Moses Khorenats'ı

History of the Armenians

Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources by

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Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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1. Reply to Sahak's letter and promise to fulfill his request

ROM Moses Khorenats'i to Sahak Bagratuni, greetings, at the beginning of this work concerning our people.

Through your estimable request I have realized the unfailing effusion of divine grace upon you and the constant activity of the Spirit on your understanding, having come to know your soul before your person. Your request is dear to my interests and especially to my profession. Therefore it is not only right to praise you but also to pray on your behalf that such you may ever remain.

For if on account of our reason, as it is said, we are the image of God, and furthermore if the virtue of a rational being lies in

* Genealogy: tsnndabanut'iwn, a calque on the Greek γενεαλογία, “pedigree,” used as a title for a work of Hecataeus (LSJ, s.v.) and for the book of Genesis in Chronicon Paschale. Cf. text p. 7: tsnndabanelov azgabanits'emk'. Cf. also the use of “archaeology” in I 6 n. 1.

Greater Armenia: Hayots' metsats', the usual form to distinguish Greater from Lesser Armenia. Cf. I 29 Hayots' metsats' ew p'ok'unts'. Malkhasyants' translates: Hayots' metseri “of the great[est] Armenians,” and Mkryan, BEH 1968, p. 33, stresses that this work is a history of the Armenian people. But I retain the equivalent “Greater Armenia” because in this first book Moses describes the settlement of Armenians in Ayrarat and Van, and Lesser Armenia is not his concern.

1. Man as image of God through his rational faculty: cf. I Cor. 2:7 and esp. the patristic exegesis of Gen. 1:26–7; Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. elados III B. For an elaboration in Armenian see Thomson, Teaching §264.
intellection and you have an assiduous desire for these matters, then by keeping alive and aflame the spark of your intellect by such noble discernment, you ornament reason, whereby you remain in the image. Thus you may be said to make reason’s archetype rejoice, being moved and stirred to this goal by a noble yet moderated passion.

In which regard this too I see, that if those who before us or even in our own time were the nobles and princes of Armenia neither gave similar commands to those wise men who were under their authority to compose histories, nor thought of bringing in from outside the assistance of wise men—now that we have realized that you are so disposed it is clear that you must be recognized as superior to all your predecessors and worthy of the greatest praise and deserving of inscription in such a monument as this.

So having received your request with pleasure, I shall labor to bring it to completion in order to leave this as an immortal memorial to you and your descendants to come. For your family is an ancient one, valiant and fertile not only in words and useful counsels but also in great and numerous glorious deeds that we shall record in the course of this history when we shall trace all the genealogies from father to son. Indeed I shall describe briefly but faithfully the origin and formation of all the Armenian noble families as these are found in certain Greek histories.

2. For intellection (khohakanut’iwn) as one of the four virtues, see Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. φόρμας 1b.

3. The last two paragraphs are based on Philo, De Providentia (in Bank’erek’) and Quaestiones in Genesin; see Khalatiants’, Arshakidy, p. 562 n. 1, and Nor Bargirk’, s.v. кхохаканутиуи. Note especially Philo, Quaestiones In Gen. I 13, where φόρμας is defined as a faculty of the rational element.

4. Cf. I 3 for Sahak as the supposed first patron of any Armenian historical work.

5. Inscription in such a monument: dnel yardsanagrut’iwns banits’. Ardsanagrut’iwn is not used before Moses for a historical work (according to the Nor Bargirk’). Moses has invented a term for “written account” (grut’iwn) based on ardsan, which renders טֹק לָא; the latter can be used for the “record” as well as the stone slab on which it is inscribed: LSJ, s.v. For a general account of Moses’ innovative vocabulary, see V. D. Arak’elyan, PBH 1975.

6. For the supposed antiquity of the Bagratuni family, cf. I 22, II 5, etc. But see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 306ff, for the Armenian traditions and pp. 320ff for the historical facts.

2. Why we wished to expound our affairs from Greek sources
although they are more frequently mentioned in
Chaldaean and Assyrian books

Let no one be surprised at this, that although, as is clear to all, many nations have histories, especially the Persians and Chaldaeans, in which particularly are found many references to the affairs of our nation, yet we have mentioned only the Greek historians from whom we have promised to present the account of our genealogy. The reason is that not only were the Greek kings, after settling their internal affairs, diligent in transmitting to the Greeks both accounts of their empires and also the results of learned studies—just as that Ptolemy who is also called Philadelphus took care to have the books and stories of all nations translated into Greek1—

(But let no one here consider us to be unlearned and defame us as uneducated and ignorant in that we have described him who was king of Egypt as king of the Greeks. For after he had subdued the Greeks as well under his power he was called king of Alexandria and of the Greeks, whereas none of the Ptolemies or other lords of Egypt was ever so called. It was because of his being particularly philhellene that he rendered his works into Greek. There are also many other similar reasons for our calling him king of the Greeks, but for the sake of abbreviating our account let what we have said about him be sufficient.)

—but also many famous scholars from the land of Greece were concerned not merely to translate into Greek the archives of other nations' kings and temples—as we find the ones who urged to this task Berossus, the Chaldaean skilled in all wisdom2—but

Theon’s Progymnasmata, p. 70, the three virtues of history are hawastut’iwm (faithfulness), hamarawtut’iwm (brevity), and hawanut’iwm (persuasiveness). The Armenian version of this work was known to Moses; see Manandian’s introduction to his edition of Theon, p. 37, and the introduction to this book.

1. The interest of Ptolemy II in the Museum at Alexandria is famous, but Moses’ statement concerning his translations may well be based on the (spurious) tradition that he had the Old Testament translated into Greek (the Septuagint); cf. Aristaeus, Lettre, esp. §§8.

2. Berossus (early third century B.C.) wrote a history of Babylon in Greek. For his importance see article “Berossus” by E. Schwartz in PW, vol. 5 (1897), and more recently Drews, Iraq 1975, and Komoroczy, AA 1973. Moses knew of Berossus from Eusebius, Chronicle: see esp. Aucher, 1:62, for the same expression ayr k’aldeats’i.
also to seek out diligently, wherever they might be, the most important and most admirable artistic works and collect them and translate them into Greek; like $A$ among the $K'$, and $T'$ among the $P'$, and $K$ among the $E$, and $SH$ among the $T'$.

Men whose names we know for certain collected these [literary works] and dedicated them to the glory of the land of the Hellenes. And they are to be praised as philosophers for their efforts and wisdom in becoming seekers after the works of others; and even more to be praised are those who received and honored such discoveries of wise men. Therefore I do not hesitate to call all Greece the mother or nurse of the sciences.

This is sufficient to indicate the usefulness to us of the information in the Greek historians.

3. Concerning the unscholarly habits of our first kings and princes

I do not wish to leave the unscholarly habits of our first ancestors without a word of censure but to insert here at the very beginning of our work the reason for reprehending them. If in truth those kings are worthy of praise who in written accounts fixed and ordered their annals and wise acts and inscribed each one's valor in narratives and histories, then like them the compilers of books of archives who were occupied with similar efforts are worthy of our eulogies. Through these, I say, when we read their accounts we become informed about the course of the world, and we learn about the state of civilization when we peruse such wise discourses and narratives—those of the Chal-

3. These enigmatic first letters have given rise to several explanations, see the apparatus ad loc. and note 4 to Malkhasyants' translation. The most likely explanation is "like Astronomy among the Chaldaeans, and Surveying among the Egyptians, and Mathematics among the Phoenicians, and Music among the Thracians." For these four disciplines cf. David Anyalt', "Sahmank' 17 (Matenagrut'iwnk', esp. p. 105), who gives the same peoples as the inventors of these arts. But Thomas Artsruni, p. 30, says that the Chaldaeans invented writing (giakk' grots').

4. Greece as "mother or nurse": mayr kam dayeak, cf. ll 68 for Byzantium as a place of education. Moses is referring to the secular studies of late antiquity; for Byzantium as a source of Christian learning, see Lazar, pp. 423-5. For the influence of Greek secular studies on Armenian scholars, see Manandian, Yunaban dprots'è; Muradyan, Hunaban dprots'è; and Arevshatyan, Formirovanie.
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daeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hellenes. It is indeed to the wisdom of these men, who undertook such studies, that we aspire.

So then it is clear to us all that our kings and other forefathers were negligent toward scholarship and unconcerned with the life of reason. For although we are a small country and very restricted in numbers, weak in power, and often subject to another's rule, yet many manly deeds have been performed in our land worthy of being recorded in writing; nonetheless not one of these undertook to have them written down. So if they did not think of benefiting themselves and leaving a memorial to their name in the world, how appropriate is our reproach of such men in demanding still greater things of them and [accounts of] what occurred earlier than them.

But then someone might say: it was because there was no writing or literature at the time, or because of the various wars that succeeded each other without a pause.

However, these suggestions are not justified because there were indeed intervals between the wars, and the Persians and Greeks had scripts that today are used among us for books with innumerable accounts of villages and provinces and even private families and of controversies and pacts, especially those that concern the succession of the noble families. But it seems to me that nowadays, just as in the past, the Armenians were not enamored of scholarship or intellectual books. Therefore it is superfluous for us to say anything more about those unlettered, lazy, and barbarous men.

But I am greatly amazed at the fertility of your mind, that from the beginnings of our nation up to the present you alone have been found to undertake such a great task and to present us with this request—to write the history of our nation in a long

2. But see I 8 for Valarshak's supposed interest in the Armenian past.
3. Moses makes much of archives supposedly kept in Armenia; cf. II 10, 27, 38, 66. But on the authenticity of such archives see the introduction to this book and Toumanoff, Studies, p. 105 n. 160.
4. For a similar tirade against his countrymen's lack of interest in scholarship, see Anania Shirakats'i, Matenagr'yuné, pp. 208–9. “Books” renders ergaranats’, not to be taken here in the sense of verbal tales and songs; cf. the introduction to this book.
5. Moses implies that Sahak Bagratuni was the first patron of an Armenian history; cf. the elaboration in Reply to Sahak, Venice ed. of Moses,
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and useful work, to deal accurately with the kings and the princely clans and families: who descended from whom, what each one of them did, which of the various tribes are indigenous and native and which are of foreign origin but naturalized, to set down in writing each one's deeds and times from the time of confusion at the building of the tower up to the present—reckoning this as a noble tribute to you for your glory and untiring delight.  

For which reason I shall say only this. "Is there not a book near to me," as is said in Job [Job 37:20], or the literature of your homeland by means of which, like the Hebrew historians, I can bring down [my account] without error from the beginning as far as you, or starting from you and others work backward to the beginning? Nonetheless I shall begin, though with an effort, provided that one of our countrymen be found who will be grateful for these labors. And I shall begin where the others did who were in the church and Christians, considering it superfluous to repeat the fables of pagans concerning the beginnings, though I shall mention some of the later times and the famous men where the divine Scriptures concur until we necessarily reach the pagan narratives; and from these we shall take whatever we consider reliable.

4. Concerning the fact that other historians are not in agreement about Adam and the other patriarchs

Concerning the root of all mankind, or if it seems better to someone to say the "summit," we must consider briefly why the other historians have views contrary to the Spirit and in disagreement with each other—Berossus I mean, and Polyhistor and Abydenus—over the very builder of the ark and the other patri-
archs, not only concerning their names and times but also by not positing an origin to the human race that is credible to us.

For Abydenus says the following about him, in agreement with the others: “The all-merciful God rewarded him as a shepherd and guide for the people.” Later he says: “Allovros reigned for ten shars”—that is for thirty-six thousand years. Similarly they apply another name to Noah and [credit him] with infinite periods of time, although they agree with the saying of Holy Scripture regarding the Flood and the devastation of the earth. Likewise they reckon the number of patriarchs as ten, including Xisut’ra. And not only according to our cycle of the four seasons measured by the sun does their reckoning of the years differ from ours, especially from the biblical7 years, but neither do they reckon the new moons like the Egyptians. Nor, if one were to count as years the [periods] named after some gods, could he make them equal to the limitless numbers of these proposals with a view to attaining the truth, since now he would increase and now decrease the number. So we should here indicate their opinions according to our ability and write down accurately what each one of them thought. But because of the length of the present work we shall leave these matters to another place and time and shall cut off this account here; and we shall now begin with what we consider reliable.

Adam was the first to be created. He lived 230 years and begat Seth [cf. Gen.: 5:3]; Seth lived 205 years and begat Enos [cf. Gen. 5:6]; his are two of the inscriptions dealing with two future events, as Josephus says, although their location is unclear. Enos was the first who had hope to call on God [cf. Gen. 4:26].

4. Ibid., pp. 46–7.
5. I.e., Xisuthros, ibid., p. 30.
6. Ibid., pp. 15, 29.
9. For another work promised by Moses, see III 67 n. 7.
10. Josephus, Antiquities, I 2.3. He says there were two pillars in Siria, one of brick and one of stone, that were constructed by Seth’s posterity. These pillars were intimations of flood and fire. Carrière, Généalogies, p. 24, thinks that the quotation from Josephus comes via Julius Africanus (cf. Gelzer, Julius Africanus, 1:85), since Moses knew only Josephus’ earlier work, The Wars.
Why, then, and for what reasons was he the first to have hope to call upon God? And how is "calling" to be understood? For Adam was truly the creature of God, and he is said to have received a command from God's mouth. But he transgressed and hid and was asked: "Where are you?" [Gen. 3:9] by God and not by anyone else. Likewise he heard the sentence from the same One's mouth [cf. Gen. 3:17-19]. Later too Abel, who was close and known to God, offered Him a sacrifice, and it was accepted [cf. Gen. 4:4]. So as these were accepted and known by God, for what reason is the other called the first to call upon God, and that with hope? Now the rest of our speculations about him we shall defer to the place of our choosing. Here let us speak of what is ready to hand.

For since the first of mankind was found in transgression of the commandment, because of his evil, as has been said, he was expelled from the Garden and from God [cf. Gen. 3:23-24]. Afterward the one of Adam's sons who was the most intimate with God was killed by his own blood brother [cf. Gen. 4:9]. Following that there was no further word of God or revelation, and the human race was left to doubt and despair and indeed to acts of its own pleasing. Among these he [Enos], having the greatest hope and righteousness, called upon God. But this "calling" can be understood in two ways: either naming as of something forgotten or summoning to help. Now the naming as of something forgotten is inappropriate here, for there had not passed a great number of years that would have led them to forget the name God or Him whose name it is, nor had the one created by God yet reached death and burial. So then he called God to help him.

After he had lived 190 years he begat Caynan; Caynan after living 170 years begat Malaliel; Malaliel after living 165 years begat Yared; Yared after living 162 years begat Enoch; Enoch after living 165 years begat Methusela [cf. Gen. 5:9-21]; after the birth of Methusela for 200 years he lived a worthy and pleasing life, as He who was pleased knows, and is said to have been removed from among the impious [cf. Gen. 5:24].

12. His evil: ch'arim is ambiguous; it could mean "the evil one." X T read ch'arut'ean, the abstract noun for "evil."
13. Moses has added "from among the impious" to the text of Gen. 5:24.
for this we shall set out later. 14 Methuselah after living 165 years beget Lamech; Lamech after living 188 years beget a son and named him Noah [cf. Gen. 5:25–29].

**Concerning Noah**

Why then did Scripture bestow on him alone the name of son, whereas it simply says of all the others “they beget”? Concerning him his father made an antithetical prophecy, saying: “He will give us rest from work and the toil of our hands and from the earth which the Lord God has cursed” [Gen. 5:29]. Which was not rest but the destruction of whatever was upon the earth. It seems to me that to give rest means to stop, namely, to stop the impiety and evil by the annihilation of the infamous men of the second age. For he well said “from our deeds,” which is from lawlessness, and “from the toil of hands,” with which we work filthiness. But indeed not everyone rested according to this prophecy but only the souls perfect in virtue, when the evil was washed away and purified as if by a flood—as [happened to] those who were profligate in evil in the time of Noah. But Scripture honored him with the name of son as a famous, notable, and worthy heir of the ancestral virtues.

5. **Concerning the harmony of the genealogies of the three sons of Noah as far as Abraham, Ninos, and Aram; and that Ninos is neither Bel nor Bel’s son**

It is clear to all that [nothing] is so difficult to compile and so laborious as the investigation of the times from the beginning to our own day, and even more so the investigation of the lineage of the patriarchal lines from the three sons of Noah, so long as it is desired to examine any given one in his own age, especially because divine Scripture has separated its own as its special nation and has left aside the [genealogies] of the others as contemptible and unworthy of being set out in its own account. We shall begin our exposition with these, as far as possible and according to what we have found to be trustworthy from among the old stories, and on our part with absolutely no falsification.


15. Rendering *enddēm inn*, which is ignored by Malkhasyants’.

1. On these genealogies see in general Carrière, *Généalogies*. The spelling of the proper names in the manuscripts of Moses is often very erratic.
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So do you, attentive reader, look now at the harmony of the order of the three races up to Abraham, Ninos, and Aram, and marvel. Sem lived for 100 years, and two years after the flood, according to the divine Scriptures, begat Arpaxat' [cf. Gen. 11:10].

**SEM**

Sem aged 100 begat Arpaxat'
Arpaxat aged 135 begat Caynan
Caynan aged 120 begat Salay
Salay aged 130 begat Eber
Eber aged 134 begat Palek
Palek aged 133 begat Ragav
Ragav aged 130 begat Seruk'
Seruk' aged 130 begat Nak'or
Nak'or aged 79 begat Taray
Taray aged 70 begat Abraham (cf. Gen. 11:12–26)

**HAM**

Ham begat K'ush
K'ush begat Mestrayim
Mestrayim begat Nimrod
Nimrod begat Bab
Bab begat Anebis
Anebis begat Arbel
Arbel begat K'ayal
K'ayal begat the second Arbel
Arbel begat Ninos
Ninos begat Ninus²

**YAPHETH [YABET']**

Yapheth begat Gamer
Gamer begat T'iras
T'iras begat T'orgom
T'orgom begat Hayk³
Hayk begat Aramanak

². This list is not biblical in its entirety. In Gen. 10 only Ham, Kush, Mestrayim, and Nimrod appear. The other names are from Eusebius' *Chronicle*: Aucher, 1:78, quoting Abydenus on the Assyrian kingdom.

³. For Torgom as ancestor of the Armenians, cf. Agathangelos, §16.

The theme was also known to Greek writers; see Hippolytus, *Chronik*, p. 12; for Georgia, see Kekelidzé, *BK* 1964, pp. 88–94. For Hayk, see I 11 n. 6.
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Aramaneak begat Aramayis
Aramayis begat Amasya
Amasya begat Gelam
Gelam begat Harmay
Harmay begat Aram
Aram begat Ara the Handsome

Now all the chronographers put Caynan as fourth after Noah and third from Sem. Likewise they put T’iras fourth from Noah but Yapheth third, although according to our translation [of the Bible] he is not found anywhere in the original [list].

And Mestrayim, placed as fourth from Noah and third from Ham, we do not find placed in our translation or anywhere among the chronographers. But we have found him so placed by a certain very learned and erudite Syrian, and what he said seemed to us reliable. For Mestrayim is Metsrayim, which means Egypt. And many of the chronographers say that Nimrod, who is Bel, was an Ethiopian, and they have persuaded us that this was indeed the case on account of his being on the borders of Egypt.

After this we shall say the following: although the years of the generations descended from Ham down to Ninos are not to be found calculated anywhere, or at least have not come down to us, and there is nothing certain [known] about Ninos himself and certainly not about our Yapheth, yet the genealogy above is reliable since the three races have eleven generations down to Abraham and Ninos and our Aram. For Ara is the twelfth after Ninos, and he died while young in years. This is true and let no

4. This list is not biblical as such and is not based on Eusebius. Gen. 10 gives Yapheth, Gamer, Tiras, and Torgom; Aram is there made a son of Sem. Moses is here integrating Armenian tradition into biblical tradition, see Carrière, Legende, pp. 28ff. For Aram, see 1 6 n. 19.

5. Caynan is in the Septuagint but not in the Hebrew, Syriac, or Armenian of Gen. 11. Tiras is fourth from Noah in Gen. 10 and Japheth third from Noah in 1 Chron. 1:4.

6. Mestrayim is in Gen. 10:6 as the son of Ham and the brother of Kush. For Metsrayim as Egypt, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:201, quoting Manetho. The “learned and erudite Syrian” may be Mar Abas Catina; see the introduction to this book.

7. For Nimrod, and thus Bêl, as Ethiopians, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:109.

8. Ninos: sic! Ara was twelfth after Noah according to Moses’ list.
one have any doubt because Abydenus, trustworthy in all things, tells us all this, saying as follows: "Ninos, [son] of Arbel, of K'aya, of Arbel, of Anebay, of Bab, of Bēl." Likewise he counts our [genealogy] from Hayk to Ara the Handsome, whom the lascivious Semiramis killed, as follows: "Ara the Handsome, [son] of Aram, of Harmay, of Gelam, of Amasya, of Aramayis, of Aramanek, of Hayk, who was the opponent of Bēl and also his slayer." And Abydenus tells us this in his first section of detailed genealogies, which some people later on suppressed.

Cephalion is also a witness to these matters, for he says in one chapter as follows: "At the beginning of our work we began to write down in detail all the genealogies from the royal archives. But we received a command from kings to omit mention of the insignificant and wicked men from among the ancients and to record only the brave and wise and victorious ancestors and not to spend our time uselessly," and so on.

But altogether alien and strangers to the truth in our opinion are those who say that Ninos was the son of Bēl or that he was Bēl himself, for neither the genealogy nor the sum of the years bears this out. But perhaps someone thought it suitable, for the sake of becoming renowned and famous, thus to bring closer what is farther away.

We have truly found these things in the literature of the Greeks; for although the Greeks themselves translated from Chaldaean into their own language, and although the Chaldaeans, either of their own accord or forced by the command of kings, undertook this task, like a certain Arios and many others, yet we attribute them to the Greeks since we have learned from them.

10. This list is not from Abydenus or Eusebius, but Moses is attributing the Armenian tradition to these reputable sources.
11. Again Moses is ascribing Armenian tradition to a more reputable source. For another (later) Armenian theory concerning the suppression of information about an Armenian family, see Thomas Artsruni, p. 142: Barsauma suppressed the details about the Artsruni family found in Ėlishē's History.
12. This paragraph is based on Eusebius' Chronicle: Aucher, 1:90-4.
13. For example, Berossus. For Arios see Eusebius, Praeparatio evangelica, 41c; he translated from Egyptian into Greek.
6. Concerning the fact that other antiquarians' accounts sometimes agree and sometimes disagree with Moses, and concerning the unwritten ancient stories of the philosopher Olympiodorus

Choosing to the best of our ability what is reliable from many sources, we have set out the generations of the three sons of Noah as far as Abraham and Ninos and Aram. I think that no right-minded person will object to this; but if anyone is planning to upset the whole system of truth, let him happily endeavor to change these true accounts into fables. But let each one please his mind in these matters as he will.

But if you are grateful for our vigil and efforts, O friend of learning and patron of our labors, I shall briefly recapitulate what I set out above: how the first storytellers were pleased to write on this matter, although I am not now able to say whether such materials existed in this form in the royal libraries or whether each one of them delighted in changing the names and the stories and the times according to his whim, or for some other reason. But as for the beginning [i.e. Creation] sometimes they tell the truth, sometimes they lie. For example, just as they call the first created not the first man but [the first] king, so they give him a barbaric name, attributing to him thirty-six thousand years; whereas in the number of the patriarchs and the mention of the Flood they concur and agree with Moses. Similarly, when after the Flood they enumerate three famous men before the building of the tower but after the voyage of Xisut'ra to Armenia, they are correct; but in changing the names and in many other ways they lie.3

But now I shall be happy to begin my present account [quoting] from my beloved Sibyl, Berossus, who is more truthful than most other historians: “Before the tower,” he says, “and before the race of mankind became multilingual, but after the voyage of Xisut'ra to Armenia, they are correct; but in changing the names and in many other ways they lie.3

1. Antiquarian: hnakhaws; cf. II 75 and I 19, III 1 for the abstract hnakhawsut‘iwn. The Nor Bargirk' lists no use of this term before Moses. It is a calque on ἀρχαιολογία, “antiquarian lore, ancient history,” a term widely used for the titles of histories. See LSJ, s.v. Moses is doing for Armenian what Josephus did for the Jews in his Ιστορίες ἀρχαιολογίας. Cf. the note to the title of Book I.

2. Cf. Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 11:46–7. The thirty-six thousand years are the length of his reign.

3. Cf. ibid., 7:39. See also n. 4 below.
of Xisut’ra to Armenia, the rulers of the land were Zrvan, Titan, and Yapetost’ë.” These seem to me to be Sem, Ham, and Yapheth.

“And when they had divided the whole world under their dominion,” he says, “Zrvan prevailed and ruled over the other two.” Zradasht, the magus and king of the Bactrians, who are the Medes, said that he was the origin and father of the gods. He also said many other fables about him, which are inapposite for us to repeat now.

“But when Zrvan became a tyrant,” he says, “Titan and Yapetost’ë opposed him, waging war against him, for he was planning to make his own sons kings over everyone. And in this confusion,” he says, “Titan seized a part of the allotted territory of Zrvan. But here their sister Astlik intervened and by persuasion stopped the disturbance. They agreed that Zrvan should reign, but made a sworn compact between them to kill every male that would be born to Zrvan, lest through his offspring he rule over them. Therefore they set strong men from among the Titans to supervise the childbirths of his wives. They had killed two children to uphold the sworn covenant when their sister Astlik, with Zrvan’s wives, decided to persuade some of the Titans to let the other children live and to send them to the west to the mountain that used to be called Diwts’ënkëts’ but that is now called Olympus.”

Now whether someone else considers these to be fables or

4. The passage attributed to Berossus is based on the Sibylline oracles. Gelzer, Julius Africanus, 1:209, thinks that Moses may be quoting Julius Africanus directly, but Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:38-9, is a more likely source. For the connection between Berossus and one of the Sibyls, see Aucher, 1:38 n. 1. Moses repeats the names of the three rulers at the beginning of the book attributed to Mar Abas Catina, I 9. For the oracle see Oracula Sibyllina, 3:97-110. Moses equates Kronos with Zrvan; for Zrvan as father of the gods, see the sources in Mariës, Sources, pp. 39-54. Yapetost’ë is merely the ἀνέρ τῆς τε of the Oracula Sibyllina, III 110.

5. Oracula Sibyllina, III 121.

6. For Zoroaster see I 17 n. 1.

7. For this paragraph, cf. Oracula Sibyllina, III 122-41. Moses makes Astlik (on whom see Thomson, Agathangelos, pp. lxii-lxiv) the peacemaker instead of the six female deities in the Oracula. Diwts’ënkëts’, “thrown out, rejected, by the gods”: from diwts’, a variant gen. pl. of dik’, diis’ found in composition (e.g., diwts’azn “of divine race”), and ἐνκέτης, aorist of ἐνκηνεμ, “cast out.”
whether he reckons them to be the truth, nonetheless, as I am persuaded, there is much truth to them. For Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, in his *Refutation of the Heresies*, when he undertakes to show that God is true and righteous even when the sons of Israel destroyed the seven races [cf. Acts 13:19], speaks thus: “Justly did God destroy these races from before the face of the sons of Israel, because in the division the area of these territories had fallen to the sons of Sem but Ham had attacked them and seized that land by force. But God preserved the rights of the sworn covenant and exacted retribution from the race of Ham, restoring his inheritance to the sons of Sem.” Now the divine Scriptures mention the Titans [cf. 2 Kings 5:18, etc.] and the Raphaim [cf. Deut. 2:11, etc.].

But as for certain old unwritten tales that circulated in earlier times among the wise men of the Greeks and that have come down to us through [writers] called Gorgias and Banan and a third one called David, these we must repeat, though briefly. One of these men, learned in philosophy, spoke as follows: “Old men, when I was among the Greeks studying wisdom, it happened one day that the conversation turned to questions of geography and the division of the races. Some interpreted the stories found in books in one way, others in another, but the most competent among them, Olympiodorus by name, said this: ‘I shall tell you,’ he said, ‘unwritten tales that have come down to us by tradition and that many villagers retell to this day. There is a book about Xisut’ra and his sons that now can nowhere be found, in which, they say, is the following account.

“After Xisut’ra sailed to Armenia and came upon dry
land, it says, one of his sons, called Sem, went to spy out the land to the northwest. Reaching a small plain beside a long mountain, through which a river flowed in the direction of Assyria, he lingered by the river for two months and called the mountain after his own name Sim. Then he returned to the southeast whence he had come. But one of his youngest sons, called Tarban, with thirty brothers and fifteen sisters and their husbands, left his father and dwelt by the same riverbank, from whose name he called the province Tarawn; and he called the place where he had dwelt Ts'rawnk', for there the dispersion of his sons from him had its first origins. The same [Tarban] again, they say, dwelt for a few days on the confines of Bactria, and one of his sons remained there. For the eastern regions call Sem Zrvan, and the district is called Zaruand up to now."

But very frequently the old descendants of Aram make mention of these things in the ballads for the lyre and their songs and dances. And whether these tales are false or true is of no concern to us. But I am repeating in this book all that comes

12. For the site of Xisuthra's landing in Armenia see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, i:36-7.
13. Sim: a mountain in Sasun; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 316.
14. Tarawn: a province west of Lake Van; see ibid., p. 325.
15. Ts'rawnk': Moses derives this place name from ts'ir, "dispersion." See ibid., p. 326.
16. Moses implies that Bactria is on the eastern border of Armenia. Cf. above: "the Bactrians, who are the Medes."
17. Sem as Zrvan. Moses equates Kronos with Zrvan and then with Sem; see above n. 4.
19. For the Armenians as descendants of Aram, see the genealogy of Japheth in I 5 above, and esp. the last paragraph of I 12 below where the name "Armenia" is derived from Aram. For Aramean=Armenian, see II 98 (at note 8) and III 29. Cf. also Josephus, Antiquities, I 6:14: it is a son of Aram who founded Armenia. The classical geographer Strabo, however, derives "Armenia" from Armenos of Armenion, a city in Thessaly. For the disputed origin of the name Armenia (Arminiya of the Behistun inscriptions), see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 61-2, 67 n. 64.
20. Lyre: p'andiri (bambirin in T X)—xîrâ. See Hübßcchmann, Grammatik, p. 395. An instrument used for accompaniment to singing; cf. Moses I 24 (at n. 9) and Faustos, V 31, for its use at pagan-style funerals.
21. Songs and dances: ergs ts'ts'ots ew paruts'. There is a similar expression in Agathangelos, §180, for the merrymaking at Trdat's wedding. (A has ts'uots' [roofs] for ts'ts'ots'.)
from hearsay and from books so that you may know everything and understand the sincerity of my regard for you.

7. **Brief demonstration that the one called Bēl by profane authors is in truth Nimrod [Nebrot'] of the divine Scriptures**

Concerning Bēl, in whose times lived Hayk our ancestor, many different writers tell many differing stories. But I say that the one called Kronos and Bēl is Nimrod, just as the Egyptians, in agreement with Moses, enumerate Hephaistos, the sun, Kronos—that is Ham, Kush, and Nimrod, leaving out Mestrayim. For they say that Hephaistos was their first man and the inventor of fire. Why is he called the inventor of fire, or is Prometheus said to have stolen fire from the gods and given it to mankind? It is an allegory, which the course of our narrative does not allow use to recount. To this bear witness the order of the Egyptian dynasties and the sum of years from the dynasty of the Shepherds to Hephaistos, in agreement with the Hebrews—that is, from the times of Joseph up to Sem, Ham, and Yapheth.

But let this be enough said on this subject. For if we were to try to introduce into our history all events from the building of the tower up to our own time for your edification, when would we arrive at the narrative of the tales that are your particular desire, especially because the task that lies before us is long, and time for mortals is short and uncertain? But I shall begin to show you our own history—whence and how it developed.

8. **Who found such tales and where**

Arshak the Great, king of the Persians and Parthians, who was Parthian by race, having rebelled against the Macedonians, they say, ruled over all the East and Assyria. He killed Antiochus,


3. For Hephaistos as the first man, Eusebius, *Chronicle*: Aucher, 1:200.


5. They say: i.e., Eusebius. See Eusebius, *Chronicle*: Aucher, 1:299, for the Parthian rebellion against the Macedonians.
the king in Nineveh, and brought into subjection under himself the whole universe. He made his brother Valarshak king over this land of Armenia, thinking it convenient in this way to render his own rule unshakable. He gave him Nisibis as his capital and established as his frontiers part of western Syria, Palestine, Asia, and all of Anatolia and T'etalia from the Sea of Pontus to the place where the Caucasus runs into the Western Sea, and Azerbaijan and other regions "as far as your mind and valour extend. For the frontiers of the brave," he said, "are their weapons; as much as they cut, that much they hold." The latter [Valarshak], having ordered his own principality in a grand manner and established his reign, had a desire to know who and what sort of men had ruled over Armenia up to his time: had he succeeded to the throne of valiant men or of cowards? And finding a certain Syrian, Mar Abas Catina, a diligent man versed in Chaldaean and Greek, he sent him to his brother Arshak the Great with worthy gifts, [asking him] to open for him the royal archives. And he wrote to him in the following terms.

9. The letter of Valarshak, king of Armenia, to Arshak the Great, king of Persia

"To Arshak, king of earth and sea, whose person and image are as those of our gods, whose fortune and destiny are superior to those of all kings, and whose amplitude of mind is as that of the sky above the earth, from Valarshak your younger brother

2. Anatolia: Mijerkreayk', a calque on "Mediterranean." For its vague connotation, see Carrière, Légende, p. 385 n. 4. In the Ashkarahats'oyts', LR, pp. 21-2, it is defined as the land between the Greek and Pontic seas, part of the province of Asia.

3. T'etalia: in the direction of Bactria; see Marquart, Eranskahr, pp. 59. 65ff. Cf. also Elishe, History, p. 18, apparatus to lines 7-8, and Sebös, esp. p. 46, where the proximity of the T'etalats'ik' and Kushans is emphasized. There is often confusion with Thessaly (i.e., northern Greece); cf. II 19, at n. 6.

4. Western Sea: the Caspian. It would be “western” only from the Parthian point of view.

5. This quotation is based on an expression in Theonis Progymnasmata, p. 40. But cf. Yalag's Pitoyi's, I 3 (Moses, Khorenats'i, Matenagru't'iumk', pp. 549-50), and Baumgartner, ZDMG 1886, p. 514.

6. On Mar Abas Catina, see the introduction to this book.
and colleague, established by you as king of Armenia, may you flourish with perpetual victory.

"Because I received from you a command to cultivate valor and all wisdom I have never neglected your advice but have been assiduous in everything so far as my mind and understanding were able. And now that my rule has been stabilized by your solicitude, I have decided to discover who may have been those who ruled over this land of Armenia before me and whence arose the principalities that now exist here. For the orders of rank here are quite uncertain, as are the cults for the temples. It is not clear which is the first of the lords of this country and which the last, nor is anything else regulated, but all is confused and uncivilized.

"Therefore I beg your majesty to order the royal archives to be opened for this man who has appeared before your powerful majesty, that finding [the information] desired by your brother and son he may bring it with despatch. And the pleasure we shall derive from the fulfillment of our wishes I well know will be a source of delight for you. Greetings to you, made eminent by your sojourn among the gods."

When Arshak the Great received the letter from the hands of Mar Abas Catina, with great alacrity he ordered the royal archives in Nineveh to be set before him, and he was equally happy that his brother, to whom he had entrusted half of his kingdom, had such thoughts. [Mar Abas Catina] examined all the books and found one in Greek on which there was, he says, the following caption:

THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK

"This book, which contains the authentic account of the ancients and ancestors, was translated at the command of Alexander from the Chaldaean language into Greek."

The beginning of this book, he says, deals with Zrvan, Titan, and Yapetost'e; and it contains each of the offspring of these three dynasts, famous men whom it sets in each one's order and place over many years.1

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1. Nineveh was never the Parthian capital, but it did contain the Assyrian archives in cuneiform. Cf. I 15, where it is mentioned as Semiramis's capital.

2. For the theme of discovering books in archives see Speyer, Bücherfunde, esp. pp. 125-41.

From this book Mar Abas Catina extracted only the reliable history of our own race and brought it to King Valarshak in Nisibis in both Greek and Syriac. The personable and valiant Valarshak, expert at the bow, eloquent, and intelligent, received it and esteeming it as the foremost of his treasures placed it in the palace, in safekeeping, with great care; and a part of it he ordered to be inscribed on a stele. Through this we are assured of the order of our tales and repeat them now for your curiosity, extending our ancestral principalities as far back as Sardanapal of the Chaldaeans and even farther. In this book the account begins as follows.

"Fearsome and renowned were the first of the gods, and the cause of great blessings for the earth—the origin of the earth and of the multiplication of mankind. From them branched off the race of giants, monstrous and enormous in force and size, who in their arrogance conceived and gave birth to the impious plan of building the tower. To that very task they had fallen when a fearful and divine wind, aroused by the anger of the gods, blew down and scattered the construction; they imparted mutually incomprehensible languages to men and brought upon them tumultuous confusion. One of these [men] was Hayk, descended from Yapetost'e, the renowned and valiant prince, strong and accurate in drawing the bow."

The course of this account should stop here, for it is our proposal not to write a complete history but to attempt to indicate our first and original ancestors. From this same book we shall begin: Yapetost'e, Merod, Sirat', Taklad—who are Yapheth, Gomer, T'iras, T'orgom. After these the same chronographer

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4. For parallels to the description of Valarshak in biblical and earlier Armenian sources, see Khalatians', *Epos*, p. 114-6; but none of the parallels is precisely identical.

5. Cf. *Primary History*, Sebóis, pp. 1ff., where this supposed inscription is elaborated. For a comparison of the *Primary History* and Moses, see the introduction and appendix to this book.

6. In Gen. 11 there is no mention of a wind, but see Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, §§14-5.

7. Cf. I 5. Carrière, *Généalogies*, p. 45, notes that Merod and Sirat are anagrams of Gomer and Tiras (d for g being a common confusion in the Armenian script).

8. Chronographer: *zhmanakagir*; the same term is used also in the *Primary History* for the source of these traditions.
Genealogy of Greater Armenia

continues: Hayk, Aramaneak, and the others in order, about whom we spoke earlier.

10. Concerning the rebellion of Hayk

Hayk, he says, was handsome and personable, with curly hair, sparkling eyes, and strong arms. Among the giants he was the bravest and most famous, the opponent of all who raised their hand to become absolute ruler over all the giants and heroes. He intrepidly raised his hand against the tyranny of Bēl when the human race was spreading over the breadth of the whole land amid the multitude of infinitely ferocious and strong giants. Each man in his rage had drawn his sword against his neighbor's flank, and they were attempting to dominate each other. These circumstances enabled Bēl to impose his tyranny on the whole land. But Hayk refused to submit to him, and after begetting his son Aramaneak in Babylon he journeyed to the land of Ararad, which is in the northern regions, with his sons and daughters and sons' sons, martial men about three hundred in number, and other domestic servants and the outsiders who had joined his service and all his effects. He came and dwelt at the foot of a mountain in a plain where had lingered and dwelt a few of the human race who had been previously scattered. These Hayk subjected to himself, and he built there a residence for the property and gave it in inheritance to Cadmos, the son of Aramaneak. This verifies the old unwritten tales mentioned above.

9. In the Primary History, Sebōs, pp. 2, 6, Hayk is called Abet'atsin, a corruption of Yabet'atsin, "descended from Japheth," Yabet' being the spelling for that name in the Armenian Bible.

1. The Primary History begins here with Bēl the Titan ruling the world.

2. Note the parallels with the description of Tigran in I 24; cf. also Khalatiants', Epos., pp. 119ff.

3. For the tyranny of Bēl, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1.85-4; cf. also Jer. 51:44.

4. But in I 12 Moses says Aramaneak was begotten after the confrontation with Bēl.

5. Ararad, as in Gen. 8:4—where the Ark settled—not to be confused with the Armenian province of Ayrarat. Note that in I 11 the house of Cadmos was in Ararad, the south of Armenia: see I 14 n. 3. Northern regions: a common term for Armenia; see Thomson, Agathangelos, §175 n. 1; cf. also I 17 and esp. III 68. But in the Primary History, Sebēos, p. 3, the "northern regions" are between Babylon and Ararad.

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He himself hastened, he says, with the rest of his entourage to the northwest. He came and dwelt in an elevated plain and called the name of the plateau Hark'—that is, here dwelt the fathers of the family of the house of T'orgom. He also built a village and called it after his own name Haykashen. It is also recorded in this history that on the southern side of this plain at the foot of a long mountain there already dwelt a few men who willingly submitted to the hero. This too verifies the unwritten tales mentioned above.

11. Concerning the war and the death of Bel

Continuing his narrative [Mar Abas Catina] says: When the Titan Bel had confirmed his rule over everyone, he sent to the northern region to Hayk one of his sons with trustworthy men to bring him into obedience so they might live in peace. “You have made your habitation,” he said, “in the icy cold; now warm and melt the freezing cold of your haughty conduct, submit to me and live in tranquillity in my empire wherever you please.” But Hayk sent back Bel’s envoys with a firm response. The messenger returned to Babylon.

Then the Titan Bel mustered his army against him, and with a mass of infantry arrived in the north, in the land of Ararat near to the house of Cadmos. Cadmos fled to Hayk, sending swift runners before him. “Know,” he said, “O greatest of the heroes, that Bel is advancing against you with valiant immortals and warrior giants of enormous height. And knowing that he was close to my house, I fled; and behold I come in great anxiety. So be quick to decide what you will do.”

Now Bel with the overweening and imposing force of his entourage, like an impetuous torrent pouring down, hastened to reach the borders of Hayk’s domain, trusting in the spirit and vigor of his soldiers. There the prudent and intelligent giant, with curly hair and sparkling eyes, hastily assembled his sons and grandsons, valiant men and skilled bowmen, very few in number,
and the others who were under his authority. He came to the edge of a lake whose waters are salty and which contains small fish.¹ Summoning his army he addressed them: “In going out against the force of Bēl, let us try to reach the place where Bēl stands in the midst of the crowd of his warriors, so that either we may die and our possessions will fall in servitude to Bēl, or showing him the success of our arms, we may scatter his host and gain the victory.”

Advancing many stadia they came to a plain between very high mountains and halted in an elevated spot to the right of streams of water. Raising their faces they espied the disordered multitude of Bēl’s martial host scattered in insolent array and swarming over the surface of the land. But Bēl [was standing] calmly and patiently with a vast host to the left of the water on a hill, like a watchtower. Hayk recognized the armed band where Bēl had come to the front of the troop with a few chosen armed men, and there was a wide distance between him and his force. He wore a helmet of iron with distinctive plumes and sheaves of bronze over his back and breast; armor covered his legs and arms. A belt girded his waist and from his left breast hung a two-edged sword. A monstrous lance was in his right hand and in the left a shield. Chosen men stood to the right and left. Seeing the Titan so solidly armed and the chosen troops on either side of him, Hayk set Aramaneak with two brothers on his right and Cadmos with the other two of his sons on his left, for they were powerful men with the bow and the sword. He himself stood in front and set the other troops behind him, forming them into a triangle. Thus they gently advanced.

The giants of both sides came to grips and in their assault raised a fearsome roar over the earth; by the fierceness of their attacks the giants brought a terrifying fear upon each other. Then not a few huge men from both sides met the mouth of the sword, rolled to the ground, and perished. On either side the battle remained undecided. Seeing such an unexpectedly uncertain outcome, the king of the Titans took fright and withdrew, retreating to the same hill from which he had descended, for he thought he would be safe in the midst of his host until the whole army should arrive and he could once more set his battle-line in order. Realizing this, the skillful archer Hayk advanced, and approaching the king pulled taut his wide-arched bow and shot the triple-fleched arrow at his breast armor; the arrow pierced

¹. Lake Van.
right through his back and stuck in the ground. So perished the
domineering Titan; he was struck to the ground and breathed
out his spirit. But his host, seeing this fearsome deed of valor,
flung each one before his own face. Let this be enough said on this
matter.

On the site of the battle he built a villa and called it Hayk' on
account of his victory; for that reason the district is now called
Hayots' dzor. But the hill where Bēl with his warriors fell Hayk
called Gerezmans; today it is called Gerezmank'. But Hayk
embalmed the corpse of Bēl with drugs, he says, and ordered it
to be taken to Hark' and to be buried in a high place in the view
of his wives and sons. Now our country is called Hayk' after the
name of our ancestor Hayk.6

12. Concerning the races and generations descended from
Hayk and what each one of them did

After this many things are related in the book. But we shall
set out [only] what is necessary to our collection.

After this, he says, Hayk returned to the same dwelling place
and gave to his grandson Cadmos much of the booty from the
war and valiant men from his own entourage. He ordered him
to retain the same dwelling, his first house, and he himself went

2. The account of Bēl's death in the Primary History, Sebēos, p. 6, has
close parallels in Faustos, V 48.
3. On the form Hayk' see n. 6 below. Hayots' dzor (lit. “valley of the
Armenians”), a district to the southeast of Lake Van; see Hübschmann,
AON, p. 543.
Ps.-Callisthenes, §84 (for Proteus' tomb on a high place on the island of
Pharos).
5. He: Mar Abas Catina.
6. Hayk’: the nom. plural of Hay, the Armenian term for “Armenian.”
The etymology of Hayk’ from Hayk is impossible. The earliest references
to Hayk as the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians are found in the
Primary History and in Anania Shirakats'i; see Abrahamyan, “Ashkharhats’-
cyts’,” p. 82 (though he assumes these depend on Moses). In the Bible
Hayk renders Orion (Job 38:31; Isa. 13:10), and the plural renders Tiyavr’s
in Theon, p. 106. The name is frequently found in combination with the
meaning “gigantic” (see Khlatiants’, Epos, pp. 117–8), and derivatives such
as Haykazn are common for “Armenian.” See further Abelyan, Erker, 3:30ff.
The origin of the term Hay (“Armenian”) is obscure; for a recent study of
the problem, see Dyakonov, Predistoria.

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and lingered in the plain called Hark'. After living a few more years he begat Aramaneak in Babylon, as we said above. After that he lived not a few more years and then died, entrusting the whole nation to Aramaneak his son.

The latter left two of his brothers, Khof and Manavaz, with all their entourage, in the place called Hark', and also Baz, the son of Manavaz. Of these [brothers] Manavaz inherited Hark', but his son Baz [inherited] the shore of the salt lake to the northwest, and he called the district and the lake by his own name. From them, they say, are derived the principalities called Manavazean, Bznunik', and Orduni, who in that area after [the time of] Saint Trdat are said to have destroyed each other in war. But Khof multiplied in the northern regions and established his estates. And from him is said to derive the great principality of the family of the Khofkho'funik', valiant men and renowned, just as those of our own time are now famous.

