

HISTORY OF LEWOND

The Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians

Translation, Introduction and Commentary
by
(Rev.) ZAVEN ARZOUMANIAN

Պատմություն Ղեւոնդեայ Մեծի Վարդապետի Հայոց

Թարգմանություն, Ներածական եւ Նօթեր
Պատրաստեց՝
ԶԱԻԷՆ Ծ. Վ. ԱՐԶՈՒՄԱՆԵԱՆ

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The Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians

(Rev.) Zaven Arzoumanian

First Edition
Translation, Introduction and Commentary

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DEDICATED
TO
HIS HOLINESS VAZKEN I SUPREME PATRIARCH
AND CATHOLICOS OF ALL ARMENIANS

For His Highly Esteemed Leadership
as the
Spiritual Head
of the
Armenian Church

ABBREVIATIONS

- B** *Byzantion* (Brussels).
- BEH** *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* (Erevan).
- BGA** *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, de Goeje, M.J. ed. (Leyden).
- BHGI** *Banber Hayastani Gitakan Institutu* (Erevan).
- BM** *Banber Matenadarani* (Erevan).
- BSOAS** *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London).
- BZ** *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Leipzig).
- CHA** *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, M. Brosset, ed. (St. Petersburg, 1874-1876).
- CHAMA** *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols. V. Langlois, ed. (Paris, 1867-1869).
- CSCO** *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain).
- CSHB** *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-1897).
- DO** *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington).
- EB** *Études Byzantines* (Paris).
- EI** *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, OE (Old ed.) (Leyden, 1913-1948); new ed. 3 vols. (Leyden, 1954-).
- EHR** *English Historical Review* (London).
- HA** *Handes Amsoreay* (Vienna).
- HTR** *Harvard Theological Review* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- JA** *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
- JHS** *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London).
- JRAS** *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain* (London).
- JRS** *Journal of Roman Studies* (London).
- M** Manuscript No. 1902 of the Mashtots' Matenadaran (Erevan). A 13th c. collection which contains the earliest available text of Lewond's *History*.
- MD** *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Daskhurants'i*, C.J.F. Dowsett tr. (London-New York, 1961).
- MH** *Matenagrakan Hetazotut'iwinner*, N. Akinian, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1922-1965).
- PBH** *Patma-banasirakan Handes* (Erevan. 1958-).
- PG** *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeco-latina*, Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1857-1866).
- PO** *Patrologia Orientalis*, R. Graffin and F. Nau edd. (Paris, 1903).
- REA** *Révue des Études Armeniennes* (Paris, 1920-1932); new series (Paris, 1964-).
- RH** *Révue Historique* (Paris, 1876-1962).
- SK** *Seminarium Kondakovianum* (Prague, 1927-1938), (Belgrade, 1940).
- T** [Text]. *Patmut'wn Lewondeay metsi vardapeti hayots' [History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians]*, K. Ezeants' ed. (St. Petersburg, 1887).
- ZAP** *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* (Marburg).

TRANSCRIPTION

w	p	q	ŋ	ɬ	q	ɛ	ɹ	ʃ	θ	h	l	ɬ
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	e	t'	zh	i	l	kh
θ	ɣ	h	ǎ	ŋ	á	ʊ	ɹ	á	ʒ	n	ʒ	ɰ
ts	k	h	dz	!	ch	m	y	n	sh	o	ch'	p
ʒ	n	u	ɥ	ʉ	ɹ	g	ɿ	ʃ	ɸ	o	ni	ɸ
j	í	s	v	t	r	ts'	w	p'	k'	ō	u	f

P R E F A C E

The translator's art is one that is all too often unappreciated. So much do we value the original work of an author that we overlook the time, patience and skill necessary to a successful rendering of it into another tongue. It is meet that we acknowledge our growing debt to the increasing number of individuals who have labored long and arduously to make the heritage of Armenian literature available in English. In particular we owe an especial thanks and appreciation for the scholars who, one by one, have made an increasing number of Armenian historical texts accessible in this, the most widely read of western languages.

The past twenty years have been rich in works of this kind. From C.F.J. Dowsett's rendering of Moses of Daskhuran's *History of the Caucasian Albanians* through the magisterial translations of Agathangelos, Moses of Khoren and Eghishe by R. W. Thomson, the riches of Armenian historical literature have steadily been brought to the attention of the academic community of the English-speaking world. At this writing, translations of the histories of John the Catholicos (by Krikor Maksoudian), Thomas Artsruni (R.W. Thomson), and Faustus of Buzanda (N. Garsoian) are in preparation, while manuscript translations of the *Ashkharhatsouyts*, Zenob of Glak, Cyriacus of Ganja and Thomas of Metsop' already exist, and will doubtless find their way into print as well.

The present translation of the History of Լեւոնդ, "the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians", is from the pen of Reverend Zaven Arzoumanian, who, in the time-honored Armenian tradition, combines the demanding office of active clergyman with the no less exacting role of the scholar. An important source for the Arab period in Armenian history, Լեւոնդ's text begins with the death of Muhammad in 632 and continues to the death of the Catholicos Isaiah in 778, and thus forms a continuation of the historical work of Pseudo-Sebeos. A contemporary and often an eye-witness narrator of much that he describes, and a reliable reporter of information gleaned from older contemporaries, Լեւոնդ is particularly interested in the relations between the Armenian nobles and their Arab overlords, and gives valuable information upon these. Well-educated and well-read, he had a keen understanding of the situation which existed in Armenia and in the Middle East in general in his time. His chronology is accurate, his facts are found to be reliable whenever they can be verified from outside sources, and he has wisely enriched his history with copies of inscriptions, letters, and other supportive documentation. It is significant, I believe, that Western Europe offers no contemporary of Լեւոնդ whose work is of the same calibre. Reverend Arzoumanian's lucid and

readable translation, enriched by historical and textual notes which draw upon the latest Western and Soviet scholarship, is all the more valuable for the only previous translations into French (G. Chahnazarian, Paris, 1856) and Russian (K. Patkanov, St. Petersburg, 1862) are rare and, of course, obsolete. Drawing upon previous editions, unpublished manuscripts, and the earlier translations and commentaries, his work will fill a serious lacuna in the publication of the separate links which together form the chain of Armenian historical literature, a chain which has continued without serious interruption since the fifth century, and whose collective translation into English should do much to enhance the quality, not only of modern Armenian historiography, but of that of the Byzantine Empire and of the Caliphate as well.

ROBERT H. HEWSEN

ՂԵՒՈՆԴԻ ՊԱՏՄԱԳԻՐ ՀԱՅՈՑ
ԱՐԱԲԱԿԱՆ ԾՐՋԱՆԻ
Ը. ԴԱՐ
(Քննություն Բնագրի)

Վաղ միջնադարեան հայոց պատմութեան մասին Ը. դարու հայ պատմիչ Ղեւոնդ Երեցի պատմագրութիւնը իր իրաւաստուկ տեղը կը գրաւէ ժամանակակից պատմութեան մէջ: Ղեւոնդ կը պատմագրէ արաբաց Մերձատր Արեւելք եւ ի Հայաստան կատարած արշաւանքներու 156 տարուան ժամանակաշրջանի անցուդարձերը 632 թուականէն մինչեւ 788, կարեւոր մասամբ որպէս ականատես եւ ստուգապատում պատմիչ, դառնալով հետեւաբար ժամանակակից ամենէն արժեքատու հեղինակներէն մին: Է. դարու Սեբեոսի յայտնի *Պատմութիւն Ի Հերակլն*¹ երկէն ետք, անոր որպէս անմիջական յաջորդը, Ղեւոնդի *Պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ Մեծի Վարդապետի Հայոց*² երկը իր անզուգական տեղը կը գրաւէ նաեւ այն պատճառով որ ժամանակակից արաբական աղբիւրներ բոլորովին կը պակսին շրջանի արաբաց արշաւանքներու մասին, քանի որ արաբերէն պատմագրութիւնը սկսաւ աւելի ուշ, Թ. եւ Ժ. դարերուն:

Դժբախտաբար Ղեւոնդ Երեց պատմիչի կեանքի մասին նշոյլ մը անգամ կարելի չէ եղած գտնել իր երկին մէջ եւ կամ հետագայ այլ հայ պատմիչներու մօտ: Անտարակոյս որ հայ պատմիչներ աչքի առջեւ ունեցած են Ղեւոնդի գործը եւ օգտուած անկէ: Ժ. դարէն յետոյ ծաղկող հայ մատենագիրները կը վկայեն թէ արաբաց արշաւանքներու պատմագրող հեղինակը եղած է «Ղեւոնդ Երեց», ինչպէս Ստեփաննոս Տարօնեցի Ասողիկ (Ժ. դար), Սամուէլ Անեցի (ԺԲ. դար), Մխիթար Անեցի (ԺԲ. դար), Մխիթար Այրիվանեցի (ԺԳ. դար) եւ Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի (ԺԳ. դար): Յատկանշական է որ Թովմա Արծրունի (Ժ. դար) որ վստահօրէն աչքի առջեւ ունեցած է Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութիւնը եւ օգտուած հոն գտնուող Ղեւոն Գ. Իսաւրացի (717-741) Բիզանդիոնի կայսեր առ Օմար Բ. (717-720) արաբաց ամիրապետ ուղղած երկար թղթակցութենէն, չի յիշեր եւ կամ չուզեր յիշել Ղեւոնդի անունը կամ երկը:

¹ *Սեբեոսի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն*, ի ձեռն Ստ. Մալխասեանց, Երեւան, 1939:

² *Պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ Մեծի Վարդապետի Հայոց*, հրատ. Կարապետ Եգեանց, Ս. Պետերբուրգ, 1887:

Այսուհանդերձ, հակառակ տիրապետող լուծեան, Ղեւոնդի երկին մէջ երեւցող կցկտոր ակնարկներ, ականատեսի փոքրիկ վկայութիւններ, անձնական հետաքրքրութիւններ, գիտելիքներ, ծանօթութիւններ եւ կողմնորոշումներ, կուգան թելադրելու որ Ղեւոնդ եղած է համակիր Բագրատունեաց տոհմին, գրած է իր պատմագրութիւնը Ծապուն Բագրատունիի (մեռած 824 թուականին, որդի Սմբատի եւ եղբայր Աշոտ Մսակերի) խնդրանքին վրայ³, եւ ծնած հաւանօրէն 730ական թուականներուն եւ իր պատմագրութիւնը գրած 788 թուականէն ոչ աւելի ուշ, քանի որ իր ամենավերջին ակնարկութիւնը կը վերաբերի Ստեփաննոս Դվնցի Կաթողիկոսի (788-790) գահակալութեան որ տեղի ունեցաւ 788 թուին:

Թէեւ հայ բանասիրութեան մէջ Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութիւնը յաճախակի օգտագործուած է, այսուհանդերձ առանձին ուսումնասիրութիւններ եւ կամ քննական հրատարակութեամբ բնագիրն ու յարակից հարցեր, ինչպէս ձեռագրաց ուսումնասիրութիւն եւ բնագրի ինչ ինչ կէտերու ստուգում, գոհացուցիչ կերպով չեն կատարուած: Ծջղումի կարօտ հետաքրքրական օրինակ մըն է «Սմբատի որդիներու» պարագան (Ղեւոնդ գլ. ԻԱ. եւ ԻԵ.) որոնք սովորաբար նոյնացուած են Դաւիթ եւ Գրիգոր Մամիկոնեան եղբայրներու հետ: Հայ բանասիրութեան մէջ Ղեւոնդի անորոշ ակնարկութեանց հետեւանքով ընդունուած է որ Մամիկոնեան եղբայրները, Դաւիթ եւ Գրիգոր, որդիներն էին մի ոմն Սմբատ Մամիկոնեանի, որոնք արաբներու կապանքէն ազատ արձակուելով վերադարձան Վասպուրական եւ ապրտամբեցան Աշոտ Բագրատունի (732-748) հայ իշխանին դէմ: Մինչդեռ, ինչպէս ցոյց տուած են հայագէտներ Մարքվարտ եւ Թումանօֆ, «Սմբատի որդիները» Մամիկոնեաններ չէին, այլ նոյն ինքն Սմբատ Բիրատեան Բագրատունի (693-726) հայ իշխանի որդիները: Այս կարեւոր կէտին պիտի անդրադառնանք առանձին:

Անուանի բանասէր Հ. Ներսէս Ակինեան եղած է միակը որ յատկացուցած է մենագրութիւն մը, ինչպէս ակնարկուեցաւ վերեւ, ուր բաւականին սպասուած կը նկատէ Ղեւոնդի վերաբերեալ բոլոր հարցերը: Արդարեւ, բնագրի քննական հրատարակութիւնը եւ գոյութիւն ունեցող ձեռագրաց ուսումնասիրութիւնը, ինչպէս նաեւ ներկայ ժամանակներու հայ եւ օտարազգի բանասէր-պատմաբաններու շարք մը հետազօտութիւնները հարկ է

³Հ. Ն. Ակինեան, *Մատենագրական Հետազօտութիւններ (Ղեւոնդ Երէց Պատմագիր, Ղեւոնդ Երէց եւ Մովսէս Խորենացի, Հայ Բագրատունիներու Տոհմաժայռ)* Ազգային Մատենադարան (ԾԻԷ), Վիեննա, 1930, էջ 325:

համադրել եւ պատմագիտութեան յանձնել Ղեւոնդի գործը ներկայացնող լիակատար հրատարակութիւն մը: Հայրենի բանասերներէն Յ. Մանանդեան, Ա. Տէր-Ղեւոնդեան, Վ. Վարդանեան, Խ. Մուշեղեան, Հ. Նալպանտեան, իրենց ճիւղերու հետաքրքրած չափով դիմած են Ղեւոնդի եւ քննած իր հաղորդած տեղեկութիւնները արաբական հարկային դրութեանց, դրամական շրջանառութեան, հայ-բիզանդական եւ հայ-արաբական քաղաքական կողմնորոշութեանց, Բագրատունեաց եւ Մամիկոնեանց միմեանց հանդէպ ունեցած հակազդեցութեանց վերաբերմամբ: Յայտնի աշխարհագրագէտ Ս. Երեմեան իր *Հայաստանը Ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»* ի տրջ աշխատասիրութեամբ կարելոր ուղի մը հարթած է Ղեւոնդի աշխարհագրութիւնը սկսակոյ մարզին մէջ: Օտարագոյ հայագետներ Հիւնսխման, Մարկարտ, Կոմանով եւ Հոնիցման իրենց յատուկ ուսումնասիրութեանց մէջ ընդգրկած են Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութիւնը սահմանափակ հետաքրքրութեամբ, որքան որ իրենց շօշափած նիւթերուն հետ կրնային առնչուիլ Ը. դարու հայ պատմիչին արծարծած ինչ ինչ խնդիրները:

Կարապետ Եզեան 1887 թուին Ս. Պետերբուրգի մէջ հրատարակեց Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան երկրորդ տպագրութիւնը որմէ առդին Ղեւոնդ նոր հրատարակութեան մը չէ արծանացած: Իր ընդարձակ ներածականին մէջ Եզեան կը նշէ շարք մը օգտակար գիտելիքներ նոյն երկի այլ հրատարակութեանց եւ անոնց որպէս բնագիր ծառայող ձեռագրաց մասին: Եզեանի տեղեկութիւններէն կը յայտնուի թէ Ղեւոնդի գործը չորս հրատարակութիւններ ունեցած է ցարդ: 1856ին Ֆրանսերէն թարգմանութեամբ եւ 1857ին հայերէն բնագրով, երկուքն ալ Կարապետ Վրդ. Ծահնագարեանի կողմէ ի Փարիզ: 1862ին Քերովբէ Պատկանեան Ս. Պետերբուրգի մէջ զայն կը հրատարակէ Ռուսերէն, եւ վերջապէս նոյն քաղաքին մէջ 1887ին Ստեփան Մալխասեանցի քննական բնագիրը ի լոյս կ'ընծայէ Կարապետ Եզեան:

Նոյն յտաջաբանէն կը յայտնուի նաեւ որ առաջին երկու հրատարակութեանց համար Կ. Վ. Ծահնագարեան ի ձեռին կ'ունենայ միայն մէկ ձեռագիր գոր ինքն ընդօրինակած էր այլ ձեռագրէ մը որ ի պահ կը մնար Ս. Էջմիածնի մատենադարանին մէջ, ծանօթ որպէս Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպս. Բագրատունիի ձեռագիրը: Երեւանի Մաշտոցի Անուան Մատենադարանի թիւ 3070 ձեռագիրը, գրուած ԺԷ դարուն, իրօք կը պատկանէր Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպս. Բագրատունիի համար:

ձայն Մատենադարանի Ձեռագրաց Ցուցակին⁴: Այս պարագան ատանել կը պարզուի Frederic Maclerի հայթայթած տեղեկութեամբը⁵, ըստ որում Ծահնագարեան կատարած է բնագրի ընդօրինակութիւնը 1855 թուականին, Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպիսկոպոսի ձեռագիր օրինակի վրայէն, Փարիզի Մատենադարանին խնդրանքով⁶: Ծահնագարեանի ընդօրինակած ձեռագիրը *Macler*ի ցուցակագրութեան մէջ կը կրէ 209 թիւը: Կարելոր է հետեւաբար ստուգել Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպիսկոպոսի ձեռագրին ինքնութիւնը, քանի որ Ծահնագարեանի զոյգ հրատարակութիւնները հիմնուած են այդ միակ բնագրին վրայ: Ստորեւ պիտի տանք սոյն ձեռագրի նկարագրականը իր կարգին:

F. Maclerի նոյն ցուցակին մէջ կայ նաեւ այլ ձեռագիր մը Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան որ կը կրէ 208 թիւը⁷: Սոյն ձեռագիրը կը կրէ փոքրիկ յիշատակարան մը գրիչին իսկ կողմէ, Ed. Dulaurierի, որ ընդօրինակած է զայն M. Brossetի պատկանող ձեռագիր օրինակէն Սեպտեմբեր 13-22ի ընթացքին 1851 թուականին: Dulaurier կը յայտնէ նաեւ որ Brossetի իսկ ձեռքով մնացած յիշատակարան մը, մատենանի պահպանակին վրայ, կը տեղեկացնէ թէ ձեռագիրը ընդօրինակուած էր Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպ.ի օրինակէն մի ոմն Ժան Լազարօֆի ձեռամբ, եւ թէ ձեռագիրը ԺԷ դարու գրութիւն մը եղած է:

Ուստի, այժմ նկատելի է որ ԺԷ դարուն գրուած Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան բնագիրը, որ ներկայիս Մաշտոցի Անուան Մատենադարանի թիւ 3070 ձեռագիրն է, կարելոր բնագիրներէն մին է Ղեւոնդի երկին:

Եզեան իր 1887ի հրատարակութեան մասին խօսելով կը տեղեկացնէ թէ ինք իր ձեռքին տակ ունէր սեփական բնագիր մը (ձեռագիր) որմէ սակայն կը պակսէին առաջին 12 գլուխները: Այս կարելոր թերիին պատճառով Եզեան խնդրած էր Յուսիկ Վրդ. Մովսիսեանէ որ Ս. Էջմիածնի Մատենադարանի օրինակէն ընդօրինակել տար պակսող մասը: Այժմ յայտնի է նաեւ որ Եզեանի թերի ձեռագիրը նոյնն է Երեւանի Մաշտոցի Մատենադարանին մէջ պահուող թիւ 4584 ժողովածուին հետ, գրուած Տիգրանակերտի մէջ 1668ին, որ յիրաւի նոյն թերութիւնն ունի:

⁴Ցուցակ Ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի Անուան Մատենադարանի, հատ. Բ. Երեւան (1970), Ներածական էջ 68:

⁵Frederic Macler, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arméniens et Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (1908).

⁶Անդ, Ձեռ. թիւ 209, էջ 115-116:

⁷F. Macler, Նշ. Աշխ. էջ 115:

Հետեւաբար, այժմ յայտնի կը դառնայ որ Եզեան իր 1887ի հրատարակութեանը համար Ստեփան Մալխասեանցի ձեռամբ բաղդաստել տուած է երկու բնագրեր, ըստ հետեւեալին.

- (ա) Զեռագիր թիւ 3070, ԺԷ դարու Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արքեպս. Բագրատունիի օրինակը (յետ տպագրութեան Կ. Վ. Շահնագարեանէ).
- (բ) Զեռագիր թիւ 4584, ԺԷ դարու թերի օրինակը:

Այսուհանդերձ Եզեանի հրատարակութիւնը կ'արձանագրէ կարեւոր թերութիւն մը, քանի որ հոն նկատի չէ առնուած Ղեւոնդի երկին մեզի հասած հնագոյն եւ ընտրելագոյն ձեռագիր օրինակը, գրուած ԺԳ դարուն, որ այժմ ի պահ կը մնայ Երեւանի Մաշտոցի Մատենադարանին մէջ 1902 համարին ներքեւ: Մեր ներկայ անգլերէն թարգմանութեամբ առաջին անգամն ըլլալով բաղդաստեցիք յիշեալ հնագոյն բնագիրը Եզեանի հրատարակած բնագրին հետ եւ տարբեր ընթերցումները ատելցուցիք իւրաքանչիւր էջի յատակը: ԺԳ դարու թիւ 1902 ժողովածոյի նկարագրականն ու բովանդակած յիշատակարանները առանձինն կը հրատարակենք ստորեւ:

Մասնաւոր շնորհակալութիւն պարտիմ յայտնել Մաշտոցի Անուան Մատենադարանի տնօրէն Պրոֆ. Լեւոն Խաչիկեանին որ 1976 թուին բարի եղաւ մեզ տրամադրելու յիշեալ թիւ 1902 ժողովածոյի լման ժապաւէն-պատճէնը զայն օգտագործել կարենալու համար մեր ներկայ աշխատասիրութեան ընթացքին:

ՂԵՒՈՆԴԻ ՊԱՏՄԱԳՐՈՒԹԵԱՆ ԶԵՌԱԳԻՐՆԵՐԸ

Մեր ուսումնասիրութիւնը ատելի լման դարձնելու մտօք ստորեւ կուտանք գոյութիւն ունեցող եւ մեզի ծանօթ գրչագրաց ցուցակն ու յիշատակարանները: Կրկին շնորհակալութիւն Պրոֆ. Լեւոն Խաչիկեանի, Մաշտոցեան Մատենադարանի տնօրէնին, որ հաճեցաւ մեր խնդրանքին վրայ արտագրել եւ ուղարկել Մատենադարանին մէջ պահուող Ղեւոնդի Պատմութեան եօթը ձեռագրաց յիշատակարանները:

Երեւանի Մաշտոցեան Մատենադարանին մէջ կը պահուին ընդամէնը ութը ձեռագրեր որոնցմէ մին (թիւ 4442) ընդօրինակուած է արդէն իսկ տպագրեալ բնագրէ մը: Մեզի կը մնայ ուրեմն ծանօթանալ եօթը օրինակներուն:

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

ԺԳ դար: Գրիչ՝ Սարգիս: Ստացող՝ Համազասպ Մամիկոնեան: Կազմող՝ Ծմաուն վրդ.: Թերթ՝ 315: Թուղթ: 24,4x16,4: Միասին: Բոլորգիր: Տող՝ 19-20: Պահպանակ՝ մագաղաթ 1 (մասունք), ուղղագիծ երկաթագիր: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ: Աստատ շերտագարդ կտա: Յիշատակարան գրչի՝ 130բ, 217 բ. կազմողի՝ 4ա, 293բ, 294ա (1664 թուի), 310ա (1690 թուի):

Բովանդակություն. Ղեւոնդեայ Երիցու Պատմություն Հայոց: Եւագրեայ Հարիրատրոքն վեցերորդք. յաղատք ընդդէմ բանաստեղծիցն արտաքնոցն (թերթք 131ա-184բ): Նորին Եւագրեայ թուխթ առ Մելիսէ տիկինն. զի առաքեաց առ Եւագր թէ ուր եւ զհարդ կացցէ, եւ գրեաց առ զպորձությունս իւր (թերթք 185ա-212բ): Լուծմունք զոր արարեալ է ումեմն կատարելոյ ի լեռնէն Ննէի ի խնդրոյ եղբարց (թերթք 213ա-217բ): Պատմություն Վրաց (թերթք 218ա-309բ):

(Ղեւոնդի մասն) թերթք 3բ-130բ. Պատմաբանություն Ղեւոնդեայ մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց, որ յաղագս երեւելոյն Մահմետի եւ զկնի նորին, թէ որպէս եւ կամ որով օրինակաւ տիրեցին տիեզերաց, եւս առաւել թէ Հայոց ազգիս. նախ եւ առաջին, որք եւ Ամիրըլմումնիք անուանեցան, զի զքսան ամ կալեալ զիշխանությունն, Մահմետ մեռանի. . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողություն գիղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտոց եւ ապա կատարած: (Վերջ):

Յիշատակարան

Թ. 130բ. (գրչի) «Կատարեցաւ վարդապետություն Ղեւոնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տանս Թորգոմայ, ի հրամանէ տեառն Ծապիոյ Բագրատունոյ, որ եւ ցանկացող եղեալ սորին տէր Համազասպ ի պատուատր յազգէն Մամիկոնեանց, ի հալալ արդեանց ետ հրաման ծրել փծուն գրչի Սարգ (ս)ի: Աղաչեմ յիշեցէք յողորմածն Աստուած, եւ մնա փառք յաիտեանս, ամէն»:

Թ. 217բ. «Արդ աղաչեմ զամենեսեան, որք ընթեռնոյք, լւէք եւ կամ արինակէք զմեծավաստակ ճգնատրին Եւագրեայ զհոգիաշահ հրամանքս, յիշեցէք զարժանին բարի յիշատակաց եւ զբազմաց վկայեալն ի լան զտէր Համազասպ: Թէ յիշէք զփծուն գրիչ զՍարգիս, որ եմ սովեալ ի հոգետր կերակրոց, ողորմածն Աստուած ամենեցուն ողորմեսցի յարն կարեաց, զի նմա վայելէ փառք եւ երկրպագություն այժմ եւ միշտ եւ յաիտեանս, յաիտենից, ամէն»:

Թ. 293բ-294ա. (նորոգող-կազմողի) «Պատմությունն Ղեւոնդեայ եւ գիրքս Եւագրեա եւ վերջին Պատմությունն Վրացեաց յիշատակ է Յոհաննոս Կարճաւանցւոյ, որ փոռեալ կայր, վերստին նորոգեցի եւ կազմել ետու սիրեցելոյն իմոյ Շմաւոն վարդապետի Լոնցւոյ, ի թվիս ՌԾԺԳ (1664), ի փառս Քրիստոսի, որք վայելէք յիշեացիք ի Քրիստոս»:

Թ. 310ա. (Հետագայի) «Զստացող գրոցս, որ կոչի Ղեւոնդ պատմագիր եւ Վրաց պատմագիր եւ սուրբ հօրն անապատաւորացն՝ Եւագրի բանք եւ խրատք բազում, որ եւ Վարդան վարդապետս Բաղիշեցի ստացայ ի հալալ արդեանց իմոց եւ ետու յիշատակ ի դուռն սուրբ Էջմիածնի ի փրկութիւն հոգւոյ իմոյ, որք ընթեռնուք եւ օգտիք ի սուրբ գրոյս, յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս զԲաղիշեցի Վարդան Վարդապետն եւ զԾնողսն իւր, ամէն: Ի թվին ՌԾԼԹ (1690)»:

Վերեւի յիշատակարաններէն թէեւ ձեռագրիս գրութեան ստոյգ թուականը չգիտցուիր եւ սակայն բաւարար չսփոփ յայտնի կ'ըլլայ երբ նկատի առնենք Տէր Համազասպ Մամիկոնեանի Յովհաննայ Վանոց վանահայրութեան շրջանը (1279-1311)⁸: Տէր Համազասպի վանահայրութեան յիշատակը պահած են կարգ մը արձանագրութիւններ⁹: 1664ին ձեռագիրս կը ստանայ Յովհաննէս Կարճաւանցի, նորոգել ու կազմել կուտայ զայն իր աշակերտներէն Լոնցի Շմաւոն վարդապետին, եւ յետոյ ձեռագիրս կը մնայ Ամրտոլու վանքի բանասէր Վարդան Վրդ. Բաղիշեցւոյ մօտ 1670ին որ եւ զայն Ս. Էջմիածնի Մատենադարանին կը նուիրէ 1690ին: Յայտնի է ուրեմն որ Սարգիս գրիչ օրինակած է զայն 1279-1311ի շրջանին Յովհաննայ Վանքին համար, թէ իսկ գրութեան վայրն անյայտ ըլլայ: Ըստ Հ. Ն. Ակինեանի «մեզի հասած բոլոր օրինակները ծագած են Շմաւոն Լոնցւոյ նորոգած այս ձեռագրէն, ուրեմն 1664էն յետոյ»:¹⁰

ԶԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻՒ 4584

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

1668 թ. Տիգրան(ակերտ): Գրիչ՝ Աբրահամ Երէց: Ստացող՝

⁸Հմմտ. Հ. Ն. Ակինեան, *Մատենագրական Հետազոտութիւններ*, Վիեննա, հատ. Գ. էջ 34:

⁹Հմմտ. Հ. Յ. Տաշեան, *Ժողովածոյք Առակաց Վարդանայ*, Վիեննա 1900, էջ 188-189: M. Brosset, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, III, St. Petersbourg, 1849. Յ. Քիրտեան, «Դսեղի կամ Համազասպեան Մամիկոնեաններու Տունը», *Սիոն* (1970), թ. 3-4, էջ 161-164:

¹⁰ Ակինեան, Հ. Ն. *Մատենագրական Հետազոտութիւններ*, Գ. էջ 342:

ԽՉյ Աւետիս, Ղարաղաշ Ամթեցի, ԽՉյ Սահակ: Թերթ՝ 389: Թողթ՝ 28x20: Երկսին: Նոտրգիր: Տող՝ 55: Մանրանկար՝ կիւ, լզ: Պահպանակ՝ մագաղաթ 2, ուղղագիծ երկաթագիր, Աւետարան: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ: Յիշատակարան՝ գրչի 11ա, 24ա, 35բ, 48ա, 73բ, 74ա, 129ա:

Բովանդակութիւն — Մովսէս Խորենացի, Սո. Տարօնեցի, Ար. Լաստիվերցոցի, Եւսեբիոսի Պատմթ. Եկեղեցական, Ագաթանգեղոս, Դաշանց Թողթ, Մեսրոպ Վայցոցձորեցոյ Պատմթ. Մեծին Ներսէսի, Յովհան Մամիկոնեան Պատմթ. Տարօնոյ, Փաւստոս, Եղիշէ, Օրբելեան, Պատմթ. Հացունեաց, Սոկրատայ Պատմթ., Միխայելի Ասորոյ ժամանակաց գրոյցք, Վարդան Արեւելցի, Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, Թովմայ Մեծոփեցի, Կիր. բանասիրի վարք Թովմ. Մեծոփեցոյ: Սմբատայ Սպարապետի Պատմթ.: Ի ժամանակաց գրուցից Միխ. Ասորոյ (հատուած): Ղեւոնդեայ Երիցու Պատմութիւն Հայոց:

(*Ղեւոնդի մասն*) Թ. 375ա-386բ.- (Սկզբէն թերի է) . . . առ գունդ, այլ ըմբշամարտ մարտին: Եւ յապաղէր խաքանն զխառնամխի պատերազմն. . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողութիւն գիւղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտուց եւ ապա կատարած: Կատարեցաւ վարդապետութիւն Ղեւոնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տանս Թորգոմայ, ի հրամանէ տեսուն Ծապհոյ Բագրատունոյ, ի փառս եւ ի գովեստ ամենասուրբ Երրորդութեանն, որ է օրհնեալ այժմ եւ միշտ, յաիտեանս յաիտենից, ամէն:

Յիշատակարան

Թ. 11ա (գրչի) «Ով ընթերցող սուրբ հայրապետք եւ աստուածաբան վարդապետք, յիշեսչիք ի մաքրափայլ աղօթս ձեր զստացող գրոյս զմահդասի խոճա Աւետիսն եւ զանարժան Արքահամ գրիչս տէր ողորմեախի:

Թ. 24ա. Որք հանդիպիք սմա յիշեսչիք յաղօթս ձեր զստացող գրոյս Յամթեցի մղտեսի Ղատաղաշն եւ զԾնօղսն նորա եւ մեղսաթաւալ Արքահամ զծողս եւ դուք յիշեալ լիջիք ի Քրիստոսէ, ամէն:

Թ. 35բ. . . . Մանուանդ զստացող գրոյս զմահդասի Աւետիսն եւ զծօղսն իր զԿճպօսն եւ զմայրն՝ զմահդասի Մարրն եւ զորդին զՊաղտասարն եւ դուստրն զՍառան եւ զհոգոյ որդին՝ զՍարուխանն եւ զծող գրոյս:

Թ. 48ա.Ով սրբաւեր եւ բանաստեղծ փիլիսոփայք, յորժամ օգտիք բան ինչ գրոցս այս, յիշեսչիք ի մաքրափայլ աղօթս ձեր

գտացող գրոյս գմահդասի Ղարաղաշն եւ գծող գրոյս զԱբրահամ երեցն եւ դուք յիշեալ լիջիք ի Քրիստոսէ, ամէն:

Թ. 73բ. գրեցաւ ձեռամբ Աբրահամ անարժանի ի Տիգրան քաղաքի ի մատրանին սուրբ Սարգսի ՌՃԺԷ (1668) թվին, աղաչեմ յիշել զիս եւ զծնողքն իմ զտէր Յովանէսն եւ զԹամամն, եւ դուք յիշեալ լիջիք ի Քրիստոսէ, ամէն:

Թ. 74ա. Ով դասք լուսերամից, յորժամ ընթեռնուք, յիշեսջիք ի մաքրափայլ աղօթս ձեր գմահդասի Ղարաղաշն եւ զծնողսն իր զԿնայօն, մայրն՝ գմահդասի Թունիկն եւ զկողակիցն՝ գմահդասի Մըւրըն եւ զդուստրն՝ զՍառան եւ զորդեակն իր՝ զՊաղտասարն, որ առ Աստուած փոխեցաւ եւ զհոգոց որդին՝ զՍարուխանն եւ դուք յիշեալ լիջիք ի Քրիստոսէ, ամէն:

Թ. 129ա. Զստացող տառիս զՍահակն եւ զհայրն իր զԹորոսն եւ զմայրն իր՝ գմահդասի Թանանն եւ զկողակիցն իր զՄաղթունն եւ զհոգոց որդին իր զԳիրգոր սարկաւազն, եւ զԱբրահամ գծողս յիշել ի Քրիստոս եւ դուք յիշեալ լիջիք, ամէն:»

ԶԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻԻ 3070

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

1669-1674 թթ: Վան: Գրիչ՝ Դաիթ ճնճղուկ, Գրիգոր Երեց, Վարդան Բաղիշեցի: Մտացող՝ Վարդան Բաղիշեցի: Թերթ՝ 438: Թուղթ 20, 1x15,5: Միասին, երկսին, եռասին: Նոտրգիր, բոլորգիր: Տող՝ 19-20: Մանրանկար՝ Գր. Լուսաորիչ եւ Զենոբ Գլակ 1, կիս, լգ: Պահպանակ՝ մագաղաթ 2, բոլորագիծ երկաթագիր, Աւետարան: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ: Յիշատակարան՝ գրչի 48ա, 158բ, 365բ, 391բ, հետագայի 396բ (1721 թ):

Բովանդակութիւն — Յովհան Մամիկոնեան Պատմթ. Տարօնոյ: Վասն Ս. իղոյն: Ստ. Ասողկան Պատմթ. Ժամանակաց: Արիստ. Լաստիվերցոյ վասն անցից անցելոց: Ղեւոնդայ երիցու Պատմթ. Հայոց: Պատմութ. Վրաց: Ստեբանոսի Որդոյ Յուսկան խրատ հաւատացելոց: Մխիթար Այրիվանեցոյ Պատմութիւն: Մկր. Մեծոփեցոյ Վարք Միս. Սասնեցոյ: Յաղագս Ադամայ եւ Եւայի: Ստ. Օրբելեան Վասն Մեծի նախարարութեանն Օրբելեանց: Սահակայ Արծրունոյ Թուղթ առ Մովսէս: Վարդանայ Աշխարհացոյց: Գիր օձահարի: Առաքելի Տաղ: Աշխարհացոյց լատինացոց (թրգմ. Յովհ. Անկիրացի):

(Ղեւոնդի մասն) Թ. 239բ-305բ. Պատմաբանութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց, որ յաղագս երեւելոյն Մահմետի եւ զկնի նորին, թէ որպէս եւ կամ որով օրինակաւ տերեցին տիե-

գերաց, եւս առաւել թէ Հայոց ազգիս.— Նախ եւ առաջին, որք եւ Ամիրըլմումնիք անուանեցան, զի զքսան ամ կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն Մահմետ մեռանի. . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողութիւն գիւղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտոց եւ ապա կատարած): (Ծնթ. կը յաջորդէ Սարգիս գրիչի յիշատակարանը: Տես Ձեռագիր թիւ 1902, թերթ 130բ):

Յիշատակարան

Թ. 48ա (գրչի). «Գրեցաւ սակաւ պատմութիւնս Ձենոբայ պատմագրի, ի վայելումն սրբազան ըստմունչն Վարդան վարդապետին Բաղիշեցոյն եւ յիշատակ հոգոց իւրոյ եւ ծնողաց, ձեռամբ անարժան Դաւիթ ճընճղկի: Թվ. ՌԾԺԸ (1669):

Թ. 158բ-159ա. Աղաչեմ մի անփոյթ առնէր եւ տէր հատուցէ քեզ զվարձս քո. ընդ նմին եւ ես յետինս յամենեսեան եւ քան զքնաս յանցարոս եւ անթի մեղօք ծանրաբեռնեալ եւ արժանիս մահուց եւ ոչ մի կենաց խաւարամածս ոգով Գրիգոր (ջնջուած եւ գրուած է Յօհան) գրչիս, որ չեմ յիշելոյ, աղաչեմ յիշել յաղօթս առաջի Քրիստոսի զիս եւ զԾնօղսն իմ, որպէսզի աղօթիք ձեր գոցուք ողորմութիւն ի Քրիստոսէ, եւ տէր տացէ զտրիստորն ձեզ բազումս, ամեն:

Թ. 365բ. Գրեցաւ սակաւ բանքս ի քաղաքս Վան, ընդ հովանեաւ սուրբ առաքելոցն Պետրոսի եւ Պօղոսի, ՌԾԻԳ (1674) թվինն, ձեռամբ անարժան Գրիգոր երիցո: Աղաչեմ յիշել զիս միով տէր ողորմայի, եւ Աստուած ողորմի ասել ինձ մեղատրիս:

Թ. 391բ. Յիշեալ զմեղուցեալ եւ բազմագրաւ ոգիս Վարդանայ վարդապետի Բաղիշեցոյ՝ յոյժ ողորմելոյ եւ թափառելոյ, որ սակաւ աշխատեցայ ի գրել սորա հանդերձ սրբագրութեամբ կիտի եւ տնատութեամբ, զի հեշտասցի եւ քաղցրասցի ընթերցողացոյ, բայց ես ի նեղութենէ իմմէ կոուսի եւ ժողով գրեցի, դու թէ կամիս ընդարձակեա, ով գաղափարող:

ՁԵՆԱԳԻՐ ԹԻԻ 1889

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

1675 թ. Նոր Ջուղայ: Գրիչ՝ Մարկոս, Հայրապետ: Թերթ՝ 380: Թուղթ: 24,3 x 18,5: Երկսին: Բոլորգիր, Նոտրգիր: Տող՝ 30: Մանրանկար՝ լզ: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ: Աստատ դրոշմագարդ կտաւ: Յիշատակարան՝ գրչի 114բ, 266բ:

Բովանդակութիւն— Եղիշէի Պատմութիւն Վարդանայ եւ Հայոց պատերազմին: Ի պատմութենէն Թովմ. Արծրունոյ: Ղեւոնդայ

Երիցու Պատմութիւն Հայոց: Բարսղի Մաշկետրցոյ Մեկնութիւն Մարկոսի: Մովսիս Խորենացոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց: Դաշանց թուղթ:

(Ղեւոնդի մասն) Թ. 69ա-114բ. Պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդայ մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց, որ յաղագս երեւելոյն Մահմետի եւ զկնի նորին, թէ որպէս եւ կամ որով օրինակաւ տիրեցին տիեզերաց եւս առաւել, թէ Հայոց ազգիս. . . որք եւ Ամիրըլմունիք անուանեցան, զի զքսան ամ կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն Մահմետ մեռանի . . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողութիւն գիղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտոց եւ ապա կատարած: Կատարեցան վարդապետութիւն Ղեւոնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տան Թորգոմայ, ի հրամանէ տեառն Շապիոյ Բագրատունոյ ի փառս եւ ի գովեստ ամենասուրբ երրորդութեանն, որ է օհնեալ յաիտեանս, ամէն:

Յիշատակարան

Թ. 114բ (գրչի) «Գրեցաւ ձեռամբ ամենավրէպ եւ բէյնուայ Մարկոսի բանի սպասատրի ի ՌՃԻԴ (1675) թուոց:

Թ. 266բ «Գրեցաւ եւ ասարեցաւ սուրբ գիրս ի Շաշ քաղաքն, որ կոչի Իսպահան, ի գեղն Ջուղայ, ի դրունս սուրբ Ստեփանոսին, ի հայրապետութիւն տէր Խաչատուր արի եւ քաջ վարդապետին, եւ սուտանուն Հայրապետ գրիչս յիշեա, որ զանունս միայն ունիմ եւ գործս ոչ»:

ԶԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻԻ 5501

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

1683, 1684 թթ. Բաղեշ: Գրիչ՝ Գրիգոր քհնյ. (Ա), Միքայէլ Երեց (Բ): Ստացող՝ Վարդան Բաղիշեցի: Գրիգոր վրդ.: Թերթ՝ 391: Թուղթ: 20,2x14: Երկսին: Բոլորգիր: Տող՝ 27: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ: Յիշատակարան՝ գրչի 243բ (1683 թ), 323ա, 389բ (1684 թ), հետագայի 390բ (ԺԸ դ):

Բովանդակութիւն — Ստեփաննոս Օրբելեանի Պատմթ. տանն Սիսական: Մինեաց ժբ գաւառաց հարկն: Ղեւոնդայ Երիցու Պատմութիւն Հայոց: Պատմութիւն Վրաց:

(Ղեւոնդի մասն). Թ. 247ա-323ա Ղեւոնդայ Երիցու Պատմութեան Հայոց (խիստ պակասատր) . . . որ ընդ իւրով իշխանութեամբ, զի ուր եւ իցեն առ նս հասցեն եւ վաղվաղակի հասեալք. . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողութիւն գիղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտոց եւ ապա կատարած: Կատարեցաւ վարդապետութիւն

Ղեռնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տանն Թորգոմայ ի հրամանէ տեսուն Եւսպիոյ Բագրատունոյ, որ եւ ցանկացող եղեալ սորին տէր Համազասպ ի պատուարոյ յազգէն Մամիկոնեաց:

Յիշատակարան

Թ. 243բ (գրչի) Փառք եռակի. . . Արդ գրեցաւ գիրքս այս մատեանք, որ է Կոնդակ Տաթեւոյ ձեռամբ տէր Գրիգոր անարժանիս, ի խնդրոյ վեհի եւ երանեալ տեսուն Վարդանայ վարդապետի Բաղիշեցոյ. յիշատակ բարի ինքեան եւ ծնողաց իրոց հօրն Եղիայի եւ մօրն Ղարիպին, ի թվականութեան Հայկազեան սեռի ՌՃԼԲ (1683) ամին ի քաղաքս Բաղէշ, ընդ հովանեաւ սրբոյն Յովանու Մկրտչի եւ ի հայրապետութեան տեսուն Եղիազարու կաթողիկոսի, ի վայելումն անձին իւրոյ եւ յուրախութիւն մանկանց Սիոնի: Արդ, որք հանդիպիք այսմ գրոցս, յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս զբաշ ըստ բարունապետն Վարդան, եւ Աստուած ողորմի ասացէք իւրն եւ ծնողաց իւրոց, զի կրկին Լուսաւորիչ գտաւ Հայոց, զի բազում եկեղեցիս շինեաց ի հիմանէ եւ բազում մոլորեալ մարդիկ դարձոյց ի մեղաց յաստուածգիտութիւն յորդաբովս քարոզութեամբն իւրով: Եւ բազում գիրս ետ գրել եւ գալլ հինս նորոգել զամենայն տեղեաց, եւս առաւել զԱմիրդօլու վանքս ի հիմանէ շինեաց, տներով եւ հնցներով եւ արդիւնացոյց բազում գրեանս ի սմա եւ միաբանս բազումս առաւել, քան զՏաթեւուն, որ է յոյժ պայծառ սաղմոսերգութեամբ եւ պատարագօք, զոր տէր Աստուած հաստատուն պահեցէ, եւ յայսմ ամի ձեռնարկեալ է ի գործս շինել անդս մեծամեծս վանիցքն, որ Ոխուիք ասի, զի է յոյժ անհարթ եւ անհեթեթ վիմօք լցեալ, եւ ետ վարդապետին քարակոփացն զվէմսն հատանել եւ գտեղիքն գերմակ մոխրով լնուլ եւ որմով շուրջանակի պարսպեալ ամբացոյց զգերեզմաններն եւ զազարկն: Որոյ տէր Աստուած հովանի եւ պարիսպ լիցի նմա եւ պահեցէ յամենայն արկածից չարեաց, եւ յետ աստեացս ելանելոյ ընդ երկոտասան սուրբ վարդապետացն եւ դասասաց է, լսել տացէ զերանելեւո բարբառն, թէ եկ ծառայ բարի եւ հաւատարիմ, մուտ յուրախութիւն տեսուն քո. Եւ Աստուած ձեզ յիշողացդ եւ յիշեցելոյն եւ մեզ ողորմեցի յիւր միսանգամ զալստեանն, ամէն:

Թ. 323ա. Վարդան ըստ բարունապետն ի հալալ արդեանցն ետ հրաման ծրել փծուն գրչի Միքայելի մեղաւոր երիցու: Աղաչեմ յիշեցէք յողորմածն աստուած եւ նմա փառք յաիտեանս, ամէն:

Թ. 389բ. Ըստերիւրեալ նորոգեցաւ պատմաբանութիւնս Հայկա-

կան ճեփի եւ տոհմի մականտած եւ ճշգրտագիտ երիւրմամբ լեզուակերտեալ Ղեւոնդեա երիցու գեղեցկախոս վիպասանի, նաեւ Եւագրեայ սրբոյ նրբաբանի, ընդ տսսին եւ Ջեանձիրի վրացեաց հնաճառ պատմագրողի ի Միքաէլ երիցէ, ի յաւորս ժամանակաց բազմազար եւ անպարտելի երկուց մահմետադաւան թագաւորաց Ահմատայ Եամայելականի, որ ի Կոստանդուպոլիս եւ Ծահսէֆու, որ ի յարեւելս կոչս ի Շօշ, որ եւ յԱսպահան ճանաչիւր, որք եւ բազմախոր խաղաղութիւն կալեալ ընդ միմեանս, անշաշտ, դաշամբ իբրեւ զամս Խ եւ Դ (44), զոր եւ ի յաւորս իշխանութեան Էջմիածնի հայրապետիս Եղիազարու, գրեցաւ այս գիրքս պատմութեանց յիշատակ հոգելի եւ բանիքուն ըրարունապետ Վարդանի եւ Գրիգոր վարդապետի, Աստուած գիրեանքն անասան պահէ յայսմ աշխարհիս եւ յետ աստեաց յելանելոյ ընդ երկոտասան վարդապետուն դասակից եւ պսակակից առնէ, ամէն: Ջոր եւ աղաչեմ, առ ի յազուակարսդ, որ ի սմա, յիշեալ զնուաստ Միքաէլ երէցս հանդերձ ծնողիք իմովք առ ի Քրիստոս եւ Աստուած զճեզ յիշէ յիւր միսանգամ զալըստեանն, ամէն: Թուին ՌՃԼԳ (1684):

ՁԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻԻ 3583

ՂԵՒՈՆԴ ԵՐԷՑ, ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

ԺԳ դար: Թերթ՝ 195: Թուղթ: 19,5 x14: Միասին: Նոտըրգիր: Տող՝ 26: Մանրանկար՝ կիս, լգ: Կազմ՝ կաշեպատ տախտակ դրոշմազարդ: Աստառ կապոյտ մետաքսեայ:

Թ. 5ա-94բ. Պատմաբանութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց, որ յաղագս երեւելոյն Մահմետի եւ զկնի նորին, թէ որպէս եւ կամ որով օրինակաւ տիրեցին տիեզերաց, եւս առաւել, թէ Հայոց ազգիս.- Նախ եւ առաջին որք ե(ւ) Ամիրըլմումնիք անուանեցան, զի զքսան ամ կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն Մահմետ մետանի. . .) (մինչեւ եղեւ թողութիւն գիւղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտուց եւ ապա կատարած: Կատարեցաւ վարդապետութիւն Ղեւոնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տանս Թորգոմայ ի հրամանէ տեանն Ծապհոյ Բագրատունոյ:

ՁԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻԻ 3741

ՂԵՒՈՆԴ ԵՐԷՑ, ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻԻՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1856 թ: Մոսկուա: Գրիչ՝ Ոսկան Յովհաննիսեանց Երեւանցի: Թերթ՝ 60: Թուղթ: 36 x20,5: Ծղազիր: Տող՝ 31-33: Կազմ՝ ստվարաթուղթ: Յիշատակարան՝ գրչի 1ա:

Թ. 1ա-50բ Ղեւոնդ Պատմագիր.- («ի սկզբանէ պակասին երկոտասան գլուխք. մեք այսպէս գտաք» գրիչ): . . . առ գունդ այլ ըմբշամնարտ մարտի. . .) (մինչեւ եղև թողութիւն գիւղից եւ ծառայից եւ պարտուց եւ ապա կատարած:

Կատարեցաւ վարդապետութիւն Ղեւոնդի վասն ժամանակագրաց տանն Թորգոմայ ի հրամանէ տեսոն Ծապհոյ Բագրատունոյ. փառս ի գովեստ ամենասուրբ Երրորդութեանն, որ է օրհնեալ այժմ եւ միշտ եւ յաիտեանս յաիտենից, ամէն:

Յիշատարան

Թ. 1ա (գրչի) Ոսկան Տէր Գէորգեան Յովհաննիսեանց Երեւանցի: «Յ» Յուլիսի, 1856 ամի: Ի Մոսկուա:

Վերոյիշեալ եօթ ձեռագիրներէն կան նաեւ երկու այլ ձեռագրեր, ինչպէս վերեւ մատնանշեցինք, Frederic Macler-ի Ձեռագրաց Յուցակին մէջ, եւ որոնք ի պահ կը մնան Փարիզի Ազգային Մատենադարանին մէջ:¹¹ Այդ ձեռագրերն են.-

ՁԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻՒ 209

ԺՈՂՈՎԱԾՈՒ

1855 թ.: Էջմիածին: Գրիչ՝ Կ. Վ. Ծահնագարեան: Ստացող՝ Ազգային Մատենադարան Փարիզի: Թերթ՝ 67: Թուղթ: 26,5 x 21,5: Երկսիւն: Նոտրգիր:

Բովանդակութիւն — Ղեւոնդ Երիցու Պատմութիւն Հայոց (Ը. դար): Զիվանշիրի Պատմութիւն Վրաց (Թ. դար):

(Ղեւոնդի մասին) Թ. 1ա-39բ: Histoire des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie et dans les provinces de l'Empire grec, par le prêtre Lewond (VIII siecle).

ՁԵՌԱԳԻՐ ԹԻՒ 208

ՂԵՒՈՆԴ ԵՐԻՑՈՒ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԻՒՆ ՀԱՅՈՑ

1851-1852: Գրիչ՝ Ed. Dulaurier: Թերթ՝ 143: Թուղթ: 22,5 x 17,5: Երկսիւն: Նոտրգիր:

Բովանդակութիւն — Histoire de Mahomet et des Khalifes, ses successeurs, ainsi que de leurs conquêtes dans les divers pays et

¹¹ Macler, Նշ. Աշխ. էջ 115-116:

principalement en Arménie jusque vers la fin du VIII^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, par le prêtre Lewond.

Այս երկու ձեռագրերն, ինչպէս Brosset-ի յիշատակարանն ստուգապէս կը նշէ ¹², օրինակուած են Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արք. Բագրատունոյ պատկանեալ օրինակէն, այսինքն նոյն ինքն ԺԷ դարուն Վանի մէջ գրուած գրչագրէն (թիւ 3070): Brosset կը շեշտէ թէ 'ձեռագրին նախկին պատկանելութիւնն է թէ ԺԷ. դարուն գրուած ըլլալն:

Վեներտիկի Մխիթարեաններուն մօտ կան Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան չորս այլ ձեռագրեր որոնք սակայն «անգոհացուցիչ բաներ են եւ շատ ուշ դարերու» ինչպէս կը հաստատէր հանգ. Հ. Մեսրոպ Վրդ. Ծանաշեան իր Հոկտ. 27, 1973 թ. նամակով: Սա է ցանկն Վեներտիկի ձեռագրաց.-

1. Թիւ 2390, անթուական, հաւանաբար 1700ի մէջ գրուած: Գրիչն է Տիրացու Մելքիսեդէկ: Յիշատակարան չունի: Նոտրգիր հատուած մըն է միայն եւ ոչ ամբողջական:
2. Թիւ 43: Պակասատր օրինակ մը: Յիշատակարան չունի: ԺԸ դարու օրինակութիւն մը:
3. Թիւ 300: Օրինակութիւն պակասատր:
4. Թիւ 2593: Գաղափարեալ 1836 թուին: Ո՞ր ձեռագրէն յայտնի չէ:

ԵԶՐԱԿԱՑՈՒԹԻՒՆ

Մեր ուսումնասիրութենէն կարող ենք եզրակացնել որ Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան բնագրի քննութեան համար կարելորագոյն ձեռագրերն են նախնագոյնն (ԺԳ դար) եւ ընտրելագոյնը (ԺԷ դար): Առաջինը (թիւ 1902) վերջին անգամ կազմուած է նորոգուած էր Ծմաուն Լօնեցիի ձեռամբ 1664 թուին: Ինչպէս վերեւ ըսինք ըստ Հ. Ն. Ալիմեանի «մեզի հասած բոլոր օրինակները ծագած են Ծմաուն Լօնեցոյ նորոգած այս ձեռագրէն, ուրեմն 1664-էն յետոյ»: Իրօք, վերոգրեալ բոլոր ձեռագրերն կը կրեն 1664-ին յաջորդող թուականներ: Երկրորդ ձեռագիրը (թիւ 3070) ուղղակի կապ ունի Վարդան Բաղիշեցոյ

¹² Անդ, էջ 115:

հետ, անոր գրիչներէն մին ըլլալով, ինչպէս նաեւ ձեռագրին միակ ստացողը 1669 թուին: Այս ձեռագիրը, ինչպէս վերեւ հաստատեցինք, կը պատկանէր Թիֆլիսի Կարապետ Արք. Բագրատունիի եւ ծառայած էր որպէս բնագիր Կ. Վ. Ծահնագարեանի 1857-ի հրատարակութեան, քանի որ վերջինս արտագրած էր իր օրինակը նոյն այդ ձեռագրէն: Ծատ հաւանական է Վարդան Վրդ. Բաղիշեցոյ հմայքին ու անունին հետ առնչել արտագրումը ԺԷ դարու (թիւ 3070) ձեռագրին որ կատարուած պէտք է ըլլայ Ծմաւոն Լոնցոյ նորոգած ԺԳ դարու (այժմ թիւ 1902) ձեռագրէն, քանի որ վերջինս տակաւին կը մնար Ամբրտուոյ վանքին մէջ եւ Վարդան Բաղիշեցոյ հսկողութեանը ներքեւ: Վարդան զայն Ս. Էջմիածնի նուիրեց միայն 1690 թուին (ՌՃԼԹ): Տես վերեւ, Յիշատակարան Ձեռագրի թիւ 1902: Նաեւ, երկու ձեռագրաց հաճգունութիւնն յայտնի կը դառնայ Սարգիս գրիչի յիշատակարանէն որ կրկնուած է ԺԷ դարու ձեռագրին մէջ, յիշատակարաններէն առաջ, ճիշդ այնպէս ինչպէս կ'երեւի ԺԳ դարու ձեռագրի վերջատրութեան:

Մնացեալ չորս ձեռագիրներէն երկուքը թերի օրինակներ են, մին Բաղեշի մէջ օրինակուած 1683-84 թուականներուն (թիւ 5501), ապահովաբար վերեւի երկու ընտիր օրինակներէն միոյն վրայէն, եւ միւսը Մոսկուայի մէջ գրուած 1856 թուին (թիւ 3741), շատ հաւանաբար սկիզբի երկոտասան գլուխներով թերի գրչագրի մը վրայէն, (ըստ երեւոյթին 1668 թուին ի Տիգրանակերտ գրուած եւ այժմ թիւ 4584 օրինակի հետեւողութեամբ), քանի որ երկրորդն նոյն թերութիւնն ունին:

Կը մնան երկու գրչագիրք. Նոր Ջուղայի 1675 թուին գրուածն (թիւ 1889) եւ ԺԸ. դարու գրուածն (թիւ 3583), երկուքըն ալ լման բնագրերով: Վերջնոյս տեղն անյայտ է եւ յիշատակարան չունի: Մեր կարծիքն այն է որ այս երկու ձեռագրերն եւս ծագած են հնագոյն ԺԳ դարու ձեռագրէն եւ հետեւաբար որոշ առաւելութիւն մը չեն ցուցներ անոր վրայ: Այսուհանդերձ, Ղեւոնդի պատմագրութեան գիտական հրատարակութիւնն կարելի է լիակատար եւ քննական նկատել բաղդատելէ ետք այս երկու ձեռագրերն եւս:

Երուսաղէմի Ս. Յակոբեանց վանուց Ձեռագրատան մէջ ցարդ կարելի չէ եղած գտնել Ղեւոնդի բնագրէն օրինակ մը, ինչպէս կը հաստատեն Նորայր Արք. Պօղարեանն ու Michael Stone, համաձայն վերջնոյս գրած Նոյեմ. 12, 1973 թ. նամակին: Նոյնն կարելի է ըսել Վիեննայի Միխիթարեանց Ձեռագրատան համար, հիմնուելով Հ. Յ. Տաշեանի 1895-ին հրատարակեալ *Յուցակ Հայերէն Ձեռագրաց*-ին վրայ:

ԶԱԻԷՆ Ծ. Վ. ԱՐՁՈՒՄԱՆԵԱՆ

HISTORY OF THE ARMENIANS

By LEWOND THE PRIEST
INTRODUCTION

HISTORICITY

The Arab invasions of Palestine and Syria in the thirties of the seventh century and their rapid expansion through Mesopotamia into Armenia a decade later, are reported by the leading Armenian historian of the 8th century, Lewond the Priest. Lewond's *History of the Armenians* presents primarily the Arab domination of Armenia during the entire 8th century when Armenia was incorporated in a viceroyalty under the Arab caliphate and under the name of *Arminiya*, consisting of three Caucasian bordering countries: Armenia, Georgia and Albania. *Arminiya* remained subject to the Arab caliphate through the end of the 9th century with its capital Dvin from 653, and Dvin and Partaw (Barda'a) simultaneously after 788.

