

# Caucasian Albania



An International Handbook

Edited by  
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## 2 Caucasian Albania in Medieval Armenian Sources (5<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

**Abstract:** The present Chapter<sup>1</sup> gives a concise account of the Armenian historiographical sources (5<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) that refer to Caucasian Albania, its people and its religious and administrative setting. As the primary source on Caucasian Albania and its inhabitants, it deals with the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, attributed to a certain Movses Kalankatuatsi or Daskhurantsi, which was written in Armenian between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries on the basis of a wide variety of sources, both older Armenian accounts and local, presumably also oral, traditions that are otherwise unattested. We first summarise the information given by the Armenian historiographers of the 5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries that may have served as sources for the *History* and then provide an overview of how the *History* itself has left its traces in the Armenian historiography of the subsequent times (up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century). To illustrate this, we compare the narratives about the three most salient figures relating to the time of the Christianisation of Albania, viz. St Elisaeus, St Grigoris and King Urnayr, thus establishing the co-existence of two versions of the respective legends in the *History*, their provenance and their later exploitation.

### 1 Introduction: Albania and its neighbours

#### 1.1 The names of Albania

Caucasian Albania used to be called Ἀλβανία/*Albania* or, more rarely, Ἀλβανίς by Greek and Roman authors.<sup>2</sup> According to Marcus Iunianus Justinus (c. 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE), the Albanians as the inhabitants of the country were supposed to have come along from Mt Albano in Southern Italy together with Hercules when he drove

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<sup>1</sup> The Chapter largely builds upon contents of the introduction to the first edition of the Albanian palimpsests of Mt Sinai by Zaza Aleksidze and Jean-Pierre Mahé (in Gippert et al. 2008: I, vii–xxiv). With their kind permission, the information they had gathered was restructured, updated and extended to meet the requirements of the present Handbook.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Pompey* XLV, 1; Pliny, *Natural History* VII, 98; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* XXXVI, 54; XLIX, 24. Cf. Chapter 1 of this Handbook (Bais) for more details on the classical sources.

the cattle of Geryon from Spain to the Caucasus,<sup>3</sup> thus suggesting an etymology of their name. This, however, is anything but probable; instead, the name *Albani(a)* together with its Armenian counterpart *Ałowank'*, which is fairly close to it,<sup>4</sup> is likely to reflect an Iranian designation of the region at issue. It is true that Albania is not mentioned in the Old Persian list of countries subdued by the Achaemenid king Dareios which is contained in the monumental inscription of Behistun of 522 BCE, in contrast to Armenia which does show up as *Armina* (cf. Table I).<sup>5</sup> However, the Parthian name form *Ardān* which appears, as the equivalent of Greek Ἀλβανία, in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I in the Ka'ba-i Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam (c. 245 CE, cf. Table II and Figures 1–2) suggests an older form *\*aldwān* that may have led to *\*alban-* / *\*alwan-* as well as Middle Persian *A(r)rān*, which yielded Syriac *Aran*, Arabic *al-Rān* (metanalysed from *Arrān*) and, depending on the latter, Georgian *Ran(i)*.<sup>6</sup> The origin of Georgian *her-ni* 'Albanians' and, derived from it, *Her-eti* 'Albania' remains obscure.

**Tab. I:** Armenia in the Old Persian inscription of Dareios.

θāti : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθiya : imā : dahyāva :	Speaks Dareios the King: "These are the coun-
tayā : manā : patiyāiš : vašnā : Auramazdāha :	tries that have come unto me, by the favour of
adam-šām : xšāyaθiya : āham : Pārsa : Ūja :	Ahuramazda I have been their king: Persia,
Bābirauš : Aθurā : Arabāya : Mudrāya : tayai :	Susa (Elam), Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt,
drayahyā : Sparda : Yauna : Māda : Armina :	those by the Sea, Sardis (Lydia), Ionia, Media, Ar-
Katpatuka : Parθava : Zraka : Haraiva :	menia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria,
Uvārazmī : Bāxtriš : Suguda : Gadāra : Saka :	Chorasnia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia,
Θataguš : Harauvatiš : Maka : fraharavam :	Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka: all in all, 23 coun-
dahyāva : 23 :	tries."

3 Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History* XLII, 3: *Cum Albanis foedus percussit, qui Herculem ex Italia ab Albano monte, cum Geryone extincto armenta eius per Italiam duceret, secuti dicuntur, quique memores Italicae originis exercitum Cn. Pompei bello Mithridatico fratres salutavere* (Seel 1972: 285) – "With the Albanians he formed an alliance, a people who are said to have followed Hercules out of Italy, from the Alban mount, when, after having killed Geryon, he was driving his herds through Italy, and who, remembering their Italian descent, saluted the soldiers of Pompey in the Mithridatic war as their brothers" (Watson 1853: 279–280). Cf. Patterson (2002) for the context, and Aleksidze and Mahé in Gippert et al. (2008: I, vii), Braund (1994: 20 with n. 83), and Chapter 1 of this Handbook (Bais), 2.3 for this and other myths concerning the Albanians.

4 As a plural formation, Armenian *ałowank'* is primarily the designation of the people which was secondarily transferred to the country.

5 DB I, 13–17 (transcription and translation Jost Gippert); cf. the diplomatic edition in Schmitt (1991: 27) as well as the phonemic transcription and English translation (ibid.: 49).

6 Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-102) for a discussion and Toumanoff (1963: 62) for various etymological hypotheses.

Tab. II: Albania in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I.<sup>7</sup>

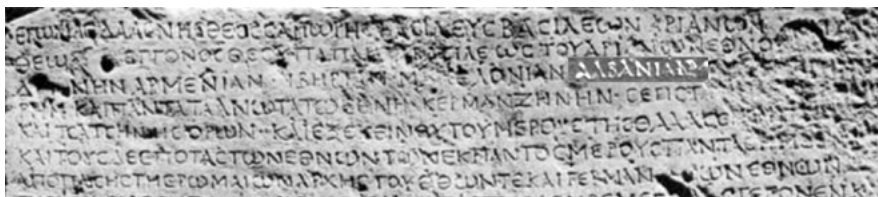
Middle Persian (trl. / trs.)	Parthian (trl. / trs.)	Greek / English
[W-YHSNNm] štry p/šy plwby [hwzstn myš'n 'swrstin nwthštrkn *r'b'ystn 'twrp'tkn 'lmny wlc'n syk'n *l'd'n bl'sk'n OD pl'c OL *kpy *kwp'y W-l'n'n BBA W-hmky *plšhw'ly *kwp'y]	W HšWm hš'tr pl'r's [p'r]hw hwzstn myš'n '[swrstin ntwš'rk'n *r'b'ys]tny 't[r]wpt'kn 'rmny wyl'sn sykn 'rd'n bl'skn HN prhš OL kpy ΘWRA W 'l'n'n TROA W hmk pryšhwr ΘWRA	καὶ κατέχῃω ἐθνη· Περσίδα, Παρθαίαν, Οὐζηλήν, Μησανηήν, Ἀσσυρίαν, Ἀδια- βηνήν, Ἀραβίαν, Ἀδουρβαδηνήν, Ἀρμενίαν, Ἰβηρίαν, Μαχελονίαν, Ἀλβανίαν, Βυρ[ασα(?)]- γηνήν, [ἔως ἐμ]τ[ρ]ισθεν] Κατ' ὅρου καὶ πυλῶν [Ἀλ]αίνων, καὶ ὅλον τὸ Πρεσσοῦαρ ὅρος· And I hold the (following) nation(s): Persia, Parthia, Khuzistan, Meshan, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iberia, Makhelonia, Albania, Burāsagān up to the Caucasus and the Alan Gate, and all the mountain (chain) of Parīšxwār (Elburz).
[ud dārēm] šahr Pārs, Pahlaw, [Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asūrestān, Nōdšīragān, Arbāyestān, Ādurbāyagān, Armin, Wīruzān, Sīgān, Ar(r)ān, Balāsagān tā frāz ō Kaf kōf ud Alānān dar, ud hamag Parīšxwār kōf]	ud dārām [šahr Pjars, *[Par]θaw, Xūzestān, Mēšan, A[sū]restān, Nōdšīragān, Arbāyes]tān, Ādu[r]bādegān, Armin, Wīržān, Sīgān, Ardān, Balāsagān yad fraxš ō Kaf kōf ud Alānān bar, ud hamag Parīšxwār kōf	

<sup>7</sup> Restorations after Huyse (1999: 22–23); cf. also Sprengling (1953: 1–35). Cf. Gippert et al. (2008: I, II-101).





**Fig. 1:** Albania (*Ardān*) in the Parthian version of the trilingual inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam.



**Fig. 2:** Albania (Ἀλβανία) in the Greek version of the trilingual inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam.

The earliest attestation of the Armenian name form *Ałowank'* is found in the work of the historian Agathangelos (5<sup>th</sup> century), in a passage as well referring to pre-Christian times. Here we learn that the Albanians shared a brotherhood in arms with their neighbours, Armenians and Georgians, in the emerging war of 227 CE between the Armenian king Khosrov (II) and the Sasanian ruler Ardashir (I):

But at the start of the next year Khosrov king of Armenia began to raise forces and assemble an army. He gathered the armies of the Albanians and the Georgians, opened the gates of the Alans and the stronghold of Derbent (Chor), brought through the army of the Huns in order to marauder the Persian regions and invade the regions of Assyria as far as the gates of Ktesiphon.<sup>8</sup>

An autochthonous name of Albania has not come down to us.

<sup>8</sup> Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians* 19: Արդ, ի միւս եւս ի գլուխ տարւոյն սկսանէր խոսրով թագաւորն Հայոց գունդ կազմել եւ զօր բովանդակել, գումարել զգօրս Արուանից եւ Վրաց, եւ բանալ զղղունս Ալանաց եւ զձորայ պահակին, հանել զգօրս Հոնաց, ասպատակ դնել ի կողմանս Պարսից, արշաւել ի կողմանս Ասորեստանի, մինչեւ ի դուռնս Տիսփոնի: (Ter-Mkrtchian and Kanayeants 1909: 16); cf. the English translation by Thomson (1976: 37).

## 1.2 Albania and its neighbours

The Christianisation of the South Caucasus in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century brought the three neighbouring kingdoms of Armenia, Iberia (i.e. East Georgia) and Albania even closer together, both strategically and culturally, and thus also determined their common history in the following centuries. This is especially true of the easternmost Armenian provinces of Artsakh and Utik which, after the partition of Armenia by Sasanian Iran and Byzantium in 387, were separated from the Armenian Kingdom and incorporated by the Persians into a new administrative unit, the so-called “Marzpanate of Albania”, which apart of the former state of Albania between the Kura River and the Greater Caucasus also included the tribes living along the Caspian coast. For Albania and Armenia, and to some extent also for Iberia, this meant the beginning of a long epoch of shared history of foreign domination, of constant struggles for liberation from the mostly non-Christian foreign rulers and, not least, of internal quarrels among their own noble families and the leading clergy, for power and supremacy in the South Caucasus and for the “ethnisation” of specific cultural traditions.

Thus, Albania and the Albanians also came into the focus of Armenian chroniclers who, often from their own point of view, emphasised the influence of the Armenians on the Albanians, politically, ecclesiastically and culturally. Indeed, there can be no doubt that Armenian politics, culture and civilisation played a decisive role in the entire history of Caucasian Albania.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Albania, too, had an impact on the culture, the Church and the political autonomy of the Armenians, as Armenian historiography reveals.

It is therefore not surprising that the most important and comprehensive medieval historical source about the Albanians, the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, usually attributed to a certain Movses Daskhurantsi or Kalankatuatsi, was written in Armenian. This text, which can be dated between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, has, on the one hand, incorporated the Armenian chroniclers from the 5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries, blending their information with surviving oral narratives. On the other hand, it has lastingly shaped later Armenian historiography concerning Albania. Therefore we will put the *History* in the centre of the present Chapter, after introducing the Armenian chroniclers Movses used as his sources; in doing so, we will focus in particular on willful distortions or “ethnising” changes of narratives and traditions.

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<sup>9</sup> Hewsen (1982: 27–40); cf. Chapters 3 and 4 of this Handbook (Gippert and Schulze) as to Armenian influences on the Albanian language, literacy, and ecclesiastical literature.

## 2 The early Armenian historiographers (5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries)

One of the most famous medieval Armenian chroniclers, Kirakos Gandzaketsi (1200–1271), provides what is probably the best and shortest summary of Armenian historiography:

Now, the Armenian historians have produced quite a number of works. Among them are the venerable and brilliant Agathangelos [...] who, at the order of the mighty, brave king Trdat, put down the details of events which transpired among the Armenians by the hands of St Gregory the Parthian, the confessor of Christ: deeds, miracles and wonders, and the circumstances of the illumination of the land of Armenia, all in a beautiful and clear narration. After Agathangelos came Movses Khorenatsi, richer in knowledge and wisdom than many holy men of God, who composed the history of the Armenians concisely and carefully beginning with the first man and including the affairs, works and deeds of many peoples from the days of Trdat and St Gregory to the death of St Sahak, patriarch of the Armenians. He concludes with pronouncing a lament over the land of Armenia. After Khorenatsi came the blessed Elishe who narrated the brave deeds of Vardan, St Sahak's grandson, and his companions who in the hope of Christ gave themselves up to death and were crowned by Christ. [...] And then there was the rhetorician, Łazar Parpetsi, who begins with the days of St Sahak and narrates events in the same style. And following him Faustus of Byzantium, who relates what transpired in Armenia between the Iranians and us. And the history of Heraclius, written by bishop Sebeos. And the history of the wonderful Koryun. And Khosrov. And the history of the priest Lewond which is about what Muhammad and his successors did all over the world and especially among the Armenian people. [...]. And Movses Kalankatuatsi, the historian of Albania. And Ukhtanes, bishop of Urfa, who wrote about the separation of the Georgians from the Armenians by Kyrion. And the *vardapet* Stepannos, surnamed Asolik. And the *vardapet* Aristakes called Lastivertsi. And Samuel, the priest from the cathedral of Ani. And the learned and brilliant *vardapet* called Vanakan.<sup>10</sup>

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10 Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *History of the Armenians*, Introduction: Իսկ հայոց ազգի պատմագիրք յոլովք ցուցին աշխատութիւն, որպէս սքանչելի . կորովամիտն Ագաթանգեղոս, որ թարգմանի բարի հրեշտակ, որ եցոյց հրամանալ մեծագոր և քաջ արքային Տրդատայ զհանգամանս իրաց եղելոց առ հայս ի ձեռն սրբոյն Գրիգորի Պարթևի և խոստովանողի Գրիստոսի, զգործս նշանաց և արուեստից և սքանչելագործութեանց, և զպաճառս լուսաւորութեան Հայոց աշխարհիս, զեղեցիկ և պայծառ պատմութեամբ աւարտէ: Եւ զկնի նորա ամենահարուստն գիտութեամբ և մեծն իմաստութեամբ քան զյորովս սուրբ այրն աստուծոյ Մովսէս խորենացի, որ զՀայոց պատմութիւնն շարագրեաց բազմահանճար և յոգնադուռատ բառիւք. համառոտ պատմութեամբ և ընդարձակ մտօք ի նախնի մարդոյն սկսեալ՝ զյրովից ազանց իրս և զգործս և զարարս, բերեալ մինչև յաւուրս Տրդատայ և սրբոյն Գրիգորի և անտի մինչև ցկատարումն սրբոյն Սահակայ հայոց հայրապետի, և զորքն ասացեալ ի վերայ աշխարհիս Հայոց՝ անդանօր դադարեցուցանէ: Եւ յետ նորա սուրբն երիչէ, որ պատմի զքաջութիւն Վարդանայ, թողին սրբոյն Սահակայ, և զընկերաց նորա, որք յուսովն Գրիստոսի զանձինս ի մահ եղին և պատկեցան ի Գրիստոսի, և զարիական մահ սրբոց Յովսեփեանցն, և զկամաւ տալն զանձինս ի կապանս արքունի նախարարացն հայոց վասն յուսոյն, որ ի Գրիստոս, և զհամբերող նահատակութիւն սրբոցն խորհնայ և Աբրահամու, զոր ստուգութեամբ ցուցանէ այլն սքանչելի: Եւ

On the Kingdom of Albania and the Albanians, the early Armenian chroniclers listed by Kirakos provide only sporadic information, and if they do, they usually refer to the same events or persons with more or less variation in their respective accounts. Their testimonies are summarised below in chronological order.

## 2.1 The individual authors and their testimonies

### 2.1.1 Agathangelos

Narrating the life of St Gregory the Illuminator, the *History* by Agathangelos (5<sup>th</sup> century) is of utmost importance for the later traditions and legends about the saint who converted Armenia to Christianity. Albania is mentioned right in the first chapter, in the passage quoted in Section 1.1 above concerning the struggle of the Armenian king Khosrov against the Sasanian ruler Ardashir. Indirectly, the Albanians are also implied in book III, chapter 120 according to which Christianity was spread by St Gregory as far as to the territories of the “Massagetae, to the gates of the Alans, to the borders of the Caspians and to Paytakaran, the city of the Armenian kingdom”.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1.2 Koryun

Koryun (5<sup>th</sup> century), who between 443 and 451 wrote down the *Life* of his teacher Mesrop Mashtots, recorded that in about 422, under the reign of an Albanian king

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ապա Ղազար փարպեցի ճարտասան, սկսեալ յաւուրցն սրբոյն Սահակայ, զնոյն ոճ պատմէ: Եւ զկնի նորա փաւստոս Բիւզանդ, որ զեղեալ իրս պատմի Հայոց աշխարհիս ընդ պարսիկս և ի նոցանէ ընդ մերս: Եւ Հերակլն ի Սեբիոսէ եպիսկոպոսի ասացեալ: Եւ Պատմութիւն սքանչելի առն Կորեան: Եւ Խոսրով: Եւ Ղևոնդ երիցու Պատմութիւն, որ զոր ինչ գործեցին Մահմետ և աթուակալք նորա ընդ աշխարհս ամենայն և առաւել ևս ընդ ազգս Հայոց: Եւ Թովմայ վարդապետն, պատմագիր տանն Արծրունեաց: Եւ Շապուհ Բագրատունի: Եւ տէր Յովհաննէս կաթողիկոս Հայոց: Եւ Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի, պատմագիր Արուանից: Եւ Ուխտանէս եպիսկոպոս Ուռհայի, որ զրեաց զբաժանումն վրաց ի Հայոց ի ձեռն Կիւրիոնի: Եւ Ստեփաննոս վարդապետ մականուն Ասողիկ: Եւ Արիստակէս վարդապետ, կոչեցեալն Լաստիվերտցի: Եւ Մատթէոս վանաց երէց Ուռհայեցի : Եւ Սամուէլ քահանայ կաթողիկէին Անուոյ: Եւ ապա մեծիմաստ և հանճարեղ վարդապետն անուանեալն Վանական: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 6–8); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 3–5).