But Aramaneak took all his host and hastened to the northeast. He descended into a deep valley surrounded by high mountain peaks, through which a tumultuous river flowed from the west. The eastern plain, you might say, was supine; its width extended to the side of the sun. At the feet of the mountains gushed forth many limpid streams, which came together to form gentle rivers. At the borders by the base of the mountains and edges of the plain in their youthful course they flowed like strolling maidens. But the mountain to the north that faced the sun, whose shining white summit rose straight up from the earth—it being a three-day journey, as one of our countrymen said, for a well-girded man to encircle—as it gradually rose to a steep point was truly an old man of a mountain amid the younger ones. In this deep plain dwelt Aramaneak; he cultivated a part of the plain on the north and the base of the mountain on the same

1. But in I 10 it is said that Aramaneak was begotten before the battle with Bēl. The Primary History does not say when Aramaneak was begotten.
2. This is Lake Van, on the north shore of which were the Bznuni. See n. 3 below.
4. Family: azg, a term of wide application, here equivalent to "clan," "noble family."
side, and he called the mountain after his own name Aragats', and his possessions, the foot of Aragats'.

Now the historian tells of this wonderful fact, that in many places in our land there were dwelling a few scattered men before the arrival of our original ancestor Hayk.

This Aramaneak lived some years and begat Aramayis; and after living many more years he died. His son Aramayis built his habitation on a hill by the bank of the river and called it after his own name Armavir; and he called the name of the river Eraskh [Araxes] after his grandson Erast. And his son Sharay, who had many children and was a glutton, he sent with all his entourage to a nearby plain, fertile and rich, in which ran not a few streams on the northern flank of the mountain called Aragats'. From his name, they say, the district is called Shirak.

Therefore the proverb that circulates among the villagers seems to be justified: "If you have the throat of Sharay, they say, we do not have the barns of Shirak." This Aramayis lived some years and begat his son Amasya; after that he lived some more years and died.

Amasya dwelt in Armavir; after some years he begat Gelam, and after Gelam the valiant P'arokh and Ts'olak. After begetting these, he crossed the river near the northern mountain and built there by the caves at the foot of the mountain two houses at great expense: one to the east near the sources of the springs that flow forth by the base of the mountain and the other to the west of the same habitation, distant about half a long day's journey for a man on foot. He gave these in inheritance to his two sons, the valiant P'arokh and the swift Ts'olak. They dwelt in them and called the places after their own names: P'arakhot from P'arokh, and Ts'olakert from Ts'olak.

But Amasya called the mountain...
Masis after his own name, and he himself returned to Armavir. Having lived a few years he died.

Now Gelam, after the passage of some years, begat Harmay in Armavir. And leaving Harmay in Armavir to live with his sons, he himself went around the other mountain of the northeast to the edge of a lake. He settled the shore of the lake and left there inhabitants. He called the mountain Gel after his own name and the village Gelarkuni, by which name the lake is also called. Here he begat his son Sisak, a proud and personable man, handsome, eloquent, and adroit with the bow. To him he gave the greatest part of his possessions and servants many in number, and he fixed the borders of his inheritance from the lake in the east to a plain where the River Araxes cuts the rocky caverns of the mountains, passes through the long and narrow ravines, and with a fearful roar descends to the plain. Here Sisak dwelt, and he filled the confines of his habitation with buildings. He called the land after his own name Siunik; but the Persians more precisely call it Sisakan. Valarshak, the first Parthian king of Armenia, found there offspring of his, famous men whom he made lords of the land, that is, the Sisakan family. That Valarshak did this is verified by the history; but how this took place we shall narrate in its own place.

Gelam himself returned to the plain, and at the foot of the

12. Masis: the Armenian name for the mountain south of the Araxes now called Ararat (by confusion with Ayarrat, the name of the province). (The Primary History, Sebëos, p. 10, offers a different etymology, from the personal name Marseak.) This is perhaps the mountain known to Strabo (Geography, XI 5.6) as Mænas, but there may be confusion with Nekhi-Masis (Sipan dağ) to the south: see Markwart, Sudarmenien, pp. 102-114, 15. See further I 30 n. 24.

13. Lake Gelam is Sevan. For the mountain Gel see Hubschmann, AON, p. 362, and for the Gelarkuni see ibid., p. 417.

14. There is a very similar description of the roar of the Araxes in the popular geographical survey of the first century A.D. by Pomponius Mela, De Chorographia, III 40.

15. The term Sisakan for Siunik makes its first appearance in the Syriac chronicle of Zacharias Rheter (554); it is first found in Armenian in the Ashkharhat's'oyts' (L.R., p. 105; SR, p. 348), but there for a canton in the province of Artsakh. Moses is the first Armenian source to equate Siunik and Sisakan; see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 214 n. 244, 332, and Adontz, Armenia, pp. 495-7. For the province, see Hubschmann, AON, pp. 265-6.

16. See below II 8.
same mountain in a secure valley he built a town and gave it his own name Gelami, which later was called Gařni after his grandson Gařnik. From his offspring, in the time of Artashēs, grandson of Vajlarshak, descended a certain youth called Varazh who was skillful in hunting deer, wild goats, and boars and was adroit in shooting arrows. [Artashēs] put him in charge of the royal hunt and gave him a village on the bank of the river, which is called Hrazdan. From him, they say, is descended the Varazhuni house. This Gelam, as we said, after some years of his life begat Harmay, after which he lived a few more and died. And he ordered his son Harmay to dwell in Armavir.

This Hayk, son of T'orgom, son of T'iras, son of Gomer, son of Yapheth, was the ancestor of the Armenians; and these were his families and offspring and their land of habitation. And afterward they began, he says, to multiply and fill the land.

Now Harmay lived some years and begat Aram. It is told of Aram that he performed in battle many heroic deeds and that he extended the borders of Armenia on every side. By his name all races call our land: like the Greeks, Armenia, and the Persians and Syrians, Armenik. But his complete history and his deeds of valor, how they were performed, and in whose time, if you wish we shall set forth outside this book, or we shall omit them; otherwise [we shall include them] in this one.

13. Concerning his war against the people of the east, his victory, and the death of Niwā'ar Mādēs

Because it seemed pleasing to us to regard this work that [we have undertaken] at your command as a greater delight than those preferred by others—the festivities of banquets and drinking—we have decided to discuss briefly and in order the wars of


18. Hrazdan: a tributary of the Araxes; see Hübischmann, AON, p. 446.

19. For the Varazhuni see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 222. They first appear in 555 A.D. For Varazh and the Varazhuni, cf. also II 11.

20. For Aram see chap. 13. Cf. III 29 for the term Aramean azn, not a common expression in Armenian, and II 92 for Arameank' (Armenians). In Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:110, the descendants of Aram, son of Shem (Gen. 10:22), are the Syrians (the Aramaeans).

21. This last sentence is obscure. Moses elaborates on Aram's exploits in chaps. 13 and 14.
Hayk's descendant, Aram. He was an industrious and patriotic man, as the same historian shows, and he thought it better to die for his fatherland than to see the sons of strangers trampling his country's borders and foreigners ruling over his kin.

This Aram, a few years before Ninos ruled over Assyria and Nineveh, hard pressed by the nations around him, gathered the host of valiant archers related to him; they were also powerful lancers, youthful and very strong, dexterous and handsome, spirited and ready for war, about fifty thousand men. On the borders of Armenia he met the young Medes who were led by a certain Niwk'ar named Madēs, a boastful and war-loving man, as the same historian indicates. They immediately devastated the borders of Armenia in incursions like the Kushans, and he controlled them for two years. But Aram suddenly came upon him before dawn and slaughtered his whole host. He captured this same Niwk'ar called Madēs and took him to Armavir; and there at the summit of a tower of the wall he pierced his forehead with an iron nail and ordered him to be fixed to the wall in view of the passers-by and of all who arrived there. And his land as far as the mountain called Zarasp he subjected to tribute until the reign of Ninos over Assyria and Nineveh.

But after Ninos became king in Nineveh he kept in his mind a memory of rancor with regard to his ancestor Bēl, having learned about him from stories. And for long years he planned to take vengeance, to seek out the opportune day to destroy and exterminate the whole race sprung from the descendants of the valiant Hayk. But the fear and uncertainty that his own kingdom might fall into danger as he planned such actions made him conceal his evil wickedness. He bade him [Aram] to hold that

1. Cf. 3 Macc. 1:12. For Moses' use of the books of Maccabees, see my introduction to this book.
2. On Niwkar Madēs see Markwart, REA 1966, pp. 296ff, where this whole chapter is discussed. The basic source is the account in Diodorus Siculus, II 1, of Ninus' subjecting the Armenians as allies against the Medes, whose king is defeated and crucified. Moses attributes to Aram the exploit of Ninus. See also Khalatiants', Epos, 2:26–7, Chugasryan, Hay-Iranakan, pp. 67ff.
3. Like the Kushans: k'ushanabar. For the Kushans in early Armenian historiography, see II 2 n. 4.
5. Southwest of Lake Urmia; see Eremyan, Hayastane, p. 51.
same principality without fear and gave him permission to wear a diadem of pearls and to be called second after himself. But let this much suffice, for the task before us does not allow us to linger at the threshold of our history.

14. Concerning the struggle against the Assyrians and the victory, and Payap Kaaleay, and Caesarea, and First and other Armenias

We shall expound with but a brief mention whatever later deeds of valor in the west are told of him [Aram] in the same book, and his struggle with the people of Assyria, indicating merely the causes and the importance of the events and presenting in brief his lengthy account.

This same Aram, once the war with the people of the east was over, marched with the same force to Assyria. He found there a certain Barsham of the race of giants, ruining his land with forty thousand armed infantry and five thousand cavalry. He was crushing the whole region by the severity of his taxes and turning it into desert. Aram opposed him in battle and chased him through Korduk to the Assyrian plain, slaughtering many of his men; and Barsham, encountering his [Aram's] lancers, was killed. This Barsham the Syrians deified because of his many valiant exploits and for a long time worshipped him. And Aram subjected a great part of the Assyrian plain to taxes for a long time.

But now we have to speak about his various deeds of valor in the west against the Titans. Moving to the west against First Armenia with forty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, he reached Cappadocia and a place now called Caesarea. And because he had subdued the east and the south and had entrusted them to those two tribes, the east to the Sisakans and


7. Diadem of pearls. See below II 47 n. 3 for a discussion of royal insignia mentioned in Armenian sources.


1. Korduk'. A district south of Lake Van on the Mesopotamian border; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 533.

s. Barsham: Baal Shamin, for whose cult in Armenia see II 14 n. 8. For the concept of deification of heroes in early Armenian writers, see Thomson, Agathangelos, pp. xli–xlii.
Assyria to those of the house of Cadmos, he had no further fear of any trouble on any side. So as he was spending a long time in the west, there opposed him in battle the Titan Payapis Ka'aleay who had seized the land between the two great seas—the Pontus and the ocean. Attacking him, [Aram] put him to flight and expelled him to an island of the Asian sea. He left over the country a certain Mshak of his own family with a thousand of his troops and returned to Armenia.

Now he ordered the inhabitants of the country to learn the Armenian speech and language. Therefore to this day the Greeks call that area Protē Armenia, which translated means “First Armenia.” And the town that Mshak, Aram’s governor, built in his own name and fortified with low walls was called Mazhak by the old inhabitants of the country, as if they were unable to pronounce it properly, until it was later enlarged by some people and called Caesarea. In the same way, from those regions as far as his own border he filled with inhabitants many uninhabited lands, which were called Second and Third Armenia, and also Fourth. This is the prime and true reason for calling the western part of our country First and Second, and also Third and Fourth Armenia. But whatever else is said by some on the Greek side does not please us; others [may think] as they so wish.

Thus he became so powerful and famous that by his name

3. Sisakan: see I 12 n. 15. For the equation of the house of Cadmos and Adiabene, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 225 n. 270.
5. The Armenian speech and language: zkhawss ew zlezus haykakan. The s after khaws and lezu may be either the first person demonstrative suffix, “this of ours,” or the accusative plural marker. The latter interpretation is taken by Grigoryan, Hay Barbaragitut'yan, p. 51, as an indication that various dialects were recognized by Moses. Cf. III 52 n. 4, where the form lezuats' leaves no doubt that lezu is there used in the plural. In III 60 at note 11 lezu is again ambiguous. For the adoption of Armenian as the general tongue by the inhabitants of Armenia, see Strabo, Geography, XI 14.5.
6. Mshak: Lit. “cultivator.” Otherwise unattested, he is Moses’ fanciful eponymous figure for Mazaca. This ancient name continued in use after 17 A.D. when Tiberius made Cappadocia a province, and the capital was named Caesarea. Cf. Agathangelos, §796; but “Caesarea” in Faustos.
7. The four Armenias: These provinces were first so organized and named by Justinian in 536 A.D. See Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 174, 195–6, 331, and esp. Adontz, Armenia, chaps. 6–8, and pp. 133–6 for the text of Justinian’s Novella XXXI, Establishment of Four Governors for Armenia.
up to today, as is clear to all, the nations living around us call our country. Many other deeds of valor were performed by him; but let what we have said be sufficient.

As to why these things were not recorded in the original books of the kings or in the histories of the temples, let no one doubt or hesitate: first, because he was prior to the time of the reign of Ninos, when no one had troubled with such things; second, because they saw no need or urgent necessity to write down in the books of their own kings or temples the old reports and ancestral stories of foreign nations and remote countries, especially because the valor and brave deeds of foreign nations were no object of boasting or glorying for them. But although they were not [recorded] in their original books, yet as Mar Abas Catina relates, they were collected by some lesser and obscure men from ballads and are found in the royal archives. This same man mentions another reason, namely, that, as I have heard, since Ninos was proud and self-opinionated and since he wished to show himself alone to be the origin of empire and of all valor and virtue, he ordered many books and stories of the ancients concerning deeds of valor performed in various places and by various people to be burned, and what was [recorded] in his own time was to be destroyed, and only things concerning himself should be written down. But it is superfluous to repeat this here.

But Aram after living some years begat Ara, after which he lived many more years and then died.

15. Concerning Ara and his death in war at the hands of Semiramis

Ara, a few years before the death of Ninos, acquired the government of his ancestral lands, being considered worthy of such a favor by Ninos, like his father Aram. But the dissolute and lascivious Semiramis for many years had heard of his beauty and desired to visit him; but she was not able to do such things openly. However, after the death of Ninos, or his flight to Crete

8. From ballads: gusakanen. Moses is ambiguous on the origin of his information about early Armenian traditions, reinforcing his sources in oral tales by elaborate accounts supposedly drawn from written archives. See the introduction to this book. See also the references to gusan in Dowsett, translation of Moses Daskhurants'i, p. 52 n.3.

1. Dissolute: vawash, used of Nectanebo desiring Olympias in Ps.-Callisthenes, §6; lascivious: borboriton (borborit in T X), cf. the Borborites in III 57, 58.

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as I believe, Semiramis freely paraded her passion and sent messengers to the handsome Ara with gifts and offerings, [requesting] with many entreaties and the promise of gifts that he come to her in Nineveh, either to marry her and reign over the whole empire that Ninos had ruled, or to satisfy her desires and then return to his own land in peace with magnificent gifts.

Many times the ambassadors came and went, but Ara did not agree. Semiramis became exceedingly angry, and at the end of these negotiations she took the host of her army and hastened to the land of Armenia against Ara. But, as the result was to show, she was anxious not so much to kill him or put him to flight as to subject and dominate him to fulfill her desires. For in the folly of her great passion, at the reports about him she had become madly enflamed as if she had already seen him. She arrived in haste at the plain of Ara, which is called Ayrarat after his name. And when the battle line was formed she ordered her generals that if possible they should attempt to keep Ara alive. But when the conflict was joined, the army of Ara was routed and Ara died in the battle at the hands of Semiramis' troops. The queen sent despoilers after the victory to the site of the battle to seek out her desired and loved one among the fallen corpses. They found Ara dead amid his warriors, and she ordered them to place him on the roof of her palace.

When the Armenian army had regained its confidence to continue the struggle against Queen Semiramis and to revenge

2. Semiramis reigned in Assyria after Ninos; see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:91–2; Diodorus Siculus, II 3.4. For a general discussion of the historical Semiramis and later legends, see Eilers, Semiramis.

3. In the folly of her great passion: ar yoyj ts'ankakani mole gut'eann: cf. Agathangelos, §140, Diocletian's molegnakan ts'ankut'iiun for Rhipsimé.

4. Ayrarat: see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 278–83—to be distinguished from the Ararad of I 10, 11. In the Armenian Bible Ararad renders Apapar at Gen. 8:4 and 4 Kings 19:37, but the adjectival form Ayraratean is found at Jer. 51:27 (LXX 28:27). The derivation of Ayrarat from Aray is Moses' own fancy; the Primary History, Sebëos, pp. 8, 10, speaks only of the "plain of Aray" where he met his death; cf. Moses, I 16, first sentence.


6. Roof: vernatun, as in Primary History, Sebëos, p. 8 (and II 35 below). It frequently renders ἑσφάοι in the Bible, i.e., "upper chamber"; but I render "roof" because of the parallel in Faustos, V 36, where Milshef is placed i tanis ashtaraki miy, "on the roof of a tower"; see n. 7 below. (The reading i veray tann, "on top of the house" in h k n o p q r is undoubtedly a corruption.)

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Ara's death, she said: "I have ordered my gods to lick his wounds, and he will be restored to life." At the same time she hoped to revive Ara by the magic of her sorcery, being demented by desire for her darling. But when his corpse became stinking she ordered it to be cast into a great ditch and covered up. One of her paramours she had dressed up in secret, and she gave out this report about him: "The gods licked Ara and brought him back to life, fulfilling our wish and pleasure. Therefore from now on they are all the more to be worshipped and honored by us, as they fulfill our pleasures and accomplish our desires." She also set up a new statue in the name of the gods and greatly honored it with sacrifices, pretending to all that this power of her gods had brought Ara back to life. And she spread these reports about him over this land of Armenia and convinced everyone, so bringing the war to an end.

As far as concerns Ara it will suffice to record this much in brief. He lived some years and begat Cardos.

16. How after the death of Ara Semiramis built the city and the aqueduct and her own palace

After these successes Semiramis lingered not a few days in the plain that is called Ayrarat after Ara. She went out to the mountainous region on the southern side of the land because it was summertime and she wished to enjoy the flowering meadows and plains. Seeing the beauty of the land, the purity of the air, the limpidity of the flowing streams, and the murmuring of the smooth rivers, she said: "In such a temperate climate and purity

7. Lick his wounds: cf. Faustos, V 36: the ašlez' will descend and restore life to Mushel—though, as with Aray, the body did in fact decompose. Note that the bodies are put at the top of buildings to be accessible to the ašlez'. In Eznik, §§122, 124, it is suggested that these mythical creatures derive from dogs, as also in Adontz, Questionnaire, p. 319 of the Armenian text. Numerous etymologies, old and new, have been proposed: the Primary History, Sebōs, p. 8, reads Aralez, "who licked Ara[y]"; Elīshē, Questions, p. 18, reads yaralez, "always licking"; Mariēs, n. 392 to his translation of Eznik, derives ašlez from the two imperatives ar "take" and lez "lick"; other etymologies in Achaêran, Armatakan Bařaran, s.v.

8. Statue: paiter, as in II 12.


2. Temperate: barekhainut'iw, a calque on .exportsia. For the frequent use of this term in reference to climate see LSJ, s.v.
of waters and land we must build a city and royal residence, so that we may spend a fourth part of the year's cycle, the season of summer, in Armenia because of all its charms. And the other three cooler seasons we shall spend in Nineveh.”

Passing through many places, she arrived from the east at the edge of the salt lake. On the shore of the lake she saw a long hill whose length ran toward the setting sun. To the north it sloped a little, but to the south it looked up sheer to heaven, with a cave in the vertical rock. From it on the south there opened out a wide meadow like a plain, descending from the mountain on the east to the edge of the lake—a spacious and beautiful vale through which ran streams of sweet water descending from the mountain and flowing through the valleys and meadows; gathering in the folds at the base of the mountains, they spread out as proud rivers. There were not a few villages in the valley, set on the right and left of the waters, and to the east of the pleasant hill stood a small mountain.

Here that resolute and lascivious Semiramis, after careful examination, ordered forty-two thousand skilled workers from Assyria and other lands of the empire and six thousand chosen from her most talented craftsmen in wood and stone, bronze and iron, who were most proficient in their skills, to be brought without delay to the desired spot. And the work was completed according to her command. Immediately a multitude of various workers and skilled and wise craftsmen was brought. First she ordered the aqueduct for the river to be built in hard and massive stone, cemented with mortar and sand, of infinite length and height; it has remained firm, as they say, until the present time. And in the crevices of the aqueduct nowadays, as we hear, men of the region entrench themselves for brigandage and hidden refuge, as if secure on the rocky summits of mountains. And if anyone were to make the attempt, yet he would be unable to pluck out from the structure of the aqueduct even a stone suitable for

4. Lake Van.
5. In the following description of Semiramis' constructions at Van, there are numerous parallels with Diodore's description of her building activities in Assyria. For the bringing of artisans from everywhere, cf. Diodorus Siculus, II 7.2.
6. Aqueduct: ambartak can also mean "dike," but aqueduct is correct here. Cf. Strabo, Geography, XVI 1.2, for Semiramis' various constructions in Assyria, including aqueducts. For the aqueduct and its bonding, cf. Diodorus Siculus, II 8.2.
a sling, no matter how hard he might try. And if one were to examine the skill of the cementing around the stones, it would appear to him to have been made with molten wax. In this fashion she extended the aqueduct over many stadia and brought it to the place designated for the city.

There she ordered the crowd [of workmen] to be divided into many groups and over each group to be set chosen masters of the craft. And thus, by dint of great efforts, within a few years she completed the marvelous [city] with strong walls and bronze gates. She also built inside the city many exquisite palaces, adorned with various stones and colors, of two and three stories, each one turned to the sun where suitable. The sections of the city she divided by beautiful and wide avenues. In the middle of the city she built some charming baths for people's needs, with admirable art. She diverted part of the river through the city to serve every necessity and for the irrigation of the parks and flower gardens. The rest she made run along the edge of the lake to the right and left, to water the city and all the surrounding area. All the regions east, north, and south of the city she adorned with villas and with leafy trees that produced varied fruit and foliage. There she planted many fruitful vineyards. The walled city she rendered absolutely splendid and magnificent, settling within a numberless multitude of inhabitants.

As for the summit of the city and the various wonderful constructions on it, many men cannot comprehend nor is it possible to describe them. The summit she surrounded with a wall and erected there a royal palace and some fearsome dungeons, difficult of entry and impossible to escape from. The nature of this site and construction we have not heard from anyone with accuracy, so we are unwilling to include it in our history. But we

7. The skill of the cementing: heluats's aruesin. Malkhasyants', n. 40 (see Moses Khorenats'i in bibliography), prefers the reading heluats's (of X T) aznestin (of l y) which he interprets as ἀβιμίη. The phrase would then mean "the pouring of the lime." For ἀβιμίη as "unslaked lime," see LSJ, s.v.
10. Turned to the sun (?): aregaknaks. There is no other reference to this word in the Nor Ba'gir'. Malkhasyants', n. 41, renders "provided with windows" (see Moses Khorenats'i in bibliography).
11. For the diverting of the river, cf. Diodorus Siculus, II 9.2–3. For the garden, ibid., II 10, the "hanging gardens."
merely say that of all royal works, as we have heard, this is considered the foremost and most majestic.\textsuperscript{12}

Now on the side of the rock that faces the sun, on which today no one can scratch a line with an iron point—such is the hardness of the surface—[she had carved out] various temples and chambers and treasure houses and wide caverns; no one knows how she formed such wonderful constructions. And over the entire surface of the rock, smoothing it like wax with a stylus, she inscribed many texts, the mere sight of which makes anyone marvel. And not only this, but also in many places in the land of Armenia she set up stelae and ordered memorials to herself to be written on them in the same script.\textsuperscript{13} And in many places she fixed the boundaries with the same writing.

Now enough has been said about the deeds of Semiramis in Armenia.

17. Concerning Semiramis, why she killed her sons, how she fled from the magus Zoroaster to Armenia and was put to death by her son Ninuas

As she continually went in the summers to the northern regions to the summer resort that she had built in Armenia, she left as her governor and prefect for Assyria and Nineveh Zoroaster, the magus and leader of the Medes.\textsuperscript{1} And Semiramis, having made this arrangement over a long period of time, entrusted him with the whole government of her empire.

Since she was often reproached by her sons for her exceedingly lascivious and obscene character, she killed them all;\textsuperscript{2} only the youngest, Ninuas, was saved. On her friends and paramours she bestowed all her power and treasures, having no concern for her own sons. Her husband Ninos had not, as is said,\textsuperscript{3} died and

\textsuperscript{12} Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle:} Aucher, 1:70, is more skeptical of Semiramis's responsibility for the marvelous buildings attributed to her by Greek historians.

\textsuperscript{13} This is Moses' interpretation of the numerous cuneiform inscriptions at Van and elsewhere. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, II 13.2.

\textsuperscript{1} Zoroaster. For Zoroaster as magus and king of the Bactrians (glossed in Moses, I 6, as Medes), see Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle:} Aucher, 1:91. Cf. Elishë, \textit{History,} p. 162, for Zoroaster as teacher of fire worship. Clement, \textit{Stromateis,} V 14, identifies Er, the Armenian of Plato's \textit{Republic,} with Zoroaster.

\textsuperscript{2} Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle:} Aucher, 1:92.

\textsuperscript{3} I.e., by Eusebius: Aucher, 1:84.
been buried by her in the palace at Nineveh, but having realized her pernicious and evil way of life had abandoned his kingdom and fled to Crete. But when her sons attained maturity and understanding they reminded her of all this, thinking that they would make her desist from her demonic passion and that she would hand over the power and treasures to her sons. But at this she was even more incensed and slaughtered them all; only Ninuas remained, as we said above.

Then when Zoroaster acted amiss with regard to the queen and discord broke out between them, Semiramis incited war against him because the Mede planned to become tyrant over all. And at the height of the war Semiramis fled from Zoroaster to Armenia. There Ninuas found an opportunity for vengeance and killed his mother, and he himself ruled over Assyria and Nineveh. So we have explained the cause and circumstances of Semiramis' death.

18. Concerning the certainty that Semiramis first waged war in India and later died in Armenia

I have in mind Cephalion in order not to give many a chance to laugh at me. For he speaks among many other things first of the birth of Semiramis and then of Semiramis' war against Zoroaster, which he says Semiramis won, and then of her Indian war. But the examination of the Chaldaean books made by Mar Abas Catina seems to us more reliable than this, for he writes systematically and reveals the causes of the war. Furthermore the fables of our own land confirm the learned Syrian in speaking of the death of Semiramis here, her flight on foot, her thirst and desire for water, and her drinking; and, when the armed men

5. Demonic passion: diwakan pakshotu'en; on the reading see Baumgartner, ZDMG 1886, pp. 509–10. He supposes the variant mrt's'akan trp'anais'n, "martial concupiscence," in X T goes back to the confusion between drX^Tou, "unbearable" and dtfA^Tt/cov in a Greek source.
6. But Eusebius says that Zoroaster was defeated by Semiramis, who fled from the Indians; Chronicle: Aucher, 1:91. See also I 18 below.
drew near, the [throwing of] the talisman into the sea, and the saying derived therefrom: "The pearls of Semiramis into the sea." But if you delight in fables: "Semiramis [turned into] stone before Niobe." But this is enough; we must now tell of what happened after this.

19. What happened after the death of Semiramis

Putting everything in order, I shall expound to you in this book the greatest men and ancestors of our nation, whatever stories concern them and each one's deeds, not injecting anything imaginary or unsuitable but [repeating] only what is taken from books and similarly from wise men learned in these matters, from whom we have attempted to make a judicious collection of antiquarian lore. And we claim to be truthful in this history through our diligence and faithfulness. According to these principles our collection has been made, as is clear to God; but whether men will praise or criticize it is of no import to us. However, the conformity of the accounts and the equivalence of the numbers of descendants indicate the truth of our labor. And as these matters are so arranged and exactitude is assured, or almost so, I shall begin to expound for you from the history "Web of Chries" the events that followed.

3. If you delight in fables: there is a close parallel in Gregory Nazianzenus; see Khalatiants', Ararat 1897, p. 532 (In laudem magni Athanasii, PG 35.108iff).
4. Niobe: Yalags Pitoyits' III 1 (Moses Khorenats'i, p. 373) mentions Niobe's turning into stone but has no reference to Semiramis. The reference to Niobe in Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 2:80, mentions her son Serapis, but there is not much likelihood of confusion with Semiramis. For the story of Semiramis turning into a dove, see Diodorus Siculus, II 20.

1. Antiquarian lore: hnakhawut'iwn, see I 6 n. 1. Apposite here is the use of ἀρχαίωργία in Diodorus Siculus, III 1.

2. From the history "Web of Chries": i Hiwsman patmut'enê Pitoyits'. (For Pitoyits' A reads bani'ti: "words, accounts.") This is a difficult expression. Pitoyi'tt=xwia: "maxims," a title used for works of rhetoric, e.g., the Girk Pitoyits' attributed to Moses himself in the Matenagrut'unk, analyzed in Baumgartner, ZDMG 1886, and esp. Sgarbi, Rendiconti 1969. Hiwsunan is sometimes used of compositions, for example, Thomas Artsruni, p. 7. Abelyan, Erker, 3:98ff, identifies this work with the "four books" of I 21 (on which see n. 2). But in what follows Moses is primarily indebted to Eusebius' Chronicle.
History of the Armenians

Now after the murder of Semiramis by her own son Zamesea, that is, Ninuas, we can know for certain the order of events to be as follows: After killing his wanton mother, Ninuas came to the throne and lived in peace; and in his time the days of Abraham came to an end.

The agreement of the genealogy of our nation with those of the Hebrews and Chaldaeans down to Sardanapalos, who was called Tawnos Konkoleros

Hebrews
Isaac
Jacob
Levi
Kahat'
Amram
Moses
Joshua

From him on, it is not according to tribe but according to the preeminence of the men, for they all [descend] from Abraham. When he slaughtered the Canaanites they fled from him to Agras, sailing for Tarṣis. This is clear from the inscription that is found on the stelae in Africa that survive to our own time. It truly reads as follows: "Put to flight by the robber Joshua we, the princes of the Canaanites, came to dwell here." One of these was our most honorable K'ananidas in Armenia. And we have discovered for a certain fact that the posterity of the Gnt'uni family undoubtedly descend from him. The character of the men of that family demonstrates that they are Canaanites.

3. For the identification of Zamesea and Ninuas, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:82, 98.
5. Eusebius merely equates the period of Abraham and Ninus; Chronicle: Aucher, 1:98. Several manuscripts start a new chapter here, but only ơ p number it twenty.
6. The identification of Sardanapalos with Tawnos Konkoleros is from Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:100.
7. Joshua is omitted from this list in ibid., p. 155.
8. On the Gnt'uni see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 204–5. Procopius, Wars, IV 10.18–23, explains the origin of the Moors as Canaanites who fled from Joshua, occupied Libya, and at Tīgisis in Numidia set up two columns with Phoenician inscriptions: "We are those put to flight by Joshua the brigand, son of Nau." A Carthaginian origin is ascribed to the Sassanians by Sébès.
Genealogy of Greater Armenia

Got'oniel
Avod
Barak
Gideon
Abimelek
T'ola
Yayir
Ep'tayi
Esebon
Elon
Labdon
Samson
Heji
Samuel
Saul
David, and his successors

Chaldaeans

Arios
Afalios, [who is] Amiwfes
Xerxes, [who is] Bal eos
Afammitf eos
Belok'os
Bal eos
Altados
Mamit'os
Mask'al es
Sp'eros
Mamilos
Spareto's
Askatades
Amintes
Belok'os
Balotofes
Lampafit es
Susafris
Lampafis

9. This list as far as Samuel is from Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:160-1.
Pannias
Sostomos
Mit'têos
Tewtamos
Tewtêos
T'inews
Defkiwlos
Ewpalmos
Lawost'enis
Petitiadês
Op'fatiôs
P'fatinis
Akfazanis
Sardanaupalos

Armenians
Ara, [son] of Ara

He is the son of our Ara, called Ara by Semiramis; she entrusted the task of governing our country to him. His [descendants] are:

Anushavan
Parêt
Arbak
Zavan
P'ar'nak
Sur

In his time lived Joshua son of Naw

Havanak
Vashtak
Haykak

Of him they say that he lived in the time of Belok'os and that he caused senseless riots and perished therein.

Ampak
A'nak
Savarsh
Norayr
Vstamkar
Gofak
Hrant

10. See ibid., pp. 98-100.
Genealogy of Greater Armenia

Endzak'
Gzak
Hawroy
Zarmayr

He was sent by Teutamos to help Priam with the Ethiopian army and was killed by the valiant Hellenes.

Perch
Arbun
Bazuk
Hoy
Yusak
Kaypak
Skayordi

20. Concerning Ara, the [son] of Ara, and his son Anushavan Sawsanuēr

Semiramis called the son born during her lifetime to Nuard, Ara’s beloved wife, Ara on account of her former passion for the handsome Ara; he was twelve years old at the time of Ara’s death. And having sincere confidence in him, she entrusted the government of the country to him. They say of him that he died in the war against Semiramis.

But [Mar Abas Catina] continues the order of his narrative after this as follows: Ara, the son of Ara, dies in the war against Semiramis, leaving a male child exceedingly strong and very accomplished in deeds and words, Anushavan Sawsanuēr. For he had been dedicated to the cult at the plane trees of Aramaneak in Armavir. The murmuring of their foliage and the direction of their movement at the gentler or stronger blowing of the wind

11. With the exceptions of Ara (I 20), Anushavan (I 20), Zarmayr (I 32), and Skayordi (I 21–23), none of the other names in this list of Armenian heroes appears elsewhere in Moses Khorenats’i.

1. Sawsanuēr: “devoted to the plane trees”—saws (plane or poplar tree)—a—nuēr (offering). The variant in TX (both in the chapter heading and the text) or saws anuanēr, “who was named saws,” is not supported by John Catholicos, p. 19. Cf. the cult among the trees established by Manasseh and the divination (hmayel) of his son in 4 Kings 21:3–6; also the grove in Tacitus, Annals, XII 47. See further n. 4 below.


3. Note the play on saws (plane tree) and sausawiu (murmuring).
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was used for divination in the land of the Armenians, and that for a long time.

This Anushavan, having endured Zamesia's scorn for a long time, was embittered at the royal court. But helped by friends, he gained control over part of the country and imposed tribute, and later over the whole. But it would be too much if we were to repeat in this history everything worthwhile, both words and deeds of the men mentioned above.

21. Paroyr, son of Skayordi, was the first to reign in Armenia;

He helped Varbak the Mede to seize the kingdom from Sardanapalos

Omitting what is least important from our account, we shall speak of what is significant. The last of those who lived in the time of the Assyrian kingdom and [who were descended] from Semiramis or Ninos I say was our Paroyr in the time of Sardanapalos. He gave no little help to Varbak the Mede in seizing the kingdom from Sardanapalos.1

And now I shall rejoice with no little joy on reaching the period when the descendants of our original ancestor acquired the status of royalty. Therefore it is right for us now to set to a great task and to recount many adventures. As the basis for such matters we considered it right that we ourselves should read the four rhapsodies of that eloquent and wise man, indeed the wisest of wise men.2

4. Divination: hmayk', see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 180. This noun ("divination" or "diviner") and the verb hmayel are used widely in the Old Testament to render nouns or verbs related to χηρόσμιος, ωικοσμίος, πατριαρχή. Cf. also Mandakuni, Cha' 26.

5. Zamesia: see I 19 n. 3 above.

1. Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:89, 100, says that Varbakes seized power from Sardanapalos with the help of the Babylonian general Belesus. Cf. also Diodorus Siculus, II 24.27.

2. Four rhapsodies: chors hagnergut'iwns, a calque on βαφθία—the recitation of epic poetry (hagnel "to stitch," erg "song"). Abelyan, Erker, 1:98ff identifies these otherwise unknown four books with an epic history of Tigran in four parts; this he considers to have been a traditional (verbal) account put into writing by Moses; see above I 19 n. 2. Cf. also Manandian, Tigrane, p. 60: the four "rhapsodies" of ancient songs and historical traditions. Malkhasyants', n. 48 (see Moses Khorenats'i in bibliography), thinks that the wise man is David Anyalt'; cf. I 6 n. 10 above. Moses uses the term hagnergut'iwn of his own History in II 92 at n. 4.
Varbakes, a native of Media, from the obscurest extremity of that inaccessible province, was very cunning in his conduct and renowned in battle. Being aware of the effeminate way of life and sensuous effeminacy and sloth of T'on Konkołěsős, by his generosity and liberality he gained friends among the brave and illustrious men by whom the Assyrian empire at that time was being governed nobly and with great stability. He attracted to himself our valiant Prince Paroýr, promising him the splendor and title of royalty; he also gathered many groups of brave men who were expert with the lance, bow, and sword. Thus he seized the kingdom for himself from Sardanapalos and ruled over Assyria and Nineveh. Leaving others as governors for Assyria, he transferred the royal capital to Media.

If this is narrated by others in a different fashion, do not be surprised. For just as in the earlier chapters above we blamed the un scholarly habits and inclinations of our first ancestors, the same is the case here. For the deeds of the father of Nebuchadnezzar were written down by the supervisors of their annals, whereas since our own people did not think of doing such a thing, in recent times have [their deeds] been recorded. So if you were to ask: “Whence did we thus learn the names of our ancestors and the deeds of many of them?” I reply: “From the ancient archives of the Chaldaeans, Assyrians, and Persians, since their names and deeds were entered on the royal acts as prefects and governors of our land appointed by them and as satraps.”

22. The order of our kings and their number from father to son

Now I shall pass to the number of our [great] men, especially the kings, down to the rule of the Parthians. For these men [descended] from our kings are dear to me as compatriots and kindred of my own blood and true brothers. How dear it would
have been for me if the Savior had come at that time and re-
deemed me and if my entrance into the world had occurred in
their time, if I could delight in their rule and escape from the
dangers of the present! But that circumstance, or indeed fortune,
long ago escaped us. But now I, living during the reign of for-
eigners, shall set forth the order of the kings of our nation along-
side theirs. The national monarchs of our land were those men
whose names we shall inscribe below.

And that the kingdom of our nation truly existed at that time
is attested by the prophet Jeremiah in his speech when he was
urging war against Babylon: “Command,” he said, “the realm
of Ayrarat and the troop of Ask’anaz” [Jer. 51:2]. And this verifies
the existence of our kingdom at that time. But as we set out the
order of the kings [we shall place] beside it that of the kings of the
Medes.

*The first of the Medes*
Varbakĕs
Mawdakis
Sawsarmos
Aftikas
Deŏkis
P’favortis
Kvaxarĕs
Azhdahak

*Our first [king] crowned by the Mede Varbakĕs*
Paroyp, son of Skayordi
Hrach’eay

He was called Hrach’eay because of his exceedingly shining face
and flaming eyes. In his time they say lived Nebuchadnezzar,

2. *Foreigners: awtarats'.* This phrase is not of much help in dating
Moses; it could mean Sasanian rule after the abolition of the Arsacid mon-
archy in 427 A.D. or Muslim rule from the late seventh to late ninth centuries.
X T read “Medes” (marats’).

3. The biblical text in Hebrew, Greek, and Armenian refers to the
“kingdoms of Ararat” (Ayrarat in Arm.). The Syriac reads: “The kingdoms
of Ararat, the Armenians, and Ashkenaz,” but Moses clearly equates Ayrarat
and Armenia.

4. This list is from Eusebius, *Chronicle:* Aucher, 1:101, with some
variations in the spelling of the names.

5. This is the only recorded instance of the name Hracheay; see Justi,
*Namenbuch,* p. 131. Moses derives the name from hur (“fire”) and ach’k’
king of the Babylonians, who took the Jews captive. And they say that he asked Nebuchadnezzar for one of the captive Hebrew leaders, Shambat by name, and brought and settled him in our country with great honor. From him the historian says that the Bagratuni family descends, and that is certain. But what efforts our kings made to constrain them to the worship of idols, how many of them, and who they were, who lost their lives for worshipping Gog, we shall later relate methodically. For some unreliable men say, out of fancy and not according to the truth, that the coronant family of the Bagratuni descends from Hayk. Therefore I reply: "Do not believe such foolish words, as there is no vestige or sign of probability in those stories that might indicate the truth. For they are disordered babblings of vain words concerning Hayk and his ilk. But know that this name Smbat, which the Bagratunik often give to their children, is in truth Shambat' in their original speech, that is, Hebrew."
For I say that the later Eruand and Tigran were indeed named after these in expectation, \(^{11}\) the time being not very distant [that] someone recalled these names.

23. Concerning the sons of Senek'erim, from whom are descended the Artsruni and the Gnuni and the bdeashkh called of Aldznik'; and in the same chapter, that the house of Angl derives from Pask'am

Now before we undertake the history of Tigran the Great,\(^1\) who was the ninth of our native crowned [kings], strong and renowned and victorious over other rulers, let us recount what is most important for the coherence of our work. The story concerning Senek'erim has fallen into oblivion. Eighty years, more or less, before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Assyria was Senek'erim, who besieged Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah, the leader of the Jews. But his sons Adramelek' and Sanasar killed him and fled to us [cf. Is. 37:38].\(^2\)

One of these, that is, Sanasar, our valiant ancestor Skayordi settled in the southwest of our land, near the borders of the same Assyria; his descendants multiplied and propagated and filled the mountain called Sim.\(^3\) The most illustrious and foremost among them, showing thereafter friendly services to our kings, were honored with the vitaxate\(^4\) of those regions. Now Ardamo-\(^5\) zn\(^6\) dwelt to the southeast of the same area, and from him, says the historian, descend the Artsruni\(^6\) and Gnuni.\(^7\) This is the reason for our remembering Senek'erim.

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11. In expectation: est yusoy, as in II 57 n. 3.
1. For Tigran see I 24ff.
2. In 4 Kings 19:37 "Armenia" is Ararad in the Armenian and Apapor in the LXX. But in Isaiah 37:38 the Apaeria of the LXX is rendered by Hayk'. Moses' text in other respects also is closer to Isaiah. The Sanasar of Moses is Sarasar in all the biblical texts, but Sanasar is the form in the Artsruni tradition (see n. 6 below) and in Sasunts'i Davit'. See also II 8 n. 27 and III 55 n. 15.
3. Sim, a mountain in Sasun; see Hübshmann, AON, p. 316.
4. Vitaxate: bdeashkhut'iusn. On the office of bdeashkh see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 155-8; cf. also II 8 below.
5. According to Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:43, Senekerim was killed by his son Ardumuzan; he has no reference to the biblical account involving Sanasar and Adramelek.
6. Artsruni: for the Artsruni claim to descent from Senekerim, see Thomas Artsruni, p. 405, and Toumanoff, Studies, p. 303; cf. also Moses, II 5; at III 55 Artsruni descent from Sanasar is claimed. See II 7 for Moses' etymology of Artsruni.
But the same historian says that the house of Angl\textsuperscript{8} descends
from a certain Pask'am, grandson of Haykak.

24. Concerning Tigran, what sort of man he was in everything

But let us now pass on to discuss Tigran and his deeds, for he,
of all our kings, was the most powerful and intelligent and
the most valiant of these and of all others. He assisted Cyrus in
overthrowing the dominion of the Medes, and he brought the
Greeks into subjection to himself for no little time. He extended
the borders of our territory and established them at their extreme
limits in antiquity. He was envied by all who lived in his time,
while he and his epoch were admired by posterity.\textsuperscript{1}

Who among true men and those who appreciate deeds of
valor and prudence would not be stirred by his memory and
aspire to become such a man? He was supreme among men and
by showing his valor he glorified our nation. Those who had been
under a yoke he put in a position to subject\textsuperscript{2} and demand tribute
from many. He multiplied the stores of gold and silver and pre-
cious stones, of garments and brocades of various colors, both for
men and women, with the help of which the ugly appeared as
wonderful as the handsome, and the handsome were altogether
deified at the time. The infantry was carried on the shoulders of
horses;\textsuperscript{3} the slingers were all skilled archers; those with clubs\textsuperscript{4}
were armed with swords and lances; the unarmed\textsuperscript{5} were entirely

\textsuperscript{7} On the Gnuni family see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 205. See II 7 for
Moses' etymology of Gnuni.

\textsuperscript{8} Angl was originally the name of a pagan deity; Primary History,
Sebés, p. 9. See II 8 for Moses' etymology of this name and for references to
secondary literature.

\textsuperscript{1} The Tigran, son of a king of Armenia who was an ally of Cyrus, is
mentioned in Xenophon, Cyropaedia; see full references in Toumanoff,
Studies, p. 69 n. 71. But the Tigran who extended the Armenian borders to
their farthest extent was Tigran II (first century B.C.); see II 14 ff. For Cyrus'
overthrowing the Medes, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:1102, and cf.
Herodotus, The Histories, I 73, 95.

\textsuperscript{2} The play on end Itsov and Itsadir is difficult to render in English.

\textsuperscript{3} For a parallel in Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khalatiants', Ararat 1897,
p. 532. The text in fact is Gregory Thaumaturgus, Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten
Solomonis, PG 10.987ff.

\textsuperscript{4} Those with clubs: shertawork'. Shert is a piece of wood; cf. Faustos,
III 7, where shertawor is used to describe the infantry of barbarian invaders.

\textsuperscript{5} Unarmed: merk, "naked"; but cf. the Greek γυμνος, "unprotected by
armor," LSJ, s.v. γυμνος 2.
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protected by shields and iron garments. The mere sight of them assembled in one spot, with the shining rays of their armor and weapons, was sufficient to disperse the enemy. The bringer of peace and prosperity, he fattened everyone with oil and honey [cf. Ez. 16:19; Is. 7:15].

These and many others like them were the benefits brought to our country by Tigran, son of Eruand. [He was] blond with grey-flecked hair, of ruddy complexion and gentle eyed, personable and broad shouldered, strong legged and with noble feet, continent in eating and drinking and orderly at feasts, and—as those among our ancients who sang to the lyre used to say—moderate in the pleasures of the flesh; he was wise and eloquent and eminent in everything that pertains to mankind. What then could be dearer to me in this book than to repeat his praises and the stories about him? He was just and equal in every judgment, and he weighed all the circumstances of each case impartially. He did not envy the noble nor did he despise the humble, but over all alike he spread the mantle of his care.

