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The Geography of Ananias of Širak
(AŠXARHAC'OYC')
The Long and the Short Recensions

Introduction, Translation
and Commentary
by
Robert H. Hewsen

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TO MY MENTOR AND FRIEND

CYRIL TOUMANOFF

ՄՈՍԻՍ ԿՈՐԵՆԵՆՍԻՆԻ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ
ԵՒ ԱՇԽԱՐԻԱԿՈՒԹԻՒՆ.

MOSIS CHORENENSIS
HISTORIAE ARMENIACAE

LIBRI III.

Accedit ejusdem Scriptoris

EPITOME GEOGRAPHIAE.

PRÆMITTITUR

P R Æ F A T I O

QUÆ DE

LITERATURA, ac VERSIONE SACRA ARMENIACA agit;

ET SUBJICITUR

A P P E N D I X

QUÆ CONTINET

EPISTOLAS DUAS ARMENIACAS,

Primam, CORINTHIORUM ad PAULUM Apostolum, Alteram, PAULI Apostoli ad CORINTHIOS; nunc primùm ex Codice MS integrè divulgatas.

Armeniacè ediderunt, Latine verterunt, Notisque illustrarunt
GULIELMUS & GEORGIUS, GUL. WHISTONI Filii,
Aulæ Clarenlis in Academia Cantabrigiensi alicquandiu Alumni.

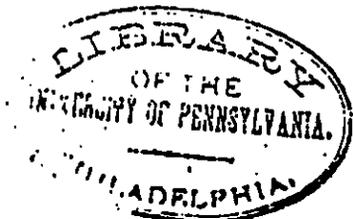
Լաւ եւ երկու բան զի, որոց զոն վարձք բարի 'ի վաստակս նոցա
Αγαθοι ει δου νιστε εν ινα, εις τειν αυτις μιθες αγαθος εν μαχησιν αυτων. Eccles. IV. 9.

L O N D I N I

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Apud JOANNEM WHISTONUM BIBLIOPOLAM.

MDCCLXXXVI.



TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE AŞXARHAC' OYC' 1736

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TABLES OF TRANSLITERATION

ARMENIAN

ա	բ	գ	դ	ե	զ	է	ը	թ	ժ
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	ə	t'	ž
ի	լ	խ	ծ	կ	հ	յ	ղ	ճ	մ
i	l	x	c	k	h	j	ḡ	č	m
յ	ն	շ	ո	ու	օ	պ	փ	ք	ս
y	n	š	o	u	ō	p	ph	q	s
վ	տ	ր	ց	ւ	փ	ք	օ		
v	t	r	c'	w	ph'	k'	aw		

GEORGIAN

ა	ბ	გ	დ	ე	ვ	ზ	თ	ი	ო
a	b	g	d	e	v	z	ē	t'	i
კ	ლ	მ	ნ	ყ	ო	პ	ჩ	ც	ძ
k	l	m	n	y	o	p	č	r	s
ტ	ყ	უ	ფ	ქ	ც	ყ	შ	ჩ	ც
t	w	u	ph'	k'	g	q	š	č'	č'
ძ	წ	ჭ	ხ	ჯ	ღ	ვ			
j	o	č	z	h	j	h			

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 *Ašxarhac'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 *Ašxarhac'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 *Ašxarhac'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 unflinching 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 unflinching 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 *Ašxarhac'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. Chookaszian, Deputy Director of the Mesrop Maštoc' 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 *Ašxarhac'oyc'* found in his institute; to the late Monsieur Haig Bérberian, refounder and editor of the *Revue des études*

arméniennes, nouvelle série, for providing me with valuable advice and suggestions; to Mr. Walter Tegnazian, formerly of Erevan, Armenia, for his gift of Eremyan's work cited above, without which this study would never have been undertaken; to Mr. T. A. Sinclair of London, England, for reading my *Introduction* and for his advice and suggestions in geographical matters based on his vast experience and travels in eastern Anatolia; to Professor Peter B. Golden of Rutgers University and Professor Thomas Allsen of Trenton State College, for reading the annotations to the section of the text on Sarmatia and Scythia and for their clarification of many points in the history of pre-Seljukid Turkish political formations; to Dr. Brian E. Colless of Massey University, New Zealand, for reading the annotations to the section on the Far East and for his many useful comments and bibliographical indications; to Professor James R. Russell of Columbia University, who read the section on the Persian Empire, and who was of inestimable help with Iranian material and bibliography; and to Professor John A. C. Greppin of Cleveland State University, who supplied me with several invaluable maps, and who made significant contributions to my glossary of geographical terms.

I owe special thanks to my closest friend, Mr. Paul L. Garwig of North Carolina State University, who not only read the *Introduction* for clarity and for matters of style, but who allowed me to belabor this entire project with him from its inception; to another friend of many years, the late Dr. Srpouhi A. Essefian, for not only providing me with the full use of her personal library, but for her continuous aid and encouragement until her death in 1983; to Dr. Mary Bateson Kassarian and the late Mr. Vartkes Aharonian, my mentors in Eastern Armenian; to Dr. Nina G. Garsoian, Centennial Professor of Armenian Studies at Columbia University, and Dr. Krikor Maksoudian, my mentors in Classical Armenian, the latter of whom was especially helpful in clarifying many difficult passages in the text; and to my aunt Mrs. A. Hewsenian for her help with German material. To Professor N. G. Garsoian, in particular, a most esteemed and valued colleague, I owe a special debt of gratitude for her moral support and good counsel over more than twenty years, as well as for the loan of several important books from her personal library. Of inestimable help across the years was my friend and typist, the late Mrs. Themis Guterrez, whose services went well beyond the bond, and also my present typist, Mrs. Elizabeth K. Peters, whose accuracy has been truly astonishing given the complexities of the text with which she has had to work. Despite the help of these many colleagues, this work, as the author is well aware, contains all too many deficiencies for which he accepts complete responsibility.

It is my great pleasure to extend my warmest gratitude to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon, Portugal, which supported me with tuition grants during the first two years of my doctoral work; to Father Nerses Nersessian of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, Italy, for having a microfilm made for me of the only surviving manuscript of the long version of the *Ašxarbac'oyc'* (Venetian Ms. 1245), and to Father Vartanes Ouolohodjian of the same order, for placing the microfilm in my hands at the very last moment at which I could still make use of it; to Professor Stephen Gerö of the Orientalisches Seminar at the University of Tübingen, German Federal Republic, who, by inviting me to serve as Visiting Research Professor on the staff of the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (TAVO) for six months in 1984 and for another three in 1987, provided me with the otherwise unobtainable leisure to complete the third and final revision of this work; and, to Dr. Wolfgang Röllig, Director of the TAVO project, and his colleague, Dr. Heinz Gaube, who as co-editors of the Beihefte accompanying the publication of the various maps of the Tübingen Atlas, graciously accepted this work for inclusion in this prestigious series.

Finally, to my wife, Mary Ellen, whose typing of the bibliography and appendices to this work was only the last of her contributions to its achievement, I owe a debt which can be acknowledged but neither measured nor repaid.

Robert H. Hewsen
September 1, 1989

INTRODUCTION

The anonymous Armenian Geography (*Ašxarbac'oyc'*¹ in Armenian; hereinafter: *AŠX*) 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 older 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 *AŠX*, 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 *AŠX* to Moses of Khoren (*Movsēs Xorenac'i*, hereinafter: MX), this ascription was disputed by Sainte-Croix as early as 1789,³ and a reassessment of the *AŠX*'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 *AŠX*, and no attempt has been made to present a reconstruction of the 'primitive text,' a project which at best could only be tentative.⁴ 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 *AŠX* 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 rationale for the interest in 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 ms. (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 *ašxarb* 'world' and *c'oyc'* 'show.' The term *ašxarbac'oyc'* refers only to geographical works, the term *ašxarhagrut'iwon*, literally 'world-writing' (i. e., 'geography') being used for geography as a branch of knowledge.

2 Hewsen 1970:186-207.

3 Petis de Sainte-Croix 1789:217ff.

4 For such an attempt see Eremyan (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.⁵

I. THE TEXT AND ITS PROBLEMS

Despite the great age of the *AŠX*, 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, writing probably in the late eighth century, is the one author who seems to have been most familiar with the *AŠX*, and this is possibly why in later centuries (though in only one of the earlier mss.) it was often attributed to his pen. Thomson⁶ cites five close parallels in the *History* of MX and the *AŠX*, 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 *AŠX* (L) both mention the reputed death of King Artasēs of Armenia in Greece, although again there is no direct quotation.
3. Moses (II.81) describes China in terms borrowed from both L and S.
4. Moses' rejects any belief in the fabulous monsters said to exist in the Far East, is 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 *AŠX*; has borrowed material common to both recensions or found only in L.⁷

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

T'ovma Arcruni (TA) is another reasonably early author (tenth century) who knew of the *AŠX* 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 Arewelc'i 'the Great (VA),' shows no acquaintance with our text at all,⁸ and his description of Armenia and the world at large – poor stuff compared to our *AŠX*, whose own author was himself no Strabo or

5 The revised analysis of the date and authorship of the *AŠX* which follows here naturally renders obsolete my article on the subject (Hewsen 1967:409-32).

6 Thomson 1978:52.

7 TA III.18.

8 VA (ed. Bérberian 1960).

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 mss. of the text in question and to attempt to construct their stemma. Unfortunately, this is not yet possible in the case of the *AŠX*, for sufficient information has yet to be published concerning the location and content of the more than fifty mss. which have come down to us. The overwhelming majority of these mss. – thirty-seven in all – is now to be found in the Matenadaran (the Mesrop Maštoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts) in Erevan, Soviet Armenia, where local Armenian scholars have determined that 1267 and 1360 are the best mss., and 582 the oldest;⁹ 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),¹⁰ and five in the library of the Armenian Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem.¹¹ Surprisingly, there are only three copies in the Mekhitarists' sister monastery in Vienna;¹² 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.¹³ Unfortunately, it is not a good ms. and many of its readings are quite corrupt. There are only modern copies of the *AŠX* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris;¹⁴ and there is only an incomplete copy, also modern, in ms. number 118 (Or. 5459) in the British Library.¹⁵ Neither of the two mss. in the library of the University of Tübingen 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.¹⁶ Saint-Martin knew of none in France in his time,¹⁷ but according to Dwight, there was supposed to be one in the Armenian College in Tiflis,¹⁸

9 B. L. Chookaszian, Deputy Director of the Matenadaran, letter dated 15 April 1982.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Bołarean (1952-1954).

12 Dashian (1895); also letter received from Rev. Raphael Kossian of the Mekhitarist Congregation, Vienna, dated 21 September, 1964, and from Rev. Vahan Hovagimian of the same order, 7 March, 1990.

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 Keschishian (Vienna 1964, ms. No. 204, folios 1-45), 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'*, *Šatgumk'* for *Šatgomk'*, *Truberan* for *Turuberan* – all careless errors for well known toponyms), and shows it to be the end result of a very poor ms. tradition. Its only great variation is that it contains a preface tracing all of 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 Ani (twelfth century). The other ms. at Bzommar (No. 136) is of the seventeenth century and contains a very ordinary text of the *AŠX* with no significant variations.

14 Macler (1908). Ms. 202, contains in folia 294-307 a fragment of the *AŠX* beginning with the passage on Syria and continuing to the end. This was copied by E. Dulaurier in 1850 from a ms. of the *AŠX* in the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, which in turn was copied from a ms. in the Rumiantsov Museum. Ms. 207 contains the *History* of MX and the *AŠX* published by the Whiston Brothers collated by Zohrab with two Venetian mss. The printed text and ms. collation are bound in one volume.

15 Conybeare 1913:293, where, as usual, the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*.

16 Personal examination of the mss. February 1984.

17 Saint-Martin 1819 II:316.

18 Dwight 1853:243-88.

which has since probably found its way into the Matenadaran. Apart from this, all that can be said of the many known mss. is summed up by Abetyan, who, ignorant of the one at Bzommar dated 1178, reports that none of them are dated and that the two oldest in the Matenadaran in Armenia, 582 (mid-fifteenth century) and 1257 (fifteenth century), are anonymous.¹⁹

There are two recensions of the *AŠX*, the long one (L) published in 1881 (L 1881), based on a single ms. discovered in the Armenian monastery in Venice by Arsène Soukry (Sukrean, 1851-1882), and a short version (S), which is the recension found in all of the other known mss., and the one used in the preparation of every other edition of the text published between 1683 and 1944. With all of the mss. in Venice, Jerusalem and in the Matenadaran in Erevan having been gone through to the extent that we now know which are the best and the oldest among them, it seems unlikely that any further perusal of them will reveal much that will add to our store of knowledge concerning the original form of the text. Certainly no further copies of L have ever been found or even any mss. related to it.

B. Editions and Translations

The *AŠX* is one of the earliest examples of Armenian secular literature to have been published, and no less than eleven editions and four translations of it have appeared.

1. S 1668. This *editio princeps* of the *AŠX* edited by Oskan of Erevan, was part of an anthology of geographical fragments by Vardan of Aygek, published in the same volume with a collection of tales and fables, the whole entitled *Girk' ašxarhac' ew araspelabanut'yun or ē atūēsagirk'*, 'Book of Geography and Fables or Book of the Fox'.²⁰ The *AŠX* in this edition is attributed to MX but, as printed, is filled with errors and must have been based on a very faulty ms.

2. S 1683. A reedition of the S 1668 "corrected" by Matthew of Vanand (but still very faulty) in Constantinople,²¹ the place of publication having been deliberately misrepresented on the title page as "Marseilles" (*Marsel*) in order to prevent the Ottoman authorities from learning that the work had actually been printed in Turkey.²²

3. S 1698. Published supposedly at Leghorn (Livorno), Italy, this edition was edited at Constantinople by a certain Eremia *vartabed* of Metri.²³

4. S 1736. Based on S 1683, this was published at the end of the Whiston Brothers' edition of the *History of Armenia* by MX²⁴ (London: 1736), both works accompanied by a Latin translation. Notwithstanding its numerous errors, S 1683 was reprinted exactly as it stood without changes of any kind.²⁵

5. S 1752. The fifth edition of the *AŠX* was prepared by Sarkis *Vartabed* Sarafean of the Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice,²⁶ and was published in Venice at the press of Antonio Perdoli.

6. S 1819. 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 S 1683 as it appeared in the Whiston reprint (S 1736), but at least Saint-Martin recognized the major

19 Abegyan 1948:323.

20 Saint-Martin, II, 315; Anasyan (1963:22); Kevorkian (1986:63).

21 (Anasyan 1963:35; Kevorkian 1986:78).

22 H. Berberian, letter dated 20 August, 1965.

23 For this edition, see Anasyan (1963:49); Kevorkian (1986:127).

24 Moses Chorenensis (1736).

25 Saint-Martin, 1819: II.316.

26 Anasyan 1963:130.

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. S 1843. 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 Ejmiacin in Armenia and published in pp. 617-640 of the collected works of Moses of Xoren,²⁷ (cf. *infra*, #8, #9 and #11).

8. S 1865. 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 S 1843.

9. S 1877. The edition of Kerovpe Patkanean (Patkanov), published together with a Russian translation.²⁹ This was based on S 1843 which Patkanean collated with S 1736, and which thus had the benefit of the readings of seven different mss. even though no new ones were drawn upon.

10. L 1881. This is, to date, the only edition of the long redaction of the *AŠX* discovered by the Mekhitarist father, Arsène 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 Nersessean and Father Vartanes Ouolohodjian of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro in Venice, a microfilm of the text of the long version of the *AŠX* (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. S 1994. Since 1881 the *AŠX* has been republished only in Abrahamyan's collected works of Ananias of Širak.³³ This edition was based on a Venice edition referred to only as 'W,' but since S 1944 and S 1877 both were published within Russian territory, I take it that Abrahamyan refers to the same Venice edition used by Patkanov in the preparation of S 1877, i.e., S 1843. Abrahamyan's edition, however, contains variants from the oldest ms. of the *AŠX* in the Matenadaran, No. 582 (which he considered the best), and which he cites in the footnotes as 'Յ.'

12. L 1992-S 1992 represents the editions and translations of the long and short recensions of the *AŠX* 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 Arsène Soukry in 1881; the latter, based on ms. 582 collated with mss. 1267 and 1360 all of the Matenadaran, photocopies of which were provided me by the Deputy-Director, Mr. B. L. Chookazsian, 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

27 Patkanov 1877:viii.

28 *Srboj horn meroy Movsēsi Xorenac'woy matenagrut'iwnk'* (Venice, 1843), in the series *Matenadrut'iwnk' Naxneanc'*.

29 Patkanov, *Ibid.* The title of this edition is identical to that of S 1843 (*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 S 1819 relevant to Caucasia, Armenia, and Iran have been republished in the appendices to Ad.-Gar. (Nina Garsoian's annotated English translation of Nicolas Adontz's master work *Armenija v epokhu Iustiniana [Armenia in the Period of Justinian]*, 1970:116*-127*).

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 Kalaydjian; 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), Patkanov (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 *AŠX* contained within the opusculum of Thomas of Cilicia (Թովմա Կիլիկեցի = 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 S 1736, were used for the edition of S 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 Patkanov (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 Arsène 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* inspired the work of the Mekhitarist father, Łukas Inčičean, the first Armenian geographer of modern times, whose *Storagrut'iwu hin Hayastaneayc'* (1822) consists of little more than a rewriting and expansion of the description of Armenia found in the *AŠX* in modern form. In Germany, it inspired the major work of Marquart (Markwart), his famed and still unsurpassed *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Chorenac'i* (1901), as well as Hübschmann's magisterial *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 *AŠX* 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 mss.

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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*.³⁴ Limiting himself to Sasanid 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* what Marquart did for the Persian Empire. His preliminary study, *Hayastanē ēst "Ašxarhac'oyc'"*-i³⁶ was made to accompany a map of Armenia based on several years of research in the *AŠX*. Using a scale of 1:250,000 Kms., Eremyan attempted to recreate the map of Armenia and Caucasia as it is depicted in the *AŠX*, placing each district of the area in its exact position insofar as it is possible to do so, along with the principal cities and towns known to us from both the *AŠX* and other sources. In his accompanying text, moreover, Eremyan presented a blend of the passages in the long and short recensions of the *AŠX* 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 text³⁷ 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* have given rise to a number of theories as to its date and authorship. We have already seen how as early as 1789 Sainte-Croix³⁸ 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.³⁹ After having thus settled the principal source for the *AŠX*, 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.⁴⁰ Among these are the mention of the Franks among the peoples of Gaul, the identification of the River Don as the *Yawzu* of the Russians, the term *Xrimn* (Crimea) used for the Tauric peninsula, the mention of the Šrwanak' tribe (Shirvanians) in Asiatic Sarmatia, 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 *fersenk* (*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 *AŠX* is the lost *Khōrograpia Oikoumenikē* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* to the seventh century and was the first to suggest Ananias of Širak as the most probable author.⁴¹ 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 Arsène Soukry made a completely new appraisal of the *AŠX* 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 L 1881 referred to in this study – he attempted to prove that the *AŠX* 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 evidence⁴² 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 *AŠX* 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 Širak if only because the latter's style is far below that found in the *AŠX*. In sum, Father Soukry regarded the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*

39 Saint-Martin II, 303.

40 *Ibid.*:305-14.

41 Patkanov:i-xxviii.

42 Soukry:v-viii.

follows Ptolemy "step-by-step." The numerous interpolations are in Soukry's opinion the work of a seventh century editor, *perhaps* Ananias of Širak.

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 *AŠX* was written by MX. All he is able to demonstrate with his parallelisms is that either the author of the *AŠX* had the *History* of MX at hand as he wrote, or, just as possibly, that the author of the *History* was drawing upon the *AŠX*. Even if the *AŠX* 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.⁴³ 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 been from the quality of his own translation of the *AŠX*.

2. The Opinion of Later Scholarship

In his brilliant *Ērānšahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Chorenac'i* (1901), Markwart dated the *AŠX* to the eighth century⁴⁴ and, as can be seen from his title, referred to the author as "*Pseudo-Moses Chorenac'i*," reflecting the growing opinion that while MX may have flourished in the fifth century, both the *History* and the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* to be the work of MX and that it was based on Ptolemy, Pappus, and the third century cartographer Agathodaemon, all of whose works MX would have had at his disposal. He also points out that the *AŠX* 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.⁴⁵

Von Mžik (1933) calls the *AŠX* "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 *AŠX*. He too refers to the author as "Pseudo-Moses."

Although Markwart accepted MX as the author of the *AŠX*, later Armenian scholars have tended to reject this and to attribute the *AŠX* to Ananias of Širak. Abelyan, in particular, actually includes the *AŠX* 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 that the oldest mss. are anonymous.⁴⁶ H. Bérberian, refounding editor of the *Revue des études 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 *AŠX*, attributing it either to Ananias of Širak 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.⁴⁷ He does not explain, however, why none of these interpolations seems to have been made after 800 A. D.

43 Toumanoff 1962:468-476; 1963:330ff.; R. W. Thomson in the Introduction to his English translation of MX (1978).

44 Marquart 1901:1-7.

45 K. Fischer 1916:71-93; reprinted in *Isis*, V, 206; *ibid.*, in the introduction to E. L. Stevenson's translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* (1932). It is now generally agreed that of the maps which have come down to us along with the *Geography* of Ptolemy, only the 26 provincial maps are actually Ptolemy's while that of the world is now accredited to the Alexandrian geographer Agathodaimon.

46 Abelyan 1944:384, or Russian translation, Abegyan 1948:323.

47 Letter dated 20 August, 1964.

The great specialist on Ananias of Širak, 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 *AŠX* having survived in mss. both anonymous and attributed to MX. For his part, Abrahamyan did not hesitate to include his edition of the *AŠX* (S1944) in his *Collected Works of Ananias of Širak*, where,⁴⁹ basing himself on his study of the various editions and mss. of the *AŠX* at his disposal, he points out: (1) that not a single ms. of the *AŠX* 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 ms. 204 dated 1178 at Bzommar); (2) that the original title of the *AŠX* was probably *Erkrač'ap'k* 'Geometry' (in its strict sense of earth measurement), by which title it is referred to by Gregory Magistros, rather than *Ašxarhac'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 *AŠK* 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 *AŠX* 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 Širak. 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 *AŠX* and those found in other writings by Ananias. The text of the *AŠX* shows, he points out, that its author knew that the world is round, an opinion held by Ananias of Širak 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 *AŠX* and is actually a continuation of it, is supported by the oldest mss. of the *AŠX* (e.g. Mat. ms. 1267) wherein we find the author's indication that, having finished with the composition of the *AŠX*, he now begins a summary of the distances between the principal cities in 'miles' (*mtonk'*). Abrahamyan also believed that the *AŠX* did not end merely with the *Itinerary* but was completed with an additional section whose title was *Astłabač'xakan Erkač'ap'ut'iwn*, 'Astronomical Geography.' This material would have originally formed one of the chapters of the *AŠX*, 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 *AŠX*. In certain other mss. this astronomical section is found in a detached position from the rest of the *AŠX*, while in the Matenadaran these are mss. containing this same astronomical material in which the author is cited precisely as Ananias of Širak.

The fact that the author of the *AŠX* lived at the same time as Ananias of Širak, 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 *AŠX* of certain passages drawn from other works of Ananias, all led Abrahamyan to the conclusion that the author of the *AŠX* was indeed Ananias of Širak. 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 *AŠX*, 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

48 Abrah. 1944:152.

49 *Ibid.*:330-354.

50 Man. 1947:127-143.

how Eremyan, at least at first, rejected his most important conclusion: that the author of the *AŠX* was Ananias of Širak.

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 *AŠX* to the same period and thus considered it to be probably a work of MX after all.⁵² Manandyan examined both the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* have been rejected by V.K. Č'alojan, who holds them to be unconvincing and contradicted by recent findings. He is convinced that the *AŠX* is the work of Ananias of Širak.⁵⁴

3. The Opinion of Recent Scholarship

A more recent scholar to address himself to the study of the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 Caucasia with Sarmatia, 7) Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and Syria, 8) Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Arabia, 9) the Sasanian Empire, 10) Western Iran, 11) Scythia; i.e. Central Asia, 12) India, 13) Ceylon (Taprobane), 14) China, and (15) Indochina or Southeast Asia. He feels that it is clear from the arrangement of the data in the *AŠX* 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 *ašxarhac'oyc'*, itself as meaning specifically an atlas.

According to Eremyan, the Greek term *chorographia*, representing the depiction of a part of the world in minute detail, is rendered in Armenian as *erkragrut'iwn*, a calque on the Greek *geographia*. *Ašxarhac'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 *AŠX* had been lost.⁵⁸

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

51 Man. 1934.

52 Man. 1947.

53 *Ibid.*

54 Č'alojan 1957:156-171.

55 Erem. 1963:7-29.

56 *Ibid.*:14.

57 *Ibid.*:19.

58 *Ibid.*:17.

59 *Ibid.*:14.

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 *AŠX*, 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 *ašxarhac'oyc'*, which suggests a work 'showing the world,' i. e., an atlas, is not the original term used to describe the text, but rather *ašxarhagrut'iwñ*, 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 *AŠX* is 1) the paucity of references to Ptolemy in the text itself, 2) the almost absolute lack of resemblance between the content of the *AŠX* and that of the *Geography* of Ptolemy – with its endless lists of names, and coordinates –, 3) 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* to the period between 591 and 610. The *terminus a quo* he arrived at by noting the data in the *AŠX* 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 in the eyes of the Armenians, that they comprise, in fact, "three brother peoples,"⁶⁰ and that this unity may also have been recognized abroad as in the pages of the Syriac historian pseudo-Zacharias the Rhetor (fl. 550).⁶¹ 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 *AŠX* 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 then 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 that time it ruptured the tripartite unity of Iberia, Albania, and Greater Armenia which had hitherto existed. This being the case, Eremyan felt that the *AŠX* must have been written before c. 610 after which time the data on Iberia shown in the *AŠX* would have been unavailable, and the unity of the three Caucasian nations reflected in the text would no longer have existed. Naturally, a date prior to 610 for its composition would preclude the work having been written by Ananias of Širak whom Eremyan at that time dated from c. 610 to c. 685.

Now as far as Eremyan's *terminus a quo* is concerned, I have no objections, and my own investiga-

60 For the details of this period see Grousset, 1947:248-76; and Toumanoff, 1963:179-80, n. 309.

61 Ps.-Zacharias' *History* may possibly be a work by another author of the same name writing in Amida (Diyarbakir) and so not a good outside witness for the unity of Armenia (Baumstark 1922:184).

tions fully support the acceptance of the year 691 as the earliest date at which the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 adherence of the Iberian Church to Chalcedon at that time, is also true. It is correct, too, that Ps.-Zacharias the Rhetor refers to all three of these countries as 'Armenia' in the mid-sixth century.⁶² But the fact that certain Arab historians do the same long after 608/9⁶³ 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 viceroyalty called *al-Arminiya*, perhaps a survival of the Sasanian province of Kōst-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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* was the Soviet scholar M. M. Xač'atryan. Writing in 1968,⁶⁴ he became the second observer to reject Ananias of Širak as the author of the *AŠX* but on much stronger grounds than those put forward by Eremyan. Xač'atryan 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* with the parallel ideas to be found in the cosmological treatise of Ananias of Širak, 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 *AŠX* describes it as a warm body by nature, while Ananias describes it as cold. In dating the text, Xač'atryan bases himself on two factors: For the *terminus ad quem* he draws our attention to the fact that in the *AŠX* both Rome and Ravenna are cited as being capitals of Italy. This, he states, can only have been after the Lombard

62 Ps.-Zacharias Rhetor (1924).

63 EI, "Arminiya." The Arabs divided *al-Arminiya* into *First Armenia* or Arran (i. e., Albania), *Second Armenia* or Gurdj (i. e., Iberia), and *Third Armenia* by which they meant Armenia proper. The capitals of the three Armenias were located respectively at Bardha'a (Partaw), Tāflis (Tiflis) and Dabil (Duin).

64 Xač'atryan 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 *AŠX* refers to an *Ostann i Marzpan* in Caucasian Albania, i.e. the territory under the direct control of the Persian Governor-General (*marzpan*) of the country, whereas the institution of the marzpanate had ended with the invasion of Heraclius in 622.

Ingenious as Xaç'atryan'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 *AŠX* 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*, Xaç'atryan'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-Tiroc' II Bagratuni holding that position in Armenia as late as 628-c. 631.⁶⁵

It should be noted that although Xaç'atryan categorically rejected Ananias of Širak as the author of the *AŠX*, 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 Širakac'i with G. B. Petrosyan in 1970.

4. The Latest Opinion

The most recent word on the subject of the date and authorship of the *AŠX* comes once again from S. T. Eremyan. Having continued his researches into the nature of the text, and having examined the various mss. containing it, as well as those containing the undisputed works of Ananias of Širak, he has in recent years reversed the opinion advanced in his *Hayastenë ěst "Ašxarhac'oyc'"*-i published in 1963, namely that the *AŠX* could not have been written by Ananias of Širak. 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 *AŠX*, 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,⁶⁶ who has demonstrated that the major scientific works of Ananias originally formed a single textbook called the *K'nnikon* (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'nnikon*, 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 (*erkrač'ap'ut'iwon*) which would have contained the geographical treatise originally known as *Yatags Ašxarhagrut'ean* and later, when copied separately, simply as *Ašxarhac'oyc'*.⁶⁷

65 Toum. 1976:522.

66 Mat'ewosyan 1979:163-178; 78-86; *ibid* (1980).

67 As this goes to press, I have been apprised of the existence of two recent articles relevant to the *AŠX*. 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. Chookaszian, Deputy Direc-

In my opinion, the *AŠX* was indeed the work of Ananias of Širak, and to my mind there is no problem involved in his having lived c. 610-685, although his geographical text depicts Armenia, Caucasia 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 *AŠX* was written by Ananias of Širak, 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.

II. THE *AŠXARHAC'OYC'*: A REEXAMINATION

Before examining the two recensions of the *AŠX* it may be of use to consider briefly the ancient concept of geography. Three major works of this nature have come down to us from classical antiquity, those of Strabo, Pliny,⁶⁸ and Ptolemy.⁶⁹ The first and third of these are in Greek while the second is in Latin, but all were written within 150 years after the birth of Christ. There exists, besides these, the *De Situ Orbis* of Pomponius Mela (c. 43 A.D.), the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. 50 A.D.), the *Peutinger Table* (c. 250 A.D.), the various short *periploi* or coastal descriptions, the *Antonine Itinerary* of the fourth century, and the works of Cosmas Indicopleustes (fl. 540), George of Cyprus (c. 600), Hierocles, and the *Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna*. These are all much less ambitious *opera* which need not detain us here, for with the exception of the *Periplus of the Outer Sea* by Marcianus of Heraclia (early fifth century?),⁷⁰ the *AŠX* is clearly much more closely related to the first three than to any of the others.

To begin with, the *AŠX*, however sketchy, is a geography in the descriptive sense akin to those of Strabo and Pliny rather than in the mathematical sense of Ptolemy's work, although the latter remains, of course, an ultimate source. Like Strabo's *Geography*, it is uneven and arbitrary in what it tells us about each region, while in style it closely resembles the geographical section of Pliny's *Natural History* even though much shorter in length. Its closest relative, however, is the geographical

tor of the Matenadaran in Erevan, I was able to consult both of these articles at the last possible moment before the submission of the present work to the printer. Essentially, Petrosyan is of the opinion that the *AŠX* is based (as its author states unequivocally) on the lost geographical text of Pappos of Alexandria rather than upon the text of Ptolemy, and rejects the idea that it represents the text designed to accompany an atlas. In asserting these views, Petrosyan not only gives unwitting support to the views voiced in this *Introduction*, but becomes the first Soviet scholar to challenge Eremyan's rather strained theses. Eremyan's response to the article of Petrosyan consists of a simple reassertion of his original arguments coupled with a somewhat *ad hominem* attack on Petrosyan's lack of credentials as an historical geographer.

68 I have used the *Loeb Classical Library* editions of Strabo and Pliny.

69 I have used E. L. Stevenson's English translation (1932), Müller's edition with Latin translation (1901) for the Greek, and Nobbe's edition (1898) for everything after Book V, Chapter 19 where Müller's work ends uncompleted. It should be noted that Nobbe's numerical designations for the various sections of Ptolemy's *Geography* differ from those of Müller. The latter, for example, considers Armenia Minor a part of Ptolemy's Book V, Chapter 6, whereas Nobbe considered it separate: Chapter 7. Thus in Nobbe's edition Armenia is designated V.13; in Müller V.12. All references to Ptolemy's *Geography* in this study follow the enumeration of the edition of Nobbe.

70 English transl. by Schoff (1927).

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 Ripaei from which flows the River Tanais... Among Christian countries there is the Tauric Peninsula, i.e., the Chersonese, which is between the Lake of Byce and the Palus Maeotis and [between] the Pontus and the River Carcinitis [flowing] into the gulf of the same name.

Marcian: Sarmatia in Europe is bordered on the north by the Sarmatic Ocean next to the Vendic Gulf, and by a region of unknown land; on the east by an isthmus (which begins at the Carcinitis River); and the mouth of Byce and the Maeotic 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 *AŠX*, 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,⁷³ 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 abridgement 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 abridgement".⁷⁴

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 *AŠX*, 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 Šahastan 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 scriptoria 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 those 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 S1944 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 it 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 *AŠX* 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. S1944 lists [Third?]⁷⁵ Armenia, First Armenia, and Second Armenia in that order, while L1881 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 *error* (third) is missing in S1944 but is found in S1819 and S1877, 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 *AŠX* varies somewhat from ms. to ms. at this point, and Soukry (24-25), translating L, attempted to correct it in the following way:

The seventeenth 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 Kommagene in Syria, and extend as far as the Euphrates. It has other mountains: Zigon Basilikon and Koromandin and the same rivers, Pyramos and Paryadris, Kiakkos and Koromosos. It has two gates leading into Syria.

First Armenia is east of First Kappadokia and borders Second Armenia. It is bounded on the east by the Euphrates. It has Mt. Argaios and thirty rivers [including] the Halys and other smaller ones.

Third Armenia is east of Kappadokia and extends lengthwise as far as the Euphrates. It has two rivers and many large mountains [to the number of] twenty-two.

76 Gwatkin 1930.

77 The most detailed survey of the history and topography of Lesser Armenia is still to be found in Chapters IV and V of Ad.-Gar. (1970) Chapters IV-V, but see also Güterboch 1914:34-44, 61-63, 68-70; Eremyan 1963:37, 51, 88; 1970; 1973:249-52 nn. and Bartikyan 1977:635, 641.

78 Ptolemy (V.6.9) cites Sebasteia (Sivas) as a city of Polemoniac Pontos (a district of the province of Cappadocia), and Melitēnē (Malatya) 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 Kamakha (Arm.: *Kamax*).

79 Eremyan, 1963:map.

After the acquisition of the southwestern principalities of Armenia (Gk: *ethnē*; Lat.: *gentes*) in 298/c. 371 and those of the northwest in 390 (Roman: *Armenia Interior* 'Inner Armenia'; Armenian: *Barjr Hayk'* '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 Č'er-mēs, Gk: Tzumina?) 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 Polemonian Pontus (with the cities of Trapezus and Cerasus) 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.

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.⁸²

4. Fourth Armenia (*Armenia Quarta*). This began as four lands of Armenia, comprising three principalities: Lesser Sophene (*P'ok'r Cop'k'*), Ingilene-Anzitene (*Angetun-Anjū*), and Greater Sophene or Sophanene (*Mec Cop'k'*), all of which 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 became vassals of Rome, Balabitenne (*Balahovit*) and Asthianene (*Hašteank'*). These six states were ruled for nearly 250 years by five princely houses forming a pentarchy (the *ethnē* 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.⁸³

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

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 "Armenias" as described above, cf. Ad.-Gar.: Chaps. IV and VII; Laurent, 1919:303-04; Bury 1931, Vol. II:344-45; Stein 1949:II:289-291, 470, 471; Goubert, Vol. I (1951); and Toumanoff, 1963:113, 175, 193, n. 208.

81 According to Procopius (*Aed.* III. v. 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 Ioustinianopolis. Adontz (116) took this new Ioustinianopolis to be identical with the modern village of Cimin just to the east of Erzincan. What Adontz failed to notice, however, was that Procopius states that the new Ioustinianopolis lay in the district of Tzoumina not necessarily at Tzoumina/Cimin, itself. More importantly, he does not note that Cimin is much further than three Roman miles west of Bizana/Leontopolis (Arm.: *Vžan*; Tk *Vicin*). If Ioustinianopolis did lie at Cimin then Leontopolis could not have lain at Vžan, if Leontopolis lay at Vžan then Ioustinianopolis could not have lain at Cimin. It could, however, have lain at some site three Roman miles west of Vžan at some site within the district of Tzoumina, which is all that Procopius claims. For all this see Jones 1971:225-226; Stein II, 1949:289, n. 1; Honigsmann 1938:17-19; 93-94; Eremyan 1963:65, 83; Hewsens 1983-84:273-278; AM Stein: II, 1949:289, n. 5; Ad.-Gar.: 36.

82 *Ibid.*

83 For the Pentarchy, cf. Ad.-Gar., 1970: Chaps. II, VI, VII, VIII; Toum., 1963:131-133.

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 Hayk'*) as it is referred to in the *AŠX*. It lost at this time, however, the land of Muzuron (*Mnjur* or *Muzur*) 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.⁸⁴ The acquisition by the Empire of Arzanene (*Ałjnik'*), 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 *AŠX* does not include Mnjur, which it places in Upper Armenia, while in *Ałjnik'* it includes only that portion of Sophanene lying east of the Tigris, which it calls the district of Np'ret or Np'rkert. The *AŠX* further indicates that the River K'ałirt', separating Np'ret on the west from *Ałjnik'* on the east, was still the boundary between the Roman and Persian Empires as it had been between 387 and 591. Adontz⁸⁵ felt that these discrepancies reflected changes which must have occurred in the troubled period after 591 (but obviously before the *AŠX* was written). Apparently, to him, Arzenene must have been retroceded to Iran at some time after that date and Muzuron transferred back to the new Greater Armenia.⁸⁶ 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 K'ałirt' 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 *AŠX* as *Turuberan*. The second was called 'Lower Armenia' (*Armenia Inferior*), 'The region of *Doubios* (Dvin) of Procopius' (broadly speaking), and corresponded, it would seem, to the Armenian land of Ayrarat. The third province was *Tayk'* which was administered separately as 'Deep Armenia' (*Armenia Profunda*).⁸⁷ The boundary between *Turuberan* and Ayrarat as indicated in the *AŠX* probably represents *mutatis mutandi* the line which separated the Byzantine provinces of Inner and Lower Armenia.⁸⁸

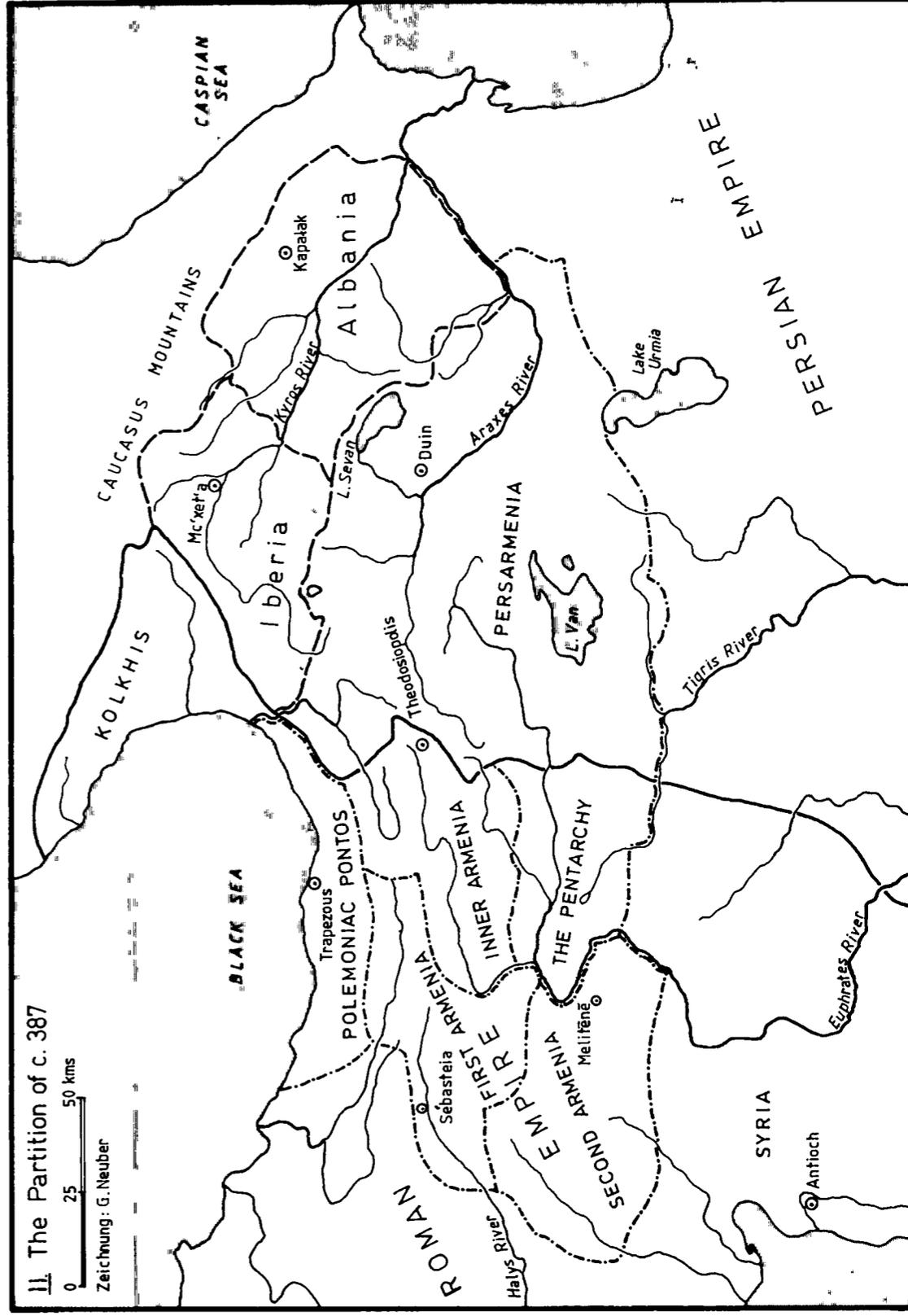
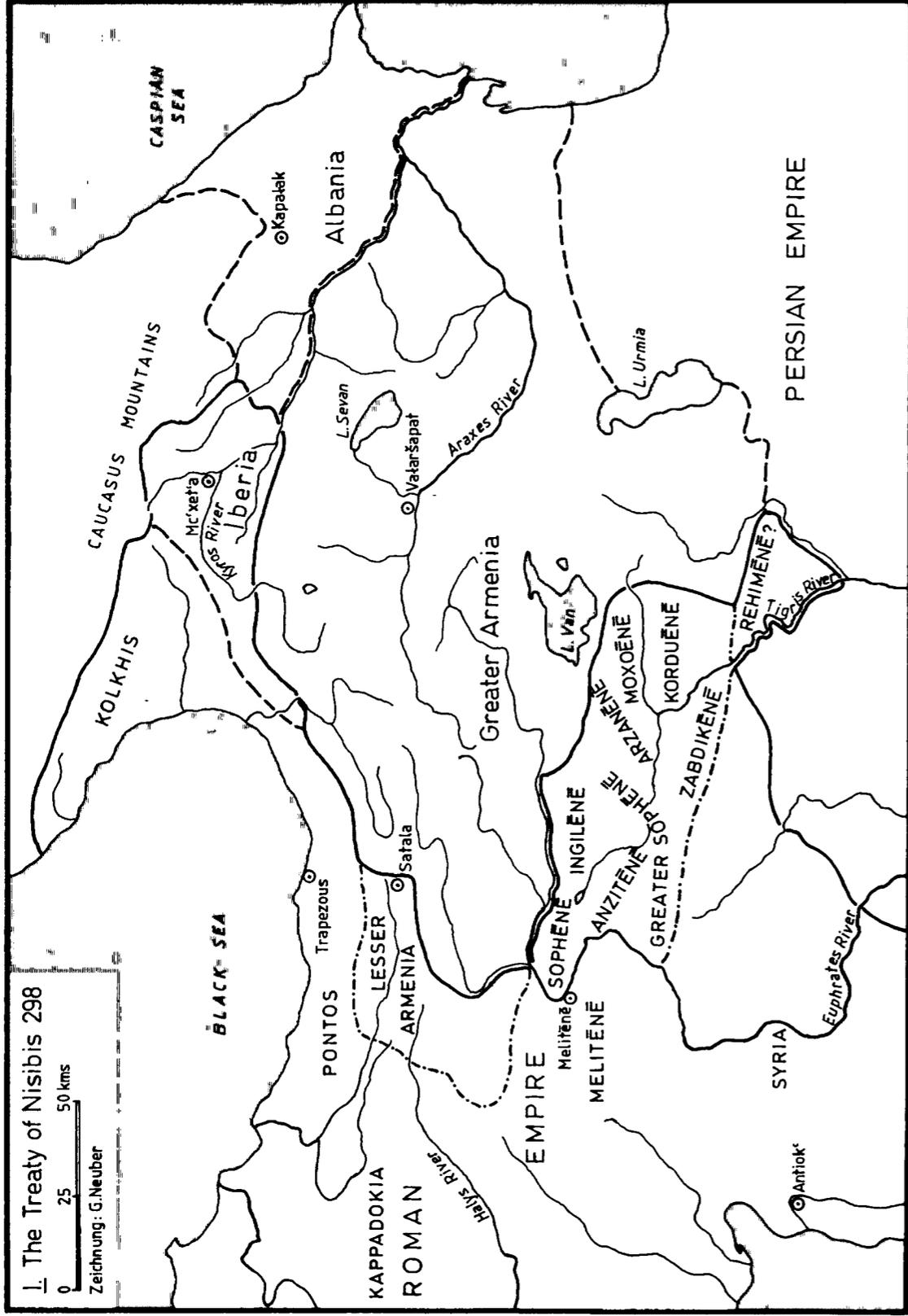
84 Adontz (100) curiously states that Khorzanē (Xorjean/Xorjajn) was also taken from the new Greater Armenia at this time but he is surely in error. The *AŠX* makes it clear that Xorjean was a part of Fourth Armenia and geographically it is clearly a part of either *Balahovit* or *Hašteank'* and is separated sharply from Upper Armenia (Maurice's 'Greater Armenia') by high mountains.

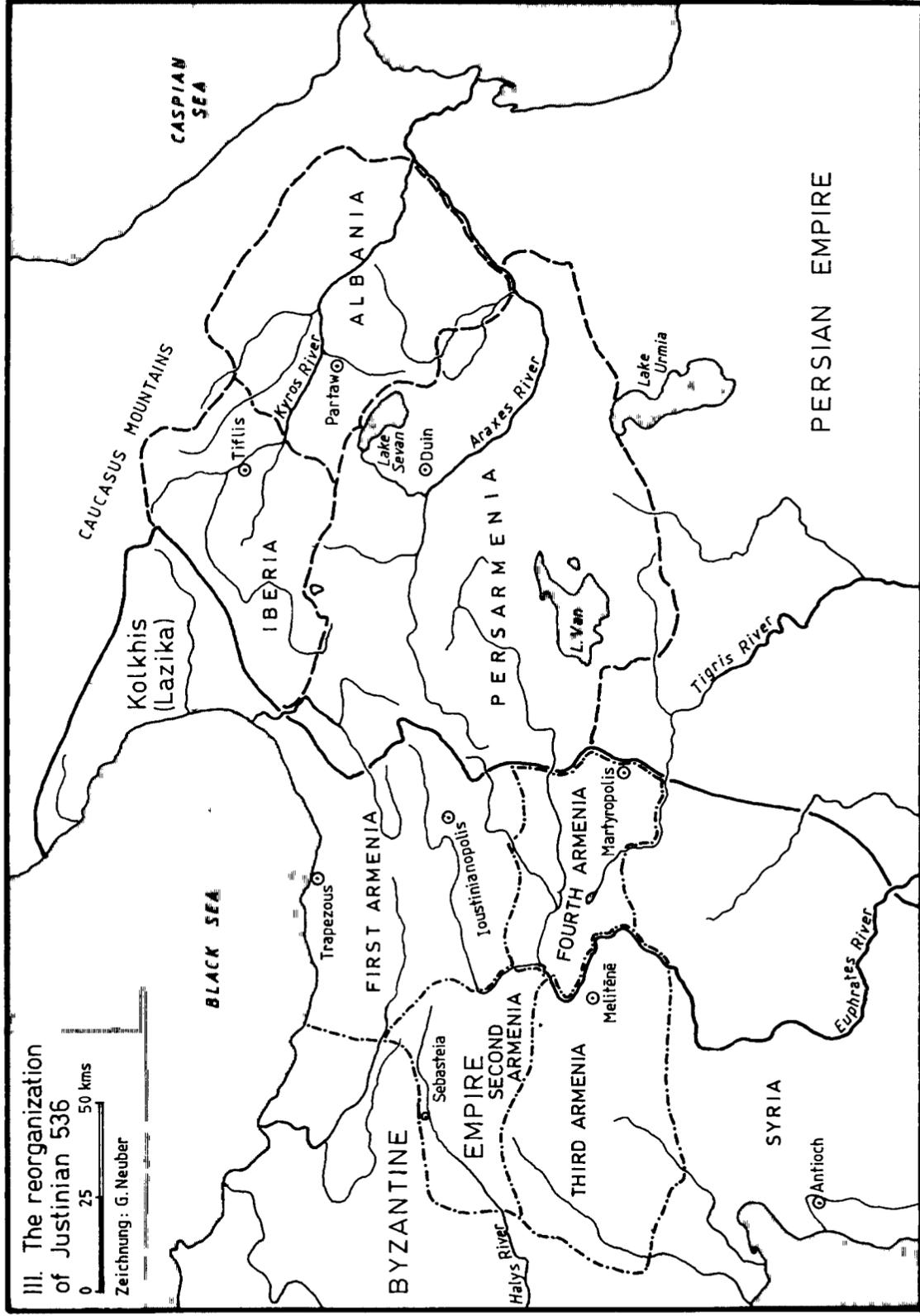
85 *Ibid.*

86 For the administrative changes of 591, see GC, 174-175; Sebēos (Fr. transl. Macler. 27); YK, ed. Hier. 87; Ad.-Gar.:182; Laurent:304; and Goubert:290-302.

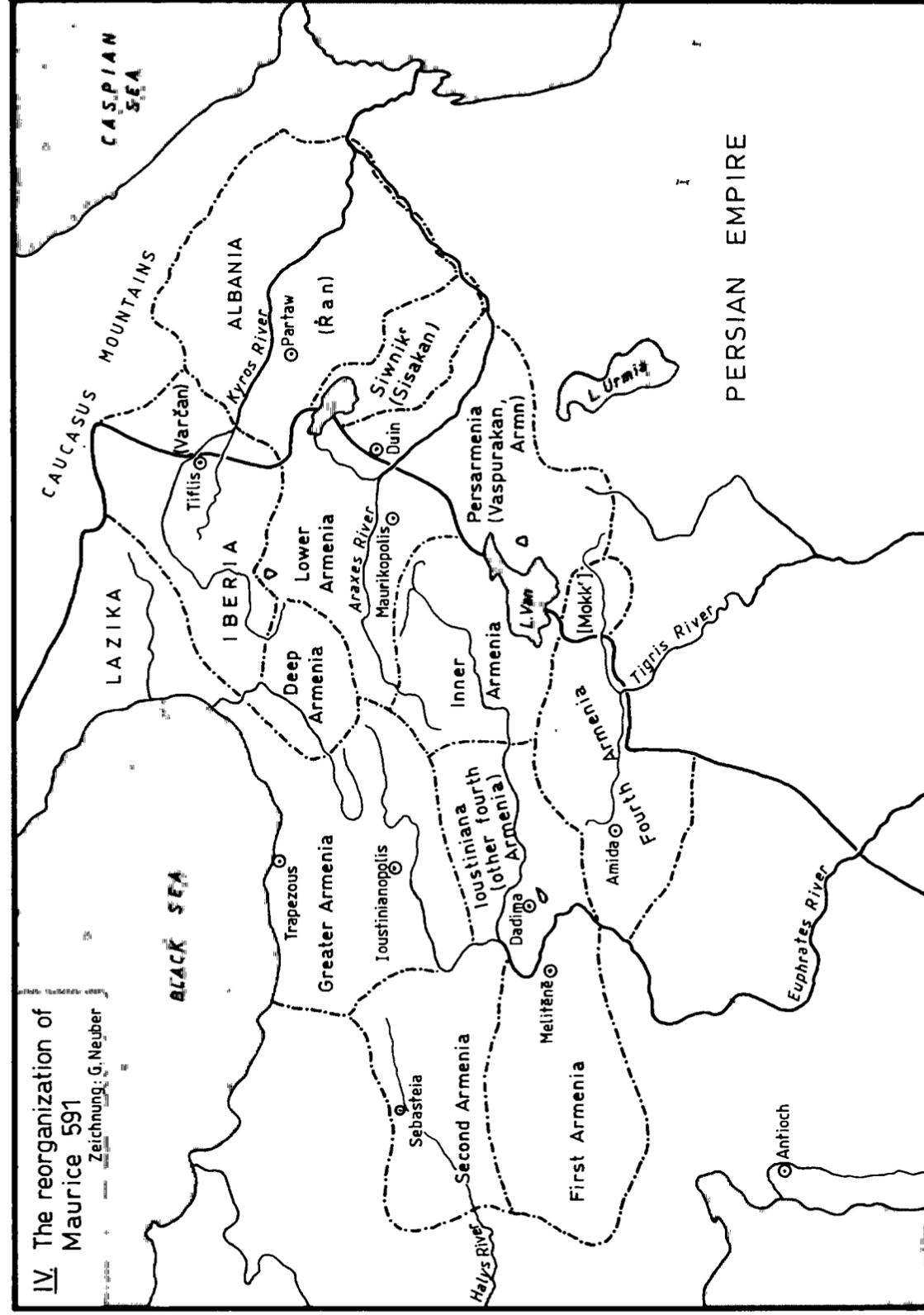
87 Toum. 1963:452, n. 59; Hübschmann:231-32.

88 For all this cf. Ad.-Gar.:Chapter 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.(*Aed.* III.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.





Map III



Map IV

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 Armeniac *theme*, a military command which included all of Lesser Armenia as well as such non-Armenian territories as the regions of Trapezus (Trebizond) and Caesaria, 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 Caesaria lay within the Armeniac theme perhaps explains why a later copier of the *AŠX* included it in First Armenia which was certainly not true when the *AŠX* was originally composed.⁸⁹

After reviewing this history of the development of Byzantine Armenia we can look at the *AŠX* and clearly see that the text of both S and L reflect situations unknown to us from Byzantine sources. S1944, for example, speaks of Second Armenia as if it lay north of First Armenia, which in turn, lay north and east of (Third) Armenia. L, 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,⁷⁸ then 2) Melitene (after the time of Maurice),⁹⁰ and then 3) Caesaria;⁹¹ Second Armenia to designate the region of 1) Caesaria, then 2) of Sebastia (again after Maurice),⁹² and then 3) of Erzinjan⁹³ and Kamakh;⁹⁴ 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)⁹⁵, and, finally, Fourth Armenia to refer not only to 1) Cop'k' (Sophene), as the Byzantines used it, but also to designate the region of 2) Martyropolis (Maiafarkin),⁹⁶ 3) the region of Mokka' in Greater Armenia⁹⁷ 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 *Arevelc'i* (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:

89 John the Katholikos (Yovhannēs Draxanakerc'i, hereinafter YK, reigned 897-925/30 (1912); Fr. transl. Saint-Martin (1841); Chapter II; Engl. transl. K. Maksoudian (New York, 1987).

90 *Ibid.*

91 MX. I.14.

92 *Ibid.*

93 VA (1862), 31; Engl. Transl. R. W. Thomson (1989).

94 *Ibid.*

95 YK, *Ibid.*

96 Saint-Martin II:197.

97 VA, *Ibid.*

Date	Romano/Byzantine Name	Armenian Name	Region
387-536	First Armenia	First Armenia	Caesarea
	Second Armenia	Third Armenia	Melitene
	First Cappadocia	Second Armenia,	Sebastia
	Inner Armenia	Upper Armenia	Theodosiopolis/ Erzerum
536-591	Second Armenia	First Armenia	Sebastia
	Third Armenia	Third Armenia	Melitene
	Fourth Armenia	Fourth Armenia	Sophene
	First Armenia	Second Armenia	Caesarea
591-c. 640	Second Armenia	Second Armenia	Sebastia
	First Armenia	First Armenia	Melitene
	Fourth Armenia	Fourth Armenia	Sophene
	Cappadocia	Third Armenia	Caesarea

Examining this table, we find in its apparent discrepancies one of our main clues for the dating of the *AŠX*. 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 Romano-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 S 1819 (and presumably S 1683 and S 1736 upon which it is based) cites 'Third' Armenia, this enumeration is not found in the best mss. (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. Eremyan, 'reconstructing' the text according to his lights, reads these passages as two entries worded as follows:⁹⁸

98 Erem. 1973:249-50.

The 18th country Second Armenia, that is called Third Armenia, extends east of Cilicia along the Taurus Mountains to the Amanos Mountains that divide it from Commagene of Syria as far as the Euphrates. It has also had other mountains, the Zigon Basilicon and Oromandon; and a homonymous river [Oromandon, and] the Pi[w]ramos, Paratis [Melas], Ciakkas, and Caromosus; and two gates leading into Syria.

The 19th [country First Armenia which is called] Second Armenia, extends from Cappadocia, and extends lengthwise to the Euphrates, and has Mt. Argaeus. 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 mss. that the author intended to list only two lands in Lesser Armenia, and that the 'Third' Armenia of S1683, 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* after 591. The *AŠX* refers to both Turuberan (*Tawruberan?) and Vaspurakan as two of the fifteen *ašxarhk'* (lands, countries, states, or 'provinces' if you will) of Greater Armenia, yet neither of these territorial designations are heard of 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 origin 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 Siwnik', which, as the *AŠX* clearly shows (*infra* transl. V. 29.iv), was a separate entity (under the name *Sisakan*) within the Caucasian Region (*K'usti Kapkoh*) of the Sasanian Empire. As such, *Vaspurakan*, in its imperial Iranian sense of 'Persian Armenia,' probably included Mokk' as well (although the *AŠX* treats Mokk' as another separate entity probably because, like Siwnik', it 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 west central Armenia which were now Byzantine property under the name 'Inner Armenia' but which were not already included in the states of Ayrarat 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 Melitēnē a city of Fourth Armenia but this is clearly an error of translation on Soukry's part. (*infra* VII B, n. 27). None of the districts cited in Fourth Armenia by the *AŠX* includes any territory west of the Euphrates where Melitēnē is found. Nor did Byzantine Fourth Armenia, despite its many changes, ever include any such territory. S omits any mention of Melitēnē in connection with Fourth Armenia.

100 Ad.-Gar.:179 ff., *infra* n. 101.

101 *Vaspurakan*, as an adjective, is the Pahlavi *vaspubrakan*, referring to the highest ranking nobility of Sasanian Iran and especially to the members of the Seven Great Houses of Persia who were known as *vaspuhr-s*. Adontz (180) felt that the true meaning of the term *vaspurakan* was to be found in the expression *Vaspurakan hamarakar* 'the reckoner of Vaspurakan' or 'the collector of tribute,' where *vaspurakan* meant simply "Persian". For the etymology of the term cf. Hüb., 1904:262, and Benveniste, 1966:25 and *infra* VII H, n. 144.

the territories included in Ayrarat as 'Lower Armenia'; and those in Turuberan as 'Inner Armenia'. *Turuberan*, then, must be considered to have been, like the much older Ayrarat, a purely Armenian designation, namely, in this case, for 'Inner Armenia,' i. e., those lands now under Byzantine control lying to the west of Ayrarat 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* are the original sections, which begin with Asiatic 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 Asiatic Sarmatia, we note that L contains such Ptolemaic items as the Oudai, Alontai, Isondai (*sic*, i. e., **Tsondai*, for which see *infra* I, n. 153), and Gerroi which are missing in S. 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 *AŠX*, 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 Arc'ax 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 Caucasia till the Khazar conquest and that the Sabirs are last heard of in 578 he sees no problem in their names appearing in the *AŠX*. 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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, Caucasia, 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*, refers to it twice as the *Geography* of Ptolemy (I.28; III.18). Already, a century ago, Soukry noted the relationship between L 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* differs markedly from Ptolemy in many ways that suggest the passage of the latter's data through an intermediate source which he, himself, names: Pappus of Alexandria. Obviously, the *Geography* of Ptolemy and the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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* (*Mathēmatikē Synagōgē*) 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* (*Megalē Syntaxis*) and *Harmonics* (*Harmonikōn Biblia*). Pappus was one of the most significant figures in mathematics between Archimedes and the Italian Renaissance but apart from the *AŠX*, 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 *Gēographia* which would be an imitative delineation of that part of the earth known to man, together with a description of its parts and general appearance. (Cf. *supra* p. 12 for Eremyan's explanation of the corresponding terms in Armenian).

105 *Suidae Lexicon* (ed. Wolska I:46).

106 The *Souda* states specifically (*ibid.*): 265 Pappos, Alexandreys, philosophos, gegonōs kata ton presbyteron Theodosion ton basilea, ote kai Theōn o philosophos ēkmazen, o graphas eis ton Ptolemaiou Kanona. Biblia de autou Khōrographia

Constantine of Antioch is not known to us from any other source outside the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* preserves his true name. The *Christian Topography* (*Topographia Kristianikē*) has come down to us and, though the citations from this work given in the introduction to the *AŠX* are vague, they do fit the general content of the text. For example, in the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*, 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 *AŠX* 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 identified as Pseudo-Cosmas Indicopleustes, we have additional

oikoumenikē, eis ta d biblia tēs Ptolemaiou Megalēs Syntaxeōs Hypomnēma Potamous tous en Libyē, Oneirokritika.

"Pappus of Alexandria, philosopher, born under the Emperor Theodosius the Elder [*sic*, i. e. between 379-395, but who actually flourished under Diocletian, 284-303—R.H.H.], when the Philosopher Theon was at the middle of his life, who has rewritten the *Handbook of Law* of Ptolemy. His works [include]: *Description of the World*, *Summary of the 'Great Compilation [Syntaxis]*' of Ptolemy in four books, *The Rivers of Libya*, and an *Explication of Dreams*." It is interesting to note that the *AŠX* devotes unusual attention to the rivers of Libya,

107 The work of pseudo-Cosmas Indicopleustes was certainly published anonymously (ed. Wolska, I:15), and Nestorian, writing on the eve of the Council of 553, describes him simply as a Christian (*ibid.*). This is the term applied to the author by writers quoting the text until the eleventh century the sense apparently being that the author was a 'true Christian' as opposed to a false one, i. e., a Monophysite. The author flourished at Alexandria in the first half of the sixth century as can be told from his reference to two eclipses which have been dated to 6 February and 17 August 547. A merchant by profession (*ibid.*:16) and probably an importer of spices, the author made several voyages including one to Adoulis, an Ethiopian port in the Red Sea at the beginning of the reign of Justin I (518-527), and also visited Sinai, Palestine, the island of Dioskorides (Socotra) and the waters of the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. He did not, however, visit India or Ceylon as generally supposed for, according to Wolska, (p. 17), most of Book XI which deals with the Indies consists of material drawn from earlier sources. Ps.-Cosmas wrote four known works including a geographical text but only the *Christian Topography* has survived. Of the three surviving mss. of the latter, the best and oldest (a ninth century copy in the Vatican Library) does not contain chapters XI and XII, and Wolska suggests that these may have been fragments of the lost geography added to the text as found in the two later mss. of the eleventh century locard at Sinai and in Florence.

108 *Ibid.*, II.25.

109 *Ibid.*, XII.1.

110 Soukry: 5, n. 2 to the French transl.

evidence for a later dating of the *AŠX* 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 prologue¹¹¹ has not come down to us.

I have been unable to identify Diodorus of Samos, referred to by Ptol. (I.7), 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 *Bibliothekē*, 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 Appolonius of Perga, a geometer frequently referred to by Pappus, while the geographer Dionysius could be either Dionysius of Meletus (fl. 510 B.C.) or Dionysius Periegetes who lived probably under Domitian 81-96 A.D.) – and not in 300 B.C. (as Soukry says).⁹⁹ 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.¹¹²

Sopharius of Aminus (*Sop'ar Minec'woy*) and Abydenus (*Abiw't'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 (**Porp'iwr Tiwresac'i?*), but Abydenus is known as the author of a Chaldean history mentioned by classical authors, and in such Armenian sources as MX,¹¹³ TA (*Preface*)¹¹⁴ and GM.¹¹⁵ Abrahamyan¹¹⁶ cites the *Isagoge* (*Eisogōgē*), or 'Introduction' [to the *Categories* of Aristotle] of Porphyry of Tyre (233-c. 305) as a source for the *AŠX* but does not give any further information. I have examined the *Isagoge* but I fail to see how it relates to the *AŠX*. The Bible is quoted, of course, as are such ecclesiastical writers as Basil of Caesaria, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Eusebius – all well known to the Armenians.

Yet another source supposedly utilized by Ananias of Širak has recently been postulated by Eremyan:¹¹⁷ the *Synecdemus* (travel-guide) of Hierocles, written in 518. Eremyan felt that Ananias had used this opusculum 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 *AŠX*.¹¹⁸ I do not feel, however, that Eremyan is

111 Except for those on Ps.-Kosmas, the biographical data on the various authors drawn upon or referred to in the *AŠX* has been gleaned from Sarton, Vol. I. (1959). Von Mžik identifies Apollo with Apollodorus of Athens and Dionysius with Dionysius Periegetes (*infra* I n. 2).

112 J. O. Thomson 1965:381.

113 Movsēs Xorenac'i, (1913) I.4, 5.II.2, reprint (1981); Thomson Engl. transl. (1978). Wherever MX quotes Abydenus, however, he always does so through the Armenian version of Eusebius (Thomson, 1978:141, n. 14).

114 T'ovma Arcruni (TA) I.3 (1887), cited by Langlois, 1874:386, n. 2); Engl. transl. (Thompson 1985:62).

115 Grigor Pahlavuni, *Magistros* (GM); Migne, PG, 112, cited by Langlois, I, 1880:402.

116 Abrah.:152.

117 Erem. 1973:239. n. 4.

118 Erem. 1972:224, n. 4. Hierokles was a grammarian who flourished in the early years of the reign of Justinian. His geographical work is a catalogue of the sixty-four provinces of the Byzantine Empire under which are listed 923 cities. A work of a civil and administrative character as opposed to the numerous *Taktika* of archiepiscopal and episcopal sees that show us the Byzantine ecclesiastical organization, this work alone shows the framework of the Byzantine Empire prior to the Arab invasion and is a fundamental text for its study.

correct in identifying the *Synecdemus* as a *direct* source for the *AŠX*. True, 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, Salutarina and Pisidia), Ananias does not. In my view, Ananias must have had access to some Byzantine administrative text *akin* to the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles (and to the opusculum 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 Marinus of Tyre and Hipparchus, all of which are found in Ptolemy, probably existed intact in the work of Pappus. Ptolemy and Pappus are thus the chief classical sources of the *AŠX* but Ptolemy to what extent? The *AŠX* 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 Ptolemy's work and not on Pappus at all. Already in the tenth century, TA, as we have seen, quotes the *AŠX* referring to it as the *Geography* of Ptolemy (I.28, III.18). Abrahamyan even cites a quotation from one ms. of the *AŠX* in which the author himself includes Ptolemy among his sources,¹¹⁹ but this need not mean that Ptolemy was used directly since we have no idea how dependent Pappus himself may have been on Ptolemy for direct quotations.

I cannot agree that Ptolemy has been used directly, for several reasons. First, Ptolemy'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 *AŠX* 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 Ptolemy's *Geography*, is virtually abandoned. I suspect this was true in Pappus' *Khorographia* and that in this regard the Armenian text follows Pappus and not Ptolemy. Second, although Soukry lauds our author as having had "a great sagacity" in the manner in which he abridged Ptolemy, a glance at Ptolemy's work will show that this is not the case at all. The Armenian geographer may have followed Ptolemy's outline "step-by-step" but the data he adds or chooses to keep on each of Ptolemy's regions is haphazard in the extreme. In its earlier chapters the *AŠX* is quite sketchy only becoming detailed as one approaches Caucasia. Upon reaching Asiatic Sarmatia our author virtually abandons Ptolemy – 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 redescribing Persia as known to it, and the work then concludes much in line within Ptolemy's framework.

Besides these departures, there is also a definite disparity in the order between the countries and provinces as listed in Ptolemy and as they are listed in the *AŠX*. That the *AŠX* follows Ptolemy in his

The 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 (which the author also includes) was lost to the Lombards. A frank imitation of the work of Hierokles, this little text is interesting for the exaggerated space 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.

119 Abrah. 1944: *ibid*.

main outline may be true enough but several of Ptolemy's provinces have been omitted altogether (Rhaetia, 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 Achaëa 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 *AŠX* worked directly from Pappus of Alexandria and not from Ptolemy at all? The use of the geographical information in the text of the *AŠX*, 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 *AŠX* 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 *Khoro-graphia Oikoumenikē* of Pappus of Alexandria,¹²⁰ which was itself most likely an abridgement of Ptolemy's *Gēographikēs Hyphēgēsīs* while the other classical authorities cited, not already quoted by Ptolemy, were probably found cited in Pappus' work to begin with. The *AŠX* 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 abridgement of the introduction to the *Geography* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 Caucasia, 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

120 *Infra* transl. II.2.

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 (as they were between 387 and 637) rather than as independent states (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 *AŠX* must be virtually a summary of the material included in Ptolemy/Pappus.

The short version of the *AŠX* is almost one-half shorter than the long text but it is more than a mere abridgement of it. As pointed out above,¹²¹ 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 at all, seem to indicate that they were added after the advent of the Arabs in Caucasia 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 mutandi*, the original version of the *AŠX*.

As for the date of the original text, the only claim that the *AŠX* 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.¹²² Our examination of the various changes undergone by the four Armenias¹²³ narrows the termini of the *AŠX* to a period between 591, when the arrangement of these provinces as reflected in the *AŠX* came into being, and the period of the Arab invasions when these subdivisions were abandoned by the Byzantines themselves, and their north-eastern borderlands were reorganized into the *Armeniakon Theme*.¹²⁴ Ostrogorsky dates this reorganization before 622¹²⁵ 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. Xaç'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 *AŠX* 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'ałirt' 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 *AŠX*, 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

121 *Supra* p. 16.

122 For the most recent discussions of this problem see Toumanoff (1961), in which new evidence is cited to support his dating of MX to the late eighth century; *idem*, 1963 I, 12; III/II, 16-17; Thomson, 1978: *Introd.*

123 *Supra* pp. 17ff.

124 For a discussion of the origin and formation of these *themes* see Ostrogorsky, 1957:87ff.; Pertusi, 1958 I:1-40; Ostrogorsky, 1958 I:1-8; Karayannopoulos 1953; Charanis 1963; and Kaegi 1967. The *Armeniakon Theme* was composed of territory that had formerly been part of Lesser Armenia and did not include any territory of Greater Armenia.

125 Ostrogorsky 1958:1-8, but this early date, although described as "plausible" by Charanis 1963:19. n. 45 has been contested by Karayannopoulos and Pertusi, *supra* n. 111. See also Kaegi (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 Širak, whose name was advanced long ago by Patkanean, Abrahamyan, and Abelyan, 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 Xaç'atryan 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 Mat'evosyan, however, now accepted by Eremyan, would seem to prove conclusively that the *AŠX* formed part of a great *kanonikon* 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 Č'aloyn's erudition, then, I must keep with Abrahamyan, Mat'evosyan and Eremyan, and accept Ananias of Širak as the author of the *AŠX*.

As we have seen, the *AŠX* is a mélange 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*,¹²⁶ while Xaç'atryan felt that it was the text for a single map of the world. The evidence, however, is insufficient to support either idea in a conclusive way, and even Eremyan admits that the maps are not likely to have existed much after the turn of the eighth century when he thought that the *AŠX* became used as a textbook in Armenian schools. It is with this reference to the *AŠX* as a textbook, however, that I feel Eremyan has made his most valid point. It is my opinion that, given its concern for Armenia, Caucasia, and the Persian Empire, the work was in reality intended to be nothing more than a textbook on the Byzantine model for use in an Armenian school.

It remains only to assess the significance of the *AŠX*. Eremyan refers to it as the "peerless monument of Armenian cartography and geography,"¹²⁷ a small enough boast when one considers how little has come down to us from classical Armenian literature dealing with these subjects. The truth of the matter is that the *AŠX* represents an excellent example of the Hellenic – specifically Byzantine –

¹²⁶ Erem. 1963:7.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Eremyan is more than a little impressed with the achievement of Ananias in the *AŠX*. The following remarks quoted by Djivan Balagesyan of the Novostni News Agency (*The Armenian Reporter*, New York, 4 March, 1971:2) are typical of his eloquence on the subject:

The sixth and seventh centuries were a classic period in the history of ancient Armenian cartography. Throughout the Middle Ages the 'Ashkharatsuits' – Armenian geography – prevailed entirely in Armenia as the synthesis of geographic and cosmographic knowledge of the antique world and as the supreme achievement of geographical science. The cartographic heritage of the antique world in the conception of Armenian geography was retained in the national

influence in Armenian thought and culture (a rare example of scientific endeavor in Armenia where the sciences attracted few practitioners), and a last echo of the classical tradition in geography in the East before the subject was ultimately submerged in the growing darkness which enveloped this science until the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century. For these reasons, if for no others, the *AŠX* merits a certain attention, but even beyond this it has considerable intrinsic value of its own. To students of Armenia and Caucasia it presents the only systematic description of the geography of these regions before the Arab invasions with the exception of the works of Strabo and Ptolemy, neither of whom did justice to the area. To specialists in the *partes orientes* at large, the *AŠX* supplies the only surviving description of Armenia, Caucasia, and the empire of Sasanian Iran, the names of whose provinces and districts; plants, animals and minerals, etc., are of considerable value to historians and philologists. Since the *AŠX* is valuable above all for what it has to tell us of Armenian and Caucasian historical geography, it is of the utmost importance that the information it contains be properly understood. For this reason, a considerable space is allocated in the accompanying notes for an examination of this subject, which the text paradoxically both elucidates and obscures.

The publication of the *AŠX*, as we have already seen, gave birth to the study of Armenian historical geography; to the learned works of Inčičean, Markquart, Hübschmann, Eremyan and those of other scholars of the present day. The text has served the Armenians for centuries as their primary source for the proper forms for foreign geographical names; it is due to the *AŠX* that the Armenians – like speakers of English – call Deutschland by some form of its classical name: *Germania*.

But perhaps the greatest impact of the *AŠX*, and thereby its ultimate importance, lies in the way it has impressed the Armenian geographical self-perception: the way in which it has defined for the Armenian people the concept of 'historical Armenia'; the idea that no matter how divided or circumscribed Armenia might be at any given point in its history, the frontiers of the country – with the exception perhaps of the Caspian lowlands – are ultimately those depicted in the *AŠX*, anything less representing the rape of the national patrimony. Indeed, it might be said that as *MX* has defined for the Armenians the place of Armenia historically, so the *AŠX* has defined it for them geographically.

The *AŠX* may be poorly written and often annoyingly sparse in its data, but crude as it appears, it represents the high watermark of geographical accomplishment in its time either in the East or West. It is hoped that the translation of its two recensions which follow will prove to be of more than a little interest to scholars in several related fields.

feudal culture up to the appearance of the initial printed maps in the Armenian language at the close of the 17th century.

How a single geographical text constitutes a "classic period in the history of ancient Armenian cartography" – a field otherwise nonexistent – is not addressed.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK
THE LONG AND THE SHORT RECENSIONS
TRANSLATION

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In the absence of a critical edition of the *AŠX*, 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 Tübingen 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 edition S 1683 (and S 1736, and S 1819 which were based on it), were similarly utilized.

Since the *AŠX* 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, Hübschmann, Adontz, Honigmann, Manandyan, Eremyan, 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 Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste 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 typonyms 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. Thus *stream* is *çay* 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 *AŠX* 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 (*Grabar*) of the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *Hayastaně ęst "Ašxarhac'oyc'"-i* (*Armenia according to the "Ašxarhac'oyc'"*) 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 *AŠX*, 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 *Mšendř*.

L1881

[I] GEOGRAPHY¹

[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,² 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,³ 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.⁴ By drawing a line beginning at the equator they determined the habitat of man, measuring it in stadia⁵ through travel and navigation. They ascertained the location [of the stars], their changes and phases, and also the appearance of other [stars] in other ways.⁶

[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] 500 and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a stadium [from the equator].⁷ Here is [located] the island of Thule which separates the northern [regions]⁸ from the known land [i. e., inhabited earth]⁹ at latitude 63 [degrees], seventeen [minutes]¹⁰ 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] south[erly lands] lie below the horizon¹² 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.¹³ On the journey south to Azania,¹⁴ one must take direction¹⁵ from the star Canopus – which is [called]¹⁶ Hippius – and from Procyon¹⁷ in the summer.¹⁸ And much more appears¹⁹ [about the stars] [..] even to the colder zone²⁰ which extends to the inhabited earth²¹ opposite by Ethiopia, from the beginning of the land of Agysimba, as far as Cape Praesum below the Winter Circle and under the invisible side of [the earth] below [the horizon].²²

[3] The first of the seven parallels is found south of the Equator, the [other] six²³ are situated to the north. In this manner, the second passes through Syene in 13 and $\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The third passes through Alexandria and increases by $\frac{1}{2}$ hour [in the length of the longest day] as do all [the others]. The fourth passes through Rhodes which is in the middle of the [other seven] parallels and is important for [the knowledge of] the symmetry of the appearance of the globe. The fifth passes through Rome, the sixth through Constantinople and the seventh through Scythia. The entire world is divided according to these [parallels].²⁴

[4] In this matter [the discussion of cosmography], it is first necessary to make a map²⁵ of the inhabited world in the form of a sphere and then, by analogy, a second map [with the aid of] an astronomical²⁶ sphere whereby half of the great circle has 180 [degrees] for the habitat of man. To measure²⁷ [the earth] astronomically,²⁸ it is necessary to have [such] instruments as the astrolabe and the sundial,²⁹ but it is also necessary to have the dioptra³⁰ to measure the land [surface].

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[I] [FIRST PART] CONCERNING ACCURATE GEOGRAPHY^{1A}

[1] In Holy Scripture we have found nothing about geography except for some obscure information, difficult to understand. We are thus obliged to consult pagan [authors] who have developed the science of geography by land and sea voyage, and who have confirmed it through geometry. Geometry derives from astronomy. The ancients carefully observed under which parallel of latitude were situated the various places of the earth, the lengths of the days and nights there, and what stars were above the earth as well as those which always remained below it [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 [in position and] the appearance of other [stars] in other places.

[2] Over this Torrid Zone, the signs of the zodiac all rise and set while the Little Bear is [always] found above the horizon towards the north [at a distance of] 5,500 stadia [from the equator]. Here is [located] the island of Thule which separates the northern [regions] from the known land, [which advances] like a river over a distance of 63°. ^{2A} As it [the globe] is 360° in circumference, this is equal to 36,500 stadia so great is the distance. But the southern [pole] sinks below the horizon, and causes 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. Sailing towards Azania in the south, one must take direction from the star Canopus – which is [called] Hippius – and from Procyon. And much more appears [about the stars] even to the colder zone which begins by Ethiopia, from the beginning of the land of Agysimba as far as the Gulf of Praesum beneath the Winter Circle, and under the invisible side [of the earth] below [the horizon].

[3] The first of the seven climates is found south of the equator and the other six towards the north. The second passes through Syene in thirteen and $\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The third passes through Alexandria and increases by $\frac{1}{2}$ hour [in the length of its longest day] as do all [the others]. The fourth passes through Rhodes which is in the middle of the [other seven] climates and is important for [our knowledge of] the equality of [the size of both hemispheres of] the globe. The fifth passes through Rome, the sixth through Constantinople and the seventh through Scythia. The entire world is divided according to these [climates].

[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 a great circle, that is 180°, is 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], with which Claudius Ptolemy measured in stadia the entire habitat of man, beginning in the west at the unknown sea of the Ocean, from the extremity of Spain^{3A} eastwards to China, to the [other] extremity of the Unknown Land, which counts 180° of longitude.^{4A} Similarly, for latitude, beginning from the Torrid Zone and going north to the Unknown Land and Sea, he counts 17° and the entire latitude counts 80°. And [the region] from the other side [of the Torrid Zone going south] is called the Unknown Land and Ocean according to Ptolemy.^{5A}

[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.³¹ 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.³² 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.³³

[6] The measure is equal to one degree; one degree equals 500 *asparēz*; the *asparēz* is the length of one stadium³⁴ or, according to aerometry,³⁵ 107 paces;³⁶ the pace equals six feet; and the foot equals sixteen fingers.³⁷ The stadium is thus equal to 643 feet less one [seventh];³⁸ and the mile equals seven stadia.³⁹ The Persian stadium,⁴⁰ however, equals 143⁴¹ paces and [the mile] according to geometry, 1000 paces.⁴² The parasang⁴³ is equal to three miles⁴⁴ and the degree, according to geometry, is equal to 500 square stadia.⁴⁵ The degree is, therefore, equal to seventy-one miles and $\frac{1}{4}$ [and] $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁴⁶ and $\frac{1}{2}$ 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ It is not there but in the northern hemisphere that is found the largest part of the habitable earth that is called 'created.'⁵⁰ 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.'⁵¹ It is said that [the Ocean] surrounds not only the Torrid Zone but the entire earth.

[8] Constantine of Antioch, in the *Christian Topography*,⁵² 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 it [completely], but only on one side to the northwest and that in the northeast it extends 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,⁵³ I think, for the Indian Sea and not⁵⁴ as some pagan authors, such as Dionysius and Apollo⁵⁵ 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,"⁵⁶ and [again] "God called the assembled waters, seas."⁵⁷

[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?'"⁵⁸ 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. Sopharius of Aminus was the first to say that "the measure of the earth is long."⁵⁹ Against these, one can reply by the words of Isaiah that God created the habitable world,⁶⁰ and that he made nothing useless and that he made it for habitation.⁶¹ Against those David replies: "You have established the entire world, the north and the south,"⁶² while Solomon said: "The Lord made the habitable and uninhabitable earth, the extremities inhabitable"⁶³ and so forth.⁶⁴

[5] The known land and the Ocean have been described in an abridgement of geography by Pappus of Alexandria in his *Cosmography* from which we have drawn our extracts and in which he indicates only the most celebrated and the most extensive places as well as the distances, not [determined] by measurements taken [on earth], but by observations made from the tops of mountains from where, by means of instruments, he passed through the atmosphere, observed the sun, moon and stars according to the 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. The degree equals one *asparēz* and the *asparēz* is the length of one stadium, or, according to aerometry, 100 paces. The pace equals six feet; the foot equals sixteen fingers; the mile equals one stadium. Thus, the mile, according to geometry, equals 1000 paces. The parasang is equal to three miles. [Measured] aerometrically, one degree equals 500 stadia either in latitude, longitude, or squared, in such a way that one degree equals seventy-one miles and $\frac{1}{4}$ and twenty-eight.^{6A}

[7] They therefore measured the land and sea, beginning at the Torrid Zone, which is called the equinoctial line where nothing grows because of the sun which changes the winter into summer. It is because of this that they say that the sun is smaller than the earth to the extent that it is no more than a sixth or a third in size. It is further said that the sun is equal to two climates, i. e., forty stations. It is said that through the emission of light, it produces the heat in the Torrid Zone. This zone cuts the Ocean in half and it separates the habitat of men from the southern hemisphere which is called the Opposite Land. It is not there but in the northern hemisphere that is found the largest part of the habitable earth that is called 'existent'. 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 'created.' It is said that the Ocean surrounds not only the Torrid Zone but the entire earth, as is said by

[8] Constantine of Antioch in his *Christian Topography*, when speaking of the voyage of the Ark from the eastern part of the world to our own region. But Ptolemy, from whom men measure the entire earth, does not say that it [the Ocean] surrounds it [completely] but only on one side to the northwest, while on the northeast it extends from three degrees to one and, in the south, from four degrees to three. He also says that the Unknown Land^{7A} surrounds all human habitation. As for the three great seas, I say [that these are] the Indian, the Grecian and the Caspian, that is, the Hyrcanian [seas], which he says are surrounded by human habitation which is correct.

[II]

[1] I am convinced by what Ptolemy says about those who traveled around the Torrid Zone and described minutely the nations and the limits of their pasturage, measuring Agysimba and the Mountains of the Moon, and from there around the Unknown Land from Ocean to Ocean. They pass over in silence all places untrod by the foot of man as one reads in Job: "He hangs the north upon nothing"⁶⁵ and "His order binds the surface of the water,"⁶⁶ i. e., the command of God is sufficient to contain the limits of the unknown sea without the aid of the earth; thus he is capable of securing the extremities of the Unknown Land without the aid of water.⁶⁷ But, as to whether the sea is surrounded by the Unknown Land, or the land surrounded by the Unknown Sea we do not know and will describe only what has been seen and what has been trod by the foot of man. We leave the rest in faith to the will of God, all that we see on earth and all that is under the earth. As Job says: "God hangeth the earth upon nothing."⁶⁸ This was also verified by our illuminator who said that the earth was built on nothing.⁶⁹ The psalm says: "He has set the foundations of the earth and he has disposed it on the rivers."⁷⁰ We believe that the seas interpenetrate as St. Basil said.⁷¹ There is water in the foundations of the earth according to which they say: "The abyss is his garment."⁷² And, as The Theologian says, "The divisions of the seas mingle with the land and with one another."⁷³

[2]⁷⁴ We thus begin after the *Geography* of Pappus Alexandria who followed the circuit of the particular map of Claudius Ptolemy, beginning his measurements from the two Torrid Zones [which lie, respectively], to the north and south [of the equator]. The [northern] Torrid Zone begins at the unknown country of the Chinese;⁷⁵ it passes north by the promontory of Satyrs;⁷⁶ then by its islands as far as the lower part of the island of Taprobane.⁷⁷ It passes the lake of Calus⁷⁸ and the sources of the River Astopus.⁷⁹ It also passes Mt. Pella⁸⁰ and the Nile and Ethiopia from the south past the mountain called Theon Ochema,⁸¹ which means "Seat of the Gods"; [then] by the Auxomis⁸² mountains, and the fish-eating Ethiopians⁸³ as far as the Unknown Land.

[3] As for the Ocean, as I said before, it begins at the wind called Zephyr;⁸⁴ at lat. 21° near the fish-eating Ethiopians and the mountains called the Theon Ochema; it goes around the west as far as its extremity and [re]turns toward the north, then towards the east as far as the long. 60° opposite the gulf of the Pontus which is called Carcinitis⁸⁵, near Cherson⁸⁶, on the same line as Diospolis⁸⁷ in the province of Honorias, Hierapolis of Phrygia Salutaria,⁸⁸ and as Daedala,⁸⁹ to the Sea of Libya⁹⁰ directly to *Msr.*, which is Egypt.⁹¹ Now, as we have said, the Ocean reaches as far as 60° where the Unknown Land is. It circles around the other parts of the north, south and east, and 20° to the west as far as the same Ocean. No one has seen [anything] beyond these limits and it is because of this that the land and ocean are called Unknown, although the Ocean is known from navigation. There are six islands to the south called the Fortunate Isles.⁹² To the west are six other islands which are found opposite Inner Libya⁹³ and, to the north, are [another] four.⁹⁴

The rivers which enter the Ocean from the west are: the Masitholus⁹⁵ which comes from Mt. Theon Ochema; the Nicas,⁹⁶ which comes from [the land of] the White Ethiopians;⁹⁷ the Stacher⁹⁸ from Mt. Rysadius,⁹⁹ which forms a lake and then enters the sea; the Daradis¹⁰⁰ which, formed by six other rivers and lakes, enters the Great Renowned Port;¹⁰¹ the Massa,¹⁰² Ophiodes,¹⁰³ Chusar¹⁰⁴ and Salathus,¹⁰⁵ which come from Mt. Mandrus;¹⁰⁶ and [finally] the large River Subus.¹⁰⁷

[II] THE GEOGRAPHY: SECOND PART

[1] Since the Grecian and Caspian Seas have been sailed by us in their entire extent and it is the same I believe with the Indian Sea, I do not agree with those who say that the Ocean surrounds everything, but concur with our account of Ptolemy who mentions men who crossed the Torrid Zone southwards, described accurately the nations that are found there and who measured their territory from Agysimba to the Mountains of the Moon and beyond to the Unknown Land. He passed round the Unknown Land from Ocean to Ocean and furthermore, he was silent on what has not been trodden by the foot of men or seen by our eyes, to which is suited the passage of Holy Scripture, where in [the Book of] Job, it is said: "He hangs the north upon nothing" and that "His order binds the surface of the waters," that is, that the command of the Lord had been able to retain the waters of the Unknown Sea within their limits in such a way that the waters could not overflow the Unknown Land or reach its unknown extremity. As to whether the sea surrounds the Unknown Land or is surrounded by it, not having enough knowledge we remain silent and will describe only those countries that the foot has trodden and which the human eye has seen.

[2] We thus begin after the *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria who has followed the circuit of the particular map of Claudius Ptolemy, beginning his measurements from the double Torrid Zone [which lie, respectively], to the north and south [of the equator]. The Torrid Zone begins at the unknown country of the Chinese; it passes north by the lower part of the island of Taprobane, then to the River Nile and to Ethiopia, to the south side of Theon Ochema Mountains, which means 'Seat of the Gods,' [and extends] past the fish-eating Ethiopians as far as the Unknown Land.

[3] As for the Ocean, it begins at [the source of] the wind called Zephyr at lat. 21° near the fish-eating Ethiopians and the Theon Ochema Mountains; it goes around the west as far as its extremity and turns towards the northeast as far as Long. 60° opposite the gulf of the Pontus, which is called Carcinitis,^{8A} near Cherson, and from there to the Unknown Land. It circles around the other parts of the north, south and east and [on] to the west as far as the same Ocean. No one has seen nor known [of anything] beyond these limits and it is because of this that they are called the Unknown Land and Ocean, although the Ocean is [partly] known from navigation. Six islands called the Fortunate Isles are opposite Inner Libya.^{9A}

Between the greater¹⁰⁸ and lesser Atlas¹⁰⁹ [mountains] flow the following rivers: first the Saga,¹¹⁰ then the Agna,¹¹¹ Phocra,¹¹² Diur,¹¹³ Asama¹¹⁴ and Cussas.¹¹⁵ Between the lesser Atlas and the city of Tingis¹¹⁶ are the rivers Lius,¹¹⁷ Subur,¹¹⁸ Lix,¹¹⁹ Zileia,¹²⁰ and Gaditanian.¹²¹ [A strait] called Septem,¹²² i. e., "seven" because it is seven miles wide, enters like a river from the Ocean into the Iberian Sea,¹²³ which is the beginning of the Grecian Sea. Opposite [Septem] to the west, there is another island in the Ocean called Sagadium.¹²⁴ This strait separates Tingis¹²⁵ from Spain.

To the west, there are six other islands and to the north, four [more] 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].¹²⁶

[4] As the Ocean proceeds north and turns eastward, it forms two large islands, Hibernia¹²⁷ and Albion,¹²⁸ which [together] are called the land of the Britons.¹²⁹ And [there is] the Island of Thule,¹³⁰ 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,¹³¹ where dwell the Goths¹³² 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:¹³³ the first is the Indian, i. e., the Red Sea,¹³⁴ 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 a colocynth,¹³⁵ 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 Gadirus¹³⁶ in the Ocean, but it [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,¹³⁷ Isauria,¹³⁸ Pamphylia,¹³⁹ Lycia,¹⁴⁰ Caria,¹⁴¹ Mysia,¹⁴² Hellespont¹⁴³ and Bithynia,¹⁴⁴ [extending] as far as Chalcedon.¹⁴⁵ From this gulf extends the Sea of Pontus. It [the Grecian sea] extends 18° as far as Egypt.¹⁴⁶ To the north it has Europe as its border as far as Septem; to the south, Libya as far as the same Septem.¹⁴⁷

[7] The third sea is that of Hyrcania,¹⁴⁸ which is [also] called [that] of the Caspians.¹⁴⁹ It extends from the mouth of the Arax and the Kur as far as¹⁵⁰ the river Polytimeus, which means "precious."¹⁵¹ It is 23° [long] and is bounded on the west by the [Armenian] lands; on the northwest by Albania at the river Coesius;¹⁵² and then by the mouths of the Cheras,¹⁵³ Sontas,¹⁵⁴ Alonta¹⁵⁵ and Udon rivers¹⁵⁶ with the peoples of the same name, which flow from the Caucasus¹⁵⁷ and enter the sea. The peoples who bear the names of these four rivers are counted among those of Scythia,¹⁵⁸ that is, the *Apxtark*.¹⁵⁹ On the north side it is bounded by the land of the Scythians [which extends] to the mouth of the river Tyras,¹⁶⁰ which I believe is the Ematha,¹⁶¹ and by the Rhymmus,¹⁶² Daix¹⁶³ and Iaxartes Rivers.¹⁶⁴ To the east it is bordered [first] by the nation called *Anariakan Nombas*,¹⁶⁵ [second] by the mouth of the river Iastus,¹⁶⁶ [third] by the province called Sagarauca;¹⁶⁷ [fourth] by the mouth of the river Polytimeus,¹⁶⁸ mentioned above, which issues from Mt. Oxus¹⁶⁹ by which is found the district of Sian;¹⁷⁰ [fifth] and by the mouth of the river Oxus,¹⁷¹ near which is the nation of the Rybians¹⁷² and the three cities of Aspabota,¹⁷³ Oxiana¹⁷⁴ and Dauaba;¹⁷⁵ [and sixth] the nation of Theoxia,¹⁷⁶ near which is the River Margus¹⁷⁷ in the land¹⁷⁸ of the Margians,¹⁷⁹ which seems to me to be the same as Merv¹⁸⁰ and Mervi-rud.¹⁸¹ [Here are found] the Astaban¹⁸² nation and the River Maxera¹⁸³ and a district of the same name¹⁸⁴ [extending] as far as the River Charinda,¹⁸⁵ [all of] which belong to the land of Hyrcania,¹⁸⁶ near which extend the second *Agron* Mountains.¹⁸⁷ On the south is the land of the Medes,¹⁸⁸ i. e., the

[4] As the Ocean proceeds north and turns eastwards it forms two very large islands that are called the Lands of the Britons and [also] the great Island of Thule of which the greater part is regarded as belonging to the Unknown Land. There is another island named Scandia where dwell the Goths. No ship has gone past this island and no man has ever reached [beyond]; this is what is called the Unknown Sea. Twenty-one rivers flow into the Ocean from the West.^{10A}

[5] As to the three seas which are surrounded by land, the first is the Indian which is called the Red Sea and which gives birth to the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. [On the south it is bounded by the unknown and uninhabited land],^{11A} on the east by the land of the Chinese, to the north by the India, Persia and Arabia, and finally, on the west, by Egypt and Ethiopia.

[6] The second sea is the Grecian which comes from the Ocean and extends to Syria. It is bounded on the east by Syria and Phoenicia, on the southeast by Judaea as far as Egypt; on the northeast by the 'Middleland'^{12A} as far as Chalcedon. From this gulf the Sea of Pontus extends to *Eger*.^{13A} To the north it [the Grecian Sea] has [as its limit] Europe as far as Septem, to the south, Libya as far as the same Septem.

[7] The third sea is that of Hyrcania which is [also] called the Sea of the Caspians. It is surrounded by Europe.^{14A} It extends from the mouth of the Arax and Kur rivers as far as the entry of the river Polytimeus. It is bounded on the west by Armenia, on the northwest by Albania [and the Masagetæ],^{15A} on the northeast by Scythia and on the east by the people called *Arakank' Ambastakek*,^{16A} to the southeast, by the land of the Hyrcanians, and [finally], on the south, are the Medes,^{17A} the Gelæ,^{18A} the Dailamites^{19A} and the Caspians^{20A} [who extend] as far as the mouth of the River Arax.

Mark.¹⁸⁹ Beginning at the same River Charinda and extending to the west, is the nation called the Anarian Medes.¹⁹⁰ Here flows the river called *Stratonos*¹⁹¹ and here is found the district called [after the] Derbices¹⁹² whom I think are the Dailamites,¹⁹³ and [here also are] the Gelae.¹⁹⁴ Here flows the River *Omdas*¹⁹⁵ [extending] as far as the mouth of the River *Kordos*¹⁹⁶ and [here are also] the Cadusians,¹⁹⁷ among whom is [found] the Altars of *Gabar*,¹⁹⁸ [and who extend] as far as the River Camby-ses.¹⁹⁹ On the west are two islands called the *Dovdēisk*²⁰⁰, and another on the east called Talka.²⁰¹

[8] 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,²⁰² which flows from the mountain of Rhea²⁰³ and enters the Maeotis Bay,²⁰⁴ is also part of Europe. To the south is Libya [extending] as far as the Red Sea, from the city called Anhedus,²⁰⁵ which is between the city of Rhinocolura²⁰⁶ and Gaza²⁰⁷ at the end of the Phoenician Gulf,²⁰⁸ which [latter] passes by the [Greek] islands as far as Tenedus,²⁰⁹ Chalcedon²¹⁰ in Bithynia 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.²¹¹

[9] 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,²¹² which is [also] called the Sea of the Fish-eaters.²¹³ But I do not believe this because the Gospel calls Arabia Felix, from whence came the Queen of Sheba,²¹⁴ the extremity of the earth rather than Ethiopia which is nearer to the isthmuses. But by the center [of the earth] I understand Jerusalem which is equidistant from the extremities of the earth as was said by the Lord himself and, by David: "He makes the redemption in the center of the earth."²¹⁵ Eusebius commented [on this] saying: "It is not for the Jews that the Lord suffered in the city of Jerusalem but because it is in the center of the elect, for the Lord is the king of all nations as He said: 'God, the King, before all ages.'"²¹⁶ It is true then, that Jerusalem is the center of all²¹⁷ [the earth] although it extends much [more] towards the east than according to the measure of Ptolemy. However,²¹⁸ by putting together the two measurements,²¹⁹ the southern part counts eight degrees more, according to Ptolemy. We are preserving intact the number *180²²⁰ because the north offers few habitable regions [within the total (?) *360 (?) [degrees]. We have doubled the hundred by fifty.²²¹ The same for the south side [beginning] at the Torrid Zone; eight by four which reproduces exactly the geography of Ptolemy.²²²

[10] Having spoken of geography in general, we shall begin to describe each country according to Pappus of Alexandria,²²³ beginning west from the Ocean at the first degree of longitude to Spain and to the cape called Hieron,²²⁴ 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.²²⁵

[8] The earth is similarly divided into three parts: Europe, Libya and Asia. Europe is to the northwest [and extends] as far as the River Tanais. To the southwest is Libya [which extends] as far as the Red Sea. Everything bordering on the east, whether to the north, south, or middle, belongs to Asia [which extends] as far as the Unknown Land. It is because of this that [Asia] is larger than the other parts.

[9] As to the center of the earth, the habitat of man, Ptolemy says it is Arabia Felix but I do not believe this because the Gospel calls Arabia Felix, whence came the Queen of the South,^{21A} the extremity of the earth. But I understand by center [only] 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.^{22A}

[10] Having spoken of geography in general, we shall begin to describe each country according to the *Geography* of Pappus of Alexandria, beginning west at the Ocean with Spain.

[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 Hieron¹ (at Lat. 46° and Long. 1°) and extending to the other cape called *Nerion*² (Lat. 46°, Long. 5°). It is likewise bounded on the east by the Pyrenee Mountains³ and, on the south, by the Grecian Sea⁴ which begins at the same Pyrenees. It has the rivers *Durius*⁵ and *Iberus*⁶ but I wish to describe only the celebrated rivers and the great cities, passing in silence over the others.⁷

[2] The second country of Europe is Britain.⁸ It is [composed of] two islands [located] above Spain and Gaul in the Northern Ocean. The name of the western island is Hibernia.⁹ In its southwestern part it has the shape of a grain of barley.¹⁰ (Lat. 58°, Long. 8°) There are sixteen large rivers¹¹ [there] and various peoples. The other island is called Albion.¹² Between these two islands are found four smaller ones.¹³

[3] The third country of Europe is Gaul, which is [also] called Celto-Galatia;¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ A ferocious white bullock is found there,¹⁶ and also the large nation of the Franks, half of whom dwell in Gaul and half in Germany.¹⁷

[4] The fourth country is Germany¹⁸ which is east of Gaul, and bounded on the north by the River Danube.¹⁹ It has three celebrated mountains, eleven large rivers of which three flow into the Danube.²⁰ There are four forests [filled with] large trees,²¹ the plain of Satrapene,²² the desert of Ilimaeus,²³ and it [also] has wild horses.

[5] The fifth country, Dalmatia,²⁴ 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.²⁵ Here is found the *bonasus*; a wild beast which throws its excrement at hunters to burn them.²⁶ There are four islands [in Dalmatia]: By Macedonia, [there are] the cattle (?) [islands] called *Skardona* and *Isa* [which are] off Lesser Dalmatia³⁰ [whose coast] extends to [the islands of] *Corcyra*³¹ and *Melana*,³² opposite the Gulf of *Rhizonicus*,³³ at the mouth of the River *Drilus*.³⁴ On this [latter] island the blessed apostle took shelter.³⁵

[6] The sixth country,³⁶ Italy, is an extension of Gaul beginning at Dalmatia towards the south, where [are found] Venice, a district located in the water;³⁷ forty-five mainland districts,³⁸ and six provinces³⁹ of which one is [that of the] Boeian Gauls⁴⁰ with the celebrated city of Ravenna;⁴¹ and three large rivers,⁴² which are called the *Aterinus*,⁴³ the *Padus*⁴⁴ and the *Rubicon*⁴⁵ and which flow into the Grecian Sea. To the south are the countries of *Saterina*,⁴⁶ *Latium*,⁴⁷ in which is the great Rome,⁴⁸ and Greater Greece, where the delightful *Campania* is located,⁴⁹ near the Island of *Sicily*⁵⁰ which has thirteen rivers although its mountains are not renowned.⁵¹

[III] DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

[I] 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^{23A} 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.^{24A} 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,^{25A} it is larger than the first and resembles a leech with many feet.^{26A} It has twenty-five large rivers; and forests which contain extremely large trees.^{27A} Around it are forty-five small islands^{28A} 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^{29A} 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.^{30A}

[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 [river] Danube, [which is the *Yawzu* of the Russians, and which empties into the Pontus Sea and is larger than the *Tanais*].^{31A} 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.^{32A}

[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*,^{33A} 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 *Ocra Mountains*,^{34A} to the north and east by the Adriatic and the Grecian Sea; and to the south by the Tyrrhenian Sea.^{35A} Italy contains six provinces, many cities and districts with mountains, and sixteen rivers. There are also seventeen islands^{36A} one of which is *Pontia* from whence came Pilate. It has two capitals; the celebrated *Ravenna*^{37A} and the great Rome. Italy has still other districts such as the island of *Corsica*, also called *Cyrnus*, which is 400 miles in circumference, and contains thirteen districts, six rivers and a mountain called the *Golden*,^{38A} from which gold and silver are mined and which grow in the earth like asparagus.

[7] The seventh country is Sardinia,⁵² a large island near the isle of Cynrus.⁵³ It has twenty districts⁵⁴ and [also] smaller islands [around it], and its circumference is 980 miles.⁵⁵

[8] The eighth country is Sicily, a large island east of Sardinia, 350 miles from the latter.⁵⁶ It has other small islands [around it] and is triangular in shape, 100 miles from end to end.⁵⁷ [It has] five districts, eighteen rivers and two mountains:⁵⁸ Parthenus⁵⁹ and *Boimos*⁶⁰ 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,⁶¹ 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,⁶² east of Germany. It begins at the River Vistula⁶³ and has mountains bearing the same name [beginning] near the northern Ocean [and extending] as far as⁶⁴ the Unknown Land, and to the eastern extremity of the Rhipaeon Mountains from which flows the River Tanais,⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ One can sail there as far as the Pontus Sea, then by the Pontus and the River Tyras⁶⁷ which separates Sarmatia from the land of the Dacians on the south.⁶⁸ Sarmatia contains small subdivisions among which is the Tauric peninsula; i. e., the Chersonese,⁶⁹ which is between Lake Byce⁷⁰ and the Maeotis Bay and [between] the Pontus and the River Carcinitis⁷¹ [which flows] into the gulf of the same name.⁷² And there are [also] several pagan peoples, one of whom is called the Hemaxoboi⁷³ which means 'living in wagons.'⁷⁴ It [Sarmatia] has seven mountains⁷⁵ from which flow several rivers entering the Pontus, one of which is called *Koc'o*.⁷⁶ It has a small lake, two islands and two pagan altars.⁷⁷

[10] The tenth country is the land of the Thracians,⁷⁸ east of Dalmatia, near Sarmatia, beginning at the River Tyras⁷⁹ and [extending] as far as the Danube. There are five small districts⁸⁰ and others called Upper Mycia⁸¹ and Dardania,⁸² [which is also called] Tetrapolis.⁸³ On the south side is Thrace proper and on the north side⁸⁴ the large country of Dacia, where dwell the Slavs [who form] twenty-five tribes,⁸⁵ in whose place invaded the Goths,⁸⁶ who came from the island of Scandia which is called *Emios*⁸⁷ by the Germans. But the slavs crossed the River Tanais⁸⁸ and conquered the other regions of Thrace and Macedonia and entered Achaea⁸⁹ and Dalmatia. The armies of Thrace were composed of Tantalids,⁹⁰ Sardiens,⁹¹ Sicilidians,⁹² 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.⁹³ On this island lives Asparuk, son of Kubrat,⁹⁴ a fugitive from the Khazars⁹⁵ from the mountains of the Bulgars,⁹⁶ who expelled the Avar nation⁹⁷ and settled there.⁹⁸ Here [in Thrace] is the magnificent Constantinople⁹⁹ at the mouth of the Pontic strait which is called the Thracian Bosphorus.¹⁰⁰ Twenty miles from Constantinople is the city of Heraclea where there is a theater which is one of the seven wonders [of the world].¹⁰¹ From here, it is two hundred miles northwards to Rome.¹⁰²

[11] The eleventh country, Macedonia,¹⁰³ is east of the Grecian Sea and borders Dalmatia and Thrace. It contains six mountains,¹⁰⁴ one of which is Citarius¹⁰⁵ and another Olympus;¹⁰⁶ six large rivers and thirty districts,¹⁰⁷ [including] the great Thessaly whence the Armenians [originated].¹⁰⁸ It has green marble speckled with white. There are six gulfs.¹⁰⁹ (Lat. 5°, Long 7°.)

[12] The twelfth country, Greece,¹¹⁰ borders Macedonia and has small districts [such as] Achaea¹¹¹ and Epirus;¹¹² Corinth,¹¹³ a city of Achaea, and Athens.¹¹⁴ [It also has] three mountains, five rivers, thirty-eight cities, and thirty regions¹¹⁵ [among which are] Achaea proper,¹¹⁶ Arcadia,¹¹⁷ Argos,¹¹⁸ Laconia,¹¹⁹ Elis,¹²⁰ Messenia,¹²¹ and Sicyonia,¹²² where are located the temples of Poseidon.¹²³ There is [also] the Peloponnesus,¹²⁴ which has several citadels, and gulfs bearing the same names. It has four

[7] The seventh is Sardinia, a large island neighboring Corsica on the south. It is oblong [extending] from north to south. It has five rivers, rugged mountains and fortresses, nine cities, twenty districts, and nine small islands. It is 980 [miles] in circumference.^{39A}

[8] The eighth is Sicily, a large island which is east of the island of Sardinia and triangular in shape. It is 100 miles from end to end. It contains five districts, nine cities, nineteen rivers, and [has] sixteen islands [around it]. There are two mountains there: Parthenus, from whence flow [several] rivers and *Barakanos*,^{40A} whose summit is always ablaze. Sicily is also very fertile.

[9] The ninth is the general [territory]^{41A} of the Sarmatians,^{42A} which extends east from Germany toward the Northern Ocean as far as the Unknown Land,^{43A} and to the Rhipaeon Mountains from which flows the River Tanais. Sarmatia contains several small regions and [among them] the Christian Cherson [esus] Crimea,^{44A} which is a peninsula, and many other [regions] of heathens. [In Sarmatia] there are seven mountains, thirteen rivers, a small lake and two islands. Two pagan altars are also located there, one of which bears the name of Alexander and the other that of Caesar.^{45A}

[10] Tenth, the land of the Thracians is east of Dalmatia. It contains seven small regions and one large one in which are found the twenty-five tribes of the Slavonians in whose place entered the Goths.^{46A} It has mountains, rivers, islands and lakes. Its capital is the magnificent Constantinople.

[11] The eleventh, Macedonia, is east of the Grecian Sea and borders Dalmatia and Thrace. To the south is Greece. Macedonia has six mountains, ten rivers, thirty districts, sixteen cities, six seas, and four islands.^{47A} In Macedonia is found a kind of green marble speckled with white.

[12] The twelfth is Greece which borders Macedonia and is [almost] surrounded by seas. It has six small districts: Epirus,^{48A} Achaea, 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.^{49A} The capital is the magnificent Athens. On the Isle of Myrtos^{50A} are found waters which change their course for no [known] reason and in which Aristotle was engulfed.

mountains, six rivers, and sixty cities,¹²⁵ one of which is Lacedemone¹²⁶ where green marble is found. In Greece there are several other cities and districts and nine mountains,¹²⁷ among which are Parnassus,¹²⁸ Helicon,¹²⁹ and Dodona¹³⁰ mentioned in mythology. It has forty-four islands,¹³¹ among them Crete.¹³² The Ceraunian mountains¹³³ are located here, the city of Eleusine,¹³⁴ the large island of Euboea,¹³⁵ and one small island called Atalante.¹³⁶ It is said of the latter that it was very useful to Artaxias, King of the Armenians, for resupplying his army which lay siege to the marvelous fortress, while the ships, laden with provisions, were held back by the strength of the opposing currents. It is also said that Artaxias died there¹³⁷ and that Aristotle was engulfed there.¹³⁸ Euripus is its present name.¹³⁹

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 Gadirus⁶, where the Grecian Sea joins the Ocean (Lat. 36°, Long. 26°). 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 cinnabar, 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 Ezechiel,¹⁸ wool is exported to Tyre,¹⁹ that is, the sea wool called byssus.²⁰ Amber²¹ is found here, a delicate plant from the sea, which petrifies in the sun; and also the red hyacinth.²² The capital is Carthage:²³ then [There is] Tripoli,²⁴ that is, the three cities: *Giovbi*,²⁵ *Kalania*²⁶ and *Oea*.²⁷ Later, three other cities were built: *Tisoba*,²⁸ *Idisia*²⁹ and *Pontia*,³⁰ which had, for their prince the wise Nerseh Kamsarakan, patrician of *Širak* and Lord of the Aršarunids.³¹

[4] Four: Cyrenaica, which is called Pentapolis,³² is east of Africa where the Gardens of the Hesperides³³ are. It has twelve districts, one of which is called *Luk*;³⁴ two islands, three rivers, which, uniting into one, is called Lathan³⁵ and flows into the sea; and one lake named Livaria.³⁶ It has the Lasanic caves³⁷ where are found man-eating monsters;³⁸ the centaur,³⁹ whose tail is like that of a bird; the lynx;⁴⁰ the hippocentaur;⁴⁰ the marmotte⁴² and other marvelous animals.

[5] Five: Marmarican Libya⁴³ 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 Anthedus⁴⁴ [which is] situated between Rhincorura⁴⁵ and Ascalon⁴⁶ in the western gulf at the bifurcation of the Red Sea opposite Heroopolis.⁴⁷ It has twelve mountains, one of which is called Porphyritis.⁴⁸ There are two artificial canals,⁴⁹ three natural lakes, and three other lakes formed by tributaries of the Nile,⁵⁰ one of which, near the great Alexandria,⁵¹ is called Ravenitenia,⁵² which I believe is Lake Mareotis.⁵³ But Egypt has [only] one river, the Nile, which is [the same as] the Gihon.⁵⁴ It begins in the Mountains of the Moon⁵⁵ 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, reuniting, form several islands and the above-mentioned lakes. One of these branches falls into the Heroopolis Bay⁵⁶ which is the western gulf of the Red Sea.⁵⁷ The other branches [fall] into the Grecian Sea. Egypt has forty-one districts, one of which is called Tainias.⁵⁸ Near the Red Sea⁵⁹ and the Arabian Gulf⁶⁰ dwell a nation of fish-eaters called Arabo-Egyptians.⁶¹ Egypt has eleven small islands off the coast in the sea of the same name.⁶²

[6] The sixth general⁶³ country of Libya is *Endos Libya*⁶⁴ which means 'Inner' Libya. It is east of the

[IV] THE EIGHT COUNTRIES OF LIBYA

[1] The first is Mauretania Tingitana. Libya extends^{51A} 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.^{52A} 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 hyacinths, 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,^{53A} 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 Cyrenean 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 Mauretaniae and Africa. It extends as far as Mount Theon Ochema, meaning 'Seat of the Gods,' which is in a red [plain]⁶⁵ towards the north. It has eight mountains and ten rivers which flow into the Western Ocean. It has two other rivers, besides: the Bagradas⁶⁶ and Cinyphus.⁶⁷ Thirteen tribes dwell in Inner Libya of which one is [that of] the White Ethiopians⁶⁸ and another, the Ethiopians of the forest.⁶⁹ It is said that there are found the Pygmies,⁷⁰ called by some the Pichithes,⁷¹ and by others, Thriphix.⁷² Here are the White Mountains⁷³ [so-called] because their soil is white like snow although Ptolemy says nothing of them. They tell of rhinoceroses⁷⁴ which roam from the Ocean to Inner Libya as far as the Nile; they resemble the hippopotamus⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ They say that Zosimus preached there though in my opinion this is only an allegory.⁷⁸

[7] The seventh country of Libya is Ethiopia which is below Lower Egypt,⁷⁹ 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,⁸⁰ which unite at first then, separating, form the island of Memnos⁸¹ and unite again. The other river, called Astapus,⁸² flows from the Lake of Coloe⁸³ and enters the Nile near the island.⁸⁴ It [also] has eight mountains and three small provinces:⁸⁵ Barbaria,⁸⁶ near the Barbarican Bay;⁸⁷ Azania,⁸⁸ where are found a large number of elephants; the [land of the] cave-dwellers⁸⁹ and thirty-six territorialized tribes⁹⁰ among which one is called the Babyllenians;⁹¹ [others] the Root-Eaters;⁹² and the Axumites,⁹³ [the latter] a celebrated kingdom opposite Cape Premnis⁹⁴ which separates Adulis⁹⁵ from Arabia Felix.⁹⁶ It seems to me that Job made an allusion to this place when he said: "Watch the road of the Themnites you who see the roads of Sheba."⁹⁷ Here are the pygmies;⁹⁸ the Ostrich-Eaters,⁹⁹ the Tent-Dwellers¹⁰⁰ and between these two the Central Ethiopians.¹⁰¹ It has twenty-seven islands in the Arabian Gulf, another one called Isle of the Magi,¹⁰² and another, the Isle of Fowl.¹⁰³ Ethiopia contains countries yielding incense and myrrh.¹⁰⁴ It has sandy and rainless countries as well.¹⁰⁵

[8] The eighth country of Libya is Lower Ethiopia¹⁰⁶ 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 dwell the Hesperidian Ethiopians¹⁰⁷ and, to the south, the naked Dragon-men.¹⁰⁸ To the north are the fish-eating Ethiopians;¹⁰⁹ the animals called dog-lions;¹¹⁰ near them the Aphroceros Ethiopians,¹¹¹ among whom is a certain animal resembling a giraffe;¹¹² [and also other] ferocious and gentle [animals], among whom are the fierce tree-dwelling goat-eater; leopards;¹¹³ white elephants; rhinoceroses;¹¹⁴ tigers; zebras;¹¹⁵ and satyrs¹¹⁶ who have the face of a man but who are hairy, horned and hooved and very brilliantly marked. To the south is a country called Agysimba¹¹⁷ where an animal is found with the face, hands and waist of a woman and the body of a quadruped. There are other naked, man-like monsters with the snout of a dog, and neck and ears like a monkey-lion. [Further] to the south are the tall Ethiopians¹¹⁸ and further on the man-eating Ethiopians.¹¹⁹ There is a small river there called Rhaptus¹²⁰ where there is found a fire-breathing animal like a wild boar,¹²¹ and the salamander¹²² which resembles a lizard¹²³ and which extinguishes fire when it passes through it. In this region is found another amphibious animal called the *zesubēs*,¹²⁴ resembling a sheep, which loves fishing and is very fond of fish which it gathers while swimming.

The second part is finished.

[6] The sixth, *Entos Libya*, which means 'Lower' (sic) Ethiopia, is east of the western gulf of the Ocean and extends to the Torrid Zone. It contains eight mountains, twenty-one rivers, six lakes and thirteen islands. Sixteen tribes dwell in Inner Libya, increasing and dividing after [the time of] the Tower [of Babel]. The inhabitants of the land are very dark and [include] fish-eaters and locust-eaters, which are the chief nations [and also] the *Nawapin*, *P'un*, *K'awt'ak'an*, *K'ernawapin* and several others. The Pygmies are near the Ocean on the White Mountain. The rhinoceros roams throughout Inner Libya from the Ocean to the Nile, where there are crocodiles. There are also other animals roaming Libya, such as those called *ap'indk'*, which have the shape of men and who like wine.

[7] The seventh is Upper Ethiopia, extending from Inner Libya and Egypt southwards to the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Torrid Zone, next to Lower Ethiopia, to the same boundary of the same Inner Libya. Ethiopia contains these three small countries: Barbaria, Azania, and that of the cave-dwellers as well as thirty-six tribal districts, three rivers and ten mountains. It also has twenty-seven islands in the Arabian Gulf, as well as the country which produces myrrh and the districts [which yield] incense and cinnamon.

[8] The eighth is Lower Ethiopia which begins on the west side of the Unknown Land, bordering the Ocean and Inner Libya. On the south, it is bounded 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 *tibos*^{56A} resembling a sheep which lives a long time and feeds on fish. Near them dwell the Sethacene 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 Dermons^{57A} 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]. Further to the east there are horse-tigers, satyrs and beautifully marked leopards. To the south, near the Unknown Land, is a country where a beast is found with the head of a woman and with the paws and shape of a four-legged animal, and another ferocious one [which goes] naked, with the face of a man, the snout of a dog, long ears, a long tail and which is like a monkey-lion. To the east are the Tall Ethiopians and [still] other peoples, as far as the Mountains of the Moon, where there are found robust white goats. To the east [of these] are the Gabsates^{58A} and below them the man-eating Ethiopians among whom is an animal like a wild boar which breathes fire, and also the salamander, which resembles a lizard and which extinguishes fire when it passes through it.

[V] ASIA

[1] Asia is the first among the general¹ 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 Middleland² located between the Grecian Sea and the Pontus. This is why it is called the 'Middleland'.³

The first country of Asia is Bithynia⁴ [located] east of Constantinople⁵ with the Pontic straits called the Thracian Bosphorus.⁶ Its limits are the Propontis,⁷ beginning at the temple of Artemis⁸ on the east side of the Pontus and [extending] as far as the mouth of the River Rhyndacus,⁹ and Mount Olympia.¹⁰ It has Mount Selinum,¹¹ the rivers Elata, Hyppus, the mighty Sangarius,¹² and the smaller ones which flow into it. Near Nicomedia¹³ is Lake Sumonensis¹⁴ and the River Ascanius.¹⁵ [Bithynia] has five islands in the Pontic Sea of which two are called the Cyanaea.¹⁶ The city of *Präma*¹⁷ also has a lake. There are two capitals, Chalcedon and Nicomedia,¹⁸ which have fourteen other cities under them and several emporia, that is, maritime and mercantile cities.¹⁹ On the banks of the River Rhyndacus a white earth is found called *argil*²⁰ that is ground up to spread on the wheat; a basket of which is sufficient to protect 117 kgms. from being eaten by worms.²¹

[2] The second country is [comprised of] Greater and Lesser Mysia [together] which is [also] called Hellespontus²² 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].²³ It has three cities: Ilium, Dardanus and Troy²⁴ whose war is narrated by Dictys and Homer.²⁵ It has thirty-eight other cities.²⁶

[3] The third country, Asia Proper, borders Mysia near the sea. Its chief cities are Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, and Tralles,²⁷ which have forty-eight cities under them. It has a small region, Lydia,²⁸ whose capital is Sardis,²⁹ then Aeolis and Ionia³⁰ whose [people] are Greek,³¹ and Caria.³² It has five rivers. It also has the islands of Chios,³³ with the city of the same name; Posidium,³⁴ where mastic is found; Icarus; and Samus, with the cities of the same name;³⁵ and Cos,³⁶ mentioned by Luke.³⁷ Ephesus was subject to Artemis.³⁸ 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.³⁹

[4] The fourth country of Asia is Lycia⁴⁰ whose capital is Myra.⁴¹ It has two mountains, four rivers and the island of Rhodes⁴² [located] in the sea of the same name. Storax is found there which is called Armenian liquidambar⁴³ and which flows from the trees like honey or thick dregs.

[5] The fifth country of Asia is Phrygia⁴⁴ which is east of Asia Proper and borders Lycia. It has three subdivisions of its own: [first] Pisidia,⁴⁵ whose capital is Antioch⁴⁶ and which has twenty-six other cities, one of which is called Cibotus,⁴⁷ that is, the place where Noah's ark was built.⁴⁸ I do not know if this is truth or legend. [Second] Pacatiana,⁴⁹ whose capital is Laodicea⁵⁰ [and which has] forty other cities, and [third] Salutaria,⁵¹ whose capital is Synnada⁵² [and which has] thirty other cities. It [Phrygia] also has thirteen lakes.

[5b] [Honorias is missing in L.]

[6] The sixth country, Paphlagonia,⁵³ is east of the province of Honorias⁵⁴ near the Pontic Sea, which is [here] called the Galatian Pontus.⁵⁵ It has the rivers Zaliscus and Halys;⁵⁶ its capital is Germanicopolis, whose castle is Gangra,⁵⁷ and it has thirteen districts.

[7] The seventh country of Asia is First Galatia,⁵⁸ east of Phrygia by Paphlagonia. It has the same rivers [as the preceding].

[V] THE FORTY-FOUR GENERAL COUNTRIES OF ASIA

[1] 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,^{59A} 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.

[2] The second is Mysia, which is called Hellespontus, and borders Bithynia. It contains three mountains, two rivers, two islands and forty-one cities of which the capital is the seaport of Cyzicus where there is a [remarkable] temple of the goddess Rhea.^{60A}

[3] The third is Asia proper, on the coast of Mysia.^{61A} Asia proper has four regions: Lydia, Aeolis, Ionia, and Caria. Asia has five mountains, two islands, five rivers and fifteen cities. Its capital is Ephesus and [it has] six other [cities]. Asia produces mastic [which comes] from the gum tree.

[4] The fourth is Lycia, located on the east of Asia: It has two mountains, three rivers, five islands and three cities. Its capital is Myra. Lycia produces an aromatic resin which flows from a tree like gum and which is liquid like honey or like dregs.

[5] The fifth is Phrygia, east of Asia proper bordering Lycia. It has three subdivisions of its own: Pisidia, whose capital is Antioch where it is said Noah's Ark was built and [which has] twenty-six other cities; [Pacatiana],^{62A} whose capital is Laodicea [and which has] forty other cities; and [finally] Salutaria, whose capital is Synnada [and which has] thirty other cities. Phrygia also has Mt. Dindymus, five rivers, fourteen lakes and very large plains.

[5b] The sixth, Honorias, is east of Bithynia and borders Phrygia [extending] as far as the Pontic Sea. Honorias has as its capital Claudiopolis besides five other cities under it. It has the River Parthenius [which is made up] of three brooks.^{63A}

[6] The seventh is Paphlagonia east of the province of Honorias along the Pontic Sea. It has two rivers. Its capital is Germanicopolis, whose fortress is [called] Gangra, five [other] cities, eleven fortresses and sixty-one districts.

[8] The eighth country of Asia, Second Galatia,⁵⁹ is east of Phrygia by First Galatia [extending] as far as Pamphylia.⁶⁰ 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 Isauria⁶¹ located to the east, by the sea, opposite the Island of Cyprus.⁶² It contains the Taurus Mountains.⁶³ It yields gum, storax, colophane, obergomphis, and calamite,⁶⁴ all of which flow from the trees and are produced by the boring of a yellow-colored worm with black markings, like blight.⁶⁵ Its capital is Seleucia⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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,⁶⁸ east of Second Galatia near Isauria. It has broad, arid plains and small mountains.

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

[11] Eleven, Helenopontus,⁶⁹ is by the same Pontus and borders Paphlagonia near Second Galatia.⁷⁰

[12] The twelfth country, Polemoniac Pontus,⁷¹ is east of Helenopontus by the Pontic Sea.

[13] The thirteenth country, Helenopontus,⁷² is near Lycaonia.

[14] The fourteenth country is First Cappadocia,⁷³ [lies] east of Second Cappadocia, and forms a separate province⁷⁴ from it. It has the Antitaurus⁷⁵ Mountains and other smaller ones. Its rivers are the Melas, the Halys and other smaller ones which unite with them.⁷⁶

[15] The fifteenth country is [comprised of] the First and Second Cilicias,⁷⁷ east of Lycaonia and Isauria near Cappadocia on the seacoast by the Issic Gulf.⁷⁸ It has the Taurus Mountains and six rivers: the Arymagdus, Calycadnus, Damus, Cydnus, Sarus and Pyramus.⁷⁹ Its capitals are Tarsus⁸⁰ and Anazarbus⁸¹ which have several lands and castles under them. [Cilicia] has two impregnable passes, Mallus and Platan,⁸² and is very fertile like the land of Jordan.⁸³

[16] The sixteenth country, the island of Cyprus,⁸⁴ is east of the Pamphylian Sea,⁸⁵ near Cilicia and [extends] as far as the Phoenician Sea.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

[16a] [Third Armenia is missing in L.]⁸⁸

[16b] [First Armenia is missing in L.]

[8] The ninth is Second Galatia which is east of Phrygia and borders First Galatia [extending] as far as Pamphylia. It has mountains and famous rivers^{64A} which flow into the above mentioned river [the Parthenius] and which [also], form lakes.

[8a] The tenth is Pamphylia which is east of Lycia and borders Galatia. It has five small districts, one mountain, four rivers, two islands and several cities. An aromatic gum is found here called storax which is formed in the hollows of a tree eaten by worms.^{65A}

[9] The eleventh is Isauria which is east of Pamphylia, by the sea, opposite the island of Cyprus. It contains the Taurus Mountains and the River Arymagdus.^{66A} Its capital is Seleucia and it has twenty-four other cities. The following kinds of aromatics are found here: storax, *kučabî*, obergomphis and calamite, which come from trees eaten by worms.

[10] The twelfth is Lycaonia, which is east of Galatia near Isauria, and entirely composed of one large plain. It has mountains and lakes and the same river [the Arymagdus].

[10a] The thirteenth is Second Cappadocia which is east of Galatia and borders Lycaonia. It has rivers and small mountains, and is entirely composed of large plains.

[11] The fourteenth is Helenopontus, east of Paphlagonia bordering Cappadocia and the [Pontos] Sea. It has many small mountains and large rivers [such as] the Iris^{67A} and other small ones.

[12] The fifteenth is Polemoniac Pontus which is east of Helenopontus and borders the Pontic Sea. It has small mountains, inaccessible places, the River Thermidon and several smaller ones.^{68A}

[13] [This duplication of Helenopontus is omitted in S.]

[14] The sixteenth is First Cappadocia which is east of Second Cappadocia near Polemoniac Pontus.^{69A} It has the Antitaurus Mountains and other small ones and [also] the rivers Melas and Halys.

[15] The seventeenth is Cilicia which extends to First and Second Cappadocia and is east of Lycaonia and Isauria. It has the Taurus Mountains, six rivers and two capitals, Tarsus and Anazarba, and many other cities and fortresses, as well as two passes leading into Syria. Cilicia is very fertile like the land of the Jordan.

[16] The eighteenth is the island of Cyprus which is east of the Pamphylian Sea near Isauria and Cilicia. Cyprus has Mount Olympus and three rivers. Laudanum is found there which falls like dew on the grass and sticks to the coats and whiskers of the goats. The length of Cyprus is three degrees and its width one degree.

[16a] The nineteenth is [Second] Armenia^{90A} east of Cilicia along the Taurus Mountains. It has three mountains, three rivers and two passes leading into Syria.

[16b] The twentieth is First Armenia which is east of First Cappadocia and borders Third (*sic*) Armenia.^{91A} It is bounded on the east by the Euphrates. It has Mount Argaeus,^{92A} the River Halys and other smaller ones.

[17] The seventeenth country, Second Armenia, which is today called First Armenia,⁸⁹ is east of Cilicia along the Taurus Mountains extending to the Amanus Mountains,⁹⁰ which separate it from Commagene in Syria,⁹¹ and as far as the Euphrates.⁹² It has other mountains: the Zigon Basilikon⁹³ and Oromandon,⁹⁴ and its rivers are the Pyramus,⁹⁵ Paradisus,⁹⁶ the Ciaccas⁹⁷ and Caromosus.⁹⁸ It has two passes leading into Syria.⁹⁹

[17a] [Cappadocian Pontus is missing in L.]

[18] The eighteenth country of Asia is the territory of the Sarmatians.¹ On the east it is bordered by the Ripaeian Mountains,² the River Tanais³ and the Maeotis Gulf,⁴ and on the west by the Pontus Euxinus.⁵ To the same coast, from east to west, flows the River Corax which means 'crow'.⁶ From there [Sarmatia extends] to the Caucasus Mountains⁷ 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].⁸ It [Sarmatia] contains the Ceraunian⁹ and the Hippic Mountains¹⁰ which give forth five rivers [that flow] into the Maeotis Sea. The Caucasus gives forth two rivers. [One] the Vardanes,¹¹ flows to the Coraxic Mountains¹² which begin opposite the Caucasus, extend toward the northwest and end between the Pontic and Maeotian seas. The [other] river, Psychrus¹³ by name, flows toward the Bosphorus¹⁴ and to the original frontier,¹⁵ where the little city of Anakopia¹⁶ [is located]. To the north are the Turks¹⁷ and the Bulgars¹⁸ who are named after rivers: *Kup'i* Bulgars,¹⁹ *Duč'i* Bulgars,²⁰ *Obxontor* Bulgars²¹ and *Č'dar* Bulgars,²² whose names are unknown to Ptolemy. The son of Kubrat fled from the Hippic mountains.²³

Between the Bulgars and the Pontic Sea live the *Garšk'*,²⁴ *K'ut'k'*²⁵ and *Swank'*²⁶ nations. They extend as far as Pityus,²⁷ a coastal city of the land of the Abaza,²⁸ i. e., the Apsilians²⁹ and Abkhazians,³⁰ to their coastal city, Sebastopolis,³¹ and from there as far as the river called *Drakon*, which means 'dragon',³² which descends from Albania³³ and flows through Abasgia and the land of Eger.³⁴ There are forty-six territorialized tribes³⁵ [in Sarmatia]. To the north, near the Unknown Land,³⁶ dwell the Royal Sarmatians³⁷ and the Horse-Eaters.³⁸ West of the Tanais River dwell the *Naxčamateank'*³⁹ and another nation called *Kłarjk'*,⁴⁰ then the *Siwriakac'ik'*⁴¹ and [next comes] the district of Mithridaton.⁴² Then, in the eastern part of the Ceraunian Mountains, dwell the Amazons⁴³ who are female warriors [whose lands extend] as far as the River called the Rha,⁴⁴ which has two sources north of the Unknown Land. These unite near the Hippic Mountains from which flows a branch of the Tanais River which falls into the Maeotis Bay. It [the Rha] then turns east opposite the Ceraunian Mountains. Then there are two other rivers coming from the east of the northern mountains which are called the Rhymicians⁴⁵ and [these] form a seventy-arm river, which the Turks call the Etil. In its midst is an island where the *Baslk'*⁴⁷ took refuge from the Khazars⁴⁸ and the *Bwšxk'*⁴⁹ who come there from east and west during the winter. It is called the Black Island⁵⁰ because of the numbers of the *Baslk'* nation, men and animals, who flock to it and make it appear black. Ptolemy calls it the Isle of Crows.⁵¹ The branches of the Etil unite and enter the Caspian Sea, dividing Sarmatia from the land of the Scythians. On the western [shore] according to Ptolemy, are the Udon,⁵² Alontes,⁵³ Sontae⁵⁴ and Gerrhuae⁵⁵ nations, whose homonymous rivers flow from the Caucasus to the sea near the Albanian frontier.