Lewond's *History* was last published in 1887 at St. Petersburg as *Պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ Մեծի Վարդապետի Հայրնոց (History of Lewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians)*. It is for the first time that Lewond's *History* is translated and published in English. The present English edition of the text in its entirety is based on the St. Petersburg edition of 1887. The book in its 1887 edition contains 42 chapters covering a period of 156 years, from 632 to 788, and can be considered to be divided into two if we indeed recognize Lewond as the eyewitness author for the narration covering the second half of the 8th century, particularly the events connected with the second insurrection of the Armenian *nakharars* against the Arab governors during 774-775. Lewond has also narrated with certain dependability the first similar revolt twenty-five years earlier during 747-750. The first part of Lewond's *History* is but a summary of events reported by Sebeos, his predecessor, and by oral transmission received by Lewond. The last event recorded by Lewond refers to the election of Catholicos Step'annos of Dvin (788-790) as Patriarch of the Armenians, taken place in 788.

Lewond then is the immediate successor of Sebeos, the 7th century Armenian historian, whose *History of Heraclius*¹ ends with the accession of Mu'awiya as the first caliph of the Umayyad

¹*Սեբեոսի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն (History of Bishop Sebeos)* S. Malkhaseants' ed. (Erevan, 1939). *Պատմութիւն Սեբեոսի Եպիսկոպոսի ի Հերակլոսի (History of Heraclius by Bishop Sebeos)* Th. Mihrdateants' ed. (Constantinople, 1851).

dynasty in 661. Լեւոնդ knows Sebeos since he duplicates the latter's information covering some twenty-five year period (635-660), about the first Arab caliphs, their first invasions of Palestine, Syria and Armenia, with the capture of the capital of Armenia Dvin in 640. Լեւոնդ does not mention any of his sources which, beside Sebeos, included the Armenian version of the Bible, the 7th century *Armenian Geography* (Աշխարհացոյց)¹, at first ascribed to Moses Khorenats'i but later more safely to Anania Shirakats'i, and possibly some Greek historical documents. Above all, Լեւոնդ is safely to be considered as an eye-witness author who, as he claims, "heard from veracious people" (ch. 9) and "from the enemy itself" (ch. 34) concerning the events he was about to relate. We know absolutely nothing about Լեւոնդ himself. The little we can deduce from his work is still inadequate, but it can serve as valid indication for the time he lived in, experienced the misery of his country and where he wrote his *History* as an eyewitness.

One curious incident in chapter nine concerning the appeal of Catholicos Sahak III Dzorap'orets'i (677-703) to the Arab governor of *Arminiya* Muhammad Ibn Merwan, just before the pontiff's death in Harran, Mesopotamia in 703, provides us a little clue as to how Լեւոնդ had heard about the incident. He says: "as we heard from veracious people"². Լեւոնդ is thus reminiscing the first-hand words he had heard as a young man of about 20 from aged eyewitnesses. The year 703 thus may serve as a clue to the approximate year of Լեւոնդ's birth, i.e. 730-735. Լեւոնդ wrote his *History* not earlier than 790, possibly at the age of 55 or 60, since he mentions Catholicos Step'annos' election in the year 788 as the very last item of his work.³

If Լեւոնդ does not acknowledge the classical Armenian historians, his predecessors, the medieval Armenian historians, on the other hand, mention Լեւոնդ's name and the title of his work quite consistently. Stephen Taronets'i Asolik, the 10th century author of

¹Eremyan, S. Հայաստանն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»ի (*Armenia According to the "Armenian Geography"*), Erevan, 1963.

²*History of Լեւոնդ, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians*, K. Ezean ed. (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 30.

³*Ibid.* p. 170.

the *Universal History*, knows Լեւոն and places his work between Sebeos and Shapuh Bagratuni, and identifies it as the “History of Լեւոն the Priest, concerning the advent of the Arabs and the events of Armenia caused by their tyranny.”¹

Samuel Anets’i of the 12th century gives only Լեւոն’s name and places him between Sebeos (7th century) and Shapuh Bagratuni (9th century): “and on Heraclius by bishop Sebeos, and [the histories] of Լեւոն the priest and of Shapuh.”² A 13th century historian, Mkhit’ar Ayrivanets’i, places Լեւոն’s name between Movses Kalankatuats’i (7th century) and Ukhtanes (10th century).³ Kirakos Gandzakets’i knows Լեւոն and his work with its longer title: “and the history of Լեւոն the priest, as to what Muhammad and his successors did in the entire world, particularly against the Armenian people.”⁴ Stephen Orbelean, a 13th century historian, reveals that Լեւոն included in his *History* a *gahnamak* (list) of the Armenian princes: “[We found] it this way in the *gahnamak* (list) of the Armenian princes which Լեւոն wrote.”⁵ Such list is not found in the present text of Լեւոն, a case which has led scholars think that certain chapters from the beginning of Լեւոն’s *History* are missing.⁶ Certain MSS in the Matenadaran of Erevan have preserved Լեւոն’s name as a historian. MS No. 2271 (fols. 213a-214a) and MS No. 2220 (fols. 291b-293a) tell us about “Լեւոն’s History which is the history of the lawless and wicked nation”. MS No. 126 (fols. 255b-256a) includes “Լեւոն who tells fully about the advent of Muhammad”. See H. S. Anasyan, *Հայկական Մատենագիտություն [Armenian Bibliography V-XVIIIc.]*, vol. I (Erevan, 1959), pp. LIV, LI.

¹Stephen Taronets’i Asolik *Պատմություն Տիեզերական (Universal History)* (St. Petersburg, 1885), p. 7.

²Samuel Anets’i, *Հատարման ի Գրոց Պատմագրաց (Collection of Historical Writings)* (Valarshapat, 1893).

³Lazikean, A. *Նոր Մատենագիտություն (New Bibliography)* (Venice, 1909-1912), p. 1649.

⁴Kirakos Gandzakets’i, *Պատմություն Հայոց (Armenian History)*, Melik’-Okanjanyan ed. (Erevan, 1961), p. 7.

⁵Step’annos Orbelean, *Histoire de la Siounie*, M. Brosset tr. (St. Petersburg, 1864), ch. VII, p. 15.

⁶Cf. L. Alishan, *Հայաստան (Armeniaca)*, I, p. 180f. A. Ter-Լեւոնյան, *Հայ Մշակույթի Նշանավոր Գործիչները (The Famous Leaders of the Armenian Culture)* (Erevan, 1976), p. 143.

Orbelean seems to be the last medieval historian to have knowledge of Լեւոնդ's *History*, since Mik'ael Ch'amch'ean, the 18th century historian, who should have known and used Լեւոնդ's work for his three-volume *Armenian History*, has not even mentioned Լեւոնդ's name in his comprehensive work.¹ This important void between Orbelean and Ch'amch'ean may suggest that Լեւոնդ's text was 'hidden' for over 600 years until 1851, when for the first time Edouard Dulaurier copied the text from M. Brosset's copy of Լեւոնդ's *History* which, according to Brosset's colophon, was written in the 17th century and which belonged to archbishop Karapet Bagratuni of Tiflis.² The latter is presently identified as No. 3070 of the Erevan Matenadaran, written in Van during 1669-1674.³ In 1835 both L. Inchichean and the authors of the *Haykazean bararan (Haykazean Dictionary)* of the classical Armenian have quoted Լեւոնդ selectively. M. Brosset used Լեւոնդ's *History* in 1849 and included passages from it in his *Histoire de la Georgie*.

EDITIONS

The last edition of 1887 by Karapet Ezean was based on one published (1857) and two manuscript texts.⁴ The apparatus criticus of this edition is done by S. Malkhasean and is enriched with valuable notes taken from the editions of both Chahnazarian (1857) and Patkanean (1862). Prior to Ezean's edition the *History* of Լեւոնդ was published three times.

¹Ch'amch'ean, M. *Պատմութիւն Հայոց (Armenian History)*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1784-1786).

²M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pp. 247, 252, Additions, pp. 136f. Cf. Macler, F. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arméniens et Géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris (1908), pp. 115-116.

³Տոյցակ Զեռագրաց Մաշտոցի Մատենադարանի (*Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Mashtots' Matenadaran*), Levon Khatch'ikyan and A. Mnats'akanyan edd. (Erevan, 1970), p. 68 (Introduction).

⁴Լեւոնդ, *History*, ed. Ezean, p. lxx.

a) French translation by Garabed V. Chahnazarian, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, par l'éminent Ghevond Vartabed arménien, écrivain du huitième siècle, traduite par Garabed V. Chahnazarian, et enrichie de notes nombreuses. Paris (1856).

b) Armenian edition by Garabed V. Chahnazarian, *Արշաւանք Արարաց ի Հալս, արարեալ Ղեւոնդ Վարդապետի Հայոց (Invasions of the Arabs into Armenia, by Lewond vartapet of the Armenians)*, Paris (1857). This edition contains important annotations which Chahnazarian translated from his French edition.

c) Russian translation of Lewond's *History* by K'ero vbe Patkanecan, St. Petersburg (1862), from the Armenian edition of 1857.

MANUSCRIPTS

From Ezean's introduction we understand that G. Chahnazarian had based his two consecutive editions of Lewond's *History* on one manuscript text which he had copied from the original kept in the Etchmiadzin Library at the time.¹ This information is supported by Frederic Macler's evidence, according to which, Chahnazarian copied his text in 1855 from a manuscript which belonged to archbishop Karapet Bagratuni of Tiflis, upon the request of the Bibliotheque Imperiale de Paris. The text copied by Chahnazarian is catalogued under No. 209 in Macler's *Catalogue*². It is obvious then that the 17th century text of Lewond's *History*, which is identified as part of No. 3070 Collection of the Matenadaran, is one of the important texts of Lewond.

¹*Ibid.* p. 1xx.

²Frederic Macler, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arméniens et Géorgiens de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris (1908), pp. 115-116. Macler has included in his *Catalogue* another manuscript of Lewond's *History* (No. 208), copied by Edouard Dulaurier during September 13-22, 1851. Dulaurier had used M. Brosset's original which contained a colophon by Brosset indicating the provenance of the original text which was, in turn, used by Brosset. According to the colophon the original text of the *History* was written in the 17th century and belonged to archbishop Karapet Bagratuni of Tiflis.

Ezean does not give enough information about the manuscript that he owned and which he used for his edition of 1887. He simply adds that “[of which manuscript] some complete description is given in the Introduction of the *History* of Asolik on pages 33-38.”¹ He mentions, however, that his own manuscript lacked the first twelve chapters of Լեւոնի *History*, i.e. up to page 43 in his edition, for which reason he had asked Yusik vardapet Movsesian of Etchmiadzin to copy the missing part from another text which was kept in the Library of Etchmiadzin.² Furthermore, Ezean’s own manuscript is now identified with the Collection No. 4584 of the Matenadaran, written in Tigranakert in 1668, since the latter lacks the first twelve chapters of Լեւոնի *History*.³

Ezean concludes by stating that his edition was prepared by Step’an Malkhaseants’ with the different readings of “these manuscripts”, which I take as Ezean’s own manuscript and the one that Yusik Movsesian copied the missing chapters from, and with the first Armenian edition of 1857 by G. Chahnazarian. There is, however, an older copy, the most important of the existing eight manuscripts, of which neither Chahnazarian nor Ezean had knowledge. That is the 13th century text, the oldest available and thus the most dependable one, which is now catalogued in the Matenadaran of Erevan under No. 1902. It is for the first time that the different readings of this manuscript are incorporated in my present translation of Լեւոնի *History*. I am indebted to Prof. Levon Khach’ikyan, Director of the Mashtots’ Matenadaran of Erevan, for making the microfilm of No. 1902 Collection available to me, as well as

¹Ezean, *Op. Cit.* p. 1xxx.

²*Ibid.*

³*Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Mashtots’ Matenadaran*, II, p. 74 lists the MSS received during 1910-1915, among them, the Collection No. 4584 which includes the *History of the Armenians* by Լեւոնի the Priest. Cf. also Elishe, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, E. Ter-Minasyan ed., Erevan (1957), pp. XL-XLII; Kirakos of Gandzak, *Armenian History* Melik-Ohanjanyan ed., Erevan (1961), p. CI; Aristakēs of Lastivert, *History*, G. Yuzbashyan ed., Erevan (1963), p. 13.

for the different colophons of the six remaining manuscripts which he copied and sent to me. All colophons of the seven manuscripts treasured in the Matenadaran are published in the Armenian Introduction of the present edition of *Լեւոնդ*.

Altogether eight MSS, containing the *History* of *Լեւոնդ*, are listed in the two-volume *Catalogue* of the Mashtots' Matenadaran. Of these one (No. 4442) cannot be considered since it is a copied collection of an already printed material. Of the remaining seven, MS No. 5501 is catalogued in volume II of the *Catalogue*, and the rest are found in volume I. No texts of *Լեւոնդ*'s *History* are found in the Mekhit'arist Library of Vienna.¹ The catalogues of the manuscripts of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem by archbishop Norair Bogharian published to date do not contain any of *Լեւոնդ*'s texts.² In the Library of the Mekhit'arist Monastery of Venice there are four manuscript texts of *Լեւոնդ*'s *History* which, however, are "unsatisfactory and are copies of much later centuries", as stated by the late Father Mesrob Djanashian.³ Three of these MSS are defective, and none of them contain any colophons. The fourth is the most recent one, written in 1836.⁴

It becomes clear then, that the seven extant MSS of the Matenadaran of Erevan should be given special attention. Chronologically they are as follows:⁵

¹Cf. Dashian, J. *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna (1895-1896). *Լեւոնդ*'s name as historian is mentioned in the Dashian's *Catalog* as follows: MS No. 65 (p. 290), MS No. 124 (p. 408), MS No. 169 (p. 483).

²Bogharian, N. *Մայր Ցուցակ Ձեռագրաց Սրբոց Յակոբեանց*[*Catalogue of the Manuscripts of St. James Monastery*], 6 vols. Jerusalem (1966-1971). A letter dated November 12, 1973 by Michael Stone of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem states: [Bishop Bogharian] has not yet read all of the 'miscellanies' among the as yet uncatalogued manuscripts and there is a chance that there might be a copy of the work [of *Լեւոնդ*] in one of them."

³Letter dated October 27, 1973.

⁴The MSS in Venice are catalogued as follows: Nos. 2390, 43, 300, 2593.

⁵For complete description of all MSS and their colophons see above in the Armenian Introduction of the present edition.

1. 13th century, No. 1902. A Collection containing the complete text of Լեւոն's *History* with four colophons. The scribe is Sargis. The colophons provide the following details: No date; most probably written during 1279-1311. *Ter* (Lord) Hamazasp Mamikonian, whose name appears in the colophon (f. 130b) as the sponsor of the book, was then the Abbot of Yovhanna Vank', a monastery near Ashtarak.¹ In 1664 the MS was received by Yovhannes Karchavanets'i and later, in 1670, Yovhannes gave it to Vardan Balishets'i. Vardan, in turn, donated the manuscript to Etchmiadzin in 1690. From the third colophon (f. 293b-294a) we learn that the book was repaired in 1664 by Shmavon Lorets'i. According to Nerses Akinian "the rest of the manuscript texts that have reached us are copied from the one repaired by Shmavon Lorets'i, that is after 1664".²
2. 1668, No. 4584. A Collection which contains the incomplete text of Լեւոն's *History*. The first twelve chapters are missing. The scribe is Abraham Erets'. The place of writing is Tigranakert. It contains seven brief colophons.
3. 1669-1674, No. 3070. A Collection containing a complete text of Լեւոն's *History*. The scribes are David Chnchluk, Grigor Erets', and Vardan Balishets'i. The place of writing is Van. It contains five colophons the first of which belongs to scribe Sargis and is identical to the original. Cf. MS No. 1902. According to the last colophon (f. 391b) the Collection was partially written and received by Vardan Balishets'i in 1669. As indicated above, the Collection later belonged to archbishop Karapet Bagratuni of Tiflis.³
4. 1675, No. 1889. A Collection which contains the complete text of Լեւոն's *History*. The scribes are Markos and Hayrapet. The place of writing is Nor Jula, and contains two brief colophons (f. 114b, 266b).⁴

¹Cf. Dashian, Y. *Ժողովածոյք Առակաց Վարդանայի (Collections of the Proverbs of Vardan)*, Vienna (1900), pp. 188-189. M. Brosset, *Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, III, St. Petersburg (1849). K'iwrtcan, Y. "Dselj kam Hamazaspian Mamikoneanneru tune", *Sion* (1970), No. 3-4, pp. 161-164.

²Akinian, N. *Մատենագրական Հետազոտութիւններ, (Studies in Historiography)*, III, Vienna (1930) p. 39.

³For archbishop Karapet Bagratuni of Tiflis see *Etchmiadzin* (1979), No. 4, pp. 42-49.

⁴Cf. Movses Khorenats'i, *Պատմութիւն Հայոց, (History of the Armenians)*, M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean edd., Tiflis (1913), p. XIV.

5. 1683-1684. No. 5501. A Collection containing a most incomplete text of Լեւոն's *History*. The scribes are Grigor K'ahanay and Mik'ayel Erets'. The place of writing is Balesh (Bitlis) and contains four colophons (243b, 323a, 389b, 390b), the first of which, dated 1683, praises Vardan vardapet Balishets'i (d. 1704) as the founder of the monastery and the library of Amrtol in Bitlis.

6. 18th century, No. 3583. A complete text of Լեւոն's *History*. No details.

7. 1856, No. 3741. An incomplete text of Լեւոն's *History*. The first twelve chapters are missing. The scribe is Oskan Yovhannis-eants' Erevants'i. The place of writing is Moscow and contains a brief colophon by the scribe dated July 3, 1856.

The aforementioned list shows that the last six texts of the *History* were written after 1664, the date of reparation of the 13th century Collection (No. 1902) by Shmavon Lorets'i, and that the latter served as an "original" for the rest.

DEPENDABILITY

Լեւոն's authenticity and dependability have hardly been challenged, and his *History* has consistently been recognized as an eighth century historiography.¹ There is no doubt that Լեւոն emerges as a contemporary historian with his direct contacts, his knowledge of the minute details pertaining to geography, military conditions, and the consistent and complete list of the twenty-four Arab governors of *Arminiya*, beginning with Muhammad Ibn Merwan, with correct duration of the reign of each by years and months.

¹Cf. L. Alishan, Հայապատմութիւն (Armeniaca), I, p. 180f. H. Manandyan, Բնական Տեսութիւն Հայ ժողովրդի Պատմութեան (Critical History) II, i (1957) p. 300, II, ii (1960), p. 59. Abelyan, M. Հայոց Հին Գրականութեան Պատմութիւն (History of Ancient Armenian Literature) I (1944). Akinian, N. Մատենագրական Հետազոտութիւններ (Լեւոն MH Studies in Historiography) III, pp. 3, 11. Ter-Լեւոնդյան, A. "Լեւոն" Հայ Մշակույթի Նշանաւոր Գործիչները 5-18 դ. (The Famous Leaders of the Armenian Culture 5-18th c.) (1976), pp. 142 f. The second part of Akinian's monograph in the above mentioned volume (MH, III, pp. 127-291) is devoted to a rather controversial and obviously "exaggerated" issue, as he himself observes, in an attempt of identifying Լեւոն the Priest (8th c.) with Movses Khorenats'i (5th c.). Akinian's extensive arguments culminate in the following conclusions: (a) The author of the two historiographies is one and the same person called Լեւոն or Movses. (b) Լեւոն was a contemporary author and an authentic historian of his time, whose name was preserved on his work as "Լեւոն the Priest". (c) The author of the "Lamentation" found at the end of Movses Khorenats'i's *History* is Լեւոն who wrote it for his own *History* as an epilogue to follow chapter 33. (d) the *Armenian History* of Movses Khorenats'i (*Pseudo-Movses Khorenats'i*) was written by Լեւոն the Priest during 790 and 810, and not c. 480. Consequently, the name of Movses Khorenats'i does not represent a historical person. Cf. Akinian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 288-291.

Լեւոնդ is also consistent in the sequence of the Arab caliphs, both the Umayyads and the Abbasids, with their respective years and months. For the duration of Caliph al-Walid's reign, for example, Լեւոնդ has correctly reported "ten years and eight months" (705-715).¹

That Լեւոնդ indeed lived and wrote his *History* during the latter part of the 8th century, can be demonstrated also by at least two succeeding authors, Thomas Artsruni and Stephen Taronets'i Asolik, who are the Armenian historians of the latter part of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries. While the former does not mention his source at any point, the latter recognizes Լեւոնդ by name and by the longer title of his work, and yet both of them quote Լեւոնդ verbatim.² The following examples show how closely our two later historians have read and used Լեւոնդ who, obviously, must have written his *History* before Thomas Artsruni (c. 980) and Stephen Asolik (c.990). It is worth noting that Thomas and Stephen reproduce, almost word-for-word, Լեւոնդ's account of Caliph Yazid's (720-724) iconoclasm and the massacre of the pigs.

¹Լեւոնդ, *History*, ed. Ezean, p. 31.

²Cf. Stephen Taronets'i Asolik, *Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական Universal History* (1885), pp. 365, n. 93; 367f., n. 96.

Lewond (p. 42)
(ed. Ezean, 1887)

Ջսա ասն ազնուականագոյն քան զամենայն արս ազգատոհմիմ իւրոյ: Գրէ թուղթ առ Ղեւոն կայսր հոռոմոց յաղագս ուսանելոյ զգօրութիւն հաւատոյս մերոյ:

Lewond (pp. 99-100)

Յոյժ պատկառանօք ամաչեաց զամօք մեծ: Եւ ի ձեռին այսր թղթոյ առաւել եւս յաւելոյր . . . զբարեմտութիւն առ ազգս Քրիստոնէից. եւ ամենայն ուստեք բարեացապարտ գինքն ցուցանէր:

Գերեաց գերեզարձ առնէր եւ ամենեցուն շնորհէր զյանցանս նոցա ձրի թողութեամբ. ցուցանէր եւ առ իւրային ազգն մտերմութիւն լաւագոյն քան զառաջինսն. . . .

քանզի զմթերս զանձուցն բացեալ բաշխէր հոռոգ սպայիցն:

[Եզիտ] ուն տիրեալ ամս զ, որ էր այր ժանտ. եւ մոլեկանութեամբ շարժեցեալ բազում չարեօք մարտնչէր ընդ ազգիս Քրիստոնէից . . . տայր հրաման փշրել եւ խորտակել զկենդանագրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութեան Տեառն մերոյ եւ Փրկչին եւ նորին աշակերտացն: Խորտակէր եւ զնշան տէրունական խաչին Քրիստոսի զոր ուրեք ուրեք կանգնեալ էին. . . քանզի յոյժ ստիպէր զնա մոլորութիւն այսոյն. . . Տայր հրաման խոզասպանութեան եւ ջնջէր յերկրէ զբազմութիւն . . . արօտական խոզիցն . . . եւ ի կատարումն եկեալ . . . խեղճամահ սատակէր ի րոնութեան այսոյն:

Շամ որ է Հեշմ ամս ժթ:

Thomas Artsruni (pp. 116-117)

Ունառ որդի Արդլագիգա ամս երեք: Սա ազնուագոյն եղեալ քան զամենեսին. գրէ թուղթ հաւատոց առ Ղեւոն կայսր յունաց, եւ ընկալեալ ի նմանէ պատասխանիս, բազում ինչ ի կուրամէ անտի իւրեանց արտաքս ընկեց գոյժ առասպելագոյնն, քանզի ստուգապէս ծանեալ զգօրութիւնն, քեպէտ եւ ոչ համարձակեաց զամենայն բառնալ, այլ յոյժ պատկառանօք ամաչեցեալ լիա ի ստութեանէ անտի որ յամոլիմանցաւ ի թղթոյ կայսերն, եւ ի ձեռն այսորիկ ցուցանէր բարեմտութիւն մեծ առ ազգս Քրիստոնէից. եւ ամենայն ուրեք բարեացապարտ գինքն ցուցանէր. գերեաց գերեզարձ արար, եւ ամենեցուն շնորհէր զյանցանս, եւ ձրի թողութիւն առնէր. եւ առ իւր ազգն ցուցանէր մտերմութիւնս, առաւել քան զամենայն առաջինս: Եւ բացեալ զմթերս զանձուցն բաշխէր առատապէս ամենեցուն իւրոց սպայիցն:

Յեզիտ ամս վեց. սա էր այր ժանտ եւ մոլեկան հոգւով շարժեցեալ բազում չարիւք մարտնչէր ընդ ազգն Քրիստոնէիցն. տայր հրաման փշրել եւ խորտակել զկենդանագրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութեան Փրկչին եւ նորին աշակերտաց: Խորտակէր եւ զնշան տէրունական խաչին զոր ուրեք ուրեք կանգնեալ լինէին. քանզի յոյժ ստիպէր զնա հոգին մոլեկան: Տայր հրաման եւ խոզասպանութեան, եւ ջնջէր յերկրէ զբազմութիւն արօտական խոզիցն: Եւ ի կատարումն ամենայն շարեաց հասեալ ինքն խեղճեալ ի դիւն սատակեցաւ: Շամ որեհեշմ ամս ինն եւ տասն:³²

³² Thomas Artsruni, Պատմութիւն Տանն Արծրունաց (History of the House of Artsrunik'), Constantinople (1852).

Lewond (pp. 20-21)

Ձի երթեալ գունդ մի անօրինաց օթեւանել ի յարկս նորա, եւ յարուցեալ ի գիշերի՝ զծառայ մի զիւրեանց խեղդամահ արարիմ եւ ընկեցիք ի փորափիտ մի, եւ ընդ լուսանալ . . . յոյգ արկեալ գտին:

Lewond (pp 35-37)

Նւ փոխանակ նորա առաքէ զԱրդ Ազիզ ոմն, որ էր խօթ լսելեօք . . . Շինէր վերստին զքաղաքն Դուին հզօրագոյն եւ ընդարձականիստ մեծութեամբ քան զառաջինն . . . զի ասէր . . . եթէ «ի ձեռն իմ եղեւ կործանումն քաղաքին, եւ ես կանգնեցից զսա. զի էի ես, ասէ, մանուկ երկոտասանամեայ եւ ունէի սփածանելիս կարմիր: Եւ յորժամ զօրն Տանկաց մարտնչէր ընդ քաղաքիս՝ մտի ես ընդ խողովակ մի եւ ելի ի պարիսպն, եւ ի քարքառ իմ ի ձայն ուժգին աղաղակեցի առ զօրն մեր, անդէմ վաղվաղակի թօթափեցան պայտիկքն նախամարտիկք, որք պահելիմ զպարիսպն եւ ի փախուստ դարձան:»

Lewond (pp. 40-41)

Սա (Սոււլէյման) յերկրորդ ամի իշխանութեան իւրոյ գումարէր զօրս բազումսն եւ տայր ի ձեռն զօրավարին Մսլիմայ եւ առաքէր ի դրուսն Կասպից: Որոց եկեալ եւ մարտ եղեալ ընդ զօրս Հոնաց որ ի Դարբանդ քաղաքի՝ հարիմ գնուս եւ հալածեցին . . . եւ մինչդեռ քանդէին զպարիսպ ամրոցիմ գտին վէճ մի մեծ ի հիմունս նորա, որ ունէր վերագիր դրոշմեալ օրինակ գայս. «Մարկիանոս ինքնակալ կայսր շինեաց զքաղաք եւ զաշտարակս զայս բազում տաղանդօք իւրոց գանձուց. եւ ի յետին ժամանակս որդիքն իսմայէլի քանդեցեն զսա եւ յիւրեանց գանձուց վերստին շինեցեն:»

Lewond (pp. 99-100)

[Նզիտ] չարժեցեալ բազում չարբօժ մարտնչէր ընդ ազգիս Քրիստոնէից. Բանգի . . . տայր հրաման փշրել եւ խորտակել զկենդանազրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութեան տեառն մերոյ եւ փրկչիմ եւ նորին աշակերտացն: Որտակէր եւ զնշան տէրուեան խաչին Քրիստոսի, զոր ուրեք ուրեք կանգնեալ էին յամուս ի պատճառս երկրպագութեան համագոյ. Երրորդութեանն . . . եւ տայր հրաման խոզասպանութեան եւ ջնջէր յերկրէ . . . եւ այնպէս խեղդամահ սատակէր ի բռնութենէ այսոյն:

Asolik (p. 123)

Նւ երթեալ գունդ մի անօրինաց օթեւանել ի յարկս նորա, եւ ի գիշերին խեղդեալ ծառայ մի զիմեանց եւ ընկեցեալ ի փորափիտ մի՝ եւ ընդ լուսանալն յոյգ արարեալ գտին զծառայն:

Asolik (pp. 125-126)

Իսկ փոխանակ Մահմետի առաքէ Վլիք զԱրդազիզ ոմն, որ էր խօթ լսելեօք, որ խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս Հայոց եւ շինեաց զքաղաքն զԴուին հզօրագոյն եւ եւս արձականիստ մեծութեամբ քան զառաջինն: Ձի ասէր. «ի ձեռն իմ եղեւ կործանումն քաղաքիս, եւ ես կանգնեցից զսա. զի էի ես, ասէ, մանուկ ժրամեայ եւ ունէի սփածանելի կարմիր. եւ յորժամ մարտնչէր զօրն Իսմայէլի ընդ քաղաքս՝ մտի ես ընդ խողովակ մի եւ ելի ի պարիսպն եւ ի ձայն ուժգին աղաղակեցի առ զօրսն մեր. եւ թօթափեցան ամենայն պայտիկք նախամարտուացն ի պարսպէն:»

Asolik (p. 127)

Սա (Սուլէյման) յերկրորդ ամի իշխանութեան իւրոյ գումարէր զօրս ի ձեռն Մսլիմայ որ եկեալ ի Դարբանդ քաղաք՝ հանիմ զզօրսն Հոնաց եւ հալածեցին: Եւ մինչդեռ քանդէին զպարիսպն՝ գտին վէճ ի հիմունսն, յորում կայր գրեալ.

«Մարկիանոս ինքնակալ կայսր շինեաց զքաղաքս եւ զաշտարակս զայս բազում տաղանդօք յիւրոց գանձուցին: Եւ ի յետին ժամանակս որդիքն իսմայէլի քանդեցեն զսա եւ յիւրեանց գանձուցն վերստին շինեցեն:»

Asolik (pp. 127-128)

Սա [Նզիտ] չարժեալ յայսոյն չարութենէ մարտնչէր ընդ ազգիս Քրիստոնէից. տայր հրաման փշրել զկենդանազրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութեան Տեառն եւ նորին աշակերտացն, խորտակէր եւ զնշան տէրուեանակս խաչին Քրիստոսի, զոր ուրեք ուրեք կանգնեալ էր ի պատճառս երկրպագութեան համագոյ Երրորդութեանն, եւ ապա հրամայէր զխոզս սպանանել եւ ջնջել յերկրէ: Եւ իմքն խեղդամահ սատակէր ի բռնութենէ այսոյն:³³

³³ Stephen Taronets'i Asolik, Պատմութիւն Տիգրիակայն (*Universal History*) St. Petersburg (1885).

Եւ յղարկ էալ ցտին ի խոր ափտին յոր ընկեցէալն
է ինն. և նոյն ժամ այն բաղ այս ստոր թեկարկա
տեալ ի վերանկալան զամենէսն ի փոքուէ մինչ
և ի մեծամեծսն եղին ի բանդի. և գրեցին ճրով
արտակառարի նսարբ ուն մաճ մետ. և թեզայս
և զայս գործեցին ընդ մեզ արդորպիսի մաճ ու
ամբկորու սցոջ. Որ յլու էալ զայս ըստ կամ
ացիւրէանց դատել զնոսա. և զինչ սեկեղեցի
ոյն վտարել յաւարի. Էւ ընկալ էալ զահաճացն
զճրամանն ան իրար, զմիմեամբ էլ անէին կա
տարի զճրամանն չար ի հեանց սատանաի. ԺԴ
որ ի սկզբանէ մարդասպանէ ընկ ճշմարտու
թէն ոչէկաց որպէս ի տէ ուսաբ. Էւ ածէալ
զոն արտաբս ի բանդէն տոռամբ քկադանաց.
նախ ծայրակոտորառնէ ին զոտս և զձեռան.
և ադա զփայտէ կախ էալ բառնա ին սկէնդան
որ թինոցա : Ըր ընդ որ առանց արտասու
աց բերիցէ զանհնարին աղէտան որ ժամանէ
այն ոցա. զի սորբէ կեցին ի սր թնաց էալ ի բար
է կարդ ու թէնէ բեմին. Եւ թէս ճայն ան ին

CHARACTERISTICS

Some of the characteristics of Լեւոնդ's *History* represent the author's contribution as a historian in matters of policies between the Arabs and the Armenians, such as, taxation policy, distribution of payments to the Armenian cavalry, the rights of the Armenian *nakharars* (nobles) and those of the landholding aristocracy under "word of oath in writing" on the part of the Arab governor of *Arminiya*.

In chapter 4 Lewond informs that Mu'awiya, the first Umayyad caliph in Damascus, "imposed tax on Armenia in the amount of 500 *dahekan* to be paid in one year".¹ *Dahekan* was the silver coin which corresponded to the gold *dinarion* of 'Abd al-Malik some twenty years later. This tax was stipulated, according to Sebeos, in the 653 truce between Mu'awiya and Theodoros Rshtuni, Prince of Armenia.² According to Լեւոնդ even this nominal tax the Armenians "ceased to pay", indicating that the Arabs had no solid taxation policy in Armenia during the second half of the 7th century. Again, "during the civil war among the Arabs", Լեւոնդ says, "the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians ceased to pay tribute, having served the Arabs for thirty years".³ This is the first allusion of Լեւոնդ to the fact that the three Caucasian states were about to constitute one viceroyalty of the caliphate under the name of *Arminiya* with Dvin as its capital. Furthermore, the period of "thirty years" given by Լեւոնդ is a valuable piece of information since it designates the period between the Theodoros-Mu'awiya treaty of 653 and the beginning of the insurrection of the Armenians against the Arabs in 682. Al-Baladhuri, the 9th century Arab historian, concurs with Լեւոնդ's data concerning the Armenian revolt in his book *Futuh al-Buldan*. He says: "During the insurrection of Ibn az-Zubair, Armenia arose and its nobles with their followers threw off their allegiance."⁴

¹Լեւոնդ, *History*, ed. Ezean, p. 14.

²Sebeos, *Սեբեոսի Եպիսկոպոսի Պատմութիւն (History of Bishop Sebeos)*, Erevan (1939), pp. 140-141.

³Լեւոնդ, *History*, p. 15.

⁴Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, Philip K. Hitti tr., Beirut (1966), p. 322.

In chapter 17 Լեւոնդ states: “In the first year of Caliph Hisham’s rule (724), [the caliph] sent a certain general Harith to make a census in the land of Armenia in order to increase the oppressive yoke of tributary obligations by means of diverse malice”.¹ Upon this Ashot Bagratuni, Prince of Armenia (732-748), went to Damascus and upon his confirmation in the Autumn of 732, presented himself before Caliph Hisham and petitioned for the lightening of his country’s heavy burden.² In chapter 21 Լեւոնդ furnishes us with an important information in revealing that Ashot complained also that for three years the official maintenance on the basis of 100,000 *dahekan* (silver) given to the Armenian cavalry had been withheld. The caliph orders that the three years in arrears be paid to Ashot on the same basis for each year.³ This annual subsidy further indicates that during the first half of the 8th century, next to the Prince of Armenia, the position of a *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) also existed.

Prior to this adjustment for the allowance made by the caliphate toward the Armenian cavalry, in chapter 10, Lewond alludes to the Arab custom of keeping a list of the Armenian princes and paying them in the year 705. Speaking of al-Kasim, the Arab commander of Nakhjawan, whose name is unknown to the Arab historiography, Լեւոնդ reports that al-Kasim invited the Armenian *nakharars* to come to him with their cavalry under the pretext of including them in the official register and to distribute them payments.⁴ Upon their arrival, however, they were all put in the churches of Nakhjawan and Khram and were destroyed by fire. Լեւոնդ’s information about the Arabs taking over the custom of keeping a list of the Armenian princes is interesting, since we know from our 5th century historian Elishe that the distribution of subsidies to the Armenian nobles was originally the custom of the Sasanians.⁵ The Arabs,

¹Lewond, *History*, pp. 100-101.

²*Ibid.* p. 113.

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.* pp. 32-33.

⁵Elishe, Եղիշէի Վասն Վարդանայ եւ Հայոց Պատերազմին (*History of Vardan and the Armenian War*), E. Ter-Minasyan ed., Erevan (1957), pp. 85, 196, 199.

therefore, inherited it from the Persians.

It is important to note Լեւոնդ's account about the poll tax the way he specifies it in chapter 33: “*est glkhoy arants*” (“according to each man”), imposed on the Armenians during Abu Dja'far al-Mansur's caliphate (754-775).¹ This obviously implied the *jizya* as against the *kharraj*. According to Abu Yusuf's *Kitab al-Kharraj (Book of Taxes)*, the male *dhimmis*, the non-Muslims who were the followers of the protected religions between the ages 15-60, were liable to the poll tax.²

In two different instances Լեւոնդ reveals the “written word of oath” of the Arab governors of Armenia, regarding the territorial guarantee of the landholding aristocracy: “*zzharangut'iwn harts'n*” (“the inheritance of the fathers”), meaning the inherited lands, during the Umayyad period.³ Following the burial of Catholicos Sahak III in 703, the Armenians “secured word of oath in writing from the commander of the Arabs.” Subsequently, Muhammad Ibn Merwan gave the Armenian *nakharars* an oath in writing which promised peace and security for the next three years. “Word of oath in writing according to their custom” was also given by Abd ul-Aziz, the governor of *Arminiya*, to the Armenian nobles who had fled from Armenia and found refuge in Lazika, Greek territory, for six years, until 711. According to Ter-Լեւոնդյան, Abd ul-Aziz was thus guaranteeing the legal status of the Armenian cavalry of 15,000 horsemen with its corresponding annual subsidy of 100,000 *dinarii*.⁴

Obviously the Abbasid caliphs ignored the Umayyad “custom” of such “written oath”, a case which endangered and jeopardized the rights of the territorial ownership of the Armenian nobles, resulting in the revolt of 774-775. Worst of all, the defeated Armenian rebels were punished by losing altogether their inherited lands:

¹Լեւոնդ, *History*, pp. 135f.

²Cf. Melik-Bakhshyan, Հարկերն ու Հարկային Քաղաքականութիւնը Հայաստանում (Taxes and Taxation Policy in Armenia during 7 - 9 centuries)”, *BEH* (1967), No. 1, p. 102.

³Լեւոնդ, *History*, pp. 31, 35f., 143.

⁴Cf. Ter-Լեւոնդյան, Ա., Հայ Նախարարների Հողատիրական Իրաւունքները (The Territorial Rights of the Armenian *nakharars*)”, *PBH* (1974), No. 4, p. 29.

the Mamikoneank' and the Kamsarakank' faded away, and their lands were inhabited by Arab tribes towards the end of the 8th century. Lewond, an ardent Bagratuni, who wrote his *History* on the request of Shapuh Bagratuni¹, (died in 824) is most cautious and puts words of warning in Ashot Bagratuni's mouth, pleading the Armenian rebels to refrain from such fatal revolt against the Arabs, because the immediate price of it would be the permanent loss of their inherited lands.²

Lewond is the first Armenian historian to use a date according to the Armenian era (calendar) which began in 552 A.D. In chapter 40 Lewond gives the first and the only date as such, namely, the year 233 according to the Armenian calendar, which corresponds to the year 784 A.D. (233 + 551) as the year of the execution of the two Artsruni brothers, Sahak and Hamazasp, by the orders of Caliph al-Hadi Musa "on the day of the Nativity and Epiphany of Christ."³ The Armenian date follows the names of Caliph al-Hadi Musa (785-786), and Khuzaima, governor of *Arminiya*.

DOCUMENTS

Lewond's *History* is enriched with certain documents the shortest of which is the most historical. In chapter 12 Maslama, son of Caliph Abd al-Malik and the commander of the Arab army, while waging war against the Huns in 717, found in Darband a stone with an inscription saying that Emperor Marcianus (450-457) had built the fortified city of Darband which was located on the shores of the Caspian Sea. The inscription reads: "The autocrat Emperor Marcianus built the city and the tower with ample funds from his own treasury."⁴ According to Sebeos and al-Baladhuri, Khosrov Anushirvan, king of Sasanid Persia, fortified Darband during 558-561.⁵ This is an indication that both the Greeks and the Persians were in-

¹Lewond, *History*, colophon, p. 170.

²*Ibid.* pp. 143-144.

³*Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴*Ibid.* p. 41.

⁵Cf. Sebeos, *Պատմութիւն Սեբէրեանի ի Հերակլիս* (*History of Sebeos on Heraclius*), Constantinople (1851), p. 51. Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, p. 306.

terested in fortifying the city of Darband as a strategic point. So did the Arabs, according to Lewond, who stopped their assault against the city immediately, and reconstructed the fallen walls at once.¹

Chapters 13 and 14 of Lewond's *History* are occupied by the lengthy correspondence between Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II (717-720) and Greek Emperor Leo III Isaurian (717-741). Leo's much too long and tedious polemical answer to 'Umar's questions comprise chapter 14 (pp. 45-98) and equals to one-third of the entire *History*. Leo must have written it before 720, the date of 'Umar's death. If so, it will thus be earlier than any known Byzantine tractate on the controversy of Christianity and Islam. A thorough study of both letters with an English translation from Lewond's text (1887) is rendered by Arthur Jeffery in the *Harvard Theological Review*.²

Even if of obscure origin, the letters of 'Umar and Leo are historically feasible, given the religious zeal of the two potentates and the references made in favor of their writing by Greek and Syrian historians. Referring to 'Umar II, the Byzantine chronographer Theophanes (d. 818) says: "[Umar] also sent a theological epistle to the Emperor Leo, thinking that he might persuade him to accept Islam." Writing in the middle of the 10th century, the Syrian writer Mahbub, bishop of Manbij, known also as Agapius, knows of 'Umar's letter attacking the Christian religion and calling on Leo to become a Muslim. He also knows that the Emperor replied to it demonstrating the truth of Christianity from the Scriptures.³

Neither 'Umar's letter nor Leo's answer have reached us in their original Arabic and Greek. Also no Muslim source available to us makes any mention of the letters. It is only Lewond, our 8th century Armenian historian, or better yet, another translator of the

¹Lewond, *History*, p. 41.

²"Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence Between Umar II and Leo III", *HTR*, 37, (1944), pp. 269-332. French translation by Chahnazarian, G. in *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes*, Paris (1856), pp. 40ff.

³Theophanes (d. 818), *Chronographia*, ed. de Boore (1883), I p. 399. Mahbub, bishop of Manbij, known also Agapius, *Kitab al-'Unwan*, ed. A. Vasiliev in *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII, 3, Paris (1912), p. 503.

text of the correspondence into Armenian, who has inserted the letters in their proper places throughout the *History*, and has preserved them in their entirety. The attention of three Armenian historians was focused on Լեւոն's account who have also verified that Leo actually answered to 'Umar's letter. Thomas Artsruni (c. 980) says: "[Umar] wrote a religious letter to Emperor Leo of the Greeks, and having received an answer from him, he ordered many deletions from the Qur'an, because he recognized the true power of the [Christian] faith."¹ Kirakos of Gandzak (d. 1271) includes in his *History* the account about the correspondence of 'Umar and Leo independently from Thomas. Both Thomas and Kirakos are dependent on Լեւոն as their source, particularly the latter who has included Լեւոն's name and the longer title of Լեւոն's *History*.² Finally, Vardan Arewelts'i (d. 1271), in his *Universal History*, mentions 'Umar's enquiry as to the seventy-two sects of the Christians and quotes from Leo's reply.³

It seems, therefore, that there can be no *a priori* ground for rejecting the possibility of such an exchange of letters between 'Umar II and Leo III.⁴ The Greek original of Leo's letter being lost, a short Latin version, one-sixth the length of the Armenian version, was published in 1501 by Symphorianus Champerius, who had translated it from the Syriac ("Chaldean") original under this title: *Leonis cognomento philosophi, imperatoris, Constantinopolitani, ad Omarum Saracenorum regem de fidei Christianae ac mysteriis et de variis Saracenorum haeresibus et blasphemis epistola, Symphoriano Champerio Lugdunensi ex Chaldaica in linguam Latinam interprete*. Lugduni, 1501. This obviously reveals a Graeco-Chaldean genealogy of the text which later appeared twice in Latin in re-

¹Thomas Artsruni, Պատմութիւն Տաւնն Արծրունեաց (*History of the House of Artsrunik*), Constantinople (1852), p. 116.

²Kirakos of Gandzak, Պատմութիւն Հայոց (*History of Armenia*), ed. K. A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (1961), pp. 7, 66.

³Vardan Arewelts'i, Պատմութիւն Տիեզերական (*Universal History*), in Muylberman's *La Domination arabe en Arménie*, Paris (1927), pp. 52-53.

⁴Cf. Jeffery tr. *HTR*, pp. 270f.

print form from 1501 edition¹ always with the wrong addressee, namely, Emperor Leo VI (886-912) the Philosopher, because of the designation "Leonis cognomento philosophi" found in the title.

By "Chaldean" Champerius must mean Syriac or Aramaic which, in turn, was a translation from the Greek original, assuming that an emperor would write in Greek and not in an unofficial language, like the Chaldean. If we should give credence to a note left by Champerius in his other work, entitled *De triplici disciplina*,² printed in Lyons (1509), the assumption of a Greek original for the Latin version of Leo's correspondence finds more support, because the note indicates linguistic transition from the Greek into Chaldean. It reads: *Epistola Lenis imperatoris ad Amarum regem saracenorum directa. Translata est hec epistola de greco in caldeum sermonem.*

According to A. Jeffery, a comparison of the Latin with the Armenian version found in *Lewond* makes it clear "that it is not possible to regard the Latin as an abbreviation of the Armenian, nor to look on the Armenian as an expansion and amplification of the Latin."³ Based upon the vocabulary of the Armenian text there could be no doubt that the author is not Lewond the historian, and that it is a translation from the Greek. It would be an oversimplification to agree with A. Ter-Lewondyan who agrees with Akinian that Lewond had probably been in Constantinople where he became familiar with the Greek text of Leo's letter.⁴ Neither is it feasible to regard the text, as we have it, written actually by the statesmen involved. Akinian assumes that during the course of the 8th century "a certain Christian" familiar with the tradition that 'Umar II and Leo III had exchanged religious polemics between

¹Cf. *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. XVII, Lyons (1677), pp. 44-47. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 107, pp. 315-324. A.—Th. Khoury gives a discussion of the problems connected with the correspondence with a synopsis of the contents of the Latin text. Cf. *Les théologiens byzantins et l'islam*, Paris-Louvain (1969), pp. 200-218.

²Cf. Symphorien Champier, *Le Triumphe du tres chrétien Roy de France Loys XII*. Texte établi, annoté et commenté par Giovanna Trisolini, (Rome, 1977), p. 5. For Champerius' biography cf. p. 5 and note 1.

³A. Jeffery, *HTR*, p. 274.

⁴A. Ter-Lewondyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 142.

them, found it necessary to compile a manual in defence of Christianity.¹ The truth of the matter lies in the fact that historically it was feasible that Caliph ‘Umar II should introduce the religion of the Qur’an to Emperor Leo III, and that the latter should defend Christianity with ample quotations from the Scriptures. As indicated above, historians have attested to this assumption. And the fact that the text preserved in *Leuond* is the most ancient, complete and genuine version available, leaves little doubt that ‘Umar and Leo were indeed involved in a religious “confrontation”, the expression of which was later preserved, via oral transmission and eventually through translation, in the Armenian version found in *Leuond*. One can hardly deny the existence of a Greek original or a Syriac version between the oral transmission and the Armenian version which was written at least one hundred years later than the actual controversy of the two potentates.

It is important to note the Scriptural citations, numerous indeed, in the text of Leo’s response found in *Leuond*. It is quite obvious that the citations show direct dependence on the wording of the Armenian version of the Bible which, in turn, is known to be a true translation of the Greek Septuagint. Certain passages in *Leuond* show that the author of the text of Leo’s letter has used the Armenian version of the Bible. Although the similarities of the citations to the Septuagint syntax are due to the ultimate connections of the Armenian version with the Greek Septuagint, the Armenian author, while translating the original document, has used his own Armenian version for his citations. Examples:

(Job 1:21-22) *Leuond*, p. 47:

«Մերկ եկի յորովայնէ մօր իմոյ, եւ մերկանդամ դառնամ անդրէն. Տէր ետ, եւ տէր էաւ. եղիցի անուն տեսան օրհնեալ»:

Armenian:

«Մերկ իսկ եկի ես յորովայնէ մօր իմոյ, եւ մերկանդամ դարձայց անդրէն. Տէր ետ եւ Տէր աւ. . . եղիցի անուն Տեսան օրհնեալ»:

(Genesis 49:10) *Leuond*, p. 50:

«Յուդայ, ի քէն ելցէ ինձ լինել իշխան եւ պետ յերանաց նորա մինչեւ եկեսցեն նմա հանդերձեալքն. եւ նա է ակնկալութիւն հերթանոսաց»:

¹N. Akinian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 83f.

Armenian:

«Մի պակասեցէ իշխան ի Յորդայ, եւ մի պետ յերանաց նորա. մինչեւ եկեացեն նմա հանդերձեալքն եւ նա է ակնկալութիւն հեթանոսաց»:

The first part of Jacob's blessing in *Lewond* is distorted since it does not correspond neither with the Armenian nor the Septuagint. The latter part, however, follows the Armenian version word for word.

(Psalm 110:1,3) *Lewond*, p. 70:

«Ընդ քեզ է սկիզբն զօրութեան պայծառութիւն սրբոց քոց. յարգանդէ յառաջ քան զարուեսակ ծնայ զքեզ»:

Armenian:

«Ընդ քեզ է սկիզբն աւորց զօրութեան, ի վայելչութիւն սրբոց քոց յարգանդէ յառաջ զարուեսակ ծնայ զքեզ»:

There is a direct dependence here also on the Armenian version.

In examining the text of Leo's correspondence J. Meyendorff argues in favor of the authenticity of this document from the standpoint of the first iconoclastic emperor Leo III, who is the author of the letter.¹ Meyendorff detects the precedence of Leo's letter over the controversy itself which thus provides valuable evidence on the Emperor's views about icon veneration at this early stage. The document in *Lewond* states: "We honor the cross because of the sufferings of the Word of God incarnate. . . as for picture, we do not give them a like respect, not having received in Holy Scriptures any commandment whatsoever in this regard. . . But as for the wood and the colors, we do not give them any reverence."²

Meyendorff believes that this text clearly reflects a state of mind which was predominant at the court of Constantinople in the years which preceded the iconoclastic decree of 726. The images are still a part of the official imperial orthodoxy, but Leo does not attach them anything more than an educational significance. The edict of 726 was merely the next and decisive stage of the iconoclastic development. If this is the case, the correspondence between Leo III and 'Umar II becomes an interesting historical phenomenon both in the gradual emergence of the issues of the icon worship and in the question of the text's authenticity. There is even a parallel reference in *Lewond's History* to the first recorded edict against the Christian

¹Cf. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Washington, D.C. (1964), 18.

²*Lewond, History*, ed. Ezean, pp. 89-91.

cult of icons, promulgated in the Arab caliphate, on the eve of the iconoclast movement. We read in chapter 16 that in 723 Caliph Yazid II (720-724) “gave orders to smash the icon of the true incarnation of our Lord and Savior and his disciples. He also broke the standard of the dominical cross of Christ which was erected in various places for the purpose of worshipping the consubstantial Trinity.”¹

Z. ARZUMANIAN

¹*Ibid.* p. 100.

HISTORY OF LEWOND THE EMINENT VARDAPET OF THE ARMENIANS^a

[1]

Muhammad¹ died after twenty years of reign, and the first [Caliphs], his successors, were called *Amir al-Mu'mnin*². In the eleventh year of reign of the god-crowned and pious king Heraclius of the Greeks³, Muhammad was succeeded by Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman⁴, for a period of thirty-eight years⁵. As long as the god-crowned Heraclius was living, [the Arabs] were unable to spread their raids over Palestine, since the well-known fame of his bravery was dominant and had frightened them. [Heraclius] reigned over Palestine and Syria until his death⁶.

And when the son of Heraclius⁷ succeeded his father as king, the Lord agitated the spirit of the wicked men and used them for revenge against those Christians who had committed sin before our Lord God. So, they [the Arabs] began to assemble troops to invade the territory of Constantine—Palestine and Syria⁸—for they had the support of the commandment of their Lawgiver, the sower of the darnel, saying: “Invade the lands, conquer them with your own hands, for the fertility of the earth is befitting to us. Eat the flesh of the chosen of the earth and drink the blood of the mighty.” The Jews, being both their [the Arabs'] leaders and their instigators, would go among the troops of Madiam, saying: “unto Abraham has God promised the inhabitants of the earth to be in service, and we are the heirs and sons of the Patriarch. On account of our wicked behavior God became indignant and took the power of the kingdom away from us, and gave us into slavery. You are also descendants of Abraham and sons of the Patriarch. Come and join us, and save us from servitude to the king of the Greeks, and let us hold our principality together.”⁹ When they [the Arabs] heard these words, they were encouraged to march over Palestine.

When the king of the Greeks¹⁰ was aware of this, he sent word to [his] commander in Palestine, saying: “I heard that the Saracens have risen against Palestine and Syria to attack them. So assemble your troops, fight against them and stop them from advancing, so that they may not invade our land and bring sword and slaughter to

^aՄ Պատմաբանութիւն Ղեւոնդեայ մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց, որ յաղագս երեւելոյն Մահմետի, եւ զկնի նորին, թէ որպէս եւ կամ որով օրինակաւ տիրեցին տիեզերաց, եւս ստաւել թէ Հայոց ազգիս. (*History of Lewond, the Eminent vardapei of the Armenians, about the appearance of Muhammad and his successors, as to how or in what manner they ruled the world, and especially our Armenian nation.*)

it. Arm your forces and be ready.” [The commander], having received the imperial order, sent word to the generals under his command to reach him from wherever they were stationed. As they arrived all at once, they comprised a large army and pursued the marauder who, in increasing power, was coming upon them. [The two regiments] confronted each other at the Rock of Arabia¹¹, where [the Greeks] noticed the troops of Madiam with a great multitude of men, and the numerous camels and horses like swarms of locusts. And, due to their great ignorance, the Greeks separated their forces from their supplies, leaving them many *vtawank*^a (stadia)¹² apart. They even left their horses in the fields and, although armed, they nevertheless went to fight against them [the Saracens] on foot. But they were exhausted from the weight of their heavy weapons and, due to the heat of the sun and the arid rocks and sand, they fell into the hands of the enemy.

[The Arabs], on the other hand, having rested for a while, directed their cavalry unexpectedly and attacked the Greek troops, causing heavy casualties. They then persecuted the remaining fugitives and went among the Greek army, killing many. Those horsemen who fled the assault went back to their country.

The Ismaelites, thus enriched by the pillage of the treasures of the Greeks, and having plundered those who were massacred, returned to their country full of joy. Thereafter, they reigned over Palestine and Syria, imposing taxes on the land and on the churches of the holy city of Jerusalem¹³. Consequently, Palestine and Syria ceased to pay tribute to the Greek emperor, since the Greek forces were no longer capable of resisting Ismael. Ismael was already ruling over Palestine.

[2]^b

In another year¹ [the Arabs] started to become arrogant towards the king of the Persians, even to the point of assembling a large army which moved against the Persian king whose name was Yezdegerd and who was the grandson of Khosrov². Yezdegerd gathered his own forces and declared war against them, but was unable to resist³. His troops were defeated and slaughtered [by the Arabs]; so was he, the king himself. Thereafter, the kingdom of Persia fell after 481 years of rule⁴. The Ismaelites pillaged the land

^aCorresponds to the Greek measure of length of 606.75 feet.

bM adds Յաղագս ասպատակելոյ Իսմայէլի յաշխարհս Հայոց եւ հարկանելոյ զգօրսն Հայոց (*About Ismael invading our land of Armenia and attacking the troops of the Armenians.*)

and took the royal treasures back to their country.

Now the larger regiment of the [Arab] army detached itself from the main unit and invaded Armenia from the Persian frontier⁵. They captured the towns of Mark⁶, took the districts of Golt'n⁷ and the *dastakert*^a (appanage) of Nakhjawan⁸, slaughtered much of the male population, and captured the rest, together with the women and children, making them cross the River Eraskh (Araxes) through the strait of Juḷa⁹. Divided into two, one unit of the army took its captives to their country, and the other regiment conquered the district of Artaz¹⁰ and attacked the Greek general Procopius¹¹ who was stationed in the district of Kogovit¹², near the frontiers of Bazudzor and Marduts'ayk¹³. Prince Theodoros of the house of Ṛshtunik¹⁴, being aware of this assault, warned general Procopius that "the army of the Ismaeli brigand has risen and is ready to attack us."

But [Procopius], trusting in the number of forces rather than in God who alone ordains success in war, despised the words of the prince of the Armenians, who deeply regretted both the fall of Armenia and the indolence of the general and, impatient, doubled and tripled his warning^b to him. [Procopius] became so angry at the prince that he threw the scepter which he held in his hand at him. At this Theodoros became indignant and stayed away from him. He then charged the army that was under his command with these words: "Arm yourselves and attack the Ismaelites." The army, then, riding on their horses, kept watch over the hill known as Elbark¹⁵ and, blocking the entrance to the gorges, killed many of them, pillaged the fallen, left the commander, and proceeded to the district of Garni¹⁶. Subsequently, Procopius ordered his forces to attack the enemies. The Arab forces, however, rushed and struck the larger part of the Greek army and those who fled were captured in their barracks, while [the Arabs] returned to their camp^c and rested. It was assumed that the Greek forces numbered over sixty thousand men, and those of the Ismaelites less than ten thousand. The following day [the Arabs] gathered their plunder and withdrew to their country.

This [event] occurred in the twenty-second year¹⁷ of reign of the Arab caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman, who ceased attacking our land of Armenia for three years. However, in the twenty-sixth year of their reign¹⁸, they assaulted Armenia again with larger forces.

^aM գղաստակերտսն (the appanages).

^bM զբանսն. (the warnings).

^cM բանակս. (camps).

In the second year of reign of the Greek emperor Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius¹, Prince Theodoros was warned that the marauder was preparing to invade our country. [Theodoros] soon gathered his forces and was willing to hold the gorges leading to Dzora². He was unable to precede the enemy, for it was attacking in such a way, flying swiftly like winged serpents as it were, so as to prevent the advance of the Armenian troops which were left behind. Consequently, [the Arabs] advanced to the capital of Dvin³ which they found destitute of warriors, since all had followed Prince Theodoros. It was inhabited only by women, children, and other defenseless multitudes. They besieged the city and captured the fortress, killing whatever men they found and carrying 35,000 women and children into captivity.