At first he was allied with Azhdahak, who was a Mede, and gave him his sister Tigranuhi in marriage after Azhdahak had sought her with insistence. For the latter said: "Through such a

6. Cf. the description of the battle line in III 37 below. Moses is following the descriptions in 1 Macc. 6:59 and 2 Macc. 5:3. See also the introduction to this book.

7. Peace and prosperity: cf. Agathangelos, §16 (prosperity is bestowed by God), and §128 (bestowed by the pagan gods).

8. For Eruand, see II 37ff. For the chronological confusion and the significance of the descent from Orontids to Tigranids, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 284ff.

9. Lyre: _p'andiri_; see I 6 n. 20.

10. For the description of Tigran, cf. that of Hayk in I 10 and that of Erakhnavu in II 62. Khalatiants', _Epos_, pp. 181–2, notes many biblical parallels, but they are not verbally identical. For parallels between these traditions and historical events, see Abelyan, _Erker_, 1:105ff, and Manandian, _Tigrane_, pp. 60–3; and for an early poem on Tigran, see Mnatsakanyan, _BEH_ 1973.

11. Azhdahak: the Armenian form for the Iranian _āši dahāka_ ("the snake Dahāka"), in Greek _Aarvāγα_, as in Eusebius, _Chronicle_: Aucher, 1:101; cf. I 22 above. For the etymology, see Hübschmann, _Grammatik_, p. 32. (The manuscripts of _T_ generally read _Ashdahak_.)

12. Tigranuhi: this name is not attested except for Tigran’s sister; see Hübschmann, _Grammatik_, p. 87, and Achaian, _Andzhanaunneri Bašaran_, s.v. Dio Cassius, VI 16, says that the king of the Medes of Atrapatakan married one of Tigran’s daughters.

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relationship either I shall have a firm friendship with Tigran, or in this way I shall easily lure him to assassination.” For he [Tigran] was an object of suspicion to him since an unexpected prophecy [had revealed] to him his future destiny.

25. Concerning the fear and doubt caused Azhdahak by the alliance between Cyrus and Tigran

Now the cause of such reflections was the warm alliance between Cyrus and Tigran; sleep fled from Azhdahak when he thought of this, and he unceasingly asked his counselors about this matter: “In what way,” he said, “will we be able to loose the bond of friendship between the Persian and the Armenian with his myriads?” While he was troubled with these thoughts he had a vision of the future through a prophetic dream, which he [Mar Abas Catina] relates as follows:

26. How Azhdahak, in his suspicion, saw his future destiny in a wonderful dream

In those days, says [Mar Abas Catina], there was no little danger to Azhdahak the Mede from the alliance of Cyrus and Tigran. For that reason, and from the severe agitation of his thoughts, a vision appeared to him during his sleep at night, which in his waking hours he had never seen with his eyes or heard with his ears. Awaking with a start he did not wait according to custom for the hour of the council;1 but there being still several hours of night, he summoned his counselors. With a sad face and his gaze turned to the ground, he sighed from the depths of his heart. When the counselors asked him the reason, he delayed his response for some hours. At last with a groan he began to reveal all the thoughts and doubts hidden in his heart and also the details of the fearful vision.2

“My friends,” he said, “it happened to me today that I was in an unknown land near to a mountain that rose high from the earth and whose peak appeared enveloped in thick ice. One would have said that it was in the land of the Armenians. As I

1. Council: khorhrdanuteann, a term sometimes used for the senate; see Nor Bağirk', s.v.
2. Fearful vision: ahagin tesleann, as in Dan. 2:31. Cf. Dan. 2:2-3 for the king, troubled by a dream, summoning his counselors. Note also the verbal parallel with 2 Mace. 14:8: “from the severe agitation of his thoughts” (i sastku’ené isp’anats’ khorhrdots’n, Macc: metsaw isp’anawak’ mtakhoh).
gazed for a long time at the mountain, a woman dressed in purple and wrapped in a veil the color of the sky appeared sitting at the summit of that great height. Her eyes were beautiful, her stature tall, her cheeks red, and she was seized with the pains of childbirth. As I looked for a long time in amazement at this sight, the woman suddenly gave birth to three heroes, fully formed in stature and form. The first was mounted on a lion and flew to the west; the second on a leopard looked to the north; but the third rode a monstrous dragon and launched an attack on our empire.

“In the midst of such confused visions it seemed to me that I was standing on the roof of my royal palace, and I saw the surface of this pavilion adorned with beautiful and many-colored awnings; the gods who crowned me were present in a wonderful spectacle, and I, with you, was honoring them with sacrifices and incense. Suddenly I looked up and saw the man who was riding the dragon, flying with eagle's wings, bearing down; he was already close by, intending to destroy the gods. But I Azhdahak, interposing myself, received this attack upon myself and came to grips with the wonderful hero. First we both hacked each other's body with lances, causing streams of blood to flow; the surface of the palace that shines like the sun we made a sea of blood. Thus, and later with other arms, we fought for several hours.

“But what advantage is there for me to prolong the story? For the end of the matter was destruction. So the danger put me into a great sweat and sleep fled from me; thereafter I did not seem to be alive. The course of these visions indicates nothing else save that Tigran the Armenian is about to come upon us in a violent assault. Who then, with the help of the gods, by offering us useful advice in word and deed will not hope to become our fellow sovereign?”

And hearing many useful suggestions from his counselors he honored them with his gratitude.

6. Surface: eress. Azhdahak was standing on the roof of his palace.
7. For the battle with a dragon cf. Rev. 12:7ff.
27. Concerning the counselors’ advice, his own thoughts thereafter, and the immediate action

“I have heard many thoughtful and wise things from you, my friends,” he said. “I shall now tell you which of them, with the help of the gods, I consider to be the most useful advice. For nothing brings greater advantage, when one is taking precautions against the enemy and wishes to know his plans, than for someone through the pretense of friendship to plot his downfall. This, furthermore, we cannot now accomplish through money or deceitful words unless we now act as I wish. The means to accomplish my plan and the bait for the trap is the most beautiful and intelligent among women, his sister Tigranuhi. For she has such extensive connections with the outside and abroad as will freely enable us, through her journeying, to plan his assassination secretly and easily: either on some unforeseen occasion to bid one of his friends, with presents and the promise of honors, to slay him with the sword or by means of poison; or to strip him of his intimates and lieutenants by money and thus to seize him like a powerless child.”

His friends considered such a plan to be effective, and they prepared to put it into execution. To one of his counselors he gave a great sum of money and sent him off with a letter in the following terms:

28. The letter of Azhdahak, the ensuing agreement of Tigran, and the journey of Tigranuhi to Media

“Your beloved fraternity knows that nothing more useful in the life of this world has been granted us by the gods than a great number of friends, and especially truly wise and powerful ones. For thus troubles from outside do not disturb us, and those that do reach us are quickly driven away; while no such evil finds an entry within but is expelled. Now, seeing that such useful advantages accrue from friendship, I have decided to confirm even more firmly and deeply the love that exists between us, so that we may both be secure on every side and also keep our empires secure and stable. And this will occur if you give me in marriage the princess of Greater Armenia, your sister Tigranuhi, if indeed you consider this advantageous to her that she become queen of queens. Be well our fellow sovereign and beloved brother.”

Without prolonging the story I shall say: the messenger
arrived and accomplished [the mission] concerning the beautiful maiden, for Tigran agreed and gave his sister Tigranuhi in marriage to Azhdahak. He did not yet know of the latter's plot and sent his sister according to royal custom. Azhdahak received her, and not only because of the deceit in his heart but also because of her beauty made her the first in rank of his wives, though underneath he was spinning an evil web.

29. How his deceit was discovered and the war provoked, in which Azhdahak died

After this he says that when Azhdahak had established Tigranuhi as queen he did nothing in his kingdom without her will; but at her word he regulated everything and ordered everyone to obey her command. Having arranged everything in this manner, he gently began to proffer her deceitful words: “Do you not know,” he said, “that your brother Tigran, incited by his wife Zaruhi, is envious of your authority over the Aryans? And what will become of this, save that first I shall die and then Zaruhi will reign over the Aryans and occupy the place of the goddesses? So you must choose one of these alternatives: either remain friendly with your brother and accept ignominious ruin in the eyes of the Aryans, or, realizing your own best interests, propose some useful advice and take heed for the present situation.”

In this plot he hid the [intended] death of Tigranuhi if she did not make a proposal in accordance with the wishes of the Medo-Persian. But the prudent and beautiful woman discerned this treachery; she replied to Azhdahak in loving words but swiftly informed her brother of the deceit through friends.

Thenceforth [Azhdahak] set to work, [suggesting to Tigran] through an embassy that they should meet midway on the borders of their two realms for mutual discussions, as if some important matter or business had arisen that could not be treated by means of a letter or an exchange of messengers but only if the two met face to face. However, Tigran knew the purpose of the message and hid nothing of Azhdahak’s plot, but in a letter revealed what was in the depths of his heart. And once such baseness had been

1. He: Is Moses implying that he took this story from Mar Abas Catina, or from the “Web of Chries” (I 19 n. 2), or from the “Four Rhapsodies” (I 21 n. 2) that specifically deal with the reign of Tigran?

2. Zaruhi: the name is otherwise unattested; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 389.

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revealed there was thenceforth no excuse or deceit that could veil such wickedness, but then war broke out openly.

The Armenian king gathered [troops] from the confines of Cappadocia, the total elite of Georgia and Albania, and the elite of Greater and Lesser Armenia. He marched with all his host to the borders of Media. The danger then forced Azhdahak to oppose the Armenian with no less a force. The struggle lasted for five full months, since swift and decisive action languished when Tigran thought of his beloved sister. He made efforts to arrange the outcome of events so that Tigranuhi might have a means of escape. When this had been accomplished, the hours of combat approached.

So I praise my noble champion, the lancer well proportioned in all his limbs and perfect in the beauty of his frame, for he was vigorous and adept in everything, and in strength he had no equal. But why do I prolong my account? When the battle was joined, with his lance he split Azhdahak’s iron armor like water; the point of the lance ran right through him, and as he drew it back again he brought out with his weapon half of his lungs. The combat was magnificent, for heroes were facing heroes, and not straightway did they turn their backs to each other. Therefore the struggle was drawn out over long hours. But the death of Azhdahak brought it to an end. And this feat, added to his good fortune, increased Tigran’s glory.

This too is told, that after these successful events he sent his sister Tigranuhi with royal pomp and a large escort to Armenia to the city that Tigran had built and called after his own name, Tigranakert. And he ordered those districts to be her appanage. And he says that the nobility of those regions called Ostan is descended from her as a royal line.

1. Tigranakert was constructed by Tigran II on the site of modern Silvan (Mayafarkin, Martyropolis). See Manandian, Tigrane, pp. 54–8, and the references there to classical sources. See also Sargsyan, Hellenisitikan, p. 64, for this as the site of Tigran’s coronation and its association with the old Armenian royal burial ground in Angl.
2. He: see I 29 n. 1.
3. Ostan: i.e., Angl; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 168. Ostan is literally “royal land” or “royal city”; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 215.
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But Anoysh,4 Azhdahak's first wife, and many princesses of Azhdahak's seed with young men and a multitude of prisoners, more than ten thousand in number, he settled from the eastern flank of the great mountain as far as the borders of Golt'n,5 that is Tambat, Oskiolay, Dazhgoynk',6 and the other estates on the bank of the river, including Vranjunik',7 as far as opposite the castle of Nakhchavan,8 and the three towns of Khram,9 Julay,10 and Khorshakunik'11 on the other side of the river, the entire plain, whose capital is Azhdanakan,12 as far as the same castle of Nakhchavan. But the aforementioned Queen Anoysh he settled with her sons on the extensive crags of the summit of the great mountain. (These came into being from a terrible earthquake, as say those who in many journeys at the command of Ptolemy have measured in stadia the habitat of men and also in part the sea and the uninhabited land from the torrid zone as far as Cimmeria.)13 He gave servants to Anoysh from among the same Medes who dwelt at the foot of the mountain.

This is confirmed by the rhythmic songs14 that the inhabi-

4. On the name Anoysh, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, pp. 18-9.
5. Golt'n: described as "wine producing" (ginewet) in the next paragraph—as in the Ashkharhats'oyts' (LR, p. 109; SR, p. 350). It is a district in southern Siunik' (see Hübschmann, AON, p. 346) particularly noted for its singers of tales; see n. 14 below.
6. These last three place names are otherwise unattested, but see Eremyan, Map G6 (Hayastané), for Tambat and Oskiolay.
7. Vranjunik': see Hübschmann, AON, p. 472.
8. Nakhchevan: on the Araxes between Vaspurakan and Siunik'; see ibid., p. 455.
9. Khram: see ibid., p. 455.
11. Khorshakunik': otherwise unattested in early Armenian texts.
12. Azhdanakan: otherwise unattested in early Armenian texts, but see Eremyan, "Ashkharhats'oyts', p. 79, s.v. Sakhurak. Cf. below and II 49; this is the land held by the descendants of Azhdahak.
13. The reference to the geographers is based on the first section of the Ashkharhats'oyts' (LR, p. 7; SR, p. 937); Moses has verbal parallels with both recensions and exact agreement with neither. Cimmeria: a general term for the barbarous lands north of the Black Sea (not in the Ashkharhats'oyts').
14. Rhythmic songs: t'ueleats' ergk'. There has been much discussion of the meaning of this phrase. T'ueleats' is a gen. pl. of t'uel, a past participle of t'uel, from the noun tiw "number." The Greek equivalent, ἀργυρόβου, is used of rhythm in prose; see LSJ, s.v. ἀργυρόβου VIII. Khalatiants' proposes two possible meanings: "chronological" (Epos, p. 177) or "allegorical" (Epos,
tants of the wine-producing district of Golt'n have lovingly preserved, as I hear; these include songs about Artashēs and his sons, and they recall in allegorical fashion also the descendants of Azhdahak, whom they call descendants of the dragon because Azhdahak in our tongue is dragon. They say that

Argavan made a feast in honor of Artashēs and there was a plot against him in the temple of the dragons.

They also say that

Artavazd, the valiant son of Artashēs, did not find a place for his palace when Artashat was founded; so he crossed over and built Marakert in Media,

which is in the plain called Sharur's.
"But," they say, "queen Sat’inik\textsuperscript{22} had great desire for the vegetable \textit{artakhur} and the shoot \textit{tits’} from the table of Argavan."\textsuperscript{23}

So are you not now more amazed at the truth of our history, how we have revealed the secrets of the dragons who live up on Noble Masis?\textsuperscript{24}

31. \textit{Who were his descendants, and what were the families derived from him?}

To give a faithful account of the original and first Tigran and his various deeds is a task dear to me as a historian in my narrative concerning Tigran, the son of Eruand, and may it so be for you too, O reader; as was the man and his deeds, so too will be the account of him. Therefore I like to name for their valor, in this order, Hayk, Aram, Tigran. For the descendants of heroes are heroes; but as for those of second rank, let one call them what seems to him appropriate. But according to the reputation of heroic nature, what we are saying is true. There is no Aramazd save among those wishing to hear that Aramazd exists; among the four or more called Aramazd is a certain bald Aramazd.\textsuperscript{1} So too there are many called Tigran, but only one descended from Hayk, who killed Azhdahak and led into captivity his house and

\textsuperscript{22} Satinik: see II 49, 50: the wife of Artashes and mother of Artavazd who fought Argavan. For further stories about Satinik see Thomas Artsruni, \textit{Patmut’iwn}, pp. 97–100.

\textsuperscript{23} This sentence is obscure. Abelyan, \textit{Erker}, 1:174, thinks it refers to magical practices; for various other interpretations see Malkhasyants’, n. 65, and Acha’t’ean, \textit{Armatakan Bataran}, s.v. \textit{artakhoyr}. Ch’t’ch’ean, \textit{Bazmavép} 1950, pp. 173–6, emends the text to (z)\textit{artahur khawar ew (z)dits’ khawarch’i}, i.e., Satinik desired the fiery darkness and that of the gloomy gods. This emendation has no manuscript authority. The usual explanation is that some kind of (magical?) herbs are intended.


\textsuperscript{1} Bald Aramazd: \textit{Kund omn Aramazd}. Avdabeiyan, \textit{Studies}, pp. 137–41, explains \textit{kund} merely as “strongest.” But Khalatians’, \textit{Epos}, pp. 291–2, notes more appositely that Clement of Alexandria refers to a statue of Zeus, which was \textit{φαλακρός} (“bald”) in Argos; see Clement, \textit{Protrepticus}, II 39.
Anoysh the mother of dragons, and who with the willing help and encouragement of Cyrus seized for himself the empire of the Medes and Persians.

His sons were Pap, Tiran, Vahagn, of whom the fables of our land say:

Heaven was in travail, earth was in travail, the purple sea was also in travail; in the sea travail also gripped the red reed. From the tube of the reed came forth smoke, from the tube of the reed came forth flame. From the flame a red-headed young boy ran out. He had fire for hair, and had flame for beard, and his eyes were suns.

With our own ears we have heard some singing this on the lyre. Then they would say in their song that he fought with dragons and overcame them; and they sang of him something very similar to the heroic exploits of Heracles. But they said that he was divinized, and setting up his statue in Georgia they honored it with sacrifices. His descendants are the Vahunik; and from his youngest son Afavan [are descended] the Afaveneank. He [begat] Afavan, he Nerseh, and he Zareh; from the last’s descendants come the families known as Zarehavanik. Now the first of

2. Redheaded: kharteash, perhaps “tawny,” “flaxen.” It renders the υποδέραμα of 1 Kings 17:42, describing the youthful David facing Goliath.

3. For this passage on Vahagn see Dumezil, RHR 1938, pp. 161ff. For biblical parallels, see Khalatiants, Epos, 2:51; note especially the comparable description of leviathan in Job 41:9–13 (Armenian version). For Vahagn as sun, cf. Philo, De Decaloglo, Chark, p. 287. For other early Armenian references to Vahagn, see Thomson, Agathangelos, p. lxiii and notes.

4. For Vahagn’s fighting dragons, see Thomson, Agathangelos, §809 n.4.

5. Vahagn and Heracles are equated in Faustos, III 14. and 2 Macc. 4:19; cf. also II 12. The Greek Agathangelos (Ag) also renders Vahagn (§809 of Ag) as Heracles.

6. The reference to Heracles in Georgia may be based on Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:95; cf. Strabo, Geography, XII 4:3; Heracles sailed on the Argo to Colchis. Juansher, p. 12, notes the worship of the sun in Georgia; and von Wesendonck, Caucasica 1:88, identifies the Ares worshiped in Georgia (cf. Herodotus, The Histories, VII 70) with Vahagn. For the divinization of Tigran II as Vahagn, see Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 55–58.

7. For the Vahunik’ and their claim, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 215; for the Araveneank’, ibid., p. 199; for the Zarehavanik’, ibid., p. 219.
[Zareh’s sons] was Armog; he [begat] Bagam, he Vahan, he Vahe. The last rebelled and was killed by Alexander of Macedon. 

From this point until the reign of Valarshak in Armenia I have nothing very accurate to tell you, for there was confusion caused by factions, and men rivaled each other for the control of our country. Therefore Arshak the Great easily entered Armenia and made his brother Valarshak king over Armenia.

32. The war of Ilium in the time of Tewtamus; the participation of our Zarmayr with a small Ethiopian army, and his death

There are two things deriving from your desire for knowledge that have imposed great labor upon us: brevity and rapidity; that our account should be elegant and lucid, like Platonic works, far from falsehood and full of what opposes falsehood; that we should carry the narrative from the first man down to yourself in the present. To bring all these together is impossible. For although He who created everything was able in His providence to establish everything in the twinkling of an eye, yet He did not so act but distinguished the days and ranks among the creatures. For some are creatures of the first day, some of the second and third and other days. And thus the teaching of the Spirit indicates to us similar ranks. But we see that your desire goes beyond such a divine limit, so that everything must be told for you truly and accurately and in [its proper] time. But either [we must narrate] these matters at length to satisfy your desire, or rapidly, which will not please you. Thus, because of your great haste, behold we have not indicated in their place anything about the Macedonian or about the Ilian war; but we have added it here. I cannot say whether we are here acting like a wise or like an unskilled workman, one competent or not, in adding now at the end these stories, which are important and worthy of our history.

What then are the first of such tales if not those narrated by Homer: the one that is told about the Ilian war in the time of Tewtamos the Assyrian, and that our Zarmayr under the rule of

8. Shaninyan, PBH 1973, takes this as a reference to the Armenians in the Persian armies at the battles of Issus and Gaugamela; Vahē he identifies with Μοδαιστής, according to Arrian, the Armenian general at Gaugamela.
9. See II 2–3.
1. Brevity: hamarawtasi rut’iwn, lit. “the love of succinctness”; see I 1 n. 7 for Moses’ canons of historical writing.
the Assyrians helped Priam with a small Ethiopian army, was there wounded by the valiant Hellenes, and was killed—by Achilles, I would like to think, and not by any other hero.²

The end of the first book, the genealogy of Greater Armenia

². For the Ilian war in the time of Tewtamos and the Ethiopian army, see Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:87–8; Eusebius is quoting Diodorus (see Diodorus Siculus, II 22), but neither author mentions an Armenian Zarmayr. He is otherwise unknown; Justi, Namenbuch, p. 385, suggests an etymology zarm ("family, line") and ayr ("man"). Awärean, Bzma'ewp 1946, 1947, equates Zarmayr with the Memnon of Eusebius and Diodorus; Memnon commanded both the Assyrian contingent and ten thousand Ethiopians—hardly a "small" army as Moses has it. Moses' references to Achilles (also III 19, 40) are more likely to come from an intermediary source—for example, Ps.-Callisthenes, Theon, the Scholia of Nonnus, or Yalags Pitoyits'—than from a personal reading of the Iliad.
But what then is your delight in the obscene and ridiculous fables of Biurasp Azhdahak; and why do you trouble us for those absurd and incoherent Persian stories, notorious for their imbecility? His first benevolence; the service paid him by the dev; his inability to make the fraudulent and false prevail; the kiss on the shoulders and the consequent birth of the dragons; then the increase of evil, the consuming of men for the needs of his stomach; then [how] a certain Hrudên bound him with bronze links and led him to the mountain called Dembavend; and [how] on the journey Hrudên fell asleep and Biurasp dragged him to the hill; and Hrudên woke up and led him to a cave in the mountain and bound him and placed himself there opposite him; cowed by him, [Biurasp] remained subject to his chains and was unable to go out and ravage the earth.

What need have you of these false fables; what use are these senseless and stupid compositions? Surely they are not Greek fables, noble and polished and meaningful, which have hidden in themselves allegorically the meaning of the events. But you

1. See Chukaszyian, Telekagir 1958, p. 72ff, and his Hay-Iranakan, pp. 65ff, for a comparison of the story of Azhdahak in Moses and that of Zohhak in Firdowsi.
2. See von Stackelberg, WZKM 1898, p. 238, for a comparison of the story of Hruden in Moses and in the later Persian Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadani. Hruden is the Feridun of Firdowsi.
3. Allegorically: aylabanabar: see I 30 n. 16.
4. For a parallel to this sentence in Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khala-
ask us to explain the reason for their irrationality and to embellish what is unadorned. This is my reply to you: "What need have you of these? What is your delight in desiring such an undesirable matter and increasing our labor?" But as it is the desire of your youthful years and immature understanding we shall provide them. Therefore we shall here fulfill your desired wish.

Statement of what is reliable concerning Biurasp

I now freely quote the [saying] of Plato: "Could indeed anyone be another self to a friend? There is no such." In addition to the other impossibilities, which for your sake we made possible, this too we shall accomplish. The stories and deeds of which we speak, and especially those whose recital offends our ears, today I shall set out by my own hand, giving a meaning to their irrationality. And behold I shall reveal their [the Persians'] most ancient events, which are incomprehensible to them themselves, provided that you gain some pleasure from them or useful profit. But know that such an undertaking is hateful to us, for we did not speak of them in our first book, nor did we deem them worthy of inclusion even at the end of that account, but in a separate and special place. I shall begin thus:

The one they called Biurasp Azhdahak was their ancestor; [he lived] in the time of Nimrod [Nebrot']. When the languages were divided over the whole world, there was not confusion nor were leaders lacking; but by divine providence the various chief-tains and clan heads inherited each one's territories with orderly authority. And I know that this definite name of Biurasp is found in a Chaldaean book as the Centaur Piurid. Subject to...
Nimrod, he held the chiefdom of his family not so much by his own valor as by force and cunning. He wished to show everyone a way of life in common, and he said that people should not possess anything privately but in common. Everything of his was open, both word and deed; he had no hidden thoughts, but all the secrets of his heart he brought out into the open by his tongue. He allowed his friends to come and go as freely at night as in the day. And this is his so-called first maleficent kindness.

Now because he was strong in astrology he was anxious to teach perfect evil—but this proved impossible for him. As we said above, for the sake of deceiving the majority he had the habit of doing nothing in secret. To teach openly this final and perfect evil was impossible. For such teaching he resorted to a bitter strategem—feigning severe pains in his stomach that could be healed in no other way than by some horrible word or name, which no one could hear lightly. And a familiar spirit, which practiced this wickedness, taught him at home and in public places, serenely putting his head on Biurasp's shoulders and speaking into his ears, instructing him in the malevolent art. The one whom in their fables they call "the child of Satan" was his servant and worker of his will. So therefore when he sought a present from him, he kissed his shoulders.

As for the birth of dragons, or more precisely Biurasp's becoming a dragon, this is what is said: he began to sacrifice innumerable men to the demons until the mass of the people were disgusted with him; and all uniting together, they expelled him, and he fled to the district of the mountain mentioned above. As they pressed hard upon him, his retinue abandoned him. Encouraged by this, his pursuers rested a few days in the region. But Biurasp collected those who had scattered and suddenly came upon them, inflicting severe harm. However, the people gained the victory and Biurasp fled. They seized and killed him near the mountain and threw him into a great pit of sulfur.

8. On the basis of this sentence, Akinean, *HA* 1936, equates Azhdahak with Mazhdak, on whom see Christensen, *Iran*, chap. 7.


10. For these Iranian traditions repeated in Moses, see Chukaszyan, *Telekagir* 1958, and *Hay-Iranakan*.
Book II

The Intermediate Period in the History of Our Ancestors

I shall now describe for you as a second book the various events of our own country, beginning with the reign of Alexander down to the reign of that holy and valiant man Trdat the Great. [I shall set down] in order whatever deeds of valor and bravery were performed here, the wise actions and ordinances of each one of those who descended from Arshak, king of Persia, and his brother Valarshak, whom he made king of our nation. The kings of our country who came after him were from the same one’s seed, the son receiving the throne from his father, and they were called Arsacids from Arshak. 1 His descendants increased into a nation and multiplied, and one at a time in turn succeeded to the throne. I shall write very briefly of what concerns us and omit the rest; for what has been said about other nations by many writers is enough.

After ruling over the whole world, Alexander of Macedon, the son of Philip and Olympias, who was twenty-fourth from Achilles, 2 and after bequeathing his empire to many with the stipulation that the empire of them all would be called that of the Macedonians, he himself died. After him Seleucus reigned in Babylon, having seized the states of all the others. From there he subjected the Parthians in a great war, and for this reason was called Nicanor. 3 He ruled for thirty-one years and left the king-

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1. As Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:299.
2. Alexander as twenty-fourth from Achilles: see ibid., p. 329.
3. Seleucus I captured Babylon in 312–311 from which year the Seleucid
dom to his son Antiochus, called Soter, [who reigned] for nineteen years.\(^4\) To him succeeded Antiochus, called Theos, [who reigned] for ten years.\(^5\) And in the eleventh [year] the Parthians rebelled from subjection to the Macedonians. From then on Arshak the Brave ruled,\(^6\) who was from the seed of Abraham out of the descendants of K’etura, for the fulfilment of the saying of the Lord to Abraham: “Kings of nations will come forth from you” [conflate of Gen. 17:6 and 16].\(^7\)

2. The reign of Arshak and his sons, war with the Macedonians, and friendship with the Romans

As we have said, sixty years after the death of Alexander\(^1\)

\(^4\) Antiochus Soter reigned for nineteen years from 280-262/1; cf. Eusebius, *Chronicle*: Aucher, 1:345. For SAWtēr A kʰ t read: sa tīrē, “he rules.”

\(^5\) Moses does not say Antiochus Theos died after ten years, though this is implied. Antiochus Theos reigned from 262/1 to 247; Eusebius, *Chronicle*, gives him fifteen years of reign; see Karst, p. 118 n. 4, correcting the reading of nineteen in Aucher, 1:345. In the *Primary History*, Sebès, p. 11, he is given fifteen years of reign, ten before the Parthian revolt (as Moses) and five after.

\(^6\) But Arshak’s reign began in 247 (see Frye, *Heritage*, p. 282). Moses is thus correctly associating the death of Antiochus Theos and the beginning of Arshak’s reign over the Parthians, but his length of reign for Antiochus Theos is too short.

\(^7\) Ketura was Abraham’s wife after Sarah’s death (Gen. 25:1); for her descendants, see Gen. 25:4; 1 Chron. 1:32-3. For the theory of Parthian descent from Abraham through Ketura, cf. II 68. Carrière, *Nouvelles sources*, pp. 50ff, suggests that since the Bagratids are assumed to descend from Abraham and Sarah, the Arsacidhs are given the next most honorable ancestry—from Abraham and his next wife. According to the *Yachakapatum*, p. 228, the Arsacids are descended from Abraham like all kings of the earth according to Scripture. In Aphrahat, XI 9, the descendants of Ketura are the Midianites, who dwell in the desert to the east with the sons of Ishmael.

\(^1\) 60 years: in the previous chapter Moses has added 31 + 19 + 10 = 60. But Moses has not included the period from Alexander’s death to the begin-
the Valiant, Arshak\(^2\) reigned over the Parthians in the city that is called Bahl Afawat\(i)\(^3\) in the land of the Kushans.\(^4\) He made very fierce wars and seized for himself the entire east; and he also expelled the dominion of the Macedonians from Babylon. He heard that the Romans controlled all the west and the sea, that they had confiscated from the Spaniards the mines from which gold and silver are extracted, and that they had imposed tribute on the Galatians and the kingdom of Asia.\(^5\) Sending ambassadors he sought an alliance, that they should not give assistance to the Macedonians. He [promised] not to pay tribute but merely an offering every year of one hundred talents.

Thus he reigned for thirty-one years, and after him his son Artashes for twenty-six years.\(^6\) He was succeeded by his own son Arshak, called "the Great,\(^7\) who waged war with Demetrius and Demetrius' son Antigon, for [this last] had attacked him in Babylon with a Macedonian army, but in the war he was taken

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\(^1\) The Intermediate Period

\(^2\) The name Arshak is often used in early Armenian texts as a vague expression for central Asia; sometimes the Kushans are equated with the Huns. See Thomson, *Agathangelos*, §19 n. 2, §20 n. 2. Debevoise, *Political History* (pp. 10-1 and n. 43), notes that Arshak may have been crowned at Asaak near Kuchan. For the Kushans as Arsacids, see II 67 n. 3 and references there.

\(^3\) This sentence is based on 1 Macc. 8:2–3, with verbal borrowings from the Armenian version; see Thomson, *JTS* 1975, p. 337.

\(^4\) An Artashes is not otherwise known in this context; presumably Moses has in mind Artaban, nephew of Arshak, who reigned at the turn of the third and second centuries B.C.; see tables in Frye, *Heritage*, p. 282, and Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 412.


\(^6\) Bahl Afawat\(i)\(^3\) (Balkh, Bactra); see Marquart, *Eransahr*, pp. 87ff. It is Bahl Shahastan in the *Primary History*, Sebós, p. 11.

\(^7\) The Primary History, Sebéos, p. 11, calls this Arshak's grandfather "the great."
prisoner. Arshak bound him and led him to Parthia in iron fetters, whence he was called Siripindês. But his brother Antiochus Sidetes, learning of Arshak's departure, came and occupied Syria. Then Arshak returned with one hundred and twenty thousand men. Antiochus, discomfited by the severe winter season, confronted him in a narrow spot and perished with his army. And Arshak ruled over a third of this world, as we learn from the fourth book of Herodotus' *Histories* of events, which deals with the division of the whole world into three parts, calling one Europe, another Libya, and another Asia—over which ruled Arshak. 

3. **Valarshak is made king of Armenia**

At that time he made his brother Valarshak king of Armenia, giving him the regions of the north and west. The latter, as we wrote in our first book, was a valiant and prudent man. He extended his authority over his territories; and as far as he was able, he fixed the statutes of civil life for this country. [He instituted] principalities and established as the dynasts of the principalities competent men from among the descendants of our ancestor Hayk and others.

After bridling the Macedonians and putting an end to the wars, the valiant Parthian made a beginning to his benevolent actions. First and foremost he compensated for his benefits the powerful and wise man, Shambat Bagarat, who was a Jew, by giving him the right for his family to be the coronants of the

8. Demetrius II was captured in 141; see Frye, *Heritage*, p. 176. Siripindês (with several variants in the manuscripts) means “with bound feet”; Moses is taking his etymology involving “iron” from the passage in Eusebius, *Chronicle*, Aucher: 1:349, which he misinterprets.

9. Antiochus VII Sidetes (brother of Demetrius II) recovered Babylonia in 130 but was killed. Moses is here following Eusebius, *Chronicle*: Aucher, 1:350, for the details of the campaign.

10. Herodotus divides the world into three regions—Europe, Libya, and Asia (II 16) but does not mention Arshak. Moses took his reference to Herodotus from Theon: see Baumgartner, *ZDMG* 1886, p. 514, and the Armenian text in Theon, *Progymnasmata*, p. 20; Moses follows the Armenian of Theon exactly. Note that Moses correctly renders the pl. *παρτοποιασμάτων* of the title to Herodotus' work. (The *Ashkharhats'oyts* repeats this threefold division of the world but without mentioning Herodotus.)

1. 18–9, 12.

2. See further II 6–8 below.
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Arsacids, and for the family descended from him to be called Bagratuni after his name—which is now a great principality in our land. For this Bagrat had voluntarily offered his services to Valarshak before Arshak's wars against the Macedonians, and he was a member of the royal court. Then he was made governor over the limits of the regions where Armenian is spoken and prince of eleven thousand men in the west.

But let us turn back and tell of the war of Valarshak with Pontus and with Phrygia, and of his victory.

4. How Valarshak united the Armenian warriors into an army and marched against the allies of the Macedonians

After Arshak's war with the Macedonians and his capture of Babylon and eastern and western Assyria, Valarshak gathered together a great army from Azerbaijan and central Armenia—men famous and valiant, including the so-called Bagrat and the warriors under him, the young men of the lake shore descended from Gelam and the Canaanites, the offspring of Sharay and Gushar, and the neighboring [descendants] of Sisak and Cadmos and their relations—about half of our country. He came to the center of the country above the sources of the Great Marsh on the bank of the Araxes near the hill called Armavir. There he stayed many days, as we must admit, for they were quite unaware of [military] tactics.

3. For Bagarat, see I 22, n. 6. There Moses merely uses the name Shambat. For the coronant (t'agadir) role of the Bagratids, see also I 22 n. 8. Moses is claiming to be writing in the latter half of the fifth century; a Sahak Bagratuni was marzban of Armenia at the time of Vahan Mamikonian's revolt (Lazar, p. 121; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 339, for his place in the Bagratid stemma), but for Moses' own date, see the introduction to this book.

4. Governor: Kolmnakal; I 21 n. 7.

5. The Bagratid homeland was Sper in the northwest; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 287. For the command of the west, cf. II 47 n. 4.

1. For Arshak's war, see II 1.

2. For Gelam, Sharay, and Sisak, see I 10; for the Canaanites, I 19; for Cadmos, I 10. Gushar has not been listed among Hayk's immediate descendants, but cf. II 8, 78: Gushar Haykazin. Note that Moses is here introducing nakharar families later associated with the Bagratids as related to the founder of the Arsacid dynasty: see Khalatiants', Arshakidy, p. 29.

3. Great Marsh: Metsamaur. There were two rivers of this name; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 452. This is the river tributary to the Araxes near Artashat.
From there, bringing together the [forces of] all regions of our country, he reached the borders of Khaltik. Lazica, Pontus, Phrygia, Mazhak, and other [countries], ignorant of the news of Arshak’s war, were faithfully keeping their alliance with the Macedonian empire. Therefore a certain Morp’iwlïk united these provinces just mentioned and declared war on Vašarshak. They met each other by a high hill with a rocky summit, which is today called Coloneia. Approaching to within a few stadia of each other, both sides fortified their positions for many days.

5. The battle of Morp’iwlïk and his death from a blow by a lance

After both sides had fortified their positions for many days, they engaged in battle with an attack from our side. Therefore, willingly or unwillingly, Morp’iwlïk set his own side’s battle line in order and made a violent assault. He was a spirited man; his limbs were long and well proportioned, and he possessed a firm body and great strength. Armed in bronze and iron, with other chosen warriors, not many in number, he smote to the ground the valiant elite of Vašarshak’s young men. He attempted to cut through to the Armenian king in the midst of his large and strongly armed host. He came close and succeeded in hurling his javelin; for he was powerful and a long thrower, and he cast his javelins a great distance like swift-winged birds. But the valiant and famous warriors from the race of Hayk and Senek’erim the Assyrian did not long delay to bar his passage. Striking him with their lances they slew the hero, and attacking his army they put it to flight. Many torrents of blood flowed, watering the earth like floods of rain. From then on the land was at peace, subject to the control of Vašarshak, and the Macedonians’ warlike threats ceased.

4. Khaltik; a district in northwestern Armenia between the Black Sea and the upper Choruh; see ibid., pp. 200, 277, 432.
5. Mazhak: Caesarea; see 1 14 n. 6.
6. Morp’iwlïk is otherwise unknown; there are numerous variant spellings in the manuscripts, especially in the title to II 5. For various explanations of the name, see Khalatiants’, Arshakidy, p. 28 n. 1.
7. Procopius, Buildings, III 4.6, describes Coloneia as a fortress on the crest of a precipitous hill erected by men of ancient times.
1. For the Artsruni claim to descent from Senek’erim, see 1 25 n. 6.
6. How Valarshak organized the west and north of our country

Having brought matters to this conclusion, he organized the regions of Mazhak and Pontus and Egeria. He returned northward to the foot of Parkhar in Tayk to the wet and foggy regions of forests and moss. To this land he gave a prettier form, reducing the mountainous and tropical terrain to a temperate and delightful climate for his royal resort. He prepared arbors for the summer season when he would go to the north. Two flat and wooded areas with mountains he arranged as hunting places. Kol with its hot climate he used as parks for vineyards and gardens. I am scrupulous here to write everything in detail about this beloved and famous man; for I have continued [my account] merely noting faithfully the sites and omitting rhetorical embellishment to preserve intact the bonds of my admiration for this wonderful man.

He summoned there the barbarous foreign race that inhabited the northern plain and the foothills of the great Caucasus Mountain and the vales or long and deep valleys that descend from the mountain on the south to the great plain. He ordered them to cast off their banditry and assassinations and to become subject to royal commands and taxes, so that when he next saw them he might appoint leaders and princes with proper institutions. And he dismissed them with wise men and overseers. He himself, having discharged the army of the west, descended to the grassy meadows near the border of Sharay, which the ancients called “Unwooded” and Upper Basean, but which later, because the colony of the Vlendur Bulgar Vund dwelt in the

1. Egeria: on the lower Choruh; see Adontz, Armenia, p. 23; Hübtschmann, AON, p. 276.
5. Rhetorical embellishment: och, which usually means “order, coherence, style.”
6. Plain: dashtaberann, lit. “opening to the plain.” Moses refers several times to the barbarous races north of the Caucasus; here he means the Bulgars; see II 9. Cf. II 65 for references to the Basilk’
area, was called Vanand after his name. And the names of the villages are called after his brothers and descendants to this very day.

But when the north grew cold from the bitter winds, he hastened to descend to the great plain. There he encamped on the bank of the Metsamawr in a spot where the great river, taking its origin from the northern lake, descends and mingles with the Metsamawr. There he organized the army of our country, and leaving overseers he himself took all the leaders and journeyed to Nisibis.

7. The organization of the kingdom, how he organized the principalities, how and in what manner he ordered the way of life

This is an important chapter, full of reliable history and worthy of the most polished and elaborate exposition. Here there is much to say about the ordering and organization of the houses, families, cities, villages, estates, and in general the entire constitution of the kingdom and whatever is of relevance to the kingdom—the army, generals, provincial governors, and similar matters.

First and foremost the king regulated his own person and his house, beginning with himself and the crown. He recompensed the Jew called Bagarat for his previously rendered services to the king and his fidelity and valor by granting to his family the aforementioned rank of prince; he also gave him the authority to place the crown on the king’s head, to be called coronant and aspet, and to wear the lesser diadem of three rows of pearls with-

9. Vlendur: Khalatiants’ (Arshakidy, pp. 51ff) and Marquart (Streifzüge, pp. 57, 590) suggest that this may be a variant form for the Ojkontor Bulgars mentioned in the description of the Bulgars north of the Caucasus in the Ashkharhats’oyts’, LR, p. 101 (not in the SR). Malkhasyants’ (apparatus ad loc. and n. 77) explains the term as the Mongolian baghatur (“hero”) (see Moses Khorenats’i in bibliography). Vanand is the district around Kars.

10. The great river is the Araxes; for the Metsamawr, see II 4 n. 3. The northern lake is Chaldir; see Peeters, AB 1932, p. 23.

11. The Primary History, Sebeos, p. 13, gives Nisibis as the capital of Arshak the Less, but Abgaryan, Sebeosi, pp. 147ff, corrects to Mtsurn. For the confusion in early Armenian writers between these two towns, see Manandian, Trade, p. 83.
of the king’s house, he dressed him in his gloves when he was in attendance at court and in the king’s house. Those who dressed him in his gloves [he appointed] from the descendants of the Canaanites and called them the family of the Gnt’uni. I do not know for what reason. His armed bodyguard [he appointed] from the descendants of Khof Haykazn, select and valiant men, lancers and swordsmen; and as the head of their principality [he appointed] a certain Malkhaz, a noble and spirited man, though he kept the original name of the family. Over the royal hunt he set Dat, a descendant of Gafnik’s, grandson of Gelam. His son was Varzh, from whom the family received its name—but this was later, in the time of Artashës. Over the granaries [he appointed] a certain Gaba, and Abël as steward and protocol officer. And he granted them villages, which are called after their names. So these principalities are called Abelean and Gabelean.

1. For Bagarat see above I 22 n. 6. For the use of tanuter (a floating term) see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 114 n. 185, 116, 117 n. 190. For the coronant rule of the Bagratids see I 22 n. 8. For the title aspet, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 109; Adontz, Armenia, pp. 311-2, gives a wild etymology; it is derived by haplology from *asp-a-pet (“master of the horse”), Leroy, Annuaire 1958-1960, p. 114. But since the Armenian army (basically cavalry) was commanded by the sparapet, Toumanoff considers this title to have been a Bagratid family one rather than the title of a distinct office under the crown; Studies, pp. 325-6. For the diadem see the discussion in II 47 n. 3 of various Armenian insignia of office.

2. Gloves: zdzefes, a difficult reading; the form is not otherwise attested. a b c e f K² read zdzeres, but that is most likely a scribal correction. Malkhazants’ (n. 80) follows Marr in regarding the term as a proper name: “those who dressed him entitled Dzeres” (see Moses Khorenats’i in bibliography).

3. For the Gnt’uni family see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 204-5.


5. Moses suggests that the Khoñkhoñuni were not renamed after Malkhaz. This latter was a family title; see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 208-9.

6. On the name Dat see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 56. It is not uncommon in Armenian, but its use here is obscure since there was no Armenian family for which it could serve as the name of an eponymous ancestor.

7. See II 11; there he is called Varazh. Asolik I 5 has the form Varzh (as X T in the manuscript tradition of Moses).

8. Protocol officer: gahwar; no other reference to this word is given in the Nor Bar’girk’. For gah (“rank”) see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 125. All manuscripts except H read gahavor, “throne attendant, page.”

9. For these two families, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 280-1.
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And the Artsruni I know are not Artsruni but artsui-uni; they carried the eagles before him.\textsuperscript{10} I omit the nonsensical fables that are recounted in Hadamakert\textsuperscript{11} to the effect that rain and sun were oppressing a sleeping boy, and the shadow of a bird [protected] the drowsy youth. I know that the Gnuni are gini-uni; they prepared drink worthy of the king. A wonderful thing occurred with regard to their role and name: he who prepared the royal drink from choice and delicious wines was called Gin,\textsuperscript{12} and they say that Valarshak was very pleased with him and set him among the number of the princely families. And these two houses are descended from Senek'erm, the Artsruni and the Gnuni.\textsuperscript{13}

I say also that [he set] the Spanduni over the animals for sacrifice,\textsuperscript{14} and the Havuni as falconers and keepers of falcons because they dwells in the forest.\textsuperscript{15} And if you will not hold me for a prater, the Dziwnakan were guardians of the summer residences and keepers of snow\textsuperscript{16} and by advancement were ennobled as relatives of the kings.

And he established four companies of palace guards, each one with ten thousand armed men from the same ancient race of kings descended from our ancestor Hayk, who were called the original ostan\textsuperscript{17} and who at various times had received villages and estates from their fathers by inheritance. But later, as I hear, the Persian monarchy appointed other companies and called them ostan. I do not know if it was because the former race died out or because of some dispute that they expelled this race and appointed in their place other companies with the royal name. But the first certainly descended from the first kings, just as now

\textsuperscript{10} For the Artsruni see ibid., pp. 199-200. Moses' etymology is fanciful, but for eagles (artsiw) as standards see Faustos, IV 2: artsuenshank. For the suffix -uni, very common for family names, see Hubschmann, AON, pp. 386-7.

\textsuperscript{11} Southeast of Lake Van, see Hubschmann, AON, p. 442.

\textsuperscript{12} For the Gnuni see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 205. The etymology from gini ("wine") is fanciful.

\textsuperscript{13} For the tradition of descent from Senekerim, see I 23 n. 6.

\textsuperscript{14} For the Spanduni, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 221. Moses derives their family name from spand: "butchery, sacrifice."

\textsuperscript{15} For the Havuni (Havenuni in X T), see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 221. Moses derives their family name from haw: "bird, cock."

\textsuperscript{16} For the Dziwnakan see ibid., p. 220. Moses derives their family name from dziwn: "snow."

\textsuperscript{17} Ostan: see I 30 n. 5.
in Georgia does the [family] called Sep'etsul. He also ordered the eunuchs to be taken from the same family, and [he set] as their commander Hayr, prince of the region from Azerbaijan as far as Chuash and Nakhchavan; he was of an honorable and princely family. But how or where his deeds passed into oblivion I do not know.