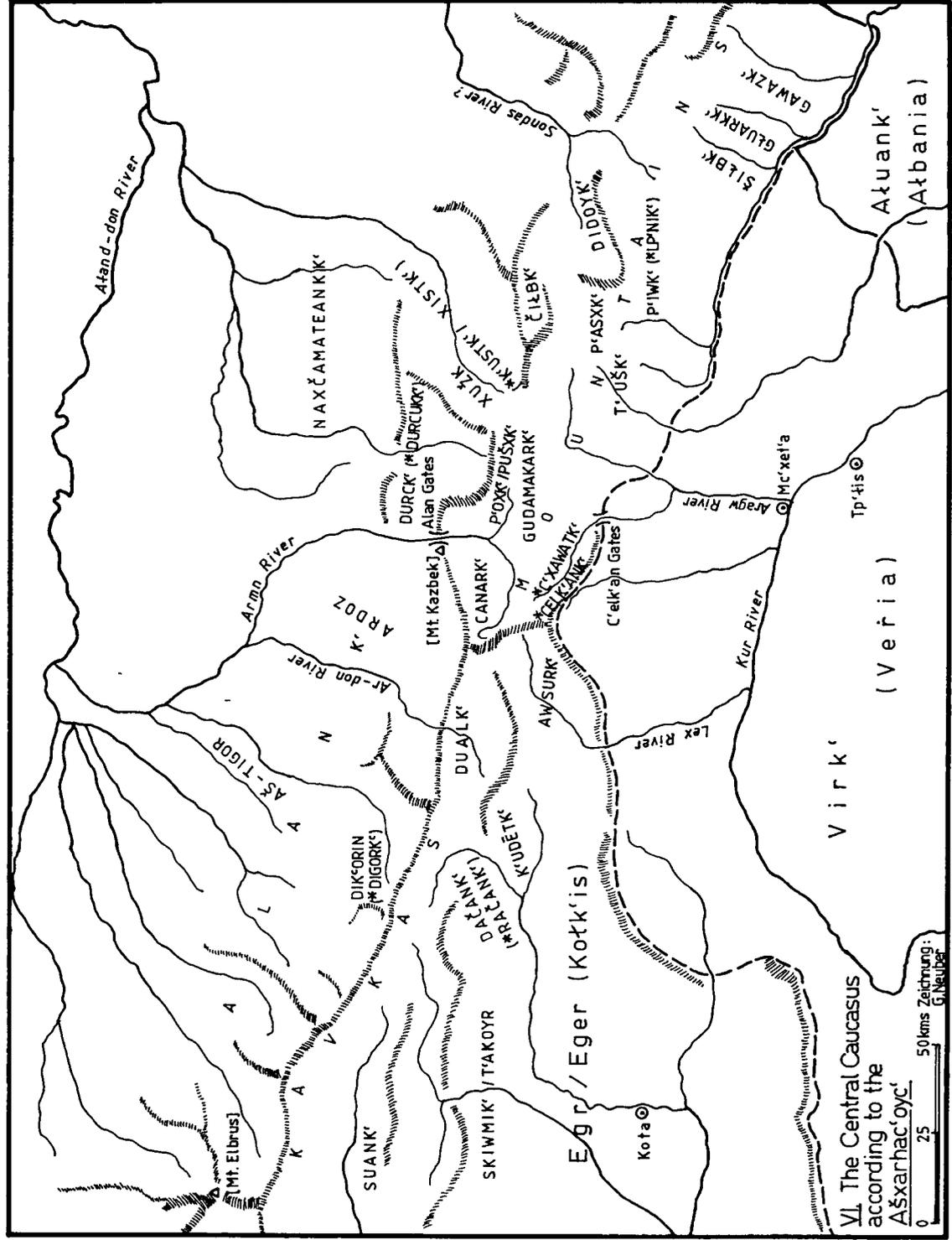
There are many [peoples] in Sarmatia beginning from east to west thus: first the nation of the *Aš-tigor* Alans⁵⁶ on the south. Dwelling with them are the *Xēburk'*,⁵⁷ *K'ut'ētk'*,⁵⁸ *Argwel*,⁵⁹ *Mardoysl*, *T'akoyr*⁶⁰ and Alans. Next are the *Dik'orin*⁶¹ in the *Ardoz* country⁶² [lying] in the Caucasus Mountains from which flows the River *Armn*⁶³ which, running north into the vast steppes, joins the Etil. In the same mountains, after the Ardozian people,⁶⁴ dwell the *Dajank'*,⁶⁵ *Dualk'*,⁶⁶ *Cēxoyk'*,⁶⁷ *P'urk'*,⁶⁸ and *Canark'*⁶⁹ among whom are the Gates of the Alans⁷⁰ and the other gate called *Cek'en*⁷¹ [so called]

[17] The twenty-first is Second Armenia which is east of Cappadocia extending lengthwise to the Euphrates. It has two other rivers and many large mountains.

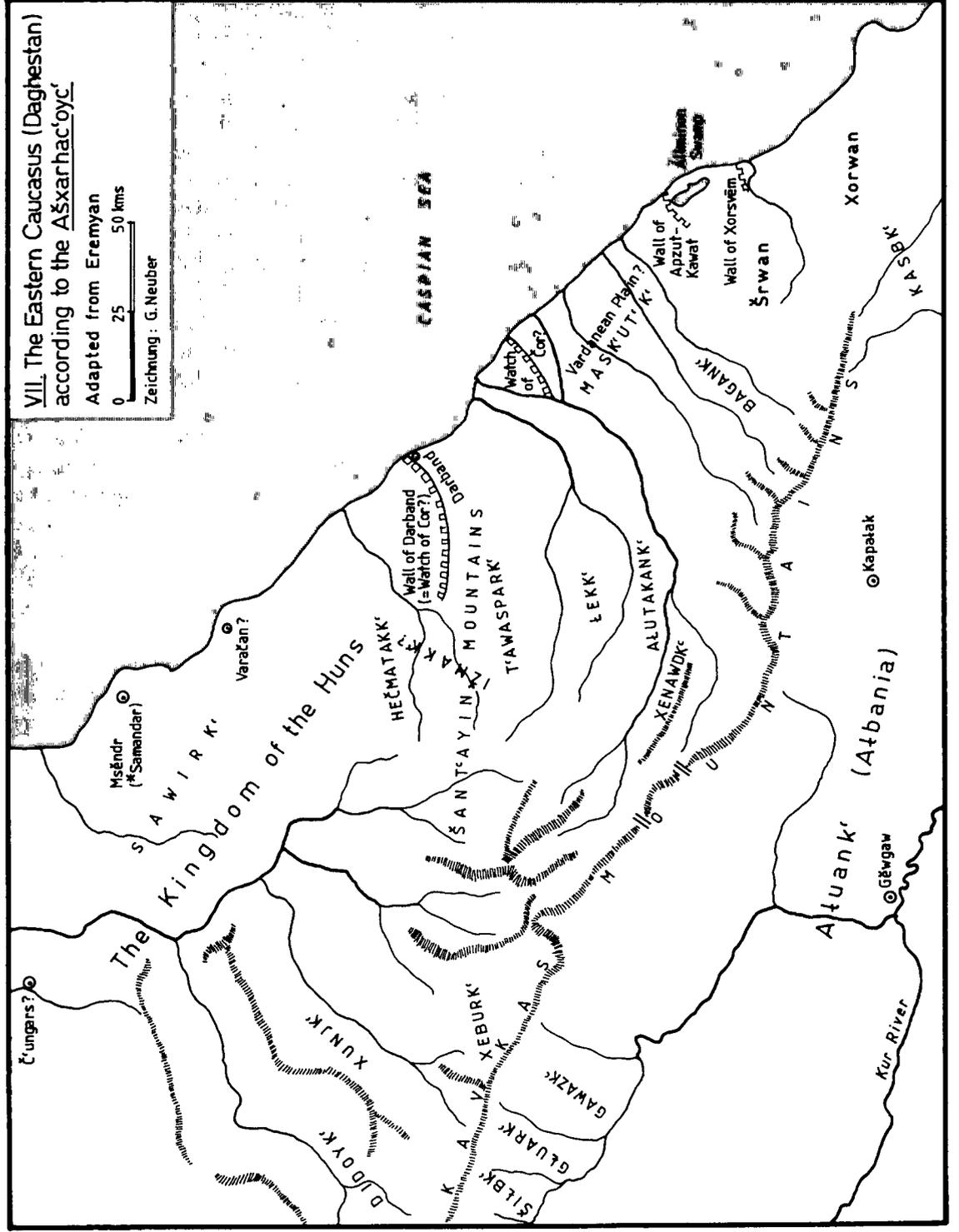
[17a] The twenty-second is Cappadocian Pontus which is east of Polemoniatic Pontus [extending] from the sea to the Moschian Mountains^{93A} which separate it from Greater Armenia. It has three mountains and four rivers. Such is the description of what is called the "Middleland."

[18] The twenty-third is the general land of the Sarmatians which is bordered on the east by the Ripaeian Mountains, the River Tanais and the Maeotis Gulf, from which [it extends] to the Caucasus Mountains, along Iberia and Albania as far as the Caspian Sea. Sarmatia contains the Ceraunian and Hippic Mountains and other mountains [besides]. There are many rivers, among them the Etil^{94A} with seventy arms which protects the *Baslk'* (sic) nation.^{95A}

There are many peoples dwelling in Sarmatia^{76A} such as the Khazars, *Buxk'*,^{77A} *Barsilk'*,^{78A} Apsilians, Abkhazians, Royal Sarmatians, Horse-Eaters, *Naxčamatakeank'*, *Orjlakerk'*,^{79A} *Sisikac'ik'*,^{80A} *Mit'rikac'ik'*, Amazons, Alans, *Xeburk'*, *K'ugewok'*, *Siyimk'*^{81A} *Argawtek'*, *Margoylk'*, *T'akoyik'*, *Argozk'*, *Gaçank'*, *P'inčk'*,^{82A} *Duatk'*, Huns, *Ap'urk'*, *Canark'*, among whom is the Gate of the Alans and the Cicen Gate,^{83A} *T'užk'*,^{84A} *Xužk'* and *Kisk'* [who are] cannibals, *C'xawatk'*, *Gudamakark'*, *Duč'uk'*, *Didoyk'*, *Łekk'*, *Tapastawank'*, *Ałutakank'*, *Xenawkk'*, *Šiplk'*, *Čitak'*,



Map VI



Map VII

after a people of the same name.⁷² Then [come] the *T'urck'*,⁷³ *Duck'*,⁷⁴ *Xužk'*,⁷⁵ and *Xistk'*.⁷⁶ Then the *C'lawatk'*,⁷⁷ *Gudamakark'*,⁷⁸ *Durckk'*,⁷⁹ *Didok'*,⁸⁰ *Lekk'*,⁸¹ *Tapotarank'*,⁸² *Yałutakank'*,⁸³ *Xenawk'*,⁸⁴ **Šitbk'*,⁸⁵ *Čitbk'*⁸⁶ and *P'wik'*.⁸⁷

The Caucasus is then divided into two branches, one going directly to the Shirvanian⁸⁸ and **Xorwan*⁸⁹ nations as far as *Xorsvēm*,⁹⁰ the other giving forth the River *Arm*⁹¹ which flows north to the River *Etil*.⁹² The same branch then runs north to where the *T'awaspark'*,⁹³ *Hēčmatakk'*,⁹⁴ *Ižmaxk'*,⁹⁵ *P'asx'*,⁹⁶ *P'usxk'*,⁹⁷ *P'wk'anakk'*⁹⁸ and *Bagank'*⁹⁹ dwell and is continued by the long wall called *Apzutkawwat*¹⁰⁰ as far as the **Allminon* Swamp¹⁰¹ and the sea. To the north [of the swamp], in the Vardanian Plain,¹⁰² dwell the nation of the Massagetae¹⁰³ as far as the Caspian Sea to which a branch of the Caucasus extends.¹⁰⁴ Here is the wall of *Darband*,¹⁰⁵ that is, "the lock and gate," the guardian city of the pass, [with] a formidable tower built in the sea.¹⁰⁶ North of it is the kingdom of the Huns¹⁰⁷ near the sea and west of it, by the Caucasus, is the city of the Huns [called] *Varajan*¹⁰⁸ and also *Č'ungars*¹⁰⁹ and **Semendr*.¹¹⁰ On the east dwell the Sabeiroi,¹¹¹ as far as the River *Etil*¹¹² which separates the countries of Sarmatia and Scythia, who are [the people called] *Apaxt'ark'*, that is, the Turkestanians.¹¹³ The khakan is their king and khatun their queen, the wife of the khakan.¹¹⁴

[19] The nineteenth country of Asia, Colchis, which is *Egr* [sic],¹ is east of the Pontic Sea near Sarmatia, [extending] west from the River *Draikon*² to the Caucasus Mountains as far as the branch [of the Caucasus] which separates it from Iberia.³ From there it is bounded by Greater Armenia as far as Cappadocian Pontus. It is divided into four small lands:⁴ *Gr*, *Manwil*,⁵ *Grew*,⁶ *Ki*,⁷ which is Eger Proper where the River Phasis [is found] by the town of the same name,⁸ and *Č'aniw* which is *Xaltik'* where the River *Megapopotamia*¹⁰ [is found]. It has other rivers [such as] the Acampsis or **Voh*¹¹, which has its source in Greater Armenia. It has five cities: *Igani*,¹² *Cotais*,¹³ *Rhodopolis*,¹⁴ *Athenae*,¹⁵ and *Rhizus*¹⁶ and several other emporia or maritime cities such as *Trebizond*.¹⁷

[20] The twentieth country, Iberia¹⁸, is east of *Eger* near Sarmatia by the Caucasus [extending] as far as the frontiers of Albānia and Armenia by the River *Kur*.¹⁹ Its districts are as follows:²⁰ Beginning from the River *Voh*, north of *Tayk'*,²¹ is *Klarjk'*,²² which was taken from Armenia;²³ *Šawšet'*,²⁴ and *Artaban*,²⁵ which was taken from Armenia. Through here passes the great River *Kur* which, coming from the district of *Ko*²⁶ in *Tayk'*, at the foot of *Šawaxk'*,²⁷ descends to *Samc'xē*,²⁸ and turns toward the east to Upper Iberia.²⁹ It separates the districts of *Gorot'isxew*³⁰ and *Toinixew*,³¹ at the extremity of which is found the castle of *Dekic'xē*,³² and [the districts of] *Mangleac'p'or*³³ and *Bołnop'or*,³⁴ to the district of *Paruar*³⁵ which surrounds the city of Tiflis.³⁶ These [last] three valleys have been taken from Armenia. North of the great River *Kur*, opposite the district of *T'ar*,³⁷ are the *Argwēt'* Mountains;³⁸ and in the same region are the plain of *Dwan*,³⁹ *Ač'ēwētisxew*⁴⁰ and *K'ordit'irikosxew*⁴¹ [extending] as far as *Sac'xumēt*⁴² which is at the foot the Caucasus. From here flows the River *Lēx* which, turning south, falls into the *Kur*.⁴³ Here is *Xaimisxew*⁴⁴ [extending] from *C'xrasjmaya*⁴⁵ as far as the River *Aragw*⁴⁶ which flows from the Caucasus and, flowing south by the castle of *Axalc'ixē*,⁴⁷ passes the city of [*M*]c'xet'a⁴⁸ and the hill of the Holy Cross⁴⁹ and enters the *Kur* with which it mingles in the province of Upper Iberia. The *Kur*, continuing its course, reaches Tiflis, capital of Iberia, passing by *Paruar*,⁵⁰ *Cop'op'or*,⁵¹ *Kołbop'or*⁵² and *Jorop'or*,⁵³ with the rivers of the same names,⁵⁴ and the city of [*H*]narakeri⁵⁵ which was taken from Armenia. South of these cities is the plateau of *Šawaxk'*⁵⁶ [where are] several lakes filled with fish, and [the districts of] *T'retk'*⁵⁷ and *Tašir*,⁵⁸ south of which is *Gankark'*.⁵⁹ All this has been taken from Armenia. Opposite those, north of the *Kur*, are the districts of *Xwēt*,⁶⁰ *Xerk*,⁶¹ *Ērcwoy*,⁶² *T'ianēt*⁶³ and *Cobēnor*.⁶⁴

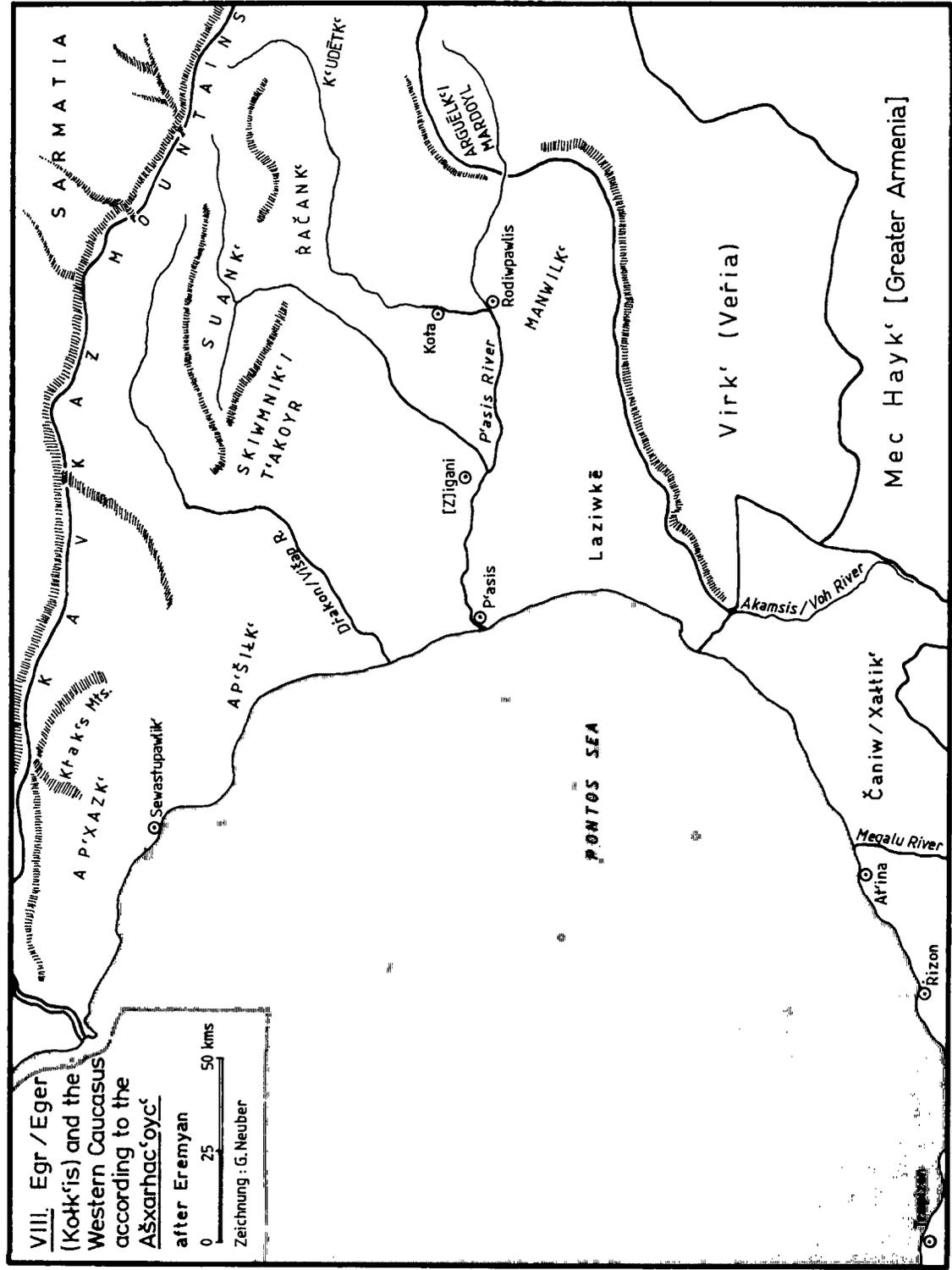
[21] The twenty-first country, Albania, which is, *Ałuank'*,⁶⁵ is east of Iberia bordering Sarmatia along the Caucasus and [extending] to the frontier of Armenia along the River *Kur*. From there [Armenia] to the *Kur*, all the borderlands have been taken from Armenia.⁶⁶ We shall speak here of the

Xelayk',^{85A} *Caspian*,^{86A} *P'uxk'*,^{87A} *Shirvanians*, *Xarank'*, *T'awasparōtk'*, *Hēčmatakk'*, *Ižmaxk'*, *P'asxk'*, *K'osx*, *P'ok'onak*, *Bak'ank'* and the Massagetae^{88A} [dwelling] 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 *Vařač'an* and others [besides]. The king of the north is the khakan, who is lord of the Khazars. The queen, or khatun, the wife of the khakan, is of the *Barsilk'* (sic) nation.

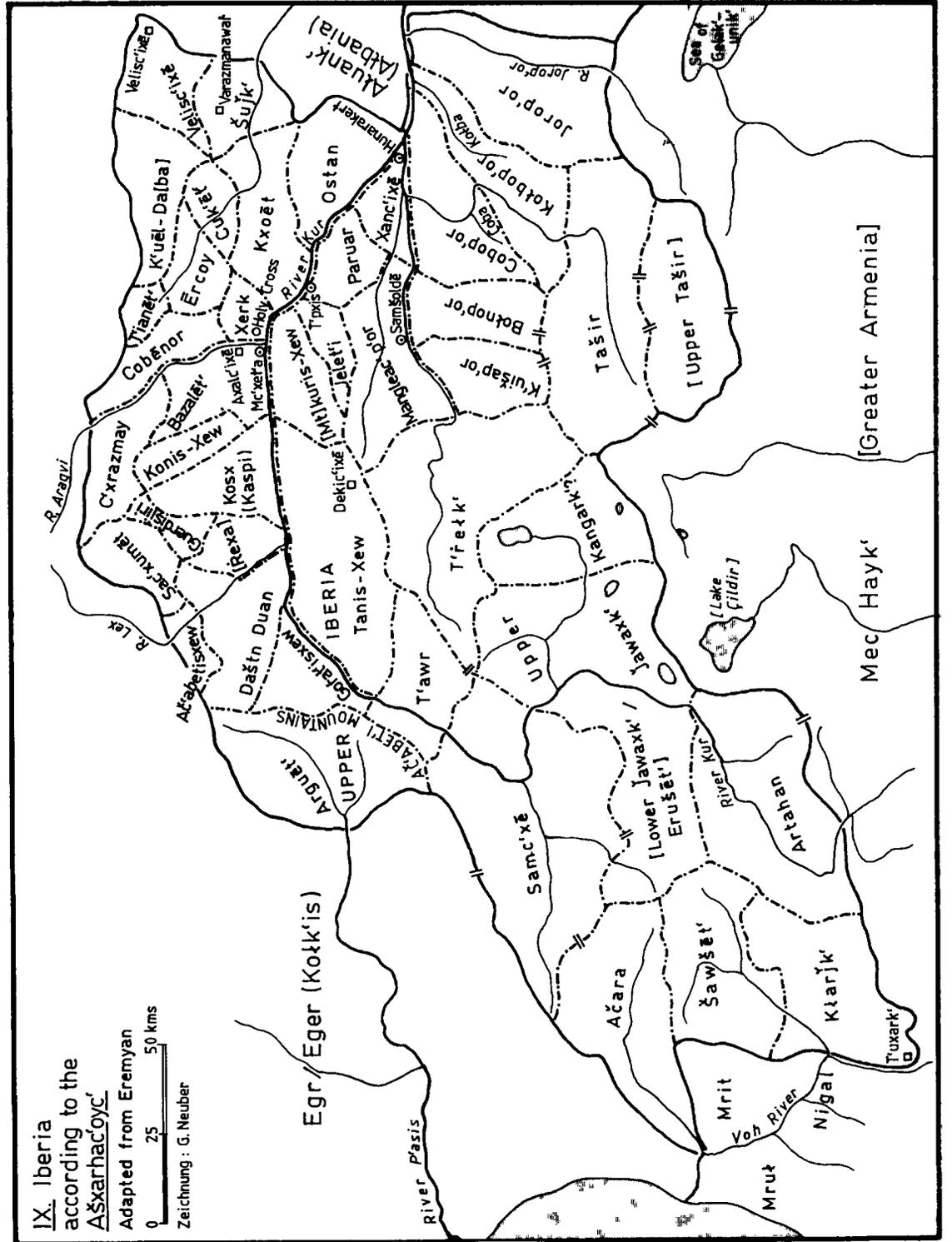
[19] The twenty-fourth, Colchis, which is, *Eger* (sic), is east of the Pontic Sea bordering Sarmatia, Iberia and Greater Armenia. *Eger* has four small districts: *Mairniwliw*, *Egrewikiw*, *Xaziw*^{89A} and *Č'aniw*, which is *Xaltik'*. It has several mountains, rivers, districts, cities, fortresses, towns and ports.

[20] The twenty-fifth, Iberia, which is *Virke'*, 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:^{90A} *Katarjk'*, *Artabank'*, *Šawšet'*, *Šawaxk'*, *Samc'xē*, *Ač'ara*,^{91A} *T'orgov*, *At'isx*, *Tairniax*, *Mangleac'p'or*, *K'uešp'or*,^{71A} *Bołnap'or*, *T'retk'*, *Kangark'*, *Tašir*, *Ač'aw*, *Guan*, *Erix*, *K'udit'*,^{93A} *Kawkisx*, *Sac'xumēt*, *Xanix*, *C'iwras*, *Jma*, *Balzalet*^{94A} *Kxuet'*, *Erc'oy*, *Xerk*, *T'ianet'*, *Cup'a*, *K'et'*,^{95A} *Č'elt'*,^{96A} *Vešis*,^{97A} *Yixuk'uēlda*,^{98A} *Šušk'*,^{99A} *Paruar*, *Cobap'or*, *Jorop'or*, and the Iberian cities of Tiflis, *Samšoldē*^{100A} and *Mxet'i* (sic), where the Holy Cross is [located]. It also has fortresses and rivers stocked with fish.

[21] The twenty-sixth, Albania, which is, *Ałuank'*, is east of Iberia bordering Sarmatia along the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea [extending] to the frontier of Armenia by the River *Kur*. Albania has fertile plains, many rivers and it produces very large reeds. [It also contains] cities, fortresses, and



Map VIII



Map IX

original lands of Albania located between the great River Kur and the Caucasus. First, next to Iberia, is the district of *Exni*⁶⁷ along the River *Ałuan*,⁶⁸ and *K'ambēčan*⁶⁹ by the River Kur. To the South is the new castle of *Varazmanawar*⁷⁰ with the town of *Kudrat*⁷¹ and desert areas as far as the Kur. To the east [of this river] is the city of *Gēwgaw*⁷² by the River *Ałuan*, the district of *Bix*⁷³ by the Caucasus, and, to the east, *Šak'ē*⁷⁴ and the River *Dēgairu*,⁷⁵ along which is found the district of the same name⁷⁶ by the River *Sani*.⁷⁷ All these streams flow from the Caucasus, unite with the River *Aluan*, and flow into the Kur. Then, to the east, is *K'avatak* [capital] city of the Albanians,⁷⁸ through the center of [the district of] which flows the River *Sēbo*⁷⁹ southwards by way of Lesser Armenia.⁸⁰

[22] Twenty-two,¹ 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, *Ałjnik*², along the River Tigris; fourth, *Taruberan*, i. e., *Tarawn*; fifth, *Mogk*³ [sic] by Assyria; sixth, *Korčēk*⁴; seventh, **Parskahayk*⁵, by Atropatene; eighth, *Vaspuakan*, northwest of it; ninth, *Siwnik*⁶, along the Arax; tenth, *Arjax* [sic] which lies beyond it; eleventh, [the region of] the city of *P'aytakaran*, [extending] to the shore of the Caspian west of the Arax;² twelfth, the land of the Utians, bordering Albania and the River Kur; thirteenth, *Gugark*³ by Iberia; fourteenth, *Tayk*⁴, by *Ēger*, and, fifteenth, *Ararat* [sic] in the midst of the rest.

[i.] The first land [Upper Armenia]³ has nine districts: *Daranali*,⁴ *Ałiwn*,⁵ *Mzur*,⁶ *Eketēc*,⁷ **Mananati*,⁸ *Dērjan*,⁹ *Sper*,¹⁰ *Šatgamk*,¹¹ and *Karin*.¹² 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'.¹³ 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 *Gayl*¹⁴ to the south and the *Acampsis*, i. e., the *Vob*, to the north.¹⁵ It has three large mountains. It has [among its] animals the stag,¹⁶ the goat,¹⁷ the wild sheep, sheep,¹⁸ deer¹⁹ and pig;²⁰ among wild fowl,²¹ the partridge,²² bustard,²³ stork,²⁴ etc. It also has hot springs and salt deposits and all the abundance of the earth.²⁵

[ii.] The second land of Armenia, Fourth Armenia, i. e., the region of *Cop'k*,²⁶ borders Upper Armenia. It is bounded on the west by the [region of] the city of Melitene,²⁷ on the south by Mesopotamia, and on the east by *Tarawn*. It has eight districts: *Xorjayn*,²⁸ to the northeast through which flows the other River *Gayl*²⁹ by the castle of *Koł*,³⁰ **Haštēank*,³¹ where rise the sources of the Tigris; west of *Xorjayn* is the district of **Palnatun*³² with the castle of the same name.³³ Opposite, to the south, is the district of *Balaxovit*,³⁴ to the west of it, *Cop'k*,³⁵ and the district of *Anjit*³⁶ to the south in which are *Covk*³⁷ and *Hořē* castles;³⁸ to the west of them, the district of *Dēgik*,³⁹ in which are located the castles of *Kini*, *K'rwik* and *Sok*,⁴⁰ opposite, to the south, is the district of *Gawrēg*.⁴¹ Through [this province] flows the *Aracani* [River]⁴² which joins the Euphrates at the city of *Lusat'aric*.⁴³ Circling towards the west, it reaches the frontier of Lesser Armenia, east of Melitene, after which it receives the River *Kawkas* coming from the west from the mountain called *Zigon Vasit'ēon*. Before its confluence with the Euphrates, it receives the River *Karaminon*,⁴⁴ 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.] The third land, *Ałjnik*,⁴⁵ is east of Mesopotamia and [extends] northwards along the Tigris.⁴⁶ It has ten [sic] districts:⁴⁷ *Np'ret*⁴⁸ and *Ałjn*,⁴⁹ through which flows the River *K'alirt*,⁵⁰ which the Arabs call the *Šidma*, i. e., 'The Bloodthirsty',⁵¹ after which come the district of *K'al*⁵² which has in its mountains [the districts of] *Kēt'ik*,⁵³ *Tatik*,⁵⁴ *Aznuac'jor*,⁵⁵ *Erxet'k*,⁵⁶ *Salajor*⁵⁷ and *Sanasun*.⁵⁸ It has iron in abundance and gall-nuts⁵⁹ and among its birds is the falcon.⁶⁰

towns. Its districts are:^{101A} *Exni*, *Bex*, *K'ambečan*, *Hołmat*,^{102A} *Šak'ē*,^{103A} *Gegawu*,^{104A} *Ostan*,^{105A} *Haband*,^{106A} **Marzpanan*,^{107A} *K'atāc'dašt*,^{108A} *Ibazkan*,^{109A} and other districts taken from Armenia: *Šakašēn*,^{110A} *Gardman*,^{111A} *K'ustip'arēs*,^{112A} *Koł*,^{113A} *Ałuē*,^{114A} *T'uč'k'atak*,^{115A} *Řtrostak*,^{116A} *Řot-paeak*,^{117A} *Greater Kuank*,^{118A} *Greater Iranē*,^{119A} *Pianē*,^{120A} *Harčlank*,^{121A} *Pacank*,^{122A} *Mox-ank*,^{123A} *Vakunik*,^{124A} *Lesser Haband*,^{125A} *Sisakan*,^{126A} *Řotastak*,^{127A} *Berjor*,^{128A} and *Asřot*,^{129A} [extending] as far as the juncture of the Arax and the Kur.

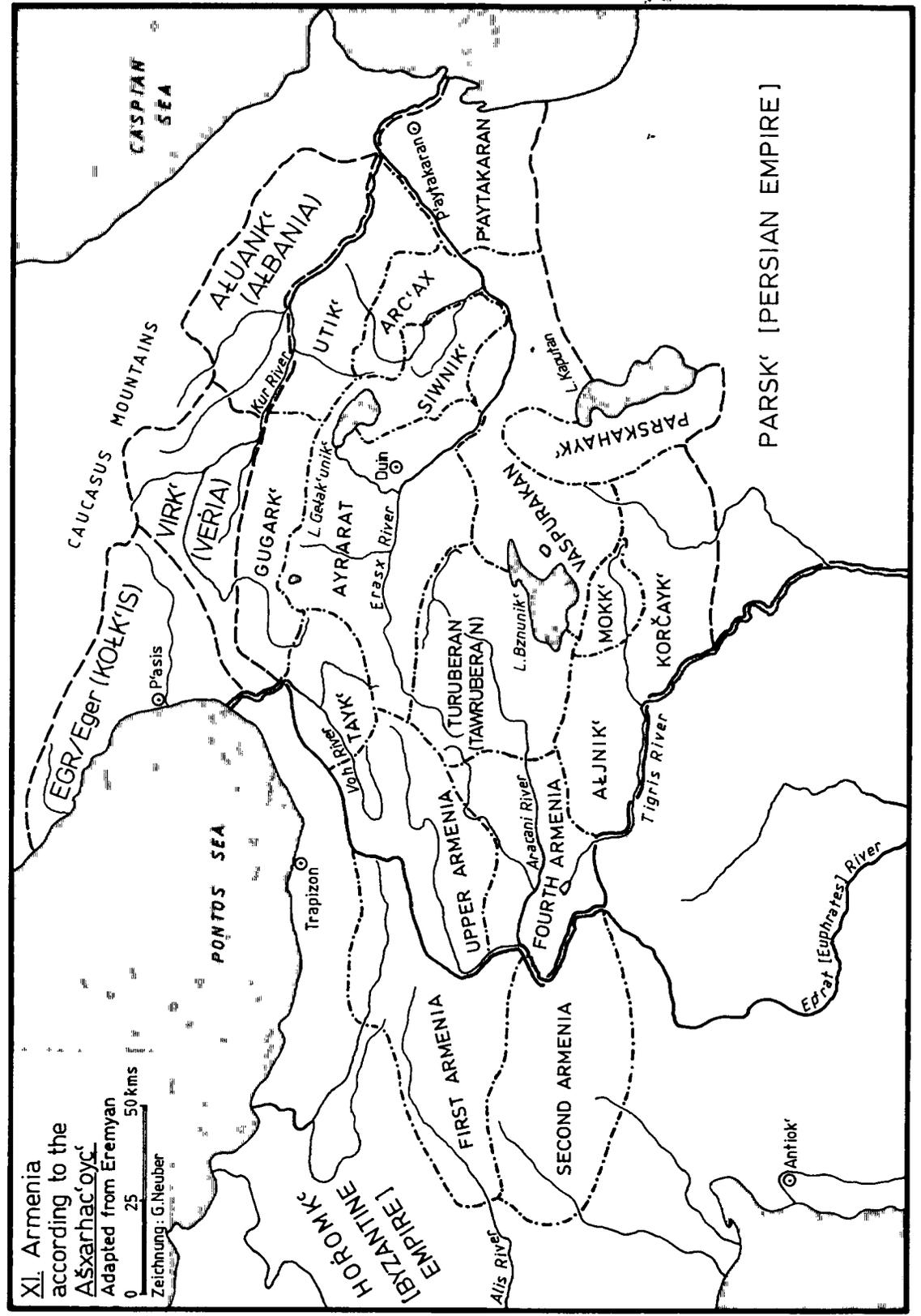
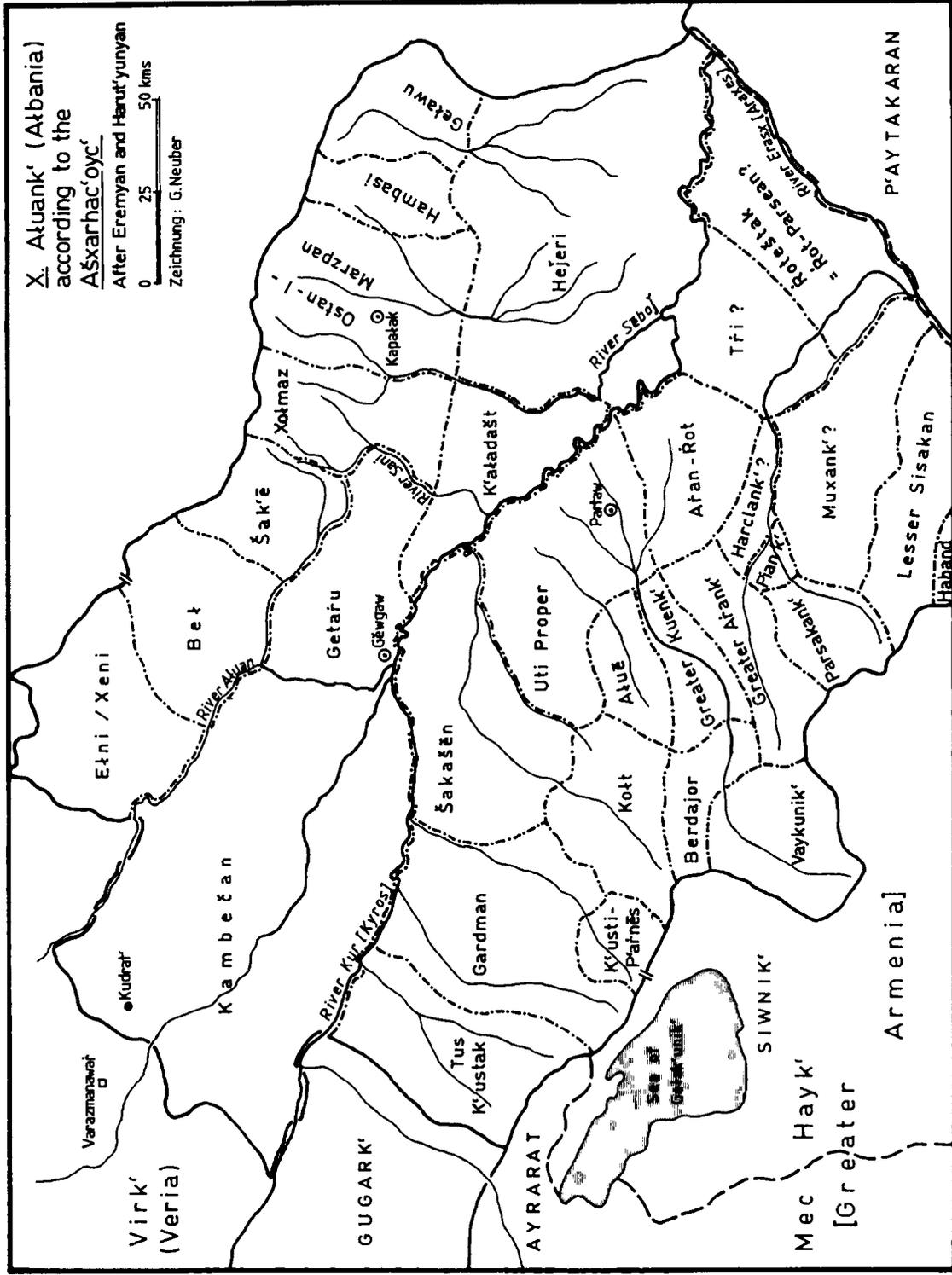
[22] The twenty-seventh, Greater Armenia, is east of Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia along the Euphrates River and by the Taurus Mountains which separate it from Mesopotamia. On the south it is bordered by Assyria, and extending past Atropatene towards Media, [it reaches] to where the River Arax flows into the Caspian Sea. To the north it is bordered by Albania, Iberia and Colchis, as far as the place where the Euphrates turns toward the south. Armenia contains famous mountains, rivers large and small, and three lakes.^{130A} Greater Armenia has fifteen lands which are: Upper Armenia, which is the region of *Karin*, Fourth Armenia, which is (*sic*) *Ałjnik*, *Turuberan*, *Mokk*, *Korčayk*, *Parskahayk*, *Vaspuakan*, *Siwnik*, *Arc'ax*, *P'aytakaran*, *Utiac'ik*, *Gugark*, *Tayk* and *Ayrarat*.

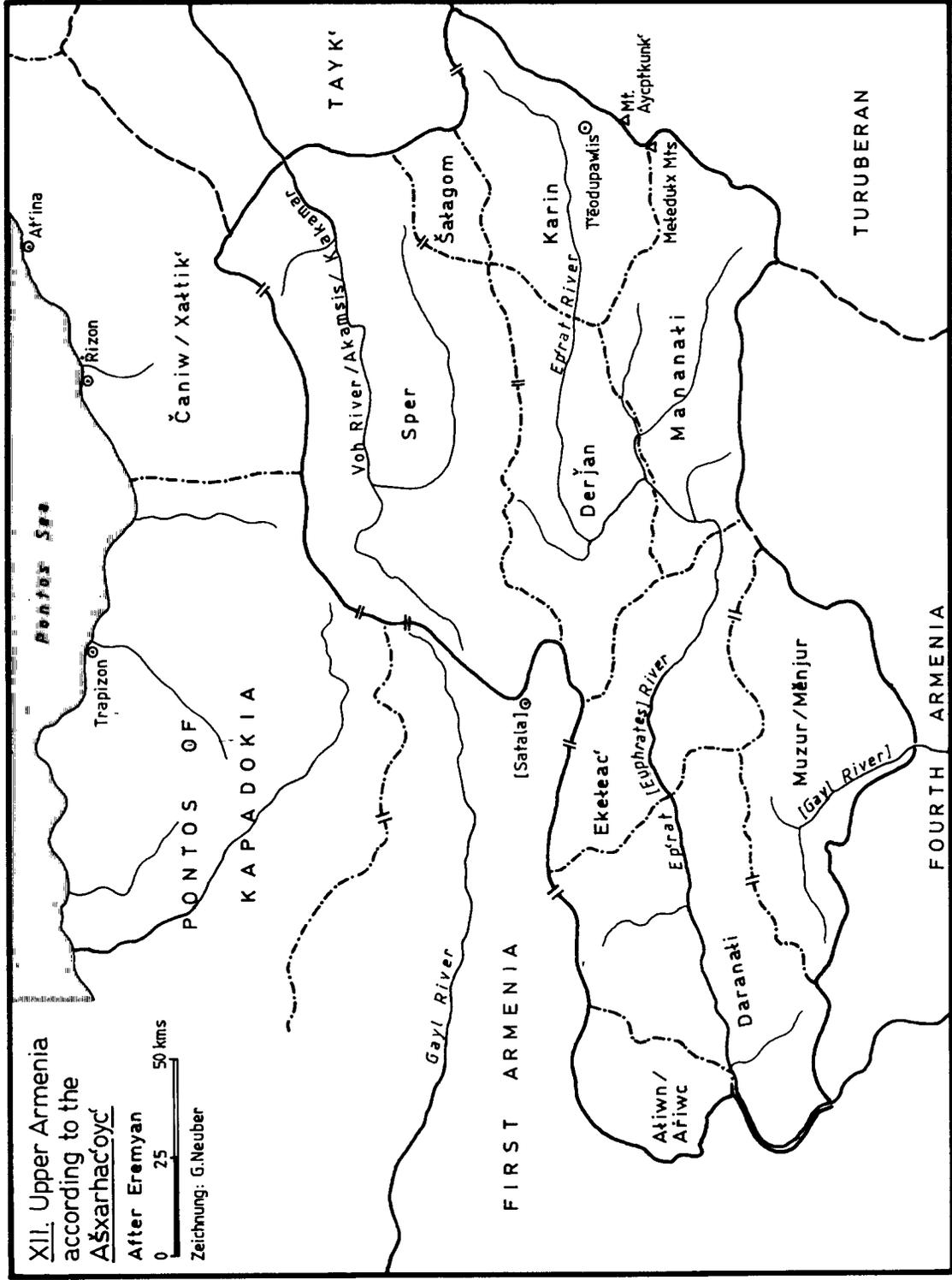
I am going to describe in detail all these lands on which I have done research in [various] writings and documents.^{131A}

[i.] Upper Armenia has nine districts:^{132A} *Daranali*, *Ariw*, *Mzur*, *Eketēac*, *Mananazi*, *Derjan*, *Sper*, *Šatgomk*, and *Karin*. It is correctly named [Upper Armenia] for it is the most elevated country [of Armenia] since it sends forth rivers in four directions. It has rivers and mountains, and much game and useful birds, hot springs and salt [deposits] and other things in abundance, and [also] the city of *Karin*.^{133A}

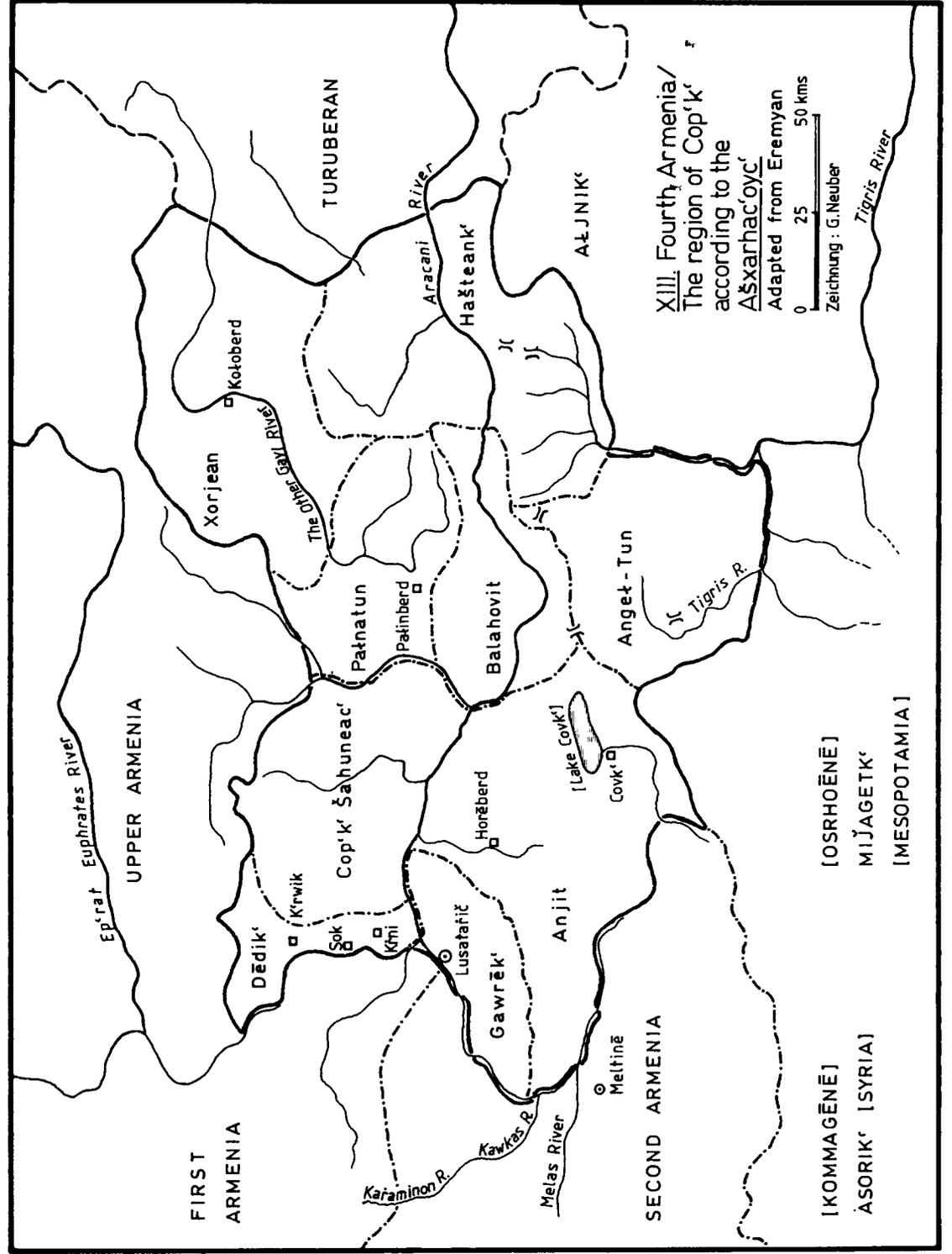
[ii.] Fourth Armenia borders Upper Armenia and contains eight districts:^{134A} *Xorjean*, *Hašteank*, *Palnatun*, *Batabovitn*, *Cop'k*, *Anjit'k*, *Gorik* and *Gegik*. Fourth Armenia has fortresses, rivers and mountains and rock crystal, and it has game, birds, fish and, among its animals, the lion.

[iii.] *Ałjnik* is along the Tigris and has ten districts:^{135A} *Arzn*, *Np'rkert*, *Keł*, *Kēt'ik*, *Tatik*, *Šatu*, *Vanac'jor*, *Xerhet'k*, *Gzeł*,^{111A} *Salnoygor* and *Sanasun*. It has naphtha, iron, quantities of gall-nuts and the pheasant.





Map XII



Map XIII

[iv] The fourth land, *Tarwberan* [sic], is east of Fourth Armenia and has sixteen districts:⁶¹ *Xoyt*,⁶² the valley of *Aspakunik*,⁶³ and *Tarawn*,⁶⁴ in which is found the River *Met*⁶⁵ which falls into the Euphrates. To the north is *Ašmunik*⁶⁶ at Mount **Srmanc*,⁶⁷ which is called 'Summit of the Earth', and from which flow many springs. North of these is found *Mardati*,⁶⁸ [extending] from Mount *Metēdux*,⁶⁹ as far as the [mountains called] the 'Goats' Teats',⁷⁰ which separate it [*Mardati*] from *Karin*. Here are found the *salak*⁷¹ and *jilk*⁷² and white and black naphtha. On the east is the river *Murc*,⁷³ which, flowing north, falls into the district of *Basēn*⁷⁴ and swells the Arax into a river. East of *Mardati* is the district of *Gastovor*,⁷⁵ further east, *Twaracatap*⁷⁶ and further east, *Dalař*,⁷⁷ to the south of these are *Hark*⁷⁸ and *Važnunik*⁷⁹ [extending] as far as the *Aracani* which flows out of *Apahunik*⁸⁰ south of which is [Mount] *Sarak*,⁸¹ and the district of *Bznunik*⁸² which, beginning at the mountainous district of *Nex Masik*⁸³ and surrounding the western shore of the sea of the same name,⁸⁴ [extends] to the castle of *Batēs*⁸⁵ and from there to the south as far as the borders of **Erewark* district.⁸⁶ *Bznunik* has three islands in the sea of the same name: *Arjkē*,⁸⁷ *Cipan*⁸⁸ and *Tok'ean*.⁸⁹ To the south, between the Taurus Mountains and this sea, is the district of *Erēvark* where there is a certain lake called *Ełigi*.⁹⁰ 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 seeding to the maturation [of the crops] is [only] forty days, and the production is fifty to one.⁹¹ The length of the Sea of *Bznunik* is one hundred miles and the width, sixty.⁹² To the north is the district of **Ałiovit*⁹³ and to the west, *Pahunik*.⁹⁴ Pistachios⁹⁵ are found here, the *kastannon*, which is the chestnut;⁹⁶ the sweetest honey in the world and also iron. It is said that in the *Aracani* there is a sea-serpent (like the one in the Euphrates, whose [existence] we know of for a fact), similar to the *k'ark-ašam*, which sucks the blood [out of people] and then abandons [them].⁹⁷ Some say that this is an animal and not a demon; but John said of the daughter of Herodias that she was more bloodthirsty than a sea-serpent.⁹⁸

[v.] The fifth land, **Mokk*,⁹⁹ is [further] east than *Ałjnik* in the Taurus Mountains. It has eight districts:¹⁰⁰ *Išayr*,¹⁰¹ [another *Išayr*]; the District of Mules [*Išuc* gawař];¹⁰² the Valley of *Arvenēk*; *Vijac*; *Mokk* Proper,¹⁰⁵ where the River *Orb*¹⁰⁶ is found, [i. e.] the Royal District;¹⁰⁷ *Argovteac'ovit*¹⁰⁸ and *Ĵerm* Valley,¹⁰⁹ in which [flows] the River **Ĵerm*¹¹⁰. Among its fruits are the cardoon¹¹¹ and the mandrake;¹¹² among its animals, the spotted leopard.¹¹³

[vi.] The sixth land is *Korček*,¹¹⁴ east of *Mokk*. It has eleven districts: *Korduk*,¹¹⁵ where *T'man*¹¹⁶ [is located], near Assyria; *Upper Kordik*,¹¹⁷ *Middle Kordik*,¹¹⁸ *Lower Kordik*,¹¹⁹ *Aytwank*,¹²⁰ *Aygarik*,¹²¹ *Ot'otank*,¹²² *Orisank*,¹²³ *Saraponik*,¹²⁴ *Čahuk*,¹²⁵ and *Lesser Ałbakk*.¹²⁶ Arsenic¹²⁷ is found here and among its fruits the chestnut,¹²⁸ i. e., the thistleseed.¹²⁹

[vii.] The seventh land, *Parskahayk*,¹³⁰ east of *Korček*, wedges itself¹³¹ into Atropatene¹³² and the part of the Taurus Mountains called *Kobi-Nihorakan*¹³³ as far as the River *Erasx*. It has nine districts: *Ayli*, which is called *Kuřičan*,¹³⁴ *Mari* District;¹³⁵ *T'rabi* District;¹³⁶ *Aris*,¹³⁷ i. e., *Ovēa*,¹³⁷ *Ařna*,¹³⁸ *Tambēt*,¹³⁹ *Zarēhwan*,¹⁴⁰ **Zarawand*,¹⁴¹ and *Her*.¹⁴² It has the wild ass and the goat.¹⁴³

[viii.] The eighth land is *Vaspurakan*,¹⁴⁴ west of *Parskahayk* by *Korček*. It has thirty-five districts:¹⁴⁵ *Řštunik*,¹⁴⁶ between *Mokk* and the Sea of **Bznunik*, where there are two islands *Axt'amar*¹⁴⁷ and *Arti*¹⁴⁸ and the peninsula of *Manzkert*,¹⁴⁹ **Tosp*¹⁵⁰ to the east of *Bznunik*,¹⁵¹ *Bodonik*,¹⁵² *Arčišakovit*,¹⁵³ *Dairi*,¹⁵⁴ [extending] as far as the district of *Kogovit*¹⁵⁵ at the foot of High *Masis*,¹⁵⁶ *Ařberan*,¹⁵⁷ east of the Sea of *Bznunik* where are located the islands of *Č'k'atan*¹⁵⁸ and *Lim*,¹⁵⁹ the peninsula of *Amik*¹⁶⁰ and *Ařestovan*,¹⁶¹ which yields fish. To the east of these are *Bužuni*,¹⁶² *Anjovac'ik*,¹⁶³ *Trpatunik*,¹⁶⁴ **Eruandunik*,¹⁶⁵ **Arnoy-Otn*,¹⁶⁶ *Mardastan*¹⁶⁷ and *Artaz*¹⁶⁸ [extending] as far as *Kogovit*.¹⁶⁹ East of these are *Akē*,¹⁷⁰ *Greater Ałbak*,¹⁷¹ *Anjahijor*,¹⁷² *T'onrawan*¹⁷³ and *Čwašot*¹⁷⁴ [extending] as far as the Arax; *Rkčunik*,¹⁷⁵ *Vžnunik*,¹⁷⁶ *Palunik*,¹⁷⁷ *Gokan*,¹⁷⁸ **Ałandrot*,¹⁷⁹ *Pas-*

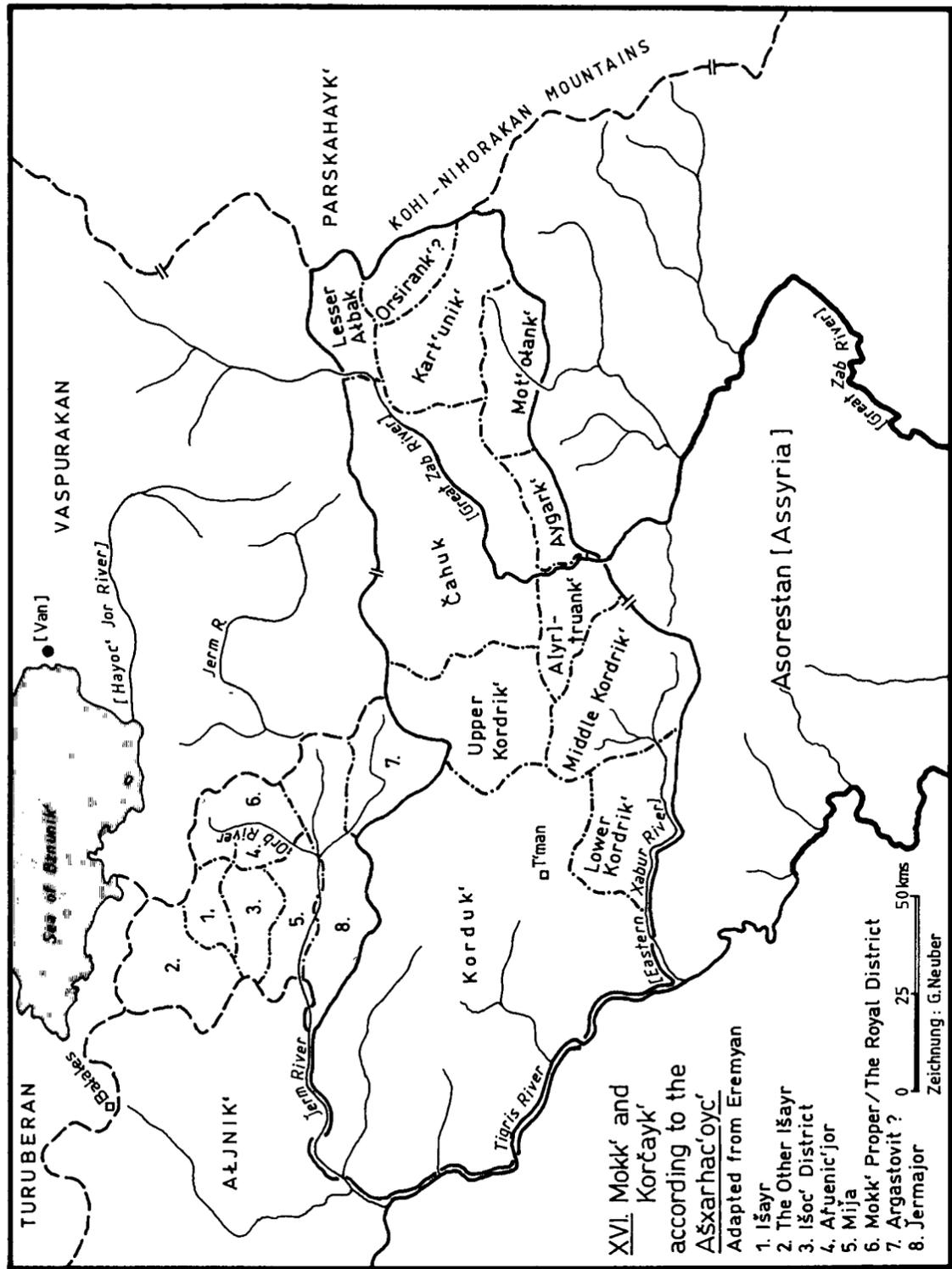
[iv.] *Turuberan* (sic) borders Fourth Armenia and has sixteen districts:^{136A} *Xoyt*, *Aspakunik*, *Ĵarawn*, *Aršamunik*, *Mardaři*, **Dasnawork*, **Tuaracatap*, *Dalař*, *Hark*, *Varažnunik*, *Bznunik*, *Erewark*, *Ałiovit*, *Apahunik*, *Kori*¹³⁷ and *Xorxorunik*.¹³⁸ It also has the Sea of *Bznunik* [which is] 100 miles long and sixty miles wide. [Turuberan] has resin, honey, vegetables, pistachios, iron and naphtha.

[v.] *Mokk* is east of *Ałjnik* and in the most inaccessible [parts] of the Taurus Mountains. It has nine districts:^{139A} *Išayr*; the Other *Išayr*, and the District of Mules; the Valley of *Arvenēk*; *Mija*; *Mokk* proper, the Royal District; *Agasteayovit*; and *Ĵerm* Valley. It has among its fruits the cardoon and the mandrake. Among its animals is a kind of spotted leopard and among its birds, the partridge.

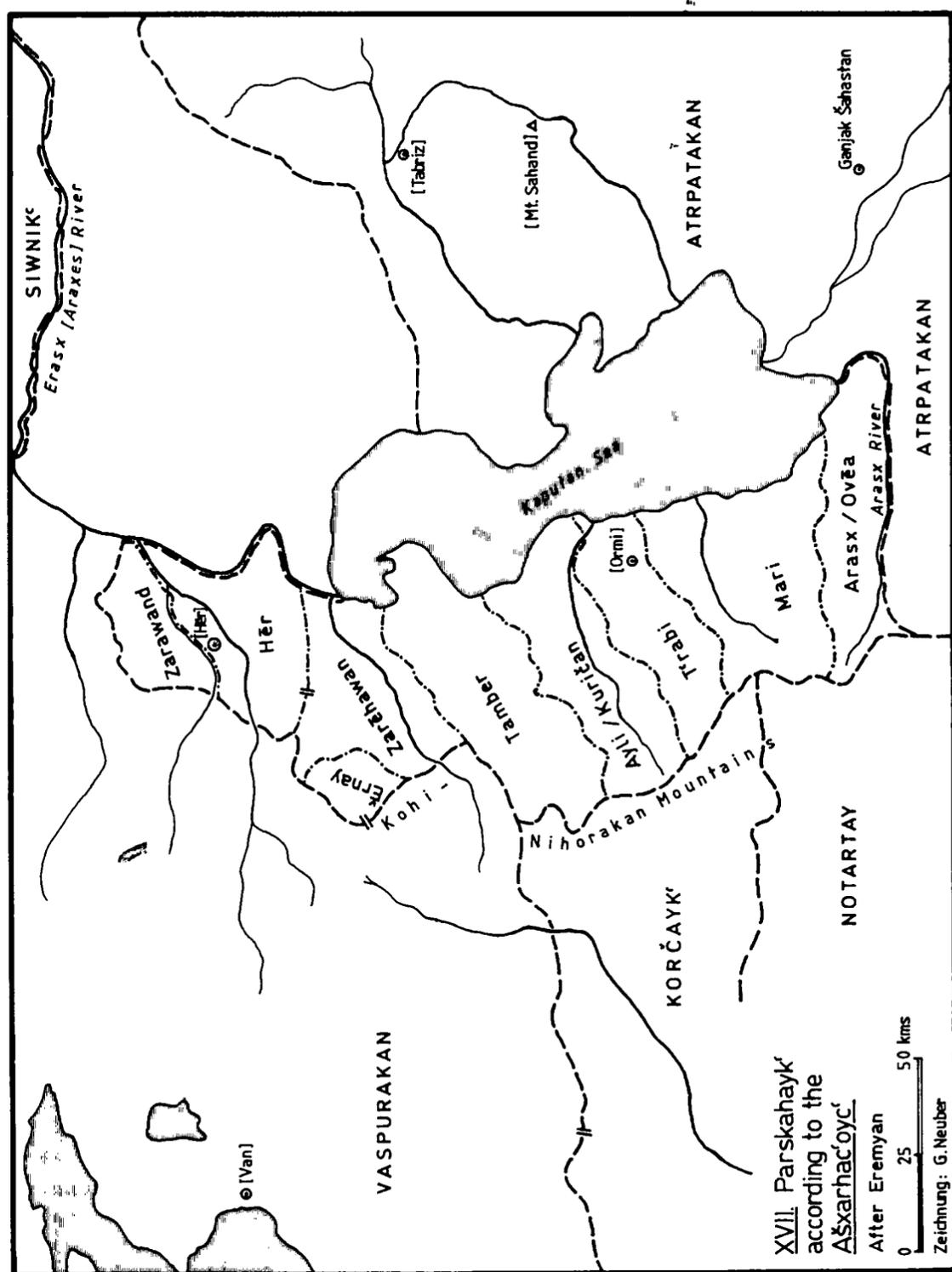
[vi.] *Korček* (sic) is east of *Mokk* by Assyria. It has eleven [sic] districts:^{140A} *Kordis*, *Upper Kordis*, *Middle Kordis*, *Lower Kordis*, *Aytuans*, [**Aygars*] *Mot'łans*, *Orsirans*, *Karatunis*, *Čahuk*, and *Lesser Ałbak*. It has arsenic and among its fruits is the chestnut.

[vii.] *Parskahayk* is east of *Korčayk* by Atropatene. It has nine districts:^{141A} *Kuřičan*, *Mari*, *T'rap'i*, *Ac'uers*, *Ĵina*, *Tabers*, *Zarehawan*, *Zarewand* and *Her*. It has the wild ass and the wild goat.

[viii.] *Vaspurakan* is west of *Parskahayk* by *Korček* [sic]. It contains thirty-five districts:^{142A} *Řštawnik*, *Tosb*, *Bogunik*, *Arčišahovit*, *Botilovit*,^{143A} *Kuřanovit*,^{144A} *Dairi*, *Ařberani*, *Bžunik*, *Arnioyt*, *Anjawac'ic*, *Trpatunik*, *Eruant'unik*, *Mardastan*, *Artaz*, *Akē*, *Greater Ałbak*, *Anjaxijor*, *T'ornawan*, *Čuaš*, *Ařot*, *Krčunik*, *Mecnunik*, *Palunik*, *Gukan*, *Ałantřot*, *Patsparunik*, *Artašean*, *Artawanean*, *Bak'ean*, *Gabit'an*, *Gazrikan*, *Tagrean*, *Varažnunik*, *Gołtn*,^{145A} which is rich in wine, *Naxčawan*, which contains the city [of the same name] and [finally] *Marand*.^{146A}



Map XVI



Map XVII

*parunik*¹⁸⁰; *Arašezan*¹⁸¹; *Artawanan*¹⁸²; *Bagan*¹⁸³; *Gawet'an*¹⁸⁴; *Gazrikank*¹⁸⁵; *Tagreank*¹⁸⁶; *Važnunik*¹⁸⁷ and *Naxčawan* in which is [located] the city of the same name.¹⁸⁸

[ix.] The ninth land, *Siwnik*¹⁸⁹, is east of *Ayrarat*, between the Arax and *Arjax*.¹⁹⁰ It has twelve districts: *Ernjak*¹⁹¹; *Čabuk*¹⁹²; **Vayoc'jor*¹⁹³; *Getark'unik*¹⁹⁴ [which has] the lake of the same name;¹⁹⁵ *Sost'k*¹⁹⁶; *Ałabēč*¹⁹⁷; *Čłukn*¹⁹⁸; *Haband*¹⁹⁹; *Batk*²⁰⁰; *Jor*²⁰¹; *Arewis*²⁰² and *Kawsakan*²⁰³ [extending] as far as the city of *Nakorzean*.²⁰⁴ Each [district] has its own stream with the same name besides the River *Atawan*.²⁰⁵ Here are found the myrtle,²⁰⁶ *ereri*²⁰⁷ and fine pomegranates.²⁰⁸

[x.] The tenth, *Arc'ax*,²⁰⁹ borders *Siwnik*. It has twelve districts: the other *Haband*,²¹⁰ *Vakunik*²¹¹; *Berjor*,²¹² Greater *Irak*²¹³; Greater *Kuank*²¹⁴; *Harč'awnk*²¹⁵; *Muxank*²¹⁶; *Piank*²¹⁷; *Packank*²¹⁸; *Sisakanik*²¹⁹; *Kotak*²²⁰; *K'ustip'ařenk*²²¹ and *Koxi*²²² where bdellium is [found].²²³ All these [districts] the Albanians have taken from Armenia.²²⁴

[xa.] [P^caytakaran is missing in L.]²²⁵

[xb., *Utik* is missing in L.]²²⁶

[xi., *Ayrarat*, which begins at this point in L, has been placed after xv., to facilitate comparison with the *Ayrarat* of S1944 which appears as the fifteenth land in the short redaction.]²²⁷

[xii.] The twelfth, *Gugark*²²⁸ west of *Utik*, has nine districts: *Jorop'or*,²²⁹ *Kołbap'or*,²³⁰ *Cobap'or*,²³¹ *Tašir*,²³² *T'retk*,²³³ *Kankark*,²³⁴ Upper *Ĵawaxk*,²³⁵ *Artahan*²³⁶ and *Kalarč'k*.²³⁷ The *analut* is [found] here,²³⁸ rye,²³⁹ the quince²⁴⁰ and the box-tree.²⁴¹ These [districts] have been taken from the Armenians by the Iberians.²⁴²

[xiii] *Tayk* has eight districts.²⁴³ to the east is *Koł* where, at the village of *Kri-Akunk*,²⁴⁵ rise the sources of the River *Kur*.²⁴⁶ This river flows along the entire western border of this district; it turns toward the north into *Artahan*,²⁴⁷ descends to *Samc'xe*²⁴⁸ the turns eastward to the Caspian Sea. West of *Koł* are *Berdac'p'or*,²⁴⁹ *Partizac'p'or*,²⁵⁰ and *Čakat'k*²⁵¹ to the east. To the south, are *Buxa*,²⁵² and *Azordac'p'or*²⁵³ with their [respective] streams²⁵⁴ which unite and descend into the *Yoh*.²⁵⁵ To to west is *Arseac'p'or*,²⁵⁶ near the *Parxar*²⁵⁷ mountains, where the *Yoh*, descending from *Sper*,²⁵⁸ passes by the castle of *T'uxark*²⁵⁹ in *Klarč'k*,²⁶⁰ and from there toward Colchis passing the districts of *Nigal*,²⁶¹ *Mruł*,²⁶² and *Mrit*²⁶³ to the Pontic Sea.²⁶⁴ [The *Yoh*?] is called the *Akamsis* by the Colchians and the *Kakamar* by the Chaldeans.²⁶⁵ Here are [found] figs, bitter pomegranates, the sumac, the quince, the *palaxunk*²⁶⁶ and the almond tree.

[xivi.] The eleventh (*sic*) land, *Ayrarat*,²⁶⁷ is in the center of the above-mentioned states, and has sixteen districts. Bordering Upper Armenia is **Basēn*²⁶⁸ through which flows the River Arax which, merging with the River *Murc'amawr*.²⁶⁹ separates **Gabełeank*²⁷⁰ on the south from the *Abeteank*²⁷¹ and *Hawunik*²⁷² on the north. It flows through *Aršarunik*²⁷³ south of which is found *Bagrewandk*²⁷⁴ and *Čalkunik*²⁷⁵ and to the north *Vanand*²⁷⁶ and *Širak*,²⁷⁷ from which flows the River *Axurēn* along with the Great River²⁷⁸ which, flowing east of the cities of Mauricopolis, i. e., *Širakašat*²⁷⁹; *Ani*,²⁸⁰ **Mren*²⁸¹ and *Erwandašat*,²⁸² falls into the Arax.

The *Aracani*²⁸³ begins in *Čalgotn*²⁸⁴ at the place called *Oskik*²⁸⁵ then flows north around Mount *Npat*²⁸⁶ near the village of *Bagwan*²⁸⁷ and enters the River *Bagrewan*.²⁸⁸ The Arax leaves to the North

[ix.] *Siwnik* is east of *Ayrarat* between the Arax and *Arc'ax*. It has twelve districts:^{147A} *Ernjak*, *Čabuk*, *Vayu-jor*, *Getark'uni* and the sea [of the same name], *Sotk*, *Ałabēč*, *Čłukk*, *Xaband*, *Batk*, *Jork*, *Arewik* and *Kawsakan*. Here are found the myrtle, the geranium, the pomegranate and [many] fortified places.

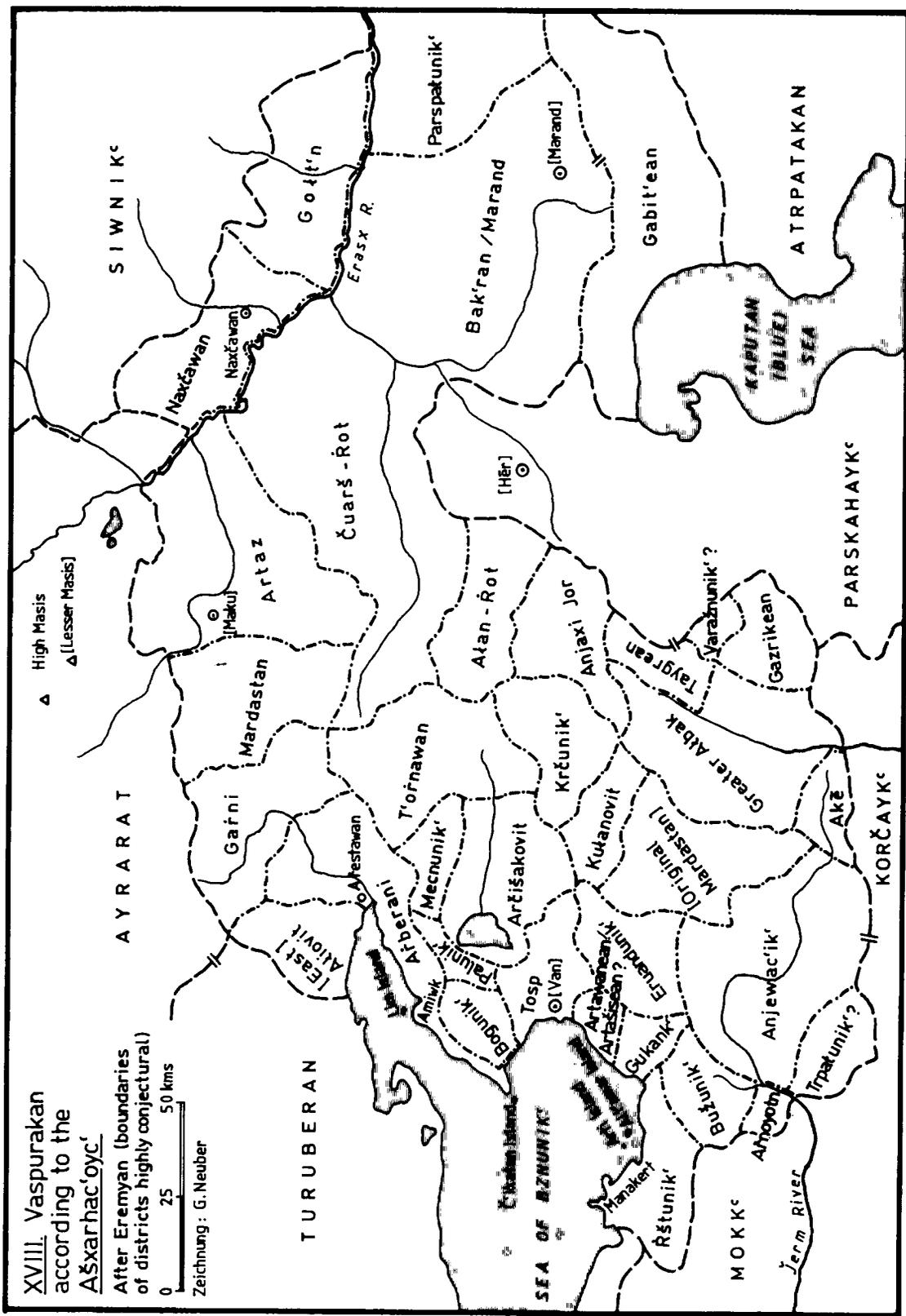
[x.] *Arc'ax* borders *Siwnik*. It contains twelve districts which are in the possession of the Albanians:^{148A} the other *Xaband*, *Vakunik*, *Berjor*, Greater *Irak*, Greater *Kuank*, *Harjłank*, *Muxank*, *Piank*, *Packank*, *Sisakanik*, *Kuak'k*, *K'ustip'ařenē*, and *Kott* where bdellium is found.

[xi.] *P'aytakaran*^{149A} is east of *Utik* along the Arax. It contains twelve districts which today belong to Atropatene:^{150A} *Hrak'ot-Perož*,^{151A} *Vardanakert*,^{152A} *Eawt'np'orakean-Bagink*,^{153A} *K'oek-kean*,^{154A} *Řovtibata*,^{155A} *K'ałanirot*,^{156A} *Bořospičan*, *Hani*,^{158A} *At'li*, *Bagawan*,^{159A} *Spandaran-perož*,^{160A} *Ormzdperož*^{161A} and *Alawan*.^{162A} Cotton is found in great abundance here and wild barley.

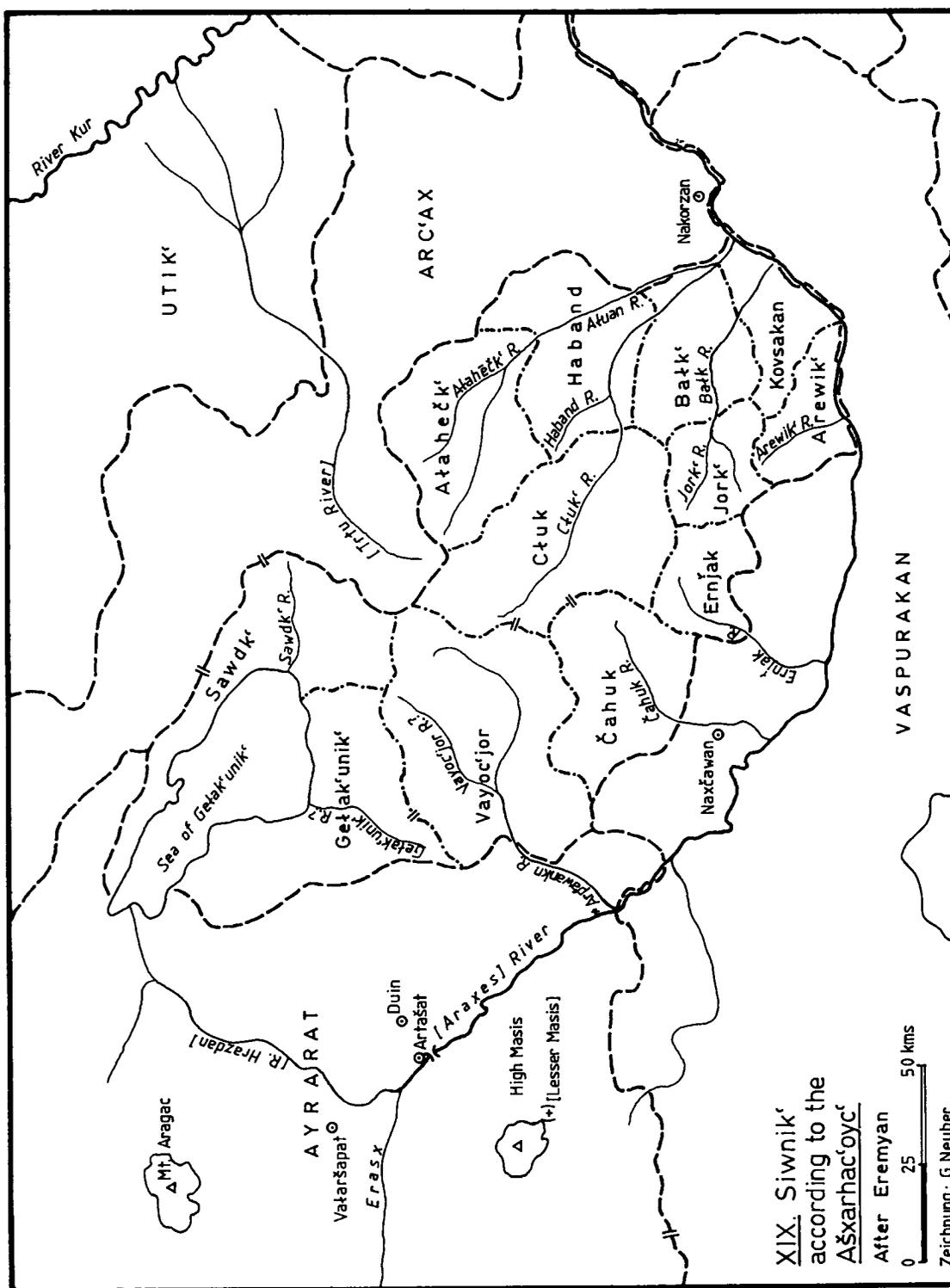
[xii.] *Uti* [sic]^{163A} is west of the Arax between *Arc'ax* and the River *Kur*. It has seven districts,^{164A} which are in the possession of the Albanians:^{165A} *Aran'rov*,^{166A} *Tři*,^{167A} *Řotptak*,^{168A} *Aluē*,^{169A} *Tuč'-katak*,^{170A} **Gardman*,^{171A} *Šakašēn*^{172A} and *Uti* Proper,^{173A} in which [is located] the city of *Partaw*.^{174A} It has the olive tree, cucumbers, the Jasmine, and the bird [called] *katak*.^{175A}

[xiii.] *Gugark* is west of *Uti* and has nine districts¹⁷⁶ which are in the possession of the Iberians: *Jorop'or*, *Kołbap'or*, *Cobop'or*, *Tašir*, *T'retk*, *Kangark*, *Artahan'k*, *Ĵavaxk*, and *Kalarj'k*. The *analut* is found there and also rye, the quince and the box-tree.

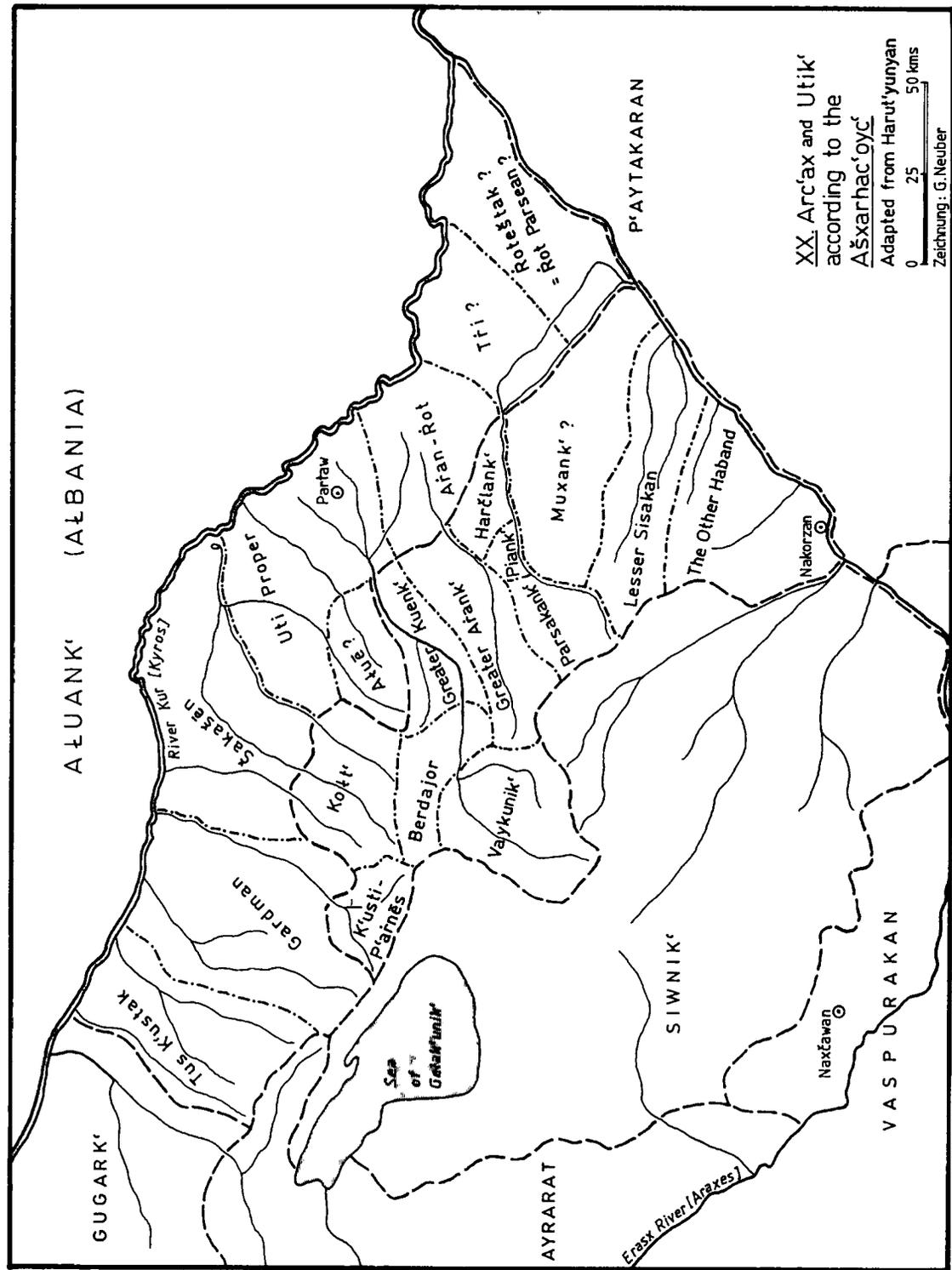
[xiv.] *Tayk* borders *Eger*. It contains many castles and fortified places and has eight [*sic*] districts:^{177A} *Kołberac'p'or*, *Partizac'p'or*, *Čakatas*, *Boxa*, *Ok'atē*,^{178A} *Azordac'p'or* and *Arseac'p'or*. In *Tayk* are found the fig, pomegranate, sumac, the quince, the *ptłaxunk* and the almond tree.



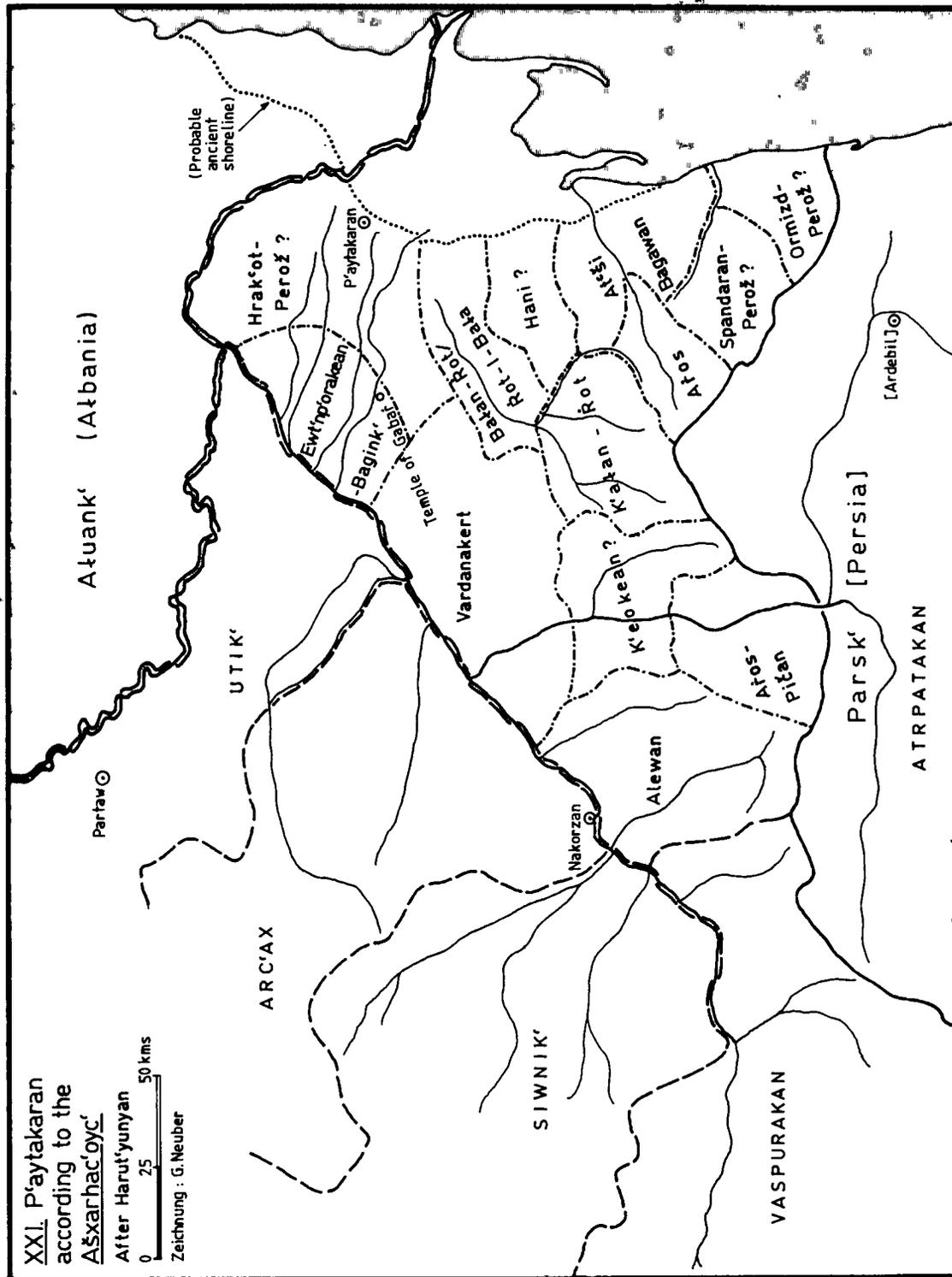
Map XVIII



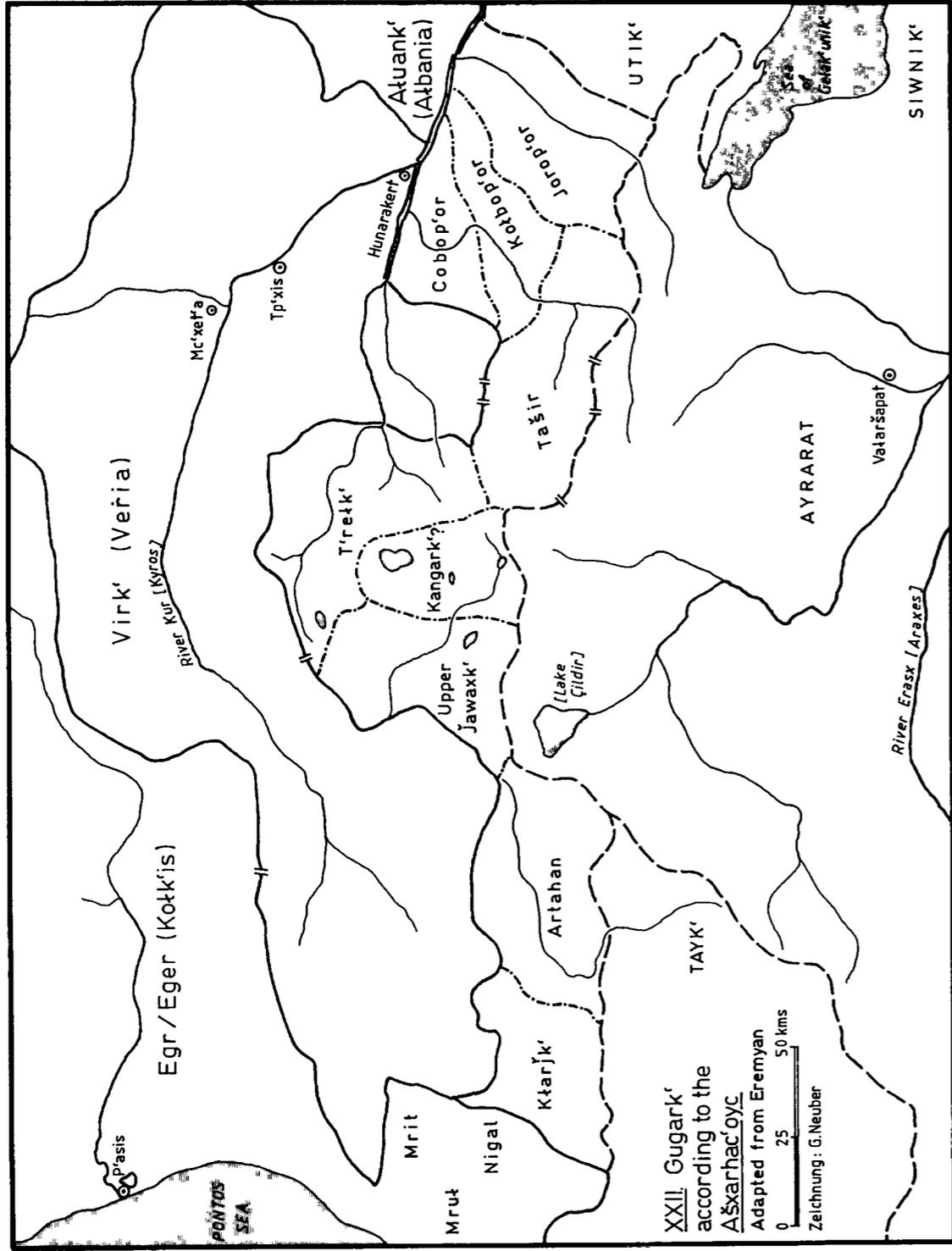
Map XIX



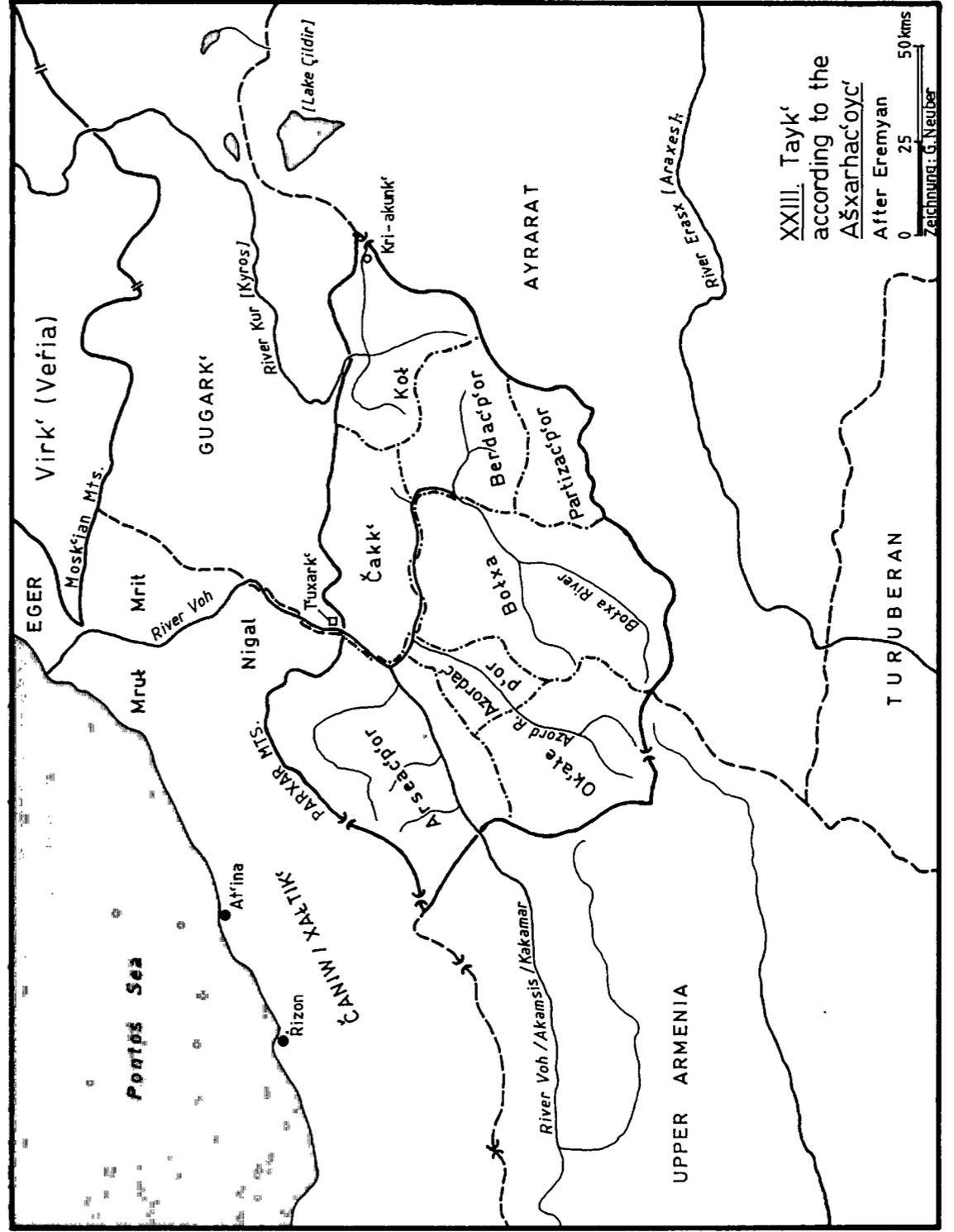
Map XX



Map XXI



Map XXII



Map XXIII

the city of **Armauir*,²⁸⁹ and [the district of] **Aragacotn*,²⁹⁰ in which rise the sources of the *Mecamawr* River;²⁹¹ and [Mount] *Aragac*²⁹² itself. To the east is *Nig*²⁹³ where rise the sources of the *K'arsax*²⁹⁴ River. Here also is the peak of Mount *Masis* [Mt. Ararat],²⁹⁵ which the Arax leaves to the south and behind which extends the district of *Kogovit*.²⁹⁶ From here, the Arax flows east of the city of *Vataršapat*,²⁹⁷ where are [located] the domed Mother-Cathedral²⁹⁸ and the chapels of the Martyred Women.²⁹⁹ To the east rise the sources of the River *Aspaben*, i. e., the *Xawzmawr*,³⁰⁰ which flows into the *Mecamawr*. Then, east of the latter, is the River *Azat* which is justly called 'noble' [*azat*].³⁰¹ Its sources rise on Mt. *Geawt*³⁰² at the place [called] *Saxurak*.³⁰³ This [river] flows through *Dwin* watering the entire capital district of Armenia,³⁰⁴ and, flowing south, enters into the Arax. Here was built the city of *Artašat*³⁰⁵ where was formerly [located] the confluence of the *Mecamawr* [with the Arax] but today the *Mecamawr* has changed its course and it enters to the west. East of *Dwin* are the districts of *Urcajor*³⁰⁶ and the region of *Arac*,³⁰⁷ the Valley of Woes,³⁰⁸ and the Plain of *Šarur*³⁰⁹ between them, through which flows the River *Artawnken*³¹⁰ by the city of *Marwan*,³¹¹ turning south to join the Arax. A worm is found here which is the source of a red dye.³¹²

[23] Twenty-three: on the Syrians. The country of Asia [called] Syria¹ is located east of the sea of the same name.² It begins at the city of Issus and the Cilician Gates³ [and extends] to the River *T'rēas*,⁴ which is also called the Chrysorroas,⁵ and to the Hippius Mountains.⁶ It is bounded on the south by Judaea and a part of Rocky Arabia [and extends] as far as Desert Arabia to the bend of the Euphrates, to the east opposite the city of Thapsacus,⁷ and up-river as far as the Amanus Mountains⁸ on the north, which separate Cilicia and Cappadocia, i. e., Lesser Armenia from Syria and Commagene, which [last] is a small country.⁹

Syria has nine small districts:¹⁰ Commagene whose [capital] city is Samosata;¹¹ Cyrrhestice,¹² whose [capital] city is Hieropolis, i. e., **Mabuk*;¹³ Beraea, i. e., *Xazaz*;¹⁴ Chalcidice¹⁵ whose [capital] city is Chalcis,¹⁶ i. e., Nicoria;¹⁷ the great Antioch,¹⁸ which has its own territory called Seleucia;¹⁹ Apamea, whose [capital] city is called Apamea;²⁰ Epiphania, i. e., Hamath;²¹ Emessa,²³ etc.; Casiotis, in which [is included] the Isle of Aradus;²⁴ Coelesyria,²⁵ whose [capital] city is Damascus;²⁶ Batanaea,²⁷ by the desert; Palmyrene,²⁸ whose [capital] city is Havarin²⁹ by the Arabian Desert; and Barbalitis³⁰ along the Euphrates. It has the [following] mountains: Pieria,³¹ Casius,³² Lebanon,³³ Antilebanon, i. e., the *Sanir*;³⁴ Alsandanus³⁵ and Carmel;³⁶ and notable rivers [such as] the Orontes³⁷ which rises in [Mount] Lebanon, and, flowing by Epiphania enters the sea near the great city of Antioch; the Eleutherus,³⁸ which means the "Free" River, also flows from [Mount] Lebanon, entering the sea by the city of Andaradum.³⁹ The Adonis⁴⁰ also flows from [Mount] Lebanon, separates the cities of Byblus⁴¹ and Berytus⁴² and enters the sea. The Jordan⁴³ flows out of Panias,⁴⁴ passes through the Sea of Galilee⁴⁵ and enters the Sea of Asphaltites.⁴⁶ There are other mountains and rivers such as that of Damascus, the River Abana,⁴⁷ which flows through the city, and the Barada⁴⁸ which flows to the east, and which Holy Scripture calls the Abana and the Parpara;⁴⁹ and also a small river which flows from Daphne [a suburb] of Antioch⁵⁰ which is connected to the myth of Castalia.⁵¹

[24] The twenty-fourth country of Asia is Judaea,⁵² east of the Phoenecian Sea,⁵³ beginning at the sources of the River *T'rēas*,⁵⁴ which are at Caesarea-in-Palestine,⁵⁵ [and extending] as far as the port of Gaza.⁵⁶ It is bounded partly by Egypt on the west, by the desert on the south and east, and by Syria on the north. It has three districts: Galilee,⁵⁷ Samaria⁵⁸ and Idumea;⁵⁹ Lakes Tiberias⁶⁰ and Asphaltites,⁶¹ i. e., the Dead Sea; and the River Jordan.⁶² It is three degrees long and two wide. Its capital is the Holy Jerusalem, which is cruciform [in shape] from [being the center of] the four parts of the world⁶³ and which, through its sanctity, consecrates the faithful.

[25] The twenty-fifth country of Asia, Rocky Arabia,⁶⁴ is east of Egypt and the Arabian Sea [beginning] at Heroopolis,⁶⁵ [extending] to the western fork of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites

[xv]. *Ararat* (*sic*) is located in the center of the above-mentioned lands. It contains twenty (*sic*) districts:^{179A} *Basean*, *Gabeteank*,^{180A} *Abeteank*,^{181A} *Hawunik*,^{182A} *Aršarunik*,^{183A} *Bagrawand*, *Całkotn*, *Čakatk*,^{184A} *Maseac'otn*,^{185A} *Kogayawit*, *Ašoc*,^{186A} *Nig*, *Kotayk*,^{187A} *Małak*,^{188A} *Varžnunik*,^{189A} the capital [district] of the city of *Duin*, the region of *Arac* [extending] as far as the plain of *Šarur*. *Ararat* has mountains, rivers and fertile plains, as well as animals and birds and all kinds of produce, and [also] the Lake of *Gaylatu*.^{190A} A worm is also found here which is born from the root of a plant and which furnishes a red dye; and also the Mother of Churches in the royal city of *Vataršapat*. Such is the description of all Armenia.

[23] The twenty-eighth, Syria, is east of its own sea and north of Judea.^{187A} It has nine small districts and the famous Mt. Lebanon and Mt. Carmel; the mighty River Jordan and many cities: Antioch, the capital, Damascus, **Knsrim*,^{188A} and Samaria; and two passes. It has broad, rich and fertile plains.

[24] 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; two lakes: Tiberias and the Dead Sea: and the River Jordan. 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.

[25] The thirtieth, Rocky Arabia, is east of Egypt and the western fork of the Red Sea, which was crossed by the Israelites, extending as far as Syria and Judea. It has two small districts: *Tačkastan* and

passed.⁶⁶ It is bounded on the south by Fortunate Arabia, on the east by Desert Arabia, and on the north by Syria and Judaea. It has five small districts near Egypt: *Tačkastan*,⁶⁷ the Munuchiatis Gulf⁶⁸ by the Red Sea, and Pharanitis,⁶⁹ where the town of Pharan [is located], which I think the Arabs call Mecca.⁷⁰ Here [at this city] begin the mountains called Melana⁷¹ which extend northwards turning slightly to the east; then [comes] the Elanites⁷² [Gulf] which is near a plateau. Fortunate Arabia contains the River *T'et'enon*⁷³ but not a single spring. It is six degrees long and two wide.

[26] The twenty-sixth country, Mesopotamia,⁷⁴ is east of Syria, to the north by Greater Armenia. It is bordered by Babylonia and Desert Arabia. Ptolemy says it has two mountains. One he calls Singaras⁷⁵ but I do not know which this is; the other he calls Masium⁷⁶ from which he says two rivers flow. One [river] he calls the Chaboras which I think is the *Xabor*.⁷⁷ The source of this river is not in the mountains, however, but in the plain near the city of Rhesaena.⁷⁸ These [rivers] flow into the Euphrates. The *T'rt'ar*⁷⁹ flows from the mountain of the same name, goes directly to the east and joins the Euphrates. I know these two rivers [which belong to] Syrian Mesopotamia; and also two mountains: one *Kohi-Šngar*⁸⁰ and another [called] the Long Mountain⁸¹ where are [located] the fortress of *Mardē*,⁸² **Tuābdin* district⁸³ and *Bzabdē*.⁸⁴ There are two other small mountains, one, *Amad*, has a city called *Azusun*;⁸⁵ the other mountain is called *Bemada*.⁸⁶

The Euphrates separates Mesopotamia from Syria and Desert Arabia from the land of Babylonia. The Tigris, flowing south, reaches the mountains, turns east, and flows away from Mesopotamia. It leaves to the north *Aljnik* in Armenia, i. e., *Arjn*, where the following cities are located: *Kutemian*, which is *K'etmar*;⁸⁷ *K'iš*,⁸⁸ and *Šukaraba*.⁸⁹ All the torrents⁹⁰ of the Armenian mountains flow down to the Tigris. The first, is the *K'atirt*,⁹¹ which rises in the mountains of *Salin* and *Sanasun* and separates *Np'rkert* from *K'timar* and thereby [the territories of] the Romans from the Persians.⁹² It is called today the *Šit'it'ma*, i. e., 'the bloody'.⁹³ The Tigris then passes Nineveh⁹⁴ reaching first a small city called *Blat*, which means 'spittle'.⁹⁵ It is said that here Jonah was 'spat up' [by the whale]. Between the Tigris and the Euphrates are two districts newly established by the Persians: *Kawat* and *Kašar*.⁹⁶ Mesopotamia is eight degrees long and three wide.

[27] The twenty-seventh country is Babylonia bordering Mesopotamia along the Tigris [and extending] as far as the Persian Gulf. It is bounded on the east by Khuzistan and on the west by the Euphrates and a part of Desert Arabia. According to Ptolemy, it has [the following] small provinces: Aurantis, Amardocaea, Strophadas and Chaldaea.⁹⁷ It contains the ten strongest branches of the Euphrates and these are in turn subdivided to irrigate the land completely. Four of these streams, however, continue their courses, three of them flowing into the Tigris and one into the lakes called respectively, *Sor* and *Sorit*.⁹⁸ Another flows through Babylonia and is called *K'ut'ayir*.⁹⁹ These reunite and pass to the east of *Akatati*, site of the encampment of [the army of] the Arabs.¹⁰⁰ I believe that this stream, which is today called the *K'ut'ays*, is the same that Abydenus calls the *Armakatēs*.¹⁰¹ He says of Nebuchadnezzar: "When he received the supreme authority, he surrounded Babylon with a triple wall in fifteen days. He brought the river *Armakatēs* to the *Aracani*. He dug the well of the citadel, which was forty parasangs from the city of the Sipparites, to a depth of twenty fathoms. He set up flood-gates that could be opened to inundate the entire plain. He named them *Nek'etodnomonas* as if they had a will [of their own].¹⁰² Babylonia is seven degrees long and three wide. Within its borders is found the sardonix¹⁰³ and the chrysolith, i. e., the goldstone,¹⁰⁴ is also found here. A marvelous thing is told, that each night the Persian Gulf rises twice.

[27 a. 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.

[26] The thirty-first is Mesopotamia, which is east of Syria along the Euphrates and west of Assyria along the Tigris River and borders Greater Armenia. It has two mountains, two rivers and many cities, one of which is *Ušha* where there is an icon of the Savior not made by human hands.^{189A}

[27] The thirty-second, Babylonia, borders Mesopotamia along the Tigris, [extends] as far as the Persian Gulf and has four districts: *Akoła*,^{190A} Basra,^{191A} Babylon^{192A} and Ctesiphon.^{193A} Its rivers are branches of the Tigris and Euphrates. It has many other cities and districts. It produces the sardonix and goldstone. Basra is filled with merchants and ships coming from India and all parts of the orient.

[27 a] The thirty-third is Desert Arabia which is bordered by Mesopotamia on the north, Rocky Arabia on the east and Khuzistan on the west.^{194A} Arabia has nine nations but not a single mountain nor a river.

[28] The twenty-eighth country of Asia, Arabia Eudemon, i.e., 'the fortunate,'¹⁰⁵ is near Desert and Rocky Arabia [extending] between the gulfs 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;¹⁰⁶ and on the south, from Cape Palindromus¹⁰⁷ as far as Cape *Varaz*¹⁰⁸ and the straits of Carmania,¹⁰⁹ where are [located] the eastern limits of the Persian Gulf.¹¹⁰ The same sea forms the frontier on the north as far as Desert Arabia; where live fifty-four nations among whom are the Sabaeans¹¹¹ nation, [and where are located the lands of] Niciphar,¹¹² Myritis, i.e., 'the land of perfumes,'¹¹³ and the 'land of myrrh'.¹¹⁴ Another is the country of the Fish-eaters;¹¹⁵ and another, of the Tent-Dwellers.¹¹⁶ It has ten mountains, one of which is called Climax, i.e., the ladder,¹¹⁷ and another, the Mountain of Incense.¹¹⁸ It has four rivers and one spring called the Styx, on which the gods swear by its extreme coldness. It has one island called Dioscorides, which is 240 miles long and forty wide,¹²⁰ and thirty-nine other smaller islands, one of which is called the Island of Wild Tortoises.¹²¹ East of the Sabelite Gulf¹²² 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.¹²³

This country [Arabia] produces everything: gold, precious stones, silver and pearls. It was from here that the Queen [of Sheba] left to see King Solomon, bringing by ship, unsquared wood, incorruptible and resonant, and whatever is esteemed of every country,¹²⁴ by ships which go there and also [brought those products] from China¹²⁵ 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 including the nation called ascetics, that is, monks; the others are white; not much different from ourselves. Compounded aromatics are found here¹²⁶ such as *Xatami*, that is, oil of musk; (2) *Ĵabrik*; (3) *Maṭad*; (4) *Xatuk*, i.e., the yellow bedstraw; (5) *k'edi*; (6) *dhunātunar*; (7) *xatar*, made with Roman oil; (8) *buxtak*; (9) nard, made with clusters of nard; (10) jasmine, made with jasmine flowers; (11) *nran*, oil extracted from the pomegranate blossom, and (12) chickweed.

[29] The twenty-ninth country is Persia.¹ Persia is divided into four parts, as follows:

[i.] *K'usti Xorbaran*, i.e., the 'Western Region'² in which are nine provinces: *Maymasptan*, *Mihrank'atak*, *K'arškar*, *Parmakan*, *Eransan K'ar-Kawat*, *Notartay*, *Širakan*, and *Mayjinēsteh*.

[ii.] *K'usti Nmroj*, i.e., the 'Meridional Region,' that is, the South, in which are nineteen provinces.³ *Pad*, *Xužastan*, *Aspahan*, *Mielnhagar*, *Anatršir*, *Kurman*, *Turan*, *Magwian*, *Sndasrman*, *Spet*, *Vašt*, *Sakastan*, *Zaplastan*, *Ger*, an island in the sea; *Mēšmakhik*, which is also an island, *Maazun*, *Xužihhrstan*, *Spahl*, taken from the Indians and *Debuhēl*, likewise taken from the Indians.

[iii.] **K'usti Xorasan*, i.e., the 'Eastern Region,' in which are twenty-six provinces:⁴ *Ahmadan*, *Košm*, *Varkan*, *Apršahr*, *Mrv*, *Mrot*, *Hraw*, *Katašan*, *Nsai*, *Mianakabžin*, *Tatkan*, *Gozkan*, *Andapd*, *Vēpt*, *Hrumazanb*, *Paroz*, *Nahrčir*, *Dzinazak*, *Varčan*, *Mašan*, *Gčakstan*, *Bahlibamik*, *Drmatarvariman*, *Kanšer*, *Ibamikan* and *Gozbon*.

[iv.] *K'usti Kapkoh*, i.e., the 'region of the Caucasus Mountains'⁵ in which are thirteen provinces: *Atrapatakan*; *Armn*, [i.e.,] Armenia; *Varjan*, i.e., Iberia; *Řan*, i.e., Albania; *Balasakan*; **Sisakan*;⁶ *Ařē*; *Gełan*; *Šančan*; *Dlmunk*;⁷ **Dmbawand*; **Taprēstan*; *Řwan*; and *Aml*, of all of which we are going to speak.⁷

[30] The thirtieth country of Asia is Media⁸ whose inhabitants are said to be descended from Madus,⁹ son of the king of Colchis, whose sister was Medea,¹⁰ who, enamoured of Jason, betrayed the Golden Fleece, though no one can say by what manner they came to be brought here.¹¹ They say that Artaxerxes Ochus settled a party of Romans and Jews under tents by the Caspian but they are not known today.¹² Ptolemy says that the Medes dwelled to the east and south of the Caspian and some

[28] The thirty-fourth, Fortunate Arabia, borders Rocky and Desert Arabia extending between the gulfs of the Red Sea like a peninsula and is a country bearing all things. It has fourteen territorialized tribes, ten mountains, four rivers, one spring and many islands. It produces everything and everything is found there either in the country itself or brought by merchants from China or India. Gold is found there, precious stones, many aromatics, sweet-smelling oils, and imperishable woods. It is from here that the Queen of Sheba came. Among its inhabitants some are dark black and others brown though browner than we. Aromatics are found here as well as fifteen [kinds of] flowers: *hali*, *ĵap'ri*, *maṭap*, *xalsk*, *k'edxalhuna*, *xalara*, *buxtak*, spikenard, balsam, myrobalan, jasmine, nard, rose, violet and chickweed.^{195A}

[29] [This description of the Sasanian Empire is missing in S.]

[30] The thirty-fifth, Media, which is called the Caucasus Region, borders Armenia and the Caspian Sea. It has the following provinces:^{196A} *Atrapatakan*, *Řē*, *Gełan*, *Mokan*, *Diłumn*, *Ahmadan*, *Dabawan*, *Taparastan*, *Ameł*, and *Řuan*. It contains mountains, rivers, the sea called the 'Blue,'^{197A} and many cities, one of which is *Ganjak Šahastan*.^{198A}

say that the Medes form a single principality. But Ptolemy says that their provinces are: Caspiane, Cadusia, Gilan and Dailam,¹³ and that the Median cities are *Řē* and *Aspahan*.¹⁴

[30a] [Assyria 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.¹⁵ 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 *ostans*, that is, provinces, where the following cities are located: *Ormšir*, *Suluia*, Susa,¹⁶ which is mentioned by Daniel,¹⁷ and *Gundir-Šapurh*,¹⁸ where fine sugar is made. The land is good and fertile and there are two islands opposite in the Persian Gulf.¹⁹

[32] The thirty-second country of Asia is Persia²⁰ which is east of Khuzistan bordering Media. It has the city of *Stabr* whence came *Artasir*, son of *Sasan* of *Steh*.²¹ To the north is found the city of *Parsa*²² which is in the district of *K'obar* which is perhaps the one mentioned by Ezechiel.²³ It has two islands, one of which is called by Ptolemy [the island] of Alexander and the other, *Sophtha*,²⁴ which is mentioned by Jeremiah [who said]: "Gold comes from *Sobat*."²⁵ Ten kinds of precious stones are found here: (1) *Adar* of which six *dank* costs forty dihremes,²⁶ (2) *romia*, (3) *mēšia*, (4) *gank'a*, (5) *parmuša*, i.e., colorless, (6) *parmušit*, (7) *havtadram*, (8) *šaštadram*, (9) *noynadram* and (10) *dasadramak'art'a*, which we call *anic*.

[33] The thirty-third country of Asia is Ariana²⁷ which is east of Media and extends as far as India, by Hyrcania and part of Scythia. It has eleven provinces: Scorpion²⁸ province; Dymus,²⁹ Hot Carmania and *Kranapat*, which the Persians call 'Cold Carmania';³⁰ 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 *Bahli-Bamikk'*, i.e., 'Morning Bahl'.³¹ The Holy Scriptures call all of Ariana 'Parthia,' 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: *Košma*, *Vrkan* [Hyrcania], *Apršahr*, *Amr*, *Mrot*, *Hrew*, *Gadžan*, *Gozkan*, where the royal horses are found, and *Gozbon*, [extending] as far as the river called *Arang*.³³ It is said [of this river] that it carries sulphur and that it is wide and fordless like the Phison, which the Persians call *Vebrot*. 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.³⁴ In the province of *Xupi-Tuxarstan*³⁵ 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 *Kozakan*, mentioned above, because the Holy Scriptures say that they dwelled by the River Gozan.³⁶

Now we shall turn from the east to the north.

[34] The thirty-fourth country is Scythia³⁷ which begins at the River Etil and extends lengthwise to the southeast as far as the Imaeus Mountains.³⁸ Scythia is almost divided in two by the Imaeus [in which dwell] the *Apxtark'*, who are Turks.³⁹ 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 Aemodae Mountains⁴⁰ 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,⁴¹ another the Milk-Drinkers,⁴² and another, the Rhobosci⁴³, i.e., the land of *Hrēaw*, 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*⁴⁴ nation graze the country. Scythia has mountains, and dry, waterless plains. It has five countries [among which are] Sogdiana,⁴⁵ i.e., *Sagastan*⁴⁶ and *Sakē*. [Together], these two contain fifteen, rich industrious and

[30a] The thirty-sixth, *Aruastan*, which is called Assyria, i.e., *Muct*,^{199A} is east of Mesopotamia and borders Armenia. It has mountains, rivers and the city of Nineveh.

[31] The thirty-seventh, Elymaeus, which is called the *Western Region, is east of the Tigris and west of Persia and has [several] small lands:^{200A} *Xužastan*, *May*, *Maspan*, *Mibrank'atak*, *K'aškar*,^{201A} *Parmakan*, *Eranasan*, *K'arkawat*, *Notartaširakan* and *Marjinshen*. It has three rivers and five cities, one of which is *Gundišapurh* where fine sugar is made. It also has two islands opposite it in the Persian Gulf.

[32] The thirty-eighth, Persia, which is called the 'Southern Region,' is east of Khuzistan bordering Media. It contains twenty small lands of its own:^{202A} *Pars*, *Aspahan*, *Mēšun*, *Hakar*, *Anait*, *Kērman*, *Turan Makuran*, *Snd*, *Mran*, *Spetvašt*, *Sagastan*, *Aplastan*, *Ger*, *Mešmiahik*, *Mazun*, *Xučixroytan*, *Pahln* and *Kebuha*. It also has many rivers, islands and cities, among which is *Řēšir i Parsan*,^{203A} from which come fine pearls. Among the pearl stones are the following: *drak*, of which six *dank* costs 40,000 [dihremes?]; *gomark'*, [which costs] eight [dihremes?]; *mišxoy*, [which costs] three; *dank'a*, [which costs] four; [and also] *parmušk'a*; *parušia*; *hawt'a dram*; *hašt'a dram* and *daha dram*.^{204A}

[33] The thirty-ninth, Ariana, which is called the 'Eastern Region,' [extends] from Media and Persia to India and the Hyrcanian Sea. The lands of Ariana are:^{205A} *Komš*, *Vrakan*, *Apršahr*, *Mru*, *Mrumot*, *Hrew*, *Kandšan*, *Nsaianak*, *Bžin*, *Malkkan*, *Gozkan*, *Apēthram*, *Hrum*, *Zamb*, *Peroznahčēr*, *Dzinuazak*, *Varjan*, *Man*, *Šanjakstan*, and *Bahl*, which [belong to] the Parthians; *Dovmat*, *Var-imanak*, *Šerembamikan* and *Dozbon*. Ariana has many mountains, rivers and islands. It contains *bra* and musk but the latter is not valuable. In the Indian Sea, opposite Ariana, is an island inhabited by Pygmies who are only three elbows high and who [must] fight off the birds from India who prey upon their fields.^{206A}

[34] The fortieth, Scythia, which is [inhabited by] the **Axapatark'*, that is, the Turks, begins at the River Etil [and extends] as far as the high Imaeus Mountains and from there to China. The Imaeus Mountains are the highest and most extensive of all mountains. Scythia has forty-three nations: Sogdians, Tokharians, Hepthalites,^{207A} and many others with barbarous names. Scythia has mountains, many large and mighty rivers, barren plains, hot, waterless regions and a fiery plain. The Sogdians are wealthy and industrious merchants who live between the lands of Turkestan and Ariana.

mercantile nations who dwell between Turkestan and Ariana by the Imaeus Mountains, which are the highest and widest of all mountains. They have the shape of a compass or of the Armenian letter Γ ⁴⁷, whose angle lies from east to south. A chain of 1280 miles extends toward the west and another of 1550 northwards to the Unknown Land. To the north, 300 miles from the angle, there are roads in the mountains and stopping places for those who are going to China and who are coming from *Sagastan* by way of the Stone Tower⁴⁸ which is in a marvelous plain. Among the fifteen nations [of Sagastan and Sake] are the Massagetae⁴⁹, whose queen killed Cyrus; the *Bxux*⁵⁰; and another, the Chorasmians⁵¹ [who are] merchants [dwelling] towards the northeast. The stone called *Xoloz*⁵² and the best bows are found in their district called *Tot*⁵³, and also another nation⁵⁴ . . . and another nation, the Tocharians.⁵⁵ Among the forty-three nations, are numbered the Hephthalites,⁵⁶ *Alxon* and another, the *Valxon*,⁵⁷ with their cities of the same names by a large river called the Demus.⁵⁸ Ten other rivers flow from their mountains.

[35] The thirty-fifth country of Asia is India,⁵⁹ east of Ariana and Scythia by the Imaeus Mountains. [It extends] from there as far as the Aemodae Mountains and the border of China, and is divided into two parts east and west of the River Ganges.⁶⁰ Ptolemy shows seven rivers here, each with its own name, which, uniting near the Gymnosophists,⁶¹ are called the Phison. There are [also] three rivers rising among the Gymnosophists: first, the Diamunas⁶² River, then the Ganges⁶³ and then the Sarabus,⁶⁴ which, uniting, are called the *Imoyn*.⁶⁵ To the right of the River Indus⁶⁶ are fifty-seven nations. Here are found *breašir*,⁶⁷ *dahanak*⁶⁸ and excellent tin. The Gymnosophists feed only on fruit, rice and sugar; they are called the Shaman and Brahmin nation by the Persians. They abstain from women and meat and in the morning they worship the sun saying: "We believe you [to be God], but if there is any other superior to you, to him do we render our worship." Here are found animals⁶⁹ which the Persians call *šarpašanke*.⁷⁰ 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'.⁷¹ In their capital are found crows, white parrots and bearded roosters.⁷² Two other districts are also called 'Golden' and 'Silver' and another, the 'Copper' district.⁷³ Here are found elephants and tigers which they say are subdued by magic and are as fast as the wind. Here are found pepper, and aromatics [such as] *bočašs*, *axiri-boyek*, *goziboyek*, *agsiboyek*, cassia, *dwatak*, *šahaworsar*, *k'akotak*, aloes, musk, camphor, sandal, *nayiboyek*,⁷⁴ several medicines and *bažark*,⁷⁵ the rat called *běšmašk*,⁷⁶ which eats deadly roots called *bis*⁷⁷ from which antidotes are made; and large ants in the places where gold-dust is found. Here is an animal [called the] *šawaršan* which can kill an elephant with its tongue and then carry it on a kind of hook which it has on its back, and when it hears any animal cry out, it ejects blood.⁷⁸ The unicorn is also found and griffons⁷⁹, which come from the Sinae, are raised here in iron cages. They say that the *p'grē*⁸⁰ attacks the griffon and, carried away by fury, both throw themselves into the sea and drown. They say that there are savage peoples here with hard, arrow-proof skins and *Gndandiark* who are half, or at least one-third, non-Indian; and seven [other peoples].⁸¹ The *Dē-puxk* [are found here]⁸² and the *Spablabałora*, i.e., red water hyacinths;⁸³ then *Č'ngtibalos* where *grtapoz*⁸⁴ is found and the musk ox resembling, in form and size, a four-month old goat except for the teeth which they say, are like those of a fox, [and which] eats mice. Some say, wrongly, that [the musk sack] is the testicles, while others say that the musk [sack] is in front of the testicles. There is another province called Kalah⁸⁵ where the horned ass is found. Another province is *Hak'er*⁸⁷ where there is teakwood, which is an imperishable wood,⁸⁸ and ginger.⁸⁹ There are several islands here: [those of] the warrior peoples and the cannibals⁹⁰ near the island of [*Ia*] *batiu*⁹¹ whose capital city abounds in gold and silver [and which is located in] the Green Sea,⁹² where, according to the Greeks, three kinds of aloes⁹³ are found: one is called *ningrē*⁹⁴ which is black in color and [sometimes] yellow and resembles a sharp and porous comb. It costs five, six and even seven *dabekan* per liter. The second, called [aloes]

[35] The forty-first, India, is east of the land of Ariana and borders Scythia.^{208A} India is divided into two countries separated by the River *Hon*, i. e., the Phison.^{209A} The western part contains fifty-eight peoples^{210A} and the east, seventy-two. Some of these are cannibals,^{211A} others feed on animals,^{212A} 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, dragons, large ants,^{213A} [ant-lions],^{214A} poison-eating rats,^{215A} crocodiles, [and] the rhinoceros^{216A} which is a large beast which has one horn on its head and can kill an elephant with its tongue,^{217A} 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^{218A} and all aromatics [such as] aloes, musk, camphor, sandal, *nayiboak*,^{219A} *hiriboak*,^{220A} *goziboyak*,^{221A} *goyiboak*, cassia, *govatak*,^{222A} *šahawarmar*,^{223A} *darišak*^{224A} 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 *dabekan* per liter; [aloes] of Camp', [which smells?] like resinous pine, and [which, being] heavy, costs five *dabekan* per liter; and [aloes] of Kalah, [which, being] lightweight, costs [only] three *dabekan* per liter.

of *Camt*⁹⁵ is black, and [which smells?] like resinous pine,⁹⁶ and [which being] heavy, costs four *dabekan*. The third is called [aloes] of Kalah. Yellowish and lightweight, a liter costs three *dabekan*.⁹⁷

[36] The thirty-sixth country, Taprobane,⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ It lies beyond India and is surrounded by the Indian Sea.¹⁰⁰ Rice¹⁰¹ is found there which is [a kind of] millet;¹⁰² ginger;¹⁰³ beryl,¹⁰⁴ hyacinth¹⁰⁵ and other precious stones, and also much gold and silver and elephants and tigers. It has two mountains in the center, one called Galiba,¹⁰⁶ which is the source of two rivers, and the other called Malaea,¹⁰⁷ 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 *Āroyan*.¹⁰⁸ Between them is a mountain named *Gaylase*¹⁰⁹ 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'acank'* and the *Hac'aink'*.¹¹⁰

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 [human] girl. 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].¹¹¹ The allegory means that they are a quick-turning (?)¹¹² people. Ptolemy says that there are temples of the moon in the southern extremity of the island.¹¹³ There are 1,378 other islands around Taprobane, some inhabited and others uninhabited but of which [only] nineteen names [are known to us].¹¹⁴ The Equator¹¹⁵ crosses the south of this large island.

[37] The thirty-seventh country of Asia is *Siwnikia*, i. e., China.¹¹⁶ 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. Cinnamon¹¹⁷ and cassia¹¹⁸ are found in the Cassia Mountains,¹¹⁹ and the scythicum which is by nature the color of fire.¹²⁰ It also has monsters,¹²¹ the musk-ox,¹²² many peacocks¹²³ and other useful birds, and so much saffron¹²⁴ that a horseman, going hunting with a white horse and a white falcon,¹²⁵ returns covered with a yellow color. Silk, more and better than that of any other country is found here and the industrious inhabitants enrich themselves through textile manufacture.¹²⁶ The king, [or] *Čēnbakur*,¹²⁷ resides in the city of Sera¹²⁸ in the south-east extremity of the country.

[38] The thirty-eighth country of Asia is [that of] the Sinae¹²⁹ 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:¹³⁰ men with half a body, men with two faces, men with six hands,¹³¹ 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.

[36] The forty-second, Taprobana, is the largest of all islands, It is 1,100 miles in length and 510 in width. It is east [of India]^{225A} and has 1,378 other small islands around it. It has mountains, rivers and twelve nations. Gold, silver,^{226A} precious stones; aromatics, elephants and tigers are found there. The men of this country dress their hair like that of women.^{227A}

[37] The forty-third, China, [extends] east of Scythia as far as the Unknown Land. It is a broad plain with twenty-nine nations, one of which is cannibal [in practice]. China has many mountains and rivers. It yields cinnamon,^{228A} *hošiboak*, *boičēnik*,^{229A} cassia, and minium.^{230A} It has monsters, the musk ox and many peacocks. [There is] an abundance of saffron^{231A} and fine silk^{232A} [here] with which the industrious inhabitants enrich themselves through textile manufacture. Their king, called *Čēnbakur*, resides in the city of Sera, near the Unknown Land.

[38] The forty-fourth, the Sinae, are near China [and extend] as far as the Unknown Land. Here there are five nations and many mountains and rivers.

What is said about the Unknown land is not worthy of credence: unknown animals with human faces, half a body, two faces, six hands, seal's feet or dragon's feet, half-bird, and half-limbed^{233A} or headless men. Thus we end our narration and the description of the earth. [Now I wish to summarize the distances between its [principle] cities in miles [calculated] by means of aerometry and carefully checked by *asparēz*.]^{234A}

AŠXARHAC'OYC' (Long Recension)
COMMENTARY

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 *AŠX* (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; 'VIIC, 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 *Hayastaně* (1963); the abbreviations 'Ad.-Gar.' and 'Man.' refer, respectively, to Garsoian's English translations of Adontz's *Armeniya* (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. *Südarmerien*, both published in 1930). References to mss. and editions of the *AŠX*, and to those of the opusculum of Thomas of Cilicia have been indicated as follows:

LONG VERSION OF THE *AŠX*:

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

SHORT VERSION OF THE *AŠX*:

- 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).

S1819	Saint-Martin ed. (with French translation).
S1877	Patkanov ed. (with Russian translation).
S1944	Abrahamyan ed.
THOMAS OF CILICIA:	
TK	T'ovma Kilikec'i, ed. of 1967.
TKE	Hermitage ms.
TKJ	Jerusalem ms.

I. THE INTRODUCTION

¹The reader is reminded that, unless otherwise noted, all references in the notes to Ptolemy's *Geography* are to Nobbe's edition (1843-1845), whose sections are numbered somewhat differently from those of Müller (1901), but which has the advantage of being more readily available in its 1966 reprint, and which, unlike Müller's edition, is complete. All references to Eremyan in this section, unless otherwise noted, are to his series of articles in *PBH* (1972-1973).