<sup>11</sup> Agathangelos, *History* 842: ի սպառ ի սահմանս Մասքթաց, մինչեւ ի դրունս Ալանաց, մինչ ի սահմանս Կասպից ի փայտակարան քաղաք արքայութեանն Հայոց: (Ter-Mkrtchean and Kanayeants 1909: 439); cf. the English translation by Thomson (1976: 377).

named *Arsual(ēn)*,<sup>12</sup> son of Vachagan II, Mashtots created the Albanian script and had the Bible translated into Albanian with the help of an Albanian cleric named Benjamin, by whom he was taught the sounds and words of the foreign language he did not speak.<sup>13</sup> In Albania, Mashtots met the bishop of the Albanians, Jeremiah, and their king who both accepted his script, and “bishop Jeremiah soon began the translation of the divine books”.<sup>14</sup> We should notice that Mashtots carefully surrounded himself with local collaborators at each stage of his endeavour. Since Koryun was not aware of the linguistic diversity of Albania, he simply spoke of *Alowan* as if it were a unified language. In fact, although this was obviously not the case, king Arsualen and bishop Jeremiah likely imposed their own vernacular as the official language on the court and the Albanian Church.

### 2.1.3 Faustus of Byzantium

It is mainly due to the testimony of Faustus of Byzantium<sup>15</sup> (5<sup>th</sup> century) that the Albanians became part of the history and tradition on the Christianisation of Armenia. Several, presumably oral, narratives around the Christianisation of Albania are fully integrated into his *History of the Armenians*. This includes the person and the work of St Gregory the Illuminator, but also of his grandson Grigoris, the “Catholicos of the regions of the Georgians (*virk'*) and Albanians (*alowan'*)”,<sup>16</sup> in particular his martyrdom. Of special significance is Faustus' detailed account of the battles of Dzirav (or Bagawan, 371) and Gandzak (also 371) where the Albanian king Urnayr fought on the side of the Sassanid ruler Shapur (II) against a Roman-Armenian alliance including the controversial Armenian

12 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots*, ch. 17: տեսանէր զսուրբ եպիսկոպոսն Աղուանից, որում անունն երեմիա կոչէին. եւ զնոցին թագաւոր՝ որում Արսուաղէն անունն: (Ananean 1964: 60) – “He saw the saintly Bishop of the Albanians whose name was Jeremiah, and their King, whose name was Arsvagh” (Norehad 1985: 41). The king's name is rendered as *Arsval* (with a variant reading *Arsvalē*) in the edition by Abeghyan (1941: 70); it reappears in the form *Արսվաղէն* (*Arsvalēn*) in Movses Khorenatsi's *History of the Armenians* in book III, ch. 54 (1865: 248), as *եսուաղէն* (*Esualēn*) in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* (book I, ch. 15; Emin 1860a: 32 / Thomson 2006: 317), and as *եսվաղէն* (*Esvalēn*) in the *Chronography* by Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi; cf. 4.1.7 below.

13 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots* 16 (Ananean 1964: 57); for the passage in question cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook (Gippert), 1. Cf. Mahé (2005–2007: 81); Winkler (1994: 108–109).

14 Koryun, *Life of Mashtots* 17 (Ananean 1964: 62); for the passage in question cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook (Gippert), 1. Cf. Mahé (2005–2007: 82–83); Winkler (1994: 109–110).

15 The actual meaning of *Buzandaran*, the epithet of P'awstos, is highly debated; cf. Russell (1999: 449).

16 Faustus, *History* III, 6: որ Կաթողիկոսն էր կողմանցն Վրաց և Աղուանից: (1832: 13); cf. the English translation by Garsoian (1989: 72).



Fig. 3: Urnayr and Shapur in the Battle of Dzirav (ms. Berlin, SBB, Or. quart. 805, fol. 212r).

King Pap and the heroic Armenian commander Musheł. Faustus reports: “Then the *sparapet* and commander-in-chief of Armenia, Mušeł, collected the entire Armenian army, more than ninety thousand [men], and made it ready. Now Urnayr, king of Ałuank’, was with the Persian king at the time that Šapuh king of Persia was disposing his forces against Armenian realm and the Greek army”.<sup>17</sup> The scene is depicted in a miniature of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript Or. quart. 805 of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, fol. 212r (see Fig. 3).<sup>18</sup>

### 2.1.4 Movses Khorenatsi

The *History of the Armenians* compiled by Movses Khorenatsi (5<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>19</sup> consists of three parts. While the first one largely concerns legendary events of the prehistory of Armenia, the second relates to the period from 149 CE until the death of St Gregory the Illuminator in about 331 CE, and the third part extends up to the fall of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty in the year 428. In this work, we are told in book II, ch. 84 about a stay of King Trdat in Albania; in III, 3 about the martyrdom of St Grigoris (see below for more details); and in III, 54 concerning the creation of the Albanian script by Mashtots. Khorenatsi’s accounts sometimes contradict those provided by Koryun and other historiographers of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Best known is the peculiar information on the creation of the Albanian script he provides; Movses writes: “With their help he created letters for that guttural, harsh, barbarous and even rough tongue of the *Gargarac’ik*”.<sup>20</sup> The name *Gargarac’ik* is far from being clear in this context. Khorenatsi himself mentions a “plain of the *Gargarac’ik*” where King Trdat IV once fought against the

17 Faustus, *History* V, 4: Ապա զօրավարն սպարապետն Հայոց Մուշեղ ժողուէր զամենայն զօրն Հայոց աւելի ևս քան զընսուն հազար, և կազմէին պատրաստութեամբ: Իսկ իբրև զորահատուցն առնէր Շապուհ Պարսից թագաւորն զգօրս իւր 'ի վերայ աշխարհին Հայոց և 'ի վերայ զօրացն Հունաց, Ռունայր արքայ Ադուանից անդ էր առ թագաւորին Պարսից: (1832: 192); English translation by Garsoïan (1989: 189). Cf. 3.2.2 below for more details as to the battle.

18 Ms. Or. quart. 805 is a miscellany containing 319 folios with 18 different text parts. The miniature pertains to part IX (folios 202–222), “On the Descendants of St Gregory the Illuminator and King Trdat”, which also reports about the heroic deeds of the Armenian general Musheł. The miniature refers to his narrative. Cf. Assfalg and Molitor (1962: 93–96).

19 The actual date of the compilation is much debated; cf. Thomson (2006: XVII), Mahé (1993: 13), Sargsyan (1991: 58–59), Topchyan (2006: 33–35).

20 Movses Khorenatsi, *History* III, 54: Որովք ստեղծ զնշանագիրս կրկորդախօս աղխազուր խժական խեցեկագունին աշորիկ զարգարացոց լեզունին: (1865: 247); English translation by Thomson (2006: 317).

“nations of the north”.<sup>21</sup> The author seems to have located this plain on the left bank of the Kura; however, with *Gargarac’ik* he probably refers not to one particular tribe of Albania but to all the inhabitants of that region. In his book III, ch. 37, Movses further mentions Urnayr, the King of the Albanians, in connection with the battle of the Romans and Armenians against the Sasanian ruler Shapur (II) at Dzirav/Bagawan (cf. 2.1.3 above): “Thus, strengthened by help from above, the Greek and Armenian armies in concert filled the entire plain with corpses of the enemy and pursued all the fleeing survivors. Among these was Urnayr, king of the Ałuank’; he had been wounded by Mushet, son of Vasak Mamikonean, and they removed him from battle”.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.1.5 Elishe

In his *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Elishe (5<sup>th</sup> century) describes the struggle of the Armenians fighting together with the Georgians (Iberians) and the Albanians for their common faith against Sasanian Iran (449–451), a war which culminated in the Battle of Avarayr (451). The three southern Caucasian Christian peoples, led by the Armenian noble Vardan Mamikonean, appeared united against the reintroduction of Zoroastrianism imposed by the Persian king Yazdegerd II (438–457). Such wars of faith were repeatedly conducted on Albanian territory, and the Albanian nobility repeatedly opposed the Sasanian tyranny. Worth mentioning is the narrative of an unnamed Albanian king who, although forcibly converted to Zoroastrianism and tied to the Sasanian royal house as the son of Yazdegerd’s sister and by marriage with the sister or niece of King Peroz (I), even allied with the Massagetae in the fight against the Sasanian king. As Elishe writes, “[t]he Persian king sent another message to him: ‘Have my sister and my niece sent out, for they were originally magi and you made them Christians. Then your country will be yours.’ Now this wonderful man was not fighting for power but for piety. He sent off his mother and wife, completely renounced

21 Movses, *History* II, 85: Իսկ թագաւորն Տրդատ ամենայն Հայաստանօք իջեալ 'ի դաշտ դարձարացոց, պատահէ Հիւսիսականացն ճակատու պատերազմի: (1865: 168) – “King Trdat with all the Armenians descended into the plain of Gargar, and met the northern people in battle” (Thomson 2006: 233).

22 Movses, *History* III, 37: Եւ այսպէս 'ի վերին օգնականութենէն զօրացեալ Հասարակ զօրքն Յունաց և Հայոց, դիակամբք թշնամեաց լցին զդաշտն ամենայն, և զմնացորդսն ամենայն 'ի փախուստ չրջեալ հալածեցին: Ընդ որս և զմուռնայր Աղուանից արքայ, խոցոտեալ 'ի Մուշեղայ որդւոյ Վասակայ մամիկոնենի, հանին 'ի պատերազմէն: (1865: 226–227); English translation by Thomson (2006: 293). Cf. 3.2.2 below for more details concerning the Battle.



the world, took the Gospel and wished to leave his country”.<sup>23</sup> According to Elishe, the unexpected resistance and later abdication of the Albanian king prevented the Persian king Peroz from earlier releasing the Armenian nobles he had taken prisoner. Elishe’s account thus shows for the first time the emergence of legends about Christian Albanian kings.<sup>24</sup>

### 2.1.6 Łazar Parpetsi

The *History of Armenians* by Łazar Parpetsi was written at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Its first book follows Faustus of Byzantium, with the division of Armenia into a Byzantine and a Sasanian part in 387, describes the creation of the Armenian script (the Albanian script is not mentioned here) and the end of the Armenian monarchy in the Sasanian-ruled eastern part of the country (428); it ends with the death of Catholicos Sahak (439). Book II refers mainly to the Battle of Avarayr (451) and often mirrors Elishe’s account. Book III proves that the Albanians (as well as the Georgians) remained faithful allies of the Armenians in spirit and Christian faith, also during another anti-Sasanian uprising (481–484) which was targetted mainly against the harsh religious policies of Yazdegerd II (438–457) and his *hazarapet* (chiliarch) Mihrnerseh. In a one-to-one meeting with Yazdegerd, the latter emphasises the unity of the three Christian Caucasian peoples but concedes the leadership to the Armenians, to be exerted by another member of the Mamikonean family, Vahan. According to Łazar, Mihrnerseh said: “Thereafter that land [Armenia] will be firmly bound to us in affection and unity. When the hearts of the Armenians belong to us, [those of] the Iberians and Albanians will also be ours”.<sup>25</sup> Parpetsi thus underlines the impres-

23 Elishe, *History* 7: Յղեաց առ նա դարձեալ թագաւորն Պարսից: «Զգուրդ իմ, ասէ, և զկեռորդիդ ի բաց տուր ածել, ցի ի բնէ մոգք էին և դու քրիստոնէայ արարեր, և աշխարհդ քեզ լիցի:» Իսկ սքանչելի ալլըն ոչ ի տէրութեանն վերայ կուուէր, այլ յաստուածապաշտութեանն: Զմայրն և զկիինն ետ տանել, և զաշխարհն բովանդակ ի բաց եթող. և ինքն զաւետարանն առ և յաշխարհէն ի բաց կամէր գնալ: (Ter-Minasean 1957: 198–199); English translation by Thomson (1982: 243).

24 The same account is also found in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* (book I, ch. 10) where in contrast to Elishe, the king is named (Vache II): Ապա յղեաց առ Վաչէ թագաւորն Պերոզ՝ «զքորդ իմ, ասէ: և զքեռարդիդ ի բաց տուր ածել, զի ի բնէ մոգ էին և դու քրիստոնէայ արարեր, և աշխարհդ քո քեզ լիցի:» (Emin 1860a: 13) – “Then King Peroz sent a message to Vaçe, saying: ‘Send my sister and my sister’s child back to me, since they were originally Magians, and it was you who made them Christians; then your kingdom shall be yours’” (Dowsett 1961a: 10).

25 Łazar Parpetsi, *History* II, 11: Եւ լինի աշուհեռեւ աշխարհն ընդ մեր սերոտ սիրով և միաբանութեամբ: Եւ յորժամ Հայք սերտիւ մեր լինին՝ Վիրք եւ Արուսեք աշուհեռեւ մեր իսկ են: (Ter-Mkrtchian and Malkhasean 1904: 43); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1985: 69).

sion, already prevailing in Elishe's account, of common Armenian-Georgian-Albanian efforts under Armenian leadership against forced Zoroastrianisation and subjugation to the Sasanian rulership of both the nobility and the clergy.<sup>26</sup>

### 2.1.7 Sebeos

The *History* of Sebeos (7<sup>th</sup> century) contains detailed accounts of the period of the Sasanian supremacy in Armenia up to the Arab conquest in 661. It is historically significant for the information it provides on the history of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610–641), which is divided into two narratives, one on the Byzantine-Sasanian wars (602–628) and one on the Byzantine-Arab conflicts of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In these conflicts, Armenia and Albania were not only theatres of war and the bone of contention between the foreign powers but also allies on one or the other side. Among other facets of the “evil that occurred in the time of Peroz”, Sebeos reports on the “Greek raid into Atrpatakan, their plunder and booty and return through P’aytakaran; the coming of the Persian army from the east to attack them; the battle which [took place] in the land of Ałuank’; the emperor’s return to the city of Nakhchawan and the battle of Archēsh, the return of the emperor back to his own territory; yet another attack against Khosrov; the battle at Nineveh; the raid to the city of Ctesiphon; the return to Atrpatakan; the death of Khosrov; the reign of Kawat; the treaty between the two kings; the abandoning of Greek territory; the return of the divine Cross to the holy city”.<sup>27</sup> In detail Sebeos narrates how Heraclius decided to spend the winter in Albania, arriving from Atrpatakan in 624. On the orders of Khosrov, the Albanian nobles were obliged to abandon Partaw in order to entrench themselves in fortified positions. Heraclius pitched his camp in the province of Utik, and the Persian generals took their stand. In the following battle Heraclius gained advantage. A second time Albania is mentioned for the year 626 when the Khazars, who had just concluded an alliance with Heraclius, threatened to invade the country. Another important account is that of the Arab conquest and the military and cultural-religious pressure they exerted in the region: “They ravaged all the land of Armenia, Ałuank’, and Siwnik’, and stripped all the churches. They seized as hostages the leading

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Chapter 7A of this Handbook (Drost-Abgaryan), 9. as to the “Holy Covenant” stroke up by the three Christian peoples in the period in question.

<sup>27</sup> Sebeos, *History* 7: Բայց զայն ամենայն, որ ի Պերոզի ժամանակն եղեալ չարութիւն (...) Զասպատակն Յունաց յԱտրպատական, զառ և զաւար, և զղարծն ընդ Փայտակարան. Զեկ զաւրացն Պարսից յարեւից զղիմի հարկանել նմա. Զպատեւրազմն որ յաշխարհին Աղուանից: (Abgaryan 1979: 65); English translation by Thomson (1999: 2–3).

princes of the country, and the wives, sons, and daughters of many people”.<sup>28</sup> By about 640, Armenia already witnessed the impact of expanding Islam and took account of the immense military potential of the Arab caliphate. The early Arabs followed the practice of their Iranian predecessors in consolidating most of the southern Caucasus into a large administrative unit called *Arminiya*, which contained Greater Armenia, Iberia and Albania.

### 2.1.8 Anania Shirakatsi

Despite the fact that Anania Shirakatsi (7<sup>th</sup> century) was not a historian in the narrow sense, his *Geography*, the *Ašxarhac’oyc’* (lit. ‘Guide of the World’), which was for long attributed to Movses Khorenatsi, provides a significant description of the historical territories and demarcations of the Southern Caucasus in the pre-Arab period. It presents detailed information about Armenia and the neighbouring territories, Albania, Iberia, and Iran. Anania outlines the Kingdom of Albania as follows: “The twenty-first country, Albania, which is, *Aluank’*, is east of Iberia bordering Sarmatia along the Caucasus and [extending] to the frontier of Armenia along the River Kur. From there [Armenia] to the Kur, all the borderlands have been taken from Armenia”.<sup>29</sup> It is clear that *Albania* here refers to regions north of the river Kura. However, this “heartland” must have extended to regions that were originally associated with the twelfth province of Armenia, *Uti*, as Anania indicates: “Uti is west of the Arax between Arc’ax and the River *Kur*. It has seven districts, which are in the possession of the Albanians”.<sup>30</sup>

### 2.1.9 Lewond

The text that describes in most detail the geopolitical, cultural and religious changes under Arab rule is the *History of the Armenians* by Lewond (8<sup>th</sup> century).

28 Sebeos, *History* 46; և կողոպտեաց զամենայն երկիրն Հայոց, զԱղուանս, զԱլուանիս, և մերկացոյց զամենայն եկեղեցիս: եւ կալաւ պատանդ զգլխաւոր իշխանս աշխարհին և զկանալս և զուստերս և զղստերս բացմաց: (Abgaryan 1979: 153); English translation by Thomson (1999: 150).

29 Anania Shirakatsi, *Geography* IV: ԻԱ. Աշխարհ Աղբանիա, ալսինքն Աղուանք, յելից Վրաց, յերի Սարմատիաոյ առ Կաւկասով, մինչեւ ցՀայոց սահմանաւ, առ Կուր գետով: Թէպէտ եւ աստի ցԿուր զամենայն սահմանս Հանեալ է ՚ի Հայոց: (Soukry 1881: 28–29); English translation by Hewsen (1992: 57).

30 Anania Shirakatsi, *Geography* V: Ժբ. Ուտի առ մտից կա երասխայ ընդ մէջ Արցախայ և Կուր գետոյ: ունի գաւառս զոր Աղուանք ունին: եւթն: (Soukry 1881: 33); English translation by Hewsen (1992: 65A). This information is only provided in the “Short version” of the *Geography*; cf. Hewsen (1992: 65 s. v. xb).

