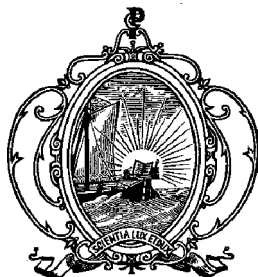


HEBREW UNIVERSITY ARMENIAN STUDIES 7

**The Problem of the Greek Sources  
of Movsēs Xorenac'i's  
*History of Armenia***

by

Aram Topchyan



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Aram Topchyan

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAAScHung	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AAP	<i>Aštanak (Armenological Periodical)</i>
AJ	Josephus Flavius, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
BA	<i>Byzantina Australiensia</i>
BAFCG	<i>Bibliothèque Arménienne de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian</i>
BJ	Josephus Flavius, <i>De Bello Judaico</i>
BM	<i>Banber Matenadaran</i>
BSGRT	<i>Biblioteca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana</i>
BTAVO	<i>Beihefte zum Tübingner Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
FHG	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller</i>
GRNSC	<i>Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics</i>
HA	<i>Handes amsōreay</i>
HŽP	<i>Hay Žołovrdi Patmut'yun (History of the Armenian People)</i>
IC	<i>Iran &amp; Caucasus</i>
IN	<i>Iran-Nameh</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LBL	<i>Les Belles Lettres</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
LHG	<i>Lraber hasarakakan gitut'yunneri</i>
LM	<i>Le Muséon</i>
MN	<i>Museum Notes</i>
NTS	<i>Novum Testamentum Supplements</i>
NBHL	<i>Nor baġirk' haykazeen lezui (New Dictionary of the Armenian Language)</i>
OAHHM	<i>Otar albyurnerə Hayastani ev Hayeri masin (Foreign Sources about Armenia and the Armenians)</i>
OECT	<i>Oxford Early Christian Texts</i>
PBH	<i>Patma-banasirakan handes</i>
PE	Eusebius of Caesarea, <i>Praeparatio Euangelica</i>
PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca</i>
PS	<i>Palestinskii sbornik</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
REGrec	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
SPhA	<i>The Studia Philonica Annual</i>
TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
TSNBL	<i>Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature</i>

<i>TTH</i>	<i>Translated Texts for Historians</i>
<i>UPATS</i>	<i>University of Pennsylvania, Armenian Texts and Studies</i>
<i>VV</i>	<i>Vizantiiskii vremennik</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>XV</i>	<i>Xristjanskii vostok</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

## INTRODUCTION

“Let no one... consider us to be unlearned and defame us.”

*Movsēs Xorenac'i*, I, 2

### THE PROBLEM IN GENERAL

One of the most important and at the same time disputed spheres of research on Movsēs Xorenac'i's<sup>1</sup> *History of Armenia* is the issue of his literary sources together with all related enigmas. There are numerous questions awaiting answer or at least objective, reasonable interpretation. These touch on the question of the trustworthiness of his information, its “real” or “imaginary” sources, his methods and principles of presenting data borrowed from Armenian or foreign authors in the context of his own narrative, and the circumstances of direct or indirect utilization of this or that writing. In the final analysis, the elucidation of the questions of source study is crucial for resolving the mystery, subject of a century's debate or more, of the date of the historiographer.

The importance of investigating the sources of the *History* follows from the nature of Xorenac'i's undertaking. This was to embrace in his work the comprehensive history of Armenia, beginning with the events of earliest antiquity. Thus he needed, more than any other medieval Armenian historiographer, reliable sources telling about the past<sup>2</sup> and, consequently, encountered great difficulties in a country where, in Step'an Malxasyan's words, “the book in general was something rare.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian and Russian words and proper names are transliterated according to the standard system used in the *REArm*.

<sup>2</sup> The Armenian script was created at the beginning of the fifth century AD, and Xorenac'i was presumably writing in the early eighties of the same century (he claims to be the pupil of Maštoc', the inventor of the alphabet). Thus, in the context of total absence of earlier Armenian literature, Movsēs had to solve almost unsolvable problems, when “searching for the evidence” in his “fight against oblivion” (phrases applying to Greco-Roman historiographers in the brilliant discussion of the differences between them and Hebrew writers of history by Arnaldo Momigliano: A. Momigliano, “Time in Ancient Historiography,” *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* [Middletown, Connecticut, 1982], 191; the article was first published in 1966).

<sup>3</sup> Movses Xorenac'i, Հայոց պատմություն (*History of Armenia*), modern Armenian translation, introduction and commentary by S. Malxasyan (Erevan, 1940), xxxi.

However, even in those unfavourable conditions, Movsēs managed to compose his narration based on such rich literary material that, according to Malxasyan's reckoning, he used more than forty sources, "mentioned and not mentioned" explicitly.<sup>4</sup>

The long examination of Xorenac'i has led to numerous, often diametrically opposite views. Various extreme positions have been maintained, which shows that in this case the source study requires an especially nuanced understanding, otherwise scholars arrive either at an outright denial of Xorenac'i's historiographic value, or, as an immediate reaction to this, unreserved acceptance of all that the "father of Armenian historiography" tells.<sup>5</sup> Mere reasoning and sane logic together with the ordinary principles of evaluating ancient historiography should not serve as the main guide for scholars in examining Movsēs' references to his sources and the way in which he employed them. The *History* in general is an uncommon writing differing in many respects from other historiographic works. Any analysis of its content requires a highly sensitive approach, and this concerns in particular the problems of source study.

A number of questions that need to be clarified and reassessed relate to the "Greek" sources of Xorenac'i, the central importance of which are stressed by the author himself in the first pages of the *History*. He promises his sponsor Sahak Bagratuni to write the genealogy of all Armenian princedoms, telling whence and how they originated "as these are found in certain Greek histories" (I, 1).<sup>6</sup> In the following chapter, he

<sup>4</sup> Movses Xorenac'i, xxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> It is appropriate to draw a parallel with the current approaches to the research on major Greco-Roman sources. After the prolonged and intense polemics about this or that author (Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus and others), at times manifested both by persistent hypercriticism or uncritical credulity, in recent studies scholars stress the necessity for "striking a balance between pure acceptance and simple disbelief" (see J. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, GRNSC, No 31 [Oxford, 2001], 31), and "the use which we today can make of their work" through balanced investigation (because those "texts are as much literary as historical": C.S. Kraus & A.J. Woodman, *Latin Historians*, GRNSC, No 27 [Oxford, 1997], 6). By this and the further parallels with classical studies and Greco-Roman authors, we do not intend to associate, all the more somehow equate, Xorenac'i with the great historiographers of antiquity. It would be more natural to view his work in the context of early Byzantine historiography. However, we have referred, by comparison, to e.g. Herodotus, Thucydides, or Tacitus (see notes 13, 21, and 22), because especially their outstanding works have been treated in similar extreme ways.

<sup>6</sup> The English citations from Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*, except in the cases provided with special notes, are from R.W. Thomson's translation: Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary on the literary sources by R.W. Thomson (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1978). In some cases, for more accuracy, we have made changes, marked by italic type, in Thomson's translation. Cf. the Armen-



substantiates this statement: although the writers of “the Persians and Chaldaeans” have more mentions of the Armenians, he prefers the “Greek” historiographers, for their kings have not only taken care to transmit “to the Greeks both accounts of their empires and... the results of learned studies,” but also to have “the books... of all nations translated into Greek” (I, 2). Thus, Xorenac’i stresses the more universal character of ancient Greek literature, which he prefers. The chapter concludes with the famous sentence, where Movsēs calls “all Greece the mother and nurse of the sciences.”<sup>7</sup> By saying “Greek historiographers” (*Յունաց պատմագիրք* or *Յունաց գրուցարանք*) Xorenac’i means authors of works written in the Greek language, independently of their nationality. Throughout his *History*, he used information as well as stylistic methods from such sources, to enrich the language of his narrative, and the very “Greek” sources, since the second half of the nineteenth cen-

ian text in the critical edition: Movsēs Xorenac’i, *Պատմութիւն հայոց (History of Armenia)*, critical text and introduction by M. Abelean and S. Yarut’iwnian (facsimile), with a supplement by A. Sargsean (Erevan, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> Oddly enough, Abraham Terian (A. Terian, “Xorenac’i and Eastern Historiography of the Hellenistic Period,” *REArm*, NS 28 [2001–2002], 101–141) tries to see “anti-Hellenism” in Xorenac’i’s *History*, one of the “significant commonplaces,” which, according to him, Movsēs shares with “apologetic Eastern historiographers” (119, 125) (whom, incidentally, Xorenac’i does not even strictly distinguish from the Hellenes, because for him those who wrote in Greek are Greeks). Further, since no evidence supporting this claim can be found in the *History*, because one should rather speak of Movsēs’ philhellenism, in the sense of his rapture at Greek culture, the only example of “berating the Greeks” Terian adduces (125) is that “in Xorenac’i we read that the exploits of Artasēs I surpass those of Alexander” (119). But this is simply a literary device and has nothing to do with anti-Hellenism. Besides, those words belong not to Movsēs but to the Greek author Polycrates, from whose writing he quotes (see II, 13). The other commonplace, which, in Terian’s opinion, Xorenac’i shares with the “apologists,” is “his detestation of Greek mythology” (119). Terian refers to Chapters I, 2 and 3, where there is no word about Greek mythology: Movsēs mentions “pagan narratives” (*Հեթանոսականք գրուցատրութիւնք*), and there is no trace of “detestation” in his attitude. He only promises to take from those narratives whatever he considers reliable (I, 3). Moreover, Xorenac’i is an admirer of the Greek myths, from which he often cites instances, and which he considers to be “noble and polished and meaningful, which have hidden in themselves allegorically the meaning of the events” (I, 32). Terian, equally unconvincingly, calls attention also to other commonplaces, a discussion of which lies beyond our immediate concern (for example, “scorning early Greek rulers for not keeping written records prior to the Trojan period is another recurring feature in Eastern historiography” [119–120]. But, even if this is so, it is not a commonplace shared by Xorenac’i, for he, quite the contrary, praises the Greek kings [I, 2], who, as already mentioned above, took care to transmit “to the Greeks... accounts of their empires” and to have “the books... of all nations translated into Greek”; his censuring of Armenia’s own “kings who failed to keep records prior to the discovery of the Armenian script” [120] in Chapter I, 3 cannot be paralleled with the “anti-Hellenistic” Eastern authors’ scorning of Greek rulers).

tury, provided most grounds for criticizing Xorenac'i. In the end, this criticism led scholars to regard the work as pseudepigraphic.

### THE SUBJECT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Especially interesting and often obscure circumstances surround Movsēs' references to Berossus (third century BC), Manetho (third century BC), Alexander Polyhistor (first century BC), Josephus Flavius (first century AD), Cephalion (first-second centuries AD), Abydenus (first or second century AD), Ariston of Pella (second century AD), Julius Africanus (second-third centuries AD), Bishop Firmilian (third century AD), Eusebius of Caesarea (third-fourth centuries AD), and the almost unknown or little known Polycrates, Euagoras, Scamandrus, and Phlegon.

The issues related to these authors are complex. One could write a separate study of the reference(s) to each of them, including various relevant matters. In the following three chapters, we have tried to re-examine in detail the references to Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, Cephalion (Chapter I), Julius Africanus (Chapter II), and Bishop Firmilian (Chapter III), as well as to discuss the possible utilization of data from their works by Xorenac'i. This book, entitled *The Problem of the Greek Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i*, does not claim to be a comprehensive investigation covering all Greek writings somehow connected with the *History*. We have just sought to raise, once again, problematic questions of source study, suggesting new possible solutions, calling attention to several unnoticed aspects, and stressing the necessity of further examination of the topics.

The problems aroused by Xorenac'i's references to those authors are so complicated and sometimes inexplicable that nothing serious has been opposed to the repetitive refutation, and the scholars trying to be more moderate and objective have preferred not address those questions or bypass them with brief notes containing nothing new. For example, Gagik Sargsyan,<sup>8</sup> after assessing some source questions, with regard to Abydenus, Julius Africanus, and Firmilian confined himself to remarking that the problems concerning them "are still difficult to explain."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See a concise summary of his views on Xorenac'i's methods of using sources below in this introduction.

<sup>9</sup> G. Sarkisjan (Sargsyan), *История Армении Мовсеса Хоренаци (Movsēs Xorenac'i's History of Armenia*; Erevan, 1986), 35.

## AN OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS OPINIONS

Before passing to our main subject, it is necessary to present in brief the most significant opinions expressed in the course of past study of Xorenac'i's sources. Those views have, in some way, directly or indirectly influenced the prevailing conclusions about Movsēs' references to the authors in question.

The outstanding German orientalist Alfred von Gutschmid's (1831–1887) opinion concerning the sources mentioned explicitly by the historiographer has been decisive in scholarly literature. With characteristic keen study and acute reasoning, von Gutschmid reduced the historical value of Movsēs' references and citations almost to zero. He doubted the information taken from the above-mentioned sources, at the same time revealing certain "fraud" ("Schwindelei") and inventions on Xorenac'i's part.<sup>10</sup> Later on, the majority of researchers either accepted von Gutschmid's views or added corroboration to the foundation he laid, and some of his inferences are still deemed convincing.

Von Gutschmid was in fact the first to examine the *History* in a systematic, scholarly way. During his analysis of Xorenac'i's chronology and narration of history, he put forward many interesting questions, expressing opinions worthy of consideration and assessing certain cases correctly. Reappraising his work after more than one and a quarter centuries, one may ascertain the twofold—positive and negative—significance of his research, which caused a sensation both among "eastern" and "western" Armenologists. On the one hand, von Gutschmid pioneered new ways for the future study but on the other, due to some extreme positions on his part, he became one of the inciters of the later mighty wave of hypercriticism.

At the beginning of his study, von Gutschmid, using the example of another fifth century Armenian historiographer, Agat'angelos, draws attention to the fact that a people that has no literature "makes legend of history."<sup>11</sup> Thus, he prepares the basis upon which to construct his refutation. In some instances, von Gutschmid speaks about some of

<sup>10</sup> See A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der armenischen Geschichte des Moses von Khoren," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 28 (1876), 1–43. The same study was also published in the following book: A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, III (Leipzig, 1892), 282–338.

<sup>11</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 1.

Xorenac'i's virtues, e.g., that his information concerning Iranian religion and mythology is not insignificant, or that he is quite aware of Persian realities. However, in general, he opines, Movsēs' book is "nearly nothing" ("fast Nichts") for historical study. While writing about the events in Armenia, Xorenac'i is not trustworthy, because he always deviates from other known sources. His information on the Sassanids and Roman emperors is a result of ignorance.<sup>12</sup> Von Gutschmid examines one by one the writings mentioned by "the father of Armenian historiography," and in most cases he does not believe Movsēs really used them. Further, he tries to find various explanations for such "falsifications."<sup>13</sup> His negative approach leads him too far: demonstrating Xorenac'i's chronological faults, sometimes he makes mistakes himself.

Although we deal with von Gutschmid's interpretations in the relevant chapters of our book, it is appropriate to present an example here, in order to support the above statement. In Chapter II, 75 Movsēs refers to Bishop Firmilian's "history" as his source. Von Gutschmid denies the existence of such a writing of Firmilian and the use of it by Xorenac'i. He attempts to explain the reference<sup>14</sup> with the help of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>15</sup> After telling about Firmilian, Eusebius begins a chapter, which in the Armenian version is entitled "Concerning the Persecutions that Took Place in the Days of Maximinus" (VI, 28).<sup>16</sup> This, according to von Gutschmid, gave Xorenac'i grounds to invent that Firmilian had written a history of the persecutions of the church. Further, Chapter VII, 5 by Eusebius, where the bishop is mentioned for the last time, bears the following title: "Concerning the Peace that Was after the Persecutions." On this basis, Movsēs supposed (thinking that the peace made in the time of the emperor Constantine is meant) that Firmilian was still alive then, and therefore ascribed to him a history of the persecutions instigated by Diocletian. In fact, he argues, Eusebius

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, 5–7, 17.

<sup>13</sup> In a similar way, Herodotus' references to his sources have been criticized. See D. Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin, 1971), *passim*; Fehling's purpose was to prove that the source quotations in Herodotus' *History* are fictitious and fabricated by the author to make his own information seem reliable. For other instances of the hyper-criticism of Greco-Roman authors, see note 21.

<sup>14</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 19.

<sup>15</sup> Եւսեբիոսի Կեսարացոյ Պատմութիւն Եկեղեցւոյ (*The Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius of Caesarea*), translated from Syriac into Armenian in the fifth century, elucidated with a new translation from the Greek original by the Mechitarist Father Abraham V. Ćarean (Venice, 1877).

<sup>16</sup> The emperor Maximinus Thrax (235–238) is meant.

means the peace before Constantine, in the days of Gallienus. Xalatjanc accepted and repeated this interpretation.<sup>17</sup>

A careful reading of the corresponding pages of the *Ecclesiastical History* makes one wonder what forced von Gutschmid to propose such an artificial solution, and Xalatjanc, to repeat it. First, Firmilian is not mentioned in Chapter VII, 5 for the last time; subsequently, Eusebius refers to him by name for four more times (VII, 14, VII, 28, VII, 30), and the last reference is about his death. Second, the content of VII, 5 is not connected with the time of Constantine the Great (306–337). On the previous page (Chapter VII, 1), Eusebius clearly writes that the emperor Decius (249–251) was succeeded by Gallus (251–253), and then describes, according to the letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, the state of the church in those years. The “peace” concerns the concord of various churches “with each other” (πρὸς ἑαυτάς) (VII, 4), on which occasion the bishops of a number of cities (Firmilian among them) greatly rejoiced. It is not easy to follow von Gutschmid’s logic, first connecting all this with Constantine the Great and then with Movsēs’ words. In addition, he has confused the emperors Gallus (251–253) and Gallienus (260–268). Von Gutschmid’s ingenious explanation is baseless, and as a result the question whether Firmilian wrote a history or not remains open. This is addressed anew in Chapter III of the present study.