²Ptolemy I.2.4: *kata tas hodous kai kata tous plous*.

³Text: *bolorak* 'circle' but here meaning 'sphere' or 'globe' Ptol. (I.1.8): *sphaira*.

⁴Text: *i nerk'oi erkeri* 'under the earth,' which I take to mean the stars which are perpetually below the horizon in a particular latitude. Ptol. I.1.8: ... *kai eti kai tōn en toutō topōn hekastous hypo tinas eisi tēs ouraniou sphairas parallēlous ex hōn ta te megethē tōn nykthēmerōn, kai tous kata koryphēn ginomenous tōn aplanōn, tous ē hyper gēn, hypo gēn aei pheromenous* ... (see Appendix X).

⁵*Asparēz*, the exact value of which is not known and which probably varied. Throughout this introduction, however, the author uses this term to translate the Greek *stadion*, and it is clear from the text (text: I.6), that the stadium of Ptolemy is intended and not the Phileterian, Olympic, or Eratosthenean, the three stadia normally used in the Roman world, all of which represented shorter lengths (Schoff 1911). According to Ptolemy (I.7.1), 500 stadia equalled one degree, and he thus estimated the circumference of the earth at 180,000 stadia. Actually, Ptolemy underestimated the size of the earth so that the true length of the degree in Ptolemy's stadia is closer to 600 than to 500 stadia. In any case, the length of the stadium of antiquity is generally held to have been 609.95 feet or, for working purposes, 610 feet, and we may regard this as the approximate length of the *asparēz* used in the *AŠX*. I have translated *asparēz* as *stadium* throughout this introduction except at the point where the author is giving us *stadion* as the Greek word for *asparēz* (text: I.6). Cf. MX (I.30) for a parallel passage. For discussion of the use of these terms in the context of the *AŠX*, see von Mžik (1933), and Manandyan (1965), Petrosyan (1970, 1972, 1973), and Gulbekian (1989).

⁶Since von Mžik has done so much to clarify the badly corrupted text of this introduction to L from the opening sentence through n. 64, I have not hesitated to follow his reconstruction in my translation nor to revise my translation of the corresponding section of S to conform to his corrections even when this has meant departing substantially from the Armenian of S, where the latter is especially corrupt.

⁷The text has 500 and 2/5 of a stadium. Ptol. (I.7.4): *En gar tē diakekaumenē zōnē o zōdiakos holos hyper autēn pheretai, dioper en autē metaballousin hai skiāi, kai panta ta astra dynei kai anatellei Monē gar hē mikra arktos arkhetai holē hyper gēn phainesthai en tois okēlēōs boreioterois stadiois pentakosiois (pentakiskhiliois – Nobbe). O gar dia Okēle parallēlos, exērtētai moiras ia, kai dyo pempta.*

"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 Okēle which is 5,500 stadia distant. The parallel through Okēle 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.

⁸L: *anc'*, which von Mžik (11, n. 50) considered to be a remnant of the word *kołmanc'*, corresponding to *peras* 'end', 'extremity' in Ptol. I.7.1. The singular of this word, *kołmn*, means 'region' or 'country'.

⁹Ptol. I.7.1: *Epi toinyn tou platous prōton hypotithetai men kai autos tēn Thoulēn nēson, hypo ton parallēlon ton aphorizonta to boreiotaton peras tēs egnōsmenēs hēmin gēs, ton de parallēlon touton apodeiknysin ōs eni malista apekhonta tou isēmerinou moiras, xg, hoiōn estin o mesēmbriinos kyklos tx stadious de trismyrious khilious pentakosious, hōs tēs moiras pentakosious engista stadious periekhousēs.*

"First of all he [Marinos of Tyre] places Thoulē Island as the terminus of a latitude on the parallel that cuts the most 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."

¹⁰An 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 1/5 + 1/6, Asia 1/4 + 1/4, and Africa 1/5 + 1/6 of the whole earth," (*infra* n. 47).

¹¹I.7.1, the text quoting or, rather, misquoting Ptolemy's quotation of Marinos of Tyre (*supra* n. 9).

¹²Corrected from Ptol. (I.7.4). *supra* n. 7. *Dēoros Samiac'i*; Ptol. (I.7.6): *Diodōros ho Samios*.

¹³*Keēay* Soukry (translation, p. 2): *cérēa*, where I have translated 'horns', from *keē* = 'hook' in Armenian (cf. Gk: *keraiā*; Ptol. I.7.6: *tēn Pleiada kata mesēn tēn keraian*. S1944: *kiseay*. Stevenson (30) mistranslates *keraiā* as 'masts'! Cf. Pliny (VI. 74.87), who cites the Great Bear and the Pleiades.

¹⁴Ptol. (I.7.6).

¹⁵*Ar mijerkrakann*, which von Mžik (12) saw as an equivalent of Gk: *pros mesogaian* 'from the interior of the country,' 'from inland,' which would be an error for *ar mijawrēakann*, the correct translation of Ptolemy's *pros mesēmbrian* 'from noon' (I.7.6). But Gk *mesēmbriinos* also has a secondary meaning 'south' so that the text could mean 'from the south'.

¹⁶*Ereweal* 'appeared' instead of *asac'eal* '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.

¹⁷*Aprotikon*. Saint-Martin's interpretation of the Armenian *Aprotikon* as Latin *apricus* is incorrect. The entire passage is quoted from Marinos of Tyre via Ptolemy (I.7.6) and – probably – Pappos): *Phēsi gar hoti kai hoi men apo tēs Indikēs eis tēn Limyrikēn pleontes, hōs phēsi Diodōros ho Samios en tō tritō, ekhousi ton Tauron mesouranounta, kai tēn Pleiada kata mesēn tēn keraian. Hoi d'eis tēn Azanian apo tēs Arabias anagomenoi euthynousi ton ploun pros mesēmbrian, kai ton Kanōbon astra, hostis ekei legetai Hippos, kai esti notiōtatos. Astra de phainetai par autois ha par' hēmin oude onomazetai, kai ho Kyōn tou Prokynos proteros epitellōn, kai ho Ōriōn ...*

"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 Tauros 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."

¹⁸ *Hnjakan* from the Greek *thereios* 'in summer' (*hunjek* = *theros* 'summer' (cf. Ptol. I.7.6).

¹⁹ *Asac'eal* for *ereweal* (*supra* n. 16).

²⁰ *C'amak'eal gawti*, which von Mžik (12, n. 45) considered a false translation of Gk: *zōnē katepsygmenē* 'colder zone' Ptol. (I.8.1).

²¹ In the *AŠX*, *tiezerk'* and *tiezerakan* appear to correspond, respectively, to Gk: *oikoumenē*, *oikoumenikos* (von Mžik, 12, n. 46).

²² Ptol. (I.8.I): *hōste to Prason akrōterion, kai tēn Agisymba kbōran, Aithiopōn, ousan kai hōs autos phesi, mede periorizousan apo notou tēn Aithiopian epi tēn katepsygmenēn zōnēn pherein tēs antoikoumenēs.*

²³ Text: 'three' rather than 'six', a confusion between the Armenian letter-numerals Գ = 3 and Զ = 6.

²⁴ 'Climates' (*nahangk'*). These would be the seven parallels said to have been devised by Posidonios of Apameia (135-51 B. C.) as a means of dividing the earth into logical global divisions (Soukry, 3). This entire passage is badly corrupted as are several others in this part of the *AŠX*. This one being drawn from Ptolemy (VII.5), however, is subject to restoration. What the author is trying to say is that the length of the longest day and night on the southernmost parallel is thirteen equatorial hours; on that through Meroe, seventeen hours; on that through Syene thirteen and one-half hours; on that through Rhodes, fourteen and one-half hours; and that, on the northernmost parallel, passing through the island of Thule, it is twenty hours; and that the extreme differences in latitude amount to eight equatorial hours.

²⁵ *Storagrut'iw* 'description' for Gk: *katagraphē*, here meaning 'map' (von Mžik:13, n. 50).

²⁶ Von Mžik (*ibid.*, n. 52) suggests an allusion here to Ptol. (VII.6) titled: *Krikōtēs sphairas meta tēs oikoumenēs katagraphē.*

²⁷ *Verač'ap'ut'iw*, from Ptol. (I.2.2): *anametresis*, 'measuring out'.

²⁸ *Žamaditak*, from Gk: *horoskopeion, horoskopion* 'horoscope,' which von Mžik (13, n. 54) took to be a false translation of *meteoroskopikon* 'belonging to' or 'pertaining to astronomy,' which certainly makes better sense at this point.

²⁹ *Skīwt'ron*, from Gk: *skiothērēs, skioitherion* 'sundial' Ptol. (I.2.2).

³⁰ The dioptra was an optical instrument for determining angles and altitudes. It is not mentioned by Ptolemy, and the reference probably came directly from the text of Pappos.

³¹ *Ditoptra*. Ptol. (I.4.2): *dioptra*.

³² Ptol. (I.6).

³³ Soukry (trans.:4, n. 2) believed that this sentence and the one preceding it to be interpolations based on a play on the word *sabman*, which in Armenian means both 'definition' and 'frontier.' Von Mžik (14, n. 61), on the other hand, saw this passage as a gloss to clarify the sense of the word *sabmanac'* 'to the rules': in the previous sentence. The word *sabman* corresponds to the Gk: *horos, horismos* 'border,' 'limit,' 'boundary,' or 'frontier,' although whoever added the gloss would seem to have been familiar only with its meaning as 'definition.'

³⁴ The measure (*č'ap'*) corresponds to the Gk: *metron*, a measure in general; and the degree (*mas*) to the *moira* of Ptolemy, which equalled one degree in the mathematical sense. The term *vtawan*, found in both L and S, and accepted by Eremyan 1972:213, is unattested in any other source (Saint-Martin

1819 II:382, n. 12), but Soukry (Fr. trans.:4) renders it as *plethra* (*plethron*), a Greek measure of length equal to thirty-four yards. I have followed von Mžik in translating it as 'stadium.'

³⁵ See Appendix X for the most recent comments on this passage.

³⁶ The step (*kayl*) would be equal to the Gk: *bema* 'pace,' equal to 2.53 ft. (75.90 cm.). Von Mžik (14) reads it as 'double-pace'. Manandyan (1965:171) gives it 1.598 m. The foot (*ot*) corresponds to the Gk: *pous*, which equalled 1.01 ft. (30.9 cm.) and the finger (*mat*) to the Gk: *daktylos* .75 of an in. (19.27 cm.).

³⁷ Text: Sixteen feet (49.44 m.)

³⁸ Von Mžik considered this first half of the sentence to be a gloss with a false correction.

³⁹ The mile (*mton*), 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 Ananias of Širak (*infra* Appendix IV), one mile was equal to five *asparēz*, so that it would appear as if the term *mton* was also used in a general sense with no specific distance intended.

⁴⁰ 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).

⁴¹ Text:144, but Von Mžik (14, n. 65) reads '143', considering there to have been an error due to a confusion between the Armenian letter-numerals. Manandyan (*ibid.*) prefers '144'. (See Appendix X).

⁴² See Appendix X.

⁴³ The parasang (*hrsax*), 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 *AŠX* as *p'arsax*, a corruption of the Arab form *farsakh*), it was usually equal to three *mton* as in the *Itinerary* (p. v. Saint-Martin II, 395; Man. 1965:171, and *infra*, Appendix IV).

⁴⁴ This table is drawn from the treatise of Ananias of Širak entitled *On the Course of the Sun and the Extent of Its Size* but, according to Von Mžik (14, n. 67), has undergone additions from various sources. For an interpretation of this table see Man. (1965:171).

⁴⁵ The square stadium is the largest measurement found in the writings of Posidonius, Marinus of Tyre, and Ptolemy (Von Mžik:14, n. 68).

⁴⁶ See Appendix X.

⁴⁷ See Appendix X.

⁴⁸ Both of these last passages relevant to the size of the sun, are taken from the *Christian Topography* of Ps.-Kosmas Indikopleustes (cf. Winsted's edition, 231 ff).

⁴⁹ Pomponius Mela (I.1) cites the *antikthon* or 'opposite land,' but it is not mentioned by Ptolemy.

⁵⁰ Text: *gawsac'eal* 'arid' which should be *goyac'eal* 'created.' Other mss. have *c'amak'eal* here, a synonym for *gawsac'eal* (*infra* n. 51).

⁵¹ Text: *c'amak'eal*, which here is correctly used; the southern hemisphere being 'arid' in the sense of 'barren' for it was thought to be uninhabited.

⁵² *Supra* p. 29.

⁵³ After this word, according to Eremyan (1972:215, n. 10), a new section should begin whereas the author continues his text without a break. Eremyan has taken certain liberties in dividing the text of the *AŠX* into sections not indicated in the ms. tradition. These I have ignored, preferring to adhere to those actually used by the author unless it is clear that a division must have been intended.

⁵⁴ There is apparently a break in the text at this point (Erem.: *ibid.*, n. 11), but there is no indication in the ms. of L that this is so.

⁵⁵ Von Mžik (15, n. 77) cites a similar passage in the work of Dionysios Periēgētes (ed. Müller,

II:104), which reads: *mnēsomai Ōkianoio bathyrroou en gar ekeirō pasa khthōn, hate nēsos apeiritos estephanōtai*. He also (16, n. 78) identifies Apollo with the Apollodoros of Athens (fl. 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 *Periēgēseōs* (ed. Holstein, *et al.*, p. 647). For this Apollodoros, see PW 2855-2862.

⁵⁶ Gen 1:9.

⁵⁷ Gen. 1:10.

⁵⁸ Job 38:18, 19.

⁵⁹ *Supra* p. 30.

⁶⁰ Isaiah 9:22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Proverbs 8:26.

⁶³ Solomon 88:12, 13.

⁶⁴ The section reconstructed by von Mžik 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.

⁶⁵ Job 26:7.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 26.80.10.

⁶⁷ There seems to be another interruption in the text at this point.

⁶⁸ Job 26:7.10.

⁶⁹ No authentic writings of St. Gregory the Parthian (Grigor Part'ew) called 'the Illuminator' have come down to us. This quotation is found in Agathangelos (*Agat'angelos*), 259, where he is supposedly quoting the words of St. Gregory (ed. Thomson, 1976: *Introduction*).

⁷⁰ Psalms 24:2.

⁷¹ St. Basil of Kaisareia (c. 330-391).

⁷² Psalms 104:6.

⁷³ *Astunacaban* '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). Eremyan (1972:216, n. 18) took this entire series of biblical quotations to be an interpolation of a later copyist, but this view may be due to the attempt by some Soviet scholars to see Ananias of Širak as a sort of 'free-thinker' at odds with the Church (e.g., Xrlopyan 1964:182 ff.).

⁷⁴ For this part of the text, see Abrahamyan (1940:25-34), which was unfortunately not available to me as I prepared this study.

⁷⁵ *Sineac'woc'*; Ptol. (VII.1): *Sinai* '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.

⁷⁶ *Satirac'oc' cayrin ew i norin i ktzeac'*; Ptol. (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 Pomponius Mela (III.9).

⁷⁷ *Taprapio ktzoyin*; Ptol. (VII.4): *Taprobanē*, the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), whose size was for some reason much exaggerated in antiquity (*infra* IX, n. 98).

⁷⁸ *Kalos*; Ptol. (III.5.8): *Kalos limnē* in Sarmatia.

⁷⁹ *Asapus*. The mouth of the River *Asopos* was found in Akhaia Ptol. (III.15.8). Another River *Asopos* flowed through Corinth, but see Ptolemy's *Astapos* (IV.77).

⁸⁰ *Piteal learn*; Ptol. (IV.7.26): *Pylaia orē*, which may be the Mount Pelion of Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 744 *passim*, and Herod, vii. 129), which lay in Thessaly.

⁸¹ *T'eok'ima lerinn*; Ptol. (IV.6.9): *Theōn Okhēma*. This range is also cited by Strabo (II.2), and Poponius 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 *Periplus of Hanno 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).

⁸² *Iwk'is*: Ptol. (IV.7.29): *Auxomitai*, a tribe. The Auxomis 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.

⁸³ *Jknaker Et'ovpac'i*; Ptol. (IV.8.3) *Aithiopes Ikhthyophagoi*.

⁸⁴ *Sep'iros*, i.e., *Zephyros*, the 'West Wind'; i.e., the West *per se*.

⁸⁵ *Karkintēn coc'oyn*; Ptol. (III.5.9): *Karkinites Kolpos*, the Russian *Karkinitesky 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.

⁸⁶ *K'erison*; (Ptol. III.6.5: *Khersonēsos*, i.e., Kherson, the chief town of the Tauric (Crimean) Peninsula, *khersonēsos* meaning 'peninsula' in Greek.

⁸⁷ *Tios k'alak'*, an unusual example of a name being half translated by our author rather than being simply transliterated; Ptol. (V.1.7): *Dios polis*, where, as in the *AŠX*, the name is written as two words.

⁸⁸ *Satutaria P'rigac'oc'*; (Ptol. III.5.2).

⁸⁹ *Dēdatata*; Ptol. (V.3.2.): *Daidala*.

⁹⁰ *Covum Likboy* 'the Sea of Libya,' whereas Ptol. (V.3.1): *Lykiakon Pelagos*. I have followed the emendation of Eremyan (1972:216, n. 9): which is certainly correct.

⁹¹ *Ardkamar ē*, or *ē Egiptos*, which Soukry (Arm. text:10, n. 1) reads: **ardak Msr* 'directly to Msr,' *Misr* being the Arabic name for Egypt. Eremyan (1972:217) omits this passage.

⁹² *Eranelac' ktzikk'*; Ptol. (IV.4.9-10): *Hesperidōn kēpos*.

⁹³ *Nerk'sagoyin Libiay*; Ptol. (IV.6.1): *Libyēs tēs entos thesis*, i.e., the Sahara desert region beyond the limits of the Roman Empire.

⁹⁴ Ptol. (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.

⁹⁵ *Misit'los*; Ptol. (IV.6.7): *Masitholon potamos*, the *Masathat* 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 *limes*, and some of these rivers are simply given in a confused order in these sources, and are occasionally even misnamed. There are only about a dozen rivers entering the Atlantic between Tangier and the coast opposite the Canary Islands, and very few can be matched to their classical equivalents with any certainty.

⁹⁶ *Nikas*; Ptol. (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.

⁹⁷ *Spitak Et'ēovpac'oc'*; Ptol. (IV.6.17) *Leukaithiopes*.

⁹⁸ *Stak'ir*; Ptol. (IV.6.7): *Stakheir pot.*

⁹⁹ *Rivsitaria leinē*; (*ibid.*): *Rousadeiron oros*; Pliny (V.1.9): *Rhyssadir*.

¹⁰⁰ *Dardos*; (ibid.); *Darados pot.*; Pliny (V.1.10): *Darat*, now the *Darf'a* (PW 4:2151), or perhaps the *Dr'aa*, which enters the Atlantic just north of Cape Juby.

¹⁰¹ *Mecn Koč'ec'eal Nawahangist*; Ptol. (IV.6.6); *Megalē Limnē*.

¹⁰² *Masas*; (ibid.): *Massa pot.*; Pliny (V.9): *Masathat?* PW (14:2122), states that the exact identification of this river is uncertain and suggests that it might be either the *Wadi Glemin* or *Wadi Assaka*. Actually, however, there is a small river still called the *Massa* entering the Atlantic to the south of Agadir.

¹⁰³ *Ovp'sis*; (IV. 6.5): *Ophiōdous pot.* Windberg (PW 18, 1, 2), notes that Ptolemy was confused here and further on repeats the same rivers under slightly different names:

IV.1.2.	IV.6.5.
Soubour	Souboi
Salata	Salathos
Kousa	Khousarios
Phthouth	Ophiodes

Given the parallel forms, Windberg opts for *Ophiodes* over *Phthouth*. Certainly the forms in Ptol. (V.6.5) appear more Greek than those in the earlier list, which probably were drawn from another source.

¹⁰⁴ *Kusabius*; (ibid.): *Khousarios*, *infra* n. 115.

¹⁰⁵ *Salat'os*; (ibid.): *Salata*, *infra* n. 110.

¹⁰⁶ *Mandron leinē* Ptol. (IV.6.8): *Mandron oros*.

¹⁰⁷ *Sebos*; (ibid.): *Soubos pot.*, *infra*, n. 118.

¹⁰⁸ *Mec Atlas*; Ptol. (IV.1.4): *Atlas Meizōn* (PW 2:2118-2133).

¹⁰⁹ *P'ok'r Atlas*; (IV.6.5): *Atlas Elaton* (PW *ibid.*).

¹¹⁰ *Sagas* (ibid.): *Salathos*; Pliny (V.1.5): *Salat*, perhaps the modern *Tensift*, or the *Assa*.

¹¹¹ *Agnosa* (ibid.): *Agna pot.*

¹¹² *P'ut'd*; Ptol. (IV.2.4): *Dour*, *Supra* n. 103; Pliny (V.1.10): *Fut*.

¹¹³ *Diur*; Ptol. (IV.1.4): *Dokou* (or *Dyur*) *Potamou ekbolai*. From the Form in the *AŠX*, *Dyur* rather than *Douour* would be the proper Ptolemaic reading; Pliny (V.1.10): *Darat?*

¹¹⁴ *Sanas*; Ptol. (IV.1.3): *Asama pot.*; Pliny (V.1.13): *Asana*.

¹¹⁵ *Kusas* (IV.1.2): *Kousa pot.*, *supra* n. 104.

¹¹⁶ *Tingin K'atak*; Ptol. (IV.1.5): *Tingis Kaisareia*.

¹¹⁷ *Lios*; Ptol. (IV.1.2): *Lix pot.*; Pliny (V.1.4): *Lixus*. The town of Lixos often cited in classical sources is now Larache (Arab: *el-Araich*). The Lixos River thus must correspond to the Loukkos, which enters the Atlantic at Larache (PW 13:928-929).

¹¹⁸ *Subur* (ibid.): *Soubour pot.*; Pliny (V.1.5). *Subus*; the Sebou River between the Lixos and the Sala (PW 2 R. 4), now the *Oued Sebou*, which enters the Atlantic to the north of Rabat-Salé.

¹¹⁹ *Likbs*.

¹²⁰ *Zitas*; Ptol. (IV.1.2): *Zileia pot.*, Strabo (III.1.8): *Zelis*; *idem*. (VII.3.6): *Zēlis*, cf. Pliny's town of *Zulil* (V.2) located between *Tingis* and the town of *Lixus* (PW 2R, 10A).

¹²¹ *Katndi*; (ibid.): *Gottiana*.

¹²² *Sep'tē*, the town of Septem, now Ceuta in Morocco (Müller, 581) was anciently known as *Hep' Adelphoi* 'seven brothers', Ptol. (IV.1.5), after the mountain situated at the tip of the promontory on which the town was built. This peak is opposite that of Gibraltar together with which it formed the famed 'Pillars of Hercules' (PW 2R, 2).

¹²³ *Ibirikon pelagos*; Ptol. (II.4.7; IV.6.1): *Iberikon pelagos*, the Mediterranean along the east coast of Spain. Solinus is the first author to use the term 'Mediterranean' but he does so for the entire chain

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

¹²⁵ *Sagadion* 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.

¹²⁵ *Tiwgin*; Ptol. (IV.1.1): *Mauritania Tingitanē*.

¹²⁶ Eremyan (1972:217) omits this passage which repeats information given above.

¹²⁷ *Virnia*; Ptol. (II.2): *Iouernia nēsos*.

¹²⁸ *Alwion*; Ptol. (II.3): *Alouion nēsos*.

¹²⁹ *Beritanac'oc' ašxarh*; Ptol. (II.2): *Bretannikē/Pretannikē*.

¹³⁰ *T'outis klzi*; (I.24.4): *Thoulē nēsos*. The name *Thoulē* was applied by Pythias of Marseilles (fl. 300 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: *Ultima Thule*.

¹³¹ *Sarmata ew Germanea or Skandē koč'i*; Ptol. (II.11.34): *Skandia nēsos*; Pliny (IV.16.104): *Scandiae*, possibly southern Norway or Sweden. The Scandinavian Peninsula was taken for an island by the ancients.

¹³² *Gudk'*; (ibid.): *Goutai*.

¹³³ Ptolemy (VII.2), depicts the Indian Ocean as being land-locked.

¹³⁴ *Arajin Hndkac' or asi Karmir Cov*. 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 *Erythrē 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).

¹³⁵ *Azxodn*; read: **Azxuyg*. The kolokyntos 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.

¹³⁶ *Gawtiros*. *Gadiros* would be *Gades* (*Cadiz*), whose site was formerly an island (Strabo, II.5.3).

¹³⁷ *Kiliko*, *infra* IV n. 77.

¹³⁸ *Sawrio*, *infra* IV n. 61.

¹³⁹ *Panp'ilia*, *infra* IV n. 60.

¹⁴⁰ *Lewkia*, *infra*, IV n. 40.

¹⁴¹ *Karia*, *infra* IV n. 32.

¹⁴² *Miwisia*, *infra* IV n. 22.

¹⁴³ *Elispontos*, *infra* IV n. 69.

¹⁴⁴ *Biwt'ania*, *infra* IV n. 4.

¹⁴⁵ *K'alkedon*; Ptol. (V.1.1): *Khalkēdōn*, now Kadiköy on the Asiatic coast of Asia Minor opposite Constantinople. Here was held the fourth Ecumenical Council in 451.

¹⁴⁶ *γEgyptac'oc'*, lit. 'to the Egyptians.'

¹⁴⁷ *P'estē*.

¹⁴⁸ *Vrkanin* Ptol. (I.12.6): *Hyrkania Thalassa*.

¹⁴⁹ *Kaspic'*; (V.9.7): *Kaspia Thalassa*.

¹⁵⁰ ... *minč'ew Cutupulitiniw get*; Erem. (218): *minč'ew c'[beran] Pawlitimitos* 'to the mouth of the Polytimeos.'

¹⁵¹ Ptol. (VI.14.2): *Polytimeōs*, probably the *Zerafshan*, which flows by Samarkand in Soviet

Uzbekistan, but which disappears in the desert before reaching the Oxos (*Amu 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 *polytimētos* 'much honored,' with *polytmētos* 'much cut.' Ptolemy (VI.14.2) makes it clear that the former is intended. *Bazmapatik* is possibly a corruption of **bazmapativ* 'much-honored' which corresponds exactly in meaning to Ptolemy's *polytimētos* (Liddell 1968).

¹⁵¹ *Kesios*; Ptol. (V.12.2): *Kaisios*.

¹⁵² *Geias*; Ptol. (V.2.2): *Gerros*; Erem. (p.218): *Ger(ou)as*, perhaps the modern River Sulak PW 8:1273, 1275).

¹⁵⁴ *Sondas*; Ptol. (V.8.13): *Isondai* (a tribe), read: **Tsondai* (Erem.: *ibid.*, n. 17), now the *Sundzha* (PW 9:2227).

¹⁵⁵ *Alandas*; Ptol. (V.8.6): *Alonta pot.*, now the large River Terek in North Caucasia (PW 1:1595). *Infra* V, n. 53.

¹⁵⁶ *Odon*; Ptol. (V.9.12): *Oudōnos pot.*

¹⁵⁷ *Kawkas*; Ptol. (V.9.14, 15, 22; 12.4): *Kaukasos*; *infra* V, n. 7.

¹⁵⁸ ... *i Skiwt'ia*; Ptol. (VI.14.15): *Skythia*, the Greek name for what is now Russia. (From north Iranian **sku-ča* 'scalp-hunter' Markwart "Woher", p. 32). After the Sarmatians displaced the Scythians as masters of the steppes, in the third century B. C., the term *Scythia* was relegated to the lands beyond the Volga i. e., to Siberia. Ptolemy recognizes two Scythias: *Skythia ne entos Imaiou* 'Scythia within the Imaios [Mountains]' and *Skythia ē ktos Imaiou* 'Scythia beyond the Imaios [Mountains].'

¹⁵⁹ *Apxtark'*, *Apaxtara* was the Persian term for the Scythians (Marq., 1901:140). Eremyan, (1972:218, n. 11) has it correspond to Greek *Hyperboreioi*, the 'Hyperboreans' i. e. 'those beyond the north wind.' (See Appendix X).

¹⁶⁰ *Taia*; Ptol. (III.6.7): *Tyras*, the *Dnestr*.

¹⁶¹ *Emat'*.

¹⁶² *Řimos*; Ptol. (VI.14.2): *Rhymmos*, an eastern tribute of the Rha (Volga).

¹⁶³ *Dek'si*; Ptol. (VI.14.2-5): *Daikos/Daix*, the River Ural flowing into the Caspian to the east of the Volga, which was known as the *Yaik* as late as the eighteenth century. AM (XXIII.6.63): *Daicus*; CP (DAT, 37): *Geēkh*, from Hunno-Turkish *jajygh* (PW IV.2, col.: 2016).

¹⁶⁴ *Iak'sartey*; Ptol. (VI.14.2): *Iaxartēs*, the Iaxartes is the present Syr *Darya*, flowing into Lake Aral.

¹⁶⁵ *Anariakan nombas*; Ptol. (VI.14.13): *Anareoi* and (VI.14.14): *Namastai*, citing them as two different peoples of Cis-Himalyan Scythia. A *Ara Ombastakek'*; B *Arakank' Ambostakēk'* (*infra* n. 188)

¹⁶⁶ *Iostos*; Ptol. (VI.14.2): *Iastos pot.*

¹⁶⁷ *Sagarukē*; Ptol. (VI.14.14): *Sagaraukai*; Ps.-Zach: *Sarurgur* (ed. Brooks 1924:144), CAH (IX.5:82) suggests that the Sacaraucae (sic) were Turks, and identifies them with the Chinese *Sak* or *Sok*. The link between this term and Iranian *Saka* (Scyth) seems clear.

¹⁶⁸ *Politimētēs. Awgsia leīne*; Ptol. (VI.12.1): *Oxeiōn oros*. The Oxeian Mountains are possibly the Western Tien Shan range north of Samarkand.

¹⁷⁰ *Sian* is not cited by Ptolemy, but Soukry (12, n. 5) suggests a reading from his *Ouxeikhnoi* (VI.12.4). Eremyan (219) is probably more accurate in reading **S[odg]ian[a]*; Ptol. (VI.12).

¹⁷¹ *Ok'sos getoy*; Ptol. (VI.9.1): *Oxos pot.*, now the *Amu Darya*.

¹⁷² *Rubiu*; Ptol. (VI.14.14): the *Rhibioi* in his 'Scythia-within-The Imaios Mountains'.

¹⁷³ *Aspatovta*; Ptol. (VI.14.2): *Aspabōta polis*, on the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the Oxos (PW, 2, col.:1709).

¹⁷⁴ *Řksia*, read **Awk'siafna*; Ptol. (VI.12.5): *Ōxeiana polis*, probably the same as his *Alexandria Ōxeiana* V.12.6, on the Oxos River, either modern Baikend or Naksheb (PW, 18, 1, 2, col.:1204).

¹⁷⁵ *Diwaba*; Ptol. (VI.14.14): *Dauaba polis*, which Tomaszek related to an Iranian (i. e. Zaza Kurd) *dau* 'village' and *ap* 'water,' and identified with the present town of Krasnovodsk (Russ.: 'beautiful water').

¹⁷⁶ *Dēok'sia*; Ptol. (VI.12.4): *Oxeianoī*.

¹⁷⁷ ... *getn Margiw*; Ptol. (VI.10.1): *Margos pot.*, which Weissbach identified with the Modern Murgab which no longer flows into the Oxos *Amu-darya* (PW, 14, 1709).

¹⁷⁸ S1877 (p. 6) has here: "and from the southeast in the land of Hyrkania are the *Marawk'*, *Gelawk'*, *Delmenk'* and *Kaspiwk'* extending as far as the mouth of the Araxes." For these people see *infra* nn. 189, 194, 193, and 194 A, respectively).

¹⁷⁹ *Margan ašxarh*; Ptol. (VI.10): *Margianē*, a large province of Persia located in the southeastern part of Soviet Turkmenistan.

¹⁸⁰ *Miw*, read: **Mrv* (Per.: *Marw*), now Mary situated in a large oasis in Soviet Turkmenia (Per.: *Marw-i rōd*), the River Murgab in Soviet Turkmenia, (Donovan 1982).

¹⁸¹ *Mrv rot*, (Per.: *Marw-i rod*), the River Murgab in Soviet Turkmenia (Marq. 1901:47 *passim*).

¹⁸² *Astawan*; Ptol. (VI.10.5): *Astabēnoi*.

¹⁸³ *Mak'sira*; Ptol. (VI.9.2): *Maxēra*, a river of Hyrkania entering the Caspian south of the mouth of the Oxos (Berthelot 1930: fig.4).

¹⁸⁴ *homanum gawar* [*Mak'sira*] from *Maxēra* (**Naxerai = Naxčerk'?*); Erem. (1972:219, n. 33); Ptol. (VI.9.5): *Maxērai*, a tribe (PW, 14).

¹⁸⁵ *K'rindas*; Ptol. (VI.2.2): *Kharinda pot.* now the River Gurgaen; *idem.* (VI.9.5): *Khrēndoi*, a people (*Katanemontai de tēs Hyrkantias, ta men epi thalassē, Maxērai. Kai Astabēnoi: Kai hypo men tous Maxēras, Khrēndoi*).

¹⁸⁶ *Vrkan*; Ptol. (VI.9): *Hyrkania*, the coastal province along the southeast shore of the Caspian Sea, the later region of Tabaristan (Marq, 1901:72, 137).

¹⁸⁷ *Erkerord Agion*; Ptol. (VI.2.4; VI.5.1; VI.9.3): *Korōnos?* A mountain range in Hyrkania, i. e., the Elburz chain along the south coast of the Caspian Sea.

¹⁸⁸ Ptol. (VI.2): *Mēdia*.

¹⁸⁹ *Mark'*, Armenian for the Medes (later used for the Kurds, e. g., in TM, *passim*).

¹⁹⁰ *Anarakan Mark'*; Ptol. (VI.2.5): *Amariakai*; Strabo (XI.7.1): *Anariakai*, RA (II.8): *Mardianon*, meaning 'unmanly' (mark. 1930: *Intro.*, n. 725), and *Mark'* from *marda* 'harmful'), but see *supra* n. 164. Strabo (XI.7.1) mentions a *manteion egkoimōmenōn* 'oracle for sleepers' in Kaspianē in the city called Anariakē in which Markwart recognized an Arm.: **anariak* 'connected with dreams' (cf. Gk: *oneireios*), suggesting a temple that included, like many pagan shrines, the practice of incubation (for all this see Herz.: 125-26).

¹⁹¹ *Saiarov*; Erem.: *Stratarord*; Ptol. (V.2.2): *Stratōnos* or *Staōnos*; Pliny (VI.18.46): *Straor*.

¹⁹² *Dērbikēs*; Ptol. (VI.2.5): *Dribykes*; Strabo (XI.11.8): *Derbikes*; RA (II.8): *Derbiceon*. Marq. (*ibid.*) interprets the name as 'poor' or 'wretched' (*idem.* 1901:220).

¹⁹³ *Dilums*, nom. **Dilumk'*. Unmentioned by Ptolemy or other ancient authors, Dēlum or Dailam is a province of Persia lying along the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea (Marq. 1901:94, 124, 126 ff.). Eremyan, (1972:219) omits this gloss as an interpolation.

¹⁹⁴ *Gelawk'*; Ptol. (VI.2.5): *Geloi*, a people of eastern Media where the province of Gilan along the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea (north of Dailam) preserves their name. Strabo (XI.7.1): *Gelai*; the *Getk'* of Eř (VI, p. 168), and Aa (20); RA (IV.2): *Patria Geolon*, a country, i. e. *Gilan* (*infra* n. 195). The Gels are a mysterious people frequently referred to but about whom little is known. They have

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. Gełam, Gełak'uni, Geławu, etc., and perhaps Qulḥa/Kolkhis, and Kot/Kola, all of which suggest a root G-L/K-L widespread in Caucasian toponymy, ethnonymy and hydronymy (for which see Toum.: 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 Gamkrelidze 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/Geloi* was the Greek name, but this may mean simply that the two peoples were related to one another.

¹⁹⁵ *Omdas*; Soukry (13, n. 4): *Orontes*, but see Ptol. (VI.2.2): *Amardos pot.*, now the *Sefid-rūd* but the name also included its upper reaches which are now the *Qezel Owzun* and, further upstream, the *Zanjan*.

¹⁹⁶ *Kōrdos*; *Kudos*, *Kiwros*.

¹⁹⁷ *Kadšawk'*, more usually in Armenian: *Katišk'* (e.g., Eł, Engl. trans. Thomson, p. 168); Ptol. (VI.2.2): *Kadousioi*; *RA* (II.8): *Patria Cadusion*, a country. We know little of the Kadousians beyond what Strabo has to say (XI.13.3-4). Pliny (VI.18.48) tells us that the Gelae 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.: *Gar'rah* (Erem.: *HSH* 2:40 map.; 1963: map) now the *Qara-su*, in the extreme northwest of Iran to the east of Ardebil, although Marq. (1901:77) places them near Herat in Afghanistan, relating them to the Hunnic *Kadišäer*. The Kadousians have disappeared without a trace, their place having been taken by the Azeri Turks.

¹⁹⁸ *Gaba'ru Bank'ink'*; Ptol. (VI.2.1): *Sabaoi Bōmoi*; **Gabaro* *Bomoi* 'altars of Gabaros', but Armenian *bagin* 'altar,' especially in the plural, can also mean temple: *Gaba'ru Bagink'* 'Temple of Gaba'ru' (Ananikian:18; Thomson, *Agathangelos* 1976:xl). Eremyan (46, 51) identifies this shrine with the *Ewt'np'orakean Bagink'* "Temple of the Seven Niches" (*sic.*, i.e., 'chapels?') of a later passage in the *AŠX* (L 12/13), the modern *Kabirry Kurgan* in the *Talysh* area of southern Soviet Azerbaijan. Whether or not this *Ewt'np'oraken Bagink'* of the *AŠX* really existed is open to question. Ag. (22) refers to the *yeawtn bagins mehenic'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 *AŠX*, familiar with the passage in Ag. misinterpreted it and took it to refer to the specific shrine of *Gaba'rou Bagink'* which really existed. Interestingly, Eremyan himself (1963:51) did not believe there was actually a district called *Ewt'n p'orakean Bagink'*, thinking it to have been merely a shrine which he, however, identifies with *Gaba'ru Bagink'*.

¹⁹⁹ *Kambisews*; Ptol. (VI.2.1): *Kambysos*, a river of northern Media probably the *Qara chai* (*supra* n. 195) and not to be confused with the *Kambysos* in Caucasian Albania, Arm.: *Kambeč*, the modern *Iora*, for which see Pliny (VI.15.39).

²⁰⁰ *Dovdeisk'*. There are no 'Dodeis Islands' mentioned in the section. Ptolemy (at V.12.8) has: *Nēsoi de parakeintai tē Albania dyo elōdeis* ... "There are two marshy islands near Albania..." which our author (or Pappus?) misread: "There are islands near Albania, the Dodeis."

²⁰¹ *Satka*; Ptol. (VI.9.8): *Talka*, which Eremyan (219, n. 49) compares with the name of the *Chelekan* peninsula on the east coast of the Caspian Sea in Soviet Turkmenia, suggesting an original *Tatākan*. 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 Cas-

pian in antiquity and the geographical implications of its once having been considerably higher than it is today; and, for my commentary, Hewsen, *ASSC* II 1990). According to Pliny (VI.19.52), the only important island in the Caspian Sea was called *Zazata* (**Talaka?*).

²⁰² *c'Tayanis get*; Ptol. (V.9.1): *Tanais*, the Don, which means 'river' in Ossetian and so, probably in Alanian and in Sarmatian before (cf. *Danube*, *Dneister*, *Dnepr*, *Donets*, *Alan-don*, etc.).

²⁰³ *Řia leinē*; Ptol. (VI.10.4): *Rhēa*, 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): *Reipaia*. Later in the *AŠX*, the author confuses the classical name for this river, the *Rha*, with its Turkic name *Etil* (*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 *Řa* as the upper reaches of the Volga and calls the lower course *At'l*.

²⁰⁴ *Miovtin cov*; Ptol. (III.6.4): *Maiōtes limnē*, the Sea of Azov, whose size Ptolemy greatly exaggerates.

²⁰⁵ *Ant'idon*; Ptol. (IV.5.12): *Anthēdōn*, a city of Egypt but Eremyan (*ibid.*: 219, n. 6), accepts the reading *Tenedos*; Ptol. (V.2.19): *Tenedos nesos*.

²⁰⁶ *Rinkoroura*; Ptol. (IV.5.2): *Rhinokoroura*, now el Arish.

²⁰⁷ *Gazay*; Ptol. (V.15.5): *Gaza*.

²⁰⁸ *P'iwnikēc'oc' Coc'un*. The Phoenician Sea would be the eastern Mediterranean where it reaches the coast of the Lebanon.

²⁰⁹ *Tenedaw*; Ptol. (V.2.19): *Tenedos nēsos*. 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 Anthedon where is the great city of Rhinokolovia and Gaza at the end of the Phoenecian Gulf." "*Minč'i Tawnawis get Ewropiay ē masn.*" But Libya "[*Zarewmrtakan*] *ew zharawayinn, miñc'ew c'Karmir covn ew i Karmir covē ew yAnt'idon K'atak'ē, or gay i mēj k'atak'ac'n Rinkoruray ew Gazay ezer P'iwnikēc'woc' covun.*"

²¹⁰ *K'atkedon Biwt'anan'woc'*; Ptol. (V.1.2): *Khalkēdōn*, i.e., Chalcedon opposite Byzantium/Constantinople/Istanbul, and site of the famous Council of 451 A.D. It is now *Kadiköy*.

²¹¹ Eremyan (*ibid.*: 220, n. 10), considered this last sentence to be an interpolation.

²¹² Ptol. (VI.7.14): *Persikos kolpos*.

²¹³ Ptol. (VI.7.13): *Ikhthyophagōs kolpos*.

²¹⁴ ... *dšxoyñ Saba*; S 1977; S 1944: *dšxoyñ harawoy* 'Queen of the South.'

²¹⁵ Psalms, 73:12.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* 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 *Chorography of Ancient Judea* (Wallace-Hadrill:203).

²¹⁷ Eremyan (*ibid.*: 220, n. 8), believed that everything from the words, "but I do not believe this," to this point is an interpolation.

²¹⁸ *iwr* instead of *zor*.

²¹⁹ ... *ēst* S 1877: *isk*; S 1944: *edeal*.

²²⁰ *Vat'sun* '60'. I have followed Eremyan's reading of '180' (1972:220).

²²¹ *Ut'sun* '80'. I have followed Eremyan's reading of '60' (*ibid.*).

²²² After this word, S 1944 has a question mark.

²²³ 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.

²²⁴ *Infra* III n. 1.

²²⁵ No such description occurs at any point later in the text as it has come down to us.

II. EUROPE

¹Text: *Eřion*; Ptol. (II.53); Strabo (III.1.4): *Hieron akrōtērion*; now *Cabo de San Vicente* on the Southwesternmost coast of Portugal.

²*Neřion*; Ptol. (II.6.2): *Nerion akrōtērion*; or *Artabron*; (Strabo III.3.5): *Nerion Finisterra*, probably Cabo Nariga west of La Coruña on the northwest coast of Spain (PW XXXIII "Nerium").

³*Perinea*; Ptol. (I.15.2) *Pyrēnaia oros*.

⁴The term *Yunac' Covun*, 'Sea of the *Yuynk'*' (i.e., the Greeks, who are usually called *Yoynk'* '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*Doubrias*; read: *Douras*; Ptol. (II.5.1): *Dōrias* pot., now the Douro.

⁶*Verios*; (II.6.16): *Ibēr*; Strabo (III.4.2): *Iberos*; Pliny (III.3.24): *Hiberos*; now the *Ebro*.

⁷Eremyan (1972:221) considers this last sentence to be an interpolation.

⁸*Beritonac' ašxarhn*. Ptolemy (II.2.3) begins his description of Europe with separate chapters on *Iouernia* (Ireland) and *Alouiōn* (Britain proper).

⁹*Ubernia*; Ptol. (II.2): *Iouernia nēsos Bretannikē*; Strabo (IV.5.4): *Ierne*; Pliny (IV.16, 103): *Hibernia*.

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

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

¹²*Alewion*; Ptol. (II.3): *Alouiōnos nēsos*; Strabo (IV.5.1): *Brettanikē*; Pliny (IV.16, 102): *Britannia* (formerly *Albion*).

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

¹⁴*Galilus* or *Koč'i Gēltgagalatia*; Ptol. (II.7.1): *Keltogalatia*.

¹⁵Ptolemy (*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 ew spanoť gomēš*. Eremyan (*ibid.*: 222) omits this reference to the *gomēš* or buffalo.

¹⁷*Azgn P'rankac'*, 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 Megalē* 'Greater Germany.'

¹⁹*Danob*; Ptol. (II.12.1): *Danoubios* pot.

²⁰Ptolemy (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.

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

²²*Satrabēn dašt*; which Ptolemy does not cite but cf. Pomp. Mela: (*apud* Erem.: 222 n. 5): *Satrapenae*.

²³*Elimac'oc' anapatn*; Ptol. (II.11.10): *e ton Elouētiōn erēmos*.

²⁴*Dałmatia*; Ptolemy (II.16) describes Dalmatia as a part of a larger province of Illyria or Libournia. Here our author omits Ptolemy's provinces of *Ouendelikia*, *Nōrikon* and both Upper and Lower *Pannonia*.

²⁵Ptolemy mentions no provinces within illyria.

²⁶The *bonosos*, correctly *bonasos*, 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.

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

²⁸*Stragon*; Ptol. (II.16.13) *Skardōna nēsos*.

²⁹*Isa*; Ptol. (II.16.14): *Issa*.

³⁰*P'ok'r Dałmatia*, perhaps the *Dalmatia paralia* of Ptol. (II.16.3).

³¹*Koskida*, *infra* n. 32.

³²*Melana*; Ptol. (II.16.14): *Korkoura ē Melaina* 'Black Korkyra.' Pliny (III.26, 152): *Corcyra Melaena*. 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*Prizimon*; Ptol. (II.17.5): *Rhizonikos Kolpos*.

³⁴*Diksn*; Ptol. (III.16.5): *Drilōn pot.*

³⁵Eremyan (222) omits this passage as an interpolation.

³⁶*Etalia*; Ptol. (III.1): *Italia*.

³⁷*řrabnak gawain Venetxoy* (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*.

³⁸Ptolemy divides Italy by tribes and not by districts.

³⁹Ptolemy lists no provinces in Italy.

⁴⁰*Biu Galu*; Ptol. (III.1.23): *Boioi Gallias*. The Boioi are also cited by Polybius (II.17.7): Strabo (IV.19.5); and Pliny (III.115).

⁴¹*Řawēna*; Ptol. (III.1.25): *Rabenna*; now *Ravenna*, at the time our text was written, the capital of Byzantine Italy.

⁴²Ptolemy cites twenty-eight rivers in Italy.

⁴³*Atiřinos*; Ptol. (III.1.25): *Atrianos* pot.

⁴⁴*Panos*; read: *Pados*; Ptol. (III.1.24): *Pados*, the Po.

⁴⁵*Riprikon*; Ptol. (III.1.23): *Rubikōnos* pot., the *Rugone*.

⁴⁶*Saterina*; Ptol. (III.1.49): *Satourniana Kolōnia*, now *Sabatina* Etruria.

⁴⁷*Latina*; Ptol. (III.1.5): *Latinoi*, i.e., the people of *Latium*, now *Lazio*, the province surrounding Rome.

⁴⁸*Mecn Hřom*; Ptol. (III.1.61): *Astu Rōmē*.

⁴⁹*Hēlēnk' Meck' ar orov c'ankalin Kanpania*; Ptol. (III.1.10): *Megalē Hellados*, 'Greater Greece' (Lat.: *Magna Graeca*), the standard name in antiquity for southern Italy.

⁵⁰*Sikilia*; Ptol. (III.4): *Sikelia*.

⁵¹Ptol. (III.4): nine islands around Sicily; twenty rivers.

⁵²*Sardion*; (III.3): *Sardō nēsos*.

⁵³*Kiřos*; Ptol. (III.2): *Kyřnos*, i.e., *Corsica*, whose Greek name was *Kyřnos* (Pliny II.6.80); Strabo (VI.1.1).

⁵⁴Ptolemy lists no districts in Corsica, only tribes.

⁵⁵Ptolemy does not give the circumference of Sardinia, but Pliny (III.7.4) makes it 565 Roman miles (c. 847.50 km).

⁵⁶Ptolemy does not give the distance from Sicily to Sardinia.

⁵⁷Ptolemy does not give the width of Sicily. It is 108 km. from East to West.

⁵⁸Ptolemy gives no specific districts for Hellas which he makes a division of Akhaia; he names, however, twenty rivers.

⁵⁹*Part'ēnos* (*infra* n. 60).

⁶⁰*Borinos*. Neither of the two mountains here is mentioned by Ptolemy but *Borinos*, from its descrip-

tion, can only be Mount Etna and is called by this name in other mss. available to Soukry (18, n. 6). Saint-Martin (II, 384) suggests that *Boīnos* 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 (1972:223): *Urkanos*.

⁶¹The text is unclear at this point. The Unknown Land is the *Agnostos Gē* of Ptol. (V.9.1, *passim*) and the *Terra Incognita* of Latin authors.

⁶²*Sarmatac'oc' ašxarh*; Ptol. (III.5): *Sarmatia* (for which see Erem. 1971:179-184).

⁶³*Xistula*; Ptol. (III.5.2): *Ouistoula*, the Vistula, the chief river of modern Poland.

⁶⁴*Rīpa Lerinn*. The Rhipaian 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 Urals. (Marcian of Heraclea, 53).

⁶⁵*Tayanis*; Ptol. (V.9.1.): *Tanais*, the River Don.

⁶⁶*Meotis covak*; Ptol. (II.16): *Maiotis Limnē*, i. e., the Sea of Azov.

⁶⁷*Tivias*; Ptol. (III.5.17): *Tyras*, the Dneister.

⁶⁸*Dakiac'oc' ašxarhn*; (*ibid.*): *Dakia*, 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 particular 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.

⁶⁹*Tawrakan c'amak' kłzin, aysink'n zK'erison*, (III.5.6): *Taurikēn Khersonēsos*.

⁷⁰*Biwkean Lčīn*; (*ibid.*): *tē Bykē limnē*; Pliny (IV.12.88): *L. Buces*.

⁷¹*Kwrkinitēa*; Ptol. (III.5.2): *Karkinitēs pot*; Pliny (V.12.85).

⁷²*Mēotis Covak*; Ptol. (III.5.1): *Karkinitēs kolpos*.

⁷³*Amak'sabir*; Ptol. (III.5.19): *Hamaxobioi*.

⁷⁴*Aylakēnc'atk'*.

⁷⁵Ptol. (III.5.15): exactly seven 'mountains', i. e., mountain ranges: *Peukē, Amadoka, Bōdīnan, Alanon, Karpatēs, Ouenedika* and *Rhipaia*.

⁷⁶The River *Koč'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 *Koč'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 'Urtext' formed by blending S and L, a version which Dashkevych (1973-74:386) rightly called 'contaminée,' Eremyan read the passage in question as: "European Sarmatia has seven round mountains and towards the Pontos, thirteen streams [of which two], in uniting form a river. One of these is called *Koč'o* [and the other *Borist'en*]." From this Dashkevych (*ibid.*: 387) saw that if the *Borist'en* (Boristhenes) was the Dnepr as it undoubtedly was, then the *Koč'o* must have been another river. He thus identified the *Koč'o* as the middle course of the Bug (Ukrainian: *Bob*) whose lower course formed a common estuary with the Dniepr. From all this, might we not read *Koč'o* as **Boč'o* (Ч for Б)? What has not been suggested to my knowledge, however, is that *Koč'o* may not be a name at all, but the remnant of the expression *or koč'i* 'that is called,' and that the actual name of the river itself is missing. S is of no help in this question as this passage is not found in any of its mss.

⁷⁷The pagan altars (*bagink'*) are the *Alexandrou bōmoi* 'altars of Alexander' and *Kaisaros bōmoi* 'altars of Caesar' Ptol. (III.5.26).

⁷⁸*T'rakac'oc' ašxarhn; T'rake*; Ptol. (III.11): *Thrakē*.

⁷⁹*Taīos*, the Dnestr River, *supra* n. 67.

⁸⁰Ptol. (III.11.6): *Fourteen regions*.

⁸¹*Veriwmus*, which, as Eremyan (*ibid.*: 224, n. 3), and Soukry (20, n. 1) before him, realized is a corruption of **Verin Miwsia*, 'Upper Moisia'; Ptol. (III.9,10): *Mysias tēs anō, Mysias tēs Katō*.

⁸²*Dardania*. Ptolemy cites no district of Dardania in Thrace, but he mentions a people called *Dardanoi* in Upper Moisia (III.9.2).

⁸³*Čorek'-K'atak'ean*. Ptolemy knows of no 'Tetrapolis' in Thrace.

⁸⁴*Arjnayin* 'towards the bear,' referring to the constellation *Ursus Major* 'the Great Bear,' and hence 'to the north.'

⁸⁵*Sklawk'*. The Slavic-speaking peoples first entered Dacia (Rumania) in large numbers before the sixth century. Ptolemy, of course, makes no mention of them, but see Proc. (*Goth.* VIII.14.22ff.): *Sklavenoi*.

⁸⁶*Gudk'*; Ptol. (II.11.34): *Goutai*. The Goths dominated Sarmatia (European Russia) from c. 250 A. D. until 378, when they were driven into the Roman Empire by the Huns, i. e., during the lifetime of Pappos of Alexandria.

⁸⁷I have been unsuccessful in identifying this island called *Emios* by our text. Could it be, as Soukry (20, n. 3) suggests, a corruption of Ptol. (II.11.1): *Albios*, or perhaps of his mountain called *Haimos* (III.11.7)? Herodotos refers to the Balkan Mountains as the *Haimos* (IV.49: *Tou Haimou*), as does Strabo (VII.5.1). Ptolemy (III.11.5) cites the *Haimos* and *Rhodope Mountains* as the most important ranges in Thrace.

⁸⁸*Dana*; (V.9.1, 2, 12, 16; VII.5.6; VIII.10.2): *Tanais*, the Don.

⁸⁹*Ak'ia*, i. e., **Akayia*.

⁹⁰*Tandilikeank'*; Ptol. (III.11.9): *Danthēlētikē*. Erem. (1972:224): *Dant'ilitikeanuk'*.

⁹¹*Sardikeank'* (*ibid.*): *Sardikē*.

⁹²*Sikiliteank'* (*ibid.*): *Sellētile*; Erem. (1972:224): *Silitikeank'*.

⁹³*Piwki*; Ptol. (III.5.2.11): *Peuke limnē*, (III.5.4): *Peukē pot.*, but there is no reference to an island called *Peukē*. Pliny (IV.12.89) also knows of Lake *Buces* (*sic, supra* n. 70).

⁹⁴*Asparhruk, ordin Xubrat'a, infra* n. 98.

⁹⁵*I Xazrac'*, nom. **Xazirk'*; Turkic: *Qazar*; Arab.: *al-Khazar*. (Ṭabarī, Balādhuṛī, Ibn Rusta, Ibn Khurdādhbih, Mas'ūdī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Muqaddasi, al-Bakrī, Ibn Ya'qūb, Yāqūt, Münejjimbašī, and Mahmud al-Kāšgari; in the last: *Khozār*). *Heb.*: *Xazar*, *Qazar* (*Letter of the Qagan Joseph*); *Per.*: *Xazar, Xazariyan* (Ḥudūd al-Ālām); *Byz.*: *Khazaroi* (CP, Theophanes, 1, p. 358); *Slavic*: *Kozar'* (and various minor variations, *Vita Constantini, Vita Methodii, Old Rus Chronicles*); *Chin.*: *Ho-sa, K'o-sa* (*apud* Golden, 1980).

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

⁹⁶*I Bulxarac' leimēn* (nom. *Bulxark'*) (*Infra* nn. 18-22).

⁹⁷*zAwain azg*; Ptol. (III.5.20): *Aouarenoi* or *Abarinoi*. The Avars were apparently a people of Hunnic origin. They first appear in the Steppe country in the second century. Pursued by the Kök 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. V.111), whom they drove into this region, the Avars soon continued their migration westward and by 567 had settled in Pannonia, the later Hungary. It is unclear if the Avars of the North Caucasus (*infra*, V 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 *Awark'* our author is referring here to the Hunnic rather than to the Caucasian Avars. (Dunlop, 1954; Czeglédy, 1960, 1969; Artamonov, 1962; Golden, 1980; Sinor, *CHEIA* 1990).

⁹⁸This 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 Völkerwanderung 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 Kutrigur 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); EIr 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. I).

⁹⁹ *I Kostandnupōlise; Konstantinoupolis/Constantinople*, earlier Byzantion, now Istanbul.

¹⁰⁰ *Covagetoyn Pontosi or Koč'i T'arakakan Prosperon*.

¹⁰¹ *Erak'lea; Ptol. (III.11.13): Hērakleia*. The curious reference to a wonderous theater at Hērakleia in Thrace is found earlier in Gregory of Tours (*Seven Wonders of the World*) (7)14: "The sixth wonder [of the world] is the theater of Heraclea, which is said to have been carved from one mountain so that the whole of it was built on one side, not only the walls on the outside, but those on the inside, and the whole structure was completed from one rock. In addition, it was faced with Heracleian marble." E. 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 *current* wonders in the early medieval world to which both Gregory of Tours and the author of our text had been exposed.

¹⁰² Heracleia was fifty statute miles (thirty km.) from Constantinople. It is now *Marmaraereglisi*. The distance from Heracleia to Rome is c. 800 statute miles direct (c. 480 Km).

¹⁰³ *Makedonia; Ptol. (III.12): Makedonia*.

¹⁰⁴ Ptol. (III.12). Twenty mountains.

¹⁰⁵ *Kitarion Ptol. (III.12.19): Kitarion*.

¹⁰⁶ *Olimbis; (ibid.): Olympos*.

¹⁰⁷ Ptol. (*ibid.*): Nineteen rivers and thirty districts.

¹⁰⁸ *T'esatia*. The Thessalian origin of the Armenians was asserted by Kyrtilos of Pharsalos and Medios of Larisa (*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 Armenian horsemanship said to resemble those of the Thessalians. The linking by the two Thessalians of the origin of the Armenians with the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts attests to its fabulous character. The appearance of this story in the *AŠX* suggests that it was referred to in Pappos' text for it is not found in any Armenian source. Pappos probably derived it from Strabo or, perhaps from Trogus Pompeius' *Historiae Phillipicae, apud* Justin (1935).

¹⁰⁹ Ptol. (*ibid.*): six gulfs.

¹¹⁰ *Ellada; Ptol. (III.5): Hellas*. By Ellada (Greece) our author is referring to Ptolemy's *Epeiros* and *Akhaia* together with the Island of Krētē (Crete).

¹¹¹ *Ak'ia (ibid.): Akhaia*.

¹¹² Piri; read: *Epiros; Ptol. (III.13): Ēpeiros*.

¹¹³ *Korēnt'os; (III.16.17): Korinthos*.

¹¹⁴ *At'ēns; (III.15.22): Athenai*.

¹¹⁵ This enumeration of mountains, rivers, cities and regions bears no resemblance to the description of Greece found in Ptolemy.

¹¹⁶ *Ak'aia; (III.14.15): Akhaia*.

¹¹⁷ *Arkadia; (III.16.19): Arkadia*.

¹¹⁸ *Ar̄dia; (III.16.20): Argeias; Argos*.

¹¹⁹ *Lakonikē; (III.16.9,22): Lakōnikē*.

¹²⁰ *Ilia; (III.13.6): Eleias*.

¹²¹ *Misinia; (III.16.7): Messēnia*.

¹²² *Sikonia; (III.16.4): Sikyōnia*.

¹²³ *Pisidon; Ptolemy (III.16.5)* mentions a temple of Poseidon in Akhaia proper immediately below his description of Sikyōnia, which he mentions briefly as containing the mouth of the River Syos. Apparently, our author (or his source) overlooked the fact that Akhaia proper was now being discussed instead of Sikyōnia.

¹²⁴ *Pelloponēsos Ptol.; (III.15): Peloponnēsos*.

¹²⁵ Ptolemy (III.14) has six mountains in Akhaia 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.

¹²⁶ *Eakedemon; read: Lakedamon; (III.16.22): Lakedaimon*.

¹²⁷ Ptol. (III.5): cites Akhaia separately from the rest of Greece, i. e., from Epiros and Crete.

¹²⁸ *Parnasoz; Ptol. (III.15.12): Parnassos oros*.

¹²⁹ *Ehikin; (ibid.): Elikōn oros*.

¹³⁰ *T'ot'oon; Ptol. (III.14.7): Hekatompodon Dōdōneion*.

¹³¹ Thirty-nine islands are named in Ptolemy's Akhaia, including *Krētē* and its five dependent isles and also Euboia. If the Mykonos Islands are counted as five, then the number can be raised to our author's forty-four.

¹³² *Krit; Ptol. (III.17): Krētē*.

¹³³ *Šant'akan leain; Ptol. (V.9.14,15,20,22): Keraunia orē* "Thundering Mountains" (*keraneios* 'thundering') of which the Armenian is a translation.

¹³⁴ *Elewsina; Ptol. (III.14.7): Elaious*.

¹³⁵ *Ewbiu; (III.15.23): Euboia*.

¹³⁶ *Ataland; (III.15.23): Atalantē*, an island of Euboia.

¹³⁷ The campaign of Artašēs I is described by MX (I.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" *TAR*) 39.2 (1986).

¹³⁸ Aristotle died of a stomach ailment at Khalkis on the Island of Euboia in 322 B. C. (*HDCLA* 1965:128 s. v. "Aristotle").

¹³⁹ *Ewripos; this would be a reference to the strait called Euripos between Euboia and Boiotia* (Saint-Martin, II:385, n. 36).

III. LIBYA

¹ It is not clear whether *skizbn laynut'ean č'ap'oyñ* "the beginning of the broad measure" (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.

² Text: *Mawritonia*, or *Koč'i Tingonia; Ptol. (IV.1): Mauritania Tingitanē*, i. e., Morocco.

³ *Ti[n]gin K'atak'; Ptol. (IV.1): Tingis Kaisareia; Pliny (V.1.2): Tingi*, now *Tangier*.

⁴ *Heraklēn covami'joc'in; Ptol. (IV.1.1): Hērakleios porthmos*.

⁵Sept. *Supra* I n. 122.

⁶*Gadiron ktzi*. Cadiz. Ptol. (IV.1.2): *Kōtēs akron*.

⁷No 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.

⁸*P'ok'ratas*; read: **p'ok'r Atlas*; Ptol. (IV.1.2): *Atlas Elatton oros*.

⁹*Dořdon*; Ptol. (IV.1.2): *Dytikon Okeanon*.

¹⁰*Piton-Pedon*, or *ē bragoyñ dašt*. Ptolemy (IV.1.10) mentions this *Pyrron (sic) pedion* 'Fiery Plain,' which, as Saint-Martin has already suggested (II.385, n. 38), is probably a reference to the Sahara Desert.

¹¹*Mawritonia*, or *Koč'i Kēsarsina*; Ptol. (IV.2.1): *Ē Mauritania ē Kaisarēnsia*, i. e., roughly Algeria with its capital at Iol Kaisareia, now *Cherchel*.

¹²*Kinabañis*. Originally only red ochre (paroxide of iron) was the principle earth called cinnabar, 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.109).

¹³*Ap'rikē*; Ptol. (IV.3): *Aphrikē*.

¹⁴*Siirtus*; (IV.3.11): *Syrtēos Mikia*, *Syrtēos Megalē*, the Lesser and Greater Sirtes, which are now, respectively, the Gulf of Gabes and the Gulf of Sidra along the coast of modern Libya.

¹⁵*Lawtas*. The text calls the lotus *bançar* (more properly *banjar*) 'herb,' 'vegetable' and, by extension, 'plant'. Soukry translates it 'arbre' – 'tree'.

¹⁶*Ok'ut*; read: **Odusē*; *Odyssey*, (X.83,84,97).

¹⁷*Mēlēti*; (IV.3.47): *Melite nesos*, now Malta.

¹⁸Ezek. XXVII.18.

¹⁹*Litiwros*; Ptol. (V.15.5,27): *Tyros*.

²⁰*Pisimon*, not cited by Ptolemy.

²¹*Sat*.

²²*Karmir Yakunt* 'The correct spelling is *yakint* 'hyacinth.' The stone called in Greek *hyakinthos* is said to have been the sapphire (Schoff:226). After hyacinth, S1683 adds the word *eaxut* at this point, which the Whistons, in S1736, read as *axut* and translated into Latin as *achates* 'agates.' Saint-Martin prefers the reading in S1683 and identifies it with the precious stone which the Arabs called *iakut*. There is no mention of *eaxut* in S1877 or S1944.

²³*Kargedon*, read: **Karkedon*; Ptol. (IV.3.7): *Karkhēdon B Kargedonia*.

²⁴*Tropolik' or ē erek'-k'atak'*; Ptol. (IV.3.13): *Tripolis*.

²⁵*Gioubi*; Erem. (1972:227): *Gi(r)ovbi*; the *Sabrata* of Ptol. (IV.3.12)?

²⁶*Kalania*, so the text, but the second of the three cities of Tripolis was the *Leptis Megalē* of Ptol. (IV.3.13); Lat.: *Leptis Magna*. No town called Kalania is mentioned by Ptolemy and its inclusion here cannot be explained.

²⁷*Ewsi*; (*ibid.*): *Eoa*, more often: *Oia*, now Tripoli, capital of modern Libya.

²⁸*Tisoba*; Ptol. (IV.3.38): *Tisoura*? But see *infra* n. 33.

²⁹*Idisia*; (IV.3.44): *Aithousa nēsos*.

³⁰*Pondika*; (IV.3.46): *Pontia nēsos*.

³¹This scrap of Armeno-Byzantine history, if it is not an interpolation, would be of value in dating the *AŠX*. Nerseh Kamsarakan was designated a curopalate and made presiding prince of Armenia by the Emperor Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) from 689/90 to 691. Soukry (1881: *Preface*, 24) quoting from *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine* (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 *AŠX* may perhaps be referring to this latter incident. In this case may we not see our author's *Tisoba* as a corruption of *Isola*?

³²*Kiwrenakan or Koč'i Petapawlik'*; Ptol. (IV.4.4,9): *Kyrēnaikē Pentapolis*. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. XII).

³³*Erēkornakan partēzgn*; Ptol. (IV.4.9): *kēpos Hesperidon*.

³⁴*Luk'*; Erem. (1972:227): (Xu)luk; Ptol. (IV.3.3): *Khoullon*.

³⁵*Alat'on*; Ptol. (IV.4.4): *Lathōn pot*.

³⁶*Liwaria*, read **Paliwaria*, an obvious error for Ptolemy's 'lake below Paliouros' (IV.4.8); Pliny (V.4.28) *Pallantias* 'Lake of Pallas' (quoting Callimachus).

³⁷...*K'arayrs Lasinikac'oc'*; Ptol. (IV.4.10): *ta spēlaia ton Lasanikōn*.

³⁸*Mardakerk'* 'man-eaters.'

³⁹*Kenořos*; Erem. (*ibid.*): *Ken[to]ros*.

⁴⁰*Lingnas*.

⁴¹*Spurink'*.

⁴²*Arjamkunk'*, cf. *arj* 'bear,' and modern Armenian *arjakapik* 'marmoset.'

⁴³*Marmarakan' Libia ew amenayn Egiptos*; Ptol. (IV.5): *Marmariaē syn Lybyē kai Egyptou*. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. XI).

⁴⁴*Ant'it'on*; Ptol. (IV.5.12): *Anthēdōn*.

⁴⁵*Rinokorura*; (IV.5.12): *Rhinokoroura*, now *el-Arish*.

⁴⁶*Askalon*; (V.16.2; VIII.20.15; VIII.20.15): *Askalōn*.

⁴⁷*K'ajac' K'atak'*; (IV.5.13): *Herōōn polis*. The Armenian is a calque on the Greek 'City of Heros.'

⁴⁸*Ciranakan*, literally 'apricot-colored' but here, as usual in Armenian, it translates the Greek *porphyritos*; 'purple' or perhaps 'crimson'; Ptol. (IV.5.27): *Porphyrites oros*.

⁴⁹*Gubs erku šinuacoys*, which Saint-Martin translated as 'two canals,' and Soukry as 'two cisterns.' I am inclined to follow the former reading, taking the word *gub*, meaning 'pit,' 'ditch,' 'hollow,' 'den,' 'well,' 'cistern' or 'abyss' to refer to the canals cut between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. *Gub*, in the sense of 'ditch' and, by extension, 'canal,' would appear to apply here, especially since *šinuac* specifically refers to something artificially as opposed to naturally made.

⁵⁰*Netos*; Ptol. (IV.5.38): *Neilos*.

⁵¹*Mecn Alēk'sandria*; Ptol. (IV.5.9, *passim*): *Alexandria*.

⁵²*Rawanitēnia*; Ptol. (IV.5.10): *Sebennytikon*, a mouth of the Nile.

⁵³*Marea ličn*; Ptol. (IV.5.20): *Mareia limnē*, now Lake Mareotis.

⁵⁴*Gehon*, which Eremyan (228) took to be an interpolation. The identification of the Nile with the biblical *Gihon* (Gen. 2:13) is at least as old as Josephus (*Antiq.* I. 39).

⁵⁵*I Lusni Leimē*; Ptol. (IV.8.3,6): *Selēnē oros*. Probably the Ruwenzor range.

⁵⁶*Ēropolititos.coc'*, here simply transliterated, where above (n. 36) the same name was translated into Armenian; Ptol. (V.17.1): *Herōopolites Kolpos*.

⁵⁷The Gulf of Suez.

⁵⁸*Tania*; Ptol. (IV.5.52): *Tanis*.

⁵⁹*Karmir cov un*; Ptol. (VI.7.4): *Erythra Thalassa*, the Red Sea.

⁶⁰*Arabac'woc' coc'*; (IV.5.13, *passim*): *Arabios kolpos*.

⁶¹*Jknaker azgn*, or *Koč'in Arab-Egiptac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.5.27): *Arabaigyptioi ikhthyophagoi...*

⁶²The Egyptian Sea was probably the Mediterranean between Egypt and Cyprus.

⁶³By *ēndhanur ašxarh* '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.

⁶⁴ *Endis Libia*; Ptol. (IV.6.1): *Entos Libyē*.

⁶⁵ There is a lacuna in the text after the word *karmragoys* 'red colored' (Soukry, Arm. text: 19). The 'Red Plain' referred to is apparently the Sahara again.

⁶⁶ *Bagradas*; Ptol. (IV.3.6): *Bagradas*, now the Medjerda (DGRG). Polybios (I.75) calls this river the *Makaras*, 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.

⁶⁷ *Kiwnop's*; Ptol. (IV.3.13, 6.11): *Kinyps pot.* (some mss.: *Kiniphos*), Pliny (V.4.27): *Cinyps*, which he places in Cyrenaica. This river has not been satisfactorily identified (Müller:630).

⁶⁸ *Spitak-Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.6.17): *Leukoathiope*, Pomp. Mela (I.23): *Leukaethiope*; Pliny (V.8.43):

⁶⁹ *P'aytefēn-Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.6.23): *Sylakkeis Aithiope*.

⁷⁰ *T'uk azgn*; Ptol. (IV.6.17): *Pygmioi*.

⁷¹ *Pik'it's*; unidentified; perhaps the Pygmies again?

⁷² *T'rip'ik's*; perhaps the *Tepeth*, a Nyangiya-speaking tribe of Uganda once much more extensive in its range (Mokhtar 1981:589).

⁷³ *Spitakalerink'*.

⁷⁴ *Rngefjwr* 'nose-horn', a calque on the Greek *rhinokeros*.

⁷⁵ *Getaji* 'river-horse,' a calque on the Greek *hippopotamos*.

⁷⁶ *P'iwł*, a word of Iranian origin.

⁷⁷ *Rak'abima*; the Rechabim 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 nomads descended from Jethro of Midian.

⁷⁸ The reference of Ananias is to an apocryphal work called *The History of the Rechabites* or *The Apocalypse of Zosimos*, which exists in a Greek, a Syriac and an Ethiopic version, and which is essentially an early Jewish work expanded and Christianized in the fourth century (Charlesworth 1982).

⁷⁹ *Et'ovpia*, or *Nerk'in Egiptos Koč'in*. Eremyan (*ibid.*:229) corrects this to read [Verin] *Et'ovpia*... 'Upper Ethiopia...,' which is certainly correct. (See Appendix X).

⁸⁰ *Nelos vtaksn*.

⁸¹ *Memnos*; Ptol. (IV.7.20): *Meroē* (*infra*, n. 84).

⁸² *Satapus*, read: **Astapus*; (IV.7.2): *Astapous pot.*

⁸³ *Kotovi lič*; (IV.7.24,31): *Koloē limnē*. Probably Lake Tana.

⁸⁴ Eremyan (*ibid.*) adds *Meroe* as the name of the island in question; Ptol. (IV.7.2): *Meroe nēsos*. The 'island' of Meroe (Pliny V.X.54; VI.XXV.183-6) corresponds roughly to the modern Butane plane lying between Atbara and the Blue Nile. Existing at least as early as the eighth century B.C. and already a large city by the fifth, Meroe is famous for its egyptianizing monuments, and was the capital of the Cushite Empire until the early fourth century A.D. Overthrown by the Nubas, its neighbors to the West, Cush was replaced by the Christian kingdom of Axum (Leclant 1981:278-297).

⁸⁵ As Soukry notes (27, n. 9), only three names are cited of the thirty-six districts by our author, but these are the only three that are named in Ptolemy as well.

⁸⁶ *Barbaria*; Ptol. (I.17.6; IV.7.28): *Barbaria*.

⁸⁷ *Barbarakan coc'ovn*; (IV.6.4): *Barbarikon pelagos*.

⁸⁸ *Azonia* read: **Azania*; (I.7.6): *Azania*, Somalia (Mokhtar 1981:146), the modern coast of Ajan (DGRG I:354).

⁸⁹ *Trovb*; (IV.7.27): *Trōglodytikē*. Pliny (V.35.189): *Trogloditae*; Erem. (1972:229): **Trōgloditikē*.

⁹⁰ *Uni ew gawars azgac'eresunewvec*..., which I take to mean peoples, i.e., tribes, possessing their own territories.

⁹¹ *Babelac'ik'*, which Soukry translates 'Babylonians' but this cannot be correct; cf. Ptol. (IV.7.29): *Babyllēnioi*.

⁹² *Armatakerk'*; (IV.7.29): *Rhizophagoi*.

⁹³ *Ok'somontac'ik'*; (*ibid.*) *Auxomitai*.

⁹⁴ *Proneay*; (IV.8.1): *Prason akōtērion*.

⁹⁵ *Atolitē* (IV.7.8): *Adoulitai*.

⁹⁶ *Erjaniken Arabia*; (VI.7) *Arabia Eudaimon, infra*, VIII n. 105.

⁹⁷ *Job* 6:19.

⁹⁸ *T'zukk*, read: **T'ukkk'*. The Pygmies are referred to by Aristotle *History of Animals* (VIII.12), and Pliny (VI.22), the latter of whom places them in India.

⁹⁹ *Jagakerk'*; Ptol. (IV.7.31) *Strouthophagoi Aithiope*.

¹⁰⁰ *Vranawork'*; (*ibid.*): *Skēnitai*.

¹⁰¹ *Mijin-Et'ēovpac'ik'*; (*ibid.*) *Mesē Aithiopia*.

¹⁰² *Ktzi or Koč'i Moguc'*, nom. **Mogk'*; Ptol. (IV.7.37): *Magōn Nēsos*.

¹⁰³ *Havuc'*, nom. **Hawk'*; (*ibid.*): *Orneōn nēsos*; Strabo (XV.1.14).

¹⁰⁴ *Xndaber erkirn ew zmrsabern*; Ptol. (IV.7.37): *Kinnamophoros Xora. Smyrnophoros Xōra*.

¹⁰⁵ Ptol. (IV.7.10): ... *tēn diammon kai abrokhon khōran*...

¹⁰⁶ *Nerk'sagoyñ Et'ēovpia*; Ptol. (IV.8): *Entos Aithiopia*.

¹⁰⁷ *Erēk'ornakan-Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.8.1): *Hēperioi Aithiope*.

¹⁰⁸ *Merkvišapamardk'*.

¹⁰⁹ *Jknaker Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.8.3): *Ikhthiophagoi Aithiope*.

¹¹⁰ *Ariwcašun*, 'lion-dog,' probably the hyena which is not mentioned by Ptolemy but see Pliny (VIII.46.106).

¹¹¹ *P'rp'refjwr Et'ēovpac'ik'*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*) corrects to **At'akeank' Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.8.3): *Athakai Aithiope*, which Ananias (or possibly Pappos) misread as *Aphrokeros* 'foam born,' whence Arm.: *P'rp'refjwr*. Ptolemy (IV.6.9) cites the *Aphrikerōnes* among the tribes of Africa, calling them a 'large' i.e., numerous people (*mega ethnos*).

¹¹² *Anlt'oy*, nom.: **analet'*, modern Armenian *ēnjult*, 'giraffe.'

¹¹³ Eremyan (230) omits the word *ēcuttk'* 'leopards.' The text reads: *or yorum kendani inč nman anlt'oy mardamart ew anušahot yorum k'al cašaser ew mardamart*..., which Soukry (28) translated "chez lesquels il y a un animal semblable à la girafe: ressemble au leopard."

¹¹⁴ *Etjwraknčit'k'*, 'horn-snouts.'

¹¹⁵ *Vagerajig* 'tiger-horses,' i.e., the zebra.

¹¹⁶ *Aycamardk'* 'goat-men.'

¹¹⁷ *Akisamba*; Ptol. (IV.8.5): *Agisymba*, Central Africa south of the Sahara Desert.

¹¹⁸ *Barjragat'unk' Et'ēovpac'ik'*, not mentioned by Ptol., but obviously the Watusi tribe whose men average two and one third meters in height.

¹¹⁹ *Mardaker Et'ēovpac'ik'*; Ptol. (IV.8.3): *Aithiope Anthropophagoi*.

¹²⁰ *Raptos*; Ptol. (IV.7.4): *Rhaptos pot.*, any one of the five rivers emptying into the Indian Ocean opposite the island of Zanzibar.

¹²¹ *Varazanman*, lit. 'wild boar-like.'

¹²² *Sołamanman*, literally *soł*-like (*soł* = 'creeping', 'crawling'); Erem. (1972:230): *salamandr*. The salamander is not mentioned by Ptolemy.

¹²³ *Kovidēac'*, nom.: **Kovidk'*; Pliny (X.51): *chamaeleo*.

¹²⁴ *Zesubēs* (*sic*, possibly *esubēs* with initial 'z' denoting an accusative); S 1819: *tubus*; S 1877: *supos*; *trbos*; *supos*, B mentions this animal but does not name it; D *tribos*; E *suros*; F omitted; G illegible; H

subos perhaps the *nabun* of Pliny (VIII.27.69) with the Armenian letter Ն 'n' being mistaken by a copyist for ս 's'? 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 *kēbos*. *Infra* n. 56 A.

IV. ASIA MINOR

¹In 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' (*Mijerkreak'*, the Anatolian Peninsula or Asia Minor, i. e., the land between the Black and Mediterranean Seas), the author of the *AŠX* depicts the administrative situation which existed at various times between the period of the reforms of Diocletian (284-305), Constantine I (306-337), Valens (364-378) and Theodosius I (379-395), and those of Justinian I (527-565). Since the *Notitia Dignitatum* (c. 413-415), the *Synekdemos* 'travel-guide' of Hierocles (c. 530) and the *Descriptio Orbis Romani* of George of Cyprus (c. 604), all appeared during this period, he felt that their influence was detectable in this part of the work. That the later changes made after the period of Justinian are not to be found in the text, he believed was connected with the fact that the Armenian Church had separated from the universal church after 451 (though not *officially* until after 555 -R.H.H.). As before, I feel that Eremyan makes too much of this ecclesiastical break. Rather, it seems to me, the author was probably working with out-of-date materials of various epochs, the latest administrative changes within the Byzantine Empire being only dimly perceived until long after they had taken place. A comparison of this part of the text with the works of Hierokles and George of 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 (Ostrogorsky, 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 established, and in 627 there is a mention of a *tourmarkhos* of the *Armeniakoï*, *tourma* being the term used for the subdivision of the thematic army. Three centuries later CP (*DT* II) writes: "I believe that the name [Armeniakon] dates from the time of Heraclius the emperor and from the years after him." (Note: In this section of the annotations, all references to Eremyan are to the article cited above in this note unless otherwise indicated).

Space precludes any attempt at a thorough bibliography on the provinces of Asia Minor, and no such attempt will be made here. Magie (1950); Jones *CERP* (1937, 2nd ed. revised 1971), and the relevant entries in *DHGE*, *CAH* and *ANRW* (II.7.2) are the standard references at present; between them they contain an exhaustive collection of bibliographic data. Almost as valuable, but now considerably dated, are the work of Ramsay (1890/1972) and the articles on each province to be found in *PW*.

²The Anatolian peninsula, i. e. Asiatic Turkey.

³*Mijerkērē* 'from the Middleland'; Ptol. (I.16): *Mesogaia*, *supra* I, n. 15.

⁴*But'ania*; (V.1): *Pontos kai Bithynia*. For Hierokles, Bithynia was the thirty-first province of the Byzantine Empire and the twelfth of Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. VI)

⁵*Kostandnupawlis*. Ptolemy (III.11.5) naturally calls the city by its original name, *Byzantion*.

⁶*Trakakan P'arisp'oros*; Ptol. (III.11.3, 17.2): *Bosporos Thrakios*.

⁷*Propontea*; Ptol. (V.2.1): *Propontis*, the Sea of Marmara.

⁸*Artemea*; Ptol. (V.1.2): *Hieron Artemidos*.

⁹*Řodanga*; Ptol. (V.1.4): *Rhyndakos Pot.*, now the Edrenos-*su* or the Örhaneli, a tributary of the Kirmasti which flows into the Sea of Marmara.

¹⁰*Olonpios leain*; Ptol. (V.1.10): *Olympos*, now Karduz *yayla* (*PW*, 18/1:313).

¹¹*Ēlion leain*; (*ibid.*): *Orminion oros*, now Koca başı *Dağ* (*PW* 18/1:1109).

¹²*Eladas, Zopias, Sagaris*; (V.1.7): *Elata pot.*, *Hyppios pot.*; (V.1.6): *Sangarios pot.*

¹³*Merj Nikomedeia*, which Eremyan (239) emends to *Merj Nikiy* 'near Nicaea,' but this depends on how correct is his next emendation of the text (*infra* n. 14) where he identifies *Siwnas liĵ* as Lake Askania, which indeed, lay near Nicaea. Soukry (p. 30) read *Thynas* for *Siwnas*, but there was a large lake called *Soumonensis* in antiquity that lay very near Nicomedia.

¹⁴*Siwnas*, which Eremyan (239) corrects to **Askania liĵ*; Ptol. (V.1.4): *Askania limnē*.

¹⁵*Askanidēs*; Ptol. (V.1.4): *Askanios pot.*, now the *Göl dere*.

¹⁶*Kiania*; (V.1.15): *Kyaneai*, the Symplegades of Herodotus (IV.85).

¹⁷*Prama*; (V.1.3): *Prousa*, now *Bursa*.

¹⁸*Katkedon ew Nikomideia*; Ptol. (V.1.2): *Khakeldōn ... Nikomēdeia*, now, respectively, *Kadiköy* and *Iznik*.

¹⁹*K'alak's covēzerays vačaratetis*.

²⁰*Arget*; Gk: *argillos*, is white clay, potters' earth or marl, see Strabo (XII.8.11).

²¹*Kayt'* was equal to two *modii*, i. e., sixty *litrae* or Roman pounds, which would be 19 kgs, 584 gm (*Man.* 1965:125 ff.).

²²*Musia Mec ew P'ok'r or koč'i Elispontos*; Ptol. (V.2.4): *Mysia Megalē*, and (V.2.2): *Mysias Mikras tēs eph Hellēspontos*. Hierokles places Mysia I and Mysia II in Europe, the first on the Danube; the second along the Black Sea at the Danube's mouth. This Mysia he calls *Hellēspontos*.

²³*Kizikon*. The ruins of Kyzikos Ptol. (V.2.2.) are on the neck of an isthmus of a peninsula extending from the Asian shore into the Sea of Marmara. This temple (and a palace) are mentioned by Zosimos (*History*, II.31).

²⁴*Ilion, Dařdanon, Trovada*; Ptol. (V.2.14): *Ilion*, (V.2.3) *Dardanon* and (V.2.4): *Alexandreia Troas*. The confusion whereby Ilium and Troy are listed as separate cities thus goes back at least to Ptolemy, Dardanos is now in ruins, but has given its name to the straits called 'Dardanelles' (*PW* XIV:550).

²⁵*Tik'tion ... Homoros*. Diktys of Crete supposedly lived at the time of the fall of Troy (c. 1100 B. C.?), but the work attributed to him is a forgery of the time of Nero (*PW* 5 pt. 1:589-590).

²⁶*Aranĵnak Asia* 'Asia Proper'; Ptol. (V.2): *Idia Asia*, i. e., Asia the country as opposed to Asia, the continent; (V.2): *ē idios Kaloumenē Asia*. Hierokles' *Asia* is the twentieth province of the Byzantine Empire and the first in Asia. Jones, *CERP*, Ch. II)

²⁷*Ep'esos, Zmiwria, Peřganos, Ořařis*; Ptol. (V.2.8): *Ephesos*; (V. 2.7): *Smyrna*; (V.2.14): *Pergamos*; (V.2.9): *Tralleis*. Pergamum is modern Bergama, while Smyrna alone remains important as the port of Izmir, third largest city of modern Turkey.

²⁸*Liwdia*; Ptol. (V.2.1): *Lydea*. Hierokles' Lydia is the twenty-third province of the Byzantine Empire and the fourth in Asia.

²⁹*Sardos*; (V.2.17) *Sardeis*, now the village of Sart.

³⁰*Elois, Ēnoi*; (V.2.6): *Aiolis*; (V.2.7): *Iōnia*.

³¹... *ork'en Yoynk'*, 'who are Ionians,' the Classical Armenian term for the Greeks in general.

³²*Karia*; (V.2.9): *Karia*. Hierokles' Karia is the thirtieth province of the Byzantine Empire and the eleventh in Asia.

³³*K'ios*; (V.2.30): *Khios nēsos*.

³⁴*Posida*; (*ibid.*): *Poseidon*.

³⁵ *Karos, Samos; (ibid.): Ikaria, Samos.*

³⁶ *Kov; Ptol. (V.2.31): Kōs.*

³⁷ *Acts 21:1.*

³⁸ The knowledge of the devotion of Ephesos to Artemis (Diana) comes from the author's familiarity with *Acts*, which he has just quoted, and not from any first-hand acquaintance with the city.

³⁹ These tombs are cited by Euseb. *HE* (III.39.6).

⁴⁰ *Likia; (Ptol. V.2.12): Lykia.* Hierokles' Lykia in the twenty-eighth province of the Byzantine Empire and the ninth in Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. III).

⁴¹ *Zmirnia* 'Smyrna' but clearly **Miwria*, i. e., 'Myra' is intended, Ptol. (V.3.6), which lay just west of modern Finike on the south coast of Turkey.

⁴² *Rados* (read: **Rodos*); Ptol. (V.2.34): *Rhodos* in the *Rhodiakon pelagos*.

⁴³ *Lini and xunk zukin zor Hayk'arous koč'en.* Liquidambar is a genus of balsamiferous trees of eastern Asia. The name is also applied to the balsam yielded by them.

⁴⁴ *Phrygia* (read: **Phrygia*); Ptol. (V.2.22): *Phrygia Megalē* 'Greater Phrygia.' As Saint-Martin points out (*ibid.*, n. 48), at the time of Pappos (late fourth century), Phrygia was divided into two provinces while Pisidia, a part of Phrygia in the *AŠX* formed a separate province. As Eremyan indicates, (242, n. 1), the text gives the political division as it was in the beginning of the fourth century. Hierokles *Phrygia Pakatianē* is the twenty-second province of the Byzantine Empire and the third of Asia; his *Phrygia Saloutaria* is the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh.

It is interesting to note that all of the subdivisions of Asia Minor are referred to as *ašxarhk'* with the exception of Phrygia which is called a *bnāšxarh* ('native land' from *bun* 'own', 'natural', 'real', 'original' and *ašxarh* 'world', 'country', 'land'). All of the countries of Europe are similarly referred to as *ašxarhk'* and only the first three in Libya are called *bnāšxarhk'*. An investigation needs to be made of the use of this term in the various Armenian sources to determine if there is any pattern that might explain the sense of its use here. Bedrossian (1879:106) renders it simply 'country' or 'region'.

⁴⁵ *Pisidea; Ptol. (V.4.9): Pisidia*, which in Ptolemy's time was a part of Galatia. This is Hierokles' twenty-fourth province of the Byzantine Empire and the fifth of Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. V)

⁴⁶ *Antiokē; (V.4.11): Antiokheia Pisidias*, which is not a deserted ruin (Müller:85f).

⁴⁷ *Kiwotos; (V.2.25): Apameia Kibōtos*, where it is placed in Lesser Phrygia.

⁴⁸ As Eremyan points out (243, n. 9), the source of this identification rests upon the word *Kibōtos* 'ark' from which *Kibōtos tou Noe* 'the Ark of Noah.' The surname *Kibōtos*, meaning also 'chest', 'coffer', however, refers to the great wealth of Apameia and the author has misunderstood its sense here.

⁴⁹ *Pakatiani. Pakatiana* is not cited by Ptolemy. (*Supra* n. 44).

⁵⁰ *Lawodikē; Ptol. (V.2.18): Laodikeia*, now Eski Hissar near the River Lykos (Sag-su), a tributary of the Maiander (Menderes).

⁵¹ *Salataria* (read: **Salutaria*) is not cited by Ptolemy being one of the two Galatias which emerged from Diocletian's reform: Galatia I and Galatia II Saloutaris (*supra* n. 44).

⁵² *Miw'nuda* (read: **Siwnada*, the Armenian. 'U' = S having been taken for an 'U' = M); Ptol. (V.2.24): *Synnada*, now *Cifat Kasaba*, southeast of modern Kütahya.

⁵³ *Pep'agonia* (read: **Pap'agonia*); Ptol. (V.1.9, 4.5,7): *Paphlagonia*, in Ptolemy's time a part of Kappadokia. Hierokles' Paphlagonia is the thirty-third province of the Byzantine Empire and the fourteenth in Asia. (Jones, *CERP* VI)

⁵⁴ *Onorata*, Honorias is not cited by Ptolemy having emerged only out of the reforms of Diocletian. For Hierokles, Honorias is the thirty-second province of the Byzantine Empire and the thirteenth of Asia.

⁵⁵ *Pontos Galatakan; Ptol. (V.6.3): Pontos Galatikos*, i. e., the part of Galatia bordering the Pontos Euxeinos or Black Sea. The two Galatias of Hierokles are inland provinces (*infra* nn. 58, 59; Jones, *CERP*, Ch. IV).

⁵⁶ *zOsik'os ew zOtis* (read: **zZaliskos ew zAtis*); Ptol. (V.4.3): *Zaliskos pot.*, *Halys pot.*, the latter of which is now, the Kizil Irmak.

⁵⁷ *Gemianupōlis oro berd Gagra* (read: **Germanupawlis, oroy berdn-Gangra*); Ptol. (V.4.5): *Germanopolis*, which was only later called Gangra. Here the author attempts to rationalize the two names by assigning the later one to the citadel of the town.

⁵⁸ *Galatia Arajin; Ptol. (V.4): Galatia*, Hierokles' thirty-fourth province of the Byzantine Empire and fifteenth of Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. IV)

⁵⁹ *Erkerord 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 *AŠX* counts Pisidia as part of Phrygia (*supra* n. 45) but cites Lykaonia separately (*infra* n. 68; Jones, *CERP*, ch. IV).

⁶⁰ *C'amp'itia; (read: Pamp'iwlia); Ptol. (V.5): Pamphylia*, Hierokles' twenty-seventh province of the Byzantine Empire and eighth of Asia (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. V).

⁶¹ *Sawria; Ptol. (V.4.12): Isauria*. Hierokles' forty-fifth province of the Byzantine Empire and twenty-sixth of Asia.

⁶² *Kipros*, i. e., Cyprus, *infra*, n. 84.

⁶³ *Leain Tawros; (V.6.1,8): Tauros oros*. BP (III.14) uses the name *C'ul* for this range, an Armenian translation of the Greek *tauros* 'bull.'

⁶⁴ *Lini and xungs, stirak, kučum bigumbit' kalamita...* (Erem.: *xungs spitak stiwrakučus, sprogomtit, kalamit*). Calomite (Gk: *kalamos*) signifies 'reed' or 'cane', but also referred to an aromatic native to Syria and Arabia.

⁶⁵ Eremyan (241) considered this sentence to be a later interpolation which it probably is.

⁶⁶ *Selewkia; Ptol. (V.8.5): Seleukeia Trakheia*, the metropolitan see of Isauria, now *Silifke* on the south coast of Asia Minor.

⁶⁷ Another interpolation?

⁶⁸ *Likonian* (read: **Likayonia*); Ptol. (V.4.10): *Lykaonia*, a prefecture of Kappadokia from the first till the fourth century when it became a separate province and metropolitanate with its capital at Ikonion (Konya). This is Hierokles' twenty-fifth province of the Byzantine Empire and sixth of Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. V)

⁶⁹ *Elinopontos*. 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 Diospontos, and later in the *Laterculus* of Polemonius Silvius (written between 386 and 448) as *Pontus Amasia*. Between the period of these two documents, Constantine the Great (306-337) renamed the province *Helenopontos* in honor of his mother, the Empress Helena, 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 (247, n. 1), the author of the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX*, 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.

⁷⁰ *Elionpontos*, Helenopontos bordered Paphlagonia but in Ptolemy's time First Galatia separated its territory (*Pontos Galatia*) from Second Galatia (*Galatia Salutaris*).

⁷¹ *Pontos Polemonakan*; Ptol. (V.6.4): *Pontos Polemōniakos*. 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.

⁷² *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.

⁷³ *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 Kaisareia (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 Kaisareia, Nyssa, [Basilikai] Thermai, and Podanos, to which George of Cyprus (pp. 6, 61) adds Aipolis and Kisikē, with Kaisareia 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 *Er* IV:780ff.) For Kappadokia as Armenian territory see YK II.18.

⁷⁴ *Ašxarhahamar*, a word which according to Eremyan (248, n. 4) is a special term corresponding to the Iranian *šahrmar* (cf. Sebēos, I, where Vahan, Prince of Siwnik' requests that the *divan* of Siwnik' (i.e., in this case, the administrative center to which the Prince of Siwnik' was subordinated), be transferred from the city of Dvin to that of P'aytakaran 'in the *Šahrmar* of Atrpatakan'). Here, *šahrmar* is a subdivision of the Persian Empire supposedly established by Khosrō Anōšarvān (531-579. See Rawlinson, 1876:429; Christensen 1944:102; Toum. 1963:158, n. 33; Ad.-Gar., 167 and *infra* IX nn. 1-2). According to Eremyan (*ibid.*) an *ašxarhahamar* was a district connected with the census used for the collection of taxes.

⁷⁵ *Antitawros*; Ptol. (V.6.8): *Antिताuros oros*, the concatenation of generally low mountains separating the valley of the Halys River from that of the Euphrates.

⁷⁶ *Mēlas ew zAtis*; (V.6.8): *Melas*, not to be confused with another Melas (now the Tohma-su) flowing into the Euphrates close to Melitēnē. As Eremyan points out (248, n. 4) the Mēlas referred to here was a tributary of the *Atis* (*Halys*, now the Kizil Irmak, the principle river of Anatolia).

⁷⁷ *Arajin ew Erkerord 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 Seleukeia; 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).

⁷⁸ *Sisikean Coc'oyñ*; Ptol. (V.7.1): *Issikon Kolpō*, now the Gulf of Iskenderun.

⁷⁹ *Awimakdis, Kalidos, Damos, Kiwdnos, Sawros, Pīramos*; Ptol. (V.8.3): *Orymagdos, Kalykadnos*; (V.8.4): *Lamos*; (V.8.4): *Kydnos, Saros, Pyramos*. (See Appendix X).

⁸⁰ *Tarson*; Ptol. (V.8.7): *Tarsos*, now Tarsus, birthplace of St. Paul.

⁸¹ *Anarzaba*; (V.8.7): *Kaisareia pros Anazarbō*.

⁸² *Malis ew Platan*; (V.8.7): *Amanikai Pylai* 'the Amanos Gates', but Ptolemy does not give their respective names. For him (V.8.4) Mallos is a town.

⁸³ ... *erkerin Yordananu*. A biblical reference (*infra* VIII, n. 43).

⁸⁴ *Kiprov Ktzi*; (V.13): *Kypros nēsos*, the island of Cyprus. The fifty-fourth province of the Byzantine Empire according to Hierokles and the twenty-fifth of Asia. (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. XIII; See Appendix X).

⁸⁵ ... *Yelic' kalov Panp'iwliakan peladosin (sic)*; (V.13.1): *Pamphylion pelagos*, the Mediterranean off the Pamphylian coast to the west of Cyprus.

⁸⁶ *P'iwnikakan pelagosn*; (V.14.2): *Syriakon pelagos*, the Mediterranean between Cyprus and the coast of Phoenicia (Lebanon).

⁸⁷ This last sentence is unclear in L where, at this point, the text is corrupt. Laudanum is mentioned by Herodotus (III.112). The word formerly referred to a preparation in which opium predominated. The omission of First Armenia, which appears in S apparently would seem from the context to have been intentional, the idea being apparently that Second Armenia was now First Armenia and that no other Armenias existed in Asia Minor at the time the author (or copyist?) was writing.

⁸⁸ For the background of these Armenias see *supra* pp. 32-40. For Hierokles there are still only two Armenias, First and Second, which he makes the fortieth and forty-first provinces of the Byzantine Empire and the twenty-first and twenty-second of Asia.

⁸⁹ *Erkerord Hayk' or ard koč'in Arajin Hayk'*. (See Appendix X).

⁹⁰ *yAmanos Lerin*; Ptol. (V.6.1, 8.1, 15.1): *Amanos oros*, the modern Nur range which separates Kilikia from Syria to the east.

⁹¹ *Kamagēni Asoroc'*; Ptol. (V.15.10): *Kommagēnē*, the Assyrian *Kummuhu* (Adontz 1946:68) was an independent kingdom that emerged in the Hellenistic period only to be annexed by Rome in A.D. 72. Thereafter, it was a part of the province of Syria until the time of Diocletian (284-305), who separated it from Syria to form a distinct province called *Euphratensis*, as it is called by Hierokles. This new province lasted until the coming of the Arabs in the seventh century, but our author, drawing upon Pappos, does not know of Kommagēnē as anything more than a division of Syria. At this point, then, his information is over 300 years out-of-date. (Magie 1950:344, 376-77; Jones *CERP* 1971: chap. X; Sullivan 1979: chap. III; Toum. 1963:482; Hewsen 1985:64-7).

⁹² *Ep'rat*; Ptol. (V.6.1, 8 *passim*): *Euphrates*; the modern Firat *Nehri*, where it flows through eastern Anatolia into Syria.

⁹³ *Zigon ew zBasilikon*. Unmentioned by Ptolemy, the *Zigon Basilikon* is the spur of the Antitaurus lying between Divrigi and Arapkir just west of the westernmost bend of the Euphrates (Erem. 1963:map). The name means 'royal line' but I have been unable to find a reference to it in any other source besides the *AŠX*, itself.

⁹⁴ *Krormandon*; read: *Oromandon*. According to Eremyan (1963:75), the modern Hürman-*deresi*. This river is unknown to Ptolemy.

⁹⁵ *Pīramos*; Ptol. (V.8.4): *Pyramos*, the River Ceyhan which flows from the Tauros Mountains through Kilikia to the Mediterranean Sea.

⁹⁶ *Pa'atis*; i.e. *Paradeisos*, 'the garden river' now the Bertic, entering the *Pyramos* (Ceyhan) just north of Maraş. This river is not cited by Ptolemy.

⁹⁷ *Kawkaw*; i.e. *Kiakkas*, now the Eleki, which enters the Euphrates from the northwest at Çermik, (Arm.: *Jermuk*), where, in Roman times lay the fort of *Kiakkas*, Ptol. (V.7.2): *Kiakis*, which Eremyan (1963:59) identifies with the Kia[kka] of Assyrian sources. The river is not found in Ptolemy, but the fort is cited in *IA* (209) and *IP* (XCVIII).

⁹⁸ *Ka'omosos*, tributary of the Saros (Seyhan), which Eremyan (1963:58) identifies with the modern Kurumze. This river is unknown to Ptolemy.

⁹⁹ ... *ew druns erku elanelo Asoroc'*. These would be passes leading southward through the Tauros into Kommagēnē. Eremyan (1963:58), places them in the gorge of the *Pyramos* (Ceyhan)

River; Hon. (1935:85-87) identifies them with the passes of Kylinoros and Adattha of Byzantine sources.

V. SARMATIA AND NORTH CAUCASIA

¹ *I ašxarh Asioy Sarmac'oc' hasarakn ē*, i. e., the vast steppe country between the Don and the Volga extending southwards to include North Caucasia known to the Greeks as *Scythia* (for the major peoples of Sarmatia see Minns 1913; Rice 1957; Sulimirsky 1970; and Ter-Mkrč'yan 1979).

² *Ripea*, *supra* II n. 64.

³ *Taynanis*, *supra* I, n. 199.

⁴ *Mestis Covak*, *supra* I n. 201.

⁵ *γEk'sinos Pontos cov*; Ptol. (V.6.1; 9.7; 10.1): *Euxeinos Pontos* 'the hospitable sea,' not, as commonly supposed, in opposition to an original *axeinos* 'inhospitable,' (cf. Pliny VI.1.1: *Axinus*), but from OP *axšaina* 'dark colored' (Högemann and Buschmann 1986), a name preserved in the modern 'Black' Sea (Russ.: *Chernoe More*; Tk: *Kara Deniz*).

⁶ *Kuñak'i*; Ptol. (v.8.4): *Korax pot.*, which can mean the 'raven,' 'rook' or 'crow' river (the modern *Kodori*), but in Pahlavi the word *kurraç*, whence Arm. *k'uñak* (Ačaryan:1529), means 'colt' or 'foal,' and, outside of Ptolemy, all other classical sources call this the *Hippos*, i. e., 'Horse,' River (Erem. 2, 1973:261, n. 7); Proc. (*Goth.* VIII.16): *Hippis*. Unless otherwise stated, all references to Eremyan in the following notes are to this article). *Infra* n. 12.

⁷ *Kawkas Lerins*. The Caucasus Mountains 'Mt. Kas' (Phl: *Kāfkōh* 'Mt. Kāf'; Gk.: *Kaukasos*; Arm.: *Kawkas*; Geo.: *Kavkazi*; Arab: *al-Qabk*, *al-Qabkb*, *al Qabdj*, or *Jabal al-Alsun* 'Mt. of Tongues'; Tk.: *Kafkas*, *Kafkasya*, *Kavkaz* or, less common, *Kafdaçi*; Russ.: *Kavkaz*), is the large mountain range of the USSR extending diagonally northwest-southeast between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and serving since antiquity as a natural frontier between Europe and Asia; between the barbarians of the steppes and the civilized lands to the south. The range extends for about 700 miles (1127 km.), is from 60 to 130 miles (96.56 to 209 km.) wide, and covers an area of some 18,242 sq. miles (c. 472,600 sq. km.). A high rugged complex of parallel ridges, only one pass, the Darial Gorge, is open year round and besides this, only the litoral pass along the Caspian shore has been a practical route of invasion. Narrow and forested in the west, the Caucasus broadens but becomes more arid towards the east. Its highest peaks are Mt. Elbruz (18,510 ft./5360 m.) the Greek *Strobilos* (Arrian 16); and Mt. Kazbek (16,558 ft./5043 m.), the earlier Mt. Cona (Erem. map 1979), the Greek *Kaspios* (Strabo XI.8.9), the former being the highest mountain in Europe. The name *Strobilos* comes from the Gk: *strobeo* 'to spin', 'to whirl', *strobilos* itself meaning 'spinning' or 'whirling' hence a child's top or anything shaped like a top, e. g. a cone. Mt. Strobilos would thus be the 'cone-shaped' mountain. Pliny's description of 'Mt. Caspius' indicates a correspondance with Mt. Kazbek, the Georgian name for which, however, is *Mqinvari* (Allen 1967:305). The chief historical interest of the range lies in the periodic raids of the northern tribes (especially the Alans and Khazars) into the Middle East and the various measures taken to keep them out. Strabo (XI.2.15) quotes Eratosthenes to the effect that the natives called the Caucasus 'Mount Kaspios.' If this is correct, then the root would be *Kas* whence Persian *Kōh-Kas* 'Mount Kas' (see Mark. "Woher" 1930); Pliny (VI.18.50) asserts that the Scythian name for the range was *Croucasis*, which he glosses as 'white with snow.'

Caucasia, itself, is a vast geographical region overlapping Europe and Asia on the isthmus between the Black and the Caspian Seas. It is divided by the Caucasus Mountains into two sub-regions, North and South Caucasia, the latter often miscalled 'Transcaucasia', a term valid only from a Russian point

of view. 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 Kolkhis/Lazica/Abasgia) located in the basin of the River Rioni (Phasis), and East Georgia (ancient Iberia or K'art'li), located along the middle course of the River Kura (Cyrus/Mtkvari); 2) Azerbaidzhan in the East (ancient Albania, later Arrān, then Shirvan) the low-lying and arid Kura-Arax basin; and 3) Armenia, lying on the high mountainous plateau overlooking Georgia on the North and Azerbaidzhan to the East, and buttressed by the Lesser Caucasus (*Malyi Kavkaz*) 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 Azerbaidzhan and the lush, humid, semi-tropical forests of West Georgia and Talysh. 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 Apsheron 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 Caucasia today, each with its own language. The various tongues belong either to the Indo-European Family (e. g., Armenian, Ossetian, Kurdish, etc.), the Turkic (Azeri, Turkmen, Karachay, etc.), the Mongol (Kalmyk) or the Palaeo-Caucasian (Georgian, Circassian, Chechen, etc. and those 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: Azeris, Talysh, etc.). The mountain tribes, however, frequently manifest only a thin veneer of Islam superimposed upon an equally thin coating of Christianity through both of 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 communality 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 Caucasia since the early Stone Age and excavations have revealed that a single culture, called by Soviet Scholars *eneolithic* ('copper-stone'), flourished on both sides of the range from c. 3250 to c. 2000 B. C. North Caucasia was dominated by the Iranian Scythians from c. 750-250 B. C. and then by the related Sarmatian tribes c. 250 B. C. - 250 A. D. after which the Sarmatian Alans controlled the area until the great *Völkerwanderung* of the fourth-seventh centuries. In the seventh century, the Khazars, centered at Itil (CP *DAI* 37/2: *Atēl*); near Astrakhan at the mouth of the Volga, dominated the lesser states in northeast Caucasia (Alania, Sarir, Khaydak, etc.), although, given the difficulty of controlling the mountain people even in the nineteenth 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 Caucasia 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

the thirteenth century succeeded for the first time in history in uniting Northern and Southern Caucasia under a single rule. When the Mongol Empire broke up in 1256, North Caucasia 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 Caucasia while other local formations emerged in the Northeast most of which survived until the Russian annexations of the early nineteenth century. (Cf. Akiner 1983: *passim*). *History: South Caucasia*. The earliest polities to emerge in South Caucasia 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 Caucasia 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 1008, 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. Locally, they have been subjected to influences from all of the peoples by whom they have been conquered or overrun, while striving to maintain their existence as separate states and their independence of action.

United briefly once again by the Ottomans in the early seventeenth century, North and South Caucasia were step-by-step united for a third time by the Russian Empire (1801-1878), which held them until 1918. Then, after a two-year period of independence (1918-1921), the region was once again united by the Bolsheviks (1920-1921), and Caucasia has been a part of the Soviet state ever since.

North Caucasia today comprises the Krasnodar Krai (territory), with the Autonomous Oblast (province) of Adigeia, and the Shapsug and Armavir National Raiony (districts); the Stravropol Krai, with the Karachai-Circassian Autonomous Oblast; and, finally, the Kabardino-Balkar, North Ossetian, Checheno-Ingush and Dagestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. All of these units are included in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) of the USSR.

South Caucasia now consists of 1) the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (Capital: Tbilisi), with the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast and the Abkhazian and Adjarian Autonomous Republics; 2) the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Capital: Baku), with the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Karabagh A.O.; and 3) the Armenian SSR (Capital: Erevan). The three republics formed a larger administrative unit, the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (T.S.F.S.R.) from 1922, but this was dissolved in 1936. (Bibliography: Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, the major Armenian Georgian and Muslim sources, and the major Western European travellers and scholars: Guldenstadt 1787-91; Reineggs 1796; Pallas 1812; von Klaproth 1814; Golovin 1854; Mozer 1856; Perzold 1887; Freshfield 1888; Veidenbaum 1888, de Morgan 1889; de Zichy 1898; Merzbacher 1901; Baddeley 1942; Allen 1923; Byhen 1930; Hančar 1937; Grigola 1939; Sanders 1942; Erhorn 1942; Karst 1948; Luzbetak 1951; ND; Kovsen 1955; idem. 1958; Columbia University, *Human Relations Area File* 1956; Tokarev 1958; *Kavkaz* 1960;

NK 1960; Kovsen 1961; Mongait 1961; Sarkisyants 1961; Piotrovsky 1962; Halasi-Kun 1963; Krupnov 1964; Rogov 1966; Dumitrashko et. al. 1966; Michailov 1967; Milkov 1969; Gaspard 1969; Lydolf 1970; Mathieson 1975; Tardy 1978; Rohbacher 1981; Akiner 1983; Wixman 1984).

For the Caucasian languages: (Deeters 1927; Dirr 1928; *idem* 1940; Geiger et al., 1959; Bouda 1960; NK 1960; Vogt 1961; Kuipers 1963; Deeters 1963; Klimov 1965/69; YN IV 1967; Gamkrelidze and Gudava 1974; Catford 1977; Wixman 1980; McCadden 1982; Kreindler and Lazzarini 1982; Ivanov 1985; Diakanoff and Starostin 1986).

⁸ *Sēwanas*. The *Soana* is cited, in fact by Ptolemy. (V.9.10). This is yet a further indication that our author was not working with Ptolemy at hand.

⁹ *Lerins zŠant'ainn*; Ptol. (V.9.17 *passim*): *Keraunia*, the 'thundering mountains' of which *Šant'ayin* is the Armenian translation. Probably the mountains of Dagestan.

¹⁰ *zJiakann*; Ptol. (V.9.14): *Hippika*, where, however six rivers are cited; (V.9.2): *Maroubios*, *Rhombitos Megalos*, *Theophanios*, *Rhombitos Mikra*, *Attakitios* and *Psathios*, the last of which contains the Circassian root *pse* 'water.' For the Hippos see Artamonov (1962:172).

¹¹ *Valdanis*; (read: **Vardanes*); Ptol. (V.8.8): *Ouardanēs* also known to the ancients as the *Hypanis* from a native(?) *Kup'is*, now the Kuban, the largest river of northwest Caucasia (Circassia).

¹² *Krak's leam*; Ptol. (V.9.15): *Korax oros*, Pliny (VI.15.39): *Koraxici*, from which Eremyan (261, n. 15) reads an original **Korakos oros*, i.e., 'horse mountain' (*supra* n. 6). Our author has already mentioned this well-known range under an Armenian translation (*Jiakan*) of its more common known Greek from *Hippikos* 'horse' (*supra* n. 10), but repeats them here under the Ptolemaic form, taking the *Jiakan*, which he had probably heard of under its Armenian name, and the Ptolemaic *Hippikos* from Pappos as being separate names for separate ranges. The *Jiakan-Krak's Mountains* are the western end of the Caucasus as it overlooks Abkhazia from the north. Pliny (VI.10.26) knows of the "Heniochi Mountains, which are called by some persons the *Coraxici*."

¹³ *P'sewk'oros*; Ptol. (V.9.8): *Psykhros pot.* The ancient Greeks took this name from a native form (*pse-*, *psa-*, *psis-* = 'water' in the Abkhazian and Circassian languages) which they interpreted to mean the 'cold' river (Gk: *psykhros* 'cold'). It is now the Shapsug River (Erem.: 262, n. 18).

¹⁴ ... *ēnd P'osp'oronn*; Ptol. (V.9.1): *Bosphoros*.

¹⁵ ... *ew zibun sahmam yorum k'atak'ikn, Nikop's*, which Soukry (34) translated: „Sur la frontière, au même lieu ou est batie la petite ville de Nicophs...,” but which Eremyan (262, n. 20) corrected to read: ... *ew Zik'un sahmam, yorum k'atak'ikn Nikop's* "to the frontier of the Zik'ians by the little city of Nikop's" citing Ptol. (V.9.18): *Zigkhoi*; Pliny (VI.5.19): *Zigae*; Proc. Per. (II.29.15): *Zēgoi*; RA (IV.2): *Patria Zichorum* 'land of the Zichians'; and CP (DAI 42): *xōra tēs Zykiās*; Geo.: *Jik'ni* for the people; *Jik'et'i* for the country; Medieval Lat.: *Sicci/Ziquia* or *Sychia* (and a number of similar related forms). These would be Arm.: *Jik'* or *Zix*, one of the Circassian tribes whose name would be connected to the Circassian self-designation *Adyghe*. In the modern Adyghean language, the Abkhazians are called *Azykhy*, whereas the Georgians call the southern Abazinians (another Abkhazian people living north of the Caucasus range), *Jixi* (Interiano 1502; Volkova:18-19).

¹⁶ *K'atak'ikn Nikop's*; Ps. Arrian, 58 (17): *Nikophis*; GC 62: *Nikopseōs*; CP, DAI, 42: *Nikophia*; Geo.: *Nik'op'cia* or *Anakop'ia*, now the town of Novy Afon, where the ruined second-third century citadel and a Roman tower can still be seen on Mt. Iverskaya.

¹⁷ *T'urk'*. The Iranian (i.e., Scytho-Sarmatian-Alan) domination of the steppes was, from the fourth through the sixteenth century, replaced by that of the Turko-Mongolic or Altaic peoples, a vast eddy of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes grouping and regrouping into various polities. By *T'urk'k'* (possibly from Turk.: *türk/törük*, 'strength,' 'power' although this is disputed; Chin.: *T'u-chüeh* < Arch. Chin. **t'uat-kiwat* < *Türküt*; possibly the *Tyrcae* of Pliny VI.5.19 although this is

very problematic), our author specifically refers to the Western Kōk Türk Qağanate ('empire'). Originally, vassals of the Juan-juan in Central Asia, the Kōk Türks became independent in 552 and soon dominated Central Asia arriving at the Volga by 554. After crushing the Hephthalites or 'White Huns' of Transcaspia in 565, they assumed the latter's animosity to the Persian Empire. After unsatisfactory attempts to secure an effective anti-Persian alliance with Byzantium, the Kōk Türks raided Byzantine territory in the Crimea and Lazika. The power of the Kōk Türks proved to be as ephemeral as its emergence was sudden. Civil war wracked the qağanate for many years (582-603) during which many of their Oğur Turk vassals (Ps.-Zach. XII: *Ogor*) went over to the Avars. By the 630's, the qağanate had collapsed and the Kōk Türks were destroyed by the Qarluqs in 766. The Kōk Türks 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 (Grousset 1946; Artamonov 1962; Barthold "Turks" *EI* 8; Gumilev 1967; Golden 1980).

¹⁸ *Bulgark'*. The Bulgars, as their name implies (Turkic: *bulğla*- 'mix'), were a federation of closely related Turkic peoples largely of Oğur Turkish origin who were the most important Turkic formation in the Khazar period. Their federation emerged in the steppes 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): *Geëkb*; AM (XXIII.6.63): *Daicus*; Russ.: *Yaik*; now the Ural, from Turkic: *Yayia* or *Jayiq*, the Bulgar/Oguric form for *Yayiq* (Nemeth, *HMK*: 112-113; Golden:43). First mentioned by name in the late fifth 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 Khanate of Greater Bulgaria located between the Sea of Azov and the Kuban River in northwestern Caucasia. After Qobrat's death, his state was divided among his five sons, and shortly crumbled leaving the field clear for Khazar domination of the Steppes. It is Qobrat (584-642) whose son Asparukh (679-701) is referred to by our author (*supra* II, n. 98) as having fled the Khazars (Dunlop 1952; NK I 1960:440-466; Artamonov 1962; Obolensky 1966; Golden 1980). According to MX (II.9), there were Bulgars settled in Armenia "below", i.e., "south of," Koł, 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 *Kup'i Bulkar*, from the *Kup'is* or *Kup'i* River, now the Kuban (Patkanov 1883:29; Artamonov 1962:164-166; Erem. 1973, 2:262, n. 24).

²⁰ *Duč'i Bulkar* (read: **K'uč'i Bulkar*), correctly *Duč'i 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 *Otxontor Blkarek*, Syr.: *Unnogur* (ps.-Zach. XII); RA (IV.2): *Patria Onogoria*; (CP *DAI*, 000): *Onogouroi*, the *Vlëndur Bulgar* of MX (II.6), according to whom some settled in Armenia in the districts of Basean and Vanand to the latter of which they supposedly gave their name although the name Vanand is attested long before the Bulgars came upon the scene. The name is derived from mong.: *baghatür* '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 *Onogouris* in Lazika, as well as the *Onogouroi* Huns (III.5.6).

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

²³ *Supra* II n. 98.

²⁴ *Garšk'*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*:263, n. 30) corrects to **Gašk* and connects to the Hittite *Gaška* or

Kaška; Ptol. (V.19.25): *Kerketoi*; Pliny (VI.4.7, 5.17): *Cercetae*; Ps.-Zakh. (XII): *Khasar*; Byz.: *Kasakhos/Kasakhia*, Geo.: *Čerkezi*; Arab.: *Kāsak*; Russ.: *Kosagy*, *Kuštogi*, later *Cherkes*, i.e., the Circassians of Western authors. The Ossetians still use the term *K'asag* for the Adyghe, a remnant of the Circassians who remained in the Circassian homeland in northeast Caucasia when the bulk of population emigrated to Turkey in the nineteenth century. (Interiano 1502; Pallas 1812; Spencer 1836; Bell 1840; Longworth 1840; Liule 1927; Namitok 1939; *idem.* 1956; Luzbetak 1951; Traho 1955:145-162; *idem.* 1956; *idem.* 1957; Nogmov 1958; "Kabardiny/Chérkezi," NK I Inalcik *New EI*; "Adyghe" *ibid.*: 200-223; YN IV 1967:145-166; Kalmykov 1974; Akiner 1983:190-197, 215-220, 230-365; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:190 "Cherkess." At this point in the text our author has left the Sarmatian plains and has begun to cite the peoples of the Caucasus 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-Turkic-speaking autochthons of Caucasia represent the remnants of the primordial population of the ancient Mediterranean world to which Marr gave the name 'japhetic,' see Marr 1923; Cavaignac 1929; Speiser 1930; Gugušvili 1936; Melik'isvili 1954; Vogt 1961; Toumanoff 1963).

²⁵ *K'ut'k'*; Geo.: *K'urt'auli*, of which the earlier form would be *K'urt'aur*, one of the Alano-Ossetian tribes still known as the *Kurtatintsy* to the Russians as late as the eighteenth century (Erem., *ibid.*, 263, n. 31).

²⁶ *Swank'* (*Suank'* or *Svank'*); Ptol. (VII.4.9): *Soanoi*, but cf. (V.9.25): *Souannokolkhoi* 'Svanian Kolkhians' cf. BP (III.7): *Egersuank'* 'Kolkhian Svans'; Strabo (XI.2.19): *Soanoi*; Pliny (VI.11.30): *Suani*; Geo.: *Svani*; *Svanet'i* for the country, the *Souanoi* of Byzantine sources (Agathias: 4.9.1). The Svans are one of the main components of the Georgian people and still maintain their separate identity. Their name may represent the root S-N found so often in Caucasia (for which see Allen 1932). According to the Russian census figures there were 15,756 Svans in 1897 (Geig.: 15; *BSE*, 1st. ed. Vol. 30:371). In later censuses, they were included among the Georgians properly called. Called *Suan* or *Swan* in Georgian, they call themselves *Shwan* (*Šwan*), singular: *Mushwan* or *Mushwani* (Geig.: *ibid.*). This may show them to be related to, if not indeed descended from, the *Moschi* or Pliny; (VI.4.11), the *Mushki* of the Assyrian monuments and the Biblical *Mosoch* (Gen. 10.2), where they are always grouped with the *Tubal* (Gk: *Tibarenoi*, *Iberia*), 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 Svans (Berneville 1875; Phillipps-Wolley 1883; NK; YN IV; Diakonoff 1984).

²⁷ *Pisinun* (read: **Pitiunt*); Strabo (XI.2.14): *Pityous*; Proc. *Goth.* (VIII.4.4): *Pitiounta*; Geo.: *Bičvinta*, now *Pitsunda*. The name is perhaps connected to Gk: *pytis*, cf. *phtheiropoios*, a species of local pine (Erem.:263, n. 33), and to the *Phtheiropagoi* of Strabo (XI.2.19), and *Phthiropagi* of Pliny (VI.4.14), 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:215, n. 3).

²⁸ *Awazov*, i.e., *Abaza*, the ancient name for the Abkhazians, a people closely related to the Circassians but formerly inhabiting the Black Sea coast to the south of the Caucasus range as far as the Hippos (Kodori) River. The author of the *AŠX* obviously does not consider them to be a part of Kolkhis-Lazika, but includes them among the peoples of Sarmatia. The Georgians call them *Abxaz*, whence the English and Russian forms, while the Turks call them *Abaza*. There were 72,103 Abkhaz in 1897 and 74,000 in 1959 (Geig. *op. cit.*). This latter figure does not include 8,602 Abaza listed in the Turkish census of 1945, or the Abaza living in Russia proper who numbered 20,000 in 1959. (Vax.: map; Toum. 1954; *idem.* 1963:256; Abaza 1959:34-40; 'Avaziny' NK 1 1960:232-242; YN IV:123-144; Akiner 1983:236-39; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:200).

²⁹ *Ap'silk'*; (read: **Apšetk'* or **Ap'setk'*); Geo.: *Ap'silni*; *Ap'silet'i* for their country, to which is related *Apsni*, the Abkhazian name for themselves (Erem.: *ibid.*, n. 35). The Apsilians apparently inhabited the coast between the Hippos (Kodori) and Drakon (Egrisis-c'qali) Rivers (Erem. 1979: map). They are a branch of the Abxaz (*infra*, n. 30 and Appendix X).

³⁰ *Ap'xazk'*; Arrian (15): *Abasgoi* or *Abaskoi*; Proc. Pers. (II.29); *idem. Goth.* (VIII.3, *passim*): CP DAI (42/13), all three: Abasgia for the country; Agathias (III.2.7): *Abasgoi* for the people. The Abkhazians, who call themselves *Aapswa* and who replaced the Laz as the dominant people of West Georgia in the 790's (Toum. 1963:256), numbered c. 80,000 (Catford 1977:284) and now form an autonomous republic (A.S.S.R.) within the Georgian Republic (Antelava 1951; Kobidze 1957; Anchabadze 1959; *idem.* 1964; Inal-lpa 1965; Khonelia 1965; *idem.* 1966: Khutsishvili 1980; NK; YN:95-125; Akiner 1983:220-26; Bennigsen and Wimbush:213; Giunashvili 'Abkhaz' *Elr* 1).

³¹ *Sewastupawlik'*, the ancient Greek colony of Dioskourias Ptol. (V.10.2) on the Kheras River, renamed Sebastopolis for the Emperor Augustus (Gk.: *sebastos* = Lat.: *augustus* 'awesome' Sebastopolis 'city of Augustus'); Geo.: *C'xumi*; Tk.: *Sukhum-kale*; Russ.: *Sukhumi*, now capital of the Abkhazian A.S.S.R. (as it was of medieval Abasgia), and a noted Soviet resort. (See Appendix X).

³² *Grakon* (read: **Diakon*), or *ē Višap*. Not mentioned by Ptolemy, this is the *Egrisis c'qali*, now the Eguri; Arm.: *Egr(is)oy jur*, a name obviously connected with *Egrisi*, the Georgian name for *Kolkhis* (*infra* VII, n. 1).

³³ *Atwanac'* 'from Albania,' but read: **Alanac'* 'from Alania.' The Alans, Gk.: *Alanoi*; Lat.: *Alani*; CP (DAI 10/4): *Alania*; Pers.: *Alān*, *As*; Rus. and Hung.: *Yas*; Mong.: *Asut* (pl.), not to be confused with the Caucasian (or Caspian) Albanians (*Ałuanek'*, q.v. *infra* VI, n. 66), were an Iranian tribe or possibly a tribal federation emerging out of the almagam of Iranian-speaking tribes that was the Sarmatian federation. A nomadic warlike and pastoral people who often served as mercenaries for both the Roman and various Iranian states, the Alans emerge as the dominant force in the southern steppes of what is now Russia in the first century A. D. With the Hunnic invasions of the fourth-fifth centuries, some of the Alans migrated into western Europe while the rest were pressed southwards into North Caucasia where they settled in the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains between the sources of the Kuban and its tributary the Zelenchuk and to the Darial Gorge (*Dar-i Alanān*, 'Gate of the Alans'). There the Alans became engaged in farming and stock-raising, and formed a densely populated state centered at Magas (Arab.: *Qal'at al-Lān*?, at or near the present Ordzhonikidze) that dominated the area until the rise of the Khazars. Christianity was preached among the Alans from the fifth century and, in the tenth, they officially embraced the faith, a Metropolitan see of Alania was created, and the Alans came within the purview of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. According to CP (DMI,11) the Alans were generally on good terms with the Khazars, but preferred the Empire, and could be relied upon to attack the former. They were also closely connected politically with the Georgians with whom dynastic marriages took place (Toum. 1976:121-24). Devastated by the Arabs in 857, the Alan state recovered, but was destroyed by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. The location of the Alan capital, whose uncertain name has been reconstructed by Minorsky (1952) as **Magas* (Chin.: *Mieh-ch'ieh-ssu*; Mong.: *Meget* (Allsen, unpubl. ms. kindly sent to me by the author), has not yet been precisely determined. It has been placed on the upper course of the Terek by Eremyan (1979: map, where he calls it *Jaug*), identified as Nizhne Arkhyz, a ruined city on the 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-Kale on the Sunzha River to the west of Groznii. The surviving Alans then divided into three groups: one following the Qipchaks to Hungary, sent east to serve with the Mongols in China, and one which merged with the Caucasian aborigines to form the modern Os of Oset'i (everywhere miscalled 'Osse-

tians') inhabiting an hourglass-shaped region extending north and south of the Darial Gorge. The eastern Ossetians of Caucasia called themselves *Ir* (collective), *Iron* (sing.), *Irättä* (plur.); the western, Dygor or *Digor* (coll.), *Dygyron*, *Digoron* (sing.) (q.v. *infra* nn. 56 and 61). The Ossetians in 1970 numbered some 488,000. (Von Haxthausen 1854; Miansarov 1874; Miller 1887; Tomaschek *El* 'Alahi' 1893; de Zichy 1897; Kulakovskii 1899; Baddeley 1908; *idem.* 1940; Taubler 1909; Bleichsteiner 1918; Chursin 1925; Byhen 1936; Vernadsky 1942-43; Tsutsiev 1950; Vernadsky 1951; Czeglédy 1955; Trilati 1958:107-126; Geig. 1959:46-47; Ardesenov 1959; Vaneyev 1959; "Osetiny" NK 1 1960: 297-344; Kaloiev 1967; Kverichikhiladze 1968; Barthold and Minorsky *New El*; Gagloyti 1966; Serebrianaia 1969; Cibirov 1970; Beroev 1971; Kuznetsov 1971; Bachrach 1973; Abaev-Bailey *Elr*; Shuiskii 1984; Akiner 1983:181-190; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:204).

³⁴ *Infra* VI n. 2.

³⁵ ... *azgagawa's k'a'rasun ew vec'*: By *azgagawa's*, 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 (*supra* n. 18) and the Khazars (*supra* II n. 95).

³⁶ *Ancanawt' Erkir*; Gk.: *Agnostos gē* Ptol. (V.9.1, *passim*), here, northern Russia.

³⁷ *T'agaworakan Armartk'* (read: **Sarmatk'*) *ew* [*Sarmatk'*] *Jiakerk'*; Ptol. (V.9.16): *Basilikoi Sarmatai Kai Modokai ethnos*. Eremyan (264, n. 43) rejects the suggestion of Patkanov (1877:37, n. 134) that the Royal Sarmatians of Classical authors (*Basilikai Sarmatai*) were the Ba(r)silians (*infra* n. 47) on the legitimate grounds that the Barsilians were of Hunnic origin (Artamonov 1962:131-132; Golden 1980:143).

³⁸ *Jiakerk'*; Ptol. (V.8.6): *Hippophagoi Sarmatai*. This and the previous item, the Royal Sarmatians, are 'ghosts' drawn from earlier authors. These are obviously not ethnicons, but descriptive terms based upon the way of life of people about whom nothing else was known. Even our author, so well versed in the situation in North Caucasia in his own time refuses to part with them (cf. the Amazons *infra* n. 43).

³⁹ *Naxčamateank'*; Ptol. (V.9.16, 17): *Iaxamatai ethnos*, which Eremyan (1973:265 n. 46) connects with the town of Exapolis or Hexapolis (V.8.11), and which, on the strength of the witness of the AŠX, connects to **Naxamatai*, **Naxapolis*, placing the latter in the site of Aksayskaya Stanitsa near Rostov-on-Don, and cautioning one not to make a false identification with the eighteenth century Armenian colony at Rostov called 'Nor Nakhichevan' after the Naxičawan on the Araxes in Armenia. Eremyan (1968:83-84) recalls that the Chechens call themselves *Naxču*. (Marr 1922:21; *Nokchiy*; Traho 1957:76-96; Geig.:19; 'Checheny' NK I, 1960: 345-74; YN IV:184-90; Erem. 2 1963:72; *idem.* 1973:265, n. 46; Akiner 1983:175-81; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:181).

⁴⁰ *Kłarjk'*; S1819: *Oljakerk'*; S1877: *Orjlakerk'*; both of which are corruptions for BP (III.7) mentions the *Głuar* as a Caucasian tribe as does Eł (IV, p. 94): *Głuar*; *Cxvar*. Apparently, judging from their place in the text, Eremyan (1973:2, n. 47) identified these *Kłarjk'* with the *Pssoi* of Ptol. (V.8.7), and suggested that the affluent of the Kuban called *P'siš* preserved their name. Actually, however, since *pse* means 'water' in Circassian and is found as an element in several hydronyms of North Caucasia (e.g. *Psykhros*, *Psyrtskha*, *Psakho*, *Pshada*, *Bzyb*, *Supsa*, *Tuapse* etc.) this proves little, and the tribe could have taken its name from the stream. In his view (*ibid.*) *P'siš/Pssoi* and *Kłarjk'* 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 Č'orox River (Tk.: *Çoruh*), where they would have established themselves in two districts to which they gave the tribal names: *Kłarjk'* (Geo.: *Klarjet'i*, see Toum.: 442, 457-466), and *Šavšk'* (Geo.: *Šavšet'i*). Eremyan (1973:2, n. 47) considers it significant that *Šavšet'* occupies the valley of the stream called

Šawšuri (now the Imerkhevi), which shows that in the Georgian milieu they are also known as the Šawšurni (cf. the *Mesxurni* of SA and the *Ĵawaxurnik'* of SO).