8. The second in the kingdom was from the seed of Azhdahak, king of the Medes

After the king's house had been set in order, the second [rank] of the kingdom was given to the seed of Azhdahak who had become king of the Medes—these are now called Muratsean. They do not call the princes of the family Lord of the Muratsean but Lord of the Marats'ik'. And he left to him all the villages inhabited by prisoners from Media. And in the east on the border of the [regions where] Armenian is spoken he established as military governors the two [princes] of the noble races of Sisak and of the house of Cadmos, whose names we set out in one of the previous chapters.

After this he established in the governorship of the great and renowned and fertile northeastern region Aran, a man famous and outstanding in every deed of wisdom and sagacity; [this region] is by the great river called Kur, which cuts the extensive plain. But know this, that in the first book we forgot to mention this illustrious and famous race, the tribe of Sisak, which inherited the plain of Albania and the mountainous region of the same plain from the river Araxes as far as the fortress called

18. Sep'etsul: a transcription of the Georgian sepe-tswl ("royal child"), a general term equivalent to "prince"; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 92 n. 132. X T have the corrupted form sep'tsul.

19. The position of chief eunuch (hayrut'iw) was that of grand chamberlain; see the discussion in Toumanoff, Studies, p. 168. Cf. also III 15 and Faustos, III 17.

20. Chuash: a district in Vaspurakan; see Hubschmann, AON, p. 365. Nakhchavan: both a province and a town (on the Araxes); see ibid., pp. 345, 455.

21. The Murats'ean were extinct by Moses' time; see II 51, and Toumanoff, Studies, p. 224. For the forms Murats'ean and Marats'i ("Mede"), see Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 159 ff.

2. I 12.

3. Aran: Caucasian Albania; see Marquart, Erânla, pp. 116-7.
Hnarakert. And the country was called Ałuank' [Albania] after the gentleness of his mode of life; for they called him ału. Descended from him was this famous and valiant Afan whom the Parthian Valarshak made military governor. From his offspring, they say, descend the families of Uti and Gardman and Tsowdék and the principalities of Gargar.

But Gushar, descended from the sons of Sharay, inherited the mountain Mt'in, that is, Kangark', and half of Chavakh, Kolb, Tsob, Dzor, as far as the fortress of Hnarakert. But the lordship of Ashots' and the principality of Tashir Valarshak assigned to the descendants of Gushar Haykazn. Opposite the Caucasus Mountain as governor of the north he appointed this great and powerful family and called the title of their principality the bdeashkh of the Gugarats'ık'; these were descended from Mihrdat, the satrap of Darius, whom Alexander brought and left as prince over the captives from among the Iberian peoples that Nebuchadnezzar had brought, as Abydenus narrates in these terms: "The powerful Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Iberians. Breaking their resistance he subdued them. And part of them he led away and settled on the right-hand

4. Hnarakert: on the Kur; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 355.
5. Ału: "soft, tender," Moses' fanciful etymology for the Ałuank', the 'Απαραστός or 'Απαραστία of the classical writers; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 62 n. 8 and pp. 257–8.
6. Uti: a province between the Kur and Lake Sevan; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 271–2.
7. Gardman: a district in the province of Uti; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 352.
8. Tsowdék': in southwestern Armenia, west of the Tigris; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 321; Toumanoff, Studies, p. 182 n. 146, shows that Moses is confused in associating this house with Albania. However, Eremyan identifies this 'Tsowdék' with Sawdik' on the southeast shore of Lake Sevan, Map 86 (Hayastana).
10. Gushar: see II 4 n. 2.
11. Mt. Mt'in: "the dark mountain"; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 453.
12. Kangark', Chavakh, Kolb, Tsob, Dzor, and Tashir are all in the province of Gugark'; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 359ff. Ashots' is in Ayrarat; ibid., p. 365.
13. For the bdeashkh of Gugark', see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 181–9. There were four such princely estates on the border of Armenia; see ibid., pp. 155–9, for a discussion of the etymology and functions of this office; cf. also n. 28 below.
side of the Pontus sea.”¹⁴ (And Iberia is on the edge of the world in the west.) In the great valley of Basean¹⁵ he established the principality called Orduni;¹⁶ they are descended from Hayk.

As governor of the west he appointed a man called Turk’, who was deformed, tall, monstrous, with a squashed nose, deep-sunk sockets, and cross-eyes, from the offspring of Pask’am, grandson of Hayk; they called him Angl because of his great ugliness, a man of gigantic size and strength. Because of the deformity of his face, he called his family the house of Angl.¹⁷ But if you wish, even I am telling inappropriate and contemptible lies about him, just as the Persians say that Rostom Sagdjik had the strength of 120 elephants.¹⁸ The songs about his strength and spiritedness seemed very disproportionate; not even the tales of Samson or Heracles or Sagdjik could match them. They sang that he took in his fist hard stones in which there was no crack, and he would crunch them into large and small pieces at will, polish them with his nails, and form them into tablet shapes, and likewise with his nails inscribe eagles and other such [designs] on them.¹⁹ When enemy ships had reached the shore of the Pontus Sea, he rushed upon them; and after they had withdrawn to the deep about eight stadia before he could reach them, they say that he took rocks the size of hills and threw them at them. And not a


¹⁶. For the Orduni family, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 218-9. Moses describes their end at III 2 below.

¹⁷. For Pask’am as the ancestor of the house of Angl, see I 23; for the house of Angl in southwest Armenia, see Hübschmann, *AON*, pp. 303, 399, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 297. Moses’ etymology angel “not beautiful” is fanciful. Turk’ (Tork’ in X T) is Tariku, the Anatolian divinity of fertility, and Angl is the name of a pagan Armenian deity. In the Armenian version of 4 Kings 17:30 Angl renders Nergal. See Adontz, *REA* 1927, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 299-303.

¹⁸. The story of Rostom (Rustem) and the elephant is in Firdowsi’s *Shahname*; cf. Chukaszyan, *Hay-Iranakan*, pp. 97ff.

¹⁹. Adontz, *REA* 1927, associates these “eagles” with the names Angl, Tork’, Pask’am, which he thinks refer to birds of the eagle or vulture type.
few ships sank because of the splash, and the height of the waves caused by the splash propelled the remaining ships many miles. O, this tale is too much—it is the tale of all tales! But what is this to you? For truly he was extremely powerful and worthy of such stories.

After this he established the great principality of Tsop’k’ in what is called Fourth Armenia, and also the principalities of the Aphanik’, Manavazean, and Bznunik’ from the same descendants of Hayk. He selected the most illustrious of the inhabitants and established them as lords, naming them after [their] villages and provinces.

But we have also forgotten the grim man called Slak’; I am unable to say for certain whether he descended from Hayk or from those who were in this country before him, of whose existence the ancient stories tell. But he was a brave man. He was appointed with a few men to guard the mountain and to hunt the wild goats. These were called the Sikuni’. Similarly to the same function [he appointed] the inflexible Miandak, from whom [are descended] the Mandakunik’.

Among the children of Vahagn he found some men who of their own will asked for the ministry of the temples. He honored them greatly, entrusting the priesthood to them; he also set them among the foremost principalities, giving them the name of Vahuni. Similarly he chose the Afavenean and the Zarehav-
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The anean [families] from among the descendants of the first kings and established them in the towns of the same names.26

And Sharashan from the house of Sanasar27 he appointed as great bdeashkh and governor of the southwest, on the borders of Assyria on the bank of the Tigris River, granting him as provinces Ardzn and the district around it, and the Taurus Mountain, that is, Sim, and all the Kleisurae.28

He found a man, a Mokats’i from the province of the same name, who commanded many brigands, and established that principality.29 The same he did for the Korduats’i, the Andzevats’i, and the Akeats’i from the provinces of the same name. But as for the Rshtuni and the Golt’nets’i, I have found it said that they are truly branches of the Sisakan [family]. I do not know if they called the provinces for these men’s names or whether they called the principalities after the name of the provinces.

After all this he built a temple in Armavir and erected statues of the sun and moon and of his own ancestors.30 He begged with forceful words the Jew Shambat Bagarat, who was the coronant and aspet,31 to abandon his Judaic law and worship idols. But he refused, and King Valarshak let him follow his own will.

26. For these two families see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 199, 219.
27. Sharashan is not mentioned elsewhere; for Sanasar, see I 23 n. 2, III 55 n. 15. Only here is the spelling Sarasar found in b c e f.
28. Moses is here confusing the Arabian and Assyrian bdeashkh; see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 304-5. Ardzn is southwest of Lake Van; see Hiibschmann, AON, p. 310-2. The Kleisurae are the pass of Bitlis (Hiibschmann, AON, p. 311), though Malkhasyants’, n. 91, interprets Klesur as KUS’ET JAWTA.
29. The province of Mokk’ is directly south of Lake Van; see Hiibschmann, AON, pp. 254-5; for the family, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 182. Korduk’ is farther south; Andzevatsik’ and Akeatsik’ are to the southeast of Lake Van. The Rshtunik’ were a family on the southern shore of that lake, but Golt’n was to the northeast on the Araxes. For these geographical areas and the families, see Hiibschmann, AON, pp. 333, 359, 345, 346, and Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 181, 197, 198-9, 203-4, 213. For the Sisakan family, see I 12 n. 15.
30. For Armavir, see I 12 and I 20 for the cult of plane trees. For the statues of pagan deities see II 12, esp. n. 3 for Moses’ sources; for the cult of ancestors, cf. II 49, 77. Sargyan, Hellenistakan, p. 89, notes that the sun and moon are not in Agathangelos, as are the pagan deities of II 12, and compares the cults in Commagene to the west, and the sun and the Garni inscription; see II 90 n. 15. But Moses has taken his reference to these two statues from Labubna, p. 24.
31. See II 7 n. 1.
He also ordered the city of Semiramis\textsuperscript{32} to be restored, and cities with many inhabitants to be built in numerous other places, as well as important and populous villages.

In the royal palace he established fixed rules, distinguishing the times for audiences, councils, feasts, and amusements. He separated the ranks of the armed forces: first, second, third, and so on. He appointed two secretaries, one to record the benefits, the other the punishments to be meted out. He ordered the recorder of benefits to recall what was just and compassionate when the king in anger might give unjust commands. He appointed judges at court and judges in the cities and towns. He ordered that the townspeople be more highly esteemed and honored than the peasants\textsuperscript{33} and that the peasants should respect the townspeople like princes. But the townspeople were not to vaunt themselves too much over the peasants but to live on brotherly terms for the sake of harmony and life without rancor—which are the causes of prosperity and peace and similar [blessings].

And because he had many sons he did not consider it suitable that they should all remain with him in Nisibis. Therefore he sent them to dwell in the province of Hashteank' and in its frontier valley, which is outside Tarawn.\textsuperscript{34} He left them all the villages with a supplement from the special income and revenues due to the royal treasury. Only his first son, called Arshak, did he keep with him for reasons of state, and the latter's own son, whom he named Artashes and loved dearly. For he was truly a spirited lad, strong of limb, so that he impressed onlookers with the hope of brave deeds to come. From then on and in the future it was a rule among the Arsacids that one son should live with the king as heir to the throne, and the other sons and daughters should go to the regions of Hashteank' to the family's hereditary estates.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32.} Van; see I 16.
\textsuperscript{33.} Peasants: geljik, “villagers”; much has been written in recent years on the lower classes in Armenian society; see the recent bibliography in Adontz, Armenia, p. 269*.
\textsuperscript{34.} Hashteank' is west of Tarawn; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 291-2.
\textsuperscript{35.} See II 22, 61, 62, III 22 for similar actions in settling princes away from the capital. For the princes of Hashteank' see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 172. But Khalatians', Arshakidy, p. 106, notes that no other source mentions the law excluding cadet princes from the capital; he compares Isa. 49:20, where the phrasing is identical with the reference to Hashteank' in II 62.
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But Valarshak, after such deeds of valor and such excellent organization, died in Nisibis after reigning for twenty-two years.

9. Concerning our Arshak the First and his deeds

Arshak, son of Valarshak, ruled over Armenia for thirteen years. A zealous follower of his father's virtues, he established many wise institutions. Waging war against Pontus, he left a monument on the shore of the great sea. Standing on foot, they say, he cast his round-tipped lance, which was tempered with the blood of snakes, and implanted it deep into the stone column that he had set up on the seashore. For a long time the inhabitants of Pontus honored this column as a work of the gods. But when Artashēs attacked Pontus again, they say that he threw the column into the sea.¹

In his days there was a great tumult in the zone of the great Caucasus Mountain in the country of the Bulgars. Many of them split off and came to our land and settled for a long time below Kol in the fertile regions rich in wheat.²

He persecuted the sons of Bagarat in an effort to make them worship idols. Two of them bravely died by the sword for their ancestral customs. I am not ashamed to call them followers of the companions of Anania and Eleazar.³ But the others accepted this much only: to ride out to hunt or to war on the Sabbath and to leave their children uncircumcised when they would be born⁴—for they were unmarried. And it was commanded by Arshak that they should not be given wives from any of the princely houses unless they made an oath to abandon circumcision. They accepted only these two conditions, but not the worship of idols.

Here ends the account of the venerable Mar Abas Catina.

10. On the source for this history after the books of Mar Abas Catina

We shall begin our narrative for you from the fifth book of

¹ For such victory columns see Khatchatrian, L'Architecture, p. 35.
² For the settlement of Bulgars south of the Caucasus, cf. II 6.
³ Anania (Dan. 3) was saved, but Eleazar (2 Macc. 6) was martyred. Note the use of the collective pl. Ananiank', Eliazareank'.
⁴ There are parallels between these conditions and the profanities enumerated in 1 Macc. 1, esp. vv. 43ff; see further Thomson, JTS 1975, p. 338.
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Africanus the Chronographer,¹ to which Josephus² and Hippolytus³ and many other Greeks lend [corroborative] witness. For he transcribed everything from the charters of the archive of Edessa, that is, Urha,⁴ which concerned the history of our kings. These books had been transported there from Nisibis and from the temple histories of Sinope in Pontus.⁵ Let no one doubt this, for we have seen that archive with our own eyes.⁶ And as a closer witness the Ecclesiastical [History] of Eusebius of Caesarea is a guarantee, which our blessed teacher Mashtots⁷ had had translated into Armenian.⁸ If you search in Gelark'uni⁹ in the province of Siunik'⁹ you will find in book I, chapter thirteen, that he bears witness that in the Edessene archive are to be found all the acts of our first kings down to Abgar and from Abgar down to Eruand.¹⁰ I think that these are preserved today in the same city.¹¹

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¹ It is unlikely that Moses was acquainted with the Chronography of Julius Africanus at first hand; he knew of it through Eusebius' Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History. See Gelzer, Julius Africanus, 1:281. But there is no reference to Armenian archives in Africanus.
² For Moses' use of Josephus, see the introduction to this book.
³ For the Armenian version of Hippolytus' Chronicle, see Bauer and Helm, GCS 1955, p. xff.
⁴ For these Edessan archives see II 38 n. 5; but there is, of course, no mention of Armenia in Eusebius. The Armenian version of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History uses the Syriac name Urha for Edessa.
⁵ For the supposed transfer of archives from Nisibis, see II 27, and for the supposed temple histories at Sinope, see II 58. There is no such information in Africanus. Cf. Khalatiants', Arshakidy, p. 43: no later users of Africanus suggest he ever mentioned the Armenians.
⁷ Mashtots': Moses only here uses the form by which early Armenian writers knew the inventor of the Armenian alphabet. Elsewhere he consistently uses "Mesrop." Khalatiants', Arshakidy, p. 315; collects the evidence showing that only the name Mashtots' is used before the eighth century.
⁸ Had had translated: et targmanel ("caused to be translated"). The translation of the Ecclesiastical History is not attributed to Mashtots' circle by earlier writers.
⁹ Gelarkuni: see I 12 n. 13. Why Moses associates Gelarkuni with a copy of the Ecclesiastical History is obscure.
¹⁰ Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, I 19, has no mention of Armenia or Armenian kings. For the term hagnergutium ("book") see I 21 n. 2. This is not a reference to some filing system in the archives as Langlois supposed.
¹¹ A direct quotation from the Armenian version of Eusebius, Patmut'iswn, I 13.
Concerning our Artashēs the First and his usurpation of the first rank

Artashēs became king of Armenia in succession to his father Arshak in the twenty-fourth year of Arshakan, king of Persia. As his fortunes progressed he did not hold the second rank but coveted the highest position. Having faith in him, Arshakan entrusted him with the first rank, for he was a proud man and warlike, who had built his own palace in Persia and was striking his own coins with his image. He established Arshakan under his own authority as king of Persia, and likewise Tigran his own son [as king] of Armenia.

He gave his son Tigran for instruction to a youth called Varazh, son of Dat, from the seed of Gafnik, a descendant of Gelam, for he was a youth famous for his prowess in archery. He made him superintendent of the royal hunt and granted him villages by the River Hrazdan; from his name the Varazhnuni family is so called. His sister Artasham gave as wife to a certain Mithridates, great bdeashkh of Georgia, who was from the seed of Mithridates, satrap of Darius, whom Alexander had set over the prisoners from Iberia, as we narrated above. And he entrusted him with the government of the northern mountains and the Pontic Sea.

1. Artashēs: for the history and etymology of the name, see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, pp. 28-9, and Sargsyan, *Hellenistakan*, pp. 115-6. Moses is placing the Artashes (Artaxias of the Greek sources) of the early second century B.C. in the time of Croesus (sixth century B.C.). Taking this confusion for fact, Krkyasharyan, *PBH* 1973, pp. 179-86, thinks that Artashes is a reflection of the Aprov^as of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* and of Herodotus’ APTOXAMJS (correcting p to s), and thus the later Orontids become the second royal dynasty in Armenia. Such is the reverence of Soviet Armenian scholars for the chronology of Moses.

2. Arshakan: For this as a generic name for Arsacid (Parthian) kings, see II 2 n. 7.

3. For the Armenian Arsacid kings as second in rank to the Parthians, cf. II 19 n. 1, 44 n. 3.

4. Bedoukian in his classification of the coins of the Artaxiad dynasty (*Museum Notes* 1968, pp. 41-60) notes that no coins have been found that can with certainty be ascribed to Artaxias I.

5. For the Varazhnuni and the Hrazdan, see I 12 nn. 18, 19.

6. The name Artasham is not otherwise attested; Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 37.

7. For the bdeashkh of Georgia (Gugark’), see II 8 n. 13. But here Moses is confusing the claim of these princes to descent from the Iberian Mihrdat
12. Artashēs marches to the east; he takes Chroesus prisoner and sends as spoils to Armenia the images of the idols

Then Artashēs ordered an army to be raised from the east and north, such a great one that he did not know its number; but on the roads and resting places [he ordered] each man to leave a stone to form a cairn as an indication of the multitude. He then marched to the west and took as prisoner Chroesus, king of Lydia. Finding in Asia images of Artemis, Heracles, and Apollo that were cast in bronze and gilded, he had them brought to our country to be set up in Armavir. The chief priests, who were of the Vahuni family, took those of Apollo and Artemis and set them up in Armavir; but the statue of Heracles, which had been made by Scyllas and Dipenes of Crete, they supposed to be Vahagn their ancestor and so set it up in Tarawn in their own village of Ashtishat after the death of Artashēs.

But Artashēs, having subdued the land between the two seas, filled the ocean with the multitude of his ships, wishing to subject the whole west. Because great tumults were occurring in Rome, no one offered him strong resistance. But I cannot say from what cause arose a fearful turmoil, and the innumerable troops slaugh-
tered each other. However, Artashēs fled and was killed, as they say, by his own army. He had reigned for twenty-five years.

He also took from Hellas images of Zeus, Artemis, Athena, Hephaistos, and Aphrodite,7 and had them brought to Armenia. But before they had arrived in our land the sad news of Artashēs' death was heard. [Those bringing them] fled and brought the images to the fortress of Ani.8 The priests followed and stayed with them.

13. Testimonies from other historians to the empire of Artashēs and his taking Chroesus prisoner

Those events are described by the Greek historians, not by one or two but by many. Being doubtful of these same events we made many researches because we heard from some histories that Cyrus had killed Chroesus and had destroyed the Lydian kingdom.1 And again the proposition of Chroesus to Nectanebo is reported. And this Nectanebo is said by Manetho to have been the last king of Egypt,2 while some have called him the father of Alexander. But we have found the period of Chroesus to be two hundred years before that of Nectanebo, while Nectanebo's period is more than another two hundred years before that of Artashēs the First, king of Armenia.

But because there are many who say that our Artashēs took Chroesus prisoner and narrate this plausibly, I am so persuaded. Polycrates speaks as follows: “Artashēs the Parthian is for me superior to Alexander the Macedonian, because although he remained in his own country he ruled over Thebes and Babylon;

7. For the identification of pagan Armenian deities with these Greek deities, see Thomson, Agathangelos, pp. xxxviii-xxxix, lxi-lxiii, and especially Garitte, Documents, pp. 193:8:, for the parallels in different versions of Agathangelos. Moses equates Anahit with Artemis; Vahagn with Heracles; Tir with Apollo; Aramaz with Zeus; Nanē with Athena; Mīhr with Hephaistos; Astlik with Aphrodite.


2. See ibid., p. 221. Khalatians', Arshakidy, pp. 43-4, connects this reference to Nectanebo with Epiphanius' Chronicle. For the Armenian versions of works by and attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis (about 315-403), see Zarp'ānalean, Matenadaran, pp. 401-18.
and without crossing the River Halys he destroyed the Lydian army and captured Chroesus; and before arriving in Asia he was announced in the fortress of Attica. Alas for his fate! If only he had died in power and not in flight!"

In agreement with him speaks Evagaros: "The war of Alexander and Darius is minor compared to that of Artashes. For the light of day was obscured by the dust of the former, but the latter hid and darkened the sun by his volleys of arrows, turning midday into artificial night. He did not allow the Lydians to flee and bring the news, but even their King Chroesus he ordered to be placed in a cauldron. Because of him the torrents did not swell the river, for by the drinking [of his soldiers] it shrunk to its winter level. By the multitude of his army he rendered the use of numbers inadequate so that there was need for measurement rather than counting. At this he was not boastful, but wept, saying: 'Alas for this transitory glory.'"

Scamadros also writes as follows: "The haughty Chroesus of Lydia was deceived by the reply of the Pythian oracle: 'After passing the Halys river Chroesus will break the powers.' He thought that it referred to that of others, but he broke himself. For the Parthian Artashes captured him and ordered him to be thrown into an iron cauldron. But Chroesus, remembering the saying of Solon the Athenian, said in his own tongue: 'Solon, Solon, you said well that one should not call a man's fate happy until his death.' When those standing nearby heard this, they told Artashes that Chroesus was invoking some new god. Artashes had pity and ordered him to be brought. And when he had inquired and learned what it was that he had cried out, he ordered him to be spared torments."

Phlegonios also writes: "The most powerful of all kings was the Parthian Artashes. Not only did he put the Lydians to flight and capture Chroesus, but in the Hellespont and in Thrace he changed the nature of the elements. On the land he was borne along as if sailing the sea, over the sea he marched on foot. He threatened the Thessalians, and his repute made the Hellenes...

3. Carrière, Nouvelle sources, supplément, p. 10, notes the parallel in Malalas (pp. 155–6) to this oracle.
5. Cf. 2 Macc. 5:21 for a similar passage on the pride of Antiochus.
6. Thessalians: T'etalats'ik', not the inhabitants of T'etalia in Asia, as I8 n. 3.

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wonder. He destroyed the Lacedemonians, he put the Phocians to flight; the Locrians surrendered, the Bithynians were a part of his forces; all Hellas held him in awe. A short time later his disasters surpassed all others. Not so unfortunate was Cyrus warring against the Massagetae; not so many misfortunes did Darius suffer in flight from the Scythians, or Cambyses from the Ethiopians; insignificant was Xerxes' march against Hellas with an army, when he left them his treasures and tents and alone escaped alive by a hair's breadth. But he [Artashes], overweening through his splendid victories, was slaughtered by his own army."

Now I think that these accounts are worthy of belief, and that the Chroesus whom they say lived in the time of Cyrus or Nectanebo either is fictitious, or else there lived many kings with the one name—as is the custom of many.

14. Concerning the reign of the middle Tigran, his resistance to the Greek armies, his building of the temples, and his incursions into Palestine

After Artashes the First, his son Tigran became king in the forty-ninth year of Arshakan, king of Persia. He assembled the Armenian forces and marched against the Greek army, which after the death of his father Artashes and the dispersal of his troops had attacked and invaded our country. Tigran opposed them, halted them, and threw them back. To his brother-in-law Mithridates, he entrusted Mazhak and the care of Anatolia; and leaving a numerous army with him, he returned to our country. As his first task he wished to construct the temples. But the

7. The Ashkharhats'oyts' refers to Artashes' death in Hellas under "Europe," §12 (LR only, p. 17).
1. Tigran II became king in 95 B.C.; see Manandian, Tigrane, p. 22. Sargsyan, Zhamanahagrukan, p. 64 n. 25, suggests that the correspondence with Arshakan comes from Julius Africanus. (But Moses probably did not know that Chronicle at first hand; see II 10 n. 1 above.) Forty-ninth is the reading of a b c K; a b read twentieth; g, tenth, and all other manuscripts nineteenth. In II 11 Moses says Artashes became king in the twenty-fourth year of Arshakan but gives no length of reign. For a comparison of the chronology of the reigns of Tigran II and Artavazd II in Moses and the Greek sources, see Sargsyan, Lraber 1967.
2. Mithridates of Pontus was Tigran's father-in-law, but ke'rayr means "sister's husband."
3. For Mazhak, that is, Caesarea, see I 14 n. 6. Anatolia, Mejerkrewkh; see I 8 n. 2.
priests, who had come from Greece, decided not to penetrate deep into Armenia. For an excuse they feigned omens to the effect that the gods wished to reside at that very spot. Tigran consented and raised the statue of Zeus Olympus in the fortress of Ani, that of Athena in T’ii, the second statue of Artemis in Erêz, and that of Hephaistos in Bagayafinj. But the statue of Aphrodite, as the beloved of Heracles, he ordered to be set up beside the statue of the same Heracles in Ashtishat. And angered at the Vahuni in that they had taken it upon themselves to set up on their private lands the statue of Heracles sent by his own father, he dismissed them from the priesthood and confiscated to the crown the village in which the statues had been erected.

In this fashion he built temples; and in front of the temples he set up altars, ordering all the princes to offer sacrifices and worship. To this the men of the Bagratuni family did not agree, and he cut off the tongue of one of them, called Asud, for dishonoring the images; but he did not torment [them] in any other way, for they agreed to eat [meat] from the king’s sacrifices and also pork, although they themselves did not sacrifice or worship. Therefore he deprived them of the command of the army; but he did not take away the office of aspet with the right of crowning. He himself went down to Mesopotamia, and finding there the statue of Barshamin, he embellished it with ivory, crystal, and silver. He ordered that it should be brought and set up in the town of T’ordan.

Immediately thereafter he attacked Palestine to seek vengeance from Cleopatra [daughter] of Ptolemy for the crimes of

4. Cf. Agathangelos, §811, for divine indication of a holy site; the carriage bearing saints’ relics cannot be moved farther. *Snakel* ("to reside") is common to both Armenian texts. There is another parallel in Sebêos, *Ptmut’iwn.,* p. 74.
5. For Agathangelos as Moses’ source for the information about pagan statues, see Carrière, *Sanctuaires.* For the names and sites, see also Garitte, *Documents,* and Thomson, *Agathangelos.*
6. *Asud:* cf. II 63, where this is given as the etymology of Ashot. For the supposed Jewish origin of the Bagratunis, see references in I 22 n. 6.
7. *T’agakap* is used here and in II 24; it is equivalent to *t’agadir;* see I 22 n. 8. For the office of aspet, see II 7 n. 1.
8. Cf. Ps.-Callisthenes, §8; the tablet with a horoscope shown by Nectanebo to Olympias is described as made of ivory and crystal. For Barshamin, see Agathangelos, §784, and Garitte, *Documents,* pp. 230–3, for the variants in the different recensions.
9. For the statue of Barshamin in T’ordan, see Agathangelos, §784.
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her son Dionysius against his own father. He took many captives from among the Jews and besieged the city of Ptolemais. But the queen of the Jews, Alexandra—also known as Messalina—who was the wife of Alexander, son of John, son of Simon the brother of Judas Maccabaeus, and who at that time held the throne of the Jews, by giving him many presents turned him back. For he had heard a report that a certain brigand called Vaykun was causing a tumult in Armenia, holding the inaccessible mountain that up to now is called Vaykunik" after the name of the brigand.

15. The attack on us of Pompey, the Roman general; the capture of Mazakh and the death of Mithridates

At that time Pompey, the Roman general, arrived in Asia Minor with a large army and sent his commander Scaurus to Syria to wage war against Tigran. He came there but did not meet Tigran, for the latter had returned to his own country on account of the terror caused by the brigand; so Scaurus passed on to Damascus. Finding that city taken by Metellus and Lullus, he expelled them; then he hastened to Judaea against Aristobulus to the help of his elder brother Hyrcanus, the high priest, son of Alexander.

But Pompey in his war with Mithridates met with strong resistance and terrible battles, and he was in great danger. Nonetheless, his superior numbers gained the victory, and Mithridates fled to the regions of Pontus. Pompey, now unexpectedly freed from him, captured Mazakh, seized his son Mithridates, and put a garrison in the city. But he himself did not pursue Mithridates but hastened through Syria to Judaea. Through the father of
Pontius Pilate he had Mithridates murdered by poison. To this
Josephus bears witness in the passage where he speaks about
balsam, in these words: “The news of the death of Mithridates
reached Pompey near Jericho.”

16. Concerning Tigran’s attack on the Roman army, the retreat
of Gabianus, and the freeing of the young Mithridates

The king of Armenia, Tigran, after settling the Jewish pris-
oners in Armavir and in the city of Vardgēs, which is on the
river K’asal, and after exterminating the brigands from the
mountain, and having observed mourning for Mithridates,
marched to Syria against the Roman army to seek revenge. Gabi-
anus, the Roman army commander whom Pompey had left
behind when he returned to Rome, advanced to oppose him. But
Gabianus was unable to resist Tigran and returned from the
Euphrates to Egypt, alleging Ptolemy as an excuse. He made a
secret accord with Tigran and gave up to him his cousin the
young Mithridates, son of Mithridates, whom Pompey had cap-
tured in Mazhak, though he said that he had escaped.

17. The war of Crassus and his destruction by Tigran

The Romans had become suspicious and replaced Gabianus,
sending out Crassus in his stead. When the latter arrived he took
all the treasures stored in the temple of God at Jerusalem and
marched against Tigran. After he had crossed the Euphrates, he
was destroyed with all his army in a battle with Tigran. Tigran gathered all the treasures and returned to Armenia.  


The Romans were angered and sent out Cassius with an immense army. He arrived and resisted [Tigran], and did not allow the Armenian army to cross the Euphrates and make an incursion into Syria.  

About this time Tigran became suspicious of the young Mithridates; no longer regarding him as his cousin, he did not give him any share in his rule or his own territory of Georgia. Mithridates, having endured his uncle Tigran's scorn, revolted and passed over to Caesar. From him he received as a principality the city of Perge, and on Caesar's orders was a useful ally to Antipater, Herod's father. He built up Mazhak to be a more spacious city with magnificent buildings and named it Caesarea in honor of Caesar. From then on Armenian control over the city ceased.

19. Concerning the alliance of Tigran and Artashes, the incursion into Palestine, the capture of Hyrcanus the high priest and many other Jews

After all this Tigran fell ill and requested the friendship of Artashes, king of Persia, because of his father's pride in depriving them of the first rank. He willingly kept the second rank, as was lawful, and restored to him the first rank. And being reconciled

1. This chapter is adapted from Josephus, Wars, I 8.8; cf. Antiquities, XIV 7. But Crassus' expedition took place in 54 B.C. when Artavazd (Tigran's son) was king of Armenia.  

2. Moses is again confusing the Mithridatic line of Pontus with the Georgian descendants of Mihrdat; cf. II 11 n. 7 above.

3. For the alliance of Antipater and Mithridates with Caesar see Josephus, Wars, I 9, and Antiquities, XIV 8— but this was Mithridates of Pergamum, not Perge in Pamphylia. Another such curious error is Samos for Samosata in III 53.

4. Mazaca was named Caesarea after Tiberius in 17 A.D.; see I 14 n. 6. For Armenian control over that city, see I 14, II 6.

1. Cf. II 11 n. 3 for the Armenian Arsacids as second in rank to the Parthian Arsacids.
with Artashēs, he received from him an army for his support. Then Tigran took Barzap'ran, a prince of the noble family of the Ršhtunik, and appointed him commander of the Armenian and Persian armies. He sent him against the Roman army with orders to make an accord with the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine. He was opposed by a certain Pacorus, whose father had been king of Syria, while he himself was a relative of Antigonus of the family of Aristobulos. He came to Barzap'ran, prince of the Ršhtunik and commander of the Armenians and Persians, and promised him five hundred beautiful women and a thousand talents of gold if he would help them topple Hyrcanus from the Jewish throne and install Antigonus.

When Hyrcanus, high priest and king of the Jews, and P'asayelos, Herod's brother, saw that Barzap'ran had put the Roman army to flight, [chasing] some into the sea and others into cities, they themselves made proposals of peace to Barzap'ran. He sent a certain Gnel, who was the cup bearer of the Armenian king and from the Gnuni family, to Jerusalem with cavalry on the pretext of peace, but secretly in order to help Antigonus. Hyrcanus did not receive the cup bearer in Jerusalem with all his forces but only with five hundred cavalry. And the cup bearer treacherously advised Hyrcanus to go to Barzap'ran to discuss the ruin of the land, and he himself promised to act as intercessor. When Hyrcanus sought an oath from Barzap'ran, he swore to him by the sun and moon and all their cults in heaven and earth and by the sun of Artashēs and Tigran.

2. For Barzap'ran, the Parthian governor of Syria, see Josephus, Wars, I 13, Antiquities, XIV 13.
3. As in chaps. 16–18 Moses changes Parthian characters into Armenians for the Ršhtuni family, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 213.
4. This is based on Josephus, Wars, I 13.1. But according to Josephus Barzap'ran and Pacorus (the Parthian king's son) were together induced to expel Hyrcanus with the bribe of a thousand talents and five hundred beautiful women.
5. Moses is still following the account in Josephus, but the latter does not make the cup bearer an Armenian. For a comparison of the Armenian texts of Moses and Josephus, see Conybeare, JTS 1908, pp. 578–9. For the name Gnel see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 116, and for the Gnuñ family I 25 n. 7 and II 7 n. 12. Gnel was a common name in that family; see Achaean, Andzanunneri Bataran, s.v.
6. For the use of areu ("sun") in oaths, see III 22 and Gen. 42:15: Joseph swears by the areu of Pharaoh (בְּדַיָּה in the Septuagint, "life" in the Syriac and Hebrew). Cf. also Faustos, V 38, where the expression shornel
canus left Herod in command of Jerusalem, and taking P'asayelos, Herod's brother, with him went to Barzap'ran at the seashore to the village called Ek'tipon.

Barzap'ran deceitfully honored them. But suddenly going away himself, he ordered the soldiers who remained to seize them and to hand them over to Antigonus. Antigonus fell on Hyrcanus and bit off his ears with his teeth, so that if the times should change it would be impossible for him to hold the high priesthood, for the law stipulates that [only] those whole of limb are to be appointed priests. And P'asayel, Herod's brother, of his own accord struck his head against a stone; a doctor was sent by Antigonus as if to heal him, but he filled his wound with poisonous medicaments and killed him.

Barzap'ran ordered Gnel, the Armenian king's cup bearer, to capture Herod in Jerusalem. Gnel tried to trick Herod into coming out from behind the wall, but Herod did not consent. No longer able to remain in the city because he feared the faction of Antigonus' supporters, by night he secretly fled with his family to the Idumaeans. He left his family in the fortress of Masada and himself hastened to Rome. But the Armenian army, with the help of the supporters of Antigonus, entered Jerusalem without harming anyone; they merely took Hyrcanus' possessions, worth more than three hundred talents. They pillaged the province, plundered the supporters of Hyrcanus, captured the city of Marisa, and made Antigonus king. They led Hyrcanus in bonds with the prisoners to Tigran, and Tigran ordered Barzap'ran to settle the captive Jews from Marisa in the city of Semiramis.

zarewn ("to spare his life") occurs. For swearing by the sun of heaven, cf. II 81. For the "sun" of the king in Iranian, see Bailey, Problems, p. 59, and for oaths by the king's fortune, ibid., p. 40.

7. This chapter is based on Josephus, with the introduction of Armenian characters. According to Josephus, Hyrcanus was led off in bonds to Parthia; cf. n. 3 above.

8. For the settlement of Jews in Van, cf. Faustos, IV 55 (and Moses, III 35, based on Faustos). Faustos associates their settlement here and elsewhere with Tigran at the time of Hyrcanus' captivity in Armenia. But Hyrcanus was carried off to Parthia in 40 B.C., well after Tigran's death. Manandian, Trade, p. 65, thinks that two different settlements of Jews in Armenia may have taken place: one in the time of Tigran and another during the reign of Artavazd, his son. Sargsyan, BM 1956, pursues the possibility of Moses' adapting an Armenian tradition of such a settlement in the reign of Artavazd, and hence in the time of Hyrcanus, to the written
after this before he died, having reigned for thirty-three years.\(^9\)

20. Another war of the Armenians against the Roman forces and the defeat of Silon and Bendidius

When he arrived in Rome, Herod went before Antony, Caesar, and the senate and told of his own fidelity to the Romans.\(^1\) He was made king of Judaea by Antony and received in support Bendidius, the Roman general, with an army, to wage war against the Armenian forces and destroy Antigonus. He arrived in Syria and put the Armenian army to flight. Leaving Silon to oppose the Armenians near the Euphrates,\(^2\) he killed Pacorus and returned to Jerusalem against Antigonus.\(^3\) But the Armenians, having again obtained help from the Persians, attacked Silon and threw him back in flight on Bendidius, causing infinite torrents of blood.\(^4\)

21. How Antony in person attacked the Armenian army and captured Samosata

Antony in fury arrived in person with all the Roman forces. On reaching Samosata he heard of Tigran's death. Taking the city and leaving Sosios to help Herod in the attack on Antigonus for Jerusalem, he himself went for winter quarters to Egypt.\(^1\) He hastened there with the passion of a sensuous man, burning with account in Josephus and then confusing the whole with Tigran. It is noteworthy that the chronological confusion goes back at least to Faustos.

9. Tigran reigned from 95 to 56 or 55 B.C.; see Manandian, *Tigrane*, p. 192. Three years after Hyrcanus' captivity would be 37 B.C.


2. In Josephus Vendidius leaves Silon near Jerusalem while he attacks the Parthians; *War*, I 15.2.

3. For the death of Pacorus and the defeat of the Parthians, see *Wars*, I 16.6, *Antiquities*, XIV 15.7.

4. This last sentence is Moses' embroidery. According to Josephus, *Wars*, I 16.4, Vendidius summoned Silon.

1. For Antony at the siege of Samosata and his return to Egypt, leaving troops with Sosius, see Josephus, *Wars*, I 16.7–17.2, *Antiquities*, XIV 15.8–9. For Herod's capture of Jerusalem with the help of Sosius, see *Wars*, I 18, *Antiquities*, XIV 16. The date of Tigran's death (56 or 55) hardly tallies with Moses' adaptation of Josephus; Antony's siege of Samosata took place in 38 B.C.
desire for Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt.\(^2\) This Cleopatra was the daughter of Ptolemy Dionysius, grandson of Ptolemy Cleopater, and a dear friend of Herod’s. For that reason Antony especially commended Herod to Sosius. The latter, after fighting valiantly, captured Jerusalem, killed Antigonus, and made Herod king over all Judaea and Galilee.\(^8\)

22. Concerning the reign of Artavazd and his war against the Romans

Artavazd, son of Tigran, reigned over Armenia.\(^1\) He established his brothers and sisters as heirs in the provinces of Aliovit and Afferan,\(^2\) leaving for them the royal portion in the villages of those provinces with their special incomes and rents, according to the example of his kinsmen in the regions of Hashteank’,\(^3\) so that they would have a more honorable and royal position than these latter Arsacids. He only prescribed that they could not live in Ayrarat, the royal residence.

But he gave no indication of any other act of nobility or valor and occupied his time with eating and drinking. He wandered about in the marshes, fens, and rocky places, tending wild asses and swine. Unconcerned with wisdom, valor, or good repute, truly a servant and slave to his stomach, he fattened his guts.\(^4\) Being blamed by his own troops for his excessive sloth and great gluttony, and especially because Antony had deprived him of Mesopotamia, he became furious and commanded an army to be raised, the hosts of the province of Azerbaijan and the inhabitants of the Caucasus Mountain with the Albanians and Georgians. He then marched down to Mesopotamia and expelled the Roman forces.\(^5\)

1. Artavazd, king of Armenia from 55 to 30 B.C.
2. Aliovit, Afferan: the former is a district on the northern bank of Lake Van, the latter is to the northeast of Lake Van; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 329, 341.
3. See II 8 nn. 34, 35.
4. This picture is somewhat at variance with the description of Artavazd as scholar in Plutarch, Crassus, §38 (Lives). Tending swine, zkhoz aratselov is from Luke 15:15.
5. Moses is presumably referring to Antony’s retreat from Parthia through Armenia in 36 B.C. Plutarch, Antony, §50 (Lives), blames Artavazd for the Roman defeat.
23. Antony takes Artavazd prisoner

Antony roared like a wild lion, especially envenomed by Cleopatra because she nourished rancor for the ill treatment inflicted on her grandmother by Tigran. And not only for the Armenians but for many other kings, she was deadly in her efforts to rule over their dominions. For that reason Antony killed many kings and surrendered their dominions to Cleopatra, except for Tyre and Sidon and all the lands by the river Azat. And taking the host of his army he marched against Artavazd. Crossing Mesopotamia, he slaughtered the innumerable army of the Armenians and captured their king. On returning to Egypt he gave Artavazd, Tigran's son, as a gift to Cleopatra with many valuables from the booty of the war.

24. Concerning the reign of Arsham, the first submission of part of Armenia to Roman tribute, the freeing of Hycanus, and the danger to the Bagratuni family on his account

In the twenty-fourth year, at the end of the days of the reign of Artashes, the Armenian army mustered and at his command made king over themselves Arjam, that is, Arsham, son of Artashes, Tigran's brother, and father of Abgar. Some Syrians call him Manov, according to the custom of many to have two names, like Herod Agrippa, or like Titus Antony or Titus Justus. But because in the same year Arshêz died, leaving the throne of

1. See II 14.
2. Azat: the Armenian translation of Eleutheros, a river to the south of Tyre and Sidon, not the river Azat in Armenia.
3. Moses is here following Josephus, Wars, I 18.5.
1. Arsham, father of Abgar: Moses has lifted this person from the story of Abgar, as known to him from Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, I 13, and Labubna. The progression is as follows: the Greek of Eusebius has "Αβγαρ Ουκάμα and the Syriac Doctrine of Addai has Abgar Ukama (ukama being Syriac for "black"). The Armenian of Eusebius has Abgar Arjamay, where Arjam is taken as a proper name, from Arjn, "black"; but that is rendered in Labubna as Abgar Arshaman. The perversion of Arjam to Arsham results from the commonness of the latter name (see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 29) and the nonexistence of the former as a proper name. The real name of Abgar's father was Manu; see Labubna, p. 1. Moses' comment on double names is from Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, II 10.10; cf. Carrière, Légende, p. 384 n. 4.

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Persia, to his son Arshavir, a small child and a minor, there was no one to help Arsham resist the Romans. He parleyed with them for a peace treaty, giving tribute from Mesopotamia and the regions of Caesarea through Herod. This was the beginning for part of Armenia to become tributary to the Romans.

At this time Arsham became greatly angered against Enanos, an aspet and coronant, because he had freed Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews whom Barzapan Rshuni had captured in the days of Tigran. But Enanos excused himself to the king, saying that he had promised a ransom of a hundred talents; and since he expected to receive this from him, he undertook to give it [to Arsham]. Therefore Arsham fixed a set term for him. And he sent one of his brothers, whose name was Senekia, to Judaea to Hyrcanus so that the latter might give him the money for his ransom. But when Enanos' messenger arrived he found that Herod had put Hyrcanus to death to prevent any plot against his rule. So when the appointed time arrived and Enanos did not pay the price of Hyrcanus' ransom, Arsham was angered at him; and depriving him of his rank, he ordered him to be imprisoned.

At that time Zawra, the chief of the Gnt'uni family, calumniated him before the king, saying: "Know, O king, that Enanos wished to revolt against you, and he proposed to me that we should seek an oath from Herod, king of Judaea, that he would receive us and give us hereditary lands in our own native land because we had recently suffered insults in this country. And I did not agree but said to him: 'Why do we deceive ourselves with ancient tales and old wives' fables, putting ourselves out to be Palestinians?' He, despairing of me, sent to the high priest Hyrcanus for the same purpose, but he was even more disappointed..."
by Herod. But he will not abandon his faithless habits unless, O
king, you stop him.” King Arsham believed this calumny and
ordered all sorts of torments to be inflicted on Enanos. The
purpose of this was either to force him to abandon completely the
Jewish religion and worship the sun and adore the king’s idols—
in which case the king promised to restore to him his former
authority—or he would be hung on a cross and his family would
be exterminated. One of his relations, whose name was Saria, he
put to death in front of him, and he brought his sons, whose
names were Sap'atia and Azaria, up beside him to the place of
execution. From fear that his sons would die and at the supplica-
tion of his wives, he and all his kin fulfilled the king’s wishes, and
he was reestablished in his former rank. However, the king did
not have complete confidence in him but sent him to Armenia,
entrusting the land to him merely to remove him from Mesopo-
tamia.

25. The quarrel between Herod and Arsham, and the
involuntary submission [of Arsham]

After this there occurred a dissension between Herod, king
of Judaea, and our King Arsham. Herod, after many valiant
deeds, devoted himself to works of philanthropy, constructing
many buildings in many cities from Rome to Damascus. He
asked Arsham for a multitude of unskilled workers to fill in the
public squares of Antioch in Syria, which were impassable and
impracticable because of the mud and mire. But Arsham refused
and gathered his army to oppose Herod. Through messengers he
sent word to the emperor in Rome not to place him under the
authority of Herod. But the emperor not only did not free
Arsham from Herod’s authority but he also entrusted to the
latter all Anatolia.