Now who is there to worthily lament over the misery of the calamities? Indeed, the danger everywhere was horrifying. Sacred churches, unfitting for the pagans to enter, now lay destroyed in ruins, trodden under the profane feet of infidels. Priests, together with deacons and worshipers, were slaughtered by the insolent and merciless enemies. Many dainty ladies, unaccustomed to tribulation, were beaten with whips and dragged to the public places only to scream out laments for the unexpected agony. Still, the multitude in general, trapped with their sons and daughters in the same peril, were expressing sighs and groans. They knew not who to lament more, those slaughtered by the infidel sword, or those sons and daughters seized for the purpose of alienating them from their faith in Christ, and from their spiritual and divine glorifications. Others, though lamenting over the pile of abandoned bodies, soaked in blood, were unable to gather those corpses and bury them. Thus it was fitting the prophetic lamentations, saying: "O God, the heathen have come into thy inheritance; they have defiled thy holy temple. . . They have given the bodies of thy servants to the birds of the air for food, the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the earth. . . and there was no one to bury them." ^a

All these misfortunes befell us like the catastrophes of the Jews in the past, which now we are facing with in like manner.

When the troops of the Armenians, together with the *nakh-rars*⁴ (nobles) and the prince, became aware of the approach of the violent marauder toward them, they felt unable to attack the enemy as their warriors had given up every hope. Though they realized

^aPsalm 79:1-3.

that their women and children had been carried off into captivity, [the Armenian troops] were incapable of resisting them [the Arabs], due to their diminishing number. Instead, they grieved over their women and children with wails and lamentations while the captives were being taken to the country of the Syrians by the Hagars⁵. [The Hagars] ceased to invade our land of Armenia for the next ten years⁶.

Following this event, in the thirty-sixth year of their reign⁷, [the Arabs] assembled their troops and attacked Armenia once again under the leadership of ‘Uthman and Oqba. As they reached the borders of Armenia, they divided themselves into three fronts and made their assaults. One division proceeded toward the country of Vaspurakan⁸ and took possession of the towns and fortresses as far as the city of Nakhjawan⁹, while the other unit went to the region of Taron¹⁰. The third division reached Kogovi^{a11} and besieged the fortress^b of Artsap¹². Discovering the entrance to the fort and finding the guards asleep, they went through it secretly at night, occupied the fortress, and handcuffed those men who were inside. Then, in complete negligence, they began to mix with women in the most detestable and obscene manner. God, however, who sees everything, became compassionate and did not ignore those who, here on earth, believed in His name, but sent Prince Theodoros in revenge for the malice that they [the Arabs] had committed. [Theodoros], like an eagle swooping down, arrived swiftly with six hundred armed men, attacked the marauder, killing about three thousand of the enemy men, and released those handcuffed. They, furthermore, persecuted the remnant of the enemy, rescued the captives and, taking the booty and the pillage of the enemy, returned with joy, praising God who indeed wanted revenge from their enemy. The other aforementioned forces, in turn, rescued their captives and went to Syria, taking some plunder with them. There was no fighting for the next two years¹³.

Abu Bakr, ‘Uthman, and ‘Umar, the caliphs of the Ismaelites, died after completing their malicious deeds in their time¹⁴.

[4]

[Caliphs Abu Bakr, ‘Uthman, and ‘Umar] were succeeded by a certain Mu’awiyah¹ who ruled for nineteen years and four months and then died. We now turn to the events occurred in our land of Armenia during his reign, to Prince Grigor², and to the death of the princes.

^aM Kogoyovit.

^bM *quḏḏnguḏ* (the fortresses).

In^a the first year of [Mu'awiyah's] reign, and in the twenty-fifth year of that of Emperor Constans, the grandson of Heraclius³, the caliph of the *Tachiks*⁴ (Arabs) began to send troops to Armenia. Word of warning was sent to King Constans⁵ who soon gave orders to the commander of the region of Cilicia to confront the enemy. Due to his deceitful act toward general Procopius, Prince Theodoros was dismissed [by the Emperor] and was divested of his power⁶. A certain Smbat from the house of the Bagratids⁷ was now sent instead, along with his [the Emperor's] general.

[The Emperor] wrote to Theodoros Rshtuni, who was the previous prince, telling him: "Won't you combine your troops with ours for the battle?" He was unwilling. [The emperor] wrote once again, saying: "If you do not join us against the marauder, on our return we shall eliminate your house from among our nation." [Theodoros], afraid of the obvious threat, invested his son Vard⁸ and sent him along with Prince Smbat, charging him to deceive the allies and make terms with^b the enemy. So [Vard] went to the Greek general and both departed to the region of Syria, crossing the drawbridge of Euphrates. The son of Theodoros approached the general and asked him if he could be in charge^c of guarding the bridge of boats. He was then allowed to keep watch at the stern of the boats.

It was on Holy Saturday, on Easter eve, when war broke out between the fronts⁹. Both fronts collided with each other under heavy blows, and it was again the stronger troops of the *Tachiks* (Arabs) which caused the Greek forces to flee. When Theodoros' son realized that the victory was on the side of the Ismaelites, he felt stronger and crossed over to the other bank of the river and disconnected the ropes that anchored the boats together, so that the fugitives would perish¹⁰. Thus, they [the Arabs] surrounded the Greek troops and threw some into the river, while others dispersed and escaped as far as the land of the Greeks. Since that day the king of the Greeks lost courage and confidence for he knew that the failure of his power had been caused by the Lord. He no longer attempted any attack against the Arabs.

Then Caliph [Mu'awiyah] of Ismael issued the following edict addressed to the Armenians: "If you refuse to pay tribute to me, and if you do not submit unto me in servitude, I shall bring sword and slaughter unto all." Then, the chief priest (the Catholicos) of the Armenians, Nersēs, who had built [the cathedral] of St. Gregory¹¹, summoned the princes and the nobles of our country, and

^aM adds chapter 4.

^bM omits ընդ (with).

^cM omits կարգել (to put in charge of).

together they acceded to submit to the violence of the Ismaelites. Upon their demand for hostage^a, [the Armenians] handed over [to the Arabs] two of the Armenian nobles, Grigor from the house of the Mamikonids, and Smbat from that of the Bagratids¹², who were taken away by Mu'awiyah, the caliph of the Arabs. [The Arabs] imposed a tax on Armenia in the amount of five hundred *dahekan*¹³ (dinarii) to be paid in one year which, in turn, would assure the inhabitants to live in their homes without fear.

In the second year of his reign, Mu'awiyah called upon Grigor and Smbat, who were being kept as royal hostages, granted Grigor the rank of *ishkhan*¹⁴ (prince) of Armenia, and sent them both to Armenia with great honors. There was a lasting peace during his [Mu'awiyah's] reign.

Yazid, Mu'awiyah's son, succeeded him and lived for two years and five months, and then died¹⁵. He treated our land of Armenia imposing the same amount of taxes. Then 'Abd al-Malik, son of Merwan, succeeded his father [Merwan] and lived for twenty-one years and then died¹⁶. The following is an account of his conduct. He^b was a cruel and fierce warrior. In the second year of his reign¹⁷, a terrible confusion and war broke out among the *Tachiks* (Arabs) resulting in endless bloodshed among themselves. This terrible civil war lasted three years and claimed innumerable lives, thereby fulfilling David's prophecy, saying: "Their sword shall enter their own heart, and their bows shall be broken."^c Instead of the shedding of innocent blood and the cruel slaughters which they committed so often to our Christian people, now culpable blood was shed rightfully, with God's revenge coming upon them in their own hands against the disdain of His servants.

During his reign Grigor, Prince of Armenia, governed the land of the Armenians peacefully and kept it free from all marauding and attack. He feared God in perfect piety, was charitable, hospitable, and cared for the poor. It was [Grigor] who built a house of worship in the town of Aruch¹⁸, in the district of Aragatsotn, an elegant church to the glory of the name of the Lord, and adorned it in memory of his name.

During the time of the war among the *Tachiks* (Arabs), the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians¹⁹ ceased to pay them tribute, having served them for thirty years²⁰. Thus, they rebelled for three years²¹ and, during the fourth year, the nation from the north, called the Khazirs (Khazars)²², invaded Armenia and killed

^aM *ստուանդու* (hostages).

^bM adds chapter 5.

^c Psalm 37:15.

Grigor in battle²³, as well as many of the nobles and the princes^a of both the Georgians and the Albanians. Then they spread their raids and attacked our land of Armenia, occupied many districts and towns, and took booty and slaves back to their country.

[5]

[The following is] about the rule of Ashot¹, the fire set by the Greeks, and the death of Ashot.

After^b Grigor died, he was succeeded by the patrician Ashot from the Bagratid house, a well known and a highly respected man among the Armenian nobles. He was an affluent and distinguished ruler, a discreet man and virtuous person in his daily conduct, a real nobleman indeed. He was a man filled with the fear of God, an intendant of all benevolence, and a supporter of education. [Ashot] adorned the churches of God with doctoral office, supplying them with bands of clerics and with rich furnishings from his own funds. In his hometown he also built the church of Dariwnk²², in which he installed the icon of Christ's incarnation which possessed miraculous power and which he had brought from the West. He then named the church after that icon³.

In the first year of his [Ashot's] reign, a comet appeared in an astonishing manner, as the rays of its light were shining by themselves in the form of a pillar at the tail-end of the star. This is what they called the 'tailed star' and which was taken as a sign of famine, sword, and major tribulation.

In^c the second year of Emperor Justinian's reign⁴, and during the rule of Ashot the patrician, [the emperor] sent large forces into Armenia. [The imperial troops] ravaged and plundered our country, set fire to many magnificent buildings and destroyed them before they returned to their country. Soon hostility grew between the nobility of the Greeks and Justinian himself. After cutting off [Justinian's] nose, they sent him into exile⁵. They enthroned Leo (Leontius), Apsimeros (Tiberius Apsimar), Tiberius, and Theodosius instead⁶. As for Justinian, he went to the country of the Khazars and married the daughter of the Khakan, the king of the Khazars⁷. He also requested help from his troops and, in response, [the Khakan] sent large number of troops led by a certain Truel (Terbelis)⁸, the father-in-law of Justinian and a really mighty man. Arriving in Constantinople, [Justinian] waged war against his opponents, conquered them, and restored his reign⁹. But Terbelis got

^aM *h2huu6u* (the prince).

^bM adds chapter 6.

^cM adds chapter 7.

killed on the battlefield. Then [Justinian] sent the rest of the troops of the Khazars back home with many gifts and valuable possessions.

Ashot's reign lasted four years¹⁰. In the fourth year of his reign a plundering troop of sons of Ismael, who were sons of sinfulness and descendants^a of iniquity, attacked our land of Armenia. They committed malice in the towns of Khram, Juła, and Khoshakunik', in the land of Marastan¹¹, torturing the men for exaction of taxes, and trying to rape the women in a most detestable and obscene manner, in accordance with their iniquity. Word reached Ashot concerning the malice committed, whereupon he soon gave orders to his troop^b to attack them. [The Armenian forces] slaughtered many, putting them to the sword, and made the rest flee. But, being aware of the attack, the wily son of Satan became more violent: he gave orders to his troops to carry the booty onto the battlefield and scatter it in front of the Armenian warriors. The latter indiscreetly turned to the plunder, thereby relenting in their pursuit of the enemy. It was only Ashot who, together with few of his men, persecuted them, but the enemy, now stronger, turned around, attacked them, and left the prince of the Armenians wounded¹². Then, following a scream on the part of the [Armenian] troops, forces arrived quickly and killed the enemy. Later, they carried the fatally injured prince to Kogovit, where he soon died in his bed in glory, and was laid to rest in his tomb, in the village of Dariwnk'.

[6]

[This is]^c about the battle [taken place] in the marshy land. Following what we were narrating, the king of the Greeks, whom they called Tiberius Apsimar¹ and who^d replaced Emperor Justinian, sent forces again with orders to arrest Smbat, the son of Varaztirots². This was in revenge against [Smbat], who had deserted the Greek army on account of the murder of his father Varaztirots', whom the Greeks had killed. [The Greeks] arrived and waged war against him [Smbat] in the muddy field of Payik. The Armenians suffered heavy losses in the fighting since they were outnumbered. Many of the Greek forces fell also. When Smbat realized that it was not possible to resist the Greeks any longer, he fled making a narrow escape, together with few men. The Greek troops then returned to their country.

^aM *quiwly* (descendant).

^bM *qornugā* (to the troops).

^cM adds chapter 8.

^dM adds [nr] *tn [who] was*).

Once^a again I shall give an account of the terrible calamities which were brought upon us by the house of Ismael. After the sixteenth year of his reign, 'Abd al-Malik¹, whose heart was reactivated by the mischievous devil, ordered his troops to attack our country. This time the commander was the bloodthirsty and demoniac Muhammad² who had entered into a lawless agreement with their caliph, vowing not to sheathe his sword until he arrived in the interior of our land. He thus proceeded boastfully until he reached the district of Jermadzor³, putting to the sword and ruthlessly slaughtering all those in his way, in accordance with their agreement. But because warning had been^b given to many in advance, they became cautious and took refuge in the fortress. [Muhammad] further captured many strongholds deviously by appealing for peace in deceitful words. And those in the strongholds counted upon those words and came out of the fortresses only to be put to the sword and slaughtered by [Muhammad]: he killed the men and women and took the children into captivity, thus causing^c torment and anguish in our country. Here [the people] blessed the dead who had departed from this life and lay in peaceful rest, instead of carrying on such a dreadful existence.

Two years later, in utmost impiety^d, [Muhammad] ejected his deadly poison by plotting death against Saint Gregory's faithful⁴. [The Arabs] noticed the elegance of the glorious and^e precious vessels furnished by the kings, princes, and nobles of our country. They also saw the angelic band of the clergy in order, and noted the discipline of the *vardapets*⁵ (doctors) and the worshippers, who all performed angelic songs on earth. [Seeing all this], they became anxiously suspicious in their heart and plotted to destroy and kill them. Therefore, a few outlaws went in a group to stay overnight at [Muhammad's] residence. During the night, the outlaws got up and strangled one of their own attendants to death and threw him into a pit. As they were ready to leave at dawn, they now started to look for the man whom they had strangled, but did not find him. For this reason they caused much trouble and imperilled the faithful of the church. Searching on, they found [the dead man] in the pit

^aM adds chapter 9.

^bM omits էր (had been).

^cM adds եւ բազում նեղութիւն (and much affliction).

^dM մղղրութիւն (seduction), T ամբարշտութիւն (impiety).

^eM omits եւ (and).

where they had abandoned him, and immediately seized upon this as a pretext and arrested all, young and old alike, and imprisoned them. They soon issued a decree and sent it to the bloodthirsty Muhammad, saying: “They did such and such a thing to us; now, what kind of death penalty should we exercise?” Hearing the case, [Muhammad] decided^a to leave it to their judgment and, in addition to plunder the possessions of the church. Having received the unjust order, the executioners themselves chose to carry out the wishes of their father, who is a devil, a murderer from the start, and one not rooted in truth, as we learn from the Lord^b. They took them all out of the prison with ropes tied around them, and proceeded to amputate their feet and their hands, after which they hanged them from the tree to end their lives.

Now, who can endure without tears the unimaginable tragedies that befell them? The holy church suffered from the loss of the beauty^c of its pulpit, and the voice of divine praise was silenced. Again, the orders of the spiritual and rational Masses (sacrifices), which the holy [fathers] offered conscientiously to the holiest One, were silenced. [In addition], the light of the lanterns, which illuminated the night and turned it into daylight, was extinguished. The fragrance of the incense and the supplications of the priests, through which the exaltation^d of the people was offered to the Creator asking the benevolent God for reconciliation, were no longer. In one word the altar of the Lord became divested of all excellence. What patience on Christ’s part! How did He allow the ungodly slanderers to bring such a terrible death upon those who glorified Him? By transitory death, we believe, He will make them worthy for the life hereafter. For those who suffer with Him shall also be sharers of the glory, and those who are crucified with Christ shall also reign with Him. Likewise, those who have died with Him shall rise with Him and inherit forever the rest which they were promised. On the other hand, the agent of Satan shall inherit, along with him, the terror of manifold torments prepared for them: the fire and the darkness, the endless worms, the tearing of the eyes, and the gnashing of the teeth, all of which are known to him who has prepared them. All these shall befall those who commit iniquity.

^aM omits *սուէ* (he said, he decided).

^bCf. John 8:44.

^cM *ի բարեկարգութեանէ* (from the good order), T *ի բարեկարհրոթեանէ* (from the beauty).

^dM *բաւորութիւն* (atonement), T *փառատրոթիւն* (exaltation).

And Muhammad, of whom we spoke, having performed all these malice, left^a for Syria, carrying much booty with him⁶. The inhabitants of our country, on the other hand, were left as smoldering remains of fire and as sheaves ground under the feet of pigs.

[8]

And when he left for Syria, commander Muhammad appointed a prince from among the Ismaelites to rule over Armenia in his place¹. [This man] had conceived the evil plan of destroying the house of the nobles of the land of Armenia, together with their cavalry. The plot was soon revealed to Smbat, who was from the house of the Bagratids², as well as to the other nobles and their cavalry. As^b [Smbat] became aware of the conspiracy, he called upon him his kinsmen from among the troops of the noble corps: Smbat son of Prince Ashot, Vard son of Prince Theodoros, and his own brother, as well as other nobles³. He was thus thinking of finding a way to save their lives. The outcome of their deliberations was to yield and withdraw from Armenia, and seek refuge with the king of the Greeks⁴. Immediately some of the nobles of the country of Vaspurakan also left their land. They then went to the region of Vaspurakan, to a borderline field which was called Arestakolm⁵, where a certain hermit was living. They went to consult with him about their plan, as he was a holy man and a chosen one, filled with spiritual wisdom. [The hermit] lamented over the loss of our country and its vacancy of the princely house, as well as the destruction of the churches. Unable to give them advice, he only told them to guard themselves and beware of the conspiracy. He then prayed for them committing them into the grace of the Lord, and bade them farewell.

So they went along the bank of the River Eraskh (Araxes), crossed the border at Ulayē⁶, and reached the large town of Akori⁷. The troops of the Arabs, which had been stationed in the city of Nakhjawan⁸, followed and kept track of them. [The Arabs], numbering over five thousand^c, wanted to devour them [the Armenians] alive⁹. As soon as the Armenian troops were warned of the marauder marching toward them, they crossed the River Eraskh and camped in the town of Vardanakert¹⁰, while the Arab troops constantly pursued them. The Armenian army sent a message to the Arab troops, saying: “Why are you pursuing us so doggedly? What sin have we committed against you? Behold, this our country is before you. To you we have given our homes, our vineyards, our

^aM *q̄luyg* (he left), T *q̄luyj* (he leaves).

^bM adds chapter 10.

^cM eight thousand.

forests and our estates. Now, why are you trying to get us? Allow us to depart from our own frontiers.” The troops of Ismael were unwilling to heed [the message]. This hardening of their hearts was the Lord’s doing, so that they might be put to the sword. The Armenian troops, on the other hand, fortified the streets of the town and assigned guards to keep watch until dawn. They themselves maintained an all-night prayer vigil, asking the Lord of all to extend His almighty right hand in assistance and to judge fairly between them and the enemy. As the day dawned, the matins ended, the spiritual Mass was offered, and those worthy received communion from the body and blood of the Lord as their last rites. They also took a small amount of food for their own sustenance. At the same time, they organized themselves into units, took positions at the fronts and the fight began. Although the Armenian warriors numbered less than two thousand, they killed many with their swords, receiving help from the almighty God¹¹.

Due to the biting cold and the icy storm, the violently intense weather detained the forces of the Arabs, and prevented them from unleashing their power. As they had slept all night on the snow, they were put to the sword at dawn. Those who escaped the sword fell into the River Eraskh which was frozen over on account of the severe weather. As the multitude of the [Arab] troops tried to save themselves from the frozen river, they were drowned at once in the depths of the waters. Those escaped from the sword thus drowned and ultimately perished. Few [of the enemy] fugitives, numbering approximately three hundred men, sought refuge with *tikin* (princess) Shushan¹². But they were followed by Smbat, son of Ashot, and his troops, who intended to put those fugitives to the sword, but Princess Shushan went to meet Smbat and, through repeated petitions and pleas, she was able to deliver [the fugitives] who were on foot, naked, barefoot, and wounded. She bandaged their wounds, healed them, and gave them clothes to wear. She also gave them horses from her herd and sent them to ‘Abd al-Malik, the caliph of Ismael. In return [Shushan] received many thanks and high honors from the caliph.

The Armenian troops thus satisfied with all the enemy’s booty, sent the good news of their victory to the king of the Greeks¹³. They took to him the fine horses from the booty of the Arabs, their enemy, as gifts, along with the noses that they had cut off the fallen bodies.

The Emperor accepted the gifts, offered great praise to the Creator, and thanked Smbat, his nobles, and their troops. In addition, he conferred on [Smbat] the rank of Curopalate according to the rule of the kings¹⁴. Then, having received this honor from the Emperor, [Smbat] assembled his forces, went to the province of

Tayk'¹⁵ and, wary of the sons of Ismael, entered the stronghold called T'ukhark'¹⁶.

It^a was again at this time that another marauder marched on the legion which had been stationed in the country of Vaspurakan. The troops confronted each other in the village called Gukank', in the district of Rshtunik'¹⁷; it was here that the two enemies confronted each other. When [the Armenians] realized that they [the Arabs] were small in number, they attacked them furiously, and the mercy of God arrived forthwith to help again^b at this time. They put them all to the sword, except for 280 men who fled and sought refuge in the church. And as they [the Armenians] were unable to surmount, they thought of setting the edifice on fire. But Prince Smbat of the province of Vaspurakan, son of Prince Ashot, did not allow them to commit such wickedness, saying: "God forbid that we should trespass against the house of the glory of the Lord, for He himself has granted us such a victory." Then they appointed guards to watch over them [the fugitives] until such time that the edifice itself would let them out. And a little later on, one of the warriors of the Ismaelites, the leader of the troops, asked for peace in order to save their lives. [The man] approached the Armenian legion and said: "We have heard that the Christian people are merciful and when they see a man in sorrow, they treat him with compassion and mercy. Therefore, have mercy upon us and grant us the gift of our lives; take our properties for yourselves as booty." Commander Smbat replied: "We were taught by our Lord that merciful treatment is fitting to the merciful. You, however, are a merciless nation and^c not worthy of mercy. Therefore, we shall not have [pity on you]." As he heard this the Ismaelite [added]: "At least allow that my own life be saved; as for the rest, I shall hand them over to you." So they took upon themselves not to kill [him]. [The man] now entered [the church] and said: "There is no use for us to stay here because, as I see it, they are treating us mercilessly. Let us then get out and resist them. If they kill us, we shall die, for our lawgiver Muhammad has promised us the paradise; if they let us live, we shall live."

Encouraged by these words, they all went out only to be put to the sword. The one man whom they promised not to kill was thrown into the depth of the sea alive. They then took the booty of the fallen [enemy], divided it among themselves, and dispersed to their respective districts.

^aM adds chapter 11.

^bM omits *tuu* (again).

^cM adds *tp* (you are).

Following^a this^b event, when 'Abd al-Malik', the Caliph of the Ismaelites, became aware of the splitting of his troops, he summoned Muhammad², the commander of his troops, and ordered him to assemble large troops and invade our country of Armenia by sword and captivity. Following the order, [Muhammad] hastily armed the forces and threatened to execute the orders of their caliph violently and haughtily.

And when the nobles of our land of Armenia heard about the marauder coming upon them with force, they empowered Sahak, the Catholicos of the Armenians³, together with some of the bishops of our country, to go and meet the army of Ismael, to negotiate with its^c commander in peaceful terms, and appease him at the cost of servitude and submission. As he was escorted out of our country, [Sahak] greeted all [of his flock] as they kissed his right hand, blessed them and their pastors who were faithful to him, and committed them to the grace of the Lord. Having passed by many inns, he arrived at the city of Harran⁴ where he became stricken with illness. Before^d, general Muhammad had arrived at Harran, he [Sahak] was at the point of dying and had to write this irrevocable letter as his last words, addressed to the general of the Arabs:

"I was sent by my people to meet with you and convey my thoughts unto you on behalf of the Armenian nobles and the common people, who unanimously requested^e me to make this appeal to you. The supreme Master of our lives, however, snatched me away unto Him hastily, such that I was unable to meet with you and speak to you. Now I swear to you in the name of the living God, and set before you this treaty of the covenant of God who offered it to Ismael, your father, promising him the whole world to be at his service and in obedience to him. [I ask you], therefore, to make peace with my people for they shall serve you and pay tribute to you, to keep your sword away from [their] blood and your hands from pillage for they shall obey you wholeheartedly. As for our faith, let us have the power to guard those things which we have believed in and confessed. Let no one of you torment us in trying to make us forsake our faith. Accordingly, if you fulfil my request, the Lord shall make your reign successful and your wishes shall be fulfilled: the Lord shall make all those under your power obey you.

^aM adds chapter 12.

^bM *այնորիկ* (that), T *այսորիկ* (this).

^cM *անցա* (their), T *անրա* (its).

^dM *մինչև* (until), T *մինչև* (before).

^eM *հայցեալ* (they request), T *խնդրեալ* (they plead).

In case, however, you are unwilling to heed my words and choose to take a contrary attitude and invade my land, then the Lord shall dispell your intentions, and the course of your steps shall not be confirmed. He shall divert the heart of your troops to act against your will, and make oppressors^a from all corners rise against you, so that your dominion may not remain stable. Therefore, do not ignore this petition of mine, and my blessings shall reach you.”⁵

When Muhammad arrived at Harran they told him about the Catholicos of the Armenians and offered him the letter. After he read it, he inquired about the death [of Sahak]. They told him that he was not buried yet, because he had just died. Learning of this, [Muhammad] proceeded in haste to the place [where Sahak was lying]. He stood near the body of the deceased and, as was their custom, he greeted him. He offered the same greeting two and three times, as we heard from veracious people^b. Then, as if talking with a living person, he held his hand and said: “I acknowledged your wisdom from reading your letter. You have followed the order of the good shepherd, cared about your flock, and hastened to come and meet with my fearless sword. I have consented not to use my sword against innocent people. Now, I am ready to fulfil all that you have requested of me, so that the blessing of your holiness may abide with me. In case I^b overlook any of your words, let all the curses that I read about in your letter fall upon me.” Having said this, he left for his place of lodging.

As for those who accompanied Catholicos Sahak from the land of Armenia, they took the body of the blessed pontiff and laid it to rest in a grave with glory. Then, having secured word of oath in writing from the commander of the Ismaelites⁷, they returned to Armenia. When the inhabitants of our land were informed of the oath and^c the written promise, they felt confident toward him [Muhammad], and ever since submitted themselves to the Ismaelites in slavery.

Commander^d Muhammad however, invaded Armenia for the second time with larger forces in the eighteenth year of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign, but for three years he remained quiet. He even did not call to mind the events that had occurred in the town of Vardanakert against the Arab troops; rather, he stayed firm to the written oath that he had given and was satisfied to look with contempt on the Armenian nobles. ‘Abd al-Malik died after reigning in this manner.

^aM ḡkḡh₂ (oppressor).

^bM omits k_u (I).

^cM omits k_i (and).

^dM adds chapter 13.

Al-Walid¹, the son of [‘Abd al-Malik], succeeded his father, reigned as the caliph of the Ismaelites for ten years and eight months, and then died. This is an account of his conduct.

In^a the first year of his reign², [al-Walid] plotted to uproot the princely families and their cavalry from our land of Armenia on account of the revenge that they held against Smbat, the Curopalate³. He said that they [the Armenian nobles] constituted an impediment and were causing scandal in our [Arab] realm. While they [the Arabs] were working out this malice in their heart, Smbat, of whom we made mention, wrote immediately to the king of the Greeks⁴, to ask for help from his forces. The Emperor gave his consent and, in compliance with the petition, assigned large troops, headed by a commander, which he sent to aid [Smbat]. Smbat then joined the Greek commander and together they headed for the village known as Drashpet in the district of Vanand⁵, where they camped. When news reached Muhammad⁶, the commander of the Arab troops, he assembled his forces with extensive preparation and rose against them to start the war. Having reached a certain spot, they organized themselves into troops, took position at the fronts, and the battle began. Soon the anger of the Lord came upon the Greek warriors who became discouraged and fled to their barracks. Now, the enemy was strong enough to carry on widespread slaughter by sword, as a result of which, we are told, more than fifty thousand fighters were killed. [Muhammad] persecuted the few remaining troops which fled the country, and he himself gathered the army together and returned to the city of Dvin⁷. When the caliph of Ismael noticed that the leadership of the Greek regiment was replaced by the Armenian nobles, he ordered Muhammad to execute the aforementioned malicious intention.

So, Muhammad, having received the unjust orders, commanded a certain Kasim⁸, the commander-in-chief of the district of the city of Nakhjawan, to invite the Armenian nobles to come to him with their cavalry. He did so under the pretext of including them in the official register and to distribute payments, whereupon they were then to return⁹. [The Armenian nobles], in their usual naiveness, consented to the deceit of the devious enemy and arrived there quickly. As they reached [the city], orders were given for them to be divided into two groups; some of them were assembled in the church of Nakhjawan, while the other half was sent to the town of Khram¹⁰ and placed in the church there, attended by guards

^aM adds chapter 14.

They were now thinking how to eradicate them¹¹. [The Arabs] then agreed to release those of noble birth from their prison and burn the others who were imprisoned in the sanctuary. The latter were burned in the fire before the altar of God. Seeing the horrible danger and realizing that they were deprived of all human help, those trapped in the fire appealed to God of all and Him alone they called for help, saying:

Thou who art refuge for the constrained, helper of those in danger, comforter of the weary, extend Thy help to us who are in distress and are endangered. Save us from this horrible death that visited us. Behold, so intense have the heat and the flames grown that they are burning as they surround us, sevenfold quicker than the flames of Babylon. Now, as Thou hast sent the power of the guardian angel to the three men for help, so also do not dismiss us from Thy mercy, for we also are Thy servants. Though we may have sinned against Thee many times and offended Thy sweet benevolence, remember these Thy servants in mercy, even in Thine anger. For behold Thy sanctuary and the place of the glory of Thy name has been turned into a gravesite for us. Being thankful for Thy holy and awesome name, we now commit our selves, our souls, and our bodies into Thy hands.

Having said this together in unison, they all sang hymns of praise addressed to the Highest, and died.

As to the members of the house of the nobles, [the Arabs] imprisoned and subjected them to unbearable tortures. They demanded much gold and silver from them and, in return, they promised to release them alive as soon as [the nobles] had complied with the payment of the silver, for which [the Arabs] had made an agreement in oath; they were thus making [the nobles] believe the perjury. Deeply concerned about the threat of danger, and in the hope of saving their lives, [the nobles] handed over to the enemy all of their treasures which they had been^a saving for their own defense against those pirates who attacked by sea or by land. After they gave all they had, the impious [enemy] undertook the execution of [the nobles] and killed them by hanging^b them from the tree. Among the arrested were Smbat, son of Ashot, from the Bagratid house, Grigor and Koriwn from the house of Artsrunik', Varazshapuh^c and his brother from the house of Amatunik'¹², and many other Armenian nobles whom I am unable to list one by one. Having taken them all from this life, [the Arabs] made our land heirless of its nobles.

^aM omits *էհւ* (they had been).

^bM *զփալսնէ առեալ* (taking to the tree), T *զփալսնէ կախեալ* (hanging from the tree).

^cM Varashapuh.

When the land of Armenia thus became bereft of the princely houses, [the people] were left like lambs among wolves. The enemy committed all kinds of malice, attacking the inhabitants of the land of Armenia^a and keeping them in a constant state of calamity and danger. Disgusted under such unbearable distress, [the inhabitants of Armenia] could only address their sighs and lamentations to heaven. Smbat the Curopalate, moreover, left our country with his nobles and crossed over to the Greek territory, asking the king of the Greeks for a city in which to live and settle their herds¹³. And he^b [the Emperor] gave them the city known as P'oyt' (Phasis) in the district of the country of Egr, where they lived for six years¹⁴.

After^c Muhammad committed all these iniquities, protest from our land reached the caliph of Ismael whose name was al-Walid. He soon issued a decree, recalled [Muhammad] and sent instead a certain 'Abd ul-Aziz¹⁵, who had poor hearing but was a man of prudence, full of earthly wisdom, a fabulist and teller of proverbs. Once appointed to his office, [Abd ul-Aziz] wrote^d an edict to the Armenian nobles, persuading them to return to their own countries. He even gave them an oath in writing, according to their custom. [The nobles], having relied on his oath, captured the city where they were staying, seized its treasures and the ornaments^e of the churches, and returned to Armenia, dissociating themselves from the Greek emperor¹⁶. Hearing about the event the emperor regretted their ingratitude. He then called the leaders of the churches, the metropolitan¹⁷ and the archbishops, and ordered them to enter anathemas^f in the books. Furthermore, he commanded that, at the conclusion of the celebration of Easter¹⁸, those anathemas be read on account of the ungrateful, since it was on that feast day that they had committed the unlawful act. It was thus arranged that each year, on the same feast day, anathemas be pronounced up to this day. [The curse] stayed with them and they subsequently suffered destruction.

When 'Abd ul-Aziz became the governor of our country of Armenia, he pacified the country by protecting it from all unjust attacks, and by stern reproofs he subdued the haughty arrogance of

^aM omits Armenia.

^bM omits *ti liu* (and he).

^cM adds chapter 15.

^dM *qnt* (he writes), T *qntn* (he wrote).

^eM *quyuu* (the ornament), T *quyuuu* (the ornaments).

^fM *uqnq* (anathema), T *uqnqu* (anathemas).

the sons of Ismael. He built anew the city of Dvin stronger and greater in size than it was before: he strengthened it with gates and bolts, surrounded the city walls with a dug-out ditch, and filled it with water for the protection of the fortress¹⁹.

When Dvin was first destroyed, ‘Abd ul-Aziz used to remark about himself that “the city was destroyed by my own hands, and I shall be the one to build it again. It was I”, he said, “a twelve-year-old boy wearing then a red apron around my waist; and when the Arab troops were attacking this city, it was I who slid through a pipe, got on the top of the wall and, in my own tongue, called upon our troops in a loud voice. As a result, the infantry guards who were guarding the wall, scattered at once and fled, leaving the victory in the hands of Ismael. We thus destroyed the city.”²⁰

We are told that he has recounted this story about himself with his own mouth.

[11]

Once^a again the heart of Muhammad [ibn-Merwan] roused against the country of Chenk’ (Chenastan)! He requested large troops from the caliph of Ismael², promising^b him to bring the king of the Chenk’ into servitude and submission. [The caliph] assembled a large army of about 200,000 men and gave it to him [Muhammad]. Muhammad proceeded with numerous forces eastward from the districts of Damascus, and crossed Asorestan (Assyria)³, Persia, and Khurasan⁴. He arrived in the outskirts of the country of Chenk’ and camped on the banks of the torrential river named Botis⁵. He then sent an edict to the king of the Chenk’, saying:

“Why is it that you alone are opposed to our caliph and are unwilling to be his subject, when all nations stand before us in fear? On whom are you relying in disobedience to us? Do not consider us your maidens among whom you walk with affected dignity. If you do not enter into servitude, be it known to you that I shall waste your land and put an end to your kingdom. Do not be neglected in delaying the answer to this edict. Send it to me at once.”

When Chenbakur⁶, the king of the Chenk’, read the letter, he called unto him all his adjutants^c and army guards to deliberate on a possible reply to the message. After consulting with each other, they composed the following response:

^aM adds chapter 16.

^bM խոստանալ (promising), T խոստանալը (he promised).

^cM համհարցս (the adjutants), T համհարցս (the adjutants).

“Surely you are by no means the strongest among all the kings who have originally ruled the world and this [country]. Neither the king of Babylon, who ruled the entire world, nor the kings of Macedonia or Persia were able to rule our country. Why? Be it known to you that you are the most impudent among dogs and tangled, as you are leashed to covetousness. For that reason, your wretched lust toward my pretty maids has made you ponder and forced you, as well as the members of the army which accompany you, to expose yourselves as if there were no graves in Damascus for all of you. Be it further known unto you that our land shall not be subject to anybody, and that I shall not accept any [submission]^a. If, however, you are asking me to present you with gifts after the royal custom, I shall give them to you provided you withdraw and return to your land in peace.”

Muhammad wrote once again to Chenbakur and said: “Give me thirty thousand maidens and I shall withdraw from your frontiers peacefully. Otherwise I shall have to wage war against you.” The king of the Chenk’ accepted the message that was sent to him and answered Muhammad with these words: “Stay just there with your army until I can fulfill your demand.” Soon afterward, he ordered his troops to prepare wagons and cover them with fine cloth. He then made his select and those safely armed horsemen board the wagons in place of the maids demanded [by Muhammad], so that he might trap them [the Arabs]. [The wagons], now carrying over forty thousand horsemen, were taken to the bank of the river and positioned across from them [the Arabs]. Chenbakur himself with few of his warriors camped nearby, at a distance of some *vtawank*’ (stadia)^b, and sent [a message] to commander Muhammad, saying: “Come, I have selected the requested thirty thousand maidens from all my realm for your noblemen. Therefore, bring with you the same number of nobles from your troops as my maidens, cross over to this side of the river, and I shall hand over the maidens to you by casting lots, lest fighting should break out^c among your troops.” He also sent boats over the other bank of the river for them to cross the water. [The Arabs] indiscreetly chose about thirty thousand noblemen from among their forces who then crossed the river. As soon as they crossed, the king of the Chenk’ ordered [his troops] to attack the Ismaeli forces.

As the enemy troops were fighting against each other, those who were hiding under the cover [of the wagons], came out at once,

^aM adds *ptq* ([submission] to you).

^bM Corresponds to the Greek measure of length of 606.75 feet.

^cM *tḥhgh* (it shall be, from *tḥwḥhl* [to be]), T *lhḥhgh* (it might be, from *lhḥhl* [to be]).

encircled^a them, and slaughtered all by sword, not even leaving a single fugitive alive. They then disconnected the ropes of the boats so that no one could be saved. All were killed except for Muhammad and a few of his horsemen, who fell into the river trusting in the pluckiness of their horses. Ashamed and humiliated, [the Arabs] had to leave the king of Chenk' alone and return to their country. They dared not fight against the country of the Chenk' any more. [al-Walid] lived ten years and eight months [as the caliph] and then died⁷.

[12]

[al-Walid] was succeeded by Suleiman¹ who ruled the Caliphate for two years and eight months, and then died. The following is^b an account of his conduct.

In^c the second year of his reign² [Suleiman] summoned large number of troops, entrusted them in the hands of commander Mslim (Maslama), and sent them to the gates of the Caspian [Sea]³. There they encountered the troops of the Huns⁴, waged war against them in the city of Darband, and persecuted them. They demolished the rampart of the fortress. While destroying the walls of the fortress, they discovered a large^d stone in the foundation which bore the following inscription: "The autocrat Emperor Marcianus⁵ built the city and this tower with ample funds from his own treasury. In recent times, the sons of Ismael destroyed it and rebuilt it from their treasury." As soon as they noticed the^e inscription on the stone, they refrained from demolishing the rampart. Rather, they assigned workmen and reconstructed the fallen walls.

Maslama then took his large troops and passed through the fortress^f of Chora⁶, spreading his raids throughout the country of the Huns. There he camped near T'argu⁷, a city of the Huns. When the people of that country saw the pirate advancing toward them, they immediately warned the king of the Khazars whose name was Khakan⁸. Khakan assembled his large troops and all the heavy-weight and the strong among his warriors, the fame of whose bravery and strength had traveled among all nations, and camped near him [Maslama]. They fought against each other for many

^aM ἡ ὑπερὸς περιεβαλεῖν (having encircled them), T ἡ ὑπερὸς περιεβαλεῖν (having encircled them).

^bM omits ἔ (is).

^cM adds chapter 17.

^dM omits ὑπερὸς (large).

^eM adds ἡ (the).

^fM περιεβαλεῖν, T περιεβαλεῖν, (both meaning a fortress city).

days. The fight was not between troops, but consisted of wrestling. Khakan purposely delayed the disorderly combat, waiting for Alp' T'arkhan, whom he had called for help, to arrive on the scene. When Suleiman^a (Maslama) saw the endless multitude of troops, he became hesitant and started to think how^b to find a way to escape from them. He ordered his troops to start an intense fire in the camp. Then he left behind all the supplies of the camp, the servants, concubines, maids, and the rest of the mob, and advanced toward Mt. Caucasus. While on the way he destroyed the forest and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enemy. He then returned to the country of the Huns in shame and humiliation.

Maslama^c (Suleiman) died having accomplished all these^d.

[13]

[Suleiman] was succeeded by 'Umar (ibn Abdul-Aziz)¹ who reigned for two years and five months, and then died.

We^d are told that ['Umar] was the noblest among the men of his race. He had the captives return home, those who had been taken into captivity from Armenia by Muhammad, after he [Muhammad] had burned the nobles of our country. It was [Muhammad] who had captured many fortresses, and had carried men and women into captivity. And when 'Umar was entrusted with the rule [of the Caliphate], he released all the captives and let them return to their respective places. He thus restored peace throughout his domain. This same 'Umar has written a letter to Leo, the Emperor of the Greeks², with the purpose of learning about the power of our faith. [The letter] contained various questions which I shall summarize herewith:

'UMAR, in the name of God, Caliph of the Muslims to LEO, Emperor of the Greeks.

I have often had the desire to know the teachings of the religion you profess and make a profound study of your beliefs, but hitherto I have not been able to realize my intentions. Tell me, therefore, the truth regarding Jesus' saying to the disciples that "you have come naked [into this world] and returned naked." Or, why is it that you have not been willing to accept what Jesus himself has said as to his person, but have preferred^e to carry on research in

^a should read Maslama.

^bM թէ զհնչ մարթասցէ (what was possible), T թէ զհարդ մարթասցէ (how it was possible).

^c should read Suleiman.

^dM adds chapter 18.

^eM omits կամեցայք (you preferred).

the books of the Prophets and the Psalms, in order to find testimonies on the incarnation of Jesus? You, then, had real doubts and were hesitant, since you regarded as insufficient the testimony that Jesus bears to himself and, instead, gave credence to what the Prophets have said. In fact, Jesus himself is more worthy of credence, being near God. He knew his person better than those writings which have been falsified by people unknown to you. How, indeed, are you able to justify these Scriptures and follow them in what suits your intentions?

You declare that the Law was captured many times and [at one time] it was even lost, and yet the children of Ismael^a (Israel) read and understood it. But this also means that, for a long time, there was nothing of it remaining among them [the Israelites], until a later period when some men recomposed the Laws on their own. [You admit] that the Law was handed down from generations, from people to people, by fleshly creatures, who inasmuch as they were sons of Adam, were forgetful, subject to error, and perhaps acting under the inspiration of Satan and those who, by their hostile acts, resemble him. Why is it that in the Law of Moses one finds no indication of either heaven or hell, or of the resurrection or judgment? The evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John have spoken of these matters according to their talents. Is it not true that [the evangelists], speaking in the Gospel^b about the Paraclete to be sent by Christ, pointed to the mission of our Muhammad? Why have the Christian nations, since the death of Jesus' disciples, split up into seventy-two races? Why have you made [Jesus] the associate and equal of the unique and all-powerful God? Why do you profess three gods and arbitrarily change all the laws, such as that of circumcision into baptism, sacrifice into eucharist, and Saturday into Sunday? Is it possible that God could have dwelt in flesh and blood, and in the unclean entrails of a woman? Why do you adore the bones of Apostles and Prophets, as well as pictures and the sign of the cross, the latter having served, according to the law, as an instrument of torture? The Prophet Isaiah gives testimony to our Lawgiver as being the equal and the like of Jesus, when he speaks in his vision of two mounted riders, one on an ass and the other on a camel; so why do you not believe in this? Send me explanations on all these matters, so that I may know your opinions pertaining to your religion.

Such were the questions which, along with many others, 'Umar, the Caliph of Ismael, addressed to Emperor Leo who, in turn, felt obliged to reply in the following manner.

^aM Israel.

^bM Gospels.

Emperor^a FLAVIAN LEO, servant of the Lord^b Jesus Christ, our true God and sovereign of those who know him, to ‘UMAR, Chief of the Saracens.

What exact reply can I make [to all the arguments] you advance against us? It is God Himself who commands us to instruct our adversaries with kindness, to see whether He will not grant them time to repent. Moreover, by no means do our imperial laws impose on us the duty of smiting with hard words, as with stones, those who manifest a desire to learn the marvelous mystery of the truth. But as your letter, in its opening did not reveal even the least appearance of truthfulness, it is incumbent [on us] to call not just that which is not.

You have said in your letter that “we have discussed with you more than once the divine mysteries of our Christian religion, but that you have not succeeded in being able to study its doctrines, which you refer to as imaginary.” Neither of these in fact is accurate because nothing would induce^c us to discuss our doctrines with you, since our Lord and Master Himself has bidden us to refrain from exposing our unique and divine doctrine to heretics, for fear of it being turned into ridicule, and least of all before those to whom the predictions of the Prophets and the testimony of the Apostles are something strange. This is the rule we observe towards others.

It is true that we have written to you several times and shall write to you again if need be, but it has always been about mundane affairs^d, never about divine ones. We are, moreover, instructed by the divine command to reply to those who question us (cf. I Peter 3:15), and maintain silence before those who do not. With regard to you, however, we are not learning now for the first time about the substance of your beliefs, for we have been commanded by God to examine all and hold fast to that which is good (cf. I Thess. 5:21). We possess historical documents composed by our blessed prelates who were living during the same epoch as your legislator Muhammad, and these writings make it unnecessary for us to involve you [in the subject of your religion]. However, so that you may not think we are ashamed to profess a religion so marvelous [as ours], hearken, if it please you, and in hearkening to me, you

^aM adds chapter 19.

^bM omits *ἰκτῆρ* (Lord).

^cM *πῶς ἐπιβουλεύσει* (because there is no need), T *πῶς ἐπιβουλεύσει* (because there is no need).

^dM *ὑποὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀσθενῶν* (about other mundane) T *ὑποὶ τῶν ἀσθενῶν* (but about mundane).

will, as Isaiah says, eat of the good produce of the earth.(Cf. Isaiah 35:2).

It is truly difficult, let me tell you, to refute even the most plain lie, when the adversary thinks only of obstinately persisting in it. Let me explain it to you this way. Suppose two men are standing near a fire, one of them recognizes that this element really is fire, but the other, driven by a spirit of contradiction, says that it is a spring of water; then the bad faith of the latter is evident. You have, for example, said that our Lord has said in the Gospel that “naked you came into this world and you shall quit it naked”, whereas we do not find in the gospels any such statement coming from our Lord, though He does counsel us often to meditate upon death. On the contrary it was the just Job who said, after having been tempted by Satan^a, “I came naked from my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord” (Job 1:21). It is this way that you are used to elude and mutilate^b the evidence of Holy Scriptures which you have not read and you still do not. You are but merchants of the things of God and faith, who catch hold of some word in the Scriptures which appears favorable to your opinions, and employ it in your defense.

Haughty as you are in your despotism, nevertheless listen to my replies. You say that we have found in the Psalms of David and in the books of the Prophets testimonies regarding our Lord, but today is not the first time we have searched for and found such words of the Holy Spirit, who spoke through the mouths of the Prophets. Furthermore, it is by the grace and the will of God that Christianity has been preached, after it was founded, propagated and believed. [It is by these words] that it will still prosper by the power of God the Creator.

First of all you write that we have contended ourselves with these words and had faith in them, without paying due attention to what Jesus has said about His own person, regarding that as something doubtful and uncertain. It would be expedient for you, following your own words, to have had faith in the infallible and positive statements of the Gospel, rather than in any other. The truth is that there exists no contradiction between the Old and the New Testaments, seeing that God, the unique source of mercy, cannot at the same time produce both good and bad, truth and lies. Yet, to make the acceptance of the Incarnate Word easier to the lawless Jewish people, God placed declarations, parables and clear predictions in

^aM adds *ἀνρῶ* ([on] him).

^bM *ἠυανυλῶνῃ* (to mutilate), T *ἠυανυλῶνῃ* (by mutilating).

the mouths of the Prophets, so that His people should be instructed in advance and prepared to receive Jesus Christ, and not oppose Him, as they have done. In the same way, the Lord, in the Gospels, has borne testimony to His Person, and having become incarnate, cited in the most express fashion all the testimonies which the Prophets had given of Him before His incarnation. I shall also show you all this by the grace of God, point by point, in my present letter, attributing the most glorious [of these predictions] to His super-human nature, and the more humble ones to His human nature.

Secondly, you have written that “Jesus indeed merits our confidence because, being near to God, He knew Himself better than all those who have written about Him, and whose writings have been falsified by people whom we do not know.” I reply that the truth cannot deny what is and, at the same time, affirm that which is not, whereas the lie is capable of anything^a, being able to deny not only things visible, but even the Creator^b Himself by professing that there is no God. Consequently, it is not surprising that the lie can deny the existence of the Holy Scriptures and accuse them^c of being sinful. Jesus is indeed worthy of confidence not, however, as mere man and deprived of the Word of God, but as perfect man and perfect God. His cammands, set forth by the Prophets^d, merit our entire confidence not because they were pronounced by men, but because it was the Word of God which spoke to them before His incarnation. The fact that the Word itself inspired both the Old and the New [Testaments] is in fact the reason that no contradiction is found in them.

As to what you affirm about the falsification of these writings, if it is the head of your religion who has taught you this, he has forgotten himself, and if it is some other, he has only lied the worse. Listen then, and think more clearly. The head of your religion admits that one must accept nothing without witnesses^e, and he adds that the [Mosaic] code held the same, saying that “every word may be confirmed by the evidence of two or three witnesses”. (Matt. 18:16). We know that it was Abraham who earlier received the promise of the mission of Christ, and it was to him that God said “By your descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves”. (Gen. 22:18). Isaac, nourished by the same hope, blessed Jacob, and^f then he, with the same purpose, blessed Judah, his son,

^aM *quidēnēt* (about everything), T *quidēnētūnēt* (of anything).

^bM *quururētēt* (about the Creator), T *ururētēt* (from the Creator).

^cM *qūngūnētēt* (about them), T *hūngūnētēt* (from them).

^dM *ūurquurētēt* (of the prophet), T *ūurquurētētēt* (of the prophets).

^eT puts the phrase in the form of a question.

^fM *qh qūrūrēt* (for why?), T *lū qūrūrēt* (and why?).

saying: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs; and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples”. (Gen. 49:10). We know too, that Moses, to the same end, ordained and designated Joshua, David, Solomon, the twelve prophets, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job the just, John the Baptist son of Zechariah. Add to these the twelve and the seventy disciples of our Lord, one hundred and eleven persons in all in the Old and New [Testaments]. You despise then so many holy persons, cherished by God, who have predicted the coming of Christ, people to whom Muhammad himself bore the testimony that they were the holy servants of God. You declare Muhammad more worthy of faith than God, who has spoken through them all, and the Word of God manifest in the flesh^a. Now I ask you in brief, tell me please: Is the testimony borne by one hundred and eleven servants of God, speaking unanimously of the same [Savior], more worthy of faith than that of a dissident or heterodox who, while he lies, thinks he is telling the truth? This is how one tells the truth by lies. Muhammad, in speaking of the abovementioned holy men, represents them as the favored servants of God, and compels you to regard them as such, whereas he himself rejects what God has said through them and prevents others from admitting same.

You^b have asked: “How^c can you depend on the book of the Jews and follow certain passages on your choice, since you also believe that this book of the Law captured^d several times and lost to the sons of Israel who read it and were knowledgeable of it?” Again, “After many years of such loss when nothing was left from [the Books], some individuals undertook to recompose the Laws after their own ideas, meaning that such work would have continued being done from generation to generation, while those who did it, human beings as they were and descendants of Adam, were exposed to all sorts of error and to the seductions of Satan, and those who by their hateful spirit resemble him”. In reply, I am much astonished, not only at your incredulity and training, but also at the manner in which, unashamedly, you expose ideas in writing which render you ridiculous, while you pretend to seduce us by our own words. Thus you start your letter by citing one of our opinions, pretending to draw from it all that follows, stating: “That which you say.” But if you believe in our opinions you must believe in them all, because no one can base himself on a lie, and it is a lie to

^aM puts the sentence in the form of a question.

^bM adds “question 3”.

^cM adds *ḥḥḥḥḥ* (third) at the beginning of the sentence.

^dM *qḥḥḥḥḥ* (they were written), T *qḥḥḥḥḥ* (they were captured).

adopt part of a testimony and reject the other half. However, as you are not informed, listen and learn. When we say that it was the Hebrews who composed the Scripts in the sanctuary, we do not mean to say that they produced it out of their imagination, but that they wrote it based on the faith of authentic documents from holy and pious men of the Hebrew people, drawing them from the works of the Prophets themselves.

The number of beings created by God during the first six days amount to twenty-two, and so [the Old Testament] contains twenty-two books received by the Hebrews as well as by us. Their alphabet is composed of twenty-two letters, of which five sound the same, and that is not without real significance. It is by the inspiration of God through His Prophets that all the truths might be attested to^a, the ones by the others. Of these twenty-two books, five are known under the name of the Law, and called by the Hebrews *Torah*, by the Syrians *Oratha*, and by us *Nomos*. They contain teachings about the knowledge of God, an account of the creation of the world by God, the prohibition of the worship of pagan divinities, the covenant accorded to Abraham and geared to his descendant who is Christ, and the laws concerning civil procedure and sacrifice, laws which far removed them from the custom of that paganism for which they showed intimacy. Then [there are] books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four Kings, the Chronicles, which contain the marvellous works of God with the record, from time to time, of the exact genealogy of the just nation, descending regularly down to Christ. They recount also the history of Israel, indicating what kings among them were agreeable to God, and those who were not; of how the Jewish people, because of their sins, were separated into two kingdoms, that of Israel and of Judah; and finally of their captivity. Then the Psalms of David; the books of Solomon, called by the Hebrews *Koheleth* and *Shirat'shirim*, but by us *Parimon* and *Samatan*^b. The books of the twelve Prophets, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, as well as Daniel and Ezekiel all contain the prophecies of the coming of Christ. So if someone among the Jews had wished to falsify the writings, the completeness of the books would have had to suffer certain changes, for the sacrilegious men would have had to suppress some or reduce them to one, two, or three books at most and eliminate the rest, because thus it would have been much easier to deform them.

I suppose, too, that you are not ignorant of the enmity which exists between us Christians and the Jews, the sole cause of which being our belief in Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God as preached

^aM *ḅṛṛṛṛḥḥḥ Ṭ ḥṛṛṛṛḥḥḥ* (they are seen, they shall be seen).

^bM *Samatan*.

by the Prophets. The Jews, on the other hand, while admitting the future coming of the Christ, have rejected [Jesus] being the Christ, have set themselves against the testimonies of the Prophets, and have been unwilling to recognize the Son of God in the person of Christ. So how can one admit that those who might have falsified the books would have left, or would themselves have added so many indubitable testimonies, which, no matter how much violence is done them, cannot be applied to any other than the incarnate Son of God?

Hear my third response. The captivity of the Jews took place long before the coming of Christ in the flesh, so how could it be that, the temple, the testaments, and the priesthood continued to exist during [Christ's] period, as the Gospels affirm. You yourself confirm that the Lord Himself submitted to circumcision and the other ceremonies, one after the other, in accordance with the Gospels. He underwent all that with the object of proving that it was He Himself who had, through the words of the Prophets, ordained these ceremonies, and that far from being contradictory to Him, they were pleasant and served as solid testimonies to His economy and His mission. All the Jews possessed were the books of the Prophets, which, having traversed the two captivities of Israel and Judah, continued to exist up to the time of our Savior, and from which, the Lord drew the major part of His testimonies in preaching to the hardened Jews. The Jewish people were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, yet the divine protection did not permit them to be dispersed as we see in our own days; God established the entire nation in the land which He had decreed. Not only did [this people] carry with them the Testament, but also some of the Prophets, as Ezekiel says of himself that "I was among the exiles by the river Chebar." (Ezek. 1:1). Also the blessed Ananians were cast into the fiery furnace in Babylon. Moreover, the eminent Daniel prophesied in Babylon, for it was there that he was cast into the lions' den. There it was also that the events [of the history] of Esther took place. As far as the captives taking the Testament with them, you should hear what the Holy Spirit says through the Prophet in the Psalms relative to this captivity of the Jews. This captivity had not taken place, yet he announces it in an unmistakable manner in Psalm 136, saying: "By the waters of Babylon, there we sat down and wept, when we remembered Zion. On the willows there we hung up our lyres. For there our captors required of us songs, and our tormentors words of praise." (Psalms 137:1-3).

You have stated that "the Testament was composed by human genius." I know that you attack the second edition that Esdras composed. Yet this man possessed the grace of the Holy Spirit, and

he composed^a everything infallibly, as is proved by the fact that when all the people returned from captivity and came back to Jerusalem, bringing with them the Testament, there was seen the marvellous work of God, for when it was compared with the edition of Esdras, the latter was found completely in conformity with the former. You further said that “in their quality as men, [the writers of the Testament] were exposed to faults of memory.” It is true that every man is always feeble in every respect, is imperfect and forgetful. Yet God, who is eternal, whose power is great, and whose wisdom is without limitation, spoke to men through Prophets, His ministers. He who is exempt from forgetfulness and conjectures, it is He who speaks through the Prophets, without having need of human^b wisdom. But do you not regard your Muhammad as a man? Yet, relying on the simple word of [Muhammad]^c you disdain the testimonies of so many saints of God. You further say: “Satan finds himself near the servants of God.” As for God Himself, [Satan] never approaches Him, and reasonable people will know that he much rather approaches a person who is deprived completely of the testimony of the Scriptures, than such holy and authoritative people. This will suffice^d as concerns the Scriptures.

In saying that “there cannot be found any reference to paradise or hell, to judgment and resurrection in the Law of Moses”, you show your unwillingness to comprehend the fact that men could only understand the knowledge of God in the measure whereby God would instruct them. God did not speak with man a single time only, nor through a single prophet, as you assume in supposing that God would institute all that was necessary through the ministry of Moses. That is not so^e. What He commanded Noah^f He did not demand of those who preceded him. Not all that He commanded Abraham did He command Noah, nor all that He commanded Moses did He command Abraham. Not all that He commanded Joshua did He command Moses, and what He commanded Samuel and David and all the other Prophets, in each epoch, He did not command Joshua. Thus, as we have already said, God wished to reveal Himself and proclaim His will to man little by little; otherwise, they would have been unable to perceive His marvellous knowledge all at once.

So, if God ought to have ordained all by a single Prophet, why should He send other prophets? And if He was going to let every-

^aM պատմեաց (he told), T գրեաց (he composed).

^bM հ մարդկան (human), T հ մարդկայիկն (human).

^cM adds միայն նորս բանի (on his simple word).

^dM բաւական (sufficient), T բաւականսսցի (will suffice).

^eM չէ այդպէս (is not so), T ոչ այդպէս (not so).

^fM Նոյիկն (to Noah), T նոցիկն (to them).

thing get falsified, as you pretend, why then speak through [the Prophets] at all? Although [the revelation made by God] to Moses was only a preparation for the instruction of men, not a complete instruction, but nevertheless, God does mention in [the Law] the resurrection, judgment, and hell. As regards to the resurrection, God says: “See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god beside me; I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal; and there is none that can deliver out of my hand.” (Deut. 32:39). As regards to judgment, He says: “If I whet my glittering sword, and my hand takes hold on judgment, I will take vengeance on my adversaries, and will requite those who hate me.” (Deut. 32:41). As regards hell [He says:] “For in my anger a fire is kindled which shall burn unto the lowest hells.” (Jeremiah 17:4). [God] brought these words to further development and completion by later Prophets.