⁴¹ *Siwřakac'ik'*; Ptol. (V.9.17): *Sirakēnoi* or *Sērakēnoi*; Strabo (XI.2.6, 5.8): *Sirakes*, dwelling on the River Akhadeos flowing from the Caucasus to the sea of Azov. According to Strabo (XI.5.2), the district of Sirakēnē lay to the east of the River Kyros (Cyrus, Kur), in the region of the Mermadalis or Mermodas River (now the *Egorlik*, Erem. 2, 1973:266, n. 49). Near this Sirakēnē (**Širak*) were preserved the remnants of their original principality, where they were characterized as being ruled by women and so associated with the Amazons. A part of the Širakians at one time apparently settled in the valley of the Axurean River in Armenia, according to Eremyan (*ibid.*), where they gave their name to the district of Širak. I am dubious about this because so many Armenian districts, obviously named for ethnic groups, normally have their name in the plural form, whereas *Širak* is always singular.

⁴² *Midosēsēn*, which is obviously a corruption; Ptol. (V.9.19): *Mithridatos khōra*, which Eremyan (1963:101 corrects to **Mit'ridatene* and (2, 1973:266, n. 50) connects with the name of Mithridates VI Emperor King of Pontos (111-63 B. C.), and places in the vicinity of modern Anapa and the Taman peninsula which lay within the Bosporos Kingdom.

⁴³ *Amazunk' ork' en kanac'k' paterazmołk'*; Ptol. (V.9.19): *Amazones*; Strabo (XIII.3.21): *Amazōnes*. Much data existed in antiquity regarding this legendary tribe of women warriors, and almost as much has been written by modern authors attempting to locate or at least to identify them. The most recent and most impressive attempt has been made by Colarusso (1987:6) who relates this name not to Gk. *a-mazos* 'un-breast' a 'without', *mazos* = 'breast', from the myth that they removed their right breast to improve their archery – an obvious folk-etymology – nor to Proto-Indo-European **so-magh*, Old Iranian **ha-maz-an* 'the warrior' (Watkins 1969:1527), but to Circassian *ha-maza-ha-na* 'the forest mother' (pronounced: *amezane* or *amezan*) who was, in Circassian legend, a woman warrior or chieftainess of a band of women warriors.

⁴⁴ *Īra* (read: **Īra*); Ptol. (V.9.12): *Rha*, the Volga; Avestan: *Raṇba*; Herod. (IV.11): *Araxes*. According to Mark. (1938:136), Gk *Rha* comes from Scythian *Raba*, and Eremyan (266, n. 52) notes that the River Araxes (Arm.: *Erasx*; *Arak's*) was also called the *Īrah* (K, VIII); *infra* n. 46.

⁴⁵ *Řimika*; Ptol. (VI.14.4; 4, 10): *Rhymmika orē*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*, 54) links to the Rhymos River identifying it with either the Greater or Lesser Uzen, a southeast tributary of the Volga (VDI 1947 I:294, n. 4).

⁴⁶ *At'l*, CP (DAI 37/2): *Atēl*; i. e., the Volga by its Turkic name *Atil/Itil/Etil*, and which is still called *Atāl* by the local Chuvash (Erem. *ibid.*: 267, n. 56); Tatar: *ĵdel*; Turkic: *ĵdil*.

⁴⁷ *Baslac'azgn*; Erem. (*ibid.*, n. 57): *Ba(r)slac'azgn*; Golden (143): *Barsil-Berzilia*, perhaps the *Basilikoi Sarmatai* of Ptol. (V.9.16). According to Theophanes (I, p. 358), the Khazars originated from the inner depths of *Berzilia* in Sarmatia Prima, whereas Michael Syrus refers to the land of the Alans "which is called Barsalia," (Marq. 1901:484-485); Mx (II.58,65), like the author of the AŠX, places them in North Caucasia, as does Balādhurī, who refers to a land of *Barsaliya* or *Baršaliya*. Later authors such as Ibn Rusta, however, and the anonymous Persian geography called the *Hudūd al-Ālam* place them (*Baršula*) on the middle Volga as a part of the Bulgar federation. Golden (144) suggests that the discrepancy in the sources regarding the location of the Barsilians is probably due to them having split into two groups perhaps in connection with the formation of the Khazar state or due to the Arab-Khazar wars. A similar fate appears to have befallen the two groups, whose relationship is unclear (Golden, Private communication to the author). He associates their name with that of the Khazar toponym *Balanjar*. The etymology of the name is uncertain (*supra* n. 7).

⁴⁸ *Supra*, II n. 95.

⁴⁹ *Bwsxk'*; read: **Busxk'* (the *n* of the *n* *l* having been lost). *Supra* n. 18. Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 59)

identifies Bušx or Butk with the modern Bashkirs, the *Bašgurd-s* of Arab authors (Marq. 1901:140, 154; Artamonov 1962:234-235), but this seems very unlikely (Golden, private communication).

⁵⁰ *Sew Kłzi*, *infra* n. 51.

⁵¹ *Graw Kłzi* Erem. (267, n. 61): *[Ni]graw. This entire passage is a puzzle, but Eremyan following Kovalevskii (1953:31-38), interprets it as follows: In ancient times there existed a branch of the Volga flowing through the North Caucasian steppes 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 zemlya* 'black earth.' This would be the *Nēsīōtis Khōra* 'island district' of Ptol. (V.9.17) The *Graw Kłzi* 'Crow Island' should thus be read [Ni]graw Kłzi 'Black Island,' from the Latin *nigra* 'black,' and its inhabitants would be the *Melanchnlaeni* of Pliny (VI.4.15) and *Melanckblainoi* of Ptolemy (V.8.13), whose name means 'black-cloaked.'

⁵² *Adon*; Erem. (*ibid.*): *A[w]don*; Ptol. (V.9.12): *Oudōnos pot.*, the modern River Kuma.

⁵³ *Alandan*; Ptol. (V.8.6): *Alontas*; Erem. (32): *Alandon*, the *Alutus flumen* of SHA Marcus 9.1; CIL 13, 8213 *ad Alutum flumen secus Mont(em) Caucasi* (Mitford, ANRW VII.2:1204). The lower course of the Terek, the upper course of which was called the *Diriodoris* (Pliny, VI.30; Genko:706, the latter quoted by Erem.:267, n. 63); Geo.: *Lomeki* for the entire river (Barthold "Terek" EI 8).

⁵⁴ *Sondas*; Ptol. (V.8.13): *Isondai*; Erem. (*ibid.*, n. 64): **Tondas*, from the tribe called *Cunta*, 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 Daghestan.

⁵⁵ *Geřua*; Ptol. (V.8.13): *Gerroi*, a 'ghost' name from Ptolemy 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 ethnonym. The DGRG (1:89) considered the Gerroi to have been one of Albanian tribes.

⁵⁶ *Aštigor*; 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).

⁵⁷ *Xēburk'*. Unmentioned by Ptolemy, Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 69) places them in the valley of the *Ĵurmat'* (*sic*), a stream which flows into the Avar-Koisu River.

⁵⁸ *K'ut'ētk'*; Geo.: *Kudaro*, an Alano-Ossetic tribe that dwelled around the sources of the Rioni River.

⁵⁹ *Argwel'*; Geo.: *Arguet'i* or *Arguret'i* a district which was also called *Margulisi*. Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 71), notes that the AŠX here preserves the correct name for one of the Georgian tribes – *Arguel* or *Marguel* – who dwelled between the Kvirila River and the Arguet'i (Lixi or Surami) Mountains. Here their territory formed one of the Iberian duchies (when it did not belong, as it often did, to Kolchis/Lazika).

⁶⁰ *Argwel, ew Mardoyl ew T'akoyr*, which Eremyan (268) reads "*Arguel ew en Mardoyl ew Skiw-mik' or ēn T'akoyr*," the *Skiwmik'* being borrowed by him from S.

⁶¹ *Dik'orin Ardoz ašxarhin*; i. e., "those Digors who dwell in the Ardoz land." Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 75), notes that the Svans call the Digor the *Saviar*, which he connects with Ptolemy's tribal *Sauaroi* (III.5.22).

⁶² *Ardoz ašxarh*; 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 Digo-rian Mountains (Volkova:110-112).

⁶³ *Armna* (nom.: **Armen*). The uppermost course of the Terek, whose ancient name is preserved in the modern stream called *Armxi*.

⁶⁴ *Ardozen azgin*. According to Eremyan (268, n. 78) this 'Ardozean nation' would be the main

mass of the Alans known as the *Iron*. MX (II.52) knows of the Ardoz, referring correctly or incorrectly to King Artasēs having settled Alan captives in the land of Šavaršan (around the present town of Maku in the most northwesterly corner of modern Iran), which thereafter was called Artaz "because the land from which they were brought as captives is called Artaz to this very day."

⁶⁵ *Dajank'*; read **Račank'*; Geo.: *Rača*, the Armenian form coming from a Geo.: **Račanni*, an area located in the upper course of the Rioni River.

⁶⁶ *Dualk'*; Ptol. (V.9.21): *Oualloi*; Pliny (VI.10.30): *Valli* (but correctly **Doualloi*/**Divalli*), and perhaps also his *Thalli* (VI.4.14). RA 69.18: *Dibalon* (for their country), an Alan-Ossetian tribe located around the sources of the Ardon River which district was then called *Dvalet'i* in Georgian; Oss.: *Tualt'a*. To this day the Ossetians in the vicinity of the Klukhor Pass are called the *Twal-tā*. The south Ossetians call the district *Urs-Tualt'a*, but in Georgian *Mazran Dyalet'i* has the same meaning. The *Dvals-T'uals* of South Ossetia and of the Truso Pass, the Ossetians call *Kudar-s*. (Tomaschek, PW; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:206: 'Tual' where they are called 'East' Ossetians).

⁶⁷ *Cěxoyk'*. According to Eremyan (269, n. 83), the name of this tribe is preserved in that of the district of *Sac'xumet'i*, the town of *C'xumi* (Sukhumi) in Abkhazia, the district of *Leč'xumi* in West Georgia and in the Gk: *Skymnia* (*supra* n. 60).

⁶⁸ *P'urk'*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 84) corrects to **Awsurk'*. Apparently another Alan-Ossetian tribe bordering directly upon the land of Upper Iberia (*Verin ašxarh Vrac'*), and by whose name the Georgians called all the Alan tribes *Ovs* (mod. Geo.: *Os*). The territory of the *Awsurk'* corresponds to the Geo. *Mazran-Dvaleti* district around the sources of the Liavaxi River (Erem.:42).

⁶⁹ *Canark'ay*; Ptol. (V.9.25): *Sanaraioi*; Arab.: *Šannāriyya* for the country (Minorsky 1958:161); Geo.: *Canarni*, a Christian people who dwelled around the sources of the Terek River (in modern Kazbegi *raion*), which from their name is referred to in Georgian literature as *Canaret'isa* now *Xevi* (*Khevi*) but by the Georgians there as *Moxeve*. According to Klaproth (1812:676) the Moxevran Os were called *Cona*, the entire district from the Darial Gorge to Kobi was called *Sona* or *Sena*, and the Os of Mt. Kazbek (which Eremyan calls Mt. *Cona* on his maps, 1963, 1979) were called *Soena*. Minorsky (1958:162, n. 1) thought that the tribal name *Canar* had its source in the Vainakh languages of Daghestan. For the land of Son (*Sonskaya zemlya* in the upper valley of the Aragvi 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 *Ĵawaxk'* and the *T'rekk'* (i. e., *Ĵawaxet'ians* and *T'rialet'ians*), and all three to the Abkhazians, saying that they had merged to form the *Vrac'ik'* 'Georgians.' The *Canark'* may indeed have had some connection with the Georgians, the name containing the root *Tzan*, i. e. the Laz + the Svan plural *-ar*.

⁷⁰ *Alanac' duṛn*, the 'Gate of the Alans'; Ptol. (V.9.11.15): *Sarmatikai Pylai* 'Sarmatian Gates'; Per.: *Dar-i Alan* or *Dar-i Alanān*; Geo.: *Darialani*; Russ.: *Darial*, through which led the Georgian Military Highway built by the Tsarist government in the nineteenth century (*HSH* I:136). Erem (*ibid.*, n. 86) identified the Alan Gates with the Albanian Gates of Ptolemy (V.8.5): *Albaniai Pylai* (Allen 1962:302-03) but I do not agree with this (*infra* n. 106).

⁷¹ *Cek'en*, which Eremyan (269) corrects to *Celk'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 Gudamakari) Aragvi Rivers. Eremyan (*ibid.*) identifies *this* pass with the Sarmatian Gates of Ptolemy (V.9.11, 15): *Sarmatikai pylai*. Reineggs (1795, I:391, 393) cites a castle called Kumlis-Zighe (*sic*, i. e., Kumlis-C'ixe), the castle of Kumli or Kumuli in the Krestovaya Pass. This name be may be related to the fortress called Cumania which Pliny (VI.12.30) locates in the pass called the 'Caucasian Gates' which is probably the *Celk'an* Gates referred to here.

⁷² ... *duṛn* or *asik' Cek'an*, *homanun azgi*. The *Celk'ank'*, Geo.: *Calkanelni*, who dwelled along the

upper course of the White Aragvi River. Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 88), connects this tribe with the village of Cilkani (Tsilkani).

⁷³ *T'urck'*; read: **T'uck'*; Ptol. (V.3.9, 22): *Touskoi*; Strabo (XI.2.11): *Doskoi*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 89) thought was derived by way of the Armenian *T'ušk'*; Geo.: *T'ušni* for the tribe; *T'ušeti* for their country, located around the sources of the Alazan and Iora Rivers.

⁷⁴ *Xužk'*, which Eremyan (270, n. 90) corrects to **Xunjk'*; Geo.: *Xunjni*, their name for the Avars, who still live in the *raion* (Soviet administrative district) called *Xunjax* (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 Czeglédy 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 *Avar* as a Caucasian people, as does CP DAI 29/17: *passim*, (YN IV:255-71; Akiner 1983:133-38).

⁷⁵ The *Xistk'* (Engl.: *Kists*), are one of the Chechen-Ingush peoples and it is from their name that the Georgians take one of their principal designations for the total Chechen-Ingush population: *Kist'i* or *Kist'uri*, whom they otherwise refer to as *Č'eč'eni* or *Č'ač'ani* (*Chachani*, Geig.:19); Abaza: *Čačan*. 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.*).

⁷⁶ ... *ew apa T'uck' ew Xužk' ew Xistk' mardakerk'* "and then the T'ucians, Xužians and Xists, cannibals." In no ms. of the text is it clear whether by *mardakerk'*, lit. 'man-eaters,' 'cannibals,' 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, *K'isti* or *K'istni* is the name given by the Georgians of *Kaxet'i* to one of the Vainakh tribes who otherwise call themselves *Maystvey* or *Maysdvey*. From this ethnonym he suggests the possibility of a local source for the Greek name *Modokai* Ptol. (V.9.10) or *Amadokoi* (III.5.25) for one of the Sarmatian peoples, a name which Tomaschek (PW 1:1711) interprets as 'eaters of raw meat' and identifies with the *Anthropophagoi* 'man-eaters' 'cannibals' of Herodotus (IV.18); Pliny (VI.20.53): *anthropophagous Scythians*. Eremyan thought that the author of the *AŠX*, understanding that the (A)madokai were the Xists, and understanding the etymology of the Greek term as 'cannibal', added the latter as a gloss to their name. Among the Bats or Tsova-Tush, the Ingush are known as *K'is-ti-y* (*sing. Qist-w*; among the Kumyks, the Chechens, Ingush and Kists are known collectively as *Mičiğišli*, and the Ingush in particular (Geig.:20) as *Michikish*, *Michigysh*, perhaps from the name of the River Michigish (Akiner, 1983:197-201). Eremyan believed that from the ethnonym *Mic'jeki* (*sic*) could come the Greek *Modokai*, from an earlier **Mi[z]dekoi*, and that *Modokai* would be Ptolemy's general name for the Nakho-Chechen peoples of North Central Caucasia. For the Bats (the *Vatk'* of Eł IV, 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*. 1931; *idem* 1952; Baytugan 1956; Traho 1957; Karcha 1957; Geiger 1959; akiner 1983: *ibid.*

⁷⁷ *C'awatk'*, which Eremyan (270) corrects to **C'xawatk'*; Geo.: the *C'xavatni* tribe, who lived in the area around the sources of the White Aragvi River.

⁷⁸ *Gugamakark'*; read: **Gudamakark'*; Geo.: *Gudasaqarni*, who lived along the gorge of the Black or Gudamaqaris Aragvi River.

⁷⁹ *Durckek'*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*) corrects to *Durc[uj]kk'*; Geo.: *Durjukeni*, for the tribe; *Durjuket'i* for their country. They are the ancestors of the modern Ingushi inhabiting the upper course of the Assa River. The Durjuks 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.

⁸⁰ *Didok'*; Ptol. (V.9.22): *Didouroi*; Pliny (VI.11.29): *Diduri*; Geo.: *Didoni* for the tribe, *Didoet'i* for the country; ps. Zach. (XII): *Dadu*. The Dido still dwell in the high mountains of Daghestan near the sources of the Andi-Koisu River. They call themselves *Jabu* and their country *C'ez*i (Marr 1939:33), but the Avars, i. e., the *Xunj*, call them *C'unta*, which appears in Ptol. (V.9.23) in the form *Isondai* (**Tsondai*) for a people. Eremyan (*ibid.*) took the Andi Koisu and identified it with the River *Sondas* of the AŠX. It is the Batsbi who call this tribe the Dido; the Andi call them *Cuntadibal*. If the *Sondas* River, flowing into the Caspian, took its name from the Dido/Cunta, then it is clear that the latter once lived much further north and were only subsequently driven to their present homes in the mountains to the south. (Geiger 1959; NK; ND; YN IV; Akiner 1983). At this point in our text, beginning with the *Didos*, the author is speaking of Northeastern Caucasia or Daghestan (Russ.: *Dagestan*) and its peoples (for which see: Adighe 1957; ND; Korsen 1958; Geig. 1959; YN IV; Catford 1977:284-85; Akiner 1983:122 *passim*). For additional bibliography see Appendix X.

⁸¹ *Lekk'*; Strabo (XI.5.1): *Legoi*; Geo.: *Lek'ni*; Lak: *Laz*; Arab: *Lakz*; Russ.: *Lezginy* or *Kiurintsy*; English: *Lesgins* or *Lesgians*, is the general name for the indigenous peoples of southern Daghestan inhabiting the basin of the River Samur from the Caucasus range to the Caspian Sea. They are curiously unknown to Ptolemy. Although 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, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhhek (or Krytz), Khinalug, Archin, Udin, and Lesgians properly called. Of these, the Udin live in three isolated clusters outside of Daghestan south of the Caucasus in Azerbaidzhan. According to Arab authors, the Persian Shah Khosrō Anōšarvān (531-579) appointed a 'Xorsan-Šah' as ruler of the Lakz, 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 Kuba 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 other tongues); Aguls, 9000; Rutuls, 12,000; Tsakhurs, 11,000; Tabasarans, 55,000; Budukhs, 1000; Dzheks, 6000; Khinalugs, 1000; Udins, 4000; and Archins, 1000. Some of these lesser Lesgian peoples managed to rise above the tribal level. In the fifteenth century the Tsakhurs established a sultanate at the village of Tsakhur which in the seventeenth century transferred itself to Elisū south of the Caucasus range in northwest Azerbaidzhan. Under Russian suzerainty from 1803, the sultanate was annexed in 1844 (Akiner:168-70). At the same epoch, the Tabasarans, who had a highly developed clan system in the mountains and lowlands north of the Samur Valley, established a state under a ruler called the *maasumat* that was also annexed by the Russians in the early nineteenth century (*ibid.*:156-58). (See Appendix X).

⁸² *Tapotarank'*, which Eremyan (271), corrects to *Katapastiank'*. Admitting (*ibid.*, n. 97) the difficulty of determining the correct form, he rejects *Tapasarank'* and *T'abasarank'* on the grounds that these would be the *T'awaspark'* of Armenian authors who are cited in the text further on. However, he leaves his own choice of form *Katapastiank'* unexplained. (NK I 1960:520-28; Akiner 1983:156-58, Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:160ff.).

⁸³ *Yafutakank'*. Apparently, judging from their place in the list, Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 98) located this tribe along the upper course of the Samur River where the village of Akhty is found. Reading the name as **Alutakank'*, he considered them to be the same people as the Lesgians of this village (1963:34), but this cannot be considered certain.

⁸⁴ *Xenawk'*; Ptol. (V.9.17): *Khainides*? Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 99) links their name to that of the mountain village (*aul*) called Xnov (*Khnov*) in the gorge of the Akhti-chai River, considering its inhabitants to be the same tribe that had once occupied a much larger area. According to Eremyan (271, n. 99), Marr saw in the name of the Dido village of Hinux, the prototype of the tribal name *Heniokhoi*/

Heniochi mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* II.68), Strabo (XI.2.1, etc.), Pliny (VI.4.12), 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 *Xenawk'* (Allen, *Ex Ponto* I-V).

⁸⁵ *Šipk'*, read: **Šitpk'*; Pliny (VI.10.29): *Silvi*; AG (I.10): *Silbianoi*. All texts of the AŠX have the *Šitbk'* followed by the *Čitbk'*, but Eremyan (271) reads: *Šilbk'* or *ē Čitbk'* 'the *Šitbk'*, i. e., *Čitbk'*' believing them to be the same people, although *BP* (III.7) also cites both the *Šitpk'* and *Čitpk'*. In my view the correct form is *Čitbk'*; (as found in Aa 20, Eł IV, p. 94, and MD I.14; II.39), but in Pappos the form given was probably **Silboi* (not *Serboi* as found in V.9.21). The author of our text must have preserved this form as *Šitbk'*, while adding in the Armenian *Čitbk'*, from *BP* (III.7), taking them to be a different people, whereas *BP* had meant *Čitpk'* as a gloss on *Šitpk'*. Eremyan (1973, n. 100) connected the name *Šitbk'* with the village of Šilda in Glama-Kaxet'i while recognizing that the tribe lived to the north in the deep valley of the Pirik'it'eli Alazon River. MD (I.14), it should be noted, seems to indicate that the *Čitbk'* (*sic*) lived south of the Caucasus at the foot of the range ("departing again [from the town Lp'ink'] they passed into the land of the *Čitbk'* at the foot of the great mountain [the Caucasus].") There is no suggestion that the party crossed the mountains to get to the *Čitbk'* though they may have done so. For the *Čitbk'* see Kretschmer in *PW*, s. v. *Silvi*.

⁸⁶ *Supra* n. 85.

⁸⁷ *P'wik'*; Erem. (271, n. 101: *Lp'nik'*, which he corrects to **Lp'ink'* (Aa 20) connecting them, rightly, in my view, with the *Lupeniori* of Pliny (VI.10.29), the *Lupones* of *TP*; *Liphinnioi* of Ag (I.10); and the *Patria Lepon* and town of *Liponissa* of *RA* (II.8,12). Ptolemy (V.10.2) knows only of a locality called *Loubiōn Khomē* 'Loubiōn village,' which must correspond to the *Lp'nac' K'atak'* 'city of the Lp'ink'' of MD (II.39), the modern village of *Lapanebi* at the point where the Lopata stream enters the Alazan. Allen (1962:316-17) cites the Lopotis-tsqali (*sic*), at Mt. Lopeti, and a district of Lopeti, 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; Eł I, p. 10 *passim*; MD I.27 *passim*). They represent a forgotten Christian kingdom of South Caucasia apparently located on the upper course of the Alazan River, itself called the Laban' in a seventeenth century Russian source, the *Kniga Bolsh'shomu Chertezhu* 'Book of the Great Map' (Erem.:271, n. 101). They seem to have flourished in the second-seventh 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, Siania (Siwnik'?) and that of the Massagetai. Eł (III, p. 76) refers to the Lop'nas River, generally taken to be identical to the Ałstew (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 Lopata 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. **[A]l-ban?* (Hewsen, *ASSC* I):

⁸⁸ *Šruan*; Per.: *Servān* or *Šabram*; Ptol. (V.9.19): *Sapothrēnai*, of which the former was in ancient times the name of the territory lying along the Caspian coast between the Sabran-chai and Gil-gil-chai Rivers, from Per.: *Šapotran*; (KG 10:195): *Šapurān*, taking its name from its chief town, *Šapotran*, now the village of *Shabran*. Here was constructed a wall 30 km. long, the third in a series of four ramparts defending the Persian Empire from invasion by way of the Caspian coastal pass (Pakhomov 1933; Trever 1959:269-71; *infra* nn. 90, 100, 105). Here, in the sixth century, lay an important feudal state ruled under Persian suzerainty by a monarch styled the *Šarvānšāh*, which had succeeded the Mask'ut'k' as masters in the area (c. 510 A. D.), and which eventually gave its name to the entire area of the original territory of Albania lying north of the Kur between Iberia and the Caspian Sea. The Khanate of Shirvan survived until 1805 when it was annexed by the Russian Empire.

⁸⁹ *Xsorwan*, read: **Xorwan*; also called *Xorsan* or *Xayzan*, 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 *Xursan-šāh*. The center of this state was the fortress of Xayzan whose name Eremyan (*ibid.*) links to that of the *Xayzandurk'* erroneously written *Xaylandurk'* by Eł (I, p.12; VII, p. 141, 198), who perhaps inhabited this area before the rise of Xoruan (c. 510 A.D.). In dating the emergence of both Šruan and Xoruan 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 Eł (IV, p. 94) might possibly be connected with *Khsruan* (*sic.*). Ulubayan's suggestion (1981:44) that the *Xaylandurk'* represent the 'Celtic' (*sic!*) term (*Kelta-kan bar*) 'highlander' is unworthy of refutation. Eł (p. 12) considers them to be 'Huns,' and this is usually accepted today.

⁹⁰ *Xorsvēm*; Arab.: 'the wall of Khursan' (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 Šruan from Xoruan (Erem.: *ibid.*, n. 106). This construction was the fourth and southernmost of the barricades erected to hold off the invasions of the steppe peoples (Trever 1959:274 ff.).

⁹¹ *Supra* n. 63.

⁹² *Supra* nn. 44, 46.

⁹³ *T'awaspark'*; BP (III.7): *T'awaspark'*; Eł (VI, p. 129): *T'awaspark'* for the people, (from Per.: *Tabar-sarān* 'hatcher heads?'), *ibid.* (IV, p. 94): *Tawasparan* for their country and its chief fortress. This would be the territory of the present-day *Tabasaran-s*, one of the tribes of Daghestan speaking a language that belongs to the Lesgian group of the N.E. Caucasian Languages. The *Tawasparan-Tabasaran* tribe live to the west of Derbent on the banks of the Kurah River. (NK I, 1960:520-528; YN IV:545-571; Akiner 1983: 156-59; Klimov and Gorodetskii 1982; 1983:156-59).

⁹⁴ *Hečmatakk'*, an otherwise virtually unknown people, who, from their position in the text, were probably located south of the Samur River west of Xašmaz; BP (III.7): *Hečmatakk'*; Eł (IV, p. 94): *Hečmatak*, *ibid.* (VI, p. 129): *Hečmatakk'*. Artamonov (1962:58) relates them to the *Khasmandan* of Arab sources.

⁹⁵ *Ižmaxk'*. Perhaps the Arab *Shandan*, and the ancestors of the modern *Akuša* (Akhusha) people of Daghestan (Erem.:1973, n. 111); BP (III.7): *Ižmaxk'*. They are mentioned nowhere else.

⁹⁶ *P'asxk'*. It is not clear if the *P'asxk'* are a different people from the *P'usxk'* who follow them, *infra* n. 97.

⁹⁷ *P'usxk'*; S1944: *K'osx*; S1877: *P'asxk'*; the *P'oxk'* of BP (III.7) and *Posxk'* of Eł (IV, p. 94), which Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 113) considered to be all forms of the same name. It is significant, I believe that the *Ubykhs*, one of the main divisions of the Circassian peoples (YN: 689-704), call themselves *P'yox* (Luzbetak, n. 222), but Eremyan (272, n. 113) considers *P'asxk'*/*P'osxk'* to be variant forms of an identical name for one used by the *Mahistuin-s* (one of the Chechen tribes) for the Georgian mountaineers known as the *Xevsur-s*. Eremyan notes that in Georgian sources only the terms *P'xovi*, *P'xovelni* are found, which in all probability included both the *P'šav-s* and the neighboring *Xevsur-s*, and that in the so-called *Armenian Chronicle*, a twelfth-century Armenian abridgement of the *Georgian Annals* (*K'art'lis C'xovreba*), the *P'xovi* are called *P'xayk'*.

⁹⁸ *P'wk'anakk'* S1944: *P'ok'onak*; Eł IV, p. 94): *P'iwkawan*. Eremyan (272, n. 114) accepts with difficulty the identification of these littleknown people with the Turkic Pechenegs; Gk.: *Patzinakoi*, referring the reader to Kanayanc' (141, n. 2). Golden, too, considers this improbable (private Communication). For the Pechenegs see Macartney 1929).

⁹⁹ *Bagank'*, also *Bazkank'*, *Bak'ank'*, *Bak'ank'*, *Baygank'*, and *Dašt-i Bazkan*, the last of which

alone does Eremyan (273, n. 115) consider to be correct. *Dašt-i Bazkan* was one of the districts of Caucasian Albania, and was located in the plain of Širvan between the modern Ak-River and the Apsheron Peninsula, bounded on the north by the Caucasus Mountains and – at the coast – by the Āfzūt Kavād wall. From the early sixth century, i.e., after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy in Albania, *Dašt-i Bazkan* became a separate principality centered at the city of Šamaxi. This district is cited in the tri-lingual inscription of the Kaaba-i Zardušt, where, in the Greek translation, it is called *Makhelonia*. It is also mentioned by Ps.-Zach. (XII) as *Bazgun*, one of "the five believing peoples" of Caucasia. Although *Bazgun/Bazkan* is usually identified as a corrupted form of the name *Balasagun/Balasakan*, Eremyan (42-43) shows that the western part of this district, *Dašt-i Bazkan*, was one of the original districts of Albania, but that the correct form of the name is preserved only in the more recently published mss. of the *AŠX* (e.g., S1944) whereas in earlier editions are found the forms *Dašt i Balasakan*, *Dašt i Bałakan*, *Ibałakan* and *Ibazakan*. Since the district preceding *Dašt-i Bazkan* in the list of Albanian districts was *K'alađađ*, Eremyan shows how the same was further corrupted to *Kaladađ i Bazkan*, *K'ala*, *Dašt i Bałkan*, *Dašt i Balakan*, and *Dašt i Balasakan*. Then, by assuming a relationship between this name and the city of Baylakan in the Mili Plain lying within the juncture of the Kur and Arax Rivers, the district was thought to have lain in that area rather than north of the Kur. Eremyan (*ibid.*) believed that *Bazkan* corresponds to the *el-Iran* of Arab and Persian sources (from an actual **Liran*), whose ruler was known as the 'Iran-Šāh'. This name 'Iran,' however, may well be connected with that of **Aran*, the putative native name for Caucasian Albania (cf. the Albanian district of *Mec Ařank'*, *infra* VII J n. 213, often written *Mec Iřank'*). For *Bazkan* see Barthold 1925; Erem. 1963:42-43. For *Balasakan* see *EIr* and *infra* Appendix X.

¹⁰⁰ *Apzutkawat*; Per.: *Afzūt-kavād*, a fortified rampart between the *Vel-veli-chay* and the *Sabran-chay* Rivers, extending from the Caucasus Mountains to the Caspian Sea north of Šapotran. Apparently, it was built by the Sasanid Shah Kavād (488-496, 498-531), (Erem.:37) and was the second of four such ramparts designed to block an invasion from the northern steppes via the litoral pass (*supra* nn. 88, 90; *infra* n. 105).

¹⁰¹ *Alkminsn murs*; read: **Altimon mawrs*, the modern Lake Al-zibir (Erem. 1963:32).

¹⁰² *Vardanēn daštīn*. Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 119) notes that the author, being familiar with the life of Saint Grigoris, indicates Vardan as the place of the latter's martyrdom, i.e., the Vardanean Plain. In actuality the latter was found in the vicinity of the town of Vardanakert on the right bank of the Araxes River, but it was in *Mask'at'*, i.e., the country of the *Mazk'ut'k'*, that was found the land called Vardan which was identical with *Mask'at'* so that he has in fact confused the two: Vardan = Vardanean.

¹⁰³ *Mazsk'ut'an*; RA (II.12): *Masageton*; Arab.: **Mařqař* later *Muskur* or *Muřkur*, was a Scytho-Sarmatian-Iranian tribal federation along the west central coast of the Caspian centered in the town of Č'oł or Č'oła. Usually thought to be the same as the *Massagetai* of Classical authors (CAH IX:576, where they are referred to as a 'Saka' – i.e., 'Scythian' – confederacy), recent studies have identified them as a branch of the Alans (Erem.:1973:273, n. 118). The royal dynasty of the *Mask'ut'k'* originated from the Iranian tribe of the *Aparh*, of which a part is known to have been settled in the vicinity of the mouth of the River Kur, and this dynasty we know (BP III.7) was of Arsacid origin. After c. 338 A.D., the *Mask'ut'k'* ruled the city of *P'aytakaran* south of the Kur (as per Hakobyan 1970: map; and not north of it as per Erem. 1963: map; 1979: map), but after the establishment of Sasanian control over this region in the fifth century, the *Mask'ut'* kings moved their capital back to Č'oł, which lay outside of Persian control. Under Khosrō Anōšarvān, however (531-572), Darband and Č'oł were captured and the *Mask'ut'* dynasty came to an end (c. 510). In thus describing the history of the *Mask'ut'k'* (273, n. 118) Eremyan clearly confuses the Arsacid kings of Albania with the Arsacid kings of the *Mask'ut'k'*, and I have obviated this by omitting in my summary the names of the kings as given

by him so that his account of their history can basically stand. By identifying the Mask'ut'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'ut'k' are first heard of only in the fourth century, Eremyan places them on his map of Arsacid Armenia representing the period from the first to the late third centuries A.D., (HZZP I), 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'ut'k' state clearly cuts Albania off from the Caspian coast whereas all Classical authors Strabo (XI.4.1), Pliny (VI.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 Resht, 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'ut'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'ut'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 Darband, 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 left no litoral pass until late in the Roman period when a coastal fortification would have become necessary.

¹⁰⁴ This branch of the Caucasus would comprise the mountains of Daghestan.

¹⁰⁵ ... *zparispn Darbanda*, apparently constructed by the Great King Khosrō Anōšarvān (531-579), the double walls of Darband, the first in line of four 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 mountains and the sea, but extending some 40 km. into the Caucasus 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.: *Darubanda*; Arm.: *Č'or* or *Č'ora pahak* 'gate' or 'watch' of *Č'or*; *Č'ot* or *Č'ota?*; Proc. *Goth.* (VIII.3.4): *Tzour*; JL (III.51-53): *Virattarak?* (from Arm.: *Č'ora pahak*); Arab.: *Bāb al-abwāb* 'the Gate of Gates,' later *Bāb al-Lān*, then simply *al-Bāb*; Tk.: *Demir Kapusi* '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 the present walls, towers and citadel date only from the sixth century and are Sasanid work. Darband formed the northernmost point of the Persian Empire until the latter fell to the Arabs, after which the city became a part of the Arab caliphate. By the tenth century, it had become an independent principality until its capture by the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Darband then began to decline as Baku gradually arose to take its place as the major Caucasian port on the Caspian Sea. In the sixteenth century, Darband passed to the control of Safavid Iran, then was held by the Ottoman Turks (1578-ca. 1603), reverted to Iran, was held by Russia 1722-1735, but again reverted to Iran, it became an autonomous khanate in 1747, and was finally taken by the Russians again in 1796, an occupation confirmed by the Treaty of Gulistan in 1813 (Kozubski 1906; Barthold "Derbent" *EL*; Artamonov 1946; Minorsky 1958; Trever 1959: *passim*; Dunlop "Bāb al-Abwāb" *New EL*; Perreira 1973; Gropp 1975; Kudriavtsev 1979). (See Appendix X).

¹⁰⁶ ... *k'atak' pahakin Č'ora*. 'the city of the watch (i. e., gate) of *Č'or*; Ag (19): *Č'oray Pohakn*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 121) and Chaumont ("Albania" *Elr*) consider to be identical with Darband.

Proc., as we have seen (*supra* n. 105) refers to *Tzour*, and JL to *Virattarak?* and it is difficult to believe that the Byzantines had heard of *Č'oray pahak* but not of Darband. For what it is worth, considering the lateness of his date (eleventh century?), UU (65) asserts that "Č'ora is Darband." Probably *Č'ora* or *Č'ota* was the native name of a village at which the Persians founded Darband. The pass at Darband was little known to the ancients. Ptolemy (V.9.15, 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 Šamaxi into Daghestan; i. e., the 'Pahl Gates' of Erem. 1963; 1979). It is not to be confused with his 'Sarmatian Gates' (V.9.11, 15), which are clearly the Alan Gates, i. e., the Darial Gorge; nor with his 'Caspian Gates' (I.12.5; VI.2.7), which, like those of Polybios (V.44.5), Strabo (XI.12.1) and Pliny (VI.27.44-45), clearly lie in Media in the Talysh Mountains leading northwards into the Plain of Mughan, i. e., into the land of the Caspians (*infra* n. 179 A). For additional bibliography *supra* n. 105.

¹⁰⁷ *T'agaworut'iwon Honac'*, nom.: *Honk'* (MX III.60). The North Caucasian Huns were the most 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 Khazar 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 (Artamonov 1962:183, 190). Armenian sources, e. g., Aa 19, 20; *BP* (III.7); *El* (I, p. 11); *MX* (III.60), tend to equate the Caucasian Huns with the Kushans, but they are frequently inexact in regard to them (Thomson, *MX*:63 n. 5; Frye:216). The Huns had their own king, and their capital lay at *Varač'an* (*infra* n. 108), which Eremyan (1963:80) locates at Kafir-Kumux, a site near modern Buinaksk (Marq. 1901:119-20; Hüb. 1904:412; Honigmann and Maricq 1953:80-87; Czeglédy 1955; Artamonov 1962:183-190; Frye *Heritage*:216; Maenschen-Helfen 1973:6; Golden 1980:90-93).

¹⁰⁸ *Varač'an*; read: **Varač'an* or *Varač'an*. Mentioned by MD (II.39) as the capital of the North Caucasian Huns in connection with events taking place in the late seventh century, *Varač'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: **Warashān*) of Yq (1883:381), and the 'desert of *Wrān*' of Bal. (18:206, 209), and also (1937:453) with the large River *Wršān* or *Wdšān* located twenty farsakhs from the Khazar capital Atil [Itil] Etil (*supra*, n. 46) near the mouth of the Volga. Togan (1939:298) locates his *Warathān* between Baku and Darband as does Dunlop (1954:244-46), but this seems to me to be too far south. Together they relate the forms *varač* and *bars* to tribal names of which that of the Barsil (q. v. *supra* n. 47) is the most likely. Moravcik (1943:88), followed by Minorsky (1958:94), connects them with the name *Berzylia*, a district of Khazaria mentioned by Theophanes (358). Marquart connects it to the mountain called *Jabāl Warsān* found in Yehuda Hal-Levi (Marq. 1903:68). Artamonov (1962:83) located *Varač'an* in the vicinity of the modern Buinaksk; Minorsky (1958:93-94) at the *aul* (mountain village) of Basli formerly *Barsli* (from **Barasli?*) on the river Humri (Russ.: *Gumri*), Eremyan (1963: map) originally placed *Varač'an* on the site of modern Buinaksk but later (1979: map) at a site in the bend of the little River Kolichy between Gubden and the coast. It should be noted that there is no justification for Eremyan (*ibid.*) indicating *Varač'an* 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 *Varač'an*. We really have no idea where in northeast Caucasia the city was located. Golden (1980:246) considered **Varač'an* or **Warač'an* 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; Artamonov 1962:186, 208; Golden 1980:244-46).

¹⁰⁹ *Č'ungars*, which Eremyan (274, n. 124) corrects to **Č'undars* and identifies with the later *Enderi*, now the *aul* (mountain village) of Andrei.

¹¹⁰ *Msēndr*; read: **Sēmēndēr*. This would be the *Samandar* of Arab authors (Bal.:197; Khur.:63-4, 123-24; Ist.:219, 222-23, 227; Haw:14, 277, 282, 287; Muq.:51, 355, 361; Faq.:288, 298f; *Hudūd*:50; Qağan Joseph, *Letter*:31, under the form *S.m.n.d.r*) an early center of the Khazars and, according to Mas'ūdī, once their capital until the seat of government was moved to Atil/Itil/Etil (supra n. 46); CP (*DAI*, 37/2): Atelia; near Astrakhan in the Volga delta under Arab pressure sometime after 723 (Minorsky 1958:106). We are not certain exactly where Samandar was located. Togan (1940:47) placed it at Kizliar on the Terek; Minorsky (1958:106 and Lewicky (1963:101) at Tarku near Petrovsk (Makhachkala) near the Caspian coast. Eremyan (1963:map) first placed it near Makhachkala, then (1979: map) at Makhachkala, itself. As with his treatment of Varačan (q. v., n. 108), there is nothing to substantiate his placing of Samandar on his maps of the pre-Khazar period. The name *Samandar* may be connected with the Hunnic tribe called *Zabender* by TS (p. 268; Minorsky *ibid.*, n. 2; Dunlop:6).

¹¹¹ *Sawirk*' (Golden:256); *Sabir* Priscus (*apud* Moravcsik:262-63) and TS (p. 258): *Sabiroi*; Proc. (*Goth.* VIII.3.5, and 11.23, where he specifically calls them 'Huns'; *Pers.* II.29.16 *passim*): *Sabeiroi*; Agathias, who (4.13.7) calls them "a huge and populous nation . . . extraordinarily warlike and rapacious" *idem.* (*passim*) and Maenander (*apud* Moravcsik, *ibid.*): *Sabeiroi*; Jordanes (p. 136): *Saviri*; Ps.-Zach., XII (*apud* Mark. 1903:356): *SBR*; Faq. (p. 297): *Suwar*; Muq. (p. 124) and; Khur. (p. 124): *S.wār*; Heb.: *Sāvūr* (*Letter*:20-28). A large tribal formation living along the northwestern shore of the Caspian Sea subject to the Khazars, they are perhaps the same people known as the 'Royal Huns' (Moravcsik:67-68; Verner:154). According to Dzhaferov (1979:163-72) the Sabirs appeared in North Caucasia in December 503 via the Darband litoral pass, and it took the Great King Kawadh five years to drive them out. Marquart (1903:38) and Németh (1930:319) connect them with the *Sabartoi asphalti* of CP (*DAI*, 38/9, 28), and the *Sewordik*' of Armenian sources (Asofik, TA IV.4) and considered them to have been a Hungarian tribe that had derived its name from having been at one time a part of the Hunnic Sabir tribal federation. Togan (173) notes the following toponyms in Caucasia which possibly reflect their name: Šaberan, Samir, Samirkent, Sabir-xost, Sibir-don, Savir, *Sivir-don*, Bilasuvar, Sebir-oba, Severe, and Suvar, to which may be added the Arm. *Šapotran*, a large town by the Caspian Sea.

¹¹² . . . *c'ald*, which Eremyan (*ibid.*, n. 127) identifies with the At'l above.

¹¹³ The *Türk'astank*' , i. e., the people of Turkestan, would appear to refer to the Turkic peoples of Central Asia in general, but the additional words, or *ē tēr Xazrac*' , "who is Lord of the Khazars" found in S1944 after the title *Xak'an* confirms that the Khazars are intended (*supra* II, n. 95).

¹¹⁴ The information about the nationality of the *khatun* is obviously an interpolation. It is found in all examined mss. and editions of S but not in L. It is interesting to compare this passage with the one in LE (31, p. 125): "During his rule as governor, Yazid [ibn Usaid, eighth cent.] sent ambassadors to the king of the North whom they call 'Xakan' and requested a marital alliance with him . . . the king of the Khazars gave his consent and sent him his own sister whose name was Xatun." *Khatun* (Tk: *qatun*) is a word of Soghdian origin *xwāt'yn* (**xwātēn*) 'lady' (Clouston 1972:602) and refers to any female of the royal family – wife, sister or daughter. I am indebted to P. Golden (private communication) for this reference.

VIA. *Kolkhis*

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

¹ *Egr*; read: **Eger* (Geo.: *Egri* or *Egrisi*; Arm.: *Eger*) seemingly a formation from the root G-R/K-R so often found in Caucasian toponyms, (e. g., *K'art'li*, *Guria*, *Gugark' Kars*, *Gargarac'ik'*, etc.), was the name used by the ancient Iberians to denote the kingdom of East Georgia, i. e., the plain of the River Phasis or Rioni (*infra* n. 8). This region corresponds to the *Qulḡa* of Urartian inscriptions and to the *Kolkhis/Colchis* of the Greeks and Romans, although the name *Eger* appears in classical sources: Pliny (VI.4.14): *regio Cegritice* (read: **Ecretice*); Ptol. (V.10.5): *Ekerētike*; Pomp. Mela (I.19): *Ecritica*. According to Strabo (XI.1.8), this region formed the Kolkhian part of the territory of the Moskhoi (Meschians, for whom *infra* n. 29). Area: c. 1976 sq. km.

The Greek mythographers use the term 'Kolkhis' for this region when referring to periods long before the time of Alexander, and Toumanoff (1963:58) thought the name might actually refer to a pre-Kolkhian thalassocracy centered at the town of Aia (Kut'at'isi/Kut'ais?). According to Herodotus (III.97), Kolkhis was independent of the Achaemenian Empire and was required only to supply the Persians with an annual tribute of boys and girls. After Alexander (d. 323 B. C.), Kolkhis appears as a distinct state, but we know little about it and it was annexed first by Mithradates the Great Eupator, King of Pontos (c. 131-63 B. C.), and in A. D., 72 by the Romans. Roman rule, however, appears to have been somewhat vague along this remote stretch of the Euxine. We hear of no Roman governors by name, and by the time of Hadrian (117-138), and perhaps from even earlier times, the territory of Kolkhis was occupied by a number of coastal peoples organized into petty kingdoms. From north to south, there were 1) the Makhelones and Heniokhoi forming a single kingdom, though the latter, two centuries before, had had four kings alone in the time of Mithridates Eupator (Strabo, XI.2.13); 2) the Abaskoi; 3) the Sanigae (Suans) inland to the east of the latter, 4) the Apsilai and Missimianoï (one kingdom, the latter perhaps the *Psessioi* of Ptol., V.9.17); and 5) the Lazoi. South of these lay the coastal tribes of the Zydritai; the Drilles and the Thiannoï (*sic* read: **Sannoï* or **Tzannoï*). The first of these tribes was subject to the West Georgian kingdom of Iberia thus giving the latter its claimed and much vaunted extension to the Black Sea (Toum.:447); the second, supposedly to Rome, but currently in disobedience, and the third unquelled and extending westwards almost to Trapezous/Trebizond. In Strabo's time, however (d. c. 20 A. D.), all Kolkhis and the intervening peoples were firmly controlled by the kingdom of Pontos (XI.2.18). Sometime in the late fourth or fifth century, the Laz became the dominant force in Kolkhis (thereafter called Lazika), and quickly asserted their authority over the Abkhazians and Apsilians who became their vassals, a situation vividly described by Procopius and Agathias in the sixth century. Laz domination over West Georgia endured until the 790's when it was replaced by that of the Abkhazians (Toum.:256), whereupon the country came to be called *Ap'xazet'i*; CP (*DAI* 42/13): *Abasgia*.

Janssens (1973:50) has probably said the definitive word on the population of the Pontos and he is worth quoting in full:

In the absence of precise details and of traditional indications worthy of credence, we admit that the non-Greek population called to furnish the anonymous mass of mountaineers of the Trebizondine hinterland are of Caucasian origin, and that they are called *Kolkhians* when one archaizes, *Laz* when one adopts a contemporary perspective (which is the case

from Procopius until the present day), or *Khalybes* when one alludes to the traditional mining and metallurgy of the population. Such were likely the three orders of generalization adhered to at the end of antiquity by the authors whose indications we have been obliged to follow.

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 *Sak'art'velo* only from 1008 until the end of the fifteenth century, when West Georgia became known as *Imeret'i* "the land beyond [the Lixi/Surami Mountains]." Thereafter, until the Russian annexation in 1810, it formed a separate kingdom by that name (Russ.: *Imeretiya*) consisting of Imeret'i proper (the inland part of the plain) and the four dependent but autonomous principalities of Ap'xazet'i (Russ.: *Abkhaziya*), Samegrelo ('land of the Eger-s,' i.e., Egrisi, cf. Ptol. (XI.9): *Manraloi*; Russ.: *Mingreliya*) Svaneti (Russ.: *Svanetiya*) and Guria (cf. E-ger; Russ.: *Guriya*). Significantly, Abkhazia is inhabited not by Georgians but by a people related to the Circassians, (Geig.:1.7; Toum. 1963:80). Low-lying and swampy, with a sub-tropical and humid climate, Kolkhis/Lazika/Imeret'i was notoriously unhealthy into the twentieth century when considerable draining was undertaken. Abkhazia is heavily wooded, and its peoples were given to piracy into the nineteenth century. (For the earliest West Georgian state, Aia or Aiaia, see Homer, *Od.* X.135, XI.70, XII.3; Theopompos, *Fr.* 340; Apollon. Rhod. *Argonautika* (2.120f.); Appolod. *Bibl.* 1.9.1; Escher; *PW* 1/1. For the Egyptian origin of the Kolkhians, see Herod. (II.104); Diod. Sic. (1.55.43); Strabo (XI.2.17); Agathias (II.18.5). For the Kolkhians in general, Skylax (81); Hecataeus, *Frag.* (185-88); Strabo (XI.2.12): *passim*; Pliny (VI.4.11-14); Ptol. (V.10); Proc. *Pers. passim*; Agathias: *passim*; Vax: *passim*; Mourier 1884; Reinach 1890; Mourier 1894; Ruge *PW* 11/1; Zuze 1927; Javaxišvili *K'art'veli* 1928; Khutsishvili 1932; Allen 1932; Gugushvili 1936; Baschmakoff 1937; Khudadov 1938; Makalat'ia 1940; Berdzenišvili 1946; Adontz 1946; Allen "Ex Ponto" 1958-60; *Istoriya Gruzii* I 1962; Toum. 1963; Erem. 1963; Inadze 1968; Bratianu 1969; Toum. 1976:548-51; Pekkanen 1979; Khutsishvili 1980; Hewsen "Georgia," "Mingrelian principality" *MERSH*; *idem.* *TAVO* B VI.14. For the Kolkhian coastal tribes, towns and rivers see Skylax (73-88); Strabo (XI.2.17); Pliny (VI.4.12); Arrian (8-15); Ptol. (V.10.5) PS.-Arrian (37-42) and, in modern literature Baschmakoff 1937; Inadze 1968; Pekkanen 1979; and Khutsishvili 1980. For further bibliography on East Georgia *infra* n. 18; for Abkhazia and the Abkhazians *supra* V, n. 30); for the Laz *infra* n. 9).

²The author is quite unequivocal about the northern frontier of Eger, marking it as the River Drakon even as he has already cited the same river as the southern tributary of Asiatic Sarmatia (*supra* V, n. 32). On the other hand, he is inconsistent, citing the Ap'xazk' and Ap'sik' as peoples of Sarmatia, whereas both lived southeast of the Drakon in Kolkhis/Lazika.

³This spur, which links the main chain of the Caucasus with the Armenian plateau, is variously known as the *Gado*, *Arsiani*, *Arguet'i*, *Moskhan*, *Surami*, or *Lixi* Mountains (Toum.:437).

⁴... č'ors ašxarhs p'ok'uns, but only three (Manwil, Egrw-i-ki and Čaniw/Xat'ik') are named, the fourth, Lazika, omitted in L appears in S.

⁵*Manwil*; read: *Manrilk'*; Ptol. (V.10.5): *Manraloi*, which Eremyan (65) indicates only approximately on his map believing the name to have been lifted directly from Ptolemy (or Pappos). He does, however, cite a village called Manralisi which he connects with the name *Manralik'*; S1819: *Mairnelit*; S1877: *Manrili* B *Mirwnisa*.

⁶*Egrwewiki*; Lat.: *Ecretica* (Pomp. Mela I.19), or *Aranjnak Eger* - 'Eger Proper' (Geo.: *Samegrelo*, i.e., the country of the Egerians or Mingrelians). According to Eremyan (50), *Egrw-ikē* (*sic*) was identical with *Laziwikē* a name which was derived from *Lazika*, the Byzantine name for Kolkhis. As a tribal name, *Egrwewikē* seems to have survived until the nineteenth century, when *Egerukoi* was a Russian name for the Circassians. (*Infra* n. 7).

⁷There was no district of *Ki*, and the redactor (or a copyist?) of L has erroneously divided *Egrwewikē* into two names. S1683: *Agrwike*, which Saint-Martin read as *Agretikē*. Eremyan follows the reading of S for the four districts of Eger. S1819: *Agriwikē*; S1877: *Egrwewika* B *Erewi*, *Kiztziw*.

⁸*P'asas*; Geo.: *P'ot'i* (Vax.:396); Arm.: *P'asis* (Erem.:88), later *P'oyt'* (LE, 10); RA (II.12): *Fasis*; Tk: *Fash*; Russ.: *Poti*. It is interesting that our author refers to Phasis as *k'atak'* 'city' whereas from Agathias (III.19.8) we learn that it had only a wooden (i.e., log) wall. The River Phasis is now the *Rioni* from its Svanian name; Proc. *Goth.* (VIII.13.3): *Rheon*, which he takes for a different river. (Vax.:346; Diehl *PW* 19/2).

⁹*Čaniw*; Geo.: *Čanet'i* (Vax.:128); Arm.: *Čaniw* or *Xat'ik'* (Eł. V), also known under the forms *Čanik*, *Čaniwk'* from **Čaniwikē* (Erem.:64); S1877: *Laziw*, *Čanet'* B *Čanet'*; *Cyrop* (II.4; III.1, 2, 3); *Khaldaioi*; Gk: *Sannoi* (Gug.:53) or *Tzanoi* (Proc. *Pers.* I.15.20-25); Tk: *Canik*, now *Lazistan* along with the Black Sea coast of Turkey from just east of Trebizond to the Soviet frontier. The Khaldians (*Xat'ik'*), not to be confused with the *Chaldaeans* of Mesopotamia, are believed to have been the remains of a proto-Caucasian people who formed part of the Urartian federation which collapsed at the time of the Cimmerian invasion c. 612 B. C. In classical times, the Khaldians dwelled in the coastal mountains behind Athenai and Rhizos where the Greek Orthodox Church maintained a diocese of *Khaldia* until 1922. MX (II, 16) uses the expression *Čaniws Pontac'woc'*, or *ē Xat'ik'*, which shows their inclusion in the Roman province of Cappadocian Pontos (Rickmers 1934; Herz. 1948:129-29; Toum. 1963; Bryer 1966; 1967; G. Williams 1972; Bryer and Winfield 1985; Garsoian 1989:591).

¹⁰The Megalu potamia River (Gk: *Megalos Potamos* 'Great River') is now the Tk.: *Büyük Dere*, which translates the Greek name. It enters the Black Sea near Ardeşen between Rize and Batum (Erem.:65).

¹¹The Akampsis or *Voh*, RA (II.12): *Acopsis*; Geo.: *Speri* (Toum.:322, n. 76), or *Č'oroxi* (Vax.:78); Mod. Arm.: *Č'orox*; Tk.: *Çoruh*. Both the Egerian (i.e., Kolkhian) name, *Akampsis*, cited here, and the Armenian name, *Voh*, were known to the ancients, the former as *Akampsis* (Proc. *Pers.* VIII.2.8, for the lower course of the river), and the latter as *Boas* (*ibid.*, VIII.2.6-9), but this river is also known to earlier authors: Ptol. (V.6.7): *Apsorros*; Arrian (40, 42): *Apsaros* and also Ps.-Arrian (7-9, 16): *Apsaros*. (See Appendix X).

¹²Igani, properly *[z]igan[eon] (Erem.:52); (V.10.2): *Siganeon*; TP (XCI): *Sicanabis*; RA (II.12): *Siganium*. It was located near the present village of Mujuna, and was perhaps the city called *Aia* or *Aiaia* in the legend of the Golden Fleece (*Odys.* 10.135; 70; 12.3), in which it is cited as the capital of Kolkhis. (For the possible reality behind the semi-mythical kingdom cited in the Odyssey, see Toum.:57, 58, 61, n. 58).

¹³*Kota*; Geo.: *K'ut'aisi*, (also *Kut'at'isi*; Lazic: *K'ot'aysis*; Arm.: *Kota*; Gk.: *Kytaia*, *Kotatission* (Proc. *Goth.* VIII.14.48): *Kotiaion* "now called *Kotais*", or *Outhimerion* (*rectius*: **Oukimerion*?) for the citadel, *idem.* VIII.14.51) Agathias (II.19 *passim*): *Kotais*; Venetian: *Cotochis*; Russ.: *Kutais*, the traditional capital of Western Georgia. Located on the Rioni River, Kutaisi remained the capital after the unification of Georgia in 1008 until the recapture of Tbilisi (Tiflis) in 1122. The northern part of Kutaisi consisted of a citadel and a fortified upper town. To the south, across the river, lay the commercial center. Sacked by the Seljuks in 1074-79 and by the Khwarazm-Shah Jalāl-ad-Dīn in 1228, Kutaisi was burtn by the Ottoman Turks in 1512 and 1691. In 1462, the city became the capital of the new West Georgian Kingdom of Imeret'i until that state was annexed by Russia in 1810. Kutaisi is famed for its Cathedral of the Virgin, one of the most notable cruciform churches in Georgia. Near the city stands the Gelati monastery (twelfth cent.), whose academy was the greatest cultural center of medieval Georgia. In the legend of the Golden Fleece, King Aietes of Kolkhis is called "Kytaian

Aietes" in Apollonios of Rhodes' *Voyage of Argo*, III, (II, lines 403 and 1094; III, line 228) and reference is made to the "Kytaian land" (IV, line 511), to the "Kytaian mainland" (II, line 399), and to Aia as a "Kytaian city" (II, line 1267). Apollonius, however, never explains this adjective although Proc. (*Goth.* VIII.14.49) does so. (Mourier 1894:80-83; Allen 1932: *passim*; Lang 1957: *passim*; Meskhia 1959; Č'akvertaje 1960; Mepisashvili and Khurtsidze 1966; Gink and Csemegi-Tompos 1975; 64-65; Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979: *passim*; BSE.

¹⁴ *Rodwpolis*; read: *Rodiwpawlis*; Gk: Rhodopolis, i. e., 'Rose-city,' a near translation of the Georgian name *Vardc'ixe*; *Varc'ixe*, 'rose-castle' (Erem.:79), was located on the left bank of the Rioni where it is joined by the Xams-C'kali. Proc. (*Goth.*, VIII.13.21) says it was totally destroyed by the Laz.

¹⁵ *At'ina*; Arrian 5, 6, 8): *Athenai*, from Laz meaning 'shady place'? (Bryer 1966:185); Ptol. (V.6.6); cape *Athēnai* only; Tk: *Pazar*, a small port between Batumi and Rize.

¹⁶ *Rizon*, Arrian (*ibid.*): *Rhizous*; Ptol. (V.6.6): *idem.*, from Laz meaning 'a place where people or soldiers meet'? Bryer (*ibid.*). Proc. (*Aed.* III.7.3): *Rhizaion*, where he considers it to be as big a fortress as any on the eastern frontier. Tk.: *Rize*. Proc. (*Goth.*, VII.2.10) calls it a village.

¹⁷ *T'rapezos* (abbreviated as *T's*), i. e., *Trebizond*; Ptol. (V.6.5): *Trapezous*; Arab.: *Ṭarābazūnda*; Tk.: *Trabzon*, was a colony formed by Greeks of Sinope about 700 B.C. Its locality marks the westernmost extension of the Caucasian peoples, here represented by the Muslim Georgian tribe called Laz, the *Lazoi* of Ptol. (V.9.4) who had given their name to the kingdom of *Lazikē* of Byzantine authors. It does not appear at all likely that the control of Lazika should have extended as far west as Athenai and Rhizaion 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 Č'aniw as the AŠX would have it (Miller 1926; Jennisens 1969; Bryer and Winfield, section XX). Vaxušt (123), specifically tells us that Č'anēt'i (Č'aniw) extended to the "frontier of Trebizond," while Arrian *Perip.* (8) tells us that (at least in the second century) the River Ophis (Tk.: *Of*) was the boundary between the Kolkhians on the east and the Thiannoī (*sic* the Tzanoi/Sanni) on the west. RA (II.12): *Ofiuntis*.

VIB. Iberia

¹⁸ *Virk'* or *Vrkan* is the Armenian name for the East Georgian kingdom of *K'art'li* as opposed to *Eger*, as the Armenians called the West Georgian kingdom of *Egrisi* or *Lazika*. *Virk'*, therefore, corresponds to Gk: *Iberia*; (Ptol. V.11; Strabo X.3); Lat.: *Iberia* or *Hiberia*; RA (II.12): *Ivirum*, a town; (*ibid.*): *Iberia*, the country; Phl.: *Gurzān*; Syr.: *Gurzan*; Arab.: *Jurzān*; Per.: *Gurgan*; Mod. Arm.: *Vrastan*; Tk: *Gurcistan*, and Russ.: *Gruziya*, the last five forms also being used to designate the greater Georgian kingdom formed through the Union of *K'art'li* and *Egrisi/Lazika* in 1008. This union the Georgians called *Sak'art'velo*, a term still used to designate modern Georgia (Erem.:83).

The name *Iberia* may represent a form of the root B-L (L R) B-R, and appears in the Biblical *Thubal*, *Tibal*, *Tibar*, the classical *Tibaroi*, *Tibarenoi*, [*T*]iberes, *Iberia*, *Iveria*, Arm: *Veria*, *Virk'*. The suggestion that the Arm. *Virk'* refers to the fact that Georgia lies north of – i. e., above (Arm.: *ver* = 'above') – Armenia is without foundation. A connection between the Iberians of Caucasia and those of the Iberian Peninsula is possible but attempts to link the Georgians with the Basques have not yielded conclusive results, despite the extensive work of Vogt and others.

Ethnographically, the Georgians are usually divided into four main groups within which are several smaller sub-groups (Gugushvili 1936): I. The Georgians properly-called, inhabiting East Georgia; II.

The Mingrelians of central West Georgia; III. The Laz or Č'ani, 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 *Kaxet'ians* of eastern East Georgia (the islamized Georgians of *Zakat'ali* are called *Ingiloi*), (3) the *Xevsur-s*, (4) the *Pšav-s*; (5) the *Tuš* or *Tušin-s*, (6) the *Moxevians*, (7) the *Račan-s* of West Georgia, (8) the *Gurians* of southwest West Georgia, (9) the *Imeretians* of West Georgia and (10) the *Mt'iulet'ians* 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.

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 Pharnabazid 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 *Kashkai* (Kolkhians), *Muskhi* (Moskhians), perhaps the ancestors of the Svans (who call themselves *Mushwan* or *Mushwni* in the singular, Geig.:15), and *Tabalians* (perhaps the ancestors of the Iberians) together with *Kimmerians*, *Scythians* and whatever autochthons already inhabited southwestern and south central Caucasia (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 lay 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 marchlands so fully described by Toumanoff (1963:Study V) and elaborated upon by me (*infra*, VIIK). At the time of the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran in c. 387 these marchlands reverted to Iberia as described in the AŠX, 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 in 886 by a branch of the Bagratuni that had migrated to Iberia from Armenia in the previous century. Under the Bagratids, Iberia and *Tayk'* merged in 1000, and in 1008 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 *T'amar the Great* (1187-1213), Georgia became a major power controlling both north and south Caucasia 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 (*Kaxet'i*), Central Georgia (*K'art'li/Iberia*) and East Georgia (*Imeret'i*), the last of which also disintegrated with virtually independent princes of *Ap'xazet'i*, *Guria*, *Svanet'i*, and *Samegrelo* (Mingrelia) ruling as nominal vassals of the Imeretian kings at *K'ut'aisi*. In 1762, *K'art'li* and *Kaxet'i* were merged only to be annexed by Russia in 1801. *Imeret'i* was then annexed in 1810; *Guria* in 1828; *Mingrelia* (*Odiši*) in 1857; Lower or Free *Svanet'i* in 1829; Upper *Svanet'i* in 1858, and finally *Ap'xazet'i* in 1864. After nearly four hundred years, Georgian unity was restored under Romanov 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 AŠX is unique in providing us with the only description we have of the fundamental districts of

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/Lazika), 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 Kaxet'i, 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) Kaxet'i (Russ.: *Kakhetiya*), 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 (Šida K'art'li), Lower Iberia (K'vemo K'art'li) and Upper Iberia (Zemo K'art'li). Kaxet'i or East K'art'li comprises the regions of Inner and Outer Kaxet'i and, at times, of Heret'i, 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 AŠX. From all of this, we may devise the following chart of the divisions of Georgia in the broader sense of the term:

I. WEST GEORGIA (EGRISI/KOLKHIS/LAZIKA/ABASGIA/IMERET'I)

A. Ap'xazet'i

1. Ap'xazet'i
2. Ap'šilet'i
- *3. Saro/Saroet'i (Missimiana)

B. Svanet'i (Souania)

- *4. Upper Svanet'i
- *5. Lower Svanet'i

C. Samegrelo (Egrisi proper/Ekrētike/Egrewikē/Manrikk'/Mingrelia)

D. Imeret'i

- *Imeret'i proper
- *Leč'kumi
- *Rača

Argvet'i/Margvet'i

E. Canet'i (Lazika proper/Tzanikē/Xat'ik'/Khaldia)

II. EAST GEORGIA (K'ART'LI/IBERIA/VIRK')

F. Duchy of Inner Iberia (Šida K'art'li)

1. Gorat'is-xevi
2. T'anis-xevi

3. Duan
4. Ač'abet'is-xevi
5. Rexa
6. Guerdis-xevi
7. Kosx/Kaspi
8. Sac'xumet'i
9. Konis-xevi
10. C'xrazma
11. Bazalet'i
12. Mtkuris-xevi
13. Ĵelet'i

G. LOWER IBERIA (K'VEMO K'ART'LI) or (GREATER) TAŠIRI

a. T'rialet'i

b. *Duchy of Gardman/Xunani

14. Paruar

15. Manglisp'ori ('Manglisi Gorge').

16. Xanc'ixe/Hunarakert

c. *Duchy of Gač'iani/Samšvilde

17. Gač'iani/Samšvilde proper

18. Palakac'io/Taširi proper

19. Aboc'i/Kaikuli

20. Kuišap'ori

21. Kolbap'ori

22. Bolnop'ori

23. Cobop'ori

24. Jorop'ori

25. Kangarni

H. UPPER IBERIA (ZEMO K'ART'LI/ZEMO SOP'ELI 'Upper Country'/Samc'xe/Mesxet'i)

a. *Duchy of Cunda

26. Upper Ĵavaxet'i

27. Lower Ĵavaxet'i/Erušet'i

28. Artani

29. Kola

b. Duchy of Ojrxē

30. Samc'xe proper

31. Ač'ara

32. T'ori

c. *Duchy of Klarĵet'i

33. Klarĵet'i

34. Šavšet'i

35. Nigali/Ligani

36. Murgule

37. Meret'i

I. TAO (Arm.: TAYK')

a. *Upper Tao

38. Parxali

39. Asisp'ori
40. Azordac'p'ori
41. Speri
42. Ok'ale
43. Bolxa
44. Partizac'p'ori
45. Berdac'p'ori
46. Basiani (occasionally Iberian)
 - b. *Lower Tao/Čaket'i

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

- J. *Duchy of Kaxet'i/Kuxet'i
 - a. *Inner Kaxet'i
 47. Kxoet'i
 48. Xerki
 49. Ercu
 50. T'ianet'i
 51. Cobenori
 52. Cuk'et'i
 53. Velis-c'ixe
 54. K'uel-daba/Greater Kaxet'i
 55. Sujet'i
 56. Tušet'i
 57. Kizki/Sqnaxi
 58. Saingilo/Žakatali
 - b. *Outer Kaxet'i
 59. *Xevsuret'i
 60. *Pšavet'i
 61. *Mt'iulet'i
 - c. *Heret'i (Movakani)

IV. TRIBAL LANDS (only occasionally held by the Iberian Monarchy):

62. Canareli
63. C'xavaleli
64. Guda-Makaris-xevi
65. Celkan Gates
66. P'oxoveli

The *AŠX* makes no mention of the territories marked with an asterisk (*). The Tušin-s (IV, n. 73), Xevsur-s, Pšav-s and Mt'iul-s were Georgian Mountain tribes in the upland valleys of the south central Caucasus range. Kizki 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 Ptol. (V.11). For the early and medieval history of Georgia see LR and JJ in the *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, as well as the general Armenian, Arab and Byzantine sources. For modern works, consult Brosset 1842; *idem.* 1849-50; *idem.* 1849-51; *idem.* 1858; Ioseliani 1866; Raddle 1878; Mourier 1888; *idem.* 1894; Wardrop 1888;

Leist 1903; Tamarati 1910; Javaxišvili II 1914; Treidler "Iberia" PW Suppl. 19; Strzygowski 1918; Allen 1923; Marr 1923; Von Wesendonk 1927; Karst 1928; Javaxišvili 1928; Kekelidze 1928; Allen 1929; Baltrusaitis 1929; Markwart 1931; Marr 1931; Bérizé 1931, 1932; Allen 1932; Sourkhatian 1932; Taqaišvili 1936; Gugušvili 1936; Javakhishvili 1936; Janašia 1937; Grigolia 1939; Avalishvili 1940; Javaxišvili 1940; Baranije 1940-64; Toumanoff 1940; *idem.* 1943; Berjenišvili 1946; Adontz 1946; Janasia 1949; Kuftin 1949-50; Lang 1949; Tschubinaschwili 1950; Barije 1951; Javaxišvili I 1951; Kazemzadeh 1951; Luzbetak 1951; Toumanoff 1952; Allen and Muratoff 1953; Ingoroqva 1954; C'ie'isvili 1955; Tarchnishvili 1955; Pipes 1956; Toumanoff "Iberia" 1956; *idem.* "noblesse" 1956; Lang 1957; Kekelije 1958-60; Stevenson, 1958; Urusadze 1958; Apakije 1959; Melikishvili 1959; Menabde 1959; Geiger et al., 1959; Amiranishvili *EWA* 1960; Japarije 1961; Kolarz 1961; Toumanoff 1961; Allen 1962; Berdenishvili 1962; Lang *Catalogue* 1962; *idem.* *History* 1962; Six-arulije 1962; Toumanoff 1963; Eremyan 1963; Halasi-Kun 1963; Javakhishvili and Gvelesiani 1964; AGSSR 1964; Javaxišvili 1965, 1966; Toumanoff 1966; Lang, *Balavariani* 1966; *idem.*, *Georgians* 1966; Mepisashvili 1966; Davitaya 1967; Lort'k'ip'anije 1968; Meskhia 1968; Urushadze 1968; Hakobyan 1968; Gaspard 1969; Khutsishvili 1969; Ad-Gar. 1970; Burney and Lang 1971; Barrett 1973; Toumanoff 1976, 1978; Gink and Csemegey-Tombos 1975; Rustaveli 1977; Mepisashvili and Tsint-sadze 1979; Salia 1980, Janin *DHGE*; Minorsky and Bosworth "al-Kurdj" *New El*; Hewsen *MERSH*; *idem.* *DMA*; Rohrbacher 1981; Toumanoff 1983; Lang *Elr* II; Assfalg/Hewsen *LdesM*; Hewsen *TAVO* B VI 14, et seq.; Suny 1988; Garsoian 1989:500; also the collections *ASKAK* 1866-1904; *SSKG* 1868-81; *SSK* 1871-85; *SMK* 1881-1905; *MAK* 1888; *MSE* 1938-72; and *MSKA* 1955-; and the journals *Ca*, *G* (1935-37), *CS*, *BK* (1957-84), *REGC* (1985-), Toumanoff 1990; and *ASSC* (1989-).

¹⁹The River Kur; Vax. 136: *Mtkvari*; *Pomp.* Mela 34-35: *Kyros*; Strabo (XI.3.2): *Kyros* or *Koros*; (V.12.1): *Kyros*; Pliny (VI.10): *Cyrus*; MD (I.29: *Kriakan get*; Arab.: *Nahr al-Kurr* (Mark. 1930:25); Pers.: *Kor rod*; Tk: *Kura Çayi*. Taking its origin on the Armenian plateau in Turkey, this river flows northwards to the East Georgian plain, thence into Azerbaijan, where it joins the Arax to enter the Caspian Sea.

²⁰The names of these districts, as well as those of Albania, Armenia, and Persia which follow, are as interpreted by Hübschmann, Markwart, Hakobyan, Eremyan, and Toumanoff, and the estimated areas of each (according to these last two scholars), are given in the relevant footnotes. For a more exact location of districts and cities, the reader is referred to the accompanying map IX. It is interesting that the passage dealing with Iberia is defective in many mss. of S and often omits many districts cited in S 1944.

According to LR (24), Virk' or Iberia (the East Georgian kingdom) was originally composed of eight duchies: Margvet'i, Kax'et'i-Kuxet'i, Xunani, Samšwilde (Taširi and Aboc'i), Cunda (Javaxet'i, Kola and Artani), Ojrxē (Samc'xe and Ačara), Klarjet'i and Egrisi, besides Inner Iberia, which was in effect a ninth dukedom held by the High Constable of the realm. Toumanoff (1963:103, n. 159) reduces these nine to seven true Iberian duchies by subtracting Margvet'i and Egrisi, which were West Georgian, i. e., Kolkhian, lands, whose inclusion in Iberia he shows to be spurious. Eremyan (83, 119) shows Iberia composed of the following lands: 1) until 363 A.D.: the Upper Iberian provinces, Mesxet'i, Kaxet'i-Kuxet'i and Argvet'i, a total of 17,912 sq. km.; 2) from 363 to 387: the above territory, with the addition of Šawšet'i, lower Javaxet'i and the five districts of Gugark' comprised in the Vitaxate (*bdeašxut'iwv*) of Gugark' or Mesxet'i (the Iberian or Moschian March), i. e. Mangleac'p'or, K'uišap'or, Bołnop'or, Paruar, and Xac'ixē or Hunarakert, making the total area of Iberia some 22, 987 sq. km. 3) after 387; the above territory, with the addition of the remaining nine districts of Gugark', which, like Šawšet'i and Lower Javaxet'i, were not included in the vitaxate (Jorap'or, Koł-

bop'or, Cobop'or Tašir, T'rek', Kangark', Upper Ĵawaxk', Artahan and Kłarĵk'), raising the area of Iberia to 34,682 sq. km.; 4) after the 'Eternal Treaty' of 532 between Byzantium and Iran: all the above territory with the addition of the area around the fortifications at the Darial Pass comprising the tribal territories of the Canar, C'xawat, Guda-Makar, Celkan and P'ox or P'usx; a total now of 37,007 sq. km.; and, finally, 5) after the end of the seventh century: all the above territory together with the acquisition of the Egerian districts of Nigal, Mruł (Geo.: *Murguli*; Gk: *Mourgoulē*) and Mrit (*Meret'i*), for a total of 38,981 sq. km. For the acquisition of territory from the lands of Gugark' and Tayk', see Toumanoff's analysis of the chronology of the Armeno-Georgian Marchlands (*Studies*, 498-99), which clashes with Eremyan's depiction of the growth of Iberia in certain particulars (Toum.:50-52, 80-84, 86-103, 141-143, 253-254, as well as my own analysis (*supra*, n. 18) which disagrees in part with those of both.

²¹ For Tayk' *infra* VII n. 243.

²² *Klarēk'* (*sic*); Vax. (73): *Klarĵet'i*; Arm.: *K'larĵk'* (Toum.:439; TA IV.7: *Gak*; V.12.4): *Katarzēnē* read **Kalarzēnē*; Strabo (XI.14.24): *Khorzēnē* (*sic* **Kholarzēnē*?); Bal (202): *Galarĵit*, located south of Šawšet'i and Nigali stretching from the Arsiani Mountains to the Pontic Alps, which separated it from the Black Sea. The River Akampsis (Çoruh) flows through Klarĵet'i, and its center was the fortress-city of Artanuĵi (Vax.:72, 108-118, Gug.:53, Hub.:335) Gk: *Adranoutzē* (Hon.: Map IV); Tk: *Ada-Kale*. For the history of this region see Toum., 457 ff.; Edwards 1986; Sinclair II ch. III. It is now the Turkish district of Artvin (*ibid.*): 439, n. 5). Area: c. 1,280 sq. km. (Erem.:59).

²³ These Armeno-Georgian marchlands passed back and forth from Armenian to Iberian and, occasionally, Roman or Byzantine suzerainty (Toum. 1963; *infra*, VII, n. 128; Hewsens, *REA* XXII).

²⁴ *Šawšet'*; Toum. (439): *Šawšet'i* (Vax.:114) Arm.: *Šawšet* (Erem.:73) though TA (IV.7) has the unusul form *Šušet'ac'ik'* for the inhabitants, was located on the upper course of the Šavšuri River, now the Imer-xevi, east of Nigali, west of the Arsiani Mountains and bounded by Ačara on the north (Gug.:64; Hüb.:355). It is now the Turkish region of *Şavşat* (Toum.:439, n. 4). Area: c. 1,045 sq. km.

²⁵ *Artahan*; Vax.(80): *Artani* occasionally *Artaani* (Toum.:439, n. 9); Arm.: *Artahan* (*ibid.*); Bal. (203): *Artahal*; Turk.: *Ardahan* (Toum.: *ibid.*), located south of western Ĵavaxet'i., east of the Arsiani range, west of the region of Lake Palakač'io (Tk: *Çildir*). It was divided into Upper and Lower Artani (Toum.: *ibid.*) and had an area of c. 2,025 sq. km.

²⁶ *Koł*; Vax. (106): *Kola*; Urart.: *Kulĵa* or *Kolĵa* (Erem.:59); Arm.: *Koł* (Toum.:440), Turk.: *Göle* or *Merdenik* (*ibid.*:566), located around the sources of the River Kur (Hüb.:276, 277, 357). Area: c. 1,175 sq. km.

²⁷ *Ĵawaxk'*; Geo.: *Ĵavaxet'i* (Vax.:96); Arm.: *Ĵavaxk'* (Hüb.:354); SA (35): *Ĵovaxk' veri*; Erem. (78): *Ĵawaxk' Veri[n]*, located south and southeast of Samc'xē, extending westwards to Arsiani Mountains and eastwards to Lake P'aravani (Tāp'aravani). This district contained many fortresses, chief of which was Cunda (Toum.:*ibid.*), called by the Armenians *K'afatun* and, later, *Tmkaberd* (Geo.: *T'mogvi*, Erem.:78). The part of Ĵavaxet'i, west of the Kur, was usually called *Erušet'i* after its chief fortress. (Toum.:439), and Vaxušt (96-104) considered them separate districts. Area: c. 2,675 sq. km.

²⁸ *Samc'xe*; RA (II.12): *Somasche*, where it is a town, but where (*ibid.*) *Miceticon* is given as a district; Arm.: *Samc'xē* (Erem.:79) a part of Ojrxē, the sixth of the original seven duchies of Iberia (LR, 24) and which also included the land of Ačara. In its broadest sense, the term Samc'xe included the entire duchy with its remaining lands of Ačara (and possibly T'ori), and reached to the Black Sea, although a long-time extension of Iberia to the sea is doubted by Toumanoff (447). In its narrower sense, it included only the later duchy of Meschia, the region around the city of Axalc'ixē.

Samc'xē included the old fortress of Ojrxē (Abastumani) and extended from the Ghado range of the Little Caucasus on the northwest to Inner and Lower Iberia in the northeast, west to Ačara and

Šavšet'i (Vax.:74-76, 82-96; Gug.:65). The name is basically the same as Mesxet'i *Sa-mesx-et'i* = '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'ovi* in Georgian (from an earlier **Moc'ovi* = *Mesxet'i*) and is now the Turkish region of *Posof*. This region, as its name implies (the prefix *sa* = 'place' in Georgian), was the country of the Meschians or Moschians (Herz.:124), the *Moskhoi* of Hekataios (Frag. 288), and Herodorus (III.94, VII.78) – Strabo's *Moskhikē* Mountains (XI.2.15, 12.4, 14.1; XII.3.18), probably the *Mushki* of Assyrian records and the *Mosoch* of the Bible (Gen. 4.22, 10.2); Proc. (*Goth.* IV.2); *Meskhoi*, one of the component parts of the Georgian people (Toum.:56 ff.). 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 *Mesxurnik'*. According to Eremyan (119), Samc'xe, together with the districts of Ačara and T'ori (*infra* n. 306), formed the Iberian province of Mesxet'i, called *Moc'xiw* by the Čanians, and *Awixē* by the Mingrelians (Egerians). Area: c. 2,650 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

²⁹ *Veri ašxarh Vrac'*; Toumanoff (438 ff.) describes Upper Iberia as containing the following nine lands: Ačara, Nigali (or Ligani), Šavšet'i, Klarĵet'i, and Tao, all in the basin of the Acampsis (Çoruh); and Samc'xe (or Mesxia), Ĵavaxet'i, Artani, and Kola in the basin of the Kur. This is the Georgian *Zena Sop'eli K'art'lina* (Upper Iberian Country); Arm.: *Verin Ašxarh Vrac'*, whence the Byzantine *Veriasakh* (CP, *DCA*). It should be understood that the Georgian term *Zena Sop'eli* stood for various regions and was the older name for *Šida K'art'li* or Inner Iberia (Toum.:494), while *Veriasakh* refers to Klarĵet'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 AŠX, it no longer does.

³⁰ *Gořot'isxew*; Geo.: *Gorat'is-xevi*; Arm.: *Gurat'is-xew* (both Erem.:48), of which *Gorgonat'iasx*, *T'orgovat'isx*, and *Vat'isx* are all corruptions. This district lay on the north bank of the Kur in the valley of the River Gorat'i around the modern town of *Khasuri*. Vaxušt (479) cites a village of *Gorat'i* on the River Suram, and Eremyan (*ibid.*), a village called *Gorat'i* on the Gorat'i itself.

³¹ *Tořnixxew*; Geo.: *Tanix'xewi*; Arm.: *Tanixxew* (Erem.:84) of which *Tornis-xewi*, *Tunis-xew*, and *Tarnesx* are all corruptions. This district lay on the right bank of the Kur in the valleys of the Tana, T'ejami, and Jama streams. Its center was the town of *Ateni*. Vaxušt (472) cites a village called *Tanispir* in the valley of the Tana.

³² *Dekic'xē*; Geo.: *Dekic'ixe* 'Deki Fortress', located at the sources of the T'ejami River (Erem.:85).

³³ The Armenian suffix *p'or* is derived from the verb *p'orel* 'to dig' and signifies a gorge or gully 'dug out' by a river.

³⁴ *Bořnop'or*; Geo.: *Bolnisi'xevi*. This district was located in the valley of the Gařenaget now the *Mashavera*, a tributary of the Bolnis River. The center of the district was the town of Bolnisi, now the village of *Bolnis-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.

³⁵ *Paruar*, the region surrounding the city of Tbilisi (Tiflis) is here referred to as Paruar (Erem.:77), a name which is connected with **parah-xvaθra* or **paru-xvaθra*, 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'anawari*, which is the name of a lake in Ĵavaxet'i 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 *Paruar* was the fifteenth district of the Vitaxate of Gugark' and was located between the River Kur and the River Ał (now the *Algeti* River, from Armenian *al* 'salt' and *get*

'river'), a tributary of the Kur which it enters from the south down river from Tbilisi (*infra*, n. 36). Toumanoff (454, n. 51) rejects the geographical identification of *Paruar* and *Panawari* made by Ingorova. Area: c. 375 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

³⁶ *Tip'xis*, (Geo.: *Tbilisi*; Arm.: *Ip'lis* or *Ip'xis*; Byz.: *Tiphilis*; Pers./Arab.: *Tiflis*; Venetian: *Tiphis*; Russ.: *Tiflis*), the principal city of South Caucasia, capital first of East Georgia (*Iberia*) and then of the united Georgian kingdom (12th-15th cents.). Tiflis was founded in 455/8 by King Vaxtang Gorgasal (447-522) in the district of Paruar at the source of several warm springs (Geo.: *tbili* = 'warm'). Excavations, however, reveal continuous settlement since 3000 B.C., and the fort called *Suris C'ixe* seems to have been located here before the city's foundation, Ptol. (V.10.6): *Sourion*? The original Tiflis consisted of a citadel on a hill with a walled town called *Kala* extending down to the banks of the River Kur. Later, in the eighth-ninth centuries, a new section, *Isani*, developed on the north, a double wall was built, and a ditch was added to the defenses. A typical oriental town of narrow winding streets and small squares, Tiflis had no formal plan until after its occupation by the Russians in 1801.

After the Georgian kings captured the city from the Seljuk Turks (1122) Tiflis became the capital of a pan-Caucasian Georgian empire and the center of the Georgian 'Golden Age' (1122-1231). Here were schools teaching philosophy, theology, history and law; the works of Firdusi and Nizami were translated; and intellectuals such as C'axruxaje, Moses Xoneli, John Šavteli and Šota Rust'aveli gathered to work. Tiflis was also a great commercial center at this time with caravansarais and several large bazaars which attracted merchants from Persia, Syria, the Byzantine Empire and all Caucasia. The resident merchants, largely Armenians, played a great role in the life of the city. Chief among the monuments of Tiflis are the Sion Cathedral (sixth cent., rebuilt 1710), Anč'isxati Church (sixth cent., 1675), the Lurji 'blue' Monastery founded by Queen Tamar the Great (1187-1212), the Bethany Monastery and Didube Church (twelfth cent.), and the Metexi Church (thirteenth). The original royal palace had been located in *Kala* but after 1122 a new one and several others were erected in *Isani*.

Taken by force some forty times in its history, Tiflis was destroyed by the *Khwarazm-Shāh* Jalal al-dīn in 1231, captured by the Mongols in 1234 and stormed eight times by Timur (1386-1403). Thereafter the city declined in prosperity until its revival under Russian rule. The name of the town was officially changed to its Georgian form *Tbilisi* in 1935. (Vax.:185-91; Mourier 1894; Kakabadze 1928; Surkhatian 1932; Lang 1957; Lashauri 1958; Minorsky *EI* 8; Lang 1966; Gink and Tomboš 1975; Nagel 1978; Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979).

³⁷ *T'ar*; Geo.: *T'ori* (Vax.:207); Arm.: *T'awr* (Erem.:53). This district lay along the course of the River T'ori, a southern tributary of the Kur up river from Mc'xet'a. It consisted of three valleys: Gučaret'i, Sadgeri, and Mtkvari (Vax.:274), which later in the Middle Ages formed a separate principality (Erem.: *ibid.*). By the eighteenth century, the entire region had become known as *Gučaret'i* (Vax.:207). Area c. 732 sq. km.

³⁸ *Argwēr' Lerunk'* Erem. (39): *Argwēt'u Lerink'* now the *Surami* or *Lixi* Mountains which link the Caucasus with the Armenian plateau and separate Eger (Kolkhis) from K'art'li (*Iberia*) (*supra* n. 3).

³⁹ *Daštin Duan*; Geo.: *Duanis-veli*; Arm.: *Daštn Duan* (both Erem.:48) 'the Plain of Duan' located west of the River Liaxvi (Arm.: *Lex*) on the plain in the angle formed by the juncture of that river with the Kur as the former runs from the north. Vax.:(478) mentions only a village of *Duani* in the same plain, northeast of the city of Gori. S1877 and B *Duan*. Area: c. 820 sq. km.

⁴⁰ *Ač'ewētisxew*; Geo.: *Ač'abet'i* (Vax.:254) or *Ač'abet'is-xevi* (Erem.:36); Arm.: *Ač'abet'is-xew* (*ibid.*); S1877: *Ač'ewētisxew*. This district took its name from the fortress of *Ač'abet'i*, located at the foot of a mountain west of the River Liaxvi, today the village of *Ač'abet'i* (Russ. *Achabeti*) in the South Ossetian ASSR. Area: c. 175 sq. km.

⁴¹ *K'ordisit'irikosxew* (the ms. text is unclear at this point). Eremyan reads this as two names rather than one, but not as three as it is found in S1819. (1) Geo.: *Guerdis-jeri* (Vax.:237) Arm.: *Gufe[r]dis-jori* (Erem.:119) of which the forms *K'urdit'iri*, *K'udid*, and *K'awdit*, are call corruptions. This district was located in the deep valley on the upper course of the stream called *Mejuda* and was the district south of Mt. Orbocal, from the village of Cariašeni to the village of Vānat'i. Area: c. 225 sq. km. (2) Geo.: *Kaspi*; Arm.: *Kosx* (both Erem.: 60), located in the valley of the stream called *Rexula*, a northern affluent of the Kur. The center of this district was the fortress called *Kaspisa* or *Kaspi*, now *Up'liśc'ixe*. Area: c. 575 sq. km. Vaxušt (388 and Map 3) calls this region *Wace*.

⁴² *Sac'xumēt'*. Neither Vaxušt nor Gugušvili mention this district, which Eremyan (80) reads *Sac'xumēt'* (*sic*) and places on the upper course of the Lesser Liaxvi. Here a village called *Sac'xenet'i* (Russ.: *Satskheneti*) is still found, and which is probably the *Satzkheni* of Vax. (236 and Map 3) in the region he calls *Sawaktango*. According to Eremyan (*ibid.*). The root of the name is *C'xum* (Mingrelian and Čanian: *C'xumi* or *Leč'xum*), cf. *C'xumi*, mod. *Sukhumi* capital of Abkhazia, from the tribe called *C'xoymk'* or *Skiwmik'* (i. e., the *T'akoyr*, *infra* n. 81 A.). Area: c. 445 sq. km. (*supra* IV, nn. 60, 67).

⁴³ *Lēx*. The River Lex is the Greater Liaxvi (Vax.:236), a northern tributary of the Kur (Vax:Map 3; CIA, 1960).

⁴⁴ *Xarnisxew*; Geo.: *Ksnix-xewi*, *K'snis-Xewi* (Vax.:217-39); Arm.: *Ksnis-xew*, of which *Xarnisxewi* and *Kanix* are corruptions (Erem.:61). This district was located in the valley of the K'sani River. According to Eremyan (*ibid.*), however, the lower course of this river formed a district of its own called *Muxnari* (now the valley of *Muxrani*), which he notes, is mentioned by Bal. as *K'sovris* (*sic*), where a village by this name still exists. *Muxnari* is not included in the *AŠX*, which has *Bazalet'* instead (*infra* n. 94 A.). Area of *Ksnis-xew* c. 300 sq. km.

⁴⁵ *C'xrasjmay*; Geo.: *C'xrazma* Vax.:232); Arm. *C'xrazmay* of which and: *C'xrasjmaya* and *C'xnasjmaya* 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'arkzmulā*. Area: c. 550 sq. km.

⁴⁶ The River *Aragw* is the modern *Aragvi* or *Aragva*, which enters the Kur from the north at Mc'xet'a 13 kms. upstream from Tiflis. It is the *Aragon* of Strabo (XI.3.2).

⁴⁷ *Axalc'ixē* 'New Castle', was a fortress on the right bank of the Aragi River, north of Mc'xet'a opposite the village of Cicamuri (Strabo, XI.3.5): *Seusamora*. A village called *Axalc'ixe* is still found here, but is not to be confused with the *Axalc'ixe* on the upper Kur which was founded in the late Middle Ages.

⁴⁸ *Xit'a*; read: **Mc'xit'a*; Geo: *Mc'xet'* (Vax.:208) Arm.: *Mc'xit'a* (Erem.:71); Ptol. (V.10.2.): *Mēst-lēta*; read: **Mēskhēta*; Agathias (II.22.5): *Meskhitha*, the ancient capital of Iberia until the court was transferred to Tbilisi by King Vaxtang Gorgasal late in the fifth century. It is located on the north bank of the Kur, where it is joined by the River Aragi. Mc'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'akije, et al., 1958, and Č'ubinašvili 1958.

⁴⁹ *Blro, Surb, Xač'*. The hill of the Holy Cross referred to in the passage is *Juari*, which overlooks Mc'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* 'holy'.

⁵⁰ *Supra* n. 35.

⁵¹ *Cop'op'or*; Toum. (467): *Cobap'or*; SA (35): *Cop*, located in the valley of the Berduji or Debeda River (Hub.:553), and also called *K'urd-Vačris-xevi* in Georgian and *Borchalu* by the Muslims (Vax.:138). Eremyan (56) places the district between the Shulaveri and Debeda Rivers and cites as its center the fortress of *Cob* or *Cop'* (Geo.: *C'op'a*), whose ruins are found near the Sadakhli railroad station, and gives it an area of c. 450 sq. km., but see *infra* n. 55.

⁵² *Koľbop'or*; Toum, (467): *Koľbap'or*; Hub, (353): *Koľbop'or*; BP (159): *Koľb*; Geo: *Kak'pak'ar* (cf. the tenth century *Martyrology of Gobran* quoted by G. L. Melik'set'-bek (Erevan, 1934, 1936, 1955), located in the Inja Valley (Hub.:354), although Eremyan (60) places it in the gorge of the Kolba River in the region of modern *Noyemberyan*, placing its center at the castle and town of Koľb or Koľbak'ar 'Kolb-Rock' and giving it an area of. c. 250 sq. sm. (See, however, *infra* n. 54).

⁵³ *Jorop'or*; Toum, (467): *Jorop'or*; Erem. (63): *Jorap'or*; JC (167,168): *Joroyp'or*, located in the valley of the Ałstew (Akstafa), River (Hüb.: 353, 355, 370), although Eremyan (*ibid.*) locates it in the valley of the Xorajori 'deep-valley' River, which he identifies with the Debeda in the district of Alaverdi. In the Middle Ages this district was called *Joraget* in Armenian; Geo.: *Jorageti* (*ibid.*). Area: c. 475 sq. km. After *Jorop'or*, other mss. have the district of Xanc'ixē 'Xan Castle'; Geo: *Xunani* or *Xanc'ixe* (Vax.:168); Arm.: *Xanc'ixē* or *Hunarakert*, of which *Xanc'ix/Xanic'x* 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 *Hunan* 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 (MXII.8; MD.I.4). For Hunarakert, *infra* n. 56. Eremyan (*ibid.*) links the name Xanc'ixe to *Khanēs*, a river cited by Strabo (XI.3.2), which he identifies with the modern Khram (Xanc'ixe = *Xani Castle?).

⁵⁴ Eremyan (104, n. 1) identifies these rivers as the Cop'a, Koľba and the Joraget. In regard to the three districts of Cobop' or Koľbop'or and Jorap'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.: *Ał get* 'salt river'), where it included the three districts of Mangleac'p'or, Paruar and Xanc'ixe or Hunarakert. Eremyan, however, confusing Georgian Gardabani with the Armenian principality of Gardmān (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 *southwards* 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 Algeti Valley.

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 Kobop'or and Cobop'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, Koľbop'or along the Indzha (which must have once been called the River *Koľb*) and Cobop'or along the River Debeda, obviously once known as the River *Cob*. Jorap'or, on the other hand, occupied the valley of the Ałstew River (mod.: *Akstafa*) where Eremyan places Mec Kuenk'. (For the correction of this latter imbroglio see *infra* VII n. 209).

⁵⁵ *Narakert*; read: **Hunarakert*; Geo: *Xunani* or *Mtkuris-c'ixe* (Erem.:63); Arm: *Hunarakert* or *Xunan* (*ibid.*); S1877: *Hnarakert*, 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 Mtkuaris-C'ixe and later by the Muslims as *Qiz-Qala*, gave its name to the Iberian Duchy of Xunani, which was conterminous with the land of Gardabani (Toum.: 481; *infra* n. 607).

⁵⁶ *Supra* n. 27.

⁵⁷ *T'retk's*; Toum. (440): *T'rialet'i* (Vax.: 156-160); Arm.: *T'retk'* (Hüb.:354); Pliny (VI.10.11);

Triare (read **Triale?*); Arab.: *Thāryālūt* (Bal., 203) from *Thriyalit*, from *T'rialet'i*, now the region of *T'rialet'i* or *Calka* (Erem.:54, where he relates the latter form to such names as *Calkotn*, *Calkunk'*, and *Calki*, which are usually found near the sources of rivers, and which he felt must have had some connection with a water cult of some kind). Toumanoff (*ibid.*) locates *T'rialet'i* in the upper valley of the K'c'ia (*Xrami*) River, northeast of *Ĵavaxet'i* between the *T'rialet'i* range in the north and the Mašaveri Valley in the south (Gug.:63). As a Georgian territory, *T'rialet'i* was one of the five lands of Lower Iberia (Toum.: *ibid.*). Area: c. 2,195 sq. km. (Erem.:54).

⁵⁸ *Tašir*; Toum. (440): *Taširi* (Vax.:148); Arm.: *Tašir* (Hüb.:365); or *Tašratap'* (JC 107) 'Plain of Tasir'; and Pliny (VI.10.11): *Thasie* (read **Thasira?*). This region corresponds to the plain of the upper Debeda and the Pambaki (Toum.: *ibid.*), i. e., the modern districts of *Stepanavan*, *Kalinino* and *Alaverdi* in northern Soviet Armenia (Erem.:*ibid.*). The center of this district, until the seventh century was the village of Ocun and, later, the town of Lōrē, Lōri or Loriberd (Lori) on the Debeda River near Stepanavan. The part of this district formed by the valley of the Pambak(i) River was later called *Upper Tašir* (*ibid.*), which Toumanoff (1963: Map 3) equates with Kangark' (*infra* n. 59).

⁵⁹ *Gankark'*. According to Toumanoff (469), Kangark' and Cobop'or (the former of which he regards as a purely Armenian land, 468) would appear to have been the nucleus of the principality of Gugark' around which lay the peripheral districts of Koľbop'or, Jorap'or, Ašoc' and Tašir. My examination of the historical background of this region (Hewsen *REA* XXII) has made it clear, however, that this notion – that Kangark' and Cobop'or formed the nucleus of Gugark' – is not tenable, and that Kangark' was not even contiguous with Jorap'or. Let us consider the evidence.

From *ŁP* (62) and *MX* (II.8) we learn 1) that Kangark' was on (or very near) the border of Armenia, and 2) that it was a mountainous district (suitable in which to take refuge) somewhere in the vicinity of *Ĵawaxk'*. With these indications in mind, we turn back to the *AŠX* where we find in the list of the districts of Gugark', which, as we have already seen, are cited from east to west, that Kangark' is placed between *T'retk'* and Upper *Ĵawaxk'* in the long version of the text; and in the short one between *T'retk'* and Artahan, the three being followed by *Ĵawaxk'* (*Ĵawaxk' tout simple*, without further qualification). But the long version of the *AŠX* is even more specific stating:

"... ěst harawoy leñadaštk'n Ĵawaxac'bazum lčawk' li Zanazan ĵkambk', ew T'retk' ew Tašir oroc'i haraw Gankark'a..."
 "... and to the south the tableland of *Ĵawaxk'* [where are] several lakes filled with fish, and *T'retk'* and *Tašir* to the south of which is *Gankark'*..."

Where then may we place Kangark'?

Here the French translation of Soukry, as so often, is erroneous stating, as it does, that "au sud de ces lacs se trouve Gangark," where the text makes it clear that Kangark' lies south of *T'retk'* and *Tašir*.

On his first map Eremyan (1963) makes Kangark' a tiny district that he places on the left side of the valley of the modern Oskepar River, a location which is not only not near the borders of Armenia, but is remote from both *T'retk'* and *Ĵawaxk'*, as well, not to mention Artahan. On his later map, however (1979), he places Kangark' in a lowland region in what on his first map had been southern *T'retk'*. Alas, while having the advantage of lying south of *T'retk'* and next to *Ĵawaxk'*, this location is no nearer to the frontier of Armenia and is not especially mountainous either. Toumanoff, however, locates Kangark' to the south of *Tašir* in the upland valley (1963: map) which Eremyan calls 'Upper' *Tašir* (1963:85 and map). This is not impossible. Upper *Tašir* not only lies south of *T'retk'* and among the frontier of Armenia, but is not mentioned in the *AŠX* so that we might presume that Kangark' and Upper *Tašir* were alternative names for the same location. Suggestive as all this is, however, Toumanoff's localization has the drawback of not situating Kangark' where the *AŠX* clearly places it: In the vicinity of *T'retk'*, *K'arjk'* and Artahan. Where, again, was Kangark'? Where *could* it have been located?

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 *Kangarisay* – 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 T'rialeťi which he devastated, and in one day his chargers reached as far as Kvelis Qur [Kvelis-C'ixe in Ojrx, R.H.H.]. He then passed into Šavšet'i and Klarjet'i, and then into Tao as far as Panaskerti.

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 T'rialeťi/T'reľk' from which Alp Arslan then turned westwards to invade Šavšet', K'larjk' and Tayk' (this confirming what the *AŠX* tells us: Kangark' lay south of T'reľk'). No mention is made of either Ĵavaxet'i/Ĵawaxk' or Taširi/Tašir in this passage, and the only way to enter T'reľk' 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 Ĵawaxk' lay to the west of Kangark', and Tašir to the east. Such a location corresponds only to the Georgian lake district that Eremyan makes the eastern part of Upper Ĵawaxk'. 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 over six centuries later must be that under Iberian rule Kangark' was part of another district and was known by its name. What we are looking for then is a mountainous area near the frontier of Armenia south of T'reľk', more or less south (southwest?) of Tašir, and in the vicinity of Ĵawaxk' and Artahan. The only logical site for such a district is the one just suggested: (part of) the mountainous lake district north of Ašoc', lying along the Armenian frontier between the western part of Upper Ĵawaxk' and T'reľk'.

Since the *AŠX* places the (larger?) Georgian lakes in Ĵawaxk', my suggestion is that Kangark' lay in the dense mountains in the southeastern part of Upper Ĵawaxk' 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 Ašoc', and lies between T'reľk' and the rest of Upper Ĵawaxk' thereby answering to its description in the long – i.e., the original, and hence more authoritative – version of the *AŠX*. Eremyan, as we have just seen, makes this region the eastern part of Upper Ĵawaxk', but in fact it is really quite well defined on its own, being almost entirely circled by mountains such as Malyi; Abul, Gil'khi, Kara Tapa, Mada-Tapa, El'dag and Pobchana Tapa; and lying, moreover, on the main road from Armenia to West Georgia (Kolkhis/Lazika) as indicated in TP (XCI). Here, for example, lay the stations of Toga or *Poga, now the village of Poga at the southernmost tip of Lake Taparavani; and Apulum, now the village of Abuli, less than ten miles east of modern Akhalkalaki. Do the lake and village called Khanchali (*Kangali?) preserve the name of Kangark'?; the village of Ganjakk' noted here by Eremyan? Perhaps. But obviously Kangark' was earlier known to the Georgians under another name or more likely, was subsumed in the district of [Upper] Ĵawaxk'.

A strong support for my view that Kangark' comprised a part of Upper Ĵawaxk', is the passage quoted from MX (II.8) above, where we are told that Gušar received "the bleak mountain of Kangark', the half of the land of Ĵawaxk', Koľb, Cob and Jor." There is no reason to assume that by the 'half of the land of Ĵawaxk'' 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 Ĵawaxk' . . ."

It would appear from all this that, as already noted, it is incorrect to identify Kangark' and Cobop-

'or as the nuclear districts of the Principality of Gugark' for it is obvious from the *AŠX* itself that the two were not contiguous. Nor is it correct to say that Kangark' was an Armenian land. Actually it lay across the 'Armenian mountains' from Ašoc and was probably as Georgian in ethnic character as the rest of Ĵavaxet'i/Ĵawaxk'. (For all this Hewsens *REA* XXII, and *infra* n. 228).

⁶⁰*Xwēt'*; Geo.: *Kxoet'i*, from the people called *Kxoelni* (Erem.:59); Arm.: *Kxoēt'*, of which the forms *Xwet'* and *Krūet'* are corruptions (Erem.: *ibid.*). Also written *Kuxet'i*, this district corresponds to the modern region of *Sagarejoy* (Vax.:290), which included the fortified city of UĴarma (now Ujarmo village). Area: c. 550 sq. km. After citing this region as the first district of the Iberian province of *Kaxet'i/Kuxet'i*, Eremyan (119) lists the "Capital of the Iberians" as a separate district of 1550 sq. km. surrounding the city of Rust'avi. The name of this region he restores as **Sabostano*, suggesting (75) that when the Sasanian Persians wished to strengthen their position in Iberia after 363, they established the center of their military operations at Rust'avi (*Bostan-K'alak'i*). The Iberian government would have continued to function in Mc'xet'a, Tbilisi being as yet an unimportant place.

⁶¹*Xerk'*; Geo.: *Xerki* (Vax.:296); Arm.: (Erem.:55); ĽE (31): *Erk'*, located on the left bank of the Aragvi River in the valley of the stream called *T'ejami*, in Kaxet'i, after which it was later called *T'ejmis-Xevi* (Vax.:284). Vaxušt does not mention this district and includes its territory in a large region which he calls *Saguramo* (Map. 4). His *Xerki* is a mountain. S1877: omitted. Area: c. 175 sq. km.

⁶²*Ercwoy*; Geo.: *Ercu*, *Erco* (Vax.295); Arm.: *Ercoy*, of which *Ercwoy* and *Ercay* are corruptions (Erem.:51). Located in the valley of the Iori River from T'ianet'i to Gombori. Vaxušt (*ibid.*) speaks of a 'River Ertso' (Erco). S1877 and B omitted. Area: c. 375 sq. km.

⁶³*T'ianēt'* Geo.: *T'ianet'i* (Vax.294); Arm.: *T'ianēt'* (Erem.:53); ĽE (31): *T'ianēt'*, located around the sources of the Iori River, its center was the town of T'ianet'i, which still exists. Area: c. 200 sq. km. 1877 and B omitted.

⁶⁴*Cobēnor*; Geo.: *Cobenori*; Arm.: *Cobenor* (both Erem.:56), the region around the present village of *Tsobeni* on the left bank of the Aragvi River. Vaxušt (476) cites a village of *Tsoben* (*Coben*) in K'art'li, apparently on the Lesser Liaxvi.

VIC. Albania

⁶⁵*Axbania aysinken Atuank'*. The Causasian Albanians are the Arm.: *Atuank'*; Gk.: *Arianoi* or *Albanoi* (Ptol. V.12; Strabo XI.4); Lat.: *Albani*; Geo.: *Rani*; Parth.: *Ardān*; Per.: *Ran*; Syr.: *Aran*; Arab.: *Arrān*, later becoming *al-Rān*, all from a native designation which is unknown to us, but which must have been something close to **Aran*. The first Greek form, *Arianoi*, may have been derived directly from the native name while *Albanoi/Albani* were apparently received via the Armenian *Atuank'* – 'the Aťvans', the Armenian *Ń* representing a 'v' sound before a vowel that became 'b' in Greek. The name seems to be connected with the Causasian root B-L (Toum:59, 62, n. 58), though with no certainty as to the native name for the country, we can only speculate.

The Albanians, first mentioned as having taken part in the Battle of Arbela against Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Anabasis*, III.8.4, 11.4, 13.1), appear to have been an antochthonous group indigenous to Caucasia and related to the various Lezgian tribes who still live there (Greppin 1982:161). The formation of their state took place along similar lines to those of the other South Caucasian peoples, but, whereas the Colchians, Iberians and Armenians had passed from the tribal to the feudal-dynastic stage before recorded history, the Albanians seem not to have coalesced as a nation until the Hellenistic period, i.e., between the advent of Alexander in the fourth century B. C. and the coming of the

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 dominance 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 Mada (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 and Iran in c. 387, Albania profited from the disaster by acquiring the Armenian lands of Arc'ax, Utik', Gardman and Koht', all included in the Arc'ax and Utik' of our text (*infra* VII J, 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 Kur northwards 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 Kur 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 Kur 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. With the sack of Partaw by a marauding band of Russian pirates sailing up the Kur from the Caspian in 944 Albania ceased to exist. Although a number of pseudo-Albanian States emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries (in *Šak'e-Heret'i*; *Tašir-Joraget/Lori-Tašir*; *Kaxet'i-Heret'i*; *P'arisos*; *Xač'en* and Utik'-Dizak, 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 islamification 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 suppressed by the Russians in 1828, the Albanians, save for a few thousand survivors of the Udi tribe (*infra* n. 163 A) and perhaps the Akhvaxhs (Geig.: 29) had long ago disappeared.

Albania originally was limited to the territory between the Caucasus Mountains and the River Kur, 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 (V.11), however, Albania extended beyond the Caucasus along the Caspian coast, according to the latter, at least as far as the River Kasion. Considering the necessity of defending the litoral pass at this point, it would seem that, whether as an Iranian province or vassal, the country extended probably as far north as Derbent. Albania then consisted of eleven districts with its capital at Kabałak (Erem.:34, 120). After A.D. 287, however, the Armenian lands of Arc'ax and Utik', consisting of respectively twelve and eight districts, and comprising another 22,843 sq. km., passed under Albanian suzerainty, increasing the size of the country to 45,845 sq. km. At this time, a Persian *marzpan* (viceroy or governor general) was ap-

pointed to the supervision of Albania from Kabałak, while the Aršakuni (Arsacid) kings apparently continued to reign from P'aytakaran as Persian vassals (Erem.:75). Later, in the second half of the fifth century, the royal residence was transferred to Partaw (*infra* n. 143A), but after the death of the last Albanian king, Vač'agan III, about 510, the marzpan took over direct control of the country and transferred their residence to Partaw. Before the end of Sasanian rule, the territory of Albania was increased to some 72,204 sq. km. in size by the gradual addition of Bazkan, Xoruan, Šruan, Č'oła, Darband, and the lands of the Łekk' and T'awaspark' mountain tribes all of which were placed under local rulers subject, it appears, to the Marzpan (Governor-General) of Albania in residence at Kabałak. Basing himself on the AŠX, Eremyan (1963:120) divides the total territory of Albania into three lists which demonstrate the progressive growth of the country. Again, as with Iberia (and Armenia to come), the author on the AŠX lists only local districts and ignores the larger agglomerations of territory such as the Albanian principalities. My modification of Eremyan's lists follows:

I. Original Albania, 23,002 sq. km.		II. Taken from Armenia, 26,493 sq. km.
1. Ełni (Xeni)	(A) Arc'ax	(B) Utik'
2. Kambečan	1. Mews Haband	1. Ařan-řot
3. Beł	2. Vaykunik'	2. Tři
4. Šak'e	3. Berdajor	3. Řot-Parsean
5. Getaru	4. Greater Iran'	4. Ałue
6. Xořmaz	5. Greater Kuenk'	5. Tus-K'ustak
7. Geławu	6. Harčlank'	6. Gardman
8. Hambasi	7. Muxank'	7. Šakašen
9. Ostan-i-Marzpan/ Kabałak	8. Piank'	8. Uti Ařanjnak/ Ut-Řostak and also Řotěstak
10. K'aładašt	9. Parsakank'	
11. Dašt-i-Bazkan/Hějeri	10. K'usti	
	11. P'arīs	
	12. Koht'	

III. Marzpanate of Ałuank' in the Seventh century A.D. 72,204 sq. km.

All of I and II, together with:

Řotěstak
Bazkan (Heran)
Darband
T'awaspark'
Łekk'
Č'oła
Šruan
Xoruan

In addition to its political divisions, Albania was endowed with ecclesiastical dioceses. Unlike Iberia, where the bishops were usually the abbots of the great monasteries, or Armenia, where for several centuries the bishops were usually assigned to the more important principalities, the Albanian Church, like that of Lazika and the rest of the Empire, had territorialized episcopal sees based on distinct territorial divisions. The following are known to us from MD: by 487, 1) Č'oł (seat of the Albanian primate until c. 450 when the former was transferred to Partaw); 2) Partaw (an episcopal see until the katholikosal residence was established there in 552 – not in 452 as indicated on my TAVO map B VI14: legend); 3) Kabałak, the royal capital until its transfer to Partaw c. 450); 4) Yašu in the district of Šakašen. By 574, 5) Bahałat or Baxałat in the extreme northeast near Iberia and apparently

including the districts of Ełni (or Xeni), Kambečan and Bex; 6) Šak'ē, at the city of the same name and apparently including the districts of Šak'ē, Getaru, Hołmaz and Geławu; 7) Balasakan centered perhaps at the town of Šamaxi? 8) Amaras at the monastery of that name between the Kur and the Arax and apparently including the district of Rōt Parsean (the principality of Gargarac'ik?); 9) Mec Kuenk' (or Kołmank') centered at the monastery of that name and apparently including the principality of Kołt' and the whole of Sawdk'/Arc'ax (*infra* VII n. 209); and, finally, 10) Gardman, located most probably, at some monastery in the principality of that name, and presumably including the district of K'usti P'arnēs. For all this, see Hewsens 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 Šakašēn, has been placed in Uti Proper). The Albanian Katholikos also had under his jurisdiction the Kingdom of the Lupenians (Lp'ink', *supra* V n. 87).

The most detailed accounts of ancient Albania is to be found in Strabo (XI.4) and Ptol. (V.12). For the medieval period see the collection of Albanian antiquities compiled by MD. Yanovskii 1846; Brosset 1851; Barxudarean 1893; *idem.* 1895; *idem.* 1902; Barthold "Arran" *EI* 1; Tournebize, *DHGE* 1904; Krymskii 1934; Yushkov 1937; Shanidze 1938; Abuladze 1938; Krymskii 1938; Dumézil 1940-41; Minorsky 1953; *idem.* 1958; Kurdian 1956; Aliev 1956; Bunyatov (in Aliev); Guseinov *ibid.* Ismi-zade *ibid.*; Yampolskii 1957; Guseinov, et al. 1958-63; Trever 1959; Frye, "Arran" *New EI*; Ahanidze 1960; ANAZSSR 1962; Bunyatov 1962; Toum 1963; Erem. 1963; Klimov *BSE* 1963; Hewsens 1964; Bunyatov 1964; *idem.* 1965; Melik-Ogandzhanyan 1968; Hak. 1968; Mnac'akanyan 1968; Anassian 1960; Karakashy 1970; Ad-Gar. 1970; Terzian 1973; Gukasyan 1974; Khalilov and Balaev 1974; Ulubabyan 1975; Aliev 1975; Babaev 1976; Mamedova 1977; Akopyan 1979; Mouraviev 1980; *idem.* 1981; Ulubabyan 1981; Greppin 1982; Hewsens *idem.* *DMA* I; "Albania" Mouraviev 1983; Hitchins 1984; *idem.* 1985 *Mersh* "Udi"; Garsoian 1989:439, Chaumont *EI* I; Hewsens TAVO B VI 14; B VII 16; B VIII 4; and the journals *Ca*, *G* (1935-37), *CS*, *BK* (1957-84) *REGG* (1985) and *ASSC* (1989-).

⁶⁶ *Supra* p. 000.

⁶⁷ *Exni* read: *Ełni or *Xeni; *LE* (31): *Xeni*, a district located in the region of modern *Zak'at'ala* (Russ.: *Zakataly*). Area: c. 1,722 sq. km. (Erem.:50).

⁶⁸ *Ałuan*; the *Ałuen*, Strabo (XI.3.2): *Alazonios*; Pliny (VI.10.29): *Alazonius*; is a northern tributary of the Kur now called the *Alazani* or *Lanukh* (Erem.:34).

⁶⁹ *K'ambēčan*; read: **Kambečan*; Strabo (XI.4.1): *Kambysēnē*; (Vax.: 110): *Kambeč[ov]ani*; *LE* (31): *Kambexčan*, the only district of Albania proper which was known by name to classical authors. It was through this region that Pompey led his expedition into Albania in the winter of 66/65 B. C. and it was probably from official reports of this campaign preserved in the archives of the Roman government that Strabo derived his knowledge of Albania. Kambečan was the largest district of Albania; a barren and half deserted region through which flowed the Kambeč or *Iwray* River; now the *Iora* or *Iori*. Tomaschek, in his article "Albania" (*EI*.I) linked its name to Armenian *Kambeči* 'buffalo'. Area: c. 7,510 sq. km. (Erem.:59).

⁷⁰ *Varazmanawar*, now the village of *Manawi* (Vax.:290) in the foothills of the Caucasus north of the River *Iora* (Erem.:82).

⁷¹ *Kudrat'*, now the village of *Kačret'i* in the Georgian province of *Kaxet'i* (Erem.:61) but formerly included within the Albanian district of Kambečan. It is not cited by Vaxušt.

⁷² *Gėwğaw*, a town just east of the *Alazani* near its juncture with the Kur (Erem.:47).

⁷³ *Bix*; read: *Beł* or *Bex*, which lay between the *Murghal* and *Kara-chay* Rivers in the region of modern *Kakhi*. *LE* (31): *Bex*. Eremyan (*ibid.*) suggested a connection between the name of this district and the Armenian word *beł* meaning 'fruit'. Area: c. 1600 sq. km. (Erem.:44) B *Bex*.

⁷⁴ *Saxē*, Ptol. (V.12.5): *Osika*; read: **Sisaka?*; whose capital, which bore the same name; is now the town of *Nukhi*; Geo.: *Nuxpato*, in Soviet Azerbaijan. Area: c. 870 sq. km. (Erem.:73; Bunyatov 1959). B *Sak'ēostanimarc* (*infra* n. 78).

⁷⁵ *Dėğaru*; Erem. (47): *Gėtaru* of which *Dėğaru* is a corruption, a southern tributary of the *Alazan*, which may be Ptolemy's *Gaitara* (V.11.12) now the *Agri-chai*.

⁷⁶ *Gėtaru*; Ptol. (V.11.2): *Gaitara*, although some mss. have *Gangara* which Müller (p. 929) accepts. The flatlands of *Ajinur* and *Eldar* between the *Alazani* and the *Ari-chay*, and the *Aljigan-chay* and the Kur. Area: c. 1575 sq. km. (Erem.:47).

⁷⁷ The *Sani*; Strabo (XI.3.2): *Khanēs?*, is now the *Aljigan-chay* (Erem.:80), a small tributary of the Kur entering from the north.

⁷⁸ *Kavatak*; Erem. (58): *Kapatak*; Ptol. (V.11.5): *Thapilaka* or *Khabala*, both of which forms are found as separate entries; Pliny (VI.11.29): *Cabalaca*; Arab: *Kabalah*, now *Kabala* village between the rivers *Seboj* (*Turlian-chai*) and *Kesios* (*Geok-chay*), near the town of *Niž*. 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-i-Marzpan* 'court' or 'seat' of the *marzpan*. After the transfer of the Albanian capital to *Partaw* south of the Kur in c. 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.:58; Ismi-zade in Aliev 1956; Trever 1959; Gadirov 1978).

⁷⁹ The *Sėboj* or *K'atajor* is now the *Turlian-chai* a northern tributary of the Kur (Erem.:60).

⁸⁰ ... *dėpi harawo ęst P'ok'r Hayoc'*. 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. Dzhabarov (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 *Anaitis* 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 (XI.4.7) assures us lay near the Iberian border, are all to be identified with the modern town of *Kazakh* (Arm.: *Łazax*, 'As(p)-is = **Has(p)is/Kaš-al/Kas-ab/Kaz-ab*) in the lower valley of the *Akstafa/Ałstew* (*supra* n. 55) just before that river enters the Kur. This he further identifies with the ancient locality of *Yašu* or *Yašu Xoš*, one of the episcopal sees of the Albanian Church (MD 1.26); variants: *Hašu*, *Hašėon*, *Hrošon*. From this it is but a short step to his identification of *Yašu* with the *Lazo* of *TP* (XCI read: **Iazo* from a nominative **Iazus*), the *Laia* of *RA* (11.8), and with *xaš*, 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 *Udi* and the

Albanians amply attested in MD, and by the linguistic ties adduced by Greppin (1985) and others, but, while Dzhafarov's identification of Yašu, etc. with Łazak/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 Yašu was one of the episcopal sees of the Albanian Church. In my view, Yašu is certainly the Lazo (rectius: **Iazus*) of TP, and very likely the Aspis (read: **Haspis*) of Dio Cassius, but I would place this locality further to the southeast in Šakašēn, in the direction of Šamxor (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 Šakašēn 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 Kambysēnē (*Kambečan*) to be the northernmost part of Armenia which he took at this point to extend as far as the Caucasus Mountains.

The speculations of Dzhafarov 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 Azerbaidzhan in 1806, has reversed the process to postulate that in the first century B. C. the waters of the Caspian were sufficiently high to have inundated the entire Kura-Arax lowlands as far west as Yevlakh. Not only would this explain the confusion of certain Classical authors as to whether or 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 VI 14; idem. *ASSC* II, 1990.)

VII. GREATER ARMENIA

¹ Although the origin of the Armenians themselves may remain a matter of dispute (Adontz 1946; Ivanov 1960; Toumanoff 1963; Diakonoff 1972; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1980; Lelekov 1982; Diakonov [Diakonoff] 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. (Toum.:52/53). Whether the Armenians had their own kingdom under Median overlordship or were a part of the Median Empire 585-550 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 Ehtéham 1946; Herzfeld 1948; Frye 1963), a situation described by Herodotus (III.93) and vividly by Xenophon in both his *Anabasis* (IV, V), and *Kyropaideia* (II.4; 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 Orontid (Arm.: *Eruanduni*) 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 Magnesia in 190 B. C. and as a result of the subsequent Treaty of Apameia (189), no less than three independent Armenian states emerged: 1) Lesser Armenia (west of the Euphrates and east of Pontos under a dynasty about which we know nothing) with its capital perhaps at Kamax (Kemah) and later at Sebasteia (Sivas); 2) Sophēnē (Arm.: *Cop'k'*) east of the Euphrates (under a branch of the Orontids) centered at Angl' or *Arkatiakert (Gk: *Karkathiokerta*, now Eğil north of Diyarbakir); and 3) Greater Armenia (under the Artaxiad dynasty, Arm.: *Aršakuni*), itself apparently a branch of the Orontids (Hewsen *REA* XVIII 1984), stretching from Sophēnē to Lake Sevan with its capital first at Armavir (Gk: *Armaouira*) in the Ararat Plain, and then, successively, at Eruandašat, and Artašat, Strabo (XI.14.6): *Artaxata/Artaxiasata* all in the Ararat Plain. (For all this see Toumanoff 1963:72-74; 277-305). A fourth branch of the Orontids also came to rule over the tiny kingdom of Kommagēnē west of the Euphrates to the southwest of Sophēnē, 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 Kamax (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-Artaxiads, this expansion continued with Artaxias I (c. 180-161 B. C.), who seized Kaspianē (Arm.: *Kasp'k'/P'aytakaran*), Phaunitis (read: **Saunitis* = Siwnik') and Basoropeda (Arm.: *Parspatunik'*) from the kingdom of Media Atropatēnē (Strabo, XI.14.5), and obviously those lands (Utik' and Arc'ax) lying between them. Later, under Tigranes the Great (95-56 B. C.) Sophēnē 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 Pontos (121-63 B. C.) to the Caspian Sea, and including the former kingdoms of Syria, Kommagēnē, Osrhoēnē, Mygdonia, Adiabēnē, and Gordyēnē; and counting Iberia, Albania and Pontos as allies, the latter of which ruled Kolkhis and Lesser 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 Sophēnē and, for a time, Gordyēnē 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 (Aršak III) – passing to Rome; the rest, Persarmenia – the kingdom of Vologaeses (Vařaršak) – passing to Iran. This partition was accompanied by the falling away of most of Armenia's borderlands on the northeast, east and south, all of Gugark' passing to Iberia; Arc'ax and Utik' to Albania; and P'aytakaran (or *Kasp'k'*, Gk: *Kaspianē*), Parskahayk' (the principality of Zarawand-Hēr; Gk: *Sigrianikē*) and the principalities of Korčayk' (Gk: *Gordyēnē*) and Ałjnik' (Gk: *Arzanēnē*) to Iran. Armenia never reco-

vered from this dismemberment; most of the lost lands were never retaken and Armenia was never again to be a united monarchy. With the death of Arsaces III in c. 390, the Romans simply annexed his realm establishing there the province of *Armenia Interior* 'Inner Armenia'. With the final end of the Arsacid monarchy in Persarmenia in 428, the rest of the country became a vassal state of Iran ruled by a *marzpan* or governor-general. This situation persisted – *mutatis mutandi* – until 591, when as the result of the aid given by the Emperor Maurice to the Sasanid Vahrām Chobēn, the Persians ceded more than half of Persarmenia to the Empire – the area northwest of a line running from the northeastern tip of Lake Van to the northern tip of Lake Sevan. Here the Romans – or more accurately by this period – the Byzantines, established three new provinces: a new *Armenia Interior* 'Inner Armenia' (the Armenian *Turuberan*), *Armenia Inferior* 'Lower Armenia' (Arm.: *Ayrarat*) and *Armenia Profunda* (Arm.: *Tayk*). The part of Armenia still under Persian control consisted of the principality of Mokk' in the southwest, a collection of smaller principalities to the east of Mokk' known as Vaspurakan and apparently under the direct control of the Sasanid crown, and Sisakan (Arm.: *Siwnik*), a large principality lying east of the Araxes and south of Lake Sevan. This was the situation which existed when the *AŠX* was written and which continued to exist until the Arab period (p. 653 A.D. and more especially p. 750). Under the Arabs, Armenia, Iberia and Albania were united as the viceroyalty of al-Arminiā divided at times into three or four lesser units. As the Arabs weakened, however, the Armenians once again asserted their independence, but not as a single state. In central Armenia the Bagratuni dynasty set up a kingdom eventually centered at Ani but this soon was divided into lesser Bagratid kingdoms centered at Kars in Vanand (962) and at Lori in Tašir (982). Meanwhile, the Arcrunid dynasty became independent in Vaspurakan (908) and the Siwnids in Siwnik' (c. 970). A plethora of other principalities likewise emerged in this period (e.g., Tarawn in the West; Xač'ēn, P'arisos, Dizak etc. in the East). This period, for all its wars and dissensions, was one of great economic and cultural revival but in the tenth-eleventh centuries, the Byzantine annexions (Tarawn in c. 960, Vaspurakan 1021, Ani 1045, Kars 1064), followed immediately by the Seljuk Turkish invasions of 1064-71 brought it to an end. A new Armenia-in-exile arose in Cilicia as a barony and from 1197 as a kingdom until conquered by the Mamlukes of Egypt in 1375. Thereafter, Armenia proper, having passed under Georgian rule then Mongol, was invaded and ravaged by Timur and fought over for a century by Turkoman tribes and then by Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran. Partitioned by the two in 1639, the situation remained reasonably stable until the Russians annexed Persian Armenia in 1827 and parts of Turkish Armenia in 1829 and 1878. Independent in 1918, like Georgia and Azerbaidzhan, as a result of the Russian Revolution, Armenia was sovietized in 1920; became a part of the Transcaucasian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1922 and a separate soviet 'union' republic in 1936. There were nearly 350 fortresses in Armenia (Yovhannēsean 1970) and over 2,000 monasteries were founded there over the centuries (*DHGE* "Arménie"). (The bibliography on Armenia is now enormous and not even the most important works relevant to its history and culture can be indicated here. For more comprehensive bibliographies the reader is referred to Lynch 1901; Pratt 1919; Salmasian 1946, 2nd ed. much expanded 1969; Thorossian 1951; Toum. 1963; Ad-Gar. 1970; Nersessian 1976; *HZP* and the *HSH*. For early history and geography there is the vast corpus of Armenian, Georgian, Classical, Muslim and other sources indicated at the end of this translation, and the bibliography of modern works which follows it. The specific bibliography on Armenian historical geography is a standard one beginning with Inčičian 1822, and continuing to the most recent works as they appear. These will be cited at the end of every section concerning the fifteen traditional lands of Armenia described in the *AŠX*, it being understood that they contain references to the individual districts within each land as well). An outline of the territorial divisions of Armenia, comparable to those given above for Iberia and Albania, will be found in Appendix V.

As before in the notes which follow, all references to Erem. are to Eremyan's 1963 work on the *AŠX*; all those to Toum. are to Toumanoff's *Studies* (1963) all references to Inč. are to his *Storagruti'iwri* (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 patmakan ašxarhagruti'iwri* (1968).

²At this point in the text our author proceeds to describe Armenia as he interpreted it to have existed prior to the loss of its borderlands after the Romano-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 county – the *gawar-k'*, i. e., 'districts' (and not 'cantons' 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 Atrpatakan, 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 Romano-Persian partition of Armenia of 387 had given the Romans control over approximately one-fifth of Greater Armenia with a frontier running from just east of Karin/Theodosiopolis (*Erzurum*, *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 *AŠX* (*infra* VIII n. 92; for all these changes cf. *supra* pp. 17 ff.).

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'usti Kapkoh*, 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 Appendix 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 mss., 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. 238,400 sq. km. which, as he points out, would make it larger than Great Britain (228,275 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. *Ašxarh*, for example, usually means 'world'; *bnāšxarh* 'native land'; *gawar*, a provincial subdivision or district; *erkir* '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 *ašxarh* 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 Albania, however, are themselves referred to as *ašxarhk'* 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 *ašxarhk'* of Persia in the description of the Sasanian 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 *ašxarh* 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 'cantons', but more accurately 'districts.' Thereafter, the terms take on a more precise meaning, however, culminating in the very distinct differentiation made in the *AŠX*, where it treats of Armenia, breaking the country down into fifteen *ašxarhk'* containing many smaller *gawark'*. (See Appendix III).

The essential interchangeability of the terms *ašxarh* 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 *ašxarh* subdivided into *gawark'*. 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 *ašxarh* as 'land' when it refers to one of the fifteen *ašxarhk'* of Armenia – for this is what they juridically were – rather than by the conventional term 'province' which they certainly were not 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 *ašxark'* and the *gawark'* see Appendix III and Toum. (129, n. 227); for the history of the terms, Hüb.:240-44.

VIIA. Upper Armenia

³The land of *Barjr 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 *Barjr Hayk'* 'Upper Armenia' is not found in any Armenian source prior to the *AŠX*. 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 (*supra* p. 18 ff.), 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: *Tzoumina*), which was renamed *Ioustinianopolis*. At the time of its acquisition by the Romans in 390, the former kingdom of Arsaces III was comprised of the Mamikonid principality of Ekeḫac' (*infra* n. 7), which included Daranali and probably Mēnjur/Mzur; the Bagratid principality of Sper (*infra* n. 10); and the Arsacid royal land of Karin, which probably included Šaḫgomk'/Šataḫgomk'. 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 Arsacids, however appear to have left their lands after their annexation to enter the life of the Empire at large. There were some thirteen fortresses in Upper Armenia (Yovhannēsean 1970). (Inč.:1-36; Hüb.:244-45; T'ašean (Dashian) 1921; K'ocean 1925; Surmenean 1947; Oskean 1951; K'yurtean 1953; Toum.:233, n. 291; Erem.:49; Hak.:222; Ad-Gar.: Ch. III; *HSH* 3; Hewsen *TAVO* B VI 14 et seq.; Sinclair II, Ch. V).

⁴*Daranali*, usually written *Daranateac'* [*gawar*]; Byz.: *Daranalis* (Hon., Map II); Sebēos (cited by Hüb.:283) has the plural form *Daranataik'n*, i. e., 'The Daranalians,' whence the Byz. form *Daranaleas*. Hüb.:(283-384) derives the name from Arm.: *daran* 'a container' and *ali* 'of salt,' with the sense of 'saline,' referring to the large number of salt springs in the area but Adontz, 45-46, shows that *ali* is the K'art'velian suffix **ali* (Class. Arm.: -at; Geo.: -et'i) and has the sense of 'belonging to' (Ad-Gar.:40): *Daranali* = 'belonging to (land of) the *Daran-s* (Gk: *Driloi?*).

The center of this district was the fortress of Ani or Kemax, Byz.: *Kamakha* (CP *DAI*, 3.226) or *Kamakhon* (Th. 377, 469); Tk.: *Kemah*, not to be confused with Ani in the district of Širak in Ayrarat, capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, nor with Ani of Afiwn (*infra* n. 5). Sinclair (II:414), assures us that, contrary to the maps of Eremyan (1963, 1979), Ani and Kamax were not separate localities lying on either side of the Euphrates, but that Ani was probably the citadel of Kamax, both lying on the left bank. Area: c. 3400 sq. km.

