lowland and not terribly defensible realm. Körčék' (at times called Körčék' from having included Lower Korduk') would have been the royal land to the east of both Korduk' and 'Tmorič', extending as the Vg (98) tells us as far as the Zarawand-Hir, i.e. as far as the Zagros range. BP (IV.50) tells us that Korduk', 'Tmorič' and Körčék'/Körčék', were all in open rebellion against the Armenian king in 363 which suggests that 'Tmorič' had its own rulers just as Korduk' had its Prince-Vitaxa and Körčék' (probably) its royal administrators. It is just possible that there may have been a Prince of 'Tmorič' of whom we have no mention (a junior branch of the house of Korduk')?, or again more likely that the Bagratids had already acquired 'Tmorič' as 'Toumanoff suggests. Or, perhaps, even more likely, that it had a military administrator appointed by the Prince of Korduk' in his capacity of vitaxa.

8. The statement of the Ag (98) that Korduk' extended to Zarawand-Hir supports my argument not only that the names Korduk'/Körčék' were coreterminus, but also that the principality of Zarawand-Hir comprised all of the Armenian territory between Lake Urmiya and the Zagros range, i.e. the country called Parskahayk' by the ASX that included, not only Zarawand and Hir, but also Zarahawan and six other districts to the south of them. Since we know that the three districts called Zarahawan, Zarawand and Hir lay northwest of Lake Urmiya adjoining the districts of Ayli (Kuricani), Mari, Trabi, Arax (O'vea), Arnay (E'nay) and Tamber to the south of them, the only way that Korduk'/Körčék' could reach the principality of Zarawand-Hir would be if the latter principality had included not only the districts from which it took its name, but also the six princeless districts to the south of them. Once again, by the term 'principality of Zarawand-Hir,' the Armenian sources must mean to include all nine districts of the later Parskahayk'; by Parskahayk', the ASX must mean the earlier principality of Zarawand-Hir (infra VII G, n. 130). Obviously then, the depiction of Parskahayk' by Eremyan in his article on the region (HSH 9) cannot be correct. On all this, more below.
After their final acquisition of these Armenian borderlands in 387, the Persians, must have reorganized Korduk', 'Timorik' and Kordēk'/Kord(r)ık' into a single entity, which the Syriac sources refer to as the episcopal see of Bēth Qardu (Sachau 1919:45), and which to the Persians was apparently part of their new province called Arzōn-Ostān. (Ad-Gar.: 177-178, 391, n. 25). This greater subdivision of the new province of Arzōn-Ostān the ASX calls Korcāyk' (perhaps a mere later form of the earlier Korcēk'), but which the author, avoiding contemporary Persian usage, considers distinct from Arzōn-Ostān. Although Hakobyan (1968:246) equates Korcāyk' with Korcēk' and Korduk', this appears to be an oversimplification. Over and over it seems certain that Korduk' and Korcēk'—at least originally—were different entities, the latter lying to the east of the former, with 'Timorik' and the Kordēk's lying between the two. While the names are undoubtedly related, I do not see them as mere variants of one another, but rather as having two different senses: Korc-ēk'—the larger unit—appears to mean the domain of the Kord (proto-Kurds?), whereas Korc-ēk— the smaller territory—appears to be perhaps a kind of diminutive i.e.— Lesser Korc, whose final -k has been turned into a plural k' under the influence of the names of so many Armenian districts, which so often carry a plural ending. (For Kordīst origins see Nikitin: ch. 1).

This however does not seem to be the understanding of Efremyan (1979), who, on his map depicting Armenia in the fourth century, first labels the entire Korcēk' of the ASX as Korduk' and then divides it into three territories: 1) Korduk' (proper), 2) 'Timorik' (which he equates with the three Kord(r)ık's), and 3) the remaining seven lands of his greater Korduk' which seven form his Korcēk'. This, as I shall show below, I do believe is the correct interpretation of the data brought forth above in regard to the various districts being discussed.

10. For some reason, the Persians do not appear to have counted 'Timorik' as one of the districts of Korcēk', for its name does not appear in the ASX, and Moses (II.53) instead, tells us that Korduk' used to be called 'Timorik', a flat contradiction of BP (IV.50) which treats them as two distinct areas. How can we explain this? The answer, I believe lies in the fact that the ASX knows of three Kordēk's: Upper, Middle and Lower, whereas all earlier sources treat the three as one. In my view, the original Kordēk' consisted of what the ASX calls Middle and Lower Kordēk'. The Upper Kordēk', however, comprise the earlier 'Timorik', which probably included other parts of Kordēk' as well. This would explain: a) why BP knows of both 'Timorik' and Kordēk', b) why the ASX knows three Kordēk's but of no 'Timorik', c) why Moses (II.53) says Kordēk' used to be called 'Timorik', and d) how Kordēk' could have adjoined Korduk' as Vg (98) tells us it did when 'Timorik' supposedly lay between them. 'Timorik', indeed lay between Korduk' and Kordēk', but only in the north, as we have mentioned. (MX II.53, indicates that Aliki, a fortress whose location in the northern mountains between Korduk' and Mokk' is well known (Erem.: 1963: Map), lay in 'Timorik'. In the south (below 'Timorik') the lands of Korduk', and Kordēk' would have been contiguous. (I am indebted to Prof. N. G. Garsoian for this part of my analysis of Timorik').

According to Ef (146), at the time of the Vardananc' War (A.D. 451), Prince Vasak of Siwnik' wrote to 'Timorik', Kordik' (sic) Arc'as, and Xabik', indicating that all of them had their own separate rulers and hence were on a par with undoubted vassal kingdoms of Iran such as Abshāk' (Albania) and Vīrk' (East Georgia).

The fact that the ASX cites eleven districts of Korcēk' with no mention of the terms Timorik' or Korcēk' as names for the easternmost seven districts, and hence as a synonym for the old kingdom of Korcēk'/Gordyēnē, is easily explained: The author of the ASX is interested only in the fifteen large lands (aṣṭāk) of Armenia and of their smallest divisions (gawark'). He is not interested in intermediate groupings of these districts (the Armenian principalities) nor of any earlier combinations of them such as the old Kingdom of Gordyēnē which had included only the eight easternmost districts of the Korduk'/Kordēk' is a distinct area clearly defined by the ASX as comprising three districts—Upper, Lesser Khabur River. Its center was P'inakaka, now Pinak village. A remote region, Ef (I and II) considered it as distinct from Armenia as Iberia or Albania (Toum.:182, n. 144). Area: c. 5,825 sq. km.

It is in An (112 and 795) that we first hear of the Prince of Korduk', where, speaking of the preaching of St. Gregory (St. Gregory 1969), he tells us that he "passed along the border of Syria, the land of Nor Sirākan and Korduk' to the stronghold land of the Medes, to the home of the Prince of Makhkert-turn to Atarapatkan." BP, however, is our best source for Korduk' for its author mentions it several times and occasionally within a certain geographical context. In particular we are told (V.10) that the sparapet Muṣīḏ attacked the various lands which had rebelled against King Aršāk 1: 'Korduk', 'Kordēk' and 'Timorik'.

El mentions Korduk' twice and each time for him it is included in a list of countries other than Armenia: In Chapter I: Iberia, Albania, Li'ink', Kawdēk', Korduk', and Afnik'; in Chapter II in an identical list (to which Dānen is added), all seven lands being cited as Christian countries. This is in full agreement with BP which indicates that Korduk' was lost to the Armenians in c. 387. It also supports the idea that Korduk corresponds fully—at least in Ef—to the Korcēk' of the ASX which is likewise indicated as being distinct from Armenia.

MX is our last important source for Korduk' after the ASX; his description of the district (gawark') as the westernmost part of a larger land (aṣṭāk) of Korcēk' has already been referred to. Most of his references are not important. He mentions at one point (I.14) a passage "through Korduk' to the Assyrian plain," at another (II.36) there is a reference to the mountains of Korduk', and at a third (II.74) speaking of Anak, purported father of St. Gregory the Illuminator, he tells us that, pretending to be in revolt against the King of Persia, the king in turn pretended to pursue Anak as if expelling him as a fugitive to Assyria (read: Adabānū), "along the frontier of Atarapatkan through Korduk'".

More significant references occur elsewhere in MX, however, where we are told first (II.8) that King Vahšak established the principalities of the Mokc'ā', Kordāc', Anjewc'ā and Akēc'; second (II.36) that in the time of King Sanatruk (p. 114–p. 117), the sister of King Abbār of Edessa travelled through Korduk' on the way to Armenia; and third (2.53), that Korduk' was a part of Armenian in Anāk's time. Although MX is often unclear as to who he is referring to when he speaks of his semi-mythical Vahšak, Sanatruk and Anāk, I shall show in my conclusion that the references both to Korduk' as being outside of Armenia in Sanatruk's reign, and to the establishment of the principalities in Vahšak's time fall so well into what we know of the history of Gordyēnē and its Armenian acquisition, that these kings can be identified.

Korduk', as we shall see below, may well have been a district of Gordyēnē, but we can now see that its name is frequently used by Classical authors and occasionally even by Armenians (such as MX, above) to refer to the larger unit.

The name of the districts or cities called Kordik'/Kordēk' are obviously closely related to those of Gordyēnē, Corduena and Korduk', and equally obviously connected with that of the Kurds. Yet Korduk'/Kordēk' is a distinct area clearly defined by the ASX as comprising three districts—Upper,
Middle and Lower Kord(r)ik'—occupying the corresponding reaches of what can only be the valley of the Eastern Khabur River.

The Greek Life of St. Gregory (136) contains our earliest reference to Kordrik' at a point missing in the parallel passage in the Armenian and Greek versions of Agathangelos. Here, in the list of the Armenian princes who took part in a council convoked by King Tiridates, and who then went with St. Gregory to represent the Armenian nobility at the latter's ordination, we see a reference to the 'toparch' (vitaxa?) of Kordouanôn "who is called the superboxos" and which (district) is next to 'Andrikotirion.' Further down, we see another reference to the Satrap of the Zaurabandôn (Zarawand) and Kheran (Her) districts, "next to all of these, Kordotirón." In the parallel passage in the Va (86), Kordouanôn is called gymna "next to the strong gymna," and the land next to the Prince of gymna (Zarawand) is also rendered as gymna. Thus, whatever may be the case in BP, Kord(r)ik' and Korduk' are clearly identical to the author of Va. We shall see the significance of this in a moment.

For BP, Kordik' (sic) is also distinct from Tmorik' (4.50) as well as from Korduk' (V.10). Like Timorik', it was famed for its inaccessible position and in the 360's was in revolt together with Tmorik' and Korduk' against the King of Armenia.

In BP, then, the three lands are spoken of in the same breath, and it is clear that Korduk', 'Timorik', and 'Kordrik' are distinct entities which all lay close together. MX (II.53), however, is even more specific for he asserts that Tmorik' was the earlier name for Kordrik' and places the great fortress of Alki within it. While MX is obviously wrong in thinking that Kordrik' and Timorik' were different names for the same area, since BP clearly distinguishes between the two, his information is valuable in that he places Alki in the latter district. Not only do we know where Alki lay (it was still called Elbi until recently, but is now Beyrişteba), a locality on the upper-most course of the Eastern Khabur River, but, under the name Satarka, Strabo (XVI.1.24), as we have seen, places it in Gordyene. This demonstrates that the valley of the Eastern Khabur lay in Gordyene, and that, however far eastward the old Kingdom may have extended, it must have extended westwards to include Kord(r)ik' and Korduk'—the valley of the Eastern Khabur.

From all this we can see that Kordrik', Kordik'/Kordrik' consisted of three districts occupying the valley of the Eastern Khabur, the northernmost of which, Upper Kord(r)ik' (in Gordyene/Korduké) corresponds to Kordrik'. Further, we can see that the fact that Kord(r)ik' lay in Gordyene/Kordêk' it occasionally gave its name to the entire land. This alone can explain why the Va identifies Kordouene and Korduk' against the King of Armenia.

Thus, whatever may be the case in MX, it is even possible that its name once included the whole of the principality of Korduk' to the east of it. Lower Kordrik', then, was the original Kordik' and this must be the Kordik' (sic) of BP, a text which makes it clear that Korduk' touched both Kordrik' and Kordêk', a situation which would only have been possible if Timorik' was confined to the middle and upper reaches of the Eastern Khabur. MX (II.53), be it repeated, places Alki in 'Timorik' and we know that this locality lay on the upper Eastern Khabur in the district of Upper Kordrik', while Strabo (XVI.1.24) places it in Gordyene.

Timorik' is a very ancient toponym apparently taking its name from the fortress of 'Timan' on the slopes of Mt. Saradar/Aradar, the later Judi Dagh (now officially called Habib Tepesi), upon which the Syrian Christians and the Arabs held that Noah's Ark had come to rest. Strabo (XI.14.5), as we have seen, calls it Tamôrista (pro 'Tamarista') but he is only the classical author to cite the district under this name, the toponym apparently having been later subsumed into the terms Gordyene/Corduké.

12Kordis Veri (acc.); Erem. (62): Kordik' Ventin, Hüb.:334-335 cites the forms Kordik' and Kordik' in other Armenian sources; S1877: Kordis Verin, perhaps connected with Pol. (VII.2.9): Kösaia. Located on the upper course of the Eastern Khabur River, its chief place was the fortress of Alki (VT I, 352; II, 297): Alî; Tk.: Elk: Area: c. 1,075 sq. km.

13Kordik' (acc.); Erem. (61): Kordik' Nerîk', on the lower course of the Eastern Khabur River: Area: c. 625 sq. km.

14Kordik Miî, Erem. (61): Kordik' Miî', on the middle course of the Eastern Khabur River: Area: c. 1,025 sq. km.

15Aytounas (acc.); Erem. (55): Aytoutran'; Hüb.:335 Aytûrant', citing the variant Atran't'. Eremian (ibid.) saw in this name a memory of the 'Urnats of Assyrian times. This district was located on the middle course of the Great Zab River, now the region of Taî. Area: c. 325 sq. km.


17O'olans (acc.); Erem. (71): Mot'olan'; S1877: Mot'o'olan, now the region of Orumak in Kurdistan. Area: c. 875 sq. km.

18Orisans (acc.); Erem. (75): Orisan'; S1877: Orisan' (acc.), the form Orisan' being corrupt (Hüb.:335). Now, according to Eremian (ibid.) the nabûe (district) of Gever, on the Bavar-su or Nehîl-chay, a tributary of the Tigris from the northeast (but see infra n. 12). The center of Orisan' was probably the village of the same name mentioned by FK (XXV.57) and SA (cited by Hüb. ibid.) but Markwart (1968:256) places this village in Greater Albak. Area: c. 1,250 sq. km.

19Ersaroonis (acc.); Hüb.:335: Karasunik', citing the variants Karasunik', Karasunik', Sarabunik', and Karu'tunic', which later Eremian (58) accepts as correct. S1877: Karasunik'. The name possibly survives in the present valley of Katuni in the region of Shedmanin in Kurdistan, where there are still found the villages of Ajagi Katuna and Yabkar Katuna (USAF AAC Resê'Teb, 340 C II). On the other hand there is a village with the much closer name of Kertumî in the Plain of Gever (Tk.: Gever oozay) to the northwest (ibid. Al Amâdyûb 340 C 1), where Eremian (1963: Map) locates the district of Orisan'. Basing myself on a study of the indications in TA (III.4) regarding this area, I believe that Karu'tunic' lay in the Plain of Gevar, Orisan' occupying only the northern mountains that overlook this plain. I do not believe that Kordrik' extended so far to the
southeast so as to include Katuni valley unless both names, Kertinis and Katuni, may be traced back to "Kartuni" in which case the district included both the Plain of Gevar and the mountain valley of Katuni to the southeast. Area (according to Eremyan, ibid.): 550 sq. km., but c. 1000 if located in the Plain of Gevar.

Čahuk; TA (III.2); Čaraq (representing the shift from k to x in the Van dialect), located on the upper course of the Great Zab River. The center of the district was probably the fortress of Jhnar, later Julenemir (Tk.: Çilenemir; now Hakkari) whose name is probably connected to that of Mt. Jol (TA III.4), now Cilo Dağ. Area: c. 2,450 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

`Pok.k, `Albakk`; Ereem (33): Albak `Pok.k'; Hübschmann (335) cites such variants as `Pok`r `Albak` or `Albak`; Ptol. (VI.2.10): Alouaka (where it is placed in Media), or `Albak`, the Symbáke of Strabo (XI.13.2). Arab.: `Albák (Khur. cited by Hüb.) or Aghbák (Elf.); Tk.: `Albak, located on the upper course of the Great Zab River, now on the Turkic-Iranian frontier. Area: c. 405 sq. km.

`Zarawand` and `Her` formed part of Armenia until as late as 363, but of the other seven, more southerly Armenians' to refer to an area of heavy Armenian population in northern Iran? We know that this term ever really designate a real Armenian land, then, or was it used in the sense of 'the Persian region'? Erem. (77) rejects the usual interpretation of the name as 'Persian Armenia' but relates it to the other seven, more southerly districts, we cannot be sure. Certainly, there is something curious in TA (passim) where we find `Parshkahâyk` and `Kerdekh` used interchangeably for the former land (Mark, 1968:267), the latter term having nothing to do with the Kerdekh of the `ASX` (ibid.).

Eremyan (77) rejects the usual interpretation of the name as 'Persian Armenia' but relates it to the country of Parsua, or Barisa, found in Assyrian inscriptions, at that time located south of Lake Urmia. `Toumanoff` (ibid.) accepts the interpretation of `Parshkahâyk` as Persarmenia, considering the Parsua to have been themselves early Persians, vassals of Urua (Ghirshman 1954-92f). `Parshkahâyk` was located between Lake Urmia (called Lake Reza`ieyeh from 1930 to 1979) and the mountains west of it, and is entirely in Iran today. It was bounded on the south by Artopatêne, the frontier being along the River Arax (Sbees: Arap, cited by Mark. 1968:278; TA (II.2): Arax) now the Barânduz (Mark.: ibid.), on the east by Lake Urmia and on the west by the Koh-i Nihovakan Mountains along the Turko-Persian frontier (and which were thus the frontier between Armenia and Iran). In the Byzantine period the term "Parsarmenia" was used for the Iranian portion of Armenia after the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran in 387. This usage of the term has no connection with the Parshkahâyk under discussion here.

The fact that the term "Parshkahâyk" is unknown to any Armenian author prior to the time of the composition of the ASX is indeed curious. Granted that the territory was early lost to Armenia, the fact remains that Zarawand and Her, its two most northerly districts, are frequently cited but not Parshkahâyk, itself. Upon examination, however, we begin to detect another, earlier, name applied to

VII. G. Parshkahâyk

Parshkahâyk, as a name for this region, is found only in the ASX and TA, although in the tenth century some of its nine districts are mentioned both by TA (III.23) and in the History of UU. Of its districts, however, only Her and Zarawand are mentioned with any frequency (Mark. 1966:246). Did this term ever really designate a real Armenian land, then, or was it used in the sense of 'the Persian Armenians' to refer to an area of heavy Armenian population in northern Iran? We know that Zarawand and Her formed part of Armenia until as late as 363, but of the other seven, more southerly districts, we cannot be sure. Certainly, there is something curious in TA (passim) where we find "Parshkahâyk" and "Kerdekh" used interchangeably for the former land (Mark, 1968:267), the latter term having nothing to do with the Kerdekh of the "ASX" (ibid.).

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the area between Lake Urmia and the Zagros range where the ASX clearly places its Parshkahâyk: 'This name appears to have been Sirakan.

The toponym Sirakan first appears in Strabo (XI.13.8) where we are told that the pass through the Zagros is called 'Median Gates,' and that through this pass one reaches the Caspian Gates after passing through the district of Sirganîa. Since the Median Gates referred to can only correspond to the Kelish Pass, which ever since Urartian times had been the major entry into Media through the mountain range that bounded it on the west, and since we know from his reference to Mt. Iasonion (i.e. Mt. Haathasaar) as lying to the left (east) of the Caspian Gates (XI.13.10) that the pass leading from Media into the Tâlysh lowlands are the Caspian Gates he intends, it becomes clear that his Sirganîa is a district lying somewhere between the two passes, and a location along the west coast of Lake Urmia fits this description well. Earlier (XI.13.3) Strabo also tells us of a district called Symbék (which reverted to Parthian control after the defeat of Tigranes the Great by Rómé (B.C. 66). While this toponym has been corrected to read *"Albak* on the assumption that the Armenian principality of Albak is intended, (Marq.:109) it seems highly unlikely that the frontier of the Parthian Empire would have been extended so far west at that time, and I am inclined to agree with Eremyan (67), who reads Symbék as 'Sygriakkê and believes that Sirgianê/Sirakan i.e. the west coast of Lake Urmia, is once again intended.

Ptolemy (VI.2), also describes this region, however vaguely, and either of his localities of Tigrana in Media (VI.2.9) or Saraka in the same country (VI.2.10), given the corruptions to which his toponyms have so frequently been subjected, could be intended to read, respectively, 'Sigranna (Sirakan) or *Sirakan (Sirakan). Similarly, his district of Sirgianêkê (VI.2.6) could also be restored, to 'Sirgianêkê and related to Sirakan.

Strabo's Sirgianê is recalled in the fourth century TP on which we find indicated a River Sygris flowing into the Caspian Sea south of the Kyros (Kur). The geographical distortions encountered on this road map are, of course, so great that they leave open the possibility that the Sygris flowed through Sirgianê/Sirakan, and that it may have entered Lake Urmia rather than the Caspian.

Finally, TS (VII.8) cites a village of Steganon near Lake Urmia in connection with the campaigns of the Emperor Maurice in Media c. 590, a site which Rawlinson and Eremyan (ibid.: 65, 94) identified with a village lying between Oshnoviyeh (Ushnu) and Urmia, which the former calls Têpe Sirgân (Marq.:23), and the latter Şêrekêni - the present-day Şarêkêni (Sprangling:14). In my opinion, the land of Sirakan was the general name for all of the territories comprised within the Principality of Zarawand-Hêr, which must have included not just Zarawand, Hêr and Zaritâwan, (the three most northerly districts of Parshkahâyk as indicated in the ASX), but the whole of Parshkahâyk itself. My reasoning for believing that the principality of Zarawand-Hêr included the whole of Parshkahâyk are first that the undoubted districts of the principality - Zarawand, Hêr and Zaritâwan - were included in Parshkahâyk, second that it seems clear that the principality and the adjacent lands to the south were all lost to Armenia at the same time c. 363 A.D., third, that we have no indication of the existence of any princes in Sirakan, and finally, fourth, because the importance of the Princes of Zarawand-Hêr, as well as their undoubted Orotoid origin suggests that their lands must have been greater in extent than the districts from which they took their name. Had Zarawand-Hêr included all of Sirakan it would not have been the only princely family whose holdings included lands not suggested by its name alone. This principality, otherwise known as Sirakan when a part of Media (as indicated directly by Strabo (XI.13.8) and indirectly by Ptolemy (VI.2.6), but as Zarawand-Hêr when part of Armenia, must have been called by the Armenians Parshkahâyk literally 'Persian Armenia' after its incorporation into the Persian Empire in 363, whereas the Persians, as indicated in the ASX, knew it by its original name: Sirakan. The Princes of Zarawand-Hêr thus probably ruled the

Area: c. 2,450 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

VII. G. Parshkahâyk
whole of Sirakan/Parkahayk', and their principality would have been coterminous with the entire land. It is interesting to note that of the nine districts of Parkahayk' cited by the ASX only Zarawand and Her are known to LE (32) writing about a century and a half later. On the other hand, he uses a different terminology altogether for the districts to the south: Busak (read: 'Rotak'), Zider or Sig- reta, Tuxak, Gazzarak (read: Gajak?), Oman, and Surenapat. Yet TA (paxiun) mentions several of those in the ASX by their earlier names: Ayli, Tamber, Trhab (sic), etc. Yovhannissean (1970) cites five fortresses in Parkahayk'. Area: c. 1,301 sq. km. (Inc.: 150-155; Hiib.: 259-261; Marq.: 23-24; Mark. 1930:473, 513; Erem.: 77,117, Mark. 1968; Hak.: 250; Ad-Gar.:175-230, 432 n. 65, 468 n. 25; HSSY II; Hwesw 1987; idem. TAIO B VI 14 et seq.)

The text has "ew cazatatad hannta end mej Atpatakakan ...", which Soukry translated 'entre dan l'Aderbadagan ...', which is obviously the sense of the passage. In his notes to his posthumous edition of Markwart's 'Parkahayk' (1968), Abgarian suggested that the word cazatatad was a corruption of a latinism, sagitataber, from sagitta 'arrow', the sense being that Parkahayk' extends into Atpatakakan 'like an arrow' (Mark. 1966:252, n. 6; see also Erem.:108, n. 2).

Atpatakakan, also known as Atropasakan; Phil.: Atparasakan 'Land of Fire'; OP: Atropasa; Strob. (XI.13.4); Atropatanë; Lati.: Atropataenae; Arab/Per.: Aderbadagan, Aderbavjan, Azerbejan, a province of Media and now, under the name Azerbaijan, the northernmost province of Iran. (Marq. 1901: 108-114).

Koh-i-Niborakan Mountains, from OP: Naiba Xewana 'land of pasturage' (Mark. 1966:299), the part of the Zagros chain stretching from mountains of Korduk as far south as Mt. Zarasp, now Mt. Sefah kaf 3576m overlooking the Kelishin Pass, the ancient 'Median Gates' (Strabo XI.13.8). This chain formed the western border of Parkahayk'.

Ayli or koçi Kürban; Erem. (35): idem; Mark. 1966:254: El, which included the valley of the Nazlu-chai in the present district of Baradost, and which was also known in the Middle Ages as Ehl, or Eloy gawar, when the name referred only to the mountainous west part of the old district. Mark. (ibid.: 268) places it on the plateau of Tergavar or in the region of the Baradost River (the ancient Mazi), a tributary of the Nazlu chai. Kürban he sees as a Kurdish name (ibid.: 268). Area: c. 1,300 sq. km.

Mari gawar; Naamen (283): Margever; now the district of Mesgerw in the valley of the Baranduz-chai. Area: c. 1,855 sq. km.

T'rhab gawar; Naamen (283); Tsiargawar; TA (III.29): Trhab, now the district of Targever in the valley of the Berdesch-chai. Area (Erem. 94): c. 1,200 sq. km.

Arta or e Otsa; Erem. (38): Aruta or Otsa, Arzi being a corrupt form, as is the Ac'azitataber, and the Ac'sers of S1819 also known as Atropasakan, from Arm. or Utsa, is a kind of antelope (Erem.: 91).

This was the southernmost district of Parkahayk', the frontier being the Aras River, now the Gadaraw, from Arm.: get = 'river' + Afars; Area (Erem. 94): c. 1,120 sq. km. Area: c. 1,120 sq. km.

Arta; Erem. (37): Aramay or Emay; S1819: Ėmās, located in the Xanjar mountains in the region of Ėmānay monastery, now Derik village. Markwart (1966:269) places this district to the east of Ayli and cites the form Aran found in BL and UU, the latter of which whom uses Ėmān as a genitive. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

Tamber; Erem. (84); Tamber; TA (III.22-29): Damber; S1877: Timmers; S1819: T'rhab, also: Tamberk; Tamba, included in the present districts of Somay and Azazel, in the latter of which is still found a village of Temer or Tamer. Area: c. 1,870 sq. km.

Zarëhwat, Erem. (52): Zarēhawat; Yt. (II.922): Zarawand, now the district of Salmas; Arm.: Salmas, later Salaman Gk.: Salamas; Arab.: Salamas; the last three forms cited by Hwesw (388, n. 3).
which, used as a noun, has the meaning of the 'special' friends of the king and, secondarily, of the 'special', i.e., 'private' property of the king (ibid.) so that, in Henning's words, Vaspurakan as a province "proclaims itself a royal domain of the Sasanian crown." Thus Mokli, like Siwink, must have remained an autonomous Armenian principality under Sasanian rule whereas those principalities lying between the latter two must have been in some way properties of the crown while yet being governed or at least 'managed' by their own princes. Conceivably, the princes paid a special tax to the crown and in return were allowed to 'govern' their lands as stewards or bailiffs. The exact arrangement is not known to us and is not at all clear. The important point is that the term Vaspurakan for this part of Armenia is unknown to any author writing prior to the time of the AXK. It is not to be identified, as still occurs (e.g., on TAVO Map B V 6), with the Basprakania of Strabo (XI.14.5) which Soviet scholars (Petrovyan 1978) has so logically identified with Parpataunik (infra VII H. 16, 180), and its use in histories and maps of Armenia concerning the period prior to 591 is unwarranted.

The region that was to become Vaspurakan was the center of the Urartian kingdom in the ninth-seventh centuries B.C. and even then appears to have been thickly populated at least along the lakeshore. We know nothing of the area under Achaemenid rule although a Persian inscription on the rock of Van suggests that Van, capital of Urartu under the name Tuida/Tushpa, may have remained the capital of the Persian satrapy of Armenia. After the fall of the Persian Empire to Alexander in 330 B.C. and his death in 323, the region appears to have become a part of the kingdom of Media Atropatean for Diod. Sic. (II.13.3), writing at the turn of the first century B.C. makes an unmistakable reference to Van (Khawus) a locality in Media, a circumstance perhaps echoed by Porphyry (VI.2.10), where he places his Alowaka ("Albaka") in Media also. In the period of the Arsacid Kingdom, the territory of the later Vaspurakan appears in the possession of a number of princely houses: 1) the Gnuni holding eastern Aliovi and Azerberani; 2) the Amatun of reputed Median origin (A-ma[?]uni?), sovereign in Artaz; 3) the Erunduni (Orotoida), princes of Erunduni'k within which lay the plain called Hayoc for 'valley of the Armenians,' and which probably included the adjacent and otherwise princeless districts of Artalisean, Artawanean and Gukank; 4) the Riumi, holding Riumi'k and probably the adjacent and otherwise princelcss districts of Artalisean, Artawanean, Buunik', Amoyoyn, Gukank' and Tush; 5) the House of Anjewac'ik' holding the district of the same name; 6) the Princes Tipatuni or Truni in (A)rtipatun; 7) the Princes of Aki; 8) the Arcruni, Princes of Greater and Lesser Albak and probably also of the adjacent lands of Taygrean, Gazrakan and what was later to be Varazhuni; and 9) the Princes of Golt held the district of that name to the east of the Arax and probably including the Erzn, which is geographically a part of it (though it later belonged to Siwink); infra VII I, n. 191), and also the district of Nazlawan which Ermenyan (1979: map), on no evidence at all, believed to have been the municipal territory of the city of that name. The rest of the later Vaspurakan, including perhaps as many as sixteen districts, appears to have been entirely in the possession of 10) the Marpet or Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, and to have formed the land known as the Marpetakan (i.e., Marpetakan atcarb 'the Marpet land', marpetakan being an adjective although the accompanying modified noun never appears in the sources when it is used in this geo-political sense). The Marpet, as Adontz (Ad-Gar.: 314) and Bousmanoff (169) have shown, was the dynastic prince of the Mardians, the well-known Mardos of Greek and Roman authors. A Caspio-Median or Ma(n)tianian-Mannaean enclave occupying a large block of territory lying along the northeasternmost stretch of the Taurus range between Lake Van and the Arax, the Mardians inhabited a region thinly settled by Armenians and overwhelmingly Kurdish (Mard = 'Kurd' in medieval Armenian) even before the dispersal of the Armenians between 1895 and 1917.

Since the title 'Marpet' was one of the dignities possessed by the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, a purely appointive office, Toumanoff (169-70) was of the opinion that the line of the Princes of the
The thirty-five with their areas as calculated by Eremyan, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sq. Km.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Sq. Km.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rstunik'</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>Tosp</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tosp</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>Kufanovit</td>
<td>1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugunik'</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>Balaxovit</td>
<td>3650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcisak'</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>Kulan Valley</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astral Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mecnunik'</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulan Valley</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>Palunik'</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mardastan</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>Gok'</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaz</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>T'ornawan</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaz</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>Marand</td>
<td>5550</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artaz</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>Artawanean or</td>
<td>4010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artavanean</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td>Marand</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artavanean</td>
<td>1205</td>
<td>Marand</td>
<td>375</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marand</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Mardastan or</td>
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<td>Marand</td>
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<td>Marand</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>Mardian country</td>
<td>150</td>
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</table>

Eremyan's understanding of the above lists is clear and well thought out, but it is subject to correction. Basically, he keeps the number thirty-five for the districts of Vaspurakan by accepting the thirty-two listed by L, combines Artasesean and Artawanean into one district with alternative names to reduce the number to thirty-one, and then adds Goft'n, Kufanovit and Afiovit from the various versions of the short recension, and Bun Mardastan from the list found in TA (III.29). In this way he restores the names of the thirty-five districts referred to in the text. The addition of Marand, another name found in S, would, of course, raise the number to thirty-six but this Eremyan avoids by taking Marand to be an alternative name for Bak'ran.

Generally speaking, Eremyan's solution is a good one except for the insertion of Bun, i.e., 'original,' 'fundamental' or 'basic' Mardastan. This toponym is not found in any ms. of the ASX and its extraction from a tenth-century historian (TA III.29) and its insertion into a list drawn from a seventh-century geographical text (ASX) is a somewhat dubious procedure. I would remove Bun Mardastan from Eremyan's reconstruction, and seek to restore the thirty-five districts either by
Alxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) separating Artašean and Artawanakan (as do all the examined mss.), or by separating Bak'ran and Marand (as also found in all the examined mss.). Since Artašean/Artawanakan, as combined by Eremyan is a very small district, the separation of Bak'ran from Marand is perhaps to be preferred. In TA (ibid.) we find a complete list of the districts of Vaspurakan in the tenth century in connection with the partition of the Ararkan principality between the two brothers Gagik and Gourgen. Twenty-seven districts are listed including three (Tamber, Ėtnay and Zarešawan) taken from the adjoining land of Parkhakyk', Lesser Aftak', taken from Kurčeyk' and another, Bun Mardastan, not cited by the ASX. Thus the Vaspurakan of the tenth century contained only twenty-two districts of the thirty-five which it had possessed under Persian rule three centuries before. What had become of the other thirteen? To begin with, TA obviously omits those eastern districts lost to Vaspurakan after the destruction of the Persian Empire and the Arab invasions. (Goğ'tn, Naxčawan, Parpantupik'; Bak'ran, Marand and Garb'can) leaving only seven to account for. Of these, Anjey'aw'ik', was by now an independent principality not subject to Ararkan rule. 'Two others, Gaziškean (Kasrik in Turk. = 'little fort') and Varatašik', were probably considered to be parts of Aftak (certainly the first of these adjoined Aftak on the east). Thus only the omission of Rťunkik', Buzunkik', Trpantupik' and Erusunkik' need to be explained. The first two adjoined 'Thop and by this period were probably considered to be a part of it. The other two, curiously enough, are precisely two of the few districts whose exact location is unknown. Trpantupik' had probably disappeared with the princely house of Eruandunik' as well.

As for the curious Bagilovit cited by TA (III.29) among the districts passing to Gagik, this is probably to be identified with (East) Algvoit. We need therefore explain only the sudden emergence of Bun Mardastan. The answer to this question is, I believe, a simple one. As we have seen, the bulk of the interpolated names in the list of the districts of Vaspurakan found in the ASX, are to be located in region between Lake Arččiš and the town of Hér and are included in that region which TA (III.29) specifically tells us had formed part of the Mardpetakan. In my opinion, the Mardastan of the ASX included all of these lands which were later interpolated into the text, whereas the list of TA, having deliberately included all these separate districts, cites Bun Mardastan as the 'fundamental' (ba') Mardastan in contradistinction to the earlier Mardastan which had served as the nucleus of the Mardpetakan around which all the other districts of the principality had been gathered. Once the Arçruki House had acquired the Mardpetakan, its districts would all have become parts of their domains so that their original incorporation into a greater Mardastan/Mardpetakan had lost its raison d'être.

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According to Eremyan (46), this district had apparently been merged with Arberan in the fifth century, the two together being called *K'ajberunik*. Area: c. 1,025 sq. km.

186 Kogovit was a district of Ayrarat (infra VII M, n. 296).

187 Mount Ararat (infra VII M, n. 296).

188 Arberan; Toun. (205): Arbetani, located at the northeastern corner of Lake Van in the valleys of the middle and lower course of the Arstek River (Tk: Bandimahi-gay). Its center was the town of Berekri; Byz.: Perkri (CP Dal:191; Ced. 2.502); Arab.: Sarkh[an] (Hüb.: 341); Tk.: Marandiye. Area: c. 1,025 sq. km.

189 *C'k atan;* Mod. Arm.: Kine'; Çarpanak adasi, is a small island offshore near Van, where, until 1915, a small monastery was located called *Kine'capanat* 'Hermitage of Kat'. The modern Armenian name, *Kine',* taken as it stands, means 'beak' or 'bill' but could also be a corrupt or variant form of *katuo* the classical Armenian genitive plural of *kata* 'cat' and thus give the meaning 'Isle of Cats.' Actually, however, this form appears to be only a contraction of the original name *C'k atan,* which could be based on the adjective *EKar'or* 'poor,' or be only a corruption of a form such as *Ekar'tany* 'fishy' i.e., 'Fish Island.' From the text, this island would appear to have been the property of the princely Gnani house which held Arberan (Toun.:205).

190 Lim: Tk.: Limadaszi, an island in the northeast arm of Lake Van, also a part of Arbetani. A monastery existed on this island too, until 1915.

191 Amik; Erem. (35): Amnik; TA (III:4; IV 3 passim): Amuk; Byz.: Annoukhios (Hon.: Map IV), an inaccessible headland opposite Lim Island on which was located, in the Middle Ages, a fortress of the same name, now Hamok or Amuk village.

192 Arstevon; Erem. (37): Arstevanu or Arete Awun, where the tarex fish of Lake Van was gathered at the mouth of the River Arstek, whence its name in BP (III:8) *Jhnatank* Arkuni, 'Royal Fishery.' Eremyan (37) offers an interesting excursus on Arestawan which is worth summarizing here. According to his view, Arste as the source of the fish called the tarex (Arm.: *Arstek*; BP) found only in Lake Van, must have been well known in antiquity, but was confused with the town of Aristia or Ariston in Syria, also known as Arzhousa, located on the upper course of the Orontes River, according to Al 188, between Epiphaniea (Hama) and Emesa (Homs) on the site of the modern town of Ar-Rastan. Through the confusion between Arstitia/Arzhousa with Arex (Awan) in Armenia thus came Pliny's identification of the northeastern extension of Lake Van as Lake Arsetisiz (read: *Arsetiisa* from Arste/Arzhousa).

193 *Buzunik* (acc.); Erem. (45): *Buzunik,* located in the gorges of the Surb Tikin 'Holy Lady' or Sev Tikin 'Black Lady' River south of the Jerm and north of the present district of Sabx. Adontz (Ad-Gar:248) places it on the upper course of the Jerm (Bohtan-sa) of which the Surb Tikin was a tributary. *Buzunik* possibly took its name from Baz, the name of one of the five autonomous Syrian tribes, and in the early Middle Ages had its own Armenian bishopric. Area: c. 402 sq. km.

194 Anjewac'ik (acc.); Erem. (36): Anjewac'ik; Hüb. (342): Anjewac'ik or Anjewac'ik (or in his phonetic rendering *Anjewac'ik/Anjewac'ik*); BP (III:12; IV:12; V:32); LP (60) and TA (II:3,4) all have Anjewac'. Located around the sources of the upper course of the Jerm (Bohtan-sa) in an inaccessible mountain range, this area was once called in Armenian Aliz, from Assy: Aliz, also Assy: Enzi whence Eremyan (ibid.) derives the name Anjewacik and that of the modern village of Anizi or Husein. The center of this district would have been the fortress of Kangawar, now Kengueur village. Mark. (1930: 344, 367, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378) and Toun. (1963: 198) call the fortress Kang­uev; Arab.: Kinkuevar (Mark. 1930:422), and place it southeast of Lake Van and northwest of Akê.

195 *Trpatunik*; Erem. (186): *ilem,* Hüb. (343): Arspatunik; *S1877: Arspatunik* which latter form Hübschmann holds to be falsely formed under the influence of the name Arspetakan. Eremyan (ibid.) located this district in the valley of a tributary of the Jerm today called the Sahbar-sa although Adontz (Ad-Gar: 248) places it on the upper course of the Xosab (now the Hoap) River. Later, however, Eremyan (1979; HSH 2:112) identified 'Trpatunik' with the Arspetakan of BP (V:2) and placed it on the east bank of lake Urma in Arspetakan (Arspetakan). This seems unlikely. Area: c. 450 sq. km.

196 Arurentunis (acc.); Erem. (51): *Areurentunis;* *S1877: Eurenis*; TA (III:29): *Arunazi unw gunawim,* i.e. 'district of the Eruanunids' (Orontids), the princely house which was the earliest royal dynasty of Armenia (fourth-second centuries B. C.). Toumanoff (204) places this district east of Lake Van and north of Anjewac'ik, while Eremyan (51) and Adontz (Ad-Gar:248) locate it more specifically in the valley of the Hayoc' Jer River, now the Micinger-sa. According to Eremyan, this district, together with Arxalanian and Guankan', was known as Hayoc' for 'Valley of the Armenians,' supposedly from the fact that it was here that the earliest kingdom of Armenia was established on the site of the Urartian seat of Tulpa-Van (c. 625 B. C.). TA (III.13) makes Hayoc' Jer a valley leading into Arxanunti (sic). Here lay the fortress of Hayk', whence the name Hayoc' Jer, 'Valley of Hayk,' which MX (I:11) falsely deduces from the name of Hayk, mythical eponymous ancestor of the Armenian people. Area: c. 675 sq. km.

197 Armanutus; Erem. (37): Arnoy-nty; TA (III:29): Onen Arnoy, located on the eastern slopes of the Amsos Mountains, whence the name 'foot of Amsos' (or 'Arin')? Area: c. 275 sq. km.

198 Mardastan; also *Mardas'qyk* (Erem. 65), the latter form encountered in Sebeos. Both mean 'dwelling of the Mards,' i.e. the Medes, of whom there were several colonies in Armenia. TA (III:29) divides this district into two parts: Mardastan and Bun (i.e. original) Mardastan. The name is derived from that of the Mards, used by classical Armenian authors for both the Medes and by later authors for the Kurds, a circumstance which is one basis for the as yet unproven thesis that the Kurds descend (at least in part) from the ancient Medes. Toumanoff (169) calls the Mards "a Caspio-Median or Ma(n)ianian-Mannaean enclave" in Armenia, and locates them south of the Arax and east of Lake Van, with Mardastan as their territory on the eastern shore of the Lake. Eremyan lists Bun Mardastan as the fourteenth district of Varpakan between c. 1,100 sq. kms. and locates it on the upper course of the Hayoc' Jer River (Tk.: Micinger-sa), while Mardastan be considers the fifteenth district with c. 1,265 sq. kms., extending from west of Maku to the eastern slopes of the Varpakan (now the Kotur) Mountains supra VII H, n. 144. Ptol. (V.III.20) cites a people called the Mardois, probably the *Armenomardi of Pliny* (VI.I:10.28), see Ad-Gar:322.

199 Arata: RA (II:9): Aratose; LP (61:78): Savarakan gunawim; Seb. (Hüb.: 344): gunawim Aratose; TA (III:29): Artazakan gunawim or Artuzakan gunawim; Urart.: Ultuz. Marquart (1921:5) links the name with the Azara, Arata, or Arsata of Strabo (XI.14.3). The center of this district was the city of Savašan, now Maku (Toun.:197); Ptol. (V.III:16): Magostana! Here, too, was located the field of Avaray along the Tmunt, now the Ak柴, River, where the great battle of the Vartanants' was fought on 26 May 451. Area: c. 2,225 sq. km.

200 Infra VII M, n. 296.

201 Akê, located at the foot of Mt. Akenis in the valley of the Great Zab River, southwest of the modern town of Bakale, and centered in the castle of Akê, now the village of Akenis. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

202 Albk Mec; (VI:2:10): Alouaka, lay on the upper course of the Great Zab River, which was at this point called the Albk River. Its center was the castle of Hadamakert or Adamakert (Sy.: Beeh-Bagdû now Bakale, Toun.:199, 202). Near this town, at the village of Albe Yarkâ, was found the monastery of St. Bartholomew (Surb Bardoumnis Van') or the Holy Cross (Surb Xac'), the site of the reputed tomb of the apostle Bartholomew (Sinclair 1215-217). Area. c. 1,655 sq. km.

203 Anjaji; Toun. (220): *Ençegac* or Anjaji-Jor; Erem. (36): Anjaji-Jor; Hüb.: (344): Anjaji-
jor; TA (III.29): for Encayic, ‘the valley of Anjash’ (Hüb. 402 where he cites Anjash as a dialect form); S1877: Anjazaisar, located in the valley of the Kotor River, now the Koutar-sw. Its center was probably the castle of Kotur (Toum.: ibid.). Area: c. 825 sq. km.

137Trdat; Erem. (53): Tornawun, the center of which was also called Tornaiwan, a name which Hiihschmann (340) tentatively derived from Torn-awan, ‘grandson’s town,’ the Darnavun of Tavernier (1666-III.3). Area: c. 1,300 sq. km.

138Govan; Erem. (46): Cuerti-r or Cuerti-ot; Hüb. (345): Cuoti-r; S1877: Cuat, located in the broad valley of the Cuari River (rot being derived from Phl: rot ‘river’) now the Ak-chai. Area: c. 5,650 sq. km.

139Kotum (acc.); Erem. (61): Keutinik’ from an earlier form ‘Kurtiçianik’; S1877: Kötçrnik’, located around the sources of the Kotur River. The name survived in the village of Gyvardszhevi and Kardzhan on prerévolutionary Russian maps. According to Adontz (Ad-Gar. 249), it is with the name of this district that the interpolated names begin in our text. Area: c. 800 sq. km.

140Vuzunik (acc.); Erem. (70): Meçunnik’; Hüb. (345) cites the variants: Mecunic, ‘Mebrunnik’, and Vuzunnik’. This district was located in the gorge on the middle course of the River Marmet. Area: c. 475 sq. km.

141Parsparunik’ (acc.); Erem. (76): Palunik’, located on the gorge on the lower course of the River Marmet in which was located the town of Phańkit, later Polanc village (Erem.:76); now Tk: Pogans. Area: c. 200 sq. km.

142Govan; Erem. (48): Gukan’; Adontz (249): Gowan’; Hüb. (345): Gukan, located in the vicinity of the modern village of Gysgan’c in the Hayoc jor, which is probably the village of Gukan’ cited by LE (8). Adontz (ibid.) makes this district originally part of Rikunik’. Area: c. 225 sq. km.

143Atandost; Erem. (52): Alundot, rot: Hüb. (345): Adjandot, i.e., Adjandot citing Alandot-rot and Alandost as variants; S1877: Adjandot, located between the Aland River (rot), now the Alyand-nik, and the village of Nuarsak. Area: c. 850 sq. km.

144Pasparunik’ (acc.); Erem. (77): Pasparunik’, Hüb. (345) cites the variants Pataparunik’ and Pasparunik’; S1877: Paspatparunik’; this district, which was probably the Basoropeda of Strabo (XI.14.5), included the area of modern Laradad (Qaradagh) ‘black mountain’ in northern Iran—being derived from Phi: ‘black’—as the same district while Hiihschmann considers them to be distinct as indicated in all the manuscripts. According to Eremyan, the single district included the temple lands around the city of Artasizan or Artaivunan, i.e., the region around the modern town of Aratam. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

145Supra n. 181.

146Bagan; Erem. (44): Bak’tjan, i.e., Maranuk, of which the form Bak’an he considers corrupt although it is accepted by Hüb. (345). According to Eremyan (ibid.), this district began as the municipal territory of the city of Bakran or Bakurakar located in the environs of the modern village of Bakran, and was founded by King Trdat I (62-80 A.D.) in honor of his brother, King Bakur of Media, who was buried there. In his memory Trdat also built a temple and gave over the entire surrounding district for its upkeep. This town would thus be the Filadelfia ‘brotherly-love’ of TP (XCV). Later, in the second and third centuries, after the founding of Marand, the district would have become known as Marand. Eremyan cites no source for this information but see MX (II.60) and TA (I.8.) According to Lynch (map), there was a village of Palgan south of Maku, and Eremyan may have raided in his placement of this district. Area: c. 4,105 sq. km.

147Gavetan; Erem. (46): Gabct-an’ was the largest principality of Armenia from about 1200 to the late fifteenth century. Siwnik’ was the largest principality of Armenia and in the tenth-eleventh centuries, an independent state. Located in the basin of Lake Sevan and in the valleys of the Orotan and the Aharn (Hageru/Akers) Rivers to the south Siwnik’ was a
rugged, mountainous and remote region possessing no cities and only a few towns (chiefly Geal'kuni now Kamo, Sdwl'k, now Sod, Ju'a now Julia, Moz, Nakorzan and Xram none of which three now exist; and, later, Meth and Goris). The earliest known seat of its princes was the locality of Salak' then that of Siwnik' (now Sisian), but this was later transferred from one fortified site to another. Siwnik' comprised some twelve districts (SO II), 677 villages that of Siwnik' (now Sisian), but this was later transferred from one fortified site to another. Siwnik' exists; and, later, Mefri and Goris). The earliest known seat of its princes was the locality of Safak' then Sisakan, suggests some colonization by Scythians (Per.: Saka) after their invasion of Armenia in the seventh century B.D. In the Achaemenian period Siwnik' was probably included in the Median satrapy of the Persian Empire, and after the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) it apparently remained a part of Media Atropatene from whom it was taken by the Armenian Arzatsadus in the Second century B.C. Thereafter, Siwnik' became a constituent part of the Armenian kingdom but, considering its great size and the power of its dynasty, the Princes Siwn, it remained in effect a state within a state.

After the loss of Armenia's easternmost regions to Caucasian Albania in c. 387 A.D., Siwnik' became a borderland of what remained of Armenia (i.e. the part of Armenia that had passed under direct Persian suzerainty the same year). After the termination of the Armenian monarchy in 428, however, the princes of Siwnik' evinced clear separatist tendencies of their own. In the great Var-dananc' uprising of 451, Prince Vask of Siwnik' went over to the Persians and, in 571, Siwnik' appears to have been separated from the rest of Persisatia in order to serve as a borderland of what remained of Armenia (i.e. the part of Armenia that had passed under direct Persian suzerainty the same year). After the termination of the Armenian monarchy in 428, however, the princes of Siwnik' evinced clear separatist tendencies of their own. In the great Var-
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Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) 193

Harut'yunyan 1969; Sevanga I: 91); Byz.: F, n. 125). This district lay in the valleys of the Cahuk (the modern Dzhagrichai; Arm. 192

The total area of Siwnik' as depicted in theyl^X; c. 5881 sq. km. (Inc.:229-300; Alisan 1893; Marq.:

The indications of Strabo (XI.14.5) that Kaspiane, '•'Saunitis

V.12.3): ^Erem. (47):

Lykhnitis VIIJ, n. 209.

Area; c. 1,950sq. km.

Area: c. 625 sq. km. The text of S1819 has

Area: c. l,402sq. km.

Area: c. 1,325 sq. km.

Area: c. 197 sq. km. (Inc.:

Alrending, the remote districts of Armenia and even in the nineteenth century it was the region of Russian Armenia

Alacing, nrunk' or Nerhunk', nranc.

This district was also called Siwnik' or Siwan in the narrower sense of the terms (Erem.: ibid.). Area: c. 1,995 sq. km.

This district is not to be confused with Cawdek' (read:

Area: c. 2,045sq.km.

The lake's waters have seriously damaged its ecology in recent years. Ous fish are caught in Lake Sevan especially the

(Map:A.4; Erem.; 96). Area: c. 2,350 sq. km.

Another name for Chik and often associated with Siwnik'.


In the Middle Ages this region was called K'alt'ad and Kxoyorherd. Area: c. 1,402sq. km.

Area: c. 925 sq. km.

In the Soviet period it has been largely off-limits to foreigners. In the remoter parts of Armenia and even in the nineteenth century it was the region of Russian Armenia most rarely visited by travellers. In the Soviet period it has been largely off-limits to foreigners.

The indications of Strabo (XI.14.5) that Kaspiane, '•'Saunitis

And the later Cafac'jor 'flower valley', whence modern Zangezur for the whole of southern Soviet Armenia. This district corresponds generally to the modern district (raion) of Goris. Area: c. 1,325 sq. km.

This district lay in the valleys of the Çabuk (the modern Dzhagrichai; Arm.: Jafr). The Siwahon (now Shavach) Rivers.

Area: c. 1,130 sq. km.

This region corresponds to the regions of modern Elegnavor and Azizbeko (Erem.: ibid.). Area: c. 2,750 sq. km.

The lake, which is drained by one small river, the Turkish Zanga; (Urtan: Hdaduni; Arm. : Hoçzand) which has been harnessed for hydroelectric power since World War II. This has led to a gradual reduction of the lake (recently stabilized) whereby Sevan Island, with its two ninth century churches,
that Arc'ax was acquired at this time as well for Arc'ax lay between them. Not mentioned again until the fourth century A.D. when it seceded from Armenia in 363 together with the neighboring principalities of Gardman, Utik', Sahakén and Koht' (BP IV.50), Arc'ax apparently formed a part of Ar-sacid Armenia until that time. Briefly brought back to Ar-sacid obedience in c.371, Arc'ax and the other seceding lands were definitively lost in c.387 in which year they passed to Albanian control. As Albania crumbled in the ninth century Arc'ax, as the principality of Xac'en, became a center of Armenian independence and retained at least its autonomy under Mongol, Turkoman and Safavid rule (thirteenth-nineteenth centuries) not being fully subordinated to any local authority until the Russian annexation of 1805, officially recognized by Persia through the Treaty of Turkmancî (1813).