As to your statement that “Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John have written the Gospel”, I know that this truth, recognized by us Christians, disturbs you, such that you seek to find accomplices for your lie. You would rather have us declare that it was written by God and brought down from the heavens, as you do for your *Furqan*, although we know that it was ‘Umar, Abu Turab, and Salman the Persian, who composed that, even though you have deceitfully publicized that God sent it down from the heavens. Recognize then the truth that abides with us Christians. If this was so, how dare you accuse us of pretending that, since that time, falsifications have been introduced into the Gospel, whether by us or by others? What could have hindered us from removing from it the names of the evangelists, or from adding that it was God who sent it down from the heavens? Further^a, know this also, that God has not willed to instruct the human race either by His own incorporeal appearance or by sending down angels to meet people. He has chosen the way of sending them Prophets. It is for this reason that the Lord, having finished all those things that He had decided on beforehand, and having announced them before the incarnation through the Prophets, knew that men still needed assistance from God and promised to send the Holy Spirit, under the name of Paraclete, that is the Comforter, to comfort them in the distress and sorrow they felt at the departure of their Lord and Master. I repeat, it was for this reason that Jesus called the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, since He meant to comfort them [His disciples] for His ascension, and remind them of all that He had said, all that He had done before their eyes, all that they were called to propagate throughout the world by their writings. Paraclete thus signifies “comforter”,

^aM adds “question 5”.

while Muhammad^a means “to give thanks”, or in our own tongue, “to render grace” (*eucharistein*), a meaning which has no connection with the word Paraclete.

This blasphemy, in fact, is unpardonable, as the Lord says in the Gospels: “Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven.” (Matt. 12:31). Can there be a blasphemy more terrible than considering the Holy Spirit a person completely ignorant of the Scriptures of God? As to what the Lord has said concerning the Holy Spirit, give heed to what He says: “But the counsellor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you.” (John 14:26). He also adds: “Whom the Father will send in my name”, whereas your Muhammad did not come in the name of our Lord, but in his own name. [Jesus] promised the Holy Spirit to the saints^b, that is, to His disciples, not to men in general, and you know well that His disciples did not live to see your Muhammad.

As I have already said earlier, our Creator spread the teaching of His divine knowledge by His Prophets successively, one by one, and yet, even through them all, He did not achieve the eternal justice that was to come. By the ministry of the Prophet Daniel, God has revealed to us the three periods through which the world shall arrive at a most truthful knowledge of God. First, mankind shall come out of the shadows of idolatry, and shall arrive at a certain degree of knowledge under the light of the Law. From there on men shall pass to the clearer light of the Gospel of Christ, and finally, from the Gospel to the perpetual light of the world to come. None of the Prophets has announced to the world a fourth period, whether for doctrine or for the promises^c. On the contrary, we are warned constantly by the Savior Himself not to admit any other Prophet nor any Apostle after the death of His disciples.

You^d have further stated that, after the death of the disciples of the Lord, we became divided into seventy-two sects. This is not

^aM Ahmat, T Mahmat.

^bM Հոգին սուրբ սուրբ սասց եւ ոչ մարդ (He called the Holy Spirit holy, and not man), T Հոգին սուրբ սրբոց սասց եւ ոչ մարդկան (He promised the Holy Spirit to the saints, and not to mankind).

^cM չորրորդ փոփոխումն կամ վարդապետութիւն, ալլոց խոստումն, կամ մարգարէից, մարդիկ ոչ ընկալան, (The world did not receive from the Prophets the fourth period, whether the doctrine or the promises of the others). T զչորրորդ փոփոխումն կամ վարդապետութիւն կամ խոստումն մարդիկ յալլոց մարգարէից ոչ ընկալան, (None of the Prophets has announced to the world a fourth period, whether for doctrine or for the promises).

^dM adds “question 6”.

true, so do not think of consoling yourself by this lie which you pretend is based on our error. In fact, the blame is applicable in your very case, whereby [your divisions] are not like those who serve God. This is what I mean: According to your own people, it has been a hundred years, more or less, since your religion appeared in the midst of a single nation speaking a single language. Yet this religion, so young, and professed by a single nation, already presents numerous schisms, a few of which have come to our attention as follows: The Kouzi, the Sabari, the Tourapi, the Kentri, the Mourji, the Basli, further the Jahdi^a, who deny both the existence of God, and the resurrection, along with your pretended Prophet, and the Hariuri. The last mentioned, the Hariuri, is again divided into two, one of which is rather peaceable, but the other [is so much full of hatred and enmity against you], that they call you both infidels and enemies, considering the assassination of persons preferable to any other justice, and regarding death at your hands as the foremost of meritorious works. Such acts take place among you. As for yourself, have you not thought^b that by exterminating those who differ^c a little from your opinions, you are committing a crime against God? If such acts take place among you, who form one single people speaking a single language, and having at your head a single person, who is at the same time chief, sovereign, pontiff and executioner, would it be astonishing that the Christian faith, were it the invention of some human wisdom, should become worse than yours? Yet it is now eight hundred years, more or less, since Christ appeared, and His Gospel has been spread from one end of the earth to the other, among all peoples and all languages, from the civilized countries of Greece and Rome to the most remote countries of the barbarians; and if there some minor divergence among Christians is found, it is because of the differences of language. I have said minor, because there has never been that bitter hostility among us such as one sees among you. It would appear that, among the seventy-two, you have included all the voluptuous, impure, unclean, and impious people who conduct themselves like pagans, and among whose number you count us. But these are people who disguise their own admonitions under the holiest name of Christ, professing themselves to be Christians, but whose faith is only a blasphemy, and their baptism only a desecration. When [lapsed] manifest their intention of abandoning their detestable life, the Holy Church receives them into her bosom only after administering

^aM Jdi, T Jahdi.

^bM *խորհիս* (you think), T *չխորհիս* (you do not think).

^cM *որոշիւ ի կարծեաց քոց* (they differ from your opinions), T *խորշիւ ի կարծեաց քոց* (they avoid your opinions).

baptism to them, just as with pagans. Indeed, God has long since made them disappear so that one no longer sees them. As for us, we are accustomed to designate the Christians as seventy races, which have all received holy baptism, the assurance of eternal life. If some questions of minor importance cause agitation among them, especially among some of them who live far from us and speak a tongue other than ours; above all those who have fallen under your tyranny, yet they are none the less Christians, these have no need to be baptized anew. In any case it is nothing strange that Christians, who live as foreigners afar off, have not been able to acquire a closer acquaintance with the traditions of the truth, such as they ought to have. Yet the Scripture are the same, conserved intact in each language. The Gospel is the same, without any variation. Without mentioning the various languages in which the wonderful and salvific knowledge of God has been spread abroad, let me indicate a few of them: First our Greek language, second the Latin, third the Hebrew^a, fourth the Chaldaean^b, fifth the Syriac, sixth that of the Ethiopians, seventh that of the Indians, eight the language of the Saracens, which is yours, ninth that of the Persians, tenth the Armenian, eleventh the Georgian, twelfth the Albanian.

Following to what you say, one or two of these people have introduced changes in the books in their respective languages. How can one admit that these changes are to be found also in the books of other people, dwelling, as you well know, far from us, and differing from us both in their language and their habits. You yourself, on the contrary, have already shown the habit of committing such falsifications, especially in the case of a certain Hajjaj, named by you as Governor of Persia, who gathered up all your ancient books and replaced them with others composed by himself, according to his taste, and spread everywhere in your nation. This was easier by far to undertake among a people speaking a single language, a task which was indeed achieved. Nevertheless, a few of the works of Abu Turab escaped from this destruction, for he [Hajjaj] could not make them disappear completely. [Such a thing as this would have been impossible] among us. First of all, because God has given us the strictest order not to even dare undertaking such an audacious enterprise. Secondly, because even in spite of God's prohibition, if someone ever dared to act so, it would have been impossible for him to gather all the books spread out in so many different languages, find and bring together skilled interpreters, and have them examine the books and make any addition or subtraction on their own. You are well aware, since you mention the fact

^aM *բարսաղացոց, Դ եբրայեցոցն* (of the Hebrews).

^bM omits *չորրորդն քաղդեացոցն* (fourth, the Chaldaean).

that there exists enmity among the Christians, regarding questions of little import, whether or not nations should introduce changes in the Book according to their opinions. Yet no such thing has taken place, neither amongst those who find themselves far from us, nor among those who live near us. Refrain then from making things up, lest you nullify the little truth there is [in what you say.]

But I am greatly astonished as you show such disdain with regard to the Gospels of our Lord and the books of the Prophets, regarding them as falsified and recomposed by men according to their ideas. In order to support your inconsistent opinions, you make citations from them [the Scriptures] which you twist and modify at will. Whenever, for example, you come across the word 'Father', you replace it with 'Lord', or sometimes with 'God'. If you are carrying on research in the interests of truth, you ought to respect the Scriptures before citing them. Or, if you disdain them as corrupt, you ought not to use them for citation. Finally, if you do cite them for purposes of reference, you are obliged to quote them exactly as they are found in the books, without modifying them in the way you do.

It^a is very difficult indeed for the servants of God who are under His command to communicate with you. When other pagans hear the names of the Prophets or the Apostles, they begin to laugh rather strongly but, though you do not despise their names you turn their words into ridicule, especially [you ridicule] the speaker himself. Listen to what Moses was told: "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob" (Exodus 3:15); "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness", (Genesis 1:26); "Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language (Genesis 11:7); "The Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah [brimstone and] fire from the Lord" (Genesis 19:24). These I quote from the books of Moses which you have not read, neither you nor your legislator. Do you believe that it is to angels, who dare not look upon Him, that God is addressing these words? We do not permit ourselves to think, as you so often do, that such passages coming from the Book of God, are empty and futile. To whom then could it be that God is addressing these words, if not to His Word, who is the image of His substance, the ray of the light of His glory, and to the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies and enlightens all? And yet we are accused by you of confessing three gods. Listen to this, I beg you, and then answer to it. Although the sun is one and the rays enameate from it, yet the sun is one thing and the rays something different. Yet take away these rays and there is no more sun. And if any one says that the rays

^aM adds "question 7".

generate directly from the sun, without the concurrence of any other power like the mixture of the sexes, such a person would not be deceiving himself. In effect, though the sun is other than its rays, their union does not make two suns. Are you not convinced of this?^a So, if this light, visible to the eye and created by God, which the night obscures and which the height of the buildings intercepts, seems to us to proceed from a birth so pure, what will be [the purity] of a divine birth, which proceeds from a spontaneous, an ever sufficient light whose splendor nothing dims?

I was forced to make use of this example in order to convince you, because you pay no attention to what God orders us in the Holy Scriptures; as it is, you give highest consideration to your own will as compared with [divine orders]. Consequently, you take from them what pleases you and change or delete what is not in accordance with your views^b. Cursed is the man who professes two or three divinities emanating from different origins. For our part, we know only one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, rational, whose Word, holy and ingenious, created all things and governs them. And this Word is not like ours, which, as long as it has not proceeded from our mouths, remains incomprehensible [to others], and as soon as it has gone out, decomposes and dissipates. This Word is what we recognize as the Word of God, the ray of light without quality and which nothing dims, a ray which is not originated like those of the sun, but is of a quality so eminent as to surpass the intelligence and all explanation. It is this Word which Scriptures call the Son of God, engendered by Him not under the dominance of passion such as is of earth, but as the rays are born from the sun, as light originates from fire, and as word emanates from reason. This is all that human language can say with regard to the Word of God, emanating from God.

Now, among creatures, there is no being more precious before God than man, as you yourself confess [in mentioning] that the angels were commanded by God to bow down before Adam, a fact unknown to the Holy Scriptures. Adam was a man, [and in rendering him such homage] you have well evidenced your pride, so let everyone know what place those who are willing to render homage to man ought to occupy, as you have said. It is evident that Adam was created in the image of God, but do you believe that it was his material body full of infirmities which God created in His image? Never. On the contrary, it was his soul, reason and word which God created in the image of His Spirit and His Word. Man, being

^aM does not put the sentence in the form of a question.

^bM adds [գորս ոչն կամիս] յալլ ինչ փոխարկես, եւ գորս կամիս [խոտես եւ ի բաց ընկեննու].

created in this manner and receiving free will, became the image of God. But later, deceived by the Tempter, he was robbed of the honor which was vested in him by the Creator, and being now a despised creature because of his reproachable ingratitude, he abandoned himself to a life of most profane debauchery. His whole life came to present nothing but a pattern of hatred, plunder, murder and avidity, ending up into idolatry, which is the first and the last of all iniquities, and into such unchasteness as I am ashamed to speak of here. [In this aberration] they worshiped not only fantastic visible creatures, but even their vices, adultery, sodomy, to which they rendered divine honors. Thus did the Tempter succeed in turning [humanity] worshippers^a of himself and rejoice at seeing himself adored in the form of the idols of paganism in whose worship he encouraged them to live.

God, therefore, seeing His image so degraded by this adoration rendered unto the Tempter and by the subsequent misery into which [man had fallen in doing that] which was pleasing to him [Satan], was touched with compassion for mankind, for He alone is the true compassionate benefactor of men. And, as there existed no other way of salvation for man other than coming to know his Creator and flee from the enemy, from time to time, He made Himself known through the Prophets, His ministers, like by a light which shines in the midst of the darkness of paganism^b. But because of the blindness of man's spirit, man was unable to fully contemplate the whole^c of the knowledge of God and receive the light^d, for which reason God revealed [His knowledge] gradually, little by little, as I have noted above, until the right time arrived. This He did as much as He pleased to instruct men, promising them in advance, through the Prophets, the coming of His incarnate Word.

And because the Word of God should assume our flesh, our soul and all [that is proper to man] save sin, and because no one among men was able to descend lower^e than He in humiliation, we attribute to Him all that has been said as to His lowering Himself; and, on the other hand, [all that has been said] as to His supremacy, [we attribute to Him] as to one who is veritably God. Do you recall what we mentioned above from the books of Moses, concerning the

^aM երկրպագութիւն (worship), T երկրպագոս (worshippers).

^bM ի կոսապաշտութեան (of your paganism), T ի կոսապաշտութեան անդ (of that paganism).

^cM գրաւանդակ (the whole), T գրովանդակ (the whole).

^dM լոյս (light), T զլոյս (the light).

^eM աշտիճան (degree), T աստիճան (degree).

equality^a of the Word with God Himself? Listen to what Moses further says relative to the appearance [of the Word] in a human form: “The Lord your God will raise up a prophet from among your brethren, to whom you will hearken always to whatsoever he speaks unto you. And it will so be that whoever shall not hearken to the words of that prophet shall die from among his people.” (Deut. 18:15, 18-19). It is true that since the death of Moses, instead^b of one single prophet, there have appeared a great number. Nevertheless, this passage applies to one only, namely, he who is the most powerful of them, and who announces things difficult to believe.

Now I shall cite for you a series of passages from the Prophets, indicating the coming of Christ. But consider first those which testify to His humiliation, believing that you will welcome such with pleasure. In this manner, I hope that I shall succeed in elevating you, [God] willing, as by a stairway^c, even to the presence [of God]. David prophesied of Him and said: “But I am a worm, and no man; scorned by men, and despised by the people. All who see me mock at me, they make mouths at me, they wag their heads; ‘He committed his cause to the Lord; let him deliver him, let him rescue him, for he delights in him’.” (Psalm 22:6-7). This prophecy was not accomplished by David, but by [the person] of the Lord, at the time of His crucifixion.

Listen to the same David who speaks of Him [Christ] in eminent terms: “The Lord said to me, ‘you are my son, today I have begotten you’.” (Psalm 2:7). To indicate the complete conversion of all the pagan^d to the [Christian] faith, the same [Prophet] adds: “Ask of me, and I will make the nations^e your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession.” (Psalm 2:8). Again “The Lord says to my Lord: ‘Sit at my right hand, till I make your enemies your footstool. On the day of your power you were [endowed with princely gifts]. For the beauty of your saints I have begotten you from the womb before the morning star,’ ” (Psalm 110:1,3). The same [Prophet] David expresses himself^f thus on the unity of the divine nature in heaven: “The earth is full of the steadfast love of the Lord. By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and

^aM հասասարութիւն (equality), T վասն հասասարութեան (concerning equality).

^bM թէ (whether), T եթէ (instead of).

^cM սանդղակ (by a stairway), T սանդղակ (by a stairway).

^dM հեթանոսքն (the pagans), T հեթանոսն (the pagans).

^eM զհեթանոսքն (the nations), T զհեթանոսս (the nations).

^fM նշանակեալ (marked), T նշանակեաց (marked).

all their host by the breath of his mouth.” (Psalm 33:5-6). Isaiah^a [says]: “The Lord has sent me and his Spirit” (Isaiah 48: 16). Listen to [Baruch]^b who also speaks concerning the incarnation of the Word: “This is our God, no other can be compared to him. He found the whole way to knowledge, and gave her to Jacob his servant and to Israel whom he loved^c. Afterward she appeared upon earth and lived among men. She is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endures for ever.” (Baruch 3:35-4:1). “Turn, O Jacob, and take her; walk toward the shining of her light.” (Baruch 4:2). [In this passage] the Prophet indicates two emanations of His light: the first is that of His ineffable humiliation^d, whereby He illuminated the entire universe, by propagating therein the rays of the knowledge of God; and the second is that of the general resurrection that He announced to the Hebrew people, exhorting them to remain faithful to the first rising of that light, and not to revolt against it, as it really happened, lest strangers, that is to say pagans, should possess His glory. [He then says to them]: “Turn, O Jacob, and take her; walk toward the shining of her light. Do not give your glory to another, or your advantages to an alien people.” (Baruch 4:2-3).

Listen to what has been said. Here the Prophet announces not only the future incarnation of the Word of God, but also predicts^e by the clearest manner the disobedient^f revolt of the carnal people of Israel. This prophecy does not prevent^g us from receiving yet another, by a stranger, in spite of his will, and mentioned by Moses in his book: “How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel.” (Numbers 24:5). And a little further on [he adds:] “A scepter shall come forth from his descendant and shall rule over many nations; his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.” (Numbers 24:7). And again: “I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: a star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the chief Moab, and break down all the sons of Seth.” (Numbers 24:17). This prophecy speaks of Him as a man, yet you see well how, in precise fashion, it indicates the future domination He will exercise over the pagans.

^aM and T have Jeremiah.

^bM and T have Jeremiah.

^cM *սիրեցեալն* (whom he loved), T *սիրելոյ* (the loved).

^dM *խնարհութեանս* (of this humiliation), T *խնարհութեան* (of the humiliation).

^eM *գուշակեալ* (predicting), T *գուշակեաց* (predicted).

^fM *զհետսութիւն* (the disobedience), T *զհետսութեան* (of the disobedience).

^gM *արգելէ* (prevents), T *արգելու* (prevents).

If you want to know what it means for Him to rule all nations, it means that all peoples^a must believe in Him, as you see for yourself. The chiefs of Moab stand for Satan and all his demons, who maintain the untruthful cult of idolatry among the nations; they were finally beaten by Christ, since the idolatry of the Moabites and those peoples subject to their dominion was more detestable than that of all the other peoples, since they adored, among other things, the genitals of man and woman, instruments of the most detestable voluptuousness.

If you ask why His [Christ's] kingdom was elevated above that of Agag, the answer is that whatever Agag may have been^b, he was^b but temporal, while that of Christ is celestial. You will see that the kingdom of Christ really is such if you pay attention to the words of the Holy Spirit on this matter, when He says through David: "Give the king thy justice, O God, and the righteousness to the royal son." (Psalm 72:1). Does not this indicate that Christ was^c, by His divinity, Son of God, the celestial King, and by His human [nature] as son of David, terrestrial king, as we have often told you? A little further on [the Prophet] adds: "May he live while the sun endures, and as long as the moon, throughout all generations. May he have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth. May all kings fall down before him, all nations serve him. May prayer be made for him continually, and blessings invoked for him all the day. May his name endure for ever, his fame continue as long as the sun. May men bless themselves by him, all nations call him blessed." (Psalm 72:5, 8, 11, 15b, 17). Can one^d, after having heard such expressions, attribute them without fear to an ordinary man, a descendant of David, and not to Him who, in His human nature is son of David, but in His divine nature is Son of God and Word of God; and who in the end must reign, not by force or arms or pitiless effusion of blood or enslaving, but by pacific^e faith, as is indicated still more clearly in the following Psalm: "In his days may righteousness flourish, and peace abound, till the moon be no more." (Psalm 72: 7).

God also announced [the Messiah] through Micah, saying: "But you, O Bethlehem Ephrathah, who are little to be among the clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to be ruler of Israel, whose roots are from of old, from ancient days."

^aM *ամենեկունց* (to all), T *ամենեկուն* (to all).

^bM *է* (is, in both cases), T *էր* (it was).

^cM *էր* (he was), T *է* he is).

^dM *ոչ ոք* (no one), T *ոք* (who is he?).

^eM *խաղաղարար* (peace-maker), T *խաղաղակալ* (peaceful).

(Micah 5:2). The issue of a simple man to be dated as from eternal days is not possible. Again, God predicted through the mouth of Jeremiah, saying: “[The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately corrupt;] who can understand it? O Lord, the hope of Israel, all who forsake thee shall be put to shame; those who turn away from thee shall be written in the earth, for they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living water.” (Jeremiah 17:9, 13). Israel here means not the obstinate Jews, but those who have seen the Word of God, and have believed that He was God from God, because in the Hebrew language the word Israel is translated as ‘penetrating seer’. That the will of God is that Israel should remain to be a clairvoyant [people], listen to what Isaiah had to say: “For to us a child is born. . . and the government will be upon his shoulder, and his name will be called the Angel of the great mystery, Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.” (Isaiah 9:6). He is called Angel by reason of His human character completely free of sin; Wonderful Counsellor and Mighty God are attributes of His divine nature. Then the Prophet adds: “of the increase of his government and of peace there will be no end, upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from this time forth and for evermore.” (Isa. 9:7).

Now it is well known that [Jesus] did not mount the throne of David, nor did He reign over Israel, because this has no reference to a contemporary throne, but to that of which God has spoken to David in these words: “I will establish his line for ever and his throne as the days of the heavens.” (Psalm 89:29). Someone may now ask, what is this throne of David? And how is it eternal and as the days of the heavens? It is the celestial kingdom^a of Christ, who as to His human nature was a son of David, of whom it was announced: “[Of the increase of his government and of peace there will be no end], upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from this time forth and for evermore.” (Isa. 9:7). It is evident from this passage that the most powerful and most glorious kingdom of Christ, the son of David by His human nature, himself will transport His eternal and inaccessible kingdom higher in the heavens. You must pay attention to what Isaiah [prophesied]: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Emmanuel, which means, God is with us.” (Isa. 7:14; cf. Matt. 1:23).

There are still many passages^b I could cite [on this subject] but

^aM գերկնատր թագաւորութենէ (about the kingdom of heaven), T երկնատր թագաւորութիւնն (the kingdom of heaven).

^bM վկայութիւնս (citations), T վկայութեանց (of citations).

I have preferred to limit them for the sake of avoiding weariness to the hearers. Nevertheless, hearken, if you will, to some citations regarding His ineffable humiliation in the sufferings which He voluntarily went through in accordance with the previous indication of the Prophets. Through Isaiah the Holy Spirit spoke thus: "I was not rebellious, I turned not backward. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to those who pulled out the beard; I hid not my face from shame and spitting." (Isa. 50:5b, 6). Also through Zechariah God said: "If it seems right to you, give me my wages; but if not, keep them. And they weighed out as my wages thirty shekels of silver." (Zechariah 11:12). This prediction, along with all the others, was fulfilled in the person of the Savior: He was sold by His disciple, and handed over^a to death, as the holy Gospels have told us, which you may read^b as carefully as you wish and will find it such [as we have presented it to you]. Among many others David prophesied pertaining [to the sufferings]: "He who ate my bread, has lifted his heel against me." (Psalm 41:9). Listen to the other testimony from Isaiah:

"Behold, my servant shall prosper, he shall be lifted up. As many were astonished at him [his appearance was so marred, beyond human semblance, and his form beyond that of the sons of men, so shall he startle many nations]; kings shall shut their mouths because of him; for that which has not been told them they shall see, and that which they have not heard they shall understand. Lord, who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? [For he grew up before him like a young plant], and like a root out of dry ground; he had no form or comeliness that we should look at him, and no beauty that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hide their faces he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; yet we esteemed him stricken, smitten by God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; upon him was the chastisement that made us whole, and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; like a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and like sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. By oppression and judgment he was taken away; and as his generation, who considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living,

^aM *ḍawināni* (to betray), T *ḍawināni* (having betrayed).

^bM *ḥāḥḥāḥ* (you read!), T *ḥāḥḥāḥḥāḥ* (you may read).

stricken for the transgression of my people? [And they made his grave with the wicked and with a rich man in his death], although he had done no violence, and there was no deceit in his mouth.” (Isa. 52: 13-53:9).

Dare you then relying on the bare word of your Muhammad deny and turn into lie the so many testimonies of the Holy Spirit, set forth by the Prophets, His servants? You must at least conform to the order of your legislator, who commands that nothing be affirmed unless verified by two witnesses. Indeed this is one of the more important [regulations]^a. How dare you utter so evident a blasphemy, relying solely on the word [of your prophet]? Is it that you have forgotten, though may be you are hardly aware of it, the tremendous imposture credited by your prophet, according to whom Miriam, the daughter of Amram^b, and sister of Aaron, was the mother of our Lord, whereas between the first Miriam and the mother of the Lord there elapsed thirty years less two thousand years, and thirty-two generations? If you had a countenance that was sensitive and not of stone, truly you would have blushed at such impostures^c absolutely without foundation. Christ, according to the promise of God, ought to come from the tribe of Judah, whereas Miriam, the daughter of Amram^d, belonged to that of Levi, many many years before as I said. Your objections are totally irrelevant, and offer nothing but a multitude of gross and inadmissible falsifications. The source of so many such contradictions is purely human invention, but I shall endeavor to dry them up with a little effort on the part of the truth.

With regard to the Mosaic Code, the Psalms and the Gospels, you pretend that the Hebrews and we have altered them, though you recognize that these books are of divine origin. Suppose we admit for a moment that ours have been falsified and corrupted, where are yours in which you place credence? Show us other books of Moses or the Prophets, Psalms of David, or the Gospels, that we may see them. This deception is^e most shameful and dishonorable. At the very least, you will have to admit that even you have never seen them, and we are bound not to believe them. But you, who takes pleasure in looking into the Gospel we possess, in an attempt to produce some quotations, after forcing them and altering them,

^aM *qlywrh iudʿ fhrprwqnlū hrū, T nḡ lywrh fhrprwqnlū t hrū* (this is one of the more important [regulations]).

^bM Amran.

^cM *uunrphūnu* (impostures), T *uunrphūnū* (at your impostures).

^dM Amran.

^eM omits *t* (is).

do you still pretend that we have falsified them? At least quote that Gospel which your legislator knew, and then I shall be convinced that you are speaking the truth.

There is only one single faith, you say. There is indeed but one faith, one baptism; there is no other faith nor commandment that has been given men by God. Then you reproach us for not turning, when we pray, to the region indicated by the Law, and for not communicating as the legislation ordains. This objection is completely nonsense and false, because the region to which the Prophets turned when they made their prayers is not known. It is you who wants to venerate the pagan altar of sacrifice that you call the House of Abraham. Holy Scriptures tell us nothing about Abraham having gone to the place which afterwards, according to the order of Muhammad, became the center of adoration of your nation. As to the sacrament of the Communion you will have my response in its proper place.

Let^a us first examine the different passages of the Gospels and see if you are dealing with them properly. Jesus, as God, had no need of prayers, but as man He prayed in order to teach us how to pray, even us whose nature He partook. But in praying He said nothing of all that which you attribute to Him. Rather, He said: "Father, if Thou art willing, remove this cup from me," (Luke 22; 42), indicating that He was really man, since it is necessary to believe that the Word of God was both perfect man and perfect God, so that whosoever deprives Him of one or the other of these attributes, also deprives himself of the hope of attaining eternal life.

The truth of the Gospel and the faithful are manifested by conserving intact the traits in [Jesus] which are the most eminent and the most humiliating. Had those who preceded us been able, or if we ourselves had thought of introducing some changes in the Gospels, would not these humiliating traits have been suppressed? [Jesus] said: "The Son can do nothing of his own accord, but the Father who dwells in me does his work." (John 5:19; 14:10). If you believe in the words "I can do nothing on my own", you must also believe in the words that "the Father who dwells in me does his works." Similarly, if you believe in the fear which came over Him during His life-giving death, and the sweat which covered His face on behalf of Adam's sweat, and of which He had said before His incarnation: "In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread" (Genesis 3:19). If you believe in the assistance given Him by the angels, though this was not to encourage Him, but to dispel the idea of His disciples that He was a mere man, such an apparition making them realize that He was in many respects above the state of

^aM adds "question 8".

a mere man; if, I repeat, you believe all this, you must also believe in what He has said in the same book: "I lay [my life] down of my own accord. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." (John 10:18). Never did He say as you pretend "God sent me into the world and I shall return to Him." On the contrary, He said: "The Father [who sent] is with me" (John 16:32). Again, "I came from the Father, and have come into the world; again I am leaving the world and going to the Father." (John 16:28). As for you, in the passages just quoted, whenever you come across the word "Father" you change it, replacing it either by the word "Lord", or by the word "God", thinking that you can justify your position by doing that.

Among these unjust modifications that you make, however, there is one passage which you quote with fidelity, though you put no faith in it. That passage is this: "He who believes^a in me, believes^a not in me but in him who sent me." (John 12:44). The meaning of this is that it is not in His human and visible nature [that one believes], but in His divine nature, inasmuch as He is the Word of God. Then He adds as follows: "He who rejects me, rejects Him who sent me", and "He who sees me, sees Him who sent me." (John 12: 45, 48). He was sent as a man, and He sent [His disciples] as God, saying to them: "The Father is greater than I" (John 14:28); that is to say, greater than [my] human nature, for otherwise He would have not said a little later on, "I and my Father are one." (John 10:30). In His prayer, as you yourself report, [Jesus] said: "That they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." (John 17:3). In this passage Jesus Christ has been honored by the very same divinity of God. Had He been merely a Prophet, He must have only said that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Moses with the other Prophets, and then Jesus. Put aside then all these idle opinions, for the fact is that Jesus, perfect God, became perfect man, by assuming a human nature^b.

[To the perfect man] we attribute the humiliating expressions [of the Scriptures], as applying to a man, just as the glorious expressions apply to a true God, as I have mentioned several times. Under the cover of His human body He was tempted by Satan, who, at the baptism [of Jesus], upon hearing the divine voice, saying: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Matt. 3:17), was seized with horror, not being able to identify the addressee of the voice. Meanwhile the Lord, by His fast of forty days, as by the voice, proved that it was He alone to whom the

^aM *ἠπίστευσεν* (he believed), T *ἠπιστάσῃ* (he believes).

^bM omits *ὑπάρηληγοῦσάνῃ* (our human nature).

voice was addressed. The Evil One, by his constant jealousy towards those who practice virtue, became indignant and approached the Lord as a mere man. In His human nature [the Lord] replied to [the Adversary] with His full knowledge, acknowledging him as the enemy of our [humanity], and refusing to reveal to him the mystery of His perfectness. But why have you not read what follows, when the Satan found his temptations useless and retired for a while at which time angels approached [the Lord] and worshipped Him? Obviously, angels did not^a worship [the Lord] as a mere man. It seems that it is only the truth that you evade, adhering to nothing else, so as not to recognize our Lord as God, confessing Him always as a mere man, comparing Him to Adam who, according to you, was created immediately by God, without having parents.

As for His life-giving death, of which you have^b heard, you insist on saying that no one could put Him to death. But [I ask you], if [Jesus] were a mere man, according to your supposition, is it an incredible thing that a man should be able to die? Pay close attention and think about this. You easily accept all the humiliating traits [in the life] of our Lord, but you despise and reject all the glorious ones. Listen now to the Gospels in regard to this matter. Indeed, to whom does John the Evangelist refer in saying: “He who believes in the Son has eternal life; he who does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him^c.” (John 3:36). John the son of Zechariah also says: “Behold the lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.” (John 1:29). Then John the Evangelist begins his Gospel with these words: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made.” (John 1:1-3). The Word of God himself, having come into the world in flesh, has said: “He who has seen me has seen the Father” (John 14:9), “as the Father knows me and I know the Father” (John 10:15), “the Father who has sent me is with me” (John 16:32), “I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.” (John 20:17). He is [Jesus]’ Father by His divine nature, and our^d Father by grace, because “to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God.” (John 1:12). He is His God because of His human nature, which He has in common with us. [Jesus] was sent in

^aM omits *n₂* (did not) and adds question mark on the verb: *uyuzunēn* (do they worship?).

^bM omits *ku* (you are).

^cM omits *ūnūj h q̄k̄ruw j ġnrw* (rests on him).

^dM *ākr* (your, pl.), T *ūkr* (our).

His quality as man, and in His being as God, He sent [His disciples]: “As the Father has sent me, even so I send you.” (John 20:21; Matt. 28:18 [Arm. text]). Thus all the passages of the Gospels are in accord on these points.

With regard to circumcision and the sacrifice, you pretend that we have changed them at will, altering the former into baptism and the latter into the communion of bread and cup. We have not modified anything; it was the Lord Himself who, in accordance with the prediction of Jeremiah, changed the type as laid down in the Old Testament and established the true law^a. This is the prophecy: “Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt.” (Jer. 31:31-32). What covenant did He make with their fathers in the land of Egypt, if not that of which one is reminded by the blood of the lambs on the day of Easter, the Passover, and which He had given to be kept in the midst of their people? (Cf. Exodus 12:17, 21-28).

So if the sons of Israel were saved from destruction by the blood of an unreasonable lamb, could not we be saved from eternal death by the blood of the immaculate lamb? The immaculate lamb of God, during His passion, took bread, which He blessed, broke, and gave to the disciples. He did the same with the cup of wine. These He called His body and His blood, and commanded that we take and drink in remembrance of Him, announcing thereby His death as the sacrifice of the lamb, innocent and pure. The true Lamb was preached as none other than this [the Lord]. The Holy Scriptures, which you certainly never read, give Jesus different names: Word, Son, Ray, Image of God, Image of the Servant, God, Man, Angel, Pearl, Bait, Lord of Lords, Servant, Lamb, Sheep, Shepherd, Eldest among brethren, Eldest among the dead. Had I^b recognized you as one who seeks justice, nothing would have hindered me from giving exposition of each of these names, indicating their true sense and significance.

Regarding circumcision, you pretend that we have replaced it by baptism. The mystery of circumcision, whereby God desired to treat His covenant in this secret member and not in others more visible and glorious, remains unknown to you. You are also ignorant of a further instance, that Abraham, before being circumcised,

^aM *hruugū* ([changed] to the facts), T *orhūuugū* ([changed] to the law).

^bM adds *tī hūwš hgt* [*t̄p̄t̄ ḏawūwz̄t̄h q̄p̄t̄q̄*] (if it was the case [that I had recognized you]).

drew the favor of God to himself, and that he received the precept of circumcision only that it might serve as a sign of nothing other than his faithfulness and love to God. As for the principal reason why this secret member was chosen [to serve this institution], you cannot know it, as observed above. As for us, we have not received any command to circumcise our exterior members, but our heart, through the Spirit, as in the above cited promises of God, announcing the introduction of a new covenant. Indeed, if Christ, the Master of the true Law, had not eliminated^a circumcision, as well as the Sabbath and the sacrificial system, what new covenant could He be promising? You ought to be ashamed of the fact that at so modern a time as ours, when God has delivered the human race by breaking the bonds of the law, you take revenge for circumcision by only ridiculing it to the end. In the ancient law God ordered every male to be circumcised on the eighth day after birth, whereas among you, not only the males but also the females, at no matter what age, are exposed to this shameful act.

As for the divine institution of Baptism, it was announced to us by God long beforehand, through the Prophet Ezekiel, in these words: “I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleanness, and from all your idols I will cleanse you.” (Ezekiel 36:25). The Lord commanded this same baptism in His Gospel, saying: “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.” (Matt. 28:19). This became the fulfillment of the Prophet’s prediction that “I have given you as a light to the nations” and “the people who sat in darkness have seen a great light.” (Isaiah 42:6. Cf. Matt. 4:16).

Nor have we substituted Sunday for the Sabbath, as you always pretend unwisely. Among yourselves, Friday has been set as the day for assembly^b, without any reason being given to justify the choice. As for us, we assemble on the day of the bodily resurrection of the Lord, who thereby has promised us resurrection, to say our prayers, and render thanks^c to the Creator for so great a mystery. This is the day on which God^d at the beginning said: “Let there be light, and there was light.” (Gen. 1:3). It was on the same day that the light of the good news of the Resurrection shone forth to mankind by the resurrection of the Word and the only-begotten Son of

^aM *նչ բառնալ ուսուցչին Քրիստոսի, Ե նչ բառնալը ուսուցիչն Քրիստոս*
(Christ the Master would not have eliminated it).

^bM *ժողովոց* (for assemblies), Ե *ժողովոյ* (for assembly).

^cM *գովութիւն* (praise), Ե *գոհութիւն* (thanks).

^dM omits *սասնուծ* (god).

God in His human body. We have neither received command to refrain from work therein, following the Jews, nor have we stayed away from preparing our food. Yet for what reason do you attach so much importance to the genuine traditions of the Christians, despite your disbelief regarding the Prophets of the Lord? It was for you and such as resemble you that God said through His Prophet: “Look, you outrageous people, and you will be outraged and reduced yourselves. For I am doing a work in your days that you would not believe if told.” (Habakkuk 1:5).

Nora^a have I forgotten the objection raised by you in these terms: “How is it possible for God to dwell in the womb of a woman, in the midst of blood and flesh and different impurities?” I suppose that you know there is a multitude of creatures God has brought into being by His simple command of word, as Psalm 148 assures us, saying: “He commanded and they were created; He established them forever and ever.” (Psalm 148:5b-6). All these beings, the sky with the sun, the moon and the stars, celestial bodies and vegetation of the earth, and the animals, it appears occupy a superior place in your mind, and seem purer and more precious than man. Man, however, considered by you as an impure being, was nevertheless created not by a simple command, but by the all-powerful and all-holy hand of God, who also animated him by His breath.

Consequently, human nature, created by the creative hands [of God], and honored by Him with resemblance to Him, cannot be an impure thing in His sight. Do not, then, offer insults to the good Creator, in whose eyes nothing of all that has been created by Him is unclean, save only sin, which not only was not created by Him in man, but was not even ordained. In fact there is nothing more precious than man, for whom all things were created^b. God then, who has so honored man by creating him in His image, would not think it shameful to take man’s image in order to save him, since, as I have said, there is nothing unclean in human nature except sin. All those things which you consider unclean in our human nature have been organized so by God for the good of the human race. For example, the menses of the female serve in the procreation of the human species, and the elimination of the excesses of food and drink serve for the conservation of our life. It is you alone who consider them impure, whereas in the eyes of God the things that you like, such as, defilement, murder, blasphemy and other such crimes, are considered as defiling, rather than the aforementioned things

^aM adds “question 11”.

^bM վասն որոյ արար իսկ ամենայն (for whom all things He created), T վասն որոյ արարաւ ամենայն (for whom all things were created).

which are designed for the purpose of procreation and the health of human life.

Above all these, now listen to this. If the bush that God^a inflamed with divine fire at the time of Moses was not consumed, man must be considered of greater value than a bush and all other created things, for it is of holy men that God said: “I will live in them and move among them.” (2 Cor. 6:16). And again, “But this is the man to whom I will look, he that is humble and contrite in spirit, and trembles at my word.” (Isaiah 66:2). It is clearly to be seen here that God calls just men His habitation, and that He is not offended by their natural and human^b infirmities, which you call filthiness, since it befits the ever-living to have been a living temple^c. I submit to you the following proposition as I perceive you to be envious of the glory of the saints of God and their relics, that God declared to be His dwelling. If God cares for all the bones of the human race in view of the general resurrection, how should He not take special care for those of His saints, of whom He has spoken many times in such glorious^d and majestic terms, above all, of those who have suffered death in His cause? It is of [these] martyrs that^e the Holy Spirit says by the mouth of David that “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints” (Psalm 116:15), and in another passage: “Many are the afflictions of the righteous; but the Lord delivers him out of them all^f. He keeps all his bones; none of them is broken.” (Psalm 34:19-20). The divine power that dwells in His saints affirms that their bones will not be broken, yet we know that a great number of saints’ bones have been ground to powder or reduced to ashes by fire. As for you, child that you are, occupied with things that are visible, you do not think of that at all. [The Holy Spirit] further declares: “God is marvellous to His saints” (Psalm 68:35)^h, and Solomon speaks in these terms: “But the righteous live forever, and their reward is with the Lord. In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died, but they are at peace.” (Wisdom 5:15; 3:2, 3). I presume that you are not aware of the story of the uncircumcised stranger whose corpse, as soon as it was cast

^aM omits *ստորուծ* (God).

^bM *ի բնութիւն ական մարդկային* (natural and human), T *ի բնական մարդկային* (by the natural human).

^cM *կենդանի եւ տաճար իմն լինել* (to have been a living temple), T *կենդանի լինել եւ տաճարին* (to have been a living [presence] in the temple too).

^dM *փառատրեայլս* (in such glorious), T *փառատրագոյնս* (in most glorious).

^eM adds *իսկ* (even).

^fM *լամենեցունց* (out of all), T *լամենայնէ* (out of all).

^gM *մի փշրեացի* (is not broken), T *նչ փշրեացի* (is not broken).

^hM Cf. R.S.V. “Terrible is God in his sanctuary.”

into the tomb of the prophet Elisha and had touched his bones, came back to life at once. Now, if divine power did not reside in the bones of the holy prophet, how could those of a simple dead man be able to resuscitate the dead man? Thus we see that the living God does not consider that He is defiled by dwelling in the tomb of a dead person, for that which seems to me and to you unclean is just the opposite in the eyes of God. Yet what respect for the saints could one expect from you, when actually you, moved by the straying habit worthy of a pagan, exercise such cruelties towards the faithful of the Lord, with the purpose of converting them to apostasy, and putting to death all those who resist your claims. You are only putting yourself under eternal death, as it has been predicted by our Lord that, "The hour is coming when whoever kills you will think he is offering service to God." (John 16:2). It is thus that Muhammad, your father's brother, when on the day he went to immolate the profane sacrifice of a camel, at the same time had decapitated a number of Christian servants of God, and mingled their blood with that of the animal. Yet you are ^a annoyed when we gather together the remains of the martyrs who have shown the profession of their faith by their own death, so that we may bury them in places dedicated to God.

In your letter there are some words pertaining to the cross and pictures. We honor the cross because of the sufferings of the incarnate Word of God borne thereon, as we learned from a commandment given by God to Moses, and from the messages of the Prophets. The metal plate which by the order [of God] Moses placed on the forehead of the high priest (Aaron) was clean and holy having the form of a living being. (Cf. Exodus 28: 36-38). It is [in imitation of this sign] that we Christians sign our foreheads with the cross, as [sign] of the Word of God who suffered for us in His human nature. Prophet Isaiah even indicates the wood out of which that cross should be made, the sublime crown in which the Church is forever glorified. He says: "The cypress, the plane, and the pine, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious." (Isaiah 60:13). Solomon says: "Blessed is the wood by which righteousness comes." (Wisdom 14:7). Again, "She [wisdom] is a tree of life to those who lay hold of her; those who hold her fast are called happy." (Proverbs 3:18).

As for pictures, we do not pay them like respect, not having received any commandment to that effect in the Holy Scriptures. We have, however, in the Old Testament the divine command which authorized Moses to have the figures of the Cherubim in the taber-

^aM adds *ἠνεύθει* (increasingly).

nacle as witnesses. Likewise we, animated by a sincere love for the disciples of the Lord, and burned^a with love for the incarnate Lord Himself, have always felt a desire to conserve their images, which have come down to us from their times as their living representation. Having them [their images] in front of us, we joyfully glorify God who has saved us by the intercession of His only-begotten Son, who appeared in the world in a similar figure, and who has glorified His saints. But as for the wood and the colors on it, we do not give them any reverence.

But^b you do not feel ashamed to have venerated that house of yours which is called the Ka'aba, the dwelling of Abraham as you say. As a matter of fact Abraham never saw any such arid^c desert even in his dream. This house was existing long before Muhammad, and was the object of a cult among your people, while Muhammad not only did not abolish it, but also called it the dwelling of Abraham. I wish not to be insulting you by saying that I shall prove my point by passages from the holy Gospels and from your own history. The Lord often drove out demons into that very desert, as He says in the Gospel: "He [the unclean spirit] passes through waterless places." (Matt. 12:43). These unclean spirits^d appear to you there sometimes in the form of serpents, and sometimes they seem to indulge in evil relations with women, according to their custom, giving the appearance of making marriages. You, deceived by the illusion, and imprudently following them, make yourselves equals to them here on earth and in the world to come. You seem not to understand that in the other world they are forbidden to have such intercourse according to the Gospel^e of the Savior.

[Jesus], while in body, fettered here below their^f [the demons'] revolting violence, and though, like their father Satan, they are always full of malice, yet they are unable to cause harm openly. If they dared to do this, or were able, they would have destroyed you as by fire in a single day. As it is, they are able to do no more than lead you to the loss of your souls by way of fraud. Examples of such ridiculous superstitions: The stone that you call *rukn* and

^aM ջեռեալք (warmed), T վառեալք (burned).

^bM adds "question 13".

^cM զանջորդ ղիսական անապատն (the arid demoniac desert), T անջորդի անապատն (the arid desert).

^dM իսկ ղոմ գեանս (= գեհեանս) իմն բնակեալ անդ (it appears to you that some hell is found there), T իսկ ղեւք բնակեալ անդ (whereas unclean spirits are living there).

^eM ատետարանի (of Gospel), T ատետարանաւ (by Gospel).

^fM անրա (his), T անրա (their).

which you adore and kiss without knowing why; the carnage of demon, from which the birds and the beasts flee with all haste and extreme aversion; the stones cast; the flight; having your head shaven, and the rest.

I will allow myself to say a word about the abominable authorization given you by your legislator to have an affair with your wives which he has compared, I am ashamed to say, to the tilling of fields. As consequence of this, some of you acquired the habit of having affair with women, as if it were a matter of tilling fields. Nor can I forget the unchaste^a approach of your prophet^b and the manner full of artifice whereby he succeeded in seducing the woman Zeda. Of all these abominations, the worst is that of accusing God of being the originator of all these unclean acts, which has doubtless been the cause of the introduction of this disgusting^c law among your people. Is there indeed a worse blasphemy than that of alleging that God is the cause of all this evil? As for the example of David, who took Uriah's wife, as you remind me, it is well known that therein he committed a sin before God, for which he was grievously punished by the Lord. The fact is that your legislator and all of you continue to resist [the truth]. In this you do well, for I know nothing worse than not holding sin to be such as it is, and that is what you really do in never seeking nor receiving pardon. In the Gospel God has commanded the husband not to divorce the wife save for the cause of adultery, but you act quite otherwise: when you are tired of your wives, as of some kind of nourishment, you abandon them at your fancy. I would prefer not to say anything, were it possible, about the shamelessness with which you remarry: before retaking your wives you make them sleep in the bed of another. And what shall I say of the execrable debauchery which you commit with your concubines? For you are prodigal with them of all your fortune, and then, when you are tired of them, you sell them like cattle. It is said that the serpent has intimate relations with the *murines*, the reptile of the sea, but on arriving at the sea-shore the serpent spits out its venom before entering into its love affair. But you are more venomous than the serpent, never putting any limits to your bad faith^d, and not being able to satisfy your unleashed passions while still alive, at the hour of your death you

^aM *զողջախոնի* (the chaste), T *զանողջախոնի* (the unchaste).

^bM *մարգարէի* (of the prophet), T *չմարգարէի* (of the anti-prophet).

^cM *տաղտկալի* (disgusting), T *տաղտկալի* (disgusting).

^dM *զչարութիւնդ քո ոչ մարմնատրական մերձատրութեամբն թողեալ* (your malice is not limited to physical intercourse), T *զնենգ չարութեանդ ձերոյ ոչ մարմնական մերձատրութեամբն թողո՞ւք*. (your deceitful malice is not limited to physical intercourse).

violently put your wives to death, following the inspiration of the evil spirit.

In^a speaking of Satan and the souls of the just, you pretend that we have represented the former as the treasurer of God. That is an erroneous diversion from our prudence. We say, on the contrary, that Satan was most happy at seeing humanity in despair caused by the horror of death. For he believed that the just were abandoned by God and were lost after death. Filled with this thought, and struck by the extreme humiliation of the Word of God, Satan believed that [Christ] also would be subject to the condition of men, and so incited His disciples to betray Him, and the Jews to put Him to death. But when he saw the Lord walk willingly towards the sufferings of the cross, he was seized with horror, and in order to hinder the salvation of the human race, he attempted to terrify the wife of the judge (Pilate) by remorse. In spite of his artifices, however, [the Word of God] tasted death in His human nature, while always remaining immortal in His divine nature, though inseparable from His humanity, and as true God engendered from true God. He rose again, or rather resuscitated His human nature, in accord with what was said by the Prophet David: “Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered” (Psalm 68:1); and according to another prediction made by one of the twelve Prophets: “Wait for me for the day when I arise.” (Zepheniah 3:8).

[The Word of God] being thus resuscitated, less for Himself, since He was spiritual, immortal and incorruptible, than for the human race whose nature He had taken^b upon Himself and met^c His death. He assured by this resurrection the resurrection of men, and rendered certain the hope that the dead, delivered from the spiritual influence of the enemy^d, will be re clothed in new bodies, since souls obtain many graces from the Creator by the incarnation of Christ the Word. It is then true that Satan, enfeebled, lost and led along by his despair and that of his legions, sees himself at last reduced to the impossibility of leading any longer the world to those cults which are strange and contrary to the will of God. So he has nothing to expect but the punishment of the eternal fire.

I^e do not want to forget what you had said about the vision^f of Isaiah, whereby a rider appears to him mounted on an ass and a

^aM adds “question 14”.

^bM *ստնու* (he takes), T *ստեալ* (he had taken).

^cM *համբերելն* (having patience), T *համբերեալ* (being patient).

^dM *եւ յանմարմնաբար զգեցութենէ թշնամոյն, T յանմարմնաբար ազդեցութենէ թշնամոյն* (from the spiritual influence of the enemy).

^eM adds “question 15”.

^fM *զասացեալսն հեծելոյն, T զասացեալն զհեծելոյն* (about the vision of the rider).

camel. The meaning of the vision is this: The aspect of the maritime desert indicates that it is your desert^a which is situated by the side of the sea, neighboring and bordering Babylonia. A little later on the Prophet says: “I saw riders, a pair of horsemen one on an ass and the other on a camel.” (Isa. 21:7). Those two riders are really only one and the same, as the Prophet himself clearly affirms in the passage itself. Under the name of ‘ass’ the Prophet means the Jewish people who, although have read the Law and the Prophets, yet influenced by the teaching of Satan, have refused to submit and accept the Gospel destined to save the universe. It is this disobedience of the Jewish people that the same [Prophet] denounces at the beginning of his book: “The ox knows his owner, and the ass its master’s crib; but Israel does not know.” (Isa. 1:3). Under the name ‘camel’, the Prophet refers to the Midianites and the Babylonians, because these animals are very common among you. And the same enemy who led the Jews into error, under the pretext of conserving the Law, has made you also fall into idolatry. I have said above that the two [riders] really represent only one and the same man, as the Prophet reveals clearly by saying: “I saw the same horseman who came mounted on two steeds.” (Isa. 21:9). Here the horseman who appeared as two before was only one. He designates by these two horses the Jews and the pagans whom He dominated but who still persecuted Him. Whence^b then comes this man? What does he say? He comes mounted on two horses, and cries at the top of his voice: “Fallen is Babylon; and all the images of her gods.” (Isa. 21:9). It was then the enemy who deplored its desolation, and who, not finding any refuge other than your desert, has led^c the two horses of his iniquity to your race, that is to say, the infidelity^d of the Jews and the debauchery of the pagans. By the aid of these two elements, [the enemy] finally succeeded, by occult means^e rather than by the exercise of force, in drawing you into his error. It is thus that he has led you to circumcise yourselves, without admitting, like the Jews, the creative^f and substantial divinity of the Word and of the Holy Spirit.

^aM *ωλνωψωωω δνωψωωω πω ωλνωψωωωω ω* (the maritime desert is your desert), T *πω ωλνωψωωωω ω* (it is your desert).

^bM *ωβ* (how?), T *ωβωωωω* (how?).

^cM *ωβω ωωω* (he came to lead), T *ωβωωωω ωωω* (having come to lead).

^dM *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* (inconstancy), T *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* (infidelity).

^eM *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* [*ωωωω + ωωωωωωωωωω*] (thief + harshly), T *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* [*ωωωω + ωωωωωωωωωω*] (thief + viperous).

^fM *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* (creative), T *ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω* (creative).

As for destiny and knowledge of the future, and as to the demons who belong to hell^a, you have the same faith in them as the pagans, whose abominable debaucheries are familiar to you. You call ‘the Way of God’ these devastating raids which bring death and captivity to all peoples. Behold your religion and your conduct^b. Behold your glory, you who pretend to live an angelic life. As for us, instructed in and convinced of the marvelous mystery of our redemption, we hope after our resurrection, to enjoy the celestial kingdom, since we have obeyed the doctrines of the Gospel, and wait humbly for the happiness such that “What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, what God has prepared for those who love him.” (1 Cor. 2:9). We do not hope to find there fountains of wine, honey or milk. There we do not expect to enjoy contact with women who remain for ever virgin, and to have children^c by them, for we put no faith in such^d silly tales caused by extreme ignorance and paganism. Far from us such idle stories and fabulous tales. “For the kingdom of God is not food and drink”, as says the Holy Spirit, “but righteousness and peace” (Rom. 14:17), because “in the resurrection men neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven.” (Matt. 22:30). For you who are given over to carnal vices, and^e who have never put limit to your lustful pleasures, you who prefer your pleasures to any good, it is precisely for that reason that you consider the kingdom of heaven of no account if it is not peopled with [women].

Behold the short reply that I addressed to you. For the sake of our unshakable and imperishable faith, we have endured at your hands and will still endure much suffering. We are even prepared to die, if only to bring to ourselves the name of ‘saints’, a name precious and incomparable, as predicted by the Prophet Isaiah: “You shall be called by a new name which the mouth of the Lord will give.” (Isa. 62:2). The Lord Himself, when He was upon earth, told us beforehand [of these sufferings], saying to us: “If they persecuted me, they will persecute you; if they kept my word, they will keep yours also. But all this they will do to^f you on my account, because they do not know him who sent me.” (John 15:20-21). And again, “In the world you have tribulation.” (John 16:33). [Jesus Christ] in His prayer addressed to the Father, said: “[I have mani-

^aM *qtkwlp* (= *qtkhkwlp*) (hell), T *qtkhkwlp* (hell).

^bM *ψwḡāp* [ātkḡ] (your recompense), T *ψwḡp* [ātkḡ] (your conduct).

^cM *δḡnιḡḡ* [nḡḡḡḡ] (birth of children), T *δḡnιḡḡp* [nḡḡḡḡ] (births of children).

^dM *wḡwḡḡḡp* (such, pl.), T *wḡwḡḡḡ* (such).

^eM omits *ki* (and).

^fM *wḡ* [ātkq] (to you, T *ḡḡḡ* [ātkq] (with you).

fested thy name to the men] whom thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were, and thou gavest them to me” (John 17:6), and “they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world.” (John 17:16). “If you were of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world^a, but I chose you out of the world^a, therefore the world^b hates you.” (John 15:19).

Because such is our hope, we are tormented by you, under the threat of death^c; but we can only respond with patience, for we count on neither our bow nor our sword to save us, but on the right arm of the Lord, and on the light of His countenance. Should He will it, [we are prepared to suffer still more] in this world, so as to be recompensed in the world to come as an exchange of the tortures inflicted by your hands. This He will do at the opportune time and according to His will.

As for you, persisting in your tyranny and your usurpation, you attribute to your religion^d the enjoyment of the favorable [protection] of God. You forget that the Persian^e also prolonged their tyranny for 400 years. What was the reason for such a reign? God alone knows; but surely it was not because their religion was just.

As for us, we accept with eagerness all the sufferings and all the tortures which^f befall us for the sake of the glorious name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, so that we may arrive at the happiness of the future world with all those who^g have loved to see the coming of the great day of Judgment of God, for the praise and glory of those who loved His name, with whom we^h may be worthy to glorify the unified divinity of the Father, the Word, his only-begotten [Son], and the Holy Spirit, now and foreverⁱ. Amen.

[15]

This is the transcript of the answer that Emperor Leo wrote and sent to Caliph ‘Umar of Ismael¹ by one of his trusted servants. As [‘Umar] read the letter, he felt deeply ashamed. By the means of

^aM *յաշխարհէ* (from the world), T *յաշխարհէս* (of this world).

^bM *աշխարհս* (this world), T *աշխարհ* (the world).

^cM *մահոտամբք* (of death, pl.), T *մահոտամբ* (of death).

^dM *հաւատոց* (to religion, pl.), T *ի հաւատոց* (from religion).

^eM *զպարս* T *զպարսս*. (the Persians).

^fM *որ* (which, sing.), T *որք* (which).

^gM *որ* (who, sing.), T *որք* (who).

^hM₁ omits *մեք* (we).

ⁱM omits *յաիտեկնից* (forever).

this letter, he now exercised more temperance and indulgence toward the Christian people, presenting himself everywhere as an obliging person, since, as we said earlier, [he] was the one who allowed the captives to return after pardoning them all for their faults². [‘Umar] further showed much greater intimacy to his own race than those caliphs before him did. He made the treasury available for the allocation of wages to the officers. After all this he died.

[16]

A^a certain Yezdegerd^b (Yazid)¹ succeeded him [‘Umar] and reigned for six years. He was a profligate man who waged frenetic war against the Christian people with extreme cruelty. Moved by the tyranny of profane^c demon, [Yazid] gave orders to smash the icon of the true incarnation of our Lord and Savior and his disciples². He also broke the standard of the dominical cross of Christ which was erected in various places for the purpose of worshiping the consubstantial Trinity. The seduction of the demon urged him to remain obstinate and revolt against the solid rock. He was not able to damage the rock, but instead was crushed by it. At the height of his aberration, and having been seduced by the demon which misled him, [Yazid] gave orders for the pig-massacre, as a result of which the grazing herd of unclean pigs were obliterated from the country. And as this was carried out he was on the verge of death. He was indeed strangled by the force of the demon and died in bitterness, thus receiving the worthy judgment by the Lord of all.

[17]

Sham,^d who is Heshm (Hisham)¹, succeeded him [Yazid] and reigned for nineteen years. In the first year of his rule, he bore malice to [the Armenians] and sent a certain general, Hert’ (Harith)² by name, to make a census in the land of Armenia in order to increase the oppressive yoke of tributary obligations by means of diverse wickedness. He did this as^e an offense to the indulgence of ‘Umar, who had squandered treasury funds having been built up by the preceding caliphs. He indeed imperilled our country while everyone sighed, lamenting the terrible trials and tribulations which

^aM adds chapter 20.

^b should read Yazid.

^cM omits *պղծութեան* (of profane).

^dM adds chapter 21.

^eM *որպէս զի* (in order that), *Ե որպէս թէ* (as if).

no one was able to escape. From then on [Hisham's] hand weighed more heavily upon our land of Armenia.