At that time Herod, having taken into his service troops

6. Saria, cf. 2 Chron. 9:44; Sap’atia (one of David’s sons), cf. 2 Kings
3:4; Azaria, cf. 3 Kings 4:2. Moses makes Tobias (see II 3) a refugee from this
persecution. (Thomas Artsruni, Patmut’iwn, p. 86, elaborates on Moses and
introduces Artsruni heroes into the persecution of this nonexistent king.) In
II 65 Moses repeats these names, claiming they are the origin of Armenian
names borne by Bagratids.

1. For Herod’s public buildings and the paving of Antioch, see Josephus,
Wars, I 21, Antiquities, XV 8–11. (But Arsham does not appear.)

2. For the enlargement of Herod’s kingdom by Caesar, see Josephus,
Wars, I 20–25. For Mijerkreayk’ as Anatolia see I 8 n. 2.
from Galatia and Pontus, established as king of Anatolia under his own authority the father-in-law of his son Alexander, who on his father's side was descended from Timon and on his mother's side from the Median royal line from the seed of Darius Vshartpean. When Arsham saw this he paid homage to Herod as sovereign lord and gave him the workers he had requested. With their help he filled in the public squares of Antioch over a length of twenty stadia, and he paved them with white marble paving stones so that the torrents might be more easily directed over the pavement to avoid damage to the city. Arsham died after ruling for twenty years.

26. The reign of Abgar, Armenia becomes entirely tributary to the Romans, the war with Herod's army and the murder of his nephew Joseph

Abgar, son of Arsham, came to the throne in the twentieth year of Arshavir, king of Persia. This Abgar was called “noble man” because of his great kindness and wisdom and, later, for his years. And since the Greeks and Syrians could not pronounce his name, they called him Abgarus. In the second year of his reign all the regions of Armenia became entirely tributary to the Romans. For a command went out from Augustus Caesar, as is said in Luke's gospel (Luke 2:1), that a census should be made

4. Alexander (Herod's son) married Glaphyra who “pretended” to be descended on her father's side from Temenos (so Langlois' correction of Timon to Simon is baseless) and on her mother's side from Darius, son of Hystaspes; Josephus, Wars, I 24.8. For the friendly relations between Herod and Archelaus (father of Glaphyra), see ibid., I 25.6, Antiquities, XVI 8.6. For a comparison of this sentence with the Armenian Josephus, cf. Gonybeare, JTS 1908, p. 580.
1. Abgar (Ukham) came to the throne in 4 B.C. (see Segal, Edessa, p. 12 n. 3); that does not coincide with the twentieth year of any Parthian king. He reigned until 50 A.D. except for the six years from 7 to 13 A.D.
3. For Armenia as a province of Rome in 1 B.C., see Grousset, Histoire, p. 104.
throughout the universe. Therefore Roman agents were also sent to Armenia, bringing the image of Augustus Caesar, which they set up in every temple. At that time was born our Savior Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

In those same days there took place a quarrel between Abgar and Herod, for Herod commanded his own image to be set up near to the emperor's in the temples of Armenia. Since Abgar did not accept this, Herod sought a pretext [for war] against him. He sent an army of Thracians and Germans on a foray for plunder into Persia and commanded them to cross Abgar's land. But Abgar did not submit to this and opposed them, saying that it was the emperor's command that this army should cross into Persia through the desert. Herod became angered at this, but he was unable to do anything in person since he had to endure all sorts of pain—on account of his presumption against Christ, worms grew inside him, as Josephus narrates. He sent his nephew Joseph to whom he had given his sister, who had previously been the wife of his brother P'erur. He took a great army, marched to Mesopotamia, and met Abgar in the province of Bugnan where he was encamped. In the battle he was killed and his army fled. Immediately thereafter Herod also died, and Augustus made his son Archelaus Ethnarch of the Jews.

27. The building of the city of Edessa and a brief mention of the family of our Illuminator

Not many days later Augustus died, and in his stead Tiberius

4. Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, p. 72, thinks that this is evidence for the Armenian cult of royal ancestors. But the standard use of the emperor's image on formal occasions makes this farfetched suggestion unnecessary; cf. John Chrysostom, Hom. in Paulum, 7.1 (PG 50:507). This is, in fact, all Moses' invention; cf. III 15 for Julian and his images.


8. This is a direct quotation from Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 2:280 (cf. n. 6 above); cf. Josephus, Wars, II 6.3.

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became emperor of the Romans.\(^1\) Germanicus became Caesar and led in triumph\(^2\) the princes of Arshavir and Abgar who had been sent to Rome because of their war in which they had killed Herod's nephew. At this Abgar became embittered, planned revolt, and prepared for war. Then he built a city on the site of the Armenian army's encampment, where earlier they had protected the Euphrates from Cassius;\(^3\) it was called Edessa.\(^4\) And he transferred there his palace, which had been at Nisibis and all his idols, Nabog and Bēl and Bat'nik'al and T'arat'a,\(^5\) the books of the temple school, and also the royal archives.\(^6\)

After this Arshavir died, and his son Artashēs ruled over the Persians. Now although it is not in the chronological order of our history or in the order that we have adopted for our account, yet because it was the descendants of King Arshavir and the family of his son Artashēs who were the cause of the conversion of our Armenian nation, for the sake of honoring these men we shall set them in this book next to Artashēs, so that those who read may understand that they are of the same family as that hero. And then later we shall indicate the time of the arrival of their fathers in Armenia, that is, the Kareneank' and Sureneank' from whom are descended Saint Gregory and the Kamsarakank', when in the course of our narrative we reach the period of the king who received them.\(^7\)

But Abgar's plan to revolt did not succeed, for a quarrel arose among his kinsmen of the Persian kingdom. Gathering an army, he marched there to reconcile them and end the conflict.

28. **Concerning Abgar's going to the east and making Artashēs king of Persia, how he brought order to his brothers, from whom are descended our Illuminator and his kin**

When Abgar went to the east he found Artashēs, the son of

1. In 14 A.D.
2. This is a verbatim quotation from Eusebius, *Chronicle*: Aucher, 2:262, referring to Germanicus' triumph over the Parthians.
4. For the naming of Urha as Edessa by the Seleucids after their Macedonian capital, see Segal, *Edessa*, p. 6. But Moses was not the first to give Edessa an Armenian origin; see Faustos, V 32, where Pap refers to his "ancestors" building Edessa.
5. These four deities are taken verbatim from Labubna, p. 24. For the worship offered them in Edessa, see Segal, *Edessa*, pp. 50-1.
6. For the Edessan archives, see II 38 n. 5.
7. See chap. 28 and II 68, 74.
Arshavir, reigning over the Persians and his brothers opposing him; for he planned to rule over them through his successors and they would not accept this. So when Artashes had applied pressure to them and had cast the fear of death upon them, there were many dissensions and discords among the troops and their other kin. For King Arshavir had had three sons and a daughter: the first was this same king Artashes himself, the second was Karēn, and the third Surēn, and their sister, who was called Koshm, was the wife of the general of all the Aryans who had been appointed by her father.1

But Abgar persuaded them to make peace and established the following conditions on them all: Artashes would reign with his descendants, as he had planned; his brothers would be called Pahlav from the name of their city and great and fertile land, so that they would be more honorable and take precedence over all other Persian nobility, as being truly offspring of kings. He also established pacts and oaths between them that if the line of Artashes should become extinct on the male side, they [his brothers] would succeed to the throne. And outside his reigning line he distinguished them as three lines with the following titles: Karēn Pahlav, Surēn Pahlav, and their sister, Aspahapet Pahlav,2 taking this name from the principality of her husband.

They say that Saint Gregory was descended from the line of Surēn Pahlav and the Kamsarakan from Karēn Pahlav.3 But we shall narrate the circumstances of their arrival in its place and merely mention them now next to Artashes, so that you may know that this great family is indeed the blood of Valarshak, that is, the line of Arshak the Great, brother of Valarshak.

Having made these arrangements and taking the text of the covenant with him, Abgar returned, not in good health but afflicted by terrible pains.4

1. For the three branches of the Pahlavid family see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 207–8 n. 296, with references to Armenian sources; cf. also Frye, Heritage, p. 184.

2. For the Aspahapet Pahlav, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 385 and n. 91.

3. For the line of Gregory see ibid., p. 218. In Agathangelos the Pahlavid origin of Gregory is stressed, but the specific branch is not mentioned. See Lazar, pp. 23–4, for the blood relationship between the Surēn Pahlav and Gregory’s descendant Sahak. For the Kamsarakan, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 207–8.

4. That is, the pains for which he was to seek healing from Jesus; see II 50.
29. **Abgar’s return from the east; he gives help to Aretas in the struggle against the Tetrarch Herod**

When Abgar returned from the east, he heard that the Romans had suspicions concerning him to the effect that he had gone to the east to seek an army. Therefore he wrote to the Roman procurators the reasons for his going to Persia and at the same time had brought to them the text of the convenant between Artashes and his brothers. But they did not believe him because enemies were calumniating him—Pilate and Tetrarch Herod and Lysanias and Philip. So Abgar went to his city Edessa and joined forces with Aretas, king of Petra, giving him support through Khosran, an Artsruni, for the struggle against Herod. For Herod had first taken King Aretas’ daughter to wife; having then dishonored and rejected her, he abducted Herodias from her husband in his lifetime. For this he was repeatedly blamed by John the Baptist, and therefore he put John the Baptist to death. And there was war between him and Aretas over his daughter’s repudiation, in which Herod’s army was severely beaten and destroyed with the help of the brave Armenians, as by divine providence to avenge the death of John the Baptist.

30. **Abgar sends the nobles to Marinus, when they saw our Savior Christ, which proved the beginning of Abgar’s conversion**

At that time the emperor appointed to the chiliarchate over Phoenicia and Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia Marinus, son of Storgius. To him he sent two of his notables, Mar Ihab, that we may not be ignorant of the story.

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1. This is an adaptation of Abgar’s fear of entering Roman territory; see Labubna, p. 4.
2. These four names are from Luke 3:1.
3. **Khosran**: a Khosron is mentioned in Labubna, p. 19, as a leading citizen of Edessa; for the name, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 173. In Thomas Artsruni, p. 89, the form is Khuren or Khuran. But note that both here and in II 36 the manuscripts have wide divergences in the form of this name.
4. Moses’ account of John’s death and the war between Herod and Aretas is taken from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I 10 (with verbal borrowings from the Armenian version); Eusebius is referring to Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII 5.1–2. The role of the Armenians is Moses’ addition.
1. Chaps. 30–33 are based on Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I 12, and the Teaching of Addai in the Armenian version of Labubna.
2. **Marinus son of Storgius**: a corruption of Sabinus (son) of Eustorgius; see Labubna, p. 2, and the Syriac *Teaching of Addai*, p. 1.
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bdeashkh of Aldznik', and Shamshagram, prince of the Apahuni family, and also Anan his confidant, to the city of Bet'-Kubin to inform him of the reason for Abgar's going to the east, to show the text of the covenant between Artashes and his brothers, and to enroll his help. When they arrived they found him in Eleutheropolis. He received them with joy and honor, and replied to Abgar: “Have no fear of the emperor on this account, provided that you take care to pay the tribute in full.”

On their return they went to Jerusalem to see our Savior Christ on account of the report of his miracles. They saw Him in person and informed Abgar. Abgar was astonished and truly believed in Him as the Son of God, saying: “These wonders are not a man’s but God’s. For there is no man who can raise the dead but only God.” And because his body was wracked by fearful pains that he had contracted in Persia seven years before and no man had been able to cure him, he had a letter of supplication taken to Him, asking Him to come and cure him of his pains. It ran as follows:

31. Abgar’s letter to the Savior

“Abgar, [son] of Arsham, prince of the land, to Jesus, Savior and benefactor, who was revealed in the land of Jerusalem, greeting.

3. Mar Ihab is in Labubna; Moses has made him bdeashkh of Aldznik'. For this office on the southwestern border of Armenia, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 180.

4. Shamshagram is in Labubna; Moses has made him prince of the Apahuni. For the family, see ibid., p. 199.

5. Confidant: hawatarim. Anan is described in Eusebius as παρθηρίως (surhandak in the Armenian translation) and in the Teaching of Addai as ταβδηρφος; but Labubna renders this latter by hawatarim, so Moses' source is clear.

6. Correct to Bet-Kubrin, following the Teaching of Addai and Labubna. It is not clear from Moses (as opposed to the Teaching of Addai and Labubna) that Eleutheropolis was the same city.

7. Moses has expanded the “on royal business” of Labubna; cf. II 29.

8. No details of Sabinus' reply are given in the Teaching of Addai or Labubna.


10. The second paragraph of this chapter is greatly abbreviated from Labubna, though Abgar's comment is an almost verbatim quotation.

1. For this letter Moses is following the Armenian Eusebius, I 12, not Labubna, except for the title "son of Arsham," on which see II 24 n. 1.

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“I have heard about you and about the healing that was accomplished through you without medicines or drugs. For, as is said, you cause the blind to see and the lame to walk, you purify the lepers, you cast out evil spirits, and you cure whoever has been afflicted by long illnesses; you even raise the dead. And when I heard all this about you I decided one of two things: either you are God who have descended from heaven and work these things, or you are the son of God and do them. So therefore I have written to you to ask you to take the trouble and come to me and heal this affliction of mine. I have also heard that the Jews murmur against you and wish to harm you. But I have a small and pleasant city, and it is sufficient for us both.”

They took the letter and met Him [Jesus] in Jerusalem. To this bears witness the saying of the gospel: “There were some of the Gentiles who had come to him; therefore those who heard did not dare tell Jesus but they told Philip and Andrew, and they told Jesus” [John 12:20-22].

2. The reply to Abgar’s letter, which Thomas the apostle wrote at the command of the Savior

“Blessed is he who believes in me without having seen me. For thus it is written concerning me: ‘Those who see me will not believe in me, and those who do not see me will believe and live.’ Now as for your writing to me that I should come to you, I must fulfill here everything for which I was sent. And when I have completed this, then I shall ascend to Him who sent me. When I have ascended I shall send one of my disciples to cure your pains and grant life to you and those with you.”

Anan, Abgar’s messenger, brought his letter with the Savior’s portrait from life, which has remained in the city of Edessa up to the present day.

2. The quotation from John and the identification of Abgar’s messengers with the Gentiles are not in Eusebius or Labubna.

1. For the text of this letter, Moses follows the Armenian version of Eusebius. The biblical quotation is based on Isa. 6:9; cf. John 20:29, 1 Pct. 1:8.

2. Eusebius has no mention of a portrait; this is from the Teaching of Addai and Labubna, p. 6. On the significance of this portrait see von Dobschütz, Christusbilder, and on its history, Runciman, CHJ 1929-1931; cf. in general Segal, Edessa, pp. 76-8.
33. **The preaching in Edessa of the Apostle Thaddaeus and the copies of five letters**

After the ascension of our Savior, Thomas the apostle, one of the twelve, sent one of the seventy, Thaddaeus,\(^1\) to the city of Edessa to cure Abgar and to preach the gospel according to the Lord's saying. When he arrived he entered the house of Tobias, the Jewish prince who, they say, was of the Bagratuni family. He had fled from Arsham and had not renounced the Jewish faith with his other kinsmen but lived under the same law until his conversion to Christ.\(^2\) And the report about him [Thaddaeus] went out throughout the whole city. When Abgar heard it he said: "This is he concerning whom Jesus wrote." And he immediately summoned him. And it happened that when Thaddaeus entered, a marvelous vision appeared to Abgar on Thaddaeus' face, and rising from his throne he fell on his face and worshipped him. All the princes who were standing around him were astonished, for they had not perceived the vision. Abgar said to him: "Are you truly the disciple of the blessed Jesus whom he said he would send to me here, and are you able to cure my pains?" Thaddaeus replied to him: "If you believe in Christ Jesus the Son of God, the requests of your heart will be granted." Abgar said to him: "I have believed in Him and in his Father. For that reason I wished to take my army and go to slaughter the Jews who crucified Him, had I not been prevented because of the Roman empire."

Beginning with these words Thaddaeus preached the gospel to him and his city. And placing his hand on him he cured him and also the gout of Abdiu, a noble of the city and the most honorable man in all the royal court. Similarly he healed all the sick and afflicted in the city. And they all believed.\(^3\) Abgar

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1. Thaddaeus is the name of the apostle to Abgar in Eusebius. The Syriac *Teaching of Addai* and Labubna call him Addai (Armenian Adé) and make him one of the seventy-two. For the variation between seventy and seventy-two, see Thomson, *Teaching*, §403 n. 1. Moses generally follows Eusebius for those parts of the story found in both Eusebius and Labubna.

2. Prince . . . Christ: this is Moses' own addition. In Eusebius Tobias is called "son of Tobias"; Labubna, following the Syriac, expands to make him a Jew from Palestine. For the Bagratuni claim to Jewish ancestry, see references in I 22 n. 6; for Arsham's persecution, see II 24. For the significance of the Bagratid prince as the first Armenian Christian, see the introduction to this book.

3. Up to here Moses has been following Eusebius.
himself and the whole city were baptized. They closed the doors of the temples of the idols, and they hid the images that were on the altars and columns by covering them with reeds. And he did not bring anyone by force to the faith, but day by day they increased the number of the faithful.

The apostle Thaddaeus baptized a certain tiara maker and silk worker called Addê, ordained him [as bishop] over Edessa, and left him in his stead with the king. He himself, receiving an edict from Abgar that all should listen to the gospel of Christ, went to Sanatruk, Abgar’s nephew, whom he had set over our land and army. But Abgar was emboldened to write a letter to the Emperor Tiberius in the following terms:

**ABGAR’S LETTER TO TIBERIUS**

“Abgar, king of Armenia, to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greetings.

Although I know that nothing is hidden from your majesty, yet as your friend I am informing you even more precisely in writing. For the Jews who live in the provinces of Palestine gathered together and crucified Christ without His committing any transgressions and despite the tremendous benefits that He had worked among them, signs and wonders, even on occasion raising the dead. Know that these miracles are not a mere man’s but God’s. For at the time when they crucified Him, the sun was darkened and the earth moved and was shaken. He himself

4. The baptism of Abgar and the citizens is not explicitly mentioned in Eusebius, the *Teaching of Addai*, or Labubna.

5. This sentence is Moses’ own addition; see II 34 for the reopening of the temples. The idea may be taken from Constantine’s policy after his conversion as reported in III 33.

6. Cf. Labubna, p. 32.

7. In the *Teaching of Addai* and Labubna, Addai’s successor is Aggai (Armenian Agge). Cf. n. 1 above. For the ordination of Addê (Agge), see Labubna, p. 46.

8. According to the Syriac *Teaching Addai* dies in Edessa; Labubna, p. 45, has him leave for the east. Sanatruk is not mentioned in Labubna, but according to Armenian tradition as reflected in Faustos III 1, for example, he was king of Armenia at the time; cf. II 34 below.


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after three days rose from the dead and appeared to many. And now in every place His name accomplishes great miracles through his disciples. He indicated that to me myself clearly. So consequently your majesty knows whatever is right to command concerning the people of the Jews who have done this, and that you should write throughout the whole universe that they should worship Christ as the true God. Be well.”

THE REPLY TO AGBAR’S LETTER FROM TIBERIUS

“Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, to Abgar king of Armenia, greetings.

“Your friendly letter has been read before me, for which please accept my thanks. Although we had previously heard of this from many people, Pilate informed us accurately about His miracles and that after His resurrection from the dead many were persuaded that He was God. Therefore I also wished to do what you planned. But because the Romans have a custom not to recognize a god by the emperor’s command alone until he has been examined and investigated by the senate, therefore I revealed this affair to the senate. But the senate rejected it because the matter had not been previously investigated by it. But we commanded everyone to whom Jesus seemed pleasing that they should accept Him among the gods. And we threatened with death those who spoke evil of the Christians. And as for the people of the Jews who presumed to crucify Him, of whom I hear that He was worthy neither of the cross nor of death but rather of honor and worship, when I have a respite from the war with the Spaniards who revoluted against me, I shall examine the matter and inflict on them their just deserts.”

AGAIN AGBAR WRITES A LETTER TO TIBERIUS

“Abgar, king of Armenia, to my lord Tiberius, emperor of the Romans, greetings.

“I have seen the letter written by your worthy majesty and

10. As in the previous letter, Moses has elaborated on Labubna, pp. 36-7, in light of the report in Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, II 2, of Tertullian’s account of Pilate’s letter, and Tiberius’ recommendation to the senate. Cf. also Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, II:266, and Tertullian, Apologeticus adv. gentes (PL, I col. 340-2).

11. A second letter of Abgar’s to Tiberius is not mentioned in the Syriac Teaching or Labubna. This picks up the comments of Tertullian quoted by Eusebius and included in Moses’ version of Tiberius’ letter and the appointment of a replacement for Pilate as found in Labubna’s letter of Tiberius.
I have rejoiced at your considered command. And if you will not be angry at me, the action of your senate is most ridiculous. For according to them it is by the scrutiny of men that divinity is conferred. So, consequently, if God does not please men, He cannot be God; and on this reasoning it is right for men to pardon God. But may it please you, my lord, to send someone else to Jerusalem in place of Pilate, so that the latter may be removed with ignominy from the authority to which you appointed him because he did the will of the Jews and crucified Christ unjustly without your permission. I desire your health.”

Abgar wrote this and placed a copy of the letter in his archive, as [he had done with] others. He also wrote to the young Nerseh, king of Assyria, in Babylon.

LETTER OF ABGAR TO NERSEH

"Abgar king of Armenia to my son Nerseh, greetings. I have seen your letter of greeting and have loosed Peroz from bonds and have forgiven him his fault. And if it is your wish you may appoint him to the governorship of Nineveh, as you wish. But as for your writing to me 'send me that doctor who works miracles and preaches another god superior to fire and water so that I may see and hear him,' he was not a doctor with human skill but a disciple of the son of God, creator of fire and water. And he has been sent to Armenia, having drawn that lot. But one of his principal companions, Simon by name, has been sent to Persia. If you seek him out you will be able to hear him, as may also your father Artashes. And he will cure all illnesses and show you the path of life."

12. This last phrase has an exact parallel in Ps.-Callisthenes, §39 (Zeuxis letter to Philip and Olympias).

13. The Syriac Teaching and Labubna mention correspondence between Nerseh, king of Assyria, and Abgar, but they give no texts. Nerseh supposedly wrote concerning Addai's miracles, asking either that Addai be sent to him or that Abgar send a (written) account—hence the quotation from Nerseh's letter.

14. The preaching of a god superior to fire and water is Moses' addition. For the Iranian cult of fire and water, see Wikander, Feuerpriester, esp. p. 57, and Boyce, JRAS 1966; cf. also below, II 77 n. 5.

15. For an Armenian version of the division of the world among the apostles, see Thomson, Teaching, §68ff.

16. According to Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, II 1, it was Thomas who went to the Parthians. For Simon (and Jude) in Persia see James, Aprocrphal New Testament, p. 464, and Van Esbroeck, AB 1962, p. 481.
Furthermore he also wrote to Artashēs, king of Persia, as follows:

**ABGAR’S LETTER TO ARTASHĒS**

"Abgar, king of Armenia, to my brother Artashēs, king of Persia, greetings."

"I know that by now you have heard about Jesus Christ, the son of God, whom the Jews crucified, who rose from the dead, and sent His disciples throughout the whole world to teach everywhere. And one of His principal disciples, Simon by name, is in the confines of your empire. Now if you seek him out and find him, he will heal all the ailments and illnesses among you and show you the path of life. You should believe his words, you and your brothers and all who willingly obey you. For it is pleasing to me that you who are my kin in the flesh should also be my dear relatives in the spirit."

And before he had received replies to these letters Abgar died, having reigned for thirty-eight years.

**34. Concerning the martyrdom of our apostles**

After the death of Abgar the Armenian kingdom was divided into two, for his son Ananun was crowned to reign in Edessa and his nephew Sanatruk in Armenia. Whatever occurred in their time has been previously described by others: the coming of the apostle Thaddaeus to Armenia, the conversion of Sanatruk, his apostasy for fear of the Armenian princes, the martyrdom of the apostle and those with him in the province of Shavarshan, which is now called Artaz, the opening and closing of the rock and its receiving of the apostles’ body, its removal by his disciples and burial in the plain, the martyrdom of the king’s daughter San-

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17. This letter is not mentioned in the Syriac *Teaching of Addai* or in Labubna; it is an invention of Moses’.  
18. No length of reign is given in Eusebius or the *Teaching of Addai* and Labubna. For the years of Abgar V’s reign, see II 26 n. 1.  
1. For the Armenian traditions concerning Sanatruk, see the extensive discussion in Van Esbroeck, *REA* 1972, esp. pp. 269ff. Since Moses sees him as king of Armenia in succession to Abgar, he invents an “anonymous” (Ananun) as Abgar’s successor in Edessa. For the historical succession in Edessa, see Segal, *Edessa*, p. 15 n. 3.  
dukht\(^3\) near the road, the revelation there of the relics of the two [saints] and their translation to the *Rocky Place*.\(^4\) All this, as we have said, others have related before us, so we did not consider it at all important to repeat it in detail.\(^5\) Likewise, whatever concerns the death of Addê, the disciple of the apostle, in Edessa at the hands of Abgar's son has been described by others before us.\(^6\)

When the latter came to the throne after his father's death, he did not inherit his father's virtue, but he opened the temples of the idols and adhered to the pagan cult. He sent to Addê that he should make for him a tiara of silk embroidered with gold, as he previously used to make for his father. And he received in reply: "My hands will not make a tiara for an unworthy head that does not worship Christ the living God." He immediately ordered one of his soldiers to cut off his feet with a sword. When the soldier came and saw him sitting on his chair of instruction, he drew his sword and cut off his legs. Straightway he gave up the spirit. We have recorded this very briefly as it has been related by others before.\(^7\)

The apostle Bartholomew also drew Armenia as his lot. He was martyred among us in the city of Arebanus.\(^8\) But as for Simon, who drew Persia as his lot,\(^9\) I can say nothing for certain about

\(^3\) For the martyrdom of Sandukht (on the name, see Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 283), see *Martyrdom of T'adê and Sandukht*, and Akinean and Tér-Pôloosean, *HA* 1969, 1970.


\(^5\) For these traditions see Van Esbroeck, *REA* 1972.

\(^6\) That is, in the *Teaching of Addai*, known to Moses in the Armenian version of *Labubna*.

\(^7\) See *Labubna*, pp. 48–9; Abgar's son was named Manu; see ibid., p. 30, and Segal, *Edessa*, p. 15 n. 5.

\(^8\) The first witness to the tradition that Bartholomew visited Armenia is Stephen of Siunik' (seventh to eighth century); see Van Esbroeck, *AB* 1962, pp. 425ff. The site of his martyrdom appears in the most varied forms; ibid., p. 446. In the letter to Sahak Artsruni attributed to Moses (*Matenagrut'-t'unk'*, pp. 283–96), but which is an apocryphal document probably of the ninth century, Bartholomew is credited with the foundation of a church on the Tigris, the later famous *Hogents' Vank'*, (on which see Oskean, *Vasperakan-Vani Vank'erê, 3:759–78, and Hübschmann, *AON*, pp. 342–5). For a different tradition linking Bartholomew to Theodosiopolis (Karín), see Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 65–7.

\(^9\) For Simon, see references in II 33 n. 16 above.
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what he did or where he was martyred. It is narrated by some that a certain apostle Simon was martyred in Veriosp’or;\(^{10}\) but whether this is true, and what was the reason for his coming there, I do not know. But I have merely noted this so that you may know that I have spared no efforts in telling you everything that is appropriate.

35. Concerning the reign of Sanatrük, the murder of Abgar’s children, and concerning Queen Helen

When Sanatrük came to the throne, he gathered an army under the command of his tutors, the valiant Bagratunik’ and Artsrunik’, to descend and wage war against Abgar’s sons so that he might rule over the whole kingdom. While he was occupied with this, by divine province the murder of Addê by Abgar’s son was avenged. For he had a marble pillar set up in Edessa on the roof of his palace, and he himself was standing below giving orders as to how it should be done. But slipping from the grasp of those holding it and falling on him, it crushed his feet and killed him.\(^{1}\)

Immediately a message came from the inhabitants of the city to Sanatrük, asking for a pact that provided he would not disturb them in their Christian faith they would hand over the city and the king’s treasures. This he did but later reneged. All the children of the house of Abgar he put to the sword, except the girls, whom he expelled from the city to settle in the regions of Hashteank’\(^{2}\). Likewise the chief of Abgar’s wives, who was called Helen, he sent to dwell in his own city Harran, leaving her the throne of all Mesopotamia in return for the benefits that he had gained from Abgar through her.\(^{3}\)

10. Several identifications have been suggested for Veriosp’or; see Van Eshbroeck, \(AB\) 1962, p. 431, and Carrière, \(Légende\), pp. 409–10 n. 5. The city Bosphorus (modern Kerch) in the Crimea seems the most plausible.

1. There are verbal parallels here with Luke 20:18 (falling, crushing); there the stone, rejected by the builders, depends on Isa. 8:14 and Dan. 2:44, and Luke interprets those crushed as the Jews. But theological parallels with the Armenian apostate Sanatrük seem farfetched.

2. For Hashteank’, see II 8 nn. 34, 35.

3. Moses has taken the story of Helena from the Armenian version of Eusebius, \(Ecclesiastical History\), II 12 (who acknowledges Joseplius); the Greek text has Adiabene (which is correct), and the Armenian and Moses have Mesopotamia.

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This Helen, adorned with the faith like her husband Abgar, could not bear to live among idolaters but went to Jerusalem in the days of Claudius, during the famine that Agabus had predicted. Spending all her treasures in Egypt, she bought a great quantity of wheat and distributed it to all the needy, to which Josephus bears witness. Her famous mausoleum stands before the gate at Jerusalem to this very day.

36. Concerning the restoration of the city of Nisibis and the etymology of Sanatruk and his death

Of the various acts of Sanatruk we have considered nothing worthy of recording except the construction of the city of Nisibis. Because it had been destroyed by an earthquake, he demolished it and rebuilt it more magnificently, fortifying it with a double wall and outwork. In the middle of the city he set up a statue of himself holding a coin in his hand, which indicates that in the construction of this city all his treasures were spent and only this remained.

But we must say why he was called Sanatruk. Abgar's sister Awde was traveling to Armenia in winter when she encountered a snowstorm in the mountains of Korduk. The tempest scattered them all until no one could descry his traveling companion. Now his nurse Sanota, sister of Biurat Bagratuni and wife of Khosren Artsruni, took the child—for he was an infant—and

4. But Helena was famous for her conversion to Judaism.
5. For Harran as a city of idolaters—a common theme in Ephrem Syrus—see Segal, Edessa, pp. 104–5, 210 n. 2.

1. Faustos, IV 14, says that Sanatruk had constructed Mtsurn. For the confusion in Armenian between Mtsurn and Mtsbin (Nisibis), see II 6 n. 11.
2. Moses' etymology for Nisibis (Mtsbin in Armenian) is Mnats' min, "one remained" (which is not made explicit in the text). For the statue of the king, cf. Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, who adduces parallels between Commagene and Armenia.
3. Awde is otherwise unattested (Awgê in b c f g H o p g r s).
4. Sanota is Moses' invention to explain "Sanatruk;" see n. 5 below. For Biurat as an eponym of the early Bagratids, see Primary History, Seb¿os, p. 9, where he is described as the son of Bagarat; cf. Toumanoff, Studies, p. 344 n. 16. For Khosren see II 29 n. 3 (there spelled Khoršan).
put him in her bosom, remaining under the snow for three days and three nights. They tell a fable about this to the effect that a marvelous white animal was sent by the gods and protected the child. But as far as we understand the matter it happened like this: a white dog, sent out to search for them, found the child and nurse. So he was called Sanatruk, which is derived from the nurse’s name, meaning “gift of Sanota.”

He came to the throne in the twelfth year of Artashēs, king of Persia, and after living for thirty years died in the hunt, struck in the intestines by an arrow as if in revenge for the torments he inflicted on his saintly daughter, Lebubna, son of Ap’shadar the scribe. wrote an account of all the things that occurred in the days of Abgar and Sanatruk and placed it in the archive in Edessa.

37. The reign of Eruand, the slaughter of Sanatruk’s sons, and the escape of Artashēs by flight

After King Sanatruk’s death the kingdom fell into confusion, for a certain Eruand, son of an Arsacid woman, gained the throne in the eighth year of the last Darius. And there are stories about him as follows. A certain woman of the Arsacid family, fat of body, horribly ugly, and libidinous, whom no one could bear to marry, gave birth to two children after an illicit

5. The equivalence of turk’ (“gift”) with -truk is impossible, for the name Sanatruk and its various forms, see Justi, Namenbuch, pp. 282–3. For the theme of being overtaken by a snowstorm, cf. II 62 n. 15.

6. Lebubna is mentioned in the Armenian text (Labubna, p. 19) as one of the nobles of Edessa, and at p. 51 as the grandson of Abshadar, the scribe—as the Syriac. Eusebius does not give the name of the author of the account he claims to have extracted from the Edessan archives. All manuscripts of Moses except I read Lerubna for Lebubna. In the printed Armenian version of the Teaching of Addai, the form Labubna is found in the title, Labubnea on p. 19, and Lebubnea on p. 51.

1. For the dynasty of Eruand (Orontes in Greek) see Toumanoff, Studies, §III, and for the name Hübschmann, Grammatik, pp. 39–40. For Moses’ ascription of an Arsacid origin to this pre-Arsacid family, see the discussion in Sargyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 81ff; cf. also II 38 where Eruand says he is of the same blood as the Persian king, and II 46 where Artashēs gives Erund a funerary column. As successor to Sanatruk as king of Armenia Moses is confusing Eruand with Arbandes, a son of Abgar VII; cf. Manandian, Trade, p. 38, and Toumanoff, Studies, p. 284. The last (Achaemenian) Darius reigned 336–330 B.C.
intercourse, as Pasiphae [bore] the Minotaur. When the children grew up they called them Eruand and Eruaz. On reaching maturity Eruand proved to be courageous and strong limbed. He was appointed by Sanatruk as overseer in many affairs and became increasingly famous until he was the first of all the Armenian princes. By his modesty and liberality he drew everyone to him. And at the death of Sanatruk they in unison made him king without anyone from the Bagratuni family acting as coronant. But when Eruand became king, having suspicions of the sons of Sanatruk, he slaughtered them all. It seemed that the murder of Abgar's sons was avenged. But one child, Artashes by name, whom his wet nurse had taken, escaped to the regions of Her, to the shepherds' cottages of Malkhazan; she informed his tutor Smbat, son of Biurat Bagratuni, in the province of Sper in the village of Smbatavan. Now when Smbat, son of Biurat, heard the sad news about Sanatruk and the distressing news of the slaughter of his sons, he took his two daughters, Smbatanoysh
and Smbaturhi, and settled them in Bayberd, leaving valiant men in charge of the castle. He himself with his one wife and a few men went out to search for the young Artashes. When King Eruand learned about this he sent out scouts. Therefore he wandered for a long time on foot over the mountains and plains in disguise with the child and brought him up in the cottages of shepherds and herdsmen until he found an opportunity to pass over to Darius, king of Persia. And because Smbat was a valiant man and well known from before, he was greatly honored among the Persian generals—as was the child among the king’s sons—and they received as residence the provinces called Bat and Ozomn.

38. The efforts of Eruand to seize the young Artashes and his abandoning of Mesopotamia

When Eruand considered what sort of enmity to his kingdom was being nourished in Media, his heart rankled and sleep no longer was sweet for him. While awake he thought continually of that, and even in sleep he saw terrible dreams about the same problem. Therefore by means of messengers and offerings, he sought to placate the Persian king so that he would surrender Artashes, saying: "Why do you, my own blood and family, nourish the Mede Artashes in opposition to me and my kingdom, hearkening to the words of the brigand Smbat who claims that Artashes is the son of Sanatruk, and who tries to make the son of shepherds and herdsmen an Arsacid and puts him out to be your blood and kin? He is not the son of Sanatruk, but Smbat deceitfully found some Median child and is making a mockery." Like-

10. Smbatanoysh and Smbaturhi (Smbatuhi in abcdfgkl H; cf. II 63) are otherwise unattested.
11. Bat and Ozomn are otherwise unattested.
1. Malkhasyants', n. 121, takes i Mars (i Pars in c d H) to refer to a place name Mars (cf. II 60), but see n. 2 below. For a verbal parallel to the phrase orpisi ch'ar snani ("what sort of enmity was being nourished") in Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khalatiants', Ararat 1897, p. 532 (from the Inven-
2. Artashes was probably of local Armenian origin; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 285, and Moses' own statements in chap. 37. The use of Mar (Mede) here confirms the translation of i Mars (see n. 1 above) as "in Media," for Smbat is suggesting that Artashes is a local imposter. See further II 46 for Artashes and the Medes. Eruand was of Iranian origin; cf. II 37 n. 1.
wise he sent many times to Smbat to this effect: "Why do you put yourself to so much futile trouble? You have been deceived by that wet nurse, and you are bringing up the son of a Mede in opposition to me." He received in reply unpleasing words. Then Eruand sent and had killed the brave men in Bayberd, imprisoned the daughters of Smbat, and kept them unharmed in the fortress of Ani.

Since Eruand supported the Romans and ceded Mesopotamia to them, he was undisturbed during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. After that the authority of the Armenians was removed from Mesopotamia, and Eruand paid even heavier tribute from Armenia. The Roman governors restored Edessa in a grand manner and established there treasuries for the taxes collected from Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. They gathered there all the archives and set up two schools, one for the native [tongue] of its inhabitants, Syriac, the other for Greek. They also transferred there the register of taxes and the temple archive, which was in Sinop in Pontus.

39. Concerning the construction of the city of Eruandashat

In his days the court was transferred from the hill called Armavir, for the River Araxes had shifted to a distance, and in the long winter and when the stream froze over from the bitter north winds there was no longer sufficient water for the capital. Inconvenienced by this and also seeking a stronger site, Eruand

3. Is Moses here referring to the Jewish wars of these emperors? The Armenians do not figure in those books of Josephus' Wars devoted to Vespasian and Titus' campaigns.

4. Edessa was not captured in the time of Titus or Vespasian. Not until 194 A.D. was a Roman procurator appointed; in 214 Edessa was proclaimed a colonia.

5. For the Edessan archives, cf. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, I 13 (I 12 in the Armenian version) and the Chronicle of Edessa, p. 3 (rky'în); for a general discussion, see Segal, Edessa, pp. 20–1. For the schools, see ibid. pp. 149ff.

6. For the archives at Sinope, cf. II 10; on Moses and "archives" in general, see I 3 and the introduction to this book.

1. For Armavir see I 12 n. 8.

2. For the freezing of the Araxes cf. Levond, Patmut'ïwn, p. 25: Muslim troops fall through the ice and drown. But there are no close verbal parallels with Moses.
moved the court westward to a rocky hill around which flowed on one side the Araxes and on the other the Akhurean. He fortified the hill, and inside the wall at many places he cut down the rock to the foot of the hill level with the river, until the water of the river flowed into the conduit and was available for drinking. The central fortress he strengthened with high walls and set in the middle of the wall bronze gates, with iron stairways from below up to the gate. In these, between the steps, he set hidden traps to catch anyone who might wish to enter secretly and assassinate the king. It was, they say, a double [stair], so that the one side served the royal servants and all those arriving and departing during the day, while the other was for the assassins who operate at night.

40. How he built Bagaran, the city of idols

When Eruand had built his own city he transferred there everything from Armavir except the idols, which he did not think profitable to bring to his capital, lest when people came to sacrifice there the city could not be securely guarded. But about forty stadia distant to the north, above the River Akhurean, he built a smaller city similar to his own and called it Bagaran, that is, in it he had set up the complex of the altars, and he transferred there all the idols that were in Armavir. And having built temples he appointed his own brother Eruaz as high priest.

41. Concerning the planting of the forest called Genesis

He also planted a great forest of fir trees on the northern side of the river and secured it with walls to keep inside the swift

3. The Akhurean flows into the Araxes from the north; see Hübbschmann, AON, p. 369. For the site of Eruandashat see ibid., p. 426, and Arak'elyan in PBH 1965; for its commercial significance, see Manandian, Trade, pp. 37-8. Cf. III 51: it was the capital of the Kamsarakan family in the fourth century. For its destruction by the Persians, see Faustos, IV 55.

1. Moses derives Bagaran from bagin, "altar"; cf. II 55 where Bagaran is described as "the town of altars." But Bagaran is derived from the Iranian bag "god" and the suffix -aran used for place names. See Hübbschmann, Grammatik, p. 113, and for the site AON, pp. 411-2. For the connection of the Orontids with Bagaran and Bagavan, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 319-20.

2. For Eruaz, see II 37 n. 3.
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42. Concerning the town called Eruandakert

It is pleasant for me to speak also about the beautiful town of Eruandakert, which the same Eruand embellished with beautiful and charming constructions. He filled the center of the great valley with inhabitants and splendid buildings, shining like the pupil of an eye. Around the inhabited area were arranged gardens of sweet-smelling flowers, as the circle of the eye surrounds the pupil. A multitude of vineyards resembled the beautiful crescent of thick lashes; on the northern side its curved form truly imitated the arching brows of charming maidens. To the south the level plain [recalled] the beauty of smooth cheeks. The river with its high banks resembled a mouth with matching lips. Such was the beauty of the site that looked with unblinking eye, you might say, up to the heights of the royal residence, a truly fertile and majestic estate.

All these constructions of Eruand's Trdat the Great bestowed on the Kamsarakan family as faithful allies and blood relatives of the Arsacid family. This we shall describe in its own place.

But they say of Eruand that through magic he had the evil eye. So the royal servants who attended him at daybreak had the habit of placing hard stones opposite Eruand. And they say that these hard stones split from the malevolence of his glance. But this is either false and a fable or else he had some demonic power

1. Genesis: Tsnndots', the gen. pl. of tsmund, "birth"; for the site, see Hübßchmann, AON, p. 437. For the construction of other such hunting preserves, cf. III 8. This chapter is patterned on Faustos, III 8.
2. Khalatians', Epos, II p. 54, notes some verbal parallels with Sebës (the description of the building of Zwartnots', pp. 192-3) and Philo, In Sampsonem (where Sampson's beautiful face is described, Mnats'ordk', p. 561).
3. See II 90.
4. Evil eye: dzhneay akan hayets'watov. No parallels are given in the Nor Bai'girk', but cf. the meaning of dëwës (dzhneay) as "fearful, awesome." The usual expression in Armenian folklore for "evil eye" is ch'ar ach'k'.
5. Fable: araspel; for this term in Moses, see the introduction to this book.
in himself so that he could harm those he wished in this fashion by the mere repute of his gaze.

43. How Smbat gained the assistance of the Persian princes and sought to make Artashēs king

When the young Artashēs grew up and after his tutor Smbat had shown many brave acts of valor, the Aryan princes, pleased with him, requested the king to give him as a gift whatever he might ask. The king agreed and said to the princes: “See what that brave man desires.” And they said: “Your immortal benevolence, Smbat desires nothing other than to establish your blood and kin, Artashēs son of Sanatruk who has been banished from his own kingdom, on his own throne.” The king of kings agreed to this and gave to Smbat a part of the Assyrian army and the army of Azerbaijan so that they might take Artashēs and set him on his father’s throne.

44. Concerning Eruand’s hearing of the arrival of Artashēs and his gathering of an army to prepare for war

News reached Eruand in the province of Uti that the Persian king had gathered a great force under Smbat to march against him and bring the young Artashēs to his own kingdom. When Eruand heard this, he left there many of the princes to guard the region, and he himself went to his own city in haste to gather around him the troops of Armenia and Georgia and the regions of Caesarea and also of Mesopotamia, by entreaties and gifts. And as it was springtime, therefore all the troops quickly assembled, including Argam, prince of the Muratean family who was descended from Azhdahak, with a force of infantry. For Eruand had restored to him the second rank, which Tigran had taken from him and given to his own brother-in-law Mihrdat;

1. Shown . . . valor: there is a similar expression in III 8 at n. 3; cf. Agathangelos, §202, describing Trdat.
2. The successor to Sanatruk in Armenia was Axedares (early second century A.D.). For the chronological confusion in Moses, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 284.
3. Uti: a province between Lake Sevan and the Kura; see Hübbschmann, AON, pp. 270–1.
4. For the Muratsean family, descended from Azhdahak, see II 8 n. 1.
5. See II 14. But there Moses refers to the city of Mazaca, not the
but after Mihrdat's death it had not been given to anyone until Eruand restored it to Argam. And not only to him but also to all the princes he gave presents and honors, and to all the troops he gave liberal donatives.

45. How at the entry of Artashēs into his own land the enterprise succeeded

Now Smbat with the young Artashēs hastened to reach the borders of Uti. There came out to meet him the army of that region and also the princes whom Eruand had left behind. When the other Armenian princes heard of this they lost their courage and planned to abandon Eruand; they also saw that the Roman army had not come to his support. But Eruand gave even more generous gifts and bestowed treasures on each one of them. However, the more liberal he was, the more hateful he became. Everyone knew that he was not giving out of generosity but spending out of fear. And he did not so much make friends of those to whom he gave much as make enemies of those to whom he gave less generously.

46. Eruand's war against Artashēs and his flight, the capture of his city, and his death

But Smbat with the young Artashēs advanced to the edge of the lake of Gelam\(^1\) at the back of the mountain called Aragats. They made haste to reach Eruand's camp. Esteeming as nothing the host of his army, they only kept watch on Argam the Muratsean, for he was a valiant man and the lord of many lancers. Eruand's camp was more than three hundred stadia\(^2\) to the north of his city on the River Akhurean. When Eruand heard this news he sent forward the host of his troops and drew up his battle line not far from his own camp. But Artashēs sent a message to Argam, prince of the Muratsean, with many oaths [saying] that he would leave him with whatever he had obtained from Eruand and would double it, provided that he abandon and desert Eruand.

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\(^{1}\) Lake Sevan; cf. I 12 n. 11.

\(^{2}\) *Stadia*: *aspasēs*; see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 109. There were seven to the Roman mile; see Mžik, *Erdmessung*, pp. 25ff.
And when the standards of Artashēs advanced to confront Eruand's battle line, Argam took the host of his infantry and marched off to the side. Smbat ordered the bronze trumpets to be sounded and advanced his battle line, swooping like an eagle into flocks of partridges. The Armenian princes of the wings to the left and right joined together and went over to his side. The Georgian army with their king P'arsman, although they advanced to the assault with proud élan, quickly turned and fled to the other side. Then one could see the terrible slaughter of Eruand's army and of the Mesopotamian troops. When the two lines clashed together Artashēs was attacked by some brave men from the Taurus, who at the cost of their lives had made a pact with Eruand to kill Artashēs. But Gisak, the son of Artashēs' wet nurse, intervened on foot and slew them, thereby having half of his face cut off by a sword. He gained the victory but died as a consequence. The rest of the army turned in flight.