The subsequent significant works examining all possible (and impossible!) sources of Movsēs Xorenac’i in detail are the two books by Grigor Xalatjanc (1858–1912): *The Armenian Epos in Movsēs Xorenac’i’s History of Armenia*<sup>18</sup> and *The Armenian Arsacids in Movsēs Xorenac’i’s History of Armenia*.<sup>19</sup> Emphasizing his main goal, Xalatjanc has added the subtitle *An Attempt at Source Criticism* (*Опыт критики источников*) to both works. He surpassed von Gutschmid, casting doubt on nearly all information and references of Xorenac’i, searching for falsification in each of his sentences. In the days of Xalatjanc and also thanks to him, the hypercriticism of the *History of Armenia* had become fashionable. Auguste Carrière’s (1838–1902) studies were published, in which he argued for the necessity of moving Xorenac’i from

<sup>17</sup> G. Xalatjanc (Xalat’yanc’), *Армянские Аршакиды в Истории Армении Моисея Хоренского* (*The Armenian Arsacids in Movsēs Xorenac’i’s History of Armenia*, I–II; Moscow, 1903), II, 127–128.

<sup>18</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Армянский эпос в Истории Армении Моисея Хоренского* (*The Armenian Epos in Movsēs Xorenac’i’s History of Armenia*, I–II; Moscow, 1896).

<sup>19</sup> See note 17.

the fifth century.<sup>20</sup> Xalatjanc's goal was to demonstrate, besides strengthening the supposition that Movsēs was a later author with additional arguments, the "doubtfulness" (сомнительность) and "groundlessness" (несостоятельность) of his references to various, especially little known, sources. Xalatjanc claimed that Xorenac'i had never read those writings but had merely used the names of their authors to make his narrative more convincing. In reality, he had utilized other, well-known works (mainly Armenian or translated into Armenian) surviving to this day, about which he intentionally keeps silent. Characteristic of Xalatjanc's method is the search for plagiarism throughout the text of the *History*: this concerns sentences, expressions, words or even elements of words taken from this or that writing, combining which Movsēs, in Xalatjanc's opinion, wrote most chapters of his book. His conclusions about Berossus, Abydenus, Cephalion, Julius Africanus, and Bishop Firmilian are mainly a repetition of von Gutschmid's views, but, as we shall see below, Xalatjanc elaborated on the material, making the critique even harsher.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See especially A. Carrière, *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren* (Vienne, 1893; *Supplément*, Vienne, 1894).

<sup>21</sup> Xorenac'i was not the only victim of the nineteenth–early twentieth centuries hypercriticism; even the greatest classical authors shared a similar fate. This was natural in the period of the unprecedented rise of academic studies, when modern classical scholarship springing from the eighteenth century rationalism was gaining momentum. Friedrich August Wolf (1759–1824) brought to life the famous "Homeric question," which marked the beginning of a new era (see J.E. Sandys, *A Short History of Classical Scholarship (from the Sixth Century BC to the Present Day)* [Cambridge, 1915], 305–309). His critical spirit inspired a great pleiad of scholars, stimulating numerous profound studies. Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831) was among the pioneers affected by Wolf's influence (J.E. Sandys, *History of Scholarship*, 314); for the first time he dealt with the history of Rome in a critical, scientific approach, developing "the analytic tactic of breaking down sources and reconstructing them to yield a more reliable narrative" (R. Mellor, *The Roman Historians* [London and New York, 1999], 65). However, it was the same critical spirit that ultimately, especially in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, was transformed into hypercriticism, provoking some scholars to run into extremes and, for example, characterize Herodotus as "Father of Lies" opposed to "Father of History" (cf. a fine criticism of such approaches in T.J. Luce, *The Greek Historians* [London and New York, 1997], 27 ff., who corroborates, once again, that "quite a few errors in Herodotus... are counterbalanced by a great many statements that are correct"), or Thucydides, generally acknowledged as the most "scientific" ancient Greek historiographer, as a "mythistoricus" (F.M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* [London, 1907]). Tacitus' world outlook was declared "ein Chaos von unabgeklärten und unausgereiften Meinungen, ein Sammelsurium von Widersprüchen" (R. von Pöhlmann, "Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus," *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayerischen Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse; Abhandlung I* [1910], 63); thus "the nineteenth-century rationalism" was also applied "as the yardstick wherewith to measure" Tacitus (M.L.W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963], 115). Hyper-

An essential contribution to the elucidation of Xorenac'i's methods of using sources and to the source study of the *History* in general<sup>22</sup> was

criticism of classical authors was at times manifested also later, even on the part of prominent classicists (Moses I. Finley [1912–1986], for example, regarded Xenophon's *Hellenica* a worthless work, "very unreliable, tendentious, dishonest, dreary to read, and rarely illuminating on broader issues": M.I. Finley, *The Greek Historians: The Essence of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius* [New York, 1959], 14). Strange as it may seem, running to such extremes is still far of being a bygone practice, for even as late as in the last decades of the twentieth century, scholars were making efforts to prove that, e.g., Herodotus was a liar and the founder of a "liar school" (W.K. Pritchett, *The Liar School of Herodotus* [Amsterdam, 1985]), or that Thucydides was "the least objective of historians" and surely not a "scientist in the 19th century sense" (V.J. Hunter, *Thucydides, the Artful Reporter* [Toronto, 1973], 184). Given this fact and the total lack of any guarantee that such odd verdicts merely based on the strict principles mandatory for modern and contemporary scholarship but by no means compatible with the Herodotian or post-Herodotian ways of writing history are still not excluded, it is perhaps justified to reiterate, even in our own days, such truisms as: "Ancient historiographers are not historians in the current sense of the word" (A. Terian, "Xorenac'i," 130), or "one need not be sceptical about the historical value of mythology," because "myth as such does not tell of historical events," therefore, Book I of Xorenac'i's *History* "should be treated more as literature than as history" (*ibidem*, 128, 130).

<sup>22</sup> The problem of sources, together with the research methods of historiographers, are still among the central topics also in classical studies, the demand for impartiality and "balance" remaining of pressing importance. Investigations like that of Fehling (see note 13 and, for an overview of his and other similar opinions, R. Bichler & R. Rollinger, *Herodot* [Darmstadt, 1999], 161–163) may contain much interesting, but Fehling's preconception about Herodotus' book being nothing more than simply a work of fiction, understandably, conditioned most scholars' negative reaction (see J. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 34). None of the ancient writers of history is totally free of such human weaknesses as "faking," fabrication (on invention in classical historiography, see T.P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* [Leicester, 1979] and A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* [London, 1988]), concealing his real sources or adjusting the existing facts to his own purposes. For example, Herodotus (II, 156) ascribes to the Egyptians the information that the island of Chemmis "is floating" (λέγεται δὲ ὅτι Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ νῆσος πλωτή), while in reality he knows this from Hecataeus' work (cf. J. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 33), or even the great Tacitus, depending on circumstances, is not against resorting to "malicious reinterpretation" of his sources (C.S. Kraus & A.J. Woodman, *Latin Historians*, 98). Such "sins," to a greater or lesser extent, can always be found in this or that text and should by no means give grounds for simple generalizations and labels like "liar" or "mystifier of the first order" (the famous characterization of Xorenac'i by Thomson: see Moses Khorenats'i, 56). Instead, far more fruitful is the practice of objectively and profoundly examining both the common and individual research methods in ancient and medieval historiography, for a better understanding and constructive evaluation of the "historical science" of the past. Among the considerable number of studies on historical methods we would mention the following: P.G. Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods* (Cambridge, 1961); P. Pédech, *La méthode historique de Polybe* (Paris, 1964); D. Lateiner, *The Historical Method of Herodotus* (Toronto, 1989); see also fine discussions in T.J. Luce, *The Greek Historians*, 20–25, 60–79; R. Mellor, *The Roman Historians*, 43–47, 63–70, 88–94, 115–118; J. Marincola, *Greek Historians*, 31–39, and a general outline in C.W. Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), 47–90 (the chapter "Research, Orientation, and Explanation in the Greek and Latin Historians").

made by Gagik Sargsyan (1926–1998). By analysing hypercritically treated passages, Sargsyan first stated that, when Movsēs suggests data absent from what seems to be his main source, or which contradict that source, the changes he makes are not arbitrary (as especially Xalatjanc thought), but Xorenac'i relies upon other sources. Sargsyan dealt with Chapter II, 19 of the *History*,<sup>23</sup> which we shall examine in connection with the corresponding passage of Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*. Josephus Flavius is regarded as the main source of that chapter, but there are striking deviations from his narration, and Xalatjanc deemed those data to be invented and spurious.<sup>24</sup> According to Xorenac'i, Armenians participated in the Parthian campaign to Syria and Palestine in 40 AD. Sargsyan demonstrates that Movsēs, besides Josephus, also used the book of P'awstos Buzand and another, non-extant source, which provided him with important information. Most probably, he maintains, the Armenians had really joined the Parthians and forced Jews, who later on settled in the city of Van, to migrate from their lands.

In the same article, Sargsyan speaks about two other interesting aspects of Xorenac'i's use of sources. Sometimes, while writing his book, Movsēs did not have certain texts at hand and utilized their information from memory. This undoubtedly took place in the *History of Armenia*, and Sargsyan noticed it in the above-mentioned Chapter II, 19. According to him, Movsēs used Josephus' *Jewish War* in that fashion.<sup>25</sup> Although in this case (see Chapter II of the present study) we have a different opinion (the cause of inconsistencies is not the use of the *Jewish War* from memory, but that Xorenac'i simultaneously based himself on Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*), nevertheless Sargsyan's remark is quite appropriate and should be taken into account.

The second substantial aspect of Movsēs' utilization of sources, according to Sargsyan, is the following. There were exact but laconic data at his disposal; he re-narrated those data, enriching them by rhetorical and stylistic means, using writings suitable for that purpose. One such source particularly favoured by Xorenac'i was Pseudo-Callisthenes' *History of Alexander*; Movsēs has been considered the translator of that writing.<sup>26</sup> This method does not distort the truthfulness of the

<sup>23</sup> G. Sargsyan, «Աղբյուրների օգտագործման եղանակը Մովսես Խորենացու մոտ» («The Ways of Using Sources in Movsēs Xorenac'i»), *BM*, 3 (1956), 31–42.

<sup>24</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 65–66.

<sup>25</sup> G. Sargsyan, “The Ways of Using Sources,” 33.

<sup>26</sup> See Yakovbos V. Tašean, Ռուսումնասիրությունք Ստոյն-Կալիսթենեայ Վարուդ Ալեքսանդրի (*A Study of Pseudo-Callisthenes' History of Alexander*; Vienna, 1892),



information: simply, the events are presented in an artistic manner.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the article, after an analysis of specific passages, Sargsyan notes, as a general trait, that Xorenac'i "never occupied himself with inventing history but always relied upon an objective datum." This statement, although somewhat exaggerated and too generalized, is in many cases true. Of course, certain portions of invention may be traced in various parts of the *History*, but Movsēs' customary pursuit of finding objective data is also apparent. Many sources Xorenac'i used do not survive, which means that the proportion of objective and subjective cannot always be measured, and it is another question whether or not he made the right choice between the existing parallel data and interpreted them correctly. Whatever objections Sargsyan's observations may incite, they are instructive in the sense that when odd, obscure or improbable pieces of information in the *History* are considered without the presumption of "pure invention," interesting results may emerge.

The article "The Ways of Using Sources in Movsēs Xorenac'i" was the beginning of a wider program: later, based on the above-mentioned statements, Sargsyan wrote extensive works on the *History of Armenia*,<sup>28</sup> confirming, time and again, the thesis that Movsēs' book should not be rejected as a historical source, but scholars ought to uncover (which demands great efforts) the "treasures" of this unique writing, which "are mostly not on the surface but in the bowels of the narrative,"<sup>29</sup> and which are irreplaceable and of exceptional importance especially for the research of the inner life of Armenia before the fourth century AD.<sup>30</sup>

As already noted, there are no innovations directly related to our subject in Sargsyan's works, but his inferences, in which he stresses the necessity of examining Xorenac'i's sources with a new approach should be noted also when dealing with our immediate issues. To this overview we should add the specific examples of Sargsyan's source study, such as the chapter "Priest Olympius, the Writer of a Temple History" in the

42–84. For the relationship between Xorenac'i and the *History of Alexander*, see also the following recent article: M. Bernardelli, "Movsēs Xorenac'i e il *Romanzo di Alessandro*: un esempio di intertestualità," *Bnagirk' Yišatakac'—Documenta Memoriae. Dall'Italia e dall'Armenia studi in onore di Gabriella Uluhogian*, a cura di V. Calzolari, A. Sirinian, B.L. Zekiyani (Bologna, 2004), 139–164.

<sup>27</sup> G. Sargsyan, "The Ways of Using Sources," 36–42.

<sup>28</sup> See especially G. Sargsyan, Մովսես Խորենացու Հայոց պատմության ժամանակագրական համակարգը (*The Chronological System of Movsēs Xorenac'i's History of Armenia*; Erevan, 1965); *idem*, Հելլենիստական դարաշրջանի Հայաստանը և Մովսես Խորենացին (*Armenia in the Hellenistic Epoch and Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Erevan, 1966).

<sup>29</sup> G. Sargsyan, *The Chronological System*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> G. Sargsyan, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 6–8.

book *Armenia in the Hellenistic Epoch and Movsēs Xorenac'i*, where he, contrary to Movsēs' critics' opinion, brings forward arguments showing that Xorenac'i really used that source.

One could expect that Sargsyan's research, together with the other, preceding significant studies,<sup>31</sup> in which was demonstrated the lack of prospect in merely negative approach, would prevent further similar attempts. Nonetheless in 1978, Robert W. Thomson's English translation of Movsēs' *History* was published, with extensive introduction and notes.<sup>32</sup> This outstanding edition is well-known to scholars, and there is no need to expatiate on it now. Thomson, simultaneously with the first English translation of the *History of Armenia*, utilized his wide knowledge and eminent philological skills to revive and corroborate with additional evidence von Gutschmid's, Carrière's, and Xalatjanc's opinions. Those were new and notable in their days, but by the time when Thomson's translation was published, scholarship had moved in other directions.<sup>33</sup> His work, too, is mainly a source study, as empha-

<sup>31</sup> Especially F. Conybeare's (1857–1924), M. Abelyan's (1865–1944), and S. Malxasyan's (1857–1947) works should be noted: see F.C. Conybeare, "The Date of Moses of Khoren," *BZ*, 10 (1901), 489–504; *idem*, «Մովսէս իորենացոյ Պատմութեան աղբերակ խնդիրը» ("The Problem of the Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i's History"), *HA* 16 (1902), 129–132, 193–198, 236–240 (oddly enough, these important studies by Conybeare are not referred to in R. Thomson's edition), where the author demonstrates that the material of Movsēs' sources discovered by Carrière was available already in the fifth century, so there is no need to move him to the eighth century; M. Abelyan, Հայ ժողովրդական առասպելները Մովսէս իորենացու Հայոց պատմութեան մէջ (*The Armenian Myths in Movsēs Xorenac'i's History of Armenia*; Vałaršapat, 1899), where M. Abelyan by an exhaustive analysis refuted G. Xalatjanc's opinion that folklore never was a source for Movsēs' narrative, and that the stories seeming to be of "folk" origin in reality were fabricated by a compilation from various writings; S. Malxasyan, իորենացու առեղծվածի տուրքը (*On the Mystery of Xorenac'i*; Erevan, 1940), where, together with a critique of Nersēs Akinean's (see N.V. Akinean, «Դէտնդ Երէջ եւ Մովսէս իորենացի» ["Lewond Erec' and Movsēs Xorenac'i"], *Matenagrakan hetazotut'iwinner* [*Philological Studies*, III; Vienna, 1930], 127–291) and H. Manandyan's (see H. Manandyan, իորենացու առեղծվածի լուծումը (*The Solution to the Mystery of Xorenac'i*; Erevan, 1934) views on the later time of Movsēs, he brings forward persuasive arguments in favour of Xorenac'i being a fifth century author.

<sup>32</sup> See note 6.

<sup>33</sup> Before Thomson, another noteworthy article on the date of Xorenac'i was published (see C. Toumanoff, "On the Date of Pseudo-Moses of Chorene," *HA*, 75 (1961), 467–475), where, opposing the "Soviet Armenian authorities," S. Malxasyan and M. Abelyan, the author made an attempt to support the conjecture that Movsēs lived at the end of the eighth century. The efforts of insisting on this dating of the *History of Armenia* continue till the present; see, e.g., M. van Esbroeck, "Movsēs Xorenac'i et le Girk' Ėakac'," *REArm*, NS 25 (1994–1995), 109–123. Contrary to this approach, also studies arguing for the traditional date of Movsēs' book have been written comparatively recently, from which the following may be noted: A. Mat'evosyan, «Մովսէս իորենացին

sized on the title-page: "Translation and Commentary on the Literary Sources."<sup>34</sup>

The next important Western publication after that of Thomson is the new French translation of the *History* by Annie and Jean-Pierre Mahé, with a very interesting introduction and fine commentary.<sup>35</sup> The authors have tried to avoid categoricity, analyzing the complicated subject in a reasonable and moderate manner. We shall revert to this book on the relevant occasions below.