Beginning in the thirteenth century we begin to hear of a new designation for Arc'sx/Xac'en, the Turco-Persian Karabagh (Arm.: Larabah), supposedly from Tk.: kara 'black' and Pers.: bag 'garden.' Ulubabayan 1971: 42), however, suggests that the name is possibly from ghana 'great' and bâl, the old Armenian principality of Balk in southern Siwnik. This is not at all impossible if we consider (1) that Balk is a plural form, the singular of which would be bâl, (2) the title 'King of Balk' was inherited by the Princes of Dizak after the fall of that kingdom to the Muslims c. 1166, (3) that Hasan-Jalal-Daûla, 'King of Arc'ax' (c. 1214-1265/6), married Semp'an-Mamk'an, the grandmother of the last 'King of Balk' (i.e. 'of Dizak'), and (4) that the term Karabagh is first heard of precisely in the time of Hasan-Jalal-Daûla, who, for all we know, may well have considered his expanded kingdom to have formed a 'greater Balk.' We cannot be certain.

The exact status of Arc'ax within the Armenian kingdom is not known to us. We hear of no princes of Arc'ax, so much so that Adonts (Ad-Gar.220) and Eremyan (HSS 2:112, map) suggest that it was originally a part of the principality of Cawdk.' This would explain why Arc'ax is not mentioned by Ptolemy whereas he does know of the otherwise much smaller Cawdké, (V.13:9): Sdomkéné. After the fall of the Mihranid dynasty of the Presiding Princes of Albania in c. 822, within whose territory Arc'ax lay, the latter passed under the control of a branch of the House of Siwnik whose seat lay at the castle of Xac'en. Thereafter the earlier district of Mec Arank', in which the castle was located, came to be known as Xac'en, and, as the power of the Siwnids of Xac'en spread over all Arc'ax and the neighboring regions, the entire principality came to be known as Xac'en. The Siwnids of Xac'en proved to be an extremely resourceful and resilient race, assuming the royal title until the thirteenth century, and preserving their autonomy under the Mongols and Turkomans (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries). In the fifteenth century the family broke into four lines, each of which appears to have been established as melik (Arab.: 'king' but in this case 'ruler' or 'dynast') of a different district within the earlier principality. To these was added in the seventeenth century, the Halbagh or Halbagandi Meliks of Jraberd but, since their tenth century ancestor, Halbagh/Xalbagh I, was himself a prince of 'Upper' Xac'en they would appear to have been Siwnids as well. In any case, by the end of that century we hear of the Qamxy or 'five' Meliks of Karabagh (Arab.: khams 'five'; a federation which lasted until the late eighteenth century. These included the House of Hasan-Jalaleen – the senior line – Meliks of Xac'en (proper); the House of Baglayaren, Meliks of Giwlsit; the House of Sahnazararen, Meliks of Varanda; the House of Ayaneen, Meliks of Dizak; and the House of Ismajor descended from the Prosid branch of the Halbaghs/Xalbaghs, Meliks of Jraberd. In 1796, the melik houses accepted Armenian suzerainty, and in 1805 passed under direct Russian rule losing their autonomy upon the Russian annexation of 1805.

Although we know that Arc'ax occupied the mountains and deep wooded valleys along the southeastern slopes of the Armenian plateau, we are not certain of its exact frontiers on every side. Ob-

viously, the Arax River bounded Arc'ax on the south and the sharp and unbroken spine of the Arc'ax (now Karabakh) Mountains on the west. In the north, the Mravag range forms a logical barrier but we know that Koht', one of the districts of Arc'ax, lay to the north of it, as it would, appear, Kurel P'an'ul', whose exact location is very uncertain. On the east, where the mountains fade away into the Karabakh Steppes – the earlier land of Utik' – the boundary of Arc'ax followed no natural frontier but its general line has been traced by Ulubabayan (1981: 34), who notes that certain well known sites are known to have lain in Arc'ax and certain others in Utik' so that the frontier can be sketched, however roughly, between the two: Baylakan, Partaw, Ganalak, $amon$ar and Xabak all lay in Utik'; Civ, Kiti, Amaras, the castles of Xac'en, Berdakur and Jraberd, and the town of P'arisos, in Arc'ax. Eremyan, on the other hand, has muddled the waters through a serious error that completely distorts both the location of Arc'ax and those of its districts. The error that Eremyan makes in this area concerns the broad valley of the river now called the Akstafa, the Armenian Altsow (supra VI B, n. 64) earlier known, as it seems, that the River Lop'nis (Map 1979). Here Eremyan places the district of Mec Kuenk' as the northernmost district of the Armenian land of Arc'ax (1963: map); idem. (1979). Once again, however, he is wrong, having based this notion on an erroneous interpretation of two passages drawn respectively from a Georgian and an Armenian text. The first of these passages comes from that section of the GA entitled the History of King Vaztang Gorgasali written by the eighth century historian Juaniar Juaniar'ian (JJ): 138.

This prince [i.e., the Emperor Heraclius, 610-641] having gone first to Gardaban against Prince Vazars-Gagol, vanquished him at the place called Xaralat, baptized him with all his people and began the construction there of a magnificent church... From there [Berdjil] he [Heraclius] went on to Lali, received the lords of Meckevelni [Arm.: Mec Kuenk'] whom he baptized, and took the road to Bagdai [or road 'Creophon']

The second of these passages is found in the Armenian History of the Caucasian Albanians (Patmut-'iwan Aluanic') of the tenth-century compiler Moses, alternatively called 'of Kabankarart' or 'of Duxuren', (MD): (L29) At the time the King of Ranoaq'w (Meech'tech) together with his army... crossed to this side of the River Ker, spread into the land of Utik, and camped near the town of Xabcaf. Choosing three strong men, he appointed them leaders of the great force and entrusted the whole of the eleven armies to them. He commanded them to divide into three groups... the third group of the army reached the province of Arc'ax at the beginning of Easter and fell upon Mec Kuenk'.

Now from these passages Eremyan apparently derived the impression 1) that Georgian Garababani – and hence Armenian Gardman with which he erroneously equates it – lay partly in the valley of the River Berduji; 2) that Lali, which lay in the Akstafa Valley, was located in Mec Kuenk'; and 3) that Gardman, a principality within the land of Utik', and Mec Kuenk', a district of the land of Arc'ax, were contiguous: Mec Kuenk' occupying the upper and middle reaches of the Akstafa, and Gardman-Gardabani stretching along its lower course.

Eremyan, as Ulubabayan has already noted (1975: 33), is certainly wrong. The first of these passages proves nothing at all about the location of the district of Mec Kuenk' for there is no telling how far the local princes would have been willing to travel to feast their eyes on the first Byzantine Emperor to visit these parts. The second is equally vague for if an army crossed the Kur, camped at Xahalf (Lali?), and then ravaged Mec Kuenk', this need not mean that the army did not have to pass through other small districts to get there. In fact, the very reference to the army reaching Mec Kuenk' at 'the beginning of Easter' suggests a passage of time after the invasion had begun.

Far more important than the weakness of these two passages as supports for the location of Mec Kuenk' in the valley of the Arast/Vakstafa, are two other passages in MD which Eremyan overlooks entirely, namely II.31, in which we are told that the monastery of Gilavank' lay in Mec Kuenk', and
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) 197

Jorop'or, which, as is obvious from the Unless — since Mec Kuenk' where it was located, must have lain in the valley of the Trtu River (modern Terter) — the center of Arc'ax — and not in that of the Akstafa, which must have bounded Arc'ax on the north.

So the district that was comprised in the valley of the Lop'nas/Afetew must have been the land of Jerop'or, which, as is obvious from the AXS, lay east of Kolbop'or and, as is just as obvious from MD (III.22), lay west of Arc'ax. Apparently, the River Lop'nas/Afetew was also once known as the Jora unless — since jor means 'valley' and p'or means 'ravine' — that the Lop'nas simply flowed through a district known as the 'valley gorge.'

As a result of this digression we find that before we can begin to discuss the districts of Arc'ax, the entire question of their location must be reopened. First, let us attempt to determine the number of these districts and ascertain their names. In doing so, however, we find that we have three lists: 1) the list of the districts of Arc'ax found in L; 2) the list found in S, and 3) the list of districts in Albania taken from Armenia in 387 cited only in S (and not in every ms. of S). The third list includes all the districts taken by Albania both those in Utîk and those in Arc'ax but the latter can clearly be identified so that the three lists of Arc'axian districts may be established as follows:

1. Miws Haband
2. Vakunik'
3. Berjor
4. Mecirank'
5. Mecshank'
6. Harchank'
7. Muxank'
8. Piank'
9. Packank'
10. Sisankank'
11. Kolt
12. K'ustip'arnes
13. Koxt

As for the location of the twelve districts of Arc'ax, we may begin with the few whose location is known: Miws Haband obviously must have lain in the southwest adjacent to the Haband in Siwnik' from which it is distinguished by its name; Vakunik' was the site of the Royal Baths of the Albanian kings there; the others can only have been at the great mineral springs at Isî-su on the upper course of the Terter — the district later known as the Melikdom of Car. Mec Kuenk', as we have seen, lay in the center of Arc'ax; Mec Irank', or Mec Arank', in the valley of the Xa'tîn, where the monastery of that name was located. The location of Piank' has been determined by Eremyan (77) to have been around the village still called Bayan; Muxank' probably lay in the east of Arc'ax its name perhaps connected to that of the Muxan Plain. Sisakan, we known lay somewhere in the south of Arc'ax. Finally Koxt, we know, lay to the north in the upper valley of the Samxor River, and whose spiritual head in the early twelfth century bore the title 'Bishop of Koxt' and Šamnxor' (Ali. 1901:385).

Glancing at the map, we can discern a vague pattern here, and the location of the twelve districts of Arc'ax may be determined with reasonable clarity if we assume 1) that each district corresponds to a distinct geographical area, and 2) that the AXS lists their names in some geographical order. Following these assumptions, we note that 1) Miws Haband lay in southwestern Arc'ax adjacent to Haband in Siwnik'; 2) Vakunik' in the northwest adjacent to Ahbêk' which adjoined Haband in Siwnik' on the north; 4) Mec Kuenk' in the valley of the 'Terter below Vakunik'; 5) Mec Irank' (sic read Mec *Arank' ['Greater Aran']) in the valley of the Xa'tîn River; 7) Muxank', perhaps in the lower lying region of the southeastern Arc'ax where the mountains (and the valley of the Gargar River) drop down to the Steppe in the direction of Muhîn; 8) Piank' around the village of Bayan in the Gargar River valley to the west; and 10) Sisakan-i Kolt in the region of Amaras south of Muxank'. All of this suggests a clockwise listing of the original districts of Arc'ax from southwest to northwest to central to southeast, with Koxt' (and probably K'ustip'arnès) cited last because they lay north of the original Arc'ax and had not always been a part of it (as we certainly know was true of Koxt'). Assuming that our impression is correct and that the districts are, indeed, listed in this order, we can now investigate where the missing districts might be fit in to the pattern: 3) Berdjackor must have lain between 2) Vakunik' and 4) Mec Kuenk', and indeed we find in northern Arc'ax the valley of the Lev-chai River, a northern affluent of the Terter where Eremyan in fact places it. 6) Harckank' must have lain south or
east of 5) Mec Irank' and north of 7) Muxankan'. I place it along the middle course of the Xac'en to the east of Mec Irank'. Eremyan (1963: map), for no apparent reason, tucked Harclank' between two tiny affluent streams of the Arax along the Persian border. South of the valley of the Xac'en River and separated from it very clearly by a line of mountains, lay the valley of the Garqar River. Here, in the vicinity of modern Susi (Russ.: Shawa) Eremyan (77) places 9) Parsakan' (as he reads the name), and, a little further east and lower down the river with no natural boundaries, he places Piank' around the village of Sisakan-i Kotak round the monastery of Amaras in the valley of the Kuru River. Of the twelve districts of Arc'ax then, only K'ustip'afnes has not been identified. Its location (together with Kok') to the north further east and lower down the river with no natural boundaries, he places Piank' round the village of Mec Irank' and north of 7) Muxakan'. I place it along the middle course of the Xac'en to the west of Koh' and Gardman, and imposed his suzerainty over the robber-chiefs of Joroyget (sic). This implies — although, of course, it does not prove — an expansion to the northwest into the mountain valley east of Lake Sevan. By the end of the nineteenth century, there had been such a change in the toponomy of this region which he locates in the region of the later district of Xac'en located on the upper course of the Rot parsean River (Xacenaget). Ulubabian (1981:37) relates its name to Aran, the putative native name for Albania. Here was erected in the thirteenth century the great monastery of Ganjasar 'treasure mountain,' which became the seat of the Katholikosate of Albania until its suppression by the Russians in 1828 (Yacobson 1960; Karapetyan 1974; Yacobson 1977; Hasratyan-Thierry 1981). Area: c. 550 sq. km.

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Asxaran'c'oyc' (Long Recension)
The physical description of Koh’ would be identical to that of Gardman Valley which bordered it on the west (q.v.). Three rivers took their source in this district, the Kaskar-chai, the Ganja-chai, and the Kurak-chai. Nothing is known of its ethnic character although its name contains the K-L root so often found in Causasia (Kočhil, Koł, Kołb, Gočen, etc.) and suggests a Georgian connection. Little is known of the history of Koh’ although it is perhaps the Kohšnèh of Prolemy (V 13:9). Koh’ seceded from Armenia in 363-87 as did the other principalities of this area and remained a part of Armenia until the ninth century. The fact that Gardman was inherited by a line of the House of Siwnik’ in 822 suggests that Siwnid control was extended to Koh’ as well, but we cannot be sure.

The Princes of Koh’ are ascribed a descent from the Kings of Atropatenè, and it was a Prince of Koh’ who (c. 680) was the first peer of Albania to contract a marriage with a Muslim for which he was condemned by the Katholikos Uxtanes (MD III:10). This house is last heard of in the eighth century.

The Vitaxate of Gugark’ found in his Studies (437-99) comprises some of Toumanoff’s best historical-geographical work. Beginning with the districts of Cobop’or, Koblop’or, Jorop’or, Aloc’ or T’asir, Toumanoff shows (499) that all five of them appear to have originally lain in Armenia or at least between Pharnabazid Iberia and Oronitid Armenia (i.e. in the period c. 300-200 B.C.), but that Aloc’ and T’asir passed to the Pharnabazid as the newly-formed Iberian state expanded.

After 200 B.C., however, Armenia waxed under the Artaaxid dynasty, these two lands, along with Artani and perhaps (eastern, i.e. upper?) Javakset’i and Kangark’ passed to Armenia. There the Artaaxids apparently placed them together with Kangark’, Cobop’or, Jorop’or, Koblop’or (and possibly T’relk’), to form the Moschian Vitaxate or Iberian March. With this of Gugark’ as its viceroy, T’ayk’ and Kharjk’ were probably also annexed by Armenia at this time though apparently neither of these entered into the vitaxate (ibid.).

Early in the first century A.D. the Artaaxid dynasty came to an end in Armenia, and, in the decades of disorder which followed, Iberia appears to have gotten hold of the vitaxate and also of Kharjk’ as well (ibid.). At this time, T’asir, Aloc’, the original Iberian lands of (East) Javakset’, Artahan, and T’relk’ (if indeed the last had entered into the vitaxate this early at all) seem to have been detached from the vitaxate and to have reverted to the Iberian crown (ibid.).

The establishment of Artaaxid power in Armenia, it was only natural for Armenia to have regained the vitaxate from its smaller and weaker neighbour, and Prolemy, Agathangelos, and BP all make it clear that Gugark’ (the vitaxate) was back in Armenian hands, i.e., the districts of Kangark’, Cobop’or, Jorop’or, Koblop’or and certainly Aloc’ or T’asir (which lay between the first four and the previous Armenian frontier). In addition to these, the Georgian sources assert the Armenian possessions of Javakset’i and Artani (the latter being given back to Iberia only in return for a recognition of Armenian overlordship) as well as perhaps the Duchy of Ojrxe (comprising the districts of Sam’èt and Achara, and perhaps T'ori/T’awr’) which we are told revolted against Iberian rule (ibid.). It is possible that it was at this time of Artaaxid expansion that Armenia also acquired — briefly — the districts of Manglaceq’or, K’uqilap’or and Xac’at or Hunarkoret, which the ASX assets had been taken from the Armenians. Sometime in this period, i.e. between the composition of Prolemy’s Geography (c. 150) and the fourth century, Kharjk’, too, appears to have been conjoined to the vitaxate although in the meantime, Jorop’or and Koblop’or, and later Aloc’ and T’asir, broke away from it to become separate princely states, probably under cadet branches of the Guzartid dynasty of Gugark’ (ibid.).

Finally, in the general breakup of Artaaxid Armenia (363-387), the entire reduced vitaxate, together with the separate principalities save for Aloc’ (and apparently the upper part of T’asir), reverted to Armenia once and for all, where we find its nine districts all listed in the ASX as having been taken from Armenia: Jorop’or, Koblop’or, T’asir, Cobop’or, T’relk’, Kangark’, Upper Javakset’, Artahan and Kharjk’. These seven are treated as part of a single unit — Gugark’ — even though the last three had been separated from the vitaxate at about the time of its final acquisition by Iberia and the first three even before (ibid.). Nowhere in all this shifting of districts, so clearly described by Toumanoff, do we hear anything of the other seven districts assigned by Eremyan to the Gugark’ of the ASX: Savset’, Lower Javakset’, K’uqilap’or, Cobop’or, Paruar, and Xaqchê (Hunarkoret). Our only reason for including any of these seven lands within Gugark’ is that the ASX specifies that four of the seven — Manglaceq’or, Cobop’or, Paruar and — implicitly — Xaqchê/Hunarkoret — had been taken from Armenia (L 1881 38/28). Let us examine these other seven lands.

The creation of the Pharnabazid Kingdom of Iberia had entailed the subjection of numerous local dynasties, an achievement accomplished by the establishment of seven ‘dukes’ over the kingdom by the Iberian crown and the division of its territory into their respective ‘duchesies’ (Thoma.446). These
duchies were groupings of certain districts and principalities each group under an appointed official of the crown — the eristav or duke — who in his own way was a counterpart of the four vitaxas of the Armenian state. The seven duchies were as follows:

1. Outer Iberia (Sida K'art'li), centered at Mc'xet'a, the original capital of Iberia, comprising all of central Iberia north and south of the Kur and west of the Aragvi River (Berdzindzivili 1979:140).

2. Kaxet'i (or Kuxet'i), comprising all the rest of Iberia north of the Kur but east of the Aragvi (ibid.), and having its original capital at Runt'vi (Bostan 'Kal'ak').

3. Gardabani/Xunani, which like all of the remaining duchies lay south of the Kur, was centered at the fortress of Xunani or Hunarakert and occupied the valley of the Algeti (Armen.: Adget 'salt river') River (ibid.).

4. Samsvilde or Ga'z'ani (in the valley of the Berduji or Debeda River) with the added lands of T'asari (T'asir) and Abooc'i (Aco'), the duchy taking its usual name, Samsvilde, from its central fortress. Gardabani/Xunani and Samsvilde/Ga'z'ani together formed the province of K'vemo K'art'li or Lower Iberia, sometimes called T'asir in its broader sense (ibid., 139). The boundary between the two lay along the watershed between the Debed and the Indzha (Inja) Rivers.

5. Cunda (in the valley of the Upper Kur), with the lands of Upper and Lower Jawaex (Jawaxk') (Armen.: Kfarjk'), as Toumanoff suggests but which, as we have just seen, probably included Savset'i, Nigali/Ligani and possibly also the adjoining small district of Meruli (Mruf) and even perhaps Meret'i (Mrit), from a purely geopolitical view, however, this appears unlikely as for these form a more logical defensive unit when combined with Klarjet'i (q.v.).

6. Ojrxe with the lands of Same'exe (Meschia) and Afara, again named for its chief fortress. Toumanoff believed that the duchy of Ojrxe probably included the extreme westernmost Iberian lands of Savset'i and Nigali (Ligani). From a purely geopolitical view, however, this appears unlikely, for these form a more logical defensive unit when combined with Klarjet'i (q.v.).

7. Finally, Klarjet'i, a duchy which was not coextensive with the nuclear lands of that name (Armen.: Kh'arjet'), as Toumanoff suggests but which, as we have just seen, probably included Savset'i, Nigali/Ligani and possibly also the adjoining small district of Meruli (Mruf) and even perhaps Meret'i (Mrit), was divided into two parts: one was the district of Savset'i, the other that of Nigali/Ligani.

The duchies of Cunda, Ojrxe and Klarjet'i together formed the Iberian land of Zemo K'art'li or 'Upper Iberia' (or Zemo Sop'eli 'Upper Country') which also included the lands of Upper and Lower Tao or Tayk' (for these two latter terms see infra VII, n. 245).

Now it is in the Duchy of Gardabani or Xunani that we find the districts of Paruar, Mangleac'p'or and Xan'cexe (Hunarakert); and in that of the original Samsvilde that we find those of Kuiap'or, and Aboc'i (Aco'), and those of Mangleac'p'or and Xan'cixe or Xunc'ixe (Hunarakert); and in that of the original Samsvilde that we find those of Kuiap'or, and Kfarjk' (for these two latter terms see Toumanoff: supra). To obtain the composition of the true Gugark', which he equates with the vitaxate, Eremyan felt that we must add all sixteen districts together as he does in his work.

What Eremyan misses in the above interpretation, of course, is that the lands of Paruar, Kuiap'or and Bohooc'or (the reduced Duchy of Samsvilde), and those of Mangleac'p'or and Xan'cexe or Hunarakert (the Duchy of Gardabani sans Paruar) were added to the vitaxate only briefly before its final cession to Iberia in 387 (Toum. II:499), and had not entered into its territory prior to that time any more than had Savset'i or any part of the Duchy of Ojrxe. Thus, the Duchy of the AXK alone represents the Vitaxate of Moskha as it existed under the Armenian Arsacids until the separation from it as (individual principalities) of the districts of Jorop'or, Koap'or, Abooc'i and (later) T'asir. Of these, it omits Aboc'i because (as Aco') this principality remained a part of Armenia after the loss of the rest of the Duchy of the vitaxate to Iberia in 387 (ibid.). Although the AXK indicates that Mangleac'p'or, Paruar, Bohooc'or and Xan'cexe/Hunarakert had been taken from the Armenians, it is unlikely that they — or Kuiap'or — had even been Armenian for very long, while there is no evidence that the Armenians ever held Samsvilde or Lower Jawaxk'. There is, of course, an ecclesiastical aspect to the geography of this region as well. As Berdzindzivili (142) notes, there were five episcopal sees in this area by the sixth century: Thlilisi, Bohnisi, Mangilisi, Curtisv and Xunarakert and each appears to have included two valleys: Thlilisi (the Vera and K'cia valleys), Bohnisi (Poleandari and Sulaveri), Mangilisi (Alget and K'cia), Curtisv (Yrs-dalti and Debeda) Xunarakert (Jorop'or and Koap'or valleys). Later the see of Dmanisi was formed (the Miaswira and K'cia valleys), and that of Calka in the district of Tri'atliet. There were also some twenty-nine fortresses in Gugark' (Yovhanensyan 1970) Area: c. 11,695 sq. km. (Erem.: 48). (Inč:353-67; Hūp.:275-76, 353-57; Toum.:437-99: Erem.:48, 118; Hako.:257-60; Ad.-Gar.:passim; HSHZ 3; Hewsen 1987; idem. TAVO II B 14, c f. seq.; Sinclair 1989 II, ch. III).

243. Jorop'or, supra VII B, n. 53.
244. Koap'or, supra VII B, n. 52.
245. Koap'or, supra VII B, n. 51.
III. The Three Principalities of Tayk'

Tayk' was composed of at least three principalities: (a) Tayk' proper, (b) Bobca, and (c) Kof. Some Georgia specialists claim all of Tayk' as Georgian Tao while their Armenian colleagues claim all of Tao as Armenian Tayk'. In actual fact, it appears very likely that while Mamikonid Tayk' and Kof were essentially Georgian lands, Bobca and its dependencies of Berdac'p'or and Partizac'p'or may have been predominately Armenian. This geographical distinction between Georgian Tao and Armenian Tayk' is supported archaeologically by the findings of Edwards (1986:181; 1987:37), who notes that the military architecture of Tayk' is purely Georgian in the north but Armenian in the south and by Sinclair (1989: Ch. 3), who notes in the same regard to the ecclesiastical architecture, the dividing line between the two architectural areas being precisely the Araxian range which separated Bobca and its geographical dependencies from the rest of Tayk'. This range, as Edwards further notes (1987:37), is marked by a number of fortifications of Armenian construction which suggests a lengthy period during which it served as a frontier between Armenian and Georgian territory. To these indications we may add the existence of a single Armenian bishop assigned to the Mamikonid Princes of Tayk' as compared to northern Tayk', where in the tenth-thirteenth centuries, nearly a half-dozen Georgian monasteries (Laxani, Tbet'i, Dadaseni, Anc'a, and Bana) formed as many episcopal sees (AGSSS:249-250, 251-252). Surely the fact that the overwhelming majority of monasteries in northern Tayk' were Georgian foundations, says something about the ethnic character of the region north of Bobca which cannot easily be explained away. That there were many Armenians in northern Tayk' seems indubitable. That they formed anything near the majority of the population north of Bobca seems much more difficult to accept.

The existence of a single 'Princes of Kola' is the reference in the sixth-century hagiographical text The Nine Married Children of Kola but this refers only to one of the "prince who was reigning at the time." He need not have been a prince of Kola, itself, but simply the one within whose lands Kola happened to fall. Kof/Kola may never have been a separate principality for all we know.

Historians once tended to take the description of Tayk' found in the ASX at face value and to assume that the Mamikonid principality of Tayk' was coterminous both with the earlier and later Tayk' as well as with the Tao of Georgian sources. Thus, some Georgian specialists claim all of 'Tayk' as Georgian Tao while their Armenian colleagues claim all of Tao as Armenian Tayk'. In actual fact, it appears very likely that while Mamikonid 'Tayk' and Kof were essentially Georgian lands, Bobca and its dependencies of Berdac'p'or and Partizac'p'or may have been predominately Armenian. This geographical distinction between Georgian Tao and Armenian Tayk' is supported archaeologically by the findings of Edwards (1986:181; 1987:37), who notes that the military architecture of Tayk' is purely Georgian in the north but Armenian in the south and by Sinclair (1989: Ch. 3), who notes in the same regard to the ecclesiastical architecture, the dividing line between the two architectural areas being precisely the Araxian range which separated Bobca and its geographical dependencies from the rest of Tayk'. This range, as Edwards further notes (1987:37), is marked by a number of fortifications of Armenian construction which suggests a lengthy period during which it served as a frontier between Armenian and Georgian territory. To these indications we may add the existence of a single Armenian bishop assigned to the Mamikonid Princes of Tayk' as compared to northern Tayk', where in the tenth-thirteenth centuries, nearly a half-dozen Georgian monasteries (Laxani, Tbet'i, Dadaseni, Anc'a, and Bana) formed as many episcopal sees (AGSSS:249-250, 251-252). Surely the fact that the overwhelming majority of monasteries in northern Tayk' were Georgian foundations, says something about the ethnic character of the region north of Bobca which cannot easily be explained away. That there were many Armenians in northern Tayk' seems indubitable. That they formed anything near the majority of the population north of Bobca seems much more difficult to accept.

The earliest indication of the Dayans is to be found in the Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1117-1080 B.C.), which record that c. 1114, the king crossed the Taurus range and the River Aracani (Murad-su) to combat twenty-three 'kings' of Nairi including Asia (Urartian: Siem) 'King of the Daianeti' (Adontz 1946:53). Two years later, the same Assyrian monarch invaded Nairi again and conquered forty-two lands including that of Daianeti. From the geographical indications in the accounts or these campaigns, Adontz places the Daianeti between Pahu and the Ala Dag somewhere in the basin of the Aracani (ibid.).

Two hundred and fifty years later, in the reign of the Urartian King Arame (c. 880-845), Shalmassar III of Assyria (859-824) invaded Urartu—the new federation located in the former region of Nairi—crossed the Aracani, entered the land of Alumini, which was ruled by a 'governing,' and then invaded Daiaeni. Conquering both, they ravaged them and then took and sacked the Urartian royal city of Arzalukin in the land of Tumme (ibid.:73). Adontz interprets these references to indicate that the
Dayan people inhabited a territory between Palu and Arzalku (n), that Sulm, being ruled by a governor, was only a province of the Dayans, and that both Sulm and Daiaeni correspond to the later Armenian land of Hasteanks' (ibid.: 81), located between the fortress of Palu and the Plain of Tarawn to the east.

Urrantian records naturally speak of the Dayans, too, calling them Daisekh and naming the city of Salliu (Arasis) as their capital (Manndyan 1954:18-19). According to Adontz, Daisebe or Daise-be is a patronymic or dynastic name meaning "son of Daus," the presumed founder of the dynasty that ruled the people-state (Ad-Gar. ibid. 201-203).

In Urartian records, however, we find the Daiseke living considerably farther north than they had in the days of Tigrath-Flesei I and of Shalmaneser III and Arama. King Uppursi of the Dayans was fought by Menuas of Urtatt (c. 810-c. 780) and by the latter's son Aregt (c. 780-c. 756). It is clear from the records of these Urartian kings that Uppursi's territory lay north of the Arax, and Adontz places it between the Arax and Lake Gildir (Arm.: Celi ili or Hwisesen Coe). This region corresponds to the later Armenian district of Vanand, i.e. the upper course of the Azerun River (Kars Çayı) in the Plain of Kars.

Our next reference to the Dayans is found in the pages of Xenophon's *Anabasis* in which he records the march of an army of Greek mercenaries through Armenia and the adjacent lands in the winter of 401-400 B.C. Here, the geographical indications found in his work make it clear that after the passage of 400 years the Dayans were still living in Vanand (Manndyan 1945; Adontz 1946:203). According to Xenophon (IV.4.4-5) he and his army came to the River 'Phasis' at a point where it was only a hundred feet across. This, given the central part of their route through Armenia—the course of which is not here in doubt—could only be the Arax where it passes through the Plain of Basean whose name must have led the Greeks to confuse the Arax with the Phasis River in Colchis.

A two-day march of thirty miles led the Greeks from the river to a pass leading down into a plain (i.e. the pass between the later districts of Aslarunik' and Vanand), where their passage was blocked by a host of Khalybes, Taokhii and Phasians. After driving the enemy off, the Greeks entered the Dayan/Taokhian country which extended for ninety miles (a five-day march).

Beyond the Taokkii lived the Khalybes whose territory extended for 150 miles to the River Harpasos—obviously the Armenian Arpa—after which (IV.6:13) a sixty-mile journey over level ground through the country of the Skytheni brought the Greeks to the city of Gymnias (read: "Gymnias, i.e. Kumayri/Gumri/Alexandropol/Leninakan in Soviet Armenia). Five days from Gymnias—obviously the West—lay Mt. Thékis (Tayk') from which the Greeks could sight the Black Sea. Shortly after this, they crossed a river—almost certainly the Olti where it joins the Çoruh—into the territory of the Makrones, i.e. the Çoruh valley itself, after which they entered Colchian country and reached the sea at Trebizond.

The account of Xenophon is the last we hear of the Dayans/Taokhians as a people, and, as we have seen, he shows them to have been still dwelling in Vanand where they had been living since Urartian times. Their shift to the north, where we later find the Armenian land of Tayk', must have occurred in connection with the Armenian expansion into the Arasene Plain under the leadership of the dynamic Orontid dynasty. At this time the Taokkii must have been ousted from Vanand, and the geography of the mountains to their north must have facilitated their passage in two directions, north and northwest. This could explain the origin of the two ethnic and toponymic terms Jawak and Tayk', the first for the lands directly north of Vanand and the second for the lands to the northwest. Adontz, who, contrary to most scholars, considered the Daiaeni of the Assyrians, to be distinct from the Daisek of the Urrantians, derived the name 'Tayk' from the former and Jawak' from the latter (Adontz 1946:207). Tournouff has shown, however, that there is no need for these to have been distinct peoples to account for the different names. That the Daiaeni were tribal federation is obvious from Assyrian records and Tournouff postulates that this federation merely divided in two at it was pushed north (Tourn. 1963:441). In my opinion, the Daiaeni and Daisekii are indeed the same people, the Armenians referring to the northwestern groups as the Tayk' from the Assyrian name for the whole federation (Daiaeni), while the Georgians might have called them Jaewa-ebi from the Urrantian term (Daisekei).

As Tournouff point out, the Armeno-Georgian marshland of Jawak'Jawaketi was a part of the Iberian (i.e. East Georgian) Duchy of Cunda as early as the fourth-third centuries B.C. (ibid.:499), the exact period of the Orontid expansion, while Tayk' (Geor.: Tao) was acquired by Iberia in the same period. I suggest that Jawak-ebi was the Georgian name for the Dayans with Tayk' being the Armenian, and that, having acquired the Iberian lands first, the Georgians later obtained possession of Tayk' and referred to it as Tao, a form based in the Armenian name and, indeed at times encountered in Georgian texts as Taoni, a plural form which directly translates the Armenian Tayk'.

As for the inclusion of the Dayans within Armenia itself after their ouster from Vanand, this was clearly the work of the Artaxiad dynasty. The Dayans, having fled the expansionism of the Armenian Orontids, must have been engulfed by the expansionism of the Iberian Pharnabazids only to be conquered by the Artaxiads.

Thus we may suppose the following sequence of events: the destruction of the Achaemenian Empire by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. led to the emergence of the two rival Caucasian empires of Orontid Armenia and Pharnabazid Iberia. Fleeing the expansionism of the former, the Dayans must have fanned north and northwest only to fall victim to that of the latter. The first group, the eastern part of the region in an area that was geographically distinct from that settled by the second to the west, would have been known to the Iberians as the Jaewakeh 'Jaewaken,' while the latter would have been known to the Armenians as the Tayk" 'Tayans.' The Iberians, shortly after conquering the territory of the first group, which they called Jaewakeh, and which they joined with the neighboring districts of Artani (Arm.: Artahan) and Kola (Arm.: Kol) to form the Duchy of Cunda (ibid.: 446)—also acquired Tayk' calling it Tao (or Touni). The federative character of the Dayan people state must have made the two ethno-territorial formations quite distinct from the time of their earliest emergence after the flight from Vanand and this would explain the Iberian use of two variants of the one ethnonym to refer to the two territories in question: Jaewakeh and Tao.

Shortly after their acquisition by the Iberian state, Tayk'/Tao and eastern Jaewakeh, together with Kola, Klarjet'i, Asoc'/Aboc'i and Taini (ibid.:184), were absorbed by the rising might of Artaxiad Armenia, and, while Jaewakeh returned to Iberia at an early date, Tayk' remained Armenian under the Mamikonid dynasty until after 772 A.D. so that under its Georgian name, Tao, it is — significantly— not mentioned in Georgian sources from the time of its acquisition by the Artaxiads of Armenia (second century B.C.) until the late eighth century (Tourn. 455). At the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran in 387 A.D., Tayk' found itself in the Persian sphere and its western border served as part of the frontier between the Roman and Persian empires (Ad-Gar. 1970:31). 'Tayk', in short, remained a part of Armenia for close to 1000 years.

Now it is clear from both Georgian and Armenian sources that Tayk'/Tao did not originally include Kol/Kola, as we have seen above, and it is equally clear that Bobka was a separate principality as well. Thus, the Artaxiad term 'Tayk' must have originally referred to the holdings of the Mongolids and so — subtracting Kol and Bobka, together with those territories clearly a part of the latter— must have consisted of four separate entities: Asorac'sor (the valley of the middle course of the Çoruh); Azorac'sor (the valley of the lower Tortum); 'Okale (the upper Tortum valley) and Çak'k'? ("Çalvajakk?") the lower course of the Ol't Çayi). The Armenian acquisition of Kol, probably in the seventh cen
tery, appears to have led to its passing under Mamikonid rule. Thus, with Bokha sandwiched in-between Mamikonid 'Tyak' and by then Mamikonid Kol, it was only natural that the Byzantines should have included all three lands together into one geographically well-defined province at the time of the Byzantine-Iranian partition which occurred in 591 and which is depicted so clearly in the ASX.

After 772, the Georgian sources begin to inform us of developments in Tao making a distinction between Upper or Thither Tao (Imier-Tao, i.e. southwest 'Tyak' in its greater sense) and Lower or Hither Tao (Amier-Tao, i.e. northeastern greater 'Tyak'). The former had in that century passed into the hands of the expanding Bagratid dynasty, while the latter was in the possession of the Iberian Guarismsid. The latter, Lower or Tao, apparently consisted of Çakk' and Berdac'por, i.e. the lower course of the Olti River and the valley of its tributary the Berdik. The former, Upper or Thither Tao, probably accounted for the rest of (greater) 'Tyak' but did not, of course, include Kola which, to the Georgians, was always separate from Tao.

Sometime between 786 and 807, Lower Tao, together with Arseac'por (Geo: 'Asip'or') in Upper Tao, passed to the Iberian branch of the Bagratisid and by 813 all of Tao, both Upper and Lower, was in their hands. From this time onwards Tao remained in the Iberian rather than the Armenian sphere, and by the tenth century it and a part of Klarjet'i formed a vassal state of the Byzantine Empire known as the Cumaplate of Tao-Klarjet'i. Later this territory became part of the United Georgian monarchy of the Bagratid dynasty. This, however, takes us beyond the period of our interest.

We are fortunate in being rather certain as to the location of the eight districts of the greater 'Tyak' of the ASX. Not only does the text give certain geographical indications as to the relative locations of each, but the mountainous nature of the local terrain and its clearly defined river valleys cut the region into equally well-defined natural districts, while several of them take their names from specific localities whose names are still recognizable under their Turkish forms. Yovhanneast‘ian (1970) counted nineteen fortresses in 'Tyak'. 'Area of Tayk': c. 10,170 sq. km. (Ermen.:118) for the greater 'Tyak' of the ASX (sic, actually 10,279); but c. 5372 sq. km. for the original land without Kol, Bokha and its dependencies: (Inc.: 368, 366, Vaz: 1842; Koch 1864; Pavlovich 1895; Fühs: 276-78, 357-61; Hermann PW 4; Taqaisvili 1907, 1909, 1938, 1952; Marr 1911; Vechapeli 1919; Allen 1929, 1923; Herz. 1948:121; Ingorov 1954; Toum. 1963:456-57, 498; passim; Ermen. 1963:84, 118; Zdanovitch 1966; Khachatryan 1967; Hak. 1968:200-62; Thierry 1968; Ad-Gar: passim; Taeian (Daschian) 1970-73; Toum. 1976-96:101, 116-118, 331-339, 424-28; idem. 1990; Hak. 1968; Marut'yan 1978; Edwards 1986, 1987; Gasenai 1989:493; Sinclair 1989, II, Ch. III.).

'Kol': (Geo: 'Kola'; Tk: 'Göle') cf. a people called Kódi (Hec. Fr. 186) is a well-defined region consisting of a high, circular, marshy plain surrounded by mountains within which the River Kur or Kura has its sources. Kol/Kola is not mentioned by name in classical sources but its frequent references to the location of the sources of the Kur enable us to trace its general history. A part of the Iberian duchy of Cunda in the fourth-third centuries B.C. (LM 34); Kola passed to Artaxiad Armenia (Strabo XI.3.6; Pliny VI.10.26), reverting to Iberia in the first century A.D. (Plut. Pomp. 34.2). A separate princely state? (it) was a part of Armenia by the seventh century and included in the Byzantine province of Armenia Profunda 'Deep Armenia.' By 791 it had passed back to Iberia and became part of the holdings of the Iberian Bagratisid sometime between 813 and 830. (Toum.: 498; Edwards 1988).

'Kriašank' (sources of the Kur; 'Kur Springs.' The River Kur has its origin in a number of tiny streams and it is not certain which of those the Armenians of old regarded as its source. In any case, no village called Kriašank' has survived although it may have lain on the site of the later Göle (now Merdenik), which continued the name of Kola (as does to this day, the mountain called Kola dağı northwest of it (USAF ACC 324 C III)).
The name Ayrarat is unknown to classical authors who were well acquainted with Armenia, and it appears undoubtedly connected with the Assyrian Uruatri, later Urartu, the biblical even the possibility that the Armenians, after their conversion to Christianity in c. 314, having deli-

VII M. Ayrarat

bibilical name to the great plain around it. In this case it may well represent the Araxėnōn Pedion (Araxënōn plain) of Strabo (XI.14.3), which in its Armenian form Erasajor was otherwise restricted to one district within Ayrarat.

Although our anonymous seventh-century Armenian Geography depicts Ayrarat as a vast region containing twenty-two districts, this account appears to reflect the situation only after the Byzantine reorganization at the time of the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in A.D. 591. The original domains of the Armenian kings appear to have consisted of only the following fourteen districts:

1. Erasajor 'Araxes Valley', i.e., Greater Aršarunik', the plain along both banks of the upper course of the Araxes which subsequently broke into the four separate principalities of Abeleank', Gabaebank', Hawaiunik', and (lesser) Aršarunik'.
2. Bagwendi or Bagravand (Gk: Bagrawondndnē, on which see Markwart (1930:11), in the valley of the upper Araxani river (Gk: Araxienias; Tk: Murad-su) in the modern plain of Alaskert (Tk: Elefhir).
3. Çalkon (lit., foot of Çalk, Urt.: Lula; Gk: Kolkoitn) located at the northern foot of the Çalké mountains (Tk: Aladagi).
4. Kogovit (Kog valley), the district west of Mount Ararat centered at the castle of Darwiniq' (also: Darwinci or Darwincbord; Tk: Bayazid; now Doğ'a Bayazıt), where in Arasid times a portion of the royal treasure was kept.
5. Çaklik in the valley of the streams Vardarnarq' and Aragars, right-bank tributaries of the Araxes, and centered at the town of Kof (now Tuzluca).
6. Arasarqon 'Foot of Arasarq', the plain along the left bank of the Araxes between Maseac'otn and the slopes of Mount Aragac.
7. Nig or Nigatun ('land of Nig'; Gk: Nige) corresponds to the modern raion of Abaran in the valley of the K'asakh (Kasakh) River north of Aragascon.
8. Mazax, the upper course of the Hrazdan river (Turkish Zanga) which flows from Lake Sevan to the Araxes. Originally this district probably included Varazunik', which later became a separate entity under the princely house of that name (see below).
9. Kof (Gk: Botas), the left bank of the valley of the lower course of the Hrazdan river. Here was located the fortress of Ervan (Urtanian: Erevuni), capital of Soviet Armenia.
10. Östän Hayoc' (capital' or 'court of Armenia') the municipal territory (?) of the city of Artas't (Gk: Artakata), which for most of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was the capital of the kingdom. Located in the valley of the Azat river (Garnichay), it included the city of Dvin (Byzantine Dogobos or Ticon, Arab.: Dido), capital of Armenia from the fifth to the ninth centuries (infra n. 304), and the fortress to Gafri, summer capital of the Aracac kings.
11. Urcjar, the valley of the Urcjejor river (modern Vedi), left tributary of the Araxes, southeast of Östän Hayoc' and centered around the castle of Sagerherd and the locality of Urcajar.
12. Arac or Aracco kobn (district of Arac) in the foothills of the Siwnik mountains southeast of Urc along the right bank of the Arp'aneal river.
13. Sair or Sair Daite (Sair plain), along the lower course of the Arp'aneal (Arpa) River, center-

VII M. Ayrarat

The Khadeans (Xadik') are not the descendants of the ancient Urartians as once generally supposed, but merely one of the many proto-Caucasian peoples included in the Urartian federation (supra VI n. 9). They dwelled in the northwestern part of the Armenian plateau (Toum.:54, n. 49) but were outside of the Arsacid Armenian Kingdom (ibid. 459, n. 98). The Greek Orthodox Church maintained a diocese of the Khadis in this region until 1922. The same root B-L/H-L is found in the

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the Orontid dynasty of Armenia; it appears likely that the emergence of their principality took place under the Artaxiads (ca. 189 B.C.-A.D. 14) or, if the Artaxiads were an Orontid offshoot, as now seems likely, then under their successors, the Arsacids. The new dynasty, unable to oust the Bagratids, probably gave them as an appanage the land of Bagrawand which may previously have been part of Erasxajor. In some way unknown to us the Bagratids lost Bagrawand to the pagan religous establishment, possibly being recompensed with the large district of Sper where later we find them ruling. After the conversion of Armenia to Christianity c. 314, however, Bagrawand passed to the house of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and, upon the death of this last male descendant, St. Isaac, in 438, to his son-in-law of the house of Mamikonean from whom the Bagratids regained the district in 855/862.

Similarly, under the Arsacid Tiridates II (216-17 to 252) the district of Nig was granted to the house of Gn'tuni, while Calkston at some time was held by the house of Gnnii. Again, at a date unknown to us but prior to 555, a portion of the royal domains formerly probably a part of Mazaz was granted to the house of Varaznunik', from whom it took its name (not to be confused with their earlier lands, also called Varaznunik'), in Tawruberan and Vaspurakan, supra (VII D, n. 79, and H, n. 187). By the fourth century A.D. all of Erasxajor appears in the possession of the house of Kamsarakan, itself an Arsacid branch which had probably received the territory as an appanage from the senior line of the family. Besides these three houses, there were others which owned lands within the royal domains, but whose holdings were not territorial units and probably consisted of large estates. It seems like that such houses were generally offshoots of the royal dynasty.

After the fall of the Arsacid monarchy in A.D. 428, Ayararat rapidly broke up into separate prinicipalities, Erasxajor alone dividing into four units (see above), each under a homonymous branch of the Kamsarakan house, while in the southwest, the princes of Urc emerge with a separate state which probably included the adjacent but princeless lands of Arac and Sarur. By the seventh century we find Kogovit in the possession of the Bagratids, who probably also held Calkston, which by then appears to have been part of Bagrawand (Ad-Gar.241). The eastern lands of the old royal domains (with the possible exceptions of Varazunik', and Nig, each of which had its own princeless house) apparently remained under the direct jurisdiction of the marzpans (Persian governors-general) of Armenia after the fall of the monarchy.

After the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in A.D. 591, the emperor Maurice organized his newly acquired territories in east central Armenia into a Byzantine province, which, probably from its elevation relative to the rest of Armenia, was designated Lower Armenia (Armenia Inferior). This province appears to have included the four Kamsarakan principalities, the Bagratid principality (Bagrawand-Calkston-Kogovit); the principality of Varazunik' (without Mazaz), the principality of Nig, and most of the lands formerly lying under the jurisdiction of the marzpans (Maseac'otn, Aragacoton, Cak'tak', and Kotosy'); however, Mazaz, Ostan Hayoc', and the principality of Urc (with Arac and Sarur) remained across the new frontier in Perseramia. To these eleven lands were added at this time the following principalities: (1) Basean, (2) Vanand, (3) Strak, (4) Aloc' Ak', and (5) the land of Upper Talir (Erem.85), which, like Aloc' Ak', was formerly a part of the viceroyalty of Gugark' (Gk: Gogaréne), which had passed to Iberian, i.e., East Georgian, suzerainty at the earlier Roman-Persian partition of Armenia in A.D. 387. It is this much larger entity of sixteen units (Byzantine Lower Armenia) which the ASX calls Ayararat in the seventh century; its author fails to mention Upper Talir but does include Mazaz, Ostan Hayoc', Urc, Arac, and Sarur, probably because the latter five lands while still in Persian lands, had always been held to be part of the royal demesne and ipso facto a part of Ayararat whatever the current political division.

During the almost 250 years of Arab rule in Armenia (7th-9th centuries), the Bagratids gradually assumed the paramount position among the surviving Armenian princes and ca. 884 were able to establish a new monarchy in central Armenia which included all of Lower Armenia and considerably more territory in eastern Armenia as well. Originally centered at Bagaran, the capital was moved to Karas and then to Asu in 961. In 962 an independent Bagratid kingdom emerged in Vanadzor with its capital at Karas, and in 982 yet another in Talir centered at Lori. The remaining territory of the original Bagratid kingdom was annexed by the Byzantines in 1045 and then conquered by the Seljuk Turks in 1064-71; thereafter the term Ayararat gradually fell out of use. In Vardan's Geography (13th century; ed. Berberian: 13) it is used solely for the regions of Karazan (i.e., Erasarjor and Ararsrun), Basean, Gabeban'rek', Apekban'rek', and Apahunik' (the last of which had never been a part of Ayararat before), and does not include any of the other lands of the old royal domains. The territory of Ayararat was under Georgian domination in the late 12th-early 13th centuries, but was then conquered by the Mongols (ca. 1240), after which it passed under Turkmuk rule in the 14th-15th centuries. The former Ayararat was then partitioned between Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran in 1512 and again in 1639. In 1827 Persian Armenia was annexed to Russia, and in 1829 and again in 1878 certain portions of Ayararat lying in Turkey also were taken by Russia. In 1921 the acquisitions of 1878 were returned to Turkey and the Turkish-Soviet frontier dividing Ayararat in half follow largely the line of the 1639. Ayararat contained some sixty-two fortresses (Yovhanneanou 1970). Area: c. 40,105 sq. km. (Ind.:376-504; Alian 1890; Hüb. 1904:278-238; Mark. 1930:223, 232; Hon. 1935; Toum. 1963: passim; Erem. 1963:35, 118; Hak. 1968:121-158; Ad-Gar.:236-242; passim; Erem. HSH I; Toum. 1976:266-273; idem, 1990; Hewson D.M.I. (c. Ayrarat'); idem. Ehr. III; Sinclair 1988 I, II, ch. II; Garsan 1984:61-62; Hewson TAWO B VI 14, etc. seq.)

Bagaran; Erem. (440); Basean; perhaps the Phasienoi of Strabo (XI.14.4), read: *Phasienoi'; BP (II.9): Basien; Geo.: Basien (SB in Broquet, ibid. 352); RA (II.12): Passionis and, for the people Phasianoi (Xen. Anab. 16.6), whence the Phasis River (ibid.), actually *Basean, now the Pain-i-Su. Although the Greek form is the same as that used for the ancient name of the Kioni River in Kolkhis, it is clear that Xencophon was not confusing the two, although the names Phasianoi/Phasis are undoubtedly related. This region is now called Basean or Pasen in eastern Armenia, where the town of Pastoler may still be found. The form Bagaran found in the text appears to be a copyist's error and is not attested elsewhere. Area: c. 2,525 sq. km.

The Marc'ameran or Marc' River is now the Hasan-Kala-su (Erem.71). See Appendix X.

Gabeleens; read: Gabeleens (acc.); Erem. (46): Gabeleban's, originally a part of Ararsrun' (Ad.-Gar. 237) located around the town of Karau, now Kajzeman. Area: c. 1,275 sq. km.

Apekban's (acc.); Erem. (31): Apekban's, probably related to Urtat: Abilainihe. Originally a part of Ararsrun' (Ad.-Gar. 237), this district was located on the left bank of the Arax River and extended to the Mecraus Mountains (Sozhana-di^g) in the region around Malzankert village (Tk: Mecingert). Area: c. 1,000 sq. km.

Harwnuk's (acc.); Erem. (62); Harwnuk's; Hüb. (363): Vabarnuk's (c. S. H. Vabarnuk), citing Harwnuk's (i.e., Haveniuk') as a variant; S.1877: Vabarnuk's, originally a part of Ararsrun' (Adontz, 203) in which was located the town and castle of Haveniuk (Yamnuk or Aemik). Area: c. 1,400 sq. km.

Ararsrun'ac' (gen.); Erem. (40): Ararsrun'; earlier: Erasarjor, (MX, II, 90; Ad.-Gar. 237); later in the Middle Ages: Afornek' (Erem., ibid.); Geo: Afornek and Gebabencek' together occupied the main defile of the Arax gorge, whence the name Erasarjor for the united districts. Eremyan sees this district as having been separated from Sirak as the municipal territory of the city of Erandzak, but this is due to his notion that Erandzak, as a 'hellenized' city would naturally have had its own municipal territory; this is not supported, however, by any source. Area: c. 1,225 sq. km.

Bagrewand's (acc.); Toum. (201): Bagrewand, Bagrewand, Erem. (42): Bagrewand, Bagrawand;
Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) 215

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Bagratids and migrated to the Byzantine Empire reemerging later as the House of Pahlavuni. Thereafter, Kamsarakans became very important after the loss to Iberia (East Georgia) in 387 of the lands which lay Arsarunik' from which they were sometimes known as the Princes Arsaruni. The family of the Armenian kings, and its princely dynasty, the House of Kamsarakan, claimed descent from the Karin-Pahlav branch of the Arsacid Imperial House of Parthia. It was thus, itself, related to the Arsacids. The course of the Axurean River (Kars-gay). Known as God's Garden. Its chief city, Bagawan, would be 'God's Site,' (Toum.:319). This district corresponds to the modern plain of Alakert. Area: Toum. (241): c. 5,000 sq. km.; Erem. (40): c. 5,275 sq. km.

Kalkutn; Erem. (56): Kalkutn; Kalkotn; 'Foot of [Mt.] Caekte'; Kalkotn (L.P. 28); Kalkotyn (S.A cited by Hüb.:363); Urart.; Lala, whence the title 'Aluz' for the representatives of the princely house of the district; Geo.: Kalkotyn (Melikset-beg, l. 91). The district lay at the 'foot of the Caekte' Mountains, now the Ala Dag (Ad-Gar.241). Area: c. 675 sq. km.

Vanand; Geo.: Vandi (Meliik-set-beg:191) was located in the northern half of the Axurean valley between the Axurean River (Kars-gay) and the upper Kur. Apparently originally a part of Basean (the Romans, who knew this part of Armenia well, knew of no district called 'Vanand'). Vanand was sometimes known as Upper Basean (Ad-Gar.237). The district formed a separate principality whose ruling house, terminated in the seventh century, may have been a branch of the House of Orduni, Princes of Basean, extinct since the fourth. Located between Vanand and Basean, however, lay Arslanuruk' and Abehebn' on the left bank of the Axurean, and Hanuniun' and Gabehebn' on the right. Since the princely houses of the last three states were younger branches of the House of Kamsarakan, which owned Arslanuruk', it is possible that the House of Vanand was a Kamsarakan branch as well and, hence, of Royal Arsacid descent.