Eruand on horseback covered all the stadia and passed the hans on the road from his camp to his capital, successively changing to fresh horses. The valiant Smbat pursued him, pressing him hard in the night as far as the city gate. The army of the Medes crossed over to the position of Eruand's army and encamped in the dark over the corpses. Artashēs came up and entered Eruand's tent whose walls were covered with curtains of skins and linen; he encamped for that night in his tent. When morning dawned, as master of the field he ordered the dead to be buried, and he called the meadow where he had camped over the corpses Marats' marg and the battlefield Eruandavan, which is so called up to this day, that is, "in this place he defeated Eruand." He himself

3. This last simile has parallels in Lazar (p. 15627, of Vahan) and Sebeos (p. 50, of Vahram). There are also several verbal parallels with Ps.-Callisthenes' description of the battle between Alexander and Darius, §§114-16.


5. Gisak is unattested outside Moses; for the etymology "lock of hair," see Hübischmann, Grammatik, p. 127. See also II 47 n. 5.

6. Han: khan (caravansaray).

7. See Ps.-Callisthenes, §116, for parallels to these last four sentences.

8. Marats' marg: "meadow of the Medes." For a later form Marats' (gen. pl. of "mother") see Khalatiants', Epos, 1:255.

9. Eruandavan is only attested here; see Hübischmann, AON, p. 426. Moses derives it from Eruand and the verb vanel ("to conquer, defeat"), but more probably the -van is "lodging" (cf. vank', ijavan).
set out for Eruand's capital and arrived at Eruand's town before midday. He commanded his army to shout in unison: "Mar amat," which means "the Mede has come," to remind him of the insult when Eruand had sent to the Persian king and to Smbat, calling him a Mede. From that same expression the town was named Marmēt, at the desire of Artashēs to remove the name of Eruand from the place. That is the reason for the naming of the town.

But Smbat, who had pursued Eruand at night with a small troop, guarded the city gate until the arrival of Artashes and the whole army. When the brave soldiers attacked the fortress, the garrison of the fortress surrendered and opened the city gate. However, one of the soldiers entered and struck off Eruand's head with a saber, scattering his brains over the floor. From such a blow he died, having held the throne for twenty years. But Artashēs remembered that Eruand had some Arsacid blood and ordered his corpse to be buried with funerary columns.

47. The reign of Artashēs and the rewarding of his benefactors

After the death of Eruand Smbat entered [the city] and sought out the royal treasures. Finding the crown of King Sanatrūk, he placed it on Artashēs' head and made him king over all of Armenia in the twenty-ninth year of Darius, king of Persia. Having gained the throne, Artashēs gave presents to the armies of the Medes and Persians and dispatched them to their own country. He also gave to the brave and honorable Argam the second rank that he had promised, a crown decorated with sapphires, rings for both ears, a red slipper for the one foot, [the right] to have a golden spoon and fork and to drink from golden goblets. He bestowed nothing less than these honors on his tutor.

10. *Mar,* "Mede"; *amat,* 3 p.s. of the aorist of Persian *amadan* "to come."

11. *Marmēt* is Moses' fanciful variation of *Artamēt,* see Hübschmann, *AON,* p. 408.

12. See II 37 n. 1.

13. *Funerary columns:* *mahārdžānak.* *Mahārdzan* can mean "bulwark" or "tower"; see *Nor Bargirik,* s.v., and II 90 n. 14. But here the more usual meaning of "funerary stele" is meant. On such columns, very common in early Christian Armenia, see Khatchatrian, *BF* 1966.

1. Presumably Moses means the last Darius, as in II 37 (see II 37 n. 1). Artashēs reigned forty-one years; see II 60.

2. *Second rank:* within Armenia; not the second rank of II 11 at n. 3.
Smbat except for the two [ear]rings and the red slipper. And in addition to his hereditary privileges—of coronant, of aspet, and of the authority over the army of the west—he entrusted him with control over the entire Armenian army, over the governors of the whole land, and over all the royal household. And Nersés, son of Gisak, son of his wet nurse, he raised to princely rank and named Dimak'sean after the heroic exploits of his father. For as we have said, half of his face was cut off by a sword for the cause of Artashés.

It is said that in those same days he also raised to princely rank the sons of Toyr, fifteen young men, and called them Truni after their father's name—not because of any brave deeds but merely because of the informing that their father had done from the king's house for Smbat; for he was a confidant of Eruand's, and for that reason he had been put to death by him.

3. For the various insignia used in Armenia, see the general discussion with references in Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 134–5, and in Hats'uni, Patmut'ion. We may note here the parallels to the insignia described in this chapter:
- **crown decorated with sapphires:** psak yaknt'akap. The closest parallel is Sirach 40.4; for sapphires, cf. Procopius, Buildings, III 1.21 (describing the insignia of the five Armenian satraps in Roman Armenia after the reorganization of Justinian).
- **rings:** gind. Cf. Elishé, History, p. 136 (the dress of Vasak before his deposition as marzban), but see also Gen. 35:4.
- **red slipper for one foot:** karmir zgest mioy otinn. Cf. the "red boots" ὑποθάλαμος μέχρι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χρωματός, in Procopius, Buildings, III 1.23, and the karmir kawshik in Stephen Orbelean, Patmut'ion, p. 15. These are not attested as insignia elsewhere in Armenian literature, but biblical and other parallels are noted in Khalatiants', Epos, pp. 257ff.
- **to have a golden spoon and fork:** targal unel oski ew patafak'al. The parallels are again biblical: 1 Macc. 11:58 (a sign of honor Antiochus gave to Jonathan); cf. Esther 1:7.

4. The hereditary privileges of coronant and of aspet belonged to the Bagratunis; see II 7 n. 1. For the command of the west, see II 3.

5. For the Dimak'sean family, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 204. Moses fancifully derives the name from δέμ ("face") and κές ("half") hence the improper spellings Dimak'sean (a e f g l a), Dimak'sean (c K 1 2) in the apparatus. Nersés, son of Gisak, is not mentioned elsewhere.

6. For the Truni family, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 221. The genitive Turay would give a nominative Toyr, which would not reduce to Tůr. But Toyr is merely another eponymous hero invented by Moses. The connection with "informing" is not clear.
48. The murder of Eruaz, the building of the second Bagaran,
the payment of tribute to the Romans by Artashēs

After this he commanded Smbat to go to the fortress of
Bagaran, which was near Eruand’s capital on the Akhurean
River, to kill Eruaz, Eruand’s brother. Smbat seized him and
ordered a millstone to be hung around his neck and that he be
thrown into a whirlpool of the river. In his place he put in
charge of the altars the friend of Artashēs, the disciple of a certain
magus who interpreted dreams; for that reason he was called
Mogpashte. Then he plundered the treasures of Eruaz and
brought five hundred slaves and also the most choice of the
temple treasures to Artashēs. Artashēs bestowed on Smbat the
slaves of Eruaz, but he ordered the treasures to be taken to Darius,
king of Persia, adding to them from his own treasures, as a gift of
thanks to a father and supporter.

Then Smbat took the slaves of Eruaz whom he had taken
captive in Bagaran and settled them behind Masis, calling the
town by the same name Bagaran. He himself crossed into Persia
bearing the gifts for Darius, paying no heed to the Roman em-

1. See II 40.
2. Mogpashte: “servant of, serving the Magus,” otherwise unattested; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 217. But the expression “who interpreted dreams” erazahan is used of the deity Tir, Agathangelos, §778; cf. also Gen. 41:8, 24; Deut. 13:1, 3, 5.
3. For temple slaves, see Perikhanean, Khramovye. Cf. Agathangelos, §781.
4. On the other Bagaran, see Hübshmann, AON, p. 411.
5. Olympius of Ani (Kamakh) is otherwise unknown. Melkonyan, Hay-Asorakan, pp. 155–6, follows Manandian and Sargsyan in accepting his historicity. But see the introduction to this book. For the history attributed to him, see II 66.
49. Concerning the building of the city of Artashat

The deeds of the last Artashes are mostly revealed to you from the tales¹ told in Golt’n;² the building of the city,³ the alliance with the Alans and the birth of their offspring,⁴ the allegorical passion⁵ of Sat’inik for the descendants of the vishaps, according to the fable—that is, for the descendants of Azhdahak who held all [the land] at the foot of Masis;⁶ the war against them and their fall from power, their slaughter, and the burning of their homes;⁷ the envy of the sons of Artashes and their mutual provocation brought about by their wives;⁸ all this, as we said, is revealed to you in the songs of the storytellers. But we too shall recall them briefly and give the true meaning of the allegory.⁹

Artashes came to the place where the Araxes and Metsamawr join; pleased with the hill he built there a city, which he called after his own name Artashat.¹⁰ The Araxes provided him with pine wood, so it was built quickly and without labor. He erected in it a temple and transferred to it from Bagaran the statue of Artemis and all the ancestral idols.¹¹ But the statue of Apollo he put up outside the city near the road.¹² They brought from

¹. Tales: although vipasàn means “storyteller” rather than “tale,” the verb “are told” (patmin) is passive; only hi l read vipats’n “tales.” Malkhaseants’ renders: “by the storytellers who relate in Golt’n.”
². Cf. I 30 n. 15 and the introduction to this book.
³. That is, Artashat, see I 30.
⁴. Cf. II 50.
⁵. Allegorical passion: ibr arab’ank’. For this curious use of ibr “as if,” in the sense of “allegorical” see Khalatiants’, Epos., p. 250. For Satinik’s passion, see I 30.
⁷. Cf. II 51.
⁸. Cf. II 53.
⁹. Allegory: aylabanut’iwn; see I 7 n. 4 and the introduction to this book.
¹⁰. For Artashat, see Hübßchmann, AON., pp. 408–9, Manandian, Trade., pp. 44–6.
¹¹. Ancestral idols: cf. II 8, 77. Sargsyan, Hellenistakan., pp. 154–5, uses this passage as evidence for deities of the early period. But Carrière, Sanctuaires, has shown that Moses is merely adapting Agathangelos; see § 778 for the altar of Artemis (Anahit) at Artashat.
¹². A direct quotation from Agathangelos, §778, describing the cult site of Tir (Apollo). For the correlation of Armenian deities with the Greek, see II 12 n. 6.
Eruand's capital the Jewish captives\(^{13}\) who had been transferred there from Arnavir, and he settled\(^{14}\) them in Artashat. Similarly all the splendors of Eruand's capital that the latter had brought from Arnavir, plus those that he had constructed there,\(^{15}\) [Artashēs] transferred to Artashat. And he embellished the city even further himself as the royal capital.

50. The incursion of the Alans among us and their defeat and the alliance of Artashēs with them

At that time the Alans, having united with all the mountain peoples and having brought over to their side also half the land of Georgia, spread out over our land in a great host.\(^1\) Artashēs also gathered the mass of his troops, and there was war between these two valiant nations skilled in archery. The nation of the Alans gave a little ground, passed over the great river Kura, and encamped on the northern bank of the river. Artashēs came up and encamped to the south, and the river divided them.

But because the Armenian army had captured the son of the Alan king and had brought him to Artashēs, the king of the Alans requested peace, [offering] to give Artashēs whatever he might ask. He promised to make a sworn and lasting treaty that the young men of the Alans would come no more on raids for plunder into Armenia. And when Artashēs refused to give back the youth, the prince's sister came to the bank of the river onto a large hillock and through interpreters called to the camp of Artashēs:

I say to you, valiant Artashēs, that you have conquered the brave nation of the Alans. Come, consent to the request of

\(^{13}\) For the Jewish captives (gerut'ion Hreits'), see II 19 n. 8.

\(^{14}\) Settled: nstuts'anē. Sargyian, Hellenistakan, pp. 155-6, notes the use of the term στοιχείωμα in this regard. In Strabo, Geography, XI 14.6 the participle στοιχειωμένως is used of Artashat—but with no reference to foreigners. Sargyian has confused μέτοικος and πάροικος, terms applied to foreigners, with στοιχείωμα which means a colonist.

\(^{15}\) Cf. II 89-42.

\(^1\) For attacks on Armenia by northern peoples, cf. II 65, 85, III 13, and Faustos, III 7, IV 25; Josephus, Wars, VII 7.4. For the Alans and Armenia, see esp. Carrata Thomes, Gli Alani, Bachrach, History of the Alans, Debovoise, Political History, pp. 159, 200-2, 242-3. Carrata Thomes equates the account in Moses with the invasion of 36 A.D. Josephus describes that of 72 A.D. in the time of Tiridates. See II 85 n. 8 for Moses' adaptation of Josephus' account.
the beautiful-eyed Alan princess to give up the youth. For it is not right for heroes to take the lives of the progeny of other heroes for the sake of vengeance, or by subjecting them to keep them in the rank of slaves and perpetuate eternal enmity between two brave nations.

When Artashes heard such wise words he went to the bank of the river; and seeing the beautiful maiden and hearing words of wisdom from her, he desired the maiden. He summoned his tutor Smbat and revealed to him the wishes of his heart—to marry the Alan princess, make a treaty and pact with that valiant nation, and to free the youth for the sake of peace. This pleased Smbat, and he sent word to the king of the Alans that he should give the princess of the Alans, Sat’inik, in marriage to Artashes. The king of the Alans said:

And whence will the brave Artashes give a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads in return for the noble-born princess of the Alans?

This episode the storytellers rehearse, as they sing their fables, in the following way:

Noble King Artashes mounted a beautiful black horse, and taking a strap of red leather with golden rings and crossing the river like a swift-winged eagle and throwing the strap of red leather with golden rings he cast it around the waist of the Alan princess, greatly paining the tender maiden’s waist; and he quickly brought her to his camp.

2. Tutor: dayeak; cf. II 82 n. 7.
3. There are parallels with the description of Satinik in Esther 2:2, 7. Note that the 'Aprapdjeen of Esther is Artashes in the Armenian text, and Ast’ine in Armenian uncialss is very similar to Sat’inek; cf. Khalatiants’, Epos, 1:26ff. But see Dumézil, REA 1929, for parallels with Satana, heroine of Caucasian legends.
5. Strap or red leather with golden rings: oskewul shikap’ok paran. Cf. II 85 for a strap of sinew wound around with leather; for this as a weapon, see Abelyan, Erker, 1:172. But Moses is verbally close to Esther 8:4 and Exod. 26:14.
The truth of this is as follows. Because red leather is greatly prized among the Alans, he gave much lac and gold as payment and received the maiden Sat’inik—this is the strap of red leather with gold rings. Similarly they also sing in their fables about the wedding:

A shower of gold rained down at the marriage of Artashës; it rained pearls at the wedding of Sat’ìnïk.

For our kings had the custom of going to the door of the palace at a marriage and scattering gold coins like the Roman consuls. So too the queens scattered pearls in the bridal chamber. This is the truth of the story.

She was the first of Artashës’ wives and bore him Artavazd and many others, whom we did not consider it important to enumerate by name now, but later when we reach whatever they lived.

51. The murder of Argam and his sons

When Artavazd, son of Artashës, reached maturity he proved to be a valiant man, vainglorious and proud. Bearing rancor against the old Argam he incited his own father to quarrel with him on the pretext that he was planning to dominate the whole kingdom. In this way he deprived him of his honor and gained the second rank for himself. After this Artashës went to a banquet of Argam’s; on the pretext of a suspicion that a plot was planned against the king, the king’s son raised a tumult and at the very table pulled out Argam’s white hair. In great confusion

7. As payment: i vardzans. For this expression as bride price, see Gen. 34:12, Exod. 22:16; in general see Adontz, Armenia, pp. 147-8. Josephus (see n. 1 above) mentions the ransom paid to the invading Alans for the Parthian king’s wife and concubines.
8. For the gold coins scattered by Roman consuls, cf. Justinian, Novellae 105 (which forbids this practice), and the comments of Robert, AE 1999.
9. See Esther 1:9 for the separate ceremonies at the wedding for men and women. There are numerous verbal parallels involving gold and pearls between Moses and Esther 1:5ff.
10. See II 53ff.
King Artashes went to Artashat and sent back his son Mazhan\(^2\) with a large force, ordering him to slaughter many of the Muratsean family, to burn Argam's palace, and to bring his concubine called Mandu,\(^3\) who was very remarkable for her beauty and carriage, as a concubine for Artashes. Two years later he further weakened [Argam] and ordered him to give up his possessions with the exception of the concubine.

But Artavazd was not satisfied with depriving them of the second rank; he also seized Nakhchavan and all the villages to the south of the Araxes,\(^4\) and their palaces and fortresses there he appropriated for his own inheritance. Argam's sons, unable to endure this, opposed him in war. But the king's son gained the victory and slaughtered all of Argam's offspring with their father and all the eminent men of the Muratsean family; and he confiscated for himself their villages and all their lands. Not one of them survived, save only a few insignificant and lesser persons who fled to Artashes and gained refuge at the royal court. It is this Argam who is called Argavan in the fable,\(^5\) and this is the cause of his war with Artavazd.

52. *What sort of man Smbat was, and what he did among the Alans and the settlement of Artaz*

It is pleasant for me to tell of the valiant man Smbat, for indeed, what the fable says is not very far from the truth. The stature of his limbs was in proportion to his valor; he pursued virtue of the spirit; he was notable for the beauty of his hair.\(^1\) He had a small blood mark\(^2\) in his eyes, which shone like enamel on gold and [set] in pearl. In addition to being agile of person and body, he was prudent\(^3\) in all things and had a gift for success in

2. *Mazhan*: see further II 53 n. 8. The name is only attested in Moses; see Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 201.


4. These are the lands given to the descendents of Azhdahak's wives; see I 30.


1. The description of Smbat is modeled verbally on that of Eleazar in 2 Macc. 6:23.


battle more than anyone else. For after so many brave deeds he went on Artashes’ orders to the land of the Alans with an army to support the brother of Sat’iunik. For Sat’iunik’s father had died and someone else was ruling as a tyrant over the land of the Alans and had expelled Sat’iunik’s brother. But Smbat put him to flight, restored Sat’iunik’s brother as lord of his people, and devastated the lands of his opponents, bringing them all as secure captives to Artashat. Artashes ordered him to settle them on the southeastern side of Masis, which is called the province of Shavarshan, though it has kept in addition its original name Artaz, because the land from which they were brought as captives is called Artaz to this very day.4

53. The ravaging of [the land of] the Caspians, the quarrel of the descendants of Artashes with Smbat and with each other

After the death of the last Arshak, king of Persia, our Artashes made his homonym, Arshak’s son Artashes, king over the land of Persia. The inhabitants of the mountain, which is called in their own tongue the province of Patizhahar,1 that is, the mountain of Gejmants,2 did not wish to obey him, nor did those who dwelt by the sea and those beyond them. Similarly the land of the Caspians3 for that reason rebelled against our king. Therefore Artashes sent Smbat against them with the entire Armenian army, and the king himself accompanied them for seven days. So Smbat went and subdued them all; he ravaged the land of the Caspians and brought to Armenia more captives than those from Artaz, including their king, Zardmanos.4 Therefore as a just reward for his services, Artashes granted him the royal portion in the villages of Golt’n and the springs of Ult, and in addition left him all the booty. Artavazd became jealous at this and wished to murder Smbat. And when the plan became known his father

4. For Shavarshan and Artaz, see II 34 n. 2. Moses Daskhurants’i, I 8, repeats the story of Smbat’s war against the Alan usurper.

1. Patizhahar, a hapax; see Hübbschmann, Grammatik, p. 66. Marquart, Eransahr, p. 150, identifies the range with the Παπάκιξελθες of Strabo, Geography, XI 8.1, the Elburz.

2. Gejmants’: gen. pl. of gejm, “wool, fleece”; a false etymology for the land of Gel, i.e., Gilan. See Hübbschmann, Grammatik, pp. 34–5.

3. For the Kasph’ see Hübbschmann, AON, pp. 268–9, and Hewsen, HA 1973.

4. For Armenian control of this area, see Strabo, Geography, XI 14.5, and the discussion in Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 167ff and Tirats’yan, BM 1962.
was greatly disturbed about it. But Smbat withdrew and went to Assyria, willingly abandoning the command of the Armenian army—the cause of Artavazd’s envy. At the command of Artashēs he dwelt in Tmorik’, which is now called Kordrik’, and he settled the host of captives at Alki. In his old age he had married an Assyrian from near to those parts, and as he greatly loved her he made his dwelling in the same regions.

After the departure of Smbat, Artavazd received from his father the object of his ambition—the command of the whole army. But because his brothers were jealous of him at the instigation of their wives, therefore Artashēs made Vroyr, a wise and erudite man, hazarapet and entrusted to him all the affairs of the royal household. And Mazhan he established as chief priest of the god Aramazd in Ani. Artashēs also divided the command of the army into four: he left Artavazd in command of the eastern army, Tiran over the western, and he entrusted the southern to Smbat and the northern to Zareh. Zareh was a boastful man, expert in hunting wild beasts, but at warfare incompetent and negligent. When the Georgian king, a certain K’ardzam, became aware of this, he incited the land to revolt. And capturing Zareh he imprisoned him in the Caucasus. Artavazd and Tiran with Smbat waged war on him and brought back their brother from the great mire.

5. Sargsyan, Hellenistaken, p. 172, thinks that the place names in this and the previous paragraph are taken directly from Strabo’s description in Geography, XI 14:5. For the springs of Uli (“camel”), a hapax, see Hübschmann, AON, p. 462; for Tmorik’, Kordrik’, and Alki (in southern Armenia, east of the Tigris), see ibid., pp. 334-7.

6. Vroyr: otherwise unattested. For parallels to the king’s three sons and the division of responsibilities in the Armenian epic Sasunts’i David, see Petrosyan, Lraber 1975. Artavazd, Vroyr, and Mazhan have counterparts in Vergo, Mher, and Horan.


8. For the shrine of Aramazd at Ani, see Agathangelos, §785 (Moses quotes this exactly); cf. also Moses, II 14.

9. For the four generals cf. II 85, III 6. This is a reflection of the four bdeashkh on the frontiers; see II 8 esp. n. 13. Moses here says that Artashēs established his four sons in these positions.

10. For the capture of Zareh by the Georgians, see Kart’lis Tsikhooreba, p. 49 (Brosset, 1:70–1).

11. Mire: the same term karakum is used in Agathangelos, §124, of the pit where Gregory was imprisoned.
54. War against Domitian's army in Basean

When tumult and confusion arose in the west, Artashēs took courage from these events to rebel against the Roman empire, withholding the tribute. But the Emperor Domitian was angered and dispatched an army against Artashēs. When this arrived in the region of Caesarea it swept Tiran and the western army before it and drove them quickly back as far as the very wide valley of Basean. Artavazd hastened to oppose it with the armies of the east and north, accompanied by all the king's sons. They fought fiercely and were hard pressed. At the end of the battle Smbat arrived with the army of the south, and advancing into the midst [of the fray] he saved the king's sons, winning the victory and ending the battle. Although he was very old he organized and directed his battle line like a young man and pursuing the Roman army he threw it back as far as the borders of Caesarea.

When they wish to sing of this in their fables they say a certain Domet came—that is the Emperor Domitian himself. However, he did not come here, but allegorically they call his command and army by his name.

But fortune favored Artashēs: at that same time Domitian died at Rome, and after him Nerva reigned for not more than one year. Emboldened by this the armies of the Armenians and Persians made more forays into Greece. And when the Egyptians and Palestinians saw this, they too withheld their tribute from the Romans.

1. Basean; a district at the headwaters of the Araxes; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 362-3.
2. Many commentators assume that "Domitian" is not the emperor (81-96 A.D.) but Domitius Corbulo, whose campaigns in Armenia in 56 A.D. culminated in the destruction of Artashat (see Tacitus, Annals, XIII 41). Corbulo later abandoned Armenia after the Roman defeat by the Parthians (Annals, XV 17). But Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 181ff, notes that inscriptions of Domitian have been found at Baku and argues that Moses may well have in mind the emperor. In any event, the chronology of Artashēs, successor to Erwand, is hardly compatible with the late first century A.D. But see II 43 n. 2 for Moses' confusion between Artashēs and Axedares.
3. Allegorically: see I 7 n. 4.
4. Nerva reigned from September 96 to January 98; Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 2:278, ascribes to him one year and three months.
55. **Concerning Trajan and his deeds, and the murder of Mazhan by his brothers**

At that time Trajan became emperor of the Romans, and having pacified all the east he descended on the Egyptians and Palestinians. Having subjected them to his authority, he marched to the east against Persia. In haste Artashēs came down to meet him there with magnificent presents, and accepting the responsibility for defaulting he appeared before him with the tribute of the previous years. Having obtained pardon from him, he returned to Armenia. Trajan passed on into Persia, and having accomplished all his desires returned through Syria.¹

Mazhan, descending to meet him, betrayed his brothers. "Know, O king," he said, "that if you do not exile Artavazd and Tiran and if you do not entrust the Armenian troops to Zareh, the tribute will not be paid to you without a struggle." This Mazhan did because of the rancor he nourished on Smbat's behalf, for the latter had raised him.² Likewise he planned to expel Tiran so that he himself might become at once chief priest and commander of the east. But Trajan paid no attention to him and sent him away unsatisfied. When Artavazd and Tiran learned of his plan, they ambushed Mazhan in the hunt and killed him; then they took him and buried him in the town of Altars³ as chief priest. Thereafter Artashēs paid tribute to Trajan regularly, and after him to the Emperor Hadrian, all his days.

56. **How Artashēs increased the population of the land and fixed the borders**

After all these noble deeds and acts of wise government, Artashēs ordered the boundaries of villages and of estates to be distinguished.¹ For he had increased the population of Armenia

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¹. For Trajan's (emperor 98–117) campaigns in Armenia see Dio Cassius, LXVIII 17–20. Moses is probably drawing on Eusebius, either *Ecclesiastical History*, IV 2, or *Chronicle*: Aucher 2:28a, for his references to Egyptians and Palestinians.

². Mazhan wished to avenge Smbat, who was dear to him, for the wrongs done him by Artavazd; cf. II 53.

³. *Town of altars: bagnats'ın awan.* This is Moses' false etymology for Bagavan; see Hübschmann, *AON*, p. 411. For Mazhan's tomb see further II 66.

¹. For the boundary markers see Agathangelos, §36 (with verbal parallels to this sentence), and Moses, II 77. For the various inscriptions on such stones erected by Artashēs, see Trever. *Ocherki*, pp. 135, 167; Peri-
by introducing many foreigners into the populace and settling them in the mountains and valleys and plains. And he established markers for the borders in the following way: he ordered four-sided stones to be hewn, their centers to be hollowed out like plates, and that they be buried in the earth. Over them he had fitted four-sided obelisks, a little higher than the ground. Of this Artashir, son of Sasan, was jealous, and he ordered the same to be done in Persia and that they be called by his own name, so that the name of Artashēs might be no more remembered.

But it is said that in the time of Artashēs there was no land unworked in Armenia, neither of mountain nor plain, on account of the prosperity of the country.

57. Concerning the principality of the Amatunik'

In his days they say the family of the Amatunik' came from the eastern regions of the land of the Aryans. But they are by origin Jewish, descended from a certain Manue, whose son

khanean, REA 1966 (with bibliography); and Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 184ff.

2. This settlement of foreigners would be more appropriate to the time of Tigran II; see Strabo, Geography, XI 14.15, and Manandian, Tigrane, pp. 55ff. For foreigners in Armenia during the time of Artashēs, see Manandian, Trade, pp. 44ff.

3. Armenian tradition (cf. Agathangelos, §18, Lazar, p. 1) makes Artashēr the son of Sasan, but for the legendary character of this relationship, see Frye, Heritage, pp. 198-9. Faustos, III 20, and Elishé, p. 6, merely refer to the azg Sasanay.

4. Cf. Agathangelos, §36 (see n. 1 above).

5. Unworked: angorts; cf. the expression erkragortsut'iwn ("agriculture") in II 59. For the state of agriculture in Armenia at that period, see Sargsyan, Hellenistakan, pp. 195ff.

1. For the Amatuni family, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 197-8, esp. n. 223 for speculation about Moses' reason for calling them Jewish. But see n. 2 below.

2. Manue (father of Samson): the variant Manoveay in X is the spelling of the Armenian Bible (Judges 13). But Moses may here be confusing "Mannaean" with the Jewish hero and thus was led to posit a Jewish origin for the Amatuni, for the latter came from the regions of the Median-Mannaean dynasts; see Toumanoff, Studies, Frye, Heritage, p. 61, and the last sentence of this paragraph in Moses. Neusner, Numen 1966, pp. 145-6, equates the Amatuni with the house of Monobazes of Adiabene, supposing Manue=Manavaz=Monobazes. For the equation of the last two, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 51. But can Manue give MαNαWαZ?
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was of great stature and strength called Samson, as is the Jewish
custom to call [children] after the names of their ancestors in
expectation. But it is true, as one can indeed now see among the
family of the Amatunik', for they are personable and well formed
and worthily resplendent in all things and strong. They were
taken [there] by Arshak, the first king of the Parthians, and in
the land of the Aryans, in the regions of Hamadan, they were
promoted to a position of honor. What the reasons for their com-
ing here might be, I do not know. However, they were honored
by Artashēs with villages and estates and were called Amatuni,
as being foreigners. And some Persians call them Manuean after
the name of their ancestor.

58. Concerning the clan of the Araveleank', whence
this family sprang

In his days the Araveleank', who were from the nation of
the Alans and related to Sat'înik and who had come with her,
were established as a family and principality of Armenia, as kin
of the great queen. And in the time of Khosrov, Trdat's father,
they became related by marriage to a certain warrior of the
colony of Basilk' that had come [to Armenia].

59. Knowledge of the arts in the days of Artashēs

Because many deeds were performed in the days of Artashēs,
therefore we have divided them into many chapters lest our
readers be wearied by the length of the account. This last chapter
has the purpose of recording still other aspects of the period of
Artashēs. Although everything else that we recorded in the pre-
ceding chapters, the order and good customs, was established by
Valarshak and the other early kings, yet they were neglectful of

5. In expectation: cf. I 32 n. 11. Hardly, as Cappelletti, note ad loc.,
suggests 'in expectation of the Messiah' (see Moses Khorenats'i in bibili-
ography).

4. Perhaps this sentence reflects an Armenian pun on Samson, the verb
samsarel meaning "to strut grandly."

5. Hamadan: Ecbatana; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 17, Marquart,
Erânsahr, pp. 70–1.

6. Foreigners: ekk', a pun on Amat(un)i; see II 46 n. 10 for Persian
amat as 'came' for the Armenian ek(n).

1. For the family of the Araveleank', see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 199.

2. For the Basilk', see II 65 n. 12 and II 85.
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the noble arts and sciences, being occupied with brigands and invasions. And so either they did not care for such sciences or were unversed in them—I am speaking of the cycles of weeks, months, and years.⁴ Nothing of this kind was known among them, although other nations used them. Nor was there navigation on the lakes of our country, nor travel over the rivers, nor any instruments for fishing; not even agriculture was practiced everywhere, but in scattered places.⁵ In the manner of the northern regions they lived by eating carrion⁶ and similar food. But all this was reformed in the days of Artashēs.

60. Concerning the death of Artashēs

Ariston of Pella gives a beautiful account of the death of Artashēs.⁷ At the time the Jews had revolted against Hadrian, the Roman emperor, and had made war with the eparch Rufus under the leadership of a certain brigand called Bar K'oba, that is “son of a star,” who was an evildoer and a murderer—but because of his name he greatly boasted that he had sprung from heaven as their savior from affliction and captivity. And so severely did he wage war that looking to him all the Syrians, Mesopotamians, and Persians refused to pay tribute to the Romans. It had also been heard that leprosy had afflicted Hadrian. But our Artashēs was not disloyal to him.

It happened in those times that Hadrian came to Palestine and destroyed the rebels in the siege of a small town near Jerusalem. Therefore he ordered all the nation of the Jews to leave their homeland so that they would not see Jerusalem even from a great distance. And he built up Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by Vespasian and Titus and himself, and called it Elia after his own name, just as Hadrian was called “sun.”⁸ He

1. Cycle: bolorumn, as at I 16 n. 3. For the lack of interest in chronology, see I 3, and for Moses’ insistence on strict chronology, II 8a.
2. The classical concept of a golden age (as in Ovid’s Metamorphoses, I) thus has no place in Moses.
4. Ariston of Pella wrote an apology for Christianity around 140. But Moses is here following Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, VI 6, where Eusebius quotes Ariston’s description of the revolt of Bar Kochba during the reign of Hadrian.
6. Sun: this is Moses’ own etymology—“Χλως for Δλως.
settled in it pagans and Christians, whose bishop was a certain Mark. At that time he sent a powerful army to the regions of Assyria and ordered our Artashēs to go to Persia with his own supervisors. In his entourage as secretary was the man who gave this story to us; he met Artashēs in Media in a place called Sohund.

He became ill in Marand, in the town of Bakurakert. And a certain Abeloy, leader of the Abelini family, an active and sycophantic and hypocritical man, he sent at his request to Erēz in Ekeleats' to the temple of Artemis to seek healing and a long life from the idols. He had not returned when Artashēs died. And he writes how many multitudes died at the death of Artashēs, his beloved wives and concubines and faithful servants; and what a multifarious display they made in honor of the corpse in a civilized fashion and not as barbarians. The coffin he says was of gold; the bier and litter were of silk; the robes around the body were threaded with gold; the crown on his head and the arms set before him were of gold; around the bier were his sons and a host of his kinsmen, and beside them the military—the leaders and companies of the princely houses, the troops of soldiers, all armed as if to march out to war. In front they blew bronze trumpets, behind came wailing maidens dressed in black and mourning women, and then followed and the mass of the

4. Eusebius does not suggest that Ariston mentions Artashēs. The term "supervisors," ziwgostatawtk', is a hapax; see Hübßmann, Grammatik, p. 215, and Achaian, Armatakan Bararan. Ziwpọtara is a "public weigher" (LSJ), "master of weights" (Sophocles), "weigher" (Lampe, Lexicon).

5. Moses implies that Ariston was Artashēs' secretary.

6. Sohund is not otherwise mentioned by Armenian writers, but see Eremyan, Map Dr7 ("Hayastanē"), for this mountain east of Lake Urmia; for the interpretation of Mars as a place, not "Media," see II 38 n. 1.

7. Marand: the name of both a district and a town on the Armenian-Persian border; see Hübßmann, AON, pp. 386-7, 451. For Bakurakert, see ibid., p. 412.

8. For the Abelini family, see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 220. (There is a variant Abelay, "monk," for Abeloy in a d.)

9. For the temple of Artemis (Anahit) in Erēz, see Agathangelos, §786; cf. above II 12, 14.

10. This long sentence is from the description of Herod's funeral in Josephus, Wars, I 33.9; cf. Antiquities, XVII 8.3. Less close are the parallels in Ps.-Callisthenes, §209, on the burial of Darius.

11. Cf. Faustos, IV 15, the mourning at the funeral of Gnel. Note the ecclesiastical canons against such excesses at Armenian funerals: ibid., IV 5, Kanonagirk', 1:247; and cf. III 220 n. 12.
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common people. Thus they accompanied him to burial. Around the tomb were willing deaths, as we said above. This sovereign, so beloved to our country, reigned forty-one years.\textsuperscript{12}

61. \textit{Reign of Artavazd, the expulsion of his brothers and sisters, and his death with its allegory}

After Artashes his son Artavazd came to the throne; he expelled all his brothers from Ayarat to the provinces of Aliovit and Aferan so that they would not inhabit the royal estates in Ayarat.\textsuperscript{1} He kept only Tiran his successor, for he had no son. A few days after his accession he passed over the bridge of the city of Artashat to hunt wild asses around the springs of Gên.\textsuperscript{2} Confused by some giddiness he thoughtlessly turned around on his horse and fell into a great pit and was swallowed up without a trace.

Of him the singers of Golt'n\textsuperscript{3} tell the following fable. At the death of Artashes much slaughter took place according to pagan custom. Artavazd, they say, was displeased and said to his father:

\begin{quote}
Since you went and took all the land with you, to what purpose shall I reign over these ruins?
\end{quote}

Therefore Artashes cursed him in these words:

\begin{quote}
If you go hunting up on Noble Masis,\textsuperscript{4} the spirits\textsuperscript{5} will seize you and take you up to Noble Masis; there you will remain and no more see the light.
\end{quote}

The old women also tell of him that he is imprisoned in a cave, bound in iron chains, and two dogs continuously gnaw at the chains. He tries to go out and destroy the country, but at the

\textsuperscript{12} For the reign of Artashes (Artaxias), see Toumanoff, \textit{Studies}, pp. 29ff.

\textsuperscript{1} For the expulsion from Ayarat to Aliovit and Aferan of all but the king's successor, see II 22.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Springs of Gên}: the source of the river Gên; see also Hübschmann, \textit{AON}, p. 419.

\textsuperscript{3} For the singers (\textit{ergich'k'}) of Golt'n, see II 48 n. 6 and the introduction to this book.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Noble Masis}: Azat Masis, see I 30 n. 24.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Spirits}: \textit{k'ajk'}. For these mythical creatures, see Adontz, \textit{ROC 1925-1926}, pp. 320-1, and Elššê, \textit{Questions}, pp. 14ff.

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sound of the hammering of smiths, they say, his bonds are strengthened. Therefore, even in our own time many smiths, following the fable, on the first day of the week strike the anvil three or four times so that the chains of Artavazd may be strengthened, as they say. But the truth of the matter is as we said above.⁸

But some say that at his birth a misfortune befell him. It was thought that the wives of the descendants of Azhdahak had set a spell upon him, and therefore Artashēs did them much harm. This the same singers express in the fable as follows:

The descendants of the dragons stole the child Artavazd
and put a dev⁷ in his place.

But this story seems to me more reliable, that from his birth he was merely mad until he died thereof. His brother Tiran ascended the throne [after him].

62. Whatever concerns Tiran

Tiran, son of Artashēs, became king of Armenia in the second year of Peroz the First, king of Persia.¹ No great deeds are told of him but merely that he served the Romans faithfully. He lived in peace, occupied with hunting and amusements, as they say. He had two horses that were swifter than Pegasus in their

⁶ For the story of Artavazd, imprisoned by devs, who will one day emerge to seize the world, cf. Eznik, §136. According to the text in Adontz, ROC 1925–1926, pp. 321, 352–3, the smiths beat their anvils on the day of Navasard (first day of the year), not every week. Khalatiants', Epos, 1:317ff and 2:73ff, has collected parallels in Vardan and the Menaion of Gregory Khlatets'i to the stories about Artavazd in this chapter. For parallels with the entombment of Mher the Less (in the cycle of epic tales surrounding Sasunts'i David), see Gershevitch, "Die Sonne," esp. p. 85. Eremyan, Lraber 1975 identifies this Artavazd with Artavazd V, who reigned in Persian Armenia 252/3–261 A.D.

⁷ Dev: evil spirit; see Hübßchmann, Grammatik, p. 140, and in general Macler, Les Dew.

¹ Peroz not the Sasanian monarch (459–484 A.D.). In II 64 Moses explains that Peroz is a title; his etymology ("victor") is correct; see Hübßchmann, Grammatik, p. 68. Sargsyan, Hellenistik, p. 120, suggests that the title Peroz may have been applied to any Parthian king. Vologeses III (148–192) may be intended here.
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incomparable speed so that men thought that they did not strike the ground but flew through the air. When Databē, a prince of the Bznunik', asked permission to ride them, he boasted that he was richer than the king.

There came to him members of his own ancient family of the Arsacids who lived in the regions of Hashtētank', and they said: "Enlarge for us our inheritance, for it is cramped, since we have multiplied greatly." He ordered some of them to go to the province of Aliovit and Afberan. But they protested even more to the king: "This is even more cramped for us." Tiran paid no heed but confirmed his decision to give them no other inheritance and to divide equally among them what they did have. But when it was divided according to their number, there was found to be insufficient inheritance for the inhabitants of Hashtētank'. Therefore many of them came to the provinces of Aliovit and Afberan.

In his days, they say, lived a young man of the Andzavats' family, distinguished in every way, called Erakhnavu. He married the last of Artavazd's wives, whom he had brought from Greece. And because Artavazd had no child, the king left to Erakhnavu all the house of Artavazd, for they saw that he was a select man and moderate in all regards, and temperate even in the desires of the flesh. Since the king loved him he gave him the second rank, which Artavazd used to hold; he entrusted to him the care of the army of the east, and he left with him Druasp. [The latter was] a Persian friend of his who had become related by marriage to the princes of Vaspurakan and

2. Pegasus: the winged horse tamed by Bellerophon. Moses probably took this simile from Ps.-Callisthenes, §31.
3. Databē is not attested elsewhere, but see Faustos, III 8, for Databē prince of the Bznunik', a traitor to king Tiran. For the Bznunik', see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 216; cf. II 8.
4. See II 8 nn. 34, 35 for the Arsacids in Hashtētank'.
5. This statement is modeled on the Armenian text of Isa. 49:20: nel է mex tels; էndärzākea mex.
7. Erakhnavu is not attested elsewhere; for the Andzavats' family, see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 198-9; cf. II 8.
9. For the four armies, see II 53 n. 9.
11. Vaspurakan: from Vaspur, the magnates of Sasanian Iran; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 80. The adjectival Vaspurakan describes the
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to whom he had given the town of Tateawn\textsuperscript{12} with its estates and the great vineyard which is irrigated by the canal that branches out from the lake of Gaylatu.\textsuperscript{13} He himself sent to the regions of Ekeleats' and established his court in the town of Ch'rmes.\textsuperscript{14} He governed the kingdom peaceably for twenty-one years and died on a journey, overwhelmed by northern snow.\textsuperscript{15}

69. Concerning Trdat Bagratuni and the first names of his family

King Tiran married his daughter Eraneak\textsuperscript{1} to a certain Trdat of the Bagratuni family, the son of Smbatuhi,\textsuperscript{2} daughter of the valiant Smbat, a spirited and powerful man, short in stature and ugly in appearance. She hated her husband Trdat and was continuously grumbling and complaining, lamenting that she, a beautiful woman, lived with an ugly man, and that being of noble family she lived with a man of ignoble origin.\textsuperscript{3} At this Trdat was angry, and one day he beat her severely. He clipped her blond hair, pulled off her thick locks, and ordered her to be dragged outside and thrown from the room. He himself went in rebellion to the secure regions of Media. After he had arrived in the land of Siunik', the news of Tiran's death reached him; on hearing it he stopped there.

part of southeastern Armenia that remained Persian after the Roman-Persian settlement of 591 A.D. See Adontz, Armenia, p. 180ff. The term is not found in Armenian writers before Sebeos, and its use here is significant for the dating of Moses; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 931.

12. Tateawn: north of Lake Van on the headwaters of the Aratsani. See Eremyan, "Ashkharhat's'oyts'.”


15. For the theme of being overtaken by snow, see II 36; cf. Plutarch, Lucullus, §82, and Tacitus, Annals, XIII 35 (Corbulo's invasion).

1. Eraneak: the name is not attested elsewhere; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 88.
3. Of noble... origin: for a verbal parallel with Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khalatiants', Ararat 1897, p. 532 (from the In sanctum baptisma, PG 36.559ff). Cf. also Josephus, Antiquities, XV 7.2: Mariamne despises Herod's embraces “because of the superiority of her birth.”

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It happened one day that Bakur, the prince of Siunik', invited him to a banquet. When they had become merry with wine, Trdat saw a woman who was very beautiful and was playing; her name was Nazinik. He was enamored of her and said to Bakur: “Give me this singer.” He replied: “No, for she is my concubine.” But Trdat seized the woman by force, drew her to himself on the couch, and passionately worked his lust like an incontinent and ardent young man. Bakur, mad with jealousy, rose to pull him from her. But Trdat stood up, took a vase of flowers as a weapon, and drove the guests out from the feast.

There one could see a new Odysseus slaying the suitors of Penelope, or the struggle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of Perithous. And thus, coming to his own house, he immediately mounted his horse and went to Sper with the concubine. It is superfluous for us to say more about the prowess of this lascivious man.

But know that when the Bagratuni family abandoned their ancestral laws, they first received barbarous names: Biurat, and Smbat, and other similar appellations, being deprived of...
their traditional names by which they were called before their apostasy: Bagadia, Tubia, Senek'ia, Asud, Sap'at'ia, Vazaria, Enanos. And it seems to me that the name Bagarat by which the Bagratunik' are now called is Bagadia, and Asud is Ashot, and similarly Vazaria is Varaz, just as Shambat is Smbat.14

64. What manner of man the last Tigran was, and what deeds he performed

Tiran was succeeded by his brother, the last Tigran,1 who came to the throne of Armenia in the twenty-fourth year of Peroz,2 king of Persia. He enjoyed a long life of forty-two years and died without exhibiting any brave deed worthy of record, save that he was captured by a Greek maiden at the time that the Roman emperor, Titus the Second, who was called Antoninus Augustus, died.3 Peroz, king of Persia, invaded the Roman empire, whence he gained the name Peroz, which means “victor.” He was previously called Valegesos4 in the Greek tongue. But what the Persians called him I do not know.

Now when Peroz invaded the regions of Palestine through Syria, on his behalf and at his command our Tigran also invaded

14. Bagadia: Moses’ own invention. At least the form is close to the true (Iranian) origin; see I 22 n. 6. Tubia: see II 33 at n. 2. Senek’ia: see II 24 n. 4. Asud: see II 14 n. 6. For the Iranian etymology of Ashot, see Justi, Namenbuch, pp. 44-5. Sap’at’ia: see II 24 n. 6. Vazaria: for the Iranian etymology of Varaz, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, pp. 81-2. But in II 24 Sap’at’ia and Azaria (which has Old Testament parallels) are sons of Enanos. Enanos: see II 24 n. 3. Smbat, Shambat: see I 22 n. 10. On all these words cf. Marquart, Streifzüge, p. 429; for biblical parallels see Khalatiants’, Epos, 1:163 n. 1. Moses has been influenced by the list of the returned Jewish captives in Nehemiah, ch. 7.

1. Tigran: this cannot be the third Tigran of Roman sources who lived in the early first century A.D. From the reference to Lucius in the next paragraph the Armenian king must be Sohaemus. See the discussion in Toumanoff, Studies, p. 213 n. 241.


4. Valegesos: Walagash; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 544. Moses’ spelling does not correspond to any of the Greek or Latin forms; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 79. For the meaning of “Peroz” see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 68, and cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XIX 2.11: Persis Saporum saansaan appellantibus et pirosen, quod rex regibus imperans, et bellorum victor interpretatur.

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the Mediterranean regions. And he was captured by a princess who ruled those lands at the time that the Emperor Lucianos was building the temple in Athens. The latter passed with many troops into the Mediterranean regions after the death of Peroz, subdued Armenia, and freed Tigran. He gave him in marriage the maiden Rop'i, a relative of his. But when he [Tigran] came back to Armenia, he abandoned her. The four young men born from her he ennobled and entitled Rop'sean after their mother Rop'i, lest they be called Arsacids. The first of the children he made chief prince and enrolled among the other noble families.