Among the contemporary researchers, special reference should be made to Giusto Traina, whose attempts to connect Movsēs' book with the traditions of Greco-Roman historiography are remarkable.<sup>36</sup> From this point of view, he has also written about the mention of Abydenus and Cephalion in the *History of Armenia*.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, we must note Albert Mušelyan's studies, although their subject does not lie within the range of our immediate topics. His works are a notable step in the investigation of the *History of Armenia* and are most useful also for us.<sup>38</sup>

On various occasions the writer, too, has discussed several questions of the source study of Movsēs' work,<sup>39</sup> proposing possible solutions and

և Աթանաս Տարոնացու ժամանակագրությունը» ("Movsēs Xorenac'i and At'anas Taronac'i's *Chronicle*"), *PBH*, 1989, No 1, 220–234; P. Muradyan, «Մովսես Խորենացու Հայոց պատմության բնագրական Հետքերը 6–7-րդ դարերի երկերում» ("The Textual Traces of the *History of Armenia* in Works of the Sixth-Seventh Centuries"), *Ējmiacin*, 1992, No 6–7, 85–98; B. Harut'yunyan, *Աշխարհագրոյցը և չորս հայերի խնդիրը* (The *Ašxarhac'oyc'* and the Problem of Four Armenias; Erevan, 1997).

<sup>34</sup> Of course, Thomson has not set aside also Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, Juilius Africanus, and Bishop Firmilian, but since further in this study his opinions are among those often referred to, we shall not go into details here.

<sup>35</sup> Moïse de Khorène, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, nouvelle traduction de l'arménien classique par Annie et Jean-Pierre Mahé (Paris, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> See G. Traina, *Il complesso di Trimalcione (Movsēs Xorenac'i e le origini del pensiero storico armeno)* (Venezia, 1991), 53; *idem*, «Մովսես Խորենացիի «դասական» ավանդությունը Հայոց պատմության Ա գրքի 5-րդ գլուխին մեջ» ("The "Classical" Tradition of Movsēs Xorenac'i in Chapter 5 of Book I of the *History of Armenia*"), *PBH*, 1992, No 1, 28–32; *idem*, "Materiali per un commento a Movsēs Xorenac'i, *Patmut'wn Hayoc'*," I, *LM*, 108 (1995), 279–333; II, *LM*, 111 (1998), 95–138.

<sup>37</sup> G. Traina, "Materiali," I, 304–311.

<sup>38</sup> A. Mušelyan, «Որտե՞ղ է գտնվել Մովսես Խորենացու Հիշատակած Բյութանիան» ("Where was the Bithynia Mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i?"), *PBH*, 1990, No 1, 210–227; *idem*, ««Վասպուրական» տերմինի նշանակությունը Հայ դասական մատենագրության մեջ» ("The Meaning of the Term "Vaspurakan" in Classical Armenian Literature"), *IN*, 1996, No 2–3, 36–40.

<sup>39</sup> See A. Topchyan, «Մովսես Խորենացու Հիշատակած Հունական մի քանի աղբյուրների մասին» ("On Several Greek Sources Referred to by Movsēs Xorenac'i"), *AAP*, I (Erevan, 1995), 75–85; *idem*, «Մովսես Խորենացու Հայոց պատմության մարաբասյան մի

drawing attention to some of Xorenac'i's particular methods of borrowing and presenting information of various authors. If those methods are taken into account, a number of incomprehensible passages of the *History*, which have been misinterpreted or dismissed, may be reassessed.

### THE AIM OF THIS BOOK

The main principle by which we have been guided throughout the present study is that the contemporary science of history can hardly gain much by completely rejecting the validity of any historiographic source. The blanket criticism of whatever Xorenac'i says has already played a certain historic role, also positive, provoking the necessary measure of scepticism, but for the present day it has obviously lost any *raison d'être*. In the current generation, new efforts of confirming or repeating von Gutschmid's "fast Nichts" add nothing weighty to our knowledge of ancient literature and history. Consequently, what one should do nowadays is, firstly, to get rid of extreme mistrust and prevailing negative stereotypes, and, secondly, to continue extracting from the work of the long-suffering "father of Armenian historiography" as much useful information as possible. Such approach seems even more mandatory against the background of today's balanced tendencies<sup>40</sup> in the research

Հասկած» ("A Passage by Mar Abas in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*"), AAP, II (Erevan, 1998), 56–63. The preliminary versions of the three chapters of the current work have been published in periodicals: A. Topchyan, «Փիրմիլիանոսի «պատմութիւնը» որպէս Մովսէս Խորենացու աղբիւր» ("Firmilian's "Narration" as a Source of Movsēs Xorenac'i"), HA, 110 (1997), 65–88 (see the same in the PBH, 1999, No 1, 220–236); *idem*, «Հուլիոս Աֆրիկանոսի Ժամանակագրությունը և Մովսէս Խորենացին» ("Julius Africanus' *Chronicle* and Movsēs Xorenac'i"), PBH, 2000, No 2; *idem*, «Մովսէս Խորենացու յիշատակած մի քանի պատմիչների մասին. Բերոսոս, Ալեքսանդր Բազմավէպ, Աբիդենոս և Կեփալիոն» ("On Several Historiographers Mentioned by Movsēs Xorenac'i: Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion"), HA, 112 (1999), 115–186; *idem*, «Մովսէս Խորենացու մի մեջբերման շուրջ» («Այսոցիկ վկայէ և Կեփալիոն...»)» ("On a Citation of Movsēs Xorenac'i ["Cephalion is also a Witness to these Matters"]"), PBH, 2000, No 3, 152–160 (the Russian version of the article has been published in the XV: "Об одной цитате Мовсеса Хоренаци ["Об этом свидетельствует и Кефалион..."], XV, NS 3 (IX) [2002], 474–482). See also A. Topchyan, "Firmilian's "Narration" as a Source of Movsēs Xorenac'i," REArm, NS 27 (1998–2000), 99–115; *idem*, "Julius Africanus' *Chronicle* and Movsēs Xorenac'i," LM, 114 (2001), 153–185. Finally, see the initial, Armenian version of the present, significantly reworked and supplemented, English edition: A. Topchyan, Մովսէս Խորենացու հունական աղբյուրների խնդիրը (*The Problem of the Greek Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i*; Erevan, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> See note 5.

of classical authors (tendencies applicable to ancient historiography as a whole), and given the absolute lack of any substitute for Xorenac'i's book in Armenian literature, especially for the pre-fourth century history.

Proceeding from this general principle, what we have tried to do is to re-examine the dominant views on Xorenac'i's references to the "Greek" authors in question, particularly the trend of regarding all the related passages as deriving exclusively from the old Armenian versions of Eusebius' *Chronicle*<sup>41</sup> and *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>42</sup> These two famous fourth century works of early Byzantine literature undoubtedly were utilized by Movsēs, but the overestimation of their importance as Xorenac'i's sources hindered scholars from seeing anything interesting and valuable in whatever deviates from Eusebius. In this context, our main intention has been: a) to review the verdict "everything not found in Eusebius is Movsēs' own invention," b) to show that Xorenac'i knew Berossus, Abydenus, Cephalion, Julius Africanus, and Firmilian not only thanks to Eusebius, and, therefore, c) one need not speak merely of fabrications, but in certain cases Xorenac'i provides authentic citations from those authors, or noteworthy pieces of information based on their writings.

Our specific inferences on each occasion are drawn after the examination of each reference, as well as at the ends of the chapters and in the section Implications.

<sup>41</sup> The Greek original survives in fragments. The Armenian translation from Greek probably dates back to the first half of the fifth century AD and has come down to us thanks to one manuscript, probably of the thirteenth century, now kept at the Maštoc' Institute of Medieval Manuscripts (Matenadaran) in Erevan (MS No 1904).

<sup>42</sup> It was translated from the Syriac version on the initiative of Maštoc', the creator of the Armenian script.



## CHAPTER I

### BEROSSUS, ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, ABYDENUS, AND CEPHALION

#### INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

##### *The References*

Let us first try to scrutinize the references to Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*.<sup>1</sup>

They are the authors of the first “Greek” writings; he refers to them after the selection of his sources. Berossus is referred to twice: the first mention is longer (I, 2), and in the second case (I, 4) Movsēs merely names Berossus among the authors whose writings differ from the Bible. In the same passage, there are also the only reference to Alexander Polyhistor and the first mention of Abydenus. The latter figures twice more, in I, 5 and II, 8, when Xorenac'i cites him. The first reference to Cephalion and the quotation from “one chapter” of his book are in Chapter I, 5. In Chapter II, 18, Movsēs brings forward the sequence of events connected with Semiramis according to Cephalion and does not agree with it. We shall revert to the passages in question one by one below, but before that it is necessary to present those authors briefly.

##### *Biographic Data about the Four Authors*

Berossus (Βηρώσ(σ)ός) was priest of the god Belus in Babylon in the days of the Seleucid king Antiochus I Soter (281–261 BC), to whom he dedicated his history in three books, written in Greek. That writing, extant only in fragments, is known under the title Βαβυλωνιακά or Χαλδαϊκά. In the first book, Berossus narrated events *ab origine mundi* down to the Flood; in the second, events down to the enthronement of Nabonassar (747 BC), king of Babylonia, and the third book ended with

<sup>1</sup> We have briefly written about the *History*'s connections with those authors in the first volume of the Armenological periodical *Astanak*: see A. Topchyan, “On Several Greek Sources.”

the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC). Berossus was famous in antiquity, especially thanks to the fact that through his work the history of Babylon and the astronomical knowledge obtained by the “Chaldaean”<sup>2</sup> entered the Hellenistic world. His book was a frequently used source.<sup>3</sup>

Alexander Polyhistor (Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολύϊστωρ), of Miletus, was born c. 105 BC. It is known that he was brought captive to Rome, and in 82 BC Sulla freed him. He died at home in a fire (c. 35 BC).<sup>4</sup> Polyhistor was a very fertile author; according to the *Suda*, his writings were “beyond number” (ἄριθμοῦ κρείττω) (hence his epithet “Polyhistor”). Those works contained historical, ethnographical, and geographical information nearly about all countries and peoples of the ancient world. Numerous citations from Polyhistor are preserved in the writings of later authors,<sup>5</sup> and he himself was among those who widely quoted from Berossus.<sup>6</sup>

Abydenus (Ἀβυδηνός) is the least known of the four authors in question; there is no biographical information about him.<sup>7</sup> He probably lived

<sup>2</sup> For the meanings of the word Χαλδαῖος (“Chaldaean”—*քաղδαշի, քաղδαշ*) in Greco-Roman literature, see F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, 1912), 26–27; F.H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (Philadelphia, 1954), 84, 90, 238; Ch.-K. Wong, “Philo’s Use of *Chaldaioi*,” *SPhA*, 4 (1992), 1–14; M. Dandamaeva, “Этноним Χαλδαῖοι в античной традиции” (“The Ethnonym Χαλδαῖοι in Greco-Roman Tradition”), *IN*, III–IV (Tehran, 1999–2000), 315–320.

<sup>3</sup> See on Berossus *RE*, III, s.v. Berossos (4), 309–316 (Schwartz); F. Cornelius, “Berossus und die altorientalische Chronologie,” *Klio*, 35 (1942), 1–16; P. Schnabel, *Berosus und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Berlin, 1923, reprinted Hildesheim, 1968), 3–15, 16–32; G. Komoróczy, “Berossus and the Mesopotamian Literature,” *AAASchHung*, 21 (1973), 125–152; R. Drews, “The Babylonian Chronicles and Berossus,” *Iraq*, 37 (1975), 39–55. See the ancient references to Berossus and the fragments of his book in *FHG*, II, 495–510 and *FGrHist*, III, 680 F.

<sup>4</sup> H. Anasyan erroneously considers Alexander Polyhistor to have died “in 75 BC” (see H. Anasyan, Հայկական մատենագիտություն, Ե–ԺԸ դդ. (*Armenian Bibliography: Fifth–Eighteenth Centuries*, I; Erevan, 1959), 554, whereas the literary activity of this author hardly began before the sixties BC, and he probably wrote his main voluminous work after 49 BC; see in the literature referred to below.

<sup>5</sup> See *RE*, I<sub>2</sub>, s.v. Alexandros (88), 1449–1452 (Schwartz); P. Schnabel, *Berosus*, 134–168; *FHG*, III, 206–244; *FGrHist*, III, 273.

<sup>6</sup> For Polyhistor’s citations from Berossus, see W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 6, 13, 26, 28, 31, 33, 36–37, 54, 90, 111, 151, 173–174.

<sup>7</sup> H. Anasyan gives incorrect information about this author too, writing that Abydenus “is considered to have lived in the days of the first Ptolemaic kings” (i.e. in the third century BC) (see H. Anasyan, *Bibliography*, 60). It is difficult to say whence Anasyan has taken that information, but Abydenus could not have been a contemporary of the first Ptolemaic kings because he used Polyhistor’s (first century BC) book as a source: see in the literature referred to below.



in the first or second century AD. Passages of his lost work are extant mainly in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronicle* and *Praeparatio Evangelica*.<sup>8</sup> The Caesarean bishop calls his book ἡ περὶ Ἀσσυρίων γραφή (*PE*, IX, 41, 456). From another testimony of Eusebius (*PE*, IX, 12, 414), it may be supposed that he also wrote about Media (τὰ Μηδικά).<sup>9</sup>

Cephalion (Κεφαλίων) was a contemporary of the emperor Hadrian (117–138 AD). Being in Sicily, he wrote a world history in Greek, in nine books named after the Muses. He covered the time from the Assyrian king Ninus down to Alexander the Great. Passages of this work are preserved by Eusebius, John Malalas, and George Syncellus.<sup>10</sup> We shall return to some details of Cephalion's biography below.

### *Alfred von Gutschmid's View Generally Acknowledged*

Von Gutschmid's conclusion concerning Movsēs' references to those authors is harsh and definite: their names, together with the corresponding citations, are taken "without exception" ("ohne Ausnahme") from the Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*.<sup>11</sup> That is to say, those data which are not found in Eusebius' book, have no value from the aspect of source study; they were merely fabricated by Movsēs with the help of the same *Chronicle*. Subsequently, almost all scholars who dealt with those historiographers repeated von Gutschmid's opinion. It was accepted by G. Zarphanalean,<sup>12</sup> G. Xalatjanc,<sup>13</sup> and A. Zaminean.<sup>14</sup> S. Malxasyan wrote that Xorenac'i "mentions... Berossus the Chaldaean, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion, who are known to him through Eusebius' *Chronicle* and not directly."<sup>15</sup> M. Abelyan says the same: "Berossus, Abydenus, Polyhistor, and Cephalion... It seems that Xorenac'i did not have the writings of those significant ancient historiographers at hand, but used Eusebius' *Chronicle*, for whatever he sug-

<sup>8</sup> Published in the *PG*, 21.

<sup>9</sup> See *RE*, I, s.v. Abydenos, 123 (Schwartz); *FHG*, IV, 279–285; *FGrHist*, III, 685; P. Schnabel, *Berosus*, 136–137, 147–150, 164–166; W. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 6, 13, 28, 36, 111, 129, 135.

<sup>10</sup> See *RE*, XI, s.v. Kephalion, 191–192 (Jacoby); *FHG*, III, 625–631; *FGrHist*, II, 93; W. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 17.

<sup>11</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 26–28.

<sup>12</sup> G. Zarphanalean, Հայկական հին գրություններ (Ancient Armenian Literature; Venice, 1897), 355.

<sup>13</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Epos*, I, 49–50.

<sup>14</sup> A. Zaminean, Հայ գրականության պատմություն (History of Armenian Literature, I; Nor-Naxijewan, 1914), 112.

<sup>15</sup> Movses Xorenac'i, XXXII.

gests, occurs in this book.”<sup>16</sup> Thomson writes that in Movsēs’ *History*, “Polyhistor and Arios were taken from Eusebius. Cephalion is mentioned—again via Eusebius (I, 5, 18).” He says the same about Berossus and Abydenus.<sup>17</sup> Similar opinions on this count were expressed by G. Sargsyan,<sup>18</sup> A. and J.-P. Mahé,<sup>19</sup> and, recently, by A. Terian.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> M. Abelyan, Հայոց հին գրականության պատմություն (*History of Ancient Armenian Literature*, I; Erevan, 1944), 263.

<sup>17</sup> Moses Khorenats’i, 14, 70, note 2.

<sup>18</sup> Movses Xorenaci, *История Армениу (History of Armenia)*, translation from Classical Armenian into Russian, introduction and commentary by G. Sargsyan (Erevan, 1990), 220, 238.

<sup>19</sup> Moïse de Khorène, 28–29, 328–329.