Starting with events that are already mentioned by Sebeos, this account covers the period from c. 632 to 788, including descriptions of the Arab invasions of Armenia in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century, the wars fought by the Caliphate against Byzantium and the Khazars, the settlement of Arab tribes in Asia Minor and the Caucasus, and the overthrow of the Umayyads, as well as information on Arab tax policies, the status of the Armenian Church, and the relation of the Armenian and Arab nobilities. Due to the subject and the period it focuses on, Lewond's *History* does not comprise the narratives from the time after Christianisation that are most relevant for the present Chapter; nevertheless, it vividly describes how the Christian peoples of the South Caucasus suffered under Arab-Muslim oppression and the constant threat of foreign peoples invading. In the context of the inner-Arab war under the Umayyad caliph Abd-al Malik in 686, Lewond states: "During the war which broke out among the Tajiks (Arabs), the Armenians, Georgians and Albanians ceased to pay tribute to them, having been tributary for thirty years. This rebellion lasted for three years".<sup>31</sup> For the South Caucasian peoples, the only way to survive was to steadfastly adhere to their faith and stand together against the foreign powers which threatened them. This was not only true for the Arabs but also for the Khazars who united with them, as Lewond notes: "But it happened that after a short while, the shadow [of the Khazars] which had darkened the country of the Albanians dispelled and [the Khazar leader himself] united with the caliph and [even] sent his son as a hostage to the land of the Syrians".<sup>32</sup>

## 2.2 General observations

As we have seen, the authors of the first four centuries of Armenian literacy clearly depict Albania as a partner and ally of its neighbours, Armenia and (Georgian) Iberia, and yield important insights into its history. At the same time, one can hardly overestimate the historical impact of the geopolitical changes that occurred after the division of Greater Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasa-

31 Lewond, *History* 4.: եւ ի ժամանակի պատերազմի որ ի մէջ Տաճկաց՝ դադարեցին ի հարկատուութենէ նոցա Հայք, Վիրք, Աղուանք, ծառայել նոցա ամս ը: եւ եղև աւուրք ապրստամբութեան նոցա ամբ դ: (1887: 15); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (2006: 6).

32 Lewond, *History* 31.: Իսկ ապա յետ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակի հատուածեալ նոյն վիրադն, որ էաժ ստուերածս ի վերայ երկրին Աղուանից՝ դայր միաբանել ընդ իշխանին իամայելի. Իսկ ապա յետ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակի հատուածեալ նոյն վիրադն, որ էաժ ստուերածս ի վերայ երկրին Աղուանից՝ դայր միաբանել ընդ իշխանին իամայելի: Լ յղեալ յաշխարհ Ասորւոց պատանի զորդի իւր՝ ինքն վաղվադակի վախճանէր սրով մերձ ի դրունս Աղուանից: (1887: 133); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (2006: 30).

nian empire and the following installation of the so-called “Marzpanate”, which implied the extension of Albania by the former Armenian provinces of Artsakh and Utik. Already in 384–387, the two north-eastern provinces of the Armenian kingdom were incorporated into Albania. As to Utik, several documents such as the *Gahnamak* compiled between 387 and 428, a list of Armenian bishops of the same period transmitted in the *History* by the 10<sup>th</sup>-century bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia (I, 70; see 4.1.2 below), as well as the earlier testimonies by Koryun (18, 1) and the *History of the Country of the Albanians* (III, 60) seem to prove that it remained part of the Persarmenian kingdom up to the suppression of the Arsacid Armenian kingdom in 428.<sup>33</sup> However, after 428, Albania proper, Artsakh and Utik were definitely combined into a new Sassanid administrative unit which persisted up to 591, the “Marzpanate of Albania” or Aran, even though Artsakh was probably not incorporated in this administrative province until 451 if Elishe can be trusted who still treats it separately for that time.<sup>34</sup>

Moreover, the ethnic and linguistic structure of the country gradually changed. Between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE and the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, Armenians who had settled on the right bank of the Kura spread their language over the region. Albanian kings of the 5<sup>th</sup> century such as Vache II (458–463) and Vachagan the Pious (485–510) were speakers of Armenian and had close relationships with Armenian nobles. During the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Armenian was imposed as the liturgical language on the Church of Albania. Thus it happened under the caliphate that the southern part of Albania, which neighboured Armenia, remained Christian and Armenian-speaking whereas the northern part, on the left bank of the Kura with easy access to Persia along the Caspian Sea, was finally Islamised.

### 3 The *History of the Country of the Albanians* (7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries)

#### 3.1 The work and its author(s)

The palimpsest fragments in Albanian script and language, detected by Zaza Aleksidze in 1996 in St Catherine’s Monastery on Mt Sinai,<sup>35</sup> contain no historiographi-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hakobyan (1987: 111–113).

<sup>34</sup> Elishe, ch. 4: *Սոյնպէս առնէր և ընդ ամենայն կողմանս ամրականաց աշխարհին, ի Տմորիսն և ի Կորդիսն, յԱրցախ և յԱղուանսն, ի Վիրս և յաշխարհն խաղտեաց* (Ter-Minasyan 1957: 94) – “He acted likewise with the garrisons in all regions of the country, in Tmorik’ and in Kordik’, in Arts’akh and in Albania, in Georgia and in the land of Khaltik’” (Thomson 1982: 146).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Chapter 3 of this Handbook (Gippert) for details.

cal data on the Christianisation or the early Christian centuries of Albania. Therefore, except for the scarce indications scattered about the writings of the Armenian authors of the 5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries listed above, the Armenian compilation entitled *History of the Country of the Albanians* must serve as the primary source of information on the socio-political, cultural and ecclesiastical history of Caucasian Albania, covering the period from the Christianisation of the country in the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards and its relation to Armenia, Georgia, and other surrounding countries under the rule of Byzantium, Sasanian Iran, and the Arab Caliphate. Its importance notwithstanding, this source remained anonymous up to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century when it was ascribed to a certain Movses Daskhurantsi by the Armenian scholar Mkhitar Gosh and a disciple of his named Vanakan Vardapet;<sup>36</sup> however, they do not explain the origin of the compilation or of its author's name. In the same century, the historian Kirakos Gandzaketsi (1200–1271) in his *History of the Armenians* (written between 1241 and 1265) provides a different name for the author, viz. Movses Kalankatuatsi.<sup>37</sup> A few decades later, Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi (1230/35–1297/1300) in his *History of the Armenians* of c. 1289 mentions the author once as “Movses from Albania” (in his list of “Chroniclers”) but later on also as Movses Kalankatuatsi.<sup>38</sup>

The latter name most likely derives from the episode of Heraclius' campaign against the Persians in c. 626, which is reported in book II, ch. 11 of the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. Fleeing from the Khazars, who were allied with

36 Mkhitar Gosh, *Chronicle* (see 4.1.5 below): երկրորդ, զի թէ ոք յօժարեսցի գրել պատմութիւն զկնի գրեցելումն պատմութեանն Մովսէսի Դասխուրանեցոյն՝ որ զբովանդակ պատմէ զտանս Արուանից, զիւրին լիցի յայտմանէ զշար Հայրապետացն առնուլ. զի ոչ զամենեցուն անունն ի նորայն գտցէ պատմութեան, բայց զայնոցիկ զորոց գրեաց. զի յայն ժամանակէ մինչեւ ցայժմ՝ ոչ ոք գրեաց. եւ թէ պատահի ոք՝ յոյժ հարկաւոր է: (Alishan 1901b: 338) – “... secondly, so that whosoever may be inclined to write continuing the history written by Movsēs Daxsurançi, who gives a full account of the House of Albania, may conveniently take the list of patriarchs for he will not find all their names in his [Movsēs'] History, but only those about whom he wrote. For from that time until the present nobody has written, and should somebody come forward, this list will be very necessary” (Dowsett 1958: 476; cf. Bedrosian 2007a: 1). Cf. Arakelyan (1983: 350) and Manandyan and Acharyan (2014b: 605a) who provide the name form Դասախուրանեցի (*Dasaxowranec'i*).

37 Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *History*, Introduction: եւ Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի, պատմագիրն Արուանից (Melik-Ohanjanyan 1961: 7) – “And Movses Kalankatuatsi, the historian of Albania” (cf. Bedrosian 1986: 5). Cf. 4.2 below as to further details.

38 Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, *History*, Patmagirk': Մովսէս Արուանից (Emin 1860b: 23). Ayrivanetsi puts Movses in his list of chroniclers ahead of Lewond and Ukhtanes; later on, however, he dates him between 981–1001 just like the latter and Gregory of Narek: Աստ Արուանից պատմագիրն Մովսէս Կաղանկատուցի և Գրիգոր Նարեկացի և Ուխտանէս պատմագիր: (Emin 1860b: 57 with the name form Կաղանկատուցի, i.e. *Kalankatowc'i*) – “Here the chronicler of the Albanians, Movses Kalankatuatsi, and Grigor Narekatsi and Ukhtanes the chronicler”.

the Byzantines, the inhabitants of Partaw took refuge in the mountains of Ar-sakh. However, “[w]hen the enemy became aware of what had happened, they pursued them and overtook a group of them at the foot of the mountain opposite the large village of Kaghankatuk which is in the same province of Uti where I too am from”.<sup>39</sup> This sentence is ambiguous: did the narrator originate from the district of Uti at large or more precisely from a place named Kalankatuk? If we accept the latter interpretation, we might also ask who is speaking here: is he the (final) compiler of the three books of the *History* or the author of one of its sources? Being an episcopal see, Kalankatuk had grown into an important locality by the time in question. Most often its name appears in different lists (of rulers, church dignitaries, religious buildings) that are inserted into the *History of the Country of the Albanians*.<sup>40</sup> The only passage where the toponym occurs in a narrative part is the one cited above where the narrator talks about his own origin. This might be regarded as an indication that he is not the compiler of the whole book but only the author of the source of the given chapter (II, 10–11).<sup>41</sup>

There is further some evidence that the compiler of the work was Catholicos Movses IV of Albania (987–993), whose name is the last included in the list of Albanian patriarchs that is attached to the end of the *History*. This elusive mention, which closes the list, might somehow be understood as the compiler’s signature. It would, however, not account for either one of the epithets, Daskhurantsi and Kalankatuatsi, for Movses IV is simply introduced as “from the priory of the monastery of Parisos”<sup>42</sup> and not as a native of a village named Daskhuran/Daskhuren or Kalankatuk.<sup>43</sup>

None of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century designations – Movses of Albania, Daskhurantsi, or Kalankatuatsi – seems to have gained full recognition throughout Armenian history. Stepanos Orbelian, who completed his *History of the Province of Siwnik* in 1298, still treats the *History of the Country of the Albanians* as anonymous.<sup>44</sup> It

<sup>39</sup> *History of the Country of the Albanians* II, 11: Իբրև իրազգած եղեն թշնամիքն եղելոցն՝ պնդեցան զհետ փախստէից և հասնալ 'ի մասն ինչ նոցա առ ստորոտով լերինն՝ որ է յանդիման գեղջն մեծի Կարանկատուաց, որ 'ի նմին յիւտի գաւառի՝ յորմէ և ես (Emin 1860a: 107); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 84).

<sup>40</sup> Book I, ch. 26; II, 52; III, 8; and III, 10 (Emin 1860a: 65; 227; 241; 244; Dowsett 1961a: 51; 185; 194; 197–198). Cf. 6.1 (Appendix) with Table III below for a comparison of the list of catholicos with those from Mkhitar Gosh’s *Chronicle* and Kirakos Gandzaketsi’s *History*.

<sup>41</sup> For the much debated question of Movses’s authorship cf., among others, Svazyan (1972).

<sup>42</sup> *History of the Country of the Albanians* III, 23: Տէր Մովսես, ամս վեց, յառաջնորդութենէն փարիսոյ վանաց: (Emin 1860a: 278); cf. the English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 231).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Dowsett (1961a: XIX)

<sup>44</sup> Stepanos Orbelian, *History*, 25: Զորոյ գորախտութիւն անցիցն և զպատճառս բանիցն, որպէս վերադոյն խոստացաք, բացայայտեցից սակաւութեք, որպէս հաւաստի ուսաք ի սրբոյն Ուխտանէսէ՝ Սեբաստացոց եպիսկոպոսէ, և ի սրբոյն Սաղօմօնի՝ Մաքենոցաց առաջնորդի թղթոյն, որ կարգեալ է

seems that even the manuscripts of the work itself do not contribute to a clarification.<sup>45</sup> The oldest preserved witness, ms. 1531 of the Matenadaran, Yerevan (dated 1289), does not name the author at all.<sup>46</sup> The earliest mention of Movses Kalankatuatsi as an author can be found in ms. 2646 of the Matenadaran, written by a scribe named Ghunkianos in Ejmiatsin.<sup>47</sup> Some thirty years before, manuscript 75 of the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias (dated to c. the 18<sup>th</sup> century) still avoids any precise ascription; however, it surprises with its textual completeness and the lack of any additions or changes to the text.<sup>48</sup>

The *History of the Country of the Albanians*, consisting of three books, follows the model of the historiographies of its time, beginning in its first book (30 chapters) with the creation of Adam and extending up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. It contains some chapters on the spread of Christianity in Albania, the deeds of King Vacha-

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յԱղվանից պատմութեանն ի միջին հատորն, և ի սրբոյն Մաշտոցի թղթոյն, զոր գրեալ է ի Տեառն Գէորգեայ կաթողիկոսի խնդրոյն: (Shahnazareants 1859: I, 142) – “I shall briefly summarise the facts and causes of these developments, as I promised, relying on the accurate [writings] of the blessed Ukhtanes, bishop of Sebastia, the letter of blessed Solomon, leader of the Makenots [monastery] which we found in the middle volume of the *History of the Albanians*, and from the letter of the blessed Mashtots written at the request of the catholicos Lord Georg” (cf. Bedrosian 2015: 55).

45 For an overview of the manuscripts available at their time, cf. Dowsett (1961a: XI–XIII) and Arakelyan (1983: XXXV–XLIII).

46 Cf. Yeganyan (2009: 355–366): M1531, Miscellany, 1289, Hovhannavank, folios 231a–377a. The scribe’s main colophon, added on behalf of the manuscript’s restauration in 1676, just mentions an *Աղուանից Պատմագիր*, i.e., a “Chronicler of the Albanians” (fol. 377a). Cf. Arakelyan (1983: XXXV).

47 Cf. Ter-Vardanean (2012b: 915–920): M2646, Movses Kalankatuatsi’s *History of the Albanians*, Ejmiatsin, 1760–61, scribe Ghunkianos Dpir for Catholicos Yakob. The main colophon on fol. 165b reads *Պատմութեանն Աղուանից աշխարհին, զոր շարադրեալ է քաջ գիտնական եւ գերիմաստ վարդապետն Մովսէս Կաղանկատեցի* – “*History of the Country of the Albanians*, which was composed by the strong scholar and ingenious vardapet Movsēs Kalankateci” (sic!). Cf. Arakelyan (1983: XXXVII).

48 Cf. Arakelyan (1983: XXXVI). Arakelyan refers to a microfilm (no. 180) obviously of ms. 54 from Surmēyan’s catalogue of manuscripts from the Church of the 40 Martyrs and private holdings in Aleppo, compiled in 1835–36 (Surmēyan 1836: 150–151). According to Arakelyan, the anonymous and undated manuscript, which can be dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was later brought to the Library of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias, where it was included in the catalogue of Armenian manuscripts of 1984 under number 75 (Danielean 1984: 294). Somewhat confusing is the slightly different description of the manuscript given by Arakelyan from both catalogues; according to fol. 48a it is a copy of a “History of the Eastern state of Albania” (*պատմութիւն արեւելիցս Աղուանից նահանգիս*) copied by an anonymous scribe for, as stated on fol. 47b, “the fortunate patriarch Tēr Abraham, Catholicos of all Armenians” (*եղջանիկ հայրապետն Տէր Արքահամ կաթողիկոսն ամենայն Հայոց*; Danielean 1984: 294). Due to the fact that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were two catholicos named Abraham, Abraham II Khoshabetsi (1730–1734) and Abraham III Kretatsi (1734–1737), Arakelyan dates the manuscript between 1730 and 1737.



gan III the Pious, and the canons promulgated at the Council of Aḡuen.<sup>49</sup> Book II (52 chapters) covers the period between the mid-6<sup>th</sup> and mid-7<sup>th</sup> centuries and refers to events such as the Khazar invasions, the Byzantine-Persian wars, and the establishment of new rulers and dynasties in Albania, all of which can be considered reasonably authentic. It also contains the narrative about the Albanian prince Juansher and the funeral elegy written for him by the poet Dawtak Kertol. Book III tells almost exclusively about the Arab invasion and extends into about the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup>

Trying to fit the events that are depicted in the *History* into the actual historical framework may reveal certain discrepancies between the individual books and chapters – and thus perhaps between different authors.<sup>51</sup> The last chapters of the *History* recall events of the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century such as King Smbat I of Armenia's martyrdom in 914/5 or the Russian attack launched on Partaw in about 944.<sup>52</sup> The mention of (Yovhannes) Senekerim, son of Sewaday (Ishkhan) and king of Siwnik in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (1072–1096), in book III, ch. 22<sup>53</sup> must clearly be considered a later addition to the compilation if it was completed before 1000.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the patriarchal list was eventually updated by Mkhitar Gosh, an author of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to all this, it seems that the first two books of the *History* date back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century and not to the 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

It has sometimes been proposed that the earliest sources of the *History* might be based on fragments of a historiographical work in Albanian that was translated into Armenian.<sup>57</sup> This is especially true for the *Life of Vachagan the Pious*,<sup>58</sup> which seems to be the most ancient core of book I comprising its chapters 15–

49 Cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 3.2 for details as to the council.

50 Hacıkyan (2002: 170).

51 Cf. Thomson (2014: 307): “But insight into the problematics of authorship where such complexities of variant traditions exist has not been rigorously applied elsewhere. The compilation of the traditions that form the *History of the Aḡuank'* attributed to Movsēs Kalankatuac'i, or Dasxuranc'i, for example, poses not dissimilar problems”.

52 Cf. Emin (1860a: 269–270), Dowsett (1961a: 223–224). For the historical sources on the martyrdom of the Armenian king Smbat cf. Garsoïan (1997b: 157).

53 Cf. Emin (1860a: 273); Dowsett (1961a: 227). For further information on king Senekerim of Siwnik cf. Minorsky (1953: 72) and Chapter 14 of this Handbook (La Porta).

54 Cf. Dowsett (1961a: 227 n. 1) with reference to Brosset (1864 :183).

55 Cf. Arakelyan (1983: 350–357)

56 Aleksidze and Mahé (in Gippert et al. 2008: I, xi) second the conclusions of C. Zuckerman (2007: 399–432).

57 Cf. Hakobyan (1987: 150–258); Hewsen (1982: 27–40).

58 Vachagan III the Pious was the last Arsacid king of Albania; cf. Hakobyan (2021b: 239–248).

26<sup>59</sup> and must have been written after the death of this famous king of Albania, i.e. after 510. However, like his grandfather Vache II (457–463), Vachagan's reign was characterised by a gradual Armenisation of his kingdom. Thus, it seems plausible that this narrative was written in Armenian right from the beginning.<sup>60</sup> The sources of book II are even later: the *History of Catholicos Viroy* in ch. 14–15<sup>61</sup> must have been completed by about 640; *Juansher's Panegyric*, ch. 18–28,<sup>62</sup> cannot go back beyond 670, i.e. ten years before the murder of this prince (the compiler even inserted the *Lamentation* which was written for his funeral by the poet Dawtak); and the mission of Bishop Israyel of the Huns, ch. 29–45,<sup>63</sup> cannot have taken place before 684. Moreover, the first two books of the *History* must have had common sources such as the *Life of Bishop Israyēl* which appears in both of them (book I, ch. 27–30 and book II, ch. 29–45). In contrast to this, book III is quite independent from the two previous books.