As a result of the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in 591, Vanand became a part of the new Byzantine province of Lower Armenia (Armenia Inferior), corresponding to the greater Ayarac of Armenian sources. The center of Vanand was the town and fortress of Kars of Karacheberd and here was also found the lake called Celi (Tk.: Celdir). The northern trade route from Iran to Anatolia and the Black Sea passed through Vanand and contributed much to its prosperity in the Middle Ages. Overrun by the Arabs in the seventh century, Vanand passed to the House of Bagratuni in the eighth and became the independent Kingdom of Kars in 962 when King Ashot III of Bagratid Armenia gave it to his brother Musel I. Under Musel (962-984) the new kingdom expanded until it included Ararat and became the independent Kingdom of Kars in 962 when King Ashot III of Bagratid Armenia gave it to his brother Musel I. Vanand was immediately seized by Shaaddadis, a Kurdish house (1064-1199), and then to the Georgian Bagratids who gave it as a fief to the Mxargrjelids (1201). Overrun by Mongol and Turkoman hordes (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries) Sirak became Turkish until occupied by the Russians in 1828. The present Turko-Soviet frontier follows the Axurean River so that Sirak is now divided between Turkey and the Soviet Republic. Besides Ani, the district contained the town of Sirakatal (after 591: Mavrikopoli, probably called Byzantine Lower Armenia, now the village of Mevrek), and Kumayri (later Gümri, then Alexandropol, then Leninakan and now Kumayri). Area: c. 3,730 sq. km.

Mavrikopolis (gen.); Erem. (64): Mavrikopoli or Sirakat, now the village of Mevrek. Sirakatal would have been renamed Mavrikopoli in honor of the Emperor Maurice (578-622) after 591, when it may have replaced Thediosopolis/Karin as military center of Byzantine Armenia in the new territories acquired from Iran by the treaty of that year, and served as the capital of the new Byzantine province of Lower Armenia (Armenia Inferior). We cannot be certain.

The printed edition has awen 'town' which is difficult to fit into this context although there is an ancient town called Awan near Erevan. An examination of the ms. upon which L1881 was based, however, makes it clear that Ani is the toponym in question, the probably birthplace of Ananias of Sirak (see Appendix II), and in the tenth-eleventh centuries, the capital of Bagratid Armenia and one of the great cities of the East.

Mren was located near the juncture of the Tekor River and the Arax (Erem.:71).

Erondelaq. The city of Erondelaq, also called Marneq, has been identified with the ruins between Baxac'alar and Xerbebek' villages and was the center of Arslarunik' district (Erem.:51).

Aracini (gen.). The Aracini is the southern arm of the Euphrates, now the Murad-su (Erem.:38).

Sirakenoi (Supra): Sirakenoi, also called Sirakan, is now the Kars-fayf and its continuation the Akuryan River. At its source near Sarikamis was located, according to Urartian sources, the city of Axurean (Erem.:32).

The Mecag' great river,' is now the Cadil in Turkey (Erem.:70).

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have been baptized by St. Gregory the Illuminator in the Euphrates (As 836), whose southern arm (the Aracani, Arzani or Murad-su) takes its source nearby. St. Gregory is said to have founded the important monastery of St. John the Baptist here from which the town received its Turkish name Üç Kılıçe 'the three churches'. According to MX (III.67) Shah Yaxkert II of Iran camped at Bagawen during his invasion of Armenia in 439. In the Mongol period the town flourished as a station on the trade route between Khosro in Iran and Karin (Erzurum) on the Armenian Plateau, but by the nineteenth century only the monastery remained.

The important church of St. John Baptist at Bagawen was erected in 631-39 of large blocks of black and grey stone, and consisted of three naves each with an apei at its eastern and surmounted by a large cupola supported by four piers. Located on the left bank of the Euphrates at the foot of some hills, the church stood in a court surrounded by a high wall flanked with towers which protected the monastic buildings within. Pillaged by the Kurds in 1877, the monastery was totally destroyed after 1915.

Bagawen; The River Bagawen is now the Sarian-in a tributary of the Aracani or Murad-su (Erem.:42).

Ararat; read 'Armavir'; Ptol. (VII.12.5): Armaoina; Lat.: Armavirpa one of several cities of the Ararat plain which successively served as the capital of ancient Armenia. Armavir (40.50 N. 44.03 E.) was founded on a previously unoccupied hill overlooking the River Araxes by the Urartian King Argiti I (c. 786-764 B.C.), named Argiššiñe 'Argiššiñe's city', it quickly became a second capital of Urartu and the chief city of its northern provinces. As a result of the Syrian incursions in the late seventh century B.C., Armavir lost its political importance and, subjected to repeated Syrian raids, was ultimately destroyed.

Sometime in the fourth century B.C., the Armenians expanded into the Ararat plain, probably as a result of the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. Thereupon, the former Persian satrap of Armenia of the Orontid house established the first Armenian kingdom and, probably because of its location on the trade route linking Iran with Kolkhis, chose Armavir as the site of their capital. In addition to being the political capital of the new state, Armavir was also its religious center. Here was located its most important shrine, the Temple of the Sun and Moon (Apollo-Tir and Artemis-Anahit) with its grove of sacred plane trees whose rustlings were used in divination. At the end of the third century B.C. the last Orontid king, Orontes (Erzurum) (IV. c. 212-200 B.C.) transferred the capital to the newly founded city of Eruandasat, reputedly because the Araxes had altered its course. Thereafter, Armavir gradually declined although it remained a city well into the Roman period (Ptol.: V/13.12). Aragacotn, the district in which it was located, was previously transferred to their new community. (Sarkissyan 1886; V/13.12; Aragacotn; Erem.:40; Hak. 1965:13-33; HSH 2 'Armat').

Ararat; Erem.: (38): Aragacotn; TA (Hsh):346 Otn Aragacotn 'the foot of Mt. Aragac.' This district included the center of the Ararat Plain and the heart of Armenia. Here were founded the earlier capitals of Greater Armenia: Armavir and Vaharapat. In Orontid times this district could have been the municipal territory of the city of Armavir. Area: c. 3,050 sq. km.

The Mecanaurom is now the Sew Jow 'Black Water' (Erem.:66; Garsian 1989-91).

Mt. Aragac (also Aladzias from: Tk: Alagac), an extinct volcano (40.32 N. 44.11 E.) rising to 12,489 ft./3,790 m, and serving as a natural boundary between the Ararat plain and northern Armenia. The highest peak in the Armenian SSR, Aragac is the third highest mountain on the Armenian plateau after Ararat (16,916 ft./5172 m) and Sip'an (Sûhban, 14,543/4434). Highly irregular in construction, Aragac has four separate peaks the northern one the highest (13,451/4090), after which come the western (13,382/4086), the eastern (12,844/3916), and the southern (12,723/3879). There is a glacier at the mountain's summit which has altered over the ages into a glacial cirque. Basically composed of lava rock and tufa, there are quarries for building stone located at Arulk on the north slope. Steep vegetation predominates on the volcano's slopes but near the summit are high pastoral lands. There are numerous villages along the lower reaches of Aragac and the castle of Amberd (eleventhteenth centuries) lies on its southern slope.

Nig; Erem.: (72). Nig or Nigatun; Gk: Nipē 'inscription found at Abaran in 1908, Trever 1953:271-283, Plate 87', corresponding to the modern rasion of Abaran in Soviet Armenia. Its center was the town of K'asaf, now Abaran. For the important Greek inscription found at Abaran granting the district of Nig to the House of Gn'uni by the king of Armenia see Trever 1953:171-83; Toum.-205, n. 233. Area: c. 1,000 sq. km.

Karas; Erem.: (111). K'asaf, one of the smaller rivers of the Ararat Plain. Its waters were diverted in the nineteenth century by the Katholikos Nerses V (1843-1857) to form the 'Nersessian Lake' behind the monastery of Efmiacin.

Masis; i.e., Asat 'high' or 'noble' Masis for the main peak and P'okh 'lesser' Masis, or more correctly Si (Erem.:89) for the smaller one; perhaps the Gk: Baris, Jos., Ant. I, 95, the Abos and Nibaros of Strabo (X/14.1.4) and the Abos of Ptolomy (V/13.5; Per: Kük-i-Nûh 'Mountain of Noah'; Arab.: Jâbal al-Hârith; Tk: Agi Dâg 'the Painful Mountain' because of the difficulty of the ascent. An extinct volcano of central Armenia (39.45 N 44.20 E) and the highest mountain in western Asia, the main and lesser peaks of Ararat rise some 4267 m. above the plain from a common base to respective heights of 5172 m. and 3296 m., the saddle between them lying at 2687 m. and the two summits being 11.27 kms. apart. Altogether the mountain occupies an area of some 1000 sq.km. in Turkey lying some 30 km. from the frontier of Soviet Armenia from where there is a spectacular view of both peaks. Ararat stands at a point where the central Armenian mountains turn sharply south to join the Zagros range. Extending eastwards to the west like an albow, it thus presents itself, seen from the East, as a magnificent and almost isolated mass. The summit of the main peak is perpetually covered with snow and there is a single glacier on the north slope which ends at the head of the Arzi gorge. On 20 June, 1840, a violent earthquake destroyed the village of Arhi (Russ.: Achor), and the nearby monastery of Surb Yskob (St. James) was buried in an avalanche; (Lynch I:183 ff.). Although once heavily wooded, teaming with game, and dotted with some one hundred hamlets, Ararat is now barren, a retreat of only a few nomadic Kurds, who graze their flocks on the good pasturage which is found from 5000-11000 ft./1524-3352 m. Mt. Ararat has been associated with the story of Noah's Ark and the Flood since at least the first century A.D. (Jos. Ant. I, 89-95) and the identification of the Biblical 'Mountains of Ararat' (Gen.8:5) with this specific peak is perhaps due to its being located in the ancient Armenian province of Ayarat, and was perhaps made by Jews resident in Armenia before the time of Josephus. Many legends circulate around the mountain, the most persistent perhaps being the one which asserted that it was impossible to climb. The first ascent was, in fact, made by Parrot only in 1829. The summit has since been reached by Spasky-Avtonomov (1834), Behrens (1835), Abich
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)

(1845, Seymour (1846), Khodzko (1850), Stuart (1856), Bryce (1876), Baker (1879), Sivoloboff (1882), Markov (1888), Semenoff (1888), Raphalovich (1889), Allen and Sachtleben (1892), Lynch (1893), Posthumoff (1893), Oswald (1897), Wangoulou (1902), Seylaz (1910), Navarra (1952), and Montague (1970). Unverifiable reports appear from time to time that the Ark has been sighted near the summit, and several of these expeditions (e.g., that of Navarra) have addressed themselves to the search for it. From 1829 to 1921, Mt. Ararat was the boundary marker between the Russian, Persian, and Turkish Empires. An Armenian national symbol, Ararat has become the focus of numerous legends, songs, and folk tales (Parrot 1834, 1846; Bryce 1876, 1896; Lynch 1901 1: ch. XII-XIII; Hsh.:394; Williams 1972; Zohrabyan (HSF II).

208 Kogovitsi, Erem. (59): Kogovitsi, ‘Kog Valley’; SA (Hsh.:36): Kogovitsi; Seb. (ibid.): Gogovitsi; MX (III.23): Kogovitsi; BP (IV.12): Kog; Geo.: Gokovits (Melik’set-beg), 1919; By.: Kogovits (CP, DC,687). Here was located Bagawan (now Uş Kula), Arçap, Arşakawan and the district center, the fortress of Daroyńk’ or Darówńk’, now Doğu Bayazid where in Arsamid times part of the royal treasure was kept (Ad-Gar.:241). Area: c. 2,460 sq. km.

209 V圣aspat, now Efmiacin, was founded by King Vafars I (Vologaesus 180-190) apparently on the site of the earlier town of Vardagvasan. It then became the center of Roman influence in Armenia and was called Kainępoli ‘New City’ and also Arinmed. It became the capital of Armenia in the time of Tidat (Tiridates) the Great (298-330) according to Eremyan (82), but under the Roman Commander Martinus Verus late in the second century according to Grousset (112). On its becoming capital of Armenia, see also Chaumons (1969:18). According to Eremyan (ibid.), the municipal territory of the city was known as K’alak’sat’i, ‘city plain,’ or, more likely, ‘enclosed plain’. (Erem.:82; Garsoian 1989:498).

210 The text has: Mayr Ekeleceac kaPawlike, the last word of which by Khatchaturian (171: ch. 11) sees as a technical term referring to a church with a cupola. The church in question is, of course, the cathedral of the monastery of Efmiacin which was founded on the edge of Vaharapat in the early fourth century, destroyed c. 363 and rebuilt in 484. The present structure is a composite of architectural elements dating from the fifth through the nineteenth century but in recent decades has been thoroughly renovated and restored.

211 The text has: yorum mayr ekeleceac kat’awlike, ee martirosbasac’ mattrunc’i, which Ere­­myan (82) interprets to mean that the Cathedral of Efmiacin was also dedicated to the madmen (Sts. Hrišišmē, Gayana, et al.) martyred in connection with the Ghristianization of Armenia, and that the ASK, was thus clearly written before the separate chapels to Sts. Hrişipēmē (A.D. 618) and Gayanē (A.D. 630) had been built. As far as can be seen, however, the text is sufficiently vague to admit of any of Eremyan’s interpretation or of Sourkey’s which latter I have followed here.

212 The text has: The Aspahan or Karzamavors River had its sources near Vaharapat, from where it flowed south to join the Macasawr.

213 The Arax River ‘noble’ ‘tree’ is now the Gariż-chai (Russ.: Garnitche), whose sources are on the western slopes of Ge Mountain at the place called Saxurak. Here carvings of whale-like water ser­­pins called silvāk ‘dragons’ have been found, vestiges of an ancient water-cult (Erem.:31).

214 Gereut: Erem. (47): Geel learn, one of the main peaks of the Garthman (now Armutats) volcanic mass.

215 Saxurakets; Erem. (79): Saxurak, which he identifies with the Akadanak of MX (I.30), now called Azadahuyan. Water-cult monuments in the form of dragons or sea-serpents have been found here (supra n. 301).

216 Ostim Hayoc’, ‘court’ or ‘capital of the Arménians’, so-called from its having been the muni­­cipal territory of Artasat when the latter was capital of Armenia. Later, when he capital was located at

Duin in the same region, the district came to be called Ostam Dənum. The city of Duin; Byz.: Doubios; (Proc. Pers., II,25,1-2) or Tophon (CP DAI 208) or Tibe (NRA 35); Sirv.: Dewin (Hh.:422); Arab.: Dabib (Bal. cited by Hh.:394: is now the ruins bearing the same name. Founded supposedly (BP III.8; MX III,8) by Xosrov III ‘the short’ (332-338) but more likely by Xosrov IV (384-89), Duin became capital of Armenia in the fifth century and remained such throughout the period of Arab domination until the rise of Ani in the ninth. (Ad-Gar.:45, n. 18). Area: c. 750 sq. km.

217 Artasat; Strabo (XII.14.6): Artaxisata or Artaxisata, was founded c. 176 B.C. by King Artàštas (Artaxias) I (189-161) as his new capital located on the Xor Virap hills where the River Macasawr enters the Arax (MX II.49), the city was built on a peninsula-shaped spur of land surrounded by water on three sides and protected by a ditch and palisade on the fourth. The name means ‘joy of Artàštas’ in Armenian, and there is a tradition that the site was chosen by the Carthaginian general Hannibal who was supposedly a guest of Artàštas after his defeat by Rome (Strabo XI.14.6; Plut. Luc. 31). Artàštas had a distinct advantage over Armavir and Erundshād, the previous capitals of Armenia, in that it was much more easily defensible and better located in regard to the international trade routes of the day (Man. 1965:44). By the first century B.C. it already had a reputation as a beautiful city and was probably the largest urban center in Causasia. Although the Parthians failed to capture the city in 6 B.C., it was successfully taken by the Romans under Cupullo in A.D. 58 and razed the following year. In 66, however, the Emperor Nero sent Roman architects to aid the new Roman-appointed king, Tiridates I (Arm.: Trdat, 63-98 A.D.), to rebuild it at great expense (Cassius Dio, LVIII.65f., after which it was officially if only briefly, renamed Neroniaca (Magic:B.61). In A.D. 163, Artasat was again destroyed by the Romans who established a garrison at nearby Vafarsapat (Kainepolis/Nor K’ashk’, now Efmiacin), which shortly afterwards replaced Artasat as the Armenian capital, at least for a time. Artasat was totally destroyed by the Persians during their punitive campaign in the 360’s (BP IV.55) but by the treaty of 387 it was one of the three places which alone served as points of commercial exchange between the Roman and Persian Empires (Man.1965:80). Artasat was again destroyed by pro-Iranian Armenian forces during the Vardananc’ War in c. 450 (Ef, 3) and thereafter rapidly declined as the Armenian capital became fixed at nearby Dvin. It is believed that the changing course of the Arax and serious inundations led to the permanent abandonment of the site (Hak.:152).

A flourishing mercantile center, Artasat was also a focal point for what little hellenistic culture had penetrated Armenia and here was constructed the first permanent theater in the country. The citadel of Artasat, probably known as Xor-Virap (Hak.:151), stood on a hill and was surrounded on three sides by the course of the Arax. St. Gregory the Illuminator, Apostle of the Armenians, was impris­­oned here early in the fourth century A.D. The fortress was surrounded by a ditch which could be filled with water in case of attack. A large bridge linked the city with the right bank of the Arax (LP 79), and carried the road from Artasat to Tigranakert. A major center for the international transit trade of the ancient world, other major arteries linked the city with Iran, Iberia, Kolkhis and the Black Sea ports of the Roman Empire. Artasat had a population of several thousand including Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Syrians, which consisted of artisans, craftsmen and merchants, the last group composed largely foreigners. While the population figures for Armenian cities of the fourth century given by BP (IV.55) cannot be taken at face value, his estimate, suggesting that close to twenty percent of the population of Artasat was Jewish, may well be accurate. Capital of Armenia, with some inter­­ruptions, for close to 350 years, the city’s district was known as Ostam Hayoc’ ‘Court’ or ‘Seat of the Armenians’ (Erem.:41).

The remains of Artasat consist of two mounds about fifteen km/south of Erevan, and Soviet ar­­chaeological excavations, still in progress, have revealed, among other finds, a huge Latin inscription
giving the full titles of the Emperor Trajan. The inscription can only date from the brief period when Greater Armenia was annexed as a Roman province (114-117), at which time Artaxata must have remained the capital, and it probably stood on the governor's palace. In 1945 the nearby village of Verin Kambal was renamed Artašat and in 1970 elevated to the rank of a 'city'. (Lehmann-Haupt 1910, T73 ff; Magie 1950; passim; Erem. 1963-41; Hak. 1986:150-153; Man. 1965: passim; Sahinazaryan 1952; BSE; Krkysaryan 1970; HIZP 1 Arakelyan 1974; Garsoyann 1990:448; Tirar Yan HSH 2).

Urcajor; Erem. (76): Urc or (118); Urcajor, "Urc valley" located in the valley of the River Urc now the Vedi River, perhaps the Usi of Pliny (VI.10.26), who describes it as augmenting the Araxes. The center of this district was the village of Urcajor on the River Urc now, the village of Labarat in the modern district of Vedi. Area: c. 1,175 sq. km.

Araco kolmn; Erem. (38); Arac or (118) Ariscoy kolmn 'Region of Arac.' Located in the foothills of the mountains of Siwnik', north of Sarur Dast along the right bank of the Arp'aneal River (Eastern Arpa Chy) corresponding to the modern district of Sardak village, though Adontz (238) placed it in the valley of the Vedi River along with the district or Urc; Area: c. 250 sq. km.

Virap'or; read: 'Yap'sor, a district of Siwnik'. VII I. nn. 189, 193.

Sarurdat; Erem. (73): Sarur dalt 'Sarur Plain,' located on the lower course of the Arp'aneal River, corresponded to the Sarur district of the old Khanate of Erevan, thus the modern region of (now Arpa Chy).

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Erem. (41): Arp'aneal, reading the Araswereyn of the text as *Araswenyn, i.e., Arp'awenawan (the adjective) now the Arp's River. It El (III) the correct form, Arp'aneal, is found as the name of a town (now Area).

Marawen (sec.); Erem. (65): Marawan, literally 'Mede-town,' apparently the site of the modern town of Norashen. Many Medes were settled in southeastern Armenia (MX 1.30).

Apparely a kind of cochineal (Dactylopius coccus) which is an insect although the text has ard (read: *erd) 'worm.'

VIII. The Semitic East

1. Asorik'; Ptol. (V.15): Syria Koele 'Hollow' Syria (for the significance of which infra n. 25). The earliest form of this name is found in Achaemenian sources where it is used to designate an area comprising both Syria and northern Mesopotamia including its extension into the plain east of the Tigris (the later Syriac: Harepok: Gk: Adababtn). It appears to have been the Greeks who first distinguished between Syria and Assyria, a distinction followed by Armenian authors who call these countries respectively Asorik 'the [A]Syrians' and Asorosten 'Land of Assyria.' (Jones, CERP, Ch. X: Herz. 306-08).

... hamanan pelagosis. The 'Syrian' Sea is obviously the Mediterranean between Cyprus and the Syrian coast.

... areae Isisone t' e e Kolika dranec', cf. Ptol. (V.15; 2): meta t'en Isos kai tas Kolikias Pylas. Isos; Ptol. (V.4.8): Isos, in Cilicia, also known as Nikopolis after Alexander's famous victory in the vicinity. It lay near Dorytol north of present-day Alexandretta, the earlier Alexandria-by-Isos (Tk: Iskenderun).

'Trias', which Soukzy transcribed as Thrias. No such river name is found in Ptolemy although he does mention the Khryanoros (V.15; 9).

K'sevias, supra n. 4.

Ipos lemit'; Ptol. (V.15; 8, 22): Hippos, now the Tel el Fara (sic, *Tall al-Farah?, Müller:964).

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Batanaia was a district to the northeast of Palestine which Ptolemy (V.15.25) includes in Syria.

Damaskos; Ptol. (V.15.9, 22): Damaskos; Arab.: Damaqî, reputed to be the oldest inhabited city in the world; capital of modern Syria.

Badana est anapae; Ptol. (V.15.26): Batanaia, a district bordering Palestine on the northeast.

Palmunni; Ptol. (V.15.24): Palmýrené.

By Hayyārin the author is apparently referring to the oasis of Tadmor where classical Palmyra was located (Arab.: Tadmor).

Balbānitis; Ptol. (V.15.17): Khalybônitis.

Pēris; Ptol. (V.15.8): Pērisa.

Kastimon; (ibid.): Kasîtus.

Libānatos; (ibid.): Libānos, Lebanon.

Andōlibanōnos or e Sanir; (ibid.): Antilibanos; Arab.: al-Jabal al-Sharā'î.

Aṭalam; (ibid.): Aṭlādamus.

Karmēlos; Ptol. (V.15.5): Karmēlos, i.e. Mt. Carmel.

Orientis; Ptol. (V.15.3): Orontes, now the Naḥr al-ʿAjlī.


Adonis; Ptol. (V.15.4): Adonis, now the Naḥr Ibrāhīm, a river entering the sea between Jubayl (Byblos) and Beirut (PW I).

Biblos; Ptol. (V.15.4): Byblos, now Jubayl.

Bēriʿ; Ptol. (V.15.5): Bēriʿ, now Beirut (Arab.: Bayrūt).

Orānda; Ptol. (V.15.9, 16.3.6, 8.10): Jordanēs, the Jordan.

Pāniaida; Ptol. (V.15.2): Panias, or Kaisarea Paniarīs, was a city of northern Palestine but Ptolemy places it in Phoenicia at the sources of the Jordan at the foot of Mount Panium, one of the spurs of the Lebanonese Mountains (Mount Lebanon), Arab.: Bānīyāsī.


Asp'alitēs cōn; Ptol. (V.16.3.3): Asphalitis lymné 'Lake of Butimen'

The Bena is unidentified.

Beitadā; there are two rivers of Damascus which have their sources in the Antilebanon Mountains and which were later called the Barāda and the Pege (Smith 1878, 1:49), the latter now called the Aʿawāj.

Kings 2:12. Bana eu Parg'ara; the Abana and Parpar River.

Dawp'nos Antioch'ac'e'woc' 'Daphne of the Antiochians'; Ptol. (V.15.16): Daphné, a celebrated cult center of Apollo near Antioch. Dio Caisius (VI) calls it a suburb of Antioch (Daphne, PW IV).

According to Pliny (V.18.79), the Orontes separated Daphne from Antioch.

Kastāla, i.e. Kastalia, was a nymph in Greek mythology. Daughter of Arkhelous, she was pursued by Apollo and turned into a spring on Mount Parnassos. The spring thereafter was known as Kastalia and became sacred to Apollo and the nine muses. It was said to have been a source of inspiration to those who drank of its waters. The reference to this myth in the text is not clear, although Syrian Daphne was famous for its springs, waterfalls, and cult of Apollo.

Text: Hřēkaštan.

P'arshakvan pelagosin; Pliny (V.13.68): Mare Phoenicium. The Phoenecian Sea is apparently the eastern Mediterranean south of Cyprus.

Kastalia, ibra n. 4.

Ptolemy (V.16.2) cites Kaisarea Strātōnos in Palestine. Kaisarea, now in ruins, is on the coast of present-day Israel about twenty-two miles south of Haifa.

VIII. The Semitic East

Gaza's eoc' narathāngiter 'The port of the Gazants'; Ptol. (V.16.5): Gaza, which still bears the same name.

Galiā; Ptol. (V.16.3): Galilēia.

Samarā; Ptol. (V.15.9): Samaria.

Idumēia; Ptol. (V.16.10): Idoumaia, Biblical Edom.

Tibrikānascoven; Ptol. (V.16.4): Tibriās; lymnélt [sic].

Aspaltite es e metelōc cōn; Ptol. (V.16.3): Asphalitis.

Orānda; Ptol. (V.16.9): Iordanes.

The idea of Jerusalem being the omphalos of the world, together with the use of the cross symbolism (i.e. the term Xa'c'ajew 'cruciform') is a commonplace in patrician literature, e.g. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Katacheies (XII.28), a work very popular in Armenia, where he says that Christ "stretched out his hands on the cross to encompass the ends of the world, for this Golgotha is the very center of the earth."

Aparaizę Arabiā 'Rocky Arabia'; Ptol. (V.17): Arabiā Petraia, embraced the Sinai Peninsula and much of modern Jordan.

Kakas' Kâlah, a translation of the Greek Herōgōpolis, a city of Lower Egypt, is cited by Strabo (XVI.4.4) but not by Ptolemy. It was located near the mouth of the canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, where its ruins may still be seen.

... arewāntea kā Karnim Cown, i.e. The Gulf of Suez.

Saint-Martin (390, n. 81) derives Tāţašta (s. [sic] 'land of the Taštalı') from Persian Taṣy a 'barbarian', a term which the Armenians came to use for all Muslims including the Turks.

Monik taw Cc; Ptol. (V.17.3): Mouykhbatīs. The Gulf of Aqaba.

P'manāntē.

Pātān; Ptol. (V.17.3) cites a tribe Pharnanaita but Mecca is almost certainly his Makorabā (VII.3:32).

Melān; Ptol. (V.17.3): Melāna or 'black mountains.'

Elmītē; Ptol. (V.17.1): Elamētē Kölpiōs, i.e. the Gulf of Aqaba (Müller, 'Ailān' PW I).

Thētanōn (from Gr: 'Thnathenōn'), which is not mentioned by Ptolemy. This might be the Wādi el-Araba. (See Appendix X).

The description of Mesopotamia in the AXS clearly connects with the western part of ancient Assyria. This is the region which the term 'Mesopotamia' covers in Strabo (X.12) and Ptolemy (V.16), although Pliny (V.86) has it extend to the Persian Gulf and thus has it include Babylonia. The AXS follows Ptolemy with certain additions and updating (Jones, CERR, Ch. IX; Garsoian 1989:499 sub voce "Assorstant").

Segarīs; Ptol. (V.18.2): Singaras, now the Koh-i-ningar range (Arab.: Jabal Sinjār) north of Sinjar, near the present Syrian-Iraqi frontier.

Masion; Ptol. (V.18.2): Masīs oris, now Māzī dağ in southeast Turkey just north of Mardin (but see Mark. 166-278).

K'abar or garem Xabawr lacel. From the text it is clear that the ASX is here referring to the [western] Khabur (Assy.: Ḥabur; Arab.: Khābur, Ptol. V.18.3: Khābīrās), a river flowing from Ras el 'Ain, and entering the Euphrates at modern Bussaira (Gk.: Kerkisio), not to be confused with the [eastern] Khabur, a left tributary of the Tigris. The author has confused this western Khabur with the biblical Chabor (Ezek. 1:1; Akk.: Kābar), where the first exile of Judah was settled, and which indeed was probably located in Babylonia. Marquart (1901:157, p. 55) identified the Xabawr with the modern Naher al-Himars but this is one of the Arabic names for the Gagjàk, a tributary of the western Khabur. Curiously, the form K'abar given here, is not taken from the Armenian Bible, which has Abar' instead.
Turkey. have changed their courses so frequently. Marquart, however (164, n. 8), discusses these waterways Arm.: Asxarhac'oyc' (Long Recension) of several lakes in southern Iraq, but it is difficult to identify any rivers or streams of this region as they discussed by Marquart. They may, however, be the Chaldean Lakes cited by Pliny (VI.31). There are some mss., meaning 'great' or 'chief' district of region. Now the town of (Hon.: Map 1).

^K'uEayir 'I have been unable to identify these lakes, 'The city of Bhat', '^The goldstone (Gk: Khrisolithos; Arm. : oskekar but here; k'ersetik'os glossed as oskek'ar) is probably the topaz (Schoff:167), but the name may have been used for any stone of a similar appearance. ^Arabia Edemon, or e erjanik; Ptol. (VI.7): Arabia et Edaiminon, Lat. Arabia Felix, all meaning 'fortunate' or 'happy' Arabia, presumably because of its less arid climate but actually due to a confusion of its native name al-Taman – meaning 'right-handed,' i.e. 'southern' – with the Arabic yamun 'happy' or 'fortunate' (Schoff:47). The name Fortunate Arabia, however, included besides Yemen, the coastal lands of Oman (Homeros) and Hadramaut (Hadramiti), as well as the vast desert, the 'Empty Quarter,' in the center of the peninsula. ^I. e. from the straits on either side of the Sina Peninsula as far as the straits of Bab-al-Mandeb at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Palindros cayr; Ptol. (VI.7.2) Palindromos akrn. Cape Palindromous is now Cape Baeb-el-Mandeb at the southern entrance of the Red Sea.

Varas cayr 'wild boar' cape.

Neteq'n Kermona. The Straits of Karmania are probably the narrows of the Persian Gulf between the Peninsula of Oman and south coast of Iran (Karmania).


Sabac'Occ ocyn, i.e. the Sabac'; Ptol. (VI.7.23): Sabakni. The land of Sabah, held by some to be the biblical Kingdom of Sheba, was located in the southwestern part of the peninsula.

Niky'ar (Gk: Nikisbaros?) is not found in Strabo, Pliny or Ptolemy.

Wiriwit or â Rangiwer.

Mibher erkir. Myrrh is a gum exuded from a small tree native to South Arabia but also found occasionally in Oman on the Somali coast of Africa (Balsamodendron Myrrha or Commiphora Abyssinica order Burseraceae). Used by itself, without oil, it forms an ointment much valued since Egyptian times (Schoff:112).

Azg Jenaker; Gk: Ikbbophagoi; but Ptolemy cites only the Ikbbibophaion Kolpos 'Gulfs of the Fish-eaters.' 'The Fish-eaters' was a name given by various ancient authors (Dio. Sic. III.15; Herod. III.19; Pausanias L33) to various peoples. Those cited here dwelled on both sides of the Red Sea. (Supra 1, n. 83; III, n. 109).

Diosanwork; Ptol. (VI.7.23): Skemisat.

Edimaicka's or e Sanduxa'; Ptol. (VI.7.20): Klimax oros, the Naibl Sumara, highest peak in Yemen (Smith:635). The Arabic name Naibl is almost identical in meaning with that of the Greek, 'ladder.'

Nurki leain. The mountain of incense is unidentifiable but the 'Country of Incense' is mentioned in several ancient sources (e.g. Marc. Herc. Periplos).

Iebos, which is not mentioned by Ptolemy.

Diokordeon; Ptol. (VI.7.45): Dioskoridas, where, however, it is a city; the island of Soqotra in the Arabian Sea. It is eighty-five miles long and twenty-five wide.

Gazanac Kraic [kiti]; Strabo (XVI.4.14) also cites this island of Tortoise.

Sakhalites Kolpbs; Ptol. (VI.7.11, 46): Sakhalites Kolpos; Sakhalites Gulf (from Arab.: Sâbîl, 'coast'). This name was applied to an indentation of the coastline greatly exaggerated in ancient sources, between Ra's al-Kalb and Ra's Haïek (Marc. Herc., Periplos:47).

Barbatikon pelagou; Ptol.: (IV.6.4; VIII.16.11): Barbarikos Pelagos. The Barbaric Sea would be the Indian Ocean east of Africa.
Isidore of Kharax, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy (all of whom describe the empire under the Parthians),

**skiz**, the usual Armenian term for the Chinese but see infra IX n. 116.

Most of the names of these aromatics are Armenian forms of foreign names and have undergone further distortion as a result of copyist's errors. They are therefore difficult to identify. The list found in L together with the variants found in the better mss. of S are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mikez</td>
<td>hali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrik</td>
<td>Jap'ri</td>
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<tr>
<td>mahal</td>
<td>mahap</td>
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<tr>
<td>xahuk</td>
<td>xalak</td>
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<tr>
<td>k'ed</td>
<td>k'edzaliuna</td>
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<tr>
<td>xabaran</td>
<td>xabar</td>
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<td>baxatax</td>
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<td>nardin</td>
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<td>iran</td>
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<td>manuisk</td>
<td>manuisk</td>
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<tr>
<td>marigals</td>
<td>marigals</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The fact that the list of aromatics is found in L shows that its interpolation into the text was made before S took form and argues for a late date for this latter recension.

The division of the Sasanian Empire into four great provinces (kustak-s) subdivided into lands (ahr-s) and districts (oor-s) was the work of Khusru Anoravân (531-579). Marquart has already examined this portion of the ASX in his *Erâniyûn*, and his reconstructions of its place names will be given below. Neither the space available for this commentary, nor the author's expertise in Iranian historical geography, nor the limited amount of fresh work done on the subject since Marquart's time warrant a completely fresh apparatus on this portion of the text. On the contrary, Marquart's magisterial commentary, despite being somewhat dated after the passing of nearly a century, remains the major resource for anyone wishing to pursue the interpretation of the description of Sasanian Iran found in the ASX. I have, however, included Eremyan's correction to the forms of the toponymy found in the published text, along with Marquart's, and everywhere I have reproduced in my translation the names of provinces and districts exactly as they are found in the ms. of E. S. Soukry's corrected forms — not always accurate — have been ignored in favor of those of Marquart (1901) and Eremyan (1963), which are found in the appropriate notes. (See also Appendix X).

Here follow the names of the provinces of Sasanian Iran as found in the *ASX*, *SkZ*, the *Bundahishn*, and *Thâ'labî* as given by Brunner (ibid. 750).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SkZ</th>
<th>Bundahishn (<em>sic.</em>)</th>
<th>Thâ'labî</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pars</td>
<td>Spahan</td>
<td>Fars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Parthau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Khuzistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alvâz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Maishân</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Asuristan</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nödardashirân</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Arbayistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Arab and Persian sources of the Middle Ages provide some valuable *obiter dicta* but essentially concern themselves with the post-Sasanian Islamic period. Among modern authors, Le Strange (1930), Debevoise (1938), Christensen (1944), Diakonoff (1961), Ghirshman (1962); Frye (1962) and Pigulevskaya (1963) are to be consulted along with the various works of Tomasech, Marquart and Minorsky. The *Efr* will undoubtedly become the major source for the subject once it is complete but the *Historical Atlas of Iran* (1971) sponsored by the Iranian government is almost useless. The only major general survey of the political geography of Sasanian Iran in recent years is that of C. Brunner in *CHtr* 3 (2), Ch. 20 (1983), in whose extensive bibliography (which includes articles on particular provinces, but also many items of only peripheral interest), the remaining literature since Marquart's time may be found. See especially Schwarz (1929/69), *Hudud* (1937), Back (1978) and Barthold (1984).

Eremyan (114, n. 2) felt that this chapter of the ASX demonstrated the existence of an actual map of the empire of Sasanian Iran within which, in the latter part of the sixth century and the early part of the seventh, Armenia, Iberia, and Albania were included as separate *marzpanates*, and that this circumstance was afterwards misunderstood when the maps of the ASX no longer existed. Later, in his opinion, the editor of the short redaction of the ASX, in order to bring the text more into line with the realities of his own time, would have omitted the description of Sasanian Iran and have made the text coincide with the description of the various provinces of the Parthian Empire as known to Protemy. In this way Kustak-i-Kapkoh would have been made to coincide with Media, and the reference to Armenia, Iberia, and Albania as part of the Caucasus region would have been dropped. This is only speculation, however.
8. Ādurbādāpān  Āzārbājān
9. Armin  Ārmēniyā
10. Wūrōzān  Mārtirān
11. Sirkān  ‘Ārlān
12. Art(r)ān  Artarān
13. Balasagān  Pādīshāhrīgār
Parishkhkhwargar  Tabarīstān
Padīshkhwargar  Tabarīstān
14. Māh  Nay  Ray, etc.  Gurgān
15. Gurgān  Gurgān
16. Marv  Marv
17. Hārēw  Marzūn-Kūstak
Abarshahr  Marzūn-Kūstak
Khurāsān  (Kūrt-Kādwār)
18. Kīrmān  (Kūrt-Kādwār)
19. Sūyūnīsīh  Sūyūnīsīh
20. Tūrgīstān  Sījūstān
21. Makūrūn  Sījūstān
22. Pārdān  Sījūstān
23. Hind  Takkhārīstān
24. Kushānshahr  Takkhārīstān
25. Mazōn  Takkhārīstān

2Text: kǔst-i Xorāsan ‘the Eastern Region’, although it is clear from the description that ‘the Western Region’ is intended. Marquart (8) corrects this to read kǔst-i Xorarān; Catalogue: Xuxvarān from Pl: Kōst-i Xwarkhārān (ibid.:17), and I am following him here. Saint Martin saw kǔst as Xux, which he derived via Syriac from the term chus (sic), anciently used by the Persians to designate their entire country. Kus Xorasan would then mean simply ‘Khus of the East,’ i.e. eastern Iran. Markwart (Catalogue, 25), however correctly explains the term from Middle Persian hst, ‘belly,’ ‘belly,’ ‘side.’. Xus-i,Xorasan then signifies ‘the Eastern Side’ or ‘Eastern Region.’ (See Appendix X).

Marquart (8) and Eremyan (114, 115) correct the names of these districts to read as follows:

Marquart  Eremyan
Kǔst-i Xorarān  Kǔst-i Xorarān
May  May
Masptan  Masptan
Mīhrakān-Katāk  Mīhrān-Katāk
K’skār  K’skār
Garmakan  Garmakan
Eran-Asan-K’art-Kawat  Eran-Asan-K’art-Kawat
Notārrān  Notārrān
Sirakan  Sirakan
Arzin [Arzin]  Marzūn

229

Armenian Kingdom, the Vitaxate of Nor-Sirakan, and to the three southernmost districts of Armenia: Nisarakan, Dāam and Mahkēr-tun, cited by BP (IV50). These Eremyan considers to have comprised the Marān ‘Amsar Arabestan ‘stronghold land of the Medes,’ but I have identified them with Nor-Sirakan (Hawsen, REA X1 1987). We have already examined the term Sirakan found here in the text (supra, VII G, n. 130). It is obviously connected with the coastal plain west of Lake Urmia. Let us here examine the regions to the west of it, where we shall find the ASX depicting these regions previously described as a part of Armenia, here as parts of the empire of Sasanian Iran.

Nor-Sirakan, Norlirakan or Nosirakan, literally ‘New Sirakan’ (or, in Toumanoff’s Latinized form Neor Siracene), presumably as opposed to the district of Sirak or Siracene in central Armenia but, as we shall see, more precisely New Siracene or even New Saracene), was the Armenian name for the military viceregency that Adontz suggested designated the territories of the Armenian kingdom wusted at one time or another from the Kingdom of Adiabene (Syri: Hedawut), or ‘the Median March’ although neither Adiabene nor Media are mentioned in connection with it in our sources.

Eremyan (1979) makes the territory of this vixate extend from the valley of the central course of the Great Zab River eastward, clear across the Zagros Mountains to the low-lying plain along the western shore of Lake Urmia. In depicting Nor-Sirakan in this unlikely way, i.e., having the vitaxate sundered in two by a dense mountain range which has almost always served as a frontier and which does so to the present day, Eremyan has undoubtedly been influenced by two factors: First, the connection of the term Nor Sirakan with the mountainous country to the north of Adiabene, and second, the connection of the term Sirakan with the plain west of Lake Urmia. What Eremyan has missed, however, (and Adontz has missed it as well), is that Sirakan and Nor-Sirakan are two different terms, not synonyms or variants of the same toponym. In the same way, neither Sirakan nor Sirak are coterminous despite their similarity, and it is far more likely than Nor Sirakan is so designated as opposed to a district called Sirakan rather than as opposed to the one called Sirak. What do we know of these toponyms? What territories do they include and what is their relationship to one another? The first we have already discussed at supra VII G, n. 130. Let us examine the second.

The term Nor Sirakan first appears in the tri-lingual inscription of Sapor I (240-227), where, as we shall see in a moment, it serves as the Persian translation of the Adiabene of the Greek text. Again it appears in Agathangaelos (early-mid fifth century), where in describing the preaching of St. Gregory early in the previous century, he tells (842) us that:

...From the city of Amid to the city of NHS, he passed along the borders of Syria, the land of Nor Sirakan and Korak, to the impregnable land of Media, to the house of the Prince of Mahkēr-tun to Arpakanak...

The term also appears a second time in the same source (873), where, as we have quoted above, the author refers to the border guard (sahmanakal) from the district of Nor Sirakan as one of the four vixazes of the Armenian realm.

The third reference to Nor Sirakan occurs in BP where we are told (IV50) that the Vitaxate of Nor Sirakan (sic) together with princes in the same and other parts of Armenia rebelled against King Arvak II in the 360’s; and then (V9) that a few years later Prince Mūsil Maminokhan brought the land of Norlirakan (no mention of its vitaxa) into submission. Yet a fourth reference to this region is to be found in Pseudo-Eusebius (Sebeos, III, p. 59), whose so-called History of Heracles tells us that when Bahram Coben sought the aid of the Armenian princes in placing himself on the Persian throne, he promised them that he would cede to them all the land ‘on the side of Syria: Arabastan and Norsirakan (sic) to the frontier of the Tabakk’.

Since the Tabakk are the Arabs of Mesopotamia, this promise is tantamount to a grant of all of Adiabene to the Armenians, and it appears clear that just as Arabastan represents the Syrian ecclesiastical province of
Bēth Arabiāyē described below, nor Sirākan must have been the Armenian as well as the Iranian name for the Metropolitan See of Medaia, i.e., for the whole of Adiabēnē.

Finally, the only other significant reference to this region is found in the Book of Letters (Girk Ṭh'ōc', 41) where there is mention of the Christians of Nōširākan (sic) of the state of Nineveh (… Kristostoy Nōširākanin i Ninēh nabang) a description which fully supports our interpretation of pseudo-Eusebius: Nor Sirākan/Nōširākan is Adiabēnē.

All of this is clarified by the tri-lingual inscription of Sapor I, referred to above, in which the Adiabēnē of the Greek text appears as Nōširēk in the Parthian version and Nōširēhēka in the Middle Persian, two toponyms that Sprungel reconstitutes respectively as Nāzāt-Nūšūkān and Nīzātak-Nūšūkān. Thus there seems little doubt that Nor Sirākan is the Armenian name for Adiabēnē and that the Vicariate of Nor Sirākan refers, as Adontz rightly saw, to the Armenian lands adjoining Adiabēnē, just as the Vicariate of Aruastan (i.e., Syr.: Bēth Arabiājē; Ph.: Aervoir; the Armenian principality of Aŋfikē) took its visual form the adjoining land comprised in the district of Nīshāb. The name of the Vicariate of Nor Sirākan then signifies not so much the Median March but, as Toumanoff has already suggested (1963:164), more that of Adiabēnē. Having examined what little we know of the terms Sirākan and Nor Sirākan, we can now see how Ermeyman has interpreted the sources: To him, there was a village near Lake Urmia (in the plain to the west of the Lake) called Sirākan from which the local district took the name Sirākan, or more frequently Nor Sirākan or Nor Sirākan (occasionally slurred as Nōširākan) to distinguish it from the principality of Sirāk in central Armenia. What Ermeyman appears to miss, however, is that nowhere is the plain of Urmia called Nor-Sirākan per se. Then again the interpretation of Sirākan as indicated by Pseudo-Sebeos to Nor Sirākan because he thought it was used in contradistinction to Sirāk proper in central Armenia is, as we have seen, not at all certain, and the term Nor Sirākan used in the Primary History is found in a passage which appears to be based on the one in Pseudo-Sebeos, III (p. 59) cited above, and hence is probably a sheer error whereby the author of the Primary History corrected the original Nor Sirākan of Pseudo-Sebeos to Nor Sirākan

If the correct form for the name of the western shore of Lake Urmia is indeed Sirākan tout simple, then Nor-Sirākan could have been used to distinguish the territories along the frontier of Adiabēnē from Sirākan proper along the lake.

What must have happened (and here we can only speculate) was that in the course of their expansion of Armenian territory, one of the Artaxiad – Arzātāk I, himself, or his grandson Tigranes the Great - may have acquired certain lands from both Media and Adiabēnē. These would have included the western shore of Lake Urmia in the first case, and the mountainous country in the middle valley of the Great Zab River and its eastern tributaries in the other. Sirākan may then have been the name for the first of these lands, as indicated indirectly by Strabo (XI.13.8) to which the second was then added to Armenia under the name Nōširākan as indicated by BP (IV:50). Then, once Adiabēnē became an independent state again after Tigranes' defeat, the names may have stuck as the Armenian (and later) name for the vitaxate enclosed: The Princes of Mahkert-tun. The Princes of Korduk’ were descended from the earlier kings of Gordyēnē, thus implicitly equating Korduk’ with Gordyēnē, while Marquart assumed that the Vitaxate of Aljnik’, which he believed included, Sophinē, Ingilēnē, Anzēnē and Greater Sophinē or Sophinēzēn, passed intact to Rome in 298, intact to Iran in 263, and emerged intact in the fifth century as the Nestorian Metropolitan province of Bēth Arabiāyē. Although some of these territories undoubtedly did maintain their integrity, no provision is made in this notion for territorial redistribution as a part of the various provincial reorganizations which we know took place in this area at different times. It is through an understanding of the changing groupings of the lands and districts in question that we can perhaps come to a better explanation of how these lands came to appear in the ASX in the forms that they do.

1. First of all, in the first century B.C., we hear in classical sources of five lands in this area: Tamarōtis, Gordyēnē, Adiabēnē, and Syrgyzēnē. In the main line of Western Armenia from the seventh century, by the end of the Sassanid period (A.D. 679) the boundaries of the districts were different, and the provinces of Adiabēnē and Sirākan were no longer continuous. In the beginning of the first century B.C., we hear in classical sources of five lands in this area: the districts of Tamarōtis, Gordyēnē, Adiabēnē, and Syrgyzēnē, all lying in an arc extending from east to west along the border of Armenia between the regions of Osroēnē (northwestern Mesopotamia) and Media (northwestern Iran).
2. The territorial content of this area is further detailed three centuries later when Peter the Patri- 
cian (14.189) cites Arzane on with Kordchién (read: "Kordsheténe") and Zabdikéné; and again sixty-five 
years afterwards when AM (XXV.7.9) adds "Arzanean, Moxoxen, and Zabddena, and also Re-
himena and Corduenæ." Mygdonia, long held by Armenia, had become a part of Adiabene in the first 
century A.D. on is not heard of in the fourth century. It is perhaps the Rehimena of AM (XXV.7.9).

3. BP, a late fifth century source but one which deals exclusively with the period 330-390, is also 
familiar with this area, naming among its lands Añfik' (Arzaneé), Mokk' (Moxoxen), Kordk' (Kor-
dsheténe), Timorik' ("Timoréene"); Korékh', Norisran (sic), Makhk'-turn, Nixorakan and Dastn, 
specifying the last four as having fallen away from Armenian control before the end of his period.

4. A fourth grouping of these lands is found in the fifth century descriptions of the East Syriac 
(Nestorian) metropolitan sees which were organized in this region by 410:

a. The Metropolitan See of Beth Arabaye (Nisibis), with its five eparchies (episcopal sees) of Beth 
Arzoun, Beth Qardu, Beth Zabde, Beth Rehime and Beth Mohsiny. Since the location of all of these 
distincts save Beth Rehime (Rehimehén) is known, we can ascertain by a process of elimination that, 
once again the latter corresponds to the earlier Mygdonia — the region of Nisibis.

b. The Metropolitan See of Beth Hedayab (Arbela) with its six eparchies of Béth Nohadra, Béth 
Bagáš, Béth Dájen, Béth Remmónin, Béth Mábqart and Béth Darbarinos (sic).

Within these two metropolitanates it is obvious that the eparchies of Beth Arabaye (i.e., Assyria) 
and Beth Hedayab (i.e., Adiabene) correspond respectively to a) the previously cited lands of Ar-
zaneén, Kordsheténe, Rehimena (Mygdonia), and Moxoxen; and b) to those of Makhk'-
turn, Nixorakan, Dastn, as well as the whole of Adiabene.

5. The seventh century ASX groups the lands between northern Mesopotamia and Media into four 
arrangements:

a. Añfik', with its ten districts of Ny'ter/Ny'tker, Añf/Arazan, K'b'k'K, K'tátk'k, Atn, Atnu-
jan, Erxétk', Gzédb, Salnuy jor, and Sanasunk'.

b. Arzaneén — the region of Nisibis, the Greek Mygdonia, the Syriac Béth Arabaye (in the smaller 
sense, i.e., Béth Rehimehén).

c. Kordk', with its eleven districts of Kordk', Upper, Middle and Lower Kordk', Aýr-
truank', Aýgark', Mor'bon', Orsiark', Ka'tunik', Cahu and Lesser Albak.

d. Parakshah', with its nine districts of Ayli/Kuríšán, Márí, Trábi, Aráx/Ová, Arnay/Eñay, 
També, Zarhawan, Zarawand, and Êhr.

6. Finally, the ASX as we have seen, when speaking of the Western Region of the Sassanian Empire 
regroups these territories into the four lands of *Nohadra, Širakan, Marjín and *Arzoun-Ostán.

An examination of these various arrangements shows that the final grouping by the ASX into these 
three units (with no mention of Kordk') reflects in part the ecclesiastical provinces of number 4, or, put 
more accurately, that the Nestorian metropolitan sees reflect two of the three Persian groupings of 
the territories taken from this part of Armenia in 387 (*Nohadra/Notarakan and Arzoun/Añfik'), and 
that, indeed, appearing as they do at the Syrian Council of 410, they were probably set up at that time 
on the very basis of the Persian territorial rearrangements made but a few years before.

Thus the Nestorian Metropolitan See of Beth Arabaye does not reflect a vitaxate but must reflect the 
new Persian provinces of "Arzoun-Ostán comprising the four lands of Añfik', Kordk', Zabdé, Re-
himehén; together with Arabastan proper, i.e., Mygdonia, the region of Nisibis (which the Persians 
called Marjín); while the Metropolitan See of Širakayk reflects the new Persian province of Nohadra, 
which must have included the whole of Adiabene together with the lands taken from Armenia in this 
quarter: Mahkért, Nixorakan and Dastn, i.e., Nor Širakan.

It is probable (though not certain) that the nine easternmost districts of the eleven cited by the ASX 
as different as Kordk' (Middle Kordk', Upper Kordk', Aýrtruank', Aýgark', Mor'bon', Orsi-
ark', Ka'tunik', Cahu and Lesser Albak), also taken from Armenia at this time, i.e., the royal 
lands of Kordk', were joined by the Persians with Kordk' and Timorik' (Upper Kordk') to form a 
single division of Arzoun-Ostán, i.e., the part which Syriac authors refer to as the eparchy of Beth 
Qardu, and the ASX as Kordk'. What must have happened was that having annexed the vitaxate of 
Kordk' (with 'Timorik' and the royal land of Kordk', the Persians merged the three and then added 
the territory to the vitaxate of Añfik' acquired at the same time, to form part of the new 
province of Arzoun-Ostán. It has been suggested that the wording of the ASX "Notarakan, "Arzoun-Ostán" be emended 
to "Notarayt, i.e., Širakan, "Arzoun-Ostán," Širakan being a gloss giving the Armenian name for 
Notarayt. This would link Nor Širakan with both the lands in the mountains northeast of Adiabene 
and with the adjacent lowlands in the plain west of Lake Urmia and so make them one territory — as 
Eremyan certainly sees them. This, however, seems unlikely for there is a known Iranian term 
nobodar associated with the Adiabenean area. Frye (222) states:

I would also compare *bíšiat [i.e., *vátsa — R.H.H.] with nobodar 'first place man' and interpret *bíšiat as 'second place' (ruler?). Whether this title was limited to the northwestern part of the Parthian domains is uncertain but it is definitely and 
plausibly attested there... and again (216):

If the area later called Beth Nohadre in Syriac sources is the same as Adiabene, or the Western part of it, then we may see the title *nobodar 'prefect or governor' as the Parthian designation for the King of Adiabene.