<sup>20</sup> Apropos of the use of Eusebius by Xorenac’i, Terian repeats Thomson’s view but makes some new observations. Stating that Eusebius was the only source for Xorenac’i’s references to Berossus, Abydenus, and Julius Africanus, and stressing, once again, Movsēs’ “overwhelming dependence on Eusebius” (Terian, “Xorenac’i,” 101), Terian adds to those authors some other “eastern historiographers of the Hellenistic period,” such as Eupolemus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus (*ibidem*, 102), Josephus Flavius (first century AD), and Philo of Byblos (64–141 AD), whom, too, as he opines, Xorenac’i knew very well from Eusebius’ works including the *Praeparatio Euangelica* (*ibidem*, 101–103). Terian calls those authors, mainly based on Sterling’s study (G.E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NTS, 64) [Leiden 1992]), “apologetic historiographers” and thinks that Xorenac’i, being “thoroughly familiar” with their works (*ibidem*, 103), shared “significant commonplaces” (125) with them. Leaving aside the disputable issues of what apologetics in pre-Christian historiography may mean, or whether it is justified or not to regard Josephus Flavius and Philo of Byblos as authors of the “Hellenistic period” (according to the more usual periodization, the Hellenistic “period” [not the cultural influence] ended with the dethronement and death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BC: see A. Momigliano, “The Fault of the Greeks,” *Essays*, 11; “J.G. Droysen between Greeks and Jews,” *Essays*, 307), and especially to claim that “in ancient Near-Eastern scholarship today none of these apologetic writers... are taken seriously” (*ibidem*, 132), we would like to note the following. The idea of looking for parallels between Xorenac’i and eastern historiographers is in itself interesting, because such parallels (and not only with “apologetic historiographers” but also with other Greco-Roman and Byzantine authors) may surely be drawn, but the “commonplaces” pointed to by Terian (such as “anti-Hellenism,” “detestation of Greek mythology” [*ibidem*, 119, 125] etc.; see note 7 to our Introduction) are quite unconvincing. The assertion that Xorenac’i was “thoroughly familiar,” also thanks to the *Praeparatio Euangelica*, with Eupolemus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus, and Philo of Byblos, is unsupported, for no passage in the *History of Armenia* suggests that Movsēs ever read the *Praeparatio Euangelica* and that he knew those four historiographers so well as to “note their apologetic commonplaces for a model” (*ibidem*, 102). Among the authors with whom Terian thinks Movsēs was familiar through Eusebius, he mentions also Josephus (see also *ibidem*, 118: “...Berossus, Manetho, Josephus and his Alexandrian Jewish predecessors, and Philo of Byblos. As mentioned earlier, Xorenac’i became acquainted with these writers through the works of Eusebius”), but Xorenac’i’s extensive use of this historiographer especially following Chapter II, 10 (see Chapter II of this book) can by no means be restricted to Eusebius’ citations from Josephus (however, once, contradicting his own categorical statements about Movsēs knowing Josephus only through Eusebius, Terian writes (124): “Xorenac’i quotes ancient authors from secondary sources, primar-

Such approach is misleading: the four authors are considered altogether as one entity, in connection with the same source, Eusebius' *Chronicle*, whereas the reference to each of them is accompanied by different circumstances, and each should be examined separately.<sup>21</sup>

### BEROSSUS

#### *The Passage in Chapter I, 2 in Parallel with Eusebius' Reference*

Berosus is mentioned first (I, 2). Xalatjanc tried to corroborate von Gutschmid's remark,<sup>22</sup> quoting the corresponding passages of Movsēs' *History* and Eusebius' *Chronicle*:<sup>23</sup>

Xorenac'i	Eusebius <sup>24</sup>
<p>...Այլ և բազում արք անուանիք և իմաստութեամբ պարապեալք ի Յունաց աշխարհէն Հոգացան՝ ոչ միայն զգեք զիւանաց այլոց ազգաց թագաւորաց և զմեհենից յեղուլ ի յոյն բան, որպէս գտանեմք զայն, որ և զԲիւրիոս ոմն յայս յորդորեաց այր Քաղզէացի և վարժ ամենայն իմաստութեամբ, այլ և զմեծամեծս և զզարմանալոյ արժանաւորս յարուեստից ուրեք ուրեք գտեալ աշխատութեամբ, Հաւաքեալ փոխեցին ի յոյն լեզու, որպէս զԱւստե-</p>	<p>Ճառեցից, ասէ, այժմիկ զառ ի Քաղզէացոց մի ըստ միոջէ զմէնջ գրեալսն և զպատմեալս. յորս կայ բազում միաբանութիւն և առ այլ եւս մեր գիրքս: Եւ վկայ այսոցիկ Բերոսոս է՝ այր Քաղզէացի յազգէ և երեւելի յամենեսին որք զխրատու և զիմաստութեամբ զային. քանզի և զաստեղագիտութեանն մատեանս, և որ ինչ ի Քաղզէից ճարտարութիւն իմաստութեան պատմէր, նա եւան ի յունաց լեզու:</p>

ily from the works of Eusebius besides other Greek writings already translated into Armenian, such as the *Alexander Romance* and certain of the works of Josephus and Philo of Alexandria." But there are no traces of any ancient Armenian translation of Josephus' works).

<sup>21</sup> H.K'. Armen rejected the generally accepted opinion, not affording any significant argument for doing so. He came to the categorical conclusion that Movsēs Xorenac'i undoubtedly read in original both Abydenus' and Cephalion's books (concerning Berosus and Polyhistor he writes "probably"); see H.K'. Armen, «Խորենացին և աղբյուրներու ընտրութիւնը» ("Xorenac'i and the Selection of Sources"), *PBH*, 1964, No 4, 215.

<sup>22</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Epos*, I, 50.

<sup>23</sup> Եւսեբի Կեսարացոյ Ժամանակականք երկմասնեայ (*The Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea in Two Parts*), translation into Latin and commentary by the Mechitarist Father Mkrtič' Vardapet Awgareanc', I-II (Venice, 1818), I, 62-63.

<sup>24</sup> All Armenian and Classical Greek (as well as other non-English) passages, where there is no special reference, are translated into English by the writer.

<p>ղաբաշխութիւն] առ Ք[ազդէացիս] և զԵ[րկրաչափութիւն] առ Ե[զիպտա- ցիս] և զԹ[ուականութիւն] առ Փ[իւնի- կեցիս] և զԵ[րաժշտութիւն] առ Թ[րա- կացիս]:<sup>25</sup></p>	
<p>“...But also many famous <i>men engaged in the affairs of wisdom</i> from the land of Greece were concerned not merely to translate into Greek the <i>writings</i> of other nations’ kings’ <i>archives</i> and temples—as we find the <i>one</i><sup>26</sup> who urged to this task <i>Berosus, the Chaldaean man</i> skilled in <i>all wisdom</i>—but also to seek out diligently, wherever they might be, the most important and the most admirable artistic works and collect them and translate them <i>into the Greek language</i>; like A among the K’, and T’ among the P’, and K among the E, and SH among the T’.<sup>27</sup></p>	<p>“Now let us speak one by one, he says, of the things written and told about us by the Chaldaeans, to which there is a great deal of concordance also in our other <i>writings</i>. And a witness to these matters is <i>Berosus, a man of Chaldaean</i> origin and eminent among <i>all</i> who had achieved knowledge and <i>wisdom</i>. For he translated <i>into the Greeks’ language</i> both the books of astrology and whatever concerning the art of wisdom was told by the Chaldaeans.”</p>

### *Just a Few Words Coincide*

A careful comparison of the words in italic script in the two texts reveals that only the expressions *այր քազդէացի* and *ի յունաց լեզու* (*ի յոյն լեզու* in Xorenac’i) coincide. The other parallels noted by Xalatjanc, in quite different contexts (*զգեք զիւանաց այլոց ազգաց թագաւորաց* [“the *writings* of other nations’ kings’ *archives*”]—*յորս կայ բազում ծիաբանութիւն և առ այլ եւս մեր գիրս* [“to which there is a great deal of

<sup>25</sup> We quote the last passage following *ի յոյն լեզու* in addition to Xalatjanc’s citation to make the parallel contexts clearer. In the critical edition, those incomprehensible initial letters are deciphered with the help of the manuscript marked by the character *c* (see Movsēs Xorenac’i, 9).

<sup>26</sup> Thomson translates “ones” (in plural), which is not correct.

<sup>27</sup> “Like astronomy among the Chaldaeans, and *geometry* among the Egyptians, and *arithmetic* among the Phoenicians, and music among the Thracians”; see Moses Khorenats’i, 68, note 3 (the words in italic type are our amendments to Thomson’s translation: he writes “surveying” instead of “geometry” and “mathematics” instead of “arithmetic,” which is not quite accurate).

concordance also in our other writings”]; վարժ ամենայն իմաստութեամբ [“skilled in all wisdom”]—յամենեւին որք զխրատու և զիմաստութեամբ գային [“among all who had achieved knowledge and wisdom”] or որ ինչ ի Քաղդէից ճարտարութիւն իմաստութեան պատմէր [“whatever concerning the art of wisdom was told by the Chaldeans”], are far from being convincing. The expression այր Քաղդէացի, regarded as a borrowing from Eusebius also by Thomson,<sup>28</sup> is an example of such an ordinary pattern in ancient Greek and Armenian literature that it could have been taken from any other source.<sup>29</sup> Suffice it to say that Berossus is mentioned in later Greek texts as a “Babylonian man” (ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος), a “very skillful man” (ἀνὴρ ἰκανώτατος), or in the same way, a “Chaldaean man” (ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος).<sup>30</sup> A similar frequent expression is ի յոյն (յունաց) լեզու—“into the Greek (Greeks’) language” (cf., e.g., in Philo of Alexandria’s *De vita Mosis* (II, 31):<sup>31</sup> εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν), which occurs in the same chapter of Movsēs’ *History* two more times (Պտղոմէոսն... զմատեանս և զվէպս ի յոյն լեզու փոխարկեաց [“Ptolemy... took care to have the books and stories... translated into *the Greek language*”]; [Պտղոմէոսն] ի յոյն լեզու աշխատութիւն իւր ժողովեաց [“(Ptolemy Philadelphus)... *gathered* his work in *the Greek language*”]), and a third time a little differently, ի յոյն բան.

### Differences

In the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle*, the Babylonian author’s name is transliterated correctly, Բերոսոս, while no manuscript of Xorenac’i’s *History* contains its correct transliteration. The following corrupted forms occur: Բիւոսոս, Բիւօիոս, Բելօիոս, Բերիոս. The same incorrect forms are found in the second reference to him (I, 4).<sup>32</sup> Though this is not a strong argument proving that Movsēs’ source was not Eusebius (because scribal mistakes occurred quite often), nevertheless the different, correct and incorrect, transliterations of Berossus’ name in the two texts are an additional indication that the passage is not simply based on the *Chronicle*.

<sup>28</sup> Moses Khorenats’i, 67, note 2.

<sup>29</sup> It should also be noted that the reference to Berossus as to a “Chaldaean man” (այր քաղդէացի) is normal, and one need not search for its specific source.

<sup>30</sup> See FHG, II, 495; FG<sup>r</sup>Hist, III<sup>1</sup>, 364–366.

<sup>31</sup> See Philo, *De vita Mosis* (*Philo in Ten Volumes*), VI, with an English translation by F.H. Colson, LCL (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1966).

<sup>32</sup> See Movsēs Xorenac’i, 9, 13.

In Chapter I, 2, Xorenac'i exposes his general knowledge and perception of Greek culture, while in Eusebius' corresponding passage, which is a citation from Josephus Flavius' *Contra Apionem* (I, 128–129), only Berossus is in question, who had translated specifically astronomical and philosophical books of the Chaldaeans into Greek. Xorenac'i's narrative concerns more general matters: in the context of the cultural activity of Greek rulers and scholars, and the translation of the “arts” of various nations into Greek, Berossus' work is mentioned as a single example.

*A Mistake in the Armenian Eusebius and a Detail Absent from the Chronicle*

The following fact deserves attention. One of the passages of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, telling about Berossus, is preserved in Greek thanks to the eighth-ninth century chronographer George Syncellus<sup>33</sup> (28, 21–26).<sup>34</sup> One may notice that the Armenian translation is incorrect (Eusebius in his turn had taken the passage from Alexander Polyhistor). Here are the parallel passages:

Eusebius	Syncellus
<p>Բերոսոս բայ ասէ յառաջնուն բարեղոնական ճատենին՝ լինել նմա ի տիս Աղէքսանդրի Փիղիպեայ և գրել զբազմաց ճատեանս, որ և ի Բաբելոնի բազում զգուշութեամբ պաշէին յերկերիւր և ի Հնդկաստան բիրուց ամաց. յորում թիւք ժամանակաց, և զիր պատմութեանց զերկնից և զերկրէ և զձովէ և զնախակերտն արարչութենէ, և զթագաւորաց և զնոցուն իրաց և զգործոց պատմէ:<sup>35</sup></p>	<p>Βήρωσσος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν φησι γενέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὴν ἡλικίαν. Ἀναγραφὰς δὲ πολλῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυλάσσεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπὸ ἐτῶν που ὑπὲρ μυριάδων ἰε' περιεχούσας χρόνον· περιέχειν δὲ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἱστορίας περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πρωτογονίας καὶ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς πράξεων.</p>

<sup>33</sup> His book is briefly called *Ἐκλογή χρονογραφίας*. All references to Syncellus, indicating the pages and lines, are according to the following edition: *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga Chronographica*, editio Alden A. Mosshammer, BSGRT (Leipzig, 1984), which replaces Dindorf's edition: *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Cp., ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii*, CSHB, I (Bonnae, 1829).

<sup>34</sup> See also *FHG*, II, 496; *FGrHist*, III<sup>1</sup>, 367–368.

<sup>35</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 17–18.

“Berossus says in the first book of the Babylonian history that he lived in the years of Philip’s son Alexander and wrote the books of many [authors], that were kept in Babylon with great care during 15 myriad and 200 years: in which was the calculation of times, and the record of histories tells about the sky and the earth and the sea, and the initial creation, and the kings and their affairs and deeds.”

“Berossus says in the first book of the Babylonian history that he lived in the time of Philip’s son Alexander. Further, (he tells) that writings of many (authors) were kept in Babylon with great care, containing a period of more than 15 myriad years, and that the writings contained histories about the sky and the sea, and the creation, and the kings and their deeds.”

According to the Armenian translation, Berossus had himself written the “books of many (authors)” (that the translator probably understood as “many books”), which were kept in Babylon. Then he says that Berossus’ writings were kept there for 15 myriad years (surprisingly, 200 is added),<sup>36</sup> while, according to the Greek text, writings of many authors, covering a period of 15 myriad years, were kept in Babylon. This is corroborated by another passage of Syncellus’ *Chronicle* (14, 22–29), relating that Berossus “having found in Babylon many (authors’) writings kept carefully, that embraced nearly 15 myriad years” (εὐρὼν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι πολλῶν ἀναγραφὰς φυλασσομένας ἐπιμελῶς, αἱ περιεῖχον ἑτῶν μυριάδας πού δεκαπέντε), wrote (συνέγραψεν)<sup>37</sup> his history with their help. Thus, the Greek passage surviving in Syncellus, in contrast to its wrong old Armenian translation, corresponds to Xorenac’i’s information. He says the Greek kings and many “famous men” took care of translating into Greek the writings kept in royal and temple archives. It was one of them that persuaded Berossus to do so (...Թագաւորքն Զունաց ... և բազում արք անուանիք Հռոմացւոյ ... զգիրս զիւանացն այլոց ազգաց Թագաւորացն և զԵւհեհիցն յեղուլ ի յոյն բան, որպէս գտանեմք զայն<sup>38</sup>, որ և զԲերոսոսն<sup>39</sup> յայս յոր-

<sup>36</sup> Awgereanc’ has translated “215 myriad years” (“a ducentis et quindecim annorum myriadibus”).

<sup>37</sup> See also *FHG*, II, 498; *FGrHist*, III<sup>1</sup>, 367–368.

<sup>38</sup> F. Jacoby, following the Latin translation by the Whistons (*Mosis Chorenensis Historiae Armenicae Libri III*, Latine verterunt, notisque illustrarunt Gulielmus et Georgius, Gul. Whistoni Filii [London, 1736]), added here in brackets the name of Ptolemy Philadelphus, erroneously thinking that Xorenac’i means that king; see *FGrHist*, III<sup>1</sup>, 680 (S. 365).

<sup>39</sup> Now we are quoting the name correctly.

ἡγεῖται—“the Greek kings... also many famous *men* ... were concerned not merely to translate into Greek the archives of other nations’ kings and temples—as we find the one who urged to this task Berossus”). Berossus in Babylon had such a royal or temple archive at his disposal, where he found the writings of many authors and translated or re-narrated in Greek the information from those sources. Theophilus of Antioch (second century) writes that Berossus was making known Chaldaean literature to the Greeks (μηνύσας “Ἐλλεσιν τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ γράμματα”) (*Ad Autolycum*, III, 29).<sup>40</sup> Besides, Xorenac’i also knows, and not from Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, for there is no such information there, that a Greek king or “famous man” exhorted Berossus (“as we find the *one* who urged to this task Berossus”) to “translate into Greek” (ἵστημι ἢ ἵστημι) the Chaldaean material kept in Babylon. This man was Antiochus I Soter, to whom, as mentioned above, Berossus dedicated his *History*, and who probably had commissioned him to write it.<sup>41</sup> Thus, it appears that Movsēs had another source (or sources) independent of Eusebius, since his additional information, not occurring in the *Chronicle*, is corroborated by independent Greek sources.

### *The General Context of Chapter I, 2*

Xorenac’i presents Berossus within the Hellenistic historical and cultural milieu, speaking quite competently about the features of that epoch. To regard Eusebius’ *Chronicle* as the only source for the reference to Berossus means to separate him from that milieu and the whole context and to neglect all the other information that Movsēs conveys at the same time as he mentions Berossus. Moreover, the general content of this chapter has nothing to do with Eusebius’ *Chronicle*.

### *The Translations Undertaken by Ptolemy Philadelphus*

Xorenac’i speaks about the king of Hellenistic Egypt, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC), who regarded it necessary to translate into

<sup>40</sup> Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum*, text and translation from Greek by R.M. Grant (Oxford, 1970); see also *FHG*, II, 508.

<sup>41</sup> Tatian (second century AD) mentions (*Oratio ad Graecos*, 36) Berossus as a Babylonian man who wrote for Antiochus the history of the Chaldaeans in three books: Βηρωσός, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος ... Ἀντιόχῳ ... τὴν Χαλδαίων ἱστορίαν ἐν τρισὶ βιβλίοις κατατάξας (Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos and fragments*, edited and translated by M. Whittaker, *OECT* (Oxford, 1982)); see also *FHG*, II, 495; *FGrHist*, III<sup>1</sup>, 364–365.



Greek “the books and stories of all nations.” In his note to this passage, Thomson writes that Movsēs’ words may be connected with the tradition that Ptolemy had ordered to translate the Old Testament into Greek (the *Septuagint*).<sup>42</sup> He refers to the *Letter of Aristeas*,<sup>43</sup> which is considered to be a forgery and dates between 200 BC–33 AD.<sup>44</sup>

A. and J.-P. Mahé, based on a note by V. Langlois, write<sup>45</sup> that Xorenac’i could have learned this story from Epiphanius of Salamis’ (c. 315–403 AD) *On Measures and Weights*.<sup>46</sup> It is evident that this tradition, independently of whether it is invented or true, was widespread in the ancient world. It could have reached Xorenac’i in an oral or written form.<sup>47</sup>

What is clear is that Movsēs used data from various sources. He himself, in this, as well as in the preceding and following chapters (I, 1; I, 5; I, 6), states that several writings, especially Greek, were at his disposal.<sup>48</sup> Those very sources provided him with information on Berossus,

<sup>42</sup> Moses Khorenats’i, 67, note 1.