⁵*Afiwn* or *Ariwc*; Hüb. (284): *Ariwc*, which he corrects to *Areuc*, 'lion' thereby linking it to Mt. Areuc. The Greeks called the chief fortress of the district *Analibna* (Ptol.:V.6.20); Lat.: *Analiba* (TP, XCVII; *AI*, 208) from which Eremyan (33) reads the Armenian **Ani Afiwnoy* 'Ani of Afiwn,' so-called to distinguish it from the Ani in Daranali (*supra* n. 4) and the one in Širak (*infra* VII M, nn. 277, 280). The exact location of this district is unknown. Eremyan (*ibid.*) places it in the region around the valley of the present day Maden-*deresi*, a stream entering the Euphrates from the north just before the river turns south towards its juncture with the Aracani (Murad-*su*). He also sees *Afiwn* rather than *Ariwc* as the correct form. CG *Ariwc* DEFJ *Afiwn*.

There is some reason to believe that Afiwn belonged to the Roman Empire prior to the annexations of 390, and that it did not enter into the composition of the kingdom of Arsaces III. Ptolemy (*ibid.*) includes its chief center, Analibna, in Lesser Armenia, and the road from the Roman legionary headquarters at Satala to the base at Melitēnē via Analiba (*sic*) is cited by *AI* (208), which normally includes only the roads lying *within* the Empire. In my view Afiwn is to be identified with Aitoulanē (**Ailouanē?*) one of the five divisions of Lesser Armenia according to Ptol. (V.7.1), and which is

unattested in any other source. Ašwn/*Ailouanē would have been included in Upper Armenia only as part of a border adjustment perhaps made in conjunction with the reorganization of Byzantine Armenia under Justinian in 536 or less likely, Maurice in 591.

⁶Mzur; Erem. (71): Muzur or Mēnjur; S1877: Mēnjur BP (IV.24): Mzur, which Hüb. (285) deduces from an earlier *Munjur; MA (p. 133): Mounzourōn; Ced. (2.682): Mounzarōn; Arab.: Marūr or Mazur (JRAS 27:11-13, 63), Although ibn Serapion (quoted by Herz.:113) calls its mountains Jabal Muzūr. Contradicting our text, GC (Ad.-Gar. 53*) puts his Mazourōn in the 'Other' Fourth Armenia. Area: c. 2,775 sq. km.

⁷Ekeṭec'; Erem. (50): Ekeṭec'; Ptol. (V.12.6): Akilīsēnē; Strabo *XI.14.5): idem.; Ag (133): Ekelēsianē; Proc. Pers. (1.17): Kelesēnē; CP DAI Ekletzēnē. Located in a broad plain along the course of the upper Euphrates (kara-su), the chief city of the district was Erez or Erezawan later Erznka, Hitt.: Urušša; Assy.: Urusu (Herz.:106), probably the Orsa (or Orsara) and Bressos (read: *Eressos) of Ptol. (V.74; V.13.12); Byz.: Keltzinē (in Kelesinē), Hon. Map II; Yq (I.205, 12-13): Arzanjān or Arzinjān, a town and center of a shrine dedicated to Anahit center of a temple-state which appears to have included the whole of Ekeṭec', whence its alternative Greek name Anaitis Khorē (Strabo XI.14.16) or Anaitica (Pliny V.24.20), a name which appears in the Armenian adjective anahtakan (Aa III.48). Proc. Aed. (III.4) mentions a district of Orosēnē which could be an alternative Greek name for Akilīsēnē based on the form Orsa for Eriza. Area: c. 2,250 sq. km.

⁸Mananaḥi read *Mananaḥi; Seb. has the plural Manataik'n (Hüb.:287). The name, like Daranaḥi (supra n. 4), is a compound signifying perhaps 'place of the Mannaean', a people later dwelling in the Caspian region of Media. Later it was known as Lakloy Valley and then as Upper Derjan (Erem.:64). Located between the Mananaḥi River, now the Tuzlasuyu, and the Bagirbaba-Haç Mts. (Ad-Gar.:42), its chief town was Vžan, (Byz.: Bazanis or Leontopolis; Tk: Vican). There is some question as to at what period Mananaḥi passed to the Romans. An Armenian bishop of Mananaḥi 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 Mananaḥi 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 war against the Armenians (451-484). None of this can be proved but for the evidence see Hewsen (Hask 1983-84); for the arguments against it, Garsoian, "Separation", n. 143). Area: c. 2,775 sq. km.

⁹Dērjan; Erem. (49): Derjan; Strabo (XI.14.5): Xerxēnē (read: *Derxēnē); Ag (134): Zeranitōn; Byz.: Tertzan (Hon., Map II), occupying one of the plains of the upper Euphrates River (Kara-su), with its center at the fortress town of Derjan. Both the plain and town are still called Dercan but the town is better known as Mamahatun. Area: c. 2,575 sq. km.

¹⁰Sper; Herod. (I.104, 110; III.94; IV.32, 40): Syspirtis; Xen. (Anab. V.8.25): Hesperitai for the people; Strabo (XI.14.12): Syspirtis; Geo.: Speri. The meaning of the name Syspirtis is uncertain but it is certainly pre-Armenian. Herodotus (I and IV) refers to a people called Saspeires whom Toumanoff (61, n. 58) regards as a remnant of the Subareans or Hurrians. Although the district (which formed the original principality of the Bagratuni Family) contained a town called Sper (Tk: Ispir) on the middle course of the Çoruh River, its center appears to have lain at the castle of Smbatawan or Smbataberd, later Baytberd; Proc. Aed. (III.4.10): Baiberdōn, later Paiper; Tk: Baiburt, on the upper course of the same river and the most northwesterly of Armenian towns. Sper was a rather large district encompassing, as it did, the entire upper half of the valley of the Akampsis (Çoruh) River (supra VI n. 11). Area, Toum. (322, n. 76): c.6,000 sq. km.; Erem. (81): c. 6,360 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

¹¹Šatgamk'; read: *Šatagomk' or *Šataḡomk' the latter being the preferred reading of Erem. (73); Hüb. (287): Šatogomk'; S1865: Šatgompk'; S1877: Šatgompk'. LP (p. 144): Šatagom. The name is essentially non-Armenian and its root may well be connected with that of the Sala people of Assyrian records (Toum.: 1963:212), though the suffix may be connected with the Armenian word gom 'stable.' Eremyan (73) places it upper course of the Sarč'ama River (Serçeme-deresi), a northern affluent of the Euphrates. Area: c. 500 sq. km.

¹²Karin; Strabo (XII.3.37): Karenitis; Pliny (V.20.83): Caranitis; Hübschmann (439) suggests that the name may be non-Armenian and perhaps related to the Parthian family name Karen. The chief city of the district, at least after the partition of 387, and of the entire province of Upper Armenia, was also called Karin; NRA (5-9): Kalē Arkhē, read *Karnē Kalakē? from Arm.: Karnoy k'atak' 'city of Karin'; Byz.: Theodosiopolis (supra n. 3). Area: c. 2275 sq. km. ¹³Katar Erkeri.

¹⁴The Gayl (Gk: Lykos; Lat.: Lycus); Tk: Kelkit-çay (from Arm.: Gayl get 'Gayl River'), a tributary of the Yeşil Irmak (Gk: Iris), which enters the Black Sea just east of Samsun (Amisos). The Greek name translates the Armenian gayl 'wolf'. Here our author appears to be confused for, although he clearly distinguishes the Gayl in Fourth Armenia as the Miws '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 Miws 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 Mēnjur or Muzur, a major tributary of the Miws Gayl which could be taken for its main course. - (See Appendix X). ¹⁵See 127 n. 11. ¹⁶Erēs eḡjeru 'horned deer'. ¹⁷Ayc k'asa, read aycak'al 'chamois'.

¹⁸Ain ew arti; Erem. (92): ain ew artik. The ain; Gk: arnoios, ars or arnos, is a kind of male sheep perhaps a wild one or a kind of deer. The artik or arti is the female of the species. Again only one animal, not two, is intended, the male and female.

¹⁹Vit' ew Kēkit'. Once again Eremyan (98) reads these names as a pair, correctly I believe, noting, as he does, that the previous pair is the male and female of a separate species and assuming that this is the case here - as if in English we were to list 'hog and sow, bull and calf, ram and ewe,' rather than simply 'pig, cattle, and sheep.' The vit' (Gk.: dorkas Lat.: caprea) is a kind of antelope, gazelle or wild goat; the kēkit', usually taken in dictionaries as an unspecified animal, Eremyan takes to be its mate.

²⁰Xoz, Lat.: sus, porcus; i. e., the pig, perhaps, as Eremyan (94) suggests, a wild boar (varaz).

²¹Hawuc' čarakawors zors kak'aw, zaruš, zasid ew zayls; Erem. (106): idem. yors kak'aw zarawš zanid ew zayls.

²²Kak'aw; Assy.: qaqū(?); Lat.: perdix, perdix; Geo.: Kakabi, the partridge.

²³Zaruš; Erem. (106): zarawš. Soukry translated this as outarde 'bustard', which I have followed here.

²⁴Zasid, which Eremyan (106) connected to *zanid even though asid (which Soukry:40 left untranslated) means 'stork,' the rendering I have used here.

²⁵The fertility of this region and the astonishing variety of game birds and water fowl to be found here are still observed, as are the numerous hot springs (YK passim).

VII B. Fourth Armenia

²⁶Fourth Armenia (ms.: Harud Hayk'; read: Č'orrord Hayk'), also called Cop'ac' Koḡmn '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

first millenium B. C. lay the kingdom called Šupa or Šupani (Assyr.: *Šupria*), which became a part of the Urartian state (ninth-sixth cents. B.C.), and, then, successively, of the Median, Persian and Seleucid Empires. As a result of the Romano-Seleucid Treaty of Apameia (189 B.C.) Greater Armenia and Sophēnē emerged as two distinct kingdoms, each, as it now appears, under separate branches of the Orontid dynasty until c. 95 B.C. when Tigranes the Great of Greater Armenia annexed Sophēnē. Briefly detached from Armenia from time to time as a separate Roman vassal state (Toum. 1963:166), Sophēnē was rejoined to Armenia in the time of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) where it was to remain for over 160 years. In 298 the territory of the old kingdom, or at least its western and southern parts, passed to the Empire, there to remain until the coming of the Arabs 350 years later.

Originally consisting of six lands forming three princely states (1. Lesser Sophēnē-Digisēnē, 2. Anzitēnē-Ingilēnē-Garinē, and 3. Greater Sophēnē), 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 Asthianēnē and 5. Balabitēnē-Khorzanē, which together 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 'satraps' (*satrapiae*) or 'nations' (Lat.: *gentes*; Gk.: *ethnē*) and had the fully sovereign status of *civitates foederatae* under Roman suzerainty, maintaining their executive, legislative, judicial and fiscal independence and having immunity from Roman garrisons and taxation.

Between 528 and 536, a series of enactments of the Emperor Justinian reduced the pentarchs from autonomous sovereigns to private citizens possessed of large estates shortly to be broken up through the application of Roman inheritance laws. In 536, the separate states of the pentarchy were consolidated 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'atak'*; *Muhart'in* earlier, *Np'ret* or *Np'rkert*; Syr.: *Mefrkt*, *Mefarkin* or *Maipherkat*; Arab.: *Mufarkin*, *Miyafarkin* or *Mayyāfārik'in*; Tk.: *Farkin*; possibly the *Maipa* of Ptolemy (V.13.21), now *Silvan*, but certainly not Tigranokerta (Sinclair III.361-65).

The province of Armenia IV established by Justinian in 536, kept its original form for only 55 years. After the Byzantino-Persian partition of Armenia in 591, which gave the Byzantines *inter alia* the land of Arzanēnē (Arm.: *Atjn* or *Arzan*; Per.: *Arcn*) enjoining Armenia IV on the east, a new province was created by taking *Np'ret/Np'rkert* from Armenia IV, and adding it to Arzanēnē together with the rest of Greater Sophēnē (Sophanēnē) 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 Amida (Diyarbakir). The original Armenia IV, now designated *Justiniana* or 'Other Armenia IV' (*Armenia Quarta Altera*), having lost *Np'ret/Np'rkert*, was enlarged on the north by the addition of Muzurōn (Arm.: *Muzur* or *Mēnjur*) which lay north of Lesser Sophēnē 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), Arzanēnē proper was retroceded to Iran and Sophanēnē separated from *Np'ret*, which probably reverted to the original Armenia IV. Muzurōn, 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 Arsianias and the upper course of the Tigris. There were some thirty-two fortresses in Fourth Armenia (Yovhannēsean 1970).

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

people called *Urta* (a Hurrian/Urartian remnant?) in Anzitēnē (Ad-Gar.: 387 nn. 7, 10, quoting John of Ephesus *de Beatis* XXXI, P. 122, Iviii p. 184). Bishops from Ingilēnē, Anzitēnē and both Sophēnēs 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-c. 628): c. 24,095 sq. km; (628-c. 653): c. 26,715 sq. km; of Justiniana or 'Other' Armenia IV (591-c. 628): c. 35,307 sq. km. (based on Eremyan's estimates for areas of the individual districts: 116-18, but including Angeł-tun which Eremyan (*ibid.*) makes a part of Ałjnik'.

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

²⁷ Soukry (40) translated this passage "Quatrième Arménie à coté de la Sophène . . . possède la ville de Militine," but this is clearly wrong, not only because Fourth Armenia never included the territory of Melitēnē (Malatya) but because the Armenian reads: *Čorrord Hayk' or ē Cop'ac' Kołmn . . . Melitine K'atak'aw sahmani ēst mtic'.*

²⁸ *Xorjajn*; read: *Xorjean*; Adontz (39): *Xorjajn* S 1877: *Xorjēn*; GC (963): *Orzianinē* (Proc. *Khorzanē* (Hon. Map I), or *Khorziaēnē*. Located along the [Miws] Gayl R., now the *Perisuyu*, the chief place of this district was the fortress of Kołoberd or Kełi; Tk.: *Kiği*. *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 Hašteank' from which it is separated by a modest spur. Area: c. 3,450 sq. km.

²⁹ *Miws Gayl* the 'other Gayl' to distinguish it from the Gayl referred to *supra* VII A., n. 14; also called the K'ehi River; Tk.: *Kiği-su*, or *Perisuyu* (Erem.:70).

³⁰ *Supra* n. 18.

³¹ *Haštēnk'*; read: **Hašteank'*; earlier *Yašteank'*; Hak. (231): *Haštyank'*; Ptol. (V.12.6): *Astaunitis*; Proc. *Aed* (III.3): *Asthianēnē*; GC (904): *Klima Astianikēs*. The meaning of the name is uncertain (Hüb.: *ibid.*). Through this district flowed the Ginek River; Tk.: *Ginek-su*. The chief town was Kt'rič; Ptol. (V.12.8): *Kitamon*; Proc. *Aed*. (III.3.7): *Kitharizōn*; *NRA* (I.277): *Kitris*. Area: Toum. (137): c. 2,000 sq. km.; Erem. (62): c. 3,750 sq. km.

³² *Pałnatun*; read: **Pałnatun*; the Venice, 1884 ed. of Koriun, p. 19 has *Pałanakan tun* as does ŁP, p. 41.; GC (962a): *Klima Pałinēs*. The chief places in this district were the fortress of Pałin; GC (Ad.-Gar.:52*): *Kastron Pałios*; Tk.: *Bağin*; and the town of Hozan, which later often gave its name to the entire district. The latter is probably the Urartian *Xuzana* and is still called *Hosan* (Erem.:76). Located on the lower course of the [Miws] Gayl R. (Ad-Gar.:40), the name of this district signifies 'house' (i. e., 'land') of Pałin (Hüb.:463), a name probably connected with that of the Bala/Pala people of Hittite records. Area: c. 1,740 sq. km.

³³ The text has *handēp* 'opposite' which should be *handerj* 'with' (Erem.:107; a correction already suggested to me by K. Maksoudian on an earlier occasion).

³⁴ *Balaxovit*; read: *Balahovit*; Hüb. (294): *Balahovit*, *Balaxovit*, *Balaxoyovit*; S1865: *Balaxovit*; Gk: *Balisbiga*; GC (962): *Klima Bilabetinēs* or *Balabitēnē* (Just. quoted by Hüb.: *ibid.*) or *Klima Belabitinē* (Proc. *Aed*. III.1.26). The name may mean 'Valley of Balu' from its chief town, Balu; (later

Romanopolis, Hüb.:294, but see Honigmann who puts Romanopolis at Č'apałjur. Sinclair identifies it with Horēberd/Harput); Tk.: *Palu*, 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 *Aršamusat* or *Ašmušat* after its chief city Aršamusat; Ptol. (V.13.19): *Arsamosata*, from *Aršamoy-šat 'joy of Aršam' (Mark. 1966:285) after Aršam (Arsames), Orontid ruler of the kingdom of Armenia in the third century B. C. (Toum.:281)? Polybius calls it *Kalopedion* 'the beautiful plain'; MA calls it *Anthias*, of which *Anthisēnē* is a corrupt form. Strabo (XI.14.6) has *Akisēnē*. Area, Toum. (137): c. 1,500 sq. km.; Erem. (43): c. 1,750 sq. km.

³⁵ *Cop'k'*, i. e. *Cop'k' Šahuneac'* 'Cop'k' of the Šahuni'; *Cop'k' Šabei* 'Royal Cop'k'? (Marq.:177, 178) or *Cop'k' Šahuni*; Hak. (229): *P'ok'r Cop'k'* or *Šahunyac' Cop'k'*; S1877: *Cop'k' Šahuneac'*; also *Miws Cop'k'*, 'the other Cop'k'' (BP VI.4); Chald.: *Šupani* or *Cupani* (Hüb.:294); Urart.: *Šuprā(ne)* (Erem.:57); Gk: *Sōphēnē* (Strabo XI.14.6); *Cod. Just.*: *Sophena*; Byz.: *Tzophēnē* (Hüb.:298); Syr.: *Šōfān (āyē)* (*ibid.*). Its center was the holy town of Herapawlis; Gk: *Hierapolis* (PW XVI); Mod. Arm.: *Č'maskacaq*; Tk.: *Çemişgezek*. The adjective *Šahuneac'* was perhaps derived from the princely house of Šahuni 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 *Anjūt*; Erem. (36): *Anjūt*; Hak.: (229): *Anjūt*, *Anjūt'*, or *Hanjūt'*; Hüb. (300): *Hanjūt'*; S1877: *Hanjūt'*; Assy: *Enzi*, *Enzite* (Hüb.: *ibid.*); Ptol. (V.13.18): *Anzētēnē*; (probably related to the town of *Anzita* in Ptol. V.12.8); *Just. (Nov. 31)*: *Anzetenā* GC (959): *Klima Anzētēnēs*; Syr: *Anzūt*, *Hanzūt* (Hüb.: *ibid.*); Arab.: *Hanzūt*, *Hinzūt* (Yt., cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) located around the fortress of the same name, now the village of *Tilenzit*. Area, Toum. (137): c. 3,700 sq. km.; Erem. (*ibid.*): c. 3,825 sq. km.

³⁷ *Covk'* castle lay on the island of *Covk'* in the lake of the same name (**Covik* '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 *Horeberd*; Hüb. (301): *Xarberd*; Lat.: *Ziata*; Arab.: *Hišn Ziyād* (Erem.:63); Byz.: *Kharpete* (Hon. Map II); Mod. Arm.: *Xarpert*; Tk.: *Harput*.

³⁹ *Dēgik'*; SA has an accusative variant *Dednis* (Hüb.:302); GC (960): *Klima Digēsīnēs* (from an Arm. locative: **Degis*). This district was located between the Euphrates and the town of Č'mškacag; (Tk.: *Çemişgezek*). Toumanoff (224) erroneously calls it the region of the fortress of Angł in the eleventh-twelfth centuries (*infra* n. 45). Area: c. 700 sq. km.

⁴⁰ *K'rwik* is perhaps the modern *Karasar* (Erem.:61), and *K'rwik* perhaps Ptolemy's *Kakhoural*/**Kourakha* (V.13.15), and the modern village of *Rapat* (Erem.:90). Sok Castle is now the village of *Sovuk* (Erem.:81), perhaps Ptolemy's *Zoriga* (V.13.14); (Hewsen 1982:129).

⁴¹ *Gawrēg*; read: **Gawrek'*; Hüb. (303): *Gorēk'*, *Gaurēg*, or *Dorek'*; S1865: *Dorek'*; S1877: *Gorek'*; Urart.: *Gaurāhe* (Erem.: 47); GC (Ad.-Gar. 53*): *Garinē*. The chief center of this district would appear to have been *Lusat'arič*, now *Kaben Maden* (*infra*, n. 43). Area: c. 1,215 sq. km. Saint-Martin (II:311) quotes YM as saying that *Šatax* was a name given to the region of Arjk' in the time of Heraclius (610-641), supposedly derived from its reigning Prince George *Šataxos*, i. e., 'the loquacious.' There is no region of Arjk' in Fourth Armenia, however, and Eremyan omits both the *Šadax* of S1819 and the *Covk'* of L to obtain eight districts for the land.

⁴² The *Aracani* River; Assy.: *Arsania*; Pliny, (V.20: *Arsanias*; Proc. *Aed.* (I.17): *Arsinos*, is the so-called eastern (actually 'southern') arm of the Euphrates now known as the *Murad-su* (Erem.:38).

⁴³ *Lusat'arič*, now *Kaben Maden* on the Euphrates, where it is joined by the *Aracani*/*Arsanias*/*Murat* (Erem.:54). The name perhaps survives in the village of *Lusat'arič* or *Lusavorič* in the Çarsan-

cak Perin district of Turkey. Although the AŠX calls *Lusat'arič* a city*(*k'atak'*), it appears in no Roman or Byzantine source and must have been known in the Empire under another name (Hüb.:432).

⁴⁴ For the *Kawkas supra* IV n. 97; for the *Zigon Vasit'eon* (*Zigon Basilikon* or *Zigon Basileon*) see *supra*, IV n. 93; for the *Karāminon*, or *Caramosus* River, *supra*, IV n. 98. According to Eremyan (1963: Map), this river and the *Kawkas* were entirely separate, the latter not entering the *Karāminon* as the AŠX would have it, but flowing directly into the Euphrates.

VIII. Ałjnik'

⁴⁵ *Ałjnik'*; TA (III.4): *Ałz*; Assy. and Urart.: *Alzi/Alše*; Gk: *Arzanēnē* (Hüb. 249). AM XXV.7.9: *Arzanena/Artianena*; Syr: *Arzōn* or *Arzūn* (GC:165), Arab. *Arzan* (Hüb.: *ibid.*). L lists eight districts in this land but S1819 adds two more. *Ket'ex* and *Gzex*, while S1944 adds an eleventh, *Sału*. Eremyan (116) accepts the former two and rejects *Sału*, but he still arrives at eleven by placing *Angettun* in *Ałjnik'*. Toumanoff (167) has shown, however, that *Angttun*, or *Ingilēnē*, was located in the region of *Sophēnē*, i. e., in Fourth Armenia. The center or capital of *Ałjnik'* was apparently *Ałjn* or *Arjn*, perhaps a castle in the district of the same name (*infra* n. 39) around which grew the city of *Ałjn*, *Arzn* or *Arzan*, which, *pace* Lehmann-Haupt (PW GA/1), may have been the site of *Tigranakert*, Ptol. (V.13.22): *Tigranokerta*, the new capital of Armenia founded by Tigranes II (95-56 B. C.). For all this see Chaumont (1982). *Arzan*, also known as *Sukařaba* (*infra* VIII. n. 89) i. e., 'Arab market', Syr: *Arzōn* or *Arzūn* (Hüb.:311); Byz.: *Artzē*; Arab.: *Arzan* was an important city whose impressive ruins still lie about midway between *Si'irt* and *Maiyafarikin* (*Silvan*) on the left (i. e., east) bank of the *Arzan* River; Pliny (VI.31.129): *Nikephorion*; Arab.: *Nabr* or *Wadi as-Sarbat*; Tk.: *Erzen-su*; Kurd.: *Garzan* or *Gherzen* which enters the *Tigris* about forty km. to the south in a fruitful and well-watered plain. A town of the Armenian kingdom, *Arzan* was acquired by Rome in 298 but lost to the Persians in 363 who included it in the *šabr* (land) of *Arjn* within the *kustak* (province) of *Kōst-i Xwarbarān* 'the Western Region' (Marq.:17; Ad-Gar.:169). Captured by the Arabs in 640, *Arzan* was included in the province of *Jazīra* (Mesopotamia) and later in that of *Diyar Bakr*. *Arzan* had a strong castle as late as 1046, and was one of the most flourishing towns in Armenia until sacked by the Byzantines in 942 (Canard:748). Revived in the thirteenth century, it is again in ruins today. *Arzan* was the seat of both an Armenian and a Syrian bishop from the fifth century, and was a part of the Syrian eparchy of *Nisibis* (Tournèbize, *DGHE*). There were some seven fortresses in *Ałjnik'* (Yovhannēsean 1970). Area: c. 17,532 sq. km. according to Eremyan (34) but 15,102 sq. km. if we subtract *Angttun*, as we should. (For all this see Sinclair III).

The name *Ałjnik'* must be understood in two senses: I, the principality, i. e., *Ałjnik'* proper or *Arzan*, and II, the vitaxate (vicerealty) of greater *Arzan* (*Ałjnik'*) which included the principality together with other territories placed under the military command of the Prince of *Arzan* in his capacity as viceroy of the Arabian March of the Armenian kingdom (Toum. 1963:179-182; Hewsen *REA* XXI I). The principality of *Arzan* extended from the heights of the *Taurus* in the North, to the *Tigris* in the South and West, and East to the River *Ĵerm*, Gk: *Kentritēs* (Xen.: IV.3); Lat: *Zerbis* (Pliny VI.30.118); Byz.: *Zirma* (Agathias: IV.29.8); Tk: *Bohtan-su*. II. The Vitaxate (*bdeāšxut' iwn*) of *Ałjnik'* or *Aruastan* (The Arabian March). This territory included all of the ten districts of the principality of *Arzan*/*Arzanēnē* and apparently other lands to the south. The exact composition of the vitaxate is problematical (Hewsen 1987) and has to be considered within the context of the general history of this region. In the first half of the first millennium B. C., *Arzan* may have been the location of

the state of Alzi or Alše (but see Herz.:116-118). Conquered by the Urartians (ninth-sixth cent. B. C.) the region then fell to the Medes and passed under the Persian Empire. Arzan was included in the Achaemenid satrapy of 'Armina' (Herod.: V.52; Xen.; IV.4.2) and the Persian Royal Road from Susa in Elam to Sardis in Lydia passed through it (Herod.: *ibid.*). The Armenians must have settled here early for Arzan formed part of the Armenian kingdom established by the Orontids, who had governed 'Armina' for the Persian Empire before its fall to Alexander in 330 B. C. and who thereafter founded the first Armenian royal house (Toum.:277-354). The princes of Arzan, although claiming Assyrian royal origin (Moses I.23) appear rather to have been a branch of the Orontids who received the region from one of the Orontid kings (Toum.:180). The exact ethnic composition of Arzan, is not known. Adontz (Ad-Gar.:179), calls the population 'Armeno-Syrian' and Pliny (VI.30.117) refers to the Azoni (*Arzoni), i. e., the people of Arzanēnē, as if they were a distinct ethnic entity. Geographically a part of upper Mesopotamia, it is likely that the basic population had remained essentially semitic-speaking.

In the first century B. C. Arzan became the center of the short-lived Armenian Empire of Tigranes the Great who built his capital Tigranakert, within its territory. The Vitaxate of Ałjnik' – possibly organized by Tigranes, remained a part of the Armenian kingdom until 298 when, as a result of the Romano-Persian Peace of Nisibis, the entire viceroyalty passed directly under the suzerainty of Rome (Peter the Patrician:135). In the 330's, Bakur, Viceroy of Ałjnik', attempted to pass over to Persian allegiance (BP III.9; Moses III.4), but was slain in battle probably during the campaign of Constantius II in Arzanēnē in c. 335 (Theoph., p. 20) and Arzanēnē was forced back under imperial control. After the Persian defeat of the Romans in 363, the Emperor Jovian ceded the viceroyalty to Šābuhr (AM XXV.vii.9). Briefly brought back under Armenian authority in c. 371, most of its territories were definitively lost to the Persians at the Romano-Persian partition of Armenia in 387 (Ad-Gar.:176; Toum.:181). Thereafter Arzan remained a distinct territory within the Persian Empire continuing to be governed by its own princes until at least the mid-fifth century, after which neither they nor the princes of Kordouēnē or Zabdikēnē are heard of again (*ibid.*:182).

From 387 to 591 the boundary between the Persian and Byzantine Empires passed through western Arzanēnē from Dara-Anastasiopolis in northern Mesopotamia to Theodosiopolis (Erzurum) in northern Armenia. In Arzanēnē the frontier followed the Nymphios (Batman-*su*) from its juncture with the Tigris, then up the Kulp-*su* into the Taurus (Ad-Gar.:9-14). From Proc. *Aed.* (III.1.27) it is clear that the Byzantines considered the district of Sophanēnē, which included Np'ret-Martyropolis, to be distinct from 'Arzanēnē' (*sic*), which was held to include only the districts of the old principality of Arzanēnē proper then under Persian rule. Under Justinian (527-565), Np'ret-Martyropolis had been merged with the rest of Sophanēnē (Arm.: *Mec Cop'k'*), which lay southwest of the Tigris, and this enlarged Sophanēnē was then joined with other territories to form the new Byzantine province to Armenia IV with Martyropolis as its capital (Just. Code, Novel XXXI, Ch. I).

After the reorganization of the Persian Empire by Khosrō I Anōšarvān (531-579), Arzan proper fell into *K'usti *Xorbaran* (Phl.:Kōst-i Xwabaran) 'the Western Region' (*infra* XI n. 2; Marq.:8, 16-17). Here it formed the *šahr* of Arjn which doubtless included all the Persian held territory of the viceroyalty for the Syriac term for the *šahr* was the eparchy of Beth-Arabaye and this ecclesiastical jurisdiction included the lands of the former viceroyalty (Marq.:25).

At the time of the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in 591, the Byzantines acquired all of Arjn from Persia to which they added Sophanēnē with Np'ret'/Np'rkert (detached from old Armenia IV) to form the new province of Upper Mesopotamia or Justiniana (or Other Armenia IV) with its capital at Amida, the modern Diyarbakir. The new province also included the city of Daras/Anastasiopolis and twenty-six fortresses (GC *ibid.*). Sometime between 591 and the Arab invasions some

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

In 640 the Arab general 'Iyađ ibn Ghunm invaded Arzan from Syria. Amida and Martyropolis surrendered without resistance (al-Balādhurī, Hitti trans.:275). Geographically a part of upper Mesopotamia, the arabization 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 (Ter-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 Ałjnik'. Under Arab rule Arzan was merged with upper Mesopotamia to form the *ostikanate* (province) of Jazīra (*ibid.*:26). The first *ostikans* were drawn from the Šhaybānī house of the Bakr tribe and their territory served as an avenue of entry for other Arab tribes passing north onto the Armenian plateau (*ibid.*:31).

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 Aa as the Vitaxate of Ałjnik' (112/795) or of Aruastan (126/873), both names serve to identify it: The vitaxate comprised the principality of Ałjnik' (Gk: *Arzanēnē*), which lay in the northern (left) bank of the Tigris River. Thus, it lay opposite Aruastan (Per: *Arabistān*) by which name the Armenians understood the territory around the city of Nisibis, a region called *Mygdonia* by the Greeks, and which perhaps comprised the otherwise unidentified Syrian land of Bēth Rehimē (Gk: *Rehimēnē*).

Despite the logical location of this margravate, Marquart when discussing it (1901:165-79), has confused specialists 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 two groups by Peter the Patrician comprised in fact two of the Armenian vitaxates, he has placed the latter groups of ceded territories – Arzanēnē, Moxoēnē, Zabdikēnē, Kordouēnē, and Rehimēnē – into the Arabian March just as he has gathered the others – Ingilēnē, Anzītēnē, and the two sophēnēs – 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 Moxoēnē, Zabdikēnē, Kordouēnē, and Rehimēnē in the Arabian March. For Ałjnik' see Sinclair III:297-99, 357ff.

Having settled this matter, however, there does remain some questions in regard to this vitaxate. According to the AŠX, the land (*ašxarh*) of Ałjnik' included the ten districts (*gawar*) of Np'ret or Np'rkert, Ałjn, K'eł/K'ał, Kēt'ik, Tatik, Aznuajor, Erxet'k', Gzełx, Salnoy Jor and Sanasunk'. Our question here is whether or not the vitaxate of Ałjnik' included the entire land of Ałjnik' with its ten districts as cited in the AŠX, or only the nuclear principality of Ałjn or Arzan. It seems likely that the former situation was the case. Apart from the fact that the very name, Ałjnik', used for the vitaxate, is that of the greater entity described in the AŠX and not of its nuclear district of Ałjn/Arzan, there is no indication that any of the districts included in Ałjnik' had princes 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 Ałjnik', as vitaxa, ruled over the nuclear district of Ałjn/Arzan (which was probably his own personal demesne) and also over a number of smaller princeless lands which formed his princely domain – probably including Sanasunk' (to be discussed below), but probably excluding Np'ret'/Np'rkert (as we shall see below). These lands, together with Ałjn/Arzan, would have formed both the principality of Ałjnik' and also the vitaxate of Ałjnik'/Aruastan.

A second question is whether the large district of Sanasunk' included in Ałjnik' in the AŠX 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 (*Sanasounitai*) 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 *Sanasounitai* is an Armenianism, i. e., a direct Greek translation of the Armenian *Sanasunk'* – the 'Sanasunians'. More importantly, MX (II.8) makes it quite clear that the Vitaxate of Ałjnik' included the region of Sanasunk':

„And Šarašan from the house of Sanasar he (King Vařaršak) appointed as great *bdeašx* and governor of the southwest, on the borders of Assyria (Asorestan) on the bank of the Tigris River, granting him as provinces Arjn and the district around it, and the Taurus Mountain, that is Sim and all the Kłesurk'" (i. e., *Kleisourai*, the mountain passes).

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 Sasun. 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 Bitlis Pass to the east. Another question in regard to this vitaxate concerns the district of Np'řet or Np'řkert which the AŠX lists first (and obviously westernmost) among its districts, and which is clearly the region around the city of the same name, known to the Syrians as *Mipherget* (whence Armenian *Np'řet*), to the Greeks as *Martyropolis*, and later to the Arabs as *Maiyāfārīqīn/Maiyāfārīqīn* (Tk: *Farkin*, now Silvan).

This problem is a vexing one for we do not know much about the frontier of southwestern Armenia in the Roman period. Apparently, the region originally formed a part of the kingdom of Sophēnē and extended southwards across the Tigris where it met the borders of Osrhoēnē – we do not know exactly where in this generally flat and lowland region the frontier between the two states lay. We do know, however, the locations of the other Sophēnian districts of Lesser or Šahian Sophēnē (Cop'k' Šahuneac'), Ingilēnē (Angełtun) and Anzītēnē (Hanjit), so that by a process of elimination, the southernmost land must have consisted of Greater Sophēnē (Mec Cop'k') or Sophanēnē, which, as its name implies, must have comprised a large territory.

After the unification of Sophēnē with Greater Armenia, Ptolemy (V.12.1) shows Armenia extending as far south as the 'Taurus' Mountains (though here he may mean the Masion range south of the Tigris) so that Greater Sophanēnē must have done so as well.

Arzanēnē, however, lay to the east of Greater Sophēnē, as is clear from the AŠX, which makes the River K'ařirt' (Nymphios/Parthenios/Batman-su) the boundary between the Roman and Persian Empires as it indeed was between 363 and 591 when Arzanēnē was ceded to Persia while Sophanēnē remained with Rome.

In the early sixth century GC (949) makes it clear that the city of Martyropolis (Np'řet/Np'řkert) lay in the *eparchy* of Upper Mesopotamia or 'the Other Fourth Armenia' along with such localities as Abarne and Attakhas, both of which were located in what had once been Greater Sophēnē, the first to the west of the Tigris as it descends due south to Amida (Diyarbakir), and the other, like Martyropolis, to its east.

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

Therefore, when the AŠX tells us that the region of Np'řet/Np'řkert (Martyropolis) was a part of Ałjnik' it is referring to the period after 591, when the Byzantine government must have reorganized Ałjnik'/Arzanēnē and Mec Cop'k'/Sophanēnē into a new province, whereas when the same source tells us that the River K'ařirt' 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 Ałjnik' 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 Ałjnik' the lands of Upper Mesopotamia lying south of the Tigris, i. e., the three lands (Tur Abdin, Aruastan and Mec Cop'k') which Eremyan refers to as *Mijagetk' 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 Bitlis 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 Ałjnik' and the Vitaxa of the Arabian March – the Great Vitaxa – 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 Khosrō I Anōšarvān in the time of the Emperor Justinian (527-565). (Inč.:62-87; Hüb.:248-51; Marq.:166-70; Mark. 1930: *passim*; Hon.: Map; Herz.:148-50; 232; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:34,116; Hak.:236-44; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; HSH 1; Hewsen 1987; *idem*. TAVO B VI 14, et seq.; Garsoian 1989:437; Sinclair III, *passim*).

⁴⁶*Dklat'*. The Tigris River has three principal sources all in Armenia: (1) the western or main arm has its origin in a small lake about 30 km. northwest of Diyarbakir (Amida) about three km. from the Euphrates at Telek. (2) The Batman-su (or *Katirt*, *infra* n. 50) has its source in the Niphates Mts. and joins the Tigris about 28 km. below Diyarbakir. (3) The Si'irt-su, a union of the Bitlis-su and the Bohtan-çay (Arm.: *Ĵerm.*, *infra* VII E, n. 110), which enters the Tigris about 22 km. below the entry of the Batman (Mark.:1930; Herz.:140-41; 147-48; see Appendix X).

⁴⁷Eremyan (35/116 inexplicably inserts Angeł-tun here as the first district of Ałjnik' even though it is not found in any of the mss. of the AŠX. It is cited repeatedly in other Armenian sources (Hüb.:303; Hag.:231, and Toum.:167-68, 297-99), however, and formed the princely state known to the Greeks as *Ingēlēnē* (PP 14.189), *Ingila* (Hüb.:304) or *Khōriōn Endiēlōn* (Proc. Per. I.7.5); Just (*Nov.* XXXI): *Ingilena*; Syr.: *Aggelāyē* (Joshua Stylites cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*). The chief fortress of Angeł-tun was Angł; apparently the Hittite (*Ingalawa* (Toum.:167) and the later *Karkathiockerta*, capital of the Orontid Kingdom of Sophēnē (*ibid.* 297). This fortress and hence its district belong properly to Fourth Armenia (*supra* n. 26).

⁴⁸*Np'řet* also called *Np'řkert*; for which Toum.: (138, n. 240), calls the former an error. This district was located on the southern slopes of the Taurus mountains and had as its capital the city called *Np'řkert* by the Armenians; TS (V.12.8): *Martyropolis*, whence the Armenian *Martirosac' K'atak'* 'City of Martyrs.' Still later, the city appears to have been called *Mapp'erkat* in Armenian (Erem.:73) from Syr.: *Mufaryin* or *Maiparqet* (Hüb.:308); Ptol.: (V.12.10): *Maipa*: the *M* and *N* being easily confused between Armenian and Syriac (*ibid.*: 309, n. 3); Arab.: *Muharkin*, *Mufarkin*, or *Maiyāfārīkin* (*ibid.*) or *Maiyāfārīkīn* (EI), later *Farkin* (Erem.: *ibid.*), now *Silvan* and thought by some (e. g., Lehmann-Haupt: PW 6a/1) to have been the site of Tigranakert/Tigranokerta (*supra* n. 35). Area: c. 5,395 sq. km. (For all this see Gabriel 1931; Chaumont 1982; Sinclair III).

⁴⁹*Ałjn*; Toum.: (180): *Ałjn* or *Arjn*; Erem. (33): *Ałjn* or *Arzn*, the former of which Hübschmann (310) considered an error; Gk: *Arzanēnē* (Hüb.:249); AM (XXV.7.9): *Arzanena*; Syr.: *Arzōn* or *Arzūn* (Hüb.:312); Arab.: *al-Arznarziwn* (*sic, ibid.*). Its chief town was also called *Arzn* or *Ałjn*;

Arab.: *Arzan*, not to be confused with the other, much more northerly, Arzan (Arm.: Arcn) in Karin district. The entire land of Ałjnik' is referred to later in the *AŠX* (*infra* p. 92) as *Arjn*.

⁵⁰The River *K'afirt'* is apparently Syr.: *Kallath* (Hüb.:307); Proc. *Aed.* (III.2.2-3): *Nymphios* from *nymphē* '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 Mamuşel River to get from Mec Cop'k' (Sophanēnē) to Ałjnik' (Arzanēnē), suggests that the latter was the Armenian name for the K'afirt'. According to Hübschmann (312), in the Byzantine period the K'afirt' was called the *Khloamarōn* but this appears to be erroneous. *Khloamarōn*, obviously flowing near to the fortress of that name, would be the Byzantine name for the earlier Nikephorion; the Armenian *Arzan*, now the *Garzan-su*, possibly the site of ancient Tigranokerta (*supra* n. 48).

⁵¹The ms. of L: *Šid'ma* under Ałjnik', and *Šit'it'ma* under Mesopotamia. Marq. (216) gives the Arab form as *Šatidama* [*sic*: **Shāti Dam*] 'River of Blood.'

⁵²Erem. (89): *K'at* or *K'et*; S1877: *Kel*; a name possibly connected with that of the river *K'afirt'* and the town called *K'timar*; Assy.: *Kullimēri*; Gk: *Khloamarōn*, located near the present village of *Maligir*. Area: c. 350 sq. km. (See Appendix A).

⁵³Erem. (59): *Kēt'ik*; which he locates around the Maden-*su*. Area: c. 352 sq. km.

⁵⁴Erem. (85): *Tatik*; located on the Tatik River, now the Tatik-*su*. Area: c. 350 sq. km. S1944 follows this with a district called *Saŋu* which must be an error.

⁵⁵*Aznuac' Jor*; Erem. (31): *Aznuac' Jor*; S1877: *Aznuajor*; located on the stream called today the *Güzel-dere*. The name is perhaps from *Azniv* + *Jor* 'Fine Valley' (Hüb.:312). Area: c. 202 sq. km.

⁵⁶*Erxet'k'*; Erem. (51): *Erxet'k'*; Hak. (239): *Sērxēt'k'*; S1877: *Xerhet's*; located around the present town of Erun south of Hizan. It is possible, however, that the form *Sērxēt'k'* is the corrupt one and that the region of the later town of *Słert* (Tk: *Sı'irt*) is intended. Area: c. 175 sq. km.

⁵⁷*Salajor*; Erem. (79): *Salnoy Jor*; Hüb.: (314): *Salmajor*; S1865: *Salajor*, perhaps 'Valley of the Sala,' or 'Valley of the Salun (or Salin) Mts.' (Hüb.: *ibid.*) or 'Valley of the Salun/Salin River,' now the *Ro-su*, a tributary of the K'afirt' (Batman-*su*, *supra* n. 50). Area: c. 930 sq. km.

⁵⁸*Sanasun*; Erem.: (79): *Sanasunk'*; S1865: *Sanasun*; S1877: *Sasuns*; GC (48): *Sanasounitai*; for the people. Its center was the mountain castle of Sanasun, the later village of *Sasun* (Tk: *Sason* or *Kyalkik*) and its dependencies. Area: c. 2,400 sq. km.

⁵⁹*Gt'or*; Gk: *kekhis*; Lat.: *galla*; Russ.: *chernil'nyi*.

⁶⁰*Hawuc' debuk*; read **haw dez huk* (Erem.:91), a word which occurs nowhere else, and which he is unable to interpret. Soukry (41) translated it as *francolin* (Engl. *idem.*).

VIII. Turuberan

⁶¹The *ašxarh* of Turuberan (text: *Tarwberan*, which Eremyan (85) corrects to **Tawruberan*, 'mouth of' i. e., 'gate to the Taurus', associating it with the *Tawroy Beran* or Bitlis 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 *Kotmn Tarawnoy*.

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) Bznunik' (including the district of Erewark'), which was taken from the Bznuni family after its massacre for treason in the early fourth century and given to the Armenian Church; 2) [East] Tarawn which belonged to the Słkunj family until the same period when it was taken from them and given to the House of Mamikonean; 3) [West] Tarawn, which was the property of the House of Vahevuni, 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) Palunik', which is omitted in the *AŠX* but which was ruled by the Paluni family until it removed to Vaspurakan (*infra* VII H. n. 177) apparently in the fifth century when its original lands passed to the Mamikoneans; 5) Aršamunik' which belonged to the Princes Mandakuni, a house last heard of in the late fifth century A.D. (Toum.:212); 6) Varāznunik', the property of the Princes Varāznuni, probably centered at Xnunis (Tk: *Hinis*), and which perhaps included the adjacent districts of Dasnawork' 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 Kori) passed to the Armenian Church (specifically to the Bishop of Manawazakert); 8) Xorxořunik' centered at Arckē which belonged to the Princes Xorxořuni; 9) Apahunik', the land of the Apahuni family which probably included the adjacent princeless district of Dalar; and, finally, 10) [West] Ařiovit, centered probably at Arčēš and the ancestral land of the Princes Gnuni. In addition to these principalities the land of Turuberan/Tawruberan also included the district of Mardaři 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 Dasnawork' and Tuaracatap' in the principality of Varāznunik' and that of Dalar in Apahunik' is based only on geographic proximity and the fact that these three districts, like Mardaři, had no princes of their own. All four of them – Dasnawork', Tuaracatap', Mardaři 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 Ayrarat. We don't know. Eremyan (*HSH* 2: 112, Map) takes them to have been royal but includes with them several other lands that we know were not (Daranaři, Varāznunik', etc.).

In the extreme southwest Turuberan/Tawruberan also included the princeless districts of Aspakuneac' jor and Xoyt'. The former is geographically a part of (East) Tarawn and with it probably belonged to the Słkuni. Xoyt', from its description in TA (II.7) may have been a pre-Armenian (Hurrian?) 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 mss. of S, however add Kori and Xorxořunik', both of which Eremyan (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 nn. 137 A and 138 A. To these additional districts Eremyan (76, 116) adds Palunik', a principality to the northwest of Tarawn which had probably been absorbed into the latter before the *AŠX* was compiled (Toum.: 212). Eremyan (*ibid.*) gives Palunik' 475 sq. km. It was located in the valley of the present Boglan (*Palunik'?) River, centered at the town of Ciwnkert Ptol. (V.13.14): *Sogokara* (or *Zogoraka*), read **Sonokarta*?, later known as *Porpēs*, now Haraba-Barbas. There were at least twenty-five fortresses in Turuberan (Yovhannēsean 1970). (For Turuberan see: Inč.: 88-132; Hüb.: 251-54, 322-30; Toum.: *passim*; Erem. 85, 116; Hak.: 159-72; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; *HSH* 12: 133-34; Hewsen *TAVO* B VI 14, et seq.); Sinclair I, Ch. 1).

⁶²*Xoyt'*; Erem. (55): *Xoyt'*, Hak. (163): *Xut'* or *Xoyt'*; TA (II.7): *Xoyt'*; Byz.: *Khothaitai* (Hüb.: *ibid.*); Arab.: *Khuith* (Yt cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) or *al-Khuthīya* (Bal, cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) Located on the Xoyt' River (now the *Hoyt*, called *Huyot* further downstream), one of the headwaters of the

Garzan-*su*, a tributary of the Tigris. Here dwelled the mountain warriors known as the *Xut'ec'i* or *Meknakazenk'n Xut'ay*, 'Marauders of Xoyt' (TA: *ibid.*), whence the Byz.: *Khothaitai*. According to Stephen of Siwnik' (Step'annos Siwnec'i), 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.

⁶³ *Aspakuneac' jor*; Erem. (98): *Apakuneac' jor* or *Aspakanuneac jor*, 'Valley of the Aspakuni,' i.e., 'hunters' (Hüb.: 325), from Per. *asp* 'horse,' a word used in Armenian as well. S1877: *Aspakunik'*; (CP DAI, 44): *Apakhounēs*. Originally a part of Tarawn (Ad-Gar.: 244), Aspakunik' was located in the Simsar Mountains in the valley of the Aspakan River (now the Satax), a branch of the K'atirt' (Batman-*su*), perhaps on the main road from Tigranakert to Artašat. The name survives in the modern village of *Spakank'* or *Aspakank'* (which was probably the district center), in the valley of Talvorik. According to Ališan (1901: 297, 299), this district was also called *Kogovit*. Area: c. 665 sq. km.

⁶⁴ *Tarawn*; Erem. (85): *Tarawn*; Tac. (Ann. 14.24): *Ta[ra]raunitium*. Proc. Pers. (II.25.35): *Taraunon Khōria* CP (DAI: 43) *Tarōn*; Hon.: Map I: *Tarannōn*; Arab.: *Tarūn*; comprised the broad plain of Muš and was watered by the Rivers Aracani (Gk: *Arsanias*; Tk: Murad-*su*) and Meł (Tk: Kara-*çay*). The name Tarawn was used for three distinct entities: I. Lesser Tarawn which was divided into 1) West Tarawn, once a temple state centered in the shrine of Vahagn at Aštišat, which belonged to the House of Vehevuni (*Vah(n)uni*), 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, centered in the castle of Ołakan (Strabo: *Olanē*; Tacitus: *Castellum Volandum*), belonging to the Princes Słkuni, who were dispossessed by the Mamikonids in the fourth century and who are last heard of in the mid-fifth; and 3) Aspakunik' or Aspakuneac' Jor '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) Aršamunik', which from its name may have once belonged to the descendents of Aršam, Orontid King of Sophēnē, but which in historical times was held by the House of Mandakuni until the latter disappeared (c. 500 A.D.), and which, like East and West Tarawn, passed to the Mamikonids; 2) Palunik' in the valley of the tiny River Menaskut (Tk: *Boğlan*), whose princes migrated to the region of Lake Van in the fourth-fifth centuries and whose territory, with the town of Ciwnkert or Porpēs (Tk: *Borbas*) 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 (*supra* . 62). III. The term *Tarawn* or *Kotmn Tarawnoc'* '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. Ecclesiastically, Mamikonid Tarawn formed a separate episcopate which was the see of the Bishop of the Mamikoneans *par excellence*, one of the three attached to the Mamikonid House. In the eighth century, the Mamikonid lands 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 Mamikonean drove the Turkish invaders from Tarawn and after the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert (1071), founded the line of the Tornikids at Muš, who held Greater Tarawn with Ašmušat, Hašteank' and Sanasunk' (*Sasun*) until dispossessed by the Muslim Shahs of Armenia (Shāh-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.

⁶⁵ The River *Meł* (*Mełget* or *Mełraget*) is the modern Kara-*su* and perhaps the *Tēleboas* of Xenophon (*Anab.* IV.4). Hübschmann (323) cites a form *Melti* found in YM and in ZG.

⁶⁶ *Ašmunik'*; *Aršamunik'*; Hüb.: (327): *Ašamunik'*; S1877: *Ašmunik'*. 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 (*Göneksuyu*). Area: c. 2,180 sq. km.

⁶⁷ The Sermanc' Mountains or *Katar Erkeri* 'Summit of the Earth'; Byz.: *Sermantzon*, are the modern Bingöl range; Tk.: Bingöl *Dağ* (Erem.: 80).

⁶⁸ *Mardati*, which Hüb. (327) tentatively identifies with Arab: *Marbālā*, located at the sources of the River Egr, now the Egri-*Çay*, one of the headwaters of the Euphrates. The name is apparently from *Mard*, the name of a people + *ati* (*supra* VII A, nn. 4,8; *infra* VII H, n. 167) Area: c. 2,900 sq. km.

⁶⁹ According to Eremyan (70) the *Mełedukx* Mountains are a southern spur of the Palendokan range lying south of Erzurum.

⁷⁰ The *Aycptkunk'*, i.e. 'goat's teats', are the modern *Palendokan* range, perhaps Strabo (XI.14.2): Mt. *Abos*; Pliny (V.22.83) Mt. *Aga*, (read: **Aba*), both of which mountains are described as the source of the Euphrates which would fit the *Aycptkunk'*.

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

⁷² From the context this would appear to be 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 *Muc'amur* or *Muric'* River, now the Hasankale-*su*.

⁷⁴ *Infra* VII M, n. 268.

⁷⁵ Erem. (49): *Dasnawork'*, rejecting the reading *Gastover* of L (which Soukry, 42 reads as *Argas-tovor*); Hak. (166): *Dasnawork'*. According to Eremyan (*ibid.*), this district apparently lay around the present *Susari*, east of Tekman. Area: C. 725 sq. km.

⁷⁶ *Tvaracatap'*; Erem. (86): *Tuaracatap'*; Hüb. (327) and Hak. (166): *Tuaracatap'*. In the eleventh century, AL has *Tvaracoy Tap'* (cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*). Hübschmann (476) interprets the name to mean 'Shepherd's Field' from *Tvarac* (*Tvaracakan*) 'shepherd' and *tap'* 'field', but Eremyan (86) sees in it the Urartian *Turacini-Xubi*, now the plain of *Karayazi* on the Gök-*su*-River. Area: c. 760 sq. km.

⁷⁷ *Dalai*; Erem. (48): *Dalar*; Hübschmann (328) cites the variants *Govar* and *Salar*; located in the valley of the modern Elmali-*dere* (Ad-Gar.: 246). Area: C. 1,850 sq. km.

⁷⁸ *Hark'*; Pliny (VI.31.128): *Archene*; Ps.-Kallisthenes (158): *Ariakē*; (CP DMI: 44): *Kharka*; Arab.: *Al-Hark* (*sic* as cited by Hüb.: 328). The region around modern *Bulanik* (Erem.: 62). Area: c. 2,245 sq. km.

⁷⁹ *Vacnunik'*; Erem. (82): *Varažnunik'*; Arab.: *Bājunais?* (Bal. cited by Hüb. 328); located in the valley of the Xnunis River (Tk.: *Hinis*). Toumanoff rejects the reading *Varažnunik'* as being the work of modern scholars influenced by the existence of the princely family of *Varažnunik'* in Ayrarat. This *Varažnunik'* is not to be confused with the district of *Važnunik'* in Vaspurakan, or *Varažnunik'* in Ayrarat (q. v.). Area: c. 2,000 sq. km.

⁸⁰ *Apahuneac'* (gen.); Erem. (36): *Apahunik'*, which he derives from an earlier **Aparhunik'* connected to a people called *Aparh*, dwelling south of the present day Talysh; CP (DMI: 44/17, 19, 23): *Apakhounē*; Arab.: *Bājunais?* Geo.: *Apahunisi* (Melik'set'-beg I:91). The chief city of this district was Manazkert; GK: *Minyas* (Jos. Ant. I.3.6); *Manzikiert*, CP (*ibid.*); Arab.: *Manājird* (Yt. cited by

Hüb.: 330), *Malazgerd* or *Manazgerd* (Eł); Tk.: *Malazkirt*, an Urartian foundation (perhaps) *Meniziani* or *Arzašku*). Often wrongly called *Manzikert*, from Byz. *Manzikiert* (Hon. Map II) this town was located in the plain north of Mt. Nex Masis (Süphan *daği*). Area: c. 2,375 sq. km.

⁸¹ *Sarakz*; Erem. (80): the *Sarak* Mountain, today called *Nemrud-dağ*, a colossal volcanic mass. (See Lynch, 1901, Vol. II: 298-313 for a scientific description of this crater.)

⁸² *Bznuneac' gawař*; Erem. (45): *Bznunik'*; Urart. and Assy.: *Aidu* or *Aidune*; this district was 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): *Khaliat* or *Khilat*; Arab.: *Khilāt* (Bal. cited by Hüb.: 328); Tk.: *Ablat* seat of the Shāh-Arman in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Also included in this district were the two off-shore islets of Cipan, 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.

⁸³ ... *i Nex Maseac'*; Erem. (72): *Nex-Masik'*, an extinct volcano which, at 14,547 ft. (3,000 m) is the second highest peak in Armenia, Mod. Arm.: *Sipan*; Tk.: Süphan-*Daği*. The sense of the passage is that the *Sarak* range begins at Mt. Nex-Masik' on the north shore of the lake and follows the shore westwards around its western shore, south to the castle of Bałafēš. Mark. (1966:282) sees this as the 'Mt. Baris' of classical authors (e.g., *Jos. Ant.*: I.3.6).

⁸⁴ *Bznuneac', gawař ... homanun covun; Bznuneac' Cov*, or *Rštuneac' Cov* from the names of princely houses which owned territories along the lake; also *Tospay Lič* 'Lake of Tosp', a district south of the lake (*infra* n. 150); *Ałi Cov* 'Salt Sea'; *Arčēši Cov* 'Sea of Arčēš' a town on the northeast shore; Assy., Babyl.: 'Upper Nairi Sea' as opposed to Lake Urmia which was the 'Lower Nairi Sea'; Strabo (XI.14.8): *Arsēnē* also called *Thopitis (sic)*; Ptol. (V.12.8): *Tho[s]pitis* and (*ibid.*) *Ar[sē]sēnē* or *Arsessa*, a later name probably referring to the northeast arm of the lake, which extends to Arčēš, whence the name; Mod. Arm.: *Vana Lič* 'Lake Van', from the town of Van in Tosp; 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).

⁸⁵ *c'berdn Bałēš; Bałafēš*; Byz.: *Balaleis*; Arab.: *Badlis*; Mod. Arm.: *Bałēš*; Tk.: *Bitlis*. This city was an important fortress in Bznunik' on the Bałafēš River (now the Bitlis-*su*), 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).

⁸⁶ *Erēvard*; Erem. (51): *Erewark'*; Hüb. (329): *Erevark'*; TA (IV.3): *Eriovark* (Hüb.: *ibid.* read: **Eriovark'*), now the district of Karckan on the southern shore of Lake Van (Erem.: 51). Area: c. 400 sq. km.

⁸⁷ *Arjkē*; Erem. (39): *Arckē*, a town on the north shore of Lake Van not far from Adiljevaz; Urart.: *Ziuqune*; Byz.: *Arzikē*, Arab.: *al-Jauz*, whence Tk.: *Adilcevaz*. As the waters of the lake have risen, the island of Arckē, opposite the town, has been submerged.

⁸⁸ *C'ipan*; Erem. (56): *Cipan* or *Cipnay Anapat* "Wilderness (i. e., 'hermitage' 'Monastery') of Cipan." This island is now the peninsula of Abadag on the western shore of the lake.

⁸⁹ *Tok'ean*. We are not certain as to the exact location of this islet, which, like Arckē, has been submerged beneath the rising waters of the lake. Eremyan (86) places it not far from Tatvan on the western shore.

⁹⁰ *Ełigi*; Erem. (50): *Ełigi lič*, once a lake covering a square km. but now only canefields near *Ełegis* village (Tk.: *Göllyu*), on the southern shore of Lake Van. This marsh is the source of the River Kec'an

now the *Kecan deresi* which enters the eastern arm of the Tigris (Arm.: *Ĵerm get* 'warm river'; Tk.: *Bohtan su*) and thus one of the sources of the Tigris. This marsh is the *Elegosine* of Pliny (VI.31.127) which he considered to be the principal source of the Tigris. *Ełēgn* = 'reed.'

⁹¹ I am indebted to Prof. Garsoian of Columbia University and to her then assistant, Dr. K. Maksoudian, for the interpretation of this difficult passage.

⁹² (*Supra* n. 72).

⁹³ *Ałitvir*; Toum. (205): Ałiovit; TA (III.29): Bařilovit. Eremyan (33) derives Ałiovit from *ali* 'of salt' and *hovit* 'valley', i. e. 'salt valley' (but see *supra* VII A. n. 4). Originally a part of Apahunik' (Ad-Gar.: 246) this district was located along the northeast shore of Lake Van, half, [west] Ałiovit, in Tawruberan, and half, comprising this second [East] Ałiovit, in Vaspurakan. The chief town of the district was apparently Arčēš (Tk.: *Erçis*). Eremyan, *ibid.*, includes the city of Zarišat in West Ałiovit but this is apparently an error. West Ałiovit, as we have seen belonged to the Princes Gnuni whereas East Ałiovit was a royal possession (containing, for example, Ařestawan, the 'Royal Fisheries'). Zarišat described by MX (III.23) as a 'royal city' must have been located in East Ałiovit and the boundary between the homonymous districts must have lain to the west of Zarišat and not to the east of it as on the maps of Erem. (1963; 1979). Taking Zarišat to lie in West Ałiovit, Eremyan thought that West Ałiovit must have been its 'municipal territory' (*k'alak'ayin territorian*), but we know that East Ałiovit was the 'royal' Ałiovit so that the Ałiovit held by the Gnuni family could have only been the one to the east. Now Toumanoff (205) states that the House of Gnuni owned Ałiovit with the city of Arčēš, and Arberani to the east with the city of Berkri. 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 Zarišat in Ałiovit a 'royal city' (III.23). Apparently, the Gnumids acquired these lands *after* the fall of the Armenian monarchy in 428. When the Byzantines and the Persians repartitioned Armenia between them in 591, the new boundary between the two Empires passed directly through Ałiovit separating the Byzantine province of 'Inner Armenia' from Persian *Vaspurakan*. Out of this division were born the two Ałiovits which I designate 'East' Ałiovit and 'West,' the former remaining in Gnunid hands, the latter eventually passing to the House of K'ajberuni. Toumanoff (206) errs, I believe, in implying that the K'ajberunids acquired the whole of Ałiovit. Later, in the Arab period, this district was thus known as *K'ajberunik'*. Area: c. 1,575 sq. km.

⁹⁴ *Supra* n. 80.

⁹⁵ *Pstak*, read: **pistak* (Erem.: 97).

⁹⁶ *Mařtamirk'*; read: *mař karmir*, the red *mas'* which Eremyan (96) relates to Skt: *mařa* and Kurdish *mař* 'lentil' 'broad bean' *pisum sativum* *NHB* (II:208): 'a small pea or legume.'

⁹⁷ The word *k'ark'ařam* 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 *AŠX*.

⁹⁸ This description of Salome it not found in the Biblical account, but see Appendix X.

VII E. Mokka'

⁹⁹ *Mokk'*; read: Mokka', Akkadian: *Māt Muški*; Gk: *Moxoēnē*; *AM (XXIII.3.5): Moxena*; CP (DC 687): *Mōex*; Syr.: *Bēth Moksāyē* (Toum.: 181 n. 140); Bal. (199): *Muks*, the smallest of the fifteen Armenian lands listed in the *AŠX* but one of the larger principalities in the country, lay in the densely mountainous area south of Lake Van from which it is separated by the northernmost spurs of the Tauros Mountains. This is a remote area and still one of the least visited parts of Turkey. In ancient times Mokka' formed a single principality belonging to the House of Mok. Adontz (Ad-Gar.: 307) relates this name to that of the *Mykoi*, a people cited by Herodotus (VII.66-74), but it is also possible that it is connected with that of the *Muški* of Assyrian records, the *Moskboi* of classical authors (Strabo, XI.2.15, *passim*; Ptol.: V.6.1, 13.5) or the Moxeanoi, a tribe in eastern Phrygia (Ruge *PW* 16/1) cited by Ptol. (V.2.10): *Moxianoi*. The chief place of the principality was the town of Moks, Tk.: *Müküs* or *Mikis*, now renamed *Bahçesaray* (Thierry 1970:145 n. 128). Mokka' was watered by the eastern arm of the Tigris River, here called in Armenian the *Ĵerm* 'warm'; Xen. *Anab.* (IV.3.1) *Kentritēs*, from Arm.: *Ktrič* 'cutting,' 'divide', and *ergo* 'boundary'? (in his day the boundary between the Kardoukhoi and the Armenians); Pliny (VI.30.118): *Zerbis*; Agathias (IV.29.8): *Zirmas*; Tk.: *Bohtan-su*; and by its tributaries the *Kec'an* or *Kecan* (Tk.: *Kesan*), *Tatik* (Tk.: *Güzeldere*) and the *Orb* (Tk.: *Müküs-çay*), which enter the Tigris from the right; and the *Zrël* (Tk.: *Ziril-su*) and *Argast* (Tk.: *Sinaber*), which enter from the left.

As with many Armenian principalities, the exact boundaries of Mokka' are not altogether certain, and Eremyan's maps (1963; 1979) as well as that in the *HSH* (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 Mokka' were of immemorial dyanstic origin, and supplied the king of Armenia with 1000 mounted troops in time of war. They became extinct after the seventh century, however, their state passing first to the Bagratids and then, in the tenth century, to the Arcrunids (Toum.:202). The Byzantines must have acquired Mokka' together with the rest of the Arcrunid Kingdom of Vaspurakan in 1021 but it was overrun by the Turks fifty years later.

Mokka' was an episcopal see of the Armenian Church from the fifth century until at least as late as the period when the principality was annexed by Vaspurakan in the tenth century. After 1113, it became subject to the jurisdiction of the Katholikosate of Aht'amar to whose see it contributed the diocese of Khizan comprising the *cazas* (Ottoman districts) of Khizan, Gavas, Shatakh, and Bardjikan. During the Ottoman period, Mokka' appears to have retained some vestiges of autonomy under local Armenian princes (perhaps of Arcrunid origin) until the nineteenth century (*HSH* 7). There were only four fortresses in Mokka' of which *Zrël* (Tk.: *Ziril*) was the most important (Yovhannēsean 1970).

The *AŠX* presents a minor problem in regard to Mokka' for although it remained under Persian control after the settlement of 591, it does not appear with the other Armenian territories cited (*supra* V.29.iv) as parts of the Persian Empire (Vaspurakan = Armn, Siwnik' = Sisakan, P'aytakaran = Balasakan). Was it included in Vaspurakan by the Persians? If so, why does the author of the *AŠX* consider it distinct? If it was, in fact, distinct from the principalities which were included within Vaspurakan, why does it not appear as a Persian province together with the other three just cited? Perhaps the author simply overlooked Mokka' when describing the Persian Empire. It was not large.

The citation of Mokka' as one of the supposed fifteen lands of Armenia is an excellent example of how the *AŠX* can be misleading as a description of Armenia. To all appearances Mokka' 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

after Siwnik' and Tayk', Mokka' was the *third* largest principality in the country and its princely house one of the most considerable. Area: c. 2,962 sq. km. (Inč.: 133-136; Hüb.:254-259; Mark. 1930:336, 342-345, *passim*; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:71, 117; Hak.:245; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; *HSH* 7; Sinclair I, Ch 1).

¹⁰⁰ The text cites Mokka' as having nine districts but lists eight, omitting the 'Other' İsayr which I have restored from S.

¹⁰¹ *İsayr*, *NBHL* (I, 863-864): 'male onager'; from *ēs* 'donkey,' 'ass', and *ayr* 'man,' or Hüb. (331): 'donkey-cave' from *eš* 'donkey,' 'ass' and *ayr* 'cave,' now the district of Snijor. Here was located the monastery of Surb Kananc', later Surb Xaç', on the banks of the Kegan River (TK: *Kesan deresi*). Area: c. 175 sq. km.

^{101a} *Mews İsayr*, 'the other' İsayr, now the district of Xizan Tk.: *Hizan* and the greater part of *Kec'an* (Tk.: *Kesan*) occupying the little valley of the *Kec'an* River (*Kesan deresi*). Area: c. 250 sq. km.

¹⁰² *İsuc'*; read: *İsoc' gawař* 'the district of asses,' from *išoc'*, the gen. pl. of *eš* 'donkey,' 'ass,' now the district of Sparkert or Spakert. Area: c. 302 sq. km.

¹⁰³ *Arvenic' Jor*; also *Aruenic' Jor* or *Aruanic' Jor*, 'Valley of Streams'? (from *aru* 'brook?') the most northerly of the districts of Mokka', lying adjacent to the districts of Erewark' and Rštunik' in Tawruberan. Its center was the village of *Uranc'*, now *Oranis*, which TA (IV.3) calls the *Aruanic' Jor* fortress.

¹⁰⁴ *Vijač'*; read: *Mija*, literally 'the center' (i. e., of the district), located in the area of *Mamrtank'* where a village called *Mija* once existed although it is not to be found on the relevant USAF ACC (340 B 4) or (340 C 1) today. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

¹⁰⁵ *Ařancnakan Mokac' gawař*; Erem. (71): *Mokka' Ařanjnak* or *Ark'ayic' gawař*, i. e., 'Mokka' proper' or 'the Royal District,' located in the valley of the River Orb (*Müküs-su*). This was the chief district of the land and the seat of the princes of Mokka', whence its second name *Arkayic' gawař* 'District of Kings,' or *Arkuankan*, 'royal' [country]. This region was also the center of the tiny Husbukia state in the eleventh-eighth centuries B. C., according to Eremyan (*ibid.*) but he offers no source for this identification.

¹⁰⁶ The *Orb* (Tk.: *Müküs-su*) flows into the *Ĵerm* (Tk.: *Bohtan-su*), and is thus one of the headwaters of the Eastern Tigris. (*Supra* n. 84).

¹⁰⁷ *Ark'ayic' gawař* 'the Royal District.' This is not a separate district as indicated in L, but merely a second name for Mokka' proper (*supra* n. 84) as implied in S1819 (Erem.:71). Early Armenian texts are written without punctuation – a fertile source of copyist's errors.

¹⁰⁸ *Argovteac'ovit*; also *Argastovit* or *Argasteay Ovit* 'fertile valley,' perhaps located on the right bank of the *Bohtan-su* in the valley of the present-day *Kandil-su*, but we are not certain of this. If the location is correct, the area of the district would be c. 500 sq. km. (Hüb.:331; Erem.:39; *HSH*: 1).

¹⁰⁹ *Ĵermajor* 'valley of the Ĵerm [River]' (*infra* n. 110), the modern region of *Barvari* in the *Zrël* valley of the *Bohtan-su*. Area: c. 835 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

¹¹⁰ *Merm*, read: **Ĵerm get* (Hüb.:331); Xen. *Anab.* (IV.1). *Kentritēs*; Pliny (VI.30.118): *Zerbis*; Agathias (IV.29.8): *Zirmas*; Arab.: *Wadi az-Zarm*; Tk: *Bohtan-su*, sometimes referred to as the Eastern Tigris.

¹¹¹ Text: *ařsat*, from the Arabic *hashaq* or *hirshak*, the cardoon or prickly artichoke (*cynara cardunculus*) of the Mediterranean region which is eaten as a vegetable (Ačaryan 1931, IV:442, quoting Steinschneider, *WZKM*, 12.9). Erem. (109): *garhřsat*, a kind of fruit; in modern Armenian an African fruit.

¹¹² *Manragor*; Gk: *mandragoras*; Lat.: *mandragora officinarum* (Erem.:96).

¹¹³ *Inj geřec'kaxayt*; *inj* = Lat: *leopardus* 'leopard' 'panther'; *geřec'kaxayt* 'beautifully spotted' 'variegated.'

VII F. Korčayk'

¹¹⁴ *Korčēk'*; Toum. (181, n. 140): *Korčēk'*; Erem. (60): *Korčayk'*, which he derives from an earlier **Kortic'ayk'*, while Hübschmann (259) felt that the derivation of the name from **Kurd-baik'*, 'Kurdish Armenians,' as well as from **Kurti-aik'* going back to the *Kyrtioi* 'Kurtians' of classical authors, were both false, as they probably are. Adontz (Ad-Gar.:323) believed that the name *Korčēk'* was indeed derived from that of the Kurtians, 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 1956: Chap. I, for other opinions). Strabo (XI.14.2): *Gordyēnē*. Area: 14,707 sq. kms. Eremyan 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 Kardoukhian (Kurdish?) Kingdom lying between Armenia and Adiabēnē 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 Kardoukhian tribes under nominal Achaemenid rule in Xenophon's time. This kingdom, probably lying to the east of the Eastern Khabur River, must have been known to the Armenians as *Korčayk'* (or **Korčēk'/Korčēk'?*) and to the Greeks as *Gordyēnē*, both *-ēnē* and *-ayk'* being locative suffices so that the root of the Armenian and Greek forms of the name would be, respectively *Korč'/Gord*.

2. West of this kingdom, between the Eastern Khabur River and the Tigris, lay the district of *Tmorik'*, 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 Dagħ* (Tk.: *Habis tepesi*). Apparently, this district was not – at least then – a part of *Gordyēnē*, and may have been retained by the Seleucids of Syria until it was seized by Armenia during the expansion of the early Artaxiads in the mid-second century B. C. (Strabo, XI.14.5). Under Armenian rule, this *Tmorik'* 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/Kordouēnē*; and second, *Tmorik'* proper to the east, the *Tāmōnitis* (*sic* read: **Tamoritis*) of Strabo (XI.14.5) which BP (IV.50) refers to as *amur* 'unassailable,' i. e., 'mountainous,' and which, after Strabo (d. c. A. D. 20), ceases to be mentioned by classical authors at all.

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

3. In the time of Tigranes the Great (first century B. C.) the kingdom of *Gordyēnē* and the Seleucid land of *Tmorik'/Tamoritis* were both conquered by the Armenians and appear to have been amalgamated into one territory. Thereafter, this appears to be the kingdom of *Gordyēnē* known to the Romans, a large territory extending from the Tigris River to the Zagros range, corresponding exactly to the *Korčayk'* of the AŠX.

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), *Gordyēnē* 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 *Korčēk'* (MXII.64) or perhaps, alternatively, from its three westernmost districts (Upper, Middle and Lower *Kordrik'*) it was known as *Kord(r)ik'* in BP (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 *Gordyēnē* and *Adiabēnē*, probably merged by Trajan into his province of Assyria, were separated upon Hadrian's withdrawal of Roman occupation of the area, *Adiabēnē* being revived as a vassal kingdom of Parthia but *Gordyēnē* being given (along with *Rufa!*) to *Sohaimos*, Hadrian's Syrian appointee to the Armenian throne.

5. In the fourth century, *Korduk'* and *Tmorik'* appear as separate entities in BP (IV.50) as do *Kord(r)ik'* and *Korčēk'*. 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, *Kordrik'* was the westernmost district of *Korčēk'/Gordyēnē* (to which it often gave its name, i. e. *Korčēk'/Gordyēnē*), had once included *Kordrik'* and hence the former name might be used as a synonym for *Kordrik'* or vice-versa. This alone explains BP's use of the terms *Korduk'*, *Tmorik'* and *Kordrik'* in one breath and *Korduk'*, *Tmorik'* and *Korčēk'* in another.

In the period referred to by BP (c. 363) when *Korduk'/Corduena/Kordouēnē* formed a single principality of undoubted importance (Toum: 181-182), *Tmorik'* was probably a princeless district held by the Prince of *Korduk'* in his capacity of *vitaxa*, the area being the *amur* or 'stronghold' part of his otherwise lowland and not terribly defensible realm. *Korčēk'* (at times called *Kordrik'* from having included Lower *Kordrik'*) would have been the royal land to the east of both *Korduk'* and *Tmorik'*, extending as the Vg (98) tells us as far as the *Zarawand-Hēr*, i. e. as far as the Zagros range. BP (IV.50) tells us that *Korduk'*, *Tmorik'* and *Kordrik'/Korčēk'*, were all in open rebellion against the Armenian king in 363 which suggests that *Tmorik'* had its own rulers just as *Korduk'* had its Prince-Vitaxa and *Kordrik'/Korčēk'* (probably) its royal administrators. It is just possible that there may have been a Prince of *Tmorik'* of whom we have no mention (a junior branch of the house of *Korduk'?*), or, again more likely that the Bagratids had already acquired *Tmorik'* 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 *Kordrik'* extended to *Zarawand-Hēr* supports my argument not only that the names *Kordrik'/Korčēk'* were coterminous, but also that the principality of *Zarawand-Hēr* comprised all of the Armenian territory between Lake Urmia and the Zagros range, i. e. the country called *Parskahayk'* by the AŠX that included, not only *Zarawand* and *Hēr*, but also *Zarəhawan* and six other districts to the south of them. Since we know that the three districts called *Zarəhawan*, *Zarawand* and *Hēr* lay northwest of Lake Urmia adjoining the districts of *Ayli* (*Kuričan*), *Mari*, *T'rabi*, *Arasx* (*Ovəa*), *Ařnay* (*Eřnay*) and *Tamber* to the south of them, the only way that *Korčēk'/Kordrik'* could reach the principality of *Zarawand-Hēr* 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-Hēr*,' the Armenian sources must mean to include all nine districts of the later *Parskahayk'*; by *Parskahayk'*, the AŠX must mean the earlier principality of *Zarawand-Hēr* (*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.

9. After their final acquisition of these Armenian borderlands in 387, the Persians, must have reorganized Korduk', Tmorik' and Korčēk'/Kord(r)ik' 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 Arzon-Ostan. (Ad-Gar.: 177-178, 391, n. 25). This greater subdivision of the new province of Arzon-Ostan the AŠX calls Korčayk' (perhaps a mere later form of the earlier Korčēk'), but which the author, avoiding contemporary Persian usage, considers distinct from Arzon-Ostan. Although Hakobyan (1968:246) equates Korčayk' with Korčēk' and Korduk', this appears to be an oversimplification. Over and over it seems certain that Korduk' and Korčēk' – at least originally – were different entities, the latter lying to the east of the former, with Tmorik' and the Kordrik'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: Korč-ayk' – the larger unit – appears to mean the domain of the *Korč* (proto-Kurds?), whereas Korč-ēk' – the smaller territory – appears to be perhaps a kind of diminutive i. e. – Lesser *Korč*, whose final *-ē* 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 Kurdish origins see Nikitin: ch. 1).

This however does not seem to be the understanding of Eremyan (1979), who, on his map depicting Armenia in the fourth century, first labels the entire Korčayk' of the AŠX as *Korduk'* and then divides it into three territories: 1) *Korduk'* (proper), 2) *Tmorik'* (which he equates with the three *Kord(r)ik's*), and 3) the remaining seven lands of his greater *Korduk'* which seven form his *Korčayk'*. 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 Tmorik' as one of the districts of Korčayk', for its name does not appear in the AŠX, and Moses (II.53) instead, tells us that Kordrik' used to be called Tmorik', 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 AŠX knows of *three* Kordrik's: Upper, Middle and Lower, whereas all earlier sources treat the three as one. In my view, the *original* Kordrik' consisted of what the AŠX calls *Middle* and *Lower* Kordrik'. The Upper Kordrik', however, comprise the earlier Tmorik', which probably included other parts of Korduk' as well. This would explain: a) why *BP* knows of both Tmorik' and Kordrik', b) why the AŠX knows three Kordrik's but of no Tmorik', c) why Moses (II.53) says Kordrik' *used* to be called Tmorik', and d) how Korduk' could have adjoined Kordrik' as *Vg* (98) tells us it did when Tmorik' supposedly lay between them. Tmorik', indeed lay between Korduk' and Kordrik', but only in the north, as we have mentioned. (MX II.53, indicates that Alki, a fortress whose location in the northern mountains between Korduk' and Makk' is well known (Erem.: 1963: Map), lay in Tmorik'. In the south (below Tmorik') the lands of Korduk', and Kordrik' would have been contiguous. (I am indebted to Prof. N. G. Garsoian for this part of my analysis of Tmorik').

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

The fact that the AŠX cites eleven districts of Korčayk' with no mention of the terms *Tmorik'* or *Korčēk'* as names for the easternmost seven districts, and hence as a synonym for the old kingdom of Korčēk'/Gordyēnē, is easily explained: The author of the AŠX is interested only in the fifteen large lands (*ašxarhk'*) 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 eleven included in the Persian province which he called Korčayk'. There were but six, fortresses in Korčayk' (Yovhannēsean 1970) (Inč.:137-149; Marq. 111, 159, 178, 305; Hüb.:255-259; Driver 1923; Mark. 1930: *passim*; Herz. 1948:148-150, 200-201; Safrastian 1948; Nikitine 1956; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:60, 117; Mark. 1968:*passim*; Kinanne 1964; Hak.:246-249; *HSH* 5; Hewsens 1987, *idem*. TAVO B IV 14, *et al.*; Sinclair 1988: I, Ch 1; Garsoian 1989: 473-5).

¹¹⁵ *Korduk'*; Hüb.:(333) cites the form *Korduauk'* in some sources; S 1877: *Kordus*; Xen. (*Anab.*: IV.1); *Kardoukhoi* AM (XVIII.6.9): *Corduena*; Byz.: *Kordouiton Khōra* (Hüb.: *Ibid.*); Syr: *Qardū*; *Qordō* (Hüb.: *ibid.*); Arab. *Qardā* (Bal. 176). The mountainous country between the Ĵerm and The Lesser Khabur River. Its center was P'inakaka, now *Pinik* village. A remote region, *Eł* (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 *Aa* (112 and 795) that we first hear of the Prince of Korduk', where, speaking of the preaching of St. Gregory (842), he tells us that "he passed along the border of Syria, the land of Nor Širakan and Korduk' to the stronghold land of the Medes, to the home of the Prince of Mahkert-tun to Atrapatakan." *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* Mušēš attacked the various lands which had rebelled against King Aršak I: "Korduk', Kordrik' and Tmorik'."

Eł mentions Korduk' twice and each time for him it is included in a list of countries other than Armenia: In Chapter I: Iberia, Albania, Lp'ink', Cawdēk', Korduk', and Ałjnik'; in Chapter II in an identical list (to which *Dasen* 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 *Eł* – to the Korčayk' of the AŠX which is likewise indicated as being distinct from Armenia.

MX is our last important source for Korduk' after the AŠX; his description of the district (*gawar'*) as the westernmost part of a larger land (*ašxarh*) of Korčayk' 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: *Adiabēnē*) "along the frontier of Atrapatakan through Korduk'."

More significant references occur elsewhere in *MX*, however, where we are told first (II.8) that King Vařaršak established the principalities of the Mokač'i, Korduac'i, Anjewac'i and Akēac'i; second (II.36) that in the time of King Sanatruk (p. 114–p. 117), the sister of King Abgar of Edessa travelled through Korduk' *on the way* to Armenia; and third (2.53), that Korduk' was a part of Armenia in Anak's time. Although *MX* is often unclear as to who he is referring to when he speaks of his semi-mythical Vařaršak, Sanatruk and Anak, 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 principality in Vařaršak'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 district or districts called Kordik'/Kordrik' are obviously closely related to those of Gordyēnē, Corduena and Korduk', and equally obviously connected with that of the Kurds. Yet Kordik'/Kordrik' is a distinct area clearly defined by the AŠX 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 Kordouanōn "who is called the *euparkhos*" and which (district) is next to 'Andrikodritōn.' Further down, we see another reference to the Satrap of the Zaurabandōn (*Zarawand*) and Kheran (*Hēr*) districts, "next to all of these, Kodritōn." In the parallel passage in the Va (86), Kordouanōn is called *gmrđl* "next to the strong *grdytn*," and the land next to the Prince of *wrydwn* (*Zarawand*) is also rendered as *grdytn*. 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 Tmorik', it was famed for its unassailable 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', Tmorik' and Kordik' 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 Tmorik' 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 Elki until recently, but is now Beytüşşebap), a locality on the upper-most course of the Eastern Khabur River, but, under the name *Satalka*, Strabo (XVI.1.24), as we have seen, places it in Gordyēnē. This demonstrates that the valley of the Eastern Khabur lay in Gordyēnē, and that, however far eastward the old Kingdom may have extended, it must have extended westwards to include Kord(r)ik' and Tmorik' – 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' lay in Gordyēnē/Korčēk' corresponds to Tmorik'. Further, we can see that the fact that Kord(r)ik' lay in Gordyēnē/Korčēk', it occasionally gave its name to the entire land. This alone can explain why the Va identifies Kordouēnē of the Greek text with Kordrik' and how the latter would extend as far east as the boundary of Zarawand-Hēr. For the Arab *Life* Kordouēnē = the old kingdom of Gordyēnē for which Kord(r)ik' was an alternative name. (Inč.:146-147).

¹¹⁶T'man, a village mentioned in the *Life* of the Hrip'simian Saints as T'mnis; Gk.: *Kōmē Thamanōn*; Syr.: *Themānōn*; Arab.: *Thamānūn* now *Bet'manin* or *Heštane* (Erem.:53). Located on the southern slopes of the mountain now called Judi-dagh, the old Mt. *Ararat*, *Araratu*, or *Nibur* upon which Noah's Ark is said to have come to rest and which made T'man the land in which his descendants settled. The Aramaic and Syriac translations of the Bible have *Ture Kardu* 'Mountains of Kurdistan' for the 'Mountains of Ararat' of Gen. 8:4, and the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (s.v. *Ararat*) identifies this with *Jebel Judi*, i.e. Judi dagh. The village of T'man was an important site and often the entire district of Korduk' was called T'morik'; Assyri.: *Tumurri(ra)* or *Tumurraai* (Hüb.:337); Strabo (XI.14.5): *Tamōritis*; Syr.: *Imōrāyē* (Hüb.: *ibid.*)

Armenian sources frequently mention Tmorik' as a district. *BP* (IV.50) and Eł (36) both refer to its inaccessible position, and MX, as we have seen, considers it the earlier name for Kordrik'. This is probably because its location is included by the AŠX in the area encompassed by Upper, Middle and

Lower Kordik' (which makes no mention of Tmorik' by name), but, as already noted from *BP* (4.50), it is quite evident that Tmorik' and Kordrik' are not identical or were identical only in part.

In my view, Tmorik' occupied the uppermost valley of the Eastern Khabur River – the Upper (and perhaps Middle) Kord(r)ik' of the AŠX and the mountainous country extending westwards to Mt. Sararad (Ararad). 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 Kordrik' and this must be the Kordik' (*sic*) of *BP*, a text which makes it clear that Korduk' touched both Kordrik' and Korčēk', a situation which would only have been possible if Tmorik' was confined to the middle and upper reaches of the Eastern Khabur. MX (II.53), be it repeated, places Alki in Tmorik' 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 Gordyēnē.

Tmorik' is a very ancient toponym apparently taking its name from the fortress of T'man on the slopes of Mt. Sararad/Ararad, the later Judi Dagh (now officially called *Habis 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 *Tamōnitis* (*pro* **Tamoritis*) but he is the only Classical author to cite the district under this name, the toponym apparently having been later subsumed into the terms *Gordyēnē*/*Corduena*.

¹¹⁷*zKordis Veri* (acc.); Erem. (60): *Kordrik' Verin*; Hüb.:(334-335) cites the forms *Kordik'* and *Kodrik'* in other Armenian sources; S1877: *Kordris Verin*, perhaps connected with Ptol. (V.12.9): *Kōtaia*. Located on the upper course of the Eastern Khabur River, its chief place was the fortress of Alki (Yt I, 352; II, 297): *Alqi*; Tk.: *Elki*. Area: c. 1,075 sq. km.

¹¹⁸*Kordis, Nerki* (acc.); Erem. (61): *Kordrik' Nerkin*, on the lower course of the Eastern Khabur River. Area: c. 625 sq. kms.

¹¹⁹*Kordi Miĵi*, Erem. (61): *Kordrik' Miĵin*, on the middle course of the Eastern Khabur River. Area: c. 1,025 sq. km.

¹²⁰*Aytwans* (acc.); Erem. (35): *A[yr]truank'*; Hüb.:(335) *Aitvank'*, citing the variant *Atravank'*. Eremyan (*ibid.*) saw in this name a memory of the *Uruatri* of Assyrian times. This district was located on the middle course of the Great Zab River, now the region of *Tiari*. Area: c. 325 sq. km.

¹²¹*Aygars* (acc.); Erem. (35): *Aygark'*; S1877: *Aygars*; S1944: omitted. Located south of the Kurdish town of Julamerik (Tk.: *Hakkari* cf. TA III.4: Mt. *Ĵot*; *idem*. I.8. *passim*: the fortress of *Ĵtmar*). Area: c. 302 sq. km.

¹²²*Ot'otans* (acc.); Erem. (71): *Mot'otank'*; S1877: *Mot'otans*, now the region of *Oramur* in Kurdistan. Area: c. 875 sq. km.

¹²³*Orisans* (acc.); Erem. (75): *Orsirank'*; S1877: *Orsirans* (acc.), the form *Orsirank'* being corrupt (Hüb.:335). Now, according to Eremyan (*ibid.*) the *nahie* (district) of *Gevar*, on the *Bavar-su* or *Nehil-chai*, a tributary of the Tigris from the northeast (but see *infra* n. 124). The center of Orsirank' was probably the village of the same name mentioned by YK (XXV.57) and SA (cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) but Markwart (1968:256) places this village in Greater Aḥbak. Area: c. 1,250 sq. km.

¹²⁴*Ēzsaraponis*; (acc.); Hüb.:(335): *Karat'unik'*, citing the variants *Karapunik'*, *Karasunik'*, *Sarabunik'*, and *Kart'unik'*, which later Eremyan (58) accepts as correct. S1877: *Karat'unis*. The name possibly survives in the present valley of *Katuni* in the region of Shemdinan in Kurdistan, where there are still found the villages of *Aşagi Katuna* and *Yukari Katuna* (USAF AAC *Rezā'iyeh*, 340 C II). On the other hand there is a village with the much closer name of *Kertinis* in the Plain of Gevar (Tk.: *Gevar ovasi*) to the northwest (*ibid.* *Al Amādiyah* 340 C 1), where Eremyan (1963: Map) locates the district of Orsirank'. Basing myself on a study of the indications in TA (III.4) regarding this area, I believe that *Kart'unik'* lay in the Plain of Gevar, Orsirank' occupying only the northern mountains that overlook this plain. I do not believe that Korčayk' extended so far to the

southeast so as to include Katuni valley unless both names, Kertinis and Katuni, may be traced back to K'art'unik' 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.

¹²⁵ Čahuk; TA (III.2): Čaxuk (representing the shift from *h* 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 J̄tmar, later Julemerik (Tk.: Cölemerik; now Hakkari) whose name is probably connected to that of Mt. J̄ot (TA III.4), now Cilo Daği. Area: c. 2,450 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

¹²⁶ P'ok'r, Atbakk'; Erem. (33): Atbak P'ok'r; Hübschmann (335) cites such variants as P'ok'r Atbakk' or Atbak; Ptol. (VI.2.10): Alouaka (where it is placed in Media), or Albakē, the Symbakē of Strabo? (XI.13.2); Arab.: Albāq (Khur. cited by Hüb.) or Aghbagh (EI); Tk.: Albak, located on the upper course of the Great Zab River, now on the Turko-Iranian frontier. Area: c. 405 sq. km.

¹²⁷ Zarik; Lat.: arsenicum (Erem.:93), quoting Ačaryan (*Arm. Bar.*, II: 900-01), but see his lengthy discussion of the term.

¹²⁸ Šabdanak also Šandak, the seed of the hemp (Erem.: 97, quoting Malx. III:581), but is this perhaps an error for šaganak 'chestnut'?

¹²⁹ Gangar p'šo sermn, the seed of the gangar; mod. Arm.: Kanep'i 'kelp'.

VII. G. Parskahayk'

¹³⁰ Parskahayk', as a name for this region, is found only in the AŠX 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 Hēr 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 Hēr 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 *Parsbahayk'* and *Korčēk'* used interchangeably for the former land (Mark, 1968:267), the latter term having nothing to do with the Korčēk' of the AŠX (*ibid.*).

Eremyan (77) rejects the usual interpretation of the name as 'Persian Armenia' but relates it to the country of *Parsua*, or *Barsua*, found in Assyrian inscriptions, at that time located south of Lake Urmia. Toumanoff (*ibid.*) accepts the interpretation of *Parskahayk'* as *Persarmenia*, considering the *Parsua* to have been themselves early Persians, vassals of Urartu (Ghirshman 1954:92 ff). *Parskahayk'* was located between Lake Urmia (called Lake *Reza'iyeh* from 1930 to 1979) and the mountains west of it, and is entirely in Iran today. It was bounded on the south by Atropatēnē, the frontier being along the River Arasx (Sebeos: *Arasp*, cited by Mark. 1968:278; TA (II.2): *Arasx*) now the Bārāndūz (Mark.: *ibid.*), on the east by Lake Urmia and on the west by the Koh-i Nihorakan Mountains along the Turko-Persian frontier (and which were thus the frontier between Armenia and Iran). In the Byzantine period the term 'Persarmenia' 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 *Parskahayk'* under discussion here.

The fact that the term *Parskahayk'* is unknown to any Armenian author prior to the time of the composition of the AŠX is indeed curious. Granted that the territory was early lost to Armenia, the fact remains that Zarawand and Hēr, its two most northerly districts, are frequently cited but not *Parskahayk'*, itself. Upon examination, however, we begin to detect another, earlier, name applied to

the area between Lake Urmia and the Zagros range where the AŠX clearly places its *Parskahayk'*: This name appears to have been *Širakan*.

The toponym *Širakan* 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 *Sigrianē*. Since the Median Gates referred to can only correspond to the Kelishin 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. Hashtasar) as lying to the left (east) of the Caspian Gates (XI.13.10) that the pass leading from Media into the Talysh lowlands are the Caspian Gates he intends, it becomes clear that his *Sigrianē* 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 *Symbakē* which reverted to Parthian control after the defeat of Tigranes the Great by Rome (B. C. 66). While this toponym has been corrected to read **Albakē* on the assumption that the Armenian principality of *Atbak* 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 *Symbakē* as **Sygriakē*, and believes that *Sigrianē/Širakan* 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 emended to read, respectively, **Sigrana* (*Širakan*) or **Sarakana* (*Širakan*). Similarly, his district of *Sigrianikē* (VI.2.6) could also be restored, to **Siriganikē* and related to *Širakan*.

Strabo's *Sigrianē* 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 *Sigrianē/Širakan*, and that it may have entered Lake Urmia rather than the Caspian.

Finally, TS (V.8.9) cites a village of *Siraganōn* 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 *Tepe Sirgān* (Marq.:23), and the latter *Širekendi* – the present-day *Sharekand* (Sprengling:14). In my opinion, the land of *Širakan* was the general name for all of the territories comprised within the Principality of Zarawand-Hēr, which must have included not just Zarawand, Hēr and Zarēhawan, (the three most northerly districts of *Parskahayk'* as indicated in the AŠX), but the whole of *Parskahayk'* itself.

My reasons for believing that the principality of Zarawand-Hēr included the whole of *Parskahayk'* are first that the undoubted districts of the principality – Zarawand, Hēr and Zarēhawan – were included in *Parskahayk'*, 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 *Širakan*, and finally, fourth, because the importance of the Princes of Zarawand-Hēr, as well as their undoubted Orontid origin suggests that their lands must have been greater in extent than the districts from which they took their name. Had Zarawand-Hēr included all of *Širakan* it would not have been the only princely family whose holdings included lands not suggested by its name alone. This principality, otherwise known as *Širakan* when a part of Media (as indicated directly by Strabo (XI.13.8) and indirectly by Ptolemy (VI.2.6), but as Zarawand-Hēr when part of Armenia, must have been called by the Armenians *Parskahayk'* literally 'Persian Armenia' after its incorporation into the Persian Empire in 363, whereas the Persians, as indicated in the AŠX, knew it by its original name: *Širakan*. The Princes of Zarawand-Hēr thus probably ruled the

whole of Širakan/Parkahayk', and their principality would have been coterminous with the entire land. It is interesting to note that of the nine districts of Parskahayk' cited by the AŠX only Zarawand and Hēr 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: Butak (read: **Rotakk'*), Zidro or Sigrats, Tusak, Gaznak (read: Ganjak?), Ormi, and Surenapat. Yet TA (*passim*) mentions several of those in the AŠX by their earlier names: *Ayli*, *Tambēr*, *T'rab* (*sic*), etc. Yovhannēsean (1970) cites five fortresses in Parskahayk'. Area: c. 11,301 sq. km. (Inč.: 150-155; Hüb.: 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; HSH 9; Hewsen 1987; *idem*. TAVO B VI 14 et seq.)

¹³¹The text has "ew c'azitatabar mtanē ēnd mēj Atrapatakani . . ." which Soukry translated "entre dans l'Aderbadagan . . .", which is obviously the sense of the passage. In his notes to his posthumous edition of Markwart's *Parskahayk'* (1968), Abgarian suggested that the word *c'azitataber* was a corruption of a latinism, *zagitayabar*, from *sagitta* 'arrow,' the sense being that Parskahayk' extends into Atrapatakan 'like an arrow' (Mark. 1966:252, n. 6; see also Erem.:108, n. 2).

¹³²*Atrapatakan*, also known as *Atrpayakan*; Phl.: *Āturpātākān* 'Land of Fire'; OP: *Atropata*; Strabo (XI.13.4); *Atropatēnē*; Lat.: *Atropatēnae*; Arab/Pers. *Aderbādagan*, *Adharbayjān*, *Azerbejan*, a province of Media and now, under the name *Azerbaijan*, the northernmost province of Iran. (Marq. 1901: 108-114).

¹³³*Kob-i Nihorakan* Mountains, from OP: *Naiba Xuvara* '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. Seyah *kūh* 3576 m) overlooking the Kelishin Pass, the ancient 'Median Gates' (Strabo XI.13.8). This chain formed the western border of Parskahayk'.

¹³⁴*Ayli* or *koč'i Kuričan*; Erem. (35): *idem*; Mark. 1966:254: *Eli*, which included the valley of the Nazlu-*chai* in the present district of *Baradost*, and which was also known in the Middle Ages as *Ēli*, or *Ēloy gawař*, 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 *Mari*), a tributary of the Nazlu *chai*. *Kuričan* he sees as a Kurdish name (*ibid.*: 288). Area: c. 1,380 sq. km.

¹³⁵*Mari gawař*; *Naayem* (283): *Margavar*; now the district of *Mergever* in the valley of the Baranduz-*chai*. Area: c. 1,855 sq. km.

¹³⁶*T'rab* *gawař*; *Naayem* (283): *Tiargavar*; TA (III.29): *T'rab*, now the district of *Tergever* in the valley of the Berdesur-*chai*. Area (Erem. 84): c. 1200 sq. km.

¹³⁷*Arisi* or *ē Ovēa*; Erem. (38): *Arasx* or *Ovēa*, *Arisi* being a corrupt form, as is the *Ac'uers* of S1819 and S1944. In the Middle Ages called *Šnawh* from the town of the same name; Arab/Per.: *Ušnuh* or *Ušnob*, later *Ūnoi*; perhaps the *Ouka* of Ptol. (VI.2.8); Syr.: *Ašnuī* (Mark. 1966:269) now *Oshnūyeh*. This was the southernmost district of Parskahayk', the frontier being the Arasx River, now the *Gadar-su*, from Arm.: *get* = 'river' + Ar[asx]? Area: c. 1,120 sq. km.

¹³⁸*Aina*; Erem. (37): *Ařnay* or *Ēřnay*; S1819: *Ēřna*, located in the Xanjor mountains in the region of *Ařnay* monastery, now Derik village. Markwart (1966:269) places this district to the east of *Ayli* and cites the form *Aran* found in *BL* und *UU*, the latter of whom uses *Ařnay* as a genitive. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

¹³⁹*Tambēt*; Erem. (84): *Tamber*; TA (III.22-29): *Damber*; S1877: *Tambers*; S1819: *T'raki*, also: *Tamberk'*; *Tambet*, included in the present districts of *Somay* and *Aziael*, in the latter of which is still found a village of *Temer* or *Tamer*. Area: c. 1,870 sq. km.

¹⁴⁰*Zarēhwan*; Erem. (52): *Zarēhawan*; Yt. (II.922): *Zarāvand*, now the district of *Salmas*; Arm.: *Sařamas*, later *Sařamast* Gk.: *Salamas*; Arab.: *Salamās*; the last three forms cited by Hüb. (388, n. 3).

The notion of Eremyan (52) that this district formed the municipal territory of Zarēhawan city, now the ruins of *Kyohna-shahar* near Salmas, rests on the assumption that Armenian cities, being 'hellenistic' communities, naturally possessed their own municipal territories. The hellenistic character of Armenian cities has not yet been established. The town called *Zarēhawan* is now the village of *Zaraf-hane*. Neither location is to be confused with the *Zarēhawan* in the district of *Cařkotn*, north of modern *Diadin*. Area: c. 1,100 sq. km.

¹⁴¹*Zk'arawan*; Erem. (51): *Zarawand*; LE (32): *Zarewand*; Markwart (*ibid.*) cites the variants: *Zarehwan*, *Zaehawan*, *Zarewhawan*, *Zarehawank'*, *Zaruand*; Syr.: *Zarakvan*, read **Zaraxavan[d]* (*ibid.*), located in the country left of the Garmir River between Salamas and the lake. The Urartian inscriptions mention a region of *Zaranda* which included not only *Zarawand* but apparently also the neighboring districts of *Marand* and *Hēr*. Area: c. 500 sq. km. *Zarawand* is always coupled with *Hēr* (*infra* n. 142) in the sources (Toum.: 305, n. 119, where he calls the distinction between *Zarēhawan* and *Zarawand* somewhat artificial in view of their etymological identity and geographic adjacency).

¹⁴²*Her*; Erem. (63): *Hēr*; in the Persian inscription of Behistun: *Huyavā*; In the Middle Ages, *Hēr* and *Zarawand* formed a single district known as *Řotkac' Gawař*. The center of the district of *Hēr* was the city of the same name; Assy.: *Ulhu*; Arm.: *Uřx*; TP (XCV): *Gobdi*; RA (II,10): *Gobdia*; (Man.:110-113), the original form of which was *Gobai* (Miller:781) or *Chobda* (Mark. 1930:420, n. 209, where he derives the modern Persian *Choj* (*sic*)) i. e., *Hūy* from ancient *Chōd-a*; CP (DAI: 192): *Khert*. Arab.: *Huweya* (from Old-Persian *Huyavā*?); now *Khoy* or *Khowy*. Markwart derived the name from Median *Hēd* or *Xēd*. The form *Xēr* is a variant found in the dialect of Van, where *b* > *x* (Hüb.: 338, n. 1). Area: c. 1,125 sq. km.

¹⁴³*Yerēoc' Zc'ir ew zayceamn, c'ir* = Gk.: *Onagros*; Lat.: *onager, equus asinus ferus* (Erem.: 99); *iřavayr* 'wild ass' (NHB 11:913). *Ayceamn*; Gk: *dorkas, dorkōn*; Lat: *capraea dorcas, capreolis parva capra*, a kind of antelope (Erem.:91).

VII H. Vaspurakan

¹⁴⁴*Vaspurakan*; also *Aspurakan* (KG pp. 23-24); Geo: *Aspurakani* (Toum. 381, n. 114); Gk: *Aspourakan* (NRA ciii), later *Asprakania* or *Basprakania* (Ced. II: p. 464, 11; 481, 13; 482, 1; 512, 10; 570, 19); Arab: *al-Busfurajān* (Bal. 194, 195, 199, 200) or *al-Basfurajān* (Yt 1:624) both cited by Hüb. (261, n. 4).

The land which the AŠX calls *Vaspurakan* emerged after the Byzantine-Persian partition of Armenia in 591, at which time the boundary between the two powers where it passed through Armenia was pushed eastward at Persian expense from a line between Theodosiopolis (Karin/Erzurum) and Dara in Mesopotamia to a new line running from the easternmost tip of Lake Van to the westernmost point of Lake Seven. To the east of this line, the Armenian lands still in Persian hands were organized into three parts: on the west, the already existing principality of *Mokk'*; on the east, *Siwnik'* and between them some ten other principalities which were gathered together to form the vast land of *Vaspurakan*. According to Adontz (Ad-Gar.:180), followed by Toumanoff (331), this term was an elevated synonym for *Iranian* and so must have meant precisely 'Iranian Armenia' – the Persian equivalent of the Byzantine *Persarmenia*. This, however, does not explain why *Vaspurakan* did not include the principality of *Mokk'* (*Siwnik'* was in a special situation for which *infra* VII I, n. 189). In fact, however, it now appears that *Vaspurakan* – derived from *vāspubr*, an adjective meaning 'principal,' i. e., 'first in rank and importance' (Henning:96), from which was formed a further adjective *vāspubrakān* (later *vāspubragān*), meaning 'special' or 'particular,' or according to Hüb. (1897:80)

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 Mokk', like Siwnik', 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 *AŠX*. It is not to be identified, as still occurs (e.g. on *TAVO* Map B V 6), with the *Basoropeda* of Strabo (XI.14.5) which Soviet scholarship (Petrosyan 1975) has so logically identified with Parspatunik' (*infra* VII H, n. 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 *Tušpa/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 Atropatēnē for Diod. Sic. (II.13.3), writing at the turn of the first century B.C. makes an unmistakable reference to Van (*Khauon*) a locality in Media, a circumstance perhaps echoed by Ptolemy (VI.2.10), where he places his *Alouaka* (**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 Ašiovit and Ašberani; 2) the Amatuni of reputed Median origin (A-ma[r]-tuni?), sovereign in Artaz; 3) the Eruanduni (Orontids), princes of Eruandunik' within which lay the plain called *Hayoc' jor* 'valley of the Armenians,' and which probably included the adjacent and otherwise princeless districts of Artāšisean, Artawanean and Gukank'; 4) the Rštuni, holding Rštunik' and probably the adjacent and otherwise princeless districts of Artāšisean, Artawanean, Bužunik', Ašnoyotn, Gukank' and Tosb; 5) the House of Anjewac'ik' holding the district of the same name; 6) the Princes Trpatuni or Truni in (A)trpatunik'; 7) the Princes of Akē; 8) the Arcruni, Princes of Greater and Lesser Ašbak and probably also of the adjacent lands of Taygrean, Gazrikean and what was later to be Varažnunik'; and 9) the Princes of Goł'n holding the district of that name to the east of the Arax and probably including the Ernjak, which is geographically a part of it (though it later belonged to Siwnik'; *infra* VII I, n. 191), and also the district of Naxčawan which Eremyan (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 Mardpet or Grand Chamberlain of Armenia, and to have formed the land known as the *Mardpetakan* (i.e., *Mardpetakan ašxarh* 'the Mardpet land', *mardpetakan* being an adjective although the accompanying modified noun never appears in the sources when it is used in this geo-political sense). The Mardpet, as Adontz (Ad-Gar.: 314) and Toumanoff (169) have shown, was the dynastic prince of the Mardians, the well-known *Mardoī* 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 'Mardpet' 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

Mardians had early become extinct and that the extensive tribal lands of the Mardians had become the property of the Armenian crown. These it must have appanaged to the Grand Chamberlain who thus acquired the additional otherwise obsolete title 'Mardpet'. With the fall of the Arsacid monarchy in 428, the lands of the Mardpet passed to the House of Arcruni which thus began the career that would lead it to become the dominant force in the later Vaspurakan and eventually masters and kings of most of its territory. Shortly after the fall of the monarchy, the House of Eruanduni disappears, probably exterminated in the carnage of the Battle of Avarayr (451) in which they are last heard. Their territory too passed to the Arcrunids. At the same time, however, the Princes Paluni, probably ejected from the principality in western Armenia by the powerful House of Mamikonean (which, after the battle, acquired the adjacent principality of Tarawn), moved to the eastern shore of Lake Van where they are last heard of in 505/06. After the repartition of Armenia between Byzantium and Iran in 591, all of the above principalities (including the Mardpetakan and Palunik' which were by this time probably in Arcrunid hands), i.e., eight principalities in all, holding between them thirty-five districts, were gathered together by the Persians to form a royal or crown land, the province called *Vazurg Armanān* 'Greater Armenia' (Erem.: 66) in Persian (referred to by the author of the *AŠX* as *Armn* in his description of the Persian Empire but which he calls *Vaspurakan* when describing Armenia).

The term *Vaspurakan* continued to be used by the Armenians after the fall of the Persian Empire, albeit for a smaller entity, and Vaspurakan became a short-lived kingdom under the Arcrunid dynasty from 908 until 1021. Thereafter, as *Basprakania* or *Asprakania*, it was a Byzantine province until the Battle of Manazkert (1071), corresponding to the 'Upper Media' of Ced. (II.454, 512), a final echo perhaps of its one-time possession by Media (or perhaps because of its large Medo-Kurdish population?).

Although Hüb. (1904), Erem. (1963), Hak. (1968) and Sinclair I (1988), have all studied the historical geography of Vaspurakan, the subject continues to create problems for modern scholars so that a detailed reexamination of the land is not out of place at this point. First and foremost we need to ascertain the exact number of districts found in Vaspurakan. Then, we must determine the correct forms of their names, correct their order in the lists of districts that have come down to us, attempt to situate those districts whose locations are not known, and, finally determine to which principalities belonged the various districts. Only then can we be certain of the frontiers of the Persian province of Vaspurakan indicated in the *AŠX*. For all this *infra* n. 145.

¹⁴⁵L and S are unanimous in citing thirty-five as the number of districts in Vaspurakan. Having adduced this figure, however, L proceeds to list only thirty-one districts while the various mss. of S list anywhere from twenty-eight to thirty-seven. Since L, of however late a date its sole surviving ms. may be, represents – *mutatis mutandi* – the 'original' text of the *AŠX*, it is reasonable to use it as a master list for all the districts of Armenia, and this is what I shall do here in this discussion of the components of Vaspurakan. It is clear, however, from an examination of the best mss. of S, that L is defective at this point and that the various lists of S, for all their own errors, may be used to correct it. Thus, ms. 1267 (B) conceded to be the best ms. in the Matenadaran, adds Balaxovit (S1877: *Agovit*; S1944: *Botizovit*) and *Kuzanovit* S1877; S1944; *Kulanovit*) as the fifth and sixth districts between the Arčišahovit and Dañni of L, while the addition of Goł'n and Naxčawan in the same ms. raises the number of its districts to thirty-five. A thirty-seventh district – *arot* – found in S1944 may be disregarded since it follows Čuaš and is obviously detached from the latter through a scribal error which took Čuas-*rot* to be two separate names rather than one. A comparison of the list of the districts of Vaspurakan in L side by side with those from the best mss. of S and with the tenth century list found in TA (III.29) may be instructive at this point. In the following table, the list in L has been taken as the 'Master List' and its order has been followed in numbering the toponyms in the other lists.

L	A	B	TA
1. Rštunik'	1. Rštawnik'	1. Rštunik'	1. Rštunik'
2. Tost	2. Tosb	2. Tosb	2. Tosp
3. Bodonik'	3. Bogunik'	3. Budunik'	3. Bogunik'
4. Arčišakovit	4. Arčišahovit	4. Arčišakvitk'	4. Arjišakovit
	35. Botizovit	35. Balaxovit	35. Bařilovit
	36. Kuřanovit	36. Kuzanovit	36. Xulanovit
5. Dařni	5. Dařni	5. Arberani	5. Gařni
6. Arberan	6. Arberani	6. Dařni	6. Arberani
7. Bužuni	7. Bžunik'	7. Bužawnik'	
	11. Arnioyt	11. Arnotn	11. Arnoyotn
8. Anjovac'ik'	8. Anjawac'ik'	8. Anjewac'ik'	
9. Trpatunik'	9. Trapatunik'	9. Atrpatunik'	
10. Ēruant'unik'	10. Eruant'unik'	10. Erit'unik'	
11. Arnawotn			
12. Mardastan	12. Mardastan	12. Mardastan	12. Mardastan
13. Artaz	13. Artaz	13. Artazasē	13. Artaz
14. Akē	14. Akē		14. Akē
15. Ařbak Mec	15. Ařbak Mec	15. Ařbakgmec	15. Ařbak Mec
16. Anjahijor	16. Anjaxi jor	16. Anjaxajor	16. Anjahijour
17. T'onrawan	17. T'ořnawan	17. T'ořnawan	17. T'ořnawan
18. Čwařot	18. Čuař Ařot	18. Čuařřot	18. Cuař
19. K'čunik'	19. Krčunik'	19. Krčunik'	19. Krčunik'
20. Vžnunik'	20. Mecnunik'		20. Mecunik'
21. Palunik'	21. Palunik'	21. Palunik'	21. Palunik
22. Gokan	22. Gukan	22. Gukan	22. Gugan
23. Ařandost	23. Ařant'řot	23. Ařuan dřot	23. Ařandřot
24. Pasparunik'	24. Patsparunik'	24. Patsparunik'	
25. Arařezan	25. Aretasēan	25. Artasēzean	
26. Artawanan	26. Artawanean	26. Artawanean	
27. Bagan	27. Bak'ean		
28. Gawet'an	28. Gabit'an		
29. Gazrikank'	29. Gazrikan		
30. Tagreank'	30. Tagrean		30. Tagrean
31. Važnunik'	31. Varažnunik'	31. Varažnunik'	
	33. Gořt'n	33. Gořt'n	
32. Naxčwan	32. Naxčawan	32. Naxčuan	
	34. Marand	34. Marand	
			37. Bun Mardastan
			38. Ařbag P'ok'r Tambēr Ēřnay Zarehawan

The thirty-five with their areas as calculated by Eremyan, are as follows:

District	Sq. Km.	District	Sq. Km.
Rštunik'	875	Valley of Anjax (Anjaxijor)	825
Tosp	475	T'ořnawan	1300
Bugunik'	275	Čuař-River (Čuařřot)	3650
Arčiřak Valley (Arčiřakovit)	1075	Krčunik'	800
Kuřan Valley (Kuřanovit)	370	Mecnunik'	475
Aři Valley (Ařivoit)	600	Palunik'	200
Gařni	1275	Gukank'	225
Arberani	1025	Ařand-River (Ařandřot)	850
Bužunik'	400	Parspatunik'	5550
Foot of (Mt.) Arin (Arnoyotn)	275	Artařisean or Artawanean	150
Anjewac'ik'	2525	Bak'(r)an or Marand	4105
Trpatunik'	450	Gabit'ean	2270
Eruandunik'	675	Gazrikan	600
Original Mardastan (Bun Mardastan)	1100	Taygrean or Tankriayn	375
Mardastan or Mardian country (Marduc'ayk')	1265	Varažnunik'	150
Artaz	2225		
Akē	250	Gořt'n	1375
Greater Ařbak	1655	Naxčawan	1220

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 Gořt'n, Kuřanovit and Ařiovit 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 *AŠX* and its extraction from a tenth-century historian (TA III.29) and its insertion into a list drawn from a seventh-century geographical text (*AŠX*) is a somewhat dubious procedure. I would remove Bun Mardastan from Eremyan's reconstruction, and seek to restore the thirty-five districts either by

separating Artašesean and Artawanean (as do all the examined mss.), or by separating Bak'ran and Marand (as also found in all the examined mss.). Since Artašesean/Artawanean, 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 Arcrunid principality between the two brothers Gagik and Gurgēn. Twenty-seven districts are listed including three (Tamber, Ērnay and Zarēhawan) taken from the adjoining land of Parskahayk', Lesser Ałbak', taken from Kor'čayk' and another, Bun Mardastan, not cited by the AŠX. 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. (Goł'n, Naxčawan, Parspatunik', Bak'ran, Marand and Gabit'ean) leaving only seven to account for. One of these, Anjewac'ik', was by now an independent principality not subject to Arcrunid rule. Two others, Gazrikean (*Kasrik* in Turk. = 'little fort') and Varažnunik', were probably considered to be parts of Ałbak (certainly the first of these adjoined Ałbak on the east). Thus only the omission of Rštunik', Bužunik', Trpatunik' and Eruandunik' need to be explained. The first two adjoined Tosp 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. Trpatunik' had probably disappeared with the princely house of that name and its territory subsumed into that of another district (probably Tosp) and this is probably what had become of Eruandunik' as well.

As for the curious Bařilovit cited by TA (III.29) among the districts passing to Gagik, this is probably to be identified with (East) Ařiovit. 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 AŠX, are to be located in region between Lake Arčřak and the town of Hēr and are included in that region which TA (III.29) specifically tells us had formed part of the Marpetakan. In my opinion, the Mardastan of the AŠX 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' (*bun*) Mardastan in contradistinction to the earlier Mardastan which had served as the nucleus of the Mardpetakan around which the other districts of the principality had been gathered. Once the Arcruni 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*. The districts of the old Mardastan are thus listed by TA by their separate names and *Bun* Mardastan is just one of them.

In general, I agree with much of what Adontz has to say in regard to the location of the districts of Vaspurakan except that the research of Eremyan requires that the findings of Adontz be modified in part. As I advance with my annotation on these districts then, I shall be proceeding with both the works of Adontz and Eremyan in hand, making such modifications and observations in their conclusions below as become necessary from my own research.

Both Hüb. (347) and Ad-Gar. (247) believed that the districts of Vaspurakan as listed in the AŠX, were arranged in three parallel strips running west to east with each strip lying respectively southeast of the other: 1) Rštunik' through Gařni; 2) Bužunik' through Artaz; and 3) Akē through Čowars-rot. This being the case, the last thirteen districts listed cannot be located into any fourth strip but appear, rather, to lie scattered among the others. Adontz (Ad-Gar. 244) thus felt that these thirteen were not part of the original list but represented subdivisions of the other districts emerging in later times. See TA (III.29) for the districts of Vaspurakan in the tenth century. Yovhannēsean (1970)

knows of some thirty-nine fortresses in Vaspurakan. TA (ed. 1917; Inč.:156-228; Marq. 176ff; Hüb.:261-63; 339-47; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:82, 117; Thierry 1965-77; Hak.:173-91; Vardanyan 1969; Bartikyan 1971; Yuzbachian 1973/74; Toum. 1976, 1990; Forbes 1983; *idem*. HSH 77; Arut'y-nyan 1985; Sinclair 1989 I, Part II, Ch. 1; Hewsen TAVO B VI 14 et seq.)

¹⁴⁶ Rštunis (acc.); Toum. (213): Rštunik' or Ēřštunik'; Hüb. (339): Raštunik'; BP (V.37): Ēraštunik'; Gk: Roustouniōn (Toum.:161) or Oroustonēs (*ibid.*:213-242) the Roustinōn Khōra of the Ag 136 (*ibid.*:160); NRA 431ff): Oroustounēs, located on the southeastern shore of Lake Van (Ad-Gar.:247). Erem (79) links this name with the Urartian form of the Babylonian Uraštu. Toumanoff (213) connects this name with the Vannic King Rusha (Ruša) whose state occupied the nucleus of the old Urartian monarchy. In the early Middle Ages this district was joined with the district of Tosp (*infra* n. 150) and the union referred to as Tosp-Rštunik'. Area: c. 875 sq. km.

¹⁴⁷ Axt'amar; Erem. (33): Ałt'amar; Tk: Aktamar, an island composed largely of grey limestone about two miles from the southern shore of Lake Van. Urartian inscriptions have been found on the site (Lynch II:134, n. 1; HSH I:253-56). Included in the land of Rštunik' (Toum.:213), it was probably fortified by the Rštuni princes in the seventh century (Der Nersessian 1965:2); although MX (III.15) refers to it as being fortified in the fourth. After the island passed into the hands of the Arcruni family, it became in the time of Xaç'ik or Gagik II (908-943/4) one of the capitals of the Arcrunid Kingdom of Vaspurakan (914-1021). Lake Bznunik' is erroneously called *Bununik'* at this point in the text; a scribal error. (Garsoian 1989:438; DAA 8, 1974).

¹⁴⁸ Arti, now Arter, is a smaller island slightly further out in the lake than Ałt'amar (Lynch II:135; Erem.:41).

¹⁴⁹ Nmanzkert; Erem. (89): K'ain Manakert, fortress on Manakert peninsula on the southern shore of Lake Van opposite Ałt'amar Island. Perhaps founded by King Menuas of Urartu (810-786 B. C.), it was originally called *Menuahinili*. The suffix *-kert* in Armenin signifies 'built by,' *Manakert* = 'built by Menuas'.

¹⁵⁰ Tost; read Tosp; Toum. (50, n. 44): Tosb; Erem. (86): Tosp, the Armenian name for *Biainili*, *Biainele*, the territory lying between Lake Van and Lake Ercek, and surrounding the Urartian capital Tušpa, which the Armenians call *Van* (from Biaina?) or K'atak'n Šamiramay, 'city of Semiramis' after the semi-legendary Assyrian queen said to have founded it (MX I.16, II.8). Other Armenian writers refer to this city as Šamiramakert or Šamiramašēn (Hub.:458) or *Berdn Šamiramay* 'Castle of Semiramis' (*ibid.*). From the name of this district the Armenians sometimes called Lake Van *Tospay Cov* 'Sea of Tosp'; Gk: *Thospitis* (Ptol., V.13.7): or *Tho(s)pitis* (Strabo, XI.14.8). The city of Van is perhaps the *Thōspia* of Ptolemy (V.12.8) or his *Bouana* (V.12.10), and the *Khauōn* of Diodorus Siculus (II.13.3), the first of the three forms derived from *Tosp*; the latter two being phonetic attempts to render *Van* into Greek, a task more successfully accomplished by the Byzantine form *Iban* (Hon.: Map IV). Area: c. 475 sq. km.

¹⁵¹ *Supra* n. 82.

¹⁵² Bodonis (acc.), Erem. (45): Bogunik'; Hüb. (340): Bodonik', Budunik'; Bogunik', located in the valley of the Marmet River. Area: c. 275 sq. km.

¹⁵³ Arčřakovit; Ad-Gar. (247): Arčřahovit, the plain lying east of Lake Arčak or Arčřak; Tk.: Erček, i. e., the broad valley of the Arčřak (Tk: Memedik River. Area: c. 1,075 sq. km. According to Eremyan (117), this district should be followed by *Kulanovit* and *Ařiovit*, which appear in S1877. The latter is found in S1819 as *Alawis* but is omitted in S1944. For *Ařiovit* see *infra* n. 143A; for *Kulanovit*, *infra* n. 144A).

¹⁵⁴ Dairni; read; *Gařni; the text of most mss. has *Dairni* from the common confusion between Գ and Գ. This district was located on the upper course of the Ařest River (TK.: Bandimahi-çay). Ac-

ording to Eremyan (46), this district had apparently been merged with Arberani in the fifth century, the two together being called *K'ajberunik'*. Area: c. 1,272 sq. km.

¹⁵⁵ Kogovit was a district of Ayrarat (*infra* VII M, n. 296).

¹⁵⁶ Mount Ararat (*infra* VII M, n. 295).

¹⁵⁷ *Arberan*; Toum. (205): *Arberani*, located at the northeastern corner of Lake Van in the valleys of the middle and lower course of the Arest River (Tk.: *Bandimahi-çay*). Its center was the town of Berkri; Byz.: *Perkri* (CP DAI:191; Ced. 2.502); Arab.: *Bark[a]ri* (Hüb.:341); Tk.: *Muradiye*. Area: c. 1,025 sq. km.

¹⁵⁸ *Č'k'atan*; Mod. Arm.: *Ktuc'*; *Çarpanak adasi*, is a small island offshore near Van, where, until 1915, a small monastery was located called *Ktuc'anapat* 'Hermitage of Kat'. The modern Armenian name, *Ktuc'*, taken as it stands, means 'beak' or 'bill' but could also be a corrupt or variant form of *katuoc'* the classical Armenian genitive plural of *katu* 'cat' and thus give the meaning 'Isle of Cats.' Actually, however, this form appears to be only a contraction of the original name *Č'k'atan*, which could be based on the adjective *č'k'awor* 'poor,' or be only a corruption of a form such as **jkatan* 'fishy' i.e., 'Fish Island.' From the text, this island would appear to have been the property of the princely Gnuni house which held Arberani (Toum.:205).

¹⁵⁹ Lim; Tk.: *Limadasi*, an island in the northeast arm of Lake Van, also a part of Arberani. A monastery existed on this island too, until 1915.

¹⁶⁰ *Amik*; Erem. (35): *Amiwk*; TA (III.4; IV 3 *passim*): *Amuk*; Byz.: *Amoukion* (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 *Amik* village.

¹⁶¹ *Arestovan*; Erem. (37): *Arestawan* or *Arest Awan*, where the *tarex* fish of Lake Van was gathered at the mouth of the River Arest, whence its name in BP (III.8) *Jknateank' Arkuni*, 'Royal Fishery.' Eremyan (37) offers an interesting excursus on Arestawan which is worth summarizing here. According to his view, Arest as the source of the fish called the *tarek* (Arm.: *tarex*) 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 Arethousa, located on the upper course of the Orontes River, according to *Al* 188, between Epiphaneia (Hama) and Emesa (Homs) on the site of the modern village of Ar-Rastān. Through the confusion between Aristia/Arethousa with Arest (Awan) in Armenia thus came Pliny's identification of the northeastern extension of Lake Van as Lake *Aretissa* (read: **Arestissa* from Arest/Arethousa).

¹⁶² *Bužunis* (acc.); Erem. (45): *Bužunik'*, located in the gorge of the *Surb Tikin* 'Holy Lady' or *Sev Tikin* 'Black Lady' River south of the Ĵerm and north of the present district of Šatax. Adontz (Ad-Gar.:248) places it on the upper course of the Ĵerm (Bohtan-*su*) of which the *Surb Tikin* was a tributary. *Bužunik'* 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 bishop. Area: c. 400 sq. km.

¹⁶³ *Anjovac'is* (acc.); Erem. (36): *Anjewac'ik'*; Hüb. (342): *Anjewac'ik'* or *Anjawac'ik'* (or in his phonetic rendering *Anjevaçik'/Anjevacic'*); BP (III.12; IV.12; V.32), LP (60) and TA (II.6, III.4) all have *Anjawac'i*. Located around the sources of the upper course of the Ĵerm (Bohtan-*su*) in an inaccessible mountain range, this area was once called in Armenian *Ałzi*, from Assyr.: *Alzi*, also Assyr.: *Enzi* whence Eremyan (*ibid.*) derives the name *Anjawac'ik'* and that of the modern village of *Aksi* or *Husein*. The center of this district would appear to have been the fortress of Kangawar, now *Kengevar* village. Mark. (1930: 344, 367, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378) and Toum. (1963:198) call the fortress *Kangavar*; Arab.: *Kinkiwar* (Mark. 1930:422), and place it southeast of Lake Van and northwest of Akē.

¹⁶⁴ *Trapatunik'*; Erem. (186): *idem.*; Hüb. (343): *Atrpatunik'*; S1877: *Atrpatunik'* which latter form Hübschmann holds to be falsely formed under the influence of the name Atrpatakan. Eremyan (*ibid.*)

located this district in the valley of a tributary of the Ĵerm today called the *Sahbur-su* though Adontz (Ad-Gar.: 248) places it on the upper course of the *Xosab* (now the *Hoşap*) River. Later, however, Eremyan (1979; *HSH* 2:112) identified *Trpatunik'* with the *Atrpatric'* of BP (V.2) and placed it on the east bank of Lake Urmia in Atrpatakan (Atropatēnē). This seems unlikely. Area: c. 450 sq. km.

¹⁶⁵ *Ēruantunis* (acc.); Erem. (51): *Eruandunik'*; S. 1877: *Eritunik'*; TA.(III.29): *Aruant'uni gawain*, i. e. 'district of the Eruandunids' (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' Jor* River, now the *Micingir-suyu*. According to Eremyan, this district, together with *Artašisean* and *Gukank'*, was known as *Hayoc' Jor* '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 *Tušpa-Van* (c. 625 B. C.). TA (III.13) makes *Hayoc' Jor* a valley leading *into* *Aruant'uni* (*sic*). Here lay the fortress of *Hayk'*, whence the name *Hayoc' Jor*, '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.

¹⁶⁶ *Ainawotn*; Erem. (37): *Ainoy-otn*; TA (III.29): *Otnn Ainoy*, located on the eastern slopes of the *Ainos* Mountains, whence the name 'foot of Ainos' (or of 'Ain'?) Area: c. 275 sq. km.

¹⁶⁷ *Mardastan*; also *Marduc'ayk'* (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)tianian-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 Vaspurakan with c. 1,100 sq. kms. and locates it on the upper course of the *Hayoc' Jor* River (Tk.: *Micingir-suyu*), while *Mardastan* he considers the fifteenth district with c. 1,265 sq. kms., extending from west of Maku to the eastern slopes of the Vaspurakan (now the *Kotur*) Mountains *supra* VII H, n. 144. Ptol. (V.13.20) cites a people called the *Mardoī*, probably the [Ar]menomardi of Pliny (VI.10.28), see Ad-Gar.:322.

¹⁶⁸ *Artaz*; RA (II.9): *Artatio?*; LP (61,78): *Šavaršakan gawar*; Seb. (Hüb.: 344): *gawain Artazu*; TA (III.29): *Artazakan gawain* or *Ardozakan gawar*; Urart.: *Utuza*. Marquart (1901:5) links the name with the *Azara*, *Arzata*, or *Arzata* of Strabo (XI.14.3). The center of this district was the city of *Šavařsan*, now *Maku* (Toum.:197); Ptol. (V.13.16): *Magoustana?* Here, too, was located the field of *Avarayr* along the *Tłmut*, now the *Ak-chai*, River, where the great battle of the *Vartananc'* was fought on 26 May 451. Area: c. 2,225 sq. km.

¹⁶⁹ *Infra* VII M, n. 296.

¹⁷⁰ *Akē*, located at the foot of Mt. Akenis in the valley of the Great Zab River, southwest of the modern town of *Başkale*, and centered in the castle of *Akē*, now the village of *Akinis*. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

¹⁷¹ *Albak Mec*; (VI.2.10): *Alouaka*, lay on the upper course of the Great Zab River, which was at this point called the *Albak* River. Its center was the castle of *Hadamakert* or *Adamakert* (Syr.: *Beth-Bagāš?* now *Başkale*, Toum.:199, 200). Near this town, at the village of *Albayrak*, was found the monastery of St. Bartholomew (*Surb Bardutimeos Vank'*) or the Holy Cross (*Surb Xaç'*), the site of the reputed tomb of the apostle Bartholomew (Sinclair I:215-217). Area: c. 1,655 sq. km.

¹⁷² *Anjahijor*; Toum. (220): *Ēnc'ayac'* or *Anjahi-Jor*; Erem. (36): *Anjaxi-Jor*; Hüb.: (344): *Anjahi-*

jor; TA (III.29): *Jor Ēncayic'*, 'the valley of Anjah' (Hüb. 400 where he cites *Anjax* as a dialect form); S1877: *Anjaxajor*, located in the valley of the Kotor River, now the Kotur-*su*. Its center was probably the castle of Kotur (Toum.: *ibid.*). Area: c. 825 sq. km.

¹⁷³ *T'onrawan*; Erem. (53): *T'ornawan*, the center of which was also called T'ornawan, a name which Hübschmann (430) tentatively derived from T'orn-awan, 'grandson's town,' the *Darnavin* of Tavernier (1666:III.3). Area: c. 1,300 sq. km.

¹⁷⁴ *Čwašot*; Erem. (64): *Čuarš-rot* or *Čuarš-rot*; Hüb. (345): *Čuaš-rot*; S1877: *Čuaš*, located in the broad valley of the Čuarš River (*rot* being derived from Phl: *rod* 'river') now the *Ak-chai*. Area: c. 3,650 sq. km.

¹⁷⁵ *Kčūnis* (acc.); Erem. (61): *Krčūnik'* from an earlier form **Kortičūnik'*; S1877: *Řotkrčūnik'*, located around the sources of the Kotor River. The name survived in the village of *Gyurdzhevik* and *Kurdzhan* cited on prerevolutionary 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.

¹⁷⁶ *Vžnūnis* (acc.); Erem. (70): *Mecnūnik'*; Hüb. (345) cites the variants: *Mecnūnik'*, *Mehnūnik'*, and *Vžnūnik'*. This district was located in the gorge on the middle course of the River Marmet. Area: c. 475 sq. km.

¹⁷⁷ *Palūnis* (acc.); Erem. (76): *Palūnik'*, located on the gorge on the lower course of the River Marmet in which was located the town of *Phuank'*, later *Poľanc'* village (Erem.:76); now Tk: *Poğanis*. Area: c. 200 sq. km.

¹⁷⁸ *Gokan*; Erem. (48): *Gukank'*; Adontz (249): *Gokank'*; Hüb. (345): *Gukan* citing the variants: *Dukan* and *Gokan*; TA (III.24): *Gugan*; S1877: *Gukan*, located in the vicinity of the modern village of *Gyuganc'* in the Hayoc' Jor, which is probably the village of *Gukank'* cited by ŁE (8). Adontz (*ibid.*) makes this district originally part of *Řstunik'*. Area: c. 225 sq. km.