But as for the lesser families either here or in the regions of Korchēk, they were established by this Tigran. Although they were undistinguished in military service, yet they were personally renowned and had fought the Greeks for his release; some came from Korchēk and some from our region—I mean the ancient neighbors of the Vchenik from the descendants of the Haykazunk—some were [descended] from immigrants. We shall not discuss them by name, partly because [all] is not clear to us, partly because we are avoiding the labor of such work, and third because the lack of certainty about many of them introduces doubts in any complete listing. For this reason we shall say nothing about those families that were established by the last Tigran, although you have frequently begged us to do so, but [we shall]


6. Rop'i: Latin Rufa; she is otherwise unattested. For the Rop'sean family see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 213.


9. Our region: it is not clear if Moses is referring to his own residence or birthplace, to that of the Bagratids (on whose behalf he is writing his history), or to Greater Armenia in general.

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speak] only of the subsequent events that we know for certain. So far as was possible we have avoided superfluous and elaborate accounts and whatever words and conclusions tended to unreliability, and followed to the best of our ability only what was right and true, whether from other sources or from our own [knowledge]. Observing the same principle here, I am keeping the course of my story free from what is unsuitable and what would encourage the introduction of doubt and disbelief. And I beg you now again, as often before, not to impose superfluous tasks on us, nor by few or many words to turn our whole great reliable labor into a purposeless and superfluous work, for that brings equal danger to you as to me.

65. Concerning the reign of Valarsh, the building of the town of Basean, the surrounding of Nor K'alak' with a wall, the war against the Khazars, and his death

After the death of Tigran his son Valarsh came to the throne in the thirty-second year of his homonym, Valarsh king of Persia. He built up the place of his birth on the road into a great town; this was where, as his mother was going to her winter residence in Ayrarat, she was surprised by the pains of labor on her way and gave birth on the road, in the province of Basean at the place where the Murts' and Araxes join. This spot he built up and called Valarshavan after his own name. He also surrounded with walls the strong town of Vardgēs on the River K'asakh, of which they say in the fables:

Vardgēs as a child left the province of Tuh by the River Khasal and came to dwell by the hill of Shresh by the city of Artimēd on the River Khasal, to hammer and batter at the gate of Eruan and the king.

1. Valarsh (of Persia): Vologeses III, 148–192, i.e., in 180 A.D. For the name Valarsh, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 79.
2. For the site of Valarshavan, see Hübschmann, AON, p. 469; Sebōs, Patmutʿion, p. 53, calls the site Bolorapahak.
3. Valarshapat; cf. II 16 n. 1. For the site, see Hübschmann, AON, p. 471, and in greater detail, Sardaryan, Lraber 1975.
4. Vardgēs: “rose hair”; this is the only attestation of the name; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 353.
5. The river Khasal (or Khasakh) is a tributary of the Araxes; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 562. Tuh, Shresh, and Artimēd are not otherwise attested.
6. Hammer at the gate: “to ask in marriage,” see Malkhasyants', note
This Eruand was the first of that name, the short-lived one who was descended from Hayk;\(^7\) Vardgēs, having married his sister, built this town. Here the middle Tigran of the Arsacid family settled the entire first colony of Jewish captives, and it became a commercial town.\(^8\) Now this Valarsh surrounded it with a wall and strong ramparts and called it Valarshapat;\(^9\) it is also [called] Nor K'ajak'.\(^10\)

Having ruled for twenty years he died. Although others simply lived, yet I say that he lives on even after his death on account of his repute, which is greater than that of lazier kings. Because in his days the hosts of the northern peoples united, I mean the Khazars\(^11\) and Basilk',\(^12\) and passing through the Chor gate\(^13\) under the leadership of their king, a certain Vnasep Surhap,\(^14\) they crossed to this side of the River Kura. Valarsh opposed them with a great force of warlike soldiers and scattered their host as corpses over the plain. Pursuing them for a long distance, he pushed them back through the Chor pass. There once again the enemy united and drew up their battle line; and although the valiant Armenians routed them and put them to flight, yet Valarsh died at the hands of their expert archers.

Khosrov\(^15\) his son succeeded to the throne in the third year

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\(^7\) Cf. I 22.

\(^8\) For Tigran’s settlement of Jews see II 19 n. 8. For the history of Valarshapat, see Manandian, *Trade*, p. 84. Trever, *Ocherki . . . Armenii*, pp. 251–70.


\(^10\) Nor K’ajak’: “new city,” as in Agathangelos, §150; see Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 8ff.

\(^11\) The Khazars are first mentioned in Armenian literature by the Ashkharhats’oyts’, SR, p. 347, LR, p. 102. For the Khazars in Armenia, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 499. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 331, for the reference to the Khazars as evidence for the dating of Moses’ History.

\(^12\) Basilik’: They were Hunno-Bulgarians; see Tomaschek, “Barselt,” in *PW*, V col. 28, Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 490. For the Basilik’ in Armenia cf. II 58, 85, and III 12 for attacks by northerners.

\(^13\) Chor gate: the pass in the Caucasus near Darband; cf. III 12.


\(^15\) Khosrov: according to Agathangelos, §§18ff, the father of Trdat the Great; cf. II 67. But the Armenian tradition has telescoped the historical reality; see Toumanoff, *REA* 1969, esp. pp. 241ff.
of Artavan, king of Persia. Immediately thereafter he gathered the Armenian army and passed across the great mountain to exact vengeance for his father's death. Routing those powerful nations with sword and lance, he took hostage one out of every hundred of all their active men, and as a token of his own authority he set up a stele with an inscription in Greek so that it would be clear that he owed allegiance to the Romans.

66. Whence this account is taken

Bardaisan of Edessa tells us about this, for he became famous as a historian in the days of the last Antoninus. At first he was a disciple of the sect of Valentinus, but later he rejected and opposed it; not that he came to the truth, but merely separating from that one he established another heresy of his own. But he did not falsify history, for he was an eloquent man. He was bold enough to write a letter to Antoninus, and he composed much against the sect of the Marcionites and fate and the cult of idols in our country.1

He came here to see if he could make any disciples from among the barbarous pagans. And as he was not welcomed, he entered the fortress of Ani; and having read the temple history, which included the deeds of the kings, he himself added whatever [had happened] in his own time and translated the whole into Syriac.2 It was also later turned into Greek. In this [book] he

18. For Khosrov's relations with Rome, see Toumanoff, REA 1969.1
1. Moses is following the account in Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IV 26, for his sketch of Bardaisan (154–222?), for whom see Drijvers, Bardaisan. See the verbal parallelisms with the Armenian version in Khalatiants', Epos, 2:69. The letter to Antoninus is the Dialogue on Fate (also known as The Book of the Laws of Countries), to which Moses refers indirectly: (ενδέξημ) bashkhitis'. Cappelletti, n. ad loc., thinks that Moses is referring to the Nestorians, since bashkh “division” is often applied to them (see Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. διαπλω 4b ii, μεστων 1e). But the term is not used of the Nestorians in Moses, III 61, and in the present context the reference to Bardaisan leaves little doubt as to what is intended.
2. For the temple history of Olympics of Ani, cf. II 48 n. 5. There is no confirmation elsewhere of Bardaisan's visit to Ani or of the translation. Nor does Moses suggest in what language such a history would have been written—Persian? The references to the translations, in fact, are suspiciously iden-
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relates from the temple cults how the last Tigran, king of Armenia, honored the tomb of his brother Mazhan, the chief priest in the town of Altars, which is in the province of Bagrevand, building an altar over the tomb so that all passers-by might participate in the sacrifices and be received as guests for the night. Here later Valarsh established a popular festival at the beginning of the New Year, on the first of Navasard. It is from this history that we have taken [our account] and repeated it for you, from the reign of Artavazd up to the stele of Khosrov.

67. How Agathangelos narrated [these events] in brief

As we said, after Valarsh his son Khosrov, father of Saint Trdat the Great, succeeded to the throne. Trdat's accomplished archivist Agathangelos treats briefly of him and his relatives and gives a summary account of the death of Artavan, the Persian king, the seizing of the Parthian empire by Artashir, son of Sasan, the subjection of the Persians under his hand, the vengeance of Khosrov, father of Trdat, and his devastation of the land of Persia and Assyria in a raid for plunder. After this he says that Khosrov sent to his original homeland, the regions of the Kushans, that his relative should come to his aid and oppose Artashir.

3. For Mazhan and Bagavan see II 55.
4. For the New Year festival at Bagavan, see Thomson, Agathangelos, §§896 n. 1. Agathangelos describes the festival of Hiwrenkal ("hospitable, receiving guests") Vanatur, which was celebrated on New Year's day (Navasard). Moses has merely embroidered Agathangelos, claiming the authority of the fictitious temple history, and has offered his own etymology of hiwrenkal: endunis'in hiwrk', where endun- is the present stem, énkal the aorist of the verb "to receive," and hiwrk' is "guests." The term hiwrasēr is found in the Armenian Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 2:240, applied to Aramaz (9 Macc. 6:2, hiwrasēr Ormzakan dits'n Vanatri). For the term Navasard, see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 202.
5. From II 51 to II 65.
6. Archivist: k'artular, chartularius. This term is not used in Agathangelos; Moses is basing himself on the claims in the prologue and epilogue of Agathangelos' History. Cf. below III 47, 52, where it is used of Mashtots'. There the original meaning of the term has been lost and k'artular means "scribe." Cf. the term grich' (scribe) in the Primary History, Sebēos, p. 2, applied to "Agathangelos."
7. See Agathangelos, §§18–9.
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But, he says, they paid no heed because they were more obedient and faithful to the rule of Artashir than to that of their kinsman and brother, so Khosrov sought vengeance without them. Continuing his account he says that for ten years he continuously plundered the whole land in this fashion and turned it into a desert. He then speaks of the treacherous arrival of Anak, seduced by the promises of Artashir, who said: "I shall return to you your own native and noble Pahlav and honor you with a crown." For the sake of that, Anak agreed and murdered Khosrov.

Now although Agathangelos has thus given a brief account of these events, nonetheless I have decided to rehearse the history of that time in extended fashion and at length, starting from the beginning and giving a true account in full detail.

68. About the royal families from which the Parthian tribes derived

The divine Scriptures show us that the twenty-first patriarch after Adam was Abraham, and from him descends the nation of

3. Ibid., §20. Here Moses follows Armenian tradition in linking the Arsacids to the Kushans. Although there may be a geographical confusion between Parthia (Pahlav) and Bactria (Bahl), there is no doubt among Armenian historians that the Parthian and Pahlav families held sway in the "land of the Kushans." The Primary History, Sebès, pp. 11, 14, 15, merely states that Bahl Shahastan is "in the land of the Kushans." Agathangelos, §20 (omitted in Ag), implies that the Arsacids of Armenia could raise military contingents "from the regions of the Kushans." Moses, following Agathangelos, here specifically equates the Parthian homeland with the land of the Kushans (cf. II 2 n. 4 for the coronation of Arshak I near Kuchan). But in II 72 Moses notes that Khosrov had a "kinsman" in Bahl and in II 73 that the survivor of the Karenean Pahlav fled to the land of the Kushans, "to some of his powerful relatives." And Faustos, V 7, 37, states that the king of the Kushans, who resided in the city of Balkh, was an Arsacid. This is in the mid-fourth century A.D., long after the Scytho-Parthian dynasties that arose in the first century B.C. as successors to the Greeks in Bactria and India; for these see Frye, Heritage, pp. 165–7, and Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, chap. 7.


5. Ibid., §§24–32.

6. See II 74, 80, 83 for Moses' elaboration on traditions in Agathangelos.

1. In Eusebius' Chronicle, Abraham is the twentieth patriarch; but by adding the generations mentioned in I 4 and 5 Moses can make him the twenty-first. Note that Kaynan (I 5 n. 3) is an addition to the Armenian biblical list.
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the Parthians. For Scripture says that after the death of Sarah, Abraham married Ketura, from whom were born Emran and his brothers. These Abraham in his own lifetime separated from Isaac, sending them to the east [cf. Gen. 25:1-6]. From them springs the nation of the Parthians, and descended from these is Arshak the Brave, who rebelled against the Macedonians and reigned in the land of the Kushans for thirty-one years; and after him his son Artashes for twenty-six years, and then Arshak, the latter's son, called "the great," who killed Antiochus and made his brother Va\'jarshak king of Armenia, appointing him the second in his kingdom. He himself went to Bahl and ruled securely for fifty-three years. Therefore his offspring were called Pahlavik just as those of his brother Va\'jarshak [were called] Arsacids after their ancestor's name. And these are the Pahlavik kings: after Arshak the Great, Arshakan succeeded to his throne in the thirteenth year of Va\'jarshak, king of Armenia, [and he reigned] for thirty years; then Arshanak [ruled] for thirty-one years, followed by Arshavir for twenty years, then Arshavir for twenty-six years. Arshavir had three sons and a daughter, as I said earlier, whose names are the following: the eldest was called Artashes, the second Kar\'en, and third Sur\'en, and the daughter was called Koshm.

Now after the death of their father Artashes wished to reign over his brothers through his descendants. His brothers accepted this, not so much because of his blandishing and deceitful words as because he subdued them by force. And Abgar established between them a covenant and treaty that Artashes should reign through his offspring, but that if his progeny were to come to an end, his brothers would accede to the throne in the order of their seniority. When Artashes had obtained this from them, he granted them provinces and ennobled their fam-

2. Emran: Moses has taken the z of Zemran (Gen. 25:2) as a prefix.
3. For the tradition that the Parthians descend from Abraham by Ketura, see Carrière, Génalogies, pp. 50ff. Cf. Gen. 25:1-6 and further references in II 1 n. 7.
5. Kushans: see II 67 n. 5. But here Moses is following the Primary History; Sebès, p. 11.
6. For these three Parthian rulers cf. above II 2-3.
ilies after each one's name. And he promoted them above all the noble families, preserving the original name of each family so that they were called as follows: Karēn Pahlav, Surēn Pahlav, and the sister, Aspahapet Pahlav, because her husband was in command of the army. And under this arrangement they lived for many years until the throne was taken from them.\footnote{11}

But here do not blame us as one who does superfluous work in that we have again said what has already been told. But know that we are happily repeating this again because we wish our readers to be fully informed about the relatives of our Illuminator.

69. \textit{What manner of clan was that of Artashēs, king of Persia, until its extinction}

Let us now pass through the list of kings of the clan of Artashēs up to the point when the throne was taken from them. After Arshavir, as we said, Artashēs ruled for thirty-four years, Dareh for thirty years,\footnote{1} Arshak for twenty-nine years, Artashēs for twenty years,\footnote{2} Peroz for thirty-four years,\footnote{3} Vajarsh for fifty years, Artavan for thirty-one years.\footnote{4} This last was killed by Artašir of Stahr, the son of Sasan, when he seized the Parthian throne and deprived them of their hereditary land.\footnote{5} Many are the historians of that period among the Persians and Syrians and also the Greeks. From the beginning of the Parthian kingdom until its demise, they had relations with the Romans, sometimes in subjection, sometimes in war, as relate Palephatos and Porphyry and Philemon and many others.\footnote{6} But we shall give our account from the book of Barsuma, which Khofohbut brought.\footnote{7}

\footnote{11. See II 28 nn. 1–3.}
\footnote{1. Cf. II 37.}
\footnote{2. Cf. II 53.}
\footnote{3. Cf. II 62.}
\footnote{4. Cf. II 65.}
\footnote{5. Cf. II 67. For Artashir's coup d'état and his relationship to Sasan, see Christensen, \textit{Iran}, pp. 86ff; Frye, \textit{Heritage}, pp. 198–9.}
\footnote{6. Palaiphatos is quoted by Strabo, \textit{Geography}, XII 3:22; Moses knew Porphyry from Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle}: Aucher, I:859. Philemon may be the geographer (see W. Kroll, "Philemon 11," in \textit{PW}, XXXVIII cols. 2146–50); Khalatiants', \textit{Arshakidy}, p. 124, suggests less plausibly that Moses is referring to the Philemon (the presbyter) of Eusebius, \textit{Ecclesiastical History}, VII 5.7.}
\footnote{7. See chap. 70.}
70. What are the fables about the Pahlavik? 

This Khofohbut was the scribe of Shapuh, the Persian king, and he fell into the hands of the Greeks when Julian, also called the Apostle, went with an army to Ctesiphon. When he [Julian] was killed there, he [Khofohbut] returned to Greece in the company of the royal officers with Jovian and, having been converted to our faith, was named Eleazar. He learned the Greek language and wrote a history of the deeds of Shapuh and Julian. He also translated a book “the History of the first [kings],” composed by a fellow captive of his, Barsuma by name, whom the Persians called Rastsohun. We have based our account on this and repeat it now in this book, leaving out the nonsense of their fables. This is not the place for us now to repeat the fables concerning the dream of Papag, the eruption of the twisting fire from Sasan, the envelopment of the flock, the light of the moon, the prophecy of the astrologers, that is, the Chaldaeans, and so on; the adulterous plan of Artashir involving murder, the stupid discourse of the magus's daughter concerning the billy goat, and so on. Similarly [we shall omit] the goat's suckling of her kid under the shade of an eagle, the prediction of the crow, the guarding of the illustrious lion with the service rendered by the wolf, the valor of the single combat, and whatever has the char-

2. Shapuh II, 309-379 A.D.
4. In 363 A.D.
5. Rastsohun: otherwise unattested ("speaking true words"); see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 259. There were many Barsaumas. Perhaps Moses is thinking of the famous Barsauma of Nisibis (c.415-c.495), the ardent Nestorian anathematized at the council of Dvin (Girk' T'i'ots', pp. 43ff), whom Thomas Artsruni held responsible for distorting Elishe's History (Thomas, pp. 140ff).
6. For these stories see Nöldeke, Indogermanischen Sprachen, p. 37. This Pahlavi romance (the Karnamak) was interpolated into the Greek version of Agathangelus, but only in the single manuscript Laurentianus VII 25. It was translated into Greek via Armenian (Nöldeke, Indogermanischen Sprachen, pp. 24-5) but has left no trace in the Armenian Agathangelos or other early Armenian texts. See the extensive discussion in Garitte, Documents, pp. 272-9; cf. also Akinean, Karnamak. Nöldeke (p. 29) notes that Moses was drawing on a wide range of popular legend; the various stories involving animals are not from the Karnamak.
acter of allegory. We shall recount only what is certain and what pertains to true history.

71. The first invasion of Khosrov into Assyria in which he intended to aid Artavan

After Artashir, son of Sasan, had killed Artavan and gained the throne, two branches of the Pahlav family called Aspahapet and Surēn Pahlav were jealous at the rule of the branch of their own kin, that is, of Artashēs, and willingly accepted the rule of Artashir, son of Sasan.1 But the house of Karēn Pahlav, remaining friendly toward their brother and kin, opposed in war Artashir, son of Sasan. As soon as Khosrov, king of Armenia, heard of the troubles he set out to aid Artavan, if possible to arrive in time to rescue at least Artavan. When he entered Assyria, he heard the sad news of Artavan's death and of the alliance of all the Persian troops and nobles—both of his own family the Parthians and of the Pahlavik', except for the branch of Karēn. To the latter he sent messengers and then returned to our country in great sadness and regret.2 And immediately he made haste to inform Philip, the Roman emperor, seeking help from him.3

72. Khosrov receives aid from Philip and attacks Artashir in war

Because there were troubles in Philip's empire, he was unable to spare any Roman forces to give military assistance to Khosrov. But he helped him by means of a letter ordering that he be given assistance from every region. When they received this command they came to his support from Egypt and the desert, from as far away as the shores of the Pontic Sea. Having acquired such a multitude [of troops] he marched against Artashir, and giving battle put him to flight; he took from him Assyria and the other lands where he had a royal residence.1

2. For Khosrov's attempt to aid Artaban see Agathangelos, §18.
3. Agathangelos makes no mention of Philip (emperor 244–249). Artaban was overthrown in 224. Shahinyan, BM 1967, pp. 29ff, notes the later Armenian writers who perpetuate the error of putting the death of Artaban in 245. For the chronological schema, cf. II 82 n. 1.

1. For the wars between Rome and Iran in the time of Philip, see Chaumont, Histoire, pp. 41ff.
Again he sent through messengers to his own kin the Parthian and the Pahlav families, and to all the forces of the land of the Kushans, that they should come to him and exact vengeance from Artashir; and [he said] that he would make the most worthy among them king so that the throne would not pass from them. But the aforementioned branches named Aspahapet and Surenan did not agree, so Khosrov returned to our land, not so much happy at his victory as upset at the falling away of his kin. Then there came to him some of his own messengers who had gone to the more illustrious nation far inland as far as Bahl. They brought him word that "your kinsman Vehsachan with his branch of the Karēn Pahlav had not given obeisance to Artashir, but is coming to you in answer to your summons."

73. The renewed attack of Khosrov against Artashir without Roman help

Although Khosrov was greatly delighted at the news of the coming of his kinsmen, yet his joy was short-lived; for the sad news quickly arrived that Artashir himself with his united forces had caught up with them and slaughtered all the branch of the Karenean Pahlav, killing all the males from young men to sucklings, save for one youth whom a friend of his house, Burz by name, had taken in flight to the land of the Kushans and brought to some of his powerful relatives. Artashir made great efforts to seize the child but was unable [to obtain him] from his kin who had rallied together, even when he swore against his will that there would be no danger for the child. For this reason the Persians have composed myriad fables about him, to the effect that animals served the child. The latter was Perozamat, the ancestor of our great family of Kamsarakan, of whom we shall speak in his place.

But now we [shall tell] of what happened after the slaughter

3. Vehsachan: "having good advice"; not attested elsewhere, see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 360. For the Arsacid connection with Bahl see II 67 n. 3.
1. Burz: "high," "great"; not attested outside Moses (cf. II 87); see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 73.
2. For the Kushans as Arsacids see II 67 n. 3.
3. II 87. Perozamat: not attested outside Moses; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 250, Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 68. For the family of the Kamsarakan (descended from Karēn Pahlav), see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 206–7.
of the family of the Karenean Pahlav, vengeance for which the Armenian king Khosrov was not slow in seeking. Although Philip had died and the Roman empire was in confusion—many men seeking power from each other in a brief period: the emperors Decius and Gallus and Valerian, who did not aid him—nonetheless Khosrov with his army and other friends who had rallied to him and with the nations of the north was victorious over Artashir and pursued him as far as India.

74. Concerning the arrival of Anak and the begetting of Saint Gregory

Now Artashir fled from Khosrov as far as the land of India; being sorely pressed, he made many promises to his nobles. To the one who would save him from Khosrov, be it by poison or secret assassination, he promised to give all sorts of gifts. “Especially for the Parthians,” he said, “it should be easy to trap him through feigned friendship. He trusts in you and will be deceived by the claim to relationship.” And he promised to return to them their original home called Pahlav, the royal city Bahl, and all the country of the Kushans. Similarly he promised the form and splendor of royalty, half of [the empire of] the Aryans, and second place under his own authority. Attracted by this, Anak, who was from the line of Surēn Pahlav, undertook to kill Khosrov. Under the pretext of rebellion he fled from Artashir, and the Persian army pretended to pursue him as if expelling him as a fugitive to Assyria. They drove him along the frontiers of Azerbaijan through Korduk. When Khosrov the Great heard of this in the province of Ute, thinking that it was the arrival of the Karenean, he sent a force to Anak’s assistance. They met Anak and brought him at the king’s command to the province called Artaz, to a

5. For Khosrov’s victories over Artashir see Agathangelos §21–3, but there only Asorestan is mentioned, not India.
1. This chapter is based on Agathangelos, §24–36. Moses’ additions are noted below.
2. Royal city . . . Kushans: addition to the text of Agathangelos by Moses; cf. II 67 n. 3.
3. Agathangelos does not specify the Surēn branch. For Gregory’s origin cf. II 28 n. 5.
4. Moses added this sentence.

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plain where the relics of our holy and great apostle Thaddaeus were revealed.\(^5\)

Here I repeat a story of the wonderful old man,\(^6\) who said: “I have from my ancestors the tradition, son receiving from father the remembrance of these tales,” like those of Olympiodorus\(^7\) about Tarawn and the mountain called Sim. Now when Anak was dwelling in the plain of Artaz he happened to spend the night by the grave of the holy apostle, [which was] under the innermost room of his tent. And there they say the mother of our holy and great Illuminator conceived. Therefore he received the grace of that same apostle, and having been begotten beside his grave he completed what was lacking in his spiritual labors.\(^8\)

After two years had passed since Anak’s arrival in Armenia, in the third he killed Khosrov, who had reigned forty-eight years.\(^9\) And he himself and all his family were put to death; but God’s care saved only the one\(^10\) whom we say was created, or rather illuminated, by God’s providence and the apostle’s grace in his mother’s womb and was entrusted with the grace of his apostolate. But Agathangelos informs you of the rest of the story.

75. Concerning Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and his history

Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was a marvelous scholar who in his youth had gone to study with Origen.

5. Agathangelos merely says Anak met Khosrov in the province of Uti. See II 72 for the Karenean who had remained loyal to Khosrov. For Thaddaeus and Artaz see II 34.

6. Wonderful old man: Langlois and Malkhasyants’ (notes ad loc.) suggest this is Sahak the Great (see Moses Khorenats’i in bibliography).\(\) is widely used of holy persons (see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v.), but here Moses is introducing a legend and the “old man” is unlikely to be an historical figure.

7. Olympiodorus: the same as in I 6 at n. 11.

8. The earliest version of the story of Gregory’s conception over the relics of Thaddaeus is in *VK* §8. See also Stephen of Siunik’, *Girk’ T’lr’ots’*, p. 329, who describes the story; Stephen was writing c. 718, and his account is verbally very close to that of Moses.

9. In Agathangelos, Anak kills Khosrov in the summer after his arrival. No length of reign is given.

10. In Agathangelos, §34, two sons are mentioned as surviving, but no further information is given there about Gregory’s brother. The later Zenob, p. 21, calls him Surên (see II 27, 28 on this branch of the Pahlavids).
He composed many treatises, among them a history of the persecutions of the church, which arose first in the days of Maximian and Decius and last of all in the reign of Diocletian; he also included in it the deeds of the kings.\(^1\) In this [book] he says that Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, was martyred in the ninth year of the persecution.\(^2\) He writes also of many who were martyred by Khosrov in our own land, and similarly after him of others [martyred] by others. But because he did not compose his history accurately or with details and indicated neither the names nor the places, we have not considered them important enough to repeat. Likewise he says about Antony, the son of Severus, that he waged war against Valarsh, king of Persia, in Mesopotamia and died between Edessa and Harran,\(^3\) while our Khosrov supported neither side.

But as for his account of events after the death of Khosrov down to the reign of Trdat in the period of anarchy,\(^4\) considering this to be accurate we shall repeat it for you briefly. But as for what happened in the reign of Trdat and after him, we have not erred through laziness or negligence, nor have we set down anything in purposeful error, but only what comes from the records of the archival books of the Greeks. So having accurately gained our information in such matters from the reports of wise men and antiquarians,\(^5\) we have given you a faithful account.

1. Firmilian died soon after 268 A.D. Moses is quoting from Eusebius, *Patmut'\(i\)wn*, VI 27 (the Armenian version, which calls him *sk'anch'\(e\)i*). No "history" of his is known; see Quasten, *Patrology*, 2:128–9. Moses has confused Maximian (died 310), colleague of Diocletian, with Maximin (emperor, 235–238), whose persecution is described in Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI 28. Decius ruled 249–251; for his persecution see ibid., VI 39.

2. Peter of Alexandria was martyred in the ninth year of Diocletian’s persecution, 311 A.D. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII 32.31. The historical Firmilian can hardly have known of this event.

3. Antony, son of Severus, is Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla), emperor, 211–217. He was assassinated between Edessa and Harran; see *Chronicon Pascale*, p. 498, for this phrase. Cf. Debevoise, *Political History*, pp. 262–6, for Caracalla’s campaign against the Parthians. Valarsh is Vologeses V.

4. Anarchy: *anishkhan\(u\)t'\(i\)wn* (for the term cf. III 2). The period from Khosrov to Trdat was one of Persian domination in Armenia according to Agathangelos, §36; cf. title to II 79 below. For the confused political fortunes of Armenia in the second half of the third century A.D., see Toumanoff, *REA* 1969. Moses dates Trdat’s accession to the third year of Diocletian, 287; see II 82 at n. 2.

5. Antiquarians: *hnakh\(h\)aws siraban\(i\)ts*, cf. I 6 n. 1. But the Greek "archival books" are a medley of Greek and Armenian sources; cf. II 76 n. 1.
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76. Artashir’s attack against us, and his victory over the Emperor Tacitus

This same man\(^1\) says that after the murder of Khosrov\(^2\) the Armenian princes united and brought to their own assistance the Greek army, which was in Phrygia, to oppose the Persians and save the country. And straightway they informed the Emperor Valerian. But because the Goths, crossing the River Danube, had taken many provinces captive and had plundered the Cyclades Islands, for that reason Valerian was not in time to protect our land. Nor did he live much longer;\(^3\) Claudius gained the throne from him,\(^4\) and after him Aurelian,\(^5\) following each other in quick succession. Within a few months there reigned the brothers Quintus\(^6\) and Tacitus\(^7\) and Florian.\(^8\) Therefore Artashir freely invaded us and, putting the Greek army to flight, took captive the major part of the country and turned it into a wilderness.\(^9\) Fleeing from him the Armenian nobles, with the Arsacid family, took refuge in Greece. Among them was Artavazd Mandakuni, who took Trdat, son of Khosrov, and brought him to the imperial

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1. Firmilian. But Moses is in fact basing his account on Agathangelos, with elaborations from Eusebius and perhaps Malala.

2. Murder of Khosrov: Moses uses the term *suserahar* “struck by the sword”; Agathangelos, §32, says that Anak and his brother slew Khosrov with their swords.

3. Valerian: emperor, 253–260. For his policy in Armenia see Asdourian, *Beziehungen*, p. 128; Chaumont, *Histoire*, pp. 84ff. (It is surprising that Moses does not mention his capture by the Persians in 260; but to introduce Shapur would disturb the curious chronology of this chapter.) For “Goths” (*Gut’k’*) all manuscripts read *gundk’* (“troops”); the correction was made by Norayr Biwzandats’i; see the apparatus, ad loc. This was the disastrous invasion of 256–258.


6. Quintus: Quintillus, brother of Claudius; he was recognized by the senate in 270 but committed suicide on the advance of Aurelian three months later.


8. Florian: half-brother of Tacitus, emperor for two and a half months in 276.

9. Moses now jumps back to Artashir (224–241). But he is here following Agathangelos, §§35–6, who, though not naming the Persian king who seized Armenia after Khosrov’s death, implies that it was Artashir.
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court. Therefore Tacitus was obliged to come to oppose Artashir in the regions of Pontus, and he sent his brother Florian with another army to Cilicia. But Artashir overtook Tacitus and put him to flight. The latter was killed by his own [troops] in Chaniuk' in Pontus, that is, Khaļtik’; likewise his brother Florian [was killed] eighty-eight days later in Tarsus.

77. Concerning the peace between the Persians and the Greeks, and Artashir’s accomplishments in Armenia during the years of anarchy

Probus became emperor of the Greeks, and, making peace with Artashir, he divided our land and dug ditches to mark the frontiers. Artashir subjected the nobility, brought back those who had emigrated, and destroyed their fortified places—except for a certain noble called Awtay from the family of the Amatunik’, who was related by marriage to that of the Ślkuni and was the foster father of Khosrovidukht, the daughter of Khosrov. He had ensconced himself in the fortress of Ani, as if hidden in a tranquil lair.

Artashir organized Armenia in a splendid fashion and re-

10. The only Artavazd in Agathangelos (§860) is Artavazd the sparapet (an office hereditary in the Mamikonian family in the fifth century), who is sent to bring Gregory’s sons to Armenia. Since Moses was anti-Mamikonian, it is likely that he has here deliberately changed Mamikonian to Mandakuni; see Toumanoff, review of Chaumont, REA 1970, p. 475.

11. Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, II: 300, mentions the death of Tacitus in Pontus; there is a parallel in Malalas, pp. 501–2, who mentions Tōrōt, the Tōroō or Zāroō of Strabo and Procopius; cf. Carrière, Nouvelles sources, Supplement, p. 11, and Langlois, note ad loc. The identification with Khaļtik’ (see Hübßchmann, AON, pp. 200, 277 n. 432) is Moses’ own.

12. Eusebius gives Florian only eighty-two days of reign; he and Malalas give Tarsus as the place of his death. See n. 11 above.

1. Probus: emperor, 276–282. But Agathangelos, §§6, attributes the digging of boundary ditches to the Persian king. See the text below at n. 8.


3. For the Ślkuni (or Śkuni) see above II 8 n. 24.

4. Khosrovidukht: For the name, “daughter of Khosrov,” see Hübßchmann, Grammatik, p. 44; Justi, Namenbuch, p. 19. In Agathangelos, §214, she is the sister of Trdat. But Agathangelos does not speak of any special relationship between her and Awtay. Foster father: šnuts’ol; cf. II 82, she is his son.
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established its former order. Likewise the Arsacids, who had been deprived of the crown and of their residence in Ayranat, he reestablished in the same place with their former revenues and emoluments. He increased the cults of the temples and ordered the fire of Ormizd,\(^5\) which was on the altar at Bagavan,\(^6\) to be kept perpetually burning. But the statues that Valarshak had set up as the images of his ancestors with those of the sun and moon at Armavir, and which had been transferred from Armavir to Bagaran and then brought to Artashat, these Artashir broke up.\(^7\) He subjected the land to tribute by an edict and completely consolidated his own authority.

Furthermore he renewed the frontiers established by Artashes by setting stones in the ground, and he changed their name to his own, "Artashirakan."\(^8\) He governed our land like one of his own territories with Persian governors for twenty-six years, and after him, for one year until the reign of Trdat,\(^9\) his son Shapuh—which means "child of the king."\(^10\)

78. The slaughter of the Mandakuni family by Artashir

Artashir had heard that one of the Armenian princes had fled with one of Khosrov's sons and saved him by bringing him to the imperial court.\(^1\) Having investigated who that might be, he discovered that it was Artavazd of the Mandakuni family.\(^2\) He ordered that entire family to be exterminated. When the Arme-

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\(^6\) For the cults at Bagavan see II 66.

\(^7\) For Vajarshak and the statues at Armavir see II 8, cf. II 12. For the transfer to Bagaran and Artashat see II 40, 49.

\(^8\) See II 56 for Artashir's imitation of Artashes in setting boundary stones.

\(^9\) Artashir himself reigned 224-240. But the twenty-seven years reflects Moses' chronology for the period from Khosrov's death (in 259, cf. II 76) to the first year of Trdat (the third year of Diocletian, II 82). On the chronology see Shahinyan, *BM* 1967.

\(^10\) *Shapuh*: "king's son"; see Hübbschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 60. Artashir was succeeded by Shapur I, 240-272.

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1. Agathangelos, §36, specifies that Trdat was taken to the imperial court (dayeak).

2. See II 76 n. 10 for the change of Mamikonean to Mandakuni.
nians had fled from Artashir, these too had fled with the families of the other princes. And when Artashir had subjected the rest, they returned and were all put to the sword. But a certain Tachat, who was from the family of Ashots and descended from Gushar Haykazn, abducted a beautiful maiden from among Artavazd's sisters; and having rescued her by fleeing to the city of Caesarea, he married her because of her wonderful beauty.

79. Concerning the prowess of Trdat during the years of anarchy in Armenia

He speaks of the prowess of Trdat: first of all, in his youth he delighted in horse riding; he was an expert horseman, dexterous in the use of arms, and a willing pupil of other military exercises. And then according to the oracle of the Peloponnesian temple of Hephaistos, in the boxing match he outdid Clitostratos of Rhodes, who used to win by a neck grip, and also Cerasos of Argos; for the latter pulled out the hoof of an ox, whereas he [Trdat] with one hand held two wild bulls by the horn, twisted, and threw them with a crash. And wishing to drive a chariot in the races of the hippodrome, he was thrown by the skill of his opponent and fell to the ground. But he seized the chariot and stopped it, at which all were amazed. And in the war of Probus against the Goths there was a great famine. Finding no stores the soldiers revolted and killed him; similarly they rose up against all the nobles. But Trdat alone resisted them, preventing anyone

3. Tachat, prince of Ashots, plays a role in Agathangelos, §§121, 860; but his descent from Gushar and elopement are not mentioned there. For Gushar see II 4 n. 2. On Tachat see further II 82 below.
1. Malkhasyants' supposes that Moses is referring to Firmilian, as in II 76. But again Moses is merely elaborating on Agathangelos; see the last sentence of this chapter.
2. He delighted in horse riding: from Ps.-Callisthenes, §32, describing Alexander. For Trdat's prowess see Agathangelos, §§42-7, 202. But Moses has greatly elaborated on this; see nn. 3, 4.
3. Agathangelos, §202, briefly mentions the Olympic games. Moses has added details of Clitostratos and Cerasos from Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:288, 301. But these athletes competed in the one hundred forty-seventh and one hundred twentieth Olympiads in the second and third centuries b.c. The obscure reference to the oracle (hraman, "command") and the temple of Hephaistos is from the account of the founding of the games in Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher, 1:278ff.
4. This has no parallel in Agathangelos, but cf. Ps.-Callisthenes, §§52-4.
from entering the palace of Licinius, with whom Trdat was living.\textsuperscript{5}

Carus then reigned with his sons Carinus and Numerian.\textsuperscript{6} Gathering an army he gave battle to the Persian king, and after gaining the victory he returned to Rome. Therefore Artashir, bringing many nations to his support and having the desert [peoples] of Tachikastan\textsuperscript{7} on his side, gave battle a second time to the Roman army on both sides of the Euphrates. In the battle Carus was killed at \textit{Rinon}.\textsuperscript{8} Similarly Carinus, who had marched into the desert against Kofnak in the company of Trdat, was slaughtered with his army;\textsuperscript{9} those who survived turned in flight. At this point Trdat's horse was wounded so he did not gallop away with the fugitives. But he picked up his arms and the horse's accoutrements and swam across the wide and deep Euphrates to his own army, where Licinius was.\textsuperscript{10} In those days Numerian was killed in Thrace, and Diocletian succeeded to the throne.\textsuperscript{11} But Agathangelos informs you of Trdat's various deeds in his time.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{5} The war with the Goths is mentioned in Agathangelos, §§39-45, but Agathangelos does not mention the emperor's name. There is a parallel in Malalas, \textit{Chronographia}, p. 302, where the death of Probus (276-282) is described as resulting from the famine. See Carrière, \textit{Nouvelles sources, Supplément}, p. 12. Agathangelos describes Trdat as staying with Licinius, a certain count, §37 (the colleague of Constantine).

\textsuperscript{6} Carus: emperor 282-283. His sons Carinus and Numerian were associated with him as Caesars; they ruled as emperors from 283 to 285. The reference to Carus' sons has a parallel in the \textit{Pascal Chronicle}; see Conybeare, \textit{BZ} 1902, p. 399.

\textsuperscript{7} Tachikastan: the Arabs of Mesopotamia; see Hubschmann, \textit{Grammatik}, p. 86, for the etymology.

\textsuperscript{8} Rinon is not mentioned in Eusebius' account of Carus' death (\textit{Chronicle}: Aucher 2:302), in Malalas (p. 303), in the \textit{Pascal Chronicle}, or in \textit{Sebeos} (p. 22).

\textsuperscript{9} Eusebius does not associate Trdat with Carinus' defeat by Kornak; see n. 8. Langlois' interpretation (note ad loc.) of Kornak as \textit{Kapuvos}, "thunderbolt," since Vopiscus, Eutropius, and the \textit{Pascal Chronicle} say Carus was killed by a thunderbolt, is superfluous; Kornak is mentioned in Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle}: Aucher 2:302.

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. Agathangelos, §202. The Greek version of Agathangelos, \textit{Ag} §85, adds that Trdat was fleeing. For the historical background of Licinius' campaign against Persia in 297 (not in the time of Artashir), see Toumanoff, \textit{REA} 1969, p. 270.

\textsuperscript{11} As Eusebius, \textit{Chronicle}: Aucher 1:502.

\textsuperscript{12} See Agathangelos, §§151ff.
80. **A brief exposition of the birth and life of Gregory and his sons from the letter of the bishop Artit'es concerning a question of the hermit Mark in Agrochan**

A certain Persian, not one of the lesser and insignificant people, whose name was Burdar, went from Persia to the province of Cappadocia and settled in Caesarea. Having married a Christian wife called Sophy, the sister of a certain magnate named Euthalius, he set out to return to Persia with his wife. But Euthalius caught him up and dissuaded him from going farther. At this point the birth of our Illuminator took place, and by chance [Sophy] became the child’s nurse. When the catastrophe occurred, Euthalius took his sister and her husband with the child and returned to Cappadocia. But all this happened through God’s foresight, I am happy to say, for the sake of [preparing] the way for our salvation. Otherwise, with what hope or expectation did they raise the child of Pahlav descent in the Roman empire and dedicate him to the Christian faith?

But when the child reached maturity, a certain Christian called David married him to his daughter Mariam. After the birth of two sons in three years, they both willingly separated from each other. Mariam with the younger child entered a convent and became a nun. When this child reached maturity he joined a hermit called Nichomachus. But the elder child re-
mained with his tutors and later led a secular life and married. However, their father Gregory took service with Trdat to repay his father's debt or, rather, to speak more truly, to carry out the task of preaching to our country and of his high priesthood and martyrdom.

Now the sons were even more wonderful than their amazing father, for he did not seek his sons when he returned [to Armenia] with Trdat, nor did they go to him. This was hardly because of fear of persecutions. But they did not appear proud when their father was consecrated and made glorious. And therefore he did not linger in Caesarea, but quickly turned back and in the city of Sebaste occupied himself with collecting material for his teaching. But even if he had spent many days in Caesarea they would have done nothing of what he feared, for they cared only for what has no end and passes not away. They did not draw honor to themselves, but honor followed them, as Agathangelos informs you.

81. Whence and how the Mamikonian family arose

When Artashir, son of Sasan, died, he left the throne of Persia to his son Shapuh. In his days, they say, there came to Armenia the ancestor of the Mamikonian family from the northeast, from a valiant and noble land foremost among all the nations.

7. Vr't'anēs, whose marriage is mentioned by Faustos, III 5, but not by Agathangelos.
9. For Gregory's consecration in Caesarea and visit to Sebaste, see ibid., §§792ff; but he makes no reference to Gregory's sons in that connection.
10. For a parallel to this phrase in Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khalatians', Ararat 1897, p. 532 (from the Funeris oratio in laudem Basili magni, PG 36.49ff).
11. Agathangelos does mention Aristakes' activity as his father's successor, but has nothing to say of Vr't'anēs' later career. Cf. n. 7 above. Zenob Glak repeats Moses' account of Gregory's early life and marriage. This account is at variance with the versions of Agathangelos, so Ter-Levondyan, PBH 1973, p. 213, is not justified in saying that Moses was acquainted with the V version on the basis of this particular chapter. See further the introduction to this book.

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of the north, I mean the land of the Chinese, of whom the following tale is told.

In the year of Artashir's death a certain Arbok Chen-bakur, which means in their tongue "honor of the kingdom," had two foster brothers called Bldokh and Mamgon, who were great princes. When Bldokh slandered Mamgon, the Chinese king Arbok ordered Mamgon to be killed. But when Mamgon heard of this he did not heed the king's summons but fled with his entourage and came to Artashir, king of Persia. Arbok sent messengers to seek his extradition, and when Artashir refused, the king of China prepared for war against him. But at that point Artashir died and Shapuh came to the throne.

Now although Shapuh did not hand over Mamgon to his lord, nonetheless he did not allow him [to remain] in the land of the Aryans but sent him with all his entourage, as if exiled, to his governors in Armenia. And he sent word to the king of China, saying: "May it not displease you that I was unable to hand over to you Mamgon, because my father had sworn to him by the light of the sun. But to cause you no trouble I have expelled him from my country to the edge of the earth in the west, which is equivalent to.

2. Chinese: Chenats'n. Adontz, Armenia, p. 315, equates Chen, not with the Chinese but the Tzan; see further n. 4 below. Svazyan, PBH 1976, places Chen between the Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya rivers. He notes the tradition cited by Zenob that Gregory's brother fled there after their father Anak's death. Vardan, Hawak'umn, p. 37, notes that the Chen' live in the Caucasus by Darbend.

3. Arbok: perhaps a variant of Arbakes, a common name in Iran and the Caucasus; see Justi, Namenbuch, pp. 20-1. Bakur is from the Iranian bag-puhr, a rendering of the Chinese imperial title "son of heaven"; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 49; Justi, Namenbuch, p. 240. Marquart, Südarmenien, pp. 78*-8*, suggests that the title was borrowed from the Kushans rather than the Chinese.

4. The Chinese origin of the Mamikonian family is first found in Faustos, V 4, 37; he merely says that their ancestors came from China, mentioning no names to "explain" Mamikonian. In Sebēos, part 2 pp. 18-20, two Chinese nobles, Mamik and Konak, flee to the west; from them descend the Mamikonian. Behind Moses' Mamgon, Adontz, Armenia, p. 312, sees the Georgian mama ("father") plus an Armenian diminutive ending. The Georgian origin of the Mamikonian family is supported by Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 909-11. See also Abgaryan, BM 1964; he attributes the section of Sebēos with this story to the lost books of the Buzandaran (of which books III to VI are by Faustos).

5. As if exiled: vtarandi.

6. For swearing by the sun see II 19 n. 6.
lent to death for him. So let there not be war between you and me.” And because, as they say, the Chinese are the most peace loving of all the inhabitants on the face of the earth, he agreed to make peace. So it is clear that the Chinese nation is truly devoted to peace and life.

Their land is wonderful in its abundance of all [varieties of] fruits; it is adorned with beautiful plants, rich in saffron, peacocks, and silk. It has untold numbers of gazelles and marvelous [creatures] and the animals called “donkey goats.” There the food of common people, they say, is what among us is aristocratic and food for the few—the pheasant and the swan and other such [delicacies]. The number of precious stones and pearls of the magnates they say no one knows. And as for the garments which among us are the robes of the few, for them they are the common dress. So much for the land of China.

So Mamgon, having come to our country against his will, met the returning Trdat. He did not turn back with the Persian army but advanced with all his entourage to meet him with great presents. Trdat received him but did not take him with him in his war against Persia. However he gave his entourage a place in which to settle and a stipend for food; he changed their residence from place to place for many years.