<sup>43</sup> *La lettre d’Aristée à Philocrate*, éd. A. Pelletier (Paris, 1962).

<sup>44</sup> There are numerous studies on this very interesting pseudepigraphic writing, from which we would mention the following: *RE*, II<sub>1</sub>, s.v. Aristeas (13), 878–879 (Jülicher); H.G. Meecham, *The Letter of Aristeas* (Manchester, 1935); G. Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies II: Aristeas on the Translation of the Torah,” *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations*, ed. S. Jellicoe (New York, 1974), 213–224; D.W. Gooding, “Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies,” *VT*, 13 (1963), 357–379.

<sup>45</sup> Moïse de Khorène, 327.

<sup>46</sup> See M.E. Stone and R.R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis*, De mensuris et ponderibus, CSCO, 583, *Subsidia*, 105 (Lovanii, 2000). In this recent edition, variants of the same tradition related to Ptolemy Philadelphus are presented, among which the following one (VI, 1, 2) is comparatively close to Movsēs’ narrative (75): *Իսկ երկրորդ թագաւորն որ է Պտղոմէոս Փիլադելփոս. սա խնդիր արար ամենայն գրելոց իմաստասիրացն, որ և յետոյ զԱստուածեղէն գիրս մարգարէիցն ի յոյն լեզու թարգմանել ետ, սա քան զամենիսեան երեւեցաւ գրասէր: Ի յետ առաջին Պտղոմէոսին երկրորդ Պտղոմէոսն թագաւորեաց յԱղեքսանդրիա, որ կոչեցաւ Եղբայրասէր և այլ իմաստասէր որ գրանոց կազմեաց Ժողովել զամենայն գիրս որ ի վերայ երկրի—*“But the second king is Ptolemy Philadelphos. He made a search after all the writings of the philosophers. Also, subsequently, he had the divine books of the prophets translated into Greek. He showed himself more of a bibliophile than all. After the first Ptolemy, the second Ptolemy reigned in Alexandria, who was called “Brother-lover.” He (was) a lover of wisdom who established a library, in order to gather all books upon the earth” (99).

<sup>47</sup> Movsēs could have written down the information of Chapter I, 2 while being in Alexandria: see III, 62.

<sup>48</sup> See I, 1: *...Ազգաբանիցենք զբովանդակն ... որպէս ի յունականս ոմանս կայ ի պատմութիւնս* (“...We shall trace all... as these are found in certain Greek histories”); I, 2: *...Մէք զՅունացն ... յիշեցաք զպատմագիրս, և անտի զյայտարարութիւն մերոյ ազգաբանութեանս խոստացաք յանդիման կաշուցանել* (...We have mentioned... the Greek historians from whom we have promised to present the account of our genealogy”); I, 5:

and in this case Eusebius' *Chronicle*, if even it was among them, had secondary importance.

As to the tradition concerning the translations undertaken by Ptolemy Philadelphus, another version of this story, more concordant with Movsēs' testimony, occurs in Philo of Alexandria's above-mentioned work, *De vita Mosis*. The author speaks in eulogistic words (as does Xorenac'i) about the famous king of Egypt, the patron of science and arts. Then Philo writes (II, 30–31): "Philadelphus... having conceived an ardent affection for our (i.e., Hebrew) laws, determined to have the Chaldaean translated into Greek" (ὁ Φιλάделφος ... ζῆλον καὶ πόθον λαβὼν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν μεταρμόζεσθαι διανοεῖτο). The parallel *ի յիյն լեզու*—εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν has already been mentioned above. The use of the word "Chaldaean" for "Hebrew"<sup>49</sup> is interesting: Philo calls the "laws" *τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν*, and this creates a closer, although probably not immediate, connection between Philo's interpretation of the tradition and Xorenac'i, who gives the name of the "Chaldaean" Berossus on a similar occasion and then speaks of translations from the "Chaldaean" language.<sup>50</sup> In the first version of this chapter, published as an article,<sup>51</sup> we wrote that the information in the *History* is not specific, for the event connected with the Old Testament has become in Movsēs' narrative translation of "the books and stories of all nations," and that this is a result of the syncretism and naïveté, the generalizing and hyperbolic thinking typical of Xorenac'i—features, which always should be taken into account when dealing with his methods of using sources. Though confirming once again the truthfulness of this general characterization, we consider it necessary to make a correction on the grounds of new data that we found later. In George Syncellus' *Chronicle* (327, 17–21), another version of the same tradition is preserved, which is identical with Movsēs' narrative. Let us compare the corresponding passages:<sup>52</sup>

*Ճանեցուք ... որպէս գտաք զՀաւաստին ի Հնոց պատմութեանց* ("We shall begin our exposition... according to what we have found to be trustworthy from among the old stories"); *Եւ գտաք զայսոսիկ արդարեւ Յունաց դարբնեածք* ("We have truly found these things in the literature of the Greeks"); I, 6: *ԶՀաւաստին ... ի բազմացն ընտրեալ բանից՝ կարգեցաք զժնունդս* ("Choosing... what is reliable from many sources, we have set out the generations") etc.

<sup>49</sup> For the meanings of the word "Chaldaean" in Philo's works, see Ch.-K. Wong, "Philo's Use of *Chaldaioi*."

<sup>50</sup> Probably meaning "Aramaic" in Xorenac'i.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Topchyan, "On Several Historiographers," 130.

<sup>52</sup> The passage in Xorenac'i is in our (not Thomson's) literal translation.

Syncellus	Xorenac'i
<p>...Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ... ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα σοφὸς καὶ φιλοπονώτατος, δς πάντων Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων, Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς βίβλους συλλεξάμενος καὶ μεταφράσας τὰς ἀλλογλώσσους εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, μυριάδας βιβλίων ἰ' ἀπέθετο κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐν ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συστάσαις βιβλιοθήκαις.</p>	<p>Πιπρηδξουῦ ... ἡγεμωμωυετ ... φωδξ- δωγῦ αηααα αῖωωωωωω ... ἡ γηγῦ μξαηι φηηωωωωωω ... ἡ γηγῦ μξαηι αααααααααααα ααα αααααααααααα:</p>
<p>"...Ptolemy Philadelphus ... a wise and industrious man in all aspects who, having gathered the books of all Greeks and Chaldaeans, Egyptians and Romans, and having translated those written in other languages into the Greek language (sic!), put 10 myriads of books in Alexandria, in the library founded by himself."</p>	<p>"Ptolemy... Philadelphus... translated into the Greek language... the books of all nations... gathered his work in the Greek language."</p>

An almost literal similarity with Xorenac'i's words is obvious, and it becomes finally clear that the Greek source used by him coincides neither with the *Letter of Aristeeas*, nor with Epiphanius' *De mensuris et ponderibus*, but with a version of the famous story resembling that which reached us through George Syncellus. This tradition was so widespread that it left traces in the writings of many other Byzantine authors as well.<sup>53</sup>

### *Ptolemy Philadelphus, "King of the Greeks"*

Xorenac'i's syncretism and naive generalizations can also be noticed in another reference to Ptolemy Philadelphus. Calling the ruler of Egypt

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, in the patriarch Nicephorus' (c. 758–828) work (P. 399, A–B): *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorus Cp.*, ex recensione Guilielmi Dindorfii, *CSHB*, I (Bon-nae, 1829), or in the minor chronicle of an anonymous author of the twelfth century: Z. Samodurova, "К вопросу о малых византийских хрониках (по рукописям московских собраний)" ("On the Question of Minor Byzantine Chronicles [According to the Manuscripts of Moscow Collections]"), *VV*, XXI (1962), 135, 138.

“king of the Greeks,” he, being afraid that someone may deem him ignorant, hurries to give an explanation: “But let no one here consider us to be unlearned and defame us... in that we have described him who was king of Egypt as king of the Greeks. For after he had subdued the Greeks as well under his power he was called king of Alexandria and of the Greeks.”<sup>54</sup> This passage is written in the characteristic style of Xorenac‘i, based on certain historical facts. Ptolemy Philadelphus, especially in the seventies of the third century BC, could be called “king of Alexandria and the Greeks,” as his country had reached the apogee of her might. At that time Egypt ruled over the sea, had firm positions in the islands of the Aegean, in Greece, and the littoral towns of Asia Minor. In his panegyric of Delos, Callimachus (c. 310–240 BC) praises Ptolemy Philadelphus as the future ruler of the world.<sup>55</sup>

*“Men whose names we know for certain”*

In order to present more fully the context of the mention of Berossus, we may add the following detail. In addition to Berossus’ patron, Xorenac‘i speaks of other men, “famous and skilled in wisdom,” (*անուանի և իմաստութեան պարապեալ*) who took care to have translated the “most important and most admirable”<sup>56</sup> “arts” (*արուեստք*) into Greek. Moreover, Movsēs states that he knows exactly the names of those men.<sup>57</sup> Calling astronomy, arithmetic and geometry “arts” (cf. τέχνη) was a Greek tradition. Many examples may be adduced but the following will suffice. Plato writes in his *Gorgias* (450d, 451c): “But there are others among arts, that reach everything by speech... like arith-

<sup>54</sup> Բայց մի՛ ոք աստանօր զմեզ անուսումն Համարեալ բաճբասիցէ ... որպէս թէ եգիպտացոց լեալ թագաւոր՝ մէք այժմ զնա Յունաց գրեցաք: Քանզի նուաճեալ նորա և զՅոյնս ընդ իւրով ձեռամբ՝ անուանեցաւ Աղէքսանդրի և Յունաց թագաւոր: Ptolemy Philadelphus is mentioned as king of the Greeks also in the “Introduction” to the *Commentary on Psalms* (containing an extended citation from Epiphanius of Salamis) by the thirteenth century Armenian author Vardan Arewelc‘i (see biographic data about him in N. Polarean, *Հայ գրողներ [Armenian Writers]*; Jerusalem, 1971], 294–303). He writes that Ptolemy “ruled the land of the Greeks and was named their king,” which may or may not be based on Xorenac‘i (see M.E. Stone and R.R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius*, 9, 27–28).

<sup>55</sup> See A. Ranovič, *Эллинизм и его историческая роль (Hellenism and Its Historical Role)*; Moscow, 1950), 114–115.

<sup>56</sup> Literally, “great and worthy of admiration”—*զմեծամեծս և զգարմանալոյ արժանաւորս*, which exactly corresponds to Herodotus’ *μεγάλα καὶ θαυμάσια* (I, 1).

<sup>57</sup> “Men whose names we know for certain collected these (literary works) and dedicated them to the glory of the land of the Hellenes”—*Եւ ժողովեալ զայսոսիկ արանց, դորոց և մէք զանուանսն Հաւաստի գիտենք՝ նուիրեցին ի փառս Հելլենացոց աշխարհին*.

metic... and geometry... And if one asked about astronomy, and I said that it, too, accomplishes everything by speech..."<sup>58</sup>

Xorenac'i says he certainly knew the names of the persons, who had undertaken the work of presenting the scientific and literary heritage of other nations in Greek. Eusebius' *Chronicle* did not provide him with such information, which it does not contain.

### *The Mysterious Passage in Chapter I, 2*

In Chapter I, 2, we find one of the most puzzling passages of the *History of Armenia*, where Movsēs for an unknown reason has used only the initial letters of several words: *որպէս զԱ[ստեղաբաշխութիւն] առ Ք[աղղեացիս] և զԵ[րկրաչափութիւն] առ Ե[գիպտացիս] և զԹ[ուականութիւն] առ Փ[իւնիկեցիս] և զԵ[րաժշտութիւն] առ Թ[րակացիս]*, which has been interpreted as: "like astronomy among the Chaldaeans, and geometry among the Egyptians, and arithmetic among the Phoenicians, and music among the Thracians." Again, this passage echoes with Greek tradition. As has already been noticed,<sup>59</sup> it resembles the following passage in David the Invincible's *Definitions of Philosophy*: "...The Phoenicians... invented arithmetic. Music was invented by the Thracians... Astronomy was invented by the Chaldaeans... And it was the Egyptians who... invented geometry" (...*Զթուականն փիւնիկեցիք գտին ... Իսկ զերաժշտականն՝ թրակացիք ... Իսկ զաստեղաբաշխականն՝ քաղղեացիք ... Իսկ զերկրաչափականն եգիպտացիք*).<sup>60</sup> Scholars have

<sup>58</sup> Ἑτεροι δὲ γέ εἰσι τῶν τεχνῶν αἱ διὰ λόγου πᾶν περαίνουσι ... οἷον ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ ... γεωμετρικὴ ... καὶ εἴ τις τὴν ἀστρονομίαν ἀνέροιτο, ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι καὶ αὕτη λόγῳ κυροῦνται τὰ πάντα...

<sup>59</sup> See G. Ter-Mkrtyan (Miaban), «Դիտողություն» ("A Remark"), *HA*, 6 (1892), 372; H. Manandyan, *The Solution*, 190–192; Movses Xorenac'i, 257–258.

<sup>60</sup> David the Invincible (sixth century AD) was a representative of the Alexandrian school of philosophy. See on him and the school, H.D. Saffrey, "Le chrétien Jean Philopon et le survivance de l'école d'Alexandrie du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *RÉGrec*, 67 (1954), 396–410; L.G. Westerink, "Elias on the *Prior Analytics*," *Mnemosyne*, 14, No 2 (1961), 126–133; reprinted in *Collected Papers by L.G. Westerink*, *TSNBL* (Amsterdam, 1980), 60–66; R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London, 1972), 138–146 (the chapter "Neoplatonism at Athens and Alexandria"); also the introduction to Kendall and Thomson (see below in this note). David is traditionally regarded as an Armenian, although he wrote his works in Greek. Of the four writings attributed to him with more or less certainty, three survive both in Greek and in old Armenian translation, and only the Armenian version of the fourth, *Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics*, has come down to us. The above-cited passage is in Kendall's and Thomson's translation: David the Invincible Philosopher, *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy*, translated by B. Kendall and R.W. Thomson, *UPATS*, 5 (series editor M.E. Stone) (Chico, California, 1983), 133. See also Dawit' Anyat', Սահմանի իմաստասիրության (*The Definitions of Philosophy*), critical text, translation

traced a direct relationship between the two texts, but it seems more probable that those passages are different instances of the same tradition.<sup>61</sup> Other authors, too, speak about the connection of those “arts” with the mentioned nations. For example, there was a myth about the Thracian Thamyras who boasted of his musical abilities to an extent that wished to compete even with the Muses.<sup>62</sup> Diodorus Siculus (first century BC) writes (I, 81, 1) that the Egyptians “mostly practice geometry and arithmetic” (τὴν γεωμετρίαν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἐπὶ πλεον ἐκπονοῦσιν), while the Chaldaeans were well-known astronomers. For instance, Diogenes Laertius (third–fourth centuries AD) in *De clarorum philosophorum vitis* (I, 6) witnesses that “the Chaldaeans exercised astronomy and prediction” (τοὺς δὲ Χαλδαίους περὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ πρόρρησιν ἀσχολεῖσθαι).<sup>63</sup> A passage exactly resembling Movsēs’ and David’s words can be found in Porphyry’s (c. 234–303) biography of Pythagoras<sup>64</sup> (6): “Concerning his education most (authors) say... that he learned from Egyptians, Chaldaeans and Phoenicians, because from ancient times the Egyptians were engaged in geometry, the Phoenicians... in what is connected with numbers... and the Chaldaeans in observing the heavens.”<sup>65</sup>

### *Inference*

All this leads to the conclusion that the very “grecizing” passage in question with its general content does not derive from Eusebius’ work. Furthermore, as we have already noted, the reference to Berossus itself contains a correct detail (about “the one,” i.e. Antiochus I Soter, “who urged” him to compose his book), which does not permit us to accept

from Classical Armenian into Russian, introduction and commentary by S. Arevšatyan (Erevan, 1960), 132. Cf. also with the Greek version:...Τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν οἱ Φοίνικες εὗρον ... τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν οἱ Θρᾷκες ... τὴν δὲ γεωμετρίαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ... τὴν δὲ ἀστρονομίαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι (see *Davidis Prolegomena et in Porphyrii Isagogen commentarium*, ed. Adolfus Busse [Berolini, 1904], 63–64).

<sup>61</sup> No other instances of Movsēs being dependent on David have been identified.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g. in Homer (*Ilias*, II, 594–596) and Strabo (VIII, 3, 25).

<sup>63</sup> See also a list of “arts” invented by peoples other than Greeks in Clement of Alexandria’s (c. 140–215) *Stromateis* (I, 16, 74 ff.) (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1–6, ed. O. Stählin, II, third edition, GCS, 52 (15) (Berlin, 1960).

<sup>64</sup> Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* in *Porphyrii philosophi Platonici opuscula selecta*, 2nd edition (Leipzig, 1886, reprinted Hildesheim, 1963), 17–52.

<sup>65</sup> Περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ οἱ πλείους ... παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων φασὶν ἐκμαθεῖν γεωμετρίας μὲν γὰρ ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἐπιμεληθῆναι Αἰγυπτίους, τὰ δὲ περὶ ἀριθμούς ... Φοίνικας, Χαλδαίους δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν θεωρήματα.

von Gutschmid's opinion confirmed by others: Xorenac'i knew of Berossus not only from Eusebius' *Chronicle*.