What I see from these passages is the possibility that nobodar/nakbodar, i.e., 'first place man,' was 
the title of the King of Adiabene, and *bíšiat that of the ruler of the adjoining lands to the northeast, 
who may — at least for a time in the Parthian period — have been a subordinate to the King of Adiabene 
in the same way that he and the other three Armenian vitaxates were usually in 'second place' to the King of 
Armenia. Having identified Širakayk/Adiabene (together with the vitaxate of Nor Širakan) with the Persian 
province of Nohadra (the Notarayt of the ASX), then the only land in this part of the Western Region 
not yet identified, namely Širakan, must correspond to the later Parakshah', which is unknown to 
you to any earlier Armenian source, and which the ASX (22.7) describes clearly as lying in the lowlands 
to the west of Lake Urmia.

*Unî, read *Kwóti Nemrîf, Catalogue: Nemroz. Marquart (9-10) reads these districts as follows, 
but Eremyan makes no attempt to reconstruct them:

| *Kwóti Nemrîf | 
|---|---
| Pars | Srmn |
| Xûzîstân | Spt |
| Azpahan | Vaš |
| Mêşûn | Sakstán |
| Hâgar | Zaplâstan (See Appendix X, 233, n. 3). |
| Panaitzîr | Der (an island — R. H. H.) |
| Turân | Mëthamik (an island — R. H. H.) |
| Kurman | Mazun |
| Makuran | Xûzîhrstân |
| Sûd | Spahîl |
| Dábîlb | |
Asxarhac’oyc’ (Long Recension)

with Artaxerxes Okhos, in whose time (359-338 B.C.), of course, there could be no question of Roman prisoners.

The defeat of Crassus at the hands of King Orodes (53 B.C.) were settled at a Seleucid city built on the site of Siwnik’ (see Marq.:137 for his reconstruction of this passage which I have followed).

however, realizing, apparently, that Ptolemy is describing the separate countries which composed the border region as Armenian. There is, in fact, considerable evidence that Siwnik’ was more armenized than Armenian (Ioum:214 and n. 244; Ad-Gar.:325; Grousset130ff.), and the Syrian historian Ps.-Zach. (XII.7) tells us that the people of ‘Siagian’ had their own language (which may have been related to Albanian). Also, when St. Mesrob Maitco’t went to King Erusben of Albania in the fifth century to teach the Christian faith, his interpreter was one Benjamin, a native of Siwnik’ (MX.III.54; MD.II.3), although this, of course, proves nothing about the language of Siwnik’ (see Appendix X).

It is interesting how at this point our author, after departing from Ptolemy to describe the Persian Empire and the Far East

This last remark refers to a passage which does not follow and which was either not written or read: Madea.

Madae. It is interesting how at this point our authors, after departing from Ptolemy to describe the Persian Empire and the Far East

We see, however, realizing, apparently, that Ptolemy is describing the separate countries which composed the (Parthian) empire apart from the manner in which the later Sasanids divided it. It is very much as if a geographer might list the ninety-two departments of France first and then redescribe the entire country according to the old provinces which existed before 1789 (cf. Geography, Vol.8).

This passage appears to be corrupt, but the story of Jason (text: Yason) and the golden fleece (oski kizn) is well known, and the connection of Jason and Medea with Media is found in Strabo (XI.13.10). See Marq.:117 for his reconstruction of this passage which I have followed.

Artemid’oz. Pliny (VI.18.47) records that the Roman prisoners taken by the Parthians at the defeat of Crassus at the hands of King Orodes (53 B.C.) were settled at a Seleucid city built on the site of Siwnik’ (see Appendix X).

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Khotan (Ilchi from an analysis of its position as given to Ptolemy, that it is more likely to have been the city of kent in Soviet Uzbekistan, whose name has the same meaning in Turkic. It has been shown, however, later equated with the Volga Bulgars by Markwart (1928: 89-90).


The Thanglha range on the northeast frontier of Tibet.

Aorsi mentioned by Strabo (XL8.1), are the Himalayas. (See Appendix X).

and that the speakers of Tocharian A called themselves Aorsi (Herrmann, 'Tocharoi' PW 2 VI). (See Appendix X).

Shiru'sa. Ptolemy knows two countries by this name: Scythia within, i.e. 'on this side' of the Imaios Mountains of Scythia outside, i.e. 'beyond' the Imaios Mountains. These mountains, also mentioned by Strabo (XI.8.1), are the Himalayas. (See Appendix X).

Emarson learn, supra v. 37.

T'urkstan'ka, supra V, n. 113.

'Emoda ore'; Ptol. (VI.15.2, 3; 16.2, 5, 3): 'Emoda ore'. We have conflicting data on the location of this range. In Pliny (VI.21.60) and Strabo (XVI.1.28) they appear to be the Himalayas or one of its ramifications; in Ptolemy they appear to be the Kunlun. Berthelot (1930: map) identifies them with the Thanghla range on the northeast frontier of Tibet.

Jenaker.

Kat'aker. The Galaktophagoi or 'curd-eaters,' are placed between the Sea of Aral and Lake Balkhash by Berthelot (end Map).


The 'Imaio' are not identifiable with any of the people mentioned in classical sources, but they are equated with the Volga Bulgars by Markwart (1928: 89-90).

Sogdiana, Ptol. (VI.12): Sogdiana.

Segastan 'Land of the Saga'; read: Saka, Ptol. (VI.12.1): Sakai. This region corresponds to the later Sidjistan or Sistan, now divided between Afghanistan and Iran.

The reference to the shape of the Imaios Mountains is accurate for at the point where the Himalayas turn southeast they do indeed form an Armenian latter L. It seems likely that at this point, at least, our author, or more likely his source, was working from some actual map.

'Kar'ar'burg. The 'Stone Tower,' Ptol. (VI.15.2): Lathinos Pyros, is usually identified with Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan, whose name has the same meaning in Turkic. It has been shown, however, from an analysis of its position as given to Ptolemy, that it is more likely to have been the city of Khotan (Ilbi or Yi-li-chi) in Chinese Turkistan (Gerini:1909:18).

Masageset'ik'. The author is unaware of any connection between these people and the Mask'ua'ik'

IX. The Persian Empire and the Far East

whom he mentions above, supra V n. 103. There are many legends woven about the death of Cyrus the Great (Text: Kvaro).

The 'Buxus' may be the 'Buxus' cited above (supra n. 44), i.e. the Volga Bulgars.

'Xorazmi. This would be the region of the Khorasmioi of Ptol. (VI.12.4) and other classical authors, a numerous people of Sogdiana. This region corresponds to the Khurasan of Arab authors, the region of modern Khiva in Soviet Uzbekistan (PW III).

The stone called xoloomi is identified.

'Tot is unidentified.

There is a blank space in the ms. at this point.

'Tyaxak', supra n. 35.

'Hep'task', the Hephthalites or so-called 'White Huns.' (See Appendix X).

The 'Alcon' may be linked to Alkhor, a city cited by Ptol. (VII.I.8). The Vakcon I have not been able to locate in any classical source. There may be an error in the text at this point.

'Dumos; Ptol. (VI.12.3): Demos, a river of Sogdiana entering the laxartes from the southwest.

Hindukastan.

Gangres, B Ganges.

Kinsakesber'k'n Ptol. (VII.I.51): Gymnosophists. The Gymnosophists 'naked sages' would be the Hindu ascetics observable in India today.

Damascan; Ptol. (VII.I.29): Diamonous, a tributary of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas, probably the Ganges.

Gangas.

Sarabos; Ptol. (VI.12.7): Sarabos.

We have been unable to trace the 'Imoyn' river unless it is the Osando 'Indus' of Ptolemy misunderstood in some way. Ptolemy (VII.I.29) has the Sarabos and the Diamonous flow into the Ganges River, the latter of which retains that name as it flows into the sea.

'Indus: Hreisir; $1945: britis 'a wild beast,' 'monster.' Saint-Martin and Soukry made no attempt to translate these terms but bre'tir I have taken to have had the same connotation in classical Armenian, 'wild beast.'

'Dabanak means 'malachite' in modern Armenian; 'dark green emerald' or 'corundum' in Greek. (VII.I.27) and Pliny (VI.15.39), corresponding, respectively, to Lower Burma and the Arakan coast of Burma (Gerini:64, 37).

'Indus: Khorasmioi or 'the Scorpion-bearing district'.

'Gangas, B Gangas.

This would be the region of the Ganges River, the latter of which retains that name as it flows into the sea.


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'Indus: Sistan.

The giraffe is not native to Asia, it is impossible to tell exactly what animal is being referred to here; perhaps a kind of gazelle.

'The iryyanak has not been identified.

...mi oski ev gazatus mi arcavi. The Khryste Khora and Argyra of Ptolemy (VII.I.17) and Pliny (VII.I.22), corresponding, respectively, to Lower Burma and the Arakan coast of Burma (Gerini:64, 37).

Kasiano. Cassia, as understood in this context, was a medicinal product of a plant of the genus Cassia; especially the laxative pulp derived from the pods of Cassia fistula of the East Indies. Aloe is a bitter cathartic, the dried juice exuded by the aloe perry, order Liliaceae, which was a very much sought after item from an early period (Schoff:129). Musk is a soft, reddish brown, powdery secretion of a penetrating odor, obtained from the preputial follicles ('musk bag') of the male musk deer. It is utilized in the preparation of perfumes and even in medicine. Camphor is a tough, white, gumlike,
translucent, crystalline compound with a fragrant, penetrating odor and a pungent taste, distilled from the wood and bark of the camphor tree. The name is derived from the Malay Kapur, through Arab: kafur, which is the term found in our text. Sandal or sandalwood is the dense, fine-grained, fragrant wood of any of several East Indian trees of the genus Santalum. Most of the other terms in this list are still inexplicable but see nn. 217 A-218 A of the corresponding passage in S.

In L this passage (following the word ‘pepper’) begins with the words oronticos or ερο δρόμουs, which makes no sense, but A has amenaen bocelaky and B amenaen bocelaky as ‘all aromatics’ which is surely correct. Bocelaky also means incense, incense and perfumes, so that the contents of the list may be quite eclectic although the few items that can be identified appear to be aromatics. Here follows the list in L. with the corresponding lists from the better ms.

In both A and B the list begins with haluē to nayiboak/nayi boak and then continues from hiriboak/hriboyak to darisak.

A

*hiriboak

*hiriboak

gozio boyek
gozio boyek
agiboyak
agiboyak
kastimoon
kastimoon
drawak
drawak
śahawarson
śahawarson
hak'olak
hak'olak
halwab'alammuik
haluē
haluē
kap'ur
kap'ur
čandan
čandan
naiboyek
naiboyek

B

goziboiak
goziboiak
goyihoak
goyihoak
kastimoon
candan
candan
goziboiak
goziboiak
govofak
govofak
govafak
govafak
goziboak
goziboak
kap'ur
candan
naiboyek

\* Text: * Hiriboyak/hiriboak to Darisak.

\* Text: * Goziboak to Goziboak.

\* Text: * Kapur to Kapur.

\* Text: * Candan to Candan.

\* Text: * Naiboyek to Naiboyek.

\* In both A and B the list begins with haluē to nayiboak/nayi boak and then continues from hiriboak/hriboyak to darisak.

\* The hâzârk has not been identified.

\* Infra n. 215 A.

\* Bill means ‘acoin’ in modern Armenian, but I have been unable to clarify its meaning here.

\* Sauerian. This is the same animal described earlier in S1944 (infra n. 217 A) and which was probably meant to be the rhinoceros, although the mention of a ‘unicorn’ in the next sentence suggests that the two animals were thought to be quite different.

\* Midthera...pusek.

\* The p'grē is unidentifiable unless it should be read *p'gre ( Giovanni instead of f) , in which case it may be a Latinism and can be translated as ‘tiger’ which is certainly possible from the context.

\* This passage is corrupt and its meaning obscure.

\* This passage is also corrupt but the Dēwāk‘ could possibly be the people of Dabdul, a flourishing port of India in the Middle Ages. Its exact location is uncertain but it was probably on the Kathiawar peninsula, near the former Portuguese colony of Dān. Dēwāk‘ is the name given by the ASX (supra n. 3) to a province of Sasanian Iran which it states was taken from India.

\* Jakuri/jrain.

\* Getaplo, apparently another spice or aromatic.

\* Ḫalāy which possibly corresponds to the Arab Kalab or Qal’a, Ind.: Kālāgan, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; Indian: Kalabaivipa; Chinese: Ko-lo; Malay: Kedah (B. E. Colless, private communication), a great emporium for the spice trade in the Middle Ages (Tibbets:118-128; Car-
to as ‘Pseudo-Callisthenes.’ This work, which exists in an Armenian translation dating back to the fifth century, was extremely popular in Armenia. (T‘hanc’ 1842; Wolohojian 1969). The passage referred to in our text is found in section 252 of the Armenian version.

132 This passage appears to be corrupt.
133 Ptol. (VII.4.5): Dagana, a city dedicated to the moon-goddess Selene, and which is placed by him on the south coast of Ceylon.
134 Ptol. (VII.4.11): 1,378 islands, including nineteen which he names. S1178:1,378.
135 Ayregar gawin.
136 Siwnikia here must be the land of the Seres, i.e., the ‘Silk People’, of Ptol. (VII.2.1). Until recently it was generally accepted that the Seres and the Sinsu of Ptolemy and other ancient authors were the Chinese under different appellations. Lozinsky (1959:34), however, quotes the German scholar Haussig to the effect that the Seres were not the Chinese, seres being derived from a Mongol word for silk (Chin.: ssu), which was not only produced by the Chinese but also by their western neighbors. That the Seres were a different people is supported by Pliny (XXXIV.41.145), who speaks of the purity of the iron used by them, whereas we know that the Chinese never used pure iron which is rarely found in their country in any form. Pure iron is found only in the very center of Eurasia between the Ural and the Altai Mountains. (Herrmann 1938:28, 31, 33); Haussig 1953:342ff.

137 Daricenik’.
138 Kasoum.
139 Kasia Letni; Ptol. (VI.15.2; 16.3,5): Kasia oré, probably the Kunlan range between Sinkiang and Tibet (Berthelot: Map; Gerini: Table 8), but Ferguson and Keynes (1978:584) opt for the Nan Chan Mountains.
130 Skiou’íkon; Gk: skythikon. Apparently a kind of gem stone; Sökky (61, n. 5) suggests the emerald.
131 Jhíl.
132 Mesik’.
133 Siranangy.
134 Ka’ramanbus.
135 Spitak bazeiu.
136 Kerperagorč’.

Ary’a zančenbakur. Čenbakur is from the Middle Iranian Čen bayaž ‘Emperor of China’ bayaž signifying ‘son of God’ an obvious translation of the Chinese t’sen tzu ‘son of heaven.’ MX (II.81) in tracing the origin of the Armenian princely house of Mamikinean from a brother of Arbak Čenbakur, King of China, translated čenbakur as ‘honor of the kingdom.’ Arab.: baghbur or faqbur.

131 Siwnec’woc’n (gen. plur.), i.e. the ‘Siwnek’ (supra I, n. 75).
132 Siwnec’woc’n (gen. plur.), i.e. the ‘Siwnek’ (supra I, n. 75).
133 Mardakerpē’.

Sköld (1925) has pointed out a parallel passage in Pliny (VII.2), where he mentions a people of Asia having eight fingers. Sköld also refers to E. Chavannes’ notice on Su-le or Kashgar, in which he quotes an oriental source for the people of that region (or their king?) having six digits on each hand and foot and among whom a child born with less was not reared. Sköld felt that this story might have something to do with the similar references in Pliny and the ASX. Schoff, too, in the annotations to his
ASXARHAC'OYC

(SHORT RECEPTION)

Most of the information found in S having already been annotated where it appears in L, the apparatus to S shall be limited to such data as are unique to this version of the text. Since this work, as already noted, is not intended to offer a definitive edition of the ASX but simply an annotated translation of its two recensions, no attempt will be made to cite every variant of every toponym, etc., found in the various mss. of S available to the editor. Only those which may be used to shed light on problematical toponyms, terms and passages in L will be noted, or those missing in the latter version. The 'master' text for this translation of S has been Abrahamyan's edition of ms. 582 (A) in the Matenadaran (S1944). Variants from other editions and mss. of the text have been relegated to the notes. Toponyms and other Armenian terms have been left in the translation as they appear in the S1944; the forms believed to be the correct ones by Hübschmann, Erenyam, and other specialists are given in the notes.

I. L has no subdivisions to its introduction but S1944 has a 'Second Part' so this opening section would be the first. The 'geography' cited in the title (Yatsag Asxarhagru'yeanc) Strong refers to geography as a subject (asxarhac'oyc).

20 The text has 'sixty-three and fifty-seven [degrees?]' where S1819 has simply 'sixty-three degrees' which I accept, with Von Mzlik, as the correct reading.

21 I take it omit from the end of Spain.' S1819: 'to China.'

22 Ptolemy (VII.5).

23 Compare this passage with Ptolemy (VII.5) where he states that the inhabitable portion of the globe extends beyond the equator to 16°26', and from the equator northwards to 63°, so that the total extent is just short of 80°.

24 In my translation of this passage of measurements I have departed substantially from the text of S in order to bring it into conformity with Von Mzlik's restoration of L.

25 Ptol. (VII.5).

26 A omits 'which is called Karkenitis.'

27 A 'opposite Mavrutina.'

28 Ptol. (IV.1.6): twenty-six rivers entering the Atlantic from Africa alone. A twenty-two.

29 The bracketed passage, necessary to complete the sense, is omitted in S1944 but is found in ms. utilized by the editors of S1683 and S1877.

30 By Mijsker 'Middeland', i.e. 'Land between the Seas'; is meant Asia Minor (Turkey), supra IV, n. 1.

31 For Eger, Gk: Kolkhis, supra VI, n. 1.

32 A have no mention of Europe here.

33 A1683 has '... Albania and the Mask'yawk ...'; A: Alunk'; B Mask'tark'; S1877: Maskiyawk.

34 For the Mask'urk', supra V, n. 103.

35 This Arakan' Ambostakek' is clearly a corruption of the Aretiakan Nombas (supra I, n. 164, 190), Barakan' Ambostakek'; S1819: Ariakan (Iranian?) Ambostakek'; S1877: Arakan' Ambostakek'; C idem.

Short Recension

243

17A AB Marawuk'.

18 A Gelaunk'; B Gelf'avuk'; C Gelaunk'. Supra I, n. 194.

19 A Dilmovuk'; B Dilmawuk'; C Delpawuk'. Supra I, n. 193.

20 A Kaspivuk'; B Kasbiwuk'; C Kaziwuk'. Supra n. 149 A.

21 A AB Dzovik Harawoy.

22 This passage is unclear but may be a garbled version of Ptolemy (1.24).

23 A Piwonees; B Povonenes.

24 A 1, naubn; B Iubnabz; C Nuiabz.

25 A Aluion; B Abion; C Abion.

26 The adjective barash, meaning 'general' or 'common,' is not found in S1683 (upon which S1819 was based) nor in S1877, but it is in ABCD. I take it to mean that Sarmaia is a 'general region' rather than a specific country.
At this point S1683 has the phrase "yarwaelc' kalow Zalaura, or è Paltark' Germanoc'woc' 'east of Zalaura, that is, the Bulgaria of the Germans." No place called Zalaura is mentioned by Ptolemy and this passage is missing in ABDE, S1944 and S1877. Toumanoff suggested to me that the Germans referred to here might be the Goths of the Crimes (for whom see Vaniliev 1936). The Bulgars referred to, then, might be the Bulgarian tribes living north of the Black Sea.

A The Armenian term used for these altars, both cited by Ptol. (III.5.26), is Ḗrē, Ḗrmēnis and Ptolemy (III.11). The Sclaveni first entered the Roman Empire as military recruits in the fifth century (Proc. GotJb.III.14).

B has: am' Gapsac'ik'; B Kap' ac'ik'; Pliny (V.8): Gabasta.

C has: a' Mosk'akan; D Moshk'akan lerins; C'mak'akan; D Moskhika ore, Moskhika ore, (River) flowing into the Black Sea east of Samsun (MuUer,866). The text omits the word 'second' at this point though its insertion seems required by the context, but see supra p. 24.

D B 'Third Armenia; C idem.

21A The Moschian Mountains would be the Little Caucasus (Russ.: Malay Kavkaz), especially the Arsiani range (Bourn:33); Moskhiba ōro (V.6:1; V.12.4): Moskhiba ōro, now the Yalniscam range in northeastern Turkey. The text of S1944 calls these mountains the c'amakakan 'continental' or 'arid' but this is clearly an error for c'Mosk'akan.

22A The Iris is now the Yejil which in Roman times meant two different things: 1) Storax officinalis (order styracaceae) which resembled benzene and was used in incense; and 2) liquid storax, which was the sap of the liquidambour orientalis (order hamamelidaceae), native to southeast Asia Minor and exported as far as China. This was a medicament used for the treatment of chronic bronchial infections (Schoff:128). See Strabo (XII.7.3).

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T'akoc'kk'  Xarank'
Argożk'  Ta'waspark'
Dačak'  Hełamatak'
Pš'k'  Iżamak'
Pšalk'  P'asak'
Honk'  P'igonomak'
Ap'ük'  To'ük'
Tu'ük'  Baku'k'
Canar'  Maz'ak'

Supra V n. 49. The form Buxk' found in S1819, rather than the Buxk' of L, together with its place in the list, suggests that the Bulgars are intended here, but A Buxk'; B Buxk'; C Buxk'; D Buxk'; E Buxk'; F G Buxk'; JK omitted; and S1877: Buxk'. Eremyan (1963:102) reads Buj/nj'k'. Markwarz (1898:89-90) held them to have been the Volga Bulgars.

Supra V n. 47.

Supra V n. 39.

Erem. (81): Skirnιμκ' or Skitum(n)įk', (V.8.13): Skmniai; RA (IV.2): Patria Scymnosum; Proc. Gobh. (IV.2): Skymia, "in the interior back of [i.e. east of - R.H.H.] Souania," corresponding to the Georgian district of T'akueri, also known as Lećxumi, which is related to Skirmiek' and also to Sca'samiet and C'oxynk' (Erem.:81). S1819 and S1877: Skirniek'. Supra V n. 56.

The P'ink', omitted in L but found in all published versions of the short redaction, may be the same as the Lp'niek' (supra V, n. 87) but Eremyan (102) inserts the P'ink' between the Rać'ank' and the Duakl' as a separate people, suggesting the form "P'į/ŋink'k", whose name he relates to the modern Bisingi.

The Huns (Honk'; S1944: Xonk'), or their remnants, seem to have settled north of the Caucasus after the disintegration of Atilla's empire in the mid-fifth century. They are repeatedly referred to in Armenian sources (e.g., Ef; MD), and seem to have ended as tributaries of the Khazars. Cf. Moravski:56-58.

Supra n. 71 A.

Supra n. 73 A.

Eremyan (1963:102) includes the Xeloş'k' in his enumeration of tribes but does not identify them in the dictionary; at the end of this work, in his later article, however (1973:27, n. 102), he suggests that they may be the Xeídai, a tribe dwelling on the Black Sea coast near Anapa, but this seems unlikely given their location in the ASK. Considering that Šeloşk' and Čeşloşk' are variant forms in B and in S1819 for the Šiţk' and Čeţk' of L, I wonder if the correct form this name should not be Xeloşk', and the latter be an error for "Gelšk", the Geloi (supra I, n. 94). S1819 and S1877: Xeloşk'.

The Kaspik' are mentioned by Aa (20); BP (IV.50); Ef (IV); MX (II.86) and MD (I.27). Strabo (XII.4.5) tells us that they gave their name to the Caspian Sea but that they had disappeared by his time. It is more likely, however, that the name is derived from that of the sea, and was a generic term used to describe the miscellaneous tribes dwelling along its shore south of the mouth of the Arax. Prokopy (VI.2.5) places them in Media. Eremyan (57) identifies the region of Kaspiat' with the Armenian land of P'yątkaran (infra n. 149 A). S1819 and S1877: Kasb'. (Ilerz. 1948:195-99).

The P'as'k' of L1881; S1877 P'as'k'.

S1877: removed.

The Kaspiane period (Toum.:255, n. 355). this territory corresponds to the later principality of Guria.

Most of the names of these districts are badly corrupted in S1944 and the reader is referred to the appropriate notes to L for information on them. Only districts omitted in L are annotated for the text of S.

The districts of Iberia according to B are:

Kărb'  Tawniak'k'
Artahan  Manghac'por
Şavšek'  K'ušapor
Jaw'sk'  Botbop'or
Samč'x  T'il'k'
Aş'  Kangark'
Gorgovaš't'x  Tašir

Geo.: Aş'ara (Vx.:108-110); Arm.: Aş'ara (Erem.:34); CP (DC 214): Aş'ara; Tk.: Aš'aristan.

This district lay in the valley of the Noste River, today the Aş'ara-ş'qali, and forms the nucleus of the Adzharian ASSR. Although the old Aş'ara was landlocked, the present ASSR reaches the sea and has the city of Baku (Geo.:Bat'omi) as its port. (Toum.:103, n. 159; 445, and 438, n. 2 where he describes it as lying south of the Aş'ara range of the Little Caucasus between the Acampsis in the west and the Arsi range on the east. Eremyan (ibid.) locates it in the same region.) Aş'ara, together with Samč'x and perhaps Tor'i, formed a part of the old Iberian province of Moszkó or Mesz'eti, the Duchy of Samč'x or Ofirze. The name appears to be connected with that of Egrasi/Eger. The following three districts (which appear in S1819 as T'uma, Vaxës, Tarmenn) Eremyan omits the latter two as corruptions of, respectively, Gorataš't'xew (supra VI B, n. 30) and T'niss't'xew (supra VI B, n. 31), and the first as a corruption of Tor'i (infra VI B, n. 37).

Geo.: Kweš't'xewi; Arm.: K'ukš'apor (Erem.:90); EE (31): Kweš't'xapor located on the upper course of the Mašvera River around Kweš't' fortress. This district is not mentioned by Vaxël. Area: c. 455 sq. km.

For K'k'ida (S1819: K'awd'; S1817: omitted) and Kuxix (S1819: K'isx; S1877: omitted), supra VI B, n. 41. S1819 follows these with Kox exempted in S1877 and 1944. C Kud'di; DK Kütü'; FJ omitted; G Kuri'ëd.

Geo.: Bazszëli (Vx.:220); Arm.: Bazšélé (Erem.:42), located around the town of Dzulët' where a lake called Bazszëli can still be found. Area: c. 525 sq. km.

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For K'k'ida (S1819: K'awd'; S1817: omitted) and Kuxix (S1819: K'isx; S1877: omitted), supra VI B, n. 41. S1819 follows these with Kox exempted in S1877 and 1944. C Kud'di; DK Kütü'; FJ omitted; G Kuri'ëd.

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Geo.: Jelet'ë, also called Shuvret'ë (Erem.:63). Arm.: Jelët'ë (ibid.) or Şevket (SA III 3) from the castle of Şevket; EE (31): Jelet'. This district was located in the valley of Skivešt'ë (now the Vera River) at the mouth of which, on the territory of Tbilisi (Tbilis), on the site of the later Lurj monastery, was found the fortress of Jelet', which would perhaps be the Zalisa of Ptol. (VII.6.2). Area: 250 sq. km.

Geo.: Velושë'ë (Vx.:314). Arm.: Velosćë'ë, of which Velosćë'ë is a corruption; EE (31): has Velosćë'ë. This district extended from Velosćë'ë village (formerly Viloć'ë'ë) to the fortress on the outer Turoszë'xew and included the city and castle of Cerem. Area: c. 725 sq. km.

Erem. (89): K'auš-daba. This district corresponds to Kaxeti in the narrow sense and is referred
to in Georgian sources as Didi Xaxet'i 'Greater Xaxeti'. It extended from Tqetba or Gulgula village and the stream called T'urdos-xewi as far as the region of the sources of the Alazan River, and took its name from the town of K'uel-daba, now the village of Joel-daba. Eremyan considered the forms found in the ASX (S1819: K'uelde; S1944: [Y]oeldə) to be corrupt. S1877: omitted. Area: c. 522 sq. km. BCEGJ omitted; DF K'uelde; K K'uel'da.

99 Erem. (74): Su'k', regarding the forms found in the ASX (S1819: Su'k'; S1877: omitted; S1944: Su'k') as corrupt; LE (31): Su'k'; Geo.: Su'ti'. Located in the Valley of the Iori River extending eastwards from Nino-C'minda village. Allen (1967:317) notes that Sudzheri (sic) was an alternative name for Sagaredzho (Sagarejo), and links the name of its inhabitants, the Sudzhi or Sodzhi (Soji/Soji), to the Sod of Pliny (VI.11.29). This location of the latter would certainly fit Pliny's citation of them better than their identification with the Cawd'k of northeastern Siwnik' (Erem. ibid.; infra VII I, n. 196). Area: c. 425 sq. km. BCEGJ omitted; DFK Su'k'.

100 Geo.: Samsvilde or Orbet'i, more correctly Samsvilde (Toumanoff:584); Arm.: Samsvilde or Samsvile (Erem.87). This name was also applied to one of the seven original duchies of Iberia (for a discussion of which see Toumanoff ibid.:142I.), but the reference here is to the fortress of Samsvilde or Orbet'i, which Eremyan (104) omits from his reconstruction of the text of the ASX. S1877: Samsvilde; D Samsvile.

The districts of Albania according to B are as follows:

Exni
Bex
Sak
Ostanimarcapan
Dalt Ibalsakan
etc. (sic)

102 Erem. (55): Xobmaz now Xal'maz; LE (31): Xobmaz, the region around the modern town of Vartašen. Area: c. 1330 sq. km. After this district Eremyan (105,120) inserts the district of Gelaub, which he locates along the Gelawu River the course of the modern Girdymanchay or Gardner River. According to Eremyan (47), the name of this district survives in the modern village of Kyavea or Gelabu, found on the modern Aksu River, and is connected with the Gel or Gela, a people mentioned in the Greek authors as Gelai (supra I 192) on the southern slopes of the Corumian Mountains. Area: 3,975 sq. km.

103 Gelaub, was located around Kyavea or Gelabu village in what is now the Ak-su raion (district) of Soviet Azerbaidzhan. Eremyan (47) connects the name with that of the tribe called Gela (Gkelo), dwelling in the northeastern Caucasian Mountains south of the Lezgi (Lezgians), and identifies the Gelaub River with the modern Girdymal (Gardner)-chay. Area: c. 975 sq. km.

104 There was no district of Eturn (Erem.:120), and it is possible that what we have is a corruption of Gelaub.

105 There was no district of Sak'ostan (Erem.:120), and what we have here is Sak'ek repeated with the Ostani of Ostani-i-Marzpan (infra n. 106 A). S1877: Sak', Ostani, Marzpan, with Hambars omitted from its place in S1819 between Sakeostan and Marzpan; LE (31): Sak'.


107 Erem. (75): Ostani-i-Marzpan - the 'court', i.e. 'seat of the Marzpan,' the Persian governor general; LE (31): Ostank-Marzpanos. This would be the region around Kapala after 387, when this city became the seat of a Sasanian Marzpan, while the Araklu (Arsacid) kings of Albania continued to reign in the city of P'aytakaran. Area: c. 1,500 sq. km.
Asxarhac'oyc' (Short Recension)

Šargomk'  Salgamk'
Karin  Karin

133 Supra VII n. 13. S1819 adds to Karin the gloss 'or Theodosiopolis' ('Theodosiopolis').

134 B
Xorjën  Xorjën
Haitenık'  Haitenık'
Pahayrun  Pahatun
Balahovit  Balahovit
Cop'k'  Cop'ak'
Hanjit'  Xanj't'k'
Dorek'  Govdelt'
Degek'  Dedik

135 A

Np'rkert  Arziwn
K'el  K'el
Ketök  Ketök
Tatik  Tatık
Axawajor  Salmuank'
Xerxek'  Xerhet'
"Gzel  Gel
Sanoyjor  Anap'afnert
Sasun'  Sasun

"Erem. (47): Gzeel; S1877: Gzel, located on the upper course of the Bales River now the Bitlis-su.
The northern boundary of this district was formed by the Tawruban Mountains and the Zorabahak range, now the Bitlis or Rahva Mountains. This district is perhaps the Gilizênu of Assyrian sources. Hüb. (313) quotes Belch and Kiepert linking this name with Tk.: Güzêl-dere.

136 A
B
Xoyt'  Xoyt'
Aspakunik'  Aspakunik'
Tarawn  Tarawn
Alnmuk'  Arlanunik'
Mardahi  Mananali
Dasnawork'  Dastework'
Tuaracatap'  Tuaracatap'
Daf  Dâh
Hark'  Hark'
Varadmunik'  Varâlanik'
Bznmunik'  Bznmunik'
Erewark'  Erivark'
Ahovit  Bznmunik'

137 A Erem. (61): Kori found in S1865; Hüb. (330), Ad-Gar. (246), and Hak. (169): Kor, which is found in S1877 and in B; S1944: omitted; Byz.: Kore (CP DAI 44), also known as Korey Jor 'Valley of Kor.' Located in the valley of the Korey Jor River; Tk: kor-su-deresi, below Lake Hoçlu. Kori appears to have been originally a division of Bznunik' (Ad-Gar. ibid.). Area: c. 548 sq. km.

138 Houtn. (1963:208-09): Xoruzunikut', which he located in the valley of the Aracani (Murad-su) northwest of Lake Van, considering it to have been apparently a remnant of the Hurrian nation. Originally a part of Hark' (Ad-Gar.245), this principality was also known as Malsax or Malsaxut-îwn (the Malzax-dom), Ag 134: Malhüsên oikos; or Khbaboarên (ibid. 98). Area: c. 1,000 sq. km.

139 B

Hayr  Iboç' gawaiş
Mins  Arüneç'jor
Mija  Aranjnak Moks
Arkaiyê c gawaiş  Arç'ayê' gawaiş
Argastovit  Jermajor

140 A
B
Kordoys  Kordis
Kogris  Kordun
Aytn'k'  Assand
Mot'ðank'  Ahmor'tank'
Orsirank'  Oursiri
Karapunik'  Karppunik'
Cahuk  Maxulkan
P'ok'r Albak  P'ok'r Albak

141 A
B
Aylî or Kuriçan  Ahi
Mari  Kuriçan
Trap'î  Mari
A'ær'k'  Trap'iu
Èna  Esañay
Tambark'  Tambat
Zarëhawan  Zarêwênan
Zarawand  Zarauand
Hîr  Her
The general location of the land of P'aytakaran is not difficult to determine. The passage in L introducing the section on Armenia, describes this area as the land "by the city of P'aytakaran extending along the Caspian shore and to the mouth of the Arax." (al'azer P'aytakaran d'alak'ov or et ezerim Kaspie'i mats Erassay, which Soukry, incidentally, mistranslated Paidagaran au bord de la mer Caspienne, a l'ouest du fleuve d'Araxe). The parallel paragraph in S simply refers to the land of P'aytaka-
Asxarhac'oyc' (Short Recension)

Media Atropatene. Strabo (XI.14.5) tells us that Kaspiane was taken from Media by the Armenians in the Seleucid Empire which inherited Iran from him, but it was definitely a part of the Kingdom of its shore is not clear. What does seem certain is that, whatever their proper name or ethnic origin, the city as opposed to its having been an Armenian city properly called. In any case, according to Herodotus (VII.67), a people called the city as opposed to its having been an Armenian city properly called. In any case, according to Herodotus (VII.67), a people called

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The area thus enclosed is estimated by Eremyan (ibid.) to have comprised to some 21,000 sq. km.

Classical authors (e.g. Strabo, XI.4.5; XI.14.5) know this region as Kasp'k' or Kazbk'.

Whether the inhabitants of Kaspiane were known as Caspians from their location along the Arax or along the Araxes, neither of these descriptions is very specific but their very imprecision enables us to cast doubt on the opinion of Eremyan (88) that P'aytakaran extended to the north of the Arax into what is now called the Mill Plain. Nothing in either passage supports this view which is based on the equally unsupported notion that the city of P'aytakaran is to be identified with the later city of Baylakan (which did lie in the Mill Plain). Setting aside this identification, which rests on nothing besides the not very close resemblance of the two names, and relying solely on what the text and other sources (such as Ptol., VI.2.5, and E.E 18) have to tell us, it would appear that P'aytakaran lay in the Mughhan (Mutna) Plain along the south bank of the Arax, and extended from the seacoast into the Qaradagh Mountains. Its southern boundary, of course, would have been the Talysh range which still separates Soviet Azerbaijan (and the USSR) from Iran as, according to Ptolemy (VI.13.4), it separated (under the name Kaspion Mountains) Armenia from Media which was by this time a province in the Parthian Empire. The western boundary would most likely have been the Qaradagh Range where it culminates in Mt. Yashatar, probably the Mt. Iasonion of Strabo (XI.13.10). The southern frontier of P'aytakaran was thus at the same time the extreme southeastern boundary of Armenia, the border reaching the Caspian somewhere in the vicinity of modern Astara.

The fact that Armenia held Kaspiane for only a relatively short period, its remoteness from Armenia proper, its non-Armenian character, its long connection with Iran, and the likelihood of any substantial Armenian settlement so far to the east, doubtless accounts for the ease with which the region passed out of the sphere of Armenia once and for all in the fourth century. In the pages of BP (VI.7), MX (III.3.4) and MD (I.12), we read of how as early as ca. 338 A.D., a certain Sasanian or Sanatruk Airakuni attempted to usurp the Armenian throne and set himself up as an independent ruler in P'aytakaran city, and after 363 we find the local population again rebelling against Armenian rule. This revolt was put down, with P'aytakaran being ravaged and its capital sacked but, at the time of Artaxias (Artases) I (188-191), who finally succeeded in establishing a permanent Armenian branch of the Parthian Arsacids upon the Armenian throne, or at the time of the Treaty of Nisibis in 298 when the Armenian question was resorted after a particularly crushing defeat of the forces of Sasand Perse by those of Rome.

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Classical authors (e.g. Strabo, XI.4.5; XI.14.5) know this region as Kaspian as does BP (VI.14: Kazzh'k'). Ptolemy does not mention the land but cites the Kaspios as a people of Media (VI.12.5). RA (II.12) refers to the land as Caspie, and considers it a separate country on a par with Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Siwnik' and the Mask'ut'k' kingdom, as does Ps.-Zach. XII, who calls it Balakasane. Kaspiane is not found, of course, in the ASX, itself, which, in S, has Paytakaran in place of the Armenian original of the classical name: Kaspi'k' or Kazbk'. That Kaspi'k'/Kaspian is the primary designation of the land seems certain from the fact that no classical author has ever heard of Paytakaran under any form of that name, and it seems likely that the latter term superseded the earlier one only after the city of Paytakaran was founded or at least not until after it became the region's capital. It seems likely, too, that, like, eastern Albania (supra VI C n. 209), much of the Plain of Mugan, if not all of it, was under water, or at best very swampy, until a fairly late date in the classical era, so that Paytakaran city may not have existed much before its first attestation in As (842) in a fourth-century context. The name Paytakaran, rendered in Ag (152) as Phatkarane; RA (II.12): Tangarenon has never been satisfactorily explained. Ublabayan (1975:43) takes it to mean 'capital city' or 'great city'. Pay't means 'wood' in Armenian and Paytakaran suggests a diminutive form with the locative suffix -aran, and so could mean: 'wooded place' but this seems far-fetched, and it seems more likely that the name is from payt 'wood' and Per.: garen 'mountains', i.e., 'wooded' or 'forested mountains', which would certainly suit the lush sub-tropical Talysh range which bordered P'aytakaran on the south. On the other hand, the name may well be of non-Armenian origin (Hib.270).

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Whether the inhabitants of Kaspiane were known as Caspians from their location along the Caspian Sea or whether the sea took its name from an ethnic group called Caspians dwelling along its shore is not clear. What does seem certain is that, whatever their proper name or ethnic origin, the inhabitants were not of Armenian origin, and Agathangela's cryptic description of Paytakaran (842) as a city of the Armenian Kingdom may possibly be interpreted to mean that the Armenians allowed the city as opposed to its having been an Armenian city properly called. In any case, according to Herodotus (VII.67), a people called Kaspiamo fought as a separate contingent in the army of Darius I (522-486 B.C.). After the death of Alexander the Great, Kaspiam or may not have included the area of Armenia in the Seleucid Empire which inherited Iran from him, but it was definitely a part of the Kingdom of Media Atropatene. Strabo (XI.14.5) tells us that Kaspiam was taken from Media by the Armenians in the time of Artaxias (Artaxas) I (188-161 B.C.), while MX (II.53) recalls the capture of its king, Zardmanos, at that time (the -o ending suggesting a Greek source for this information). Strabo (ibid.) adds, however, that in his time (d.c. A.D. 20), Kaspiam belonged to Albania. This acquisition by Albania must have occurred in connection with the defeat of Tigranes II the Great in 66 B.C. but apparently didn't last too long for Pliny (d. A.D. 79) indicates (VI.17.45) that the Caspians were a people of Media. What he actually says is that the Caspians live beyond the gates separating Parthia proper from Media: "there are two Parthian towns formerly serving for protection against the Medes ... Helatamyolos, is 133 miles from the Gates — so effectively is the Parthian Kingdom also shut off by passes. Going out of the Gates one comes at once to the Caspian nation which extends down to the coast ... ." This, of course, is where Ptolemy (VI.2.5) places them almost a century later. The passing of Kaspiam from Albania to Iran would have occurred most probably at the time of the signing of the Romano-Parthian Treaty of Rhandia in A.D. 63, at which point the belligerents made great efforts to solve the Armenian (and Caucasian) 'question' that raged so intensively for a century. The only likely periods for the later cession of Kaspiam to Armenia would have been either in the time of Vologases (Vaharak) 1 (180-191), who finally succeeded in establishing a permanent Armenian branch of the Parthian Arsacids upon the Armenian throne, or at the time of the Treaty of Nisibis in 298 when the Armenian question was resorted after a particularly crushing defeat of the forces of Sasand Perse by those of Rome.
Ew't'n p'orakean Bagi'k
Uni
Roti ba'a
Bahanrot
Aros pi'ihan
Hani
A'rli
Bagawan
Spandaran Peroz
Ormizd-Peroz
Alewan

According to S. P'aytakaran was composed of twelve districts but the non-Armenian nature of their names early led to the corruption of their orthography in the various ms. of this recension (S). Relying on a comparison of the names to be found in these ms. Hiibschmann (151), Eremyan (117) and Harut'yunyan (HS) (12) read them as follows:

Hübschmann: 

- Ew't'n p'orakean Bagi'k
- Uni
- Roti ba'a
- Bahanrot
- Aros pi'ihan
- Hani
- A'rli
- Bagawan
- Spandaran Peroz
- Ormizd-Peroz
- Alewan

Eremyan: 

- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz (Rodestak)
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz
- Hr'ak'ot-Peroz

Harut'yunyan: 

- K'rakan
- Rotbalay
- K'alandon
- Xani t'ash
- Bagawan
- Spandaran
- Ormiztan
- Kazh'k

Hiibschmann, as can be seen, restores the list to twelve, whereas Eremyan reduces the number of districts to ten and Harut'yunyan raises them to thirteen. Bahanrot to Eremyan is obviously only a duplication of Rot-i-ba'a under a variant form of the name, while K'o'ekean, found only in two ms., appears to him to be an erroneous entry for he omits it entirely, although Harut'yunyan considers it valid.

The location of the various districts of P'aytakaran is not certain. Eremyan, however (117), and Harut'yunyan (HS) (12:302), relying on the limited information we possess and the natural geographic divisions of the region (not at all clear in a low-lying area such as this), have attempted, with the aid of a good deal of educated guesswork, to place them geographically and to estimate their extent (infra n. 151).

Eremyan places Hr'ak'ot-Peroz in the plain called Mill locating it north of the Arax between the juncture of that river with the Kur. He sees it as the municipal territory of the city of P'aytakaran which he identifies with the city called Baylaqan by the Arabs. Hence he considers Hr'ak'ot-Peroz to be another name for the district of Rodestak which the ASX makes a part of Albania. This identification of P'aytakaran with Baylaqan is not a new one but the idea that the city of P'aytakaran lay north of the Arax forces us to extend the land of Kaspiane-P'aytakaran to the same area in direct contradiction to classical authorities (e.g. P'iny, V.116:42) who assert that Oteni (Ulik') lay north of the Arax. Eremyan, as we have just seen, solves this problem by identifying the Otenian district of Rodestak with the Kaspian district of Hr'ak'ot-Peroz and so making Ulik' and P'aytakaran overlap. Apparently he sees Rodestak as having been at some time transferred to Kaspiane, together with the city of P'aytakaran, after which the land became known after its new capital. This notion, it must be admitted, is supported by EE who, in his History (18) describes an eighth century invasion of Khazar who "attacked the land of P'aytakaran, crossed the River Arax into Persia destroyed the city of Artawet (Ardabil) ... as well as the districts of Ut'sibagian, Spandaranperoz, and Ormietsperoz." The clear inference from this passage is that P'aytakaran — the country — lay north of the Arax which formed its border with persia. That this is not what it means, however, is proved by the citing of Ut'sibagian and the other two districts as having been destroyed after the river crossing for we know that all three also lay in P'aytakaran. Thus, this passage, while suggesting that at least part of Kaspiane lay north of the Arax (which Eremyan accepts), cannot be used to prove that P'aytakaran city did so as well. In my view the passage is subject to another reading: The Khazars attacked the land of P'aytakaran [having] crossed the Arax [to do so, and then passed] into Persia ... Compare the following passage which likewise be read to create an entirely false impression. "In 1914 the Germans attacked France, crossing the Rhine into Belgium, and marched on Paris." The statement is accurate geographically but to someone unfamiliar with the geography of Western Europe, it could be read to suggest that Paris lay in Belgium rather than in France.

Whether or not Kaspiane ever extended north of the Kur, there is ample evidence to support the opinion of Hakobyan (1970: map), Ulubayli (1981) and Harut'yunyan (HS) and his accompanying map that P'aytakaran city lay south of the river, and an Armenian itinerary of the Bagratid period (ninth-eleventh centuries) places it squarely between the city of Vardanakert (which we know lay on the south bank of the Arax, and which we are almost certain is to be identified with the ruined site called Atlan) and the Caspian Sea. According to this itinerary, (Mat. ms. n. 2559 for which see Manandyan 1965:169), P'aytakaran lay sixty miles (milo) from Vardanakert and fifty from the coast, while Arab itineraries (e.g., al-Istakhri, Coll. Mat. XXIX: 29-31 in Manandyan ibid.: 166; and ibn Hauqal Coll. Mat. XXXVIII: 101, ibid. 167) place Warthan (Vardanakert) twenty-six (or twenty-nine) forks south of Ardabil on the road to Bardha'a (Partaw) which lay north of the Arax. From these indications, Ulubayli places P'aytakaran to the east of Vardanakert except that, keeping in mind the distances involved, he does not place it far enough in that direction. In my view P'aytakaran, which in such an arid region must have lain on a river to support an urban population, probably lay on the small but perennial arm of the Arax, which, breaking off from the main course of the river before its juncture with the Kur, forces its own route to the Caspian Sea. This location is supported by the distances given especially if we consider the road to have reached the Caspian somewhere in the vicinity of the point where the Emperor Diocletian's army set up an inscription which has since been discovered on the coast. (As the present work nears its completion, I am pleased to note that on the map accompanying Harut'yunyan's article on P'aytakaran in the final volume (12) of the HSH, P'aytakaran city is placed at just about the point that I suggest.) It was probably here in the Mughan Plain along this arm of the Arax River and extending to the River Kur, that the district of Hr'ak'ot-peroz was to be found and this is precisely where Harut'yunyan (ibid.) places it. Such a location is perhaps supported by the text of the ASX, itself. If we indeed place Hr'ak'ot-Peroz in the Plain of Mughan, then the districts of P'aytakaran could possibly have been listed in two groups both running counterclockwise, the first in the north (Hr'ak'ot-Peroz, Ew't'n-p'orakean Bagi'k, Vardanakert, Rot-i-Ba'a and Bahanrot) and the second in the south (Aros-Pi'ican, Hani, Arsi-Bagawan, Spandaran-Peroz,
Ormizd-Peroz and Alevan). This, however, is not how either Eremyan or Harutyunyan arrange them, and, given the lack of any indications as to where most of these districts were located, the question of the significance of their arrangement in the text remains moot.

Vardansakert. The location of this district is clear from its name, taken from the town of Var-
dansakert (Arab.: Warthain), which, as we have seen, probably lay on the ruined site called Alan in the south bank of the Arax River shortly before its juncture with the Kur. Vardansakert district must have lain here in the plain along the river bank itself. It is possible that this district was the site of the Vardanean Plain where St. Grigorios, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, was slain by the king of the Masqurunc (BP III.6, MX III.1, MD I.14), although BP suggests that this plain lay along the Caspian coast in the vicinity of Darband. The city of Vardansakert lay on the route from Ardabil north to Baylakan, and i Haw. places it seven farans south of the latter and twenty-nine north of the former. He describes it as a larger city than Baylakan both in size and population, and states that it was surrounded by a wall and had a special quarter set aside for its markets (Man.:164). Eremyan (117) makes no attempt to estimate the size of this district, but counts it with Baharanot (Rot-i-Bafa) and Ewrip'orakean Bagin' for a total of c. 8,900 sq. km.

Ewt'np'orakean Bagin' 'the temple of the seven niches' (bagin = 'altar'; bagin' 'altars' with the sense of 'temple'). This district must have taken its name from the pagan shrine earlier called Gabara' Bagin' 'the temple of Gabar,' which appears as early as the second century in Ptol. (VI.2.1) as Sabaho bomo, read *Gabarao bomo, a direct translation (or rather mistranslation) from the Armenian, where *bagin' has been taken as the plural of "altars" (Gk: bomo) rather than in its literal meaning of 'temple.' This would be the et'np'orakean meaning 'the temple of the seven altars" of As (22), where, again, an error has been made in the interpretation of the name, also supported by the fact which is undoubtedly preserved in the name of the district (Ag II: toi hepta bireo'is "to the seven temples"). In northern Iran near the Soviet-Iranian frontier lies Kabirry Kurgan (Khibirly), a site where Eremyan (46) identifies with this shrine. The district of Ewrip'orakean Bagin' extended into the later Plain of Mughan, a site connected with the town of Barzand (Arm.: Movakan darit, perhaps connected with the toponym Movakan of old Georgian sources where it is always coupled with Albania as Rani-Movakan (Erem.:318, n. 164, 470, n. 168). Apparently, this plain was also known as the Movakan dast, another designation for the shrine. As late as the thirteenth century, Qazvini refers to the Gargaryan Plain (Erem.:46).

Ko'okean. This district is cited in only two mss. of the ASX and Eremyan (117) omits it as an error. Harutyunyan, (HSH 12:302) accepts it as valid, however, and places this district (albeit with a question mark) on the middle course of the Qareh-su River (which he calls the Baharanot, which he calls the Mel, again with a question mark. B Uni C Tumi De Ko'okean E Ekeun G Uni J unclear.

Infra n. 156 A.

Baharanot or Rot-i-bafa which Eremyan (43-44) regards as alternate names for the same district. This seems likely since rot is the OP word for river (Prl.: rud) and both names mean 'Bala River.' The location of this district is clarified by the existence of the Bolgar-chai in the Plain of Mughan, a river whose Persian name was Bab-i-ah giving Bohl-i*r» whence Bolgar. The chief town of this district must have been Baharanot, Per.: Bahalab, now the village of Bolgar-kend, but in the immediate pre-Mongol period (twelfth century) Pilsuvan on the Baharanot was an important center (Le Strange:176).

Arto-Pican. So far we have been progressing district by district from northwest to southeast but at this point the enumeration of districts jumps to the south, passing for the noontun the two districts geographically located immediately after Baharanot, and bringing us to Afos-Pican (Erem.:117). Despite the wholesale changes in the toponomy of this region, once Iranian and now Soviet, there is still a village called Arus along the left bank of the Vilyash-chay and, located as it is within the natural geographic boundaries of Kaspiane, we can identify the valley of this river as the district of Artos-Pican. Area c. 675 sq. kms. Contrary to Hüschesbach and Eremyan, Harutyunyan (ibid.) considers Pikan to be a distinct district placing it on the upper course of the Gar-räh (Qar-räh-su) River. B Arto-Pikan, Hani C Ato, Bilmahbani De Bito, Pikan, Hani E Bito Picanhani G unclear.

The location of Hani is a matter of logical guesswork. Neither in name nor its place in the list in the ASX gives us any special reason to place it in the southeast corner of Kaspiane in the vicinity of the port of Akstafa as Eremyan does (62), and Harutyunyan (ibid.) locates it considerably to the north, indicating Ormizd-Peroz in the place where Eremyan put Hani. Since the coastal region is somewhat detached from the valley of the Vilyash-chay, where as we have seen, Artos-Pican was located, it appears safe to accept Eremyan's location of Hani in this area. Adontz (Ad-Gaz:324) connects this name with that of the Ainami, whose presence in nearby Utk' is attested by Strabo (XL:7.1). Later, this area was called Zand-Aalan. Area: c. 1,620 sq. km. C Bizanbhanani.

A'ti'i-Baganwan (also Bagawan and Bagawan) 'site of the fire-god,' which can be identified with the region around the modern town of Prishib, where, somewhat to the south, may be found the village of Badzharvan, the Bajjarvan or Badjarvan of Arabic and Persian sources. Eremyan (42) traces the name back to an original Babganwvan, whence the A'ti'i-Baganwan which gave its name to the district. Obviously, a shrine connected with the Zoroastrian religion, this site was located near the town of Aparahís right at the Caspian coast, located perhaps on the site of the later Mumukhkhād and Gēkhôrfi located in the ilKhânid period (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), also appears to have lain in this district, and the area appears to have been the homeland of the ancient tribe called Aparahí. Area: c. 2,480 sq. km. C A'ti'i, Baganwan.