We might thus wonder whether the final composition of books I–II should at all be ascribed to the same author as that of book III or whether another chronicler had written books I–II earlier by combining local sources of the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries with various materials borrowed from Armenian historians. The systematic use of the work of Movses Khorenatsi, e.g., suggests that the chronicler of the two initial books had completed his work by the 8<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, we might notice that, according to Stepanos Orbelian's account, an excerpt from the *History of the Albanians* which matches book I, ch. 9 of the latter work, was read publicly in the presence of the prince of Khachen in c. 949 by the Armenian Catholicos Anania I Mokatsi (949–968).<sup>64</sup> Similarly, in ch. LXIV of his own work,

59 Emin (1860a: 32–69); Dowsett (1961a: 24–54).

60 Cf. Chapter 11 of this Handbook (Petrosyan), 4. as to the reforms initiated by Vachagan the Pious.

61 Emin (1860a: 92–131); Dowsett (1961a: 92–104).

62 Emin (1860a: 136–160); Dowsett (1961a: 109–130).

63 Emin (1860a: 160–211); Dowsett (1961a: 130–171).

64 Stepanos Orbelian, *History*, 52: Խնդրէր ապա կաթողիկոսն Անանիա զպատմութիւնն Աղվանից զի գիտացցեն զորպիսութիւնն Աղվանից ամբողջապէս, և նոքա թաքուցեալ ամենևին ոչ ցուցանէին: Ապա ըստ վերին խնամոցն, ի գիշերի պաշտամանն դնէ եկեղեցապանն Գանձասարու գիրք մի որպէս թէ Յովհաննու Ոսկեբերանի է. եւ մեծարեն զկաթողիկոսն յընտելոնու. զոր եւ բացեալ եգիտ զոր խնդրէրն, զի էր պատմութիւնն Աղվանից. եւ էր ի նմա գրեալ ամենայն ճշդիւ զի առաջին եպիսկոպոս յԱղվանս ի սրբոյն Գրիգորոյ՝ Հայոց լուսաւորչեն, լինէր ձեռնադրեալ ի խնդրոյ Ուռնայրի՝ Արքային Աղվանից: (Shahnazareants 1859: II, 22). – “Catholicos Anania requested the *History of the Albanians* so that they might observe the status of the Albanian pontiffs. But they resolutely hid [this book] from him and would not show it. However, through providence from the Highest during the evening service, the warden of Gandzasar brought forth a book as though it were of John Chrysostom, and they invited the Catholicos to read it. Now when he opened it, he found that it was the book he had requested, namely, the *History of the Albanians*. In it everything was accurately recorded about how the first bishop of the Albanians received ordination from

Ukhtanes (writing c. 987) repeats information from book II, ch. 47 of the *History of the Country of the Albanians*.<sup>65</sup> We thus arrive at the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century as a *terminus ante quem* for the compilation of the initial books; a date that does not differ from that assumed for the completion of book III. The question of both the authorship and the dating must therefore remain open.

### 3.2 Accounts of the Christianisation of Albania in the *History*

Just as the other two kingdoms of the Southern Caucasus, Armenia and Iberia, Albania is believed to have undergone two successive stages of Christianisation: a first one in the apostolic age and a second one in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> However, those remote times are not documented as such in our historical sources, being only dimly evoked in the background of more recent events. On the one hand, the preserved texts briefly sum up hagiographic legends known by oral tradition; on the other hand, they revise these legends in accordance with Armenian historiography. In order to illustrate the interweaving of older Armenian chroniclers' accounts with important socio-historical and ecclesiastical changes and, at the same time, ethnicising tendencies in both written and oral traditions, the following discussion will focus on the information of the *History of the Country of the Albanians* about three important persons from the early Christian history of Albania, regardless of whether they are legendary or historically verifiable: the "apostle" St Elisaeus, King Urnayr of Albania, and the first Catholicos, St Grigoris.

#### 3.2.1 Two versions of the legend of St Elisaeus

The first illuminator of the Albanians is supposed to have been St Elisaeus (*Elīšē* or *Elīša*), who is reported to have been sent to Albania from Jerusalem by James,

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St Gregory, the Illuminator of the Armenians, at the request of King Urnayr of the Albanians, and how for 440 years they obeyed the occupants of the see of the Armenians [and] how the Albanian Catholicos received ordination from the Armenians" (cf. Bedrosian 2015: 146). Cf. Dowsett (1961a: XV); Akinean (1953: 13–15).

<sup>65</sup> Ukhtanes, *History* 64: Իսկ ապա նոցա տեսեալ զԱղուանս միաբան ընդ Հայոց ի հաւատս ուղղափառութեան ի սկզբան սրբոյն Գրիգորէ և այսր: Քանզի խնդրեալ էին իւրեանց Առաջնորդ զերանելին Գրիգորիս ի զարմից սրբոյն Գրիգորի: (1871: II, 121) – "They further realized that the Albanians were united with the Armenians in the profession of the orthodox faith, which was formerly received from St. Gregory and was being held up to this time, since they had asked the blessed Grigoris, a descendant of Gregory, to become their prelate" (Arzoumanian 2008: 123).

<sup>66</sup> Mahé (2002: 118–121).

the brother of the Lord.<sup>67</sup> There are two different versions of the story, however. The first one is mentioned only incidentally in the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, on the occasion of an epistolary debate involving the Armenian Catholicos Abraham (607–615) about the nine hierarchical ecclesiastical ranks. The first attestation of this hierarchical system of the Armenian Church is found in a quotation from a Letter of Solomon Makenatsi,<sup>68</sup> which is mentioned in book II, ch. 48 of the *History*<sup>69</sup> and is repeated later in the work of Stepanos Orbelian.<sup>70</sup> This letter presents a clear picture of the degrees which the Armenians had supposedly established under the pontificate of Abraham I at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century in response to the claim of the Greeks that the leader of their Church was not authorised to bear the title of a patriarch.<sup>71</sup> In reaction, the Albanians defend the supremacy of their own patriarchate, which Catholicos Abraham had already mentioned in his circular letter,<sup>72</sup> referring to “a certain apostle who came in ancient times to Albania, Eliša by name, one of the disciples of the Lord who was consecrated by James, brother of the Lord, and who preached there and built a church before there was one in Armenia, namely, the church of Gis, the first mother church of the east. Putting their trust in him, the Albanians turned from the Armenians in order to be subject to no one’s authority”.<sup>73</sup> Other brief mentions of the same version of the legend can be found in book I, ch. 28 and book II, ch. 42 of the *History*.<sup>74</sup>

In the second version of the legend, which was obviously elaborated under Armenian influence quite some time later than the first one, Elisaeus is a disciple of the apostle (Jude) Thaddaeus. This version can be read in book I, ch. 6 of the *History*:

He sent his holy and beloved disciples as preachers throughout the world, and the holy apostle Thaddaeus was appointed for us easterners. He came to the Armenian canton of Artaz and there suffered martyrdom at the hands of Sanatruk, king of Armenia, and his disciple St. Eliseus returned to Jerusalem and related the enviable martyrdom of his fellow

67 Cf. Garsoian (1999: 286–287).

68 A learned Armenian clergyman of the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century who founded the monastic school of Makenyats; cf. Van Esbroeck (1969: 33–44).

69 Emin (1860a: 215–219); Dowsett (1961a: 175–176).

70 Cf. note 44 above for the quotation.

71 Cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 5.1.

72 Encyclica of Catholicos Abraham, cf. *Girk* (1901: 189–195).

73 *History*, book II, ch. 48: Զալլ ոմն երևցուցին կանխաւ առաքեալ եկեալ յաշխարհն Աղուանից: եղիչէ անուն, յաշակերտաց Տեառն՝ ձեռնադրեալ ՚ի ձեռանէ Յակոբոս եղբոր Տեառն. Քարոզեալ անդ և եկեղեցի շինեալ նախկին քան ՚ի Հայոս, առաջին մալր եկեղեցեացն արևելից՝ զԳիսոյ եկեղեցին նորին հիմադրեալ և զինքեանս նմա աւանդեալ՝ դարձան ՚ի Հայոց առ ինքեանս՝ չլինելով ընդ ումնք իշխանութեամբ: (Emin 1860a: 218); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 176–177).

74 Emin (1860a: 72; 207); Dowsett (1961a: 56; 168).

apostle. Thereupon he was ordained in the Holy Spirit by St. James, the brother of Our Lord, who was the first patriarch of Jerusalem. He received the east as his diocese, travelled from Jerusalem via Persia, and escaping from the Armenians, penetrated among the Mask'ut'k'. He commenced his preaching in Čolay, and attracting many disciples in many different places, announced the Salvation. From there he arrived at the town of Srhařn in the province of Uti with three disciples, some of whose wicked brothers had pursued them. One of the disciples was martyred by them and the other two deserted the blessed Eliseus and followed the murderers, but the holy patriarch came to Gis, he founded a church there and offered up bloodless sacrifices. This place was the original source of all the churches and cities and the conversion of us easterners. From there he crossed the plain of Zargun to the site of the sacrificial altars of the heathen idolaters and there he received the martyr's crown. It is not clear who did the deed. The murderers threw the holy remains into a ditch in the place called Homenk', where they lay hidden for a long time.<sup>75</sup>

Both narratives agree that Elisaeus had been consecrated in Jerusalem by James, the Lord's brother, and founded the mother church of Gis as the first patriarch of Albania. This is the fixed part of the tradition: the fact was so notorious that it could not possibly be altered or denied. However, according to the first version, the illuminator of the Albanians was a disciple of Christ himself and was sent to the East directly from the Holy Land. Thus he would not owe anything to the Armenians. On the contrary, in the second variant, Elisaeus first becomes a disciple of Thaddaeus in Armenia and an eyewitness of his teacher's martyrdom before he receives apostolic unction. As a result, the Christianisation of Albania no longer depends on Jerusalem directly but is a mere consequence of Thaddaeus' preaching in Armenia. Accordingly, the Albanian church, as a daughter of the Armenian one, can only be a tributary of her mighty neighbour.

While the first version only specifies the start and end points of Elisaeus's mission – from Jerusalem to Gis –, the second one describes a tortuous itinerary

<sup>75</sup> *History* I, 6: եւ զսուրբ և զցանկալի աշակերտս իւր առաքեաց քարոզս տիեզերաց, որով և մերոզս արևելեայց վիճակցաւ սուրբ առաքեալն Թադեոս: Սա եկեալ 'ի Հայս յԱրտագ գաւառ՝ անդ առնու զվախճան մարտիրոսութեան 'ի Սանատրկոյ արքայէն Հայոց: Եւ աշակերտ նորա սուրբն եղիլա դառնայ յերուսաղէմ և պատմէ ըզտեռնալի նահատակութիւնն առաքելակցացն նորա: Անդանոր յազգմանէ Սուրբ Հոգւոյն ձեռնադրի եղիլա 'ի ձեռաց սրբոյն Յակոբայ եղբոր Տեառն, որ էր առաջին հայրապետ երուսաղէմի: Եւ վիճակ առեալ իւր զԱրևելս՝ ճանապարհ արարեալ յերուսաղէմէ ընդ Պարսս, մտնալ 'ի Մացքութիւն՝ խոյս տուեալ 'ի Հայաստանեայց, և սկիզբն առնէ քարոզութեան 'ի Չողա, և 'ի տեղիս տեղից զբազումս աշակերտեալ՝ ծանոց զիրարմիւն: Անտի եկեալ յԱտի գաւառ՝ 'ի Սրհառն քաղաք երիւք անձամբք աշակերտելովք, որոց ահօրէնք ոմանք զկնի եկեալ՝ մի յաշակերտացն ընկալաւ 'ի նոցանէ զնահատակութեան վախճան, և երկուցն թողեալ զերանելին եղիլա գնացին զկնի խողխողիչ արանցն: Իսկ սուրբ հայրապետն՝ եկեալ 'ի Գիս, կանգնեաց զեկեղեցի և մատուց զանարիւն պատարագն: Եւ անտի անցեալ ընդ դաշտակն Զերզուռի՝ ի տեղի զոհարանի դիցամոլ կռապաշտիցն՝ անդ էառ զնահատակութեան պատկն: Եւ անյայտ իմն է, եթէ յորում եղև ելք իրացն: Եւ անդէն 'ի գուր մի մահապարտաց ընկեցան պատուական նշխարքն և ծածկեցան 'ի տեղտեղն, որ կոչի Հոմէնք, 'ի բազում ժամանակս: (Emin 1860a: 8–9); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 5–6).

from Artaz to Jerusalem, then to the land of the Mazkut, Choł (Derbent), the district of Uti, the city of Srhařn, and finally Gis in the plain of Zargun (Zergoyñ) where the apostle was martyred. In the first case, we receive the impression that Albania is Christianised at once, as a homogeneous country; in the second the complexity of the route suggests a heterogeneous territory, a conglomerate of distinct provinces that were quite different from one another. Similarly, the list of Albanian patriarchs in book III, ch. 23, which must have been compiled after the death of Movses IV in 993, introduces Elisiaeus as the illuminator not only of the Albanians but of no less than three different “countries”, Choł (Chor), that of the Lpink (Lupineans), and Albania.<sup>76</sup> The first two territories are clearly located north of the Kura, at the Caucasian limits of the ancient Albanian kingdom. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, however, what is still called “Albania” is located south of the Kura and consists of several principalities submitted to the Catholicos of Albania. The second variant of Elisiaeus’s legend must all the more be recent as it was adapted to the geopolitical changes of 428, 451 and later. Indeed, the mention of Uti shows that the tradition was elaborated at a time when this district had already been annexed to Albania, i.e. after 428.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, James is labelled “the first Patriarch of Jerusalem” here, a title which did not exist before 451.

### 3.2.2 The conversion of Urnayr, king of the Albanians

A “long time after” the alleged martyrdom of the apostle Elisiaeus in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, Albania was Christianised “a second time” by King Urnayr, an event that is usually dated to 313. This tradition is particularly widespread throughout the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. We first read about it in book I, ch. 11, in a letter sent in c. 463 by the Armenian patriarch Giwt Arahezatsi (461–478) to King Vache II of Albania:

I begin where it is meet to begin, namely, with an account of how first of all love of Christ dwelt in your forefather Urnayr who vied in heavenly zeal with Trdat, king of Armenia, and who, when he heard of the great miracles of God, the signs and wonders which were performed by St. Gregory in the land of the Armenians who straightway turned from the

<sup>76</sup> History III, 23: Սուրբն եղիշայ՝ աշակերտ սուրբ առաքելոյն Թադէոսի, որ ձեռնադրեցաւ յերուսալէմ 'ի ձեռաց Յակոբայ: Սա եկն լուսաւորիչ երկից աշխարհացս՝ Չորայ, Լփանց և Աղուանից, և 'ի սուն կատարեցաւ վկայութեամբ: (Emin 1860a: 274) – “The first cause of our illumination was St. Elishay, a disciple of the holy apostle T'adeos, who was consecrated in Jerusalem by St. James; he came as the illuminator of three countries – Čolay, Lp'ink', and Albania – and was martyred in the last country” (Dowsett 1961a: 228).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. 2.2 above as to details.

paths of error and in true knowledge of God threw off the burdensome yoke of the heathens and were alleviated and awakened, and spreading their wings, soared up to Heaven. Hearing of this, the brave Urnayr did not hesitate; the great king sent no messenger, but went in person accompanied by his grantees and nobles and numerous forces, arrived in Armenia and came into the presence of the king of gigantic strength. He received him in brotherly love and friendship, placed himself at his disposal, and revealed to him the inward and outward mysteries in the company of St. Gregory and the whole Armenian army. Your king humbled himself, falling down and embracing their hands and feet, and related all the errors of the heathens and confessed his own past sins committed in ignorance. St. Grigorios encouraged him with the coming of the Incarnation of the Son of God, who came to forgive and not to judge, to give life and not to bring death, and promised life to those who had passed from the earth. When your king heard all this, he and his soldiers imposed upon themselves a forty-day fast, renouncing their former blameworthy deeds. On the fiftieth day, when they had rejected Satan and all his works and confessed the Holy Trinity, the king descended into the most holy water and all his soldiers with him. And when the chief priest had performed over them the rite of rebirth in the Heavenly Trinity, all emerged accompanied by the Holy Ghost. On the same occasion there was given to them a blessed man consecrated bishop from the city of Rome (Constantinople) who had come with King Trdat. With these heavenly gifts King Urnayr came back to the land of the Albanians, and taught and confirmed them through the apostolic canons; all received the heavenly seal [of baptism] and were inscribed in the Book of Life.<sup>78</sup>

78 *History I*, 11: ... և սկսանիմ ուստի արժանն է սկսանել: Որպէս յառաջագոյն սէրն Քրիստոսի բնակեաց 'ի նախնին ձեր մօտնայր, նախանձ երկնատր եբեր ընդ Տրդատայ Հայոց արքայի՝ իբրև լուսազբեծաբեծ սքանչելիսն Աստուծոյ, որ 'ի ձեռն Սրբոյն Գրիգորի նշանք և արուեստք գործեցան յաշխարհին Հայոց՝ դառնալ վարդապետի սոցա 'ի բազում շաւղաց մոլար ճանապարհին առ ճշմարիտն Աստուած, որոյ ծանօթութեամբ և բարեկամութեամբ 'ի բաց ընկեցին զծանրատաղտուկ զլուծն հեթանոսաց, թեթևացան, թօթախեցան, թևակոխեցան, թռեան և յերկինս ճախրեցին: Զայս լուեալ քաջին Ուռնայրի ոչ գլացաւ և ոչ դադարեաց և ոչ 'ի ձեռն ծառայկան հրեշտակի, այլ ինքնին մեծ թագաւորն մեծամեծօք, նախարարօք և բազմագունդ զօրաւք գայր հասանէր յաշխարհ Հայոց, յանդիման լինէր հսկալագոր թագաւորին: Իսկ նորա եղբայրաբար սիրով և բարեկամութեամբ ընկալեալ՝ զբոլոր զինքն առաջի առնէր նմա, զներքին և զարտաքին խորհուրդս մերկանայր և դնէր առաջի նոր հանդերձ սրբովն Գրիգորի և ամենայն բազմութեամբ զօրացն Հայոց: Խոնարհէր թագաւորն ձեր, անկանէր և պատէր զստիւք և զձեռօք, պատմէր զամենայն մոլորութիւնս հեթանոսաց և խոստովան լինէր վասն սգիտագործ մեղացն անցելոց: Քաջալերէր զնոսա սուրբն Գրիգորիոս՝ 'ի գալուստ մարմնաւորութեան Որդուսն Աստուծոյ, որ 'ի թորութիւն եկն և ոչ 'ի դատապարտութիւն, 'ի կեցուցանել և ոչ 'ի մեռուցանել, և յառաջանցելոցն 'ի հորոյ կեանս խոստացաւ: Զայս ամենայն իբրև լսէր թագաւորն ձեր՝ ինքն և ամենայն զօրքն որ ընդ նմա զաւուրս քառասուն պահոց աւանդէին զանձինս իւրեանց, 'ի բաց հրաժարելով յառաջին ըստ գտանելի գործոց: Եւ յաւուրն յիսնեորդի իբրև ուրացան 'ի սաստանայէ և յամենայն գործոց նորա և խոստովանեցան զՍուրբ երրորդութիւնն՝ էջ թագաւորն յամենասուրբ Յուսն և ամենայն Զօրքն ընդ նմա: Եւ կատարեաց զնոսա քահանայապետն 'ի վերստին ծնունդ յերկնատր յորդեգրութիւնն, և ելին ամենեքեան լցեալ Հովուին Սրբով: 'Ի նմին ժամնակի չնորհեցաւ նոցա այր մի երանելի՝ ձեռնադրեալ յեպիսկոպոսութիւն 'ի Հռովմ քաղաքէ, որ եկեալ էր ընդ Տրդատայ արքային: Այսու երկնատր բարեօք լցեալ՝ եկն Ուռնայր արքայ եմուտ յաշխարհ Արուսեմից, ուսոյց և կատարեաց զնոսա առաքելական կանոնօք, ընկալան ամենեքեան զգրոյշմն երկնատր և գրեցան 'ի ժառանգութիւն երկնատր: (Emin 1860a: 15–16); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 11).