#### REMARKS ON MOVSĒS' USE OF EUSEBIUS' *CHRONICLE*

##### *Eusebius' Chronicle Utilized Starting with Chapter I, 4*

In general, it seems that Movsēs started taking information from Eusebius' *Chronicle* beginning with Chapter I, 4. Here Xorenac'i considers it necessary to speak briefly about the authors who expressed opinions different from the biblical version about the origin of mankind:<sup>66</sup> "...The other historians have views contrary to the Spirit and in disagreement with each other—Berossus I mean, and Polyhistor and Abydenus" (...Հակառակ Հոգւոյն խորհեալ՝ անմիաբանեցան այլքն ի պատմադրաց, զԲերոսեայ ասեմ, զԲազմավիպէն և զԱբիդենայ). The *Chronicle* could afford Xorenac'i rich material for accomplishing that task, as it contains large passages from writings by Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, and Abydenus.<sup>67</sup> It is hard to doubt that, while writing this chapter and the following one (I, 5) (the two chapters are closely related), and in Chapter II, 8, when citing Abydenus about king Nebuchadnezzar, Movsēs made use of Eusebius' book. But again (especially with regard to the passages concerning Abydenus), the view that the *Chronicle* was the only source of information for Xorenac'i creates new contradictions and unsolvable problems.

##### *Baseless Criticism and a Distinctive Method of Using Sources*

Before passing to the parallels, it is important to draw attention to the following. Movsēs' critics have viewed his utilization of the *Chronicle*'s material as a negative fact. Let us recall, for example, Xalatjanc's and Thomson's characterizations. The first considers "very characteristic of Xorenac'i's tricks" (весьма характерным для приемов Хоренского) the fact that, although Movsēs widely uses the *Chronicle*, he

<sup>66</sup> See a similar passage in Syncellus (32, 29 ff.), where he criticizes Berossus, Polyhistor and Abydenus for telling absurdities deviating from the Bible.

<sup>67</sup> Some of those fragments are discussed in the following recent article: M. Morani, "Frammenti di storici greci nella versione armena del *Chronicon* di Eusebio," *Bnagirk' Yišatakac'—Documenta Memoriae. Dall'Italia e dall'Armenia studi in onore di Gabriella Uluhogian*, a cura di V. Calzolari, A. Sirinian, B.L. Zekiyan (Bologna, 2004), 207–228.

does not mention it at all.<sup>68</sup> Thomson is stricter: "The Armenian version of the *Chronicle* was widely plagiarized by Moses."<sup>69</sup> Such criticism<sup>70</sup> of an early medieval author, because he did not mention a source explicitly, is quite queer. It is no secret to specialists in classical literature that, beginning with Greek and Roman authors, historiographers (even those famous for their "scholarly" approach) often kept silent about the sources from which they took information; this was normal and was never deemed strange. It is appropriate to quote eminent experts in antiquity. Already John Bagnell Bury (1861–1927) gave the following fine definition: "He (Herodotus) does not acknowledge his debt to Hecataeus; for, as you know, the ancients had very different views from the moderns about literary obligations. It was not the fashion or etiquette to name your authorities except for some special reason, for instance, to criticize them, or to display your own learning; and you were not considered a plagiarist if you plundered somebody else's work without mentioning his name."<sup>71</sup> Sergei Sobolevskii (1864–1963) characterized the fashion in a similar way: "In Ancient Greece it was absolutely not obligatory to mention the name of an author whose information was used. Each author could freely utilize the works of other authors, even citing them literally."<sup>72</sup> This practice was also usual later, in Byzantine

<sup>68</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Epos*, I, 53.

<sup>69</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, 33.

<sup>70</sup> Repeated recently by Terian: "Oddly enough, Xorenac'i refers to Eusebius but once, claiming that Mesrop (Maštoc'), the founder of the Armenian letters early in the fifth century, himself translated the *Historia Ecclesiastica*" (Terian, "Xorenac'i," 103). Incidentally, Xorenac'i never says that Mesrop "himself translated" Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.

<sup>71</sup> J.B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians* (London, 1909), 50.

<sup>72</sup> *История греческой литературы* (*History of Greek Literature*), edited by S. Sobolevskii, M. Grabarj-Passek, F. Petrovskii, II (Moscow, 1955), 37. In addition to Bury's and Sobolevskii's words, we quote the following characterizations concerning famous classical historiographers: "No ancient historian felt any obligation regularly to cite or even to indicate his authorities... Sallust is more reticent than most; certainly he gives us much less information about his sources than either Livy or Tacitus" (M.L.W. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians*, 51); "Following the historiographic tradition, Livy in general does not refer to his sources, perhaps except in the cases when he criticizes them or presents another version of the fact in question" (T. Kuznecova, T. Miller, *Античная эпическая историография (Геродот, Тит Ливий)* (*Greco-Roman Epic Historiography [Herodotus, Titus Livy]*; Moscow, 1984), 110); "Livy famously refers to 'sources' (*auctores*) in the plural when he means a single source" (C.S. Kraus & A.J. Woodman, *Latin Historians*, 4); "Tacitus would find our need to identify every source unnecessary and even tiresome; he judged them privately and freely reorganized their material without troubling his readers with such details" (R. Mellor, *The Roman Historians*, 89); "The problem of Tacitus' sources is very complicated. He rarely mentions the



literature. For a parallel, close to Xorenac'i in time, let us refer to the late fifth or early sixth century Byzantine author Zosimus.<sup>73</sup> Already the patriarch Photius (c. 810–895) in his *Library*<sup>74</sup> relates (98) that Zosimus copied slavishly from Eunapius (c. 364–after 414). “One could say,” Photius notes, “that he did not write a history but rewrote that of Eunapius”—Εἴποι δ' ἄν τις οὐ γράψαι αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταγράψαι τὴν Εὐναπίου. Zosimus never discloses his main source, but it is acknowledged by scholars that he composed Books II–V, 27 of his *Nea Historia* based on Eunapius.<sup>75</sup>

Another reason for criticism is that Xorenac'i at times deviates from Eusebius and introduces details not occurring in the latter's works—such passages have been considered intentionally false. In reality, as already noted in our introduction, it is not justified in all such cases to regard the data differing from the *Chronicle* simply as concoctions. In fact, Xorenac'i sometimes used another source relating the same events, or on other occasions had certain grounds for disagreeing with the bishop of Caesarea. P. Vetter has shown how, even when citing a source directly (the *Sibylline Oracles*), he inserted data from another writing (in this case, Eusebius' *Chronicle*) into the quotation.<sup>76</sup> This interesting and original way of utilizing sources is distinctive of Xorenac'i.

names of the authors whose works he used... Ancient historiographers often built their narration on the basis of a source but mentioned it only in exclusive cases of deviating from it” (Cornelius Tacitus, *Сочинения в двух томах* [*Works in Two Volumes*], edited by G. Knabe, M. Grabarj-Passek, I. Tronskii, A. Bobovič, II [Leningrad, 1970], 232); “In accordance with the practice characteristic of classical historiographers, Suetonius avoids directly mentioning his sources; he refers to them only when he does not want to assume the responsibility for the information conveyed, or when he deals with an arguable question, or when he has an opportunity to quote from an interesting and not easily available source (e.g., the letters of Augustus)” (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, *Жизнь двенадцати цезарей* [*The Lives of Twelve Caesars*], edited by M. Gasparov and E. Štaerman [Moscow, 1964], 277). Luce speaks of “Thucydides' practice of not disclosing his sources” (T.J. Luce, *The Greek Historians*, 74), Rohrbacher discusses the difficulties of investigating Ammianus Marcellinus' sources, one of the reasons being the same custom of reticence (D. Rohrbacher, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* [London, New York, 2002], 38–41). Many other similar examples and characterizations of Greco-Roman authors may be cited.

<sup>73</sup> Zosimus, *New History*, a translation with commentary by Ronald T. Ridley, BA, 2 (Canberra, 1982 [reprinted 1984, 1990]).

<sup>74</sup> Photius, *Bibliothèque*, texte établi et traduit par René Henri, I–III, LBL (Paris, 1959–1962).

<sup>75</sup> See W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), 76 ff.

<sup>76</sup> P. Vetter, “Das Sibyllen-Citat bei Moses von Choren,” *TQ*, Heft III (1892), 466–467.

ABYDENUS

*The Quotations in Chapters I, 4 and II, 8*

The next author in question is Abydenus.<sup>77</sup> Xorenac‘i has three citations from his *Writing about the Assyrians*. The first two are in Chapters I, 4 and I, 5, and the third in another part of the *History* (Chapter II, 8).

The first reference to Abydenus in the *History* (I, 4) nearly literally coincides with the *Chronicle*:

Xorenac‘i	Eusebius
<p>Քանզի ասէ վասն նորա Աբիւղենոս Հանգոյն այլոցն այսպէս. «Եւ զնա ամենախնամն Աստուած եցոյց Հովիւ և առաջնորդ ժողովրդեանն»: Յետ որոյ ասէ. «Թագաւորեաց Ազովրոս չարս տասն», որ լինին ամբ երեսուն և վեց Հազար:</p>	<p>Քանզի և նա Հանգոյն Բագմավիպին՝ պատմէ զայս... Բայց Թագաւորել աշխարհին նախ զԱզովրայ ասեն. այլ վասն իւրոյ անձինն այսչափ ինչ բանք են պատմելոյ. զի զնա ժողովրդեանն ամենախնամն Աստուած եցոյց Հովիւ, որ Թագաւորեաց չարս Ժ: Եւ չարն է՝ վ և ո ամ:</p>
<p>“For Abydenus says the following about him, <u>in agreement with</u> the oth- ers: ‘<u>The all-merciful God rewarded</u> <u>him as a shepherd</u> and guide <u>for the</u> <u>people.</u>’ Later he says: ‘Aօvros <u>reigned for ten shars</u>’—that is for thirty-six thousand <u>years.</u>”</p>	<p>“For he (Abydenus), too, <u>in agree-</u> <u>ment with</u> Polyhistor, tells this... But they say that first Aօvros <u>reigned</u> over the world, and so much is told about his personality: that <u>the all-</u> <u>merciful God rewarded him as a</u> <u>shepherd for the people;</u> he <u>reigned</u> <u>for ten shars</u>, and one <i>shar</i> is three thousand and six hundred <u>years.</u>”</p>

However, there are some differences between the two passages.<sup>78</sup>  
The quotation in Chapter II, 8, too, is an almost verbatim repetition of  
the corresponding lines of the *Chronicle*:

<sup>77</sup> Chronologically, the following author after Berossus should have been Alexander Polyhistor, but there is not much to say about Movsēs’ reference to him, for his name is mentioned just once in the *History* (I, 4). We shall deal with this author below, in the context of Abydenus’ “genealogies.”

<sup>78</sup> See the Appendix.

Xorenac'i	Eusebius
Աբիդենոս պատմէ այսպէս ասելով. <u>Մեծագորն Նաբուգոդոնոսոր բռնագոյն</u> [variant: ուժգնագոյն] էր քան <u>զերակէս լիբիացւոց. զօրաժողով լեալ, Հասանէր ի վերիացւոց աշխարհն, և վանեալ խորտակեալ</u> (variant: վտանգեալ) <u>ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր, և զմասն մի ի նոցանէ յաջակողմն Պոնտոս ծովու յարեմուտս տարեալ բնակեցուցանէր</u> . <sup>79</sup>	...(Աբիդենոս) գրէ իսկ <u>պէս զայս օրինակ բանից: Մեծագորն ասէ, Նաբուկոդոնոսորոս, որ ուժգնագոյն էր քան զՀերակղէս, ի լիբիացւոց և լիբերացւոց աշխարհն զօրաժողով լիեալ Հասանէր, և վանեալ վկանդեալ ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր, և զմասն մի ի նոցանէն յառաջակողմն Պոնտոս ծովու տարեալ բնակեցուցանէր</u> . <sup>80</sup>
“...Abydenus narrates, <u>saying the following: ‘The powerful Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Iberians. Having expelled (them) and routed, he subdued them.’</u> <sup>81</sup> <u>And part of them he led and settled on the right-hand side, west of the Pontus sea’.</u> ”	“(Abydenus) writes as follows: ‘ <u>The powerful,</u> ’ (he) <u>says, ‘Nebuchadnezzar, who was stronger than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Iberians. Having expelled (them) and defeated, he subdued them. And part of them he led and settled on the front side of the Pontus sea’.</u> ”

Von Gutschmid noticed, and long before him Awgereanc' wrote in a Latin note to the Armenian version of the *Chronicle*,<sup>82</sup> that the historiographer Megasthenes' name both in Armenian Eusebius and Xorenac'i is translated մեծագոր ("powerful") as an epithet<sup>83</sup> of Nebuchadnezzar: an unarguable proof that the passage is borrowed from Eusebius.<sup>84</sup> The

<sup>79</sup> The editors of the critical text have edited this passage based on Eusebius' *Chronicle*. Thomson's translation is according to the edited version: Մեծագորն Նաբուգոդոնոսոր, որ ուժգնագոյն էր քան զՀերակղէս, ի լիբիացւոց և ի վերիացւոց աշխարհն զօրաժողով լեալ Հասանէր և վանեալ վկանդեալ ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր, և զմասն մի ի նոցանէն յաջակողմն Պոնտոս ծովու տարեալ բնակեցուցանէր.

<sup>80</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 58–59.

<sup>81</sup> Literally, “subjected to his hand.”

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 58–59.

<sup>83</sup> A. von Gutschmid, “Über die Glaubwürdigkeit,” 27.

<sup>84</sup> R. Vardanyan, a specialist in the Armenian calendar, by an uncommon calculation has concluded that Eusebius' *Chronicle* was translated into Armenian between 560 and 639: see R. Vardanyan, Հայոց տոմարական եղանակը. քարգմանական բնագրերի ժամանակը (*The Calendar Method of the Armenians: the Time of the Translations*; Erevan, 1993), 45–46. In regard to the relationship of that translation with the *History of Armenia* he suggests two possible solutions: 1) Xorenac'i in the fifth century could have

other words and expressions, too, coincide so obviously that all experts agreed with von Gutschmid. Indeed, it is probable that the passage is cited from Eusebius' *Chronicle*. But if one reads it closely, some questions arise, which, although not seeming very important at a glance, must be answered. Such questions throw doubt on the exclusive dependence of Movsēs on Eusebius.<sup>85</sup>

### *The Reference and Citation in Chapter I, 5*

Most difficult to explain is the second reference to Abydenus (I, 5). Xorenac'i presents the list of the seven Assyrian patriarchs according to that historiographer: Պատմէ մեզ զայսոսիկ ի յոլով իրս Հաւատարիմն Աբիղենոս, և ասէ այսպէս. Նինոս Արբէղայ, Քայաղայ, Արբէղայ, Անէբայ, Բաբէայ, Բէլայ—“Abydenus, trustworthy in many things, tells us these, saying as follows: “Ninos (son) of Arbetos, of K'ayatos, of Arbetos, of Anebos, of Babios, of Belos.” These names, in the same sequence, as a citation from Abydenus, can be found in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle*: Զայս իբրև ասէ [Աբիղենոս], անդստին սկիզբն առնէ պատմութեանն: Էր, ասէ, Նինոս՝ Արբէղայ, Քաաղայ, Արբէղայ, Անէբայ, Բաբէայ, Բէլայ՝ արքայի Ասորեստանեաց.<sup>86</sup> But the continuation of the reference, that is, the names of the seven Armenian ancestors, which, too, Movsēs ascribes to Abydenus, has no parallel in Eusebius' book: “Likewise he counts our [genealogy] from Hayk to Ara the Handsome, whom the lascivious Semiramis killed, as follows: “Ara the Handsome, (son) of Aram, of Harmay, of Gelam, of Amasia, of Aramayis, of Aramaneak, of Hayk, “who was the opponent of Bel and also his slayer” (Նոյնպէս և զմերն՝ ի Հայկայ մինչև ցԱրայն գեղեցիկ, զոր Էսպան կաթոռն Շամիրամ՝ թուէ այսպէս. Արայն գեղեցիկ՝ Արամայ, Հարմայ, Գեղամայ, Ամասեայ, Արամայիսայ, Արամանեկայ, Հայկայ, որ եղև Հակառակ Բէլայ, միանգամայն և կենախուզ):

used not the translation but the Greek original; 2) The passages from the *Chronicle* were inserted into the *History* during a later edition in the eighth century. Vardanyan's dating needs further support, because the Armenian *Chronicle* with its linguistic features is too obviously a translation of the early period of Armenian literacy, and no one has seriously doubted this. Suffice it to note that such Greek words as γεωμετρία, γραμματική or φιλοσοφία yet have no fixed Armenian equivalents in that text and are rendered descriptively. Those equivalents were created subsequently, but long before the year 560, by the representatives of the Hellenophile School. So, if the *Chronicle* were translated between the years 560 and 639, the translator would surely utilize the usual երկրաչափութիւն, քերականութիւն, and իմաստասիրութիւն (իմաստասիրեթ): see S. Arevšatyan, *Формирование философской науки в древней Армении (V–VI вв.)* (*The Formation of Philosophical Science in Ancient Armenia [5th–6th cc.]*; Erevan, 1973), 136–137.

<sup>85</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>86</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 78.

### *A Falsity?*

Already M. Ēmin, independently of von Gutschmid, wrote: "...A careful reading of the passage leads to the conclusion that Abydenus' writing by no means contained, nor could contain, this."<sup>87</sup> M. Ēmin's attention was attracted especially by the continuation of Xorenac'i's words that the list of the Armenian patriarchs was in the first section of the detailed genealogy of Abydenus' book, and that afterwards some people omitted those names: "And Abydenus tells us this in his first section of detailed genealogies, which some people later on suppressed" (Եւ զայս մեզ Աբիւղենոս յիւրում առաջնում առանձնականի իմն մանր ազգաբանութեան ասէ. զոր աստ ուրեմն յետոյ ոմանք բարձին). Ēmin writes: "A question arises: who are those others? What made the historiographers succeeding Abydenus omit the mentioned passage?...Can one consider such arbitrariness on the part of all, without exception, historiographers following Abydenus possible?"