[18]

Around^a that same time Khakan, the king of the Khazars¹, died, and consequently the people of the northern countries were once again in trouble. [Khakan's] mother, whose name was P'ar-sbit', realizing [the situation], gave order to commander T'armach' to gather large troops and invade our land of Armenia. Having agreed upon, they then advanced to the country of the Huns, to the fortress^b of Choray², and to the country of the Mazk'ut'^c. ³ [The Khazar troops] attacked the country of P'aytakaran⁴, crossed the river Eraskh (Araxes) into Persia, destroyed the city of Artawet (Ardabil)⁵, the capital city of Gandzak, as well as the districts known as Ut'shibaguan, Spandaranperoz, and Ormiztperoz⁶. Here they encountered the Arab troops which were under commander Djarrah (al-Hakami)⁷. [The Khazars] slaughtered all by the sword, invaded the district of Zarawand⁸, and besieged^d the fortress called Ampriotik ⁹ leaving the army supplies, as well as the captives, in the outskirts of the city of Artawēt (Ardabil). While they [The Khazars] were fighting in the siege of the fort Ampriotik^e, a regiment of the Ismaelite^f troops, headed by their commander Sa'id al-Harashi, suddenly attacked [the Khazar] forces with few men, killed many by his sword, and rescued the captives¹⁰. Immediately the sad news reached the [Khazar] troops who were besieging the fort of Ampriotik. As the troops heard about the mishap that befell their side, they left the fortress which they^g had besieged, and went after the brigand who was attacking their army. [The troops of al-Harashi] attacked those of [the Khazars], inflicting heavy casualties, and seized^h from their possession the emblem, which was a bronze image. The troops of al-Harashi are still holding it as a symbol of their predecessors' bravery.

Following this event, the Arab caliph¹¹ sent his brother Mslim (Maslama), accompanied by large troops, with the purpose of helping the forces of al-Harashi¹². By the time Maslama arrived, it was

^aM adds chapter 22.

^bM *յարհրսկ* (fortress city), T *յարհսկ* (fortress city).

^cM Mak'stats'.

^dM *յարշարէի* (they besieged), T *յարշարէի* (they besieged).

^eM Aprotik.

^fM of Ismael.

^gM he [had besieged].

^hM *յարշարէի* (he seized), T *յարշարէի* (he seized).

a little too late, for he realized that Sa'id (al-Harashi) had already won the war. [al-Harashi] had put some to the sword^a, while others had fled. [Maslama], realizing that [al-Harashi] had done all this and had taken away booty and slaves, reproached him and tortured him. He even wanted to kill him, but was unable to give orders publicly, because the tribe of [al-Harashi] would raise protest against him. He would not dare^b indulge to his will, but dismissed his thoughts quietly, and went back to the caliph of the Arabs.

[19]

Following^c this event [the caliph]¹ raised his voice against the king of the Greeks by sending a messenger to Emperor Leo of the Greeks², demanding submission and payment of tributes. And when Emperor Leo refused to accept the message sent to him, [the caliph], now angry, sent his brother Mslim (Maslama)³ to the country of the Greeks with heavy forces. [Maslama] crossed Syrian Cilicia with his many troops, passed through the country of *Musigion*⁴, which is translated *Mijerkrayk*^d (Asia Minor), and reached Bithynia⁵. Here he camped on the bank of the torrential river called Sagaris (Sangarius)⁶. The Greek troops, on the other hand, prepared themselves and made arrangements for the inhabitants of the country to move into fortresses and to fortified cities on account of the Ismaelites, while they themselves set up camps on the banks across the river, opposite to [the Arabs]. Here [the Greeks] dug trenches all around the camp, put it in a state of defense, and watched for quite some time. Emperor Leo then sent words of warning to the Greek commander day after day, suggesting utmost caution in keeping watch and advising him to refrain from fighting, lest he be trapped by them^e [the Arabs] deceitfully.

[The Greek commander], however, would not heed the imperial orders, because he had heard the declaration made by the commander of the Arabs to the effect that he had planned to dispatch his cavalry and his troops all over the district, to plunder and take people into captivity, and then return to their land. As he [the Greek commander] became aware of this, he ordered his forces to get armed^f and be ready to pursue them. As they were pursuing the Arab army, they noticed and felt from the thick dust all over them

^aM *ի կոտորման սրոյ* (to the killing of the sword), *Ե կոտորմամբ սրոյ* (with the killing of the sword).

^bM add *համարձակել* (to embolden).

^cM adds chapter 23.

^dM *միջնեղկույր*

^eM him [Maslama].

^fM *վառել* (to arm), *Ե վառիլ* (to get armed).

that [the enemy] was already behind them. [The Arabs] left their army supplies aside, divided their troops into three, and lay in ambush here and there, while Maslama drew up against them [the Greeks] with a few of his warriors. [The Greeks], unprepared, encountered the enemy and fell into their hands with all their provisions. Soon the hidden troops came out of concealment and surrounded the Greeks, slaying many of their troops by the sword. Then they spread their raids all over the region and captured districts and cities of that land. They took more than eighty thousand men into captivity and returned to their country with great joy⁷.

Upon this great victory the Caliph of the Arabs (Suleiman)⁸ rejoiced greatly with the members of his cabinet, at which time he bestowed upon his brother high honors, and at his [Maslama's] arrival he [the caliph] blessed the victory which he had accomplished. With regard to the booty [the caliph] distributed them among the troops and held the captives, both men and women, for servitude. He then desisted [from further action] that^a same year.

[20]

The^b following year¹ [Suleiman] assembled an army once again, this time much larger than the previous one, put it under the command of Maslama² and sent it to the country of the Greeks. [Maslama] took a solemn oath, vowing to his brother not to return to him until he fulfilled his own wishes. [Maslama] had made a vow to take away the kingdom by destroying the city of Constantinople³ from its foundations, as well as the various buildings of Saint Sophia which was built as the house of God on earth by [the power] of the heavenly wisdom⁴. [Maslama] wanted to build^c a place of profane idolatry in its place.

With all these thoughts in mind [Maslama] proceeded with numerous forces and arrived in the land of the Greeks. He camped along the shores of Pontus Sea with all his army supplies⁵. He immediately became arrogant towards Emperor Leo, and sent ambassadors to him with the following decree of derision, full^d of ridicule⁶: “What is the reason for your stubbornness, whereby you do not submit to paying us tribute while all nations are trembling from us? Whom do you depend on in your hardening against us? Did you really not hear of the adversity we brought upon all sovereignties which have turned against our power and have since been destroyed

^aM Եւլլնսհլ (in that [year], T սլլնսհլ (that [year])

^bM adds chapter 24.

^cM Լհնել (to be), T շհնել (to build).

^dM Երսս էհն (which included), T Երսսս էհն (which included).

and broken to pieces by us like earthenware vessels? We became^a the masters of all the earth's fertility, because the order of the Lord and the promise made to our father Ismael was fulfilled. We defeated all such principalities. Or, do you not recall the many perils that befell your country in the days of your kingship? With my own hands, in fact, I destroyed many cities, and with my own sword I slaughtered your numerous troops. Now, be it known unto you that if^b you do not submit to us and pay your tributes, I have vowed by oath not to see my home country again, until I have taken away your kingdom and destroyed the foundations of your fortified city, in which you trust. Also I shall turn your house of worship that you call Sophia into a bathhouse for my troops, and I shall break the wooden cross which you adore over your head. For the glory and the help of our faith are highly acceptable to the Lord."^c

He addressed all these and many more insults of the worst nature to Emperor Leo. [The emperor], having read the mocking missive, immediately gave orders to the Patriarch⁷, the senate, and the entire population^d of the city, to say prayers of exaltation at St. Sophia incessantly for three days. The whole city was stirred and the entire population surrounded the place of worship in response to the Emperor's order. Then the king himself arrived at the holy sanctuary, took the missive of insults and spread^e it out before the Lord in the manner of Hezekiah⁸, recalling the careful indulgence of our Savior who had reserved mercy to his loved ones from the beginning. In tears, [the Emperor] beseeched the God of all to be his helper in gaining revenge from the wicked enemy. He also recalled the condemnations of the reproacher, quoting David's words: "The shouts of the enemy filled Thy holy place and the spiteful boasted in their prosperity. They set themselves their own victory and did not recognize the visitation from heaven."^f

[The emperor] poured out many similar words of confession to the Lord for three days in a row, and made his vows in prayer and in fasting. Then^g he wrote a decree with the following text to commander Maslama:

^aM *ὑκῆρ κῆκῆ* (it belonged to us), T *ὑκῆρ κῆκῆ* (they belonged to us).

^bM *ῖλ* (if), T *κῖῖλ* (if).

^cM *ωωωωωωδῶν* ([before] God), T *ωωωωωω* ([before] the Lord).

^dM *ῖωωωωωωωω* (of the population), T *ῖωωωωωωωωω* (with the population).

^eM *ωωωωωωωω* (having spread), T *ωωωωωωωω* (he spread).

^fM Psalm 74:3-4 (paraphrased).

^gM adds chapter 25.

“Why do you boast in wickedness, O one powerful in iniquity, and why are you sharpening your deceit like a razor? Why do you brag rebelliously [against]^a the Almighty? You are thinking of Christ our Savior in heaven and his sustaining throne in terms of iniquity. We are hopeful that his mercy which you have insulted, will pay you back for your malice. The Lord will silence you. He will shut your blasphemous mouth that you opened against the King of the kings, his city, the temple dedicated to the glory of his name, and against me, the custodian of Christ’s throne⁹. [This the Lord will do] according to the execration of the Prophet David, saying that the mouths which speak iniquity shall be silenced¹⁰. As for us, ‘we do not trust in our bow; neither shall our swords save us, but the right hand of the Lord and his arm, and the protecting power of the light of his countenance’^b are capable of destroying those who boast in their arrogance just like you. You do not think for one minute that the blood shed by your sword and the captives taken from my country shall all be demanded from you. It was not for your acts of justice that [God] made the rod of the sinful fall upon the righteous; rather, it was because of our iniquity, so that we may test our own weaknesses and thus be advised to live according to the pleasure of the Creator. As for you, you are tempting^c our Lord God, who is able to make you and your multitude sink into the depths of the sea by raising waves on the surface, like [He] did to the merciless Pharaoh and threw him in the depths of the Red Sea¹¹. It was the rod of Moses, by means of which the waters turned upon the Egyptian troops and led them to ultimate destruction by immersion. That same rod was indeed the antitype¹² of the omnipotent vexillum of the cross of Christ¹³ which is being insulted by you this day. Now, if you will recede from me, you will choose the right thing for yourself and for your troops; if not, then carry out immediately the resolution which is pressing you. The Lord will reward whatever is good according to his pleasure. He himself will be the judge; he will deliver his people and turn our oppressors back from among us in shame and humiliation.’”

As the Arab commander read this decree, he became even more enraged. He then stood up like an angry beast against the solid foundation so that he might become trapped, as he deserved, for his heart was being hardened by the Lord. He then gave orders to his troops to prepare ships. His orders were carried out immediately, since the ships had already been ready for several days.

^aM adds *wnwʒh* (in front of).

^b Psalm 44:3-4.

^cM *ʒh qnrātktu* (you should not tempt).

They soon boarded the ships with all their supplies and approached the city. When Emperor Leo noticed the multitude of troops on the sea like dense forests, he gave orders for the iron fence of the rampart to be secured and the door chains of the fortress to be locked¹⁴. Furthermore, he allowed no one to fight against the enemy, because heavenly visitation was due him [Maslama] in revenge, as a consequence of his deeds. [Leo] then ordered the Patriarch to summon the senate and all the city's inhabitants and take with them in unshaken and ardent faith the invincible and resplendent vexillum of Christ's cross as their ally. Amidst the entire multitude, the king himself carried the triumphant and invincible victory, that is the standard of the cross, on his shoulders, while the people glorified the heavens with the sweet fragrance of incense and by lighting candles and torches in front of and behind the victorious and honorable cross. The gate of the city was then opened, and the entire multitude went out, as [the Emperor] exalted the standard of the cross upon the waters, saying: "Help us, Christ, Son of God, Savior of the universe." He then tripled his praise, addressing it to the heavens, and then struck the waters of the sea with the vexillum of the cross until the cruciform lines on them became sealed¹⁵.

It was the power of the holy cross that immediately shook the depths of the sea, and consequently the high waves swarmed up vehemently, causing a terrible shipwreck among the Arab troops, most of which drowned in the sea and became subject to^a the same punishment and wrath as were the Pharaoh's troops¹⁶. The remaining survivors clung to the wreckage and were driven over to the shores of the country of Thrace¹⁷, while others were taken to remote isles and abandoned there. The Arab troops numbered more than 500,000 men. As^b for those who escaped the danger by landing, [Leo] ordered them not to be put to the sword mercilessly, but to be kept under arrest, so that they would be unable to go anywhere to find food^c for themselves. Thus a great famine arose among their [Arabs'] army to such a degree that even the horses and the mules were consumed¹⁸. On account of their hunger, they even started to kill members of the harem, as well as the servants, and eat them. [Maslama] then petitioned Emperor Leo in desperation, asking him to have mercy upon him and release his troops from arrest inasmuch as very few only were left.

Emperor Leo, on his part, recalling that the Lord had already become revengeful toward the enemy, decided to show great mercy to him¹⁹. He thus called [Maslama] and severely rebuked him. He recalled his^d shameful impudence and said: "For what reason did

^aM *ḡṛṅḡḡḡ* (they became subject to), T *ḡṛṅḡḡḡ* (he became subject to).

^bM adds chapter 26.

^cM *ḡṛṅḡḡḡḡ* (for food), T *ḡṛṅḡḡḡḡḡ* (for food, pl.).

^dM *ḡṅḡḡ* (their).

you attack our country, slaughter my troops mercilessly and take the inhabitants of my cities into captivity? Now, the living Lord is witness that you are the offspring of death and are unworthy to live. But because the Lord was the judge in place of me who returned your iniquity to you and claimed the blood of the innocent from you, I shall not interfere with you, nor shall I judge you as is fitting. Here you are in my hands and I, your sovereign, can either kill you or save you. But you will not be killed; instead, go and tell about all the powerful deeds of God that you have seen.”

Maslama answered the Emperor and said: “What can I possibly say in front of you with regard to what you have said, since I am really unworthy to live. The faults which I have committed against your country are many as compared with the great mercy you have shown me in saving my life. I am the witness of my own faults. Because you felt in your heart to have mercy upon me, release me then and let me go home. I shall make an oath with you not to wage war against you any more.” [Leo] ordered that the request be granted. [Maslama] prepared himself and went aboard a ship with the intention of passing through the *Mijerkrayk*’ (Asia Minor)²⁰ and returning to his country in great shame. From^a various cities [many] came to meet him with woe and lament, striking their foreheads and scattering ashes in the air. [Maslama] then was scolded^b and was severely reproached by them in great shame and humiliation. He had no other answer but this: “I was unable to fight against God.” Then he went to his home and did not hitch a sword to his waist again for the rest of his life.

[21]

At^c that time Caliph Hisham sent Merwan son of Muhammad to rule over the Armenians instead of Sa’id whom they called al-Harashi¹. When Merwan arrived in the city of Dvin², the Armenian nobles came to meet him. He spoke with them peacefully, called Ashot son of Vasak who was from the house of Bagratids³ and, by the orders of Hisham, gave him the authority of a patrician over our land of Armenia together with high honors. When, however, the sons of Smbat⁴ heard of the honors conferred upon Ashot and the latter’s importance to Hisham and to^d governor Merwan, they acted extremely insolently toward him, to the extent that Muhammad’s son (Merwan)⁵ became aware of their contention. [Merwan] ordered their immediate arrest and sent Grigor and David, who

^aM adds *այսպէս* (then) at the beginning of the sentence.

^bM *յաւնդիման լիւնէր* (he faced [them]), T *յաւնդիմանէր* (he was scolded).

^cM adds chapter 27.

^dM add *յաչս* (to, in front of).

were from the house of the Mamikonids, to the caliph of the Ismaelites. He also wrote an accusation against them, stating that they were opponents of Ashot and agitators in his realm. [Hisham] ordered them to be taken to a desert place called Eman (Yemen)⁶ and to be kept^a there in prison for the rest of their lives.

Upon the confirmation of his position as patrician, Ashot went^b to the caliph of the Arabs to discuss the violence imposed on our country⁷. [He complained that] for the last three years the official maintenance given to the Armenian nobles and their cavalry had been withheld⁸. [Ashod]^c stood before Hisham and^d spoke effectively and prudently. [Hisham] honored him worthily^e and fulfilled his request, giving orders that three years in arrears be paid to him on the basis of 100,000 [pieces of silver] for each year. From then on, during [Hisham's] reign, the same amount of silver was sent to the entire^f cavalry without interruption⁹.

[22]

Following^g this [event], Merwan son of Muhammad, assembled large troops, took Prince Ashot, Ashot's *nakharars* (nobles) and their cavalry^h with him, and together they invaded the land of the Huns¹. They waged war against the city, attacked the troops, and captured the city. Whenⁱ the inhabitants of the city realized that their city was taken by the strong marauder^j, many of the citizens threw their possessions into the sea and surrendered^k their own selves into the depths of the waters and drowned. While the Arab troops captured the rest of the multitude and the booty, Merwan, taking with him Prince Ashot, left the districts of the Huns with great victory and much booty. When he [Merwan] arrived in the capital city of Partaw (Barda'a)², he set aside one fifth of both the captives and the booty, and sent them to their Caliph Hisham and informed him of the affairs of the victory.

[Hisham] accepted the gift of booty and expressed his many thanks to Merwan and his troops, while rebuking his brother Mas-

^aM ηḷէր (he was kept), T ηḷել (to be kept).

^bM երթալը (he went), T երթալ (he goes).

^cM adds եւ (and) at the beginning of the sentence.

^dM omits եւ (and).

^eM ըստ արժանի (worthily), T ըստ արժանւոյն (worthily).

^fM լամեակն (to the entire), T ամեակն (entire).

^gM adds chapter 28.

^hM հեծելոց (of cavalry), T հեծելովք (with cavalry).

ⁱM adds եւ (and) at the beginning of the sentence.

^jM զհեղն որ զօրացաւ (the marauder which grew stronger).

^kM մատուցին (they delivered up), T տուալ (having given).

^lM adds իրեանց (their).

lama³ by showing him the example of Merwan's valiantly won victory. [Maslama], on the other hand, gave him the following answer: "My war was not waged against men, but against God, whereas [Merwan] fought against dumb animals." Then Merwan distributed the rest of the captives and booty among his troops. He gave some to Ashot, and to the other nobles he gave servants and maids. [Merwan] reigned over our country peacefully and defended it against all violent attacks. He sentenced to death all those who committed injustice—the bandits, the thieves, and the enemies of reform—by amputating their feet and hands, and then hanging them from the trees.

Hisham died after having reigned for nineteen years.⁴

[23]

[Hisham]^a was succeeded by al-Walid who ruled for a year and a half¹. He was a sturdy strong man who devoted his time to athletics and wrestling. Whenever he heard of anyone having exploited bravery^b and personal power, he sent word [to such man] issuing him a challenge for the sake of testing himself. In addition, there were no limits to his drinking and lustful behavior with women. When the kinsmen of the caliphate became aware of the deeds of their caliph who was prostituting himself in impurity, they asked the trustworthy men of their religion, whom they called the *kura* (the readers of the Qur'an), what they thought about him. [The *kuras*] replied, saying: "Because he has insulted the honor of our caliphate and transgressed the commandment of our Lawgiver by living an obscene and abominable life, he is worthy of death; he should die." Upon this order given by the *kuras*, [the kinsmen of the caliphate] entered the royal palace, found him [al-Walid] in a drunken stupor, and slew him by the sword². They replaced him with Suleiman³ who was of the same race and a member of the royal house.

[24]

When^c Merwan heard about the death of their Caliph al-Walid, he immediately prepared his troops, appointed Ishak son of Muslim (al-Ukaili) in charge of Armenia¹, and departed with all his forces

^aM adds chapter 29.

^bM *արհուրթիւն* (bravery), T *արուրթիւն* (bravery).

^cM adds chapter 30.

to fight against his own race, as if to avenge the death of al-Walid and his son². He found some of the survivors of the royal house and won them over. He then assembled all the men of his house around him and, together with numerous other sons of Ismael, they formed a large army and proceeded toward the large river Euphrates. After crossing the river, they confronted each other near the frontiers of Damascus, [a place] called *Rūsfa* (*Rusafa*)³. There they waged war for many days and attacked each other heavily. Each day, during the evening hours, as the time of the last prayer of the day drew near, they all stopped fighting and sat down to lament the fallen and bury the corpses. They said to each other: “We all belong to the same race, speak the same language and are subject to one and the same rule and, above all, we are brethren. Why should we slaughter each other by the sword?” Having said this, they still went on fighting the next morning, involving themselves in even more prolonged battle. Merwan defeated the other side and killed Suleiman. Subsequently, he himself held the caliphate for six years.

During his caliphate, war continued among the sons of the Ismaelites because Merwan himself besieged^a the city of Damascus, waged war, and destroyed its iron gates⁴. The inhabitants of the city—the sons of Ismael who were resisting valiantly^b—were fastened to four poles, and then were slashed across their faces by swords with pointed teeth, and were put to bitter death. [Merwan’s troops] then cut the pregnant women in half, and placed the male children between the walls up to the loins, squeezed them between the walls and crushed them cruelly to death. Likewise, the girls who knew not the beds of male were taken into captivity with the rest of the mixed mob^c. All these happened on account of the Lord’s revenge against the city for the frequent malice committed by its population.

Here the prophecy of Amos was fulfilled, saying: “Thus says the Lord, Lord: For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment, because they have threshed^d the pregnant women of Gilead with threshing sledges of iron. So I will send a fire upon the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the strongholds of the sons of Ader. I will break the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitants from the Valley of Aven, and the entire nation of the inhabitants of Harran I shall destroy, and the chosen

^aM *պարշարէր* (he besieged), T *պաշարէր* (he besieged).

^bM *լարիութիւն* (valiantly), T *լարութիւն* (valiantly).

^cM *խառնադասն* (mixed mob), T *խառնիճադասն* (mixed mob).

^dM *հեղձուիւ* (they choked), T *հերձուիւ* (they threshed).

people of Syria shall go into exile.”^a. For it was on account of the population of Harran⁵ that the city [of Damascus] was destroyed, according to the voice of the Prophet.

It is indeed worth searching^b as to why the Prophet, having disclosed^c all three transgressions, has now revealed a fourth [one] as a sign of the Lord’s wrath. It seems to me that the city of the transgressors was full of abundant malice, since [the inhabitants] were sick mentally, sensually^d, and within their hearts they developed pangs of death, affecting their minds and their senses, resulting in an abundance of killings, iniquity of properties, and lustful desires. As for the fourth, not only^e were they not anxious for God’s visitation, but they also blamed Him, the source of all goodness, for being the cause of the malicious deeds which they had committed. This was why God’s graceful indulgence was once and for all transformed into wrath against the transgressors.

[25]

While^f confusion persisted among the mob of the sons of Ismael regarding the unfaithful^g war, the sons of Smbat¹ were set free from the prison in which they had been held as hostages. They were, in fact, released by the orders of al-Walid. However, prior to their leaving Syria, al-Walid was slain and their release was prevented because no one dared to let them go. Later, as war went on repeatedly among them [the Arabs], [the sons of Smbat] managed to free themselves and flee to Armenia. A short while after their arrival in Armenia, they went to the province of Vaspurakan where they created torment and great anguish among the people by harsh-

^a Amos 1:3-5. Cf. Revised Standard Version: “Thus says the Lord: For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron. So I will send a fire upon the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the strongholds of Ben-hadad. I will break the bar of Damascus, and cut off the inhabitants from the Valley of Aven, and him that holds the scepter from Beth-eden; and the people of Syria shall go into exile to Kir, says the Lord.” *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, RSV, New York-Oxford, 1973*. As can be seen, Lewond’s text corresponds with that of the Armenian version of the Bible. Note particularly the addition of “the destruction of the inhabitants of Harran”.

^bM *ի խնդիր լիսել* (to search), T *ի խնդիր ելսել* (to search).

^cM *ի վերայ յայտնելով* (having disclosed), T *ի վեր յայտնելով* (having disclosed).

^dM *զգայնութամբ* (with senses), T *զգայնութամբ* (sensually).

^eM omits *միայն* (only).

^fM adds chapter 31.

^gM *անհատ* (incessant), T *անհատտ* (unfaithful).

ly imposing taxes on them². When complaints reached commander Ishak son of Muslim³, he made them stop committing such wickedness.

Later, as they [sons of Smbat] followed the course of events pertaining to the mob and their conflict^a, they started again to revolt against Ashot's⁴ reign, creating scandal everywhere concerning his person. They attacked him at night while [Ashot] was sleeping and having scattered his troops in^b the districts. They had intended to kill him, but the guard, being aware [of the conspiracy], cautioned the Prince against the attacking marauder. [Ashot] escaped from their clutches, thereby saving his life. In the meantime, [the sons of Smbat] plundered much booty from Prince Ashot's treasury and returned. [Ashot], knowing of their conspiracy and particularly that they were trying to take revenge against him maliciously in time of peace, became wary of them for a few days. Taking his princess and the entire family, as well as the supplies of his household, he went to the fortress^c of Dariwnk'⁵ and put guards in charge of its safety^d. He then went to Syria to meet with Caliph Merwan of the Arabs and to report to him about the disturbance that had occurred between him and his nobles⁶. As the patrician arrived on the battlefield with his troops, the forces of Merwan won many victories and defeated the enemy, for they had heard about the arrival of the Armenian patrician, having come for help with his fifteen thousand armed select cavalymen⁷. As this was revealed to Merwan's enemies, they withdrew from the battle and suffered heavy attacks that very day. Thus, being exhausted^e, they ceased fighting for a while.

When Prince Ashot was in Syria, the son of Mslim (Ishak) had appointed Grigor from the house of the Mamikonids prince of the Armenian troops in place of Ashot⁸. But when Merwan was informed of the accusation^f against the sons of Smbat and what David, Grigor's brother, had done to him [Ashot], he sent messengers to Ishak son of Mslim, who was the governor of Armenia, ordering him to arrest David and deliver him into the hands of a certain Oqba to be sentenced according to the given orders. As he received the orders, [Ishak] did not delay [the execution], but had

^aM մարտամբոխ ժամանակին (in troubled times), T մարտին եւ զամբոխ ժամանակին (in troubled times).

^bM զգաւտսուն (around the district), T ի գաւտսուն (in the districts).

^cM յամրոցս (in fortresses), T յամրոցն (in the fortress).

^dM եւ թողոյր ի վերայ պահապան զամրոցն պահել (and he put a guard in charge to keep the fortress safe); T եւ թողոյր պահապան ի վերայ ամրոցին պահել (and he put a guard over the fortress for its safety).

^eM պարտեալք (defeated), T պարտատեալք (exhausted).

^fM adds իշխակիւն (of the prince).

him [David] arrested deceitfully at once. [Ishak] handed him over to the merciless executioner who, in turn, put David in painful chains and imprisoned him for a few days. He then wrote to Merwan for further orders. [Merwan] ordered to have him amputate the feet and the hands of David and then hang him from a tree until he died⁹. It was this kind of pitiful and ignominious death that befell him. As was said, bad seed shall yield bad fruit, based upon hateful behavior which was indeed unpleasant to God^a and which people showed toward each other.

As these acts of malice were taking place, Merwan restored once again Ashot in his position as ruler and sent him to the land of Armenia with great honors. Ever since, Grigor did not cease being an adversary and taking revenge on account of his brother's murder. He acted peacefully with Ashot in word only, because he feared the tyrants. In his heart he did not adhere^b to [Ashot's] rule, but was actually waiting for the opportune time to do what he had in mind.

[26]

While^c war among [the Arabs] prolonged, all the nobles of our country decided to terminate and withdraw their obedience to the Arabs by revolting against them¹. This advice was given them by Grigor, who^d was from the house of the Mamikonids², with the insidious intent of deposing Ashot from his principedome^e. Thus all the Armenian nobles came to Prince Ashot and forced him to give his consent to the useless plan.

When Prince [Ashot] realized that the nobles and their cavalry were in agreement with each other and had gone astray following the useless plan, he began to hesitate. He then called upon his *nakh-arars* (nobles) one by one and beseeched them earnestly not to become involved in such an act of iniquity, saying: “Brethren, I do not see any prudence in your insensible act; on the contrary, it reflects an erroneous thought and senseless words. You can see how limited the number of our troops is as opposed to the violence of the Arabs. We can neither resist their troops, nor can we deliver our country from the mouth of the dragons. [By planning such a revolt]

^aM գոր ոչ սասցաւ հաճոյ աստուծոյ բարբ ատելութեան (which [David's] life was said to be unpleasant to God [by virtue of his] hateful behavior).

^bM ոչ մտնեցաւ (he did not go near), T ոչ միտնեցաւ (he did not adhere).

^cM adds chapter 32.

^dM գրմիտ Գրիգոր որ (Grigor who).

^eM իշխանութեան Աշոտի (of Ashot's principedom), T զիշխանութիւնս լիշոտոյ (the principedom of Ashot).

we can only endanger and exhaust our^a thoughts. If you are willing to accept my advice, then we ought to refrain from doing such a thing. We shall still serve them as we have been doing up to now, and hold onto our properties—our vineyards, forests, and farms.” The Armenian nobles, however, were unwilling to accept such prudent advice. Rather, they withstood and said: “If you do not agree with our thinking, not one of your troops shall remain with you. We can no longer take the torment that has befallen our land of Armenia.” Then Prince Ashot had to consent, albeit unwillingly, to join Grigor and the other nobles and make together a pledge of oath through the mediation of the dominical cross, that they shall sincerely keep their bond of unity.

Once this pledge was made, [the nobles] departed from the governor who was in charge of our country, and went with their entire families and provisions to seek refuge in the fortresses of the country of Tayk³. They particularly counted on the help of the troops of the king of the Greeks⁴ which were located in the province of Pontus, because there was a treaty of alliance between them by the orders of Emperor Constantine⁵. Then all the sons of sinfulness⁶ came and joined the army of the rebels; they [the sons of sinfulness] knew neither the fear of God nor did they acknowledge the dread of the princes, or respect for the elders. As foreigners and estranged people, they spread their raids, seized their brothers and their compatriots, and pillaged greatly, bringing suffering on their brothers through beatings and tortures.

On account of this the mercy of God was afflicted [and] thus He destroyed their [the *nakharars*'] unity, for their course of wickedness did not even last a whole year. Furthermore, Prince Ashot soon left them and, taking with him some of the nobles, went to the district of Bagrewand⁷, to the village of Hazr, with the intention of joining the sons of Ismael. However, those nobles who were with him reported deceitfully all about the matter to malicious Grigor. Grigor, anxious to conclude the conspiracy [against Ashot] for quite some time, soon gathered his troops and followed him like a crow from mountain to mountain. He reached his [Ashot's] refuge at night and surrounded^b the place where he was resting, depending on the hesitation of [Ashot's] troops which had refrained from helping him [Ashot]. He [Grigor] arrested [Ashot], handed him over to the servants of David⁸, and gave orders to blind him. He thus made the glory of our entire country fade into obscurity, surrounding with deep sorrow not only him [Ashot], but also all the

^aM *ձեր* (your, pl.).

^bM *պարշարէր* (he surrounded), T *պարշարէր* (he surrounded).

nobles of the same house^a of his nation⁹. [The nobles] soon became aware of the event but it was too late to provide any help; they could only lament and repent, for the crown of glory was destroyed and fallen from their heads. From then on the glory of the Armenian nation was taken away.

The ungrateful Grigor, on the other hand, made his way to the city of Karin¹⁰, returning from the seemingly great act of bravery, and sent messages of his victory throughout the districts. God, then, visited him many^b days later to judge him according to his own deeds. He underwent terrible torment as a result of a swollen stomach; this was the cause of his death, following which his name was rendered into oblivion¹¹. In his place [the nobles] appointed Mushel, his brother, as prince for a short while.

Ashot ruled for seventeen years with honor and glory, surpassing all the previous princes^c, and now had to face conspiracy. He lived another thirteen years and then died at an advanced age¹². He was buried gloriously in his family tomb, in the village of Dariwnk¹³.

[27]

We^d shall now turn to the previous order^e of our history. During the days when Merwan¹ was the Arab caliph and was fighting against his own kinsmen, another raging fire started to inflame from the eastern regions, having originated in the land of Khurasan². When all the ministers of the sons of Ismael became aware of the fact that the danger among their own people had grown unbearable, they tried to save their own lives. Some of them, who were from the lineage of their Lawgiver, separated themselves from the rest and went as fugitives to the land of Khurasan where they lived in secrecy for some time³. Later, they united the troops of Khurasan together, and appointed^f Kahatba and a certain Abu Muslim⁴ as their commander, the latter being a wily man regarding the astrologic magic.^g These two agreed and subsequently killed the governor of the country⁵, then won over his troops and the rest of

^aM համաստոհմսն (the same houses), T համաստոհմ (the same house).

^bM եւ ոչ յետ քազում ատորց (and not many days later), T եւ յետ քազում ատորց (and many days later).

^cM քան զամենայն առաջինն որ նախ քան զամենայն իշխանսն որ յստաց քան զնա (distorted sentence), T քան զամենայն առաջին իշխանսն (than all the previous princes).

^dM adds chapter 33.

^eM շարակարգի (order), T շարս կարգի (order).

^fM կացուցանէր (he appointed), T կացուցանէին (they appointed).

^gM յաստեղագիտական աղանդն (in the astrologic sect), T աստեղագիտական աղանդովն (with the astrologic sect).

the mob who were suffering under the oppressive tyranny of the tax-collectors, and slowly began to attack the regions of Assyria.

Here Merwan's troops encountered the mob but were unable to resist them because the Lord had destined the destruction of his power⁶. Many were killed and still others were put to flight by the troops of Abdullah, who were known as the sons of Hashim⁷. The latter made their way toward the Tigris river, crossed it, invaded many cities and made them their subjects^a. All the forces that Merwan sent to meet them were utterly destroyed^b, in such a way that they were all brought into submission as far as Akoḷa (al-Kufa), the large camp of the Ismaelites. Moreover, the inhabitants of Akoḷa (al-Kufa) and Basra⁸, seeing the violence of their [the invaders'] power, cooperated with them and thereby added to the number of their troops. As this was revealed to Merwan, he fell in great anxiety, causing him to pour out the royal treasury to his troops. He then armed himself with his numerous troops and confronted them [the sons of Hashim]. As the enemy troops drew up in battle-array, war broke out and many from both sides fell wounded, while innumerable corpses fell dead all over the fields. The prolonged battle between the two lasted until the end of that year. At the conclusion of the sixth year of Merwan's reign, God's vengeance came down upon him for the blood of his kinsmen which had been shed by his hands⁹.

The strong troops of Abdullah now attacked [Merwan] with ferocity and, reaching the camp of Merwan, killed many of his troops with utmost brutality¹⁰. It has been reported that the number of the fallen horsemen once reached 300,000 whose blood formed streams and which later evaporated and turned into fog and lasting darkness. They kept the rest of the troops in Merwan's camp and then advanced to the redoubt where Merwan was being sheltered in his tent. There they killed him¹¹. All these malicious deeds—the disturbance of wars, the capture of cities, and the bloodshed—occurred during the six years of his reign, after which [Merwan] died.

[28]

Abdullah^c (Abu-l-Abbas al-Saffah) succeeded him [Merwan] and sent his brother, the other Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur)¹, to tour through the entire territory which was under his rule. [Abu Dja'far] first went to the land of Armenia and caused grave tor-

^aM *hñwquññtñl* (to be subject), T *hñwquññtñwñl* (being subject).

^bM *zwwñññññ* (they destroyed), T *zwwññññññññ* (they destroyed).

^cM adds chapter 34.

ment and endangered all, leaving them in extreme poverty, to the extent of claiming taxes on behalf of the dead². He^a made numerous orphans and widows suffer severely, and tormented the priests and the servants of the divine sanctuaries mockingly, by beating them with sticks and by forcing them to produce the names of the deceased and their families. Finally, he cruelly tortured the inhabitants of our country by imposing a heavy poll tax, equivalent to many silver *zuzēs*³, and branding everyone's neck with a lead seal.

[In response], the house of the nobles, some willingly and^b others not, gave horses, mules, precious clothing, and other provisions of gold and silver as gifts, just to fill the mouth of the dragon which had come to attack and corrupt the country. Having satisfied his insatiable appetite, [Abu Dja'far] then advanced towards Persia and Marastan⁴, as far as the land of Khurasan⁵. From there he went on to Egypt, to the country of Pentapolis⁶, and Africa^c eventually. Wherever he went, he stretched his plundering greed as a net on the top of hills, and entrapped peoples' lives to such a degree that he was called 'father of mite' by his own kinsmen, as a designation of his depriving action. As the expression goes, he venerated the mite more than he venerated God. When he left^d our country he appointed Yazid son of Usaid as governor of Armenia who was also charged to collect taxes⁷.

Yazid, in turn, assigned from among the Armenian nobles Isahak son of Bagarat, as Prince of Armenia⁸. He was a descendant of the same house of Prince Ashot who was, in turn, the son of his [Isahak's] father's brother. A tall, charming, God-fearing nobleman by nature, [Isahak] led his troops to tread under foot, albeit unwillingly, all that they had gained from the battles, wherever he had sent them, for the flow of silver pouring yearly from the royal treasury for the benefit of the Armenian army was henceforth to be halted⁹. Furthermore, the princes were ordered to furnish cavalry in specified numbers and were required to maintain their forces at their own expense, thus making the course of labor futile and prolonging it indefinitely.

Abdullah (Abu-l-Abbas al-Saffah) completed his three years of reign and died¹⁰. The other Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-mansur), his brother, succeeded him and reigned for twenty-two years¹¹.

[29]

During [Abu Dja'far al-Mansur's] reign, the king of the

aM₁ adds *bi* (and).

bM omits *bi* (and).

cM Ap'eka, T Ap'rika.

dM *սեկնէր* (he went), T *սեկնէցաւ* (he left).

Greeks¹ moved from his imperial portals^a with a massive multitude of followers and arrived at the city called Theodosiopolis in the region of Karin². As King Constantine, son of Leo, instantaneously destroyed the fortress walls of the castle, he opened the house of the treasury and took away gold and silver of much quantity³. Among those treasures he found the standard of the dominical cross which he took and carried away with him. Furthermore, he took the city troops and the local Saracens, along with their families, to the land of the Greeks. Many of the inhabitants of the same districts asked the king to allow them to follow him, in order to be relieved of the heavy yoke of servitude to the Arabs.⁴

Having secured permission from [Emperor Constantine, the inhabitants of the districts] prepared themselves, packed their belongings and moved, placing their trust in the power of the dominical cross and in the glory of the Emperor. They separated themselves [from the rest], left their homeland, and went to the country of the pious king⁵. But the following year Yazid (Ibn Usaid)⁶ prepared the troops which were under his command, reached the city of Karin and imposed poll tax throughout the country. He also assembled the innumerable multitude and assigned foremen for the construction work of the ruptured walls of the city, and he himself took care of it. He later allowed the Arabs to migrate to the city and live there with their families for the purpose of protecting the city from the enemies⁷. [Yazid] also made arrangements for food to be distributed to them from our land of Armenia.

[30]

At^b that time the uproar of the rebellious mob of the lawless nation did not cease in our country. Wherever they went, those sons of Beliar did not refrain from committing malice which was their natural guile. A certain godless man named Suleiman, together with the sons of the sinfulness from the districts of Persia, moved like a viper and invaded the regions of Vaspurakan¹, committing evil in the manner of the evil offsprings, their comrades. Sahak and Hamazasp, the nobles from the house of Artsrunik², encountered the enemy with few men and found themselves surrounded by them. When they [the Arabs] noticed the small number of [the Armenians] they thrust^c and wanted to kill them.

^aM *մտիկ* (of the portal), T *մտիցիկ* (of the portals).

^bM adds chapter 35.

^cM *ի մէջ արգելեալք* (they entangled [them]), T *ի մէջ արկեալք* (they thrust-ed in).

When, however, Sahak and Hamazasp saw the marauder ready to attack and, realizing that there was no place for them to escape, they fought with their swords and slaughtered many of the enemy, while they themselves ran away from the crowd to a certain spot, trying to escape.

It was there that Hamazasp, being critically wounded, fell from his horse and soon got killed by the enemy who had surrounded him. When he saw his brother thus killed, Sahak, filled with abundant love towards him, was ready to sacrifice himself for him. He dismounted from his horse, hamstringed it, fought by himself fiercely, and threw down many dead bodies until he became revengeful for his brother's blood. He then was defeated in the fighting and was killed. It was in this way that the lives of these worthy *nakharars*, who were the sons of Vahan Artsruni, came to an end.

Later, news reached Gagik³, the brother [of Sahak and Hamazasp], and other nobles who were with them. Lamenting and crying, they came to the site where the fatal battle had taken place, but were unable to reach the enemy. They turned back mourning and lamenting their dead whom they buried. The enemies, on the other hand, returned taking the same route, but soon after they fell into the hands of Gagik Artsruni, who killed Suleiman and many^a of his followers.⁴

[31]

During^b his rule as governor, Yazid (Ibn Usaid)¹ sent ambassadors to the king of the north whom they called Khakan² and requested a marriage alliance with him. By doing so, his intention was to make a peace treaty between himself and the troops of the Khazars. The king of the Khazars gave his consent and sent him his sister whose name was Khatun³, to become his wife, accompanied by many maids, slaves and servants. After a short while, however, Khatun died;⁴ thereby the peace treaty existing between them came to an end, because her death was interpreted as the result of a plot of intrigue. [The king of the Khazars] assembled a large troop under the command of a certain general whose name was Razht'arkhan, a member of the regiment of Khat'irilit'ber, and sent it to our country which was under the rule of Yazid.⁵ The troops invaded north of the torrential river called Kur⁶ and captured many districts which belonged to the country of the Albanians: Hejar, K'ala (K'a-

^aM adds *uḥl* (others).

^bM adds chapter 36.

լadasht), Ostan-Marzpaneana, Haband (Hambas), Geļavu, Shakē, Bekh (Bel),^b Kheni (Elni), Kambekhchan (Kambechan), and Khoļmaz.^{c7} They also took the desirable plain called Balasakan,⁸ where large flocks of sheep and numerous herds of cattle [were grazing]; these too they took as booty. Then they captured seven districts in the country ruled by the Iberians: Shuch'k', K'uēshkap'or (K'ui-shap'or),^d Dzelt'd (Dzelet'),^e Tsuk'ēt', Vēlists'khē,^f T'ianēt', Erk (Kherk)⁹. Having taken the multitude of the captives, they returned to their home with much booty. [Yazid], the gout-ridden braggart who reigned over our country of Armenia as the governor, was no longer able to raise his head; rather, acting irrationally, he was only able to nod with no concern whatsoever about the destruction of the country.

After a short period of time, the same enemy [Khakan], who had brought darkness^h over the country of the Albanians, now came to terms with the caliph of Ismael¹⁰. He sent his son to Syria as a hostage, and he himself was suddenly killed by sword near the gates of Albania.

[32]

Ii shall also recountj about the other rebel, Saleh¹ (al-Kindi) by name, who was first sent to Armenia by Abdullah (Abu-I-Abbas al-Saffah)². This lawless man shed a great deal of blood, and subsequently many were extremely cautious of him, knowing that they were unable to endure such oppression. Some of the Armenian nobles left their inheritance behind and fled to the country of the Greeks, seeking refuge under Emperor Constantine³. Gagik, the *Ter* (Lord) of the house of the Artstunik⁴, having found no place of refuge, fled^k without delay to the fortress known as Nkan⁵. There, having gathered^l around him the local *nakharars* (nobles) with their cavalry, he began to invade the districts of the country of

^aM Ostan-i-Marzpan.

^bM Bikh.

^cM Khozmaz.

^dM K'ueldap'or.

^eM Ch'eldt.

^fM Vilistsikhe.

^gM աշխարհիս (of our country), T աշխարհիս (of the country).

^hM ստնէր (darkness), T ստնէրսցս (darkness).

ⁱM adds chapter 37.

^jM adds դարձեալ (again).

^kM գաղթեիս (they fled), T գաղթեր (he fled).

^lM ժողովեր (he gathered), T ժողովեալ (having gathered).

Atrpatakan (Azerbaijan): Zarewand^a, Butak (Ėotakk')^b, Zidro (Shigro)^c, Tusak, Gaznak (Gandzak), Yormi (Urmi), Surenapat (Suraban), and other districts nearby⁶. They did not behave like Christians but like the ungodly, acting against the pleasure of God. [Gagik] exacted tributes^d from the country, causing torture and distress. Then he arrived in the district of Her⁷ where a certain Ėuh, an Arab commander, had also arrived. The latter fought against [Gagik] and wounded many of the Armenian troops, while the rest escaped and returned to the fortress of Nkan. [Ėuh] continued his expeditions around the regions of Vaspurakan in order to trap him [Gagik]. But, seeing the annihilation of his troops, the *Tĕr* (Lord) of the Artsrunik' gave up his unlawful activities, retired to the fortress, and stayed there for a short while. Not very long after, another troop headed by Musĕ (Musa al-Hashimi)⁸, came and besieged^f [Gagik's] fortress for one year. [Musa], no longer able to surmount, contrived a plot under the pretence of peace, arrested [Gagik] and handed him over to the Caliph of the Arabs.⁹ [The Caliph] then handcuffed him^g, imprisoned, and subjected him to unbearable tortures in order to redeem the money that he [Gagik] had collected as tribute from the country of Persia.

[Gagik] did not spare any of his treasure, but gave all that was in his possession for the sake of his own life. However^h, this did not help either; following severe torture, he died there in prison as an ignoble man¹⁰. Meanwhile, his sons, Hamazasp and Sahak, after being imprisoned for a long time, were released by [the Caliph] who had overruled the will of the cruel executioner, and was pleased to come to terms with [the two brothers]. [The Caliph] then sent both of them to Armenia with honors.

[33]

Underⁱ the governorship of Yazid [Ibn Usaid]¹, and during the caliphate of the other Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur)², the imposition of taxes upon our land of Armenia weighed extremely

^aM Zarawand.

^bM Rutaks.

^cM Different reading "Shigrets'".

^dM *ĕurly* (tribute), T *ĕurlyu* (tributes).

^eM *qĕnuu* (them), T *qĕu* (him).

^fM *urĕurĕuĕuĕ* (besieged), T *urĕurĕuĕuĕ* (besieged).

^gM omits *qĕu* (him).

^hM places *uĕ* (however) in the middle of the sentence.

ⁱM adds chapter 38.

heavy. The infernal avarice of the austere enemy was neither satisfied by devouring the flesh of the noble flock of Christ, nor by disdainfully drinking their blood as if it were water. Still, the entire country of Armenia suffered horrible deportation of the masses. Because of the desperate shortage of money in our land, and despite the fact that all gave their^a provisions and possessions [towards the payment of their taxes], they were unable to save their^b lives. Instead they were tormented cruelly: they were either put in fetters, beaten or hanged. Many fled to caves and dens to hide themselves, and others, due to the unbearable tragedies, were either smothered in the snow or drowned themselves in the river. Because what they wanted was impossible to find, namely, the amount of silver demanded, [the torturers] started to impose poll taxes^c; and, consequently, the entire country of Armenia was deprived of all properties and was bound to utmost misery. The *nakharars* and the nobility likewise tasted from the furnace of misery. Although Prince Sahak and the Lord Catholicos Trdat⁴, who was from the house of the *nakharars* (nobles) of the Vanand district, protested repeatedly [against the measures] taken by Yazid, the exactor of the taxes in our country, their appeals remained unanswered. Cries of complaint and protest now reached^d the imperious Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur) who was forced to recall Yazid (Ibn Usaid), and send Bagar (Bakkar) son of Muslim⁵ in his place. Not very long after—in fact, before a full year had passed—Bakkar was also recalled for no reason, and Hasan (Ibn Kahtaba)⁶ was sent to replace him. [The caliph], through fraudulent machinations^e, was forcing the land of Armenia into humiliation by letting her suffer a great deal. Above all, it is not [the Caliph's] will, but rather the will of the Director (Providence) of the rulers which is executed, whereby the wrath from above was manifested by the appearance of numerous locusts^f, hail, and barrenness. All these are signs of the anger that has fallen upon us.

When^g Hasan son of Kahtaba arrived in Armenia as the governor, he was accompanied by many troops drawn from the tribes of the Khurasan country. These soldiers committed even more debauchery and bitterly augmented the calamities and groanings in

^aM իրոց (his), T իրեանց (their).

^bM իրոյ (his) T իրեանց (their).

^cM ըստ զիրիսս արանց (according to each man), T ըստ զիրիսս արանց (according to each man).

^dM հասանեն (they reached), T հասանէ (it reached).

^eM մեքենայող (intriguing), T մեքենայող (intriguing).

^fM մարախոցն (of the locusts), T մարախոցն (of the locust).

^gM adds chapter 39.

our land. As we told^a earlier, it was the Lord who hardened their hearts in order to seek revenge for our evil deeds. In fact, beside the famine, carnage, and earthquake [which befell Armenia] during [Hasan's] reign, pontiffs were insulted, bishops were scorned, priests were tormented and beaten, and princes and nobles were persecuted and dispersed. The leaders of our country were simply unable to take the unbearable calamities any longer; they could only express their affliction and lamentation with sighs. The multitude of the *ramiks* (commoners)^b likewise were subjected to different sorts of tortures: some were scourged and whipped bitterly for not having paid their taxes^b, and others were bound in fetters or hanged; still others were stripped of their clothings and thrown into the lakes in the middle of the extremely bitter winter. Then soldiers were assigned to torture the victims even more and force them to die a painful death. It is impossible for us to tell their tragic story beyond this point.

[34]

Now^c I am about to recount the hardened bitterness committed by the ferocious nation of the Arabs. When the nobles of the Armenian people became aware of the dangerous anguish that befell them, they endangered themselves by undertaking a step which they could hardly expedite since they were so few in number. Preferring a heroic death to the perilous life, they resolved to come up with an open insurrection by revolting against the Arab domination. The first signal of the action was given by Artawazd¹, from the house of the Mamikonids, who hurried to Dvin², the capital [of Armenia], and prepared his troops of considerable number. He acquired arms and weapons of war, armed himself with shields, helmets, and all kinds of armaments, and pretended to be an intimate friend of the Arab troops, one who was ready to fight against their enemy. He then left them [the Arabs] and arrived at the village of Kumayri³, in the district of Shirak, where he murdered the exactor of the taxes and took possession of all he had. Accompanied by all the members of his household and the entire nobles of our country, [Artawazd] proceeded toward the country of Georgia. As news [of the revolt] reached the city of Dvin, and as the bitter murders com-

^aM պատմեցաւ (it was told), T պատմեցաք (we told).

^bM վասն դառն հարկապահանջութեան (for the bitter taxation), T վասն հարկապահանջութեան դառնապէս (bitterly for the taxation).

^cM adds chapter 40.

mitted by the sons of Hmayak became known, Muhammad (the Arab commander in Dvin) at once took his large troops, along with Smbat⁴, the High Constable of the Armenians who was the son of [prince] Ashot, and other nobles, and pursued the rebels as far as the district called Samts'khē⁵ in the country of Georgia. Here he occupied the passes, seized a portion of the booty, chased them away and put them to flight from our land of Armenia.

[The rebels] then went and sought refuge in the land of Egr⁶ where [Artawazd] assumed the rule over the principality of the Egerians as well as of Iberia, the country of the Georgians. Governor Hasan⁷, very much enraged by [Artawazd's] act, immediately sent orders to the different parts of his domain to have [the Arabs] collect taxes by force and without any delay. The action of the exactors of the tax virtually multiplied the grievances in our country, because the shortage of silver in the entire country of Armenia was grave. *Nakharar* Musheł⁸, son of count Hrahata^a from the house of the Mamikonids, became indignant at this, formed a league with some of the Armenian nobles, and revolted against the rule of the Arabs. As he met some of the sons of Ismael in his native district and among his household, who had come to seek revenge and claim the price of the blood of the victims who had been killed from among their tribe, [Musheł] slaughtered them all by his sword and then retired to the fortress^b of Artagers⁹ with the members of his household.

Soon afterward, [Musheł] took two hundred and sixty^c men with him and proceeded into the district of Bagrewand¹⁰. There he seized Abu Mjur, an exactor of taxes, and those with him, put them all to the sword and interrupted the exigence of the taxes in our country. As this was being carried out, all the afflicted and the grieved gathered around him. From thence, however, enemies from all over rose against him^d. First, [a unit of]^e the sons of Ismael of about two hundred men, armed to the teeth, came upon him from the city of Karin¹¹. While [the Arab guerrillas] were camped in the vineyards [near Kars, Musheł] arrived with few warriors in the village of Kars¹² at night, blockaded the enemy, and demolished the thin barrier of the vineyard which was built of dry stones, piled up without mortar. As the horses [of the Arabs] were hit by the clamorous fall of the wall, many horsemen were trampled under foot

^aM adds *որ էր* (who was).

^bM *խամրոցս* (to the fortresses).

^cM *լ* (sixty), T *սլ* (two hundred and sixty).

^dM *անցս* (them).

^eM adds *այլք [որդրոցն խամայէլի]* (others of the sons of Ismael)].

and crushed to death. [Mushe] took possession of the arms, weapons, as well as the booty and the horses of the fallen, and gave them to his troops. He then advanced towards his fortress.

As soon as the news of this tragic event reached the city of Dvin, Muhammad, the Arab commander [of the city], found himself in serious trouble, pressured on him from all sides. He soon gathered the troops of the garrison of Dvin, put them under the command of a certain Abu Njib and gave orders to take revenge for the blood of the murdered. The commander, heading his select horsemen who numbered around four thousand, took the royal highway carefully and reached the village of Bagawan¹³ in the district of Bagrewand. Mushe too, at the head of some two hundred men, arrived at the same place and war broke out between the two. The protection of the Lord helped Mushe's troops, who attacked the Arab forces fiercely and killed some, while the rest^a were put to flight and were pursued as far as the town of Aruch¹⁴, of whom many were subsequently exterminated, including the commander himself whom they killed. Having gained a great victory, [the Armenians] ceased to pursue the enemy and returned with rich booty which they had captured from the enemy.

Few of the numerous Arab fugitives reached Dvin, where they were met^b by men and women of their race who cried and lamented, threw ashes on their heads, hit their foreheads, rended the collars of their garments, and filled^c all the streets of the vast city with cries of lamentation. As a consequence, the Saracen garrison was terrified and dared not come out beyond the city limits; rather, they remained cautious^d within the fortifications of the city.

As soon as the Armenian nobles learned of this success, they all agreed to pursue the imprudent plan [of insurrection]. They thought that the fall of the Arab domination was at hand, especially since they were misled by a certain monk who, moved^e by the spirit of seduction, falsely prophesied, saying: "Behold, the hour of your salvation has come, and now shortly the sceptre of the kingdom shall be restored once again to the house of T'orgom¹⁵ and through you revenge shall be taken from the Arab nation. Do not be afraid of them because of the inferiority of your number, for

^aM *qվնսացորդսն* (the rest), T *qվնսացեալսն* (the rest).

^bM *սպա ընդ առաջ լինէին անցա* (then they came to meet them), T *որոց ընդ առաջ լինէին* (whom they met).

^cM *լնոյր* (it was filled, it filled), T *լնոիին* (they filled).

^dM *անձնամտահ լինէին* should read as in T *անձնամտահ լինէին* (they remained cautious).

^eM *շարժեցալ* (moved), T *շարժեալ* (moved).

one of your men shall be able to persecute thousands, and two of your men [shall frighten] tens of thousands. It shall be the Lord Himself who will fight for you. Be encouraged and do not be afraid.” Thus, day after day, he entertained them by relating false visions and deceitful desires^a. In general they all went along with him, believing in what he was saying and regarding him as a prophet. Then, being led astray, they all began to provoke the High Constable Smbat¹⁶, son of Ashot, in order to obtain his consent for the insurrection. [Smbat] was unwillingly diverted from his firm conviction and intransigent position, and yielded to the illusions of this imposter and frenzied man.

Now all the Armenian nobles assembled at a certain place and made an oath to each other, agreeing with a solemn vow to live and die together^b. The number of those who assembled together [reached]^c about five thousand men, due to the numerous *řamiks*¹⁷ [commoners] who joined their troops. They all proceeded from those regions to besiege the city of Theodosiopolis¹⁸ which is the city of Karin. They blockaded the city by erecting ramparts, and waged war against it throughout the entire winter season. They also built a bulwark around the city and cut holes on the outside of it, but were unable to conquer the city. Sporadically, however, [they did hurl blocks of stone] by means of catapults, causing some casualty in the city.

Ashot¹⁹ son of Prince Sahak from the house of the Bagratids, did not take part in this dangerous adventure because he was full of wisdom and prudence. On the contrary, he kept counselling the rest to abandon the perilous enterprise which stemmed from the perverse instigation of the frenzied monk, and think of their own security as well as that of their families. He told them: “You are still young and rather immature, and I know that you are unable to resist the power of the multi-headed dragon. The power [of the dragon] is great, and the warriors under its command are numerous. It also possesses abundant ammunition. All those kingdoms which tried to resist its^d domination were totally crushed like pottery. Even the Roman Empire was unable to raise its hand against it [the dragon], and it still continues to tremble before it and has not dared to act against the dominical command. I do not think you are

^aM բաղձալի ստից (of desirable deceits), T ըղձաւնս ի ստից (deceitful desires).

^bM սո միմեակնս (for one another), T ընդ միմեակնս (together).

^cM adds լիւնէիւ (comprised).

^dM նոցա (their), T նոքա (his).

unaware of the full power, the personal courage of the Emperor of the Greeks²⁰, as well as the great number of his troops and ammunition. And yet even he did not think of delivering the land of Armenia from its^a [the dragon's] hands. [I am referring to] Constantine (V Copronymus), son of Leo, who in one day, while wrestling with fierce beasts, killed the lion as if he were killing goats. If [Constantine] himself, being so powerful, was obviously subdued by the presence of the pernicious beast which ravages the world, on whom are you relying? Or, what help can you get that makes you feel powerful enough to resist its^b [the dragon's] invincible force? If it pleases you, then comply with my advice, for I am only interested in your safety as well as in the needs and quietude of our country. And this is what will happen: either you will return and become the subjects of the [Arab] rule, living in your land peacefully, or you will be forced to flee from your land with your entire households, leaving behind the possessions of your ancestors, your homes, your forests and farms, and even the tombs of your forefathers, and live under the foreign yoke of the king of Greeks. Otherwise, you will simply fall into the hands of your oppressors in one day, and die an insipid death, since I am well aware of the ungodly manners of the Arab caliph who will not calm down until he has executed his will."

They did not listen to this useful^c advice. On the contrary, they disregarded it as words of treason since they were under the strong influence of the imposter, the monk, who constantly exhorted them to remain steadfast in their enterprise without hesitation or self-reproach. In fact, the effects of [the monk's] ill-advised perversity concerning his fragile resolution were immediately revealed: they [the Armenian nobles] were soon divided amongst themselves. Hamazasp and his brothers²¹, the nobles from the house of Artsrunik', together with his troops, remained within the districts of Vaspurakan; Vasak²², son of Ashot, and those [nobles] from the houses of Amatunik'²³ and Trunik'²⁴, stayed there: some found refuge in the fortress of the village of Dariwnk'²⁵ and on the extremities of Maku²⁶, while others were entrenched in the valley of Aragelt, and scattered through the surrounding districts in search of food^d, subsequently returning to their fortresses.

As for the Arab garrisons stationed in the city of Dvin, they made frequent assaults in various districts around them. They pil-

^aM *lingu* (their), T *lnru* (his).