There is no reason to challenge the authenticity of this letter. The author swamps Urnayr's story with rhetorical expressions which seem quite consonant with Łazar Parpetsi's portrait of Catholicos Giwt, who was "full of science in Armenian and even more in Greek".<sup>79</sup> It does not matter here whether it was written before or after Vache abdicated the throne and retired as a monk in 463. The text sounds more like a paraenesis than a precise request: the Armenian Catholicos does not aim at extending the jurisdiction of his national Church onto Albania. He does not even try to encourage Vache or to comfort him. He just exalts his heroism as an example for all the Christians of the Caucasus.

Long before the compilation of the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, Armenian chroniclers of the 5<sup>th</sup> century narrate about king Urnayr in a somewhat historically more tangible way. In about 451, Agathangelos reports in his *History* that Trdat had spread out Christianity far beyond his own kingdom "to the very borders of the Massagetae, to the gates of the Alans, to the borders of the Caspians".<sup>80</sup> On this basis, it was perhaps tempting for later chroniclers to conclude that Urnayr, the first Christian king of Albania, had been Trdat's contemporary. Historically unfounded, the legend of Urnayr and Trdat seems to draw its origin from the mention of "a holy man (named) Thomas, from the small city of Satala", whom Gregory the Illuminator sent to Albania according to the *Life of Gregory*,<sup>81</sup> which was likely written between 405 and 428 by order of Patriarch Sahak Partew to justify his new fitting out of the churches in Vagharshapat.<sup>82</sup> Since Satala was a city of Armenia Minor, it belonged to the suzerainty of the Romans. Therefore the anonymous "blessed man from Rome" of Giwt's letter may well be Thomas of Satala. It should be noted, however, that our source does not style him a "bishop" but simply a "holy man".

Relying on the information given by Faustus of Byzantium in his book V, ch. 4, it rather seems that Urnayr was a contemporary of King Pap of Armenia (370–374/5), who reigned four generations after Trdat IV (298–330) had been converted by St Gregory.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, in about 371 the Albanian king took part, on the

79 Łazar Parpetsi, *History* 62: այլ լի գիտութեամբ հայովս եւ առաւելեալ յունիսն (Ter-Mkrtchian and Malkhasean 1904: 110); English translation by Thomson (1991: 162).

80 Agathangelos, *History* III, 120.8; cf. n. 11 above for the quotation. Cf. Aptsiauri (1987).

81 *Vita graeca* 170 (Garitte 1946: 102).

82 Cf. Mahé (2007: 163–212). From Sebēos (Abgaryan 1975: 121; Thomson 1999: 76–66) we know that Sahak rebuilt the chapel of St Hripsime. Since the real location of this monument coincides with the site of Gregory's vision (*Vita graeca* 77–82; Garitte 1946: 58–60), we should conclude that the *Life of Gregory* containing the text of the vision was written after the new building of the chapel had been completed.

83 Cf. 2.1.4 with n. 17 above for the quotation. For a discussion of the historical dating cf. Garsoïan (1997a: 90–91).



Persian side, in the battle of Dzirav/Bagawan near Mt Npat and asked king Shapur II (309–379) for the favour of fighting personally with the Armenian king. Informed by Meruzhan Artsruni, the Armenian general-in-chief, Mushel Mamikonian “struck frightful blows at the Persian forces; he lay in wait for the contingent of the Aġuank’, encountered and annihilated their entire army. And he caught up with Urnayr king of Aġuank’, who was fleeing, and struck him over the head with blows of the shaft of his lance, saying: ‘Be grateful that you are a king and wear a crown, for I will not kill a king, even though great harm come to me’. And he allowed him to escape with eight horsemen and to go the realm of Aġuank’”.<sup>84</sup>

If Urnayr, who seems to have been allied with Shapur II as early as 359 in the siege of Amida/Diyarbakır,<sup>85</sup> remained faithful to the Persians until 371, we

84 Faustus, *History* V, 4: Եւ Մուշեղ սպարապետն Հայոց հարկանէր զգօրսն Պարսից 'ի հարուծս անհնարինս. սպաս արարեալ և դիպէր գնդին Աղուանից. և առ հասարակ զամենայն զգօրսն ստատկէր: Եւ հասանէր Ուռնայրի արքային Աղուանից 'ի փախստեանն, և նիզակաբնաւն 'ի կառափն մատուցեալ ծեծէր բազում, ասելով՝ Թէ այլմ' չնորհա կալ, զի այլ թագաւոր ես, և թագ ունիս. ես ոչ սպանից զայլ թագաւոր, թէ կարի նեղ հասցէ ինձ: Եւ ութ հեծելով թոյլ ետ նմա փախչել երթալ գնալ յաշխարհ Աղուանից: (1832: 198); English translation by Garsoian (1989: 191). Cf. 2.1.4 above for more details concerning the Battle.

85 Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVIII, 6.22: *Ibi morati integrum biduum. cum sol tertius affluisset, cernebamus terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos ὀρίζοντας appellamus, agminibus oppletos innumeris, et antegressum regem vestis claritudine rutilantem. Quem iuxta laevis incedebat Grumbates, Chionitarum rex nervositate quidem media rugosisque membris, sed mente quadam grandifica, multisque victoriarum insignibus nobilis; dextra rex Albanorum, pari loco atque honore sublimis; post duces varii, auctoritate et potestatibus eminentes, quos ordinum omnium multitudo sequebatur; ex vicinarum gentium roboribus lecta, ad tolerandam rerum asperitatem diuturnis casibus erudita.* – “There we stayed for two full days, and at dawn of the third day we saw below us the whole circuit of the lands (which we call ὀρίζοντας) filled with innumerable troops with the king leading the way, glittering in splendid attire. Close by him on the left went Grumbates, king of the Chionitae, a man of moderate strength, it is true, and with shrivelled limbs, but of a certain greatness of mind and distinguished by the glory of many victories. On the right was the king of the Albani, of equal rank, high in honour. After them came various leaders, prominent in reputation and rank, followed by a multitude of every degree, chosen from the flower of the neighbouring nations and taught to endure hardship by long continued training” (Rolfe 1935: 446–449). – XIX, 2.3: *Persae omnes murorum ambitus obsidebant. Pars, quae orientem spectabat, Chionitis evenit, qua funestus nobis ceciderat adulescens, cuius manibus excidio urbis parentari debebat, Geloni meridiano lateri sunt destinati, tractum servabant septentrionis Albani, occidentali portae oppositi sunt Segestani, acerrimi omnium bellatores, cum quibus elata in arduum specie elephantorum agmina rugosis horrenda corporibus, leniter incedebant, armatis onusta, ultra omnem diritatem taetri spectaculi formidanda, ut rettulimus saepe.* – “The Persians beset the whole circuit of the walls. The part which faced the east fell to the lot of the Chionitae, the place where the youth so fatal to us was slain, whose shade was destined to be appeased by the destruction of the city. The Gelani were assigned to the southern side, the Albani guarded the quarter to the north, and to the western gate were opposed the Segestani, the bravest warriors of all. With them, making a lofty show, slowly marched the lines of elephants, frightful with

should probably admit that he was still a pagan by then. Therefore his conversion must have taken place more than fifty years after the retreat of St Gregory the Illuminator in about 320. Should we assume that there were two homonymous kings Urnayr of Albania, one who was baptised by the Illuminator and another one who was allied with Shapur against King Pap of Armenia? This seems most unlikely, first of all because it would be difficult to understand how a pagan Urnayr of 371 could be a descendant of the supposedly Christian Urnayr of 314–320. Moreover, the list of the Albanian kings in book I, ch. 15 of the *History*,<sup>86</sup> beginning with Vachagan I the Brave at the verge of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and ending up with Vachagan III the Pious, who died by 510, contains only one Urnayr, as the successor of Vache I (c. 330) and the predecessor of Vachagan II (c. 400).

We are thus tempted to conclude that the assumption of either Trdat IV or Gregory the Illuminator having exerted any influence on the conversion of King Urnayr is historically impossible – and that again we have two opposing versions in the *History of the Country of Albanians*, one being based on the information given by the chroniclers of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the second, on both oral traditions and legends and later adaptations.

### 3.2.3 The legend of St Grigoris, the grandson of the Illuminator

In one version of his legend, which we find in book I, ch. 9 of the *History*, St Grigoris becomes the successor of the “Roman” bishop after the death of Urnayr: “After his death the Albanians asked for the young Grigoris to be their catholicos, for our king Urnayr had asked St. Gregory to consecrate him bishop of his country.”<sup>87</sup> The main concern of the indirect connection between Urnayr and Grigoris established in this part of the *History* is to argue that since, by decision of the first

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their wrinkled bodies and loaded with armed men, a hideous spectacle, dreadful beyond every form of horror, as I have often declared” (Rolfe 1935: 476–477).

<sup>86</sup> *History* I, 15: Վաչագան քաջ, Վաչէ, Ուռնայր, Վաչագան, Միւրհաւան, Սատոյ, Ասայ, Եսաւէն, Վաչէ, ապա բարեպաշտն Վաչագան՝ արկալ Աղուանից (Arakelyan 1983: 41) – “Vačagan the Brave, Vačē, Ūrnayr, Vačagan [III], Mrhawān, Satoy, Asay, Esuaēn, Vačē [III], then Vačagan [III] the Pious, king of Albania” (Dowsett 1961a: 24). The edition by Emin (1860a: 32–33) adds ordinal numbers and gives slightly different name forms (*Vač'akan, Mrhawān*). Cf. Toumanoff (1990: 91–92; 568) and Hajiev (2020b) concerning the list and further 6.2 below for a comparison with that of Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi.

<sup>87</sup> *History* I, 9: Իսկ զկնի սորին մահուանն խնդրեցաւ յԱղուանից մանուկն Գրիգորիս ի կաթողիկոսութիւն իրենանց, զի Ուռնայր արքայի մեր խնդրեաց ՚ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ նորին ձեռնադրութեամբն լինել եպիսկոպոս աշխարհին իւրոյ: (Emin 1860a: 12); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 8).

Christian king Urnayr, two successive bishops of Albania had been consecrated by St Gregory the Illuminator; it had become a canonical rule that every Albanian catholicos in the future should ask Gregory's successors for patriarchal consecration.<sup>88</sup> This information on St Grigoris again contrasts with an earlier version which, as the first written account of the saint's martyrdom, is contained in Faustus' *History* (book III, ch. 6). Here Grigoris appears not as a bishop sent to Albania but directly as the "Catholicos of the regions of Iberians and Albanians".<sup>89</sup> Not content with preaching within his own diocese, the young catholicos embarked on missionary activities: "And when he had restored and renewed all the churches of those regions he came to the camp of the Aršakuni king of the Mazk'ut'k', whose name was Sanēsan".<sup>90</sup>

The Arsacid king of the Mazkut, whose realm was not necessarily bordering the Armenian province bearing their name, is called Sanesan by Faustus but Sanatruk by Movses Khorenatsi.<sup>91</sup> This difference suggests that the latter author did not borrow it from the former's account, both rather depended directly on the same (Parthian) oral tradition. The anthroponym *Snysrk(n)* / *Sanēsarakan* attested in a 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup>-century inscription of Dura-Europos might explain the two variants.<sup>92</sup>

The account of the martyrdom of St Grigoris is given in book I, 14 of the *History* according to which the saint was put to death by the king of the Mazkut, Sanesan/Sanatruk, of Arsacid descent,<sup>93</sup> and his men: "They then persuaded the king to listen to their wives, tied the young Grigoris to the tail of a mettlesome

88 Cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 2.1.

89 Faustus, *History* III, 6: որ կաթողիկոսն էր կողմանցն Վրաց և Աղուանից: (1832: 13); cf. the English translation by Garsoïan (1989: 72).

90 Faustus, *History* III, 6: եւ իբրեւ ողբեաց և նորոգեաց զամենայն եկեղեցիս կողմանցն այնոցիկ, եհաս նա մինչև 'ի ճամբար բանակին արշակունւոց արքային Մազքթաց, որոյ անուն իւր Սանէսան կոչէր: (1832: 14); English translation by Garsoïan (1989: 72).

91 Movses Khorenatsi, *History*, III, 3: Հանդերձ Սանատրկու ոմամբ յիւրմէ ազգէն արշակունեաց (1865: 189) – "In the company of a certain Sanatrak of his own Arsacid family" (Thomson 2006: 253). Another difference in Khorenatsi's version, which should not be overlooked, is that he substitutes the Mazkut of Faustus by Albanians (ibid.): 'ի դաւելոյ նորին Սանատրկոյ և այլոց ոմանց հանապազատուտ արանց արունից (1865:189) – "the same Sanatrak and some men among the ever-faithless Albanians" (Thomson 2006: 253). Cf. the preceding note concerning Faustus, *History* III, 6.

92 Benveniste (1966: 106).

93 *History of the Country of the Albanians* I, 14: Սանատրկայ՝ թագաւորին Մասքթաց, համատոհմին Արշակունեաց (Emin 1860a: 30). Here the edition by Emin differs from that of Shahnazareants (1860: I, 126) and the critical edition by Arakelyan (1983: 38) in that the latter name the King of the Mazkut *Sanesan* in contrast to Emin's *Sanatrak*: Սանեսանայ թագաւորին Մասքթաց, համատոհմին Արշակունեաց. Cf. the translation by Dowsett (1961a: 22), which is primarily based on Shahnazareants's edition: "Sanesan, king of the Maskut'k', who was of Arsacid family".

steed, and released it to the Vatnean plain. Thus was the saint martyred. His disciples retrieved his body and took it to the comopolis of Amaras in the province of Haband”.<sup>94</sup>

According to Movses Khorenatsi’s version of Grigoris’ martyrdom (in his book III, ch. 3), which is otherwise mainly based on Faustus, Sanatruk was a relative of Trdat commissioned to escort Grigoris to his distant diocese. Being informed that the Armenian king had been murdered, he revealed himself as a traitor by killing his young master and trying to usurpate the throne of Armenia. Quite differently, Faustus had styled Sanesan not an Armenian but a Parthian Arsacid who had only a remote kinship to Trdat. His camp was pitched in the “plain of Vatneay [...] along the shore of the great Northern Sea”;<sup>95</sup> Movses Khorenatsi, however, locates it in the “Vatnean plain, near the Caspian Sea”.<sup>96</sup> South of this plain, on the right bank of the Kura, Sanesan/Sanatruk captured the Armenian city of Paytakaran where he concentrated his troops in order to invade Armenia.

Therefore, following the oldest witnesses, Grigoris’ martyrdom is likely to have taken place in 334, on the eve of the barbarian invasion of Sanesan/Sanatruk, either close to Paytakaran or more in the north, on the left bank of the Kura, in a district which cannot have been part of the old Albanian kingdom because its borders did not reach to the Caspian shore. The corpse of the saint was eventually brought back to Armenia by people of his retinue. However, they did not go as far as Gugark but stopped in the nearest province, Artsakh, and chose their native soil of Miws Haband to bury him in Amaras.

Some decades later, Artsakh and Utik were joined to the “Marzpanate of Albania” and Amaras became an Albanian city. As a result, in 489, when the Armenian-speaking king of the country, Vachagan the Pious, discovered the bones of the saint and solemnly transferred them into a mausoleum, Grigoris was regarded as the true Illuminator of his kingdom as a whole. Part of his relics were given to each of the bishops so that they might share them among their dioceses. But the larger part remained in Amaras.<sup>97</sup> This last part of the narrative about

94 *History of the Country of the Albanians* I, 14: Ապա և զթագաւորն ևս խոնարհեցուցեալ յիրեանց ամենաշար կեղծաւորութիւնն՝ կալեալ զմանուկն Գրիգորիս ընդ ամենի ձիոյ կապէին ընդ ագի և արծալէին ՚ի դաշտն Վատնեայ. և այսպէս պտակէր սուրբն: Զոր բարձեալ աշակերտացն՝ բերէին յԱմարաս գիւղաքաղաքն, որ էր ՚ի գաւառին Հաբանդայ: (Emin 1860a: 30); English translation by Dowsett (1961a: 23).

95 Faustus, *History* III, 6: ընդ ծովեզեր դաշտին Հիսպիական ծովուն մեծի [...] ՚ի դաշտին Վատնեայ: (1832: 14); English translation by Garsoïan (1989: 73).

96 Movses Khorenatsi, *History*, III, 3: ՚ի Վատնեան դաշտին, մերձ ՚ի կասբիականն կոչեցեալ ծով: (1865: 189); English translation by Thomson (2006: 253).

97 *History of the Country of the Albanians*, I, 23: Աստանօր Հրամայէր թագաւորն տալ մասն իւրաքանչիւր եպիսկոպոսաց, առ ՚ի բաշխել վիճակելոց իւրեանց, և մեծագոյն ինչ մասն յԱմարաս

Saint Grigoris and his relics, but also some hagiographic details in the account of his martyrdom, which were not mentioned anywhere before, point to later traditions.