It is strange that Ēmin interpreted *ոմանք* ("some") as all the later historiographers without exception. Referring to the works of M. Ēmin and A. Garagašyan, G. Xalatjanc concluded: "Movsēs wanted to take advantage of Abydenus' authority in order to cram (втиснуть) into his history the list of the first Armenian patriarchs compiled by himself (or one of his sources), which, of course, was never known to Abydenus."<sup>88</sup> However, Abydenus was not regarded as a great authority in the ancient world: later historiographers mention him rarely, and there is no information about his personality and activity. His book did not contain much new, for in general he retold, through the excerpts in Alexander Polyhistor, Berossus' narration about Assyria.<sup>89</sup> According to Thomson, the passage in question is one of the cases when Movsēs "has faked his source."<sup>90</sup> "This list is not from Abydenus or Eusebius, but Moses is attributing the Armenian tradition to these reputable sources."<sup>91</sup> Yet here Xorenac'i ascribes nothing to Eusebius; he only declares Abydenus to be his source.

Movsēs' assertion that the list of the Armenians was omitted by others may be easily explained. By saying *ոմանք*, Xorenac'i means just Eusebius who cited only the part concerning the Assyrian patriarchs from Abydenus and omitted the Armenians. Since the *Chronicle* was a

<sup>87</sup> N. Ēmin, *Мовсей Хоренский и древний эпос Армянский* (*Movsēs Xorenac'i and the Old Armenian Epos*; Moscow, 1881), 11.

<sup>88</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Epos*, part 1, 51.

<sup>89</sup> See *RE*, I, s.v. Abydenos, 123 (Schwartz).

<sup>90</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, 14.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibidem*, 76, note 10.

well-known book in Armenia, and the readers could wonder why the names from Hayk to Ara were absent from the passage by Abydenus as adduced there, Xorenac'i warns that the list he quotes is "removed" by Eusebius. The claim that Abydenus never included and could not have included the names of the Armenians in his lists cannot be proved, because Abydenus' work survives in unconnected fragments, which do not permit such categorical statements.

### *Abydenus Could Have Mentioned the Armenian Ancestors*

"In fact, there is nothing to prevent us thinking that Abydenus spoke about Ara," G. Traina writes.<sup>92</sup> In his *Republic*, Plato (X, 614b) tells about "Eros, son of Armenios"<sup>93</sup> (Ἐρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου), who being killed in a combat, revived in twelve days and told about his experience in the next world. Plato's Eros has been identified with Ara.<sup>94</sup>

Now if Plato could mention "Eros, son of Armenios," why Abydenus could not have written in his "genealogies" the names of Eros-Ara and his mythological ancestors? Xorenac'i uses the "oriental forms" ("orientalische Formen") of those names, von Gutschmid says, which could not occur in the Greek text of Abydenus, therefore, the line from Hayk to Ara is a usual "Fälschung."<sup>95</sup> Repeating von Gutschmid, Schwartz characterizes this passage as "deceitfully extorted" by Xorenac'i from his actual source (Eusebius).<sup>96</sup> The same word ("erschwindeln") is used by Jacoby apropos of Movsēs' citation from Cephalion,<sup>97</sup> which will be dealt with below.

Von Gutschmid's argument is refutable: the use of Greek or grecized names in their "oriental forms," or their replacement by Armenian equivalents in original and translated writings<sup>98</sup> were so widespread that provide no grounds for judging about the trustworthiness of a quotation. Suffice it to read, on the next page of the *History of Armenia*, the quotation

<sup>92</sup> G. Traina, "Materiali," I, 308.

<sup>93</sup> Not to be confused with the god of love Eros (Ἔρως).

<sup>94</sup> J.R. Russell, "The Platonic Myth of Er, Armenian Ara, and Iranian Ardāy Wīrāz," *REArm*, NS 18 (1984), 484.

<sup>95</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 27.

<sup>96</sup> *RE*, I, s.v. Abydenos, 123 (Schwartz).

<sup>97</sup> *FGrHist*, II C, 298.

<sup>98</sup> See the following study on this subject: G. Muradyan, «Օտար անունների արտա-  
Հայտումները Հունարան թարգմանություններում» ("The Reflection of Foreign Names in  
the Hellenizing Translations"), *AAP*, I (Erevan, 1995), 151–162. See also the English ver-  
sion of the article: "The Reflection of Foreign Proper Names, Theonyms and Mytholog-  
ical Creatures in the Ancient Armenian Translations from Greek," *REArm*, NS 25 (1994-  
1995), 63–76.

from the oracle of "Sibyl, daughter of Berossus." No scholar has doubted its authenticity<sup>99</sup> (irrespective of the question, in which language it reached Xorenac'i), for the passage generally coincides with the Greek original (III, 109–151).<sup>100</sup> But if we compare the names, we shall see that in Movsēs' *History* "Cronus" has become "Zruan," and "Aphrodite" has become "Astlik." The list of the mythical ancestors of the Armenians according to Abydenus either reached Xorenac'i in translation, or he himself translated it, using the equivalents accepted in Armenia. This Armenian "genealogy," as we shall see, was hardly invented by Movsēs; it probably occurred in his source, and it reflects the very Babylonian ("Chaldaean") tradition. Abydenus was one of the Greek-writing authors presenting it; in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, his writing is called also "history of the Chaldaeans" (ἱστορίᾳ τῶν Χαλδαίων).<sup>101</sup>

*The Same Ancestors Mentioned in Chapter I of the Anonymous Writing Attached to Sebēos' History,<sup>102</sup> and in Mar Abas Catina's Book*

The Armenian ancestors, from father to son, are enumerated in the anonymous passage preceding Sebēos' (seventh century) *History* (I)<sup>103</sup>:

<sup>99</sup> Thomson has expressed an unusual opinion concerning the Բերոսեանն Սիբիլայ (which he has incorrectly translated "Sibyl, Berossus": see Moses Khorenats'i, 77): "Moses ascribes a quotation from the *Oracula Sibyllina* to Berossus" (Moses Khorenats'i, 14). Terian repeats Thomson's mistake (A. Terian, "Xorenac'i," 109, note 26): "Xorenac'i wrongly ascribes to Berossus a quotation from the *Oracula Sibyllina*" (see also *ibidem*, 112). Բերոսեանն Սիբիլայ means "Sibyl, daughter of Berossus," as, e.g., Երուանդեան Տիգրան (I, 24) means "Tigran, son of Eruand," or Նինոս Բելեան (Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 91) means "Ninus, son of Belus" (ὁ Βήλου Νίνος). The translators have usually understood this passage correctly (e.g., A. and J-P. Mahé write: "la Sibylle, fille de Bérose"). This Sibyl indeed was considered, according to a tradition, to be the historiographer Berossus' daughter (cf. in the writing *Cohortatio ad gentiles* ascribed to the Christian author Justin (c. 100–165) (P. 34, E): Ταύτην (τὴν Σίβυλλαν) δὲ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὤρμησθαι φασί, Βηρώσσου τοῦ τὴν Χαλδαϊκὴν Ἱστορίαν γράψαντος θυγατέρα οὖσαν—"This Sibyl is said to be descended from Babylon, being the daughter of Berossus who wrote the *Chaldaean History*"; see also P. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 84–85). It is not clear what led Thomson to that conclusion. S. Malxasyan, too, made a mistake, when he wrote in the notes to his translation that the Sibyl was not regarded as the daughter of Berossus but of a "certain Beros" (Movses Xorenac'i, 262). Consequently, there is no reason to be perplexed that the epithet Բերոսեանն regarding one of the Sibyls "is hardly understandable" (G. Sargsyan; see Movses Xorenaci, 220).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, bearbeitet von Dr. Joh. Geffcken (Leipzig, 1902).

<sup>101</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 46, 139.

<sup>102</sup> Sebēos' *History* has recently been published in English translation; see the following brilliant edition: *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, translated, with notes, by R.W. Thomson, historical commentary by James Howard-Johnston, assistance from Tim Greenwood; part I, Translation and Notes; part II, Historical Commentary, *TTH*, 31 (Liverpool, 1999).

<sup>103</sup> See on this anonymous writing in Պատմութիւն Սեբէոսի (*Sebēos' History*), criti-

“Now this is the Hayk who begat Aramaneak, his son in Babylon. And Aramaneak begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Aramayis. And Aramayis begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Amasia. And Amasia begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Gelam. And Gelam begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Harmay. And Harmay begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Aram. And Aram begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Ara the Handsome.”<sup>104</sup> P. Ananean thinks—and his opinion is well-grounded—that both authors used the same source,<sup>105</sup> the first connecting it with the name of Mar Abas Catina, and the second, with Maraba Mcurnac‘i (they mean the same person). If so, then it is necessary to recall Movsēs’ story about this source. King Vataršak of Armenia sent a Syrian, Mar Abas Catina, “a diligent man versed in Chaldaean and Greek” (*այր ուշիմ և վարժ քաղղէացի և յոյն գրով*) to his elder brother, the great Parthian king Aršak (I, 8),<sup>106</sup> who let him utilize the royal archive. Mar Abas found there a

cal text, introduction, and commentary by G. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), 224. The English citation is in Thomson’s translation: see the Appendix to Moses Khorenats‘i, 358–359.

<sup>104</sup> Արդ՝ այս է Հայկն, որ ծնաւ զԱրամենակ զորդի իւր ի Բաբելոն: Եւ ծնաւ Արամենակ ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Արամայիս: Եւ ծնաւ Արամայիս ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Ամասիա: Եւ ծնաւ Ամասիա ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Գելամ: Եւ ծնաւ Գելամ ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Հարմայ: Եւ ծնաւ Հարմայ ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Արամ: Եւ ծնաւ Արամ ուստերս և դստերս բազումս, յորոց անդրանիկն Արայն Գեղեցիկն: See Sebēos, 48.

<sup>105</sup> P. Ananean, Սեբեոսի պատմութեան գրքի մասին ֆանի մը լուսաբանութիւններ (*Several Explanations on Sebēos’ Book of History*; Venice, 1972), 48–58.

<sup>106</sup> Terian (A. Terian, “Xorenac‘i,” 120) identifies this great Parthian king Aršak who, according to Xorenac‘i (I, 8), “rebelled against the Macedonians” and “ruled over all the East and Assyria,” and Vataršak, enthroned by him in Armenia, who reigned in a vast country stretching from the “Sea of Pontus” to the “Western Sea” (Caspian Sea), with King Pap’s two sons under age. In 378 AD, after their father’s murder, they were nominally raised to the throne by the factual ruler of Armenia, սպարապետ (general) Manuēl Mamikonean. P’awstos Buzand (see *The Epic Histories Attributed to P’awstos Buzand (Buzandaran Patmut‘iwnk’)*, translation and commentary by Nina N. Garsoïan [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989], 221), the primary source for this “enthronement,” tells (V, 37) that Manuēl kept King Pap’s wife Zarmanduxt with her two Aršakuni children in place of the king and treated them with honor. He guided Armenia wisely and “nurtured” the two boys, Aršak and Vataršak, “as his nurslings.” As Terian thinks, Xorenac‘i’s “Aršak the Great” is the elder of these “nurslings,” “King Aršak III of Persian Armenia (378–385; d. c. 390),” and Vataršak (according to Movsēs, the first Arsacid king of Armenia [II, 1]), is the younger of Pap’s sons, “King Vataršak of Greater Armenia (378–379)” (A. Terian, “Xorenac‘i,” 120). But the half-legendary powerful Arsacid brothers, figuring in Chapters I, 8, II, 1 and elsewhere in Xorenac‘i’s book, by no means resemble those whom Manuēl nurtured (*իբրեւ զսան սնուցանէր*). Movsēs himself clearly distinguishes the Parthian king Aršak and his brother Vataršak, “the first Armenian



book beginning as follows (I, 9): "This book, which contains the authentic account of the ancients and ancestors, was translated at the command of Alexander from the Chaldaean language into Greek."<sup>107</sup> According to Xorenac'i, Mar Abas said that the book started with Zruan, Titan, and Yapetost'ē, containing "each of the offspring of these three dynasties" (սկիզբն լեալ ասէ զԶրուանն և զՏիտանն և զՅապետոսթէ, յորում և զիւրաքանչիւր ոք ի ծննդոց երկց նախարարականացս այսոցիկ արանց). That is to say, the source, first written in "Chaldaean" and then translated into Greek, included the very "genealogies," which Movsēs presents in the previous chapters. Mar Abas chose only the parts concerning the Armenians and brought them for Vałaršak in Greek and Syriac (յոյն և ասորի գրով). This story is covered with a veil of myth, but the existence of the source itself, which was deemed doubtful and rejected,<sup>108</sup> now should be acknowledged as a fact,<sup>109</sup> for two historiographers, Xorenac'i and Anonymous, used it independently of each other.<sup>110</sup> Mar Abas' book was in fact a link in the process of the translation of the "Chaldaean" books into Greek (or of the utilization of their information by Greek-writing historiographers), of which we spoke with regard to Berossus. Abydenus' writing in Greek narrating the history of the Chaldaeans should also be viewed within the framework of that process.

Arsacid," from Pap's sons (referred to in Chapter III, 41), calling them մանկուհի ("youths"), the younger of whom, Vałaršak, as he informs, "died in the same year." Terian's identification is quite strange and contains inaccuracies. In 378 the country was not divided, moreover, into "Greater" and "Persian" Armenias; Aršak III and his younger brother were crowned in one and the same Armenia. The partition of the country between Persia and Rome took place in 387. It is not clear what Terian means by "Greater Armenia" and "Persian Armenia" existing simultaneously, as different entities: such a partition never occurred. After 387, the greater, eastern part of the country fell under Persian domination, while the much smaller, western Armenia became part of the Roman Empire. The story about the Arsacid brothers, kings of Parthia and Armenia, is narrated, less fabulously, also by the sixth century Byzantine author Procopius of Caesarea (*De Aedificiis* [III, i, 5–7]) who, too, places them in the early Parthian period.

<sup>107</sup> Այս մատենն Հրամանաւ Աղէքսանդրի ի Քաղղէացոց բարբառոյ փոխեալ ի յոյն, որ ունի զբուն Հնոցն և զնախնեացն բանս:

<sup>108</sup> See, e.g., A. Carrière, *Moïse de Khoren et les généalogies patriarcales* (Paris, 1891), 46, where the author concludes that Movsēs and Mar Abas are the same person.

<sup>109</sup> See G. Sargsyan, *The Chronological System*, 13–15, 128–129; *idem*, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 82–83.

<sup>110</sup> N. Adonc' even held the opinion that Procopius of Caesarea made use of Mar Abas: see N. Adonc, "Начальная история Армении" у Себеоса в ее отношениях к трудам Моисея Хоренского и Фауста Византийского" ("The Primary History of Armenia in Sebēos in Its Relationship with the Works of Movsēs Xorenac'i and P'awsos Biwzandac'i"), *VV, VIII* (1901), No 1–2, 94.

*Mar Abas' Book Probably Contained the Quotation from Abydenus' "Genealogies"*

All this leads to a logical conclusion: Mar Abas' book probably contained a quotation from Abydenus' "genealogies," whence Xorenac'i took the list of the Armenian patriarchs, citing Abydenus, in his usual fashion, indirectly, through Mar Abas. The Babylonian origin of this list is also witnessed by the first sentence in the above-cited anonymous passage, where the author states that Hayk begot his son Aramaneak "in Babylon." Since Mar Abas' book appeared in Armenia in the fourth century at the earliest,<sup>111</sup> Abydenus, who lived in the first or second century AD, could well be among the authors cited there. Consequently, the passage from Abydenus' lost work quoted by Movsēs may be authentic.

Our assumption that the names from Hayk to Ara the Handsome occurred in Mar Abas is confirmed by the following circumstance. In the anonymous passage attached to Sebēos (I), the author of that source or one of the authors figuring there is called "chronographer": "The chronographer tells this" (...Չսոյն ճառէ ժամանակագիրն).<sup>112</sup> Likewise Movsēs (I, 9): "After these the same chronographer continues: Hayk, Aramaneak, and the others in order, about whom we spoke earlier" (Եւտ որոյ նոյն ժամանակագիր յառաջ մատուցեալ ասէ. Հայկ, Արամանեակ, և զայլսն ի կարգի, զորոց յառաջագոյն ասացաք). Thus, we have the following list: "Ara the Handsome, [son] of Aram, [son] of Harmay, [son] of Gelam, [son] of Amasia, [son] of Aramayis, [son] of Aramaneak, [son] of Hayk" (Արայն գեղեցիկ՝ Արամայ, Հարմայ, Գեղամայ, Ամասեայ, Արամայիսայ, Արամանեկայ, Հայկայ), the author of which, according to Xorenac'i, is Abydenus, and then: "Hayk, Aramaneak, and the others in order" (Հայկ, Արամանեակ, և զայլսն ի կարգի). By "others in order," Movsēs means Aramayis, Amasia, Gelam, Harmay, Aram, and Ara the Handsome (Արամայիս, Ամասիա, Գեղամ, Հարմայ, Արամ, Արայն գեղեցիկ), the author of which list is the "chronographer." The explanation that in the first case Xorenac'i merely faked his source in order to make use of Abydenus' authority is not convincing, for an

<sup>111</sup> See N. Marr, "О начальной истории Армении Анонима" ("On Anonymous' Primary History of Armenia," VV, I (1894), No 2, 293–294; H. Manandjan (Manandyan), "Начальная история Армении" Мар-Абаса (К вопросу об источниках Себеоса, Моисея Хоренского и Прокопия Кесарийского)" ("Mar Abas' Primary History of Armenia [On the Problem of the Sources of Sebēos, Movsēs Xorenac'i, and Procopius of Caesarea]"), PS, 64–65 (1956), No 2, 69–86.