Spandaran-Peroz, EE (18): Spero-Peroz, (or Spandanaran-Peroz); the Arab.: Saderasp or Satru-
dan, which came to be known as Barzand in the middle Middle Ages after the town of the same name. The name is obviously connected with the Armenian word spandaran 'place of sacrifices' and suggests the location of yet another shrine. Peroz or Përol' is a Persian name, from Avestan pāzāri-pōlti (Justi:249-50), the exact meaning of which is uncertain but which was borne by numerous individuals in Middle Eastern history and in particular by the Great King Peroz of Iran (459-484), who, as a fanatical zoroastrian, may be supposed to have founded, or at least embellished, earlier Zoroastrian shrines. Eremyan clearly connects the name of the princely house of Spandani, as well as its purported role as masters of the sacrificial animals for the pagan cults of Armenia, with the name of this district (Erem.:1979, map, where he places the family in Spandanaran-Peroz). In the Arab period (seventh-ninth centuries) the town of Barzand lay here on the road from Ardabil running north through the pass called 'the Caspian Gates' to Vardansakert, Baylakan and Partaw.

Ormizd-Peroz; Arab.: Uram, corresponds perhaps to the present district of Yafî in northern Iran on the right bank of the middle course of the modern Qârâch-su (Arm.: Gar-räh; Per.: ab e Andarabah), which flows northwards to the Arax from Mt. Sabalan (Arm.: Saburvan, Erem.:1979 map) near Ardabil (Erem.:75), the highest peak (4821 m.) in Atropatène. This location cannot be taken as certain, however, for, as we shall see, the town of Aparahís, which gave its name to the last district cited in Pâytkaran, appears to have been located in a part of the district where Eremyan places Ormizd-Peroz. The name Ormizd is derived from that of Ahura-Mazdâ, the Zoroastrian god of light (Pahl.: Ohrmzd, written Ahurâma, whence Arm.: Ormizd and Greco-Latin Hormizdus), a name born by no less than five Sassanid kings (Justi:7; Fyss:320). The name would seem to mean 'Ormizd's victory' but this is not certain. Area: c. 1,100 sq. km.

Alevan. Eremyan (32) locates this district along the left bank of the middle and lower course of
the Gai-řah River (Qareh-su) extending from the Arax on the north to Mt. Yaftasar (now the Kub-e Geynatar, probably the Mt. Iasonion of Strabo, XI.13.10) on the south. The exact line of the western boundary of Alewan from the summit of the mountain to the river is not known for certain but it also served as the boundary between P'aytakaran/Kaspian on the east and the district of Vas-purakan called Parapartun'ik on the west (supra VII n. 180). Eremyan (1963: map) places a town called Alewan on the Gai-řah (Qara-chuy) but Krawalsky (1978: map 3) locates it under its Persian name, Rebāt-e Moav, to the southeast of Eremyan's site, where she, on the other hand, places Kalaibar. Area: c. 1,300 sq. km.

Utik', Pol. (VI.2.6): Osisi; RA (II.12): Ot; Abk.: 'Ωδ. (Βαδ. apud Hüb. 270. n. 3) from MP "πρὶς or earlier "πρὸς (Hüb., ibid.), a name probably connected with that of the people called Ositoi by Strabo (XI.7.1) and Udini by Pliny (VI.xv.39), although the latter appears to place his Udini further east. The territory of Utik' was a part of the Achaemenid Empire of Iran; Herodotus (III.93) knows the Ositoi and places them, together with the Mykoi, in the fourteenth satrapy of the Empire. Elsewhere (VI.6.7) he links the two peoples again as a joint contingent under a common commander in the Persian army at Dorisikos. These linkings of the Utians and the Mykians are interesting when we consider that the district of Masa' in Arc'ax (supra VI C, n. 216) and the Muhan (Mughan) Plain in northern Iran both adjoined the land of Utik' in later times. In any case, Utik' appears to have lain within the satrapy of Mada (Media), and, after the fall of the Persian Empire to Alexander (330 B.C.) and its subsequent break-up under his successors, it appears to have remained in the new kingdom of Media, from which Strabo (XI.14.5) tells us it was taken by the Armenians under Artashat (Artaxias) I (189-c. 161 B.C.). Utik' remained Armenian for over 500 years until the period of the disintegration of the Armenian kingdom (c. 363-c. 387) after which it passed to Caucasian Albania, not coming under Armenian rule again until 922, and then only in part (Toum.:1963:219).

Although the ASX, as is its wont, mentions only the eight districts of Utik', these were actually gathered together into three separate principalities: Gardman, Sakašen (with the districts of Šakašen and Tus-k'ustak) and Utik' (with the districts of Utı anariš, i.e., Utı proper', Abhe, Thi, Aran-rot and Rotparsan). Although it would appear likely that the Prince of Utik' was suzerain over those of Gardman and Šakašen (which would alone explain the greater Utik' of the ASX embracing all three principalities), the fact is that, after the fall of the Albanian monarchy early in the sixth century, it was the House of Gardman which came to dominate the oligarchy of princes that ruled Albania, and in 628, the Emperor Heraclius designated them hereditary Presiding Princes of Albania, a position they held until 922.

The Princes of Utik' were a part of the Armenian nobility and continued to rule under Albanian and Arab suzerainty until 922, when their principality was annexed by the Bagratid kings of Greater Armenia. The line continued to exist, however, and Toumanoff (1963:219) has traced them in southern Arc'ax as late as the eleventh century. The Princes of Šakašen, bearing the surname Dastakaran, are last heard of in the seventh century; those of Gardman, as just noted, survived until 922, when, with the murder of Varaz-tdrat II, the house became extinct in the male line. The chief city of Utik' was Partaw (infra n. 174) which in the fifth century became the capital of Albania. The name Utik' survives in that of the modern Udins, a people numbering some 4,000 (Melikset-Bek 1942; Geig.: 44; Parachvitsdz 1974); Cox 1977:285; Hewsen, MERSHI Schulze 1982; Greppin 1982), who inhabit the villages of Varataşen (Vartasen) and Nidžz (Nijz) near Nukhi, north of the Kur, and that of Oktemberi in Soviet Georgia (Geig.: 44).

The depiction of Utik' found in Eremyan's maps as well as the description of it in his text (1963:75-76) have been severely distorted because, unaware of Toumanoff's analysis and warning in this regard (1963:216-217), he has confused the Iberian duchy of Gardabani, which lay in the valley of the Algeti River, with the Armenian principality of Gardman (also called Gardabani in Georgian) and so moves the latter from its true position in the mountains to the east of Lake Sevan and, knowing that the Iberian Gardabani included the fortress of Xunari or Hunakart, he places Gardman the plain along the right bank of the River Kur extending southwards from the fortress to include the lower valleys of the modern river Debeda and Indzha (Inja), the ancient Joraget and Kolba. The real duchy of Gardabani, of course, certainly included the fortress of Hunakart but, as indicated above, extended northwestwards from it to include the Algeti valley.

Yet another error that Eremyan makes in connection with Utik' is that by wrongly identifying the city of P'aytakaran on the map of that name with the city of Baylakan of later authors, he is forced to carry the frontier of P'aytakaran north of the Arax instead of leaving the entire land to the south of it. To do this, he takes the district of Roshtak in Albania, whose location is not known, and, with no evidence to support him, identifies it with the district of HraššOT-Perdš in the land of P'aytakaran. With Gardman and Mec Kuekn' (supra VII n. 209) restored to their proper locations (alas, we can only guess as to their exact frontiers), we are in a better position to determine the true boundaries of Utik'. Pliny (VI.16.42) makes it clear that his Oretus extends to the Araxes (Arcax); this river bounding it on the south. Since the principality of Jorap'or occupied the Atshew valley (supra VI B n. 53), the ridge along the south side of the latter would have bounded Utik' on the north. The only question remaining therefore is where lay the boundary separating Utik' from Arcax, its neighbour to the north. Here the work of Ulubaboyan (1981:34) brings us as close to an answer as we can hope to get: Noting that the cities of Baylakan, Partaw and Samk'ar all lay in Utik', whereas the known locations of Amara, Tigranakert and Ps'tios all lay in Arcax, it is clear that the boundary between the two lands ran across the foothills of the Karabagh Mountains between the two groups of sites.

The ASX lists the districts of Utik' in the following order: Aran-rot, Rot Parsean, Abhe, Tus K'ustak, Gardman, Sakašen and Uri Proper "where the city of Partaw is located". Eremyan ignored this order identifying Gardman (called Gardabani in Georgian) with the Georgian duchy of Gard­bani (another territory altogether, Toum.:440, 481-84), thus placing it in the far north and following it from north to south with Tus-K'ustak, Sakašen, Aran-rot and Uri Proper, and placing the three remaining districts of Thi, Abhe and Rot Parsean in the mountains to the west of Partaw.

Harut'yunyan, (HSH 12:268), obviously assuming that the order in the text reflects some kind of geographical ordering, and knowing the locations of Tus K'ustak (around the castle of Twaiwa, modern Tau), Sakašen (around modern Shamkhord), and Uri Proper (around Partaw), places Abhe, Thi, Gardman and Sakašen to the north of Partaw; Uri Proper around Partaw; and Aran-rot, Thi and Rot Parsean (in that order) to the south of Partaw. This arrangement, while not totally inaccurate, fails because, not realizing that Jorap'or lay in the Atkafa (Atshew) valley (supra VI n. 53), this is where Harut'yunyan places Abhe. In my opinion, Harut'yunyan is correct in his placement of Tus K'ustak, Gardman, Sakašen, and Uri Proper (in that order) to the north of Uri Proper; and Aran­rot, Thi and Rot Parsean (in that order) to the south of them, but wrong in breaking the list between Rot Parsean and Abhe. In my view, the author of the list in the ASX must have begun, as per Harut'yunyan, with the three districts lying to the south of Partaw (Aran-rot, Thi and Rot Parsean), following these with Abhe, which I place in the mountains to the west of Partaw, and must have concluded (again, as per Harut'yunyan) with the four in the north of Utik' (Tus K'ustak, Gardman, Šakašen, and Uri Proper). A glance at the accompanying map (XX) will show that, except for Abhe, all of these districts of Utik' lie in a row; Abhe alone lies outside of the row to its west. In placing Abhe in this location, I do so because first, the castle of that name certainly did not lie in the Atkafa valley (as it would have to have been done if we were to accept Harut'yunyan's location of its district), and second, because I accept Eremyan's identification of the castle (1963:34) with the later Giwlistan in the Inja valley. We cannot at present be more precise. Yovhannesean (1970) gives the
number of fortresses in Utik' as twenty-nine. Area: c. 11,315 sq. km. according to Eremyan (but adjusted for the corrections to his erroneous frontiers): c. 10,500 sq. km. (Inc.: 134-52; Hüb.: 270-275; Herz.: 84-5, 731). Tourn.: passim; Erem.: 175-76, 118; Hak.: 253; Ulub. 1975, 1981: passim; HSH 10).

The text has here 'seven' but obviously seven, eight' is intended.

B

Ararat

Aridot

Payak

Gardmank

SGusen

Gardman

Uti aranjak

263

Armenia, but see Ad-Gar.: 324. Area: c. 2,900 sq. km. Uti aranjak

Urartu in the seventh century B.C. and are believed to have left certain enclaves within the future principality within Armenia (and after c. 387 in Albania) ruled by the Princes Dastakaran located on the right bank of the Kur, i.e. the region of Ganja (Elizavetpol'/Kirovabad). Sakasen formed a separate principality within Armenia (and after c. 387 in Albania) ruled by the Princes Dastakaran (Tourn.: 220). Its name is supposed connected with that of the Saka or Scythians who invaded Urartu in the seventh century B.C. and are believed to have left certain enclaves within the future Armenia, but see Ad-Gar.:324. Area: c. 2,900 sq. km.
265

Almalan

of the Armenian kings. Area: c. 680 sq. km.

regions of Hrazdan and Sevan drained by the Hrazdan River and located in the Gefmalen (now the region of Erevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. Area: c. 860 sq. km.

of the few districts of old Armenia to have preserved its name and area down to the present day. This is Gar.

Gar.

238). Area: c. 900 sq. km.

Urartians. Area: c. 2,800 sq. km.

Qayquh

center was the town of Kolb. Area: c. 825 sq. km.

Dastn Sarur

Maseac'otn

Varaznunik' Asotk'

Mazaz Varazunik'

Nig Kotayk'

Aragacotn Ccumb

Vanand
c. 1450 sq km

Cakatk' Sirak

Sirak

Varaznunik'

Asarunik Asarunik'

Vahawunik' Apahunik'

Basean

Tortum River flowing down from the Dumlu

Tortum River, opposite the village of the same name, stood the castle of Ok'afe located by the sources of a stream called Kasarens, a right-hand tributary of the Tortum, where the castle ruins can be seen by the modern village of Nihan (Erem.:76). Later, in the same general location, lay the famous fortress of Tortum (Geo.: Tortumlic'os), now Tortumkale on another right-hand tributary of the Tortum River flowing down from the Dumlta Daği. Area: c. 1450 sq km.

B

Basean

Gaboelank'

Abelank'

Vahawunik'

Asarunik

Bagrêwand

Calkotn

Sirak

Vanand

Aragacotn

Çakak' Çakatk'

Maseac'otn

Kogovit

Nig

Kotayk'

Mazaz

Varaznunik'

Ostann D'wna

Daih Sarur

264

17RA Ok'ale, also known as Ok'ale (Lcp: LXVIII), and the largest district of Tayk', was located along the middle course of the Aзорд River (Tortum Dereis), and in the eighteenth century both this district and Azordac'or were known collectively as Tortum (Geo.: Tortum). The name Ok'ale perhaps goes back to the Urartian period when Vanic inscriptions speak of the land of Kali. Here, near the Tortum River, opposite the village of the same name, stood the castle of Ok'ale located by the sources of a stream called Kasarens, a right-hand tributary of the Tortum, where the castle ruins can be seen by the modern village of Nihan (Erem.:76). Later, in the same general location, lay the famous fortress of Tortum (Geo.: Tortumlic'os), now Tortumkale on another right-hand tributary of the Tortum River flowing down from the Dumlta Daği. Area: c. 1450 sq km.

265

17A Erem. (82): Varaznunik', not to be confused with the districts of Varaznunik' in both Tawrube-

ran and Vaspurakan (supra VII D, n. 79; VII H,187), comprised the greater part of the modern raioni of Hrazdan, Sevan, Dilijan and Garnir in Soviet Armenia. Located on the upper course of the Hrazdan (Zanga) River, this district was known in the middle ages as Calükün whence its Turkish name Darachchek, both of which signify 'flowering plain' (Ad.-Gaz.:239). Area: c. 1,900 sq km.


17A ...and north of Judea" is omitted in B.

17A The Whiston Brothers thought Kersim to be a corruption of Casarea but Saint-Martin (II:390) suggested that it was the Arab.: Kinersin, i.e., Kinnasrin (supra VIII, n. 16). E identifies Kinnasrin with the ancient Chalceis ad Belum; C K'rasm.

17A Urfa is the Armenian name for Syr.: Orhas, Gk.: Edesa; Lat.: Edesia or Antiochia ad Callirhoea; Arab.: al-Râbah, once capital of an Arab people called Osrhobai and of their kingdom of Osrhoéni, now the city of Urfa in Turkey (Jones 1037: Siegal 14; Garsoian 1989:497-98). The history of the 'Holy Face of Edesa' or Mandylion, as it is sometimes called, can be traced back to at least the fifth century. It was supposed to have been a portrait of Christ impressed by Himself upon a cloth and sent to King Abgar of Edessa to cure him of an illness. This was one of the first portraits of Christ supposedly created by miraculous means, and so known as abheiropoiosetois 'not made by hands', and was the prototype of the 'Veronica's veil' kept in the Vatican. The particular portrait referred to here was said to have been brought to Constantinople in 944 and thence to Genoa in 1362, where an image is still shown in the church of St. Bartholemew of the Armenians that is supposed to be the original image from Edessa. (von Dobschniitz 1899: chaps. V and VI).

17A Akola (51683: Akkolah) would be Kafa, site of the first Arab encampment in Iraq not founded until A.D. 638. The form Akhalah is through Syriac Akhaba. C Akokes'.

17A Bara (Arab.: al-Batra) lies in what was probably the site of ancient Diriditis or Teredon, and certainly on the site of the Persian Vahishtabad Andashh on the Shatt al-'Arab, but the present town was founded only in 638. (New EI:1085). C Pasa.

17A Babylon, located on the Euphrates, began to decline as a consequence of its capture by Gobryas and the troops of Cyrus (539 B.C.) and of the river having altered its course. It was only a small village by the fifth century A.D. (PW, II).

17A Kesiphon (Arm.: Tispoon; Phil.: Tespi on), the winter residence of the Parthian Kings, was later the capital of Sassanian Iran. It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris River. Kesiphon is omitted in BG and G. E Tispoon J Tisphon.

17A Anapatia Arabica; 'Desert Arabia' (Gk: Ερήμωι Αραβια; Lat.: Arabia Deserta) was the northern triangle of the Syrian Desert between Transjordan and the Euphrates River.

17A Kaddaxaluma is more accurately rendered in S1819 as two separate flowers k'edi, axuna, while S1877 has raioni that is, the chamomile (Ad.-Gar.:238). Area: c. 900 sq km.

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17A The districts of Media according to B are

Artrpatakan

Ahmadan

Rê

Damb var

Gelan

Taparastan

Molan

Amet

Diliunm

Rušt
notes to Gibbon 1858-54, vol. IV:93); Ptol. (VI.2.2): Maristan: Strabo (XI.15.8): Tastand; idem. Ptol. (XI.13.2): Supputa: *Kappa, the name of Mantiand being related to that of the Manneans, biblical Mimi (Jer.51:27) who once dwelled south to the lake, whereas Kappa is a Greek rendering of the Armenian name. Strabo (op cit.) obviously has heard of the lake under two names and has taken them to represent two different bodies of water. Curiously, he translates Mantiand rather than *Kappa as meaning 'blue'; Arab.: Khabudan, later Pers.: Urmia after the town of that name in the plain to the west of the lake; Lake Reza'eyeh after 1935 but Lake Urmia again in 1979. The largest lake in the Middle East, Lake Urmia lies in northwestern Iran at an altitude of 1280 m. It is 129-142 km long and 37 to 58 km broad depending on the season, and covers an area of some 4-6,000 sq. km., with an average depth of five m. A saline body, Lake Urmia is approximately three-fifths as salty as the Dead Sea and nothing lives in its waters. Originally much larger, there is geological evidence that the towns of Urmia, Maragha and even Tabriz once lay on its shores. The lake contains many barren, rocky islands, the largest of which Shahi, was the site of a castle where Hulagu Khan (d. 1265) and other Mongol rulers were buried. (Abich 1856; Khanyakov, 1858; Gunther 1899; idem. 1900; Lynch 1901 II 43, 469-70; Lehmann-Haupt I 1910: ch. VI; Minorsky 'Urmia' EI; Eremyan 1963/78 'Kaputans Cov'; Nagel 1978:134-5).

1961 Gansak Sahastan 'royal treasure house' Strabo (XI.13.3): Gansakha; Pliny (VI.42): Gaza; Arab.: Al-Shez; was the summer capital of Media and the winter capital of the Kings of Atropatene. It was named Sabaustan by the Armenians to distinguish it from Gandsak/Ganja in eastern Armenia. An important Zoroastrian shrine in the Sasanian period (226-636), Gandsak 'treasure house', most probably lay on the site of modern Laylan south of Lake Urmia and Maragha in northwestern Iran, or alternatively at the ruins of Takht-i Sulaiman farther south. The municipal territory of the city was apparently bounded on the northwest by the River Gadar-chay (from Arm. get 'river' Araz), which in the Roman period separated Atropatene and (hence the later Parthian and Sasanian Empires) from Arsacid Armenia. Gansak is possibly to be identified with the otherwise unknown fortress of Zintha ('Ganzaka') which marked the southeastern frontier of Armenia according to the Peace of Nisibis (298 A.D.). A Christian bishopric as early as 356, Gansak was sacked by the Emperor Heraclius in c. 624 and its fire temple of Adhur-Gushnasp destroyed. (Marq:108-114; Minorsky 1944: 1953; Halk: passim; Ad-Gar: passim; Feyi 1973), Garsoin 1989:463; C ominksy.

1962 Muel is modern Mosul (Al-Marsiyil) in Iraq, located on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the ruins of Nineveh (El). Arwastan is a corruption of Arwastan referring to the Arab population of northern Mesopotamia (Ad-Gar:25).

2007 The districts of Eilmaes in B are

Xuastan: Darmakan
May: Eranastan
Maysan: Karkawat
Mihran: Notarirakan
Kotak: Marjin
Kalkar: Arzen

2012 This Kastar and the Karkawat which follows it after two other names, must be the 'new' provinces of Kasar and Kewart mentioned by L under Mesopotamia (supra VIII, n. 96).

2026 The pygmy names are mentioned by Homer (II., III.1.3-6) and other authors either hunting their
birds (Strabo XV.157) or fighting them off (Pliny VII.2). In no case, however, is there any mention of an island.

The Hephthalites or 'White Hunt' inhabited the steppes of Central Asia between the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral in early Byzantine times (Moravcsik ibid.69).

From here to the end of the ASX a great deal of work has been done by Cardona in his edition and Italian translation of this portion of the text (1969:83-97). The text used by Cardona was Codex 204 of the monastery of Bzommar in Lebanon dated 1178 (hereinafter 'H'), which has been published (in part) by the Bzommar catalog and which, though not a good ms., would appear to be the oldest extant copy of the ASX known at the present time. Cardona's work has been of the greatest value in the elucidation of many of the remaining passages of the text of S.

209a H by the Gehon' instead of 'by the Ganges', and no mention is made of the Phison. The identification of the name of the Ganges with the Phison is found in Kosmas Indikopleustes as well as in Jos. (Ant. 1.38). C Gangis qel Sehon.

210a Fifty-eight peoples.

211a Pto. (VII.2).

212a 'The large ants of India are mentioned by Pomponius Mela (III.62).

213a The ant-lions (myrmorinenc) are not found in C and this rather unlikely term may well be an error for something else.

214a Cardona (94, n. 16) reads 'half animal, half man'.

215a Cardona (93, n. 16) considers nayiboyske to be the most exact form of this name from an etymological point of view, and this is the form found in L. The root would appear to be the Middle Persian nay 'cane' and the suffix from the Pahlavi boyek 'odorous'.

216a H has xuriboyske from Per.: xzri, a kind of violet.

217a H has gozboyske which Cardona (94, n. 16) derives either from Phl. ga(i)k; Per. goz 'walnut' or Arab.: dar sini.'

218a Cardona (94, n. 17) reads dudalek on the basis of a consensus of the texts but the meaning of the term remains obscure.

219a Cardona (ibid.) reads sawsar, in the first syllable of which he sees the Iranian saw 'black'. The word itself remains obscure although in probably refers to another plant. C Sahnov.

220a Cardona (ibid.) reads sardarsi, is missing in H which has daribeak 'teakwood' in its place.

221a The text has ye/ic kalov, which Saint-Martin corrected to ye/ic kalov. Cardona (1977:483) who thought that the fall of Satan was connected with the sacred footprint on Adam's peak in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), but he gives no source for this notion. It is not found in Kosmas Indikopleustes' Christian Topography, although the latter contains much on Ceylon and we known that it was used as a source by the author of the ASX. (I am indebted to my colleague Prof. D. P. M. Weerakkody of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, for answering my query regarding this passage with the information from Tenen cited above.)

222a Dardelenik. Saint-Martin (II, 394) believed that this word signified a kind of Chinese wood relating it to the Persian dar 'wood' and Armenian Çenêk 'China'. Ptolemy (VII.16) cites cinnabari as a product of Serika, however, the Armenian for which is darsni (Sokoury. 61, n. 5). Cardona (95, n. 31) accepts this translation citing the Aramaic dryn; Arab.: dar sini.

223a H holsboyske eu boyisfenik. The first of these terms remains obscure but Saint-Martin (ibid.) believed that this latter was a Chinese perfume, from Persian basi 'odor'.

224a 'Srikon, which does not mean 'silk' as Saint-Martin translated it, but 'minium'; a vivid, opaque, red lead oxide used chiefly as a pigment. The term, however, is sometimes used as another name for cinnabar. Minium is mentioned by both Pliny (XXXV:2:45) and Isidor of Seville (Etymol. XIX.17.6).

225a Saffron is a species of crocus (Crocus sativus), the dried orange-colored stems of which are used as a coloring in cookery. Text: k'ri 'skm. Skt: kurkuma (Cardona,96, 32).

226a Aprirum, from Phl. aprirum, from Skt: 'aparaksma; Arab.: ibarsin; Syr.: 'brj'jsamum.

227a 'Kisandank', which Cardona (88) translates 'half animal, half man'.

228a This final sentence does not appear in S1819 but is found at the end of S1944. Since the latter is based on older ms.s it seems probable to suppose that the sentence was an integral part of the short redaction introducing another section of the ASX but which was omitted when this particular section was lost. The description of the messing section would seem to fit the anonymous Itinerary published in Abestakir' (Marseille, sic, read: Constantinople, 1683); Fr. trans in Saint-Martin, II:395-7; Russ. trans. in Manandyan (1945) and in Engl. in idem. (1965). Saint-Martin's version of this text was based on the edition of 1683 which he was able to collate with the tenth century ms. 2679 of Hermitage in Leningrad (my TKJ). Manandyan has demonstrated beyond question, however, that this curious little work is of Arab period for the Arab mile of 1.917.6 meters lies at the basis of its measurements. For this reason, it cannot be part of the original ASX, although it may have been added to the text by a later copyist. For this Itinerary, see Appendix V, Where I have taken Manandyan's version and collated it with ms. 1138 in the library of the Armenian Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem (my TKJ). The Itinerary is found at the end of the ASX in ms. BCE and G but not in A J or K (D and F are incomplete).
APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE Aškarhac‘oyc’

I. Those in the Matenadaran (by ms. number).

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II. Those located Elsewhere:

38. Jerusalem, Armenian Monastery of St. James 743
39. Jerusalem, Armenian Monastery of St. James 1016
40. Jerusalem, Armenian Monastery of St. James 1137
41. Jerusalem, Armenian Monastery of St. James 1211
42. Jerusalem, Armenian Monastery of St. James 1288
43. Bzommar, Lebanon 204
44. Bzommar, Lebanon 136
45. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 202
46. British Library 118 (Or. 5459), (incomplete).
47. Tübingen University Library Ms XIII 70
48. Tübingen University Library Ms XIII 98
49. Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery 115
50. Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery 368
51. Vienna, Mekhitarist Monastery 731

* There are at least six mss. in the library of the Mekhitarist Monastery on the Island of San Lazzaro, Venice in addition to 1245, the ms. containing L, but the library did not respond to my request for their numbers, nor was their catalogue of any use in this regard.
APPENDIX II

LIFE AND WORKS OF ANANIAS OF SIRAK

Nowhere in Sarton's Introduction to the History of Science do we find the name of Ananias of Sirak, 1 Armenian mathematician and astronomer of the seventh century and contemporary of Isidor of Seville. Several other Armenian scholars are cited by Sarton, but it is Ananias who is regarded by the Armenians themselves as their greatest medieval scientist. Indeed, he has been called the "father of the exact sciences in Armenia." 2 The general neglect of Ananias is not surprising. Until recently only his geography was available in a Western language, and, as we have seen, for three hundred years this work was mistakenly attributed to another Armenian writer, Moses of Xoren. 3 None of Ananias' other major writings was published until 1939, and even now he is almost totally unknown in the West.

The aims of the present appendix are to summarize Ananias' life, introduce some of his scientific ideas, and indicate his works and the available literature concerning them. Certainly he justifies further study: his works need further evaluation and authentication, while the claims made for his contributions in Soviet Armenia invite closer scrutiny. Very few of Ananias' works have been published in the West, and those which have appeared in Russia and Armenia were issued in limited editions and only scantily circulated. Most of these are unobtainable in this country, and I have been able to examine personally only his Geography, Itinerary, Autobiography, Discourses on Christmas and Easter, and Tables of the Motion of the Moon. Fortunately, however, I did have access to valuable secondary sources in both Russian and Armenian which have made this study possible.

Ananias of Sirak was first cited in nineteenth century studies on Armenian literature, and a few of his known works were published in the original classical Armenian by K. Patkanean (Patkanov) of the University of St. Petersburg in 1877. 4 In 1896 some of his other works were published in Ararat, the official bulletin of the Armenian Church. Three of his lesser pieces were then translated into English and published by the British armenologist F.C. Conybeare: first the treatise On Christmas 5 and his Autobiography and then the treatise On Easter. 6 A Russian translation of another work, Problems and Solutions, was published in 1918 by H.A. Orbeli, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 7

None of these publications was widely circulated, however, and it was not until recent years that Ananias of Sirak became well known even in the Soviet Union.

A. Life

Ananias of Sirak is the only classical Armenian author to have left us an autobiography. He neglects to mention the year of his birth, but from internal evidence, and from indications in later authors, it is now generally thought to have been between 595 and 600. 8 He was born in the village of Ani in the district of Shirak, the son of one John of Sirak (Yovhannes Sirakac'i). 9 In some of the manuscripts of his works he is styled 'Sirakuni,' a form which may suggest that he belonged to the house of Kamsarakan or Arsarunik, hereditary princes of Sirak and Arsarunik. 10 Apparently he was possessed of some wealth, for, as we shall see, he was able to finance an extensive education. It is generally assumed that, like most classical Armenian authors, he was a monk in the Armenian Church, 11 but if so this was apparently not until later in life, after he had concluded his years of study.

1 The name is variously spelled. It is Anania Sirakac'i in Armenian, using the Hübschmann-Mellot system for the transcription of the Armenian alphabet which I am utilizing throughout this study, but would be Anania Shirakatsi in conventional English orthography. Ananian being the Armenian form of the biblical name Ananias and Shirakatsi meaning "of Shirak," I propose Ananias of Sirak as the preferred form.
3 Moses of Xoren (Arm.: Movsé Movnaci) was an author of uncertain date to whom is also attributed a History of Armenia. Internal evidence reveals both the Geography and the History to have been written much later; the Geography in the seventh century and the History in, probably, the late eighth. For the dating of the History see Toumanoff (1963) and especially Thomson (1978).
4 K. Patkanean (1877).
5 Conybeare (1896, 4:121-137).
6 Conybeare (1897, 11:572-584).
7 Orbeli (1918).
8 8 Anania Sirakac'i, T'ashken'at'um [Arithmetic] (Erevan, 1939), 75 pp. (In Armenian).
9 Anania Sirakac'i, Tiwrgan'at'um en T'omar [Cosmography and Chronology] (Erevan, 1940).
10 A. Abrahamyan, Anania Sirakac'i, Matenadrut'um [The Works of Ananias of Sirak] (Erevan, 1944).
11 Anania Sirakac'i, Tabiat'lu Lomon'ko Kraga [Tables of the Motion of the Moon], ed. and Russ. trans. by A. Abrahamyan (1962).
15 "Autobiographic."
16 Xelipyan (1964:180).
17 The name of his father (Arm.: Yovhanen) is found not in the autobiography, but at the end of the treatise "On Easter."
18 Armenia was a highly feudalized state made up of 15 provinces and about 190 districts, most of which were ruled by hereditary princes (Appendix III). (See Appendix X).
19 Of the classical Armenian authors, only Gregory Magistros is known to have been a layman. Until the early nineteenth century the Armenian Church had as an almost complete monopoly on Armenian educational and cultural activities.
Ananias was educated in the local schools of his province, which must have been quite modest at the time. There he studied the Scriptures as well as the various Armenian authors, but he wished to become a true scholar. To accomplish this he felt the need of a thorough grounding in mathematics, which he tells us he considered to be the "mother of all knowledge." According to his autobiography, there was no one in Armenia capable of teaching mathematics in his time, and there were not even any books on the subject available to him. He therefore determined to study in the "land of the Greeks" – the Byzantine Empire. Crossing the frontier, he went first to Thedosiospolis (now Erzerum, in eastern Anatolia), where a learned man named Eliazar told him of the mathematician Xristosatur, who taught in the Byzantine province of Fourth Armenia. Ananias went to Xristosatur, studied under him for six months, but soon discovered that his teacher was of insufficient knowledge to meet his needs.

Preparing to move on to Constantinople, Ananias met some friends who had just returned from the imperial capital. After hearing the reason for his proposed journey, they told him that while on the ship to Sinope they had met Philagritos, deacon of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and that the was leading a group of select students to Trapezous (Trebizond) to study under a famous teacher named Tykhikos (Arm.: Tazikos). Tykhikos was described to Ananias as a man not only renowned among kings but possessed of a knowledge of both the Armenia language and its literature. Ananias hastened to Trapezous where he found Tykhikos teaching at the monastery of St. Eugenios. The learned doctor accepted Ananias as his pupil, and for eight years the Armenian youth studied under his tutelage. During this time he acquired a thorough knowledge of mathematics as well as a foundation in the other sciences. At the school of Tykhikos, Ananias found a rich library where he read the sacred and profane authors of Greek literature, scientific and historical works, books on medicine, and especially on chronology. Ananias tells us that he found great favor with his teacher, who treated him as a son, so much so that he incurred the jealousy of his fellow students from the imperial court.

At least a third of the autobiography is devoted to a biography of Tykhikos. He was a Greek of Trebizond, where he was born about 560. He served in the Byzantine army under the Emperors Tiberius II (579-582) and Maurice (582-602) during which time he was stationed in Byzantine Armenia, where he studied both the Armenian language and its literature. He was wounded in a Persian attack on Antioch (c. 606-607) and after his recovery he left the army to fulfill a vow he had made while ill to devote the rest of his life to the pursuit of wisdom. He spent a month in Jerusalem, three years in Alexandria, and one year in Rome, after which he journeyed to Constantinople (c. 610), where he continued his studies under a famous Athenian scholar whom Ananias does not name. Upon completing his education in the Byzantine capital, Tykhikos found his reputation so high that the Patriarch himself, as well as many other high personages of the city, begged him to stay on and teach there. Tykhikos chose to return to Trapezous, however, and there he opened his own private school (c. 615). After the death of his Athenian master, the emperor himself invited Tykhikos to return to Constantinople, but he refused. It was shortly after this (c. 620-628) that Ananias studied under Tykhikos – a man whom he considered to have been predestined by God for the introduction of science into Armenia.

21 From 387 until 636 Armenia was partitioned in one way or another between the Byzantine and Persian Empires. Fourth Armenia was one of the divisions of Byzantine Armenia after 536; its capital was at Melitinit (Malatya), and this is probably where Chrestosatur taught.
22 There was a church of St. Eugenius on the farther side of the ravine to the east of Trebizond. It is now the Yeni cami camii, or 'Friday' mosque.
24 Xeloypian (1964:175), where he ranks him with al-Kindi, John Italos, Averroes, and Avicenna.
25 See the Introduction to this translation.
26 The seat of the Catholicos of the Armenian Church varied across the centuries. It was at Duin, the capital of Persian Armenia, from 484 to 929. It is now the monastery of Ejmiacin in Soviet Armenia.
27 Boyajian:160. For the concordance of these various cycles see Grumel (1958).
28 Abgarian (1962:46).
29 Ibid.
30 Boyajian:158.
31 Abgarian:48.
Appendix II

Life and Works of Ananias of Sirak

Ananias shared the view of earlier philosophers that in the organic world’s process of becoming and developing, the decisive role is played by the combination of fire and humidity. The decay of a body thus represents the decrease in the amount of fire that it contains.

Ananias, like astronomers before him, divided the material heavens into various spheres; unlike them, however, he based his division on the role of each sphere in the process of the becoming of the universe, rather than according to the orbits of the celestial bodies. In Ananias’ descriptions, the topmost sphere was the ‘ether’ (arp’i) in which originated all light and heat. The next was the ‘cold sphere’ which neutralized the scorching heat descending from the ether. The third sphere, or ‘crater spheres,’ contained the sun. The ‘beautiful sphere’ contained the moon and the five planets. Finally, there was the innermost sphere containing thunder, lightning, and other meteorological phenomena. Ananias asserted that the sun receives its light and heat from the ether, in the furthermost of the seven layers of the universe. Before entering the earth this heat and light mixes with the coldness and the humidity of the outer layers, and with the aid of the water already existing on earth, regenerates the soil. In this way, the four elements unite with one another and cause the earth to develop.

Ananias doubted the opinion of some philosophizers that the moon is a mirror of the earth and that it reflects its seas. Instead, he taught that the markings on the moon are due to the unevenness of its surface, the uneven areas absorbing the light of the sun rather than reflecting it. The phases of the moon he attributed to the fact that the constant movements of the sun and moon cause them to change their positions in regard to one another, which thus results in the change of contacts between the light of the sun and the moon’s surface. Ananias was greatly absorbed in the study of the eclipses; he believed the sun to be larger than the moon, their different distances from the earth making them appear to be the same size.

Ananias maintained that everything takes place according to laws of necessity. This led him to predict eclipses, to study the motion of the moon, and to define the orbit of its motion from the changes on its face. He recognized as supernatural only departures from natural laws. These natural laws he held to be recognizable by man because God does not normally interfere with the natural order of things. God is the author of matter and movement but not of becominges and changes, which take place according to a natural process. He accepted Aristotle’s theory of the soul and Ptolemy’s theory of the structure of the universe. In describing the position of the globe in space, he held that it was conditioned by three factors: the layers of air which surround it, the equilibrium of the force created between the spontaneous movement of the layer of air and the weight of the earth (the weight tending to cause it to fall while the movement of air prevents it from doing so), and the extremely great speed of the rotation of the atmosphere which encloses the earth. Thus, according to Xrolloyan, before the explanation of gravity, Ananias attempts to explain the movements of celestial bodies in space by the influence of two opposing forces. Explaining his own views on the manner of conducting scientific investigations, Ananias wrote: “Without research it is quite impossible to penetrate into the essence of things and without nature it is impossible to carry out research.”

After his death, some of the more revolutionary ideas of Ananias of Sirak brought him under the
Appendix II

49 Etise  (Elisaeus or Elishe) a fifth century Armenian historian.
48 Xrlopyan:178.
45 his interests and the questions posed by each work.
47 must await the complete publication of the corpus of his writings and, of course, their translation
46 make changes to suit later evaluations of Ananias' work. To examine these and other questions we
44 rearranged, compressed, or divided,^' which would suggest that such writers did not hesitate to
43 point as well in the study of meteorology. Later philosophers such as John the Deacon
42 (Yovhannes Sarkavag, d. 1129), Vanakan
41 was more than a mere 'closet' scholar is proven by the use to which his works were put by later
40 have seen, of Ptolemy, Pappus of Alexandria, and Cosmas Indicopleustes. That Ananias
39 of Sirak
38 had a definite influence on the formation of Ananias' views. Also obvious in his works are the
37 Aristotle's views, criticized Plato, Pyrrho, and Porphyry, and thereby firmly established neo-Platon-
36 claims to originality, and their influence on later science. Xrlopyan has addressed himself to the
35 of AnASYan's list or the detailed commentary which accompanies it. To this the reader is referred. Here only the most important of AnANias' works will be described.
34 a Astronomical texts
33 1. Cosmography and the Calendar. This work consists of forty-eight chapters and has no general title, although the first chapter is headed "Mathematics in Fulfillment of a Vow." The book falls naturally into two sections, the first of which consists of the ten chapters concerning cosmography, containing a description of the cosmos together with brief data on astronomy, meteorology, and physical geography. The remaining thirty-eight chapters deal with various questions relating to the calendar; it is clear that these were added at a later date. The first or introductory chapter is especially interesting because here Ananias speaks of his sources and explains the philosophy of his approach to pagan authors. Although he condemns the pagan philosophers in general, he does not hesitate to draw upon them to demonstrate the superiority of "the elevated mind", and he believes that one elevates the "superior" by contrasting it with that which is inferior. Thus, he contrasts the "bad philosophers" (i.e., the pagan or godless ones) with the "good philosophers" (those who are not Christians but who recognize the existence of one God as Creator of the universe). The sources he cites are works attributed to St. Gregory the Illuminator (d. 328 A.D.), apostle of Armenia; and those of St. Basil, Philo of Alexandria, and, apparently (from internal evidence), the writings of the fifth century Armenian philosopher and theologian Enzik of Kolb (Enzik KolBaci). Together, the forty-eight chapters form a study in exhaustive detail of the relation between the science of astronomy and the meaning, divi-
32 ding, and recording of time. Here Ananias denounces astrologers and dismisses the influence of the
31 stars on the course of human events. Here he also advances the theory, derived from the ancient
30 Greeks, that the earth is really a sphere,^2 accurately explains the causes of lunar and solar eclipses, and he exponents the theory that the sun is the center of the universe.
31 2. Cycle 532 and the Calendar (Tiezeragrut'iwn ew Tomar).^3 This is the perpetual calendar prepared by Ananias on the basis of Cycle 532. The Armenians adopted this cycle as their national calendar on 11 July 555 A.D.; the first year of the "Armenian Era," computed from 11 July three years previously, commences in 552, which is thus held to be the year 1. According to this calendar, therefore, 1990 would be the Armenian year 1438. Ananias took this cycle and in nineteen vertical columns recorded the days and dates of all the movable and immovable feasts of the Armenian Church as well as those of the vernal equinoxes and other annual events. On the same calendar he also coordinated the dates of the Armenian and Dionysian eras for the entire 532-year cycle.
30 Cambazyan:192.
49 Petrosyan:399.
50 "Voprosy i Resheniya" ... Russ, trans. by Orbeli.
51}
3. Tables of the Motions of the Moon (Luni Anemizanen). Guided by the principles set down by the Greek astronomer Meton of Athens (5th century B.C.), Ananias made personal observations to ensure the accuracy of his predecessor and skillfully adjusted Meton's figures to conform to local time. This particular work was long attributed to the seventh century Armenian chronologist John the Philosopher (Yehovhanets Imasataser, 650-725), whose name appears on the five manuscripts of the work in the Matenadaran. Abrahamyan discovered the true authorship in 1953 when examining a sixth manuscript preserved in the Armenian monastery at Antilias, Lebanon.

4-5. On the Course of the Sun. Ananias left two treatises by this name, each of which is a study of the sun's apparent motion through the sky in the course of the year.

6. Introduction to Astronomy. This is a translation of a Greek work composed by Paul of Alexandria (fl. c. 378 A.D.).

b. Mathematical Texts

7A. Problems and Solutions. This is a collection of twenty-four mathematical problems together with their solutions, and is the earliest work of its kind in Armenian literature. It is especially interesting because so many of its problems are drawn from real life, and give much data on history, topography, and customs. Six of the twenty-four problems deal with the princely house of Kamsarakan, sovereign in Sirak. This work, once thought to have been left unfinished, is now known to be a part of Ananias' Book of Arithmetic, the remainder of which was discovered by Abrahamyan in 1939. 58

7B. Book of Arithmetic (T'omar). A complete and comprehensive collection of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division tables, this is the earliest such work known. The highest number cited is 80,000,000. This work was originally accompanied by a sort of introduction dealing with the theoretical aspects of the tables. This introduction has been found but is concerned only with addition, subtraction, and multiplication, omitting any discussion of division. The whole work apparently was intended as a textbook for practical use, that is, for the instruction of Ananias' pupils.

The table of addition consists of four groups: units, tens, hundreds, and thousands, each group consisting of nine tables and forty-five combinations, the average sum of each combination being 180. The table of subtraction contains thirty-six groups, each containing nine combinations - a total of 324. The table of multiplication also contains thirty-six groups with four tables in each. Three of these tables contain nine products each, while the fourth contains ten. There are thirty-seven products in each group, totalling 1,332 in all. MS 1267 in the Matenadaran also contains a complete multiplication table said to be based on that of Pythagoras except that here the largest product is 80,000,000 and not 80. 56

This Book of Arithmetic also contains a table of reverse magnitudes based on the number 6,000 which is arranged as follows: 57

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Magnitude</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>174,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54 Sirakats's, T'omaraganig lav en T'omar.
55 Petrosyan:400.
56 Ibid:401. No works of Pythagoras have survived.
60 The itinerary was published anonymously in Saint-Martin (1819), together with the text and translation of the Geography. Another version of the same work is to be found in Man., op. cit.; and in Appendix VI, infra.
13. Chronicle (*K'ronikon*). A chronicle of world events based on information compiled from the writings of Eusebius (c. 260–c. 341), Andrew of Crete (7th century), and Hippolytus of Rome (fl. 325 A.D.), one of the possible sources of Moses of Xoren (late 8th century). An examination of this chronicle might reveal otherwise unattested historical data or might serve to corroborate facts already known from other sources.61

e. Other Works

14. Discourse on Christmas. A discussion of the proper date for the celebration of Christmas. This work is especially valuable because it includes an excerpt from a lost document which Ananias ascribes to St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna (martyred c. 155), who, being a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, was well qualified to pronounce on the date of the birth of Christ. This work was probably found by Ananias in the library of Tykhikos. In his discourse, Ananias cites the opinion of the Church fathers as well as the testimony of sacred scripture to demonstrate that the Armenian celebration of Christmas and the Epiphany on the same date is more valid than celebrating them separately as done in Byzantium and in the West. This and the other treatises on the feasts of the Church were regarded by Conybeare as commentaries on an elaborate calendar which Ananias tells us had been made by someone before him on the basis of Cycle 532 and which covered the years 828 to 1360 of the Alexandrian era. They are doctrinal commentaries opposing the Catholic (and Greek Orthodox) doctrine of the dual nature of Christ accepted at the council of Chalcedon (451), which council the Armenian Church rejects.62

15A. Discourse on Easter (*Pan Vauu Tawni ew Ayln*). A lengthy discussion on the date of Easter. The author defends the date of the Armenian celebration of Easter as being based on data contained in the Bible and denounces the innovations introduced at Constantinople by one Irion (or Irion), a scholar of the Imperial Court.

15B. Autobiography (*Vauu Gnae Ewroc*). This text is found as an introduction to the Discourse on Easter and exists in two redactions, a long and a short.

16. Homilies on Contrition and Humility (*C'ark Vauu XonarhuEyan*). These are religious discourses, and it is chiefly on the basis of these and on his concern for the exact dating of the feasts of the Church that Ananias of Sirak is held to have been a monk in the Armenian Church.

17. On Precious Stones. This is based on a work on the same subject by Epiphanias of Cyprus (*De gemmis*). Ananias' work is more extensive, however, although it lacks the notation of medicinal value and place of origin which Epiphanias gives for each stone. A translation and several epitomes of Epiphanias' work exist in Armenian, and the former may have been made by Ananias himself before undertaking his own version of the work.

Besides the above texts, Ananias of Sirak wrote on meteorology, heavenly signs, and the movements of the stars. He also tells us (at the beginning of his autobiography) that he collected Armenian literature, and it may be he who edited the many early Armenian texts which betray the hand of a later interpolator.

61 Abrahamyan, *Anania Sirakacu Matenadrut'iwn*.

62 Man.:172

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63 There is no space here to list all of the works currently attributed to Ananias of Sirak; Anasyan (1959: cols. 731-59) cites some forty-two titles although he excluded the ASX from among them. See, in addition, his exhaustive bibliography (*ibid.* cols. 760-74), which, unfortunately, is now thirty years out of date.
APPENDIX III

INTRODUCTION TO ARMENIAN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

I.

Of the many misconceptions which have obscured our understanding of early Armenian history, one of the most serious has been the confused picture we have had of the geopolitical structure of the ancient Armenian state. The sources of this confusion lie in the ASX itself, which while providing us with our own detailed description of the political geography of ancient and early medieval Armenia, does so in a very misleading way.

According to the ASX, Armenia of old consisted of fifteen large districts (aškarḵ) subdivided into nearly two hundred smaller units (gawafḵ) and these divisions and subdivisions were accepted as a valid picture of the geopolitical realities of ancient Armenia down until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even today we find scholars writing histories, geographies, and atlases of Armenia against the backdrop provided by the description of the ASX, projecting this backdrop into the remote past long before the ASX was written and doing so, moreover, as if the validity of the information in this text had never been questioned.

The basic problem is that, despite the neat and orderly picture found in the ASX, no trace of such an arrangement can be detected in any other Armenian source written either before or after the seventh century. Apart from the fact that the terms aškarḵ and gawafḵ are used interchangeably by all earlier authors, three of the so-called aškarḵ are quite unknown to any earlier source and are first encountered precisely in the ASX.

What we have in this text, it appears, is a bookish attempt to create a neat and logical arrangement out of what was in actuality a much more complicated and rather fluid situation. Clearly, the author did not understand the nature of the divisions of ancient Armenia, for he was writing at a time when most of the borderlands of the early Armenian state had fallen away, and when the nature of these divisions had already become vague and unclear. It was Hübschmann at the turn of the century who first realized this and Nicholas Adontz, a few years later, who first attempted to get behind the misleading picture in the ASX to the geopolitical realities which it had so long obscured.

Writing in 1908, Adontz analyzed the material in the ASX and demonstrated that it did not depict the realities of Armenia either in the author's time or before, but only those divisions as the author misunderstood them by projecting the situation which existed in his own time in some parts of Armenia back into the past onto the rest of the country where this situation simply did not apply. What Adontz was the first to grasp was that Armenia had never consisted of fifteen aškarḵ (usually misleadingly translated as 'provinces') subdivided into nearly 200 gawafḵ (equally mistranslated as 'cantons'), but rather that it was always made up of a varying number of principalities large and small, some consisting of one district and others of several. In between these principalities lay scattered the crown lands of the Arsacid royal house, which were later divided among the princely houses descended from it; the temple holdings, which later passed to the Armenian Church; and the various tribal lands located in the more remote and inaccessible parts of the country. The real geopolitical situation was, as Adontz also realized, a fluid one and frequently altered as principalities rose, expanded, declined, merged, disappeared, and occasionally changed hands.

None of the reality perceived by Adontz is reflected in the ASX, which, firstly, ignores the principalities as political units; secondly, interprets larger units of diverse origins, various natures, and different eras as having all existed at one and the same time; and, thirdly, arranges the lesser units so that all of them fall into one or another of the larger ones.

Unfortunately, Adontz was dealing with the situation in Armenia in the sixth century and devoted his chapters on the subdivisions of Armenia only to those regions which were still a part of Armenia at that time, scarcely mentioning -- let alone discussing -- the important lands lost to Armenia two centuries before. Further, Adontz' work was written in Russian and scantily circulated so that it was not until Toumanoff began to mine its riches in the 1950's and Garsoian translated it into English in 1970 that it began to exert a real impact on Armenian studies. Again, however, like Adontz, himself, Toumanoff was interested only peripherally in questions of historical geography and follows Adontz' methodological lead only in the area of the Armenian-Georgian marches. The purpose of this study is to follow more fully the lines of Adontz' inquiry, to apply them to the Armenian plateau as a whole, and in this way to come to a greater understanding of the true geopolitical structure of the ancient Armenian state.
The origin and development of the political geography of the old Armenian monarchy is tied inseparably to the physical geography of Armenia itself and to the ethnic complexity of the Armenian plateau. Ringed and buttressed by mountain ranges and crossed by mountains as well, this plateau is cut by countless mountain torrents into numerous ravines and tiny valleys. These torrents ultimately merge to form rivers, which then cut the plateau into still larger valleys and occasionally into a few broad plains.

Archaeological investigations have revealed that the plateau has been inhabited from the earliest times, and over the centuries many ethnic elements entered the region from many directions— as happened everywhere else. Here, however, geographical factors conspired to preserve the ethnic distinctions in Armenia for countless centuries, much longer than they would have been in a less rugged terrain.

Ultimately, many clans, tribes, and peoples came to dwell in the different mountain valleys, some holding only one valley; some holding several. These groups were ruled by their own clan-leaders, tribal chiefs, princes, and kings so that Armenia developed with little cohesion either geographic or ethnic. Division was the order of the day. It was a patchwork of territorial units and a mosaic of peoples. Some of these ethnic groups have been identified, while many others appear to have been merely offshoots of larger ones.10

Twice in antiquity this geographical patchwork was pulled together through a local endeavor. The first occasion was through the arms of the kings of Van, who created the Urartian federation which lasted from the ninth to the sixth century B.C. The second time was through the efforts of the kings of Armenia who, in part under the Orontid dynasty (fourth-second century B.C.) and in part under the Artaxiads (second-first century B.C.), succeeded in gathering the various peoples of the plateau into a new federation which was, in effect, a successor state to Urartu.

The original Urartian federation was thus highly mixed ethnically. Made up of some one hundred principalities, dozens of the peoples involved in the federation— Manda, Bala, Sala, Dzaxut, etc. were mentioned in both Urartian and Assyrian literature. The Urartian state collapsed early in the sixth century, and shortly thereafter the proto-Armenians—or Armenians, as some historians prefer to call them—entered the plateau from the West. They were thus simply another new element in the region which came to mingle with the earlier ones already settled upon the tableland. The appearance of these newcomers does not necessarily imply an invasion—certainly this is no record of any.11

Rather, it must have been an infiltration. But since the proto-Armenians appear to have entered the plateau in large numbers, there were naturally some conflicts with the earlier inhabitants and there is some record of these.12

Ultimately the proto-Armenians spread into nearly every valley large and small in the center of the tableland, absorbing the natives— the aborigines of varied ethnic origin— but incompletely, and certainly not on the outlying sectors of the plateau. These proto-Armenians, moreover, seem generally to have avoided the mountains at first into which some of the early peoples appear to have taken refuge. In this way numerous pre-Armenian peoples survived for a very long time so that ethnicons mentioned in Hititite, Assyrian, and Urartian records survived far into the classical period. Indeed, some of these names are recognizable one thousand years after the Urartian period, when the Armenians began to leave us records of their own.