### 3.3 Conclusions

By comparing the different versions of traditions on St Elisaeus, King Urnayr, and St Grigoris as they have been handed down to us through the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, with reports of earlier Armenian historiographers, we can draw the following conclusions as to the authors involved in the compilation of its three books and the different periods of the emergence and revisioning of individual chapters:

a) the narratives and legends concerning concerning **St Elisaeus** are not yet found in the older historiographies. Nevertheless the *History of the Country of the Albanians* offers two versions: according to **Version 1** (I, 28; II, 2; and, in particular, II, 48), Elisaeus is a disciple of the Lord, consecrated by James, His brother, in Jerusalem, from where he comes to Albania; he builds the first church in Gis. In **Version 2** (I, 6), Elisaeus is a disciple of the apostle (Jude) Thaddeus and witnesses his martyrdom. After returning to Jerusalem, he is consecrated by James, brother of the Lord; he comes back to Albania through Persia and builds the first church in Gis, being the first patriarch of Albania;

b) concerning **King Urnayr's conversion**, the *History of the Country of the Albanians* again provides two accounts: in **Version 1** (I, 15), Urnayr is an ally of king Shapur against the Armenian king Pap and his commander Mushet during the battles of Dzirav/Bagawan and Gandzak (371), and there is no reference to Urnayr being a “Christian king”; chronologically he is positioned between Vache I (until 350) and Vachagan II (from 375). This version agrees with Faustus of Byzan-

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Հրամայէր թողուլ 'ի նշխարացն և զալլսն մեծաւ զգուշութեամբ և զանազան սպասուք պահէր թագաւորական կնքովն կնքեալ: Եւ 'ի վերայ գերեզմանին Հրամայէր Հիմն արկանիլ մատտան և փութապէս աւարտել և անուանել մատուռն սրբոյն Գրիգորիսի: Եւ աշուհետև ոտանաւոր տընութեամբ անձանալաչտ լեալ արքայն զեպիկոպոսունս՝ ցնծալից ուրախութեամբ պաշտէր զհամայն ժողովն և 'ի ձայն քաղցր յերգս սաղմոսաց յորդագոյնս 'ի բարեբանութեան Աստուծոյ ելանէր բանակն: (Emin 1860a: 62). — “The king ordered each of the bishops to be given part of the relics to share out among their dioceses, and the larger part was to be left in Amaras; the other parts he carefully stored in diverse vessels sealed with the royal seal. He ordered a chapel to be constructed above the tomb, to be quickly completed and named the chapel of St. Grigoris. Then the king stood in vigil and worshipped the bishops and the whole assembly in great joy to the sound of the sweet singing of many psalms in praise of God” (Dowsett 1961a: 46). Cf. Chapter 11 of this Handbook (Petrosyan), 3.3. as to the sepulchre of St Grigoris in Amaras.

tium (several chapters in book 5) and Movses Khorenatsi (III, 7). In **Version 2** (I, 11), which relates to c. 313, Urnayr comes to Armenia, meets Trdat and St Gregory, is baptised after fifty days and returns to Albania to have his people baptised and Christianised;

c) concerning **St Grigoris**, the information in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* is drawn from various sources, again permitting to establish two versions: in **Version 1** (I, 9 and I, 14), Grigoris comes to Albania on request of the Albanians (after Urnayr's death) and is consecrated (as the successor of a "bishop of Rome") at the age of 15 as the catholicos of both Georgians and Albanians. He is put to death by the Arsacid king Sanesan/Sanatrük of the Mazkut and buried in Amaras (Haband). Except for some hagiographical details which may pertain to the later version, this one matches the older accounts by Faustus (III, 6) and Movses Khorenatsi (III, 3). **Version 2** (I, 20–23) adds information from currently unknown sources, probably reflecting a local tradition, especially on the finding of the saint's relics; this also includes the listing of St Grigoris as the 8<sup>th</sup> patriarch of Albania (I, 23).

## 4 The later Armenian historiographers (10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries)

We will now briefly turn our attention to the major Armenian historiographies that emerged at the same time as the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and after it, i.e. the chronicles of the 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is essential, on the one hand, in order to trace the influence of the *History* on subsequent generations of historiographers and, on the other hand, to investigate how the different versions of the traditions about St Eliseus, King Urnayr, and St Grigoris were adopted in subsequent generations.

### 4.1 The later historiographers in chronological order

#### 4.1.1 Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi

Catholicos Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi (825–929), who narrates the history of Armenia up to his lifetime, draws on the historiographical sources known to him, i.e. the classical Armenian chroniclers up to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, especially Movses Khorenatsi. For times later than that, he narrates what he has heard or personally witnessed. The focus of his *History* lies on the events during the

Umayyad yoke in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The legend of St Grigoris, whom he labels “Bishop of Albania”,<sup>98</sup> as well as the brief mention of the creation of the Albanian script by Mashtots, clearly rely upon the classical Armenian sources.

#### 4.1.2 Ukhtanes

Bishop Ukhtanes of Sebastia (935–1000) wrote a three-part *History of the Armenians*, in the first part of which he narrates the history of Armenia from its beginnings to the adoption of Christianity, relying mainly on Movses Khorenatsi as his predecessor. He also accounts for the evangelisation activities of St Gregory the Illuminator outside of Armenia, i.e. in Iberia and Albania, referring to “the holy and true faith which the great Gregory had established in these Caucasian countries”.<sup>99</sup> The second part concerns the schism between the Georgian and Armenian Churches at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, for which Ukhtanes extensively exploits the correspondence of the Armenian and Georgian clergy and leaders, drawing substantially on the *Book of Letters*<sup>100</sup> and also somewhat “manipulating” one or the other source.<sup>101</sup> Concerning the role of the apostle Elisaeus, there are parallels to the older version of the legend in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* (book II, ch. 48), partly even with very similar wording; Ukhtanes writes:

Although [the Albanians] were saying that it was another person named Elisha, one of the disciples of the Savior, of whom we made mention above, ordained by James the Brother of the Lord, who first came to the country of Albania and preached there, where he also

98 Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi, *History X: Ըստ ամբարիշտ հրամանի նորա բարբարոս հիւսիսական ազգքն այնոքիկ զսքանչելի մանուկն Գրիգորիս, զոր եպիսկոպոս Աղուանից կացուցեալ էին՝ ի սոհմէ սրբոյն Գրիգորի՝ սպանանեն ձիախրոխտ ընթաղբութեամբ ՚ի Վատնեան դաշտին. և տարեալ հանգուցանեն զսուրբ մարմինն նորա ՚ի գեօղն Ամարաս, որ ՚ի Փոքր Սիւնիս*: (1912: 42–43) – “At his ungodly order the barbaric tribes of the north put the wonderful youth Grigoris, who had been appointed bishop of Albania from the house of Saint Grigor, to death in the Vathean plain by means of the trampling hoofs of horses. They buried his saintly body in the village of Amaras in Lesser Siwnik” (Maksoudian 1987: 82).

99 Ukhtanes, *History II*, 17: *Յիշեցուցանելով սուրբ և զուղիղ հաւատն՝ զոր մեծին Գրիգորի սահմանեալ էր յայս Կաւկասային կողմանս* (1871: II, 33); English translation by Arzoumanian (2008: 62).

100 This refers to 26 letters written by Catholicos Movses Elivardetsi, Vrtanes Kertol, Bishop Movses of Tsurav, Catholicos Kyron of Iberia, Catholicos Abraham (I), Smbat of Hyrcania and, in the last chapters, partly the encyclica of Catholicos Abraham; cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 5.1 for more details.

101 On Ukhtanes’s *History* and his “manipulations” cf. Mahé (1996: 927–961).

built a church before the conversion of the Armenians, known as the mother church of Gis, located on the skirts of Amaras, in the district called Gorozu, near the plain of the city of Partaw, called P'aytakaran. He died, [they say], secretly and no one knew how his life came to an end.<sup>102</sup>

The “Albanian apostle” is first introduced in Ukhtanes’s preceding chapter: “The Albanians, then, gave no consent to what was said, and introduced another apostle, Elisha by name, who had come earlier to the land of the Albanians, and of whom I want to speak first. [Elisha] was one of the Savior’s disciples and was ordained by James, the Brother of the Lord”.<sup>103</sup> In particular in his chapter 65, Ukhtanes goes into detail about the tradition on Elisaeus, definitely drawing on the second, “Armenianised” version of his narrative.<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.1.3 Stepanos Taronetsi

Stepanos Taronetsi (10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century), who was also named Asolik, wrote a *Universal History* upon order by Catholicos Sargis I Sevantsi. His work consists of three books; in the first two, he presents quite concisely the history of Armenia in the context of world history from ancient times up to the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, mainly referring, as he writes in his own words, to the known classical sources and to more recent authors such as Shapuh Bagratuni and Yovhannes (Draskhanakertsi),<sup>105</sup> but without including the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and

<sup>102</sup> Ukhtanes, *History* 64: Այլ թէպէտ և նոքա զայլ ոմն ասէին կանխաւ եկեալ աշխարհն Աղուանից եղիչէ անուն, զոր վերագոյնը յիշեցաք, յաշակերտաց փրկչին ձեռնադրեալ ի սրբոյն Յակովբայ յղբօրէն Տեառն, և քարոզեալ անդ, և եկեղեցի շինեալ նախ քան զլուսաւորութիւնն Հայոց, որ է մայր եկեղեցեացն Գեսու եկեղեցին այն առ ստորոտով Ամարասու՝ ի գաւառին՝ որ կոչի Գորազու՝ մերձ ի դաշտ Պարտաւ քաղաքի, որ կոչի Փայտակարան: և ինքն մեռանի անյայտաբար ի մարդկանէ՝ ոչ գիտելով յոմեքէ լեալ ելք կենաց նորա: (1871: II, 121); English translation by Arzoumanian (2008: 123–124). For the wording of the *History of the Country of the Albanians* (II, 48) cf. n. 73 above.

<sup>103</sup> Ukhtanes, *History* 63: Որում ոչ հաւանեալ Աղուանից, զայլ ոմն երեւեցուցանեն կանխաւ եկեալ առաքեալ յաշխարհն Աղուանից՝ եղիչայ անուն. Զորոյ որպիսութիւնն ասել կամէի զառաջին: Սա լեալ յաշակերտաց փրկչին ձեռնադրեալ (ի) Յակովբայ յղբօրէն Տեառն (1871: II, 120); English translation by Arzoumanian (2008: 123).

<sup>104</sup> Ukhtanes, *History*, 65 (1871: II, 122–124); Arzoumanian (2008: 124–125).

<sup>105</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* I, 10–14: ... քաջն Ագաթանգեղոս, որ նորասքանչ հարչից եւ չարչարանաց սրբոյն Գրիգորի եւ աստուածածանաւթութեանս մերոյ է պատմիչ: Եւ զնկի մեծն Մովսէս, հանգոյն եւսեբեայ, որ քերթողացն անուանի հայր: Եւ ապա եղիչ վարդապետ, որ վասն Վարդանանց եւ սուրբ քահանայիցն չարչարանաց եւ կատարման: Եւ զկնի՝ Ղազարու փարբաղեցոյ ճարտասանի պատմութիւն. Եւ փաւստոս, որ եւ Բիւզանդ եւ պատմութիւն Հերակլի, որ ի Սեբէոսէ եպիսկոպոսէ ասացեալ. Եւ պատմութիւն Ղեւոնդ երիցու, որ ինչ վասն Ֆառկաց ելիցն եւ անցից Հայոց ի նոցունց բռնութենէ: Հուսկ յետոյ ի վերջին աւուրս պատմութիւնք Շապհոյ Բագրատունոյ եւ Տեառնն Յովհաննիսի Հայոց կաթողիկոսի, որք առ ժամանակաւքն Աշոտայ եւ Սմբատայ, առաջին թագաւորացն



Ukhtanes. Regarding St Grigoris, he briefly retells the classical version of the traditions, mainly mirroring Movses Khorenatsi's account: "At the same report of the death of Trdat, through the scheming of Sanatruk, who was prince of the country from the line of Aršakunik', the barbarians killed Grigoris, the elder son of Vrt'anēs, who was bishop of the regions of Albania, trampled by horses on the Vatnean plain near to the Caspian Sea. The deacons of the same lifted him up and brought him to Pok'r Siwnik' and [they buried] him in the town of Amaras".<sup>106</sup> On the invention of the alphabet, he repeats all known classical sources, albeit extremely shortly: "For writing was given not only to Armenians but also to Georgia and Albania from the mindfulness of God by means of the blessed *vardapet* Mesrop".<sup>107</sup> Stepanos refers to the classical authors also in narrating about events of the ecclesiastical history such as the schism of the Armenian and Georgian Churches and the main anti-Nestorian and anti-Chalcedonian councils, but never goes into any details on Albania. Surprising, then, is the short paragraph in which he introduces the country of Albania and gives an explanation of its name: "And the country was named Aluank' [Albania] in honour of their *nahapet* because they addressed him as *alu* on account of the sweetness of his conduct",<sup>108</sup> which is almost *verbatim* taken from Movses Khorenatsi's *History* (book II, ch. 8).<sup>109</sup> The third part of Asolik's *History* covers the years 885–1004 and deals

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*Բագրատունեաց*: (Manukean 2011: 640) – "... noble Agat'angelos, who is the narrator of the astonishing miracles and sufferings of St Grigor and the one who instigated our recognition of God; and after [him], the great Movsēs, equal to Eusebius, who is named the father of literature; and then *vardapet* Elišē, who considered the torments and the killing of Vardan and his companions and the holy priests; and after, the history of Łazar P'arpec'i, the orator; and P'awstos, who [was] also [known as] Biwzand; and the history of Heraclius, which was said to be by bishop Sebēos; and the history of Łewond the priest, who [recorded] the emergence of the Arabs and the travails of Armenians in their tyranny; last of all, in more recent days, the histories of Šapuh Bagratuni and lord Yovhannēs, catholicos of Armenia, those who were around in the Time of Ašot and Smbat, the first kings of the Bagratunik'" (Greenwood 2017: 98–100).

**106** Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* II, I.39: Ի նոյն համբաւոյ մահուն Տրդատայ գրիբքորիս գերէջ որդին Վրթանայ, որ էր եպիսկոպոս կողմանցն Աղուանից, ի դաւելոյ Սանատրկոյ, որ էր իշխան աշխարհին յագգէն Արշակունեաց, սպանին բարբարոսքն ընթաղեալ ձիաւք ի Վատնեան դաշտին, մերձ ի ծովն Կասպից. զոր բարձեալ սարկաւազաց նորին եւ բերեալ ի փոքր Սիւնիս՝ [Թաղեցին] յԱմարասն աւանի: (Manukean 2011: 677); English translation by Greenwood (2017: 136). Cf. Movses Khorenatsi (1865: 189).

**107** Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* II, 1.112: զի ոչ միայն Հայոց, այլ եւ Վրաց եւ Աղուանից տուաւ գիր ի ինամոցն Աստուծոյ ի ձեռն երանելոյն Մեսրոպայ վարդապետին: (Manukean 2011: 684); English translation by Greenwood (2017: 143).

**108** Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* I, 24: և աշխարհն յանուն նահապետին նոցա անուանեցան Աղուանք. զի աղու ձայնէին զնա վասն քաղցրութեան բարուցն: Manukean (2011: 659); English translation by Greenwood (2017: 121).

**109** Movses Khorenatsi, *History* II, 8: եւ աշխարհն յանուն քաղցրութեան բարուց նորա կոչեցան Աղուանք. Զի աղու ձայնէին զնա: (1865: 78) – "And the country was called Aluank', after the gentle-

exclusively with the Bagratuni family. It is important to note that Asolik does not show any traceable reference to the *History of the Country of the Albanians*.

#### 4.1.4 Samuel Anetsi

Samuel Anetsi (1105–1185) is one of those exceptional historians of the Middle Ages who along with his accounts lists the dates according to different chronological systems, mentions the sources used, and tries to clarify the chronology of historical events, dynasties, rulers, and catholicoi. Although referring to the works of earlier historiographers, Anetsi often opposes them, preferring to retain the original figures as given by Eusebius, whom he appreciates most. He often presents the events in his own way, which increases the historical value of his writings. Anetsi first gives a brief chronological account of the universal history from Creation up to his own lifetime (his *History* was completed in 1163). In his short reports he also refers to “Albania”, i.e. Aran, as one of the two countries in the East which borders with the north of Sisakan and which according to him, too, is called *Ałowank*’ after the word for ‘sweet’ of their language. He further mentions the Uti people, the people of Gardman and Tsodi, and the principality of *Gargarac’ik*.<sup>110</sup> Quite shortly, Samuel recalls the narrative about St Grigoris, which he dates to 347: “A certain Sanatruk in Albania killed St Grigoris, the oldest son of Vrtanes by having him trampled by horses in the plain of Vatnean. His relics are buried in Amaras”.<sup>111</sup> It is interesting here to read that Sanatruk is indirectly considered an Albanian and, secondly, that there is no mention whatsoever that St Grigoris was the supreme ecclesiastical leader of the Albanians. Later on, however, Anetsi points out the influential power of a contemporary Catholicos of Albania (whom he does not mention by his name), in his account about the intrigues surrounding the Armenian Catholicos Petros I Getadardz (1019–1058). Petros was received with suspicion on his return from Sebastia to Ani and was

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ness of his mode of life, for they called him *alu*” (Thomson 2006: 137). For the persistence of the popular etymology relating *aluank*’ to *alu* ‘sweet, pleasant’ up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century cf. the petition by Udis sent to Tsar Peter in 1724 quoted in Chapter 5 of this Handbook (Schulze and Gippert), 1. with note 3.

**110** Samuel Anetsi, *History*: *եւ յարեւելից կողմանէ գերկուս նահապետութիւնս, զմիսակեանն եւ որ ի տանէն Կաղմեայ. եւ յարեւելից Հիւսիսոյ գլուան կարգէ կողմնակալ ի ծննդոց Սիսակայ. եւ աշխարհն յանուն քաղցր բարւոյ նոցա կոչի Աղուանք. եւ ի սորա ծննդոց սերին ազգն Ուտիացոց եւ Գարդմանացոց, եւ Ծովիացոց, եւ Գարգարացոց իշխանութիւնն* (Ter-Mikaelean 1893: 48).

**111** Samuel Anetsi, *History*: *Յիշէ. Յետ մահուանն Տրդատայ՝ Սանատրուկ որ ի կողմանս Աղուանից, սպանանէ զսուրբ Գրիգորիս, գերէց որդին Վրթանայ ընթադրեալ ի ձիան ի Վատնիանեան դաշտին. եւ եղաւ յԱմարաս նշխարք սրբոյն:* (Ter-Mikaelean 1893: 65).

ordered by the king to spend further years in isolation (or in jail, as Anetsi writes) in Vaspurakan. In his place, King Yovhannes appointed Deoskoros, the abbot of Sanahin, as the new Catholicos, but the bishops did not recognise his authority. This led to great unrest within the Church, and the clergy anathemised the king and other followers of Deoskoros. Into this turmoil, as Samuel reprot, intervened the Catholicos of Albania, who had come to Ani to ask for peace, to free Catholicos Petros from prison and to send Deoskoros back to his monastery, which was successful.<sup>112</sup> Obviously, Samuel Anetsi did not use the *History of the Country of the Albanians* as a source.

#### 4.1.5 Mkhitar Gosh

The main work of the priest, scholar and author Mkhitar Gosh (1130–1213) is his comprehensive law code, written in 1184. Only one of the relevant manuscripts, no. 1237 of the Mekhitarists' monastery of San Lazzaro in Venice,<sup>113</sup> contains some pages on the history of the Albanians contained in the author's main colophon, which Dowsett has labelled Gosh's *Albanian Chronicle*. This very copy of the law code was written for, or by order of, the Armenian Prince of Khachen, Vakhtang (1182–1214), for whom, no doubt, the history of the Albanians had a special significance. After the usual introduction and a reference to the "History of Movses Daskhurantsi",<sup>114</sup> the *Chronicle* begins with a list of the patriarchs of Albania which contains dates that are not found anywhere else and are possibly derived from Church records that have been lost.<sup>115</sup> On St Grigoris, Mkhitar gives only very brief information, styling him the 7<sup>th</sup> Patriarch of Armenia after St Elisaeus: "And then the Albanians asked the Armenians for St. Grigoris, consecrated patriarch at the age of 15 and killed by the barbarians, as Catholicos. It was the 101st year of Rome".<sup>116</sup> Briefly as well, he finally discusses events in Albania from about

112 Samuel Anetsi, *History* (year 1039): եւ ոչ լինէր խաղաղութիւն մինչեւ եկեալ Աղուանից կաթողիկոսն Համոգեաց գնոսա ի խաղաղութիւն մեծաւ աղաչանօք հանեալ զտէր Պետրոս ի բանդէն եւ յուղարկեալ գիւտսկորոս ի վանս իւր (Ter-Mikaelean 1893: 107).