^bM *lingu* (their), T *lnru* (his).

^cM *oqlawlawlnuþkaw* (helpful), T *oqunnuþkaw* (useful).

^dM *lyrwlyrny* (for food), T *lyrwlyrng* (for food, pl.).

laged the villages of Ptłunk', T'alın and Kolb²⁷, and shed a great deal of blood, committing widespread massacres among the inhabitants of many other places.

Ita was in the spring when the Arab caliph²⁸ prepared an army to attack our country of Armenia. His army now consisted of well-trained cavalry units amounting to some thirty thousand men with fine horses from the Khurasan regiments, all perfectly equipped, and entrusted them to a certain commander whose name was Amir (Ibn Isma'il)²⁹. He sent [Amir] from Baghdad³⁰, his famous and vast capital, which was built as an assurance of fortitude with impregnable walls by Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur) himself.

[Commander Amir], thus armed with heavy weaponry, moved with utmost caution from the regions of Syria, penetrated into the land of Armenia, and reached the city of Khilat³¹. As he entered the city, he soon gathered information from the citizens on the state of the Armenians' armed forces; [he wanted to find out] about the identity of the generals and their number, whether they were united faithfully or suspicious to each other, whether they were courageous or reluctant and whether or not they were readily armed. Having acquired all these he prepared the generals^b of his army accordingly.

Ashot son of Sahak, on the other hand, being an inhabitant of that city, duly informed the Armenian nobles of the enemy's arrival, so that they could concentrate their forces from their respective locations at a certain place and be ready either to live^c or die together. [The nobles], however, did not believe the report; rather, they took it as a plot by which [Ashot], pretending to be an ally of the Arabs, was trying to save the city from the siege of the invaders. Convinced of this, they rejected [Ashot's] proposition and pursued the execution of their own plans. Following this the nobles of the house of Artsrunik', Hamazasp and his brothers³², as well as those from the house of Amatunik', reunited the troops of the country of Vaspurakan. They also sought^d the help of Vasak³³ son of Ashot and brother of High Constable Smbat from the house of Bagratunik', and his troops. Then they marched on the town of Arjesh³⁴ with the intention of razing the city from its foundations and putting its garrisons to the sword.

As they arrived at the village of Berkri³⁵ in the district of Arberani, they all stayed together in a state of confederacy^e. Even

^aM adds chapter 41.

^bM գորազլուխ (general), T զգորազլուխս (the generals).

^cM կալ եւ մեռանիլ (to stay and die), T կեալ եւ մեռանիլ (to live and die).

^dM կոչէր (he sought), T կոչէին (they sought).

^eM մնալին միմեանց գումարութեամբ, T մնալին միմեանց գումարութեան (they stayed together in a state of confederacy).

many of the local men became so attracted to them that they followed [the army] on foot to get involved in the forthcoming battle. But while they were thus planning on their next move, news came immediately about the approaching Arab troops. A certain individual came and told them that a great number of Arab forces had arrived and were waiting to meet with them. Hamazasp, the *Tēr* (Lord) of Artsrunik', did not believe the man but took him as an imposter and tortured him, while he himself, together with his troops, marched boastfully on the city of Arjēsh. As they were approaching the town, the^a inhabitants of the city warned Amir³⁶, the commander of the Arabs, and informed him ahead of time of the arrival of the Armenian nobles while he was in the city of Khilat. [Upon hearing the news, Amir] moved with large troops and came^b and stationed in ambush near the village of Arjēsh. While the Armenian troops were attacking the fortress, the ambushers came out of hiding at once and rushed upon^c the Armenian troops, and put them to flight. The larger number of the infantry, being defenseless naked villagers, and ignorant of warfare, perished mercilessly by the sword, as soon as they met the morning of that day, while some, panicked by the confusion of the peril, threw themselves into the river and drowned. As from the house of the nobles four were killed: three from the house of Trunik' and one from the village of Urts³⁷, in addition to the fallen commoners who numbered about 1500 men. The remainders barely managed to escape somewhere else in search of their livelihood. This unfortunate and perilous^d calamity occurred on Saturday³⁸, the fourth day of the month *Hrotits'* (December). The enemy, after pursuing the Armenian troops as far as the village known as Tay³⁹, returned to their camps with great joy.

While the infidel enemy was thus rejoicing greatly, our land of Armenia was experiencing frequent misery because [the Arabs], holding their breath, returned their attacks immediately as they took the main royal highway attentively and advanced through the district of Apahunik'⁴⁰. They reached the village of Ardzni⁴¹ in the district of Bagrewand, where they camped along the banks of the river which flows through. They had also with them craftsmen of different skills who prepared weapons and other instruments of war.

Speaking of the other division of [the Armenian troops] which guarded the city of Karin⁴², they brought the city to near deteriora-

^aM adds *hul* (but).

^bM omits *ti* (and).

^cM *hēhwalū* (they flew), T *qēhwalū* (they flew).

^dM *zarpustpēn* (perilous), T *zarpustpēn* (perilous).

tion, especially when severe famine raged throughout the city, forcing [the Arabs] to surrender it unwillingly. But when the news of the defeat of the regiment [at Arjēsh] reached the city of Karin, the warriors of the Armenian troops were totally despaired and decided to let [the enemy] besiege the city. Although they could have crossed into the land of the Greeks and save their lives from the iniquity of the slanderers, they preferred^a to die rather than see the destruction of our country and the desecration^b of Christ's sanctuaries. Notwithstanding their number which was far less than that of the enemy, [the Armenians] confirmed their decision and faced the danger voluntarily. They assembled their troops of around five thousand men, departed from the city of Karin, and crossed the borders of Basen⁴³ into the district of Bagrewand. They immediately crossed the river Arsanias⁴⁴ and attacked the enemy with fervent courage. They first separated their equipments from their horses and left them at a distance of two *vtawank*⁴⁵ (stadia)^c, and then, filled with rage, they prepared themselves to fight against the enemy on foot. Soon after the enemy troops rose and marched towards them with great provisions.

At sunrise the fighting had already started. As the two sides struck one another, at first the Armenian troops, now grown stronger, heavily assaulted the enemy and put them to flight, causing them heavy casualties. Later, however, [the Arabs] halted their retreat, came back [to the battlefield] with reinforcements, and resumed the fighting with furious anger, thereby spreading terror among the multitude of the common people. Subsequently, some of the nobles with their cavalry and those commoners who followed them were put to flight, many of whom suffered death lying on the battlefield.

Although the courageous martyrs were few in number compared with the malicious enemy, they showed no sign of fear as a result of the sorrowful agony. On the contrary, they stayed together to the end at the risk of their lives and instructed each other with these words: "Let us die courageously on behalf of our country and^d nation; let us not be eye-witnesses to the desecration of our sanctuaries and the place of our God's glorification by the profane feet of men^e. The sword of the enemy should be pointed at us first, and

^aM adds ընտրել (to choose).

^bM զանապատութիւն (desertion, desolation), T զանապատութիւն (desecration).

^c Corresponds to the Greek measure of length of 606.75 feet.

^dM adds մեր (our).

^eM omits սրսւնց (of men).

then let them do as they please. We shall exchange our lives for our true faith and not for earthly concerns, [because we know that] the present death is temporary, whereas the [real] life is eternal.” Having given this exhortation to each other, they looked up toward heaven and beseeched God the highest to help them, saying: “Look upon us for help, O God, and make haste to assist us. Let those who seek our lives be put to great shame, and in our distress we shall call upon Thy name, O Lord. We shall glorify Thy name, O Lord, in our present affliction which has entangled us. Behold, iniquities have surrounded us, innumerable iniquities indeed. Behold, the pangs of death have menaced us^a.”

Such were the supplicant prayers and the craving wishes that they offered repeatedly. Even then they felt encouraged by help from above and went ahead with their plans^b, despite their small number which did not exceed one thousand men as against the thirty thousand. We have learned from the enemy itself⁴⁶ that [the Armenians] had a multitude of angels fighting alongside them and were seen^c by the enemy in corporeal form, and that [the Arabs] had seen priests^d and clerics carrying Gospels, candles, and incense, and marching in front in order to encourage the rest [of the Armenian soldiers]. [The Armenians] took revenge mercilessly and slaughtered many until their^e hands became altogether exhausted by the heavy weight of their arms. Soon some of them, already disarmed, fell into the hands of the enemy and departed this sinful life as blessed and brave martyrs; they passed into life eternal with the hope of inheriting the future life. These are the names of the generals^f [who gave their lives]: High Constable Smbat from the house of Bagratunik’; Sahak, his ally and co-warrior; General Mushel⁴⁷ from the house of Mamikoneank’ and Samuel the *Tēr* (Lord) of the Mamikoneank’, a lively and a handsome young man, who was the father-in-law of the High Constable; Vahan *Dashnak* (poniard) from the house^g of Gnunik’, and many other *nakharars* (nobles) and *ramiks*⁴⁸ (commoners) whose name I am unable to recall one by one, but whose number reached three thousand. They all faced a most unfortunate and ignoble death as they fell on the battlefield, since there were not even enough graves for the burial of their

^aM *wn ḍkq* (to us), T *ḍkq* (us).

^bM *խորհրդէն* (of the plan), T *խորհրդունի* (of the plan).

^cM *երեւեալ* (being seen), T *երեւէին* (they were seen).

^dM *եփեսոսն* (priests), T *եփեցուն* (priests).

^eM omits *նոցա* (their).

^fM places *զորազխազն* (of the generals) at the end of the sentence.

^gM *ի տոհմէն* (from the lineage), T *ի տանէն* (from the house).

lamentable corpses. Rather, they were left outside^a on the plains despicably, exposed to the sun, dust, rain and wind.

At that time wail and mourning increased in our land of Armenia severely, because her great leaders and honorable generals were taken away almost instantly, causing deep sorrow all over the country. [The Armenians] mourned the death of their brave champions with great sorrow and felt they were deprived of their help and left at the mercy of the ferocious and austere enemy. Nevertheless, in time of distress they recalled the protective visitation of God^b who poured His mercy on mankind from the beginning, especially on those who praised His name. They invoked God's loving clemency and asked His help for the hopeless and the doubtful in their lives on earth. This terrible calamity followed immediately the defeat which [the Armenians] suffered at Arjesh; it occurred on Monday, the fourteenth day of the same month *Hrotits*⁴⁹. The affliction [of the survivors] was even greater, because they were afraid to mourn for their dead openly and even bury them properly. They were even unable to share memorial meals in their homes.

[35]

The^c enemies, on the other hand, spread their raids in the district of Bagrewand and the bordering areas, causing great trouble among the inhabitants of the country. [The Arabs] tried hard and were determined to destroy all the places of worship and desecrate the sanctuaries dedicated to Christ. They destroyed and burned the image of the glorious cross of Christ which was erected in the east and the west side [of the sanctuaries] as a symbol of protection and refuge for those who came to worship the consubstantial Trinity. They treated the priests, the monks, and their religious colleagues bitterly, considering them^d the leaders [who had inspired] those who had died in the battle. Later, they confiscated from various places the sacred articles of the church and pillaged them together with the relics of the saints of God. Having been satisfied with the booty they had taken from our country of Armenia, the impious troops now returned, attacked the fortresses, and forced the refugees inside to come to terms with them, providing them with a

^aM օթազացեալ (left outside), T օթազալեալ (left outside).

^bM զպաշտպանութիւն ալցելոյիկն սստոծոյ (the protection of the visiting God), T զպաշտպան ալցելութիւնն սստոծոյ (the protective visit of God).

^cM adds chapter 42.

^dM adds գոլ (to be).

written oath. [They were thus successful] in bringing them [the Armenians] out of the fortresses.

Leaving behind the impression of a so-called victorious warrior, [Hasan ibn Kahtaba] then left our country of Armenia and went across the country of Persia in order to present himself to the caliph of Ismael¹. It was as^a if [he was hoping] to receive rewards for the loyalty he had shown to him. Instead, the just punishment of God^b became manifest against him very soon as he died in the country of Persia following a series of horrible pains, thus receiving his worthy reward of his own revenge. Instead of the innocent blood shed by his hands, his own blood was justly shed, though not by human sword, but by the invisible sword ordered by the Most High, which is^c the most powerful of all double-edged swords and which penetrates deep, separates the soul from the body, reaching the joints of the brain. [God] sought vengeance through this kind of sword against the blood of His sons, and punished His adversaries. He thus delivered His people and cleansed their land, so that no adversary would approach their lineage again. Thereafter [the Armenians] lived safely in their homes.

[36]

At that time the Caliph of the Arabs once again appointed Yazid (Ibn Usaid) as governor of Armenia instead of Hasan (Ibn Kahtaba)¹. As for Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur)² himself, having satisfied the appetite of his malicious will, and after having subdued his soul under the pressure of his passionate love for money by hoarding greedily in the manner of the avarice of his evil household, received the curse of the prophet and soon died in despair in the same year. [God], who both judges and remunerates all, revealed his [Abu Dja'far's] destiny in the world-to-come to a distinguished priest from among His servants. [This man], just a few days before [Abu Dja'far] died, dreamed that there was a place of torture in an extremely deep dungeon, sealed by an iron gate, where [Abu Dja'far] was taken by two guards. As the guards opened the gate of the abyss, [the priest] saw flames rising from the depths high into the skies. The guards then threw the agent of evil into the fire, closed the gate and entrapped him in the staircase^d, thus mak-

^aM omits *qh* (as).

^bM յիբաւադաւն սստոծոյ (of the just God), T յիբաւադաւնէն սստոծոյ (from the just God).

^cM adds *t* (is).

^dM յանելանելի (in inextricable), T յելանելի (in staircase).

ing him receive worthy punishment. This was the revelation which was predicted of him by the vision which was fitting him [Abu Dja'-far] who was punished rightfully by the true judge for his evil conduct.

[37]

Following^a this [event], Muhammad al-Mahdi¹, his [Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur's] son, succeeded him as the caliph. He was more generous than his father and of much better conduct. He opened all the treasuries which impious Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al-Mansur) had kept locked, and distributed pay to his troops. He also allowed [to abolish] frontier duties so as to give merchants the possibility of trading and of satisfying the needs of the poor. Consequently, abundance appeared in the land, the extraction of silver increased, and the inhabitants of the country rested from the coercion of taxes. Although he increased the measures of the imposition of the taxes, nevertheless, as a result of the discovery of silver, our country rested a while from the cruel evils of poverty, because it was in the days of his reign that silver was found in our country of Armenia, on the mountains, from where pure silver ore was extracted^b for the needs^c of the population².

Muhammad al-Mahdi, however, started to assault against the rule of the Greeks. For this reason he formed an army under the command of 'Abbas³, his brother, and sent him to the land of the Greeks. The reasons for this invasion were the death of Emperor Constantine (V Copronymus)⁴, who died in the same year as Abdullah (Abu Dja'far al Mansur)⁵, and the accession of his son Leo (IV)⁶ to the imperial throne. Before, however, he [the caliph] could execute his plans for such aggression against the Greeks, the Emperor hastened to send a large troop⁷, led by three generals, two from among the Armenian nobles, Tachat⁸ of the house of Andzewats'-ik', and Artawazd⁹ from that of Mamikoneank', and the third from the Greek army, to attack Basanastan¹⁰, also known as Bishan. All three moved ahead with many forces; they arrived at Bishan in the regions of Cilicia and made their raids across the country. They captured many districts, cities and villages, killed all those who tried to fight against them, and reduced them to dust. Then they took into captivity a multitude of peasants whose num-

^aM adds chapter 43.

^bM հստոսուցելի (to mint), T ստի հ հսուցելի (in order to extract).

^cM ստի հ պէտես (for the need), T հ պէտես (for the need).

ber, we are told, exceeded 150,000, and carried them all into the Greek territory. [The Greek army] thus enriched by the abundant booty, returned to Emperor Leo (IV) who received his troops with much praise and bestowed highest honors upon his generals. The army remained inactive for the rest of the year.

[38]

In^a the following year, the Arab caliph¹ sent messengers [to Constantinople] in an attempt to frighten [the court] with his loud and pretentious words. With his missive, as we have heard, [the caliph] ordered his messengers to take a double bushel of mustard seed and warned the king of the Greeks with these words: “Very soon I shall send into your territory an army as numerous as the number of the mustard grains that you now see, and I wonder if your territory will have sufficient space for the enormity of my troops. If, then, you feel you have enough power in your hands, get ready to wage war against me.” The emperor read the missive without becoming disturbed in the least, and responded^b with great confidence on his part, saying: “Human beings are incapable of winning wars on their own^c; on the contrary, it is God who offers [such victory] to them. [You should know that] God is capable of delivering your army into my hands to be consumed by my troops [as they consume] the mustard seeds that you have sent. Act according to your promise, and the rest will be accomplished according to the pleasure and the will of God.”

At the same time, the emperor² ordered the authorities to have his subjects take refuge in cities, fortresses^d, and towers. The Arab caliph, on the other hand, assembled a very large troop, appointed the aforementioned same man³ as commander-in-chief, and sent them to invade the Greek territory. Having arrived in the land of the Galatian, the army besieged the large city called Amorium⁴, encamped around the city with numerous forces and blockaded it for a period of about three months. They were however unable to sack the city because it was fortified with heavy walls^e and as its surroundings did not allow any vulnerability. The sources of the river

^aM adds chapter 44.

^bM *ἰητέρ* (he sent), T *γράφει* (he wrote).

^cM *ωὐδ' αὐτοῖς* (on their own), T *ωὐδ' αὐτῷ* (on his own).

^dM *ἡ πεποιημένη πόλις* (in walled cities), T *ἡ πόλις, ἡ πόλις* (in cities, fortresses).

^eM *πεποιημένη πόλις* (it was fortified with walls), T *πεποιημένη πόλις* (it was fortified with walls).

Sagaris⁵, in fact, are found in the surroundings of the city and form marshland all around, thus hindering the enemy's approach to the city's impregnable situation. They were therefore unable to cause any damage other than setting bounds to it. Soon after, Yazid (Ibn Usaid)⁶, the governor of Armenia, arrived with his troops to help commander 'Abbas. He advanced toward the regions of Pontus⁷, reached the fortified cities of Koloneia⁸, Govat'a, Kastilon and the other districts of Marit'enes, and waged war against them. Since these successive attacks were of no significance, [Yazid] was forced to retreat shamefully to our country of Armenia. Furthermore, the Arab troops removed the blockade of the city of Amorium and went to their country.

[39]

We^a shall now continue to recount the events that followed. In the seventh year of Muhammad's (al-Mahdi) reign, Emperor Leo, son of Constantine, died¹. He was succeeded by his son Constantine (VI) at a very tender age. When Muhammad (al-Mahdi), the caliph of the Arabs, heard of the death of the Greek emperor, he assembled a large army under the command of his son Aharon (Harun)² and sent it to invade the Greek territory. When the Arab troops arrived in the Greek lands, they found themselves confronted by the Greek army, which had already blockaded all roads. The two sides, forced to come to a standstill, watched each other's movements, until a severe famine struck the Arab army which was suffering from hunger and was unable to find food^b.

We have already spoken of Tachat, son of Grigor, who was from the house of Andzewats'ik'. [Tachat] had already fled from the domain of the Arab caliph and was living in Greek territory under Emperor Constantine (V) who had accepted him with joy and accorded him distinct honor on account of his personal bravery. Moreover, the fame of [Tachat's] bravery was proven to the emperor while he was sent to the regions of Sarmatia³, known also as the country of the Bulgars, where he had displayed great courage and won many victories. In recognition of [Tachat's] virtuous bravery, [the emperor] had entrusted him with the office of commander-in-chief of an army of sixty thousand men, a position which he held in obedience to the Greek emperor for twenty-two years⁴. However,

^aM adds chapter 45.

^bM *կերակրոյ* (for food), T *կերակրոց* (for food, pl.).

when both Constantine (V) and his son Leo (IV) died, the imperial throne passed unto Constantine (VI)⁵ whose mother, the queen, treated [Tachat] with hate. Such circumstances forced [Tachat] to work his way back into the service of the Arab caliph⁶. The opportunity arose when the Arab army was blockaded by the Greeks, and [Tachat] asked the Arabs to hand him a written oath allowing his return to his country. In return, [Tachat] promised to free the Arab troops from the blockade and lead them to their country. Upon hearing the proposition, the caliph gave his full and prompt approval and offered [Tachat] all he wanted^a, under oath. [Tachat], thus assured^b of receiving the required oath, departed from the Greek territory with his entire household, and delivered the Arab troops^c from the hands of the Greeks. Aharon (Harun), the son of the Arab caliph, not only accorded [Tachat] highest honors, but he even considered him as his father. Upon meeting [Tachat], the caliph expressed his deep gratitude and gave him rich presents drawn from^d the royal treasury. He then invested him with the office of the Prince of Armenia⁷, and sent him to his country with much pomp and splendor. When, however, Prince Tachat arrived in Armenia by the order of the caliph, he met with unexpected opposition on the part of ‘Uthman (Ibn ‘Umara)⁸, who was the governor of our country at the time. Far from executing the caliph’s orders as far as Tachat’s powers were concerned, ‘Uthman deferred his action and sent messengers to their caliph, informing him that the Armenian nobles were unwilling to accept as their chief a rebel who had deserted the Arab rule in the interests of the Greeks, and whom they, the loyal subjects of the caliphate, suspected of being a potential traitor among our troops.⁹

Every time Tachat tried to reach the caliph of the Arabs to keep him informed of the obstacles regarding the execution of his powers, he always failed, because all approaches to the routes were guarded and the messengers sent by him were put in prison. It was such that neither Muhammad (al-Mahdi) nor his son Aharon (Harun) were aware of [Tachat’s] complaints until the end of that same year. The following year both Caliph Muhammad and his son Harun heard about the complaints and became aware of the situation. They immediately cast reproach upon ‘Uthman, the governor

^aM *qhlēz bi hūnēnēugh [h nēwānēnē]* (whatever is asked of him), T *qhlēz bi hūnēnēughē [h nēwānēnē]* (whatever he asked of him).

^bM *ψιπασθι κηκωι, T ψιπασθωστωι* (having been assured).

^cM *զգորն իսմայելացոց* (the troop of Ismaelites, T *զգորսն իսմայէլի* (the troops of Ismael).

^dM omits *h* (from).

of our country who, against his own will, was forced to restore Tachat's powers by the orders of the Arab caliph.

Following this event, 'Uthman reunited the troops of the Armenian nobles and led them to the city called Darband¹⁰ in the country of the Albanians, near the gates of the Caspian Sea. [Darband] was built as a fortified city to withstand the invasions of the Huns and the Khazars¹¹. ['Uthman] called also Prince Tachat, High Constable Bagarat, Nerseh Kamsarakan, and other Armenian nobles¹² to join him in the middle of the summer, on a burning day when Epehstus was at its peak. He camped in a field called K'eran, at a terribly hot and unbearable season. There he made the troops go through that entire season of hot summer, in the furnace-like rocky field. Among the Armenian nobles^a, Prince Tachat, High Constable Bagarat, Nerseh Kamsarakan, and others from their troops, were unable to endure the perilously excessive and suffocating heat and died^b. Hearing the sad news of the regrettable death of Tachat and his co-warriors, the Armenian nobles, Caliph Muhammad (al-Mahdi) became furious and deposed ['Uthman] from office and sent in his place a certain Rauh (Ibn Hatim)¹³ to Armenia as governor.

Muhammad (al-Mahdi) reigned eight years and died upon the arrival of Rauh [in Armenia]¹⁴.

[40]

[Muhammad al-Mahdi]^c was succeeded by his son Musa (al-Hadi Musa)¹ as the caliph of the Arabs for one year. He was a wicked, licentious, and a possessed man. His insanity was so far gone that, while engaging in target practice following his unworthy conduct, he chose men as his target and aimed arrows at them instead of objects, thus killing each one of them. When he assumed his powers as the caliph, [al-Hadi Musa] sent to Armenia a certain Khazm [Khouzaima]² to govern the country in place of Rauh. This man's appearance proved, as his^d name expressed, his seditious and infernal nature. When he arrived in the city of Dvin³, he was received by all the Armenian nobles who had come to meet him, including Hamazasp, Sahak, and Mehruzhan⁴, princes of the house of Artsrunik'.

^aM *նախարարք հայոց* (the Armenian nobles), T *նախարարացն հայոց* (of the Armenian nobles).

^bM *վախճանէր* (he died), T *վախճանի* (he dies).

^cM adds chapter 47.

^dM *իսկ* (real), T *իրոյ* (his).

When, however, the malicious enemy [Khouzaima] became attracted by the beauty and the genteel appearance of [the three *nakharars*], and as he envied the superb order of their noble corps, he arrested the three valiant generals at once, handcuffed them, and cast them into prison for a period of three months^a. He then made accusations against them in front of Musa (al-Hadi), the caliph, and received orders from him to put them to death. The unjust sentence of death and the violent verdict were immediately sent [by Khouzaima] to the prison where the blessed martyrs were being kept under arrest⁵.

As the death sentence was being read on their behalf, the arrested [*nakharars*] asked a certain K'ubeida^b, an agent and intimate friend of theirs, saying: "Tell us if there is a way to save our lives from this death to which we are so unjustly condemned." The man answered: "It is impossible for you to save your lives from his [Khouzaima's] hands, unless you abandon your faith and accept ours instead, and hear the voice of our Prophet. This can be your only salvation from the condemning death." When Mehruzhan heard the injunction, he became frightened of the temporal death and^c delivered himself over to the death of the eternal Gehenna. He destroyed the easy yoke of his faith in Christ, separated himself from the flock of the Lord, and assumed the image of a wolf, thus making himself subject to the eternal judgement. Since, however, such an apostasy was committed unwillingly and under the threat of an apparent death, perhaps Christ will show him mercy on account of his sincere repentance⁶.

As for the other [two] brave^d martyrs, they had already vested the armour of faith and covered their heads with the helmet of salvation. They had this to say to him [K'ubeida]: "God forbid that we should exchange the truth of God for lies, or the eternal life for the temporal, for neither we prefer transitory glories to those eternal, nor do we seek our own little lives instead of Christ, the hope of all." While serving their sentences in prison, they instructed each other with these words: "Brethren, we have thus far enjoyed sufficient glory which belonged to this transitory life. From now on, neither wealth nor perishable glory shall fascinate us, neither the golden robes that make us shine, nor the affection of our loved ones shall seduce us; neither the tenderness of our children nor any

^aM *uŋug* (of years).

^bM K'uteiba.

^cM omits *tu* (and).

^dM *puɁuɁuŋŋ* (victorious), T *puɁ* (brave).

present prosperity shall charm us, like those many who desired^a to possess them and yet ultimately perished.” This is how they encouraged each other during their sufferings in prison, and along with their prayers they were united with God, asking Him to make them worthy to inherit the life hereafter.

The time of confrontation arrived, namely, the moment of receiving the crown of martyrdom. It was the holy and glorious day of the Epiphany of Christ, which is solemnly observed^b for eight consecutive days by the believers in Christ. The unjust agent [Khouzaima] gave orders to bring them [the two princes] in front of his^c tribunal. Knowing in advance the firmness of their ardent faith in Christ, [Khouzaima] would not repeat the proposition [of apostasy]; instead, he first ordered the blessed Isahak (Sahak) to be brought into the arena. The instrument of torture was of the most recent kind: it consisted of a pair of forked blocks of wood solidly planted in the ground on the right side and on the left. The martyr was placed in between with his armpits resting on each of the forked^d ends. Then they bound his hands securely to the wood and whipped [Sahak] on the back with cudgel unmercifully and repeatedly until his body fell apart. As for the blessed Hamazasp, he was being guarded outside in chains, where he said prayers to the Lord from the depth of his heart. His lips were not even moving and no one was hearing his words. He only sighed laments from his heart and asked the Lord for help on account of the peril they were put in.

Having thus horribly tormented [Sahak], they released him from the painful bonds and led the blessed Hamazasp^e to the same place of torture. They bound him too in the same manner between the two blocks of wood and tortured him on his back even more savagely. And as he too resisted the terrible blows courageously and patiently^f, then order was given to kill them both by the sword. The executioners carried out the judge’s orders: they raised the sword^g at once and beheaded them. [Sahak and Hamazasp] thus delivered their souls [to God] and departed from this life. The next

^aM *ցանկացեալք* (those who desired), T *ցանկացեալ* (he who desired).

^bM *երգարբանէին* (they observed), T *երգարբանեն* (they observe).

^cM omits *իւրոյ* (his).

^dM *զերկճիղս* (forked), T *զերկճիղս* (forked).

^eM *Համազասպ*, T *Համազասպ*.

^fM *համբերեալ տանջանացն* (having patiently endured the tortures), T *համբերեաց տանջանացն* (patiently endured the tortures).

^gM *զուրբսն* (the swords), T *զուրբն* (the sword).

day [Khouzaima] ordered^a their bodies to be hanged on gallows and remain there under the close watch of guards, so that none of the Christians would steal and bury them. The lawless judge^b treated them so cruelly that even after [their] death the bitterness of his heart would not sweeten; on the contrary, [Khouzaima] made [the executioners] take the bodies and the bones of the blessed generals down from the gallows and burn them in the fire until they turned to ashes. He did not even spare the ashes for burial; instead, he let his men cast them into the river. Indeed, if their [the martyrs'] light afflictions^c in this world were manifold, so also, according to the words of the Apostle^d, will their reward be of greater^e and more glorious nature. Furthermore, the just One who will remunerate in the end, shall reward [them] hundredfold, according to the promise of the Lord which reads: "There is no man who has left father, mother, wives^f, children or farms for the sake of my name, who will not receive hundredfold more in this world, and in the age to come eternal^g life."^h

This [martyrdom] took place under the reign of Musa (al-Hadi), and during the governorship of Khouzaima [in Armenia], on the day of the holy Epiphany of the Lord, in the year 233 of the Armenian era (784 AD)⁷.

Musa (al-Hadi) reigned for one year and then died⁸. During his reign the prince of Georgia was also cruelly killed⁹. He was raised and hanged from his hands and feet, and his youthful life was thus cut short. He was still young to depart from this life and for this reason he was remembered as a sacrificed lamb. One year after having accomplished all these crimes, [al-Hadi Musa] died.

[41]

Theⁱ throne of the caliphate was then occupied by Harun (al-Rashid)¹, son of Muhammad (al-Mahdi) and brother of Musa (al-Hadi). He was a greedy and avaricious man. During his reign this

^aM հրաման էտ, T էտ հրաման (he gave order).

^bM անօրէն դատարն, T դատարն անօրէն (the lawless judge).

^cM անդորթեան (of the affliction), T անդորթեանցն (of the afflictions).

^d Cf. 2 Cor. 4:17.

^eM զմեծումն (the denial), T զմեծութիւն (the greatness).

^fM կին (wife).

^gM յաիտեանց, T յաիտեանականս. (eternal).

^h Luke 18:29-30. Cf. RSV: "There is no man who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children, for the sake of the kingdom of God, who will not receive manifold more in this time, and in the age to come eternal life."

ⁱM adds chapter 48.

man had his brother ‘Ubaidullah² as his opponent. The tension between the two resulted in territorial divisions: [Harun] gave his brother the countries of Atrpatakan (Azerbaijan) and Armenia, together with Georgia and Albania³. Pursuant to his propense^a conduct, [‘Ubaidullah] sent to our country licentious and perverse governors, impious and completely devoid of the fear of God. The first among them was Yazid son of Mazyad⁴. Next, Abd ul-Kebir⁵ succeeded [Yazid] for a short period of time and distinguished himself as a neutral man, displaying neither good nor bad conduct; rather, he seemed to leave a good impression. Suleiman⁶, the most wicked person of them all, succeeded [Abd ul-Kebir]. Following this appointment ‘Ubaidullah himself came to the city of Partaw (Barda’a)⁷ and invested Suleiman with the governorship of our country. He thus delivered the people of the Lord into the hands of [Suleiman] like abandoned sheep among voracious wolves.

[Suleiman] crushed his people under unbearable burdens of taxation, to the extent that each man would sell what was absolutely necessary for his bare existence in order to pay the taxes; even this proved insufficient. This same Suleiman sent to the city of Dvin a certain Ibn Dokeh, his son-in-law, a lawless and depraved man, born to a maid-servant of Greek origin. Upon his arrival, the sufferings [of Armenia] became more intense because he tormented the inhabitants of our country by imposing exorbitant taxes^b on them. All the *nakharars* (nobles) and *ramiks* (commoners), together with all the clergy and Catholicos Esayi (Isaiah)⁸, came and petitioned him [Ibn Dokeh] to lighten the most heavy burden of taxation which he had imposed on the people. This, however, was of no avail. It seemed that the Lord’s wrath had committed^c the Christian people into cruel hands. On the contrary, [Ibn Dokeh] dispatched exactors^d of taxes to the different districts of our country, giving them orders to instantly collect the annual tributes twice as much. As soon as this order was carried out, this son of Satan [Ibn Dokeh] devised another perilous cruelty: he forced all his subjects to wear lead seals around their necks, so that he could exact an enormous quantity of *zuza*⁹ for each [seal]. This way the intolerant measures taken by this cruel tyrant subjected the population to disastrous miseries.

^aM հակամիտ (tendentious), T հակամէտ (propense).

^bM հարկաւ պահանջմամբ (by imposing taxes), T հարկապահանջութեամբ (with the imposition of taxes).

^cM հրամանն տալ (to give the order), T [հրամանն] տուեալ (given, committed).

^dM պահանջող (exactor), T պահանջողս (exactors).

During^a the following year, when ‘Ubaidullah arrived¹ [in Armenia], the same calamities persisted in the country in greater proportions, to the extent that no one was able to control his own property any longer; there was pillage all over. On account of the unbearable calamities [of the country], many abandoned their farms and cattle, and fled to find refuge elsewhere, while the enemy ravaged everything and captured their animals and properties.

Left without property and food, naked and barefoot, [the inhabitants of Armenia] were exposed to the horrors of famine. They left their country and fled to the Greek territory to seek refuge². The mass of the population, over twelve thousand men, women, and children, as we were told, migrated from their land under the leadership of Shapuh from the house of Amatunik³, Hamam his son, and other Armenian nobles with their cavalry. The lawless and brutal enemy then persecuted the fugitives with the help of his^b troops and reached the districts of Kol⁴, near the Georgian frontier, where a battle took place. Some of the enemy troops perished and others fled, while [the emigrants] crossed the river Akampsis⁵. The sources of this river are found in the province of Tayk’ and it flows in a northwesterly^c direction, irrigating the country of Eger^d, and ultimately flowing into the Pontus (Sea). As they crossed the river, the Greek emperor Constantine (VI)⁶ was immediately notified [about their arrival]. He called them unto him and gave the nobles and their cavalry high honors. [The emperor] accommodated the bulk of the lower class people on good fertile lands. The other half of the population [of Armenia], on the other hand, remained there in the servitude of [the Arabs] and lived in extreme poverty; they were either woodcutters or water-carriers^e like the Gebeonites^f.

[Ibn Dokeh], the infernal impious man, who had received the command of the city of Dvin from Suleiman⁷, now conceived another act of malice. In those days Isaiah, the blessed Catholicos of the Armenians, had departed from this life to join Christ, after having lived a saintly life in the true faith⁸. [Ibn Dokeh] took this opportunity to demand an examination of all church properties and

^aM adds chapter 49.

^bM *qorru ħurnj* (of his troops), T *qorru ħurnj* (with his troops).

^cM *qñħuħunlj wrkndħg* (in a northwesterly [direction]).

^dM Egr.

^eM *ğrpħrp*, T *ğrupħrp* (water-carriers).

^f Cf. Joshua 9:21, 23. M adds *nñwlnp un vğrupħkly ħkħnħpħwln* ([and] some under grievous affliction).

sacred ornaments. Having this in mind, he summoned all the clerics^a to appear before him. With atrocious manners, he threatened them, saying: “Listen to me, do not dare hide anything from me; you must reveal all [church properties] to me. Otherwise, if any one of you conceals any item and the fraud is uncovered later, such person will have to pay with his own life.” Having heard the threat, they became most frightened and delivered all they had into his hands, including every item kept in the church vaults. There was nothing left that they had not handed to him for his examination: sacred vessels of gold and silver, some with precious gems, and^b royal garments and robes which were presented to the glorious and holy altars of the Lord. After examining all, [Ibn Dokeh] thought at first he would confiscate them at once, but then he chose to select the items he wanted for his personal use, both from the vaults and from among the precious garments, in addition to other sacred objects. He returned the rest of the deposits to the sacrist of the church who guarded them until the next Catholicos, Step’anos (Stephen), was enthroned as the patriarch of the Armenians⁹. [Step’anos] succeeded to the patriarchal throne by means of a large amount of ransom, which he was able to pay by selling all the properties in order to secure the release of the villages, servants, and debts [of the Patriarchate]^c.

COLOPHON The teaching¹ of Lewond, pertaining to the chronicles of the house of T’orgom², was accomplished by the orders of *Tēr* (Lord) Shapuh Bagratuni³ for the glory and in praise of the most holy Trinity, which is blessed now and always. Amen.^d It was Lord Hamazasp⁴, from the honorable house of the Mamikoneank’, who sponsored the writing of this [book] through his own funds and who ordered me, the unworthy scribe Sargis⁵, to copy it. I beseech you to remember me to the merciful God, to whom glory is due for ever. Amen.

^aM *ղղերոսս, Դ ղղերհղոսս* (clerics).

^bM omits *և* (and).

^cM adds *և սարս կատարած* (and then the end).

^dM omits “for the glory and in praise of the most holy Trinity, which is blessed now and always, Amen.”

^eM omits the possessive article *ս* (to me) *զրհ* (to [the] scribe).

NOTES

[1]

¹ The prophet of Islam (570-632). Muhammad Ibn Abdullah of Kuraish was born in Mecca around 570 A.D. About 610 he received his first revelation. Two or three years later, in 612/613, he began preaching in public. *EI* (OE), VI, p. 641. Muhammad moved from Mecca to Medina on July 16, 622, marking the *Hijra*, the Muslim era. The word *hijra* primarily meant a severing of relationships. It is the basis of Islamic chronology whose reckoning commences with the first day of the Muslim year in which the emigration took place, i.e. July 16, 622. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 41. Muhammad returned to Mecca in 630 and died on June 8, 632. "After twenty years of reign" gives us the date of 632/633, the date of Abu Bakr's accession as Muhammad's successor.

² *Amir al-Mu'mnin*, 'commander of the believers', a title adopted by Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab on his election in 634. From 'Umar until the end of the caliphate as an institution, *Amir al-Mu'mnin* was employed exclusively as the title of a caliph. *Amir* was a term designating a person invested with command, compounded with *al-Mu'mnin* to designate the leaders of Muslim expedition. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 445; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, pp. 56f.

³ Emperor Heraclius (610-641) of the Byzantine empire. "The eleventh year of Heraclius' reign" is the year 621. Heraclius was elevated to the throne on October 5, 610. This does not correspond with the date of Abu Bakr's accession in 632 as claimed by Lewond. The error can be corrected by changing ($\delta\omega = 11$) into ($\eta\omega = 21$), in order the twenty-first year of Heraclius to correspond with 632 A.D. See also below, *Lewond* 2,5.

⁴ Caliph Abu Bakr as-Siddik (632-634), al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 20. Abu Bakr succeeded Muhammad as *Khalifa* (successor, vicar) of the Prophet, thus founding the caliphate, an institution which had no equivalent outside the Muslim world. Abu Bakr was the father-in-law of the Prophet and the son of Abu Quhafa, *MD*, III, ii, p. 188. Under Abu Bakr the Arabian peninsula was effectively united for the first time, *EI*, I, pp. 109f. Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab (634-644). During 'Umar's rule Iraq was taken from the Sasanids, and Arabs from north and south migrated into the newly founded military settlements (*amsar*) of al-Basra and al-Kufa. The decisive victory over the Byzantines at al-Yarmuk river in 636, and the capture of Jerusalem in 638 took place under 'Umar, *EI* (OE), I, p. 982. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 207-212. 'Umar was slain by a slave of Persian origin by name of Hurmuzan on November 3, 644 at age of 53, in Medina. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 67; also *MD*, III, ii, p. 188. Caliph 'Uthman Ibn Affan (644-656), al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 20. M. Kalankatuats'i gives him eleven years of rule, *MD*, III, ii, p. 188. 'Uthman came from the house of Umayya and succeeded 'Umar. A rift developed between the most powerful figures in the Arab state which led to the murder of 'Uthman in Medina on June 17, 656, *EI* (OE), I, p. 1008. 'Uthman ordered Mu'awiyah, the governor of Syria, to send Habib Ibn Maslama into Armenia, al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 309f. The three orthodox caliphs, Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman, as well as the last orthodox caliph Ali,

were raised to their position by election. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 211.

⁵ The total reign of the three orthodox caliphs—Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthman—amounts to 24 years (632-656). The period of 38 years, which is variably repeated by subsequent Armenian historians, takes us back to the year 618. Cf. *Lewond*, ed. Ezean, p. 172, n. 2.

⁶ The conquest of Syria had taken place between 633 and 640, during ‘Umar’s reign. Damascus fell in 636, Jerusalem in 638, and Caesarea Palestine in October 640, Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 152-53. *Lewond*’s date of the Arab expeditions into Syria-Palestine *NOT* before Heraclius’ death (641) is erroneous. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 213-34. M. Kalankatuats’i repeats the error by locating the Arab invasions into Syria during Constantine’s (Heraclius’ son) days, but gives the correct date: “in the 80th year of the Armenian era” (632), *MD*, III, XV, pp. 206-7.

⁷ Heraclius’ son, Constantine III, was born to Heraclius by his first wife Fabia-Eudocia in 612. Heraclius appointed his son regent at the age of ten (622), and later c. 629, gave him the title of *basileus* as the co-emperor, while the title Caesar finally lost its imperial significance, Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, pp. 95f. Constantine suffered from a serious illness and died on May 25, 641, after reigning barely three months. *Ibid.* p. 101. Cf. also Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 247 and n. 1. After his death the throne was occupied for several months by Heraclonas (Heracleon), a son of Heraclius by his second wife Martina. He was deposed in the autumn of 641, and the son of Constantine III, Constans II, was proclaimed emperor and ruled from 641-668. See below, *Lewond* 3, 1.

⁸ Speaking of Palestine and Syria *Lewond* refers to the battles of Ajnadein (July 30, 634), of al-Yarmuk, an affluent of the left bank of Jordan (August 20, 636), and Jerusalem (638). The rest of the chapter describes those battles starting, however, with the wrong chronology. The battles in the given geographical area were waged during the reign of Heraclius, and not “when Heraclius’ son succeeded him” in 641. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 174-75, 207-12, 213-22; Sebeos, *History*, p. 166f. *Lewond* is probably referring to the fact that Heraclius had sent his son Constantine III to Syria, at which time an army was collected at Diarbakr (Amida) to proceed to Emesa. Cf. Bury, *Op. Cit.* p. 268.

⁹ The statement of the Jews according to Melik’-Bakhshyan may reflect the complaints of the oppressed against the Geeks and the Persians, Melik’-Bakhshyan, *Armenia During VII-IX Centuries*, pp. 31-32. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 166; Thomas Artsruni, *History*, II, pp. 111-12.

¹⁰ It is to be understood Heraclius with his co-emperor son Constantine III (see above, *Lewond* 1, 7 and 8). The battle described here refers to the capture of Jerusalem in 638. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 166-67; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 213ff.

¹¹ Arabia Petrea whose main city was Petra and which included Sinai, Edom, Moab, and east of Transjordan. The other two parts of Arabia were Arabia Deserta (the Syrian Desert), and Arabia Felix (Fortunate Arabia) in the south. Cf. *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*, I, pp. 179f.; *The Armenian Geography*, Eremyan, *Armenia According to “Ashkharhats’-oyts’”*, pp. 16, 112. As for the ‘troops of Madiam’, referred to by *Lewond*,

the city of Madina in Arabia is to be understood. According to V. Vardanyan Madiam of the Armenian historians Lewond and Thomas Artsruni should be distinguished from the country of the Midian found in the Bible (Exodus 2:15, 4:19). Thomas Artsruni, *History*, tr. by Vardanyan, Erevan (1978), p. 353, n. 272.

¹² *Vtawan*, arrow's throw. According to the *Armenian Geography* *vtawan* was a measurement of distance, known also as *asparez*, which corresponded to 150 paces. Cf. *Geography of Movses Khorenats'i*, ed. Suk'rean, Venice (1881), p. 7. Anania Shirakats'i has identified *asparez* (*vtawan*) with an "arrow's throw" which in turn was equal to 150 paces. Cf. *Anania Shirakats'u matenagrut'yune*, ed. A. Abrahamyan, Erevan (1944), pp. 92-93. See also G.B. Petrosyan, "erkarut'yan ch'ap'ere", *PBH* (1970), No. 3, pp. 215-228.

¹³ On the Arab reign over Palestine and Syria see above, notes 6 and 7.

[2]

¹ The "other year" must be the year following the capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs in 638. The invasion of Mesopotamia by the Arabs took place during 639-640, al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 269ff. However, earlier dates are mentioned for the Arab expeditions into Persia. Al-Muthanna Ibn Haritha was in al-Kufa in 635, al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 169. Also Sa'd Abi-Wakkas met the Persians at al-Qadisiyya and al-Ushaib in the year 637, *Ibid.* p. 409. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 168.

² King Yezdegerd III (632-652), the last king of Sasanid Persia. He was the son of Shahriyar and the grandson of king Khosrov II Parvez (590-628). Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 215; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 490.

³ Lewond refers to the battle of al-Qadisiyya in 636 and to the conquest of al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) in 650. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 409-419.

⁴ According to M. Kalankatuats'i "in the twentieth year of Yezdegerd, the Persian empire was utterly destroyed, that is, in the thirty-first year of the worldwide wars of the Hagarites and the fifteenth year of my lord Juansher." Cf. *MD*, p. 115. The 20th year of Yezdegerd III's reign was the 31st year of *Hijra*. The same data are reported by Sebeos, *History*, pp. 214f. Both numbers of the years reported by Lewond (481) and by Sebeos (542) are wrong, since the Sasanid dynasty ruled for 426 years (226-652). Vardan repeats Lewond's years (481), Muyldermans, *La domination*, p. 87. About the death of king Yezdegerd see al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 490-93. The conquest of Nihawand (south-west Hamadan) in 641/642 marks the end of the Persian rule in Persia, cf. *Ibid.* pp. 471-77; Noldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 133. Yezdegerd III retreated to Isfahan and later to Istakhr, the ancient Persepolis, the summer capital of the Sasanids. Finally he took refuge in Khurasan, where he was assassinated by a local satrap in 652. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 215; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 490; *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 61.

⁵ The reference here is to the second invasion of Armenia by the Arabs in 642/643. The established date for the first invasion of Armenia and the capture of Dvin by the Arabs is Friday October 6, 640, Sebeos, *History*, p. 171. Cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, pp. 178ff. The date of the second invasion according to Lewond is "the twenty-second year of reign

of the Ismaelite rulers Abu Bakr, 'Uthman, and 'Umar' (see below, *Lewond*, 2, 17). The 22nd year can be acceptable only if we consider Lewond's date of Abu Bakr's accession, that is, "in the eleventh year of [Heraclius'] reign" (621). See above, *Lewond*, 1,3. The same date 641/642 is also given by Sebeos: "In the first year of Constantine (Constans II) and in the tenth year of Yezdegerd", *History*, p. 175f. Cf. also Manandyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 189, who argues the point that Lewond has based his dates on the *Hijra* (622) rather than on Abu Bakr's reign (632).

⁶ Mark' (*Marats' ashkharh*) is the country of the Medians (Medes). The Medians are the neighbors of the Persians. About the history of this tribe see Adontz, *Armenia During the Period of Justinian*, pp. 291-94. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 177. The Medes were usually known to the Armenians under the name of Mark' and the district settled by them was called Marots' in Armenian. Heraclius had passed through Media during his 623 expedition against the Persians, passing through Lazica into Armenia, into Atropatene, 'the lands of fire', the northern district of Media. Cf. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 231.

⁷ Golt'n is a district in the province of Vaspurakan, cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 222.

⁸ Nakhjawan is a city on the Araxes in the province of Vaspurakan. *Ibid.* pp 222f. Cf. also *EI* (OE) I, pp. 839f; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 167. *Dastakert* is usually land (village, town) assigned for maintenance of a ruling house, that is to say an appanage. At one point or another *dastakert* was also used to designate a province, a domain or a property. Cf. Sarkissian, G. H. "Les deux significations du terme *dastakert*", *REA* (1968), 5, pp. 43-50.

⁹ Jula, a town on Araxes, south of Nakhjawan. Cf. Hakobyan, *Historical Geography of Armenia*, pp. 211, 273.

¹⁰ Artaz is a district in the province of Vaspurakan. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 219.

¹¹ The names of Procopius and Theodoros Rshtuni are associated together in the confrontation at Martuts'ayk' between the Arabs and the Greeks. The event is also described by Dennys de Tel-Mahre, *Chronique* by Chabot, pp. 6-7, where the names of the two generals, Procopius and Theodoros, are mentioned as being engaged in the invasion of Batna-Sarug in 643/644. Manandyan argues that the invasion of Batna-Sarug preceded immediately the battle of Martuts'ayk'. See Manandyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 191-93. For procopius see also Sebeos, *History*, pp. 185f in connection with his departure to Damascus for peace treaty between the Greeks and the Arabs.

¹² Kogovit is a district in the province of Ayrarat. Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 251. Kogovit lay next to Bagrewand, on the Maku river, a tributary of the Araxes. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 241; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 59. In the royal period Kogovit belonged to the Arsacids, cf. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, p. 322, n. 77. In the seventh century and thereafter we find Kogovit in the hands of the Bagratids, Sebeos, *History*, p. 109.

¹³ Bazudzor was a town in the district of Kogovit in the province of Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 321. Martuts'ayk' consists of *martots'* (*mard*), while the ending *ek'* or *ayk'* gives it the sense of an ethnicon: "the inhabitants of Martots' ". Cf. Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 492, n. 54 and 57. The

form *Mardots'ek'* occurs in Sebeos, *History*, p. 216. Adontz identifies *Marduts'ayk'* with *Mardastan* which was located on the border of *Vaspurakan* and *Ayrarat*, west of *Artaz*. *Op. Cit.* p. 120*, 125*; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 65.

¹⁴ Theodoros Rshtuni (641-654) was the prince of Armenia during the first Arab invasion at the end of 640. He succeeded the Curopalate David, Prince Saharuni (635-638) who was the first presiding prince of Armenia appointed by the Emperor. Constans II (641-668) accorded Theodoros the title of Patrician following the Arab invasion, Sebeos, *History*, p. 171f. Lewond calls him *ishkhan hayots'* (prince of the Armenians) during the second Arab invasion into Armenia in 642/643. In Greek Theodoros is known as *Totrounes o Oroustounes*, Garitte, *La Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, pp. 431f., 405. Theodoros signed a treaty with Mu'awiyah, the Arab governor of Syria, in 653, Sebeos, *History*, pp. 215f.; Laurent, *l'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, p. 33. Cf. Melik-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, pp. 66-68. See also Acharyan, *Dictionary*, II, p. 298, and Arak'elyan, B. "Hayastane Arabakan tirapetut'yan arajin shrjanum", *gitakan zholovatsu (1941)*, pp. 65-106. In 653 Prince Theodoros Rshtuni abandoned Byzantine allegiance, accepted the overlordship of the caliph, and continued to rule Armenia. Following the terms of the treaty of 653 between Theodoros and Mu'awiyah, the Caliphate, like the Iranian and Roman empires, officially accepted the existence in *Caucasia* of a group of autonomous vassal states. The three *Caucasian* states (*Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Albania*) formed a single viceroyalty of the Caliphate called *Arminiya*. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 394; *Traditio*, 27, p. 121 n. 39. Theodoros Rshtuni was taken to *Damascus* by the Arabs in 655 where he died in 656. *EI*, I, "Arminiya", p. 636.

¹⁵ A mountain in the district of *Kogovit* in the province of *Ayrarat*, near *Marduts'ayk'*, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 260; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 80; Oskanyan, A. M. *Haykakan lernashkharh*, p. 17. *Sarak* in Armenian means 'hill'. According to Lewond the fight at *Elbark'* took place first between the Arabs and the Armenians. Later the Greeks confronted the Arabs and were defeated. Cf. Melik'-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, pp. 51-52.

¹⁶ *Garni*, a district in *Vaspurakan*, south of *Kogovit*, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 216; Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 247; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 46.

¹⁷ For the chronology of the first three Arab caliphs see above, Lewond, 2, 5.

¹⁸ The 'twenty-sixth year' of the first three caliphs corresponds to the year 648, assuming Lewond's original date of *Abu Bakr's* accession being the 11th year of *Heraclius's* reign (621). The year 648, therefore, will have to deal with the third Arab invasion into Armenia. Lewond talks about it in chapter 3.

[3]

¹ Emperor Constans II (641-668), the grandson of *Heraclius* and the son of *Constantine III*. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 102. For Constans' statement to the senate on the day of his enthronement see Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, p. 287. The date referred to here by Lewond is 642, and the event corresponds with the first Arab invasion into Armenia. See below, Lewond, 3, 3.

² *Dzora*, also known as *Dzorayin* or *Dzorayn Koys*. It was a passage be-

tween the western branch of Tigris and Arsianias rivers, west of Sassoun. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 436, n. 24; Sebeos, *History*, p. 170.

³ Dvin, the capital of Armenia, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 336f. For complete discussion on the date of the capture of Dvin by the Arabs see Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, pp. 178ff. Manandyan established 640, October 6, Friday, as the exact date of this important event. Cf. also Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 301f.; Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, pp. 28f. Sebeos implies a date of October 6, 640, *History*, p. 171. Movses Kalankatuats'i marks Dvin's capture by the Arabs in the sixth year of Constants II, i.e. 646/647, *MD*, pp. 206f. Asolik also dates the same event at 646/647, *History*, French tr. Dulaurier, p. 127. For Dvin see also Lafadaryan, *Dvin K'alak'ew nra pelumnere; Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 182.

In the Arab authors Dvin occurs in the forms *Dawin* or *Duwin* and *Dabil*, which is the most usual form. The Greek name of the city differs: *Dubios*, *Tibion*, *Tibe*, *Tibi*, Cf. *EI*, II, pp. 678f. Dvin was founded by the Armenian Arsacid king Khosrov II the Young (330-338) in a plain near the river Azat, a tributary on the left bank of the Araxes, to replace the ancient Artashat (Artaxata), which was situated to the south. After the partition of Armenia between the Greeks and the Persians in 387, Dvin was included in Persarmenia and remained the capital after the deposition of the last Armenian Arsacid king in 428. Lewond, following Sebeos, reports that 35,000 Armenian inhabitants of Dvin were carried off as captives following the first Arab invasion of Armenia in October of 640. Arab sovereignty was established in Dvin by Mu'awiyah, the first caliph of the Umayyads, in 661. Later, in 652/53, the invasion by Habib ibn Maslama ended in the surrender and capture of Dvin with a treaty the text of which has been preserved by al-Baladhuri, cf. *The Origins*, pp. 314-15. Dvin was given a governmental palace, a mosque, a prison and a mint. *EI*, II, p. 678f.

⁴ *Nakharar* was a feudal lord, cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 342ff.; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 115ff. For the discussion of the term itself cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, i, pp. 315ff.; Kostanyan, S.S. "Nakharar" termini masin" *PBH* (1973), 3, pp. 151-160.

⁵ *Hagarats'ik'* (the Hagars), a name designating the Arabs, repeatedly used by Armenian historians, Cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 173, 211, 212, 227; John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 103, 105, 109. Earlier usage of the term occurs in the Bible: Psalm 83:7.

⁶ According to Lewond the Arabs did not invade Armenia during the ten years following the capture of Dvin in 640. The reference here is therefore to the third Arab invasion into Armenia and the capture of Artsap', the description of which Lewond gives in the remainder of chapter 3.

⁷ Lewond's chronology is always based on the accession of the first caliphs. It is feasible to understand Lewond's chronology in terms of the inauguration of the Islamic era (622 AD), as argued by Manandyan. See above, *Lewond*, 2, 5. Because Lewond's date of Abu Bakr's accession is mistakenly marked 621, instead of 632, we have to assume that here the author is adding his 36 years on 621 and reporting the year 657 for the capture of Artsap'. The same event is reported by Sebeos as taken place in the second year of Constans II, i.e. 643, *History*, p. 184. Cf. Dulaurier, *Re-*

cherches, pp. 231f. The correct date of the third Arab invasion as well as the capture of Artsap' is established by Manandyan as August 8, 650, exactly "ten years" after the first capture of Dvin as reported by Lewond (chapter 3 and n. 6). Cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, pp. 198f.; *EI*, I, "Arminiya", p. 636; Melik'-Bakhshyan disagrees with Manandyan and re-establishes Sebeos' date (Aug. 10, 643), cf. *Armenia*, p. 54, n. 1, and p.66.

⁸ Vaspurakan, the eighth province of Armenia according to the *Armenian Geography*, to the north of Parskahayk'. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 92ff. Vaspurakan covered the areas on the north-western and south-eastern shores of Lake Van. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 249; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 82. Vaspurakan was primarily the possession of four noble families: The Artsrunik' in Albak, the Mardpetk' in Mardpetakan, the Rshtunik' in Tosp, and the Amatunik' in Artaz. Around these were grouped the smaller principalities: Andzewats'ik', Trpatunik', Erwandunik', Gogank', Artasheseank', Palunik', and Trunik'. Cf. Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 250-51; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 86. The Arabs excluded from Vaspurakan the city of Nakhjawan in 693 and the district of Golt'n in 737, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 94.

⁹ For Nakhjawan see above, *Lewond*, 2, 8.

¹⁰ Taron, a district in the province of Turuberan. It was ruled by the Mamikoneank' whose real province was Tayk'. We do not know exactly when the Mamikoneank' came to Taron, but we are certain that they were already there in the 4th century. Cf. Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 243; Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* pp. 189-192; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 115ff.

¹¹ Kogovit, Cf. above, *Lewond* 2, 12.

¹² Artsap': a fortress in the district of Kogovit in Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p.251. This fortress-town is first mentioned during the pontificate of Catholicos Abraham of Albat'ank' (in Rshtunik') (607-615). Among the abbots of different monasteries who were called by Abraham for a special council the name of Yovhannik of Artsap' is also mentioned. Cf. Uthtanes, *History*, II, p. 64. See also Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 618; Ep'rikean, *Bnashkharhik Bararan*, I, p. 290.

¹³ "The next two years" refers to the three years truce between the Arabs and Constans II, Cf. *EI*, "Arminiya", p. 636.

¹⁴ The death of the third caliph 'Uthman occurred in 656. Lewond thus reports that the three major invasions of the Arabs into Armenia took place during the caliphate of 'Umar and 'Uthman (634-656).

[4]

¹ Mu'awiyah Ibn abu-Sufyan, cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 191. He was the governor of Syria who later became the first Umayyad caliph in 661. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 239. Internal struggle broke out between the last orthodox caliph 'Ali and the Syrian governor Mu'awiyah. This bloody strife ended in 661 by the massacre of 'Ali and the triumph of Mu'awiyah,

who ascended the throne, inaugurating the new dynasty of the Umayyads with Damascus as the capital. The Umayyad caliphs were distinguished by the epithet *al-Rashidun* ("the rightly guided"). Cf. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 74. Lewond obviously does not cover the events of the eleven years preceding 661. The important events during that period include the truce (650-653) between the Arabs and Constans II, the treaty between Theodoros Rshtuni and Mu'awiyah in 653, and the assignment of Hamazasp Mamikonean, the son-in-law of Theodoros, to the command of Armenia by Constans II in 657/658. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 236; *EI*, I, p. 636. Mu'awiyah's reign is reported correctly by Lewond: "ninteteen years" (661-680), cf. *EI*, (OE), VI, pp. 617f. In 674 Mu'awiyah attacked Constantinople from the land and sea but was defeated after three years of siege. Mu'awiyah died in April, 680, at the age of 80.