After the fall of Urartu the Armenian plateau passed to the Medes and then to the Achaemenid Persians under whom the Armenians consolidated their hold on the western and central portions of the tableland. After the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander, however, the Armenian kings of the successive Orontid and Artaxiad dynasties pressed further east to conquer the entire plateau. They thus gathered various peoples into a new federation of princely states—some Armenian and some non-Armenian—but all under the aegis of the Armenian crown.13

Most of the ethnic elements within the Armenian monarchy gradually came to be more or less armenized, themselves, but continued to be governed by descendants of their own ancestral rulers: the clan-heads, tribal chiefs, princes, and kinglets of old.14 In time, these rulers came to be incorporated into the complex body of the Armenian nobility— the Armenian princely houses—which, by the fourth century, appear to have numbered about fifty.15

As we might expect, some of the names of these houses betray their pre-Armenian and non-Armenian origins; e.g., Sikuni (Sala), Mandakuni (Manda), Pahuni (Pala), etc.: as do so many of the ancient Armenian territorial subdivisions, e.g., Pahatun (Pala), Balahovit (Pala Valley), Mananali (land of the Manda), Daranali and Derjan (perhaps from the people called Drolai by classical authors), Molk' and Mukank’ (the Mushkians or classical Mycians), Hani (the ‘Arianians’), Ul’ik (the ‘Usians’), T’ayk (the ‘Taokhians’), Mardali and Mardastan (‘land of the Medes’).

All of these toponyms suggest or reveal the presence of pre-Armenian and non-Armenian ethnic elements until well into the Armenian period. By the first century B.C., however, all of the princely states surviving from the Urartian period had been loosely federated into one internationally recognized monarchy, speaking Armenian— if only, in many cases, as a second language. A century later, Pliny knew of some 120 such subdivisions of Armenia which he called strategiae—‘military commands,’ not an inappropriate term since the power and prestige of the princes ultimately rested upon their military potential: the number of cavalry they could supply to the king in time of war. Of these 120 strategiae, the names of some fifty— though obviously not all of them separate political entities—are mentioned by various classical authors.

Some of the Armenian princes were relatively unimportant potentates owning a single valley or

12 Ibid.:212, 213.
13 Ibid.:212.
14 Ibid.:172, 212.
15 Ibid.:447, n. 448; Ad-Gar.:47.
16 Ibid.:306-307; 325; 486, n. 15; 498, n. 77.
17 Ibid.:149, n. 68.
18 Ibid.:306, 324; 495, n. 70; 498, n. 77.
20 Ibid.:46,249; 299; 315; 322-323; 396, no. 18; 478, n. 6; 494, nn. 53-56; 492-493, n. 57.
21 Strabo (11.13.5).
22 Pliny (VI.9.27).
plain (like the Amatuni of Artaz or the Orduni of Basenz). Others held several (such as the Princes of Mokk', who owned eight valleys; or the princes of Siw'nik, who possessed twelve). Still others owned lands in various parts of the country (e.g., the Mamikonids, who originally ruled several valleys in Tayk' but who later came to own Tarawn and, still later, Bagrawid, Arşarunik, Sirak, and Mokk' as well). As Toumanoff has stressed, it is important to understand that these princes were all sovereign dynastic rulers in their own right. While some, like the Kamsarakans and Spandunis, were branches of the Arsacid royal house, most were descendants of the clan-heads and tribal chiefs of old and thus antedated the establishment of the monarchy itself. The king, therefore, was considered by the princes to have been only the first among equals, and could accomplish little without their cooperation—which was not always easy to obtain. While the kings attempted to secure a firmer hold on the princes by granting them titles, offices, and privileges, the princes on their part fought tooth and nail to retain their traditional independence and freedom of action even to the point of deliberately weakening the stability of the monarchy and ultimately securing its abolition. The centuries-old struggle between the monarchy attempting to secure its position over a nation ruled by sovereign dynasties determined to preserve their own, resulted in a continuous tension which was one of the major causes of the weakness of the ancient Armenian state and is the most important key to the understanding of ancient Armenian history.

Thus, Armenia was not a strong centralized nation-state like ancient Egypt or a tightly organized imperium like the Roman Empire, but rather a loose and turbulent federation more on the order of ancient Iran; a patchwork, be it repeated, of quarrelsome and insubordinate principalities upon which the kings attempted to impose a feudal control. But note well that Armenia never became a truly feudal nation. Throughout the Roman period it remained a collection of sovereign dynastic states upon which certain feudal features had been superimposed by successive Armenian kings.

All of this brings us back to the seventh century ASX, which depicts a much more sharply defined Armenia; one nation divided into fifteen lands (a'zarhk'), of which four are cited as having been lost to Armenia sometime before the epoch in which the author was writing, and all of which together are described as being made up of nearly two hundred subdivisions (genasxut'), with no distinction made between any of them. There is no mention in the text of any of the principalities of Armenia per se nor of any of the dynastic houses.

Where does the idea of the existence of these fifteen greater divisions of Armenia come from? This is a question to which Adontz addressed himself in great detail, but, as we have seen, only for such sections as were Armenian in the particular era he was considering. To answer this question in full, we must follow the same lines as Adontz's inquiry and examine these fifteen divisions one at a time. If we can determine the origin of each, we may then be in a position to determine the geopolitical reality which lay behind the picture we find in the ASX; i.e., the real political geography of Armenia as it developed both before and after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy.

Before we can discuss the true nature of the divisions of ancient Armenia, we must first briefly sketch its political history in the Roman period. In the second century B.C. there were no less than three Armenian monarchies: Lesser Armenia, Greater Armenia, and the kingdom of Sophene. Sophene was absorbed by Greater Armenia c. 95 B.C., while Lesser Armenia was annexed by the Romans in 72 A.D., becoming part of the province of Cappadocia. Tigranes the Great of Greater Armenia (95-96 B.C.) momentarily built up a large Armenian Empire, but the Romans soon brought him to heel and deprived him of most of his acquisitions.

Thereafter the Romans and Parthians not only decided who was to sit on the Armenian throne, but also determined Armenia's frontiers as well. By the Treaty of Rhandeia (A.D. 63) it was agreed by the two empires that Armenia was to be ruled by a member of the Arsacid House of Parthian Iran, who would, however, be a vassal of Rome, while the boundaries of 95 B.C. were reestablished to remain more or less intact until 298 A.D. and to a great extent until 363; i.e., for over four hundred years.

Geopolitically this Arsacid Armenian kingdom, like that of the Arsacid dynasty which preceded it, was a buffer state between the Roman and Iranian Empires and consisted of two groups of territories: those of the central core, which were predominately and essentially Armenian, and those of the periphery, which might better be described as 'armenized' rather than as truly Armenian. Among the latter were the various lands and principalities which were grouped together by the Armenian kings into four military zones located along strategic stretches of Armenia's frontiers. These were called vitaxates (Armen.: bdeasxut'hwnk'; i.e., viceroyalties), governed by an officer called the 'vitaxa' (Armen.: bdeasx'), and were border marches designed to protect Armenia from foreign invasion.

This arrangement of inner and outer districts and military commands began to change as a result of events which took place in the third century. The agreement of Rhandeia was an arrangement between the Romans and the Arsacids of Parthia. In 226, however, the Parthian rule over Iran ended with the overthrow of the Arsacid dynasty by the militant Persian Sasanids, who consciously aimed at a restoration of the glories of the Achaemenid Persian Empire of old. The Arsacids of Armenia, being a branch of the Parthian royal house, were naturally horrified by the Iranian revolution of 226 and turned towards Rome as their natural ally against the new masters of the old Arsacid homeland. The conversion of Armenia to Christianity c. 314, shortly after that of the Emperor Constantine, enhanced this pro-Roman orientation (which may well have been the chief motivation which behind the conversion), and, while a pro-Persian faction seems to have existed in Armenia for as long as the new Persian Empire lasted, Roman influence and Roman presence continued to grow throughout the same period.

As a result of the Romano-Persian war of 298, the Romans acquired three principalities in southwestern Armenia, the Vitaxate of Kordoune, or the Assyrian March—consisting of one principality, as well as the southern military zone—the Vitaxate of Arzandz and, or the Arabian March—consisting of yet another principality. Although the vitaxates were definitively returned to Iran in c. 387, the events of 298 marked the beginning of the disintegration of the Arsacid Armenian state.

The struggle between Rome and Persia continued throughout the fourth century and was aggra-
vated by civil war in Armenia. Between 363 and 387 Armenia lost almost all of her outlying territories in the north, east, and south, including the two remaining military zones, and this probably through Persian connivance. 43 In c. 387 the ‘Armenian Question’ of the day was solved by the partition of the remainder of the kingdom between the Roman and Persian Empires. Aratš III of the Arsacid house reigned under Roman suzerainty in the northwest corner of the country (about one-sixth of Ar­menia), while his brother Xoršiv IV reigned in the rest as a vassal of Iran.

When Aratš III died c. 390, his kingdom, consisting of eleven districts, was annexed by Rome and remained Roman (and then, of course, Byzantine) until the mid-seventeenth century. In 428, the princes of Persian Armenia petitioned the Sassanian government to abolish the remaining Armenian monarchy and the unpopular Araxš IV was duly dethroned. 44 Thus, the Armenian nucleus, truncated, partitioned, and deprived of both borderlands and royal dynasty, survived as a collection of Armenian principalities — some direct vassals of Rome, others direct vassals of Iran, their only unity being that provided by their common allegiance to the Armenian Church and their obedience to the Iranian appointed marzpan or governor-general. Therefore, from the suppression of the monarchy in 428 until the end of the sixth century, we must think of Armenia not as a neat group of provinces each subdivided into a number of districts, but rather as a loose federation of princely states, some vassals of the kings of Iberia and Albania, some vassals of Rome (until suppressed by Justinian), but most of them vassals of Iran (including those directly subject to the kings of Iberia and Albania, both of whom ultimately passed under the direct suzerainty of Iran as well).

In 591, after the cooperation of the Emperor Maurice with Vahram Choben in his attempt to secure the Sassanian throne, a new partition of Armenia was arranged in which the Byzantines acquired all of the western, northern, and central Armenian principalities while the Sassanids kept those of the south and southeast. This arrangement, despite an almost continuous war between the two empires — largely fought in Armenia, endured until the coming of the Arabs in the 640’s. Yet it is in this period of a divided and truncated Armenia that the ASX was written, describing the country as consisting of eleven Armenian alxarš` and four others "taken from Armenia." 45

From where, once again, does the idea of the existence of these fifteen ‘provinces’ come? Adontz was the first to raise this question and he answered it well for the regions he discussed, but a great deal of work remains to be done to follow the lines which he pioneered, and for this two steps are needed:

First, a general survey of all of the so-called ‘provinces’; and second, a step by step analysis of the historical geography of every sector of the Armenian plateau. The remainder of this appendix will be devoted to the first step, while studies will be required for the second.

IV.

Examining the nature and geopolitical status of the fifteen traditional divisions of Armenia we quickly perceive — as did Adontz — that they are by no means all of a kind; there is no common denominator shared by all of them beyond their citation as alxarš` in the ASX. Basically there are three problems involved in any attempt to understand how these fifteen alxarš` came to appear in the ASX and why their depiction there does not accurately reflect the true geopolitical structure of ancient Armenia. The first of these problems involves the territory of these fifteen divisions; the second, their origins; and the third, their general lack of contemporaneity.

43 Eremyan, ibid. 116-120 for a list of the districts with their estimated areas in sq. km., some of these estimates being obviously more appropriate than others. (For an English translation of this see Appendix IV).
44 Ad-Gaz., Chpt. II; Toun.: 166-179.
45 Hewsen, "Caspiane," (1973), an article superseded by my essay on P`aytakaran (supra, n. 149 A; and nn. 150 A-162 A).
46 Ibid.: Toun.: 133.
47 Ad-Gaz.: Ch. III.
48 Ibid.: 179-80.
Appendix III

Arz'ax and Parskahayk' alone endure. We hear nothing of a prince of Arz'ax, while we hear virtually nothing of Parskahayk' itself prior to its description in the ASX. It was probably a later name for the principality of Zarawand-Hez lost to Iran in 363.

The third and final problem to which we must address ourselves is that of the contemporaneity of these fifteen geographical units. From what we have just seen, we can determine that while from at least B.C. 56 until 298 the Armenian state controlled the territory of the fifteen asxarhk' of the ASX, only seven of these – Siwnik', Ahjinik', Mokk', Gugar', Parskahayk' (Zarawand-Hez'), Arz'ax, and Paytakaran (Kasp'k') – existed in these years embracing the territory assigned to them in the text. Four more – Usik', Tayk', Kor'ayk', and Ayyarat – all existed but were smaller in size than the asxarhk' of those names cited in the ASX. The remaining four asxarhk' were all formed later (Upper Armenian in 387-390, Coyac' Kohnin in 536, and Tawrubaran and Vaspurakan in 591).

Meanwhile, however, before the appearance of these last units, the Armenian state had already begun to disintegrate. In the southwest, six principalities were lost to Rome in 298 (Cop'k' Sahuneac, Mec Cop'k', Angeltun-Hanjin, Arzan, Korduk' and Mokk'), the last later reverted to Armenian control; Arzan and Korduk' were ceded to Persia in 363; two (Halatank' and Balahovit') passed to Rome in c. 371. Then, between 365 and c. 387 Gugar' was lost to Iberia; Arz'ax and Usik' to Albania, and Paytakaran and Parskahayk' to Iran. In 390, nine more districts of northwestern Armenia – the Kingdom of Arsat III in northwestern Armenia were annexed by Rome as the province of Inner Armenia;49 this is the Upper Armenia of the ASX. Only much later, in 591, did the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran result in the formation of the asxarhk' of Tawrubaran and Vaspurakan and of the greater Ayrarat and Tayk' described in the ASX.

Thus, of the fifteen asxarhk' of ancient Armenia only twelve are known to have existed prior to 591 and only eleven prior to c. 387. Of these eleven, however, only five actually coincided with the territories assigned to them in the ASX. If all of this appears to be unnecessary quibbling over mere political terminology and geographical extent, let it be noted again that no Armenian source prior to ASX limits the term gawark' and which have been referred to both in French and English as 'cantons.' In passing, it is worth noting that the term 'canton' is a rather inappropriate translation of both p'ok'r asxarh and gawark'.

Moving forward in time rather than backward, we may also note that of the twelve units known prior to 591, eight were lost to Armenia in the fourth century, while another, Ayrarat, was broken into smaller units in the fifth. Thus, between 387 and 591 – a period of over two centuries – Armenia consisted only of three of its supposed larger fifteen units (the so-called 'provinces' of Mokk', Siwnik', and Tayk') in addition to the dozens of smaller units which lay between them.

Accordingly, was Armenia really divided both before and after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy? Obviously not into the fifteen asxarhk' of the ASX, but rather into some two hundred districts large and small, with some of the smaller ones included in the larger.48 These districts and their groupings, moreover, were no more alike than the fifteen supposed asxarhk' of the ASX, and over the centuries appeared in various larger combinations and guises. These districts and groupings may be ranked in the following categories in ascending order of size and importance:

1) Non-specific districts: Every little jor or hovit in Armenia was capable of bearing its own name, especially to its local population; but such local toponyms did not always have official recognition. Rather, they merely were descriptive terms such as those like the Cote d'Azur in France, the Cotswolds in England, the Rhine Valley in Germany, or Appalachia in the United States. Examples in Armenia would be such names as Tal'oy jor, 'Valley of the (river) Tal', Hayoc' jor, 'Valley of the Armenians'; Erasxor, 'Valley of the (river) Arax'; and Misoy dali, 'Plain of Mul'. Such terms are not often encountered in the sources and are not mentioned in the ASX.

2) Specific districts: These were units exactly like those of the first category except that, while not always political entities, they had certain recognized borders and were official designations for specific areas. Thus the unofficial district of Hayoc' jor, referred to above, lay in the officially recognized district of Erandunk'. These 'official' districts, then, would be the 'small lands' (p'ok'r asxarh) of other Armenian sources, to which the ASX limits the term gawark'; however, which have been referred to both in French and English as 'cants.' In passing, it is worth noting that the term 'canton' is a rather inappropriate translation of both p'ok'r asxarh and gawark'. While in English and the French word generally does mean any small territorial district, in actual practice it is used to refer to one of the units of the Swiss confederation or to a division of an arrondissement of a département in France. 'Canton', then, not only is an inaccurate rendering of p'ok'r asxarh or gawark'; but, if it suggests the political status of a Swiss or French canton, is positively misleading. I would banish this term from the terminology of Caucasian historical geography altogether, for since the various p'ok'r asxarh and gawark' fall into different geopolitical categories, the only practical translation for them is the one which is most general in nature but which does suggest a recognized entity. In English this would be 'district', in French contrée or région.

3) Single-district political units: These were identical to the districts of category 2 except that they were political as well as geographical entities. Some of these districts formed separate principalities with their own ruling houses, in which case the p'ok'r asxarh or gawark' was also a principality (isxanuti'um) or, from the point of view of the Armenian king, a dukedom (nazarxaruti'um)48 Among such single-district principalities were Sper, Basean, and Koth'n. Others, such as Dara'nan and Eleke'ah, belonged to the pagan religious establishment and later passed to the Armenian Church.54 Still others possibly formed tribal territories (such as Xoyr') or formed the municipal territories of cities such as Duin or Vahr'apatan.

4) Multi-district political units: In many cases several districts of Armenia together formed a single principality. While politically these were identical to the units of category 3, geographically they were more complex, consisting of several districts of category 2, rather than of one. Siwnik', Tayk', and Mokk', as we have seen, are the best and largest examples of these multi-unit states but there were several others as well.

5) The Vaxataxes: These were the large military defense zones of the Iberian, Assyrian, Arabian, and Median Marches, which included districts belonging to all four of the categories above but which together were placed under the command of a single vaxata or vicerey. In such cases it was common for one prince to be viceroy over several others, so that the vaxatax included not only several districts but more than one principality as well. On the other hand, it was possible, as in the Iberian March, for

49 Toum.: 131-132.
50 Ad-Gar: Chap. III.
51 Toum.: 129, n. 237.
52 Ibid.
53 Toum.: 115-116.
54 Ad-Gar: 243.
there to be one prince ruling his own multi-district principality and receiving additional princeless
districts as part of his vitaxate.\[35\]

6) The so-called 'provinces' or aixarhik' of the ASX: In the course of centuries many districts and
principalities, large and small, came to be regarded as being parts of larger entities whose origin and
nature differed, as we have seen, and whose formation might antedate or postdate the fall of the
Arsacid monarchy. Noting the existence of such large principalities as Mokk', Siwnik', and Tayk',
each embracing many districts - as well as the various Byzantine provinces in Armenia such as Upper,
Fourth, Greater, Lower, and Deep Armenia, all likewise including many districts - it must have
seemed natural for the author of the ASX to attempt to gather the remaining lands of Armenia into
equally distinct groupings as well. Having in this way created a total of fifteen such greater units, he
then projected all the existing ones of his own time back into the past, adding them to those which had
left the Armenian orbit long before his day. To this larevque attempt to tidy up the map of Armenia,
we must owe the author's depiction of Ulik' as a larger district than it actually was in order to encompass
some adjoining lands not really part of the principality of that name, as well his Korcyak', and
perhaps Parakhayk', which may have been roughly, though imprecisely, based upon memories of
earlier political entities.

7) The kingdoms within Armenia: In the ninth to eleventh centuries many of the districts in category
2 were absorbed into various Armenian kingdoms which emerged upon the Armenian plateau,
only one of which, Siwnik', corresponds to an earlier political unit of the type found in category 4 and
only one of which, Vaspurakan, to a unit in category 6. The remaining kingdoms of Ani, Kars, and
Lori do not correspond to earlier units of 4 or 5 but represent new groupings of earlier districts of
category 2.\[36\]

8) The separate Armenian kingdoms: There were in ancient times, as we have already noted, three
such Armenian states which emerged as the Armenians spread across the plateau in the two centuries
following the conquests of Alexander. These were Greater Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and the king-
dom of Sophene, all referred to at the beginning of this study. There may also have been a fourth such
state if we wish to include the tiny kingdom of Cammagne as an Armenian political formation.
Certainly its kings were partly of Armenian descent, although we have little knowledge of the ethnic
composition of its population (probably Syrian) or what language it spoke. Another such kingdom
was that of Cilicia in the Middle Ages.

9) Historical Armenia: Finally, putting together every area that was ever included in any Armenian
state - including the late medieval kingdom of Armeno-Cilicia - we come to 'historical Armenia,' a
composite of territories stretching from Caesarea in Cappadocia eastwards to the Caspian Sea and
from just south of Tiflis to the shores of Lake Urmia and to the Mediterranean Sea. This is the
'Historical' Armenia of the nationalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but which never
existed as an historical reality at any one time in Armenian history save under the short-lived imperial
adventure of Tigranes the Great; and even then Lesser Armenia was not included.

From all this we now can see that the author of the ASX was describing Armenia according to the
recognized geographical units of category 2, which he had grouped together into the greater units of
category 6. He ignores the local districts of category 1, has no knowledge of the vitaxates, and makes
no distinction between the geographical units of categories 2 and 3.

It should be noted, however, as we examine the realities of the geopolitical structure of ancient
Armenia, that we cannot yet account for every square kilometer of Armenian territory. We do not

\[35\] Ibid., 468.
\[36\] HSSRA: 106-107.

know the exact geopolitical status of each and every district in the land. Nor do we know the full
historical development of any Armenian principality over the centuries. The situation was clearly a
fluid one and there must have been many changes besides the ones of which we are aware. In the notes
to this translation, I propose to deal with what we do know of such alterations in the historical
governing each section of the Armenian plateau and so devise a more logical division of the country
than is to be found in the ASX. An outline of this project is found on Appendix V.

Our examination of the geopolitical structure of the ancient Armenian state properly ends with the
coming of the Arabs in the mid-seventh century. Many of the princely houses had already vanished
from history before this time; few were left when the Arab domination came to an end. As a result, the
toponyms of the earlier period gradually begin to disappear from the sources. Of the more than two
hundred Armenian district toponyms cited in the ASX only Albak (Elbak), Sirak and Basean (Pasin)
preserve their names to the present day, while Vaspurakan survived until the First World War only as
a general term for the region south of Lake Van.

Summary

Our examination of the nature of the geopolitical structure of ancient Armenia leads us, I believe, to
the following conclusions:
1) The ethnic diversity of Armenia was far greater than was generally suspected before the time of
Adontz.
2) The various ethnic elements retained their identity for considerably longer than generally has
been thought to have been the case.
3) The geographical divisions of Armenia were based on orographic and hydrographic considera-
tions; i.e., on the mountain ranges and river valleys of the plateau.
4) The political divisions, however, were largely based on ethnic considerations superimposed
upon the orographic and hydrographic framework.
5) The ancient Arsacid kingdom was not a state but a federation of states forming a very divided
and fragile geopolitical structure, as much maintained by the will of Rome and Iran as it was self-
sustaining.
6) The fifteen traditional 'provinces' had no reality as provinces either in the Roman or the Cana-
dian sense of the term. They were largely of different kinds and origins, and they never existed all at
the same time.
7) The real Armenia was a collection of royal domains, military viceroyalties, separate prin-
cipalities, and temple lands, the last passing the fourth century to the Armenian Church. In all, there
were close to 200 districts in the country of various sizes, many of the smaller ones being part of the
larger.

The full impact of our appreciation of the true geopolitical structure of ancient Armenia has yet to
be felt in Armenian historiography, and before this can happen a great deal of work on the details of
ancient Armenian geographical history remains to be done. Only a small part of this work has been
accomplished in the preceding pages.\[57\]
APPENDIX IV

EREMYAN ON THE GEOPOLITICAL DIVISIONS OF SOUTH CAUCASIA

Apart from myself at least six other scholars have labored on the identifications and locations of the toponyms involved in the description of Armenia found in the ASX: Incićean (1822), whose work is uncritical and largely a rewriting of the descriptions found in the ASX in modern dress; Marquart/Markwart (1901, and Südarmenien, 1930), who, however, despite his vast erudition, was only peripherally interested in Armenian toponymy; Hübchman (1904/1969), who was more interested in the correct forms of the toponyms and their etymology than he was in their locations; Honigmann (1935), who was concerned only with Western Armenia; Hakobyan (1960/1968), whose survey is general and uncritical; Toumanoff (1963), who devoted attention only to the Armeño-Georgian marchlands; and Ulubabyan (1975 and 1981), who, so far, has been only concerned with the eastern borderlands of Armenia. Only S. T. Eremyan (1963, 1979 and in the various maps he has contributed to the HZP, HSSRA, and HSHJ) has devoted himself to a critical analysis of this text and made a serious attempt to locate every land and district cited in it. What follows here is an English translation of his reconstruction of the historical geography of ancient Armenia and the rest of South Caucasus as reflected in the ASX (1963:116-120).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. by Province</th>
<th>Approximate Sq. Km.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. GREATER ARMINIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Upper Armenia</td>
<td></td>
<td>23,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Daranali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ahwn (Ariwc)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Muzur</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ekefeac'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mananali</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2,775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Derjani</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sper</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sahgom (Satshgomas)</td>
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<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Karin</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Region of Cop'k' (Fourth Armenia)</td>
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<td>18,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Xorjean</td>
<td>10</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Halstank'</td>
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<td>3,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Pahatun</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Balahovit (Aršamulat)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Cop'k' (Salunac')</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Anj'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Derjan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Gawrek</td>
<td>17</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Ahnik'</td>
<td></td>
<td>17,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 [Angel-tun]</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Np'ret, Np'rkert (Tigranakert)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Ahn (Arzan)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 K'al (Ke'l)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 K'el</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Tark</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Aznajar</td>
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<td>202</td>
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<td>25 Erxert'k'</td>
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<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Gzełx</td>
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<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Salnoy jor</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Sanasunk'</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV. Tawruberan (the Region of Tarawn)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Xoyt'</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>31 Tarawn</td>
<td>31</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 [Palunik']</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 Ahršamunik'</td>
<td>33</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Marsali</td>
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<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Dnaswark</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The ASX omits Angel-tun. Eremyan for some reason makes it part of Ahnik' when it is clear from Classical sources that it was a part of Cop'k' (Sophene). Supra VII C, n. 45.
2 Eremyan (73) accepts the identification of the city of Tigranakert with Np'rkert (Martyropolis), but this is not at all certain (supra VII C, n. 45).
3 Palunik' is omitted in the ASX but the principality is well known to Armenian sources. Probably this Palunik' had ceased to exist by the author's day and he accepted the later Palunik' in Vaspurakan as the proper location for the original. Apparently the Paluni family had been dispossessed here in Tawruberan (by the Mamikonids of Tarawn?) and had moved to Vaspurakan, perhaps under Arcrunid protection (Toum.:212).
### Appendix IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Tuaracatap'</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Dalar</td>
<td>1,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Har'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Varalunik'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Bznunik'</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Erewark'</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ałkovit</td>
<td>1,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Apahunik'</td>
<td>2,375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Korni</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Xorxorunik'</td>
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#### V. Mokk'

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Another Bayr</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Boc' gawai</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>At'unsic jor</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Mijs</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Mokk' Aranjunak (the Royal District)</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Argastovit</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Jermajoar</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
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#### VI. Kors'ayk'

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Kordšik'</td>
<td>5,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Upper Kordšik'</td>
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</tr>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Middle Kordšik'</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Lower Kordšik'</td>
<td>625</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Agyršauk'</td>
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<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Motšolank'</td>
<td>875</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>Oršrank'</td>
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<td>61</td>
<td>Kartšunik'</td>
<td>550</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>Čabuk</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Lesser Albak'</td>
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#### VII. Parskahayk'

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<th>No.</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Ay'li, i.e, Kuričan</td>
<td>1,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Marz Tovrat</td>
<td>1,855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>T' aloa District</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Aras, i.e., Ševimak</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Arinš (Ernay)</td>
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<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Tember</td>
<td>1,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Zaralawan</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Zarawod</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Hër</td>
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#### VIII. Vaspurakan

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Ršunik'</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Tosp</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Bogunik'</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Arčšakovit</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Kušnovit</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
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<td>78</td>
<td>Ałkovit</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Gärni</td>
<td>1,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Alberani</td>
<td>1,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Bužunik'</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Arnoyton</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Anjevac'k'</td>
<td>2,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Tpatsunik'</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Eruandunik'</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>[Original Mardastan]*</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Mardastan (Marduc'ayk')</td>
<td>1,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Artaz</td>
<td>2,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Ake</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Greater Albak</td>
<td>1,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Anjaksi-jor (Valley of Anjaks)</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>T'orawad</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Čaršı-fot</td>
<td>3,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Krčunik'</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Mecnunik'</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Palunik'</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Gukank'</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Ahand-fat</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Parspatunik'</td>
<td>5,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Artašean, i.e. Artawanean</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4) Bay, i.e., 'original' Mardastan is not mentioned in the ASX and Eremyan takes its name from TA (III.29). He places it immediately west of Greater Albak in an area geographically linked to the latter. It was probably always a part of Greater Albak, which is perhaps why it was unknown to earlier sources prior to TA (tenth century).
Eremyan on the geopolitical divisions of South Caucasus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XI. P'aytakaran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 1 Hr'ak'ot-Peroz (Rostak)</td>
<td>3,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133 2 Vardanakert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134 3 Ewr'ar'orakan-bagink'</td>
<td>8,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 4 Bahan-rot, i.e., Rots-Bala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136 5 Aros-Pikan</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 6 Hani</td>
<td>1,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 7 Ar'i-Bagawan</td>
<td>2,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 8 Spandaran-Peroz</td>
<td>1,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 9 Ormizd-Peroz</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141 10 Alewan</td>
<td>1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Utk'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142 1 A'fan-rot</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143 2 Tri</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144 3 Rot-Parsean</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145 4 Abu'</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146 5 Tso-k'ustak</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147 6 Gardman</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148 7 Sa'ka'</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149 8 Uti Aranjanak (Ut-Rostak)</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. Gugark''</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 1 Jorop'or</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151 2 Kolbop'or</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152 3 Cobop'or</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153 4 Talir</td>
<td>2,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154 5 'Tz'ek'</td>
<td>2,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155 6 Kangark'</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156 7 Upper Jawak</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 8 Artahan</td>
<td>2,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158 9 Kfarj'k'</td>
<td>1,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159 10 Sawisit</td>
<td>1,045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Eremyan in his attempts to juggle the names of the districts of Vaspurakan found in the various ms. and make them come out to the requisite thirty-five, combines Bak'(r)an and Marand into one. I do not think this is accurate (supra VII A, n. 144).
7 I do not agree with Eremyan's assumption that Sisakan-i-Kotak is an alternative name for Miws Haband. I take them to have been separate districts (supra VII J, n. 209).
8 Eremyan separates K'usti and Painits into two districts. I believe them to have been one (supra ibid.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basean</td>
<td>2,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabetanik</td>
<td>1,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abehanik</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hwununik</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arlarunik</td>
<td>1,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagrewand</td>
<td>5,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcokn</td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanand</td>
<td>4,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirak</td>
<td>3,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aragaocn</td>
<td>3,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calakek</td>
<td>825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maseac Otn</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kogovit</td>
<td>2,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aloç'k</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14A</td>
<td>1,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Lower Jawaxk' or Eruset'i is omitted in the ASX, which knows only of Upper Jawaxk' (n. 180). The author probably subsumed the latter into the former. Although a Lower Jawaxk' is known to have existed (see why would the term 'Upper Jawaxk' be used?).

13 The ASX omits 'Tair Verin 'Upper Tair' but Eremyan (83) makes it a district of Ayrarat. Might it not as easily have lain in Gugark' along with Tair proper?

---

**The Stronghold Land of the Medes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nixorakan</td>
<td>7,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasn District</td>
<td>4,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahkert-tun (Marjin)</td>
<td>2,002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Armenian Mesopotamia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barjr Hayk', Cop'ac' Ko'oh, Tawruberan, Mokk', Vaspurakan, Siwnik', Tayk', and Ayrarat)</td>
<td>27,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Armenia 66 B.C.—37 A.D.</td>
<td>312,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Armenia 37 A.D.—387 A.D.</td>
<td>285,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Territory of Greater Armenia 363-87 A.D.</td>
<td>272,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Lands (Barjr Hayk', Cop'ac' Ko'oh, Tawruberan, Mokk', Vaspurakan, Siwnik', Tayk', and Ayrarat)</td>
<td>174,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border Lands (Amnik, Kocayk', Parskahayk', Archax, Psytakan, Usik', and Gugark')</td>
<td>103,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marzanati Armenia (Ayrarat, Tayk', Tawruberan, Mokk', Vaspurakan, and Siwnik')</td>
<td>134,161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byzantine Armenia (Barjr Hayk', Cop'ac' Ko'oh)</td>
<td>39,650</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**B. IBERIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kharjk'</td>
<td>1,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šawêt</td>
<td>1,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artahan</td>
<td>2,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Jawaxk'</td>
<td>2,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Jawaxk' (Eruset'i)</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 I disagree with Eremyan in the identification of the 'Stronghold Land of the Medes' (Amur Marac' Alzark) with this region, which actually was called Noc-Sirakan (supra VII H, n. 180)

15 Supra n. 11.
### II. Iberian Moxika (Mexe't'i)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Same'xe</td>
<td>2,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A'tara</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>T'aw District</td>
<td>732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Upper Iberian province: 6,485

### III. Arguet'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Go'ahis-xew</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tanis-xew</td>
<td>1,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Duan Plain</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>A'carcet'is-xew</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>[Rexa]'</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Guerdis-Jiri</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kox (Kasp)</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sac'xumet'</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Konis-xew</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>C'raxzmay</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Bazael</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>[Mt]kuris-xew</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Jel[e]t</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Upper Iberian province: 1,450

### IV. The Vitaxate (Sapiaiuxo)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mangleac'por</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>K'uilap'or</td>
<td>495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bolhop'or</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Paruar</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Xanc'ix (Hunarakert)</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Upper Iberian province: 2,625

### V. The Principality of Tahir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Cobop'or</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Kolhop'or</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Jorop'or</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Tahir</td>
<td>2,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Kangark'</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Trekh'</td>
<td>2,195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VI. Kaxet'-Kuxet'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Kaxet</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34A</td>
<td>[Ostan vrac']</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Xerk</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Éroy</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>T'ianet'</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Cobènor</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Cuk'tèt</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Velis-e[j]èx</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>K'sul-[a]b[a]</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Suj[e]t</td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VII. Egr (Joined to Iberia at the end of the VIIth Cent.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nigal</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mrud</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mrit</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### VIII. The Region of the Fortifications of the Gates of the Alans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nigal</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mrud</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Mrit</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

- Rexa is omitted in the ASX. Eremyan supplies it from Georgian sources.
C. ALBANIA

I. The Original Land of the Albanians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ehni (Xeni)</td>
<td>1,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kambecan</td>
<td>7,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bel</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sakh'</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Getaru</td>
<td>1,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Xohnaz</td>
<td>1,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Getawu</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hambasi</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ostani-i-Marzpan (Kapatak)</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>K'ahdaš</td>
<td>1,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The Plain of Bazkan, i.e., Hejeri</td>
<td>4,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Districts Taken from the Armenians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Šakašen</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Gardman</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>K'usti-P'arnes</td>
<td>2,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kolt'</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ahuē</td>
<td>590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Tus-K'ustak</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ut-Rostak</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Rot-Parsean</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Greater Kuenk'</td>
<td>975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Greater Irank'</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Piank'</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Harclank'</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Parsakank'</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Muxank'</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Vaykunik'</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Lesser Haband, i.e., Sisakan-i-Kotak</td>
<td>2,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Rotëtrak</td>
<td>3,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Berdajor</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>'Trí</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Arian-Rot</td>
<td>2,225</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eremyan on the geopolitical divisions of South Caucasia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arc'ax</td>
<td>11,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utik'</td>
<td>11,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotëtrak'</td>
<td>3,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazkan (Héran)</td>
<td>9,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darband</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'awaspark'</td>
<td>2,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eekk'</td>
<td>2,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coşa</td>
<td>4,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šruan</td>
<td>1,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xoruan</td>
<td>1,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 Supra n. 9.
APPENDIX V

TERRITORIAL ANALYSIS OF THE NAXARAR SYSTEM

One of the major contributions of Nicholas Adontz to Armenian Studies has been his analysis of the various aspects of the naxarar system found in his first - and magnum - opus Armenia in the Period of Justinian (1908). Of these aspects, one of the most interesting is the territorial one; the question as to what parts of Armenia belonged to each of the various princely families that dominated Armenian society, and among whom the king - whom they both pre-existing and survived - was regarded merely as a primus inter pares. Unfortunately for us, Adontz was concerned solely with the period of Justinian, that is, with the naxarar system as it existed after the falling away of Armenia's border territories in the period 298-387 A.D. For this reason his territorial analysis of the system, so perspicacious and filled with sage and penetrating observations, most of which have stood well the test of time, was limited to those areas still under naxarar control in the sixth century. Thus, all of the princely houses of western, southern, northern, and eastern Armenia were omitted from his purview, and he did nothing to clarify the situation of land ownership and tenure in these important regions of the old kingdom. What is badly needed is a territorial analysis, not of Armenia in the sixth century, but rather as it existed in the fourth. Such an analysis, to be properly undertaken, would, of course, require a book with separate chapters to deal with each section of Armenia at a time; and such a book is currently in preparation by the author. In view of the importance of the subject, however, and of the need for a reference tool to supplement the work of Incicean, Hübschmann, Adontz, and Eremyan, this appendix is offered as a brief, general survey of the question, a more detailed and critical analysis - with full bibliographic and scholarly apparatus - to be presented at another time.

In preparing this survey, as in the more elaborate study in progress, certain principles have been followed: first, it is assumed that every district in Arsacid Armenia, if not part of a known principality, still belonged to someone - to the Royal House, to tribal chiefs, to the religious establishment, or to the Armenian municipalities. Second, that while a principality might bear the name of a particular family, it still belonged to someone — to the Royal House, to tribal chiefs, to the religious establishment, or to the Armenian municipalities. Third, that in trying to determine which princeless districts formed parts of which principalities, the configuration of the mountains - or, less frequently, the course of the rivers - are our best guide to solving the problem. Thus, if a princeless district lay between principality 'A' and principality 'B' but was separated from 'A' by a rugged mountain range and from 'B' by a lesser one (or none at all), then the district in question probably belonged to principality 'B.'

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Territorial analysis of the naxarar system

Much of the rationale behind the arrangement in the following list will be found in the relevant notes (sections VI, VIIIA-VIII and X), where the geopolitical reality behind each of the fifteen traditional lands of Armenia described in the ASX is discussed.

A. Royal Lands

I. Ayrarat
   1. Aragacotn
   2. Çakatk'
   3. Masea'c'otn
   4. Kogovit

II. Sirak

III. Karin
   1. Karin
   2. Ša(t)a'tagomk' 

IV. Mardpetakan
   1. Mardastan/Marduc'ayk'
   2. T'orinan
   3. Čuāriot
   4. Krčunik'
   5. Atandrot

V. Kas'p'k'/P'artakaran
   1. Hrak'ot Peroz
   2. Vardanakert
   3. Ewt'np'orakean Bagink'
   4. Balan-fot/Rot-i-BaBa
   5. Aros-Pilan

VI. Parspatunik'/the Stronghold Land of the Medes

1 These seven districts, in my view, formed in the fourth century the Royal Domains, properly called, after certain lands had been granted to other princes and to the Church (as indicated further below in the list), and before the Byzantines enlarged Ayrarat by adding to it the additional districts cited in the ASX.
2 I consider Bak'(r)an and Marand to have been separate districts whereas Eremyan (117) considers them identical.
3 Eremyan (117) identifies Hrak'ot-Peroz with the district of Rostak'in in Albania but I reject any such extension of P'aytaka- ran north of the River Arax (supra n. 151 A).
4 Eremyan (118) takes Mans' 'Amer Axtarink', the 'stronghold land of the Medes', to be the equivalent of Naxsakan (infra, XXXV in the list) but I identify it with Parspatunik' for reasons given supra VII-H, n. 180. Recently, Eremyan hmitenel (JSLI 2:112), refers to Parspatunik' as Mans' 'Kobnak'.
VII. Korčěk/Korčěk
1. A(y)rtruank'
2. Aygark'
3. Mot'olank'
4. Orsirank'
5. Kart'unik'
6. Cahuk
7. Lesser Albak

B. Royal Lands Assigned to Arsacid Branches or to the Royal Cadets

VIII. Arjarunik'  
1. Arjarunik'
2. Abeleank'
3. Gabeleank'
4. Hawnuunik'

IX. Hasteank'

X. (East) Aliovit'

XI. Arberani

C. Royal Lands Granted to the Church

XII. Bagrewand

XIII. Mananañi

XIV. Mardal

---

5 From the indications of MX (II.64), I take Korčěk/Korčěk', the eastern two-thirds of the land of Korčayk' of the ASS, to have been a crown land in the period of the Arsacid monarchy.
6 The House of Kamsarak or Arjarunik' was a collateral line of the Arsacid Royal House (Toum.:206-207). It was after the fall of the monarchy that its territory must have been divided among its four branches: the houses of Arjarunik', Abeleank', Gabeleank', and Hawnuunik'.
7 The ASS indicates an Aliovit in both Tawruberan and Vaspurakan. Doubtless, the two were contiguous, their separation perhaps due to the new Byzantine-persian boundary of 591 passing through the center of the original district. I distinguish the two Aliovits as (East) Aliovit (in Vaspurakan) and (West) Aliovit (in Tawruberan) but put the adjectives in parentheses because they are not found in the sources.
8 A royal land according to MX (II.22) but Toum. (1963:205) assigns it to the Princes Gnuni. It may have changed hands.
9 Between the original Ayrarat and the royal land of Karin, lay the belt of six princeless lands listed here. Since Mardal and Bagrewand at either end were granted to the Church, I am assuming that the lands in between had likewise been Royal lands granted to either the Bishop of Mardal or to the Bishop of Bagrewand, the districts in question probably being divided between the two.

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D. Royal Lands Granted to Princely Houses

XVII. Varaznunik' (III)

XIX. Nig

XX. Urc/Urcajor

1. Urc
2. The Region of Arac
3. Sarur Plain

---

E. Temple Lands Granted to the Church

XXI. Ekefeac'

1. Ekefeac'
2. Muzur/Menjur

XXII. Daranah

1. Daranah
2. Ahwn/Afiwc

XXIII. (West) Tarawn (Aštisat)

10 The Princes of Varaznunik' were sovereign over the district of that name in Tawruberan but, under circumstances unknown to us, appear to have been granted a domain in Ayrarat upon which they imposed their name (Ad-Gas.:239; Toum.:222, both of whom take the Varaznunik' in Ayrarat to have been their original domain).
11 A Greek inscription found at Aparan in 1908 reveals the granting of this district in the Royal Domain to the princes Gnuni in the third century (Toum.:205).
12 The Princes of Urc perhaps owned the adjacent but otherwise princeless district of Aracoy Kolm 'Region of Arac' and Sarur Dast 'The Plain of Sarur.'
13 The name Arac is perhaps connected to that of the River Erasx?
14 Ekefeac' contained the three great shrines of Erez, Tordan, and T'il, all of which were turned over to the Armenian Church after the conversion in c. 314. Apparently the entire land belonged to the pagan religious establishments.
15 Muzur or Menjur was princeless and must have belonged to either the temple state of Ekefeac' or to that of Daranah. Geographically, it could have belonged to either. We do not know.
16 Daranah contained the great shrine of Ani-Kamax and possibly included the small princeless district of Afiwn or Afiwc to the west of it, but see supra VII A, n. 5.
17 Ptolemy (V.7.3) makes Afiwn (Analibla) a locality in Lesser Armenia and IA (208) indicates that it (Analideia) lay in the Empire as well. Its addition to Daranah may that it been only a result of the reforms of Justinian (536) or of those of Maurice (591).
18 Although the sources speak of Tarawn as a single unit, it is clear that the western part of the plain belonged to the temple-state centered at Aštisat, which passed to the Armenian Church in c. 314. Geographically, the princeless district of Aspakunlk'or, 'Valley of the Aspakunlk', is one with this section of Tarawn, and I am including it as part of the temple-state.
Appendix V

1. Astisat
2. Aspakuneac’or

XXIV. Derjan

F. Principalities Granted to the Church

XXV. Basean

XXVI. Hark
1. Hark’
2. Kori

XXVII. Bznunik
1. Bznunik’
2. Erewark’

19 As a possession of the Church, Astisat, like Ekeleac’ and Daranah (supra nn. 14, 16), formed the private holdings of the Chief Bishop (later Kat’otikos) of Armenia. With the death of Isaac (Sahak), the last Chief Bishop descended from St. Gregory, these lands were lost to the Church, passing through Isaac’s daughter to her husband, Hamazasp, Prince of the Mamikonians (Toum.:209).

20 Derjan appears to have been the property of the great shrine at Bagayafic and hence another temple-state which passed to the Armenian Church.

21 For further details, see Hewsen TAVO map 8 VI 14.

22 Basean, or Basan, was the property of the Princes Orduni, who were exterminated in the early fourth century and whose domain was granted to the Church by King Trdas the Great (c. 298-c. 330) (BP III.4; MX III.2).

23 Hark’ had belonged to the Prince Manawazean exterminated along with their mortal enemies, the House of Orduni (supra n. 22). Their lands, too, passed to the Church.

24 Kori, geographically, could have been a part of either Hark’ or Xorxofunik’. I lean more towards it having been a part of the former.

25 Princes Dat abe Bznuni went over to the Persians in the 330’s and the lands of his house were confiscated and granted to the Church (BP III.8).

26 Erewark’ could have belonged either to Bznunik’ to its west or to Rshunik’ to its east. Since Bznunik’ and Erewark’ were both included in ‘Tawderasan, while Rshunik’ lay in ‘Gaypavaran, I am opting for the first choice.

G. Principalities Annexed by Byzantium in 536

XXVIII. Sper

XXIX. Lesser Cop’k’/Cop’k’ Sahuneac’
1. Cop’k’ Sahuneac’
2. Degik’

XXX. Greater Cop’k’
1. Greater Cop’k’
2. Np’fet/Np’rkert

XXXI. Balahovit
1. Balahovit
2. Pahstun
3. Xorjean

XXXII. Angehun-Hanjit
1. Angehun
2. Hanjit
3. Gawrek’

H. Principalities Annexed by Persia c.363/387

XXXIII. Aljin’
1. Aljin’/Arzan
2. K’al/K’el
3. Ketik
4. Taeik
5. Azaucjor

27 There were three groups of lands annexed by the Empire in 536. The first consisted of the three principalities of Lesser Cop’k’ (Cop’k’ Sahuneac’), Greater Cop’k’, and Angehun-Hanjit, which had all become vassals of Rome in 298. The second comprised the two additional principalities of Balaovit and Hasteank’ (the latter cited above in the list as a Royal land granted to the Royal Cadets). Together, these five principalities formed a ‘pentarchy’ (called ethne or gentes) under Romano-Byzantine suzerainty until their annexation (supra VII B, n. 26; Ad-Gar.: Ch. V; Toum.:166-179). The third group consisted of the principality of Sper, the Church lands of Daranah, Ekefeac’, and Derjan cited above as inherited by the Mamikonians from the Gregorids in 439, and the Royal land of Karin also cited above. After their annexation, the first two groups of five principalities; i.e., the Pentarchy, were organized by Justinian into the province of Armenia Quarta, ‘Fourth Armenia,’ the third group into the province of Armenia Interior, ‘Inner Armenia’ (supra p. 18; Ad-Gar.: Ch. V; Toum.:192-196).

28 Sper (Syspiritis) belonged to the House of Bagratuni (Toum.:202).

29 Lesser Cop’k’ had its own princes; Degik’, which was princeless, is geographically a part of it.

30 Greater Cop’k’, lay on both sides of the Tigris, Np’fet or Np’rkert being the name for the division of it lying northeast of the river.

31 Pahstun and Xorjean are geographically parts of Balahovit (the latter occupies the lower valley of the Miws Gayl (Peri-su) River; the latter two respectively its middle and uppermost reaches. They thus apparently formed a single principality.

32 Angehun and Hanjit were two lands ruled by a single house; Gawrek’ is geographically a part of the latter.
6. Erxet'k'
7. Gezb
8. Salnoy jor (Gorge of Salin)
9. Sanasunk'

XXXIV. Korduk'/Timorik'33
1. Korduk'
2. Upper Kordrik'
3. Middle Kordrik'
4. Lower Kordrik'

XXXV. Nor-Sirakan34
1. Mahkert-tun
2. Nixorakan
3. Dasn-trê

XXXVI. Zarawand-Her/Parakahayk'/Sirakan35
1. Ayli/Kurican
2. Mari District
3. Trabi District
4. Arax/Övéa
5. Ainsay/Einsay
6. Tamber
7. Zarehawan
8. Zarawand
9. Hër

I. Principalities Annexed by Iberia c. 363-387

XXXVII. Gugark'
1. Cobop'or
2. 'Tvelk'
3. Kangark'
4. Upper Jawaxk'
5. Artahan
6. Kharjk'
7. Säwät'
8. Lower Jawaxk' (Erulêt')

In my view, the western third of the land of Korçayk' of the ASK formed a single principality of Korduk', which probably included the adjacent districts of Upper, Lower, and Middle Kord(r)ik' occupying the valley of the Eastern Khabur River (Hewsen REA 1969).

Eremyan (1959: map) thought that Nor-Sirakan included these three lands together with Parakahayk', considering the former to be the equivalent of the Marac 'Amur Asxarb, 'The Stronghold Land of the Medes,' (but see supra n. 4 and VII H, n. 180).

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35 Supra VII H, n. 180.

36 The principality of Jorop'or emerged in the early fourth century. Its princes were a branch of the Gusarids, the first House of Gugark' (Toum.:190).
37 The principality of Kolbop'or also emerged in the early fourth century. Its princes, too, were a branch of the Gusarids (Toum.: ibid.).
38 The Princes of Tasir emerge in the mid-fifth century. They were apparently a branch of the Mihranids, the second House of Gugark' (Toum.:190).
39 Koi(Geo.: Kola) may or may not have constituted a separate principality as Toumanoff (254) thinks. The evidence is weak (supra VII J, n. 244).
40 The principality of Sakasen, ruled by the House of Dastakaran (Toum.:220), undoubtedly included the princeless district of Tus-k'ustak to the west of it.
41 For the location of Gardman see Harut'yunyan {HSH 12:268) rather than Eremyan (1963: map; 1979: map, and HSH 2:150) who misplaces this principality (supra VII J, n. 209).
42 The ASK makes Koh' a part of Arc'ax, which must have been an arrangement made after its loss to Albania in c. 387 (supra VII J, n. 222).
43 The identification of princeless Arc'ax with the Principality of Cawdk' seems possible but cannot be proved (supra VII J, n. 209).
9. Piank’
10. Parskan’
11. K’ustir-p’arnès
12. Lester Sisakan

XLVI. Utik’
1. Aran-rot
2. Tri
3. Rot Parsean
4. Aluè
5. Utí Aranjnak

XLVII. Araustan (Rehiménè)?

XLVIII. Tur-Abdin (Cawdekin’/Zabdikénè)

XLIX. Armenian Mesopotamia (the southern part of Greater Cop’k’)

L. Principalities Remaining in Armenia after c. 387

L. Ake
LI. Greater Albak
1. Greater Albak
2. Taygrea/Tankriyyn
3. Varažmanik’
4. Kuthnovit
5. Gazrik’ean

LII. Anjaxi-jor/Enc’ayac’i
1. Anjaxi-jor

LIW. Asoc’k’

LIII. Anjewac’ik’
LIV. Apahunik’
LV. Arsamunik’
LVI. Artaz
LVII. Golt’n
LVIII. Xorxofunik’
LXII. Mehnunik’ (Palunik II?)
1. Mehnunik’
2. Palunik’

LXIII. Mokk’
1. Hayr
2. Another Bayr
3. Boc’ Gwaw (The District of Donkeys)
4. Arsenic’jor
5. Mija
6. Mokk’ Proper (The Princely District)
7. Argastovit
8. Jermajor

45 The location of Rehiménè, which has no known Armenian equivalent, is uncertain, but as Bèch Rehiménè was one of the episcopal seats of the Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibis, by a process of elimination it seems possible to equate it with the district of Nisbin, otherwise known in Armenian as Araustan (Hewsen 1989).
46 Toumanoff (182, n. 146) takes Tur-Abdin/Zabdikénè to have been the principality of Cawdekin’ or Cawdekin’ of Armenian sources (but see VII J., n. 209).
47 The term Miçagetk’ Asorwoc’, ‘Syrian Mesopotamia,’ led Eremyan (118) to postulate a corresponding Miçagetk’ Hayoc’, ‘Armenian Mesopotamia,’ which would consist of Armenian territory in Greater Cop’k’ lost to Adiabénè in the first century.
48 On the basis of the configuration of the mountains, I include the princeless districts of Taygrea/Tankriyyn, Varažmanik’ (the third district bearing this name), Kuthnovit and Gazrik’ean all in Greater Albak, together with the district of that name. This would account for the importance of the Arcruri family of Albak, who otherwise would have ruled only a small domain before their expansion in the Middle Ages.

49 Aband-rot, the ‘Aband River,’ appears to have been a part of the principality of Anjaxi-jor with which it is contiguous. It had no princes of its own.
50 It is not out of the question for the Princes Amatuni of Artaz of Median origin to have held the entire Mardpetakan within which their domain of Artaz lay.
51 The principality of Eruandunik’ occupied the small but fertile valley of the Hayoc’jor (Micinger suyu) River, and was otherwise known as Hayoc’jor, ‘Valley of the Armenians.’
52 We hear of no princes in Mehnunik’ which, however, possessed its own bishop, and no bishop of Palunik’ which formed a principality. On the basis of these facts, as well as on that of geographical propinquity, I make the two districts form one principality, the bishop bearing the name of one of its districts; the princes bearing that of the other.
53 Boc’ gawar, the ‘District of Donkeys’ or ‘of Asses.’
54 Ark’ayic’ gawar, ‘Royal District,’ but in this case arkeayic’, meaning ‘princely.’
Appendix V

LXIV. Palunik' I

LXV. Rštnunik'
1. Rštnunik'
2. Tosp
3. Bogunik'
4. Arččakovit
5. Bužunik'
6. Artašescan
7. Artawanean
8. Arnoyotn
9. Gukanik'

LXVI. Siwnik'
1. Ernjak
2. Čahuk
3. Vayoc'or/Elegnajor
4. Gehak'unik'
5. Alabččk'
6. Chukk/Sisian
7. Haband
8. Bōk/Kašunik'
9. Jork'
10. Arewik'
11. Kovšakan
12. Cawdk'/Sawdk'

LXVII. (East) Tarawn
1. (East) Tarawn
2. Xoyt'

LXVII. Tayk'
1. Arnaeac'p'or
2. Azordac'p'or

55 Not to be confused with the later Palunik (II) in Vaspurakan (infra n. 52), this Palunik (I) was located northwest of Tarawn and was probably early seized from the Paluni House by the Mamikonians after which the former removed to Vaspurakan and acquired the domain of Palunik (II), which probably included Mehnunik (infra n. 52, Toum.:212).