¹⁷⁹ *Aľandost*; Erem. (32): *Aľand-rot*; Hüb. (345): *Aľvand rot*, i.e., *Aľuandrot* citing *Aľand-rot* and *Aľandost* as variants; S1877: *Aľuandrot*, located between the Aľand River (*rot*), now the *Alyand-rūd*, and the village of Nuarsak. Area: c. 850 sq. km.

¹⁸⁰ *Pasparūnis* (acc.); Erem. (77): *Parspatūnik'*; Hüb. (345) cites the variants *Patsparūnik'* and *Parsparūnik'*; S1877: *Patsparūnik'*. This district, which was probably the *Basoropeda* of Strabo (XI.14.5), included the area of modern *Łaradať* (Qaradagh) i.e., 'black mountain' in northern Iran along the south (right) bank of the Arax River. In my view (Hewsen *REA* XXI, 1987), *Parspatūnik'* corresponds to the *Marac' Amur Ašxarh* 'stronghold land of the Medes' (*infra* IX n. 2), rather than does *Nor Širakan* (*pace* Erem. 1963: map; 1979), and on his map of Arsacid Armenia 298-387 (*HSH* 2:112) even he calls *Parspatūnik'* *Marac' Koľmank'* 'region of the Medes.' (For an interesting study of *Parspatūnik'* see Petrosyan 1975.) Area: c. 5,550 sq. km., although the map of P'aytakaran in *HSH* (12:302) would make it smaller by not extending its frontiers so far to the East.

¹⁸¹ *Arasezan*, *Artawanean*; Erem. (41): *Artašisean*, i.e., *Artawanean*; Hüb. (345): *Artašesean*; TA (III.29): *Artašesean*; S1877: *Artašezean*; S1944: *Artašean*, *Artawanean*. Eremyan sees *Artašisean* and *Artawanean* as the same district while Hübschmann considers them to be distinct as indicated in all the mss. According to Eremyan, the single district included the temple lands around the city of *Artašisean* or *Artawanean*, i.e., the region around the modern town of *Artamet*. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

¹⁸² *Supra* n. 181.

¹⁸³ *Bagan*; Erem. (44): *Bak'[r]jan*, i.e., *Marand*, 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 *Bak'ran* or *Bakurakert* 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 *Pahgan* south of *Maku*, and Eremyan may have erred in his placement of this district. Area: c. 4,105 sq. km.

¹⁸⁴ *Gawetan*; Erem. (46): *Gabit'ean*. This district lay along the north shore of the *Kaputan Cov* ('Blue Sea' i.e. Lake Urmia), which whose name *Gabit'ean* (**Kaputean?*) may be connected (*infra* n. 197 A), and extended as far as the town of *Sofian*. Area: c. 2,270 sq. km.

¹⁸⁵ *Gazrikans* (acc.); Erem. (46): *Gazrikan*; or *Gazrikan* the form found in S1877 and S1944. This district included the region around the sources of the *Tarawn* River, now the *Zolā-chai*, where a village called *Kasrik* is still to be found. Area: c. 600 sq. km.

¹⁸⁶ *Tagreans* (acc.); Erem. (84): *Taygrean* or *Tankriayn*; TA (III.29): *Tagrean*. This district was located between the *Xanasor* Mountains and the *Aľbak* River, where the name survives in a place called *Deygr*. The *Tigra* mentioned in the *Behistun* inscription of *Darius I* may be located in the *Xanašor* Mountains and can be related to the name of this district. Area: c. 375 sq. km.

¹⁸⁷ *Važnūnis*; Erem. (82): *Varažnūnik'*; Hüb. (345) cites the variant *Varžūnik'*. Toum. accepts the form *Važnūnik'* found in the text (*supra* VII D n. 79). It is not to be confused with the district of the same name in *Tawruberan*. This district was located in the valley of the stream called *Sarxalan*, a tributary of the *Zolā-chai*. Area: c. 130 sq. km.

¹⁸⁸ *Naxčwan*; Erem. (72): *Naxčawan*; Hüb. (346) cites the variants *Naxčuan*, *Naxččwan*, *Naxčawan*, *Naxčuan*, later *Naxčawan* and *Naxčevan* (Hüb. uses 'v' for 'w' in his transliteration), the region of the city of *Naxčawan*, east of the *Arax* River, *Ptol.* (V.12.5): *Naxouana*; *Bal.*: *Nashavā* (cited by Hüb.: 346) or *Naxčavān* (Yt. cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) or *Naxčvān* (*ibid.*), now *Nakhichevan*. Through a folk etymology, this name was derived from *Nax-ije-wan* 'place of the first descent' (from *Arm.*: *ijanel* or *ijevel* 'to descend') due to its having been the site where *Noah* settled and was reputedly buried after the arrival of the *Ark* upon *Mount Ararat*. It was probably under the influence of this tradition that the second syllable of the name developed, but the tradition is very old, *Naxčawan* being the place referred to by *Josephus* (*Ant.* I.3.5) as *Apobatēriōn* 'place of descent,' in the first century A. D. (Garsoian 1989:482). Area: c. 1,220 sq. km.

VII I. Siwnik'

¹⁸⁹ *Siwnik'*. The land of *Siwnik'*, later known as *Sisakan* (Toum.:214) as it is called in the *AŠX* (V.29.iv); *Strabo* (XI.14.5): *Phaunitis*, read **Saunitis*; *Eusebius, Prae. Evang.* (16): *Saunia*; *Proc. Pers.* (XI.1): *Sounitai* for the inhabitants; *RA* (II.12): *Siania Causasorum*; *CP* (DC:284): *Synē*; *Geo.*: *Sivnet'i* (Toum.:420, n. 30); *Arab.*: *Sisajan* (cited by Hüb.:264, n. 2). The term *Sisakan* is of Iranian origin and is first found in the sixth century Syriac chronicle of *Ps.-Zach.* (XII.7). No Armenian author uses this toponym prior to *MX* (Toum.:214, n. 244), although it appears as a district of *Siwnik'* in *L* and *S*1819 (but not in *S*1877 or *S*1944, *infra* nn. 198, 203; IX, 6). This land appears to have been more armenized than *Armenian* (Ad-Gar.:172), and *Toumanoff*: (214) refers to it as "half Albanian," but see *Anassian* (1969). Apart from the *AŠX*, we have another geographical description of *Siwnik'* in the work of *Step'annos Awrbelean* (II.74), a member of the princely house that ruled the entire province 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 *Aľuan* (*Hageru/Akera*) Rivers to the south *Siwnik'* was a

rugged, mountainous and remote region possessing no cities and only a few towns (chiefly Gełark'uni now Kamo, Sawdk', now Sod, Ĵuła now Julfa, Moz, Nakorzan and Xram none of which three now exists; and, later, Metri and Goris). The earliest known seat of its princes was the locality of Šafak' 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 (*ibid.* LXXIV) and, according to Yovhannēsean (1970), nearly fifty forts were erected there over the centuries (Čahuk, Ernĵak, Šahaponk', Bałaberd or Bałk', later Bex, Halijor, etc.), as well as some 135 monasteries. Many of the latter were important centers of learning in the Middle Ages, especially Glajor, Mak'enoc', Noravank' and Tat'ew, the last being the seat of the primate of the principality, the Metropolitan of Siwnik'. With its rich volcanic soil, Siwnik' sustained a prosperous agricultural economy. There were also copper mines at Łap'an (now Kafan) and a local craft and textile industry.

Siwnik' is probably the *Šuluqū* of the Urartians though, despite recent Soviet Armenian indications to the contrary (e.g. Erem. 1980: map), it was never conquered by Urartu and its Persian name, *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 Atropatēnē from whom it was taken by the Armenian Artaxiads 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 Siwni, 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 Vardananc' uprising of 451, Prince Vasak of Siwnik' went over to the Persians and, in 571, Siwnik' appears to have been separated from the rest of Persarmenia at its own request (Sebeōs i. p. 26) and established as the Sasanid Persian land (*šahr*) of Sisakan included within the 'Quarter' (*K'ust*) of Kōst-i Kāfkōh (Arm.: *K'usti Kapkōh*) 'The Caucasian Region' *infra* IX nn. 1,5. This is the way Siwnik' is depicted in the AŠX.

With the fall of Sasanid Iran to the Arabs in 636, Siwnik' was reunited with Armenia but now under Arab suzerainty. It continued to be ruled by its own dynasty, however, which, in the ninth century, extended its holdings to the east to include Arc'ax. At the same time the Siwnids began the custom of placing certain districts under the control of the cadets of the house (*mec nahapet* 'great geniarh' or *gabērec'* 'suzerain prince') who gradually formed semi-independent lines under the suzerainty of the senior (*nahapet*) prince. Although this practice weakened the house, it did not prevent it from taking advantage of the decline of the Arabs to declare its independence. In c.970, Prince Smbat II (c.970–c.998) assumed the title 'King of Siwnik'. In its subdivided state, however, the new kingdom was unable to maintain control of its entire territory and most of northern Siwnik' soon passed to the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia, probably as a result of the marriage of Catherine (*Kotramidē*), only child of Vasak IV, to Gagik I of Armenia c.1016. What was left of Siwnik' – the southern third – remained in the hands of a junior Siwnid line, the Princes of Bałk' or Łap'an (Hewsen 1973–74).

In 1045 Gagik II of Armenia was forced to cede his kingdom to the Byzantines but the resistance of the city of Dvin prevented them from reaching Siwnik', and when the Turks overran Armenia (1064–1071), the Siwnids were able to preserve themselves in Bałk' until as late as c.1170. Thereafter Siwnik' passed completely under Muslim control and the Siwnid dynasty survived only in another junior line, the House of Xaç'en ruling to the east of Siwnik' in Arc'ax. In 1202, the Georgians conquered Siwnik' and Queen T'amar the Great divided it between the Hałbakids and the Awrbelids, two Armenian

houses in the Georgian service, the former receiving Vayoc' Jor (the northwest) and the latter obtaining the remainder. After the advent of the Mongols (1220–1243), these houses, together with the Siwnids of Xaç'en, managed to retain their lands by accepting Mongol rule and that of whichever Mongol successor state managed to dominate eastern Armenia. Momentarily dispossessed by Timur (1387–1405), the Siwnids of Xaç'en regained their lands under the Turkoman *Jahan-Shāh* (1435–1467) and continued to hold them under Persian suzerainty more or less until the coming of the Russians (1805–1828). The Hałbakids, too, survived in Siwnik' and, while the Awrbelids seem to have been dispossessed early in the fifteenth century, there is evidence that some of the petty rulers (melik's) of Siwnik' may have been Awrbelids as late as the eighteenth century (Hewsen *REA* IX, X, XI). Siwnik' became a part of the Empire of Safavid Iran at the end of the fifteenth century. Briefly but only partly independent (1722–1730) under the Armenian P'arsadanids, Melik's of Bex (Bałk'), it was reconquered by Nadir Shah (1736–1747) and held by the Persians through local Muslim Khans until the Russian annexation. Siwnik' (today called Zangezour), comprises the southern half of Soviet Armenia but some of its southeastern regions and all of Arc'ax-Xaç'en (the latter now the autonomous *oblast'* of Nagorno Karabakh) belong to Soviet Azerbaïdzhan.

The districts of Siwnik' are rather well known, and there are therefore no serious problems in regard to the frontiers of the principality as they are indicated in the AŠX. The only questions are whether or not the ancient principality, as it existed before the end of the monarchy in 428, included Ernĵak (which is geographically part of the principality of Goł'n, rather than of Siwnik'), or Gełarkunik' and Sawdk', the former of which may have been part of the Royal Domains of the Armenian kings (Erem. *HSH* 2: IIa, map), and the latter of which appears to have been a separate principality until at least the mid-fifth century (Toum.:182, n. 146), who, however takes Cawdek'/Cawdeayk' to have been Zab-dikēnē in northern Mesopotamia, a view which I find difficult to accept (*infra* VII C, n. 45). The notion that Gełark'unik' was a royal land taken by the Siwnids at the fall of the monarchy rests not so much upon historical evidence as much as upon the fact that when the monarchy was restored by the Bagratid dynasty in c.855, the new kings of Armenia seized Gełark'unik' as quickly as possible, apparently dispossessing the local Siwnid line. Although, as mentioned above, there are no problems in regard to the location of districts of Siwnik' it should be noted that there have been several changes in their arrangement. Earlier districts merged, others were divided and numerous changes have taken place in the names. The following table includes the list of Siwnian districts as found in the AŠX (seventh century), the two lists found in SO (thirteenth century), the districts mentioned in the letter of the Meliks addressed to the Pope (April, 1699), and the names currently in use in Soviet toponymy.

AŠX	SO II, III (Thirteenth century)	SO LXXIV	Letter of Melik's 1699	Today's Names
1. Gełark'unik'	Gełark'uni	Gełark'uni	Gełark'unik'	Kamo Martuni
2. Sawdk' (Zaw(d)ē[k'])	Sot'k'	Adic' (?)	Sot'k'	Basargeč'ar
3. Vayoc' Jor (Ełegnajor)	Vayoc' Jor (Ełegis)	Vayoc' Jor	Daralakiaz	Norašen Azizbekov Ełegnajor
4. Čahuk	Čahuk Jor or Šahapon	Čahuk		Šahbuz Šahbuz

5. Ernĵak		Ernĵak		Ĵulfa
6. Jork ^c	Jork ^c (Kapan)	Kapan	Kapan	Ēap'an
7. Arewik	Arewik ^c (Taštem and Meŕi)	Meŕi		Meŕi
8. Kovsakan	Kovsakan	Kovsakan	(Č'ovundur)* (S. Bargiwšat)*	Ēap'an Ēap'an
9. Bałk ^c	Bałk ^c (Ačen)	Bałk ^c (Kašunik)	(N. Bargiwšat)*	Ēap'an
10. Haband	Haband	Hamband	(Cagejor)*	S. Goris
11. Čłuk	Čłuk	Čłuk	Sisian	Sisian
12. Ałahēčk	Ałahēč (Kašatał)	Ałahēč (Xojoraberd)	Kašatał	N. Goris Lač'in

The total area of Siwnik^c as depicted in the *AŠX*: c. 5881 sq. km. (Inč.: 229-300; Ališan 1893; Marq.: 120-22; Hüb.: 263-66, 347-49; Sargsyan 1905; Yovsep'yan 1928; Raffi 1941; Erem. "Syuniya" 1941; Ut'mazyan 1958; Toum. 1963: *passim*; Erem.: 80-81, 117; Hak. 1966; *idem*. 1968: 191-218, 277-279; Harut'yunyan 1969; Ad-Gar: *passim*; Hewsen 1972: 285-329; Grigoryan 1973; Hewsen 1973-74: 287-303; *idem*. 1975-76: 219-243; Toum. 1976: 71-72, 226-261, 355-360; Sahakyan 1975: 159-166; Ulubabyan 1975; *idem*. 1981; Grigoryan 1981; Garsoian 1989: 490-91; Harut'yunyan *HSH* 10: 475; Hewsen *DMA*; *idem*. TAVO B VI 14, *et seq.*)

¹⁹⁰ *Infra* VII J, n. 209.

¹⁹¹ Erem. (51): *Ernĵak*; Tk.: *Alinja*; located on the upper course of the Ernĵak River now the Alindzha-*chai*. Area: c. 600 sq. km.

¹⁹² Erem. (64): *Čahuk*, not to be confused with the district of the same name in Korčayk^c (*supra* VII F, n. 125). This district lay in the valleys of the Čahuk (the modern Dzhagrighai; Arm.: *Jabri*) and the Šahapon (now *Shabuz*) Rivers. Area: c. 1,130 sq. km.

¹⁹³ *Maylojor*; read: **Vayoc'jor*; Toum. (214); Erem. (82): *Vayoc' Jor*; Geo.: *Vayjori* (Melik'set'-beg, I: 91); Byz.: *Vaitzōr* (CP, DC: 248); Arab.: *Vaiš* (Bal., cited by Hüb.: 348) or *Vaidūr* (i. Haw. cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*), also *Ētegeac'jor* and *Vardajor*. This district corresponds to the regions of modern *Ētegnajor* and *Azizbekov* (Erem.: *ibid.*). Area: c. 2,350 sq. km.

¹⁹⁴ *Getarguni*; Erem. (47): *Getak'uni*; Geo: *Gelak'uni* (*ibid.*) or *Galkunia* (Melik'set'-beg, I:91), the modern *raioni* of *Kamo* and *Martuni*. The center of this district was the town of *Getak'uni*, now *Kamo*. The name is derived from the Urartian *Welikuni* or *Welikuhi* applied to both district and town alike (Erem.: *ibid.*). Adontz (Ad-Gar.: 324) links the name with that of the tribe called *Gelae* by classical authors (*supra* I, n. 192). Area: c. 1,735 sq. km.

¹⁹⁵ Erem. (47): *Getak'uneac' cov* earlier *Getama liĵ* 'Lake Gełam'; later *Galark'uneac' cov*; Ptol. (V.12.3): *Lykhnitis* (from Arm.: *liĵ* 'lake?'); Geo.: *Squa Gelak'unisay*; Pers.: *Daria-Shirin* Tk.: *Sevanga* or *Gökça*; mod. Arm.: *Sevana liĵ* 'Lake Sevan.' The third largest of the three great lakes of the Armenian plateau, Lake Sevan occupies a high basin surrounded by the Pambak and Shakhdag Mts. in the northeastern part of Soviet Armenia. The lake lies at an elevation of c. 1914 m. and is c. 72 km. long and c. 37 km. wide with an area of c. 1417 sq. km. About twenty-eight permanent streams enter the lake, which is drained by one small river, the Turkish *Zanga*; (Urart: *Ildaruni*; Arm.: *Hrazdan*) 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,

St. Karapet and St. Arak'eloc^c, built by Princess Mariam of Siwnik^c, has become a peninsula. Numerous fish are caught in Lake Sevan especially the *išxan* 'prince', a kind of trout, but pollution of the lake's waters have seriously damaged its ecology in recent years.

¹⁹⁶ *Sost's* (acc.); read: *sot's*; Erem. (80): *Sawdk^c* or *Sot'k^c* also *Zaw[d]jek^c*; Eł (I, p. 64-65, II, p. 103): *Cawdēk^c*, *Cawdeayk^c*; Ptol. (V.12.4): *Sodonkēnē*, corresponds to the modern district (*raion*) of *Basargechar* (Arm.: *Basargeč'ar*). Its chief place was the town of *Sawdk^c*, or *Zawdek^c* (also called *Sot'ik^c*), now the village of *Zod*. This district is not to be confused with *Cawdēk^c/Zabdikēnē* which lay south of *Arzanēnē* (Toum.: 182, n. 146), and probably is not connected to the *Sodi* of Pliny (VI.11.29) who appear to have inhabited the Caucasus Mountains (Trever 1959: 202, n. 33; Allen 1970: 303, 317; *infra* n. 99 A). Area: c. 2,045 sq. km.

¹⁹⁷ *Ałahēč*; Erem. (32): *Atabečk^c*; located on the upper course of the *Ałuan* (now *Hagaru*) River, corresponding to the Soviet district (*raion*) of *Lachin*. In the Middle Ages this region was called *K'ašat'at* and *Xojoraberd*. Area: c. 1,402 sq. km.

¹⁹⁸ *Čłuk*; Erem. (56): *Čłuk*; S1877: *Čłak*; S1944: *Čłukk^c*; corresponding to the modern district (*raion*) of *Sisian*. This district was also called *Siwnik^c* or *Sisakan* in the narrower sense of the terms (Erem.: *ibid.*). Area: c. 1,950 sq. km.

¹⁹⁹ *Haband*; Erem. (61): *Haband*; S1944: *Xaband* a variant which Hüb. (348) cites along with *Aband* and *Hambat*, the later *Całac'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.

²⁰⁰ *Bałs* (acc.) Erem. (44): *Bałk^c*, later *Bex*, the nucleus of the region of modern *Ēap'an* (also Kapan; Russ.: *Kafan*). Area: c. 925 sq. km.

²⁰¹ *Jora*; Erem. (64): *Jork^c*, the valley around the sources of the Olĵi River, according to him, but Hübschmann (348) identifies this district with the region of *La'pan* or *Xapan*. Area: c. 525 sq. km.

²⁰² *Arewis* (acc.); Erem. (39): *Arewik^c*, the district (*raion*) of modern *Meŕi* (Russ.: *Megri*). Area: c. 625 sq. km.

²⁰³ *Kawsakan*; Erem. (60): *Kovsakan*; S1877: *Kusaban*, the region of modern *Zangelan*. Area: c. 625 sq. km. The text of S1819 has *Sisakan* for *Kovsakan*, a natural confusion with *Sisakan* being another name for *Čłuk* and often associated with *Siwnik^c*.

²⁰⁴ *Nakorzean*; Erem. (72): *Nakorzan*, located on the left bank of the Arax River near the Xudap'er bridge across which led the road to Ahar in Iranian Azerbaijan and, from there, to Tabriz and Ardabil.

²⁰⁵ *Aławnoget*; Erem. (34): the *Ałuan* River, now the *Hagaru* (Russ.: *Akera*).

²⁰⁶ *Murt*; Gk: *myrtos*; Lat.: *myrtus communis* (Erem.: 96).

²⁰⁷ *Ereŕi*; S1944: *gereri*. Soukry (44, n. 1) identifies this with the *khēmos*, a magical herb of antiquity; Saint-Martin (II: 365) with the geranium; Patkanov leaves it untranslated; Eremyan (92), reads *gereri* and identifies it with the *tuber melanosporum* 'black truffle.'

²⁰⁸ *Nuim azniv*, also *nran*, *nrunk^c* or *Nēřhunk^c*, *nranč^c*.

VII J. Arc'ax

²⁰⁹ *Arc'ax*, also *Arĵax BP* (IV.50); Strabo (XI.14.4): *Orkhistēnē* (read: **Artisakhēnē?*), was one of the remotest 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 *Kaspianē*, **Saunitis* (*Siwnik^c*) and *Basoropeda* became parts of Armenia only after Artaxias I (Artašēs 188–c. 161 B. C.) conquered them from Media implies

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', Šakašēn and Kołt' (BP IV.50), Arc'ax apparently formed a part of Arsacid Armenia until that time. Briefly brought back to Arsacid 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 Xaç'ēn, 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 Turkmanchai (1813).

Beginning in the thirteenth century we begin to hear of a new designation for Arc'ax/Xaç'ēn, the Turco-Persian *Karabagh* (Arm.: *Ļarabał*), supposedly from Tk.: *kara* 'black' and Pers.: *bag* 'garden.' Ulubabyan 1971: 42), however, suggests that the name is possibly from *ghara* 'great' and *bał*, the old Armenian principality of Bałk' in southern Siwnik'. This is not at all impossible if we consider (1) that Bałk' is a plural form, the singular of which would be *Bał*, (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-Ĵalal-Daula, 'King of Arc'ax' (c. 1214-1265/6), married Semp'an-Mamk'an, the granddaughter of the last 'King of Bałk' (i.e. 'of Dizak'), and (4) that the term Karabagh is first heard of precisely in the time of Hasan-Ĵalal-Daula, who, for all we know, may very well have considered his expanded kingdom to have formed a 'greater' Bał(k'). 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 Adontz (Ad-Gar.:230) and Eremyan (*HSH* 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 *Cawdk'*, (V.13.9): *Sodoukēnē*. 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 Xaç'ēn. Thereafter the earlier district of Mec Ařank', in which the castle was located, came to be known as Xaç'ēn, and, as the power of the Siwnids of Xaç'ēn spread over all Arc'ax and the neighboring regions, the entire principality came to be known as Xaç'ēn. The Siwnids of Xaç'ēn 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 Hałbakid or Xałbakid Meliks of Ĵraberđ but, since their tenth century ancestor, Hałbak/Xałbak I, was himself a prince of 'Upper' Xaç'ēn they would appear to have been Siwnids as well. In any case, by the end of that century we hear of the *Xamsayi* or 'five' Meliks of Karabagh (Arab.: *khams* 'five'), a federation which lasted until the late eighteenth century. These included the House of Hasan-Ĵalalean – the senior line – Meliks of Xaç'ēn (proper); the House of Beglarean, Meliks of Giwlistan; the House of Šahnazarean, Meliks of Varanda; the House of Avanean, Meliks of Dizak; and the House of Israelean descended from the Prošid branch of the Hałbakids/Xałbakids, Meliks of Ĵraberđ. In 1796, the melik houses accepted Russian suzerainty, and in 1805 passed under direct Russian rule losing their autonomy upon the Russian annexation of Eastern Armenia in 1828.

Although we know that Arc'ax occupied the mountains and deep wooded valleys along the south-eastern slopes of the Armenian plateau, we are not certain of its exact frontiers on every side. Ob-

viosly, 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 Mravdag range forms a logical barrier but we know that Kołt', one of the districts of Arc'ax, lay to the north of it, as did, it would appear, Kust'i P'ařenk', whose exact location is very uncertain. On the east, where the mountains fade away into the Karabakh Steppe – the earlier land of Utik' – the boundary of Arc'ax followed no natural frontier but its general line has been traced by Ulubabyan (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, Ganjak, Šamxor and Xałxał all lay in Utik'; C'ri, K'tiš, Amaras, the castles of Xaç'ēn, Berdakur and Ĵraberđ, and the town of P'arisos, in Arc'ax. Eremyan, on the other hand, has muddied the waters thorough 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 *Ałstew* (*supra* VI B, n. 64) earlier known, it seems, as the River *Lop'nas* (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 Vaxtang Gorgasali* written by the eighth century historian Juanšer Juanšeriani (JJ): 138.

This prince [i.e., the Emperor Heraclius, 610-641] having gone first to Gardabani against Prince Varaz-Gageli, vanquished him at the place called Xuzašeni, baptized him with all his people and began the construction there of a magnificent church . . . From there [Berduji] he [Heraclius] went on to Lali, received the lords of Mecekevelni [Arm.: *Mec Kuenk'*] whom he baptized, and took the road to Bagdad [*sic read: *Ctesiphon*].

The second of these passages is found in the Armenian *History of the Caucasian Albanians (Patmut'ivn Ałuanic)* of the tenth-century compiler Moses, alternatively called 'of Kałankatuk' or 'of Dasxuren', (MD):

(I.29) At the time the King of Rosmosok' (Meshech) together with his army . . . crossed to this side of the River Kur, spread into the land of Uti, and camped near the town of Xałxał. 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 Garbabani – 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 across its lower course.

Eremyan, as Ulubabyan 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 Xałxał (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 *Ałstew/Akstafa*, are two other passages in MD which Eremyan overlooks entirely, namely II.31, in which we are told that the monastery of Glkavank' lay in Mec Kuenk', and

II.37, in which we are told that Glkavank' lay in the center of Arc'ax. Obviously, both Glkavank', and 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/Aštew must have been the land of Jorop'or, which, as is obvious from the AŠX, lay east of Kołbop'or and, as is just as obvious from MD (III.22), lay west of Arc'ax. Apparently, the River Lop'nas/Aštew 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 Utik' 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:

L: Arc'ax	A: Arc'ax (S1944):	A: Arc'axian Lands in Albania:
1. Miws Haband	Mews Xaband	P'ok'r Haband
2. Vakunik'	Vakunik'	Vakunik'
3. Berjor	Berjor	Berjor
4. Mecirank'	Mecirank'	Mec Irank'
5. Meckuank'	Meckuank'	Mec Kuenk'
6. Harčławnk' --	Harjłank'	Harčłank'
7. Muxank'	Muxank'	Moxank'
8. Piank'	Piank'	Piank'
9. Packank'	Packank'	Pacank'
10. Sisakanik'	Sisakanik'	Sisakan
11. Kotak	K'uakk'	Asrot
12. K'ustip'arēnk'	K'ustip'arēs	K'ustip'arēs
13. Koxt	Koht'	Koht'

In addition to the above we have a fourth list in MD (III.19), where we are told that Davon and Šapuh, having rebelled against the Muslims, held the following districts for twelve years: *Verin* ('upper') Vaykunik', Berjor, Sisakan, Haband, Amaras, Pazkank', Mxank' and Tri-gawar'. Besides these, MD at various points in his *History* mentions Mec Irank', Mec Kołmank', Mec Kueank', and K'ustip'arēn and Koht. Of the districts of Arc'ax only Harclank', Piank' and Kotak are not cited in his account.

Taken together, the above lists do not differ greatly from one another: Kotak in L is called *K'uakk'* in S1944 and must be the *Asrot* in the list of the Albanian districts taken from Armenia. The Miws Haband ('Other' Haband) of the first two lists, so-called to distinguish it from the Haband in Siwnik', is called *P'ok'r* ('lesser') *Haband* in the Albanian list probably to distinguish it from yet another Haband (this one in Albania) lying north of the River Kur. The other differences are trivial ones of spelling. Only MD's list is curious adding as it does Tri-gawar' – a district of Utik' – and Amaras, an otherwise unknown district which obviously lay in southeastern Arc'ax around the monastery of that name, which is still standing. Amaras must have represented a division of Miws Haband or a district broken off from it. Vaykunik' lay, as we shall see along the upper course of the Terter River so MD's

Verin ('upper') Vaykunik' must represent the valley along its uppermost course. Its name, 'Upper Vaykunik', suggests a corresponding *Nerk'in* ('lower') Vaykunik' but we never encounter this term. It must have been an alternative designation for the valley lower down the Terter otherwise known by a different name. MD's Mec Kołmank' referred to at different points in his narrative is probably identical to Mec Kuenk' otherwise well known.

The real question here is not the names of the districts of Arc'ax but their number. All mss. at my disposal are unanimous in giving this number as twelve, whereas, as we have seen, the lists include thirteen. Eremyan (117) reconciles this discrepancy in a most curious way. Taking Sisakanik' and Kotak as a single district, *Sisakan-i Kotak* 'Lesser' Sisakan – which is surely correct – he then identifies this district with Mews Haband, reducing the list to eleven names. He then restores the original twelve by separating K'ustip'arēs into two districts K'ust and P'arēs. This cannot be correct. In every list, Sisakan-i Kotak is treated separately from Mews Haband; they are not even contiguous in the sequence of names. *K'usti*, moreover, means 'side' 'flank', and later in the AŠX is used as the designation for one of the four great provinces of Sasanian Iran. K'ustip'arēs, whose form is guaranteed by its use by MD (III.22), can only mean the 'district of P'arēs,' as Tri-gawar' means the 'district of Tri.' Eremyan has simply gone too far. The union of Sisakan and Kotak as Sisakan-i Kotak reduces the thirteen names in the lists to the twelve specified in the text. There is no need to go beyond this correction.

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; Vaykunik' was the site of the Royal Baths of the Albanian kings and these can only have been at the great mineral springs at Isti-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 Xaç'en, 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 Mułan Plain. Sisakan, we know lay somewhere in the south of Arc'ax. Finally Koht', we know, lay to the north in the upper valley of the Šamxor River, and whose spiritual head in the early twelfth century bore the title 'Bishop of Koht' and Šamxor' (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 AŠX 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) Vaykunik' in the northwest adjacent to Ałahēčk' which adjoined Haband in Siwnik' on the north; 4) Mec Kuenk' in the valley of the Terter below Vaykunik'; 5) Mec Irank' (*sic* read Mec *Arank' 'Greater Aran?') in the valley of the Xaç'en 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 Mułan; 8) Piank' around the village of Bayan in the Gargar River valley to the west; and 10) Sisakan-i Kotak 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 Koht' (and probably K'ustip'arēs) 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 Koht'). 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) Berdajor must have lain between 2) Vaykunik' 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) Harclank' must have lain south or

east of 5) Mec Irank' and north of 7) Muxank'. I place it along the middle course of the Xaç'ēn to the east of Mec Irank'. Eremyan (1963: *map*), for no apparent reason, tucked Harclank' between two tiny affluents of the Arax along the Persian border. South of the valley of the Xaç'ēn River and separated from it very clearly by a line of mountains, lay the valley of the Gargar River. Here, in the vicinity of modern Šuši (Russ.: *Shusha*) Eremyan (77) places 9) Parsakank' (as he reads the name), and, a little further east and lower down the river with no natural boundaries, he places Piank' round the village of Bayan. This leaves the entire area between Muxank' and Miws Haband for 10) the district 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'arnēs has not been identified. Its location (together with Kołt') to the north of Arc'ax proper seems justified, however, and this is supported by MD (III.22), who tells us that Sahak-Sewaday, Prince of Xaç'ēn "subjected the districts of Gardman and K'ustip'arnay to his rule 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. In my opinion K'ustip'arnēs lay precisely in these mountains (to the west of Kołt' and Gardman) and its name is to be connected with the town, fortress and monastery of P'arisos, founded it would appear in the ninth century, on the uppermost course of the Šamxor River, and by which name the district was thereafter known.

By the end of the nineteenth century, there had been such a change in the toponomy of this region that Barxudarean (1895) was unable to identify some of the earlier names of districts while misidentifying others:

Pazkank' or Dizak	Kołt'n or Šamkor or Nerk'in Jakam
Bazkank or Ganczank'	Muxank' or Mułan
Ałuē	Pian
Harclank'	Uti Aranjanak
Bedajor or Berdjor	Šakašēn or Ganjak
Vakunik' or Verin Vakunik'	Tuzk'atak
Sisakan-Ostan or Car	

Apart from adding to the districts of Arc'ax those of Utik', Barxudarean has erred in identifying Pazkank' with Dizak, Sisakan-Ostan with Car, and Kołt'n with Nerk'in ('lower') Jakam. Yovhannē-sean (1970) counted twenty-six fortresses in Arc'ax; Eremyan (117) estimated its area at c. 11,528 sq. km., but after we move Mec Kuenk' to its proper place in central Arc'ax, it was probably closer to c. 10,550. (MD/MK 1969; Inč.: 301-16; Barx. 1895; Hüb.: 266-67; Barx.: 1905; Trever 1959: *passim*; Tōum.: *passim*; Erem.: 41, 117; Hak.: 252-53; Ulubabyan 1969; *idem*. 1972; *idem*. 1975; *idem*. 1981; *idem*. HSH 2: 150-51; Hewsēn 1972; 1973-74; 1975-76; *idem*. TAVO B VI 14, *et seq.*; S. Barx. 1982; Garsoian 1989: 445; see also the bibliography for Albania, *supra* VI C, n. 65).

²¹⁰ *Miwsn Haband*; Erem. (70): *Mews Haband* (the 'other' Haband, as opposed to *Haband* in Siwnik'), later known as *Sisakan-i-Ostan* ('Sisakan of the court' or 'capital') or *Sisakan-i-Kotak* ('Lesser Sisakan'), to distinguish it from the *Sisakan* of Siwnik', usually known as *Člukk'*. These latter names must have come into use after 571 when the whole of Arc'ax was briefly united with Siwnik'. Still later, the district was known as *Amaras* from the town and monastery of Amaras frequently mentioned by MD. The center of Mews Haband was the fortress of K't'iš, where later was located the town of Toł (now *Tog*), seat of the Meliks (dynasts) of Dizak. Mews Haband corresponded to the later regions of *Dizak* (later *Tizak*), and *Varanda*. Area: c. 2,550 sq. km.

²¹¹ *Vakunis* (acc.); Erem. (82): *Vaykunik'*; S1877 and S1819: *Vakunik'*. This district, known from the Middle Ages as *Car*, was located around the sources of the T'art'ar River where the springs called *Balanik' Ark'unakank'* 'Royal baths,' (now *Isti-su*) were found. Area: c. 1,070 sq. km.

²¹² *Berjor*; Erem. (44): *Berdajor* or *Berjor* 'Castle Valley'; Tk: *Kale-deresi* 'Castle Brook'. A district lying along the *Lev-chai*, a stream flowing into the Terter (Trtu) River from the right. Here lay the castle of *Berdakunk'* guarding the pass into the basin of Lake Sevan. In the later Middle Ages, *Berdajor* was known as *Upper Xaç'ēn*, and, from the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries it formed part of the *Melik'dom* of Xaç'ēn. It today forms part of the modern *raion* (district) of *Kel'badzhar* in Soviet Azerbaidzhan. Area: c. 625 sq. km.

²¹³ *Mecirans* (acc.); Erem. (66): *Mec Arank'*, the *Mec Irank'*, the *Mesran* of Arabic sources (*ibid.*), which he locates in the region of the later district of Xaç'ēn located on the upper course of the *Rot parsean* River (*Xaç'ēnaget*). *Ulubabyan* (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.

²¹⁴ *Meckuans* (acc.); Erem. (66): *Mec Kuenk'*; Hüb. (349): *Mechank'* or *Meckveank'*; Geo: *Macekevnelni*; Arab: *Meskwān* (both Erem.: *ibid.*), which he locates in the region around modern *Idzhevan* (Arm. *Ijewan*), but which actually lay in the valley of the Terter (Trtu) River (*supra* n. 209). It is probably identical to the *Mec Kołmank'* of MD (I.7, II.29, 37, 39, III.21) as *Ulubabyan* agrees (1981:162, 204, 242-43, 264, 268).

²¹⁵ *Harčtawns* (acc.); Erem. (62): *Harclank'*; Hüb. (349) cites the variants *Harjlank'*; Arab: *Kherkhilyan*. (Erem.: *ibid.*) locates it on the south bank of the modern *K'yondalan-chai*, but see *supra* n. 209. Area: c. 325 sq. km.

²¹⁶ *Muxans* (acc.); Erem. (71): *Muxank'*; Hüb. (349) cites the variants *Moxank'* and *Mxank'*, located south of the Gargar River corresponding to the plain called *Muxur-ovasi*. *Adontz* (Ad-Gar. 307) relates the name to that of the Plain of *Mułan* (*Mugan*) and the people called *Mykoi* (*Herod.* VII.68-74). Area: c. 1,250 sq. km.

²¹⁷ *Pians* (acc.) Erem. (77): *Piank'*, located between the Xaç'ēn and Gargar Rivers around the modern village of *Bayan*. Area: c. 148 sq. km.

²¹⁸ *Packans* (acc.) Erem. (77): *Parsakank'*, considering *Packank'* as corrupt; Hüb. (349) cites the forms *Paickank'*, *Pazkank'* or *Parskank'*; located in the area later known as *Varanda* ($p > v?$). On a later map (1979), Eremyan spells the name *Bazkank'*. *Adontz* (Ad-Gar. 325) relates the name to that of the Iranian *Parsioi* (*Strabo* XI.7.1). Area: c. 650 sq. km.

²¹⁹ *Sisakanis zkorak*; Eremyan (105, 120), reads this as *Sisakan-i-Kotak* 'Lesser Sisakan' and makes it an alternative name for the foregoing district of Lesser Haband (*supra* n. 210), but see *supra* n. 209.

²²⁰ *Supra* n. 219.

²²¹ *K'ustirp'a'rēns* (acc.); Eremyan (117) reads this as two separate districts: *K'usti* and *P'arnēs* but S1877 and S1944 have *K'ustip'arnēs* which Hüb. (349) and I accept. Eremyan (90) recognizes *K'usti* as the Arab.: *K'ust'asji* [*sic*], corresponding to the modern region of *Šamsadin*, area c. 1,505 sq. km. *P'arnēs* he locates around the sources of the Šamxor River, where, in the Middle Ages, was located the fortress city of *P'arisos*, now *Kalak'end* village. *Adontz* (Ad-Gar. 326) relates the name to the Iranian tribe called *Parrasioi* (*Strabo* XI.7.1).

²²² *Koxt*; read *Kołt*: BP (IV.50) speaks of the Principality of *Kołt'* in the same breath as those of *Gardman*, *Utik'*, and *Šakašēn*, and both Hüb. (350) and Eremyan (60) place it on the north-eastern slopes of the Lesser Caucasus, in particular to the north of the *Mrav dag* (*Murov*) range. This would locate *Kołt'* in a region geographically distinct from that of Arc'ax although the *AŠX* includes it as a district within the latter. The relationship between *Kołt'* and Arc'ax is a problem, and I am inclined to think that its inclusion in the latter may be an error on the part of the author of the *AŠX*, and that it should be regarded as distinct from Arc'ax as it appears to be on those rare occasions when it is referred to in the work of MD (II.32; III.10).

The physical description of Kołt' 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 Caucasia (Kolkhis, Koł, Kołb, Goł'n, etc.) and suggests a Georgian connection. Little is known of the history of Kołt' although it is perhaps the Kolthēnē of Ptolemy (V.13.9). Kołt' seceded from Armenia in 363-87 as did the other principalities of this area and remained a part of Albania 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 Kołt' as well, but we cannot be sure.

The Princes of Kołt' are ascribed a descent from the Kings of Atropatēnē, and it was a Prince of Kołt' who (c. 680) was the first peer of Albania to contract a marriage with a Muslim for which he was condemned by the Katholikos Uxtanēs (MD III.10). This house is last heard of in the eighth century.

²²³ Bdellium is an aromatic gum exuded by the *Balsamodendron Mukul* (order *Burseraceae*), a small tree native to northwest India, Beluchistan, Arabia, and East Africa, closely related to myrrh and frankincense (Schoff: 163). The term used in the *AŠX* presents some difficulties, however, and the translation of *K'araxunk* as 'bdellium' is not absolutely certain. Eremyan (99) cites the alum mined in Kołt', near the present village of Zaglik or P'ip', as being the *k'araxunk*.

²²⁴ *Supra* VI C, n. 65.

²²⁵ For P'aytakaran *infra* VII J n. 149 A.

²²⁶ For Utik' *infra* n. 163 A.

²²⁷ For Ayrarat *infra* VII M, n. 267.

VII K. Gugark'

²²⁸ *Gugark'*; Strabo (XI.14.4): *Gōgarēnē* (V.13.9): *idem.* from an earlier form **Gogark'* (Hüb.:276), was, as we have seen (*supra* n. 18), one of the four vitaxates (*bdeašxut'ivn-k'*) or military viceroalties defending Armenia from foreign invasions, in this case from Iberia or mounting the plateau *via* Iberia. It thus formed the Iberian, Meskhian or Moskhian March. The only question in regard to this vicerealty is whether it corresponded to the entire land of Gugark' of the *AŠX*, as believed by Toumanoff (1963:467-475) or to only a part of it, as indicated by Eremyan (1963:map), and by certain Georgian specialists. Tied to this is the entire question of the actual territorial content of Gugark', which, in my opinion, Eremyan exaggerates. Let us take the second question first:

As we see, according to the *AŠX*, the land of Gugark' comprised the nine districts of Jorop'or, Kołbap'or, Cobop'or, Tašir, T'rełk', Kangark', Upper Ĵawaxk', Artahan and Kłarjk'. In this part of the same text that we are considering here, however, these same districts are included in Iberia (Virk'), where all are described as having been taken from Armenia (L 38/28) along with Mangleac'p'or, Bołnop'or, (and Kuišap'or). To these thirteen districts, however, Eremyan adds the three Georgian districts of Šawšet', Lower Ĵawaxk' (or Erušet'i) and Paruar, which he believed formed a part of Armenia until lost to Iberia in 363 as opposed to the aforementioned nine districts not finally lost until 387 (Erem. 1963:168).

Let us turn to Toumanoff's detailed and highly specific analysis of the historical geography of the various districts of this marchland (1963:50-52, 80-84, 86-103, 141-143, 253-254) and trace them one by one, omitting Tayk' from the discussion as it lay outside of the lands – real and purported – of Gugark', as well as those of the first nine districts – Jorop'or through Kłarjk' – whose possession by Armenia until 387 is not in dispute.

The discussion of 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, Kołbop'or, Jorop'or, Ašoc' and Tašir, Toumanoff shows (499) that all five of them appear to have originally lain in Armenia or at least between Pharnabazid Iberia and Orontid Armenia (i. e. in the period c. 300-200 B. C.), but that Ašoc' and Tašir passed to the Pharnabazids as the newly-formed Iberian state expanded.

After 200 B. C., however, as Armenia waxed under the Artaxiad dynasty, these two lands, along with Artani and perhaps (eastern, i. e. upper?) Ĵavaxet'i and Kangark' passed to Armenia. There the Artaxiads apparently placed them together with Kangark', Cobop'or, Jorop'or, Kołbop'or (and possibly T'rełk'), to form the Moschian Vitaxate or Iberian March, with the Prince of Gugark' as its viceroy. Tayk' and Kłarjk' 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 Artaxid 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 Kłarjk' as well (*ibid.*). At this time, Tašir, Ašoc', the original Iberian lands of (East) Ĵawaxk', Artahan, and T'rełk' (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.*).

After the establishment of Arsacid power in Armenia, it was only natural for Armenia to have regained the vitaxate from its smaller and weaker neighbour, and Ptolemy, Agathangełos, 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, Kołop'or and certainly Ašoc' and Tašir (which lay between the first four and the previous Armenian frontier). In addition to these, the Georgian sources assert the Armenian possessions of Ĵavaxet'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 Samc'xē and Ačara, 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 Arsacid expansion that Armenia also acquired – briefly – the districts of Mangleac'p'or, K'uišap'or and Xac'ixē or Hunarakert, which the *AŠX* asserts had been 'taken from the Armenians.' Sometime in this period, i. e. between the composition of Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150) and the fourth century, Kłarjk', too, appears to have been conjoined to the vitaxate although in the meantime, Jorop'or and Kołbop'or, and later Ašoc' and Tašir, broke away from it to become separate princely states, probably under cadet branches of the Gušarid dynasty of Gugark' (*ibid.*).

Finally, in the general breakup of Arsacid Armenia (363-387), the entire reduced vitaxate, together with the separate principalities save for Ašoc' (and apparently the upper part of Tašir), reverted to Iberia once and for all, where we find its nine districts all listed in the *AŠX* as having been taken from Armenia: Jorop'or, Kołbop'or, Tašir, Cobop'or, T'rełk', Kangark', (Upper) Ĵawaxk', Artahan and Kłarjk'. 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 *AŠX*: Šawšet', Lower Ĵawaxk', Mangleac'p'or, Kuišap'or, Bołnop'or, Paruar, and Xanc'ixē (Hunarakert). Our only reason for including any of these seven lands within Gugark' is that the *AŠX* specifies that four of the seven – Mangleac'p'or, Bołnop'or, Paruar and – implicitly – Xanc'ixē/Hunarakert – 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 dynasts, 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 'duchies' (Toum.: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. Inner Iberia (*Šida 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 (Berdzenishvili 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 Rust'avi (Bostan K'alak'i).

3. Gardabani or 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 (Arm.: *Ałget* 'salt river') River (*ibid.*).

4. Samšvilde or Gač'iani (in the valley of the Berduji or Debeda River) with the added lands of Taširi (Tašir) and Aboc'i (Ašoc'), the duchy taking its usual name, Samšvilde, from its central fortress. Gardabani/Xunani and Samšvilde/Gač'iani together formed the province of K'vemo K'art'li or Lower Iberia, sometimes called Taširi 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 Ĵavaxet'i (Ĵawaxk'), Artani (Artahan) and Kola (Koł), also centered at a fortress which gave the duchy its name.

6. Ojrxē with the lands of Samc'xe (Meschia) and Ačara, again named for its chief fortress. Toumanoff believed that the duchy of Ojrxē probably included the extreme westernmost Iberian lands of Šavšet'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 land of that name (Arm.: Kłarjk'), as Toumanoff suggests but which, as we have just seen, probably included Šavšet'i, Nigali/Ligani and possibly also the adjoining small district of Meruli (Mruł) and even perhaps Meret'i (Mrit), *infra* VII L, nn. 261/63. We do not know the name of the center of the duchy of Klarjet'i. There was a village of that name to be sure, but the seat of the duke was more likely to have been at either of the two ancient castles of T'uxarisi (Arm.: *T'uxark'*) or Eraxani.

The duchies of Cunda, Ojrxē 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 L, n. 243).

Now it is in the Duchy of Gardabani or Xunani that we find the districts of Paruar, Mangleac'p'or and Xanc'ixē (Hunarakert); and in that of the original Samšvilde that we find those of Kuisap'or, and Kołbop'or, and later those of Bołnop'or, Cobop'or, Jorop'or, Aboc'i (Ašoc'), Kangark' and Tašir. Since both of these duchies continued to exist as integral parts of Iberia throughout the Arsacid period (Toum.:497), it is obvious that all or at least some of their districts must have remained in Iberian hands during that time – Gardabani probably in its entirety, and some part of Samšvilde. Since Jorop'or, Kołbop'or, Cobop'or, Ašoc', Kangark', and Tašir were certainly part of the Armenian-held vitaxate in Arsacid times, the nucleal lands of the Duchy of Samšvilde retained by Iberia must have included only Kuisap'or and Bołnop'or. Thus, five of the seven Iberian districts which Eremyan adds to the list of the districts of Gugark' in the *AŠX* have been accounted for and none of them appears to have entered into the vitaxate in Arsacid times when it was in the possession of Armenia. Since the *AŠX* specifies, however, that the districts of Mangleac'p'or, Bołnop'or, Paruar and Xanc'ixē/Hunarakert had been taken from the Armenians, we must suppose that at one time they had belonged to the Armenians for however brief a time, but their exclusion from Gugark' in the same text would seem to indicate that (*pace* Eremyan) they had *never* formed part of the Vitaxate of Moskhia when the latter formed a viceroyalty of the Arsacid Armenian state.

The two remaining districts which Eremyan assigns to Gugark' are Šavšet' and Lower Ĵawaxk'. Lower Ĵawaxk' (Erušet'i), as we have seen, was not included in the Armenian vitaxate at all but, as a part of Ĵawaxk' proper after 387, was ignored by the author of the *AŠX*. Thus, the inclusion of Šavšet' alone remains to be explained. Having been a part of the Duchy of Klarjet'i, there appears to be no reason to include Šavšet' in the Gugark' of the *AŠX* or in the vitaxate itself prior to the latter's final retrocession to Iberia in 387 beyond the somewhat fuzzy citation of it in the *AŠX* where the wording could *possibly* be interpreted to mean that it was included among the districts taken from Armenia (and hence formed a part of the earlier vitaxate) but where it could just as easily – from the same wording – be interpreted to have been one of those districts which had never left the Iberian orbit at all. (I am indebted to Dr. Robert Edwards for bringing this point to my attention.) On the other hand, if Šavšet' was, as I believe, a part of the Duchy of Klarjet'i then its inclusion among the lands taken from Armenia becomes justified.

From all of the above, we can see then that Eremyan has interpreted his sources in the following way:

1. The Vitaxate of Moskhia, the Iberian March, he believed, included sixteen lands both under Armenian rule and when it was lost to Iberia in c. 363.

2. Seven of these districts he thought were retained by Iberia upon the return of the vitaxate to Armenia in c. 371.

3. The nine districts of the Gugark' of the *AŠX*, in his view, represent this smaller vitaxate as it existed between c. 371 and its final cession to Iberia in 387.

4. 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, Kuisap'or and Bołnop'or (the reduced Duchy of Samšvilde), and those of Mangleac'p'or and Xanc'ixē or Hunarakert (the Duchy of Gardabani *sans* Paruar) were added to the vitaxate *only* briefly before its final cession to Iberia in 387 (Toum.:499), and had *not* entered into its territory prior to that time any more than had Šavšet' or any part of the Duchy of Ojrxē. Thus, the Gugark' of the *AŠX* *alone* represents the Vitaxate of Moskhia as it existed under the Armenian Arsacids until the separation from it (as individual principalities) of the districts of Jorop'or, Kołbop'or, Ašoc' and (later) Tašir. Of these, it omits Aboc'i because (as Ašoc') this principality remained a part of Armenia after the loss of the rest of the lands of the vitaxate to Iberia in 387 (*ibid.*). Although the *AŠX* indicates that Mangleac'p'or, Paruar, Bołnop'or and Xanc'ixē/Hunarakert had been taken from the Armenians, it is unlikely that they – or Kuisap'or – had even been Armenian for very long, while there is *no* evidence that the Armenians ever held Samc'xē or Lower Ĵawaxk'. There is, of course, an ecclesiastical aspect to the geography of this region as well. As Berdzenishvili (142) notes, there were five episcopal sees in this area by the sixth century: Tbilisi, Bolnisi, Manglisi, C'urtavi and Xunarakert and each appears to have included two valleys: Tbilisi (the Vera and K'c'ia valleys), Bolnisi (Poladauri and Šulaveri), Manglisi (Alget'i and K'c'ia), C'urtavi (Vrac'-dašt and Debeda) Xunarakert (Jorop'or and Kolbop'or valleys). Later the see of Dmanisi was formed (the Mašavera and K'c'ia valleys), and that of Calka in the district of T'rialet'i. There were also some twenty-nine fortresses in Gugark' (Yovhannēsean 1970) Area: c. 11,695 sq. km. (Erem.:48). (Inč.:353-67; Hüb.:275-76, 353-57; Toum.:437-99; Erem.:48, 118; Hak.:257-60; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; HSH 3; Hewsens 1987; *idem*. TAVO B VI 14, et seq.; Sinclair 1989 II, ch. III).

²²⁹ *Jorop'or*, *supra* VI B, n. 53.

²³⁰ *Kołbap'or*, *supra* VI B, n. 52.

²³¹ *Cobap'or*, *supra* VII B, n. 51.

²³² *Tašir*, supra VI B, n. 58.

²³³ *T'rels*, supra VI B, n. 57.

²³⁴ *Kangars* (acc.); Toum. (468): *Kankark'* or *Gankark'*; Erem. (57): *Kangark'*; Hüb. (354): *Kangark'*, *Kankark'* supra VI B, n. 59.

²³⁵ *Jawvaxs Veri* (acc.), supra VI B, n. 27.

²³⁶ *Artajan*, supra VI B, n. 25.

²³⁷ *Kalarčs* (acc.), supra VI B, n. 22.

²³⁸ The *analut'* has not been identified. The word means 'giraffe' in modern Armenian, but, since the existence of this animal in Armenia is out of the question, Saint-Martin (II:389) suggested it meant 'panther.' Ačarean (*Bařaran*, I, 281) thinks it is a hind. Eremyan (92) identifies it with the Gk: *elaphos*; Lat.: *cervus*, *elaphus*, a species of deer referring the reader to the word *eln* 'hind,' Hamšēn dialect: *elnik*, and assuring us that such animals are common in the valleys of the Çoruh and its tributaries, especially in Kłarjk' (western Gugark').

²³⁹ *Hawčarcar*; read: *Hačaracar*. Eremyan (95) identifies this with the *Fagus sylvatica* or *Fagus orientalis* 'beech tree,' offering the variants *hačari*, *hačarki*, *hačaruk*, *ačari*, *hačareni* and *ačareni*. In modern Arm. *hačari* still means 'beech tree.'

²⁴⁰ *Sorovil*; read: *Serkewil* or *Serkewli* (Erem.:98), the Gk: *Kidōnion mēlon*; Lat.: *Cydonium malum*, *coteneum*, *malum sydonia*, *cotoneus*, *cydonia vulgaris*, the quince (*NHB* II:708).

²⁴¹ *Tawsax* or *Tōsax* (Erem.:99); Gk: *Pyxos*; Lat.: *Buxus*, *Buxus sempervirens*, Geo.: *Bza*; Lat.: *Taxus Laccata*, the box tree.

²⁴² *Supra* VI B, nn. 23, 25.

VII L. *Tayk'*

²⁴³ *Tayk'*, Geo.: *Tao* or *Taoni*; Assy.: *Daiaeni*; Urart.: *Diauehe*; Xen. (*Anab.* IV.7): *Taokhoi* for the population, erroneously written *Khaoi* in Diod. Sic. (I.4.29), unless this is his or a copyist's false correction on the notion that Xenophon's *Taokhoi* should be read *Khaoi* from Arm.: *Hayk'*; Byz.: *Armenia Profunda* (whence Armenian *Xoragoyn Hayk'* 'Deep Armenia'), later *Tais*; MX (III.65): *Tuhac' gawar* district of *Tuhk'* (although this may be merely a copyist's misreading for *Tayoc' gawar* or even another toponym altogether; TA (IV.7): *Tayastan*, an Iranianism.

The land of *Tayk'* was one of the oldest and most long-lived of the traditional fifteen divisions of Armenia yet, here, as elsewhere in the section on Armenia, the simplistic picture of the region given by the *AŠX* has obscured its true nature and geo-political organization. Far from consisting of a single state divided into eight districts as indicated in our text, these eight districts were actually parts of at least two, possibly three separate principalities until the Byzantine occupation of 591 brought them together into one imperial province called *Deep Armenia* (*Armenia Profunda/Xoragoyn Hayk'*). these principalities were: 1) *Tayk'* proper, consisting of the districts of *Arseac'p'or*, *Azordac'p'or*, *Ok'ate* (the last omitted in L undoubtedly due to a copyist's error, see n. 178 A), and *Cakk'*; 2) *Bołxa*, which apparently comprised not only the district of *Bołxa*, itself, but also those of *Berdac'p'or* and *Partizac'p'or*, neither of which can be entered easily from *Tayk'* proper or from *Koł* but which are geographically linked to *Bołxa* rather than to the rest of *Tayk'*, and 3) *Koł* (Geo.: *Kola*), consisting of the single district of that name, which may possibly have been a separate princely state (but see below).

The gathering of the three principalities of *Tayk'* proper, *Bołxa*, and *Koł* into one entity by the Byzantines may have reflected an earlier interdependence of the three through ties of vassalage. We know that the Princes of *Bołxa* were vassals of the Bagratids of *Tayk'* in the seventh century and it is

possible that before this period they had been vassals of the Mamikonidis of *Tayk'*, and that after the incorporation of *Koł* into Armenia, its little known princes (for whom see Lang 1976:42, and Toum. 1963:254-456) were Mamikonid vassals as well. We don't know. It is worth noting that our only source for the 'Princes of *Kola*' is the reference in the sixth-century hagiographical text *The Nine Martyred Children of Kola* but this refers only one to 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. *Koł/Kola* may never have been a separate principality for all we know.

Historians once tended to take the description of *Tayk'* found in the *AŠX* 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 *Koł* were essentially Georgian lands, *Bołxa* 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 (II 1989: Ch. 3), who notes the same in regard to the ecclesiastical architecture, the dividing line between the two architectural areas being precisely the *Arsiani* range which separated *Bołxa* 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*, *Dadašeni*, *Anč'a*, and *Bana*) formed as many episcopal sees (*AGSSR*: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 *Bołxa* 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 *Bołxa* seems much more difficult to accept.

The name *Tayk'* indicates in Armenian 'the *Tayans*' or, perhaps more correctly, '*Dayans*,' an ethnic element long ago absorbed by both the Armenians and the Georgians but who appear to have been among the most ancient inhabitants of the Armenian Plateau. While it is possible that the *Dayans* were proto-Caucasians and thus one of the vanguards of the proto-Georgians, their name conforms to no known linguistic root in *Caucasia* and they may represent a distinct and virtually autochthonous population.

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: Sieni*) 'King of the *Daiaeni*' (*Adontz* 1946:53). Two years later, the same Assyrian monarch invaded *Nairi* again and conquered forty-two lands including that of *Daiaeni*. From the geographical indications in the accounts of these campaigns, *Adontz* places the *Daiaeni* between *Palu* and the *Ala Dağ* somewhere in the basin of the *Aracani* (*ibid.*).

Two hundred and fifty years later, in the reign of the Urartian King *Arame* (c. 880-p. 845), *Shalmaneser III* of *Assyria* (859-824) invaded *Urartu* – the new federation located in the former region of *Nairi* – crossed the *Aracani*, entered the land of *Suħmi*, which was ruled by a 'governor,' and then invaded *Daiaeni*. Conquering both, he ravaged them and then took and sacked the Urartian royal city of *Arzaškun* in the land of *Tumme* (*ibid.*:73). *Adontz* interprets these references to indicate that the

Dayan people inhabited a territory between Palu and Arzašku(n), that Suḥmi, being ruled by a governor, was only a province of the Dayans, and that both Suḥmi and Daiaeni correspond to the later Armenian land of Hašteank' (*ibid.*:81), located between the fortress of Palu and the Plain of Tarawn to the east.

Urtian records naturally speak of the Dayans, too, calling them *Diaueḥi* and naming the city of Sasilu (Arsis?) as their capital (Manandyan 1956:18-19). According to Adontz, *Diaueḥe* (or *Diau-ḥe*) is a patronymic or dynastic name meaning 'son of Diau,' the presumed founder of the dynasty that ruled the people-state (Ad-Gar. *ibid.*:201-203).

In Urtian records, however, we find the Diauehe living considerably further north than they had in the days of Tiglath-Pileser I and of Shalmaneser III and Arame. King Utupursi of the Dayans was fought by Menua of Urartu (c. 810-c. 780) and by the latter's son Argisti (c. 780-c. 756?). It is clear from the records of these Urtian kings that Utupursi's territory lay north of the Arax, and Adontz places it between the Arax and Lake Çildir (Arm.: *C'eli liḥ* or *Hiwsean Cov*). This region corresponds to the later Armenian district of Vanand, i.e. the upper course of the Axurean River (Kars *Çayi*) 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 some 400 years the Dayans were still living in Vanand (Manandyan 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 Aršarunik' and Vanand), where their passage was blocked by a host of Khalybes, Taokhoi and Phasianoi. After driving the enemy off, the Greeks entered the Dayan/Taokhian country which extended for ninety miles (a five-day march).

Beyond the Taokhoi lived the Khalybes whose territory extended for 150 miles to the River Harpasos – obviously the Armenian Arp'a – after which (IV.vii.13) a sixty-mile journey over level ground through the country of the Skytheni brought the Greeks to the city of Gymnias (read: **Gymrias*, i.e. Kumayri/Gumri/Alexandropol/Leninakan in Soviet Armenia). Five days from Gymnias – obviously to the West – lay Mt. Thēkēs (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 Çoroh – into the territory of the Makrones, i.e. the Çoroh 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 Urtian 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 Araxene Plain under the leadership of the dynamic Orontid dynasty. At this time the Taokhoi 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 *Ĵawaxk'* 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 Diaueḥi of the Urtians, derived the name *Tayk'* from the former and *Ĵawaxk'* from the latter (Adontz 1946:207). Toumanoff has shown, however, that there is no need for these to have been

two distinct peoples to account for the different names. That the Daiaeni were tribal federation is obvious from Assyrian records and Toumanoff postulates that this federation merely divided in two as it was pushed north (Toum. 1963:441). In my opinion, the Daiaeni and Diaueḥi are indeed the same people, the Armenians referring to the northwestern groups as the *Tay-k'* from the Assyrian name for the whole federation (Daiaeni), while the Georgians might have called them *Ĵavax-ebi* from the Urtian term (Diaueḥi).

As Toumanoff point out, the Armeno-Georgian marshland of *Ĵawaxk'/Ĵavaxket'i* 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'* (Geo.: *Tao*) was acquired by Iberia in the same period. I suggest that *Ĵavax-ebi* was the Georgian name for the Dayans with *Tayk'* being the Armenian, and that, having acquired the *Ĵavaxian* 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 to the two rival Caucasian cosmocracies 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, settling 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 *Ĵavaxebi* 'Ĵavaxians,' 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 *Ĵavaxet'i*, and which they joined with the neighboring districts of Artani (Arm.: *Artaban*) and Kola (Arm.: *Koḷ*) to form the Duchy of Cunda (*ibid.*:446) – also acquired *Tayk'* calling it *Tao* (or *Taoni*). 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 ethnicon to refer to the two territories in question: *Ĵavaxet'i* and *Tao*.

Shortly after their acquisition by the Iberian state, *Tayk'/Tao* and eastern *Ĵavaxet'i*, together with *Koḷ/Kola*, *Klarjet'i*, *Ašoc'/Aboc'i* and *Taširi* (*ibid.*:184), were absorbed by the rising might of Artaxiad Armenia, and, while *Ĵavaxet'i* 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 (Toum.: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 *Koḷ/Kola*, as we have seen above, and it is equally clear that *Boḷxa* was a separate principality as well. Thus, the Armenian term *Tayk'* must have originally referred to the holdings of the Mamikonids and so – subtracting *Koḷ* and *Boḷxa*, together with those territories clearly a part of the latter – must have consisted of four separate entities: *Arseac'p'or* (the valley of the middle course of the Çoruh); *Azor-dac'p'or* (the valley of the lower Tortum), *Ok'ate* (the upper Tortum valley) and *Čakk'* (**Ca[va]jakk'*?) the lower course of the Olti *Çayi*). The Armenian acquisition of *Koḷ*, probably in the seventh cen-

tury, appears to have led to its passing under Mamikonid rule. Thus, with Bołxa sandwiched in-between Mamikonid Tayk' and by then Mamikonid Koł, 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 AŠX.

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 Tayk' in its greater sense) and Lower or Hither Tao (Amier-Tao, i.e. northeastern greater Tayk'). 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 Guaramids. The latter, Lower or Hither Tao, apparently consisted of Čakk' and Berdac'p'or, 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) Tayk' 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'p'or (Geo.: *Asisp'ori*) in Upper Tao, passed to the Iberian branch of the Bagratids 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 Kłarjĭk'/Klarjet'i formed a vassal state of the Byzantine Empire known as the Curopalata 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 Tayk' of the AŠX. 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. Yovhannēsean (1970) counted nineteen fortresses in Tayk'. Area of Tayk': c. 10,170 sq. km. (Erem.:118) for the greater Tayk' of the AŠX (*sic*, actually 10,279); but c. 5372 sq. km. for the original land without Kol, Bołxa and its dependencies: (Inc.:368-75; Vax. 1842; Koch 1846; Pavlinov 1893; Hüb.:276-78, 357-61; Hermann *PW* 2/4; Taqaišvili 1907, 1909, 1938, 1952; Marr 1911; Vechapeli 1919; Allen 1929, 1923; Herz. 1948:121; Ingoroqva 1954; Toum. 1963:456-57, 498, *passim*; Erem. 1963:84, 118; Zdanevitch 1966; Khachatrian 1967; Hak. 1968: 200-62; Thierry 1968; Ad-Gar: *passim*; T'ašean (Daschian) 1970-73; Toum. 1976:96-101, 116-118, 331-339, 424-28; *idem*. 1990; Hak. 1968; Maruťyan 1978; Edwards 1986, 1987; Garsoian 1989:493; Sinclair 1989, II, Ch. III.).

²⁴⁴*Koł* (Geo.: *Kola*; Tk.: *Göle*) cf. a people called *Kōloi* (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. Koł/Kola is not mentioned by name in classical sources but their 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 Bagratids sometime between 813 and 830. (Toum.: 498; Edwards 1988).

²⁴⁵*Kriakunk'* '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 these the Armenians of old regarded as its source. In any case, no village called Kri-akunk' 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 dađi northwest of it (USAF ACC 324 C III).

²⁴⁶The Kur River (Geo.: *Mtkvari*; Gk.: *Kyros* or *Kyrmos*; Lat.: *Cyrus*; Russ.: *Kura*; Tk.: *Kuruçay*). The principal river of south Caucasia, the Kur has its sources in the springs of a circular swampy valley, the former district of Koł or Kola in north central Armenia, and descends rapidly to the north to water the plain of East Georgia (*Iberia*). Thereafter it flows through the arid and steadily broadening steppes of Azerbaidzhan and after joining the Arax, flows another c. 100 km. to enter the Caspian Sea. The Kura flows past such cities as Axalk'alak'i, Axalc'ixe, Mc'xet'a and Tbilisi (*Tiflis*), and near Ganjak (Kirovabad), Barda, and Šamxor, receiving the Aragvi, Alazani and Iora rivers from the north and the Xrami, Terter and Arax (Araxes, Erasx) from the south. Its entire length is some 940 km. m., draining a basin of some 20,130 sq. km.

²⁴⁷*Supra* VI B n. 25

²⁴⁸*Supra* VI B n. 28

²⁴⁹*Berdac'p'or*; Erem. (45): Berdac'p'or 'gorge of Berdik' was centered at the locality of Berdik 'little castle,' still called by the same name. Area: c. 990 sq. km.

²⁵⁰*Partizac'p'or*; Erem. (77): Partizac'p'or 'gorge of Partez' was centered at the town of Partez 'garden,' now the village of Bardiz. Area: c. 662 sq. km.

²⁵¹*Čakatk'*; Erem. (64): *Cakk'*. The position of Čakk' (or Čakatk'; Geo.: *Čakiet'i* or *Jaqni* perhaps from an earlier *čā[v]ak, a variant form of Ĵavaxk'/Diauehi?) can be determined, both by the indications in the AŠX and by a process of elimination as the mountainous country and its valleys along the lower course of the Bołxa River (Olti *Çayı*). It probably extended from the point where the Bołxa turns abruptly west after leaving Bołxa district to the point on the north where the Bołxa enters the Çoruh. The location of Čakk' thus determined, the question as to whether it was a part of the principality of Bołxa or of the principality of Tayk' might seem a moot one for geographically it could be considered a part of either. This problem is resolved, however, when we note that Čakk' contains the fortress of Tayoc' K'ar 'Rock of Tayk', (Geo.: *Taoskari*; now the village of *Tavuskar*) the earliest known center of Tayk', which thereby places Čakk' surely in the principality of Tayk' proper (Erem.: 84).

In Čakk' lay besides Tayoc' K'ar, both the other successive chief centers of Tayk', the castle of Eraxani and the village of İşxan. For this reason we may consider Čakk' to have been the nuclear district of the entire principality and its name almost unquestionably dates back to the Dayan name for themselves.

²⁵²*Buxa*; Erem. (45): Bołxa, later *Boxa*, or *Buxa* (Hüb.:357; Toum.:204); Ptol. (V.13.9): *Bokhai* for the inhabitants, which suggests an ethnic element akin to those other peoples whose names belong to the B-L/B-R root common in Caucasia (Toum. *ibid.*: 60, n. 58). Bołxa occupied the valley of the Bołxa River, now the Egrek *deresi*, and formed a separate Armenian principality under a branch of the Dimak'sean family (Toum.:204, where *Bukha*, *sic*, is erroneously placed in Ayrarat rather than in Tayk'), which probably including Berdac'p'or and Partizac'p'or both geographically connected with it. Here lay the fortress of Bołxa; Gk: *Bōlon* (Proc. *Aed.* I.15.18, *passim*) Tk.: *Buğakale*.

²⁵³*Azordac'p'or*. Also known as Kap'or (Ad-Gar.:171*), Azordac'p'or was located on the lower course of the Azord River (Tortum *Deresi*) and was centered around the large lake called today the Tortum Gölü through which the river passes. Here were found the village of Azord(k') now *Azort*, south of the lake, which gave the district its name, and, in later centuries, the village of Oški (Ošk), north of the lake, which was the site of a Georgian monastery in the later Middle Ages. Another important Georgian monastery existed at Xaxuli northwest of the latter.

²⁵⁴The significance of the passage is that the rivers bear the names of their valleys (or rather vice-versa). The rivers in question would be the Bołxa, now the Egrek *deresi*, and the Azord, now the Tortum *deresi*.

²⁵⁵ *Supra* VI A n. 11.

²⁵⁶ *Arseac'p'or*, sometimes called *Aseac'p'or* (Geo.: *Asisp'ori*) Erem. (40), later *Parxali*, this district, as already noted, was located in the valley of the middle course of the Çoruh and took its name from the locality of *Arsik* (now the village of *Ersis*) situated on a tiny stream entering the Çoruh from the right.

²⁵⁷ The *Parxar* Mountains; Geo.: *Parxali*; (Toum.:591); Gk: *Paryadres* (*ibid.*); Tk.: *Parhal daği* (*ibid.*), the stretch to the Pontic Alps lying between the Black Sea and the lower course of the Coruh River. For a discussion of these mountains and the significance of their name see Toum., 450ff.

²⁵⁸ *Supra* VII A, n. 10.

²⁵⁹ Erem. (53): *Tuxark'*; Geo.: *Tuxarisi*, was an important frontier fortress between Armenia and Iberia lying in *Kłarjk'* but on the frontier with *Tayk'*. It is now the village of *Xaras* (Erem.: *ibid.*), the *Khars* of Lynch (map), and the *Hersbagav* of USAF AAC 324 C III.

²⁶⁰ *supra* VII B, n. 22.

²⁶¹ *Nigal*; Geo.: *Nigali* or *Xevi Nigalisa* 'Valley of Nigal' (Erem.:72) or *Liganis-xevi* 'Ligani Valley' (Vax.:74), later *Livani* (Gug.:64) which Eremyan (119) makes a district of *Kolkhis/Lazica* on the lower course of the *Acampsis* (Coruh) River around the present city of *Artvin*; Geo.: *Art'vani*. Toum. (438) calls this a district of Lower Iberia. Area: c. 950 sq. km. (Erem.:72).

²⁶² *Mruł*; Geo.: *Murquli* (Erem.:72); Byz.: *Mourgoulē* (*ibid.*), located in the gorge of the *Murgul-su*. Area: c. 550 sq. km. (Erem.:71).

²⁶³ *Mrit*; Geo.: *Meret'i*, another district of *Kolkhis/Lazica*, located in the gorge of the *Mačaxelisc-qali* stream which flows from Mt. *Meret'i*. Area: c. 476 sq. km. (Erem.:71).

²⁶⁴ The three districts of *Nigal*, *Mruł* and *Mrit* were, I believe, component parts of *Kłarjk'* (*supra* n. 228).

²⁶⁵ The *Khaldeans* (*Xaltik'*) are not the descendants of the ancient *Urtians* as once generally supposed, but merely one of the many proto-Caucasian peoples included in the *Urtian* 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 *Khaldia* in this region until 1922. The same root B-L/H-L is found in the name of the *Khalybes*, a people cited by Xen. (*Anab.*, IV.5) and other ancient sources. According to Strabo (XII, 3,20), *Khalybes* was the earlier name for the *Khaldaeans*. Erem. (1963: map) curiously interprets this passage to imply that *Akamsis* and *Kakamar* are alternate names for the *Pontic* (Black) *Sea* whereas it seems clear from the former – i. e. from *Akamsis*, the Greek name for the *Çoruh* – that these were alternative names for that river (Erem.:64; Garsoian 1989:591).

²⁶⁶ *Palaxunk'* is a kind of aromatic made from the fruit of a particular tree (Erem.:97).

VII M. Ayrarat

²⁶⁷ *Ayrarat*, the region of central *Armenia* in the broad plain of the upper *Araxes* (*q. v.*). The name is undoubtedly connected with the *Assyrian* *Uruatri*, later *Urartu*, the biblical *Ararat* (Gen.12:20, Jer.15:13), and with the people called *Alarodioi* by Herodotus (III.94) in the fifth century B. C. The name *Ayrarat* is unknown to classical authors who were well acquainted with *Armenia*, and it appears to have been in purely local usage to describe the central lands of *Armenia* which formed the royal domains of the *Arsacid* kings and probably those of their *Orontid* and *Artaxiad* predecessors. There is even the possibility that the *Armenians*, after their conversion to *Christianity* in c. 314, having deliberately identified the 'Mountains of *Ararat*' of Genesis (12:20) with their own Mt. *Masis*, applied the

biblical name to the great plain around it. In this case it may well represent the *Araxēnon Pedion* (*Araxēnē* plain) of Strabo (XI.14.3), which in its *Armenian* form *Erasxajor* was otherwise restricted to one district within *Ayrarat*.

Although our anonymous seventh-century *Armenian Geography* depicts *Ayrarat* as a vast province 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. *Erasxajor* '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 *Abefeank'*, *Gabełeank'*, *Hawnunik'*, and (lesser) *Aršarunik'*.

2. *Bagrewand* or *Bagravand* (Greek: *Bagraouandēnē*, on which see Markwart (1930:11), in the valley of the upper *Aracani* river (Greek: *Arsanias*; Tk: *Murad-su*) in the modern plain of *Alaškert* (Tk.: *Eleşkirt*).

3. *Całkotn* (lit., foot of *Całkē*, *Urart.*: *Luša*; Geo.: *Kalkoitni*) located at the northern foot of the *Całkē* mountains (Tk.: *Ala Dağ*).

4. *Kogovit* (Kog valley), the district west of *Mount Ararat* centered at the castle of *Daroynk'* (also: *Dariwnk'* or *Darewnc'berd*; Tk.: *Bayazid*; now *Doğu Bayazit*), where in *Arsacid* times a part of the royal treasure was kept.

5. *Čakatk'* in the valley of the streams *Vardamarg* and *Agarak*, right-bank tributaries of the *Araxes*, and centered at the town of *Kołb* (now *Tuzluca*).

6. *Aragacotn* 'Foot of *Aragac*', 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: *Nigē*) corresponds to the modern *raion* of *Abaran* in the valley of the *K'asał* (*Kasakh*) River north of *Aragacotn*.

8. *Mazaz*, the upper course of the *Hrazdan* river (Turkish *Zanga*) which flows from *Lake Sevan* to the *Araxes*. Originally this district probably included *Varažnunik'*, which later became a separate entity under the princely house of that name (see below).

9. *Kotayk'* (Gk: *Kotaiia*), the left bank of the valley of the lower course of the *Hrazdan* river. Here was located the fortress of *Erevan* (*Urartian*: *Erebuni*), capital of *Soviet Armenia*.

10. *Ostan Hayoc'* ('capital' or 'court of *Armenia*') the municipal territory (?) of the city of *Artašat* (Gk: *Artaxata*), which for most of the *Hellenistic* and *Roman* periods was the capital of the *Armenian* kingdom. Located in the valley of the *Azat* river (*Garnichay*), it included the city of *Dvin* (*Byzantine* *Doubios* or *Tibion*, Arab.: *Dabil*), capital of *Armenia* from the fifth to the ninth centuries (*infra* n. 304), and the fortress of *Garni*, summer capital of the *Arsacid* kings.

11. *Urcajor*, the valley of the *Urcajor* river (modern *Vedi*), left tributary of the *Araxes*, southeast of *Ostan Hayoc'* and centered around the castle of *Sagerberd* and the locality of *Urcajor*.

12. *Arac* or *Aracoy kołmn* ('district of *Arac*') in the foothills of the *Siwnik'* mountains southwest of *Urc* along the right bank of the *Arp'aneal* river.

13. *Šarur* or *Šarur Dašt* (*Šarur* plain), along the lower course of the *Arp'aneal* (*Arpa*) River, centered in the locality of *Marawan* (lit., 'Mede town') near modern *Norašēn*.

14. *Maseac'otn* (lit., 'Foot of *Masis*,' i. e. *Mount Ararat*), a broad area along the right bank of the *Araxes* river northeast of *Mount Ararat*. This was the region called *Erikuabe* or *Irkua* by the *Urtians*, and here were found the town of *C'olakert* or *Jolakert* (Gk.: *Zogokara*, Latin: *Coloccia* or *Zotozeta*) and the village of *Anhatakan Ałbiwr* ('*Anahit's* spring').

The chief characteristic of the history of *Ayrarat* is its gradual partitioning among various princely houses related to the *Armenian* kings. The *Bagratids*, for example, were almost certainly a branch of

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 Bagrewand which may previously have been a part of Erasxajor. In some way unknown to us the Bagratids lost Bagrewand to the pagan religious 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, Bagrewand 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 Gnt'uni, while Całkotn at some time was held by the house of Gnuni. 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 Varažnunik', from whom it took its name (not to be confused with their earlier lands, also called Varažnunik', 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, Ayrarat rapidly broke up into separate principalities, 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 Šarur. By the seventh century we find Kogovit in the possession of the Bagratids, who probably also held Całkotn, which by then appears to have been part of Bagrewand (Ad-Gar.:241). The eastern lands of the old royal domains (with the possible exceptions of Varažnunik', and Nig, each of which had its own princely house) apparently remained under the direct jurisdiction of the *marzpan*s (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 (Bagrewand-Całkotn-Kogovit), the principality of Varažnunik' (without Mazaz), the principality of Nig, and most of the lands formerly lying under the jurisdiction of the *marzpan* (Mascac'otn, Aragacotn, Čakatk', and Kotayk'); however, Mazaz, Ostan Hayoc', and the principality of Urc (with Arac and Šarur) remained across the new frontier in Persarmenia. To these eleven lands were added at this time the following principalities: (1) Basean, (2) Vanand, (3) Širak, (4) Ašoc'k', and (5) the land of Upper Tašir (Erem.:85), which, like Ašoc'k', was formerly a part of the viceroyalty of Gugark' (Gk: *Gogarēnē*), 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 *AŠX* calls *Ayrarat* in the seventh century; its author fails to mention Upper Tašir but does include Mazaz, Ostan Hayoc', Urc, Arac, and Šarur, 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 Ayrarat 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 Kars and then to Ani in 961. In 962 an independent Bagratid kingdom emerged in Vanand with its capital at Kars, and in 982 yet another in Tašir 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 Ayrarat gradually fell out of use. In Vardan's *Geography* (13th century; ed. Berberean: 13) it is used solely for the regions of Kałzuan (i. e., Erasxajor and Aršarunik'), Basean, Gabečank', Abetečank', and Apahunik' (the last of which had never been a part of Ayrarat before), and does not include any of the other lands of the old royal domains. The territory of Ayrarat was under Georgian domination in the later 12th-early 13th centuries, but was then conquered by the Mongols (ca. 1240), after which it passed under Turkman rule in the 14th-15th centuries. The former Ayrarat was then partitioned between Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran in 1512 and again in 1639. In 1827 Persian Armenia was conquered by Russia, and in 1829 and again in 1878 certain portions of Ayrarat lying in Turkey also were taken by Russia. In 1921 the acquisitions of 1878 were returned to Turkey and the Turkish-Soviet frontier dividing Ayrarat in half follow largely the line of 1639. Ayrarat contained some sixty-two Fortresses (Yovhannēsean 1970). Area: c. 40,105 sq. km. (Inč.:376-504; Ališan 1890; Hüb. 1904:278-283; Mark. 1930:223, 232; Hon. 1935; Toum. 1963: *passim*; Erem. 1963:35, 118; Hak. 1968:121-158; Ad-Gar.:236-242, *passim*; Erem. *HSH* 1; Toum. 1976:266-270; *idem*. 1990; Hewsens *DMI* (s.v. "Ararat"); *idem*. *Elr* III; Sinclair 1988, I, Part II, ch. II; Garsoian 1989:451; Hewsens *TAVO* B VI 14, et seq.)

²⁶⁸ Bagsen; Erem. (440): *Basean*; perhaps the *Phauēnē* of Strabo (XI.14.4), read: **Phasiēnē*?; *BP* (III.9): *Basēn*; *Geo.*: *Basiani* (SB) in Brosset, *ibid.* 352); *RA* (II.12): *Passianon* and, for the people *Phasianoi* (Xen. *Anab.* IV.6), whence the *Phasis River* (*ibid.*), actually **Basean*, now the *Pasin-su*. Although the Greek form is the same as that used for the ancient name of the Rioni River in Kolchis, it is clear that Xenophon was not confusing the two, although the names *Phasianoi/Phasis* are undoubtedly related. This region is now called *Basen* or *Pasen* in eastern Turkey, where the town of *Pasinler* may still be found. The form *Bagsen* found in the text appears to be a copyist's error and is not attested elsewhere. Area: c. 2,525 sq. km.

²⁶⁹ The *Murc'amawr* or *Murc' River* is now the *Hasan-Kala-su* (Erem.:71). See Appendix X.

²⁷⁰ *Gabečans*; read: *Gabečans* (acc.); Erem. (46): *Gabečank'*, originally a part of Aršarunik' (Ad.-Gar.: 237) located around the town of Kałzuan, now Kağizman. Area: c. 1,275 sq. km.

²⁷¹ *Abetečans* (acc.); Erem. (31): *Abetečank'*, probably related to Urc: *Abilianihe*. Originally a part of Aršarunik' (Ad.-Gar.:237), this district was located on the left bank of the Arax River and extended to the Mecrac' Mountains (Soğanlu-*dağ*) in the region around Mažankert village (Tk: Mecingert). Area: c. 1000 sq. km.

²⁷² *Hawunis* (acc.); Erem. (62): *Hawunik'*; Hüb. (363): *Vahavunik'* (i. e., *Vahawunik'*), citing *Hawunik'* (i. e., *Hawunik'*) as a variant; S1877: *Vahawunik'*, originally a part of Aršarunik' (Adontz, 23) in which was located the town and castle of *Hawunik* (*Yawnik* or *Avnik*). Area: c. 1,400 sq. km.

²⁷³ *Aršaruneac'* (gen.); Erem. (40): *Aršarunik'*; earlier: *Erasxajor*, (MX, II, 90; Ad.-Gar.:237); later in the Middle Ages: *Ašornek'* (Erem., *ibid.*); *Geo.*: *Ašornia* and *Gabečank'* together occupied the main defile of the Arax gorge, whence the name *Erasxajor* for the united districts. Eremyan sees this district as having been separated from Širak as the municipal territory of the city of Eruandašat, but this is due to his notion that Eruandašat, 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.

²⁷⁴ *Bagrewands* (acc.); Toum. (201): *Bagrewand*, *Bagrewand*; Erem. (42): *Bagrewand*, *Bagrewand*;

Ptol. (V.13.20): *Bagrandauēnē*; Arab.: *Bagravand* (Bal.:194, 200); probably the *Raugonia* of the TP (XCV CVII), and of RA (II.9). Toumanoff (*ibid.*) places this district in the valley of the Upper Arsaias (Aracani/Murad-*su*). Mark. (1930: 11*) relates the name to Old Persian and Middle Iranian (Median) *bāga raivantah*, 'God's Garden.' Its chief city, Bagawan, would be 'God's Site,' (Toum.:319). This district corresponds to the modern plain of Alaškert. Area: Toum. (241): c. 5,000 sq. km.; Erem. (40): c. 5,275 sq. km.

²⁷⁵ *Calkuni*; Erem. (56): *Calkotn*; *Calkutn*, 'Foot of [Mt.] Całkē'; *Całkēotn* (ŁP 28); *Całkoyotn* (SA cited by Hüb.:363); Urtat.: *Luša*, whence the title 'Aluz' for the representatives of the princely house of the district; Geo.: *Kalkoitai* (Melikset-beg, I, 91). The district lay at the 'foot' of the Całkē Mountains, now the Ala Dağ (Ad-Gar.:241). Area: c. 675 sq. km.

²⁷⁶ *Vanand*; Geo.: *Vandi* (Melik'set'-beg 1:91) was located in the northern half of the Axurean valley between the Axurean River (Kars-*çay*) and the upper Kur. Apparently originally a part of Basean (the Romans, who knew this part of Armenia well, know 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 Aršarunik' and Abefeank' on the left bank of the Axurean, and Hawnunik' and Gabefeank' on the right. Since the princely houses of the last three states were younger branches of the House of Kamsarakan, which owned Aršarunik', it is possible that the House of Vanand was a Kamsarakan branch as well and, hence, of Royal Aracid 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) Ayrarat of Armenian sources. The center of Vanand was the town and fortress of Kars of *Karuc'berd* and here was also found the lake called C'eli (Tk.: *Çildir*). 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 Ašot III of Bagratid Armenia gave it to his brother Mušeł I. Under Mušeł (962-984) the new kingdom expanded until it included Aršarunik', Basean and a part of Ašoc'k'. Mušeł was succeeded by his son Abas I (984-1064), the last king of Kars, who abdicated in favor of the Byzantine Emperor in 1064. Vanand was immediately seized by the Turks (1065) and then passed to the Georgians as the district of Kari. Overrun by the Mongols in the 13th century, Vanand ceased to exist as a separate entity and after a period of Turkoman rule, passed to the Ottoman Turks. Under the Bagratids, Vanand enjoyed considerable prosperity and its capital, Kars, became an important mercantile and cultural center. Area: c. 4725 sq. km.

²⁷⁷ *Širak*; Ptol. (V.13.9): *Širakēnē*; Geo.: *Širaki*; Arab.: *Sirāj*, located along the middle and upper course of the Axurean River (Kars-*çay*). Known as *Eriabe* in Urtatian records, Širak perhaps owed its name to an incursion and settlement of the north Caucasian people called *Sirakenoi* in Greek (Strabo XI.5.7-8, *supra* V, n. 41). Širak was originally a part of the land of Ayrarat, the royal domains of the Armenian kings, and its princely dynasty, the House of Kamsarakan, claimed descent from the Karin-Pahlav branch of the Aracid Imperial House of Parthia. It was thus, itself, related to the Aracids of Armenia deposed in 428. In addition to Širak, the Kamsarakans also owned the neighboring district of Aršarunik' from which they were sometimes known as the Princes Aršaruni. The Kamsarakans became very important after the loss to Iberia (East Georgia) in 387 of the lands which had formerly lain between Širak and that country. The power of the house was broken by the Arabs, however, after the rebellion of 771-772 when the Kamsarakans sold both of their principalities to the Bagratids and migrated to the Byzantine Empire reemerging later as the House of Pahlavuni. thereaf-

ter, Širak, now a part of the growing Bagratid holdings, came to form part of the Bagratid Kingdom (884-1045), whose capital eventually was settled in Širak at the city of Ani (961). In 1045 the Bagratid Kingdom was annexed by the Byzantines under whom Širak formed a part of the Catepanate of Iberia with its capital at Ani but was lost when Ani fell to the Seljuk Turks in 1064. Širak then passed to the Shaddadids, 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) Širak became Turkish until occupied by the Russians in 1828. The present Turko-Soviet frontier follows the Axurean River so that Širak is now divided between Turkey and Soviet Armenia. Besides Ani, the district contained the town of Širakašat (after 591: Maurikopolis, probably capital of 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.

²⁷⁸ *Axurēn*; Erem. (32): *Axurean*, is now the Kars-*çay* and its continuation the Akuryan River. At its sources near Sarikamiş was located, according to Urtatian sources, the city of Axuriani (Erem.:32). The *Mecaget* 'great river,' is now the Çildir in Turkey (Erem.:70).

²⁷⁹ *Mawrikopawlsi* (gen.); Erem. (64): *Mawrikapawlis* or *Širakašat*, now the village of *Mevrek*. Širakašat would have been renamed *Mawrikopolis* in honor of the Emperor Maurice (578-602) after 591, when it may have replaced Theodosiopolis/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.

²⁸⁰ The printed edition has *awan* '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 L 1881 was based, however, makes it clear that *Ani* is the toponym in question, the probably birthplace of Ananias of Širak (see Appendix II), and, in the tenth-eleventh centuries, the capital of Bagratid Armenia and one of the great cities of the East.

²⁸¹ *Mren* was located near the juncture of the Tekor River and the Arax (Erem.:71).

²⁸² *Erundašat*. The city of Eruandašat, also called *Marmēt* has been identified with the ruins between Baxč'alar and Xerbeklu villages and was the center of Aršarunik' district (Erem.:51).

²⁸³ *Aracni* (gen.). The Aracani is the southern arm of the Euphrates, now the Murad-*su* (Erem.:38).

²⁸⁴ *Supra* n. 275.

²⁸⁵ *Oskik'* was a place on the northern slopes of the Całkanc' Mountains from which flows the initial stream of the Aracani called the Oskean River, the *Uskany* River of prerevolutionary Russian maps (Erem.:74).

²⁸⁶ *Npatakan Lerambn*; Erem. (72): *Npatakan* or *Npat leam*; Ptol. (V.12.1): *Niphates*; AM (XXIII,6,13): *Niphates*, now *Tapa-Seyd*, but see Mark. 1966:278 ff).

²⁸⁷ Bagawan or Baguan ('the god's site'), from an original **Bagarawan*?, Ptol. (V.12.7): *Sagaouana* read **Bagaouana*; Parth.: *Dic'avan* (Aa817), an ancient locality in central Armenia situated at the foot of Mt. Npat (*supra* n. 286) in the principality of Bagrewand, on the left bank of the Aracani River (Gk: *Arsaias*; Tk: Murad *su*) near its source, a few kms. west of modern Diyadin. Founded in the time of the Orontids (MX, II.51, 53, 55, 57) the name Bagawan was probably a semantic equivalent of *Angel-tun* 'house of Angl' (or Tork'), the tutelary deity of the Orontid dynasty which ruled Armenia in the fourth-third centuries B. C. (Toum: 219-20). One of the chief shrines of pagan Armenia, a perpetual fire was kept burning at Bagawan (MX II.77) and the New Year's festival on the first day of the month of Navassard was said to have been held here (Aa836). The account of MX (II.56) of the altar erected at Bagawan by the 'last Tigran' and his attribution of the establishment of this festival to King Valarsaces (Vałaršak) are probably his own inventions (see Thomson's notes to MX p. 493-4). After the conversion of Armenia to Christianity (c. 314), it is here that King Tiridates (*Trdat*) and his court are said to

have been baptized by St. Gregory the Illuminator in the Euphrates (Aa 836), whose southern arm (the Aracani, Arsanias 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 *Uç Kilise* 'the three churches'. According to MX (III.67) Shah Yazkert II of Iran camped at Bagawan during his invasion of Armenia in 439. In the Mongol period the town flourished as a station on the trade route between Khowy in Iran and Karin (Erzerum) on the Armenian Plateau, but by the nineteenth century only the monastery remained.

The important church of St. John Baptist at Bagawan was erected in 631-39 of large blocks of black and grey stone, and consisted of three naves each with an apse at its eastern end 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.

²⁸⁸ *Bagrewan*; The River Bagrewand is now the Sarian-*su* a tributary of the Aracani or Murad-*su* (Erem.:42).

²⁸⁹ *Armavir*; read: **Armavir*; Ptol. (V.12.5): *Armaouira*; Lat.: *Armavira* 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 Argišti I (c. 786-c. 764 B. C.). Named Argištiḫinele 'Argisti's city,' it quickly became a second capital of Urartu and the chief city of its northern provinces. As a result of the Scythian incursions in the late seventh century B. C., Armavir lost its political importance and, subjected to repeated Scythian 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 satraps 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 (Eruand) IV (c. 212-c. 200 B. C.) transferred the capital to the newly founded city of Eruandašat, supposedly 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 *perhaps* its municipal territory. The rise of Artašat (Artaxata/Artaxiasata, n. 305) as the new capital of Armenia in the second century B. C. and its replacement by Vałaršapat (*Kainēpolis*) in the second century A. D. must have led to the ultimate abandonment of Armavir, and the reference to the city in the time of Aršak II (fl. 363 A. D.) by MX (III.31-32) appears to be an error, for the earlier *BP* (IV.19) refers to *Artagers* in the same context. Limited excavations conducted fitfully on the site of Armavir have revealed that the city was walled. Three Greek inscriptions were found here in 1911 and four more in 1927. These, all apparently by the same hand, are in the nature of graffiti and nothing has been found at Armavir that would suggest a hellenistic city. The present village of Armavir (in Hoktemberi *raion*) lies near the site of the ancient city but was formerly known as Ľurdufuli. In 1839, a colony of Armenians who settled in North Caucasia at that time gave the name *Armavir* to their new community. (Sarkissyan 1886; Hüb.:405; Man.:36-38, 85; *idem.* 1946; Trever 1953:104-56; Arut'iwnyan 1955:47-54; Erem.:40; Hak. 1968:143-33; *HSH* 2 'Armavir').

²⁹⁰ *Aragacotn*; Erem. (38): *Aragacotn*; TA (Hüb.:364) *Otn Aragacoy* 'the foot of Mt. Aragac.' This district included the center of the Ararat Plain and the heart of Armenia. Here were found the earlier

capitals of Greater Armenia: Armavir and Vałaršapat. In Orontid times this district could have been the municipal territory of the city of Armavir. Area: c. 3,050 sq. km.

²⁹¹ The *Mecamawr* is now the Sew Ĵur 'Black Water' (Erem.:66; Garsoian 1989:481).

²⁹² Mt. *Aragac* (also *Alakiaz* from Tk: *Alagöz*), an extinct volcano (40.32 N. 44.11 E) rising to 12,489 ft/4090 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 (*Sübban*, 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 (13,382/4080), 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 Artik on the north slope. Steppe 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 (tenth-eleventh centuries) lies on its southern slope.

²⁹³ *Nig*; Erem. (72): *Nig* or *Nigatun*; Gk: *Nigē* (inscription found at Abaran in 1908, Trever 1953:271-283, Plate 87), corresponding to the modern *raion of Abaran* in Soviet Armenia. Its center was the town of K'asał, now *Abaran*. For the important Greek inscription found at Abaran granting the district of Nig to the House of Gnt'uni by the king of Armenia see Trever 1953:171-83; Toum.:205, n. 233). Area: c. 1,000 sq. km.

²⁹⁴ *K'arsax*; Erem. (111): *K'asax*, 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 *Ejmiacin*.

²⁹⁵ *Masis*; i. e., *Azat* 'high' or 'noble' Masis for the main peak and *P'ok'r* 'lesser' *Masis*, or more correctly *Sis* (Erem.89), for the smaller one; perhaps the Gk: *Baris*; Jos., *Ant.* I, 95, the *Abos* and *Nibaros* of Strabo (XI.14.1) and the *Abos* of Ptolemy (V.13.5); Per.: *Küh-i-Nüh* 'Mountain of Noah'; Arab.: *Jābal al-Hārith*; Tk.: *Agri Dağ* '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 outwards to the west like an elbow, 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 Ałuri gorge. On 20 June, 1840, a violent earthquake destroyed the village of Ałuri (Russ.: *Akori*), and the nearby monastery of Surb Yakob (St. James) was buried in an avalanche; (Lynch I:183 ff.). Although once heavily wooded, teeming with game, and dotted with some one hundred hamlets, Ararat is now barren, a the retreat of only a few nomadic Kurds, who graze their flocks on the good pasturage which is found from 5000-11 000 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 Ayrarat, 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

(1845), Seymour (1846), Khodzko (1850), Stuart (1856), Bryce (1876), Baker (1878), Sivoloboff (1882), Markov (1888), Semenoff (1888), Raphaelovich (1889), Allen and Sachtleben (1892), Lynch (1893), Postukhoff (1893), Oswald (1897), Wangouloff (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 I: ch. XII-XIII; Hüb.:394; Williams 1972; Zohrabyan (*HSH* 2).

²⁹⁶*Kogovit*; Erem. (59): *Kogovit*, 'Kog Valley'; SA (*Hüb.*:364): *Kogoyovit*; Seb. (*ibid.*): *Gogovit*; MX (III.23): *Kogayovit*; BP (IV.12): *Kog*; Geo.: *Gokoviti* (Melik'set'-beg, I:91); Byz.: *Kogovit* (CP, DC,687). Here was located Bagawan (now *Uç Kilise*), Arcap', Aršakawan and the district center, the fortress of Daroynk' or Dariwnk', now *Doğu Bayazid* where in Arsacid times part of the royal treasure was kept (Ad-Gar.:241). Area: c. 2,460 sq. km.

²⁹⁷*Vašaršapat*, now *Ejmiacin*, was founded by King Vašarš I (Vologaesius 180-190) apparently on the site of the earlier town of Vardgesawan. It then became the center of Roman influence in Armenia and was called *Kainēpolis* 'New City' and also *Artimed*. It became the capital of Armenia in the time of Trdat (Tiridates) the Great (298-330?) according to Eremyan (82), but under the Roman Commander Martius Verus late in the second century according to Grousset (112). On its becoming capital of Armenia, see also Chaumont (1969:18). According to Eremyan (*ibid.*), the municipal territory of the city was known as *K'atak'udašt*, 'city plain,' or, more likely, 'enclosed plain'. (Erem.:82; Garsoian 1989:498).

²⁹⁸The text has *Mayr Ekelec'eac' kat'awlikē*, the last word of which Khatchatrian (1971: 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 Ejmiacin founded on the edge of Vašaršapat 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.

²⁹⁹The text has: *yorum mayr ekelec'eac' kat'awlikē, ew martirosuheac'n matrunk'n*, which Eremyan (82) interprets to mean that the Cathedral of Ejmiacin was also dedicated to the maidens (Sts. Hrip'simē, Gayanē, *et al.*) martyred in connection with the Christianization of Armenia, and that the *AŠX* was thus clearly written before the separate chapels to Sts. Hripsimē (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 either Eremyan's interpretation or of Soukry's which latter I have followed here.

³⁰⁰The *Aspaben* or *Xawzmaur* River had its sources near Vašaršapat, from where it flowed south to join the Macamawr.

³⁰¹The *Azat* River 'noble' 'free' is now the *Gairni-chai* (Russ.: *Garnichai*), whose sources are on the western slopes of Gef Mountain at the place called Saxurak. Here carvings of whale-like water serpents called *višapk'* 'dragons' have been found, vestiges of an ancient water-cult (Erem.:31).

³⁰²*Geawt*; Erem. (47): Gef learn, one of the main peaks of the Gałmañan (now *Atmañan*) volcanic mass.

³⁰³*Saxuraktet*; Erem. (79): *Saxurak*, which he identifies with the *Aždanakan* of MX (I.30), now called *Azdahayurt*. Water-cult monuments in the form of dragons or sea-serpents have been found here (*supra* n. 301).

³⁰⁴*Ostann Hayoc'*, 'court' or 'capital of the Armenians', so-called from its having been the municipal territory of Artašat when the latter was capital of Armenia. Later, when the capital was located at

Duin in the same region, the district came to be called *Ostan Dēwnoy*. The city of Duin; Byz.: *Doubios*; (Proc. Pers., II.25,1-2) or *Tibion* (CP DAI 208) or *Tibē* (NRA 35); Syr.: *Devin* (Hüb.:422); Arab.: *Dabil* (Bal. cited by Hüb.: *ibid.*) 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.

³⁰⁵*Artašat*; Strabo (XI.14.6): *Artaxata* or *Artaxiasata*, was founded c. 176 B.C. by King Artašēs (Artaxias) I (189-c. 161) as his new capital located on the Xor Virap hills where the River Mecamawr 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 Artašēs' in Armenian, and there is a tradition that the site was chosen by the Carthaginian general Hannibal who was supposedly a guest of Artašēs after his defeat by Rome (Strabo XI.14.6; Plut. *Luc.* 31). Artašat had a distinct advantage over Armavir and Eruandašat, 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 Corbulo 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-c.98 A.D.), to rebuild it at great expense (Cassius Dio, LVIII.6.5 ff.), after which it was officially if only briefly, renamed *Neroneia* (Magic:561). In A.D. 163, Artaxata was again destroyed by the Romans who established a garrison at nearby Vašaršapat (*Kainēpolis*/Nor K'atak', now Ejmiacin), which shortly afterwards replaced Artašat as the Armenian capital, at least for a time. Artašat 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). Artašat was again destroyed by pro-Iranian Armenian forces during the Vardananc' War in c. 450 (Eł, 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, Artašat 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 Artašat, 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 (ŁP 79), and carried the road from Artašat 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. Artašat 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 Artašat was Jewish, may well be accurate. Capital of Armenia, with some interruptions, for close to 350 years, the city's district was known as *Ostann Hayoc'* 'Court' or 'Seat of the Armenians' (Erem.:41).

The remains of Artašat 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 Lamalu was renamed Artašat and in 1970 elevated to the rank of a 'city'. (Lehmann-Haupt 1910, I:173 ff; Magie 1950: *passim*; Erem. 1963:41; Hak. 1986:150-153; Man. 1965: *passim*; Šahnazaryan 1952; BSE; Krkyasaryan 1970; HZP I Arakelyan 1974; Garsoian 1989:448; Tirac'yan HSH 2).

³⁰⁶ *Urcajor*; Erem. (76): *Urc* or (118): *Urcajor*, 'Urc valley' located in the valley of the River Urc now the Vedi River, perhaps the *Uxis* 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 Łarabařar in the modern district of *Vedi*. Area: c. 1,175 sq. km.

³⁰⁷ *Araco kołmn*; Erem. (38): *Arac* or (118) *Aracoy kołmn* 'Region of Arac.' Located in the foothills of the mountains of Siwnik', north of Šarur Dařt along the right bank of the Arp'aneal River (Eastern Arpa *Chay*) corresponding to the modern district of Sadarak village, though Adontz (238) placed it in the valley of the Vedi River along with the district or Urc. Area: c. 250 sq. km.

³⁰⁸ *Vahojor*; read: **Vayoc'jor*, a district of Siwnik'. VII I. nn. 189, 193.

³⁰⁹ *Šarurdařt*; Erem. (73): *Šarur dařt* 'Šarur Plain,' located on the lower course of the Arp'aneal River, corresponded to the Šarur district of the old Khanate of Erevan, thus the modern region of *Norařen*. Area: c. 450 sq. km.

³¹⁰ Erem. (41): *Arp'aneal*, reading the *Artawnken* of the text as **Arpawnen*, i. e., *Arp'awanakan* (the adjective) now the Arp'a River. It Eř (III) the correct form, *Arp'aneal*, is found as the name of a town (now *Ařeni*).

³¹¹ *Marwna* (acc.); Erem. (65): *Marawan*, literally 'Mede-town,' apparently the site of the modern town of *Norařen*. Many Medes were settled in southeastern Armenia (MX I.30).

³¹² Apparently 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 Koile* '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 *Hedayab*; Gk: *Adiabēnē*). 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 [As]syrians' and *Asorestan* 'Land of Assyria.' (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. X; Herz.:306-08).

² ... *homanun pelagosin*. The 'Syrian' Sea is obviously the Mediterranean between Cyprus and the Syrian coast.

³ ... *areal Isisonē t'ē ew Kilika dranc'n*, cf. Ptol. (V.15.2): *meta tēn Isson kai tas Kilikias Pylas. Isson*; Ptol. (V.8.4): Issos, in Cilicia, also known as Nikopolis after Alexander's famous victory in the vicinity. It lay near Dörtyol north of present-day *Alexandretta*, the earlier *Alexandria-by-Issos* (Tk: *Iskenderun*).

⁴ *T'rasia*, which Soukry transcribed as *Thréas*. No such river name is found in Ptolemy although he does mention the Khryssorroas (V.15.9).

⁵ *K'orsēas*, *supra* n. 4.

⁶ *Ippos leain*; Ptol. (V.15.8, 22): *Hippos*, now the *Tel el Fara* (*sic*, **Tall al-Farā?*, Müller:964).

⁷ *T'ap'sak*, classical: *Thapsakos*, not mentioned by Ptolemy, is now *Dibse* on the Euphrates (PW 2/ IX).

⁸ *Amanis*, read: **Amanos*. Ptol. (V.15.1): *Amanos*, the Nur range which separates Turkey from Syria.

⁹ *Komagēnē*; Ptol. (V.15.10): *Kommagēnē*; (Hitt.-Assyr.: *Kummuhu*) was the northernmost district of Syria and was located between the Taurus Mountains and the Euphrates. It was a part of the Seleucid Empire but, as that empire weakened, it gradually became independent under a line of kings who were scions of the Orontids, the first royal dynasty of Armenia (Toum.:277-354). A rich and fertile region, *Kommagēnē* was much coveted and, after the death of Antiochos III in A.D. 17, became a Roman province. Given to Antiochos' son, Antiochos IV, by Caligula in 38, the territory became Roman definitively in 73 and its capital, *Samosata*, was renamed *Samosata Flavia*. Later, under Constantine, the capital was moved to Hierapolis (PW suppl. IV).

¹⁰ The author cites nine districts in Syria, then proceeds to list ten unless we do not count that of Antioch, which he seems to set apart. Ptolemy lists several more districts in Syria (*Laodikēnē*, *Phoinikē*, etc.) but many changes had obviously taken place in the internal arrangements of the province between his day (second century A.D.) and that of our text five centuries later.

¹¹ *Šamuřat*; Ptol. (V.15.11): *Samosata Legiōn*, now *Samsat*, a village in southeastern Turkey near the Euphrates (PW 2/2). Founded perhaps by Samos, Orontid king of *Kommagēnē* in the early third century B.C., *Samosata* became the headquarters of the Sixteenth Legion after the annexation of *Kommagēnē* by Rome in A.D. 73.

¹² *Kiwrimtiki*; Ptol. (V.15.13): *Kyrrestikē*, whose capital was Kyrros.

¹³ *Herapawlis* or *ē Mabun* (i.e. *Mabbuk*); Ptol. (V.15.13): *Hierapolis* 'sacred city'; now *Manbidj* (PW suppl. IV).

¹⁴ *Beřia* or *ē Xazazk'*; Ptol. (V.15.13): *Berroia*, also known as *Khalibon*; Syriac: *Khalab* Arab: *Halab*, (of which *Xazazk'* appears to be a corruption), now *Aleppo* or *Alepa* (Arab.: *Halab*).

¹⁵ *Likigiki*; Ptol. (V.15.18): *Khalkidikē*.

¹⁶ *K'alkisa*; Ptol. (V.15.18): *Khalkis*, now the ruins at Kinnesrin (Müller:976).

¹⁷ *Nkoria*, read: **Nikoria*, apparently the Syriac name for *Khalkis*.

¹⁸ *Awagn Andiok'*; Ptol. (V.15.16): *Antiokeia*, i.e., *Antiokeia-on-the-Orontes* to distinguish it from other cities of the same name founded by various kings of the Seleucid dynasty named Antiochos. Once the third city of the Roman Empire after Rome and Alexandria, Antioch is now the town of Antakya, located in Turkey since the frontier changes of 1938 (PW 1).

¹⁹ *Sewkra*; Ptol. (V.15.15): *Seleukitis*, after the city of Seleukeia near the mouth of the Orontes (Tk: *Samandađi*).

²⁰ *Apamia* ... *Apamia*; Ptol. (V.15.19): *Apameia* for the city; (*ibid.*): *Apamēnē* for its district, a site just east of the Orontes River near modern Latakia.

²¹ *Eppr'ania* or *ē Hemat'*; Ptol. (V.15.16): *Epiphaneia*, now *Hamāh*.

²² *Emaca*; Ptol. (V.15.19): *Emissa*, read: **Emessa*, center of the cult of Elagabal, now *Homs* (Arab.: *Himş*).

²³ *Kasioti*; Ptol. (V.15.16): *Kassiotis*.

²⁴ *Ařatsř*; Ptol. (V.15.27): *Arados*, which he does not include in *Kassiotis* but simply lists among the islands off the coast. It is now *Arwād*.

²⁵ *Kiwliřiwria*; Ptol. (V.15): *Syria Koilē*, i.e. 'hollow' Syria, is the region due west of the Euphrates, so-called from its position in a deep plain between the Lebanon and Antilebanon Mountains (Strabo: XVI.2), although Pliny (V.20) extends the territory covered by this name to the coast and Ptolemy obviously equates it with the whole of Syria.

Batanaia was a district to the northeast of Palestine which Ptolemy (V.15.25) includes in Syria.

²⁶*Damaskos*; Ptol. (V.15.9, 22): *Damaskos*; Arab.: *Dimashq*, reputed to be the oldest inhabited city in the world; capital of modern Syria.

²⁷*Badana est anapati*; Ptol. (V.15.26): *Batanaia*, a district bordering Palestine on the northeast.

²⁸*Palmiuni*; Ptol. (V.15.24): *Palmyrēnē*.

²⁹By *Havarin* the author is apparently referring to the oasis of Tadmor where classical Palmyra was located (Arab.: *Tadmur*).

³⁰*Balbanitis*; Ptol. (V.15.17): *Khalybōnitis*.

³¹*Piera*; Ptol. (V.15.8): *Pieria*.

³²*Kasimon*; (*ibid.*): *Kassios*.

³³*Libananos*; (*ibid.*): *Libanos, Lebanon*.

³⁴*Andolibananos or ē Sanir*; (*ibid.*): *Antilibananos*; Arab.: *al-Jabal al-Sharāʿī*.

³⁵*Aslamos*; (*ibid.*): *Alsadamos*.

³⁶*Karmēlos*; Ptol. (V.15.5): *Karmēlos*, i. e. Mt. Carmel.

³⁷*Orēntis*; Ptol. (V.15.3): *Orontes*, now the *Nahr al-ʿAṣi*.

³⁸*Elewt'ros or asi Azat get*; Ptol. (V.15.14): *Eleutheros* 'free.'

³⁹*Andandon*; Erem. (113): *Anda[ra]don*; Ptol. (V.14.16): *Antarados*.

⁴⁰*Adonis*; Ptol. (V.15.4): *Adonis*, now the *Nahr Ibrāhim*, a river entering the sea between Jubayl (Byblos) and Beirut (PW I).

⁴¹*Biblos*; Ptol. (V.15.4): *Byblos*, now *Jubayl*.

⁴²*Biwrit*; Ptol. (V.15.5): *Bērytos*, now *Beirut* (Arab.: *Bayrūt*).

⁴³*Ordanan*; Ptol. (V.15.9; 16.3.6; 8.10): *Jordanēs*, the *Jordan*.

⁴⁴*Paniada*; Ptol. (V.15.2): *Panias*, or *Kaisareia Panias*, 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 Lebanese Mountains (Mount Lebanon), Arab.: *Bāniyās*.

⁴⁵*Galilac'oc' covn* 'Sea of the Galileans'; Ptol. (V.15.9): *Gennēsaritis lymnē* 'Lake of Gennesareth'; Pliny (V.15.71): *Genesaras*.

⁴⁶*Asp'altitēs covun*; Ptol. (V.16.3): *Asphaltitis lymnē* 'Lake of Bitumen'

⁴⁷The *Banas* is unidentified.

⁴⁸*Barāda*; there are two rivers of Damascus which have their sources in the Antilebanon Mountains and which were later called the *Baradā* and the *Phege*, (Smith 1878, I:749), the latter now called the *A'waj*.

⁴⁹Kings 2:12. *Bana ew P'arp'ara*; the *Abana* and *Parpara* Rivers.

⁵⁰*Dawp'nos Antiok'ac'woc'* 'Daphne of the Antiochians'; Ptol. (V.15.16): *Daphnē*, a celebrated cult center of Apollo near Antioch. Dio Cassius (VI) calls it a suburb of Antioch ('Daphne,' PW IV). According to Pliny (V.18.79), the Orontes separated Daphne from Antioch.

⁵¹*Kastalāy*, 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.

⁵²Text: *Hrēastan*.

⁵³*P'iwnikakan pelagosin*; Pliny (V.13.68): *Mare Phoenicium*. The Phoenecian Sea is apparently the eastern Mediterranean south of Cyprus.

⁵⁴*T'rēas*, *supra* n. 4.

⁵⁵Ptolemy (V.16.2) cites *Kaisareia Stratōnos* in Palestine. Kaisareia, now in ruins, is on the coast of present-day Israel about twenty-two miles south of Haifa.

⁵⁶*Gzac'woc' navahangistn* 'The port of the Gazans'; Ptol. (V.16.5): *Gaza*, which still bears the same name.

⁵⁷*Gakila*; Ptol. (V.16.3): *Galilaia*.

⁵⁸*Samaria*; Ptol. (V.16.5): *Samareia*.

⁵⁹*Idumias*; Ptol. (V.16.10): Idoumaia, Biblical *Edom*.

⁶⁰*Tiberakan covakn*; Ptol. (V.16.4): *Tiberias [limnē]*.

⁶¹*Aspaltites or ē mereal covn*; Ptol. (V.16.3): *Asphaltitis*.

⁶²*Ordanan*; Ptol. (V.16.9): *Iordanos*.

⁶³The idea of Jerusalem being the *omphalos* of the world, together with the use of the cross symbolism (i. e. the term *Xač'ajew* 'cruciform') is a commonplace in patristic literature, e. g. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Katacheses* (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."

⁶⁴*Aparažn Arabia* 'Rocky Arabia'; Ptol. (V.17): *Arabia Petraia*, embraced the Sinai Peninsula and much of modern Jordan.

⁶⁵*K'ajac' K'atak*, a translation of the Greek *Herōopolis*, 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.

⁶⁶... *arewmtē čit Karmir Covun*, i. e. The Gulf of Suez.

⁶⁷Saint-Martin (390, n. 81) derives *Tačkastan* (i. e. 'land of the Tačiks') from Persian *Tazy* a 'barbarian,' a term which the Armenians came to use for all Muslims including the Turks.

⁶⁸*Monik'itos Coc'*; Ptol. (V.17.3): *Mounykhitis*. The Gulf of Aqaba.

⁶⁹*P'amanitē*.

⁷⁰*P'ařan*; Ptol. (V.17.3) cites a tribe *Pharanitai* but Mecca is almost certainly his *Makoraba* (VI.7.32).

⁷¹*Mełana*; Ptol. (V.17.3): *Melana orē* 'black mountains.'

⁷²*Elanitē*; Ptol. (V.17.1): *Elanitēs Kolpōs*, i. e. the Gulf of Aqaba (Müller, 'Ailana' PW I).

⁷³*T'rat'ēnon* (from Gr: **Thrathenon*?), which is not mentioned by Ptolemy. This might be the *Wādī el-Araba*. (See Appendix X).

⁷⁴The description of Mesopotamia in the AŠX clearly makes it coincide with the western part of ancient Assyria. This is the region which the term 'Mesopotamia' covers in Strabo (X.12) and Ptolemy (V.18), although Pliny (V.86) has it extend to the Persian Gulf and thus has it include Babylonia. The AŠX follows Ptolemy with certain additions and updating (Jones, *CERP*, Ch. IX; Garsoian 1989:449 *sub voce* "Asorestan").

⁷⁵*Segarōs*; Ptol. (V.18.2): *Singaras*, now the *Kob-i-šngar* range (Arab.: *Jabal Sinjār*) north of Sinjār, near the present Syrian-Iraqi frontier.

⁷⁶*Masion*; Ptol. (V.18.2): *Masios oros*, now *Mazi dağ* in southeast Turkey just north of Mardin (but see Mark. 1966:278).

⁷⁷*K'abaron orgarcem Xabawrlinel*. From the text it is clear that the AŠX is here referring to the [western] Khabur (Assyr: *Ḥabur*; Arab.: *Khābūr*; Ptol. V.18.3: *Khabōras*), a river flowing from Ras el 'Ain, and entering the Euphrates at modern Busaira (Gk.: *Kirkesion*), not to be confused with the [eastern] Khabur, a left tributary of the Tigris. Our author has confused this western Khābūr with the biblical *Chobar* (Ezek. I.1; Akk.: *Kabar*), 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 Nahr al-Hirmas but this is one of the Arabic names for the Ġağğāğ, a tributary of the western Khābūr. Curiously, the form *K'abaron* given here, is not taken from the Armenian Bible, which has *Abour* instead.

⁷⁸ *Řaština*, now *Ra's al-'ayn* in North-Syria. It is perhaps the *Rhisina* of Ptol. (V.17.7) or the *Rhesaina* of (V.18.10), or even both, for Ptolemy frequently takes different forms of the same name as the names of different places.

⁷⁹ *T'rt'ar*, the *Wādī al-Tharthūr* of central Iraq flowing south into Lake Tharthar.

⁸⁰ *Supra* n. 75.

⁸¹ *Leaīn Erkaīn*. From the context, the 'Long Mountain' must be the Midyat *dağ* of southeast Turkey.

⁸² *Mardē berd*; Ptol. (VI.1.3): *Mardē*; now *Mardin* in Southern Turkey.

⁸³ *Turadin*. The Turabdin Mountains would be the Syriac *Tur Izla*, a range just north of Nisibis extending to the Tigris (Marq. *Ērān*:158, n. 57).

⁸⁴ Marq.:158, n. 58: *Bzabde*; Gk: *Zabdikēnē*, (Toum.:598); AM (XXV.7.9): *Zabdicena*, for the region. Now the town of *Cizre* in Turkey by the Syrian frontier. Syr.: *Beth Zabhdē* (Marq.: *ibid.*); Arm.: *Cawdeayk'* (Eř II). This region is not to be confused, as is often done, with the Armenian district of *Sawdk'/Sot'k'* (Toum.:182, n. 146).

⁸⁵ *Amad* Mountain and the city of *Azusun* have not been satisfactorily identified (Marq.:158, n. 59).

⁸⁶ *Bemada* Mountain has not been precisely identified (*ibid.*).

⁸⁷ *Kureīan* or *ē K'tmar*. *Supra* VII C, n. 52.

⁸⁸ *K'iš* has not been identified (Marq.:160, n. 60).

⁸⁹ *Eremyan*: (74) identifies *Šukařaba* as the Syriac name for the Armenian city of Arzan, the name meaning 'great' or 'chief' *suk* (market). It is the later town of *Garzan* or *Zok*, now *Yanarsu* (Sinclair III:297).

⁹⁰ *K'ami* signifies 'wind' or 'gale' but in this context it would seem to refer to the mountain torrents flowing down into the Tigris.

⁹¹ *K'alirt?* *Supra* VII C, n. 50.

⁹² This reflects the frontier between the Sasanian and Byzantine Empires as it stood about A.D. 600 (Hon.: Map 1).

⁹³ *Šit'it'ma*. *Supra* VII C, n. 57.

⁹⁴ *Ninnūē*; Ptol. (VI.1.4): *Ninos*, the biblical Nineveh, was in ruins even in classical times. It lay on the Tigris opposite modern Mosul. Further on in the text (*supra* V.30a), we shall see how S1944 includes this city in Assyria rather than Mesopotamia (PW XXXIII, 'Ninos').

⁹⁵ The city of *Blat'*, Arab.: *Balad* (Yt I, 715) lay on the Tigris north of Mosul. It is now the village of *Eski-Mosul* (Erem.:44).

⁹⁶ *Kawat ew Kařar*. These provinces could not have been established after the fall of the Sasanian Empire to the Arabs after the invasion of 636, and it is very likely that they represent some kind of frontier reorganization which followed the Treaty of 591, corresponding to the similar reorganization of Byzantine Armenia by Maurice after the same treaty.

⁹⁷ *Awarintia*, *Amarđokē*, *Ottop'e*, *K'alt'ea*; Ptol. (V.20.3): *Auxanitis*, *Amarđokaia*, *Strophar* (or in some mss., *Strophades*), and *Khaldaiia*.

⁹⁸ I have been unable to identify these lakes, *Sor* or *Sorit*, which are not mentioned by Ptolemy or discussed by Marquart. They may, however, be the Chaldean Lakes cited by Pliny (VI.31). There are several lakes in southern Iraq, but it is difficult to identify any rivers or streams of this region as they have changed their courses so frequently. Marquart, however (164, n. 8), discusses these waterways citing both an upper and lower *Sūrā* canal.

⁹⁹ *K'ut'ayir* is unidentified.

¹⁰⁰ *Infra* n. 190 A.

¹⁰¹ For *Armakalēs*, *infra* n. 102. For *Abewt'ēn*, *supra* p. 30.

¹⁰² *Nek'etodnomonas*, a transliteration of the Greek *ekhei de gnōmonas* (Soukry:51). These details are found in the Armenian version of the Euseb. *Chron.* (Soukry:51, n. 1).

¹⁰³ *Sardion*; the sardonyx.

¹⁰⁴ The goldstone (Gk: *Khrysolithos*; Arm.: *oskek'ar* but here; *k'rosewlit'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.

¹⁰⁵ *Arabia Edēmon*, or *ē erjanik*; Ptol. (VI.7): *Arabia ē Eudaimōn*; 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-Yaman* – meaning 'right-handed,' i.e. 'southern' – with the Arabic *yumn* 'happy' or 'fortunate' (Schoff:47). The name Fortunate Arabia, however, included besides Yemen, the coastal lands of Oman (*Homeritōs*) and Hadramaut (*Hadramitōs*), as well as the vast desert, the 'Empty Quarter', in the center of the peninsula.

¹⁰⁶ I.e. from the straits on either side of the Sinai Peninsula as far as the straits of Bāb-al-Mandeb at the mouth of the Red Sea.

¹⁰⁷ *Palindios cayr*; Ptol. (VI.7.7) *Palindromos akra*. Cape Palindromousis is now Cape *Bab-el-Mandeb* at the southern entrance of the Red Sea.

¹⁰⁸ *Varaz cayr* 'wild boar' cape.

¹⁰⁹ *Netuc'n Krmona*. The Straits of Karmania are probably the narrows of the Persian Gulf between the Peninsula of Oman and south coast of Iran (Karmania).

¹¹⁰ *Parsayin coc'oyin*. Ptol. (VI.7.1): *Persikos Kolpos*, the Persian Gulf.

¹¹¹ *Sabaac'woc' azgn*, i.e. the *Sabak'*; Ptol. (VI.7.23): *Sabaioi*. The land of Saba, held by some to be the biblical Kingdom of *Sheba*, was located in the southwestern part of the peninsula.

¹¹² *Nikip'ar* (Gk: **Nikipharos?*) is not found in Strabo, Pliny or Ptolemy.

¹¹³ *Miwritin* or *ē Kngaber*.

¹¹⁴ *Mrsaber erkir*. Myrrh is a gum exuded from a small tree native to South Arabia but also found occasionally in Oman and on the Somali coast of Africa (*Balsarodendron Myrrha* or *Commiphora Abyssinica* order *Burceraceae*). Used by itself, without oil, it forms an ointment much valued since Egyptian times (Schoff:112).

¹¹⁵ *Azg Ĵknaker*; Gk: *Ikhkhyophagoi*; but Ptolemy cites only the *Ikhthiophagōn Kolpoi* 'Gulfs of the Fish-eaters.' 'The Fish-eaters' was a name given by various ancient authors (Dio. Sic. III.15; Herod. III.19; Pausanias I.33) to various peoples. Those cited here dwelled on both sides of the Red Sea. (*Supra* I, n. 83; III, n. 109).

¹¹⁶ *Vranawork'*; Ptol. (VI.7.21): *Skenitai*.

¹¹⁷ *Kdimaak'a* or *ē Sanduxt'*; Ptol. (VI.7.20): *Klimax oros*, the *Nabil Sumara*, highest peak in Yemen (Smith:635). The Arabic name *Nakil* is almost identical in meaning with that of the Greek, 'ladder.'

¹¹⁸ *Kndrki leārn*. The mountain of incense is unidentifiable but the 'Country of Incense' is mentioned in several ancient sources (e.g. Marc. Herac. *Periplos*).

¹¹⁹ *Stelos*, which is not mentioned by Ptolemy.

¹²⁰ *Dioskoridon*; Ptol. (VI.7.45): *Dioskoridous*, where, however, it is a city; the island of Soqotra in the Arabian Sea. It is eighty-five miles long and twenty-five wide.

¹²¹ *Gazanac' Kraic' [ktzi]*. Strabo (XVI.4.14) also cites this island of Tortoises.

¹²² *Sabekitēan coc'in*; Ptol. (VI.7.11, 46): *Sakhalitēs Kolpōs*; Sakhalites Gulf (from Arab.: *Sāhil*, 'coast'). This name was applied to an indentation of the coastline greatly exaggerated in ancient sources, between Ra's al-Kalb and Ra's Hasik (Marc. Herac., *Periplos*:47).

¹²³ *Barbarikon petagosn*; Ptol.: (IV.6.4; VIII.16.1): *Barbarikon Pelagos*. The Barbaric Sea would be the Indian Ocean east of Africa.

¹²⁴... *usti ekn tikinn ar Solomon*. 3 Kings 10.

¹²⁵Čenk', the usual Armenian term for the Chinese but see *infra IX* n. 116.

¹²⁶Most 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:

L	A	B
mškez	hali	hali
jabrik	ĵap'ri	ĵap'u
mařad	mařap	mařap
xařuk	xalsk	xalsk
k'edi	k'edxalhuna	k't'i
dhunařhunar		alxuna
xatar	xalara	xařar
buxtak	buxtak	buxtak
nardin	nardin	nardos
	balasan	balasan
	ban	ban
yasmik	yasmik	yasmik
nran	nardan	naran
	vard	vard
manuřak	manuřak	manawřak
marřigoř	mizagoř	marzgoř

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.

IX. THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AND THE FAR EAST

¹Taken together, the next four passages of the *AŠX* represent the most comprehensive geographical description of the Persian Empire under the Sasanid dynasty that we possess. Aside from the few geographical in the *Bundahiřn (Original Creation)* or *Zand-Āgāhīb (Knowledge of the Zand)*, a Sasanian religio-cosmological text in its present form dating only from the eleventh century (Bombay, 1908/1956); the more extensive ones in Tha'ālibi's *History of the Kings of Persia* (Paris, 1900); and the sketchy though valuable *Šabristānhā ī Ērānšahr (Provincial Capitals of the Persian Empire)*, ed. and Engl. transl. Markwart, 1931), only Šābūhr I's inscription (262 A.D.) on the Ka'ba-yi Zardušt at Naqš-i Rostam (*ŠKZ*, ed. Maricq. *Res Gestae*, 1958/1961), comes close to it in detail. These four passages alone then make the *AŠX* a text of the first importance for an understanding of Sasanian Iran, a fact recognized by Markwart immediately after the publication of L (1881), so much so that he embarked upon his own *magnum opus*, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps.-Moses Xorenac'i* (1901), devoted to the elucidation of these passages published scarcely twenty years later.

Apart from the three Iranian texts cited above, and, of course, Herodotus, who is too early to be of interest to us here, the only major sources we have for the political geography of ancient Iran are Isidore of Kharax, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy (all of whom describe the empire under the Parthians),

and *TP*, *AM*, *RA*, *Proc.* and Agathias, none of whom provides us with really detailed information. 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 Tomaschek, Markwart and Minorsky. The *EIr* 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 *CHIr* 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 Markwart's time may be found. See especially Schwarz (1929/69), *Hudūd* (1937), Back (1978) and Barthold (1984).

Eremyan (114, n. 2) felt that this chapter of the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* no longer existed. Later, in his opinion, the editor of the short redaction of the *AŠX*, 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 Ptolemy. In this way K'ustak-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.

The division of the Sasanian Empire into four great provinces (*kustak-s*) subdivided into lands (*řahr-s*) and districts (*ōstān-s*) was the work of Khusrō Anōřarvān (531-579). Marquart has already examined this portion of the *AŠX* in his *Ērānšahr*, 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 the Sasanian Empire found in the *AŠX*. I have, however, included Eremyan's correction to the forms of the toponyms 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 L. 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 *ŠKZ*, the *Bundahiřn* and Tha'ālibi as given by Brunner (*ibid.* 750).

ŠKZ	Bundahishn (<i>sic.</i>)	Tha'ālibi
1. Pārs	Spāhān	Fārs
2. Parthau		
3. Khuzistān		Ahvāz
4. Maishān		
5. Asūristān	Asūristān	'Irāq
6. Nōdardashīragān		
7. Arbāyistān		

8. Ādurbādagān		Āzarbāijān
9. Armin		Armīniyya
10. Wirōzān		
11. Sigān		
12. Ar(r)ān		
13. Balasagān		
Parishkhkhwārgar	Padishkhwārgar	Tabaristān
14. Māh	Ray	Ray, etc.
15. Gurgān		Gurgān
16. Marv		
17. Harēw		
Abarshahr	Abarshahr	Khurāsān
18. Kirman		(Kirmān)
19. Sagistan	Sēyānsih	Sijistān
20. Turgistan		
21. Makuran		
22. Pārdān		
23. Hind		
24. Kushānshahr		Tukhāristān
25. Mazōn		

²Text: *K'usti Xorasan* 'the Eastern Region', although it is clear from the description that 'the Western Region' is intended. Marquart (8) corrects this to read *K'usti Xorbaran*; *Catalogue: Xwarvarān* from Phl: *Kōst-i Xwarbarān* (*ibid.*:17), and I am following him here. Saint Martin saw *K'usti* as *Xus*, which he derived via Syriac from the term *chus* (*sic*), anciently used by the Persians to designate their entire country. *Xusti Xorasan* would then mean simply 'Khus of the East,' i.e. eastern Iran. Markwart (*Catalogue*, 25), however correctly explains the term from Middle Persian *kust*, 'belly,' 'flank,' 'side.' *Xust-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
<i>K'usti Xorbaran</i>	<i>K'ustak-i-Xoruaran</i>
May	May
Masptan	Masptan
Mihrakan-K'atak	Mihran-K'ustak
K'aškar	Kaškar
Garmakan	Garmakan
Eran-Asan-K'art-Kawat	Eran-asan K'art-Kawat
Notatrai	Not-Artaširakan
Širakan	
	Marcin
Arjn [Arhen]	Arzon

There are three names in this list of the districts of the Western Region which require particular analysis beyond that given by Marquart. These are those which the *AŠX* calls *Notartay*, *Širakan* and *Marjinēsteh*. *Širakan*, which Eremyan (115) combines with the previous name, *Notatrai*, to read *Not-Artaširakan*, is the only toponym in the *AŠX* that can be linked to the third military vice-royalty of the

Armenian Kingdom, the Vitaxate of Nor-Širakan, and to the three southernmost districts of Armenia: Nixorakan, Dasn and Mahkert-tun, cited by *BP* (IV.50). These Eremyan considers to have comprised the *Marac' Amur Ašxarb* 'stronghold land of the Medes,' but I have identified them with Nor-Širakan (Hewsen, *REA* XXI 1987). We have already examined the term *Širakan* 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 *AŠX* depicting these regions previously described as a part of Armenia, here as parts of the empire of Sasanian Iran.