113 Manuscript V1237, described under no. 993 in the catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts repository of the Mekhitarist congregation in Venice (Chemchemean 1996a: 326–332), is probably even an autograph of Mkhitar Gosh. It is dated 1184, was written for Vakhtang, Prince of Khachen, and comprises a total of 325 folios. The main colophon of the scribe on folios 300a–318a contains the so-called "Albanian Chronicle".

114 Cf. 3.1 with n. 36 above as to Mkhitar's wording.

115 Cf. 6.1 (Appendix) with Table III below for a comparison of Mkhitar Gosh's list with those from the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and Kirakos Gandzaketsi's *History*.

116 Եւ ապա խնդրեցին Աղուանք ի Հայոց՝ կաթողիկոս զՍուրբն Գրիգորիս՝ ի հնգետասան ամի ձեռնադրեալ ի հայրապետութիւն, և ի բարբարոսաց վախճան մահու ընկալաւ. Հրոմ ԹՎ. ՃԱ. Էր:

1130 up to 1162, after which his *Chronicle* breaks off abruptly. Mkhitar occupies a very special position among the Armenian chroniclers, not only because he names Movses Daskhurantsi as the author of the *History of the Country of the Albanians* but also because his own *Chronicle* probably served as a source for later revisions of the latter work (cf. 3.1 above).

#### 4.1.6 Vardan Areveltsi

With his *Historical Compilation*, Vardan Areveltsi (1198–1271) represents a new approach to universal historiography in Armenian literature. He takes to an extreme what his predecessor Stepanos Asolik Taronetsi had already begun, namely to no longer narrate history but to summarise only the most important events in short paragraphs. Vardan's *History*, which begins with the Tower of Babel and continues until the death of Catholicos Constantine I Bardzrberdtsi (1267), is extremely concise. Vardan, too, uses a lot of sources from early Armenian historians, but does so very selectively, also often merging different accounts. Since he concentrates mainly on the most important events, Albanian history only comes to his attention when it intersects very concretely with that of Armenia. Obviously, Vardan did not use the *History of the Country of the Albanians* for this but only other sources.<sup>117</sup> He writes briefly about St Grigoris, here presumably relying upon Movses Khorenatsi via Asolik: “After the death of Trdat, the second Sanatruk the Arsacid, whom he had established in P'aytarakan, took the crown and planned to rule over all Armenia. He had the young Grigoris killed by the barbarian nation in the plain of Vatnean; his body was taken and laid to rest in Amaras”.<sup>118</sup> The creation of the Albanian script is also mentioned,<sup>119</sup> but nothing con-

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(Alishan 1901b: 339; cf. Manandyan and Acharyan 2014b: 605b); English translation by Dowsett (1958: 476–477).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Thomson (1989: 130–140), according to whom Areveltsi reworked the Syriac *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian and used it as one of his primary sources.

<sup>118</sup> Vardan Areveltsi, *Historical Compilation*, 20: Իսկ զկնի մահուանն Տրդատայ՝ երկրորդ Սանատրուկ արչակունին, զոր կացուցեալ էր ՚ի Փայտակարան, թագ եղեալ՝ խորհէր տիրել բոլոր Հայոց. Որ և սպանանել ետ զմանուկն Գրիգորիս բարբարոս ազգին ՚ի Վատնեան դաշտին, զորոյ զմարմինն բերեալ յԱմարաս հանգուցին: (1862: 43); English translation by Thomson (1989: 164). As in Stepanos Taronetsi's account treated in 4.1.3 above, there is again no reference to Grigoris' function as a catholicos of Albania; the country is not even mentioned here explicitly.

<sup>119</sup> Vardan Areveltsi, *Historical Compilation*, 25: Եւ գնացեալ յԱղուանս, ստեղծու եւ նոցա զիր ըստ նոցա լեզուին, ձեռօք քննիմամին՝ որ անտի աշակերտեցաւ նմա: (1862: 51). – “He went to the Ałuank’ also, and fashioned for them a script for their language through Beniamin, who had been a pupil of his from there” (Thomson 1989: 168). – According to Thomson (1989: 133), Areveltsi's

cerning specifically important events in the history of Albania, let alone legends on figures such as Elisaeus or King Urnayr. Nevertheless, Vardan Areveltsi can be regarded as a source for the history of Albania after the Seljuk storm and during the Mongol period. In the “Geography”, another work attributed to him, he provides more detailed information about “where the Great Church of Amaras is located (and) where the relics of St Grigoris, the Catholicos of the Albanians, are”.<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.1.7 Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi

The *Chronography* of Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi (1230/35–1297/1300), which was completed in 1289, summarises the history of the Armenians and the neighbouring peoples from the Creation up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The author draws from various sources, including the *History of the Country of the Albanians* which, as mentioned above, he also names twice in his work. In the chapter on the kings of Albania, he lists the rulers chronologically with their names, noting Urnayr as the second king, following a certain Arān and preceding “Vachagan, who [in the year] 365 built a church”.<sup>121</sup> In the same list, Vardan uses the variant name form *Ēsvalēn*, which also occurs in the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, for Koryun’s King *Arsval(ēn)*, and in the subsequent list of Albanian Catholicos, he names Elisaeus first, followed by Grigoris.<sup>122</sup> In the barely narrative style of the first part of his *Chronography*, Ayrivanetsi mentions neither St Elisaeus nor St Grigoris or King Urnayr.

## 4.2 Kirakos Gandzaketsi

We have started the present survey with the 13<sup>th</sup>-century historiographer Kirakos Gandzaketsi (cf. 2. above), and his work should also be discussed at the end. Kirakos actually very often refers to the *History of the Country of the Albanians*

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quite idiosyncratic narrative of the creation of the Armenian script is primarily based on Koryun and Khorenatsi but also on other sources.

<sup>120</sup> Vardan Areveltsi, *Geography*, 3: ուր մեծ եկեղեցին է Ամարաս, ուր կայ նշխարքն Գրիգորիսի Արուանից Կաթողիկոսին: (Perperean 1969: 3).

<sup>121</sup> Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, *Chronography*, Թագաւորք Արուանից: Սուան. Ուռնայր. Վաչագան՝ որ յ կե եկեղեցի շինեաց: (Emin 1860b: 19).

<sup>122</sup> Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, *Chronography*, Թագաւորք Արուանից: Հովանի: – Կաթողիկոսք Արուանից: Սուրբն եղիշայ. Սուրբ Գրիգորիս: (Emin 1860b: 19).

by Movses Kalankatuatsi, which he lists among the prominent Armenian historiographical works. Kirakos's own *History*, which he started to write in 1241 and completed in 1265, can be considered a summary of events from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century and a detailed description of his own days. Its first part is dedicated to the life of Gregory the Illuminator and the history of the Armenian Church from its beginning onwards. The second part focuses on the socio-cultural and geopolitical changes in the region that were triggered by the Turkic and Mongol invasions; it is primarily a history of the noble house of Khachen with the famous prince Hasan Jalal and of the foundation of the later Catholicosate of Gandzasar including the construction of the adjoining monastery. As such, it is also a history of the region from where Movses, the historiographer of the Albanians, presumably originated and from where, as already mentioned at the beginning, Kirakos himself came. This could possibly explain his noticeable affinity with Movses's *History of the Country of the Albanians*, for he devotes a great deal of attention to the history of the princes, bishops and catholicoi of Albania. His work is one of the most frequently copied histories of Armenia, perhaps not only because of its importance as a reliable historical source for the period of the Mongols but also because Kirakos, unlike most of his predecessors from the 10<sup>th</sup> century on, returned to a narrative style with a high preference for details.

To the history of Albania, Kirakos devotes a separate chapter (ch. 10) in his work, including a biographical list of the catholicoi of Caucasian Albania which he introduces as follows:

Now, for the second section [we begin with] a chapter on the illuminators of the Albanian regions, since they are our relatives and fellow-believers, and especially since many of their leaders were Armenian-speaking, their kings were obedient to the kings of the Armenians and under their control, their bishops were ordained by St Gregory and his successors, and their people remained together with us in orthodoxy. For these reasons it is fitting to recall the two peoples together.<sup>123</sup>

Kirakos further reports on the church quarrels and disputes concerning the unity of the three Christian peoples of the Southern Caucasus against the “Nestorian heresy”, but also on the apostasy of the Georgian Church and the subsequent

123 Kirakos, *History* 10: Իսկ երկրորդ հատուածիս դիցուք գլուխ զլուսաւորիչս կողմանցն Արուսիից, որպէս զազգայնոց և զհաւատակցաց մերոց, մանաւանդ զի և առաջնորդք նոցա հայալեզուք, հայերէնախոսք յղովք էին. Թագաւորքն՝ հնազանդք Թագաւորացն հայոց, ընդ ձեռամբ նոցա լեալք, և եպիսկոպոսքն՝ ձեռադրեալք ի սրբոյն Գրիգորէ և յաթորակալ նորա, և ազգն ուղղափառաւթեամբ ընդ մեզ կացեալ ի կրօնս, վասն այնորիկ արժան է ի միասին լինել յիշատակ երկուց ացգացս: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 192); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 155). Cf. 6.1 (Appendix) with Table III below for a comparison of Kirakos's list with those from the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and Mkhitar Gosh's *Chronicle*.

schism.<sup>124</sup> After this, he continues with events from after the time covered by the *History of the Country of the Albanians*.

What is of interest now is which of the previously mentioned versions of the narratives about St Elisaeus, St Grigoris and King Urnayr Kirakos adopted and possibly adapted.

Although he shortens and restricts the information about Elisaeus to its essentials in comparison to the extensive narrative in the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, it is obvious that he followed the later, “Armenianised” version of the legend as appearing in book I, ch. 6 of the latter work. He writes:

They say that the initial cause of the illumination of the eastern areas was the blessed Elisaeus, a pupil of the great apostle Thaddaeus, who, after the death of the holy apostle, went to Jerusalem to James, the brother of the Lord, received the ordination as a bishop from him, and then went to the land of Iran eventually reaching the country of the Albanians. He came to a place called Gis and built a church there, and he himself was martyred there, although it is not known by whom. His body was thrown into a well together with other corpses and it remained there until the time of the pious King Vachagan, the last [king].<sup>125</sup>

Kirakos also takes over the legend of the finding of Elisaeus’s bones by King Vachagan:

Then the pious Vachagan ruled, whom we recalled above. He heard that they had thrown blessed Elisaeus into a well and he ordered that all the bones found be removed. They removed them and piled them into heaps. The pious king prayed to God that the bones of St Elisaeus be revealed. A fierce wind arose and scattered across the face of the plain all the bones except for those of St Elisaeus. Thanking God, the king gathered them up and distributed them [as relics] throughout his realm.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Chapter 7 of this Handbook (Dum-Tragut), 2.4 and 5.1 for details.

<sup>125</sup> Kirakos, *History*, 10: Արդ՝ առաջին պատճառ լուսաւորութեան կողմանցն Արևելից ասնն զսուրբն եղիշէ, զաշակերտ մեծին Թադէոսի առաքելոյն, որ յետ մահուան սրբոյ առաքելոյն գնացեալ յերուսաղէմ առ Յակոբոս եղբայրն տեառն և ի նմանէ ձեռնադրեալ եպիսկոպոս՝ գայ ընդ աշխարհն Պարսից և հասանէ յաշխարհն Արուանից. Գայ նա ի տեղի մի անուանեալ Գիս, և անդ շինէ եկեղեցի, և ինքն կատարի անդէն նահատակութեամբ, անյալտ է, թէ յումմէ եղև: Եւ ընկեցեալ գնա ի ջրհոր մի ընդ ալլ բազում դիականց, անդ եկաց մինչև յառուրս բարեպաշտ արքային Վաչագանայ վերջնոյ: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 192–193); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 155).

<sup>126</sup> Kirakos, *History*, 10: Եւ ապա Վաչագան բարեպաշտ՝ գոր յիշատակեցաք ի վերոյ: Սա լուաւ, թէ զսուրբն եղիշէ ընկեցին ի գուրն, հրամայեաց հանել զամենայն ոսկերսն՝ որ ի գբի անդ, և հանեալ կուտեցին գնա շեղջս շեղջս: Յաղօթն եկաց բարեպաշտ արքայն առ աստուած, զի յայնեցէ զորկերս սրբոյն եղիշէի: Եւ ել հողմ ուժգնակի և ցանեալ ցրուեաց զամենայն ոսկերսն ընդ երեսս դաշտին, բաց յոսկերաց սրբոյն եղիշէի: Եւ բարդեալ արքայի մեծաւ պատուով, գոհանալով զաստուծոյ՝ բաշխեաց ամենայն երկրին իւրոյ: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 193–194); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 156).

For the story about the conversion of King Urnayr, too, Kirakos chooses the later, historically less probable and again rather “Armenised” tradition as it is presented in book I, ch. 11 of the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. Kirakos briefly reports: “The latter came to the great king of the Armenians, Trdat, and to St Gregory and was baptised by him; and St Gregory gave to King Urnayr a man from among his deacons who had come with him from Rome and whom he had ordained as bishop”.<sup>127</sup>

Lastly, also the account of St Grigoris and his martyrdom is based on the younger version as we find it in book II, ch. 9 of the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. Kirakos notes: “But Sanatruk, who had been set up as the overseer of the Albanian regions by Trdat, as soon as he learned of the king’s death, murdered the blessed Grigoris, son of Vrtanes and brother of Yusik, by tying him to the tail of a wild horse in the Vatnean plain”.<sup>128</sup>

Kirakos allowed many of his predecessors’ accounts to flow into his own *History*, and among them definitely also some from the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. He presumably chose those versions of the legends of St Elisaeus, St Grigoris and the conversion of King Urnayr that were better known and more familiar to him through the latter text, through his own education by Vanakan Vardapet, or through local oral traditions; for since he grew up in the region of late medieval Albania-Artsakh, he was apparently somehow connected to the family of the Jalaleans ruling there and to the Monastery of Gandzasar.<sup>129</sup> Kirakos’s *History* – and through it Movses’s *History of the Country of the Albanians* – turned out to be highly influential on all subsequent historiographies, and thus also on the last great chronicle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *History of the Province of Siwnik* by the Bishop and Metropolitan of Siwnik, Stepanos Orbelian, completed in 1298.

<sup>127</sup> Kirakos, *History*, 10: Սա եկեալ առ մեծ արքայն Հայոց Տրդատ, և առ սուրբն Գրիգորիոս, մկրտի ի նմանէ: Եւ ձերնադրէ սուրբն Գրիգոր զայլ մի ի սպասաւորաց իւրոց եպիսկոպոս, որ եկեալ էր ընդ նմա ի Հռոմոց, և տալ զնա Ուռնայրի արքայի: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 193); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1965: 156).

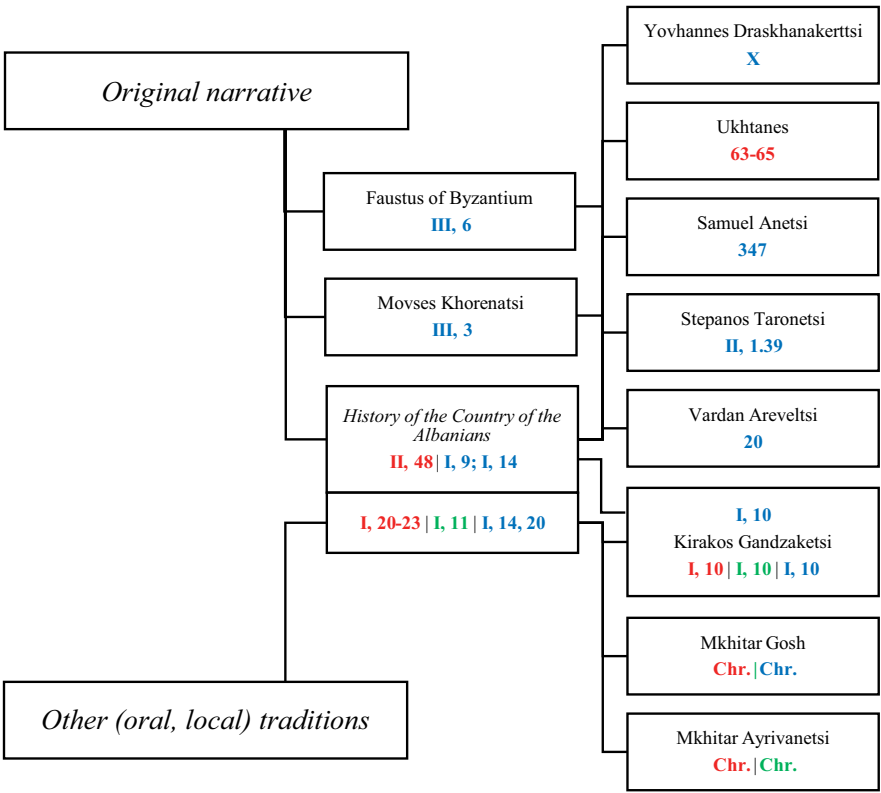
<sup>128</sup> Kirakos, *History* 1: Բայց Սանատրուկ, որ կաղմանցն Աղուանից վերակացու կարգեալ էր ի Տրդատայ, զեղբայր Թուսկան՝ կապեալ զնա զագւոյ ամենհի ձիոյ ի դաշտին Վատնեան (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 16–17); cf. the English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 13–14).

<sup>129</sup> Though the monastery is already attested in the 10<sup>th</sup> century by Catholicos Anania Mokatsi, the main church was built only between 1216 and 1238 by the Armenian prince of Khachen, Hasan Jalal. Kirakos describes the construction of the church in ch. 31 of his *History* (cf. Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 268–269; Bedrosian 1986: 232).



### 4.3 Conclusions

Comparing the information which the later chroniclers provide as to St Elisiaeus, King Urnayr and St Grigoris with that of the two versions appearing in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and older witnesses (see 3.3 above), we may safely state that Mkhitar Gosh, Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi and Kirakos Gandzaketsi most widely adapt the later versions of the legends from the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. In contrast to this, Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi, Ukhtanes, Samuel Anetsi, Stepanos Taronetsi and Vardan Areveltsi rather follow the older versions, building either directly upon the 5<sup>th</sup>-century authors (Faustus of Byzantium, Movses Khorenatsi) or on their adaptation in the *History of the Country of the Albanians*. The resulting picture is illustrated in Fig. 4.



**Fig. 4:** Simplified representation of the interrelations between the Armenian historiographies concerning the narratives about St Elisiaeus (indicated in red), King Urnayr (green) and St Grigoris (blue).