56 It is not impossible that Gehak'unik' included part of the Arzakid Royal Domains prior to the fall of the monarchy in 428, in which case the Siwidd princes would have acquired the territory in the fifth century (Erem. HSH map).

57 If the principality of Cawdk' or Sawdk' included Arc'ax as suggested above (infra n. 43), then the district of that name should not be cited again here. A sharp ridge of mountains separates Sawdk' from Arc'ax, but a good pass cuts through them as well, so that they could have formed a single principality as indeed they appear to have for some time under the rule of the Princes of Xac'en (Arc'ax) much later (Hewsen REA 1973-1974:286).

58 The eastern part of Tarawn formed the Škuni principality which passed to the Mamikonians in the fourth century. Only then were (West) Tarawn (Atišas) and (East) Tarawn (Škunišas) united. (Supra n. 18; and VII D).

59 Xoyt' is geographically a part of (East) Tarawn but could have been an autonomous tribal district as 'DA (IIJ) seems to suggest.

560 If Kol were not an independent principality as indicated above (infra n. 39), then it must have been most probably a district of Tayk'.

61 This Varaznunik (I) would appear to have been the original domain of the Princes Varaznuni in central Armenia, lying in the Plain of Xnus (Tk.: Xnus).
APPENDIX VI

THE ITINERARY (Mtonac'ap'k')

(an original appendix to the Aixara echyc')

The 'text known as the 'Armenian Itinerary' (Mtonac'ap'k') was first published in the Book of the Fox (Girk' Aluesagirk'f in Amsterdam in 1668-1669, and subsequently in the 'Marseilles' (read: Constantinople) editions of the same work in 1676-1678 and 1683. Saint-Martin published a French translation of it in 1818 (Vol. II: 395-397), probably drawing upon the same edition of 1683 that he used for his text of the ASX. This 'itinerary' is identical to that found in the Hermitage in Leningrad (ms. 1679; according to Gevorkean's Catalog, No.102) dated 971-981, and to that found in ms. 1138 (J) of the Armenian monastery of St. James in Jerusalem. The Leningrad ms. (collated with the text of the 'Marseilles' edition) was published by Manandyan (1945), Engl. trans. N. Garsoian (1965:169-170). This latter has been collated here with the Jerusalem text. This work is of interest to us in that both Manandyan (1947:127-143) and Abrahamyan (1944:152), as we have seen, considered it to have been originally a part of the ASX following immediately upon the conclusion of the section on Asia. According to Manandyan, however (Garsoian trans.:172), there is no doubt that the Arab mile equal to 1,917.6 m. lies at the base of the distances given in the Itinerary, and he thus dates it to the Arab period. This, however, would not make it too late to have been a part of the ASX whose seventh century author lived deep into the period of the Arab domination of Armenia. The question of the relationship of the itinerary to the ASX cannot be considered closed.

It should be noted that I comes at the end of a copy of the ASX found in J, and that at the end the total text - ASX and Mtonac'ap'k' - are stated to have been drawn from the writings of Porphry augmented with materials drawn from the writings of Pappos of Alexandria. This, however, may be a抄写员's inference based on the statements in the introductory passages of the ASX. (The indication E = Hermitage ms. No. 2679, M = the 'Marseilles' (Constantinople) edition of the Book of the Fox, 1683, J = Jerusalem ms. No. 1138).

TEXT

On the meaning of distances in miles. The stadium = 170 steps, the step = 6 feet [sic], the foot = 16 fingers, the mile = 7 stadia. According to the Persian calculation, the stadium = 143 steps, the mile = 1,000 steps, the farsakh = 3 miles.2

APPENDIX VI

The Itinerary (Mtonac'ap'k')

(1) From Dwin to Karin - 200 miles, from Karin to the frontier ditch = 100,3 from there to Kolonia - 90, from there to Niksar4 - 100, from there to Amasia - 80, from there to Gangra - 105, from there to Angora - 80, from there to Constantinople - 120, from there to Rome - 3,000.5

(2) From Dwin to Xlat' = 170 miles, from there to Xlimar - 80, from there to Upha - 180, from there to the Euphrates river - 40, (from there to Emesa - 150), from there to Damascus - 120, from there to Mt. Tabor5 90, from there to Jerusalem - 5,14.

(3) From Dwin to Berdkunk' - 60 miles, from there to Partaw - 160, from there to the Caspian Sea - 90.

(4) From Dwin to Nazijewan - 70 miles, from there to Ganjak Şaharan - 120, from there to Ctesiphon - 370, from there to Aksab - 60, from there to Bava - 140, from there to the Persian Gulf - 20.

(5) From Ganjak4 to Nineveh17 = 120, from there to Nisibis - 120, from there to Upha - 150.

(6) From Nazijewan to Ardabil - 200 miles, from there to Vardanakert - 70, from there to P'aytaka-ran - 60, from there to the Caspian sea - 50.20

(7) From Dwin to Kulp - 59, from there to the village of Kot - 120, from there to Tiflis - 140, from there to Xanarakert - 70, from there to Partaw - 100.

(8) From Jerusalem to the city of Alexandria - 500, from there to the Pentapolis - 1,000, from there to Tripolis - 350, from there to Africa - 1,500, from there to Septe - 900, from there to the Ocean - 2,000.26 End of the distances in miles.

1 M 'to the ditch separating the land of the Armenians from the land of the Greeks;' J 'to the ditch of the land of the Armenians.'
2 M '120'.
3 M 'Ko7kiar'; E 'to Nikia.'
4 M '130'.
5 M '320'.
6 M '600'; I '90 = 3000'.
7 M '160'.
8 E omits the distance here.
9 M '100'.
10 ME '600'.
11 ME '600'.
12 ME '600'.
13 ME '600'.
14 ME '100'.
15 M '100'.
16 Garsoian trans.:171, n. 151, Ganjak = Ganjak Şaharan.
17 Garsoian trans.: ibid., Nineve 'Nineveh' = Mosul.
18 M '100'.
19 M omits the distance between Ninus (Mosul) and Mubin (Nisibis).
20 M omits this entire section. Everything after 'Upha 150' up to 'Kulp 50' is missing in J, and 'Kulp 50' follows immediately upon 'Upha 150'.
21 E 'to Knapke 120', M 'to the village of Kot 105'; J idem. '107'.
22 M '300'.
23 M '1200'.
24 M 'to the Ulikonou Ocean 1,000'. In the French translation of Saint-Martin (1818 II:395-397) the distance between Amasia and Angora is given as only 108 miles, that between Constantinople and Rome, as 3,000 miles, from Xlimar to Edessa, 160 miles, from Berdkunk' to Partaw, 140 miles, and from Partaw to the Caspian sea as 20 (1) miles.

1 Supra p. 4.
2 Ibid.
3 This passage is omitted in M and J.
APPENDIX VII

THOMAS OF CILICIA (Tom'na Klîhkeç'i)
ON CILICIAN ARMENIA

A fourteenth Century Addendum to the A Xcârbac'yc'

In his catalog of the Armenian mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Frédéric Macler cites an incomplete fragment of the AŞX found in ms. 202.¹ The ms. in question is a text of the Universal History of Vardan the Great (d. c. 1270) and the fragment of the Geography is found in folios 294-307. This ms. is a modern one, copied in September, 1850, by Edouard Dulaurier and collated in October with a copy (ms. 7) in the Academy of Sciences at Saint Petersburg. This latter ms. is itself copied by Ivan Nazarov, deacon of the Armenian church in Saint Petersburg, from an earlier one in the Roumanov Museum, but no further details are given.

According to Macler’s short notice, the fragment of the AŞX (which at that time was still being attributed to Moses of Xoren) consists of the text from the section dealing with Syria on through to the end of the work. This, however, is not exactly the case. The text indeed begins with Syria (fol.294) and extends to China (fol.301) but at this point the ms. continues with the sections on the fifteen tradid-

...
Appendix VII

4. Mesopotamia. This region is described as "yelic' kay hayoc" instead of "yelic' kalov asorwoc"; the mention of the icon at Edessa does not call it anjeragor (axheiropons, i.e. not made by human hands). The latter part of this section has a lacuna and instead of ending with the works "from India and all the countries of the East" it has "from India which is a region of the East."

5. Fortunate Arabia. Instead of one nation and fourteen districts, the text has "several nations and fifty cities". Instead of saying "from there came the Queen of Sheba" it has "from there appeared the House of Sheba." The text mentions the spices of Arabia but omits all their names.

6. Media has "Tapotk' in place of "Mark', and the names of its districts are badly corrupted.


8. Erimaeus. Only five of its districts are listed and their names are corrupted. The town of "Gundishapah is spelled "Kursep'ny.

9. Persia is called "K'usmandic and, instead of mentioning "Reshirparhsan where fine pearls are found," the text has "several cities where fine pearls are found."

10. "Arik' (Ariana) is called Asorik' (Syria), "which extends to its sea" instead of "which extends from Media and Persia to the Hycranian sea."

11. Scythia. The River "Et'el (the Volga) is called the "Eat'.

12. India. The text omits the identification of the River Ganges with the Biblical Phison. To the words "Here are found philosophers who do no evil deeds and do not eat the flesh of animals," the text adds "and are long-lived." It omits the animal "sreljer, and its list of animals differs from the one in the other ms. It omits the last seven of the nine drugs usually listed and also the passage concerning the kinds of aloes to be found in India.

13. Ceylon is called "Zababrion." The text omits any mention of silver as well as of Ceylon being the site of Satan's fall.

14. Čenastan (North China) has "hresmakay for hres ew musk and ends with the passage zkest erkrin korpasolen instead of "ascenzanawt'erkraw.

15. Siwnikia (South China). The text omits mentioning the mountains and rivers; its list of monstrous peoples differs from that of earlier texts and it omits the final sentence: "Thus we end our description of the world."

From this partial description of the special features of this ms. one can easily detect its late character. The section on the fifteen traditional lands of Armenia differs even less than the rest of the text and the differences consist largely of misspellings of place names. These variations are cited in the notes to my translation of the ASA as TK and have been drawn from the edition of Anasyan (1967), collated by me with the text found in the British Museum ms. (202).

Appendix VIII

PTOLEMY ON CAUCASIA BOOK V

Chapter 9. Location of Asiatic Sarmatia (Second Map of Asia)

1. Asiatic Sarmatia is terminated on the north by the Unknown Land; on the west by European Sarmatia from the sources of the Tanais river along the Tanais to its outlet in the Maiotis lake, and by the eastern part of this lake from the mouth of the Tanais river to the Kimmerian Bosphoros, along which part are the following:

2. From the mouth of the Tanais river
   - Taniardis 67 30 53 30
   - mouth of the Maroubios river 68 53
   - Pataroue 68 52 30
   - mouth of the Greater Rhombites river 68 30 52
   - mouth of the Theophaios river 68 30 51 40
   - Azara town 68 30 51 20
   - mouth of the Lesser Rhombites river 69 50 30
   - Azarabitis Tainia 68 50
   - Kyrambe and Tyrambai 69 40 49 50
   - mouth of the Antikites river 70 49 20
   - Gerousa town 70 49
   - mouth of the Psathis river 69 48 30
   - Mateta 69 48 30
   - mouth of the Ouardanes river 68 48 20
   - Kimmernon promontory 66 30 48 30
   - Apatourgos 66 20 48 15
   - Akhileon at the mouth of the Bosphoros 64 30 48 30
   - and in the Kimmerian Bosphoros
   - Phanagoria 64 30 47 50
   - Korokondamè 64 15 47 30

3. It is terminated on the south by a part of the Pontos Euxeinos thence as far as the Korax river and the line limiting Kolkhis, Iberia and Albania, thence extending to the Hycranian or the Caspian sea; a description of this boundary is the following:

4. after Korokondamè on the Pontos
   - Hermònassa 66 47 30
   - Sindikos harbor 66 47 50
   - Sinda village 66 48

* Only the section on Armenia has been annotated. Much more research needs to be done on the historical geography of Sarmatia, Kolkhis, Iberia and Albania before a serviceable analysis of these sections can be attempted.
Appendix VIII

9. Kerketidis bay
Tazos town
Toretikon promontory
Ampsalis town
mouth of the Bourkas river
mouth of the Thessyrios river
Karteron Teikhos
mouth of the Korax river
the terminus on the side of Kolkhis is in

10. mouth of the Thessyrios river
Karteron Teikhos
mouth of the Korax river
the terminus on the side of Kolkhis is in

11. thence it extends along the border of Iberia in which are the Sarmatian passes
then along Albania to the terminus on the Hyrkanian sea at the mouth of the Soanas river

12. On the east it is terminated by a part of the Hyrkanian sea beginning at the point next to the
mouth of the Soanas river, the location of which has been indicated;

13. There is another turning of the Rha river which is near the bend of the Tanais river in the
locality
above which two rivers unite coming from the Hyperborean mountains, the position of which
junction is in

14. Of the mountains running through Sarmatia, among those which are named, are the famous
Hippic, the Keraunian, the Korax, and those running along Kolkhis and Iberia which are called the
Caucasus; and a branch of these also runs toward the Hyrkanian sea, the name of which is also
Caucasus.

15. The extreme parts of the Hippic mountains are in
and
of the Keraunian
and
of the Korax
and
of the Caucasus
and
which are near the Columns of Alexander
Sarmatian pass
Albanian pass

16. Its cattle feed in the Sarmatian meadowlands in the region near the unknown land of the
Hyrkanian Sarmatians; and below these are the Basilikoi [Royal] Sarmatians; and the Modika tribe; and
the Hippophagous Sarmatians; and below these are the Zakatai Sarmatians, the Soward btinoi and the
Asaioi, then next to the northern bend of the Tanais river are the Perierbidoi a great tribe near the
southern race of the Ixamatai.

The towns on the Tanais are

Hexapolis 72 55 40
Nauaris 70 55
Tanais 67 54 20

17. Below the Sowardtinoi are the Khaumides, and toward the east from the Rha river are the
Plethethrapagos, the Matrooi and the land of the Neiotes; then below Ixamatai are the Sirakinoi and
between the Matoos swamp and the Hippic mountains next to the Sirakinoi are the Poisos; then the
Theometai, below whom are the Tryramai; then the Aspeirkianoi, and near the Korax mountains are the
Arkhiao and the Zigkhoi;

18. and above the Korax mountains are the Konaspenoi, the Metaeboi, and the Agoraitai.

19. Between the Rha river and the Hippic mountains is the Mithridatis region; below which are
Melanklainoi, then the Amazonoi;

20. and between the Hippic mountains and the Keraunian mountains are the Sowannoi and the
Sakanoi;

21. moreover between the Keraunian mountains and the Rha river are the Orinaitoi the Oudoinoi, and
the Serboi.

22. between the Caucasus mountains and the Keraunian mountains are the Tsowkoi and Didooaroi;

23. and near the Caspian sea are the Oudainoi; the Olandoi, the Jondai, and the Geroei;

24. Below the mountain ridge are the Bosphorainoi, and on both sides of the Bosphorainoi are the
Kimeroi;

25. on the sea coast of the Pontos are the Akbhaioi, the Kerkeiai, the Heniokhoi, and the Sowannok-
khoi; then above Albania the Sowananoi;

26. The towns and villages on the Lesser Rhombites river are Axaraba

27. on the Psathis river
Aukhis 70 49 40

28. on the Ouardanos river
Skopelos 68 48
Sourouba 72 48 20
Korouza 73 40 48 30
Ebrropa 75 20 48 30
Seraka 77 48 40

29. on the Bourkas river
Koukouda 70 47 45

30. on the Thessyris river
Batrakhz 71 47 30

31. and on the Korax river
Naana 73 30 47 15

32. Towns in the highest mountains
Abounoi 73 48
Nasounia 74 48
Halmai 75 48
Appendix VIII

Chapter 10. Location of Kolkhis (Third Map of Asia)

1. Kolkhis is terminated on the north by a part of Sarmatia as we have said; on the west by a part of the Pontos Euxeinos which extends from the Korax river to the bend,
2. where the Phasis empties into the sea, which part is thus described:
   - Dioskourias or Sebastopolis
   - mouth of the Hippos river
   - Neapolis
   - mouth of the Kyaneos river
   - Sigancon
   - Phasis town
3. It is bounded on the south by the Pontos, thence extending along Kappadokia to the terminus which we have mentioned; thence by a part of Armenia along that boundary to the terminus which is located in
   - The Lazoi occupy the maritime coast of Kolkhis; the bordering region the Manraloi inhabit,
4. on the eastern border is Iberia along the line as far as the Caucasus
5. The Lazoi occupy the maritime coast of Kolkhis; the bordering region the Manraloi inhabit,
6. In the interior region the towns and villages are
   - Mekhlessos
   - Madia
   - Sarake
   - Sourion
   - Zadris

Chapter 11. Location of Iberia (Third Map of Asia)

1. Iberia is bounded on the north by the part of Sarmatia which we have described; on the west by Kolkhis along that line to which we have referred; on the south by a part of Greater Armenia which extends from the terminus near the border of Iberia to the Hyrkanion sea where the Kyros river empties into it, which is in
2. on the east by the Hyrkanion sea extending to the Soanas river, which coast is thus described:
   - next to the mouth of the Soana river which is in
3. Between Iberia and the Albanos river, which, flowing from the Caucasus, empties into the Kyros running along entire Iberia and Albania and separating Armenia from both, are the towns and villages,
   - Tagoda
   - Bakkhia
   - Sanous
   - Dëglanë
   - Niga (or Nëga)
4. Moreover between that river [the Kyros] and the Albanos river which flows from the Caucasus are
   - Mestleta (''Meskheta)
Chapter 13. The Location of Greater Armenia.\(^1\)

1. Greater Armenia is bounded on the north by a part of Kolkhis, and by Iberia and Albania on the line which we have indicated running along the Kyros River.

2. On the West, by Kappadokia along the accessible part of the Euphrates and the part of Kappadokia Pontos which extends as far as Kolkhis after passing through the Moskhikan Mountains.

3. On the East by a part of the Hyrkanian Sea\(^2\) from the mouth of the Kyros River to a boundary the location of which is at 79° 45' 43° 20', and by Media on a line leading to the Caspian Mountains\(^3\) the boundary of which is located in 79° 42° 30' and 80° 30' 40'.

4. On the South it is bounded by Mesopotamia\(^4\) along the line of the Taurus Mountains which begin at the Euphrates River, the location of which is 71° 30' 38°, and extends to the Tigris River at 75° 30' 38° 30', then by the Assyria\(^5\) on a line extending along the Niphates Mountains,\(^6\) that line which we have said continues in a direct line as far as the above indicated boundary of the Kaspian Mountains.

5. The notable mountains of Armenia are the Moskhikanians,\(^7\) extending along that part of Kappadokia Pontos which is above them; and the Paryadres Mountains,\(^8\) the terminal positions of which are 75° 43° 20' and 77° 42'; the Ouadakespes Mountains,\(^9\) the central part of which is at 80° 30' 40'; a part of the Antitauros Mountains\(^10\) located on this side of the Euphrates, the middle of which is 72° 41° 10'; those which are called the Abos Mountains,\(^11\) the middle of which is at 77° 41° 10'; and the Gordyaian Mountains,\(^12\) the middle of which is located at 75° 39° 40'.

6. The rivers which flow through this land are first the Araxes River, the mouth of which is at the Hyrkanian Sea at 79° 45' 43° 50' and the sources of which are at 76° 30' 42° 30', increasing towards the East as far as the Kaspian Mountains, then, turning towards the North, one part empties into the Hyrkanian Sea while another joins with Kyros at 78° 30' 44° 30'; and second a part of the Euphrates River from that bend which is from the east, as we have said, extending to the sources which are at 75° 40' 42° 40'.

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\(^1\) For an analysis of this text see Hewsen REA (1982).
\(^2\) Hyrkanian Sea. The Caspian.
\(^3\) Kaspion Mountains, the Qaradagh and Talysh ranges.
\(^4\) Mesopotamia. Northwestern Iraq.
\(^5\) Assyria. Northeastern Iraq.
\(^6\) Niphates Mountains, the Armenian Taurus (or Kurdish) Mountains here, but Classical authors were imprecise in the use of this name.
\(^7\) Moskhians. The Pontic range where it borders Georgia on the southwest.
\(^8\) Paryadres Mountains. The Pontic range where it overlooks the Black Sea.
\(^9\) Ouadakespes Mountains. The Zagros separating Iran from Iraq. This name, Ouadakespis, is unattested elsewhere.
\(^10\) The Antitauros Mountains. The ranges of central Armenia.
\(^11\) Abas Mountains. The Ala dağ culminating in Mt. Ararat.
\(^12\) Gordyaian Mountains. The Kurdish range or its southern reaches.
7. There is also another noted river which empties into the Euphrates,13 is 71° 30' 40° 30' while the terminus near the source is 77° 41'; then finally that part of the Tigris River which is within the region of Armenia from its entrance at the southern border to the sources of the same river Tigris, the location of which is in 74° 40' 39° 40', forming there the lake called Thospitis.14

8. There are other lakes, one of which is called Lykhnitis,15 the center of which is at 78° 43° 15'; and the Arsesa Lake,16 the center of which is 78° 30' 40° 45'.

9. In the region of Armenia which is included between the Euphrates, the Kyros and the Araxes Rivers, there are the lands of Kotarzene [read "Kolarzene"]] which is near the Moskhian Mountains above those rivers; Bokhai17 near the Kyros River; Tosaréne18 [read: "Gegaréne"] and Otene19 near the Araxes, and Kolthene20 and Sodoukene21 which is below it; then, along the Parydrès Mountains, are Sirskéné22 and Sakaţéné,23 [read: "Sakasténé"].

10. The towns in this section are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sala</td>
<td>73 20 44 20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Askoura</td>
<td>74 44 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baraza</td>
<td>75 20 44 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lala</td>
<td>76 10 44 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santouta</td>
<td>77 20 44 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sataphara</td>
<td>78 44 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togæ</td>
<td>78 50 43 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ououroutha</td>
<td>73 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azata</td>
<td>73 45 43 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Kholoura24 | 74 43 10 |
| Sédala      | 74 40 43 45 |
| Sourtita    | 74 30 43 40 |
| Tâtina (or Tástina)25 | 74 40 43 |

12. and along the Euphrates River:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brepos (or Bressos)26</td>
<td>72 42 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elegia</td>
<td>73 20 42 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khazira</td>
<td>74 42 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thalina</td>
<td>75 20 42 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[and along the Araxes River:]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armaouria</td>
<td>76 40 42 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artaxata</td>
<td>78 42 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naxouana</td>
<td>78 50 42 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. In the section which is below this up to that river which flows into the Euphrates in the northern country are the lands, beginning from the west, of Basilisene,27 Obordene (or Bolbene)28 and Arsia (or Arñena);29 below these Akilisene,30 Astaunitis31 and Sophene32 near the same bend of the river.

14. The cities in this section are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Longitude</th>
<th>Latitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Athoua (or Zathoua)33</td>
<td>71 30 42 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. The Aracani (Gk: Arrianian), now the Murat-au.
15. Lake Lykhnitis (Arm. : Gölçilik; now Sena), from Arm. : D'lake?.
17. Kotarzene, read "Kolarzene" (Arm. : Ktarjk').
18. Bokhai (Arm. : Botxk').
19. Obarene (or Gogarene), Arm. : Gugark'.
20. Otene, Arm. : Utik'.
22. Sodoukene, Arm. : Canêk or Seâkk.
25. Sala ("Bala"), now Vale?
26. Askoura, Geo. : Askouä'.
27. Lala, Geo. : Lâli (or Arm. : Xaballâ').
32. Kholoua, Arm. : Kol (or Kolî?
33. Sodouka ("Tedalea"), Geo. : Cunda.
34. Sourca, Geo. : Cunda.
35. Tastina ("Karpina"), Geo. : Xinpi.

36. Kozala, now Kozalur.
37. Kotomana ("Kartomana"), Arm. : Gardamen?.
38. Dizaka, in the later district of Dizak?
39. Pousa. ("Phousa"),
40. Gliama ("Gelama"), Arm. : Gelâm.
42. Sakalbina (Baylakan) (Arm: Sâdkê or Sawdk').
43. Armasia, Arm. : Armavir.
44. Thalina, Arm. : T'alin.
45. Armaouria, Arm. : Armasia.
47. Naxouana, Arm. : Naxãtûn.
48. Basilisene. This toponym has not been identified in a satisfactory way.
49. Obordene (or Bolbene), Arm. : Balbân.
51. Astaunitis, Arm. : Hasteank'.
52. Sophene, Arm. : Xop'k'.
Appendix VIII

Tinissa\(^{39}\)  73 30 42 30
Zoriga\(^{40}\)  71 30 42
Sana\(^{41}\)  73 30 42
Brizaka\(^{42}\)  74 50 42 30
Daramissa\(^{43}\)  76 42 20
Zogokara\(^{44}\)  77 15 42 20
  78 30 42 20
Kodana
Kakhoura (or lakhoura)\(^{46}\)  72 41
Kholoua\(^{41}\)  73 30 41
Phausya\(^{49}\)  74 15 41 40
Phandalia\(^{50}\)  75 30 41 40
Zarouana\(^{51}\)  77 40 41 40
  78 30 41 40
Kitamon\(^{72}\)  76 41 30
Anarion\(^{73}\)  77 50 41 30
Sigoua\(^{74}\)  77 41
Teroua\(^{75}\)  78 41 50
Zourzoua\(^{76}\)  78 41 41 40
Matoustana\(^{77}\)  78 41 41
  79 41 40 40
Astakana\(^{78}\)  79 30 41
Tarcsa\(^{79}\)  79 41 40
Balisbiga\(^{80}\)  80 40 40 40
Babila\(^{81}\)  80 20 40 45

82 Sagouana, (*Bagouama), Arm.: Bagaman.
83 Anzitene, Arm.: Anješt/Hanjšt.
84 Thospitis, Arm.: Topi.
85 Korina, (*Koreša?), Arm.: Korošk’?
86 Elegerda, Arm.: Elekert?
87 Mazara, a locality southwest of Horfebrd (Xarpert).
88 Anzita, Arm.: Anješt or Hanjšt.
89 Socita, (*Sošta?), Arm.: Horfebrd? later Xarpert, now Harput.
90 Belkania, Arm.: Belkans, now Belhan.
91 Selgia, (*Selšia?), Arm.: Gzelt or Sert? now Sürs.
92 Thospia, Arm.: Thosp.
93 Siauana, now Sevreńch?
94 Arsamassa, Arm.: Asirnast.
95 Korra, Arm.: Korančk’?
96 Bagrouandene, Arm.: Bagrouand.
97 Gordyňe, Arm.: Korduk’ or Kortšk’.
98 Korina, Arm.: Koroga’?
99 The Mardians, a Median enclave, perhaps the ancestors (at least in part) of the modern Kurds?
100 Taska, later Atakhas?, now Atah.
101 Phora, Arm.: Pora.
102 Maja, the later Mafjarškin, now Sihem.
103 Bouana, probably Van again, supra n. 89.
104 Kholimma, (*Kholima?ra?), Arm.: Klinar.

335

Ptolemy on Caucasia book V

15. Koubina\(^{65}\)  78 30 42
Kodana
Kakhoura (or lakhoura)\(^{46}\)  72 41
Kholoua\(^{41}\)  73 30 41
Phausya\(^{49}\)  74 15 41 40
Phandalia\(^{50}\)  75 30 41 40
Zarouana\(^{51}\)  77 40 41 40
  78 30 41 40
Kitamon\(^{72}\)  76 41 30
Anarion\(^{73}\)  77 50 41 30
Sigoua\(^{74}\)  77 41
Teroua\(^{75}\)  78 41 50
Zourzoua\(^{76}\)  78 41 41 40
Matoustana\(^{77}\)  78 41 41
  79 41 40 40
Astakana\(^{78}\)  79 30 41
Tarcsa\(^{79}\)  79 41 40
Balisbiga\(^{80}\)  80 40 40 40
Babila\(^{81}\)  80 20 40 45

59 Tinissa, read *Kimissa?, Arm.: Camina/Cërmę, now Cimmę?
60 Zoriga, now Zigeri?
61 Sana, Arm.: Vz«».
63 Daramissa, Arm.: Daroynek’, now Hasankale.
64 Zogokara (some mss. have Zogoraka) read *Solakarta, Arm.: C’olkert.
65 Koubina (*Koumina), Arm.: Cumh?)
66 Kakhoura, Arm.:
67 Kholoua, arm.: Ao^al’erdi’
68 Sogokara, (*Sonokarta), Arm.: Ciwnkert
69 Phausya, (*Phasiana), Arm.: Basean.
70 Phandalia, (*’Andaga?), Arm.: Andak’?
71 Zarouana, Arm.: Zarans or Zerrbanan.
72 Kitzam, Arm.: Kitaž?
73 Anarion (*Avarion), Arm.: Hauremak’.
74 Sigoua (*Bagaouana), Arm.: Horebard.
75 Teroua (*Darous), Arm.: Daroyek’ now Beqat.
76 Zourouza (some mss. have Zourouza), now Zaraoua or Arm.: Cerrc?
77 Matoustana (*Magoustana), now Maku.
78 Astakana, Arm.: Olshon?
79 Tarcsa, (*Garčina?), Arm.: Kmi?
80 Balisbiga, Arm.: Palahverd.
81 Babila (*Erenbida), Arm.: Strnhel.
Appendix VIII

Daoudyana
Kapouta
Artemita
Thelbalane

22. [and below Gordyéné:]
Sia
Pherendis
Tigranokerta
Sardéoua
Kolsa
Tigranoama
Artagigarta

Appendix IX

GLOSSARY OF ARMENIAN GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS

ac'i, dac'i
- ac'i
agrak/agarak
- akan
ah
ahbâr
albûr
alî, al
alîmn
amâr
amroč
anapât
- anoc'
aparan
apât
aran, iran
- aran
artič, arînc
artioc
art
art
- astan
astxar̄b
awag
awam
- âtwor
âxal
ayr
azat
âgg
âgîn
âgînk'
bak
bala, bala

neighboring
suffix 'native of'
field, estate, appanage, farm
adjectival suffix
eye, source, opening
spring, source
locative suffix derived from Georgian-eli
salt
hither, on this side (Geo.)
strong, stronghold
fortress, stronghold
desert, wilderness, hermitage
locative suffix 'place of'
palace
dwelling
root denoting the Caucasian Albanians
locative suffix 'place of'
cult site?, shrine?
lion
cause, origin, agent
field
locative suffix 'land of,' 'place of'
lion
land, country, realm, world
senior
market-town, large village, dwelling place
possessive suffix
new (Geo.)
cave, grotto
noble, free, high, great
nation, tribe, race, clan
pagan altar
temple, shrine
enclosed, courtyard, sheepfold
root denoting The Bala or Pala people

1 This glossary has been adapted from that of Hübshmann (1904), and expanded with materials drawn from Greppin (1975) and Garsoian (1989). I am particularly indebted to Professor Greppin for reviewing the list of terms here, and for his many valuable corrections to it.

105 Daoudyana, Arm.: Daouem? or Donawank?  
106 Kapouta from arm.: Kapọyt 'blue', perhaps the town of Khoy, earlier, under the influence of the nearby Kapustan Cov 'Blue Sea' (lake Urmia).  
107 Artemida, arm.: Artanid.  
108 Thelbalane, now Tell Bahar?  
109 Sia, cf. the tribe called Strait Pliny (VI.30.118).  
110 Pherendis, now Pesar?  
111 Tigranokerta, probably Arzan, but see Chauveau (1980) and Sinclair III for recent discussions of the issue, (supra VII C, n. 45).  
112 Artagigarta, also Esagigarta, which is usually taken to be the Karakhokarta of Strabo (XI.14.2) i.e., Angl. now Egl.
Appendix IX

Glossary of Armenian Geographical Terms

- bukit/bouit/-ovit/-xovit
- bun
- barjur
- barjr
- banak/banakim
- ban
- banak
- banakim
- banak/banakim
- banakim
- ban
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- banak
- banakim
ostan
ors
ots
pahak
pala, pala
p'aran
pars
parisp
- -p't
p'ok'r
p'or
p'onak
rot
rud
rhman
sak, sak
sala, sl-
sar
sat
s'en
sev
si'da
silik
spilak
stors
surb
s'acar
stak
st'al
st'ap'
stapan
st'at
stre, tr
st'ak'
sumb
tun
- -uk
- -uni
vaci's
van
van'k'

Appendix IX

Glossary of Armenian Geographical Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>varaz</td>
<td>wild boar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vayr</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vay</td>
<td>course, way, track, path; fissure, break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaz</td>
<td>upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verin</td>
<td>drop, precipice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve't</td>
<td>root denoting the East Georgians (Iberians, K'art'lians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vok'; vr</td>
<td>cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaci'</td>
<td>valley (Geo.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoragyn</td>
<td>very deep, bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zemo</td>
<td>upper (Geo.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Court, capital, residence
* Hunt, catch, prey, booty, wild, fierce
* Foot
* Fortified pass, sentry, post, watch
* See *bala*, bala
* Sheepfold, stall
* Root denoting the Persians
* Wall, rampart, bulwark
* Suffix denoting 'chief', 'main', 'head'
* Lesser
* Gorge, ravine
* Small gorge
* River
* River (Per.)
* Border, limit, boundary
* Root denoting the Scythians (Saka)
* Root denoting the Sala people?
* Rock, mountain peak (Per.)
* Joy, much, many
* Village, locality
* Building
* Black
* Inner (Geo.)
* Small village, hamlet
* White
* Lower
* Holy, saint, sacred
* Temple, palace, hall
* Underside, root, stem
* Urban quarter, neighborhood
* Plain, field
* Tomb
* Parch, roost
* See *dar*, *dr*
* (Uncertain)
* Dam, dike, weir, wall
* House, noble family, land, dynasty
* Diminutive suffix
* Urartian locative suffix?
* Collective suffix
* Market, bazaar
* Place, habitation, dwelling

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3 Greppin (1975).
Anemourion; the Kalykadnos is the Gok-su; the Lamos is the Lamas; the Kydnos, the river which enters the sea just to the west of the Saros (now the Seyhan), and the Pyramos is the Ceyhan.

P. 26, n. 99. The other ms. of S at my disposal differ in what they have to say about Lesser Armenia. BCE describe Hayk 'the Armenians', then 'First' and 'Second' Armenia; DG cite 'Second', 'First' and 'Third' Armenia; F cites 'Second', 'First' and 'Second' Armenia again but for 'Second' read (probably) 'Third'. The entire passage is omitted by J along with the passage on Cyprus; K is missing the relevant page.

Appendix X: Addenda and Corrigenda to the Notes

77. Upon examining the microfilm of Vienna ms. 115, it was discovered that I had been misinformed as to its content. It does not include a text of the ASX (as indicated supra p. 3) and has thus been omitted here from the list of mss. consulted in the annotation of this translation. It should be noted that, with rare exceptions, the examined copies do not differ greatly from one another; the orthography of toponyms varies largely as a result of scribal errors; there are few surprises in any of them and nothing radically different save that in two mss. (D and F) the text is incomplete, both ending with the passage on Fortune, who is missing several pages; J is difficult to read. A and B are clearly the best mss. as already noted. While all of the accessible mss. were examined, they are cited only when the variant orthographies have been deemed to be of use in determining the correct form of a dubious toponym. Only in rare instances have I felt obliged to cite each variant in every ms. at my disposal.

78. The translation of this passage of Ptolemy is "... and under what parallel of the celestial sphere it is located, so one will be able to discuss the lengths of its days and nights, the stars which are fixed overhead, the stars which move above the horizon, and the stars which never rise above the horizon at all...".

80. n. 35. In a recent study Gulbekian (1989) has done much to clarify this passage on measurements. The term avoces ap 'air measured' means refers to measurements made through the use of instruments used by Roman officials called agrimensorae, who measured distances by means of a special wheel attached to a carriage (Vitrivius, de Architectura X.9, quoted by Gulbekian 1989:85).

81. n. 41. Gulbekian (1989:83) accepts '143' pointing out that the Armenian letter-numerals Ψ and Ψ are easily confused.

82. n. 42. Gerasat ap 'land measured', i.e. measured agrimensorally as by Roman officials called agrimensorae, who measured distances by means of a special wheel attached to a carriage (Vitrivius, de Architectura X.9, quoted by Gulbekian 1989:85).

83. n. 46. The mss 'part', here meaning 'degree' would be equal to 71 miles and 3/7, a fraction being represented as the sum of unit fractions, i.e. 1/4 plus 1/7 plus 1/8, an Egyptian method of calculation adopted by the Greeks.

85. n. 159. Apaxtara, from abaxtar 'north'. The Apaxtark', thus, are simply 'the northerners.'

86. n. 174. Ptolemy's city Oeslana (VI.12.5) is possibly the Indian city of Ujjan called 'Ujabini' by the natives (Tarn 1938:443).

98. n. 79. The text has ... which is called 'Lower' Egypt, located by Egypt' but Ptolemy (IV.7) makes it clear that "below Egypt" is the original sense.

104. n. 79. The Orymagos is either of the two small rivers entering the Mediterranean to the east of Anemourion; the Kalykadnos is the Gok-su; the Lamos is the Lamas; the Kydnos, the river which enters the sea just to the west of the Saros (now the Seyhan), and the Pyramos is the Ceyhan.

Addenda and Corrigenda to the Notes

n. 84. Mt. Olympus in Cyprus is now Mt. Holy Cross (PW 18/1:313).

n. 89. These three 'Armenias', as well as Fourth Armenia, are known to MX (I.14), which is one of the many reasons offered for assigning him to a date much later then the fifth century which he seems to indicate for the date of his composition. The four 'Armenias' are also referred to by YK (II.19), but here he seems to be following MX. MX calls First Armenia 'Prote Armenia'; YK: 'Protesta Armenia'.

n. 7. Strabo (X.1.2.16) tells us that in the first century B.C., more than seventy tribes came together (to trade) at Dioskourias, rejecting the accounts of others that put the number of these tribes at 300. Pliny (VI.14.4), over a century later, rather less critically, quotes the figure of 300 from Timotheones, adding that the tribes each spoke a different language and that the Romans there employed a staff of 130 interpreters. For Kroukias see Mark. 'Woher' p. 37, where he sees in this name the old Scythian *srobo-kasi, 'eisschimmernd', i.e. 'ice-glistened'.

111. n. 29. The Ap'Selk' are cited by Pliny (VI.14.4) as the Absaids; by Arrian (Periplus, 15); Apualiai; byProcopius (Goth., VIII.3.3); Apualai (and at VIII.10.1, as subjects of the Laz); and especially by Agathias (II.15.18), passim: Apauliai. They would appear to have been a subdivision of the Akbakh or a closely related tribe.

n. 31. According to Procopius (Goth., VIII.4.4), Sebastopolis was garrisoned by the Romans into his own time but had been abandoned by the time he was writing his History.


122. n. 105. For a detailed map of the wall at Darband, see Trever 1959; for a recent discussion of the Caucasian passes in the Roman period, see Wheeler (1977).

126. n. 11. Procopius (Goth., VII.2.8), specifically says that Akampis is the 'native' (i.e. Tzan) name for the river Boas (Coruh). Elsewhere (VIII.2.6), he says that the Boas flows from Tzarnaka. 134. n. 28. Procopius (Goth., VIII.2.4), cites the Moskha as a people subject to the Roman governors of Lazica. 135. n. 35. There is some difference of opinion as to name of the district of Tiflis. The text of the ASY (IV.20) says that the Georgian capital lay in Paraur, but Eremyan (1963, Map), locates Tiflis on the right bank of the Kur in Jel(e)t'; and later (1979, map) places it on the left bank of the river on the border of Mtkuris-xevi and Ksot'. On both maps, his Paruar lies to the southeast of Tiflis along the right bank of the Kur opposite the town of Rust'avi.

149. n. 2. While most of the mss. examined were very similar, their differences consisting primarily of misspellings and minor omissions, E contained some interesting addenda. In this opening passage describing Greater Armenia, for example, nine of the names of the fifteen Armenian lands had identifying glosses: Upper Armenia, which is the region of Karin; Alin, which is Balé; Tornyberak (sic), which is Hizan; Koreck' which is Pawtkan?(text unclear) and Sataxa; Paskahayak' which is Maltak'nt, Halbak', Salamas, Ormi (and) Oluni; Vaszurakan, (which is) Van and Vostan and their districts, (and) Gvnik', Amuk and Berki; Siinvk' (which is) Xaienk' and their districts, Payarakan, which is Tp'xis;'and Ayragar, which is Erevan. The late date of these glosses is demonstrated by the mention of Xisam, which became important only in the twelfth century, and Erevan, which is rarely cited before the sixteenth when the Persians made it the capital of their chief Armenian province. The identification of Payarakan with [the vicinity of] Tiflis is another indication of late date. This error is found in TA (III.9) and in VA's Geography (ed. Berberian, p. 36, line 148), both products of the later Middle Ages. UU (64) identifies Payarakan with Parow. Later in the text, E identifies Muxur with Kaman, which actually lay in Daranali, and Sazgorn (sic) with Baberd, which we know lay in Sper. I did not consider it necessary to
cited all of these curious elements in E (or any of the other mss. in which a few similar items occur), none of which have any bearing on the original text of the AŚX.

152, n. 14. Eremyan (1963, map), does not consider the Minur Gayl to be so-called in contradistinction to the Gayl that is now called the Kelkit-gayl, whose course obviously lay outside of Greater Armenia, but rather as opposed to the lower course of the Munzur/Minur River, which lower course he calls the Gayl. Adoanu, however, calls attention to the fact that Aa (768) specifically tells us that St. Gregory, journeying from Erez (Erzincan) to the village of Tli, had to cross the Gayl, which thus must have been the river of Erez and the Gayl in question.

152, n. 10. VA (History, 41) specifically identifies Smbatanawq with Buberd.

160, n. 46. For discussions of the sources and course of the Tigris in Armenia, see Mark. (Südarmenie, passim), Hülschwälder (1904:222, 310), and Sinclair (III:258-309). The modern view is that the main source of the river is the westernmost flowing from Lake Hazer (formerly Gökalık); the ancients, as far back as Assyrian times, tended to see it as the feeder of the Dibni-su emerging from the Birkleyn caves. For Pliny (VI.31.127), the Tigris flowed through Lake 'Aretissa' (Lake Van) so that his informant must have taken the River Armentus (where the name Aretissu, now the river called Benamenda-chai), entering the Lake at Bargiri, to be the source, which he saw as emerging at Pliny’s Elegos (the swamp in Erewan called Elgy by the AŚX: IV.22.iv) on the south shore of the lake between Ostan and Tavan, which swamp he then erroneously took to be the headwaters of the nearby River Orb (Müküs-chai), a tributary of the Bohtan-su or Eastern Tigris. According to Pliny (ibid.), the place where the river entered the lake was called Zoaranda (read 'Zarzandu'), which suggests a confusion between Lake Van and Lake Urmia, near the latter of which lay the towns of Zarehawan and Zarewand.

161, n. 52. The Armenian version of St. John Chrysostom says that Herodias was as bloody as the eye, which gives rise to the question of what he meant when he referred to the river of Erez (Erzincan) as the river of Arzan. The modern view is that the principal river of Armenia and as 'Mayr (the Eng., 'j'; Fr. 'dj'), causes a nasal hang-off. Thus, Eremyan’s large district of Cahuk must be abbreviated on the east so as to make room for Lesser Alibak along the stretch of the Zab upon which we know Jlmay (Colemerik, now Flakkari) lay. Thus, Eremyan’s large district of Cahuk must be abbreviated on the east so as to make room for Lesser Alibak along the stretch of the Zab upon which we know Jlmay (Colemerik, now Flakkari) lay. Thus, Eremyan’s large district of Cahuk must be abbreviated on the east so as to make room for Lesser Alibak along the stretch of the Zab upon which we know Jlmay (Colemerik, now Flakkari) lay.

344 Appendix X long (ER and ET). According to Strabo (XII.4.3.), the rivers Araxes and Kyros (Kur), had separate mouths in his time (as indicated here in the AŚX), and Ptolemy (V.12.3), writing c. 125 years later, says the name. At present the Araxes enters both the Kur and the Caspiam, having cut a direct channel through to the sea in 1897 (Plyny, LCL, II:356). For all this see Mouraviev (1983) and my English review article of his study (1991). Perikhanian (1966-17) notes that "the Armenian name for the River Araxes - Eras (gen. Erasany) - allows one to take as a point of departure the form Rassa; a hypothesis supported by the Georgiân wherein the same river bears the name Raça; Gk: Araxes... reflecting thus the middle-Median pronunciation of the name of the river "Araxes.""
Appendix X

n. 2. Frye (222) takes ἅδεσαί as 'second ruler' ('δώσαν ἅλας') but contradicts himself elsewhere. Bailey (1980: 27 n. 2 to line 9) derives the word from Phl ἅδας, from OIr. arz 'observe' and paist 'chief,' i.e. 'overseer'; cf. Av. arcontasāya- 'superintendent'. For a full bibliography of this term see Garsoian (1989:516). Nobsdare also appears as a proper name. I am indebted to J.R. Russell for bringing all of this to my attention.


n. 6. For Balasakan, which has specific Armenian interest, see M.-L. Chaumont & C.E. Bosworth "Balasakan" EIr. III:580-02.

234, n. 16. Suss was known in the Sasanian period as Ėrān-Khwāra-Šābuhr, built on the site of the earlier city by Šābuhr II (Sapor, 309-379). CHI 3 (1):121v.

n. 18. Gundšābuhr is the Sasanian city of Veh-Ānōšt Šābuhr [A] Better [City] than Antiokh [has been made by King] Šābuhr, founded by Šābuhr I (240-272), CHI 3 (1):121v.

n. 21. Stahr = Mr. Stær; Artār = Mr. Ardeilir.

n. 22. Pasargadae was not likely to have been inhabited by the time of either Pappos or Ananias and the Iranians called Persepolis 'Parsa'. We are not certain, however, if by Parsa, the author actually means Persepolis for by Sasanian times these ruins were already known as Sad šīrūn '100 columns'.

n. 26. Dansk is from Persian dāng. The names of the 'precious stones' from (7) through (10) mean, respectively, baft 'seven', bais 'eight', nú 'nine' and dabh 'ten' drahms. (I am indebted to Prof. Russell for bringing this to my attention).

235, n. 33. Vrkan = Gorgān (Russell).

n. 34. Vehrot = Web Rōd (Russell).

n. 35. Golden (private communication) cautions against confusing the Indo-European languages Agnaean and Kucean, (which, in the opinion of many specialists, have been erroneously called Tocharian A and B), and the Iranian language, Tokharian (i.e., the language of the Yūh-chih/Tatīeh-chih, Gk: Tokharon), of Tukhartistan. The relationship between the two "Tocharians," he points out, are by no means clear (cf. Narain 1987; and Golden 1960 for the Yūh-chih and saka migrations). The CHI, 3 (1):275, identifies the Tokharians with the Yūh-chih of Chinese sources or at least with a part of them.

n. 37. Mark. "Wohrer" p. 37 sees in the ethnonym Skythēs the North Iranian iskā-ā 'Scalp-hunters.'

236, n. 56. Bailey (quoted by Russell in a pvt communication) derives Hephthalite from Ir.

n. 284, n. 13. For the recent controversial hypothesis of Gamkritdize and Ivanov that the Indo-European speakers originated on the Armenian plateau, see their works (1980, 1984) as well as D'ikonono's rejoinder (1982), in both the Bibliography and its Supplement in this work.

Map XXV. For Déškwil read: Deškwil.
Abbreviations

ASGW Abhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (Dresden)
ASKAK Akty sobrannyye karabakhskogo arkeograficheskoy komissiiyu (Tiflis)
ASSC Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucaasia
At Ararat (Ejmiacin)
AW Antike Welt (Zürich)
B Byzantianum (Brussels)
BA Bulletin armenologique. Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
BAR British Archaeological Reports. International Series (Oxford)
Bart. Byzantinisches Archiv (Munich)
Ber Beryus (Beirut)
BGA Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum, de Goeje, M. J. ed. (Leiden)
BIM Bulletin de l'Institut Marr (Tbilisi)
BIO Berichte des Instituts für Osten und Orient (Vienna)
BK Bíldi Karmhsia. Revue de Karthvéologie (Paris)
BM Bamber Matenadaran (Erevan)
BO Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
BSE Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya (Moscow)
BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift (Leipzig)
(C) Eraf Calasvili codex of the Georgian Annals (Tbilisi, 1940).
Ca Caucaasia (Leipzig)
CAH Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, Engl.)
CAl Central Asiatic Journal (London)
CAR Caucasian Review (Munich)
CERP A. H. M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (Oxford, 1937)
CGPAL Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library (Lisbon)
CHA Collection d'histories arméniens, Brosset, M.-E. ed. (St. Petersburg)
CHAF Cambridge History of Africa (Cambridge, Engl.)
CHAMA Collection d'histories anciens et modernes de l'Arménie, Langlois, V., ed. (Paris)
CHEIA Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia
CHI Cambridge History of Iran (New York)
CHR The Catholic Historical Review (Washington)
CIA Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum/Divian Hay VimagruTyan (Erevan)
CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum
CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CJC Corpus Juris Civilis, Mommsen, T. et al. eds. (Berlin)
CMH Cambridge Medieval History (Cambridge, Engl.)
COS Cambridge Oriental Series (Cambridge, Engl.)
CR Classical Review (Oxford)
CSOS Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain)
CSHB Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantiae (Bonn)
D W. Dittenberger, Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae (Leipzig)
DAA Documenti di Architettura Armenia (Milan)

Abbreviations

DACL Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (Paris)
DGRG W. Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography (New York)
DHGE Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique (Paris)
DMA Dictionary of the Middle Ages (New York)
DANAZ Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoj SSR (Baku)
DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers (Washington, D. C.)
DRFZ Dokumenty po russkoi politikev Zakavkazi (Baku)

EB 11 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed. (London)
EESE Études d'éthnographie, de sociologie et d'éthnologie (Paris)
EB 15 Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed. (New York)
EI Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden)
Ej Encyclopaedia Iranica (New York)
Ejmiacin (Ejmiacin)
EO Echos d'Orient (Paris)

EWA Encyclopedia of World Art

FGH Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum, Müller, C. ed. (Paris)
FO Folia Orientalia (Karakow)
FS Folia Slavica (Columbus, Ohio)

G Georgia (London)

GJ Geographical Journal (London)
Gl Globus (Brunswick)

GSE Great Soviet Encyclopedia, Engl. transl. (New York)
GT Grakan T'ert' (Erevan)

GGM Geographt Græci Minores, Müller, C. ed. (Paris)


H Hask (Beirut)

HA Handes Asmorya (Vienna)

HDCLA Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Archaeology (New York)

HAB Hay azyagnat'yun ew banayusut'yun (Erevan)

HAY Hayreniki jyan (Erevan)

HJAS Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (Cambridge, Mass.)