Nor Širakan, Norširakan or Noširakan, literally 'New Širakan' (or, in Toumanoff's Latinized form *New Siracene*, presumably as opposed to the district of Širak or Širacene in central Armenia but, as we shall see, more precisely *New Sigrianice* or even *New *Siriganice*), was the Armenian name for the military viceroyalty that Adontz suggested designated the territories of the Armenian kingdom wrested at one time or another from the Kingdom of Adiabēnē (Syr.: *Hedayab*), or 'the Median March' although neither Adiabēnē nor Media are mentioned in connection with it in our sources.

Eremyan (1979) makes the territory of this vitaxate 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 Širakan 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 Širakan* with the mountainous country to the north of Adiabēnē, and second, the connection of the term *Širakan* with the plain west of Lake Urmia. What Eremyan has missed, however, (and Adontz has missed it as well), is that *Širakan* and *Nor Širakan* are two *different* terms, not synonyms or variants of the same toponym. In the same way, neither *Širakan* nor *Širak* are coterminous despite their similarity, and it is far more likely that *Nor Širakan* is so designated as opposed to a district called *Širakan* rather than as opposed to the one called *Širak*. 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 Širakan* first appears in the tri-lingual inscription of Sapor I (240-272?), where, as we shall see in a moment, it serves as the Persian translation of the *Adiabēnē* of the Greek text. Again it appears in Agathangelos (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 Amida to the city of Nisibis, he passed along the borders of Syria, the land of *Nor Širakan* and *Korduk'* to the impregnable land of Media, to the house of the Prince of Mahk'r-tun to Atrpatakan ...

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 Širakan* as one of the four vitaxas of the Armenian realm.

The third reference to *Nor Širakan* occurs in *BP* where we are told (IV.50) that the Vitaxa (*bdeāšx*) of *Noširakan* (*sic*) together with princes in the same and other parts of Armenia rebelled against King Aršak II in the 360's; and then (V.9) that a few years later Prince Mušēl Mamikonean brought the land of *Noširakan* (no mention of its vitaxa) into submission.

Yet a fourth reference to this region is to be found in Pseudo-Eusebius (Sebēos, III, p. 59), whose so-called *History of Heraclius* tells us that when Bahrām Čōbēn 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 *Norširakan* (*sic*) to the frontier of the 'Tačikk'." Since the 'Tačikk' are the Arabs of Mesopotamia, this promise is tantamount to a grant of all of Adiabēnē to the Armenians, and it appears clear that just as Arabastan represents the Syrian ecclesiastical province of

Bēth Arabāyē described below, so Nor Širakan must have been the Armenian as well as the Iranian name for the Metropolitan See of Hedayab, i. e., for the whole of Adiabēnē.

Finally, the only other significant reference to this region is found in the *Book of Letters* (*Girk' T'k'oc'*, 41) where there is mention of the Christians of Noširakan (*sic*) of the state of Nineveh (. . . K'ristoneay Noširakanin i *Ninnē nahang*) a description which fully supports our interpretation of pseudo-Eusebius: Nor Širakan/Noširakan 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 *Ntvshbrkn* in the Parthian version and *Nvtkhshbkn* in the Middle Persian, two toponyms that Sprengling reconstructs respectively as *Natūshīrakān* and *Nōtakhshirakan*. Thus there seems little doubt that Nor Širakan is the Armenian name for Adiabēnē and that the Vitaxate of Nor Širakan refers, as Adontz rightly saw, to the Armenian lands adjoining Adiabēnē, just as the Vitaxate of Aruastan (i. e., Syr.: *Bēth Arabāyē*; Phl.: *Arabastan*; the Armenian principality of Aḥjnik') took its vitaxal name from the adjoining land comprised in the district of Nisibis. The name of the Vitaxate of Nor Širakan 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 Širakan and *Nor Širakan*, we can now see how Eremyan has interpreted the sources: To him, there was a village near Lake Urmia (in the plain to the west of the Lake) called *Širakan* from which the local district took the name *Širakan*, or more frequently *Nor Širakan* or *Norširakan* (occasionally slurred as *Noširakan*) to distinguish it from the principality of Širak in central Armenia. What Eremyan appears to miss, however, is that nowhere is the plain of Urmia called *Nor-Širakan per se*. Then again the interpretation of the term *Nor Širakan* as being used in opposition to Širak proper in central Armenia is, as we have seen, not at all certain, and the term *Nor Širak* 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 Širakan* of Pseudo-Sebeos to *Nor Širak* because he thought it was used in contradistinction to Širak in Central Armenia.

If the correct form for the name of the western shore of Lake Urmia is indeed *Širakan tout simple*, then *Nor-Širakan* could have been used to distinguish the territories along the frontier of Adiabēnē from *Širakan 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 Artaxiads – Artaxias 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. Širakan 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 *New Sirakan* 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 Iranian) name for the kingdom, while the Armenians alone continued to use it as the name of the adjoining vitaxate, just as the Vitaxate of Aḥjnik', which only *adjoined* Aruastan (Mygdonia), was called in Armenian 'the Vitaxate of *Aruastan*' as well. Whatever the case, there is no question that the term *Nor Širakan*, in one form or another, was the Iranian name for Adiabēnē, nor does there seem to be any doubt that *Širakan* refers to the plain west of Lake Urmia. There is no evidence that *Širakan* and *Nor Širakan* were ever one territory or that the latter name, *Nor Širakan*, was used in opposition to that of *Širak* in central Armenia or had any connection with it beyond the possibility that each district had been a locus of Scythian settlement centuries before.

The territory of the Vitaxate of *Nor Širakan*, then, must have comprised Mahkert-tun, Nixorakan

and Dasntre. It did *not*, however, overflow the Zagros Mountains to reach the shore of Lake Urmia as Eremyan believes, and which is, from the military point of view, logistically unlikely. Who then held the Vitaxate of *Nor Širakan*? Probably the only princes who we know for certain reigned within the area that the vitaxate enclosed: The Princes of Mahkert-tun.

One aspect of the historical geography of these southern border lands that has been generally overlooked has been the fact that as already noted, the *AŠX* approaches them from two different directions, first describing them as parts of Armenia (from which they had been separated in the fourth century and lost to Iran) and once again as parts of the Western Region (Kōst-i Xwarbarān) of the Persian Empire into which they were included in the sixth century during the reorganization of the empire which took place under the Great King Xusrō Anōšarvān (531-579). Thus, having seen these marchlands described as former parts of Armenia, we should expect them to be mentioned again in the *AŠX*'s description of the Persian Empire, just as Armenia, Iberia, Albania, P'aytakaran and Siwnik', all described individually by the same text, are listed again further on as parts of the Caucasus Region (Kōst-i Kapkoh) of the same Persian Empire (i. e., Armn, Varjan, Ŗan, Baḥasakan and Sisakan). The marchlands in question are those called in Armenian *Aḥjnik'*, *Aruastan*, *Korčayk'* and *Parskahayk'*, all but Aruastan being described as parts of Armenia in the *AŠX* but all four of which, as we know, had passed to Iran by 387 and which formed parts of the Kōst-i Xwarbarān at the time when the *AŠX* was composed. Where are these territories in the *AŠX*'s description of the Western Region? To what subdivisions of this division of the Persian Empire do they correspond?

According to the *AŠX*, the Western Region of the Sasanid realm included the following lands (*šabr-s*): Maymasptan, Mihrank'atak, K'arškar, Parmakan, Eran, Samk'ar-Kawat, Notartay, Širakan and Mayjinēsteh. The last three names are the ones which interest us. Marquart (8, 16) reads them as *Nohatray*, *Širakan*, and *Arzn/Arhēn*, while Eremyan (1963, 115) emended them to read *Not-Artaširakan*, *Marjin* and *Arzon*. Adontz (Ad-Gar:177) was probably more accurate in reading them *Nōhādrā*, *Širakan* and *Arzōn-Ostan* since all three of these terms are found in other sources. As a result of Marquart's analysis of the text, all of these districts have been successfully located and we can see that the Armenian territories in question are those comprised in the last three names. In some way or another Notartay, Širakan (*rectius*: *Not-Artaširakan*), Marjin and *Arzōn-Ostan must correspond to the Armenian territories of Aḥjnik', Korčayk' and Parskahayk' lost to Iran in 387. To determine in what way they do, however, we must first examine the historical geography of this remote and mountainous region in some detail.

One thing which as always been taken for granted has been that the various territories forming parts of Armenia invariably maintained their territorial integrity intact as they passed from hand-to-hand or emerged and reemerged in different contexts. Thus, for example, Toumanoff (181-82) suggests that the Princes of Korduk'/Kordouēnē were descended from the earlier kings of Gordyēnē, thus implicitly equating Korduk' with Gordyēnē, while Marquart assumed that the Vitaxate of Aḥjnik', which he believed included, Sophēnē, Ingilēnē, Anzītēnē and Greater Sophēnē or Sophanēnē, passed intact to Rome in 298, intact to Iran in 363, and emerged intact in the fifth century as the Nestorian Metropolitan province of Bēth Arabāyē. 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 some explanation of how these lands came to appear in the *AŠX* 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: *Tamoritīs, Gordyēnē, Adiabēnē, and Sygrianē, all lying in an arc extending from west to east along the southern frontier of Armenia between the kingdoms of Osrhoēnē (northwestern Mesopotamia) and Media (northwestern Iran).

2. The territorial content of this area is further detailed three centuries later when Peter the Patriarchian (14.189) cites Arzanēnē with Kardūēnē (read: *Kordouēnē) and Zabdikēnē; and again sixty-five years afterwards when AM (XXV.7.9) adds "Arzanena, Moxoena, and Zabdicena, and also Rehimena and Corduena." Mygdonia, long held by Armenia, had become a part of Adiabēnē in the first century A. D. and 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 Aḥnik' (Arzanēnē), Mōkk' (Moxoēnē), Korduk' (Kordouēnē), Tmorik' (*Tamoritis), Korčēk', Noširakan (*sic*), Mahkert-tun, Nixorakan and Dasntrē, 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 Syrian (Nestorian) metropolitan sees which were organized in this region by 410:

a. The Metropolitan See of Bēth Arabāyē (Nisibis), with its five eparchies (episcopal sees) of Bēth Arzōn, Bēth Qardū, Bēth Zabdē, Bēth Reḥimē and Bēth Moksāyē. Since the location of all of these districts save Beth Reḥimē (Rehimēnē) 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 Bēth Ḥedayab (Arbela) with its six eparchies of Bēth Nōhādrā, Bēth Bagāš, Bēth Dāsen, Bēth Remmōnīn, Bēth Māḥqart and Bēth Darbarinos (*sic*).

Within these two metropolitanates it is obvious that the eparchies of Bēth Arabāyē (i. e., Assyria) and Bēth Ḥedayab (i. e., Adiabēnē) correspond respectively to a) the previously cited lands of Arzanēnē, Kordouēnē, Zabdikēnē, Rehimēnē (Mygdonia?), and Moxoēnē; and b) to those of Mahkert-tun, Nixorakan, Dasntrē, as well as the whole of Adiabēnē.

5. The seventh century *AŠX* groups the lands between northern Mesopotamia and Media into four arrangements:

a. Aḥnik', with its ten districts of Np'ret/Np'rkert, Aḥn/Arzan, K'aḥ/K'eḥ, Kēt'ik, Tatik, Aznuajor, Erxet'k', Gzeḥ, Salnoy jor, and Sanasunk'.

b. Aruastan – the region of Nisibis, the Greek Mygdonia, the Syriac Bēth Arabāyē (in the smaller sense, i. e., Beth Reḥimē?).

c. Korčayk', with its eleven districts of Korduk', Upper, Middle and Lower Kordrik', A[yr]-truank', Aygark', Moḥ'olank', Orsirank', Kart'unik', Čahuk and Lesser Aḥbak.

d. Parskahayk', with its nine districts of Ayli/Kuričan, Mari, T'rabi, Arasx/Ovēa, Aḥnay/Ēḥnay, Tamber, Zareḥawan, Zarawand, and Hēr.

6. Finally, the *AŠX* as we have seen, when speaking of the Western Region of the Sasanian Empire regroups these territories into the four lands of *Nōhādrā, Širakan, Marjin and *Arzōn-Ostan.

An examination of these various arrangements shows that the final grouping by the *AŠX* into three units (with no mention of Korčayk') 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 (Nōhādrā/Nor Širakan and Arzon/Aḥnik'), 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 Bēth Arabāyē does not reflect a vitaxate but must reflect the new Persian provinces of *Arzōn-Ostan comprising the four lands of Aḥnik', Korduk', Zabdē, Rehimē; together with Arabastan proper, i. e., Mygdonia, the region of Nisibis (which the Persians called Marjin); while the Metropolitan See of Ḥedayab reflects the new Persian province of Nōhādrā, which must have included the whole of Adiabēnē together with the lands taken from Armenia in this quarter: Mahkert, Nixorakan and Dasntrē, i. e., Nor Širakan.

It is probable (though not certain) that the nine easternmost districts of the eleven cited by the *AŠX*

as parts of Korčayk' (Middle Kordrik', Upper Kordrik', A[yr]truank', Aygark', Moḥ'olank', Orsirank', Kart'unik', Čahuk, and Lesser Aḥbak), also taken from Armenia at this time, i. e., the royal land of Korčēk', were joined by the Persians with Korduk' and T'morik' (Upper Kordrik') to form a single *division* of Arzōn-Ostan, i. e., the part which Syrian authors refer to as the eparchy of Bēth Qardū, and the *AŠX* as Korčayk'. What must have happened was that having annexed the vitaxate of Korduk' (with T'morik' and the royal land of Korčēk', the Persians merged the three and then added them to the territory of the Vitaxata of Aḥnik' acquired at the same time, to form part of the new province of Arjn-Ostan.

It has been suggested that the wording of the *AŠX* "Notartay. Širakan, *Arzōn-Ostan" be emended to read "Notartay, i. e., Širakan, *Arzōn-Ostan," Širakan being a gloss giving the Armenian name for Notartay. This would link Nor Širakan with *both* the lands in the mountains northeast of Adiabēnē 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 *nohodar* associated with the Adiabenean area. Frye (222) states:

I would also compare *bitaxš* [i. e., vitaxa–R. H. H.] with nohodar 'first place man' and interpret *bitaxš* as 'second place' (ruler?). Whether this title was limited to the northwestern part of the Parthian domains is uncertain but it is definitely and plentifully 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 *nakhodar* 'prefect or governor' as the Parthian designation for the King of Adiabene.

What I see from these passages is the possibility that *nohodar/nakhodar*, i. e., 'first place man,' was the title of the King of Adiabēnē, and *bitaxš* 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 Adiabēnē in the same way that he and the other three Armenian vitaxas were usually in 'second place' to the King of Armenia.

Having identified Ḥedayab/Adiabēnē (together with the vitaxate of Nor Širakan) with the Persian province of Nōhādrā (the *Notatray* of the *AŠX*), then the only land in this part of the Western Region not yet identified, namely Širakan, must correspond to the later Parskahayk', which is unknown to any earlier Armenian source, and which the *AŠX* (22.7) describes clearly as lying in the lowlands to the west of Lake Urmia.

³*Usti*, read *K'usti Nemroḥ, *Catalogue: Nēmroḥ*. Marquart (9-10) reads these districts as follows, but Eremyan makes no attempt to reconstruct them:

	<i>K'usti-Nemroḥ</i>
Pars	Srman
Xužastan	Spet
Aspahan	Vašt
Mēšun	Sakastan
Hagar	Zaplastan (See Appendix X, 233, n. 3).
Paniatršir	Der (an island–R. H. H.)
Turan	Mēšmahik (an island–R. H. H.)
Kurman	Mazun
Makuran	Xužihstan
Snd	Spahl
	Dēbuhl

⁴ *K'rašti* read **K'usti Xorasan*. Marquart (*ibid.*:9) reads these districts as follows, (again Eremyan makes no effort to restore their names):

<i>K'usti Xorasan</i>			
Ahmadan	Katašan	Hrum	Asan
Komš	Nsai-mianak	Zamb	Bahli-bamik
Vrkan	Bžin	Peroz-naxčir	Drmat
Apršahr	Talkan	Dzin-Awazak	Č'arimankan
Mrv	Gozkan	Varčan	Š'eri-bamikan
Mfot	Andrap	Mansan	Dziroyin
Hrew	Vest	Gčak	

⁵ In the *Catalogue*, this region is referred to as *Kust i Aturpatakan* and as *Apāxtar* 'the North'. Marquart (10) and Eremyan (115), following the *AŠX* read the districts of this region identically except for the last two where Marquart has *Rwan* and *Aml* and Eremyan, *Ruan* and *Amol*.

⁶ *Sis*, *Akanie*; read: **Sisakan*, *Ře*. This *Sisakan*, cited as a subdivision of the Caucasian Region of the Sasanid Empire, is spelled the same as the *Sisakan* district located in *Siwnik'*, although here it undoubtedly refers to the entire land of *Siwnik'*, (*supra*, VII.I n. 189). The citing of *Sisakan/Siwnik'* separately from *Armn* (i. e., Armenia proper), as if it were as distinct an ethnic entity as *Wrkan* (Iberia), *Řan* (Albania) or Armenia itself, is most revealing, for it indicates that the Persians did not recognize this border region as Armenian. There is, in fact, considerable evidence that *Siwnik'* was more armenized than Armenian (Toum.:214 and n. 244; Ad-Gar.:325; Grousset:130ff.), and the Syrian historian Ps.-Zach. (XII.7) tells us that the people of 'Sisagan' had their own language (which may have been related to Albanian). Also, when St. Mesrob Maštoc' went to King Erušen 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).

⁷ This last remark refers to a passage which does not follow and which was either not written or which has not survived in any of the mss. of the *AŠX* that have come down to us (Erem.:115, n. 1).

⁸ *Mark'*. It is interesting how at this point our author, after departing from Ptolemy to describe the four divisions of the Sasanid Empire and to list their administrative subdivisions, now picks up where he left off and proceeds to redescribe the same area according to the divisions of Parthian (and early Sasanid) times as given in Ptolemy (VI.2-4; 8-13). He seems to have known what he was doing, 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. *supra* n. 1).

⁹ *Madea*.

¹⁰ *Madaē*.

¹¹ 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.:137 for his reconstruction of this passage which I have followed.

¹² *Artašezok'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 Alexandria Margiana. This may be the settlement of Romans referred to here with Orodes confused with Artaxerxes Okhos, in whose time (359-338 B. C.), of course, there could be no question of Roman prisoners.

¹³ *Kasbk'*, *Gagušk'* (read: **Katušk'*), *Getk'*, *Dilumk'*. For the Dailamites cf. *supra* I n. 191; Gēlai, I n.192; Cadusians, I n. 195; Caspians, *infra* n. 149 A.

¹⁴ Ptolemy's provinces of Media are: *Khōromithrēnē*, *Elymais*, *Sibika*, *Sigrianiē*, and *Rhagikhna*. The four 'provinces' cited by the text at this point are actually peoples mentioned by Ptolemy (VI.2.5). *Řē* (OP: *Raga*), near Teheran, well known to the ancients as *Rhagae*, is not mentioned by him, however, unless it is his *Rhapsa*, (VI.2.18), while *Aspahan* is his *Ekbatana* (VI.2.14), now *Hamadan*.

¹⁵ *Sawšan* Ptol. (VI.3.5): *Sousa*, the biblical *Shushan* (Esther I:2), was capital of the province of Susiana and one of the most important cities of the Achaemenian Empire. It is located on the Kerkhah River, the ancient *Khōaspes* (Strabo XV.3.4) in southeastern Iran, and is now called *Shuster*. Basra (Text: *Bcra*) is, of course, another city entirely, and is located, moreover, in southern Iraq – the Babylonia of our author, *infra* n. 191 A.

¹⁶ Here *Šawš*, but see *supra* n. 15 and Appendix X.

¹⁷ Dan. 8:2.

¹⁸ *Gundir Šapurh*; Per.: *Jundišāpur*; Arab.: *Jundisābūr*, founded by Šābūr I (241-272), from its name in Pahlavi: *Wandēw Šāpūr*, 'Better [than Antioch] made by Shapur' (EI). TS (III.5): *Berdosaborōn*. A famous center of medical learning, it is now in ruins. (Appendix X).

¹⁹ The two islands are the districts of *Ger* and *Mēšmakhik* cited *supra* n. 3.

²⁰ *Parsk'*. The Persia cited here is not the Persian Empire of the Sasanids but *Parsa*, the *Persis* of Greek and Latin authors, i. e. Fars, the central province of the old Achaemenian Empire, whence the term 'Persia' for the whole empire.

²¹ *Sasan*, descended from a noble family, was placed in charge of the temple of Ādur Anāhīd at Stakhr (near Persepolis). His grandson, Ardashir, led the revolt which brought an end to Parthian rule in Iran in A. D. 224 and raised the Persian dynasty of the Sasanids to the throne in 226 (Christensen:79ff.).

²² *Parsa* could be either Pasargadae, Strabo (XV.3.4): *Pasargada*; or Ptol. (VI.4.7): *idem.*; Pliny (VI.8.12): *Passagarda*, which may be read **Parsagarda* 'habitat of the Persians,' or it could refer to Persepolis, Ptol. (VI.4.4): *Persepolis*, the Achaemenid royal residence destroyed by Alexander the Great. (See Appendix X).

²³ *K'obar* (Ezek. 1:1): *Khobar*.

²⁴ *Atek'sand*, *Sobat'*; Ptol. (VI.4.8): *Sōphtha*; [nesos] *Alexandru*.

²⁵ Jer. 10: *Ophaz*.

²⁶ The Sasanian *dram* (Arab. *mithqal*) equalled 4.08 grams of silver or fifty gold *kopecs* (half a ruble) in the currency of pre-revolutionary Russia (Man. 1965:118-120). The *dāng* was equal to two *garehats* or one *assarion*, which would be 9,09 4/9 grams (*ibid.*). This entire passage relative to precious stones is probably an interpolation of a much later date than the rest of the text (see Appendix X).

²⁷ *Arik'*; Ariana, a name related to the term *aryan*. From Strabo's description (XV.2), we can see that it included most of the Persian heartland and may be considered to designate much of the same region included in the modern *Iran*, both *aryan* and *Iran* being related to Sanskrit *arya* 'excellent.' Ariana is often confused with *Aria*, Ptol. (VI.17): *Areia*, a small province located around Alexandria Ariana, the modern *Herat*. The Armenian terms *Arik'* 'Iranians' and *Anarik'* 'non-Iranians' (whence Gk: *Ariakoi*, *Anariakoi*?) are considered by Hübschmann (1895) to have been an old borrowing of the Iranian Arsacid period (247 B. C. – 224/6 A. D.) while *Ērān* and *anērān* would be the corresponding terms in Sasanian (224/6-636); Phl: *aryan*, *anaryan* or, in *Parsik'*, the term used by Herzfeld (1924:184) for two dialects of Middle Western Iranian as opposed to *Pahlavi*: *ērān*, *anērān*. Armenian has made most of its Iranian borrowings from Pahlavi (see Meillet's review of Herzfeld's study in *REA* II, 1925:185).

²⁸ *Karčaber*; Ptol. (VI.17.3): *Skorpiophoros Khōra* 'the Scorpion-bearing district'.

²⁹ *Dēmon*; Ptol. (VI.12.3) places *Dymos* (read: **Dēmos*) in Sogdiana.

³⁰ *Karman jerm ... c'urt Kran*; Ptol. (VI.8): *Karmania*, mentioning *Erēmon Karmania* 'Desert Carmania.'

³¹ *Bahlībamik' or ē Bahlawtin*; Phl.: *Bāxl i vamik*, which means 'Bāxl the Brilliant' (Mark. 1967:10, n. 8; Garsoian 1989:453).

³² *Part'ewk'*.

³³ The River *Arang* is the ancient *Areias* (Ptol. VI.17.2, now the *Hari*), which originally appears to have flowed past Herat to the Caspian but which now loses itself in the Karakum Desert of Soviet Turkmenia (Mark, 1938).

³⁴ *Vandgēs*. These martyred prelates would be the Armenian *Lewondeank'* 'Leontid' saints martyred in Iran by the Persians in 454 as described by EP (46-48) and Eł (VIII). The former refers to the province as *Vartkēs*.

³⁵ *Xupi Tuxarstan*; RA (II.8): *Tocarion*. Ptol. (VI.11.6) and Strabo (XI.8.2) mention a people called *Tokharoi*; Chin.: *Ta-yueh-chi*. From texts which have come down in the Tocharian language, which exist in two dialects, Tocharian A and B, we know that these people spoke an Indo-European tongue, and that the speakers of Tocharian A called themselves *Ārsi* which may be related to the name of the *Aorsi* (Herrmann, "Tocharoi" PW 2 VI). (See Appendix X).

³⁶ *Gozakan ašxarh*, i.e. *Gozan*, 4 Kings 6:18, 11; 19, 12; I Pa 5:26.

³⁷ *Skiwt'ia*. 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).

³⁸ *Emawon leārn*, *supra* n. 37.

³⁹ *T'urkastank'*, *supra* V, n. 113.

⁴⁰ *Emoda leārn*; Ptol. (VI.15.2, 3; 16.2, 3, 5): *Ēmōda orē*. We have conflicting data on the location of this range. In Pliny (VI.21.60) and Strabo (XV.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 Thanglha range on the northeast frontier of Tibet.

⁴¹ *Jknaker*.

⁴² *Kat'ner*. The Galaktophagoi or 'curd-eaters,' are placed between the Sea of Aral and Lake Balkhash by Berthelot (end Map).

⁴³ *Ribac'is*. The *Ribakoi* would be the *Rhoboskoi* of Ptolemy (VI.14.9), a people of Scythia-within-the Imaios Mountains. Tarn (1984:291): *Rawaka*.

⁴⁴ The *Bušx* 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).

⁴⁵ *Sogdiani*; Ptol. (VI.12): *Sogdiana*.

⁴⁶ *Sagastan* '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.

⁴⁷ The reference to the shape of the Imaion Mountains is accurate for at the point where the Himalayas turn southeast they do indeed form an Armenian letter L. It seems likely that at this point, at least, our author, or more likely his source, was working from some actual map.

⁴⁸ *K'arē burgn*. The 'Stone Tower,' Ptol. (VI.13.2): *Lithinos Pyrgos*, 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* (*Ilchi* or *Yi-li-chi*) in Chinese Turkestan (Gerini 1909:18).

⁴⁹ *Masagetac'ik'*. The author is unaware of any connection between these people and the *Mask'ut'k*

whom he mentions above, *supra* V n. 103. There are many legends woven about the death of Cyrus the Great (Text: *Kiwros*).

⁵⁰ The *Bušx* may be the *Bušx* cited above (*supra* n. 44), i.e. the Volga Bulgars.

⁵¹ *Xorozmi*. This would be the region of the *Khōrasmioi* of Ptol. (VI.12.4) and other classical authors, a numerous people of Sogdiana. This region corresponds to the *Khwarazm* of Arab authors, the region of modern Khiva in Soviet Uzbekistan (PW III).

⁵² The stone called *xolozmi* is identified.

⁵³ *Tot* is unidentified.

⁵⁴ There is a blank space in the ms. at this point.

⁵⁵ *T'uxarik'*, *supra* n. 35.

⁵⁶ *Hep't'axk'*, the Hephtalites or so-called 'White Huns'. (See Appendix X).

⁵⁷ The *Alxon* may be linked to *Alikhhor*, a city cited by Ptol. (VI.II.8). The *Valxon* I have not been able to locate in any classical source. There may be an error in the text at this point.

⁵⁸ *Dumos*; Ptol. (VI.12.3): *Dēmos*, a river of Sogdiana entering the Iaxartes from the southwest.

⁵⁹ *Hndkastan*.

⁶⁰ *Gangrēs*, B *Gangēs*.

⁶¹ *Kimastakawk'n* Ptol. (VII.I.51): *Gymnosophistai*. The *Gymnosophists* 'naked sages' would be the Hindu ascetics observable in India today.

⁶² *Damunas*; Ptol. (VII.I.29): *Diamounas*, a tributary of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas, probably the *Jumna*.

⁶³ *Gangēs*.

⁶⁴ *Sarabos*; Ptol. (VII.I.29; VII.2.13): *Sarabos*.

⁶⁵ I have been unable to trace the *Imoyn* river unless it is the *Oundios* 'Indus' of Ptolemy misunderstood in some way. Ptolemy (VII.I.29) has the *Sarabos* and the *Diamounas* flow into the Ganges River, the latter of which retains that name as it flows into the sea.

⁶⁶ *Indos*.

⁶⁷ *Hreašir*; S1944: *hrēš* 'a wild beast', 'monster'. Saint-Martin and Soukry made no attempt to translate these terms but *hrēšir* I have taken to have had the same connotation in classical Armenian, 'wild beast'.

⁶⁸ *Dahanak* means 'malachite' in modern Armenian; 'dark green emerald' or 'corundum' in *Grabar*.

⁶⁹ The text has *ēnjuxtē*; read: *ēnjutk'*, which means 'giraffe' in modern Armenian but, as 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.

⁷⁰ The *štrpašank'* has not been identified.

⁷¹ ... *mi oski ew gawar mi arcat'i*. The *Khryse Khōra* and *Argyra* of Ptolemy (VII.2.17) and Pliny (VI.15.39), corresponding, respectively, to Lower Burma and the Arakan coast of Burma (Gerini:64, 37).

⁷² *Korangsa ew papkas spitaken ew ak'atats p'etr amurus*; Ptol. (VII.5) has the identical phrase in Greek.

⁷³ *Plēnji gawar*. B *plinj*. Ptol. (VII.2.20): *Khalkhitis*.

⁷⁴ *Kasimon*. 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. Aloes is a bitter cathartic, the dried juice exuded by the *aloe perryi*, 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.: *kāfūr*, 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 *ōromtoc' or ē boāčars*, which makes no sense, but A has *amenayn bovočayk'* and B *amenayn bovičayk'* 'all aromatics' which is surely correct. *Bovičayk'* also means spices, 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 mss.

L	A	B
axiri boyek	*hiriboak	*hriboyak
gozi boyek	goziboak	gazibuak
agsiboyeak	goyiboak	goibuak
kasimon	kasimon	kasimon
dwafak	govafak	govořak
řahaworsar	řahawarmar	řahawor mar
k'akořak	dariřak	dariřak
halwap'ařangmuřk	haluē	haluē
	p'ařandamuřk	p'ořangamuřk
kap'ur	k'ap'ur	k'apur
čandan	čandan	čandan
naiboyeak	nayiboak	nayi boyak

*In both A and B the list begins with *haluē* to *nayiboak/nayi boak* and then continues from *hiriboak/hriboyak* to *dariřak*.

⁷⁵The *bařark'* has not been identified.

⁷⁶*Infra* n. 215 A.

⁷⁷*Biř* means 'aconite' in modern Armenian, but I have been unable to clarify its meaning here.

⁷⁸*řawarřan*. 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.

⁷⁹*Mietřeru... paskuč*.

⁸⁰The *p'grē* is unidentifiable unless it should be read **t'gre* (*ř* instead of *ř*), in which case it may be a latinism and can be translated as 'tiger' which is certainly possible from the context.

⁸¹This passage is corrupt and its meaning obscure.

⁸²This passage is also corrupt but the *Dēpuxk'* could possibly be the people of Daibul, 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 Diu. *Debuhēl* is the name given by the *AřX* (*supra* n. 3) to a province of Sasanian Iran which it states was taken from India.

⁸³*Yakunt'jrain*.

⁸⁴*Grtapoz*, apparently another spice or aromatic.

⁸⁵*K'alay* which possibly corresponds to the Arab *Kalah* or *Qal'a*, Ind.: *Kālagan*, the west coast of the Malay Peninsula; Indian: *Kalahadvipa*; Chinese: *Ko-lo*; Malay: *Kedah* (B. E. Colless, private communication), a great emporium for the spice trade in the Middle Ages (Tibbetts:118-128; Car-

dona:94, n. 21). There was also a district called *Kale* in Sunaparanta in Upper Burma (Gerini:748), but it should be recalled, however, that Gerini's formula for correcting Ptolemy's coordinates has been criticized by Chavannes (1910:296-99). It is interesting that while he is familiar with Ps.-Kosmas (*supra* p. 29) our author borrows nothing from his description of Ceylon.

⁸⁶*Ēř etřerawor*.

⁸⁷*Hak'er*. Gerini (131, n. 2) mentions a people in southeast Asia called *Hakka*.

⁸⁸Text: *gariřat* for *dariřak* (Cardona:94, n. 17).

⁸⁹*Infra* n. 218 A.

⁹⁰*Merkamardk', Mardakerk'*.

⁹¹*Bart'iu*, clearly the *Iabadiou* or *Sabadion* of Ptolemy (VIII.2.29; VII.27.10), which Gerini (458) identifies with the island of Sumatra and Nicholl (1986) with Borneo, but this is more likely to have been Java, which the natives call *Yavadvipa* (*dvipa* = 'island'). Sumatra is more likely to have been Ptolemy's 'Golden Island,' i. e. the 'other Golden' province of our text.

⁹²*Kanač'ut Cov*. The Green Sea would be the southern part of the Indian Ocean between the Malay Archipelago and the African coast (Gerini:673).

⁹³This passage on spices, missing in most mss. of S, is found in S1178.

⁹⁴*Ningrē*; S1178: *Indrē*. On the basis of the geographical origin of the names of the following two kinds of aloes mentioned in the text, it is not impossible to read *Indrē* as 'of India,' i. e. 'Indian aloes.'

⁹⁵*Cam'i*; Arab.: *řanfi*, a kind of aloes from the region of *Cam* (Skt: *Campa-*; Arab.: *řanf*, Cardona *ibid.*, n. 19).

⁹⁶*Maraxanman*. (See Appendix X).

⁹⁷*K'alayi*, *supra* n. 87. A *dahekan* was a coin equivalent to the Byzantine *nomisma*. It was equal to 24 carats or 4.53 1/3 grams of silver. The *litr* mentioned in the same sentence is the *litra* or Byzantine pound (Man. *ibid.*:117). The corresponding passages in S1683/S1736 was rejected by Saint-Martin as later interpolations which they probably are.

⁹⁸*Tapřobania*, i. e. Gk: *Tapřobanē*, the island of Ceylon which the ancients greatly exaggerated in size and placed to the west of India rather than to the east (PW, 2.8; McCrindle 1901/1971; Colless 1970; Weerakkody 1982).

⁹⁹The measurements of Ceylon are approximately 432 km. from north to south and about 224 from east to west.

¹⁰⁰*Hndayin peřagotawn*.

¹⁰¹*Hrizon*, which corresponds to the 'rice' listed in the corresponding passage in Ptolemy. Text: *snkrwil* where, from the context, ginger is obviously intended (*infra* n. 218 A).

¹⁰²*Korekē*.

¹⁰³*Snkrwil*.

¹⁰⁴*Biwreř*.

¹⁰⁵*Yakunt'*.

¹⁰⁶*Galiuba*; (VII.4.3): *Galiba orē*, perhaps the mountains of central Ceylon.

¹⁰⁷*Mařia*; (VII.4.8): *Malaia orē*, the massif in the southern part of Ceylon.

¹⁰⁸These cities are not listed in Ptolemy's description of Ceylon unless Manakor is his *Margara* or his *Talakōra Emporion* (VII.4.7), and Royan his *Iōgara*, perhaps modern *Rokwana*.

¹⁰⁹*Gaylasē* must be a duplication for the *Galiba* (*supra* n. 106) which appears in the text as *Taliba*, due to an obvious confusion between the Greek *gamma* Γ and *tau* T.

¹¹⁰The *Hac'acank'* and *Hac'aink'* are not found in Ptolemy or any classical source.

¹¹¹*... yAtēk'sandri girsn*. The *Book of Alexander* is a fictionalized biography of Alexander the Great composed in the second or third century A. D. by an unknown author now commonly referred

to as 'Pseudo-Callisthenes.' This work, which exists in an Armenian translation dating back to the fifth century, was extremely popular in Armenia. (*T'reanc'* 1842; Wolohojian 1969). The passage referred to in our text is found in section 252 of the Armenian version.

¹¹²This passage appears to be corrupt.

¹¹³Ptol. (VII.4.5): *Dagana*, a city dedicated to the moon-goddess Selene, and which is placed by him on the south coast of Ceylon.

¹¹⁴Ptol. (VII.4.11): 1,378 islands, including nineteen which he names. S 1178:1,378.

¹¹⁵*Ayregac gawtin*.

¹¹⁶Siwnikia 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 Sinai 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 1953:342 ff.).

¹¹⁷*Daričēnik'*.

¹¹⁸*Kasimon*.

¹¹⁹*Kasia Lērnē*; Ptol. (VI.15.2; 16.3,5): *Kasia orē*, probably the *Kunlun* range between Sinkiang and Tibet (Berthelot: Map; Gerini: Table 8), but Ferguson and Keynes (1978:584) opt for the Nan Chan Mountains.

¹²⁰*Skiwt'ikon*, Gk: *skythikon*. Apparently a kind of gem stone; Soukry (61, n. 5) suggests the emerald.

¹²¹*Hrēš*.

¹²²*Mušk'*.

¹²³*Siramarg*.

¹²⁴*K'rumšanbus*.

¹²⁵*Spitak bazēiw*.

¹²⁶*Kerpasagorck'*.

¹²⁷*Ark' aynčēnbakur*. *Čēnbakur* is from the Middle Iranian *Čen baypuhr* 'Emperor of China' *baypuhr* signifying 'son of God' an obvious translation of the Chinese *t'ien tzu* 'sun of heaven.' MX (II.81) in tracing the origin of the Armenian princely house of Mamikinean from a brother of Arbok Čēnbakur, King of China, translated *čēnbakur* as 'honor of the kingdom.' Arab.: *baghbur* or *faghfur*.

¹²⁸*Siwra*; S 1178: *Siira*; Ptol. (VIII.24.8): *Sēra*. the name is derived from the Latin *ser* 'silk.' Schoff (50) identifies Sera with Singan-fu or Sian-fu, ancient capital of China on the River Wei one hundred miles north of its juncture with the Huang-ho. Gerini (16) and also Ferguson and Keynes (1978:584) identify it with Lo Yang (Sogdian: *Srgb*), however, which was the capital of China under the Han dynasty (A. D. 25-221) during the period when Ptolemy was collecting his data.

¹²⁹*Siwnec'woc'n* (gen. plur.), i.e. the *Siwnek'*, the Chinese (supra I, n. 75).

¹³⁰*Mardakerpk'*.

¹³¹Sköld (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 *AŠX*. Schoff, too, in the annotations to his

translation of Marc. Herac. also offers suggestions accompanied by photographs to explain what might otherwise appear to be mere travellers' tales.

¹³²*Siwnec'woc'n* (gen. plur.), i.e. the **Siwnek'* (supra I, n. 75).

¹³³*Mardakerpk'*.

AŠXARHAC'OY'C

(SHORT RECENSION)

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 AŠX 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, Eremyan, and other specialists are given in the notes.

^{1A}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 *Yatags Ašxarhagrut'eanc' Stoyg* refers to geography as a subject (*ašxarhagrut'iwn*) as opposed to a geographical text (*ašxarhac'oyc'*).

^{2A}The text has 'sixty-three and fifty-seven [degrees?]' where S1819 has simply 'sixty-three degrees' which I accept, with Von Mžik, as the correct reading.

^{3A}AB omit 'from the end of Spain.' S1819: 'to China.'

^{4A}Ptolemy (VII.5).

^{5A}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°.

^{6A}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 Mžik's restoration of L.

^{7A}Ptol. (VII.5).

^{8A}A omits 'which is called Karkenitis.'

^{9A}A 'opposite *Mawritinea*.'

^{10A}Ptol. (IV.1.6): twenty-six rivers entering the Atlantic from Africa alone. A twenty-two.

^{11A}The bracketed passage, necessary to complete the sense, is omitted in S1944 but is found in mss. utilized by the editors of S1683 and S1877.

^{12A}By *Mijerkir* 'Middleland', i.e. 'Land between the Seas', is meant Asia Minor (Turkey), *supra* IV, n. 1.

^{13A}For *Eger*, Gk: *Kolkhis*, *supra* VI, n. 1.

^{14A}AB have no mention of Europe here.

^{15A}S1683 has "... Albania and the *Mask't'awk'* ..."; A: *Atuank'*; B *Mask'tark'*; S1877: *Mask-ut'k'*. For the *Mask'ut'k'*, *supra* V, n. 103.

^{16A}This *Arakank' Ambostakek'* is clearly a corruption of the *Anariakan Nombas* (*supra* I, nn. 164, 190), *Barakank' Ambostakek'*; S1819: *Ariakan* (Iranian?) *Ambostakek'*; S1877: *Arakank' Ambo-stakek'*; C *idem*.

^{17A}AB *Marawk'*.

^{18A}A *Gelawk'*; B *Gēlp'awk'*; C *Gelawk'*. *Supra* I, n. 194.

^{19A}A *Dilmovk'*; B *Dēlmarwk'*; C *Delpawk'*. *Supra* I, n. 193.

^{20A}A *Kaspiwk'*; B *Kasbiwk'*; C *Kazbiwk'*. *Infra* n. 149A.

^{21A}AB *Dšxoyñ Harawoy*.

^{22A}This passage is unclear but may be a garbled version of Ptolemy (1.24).

^{23A}A *Piwriñē*; B *Piwonēes*.

^{24A}A *Iwobarnia*; B *Iuibarni*; C *Nuibarni*.

^{25A}A *Atuion*; B *Añion*; C *Añion*.

^{26A}I have not been able to trace the origin of the curious but clumsily accurate description of the shape of Britain. It would seem to be that of Pappos or, less likely, of his Armenian adaptor and to be evidence that at this point the former worked with a map before him.

^{27A}Ptolemy mentions no forests in Britain.

^{28A}The four large islands cited above, plus the five *Aiboudai* (Hebrides) and thirty *Orkades* (Orkneys) cited by Ptolemy, make thirty-nine.

^{29A}The four provinces of Gaul were *Akouitania* (Aquitania), *Lougdounēsia* (Lugdunensis), *Belgikē* (Belgica), and *Narbōnēsia* (Narbonensis) (Ptol., *ibid*). Ptolemy mentions only the islands of Gaul that were located in the Mediterranean, seven in number. A *Gatios*; B *Gallius*.

^{30A}ABCDEF *gomēš*; G omitted; J *gumēš*.

^{31A}*Supra* p. 8. AB omit this sentence, which comes from S1683 via S1736 and S1819, and which is also found in C: *Danob Yawzu Rusac'mtanē I Tanawis*. It is included in the translation in brackets because of its high interest.

^{32A}Ptol. (II.11.31-33) cites ten islands of Germany: three *Saxonai*, three *Alokiiai*, and four *Skandiai*, but makes no reference to any iron mines.

^{33A}AE *bonos*; BDFGJ; C *bononos*; E *bonos*; K *bonsos*.

^{34A}This is not found in Ptolemy but is probably the Mt. Okra of Strabo (IV.6.10), now the Julian Alps or *Birnbaumerwald*. A *Okrē*; B *Okr' leřamb*; D *Osk'i* 'gold'.

^{35A}A *Tiwrenakan*; B *Pirēnēakan*.

^{36A}Ptolemy (III) cites over thirty subdivisions for Italy with twenty-six rivers and sixteen islands including Pontia.

^{37A}Ravenna was the chief residence of the Roman emperors from the time Honorius transferred the court there in 404 until the fall of the Empire in 476. Thereafter, it was the capital of Gothic Italy until 539 when it was captured by the Byzantines. It remained the administrative capital of the Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna until taken by the Lombards about 752 (*PW* 2/1). A *Rawina*; B *Rawennay*.

^{38A}The circumference of Corsica is 332 statute miles. A *Kawrsik*; B *ew ayl ašxarh Hikusik' anun miws Kiwriños* ...

^{39A}These districts are not mentioned by Ptolemy (III.2) either by name or by number, although he does cite eight rivers in Corsica and the Mountain of Gold. Sardinia is 830 statute miles in circumference. Ptolemy (III.3) does not give the circumference, and, although he names five rivers in Sardinia and cites thirteen cities in the interior of Sardinia and another sixteen on the coast, he mentions no districts.

^{40A}A *Barkanos*; BCGK omit the rivers and the reference to Barkanos; DF *Urkanos*; E *Barēkanos*; J *Barēnos*.

^{41A}The adjective *hasarak*, 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 Sarmatia is a 'general region' rather than a specific country.

^{42A} At this point S1683 has the phrase *yarewelic' kalov Zalura, or ē Pullark' Germanoc'woc'*, "east of Zalura, that is, the Bulgaria of the Germans." No place called *Zalura* 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 Crimea (for whom see Vasiliev 1936). The Bulgars referred to, then, might be the Bulgar tribes living north of the Black Sea.

^{43A} S1683 and C add that the Unknown Land is 'called Palak' (*zor Palak' koč'en*), which may be a corruption of Ptol. (III.5.10): *Oueltai*, a people whom he places on the Baltic coast north of modern Poland. This gloss is omitted in AB, S1877 and S1944.

^{44A} AB omit *Crimea*.

^{45A} The Armenian term used for these altars, both cited by Ptol. (III.5.26), is *bagin*, which in Armenian specifically signifies a pagan altar as opposed to *setan*, one designed for Christian worship. ABC calls the second altar *Kedaru*, D *Kesaru*, *rectius*: **Gabaŕu*? If so, then the author has confused it with *Gabaŕu Bagink'* *supra* I n. 196.

^{46A} Fourteen regions of Thrace are cited by Ptolemy (III.11). The Sclaveni first entered the Roman Empire as military recruits in the fifth century (Proc. *Goth.* III.14).

^{47A} Ptolemy (III.13/12) cites many more than seventeen cities in Macedonia, mentions only the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and cites four separate islands and a group called the *Peparethos* off the coast of Macedonia.

^{48A} Ptol. (III.13) cites *Epirus* as a separate province with Attica, Euboea, and the Peloponnesus as subdivisions under it.

^{49A} A *Iwria Artemia* and *Positinos*; B *Hrē, Artemis* and *Pisidon*. Saint-Martin (II:385, n. 35) believed this reference to have been taken directly from Pappos as it is not found in Ptolemy.

^{50A} A: *i kłzwoyn zMirs*.

^{51A} S1683: *Araŕinn ē or ē Rinkurura Mawritaniay T'ingani*, which is obviously a corruption. AB, S1877 and S1944 omit any mention of Rhinocorura; S1944 has: *Araŕin Mawratania Tingitania ē . . .*

^{52A} A *Geliwk'*; S1683 *Sellelawk'*; S1877 and S1944 have *set zeliwk'*.

^{53A} The text has *zangztaber*; S1877: *zanguzataber*; S1819: *zandaber*. Ptol. (IV.5.7) has the same expression: *Kath Hērōos polis mykhōu tou Arabiou Kolpou*.

^{54A} B omits this gloss but replaces it with the words "is bordered by Ethiopia." C greatly abridges this section.

^{55A} B omits the entire passage from the words 'increasing' to 'several others.' C *Nap'ing*.

^{56A} *Supra* III, n. 124. C omits the name of the animal.

^{57A} A *Derbekē ew Dermonayk'*; B omitted; (VI.16.16): *Drebikkai*; Pliny (VI.18.48) *Drebices*; (Ptol. IV.10.2, IV.6.16): *Derbikkai*. This passage from 'near them' to 'dangerous leopards' is omitted in B.

^{58A} A *Gapasac'ik'*; B *Kap'sac'ik'*; Pliny (V.8): *Gabsatae*.

^{59A} Nikaia is now *Iznik* (PW, XXXIII).

^{60A} Text: *Hrašic'*, 'marvelous' which Saint-Martin corrects to *Hreay* 'of Rhea.' This temple, located on Mt. Dindymos above Kyzikos, is mentioned by Zozimos (*Hist.* II.31).

^{61A} A has 'east of Mysia by the sea' instead of 'on the coast of Mysia.'

^{62A} Pakatiana is missing in S1683 and S1944 but was restored by Saint-Martin to clarify the text. Its inclusion in L and especially in S1877, justifies this interpolation, but it is omitted in AB.

^{63A} Klaudiopolis, the older *Bithynion*, lay near modern Bolu in northwest Turkey (Magie:1190, n. 22). The River *Parthenios* (V.1.3; Strabo XII.3.10) is now the *Bartan* (Müller:798).

^{64A} A gets *anuanis*; B S1683 and S1877: gets *manuns*, 'small rivers'; S1944: gets *anuanis*, 'famous rivers.'

^{65A} *Storax* (*Stiwŕakit'oy*) in Roman times meant two different things: 1) *Storax officinalis* (order *styracaceae*) which resembled benzine and was used in incense; and 2) liquid storax, which was the sap of the *liquidambar orientalis* (order *hamamelidaceae*), native to southwest 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).

^{66A} The Arymagdos River is now the Göksu *Nehri* flowing past Silifke. S1877: *Urimakdios*; S1944: *Arimakdos*.

^{67A} The Iris is now the Yeşil *Irmak* (River) flowing into the Black Sea east of Samsun (Müller,866).

^{68A} For some reason, L repeats the entry for Helenopontos (*Elionpontos*) describing it first as the eleventh century of Asia bordering Paphlagonia near Second Galatia (actually First Galatia separated it from Second Galatia or Galatia Salutaris), and then as being 'by Lykaonia' which it was not.

^{69A} First Kappadokia was east of the second but the three Armenias separated it from Polemoniac Pontos, though it could still be described as 'near' that province. In S1944 First Kappadokia and Polemonian Pontos are in reverse order from their place in other versions.

^{70A} The text omits the word 'second' at this point though its insertion seems required by the context, but see *supra* p. 24.

^{71A} B "Third Armenia;" C *idem*.

^{72A} Now Erçiyas *Dağ* just southeast of Kaisareia (*Kayseri*).

^{73A} The Moschian Mountains would be the Little Caucasus (Russ.: *Malyi Kavkaz*), especially the Arsiani range (Toum.:33); *Moskhika orē* (V.6.1; V.12.4): *Moskhika orē*, now the Yalniscam *Dağ* 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*). ABF *Mosk'akan' lerins*; C *C'mak'akan*; D *Mosk-sakas*; EG *Mosxakan*; J *C'makan*; K missing.

^{74A} The Volga River (Ptol. V.9.12 *passim*): *Rha*, was known to the Turkic peoples as the *Etil*; Byz: *Atal* (Soukry:36). Our author regards the Rha and the Etil as two distinct rivers (*supra* V, nn. 44, 46).

^{75A} *Supra* V, n. 47.

^{76A} These names are given as they appear in S1944 which is based on A. B has:

Xazirk'	T'ušk'
Bušk'	Xušk'
Baslikk'	K'ustk'
Apšełk'	C'uaxtk'
T'agaworakan Sarmatk'	Gudamakark'
Jiakerk'	Duičikk'
Naxčamateank'	Didoc'k'
Orjlakerk'	Łekk'
Sewŕikac'ik'	Katapastiank'
Mit'rikac'ik'	Ałutakank'
Ałuank'	Xenukk'
Amazonk'	Šiteayk'
Xebark'	Čiwłayk'
Kudēakk'	Iełayk'
Skiwmik'	K'asbk'
Argawetk'	P'uxk'
Margolk'	Šrawank'

T'akoc'ikk'	Xarank'
Argozk'	T'awaspark'
Dačank'	Hečmatakk'
P'ičk'	
Dualk'	Ižamaxk'
Honk'	P'asxk'
Ap'ulk'	P'igonakk'
T'ušk'	Bak'ank'
Canark'	Mazk'ut'k'

^{77A} *Supra* V, n. 49. The form *Bulxk'* found in S1819, rather than the *Bwšxk'*, of L, together with its place in the list, suggests that the Bulgars are intended here, but A *Buxk'*; B *Bušk'*; C *Bušk'*; D *Bušk'*; E *Buxk'*; F *Bušk'*; F G *Bušk'*; JK omitted; and S1877: *Bušk'*. Eremyan (1963:102) reads *B[u]šxk'*. Markwart (1898:89-90) held them to have been the Volga Bulgars.

^{78A} *Supra* V n. 47.

^{79A} *Supra* V n. 39.

^{80A} *Supra* V n. 40.

^{81A} Erem. (81): *Skiwmik'* or *Skiwm[n]ik'*, (V.8.13): *Skymnitai*; RA (IV.2): *Patria Scymnorum*; Proc. *Goth.* (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 *Leč'xumi*, which is related to *Skiwmik'* and also to *Sac'xumēt* and *C'xoymk'* (Erem.:81). S1819 and S1877: *Skiwmik'*. *Supra* V, n. 42.

^{82A} The P'inc'k', omitted in L but found in all the published versions of the short redaction, may be the same as the *Lp'nik'* (*supra* V, n. 87) but Eremyan (102) inserts the P'inc'k' between the *Rac'ank'* and the *Dualk'* as a separate people, suggesting the form **Pi[s]i[n]č'k'*, whose name he relates to the modern toponym *Bizingi*. Dachkevitch (1975-76:357), however, suggests that the *Pinč'k'* are the *Pičank'* of the Armenian version of the *Life of Boris and Gleb*, which he further (*ibid.*:362) calls the traditional Armenian form for the Turkic people called the Pechenegs or Patzinaks. This seems unlikely.

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., Eł, MD), and seem to have ended as tributaries of the Khazars. Cf. Moravcsik:56-58.

^{83A} *Supra* n. 71 A.

^{84A} *Supra* n. 73 A.

^{85A} Eremyan (1963:102) includes the *Xelayk'* 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 *Xetaki*, a tribe dwelling on the Black Sea coast near Anapa, but this seems unlikely given their location in the AŠX. Considering that *Šitayk'* and *Čiwtayk'* are variant forms in B and in S1819 for the *Šitpk'* and *Čitbk'* of L, I wonder if the correct form this name should not be *Xetk'*, and the latter be an error for **Getk'*, the *Geloi* (*supra* I, n. 194). S1819 and S1877: *Xelayk'*.

^{86A} The Kaspk' are mentioned by Aa (20); BP (IV.50); Eł (IV); MX (II.86) and MD (I.27). Strabo (XI.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. Ptolemy (VI.2.5) places them in Media. Eremyan (57) identifies the region of *Kaspianē* with the Armenian land of *P'aytakaran* (*infra* n. 149 A). S1819 and S1877: *Kasbk'*. (Herz. 1948:195-99).

^{87A} The *P'usxk'* of L 1881; S1877 *P'uxk'*.

^{88A} *Supra* V, n. 103.

^{89A} *Supra* VI A, n. 6. Erem. (54): *Laziwike* or *Lazikē*; Agathias (II.18 *passim*); Proc. *Aed.* (I.11.28): *Lazikē*; the nucleus of the kingdom of Lazika by which name Kolchhis was known in the Byzantine period (Toum.:255, n. 355). this territory corresponds to the later principality of Guria.

^{90A} 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:

Kačrjk'	Tawniasxk'	Ač'ayi
Artahan	Mang'čac'p'or	Duan
Šawšedk'	K'uišapor	Erisxk'
Ĵawaxk'	Bołnop'or	K'udid
Samc'xē	T'rełk'	Kosxsac'xumēt'
Ačara	Kangark'	Xanic'x
Gorgovat'isx	Tašir	

^{91A} Geo.: *Ačara* (Vax.:108-110); Arm.: *Ačara* (Erem.:34); CP (DC 214): *Atzara*; Tk.: *Acaristan*. This district lay in the valley of the Noste River, today the *Ačaris-c'qali*, and forms the nucleus of the Adzharian ASSR. Although the old *Ačara* was landlocked, the present ASSR reaches the sea and has the city of Batum (Geo.: *Bat'omi*) as its port. (Toum.:103, n. 159; 445, and 438, n. 2 where he describes it as lying south of the *Ačara* range of the Little Caucasus between the *Acampsis* in the west and the *Arsiani* range on the east. Eremyan (*ibid.*) locates it in the same region.) *Ačara*, together with *Samc'xē* and perhaps *T'ori*, formed a part of the old Iberian province of *Mosxika* or *Mesxet'i*, the Duchy of *Samc'xē* or *Ojrxē*. The name appears to be connected with that of *Egrisi/Eger*. The following three districts (which appear in S1819 as *T'urga*, *Vat'isx*, *Tarneasx*) Eremyan omits the latter two as corruptions of, respectively, *Gorat'is-xew* (*supra* VI B, n. 30) and *Tanis-xew* (*supra* VI B, n. 31), and the first as a corruption of *T'ori* (*infra* VI B, n. 37).

^{92A} Geo.: *K'uešis-Xewi*; Arm.: *K'uišap'or* (Erem.:90); LE (31): *Kueškap'or*. located on the upper course of the *Mašavera* River around *K'ueši* fortress. This district is not mentioned by *Vaxušt*. Area: c. 495 sq. km.

^{93A} For *K'udit* (S1819: *K'awdit*; S1817: omitted) and *Kukisx* (S1819: *Krizzx*; S1877: omitted), *supra* VI B, n. 41. S1819 follows these with *Kosx* omitted in S1877 and S1944. C *Kudid*; DK *Kituēt*; FJ omitted; G *Korid*.

^{94A} Geo.: *Bazalet'i* (Vax.:220); Arm.: *Bazalēt'* (Erem.:42), located around the town of *Dušet'i* where a village and a lake called *Bazalet'i* can still be found. Area: c. 525 sq. km.

^{95A} *Supra* VI B, n. 60.

^{96A} Geo.: *Jelet'i*, also called *Skuiret'i* (Erem.:63). Arm.: *Jel[ē]t'* (*ibid.*) or *Sakurēt* (SA III.3) from the castle of *Sakurēt*; LE (31): *Jelt'd*. This district was located in the valley of *Skviret'is-Vere* (now the *Vera* River) at the mouth of which, on the territory of *Tbilisi* (Tiflis), on the site of the later *Lurj* monastery, was found the fortress of *Jelet'i*, which would perhaps be the *Zalissa* of Ptol. (V.10.2). Area: 250 sq. km.

^{97A} Geo.: *Velisc'ixe* (Vax.:314); Arm.: *Velisc'ixē*, of which *Velic'xē* is a corruption; LE (31): has *Velisc'xē*. This district extended from *Velisc'ixe* village (formerly *Vilis-c'xē* fortress) to the stream called *T'urdos-xewi* and included the city and castle of *Čeremi*. Area: c. 725 sq. km.

^{98A} Erem. (89): *K'uēl-daba*. This district corresponds to *Kaxet'i* in the narrow sense and is referred

to in Georgian sources as *Didi Xaxet'i* 'Greater Xaxet'i'. It extended from Tqetba or Gulgula village and the stream called *Turdos-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 *Jvel-daba*, Eremyan considered the forms found in the AŠX (S1819: *K'useda*; S1944: [Yixu]k'ue^lda) to be corrupt. S1877: omitted. Area: c. 522 sq. km. BCEGJ omitted; DF *K'ue^ldap'ay*; K *K'ue^ld'apa*.

^{99A}Erem. (74): *Sujk'e*, regarding the forms found in the AŠX (S1819: *Šalk'e*; S1877: omitted; S1944: *Susk'e*) as corrupt; LE (31): *Šuč'k'e*; Geo.: *Sujet'i*. Located in the Valley of the Iori River extending eastwards from Nino-C'minda village. Allen (1967:317) notes that *Sudzhet'i* (*sic*) was an alternative name for Sagaredzho (Sagarejo), and links the name of its inhabitants, the Sudzhi or Sodzhi (Sujji/Sojji) to the *Sodi* of Pliny (VI.11.29). This location of the latter would certainly fit Pliny's citation of them better than their identification with the Cawdk' of northeastern Siwnik' (Erem. *ibid.*; *infra* n. VII I, n. 196). Area: c. 425 sq. km. BCEGJ omitted; DFK *Surjke*.

^{100A}Geo.: Samšvilde or *Orbet'i*, more correctly *Šamšwlde* (Toum.:584); Arm.: *Samšolde* or *Samšvilde* (Erem.:87). This name was also applied to one of the seven original duchies of Iberia (for a discussion of which see Toumanoff *ibid.*:142 ff.), but the reference here is to the fortress of Šamšwlde or *Orbet'i*, which Eremyan (104) omits from his reconstruction of the text of the AŠX. S1877: *Šamšudē*. BC *Šomsut'ē*, D *Šamšēute*.

^{101A}The districts of Albania according to B are as follows:

Exni	Šikašiēn
Bex	Gardman
Šakē	Kott'
Ostanimarçpan	Zawe
Dašt Ibalasakan	etc. (<i>sic</i>)

^{102A}Erem. (55): *Hołmaz* now *Xaç'maz*; LE (31): *Xołmaz*, the region around the modern town of Vartašēn. Area: c. 1330 sq. km. After this district Eremyan (105, 120) inserts the district of *Geławu*, which he locates along the Geławu River the course of the modern *Girdymançbay* or Gardman River. According to Eremyan (47), the name of this district survives in the modern village of *Kyalva* or *Gelabu*, found on the modern *Aksu* River, and is connected with the *Gel* or *Geł*, a people mentioned in the Greek authors as *Geloi* (*supra* I n. 192) on the southern slopes of the Ceraunian Mountains. Area: 3,975 sq. km.

^{103A}Geławu, was located around Kyalva 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 Geł (Gk.: *Geloi*), dwelling in the northeastern Caucasus Mountains south of the Legoi (Lezgians), and identifies the Geławu River with the modern Girdyman (Gardman)-chay. Area: c. 975 sq. km.

^{104A}There was no district of *Erawr* (Erem.:120), and it is possible that what we have is a corruption of *Getaru*.

^{105A}There was no district of *Šak'ostan* (Erem.:120), and what we have here is Šak'ē repeated with the *Ostan* of Ostani-i-Marzpan (*infra* n. 106 A). S1877: *Šakē*, *Ostani*, *Marçpan*, with *Hambasi* omitted from its place in S1819 between *Sakēostan* and *Marçpanan*; LE (31): *Šakē*.

^{106A}Erem. (62): *Hambasi*, which he locates tentatively around the sources of the Gardman-*chai* and *Kokison* (or *Geok-chai*) Rivers. LE (31): *Haband*. Area: C. 700 sq. km.

^{107A}Erem. (75): *Ostan-i-Marzpan* – the 'court,' i.e. 'seat of the Marzpan,' the Persian governor general; LE (31): *Ostan-Marzpaneān*. This would be the region around Kapałak after 387, when this city became the seat of a Sasanian Marzpan, while the Aršakuni (Arsacid) kings of Albania continued to reign in the city of P'aytakaran. Area: c. 1,500 sq. km.

^{108A}Erem. (89): *Katadast* or *K'atajor*; LE (31): *K'ate*, the plain along the lower course of the Durin-*chai* and Aljigan-*chai* rivers. This region is now called *Agdash*, around the town of Ming-eçaur. It had its center at the fortress of K'atāberd (later *Atberd*; now *Agdash*). Area: c. 1,270 sq. km.

^{109A}I.e. *Kapatak*, *supra* VI C, n. 78.

^{110A}This district, and the rest which follow, are all repeated below as districts of the Armenian lands of Arc'ax and Utik'.

^{111A}*Infra* nn. 163 A, 171 A.

^{112A}*Supra* VII J n. 221.

^{113A}*Supra* VII J n. 222.

^{114A}*Infra* n. 169 A.

^{115A}*Infra* n. 170 A.

^{116A}*Infra* n. 163 A.

^{117A}*Infra* n. 168 A.

^{118A}*Supra* VII n. 214.

^{119A}S1819: *Gaylot*. *Supra* VII J n. 213.

^{120A}*Supra* VII J n. 217.

^{121A}*Supra* VII J n. 215.

^{122A}*Supra* VII J n. 218.

^{123A}*Supra* VII J n. 216.

^{124A}*Supra* VII J n. 211.

^{125A}*Supra* VII J n. 210.

^{126A}*Supra* VI C, nn. 209, 219.

^{127A}*Supra* n. 163 A.

^{128A}*Supra* VII J n. 212.

^{129A}*Supra* VII J n. 209; read **Kotak*.

^{130A}These three lakes are undoubtedly the Kaputan (Lake Reza'iyeh/Urmia in Iran, *infra* n. 197 A), Bznunik' (Lake Van in Turkey, *supra* VII D, n. 84) and Gełark'unik' (Lake Sevan in Soviet Armenia, *supra* VII J, n. 195).

^{131A}The words 'and documents' (*ew i k'artēs*) were omitted in Saint-Martins's translation, but they are important for they help explain the exactness of the description of each province of Armenia, which would appear to have been due to the archival materials used in the preparation of this section. Documents such as these would have been of the utmost necessity in a semi-feudal country such as Armenia, where territorial rights must have been in continuous dispute. Maps, too, would have been necessary for travel in a land as rugged and mountainous as the Armenian plateau although the word *k'artēs* did not have the meaning of 'map' in classical Armenian as it does in the modern tongue.

^{132A}The districts of Upper Armenia and the other fourteen lands of the country are given hereafter according to B and C also according to the lists found in Thomas of Cilicia (Tk):

B	TK
Daranalı	Daranali
Ariwc	Alič
Mēnjur	Azur
Ekefeac'	Ekefec'
Mananałı	Mananši
Derjan	Derjan
Sper	Sper

Šatgomk'
Karin

Sašgamk'
Karin

^{133A} *Supra* VII n. 13. S1819 adds to Karin the gloss 'or Theodosiopolis' (*T'eodosipawlis*).

^{134A}

B
Xorjēn
Hašteank'
Pašnaytun
Balahovit
Cop'k'
Hanjit'
Dorek'
Degek'

TK
Xorjēn
Haštēnk'
Palnatun
Balahovit
Cop'ak'
Xanjt'k'
Govdēk'
Dedik

^{135A}

B
Np'rkert
K'eł
Ket'ik
Tatik
Aznawajor
Xerxet'k'
*Gzeł
Sanoyjor
Sasunk'

TK
Arziwn
K'el
Ket'ik
Tatik
Salnuank'
Xerhet'
Geł Anap'ainert
Aluajor
Sasun

*Erem. (47): *Gzēlx*; S1877: *Gzel*, located on the upper course of the Bałeš River now the Bitlis-*su*. The northern boundary of this district was formed by the Tawruberan Mountains and the Zorabahak range, now the *Bitlis* or *Rahva* Mountains. This district is perhaps the *Gilzānu* of Assyrian sources. Hüb. (313) quotes Belck and Kiepert linking this name with Tk.: *Güzel-dere*.

^{136A}

B
Xoyt'
Aspakunik'
Tarawn
Ašmunik'
Mardaši
Dasnawork'
Tuaracatap'
Dalař
Hark'
Varacēnunik'
Bznunik'
Erewark'
Ašiovit

TK
Xoyt'
Aspakunik'
Tarawn
Aršamunik'
Mardaši
Mananaši
Dasthawork'
Tuarcatap'
Dław
Hark'
Varžunik'
Erivark'
Bznunik'

Apahunik'
Kor
Xorxorunik'

^{137A} 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.: *Korē* (CP DAI 44), also known as *Koroy Jor* 'Valley of Kor.' Located in the valley of the Koroy 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.

^{138A} Toum. (1963:208-09): *Xorxorunik'*, 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 *Malxaz* or *Malxazut-iwn* (the Malxaz-dom), Ag 134: *Malxasiōn oikos*; or *Khoukhorōn* (*ibid.* 98). Area: c. 1,000 sq. km.

^{139A}

B
Išayr
Miws
Išoc' gawař
Aruēnic'jor
Mija
Ařanjnak Moks
Ark'ayic' gawař
Argastovit
Jermajor

TK
Išayr
Išoc' gawařk'
Ařnenic'jor
Mija
Ařanjnak Mogs
Ark'ayic' gawař
Argasteac'ovit
Jermajor

^{140A}

B
Kordoys
Kogris
Aytuank'
Mot'ołank'
Orsirank'
Karat'unik'
Čahuk
P'ok'r Ałbak

TK
Kordis
Kordun
Asuand
Ałmot'lank'
Orsirsn
Karsppunik'
Maxukn
P'ok'r Ałbak

^{141A}

B
Ayli or Kuričan
Mari
T'rap'i
Ac'uerk'
Ėřna
Tamberk'
Zarēhawan
Zarawand
Hēr

TK
Ału
Kuričan
Mari
T'iap'iu
Esařnay
Tambat
Zarhewan
Zaruand
Her

142A	
B	TK
Řštunik ^c	Rštunik ^c
Tosb	Tosp
Budunik ^c	Bdunik ^c
Arčisakvitk ^c	Arsakořid
Balaxovit	Bařořovit
Kuřanovit	Garņi
Ařberani	Ařberani
Dařni	Buřžunik ^c
Buřžawnik ^c	Křanovit
Ařnotn	Hayoc'jor
Anjewac'ik ^c	Ařniotn
Ařpatunik ^c	Anjewac'ik ^c
Eřit'unik ^c	Trapatunik ^c
Mardastan	Eruant'unik ^c
Artazasē	Mardastan
Ařbakgmec	Artaz
Anjaxajor	Ařbak Mec
T'ořnawan	Anjahic'jor
Čuařřot	T'ořnawan
Křćunik ^c	Čuař
Palunik ^c	Křćunik ^c
Gukan	Vřćunik ^c
Ařuandřot	Palunik ^c
Patsparunik ^c	Artařizan
Artařezean	Artawanean
Artawanean	Bak'an
Varařžnunik ^c	Gawak'an
Gořtn	Gazrikan
Ginewēt	Magand
Naxćuan	Varřžunik ^c
Marand	Goltn
	Ginawēt
	Naxjuan

^{143A} Eremyan (109) omits *Botiřovit*, the *Barizakovit* of S 1819, but follows it with *Ařiovit* found in S 1877 (But not in S 1944, and in S 1819 only as *Ařawis*); Hüb. (341): *Ařovit* or *Ařacovit*, forms found in certain mss. (the latter read: **Ařac'ovit*); TA (III.29): *Hařac'ovit*. According to Eremyan (33), *Ařiovit* apparently began as one district, but later, after the founding of the trade center of Zariřat, the eastern part of this district became the municipal territor of Zariřat and, as such, is cited as a district of Tawruberan (*supra* VII D n. 93). The rest of *Ařiovit* was united with *Ařberani* as the residence of the cadets of the Arsacid Royal House and was called *Sepu[r]bakan* or *Vaspurakan*, i. e. 'noble,' or *Erkirn Sephakan gndin*, i. e. 'the country of the appanaged district.' After the partition of 591 this name, *Vaspurakan*, was extended to cover all the districts included under this name in the AŠX. Area: c. 600 sq. km.

^{144A} Erem. (61): *Kuřanovit*, from an earlier **Kuřxanovit* which he connects with the locality of *Kolkhis* of Ptol. (V.12.8). TA (III.29): *Kkuřan-ovit* or *Hovitn Kuřan*. This district was located in the valley of the Kuřan River (now the Kelan-*deresi*). Area: c. 370 sq. kms. After Dařni, S 1683 has a district called *Balanovit* which Eremyan (109) omits as does Hübschmann. There was, however, a *Balahovit* in Fourth Armenia (*supra* VII B n. 34).

^{145A} Erem. (48): *Gott'n*; BP (III, XII) *Gott'an*; Ptol. (V.12.4): *Kolthēnē* or *Kholobitēnē* (Arrian, cited by Hüb.:346, n. 1), east of the Arax River. This district included the territory around the present *Aprakunis* and *Ordubad*. Its center was the town of *Gott'n*, now *Kilit* and probably Ptol. (V.12.5): *Kholouata*.

^{146A} Erem. (65): *Marand* (*supra* VII H n. 183); Ptol. (VI.2.9): *Marounda*. The town of Marand is located about three miles south of the Marand River, the latter now known as the *Silbir-chai*.

147A

B	TK
Erņjak	Erņjak
Čahuk	Čahuk
Vayoc'jor	Vayoc'jor
Geřak'uni	Geřark'uni
Osoťk ^c	Kotayk ^c
Ařahēčk	Ařahēč
Čřakk ^c	Čřukk ^c
Xaband	Harband
Baťk ^c	Balk ^c
Jork ^c	Jork ^c
Arewk ^c	Arewrk
Sisakan	Kosakan

148A

B	TK
Miws Haband	Miws Hiwbandn
Vakunik ^c	Vakunik ^c
Berdajor	Berdajor
Mec Kuank ^c	Meciran
Mec Irank ^c	Meckuank ^c
Harčřank ^c	Apiank ^c
Muxank ^c	Packank ^c
Piank ^c	Sisakank ^c
Panjkanċ	Kotayk ^c
Sisakan Ostan	K'utip'ařnēs
K'usti p'ařnēs	Kolt ^c
Koťk ^c	

^{149A} 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" (*ařxarh P'aytakaran k'ařak'ov* or *ař ezerbn Kaspic'i muts Erasxay*, which Soukry, incidentally, mistranslated *Paidagaran au bord de la mer Caspienne, à l'ouest du fleuve d'Araxe*). The parallel paragraph in S simply refers to the land of P'aytaka-

ran, but, in the passage missing in L, the short recension describes the region as lying "east of Utik' along the Arax" (*yelic' kay Utwoy aš Erasxaw*). 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 Mili 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 Mili 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 LE 18) have to tell us, it would appear that P'aytakaran lay in the Mughan (Mušan) 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 Azerbaidzhan (and the USSR) from Iran as, according to Ptolemy (V.13.4), it separated (under the name *Kaspion* Mountains) Armenia from Media which was by his time a province in the Parthian Empire. The western boundary would most likely have been the Qaradagh Range where it culminates in Mt. Yashtasar, probably the Mt. *Iasonion* of Strabo (XI.13.10). The southern frontier of P'aytakaran was thus at the same time the extreme southeasterly boundary of Armenia, the border reaching the Caspian somewhere in the vicinity of modern Astara. 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 *Kaspianē* as does BP (V.14: *Kazbk'*). Ptolemy does not mention the land but cites the *Kaspioi* as a people of Media (VI.2.5). 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 *Balasakan*. *Kaspianē* is not found, of course, in the AŠX, itself, which, in S, has P'aytakaran in place of the Armenian original of the classical name: *Kasp'k'* or *Kazbk'*. That *Kasp'k'/Kaspianē* is the primary designation of the land seems certain from the fact that no classical author has ever heard of P'aytakaran under any form of that name, and it seems likely that the latter term superseded the earlier one only after the city of P'aytakaran 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 P'aytakaran city may not have existed much before its first attestation in Aa (842) in a fourth-century context. The name P'aytakaran, rendered in Ag (152) as *Phatakaranē*; RA (II.12): *Tangarenon?* has never been satisfactorily explained. Ulubabyan (1975:43) takes it to mean 'capital city' or 'great city'. P'ayt means 'wood' in Armenian and *p'aytak* 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.: *garan* '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 (Hüb.:270).

Whether the inhabitants of *Kaspianē* were known as Caspians (*Kaspianoi*) 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 Agathangelos' cryptic description of P'aytakaran (842) as a city of the Armenian Kingdom may possibly be interpreted to mean that the Armenians *owned* the city as opposed to its having been an Armenian city properly called. In any case, according to Herodotus (VII.67), a people called *Kaspianoi* fought as a separate contingent in the army of Darius I (522-486 B.C.). After the death of Alexander the Great, *Kaspianē* may or may not have been included in the Seleucid Empire which inherited Iran from him, but it was definitely a part of the Kingdom of Media Atropatēnē. Strabo (XI.14.5) tells us that *Kaspianē* was taken from Media by the Armenians in

the time of Artaxias (Artašēs) I (188-c.161 B.C.), while MX (II.53) recalls the capture of its king, Zardmanos, at that time (the *-os* ending suggesting a Greek source for this information). Strabo (*ibid.*) adds, however, that in his time (d.c. A.D. 20), *Kaspianē* 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: "here are two Parthian towns formerly serving for protection against the Medes . . . Hekatompylos, 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 *Kaspianē* from Albania to Iran would have occurred most probably at the time of the signing of the Romano-Parthian Treaty of Rhandaia 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 *Kaspianē* to Armenia would have been either in the time of Vologaeses (Vašaršak) I (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 resettled after a particularly crushing defeat of the forces of Sasanid Persia by those of Rome.

The fact that Armenia held *Kaspianē* for only a relatively short period, its remoteness from Armenia proper, its non-Armenian character, its long connection with Iran, and the unlikelihood 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 Sanesan or Sanatruk Aršakuni 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 Romano-Persian partition of Armenia in ca. 387, the area was permanently detached from Armenia and apparently – as we learn from the AŠX – returned to the Persian province of Atropatēnē, where, under the name *Balasakan*, it appears later in the text as a division of the latter. There is no later mention of P'aytakaran (or of *Balasakan*) as a district but a Syriac source cites a Nestorian bishop of Paidangaran (Sacher:61). The city was probably destroyed – apparently forever – during the Khazar invasion which we know from LE (18) ravaged this region in the eighth century. That it is not the same city as Baylakan, which appears coincidentally only in the Arab period, seems proven by the confusion in certain Armenian sources (TA III.9); pseudo-Vardan, ed. Berberean, III) which identify P'aytakaran with the Georgian capital of Tiflis (Tbilisi), and by its identification by UU (64) with Partaw (!). Such errors seem unthinkable had P'aytakaran survived as Baylakan. Yovhannēsean (1970) knows of only two fortresses in P'aytakaran, P'aytakaran, itself, and Vardanakert but both were walled cities. (Inč.:317-333; Marq.:108, 111, 118, 122, 170); Hüb.:267-70; LeStrange:175-78; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:88, 117; Hak. 1968:250:51; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; Hewsens 1973; Ulub. 1981: *passim*; Garsoian 1989:471; 486-87; HSH 12).

150A

B
Hrak'ot
Perož
Vardanakert

TK
P'orakē
Hrakartperuž
Vardanakert

Ewt'n p'orakean Bagink'	K'rakan
Uni	Ėotbašay
Roti bała	K'ałandot
Bałañrot	Xani t'aš
Aros pižan	Bagawan
Hani	Spandaran
At'li	Ormzdan
Bagawan	Kazbk'
Spandaran Perož	
Ormzdperož	
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 mss. of this recension (S). Relying on a comparison of the names to be found in these mss. Hübschmann (351), Eremyan (117) and Harut'yunyan (*HSH* 12) read them as follows:

Hübschmann:	Eremyan:	Harut'yunyan:
Hrak'otperož	Hrak'ot-Perož (Ėotestak)	Hrak'ot-perož
Vardanakert	Vardanakert	Vardanakert
Ewt'nap'orakean Bagink'	Ewt'nap'orakean Bagink'	Yot'np'orakyan Bagink'
K'oekean		K'oekean?
Ėotibała		Ėot-i-Bala
Bałañrot	Bałañrot (Ėot-i-Bala)	Balañrot
Aros pižan	Aros Pičan	Aros
Hani	Hani	Pican
At'li Bagawan	At'ši Bagawan	At'ši-Bagawan
Spandaranperož	Spandaran-Perož	Spandaran Peroz
Ormzdperož	Ormizd-Perož	Ormizd-Peroz
Alewan	Alewan	Alewan

Hübschmann, 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. Bałañrot to Eremyan is obviously only a duplication of Ėot-i-bala under a variant form of the name, while K'oekean, found only in two mss., 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 (*HSH* 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* nn. *ff.*).

^{151A} Eremyan places *Hrak'ot-Perož* in the plain called Mili 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 *Hrak'ot-Perož* to be another name for the district of Ėotestak which the *AŠX* 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 Kaspianē-P'aytakaran to the same area in direct contradiction to classical authors (e.g. Pliny, V I.16.42) who assert that Otēnē (Utik⁵) lay north of the Arax. Eremyan, as we have just seen, solves this problem by identifying the Otenian district of Ėotestak with the Kaspian district of Hrak'ot-Perož and so making Utik' and P'aytakaran overlap. Apparently he sees Ėotestak as having been at some time transferred to Kaspianē, together with the city of P'aytakaran, after which Kaspianē became known after its new capital. This notion, it must be admitted, is supported by LE 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 Artawēt (Ardabil) . . . as well as the districts of Ut'šibaguan, Spandaranperoz, and Ormiztrperoz." 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'šibaguan 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 Kaspianē 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 can 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 Kaspianē ever extended north of the Kur, there is ample evidence to support the opinion of Hakobyan (1970: map), Ulubabyan (1981) and Harut'yunyan (*HSH* 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 *Altan*) and the Caspian Sea. According to this itinerary, (Mat. ms. n. 2679 for which see Manandyan 1965:169), P'aytakaran lay sixty miles (*mlon*) from Vardanakert and fifty from the coast, while Arab itineraries (e.g., al-Ištakhri, 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) *farsakhs* north of Ardabil on the road to Bardha'a (Partaw) which lay north of the Arax. From these indications, Ulubabyan 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 Hrak'ot-perož 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 *AŠX*, itself. If we indeed place Hrak'ot-Perož in the Plain of Mughan, then the districts of P'aytakaran could possibly have been listed in two groups both running counter-clockwise, the first in the north (Hrak'ot-Perož, Ewt'np'orakean Bagink', Vardanakert, Ėot-i-Bala and Bałañrot), and the second in the south (Aros-Pičan, Hani, At'ši-Bagawan, Spandaran-Perož,

Ormizd-Perož and Alewan). This, however, is not how either Eremyan or Harut'yunyan 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.

^{152A} *Vardanakert*. The location of this district is clear from its name, taken from the town of Vardanakert (Arab.: *Warthān*), which, as we have seen, probably lay on the ruined site called *Altan* on the south bank of the Arax River shortly before its juncture with the Kur. Vardanakert 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. Grigoris, grandson of St. Gregory the Illuminator, was slain by the king of the Mask'ut'k' (*BP* III.6; *MX* III.3; *MD* I.14), although *BP* suggests that this plain lay along the Caspian coast in the vicinity of Darband. The city of Vardanakert lay on the route from Ardebil north to Baylakan, and i Haw. places it seven *farsaks* 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 Bañanrot (*Ėrot-i-Bała*) and Ewt'np'orakean Bagink' for a total of c. 8,900 sq. km.

^{153A} *Ewt'np'orakean Bagink'* 'the temple of the seven niches' (*bagin* = 'altar'; *bagink'* 'altars' with the sense of 'temple'). This district must have taken its name from the pagan shrine earlier called Gabaru' Bagink' 'the temple of Gabar,' which appears as early as the second century in Ptol. (VI.2.1) as *Sabaioi bōmoi*, read **Gabaroī bōmoi*, a direct translation (or rather mistranslation) from the Armenian, where *bagink'* has been taken as the plural of 'altars' (Gk: *bōmoi*) rather than in its literal meaning of 'temple'. This would be the *ewt'n bagins mehenic'n* the 'temple of the seven altars' of Aa (22), where, again, an error has been made in the interpretation of the name, the correct form of which is undoubtedly preserved in the name of the district (*Ag II: tois hepta hierois* 'to the seven temples'). In northern Iran near the Soviet-Iranian frontier lies Kabirry *Kurgan* (Kibirly), a site which Eremyan (46) identifies with this shrine. The district of Ewt'np'orakean Bagink' extended into the later Plain of Mughan (Arm.: *Movakan dašt*, perhaps connected with the toponym *Movakani* of old Georgian sources where it is always coupled with Albania as *Rani-Movakan* (*Toum.*:318, n. 144; 470, n. 168). Apparently, this plain was also known as the *Gabaru dašt* (*Erem.*:46) whence *Gabaru Bagink'* as another designation for the shrine. As late as the thirteenth century, Qazvini refers to the Gargaryan Plain (*Erem.*:46).

^{154A} *K'oekean*. This district is cited in only two mss. of the *AŠX* and Eremyan (117) omits it as an error. Harut'yunyan, (*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 *Meł*, again with a question mark. B *Uni* C *Twni* DE *K'oekean* E *Ekean* G *Uni* J unclear.

^{155A} *Infra* n. 156 A.

^{156A} Bañanrot or *Ėrot-i-bała* which Eremyan (43-44) regards as alternate names for the same district. This seems likely since *rot* is the *OP* word for river (Phl.: *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 Balh-*ab* giving Bohl-*aru* whence *Bolgar*. The chief town of this district must have been Bañan-rot, Per.: *Balhab*, now the village of *Bolgaru-kend*, but in the immediate pre-Mongol period (twelfth century) Pilsuvar on the Bañan-rot was an important center (*Le Strange*:176).

^{157A} *Aros-Pičan*. 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 moment the two districts geographically located immediately after Bañanrot, and brings us to Aros-Pičan (*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 Kaspiānē, we can identify the valley of this river as the district of Aros-Pičan. Area c. 675 sq. kms. Contrary to Hübschmann and Eremyan, Harut'yunyan (*ibid.*) considers *Pičan* to be a distinct district placing it on the upper course of the Gař-rah (Qareh-*su*) River. B *Aros Pičan*, *Hani* C *Aros*, *Bižanhanhani* DE *Buřos*, *Pičan*, *Hani* F *Buřos Pičanhani* G unclear.

^{158A} The location of Hani is a matter of logical guesswork. Neither its name nor its place in the list in the *AŠX* gives us any special reason to place it in the southeast corner of Kaspiānē in the vicinity of the port of Akstafa as Eremyan does (62), and Harut'yunyan (*ibid.*) locates it considerably to the north, indicating Ormizd-Perož 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, Aros-Pičan was located, it appears safe to accept Eremyan's location of Hani in this area. Adontz (*Ad-Gar.*:324) connects this name with that of the *Ainianoī*, whose presence in nearby Utik' is attested by Strabo (XI.7.1). Later, this area was called *Zand-Alan*. Area: c. 1,620 sq. km. C *Bizanhanhani*.

^{159A} At'si-Bagawan (also *Bagavan* and *Baguan*) '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 Bāğarvan or Badjarvan of Arabic and Persian sources. Eremyan (42) traces the name back to an original **Bagarawan*, whence the At'si-Bagawan which gave its name to the district. Obviously, a shrine connected with the Zoroastrian religion, this site was located near the Bañan-rot or *Ėrot-i-Bała* (Arab.: *Bagarwān*) River, now the Bazar-*chai*, which the Armenians and local Iranian populations of Talysh still call the *Bagaru*. Only LE (18) among other Armenian sources mentions this shrine, referring to it as *Et'si* (or *Ut'si*) *Bagwan*. The town of Aparšahr near the Caspian coast, located perhaps on the site of the later *Mahmūdābād e Gāvbari* founded in the ilkhānid period (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), also appears to have lain in this district, and the area appears to have been the homeland of the ancient tribe called *Aparhai*. Area: c. 2,480 sq. km. C *At'il*, *Bagawan*.

^{160A} Spandaran-Perož, LE (18): Spater-Perož, (or Spandaranperož); the Arab.: *Sadarasp* or *Satru-dan*, which came to be known as *Barzand* in the later 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. Pērōz or Pēroč is a Persian name, from Avestan **paitiraočanh?* (*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 Perož 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 Spanduni, 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 Spandaran-Perož). 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 Vardanakert, Baylakan and Partaw.

^{161A} Ormizd-Perož; Arab.: *Uram*, corresponds perhaps to the present district of Yaft in northern Iran on the right bank of the middle course of the modern Qareh-su (Arm.: *Gař-rah*; Per.: *ab e Andarab*), which flows northwards to the Arax from Mt. Sabalan (Arm.: *Sahvarzan*, *Erem.*:1979 map) near Ardabil (*Erem.*:75), the highest peak (4821 m.) in Atropatēnē. This location cannot be taken as certain, however, for, as we shall see, the town of Alewan, which gave its name to the last district cited in P'aytakaran, appears to have been located in a part of the district where Eremyan places Ormizd-Perož. The name *Ormizd* is derived from that of Ahura-Mazdāh, the Zoroastrian god of light (Pahl: *Ohrmazd*, written *Auhrmazd*, whence Arm.: *Ormizd* and Greco-Latin *Hormizdas*), a name born by no less than five Sasanid kings (*Justi*:7; *Frye*:320). The name would seem to mean 'Ormizd's victory' but this is not certain. Area: c. 1,100 sq. km.

^{162A} *Alewan*. Eremyan (32) locates this district along the left bank of the middle and lower course of

the Gař-rah River (Qareh-su) extending from the Arax on the north to Mt. Yařtasar (now the *Kub-e-Geyshtasar*, probably the Mt. *Iasionion* 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/Kaspianē on the east and the district of Vas-purakan called Parspatunik' on the west (*supra* VII H n. 180). Eremyan (1963: map) places a town called Alewan on the Gař-rah (Qara-*chai*) but Krawulsky (1978: map 3) locates it under its Persian name, *Rebāt e Alvān*, to the southeast of Eremyan's site, where she, on the other hand, places Kaleibar. Area: c. 1,300 sq. km.

^{163A}Utik'; Ptol. (V.12.4): *Otēnē*; RA (II.12): *Otenon*; Arab.: *Ūdh* (Bal. *apud* Hüb.:270, n. 3) from MP **ūt* or earlier **ot* (Hüb.: *ibid.*), a name probably connected with that of the people called *Outioi* 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 *Outioi* and places them, together with the *Mykoi*, in the fourteenth satrapy of the Empire. Elsewhere (VII.67) he links the two peoples again as a joint contingent under a common commander in the Persian army at Doriskos. These linkings of the Utians and the Mykians are interesting when we consider that the district of Muxank' in Arc'ax (*supra* VI C, n. 216) and the Muřan (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 Artasēs (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 *AŠX*, as is its wont, mentions only the eight districts of Utik', these were actually gathered together into three separate principalities: Gardman, Šakašēn (with the districts of Šakašēn and Tus-k'ustak) and Utik' (with the districts of Uti aranĵnak, i. e., Uti 'proper', Ařuē, Tri, Ařan-řot and Řotparsean). Although it would appear likely that the Prince of Utik' was suzerain over those of Gardman and Šakašēn (which would alone explain the greater Utik' of the *AŠX* 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 822.

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 Šakašēn, bearing the surname Dařtakaran, are last heard of in the seventh century; those of Gardman, as just noted, survived until 822, when, with the murder of Varaz-trdat 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; Panchavidze 1974); Cox 1977:285; Hewsens, *MERSH*; Schulze 1982; Greppin 1982), who inhabit the villages of Vartashen (Vartašēn) and Nidzh (Nij) 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 duchy included the fortress of Xunani or Hunarakert, he places Gardman in 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 Kořba. The real duchy of Gardabani, of course, certainly included the fortress of Hunarakert 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 in the land 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 Řotřstak in Albania, whose location is not known, and, with no evidence to support him, identifies it with the district of Hrak'ot-Peroř in the land of P'aytakaran. With Gardman and Mec Kuenk' (*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 Otene extends to the Araxes (Arax); this river bounding it on the south. Since the principality of Jorap'or occupied the Ařstew 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 Arc'ax, its neighbour to the west. Here the work of Ulubabyan (1981:34) brings us as close to an answer as we can hope to get: Noting that the cities of Baylakan, Partaw and Šamk'or all lay in Utik', whereas the known locations of Amaras, Tigranakert and P'arisos all lay in Arc'ax, 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 *AŠX* lists the districts of Utik' in the following order: Ařan-řot, Řot Parsean, Ařuē, Tus K'ustak, Gardman, Šakašēn and Uti Proper "where the city of Partaw is located". Eremyan ignored this order identifying Gardman (called Gardabani in Georgian) with the Georgian duchy of Gardabani (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, Šakašēn, Ařan-řot, and Uti Proper, and placing the three remaining districts of Tri, Ařuē and Řot 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 order, and knowing the locations of Tus K'ustak (around the castle of Tawuř, modern Tawz), Sakasen (around modern Shamkhor), and Uti Proper (around Partaw), places Ařuē, Tri, Gardman and Šakašēn to the north of Partaw; Uti Proper around Partaw; and Ařan-řot, Tri and Řot 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 Akstafa (Ařstew) valley (*supra* VI n. 53), this is where Harut'yunyan places Ařuē. In my opinion, Harut'yunyan is correct in his placement of Tus K'ustak, Gardman, Šakašēn (in that order) to the north of Uti Proper; and Ařan-řot, Tri and Řot Parsean (in that order) to the south of them, but wrong in breaking the list between Řot Parsean and Ařuē. In my view, the author of the list in the *AŠX* must have begun, as per Harut'yunyan, with the three districts lying to the south of Partaw (Ařan-řot, Tri and Řot Parsean), following these with Ařuē, 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, Šakašēn, and Uti Proper). A glance at the accompanying map (XX) will show that, except for Ařuē, all of these districts of Utik' lie in a row; Ařuē alone lies outside of the row to its west. In placing Ařuē in this location, I do so because first, the castle of that name certainly did not lie in the Akstafa valley (as it would have to have 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. Yovhannēsean (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. (Inč.:334-52; Hüb.:270-275; Herz.:300-01; Toum.: *passim*; Erem.:175-76, 118; Hak.:253; Ulub. 1975, 1981: *passim*; HSH 10).

^{164A}The text has *ewt'n* 'seven' but obviously *ut'n*, 'eight' is intended.

B	TK
Aran'ot	Arastdot
Tri	Aridot
Rotpac'ean	Payeak
Ahuē	Gardmank'
Tučk'atak	Šagusēn
Gardman	Uti aranjak
Šikašēn	
Uti aranjak	

^{165A}Utik' became a part of Albania about 387 A.D. and, about a century later, Partaw in Utik', founded by Vač'ē II, became the capital of the Albanian kingdom (*infra*, n. 174 A).

^{166A}Erem.: *Aian-rot*; S1944; *Aianrovit*, located in the valley of the modern Geran-*chai* River (*g-Aran?). Area: c. 2,225 sq. kms.

^{167A}Erem. (86): *Tri*; MD (III.19): *Tri Garwař*, located on the middle course of the Trtu (now *T'art-ar* or Terter River), where the later district of *řraberd* was found. Area: c. 530 sq. km.

^{168A}Erem. 79: *Rot Parsean*; Hübschmann (352) cites the variants: *Rotpac'ean*, *Řovtapayak* and *Řotpaiyak*. Eremyan tentatively locates this district between the Xaç'ēn and T'art'ar Rivers. Area: c. 770 sq. km.

^{169A}Erem. (34): *Ahuē*; Hübschmann (352) cites the variants: *Ahuē* and *Ahuēs*, the region of modern *Gulistan*. Area: c. 590 sq. kms.

^{170A}Erem. (86): *Tus-K'ustak* (of which *Tuc'k'atak* is a corruption) located on the lower course of the Tawuř or Tus (*T'ovuz*) River. S1877: *Tuc'k'atak*; this district and the rest which follow are omitted in S1877. Area: c. 700 sq. km.

^{171A}Erem. (46): *Gardman*; Geo: *Gardabani* (*Vax*.:178); *Arab*.: *al-Jardamān* (Bal: 202 quoted by Hüb. 352), the *raion* of modern *Kazakh*. The Armenian district of Gardman is *Gardabani* in Iberian sources and is thus often confused with the Iberian district of Gardabani, which the earliest Armenian and Iberian sources show to have been quite distinct. Iberian Gardabani formed the duchy of Xunani and was separated from Armenia by the Berduři River. Gardman, on the other hand, lay east of Gardabani and was originally separated from it by the three districts of Cobap'or (VI B, n. 51), Kořbap'or (VI B, n. 52), and Jorap'or (VI B, n. 53). The western district fluctuated greatly and finally, in the eighth century, Gardman acquired Kořbap'or and Jorap'or. This would have brought the now greatly enlarged Gardman close enough to Gardabani to cause an easy confusion between the two. Area: c. 2,900 sq. km.

^{172A}Erem. (73) *Šakašēn*; Hüb. (352): *Šikašēn*; Ptol. (V.12.4): *Sakasēnē*; Strabo (II.1.14): *idem*. located in the area extending from the Zakam (*Jegam*) River to the Kurik River (*Kyurak-chai*) along the right bank of the Kur, i. e. the region of Ganja (Elizavetpol'/Kirovabad). Šakašēn formed a separate principality within Armenia (and after c. 387 in Albania) ruled by the Princes Dařtakaran (Toum.:220). Its name is supposedly 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.

^{173A}Erem. (75): *Uti Arianjak* or *Ut-řostak*, earliest home of the Utians, according to Eremyan (*infra* n. 132 A), one of the component parts of the Albanian people. This district was later called *Tawus* (Hüb.:353). Here, in the eighth century, settled a Magyar group known as the *Sewordik'* (Toum.:487; Laurent:23-24). Area: c. 2,800 sq. km. (See Appendix X).

^{174A}*Partaw* (Phl.: *Pērōz-Kawāt*; Arm.: *Perozapat*, later *Partaw*; Arab.: *Bardha'a*; Geo.: *Bardavi*; Tk: *Berda* or *Barda*; Russ.: *Barda*), the capital of Caucasian Albania or Arran in the Arab. period. Located on the lower course of the Terter River in the old Armenian principality of Utik', Partaw was founded by the Albanian King Vač'ē II (c. 460 A. D.) replacing the earlier Albanian capital of Kabala north of the Kur, and was named to honor Shah Firuz (Arm.: *Peroz*, 459-484). Since neither *Perozapat* nor *Pērōz-Kawāt* could readily become *Partaw*, it is likely that Partaw preexisted under that name as a town or village and that the Persian name never took hold.

Situated on the trade route from Ardebil in Iran to Tiflis and Dvin, by the tenth century Partaw was the largest and most important commercial center of Caucasia. Praised by Arab geographers as a large, rich and handsome city of well-built houses of adobe and brick, Partaw possessed a large citadel, a fine mosque, a governor's palace and extensive suburban markets where grain, textiles, skins, carpets, fruit, nuts and especially the locally produced silk were sold in abundance. Destroyed in 944 (MD III.21) by a raiding party of Rus pirates who had sailed up the Kur from the Caspian Sea, Partaw never recovered (MD: *passim*; Hüb.:304; Barthold, *EI* s. v. "Barda"; Manandyan 1945/1965: *passim*; Tashch'yan 1946; Dunlop, new *EI*, s. v. "Bardha'a"; Minorsky 1953: *passim*; *idem* 1958: *passim*; Erem. 1963:77; Hak. 1968:90, 127, 199, 217, 218, 254, 255, 273, 292; Ulub. 1975: *passim*; *idem*. 1981: *passim*).

^{175A}I have not been able to identify the bird called *katak*, nor has Eremyan attempted to do so. Ačaryan (*Bařaran*, III:1025) thinks it is a magpie.

^{176A}

B	TK
Joroyp'or	Jorap'or
Coboyp'or	Kořbap'or
Kořboyp'or	Cobap'or
Tařir	Tařir
T'řelk	T'řelk'
Kangark'	K'angark'
Artahank'	Artahan
řawaxk'	řawaxēt'
Křarjk'	Křarjk'

^{177A}

B	TK
Koř	Koř
Berdac'p'or	Berdaxt
Čakk'	Partizap'or
Buxa	Gubalk'
Ok'ařē	Čakatk'
Azord	Arseac'p'or
Kap'or	
Asec'p'or	

^{178A} *Ok'atē*, also known as *Ok'at* (LP, LXVIII), and the largest district of Tayk', was located along the middle course of the Azord River (Tortum *Deresi*), and in the eighteenth century both this district and Azordac'p'or were known collectively as Tortum (Geo.: *Tortomi*). The name *Ok'atē* perhaps goes back to the Urartian period when Vannic inscriptions speak of the land of *Kali*. Here, near the Tortum River, opposite the village of the same name, stood the castle of *Ok'atē* located by the sources of a stream called *Kazarens*, 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.: *Tortomisc'ixe*), now *Tortumkale* on another right-hand tributary of the Tortum River flowing down from the Dumlu *Daği*. Area: c. 1450 sq. km.

^{179A}

B	TK
Basean	Basean
Gabeŋeank'	Gabeŋeank'
Abefeank'	Abefeank'
Vahawunik'	Apahunik'
Ašarunik	Ašarunik'
Bagrēwand	Bariwant
Całkotn	Calēotn
Širak	Kogovit
Vanand	Cakaŋne
Aragacotn	Ccumb
Čakat'	Širak
Maseac'otn	Aragacotn
Kogovit	Maseac'oth
Ašoc'k'	Nig
Nig	Kotayk'
Kotayk'	Mazaz
Mazaz	Varažunik'
Varažnunik'	Ašoc'k'
Ostann Dēwna	Ostann Šarur
Daštn Šarur	

^{180A} *Čakat'*, located in the valleys of the Vardamarg and Agarek streams south of the Arax. Its center was the town of Kołb. Area: C. 825 sq. km.

^{181A} *Maseac'otn* 'foot of Masis', the plain of Surmalu on the northern and eastern slopes of the Greater and Lesser Ararat peaks (Mt. Masis). This was the region called *Erikuałi* or *Irkua* by the Urartians. Area: c. 2,800 sq. km.

^{182A} *Ašoc'k'*; Urart.: *Iskiguli*; Geo.: *Aboc'i* from an original *Ašoc'i*. Later this district was known as *Qayquli* and corresponds to the modern region of *Lukasyan*. It was originally a part of Širak (Ad-Gar.:238). Area: c. 900 sq. km.

^{183A} Erem. (60): *Kotayk'*; Ptol. (V.12.9): *Kotaia*, along with Basean (*Pasin*) and Ałbak (*Albak*) one of the few districts of old Armenia to have preserved its name and area down to the present day. This is the region of Erevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. Area: c. 860 sq. km.

^{184A} Erem. (64): *Mazaz*, the valley of the upper course of that Azat or Gałni River, now the modern regions of Hrazdan and Sevan drained by the Hrazdan River and located in the Gelmaŋen (now *Almalan*) volcanic mass. Here was located Gałni, Lat.: *Gorneae* (Tac. *Ann.*:XII), the summer capital of the Armenian kings. Area: c. 680 sq. km.

^{185A} Erem. (82): *Varažnunik'*, not to be confused with the districts of *Varažnunik'* in both Tawruberan and Vaspurakan (*supra* VII D, n. 79; VII H,187), comprised the greater part of the modern *raioni* of *Hrazdan*, *Sevan*, *Dilijan* and *Garmir* in Soviet Armenia. Located on the upper course of the Hrazdan (Zanga) River, this district was known in the middle ages as *Całkunik'* whence its Turkish name *Darachichak*, both of which signify 'flowering plain' (Ad.-Gar.:239). Area: c. 1,900 sq. km.

^{186A} Erem. (46): *Gaylatu Lič*, now *Balik göl*. C *Gayloru*.

^{187A} ... 'and north of Judaea' is omitted in B.

^{188A} The Whiston Brothers thought *Knsrim* to be a corruption of *Caesarea* but Saint-Martin (II:390) suggested that it was the Arab.: *Kinesrin*, i. e., *Ḳinnesrīn* (*supra* VIII, n. 16). *EI* identifies *Ḳinnesrīn* with the ancient *Chalcis ad Belum*; C *Kšrim*.

^{189A} *Urha* is the Armenian name for Syr.: *Orhai*, Gk: *Edessa*; Lat.: *Edessa* or *Antiochia ad Callirhoea*; Arab.: *al-Rūhā*, once capital of an Arab people called *Osrhoei* and of their kingdom of *Osrhoēnē*, now the city of *Urfa* in Turkey (Jones 1037: Siegal 14; Garsoian 1989:497-98). The history of the 'Holy Face of Edessa' or *Mandyllion*, as it sometimes is 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 *akheiropoientos* '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 Dobschnütz 1899: chaps. V and VI).

^{190A} *Akola* (S1683: *Akalałi*) would be *Kufa*, site of the first Arab encampment in Iraq not founded until A. D. 638. The form *Akalałi* is through Syriac *Akula*. C *Akołac'*.

^{191A} Basra (Arab.: *al-Bašra*) lies in what was probably the site of ancient *Diriditis* or *Teredon*, and certainly on the site of the Persian *Vahishtābādh Andashēr* on the *Shaṭṭ al-'Arab*, but the present town was founded only in 638. (New *EI*:1085). C *Pasra*.

^{192A} 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).

^{193A} Ktesiphon (Arm.: *Tisbon*; Phl.: *Tēspōn*), the winter residence of the Parthian Kings, was later the capital of Sasanian Iran. It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris River. Ktesiphon is omitted in BC and G. E *Tisbon* J *Tizbon*.

^{194A} *Anapatn Arabia*; 'Desert Arabia' (Gk: *ē Erēmos Arabia*; Lat: *Arabia Deserta*) was the northern triangle of the Syrian Desert between Transjordan and the Euphrates River.

^{195A} *Kadxaluana* is more accurately rendered in S1819 as two separate flowers *k'edi*, *axuna*, while S1877 has *K't'i*, *axuna*. Both of these names are discussed by Ačarean but, whereas he identifies the *axuna* as the Arabic *aghūn* (*Baīaran* I:68), that is, the chamomile (*dactylus crudus*), he is unable to identify *K'edi* (*ibid.* III:1441).

^{196A} The districts of Media according to B are

Artrpatakan	Ahmadan
Rē	Damb var
Gelan	Taparastan
Mukan	Ameł
Dilumn	Řuēł

^{197A} *Kaputan Cov* 'the blue sea'; originally Lake Čēst (*Catalogue*:108); Phl: *Ariema* (Milman in his

notes to Gibbon 1854-55, vol. IV:93); Ptol. (VI.2.2): *Martianē*; Strabo (XI.15.8): *Mantianē*; *idem*. Ptol. (XI.13.2): *Spauta* read: **Kapauta*, the name *Mantianē* being related to that of the Mannaeans, biblical *Minni* (Jer.51.27) who once dwelled south of the lake, whereas *Kapauta* 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 *Mantianē* rather than **Kapauta* as meaning 'blue'; Arab.: *Kabudhan*, later Pers.: *Urmia* after the town of that name in the plain to the west of the lake; Lake Reza'iyeh 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 'Kaputan Cov'; Nagel 1978:134-5).

^{198A} *Ganjak Šahastan* 'royal treasure house' Strabo (XI.13.3): *Ganzaka*; Pliny (VI.42): *Gaza*; Arab.: *Al-Shīz*; was the summer capital of Media and the winter capital of the Kings of Atropatēnē. It was surnamed *Šahastan* by the Armenians to distinguish it from Gandzak/Ganja in eastern Armenia. An important Zoroastrian shrine in the Sasanian period (226-636), Gandzak 'treasure house', most probably lay on the site of modern Laylān south of Lake Urmia and Marāgha 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' *Arasx*), which in the Roman period separated Atropatēnē (and hence the later Parthian and Sasanian Empires) from Arsacid Armenia. Ganjak is possibly to be identified with the otherwise unknown fortress of Zintha (**Gantha?*) which marked the southeastern frontier of Armenia according to the Peace of Nisibis (298 A.D.). A Christian bishopric as early as 486, Ganjak was sacked by the Emperor Heraclius in c. 624 and its fire temple of Ādhur-Gushnasp destroyed. (Marq:108-114; Minorsky 1944; *idem*. 1953; Hak.: *passim*; Ad-Gar.: *passim*; Fiey 1973), Garsoian 1989:463); C omitted.

^{199A} *Mucl* is modern *Mosul* (*Al-Mawṣil*) in Iraq, located on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the ruins of Nineveh (*EI*). *Arvastan* is a corruption of *Arabastan* referring to the Arab population of northern Mesopotamia (Ad-Gar.:25).

^{200A} The districts of Elimaeus in B are

Xužastan	Darmakan
May	Eranastan
Mayspan	Karkawat
Mihran	Notatrširakan
K'otak	Marjin
K'ašk'ar	Arhen

^{201A} This *K'astar* and the *Karkawat* which follows it after two other names, must be the 'new' provinces of *Kašar* and *Kawat* mentioned by L under Mesopotamia (*supra* VIII, n. 96).

^{202A} The districts of Persia in B are

Parss	Petvašt
Aspahan	Sagastan
Mēšun	Aplastan

Hakar	Ger
Anayit	Meł
Mkran	Mahik
Kuran	Małun
Makuran	Hoči
Snd-	Pahl
Mran	

^{203A} Saint-Martin (391-392) and Markwart (*Ērān.*, 147) identified Reširparhsan with the Persian *Rēšir-i Bahrsan* (Arab.: *Rāshahr*), now the ruins called *Rīsehr* on the River Tāg in the *nabe* (district) of Tawag, north of Būsehr. C *Rēšir ew*.

^{204A} In S1683 and S1862 the mention of pearls in connection with Reširparhsan is followed by this passage similar to the one found in the corresponding section on Persia in L (Saint-Martin, II:392). This passage reads as follows in the original Armenian:

ew gohark' margarit ays ē. drak vec' dankean. aržē k' aiasun hazar dohax ewt' mišxoy erek danka. č'ors parmuk'a parmušit. hawt' adram haštadram. dahadram.

or, as Markwart (*ibid.*, 11-12) reads it:

ew gohark' margarti ays ē. drak vec' dangean, aržē k' aiasunewvec' domiay, hing hariwr. Mič' ay- iay, erek'. dankay, č'ors parmušk'a. parmušid. hawtadram. haštadram. dahadram.

Saint-Martin (392) believed this passage to be an interpolation owing to its use of the term *danga*, which he took to be of Mongol origin and refers to a coin minted in Persia under the Ilkhans. This is inaccurate, however, for we know that *dāng* is an Iranian word found as *danake* in Step. Byz. I agree with his opinion that the passage in its present form is quite corrupt. I have included it in my translation, however, as it appears in L, and here as it appears in S1683 and in three of the mss. used by Patkanean in his preparation of S1877.

Although this passage is not clear, as Saint-Martin points out (*ibid.*), *hawt' adram*, *haštadram* and *dahadram* are Persian words meaning respectively, seven, eight and ten *dirhems*, while *noynadram* would be nine *dirhems*. The Whiston Brothers left the first version, found in S1683, untranslated in their S1736. S1877 and S1944 repeat the passage as found in S1683. The *dram* or *dirhem* was a silver coin of Sasanian Iran equal in weight to 1/80 of a litra and thus amounting 50 5.08 grams (Man. 1965:118).

^{205A} B has the following districts in Ariana:

Košm	Hrum
Vrkan	Zam
Apršahr	Peroz
Mrum	Naxčer
Arusat	Dizinawazak
Hrew	Varjan
Katēšan	Manšan
Nmanimak	Ĵakstan
Běžin	Bahl i.e. Part'evk'
Sałkan	Govmat
Gozkan	Varinamak
Andaplah	

^{206A} These pygmies are mentioned by Homer (*Il.*, 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.

^{207A}The Hephthalites or 'White Huns' inhabited the steppes of Central Asia between the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral in early Byzantine times (Moravcsik *ibid.*:69).

^{208A}From here to the end of the *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 Ganges with the Phison is found in Kosmas Indikopleustes as well as in Jos. (*Ant.* 1.38). C *Gangēs geł Sehon*.

^{210A}H fifty-eight peoples.

^{211A}Ptol. (VII.2.).

^{212A}H has 'others have the bodies of animals' instead of 'others feed on animals.' The former passage has probably been dropped out of S1944 by a copyist and the latter similarly dropped out of H.

^{213A}The large ants of India are mentioned by Pomponius Mela (III.62).

^{214A}The ant-lions (*mrjmnariwck'*) are not found in C and this rather unlikely term may well be an error for something else.

^{215A}A has 'mkunk', *bešmskoy, korkordil'*, while S1819 has 'mkunk', *běšk mškoy, kokordil'*, which Saint-Martin translated as 'des rats, le castor, le crocodile'. Cardona (91 n. 11) omits the first comma, however, to read '*mkunk besamskoy*' which he translates 'poison-eating rats', and which corresponds to the similar passage in L (*supra* IX, n. 77).

^{216A}*Mieljeru* 'unicorn', although the rhinoceros is clearly intended.

^{217A}*Supra* IX n. 78.

^{218A}*Sngruel* is often cited as a product of China and is found in such others forms as Skt: *srngavera*; Pali: *siṅgivera*; Phl.: *sangiwēl* and Gk: *zingiberis* (Cardona: 93. n. 15). It may have been sort of an aromatic wood, although Soukry (59, n. 2) believed it to be a corruption of Ptolemy's *singiber* 'ginger' as he mentions this product immediately before beryl in his enumeration of the products of Ceylon: rice, honey, ginger, beryl, amethysts, gold and silver (VII.4.1). I have followed Soukry in my translation.

^{219A}Cardona (93, n. 16) considers *nayiboyeak* 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 Pahlevi *boyak* 'odiferous'.

^{220A}H has *xriboyeak* from Per.: *xiri*, a kind of violet.

^{221A}H has *gozboyeak* which Cardona (94, n. 16) derives either from Phl. *gwc*; Per. *goz* 'walnut' or from Per. *gax* 'tamarisk'. C *gazerbuak*.

^{222A}Cardona (94, n. 17) reads *duatak* on the basis of a consensus of the texts but the meaning of the term remains obscure.

^{223A}Cardona (*ibid.*) reads *sawrsar*, in the first syllable of which he sees the Iranian *saw* 'black'. The word itself remains obscure although it probably refers to another plant. C *Šahawor*.

^{224A}*Mardarisar* is missing in H which has *darisak* 'teakwood' in its place.

^{225A}The text has *yelic kalov*, which Saint-Martin corrected to *yelic' kalov Hndkac'* 'east of India', which is of importance since most ancient geographers, including Ptolemy, placed Ceylon to the west of India.

^{226A}H has 'pearls' after 'silver'.

^{227A}Ptolemy (VII.4): *mallois gynaikeis eis apan anadedemenoi*, which Renou (quoted by Cardona: 95, n. 22) translated "they are entirely dressed in wool in the manner of women," interpreting the Gk: *mallois* in its primary meaning of 'lock of wool' rather than 'lock of hair' but, traditionally, the men of Ceylon have worn their hair long, coiling it on top of their heads, a fashion which the author seems to be referring to here. At this point in the text of S1683 and ABCE and G (but not S1877 or S1944) has a passage stating that it is said that this (Ceylon) was the place of Satan's fall. It was Tennent (1859; repr. 1977 I: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 know that it was used as a source by the author of the *AŠX*. (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 Tennent cited above.)

^{228A}Daričenik. Saint-Martin (II, 394) believed that this word signified a kind of Chinese wood relating it to the Persian *dar* 'wood' and Armenian *Čenk'* 'China'. Ptolemy (VII.16) cites cinnamon as a product of Serika, however, the Armenian for which is *daršini* (Soukry. 61, n. 5). Cardona (95, n. 31) accepts this translation citing the Aramaic *dršyn*; Arab.: *dar sini*.

^{229A}H *hošiboyeak ew boyiženik*. The first of these terms remains obscure but Saint-Martin (*ibid.*) believed that the latter was a Chinese perfume, from Persian *bui* 'odor'.

^{230A}*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.30.45) and Isidor of Seville (*Etymol.* XIX.17.6).

^{231A}Saffron is a species of crocus (*Crocus sativus*), the dried orange-colored stems of which are used as a coloring in cookery. Text: *k'rk'um* cf. Skt: *kurkuma* (Cardona:96, 32).

^{232A}*Aprisum*, from Phl. *aprešum*, from Skt: **uparaksauama*; Arab.: *ibarisam*; Syr.: *br(y)šawm*.

^{233A}*Kisandank'*. C *kisagazank'*, which Cardona (88) translates 'half animal, half man'.

^{234A}This final sentence does not appear in S1819 but is found at the end of S1944. Since the latter is based on older mss. it seems reasonable to suppose that the sentence was an integral part of the short redaction introducing another section of the *AŠX* 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 *Atuēsagirke'* (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 TKE). Manandyan has demonstrated beyond question, however, that this curious little work is of the 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 *AŠX*, 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 mss. BCE and G but not in A J or K (D and F are incomplete).

APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Ašxarhac'oyc'*I. *Those in the Matenadaran (by ms. number).*

1. 72	10. 1724	19. 2292	28. 3941
2. 582	11. 1770	20. 2370	29. 4166
3. 696	12. 1864	21. 2492	30. 4188
4. 1109	13. 1883	22. 2618	31. 4284
5. 1267	14. 1898	23. 2748	32. 5120
6. 1459	15. 1903	24. 3160	33. 5613
7. 1486	16. 2019	25. 3502	34. 5862
8. 1518	17. 2191	26. 3691	35. 6624
9. 1717	18. 2291	27. 3697	36. 7993
			37. 9702

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 Ma XIII 70
48. Tübingen University Library Ma 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 ŠIRAK

Nowhere in Sarton's Introduction to the *History of Science* do we find the name of Ananias of Širak,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 Širak 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

1 The name is variously spelled. It is *Anania Širakac'i* in Armenian, using the Hübschmann-Meillet 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 Širak as the preferred form.

2 "Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'i," trans. H. Bérberian, *REA*, 1964, I:189.

3 Moses of Xoren (Arm.: Movsēs Xorenac'i) 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).

None of these publications was widely circulated, however, and it was not until recent years that Ananias of Širak became well known even in the Soviet Union.

A. G. Abrahamyan and S. T. Eremyan have been the great students of the works of Ananias in Soviet Armenia. Abrahamyan undertook the editing of his unpublished texts for the University of Erevan shortly before the Second World war, and it was he who identified many of his works which had come down to us anonymously or under erroneous ascriptions. In 1939, Abrahamyan published one of Ananias' arithmetical texts.⁸ Two years later he published the *Cosmography and Chronology*⁹ and in 1944 prepared a complete edition of his other then known works.¹⁰ Eighteen years later, Abrahamyan identified still another text of Ananias which he published with a Russian translation under the title *Tables of the Motion of the Moon*.¹¹ S. T. Eremyan has devoted the past twenty-five years to the study of the *Geography* (*AŠX*) and is currently preparing an edition of this text for publication by the Armenian Academy of Sciences.¹² Together, these two scholars have managed to rescue Ananias from complete oblivion, but their works remain locked behind the barriers of the Russian and Armenian languages and are almost inaccessible outside the Soviet Union. The results of their researches have produced some echoes in the West, however. Brief resumes of Ananias' life and work have appeared in a French history of Armenian literature¹³ and also in an American anthology of biographies of Armenian church figures.¹⁴ Ananias' autobiography appeared in French in 1964,¹⁵ and this is probably the best starting point for an investigation of his role in the history of science.

A. Life.

Ananias of Širak 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 600.¹⁶ He was born in the village of Ani in the district of Širak, the son of one John of Širak (Yovhannēs Širakac'i).¹⁷ In some of the manuscripts of his works he is styled 'Širakuni,' a form which may suggest that he belonged to the house of Kamsarakan or Aršaruni, hereditary princes of Širak and Aršarunik.¹⁸ 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,¹⁹ but if so this was apparently not until later in life, after he had concluded his years of study.

8 Anania Širakac'i, *T'uabanut'iwon [Arithmetic]* (Erevan, 1939), 75 pp. (In Armenian).

9 Anania Širakac'i, *Tizeragitut'iwon ew T'omar [Cosmography and Chronology]* (Erevan, 1940).

10 A. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'u Matenadrut'iwon [The Works of Ananias of Širak]* (Erevan, 1944).

11 Anania Širakac'i, *Tablitsy Lunnogo Kruga [Tables of the Motion of the Moon]*, ed. and Russ. trans. by A. Abrahamyan (1962).

12 Eremyan (1963).

13 H. Thorossian (1951:106-107).

14 Boyajian (1962:156-162).

15 "Autobiographie."

16 Xrlopyan (1964:180).

17 The name of his father (Arm.: Yovhannēs) 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 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."²⁰ 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 Theodosiopolis (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.²¹ 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 Philagrios, deacon of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and that he was leading a group of select students to Trapezous (Trebizond) to study under a famous teacher named Tykhikos (Arm.: *Tuxikos*). Tykhikos was described to Ananias as a man not only renowned among kings but possessed of a knowledge of both the Armenian language and its literature. Ananias hastened to Trapezous where he found Tykhikos teaching at the monastery of St. Eugenios.²² 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.²³ He was a Greek of Trebizond, where he was born about 560. He served in the Byzantine army under the Emperors Tiberius II (578-582) 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.

20 "Autobiographie," 191.

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 Melitēnē (Malatya), and this is probably where Christosatur taught.

22 There was a church of St. Eugenios on the farther side of the ravine to the east of Trebizond. It is now the *Yeni cuma cami*, or 'Friday' mosque.

23 Lemerle (1964) 1:195-202.

After completing his studies in Trapezous, Ananias returned to Armenia, where he opened a school of his own, apparently the first in the country to teach the quadrivium.²⁴ Students flocked to him a first, but he complained bitterly of their laziness and dilettantism and of how they would leave before learning much more than the fundamentals, and then set about teaching students of their own, to the detriment of their master's reputation. He appears to have persevered, however, and assures us that he continued to accept all students who came to him.

With the income earned through his teaching, Ananias was able to finance his own researches in chronology, mathematics, astronomy and – as it now appears – in geography.²⁵ Over the years his fame spread not only in Armenia, but also in foreign lands. In 667, when already advanced in age, he was invited by Anastas, Katholikos of the Armenian Church (661-667), to come to the monastery of the Holy See at Duin,²⁶ there to prepare a perpetual calendar of the movable and immovable feasts of the Armenian Church. It was probably during this last period of his life that he wrote the treatises on the calendar which have come down to us. For two years he labored on the problem of reconciling the incompatibilities of the seven-day week, the lunar month, and the solar year. At the end of this time he declared that the dates chosen for Easter and the Epiphany were closely related and that the method used to determine them in the Armenian Church was more accurate than that accepted by the universal church at the Council of Nicaea in 325.

The perpetual calendar devised by Ananias is based on a cycle of 532 years. This cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine in 457 and was adopted by the Church of Alexandria as a means of determining the dates of the movable feasts, which were then communicated annually to the rest of the Church. Cycle 532 is the combination of the solar cycle (which brings the days of the month back to the same day of the week every 28 years) and the lunar cycle (which brings the new moon back to the same day of the month every 19 years), the two coinciding every 532 years. With a calendar based on this cycle, a new calendar is unnecessary, the date of each movable feast being determined for all time.²⁷

B. Assessment.

Ananias of Širak was a scholar of deep erudition in the learning of the past, and a fruitful study might be made into just how original some of his ideas were and from precisely which authors the unoriginal ideas were drawn. He taught that the world was a sphere and that when it was day on one side it was night on the other.²⁸ He described the earth as being like an egg with a spherical yolk (the globe)²⁹ surrounded by a layer of white (the atmosphere) and covered with a hard shell (the sky).³⁰ He also held the theory that the Milky Way is a mass of dense but faintly luminous stars,³¹ and agreed with earlier philosophers that the moon was a dark body by nature whose only light was that which it

24 Xrlopyan (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 Katholikos 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.

reflected from the sun.³² His geography, based on that of Pappus of Alexandria, and translated here, was the last work based on ancient geographical knowledge written before Idrisi (eleventh century).³³

In this book *The Ideas of Ananias of Širak*, the Soviet scholar Xrlopyan goes to some length to prove that Ananias was an enemy of the church and a fighter against its 'obscurantism'.³⁴ The fact that he was the author of various treatises on the principal feasts of the church and that he was summoned to prepare a church calendar by the Katholikos, himself, would seem to disprove such an opinion. That he was an independent thinker of sorts, however, there is no doubt, and although his speculations usually dealt with the church's accepted interpretation of cosmography rather than with its dogmas, we shall see below how close he came to the heresy of dualism. K. Patkanean, G. Zarbhanean, N. Pigulevskaya, and, to a certain extent, Y. Manandyan regarded Ananias as an ideologist of the church along the lines of Cosmas Indicopleustes. However, Ananias actually criticizes Cosmas: "Certain ecclesiastics allege that the moon emits its own light . . . but I am of the same opinion as many philosophers who claim that it receives the light of the sun."³⁵

Ananias disagreed with the interpretation of *Genesis* then prevalent, which held that God created the perfect world in six days and that He thus indirectly created the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth, which together constitute the material world. Ananias asserted instead that although matter had its own rational, nonmaterial, immovable mover, the uncaused cause (i. e., God), which directly created the elements and their qualities, and planned their natural development, this immovable mover does not interfere with the "natural course of the development of things." To Ananias, each of the four elements had its characteristic quality, but, in addition, each had a corresponding weight and density, which also must be considered inseparable attributes.³⁶ The union of the elements in multiple ways accounts for the becoming, existence, growth, decrease, and decay of natural bodies and phenomena, which, according to Ananias, occur without the interference of God.

Atomists asserted that the four elements are represented by space and matter throughout the cosmos, but Ananias limited the differentiation of space and matter to the heavens. Time, to him, is a criterion of movement, not an attribute of matter. Natural change, then, is infinite in time, but limited in space. The four elements were imperfectly created but subject to change and improvement. In contact there is a transfer of qualities; humid air, for instance, may become dry. The natural mixing of the elements enables them to form an integral whole, thus making possible new syntheses which in turn contribute to still more formations and changes in nature. This is an old teaching – a view in which change is the result of the interactions of the elements that thereby provide new properties. The inorganic and organic worlds are thus both syntheses of the four elements. The multitudinous variations of the elements account for the formation and durability of the universe. Causality and the interdependence of the nature are integral to these views, as stated by Ananias. The material unity of the universe leads to constant change and progress, or, as Ananias writes:³⁷

"The same [change or progress] is true in the case of blood or breathing or in the case of the origin and destruction of matter, for the origin of matter is the beginning of its destruction and the destruction of matter is the beginning of its origin and the result of this harmless contradiction is the eternal universe."³⁸

32 *Ibid.*

33 Eremyan:7

34 Xrlopyan:182ff.

35 *Ibid.*:183.

36 *Ibid.*:184.

37 Petrosyan (1959:399).

38 Abgarian:36.

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 sphere,' 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.³⁹ Ananias asserted that the sun receives its light and heat from the ether, in the furthestmost of the seven layers of the universe. Before entering the earth this heat and light mixes with the coldness and the humidity of the other 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.⁴⁰

Ananias doubted the opinion of some philosophers 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.⁴¹

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 becoming and changes, which take place according to a natural process.⁴² 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.⁴³ Thus, according to Xrlopyan, 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."⁴⁴

After his death, some of the more revolutionary ideas of Ananias of Širak brought him under the

39 Xrlopyan:196.

40 *Ibid.*:186.

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Ibid.*:193.

43 *Ibid.*:188.

44 *Ibid.*:187.

suspicion of the Armenian Church and his works were proscribed.⁴⁵ It is probably for this reason that several of his works, including the *AŠX*, were handed down to us anonymously while others, again like certain manuscripts of the *AŠX*, were later attributed to other authors. In recent years, Abrahamyan's research at the Matenadaran,⁴⁶ in Erevan, Armenia, has turned up several texts which are now recognized as having been written by Ananias.

The style of Ananias of Širak is concise and to the point, with some signs of the Greek influence common to Armenian writers of his time, though not so noticeable as they are among authors of a century or two previously.⁴⁷ There are a certain number of obscure passages in his texts, which are also replete with copyists' errors, but recent scholarship has been able to eliminate the majority of these.

The most important questions, of course, are the sources of Ananias' ideas, the justification of their claims to originality, and their influence on later science. Xrlopyan has addressed himself to the problem of the sources with some attention⁴⁸ and has found that Ananias was heavily influenced by Ekišē's *An Interpretation of Creation*,⁴⁹ by an *Interpretation of the Categories of Aristotle* by an unknown author, and by the works of Davit' Anhaxt (David the Invincible), who, beginning with Aristotle's views, criticized Plato, Pyrrho, and Porphyry, and thereby firmly established neo-Platonism in Armenian thought.⁵⁰

The conception of the importance of experience and observation, the relation between the sensual and rational practice and theory, and the classification of the sciences by Davit' Anhaxt all had a definite influence on the formation of Ananias' views. Also obvious in his works are the ideas of Thales, Hippocrates, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Zeno the Stoic, Epicurus, and, as we have seen, of Ptolemy, Pappus of Alexandria, and Cosmas Indicopleustes. That Ananias of Širak was more than a mere 'closet' scholar is proven by the use to which his works were put by later Armenian writers. There was already a certain acquaintance with the calendar and its problems among the Armenians, but Ananias pioneered in the study of the calendar from a scientific standpoint as well as in the study of meteorology. Later philosophers such as John the Deacon (Yovhannēs Sarkavag, d. 1129), Vanakan (c. 1200–c. 1250), and others used his works, many of them incorporating large fragments into their own books. Often these fragments were altered, rearranged, compressed, or divided,⁵¹ which would suggest that such writers did not hesitate to make changes to suit later evaluations of Ananias' work. To examine these and other questions we must await the complete publication of the corpus of his writings and, of course, their translation into one of the accepted languages of international scholarship. Most of his works are now available in Armenian or Russian, and I have presented here an English translation of his *Geography*. The list of the principal works of Ananias given below will present a clearer picture of the scope of his interests and the questions posed by each work.

45 *Tablitsy*, Russ. trans. by Abrahamyan.

46 The Matenadaran is the state manuscript repository of Soviet Armenia. Founded in 1939, it contains some 10,000 Armenian mss. besides another 1,000 in several other languages.

47 Thorossian:107.

48 Xrlopyan:178.

49 Ekišē (Elisaeus or Elishe) a fifth century Armenian historian.

50 David *Anhaxt* (i. e., 'the invincible,' so-called from his ability to pass all examinations) was an Armenian philosopher who studied in Athens in the fifth century. Although little is known about him personally, his works were considered indispensable for the study of philosophy in the Armenian monasteries of the Middle Ages. He translated the *Eisagōgē* of Porphyry of Tyre and the *Categories* of Aristotle into Armenian, and wrote a commentary on each of these works.

51 Abegyan (1948:325).

C. Works

The most detailed bibliographical analysis of the works of Ananias of Širak is to be found in Anasyan I (1959), although, unfortunately, he did not include a bibliography of the *AŠX*, which he considered to be the work of MX. Not counting this text, Anasyan lists no less than forty-two works attributed to our author, most of which remain unpublished. These he arranges under the following headings: 1) the Autobiography, 2) Mathematical works, 3) Metrological works, 4) Calendrical works, 5) Astronomical works, 6) Historical works, 7) Miscellaneous. Space does not permit a reproduction 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.

a. Astronomical texts

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 Eznik of Kołb (Eznik Kołbac'i). Together, the forty-eight chapters form a study in exhaustive detail of the relation between the science of astronomy and the meaning, dividing, and recording of time. Here Ananias denounces astrologers and dismisses the influence of the stars on the course of human events. Here he also advances the theory, derived from the ancient Greeks, that the earth is really a sphere,⁵² accurately explains the causes of lunar and solar eclipses, and he expounds the theory that the sun is the center of the universe.

2. *Cycle 532 and the Calendar (Tiezeragrut'iwon ew T'omar)*.⁵³ 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.

52 Petrosyan:399.

53 "Voprosy i Resheniya" . . . Russ. trans. by Orbeli.

3. *Tables of the Motions of the Moon*⁵⁴ (*Lusni Parberaszannerë*). 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 (Yovhannēs Imastasēr, 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 Kam-sarakan, sovereign in Širak. 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 1939.⁵⁵

7B. *Book of Arithmetic* (*T'ubanut'iwñ*). 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 324.⁵⁶ 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 80.⁵⁷

This *Book of Arithmetic* also contains a table of reverse magnitudes based on the number 6,000 which is arranged as follows:⁵⁸

54 Širakac'i, *Tiezeragitut'iwñ ew T'omar*.

55 Petrosyan:400.

56 *Ibid.*:401.

57 *Ibid.*:402. No works of Pythagoras have survived.

58 *Ibid.*:406.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 1 \times 6000 = 6000 \\
 2 \times 3000 = 6000 \\
 3 = 2000 = 6000 \\
 4 = 1500 = 6000 \\
 5 = 1200 = 6000 \\
 6 = 1000 = 6000 \\
 7 = 875 = 6000 \\
 8 = 750 = 6000 \\
 9 = 667 = 6000 \\
 10 = 600 = 6000 \\
 \text{etc.}
 \end{array}$$

8. *Arithmetic* (*Xraxčanakank'*). This textbook on arithmetic and number 7 (A and B) above have been drawn independently by Ananias from one source and written as two separate works.