82. The prowess of Trdat during his reign before his conversion

Because there is no true history without chronology, therefore we made a detailed investigation and found that Trdat gained the throne in the third year of Diocletian and that he

7. Rich in saffron, peacocks, and silk, marvelous [creatures]: these four epithets are taken from the section on China in the Ashkhar hats’oyts’ (LR, p. 46, SR, p. 354).
8. Stipend: rochik; see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 234.
1. Chronology: zhamanakagrut’ion, a calque on χρονογράφια, as in Eusebius, Chronicle: Aucher 1:2. χρονογράφια can mean “annals” and also “chronological scheme” (see Lampe, Lexicon, s.v.). Julius Africanus, followed by Eusebius, developed careful chronological tables, and Sargsyan, Zhamanakagran, chap. 1, reconstructs what he believes to be the chronological tables lying behind Moses’ account in these chapters. These tables are based on Moses’ dating of the death of Artaban in 245; see II 71 n. 3.
2. In 287–288. Agathangelos gives no date for Trdat’s return to Armenia nor does he name the Roman emperor who supported him. On the acceptance of this date by other writers and its confusion with the year that Trdat (IV) escaped and his uncle became king of western Armenia, see Toumanoff, Arsacids, pp. 266–7.
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came here with a large army. When he arrived at Caesarea, most of the princes went to meet him. And arriving in this country he found that Awtay had raised his sister Khosrovridukht and had guarded the treasures in his fortress with great constancy. He was a just and persevering man, reliable and very wise; for although he did not know the truth about God, yet he realized the falsity of the idols. Similarly his protégée Khosrovridukht was a modest maiden, like a nun, and did not at all have an open mouth like other women.

Trdat made Awtay commander-in-chief of Armenia and honored him in gratitude, and even more his own foster brother, Artavazd Mandakuni, because he had been the cause of his escape and of his attaining the glory of his fathers. Therefore he entrusted him with the command of the Armenian army. For the same reason he appointed Tachat, his brother-in-law, prince over the province of Ashots'. It was the latter who in the future was to warn his father-in-law Artavazd and he the king first that Gregory was Anak's son and later about the sons of Gregory, as he had learned [about them] when living in the city of Caesarea.

The valiant Trdat quickly engaged in many battles, first in Armenia and then in Persia, gaining the victory himself in person. On one occasion, surpassing that Elianan in the Old Testament [cf. 2 Kings 23; Chron. 11:11], he raised his spear over an equally large number of wounded. And on another occasion, the powerful Persians felt the strength of the giant and the force of his arms. They had inflicted many wounds on his horse and killed it with their arrows; struck down it threw the king to the

4. For Awtay and Khosrovridukht, see II 77 nn. 2, 4. Only in Vk, §136, are they connected: Khosrovridukht orders Awtay to rescue Gregory (cf. Aa, §217).
5. Open mouth: andur'n beran; cf. áðóρωρποία, “loquacity,” LSJ, s.v. The expression is also found in the Armenian Scholia, Nor Bağirk', s.v. andur'n. For feminine loquacity cf. Lazar, p. 110: šaitkhawuts'iwun.
6. Commander-in-chief: hazarapet; for this office see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 206-34.
8. Command: sparapetut'iwn; for this office see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 209, 212 n. 239.
9. For Tachat of Ashots' see II 78 n. 3. In Agathangelos, §121, Tachat informs Trdat of Gregory's ancestry, but there is no mention of Artavazd. In ibid., §860, Artavazd and Tachat go to fetch Gregory's sons from Caesarea.
ground. But he rose up and attacked on foot, in turn overthrowing many of the enemy. Seizing the horse of one of them, he boldly mounted. On the second occasion furthermore, willingly being on foot, with his sword he scattered the ranks of elephants. Such were his heroic deeds while he remained in Persia and Assyria, even making an attack beyond Ctesiphon. 10

83. Concerning Trdat's marriage to Ashkhen and Constantine's to Maximina, and how he was converted

When Trdat arrived in our land he sent General Smbat, the father of Bagarat, 1 to bring the maiden Ashkhen, the daughter of Ashkhadar, to be his wife. 2 This maiden was no less tall than the king. 3 He ordered her to be inscribed as an Arsacid, to be vested with purple, and to be crowned in order to become the king's bride. From her was born a son Khosrov, who did not attain the stature of his parents. 4

In those same days occurred also the marriage of Maximina, the daughter of Diocletian, in Nicomedia; her husband was the Emperor Constantine, son of Constantius, the Roman emperor, who had not been born from Maximian's daughter but from a prostitute, Helen. 5 This Constantine at [the time of] his marriage became friendly with our King Trdat. 6

10. This paragraph is reminiscent of Agathangelos, § 123, though there are no precise parallels.
1. Smbat, father of Bagarat: see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 128ff, for the family tree of the Bagratunis.
2. For the name Ashkhen ("lady, princess") see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 20, Justi, Namenbuch, p. 43. She is mentioned frequently in Agathangelos as Trdat's wife, but her pedigree is not given. Later writers make Ashkhadar king of the Alans; see Justi, Namenbuch, p. 43.
4. This Khosrov is not mentioned in Agathangelos; for his reign see Faustos, III 3ff, Moses, III 5ff.
5. This passage is very confused. Constantine did not marry Diocletian's daughter; he divorced his first wife, Minerva, to marry Fausta, Maximian's daughter, in 297. Constantius (Constantine's father) had divorced Helen to marry Maximinian's daughter Theodora in 293, the same year that Galerius married Diocletian's daughter Valeria. Moses has taken his pedigree of Constantine from the Armenian version of the Acts of Silevester, pp. 709–10, and the marriage of Constantine to Diocletian's daughter from the same source, pp. 718–9. Moses' source was first elucidated by Carrière, Nouvelles sources, pp. 12ff.
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died not many years later, Diocletian sent his son and his own son-in-law Constantine as his successor.

The latter, before he became emperor and while he was still Caesar, was defeated in battle; when in great distress he had fallen asleep, there appeared to him in his sleep a cross of stars from heaven, which was surrounded by an inscription saying: "By this conquer." He made this his emblem, and bearing it before him was victorious in his wars. But later, cajoled by his wife Maximina, the daughter of Diocletian, he raised persecutions against the church. After making many martyrs, because of his presumption he himself was afflicted with elephantine leprosy over his whole body, which the soothsayers and Marsian doctors were unable to heal. Therefore he sent to Trdat asking him to send magicians from Persia and India. But even they brought

8. Son-in-law: ordiaš'eqal, which would rather imply "adopted son." But for the meaning "son-in-law" see also II 51 n. 11.
9. Emblem: siwgnnoyn (glossed as nshan in t w), i.e. the Latin signum. This word does not occur in the Armenian Silvester which was Moses' main source (see n. 10). Carrière, Nouvelles sources, Supplément, p. 12, notes that it is found in the account of Malalas, Chronographia, pp. 316-7. The Greek σηναντων of Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IX 9 (where the defeat of Maxentius is described), is rendered by nshan, as also in Lazar, p. 42 (see n. 10).
10. Moses is basing his account of the labarum, which appeared to Constantine before the battle of the Milvian bridge (where Maxentius was defeated on October 28, 312) on the Armenian version of the Acts of Silvester, p. 715. Cf. also Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, IX 9, and Life of Constantine, I 28. Lazar's version of Constantine's vision and victories, p. 4, differs from Moses'. For Lazar's Byzantine source (translated into Armenian) see Sanspeur, Byzantion 1974.
11. Soothsayers and Marsian doctors: ariolakan kakhardk'n ew marsi-kean bzhishkk'n; the Latin harioli and the Marsi. The latter were a people in Latium famed as wizards and snake charmers; for their appearance in hagiography see de Gaiffier, RAC 1972.
12. The story of Constantine's persecution, his disease, the remedy, and his baptism are taken verbally from the Armenian Acts of Silvester, Socrates, pp. 721-7. But Moses has added the reference to Trdat (only Persians are mentioned in the Acts; see the introduction to this book). For this legend of Silvester, see Levison in Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle II. Ter-Levondyan, PBH 1973. p. 218, thinks that the reference to Silvester comes from the V cycle of Agathangelos. Silvester was indeed introduced into the Agathangelos story in place of Eusebius as a result of the legend in the Acts (see Thomson, Agathangelos, §875 n. 3), but the verbatim borrow-
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him no relief. Some pagan priests, at the advice of demons, bade him slaughter a great number of children in a basin and to wash himself in the warm blood and be healed. But when he heard the crying of the children and the wailing of their mothers, he had pity and spared them, preferring their salvation to his own. Therefore he received his recompense from God: in a vision he received a command from the apostles to purify himself by the life-giving washing of the font at the hands of Silvester, the bishop of Rome, who on being persecuted by him had hidden in the mountain of Serapation. Being instructed by him he was converted, and then God removed all the tyrants from before his face, as Agathangelos informs you in brief. 13

84. The massacre of the Slkuni by the Chinese Mamgon

While Shapuh, king of Persia, rested from his wars, Trdat went to Rome to Saint Constantine. 1 Then Shapuh busied himself with plans and plotted evil against our land. Inciting all the northern [peoples] to advance on Armenia, he appointed a time for his own arrival with the Aryans from the other direction. Seduced by his words, Sluk, the prince of the Slkuni family, 2 killed his own son-in-law, the old Awtay who was of the Amatuni family and had been the guardian of Khosrovidukht, the king’s sister. Very soon after this Trdat the Great arrived from the west, and having learned about all this and having discovered that Shapuh had not arrived at the appointed time, he marched against the northern [peoples]. But the prince of the Slkuni family fortified himself in his castle, which was called Olakan, 3 where he had as refuge the inhabitants of the mountain called Sim. Opposing the king, he threw the land into confusion; and in the vicinity of the mountain he did not allow [people] to attend to any work. The king said to all the princely houses of Armenia: “Whoever brings to me the prince of the Slkuni family, to him I shall give, with perpetual jurisdiction, villages and

1. See ibid., §§874–80. But Shapuh is Shapuh I (240–272); see chap. 85.
2. For the Slkuni family see II 8 n. 24. Sluk is otherwise unattested.
3. Olakan: in the province of Tarawn; see Hübschmann, AON, p. 326.
estates and all the domains of the Slkuni family. ” This Mamgon, the Chinese, undertook.

While the king marched to the regions of Albania against the northern peoples,4 Mamgon came with all his entourage to the regions of Tarawn as if in revolt against the king. And on setting out he secretly sent men on foot to inform the prince of the Slkuni family about the king’s departure for Albania. “The danger is great,” he said, “for King Trdat; therefore he went to the regions of Albania to wage war against all the northern peoples. So the time is now suitable for us to plan and execute whatever we wish. I have decided to ally myself with you because of the insults I have suffered from the king.” At this the prince of the Slkuni family greatly rejoiced, and he received him with a sworn oath. But he did not allow him into the fortress until he might see how he would keep faith with the oaths and treaties. But the aforementioned Mamgon tried in every way to indicate his friendship for the rebel and persuaded him that he was truly a sincere ally until he ordered him freely to enter and leave the fortress.

After many promises of fidelity, one day he persuaded the prince of the Slkuni family to leave the fortress to hunt wild beasts. During the hunt he shot an arrow into the middle of his back and struck the rebel to the ground. Hastening with his men to the gate of the fortress, he seized the castle and imprisoned all those inside. He also decided to destroy the family of the Slkuni, and he slaughtered them all. But two escaped in flight to the land of Tsop’k’.5 Mamgon quickly informed the king. Trdat, delighted with the news, wrote an edict that he was to have authority over all [the lands] that he had promised, and he made him a prince in the place of the rebel with the title Mamgonean after his own name. But he ordered the Slkunik’ who remained not to be harmed.

85. The prowess of Trdat in the war in Albania, in which he cut the king of the Basilk’ in half

King Trdat with all the Armenians descended into the plain of Gargar1 and met the northern peoples in battle. When the

4. See chap. 85.
5. Tsop’k’: a province in the extreme west of Armenia; see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 294–300.

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two sides joined he cut the host of the enemy into two, assailing them like a giant. I am unable to describe the quickness of his arm and how an infinite number [of the enemy] were struck to the ground by him and rolled in the dust. Like a net full of fish emptied on the ground by an expert fisherman, they danced on the surface of the earth. Seeing this, the king of the Basilk\(^2\) approached the king. Drawing from his horse's armor a strap of sinew wound around with leather\(^3\) and forcefully throwing it from behind, he skillfully caught him on the left shoulder and the right armpit, for he [Trdat] had raised his arm to strike someone with his sword; he was, however, wearing chain armor, which arrows could not pierce. And because he was unable to dislodge the giant [Trdat] with his hand, he grasped his horse's chest. The giant was quick, not so much to spur his horse as to grasp the sinew in his left hand and draw it to himself with a violent pull. He agilely wielded his two-edged sword and cut his opponent through the middle, also splitting the head and reins of his horse.

The whole army, seeing their king and general cut in half by such a fearsome arm, turned in flight. Trdat, in pursuit, chased them as far as the land of the Huns.\(^4\) And although no small losses had befallen his own army and many of the nobles had fallen—among whom the commander-in-chief of all the Armenians, Artavazd Mandakuni, was killed—yet Trdat took hostages from them according to ancestral custom and returned. Thus he brought together all the north, raised many troops, and bringing them together marched to Persia to attack Shapuh, son of Arta- shir.\(^5\) He made four of his men generals: Mihran, prince of the Georgians, whom he trusted because of his belief in Christ; Bagarat, the \textit{aspet}; Manachihr, prince of the Šhtunik'; and Vahan, prince of the Amatunik'.\(^6\) But now we have to tell of the conversion of Mihran and the land of Georgia.

2. For the Basilk see II 65 n.12.
3. For the use of a leather strap cf. II 50 n. 5. Josephus, \textit{Wars}, VII 7.4, describes the escape of Tiridates I from a net thrown over him during an invasion of Armenia by the Alans.
4. \textit{Huns}: the name is often used inaccurately in early Armenian writers. They are equated with the Kuskhs by Agathangelos, §§19-20, and Ejish, \textit{History}, p. 11. For the imprecision of the term "Huns" see Frye, \textit{Heritage}, p. 216, and Maensch-Helfen, \textit{Huns}, p. 6, and esp. p. 458 for a discussion of the Armenian evidence.
5. This is Shapuh I (240–272); but Trdat supposedly became king in the time of Diocletian; see II 82 n. 2.
6. For the division of the Armenian army into four see II 53 n. 9. But
Concerning the blessed Nuné; how she became the cause of the Georgians' salvation

A certain woman called Nuné, one of the scattered companions of Saint Rhipsime who had fled to Georgia, to Miskheta the capital, acquired the grace of healing through her extremely ascetic life. Thus she had cured many afflicted people, most notably the wife of Mihran, the prince of Georgia. Therefore Mihran asked her: "By what power do you perform these miracles?" and he learned of the preaching of Christ's gospel. Hearing it with pleasure he repeated it to his nobles with praise. And at that very time news reached him of the miracles that had been worked in Armenia for the king and the nobles, and of the companions of blessed Nuné. Astonished at these things he informed blessed Nuné, from whom he learned about everything more precisely and in detail.

It happened in those days that Mihran went out to hunt. He went astray in the crags of the mountains as the air darkened—although his vision was not obscured—according to the saying:

1. For the conversion of Georgia to Christianity see in general: Peeters, AB 1932; Tarchnisvili, Le Muséon 1947.
2. The story of Nuné is based on the account in the Armenian version of Socrates, I 20, Socrates in turn depending on Rufinus, Historia ecclesiastica, X 11. However, the captive woman is not named in Moses' source: Nuné is the Armenian form of the name of the mother of Gregory Nazianzenus (Nonna), cf. Awkerean, Vark', 1:290; the Georgian form Nino is attested as early as the seventh century; see Toumanoff, Studies, p. 374. The suggestion that Nuné was a companion of Rhipsime's (for the number of her companions in Armenian tradition see Thomson, Agathangelos, §199 n. 1) is Moses' own invention. He is anxious to prove Armenian involvement in the conversion of Georgia, hence his reference to Gregory and Agathangelos later in the chapter. Akinean, HA 1948, cols. 188–90, notes the parallels between Moses and the SR of Socrates.
3. Mihran the prince (arajnord): for the name see Hübschmann, Grammatik, p. 53, Justi, Namenbuch, p. 214. Mihran is called prince (arajnord, 'leader') as in II 85 because Moses makes him a subject of Trdat. Socrates merely refers to "the king of Georgia." For the date of the conversion of Mihran (Mirian in Georgian) see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 374–7.
4. Moses continues to adapt the account in Socrates.

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“He summons the mist with [his] voice” [Job 38:34] and again: “He darkens the day into night” [Amos 5:8]. By such darkness was Mihran enveloped, which became for him a cause of eternal light. In his fear he remembered what he had heard about Trdat: that when he had set out intending to go hunting, torments from the Lord had fallen upon him. He reckoned that something similar would also befall himself. Overcome with great fear, he begged in prayer that the air might become light and that he might return in peace, and he promised to worship Nunē’s God. This was granted him, and he fulfilled his promise.

Now blessed Nunē sought out trustworthy men and sent them to Saint Gregory, [asking] what he might command her to do from then on, for the Georgians had happily accepted the preaching of the gospel. She received a command to destroy the idols, just as he had done himself, and to set up the honorable sign of the cross until the day when the Lord would grant them a pastor as guide. So straightway she destroyed the image of Aramazd, god of thunder, which stood outside the city; between the city and the image flowed the powerful river [Kura]. Everyone had been accustomed to worship this in the mornings from their roofs, for it faced them. But if anyone wished to sacrifice, he crossed the river and sacrificed in front of the temples.

However, the nobles of the city rose up against her and said: “Whom then are we to worship instead of the idols?” They were told: “The sign of Christ’s cross.” This they made and set up on the pretty hill to the east of the city, separated from it by a very small river. And all the people worshipped it in the mornings from their roofs, just as they had done previously. But when

5. Socrates has no mention of the Armenians. For this episode see Agathangelos, §212.
6. The embassy to Gregory is Moses’ invention. According to Socrates, the Georgians sent an embassy to Constantine requesting a bishop. For the destruction of the idols cf. Agathangelos, §§778-813, and for the setting up of crosses, ibid., §§769, 770, 782, and notes thereto in Thomson, Agathangelos. Socrates has no mention of the destruction of idols or of the status of Aramazd’s being replaced by a cross.
7. Aramazd, god of thunder: ampropayin Aramazd; cf. the ἀντραχθέντα Ζεὺς in Homer. But for the Georgian Armaz, identified by Moses with Aramazd, see Tseretheli, Georgica 1935. For the site Armazi see Apakidze, Miskhetia, vol. 1.
8. Across the Aragvi; this is the site of the seventh-century church of the cross (Djvari).
they went out to the hill and saw a piece of hewn wood, no work of craftsmen, more than a few despised it on the grounds that their whole forest was full of such objects. And they left it and went away. But the benevolent God, looking down on their stumbling, sent from heaven a pillar of cloud, and the mountain was filled with a sweet odor, and there was heard the sound of a host singing psalms exceedingly sweetly, and there shone out a light in the form of a cross, the same in shape and size as the wooden cross, and it stood over it with twelve stars. At this everyone believed and they worshipped it. Thereafter miracles of healing were performed by it.

But the blessed Nune then went out to proselytize the other provinces of Georgia with her pure tongue, traveling around without pomp or excess, a stranger to the world and all in it—or to speak more truly, crucified, making this world a practice for death, by her words a witness to the Word of God, and by her zeal crowned as if in blood. We make bold to say that she became an apostle. She preached beginning from Klarjk' to the gates of the Alans and the Caspians, as far as the borders of the Massagetae, as Agathangelos informs you. But let us now return to the story of Trdat's invasion of Persia.

87. The defeat of Shapuh and his unwilling submission to Constantine the Great, Trdat's capture of Ecbatana and the arrival of his relatives, and the discovery of the saving wood at that time

But Trdat, although he had gained the victory, nonetheless because his army had been mauled and many princes had fallen,

9. For the appearance of the luminous cross cf. the appearance of a cross in the sky above Jerusalem described in Cyril of Jerusalem, Letter to Constantius; for the Armenian version see III 12 n. 6.

10. Practice for death: krit'ut'iu mahu; cf. the description of Mesrop in III 67 at n. 16. See Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. γυμναζω, for patristic parallels to this idea. For the expressions "stranger to the world" and "crucified" cf. Heb. 11:3 and Gal. 2:19.

11. Crowned: a play on the use of "crown" for martyrdom; cf. Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. στέφανος ἰβ. A postle: arik'elui, a rare use of the fem. suffix -uhi, which is generally found with proper names. The title "apostle" was used of more than the original twelve; for its application to women see Lampe, Lexicon, s.v. ἀπόστολος Ἔ).

13. According to Agathangelos, who does not mention Nune or the
hesitated to challenge Shapuh alone before being joined by the
mass of the Roman army, which had attacked Assyria, put Shapuh
to flight, and plundered the whole land. Then Trdat, with all his
men and the troops under them, invaded the northern regions
of the Persian empire in a year-long expedition.

At that time there came to him his relative and kinsman
Kamsar, the eldest son of Perozamat. This Perozamat was the
boy whom Burz had rescued and saved when Artashir had
slaughtered the Karenean branch of the Pahlav. When he reached
puberty he was established by Artashir in his father's rank and
put in command of the army with a view to making war against
those barbarous nations, though deceitfully he planned to cast
him into the hands of the barbarians. He was a valiant man,
 wonderfully adept at war; and when he defeated Vzurk, who was
called Khak'an, the latter, vanquished, gave him his daughter
in marriage. Similarly he took many wives from the relatives of
Artashir, and having many sons he grew powerful and held
those regions under his control. Although he was esteemed by
Artashir he would not see him; and on Artashir's death he did
not submit to his son Shapuh, but in the course of many battles
defeated him. But he was poisoned by Shapuh's friends and
died.

At the same time there lived another Vzurk Khak'an who
was an enemy of Kamsar, his [Perozamat's] son. But Kamsar,
considering it difficult to live in enmity between two powerful
kings, especially because his brothers were not united with him,
set out with all his family and entourage and came to Trdat our
king, while his brothers went to Shapuh. This Kamsar fought
with fearsome bravery in the wars during his father's lifetime.
But in [one of] his intrepid assaults he was struck by someone on
the head with an axe, and a part of the bone of his skull was
removed. Although he was cured by medicines, the curve of his
conversion of Georgia, this is the area evangelized by Gregory (§§842–3).
And Agathangelos in turn is following Koriun and Faustos; see Thomson,
Agathangelos, notes ad loc.

1. For the Kamsarak family see Toumanoff, Studies, pp. 206–7. For
Perozamat cf. II 73.
2. Vzurk is an adjective of Iranian provenance, "great"; see Hub-
schmann, Grammatik, p. 246; cf. the title Vzurk Mihrmesheh, Elislé, History,
p. 24. Khak'an, "lord," is of Turkish origin; see Hubenschmann, Grammatik,
p. 159. The Armenian sources use it for the lord of the Khazars; the Greek
form χάκάν is found for the lord (κανά) of the Avars, Huns, or Turks; see
Sophocles, Lexicon, s.v.
head remained incomplete, and for this reason he was called Kamsar.  

But Trdat secured for himself the seven-walled Ecbatana, and leaving there his second [in command] and governors, he returned to Armenia, taking with him Kamsar and all his men. For Shapuh had begged his victor Constantine for a treaty and the establishment of eternal peace. This Saint Constantine did, and then he sent his mother Helen to Jerusalem to seek the honorable cross. She found the saving wood with the five nails through Juda, a Jew, who later became bishop of Jerusalem.

88. *The imprisonment of Licinius, the transfer of the court from Rome, and the building of Constantinople*

When God had removed all the tyrants from before Constantine, the latter greatly honored Licinius and gave him to wife his own stepsister, adorned him with the purple and the crown of a Caesar, bestowed on him the second rank, and made him ruler over all the east. But what divine Scripture said with


6. For the story of the discovery of the cross Moses is close to the account in Malalas, p. 519; see Carrière, *Nouvelles sources*, Supplément, p. 15. Socrates, I.17, gives a fuller version of the story. But these Greek sources do not mention Juda, who in the doublet of the discovery of the cross in Labubna (where Patronice, the wife of Claudius, discovers the cross) is mentioned as one of the Jews who had possession of the cross; see Labubna, p. 13 (Syriac text, p. 11). (X T omit all reference to Juda.) For the story of Judas Cyriacus as bishop of Jerusalem see Pigouléwsy, *ROC* 1927–8, and the Syriac text in Guidi, *ROC* 1904. Judas Cyriacus in this text of the late fourth or early fifth century is associated with the discovery of the cross by Helen. The story was of Syriac origin based on this originally Greek text.

1. Moses is here picking up the thread of II 83, the last sentence of which he repeats (cf. Agathangelos, §868).

2. Cf. Socrates, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, I.2. (The Armenian Socrates calls Constantia simply Constantine’s “sister”; the verbal parallels in Moses are not very close.) Licinius married Constantia in 313, becoming sole Augustus of the East after defeating Maximin at Hadrianople.
regard to the Hebrews, reckoning the transformation of evil to be impossible, the same happened here also. It is impossible for the leopard to change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin, and likewise for the impious man [to change] his way of life [cf. Jer. 13:23]. For first he was found to be doing violence to the faith, and second to be a rebel with regard to his benefactor. He raised persecutions against the church and worked secret treachery against Constantine. Likewise he brought all sorts of evil on all those who were under his power. This lascivious and execrable old man, who dyed his hair, affected great tribulation on his wife because of his passion for the blessed Glaphyra. For this reason he killed Saint Basil, the bishop of Amasya in Pontus.

When the plot was revealed and he knew that Constantine would not remain silent about it, he gathered an army to oppose him in war. And since Trdat our king had grown cold in his love, he feared him as a real enemy, for he knew that every impious one is hateful to the just. Now when the victorious Constantine arrived, God delivered Licinius into his hands. Being merciful to him as an old man and his son-in-law, he had him taken to Gaul in iron bonds and sent to the mines that he might pray to God, against whom he had sinned, that perchance He be long suffering toward him. He himself with his sons showed that the Roman empire was one; and he celebrated his twentieth anniversary in the city of Nicomedia. He reigned from the fourth year of the persecutions until the thirteenth year of the peace, an [anniversary] the world still celebrates today.

Thinking it unnecessary to return to Rome, he moved to Byzantium and there established the court, being ordered [to do so] in a prophetic dream. He constructed [there] very splendid buildings and increased [the city] fivefold. It contained no such undertakings of any great king, save a few buildings like those of

3. Here Moses is following a Greek text against the Armenian vulgate and Syriac, which read "Indian" for "Ethiopian." His source is probably Gregory Nazianzenus, Inuentivo adv. Julianum, PG 35.53ff; see Khalatiants', Ararat 1897, p. 532.

4. Licinius' oppression of the church and treachery to Constantine is the subject of Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, X 8-9, but the Armenian version ends at X 4; cf. also Life of Constantine, I 49ff. Moses' source for the references to Glaphyra and Basil of Amasya and Licinius in the mines of Gaul is the Acta Basiliea; see Carrière, Nouvelles sources, pp. 21-51, and for the historical setting Honigmann, Patristic Studies, pp. 6-87 (who puts the common source for Moses and the extant Greek Acta to the eighth century).

5. Cf. Life of Constantine, III 15; this was in 325 a.d.
the world conqueror Alexander of Macedon when he prepared there for war against Darius, and for that reason built in his own memory the so-called Strategion—for in it he stored the war materiel. This was later renewed by the Roman emperor Severus, who himself built baths in the place of the column, which had as an inscription the mystical name of the sun, in the Thracian tongue Xeuxippus, by which name the baths were also called. He also built the theater, both for wild animal combats and for players, and the hippodrome, which was unfinished. Constantine established [the city] in every way and called it New Rome, but the world called it the city of Constantine. They also say that he secretly took from Rome the sculpture called the Palladium and placed it in the Forum under the column that he himself had erected. But this is unbelievable to us, though others [may think] as they wish.

89. Concerning Arius the heretic and the council that took place on his account in Nicaea, and the miracle that happened to Gregory

In those times appeared Arius of Alexandria who taught a wicked heresy: that the Son is not equal to the Father and not from the nature and being of the Father, nor born from the Father before all ages, but other and created and younger, and that he came into existence later. This impious Arius suffered the death that he merited in the latrines. Therefore a command

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6. This whole paragraph describing Constantinople is paralleled in Malalas; see the careful comparison of texts in Carrière, Nouvelles sources, Supplement, pp. 14–17. Conybeare, BZ 1902, p. 397, notes that “baths” in the Pascal Chronicle, not Malalas; he concludes that the three texts derive from a common original.

7. For Constantine and the New Rome see Janin, Constantinople byzantine, esp. chap. 2. The Armenian Socrates (I 16) refers to the “Second” (not “New”) Rome. Note also the description in Lazar, p. 4, with parallels in Procopius, Wars, III 1.3.

8. This last sentence is identical with the last sentence of the Ashkharhats’oyts’ (LR only, p. 46).

1. Moses’ account of Arius’ doctrine is not close to the brief statement in the Armenian Socrates I 5, but the terms are paralleled in the Letter of Alexander quoted in Socrates I 6 and the creed at I 8.

2. This sentence is from Gregory Nazianzenus; see Khalatiants’, Ararat 1897, p. 583 (from In Laudem magni Athanasti, PG 35.1081ff). For the details of Arius’ death, see Socrates I 98.
was promulgated by the Emperor Constantine that a council of many bishops should take place at Nicaea in Bithynia. There gathered Victor and Vincent, priests from the city of Rome with the signature of Saint Silvester, and the bishops Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, and Alexander of Constantinople.³

Then there arrived an edict of the Emperor Constantine to our King Trdat, that taking Saint Gregory with him he should go to the council.⁴ But Trdat refused because he had heard of the alliance of Shapuh with the king of India and with the Khak' an of the east, and that his commanders were Nerseh, who [later] reigned for nine years, and Ormizd, who also later reigned for three years with success.⁵ And being suspicious that he might break the treaty according to the custom of pagans, he therefore did not leave the country without his presence. Nor did Saint Gregory agree to go lest he be given even more honor from the council on account of his name as a confessor,⁶ as indeed they so named him with affection and great enthusiasm. But they sent in their place Aristakes with [a copy of] the true confession of faith signed by them both.⁷ On his way he met Leontius the Great at the moment when he was baptizing Gregory, the father of Gregory the theologian. When the latter emerged from the water, light shone out around him, which none of the multitude saw save Leontius, who was baptizing him, and our Aristakes and

³. The Armenian version of Socrates I 13, does not include this list of names. The list in the Kanonagirk' (1:134ff) gives Victor and Vincent from Rome (no mention of Silvester) at the head: Alexander of Alexandria comes next; Eustathius of Antioch heads the list of bishops from Syria; Macarius of Jerusalem heads the list of bishops from Palestine. But the other Alexander is from Thessalonica; there is no bishop from Constantinople, which had not been founded in 325. For the names of Bishops at Nicaea see also Gelzer et al., Nomina. The text of Moses reads Biton for Victor, but I follow the reading of X K3: Bikton. No Vitus is attested.

⁴. Agathangelos, §884, does not suggest that Constantine summoned Trdat or Gregory to Nicaea, but merely "all bishops"; so the king and Gregory dispatched Aristakes. Moses has invented the reasons for refusal to attend.

⁵. The chronology is impossible: Shapuh is Shapuh I, 240–272; Nerseh reigned 293–302 and Ormizd, 278–279. The last two were sons of Shapuh I.

⁶. Gregory as confessor, Khostovanol: in Agathangelos, §876, Constantine reveres Gregory as such.

⁷. No confession of faith is mentioned in Agathangelos.
Euthalius of Edessa and Jacob of Nisibis and John, bishop of Persia, who were traveling to the council by the same road.

90. The return of Aristakes from Nicaea, the conversion of his kinsmen, and the constructions at Garni

Aristakes traveled with Leontius the Great to the city of Nicaea, where the three hundred and eighteen fathers had assembled to overthrow the Arians. These they anathematized and excommunicated from communion with the church, and in like manner the emperor deported them to the mines. Then Aristakes returned with the orthodox creed and the twenty canonical chapters of the council and met his father and the king in the city of Valarshapat. Saint Gregory was delighted and added a few chapters of his own to the canons of the council to take greater care of his diocese.

At that time their kinsman Kamsar was baptized with his relatives by Gregory the Great. The king, receiving him from the water, gave him as inheritance the great property of Artashes, which is now called Draskhanakert, and the province of Shirak.

8. For this miracle at the baptism of this Gregory by Leontius see Life of Gregory the Theologian, Awgerean, Vark', 1:291. (For a parallel at the baptism of Trdat see Agathangelos, §§853; Leontius, according to Agathangelos §809, also consecrated Gregory, father of Aristakes.) The presence of other bishops at the miracle is there mentioned, but they are not named. Euthalius (Aithalla) of Edessa, Jacob of Nisibis, and John of Jersia are in the list of attending bishops, Kanonagirk', 1:139. Faustos, III 10 mentions Jacob of Nisibis attending Nicaea with Aristakes.

1. The number 318 goes back to Athanasius, Ad Afros 2, (but not in the Armenian version). The earliest reference in Armenian is in Faustos, III 10. For the mystical significance of the number see Rivière., RTAM 1934.

2. Socrates, Ecclesiastica Historia, I 8 (p. 23, Armenian version), merely says that Arius was exiled by the emperor. The SR does read “to the mines,” a phrase also found in the Armenian Life of John Chrysostom; see Akinean, HA 1948, col. 181. See also III 33 at n. 4.

3. For the twenty canons see Mansi, Collectio, II col. 66ff, Armenian version in Kanonagirk', 1:114–51, which may be Moses' source.


5. See ibid., §§892–3 for the baptism of the Armenian army; Kamsar is not mentioned there.

6. Receiving him from the water: the phrase means "to act as godfather"; see Nor Baigirk', s.v. ūndunil.

7. Draskhanakert and Shirak were in the province of Ayrarat; Hübschmann, AON, pp. 364, 423. But Faustos implies that this area was in the possession of the Kamsarakan long before; III 11, IV 19.
as to his kinsman and loyal brother. But he did not survive more than seven days after his baptism before dying. However, King Trdat consoled Arshavir, the eldest of Kamsar’s sons, by putting him in his father’s place, ennobling him in his father’s name, and setting him among the number of the princely houses. He also added other gifts, the city of Eruand and the province of the same as far as the end of the great valley, only that he might banish from his mind the memory of his original land called Pahlav so that he might keep faith unwaveringly. Arshavir, greatly loving the province, called it Arsharunik’ after his own name, because previously it was called Eraskhadzor. So we have explained the reasons for the coming of the two clans, the Parthians and the Pahlavik’.

About that time Trdat completed the construction of the fortress of Gaiñi in hard and dressed blocks of stone cemented with iron [clamps] and lead. Inside, for his sister Khosrovidukht, he built a shaded residence with towers and wonderful carvings in high relief. And he composed in her memory an inscription in the Greek script.

But Saint Gregory returned to the same mountains and thereafter appeared no more to anyone until his death.

8. Cf. II 42.
11. For the fortress at Gaiñi see Arakelyan, Contributions, chaps. 2, 3, with references to the debate whether Trdat I or III was responsible for building it.
12. Iron (clamps) and lead: this implies dry masonry, not the typical Armenian style of the fourth and later centuries; see Arakelyan, Contributions, p. 47.
15. For the inscription see Trever, Ocherki . . . Armenii, pp. 174-211, and Toumanoff, REA 1970, pp. 477-8. Emendations have been proposed by numerous scholars; see Arakelyan, Contributions, pp. 42ff, and Bartikyan and Krkyasharyan in PBH 1965.
16. The same mountains: i.e. Daranalik’ (see chap. 9), in the northwest of Armenia. This has nothing to do with Gaiñi, but is based on the site of the baptism of the Armenian nobles, Agathangelos, § 832-3; cf. n. 5 above. For Gregory’s life in the mountains see ibid., § 848, 853, 861.
91. Concerning the death of Gregory and Aristakes, and why the mountain is called “Caves of Manë”

In the seventeenth year of Trdat’s reign we have found that our father and parent in the gospel, Gregory, sat on the throne of the holy apostle Thaddaeus. After illuminating the whole of Armenia with the light of divine knowledge, banishing the darkness of idolatry and filling all regions with bishops and teachers, in his love for the mountains and solitude and a secluded life with tranquility of mind to speak to God without distraction, he left his own son Aristakes as his successor and remained himself in the province of Daranalikt' in the mountain “Caves of Manë.”

But let us explain why it is called “Caves of Manë.” There was a certain woman, Manë by name, among the companions of Saint Rhipsime, like Nune, the teacher of the Georgians, who made no haste to follow them when they came among us; but knowing that all places are God’s, she dwelt in these mountains in some caves in the rock. For this reason the mountain was named “Caves of Manë,” and in that cave later dwelt Saint Gregory.

But although he lived there, nevertheless from time to time he revealed himself and traveled about the country, confirming his disciples in the faith. But when his own son Aristakes re-

1. Agathangelos (Aa) the date of Gregory’s consecration is not given; he was imprisoned for fifteen years (see Thomson, Agathangelos, p. lxvi and n. 188). If Trdat gained the throne in 298 (see above II 86 n. 2) the seventeenth year would be 314/5. On the whole question see Ananian, Data, and Toumanoff, REA 1969, pp. 272–3.

2. Throne of Thaddaeus: the expression first occurs in Faustos, III 1, 12, 14, IV 3, although it may be a later interpolation; see Van Esbroeck, REA 1972, p. 271ff, for a discussion of Faustos’ knowledge of Thaddaeus. Later the expression became standard; e.g. Girk’ T’l’l’ots’, p. 78 (Letter of John II, Catholicos 557–574). For the term at’ot (“throne”), cf. Agathangelos, §862; and for Thaddaeus see above II 35.


4. As Agathangelos, §§862 (Moses reads p’okhanord for p’okhanak).

5. As ibid., §861. For the site see Hübschmann, AON, pp. 285–4.

6. Manë is first mentioned in Vk §§121, 287–91. Cf. also Awgerean, Vark’, 3:130–8, the Life of Nune and Manë. Unlike this Life and Moses, Vk says that Manë escaped at the time of the nuns’ martyrdom.

7. This sentence is from Agathangelos, §849.
turned from the council of Nicaea, thenceforth Saint Gregory appeared no more to anyone. Therefore from the beginning of his priesthood in the seventeenth year of Trdat's reign until the forty-seventh of the same, from when he no longer appeared to anyone, are reckoned thirty years.

After him Aristakes [was patriarch] for seven years, from the forty-seventh year of Trdat until his fifty-second, in which Aristakes died. Truly he was a spiritual sword, according to the saying [cf. Eph. 6:17; Heb. 4:12], and thus was accounted an enemy of all the unjust and evildoers. Therefore Archilaues, who had been appointed to the governorship of what is called Fourth Armenia, on being reprimanded by him waited for an opportune day. And meeting him on the road in the province of Tsop'k', he slew him by the sword and fled himself to the Taurus of Cilicia. But his disciples took the saint's body to the province of Ekeleats' and laid it to rest in T'il, his own town. His elder brother Vrt'anës succeeded him from the fifty-fourth year of Trdat on.

Saint Gregory lived in seclusion in the Cave of Manë for many years and on his death was transposed to the ranks of the angels. Shepherds found him dead and buried him in the same place without knowing who he was. It was indeed fitting that they who were the ministers of our Savior's birth [cf. Luke 2:13]
should also be the servants of his disciple's burial. [Saint Gregory’s relics] were hidden for many years by divine providence you might say, like Moses of old [cf. Deut. 34:6], lest they become the object of a cult to the half-converted barbarian nations. But when the faith had become firmly established in these regions, after a long time Saint Gregory’s relics were revealed to a certain ascetic called Gañik, who took them and buried them in the village of T’ordan.14

He [Gregory], as is clear to all, was a Parthian by origin, from the province of Pahlav, a descendant of the reigning Arsacid family, from the Surênh branch through his father called Anak.15 From the eastern regions of our land he arose for us as a true dawn, a spiritual sun and divine ray, an escape from the profound evil of idolatry, the source of blessing and spiritual prosperity, truly a divine palm tree planted in the house of the Lord and flourishing in the courts of our God [cf. Ps. 91:13–14]. He increased [the number of the faithful] among such and so many peoples and gathered us to an old age of spiritual wealth [cf. Ps. 91:15] for the glory and praise of God [cf. Phil. 1:11].

92. Concerning the death of King Trdat, including a reproach in the form of a lament

When speaking of the saint and great man, the second hero and spiritual overseer of our illumination, the most truly king of all those made such by Christ, we must use very glorious speech as of the coworker and equal in austerity of our first leader and author of our salvation.1 It has pleased the Holy Spirit to give precedence to my Illuminator by his rank as martyr alone,2 though I would also add, by reason of his virtue. But in other respects apart from that, [Trdat] was his equal in words and deeds. And I would assign the superiority to the king, for the two were equal in the contemplation of God and the ascetic life, but the king’s merit was greater in subjecting [people

14. This Gañik (“lamb”) is first attested in his Syriac guise of Amra in Vk §297, supposedly in the time of Zeno. For the legends surrounding the discovery of Gregory’s relics (they are first mentioned in Lazar, Pautu’t’un, pp. 55, 170) see the extensive discussion in Van Esbroeck, AB 1971.
15. Cf. II 28, 74.
2. For these and other epithets applied to Gregory by early Armenian writers, see Thomson, Agathangelos, pp. lxxvii–lxxix.
to the faith] by persuasive or forceful words, for he never interrupted his efforts on behalf of the faith. For this reason I call him the leader on the road and the second father of our illumination. But because this is the time for history and not for praise, especially because this book has been composed in accordance with the accounts of various historians and not merely by myself, let us pass on to the order of events as they concern him.

After his conversion to Christ he shone out with every virtue, increasing more and more his acts and words for the cause of Christ. He chided and urged the greatest princes, and at the same time all the mass of the common people, to become true Christians so that the deeds of all might bear witness to the faith. But I wish to mention the hardheartedness, or rather vain-glory, of our nation from the beginning to now: enemies to the good, strangers to the truth, by nature presumptuous and perverse, they opposed the king’s will concerning the Christian religion, following the will of their wives and concubines. Unable to endure this, the king cast off his earthly crown and ran after a heavenly one, quickly reaching the place of the holy hermit of Christ and living in mountain caves as a hermit.

I am ashamed here to speak the truth, especially the lawlessness and impiety of our nation and their deeds worthy of great lamentations and tears. For they sent after him and summoned him, saying they would act according to his will if he would rule the kingdom. But when the saint did not agree they gave him a draught, as once in old times the Athenians gave hemlock to Socrates, or to speak in our terms, when the Hebrews in their fury gave drink mixed with gall to our God [cf. Matt. 27:34; John 19:29-30]. In doing this they shut out from themselves the shining ray of piety.

Therefore I speak lamenting over my own, as did Paul for his own and the enemies of the cross of Christ [cf. Phil. 3:18]. But I speak not my own words but those of the Holy Spirit: O nation perverse [cf. Matt. 17:16; Luke 9:41] and bitter nation, which


4. Book: hagnērgut’iwn, the Armenian rendering of Χαντιούν; see I 21 n. 2.

5. For Moses’ source see the introduction to this book.

6. No source before Moses suggests that Trdat became a hermit; tsakamut leinakets’ik is based on the description of Gregory and his pupils in Agathangelos, §846.

7. That Trdat was poisoned is not attested before Moses; cf. Synaxarion, Trē 21: he was poisoned by the Armenian princes and was buried at T’ordan.
History of the Armenians

has not straightened its heart and whose soul has not trusted in God [cf. Ps. 77:8]. O Armenians,⁸ until when will you be hard-hearted? Why do you love vanity and ungodliness?⁹ Do you not know that God has glorified his saints and that the Lord will not hear when you cry to Him? For you have sinned in anger and have not repented on your bed. For you have offered an offering of lawlessness and you have despised those who hope in the Lord [cf. Ps. 4:3–6]. Therefore there will come upon you the trap that you do not recognize; the prey that you have hunted will seize you, and you will fall into the same trap. But his soul will rejoice in the Lord and rejoice in his own salvation; and with his whole being he will say: “Lord, who is like you?” [Ps. 34:8–10].

Now because these things are truly so, let us console ourselves in our dangers. “For if they have done this to green wood,” says Christ, “what will become of the dry?” [Luke 23:31]. Now if this is the case with the saints of God and those who humbled themselves [by descending] from the throne for God’s sake, what should be our words to God concerning the dangers we run from you, [we] whose portion is danger and poverty? Yet I shall speak. Which of you will provide for us; which of the doctors [will provide] intercession, who words of encouragement and exhortation? Who in our journeys [will carry] our burdens, who on our arrival [will give us] rest, who has prepared for us a house or lodging [cf. John 14:2]? I shall leave the rest, for you have not restrained the evil tongues and ignorance, with their useless vainglory and wild loquacity. But by giving as fuel to their irrationality your wisdom-scorn ing way of life, you have enflamed [them] more than the furnace of Babylon.

Therefore each one himself is priest and minister for himself, as Scripture says [cf. 2 Chron. 13:9]. Just as now there are many who speak of things divine but do not comprehend the force of their meaning, and those who speak do so not according to the will of the Spirit but according to another’s. Wherefore their speech is a source of amazement and horrible for those in their right minds. For the one who speaks talks of God and things divine, but the thoughts of the speaker are directed to another.

⁸. Armenians: Arameank’; for Aram as the Armenians’ eponymous ancestor see I 6 n. 19.
⁹. Hardhearted, ungodliness: tsanrasirk’ anastuatsut’iwn. Moses has not followed the text of Ps. 77:8, but the Armenian version of paraphrases by Gregory Nazianzenus, see Khalatiants’, Ararat :1897, p. 533. (But X V² follow the Armenian vulgate.)
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For he exercises no effort concerning what he speaks, nor [does he speak] modestly and gently as he was instructed, "lest anyone outside hear his voice" [Isa. 42:2]. But for the sake of human glory they shout and cry into men's ears. The torrents of their loquacity flow as from a fountain, as one of the ancients said, and offend all the drunkards in the squares. Who in his right mind would not lament for them? And, if no one is offended, then I say that such are those who encourage them. I refrain from mentioning the saying of Christ: that vengeance will be exacted from the blood of the just Abel up to the blood of Zachariah, which was shed between the temple and the altar [cf. Matt. 23:35; Luke 11:51].

But here let this discourse cease, as [I am] weary of speaking to the ears of the dead. But this story concerning Saint Trdat is true. For having made him drink a mortal poison, they were deprived of the rays of the light of his grace. He reigned fifty-six years.¹¹

End of the second book of the progress of Greater Armenia