## 5 Concluding thoughts

The distinguished expert on Armenian historiography, Robert Thomson argued in 2014 that “there has certainly been a move away from earlier tendencies to regard Armenian histories as depositories of factual information, towards a more sophisticated attempt to understand them as compositions of often multi-layered sources, yet reflecting the concerns of their own time and their own authors or compilers”.<sup>130</sup>

In the study of Armenian historiography and its sources, many questions are still open: the dating of most of the earlier works remains controversial; the concept of authorship remains vague in some cases. Different accounts of one and the same event contained in one and the same historiographical work raise additional doubts on dating and authorship; this is also true of the question of an intentional “distortion” of historical narratives and their adaptation to certain needs, at least with some authors. Different versions may also reflect to what extent historiographers offered different interpretations of the past: the historiographer renders history in accordance with his own knowledge and with the sources that he chose selectively or that were available to him. Moreover, sources and traditions are constantly revised and underlie changes that are either due to the influence of socio-political changes, of “ethnicising” tendencies or, simply, to the existence of other, perhaps only oral traditions. In some cases, written sources that were used by the historiographers may simply not have survived and thus remained unknown to us. Kirakos Gandzaketsi himself must have been aware of these circumstances as he admonished his readers: “One must read Christian and secular histories with diligence, not negligence.”<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Thomson (2014: 306).

<sup>131</sup> Kirakos, *History*, 1: *Բաբունաբար երկօք և ոչ վարկաբարազի անցանել ընդ պատմութիւնս ժամանակաց՝ ներկնոց և արտաքնոց*: (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 4); English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 1).

## 6 Appendix: Lists of church dignitaries and kings

### 6.1 Lists of bishops and catholicoi

The comparison of the chronological lists of the catholicoi and bishops of Albania as contained in *The History of the Country of the Albanians*, Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi's *Chronography*, the *Chronicle* by Mkhitar Gosh and the *History* of Kirakos Gandzaketsi (Table III) reveals hardly any serious variation.<sup>132</sup> The main difference is that the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, followed by Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, names St Grigoris directly after St Elisaeus but also, a second time, in the 8<sup>th</sup> position after Lazar as the other authors do, and there are some discrepancies in the years of office of each cleric. Similar divergences occur in the part covered only by the later authors, especially concerning the vacancy of the see after Stepannos. Differences concerning the numbers of years can mostly be explained by an alphanumeric notation, which notoriously leads to confusion in manuscript copying.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Note that the general information about the origin or the deeds of the bishops and catholicoi as we find it in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* was also largely adopted by Mkhitar Gosh and Kirakos Gandzaketsi; such data are only mentioned in the Table when they differ (cf. Dowsett 1958: 476–481 with footnotes).

<sup>133</sup> This is especially true for the confusion of *b* = 5 and *ḅ* = 7 or of *ḡ* = 3 and *ḡ* = 4.

Tab. III: Lists of bishops and catholicoi.

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i> <sup>134</sup>	Mkhithar Ayrivanetsi, <i>Chronography</i> <sup>135</sup>	Mkhitar Gosh, <i>Chronicle</i> <sup>136</sup>	Kirakos Gandzaketsi, <i>History</i> <sup>137</sup>
St Elišay (disciple of St Tadeos, consecrated in Jerusalem)	Elišay	Elišay [Elašay] (comes from Jerusalem)	St Elišē (disciple of St Tadeos)
<i>St Grigoris</i>	<i>St Grigoris</i>		
Šowp'hališoy	Šowp'hališay	Šowp'xališoy	Šowp'hališoy
Matt'eos	Matt'eos	Matt'ē	Matt'ē
Sahak	Sahak	Sahak	Sahak
Movsēs	Movsēs	<i>Karēn</i>	Movsēs
Pand	Pand	Pant	Pant
Łazar	Łazar	Łazar	Łazar
St Grigoris	Grigoris	St Grigoris	St Grigoris
Zak'aria	Zak'aria	Zak'area [Zak'aria]	Zak'aria

<sup>134</sup> Arakelyan (1983: 341–347); Emin (1860a: 274–278); English Translation by Dowsett (1961a: 228–231). In the case of discrepancies, the text of Arakelyan's edition is preferred.

<sup>135</sup> Emin (1860b: 19).

<sup>136</sup> Alishan (1901b: 338–342); English Translation by Dowsett (1958: 476–481). Spelling variants in the edition by Manandyan and Acharyan (2014b: 605–606) are indicated in brackets.

<sup>137</sup> Melik-Ohanjanean (1961: 194–201); English translation by Bedrosian (1986: 155–165).

Tab. III (continued)

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i>	<i>Mkhithar Ayrivanetsi, Chronography</i>	<i>Mkhitar Gosh, Chronicle</i>	<i>Kirakos Gandzaketsi, History</i>
Dawit'	Dawit'	St Dawit'	Dawit'
Yovhan	Yohan	St Yovhan	Yovhannēs
Eremia (meets Mashtots)	Eremiay	Eremeay [Eremiay]	Eremiay
Abas	Abas	Abas, 23 years	Abas
Viroy, 34 years	Viroy, 33 years	Viroy, 33 years	Viroy, 33 years
Zak'aria, 15 years (from Partaw)	Zak'aria, 15 years	St Zak'aria [Zak'aria], 17 years	Zak'aria, 15 years
Yovhan, 25 years	Yohan, 27 years	Yohan, 25 years	Yovhan, 25 years
Owxtanēs, 12 years	Owxtanēs, 12 years	Owxtanēs, 12 years	Owxtanēs, 12 years
Eliazar, 6 years (from Shaki)	Eliazar, 6 years	Eliazar, 6 years (688–689)	Eliazar, 6 years
Nersēs, 17 years (from Gardman)	Nersēs, 17 years	Nersēs, 15 years	Nersēs, 17 years
Simēon, 1.5 years	Simēon, 2 years	Simēon, 1.5 years	Simēon, 1.5 years
Mik'ayel, 37 years (from Shaki)	Mik'ayel, 35 years	Mik'ayel [Mik'iēl], 35 years (741–742)	Mik'ayel, 35 years
Anastas, 4 years	Anastas, 3 years	Anastas, 4 years	Anania, 4 years
Yovsēp', 17 years (from Amaras)	Yovsēp', 15 years	Yovsēp' [Yowsēp'], 15 years	Yovsēp', 17 years
Dawit', 4 years (from Amaras)	Dawit', 4 years	Dawit', 4 years	Dawit', 4 years
Dawit', 9 years (from Mec Koweank')	Dawit', 9 years	Dawit', 9 years (776–777)	Dawit', 9 years
Matt'ēos, 1.5 years (from Kapalak)	Matt'ēos 2 years	Matt'ē, 1.5 years	Matt'ēos, 1.5 years

Movsēs, 2 years	Movsēs 2 years	Movsēs, 1.5 years	Movsēs, 1.5 years
Aharon, 2 years	Aharon, 2 years	Aharon, 2 years	Aharon, 2 years
Solomon, 0.5 years	Solomon, 1 year	Solomon, 0.5 years	Solomon, 0.5 years
Tëodoros, 4 years (from Gardman)	Tëodoros, 3 years	Tëodoros, 4 years (785–786)	Tëodoros, 4 years
Solomon, 11 years	Solomon, 2 years	Solomon, 11 years	Solomon, 11 years
Yovhannēs, 25 years	Yovhannēs, 25 years	Yovhannēs, 25 years	Yovhannēs, 25 years
Movsēs, 0.5 years	Movsēs, 1 year	Movsēs, 0.5 years	Movsēs, 0.5 years
Dawit', 28 years (from Kapalak)	Dawit', 28 years	Dawit', 28 years.	Dawit', 28 years
Yovsēp', 25 years (from Mec Koweank')	Yovsēp', 9 years	Yovsēp', 22 years (878–879)	Yovsēp', 25 years
Samowēl, 17 years (from Mec Koweank')	Samowēl, 13 years	Samowēl, 15 years	Samowēl, 17 years
Yownan, 8.5 years	Yownan, 2 years	Yownan, 8 years	Yownan, 8.5 years
Simēon, 21 years	Simēon, 21 years.	Simēon, 21 years	Simēon, 21 years
Dawit', 6 years (from P'arisos)	Dawit', 7 years	Dawit', 35 years (929–930)	Dawit', 5 years
Sahak, 18 years (from Mec Koweank')	Sahak, 18 years	Sahak, 25 years	Sahak, 18 years
Gagik, 14 years (from Gardman)	Gagik, 13 years	Gagik, 10 years	Gagik, 14 years
Dawit', 7 years (from Kapalak)			Dawit', 7 years
Dawit', 6 years	Dawit', 6 years	Dawit', 6 years	Dawit', 6 years
Petros, 18 years (from Gardman)	Petros, 18 years	Petros, 12 years	Petros, 16 years
Movsēs, 6 years (from P'arisos)	Movsēs, 6 years	Movsēs (from P'arisos)	Movses, 6 years (from P'arisos)

Tab. III (continued)

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i>	<i>Mkhithar Ayrivanetsi, Chronography</i>	<i>Mkhithar Gosh, Chronicle</i>	<i>Kirakos Gandzaketsi, History</i>
		Markos	Markos
		Yovsēpʻ	Yovsēpʻ
		Markos	Markos
		Stepʻannos	Stepʻannos
		Yovhannēs	Yovhannēs, 50 years
		Stepʻannos, 1.5 years	Stepʻannos, 1.5 years
		[8 years vacant]	[25 years vacant]
		Grigor (consecrated 1139)	Gagik > Grigorēs (1139)
			Bežgēn
			Stepʻannos, 40 years
			Yovhannēs, 40 years
			Nersēs (consecrated 1235)

## 6.2 Lists of kings (and princes) of Albania

As can be seen from the comparison of the chronological lists of the kings of Albania given in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* and in Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi's *Chronography*, as well as the rather scarce information in the other historiographies, there are some important discrepancies, especially concerning the position of King Urnayr and the mentioning of Vache (II) and Vachagan (III) the Pious.<sup>138</sup> Secured datings are not available in these lists.

**Tab. IV:** List of the Kings of Albania.

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i> <sup>139</sup>	Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, <i>Chronography</i> <sup>140</sup>
(Ařan) <sup>141</sup>	Ařan
	<i>Owřnayr</i>
Vač'agan <sup>142</sup> (I) "the Brave"	Vač'agan
Vač'ē [I]	Vač'ē
<i>Owřnayr</i> <sup>143</sup>	
Vač'agan <sup>142</sup> (II)	<i>Yawč'agan</i>
Merhawan <sup>144</sup>	Mirhawan

**138** On the Life of Vachagan III the Pious as depicted in the *History of the Country of the Albanians* cf. 3.1 above.

**139** The *History of the Country of the Albanians* comprises two lists of kings, one for the Arsacid dynasty ("Line of of Hayk") up to Vachagan III in book I, ch. 15 (Emin 1860a: 32 / Arakelyan 1983: 41 / Dowsett 1961a: 24; cf. n. 86 above as to the wording and spelling variants), which is briefly summarised in book III, ch. 23 (Emin 1860a: 271 / Arakelyan 1983: 338) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225), and one for the Mihranid (*Mirhakan* or *Mirhean*) and later dynasties following in the latter chapter (Emin 1860a: 271–274 / Arakelyan 1983: 338–341) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225–227). The name form *Mirhakan* appears in books II, ch. 17 (Emin 1860a: 134 / Dowsett 1961a: 107) and III, ch. 23 (Emin 1860a: 271) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225); the edition by Arakelyan (1983: 170 and 338) has both times *Mirhakan*. *Mirhean*, too, occurs in book III, ch. 23 (Emin 1860a: 271 / Arakelyan 1983: 338) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225).

**140** Emin (1860b: 19). At the end of his list, Ayrivanetsi adds: *Զայսչափ զտաք՝ երեսուն թուով*: "That many we have found, thirty in number".

**141** Not explicitly styled a king but rather an ancestor of the "Line of Hayk": *History of the Country of the Albanians*, I, 15 (Emin 1860a: 32 / Arakelyan 1983: 41 / Dowsett 1961a: 24).

**142** The edition by Emin (1860a: 32) has the variant spelling *Vač'akan*.

**143** Also mentioned by Kirakos Gandzaketsi, *History* 10 (Melik-Ohanjanean 1961: 193 / Bedrosian 1965: 156); cf. 4.2 above.

**144** The edition by Emin (1860a: 32) has the variant spelling *Mrhawan*.



Tab. IV (continued)

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i>	<i>Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, Chronography</i>
Satoy	Satoy
Asay	Asay
Esowałēn <sup>145</sup>	Ėsvalēn
Vač'ē [II]	
Vač'agan [III] "the Pious" <sup>146</sup>	
Mihr(an) <sup>147</sup>	Mihr
Armayēl	Armayēl
Vard [I]	Vard [I]
Vardan [I] "the Brave"	Vardan [I]
Vard [II]	Vard [II]
	<i>Varazman</i> <sup>148</sup>
Varaz-Grigor, "first Prince of Albania"	Varaz Grigor <sup>149</sup>
Ĵiwanšir, son of Varaz-Grigor, with three brothers: <i>Varaz-P'erož</i> , <i>Yezowt Xosrov</i> , <i>Varazman</i>	Ĵowanšēr <sup>150</sup> "the Brave"
<i>Varaz-P'erož</i> , eldest son of Varaz-P'erož?	
Varaz-Trdat [I], <sup>151</sup> son of Ĵiwanšir?	Varaz Trdat [I]
Vardan [II], eldest son of Yezowt Xosrov?	Vardan [II]
Nerseh Džndak, eldest son of Varazman?	Nerseh

<sup>145</sup> Also mentioned by Koryun, *Life of Mashtots* 17 with the name form *Arsval(e)* (Abeghyan 1941: 70 / Norehead 1985: 41) or *Arsowałēn* (Ananean 1964: 60); cf. 2.1.2 with n. 12 above. The latter form also appears in Movses Khorenatsi's *History* (III, 54; 1865: 248 / Thomson 2006: 317).

<sup>146</sup> Also mentioned by Ukhtanes, *History*, 65 (1871: II, 123 / Arzoumanian 2008: 124).

<sup>147</sup> First king of the *Mirhean* dynasty; the name form *Mihran* appears in book II, ch. 17 (Emin 1860a: 135–136 / Arakelyan 1983: 171–172 / Dowsett 1961a: 107–109), the shorter name form in book III, ch. 23 (Emin 1860a: 271 / Arakelyan 1983: 339) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225).

<sup>148</sup> Missing in the *History of the Country of the Albanians*, III, 23 (Emin 1860a: 271 / Arakelyan 1983: 339) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 225).

<sup>149</sup> *Varaz* and *Grigor* appearing as two separate entries in Mkhitar's list (Emin 1860b: 19).

<sup>150</sup> Name form also appearing in Vardan Areveltsi's *Historical Compilation*, 35 (1862: 67 / Thomson : 1989: 177).

<sup>151</sup> Also appearing in Vardan Areveltsi's *Historical Compilation*, 36: "Varaz-Trdat, prince of Albania" (1862: 68 / Thomson 1989: 177).

Tab. IV (continued)

<i>History of the Country of the Albanians</i>	<i>Mkhitar Ayrivanetsi, Chronography</i>
Gagik, son of Nerseh Džndak <sup>152</sup>	Gagik
Step'annos [I], son of Gagik	Step'anos [I]
Varaz Trdat [II]	Varaz Trdat [II]
Step'annos [II], son of Varaz Trdat	Step'anos [II]
Atrnerseh, son of Sahl <sup>153</sup>	Atrnerseh
Grigor [I], son of Atrnerseh, with brother Apow-sēt' (Abuseth)	Grigor [I]
Sahak named Sewaday [I], son of Grigor [I], brother of Apowli (Abu-Ali)	Sewaday
Grigor [II], son of Sewaday (I), brother of Dawit'	Grigor [II]
Sewaday [II] named Ishkhan, son of Grigor [II], with brother Atrnerseh	
Yovhannēs named Senek'erim, son of Sewaday [II], with brothers Grigor, Atrnerseh, P'ilippē <sup>154</sup>	Yovhannēs

Other kings and princes of Albania that appear in the Armenian historiographies:

- Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi in his *History* mentions a Prince Esayi of Albania (ch. 26), as well as Hamam, Prince and later King of Albania or, as labelled by Yovhannes, “great prince of the East” (ch. 33), and his son Atrnerseh, King of Albania, who “rules in the northeastern regions of the Caucasus” (ch. 44);<sup>155</sup> Hamam is likely to be identical with Grigor [I] in the lists;<sup>156</sup>
- Stepanos Taronetsi in his *Universal History* mentions “prince” Sanatruk of the Arsacid (*Arshakuni*) dynasty (book II, ch. 1);<sup>157</sup> additionally, a prince of

<sup>152</sup> *History of the Country of the Albanians*, III, 23 (Emin 1860a: 272 / Arakelyan 1983: 340) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 226).

<sup>153</sup> *History of the Country of the Albanians*, III, 23 (Emin 1860a: 273 / Arakelyan 1983: 340) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 226–227).

<sup>154</sup> *History of the Country of the Albanians*, III, 23 (Arakelyan 1983: 341) / 22 (Dowsett 1961a: 227); the edition by Emin (1860a: 271) has an abridged text version here. On details concerning Yovhannes-Senekerim cf. Chapter 14 of this Handbook (La Porta).

<sup>155</sup> Yovhannes Draskhanakerttsi, *History*, 24; 33; 44 (1912: 127; 170; 217 / Maksoudian 1987: 123; 144; 166).

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Maksoudian (1987: 279). Grigor-Hamam, known as a ruler of Aran, restored the kingship of Albania in about 893.

<sup>157</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* II, 1 (Manukean 2011: 677 / Greenwood 2017: 136–137). This refers to the King Sanatruk who had St Grigoris killed (cf. 4.1.3. above).

- Albania named *Varazdat patrik ēk'sarxos*,<sup>158</sup> probably identical with Varaz-Trdat [I] in the list; Prince Esayi of Albania, at the time of the Abbasid general Bugha (both in II, 2);<sup>159</sup> and also King Hamam of Albania (III, 3);<sup>160</sup>
- Vardan Areveltsi in his *Historical Compilation* also mentions the Albanian Prince Esayi in dealing with the time of Bugha (ch. 43);<sup>161</sup> he further brings up a certain Vahan, son of Juansher (ch. 47)<sup>162</sup> and a King of Albania named Kiwrikē (ch. 56).<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* II, 2 (Manukean 2011: 703 / Greenwood 2017: 167).

<sup>159</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* II, 2 (Manukean 2011: 708 / Greenwood 2017: 174).

<sup>160</sup> Stepanos Taronetsi, *Universal History* III, 3 (Manukean 2011: 743 / Greenwood 2017: 215).

<sup>161</sup> Vardan Areveltsi, *Historical Compilation*, 43 (1862: 81 / Thomson 1989: 184).

<sup>162</sup> Vardan Areveltsi, *Historical Compilation*, 47 (1862: 89 / Thomson 1989: 188).

<sup>163</sup> Vardan Areweltsi, *Historical Compilation*, 56 (1862: 100 / Thomson 1989: 194).

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