² Grigor Mamikonean (662-685) was the first *ishkhan* (prince) who was directly appointed by the Arab caliph, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' ishkhane arabakan tirapetut'yan zhamanakashrjanum" *PBH*, (1964), No. 2, p. 121; Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 349, 405, 411, 439. Lewond further identifies Grigor as one of the two hostages from the house of Mamikonids who were taken away by Mu'awiyah. Mu'awiyah later, "in the second year of his reign", in 662, granted Grigor the rank of *ishkhan* of Armenia. See below, *Lewond*, 4, 14. According to Movses Kalankatuats'i Grigor reigned for "More than twenty years", *MD*, II, 27, 44. Grigor was the son of David and the successor of his brother Hamazasp Mamikonean, cf. Acharyan, *Dictionary*, I, p. 531. Grigor's reign coincided with that of Emperor Constantine IV (668-685). Cf. also John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 114-119. For the Mamikonean¹ see the discussion of the Armenian tables of rank in Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 244-252; Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 210ff.

³ The first year of Mu'awiyah's reign is the year 661. This date obviously does not correspond with the 25th year of Constans' reign (666). Subsequent events show an obvious discrepancy of dates in the chronology of the Byzantine rulers.

⁴ The Arabs. For the etymology of *tachik* (from the name of the Arab tribe Tay) see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 86.

⁵ Emperor Constans II (641-668). See above, *Lewond*, 3, 1. Constans II was succeeded by his son Constantine IV (668-685) who was surnamed Pogonatus, "the bearded".

⁶ According to Sebeos, Prince Theodoros Rshtuni was called to Constantinople in 646, after the battle of Martuts'ayk', and was sent back to Armenia in 649, following his trial, cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 179f. See also Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 205.

⁷ Smbat Bagratuni (644-654), the elder son of Varaztirots' Bagratuni, Sebeos, *History*, p. 182; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 340f. Sebeos' statement refers to the recognition of Smbat by Emperor Constans II as the *tanuter* (feudal lord) of the Bagratids with the rank of *drungarius* (brigadier). Cf. Manandyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 203-206, for further discussion on Smbat's rank as *drungarius* rather than *curopalates*. Smbat was appointed by Constans II as commander-in-chief under Prince Theodoros, cf. John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 108f. Smbat held the position from 644 to 654, cf. Saint Mar-

tin, *Memoires*, 1, p. 337; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 333. Markwart and Toumanoff identify Smbat with the son of Varaz-Sahak, brother of Varaz-tirots', cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 183; Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* p. 340.

⁸ Vard, son of Theodoros Rshtuni, who after his father's death in 656, received the rank of patrician from the Greek emperor and became the commander-in-chief of the Armenian cavalry. Cf. Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni, *History*, p. 95. Vard was the last among the Rshtuni nobles, cf. Lewond, ed. Ezean, p. 177, n. 13. He took part in the battle of Vardanakert in 703, see below, *Lewond* 8, 3. Cf. Acharyan, *Dictionary*, V, pp. 70f; H. Oskean, "Rshtuneats' nakhararut'iwne", *HA* (1952), *Gnuneats' ew Rshtuneats' nakhararut'iwnnere*, pp. 150-151.

⁹ The date of Easter eve mentioned here must be in the year 653, the end of the three year truce between the Arabs and Constans II. The exact date for the "Holy Saturday" is April 20, according to Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 729. Cf. also Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 32; Melik-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, p. 75. For the conflict between the Arabs and the Greeks cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 224.

¹⁰ Theodoros' son is Vard who sided with the Arabs against the Greek. Vard's treacherous activities are also related by pseudo-Shapuh, *History*, pp. 97-99, and Vardan, cf. Muyldermans, *La domination*, p. 88, who places Vard's activities, c. 654. *Ibid.* note 1.

¹¹ Catholicos Nerses III (641-661) was the patriarch of the Armenians. He is known as Nerses of Tayk' with the honorary title *Shinol* (Builder). Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 339, 432. Nerses built the church of Zvart'nots (named after the heavenly hosts) near Valarshapat, cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 186; Lafadaryan, "Zvart'nots' ", *PBH* (1959), No. 4, pp. 174ff; Mnats'-akanyan, *Zvart'nots'ê ew noynatip hushardzannere*, pp. 8ff. Beginning from Lewond the subsequent Armenian historians have named the church of Zvart'nots' after St. Grigor. *Ibid.* p. 16. The name *Zvart'nots'* is given to the church only by Sebeos, *Ibid.*

¹² For Grigor Mamikonean and Smbat Bagratuni see above, *Lewond* 4, 2 and 7, respectively.

¹³ *Dahekan* (*denarion*) was the silver coin which corresponded to the gold *dinar* of Abd al-Malik (685-705). Cf. Decourdemanche, *Etude métrologique*, 12, p. 219; Manandyan, *Weights and Measures*, p. 19. According to Manandyan's article, the *dahekan* as a gold coin as expressed in Anania Shirakatsi's measures, corresponded to the Byzantine *solidus*, Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, pp. 246-249. The Arabs minted their first coins during Abd al-Malik's caliphate with Qur'anic text, cf. *EI*, I, pp. 76-77. In 696 an Arabic coinage was instituted in place of the imitations of Byzantine and Persian coins hitherto in use. Cf. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, p. 75. The 500 *dahekans* that the Armenians paid to the caliphate before Abd al-Malik's time were obviously Byzantine currency. This tax was stipulated in the 653 truce between Mu'awiyah and Theodoros Rshtuni, cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 215f., which was sent as a token. Even this nominal tax the Armenians "ceased to pay", *Lewond*, ch. 4, indicating that the Arabs had no solid taxation policy towards Armenia at the time. Cf. Melik-Bakhshyan, "Taxes and Taxation Policy" *BEH* (1967), No. 1, p. 99; Ter-Lewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, pp. 42f.

¹⁴ *Ishkhan*, prince of Armenia. Cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 184. This title previously was granted to the rulers of Armenia by the Byzantines and the Persians during the latter part of the 6th and through the first half of the 7th centuries. The same continued during the entire period of the Arab rule. In Greek historiography the exact terminology for the rank of *ishkhan* is used as *o arxon tes Armenias*. Theophanes (compiled between 810 and 814) calls Smbat Bagratuni *o patrikios Armenias*, cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia* p. 561; Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' iskhane", *PBH*, (1964), No. 2, pp. 121ff. During the Arab caliphate the prince of Armenia was called *patrik*, cf. *EI*, I, "Bitrik" by Irfan Kawar. Cf. Also Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*, p. 3; Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' iskhan titloisi tsagume", *BEH* (1969), No. 1, pp. 241-247.

¹⁵ Yazid (680-683), son of Mu'awiyah who succeeded his father as the second Umayyad caliph. The years of Yazid's reign as "two years and five months" are correctly reported by Lewond, April 680 to November 683, cf. *EI* (OE), VIII, p. 1162.

¹⁶ 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) succeeded his father Merwan I ibn al-Hakam (684-685) as the fifth caliph of the Umayyad line. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 294, 360; *EI*, I, pp. 76f. The eleven succeeding Umayyad caliphs are known as Merwanids from the first name of the first member of the family to ascend the throne. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, pp. 82f. Lewond correctly states the period of 'Abd al-Malik's reign as "twenty one years". Armenia came under the direct suzerainty of the Arab caliphate during Abd al-Malik's reign, i.e. in 701. From 640 to 700 Armenia resisted the constant attacks and raids of the Greeks and the Arabs. Cf. Nalbandyan, H. "Arabats'i ostikannere hayastanum", *Haykakan SSR gitut'yunneri akademiayi telekagir*, No. 8, 1956, p. 106.

¹⁷ In 686, the second year of 'Abd al-Malik, the second civil war broke out in Iraq. Al-Kufa, a growing and important town in Iraq, was the chief center of a series of convulsions. By the year 690 'Abd al-Malik was ready for action against the rebels, and within three years he succeeded in winning general acknowledgment, cf. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, p. 75. Lewond's information on the "three years of civil war" is thus confirmed. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 76. Lewond's reference to the Arab civil war also reflects the insurrection headed by Abdullah Ibn Zubairi who had declared himself caliph in Mecca from 683 to 693. Cf. Nalbandyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 106.

¹⁸ Aruch, a town in the province of Ayrarat and in the district of Aragatsotn, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 250. The town was later known as T'alish in the district of Etchmiadzin, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, pp. 746ff. According to Kirakos Gandzakets'i the church of Aruch was built "in the fifth year of Anastasius" (665), the Armenian catholicos (661-667), cf. Kirakos Gandzakets'i, *History*, p. 62; John Catholicos, *History*, p. 116; Vardan, Muyltermans, *La domination*, p. 92. There is an inscription in the church of Aruch which reads: "This holy church was founded by the hands of Grigor Mamikonean, the Armenian prince, and by his wife queen Heline, on the 29th year of Constans and on the 15th day of the month of *Mareri*, for intercession of its builders." Cf. G. Yovsep'ean, *K'ardez hay vimagrut'ean*, plate VI. See also Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenien und Europa*, pp. 190f., 688f. On the decipherment of the date of the said inscription cf. Shahinyan, A. W., "Aruchi VII d. tachari shinararakan ard-

zanagrut'yun" *VANA*, (1971), No. 1, pp. 78ff. Lewond informs that the church at Aruch was named after St. Grigor. For the building of a palace in Aruch and another church near Elvard by Prince Grigor Mamikon'ean, cf. K. A. Mat'evosyan, "ishkhan Grigor Mamikon'ean", *Etchmiadzin* (1981), No. 4, pp. 39-46. The icon of Christ with the twelve disciples, six on either side, painted on the ceiling above the main altar of St. Grigor's church is one of the most ancient murals datable (666 AD) in the history of the Armenian church architecture. Cf. G. P'uts'ko *PBH* (1980), No. 3, p. 153; Dournovo, *Telekagir Gitakan Akademiayi*, Erevan (1952), No. 1, p. 55; G. A. Mat'evosyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 42-43.

¹⁹ This is the first allusion of Lewond to the fact that the three Caucasian states, after 653 peace treaty between Theodoros Rshtuni and the future caliph Mu'awiyah, formed one viceroyalty of the caliphate, designated as *Arminiya*, Dvin being the seat of the viceroys. Cf. Toumanoff, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, p. 605. At this early stage of *Arminiya* viceroyalty, Stephen II of Iberia accepted Saracen suzerainty, Tiflis becoming an Arab enclave, and so also Juansher of Albania. *Ibid.* Cf. also Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 11f, 23; Ter-Lewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, p. 41; Nalbandyan, *The Arab Sources*, pp. 16 and 132, n. 39.

²⁰ After a servitude of "thirty years" *Arminiya* viceroyalty ceased to pay tax to the Arabs. The period of "thirty years" given by Lewond is a valuable piece of information since it designates the period between the Theodoros-Mu'awiyah treaty and the beginning of the insurrection of the Armenians against the Arabs (653-682). For the beginning of the rebellions see al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 322; Arak'elyan, "Hayastane arabakan", *Gitakan zholovatsu* (1941), pp. 93f.

²¹ The Armenians rebelled for three years (682-685).

²² The Khazirs (Khazars), a Hunnic people of the Transcaucasian steppes. cf. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*, pp. 105f. Movses Khorenats'i has first mentioned them in connection with the second century BC events, *History*, II, 1xv. The *Armenian Geography* mentions the title of the Khazar king, i.e. "khakan", cf. Eremyan, "Ashkharhats'oyts'", *PBH* (1973), No. 2, p. 274 and n. 130. Cf. also Eremeyev, D.E., *The Origins of the Turks*, pp. 75ff; Nalbandyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 159f. The Khazars came from the north Caucasus region and raided *Arminiya* in 685. Anania Shirakats'i gives us the date in his *Chronology*: "In his [Justinian II] first year the northern nation Hazirk', attacked the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians, and killed in the battle the princes of the Armenians, Georgians, and Albanians, in the month of *sahmi*, the tenth day of the month, in the year 134 (685) of the Armenian era." Cf. Anania Shirakats'i, ed. Abrahamyan, *Ananiayi Shirakaynwoy Matenagrut'iwnk'*, p. 339; *Ananun zhamanakagrut'iwn*, p. 80. Vardan has "the seventh year" of Catholicos Sahak Dzorap'orets'i (684), Muyldermans, *La domination*, p. 93. The exact date of the raid is *sahmi* 10 (August 15) 685. Markwart has a different date (689), cf. *Hay Bagratuneats' chiwlagrut'iwn*, p. 12; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 171f; Markwart, *Streifzuge*, p. 489; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 331. On the Khazars in general cf. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, and M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriia Khazar*.

²³ Prince Grigor Mamikonean of Armenia perished in the Khazar raid in

Caucasia. Among the many *nakharars* of both the Georgians and the Albanians mentioned by Lewond, Adranase II of Iberia is known killed with Grigor. Cf. Toumanoff, *The Cambridge Med. History*, IV, p. 606.

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¹ Ashot Bagratuni (685-689) succeeded Grigor Mamikonean as the prince of Armenia, cf. Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 405, 411, 439. He was the son of Smbat the *drungarius* (644-654) and the grandson of Varaztirots'. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 341. According to Lewond Ashot's reign coincided with that of Justinian II (685-695). The caliph transferred his favor from the Mamikoneans to the Bagratids in Armenia, cf. Toumanoff, *The Cambridge Med. History*, IV, p. 606; Markwart, *Streifzuge*, pp. 439, 442-443.

² Dariwnk' was a famous fortress in Kogovit where the royal treasure during the Arsacids was kept, cf. Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, V, i; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 322, n. 77. After the 7th century Dariwnk' was held by the Bagratids as their *ostan* (princely court and capital) and as the burial place of their family. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 109; Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 241; Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* pp. 342-344; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 251. According to Ormanian in recent times the village of Dariwnk' was situated at the bottom of the fortress of Bayazit, cf. *Azgapatum*, I, pp. 763-764. Cf. also Alishan, *Ayrarat*, p. 506; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 59; Laurent, *L'Armenie*, p. 86. G. Chahnazarian, the first editor of Lewond's *History*, assumes that the church at Dariwnk' was called Amenap'rkich' (All-Savior), cf. *Lewond*, ed. Ezean, note 18.

³ According to Vardan, in order to get "the icon of Christ's incarnation", Ashot sent his son Smbat to Constantinople, and Emperor Justinian II sent the icon to Prince Ashot. Cf. Muyltermans, *La domination*, p. 96 and n. 3; cf. Ormanian, *Op. Cit.* p. 764. Ormanian informs that the "icon of Dariwnk'" was later taken to the monastery of Hawuts't'ar, and from there to the see of Etchmiadzin, *Ibid.* p. 765. Cf. also Chahnazarian, *Ghevond*, French tr., p. 16, note 3; Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 49, note 5. G. Hovsep'ean has shown that the wooden relief of the Descent from the Cross, known as the "Savior of all" (*Amenap'rkich'*), kept in the church of Hawuts't'ar and later transferred to Etchmiadzin, must not be confused with the "image of the incarnation of Christ" brought to Armenia in the late 7th century by Ashot, prince of Armenia. Cf. Hovsep'ean, *The Amenap'rkich' of Hawuts't'ar and Similar Monuments in Armenian Art*, p. 36. See also S. Der Nersessian, *Études Byzantines et Arméniennes*, I, p. 410 and n. 30.

⁴ The second year of Justinian II (685-695; 705-711) is the year 686 when the Greeks attacked Armenia and set fire to many buildings and destroyed cities. According to Asolik the Greeks had destroyed twenty-five districts and carried into captivity 8,000 men, cf. *History*, p. 100.

⁵ Towards the end of 695 a revolt broke out against Justinian's government, and Leontius, the *strategus* of the new theme of Hellas, was raised to the throne, cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byz. State*, p. 123f. Justinian was deposed, had his nose cut off, and was exiled to Cherson in Crimea, in 695. *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁶ Leontius (Leo) (695-698) succeeded Justinian II. Leontius was succeeded by Tiberius II Apsimar (698-705), the *drugarius* (brigadier) of the Cibyrraeot theme, cf. *Ibid.* Lewond erroneously separates the two names of the one person Tiberius II Apsimar. After the deposition of Justinian II in 711, for a period of six years (711-717), the Byzantine throne was occupied by three rulers: the Armenian Vardan or Philippicus (711-713); Anastasius II (713-715); and Theodosius III (715-717). From the above Lewond mentions only three: Leontius, Apsimar, and Theodosius. The state of anarchy which prevailed in the Byzantine empire from 695, ended in 717 with the accession of Leo III the Isaurian, who initiated a new epoch in the Byzantine history. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 194.

⁷ Justinian II married the sister of the *Khakan*, rather than the daughter, who became Christian and took the name of Theodora. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 125. *Khakan* is the title of the king of the Khazars, cf. Eremyan, "Ashkharhats'oyts' ", *PBH* (1973), No. 2, 274, note 130. The title was hereditary and was borrowed from the Turkish, meaning "emperor", "king", "king of Chenk", cf. Acharyan, *Etymological Dictionary*, II, p. 354; Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 159.

⁸ Truel (Terbelis), the father-in-law of Justinian II according to Lewond. According to Theophanes he was *Terbeles o Kurios tes Boulgarias*, cf. Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas Empire*, II, pp. 58, 64. Terbelis (Tervel) was the khan of the Bulgars who gave assistance to Justinian II, cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 125. Lewond reports that Terbelis was killed on the battlefield, whereas Nicephorus tells that he was given the title of Caesar which ranked next to the imperial title. *Ibid.* p. 126.

⁹ Justinian II ascended the imperial throne for the second time after ten years in exile (705-711).

¹⁰ Ashot's reign lasted for four years (685-689). In the fourth year of his reign, in 689, the Arabs attacked Armenia once again from the south east.

¹¹ Khram, a fortress near Nakhjawan, on the Araxes, in the district of Golt'n. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 356. Jula and Khoshakunik': Movses Khorenats'i has it as Khorshakunik', along with Khram and Jula, as the three towns on the other bank of Araxes, cf. Khorenats'i, *History*, I, xxx.

¹² Ashot Bagratuni fell in the battle waged against the Arabs in the fourth year of his reign, in 689. He was buried in the family *ostan* (princely court and capital) of Dariwnk' in Kogovit. For Dariwnk' see above, *Lewond* 5,2.

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¹ Emperor Tiberius II Apsimar (698-705) succeeded Leontius. Cf. above, *Lewond* 5, 6.

² "Smbat son of Varaztirots' " was the grandson of Smbat the *drugarius* (644-654). See above, *Lewond* 4, 7. Smbat (693-726) succeeded Nerseh Kamsarakan (689-693) as the prince of Armenia in 693. See below, *Lewond*

8, 2. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341, 343-344. Varaztirots', Smbat's father, was the brother of Ashot Bagratuni (685-689). See above, *Lewond* 5, 1. Lewond informs that Varaztirots' was murdered by the Greeks. On this issue cf. Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* pp. 343f., who considers the possibility of Varaztirots' to have taken part in palace conspiracies at Constantinople following the example of his father and grandfather. Smbat is also known as Biwratean who was made *curopalate* by Emperor Tiberius II. See below, *Lewond* 8, 14.

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¹ Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705). See above, *Lewond* 4, 16. The sixteenth year of his reign corresponds with the year 700.

² Muhammad Ibn Merwan, the Arab governor of *Arminiya*. He was the brother of Caliph Abd al-Malik, cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 322. Movses Kalankatuats'i puts Muhammad's arrival in Armenia in the year 146 of the Armenian era (697), *MD*, p. 207, while Theophanes places the event in the year 693, *Chronographia*, p. 366. Cf. also Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 443-444; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 338; Ter-Lewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri zhamanakagrut'yune", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 119. Muhammad died in 719/720, cf. *EI* (OE), VI, p. 674.

³ Jermadzor, a district in the province of Mokk', cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 199-201; *Armenian Geography* in Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 119*, 124*, 162*.

⁴ The event referred to is the pillage of the monastery of St. Gregory of Bagawan, according to John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 138-139. Cf. also Movses Kalankatuats'i, *MD*, p. 207. The date of the pillage was "two years" after Muhammad's arrival, i.e. 699. Baguan or Bagawan is a village in the district of Bagrewand, well known as the holy city of pagan Armenia, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 320; Ep'rikean, *Dictionary*, I, pp. 355-360; Inchichean, *Description*, pp. 406-410; Sargisean, *Itineraries*, pp. 221-222; Haykuni, *Bagrewand*, pp. 272-283. While Avdalbekyan rejects the above theory and assumes that the "congregation of St. Gregory" simply refers to the church of Zvart'nots' and the village near Valarshapat, *Armenian Investigations*, p. 159, Mnats'akanyan agrees that the pillage was at St. Gregory of Bagawan, *Zvart'nots'ž ew noynatip hushardzannerž*, p. 21f.

⁵ *Vardapet* means "teacher" and refers to the Armenian clerics with special authority to teach and preach.

⁶ Muhammad Ibn Merwan was in Armenia until 709. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 119.

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¹"A prince from among the Ismaelites" was the first Arab governor appointed for Armenia. He is known as Abdullah Ibn Hatim Ibn an-Nu'man Ibn 'Amr al-Bahili. Cf. Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 321; John Catholicos, *History*, p. 120; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 38; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 339. Abdullah's arrival took place in 699. He made Dvin his headquarters. He was killed in 703 in the battle of Vardanakert. Cf. *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, I, p. 20.

² Smbat Biwratean Bagratuni (693-726), was the commander-in-chief of Armenia succeeding Nerseh Kamsarakan (689-693). See above, *Lewond* 6, 2.

³ In reaction to the Arab conspiracy and for the purpose of consultation, Smbat called upon the Armenian nobles in 703, among them were: (a) Prince Smbat of Vaspurakan, son of Prince Ashot Bagratuni (d. 689), (*Lewond* 5, 1). Cf. Acharyan, *Dictionary*, IV, p. 542; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341, 343. (b) Vard son of Theodoros Rshtuni (*Lewond* 4, 24). (c) Ashot Bagratuni, Smbat Bagratuni's (*Curopolate*) brother, and the son of Varaztirots'. Cf. Acharyan, *Op. Cit.* I, p. 181; Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* p. 341.

⁴ Emperor Tiberius II Apsimar. See above, *Lewond* 5, 6.

⁵ A plain in the district of Arberani, in Vaspurakan. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 306.

⁶ A village in the district of Maseats'otn, in Ayrarat. *Ibid.* pp. 521-396.

⁷ Akori, a town in the district of Maseats'otn, in Ayrarat. *Ibid.* p. 251.

⁸ Nakhjawan, a city on the Araxes. *Ibid.* p. 544; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 77. Al-Baladhuri recognizes Nakhjawan (an-Nashawa) as the capital of the Vaspurakan country (al-Basfurrajan). Cf. *The Origins*, p. 307.

⁹ The 5,000 Arab troops were apparently led by Abdullah, governor of Armenia (*Lewond*, ch. 8). Cf. John Catholicos, *History*, p. 120.

¹⁰ Vardanakert, a town on the Araxes, in the province of P'aytakaran. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 232, 409; Ghazarian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 85f; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 176.

¹¹ The battle of Vardanakert took place in January of 703, cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 781. Taking part in the battle were Smbat *sparapet* (commander-in-chief), Smbat of Vaspurakan, Vard Rshtuni, Ashot Bagratuni, and others. It is assumed that Abdullah Ibn Hatim, the governor of Armenia, was among the many killed in the battle. Cf. Melik-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, p. 300.

¹² *Tikin* (Princess) Shushan was from the house of Kamsarakank'. She was the daughter of Patrician Vahan and the wife of Nerseh Kamsarakan, the Prince of Shirak. Cf. Markwart, *Hay bagratuneats' chiwlagrut'iwně*, p. 20. A colophon dated 155 of the Armenian era (706) remembers Shushan martyred at Harran in Mesopotamia. Cf. Hovsep'ean, G., *Yishatakarunk' Dzeragrats'*, MS 849, p. 51, footnote. The same colophon tells about Shushan's brother Gagik who built a church in Vardanakert in memory of his sister. See also S. Kogean, *Kamsarakannerě*, p. 153; Alishan, *Shirak*, p. 5. For the title *tikin* cf. Dowsett, "Armenian *Ter, Tikin, Tiezerk*", *Memorial du Cinquantenaire*.

¹³ Emperor Tiberius II Apsimar. See above, *Lewond* 5, 6.

¹⁴ Emperor Tiberius Apsimar (698-705) conferred upon Smbat Bagratuni the rank of *curopalates* in 703. According to *Cletorologion* of Philotheus,

Byzantine titles were graded into eighteen ranks, of which the three highest (Caesar, *nobilissimus* and *curopalates*) were normally bestowed on members of the imperial family. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 220. The title of curopalate was bestowed on the Armenian princes of Imperial Armenia by the Roman emperor. It corresponded to the rank of a *marzpan*, the counterpart officer of Persarmenia. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' ishkhané", *PBH* (1964), No. 2.

¹⁵ Tayk', a province of ancient Armenia on the northeastern border of the Byzantine empire. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* pp. 115-118; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 492; Hakobyan, *Historical Geography*, p. 261.

¹⁶ T'ukhark', a fortress in the district of Klarjk' in the province of Gugark'. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 239.

¹⁷ Gugank', a village in the district of Rshtunik' in Vaspurakan. *Ibid.* pp. 212, 221; Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 41, 48. The confrontation at Gugank' took place in 703. The *gahnamak* (Military List) includes Gugank' as a *nakharar* family with fifty cavalry contingent guarding the eastern gate. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, App. III B, pp. 68*ff.

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¹ For Caliph Abd al-Malik (685-705) see above, *Lewond* 4, 16.

² Muhammad Ibn Merwan, the Arab governor of Armenia. See above, *Lewond* 7, 2; Nalbandyan, *The Arab Sources*, p. 144.

³ Sahak III (677-703), Catholicos of the Armenians. He was from the district of Dzorap'or in the province of Gugark'. Previously the bishop of Rotak in 680. Cf. John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 118f; Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 262; Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, pp. 753ff; Garitte, *Narratio*, p. 319f. On Sahak's journey to Constantinople for unity purposes see *Ibid.* pp. 46f, 352, 353f, 414.

⁴ Harran, a town in Mesopotamia on the sources of the river Balikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, south east of Edessa. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 103.

⁵ Sahak's letter was written by his hands in the Arabic script, cf. John Catholicos, *Op. Cit.* p. 122. It was addressed to the Arab governor of Armenia, Muhammad Ibn Merwan, Cf. Nalbandyan, *The Arab Sources*, p. 144.

⁶ "... as we heard from veracious people". Lewond is reminiscing the first hand words he had heard as a young man from the aged eye witnesses. This statement referring to the event of 703 may serve as a clue to the approximate year of Lewond's birth, i.e. 730-735. Lewond wrote his *History* in 790, since he refers to Catholicos Step'annos' election (788) as the very last item at the end of his work. *Lewond* 42, 9. Cf. Akinian, *Lewond*, *MH*, p. 34.

⁷ "Word of oath". Muhammad Ibn Merwan gave the Armenian nobles an oath in writing which promised peace and security for the following

three years. "The oath that cannot be forgotten, the written and the sealed oath" given by the Arabs to the Armenians is ascribed to Muhammad Ibn Merwan for the first time. Cf. Samuel Anets'i, *History*, p. 82; Kirakos of Gandzak, *History*, p. 68.

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¹ Al-Walid I (705-715), son of Abd al-Malik who succeeded his father as the sixth caliph. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 20. The duration of al-Walid's caliphate is correctly reported by Lewond as "ten years and eight months". Cf. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, p. 76.

² "The first year of al-Walid's reign" is 705. The Arabs looked with disfavor upon the ruling princes of conquered lands and persecuted them. Al-Walid's plans to uproot the nobles was followed by the massacres of the same year (705). Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 221.

³ Smbat Biwratean the Curopalate. See above, *Lewond* 8, 2.

⁴ The reference here is to Tiberius II Apsimar (698-705), the Greek emperor. He was succeeded by Justinian II who ruled for the second time (705-711). That Smbat appealed to Tiberius rather than to Justinian can be verified by the Byzantine historian Theophanes' statement which clearly refers to the Armenian emissary to Apsimar. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, p. 570.

⁵ Drashpet, a village in the district of Vanand in Ayrarat. Ep'rikean, *Dictionary*, I, p. 626. Vanand was a district in the province of Ayrarat and formerly part of Basean; it was also called Upper Basean. In the Arsacid period Vanand was separated from Basean to form a separate principality. Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* pp. 246, 249; Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 237.

⁶ Muhammad Ibn Merwan. See above, *Lewond* 7, 2.

⁷ Dvin, capital of Armenia. See above, *Lewond* 3, 3.

⁸ Al-Kasim was the Arab commander-in-chief of the city of Nakhjawan. For this city see above, 8, 8. Al-Kasim is not known to Arab historians, cf. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 45, n. 3; Nalbandyan, "arabats'i ostikannerč", *Telekagir* (1956), No. 8, p. 108.

⁹ Adontz observes that the Arabs took over the custom of keeping a list of the Armenian princes and of paying them. The distribution of subsidies to the Armenian nobles was an inheritance from the Sasanians. Cf. Elishe, *History*, III, pp. 85, 196, 199; Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 219, n. 57.

¹⁰ Khram, a fortress near Nakhjawan, on the Araxes, in the district of Golt'n. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 356.

¹¹ The total annihilation of the Armenian *nakharars* in the churches of Nakhjawan and Khram is also mentioned by the Greek historian Theophanes, though in his opinion the cause of the disaster was the rebellion of the Armenian princes against the Arabs. Cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*,

I, p. 570; Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, II, p. 474; Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 450, n. 67. The event took place in 705, in the first year of al-Walid, as reported by Lewond. Asolik puts the event in the year 153 of the Armenian era (704), *History*, p. 125. The same is reported by Vardan, Muyltermans, *La domination*, pp. 97f. Ormanian prefers 707 as the date of the massacres based upon the three years peace following the battle of Vardanakert, cf. *Azgapatum*, I, p. 804. According to Movses Kalankatuats'i 800 men were shut in the Nakhjawan church, and another 400 in that of Khram, all of whom were burned; the rest were put to the sword, cf. *MD*, p. 208. Thomas Artsruni repeats the event and names the two locations. He locates Khram on the banks of Araxes, near the monastery of Astapat, *History*, p. 116. The crime of 705 dealt a severe blow to the Armenian nobility.

¹² Smbat son of Ashot, from the Bagratid house. Smbat was the prince of Vaspurakan. Cf. above, *Lewond* 8, 3a; B. Arak'elyan, *Telekagir* (1941), No. 1, pp. 70-71. Smbat took part in the battle of Vardanakert in 703. For Grigor and Koriwn of the house of Artsrunik' cf. Acharyan, *Dictionary*, I, p. 532, II p. 677. For Varaz-Shapuh and his brother from the house of Amatunik' cf. John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 124-125.

¹³ Lewond's reference here is to Emperor Justinian II who had ascended the imperial throne in 705 for his second term.

¹⁴ P'oyt' or P'ot'i (Phasis), a town on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, in the country of Eger (Lazica). Cf. Toumanoff, *The Cambridge Med. History*, IV, p. 607. Smbat and those nobles accompanying him stayed in Lazica (Greek territory) for six years, until 711. Cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 184, n. 4; Vardan, Muyltermans, *Op. Cit.* pp. 98-99. On Eger (Egeria) cf. also Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, II, vi; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 240-242; Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 23.

¹⁵ Abd ul-Aziz Ibn Hatim Ibn al-Bahili (705-709), governor of Armenia under Caliph al-Walid (705-715). Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 321. According to Movses Kalankatuats'i Abd ul-Aziz went to Caucasian Albania in 706/707 and sat in Barda'a, cf. *MD*, p. 208. See also Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 339; Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 448-449. "Word of oath in writing according to their custom" was given by Abd ul-Aziz to the Armenian nobles who had fled from Armenia and found refuge in Lazica, Greek territory, for six years. According to Ter-Lewondyan Abd ul-Aziz was thus guaranteeing both the territorial rights of the landholding aristocracy and the legal status of the Armenian cavalry of 15,000 horsemen with its corresponding annual subsidy of 100,000 *dinarii*. Ter-Lewondyan, "Hay nakhharneri holatirakan iravunk'nerě", *PBH* (1974), No. 4, p.29.

¹⁶ The Greek emperor is Bardanes-Phillipicus (711-713). For the emperor's religious policy cf. Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 206. Smbat and his retinue returned to Saracen Armenia in 711/712.

¹⁷ Metropolitan Cyrus (705-712). Cf. Akinian, *Lewond, MH*, p. 28.

¹⁸ Easter Sunday in the year 712 fell on April 3. Cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 810.

¹⁹ Abd ul-Aziz rebuilt the city of Dvin (Dabil), "Fortified it and enlarged

its mosque”, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 321. On the importance of the restoration of Dvin by the Arabs, see Lafadaryan, “Dvinum pelvats char-tarapetakan erku yushardzan”, *PBH*(1973), No. 4, p. 125.

²⁰ Here Abd ul-Aziz is referring to the first invasion of the Arabs and the capture of Dvin on October 6, 640, see above, *Lewond* 2, 5, at which time he was, as quoted by Lewond, a “twelve year old boy”.

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¹ The country of Chenk’ (Chenastan), referred to as “the kingdom of the country of Chenk’ ” by Faustus of Byzantium, *History*, V, pp. 324, 370-71, and as the “first among the northern nations” by Movses Khorenats’i, *History*, II, p. 215. The *Primitive History* implies that the name *Chenk’* refers to one of the countries east of Persia, Sebeos, *History*, p. 28. According to legend, the hypothetical original chieftains of the Mamikoneank’, Mamik’ and Konak’ were the sons of a famous nobleman, after whose death, the king married his widow and had by her a son named Chenbakur who was the heir to the throne. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 29; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 209-211 and n. 238. The *Armenian Geography* identifies the country of Chenk’ as the “37th country of Asia, namely, Siwnika, which is Chenk’, east of Scythia, bordering from the south with the countries of the Indians and the Sineats’ik’ ”. According to Svazlyan, “Chenere”, *PBH* (1976), No. 4, p. 208, the country of the Sineats’ik’ must be identified with China. The country of Chenk’, therefore, should be distinguished from the country of “Sineats’wots’ ” (China), since both countries, Chenk’ and Sineats’wots’, stand as separate lands in the *Armenian Geography*, cf. *Ibid.* p. 207. The country of Chenk’ thus occupied the territory between the rivers Amu-Darya and Sir-Darya, to the northeast of Persia. Following the Arab invasions, the country was called *Mawer-an-Nahr* (“across the river”), with Samarkand as its capital. *Ibid.* p. 209.

² Caliph al-Walid I (705-715). Cf. above, *Lewond* 10, 1.

³ Asorestan (Assyria). To be distinguished from the ancient Assyria. The country referred to here is Mesopotamia in Sasanian period. It is to be distinguished from Asorik’ (Syria) of the Armenian historians.

⁴ Khurasan. The country comprising the lands situated to the south of the river Amu-Darya and north of the Hindu-Kush mountains. It embraced Transoxiana and Sidjistan. See Huart, “Khorasan”, *EI*, (OE), IV, pp. 966-967; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gram.* p. 45, n. 85; Le Strange *The Lands*, pp. 382ff. Khurasan was the farthest province east of Persia “in the outskirts of the country of Chenk’ ” as described by Lewond, meaning that the country of Chenk’ was adjacent to Khurasan and lay towards its immediate east. See also below, *Lewond* 27, 4 and 33, 6. The actual Arab settlements at Khurasan was partly made by large groups: there are reports of 25,000 from al-Basra and an equal number from al-Kufa, who arrived in 672. Others reached the country in 683. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 529. Ibn al-Athir states their number for the year 715 as follows: Basrans 9,000, Bakr 7,000, Tamim 10,000, ‘Abd al-Kays 4,000, Azd 10,000, Kufans 7,000; total of 47,000 Arabs living in Khurasan. *Ibid.*

⁵ Botis, the “torrential” river east of Khurasan can only be identified with Amu-Darya (Oxus) river. Sebeos knew the river as Vehrot, “east of Persia and of the country of Kushans”, *History*, p. 54. The Arabs knew the rivers Oxus (Amu-Darya) and Jaxartes (Sir-Darya) under the names of Jahun and Sayhun which they borrowed from the Hebrew form found in the Bible: Pishon and Gihon (Gen. 2:11, 13). Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 434 and n. 1.

⁶ Chenbakur was the king of Chenk'. The name is of Turkic origin and meant *patiw t'agaworut'ean* “the royal title in their tongue”, Khorenats'i, *History*, II, p. 215. Cf. Svazlyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 209-210. Prior to Lewond's *History*, Sebeos and Zenob Glak (John Mamikonean) have spoken of the king of Chenk'. While the former mentions that a messenger was “sent by the king of Chenk' to meet king Khosrov II of Armenia”, Sebeos, *History*, p. 28, the latter reports that the king of Chenk' himself was the messenger of peace for the enmity between Artashir Sasanian and king Khosrov II of Armenia, during the first half of the third century. Zenob Glak, *History of Taron*, p. 20. Cf. Lewond's story on the confrontation of the Arabs and Chenbakur with the invasions of K'uteiba Ibn Msliman, the viceroy of caliph al-Walid, which resulted in the capture of Samarkand, the capital of Mawer-an-Nahr, in 712. See Svazlyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 209 and note 38.

⁷ Caliph al-Walid I died in 715. See above, *Lewond* 10, 1.

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¹ Caliph Suleiman (715-717). Ruled for “two years and eight months”. Suleiman was the son of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and the successor of al-Walid I. Cf. *EI* (OE), VII, pp. 518f. Before assuming the caliphate Suleiman was made governor of the province of Palestine. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 220.

² In 716. Cf. Laurent, *L'Armenie*, p. 339.

³ Commander Msliman or Maslama was the son of 'Abd al-Malik and the brother of al-Walid I. In *Hijra* 91 (709/710) Maslama was appointed a commander for the Arab army against the Byzantines and the Khazars. He succeeded his uncle Muhammad Ibn Merwan as viceroy of *Arminiya* (725-729), under caliph Hisham (724-743), and arrived in Armenia in 725. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 323ff; Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 339, n. 19; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 39, n. 14. Maslama sacked Darband and penetrated among the Khazars in 731. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 835. Movses Kalankatuats'i gives the date 163 of the Armenian era (714/715) for Maslama's move towards Darband, *MD*, p. 209. Cf. also al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 324-325. Maslama's other expedition towards Byzantium, in the Arsanias valley, is reported by Dennys de Tell-Mahre, Chabot, *Chronique*, p. 12.

⁴ The Huns represented a caucasian people of Turkic origin living near the Khazars, north of Caucasian Albania. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 53; Minorsky, *History of Sharvan and Darband*, p. 13. See also *Armenian Geography*, ed. Eremyan, “Ashkharhats'oyts'”, *PBH* (1973), No. 2, p. 274, where the kingdom of the Huns is located to the north of Darband, with Varach'an as its capital. Cf. note 122 of the same article; Muyldermans, *La domination*, p. 105, n. 3; Minorsky, *Op. Cit.* p.93. The date of

Maslama's expedition against the Huns is given by Asolik as 717, *Histoire Universelle*, tr. Dulaurier, p. 158.

⁵ Emperor Marcianus (450-457). According to Lewond Maslama found in Darband a stone with an inscription saying that Emperor Marcianus built this town. Cf. Minorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 87, n. 2. Later, Khosrov Anushirvan, king of Persia, fortified Darband during 558-561. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 51; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 306. This is an indication that both the Byzantines and the Persians were interested in fortifying the city of Darband. Movses Kalankatuats'i informs that Maslama rebuilt Darband in the year 180 of the Armenian era (731/732) on behalf of the Arabs, *MD*, p. 209.

⁶ Chora is the Armenian name for the city of Darband. Ukhtanes has it as "Chora, which is Darband", *History*, p. 69. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 51, 225, 231. In the *Armenian Geography* the fortress of Darband is identified with the gates of Chora, cf. Eremyan, "Ashkharhats'oyts'", *PBH*, No. 2 (1973), p. 273, and notes 120, 121. Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, p. 489. The Arabic name of the city was Bab ul-Abwab, cf. Nalbandyan, *Arabic Sources*, pp. 24ff; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 180. The Arabic designation of the town meant a pass and fortress at the east end of the Caucasus. It was originally fortified against invaders from the north. When the first Arabs reached Darband in 643, a Persian garrison was in possession. During the fighting of the next decade between the Arabs and the Khazars, Bab ul-Abwab is frequently mentioned. Maslama Ibn Abd al-Malik reached the area of Darband in 731, and later in 737, Merwan (later Caliph Merwan II) assaulted the Khazars from Bab ul-Abwab. The last Khazar invasion into Arab land through Darband took place in 799. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 835.

⁷ T'argu (Tarqu), a city of the Huns. Cf. Minorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 106, n. 3.

⁸ Khakan. See above, *Lewond* 5, 7.

⁹ Suleiman died in 717.

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¹ 'Umar II Ibn Abd ul-Aziz (717-720) was born in Medina in 682/683 and was nominated as his successor by Suleiman in his deathbed, cf. Lewis, *The Arabs*, p. 76. 'Umar was appointed governor of Hijaz by al-Walid I in 706. He died in Feb. 720 and was succeeded by Yazid Ibn Abd al-Malik. Cf. *EI* (OE), VI, p. 977.

2. Leo III Isaurian (717-741). On March 25, 717 Leo III entered Constantinople and was crowned emperor in St. Sophia, cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of Byzantine State*, p. 138. Leo was the originator of the new Isaurian dynasty. However, at the close of the 19th century the opinion was advanced that Leo III was not an Isaurian by birth, but a Syrian, cf. Schenk, 'Kaiser Leons III Walten im Innern', *BZ*, V, (1897), pp. 296-298. The source of Leo's Isaurian origin is the 9th century chronicler Theophanes the Confessor: "Leo the Isaurian was a native of Germanicea, and was in reality from Isauria", *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, p. 391. An Arabic source referred to Leo as "a Christian citizen of Marash", i.e. Germanicea, who could speak fluently both the Arabic and Roman languages, cf. E.W.

Brooks, "The Campaign of 716-718 from Arabic Sources," *JHS*, 19 (1899), pp. 21-22. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of Byzantine Empire*, p. 234. Leo lived in Muslim-ruled Marash (Syrian Germanicea) and sometime after 695 migrated to Byzantine territory. *Kitab al-'Uyun* asserts that "Leo was eloquent in the Arabic and the Roman [languages]". The same chronicle also tells the story that the inhabitants of Amorius refused to have Leo as *strategus*, arguing that "one like you, a Nabataean from Arabian Nabataea, shall not rule over us." Cf. *Kitab al-'Uyan*, ed. J. De Goeje, *Fragmenta Historicorum* (1969), p. 35. Lewond's stories (ch. 20) of Leo's and Maslama's missives written against each other, before and during the siege of 717, become more plausible and authentic if Leo indeed could speak the Arabic and was familiar with the customs of the Arabs. Anastasius II (713-715) appointed Leo *strategus* of the Anatolikon theme. Leo allied himself with Artabasduš, the *strategus* of the Armeniakon theme, promising him his daughter for marriage and the title of *curopalates*. Leo then entered into negotiations with the Arabs and concluded an agreement with them. Vasiliev, *Op. Cit.* pp. 137-138.

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If genuine, the two letters exchanged between the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II (717-720) and the Byzantine Emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-741) present one of the earliest documents in the Muslim-Christian controversy known to us. There is no doubt that the brief letter of the caliph and the much lengthy and tedious reply of the emperor found in Lewond's *History* are the earliest and the fullest, since references are made to the correspondence by three later Armenian historians T'ovma Artsruni (10th c.), Kirakos of Gandzak (13th c.), and Vardan Arewel'ts'i (13th c.), all of whom are obviously dependent on Lewond. A thorough study with a complete translation of the correspondence into English is rendered by Arthur Jeffery: "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III", *HTR* (1944), pp. 269-332. A fresh translation is attempted in the present study, not quite independent from Jeffery's, with special attention given to the different readings of the *M* (*Manuscript No. 1902*) without, however, any additional notes on the various theological points which are satisfactorily introduced by A. Jeffery. In terms of its historicity the correspondence is dealt with in the Introduction of this work.

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¹ 'Umar II. See above, *Lewond* 13, 1.

² For 'Umar's favorable attitude towards the Christians cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 192.

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¹ Yazid II (720-724) was one of the sons of Abd al-Malik, cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 112. Yazid came to the throne in February 720, succeeding 'Umar II. Reigned for four years and died on January 26, 724. Cf. *EI* (OE), VIII, p. 1162.

² The first recorded edict against the Christian cult of icons which was promulgated in the caliphate is referred to here by Lewond. In the year 723 Yazid ordered the removal of icons from all Christian churches within his realm, cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 401; T'ovma Artsruni, *History*, p. 116; Vardan, *Muyldermans, La domination*, p. 104 and note 1; Vasiliev,

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- ¹ Caliph Hisham (724-743), son of Abd al-Malik who succeeded Yazid II on the latter's death in January 724, and reigned until his death on February 743. Cf. *EI*, III, p. 493; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 323, 350. His long reign marked the final period of prosperity of the Umayyad caliphate.
- ² Harith Ibn 'Amr al-Ta'i, governor of Armenia (724-725) whom al-Baladhuri places under Yazid II, cf. *The Origins*, p. 322; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 339, note 17; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 39. The imposition of “heavier taxes and slavery” by Harith is also recorded by Movses Kalankatuats'i, taken place in the winter of 174 Armenian era (725), cf. *MD*, p. 209. In 724, the first year of Hisham's reign, the Arabs made a general census in Armenia, according to Lewond. It is to be noted, however, that the tax system of the Arabs was not created by them, but went back to the preceding period and was their inheritance from the Sasanian Persia. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 363. For the poll tax imposed by the Abbasids see below, *Lewond* 33, 3.

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- ¹ For the Khazars see above, *Lewond* 4, 22.
- ² For the Huns and the city of Chora cf. above, *Lewond* 12, 4 and 6, respectively.
- ³ Mazk'ut'k'. According to the *Armenian Geography* the country of Mazk'ut'k' occupied the territories south of Darband, along the Caspian shores, cf. Eremyan, “Ashkharhats'oyts' ”, *PBH* (1973), No. 2, p. 273. The dynasty of the Mazk'ut'k' came to an end by the Sasanian king Khosrov Anushirvan (531-572), c. 510. Cf. *ibid.* note 118. Al-Baladhuri includes the king of the Mazk'ut'k' among those assigned by Anushirvan “whose kingship has been abolished”. *The Origins*, p. 309.
- ⁴ P'aytakaran was the eleventh province of Armenia, according to the *Armenian Geography*, which lay south of Araxes along the coast of the Caspian Sea. Cf. Hubschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 101-106, 101 n. 3. After the *Ashkharhats'oyts' (Armenian Geography)*, P'aytakaran as the name of a province occurs for the first time in Lewond. *Ibid.* p. 102. On P'aytakaran in general cf. R. Hewsen, “Caspiane: an Historical and Geographical Survey”, *Handes Amsoreay*, (1973), p. 87.
- ⁵ Artawet is the city of Ardabil, the capital of Atrpatakan (Azarbaijan). Cf. Nalbandyan, *Arabic Sources*, pp. 13f; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 5, 159, 168. Gandzak Shahastan, a city on the border of Azarbaijan and Armenia, northwest of Barda'a. Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 328; Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 176; Le Strange, *Op. Cit.* pp. 178; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 46.
- ⁶ The three districts mentioned by Lewond were situated in the province of P'aytakaran as follows: (a) At'shi-Bagawan, known also as Bagawan and Baguan, was the sixth district in the province. The prefix At'shi indicated the place of Zoroastrian worship. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 32, 42. (b) Spandaranperozh, the seventh district of P'aytakaran with the city of Barzand. *Ibid.* p. 81. (c) Ormiztperozh, the eighth district of the same province. *Ibid.* p. 75. Cf. also *Armenian Geography*, Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 120*;

Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 102 n. 1.

⁷ The Arab commander is Djarrah ibn-Abdullah al-Hakami of Madhhij, governor of *Arminiya* (729-730). Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 322-323; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 39; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 339 n. 18. He was defeated by the Khazars at Ardabil in 730. Cf. *EI* (OE), III, p. 493; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* 323. According to Movses Kalankatuats'i Djarrah was the governor of Armenia under Caliph Yazid II (720-724) and was killed by the Khazars in 179 Armenian era (730/731). Cf. *MD*, p. 210.

⁸ Zarewand (Zarawand), a district in the province of Parskahayk', cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* pp. 89, 209-210; Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 51f. Armenia was separated from the territory of Azarbaijan by the districts of Her and Zarewand on the northern shores of Lake Urmiah, between Salamas and Khoy. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 174; Markwart, "Parskahayk' nahange", *PBH* (1961), No. 1, p. 186.

⁹ Fortress Ampriotik, in the district of Zarewand, Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 209.

¹⁰ Commander Sa'id Ibn Amru al-Harashi (730-731), governor of Armenia under Hisham (724-743). Cf. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 39; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 339 note 20. Sa'id al-Harashi was succeeded by Merwan Ibn Muhammad. See below, *Lewond* 21, 1. The Arabs experienced great threat from the north in 730 with the irruption of the Khazars in Armenia and Azarbaijan. The invaders were driven back by the intervention of massive reinforcements led by commander Sa'id al-Harashi. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 323f; *EI* (OE), III, p. 493.

¹¹ Caliph Hisham (724-743). See above, *Lewond* 17, 1.

¹² Commander Maslama. See above, *Lewond* 12, 3. For Maslama's expeditions into the north cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 324f.

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¹ Caliph Suleiman (715-717). See above, *Lewond* 12, 1.

² Emperor Leo III Isaurian (717-741). See above, *Lewond* 13, 2.

³ Commander Maslama. Cf. above, *Lewond* 12, 3.

⁴ *Musigion, Mijerkrayk'* (lit. 'land in between'), represents Asia Minor with the border of Euphrates on the east. Cf. Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, II, xv, lxiv, III, xii, xix. In the *Armenian Geography* it is defined as the land between the Greek and Pontic seas, part of the province of Asia. Eermyan, *Armenia*, pp. 13, 100; Tashean, *Hin Hayastani arewmtean sahmane*, p 38.

⁵ Bithynia, a province in Asia Minor. After the accession of Constantine V (741-775) a large number of Slavs emigrated from the Bulgarian frontier districts to Byzantium in Bithynia. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of Byzantine State*, pp. 117, 150.

⁶ Sagaris is the river Sangarius in the Bucellarion theme, west of Ancyra, which flowed northward into the Black Sea. Cf. Vardan, *History*, ed. Muyltermans, *La domination*, p. 104, n. 4; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 135.

⁷ According to *Lewond's* account the Arabs attacked the Greeks on their way to the imperial capital of Constantinople, near the river Sangarius. The encounter of the Greek and Arab troops must have taken place prior to

Emperor Leo's accession in 717. Cf. *EI* (OE), III, p. 493. The confrontation of Leo and Maslama took place at Amorium, a town in the Anatolikon theme, cf. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, II, pp. 378ff; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 258. Leo managed to keep Amorium in Byzantine hands, but Maslama had seized Sardes and Pergamum. On the campaigns against the Arabs cf. H. Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VII^e-IX^e siècles)", *Revue Historique* (1876-1962), No. 227, pp. 1-32.

⁸ Caliph Suleiman (715-717). See above, *Lewond* 12, 1.

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¹ "The following year" should stand for 717/718 when the decisive battle was won by the Byzantines at the gates of Constantinople with the help of Greek fire. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* pp. 138f. For Caliph Suleiman cf. above 12, 1.

² For Arab commander Maslama see above 12, 3.

³ Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine empire, founded by Constantine the Great (306-337) as the 'New Rome'. Cf. A. Alföldi, "On the Foundation of Constantinople", *JRS*, 37, (1947), pp. 10ff.

⁴ Saint Sophia (532-537), the church of the imperial capital of Constantinople, was dedicated by Constantine the Great to the Divine Wisdom (*Hagia Sophia*). It was twice burnt down, first in the reign of Arcadius (395-408), and again during the reign of Justinian I (527-565), when the Nika revolt broke out in Constantinople in 532. Cf. Bury, "The Nika Riot", *JHS*, 17, (1897), pp. 98ff. By order of Justinian I space was provided for a new church to be built on a much larger scale than the old. For description of St. Sophia cf. Bury, *Op. Cit.* pp. 48ff.

⁵ With an army of 80,000 men, Maslama marched across Asia Minor and took the city of Pergamum in the Thraciesion theme. He then crossed the Hellespont at Abydos in the Opsikion theme, and on the 15th of August, 717, encamped before Constantinople. *Ibid.* p. 401; *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, pp. 62ff. Lewond's information "along the shores of Pontus Sea" should be supplemented by the above data. The Arabic sources place the siege a year earlier, 716/717. Cf. *EI*, III, p. 493; Brooks, "The Campaign of 716-718 from Arabic Sources", *JHS*, XIX, (1899), pp. 21-22. The Arab siege of 717 took place under caliphs Suleiman (715-717) and 'Umar II (717-720).

⁶ Maslama's decree of insult addressed to Emperor Leo III and the latter's reply to it are original in *Lewond*. There seems to be no similar correspondence reported by Greek or Arab historians. Cf. Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni, *History*, p. 79.

⁷ The Patriarch of Constantinople during the Arab siege of the capital was Germanus (715-730), the bishop of Cyzicus in the Opsikion theme. Cf. Bury, *Op. Cit.* p. 370, n. 2. The special prayers at St. Sophia, "for three days" and the "spreading out" of the missive "before the Lord" reflect the religious beliefs and divine intervention in the crisis on the part of the emperor.

⁸ Cf. II Kings 19:14.

⁹ "The custodian of Christ's throne". The emperor of the Byzantine em-

pire was also recognized as the head of Christendom. Besides his secular power, the emperor assumed also the right of the protector of the Church and of orthodoxy, thereby being the living symbol of the Christian empire which God had entrusted to him. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 29; “Die byzantinische Staaten-hierarchie”, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 8, (1936). Cf. also the fact that later, after his decree of 726 against the iconodules, Leo III wrote to Pope Gregory II considering himself to be not only emperor, but also High Priest (*basileus kai iereus eimi*). Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 144, note 2.

¹⁰ Cf. Psalm 63:11.

¹¹ Cf. Exodus 15:4; 4:17; 14:16-17.

¹² *Orinak* (antitype). The word corresponds to “representation” or “symbol” in general.

¹³ *Nshan Khach'i* (sign of cross), meaning the *vexillum*, the standard of the cross.

¹⁴ For early Byzantine description of the chain across the Golden Horn, see R. Guillard, “La chaine de la Horne d’Or”, *Etudes Byzantines*, (1959), pp. 264-265.

¹⁵ Lewond’s curious story of Leo’s victory over Maslama presents the Emperor during the siege of 717 as a veritable Moses *redivivus*, who causes the infidel to drown by the power of the Cross. Later Armenian historians, Asolik, Vardan, and Mkhitar of Ayrivank’, repeat the episode. Cf. Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni, *History*, pp. 81-85. Leo received support through his friendship with the Khazars who felt themselves united with the Byzantines in common hostility against the caliphate. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of Byzantine Empire*, p. 139. For the friendly relations between Byzantium and the Khazars in the 8th century see Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, (1936), p. 87. The Khazars created serious difficulties for the Arabs by incursions into the Caucasus and Armenia. See below, *Lewond* ch. 39.

¹⁶ Cf. Theophanes’ account of the destruction of the Muslim fleet by a hailstorm. All the ships, except ten, were sunk. Theophanes *Chronographia*, I, pp. 395, 399. On their retreat the Arabs scattered over the Aegean Sea by the Greeks, and only five ships managed to reach Syria. Cf. *Cambridge Med. History*, IV, i, pp. 62ff. On August 15, 718 the blockade was lifted and Muslim ships left Byzantine waters. Vasiliev, *History of Byz. Empire*, p. 139.

¹⁷ Thrace, the European theme. A document of Justinian II of February 17, 687 named the five themes, including the European theme of Thrace. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 119.

¹⁸ On the famine reported by Lewond cf. Bury, *Op. Cit.* p. 404.

¹⁹ The rest of the chapter contains an interesting confrontation of rebuke and of apology between Emperor Leo and Maslama respectively, dealing with matters of exclusively Byzantine and Muslim interests. Though the stories related here by Lewond do not have any connection with Armenia, they were nevertheless congenial to the Armenian historian as demonstrating the triumph of Christianity over the infidel. Most probably, like the lengthy correspondence of Leo III and ‘Umar II, preserved in its entirety in Lewond’s *History* (chs. 13 an 14), the material of Leo’s rebuke and Maslama’s apology came from Greek or Syriac sources.

¹ The year is 732. Cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 339f; Nalbandyan, *Arabic Sources*, p. 157. For Caliph Hisham (724-743) see above, *Lewond* 17, 1. Merwan Ibn Muhammad was the grandson of Caliph Merwan I Ibn al-Hakami (684-685). Became governor of *Arminiya* under Hisham, succeeding Sa'id al-Harashi. See above 18, 10. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 325; Laurent, *Op. Cit.* pp. 339f. 733/734 is also suggested for Merwan's coming as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan, *EI* (OE), V, pp. 308f. Merwan held his position as governor for twelve years (732-744), and on December 7, 744 became the last Umayyad caliph in Damascus, *ibid.*

² Dvin, the capital of Armenia, See above, *Lewond* 3, 3.

³ Ashot Bagratuni (732-748) was the son of Vasak Bagratuni and the successor of Smbat Curopalate (693-726) as Prince of Armenia, appointed by Merwan Ibn Muhammad. Ashot was given the title of a patrician by Caliph Hisham as reported by Lewond. Cf. Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 335; Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' iskhane", *PBH* (1964), No. 2, pp. 121-134. Lewond later identifies Ashot as the nephew of Bagarat, father of Sahak and brother of Vasak. See *Lewond* ch. 23. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 341.

⁴ "Sons of Smbat" are not Grigor and David, since the latter were from the house of the Mamikonids, as clearly indicated by Lewond. Markwart observes that the "sons of Smbat" must have been Bagradits and presumably the sons of Smbat Curopalate (693-726). Cf. Markwart, *Streifzuge*, pp. 438, 449; Adontz, *patmakan usumnasirut'iwinner*, p. 125. For full discussion on the close collaboration of the "sons of Smbat" and the two Mamikonids Grigor and David, see Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* pp. 348-350. Toumanoff indicates that Juansher's Georgian historical source mentions two arrivals of Bagratid descendants into Iberia during St. Arch'il's (d. 786) principate. The second arrival includes: "The nephews of Adarnase the Blind, who had burnt out the eyes of their paternal uncle—three brothers—[who] came from Taron to Shakikh and settled there with the permission of Arch'il." Whereas Markwart identifies "Adarnase the Blind" with Ashot Bagratuni, blinded by Grigor Mamikonean in 748 and died in 761, Toumanoff identifies the "nephews of Adarnase the Blind" or the "three brothers" with the "sons of Smbat" who are introduced in the Armenian history by Lewond. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 345ff. Akinian assumes that a certain Smbat Mamikonean was the father of Grigor and David, who in turn, was the son of Mushel Mamikonean, the commander-in-chief of Armenia in 703. Cf. Akinian, *Lewond, MH*, III, pp. 238, n. 18, 310f; Alishan *Hayapatum*, II, par. 196. The *History of Taron* by John Mamikonean, mentions in chapters 3 and 4 a certain Smbat Mamikonean, son of the hero Gayl Vahan. Cf. *History of Taron*, pp. 33-49.