HSH Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran (Erevan)

HTB Hayastani ew harakic' srfanneri telanunneri bafaran (Yerevan)

HZP Hay zotovrdi patmut'yun (Erevan)

IA Islam Ansiklopedisi (Istanbul)

IAPAN Izvestiya Armeyanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR (Erevan)

IANA Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Armeyanskoi SSR (Erevan)

IANAz Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoj SSR (Baku)

IANG Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoj SSR (Tbilisi)

IANS Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR (Moscow)
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Abbreviations

REB  Revue des Études Byzantines (Paris)
REGC  Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes (Paris)
REIE  Revue des Études Indo-Européens
RH  Revue Historique (Paris)
RHE  Revue d'histoire et d'Ethnologie (Paris)
RHR  Revue de l’Histoire des Religions (Paris)
ROC  Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Paris)
RSJB  Revue des Sciences Juridiques et Sociales (Paris)

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Revue de l’Histoire des Religions (Paris)
Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Paris)
Revue des Sciences Juridiques et Sociales (Paris)

S  Syria (Paris)
SAG  Studien zur armenischen Geschichte (Vienna)
SBAWM  Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München
SBOMPK  Sbornik Materialov dlya Opisanii Mestnostei i Plemen Kavkaza (Tiflis)
SC  Studia Caucasia (The Hague)
SH  St’op’er’ Khayakan’ (Venice)
Si  Sion (Jerusalem)
SIA  Studia Instituti Anthropos (Vienna)
SM  Sbornik materialov dlya opisanii Mestnostei i Plemen Kavkaza (Tiflis)
SMM  Sak’art’veloso Muzeeamis Moambe (Tbilisi)
SP  Studia Pontica
SphKAW  Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse (Vienna)
SSK  Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkaze (Tiflis)
SSKG  Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazskikh Csortakh (Tiflis)
SR  Slavonic Review
ST  Studia i Testi (Vatican City)
SV  Sovetskoi Vostokovedeniye (Moscow)
SZAG  Studien zur armenischen Geschichte (Vienna)

T  T’erdüny, T’erdüny T’erdüny (Constantinople)
TAR  The Armenian Review (Boston-Cambridge, Mass.)
TAO  Tb’ingger Atlas des Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
TRAGF  Teksty i razyskaniya po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii (St. Petersburg)
TUM  T’bilis’i Universitets’ Moambe (Tbilisi)
Túr  Turcia (Paris)
UAJ  Ural-altaische Jahrbücher (Bloomington, Indiana)
USAF AAC  United States Air Force World Aeronautical Chart (1:1,000,000)
USAF ANC  United States Air Force Air Navigational Chart (1:2,188,800)
USAF JNC  United States Air Force Jet Navigational Chart (1:2,000,000)
USAF ONC  United States Air Force Operational Navigation Chart (1:1,000,000)
USAF PC  United States Air Force Pilotage Chart (1:500,000)

Abbreviations

USAF WAC  United States Air Force World Aeronautical Chart (1:1,000,000)
UZL  Uchenie Zapiski Leningradskago Universiteta (Leningrad)
V XA  King Vakhtang VI redaction of the Georgian Chronicle (K’art’li C’xovreba)
VANA  Vestnik Akademii Nauk Armiyskogo SSR (Erevan)
VBAG  Verhandlungen der berlinischen anthropologischen Gesellschaft.
VI  Voprosy Istori (Moscow)
VIA  Voprosy Zhyzkoznaniya (Moscow)
Vo  Vostok (Leningrad)
VV  Vizantsiiskii Vremmenik (St. Petersburg, 1894-1928; Leningrad, since 1947)
WO  Welt des Orients (Göttingen)
WZKM  Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna)
XM  Xorhordin Mankavars (Erevan)
Z  T. Žordania, K’roniki da sxva masal Sak’art’veloso istorii (Tiflis)
ZAP  Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie (Marburg)
ZDMG  Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Wiesbaden)
ZE  Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
ZGE  Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde (Berlin)
ZIV  Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeni Akademii Nauk SSR (Moscow)
ZK  Zapiski Kavkazskogo otdelea Imp. Russkago geograficheskago Obshchestva (Tiflis)
ZKO  Zapiski Klassicheskogo Otdeleina Imperatorskago Russkago Arkeologicheskago Obshchestva (St. Petersb)
ZKvO  Zapiski Kavkazskogo Otdeleina Impematorskago Russkago Arkeologicheskago Obshchestva (St. Petersb)
ZMNP  Zbornik Ministerstva Narodnago Proveslicheniya (St. Petersb)
ZVO  Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleina Imperatorskago Russkago Arkeologicheskago Obshchestva (St. Petersb)
ZVS  Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforshung.
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Aa see "Agat'angdos", Agat'.
A C.
Ael. Spart.,
Aelius Spartanus. Vita Hadriani. Scriptores historiae augustae. ed. LCL.
Aesch. Prom.
Aeschylus. Prometheus vincus. ed. LCL.
AG see "Agat'angdos", Agat'.
"Agat'angdos"
Agat'angdos. Patmac'ium [History], (Tiflis. 1883).
Ag [Greek Version]
Aa [Armenian Version]
Vc [Arabic Version]
Agathias
AI
AL
AM
Ammianus Marcellinus Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt. V. Gardthausen ed. 2 vols. (Leipzig. 1874-75).
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Apollod. Bibl.


Apollod. Perieg.


Apollon. Rhod. Arg.


App. Hist.


App. Syr.


Arrian, Anab.


Arrian, Perip.


Arrian, Succ. Alex.

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Asolik


AT

Arak'tel 'Tirrizeci' [Atrak'el of Tabriz], *Patmut'iwn [History],* (Vaharakat, 1896).

Bal.


Basil. Notitias


Basil, Master

Basil, Master of the Court (Basil, *Expos-Mojguari*, Cxovreba mep'eP Hamarisi [History of Queen Thamar], ed. Q II115-150.

Basil of Zarzma

Bible — Arm.
Bibliography

Bible — Gk Septuagint


Bible — Gk NT


Bible — English


BL


BP


Pr.-Callisthen.


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Ced.


CIA


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Chron. Iber.


Chron. Pasch.


Cihan Numa


CF


Cod. Th.


CP DAI


CP DC

Constantine Prophryogenitus, De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae. PG 112.

CP DT


Coro. Iber.

Grigol Diakoni (Gregory the Deacon) "Mok'eve K'art'lis [The Conversion of Iberia]," E. Tagašivi ed. in SM 41 (Tiflis, 1910) 50-59; N. Marr and M. Brière, eds. in La Langue géorgienne (Paris, 1931), 511-514.


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Defrémery


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Diod. Sic.


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El


Eunapios

see Desippos

Euseb. Praep. evang.

Eusebius Pamphili, Praeparatio evangelica, ed. PG 21.

Euseb. Chron.

Eusebius Pamphili, Chronicorum libri duo, ed. PG 19.

Euseb. HE


Eustathius of Thessalonike

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Evag.


Evlîyâ


Festus

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<td>Patna'ius Amasius k'alk'a ev yalgns sundanek ev warken 'srboyn T'endorus zauruvrtrin</td>
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<td>[History of King David III (II)], ed. Q I 318-364.</td>
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Mich. Syr.


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MU


Muneccimbari

Muq.


Mxit. Ani

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Mxit. Ayrivank’


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*Syrians* "Yawurs srboyn Grigori edan kanonk' [These Canons Were Instituted in the Days of St. Gregory]." Yosy'ep'eyn. Colophon, p. 102.

*Sebios* "Ays i patmu't'ene Sapohy Bagratumunwoy e (This is from the History of Sapuh Bagraturi)," Yosy'ep'eyn, p. 101.

*SHA* "I Sapoh patmu'eyn [In the History of Sapuh]", in Yosy'ep'eyn, Colophons, p. 99.


*Skylax* Skylas of Koryanda, Periplus, A. Baschmakoff, ed. and Fr. trans. [*Synthes*], EEE 3 62-79.


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Th.


TK


TP


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Utik'. HSH 12:268.
Because of the size of this work, it has been thought best to divide the Index into five parts: 1. Geography, 2. Ethnography, 3. Persons, 4. Foreign Terms and V. General. The Index of Foreign Terms also contains Armenian and other words found in the text for which there are no adequate translations into English. The General Index includes animals, astronomical terms, gemstones, languages, monasteries, minerals, noble families, plants, religious sects, titles of major sources referred to in the text and notes, and treaties.

As explained above, because it was not possible to include the original Armenian texts with these translations of the long and short redactions of the Abaran's qeyki, the toponyms encountered in the texts have been left in the forms found in the main manuscripts used except in the portions of the texts based on Pappus of Alexandria, where we have followed conventional usage and given the place names in their standard English or Latin forms wherever these exist. For this reason, it has been thought wise to use the Geographical Index as a means of collecting together all the variant forms of a given name under a single heading. It should be noted, however, that the Geographical Index is not intended to be a reference for the preferred form for each toponym. On the other hand, readers wishing to have the "correct" spelling of a given toponym might have been, has created difficulties in deciding exactly what the main index entry for a given toponym should be. In general, the following principles have been observed in creating the Geographical Index: 1) All Armenian toponyms (as well as non-Armenian toponyms cited in Armenian for which no native attested names are) have been indexed using the form preferred by Eremyan as the main entry. 2) For Iranian place names, the form preferred by Marquart (1901) has been so used. 3) All other toponyms have been entered in their standard English using the form preferred by Eremyan as the main entry. 4) Where other forms found in the text differ significantly from the preferred form, the difference has been noted in a footnote. It should be noted, however, that the Index of Foreign Terms is intended to be a reference for the preferred form for each toponym. On the other hand, readers wishing to have the "correct" spelling for Armenian, Georgian and Albanian toponyms are referred to Appendix V, where the divisions and subdivisions of the three Caucasian countries are listed under the forms suggested by the translator as the preferred forms in question.

The vast number of place names found in this work and the variety of forms under which they are cited, coupled with the fact that we are not always certain as to what the original "correct" spelling of a given toponym might have been, has created difficulties in deciding exactly what the main index entry for a given toponym should be. In general, the following principles have been observed in creating the Geographical Index: 1) All Armenian toponyms (as well as non-Armenian toponyms cited in Armenian for which no native attested names are) have been indexed using the form preferred by Eremyan as the main entry. 2) For Iranian place names, the form preferred by Marquart (1901) has been so used. 3) All other toponyms have been entered in their standard English using the form preferred by Marquart (1901) has been so used. 4) Where other forms found in the text differ significantly from the preferred form, the difference has been noted in a footnote. It should be noted, however, that the Index of Foreign Terms is intended to be a reference for the preferred form for each toponym. On the other hand, readers wishing to have the "correct" spelling for Armenian, Georgian and Albanian toponyms are referred to Appendix V, where the divisions and subdivisions of the three Caucasian countries are listed under the forms suggested by the translator as the preferred forms in question.

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I. Geographical Index

Aynik (Hawnik, Yawnik, Avnik), 213  
Ayyunik, see Ayurukan.  
Azar R. in Sydney, see Elsewhere.  
Aznita, see Abara.  
Azhik, see Ayazk.  
Azhalk, 325.  
Atrpayankan N. (Atrpatakan), 265 n. 196A, see Atrpatakan.  
Azerbaijan, 173 n. 115, 176 n. 130, 178 n. 132-3.  
Atlantic Ocean, 242 n. 1O\A.  
Azov, see Azovs.  
Attila, see Attila.  
Azord (Totum...), 95 n. 272.  
Azovs (Azores Is.), 83 n. 94.  
Azord (Botizovit, Balaxovit), 182 n. 619.  
Azata, see Acara.  
Az-Bek (Byec), see Bereg.  
Aztagh, see Atrtagh.  
Az-a, see Az.  
Azerbaidzhan, 173 n. 115, 176 n. 130, 178 n. 132-3.  
Azdahayurt, see Saxurak.  
Azata, see Acara.  
Aztexs Tolu, 325.  
Azat R. in Syria, see Elsewhere.  
Aznita, see Abara.  
Azhik, see Ayazk.  
Aztexs Tolu, 325.  
Az-Beik (Azalia), 160 n. 46, also see Taska.  
Aznita R., 109 n. 10.  
Atak, 244 n. 74.  
Azana, see Aryan.  
Azhnik, 327.  
Aznita, 71.  
Aznita (Awnatia), 224 n. 97.  
Atrb (Atrh), see Seech.  
Avaray, 181 n. 164, 187 n. 167.  
Awan, 215 n. 280.  
Aznita, also see Aryan.  
Awik (Hawik, Yuwim, Awik), 213 n. 278.  
Azalk (Azalkhalabali), 140 n. 59, 209 n. 246.  
Aznita, 327.  
Aznita (Awnatia), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azent (Al-Azent), see Azat R.  
Azalkhalabali, 140 n. 59, 209 n. 246.  
Azana, 327.  
Aznita (Awnatia), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azent (Azalkhalabali), 140 n. 59, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.  
Azanka (Aznata), 57, 137 n. 47, 138 n. 208, 209 n. 246.  
Azanka, 327.
I. Geographical Index

Bulgaria

Buinaksk, 123 n. 108.
Budunik', 252 n. 142A.
Bourkas R., 326, 327.
Bostan-K'alak'i, see Rust'avi.
Borneo, 82 n. 7, see also labatiu.
Boristhenes R., see Dnepr R.

Bolnisi[i] (Bolnis-Khachen), 135 n. 34, 203 n. 228.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bohuslav (Bohuslav), 192 n. 192.
Bol-Lozhe (Bol'shoy Lioso), 192 n. 192.

Bol'shoi (Bol'shoy) Caleotn, see Calkotn.

B'ol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.

Bol'shoi Khotun, 192 n. 192.
Bolshevik (Bols'n), Bolshevik-rev., 135 n. 34.
I. Geographical Index

Dalt Jalalabad, 248 n. 121A, see B algorithms.
Dalt-i-Bazank-hîfez, see B algorithms.
Dalt Sarut, see Sarut Dalt.
Dawur, 195 n. 207.
Dau (Dawur), "Dawur", "Dawur".
Dau (Dawur) ["Dawur"] 336, 336 n. 104, 354.
Datouk, 209 n. 332.
Dawud, 249 n. 148, 194 n. 209, 198.
Dawar, 209 n. 332.
Dawara, 333.
Dâvî (Dâvî), see Tigris.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
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Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
Dâvî, 333.
I. Geographical Index

Fish-Eaters, Gulf Sea of the, 46, 225 n. 114.

Persepolis Islands, 44, 44A.

Pleistocene, 138, 138A, 140-1, 140 n. 54, 55, 159, 199, 202, 228, 260-262, n. 163A.

Gardnkar (in Armenia, Aragon, Djemdu), 65, 65A, 180, 181 n. 111, 168, 169, 169A, 170, 170A, 185, 190 n. 2, 199 n. 222, 200, 201, 222, 244, 245A, 258 n. 153A.

Gardnkar, 65, 70A, 211, 267, 267A, 269 n. 272, 273, 276, 276A, 276 n. 179A, 302, 310, 310 n. 6.

Gardnak, see Sandvikre.

Gardnak (get Aray), see Aran R.


Garval, see Sandvikre.

Garwal (Gwallor), town (Gillo-

Garval (Gwallor), town (Gillo-

Garwal (Gwallor), town (Gillo-

Garei, see Gardnak.

Garwan, see Gbahnem.

Gawrek', 248 n. 152A.

Gawrek', 248 n. 152A.

Gawrek', 248 n. 152A.

Gawrek', 248 n. 152A.

Gil-gil chai, 119 n. 88, 120 n. 89.

Gishack, 140 n. 59.

Gisowski, 252 n. 142A.

Gisowski, 252 n. 142A.

Gisowski, 252 n. 142A.

Gisowski, 252 n. 142A.

Gisowski, 252 n. 142A.
I. Geographical Index

Ararat, see Arm's R.
Armenia, see Cilicia, Upper Country, Samc'xe.
Aristonian, see Stamboul.
Arm's R., 92 n. 204.
Arta, see Marash.
Assyria, see Assur.
Astana, 265 n. 204.
Astrahan (Astahan, Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Asinae (Asine), 53, 53A.
Asiatic R., 246 n. 30A.
Asiatic Sea, 247 n. 64A.
Asiatic Tigris, see Tigris.
Astrahan (Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Astana, 265 n. 204.
Astrahan (Astahan, Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Asinae (Asine), 53, 53A.
Asiatic R., 246 n. 30A.
Asiatic Sea, 247 n. 64A.
Asiatic Tigris, see Tigris.
Astrahan (Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Astana, 265 n. 204.
Astrahan (Astahan, Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Asinae (Asine), 53, 53A.
Asiatic R., 246 n. 30A.
Asiatic Sea, 247 n. 64A.
Asiatic Tigris, see Tigris.
Astrahan (Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Astana, 265 n. 204.
Astrahan (Astahan, Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Asinae (Asine), 53, 53A.
Asiatic R., 246 n. 30A.
Asiatic Sea, 247 n. 64A.
Asiatic Tigris, see Tigris.
Astrahan (Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Astana, 265 n. 204.
Astrahan (Astahan, Astahan), 164 n. 177.
Asinae (Asine), 53, 53A.
Asiatic R., 246 n. 30A.
I. Geographical Index

Jama R., 135 n. 31.

Iznik, see Nikaia.

Isti-su, 197 n. 209, n. 211.

Isoc'/Isuc'

Iskenderun (Alexandreia-by-Issos, Iris (Yed)

Irmak)

Judi Dagh (Cudi Dag), see Ararad Mt.

Judea (Judah, loudaia, Judaea), 45, 57, 70, 70A, 130 n. 18, 222, 223, 251 n. 18, 343.

Joroyget, see Joraget.

Jordan (Iordanes) R., 70, 70A, 222 n. 70.

Jordan, 223 n. 64.

Jolakert, see C'olakert.

Jlmar/Jlmay (Julamerik, Colamerik, Jknateank' Arkuni, see Afest[awan].

Kaikuli, see Aboc'i/Kaikub.

Kagizman, see Kalzuan.

Kafkdh, see Caucasus Mts.

Kafkas (Kavkasya), see Caucasus Mts.

Kabirry Kurgan, see Gabaiu-Bagink'.

Kara-s«, see Euphrates, Upper.

Kara-C^y (Mel) R., 258 n. 154A.

Kappadokia, see Cappadocia.

Karakum, 125.

Karya, see Kars, Kingdom of.

K'arsk'ar, 72, 74A, see K'askar.

Kasion R., 141 n. 65.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kassiotis, 221 n. 23-4.

Kaspion (Talysh) Mts., see Caspian

Kawkisx, see K'ordit'irikosxew.

Kawat, 71, 224 n. 72, 225 n. 105.

K'askar, see Kars.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kavkaz(i), see Caucasus Mts., see

K'arsk'ar, 72, 74A, see K'askar.

Kasion R., 141 n. 65.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kassiotis, 221 n. 23-4.

Kaspion (Talysh) Mts., see Caspian

Kawkisx, see K'ordit'irikosxew.

Kawat, 71, 224 n. 72, 225 n. 105.

K'askar, see Kars.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kavkaz(i), see Caucasus Mts., see

K'arsk'ar, 72, 74A, see K'askar.

Kasion R., 141 n. 65.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kassiotis, 221 n. 23-4.

Kaspion (Talysh) Mts., see Caspian

Kawkisx, see K'ordit'irikosxew.

Kawat, 71, 224 n. 72, 225 n. 105.

K'askar, see Kars.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kavkaz(i), see Caucasus Mts., see

K'arsk'ar, 72, 74A, see K'askar.

Kasion R., 141 n. 65.

K'astar, see Kasar.

Kassiotis, 221 n. 23-4.
I. Geographical Index


Ladder Mt., see Climax.

Laconia, 48.

Kyurak-chai R., see Kurik R.

Kyrrestike, 221 n. 23.

Kyros R., see Kur R.

Kyrambe, 325.

Kylinoros Pass, see Cylinorus Pass.

Kyaneos R., 328.

Kvelis-Qur, see Kvelis-C'xe.

Kutemfan, 71.

K'ut'ays, 71.

K'usti Xorasan, see K6st-i Khurasan.

Kustip'arnes (K'ustip'afenk', K'ustak-i-Khurasan, see K6st-i Kapkoh.

Kurumze R., 105 n. 98.

Kurman, 72, see also Karmania.

Kurican, see Ayli (Kurican), 171 n. 132, 233, 332, 332 n., 343.

Kurdzhan, 188 n. 175.

Kurdish Mts., see Niphates and Gor-tasji, Samsadin), 59A, 65, 65A. 143-

Kutais, Cotochis, Kutais), 57, 127 n. 13,

129 n. 18.

K'ustak'-i-Kapkoh, see K6st-i Kapkoh.

K'ustip'arnes (K'ustip'afenk', K'us-

K'ustak-i-Khurasan, see K6st-i Khura­

K'ustip'arnes (K'ustip'afenk', K'us-

K'ustak-i-Kapkoh, see K6st-i Kapkoh.

Kurman, 72, see also Karmania.

Kurican, see Ayli (Kurican), 171 n. 132, 233, 332, 332 n., 343.

Kurdzhan, 188 n. 175.

Kurdish Mts., see Niphates and Gor-

Kurumze R., 105 n. 98.

Kurman, 72, see also Karmania.

Kurican, see Ayli (Kurican), 171 n. 132, 233, 332, 332 n., 343.

Kurdzhan, 188 n. 175.

Kurdish Mts., see Niphates and Gor-

Kurumze R., 105 n. 98.

Kurman, 72, see also Karmania.

Kurican, see Ayli (Kurican), 171 n. 132, 233, 332, 332 n., 343.

Kurdzhan, 188 n. 175.

Kurdish Mts., see Niphates and Gor-

Kurumze R., 105 n. 98.

Kurman, 72, see also Karmania.

Kurican, see Ayli (Kurican), 171 n. 132, 233, 332, 332 n., 343.

Kurdzhan, 188 n. 175.
I. Geographical Index

254 n. 149, 257 n. 151A, 260 n. 163A
Mahanin, see Martyropolis.
Majistara, 128 n. 109.
Makan, 265 n. 196A.
Makan, 190 n. 178.
MakMON, 328.
Makri-n-ye, see Bavar-ye.
Mekontom, see Nosir, Khvává.
Mekorio, 119 n. 51.
Mekran, see Ifank', Greater.
Mehr, see Mokk'.
Mehš (Moxoene, Beth Moksaye), 10, 27, 316 n. 47; 81, 179 n. 144, 220 n. 1, 226 n. 30, 321, 325, 329, 331.
Mekitkán (Xanadu), 193, 216 n. 202.
Mekrit, see Bervi.
Melis (Melissa), see Melissa.
Mellse, see Messili.
Melitene, 17, 17 n. 78, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 31, 59A, 99, 104, 116, 121 n. 80, 121 n. 155, 274 n. 27, 274 n. 31, 326 n. 78, 327, 402 n. 20. Älgyl R., see Älgyl R., Other. Aman, see Améns, see also Mosxike, see also Mosxike.
Mérgi, see Mórgi, Greater.
Mégg (Melik), see Mögg, Greater.
Mérgs, see Megh, Greater.
Mérgs (Megh), see Meghe, Greater.
Mérgs (Meghs), see Meghs, Greater.
Mérgs, see Megh, Greater.
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Mélá (Mélé), see Mélá, Greater.
Mérgs, see Megh, Greater.
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Mérgs, see Megh, Greater.
I. Geographical Index

Rani, see Albania, Caucasian.

Raga, see Re.

Qafda, 173 n. 115.

Qara-s« R., 88 n. 197.

Pyron-Pedion 'Firey Plain', 50, 50A.

Ptousa, see Ptoua.

Pyramos (Ceyhan) R., 17 n. 75, 54, 105.

Ptoua or Ptousa ('•'■Phousa?), 333, 333.

Seg mn. 10. 50A.

Rexa, 131 n. 18, 304, 304 n. 15.

Rheon R., see Rioni R.

Rhea, Mt., 46.

Rhaptus, R. 51.

Rhaetia, 32.

Rha R., see Volga R.

Rexula R., 137 n. 41.

Rexa, 131 n. 18, 137 n. 42.

Resir-i Bahrsan (Resir i Parsan, Resir-i-Asiatic, 8, 27, 31, 48, 126 n. 2, 325, 166 n.

Rwenzor Mts., 97 n. 55.

Rubes (Rubus), 170, 224 n. 110, 224 n. 110.

Rubicon R., 47.

Ruan, see Rwan.

Raugonia, see Bagrewand.

Rastina, see Ras al-'Ain.

Rebat e Alvan, see Alewan town.

Ray, 228 n. 1, 345.

Raugoria, see Bagrewand.

Rastina, see Ras al-'Ain.

Rebat e Alvan, see Alewan town.

Ray, 228 n. 1, 345.

Raugonia, see Bagrewand.

Rastina, see Ras al-'Ain.

Rebat e Alvan, see Alewan town.

Ray, 228 n. 1, 345.
I. Geographical Index

Almali, Oshnoviyeh, Oshnoviyeh, Udum, 177 n. 120.

Shwar, dirich, see Arzox.

Sudarman, see and Msn.

Sunduz, 55, 277, 291, 296, 300, 309.

Suras, see Supha.

Surdas, see Suris-c'ixe.

Suris, Surisa, Suris-c'ixe, Suphas, 136 n. 36.

Sura, 278, 282, 282 n. 27, 294, 294 n. 49, 307, 310, 314.

Sura, Sura-Ras, see Suris-c'ixe.


Suris-c'ixe, Suris, see Suphas,

Sura, 86 n. 154, 79, 79 n. 11.

Suris-c'ixe, see Suphas.

Surin (Schwarz), 76, 86 n. 154, 79, 79 n. 11.

Surd, see Suris-c'ixe.

Suris, Suris-c'ixe, Suphas, 136 n. 36.

Sura, 278, 282, 282 n. 27, 294, 294 n. 49, 307, 310, 314.

Sura, Sura-Ras, see Suris-c'ixe.

Suris-c'ixe, Suris, see Suphas,
448
Takht-i Sulaiman, 266 n. 198A.
T'akueri (Lec'xumi), 246 n. 81A.
*Telakan, see Chelekan Peninsula, 88
n. 201.
Talakora Emporion, see Manakor.
T'alin (Thalina), 333, 333 n. 48.
Talka Is., 46, see Chelekan Peninsula.
Talkan, 72, 234 n. 4.
Talysh, 107 n. 7,177 n. 130.
Talysh Mts., see Caspian Mts.
Taman Peninsula, 114 n. 41.
Tamber (Tambet), 63, 63A,171 n. 114,
178 n. 130, n. 139, 182 n. 145, 184 n.
145.
Tambet', see Tamber.
Tambner[k'], 251 n. 141A.
Tamonitis, see Tmorik'.
*Tamoritis, see Tmorik'.
Tana L., 98 n. 83; R., 135 n. 31.
Tanais, city, 327.
Tanais (Don) R. , 8, 16, 46, 46A, 47A,
48,55, 55A, 325-7.
Tangier, 95 n. 3.
Taniardis, 325,
Tanispir, 135 n. 31.
Tanis-xevi (Tanis-xew), 130 n. 18, 247
n. 91A, 304.
Tankriayn, see Taygrean.
Tao[ni], see Tayk'.
Tao, Upper, see Tayk'.
Tao-KIarjet'i, Curopalatate of, 208 n.
243.
Taoskari, see Tayoc' K'ar.
Taparastan, see Tabaristan.
Taparavani L., 134 n. 27, 140 n. 59.
Taprestan, see Taparastan.
Taprobane, 44, 44A, 76, 76A, see Cey­
lon.
Taras R., 48.
Tarawn, Tarawnoy get (Zola-chai) R.,
189 n. 185, n. 187.
Tarawn, 24, 59, 59A, 63, 63A, 148 n. 1,
181 n. 144, 250 n. 136A, 288, 297,
311 n. 18, 318 n. 58; East
(=*Slkunik'?), 318 n. 58, n. 59; Plain
of, 161 n. 45, 206 n. 243; West (Astisat), 311-2, 318.
Tareina (’’'Gareina?, *Kfni?), 334.
Tarku, 124 n. 110.
Tarneasx, 247 n. 91A.
Tarsus, 54, 54A, 104 n. 77.
T'ar, 57.
T'art'ar R., see Trtu R.
Taruberan, see Turuberan.
Tashkent, see Lithinos Pyrgos.
Tasiri proper (Palakac'io).
Tasir-Joraget (Lofi-Tasir), Kingdom
of, 141 n. 65.
Tasir (Tasratap', Thasie, *Thasira?,
Tasiri), 57, 57A, 65, 65A, 133-4 n.

I. Geographical Index
20, 139 n. 58, n. 59, 148 n. 1, 200-01
n. 228,202 n. 228,207 n. 243, 213 n.
267, 247 n. 90A, 263 n. 176A, 301,
302 n. 12, 304, 315, 315 n. 38; Principaity of, 304. Upper (Tasir Verin),
139 n. 58,212 n. 267, 302, 302 n. 12.
Taska (Attakhas/Atah?), 335, 335 n.
101.
Tasroy jor, 293.
Tastem, see Arewik'.
Tastina, see Tatina.
Tat'ew, 190 n. 189.
Tatik, 59, 59A, 232 n. 2, 250 n. 135A,
297, 313.
Tatik R. (Tatik-s»), 162 n. 54.
Tatina/Tastina (*Kaspina?), see Xospi.
Tatvan, see Datwan.
Tauric Peninsula (see Crimea)., 48.
Tauros (Tawros, Taurus) Mts., 17, 26,
54, 54A, 55, 59, 59A,63, 63A, 105 n.
95, n. 99, 157-8 n. 45,161 n. 45, 162
n. 61, 205 n. 243, 221 n. 9, 331, 331
n. 6.
Tavuskar, see Tayoc' K'ar.
Tawag, 267 n. 203A.
Tawasparan, see Tabasaran.
T'awaspark', 306.
Tawniasxk', 247 n. 90A.
T'awr, see T'ori.
Tawruberan Mts., 250 n. 135A.
Tawruberan, see Turuberan.
Tawus (Tauz), 261 n. 163A, 263 n.
173 A.
Tawus (Tovuz, Tus) R., 262 n. 170A,
Tayastan, see Tayk'.
Taygrean (Tagrean, Tankriayn, Tigra?,
Deygr), 63A, 65,180 n. 144,182-3 n.
145, 189 m. 186, 300, 316, 316 n. 48.
Tayk' (Thekes) Mt., 206 n. 243.
Tayk' (Tao, Taoni, Daiaeni, Diauehi,
Xoragoyn Hayk', Tuhac' gawaf?,
*Tuhk'?, Tayastan, Armenia Pro­
funda 'Deep Armenia', Tais), 19, 26,
57, 59, 59A, 65, 65A, 129 n. 18, 131
n. 18, 134 n. 20, 135 n. 29, 140 n. 59,
148 n. 1, 204-, 264 n. 177A, 200-01
n. 228, 287-8, 291, 292, 294, 302-03,
318, 319 n. 60; Lower (Amier-Tao
'Hither Tao', Cakk', Caket'i), 132 n.
18, 202 n. 228, 208 n. 243; proper,
204-n. 243, 209 n. 251; Upper (Imier-Tao '[F2]0hither Tao'), 131 n. 18,
202 n. 228, 208 n. 243.
Tayoc' K'ar (Taoskari, Tavuskar), 209
n. 251.
Tazos, 326.
Tbet'i, 205 n. 243.
Tbilisi (Tp'xis, Tp'lis, Tifilis, Tiflis),
57, 57A, 108 n. 7, 129 n. 18, 136 n.
35, n. 36, 137 n. 46, 141 n. 60, 203 n.
228, 209 n. 246, 247 n. 96, 255 n.

149A, 263 n. 174A, 343, 294, 321,
343.
T'ejami R., 141 n. 61.
T'ejmis-xet>i, see Xerki.
Tekor (Digor) R., 215 n. 281.
Telaiba, 329.
Telek, 161 n. 46.
Temer (Tamer), see Tamber.
Tenedus, 46,
Tensift R., see Saga.
Terebia, 335.
Terek R., 107 n. 7, see Alan-Don R.
Tergavar, see Ayli and also T'fabi.
T'erjami R., 135 n. 31.
Teroua, see Daroynk'.
Terter R., see Trtu R.
Tertzan, see Derjan.
Tetik, 159 n. 45.
Tetrapolis (Dardania), 48.
Thabilaka, 331.
Thalina, see T'alin.
Thapsakos (Dibse), 70, 221 n. 7.
Tharthar, L., 224 n. 79.
Thekes Mt., see Mt. Tayk').
Thelbalane (Tell Bashar?), 336, 108.
Theodosiopo[u]lis, 158 n. 45.
Theodosioupolls, see Karin.
Theon Ochema Mt(s)., 44, 44A, 51.
Theophaios R., 325.
Theophanios R., 109 n. 10.
Theoxia, 45.
Thermidon R., 54A.
Thessaly, 48.
Thessyrios R., 328.
Thessyris R., 327.
Thiauna, 331.
Thilbis, 331.
Thospia (Tosp, Van), 335, 335 n. 92.
Thospitis, see Tosp.
Thrace, 48, 48A, 244 n. 46A.
Thule (Thoule) Is., 42, 42A, 45, 45A,
47A, 79 n. 9.
Thynas L., see Siwnas L.
Thospitis L., see Van L.
Tianet'i (T'ianet'), 57, 57A, 132 n. 18,
141 n. 62, n. 63, 305.
Tiberias Lake, 70, 70A.
Tiberias limne, see Galilee, Sea of.
Tibet, 236 n. 40.
Tibe, see Duin.
Tiflis, see Tbilisi.
Tigranakert (Tigranocerta), 154 n. 26,
157-8 n. 45, 219 n. 305, 261 n. 163A,
297 n. 2, see Arzan.
Tigranken, Tigranoama, 336.
Tigris (Dklat) R., 19, 59, 59A,71, 7lA,
74, 74A, 154 n. 26, 157 n. 45, 158-9
n. 45, 161 n. 45, n. 48, 162 n. 50,170
n. 114,175 n. 122,224 n. 83, n. 90, n.
94-5, 233 n. 77, 265 n. 193A, n.
199A, 313 n. 29, 331-2, 344, 335.

449

I. Geographical Index
Tigris, Eastern, see Jerm R.
Til, 311 n. 14, 344.
Tingis, 45, 50.
Tingitana, see Mauritania
Tinissa (^Kimissa?, Cumina/C'ermes?), 334, 334 n. 59.
Tisoba, 50,97 n. 31.
Tizak, see Dizak.
Tlmut (Ak-cM R., 187 n. 168.
T'man castle (T'mnis, Kome Thamanon, Themanon, Thamanun, Betmanin, Heftane), 63, 170, n. 114, 174 n.
116.
Tmkaberd (T'mogvi, K'ajatun), see
Cunda fonress.
T'mogvi, see Cunda.
Tmorik'
(Tamnonitis, “^^Tamoritis,
Tmorik' (Tumurri[ra], Tumurraai,
Tmoraye), 170-2 n. 114, 174 n. 115,
175 n. 116, 231-3 n. 2,314.
Tocarion, see Xupi Tuxar[i]stan.
Toga, see Poga.
Tohma-s«, 104 n. 76.
Tok'ean Is., 63.
Tol (Tog), see K't'is.
Tonrawan, see T'ofnawan.
Tordan, 311 n. 14.
Toretikon promontory, 326.
Torgov, see Gofot'isxew.
T'ori (Tawr), 131 n. 18, 134-5 n. 28,
201 n. 228, 247 n. 91A, 304.
Tofnawan (T'onrawan, Darnavin), 63,
63A, 182-3 n. 145,188 n. 173,252 n.
142A, 299, 309.
Tofnisxew (Tafniax), 57, 57A.
Toroyberank', see Turauberan.
Torrid Zone, 51, 51A.
Tortoises, Isle of, 225 n. 121.
Tortum castle (Tortomisc'ixe, Tortumkale), 264 n. 178A.
Tortum deresi, see Azord R.
Tortum L. (Tortum Golii), 209 n. 253.
Tortum R., 207 n. 243.
Tortum[i], 264 n. 178A.
Tbsarene (*'G6garene), see Gugark'.
Tosp (Van), 335 n. 92.
Tosp-Rstunik', 185 n. 146.
TospAbsb (Thospitis), 63, 63A, 180 n.
144, 182-4 n. 145, 252 n. 142A, 299,
318, 335.
Tot, 75.
T'ovuz R., see Tawus R.
Toxaristan, 346.
Tp'xis, see Tbilisi.
Tqetba (Gulgula), 248 n. 98A.
T'fabi Gawaf 'district' (Tfab, T'rap'i,
Tiargavar, Tergever), 63, 63A, 171 n.
114, 178 n. 130, 178 n. 136, 232 n. 2,
251 n. 141A, 299, 314.
Tralles, 52.
Trapezus, see Trebizond.

Transcaspia, 110 n. 17.
Transcaucasia, 106 n. 7; Viceroyalty of,
194 n. 209. Transcaucasian Republic,
194 n. 209; Transcaucasian Soviet
Federated
Socialist
Republic
(T.S.F.S.R.), 108 n. 7, 129 n. 18, 148
n. 1.
Transjordan, 265 n. 194A,
Trapezous (Trebizond), 274-5, 274 n.
22.
T'rap'i, see T'rabi Gawaf.
T'fasia, (Threas?) R., 220 n. 4.
T'fat'enon (-Thrathenon? = Wadi elAraba?) R., 223 n. 73.
Tfeas R., 70.
Trebizond, 18, 24, 57, 127 n. 9, 128 n.
17, 206 n. 243.
Tfelk' (Triare, *'Triale?, T'rialet'i,
Tharyalit), 57, 57A, 65, 65A,131 n.
18, 134 n. 20,138-9 n. 57, 139-40, n.
59, 200-03 n. 228, 247 n. 90A, 263 n.
176A, 301, 304, 314.
T'fet'enon, 71.
T'rialet'i, see T'felk'.
Trialet'i Range, 139 n. 57.
Triare, see T'felk'.
Ifi (Tn-gawaf, Tergever), 65A, 143 n.
65,196-7 n. 209,260-1 n. 163A, 262
n. 164A, 301, 306.
Tripoli, 50, 50A, 96 n. 27.
Tripolis 96 n. 26, 321.
Troy, 52.
Trpatunik', 63, 63A, 299, 319.
T'rt'ar (Wadi ath-Tharthar) R., 71, 224
n. 79.
Trtu (T'art'ar, Terter) R., 196-8 n. 209,
n. 211, 199, 209 n. 245, 214, 262 n.
167-8A, 263 n. 174A.
Truso Pass, 116 n. 66.
Tsakhur, 118 n. 81.
Tsobeni (Coben), see Cobenor.
Tuapse R., 113 n. 40.
Tuaracatap', 63, 63A, 250 n. 136A.
298,311.
T'uay (Tuvani), 345.
Tubingen, 39,
T'uc'k'atak, 59A, 65A.
Tuhac' gawar 'District of *Tuhk”, see
Tayk'.
Tukharistan, 228 n. 1, 345.
Tumangel' L., 140 n. 59.
Tumme, 205 n. 243.
Tumurri(ra)/ Tumurraai, see Tmorik'.
Turabdin 'fur Abdin) Mts. (Tur Izla)
Mts., 224 n. 83.
Tur Abdin (Cawdek', Zabdikene), 71,
161 n. 45, 303, 316, 316 46.
Turan, 72, 74A, 233 n. 3.
T'urdis-xet»i R., 247 n. 97A, 248 n.
98A.
T'urga, 247 n. 91A.

Turkestan, 74A, 75,124 n. 112.
Turkey, 39, 39, 111 n. 24, 127 n. 9, 129
n. 18, 133 n. 19, 157 n. 43, 215 n.
277, 221 n. 8, 223 n. 76, 224 n. 81-2,
244 n. 63A, 265 n. 189A; Asiatic, 100
n. 2; Ottoman (Turkish Empire),
148 n. 1, 213 n. 267,218 n. 295.
Turkmenia, Soviet, 87 n. 181, 88 n.
201, 236 n. 33.
Turlian-chay R., see Seboj R.
Turuberan (*Tawruberan?), 19, 26, 27,
59,59A, 63, 63A, 147 n. 1,162 n. 55,
169 n. 103, 212 n. 267, 252 n. 143A,
291-2, 297, 297 n. 3, 303, 310 n. 7,
312 n. 26, 189 n. 187, 343.
Turuberan Mts., 250 n. 135A.
Tus R., see Tawus R.
*
Tusak, 178 n. 130.
Tuset'i, 132 n. 18.
Tus-K'ustak (Tuck'atak), 143 n. 65,
260-1 n. 163A, 262 n. 164A, 301,
306, 315.
Tuspa/Tushpa, see Van.
Tutgistan, 228 n. 1.
Tuvani, see T'uay.
T'uxarisi, see T'uxark'.
T'uxark' (T'uxarisi, Xaras, Khars,
Hersbagav), 65, 202 n. 228, 210 n.
259.
Tuzk'atak, 198 n. 209.
Tuzlasuyu, see Mananah R.
Tuzluca, see Kolb.
Tuset'i, 117 n. 73.
Tyrambai, 325.
Tyras R., 45, 48.
Tyre, 50.
Tyrrhenian sea, 47A.
Tzanika, 343.
Tzannic Mts., see Caucasus Mts., Les­
ser.
Tzouraina, 18 n. 81.
Uf-kilise, see Bag[a]wan.
Udon[us] R., 45, 114 n. 52.
Uganda, 98 n. 72.
Ujarma (Ujarmo), 141 n. 60.
Ujjain/Ujjahini, see Oxiana.
Ulhu, see Her.
UIx, see Her.
Uni, 256 n. 150A, 257 n. 151 A.
United States, 108 n., 7, 293.
Unknown Land, 16, 42A, 43A, 44,
44A, 45, 45A, 46A, 48, 48A, 55 50,
52, 55, 72, 74, 75, 76, 244 n. 43A,
325, 327.
Unknown Ocean (Sea), 43A, 44, 44A,
45A.
Up'lisc'ixe, see Kaspi(si) fortress.
Upper Country (Zemo Sop'eli), 202 n.
228.


I. Geographical Index

450

Ural Mts., 92 n. 240, 241 n. 166.
Ural R., see Daix R.
Ural Mts., 92 n. 64. 240 n. 116.
Vardanes R., 55, 109 n. 11.
Var[ar]znunik', in Ayrarat (Calkunik',
Vardeni), Reza'iyeh), 166 n. 84, 71 n.
241 n. 34, 242 n. 34, 243 n. 344,
see Kaputan Cov.

451

Varran, 259 n. 160A, 300, 309, 321.
Varjan (= K'art'li/Iberia), 72, 209 n.
107, n. 108, 124 n. 110.
Varnica, 132-3 n. 114, 176 n. 130,
179 n. 141, 187 n. 150A, 257 n. 151A,
258 n. 152A, 185 n. 146, n. 149-50,
186 n. 157, n. 161, 163, 167 n. 165,
167 n. 167, 169 n. 169, 251 n. 138A,
295, 332 n. 14, 344.

452

Vartasen (Vartashen), 248 n. 102A,
260 n. 163A.
Vaskuni', see Mecnunik'.

453

Vezh, 137 n. 41.
Varten (Vartaban), see Var'an.

454

Vexil, 240 n. 128.

455

Vican, Vicin), 18 n. 81, 152 n. 8, 334,
336, 189 n. 25, 299, 300 n. 6, 301,
310, 312 n. 26, 318 n. 59, 319.
Xal, 72, 224 n. 33.

456

Xarjan (= K'art'li/Iberia), 72, 231 n.
107, n. 108, 124 n. 110.
Xrodon, 32, see Georgia, East. Varkan,
72, 74 n. 25, 74A, 233 n. 3, 234 n. 35.
Xarak, 248 n. 89, 308, 310, 312 n.
35.

457

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

458

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

459

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

460

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

461

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

462

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

463

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

464

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.

465

Xristush, 247 n. 305.
Xinos, 255, 256 A.
Xofos, 257 n. 130, 131, 133.
II. Index of Ethnonyms

Agrawal, see Ahir.
Alaunus, 218, 280, 281A.
Alians, 218.
Alpine peoples, 120 n. 125.
Alpine, 118 n. 81.
Alsome, 225, 738, 330 maps.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albeans, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
Albanians, 107 n. 23, 107, 119 n. 18.
Albanians, see also Albanians.
II. Index of Ethnonyms

- Khasmandan, see Hecmatakk'.
- Khainides, 327.
- Juan-Juan 110 n. 17.
- Kardoukhoi, 168 n. 99, 170 n. 114.
- Kalmyks, 107 n. 7.
- Isondai, see '''Tsondai.
- Isondai ('^'Tsondai), 327.
- Ingush, 117 n. 76.
- K'wat'akan, 51 A.
- Kushans, 123 n. 107.
- Kudars, see Ossetians.
- Krytz, see Dzhek.
- Kolkhians (Colchians) 126 n. 1, 141 n. 165, 204 n. 236, 237 n. 219, 276 n. 217, 279 n. 235, 297 n. 229.
- Korkhaoi, 327.
- K'urt (=Kurt'), 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'urt', 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'urt' (=Kurt'), 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar (Khursi), 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'urt', 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
- K'sar's, 55, 55A, 245 n. 76A.
- K'sar's, 110 n. 20.
III. Index of Persons

Alp Arslan, Seljuk Sultan (1063-1072), 249 n. 277.
Alexander the Great, 108 n. 7, 141-2 n. 267.
Agathodaimon, 9, 9, n. 45, 119.
Aeetes, Kg of Kolkhis, 127-8 n. 13.
Abydenus, 28, 30, 30 n. 113. 71.
Abramyan, see Abrahamyan.
Abraham, 71 A.
Abelyan (Abegyan), M., 4, 4 n. 19, 9, 277.
Acem, see Tubal.
Acanthocephalus (Acanthogai), 82 n. 69.
Achashewon, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 44, 49, 59, 61.
Adabane, see Abrahamyan.
Abydos, 28, 30, 30 n. 113. 71.
Aduna, N., 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 20, 30, 31, 34, 38, 39, 44, 49, 59, 61.
Ahramyan, see Abrahamyan.
Albania, 28, 30, 30 n. 113. 71.
Alexander the Great, 108 n. 7, 141-2 n. 267.
Apollodorus of Athens, 30, 30 n. 113, 82 n. 53.
Apollos (Apollos), see Apollo.
Armenos, Kg of Urartu (c. 786-c. 764 A.D.), 222 n. 9.
Artaxerxes (Artaxerxes), Kg of Persia (522-486 B.C.), 219 n. 305; 250, 252, 269, 279, 281, 287.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (188-181 B.C.), 23, 29, 95, 97, 116, 124, 219 n. 305; 250, 295, 299, 299 n. 149, 269, 263; 164 A; 4 (228-229), 290.
Artaxias, see Ardashir.
Artavazdes (Artavazd), Kg of Armenia (55-30 B.C.), 167 n. 93.
Artavazdes I, see Artavazdes.
Artesian, deity, 222 n. 5.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Asteges, 30, 30 n. 111.
Atela, Kg of Persia (c. 325-c. 305 B.C.), 221 n. 9.
Atalanta, see Atalanta.
Atar, see Atara.
Atar-Mez and the Ilkhanid Scholars, 7, 60, 61.
Ataxias I, see Artavazdes.
Athena, see Athina.
Athina, see Athina.
Atrahasis, Kg of Kish, 235 n. 2.
Atrahasis II, see Atrahasis.
Atraxas, see Artavazdes.
Atraxas, Kg of Persia (c. 338-330 B.C.), 42, 43A.
Atraxas II, see Atraxas.
Atys, see Athys.
Ara, see Aram.
Ara, see Aram.
Arawane, see Aravane.
Araunah, see Aron.
Aron, Kg of Judah (c. 1043-973 B.C.), 40, 296.
Artasir, see Ardashir.
Artaxias I, see Artavazdes I.
Artashes I, see Artashusht.
Artashes II, see Ardashir.
Artashes III, see Ardashir.
Artashushht, see Artashusht.
Artashes, 119 n. 97, 120, 293, 297.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (188-181 B.C.), 23, 29, 95, 97, 116, 124, 219 n. 305; 250, 295, 299, 299 n. 149, 269, 263; 164 A; 4 (228-229), 290.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 325-c. 305 B.C.), 221 n. 9.
Atela, Kg of Persia (c. 325-c. 305 B.C.), 221 n. 9.
Atar, see Atara.
Atar-Mez and the Ilkhanid Scholars, 7, 60, 61.
Ataxias I, see Artavazdes.
Artavazdes I, see Artavazdes.
Artavazdes II, see Ardashir.
Artashes I, see Artashusht.
Artashes II, see Ardashir.
Artashes III, see Ardashir.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
Artaxerxes, Kg of Persia (c. 224-c. 220 B.C.), 44, 296.
Ariosto, 28, 29, 29 n. 107, 148 n. 1, 171 n. 114.
Aristeas, see Aristeas.
Aristeas II, see Aristeas.
Artemis, deity, 52, 244 n. 49A.
III. Index of Persons

Martius Verus, 218 n. 297.

Marquart, J., see Markwart.

Macler, E., 3, n. 14, 322.

Lucullus, Roman general, 147 n. 1.

Leo, Byzantine Emperor (457-461), 129, 18, 190 n. 189.

Tamerlan (Tamerlane), Mongol chieftain (1387-1405), 136 n. 36, 145 n. 78, 191 n. 297.

Vardan of the East (Vardan Aygec'i), 4.

Varian of the East (Vardan Aygec'i) the Great (VA), 2, 9.

Vakht, Prof. Sorial, 172 n. 114.

Vardan Aygec'i, King of Iberia (East Georgia, 447-522), 136 n. 36, 137 n. 48.

Vardan, 85 n. 180.

Vaeclerius of Aquitaine, 275.

Vakht, Prof. Sorial, 172 n. 114.

Vardan Aygec'i, King of Iberia (East Georgia, 447-522), 136 n. 36, 137 n. 48.

Vardan, 85 n. 180.

Vaeclerius of Aquitaine, 275.

Vakht, Prof. Sorial, 172 n. 114.

Vardan Aygec'i, King of Iberia (East Georgia, 447-522), 136 n. 36, 137 n. 48.

Vardan, 85 n. 180.

Vaeclerius of Aquitaine, 275.

Vakht, Prof. Sorial, 172 n. 114.

Vardan Aygec'i, King of Iberia (East Georgia, 447-522), 136 n. 36, 137 n. 48.

Vardan, 85 n. 180.

Vaeclerius of Aquitaine, 275.

Vakht, Prof. Sorial, 172 n. 114.

Vardan Aygec'i, King of Iberia (East Georgia, 447-522), 136 n. 36, 137 n. 48.

Vardan, 85 n. 180.

Vaeclerius of Aquitaine, 275.
Bnasxarh, 'native land' 'province', 150
Bonasos (?), an animal, 47, 226 n. 3
Bis 'aconite'?, 75, 238 n. 77.
Beran 'mouth', 162 n. 61.
Bema 'step' 'pace', see kayl.
Bdeasxut'iwn (vitaxate) 'viceroyalty',
Baze 'falcon', 323.
Ban (?), 226 n. 126.
Balasan, an aromatic, 226 n. 126.
Ayr 'man' 'cave', 169 n. 101.
Axs 'observe', 346.
Asxarhahamar 'reackoner', 104 n. 74.
Asxarhagrutiwn 'geography the sub-
Asxarhac'oyc' 'geographical text', 10,
Asxarh 'land' 'country' 'world', 26,150
Astuacaban 'theologian', see Gregory
Asid 'stork', 153 n. 24.
Aru 'bustard', 323.
Arsat '^garsat (hashaq/Hirshak), L:
Arrondissement (F) 'quarter', 293.
Arp'i 'ray' 'beam', 277.
IV. Index of Foreign Terms
Ayr 'man' 'cave', 169 n. 101.
Axs 'observe', 346.
Asxarhahamar 'reackoner', 104 n. 74.
Asxarhagrutiwn 'geography the sub-
Asxarhac'oyc' 'geographical text', 10,
Asxarh 'land' 'country' 'world', 26,150
Astuacaban 'theologian', see Gregory
Asid 'stork', 153 n. 24.
Aru 'bustard', 323.
Arsat '^garsat (hashaq/Hirshak), L:
Arrondissement (F) 'quarter', 293.
Arp'i 'ray' 'beam', 277.

Index of Foreign Terms
Bnasxarh, 'native land' 'province', 150
Bonasos (?), an animal, 47, 243 A, 33A
Balasan, an aromatic, 47, 243 A, 33A
Bis 'aconite', 75, 238 n. 77.
Beran 'mouth', 162 n. 61.
Bema 'step' 'pace', see kayl.
Bdeasxut'iwn (vitaxate) 'viceroyalty',
Baze 'falcon', 323.
Ban (?), 226 n. 126.
Balasan, an aromatic, 226 n. 126.
Ayr 'man' 'cave', 169 n. 101.
Axs 'observe', 346.
Asxarhahamar 'reackoner', 104 n. 74.
Asxarhagrutiwn 'geography the sub-
Asxarhac'oyc' 'geographical text', 10,
Asxarh 'land' 'country' 'world', 26,150
Astuacaban 'theologian', see Gregory
Asid 'stork', 153 n. 24.
Aru 'bustard', 323.
Arsat '^garsat (hashaq/Hirshak), L:
Arrondissement (F) 'quarter', 293.
Arp'i 'ray' 'beam', 277.

Index of Foreign Terms
Bnasxarh, 'native land' 'province', 150
Bonasos (?), an animal, 47, 243 A, 33A
Balasan, an aromatic, 47, 243 A, 33A
Bis 'aconite', 75, 238 n. 77.
Beran 'mouth', 162 n. 61.
Bema 'step' 'pace', see kayl.
Bdeasxut'iwn (vitaxate) 'viceroyalty',
Baze 'falcon', 323.
Ban (?), 226 n. 126.
Balasan, an aromatic, 226 n. 126.
Ayr 'man' 'cave', 169 n. 101.
Axs 'observe', 346.
Asxarhahamar 'reackoner', 104 n. 74.
Asxarhagrutiwn 'geography the sub-
Asxarhac'oyc' 'geographical text', 10,
Asxarh 'land' 'country' 'world', 26,150
Astuacaban 'theologian', see Gregory
Asid 'stork', 153 n. 24.
Aru 'bustard', 323.
Arsat '^garsat (hashaq/Hirshak), L:
Arrondissement (F) 'quarter', 293.
Arp'i 'ray' 'beam', 277.

Index of Foreign Terms
Bnasxarh, 'native land' 'province', 150
Bonasos (?), an animal, 47, 243 A, 33A
Balasan, an aromatic, 47, 243 A, 33A
Bis 'aconite', 75, 238 n. 77.
Beran 'mouth', 162 n. 61.
Bema 'step' 'pace', see kayl.
Bdeasxut'iwn (vitaxate) 'viceroyalty',
Baze 'falcon', 323.
Ban (?), 226 n. 126.
Balasan, an aromatic, 226 n. 126.
Ayr 'man' 'cave', 169 n. 101.
Axs 'observe', 346.
Asxarhahamar 'reackoner', 104 n. 74.
Asxarhagrutiwn 'geography the sub-
Asxarhac'oyc' 'geographical text', 10,
Asxarh 'land' 'country' 'world', 26,150
Astuacaban 'theologian', see Gregory
Asid 'stork', 153 n. 24.
Aru 'bustard', 323.
Arsat '^garsat (hashaq/Hirshak), L:
Arrondissement (F) 'quarter', 293.
Arp'i 'ray' 'beam', 277.
IV. Index of Foreign Terms

Platan 'ceam 'horned deer', 322.

Pici 'pine tree', 323 n. 12.

P'agre ('''t'gre) (?) 'tigre'?, 75A, 238 n.

Parusia, see Parmusit.

Parmusit (?) 'colorless', a precious

Paiti (P) 'overseer', 346.

Ot 'foot' 81 n. 36.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Oskek'ar 'goldstone', 225 n. 104.

Osk'i 'gold', 243 n. 34A.

Oros (G) 'border', see sahman.

Omphalos (G) 'navel' 'center of the

Oblast' (R) 'province', 194 n. 209.

Nymphe (G) 'bride', 162 n. 50.

Nus 'walnut', 323.

Numaw narinj (?), 'mandarin orange',

Nomisma (G), Byzantine gold coin,

No (P) 'nine', 346.

'viceroy' 159 n. 159 n. 45.