9. *On Weights and Measures* (*Girk Vasn Kšroc' ew Č'apuc'*). The author seems to have drawn heavily on a similar work by Epiphanius of Cyprus (c. 315–c. 403), and this may be largely a translation from the Greek. Even if it is only a translation, however, it must surely have been reworked, for apart from the system of weights used by the Greeks, Jews, and Syrians, it includes the systems in use by the Armenians and Persians. Concluding that by *litre* Ananias was referring to the Byzantine *litra* or pound, which we know contained 326.4 grams, Manandyan was able to convert all of Ananias' measurements – Persian, Greek, and Armenian – into modern grams. The inclusion of Greek and Persian measures in the same table was the natural result of Armenia's geopolitical position between the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Iran.⁵⁹

c. Geographical Texts

10. *The Geography* (*Ašxarhac'oyc'*). See the *Introduction* to this translation.

11. *The Itinerary* (*Młonač'ap'k'*).⁶⁰ A list of six different routes from Duin, capital of Armenia, to various parts of the world, together with the distances to the major cities along each route. The distances are given in 'miles' (*młon*), *azparēz*, and *netajik*. One 'mile' equals five *azparēz* and one *netajik* (or four 'miles'), but the exact length of these three measurements as used by the Armenians has been disputed (Appendix VI).

d. Texts on Chronology

12. *Studies on Chronology* (*T'omar*). An examination of the principles of chronology utilized by the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Jews, Syrians, and Caucasian Albanians. In this work Ananias also explains the names of the weeks and months, and cites the names for the latter in thirteen different languages.

59 *Man.* (1965:117).

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 Vasn 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 Iron (or Irion), a scholar of the Imperial Court.

15B. *Autobiography (Vasun Gnac' 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 (Č'ark Vasn Xonarhut'yan)*. 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 Širak 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 Epiphanius of Cyprus (*De gemmis*). Ananias' work is more extensive, however, although it lacks the notation of medicinal value and place of origin which Epiphanius gives for each stone. A translation and several epitomes of Epiphanius' 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 Širak 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 Širakac'u Matenadrut' iwn*.

62 Man.:172

Although a detailed survey and evaluation of the work of Ananias of Širak is beyond the scope of this study, enough has been said here, I believe, to indicate his importance in the history of science, and to indicate how deserving he is to be better known to Western scholarship.⁶³

63 There is no space here to list all of the works currently attributed to Ananias of Širak; 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 *AŠX* itself, which while providing us with our only detailed description of the political geography of ancient and early medieval Armenia, does so in a very misleading way.¹

According to the *AŠX*, Armenia of old consisted of fifteen large districts (*ašxarhk'*) subdivided into nearly two hundred smaller units (*gawark'*) 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.² Even today we find scholars writing histories, geographies, and atlases of Armenia against the backdrop provided by the description of the *AŠX*, projecting this backdrop into the remote past long before the *AŠX* was written and doing so, moreover, as if the validity of the information in this text had never been questioned.³

The basic problem is that, despite the neat and orderly picture found in the *AŠX*, 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 *ašxarh* and *gawar* are used interchangeably by all earlier

1 *Supra* p. 149.

2 See the early studies on Armenia and Armenian historical geography; e. g., Saint-Martin, Vol. II (1819); Inčičean (1822); and Hübschmann (1904; repr. 1969).

3 See the later studies on Armenia and Armenian historical geography; e. g., Laurent (1919); Grousset (1947); Toumanoff (1963); Eremyan, *ibid.*; and T. X. Hakobyan (2nd ed. 1968); and Adontz-Garsoian (1970).

While Eremyan and Hakobyan seem to understand that the divisions of Armenia in the *AŠX* were not valid for the period of the Arsacid monarchy, they still appear to accept them as a valid picture of Armenia for the seventh century. Beyond this, Hakobyan makes some curious errors elsewhere in regard to Armenian historical geography which clearly show the influence of the *AŠX*. On his map depicting Armenia in the second-fifth centuries (1970), Hakobyan distinguishes between what he calls '*ašxarhner (nahangner)*' and '*gawarner,*' and identifies Vaspurakan as one of the former although it did not exist until 591. He places the name *Turuberan* in parentheses but identifies its territory with a Tarno *Ašxarh* which is not justifiable from earlier sources. He does the same for Upper Armenia, placing its name in parentheses but equating its territory with a Karno *Ašxarh*, unknown prior to the compilation of the *AŠX*. He takes the principalities of the southwest and calls them '*Cop'ac' Ašxarh*' although this unity probably represents the reorganization of Justinian in 536; he indicates the boundaries of the partitions of 387 and 591 but shows none of the losses of Armenian territory to its neighbors in the period 298-387. Finally, he extends Arc'ax to the juncture of the Kur and the Arax, for which there is no justification.

For practical purposes this map is even more misleading than Eremyan's, which at least admits that it represents Armenia "according to the *AŠX*" and makes no pretense of depicting reality (although it is often taken to be doing just that). Even Toumanoff lapsed into the cliché of dividing Armenia into fifteen provinces (1963: 132; although elsewhere, e. g., 129, he recognizes the differences between them and that Turuberan and Vaspurakan existed only at a later period). (The fact that the map in Eremyan's book agrees or disagrees with the historical maps in *HSSRA* (Erevan-Moscow, 1961) proves nothing one way of the other, as the later maps were prepared by Eremyan as well).

authors,⁴ three of the so-called *ašxarhk'* are quite unknown to any earlier source and are first encountered precisely in the *AŠX*.

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 Hübschmann⁵ 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 *AŠX* to the geopolitical realities which it had so long obscured.⁶

Writing in 1908, Adontz analyzed the material in the *AŠX* 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 misinterpreted 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 *ašxarhk'* (usually misleadingly translated as 'provinces') subdivided into nearly 200 *gawark'* (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 *AŠX*, 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's⁷ and Garsoian translated it into English in 1970⁸ 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's methodological lead only in the area of the Armeno-Georgian marchlands.⁹

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.

4 Toum.:129, n. 227.

5 *Supra*, n. 2.

6 Adontz (1908).

7 Toumanoff (1963).

8 Ad.-Gar. (1970).

9 Toum., 437-99.

II.

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 kinglets 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, Diauehi, etc. – are mentioned in both Urartian and Assyrian literature.¹¹ The Urartian state collapsed early in the sixth century B. C. and shortly thereafter the proto-Armenians – or Armens, 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.¹² 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.¹³

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

10 For all this see Ad-Gar. and Toum. *ibid.*

11 Urartian studies are still relatively new and no works yet exist in English which treat of the Urartians in a fully scholarly manner. The best available in English are Piotrovskii (1967); Azarpay (1968); Piotrovsky (1969); Burney and Lang (1971); Diakonoff (1984); and Chahin (1987).

12 Toum.:54, n. 49; 64, n. 61.

13 Xenophon, *Cyrop.* II.4; III.1, 2, 3; III.1, 3, 4; IV.2, 3; V.1, 3; VI.1; VIII.3, 4; but for the possible local origin of the Armenians, see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (*infra* Appendix X).

refuge. In this way numerous pre-Armenian peoples survived for a very long time so that ethnicons mentioned in Hittite, 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 Achaemenian 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 its various peoples into a new federation of princely states – some Armenian and some non-Armenian – but all under the aegis of the Armenian crown.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

As we might expect, some of the names of these houses betray their pre-Armenian and non-Armenian origins; e. g., Słkuni (Sala), Mandakuni (Manda),¹⁷ Paluni (Pala),¹⁸ etc.: as do so many of the ancient Armenian territorial subdivisions, e. g., Pañnatun ('house,' i. e. 'tribe of Pala'), Balahovit ('Pala Valley'), Mananañi ('land? of the Mana'), Daranañi and Derjan (perhaps from the people called *Driloi* by classical authors),¹⁹ Mokka and Mukanka (the Mushkians or classical Mycians),²⁰ Hani (the 'Aianians?'),²¹ Utika (the 'Utians'),²² Tayka (the 'Taokhians'),²³ Mardaka and Mardastan ('land of the Medes').²⁴

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.²⁵ A century later, Pliny knew of some 120 such subdivisions of Armenia which he called *strategiae* 'military commands,'²⁶ 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

14 Toum.:33-40, 113, 129, 136.

15 *Ibid.*:128, n. 226; 226.

16 *Ibid.*:212, 215.

17 *Ibid.*:212.

18 *Ibid.*:172, 212.

19 *Ibid.*:447-448, n. 39; Ad-Gar.:47.

20 Ad-Gar.:306-307; 325; 486, n. 15; 498, n. 77.

21 *Ibid.*:495, n. 68.

22 *Ibid.*:306, 324; 495, n. 70; 498, n. 77.

23 *Ibid.*:306-307.

24 *Ibid.*:46, 249, 299; 315; 322-323; 396, no. 18; 478, n. 6; 494, nn. 53-56; 492-493, n. 57.

25 Strabo (11.13.5).

26 Pliny (VI.9.27).

plain (like the Amatuni of Artaz²⁹ or the Orduni of Basean).³⁰ Others held several (such as the Princes of Mokk', who owned eight valleys,³¹ or the princes of Siwnik', who possessed twelve).³² 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, Bagrawand, Aršarunik', Širak, and Mokk' as well).³³

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,³⁴ 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 dynasts 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.³⁵

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.³⁶

All of this brings us back to the seventh century *AŠX*, which depicts a much more sharply defined Armenia; one nation divided into fifteen lands (*ašxarhk'*), 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 (*gawark'*), 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.³⁷ 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 *AŠX*; i.e., the *real* political geography of Armenia as it developed both before and after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy.

29 Toum.:197.

30 *Ibid.*:218.

31 *Ibid.*:182.

32 *Ibid.*:214.

33 *Ibid.*:209-210.

34 Toum.:226-228.

35 *Ibid.*:151.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Ad-Gar.: Chaps. II, III, IV, VI.

III.

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)³⁶ 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 Artaxid 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.³⁷ 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 (Arm.: *bdeašxut'iwnk'*; i.e., viceroalties), governed by an officer called the 'vitaxa' (Arm.: *bdeašxk'*), 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. 314,³⁸ 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.³⁹

As a result of the Romano-Persian war of 298, the Romans acquired three principalities in southwestern Armenia, the Vitaxate of Kordouēnē, or the Assyrian March – consisting of one principality, as well as the southern military zone – the Vitaxate of Arzanēnē, 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.⁴⁰

The struggle between Rome and Persia continued throughout the fourth century and was aggra-

36 Toum.:76.

37 *Ibid.*:128.

38 Ananian (1961).

39 Garsoïan (1967); *idem.* (1971)

40 Toum.:166.

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.⁴¹ 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. Aršak III of the Arsacid house reigned under Roman suzerainty in the northwest corner of the country (about one-sixth of Armenia), while his brother Xosrov IV reigned in the rest as a vassal of Iran.

When Aršak 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-seventh century. In 428, the princes of Persian Armenia petitioned the Sasanid government to abolish the remaining Armenian monarchy and the unpopular Artāšēs IV was duly dethroned.⁴² 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 Vahrām Chobēn in his attempt to secure the Sasanid throne, a new partition of Armenia was arranged in which the Byzantines acquired all of the western, northern, and central Armenian principalities while the Sasanids 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 *AŠX* was written, describing the country as consisting of eleven Armenian *ašxarhk'* and four others "taken from Armenia."

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 *ašxarhk'* in the *AŠX*. Basically there are three problems involved in any attempt to understand how these fifteen *ašxarhk'* came to appear in the *AŠX* 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.

⁴¹ *BP* VI.1; *Toum.*:149-153.

⁴² *Toum.*:152.

In an attempt to solve the first of these problems, we may begin by noting that since the *AŠX* attempts to list every district in each of the fifteen *ašxarhk'*, we are able to tell with some degree of certainty what geographical area the author of the text is including in any given *ašxarh*. That is to say, when the author speaks of Tayk' as an *ašxarh*, he also lists its districts so that we can tell both the area and the location he is giving to this territory.⁴³ Examining the fifteen *ašxarhk'* in this light, and comparing this information with the data we find in earlier sources, we quickly see, first of all, that of the fifteen *ašxarhk'* of the *AŠX*, only five appear actually to have existed as they are depicted in this text. These are Siwnik, Parskahayk', Aġnik', and Mokk', each of which seems to have coincided with principalities of the Arsacid period; and P'aytakaran or Kaspk' which, although not a principality, like the others represented a distinct ethnic element incorporated bodily into the Armenian state.

Another *ašxarh* Gugark' we can also see emerged out of one of the four border marches (*vitaxates*) established to defend Armenia from foreign invasion. Where Siwnik', Aġnik', and Mokk' coincided with principalities, Gugark' consisted of the principality of that name together with certain other districts placed under the control of its prince in his capacity of *Vitaxa* of the Iberian March.

Similarly, Korčayk', Utik', Ayrarat, and Tayk' all existed as units of ancient Armenia but not as depicted in the *AŠX*, for the latter has all four include adjacent territories which do not appear to have been parts of them in the Arsacid period.

Four other *ašxarhk'* of Armenia which are depicted accurately in the *AŠX* are Upper Armenia, Fourth Armenia (*Cop'ac' Kołmn*),⁴⁴ and Vaspurakan; these, however, were not Armenian political units but rather provinces organized by her overlords: Rome in the first two cases, Byzantium in the third, and Iran in the fourth. In the same way, the larger boundaries given by the *AŠX* to Ayrarat, Tayk' and possibly Utik', also reflect the activity of the Byzantines in Armenia in 591. Finally we are left with the territorial units of Arc'ax and P'aytakaran, neither of whose areas are known to us for certain.⁴⁵

The second problem, that of the origin of the fifteen *ašxarhk'*, is similarly complex and has already been partially answered by an examination of their territories: Siwnik, Aġnik', Parskahayk', and Mokk' were separate principalities incorporated into the Armenian state under the Artaxiad dynasty; P'aytakaran or Kaspk' was a large territory of Caspian tribes occupied in the same era which, as far as we know, had no prince of its own after its conquest.⁴⁶ Gugark' emerged out of a military zone; Upper Armenia as a Roman province as a result of the partition of 387;⁴⁷ Cop'k' as a result of Justinian's reorganization of western Armenia in 536; and Tawruberan, Ayrarat, and Tayk' as Byzantine provinces out of the partition of 591. The last two originated in the first case from the royal domains of the Arsacid kings and in the second from the principality of Tayk', but both were expanded at this time by the addition of adjacent territory.⁴⁸ Vaspurakan emerged out of the same partition, but as the Iranian province of *Armn*. Utik', too, was an earlier principality but, for some reason not fully clear to us, the *AŠX* rightly or wrongly also includes in its limits two other principalities, Gardman and Šakašēn. Korčayk', too, was an earlier principality but, again, greatly enlarged by the addition of adjacent territory, probably as a result of Iranian policy. Its origin is thus similar to that of Gugark': a principality enlarged by the grant of adjacent lands at the hands of its suzerain lord. Finally, the origins of

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-Gar., Chapt. II; *Toum.*:166-179.

⁴⁵ Hewsén, "Caspian," (1973), an article superseded by my essay on P'aytakaran (*supra*, n. 149A; and nn. 150A-162A).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: *Toum.*:133.

⁴⁷ Ad-Gar.: Ch. III.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 179-80.

Arc'ax and Parskahayk' alone elude us. We hear nothing of a prince of Arc'ax, while we hear virtually nothing of Parskahayk' itself prior to its description in the *AŠX*. It was probably a later name for the principality of Zarawand-Hēr 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 *ašxarhk'* of the *AŠX*, only seven of these – Siwnik', Añnik', Mokk', Gugark', Parskahayk' (Zarawand-Hēr?), Arc'ax, and P'aytakaran (Kasp'k') – existed in these years embracing the territory assigned to them in the text. Four more – Utik', Tayk', Korčayk', and Ayrarat – all existed but were smaller in size than the *ašxarhk'* of those names cited in the *AŠX*. The remaining four *ašxarhk'* were all formed later (Upper Armenian in 387-390, Cop'ac' Kołmn in 536, and Tawruberan 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' Šahuneac, Mec Cop'k', Angełtun-Hanjit, Arzan, Korduk' and Mokk', the last later reverted to Armenian control; Arzan and Korduk' were ceded to Persia in 363); two (Hašteank' and Balahovit) passed to Rome in c. 371. Then, between 363 and c. 387 Gugark' was lost to Iberia; Arc'ax and Utik' to Albania, and P'aytakaran and Parskahayk' to Iran.⁴⁹ In 390, nine more districts of northwestern Armenia – the Kingdom of Aršak III in northwestern Armenia were annexed by Rome as the province of Inner Armenia;⁵⁰ this is the Upper Armenia of the *AŠX*. Only much later, in 591, did the partition of Armenia between Rome and Iran result in the formation of the *ašxarhk'* of Tawruberan and Vaspurakan and of the greater Ayrarat and Tayk' described in the *AŠX*.

V.

Thus, of the fifteen *ašxarhk'* 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 *AŠX*. 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 the *AŠX* makes any distinction between these larger units and the countless smaller ones supposedly lying within them; all are equally *ašxarhk'* and *gawarhk'* in earlier sources, the terms being interchangeable.⁵¹

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.

How, then, was Armenia really divided both before and after the fall of the Arsacid monarchy? Obviously not into the fifteen *ašxarhk'* of the *AŠX*, but rather into some two hundred districts large and small, with some of the smaller ones included in the larger.⁵² These districts and their groupings, moreover, were no more alike than the fifteen supposed *ašxarhk'* of the *AŠX*, and over the centuries

49 Toum.: 131-132.

50 Ad-Gar.: Chapt. III.

51 Toum.: 129, n. 227.

52 *Ibid.*

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 *Tašroy jor*, 'Valley of the (river) Tašir'; *Hayoc'jor*, 'Valley of the Armenians'; *Eraxajor*, 'Valley of the (river) Arax'; and *Mšoy dašt*, 'Plain of Muš'. Such terms are not often encountered in the sources and are not mentioned in the *AŠX*.

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 Eruandunik'. These 'official' districts, then, would be the 'small lands' (*p'ok'r ašxarhk'*) of other Armenian sources, to which the *AŠX* limits the term *gawar* 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 ašxarhk'* and *gawar*. While in English and French the 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 ašxarhk'* or *gawar*; 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 ašxarhk'* and *gawarhk'* 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 ašxarhk'* or *gawar* was also a principality (*išxanut'iwon*) or, from the point of view of the Armenian king, a dukedom (*naxararut'iwon*)⁵³ Among such single-district principalities were Sper, Basean, and Koł'n. Others, such as Daranañi and Ekefeac, belonged to the pagan religious establishment and later passed to the Armenian Church.⁵⁴ Still others possibly formed tribal territories (such as Xoyt') or formed the municipal territories of cities such as Duin or Vałaršapat.

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 Vitaxates: 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 vitaxa or viceroy. In such cases it was common for one prince to be viceroy over several others, so that the vitaxate 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

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.⁵⁵

6) The so-called 'provinces' or *ašxarhk'* of the *AŠX*: 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 Mokka', 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 *AŠX* 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 *livresque* attempt to tidy up the map of Armenia, we must owe the author's depiction of Utik' 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 as Korčayk', and perhaps Parskahayk', which may have been roughly, though inexactly, 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 2.⁵⁶

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 kingdom 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 Commagene 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 *AŠX* 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

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 468.

⁵⁶ *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 geography of each section of the Armenian plateau and so devise a more logical division of the country than is to be found in the *AŠX*. 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 *AŠX* only Ałbak (Elbak), Širak 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 considerations; 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 Canadian 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 viceroalties, separate principalities, 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 historical geography remains to be done. Only a small part of this work has been accomplished in the preceding pages.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Supra* n. 4.

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 *AŠX*: Inčičean (1822), whose work is uncritical and largely a rewriting of the descriptions found in the *AŠX* in modern dress; Marquart/Markwart (1901, and *Südarmerien*, 1930), who, however, despite his vast erudition, was only peripherally interested in Armenian toponymy; Hübschman (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 Armeno-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 *HŽP*, *HSSRA*, and *HSH*) 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 Caucasia as reflected in the *AŠX* (1963:116-120).

Total No.	No. by Province	Provinces and Districts	Approximate Sq. Km.
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A. GREATER ARMENIA

I. Upper Armenia 23,860

1	1	Daranafi	3,400
2	2	Afiwn (Ariwc)	950
3	3	Muzur	2,775
4	4	Ekefeac'	2,250
5	5	Mananafi	2,775
6	6	Derjan	2,575
7	7	Sper	6,360
8	8	Šaŋagom (*Šataŋagom)	500
9	9	Karin	2,275

Eremyan on the geopolitical divisions of South Caucasia

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II. *The Region of Cop'k'*
(Fourth Armenia)

18,890

10	1	Xorjean	3,450
11	2	Hašteank'	3,750
12	3	Paŋnatun	1,740
13	4	Balahovit (Aršamušat)	1,750
14	5	Cop'k' (Šahuneac')	2,460
15	6	Anjit	3,825
16	7	Dēgik'	700
17	8	Gawrēk	1,215

III. *Aŋnik'*

17,532

18	1	[Angeŋ-tun] ¹	2,430
19	1	Np'ret, Np'rkert (Tigranakert) ²	5,395
20	3	Aŋjn (Arzan)	3,575
21	4	K'aŋ (K'eŋ)	350
22	5	Kēt'ik	352
23	6	Tatik	350
24	7	Aznuaŋor	202
25	8	Erxet'k'	175
26	9	Gzeŋ	375
27	10	Salnoy jor	930
28	11	Sanasunk'	2,400

IV. *Tawruberan*
(the Region of Tarawn)

25,008

29	1	Xoyt'	1,190
30	2	Aspakuneac' jor	655
31	3	Tarawn	3,195
	3A	[Palunik'] ³	475
32	4	Aršamunik'	2,180
33	5	Mardaŋi	2,900
34	6	Dasnawork	725

1 The *AŠX* omits Angeŋ-tun. Eremyan for some reason makes it part of Aŋnik' when it is clear from Classical sources that it was a part of Cop'k' (Sop'hēnē). *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 *AŠX* 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 Arccrunid protection (Toum.:212).

35	7	Tuaracatap ⁶	760
36	8	Dalar ⁶	1,850
37	9	Hark ⁶	2,245
38	10	Varažnunik ⁶	2,000
39	11	Bznunik ⁶	925
40	12	Erewark ⁶	400
41	13	Añiovit	1,575
42	14	Apahunik ⁶	2,375
43	15	Kori	548
44	16	Xorxorunik ⁶	1,000

V. *Mokk⁶* 2,962

45	1	Išayr	175
46	2	Another Išayr	250
47	3	Išoc ⁶ gawar	302
48	4	Añuenic jor	200
49	5	Mija	250
50	6	Mokk ⁶ Aranjak (the Royal District)	450
51	7	Argastovit	500
52	8	Ĵermajor	835

VI. *Korčayk⁶* 14,707

53	1	Korduk ⁶	5,825
54	2	Upper Kordrik ⁶	1,075
55	3	Middle Kordrik ⁶	1,025
56	4	Lower Kordrik ⁶	625
57	5	A(yr)truank ⁶	325
58	6	Aygark ⁶	302
59	7	Mot ⁶ olank ⁶	875
60	8	Orsirank ⁶	1,250
61	9	Kart ⁶ unik ⁶	550
62	10	Čahuk	2,450
63	11	Lesser Ałbak ⁴	405

⁴ *Bun*, i.e., 'original' *Mardastan* is not mentioned in the *AŠX* and Eremyan takes its name from TA (III.29). He places it immediately west of Greater Ałbak in an area geographically linked to the latter. It was probably always a part of Greater Ałbak, which is perhaps why it was unknown to earlier sources prior to TA (tenth century).

VII. *Parskahayk⁶* 11,010

64	1	Ayli, i.e., Kuričan	1,380
65	2	Mari District	1,855
66	3	T ⁶ rabi District	1,200
67	4	Arasx, i.e., Ovēa	1,120
68	5	Añnay (Ĕñnay)	250
69	6	Tamber	1,870
70	7	Zarēhawan	1,100
71	8	Zarawand	500
72	9	Hēr	1,125

VIII. *Vasparakan* 40,870

73	1	Rštunik ⁶	875
74	2	Tosp	475
75	3	Bogunik ⁶	275
76	4	Arčišakovit	1,075
77	5	Kułanovit	370
78	6	Añiovit	600
79	7	Garni	1,275
80	8	Añberani	1,025
81	9	Bužunik ⁶	400
82	10	Añnoyotn	275
83	11	Anjewac ⁶ ik ⁶	2,525
84	12	T ⁶ rpatunik ⁶	450
85	13	Eruandunik ⁶	675
86	14	[Original Mardastan] ⁴	1,100
87	15	Mardastan (Marduc ⁶ ayk ⁶)	1,265
88	16	Artaz	2,225
89	17	Akē	250
90	18	Greater Ałbak	1,655
91	19	Anjaxi-jor (Valley of Anjax)	825
92	20	T ⁶ oñnawan	1,300
93	21	Čuarš-rot	3,650
94	22	Krčunik ⁶	800
95	23	Mecnunik ⁶	475
96	24	Palunik ⁶	200
97	25	Gukank ⁶	225
98	26	Añand-rot	850
99	27	Parspatunik ⁶	5,550
100	28	Artašisean, i.e. Artawanean	150

101	29	Bak'(r)an, i. e., Marand ⁶	4,105
102	30	Gabit'ean	2,270
103	31	Gazrikean	600
104	32	Taygrean (Tankriayn)	375
105	33	Varažnunik	150
106	34	Goht'n	1,375
107	35	Naxčawan	1,220

IX. *Siwnik'* 15,237

108	1	Ernjak	600
109	2	Čahuk	1,130
110	3	Vayoc' Jor (Ełegnajor)	2,350
111	4	Gełak'uni	1,735
112	5	Sawdk', i. e., Zaw(d)ē[k']	2,045
113	6	Ałahčėk'	1,402
114	7	Čuk	1,950
115	8	Haband	1,325
116	9	Bałk'	925
117	10	Jork'	525
118	11	Arewik'	625
119	12	Kovsakan	625

X. *Arc'ax* 11,528

120	1	Another Haband, i. e., Sisakan i Kotak or Sisakan i Ostan ⁷	2,250
121	2	Vaykunik'	1,070
122	3	Berdajor	625
123	4	Greater Arank'	550
124	5	Greater Kuenk'	975
125	6	Harčlank'	325
126	7	Muxank'	1,250
127	8	Piank'	148
128	9	Parsakank'	650
129	10	K'usti	1,505
130	11	P'arnēs ⁸	775
131	12	Koht'	1,100

6 Eremyan in his attempts to juggle the names of the districts of Vaspurakan found in the various mss. 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 H, 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 P'arnēs into two districts. I believe them to have been one (*supra* *ibid.*)

XI. *P'aytakaran*

132	1	Hrak'ot-Perož (Ārotėstak) ⁹	3,650
133	2	Vardanakert	8,900
134	3	Ewt'np'orakean-bagink'	
135	4	Bařan-rot, i. e., Ārot-i-Bala	
136	5	Aros-Pičan	675
137	6	Hani	1,620
138	7	At'ři-Bagawan	2,480
139	8	Spandaran-Perož	1,275
140	9	Ormizd-Perož	1,100
141	10	Alewan	1,300

XII. *Utik'*

11,315

142	1	Ařan-rot	225
143	2	Tri	530
144	3	Ārot-Parsean	770
145	4	Ałuē	520
146	5	Tus-k'ustak	700
147	6	Gardman	800
148	7	řakařen	2,900
149	8	Uti Ařanjnak (Ut-Ārostak) ¹⁰	2,800

XIII. *Gugark'*¹¹

16,765

150	1	Jorop'or	475
151	2	Kořbop'or	250
152	3	Cobop'or	450
153	4	Tařir	2,050
154	5	T'retk'	2,195
155	6	Kangark'	305
156	7	Upper řawaxk	2,675
157	8	Artahan	2,025
158	9	Křarjk'	1,280
159	10	řawřet	1,045

9 Eremyan (75, 76) identifies the Ut-Ārostak found among the districts taken from Armenia by the Albanians, with the Uti Ařanjnak (Uti 'proper') of Utik'.

10 Eremyan (63) identifies the Hrak'ot-Perož of P'aytakaran with the Ārotėstak found among the districts south of the Kur taken from Armenia by the Albanians, but this cannot be accurate because P'aytakaran never extended north of the River Arax to include any of these districts (*supra* n. 149 A).

11 Eremyan's description of Gugark' (118) requires careful reassessment for which see *supra* VII K, n. 228, and Hewsen REA XXI.

160	11	[Lower Ĵawaxk'] ¹²	1,400
161	12	Mangleac'p'or	925
162	13	K'uišap'or	495
163	14	Bołnop'or	555
164	15	Paruar	375
165	16	Xanc'ixē (Hunarakert)	275

XIV. *Tayk'* 10,179

166	1	Koł	1,175
167	2	Berdac'p'or	990
168	3	Partizac'p'or	662
169	4	Čakk'	1,172
170	5	Bołxa	2,080
171	6	Ok'ałē	1,450
172	7	Azordac'ap'or	500
173	8	Arseac'p'or	2,250

XV. *Ayrarat* 40,105

174	1	Basean	2,625
175	2	Gabeťeank'	1,275
176	3	Abeťeank'	1,000
177	4	Hawnunik'	1,400
178	5	Aršarunik'	1,225
179	6	Bagrewand	5,275
180	7	Całkotn	675
181	8	Vanand	4,725
182	9	Širak	3,730
183	10	Aragacotn	3,050
184	11	Čakatk'	825
185	12	Maseac' Otn	2,800
186	13	Kogovit	2,460
187	14	Ašoc'k'	900
	14A	[Upper Tašir] ¹³	1,075
188	15	Nig	1,000
189	16	Kotayk'	860
190	17	Mazaz	680
191	18	Varažnunik'	1,900

12 Lower Ĵawaxk' or Erušet'i is omitted in the *AŠX*, which knows only of Upper Ĵawaxk' *tout simple*. The author probably subsumed the former into the later, although a Lower Ĵawaxk' is known to have existed (else why would the term 'Upper Ĵawaxk' be used?).

13 The *AŠX* omits Tašir Verin 'Upper Tašir' but Eremyan (85) makes it a district of Ayrarat. Might it not as easily have lain in Gugark' along with Tašir proper?

192	19	Ostan Hayoc'	750
193	20	Urcajor	1,175
194	21	Aracoy Kołmn	250
195	22	Šarur Plain	450

*The Stronghold Land of the Medes*¹⁴ 7,327

196	1	Nixorakan	4,250
197	2	Dasn District	1,075
198	3	Mahkert-tun (Marjin)	2,002

Armenian Mesopotamia 27,600

199	1	Tur Abdin (Cawdēk')	3,975
200	2	Aruastan	5,850
201	3	Greater Cop'k' (Armenian Mesopotamia)	17,775

GREATER ARMENIA 66 B. C.—37 A. D. 312,795

LESSER ARMENIA 37 A. D.—387 A. D. 285,195

ACTUAL TERRITORY of Greater Armenia 363-87 A. D. 272,798

CENTRAL LANDS (Barjr Hayk', Cop'ac' Kołmn, Tawruberan, Mokk', Vaspurakan, Siwnik', Tayk', and Ayrarat) 174,011

BORDER LANDS (Ałjnīk, Korčayk', Parskahayk', Arc'ax, P'aytakaran, Utik', and Gugark') 103,857

MARZPANATE ARMENIA (Ayrarat, Tayk', Tawruberan, Mokk', Vaspurakan, and Siwnik') 134,161

BYZANTINE ARMENIA (Barjr Hayk', Cop'ac' Kołmn) 39,650

B. IBERIA

I. *Armenian Mosxika* 8,425

1	1	Kłarjk'	1,280
2	2	Šawšet	1,045
3	3	Artahan	2,025
4	4	Upper Ĵawaxk'	2,675
5	5	[Lower Ĵawaxk' (Erušet'i)] ¹⁵	1,400

14 I disagree with Eremyan in the identification of the 'Stronghold Land of the Medes' (*Amur Marac' Ašxarb*) with this region, which actually was called Nor-Širakan (*supra* VII H, n. 180)

15 *Supra* n. 11.

		II. <i>Iberian Mosxika (Mesxēt'i)</i>	4,832
6	1	Samc'xē	2,650
7	2	Ačara	1,450
8	3	T'awr District	732
9		III. <i>Arguēt'</i> The Upper Iberian province	1,450 6,485
10	1	Goṛat'is-xew	400
11	2	Tānis-xew	1,420
12	3	Duan Plain	820
13	4	Ač'arēt'is-xew	175
14	5	[Rexa] ¹⁶	250
15	6	Guerdis-Jiri	225
16	7	Kosx (Kaspi)	575
17	8	Sac'xumēt'	445
18	9	Konis-xew	300
19	10	C'xrazmay	550
20	11	Bazalēt	525
21	12	[Mt]kuris-xew	550
22	13	Jel[ē]t	250
		IV. <i>The Vitaxate (Sapitiašxo)</i>	2,625
23	1	Mangleac'p'or	925
24	2	K'uišap'or	495
25	3	Bołnop'or	555
26	4	Paruar	375
27	5	Xanc'ixē (Hunarakert)	275
		V. <i>The Principality of Tašir</i>	3,875
28	1	Cobop'or	450
29	2	Kołbop'or	250
30	3	Jorop'or	475
31	4	Tašir	2,050
32	5	Kangark'	305
33	6	T'relk'	2,195

16 Rexa is omitted in the ASX. Eremyan supplies it from Georgian sources.

		VI. <i>Kaxēt'-Kuxēt'</i>	5,145
34	1	Kxoēt	550
34A	1A	[Ostan vrac']	1,550
35	2	Xerk	175
36	3	Ērcoy	345
37	4	T'ianēt'	200
38	5	Cobēnor	400
39	6	Cuk'ēt'	250
40	7	Velis-c'(i)xē	725
41	8	K'uēl-da[ba] (Greater Kaxēt'i)	525
42	9	Sujk' (Sujēt'i)	425
		VII. <i>Egr (Joined to Iberia at the end of the VIIth Cent.)</i>	1,976
43	1	Nigal	950
44	2	Mruł	550
45	3	Mrit	476
		VIII. <i>The Region of the Fortifications of the Gates of the Alans</i>	2,325
		(Canark', C'xawatk', Guda-Makark', Celkank', and P'oxk' (P'usxk'))	
		IBERIA TILL THE YEAR 363	17,912
		IBERIA 363-387 (Upper Iberian Province, Mesxēt'i, Kaxēt'-Kuxēt', Arguēt', Šawšēt', Lower Ĵawaxk', The Vitaxate)	22,987
		IBERIA AFTER 387 (Upper Iberian province, Mesxēt'i, Kaxēt', Kuxēt', Arguēt', and the whole of Gugark')	34,682
		THE MARZPANATE OF THE IBERIANS AFTER THE "ETERNAL TREATY" of 532 (Upper Iberian province, Mesxēt'i, Kaxēt'-Kuxēt', Arguēt', Gugark', the region of the fortifications of the Gates of the Alans).	37,007
		IBERIA FROM THE END OF THE VIITH CENTURY (Upper Iberian province, Mesxēt'i, Kaxēt'-Kuxēt', Arguēt', Gugark'. The region of the fortifications of The Gates of the Alans, Egr).	38,981

C. ALBANIA

I. *The Original Land of the Albanians*

			23,002
1	1	Ełni (Xeni)	1,722
2	2	Kambečan	7,510
3	3	Beł	1,600
4	4	Šakē	870
5	5	Getařu	1,575
6	6	Xořmaz	1,330
7	7	Geřawu	975
8	8	Hambasi	700
9	9	Ostani-i-Marzpan (Kapařak)	1,550
10	10	K'ařadařt	1,270
11	11	The Plain of Bazkan, i. e., Heřeri	4,900

II. *Districts Taken from the Armenians*

			26,493
12	1	Šakařēn	2,900
13	2	Gardman	800
14	3	K'usti-P'arnēs	2,280
15	4	Kořt'	1,100
16	5	Ařuē	590
17	6	Tus-K'ustak	700
18	7	Ut-Řostak	2,800
19	8	Řot-Parsean	770
20	9	Greater Kuenk'	975
21	10	Greater Iranċ'	550
22	11	Pianċ'	148
23	12	Harčlank'	325
24	13	Parsakank'	650
25	14	Muxank'	1,250
26	15	Vaykunik'	1,070
27	16	Lesser Haband, i. e., Sisakan-i-Kotak	2,250
28	17	Řotěřtak	3,650
29	18	Berdajor	625
30	19	Tři	530
31	20	Ařan-Řot	2,225

THE MARZPANATE OF THE ALBANIANS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE VIITH

CENTURY		72,204
Original Albania		23,002
Arc'ax	11,528	}
Utik'	11,315	
Řotěřtak ¹⁷	3,650	
Bazkan (Hēran)		9,980
Darband		651
T'awaspark'		2,105
Leċk'		2,075
Č'ořa		4,578
Šruan		1,550
Xoruan		1,750

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-existed 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 one 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 one 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 Inčičean, 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 district, it does not necessarily follow that the territory of that principality was limited to that particular district alone. And 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.' While recognizing that the geopolitical situation in ancient and medieval Armenia was a fluid one; that principalities merged, divided, and otherwise changed hands; and that many principalities having disappeared in historical times, we must suppose that many others had disappeared at an even earlier date with no memory of their existence having come down to us in the sources – we can still draw a picture, as it were, of Armenia in the time of the Christian Arsacids – i. e., in the fourth century, the earliest period for which we have detailed information; and, using it as a starting point, describe the ownership of its territory and how this ownership evolved and altered in the centuries which followed until the coming of the Arabs.

Much of the rationale behind the arrangement in the following list will be found in the relevant notes (sections VI, VIIA-VIIL and X), where the geopolitical reality behind each of the fifteen traditional lands of Armenia described in the *AŠX* is discussed.

A. Royal Lands

I. Ayrarat¹

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Aragacotn | 5. Kotayk' |
| 2. Čakatk' | 6. Mazaz |
| 3. Maseac'otn | 7. Ostan Hayoc' |
| 4. Kogovit | |

II. Širak

III. Karin

1. Karin
2. Ša(ta)ğagomk'

IV. Mardpetakan

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Mardastan/Marduc'ayk' | 6. Gaṛni |
| 2. T'oṛnawan | 7. Bak'(r)an ² |
| 3. Čuašrot | 8. Marand |
| 4. Krčunik' | 9. Gabit'ean |
| 5. Ałandrot | 10. Naxčawan ³ |

V. Kasp'k'/P'aytakaran

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Hrak'ot Perož | 6. Hani |
| 2. Vardanakert | 7. At'ši-Bagawan |
| 3. Ewt'np'orakean Bagink' | 8. Spandaran-Perož |
| 4. Bałan-rot/Řot-i-Bała | 9. Ormizd-Perož |
| 5. Aros-Pičan | 10. Alewan |

VI. Parspatunik'/the Stronghold Land of the Medes⁴

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 *AŠX*.

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-Perož with the district of Řotėstak in Albania but I reject any such extension of P'aytakaran north of the River Arax (*supra* n. 151 A).

⁴ Eremyan (118) takes *Marac' Amur Ašxarb* (*sic*), the 'stronghold land of the Medes', to be the equivalent of Nor Širakan (*infra*, XXXV in the list) but I identify it with Parspatunik' for reasons given *supra* VII H, n. 180. Recently, Eremyan himself (*HSH* 2:112), refers to Parspatunik' as *Marac' Kobmank'*.

VII. Korčėk'/Korčėik'⁵

1. A(yr)truank'
2. Aygark'
3. Mot'ořank'
4. Orsirank'
5. Kart'unik'
6. Čahuk
7. Lesser Ařbak

B. Royal Lands Assigned to Arsacid Branches or to the Royal Cadets

VIII. Arřarunik'⁶

1. Arřarunik'
2. Abeřeank'
3. Gabeřeank'
4. Hawnunik'

IX. Hařteank'

X. (East)Ařiovit'⁷XI. Arřberani'⁸C. Royal Lands Granted to the Church⁹

XII. Bagrewand

XIII. Mananaři

XIV. Mardaři

5 From the indications of MX (II.64), I take Korčėk'/Korčėik', the eastern two-thirds of the land of Korčayk' of the AřX, to have been a crown land in the period of the Arsacid monarchy.

6 The House of Kamsarakan or Arřaruni 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 Arřarunik', Abeřeank', Gabeřeank', and Hawnunik'.

7 The AřX indicates an Ařiovit 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 Ařiovits as (East) Ařiovit (in Vaspurakan) and (West) Ařiovit (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 Mardali 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 Mardaři or to the Bishop of Bagrewand, the districts in question probably being divided between the two.

XV. Dasnawork'

XVI. Tuaracatap'

XVII. Dalai

D. Royal Lands Granted to Princely Houses

XVII. Varařnunik' (III)?¹⁰XIX. Nig¹¹XX. Urc/Urcajor?¹²

1. Urc
2. The Region of Arac¹³
3. řarur Plain

E. Temple Lands Granted to the Church

XXI. Ekeřeac'¹⁴

1. Ekeřeac'
2. Muzur/Mėnjur¹⁵

XXII. Daranaři¹⁶

1. Daranaři
2. Ařiwn/Ařiwc¹⁷

XXIII. (West) Tarawn (Ařtiřat)¹⁸

10 The Princes of Varařnunik' 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-Gar.:239; Toum.:222, both of whom take the 'Varařnunik' 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 Gnt'uni in the third century (Toum.:205).

12 The Princes of Urc probably owned the adjacent but otherwise princeless districts of Aracoy Kořm 'Region of Arac' and řarur Dařt 'The Plain of řarur.'

13 The name Arac is perhaps connected to that of the River Erax?

14 Ekeřeac' contained the three great shrines of Erez, T'ordan, 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 establishment.

15 Muzur or Mėnjur was princeless and must have belonged to either the temple state of Ekeřeac' or to that of Daranaři. Geographically, it could have belonged to either. We do not know.

16 Daranaři contained the great shrine of Ani-Kamax and possibly included the small princeless district of Ařiwn or Ařiwc to the west of it, but see *supra* VII A, n. 5.

17 Ptolemy (V.7.3) makes Ařiwn (*Analibla*) a locality in Lesser Armenia and IA (208) indicates that it (*Analiba sic*) lay in the Empire as well. Its addition to Daranaři may thus have 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 Ařtiřat, which passed to the Armenian Church in c. 314. Geographically, the princeless district of Aspakuneac'jor, 'Valley of the Aspakunik', is one with this section of Tarawn, and I am including it as part of the temple-state.

1. Aštišat¹⁹
2. Aspakuneac'jor

XXIV. Derjan²⁰F. Principalities Granted to the Church²¹XXV. Basean²²XXVI. Hark²³

1. Hark'
2. Kori²⁴

XXVII. Bznunik²⁵

1. Bznunik'
2. Erewark²⁶

19 As a possession of the Church, Aštišat, like Ekeleac' and Daranañi (*supra* nn. 14, 16), formed the private holdings of the Chief Bishop (later *Kat'olikos*) of Armenia. With the death of Isaac (Šahak), 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 Bagayarič and hence another temple-state which passed to the Armenian Church.

21 For further details, see Hewsens TAVO map 8 VI 14.

22 Basean, or Basēn, 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 Trdat the Great (c. 298–c. 330) (BP III.4; MX III.2).

23 Hark' had belonged to the Princes 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 Xorxorunik'. I lean more towards it having been a part of the former.

25 Princes Dat'abē 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 Rštunik' to its east. Since Bznunik' and Erewark' were both included in Tawruberan, while Rštunik' lay in Vaspurakan, I am opting for the first choice.

G. Principalities Annexed by Byzantium in 536²⁷XXVIII. Sper²⁸XXIX. Lesser Cop'k'/Cop'k' Šahuneac'²⁹

1. Cop'k' Šahuneac'
2. Dēgik'

XXX. Greater Cop'k'³⁰

1. Greater Cop'k'
2. Np'ret/Np'rkert

XXXI. Balahovit³¹

1. Balahovit
2. Pałntun
3. Xorjean

XXXII. Angełtun-Hanjit³²

1. Angełtun
2. Hanjit
3. Gawrēk'

H. Principalities Annexed by Persia c. 363/387

XXXIII. Ałjnik'

1. Ałjn/Arzan
2. K'al/K'eł
3. Kētik
4. Tatik
5. Aznuacjor

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' Šahuneac'), Greater Cop'k', and Angełtun-Hanjit, which had all become vassals of Rome in 298. The second comprised the two additional principalities of Balahovit and Hašteank' (the latter cited above in the list as a Royal land granted to the Royal Cadets). Together, these five principalities formed a 'pentarchy' (called *ethnē* 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 Daranañi, Ekeleac', and Derjan cited above as inherited by the Mamikonids 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; Dēgik', which was princeless, is geographically a part of it.

30 Greater Cop'k', lay on both sides of the Tigris, Np'ret or Np'rkert being the name for the division of it lying northeast of the river.

31 Pałnatun 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 Angełtun and Hanjit were two lands ruled by a single house; Gawrēk' is geographically a part of the latter.

6. Erxet'k'
7. Gzetx
8. Salnoy jor (Gorge of Salin)
9. Sanasunk'

XXXIV. Korduk'/Imorik'³³

1. Korduk'
2. Upper Kordrik'
3. Middle Kordrik'
4. Lower Kordrik'

XXXV. Nor-Širakan³⁴

1. Mahkert-tun
2. Nixorakan
3. Dasn-trē

XXXVI. Zarawand-Hēr/Parskahayk'/Širakan³⁵

1. Ayli/Kuričan
2. Mari District
3. T'rabi District
4. Arasx/Ovēa
5. Afnay/Ēfnay
6. Tamber
7. Zarēhawan
8. Zarawand
9. Hēr

I. Principalities Annexed by Iberia c. 363-387

XXXVII. Gugark'

1. Cobop'or
2. T'relk'
3. Kangark'
4. Upper Ĵawaxk'
5. Artahan
6. K'larjk'
7. Šawšēt'
8. Lower Ĵawaxk' (Erušēt')

33 In my view, the western third of the land of Korčayk' of the AŠX 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* 1989).

34 Eremyan (1979: map) thought that Nor-Širakan included these three lands together with Parskahayk', considering the former to be the equivalent of the *Marac' Amur Ašxarb*, 'The Stronghold Land of the Medes,' (but see *supra* n. 4 and VII H, n. 180).

35 *Supra* VII H, n. 180.

9. Mangleac'p'or
10. K'uišap'or
11. Paruar

XXXVIII. Jorop'or³⁶XXXIX. Kołbop'or³⁷

- XL. Tašir³⁸
- XLI. Koł?³⁹

J. Principalities Annexed by Albania c. 363/387

XLII. Šakašēn⁴⁰

1. Šakašēn
2. Tus-k'ustak

XLIII. Gardman⁴¹XLIV. Kołt'⁴²XLV. Arc'ax (Cawdk'?)⁴³

1. Cawdk'?
2. Another Haband
3. Vaykunik'
4. Berdajor
5. Greater Iřank'/Greater Arank'
6. Greater Kuenk'/Greater Kołmank'
7. Harčlank'
8. Muxank'

36 The principality of Jorop'or emerged in the early fourth century. Its princes were a branch of the Gušarids, the first House of Gugark' (Toum.:190).

37 The principality of Kołbop'or also emerged in the early fourth century. Its princes, too, were a branch of the Gušarids (Toum.: *ibid.*).

38 The Princes of Tašir emerge in the mid-fifth century. They were apparently a branch of the Mihranids, the second House of Gugark' (Toum.:190).

39 Koł (Geo.: *Kola*) may or may not have constituted a separate principality as Toumanoff (254) thinks. The evidence is weak (*supra* VII k, n. 244).

40 The principality of Šakašēn, ruled by the House of Daštakaran (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 AŠX makes Kołt' 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^c
10. Parsakank^c
11. K^custi-p^carnēs
12. Lesser Sisakan⁴⁴

XLVI. Utik^c

1. Añan-řot
2. Tri
3. Řot Parsean
4. Añuē
5. Uti Añanjnak

K. *Lands Lost to Adiabēnē c. A. D. 37*XLVII. Aruastan (Rehimēnē?)⁴⁵XLVIII. Tur-Abdin (Cawdēk^c/Zabdikēnē)⁴⁶XLIX. Armenian Mesopotamia (the southern part of Greater Cop^ck)⁴⁷L. *Principalities Remaining in Armenia after c. 387*

L. Akē

LI. Greater Añbak⁴⁸

1. Greater Añbak
2. Taygrean/Tankriayn
3. Varažnunik^c
4. Kuñanovit
5. Gazriekan

LII. Anjaxi-jor/Ēnc^cayacⁱ

1. Anjaxi-jor

⁴⁴ *Supra* VII J., n. 209, 219.

⁴⁵ The location of Rehimēnē, which has no known Armenian equivalent, is uncertain, but as Bēth Rehimē was one of the episcopal sees of the Nestorian Metropolitan of Nisibis, by a process of elimination it seems possible to equate it with the district of Nisibis, itself, otherwise known in Armenian as *Aruastan* (Hewsen 1989).

⁴⁶ Toumanoff (182, n. 146) takes Tur-Abdin/Zabdikēnē to have been the principality of *Cawdk^c* or *Cawdēk^c* of Armenian sources (but see VII J, n. 209).

⁴⁷ The term *Mijagetk^c Asorwoč^c* 'Syrian Mesopotamia,' led Eremyan (118) to postulate a corresponding *Mijagetk^c Hayoc^c*, 'Armenian Mesopotamia,' which would consist of Armenian territory in Greater Cop^ck lost to Adiabēnē in the first century.

⁴⁸ On the basis of the configuration of the mountains, I include the princeless districts of Taygrean/Tankriayn, Varažnunik^c (the third district bearing this name), Kuñanovit and Gazriekan all in Greater Añbak, together with the district of that name. This would account for the importance of the Arçruni family of Añbak, who otherwise would have ruled only a small domain before their expansion in the Middle Ages.

2. Añand-řot⁴⁹LIII. Anjewac^cik^cLIV. Apahunik^cLV. Aršamunik^cLVI. Artaz⁵⁰LIVV. Ašoc^ck^c

LVIII. Boñxa

LIX. Eruandunik^c (Hayoc^c Jor)⁵¹

LX. Goñn

LIX. Xorxořunik^cLXII. Mehnunik^c (Palunik II?)⁵²

1. Mehnunik^c
2. Palunik^c

LXIII. Mokka^c

1. Iřayr
2. Another Iřayr
3. Iřoc^c Gawar (The District of Donkeys)⁵³
4. Aruenic^cjor
5. Miña
6. Mokka^c Proper (The Princely District)⁵⁴
7. Argastovit
8. Ĵermajor

⁴⁹ Añand-řot, the 'Añand 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^c occupied the small but fertile valley of the Hayoc^cjor (Micinger *suju*) River, and was otherwise known as *Hayoc^c jor*, 'Valley of the Armenians.'

⁵² We hear of no princes in Mehnunik^c which, however, possessed its own bishop, and no bishop of Palunik^c 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 Iřoc *gawar*; the 'District of Donkeys' or 'of Asses.'

⁵⁴ Ark^cayic^c *gawar*, 'Royal District,' but in this case *arkayic^c*, meaning 'princely.'

LXIV. Palunik⁵⁵LXV. Rštunik⁵

1. Rštunik⁵
2. Tosp
3. Bogunik⁵
4. Arčišakovit
5. Bužunik⁵
6. Artășesean
7. Artawanean
8. Arnoyotn
9. Gukank⁵

LXVI. Siwnik⁵

1. Ernĵak
2. Čahuk
3. Vayoc⁵jor/Eġegnajor
4. Geġak⁵unik⁵⁶
5. Aġahġġk⁵
6. Čġukk⁵/Sisian
7. Haband
8. Baġk/Kašunik⁵
9. Jork⁵
10. Arewik⁵
11. Kovsakan
12. Cawdk⁵/Sawdk⁵⁷

LXVII. (East) Tarawn⁵⁸

1. (East) Tarawn
2. Xoyt⁵⁹

LXVII. Tayk⁵

1. Arseac⁵p⁵or
2. Azordac⁵p⁵or

55 Not to be confused with the later Palunik (II) in Vaspurakan (*supra* n. 52), this Palunik⁵ (I) was located northwest of Tarawn and was probably early seized from the Paluni House by the Mamikoneans after which the former removed to Vaspurakan and acquired the domain of Palunik⁵ (II), which probably included Mehnunik⁵ (*supra* n. 52, Toum.:212).

56 It is not impossible that Geġak⁵unik⁵ formed part of the Arsacid Royal Domains prior to the fall of the monarchy in 428, in which case the Siwnid princes would have acquired the territory in the fifth century (Erem. *HSH* map).

57 If the principality of Cawdk⁵ or Sawdk⁵ included Arc⁵ax as suggested above (*supra* n. 43), then the district of that name should not be cited again here. A sharp ridge of mountains separates Sawdk⁵ from Arc⁵ax, 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 Xač⁵ġn (Arc⁵ax) much later (Hewsen *REA* 1973-1974:286).

58 The eastern part of Tarawn formed the Sġkuni principality which passed to the Mamikonids in the fourth century. Only then were (West) Tarawn (Aġtiġat) and (East) Tarawn (*Sġkunik⁵?) united. (*Supra* n. 18; and VII D).

59 Xoyt⁵ is geographically a part of (East) Tarawn but could have been an autonomous tribal district as TA (II.7) seems to suggest.

3. Ok⁵aġġ
4. Čakk⁵
5. Koġ⁵?⁶⁰

LXIX. Trpatunik⁵

LXX. Vanand/Upper Basean

LXI. Varažnunik⁵ I⁶¹

60 If Koġ were not an independent principality as indicated above (*supra* n. 39), then it must have been most probably a district of Tayk⁵.

61 This Varažnunik⁵ (I) would appear to have been the original domain of the Princes Varažnuni in central Armenia, lying in the Plain of Xnus (Tk.: *Hinis*).

APPENDIX VI

THE ITINERARY (*Młonač'ap'k'*)
(an original appendix to the *Ašxarbac'oyc'?*)

The Text known as the 'Armenian Itinerary' (*Młonač'ap'k'*) was first published in the *Book of the Fox* (*Girk' Ałwēsagirk'*)¹ in Amsterdam in 1668-1669, and subsequently in the 'Marseilles' (read: Constantinople)² 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 *AŠX*. 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* 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 *AŠX* cannot be considered closed.

It should be noted that I comes at the end of a copy of the *AŠX* found in J, and that at the end the total text – *AŠX* and *Młonač'ap'k'* – are stated to have been drawn from the writings of Porphyry augmented with materials drawn from the writings of Pappos of Alexandria. This, however, may be a copyist's inference based on the statements in the introductory passages of the *AŠX*. (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.³

1 *Supra* p. 4.

2 *Ibid.*

3 This passage is omitted in M und J.

- (1) From Dwin to Karin – 200 miles, from Karin to the frontier ditch⁴ – 100,⁵ from there to Kolonia – 90, from there to Niksar⁶ – 100, from there to Amasia – 80, from there to Gangra – 105,⁷ from there to Angora – 80, from there to Constantinople – 120,⁸ from there to Rome – 3,000.⁹
- (2) From Dwin to Xlat^c – 170 miles, from there to Xħimar – 80, from there to Urħa – 180,¹⁰ from there to the Euphrates river – 40, (from there to Emesa – 150),¹¹ from there to Damascus – 120,¹² from there to Mt. Tabor¹³ 90, from there to Jerusalem – 5.¹⁴
- (3) From Dwin to Berdkunk^c – 60 miles, from there to Partaw – 160, from there to the Caspian Sea – 90.
- (4) From Dwin to Naxijewan – 70 miles,¹⁵ from there to Ganjak Šahastan – 120, from there to Ctesiphon – 370, from there to Akołay – 60, from there to Basra – 140, from there to the Persian Gulf – 20.
- (5) From Ganjak¹⁶ to Nineveh¹⁷ – 120,¹⁸ from there to Nisibis – 120¹⁹ from there to Urħa – 150.
- (6) From Naxijewan to Ardabil – 200 miles, from there to Vardanakert – 70, from there to P'aytakaran – 60, from there to the Caspian sea – 50.²⁰
- (7) From Dwin to Kulp – 59, from there to the village of Kot – 120,²¹ from there to Tiflis – 140, from there to Xunarakert – 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 – 350,²² from there to Africa – 1,500,²³ from there to Septe – 900, from there to the Ocean – 2,000.²⁴ End of the distances in miles.

4 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.'

5 M '120'.

6 M 'to Nikisar'; E 'to Nikia.'

7 MJ '130'.

8 M '320'.

9 M '6000'; H '90 = 3000'.

10 K '160'.

11 E omits the distance here.

12 MJ '100'.

13 ME *Favoru*; J *T'ap'or*.

14 ME '100'.

15 J '60'.

16 Garsoian trans.:219, n. 151, Ganjak = Ganjak Šahastan.

17 Garsoian trans.: *ibid.*, Ninuē 'Nineveh' = Mosul.

18 M '100'.

19 MJ omit the distance between Ninuē (Mosul) and Mcbin (Nisibis).

20 MJ omit this entire section. Everything after 'Urħa 150' up to 'Kulp 50' is missing in J, and 'Kulp 50' follows immediately upon 'Urħa 150'.

21 E 'to Kotakev 120', M 'to the village of Kot 105'; J *idem.* '107'.

22 M '300'.

23 M '1,030'.

24 MJ 'to the Unknown 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 Xħimar to Edessa, 160 miles, from Berdkunk^c to Partaw, 140 miles, and from Partaw to the Caspian sea as 20 (!) miles.

APPENDIX VII

THOMAS OF CILICIA (*T'ovma Kilikec'i*)
ON CILICIAN ARMENIA

A fourteenth Century Addendum to the Ašxarhač'oyc'

In his catalog of the Armenian mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Frédéric Macler cites an incomplete fragment of the *AšX* 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 Roumantsov Museum, but no further details are given.

According to Macler's short notice, the fragment of the *AšX* (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 traditional lands of Armenia (folios 302-306) which, in all other mss. of the *AšX*, immediately precede the section dealing with Syria. At the end of the description of Armenia, moreover, is a relatively lengthy paragraph (fol.307) not found in any other ms. of the *AšX*, describing the region of Cilicia. Since the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia did not exist as an entity when the original *AšX* was written, the author of the original text copied (or condensed) the section on Cilicia found in his sources (Pappus of Alexandria). It would only be natural, however, after the rise of the Cilician Kingdom, that a copyist should attempt to update and complete the text by adding such a passage. The text of this version of the *AšX* is a late one (as can be seen by the numerous misspellings of place names) and most probably dates from the Cilician period although it might have been found in an earlier ms. into which the passage on Cilicia was later inserted.²

TEXT

"Cilicia is between Syria and Cappadocia.³ It has districts, castles, and many rivers and springs [besides] game [such as] the bear (*arj*), leopard (*inj*), hind (*etn*), horned deer (*platan ceam*), wild sheep (*mak'is vayri*), gazelle (*vit'*), *vr*⁴ and the

1 Macler, *Catalogue* (Paris, 1908: 113). At least three other mss. contain this text: Matenadaran mss. 1518 (163-165) = A, and 1770 (87-90) = B, and Tübingen ms. Ma XIII 70 (dated 1432). The first two, A and B, were collated by Anasyan (1967) to provide his published edition of the text, whose section on Cilicia has been collated here with the text of Macler.

2 The oldest known copy the *AšX* is found in Ms. 204, Folios 1-45, of Bzommar, Lebanon, copied in 1178. See M. Keshishian (1964). A very poor ms., it does not include the section on Cilicia.

3 The text has *Kumark'*, the *Gomer* of the Bible.

4 *Vr* (A *vř*, B *vo*) is not found in any Armenian dictionary, nor may it be clarified through the insertion of any of the vowels. It

buffalo (*komēs*);⁵ and birds such as the peacock (*siramarē*), francolin (*salam*), partridge (*kak'aw*), tetras francolinus (*tureč*, read *duřeč*),⁶ bustard (*aru*), stork (*arkil*), falcon (*bazē*) and quail (*lor*). It has fruits [such as] the apple (*xedor*), pear (*tanj*), plum (*salor*), apricot (*cirani*), citrus vulgaris (*t'rinj*),⁷ the mandarin orange (*numav narinj*), and lemon (*limon*). It has iron and salt, cotton and silk (*aprihum*), vitriol (*arjasp*) and sulphur (*ccumb*), mineral waters and saltpeter (*nitre*) and black and white pitch (*šjivt*). Its capitals are Tarsus and Sis which is glassmaking soil (?)⁸ and [it has] Ayas, the harbor for many ships.

Here are [also found] plantain oil (*muzu alay*), Spanish chestnuts (*šapalut'*), rye (*bačar*), melons (*c'eč*), the willow tree (*š'eruz*);⁹ and saffron (*zafran*), the rose, myrtle (*murt*), and violet; the locust (*eljewri*), olive (*jitaptuš*), sumac (*ałtor*), almond (*nuš*) and date (*armaw*); the hazel-nut (*kałin*), 'royal' walnut (*arkayunkus*),¹⁰ fig (*t'uz*), pomegranate (*nuim*), blackthorn (*sabek*), mint (*manneb*), watermelons (*jmeruk*), fine¹¹ muskmelons (*šamam*), snake cucumber (*koł'ay*, read *koday*), quince (*serkevil*), jujube (*yunap*), chestnut (*kask*), forest cornel-berries (*boyn antari*) cinnabar (*sinopar*), from the pine tree,¹² and other countless good things for which glory to the lord God the grantor of these innumerable things, Amen. We pray [you] to remember Thomas *Vardapet Aksloc'*,¹³ the first scribe [who wrote] in the year of the Armenians 1432 and John the priest of Ejmiacin, the copyist of it in the same year [i. e. the same era of the Armenians], 1815.¹⁴ We pray you to remember [us]."

Apart from the above passage, which is not found in any other versions of the *AšX*, the remainder of this text shows it to belong to the tradition of the 'short' redaction. It has certain peculiarities of its own, however:

1. Syria. The towns of Knšrim and Samaria are omitted along with the two defiles.
2. Judaea. The sea is called *P'ilakan* instead of *P'iwnikakan* (Phoenecian).
3. Rocky Arabia. *P'arnitis* (*Pharanitis*) is spelled *P'randia*.

may be a foreign word. For this and for several other problem words in the text, I am indebted to Dr. K. Maksoudian, formerly of Columbia University, whose knowledge of *Grabar* is profound and who has access to Armenian dictionaries not readily available to me.

- 5 The spelling *komēs* for what is properly *gomēs* is one of several examples in the text where the spelling has been altered to suit the sound shift from eastern (i. e. standard classical) to western Armenian. A B *gomeš*.
- 6 According to the Haykazean dictionary, this word *tureč* derives from the Greek – a wild beast – but a better etymology is from the Arabic *durraj* (cf. Ačarean, *Armatakan Bačaran* II:601). Norayr Biwzandac'i identifies the *duřeč* with the tetras francolinus.
- 7 The normal spelling of this word is *t'urinj*, from the Persian *turunj*, (Ačarean II:1317), a citrus fruit well known in the Mediterranean. Its botanical name is *citrus vulgaris*, to which Ačarean adds *malum aureum* or *pomum aurantium*.
- 8 The text has *apakē hołn* (A *apakē hozs*), *apakē* being the syncopated form of *apakeay*, the genitive of *apaki* 'glass.' The expression *apakē hołn* can refer to soil from which glass is made, or could mean soil 'clear as glass', or it could be a misreading.
- 9 Neither *š'ruz* nor *uřuz* exists in any dictionary, but if the word is read as *uřuc* then this would be the *salix*, i. e. the willow tree (Malxaseanc', *Bac'adrakan Bačaran*).
- 10 A *ark'ayēnkuz*. *Unkuz* means 'walnut'. One may suppose that by *ark'ayunkuz* 'royal walnut' a superior species of walnut is intended.
- 11 The text has *šaman ketec kaxayt* (*gełec'kaxatuc'k'?*) from *ketec'ik* 'beautiful', and *xayc* analogous to *karmraxayc* – a fish marked with red. The word as found in the text does not occur in any dictionary, but there is the adjective *gełec'kaxatuc'k'*, which Maksoudian (and Anasyan:283) takes to be the word meant here used to modify *šamam*.
- 12 The text has *sinopar* (A *sinawpari*; B *Sanawpari*) *ipičoy* (read: *i pičoy*), the ablative from of *pič* the 'pine tree.'
- 13 Maksoudian saw this as an abbreviation of *Akulec'i*, i. e. a native of *Akulis* or *Agulis* in eastern Armenia, which seems possible. Anasian read it is *Kilikec'i*, a native of Cilicia, which is more likely. This colophon is not found in A or B.
- 14 Although the text states that the dates are given in "the year of the Armenians", they are actually given *anno domini* in both cases.

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 *anjeragorc* (*axheiropton*, i.e. not made by human hands). The latter part of this section has a lacuna and instead of ending with the words "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" has "from there appeared the House of Sheba." The text mentions the spices of Arabia but omits all their names.

6. Media has *Tapokk'* in place of *Mark'*, and the names of its districts are badly corrupted.

7. Aruastan. The town of *Muct'* (Mosul) is replaced by *Mcbin* (Nisibis).

8. Elimaeus. Only five of its districts are listed and their names are corrupted. The town of *Gundishapuh* is spelled *Kursep'uy*.

9. Persia is called *K'usmandič* 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 Hyrcanian 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 mss. 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 *brešmakay* for *brēš ew mušk* and ends with the passage *zkest erkrin korpasolen* instead of *ař ancanawt'erkrav*.

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 AŠX 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
Patarouē	68		52 30
3. mouth of the Greater Rhombites river	68	30	52
mouth of the Theophaïos river	68	30	51 40
Azara town	68	30	51 20
4. mouth of the Lesser Rhombites river	69		50 30
Azarabitis Tainia	68		50
Kyrambē and Tyrambai	69	40	49 50
mouth of the Antikites river	70		49 20
Gerousa town	70		49
mouth of the Psathis river			
Matēta	69		48 30
5. mouth of the Ouardanes river	68		48 20
Kimmerion promontory	66	30	48 30
Apatourgos	66	20	48 15
Akhilleon at the mouth of the Bosphoros	64	30	48 30
6. and in the Kimmerian Bosphoros			
Phanagoria	64	30	47 50
Korokondamē	64	15	47 30
7. 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 Hyrcanian or the Caspian sea; a description of this boundary is the following:			
8. after Korokondamē on the Pontos			
Hermōnassa	65		47 30
Sindikos harbor	65	30	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.

Bata harbor	66 30	47 40
Bata village	66 20	47 30
mouth of the Psykhros	66 40	47 30
Akhaia village	67	47 30
9. Kerketidid bay	67 30	47 20
Tazos town	68	47 30
Toretikon promontory	68	47
Ampsalis town	68 30	47 15
mouth of the Bourkas river	69	47 15
Oinanthia	69 40	47 15
10. mouth of the Thessyrios river	69 40	47
Karteron Teikhos	70	46 50
mouth of the Korax river	70 30	47
the terminus on the side of Kolkhis is in	75	47
11. thence it extends along the border of Iberia in which are the Sarmatian passes	77	47
then along Albania to the terminus on the Hyrkanian sea at the mouth of the Soanas river	86	47
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;		
mouth of the Alontas river	86 30	47 40
mouth of the Oudōn river	87	48 20
mouth of the Rha river;	87 30	48 50
and partly by Scythia along the Rha river to the bend which is in	85	54
then along the meridian leading into the unknown country.		
13. There is another turning of the Rha river which is near the bend of the Tanais river in the locality	74	56
above which two rivers unite coming from the Hyperborean mountains, the position of which junction is in	79	58 30
the source of that river which is from the west is in	70	61
the source of that which is from the east is in	90	61
14. Of the mountains running through Sarmatia, among those which are named, are the famous Hippiic, 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 Hippiic mountains are in	74	54
and	81	52
of the Keraunian	82 30	49 30
and	84	52
of the Korax	69	48
and	75	48
and of the Caucasus	75	47
and	85	48
which are near the Columns of Alexander	80	51 30
Sarmatian pass	81	48 30
Albanian pass	80	47
16. Its cattle feed in the Sarmatian meadowlands in the region near the unknown land of the Hyper-		

borean Sarmatians; and below these are the *Basilikoi* [Royal] Sarmatians; and the *Modoka* tribe; and the Hippophagous Sarmatians; and below these are the *Zakatai* Sarmatians, the *Souardēni* 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 *Iaxamatai*.

The towns on the Tanais are		
Hexapolis	72	55 40
Nauaris	70	55
Tanais	67	54 20
17. Below the <i>Souardēnoi</i> are the <i>Khainides</i> , and toward the east from the Rha river are the <i>Phtheirophagoi</i> , the <i>Matēroi</i> and the land of the <i>Nēsiōtoi</i> ; then below <i>Iaxamatai</i> are the <i>Sirakēnoi</i> and between the Maiōtis swamp and the Hippiic mountains next to the <i>Sirakēnoi</i> are the <i>Psēssoi</i> ; then the <i>Themeōtai</i> , below whom are the <i>Tyramai</i> ; then the <i>Aspourikianoi</i> , and near the Korax mountains are the <i>Arikhoi</i> and the <i>Zigkhoi</i> ;		
18. and above the Korax mountains are the <i>Konapsēnoi</i> , the <i>Meteiboi</i> , and the <i>Agoritai</i> .		
19. Between the Rha river and the Hippiic mountains is the Mithridatis region; below which are the <i>Melankhlainoi</i> , then the <i>Amazones</i> ;		
20. and between the Hippiic mountains and the Keraunian mountains are the <i>Souranoi</i> and the <i>Sakanoi</i> ;		
21. moreover between the Keraunian mountains and the Rha river are the <i>Orinaioi</i> the <i>Oualoi</i> , and the <i>Serboi</i> .		
22. between the Caucasus mountains and the Keraunian mountains are the <i>Touskoi</i> and <i>Didouroi</i> ;		
23. and near the Caspian sea are the <i>Oudai</i> ; the <i>Olondai</i> , the <i>Isondai</i> , and the <i>Gerroi</i> ;		
24. Below the mountain ridge are the <i>Bosporanoi</i> , and on both sides of the <i>Bosporanoi</i> are the <i>Kimmeroi</i> ;		
25. on the sea coast of the Pontos are the <i>Akhaioi</i> , the <i>Kerketai</i> , the <i>Heniokhoi</i> , and the <i>Souanokolkhoi</i> ; then above Albania the <i>Sanaraioi</i>		
26. The towns and villages on the Lesser Rhombites river are Axaraba	70	50 30
27. on the Psathis river		
Aukhis	70 40	49 40
28. on the Ouardanos river		
Skopelos	68	48
Sourouba	72	48 20
Korousia	73 40	48 30
Ebriapa	75 20	48 30
Seraka	77	48 40
29. on the Bourkas river		
Koukounda	70	47 45
30. on the Thessyris river		
Batrakhē	71	47 30
31. and on the Korax river		
Naana	73 30	47 15
32. Towns in the highest mountains		
Abounis	73	48
Nasounia	74	48
Halmia	75	48

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	71	10	46	45
mouth of the Hippos river	71		46	30
Neapolis	71	30	46	15
mouth of the Kyaneos river	71	30	46	10
Siganeon	71	30	45	45
Aia town	72		45	30
mouth of the Kharioustos river	72		45	15
mouth of the Phasis river	72	30		45
Phasis town	72	30	44	45
3. It is bounded on the south by the Pontos, thence extending along Kappadokia to the line which we have mentioned; thence by a part of Armenia along that boundary to the terminus which is located in

	74		47	
	75		47	
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, and the races which are in the *Ekritika* district.
6. In the interior region the towns and villages are

Mekhlessos	74	30	46	45
Madia	74	15	46	15
Sarakē	73		45	
Sourion	73	20	44	40
Zadris	74		44	40

Chapter 11. Location of Iberia (Third Map of Asia)

1. Iberia is bounded on the north by the part of Sarmatia which we have mentioned; 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 in the confines of Kolkhis to a terminus the location of which is in

	77		47	
--	----	--	----	--
2. The following are the towns and villages in this country:

Loubion village	75	40	46	50
Aginna	75		46	30
Ouasaida	76		46	20
Ouarika	75	20	46	
Soura	75		45	20
3. Artanissa

Mestleta (*Meskheta)	74	40	45	
Zalissa	76		44	40
Harmastika	75		44	30

Chapter 12. Location of Albania (Third Map of Asia)

1. The Albanian border on the north extends along the part of Sarmatia which we have described; on the west it is bounded by Iberia along the line designated; 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

	79	40	44	30
--	----	----	----	----
2. on the east by the Hyrkanian sea extending to the Soanas river, which coast is thus described: next to the mouth of the Soana river which is in

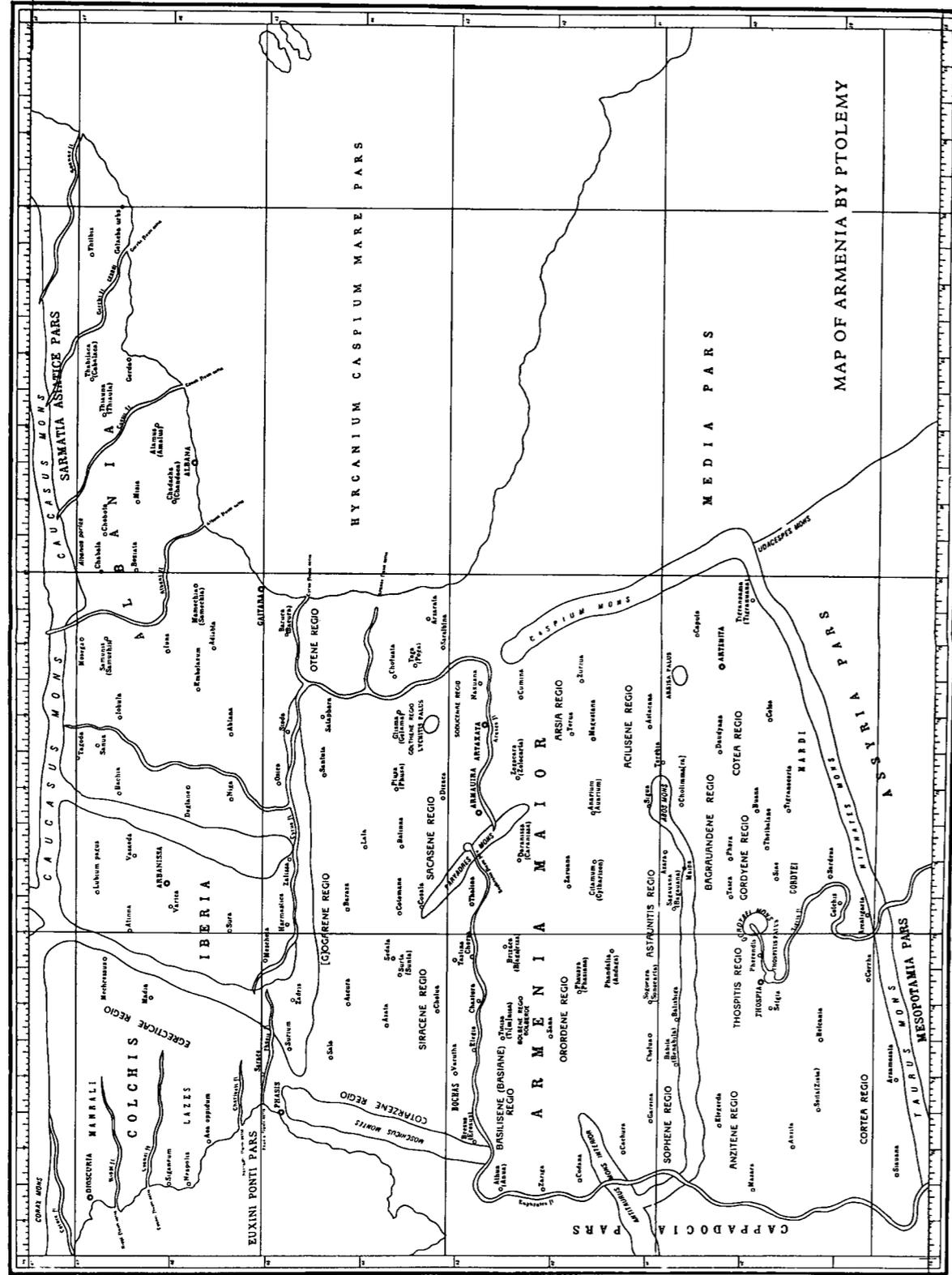
	86		47	
Telaiba city	85		46	40
mouth of the Gerrhos river	84	30	46	30
Gelda town	83		46	30
mouth of the Kasios river	82	30	46	
Albana town	81	40	45	50
mouth of the Albanos river	80	30	45	30
Gaitara town (or Gangara)	79	30	45	
after which is the mouth of the Kyros river	79	40	44	30
3. Between Iberia and 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,

Tagōda	77	30	46	50
Bakkhia	77		46	30
Sanoua	77	40	46	40
Dēglanē	77	20	45	45
Niga (or Nēga)	77	20	45	15
4. Moreover between that river [the *Kyros*] and the Albanos river which flows from the Caucasus are

Mosēga	79		47	
Samounis	79		46	40
Ioboula	78		46	20
Iouna	79		46	
Embolaia	78	30	45	40
5. Adiabla

Abliana	79		45	30
Mamekhia	78		45	15
Osika	77	30	44	45
Sioda	78	15	44	40
Barouka	79	20	44	40
6. The location of the Albanian passes, as we have said, is in

Between the Albanos river and the Kasios river are	80		47	
Khabala	80		47	
Khobata	80	30	46	45
Boziata (or Moziata)	80		46	20
Misia	81		46	20
Khadakha	81		46	
Alamos	82		46	15
7. between the Kasios river and the Gerrhos river are



Map XXVI: Caucasia according to Ptolemy. After D.M. Lang, Armenia. Gate of Civilisation (1970)

Thiauna	84 15 46 40
Thabilaka	82 45 46 50
between the Gerrhos river and the Soana river is	
Thilbis	84 15 46 50
8. There are two marshy islands near Albania, the middle of which is in	80 30 45

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 Kappadokian Pontos which extends as far as Kolkhis after passing through the Moskhikian Mountains.
3. On the East by a part of the Hyrkanian Sea² 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 Mountains³ the boundary of which is located in 79° 42° 30' and 80° 30' 40°.
4. On the South it is bounded by Mesopotamia⁴ along the line of the Tauros 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 Assyria⁵ on a line extending along the Niphatēs Mountains,⁶ that line which we have said continues in a direct line as far as the above indicated boundary of the Kaspion Mountains.
5. The notable mountains of Armenia are the Moskhikians,⁷ extending along that part of Kappadokian Pontos which is above them; and the Paryadrēs Mountains,⁸ the terminal positions for which are 75° 43° 20' and 77° 42'; the Ouadakespēs Mountains,⁹ the central part of which is at 80° 30' 40°; a part of the Antitauros Mountains¹⁰ 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 Kaspion 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'.

- 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 Niphatēs Mountains, the Armenian Tauros (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 Ouadakespēs Mountains. The Zagros separating Iran from Iraq. This name, *Ouadakespēs*, 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 Thōspitis.¹⁴

8. There are other lakes, one of which is called Lykhnitis,¹⁵ the center of which is at 78° 43' 15'; and the Arsēsa 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 Kotarzēnē [read *Kolarzēnē]¹⁷ which is near the Moskhian Mountains above those rivers; Bokhai¹⁸ near the Kyros River; Tōsarēnē¹⁹ [read: *Gōgarēnē] and Ōtēnē²⁰ near the Araxes, and Kolthēnē²¹ and Sodoukēnē²² which is below it; then, along the Paryadrēs Mountains, are Sirakēnē²³ and Sakapēnē.²⁴ [read: *Sakastēnē].

10. The towns in this section are:

Sala ²⁵	73	20	44	20
Askoura ²⁶	74		44	10
Baraza	75	20	44	10
Lala ²⁷	76	10		44
Santouta ²⁸	77	20	44	20
Sataphara	78		44	20
Tōga ²⁹	78	50	43	30
Ouaroutha ³⁰	73			43
Azata ³¹	73	45	43	45
11. Kholoua ³²	74		43	10
Sēdala ³³	74	40	43	45
Sourta ³⁴	74	30	43	40
Tatina (or Tastina) ³⁵	74	40		43

13 The Aracani (Gk: *Arsanias*), now the Murat-su.

14 Lake Thospitis. Probably Lake Van (Arm.: *Tosp*) but partially confused with Lake Gölcük/Hazar (Arm.: *Covk*).

15 Lake Lykhnitis (Arm.: *Geḷak'unik'*, now Sevan), from Arm.: *lij'* 'lake'?

16 Lake Arsēsa (Arm.: *Arčēš*). The northeastern extension of Lake Van partially confused with Lake Erçiş (Arm.: *Arčēšak*).

17 *Kotarzēnē*, read **Kolarzēnē* (Arm.: *Kłarjē'*).

18 *Bokhai* (Arm.: **Botxk'*).

19 *Obarēnē* (**Gogarēnē*), Arm.: *Gugark'*.

20 *Otēnē*, Arm.: *Utik'*.

21 *Kolthēnē*, Arm.: *Kolt'* or *Golt'n*.

22 *Sodoukēnē*, Arm.: *Cawdk'* or *Sawdk'*.

23 *Sirakēnē*, Arm.: *Širak*.

24 *Sakastēnē* (**Sakasēnē*), Arm.: *Šakasēn*.

25 *Sala* (**Bala?*), now *Vale?*

26 *Askoura*, Geo.: *Askuret'i*.

27 *Lala*, Geo.: *Lali* (or Arm.: *Xabxat?*)

28 *Santouta*, Geo.: *Čanki*.

29 *Toga*, or, in some mss., *Poga*, now *Pog*, Arm.: *P'ot*.

30 *Ouaroutha*, Arm.: *Varzaban?*

31 *Azata*, Geo.: *Ačara*.

32 *Kholoua*, Arm.: *Kot* (or *Kotb?*)

33 *Sedala* (**Teleda*).

34 *Sourta*, Geo.: *Cunda*.

35 *Tastina* (**Kaspina*), Geo.: *Xospi*.

Kozala ³⁶	75	20	43	30
Kotomana ³⁷	75	15	43	10
Batinna	76	10	43	40
Dizaka ³⁸	76	50	43	10
Ptousa ³⁹	77		43	45
Glisma ⁴⁰	78	20	43	40
Kholouata ⁴¹	78	45	43	40
Sakalbina ⁴²	79	10	43	15
Arsarata ⁴³	79	30	43	15
12. and along the Euphrates River:				
Brepos (or Bressos) ⁴⁴	72		42	45
Ēlegia ⁴⁵	73	20	42	45
Khasira ⁴⁶	74		42	40
Khorsa ⁴⁷	74	40	42	50
Thalina ⁴⁸	75	20	42	45
[and along the Araxes River:]				
Armaouria ⁴⁹	76	40	42	45
Artaxata ⁵⁰	78		42	40
Naxouana ⁵¹	78	50	42	45

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 Basilisēnē,⁵² Obordēnē (or Bolbēnē)⁵³ and Arsia (or Arsēsa);⁵⁴ and below these Akilisēnē,⁵⁵ Astaunitis⁵⁶ and Sōphēnē⁵⁷ near the same bend of the river.

14. The cities in this section are:

Athoua ⁵⁸ (or Zathoua)	71	30	42	30
-----------------------------------	----	----	----	----

36 Kozala, now Kosalar?

37 Kotomana (**Kartomana?*), Arm.: *Gardman?*

38 Dizaka. In the later district of *Dizak?*

39 Ptousa, (**Phousa*).

40 Glisma (**Gelama*), Arm.: *Geḷam*.

41 Kholouata, Arm.: *Kotb*.

42 Sakalbina (*Baylakan?*)

43 Arsarata, the *Arxata* of Strabo (XI.14.6)

44 Bressos, read **Eressos* Arm.: *Erez*, later *Erznka*, now Erzincan.

45 Elegia Arm.: *Ēlegis*, now Alaca.

46 Khasira, Arm.: *Kars*, or perhaps *Xastur?*

47 Khorsa, Arm.: *Kars*, perhaps under another Greek version of the name.

48 Thalina, Arm.: *T'alin*.

49 Armaouria, Arm.: *Armauir*.

50 Artaxata, Arm.: *Artašat*.

51 Naxouana, Arm.: *Naxčawan*.

52 Basilisēnē. This toponym has not been identified in a satisfactory way.

53 Bolbēnē, Arm.: *Balahovit*.

54 Arsēsa, Arm.: *Arčēš*.

55 Akilisēnē, Arm.: *Ekeḷeac'*.

56 Astaunitis, Arm.: *Hašteank'*.

57 Sōphēnē, Arm.: *Cop'k'*.

58 Athoua, read **Anoua*, Arm.: *Ani-Kamax*.

	Appendix VIII		
Tinissa ⁵⁹	73	30	42 30
Zōriga ⁶⁰	71	30	42
Sana ⁶¹	73	30	42
Brizaka ⁶²	74	50	42 30
Daranissa ⁶³	76		42 20
Zogokara ⁶⁴	77	15	42 20
15. Koubina ⁶⁵	78	30	42 20
Kodana	71	30	41 40
Kakhoura (or lakhoura) ⁶⁶	72		41 20
Kholoua ⁶⁷	73	30	41
Sogokara ⁶⁸	74		41
Phausya ⁶⁹	74	15	41 45
Phandalia ⁷⁰	74	50	41 30
Zarouana ⁷¹	75	40	41 45
16. Kitamon ⁷²	76		41 30
Anarioun ⁷³	76	50	41 30
Sigoua ⁷⁴	77		41
Téroua ⁷⁵	78		41 50
Zourzoura ⁷⁶	78	30	41 40
Matoustana ⁷⁷	78		41 40
17. Astakana ⁷⁸	78		41
Tareina ⁷⁹	72	20	41
Balisbiga ⁸⁰	73	40	40 40
Babila ⁸¹	74	20	40 45

59 Tinissa, read *Kimissa?, Arm.: *Cumina/Č'ermēs*, now Cimin?

60 Zoriga, now *Zigeri*?

61 Sana, Arm.: *Vžan*.

62 Brizaka, read B[aga]rizaka, Arm.: *Bagayařič*, now *Peketiç*.

63 Daranissa, Arm.: *Daroynk'*, now *Hasankale*.

64 Zogokara (some mss. have *Zogoraka*) read **Solakarta*, Arm.: *C'olakert*.

65 Koubina (**Koumina*), Arm.: *C'umb?*

66 Kakhoura, Arm.: *K'rwik?*

67 Kholoua, arm.: *Kořaberd?*

68 Sogokara, (**Sonokarta?*), Arm.: *C'winkert?*

69 Phausya, (**Phasiana*), Arm.: *Basean*.

70 Phandalia, (**Andaga?*), Arm.: *Andak?*

71 Zarouana, arm.: *Zarawand* or *Zarehawan*.

72 Kitamon, Arm.: *Kit'ariç*.

73 Anarion (**Avarion*), Arm.: *Hawreank'*.

74 Sigoua (**Asigoua?*), Arm.: *Hac'ek?*

75 Téroua (**Daroua*), Arm.: *Daroynk'* now *Bayazit*.

76 Zourzoua (some ms. have *Zourzoura*), now *Zurava* or Arm.: *Corcor?*

77 Matoustana (**Magoustana*), now *Maku*.

78 Astakana, Arm.: *Ořakan?*

79 Tareina, (**Gareina?*), Arm.: *Kmi?*

80 Balisbiga, Arm.: *Patinberd*.

81 Babila (**Benabila*), Arm.: *Bnabet*.

Sagouana ⁸²	75	15	40 45
Azara (or Ozara)	76	10	40 50
18. In the remaining section, located towards the South between the Euphrates and the source of the Tigris, is Anzitēnē ⁸³ and below it Thōspitis; ⁸⁴ then Korinaia. ⁸⁵			
19. The cities in this section are:			
Ēlegerda ⁸⁶	72	15	40 15
Mazara ⁸⁷	71	20	39 50
Anzera (or Anzita) ⁸⁸	72		39 30
Soeita ⁸⁹	72	50	39 30
Belkania ⁹⁰	73	30	39 20
Seltia (or Selgia) ⁹¹	74		40
Thōspia ⁹²	74	20	39 50
Kolkhis	75	30	39
Siauana ⁹³	71	30	38 20
Arsamosata ⁹⁴	73		38 20
Korra ⁹⁵	74	30	38 40
20. Moreover, towards the east extending from the sources of the Tigris River is Bagraouandēnē ⁹⁶ and, below it, Gordyēnē, ⁹⁷ east of which is Kōtaia ⁹⁸ and, below it, the Mardians. ⁹⁹			
21. The cities which are in these parts are:			
Taska ¹⁰⁰	75	30	41 10
Phōra ¹⁰¹	76		40 10
Maipa ¹⁰²	76	10	40 40
Bouana ¹⁰³	76	45	40
Kholimma ¹⁰⁴	77	45	40 40
Terebia	77	40	40 55

82 Sagouana, (**Bagaouana*), Arm.: *Bagawan*.

83 Anzitēnē, Arm.: *Anjit/Hanjit*.

84 Thospitis, Arm.: *Tosp*.

85 Korinaia, (**Kordiaia?*), Arm.: *Korčayk'?*

86 Ēlegerda, Arm.: *Elekert?*

87 Mazara, a locality southwest of Hořēberd (Xarpert).

88 Anzita, Arm.: *Anjit* or *Hanjit*.

89 Soeita, (**Siata*), Arm.: *Hořēberd?* later *Xarpert*, now *Harput*.

90 Belkania, Arm.: **Belekan*, now *Belhan*.

91 Selgia, (**Seltia?*), Arm.: *Gzetx* or *Stert?* now *Siirt*.

92 Thōspia, Arm.: *Covk*.

93 Siauana, now *Severek?*

94 Arsamosata, Arm.: *Arřamořat*.

95 Korra, Arm.: *Gawrēk'?*

96 Bagraouandēnē, arm.: *Bagrewand*.

97 Gordyēnē, Arm.: *Korduk'* or *Korčēk'*.

98 Kōtaia, Arm.: *Kotayk'?*

99 The Mardians, a Median enclave, perhaps the ancestors (at least in part) of the modern Kurds?

100 Taska, later *Attakhas?* now *Atah*.

101 Phōra, Arm.: *P'or*.

102 Maipa, the later *Maifarkin*, now *Silvan*.

103 Bouana, probably Van again, *supra* n. 89.

104 Kholimma, (**Kholima[ra]*), Arm.: *K'limar*.

Daoudyana ¹⁰⁵	77	40	40	20
Kapouta ¹⁰⁶	79	20	40	30
Artemita ¹⁰⁷	78	40	40	20
Thelbalanē ¹⁰⁸	76	15	39	50
22. [and below Gordyēnē:]				
Siai ¹⁰⁹	75	40	39	20
Pherendis ¹¹⁰	75	40	39	20
Tigranokerta ¹¹¹	76	45	39	40
Sardēoua	75	50	39	10
Kolsa	78		39	50
Tigranoama	79	45	40	
Artagigarta ¹¹²	75	20	38	45

105 Daoudyana, Arm.: *Davvan?* or *Donawank?*

106 Kapouta from arm.: Kapoyt 'blue', perhaps the town of Khoy, earlier, under the influence of the nearby Kaputan Cov 'Blue Sea' (lake Urmia).

107 Artemita, arm.: *Artamid*.108 Thelbalanē, now *Tell Bashar?*109 Siai, cf. the tribe called *Sitrae* Pliny (VI.30.118).110 Pherendis, now *Piran?*111 Tigranokerta, probably Arzan, but see Chaumont (1980) and Sinclair III for recent discussions of the issue, (*supra* VII C, n. 45).112 Artagigarta, also *Etagigarta*, which is usually taken to be the *Karkathiokerta* of Strabo (XI.14.2) i.e., Angl. now Eḡil.

APPENDIX IX

GLOSSARY OF ARMENIAN GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS¹

<i>ac'i/drac'i</i>	neighboring
– <i>ac'i</i>	suffix 'native of'
<i>agrak/agarak</i>	field, estate, appanage, farm
– <i>akan</i>	adjectival suffix
<i>akn</i>	eye, source, opening
<i>albiwr</i>	spring, source
<i>ali, al</i>	locative suffix derived from Georgian- <i>eli</i>
<i>ali</i>	salt
<i>amier</i>	hither, on this side (Geo.)
<i>amur</i>	strong, stronghold
<i>amroc'</i>	fortress, stronghold
<i>anapat</i>	desert, wilderness, hermitage
– <i>anoc'</i>	locative suffix 'place of'
<i>aparan</i>	palace
<i>apat</i>	dwelling
<i>aran, iran</i>	root denoting the Caucasian Albanians
– <i>aran</i>	locative suffix 'place of'
<i>arič, arinč</i>	cult site?, shrine?
<i>ariwc</i>	lion
<i>arit</i>	cause, origin, agent
<i>art</i>	field
– <i>astan</i>	locative suffix 'land of,' 'place of'
<i>ašxarh</i>	land, country, realm, world
<i>arwag</i>	senior
<i>awan</i>	market-town, large village, dwelling place
– <i>awor</i>	possessive suffix
<i>axal</i>	new (Geo.)
<i>ayr</i>	cave, grotto
<i>azat</i>	noble, free, high, great
<i>azg</i>	nation, tribe, race, clan
<i>bagin</i>	pagan altar
<i>bagink'</i>	temple, shrine
<i>bak</i>	enclosed, courtyard, sheepfold
<i>bala, bała</i>	root denoting The Bala or Pala people

1 This glossary has been adapted from that of Hübschmann (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.

<i>banak/banakim</i>	camp, encampment
<i>barjr</i>	upper
<i>beran</i>	mouth
<i>berd</i>	castle, fort
<i>boyn</i>	cave, den
<i>bun</i>	original, fundamental, basic
<i>bun banak</i>	home-camp, royal residence
<i>bun gahoyk^o</i>	seat of a noble
<i>bun giwt</i>	<i>idem.</i>
<i>cak</i>	cave, opening, hole
<i>ciran</i>	purple, crimson
<i>c^oixē</i>	castle (Geo.)
<i>cov</i>	sea
<i>covun</i>	bay, gulf
<i>c^oqali</i>	water, river (Geo.)
<i>dar</i>	gate
<i>dašt</i>	plain
<i>dastakert</i>	estate, appanage
<i>didi</i>	great, large (Geo.)
<i>dar, dr</i>	root denoting the tribe called <i>Driloi</i> or <i>Tret-k^o?</i>
<i>dastakert</i>	estate, property, appanage
<i>duim</i>	door, gate, pass
<i>-eak, -ik, -ak, uk</i>	diminutive suffix
<i>-ean</i>	adjectival suffix
<i>-ebi</i>	plural suffix (geo.)
<i>erkir</i>	earth, land, country
<i>-et^o</i>	locative suffix derived from Georgian <i>-et^o</i> .
<i>ganj</i>	treasure
<i>karmir</i>	red
<i>gawar</i>	district
<i>gawit^o</i>	enclosure, porch, entry, vestibule
<i>gayl</i>	wolf
<i>gerezman</i>	cemetery
<i>get</i>	river
<i>getak</i>	stream
<i>gim</i>	root denoting the Cimmerians
<i>giwt/gewt/geot</i>	village
<i>giwtak^oatak^o</i>	fortified village, large village
<i>glux</i>	head
<i>gom</i>	stable
<i>hank^o</i>	shaft, mine, pit
<i>hayk^o</i> (sing.: <i>Hay</i>)	the Armenians
<i>har/xar</i>	see <i>har/xur</i>
<i>hin</i>	old, ancient, former
<i>hot</i>	earth, soil, ground
<i>hor/xor</i>	see <i>hur/xur</i>

<i>hovit/howit/-ovit/-xovit</i>	valley
<i>hun</i>	ford, overpass
<i>hur/xur</i>	root denoting The Hurrian people?
<i>-i</i>	nominative marker (Geo.)
<i>-ik</i>	diminutive suffix (see <i>-eak</i>)
<i>imier</i>	(Geo.) thither, across, beyond
<i>išxananist</i>	prince seat of a
<i>jor</i>	valley, vale, dale, glen
<i>jur</i>	water, brook
<i>jirik</i>	brook, rill
<i>-k^o</i>	plural suffix (Arm.)
<i>k^oatak^o</i>	walled enclosure, city
<i>kaluac</i>	holding, domain, lands, property
<i>kanač^o</i>	green
<i>kapoyt^o/kaputan</i>	blue
<i>k^oar</i>	rock
<i>karmir</i>	red
<i>katar</i>	summit
<i>-kert</i>	(suffix) built by, founded by
<i>kič^o</i>	comrade, associate, plur.: union, alliance
<i>kołmn</i>	flank, side, region, bank, part
<i>kot^o</i>	holding
<i>kust</i>	flank, side, part, coast, region
<i>k^ovemo</i>	lower (Geo.)
<i>lear^on</i>	mountain, mountain range
<i>ler^o</i>	mountain peak
<i>lerink^o</i>	mountains, mountain range
<i>ler^onadašt</i>	upland plain
<i>ler^onašt^oi</i>	plateau
<i>lčak</i>	pond, pool, marsh
<i>lič</i>	lake
<i>mana, mant, mand</i>	root denoting the Manaian, Mantian, Manda, or Matian people?
<i>mar, mard</i>	root denoting the Medes, or Mardians, later The Kurds?
<i>mayr</i>	mother
<i>mayrak^oatak^o</i>	metropolis, capital
<i>mayri</i>	woods, forest
<i>marg</i>	meadow, field
<i>mec</i>	great
<i>mej</i>	middle
<i>mijnaberd</i>	citadel, acropolis
<i>miws</i>	other, another
<i>mok, muk, mes, muš</i>	root denoting the Mycian (or Mushkian?) people?
<i>mta</i>	mountain (Geo.)
<i>nahang</i>	state
<i>nerk^oin</i>	lower
<i>nist</i>	seat, residence, site

<i>ostan</i>	court, capital, residence
<i>ors</i>	hunt, catch, prey, booty, wild, fierce
<i>otn</i>	foot
<i>pahak</i>	fortified pass, sentry, post, watch
<i>pala, pała</i>	see <i>bala, bała</i>
<i>p'arax</i>	sheepfold, stall
<i>pars</i>	root denoting the Persians
<i>parisp</i>	wall, rampart, bulwark
– <i>pet</i>	suffix denoting 'chief' 'main', 'head'
<i>p'ok'r</i>	lesser
<i>p'or</i>	gorge, ravine
<i>p'orak</i>	small gorge
<i>řot</i>	river
<i>rud</i>	river (Per.)
<i>sahman</i>	border, limit, boundary
<i>sak, řak</i>	root denoting the Scythians (Saka)
<i>sala, řt-</i>	root denoting the Sala people?
<i>sar</i>	rock, mountain peak (Per.)
<i>řat</i>	joy, much, many
<i>řen</i>	village, locality
<i>řenk'</i>	building
<i>sev</i>	black
<i>řida</i>	inner (Geo.)
<i>řinik</i>	small village, hamlet
<i>řpitak</i>	white
<i>řtorin</i>	lower
<i>řurb</i>	holy, saint, sacred
<i>tačar</i>	temple, palace, hall
<i>tak</i>	underside, root, stem
<i>t'at</i>	urban quarter, neighborhood
<i>tap'</i>	plain, field
<i>tapan</i>	tomb
<i>t'ar</i>	perch, roost
<i>treť, tr</i>	see <i>dar, dr</i>
<i>tu-k'</i>	(uncertain)
<i>tumb</i>	dam, dike, weir, wall
<i>tun</i>	house, noble family, land, dynasty
– <i>uk</i>	diminutive suffix
– <i>uni</i>	Urtian locative suffix? ²
– <i>ut</i>	collective suffix ³
<i>vačar</i>	market, bazaar
<i>van</i>	place, habitation, dwelling
<i>vank'</i>	monastery

2 Hüb.:342; Kar (1932:156) Akinyan (1947:438); Bănăteanu (1960:73-101); Godel (1970:154); Greppin (1973).
3 Greppin (1975).

<i>varaz</i>	wild boar
<i>vayr</i>	place
<i>vaz</i>	course, way, track, path; fissure, break
<i>verin</i>	upper
<i>věž</i>	drop, precipice
<i>virk', vr</i>	root denoting the East Georgians (Iberians, K'art'lians)
<i>xáč'</i>	cross
<i>xevi</i>	valley (Geo.)
<i>xoragoyñ</i>	very deep, bottom
<i>zemo</i>	upper (Geo.)

APPENDIX X

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO THE NOTES

P. 26, n. 99. The other mss. 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.

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 AŠX (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 of S 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 Fortunate Arabia. M 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, n. 5. 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 *awcač'ap* 'air measured' means refers to measurements made through the use of observations made through the atmosphere (ibid.: 85).

81, n. 41. Gulbekian (1989:83) accepts '143' pointing out that the Armenian letter-numerals Գ and Դ are easily confused.

n. 42. *Getnatč'ap* 'land measured', i.e. measured agrimesorally as by Roman officials called *agrimesores*, who measured distances by means of a special wheel attached to a carriage (Vitruvius, *de Architectura* X.9, quoted by Gulbekian (1989:85).

n. 46. The *mas* '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 1/28, 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 *Ōxelana* (VI.12.5) is possibly the Indian city of Ujjain called '*Ujjahini*' 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 Orymagdos is either of the two small rivers entering the Mediterranean to the east of Anemourion; the Kalykadnos is the Gök-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.

n. 84. Mt. Olympos 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 than 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 '*Protē Armenia*'; YK: '*Protawn Armenia*'.

106, n. 7. Strabo (XI.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.4.14), over a century later, rather less critically, quotes the figure of 300 from Timosthenes, adding that the tribes each spoke a different language and that the Romans there employed a staff of 130 interpreters. For Kroukasis see Mark. "Woher" p. 37, where he sees in this name the old Scythian **xrohu-kasi*, 'eisschimmernd', i.e. 'ice-glistened'.

111, n. 29. The Ap'selk' are cited by Pliny (VI.4.14) as the *Absilae*; by Arrian (Periplus, 15): *Apsilai*; by Procopius (Goth., VIII.3.3): *Apsilai* (and at VIII.10.1, as subjects of the Laz); and especially by Agathias (II.15.18), *passim*): *Apsilai*. They would appear to have been a subdivision of the Abkhaz or a closely related tribe.

n. 31. According to Procopius (Goth., VIII.4.4), Sebastoupolis was garrisoned by the Romans into his own time but had been abandoned by the time he was writing his History.

116, n. 81. Bibliography on the Lesgians (inadvertently omitted): *Materialy* 1908; Baddeley 1908; Luzbetak 1951; Akimova 1952; Kolarz 1953; YD 1954; Bennigsen and D'Encausse, 1957; Adighe 1957; Khovsen and Khashaev 1958; Geiger 1959; NK 1960; Lezginy: 503-19; YN IV:528-44; Kolarz 1967; Alibekov 1967-69; Magomedov 1971; Catford 1977; Hewsen 'Lesgians'; Akiner 1983:138-42; Bennigsen and Wimbush 1985:160ff.).

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 *Akampsis* is the 'native' (i.e. Tzan) name for the river Boas (Çoruh). Elsewhere (VIII.2.6), he says that the Boas flows from Tzanika.

134, n. 28. Procopius (Goth. VIII.2.4), cites the Moskhoi as a people subject to the Iberians.

135, n. 35. There is some difference of opinion as to name of the district of Tiflis. The text of the AŠX (IV.20) says that the Georgian capital lay in Paruar, but Eremyan (1963, Map), locates Tiflis on the right bank of the Kur in Ĵel(e)t'; and later (1979, map) places it on the left bank of the river on the border of Mtkuris-xevi and Kxoēt'. 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; AĴjn, which is Balēš; Toroyberank' (*sic*), which is Hizan; Korčēk' which is Pawhtank'? (text unclear) and Satax; Parskahayk' which is Malmtank', HaĴbak', SaĴamas, Ormi [and] Ošni; Vaspurakan, [which is] Van and Vostan and their districts, [and] Gnunik', Amuk and Berkri; Siwnik' [which is] Xač'ēnk' and their districts, P'aytakaran, which is Tp'xis; [and] Ayrrarat, which is Erewan. The late date of these glosses is demonstrated by the mention of Xizan, 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 P'aytakaran 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 P'aytakaran with Partaw. Later in the text, E identifies Muzur with Kamax, which actually lay in Daranali, and Šatgom (*sic*) with Baberd, which we know lay in Sper. I did not consider it necessary to

cite 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 *AŠX*.

152, n. 14. Eremyan (1963, map), does not consider the *Miws* Gayl to be so-called in contradistinction to the Gayl that is now called the Kelkit-*çayi*, whose course obviously lay outside of Greater Armenia, but rather as opposed to the lower course of the Munzur/Mnjur River, which lower course he calls the Gayl. Adontz, however, calls attention to the fact that Aa (786) specifically tells us that St. Gregory, journeying from Erez (Erzincan) to the village of T'il, 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 Smbatawan with Baberd.

160, n. 46. For discussions of the sources and course of the Tigris in Armenia, see Mark. (*Südarmerien, passim*), Hübschmann (1904:202, 310), and Sinclair (III:258-309). The modern view is that the main source of the river is the westernmost flowing from Lake Hazar (formerly *Gölcük*); 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 Arest (whence the name *Aretissa*, now the river called Bendamahi-*chai*), entering the Lake at Bargiri, to be the source, which he saw as emerging at Pliny's Elegosine (the swamp in Erework' called *Ełigi* by the *AŠX*: IV.22.iv) on the south shore of the lake between Ostan and Tatvan, 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 **Zaroanda*?), 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. Sinclair (III.381) identifies Byzantine *Khloamarōn* – the city not the fort – with Arzan.

167, n. 98. The Armenian version of St. John Chrysostom says that Herodias was as bloody as the *nhang*-s of the sea. *Nhang* means 'alligator' or 'cayman' in Armenian but here, obviously, a sea-serpent.

169, n. 109. In a private communication, T. A. Sinclair has offered a new possible location for the illusive land of Rehimēnē. Noting that the Armenian sound for 'ջ' (the Engl. 'j'; Fr. 'dj'), causes a problem in Classical languages, he suggests that the River Ĵerm, which gave its name to the district of Ĵermajor, and which gave Pliny (VI.30.118) his *Zerbis* and Agathias (IV.29.8) his *Zirma*, might also have produced a basic form 'ERM' upon which Syrian *Beth Rehime* and GK *Rehim-ēnē* (both for the district) might have been based. In support of this he notes the existence of an Ottoman town called Eruh (now the village of Eskieruh), in the valley of the modern Zarva-(or Zorava) *suyu* (a left – i.e., southern –) tributary of the Bohtan-*su* (the ancient Ĵerm) in an area just south of where Eremyan places the district of Ĵermajor. To this may be added the fact that in Ottoman times this area was known as *Arva* or *Eyrun*. In response to Sinclair, I would offer the counter-suggestion that Rehime occupied not the valley of the Ĵerm but rather the valley of the Zarva, itself, which not only includes the former town of Eruh but – much more suggestively – a village called *Rehina*. When one considers the attested shift from 'm' to 'n' between Syriac and Armenian (e.g. Syr. *Maipherqat* becoming Arm. *Np'rkert*), Syriac *Rehime* (picked up in Gk as *Rehim-ēnē*) could possibly give an Armenian *Rehina*. Such a location in the Zarva valley, it might be added, suits the position of Rehimēnē in the list of territories retroceded to Iran by the Romans in 363 as given by AM (XXV.7.9: *Arzanenam et Moxoenam et Zabdicenam, itidemque Rehimenam et Corduenam*...). The other four lands are all well-known and are all listed from west to east. The place of Rehimēnē in the list of AM thus supports the possible location of it in the Zarva valley.

n. 209. The Arak's; Gk; *Araxes* (Strabo, XV.3.6.), or *Eras* (*ibid.*, II.6.16); Lat. *Araxes* (Pliny, VI.16); Geo. *Raski* (EB); Arab.: *al-Rass*; Tk.: *Aras*, is the principal river of Armenia and as 'Mayr Arak's' 'Mother Arax' has become a national symbol. A rapid, unnavigable stream, it is over 600 miles

long (EB and EI). According to Strabo (XI.4.3.), the rivers Araxes and Kyros (Kur), had separate mouths in his time (as indicated here in the *AŠX*), and Ptolemy (V.12.3), writing c. 125 years later, says the same. At present the Arax enters both the Kur and the Caspian, having cut a direct channel through to the sea in 1897 (Pliny, *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 Arax – Erasx (gen. *Erasxay*) – allows one to take as a point of departure the form *Raxsa*; a hypothesis supported by the Georgian wherein the same river bears the name *Raxsi*; Gk: *Araxes*... reflecting thus the middle-Median pronunciation of the name of this river *Araxs."

174, nn. 124-25-26. While rereading TA as part of another project, a passage was encountered (I.8) that states clearly that the fortress of Ĵımay lay in Lesser Ałbak. This means that Lesser Ałbak could not have lain in the tiny valley of the Masiro *Deresi* (stream), as indicated by Eremyan (33), but must have lain along the course of the Zab upon which we know Ĵımay (Cölemerik, now Hakkari) lay. Thus, Eremyan's large district of Čahuk must be abbreviated on the east so as to make room for Lesser Ałbak along the stretch of the Zab that included Ĵımay. By the same token, since we know from TA (IV.2) that Orsirank' was a valley, it cannot have lain in the mountains north of the Plain of Gevar as indicated in n. 124 but must have lain a little further to the north precisely in the small valley of the Masiro *Deresi*. This is supported by the only other mention of Orsirank' in TA (III.4) where we read: [they] crossed to the land of Orsirank'... encamped on the mountain above the village of T'uay, in its valley called the Lake of Blood." Since the village of T'uay (modern; *Tuvani*) still exists on the southern slopes of the mountain called *Mor Dađi*, and the Lake of Blood is clearly the present swamp in the Plain of Gevar, it seems clear that Orsirank' lay in the valley to the north of this mountain and this is the valley of the Masiro.

222, n. 73. This passage makes no sense in the ms. and neither Soukry (15/13) nor Eremyan (1972:220) were able to do much with it. Soukry, however (transl., p. 49, n. 4), basing himself on Ptolemy (V.17.3), *Para de tēn oreimēn tēs Eudaimonos 'Arabias, oi 'Rhaithēnoi*, corrects the passage to read: "Near the mountains of Fortunate Arabia are the Raithenoi," and this may well be what Pappos had in mind. Since the passage deals with Rocky Arabia, the reference to Fortunate Arabia is difficult to explain unless our author had in mind the mountains that separate Rocky Arabia from the latter.

226, n. 1. I am indebted to Prof. J.R. Russell for many valuable suggestions and bibliographical references regarding the following notes on the Sasanian Empire.

A number of systems exist for the transliteration of Iranian Inaguages and the *CHIr* follows the usage of the individual contributors to its volumes, while the *EIr* has not yet published enough fascicles to allow one to determine the accepted form for a given term when one does not know the language in question. In these notes the author has attempted to be consistent but has usually followed the system found in his sources.

The *Bundahišn* is actually a Sasanian translation of largely Avestan material and so must have had its origin before the fourth century B. C. It contains, however, more recent interpolations. The edition and translation cited is that of B. Anklesaria.

The term *Kustak* is from Mİr. *kustag* 'side'.

Markwart, an Alsatian, spelled his name Marquart until the First World War. Each citation of his name is given according to how it appears in the work in question.

227, n. 1. Barthold (1968) cites some of these names under the following forms: (Ch. I): Balkh, Tūkhāristān, (II): Marw, (IV): Sistān, (V): Khurāsān, (VII): Ray and Hamadān, (VIII): Kirmān, Makrān, (IX): Fārs, (X): Işfahān, (XIV): Azerbaijan. Boyce's Engl. trans. of the Middle Persian *Letter of Tansar* (1968), a Sasanian text, has the following: (p. 63): Adarbaigān, Toxaristān, (29): Māh Bastām, (30): Pārs and (21, *passim*): Tabaristān.

n. 2. Frye (222) takes *bdeašx* as 'second ruler' (**dwvitya-xšaya-*) but contradicts himself elsewhere. Bailey (1980: 27 n. 2 to line 9) derives the word from Phl *bitaxš*, from OIr. *axš* 'observe' and *paiti* 'chief,' i.e. 'overseer'; cf. Av. *aiwaiaxšaya-* 'superintendent'. For a full bibliography of this term see Garsoian (1989:516). *Nobodares* also appears as a proper name. I am indebted to J.R. Russell for bringing all of this to my attention.

n. 3. For Zabulistan, see Russell, "A Wandering Herder of Camels", *AAL* (1987).

n. 6. For Balasakan, which has specific Armenian interest, see M.-L. Chaumont & C. E. Bosworth "Balasakan" *EIr.* III:580-02.

234, n. 16. Susa was known in the Sasanian period as *Ērān-Khwarra-Šābuhr*, built on the site of the earlier city by Šābuhr II (Sapor, 309-379). *CHI* 3 (1):lxiv.

n. 18. Gundēšābuhr is the Sasanian city of *Veh Antiōk Šābuhr* '[A] Better [City] than Antiokh [has been made by King] Šābühr', founded by Šābühr I (240-272?), *CHI* 3 (1):lxiv.

n. 21. Stahr = Mlr. *Staxr*; Artašir = Mlr. *Ardešir*.

n. 22. Pasargadai 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 stūn* '100 columns'.

n. 26. *Dank* is from Persian *dāng*. The names of the 'precious stones' from (7) through (10) mean, respectively, *haft* 'seven', *hašt* 'eight', *nō* 'nine' and *dah* 'ten' drahms. (I am indebted to Prof. Russell for bringing this to my attention).

235, n. 33. Vrkan = *Gorgān* (Russell).

n. 34. Vehrot = *Weh Rōd* (Russell).

n. 35. Golden (private communication) cautions against confusing the Indo-European languages Agnean 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 Yüeh-chih/Tatüeh-chih, Gk: *Tokharoi*), of Tukharistan. The relationship between the two 'Tocharians,' he points out, are by no means clear (cf. Narain 1987; and Golden 1960 for the Yüeh-chih and saka migrations). The *CHI*, 3 (1):275, identifies the Tokharians with the Yüeh-chih of Chinese sources or at least with a part of them.

n. 37. Mark. "Woher" p. 37 sees in the ethnonym *Skythēs* the North Iranian *sku-ča* 'Scalp-hunters.'

236, n. 56. Bailey (quoted by Russell in a pvt communication) derives Hephthalite from Ir. *haitala* 'strong' (*supra*, n. 207 A).

238, n. 96. *Maraxnman* 'like a locust', which is the meaning taken by Soukry, but other mss. containing this word (and not all of them do), such as A and E, have *marxnman* 'like a resinous pine', which makes more sense in this context.

261, n. 173 A. According to Widengren (*CHI* 3(2):1268), the term *rōdastak* refers to a valley or an administrative unit. Ut-rostak would thus mean 'Uti District' as opposed to Uti the land, which makes sense given the district's alternate name of *Uti Aranjnak* 'Uti Proper'.

266, n. 205 A. Peroznahčēr = *Pērōz naxčār* 'Peroz's Hunt'.

271, n. 17. Ananias is called Ananias of Ani (*Anania Anec'i*) by YK (XX.15), and Ananias Širakuni (*Anania Širakuni*) by VA (*History*, 36), as if Širakuni was a proper surname.

284, n. 13. For the recent controversial hypothesis of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov that the Indo-European speakers originated on the Armenian plateau, see their works (1980, 1984) as well as D'iakonov's rejoinder (1982), in both the *Bibliography* and its *Supplement* in this work.

Map XXV. For *Dēbuhl* read: *Debuhēl*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Note: Abbreviations of sources and of names of their authors are found in the Bibliography under I. Sources. Abbreviations of names of modern authors are explained in the Note to the Commentary.)

A	<i>Armeniaca, mélanges des études arméniennes</i> (Venice)
(A)	Queen Anne codex of the Georgian Annals (Tbilisi, 1942)
AAL	<i>Annual of Armenian Linguistics</i> (Cleveland, OH)
AAPF	<i>Arcotos. Acta philosophica Fennica</i> (Helsinki)
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
AAWB	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
ABAWM	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Schwartz, E. ed. (Berlin, 1914)
AEHE	<i>Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études</i> (Paris)
AbI	<i>Abstracta Iranica</i> (Leiden)
AcI	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (Leiden)
AG	<i>Ars Georgica</i> (Tbilisi)
AH	<i>Acta Historica</i> (Munich)
AHPPT	<i>Ašxatut'yunner Hayastan Petakan Patmakan T'angarani</i> (Erevan)
AIPHO	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels)
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago)
AKGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
AM	<i>Azgayin Matenadaran/Nationalbibliothek</i> (Vienna)
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (Berlin)
Anad.	<i>Anadolu</i> , (succeeds <i>Anatolia</i>) (Ankara)
Ana.	<i>Anatolia</i> (Ankara)
Anat.	<i>Anatolica</i> (Leiden)
AnO	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i> (Rome)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang des römischen Welt</i> (Berlin/New York)
Antiq.	<i>Antiquity</i> (Cambridge, Engl.)
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Copenhagen)
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i> (Budapest)
AP	<i>Arkhaion Pontou</i> (Athens)
AQ	<i>Armenian Quartely</i> (New York)
Ar	<i>Armeniaca</i> (Leipzig)
Archa.	<i>Archaeology</i> (Boston)
Arche.	<i>Archeologia</i> (Dijon)
ARBBL	<i>Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin Classe des Lettres</i> (Brussels)
AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> (Ankara/London)
ASE	<i>Azerbaichan Soviet Encyclopediyasy</i> (Baku)
ASFL	<i>Acta Salmatica de filosofia y letras</i> (Salamanca)

- ASGW *Abhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Dresden)
 ASKAK *Akty sobranniye kavkazskogo arkhograficheskoyu kommissieyu* (Tiflis)
 ASSC *Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia*
 At *Ararat* (Ejmiacin)
 AW *Antike Welt* (Zürich)
- B *Byzantion* (Brussels)
 BA *Bulletin arménologique. Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph* (Beirut)
 BAR *British Archaeological Reports. International Series* (Oxford)
 Barc. *Byzantinisches Archiv* (Munich)
 Ber *Berytus* (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 *Bédi Karthlisa. Revue de Karthvélologie* (Paris)
 BM *Bamber Matenadarani* (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) *Eraj Čalašvili codex of the Georgian Annals* (Tbilisi, 1940).
 Ca *Caucasiaca* (Leipzig)
 CAH *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, Engl.)
 CAJ *Central Asiatic Journal* (London)
 CaR *Caucasian Review* (Munich)
 CERP *A. H. M. Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937)
 CGFAL *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library* (Lisbon)
 CHA *Collection d'histories arméniens*, Brosset, M.-F. 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/Divan Hay Vimagrut'yan* (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 Byzantinae* (Bonn)
- D *W. Dittenberger, Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig)
 DAA *Documenti di Architettura Armenia* (Milan)

- 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 Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR* (BAku)
 DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, D. C.)
 DRPZ *Dokumenty po russkoi politikev Zakavkazi* (Baku).
- EB 11 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (London)
 EESE *Etudes d'éthnographie, de sociologie et d'éthnologie* (Paris)
 EB 15 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (New York)
 EI *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden)
 EIr *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York)
 Ej *Ejmiacin* (Ejmiacin)
 EO *Echos d'Orient* (Paris)
 EWA *Encyclopedia of World Art*
- FGH *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Müller, C. ed. (Paris)
 FO *Folia Orientalia* (Krakow)
 FS *Folia Slavica* (Columbus, Ohio)
- G *Georgica* (London)
 GJ *Geographical Journal* (London)
 GI *Globus* (Brunswick)
 GSE *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Engl. transl. (New York)
 GT *Grakan T'ert'* (Erevan)
 GGM *Geographi Graeci Minores*, Müller, C. ed. (Paris)
 G46 *Office of Geography, U. S. Department of the Interior, Gazetteer No. 46: Turkey* (Washington).
- H *Hask* (Beirut)
 HA *Handēs Amsorya* (Vienna)
 HDCLA *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Archaeology* (New York)
 HAB *Hay azgagrut'yun ew banayusut'yun* (Erevan)
 HJ *Hayreniki jayn* (Erevan)
 HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
 HSH *Haykakan sovetakan hanragitaran* (Erevan)
 HTB *Hayastani ew harakic' šrjanneri telanunneri bašaran* (Erevan)
 HZP *Hay zofovrđi patmut'yun* (Erevan)
- IA *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul)
 IAFAN *Izvestiya Armyanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Erevan)
 IANA *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Armyanskoi SSR* (Erevan)
 IANAZ *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR* (Baku)
 IANG *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoi SSR* (Tbilisi)
 IANS *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow)

- IK *Izvestiya Kavkazskogo imperatorskago russkago geograficheskogo obshchestva* (Tiflis)
 IKIAI *Izvestiya Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkeologicheskogo Instituta* (Tbilisi)
 IKO *Izvestiya Kavkazskogo Otdelenie Imp. Moskovskago Arkeologicheskogo Obshchestva* (Moscow)
 IM *Imago Mundi: A Review of Early Cartography* (Stockholm/Leiden)
 Ir *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (London)
 IZAN *Istoricheski Zapiski Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow)
- JA *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
 JAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (Bonn)
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, Conn)
 JAS *Journal of Armenian Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
 JIS *Journal of Iranian Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
 JOB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* (Vienna)
 JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
 JRCAS *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (London)
 JRS *Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
 JSAS *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (Los Angeles)
 JSSC *Journal of the Society for Caucasian Studies* (Chicago)
 JTS *Journal of Turkish Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- K *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leiden)
 KAO *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (Munich)
 Kav *Kavkaz* (Tiflis)
 KES *Kavkazski Etnograficheskii sbornik* (Tiflis)
 KK *Kavkazski kalendar* (Tiflis)
 KRO *Kabardino-russkie otnosheniya*
 KS *Kavkazski sbornik* (Tiflis)
 KSINA *Kratkie Soobshcheniie Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow)
 KV *Khristianskii Vostok* (St. Petersburg)
- L *Latomus* (Brussels)
 LCL *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge, Mass.)
 LdesM *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich)
 LeM *Le Muséon* (Louvain)
 LM *Lukasean Matenadaran* (Tiflis)
 LTK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg i/B)
 LOS *London Oriental Series*
 Lr *Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yun* (Erevan)
 L.S. *Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford)
- (M) *Queen Mary codex of the Georgian Annals*. (Tiflis, 1906)
 Mansi *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Florence/Venice, new ed. Paris)
- MAIP *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Science de St. Petersburg*
 MAK *Matrialy po arkeologii kavkazsa*, Uvarova, P.S. ed. (Moscow)

- MBAK *Monatsberichte der berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 MDGKO *Morgenländische Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin)
 MERSH *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (Gulf Breeze, Fla.)
 MERSL *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Literature* (Gulf Breeze, Fla.)
 MERSR *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet Religion* (Gulf Breeze, Fla.)
 MG *Materiali po Arkeologii Kavkaza* (Moscow)
 MK *Materiali po Izucheniya Gruzii* (Tiflis)
 MSE *Masalebi Sak'art'velos Etnograp'usatvis* (Tbilisi)
 MSKA *Masalebi Sak'art'velos Kavkavsiis Arkeologisatvis* (Tbilisi)
 MTA *A Magyar Tudományok Akademia nyelv-es iroldalomtudományi osztályának Közleményei* (Budapest)
 MUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* (Beirut)
 MVG *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- NBHL *Nor baġirk' haykazean lezvi*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1836)
 ND *Narody Dagestana* (Moscow)
 New EI *New Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden)
 NK *Narody Kavkaz* (Moscow)
 NV *Novy Vostok* (Moscow)
- O *Orientalia* (Rome)
 OCa *Orientalia Christiana*
 OCp *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Vatican City)
 OCs *Oriens Christianus* (Leipzig)
 OID *Ocherki Istorii Dagestana*
 OS *Orientalia Suecana* (Uppsala)
- P *Pazmaveb* (Venice)
 Po *P'orj* (Tiflis)
 PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London)
 PBH *Patma-banasirakan Handēs* (Erevan)
 PG *Patrologia cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1857-1866)
 PL *Patrologia cursus completus. Series latina*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1844-1855).
 PM *Petermann's Mitteilungen* (Gotha)
 PO *Patrologia Orientalis*, Graffin, R. and Nau, F. eds. (Paris, 1903)
 PP *La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi Classici* (Naples)
 PrO *Przelad Orientalistyczny* (Warsaw)
 PW *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll (Stuttgart)
- Q *Qauč'išvili ed. of the Georgian Chronicle (K'art'lis C'xovreba)* I (Tiflis, 1955); II (1959).
 Qub. *S. Qubanišvili, ŷveli k'art'uli litaraturis k'restomat'ia* I (Tiflis, 1946).
- RB *Revue des Bibliothèques* (Paris)
 REA *Revue des Études Arméniennes* (Paris, 1920-1933; New Series 1964, in prog.)
 REAnc *Revue des Études Anciennes* (Bordeaux)

REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> (Paris)
REGC	<i>Revue des Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes</i> (Paris)
REIE	<i>Revue des Études Indo-Européens</i>
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i> (Paris)
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i> (Paris)
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain)
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> (Paris)
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i> (Paris)
RSJB	<i>Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin</i> (Paris)
S	<i>Syria</i> (Paris)
SAG	<i>Studien zur armenischen Geschichte</i> (Vienna)
SAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna).
SBAWM	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München.</i>
SBOMPK	<i>Sbornik Materialov dlya Opisanii Mestnostei i Plemen Kavkaza</i> (Tiflis)
SC	<i>Studia Caucasia</i> (The Hague).
SH	<i>Sop'erk' Haykakank'</i> (Venice).
Si	<i>Sion</i> (Jerusalem).
SIA	<i>Studia Instituti Anthropolos</i> (Vienna).
SM	<i>Sbornik materialov dlya opisaniia miestnostei i plemen Kavkaza</i> (Tiplis)
SMM	<i>Sak'art'velos Muzeumis Moambe</i> (Tbilisi).
SP	<i>Studia Pontica</i>
SphKAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philos.-hist. Klasse</i> (Vienna)
SSK	<i>Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkaze</i> (Tiflis)
SSKG	<i>Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazskikh Gortsakh</i> (Tiflis)
SR	<i>Slavonic Review</i>
ST	<i>Studie i Testi</i> (Vatican City)
SV	<i>Sovetskoi Vostokovedeniye</i> (Moscow).
SZAG	<i>Studien zur armenischen Geschichte</i> (Vienna).
T	<i>Traditio</i> (New York)
T'	<i>T'eodik, Amenum Tarec'oyc'ë</i> (Constantinople)
TAR	<i>The Armenian Review</i> (Boston-Cambridge, Mass.).
TAVO	<i>Tübingen Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i> (Wiesbaden)
TRAGF	<i>Teksty i razyskaniya po armyano-gruzinskoi filologii</i> (St. Petersburg)
TUM	<i>Tp'ლისი Universitetis Moambe</i> (Tbilisi)
Tur	<i>Turcia</i> (Paris).
UAJ	<i>Ural-altaische Jahrbücher</i> (Bloomington, Indiana)
USAF AAC	<i>United States Air Force Aeronautical Approach Chart</i> (1:250,000).
USAF ANC	<i>United States Air Force Air Navigational Chart</i> (1:2,188,800).
USAF JNC	<i>United States Air Force Jet Navigational Chart</i> (1:2,000,000).
USAF ONC	<i>United States Air Force Operational Navigation Chart</i> (1:1,000,000).
USAF PC	<i>United States Air Force Pilotage Chart</i> (1:500,000).

USAF WAC	<i>United States Air Force World Aeronautical Chart</i> (1:1,000,000).
UZL	<i>Uchenie Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta</i> (Leningrad).
(V)	<i>King Vaxtang VI redaction of the Georgian Chronicle</i> (K'art'lis C'xovreba).
VANA	<i>Vestnik Akademii Nauk Armyanskaya SSR</i> (Erevan).
VBAG	<i>Verhandlungen der berlinischen anthropologischen Gesellschaft.</i>
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VI	<i>Voprosy Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VIA	<i>Voprosy Yazykoznaniiya.</i> (Moscow).
Vo	<i>Vostok</i> (Leningrad).
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremmenik</i> (St. Petersburg, 1894-1928; Leningrad, since 1947).
WO	<i>Welt des Orients</i> (Göttingen).
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Vienna).
XM	<i>Xorbordin Mankavarz</i> (Erevan).
Z	<i>T'. Žordania, K'roniki da sxva masal Sak'art'velos istoriisa</i> (Tiflis).
ZAP	<i>Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie</i> (Marburg).
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Wiesbaden).
ZE	<i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.</i>
ZGE	<i>Zeitschrift d. Gesellschaft für Erdkunde</i> (Berlin).
ZIV	<i>Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenie Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Moscow).
ZK	<i>Zapiski Kavkazskago otdela Imp. Russkago geograficheskago Obshchestva</i> (Tiflis)
ZKO	<i>Zapiski Klassicheskago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZKavO	<i>Zapiski Kavkazskago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZMNP	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Proveshcheniya</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZVO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung.</i>

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- A. C. *Ananun Žamanakagrut'iwñ* [Anonymous Chronicle] B. Sargisian ed. (Venice 1904).
- Ael. Spart. Aelius Spartianus. *Vita Hadriani. Scriptores historiae augustae*. ed. *LCL*.
- Aesch. Prom. Aeschylus. *Prometheus vincetus*. ed. *LCL*.
- AG see "Agat'angelos", Ag.
- Agat'. see "Agat'angelos". Agat'.
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- AI *Antonine Itinerary. Imperatoris Antonii. Augusti Itineraria Provinciarum et Maritimum* in *Itineraria Romana* I. O. Cuntz. ed. (Leipzig, 1929).
- AL Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, *Patmut'iwñ Aristakēay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy* [History of the vardapet Aristakēs of Lastivert]. (Venice. 1844); K. E. Yuzbasyan ed., (Erevan, 1963). Fr. Trans.: *Histoire d'Arménie . . .* par Arisdaquès de Lasdiverd, M. E. Prud'homme (Paris. 1864); by Canard and Bérbérian (Paris, 1974).
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INDEX

Because of the size of this work, it has been thought best to divide the *Index* into five parts: I. *Geography*, II. *Ethnonymy*, III. *Persons*, IV. *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, dynasties, 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 *Ašxarhac'oyc'*, 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" forms 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 in the *Introduction*, translations and notes, 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 forms are attested) 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 forms, where such exist, or in their Classical Greek and Latin forms (depending upon which of the two appears in the text and notes) where they do not. Thus, all references to *Egyptos* or *Msr*, are indexed under *Egypt*; references to West Georgia under the name *Kotk'is*, *Lazika*, *Imeret'i*, etc., are indexed under the latter forms. 4) Where other forms found in the text differ significantly from the preferred ones, these variants are indexed and cross-referenced to the main entry. 5) When variant forms are close enough to the preferred form to be easily recognized, they have been ignored. 6) Limitations of space have precluded our indexing the notes to the same degree that was possible for the earlier portions of the work, i.e. the *Introduction* and the translations. I have not thought it necessary to index the main entries of each toponym, ethnonym or personal name found in the notes to the translations since these are effectively indexed by the note number found within the translations themselves. On the other hand, we have attempted to index all toponyms, ethnonyms, personal names and other terms found *within* the notes as we have done for the *Introduction* and the translations, omitting only the variant forms of a given toponym found therein. Incorrect forms of names, copyist's errors, etc. have not normally been indexed lest their presence convey the idea that these are valid alternative forms rather than the errors that they are.

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IV. INDEX OF FOREIGN TERMS

- All terms are Armenian unless otherwise specified: (A) = Arabic, (C) = Chinese, (F) = French, (G) = Greek, (Geo.) = Georgian, (Ger.) = German, (L) = Latin, (M) = Malay, (P) = Persian, (R) = Russian (S) = Sanskrit, (Sc) = Scythian, (T) = Turkish, (U) Udin, (?) = uncertain. A glossary of specifically geographical terms is found in Appendix IX.
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 Arya (S) 'excellent', 235 n. 27.
 Asac'eal 'said', 75 n. 16.
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 Asparēz 'stadion', 43, 43A, 76A, 78 n. 5, 81 n. 39.
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 Astlabaxč'xakan Erkrač'ap'ut'iwn 'astronomical geography', 10.
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