⁵ Merwan Ibn Muhammad. See above, *Lewond* 21, 1.

⁶ Eman (Yemen), or Fortunate Arabia, a district in the southwest of the Arabian peninsula. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of Byz. Emp.* p.200. Note that Grigor and David Mamikonean were banished to Yemen (Arabia), whereas the “sons of Smbat” were being held hostages in Syria, as we learn from Lewond. See below *Lewond* 25, 1.

⁷ Caliph Hisham (724-743). See above, *Lewond* 17, 1. Ashot went to Damascus “upon his confirmation” (*Lewond*), that is, in the Autumn of 732, and presented himself before the caliph and petitioned for a lightening of his country’s heavy burden. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 220; Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 853.

⁸ *Khatsit’a* or *rochik* means wage or salary. Cf. Acharyan, *Etymological Dictionary*, II, p. 318.

⁹ The annual allowance of 100,000 *dahekan* (silver) to the Armenian cavalry by the caliphate indicated that during the first half of the 8th century, next to the *ishkhan* (prince) of Armenia, the position of a *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) also existed. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, “Hayots’ ishkhané”, *PBH*, (1964), No. 2, pp. 125-126. We are reminded by Lewond that during the rule of the Arabs the command of the Armenian army was preferably given to the Bagratids. The Bagratids, unlike the Mamikonids, were always cautious and tactful in their relations with the Arabs, whom they served faithfully; they were able to act as mediators between the caliphs and the Armenian people. The allowance to the Armenian cavalry by the caliphate was inherited from the Sasanians. In the 653 Theodoros-Mu’awiyah treaty it was stipulated that Armenia would maintain a cavalry of 15,000, instead of 30,000, the allowance of which was to be paid annually by the caliphate in the amount of 100,000 *dahekan*, as reported here by Lewond. Cf. Sebeos, *History*, pp. 215f; *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, I, p. 355. This allowance lasted until Caliph Abu Dja’far al-Mansur (754-775).

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¹ For the land of the Huns see above, *Lewond* 12, 4. For Merwan’s incursion on the Khazars cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 325f. The date of Merwan’s campaign against the Khazars, north of Darband, was 736/737 in which Ashot also took part. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 347. The city mentioned in *Lewond* is Varach’an, the capital of the Huns. Cf. above, 12, 4.

² Partaw, Barda’a in Arabic, was the capital of Arran, Caucasian Albania. It was built, according to al-Baladhuri, by the Sasanid king Kubad (488-531), cf. *The Origins*, p. 306. Barda’a served the Sasanids and the Arabs as a frontier fortress against invasions from the northwest. At the time of the Arab conquest the city was taken by Salman Ibn Rabi’a before 652. *Ibid.* p. 318. Thereafter Arran was usually joined with Armenia, sometimes with Armenia and Azerbaijan, under a single governor. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, pp. 16-17, 65; *EI*, I, pp. 1040f. See also below, *Lewond* 41, 7. Barda’a became the capital of *Arminiya*, next to Dvin, later in 788. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *Emirates*, pp. 72-73.

³ Maslama, brother of Caliph Hisham. See above 12, 3.

⁴ Caliph Hisham died in February 743, after a rule of nineteen years as correctly reported by Lewond. Cf. above, *Lewond* 17, 1.

¹ Al-Walid II (743-744) Ibn Yazid. In February 743 al-Walid succeeded his uncle Caliph Hisham. He was the son of Caliph Yazid II (720-724). He was killed on April 17, 744. *EI* (OE), VIII, pp. 1112f.

² Al-Walid II was killed in the fort of Bakhra, south of Palmyra in Syria. Cf. *ibid.*

³ Suleiman was the son of Caliph Hisham. He is not recognized as the successor to the caliphate. Following the assassination of al-Walid II in 744, his son Yazid III ascended the throne for a period of few months and died the same year. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 241, 368.

¹ Ishak Ibn Muslim al-Ukaili was made governor of *Arminiya* by Merwan II (744-750) in 744. Al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 328; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 340. Ishak was in Armenia until 749/750, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanner", *PBH*, (1977), No. 1, p. 120.

² The sons of al-Walid II are Yazid III (744) and Ibrahim.

³ The town of al-Rusafah, across the Euphrates and south of Rakkah. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 86 (map). It was known as Rusafah-ash-Sham (of Syria), built by Caliph Hisham. It was an important station because here two roads went across the Syrian desert, namely, to Damascus and to Hims (Emessa). Cf. *ibid.* pp. 106, 125. Al-Rusafah was built as a place of safety at a time when plague was raging through Syria. *Ibid.*

⁴ Merwan Ibn Muhammad was the last of the Umayyad caliphs in Damascus. He was the grandson of Merwan Ibn al-Hakam. In 733/734 Merwan was sent to Armenia and Azerbaijan as governor. In this position, held for 12 years, Merwan fought against the peoples of the Caucasus. After the death of Yazid III in 744, Merwan entered Damascus on December 7, 744, and after arranging matters in the capital he made his headquarters in Harran. Cf. *EI* (OE), V, pp. 308f. Iraq refused to recognize Merwan as caliph and proclaimed Suleiman Ibn Hisham instead. This event marked the rebellion of the 'Abbasids in 744. Merwan II (744-750) assumed the caliphate for six years as reported by Lewond. In January 750 Merwan was defeated on the Upper Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, and in August 750 fell in the fight in Upper Egypt. *Ibid.* See also below, *Lewond* 27, 6.

⁵ Harran. See above, *Lewond* 9, 4.

¹ For the "sons of Smbat" see above, *Lewond* 21, 4. They were released from prison by the order of Caliph al-Walid II in 744. Cf. *Lewond* ch. 25.

² Vaspurakan. See above, *Lewond* 3, 8. Grigor and David arrived in Vaspurakan after al-Walid II's death and during Yazid III's caliphate in the latter part of 744.

³ Ishak Ibn Muslim al-Ukaili, governor of *Arminiya* (744-749). See above, 24, 1.

⁴ Ashot Bagratuni. See above, *Lewond* 21, 3.

- ⁵ Dariwnk'. See above, *Lewond* 5, 2.
- ⁶ Ashot Bagratuni went to Damascus in 745 to meet with Caliph Merwan II and ask for help.
- ⁷ Melik'-Bakhshyan finds unlikely the 15,000 armed cavalrymen which followed Ashot to the capital of the caliphate. Cf. *Armenia*, pp. 307-8. Toumanoff considers Ashot as a loyal vassal of the caliphate who, in 736/737, took part in the Arab campaign of Merwan. *Studies*, p. 347. According to *Lewond*, at the height of Merwan's struggle for the throne in the mid-eighth century, Ashot Bagratuni came to Syria, the scene of the war, to see Merwan on matters related to Armenia. The patrician's arrival with 15,000 well-armed cavalry, according to *Lewond*, had an ulterior motive to assist Merwan in his fatal battle. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 226.
- ⁸ Grigor Mamikonean was appointed commander-in-chief of Armenia instead of Ashot in 744. Cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 335. He was the brother of David.
- ⁹ The approximate date of David's execution by the orders of Caliph Merwan II is 746. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 871.

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- ¹ The date of the revolt of the Armenian nobles against the Arabs lies between 747-750, during Ishak al-Ukaili's term as governor. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 120.
- ² Grigor Mamikonean. See above, *Lewond* 21, 4 and 6.
- ³ Tayk', a province in Armenia. See above, *Lewond* 8, 15.
- ⁴ Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775), the son of Emperor Leo III the Isaurian. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of Byzantine State*, pp. 147-155. Constantine married Irene, the daughter of the Khakan of the Khazars, in 733. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of Byz. Emp.* p. 139.
- ⁵ Pontus of Cappadocia. A Roman province and a district of Pontus Polemoniacus which later, in 536, became a part of Armenia I (Armenia Prima) by the novella of Justinian I. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 78. Pontus and the theme of Armeniakon were the home of Byzantine Paulicianism where the "sons of sinfulness" were to be found. Cf. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy*, p. 146. See also the following note. In 755 two important frontier fortresses, Theodosiopolis (Karin) and Melitene, were captured by Constantine V from the Arabs, thus marking Byzantine penetration into Armenia, cf. Asolik, *History*, pp. 142-143; al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 290f; Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 149; Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 15. On Melitene as a Paulician center in the mid-eighth century, see Garsoian, *Op. Cit.* p. 122 and note 36. Here *Lewond* reports a valuable information concerning a peace treaty between the Armenian rebels and Emperor Constantine V against the Arabs.
- ⁶ "Sons of transgression" or "sons of sinfulness" is an interesting reference to a heresy operating in conjunction with the Armenian rebels in Pontus reported by *Lewond*. It is believed that the heresy was related to the Paulicians, cf. Garsoian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 85 and n. 14, and that they were probably Armenians, H. P'art'ikyan "Pavlikyan sharzhman mi k'ani alb-urneri gnahatman shurj", *Telekagir* (1957), 6.

⁷ Bagrewand was the sixth district in the province of Ayrarat. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 249; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 42.

⁸ David, brother of Grigor Mamikonean. See above, 21, 4.

⁹ Ashot Bagratuni was deposed and blinded in the village of Hazr in Bagrewand by Grigor Mamikonean in 748, after having ruled for 17 years. See below, *Lewond* 26, 12. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341, 348.

¹⁰ Karin (Theodosiopolis), known by the Armenians also as Erzeroum, a military stronghold in Byzantine Armenia since Theodosius II (408-450). Under the Romans in 415 it was fortified and called Theodosiopolis. Cf. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 58; Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 133f. The earliest Armenian text describing the city is preserved in Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, III, lix; Garitte, *Narratio*, pp. 65-69. This important city was known to the Arabs as Arzan ar-Rum (the land of the Romans) and as the Moslem city of Kalikala. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 117f; al-Baladhuri, *The Origins* pp. 309f. Theodosiopolis was first taken by the Arabs under Caliph 'Uthman (644-656) after 653. Its possession fluctuated between the Byzantines and the Arabs: Byzantines in 686, the Arabs in 700, Byzantines in 754, Arabs during 756-949. Cf. *EI*, II, p. 712.

¹¹ Grigor Mamikonean died around 750/751 in Karin. Cf. Laurent *L'Armenie*, p. 335; Melik'-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, p. 314. Mushel, Grigor's brother, succeeded him "for a short while", from 750 to 753.

¹² Ashot Bagratuni ruled for a period of "seventeen years", from 732 to 748, and then he was blinded. He died in 761, after living "another thirteen years". Cf. Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 439-450; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 341.

¹³ For Dariwnk' see above, *Lewond* 5, 2.

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¹ Merwan II (744-750). See above, *Lewond* 24, 4.

² For the land of Khurasan see above, *Lewond* 11, 4.

³ *Lewond* refers to the movement known as the Shi'a, a sect in Islam. Shi'ism began as a purely Arab political faction grouped around the claim of 'Ali (cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad the Prophet) and of his descendants to the caliphate. In 716 the head of Shi'ism was Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-'Abbas, the descendant of an uncle of the Prophet. *Lewond's* reference to "the lineage of their lawgiver" should be understood in this context. The main center of activity of Shi'ism was in Khurasan where Arab colonies, chiefly from Basra, had settled around 670. The birthplace of Shi'ism was al-Kufa. Cf. B. Lewis, *The Arabs in History*, p. 78.

⁴ Kahatba ibn-Shabib was one of Abu Muslim's generals who took up the pursuit of the Umayyad forces towards the west. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 141. Abu Muslim, a former slave of Persian origin, was a *mawla* of Iraq a term applied to any Muslim who was not a full member by descent of an Arab tribe. The *mawali* (plural) included Persian, Aramaean, Egyptian, Berber and other non-Arab converts to Islam. Cf. Lewis, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70. Abu Muslim who had already been in the service of the secret *Kaysani* movement, was sent to Khurasan in 745 by Ibrahim, the son and successor of Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-'Abbas, the head of Shi'ism. *Ibid.* p. 79. On

June 15, 747, the revolt broke out and Abu Muslim unfurled the black flag of the 'Abbasids in Khurasan. Cf. *EI, I*, p. 141. The fall of Marw, the capital of Khurasan (Dec. 747 or Jan. 748), was followed in 749 by the fall of the leading city of al-Kufa in Iraq. Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 285. Abu Muslim was murdered by Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur in February, 775. See *Cambridge History of Islam*, p. 109.

⁵ The Umayyad governor of Khurasan was Nasr ibn-Sayyar who resided in the capital city of Marw. Cf. Hitti, *Op. Cit.* p. 284.

⁶ Merwan II had transferred his residence to Harran in Mesopotamia. Merwan advanced with 12,000 men from Harran and was met in January 750 on the left bank of the Great Zab, a tributary of the Tigris, by the enemy forces from al-Kufa, headed by Abdullah Ibn Ali, an uncle of the first Abbasid Caliph Abu-l-Abbas (*Lewond* ch. 27). Cf. Hitti, *Op. Cit.* p. 285; *EI, I*, p. 15 and 43.

⁷ Lewond's reference is to Abdullah Ibn 'Ali. See previous note. The latter was the brother of Muhammad Ibn 'Ali and an uncle of the first two 'Abbasid caliphs. Muhammad Ibn 'Ali was the leader of the Shi'a sect in 716. Lewond's reference to the "sons of Hashim" indicates the party of Shi'ite sect which called itself the Hashimiyya, originated in al-Kufa c. 718. *Hashimiyya* commonly applied in the 8th-9th centuries to members of the Abbasid house and occasionally to their followers and supporters. *EI*, III, p. 265. The Hashimiyya clan was settled at Humayma, an oasis situated on the borders of Transjordan and Arabia. Cf. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 104. The name itself denoted the descendants of Hashim Ibn 'Abd Manaf, the common ancestor of the Prophet, 'Ali and al-'Abbas. Its use by the 'Abbasids expressed claims to the caliphate based on kingship of the Prophet, cf. *EI*, III, p. 265.

⁸ Al-Basra was a town of lower Mesopotamia, on the Shatt ul-Arab, to the southeast of Baghdad. The name of the nearby camp, Akola, is the Armenian rendering of al-Kufa. Cf. Michael Syrus, *Chronology* (Arm.), p. 344, n. 1. A certain 'Utba Ibn Ghazwan chose this location in 638 to establish the military camp which became the basis of the town of al-Basra. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 1085; al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 410.

⁹ 750 is the "sixth year of Merwan's reign", the year of the fatal battle of the Greater Zab. The defeated Merwan II fled to Syria while the victorious 'Abbasid troops advanced through Harran, the residence of Merwan, into Syria and occupied Damascus on April 26, 750. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 15; Hitti, *Op. Cit.* p. 285; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 193.

¹⁰ For Abdullah see above, *Lewond* 27, 6 and 7. Abdullah sent a detachment from Palestine in pursuit of the fugitive Caliph Merwan II.

¹¹ The last Umayyad Caliph Merwan II was caught and killed on August 5, 750 outside a church at Bushir in Egypt. Cf. Hitti, *Op. Cit.* p. 285; *EI* (OE), V, pp. 308f.

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¹ Lewond calls equally 'Abdullah the two brothers who became the first two caliphs of the Abbasids, namely, Abu-l-'Abbas al-Saffah (750-754), and Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775), simply because the former's real name was 'Abdullah, so was al-Mansur's middle name. Cf. *EI* (OE), I, p. 74. Their father was Muhammad Ibn 'Ali, a great-grandson of the Pro-

phet's uncle and the leader of the Shi'a sect in 716. See above, *Lewond* 27, 3. Abu-l-'Abbas' surname, al-Saffah, means both "the blood thirsty" and "the generous", *EI*, I, p. 103. He gave his brother Abu Dja'far al-Mansur the governorship of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Mesopotamia, *ibid.* V, p. 248; al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 300, 328. One of the characteristics of the Abbasid movement was the use of some *mawali* of Persian origin in important positions as it was for the *Kaysani* movement previously. This trend continued under the first Abbasids who for preference chose Persians as their aides. See also above, *Lewond* 27, 4. Cf. *Cambridge History of Islam*, I, p. 108.

² AbuDja'far al-Mansur was sent to Armenia on August 9, 750. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 340.

³ Zuza was equal to the one tenth of the Arabic *dinar* (gold), equal to one *tirhem* (silver). The latter was coined in the countries of the caliphate, including *Arminiya*. A *zuza* or a *tirhem* weighed 2.97 silver grams. Cf. Manandyan, *Kshirnerē yev ch'ap'erē*, p. 91 and note 1; Mushelyan, "Abbasyan dramneri t'olarkume", *PBH* (1973), No. 4, p. 146.

⁴ Marastan is Media (Medes), the country of Atrpatakan. See above, *Lewond* 2, 6.

⁵ For the country of Khurasan see above, *Lewond* 11, 4.

⁶ Pentapolis was the territory known as Cyrenaica, called Barqa by the Arabs, and was situated along the coast of North Africa, on the western border of Egypt. Cf. *Cambridge History of Islam*, I, pp. 63, 181.

⁷ Yazid Ibn Usaid al-Sulami was made governor of *Arminiya* when Abu Daj'far al-Mansur became caliph in 754, cf. Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 328; Laurent, *Op. Cit.* p. 340. Yazid became governor of Armenia three times: 752-754, 759-770, 775-780. Cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, p. 60. According to al-Baladhuri Yazid al-Sulami's mother was the daughter of Sisakan's patrician who was taken captive during Muhammad Ibn Merwan's invasion. *The Origins*, p. 322.

⁸ Isahak (Sahak) Bagratuni, the son of Bagarat and the nephew of Vasak, cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 110f; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341, 346f. Sahak was a cousin of Ashot Bagratuni the Blind, *Lewond* ch. 28. He was High Constable and Prince of Armenia for Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur from 755 to 761, Toumanoff, *ibid.* p. 341. Sahak attended the Armenian Church Council of Partaw (Barda'a) in 768 as "the pious prince of our country Sahak Bagratuni", cf. *The Canon Book of the Armenians*, ed. A. Litchean, p. 166.

⁹ For the annual allowance of 100,000 *dahekan* (silver) to the Armenian cavalry by the caliphate, see above, *Lewond* 21, 9. For the abolition of the subsidies by al-Saffah, see Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 220.

¹⁰ Caliph Abu-l-'Abbas al-Saffah died in al-Anbar, in June, 754, cf. *EI*, I, p. 103. See also above, *Lewond* 28, 1.

¹¹ "The other Abdullah" is Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur who reigned for 22 years, as reported by Lewond, and died in October, 775. Cf. *EI* (OE), V, p. 248f.

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¹ Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775), cf. above, 28, 1. Emperor

Constantine V Copronymus (741-775), cf. above, *Lewond* 26, 4.

² For the city of Theodosiopolis (Karin) see above, *Lewond* 26, 10.

³ For the destruction of Theodosiopolis by Constantine V, see al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 312. Constantine attacked Melitene in Mesopotamia, and Theodosiopolis in Armenia, both of which he razed to the ground in 751/752. Cf. Anastos, M.V., *Cambridge Med. History*, IV, i, p. 74. For the strategic importance of the Arab-Byzantine frontier strongholds, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, pp. 43, 47; Leo, *History of Armenians*, II, p. 746, note 109.

⁴ For the deportations and settlement of the Armenians in Byzantine territory, especially in Thrace, see Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byz. Emp.*, p. 15 and note 15.

⁵ The district mentioned by Lewond must be taken as Thrace. See the previous note.

⁶ Yazid Ibn Usaid al-Sulami restored the city of Theodosiopolis in 756. Cf. Laurent, *Op. Cit.* pp. 176-177; Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 296. See also above, *Lewond* 28, 7.

⁷ For the Arab migration into Theodosiopolis cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 312f.

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¹ The Arab hordes led by a certain Suleiman invaded Vaspurakan from Azerbaijan in 762. Cf. Melik'-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, pp. 317f.

² Sahak and Hamazasp, *nakharars* (nobles) from the house of Artsrunik', were the sons of Vahan Artsruni as reported by Lewond. See below, *Lewond* 30, 3.

³ Gagik Artsruni was another son of Vahan Artsruni and the brother of Sahak and Hamazasp.

⁴ The killings of Sahak and Hamazasp as well as of Suleiman occurred during the second period of Yazid's rule as governor of *Arminiya* (759-770), soon after 762.

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¹ Yazid Ibn Usaid al-Sulami, governor of Armenia. Cf. above, *Lewond* 28, 7.

² For the title *khakan* see above, *Lewond* 5, 7. According to al-Baladhuri, Yazid married the daughter of the king of the Khazars, in compliance with Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur's orders. Cf. *The Origins*, p. 329.

³ Lewond identifies Yazid's wife with the sister of the king of the Khazars instead of the daughter. He also gives her name, Khatun, not reported by the Arab historian. On the other hand the name *Khatun* in Armenian meant "queen of the Khazars" and derived from *khutayna* or *khwateni*, meaning "queen". Cf. Eremyan, "Ashkharhats'oyts'", *PBH* (1973), No. 2, p. 274, note 131; Acharyan, *Etymological Dictionary*, II, p. 312.

⁴ The death of Khatun, Yazid's wife, is ascribed to child birth. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 329.

⁵ The Khazar troops invaded Caucasian Albania in 763. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 434, n. 13. For Razht'arkhan cf. Gahzarian, *Armenien*, p. 43.

⁶ River Kura is the main river bordering Albania to the north and Armenia to the south, and flowing eastward to the Caspian Sea. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 241, 259; Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 104, 105, 110.

⁷ Caucasian Albania occupied the territory east of Iberia to the Caspian Sea and north of Armenia, with the border of River Kura. Cf. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 34, 105. Albania was part of *Arminiya* viceroyalty under the caliphate. See above, *Lewond* 4, 19. The districts of Albania mentioned here are found in the *Armenian Geography*: Hejar or (Hejer, Dasht-i-bazkan), Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 62, 105. K'ala (K'aladasht or K'aladzor), *ibid.* pp. 89, 105. Ostan-Marzpaneian (Ostan-i-Marzpan or Kapitalak), *ibid.* pp. 75, 105. Haband (Hambas), *ibid.* pp. 62, 105. Gelavu, *ibid.* 47, 105. Shake, *ibid.* 73, 105; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 84. Bekh (Bel), Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* 44, 105. Kheni (Elni), *ibid.* 50, 105. Kambekhchan (Kambechan), *ibid.* 57, 105. Kholmaz, *ibid.* 55, 120. According to the *Armenian Geography* Caucasian Albania comprised eleven districts, ten of which are mentioned by Lewond, the eleventh being Getaru. The most ancient central district of the country was Kapitalak (Ostan-i-Marzpan) in the valley of Avt'aran. Cf. *Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*, I, p. 263, and map on p. 264. After the creation of the *Arminiya* viceroyalty of which Albania was a part, gradually Arab detachment forces and Muslim tribes were settled in Partaw, Darband, Ch'ol and Shamakhi, cf. *ibid.*

⁸ The Plain of Palasakan is mentioned by the short version of the *Armenian Geography* among the districts of Albania. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 434, n. 13. See also Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 44, 105, where Dasht-i-Bazkan (Plain-in-Bazkan) is identified with the Plain of Balasakan. Lewond lists the districts devastated by the Khazars in 763 indicating that they "belonged to the country of Albania".

⁹ The districts of Iberia given by Lewond are found in the *Armenian Geography*: Shuch'k', Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* 74, 104. K'ueshkap'or (K'uishap'or), *ibid.* 90, 104. Dzelt'd (Dzelet'), *ibid.* 63, 104. Tsuk'et', *ibid.* 57, 104. Velists'ikhe (Velists'khe), *ibid.* 83, 104. T'ianet', *ibid.* 53, 104. Erk (Kherk), *ibid.* 55, 104.

¹⁰ For Caucasian Albania see above, *Lewond* 31, 7. The caliph is Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775). Cf. above, 28, 1.

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¹ Saleh Ibn Subaih al-Kindi became governor of *Arminiya* in 750/751. Cf. Akinian, *Lewond, MH*, p. 145 and note 15. He was discharged in 752, cf. Ter-Lewondyan, "Armynai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 120.

² Saleh was sent to Armenia by Abu-l-'Abbas al-Saffah (750-754), cf. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 40. Dennys de Tell-Mahre gives the year 752/753 for Saleh's arrival in Armenia, Chabot, *Chronique*, p. 55.

³ For the deportations and settlement of the Armenians in the Byzantine empire during the reign of Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) see P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byz. Emp.* p. 15 and note 15.

⁴ Gagik Artsruni, son of Vahan. See above, *Lewond* 30, 3. For the title *Ter* (lord) cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 313-315, 342. *Ter* was predominant among

all the terms by which clan leaders were known. *Ter* became the technical term used to designate the head of senior member of a princely clan. *Ibid.* Cf. also Dowsett, "Armenian *Ter, Tikin, Tiezerk* ", *Memorial du Cinquantenaire*, (1964).

⁵ The fortress Nkan was located in the district of T'ornawan, in the province of Vaspurakan, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 220, 386.

⁶ On the form Atrpatakan see Hübschmann, *Grammatik*, p. 23. It is the country of the Persian Azerbaijan, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 38. Zarewand (Zarawand) was the eighth district in the province of Parskahayk', cf. *ibid.* p. 51f; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 209-210. For the province of Parskahayk' cf. Markwart, "Parskahayk' nahange", *PBH* (1961), No. 1, pp. 180-207, and No. 2, pp. 212-244. According to Manandyan the correct forms of the next two districts are preserved in the different readings of Lewond's *History* (ed. Ezean, p. 134, n. 2), namely "i Rutaks" and "i Shigrets" (Shigro), cf. *Critical History*, II, i, p. 300 and note 1; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 92. During the 8th and 9th centuries the districts of Her and Zarewand in the province of Parskahayk' were known as Rotakk', *ibid.* Catholicos Sahak III (677-703) was formerly the bishop of Rotakk', cf. John Catholicos, *History*, pp. 118f. Shigro, according to Manandyan must correspond to the district of Nor Shirakan in Parskahayk', Manandyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 298-300. Tusak, a district in the northern region of Lake Urmia, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 92 and note 2. Gaznak (Gandzak), the southern region of Lake Urmia. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 46. Yormi (Urmi, Urmia), a city in the province of Parskahayk', *ibid.* p. 75. Surenapat (Suraban), a town in the Ayli (Kurichan) district of Parskahayk', *ibid.* p. 35.

⁷ For Her see previous note.

⁸ Musa Ibn 'Isa al-Hashimi. Cf. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 41.

⁹ Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775). See above, 28, 1.

¹⁰ The year of Gagik Artsruni's death was probably 772/773. Chabot, *Chronique de Dennys de Tell-Mahre*, p. 148.

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¹ Yazid Ibn Usaid, governor of *Arminiya*. Cf. above 28, 7.

² Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur. Cf. above 28, 1.

³ It is important to note Lewond's information about the poll tax: *est glkhoy arants'* (according to each man). It implies the *jizya* (poll tax) which in turn means "reward" or "recompense". Asolik, *History*, p. 133, has repeated *est glukh arants'n*, implying the imposition of the poll tax on the male members of the family. According to Abu Yusuf's *Kitab al-Kharraj* (Book of Taxes), the male *dhimmis*, the non-Muslims who were the followers of the protected religions between the ages 15-60, were liable to the poll tax. Cf. Melik'-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, p. 154, *BEH* (1967), No. 1, pp. 102f. For a discussion of *kharraj* (land tax), and *jizya* (poll tax) imposed on Armenia, cf. Vardanyan, V. M. "Vaspurakanum gandzvol kharaji ew glkhaharki masin", *PBH* (1976), No. 2, pp. 145-158; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, pp. 65ff.

⁴ Prince Sahak Bagratuni. See above, *Łewond* 28, 8. Catholicos Trdat of Ot'mus (741-764), from the district of Vanand. Cf. John Catholicos, *History*, p. 134.

⁵ Bakkar Ibn Muslim al-Ukaili (769-770) governor of *Arminiya*. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 329; Ter-Łewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 121.

⁶ Hasan Ibn Kahtaba al-Tai'i (754-759) governor of *Arminiya*. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 329; Ter-Łewondyan, *Op. Cit.* Łewond informs us that Hasan arrived in Armenia with "troops drawn from the Khurasan country". In 722 Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur had built the town of Ar-Rafikah, near Rakkah, which was garrisoned by Khurasan troops, entirely devoted to the new dynasty. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 101.

⁷ *Ramik* (commoner) is a general non-restrictive term referring to all those who are below the rank of *azat*. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 233; Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 127, n. 222; Manandyan, *Feodalizmė hin Hayastanum*, pp. 149f. For the rank of *azat* (a class between the *nakharars* and the *ramiks*) see *ibid.* pp. 90ff.

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¹ A popular uprising by the Armenians was led by Artawazd Mamikonean, son of Hmayak, in 774, cf. Melik'-Bakhshyan, *Armenia*, p. 322 and no. 3. Artawazd joined the forces of Byzantium later in 778 as the general of the Anatolikon theme under Leo IV. Cf. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byz. Emp.* p. 22; Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, pp. 219f.

² Dvin, capital of Armenia. See above, *Łewond* 3, 3. Łewond's reference to Dvin as a center of supplying weapons for war during the Arab domination, and particularly during the Armenian insurrection of 774-775, is very important. Cf. K'alant'aryan, "Zenk'erė V-VIII darerum", *PBH* (1965), No. 4, p. 241. See also below, *Łewond* 34, 41.

³ Kumayri was a fortress in the district of Shirak. Known also as Kyumri the fortress is presently the city of Leninakan. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 61. Shirak, a district in the province of Ayrarat, cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 250. Shirak occupied the valley of the Akhurean between Vanand and Ayrarat. Cf. Adontz, *Op. Cit.* p. 237.

⁴ Smbat Bagratuni, son of Ashot the Blind and successor of Sahak Bagratuni, as High Constable for the caliph 761-775. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341f; Akinian, *Łewond, MH*, p. 313. Smbat married a princess of the Mamikonean dynasty, daughter of Samuel. See below, *Łewond* 34, 47. According to Asolik Smbat was High Constable for 22 years (753-775), *History*, p. 105. Smbat had two sons: Ashot Msaker and Shapuh Bagratuni, the sponsor of Łewond's *History*. See below, Colophon, note 3.

⁵ Samts'khe, a district in Georgia, meaning "three fortresses", cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 236, n. 1, and p. 240; Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 79, 104.

⁶ The country of Eger occupied the territory west of Georgia. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 50. The term Egr (Egeria) is used by the *Armenian Geography* in a broader sense to designate the entire shore of the Black Sea, from Abkhazia to Trebizond. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 23f.

- 7 Hasan Ibn Kahtaba al-Tai'i. See above, 33, 6.
- 8 Mushel Mamikonean. Cf. Musha'il al-Armani recorded by al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 329. Mushel was the son of Hrahat Mamikonean, *Lewond* ch. 34. The 774-775 insurrection of the Armenians led by Mushel took place during Hasan's rule. Al-Baladhuri states: "After the dismissal of Ibn Usaid and Bakkar Ibn Muslim al-Ukaili, and during the governorship of al-Hasan Ibn Kahtaba al-Tai'i, the Armenians broke off their allegiance under their chief Musha'il al-Armani. Al-Mansur sent reinforcements under Amir Ibn Ismail. Al-Hasan engaged himself in fight with Musha'il and Killed him." *The Origins*, p. 329.
- 9 Artagers, a fortress in the district of Arsharunik' in Ayrarat. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 40.
- 10 For Bagrewand see above, *Lewond* 26, 6.
- 11 For the city of Karin see above, *Lewond* 26, 10.
- 12 Kars, a city in the district of Vanand in Ayrarat. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 250, Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 82.
- 13 For the village of Bagawan see above, *Lewond* 7, 4. For the "royal highway" leading from Dvin through Bagawan to Karin see below, *Lewond* 34, 40.
- 14 Aruch, a town. See above, *Lewond* 4, 18.
- 15 T'orgom was the father of Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians. See Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, I, v, ix. Cf. *Agathangelos*, ed. R. W. Thomson, p. 453, n. 16-1.
- 16 High Constable Smbat, son of Ashot the Blind. See above, *Lewond* 34, 4.
- 17 For the term *ramik* see above, *Lewond* 33, 7.
- 18 Theodosiopolis (Karin). See above *Lewond* 26, 10. The siege of Theodosiopolis took place in the winter of 774-775.
- 19 Ashot Bagratuni (775-781), son of Prince Sahak Bagratuni (753-770). Cf. Samuel Anets'i, *History*, p. 88. See above, *Lewond* 28, 8; cf. Akinian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 315f; Ter-Lewondyan, "Hayots' iskhane", *PBH* (1964), No. 2. Ashot's prudent advice is quoted by Lewond in full where the prince is pleading the Armenian rebels to refrain from such fatal revolt against the Arabs, because the immediate price of it would be the permanent loss of their inherited lands: "zzharangut'iwn harts'n dzerots' ", *Lewond* ch. 34.
- 20 Emperor Constantine V Copronymus (741-775). See above, *Lewond* 26, 4.
- 21 Hamazasp, Sahak, and Mehruzhan, sons of Gagik Artsruni. Gagik died in prison c. 772/773. See above 32, 10. Hamazasp and Sahak were released by Caliph al-Mansur c. 772 and returned to Armenia.
- 22 Vasak son of Ashot the Blind and the brother of Smbat, the High Constable. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341f. See also below, 34, 33; Akinian, *Lewond MH*, p. 314. Vasak left the princely capital of Dariwnk' and retired in Tayk'. He became the progenitor of the Iberian Bagratid branch, and married a princess of the Guaramid dynasty, daughter of Guaram III of Iberia. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 341-2, 345; Adontz, *patmakan usumnasirut'iwnner*, pp. 52-53, 119. Vasak's son, Ashot (Adarnase), became prince of Iberia and received the title of curopalate from Emperor Leo V (813-820) Adontz, *Ibid.*, Toumanoff, *Ibid.* p. 342.

- 23 Amatunik' represented a certain house of the Armenian nobles in the district of Artaz in Vaspurakan, cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 40; Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* pp. 197-198, n. 223. According to Khach'ikyan, the Amatunik' possessed territories in the districts of Aragatsotn and Kotayk' in the province of Ayrarat with Oshakan as their main town. See below, 41, 3.
- 24 Trunik' represented another house of the Armenian nobles in the district of Vanandadzor in the province of Golt'n. Cf. Alishan, *Sisakan*, p. 838. The Trunik' are mentioned in *Lewond* as warriors in history for the first time. Cf. also Movses Khorenats'i, *History*, II, 47; Toumanoff, p. 221.
- 25 Dariwnk'. See above, *Lewond* 5, 2.
- 26 Maku, a fortress in the district of Artaz in Vaspurakan. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 40.
- 27 T'alın, a town in the district of Aragatsotn in Ayrarat. Kolb, a town in the district of Chakatk' in Ayrarat. Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 250. John Catholicos describes the pillage of the three towns and adds that 700 were killed and 1200 were taken into captivity. *History*, p. 136.
- 28 Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur. See above 28, 1. It was the spring of 776.
- 29 Commander Amir Ibn Isma'il, under Caliph al-Mansur. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 329.
- 30 Baghdad (Madinat as-Salam), the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate, built by Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur in 762 on the west bank of the Tigris, near the ruins of the old Sasanid capital Ctesiphon. At first al-Mansur lived at Hashimiyya, near al-Kufa. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* pp. 457ff; *EI* (OE), V, pp. 248f.
- 31 Khilat, a town and fortress at the northwest of Lake Van. It lies half way between Sipan Dagh and Nimrud Dagh in the district of Bznunik', in Turuberan, cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 194. Al-Baladhuri reckons it to Armenia IV or to Armenia III, *The Origins*, p. 305. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 329; Nalbandyan, *Arabic Sources*, pp. 60, 161; Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, pp. 501-508; M. Canard, *Hamdanides*, I, pp. 471-478.
- 32 For the Artsruni brothers Hamazasp, Sahak and Mehruzhan, see above, *Lewond* 34, 21.
- 33 Vasak, son of Ashot the Blind and brother of Smbat, the High Constable.
- 34 Arjesh (Archish), town situated on the northeast bank of Lake Van, in the district of Aliovit in Turuberan. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 39. Arjesh remained an integral part of the Armenian principality up to the 8th century. From 772 onwards Arjesh was incorporated into Kaysite emirate of Khilat. Cf. *EI*, I, p. 627. M. Canard, *Op. Cit.* pp. 188, 473ff.
- 35 Berkri, a town in the northeast of Lake Van, in the district of Arberani in Vaspurakan. Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 241. Arberani was the seventh district of Vaspurakan, on the northeastern part of the Lake. Cf. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 37.
- 36 Commander Amir Ibn Isma'il. See above 34, 29.
- 37 Urts (Urtsadzor), a village in the district of Urts in Ayrarat. Cf. Alishan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 441f; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 76.

38 The date of the battle near Arjesh is established as Sunday, April 15, 775. Cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 221.

39 Tay, probably the village known as Tayots' K'ar, in the province of Taky'. Cf. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 84. Tayots' K'ar was a Mamikonid stronghold. *Ibid.* p. 64.

40 Apahunik' (Arab. Bajunais), is the 14th district of the province of Turuberan with the capital of Manazkert. Cf. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 36. For the "royal highway" through Abahunik' cf. Sebeos, *History*, p. 147, who implies the existence of such a route while speaking of Emperor Heraclius' move from Nakhjawan to Arjesh. See also map No. 5 in Manandyan's *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 155. Adontz indicates four such "royal highways" between Dvin, capital of Armenia, and different cities:

- (a) Dvin-Manazkert-Arjesh-Khilat
- (b) Dvin-Nakhjawan-Ardabil
- (c) Dvin-Sisakan-Kalankatu-Partaw
- (d) Dvin-Bagawan-Karin

Cf. Adontz, *Patmakan usumnasirut'iwnner* (1948), p. 57.

41 Ardzni, a village in the east of Bagrewand district in Ayrarat, on the banks of eastern Arsianias. Cf. Alishan, *Ayrarat*, p. 525. Lewond's information as to the "craftsmen of different skills who prepared weapons and other instruments of war", being involved in the battle of Ardzni and present in the field to prepare and repair weapons, is to be noted here. Cf. K'alant'aryan, "zenkere V-VIII darerum", *PBH* (1965), No. 4, p. 241.

42 Karin (Theodosiopolis). See above, *Lewond* 26, 10.

43 Basen (Basean) was the first district of the province of Ayrarat. Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 44; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 248. For Bagrewand see above 26, 6.

44 Arsianias, river, known also as Eastern Euphrates (Murat Su). Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 309.

45 Vtawank'. See above, *Lewond* 1, 12.

46 "We have heard from the enemy itself" is one of the distinct signs to make Lewond a contemporary with the events that he is relating.

47 Mushel Mamikonean, son of Hrahat. See above, *Lewond* 34, 8. Mushel's death is reported by al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 329, as being killed in a fight with Hasan Ibn Kahtaba, the governor of Armenia. Samuel Mamikonean, the father-in-law of Smbat Bagratuni, the High Constable for the caliph (761-775). Following the death of Mushel, the Mamikonean *nakharrars* disappear gradually from the scene of history. Cf. Leo, *Hayots' Patmut'iwn*, II, p. 395. For Smbat and Sahak Bagratunis see above, *Lewond* 34, 4 and 28, 8.

48 For the term *ramik* see above, *Lewond* 33, 7.

49 The fatal battle at Ardzni in Bagrewand took place on Monday, April 24, 775. Manandyan suggests a correction: *hrotits'* 13th instead of 14th. See *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 222. Markwart, *Sudarmenien*, pp. 73-76, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 345, agree on 771/772 as the date of the insurrection as well as the battle of Ardzni in Bagrewand.

¹ Hasan Ibn Kahtaba left Armenia for Baghdad in 775. He is last seen heading an invasion into the Byzantine land in 779 under Caliph al-Mahdi. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, pp. 261, 295. The caliph is Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775). See above, *Lewond* 28, 1.

¹ Yazid Ibn Usaid al-Sulami was appointed governor of Armenia for the third time (775-780). See above 28, 7.

² Abdullah is Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775). See above 28, 1. Al-Mansur died on October 7, 775 near Mekkah while on a pilgrimage at the age of 60. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 457; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 294.

¹ Caliph Muhammad Abdullah al-Mahdi (775-785), succeeded his father al-Mansur. *EI* (OE), V, pp. 115f.

² For a thorough discussion on the Arab coinage in *Arminiya* during the Abbasid rule, cf. Mushelyan's article and the list in the appendix: "The Coinage of the Abbasid Coins in the 'Arminiya' Province", *PBH* (1973), No. 4, pp. 143-156. Mushelyan observes that chronologically the earliest Abbasid silver coin in *Arminiya* was minted in AH 143 (760). *Ibid.* p. 146. No coins were minted in *Arminiya* during Abu-l-'Abbas al-Saffah (750-754). It was the second Abbasid caliph, Abu Dja'far al-Mansur (754-775) who abundantly minted coins in Armenia. Similarly, Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785) minted coins in Armenia many of which are still extant. *Ibid.* Appendix nos. 4 through 34. For silver coin *zuz*, see above 28, 3. The place of origin given on the coins of *Arminiya* is Dvin, one of the first to function in the caliph's territories, cf. Minorsky, *Studies on Caucasian History*, p. 117; Mushelyan, "Contributions to the History of Monetary Circulation", *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences*, (1956), No. 11, p. 84; *EI*, II, p. 678f.

³ Al-'Abbas Ibn Muhammad, a commander under Caliph al-Mansur who led the troops of Hasan Ibn Kahtaba for the invasion of Malatya (Melitene) and Kamkh c. 775. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 288.

⁴ Emperor Constantine V Copronymus died on September 14, 775 during a campaign against the Bulgars. Ostrogorsky, *History of Byz. State*, p. 151.

⁵ For the death of Caliph Abu Dja'far al-Mansur see above, *Lewond* 36, 2.

⁶ Emperor Leo IV (775-780), son of Constantine V by his first marriage to a Khazar princess. Leo married a Greek girl from Athens, another Irene, who at his death became ruler of the Empire because her son, Constantine VI, was a minor. Cf. Vasiliev, *History of Byz. Emp.* I, pp. 234-235. See also below 39, 1.

⁷ Emperor Leo IV sent a troop of 100,000 in 778 to Cilicia and captured Germanicea (Marash), cf. Adontz, *Patmakan usumnasirut'iwinner*, p. 361.

⁸ Tachat Andzewats'i, Prince of Armenia, appointed by Caliph al-Mahdi in 782 while 'Uthman Ibn 'Umara (781-785) was the Arab governor of *Ar-*

miniya. Tachat was the son of Grigor, *Lewond* ch. 39, known also by the Greeks as Tatzates, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 698. Tachat came to Byzantium in 760 and proved to be a successful commander in the course of Constantine V's Bulgarian campaigns, *Lewond* ch. 39. Under Leo IV we find Tachat as general of the Bucellarion theme. Cf. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byz. Emp.* p. 22. The country of the Andzewats'i *nakharars* was the district of Andzewats'ik' in Vaspurakan, around the sources of eastern Tigris. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 36.

⁹ Artawazd Mamikonean, son of Hmayak. See above 34, 1.

¹⁰ Basanastan (Bishan) is to be identified with Commagene, east of Germanicea. Cf. Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 220

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¹ Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi (775-785). See above 37, 1.

² Emperor Leo IV (775-780). See above 37, 6.

³ Al 'Abbas Ibn Muhammad, commander under Caliphs al-Mansur and al-Mahdi. See above 37, 3.

⁴ Amorium, a town in the Anatolikon theme. See above 19, 7.

⁵ River Sangarius in the Bucellarion theme. See above 19, 6.

⁶ Yazid Ibn Usaid al-Sulami, governor of Armenia (775-780). See above 28, 7.

⁷ The province of Pontus Polemoniacus which was annexed to Armenia I in 536. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 78.

⁸ Koloneia, a city south of Pontus Polemoniacus in Armenia I, on River Gayl (Lykos). Eremyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 60.

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¹ Emperor Leo IV died on Sept. 8, 780. His son Constantine VI (780-797) succeeded him on the imperial throne. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 157. On April 24, 776, Leo IV had crowned Constantine emperor at the age of ten. *Ibid.* p. 156. Empress Irene (797-802), the wife of Leo IV and the mother of Constantine VI, took over the regency for her son as the co-Emperor with him. *Ibid.* p. 157.

² Harun, son of Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi, and the future Caliph Harun al-Rashid. It was in 781 that the Arab troops under Harun penetrated deep into imperial territory. The battle took place in the Thracieson theme. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Op. Cit.* p. 162; al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 260.

³ Asian Sarmatia. According to the *Armenian Geography* Sarmatia is located between the Black and Caspian Seas, north of Georgia and Albania. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 101. *Lewond* calls Bulgars the inhabitants of Sarmatia. The *Armenian Geography* specifies the inhabitants of north Sarmatia as the Turks and Bulgars. Asian Sarmatia had 46 districts. Cf. *ibid.* for fuller discussion of Sarmatia, pp. 101-103.

⁴ Tachat relinquished his imperial allegiance in 782. *Lewond* reports that he had served the Empire for 22 years, thus having left Armenia in 760. See also above 37, 8.

- ⁵ Constantine V died on Sept. 14, 775. Emperor Leo IV died on Sept. 8, 780. Constantine VI succeeded Leo IV in 780. See above 39, 1.
- ⁶ Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi (775-785). The great expedition of the Arabs under the commandership of the caliph's son Harun took place in 782 when the Muslims penetrated to the Bosphorus and the Empress Irene was forced to make a three year truce and pay annual tribute. Cf. *EI* (OE), V, pp. 115f; F. Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des östromanischen Reiches*, p. 340.
- ⁷ According to Lewond Tachat Andzewats'i was made Prince of Armenia by Caliph al-Mahdi in 782.
- ⁸ 'Uthman Ibn 'Umara Ibn Khuzaim (781-785), governor of Armenia under Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi. Cf. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 40; al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 329.
- ⁹ The Armenian *nakharars* (nobles) who were opposing the appointment of Tachat as Prince of Armenia were the Bagratids, descendants of Bagarat Bagratuni, who remained loyal to the caliphate after the 774/775 insurrection. Akinian suggests that the opponents included Ashot, son of Sahak Bagratuni, and the Artsruni nobles who held Tachat's properties during the latter's 22 years absence. Akinian, *Lewond, MH*, p. 259.
- ¹⁰ Darband. See above, *Lewond* 12, 6.
- ¹¹ The Huns. See above 12, 4. The Khazars. See above 4, 22.
- ¹² Bagarat, High Constable under Prince Tachat. The name suggests a brother of Ashot and son of Prince Sahak Bagratuni (753-775). Cf. Akinian, *Op. Cit.* pp. 314ff. *Nakharar* Nerseh Kamsarakan died in the suffocating heat of the summer with Bagarat and Tachat Andzewats'i, and other Armenian nobles while fighting on behalf of the Arabs against the Huns and the Khazars near Darband in 784. Nerseh is the last mentioned from the house of Kamsarakank', the lords of Shirak. Cf. Alishan, *Shirak, tela-grut'iwn patkerats'oyts'*, p.5. The Kamsarakank' migrated to Byzantine territory at the end of the 8th century. *Ibid.* The house of Kamsarakank' descended from the Arsacids and first established themselves in Eraskhadzor-Arsharunik'. Cf. Adontz, *Armenia*, p. 237.
- ¹³ Rauh Ibn Hatim al-Muhallabi, governor of Armenia, succeeded 'Uthman in 785 under Caliph al-Mahdi. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 330; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 40.
- ¹⁴ Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi reigned 10 years and died suddenly on Aug.4, 785 in Masabadhan at the age of 43. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 459; *EI* (OE), V, pp. 115f.

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¹ Caliph al-Hadi Musa Ibn al-Mahdi, known also by his regnal name as al-Hadi Ila-l-Hakk. Son and successor of al-Mahdi who had been proclaimed heir in 775/776. Al-Hadi succeeded his father in August 785, and died suddenly in Sept. 786. Cf. *EI*, III, p. 22.

² Khouzaima Ibn Khazim at-Tamimi, governor of Armenia for one year and two months, cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 330; Ghazarian, *Op. Cit.* p. 40; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 341; Ter-Lewondyan, "Armynai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 122.

³ For the city of Dvin see above, *Lewond* 3, 3.

⁴ Hamazasp, Sahak and Mehruzhan Artsrunik', sons of Gagik Artsruni. See above 34, 21. At the time Hamazasp was the prince of Vaspurakan. Cf. Alishan, *Sop'erk' haykakank'*, xii, p. 63.

⁵ The arrest of the three Artsruni brothers and the eventual execution of the first two, were the result of an apparent revenge of the 775 Armenian insurrection against the Arabs. Cf. above, *Lewond* ch. 34. Also Alishan, *Op. Cit.* xii, pp. 63, 66, 69.

⁶ Mehruzhan the apostate had earlier, soon after 775, killed the two sons of Mushel Mamikonean, son of Hrahat, the elder of whom was called Shapuh. Cf. Leo, *Hayots' patmut'iwn*, II, p. 395. Mehruzhan in turn, soon after his return to Vaspurakan, was killed by David Mamikonean, cf. Alishan, *Sop'erk' haykakank'*, xii, p. 68. David was in charge of the principality of Vaspurakan entrusted him by the Artsrunik'. *Ibid.* p. 65. *Lewond's* reference to the fact that Mehruzhan might still repent and become worthy of Christ's mercy (ch. 40) is an indication that *Lewond* was writing while Mehruzhan was still alive.

⁷ 233 Armenian era (784 AD). The exact date of the execution of Sahak and Hamazasp is January 6, 786: "on the day of the Nativity and Epiphany of Christ" (*Lewond* ch. 40). Since the martyrdom took place under Caliph Musa (Aug. 785-Sept. 786) and during Khouzaima's rule (786), as reported by *Lewond*, the year given by him should be corrected to read 235 Armenian era (786 AD). *Lewond* is the first Armenian historian to use a date according to the Armenian calendar which began in 552 AD. Cf. Ter-*Lewondyan*, *The Famous Leaders*, pp. 147ff. *Lewond* and his predecessors always marked their dates according to the years of the rules of emperors and kings. Here is the first mention of an Armenian era which follows the names of the caliph and of the governor of Armenia. Sahak and Hamazasp were canonized as saints of the Armenian Church by Catholicos Esayi (Isaiah) (775-788). Cf. Awgerian, M. *Liakatar vark'*, VI, p. 343; *Tonats'oyts' (Armenian Church Calendar)*, I, p. 239; Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 900. On the south facade of the 10th century church of the Holy Cross on the island of Aght'amar (Lake Van), the full pictures of St. Sahak and St. Hamazasp are sculptured with their proper inscriptions: "Lord Saint Sahak, brother of Hamazasp, martyrs and witnesses of Christ", "Lord Saint Hamazasp, prince of Vaspurakan". Cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar Church of the Holy Cross*, pp. 14f. It is important to note that after 786 Armenia was not given a Presiding Prince until 806, but was administered directly by the caliph's representatives. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 411.

⁸ Caliph al-Hadi Musa died in September, 786. See above 40, 1.

⁹ The "young" prince of Georgia killed by Caliph al-Hadi Musa is identified with Stephen III, the last Presiding Prince of the Third Dynasty. Cf. Toumanoff, *Op. Cit.* p. 410 and n. 18.

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¹ Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809). Harun distinguished himself during the 782 Arab campaign against the Byzantines reaching Bosphorus and forcing a peace treaty with payment of tribute. Harun's father, Caliph Muhammad al-Mahdi, consequently gave him the honorific title *al-Rashid* "the straightforward" and designated him the second heir to the throne af-

ter his elder brother Caliph al-Hadi Musa (785-786). Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 299.

² 'Ubaidullah Ibn al-Mahdi, brother of Caliph Harun al-Rashid. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins*, p. 330; Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 41. He became governor of Armenia during 788-790.

³ For Atrpatakan see above, *Łewond* 32, 6. For the viceroyalty of *Arminiya* see above, *Łewond* 4, 19.

⁴ Yazid Ibn Mazyad al-Shaybani, governor of Armenia twice (787-788; 799-801) under Harun al-Rashid. Yazid was the first Shaybanid to govern Armenia. Cf. al-Baladhuri, *Op. Cit.* p. 330; Ghazarian, *Op. Cit.* p. 41; Ter-Łewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, pp. 55f.

⁵ Abd ul-Kebir Ibn Abd ul-Hamid al-'Adawi, governor of Armenia for four months. Cf. *ibid.* p. 62.

⁶ Suleiman Ibn al-'Amri, governor of Armenia (788-790) in the capital of Barda'a, cf. Ghazarian, *Op. Cit.* p. 41; Ter-Łewondyan, *Op. Cit.* p. 72. Suleiman was governor of Armenia simultaneously with 'Ubaidullah, and the first to transfer the seat of the governor of *Arminiya* to Barda'a in Albania, in 789. Cf. L. Khach'ikyan, "Ejer hamshinahay patmut'yunits' ", *BEH* (1969), No. II, p. 115 and n. 1; Ter-Łewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 122.

⁷ For the city of Barda'a see above, *Łewond* 22, 2. *Łewond* is the first to indicate that Barda'a was another capital in the *Arminiya* viceroyalty. Following the 774-775 Armenian insurrection Barda'a together with Dvin served as its capital. *Ibid.* pp. 71ff.

⁸ Catholicos Esayi (Isaiah) (775-788) succeeded Catholicos Sion Bawonets'i (767-775) on the patriarchal throne of Armenia. Esayi was from the village of Elipatrush in the district of Nig. Cf. John Catholicos, *History*, p. 136. He was the bishop of Golt'n and had attended the Armenian Church Councils of Manazkert (726) and of Partaw (Barda'a) (768). Cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, pp. 839, 882.

⁹ For *zuza* see above, *Łewond* 28, 3.

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¹ 'Ubaidullah Ibn al-Mahdi, see above 41, 2. The year of his arrival to Armenia is 788. Cf. Ter-Łewondyan, "Arminyai ostikanneri", *PBH* (1977), No. 1, p. 122.

² The exodus of the Armenians to Greek territories took place in 789. Cf. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byz. Emp.* pp. 14; Manandyan, *Critical History*, II, ii, p. 32.

³ For the house of Amatunik' see above, *Łewond* 34, 23. Shapuh and Hamam Amatunik' led the 12,000 Armenians to Greek territory. The final destination of the immigrants was later called Hamshen (Hamamashen), after the name of Hamam Amatuni. Cf. Adontz, *patmakan usumnasirut'-iwnner*, p. 60; Khach'ikyan, *Op. Cit.* pp. 115-120. The migration took place after the death of Catholicos Esayi (788), and during the rule of 'Ubaidullah and Suleiman, that is between 789-790. The future Armenian principality of Hamshen was situated along the southeastern shores of the Black Sea, north of the district of Sper (Sispiritis) and the Akampsis (Cho-

rokh) river. *Ibid.* Prior to the exodus the Amatuni *nakharars* possessed territories in the districts of Aragatsotn and Kotayk' in the province of Ayrat.

⁴ Kol, the first district of Tayk' in the region of the sources of River Kura. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 59; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 240f, 243.

⁵ Akampsis is the River Chorokh, known also as Voh, which flows through the province of Tayk', the country of Egerk' to the Black Sea. Cf. Hübschmann, *Op. Cit.* p. 258. The river was named Akampsis (Akampsis) by the inhabitants of Egerk' and by the Greeks. *Ibid.* p. 241.

⁶ Emperor Constantine VI (780-797). Cf. above 39, 1.

⁷ Suleiman Ibn Yazid al-'Amri. See above 41, 6.

⁸ Catholicos Esayi (Isaiah) died in 788.

⁹ Catholicos Step'anos (Stephen) of Dvin (788-790) succeeded Esayi in 788. Cf. John Catholicos, *History*, p. 138. According to Ormanian the "ransom" that Step'anos had to pay at his election, should not be understood as "bribe" (*kashar*) but "ransom" or "fee" which would free the pontiff and his office from apparent tyranny. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, I. p. 907. As Lewond concludes, Step'anos was forced to give everything to secure the release of the villages.

[COLOPHON]

¹Cf. *vardapetut'iwn* (teaching) vs. *patmut'iwn* or *patmabanut'iwn* (historiography). The latter, more appropriate, is found at the beginning of the *History*. The designation *vardapetut'iwn* may be acceptable as a substitute if the text is meant to serve the purpose of learning.

² For the house of T'orgom see above, *Lewond* 34, 15.

³ Lewond wrote his *History* upon the "orders" of Shapuh Bagratuni who was the son of Smbat, the High Constable for the caliph (761-775). See above 34, 4. Shapuh was the brother of Ashot Msaker, the High Constable of Armenia (806-826). Cf. Leo, *Hayots' patmut'iwn*, II, p. 411; Adontz, *patmakan usumnasirut'iwnner*, pp. 58-68. In 783 Shapuh and Ashot bought the district of Arsharunik' from the Kamsarakank' and made their headquarters instead of Dariwnk'. Cf. Asolik, *History*, p. 106. Lewond does not mention Shapuh Bagratuni at any point. We know about Shapuh from Vardan who identifies the two brothers as "the sons of Smbat" who fell at Ardzni in 775. Their mother was a Mamikonean, daughter of Samuel. (*Lewond* ch. 34, n.47). According to Vardan, Ashot Msaker and his brother Shapuh fought against Jahhaf the Ismaelite and captured the districts of Shirak, Ashots'k and Tayk'. Cf. Muyltermans, *La domination*, pp. 57-58, 111. The same historian tells about Shapuh invading "the regions of Dvin and taking much booty". Finally, Vardan reports that "Sevada the Jahhafid (Sawad Ibn Abd ul-Hamid) fought against Ashot and his brother Shapuh with his 4,000 men and Shapuh was killed." The date of Shapuh's death is 824. Muyltermans, *ibid.* 78-79; Adontz, *Op. Cit.* 67f. Shapuh left behind sons of whom only Ashot's name is known. Asolik, *History*, p. 144. Ashot Msaker died in 826. Vardan, Muyltermans, *Op. Cit.* pp. 78f.

⁴ Lord Hamazasp, bishop of the house of Mamikoneank' and the abbot of the monastery of Yovhannavank', near Ashtarak, from 1279-1311. "In

the year 728 (1279) Father Hamazasp became [Abbot of Yovhannavank']", cf. Zak'aria Sarkawag, *Patmut'iwn*, p. 30. The same historian praises Hamazasp as a literary figure who had produced many books. *Ibid.* Lafadaryan has discovered earlier date (1274) for bishop Hamazasp in an inscription on the interior walls of the monastery. Lafadaryan, *Yovhannavank' ew nra ardzanagrut'yunnerĕ*, insc. 56, line 4. Last mention of Hamazasp as the Abbot is found in inscription dated 749 (1300) in the same church. *Ibid.* insc. 16. For more references to Hamazasp Mamikonean found in scattered colophons cf. Y. K'iwrtēan, "Dseļi kam Hamazaspean Mamikoneanneru tunĕ", *Sion* (1970), No. 3-4, pp. 161-164. The present colophon indicates that Hamazasp Mamikonean was the sponsor of the writing of Lewond's text, (MS. No. 1902), and that the same can be safely dated between 1279 and 1311.

⁵ Sargis, the scribe of the Collection (MS. No. 1902). Sargis copied for sure the first two, and most probably all three texts, found in the Collection: Lewond's *History*, *Khratk' Ewagri* (The Admonitions of Ewagr), and *Patmut'iwn Vrats'* (History of the Georgians). A colophon at the end of Ewagr's text (folio 217b) includes the names of both Hamazasp Mamikonean and the scribe Sargis.

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