<sup>112</sup> Sebēos, 52; Moses Khorenats'i, 363; Thomson's translation is as follows: "the chronicler tells of these same events."

author having such artful pretensions would not be so simple-minded as to ascribe the same list after some pages to the “chronographer”<sup>113</sup> and not, as in the first case, to Abydenus. Besides, Xorenac‘i apparently would not consider it necessary to attribute the list not to Mar Abas but to another “authority,” if he had no sure grounds for it, because this “erudite Syrian” was such an authority for him that with his help he even revised the Bible (I, 5). When enumerating the successors of Sem, Ham, and Japheth, he makes some changes in the biblical sequence of the names, for he found them “so placed by a certain very learned and erudite Syrian” (Mar Abas) (*այսպէս զսա կարգեալ գտաք ի յուշմագունէ և յընթերցասիրէ ունեմնէ Ասորւոյ*). Consequently, it seems that, as we noted, the list in question according to Abydenus had been cited in Mar Abas, and afterwards repeated by the “chronographer.” Another example of a similar repetition may be found in the same chapters of the *History*. Xorenac‘i writes (I, 6): “Sibyl: “Before the tower,” *she* says... “the rulers of the land were Zruan, Titan and Yapetost‘ē” (*Սիբիլայ. Յառաջ քան զբուրգն, առէ ... Ջրուանն և Տիտանն և Յապետոսթէ լինէին իշխանք երկրի*) (cf. in the Greek original (III, 110): *καὶ βασιλεύσε Κρόνος καὶ Τίταν Ἰαπετός τε*). Then he tells that Mar Abas’ writing began with the same sentence (I, 9): “This book... *starting* with Zruan, Titan and Yapetost‘ē” (*Այս ծառեան ... որոյ սկիզբն լեալ ... զՋրուանն և զՏիտանն և զՅապետոսթէ*).

*“Genealogies” were Usual in Alexander Polyhistor,<sup>114</sup> One of Abydenus’ Main Sources*

Abydenus may well have written an Armenian “genealogy” in his book, because he made wide use of Alexander Polyhistor. The biographical data concerning Polyhistor especially emphasize that in his works he wrote about nearly all countries and nations of the ancient world. A number of the known titles of his books are the following:<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> By “chronographer,” both authors in all probability mean Mar Abas.

<sup>114</sup> Genealogies were widespread in Greco-Roman literature and were composed already by Hesiod (eighth–seventh centuries BC) and early Ionian historiographers. On the genre in general, see C.W. Fornara, *The Nature of History* (in the chapter “History and Related Genres”), 4–12; for the genealogies by Hecataeus of Miletus (c. 540–480 BC) and Hellanicus of Lesbos (c. 485–400 BC), see L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, 1939), 96–106, 176–193.

<sup>115</sup> See *FHG*, III, p. 207; *FGrHist*, III A, 258–259; P. Schnabel, *Berosus*, 135.

- “Chaldaean History and Assyrian History” (Χαλδαϊκὰ καὶ Ἀσσυριακά)  
 “Concerning the Jews” (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων)  
 “Italian (History)” (“Concerning Rome”) (Ἰταλικά [Περὶ Ῥώμης])  
 “History of Crete” (Κρητικά)  
 “Concerning the Euxine Pontus” (Περὶ Εὐξείνου πόντου)  
 “Concerning Bithynia” (Περὶ Βιθυνίας)  
 “Concerning Paphlagonia” (Περὶ Παφλαγονίας)  
 “Concerning Phrygia” (Περὶ Φρυγίας)  
 “Concerning Caria” (Περὶ Καρίας)  
 “History of Lycia” (Λυκτικά)  
 “Concerning Cilicia” (Περὶ Κιλικίας)  
 “Concerning Cyprus” (Περὶ Κύπρου)  
 “History of India” (Ἰνδικά)  
 “Concerning Syria” (Περὶ Συρίας)  
 “History of Egypt” (Αἰγυπτιακά)  
 “History of Libya” (Λιβυκά) etc.

Armenia and the Armenians did not escape Polyhistor's attention: at the very least, they are mentioned in the extant fragments concerning other countries.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, while dealing with various peoples, he provided detailed genealogical data, enumerating the ancestors of the given country from father to son. Let us cite one such passage:<sup>117</sup> Ζαμβράνης, Ἰαζάρης, Μαδάνης, Μαδιάνης, Ἰωσούβακος, Σοῦος—Zambranes, Iazares, Madanes, Madianes, Iosoubacos, Souos; then Polyhistor writes that they, too, begot sons, and enumerates their names. Following such lists, Polyhistor usually related numerous mythological stories. Writing “genealogies” of this kind, as well as confusing mythology with reality, as corroborated by the extant fragments, was a feature shared by all four authors being considered: Berossus,<sup>118</sup> Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion.

These facts, too, may confirm the truthfulness of Movsēs' statement that Abydenus had written “Ara the Handsome, [son] of Aram, [son] of Harmay, [son] of Gelam, [son] of Amasia, [son] of Aramayis, [son] of Aramaneak, [son] of Hayk” (probably using the “grecized” equivalents of those names) “in his first section of detailed genealogies.”

<sup>116</sup> See, e.g., *FHG*, III, 212, 213.

<sup>117</sup> *FHG*, III, 214.

<sup>118</sup> See in particular on Berossus' semi-mythical “genealogies” in P. Schnabel, *Berosus*, 185–213.

## CEPHALION

*The Reference and Quotation in Chapter I, 5*

In chapter I, 5, the first mention of Cephalion, followed by a quotation from his lost work, is noteworthy. Until comparatively recently, von Gutschmid's assessment of this reference was not contested by scholars. Adducing certain arguments, he deemed the excerpt inauthentic, concluding that Xorenac'i fabricated it with the help of a sentence in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, another passage from Cephalion's book.<sup>119</sup> This is why F. Jacoby in his edition of the extant fragments of ancient Greek historiographers<sup>120</sup> and elsewhere,<sup>121</sup> following von Gutschmid, regarded Xorenac'i's citation as forgery, unlike the editor of the earlier similar collection, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, C. Müller who, alongside the excerpts from other writings, presented Movsēs' quote in Latin translation as written by Cephalion.<sup>122</sup> As we shall see, Müller (whose work was published before von Gutschmid's study) was right, because the latter's arguments, though they seem logical at first glance, are quite unconvincing.

We have already noted above how scholars repeated von Gutschmid's opinion concerning Cephalion and the other three authors. Here are some more excerpts: S. Malxasyan: "Eusebius of Caesarea refers to Cephalion and cites him, and Xorenac'i cites Eusebius."<sup>123</sup> A. and J.-P. Mahé even write in a special note that Cephalion's passage is cited in Eusebius' *Chronicle*<sup>124</sup> ("Ce passage... est cité dans la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe"). Scholars have neglected the remark made by V. Langlois long before von Gutschmid that Xorenac'i's quotation is independent of Eusebius' *Chronicle*.<sup>125</sup>

In his book published in 1991, G. Traina did not yet doubt that Movsēs cited Cephalion through the mediation of Eusebius ("mediata dal Chronicon eusebiano").<sup>126</sup> But a year later, he already mentioned

<sup>119</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 27–28.

<sup>120</sup> *FGrHist*, II C, 298.

<sup>121</sup> See *RE*, XI, s.v. Kephalion, 191–192 (Jacoby).

<sup>122</sup> *FHG*, III, 627, f. 2.

<sup>123</sup> Movses Xorenac'i, 261.

<sup>124</sup> Moïse de Khorène, 329.

<sup>125</sup> V. Langlois, *Étude sur les sources de l'Histoire d'Arménie de Moïse de Khoren* (Paris, 1861), 317–318.

<sup>126</sup> G. Traina, *Il complesso*, 53.

that the sentence pointed to by von Gutschmid in the *Chronicle* is by no means very similar (“ganz ähnliche Stelle”) to the passage in question.<sup>127</sup> This observation is confirmed in his later study on Xorenac‘i.<sup>128</sup> Traina correctly regards Cephalion’s words as a testimony to a methodological principle of late classical historiography, an expression of the “axiological” approach following which historiographers dealt only with the activities of renowned persons. As an archetype of this fragment of Cephalion’s *History*, Traina selects a passage from Diodorus Siculus’ *Historical Library*, where the author says that nothing can force him to write about the kings that have no memorable (μνήμης ἄξιον) deeds.

Independently of Traina, we too drew attention to the fact that Xorenac‘i cited from the lost writing of Cephalion not through Eusebius’ *Chronicle* but either directly or, as is more probable, through another unknown source.<sup>129</sup>

### *The Content of the Passage Confirms Its Authenticity*

The content of the passage obviously shows that it is authentic and not invented with the help of Eusebius. Let us try to explain this. Xorenac‘i quoted Cephalion in order to confirm his previous words (particularly, the list of the seven Armenian patriarchs, which he ascribes to Abydenus), starting as follows: “Cephalion is also a witness to these matters” (Այսոցիկ վկայէ և Կեփաղիոն), but in reality, the citation does not corroborate the list; moreover, it has only a remote relation to it. If Movsēs intended here to adjust excerpts from other authors to his purpose, he would have transformed Cephalion’s words in a way to confirm his testimony and make the list of the seven Armenian ancestors more plausible. He did not do this but repeated the passage without any change, not caring that it by no means “witnesses” to his purpose.

Furthermore, when Xorenac‘i takes information from various sources or borrows phrases to enrich the style of his narrative, he does this more or less literally, without significant changes. In such cases, the parallels are evident and may be easily noticed.

<sup>127</sup> G. Traina, “The ‘Classical’ Tradition,” 32.

<sup>128</sup> G. Traina, “Materiali,” I, 309–310.

<sup>129</sup> A. Topchyan, “On Several Greek Sources,” 81–83.

*Comparison of Movsēs' and Eusebius' Citations: Two Different Passages Written by the Same Author*

Comparison of the corresponding passages of the *History of Armenia* and Eusebius' *Chronicle* persuades that von Gutschmid's observation is groundless:

Xorenac'i	Eusebius
Այսոցիկ վկայէ և Կեփաղիովն. քանզի ասէ ի միում գլխոցն այսպէս. «Մանր զամենայն ի սկզբան մերոյ աշխատութեանս սկսաք զրել զազգաբանութիւնսն ի դիւանացն արքունի. այլ առաք Հրաման ի Թագաւորաց՝ Թողուլ զաննչանից և զվատաց արանց ի Հնոցն զլիշատակն, և զրել միայն զքաջս և զիմաստունս և զաշխարհակալս նախնիս, և մի՛ յանպէտս զժամանակս մեր ծախել», և զայլսն:	Բայց ինձ զի՞նչ ուրախութիւն և խնդութիւն բերիցէ կոչել զանուանս բարբարոսիկ բարբառոց՝ առանց արութեան ինչ և քաջութեան՝ զբռնաւորաց, վատասրտաց, թուլամորթաց, վայրենեաց:
“Cephalion is also a witness to these matters, for he says in one chapter as follows: ‘At the beginning of our work we began to write down in detail all the genealogies from the royal archives. But we received a command from kings to omit mention of the insignificant and wicked men from among the ancients and to record only the brave and wise and victorious ancestors and not to spend our time uselessly,’ and so on.”	“But what joy and mirth would bring me mentioning the names of barbarian languages, without any courage and bravery, of tyrants, cowards, feeble men, savages.” <sup>130</sup>

Nothing in these two excerpts proves that the first is simply invented with the help of the second. More likely, they both are genuine—two different expressions of the same views of the same author, Cephalion.

<sup>130</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 93–94.

### *The Passage in Eusebius in Fact Used Elsewhere*

If von Gutschmid read the preceding chapters of the *History* carefully, he would have noticed that the parallel to the passage he pointed to in the *Chronicle* is factually in I, 3, where Movsēs seems to have utilized Eusebius merely with the purpose of stylization, without any connection to Cephalion: ...Աւելորդ է ծեղ և այլ յաղագս արանց անբանից, թուլամտաց, վայրենեաց ճառել —... It is superfluous for us to say anything more about those unlettered, feeble-minded and barbarous men.”

One may here speak of mutual influence between the *History* and the Armenian *Chronicle*.<sup>131</sup> While Xorenac'i's sentence bears general similarity with the content and partly with certain words of Eusebius' passage, the inaccurate translation վատասրտաց, թուլամորթաց, վայրենեաց of δειλοὺς καὶ μαλακοὺς βαρβάρους<sup>132</sup> may be explained by Movsēs' influence on a later edition of the Armenian *Chronicle*.<sup>133</sup> If translated with the same words, the Greek means “the coward and feeble savages,” i.e. two adjectives joined with the conjunction “and” (καὶ) and a noun. It is doubtful whether the translator arbitrarily omitted the conjunction, which resulted in three coordinate members of the sentence: nouns separated with commas. However, such a change of the text is understandable, if one imagines that the sentence was later revised in accordance with Xorenac'i's անբանից, թուլամտաց, վայրենեաց (“unlettered, feeble-minded, barbarous”).

### *The Critical Arguments are Invalid*

Von Gutschmid's main arguments against the authenticity of Cephalion's passage are two:

1) According to the *Suda* lexicon (tenth century), Cephalion wrote his “Nine Muses” in the days of the emperor Hadrian, so he could not

<sup>131</sup> Such a mutual influence is noticeable at other places too: see the Appendix. The fact of revision of any translation under Xorenac'i's influence should not seem strange. The *History* was very famous in Armenia in the Middle Ages. Suffice it to remember how the abridger of the Armenian version of Socrates Scholasticus' *Ecclesiastical History* used Xorenac'i and made many changes in the *Larger Socrates*. This fact is proved in detail; see Սոկրատայ Սնուստիկոսի Եկեղեցական պատմութիւն եւ Պատմութիւն վարուց սրբոյն Սեղբեստրոսի եպիսկոպոսին Հոովմայ (*Socrates Scholasticus' Ecclesiastical History and the History of the Life of St. Silvester, Bishop of Rome*), edited by Mesrop V. Tēr-Movsēsean (Vafaršapat, 1897), 49–81. See also Norayr N. Biwzandac'i, «Հայերէն Հին գրականութեան խնդիրներ. Ա. Մովսէս Խորենացի» (“Problems of Ancient Armenian Literature: I, Movsēs Xorenac'i”), *Mšak*, 1898, No 203, 1–2; No 216, 1–3; No 217, 1–3.

<sup>132</sup> The Greek original of the passage is found in Syncellus (196, 7–9).

<sup>133</sup> One can hardly believe that the inaccuracy is simply a result of a scribal mistake.



receive a command from more than one king (*ἡμῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέων ἢ βασιλευσῶν*—“we received a command from kings”).

2) How could Cephalion write his *History* “by official order” (“in officielllem Auftrage”), if at that time he was expelled to Sicily?

Let us view these arguments in inverse logic. The first one declares that the only “king” was Hadrian (von Gutschmid says that Cephalion could not have written *βασιλεῖς* in plural). It follows that if the word in the excerpt were in singular, corresponding to *βασιλεύς*, and thus Hadrian were referred to, the fragment would seem trustworthy. This approach is strange, because in Greek historiography of the period of the principate the Roman emperors were not called *βασιλεύς*, but *Καῖσαρ* (“Caesar”) or *αὐτοκράτωρ* (“autocrat”). The rare occurrences of the word *βασιλεύς* in the sense “emperor”<sup>134</sup> before the early Byzantine period are exceptions to the general rule.

The conclusion arising from the second argument is doubtful too. Thus, were Cephalion not banished to Sicily,<sup>135</sup> was it probable that he would have received an official order from Hadrian to write a history of the remote past, from Ninus down to Alexander the Great, all the more when he lived, as he probably did, quite far from the emperor?<sup>136</sup> What interest would prompt Hadrian to order such a history “officially”? If we continue following the logic of the critical arguments in this manner, it will bring us to a deadlock. There is no reason to connect the passage in question with the emperor Hadrian, so von Gutschmid’s whole way of disproof is misled.

### *Corroboration of the Genuineness of Movṣēs’ Citation in Later Sources*

The patriarch Photius’ *Library* and the very *Suda* lexicon called to witness by von Gutschmid provide an interesting possibility to corroborate the authenticity of Xorenac’i’s citation.<sup>137</sup> This circumstance has escaped scholarly attention. Photius (68) and the *Suda* (s.v.) give biographical information concerning Cephalion. The Patriarch characterizes his work as *σύντομον ἱστορικόν* (“concise history,” literally, “histori-

<sup>134</sup> See H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon (with a Supplement, 1968)* (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *βασιλεύς* II, 3.

<sup>135</sup> Incidentally, as we shall see, he lived there not because of being exiled by the emperor.

<sup>136</sup> Seemingly, he resided in a town of Asia Minor.

<sup>137</sup> *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, I–IV, BSGRT (Leipzig, 1928–1935), s.v. *Κεφαλίων*. See the relevant passages of Photius’ *Library* and the *Suda* also in *FHG*, III, 623; *FGrHist*, II A, 436–437.

cal abridgement"). The *Suda* names it Παντοδαπὰς ἱστορίας ("Miscellaneous histories") and relates that Cephalion "fled from the fatherland because of the enmity of the rulers (sic!) and settled in Sicily"—ἔφυγεν δὲ τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἀπέχθειαν δυναστῶν, καὶ ἐβίω ἐν Σικελίᾳ.

Were not these "rulers" (δυνασταί, in the plural) exactly the "kings" who had ordered Cephalion to write his history following certain principles? The words δυνάστης and βασιλεύς were generally synonyms; the first had a wider meaning, "ruler, lord," and the second, more particular, "king." They could be used for one another and be translated by the Armenian word *թագաւոր* ("king"), and while, as von Gutschmid notes, βασιλεῖς could not exist in the days of Hadrian, of course there was no lack of rulers and lords of various ranks. It would be interesting to know where Cephalion's fatherland was,<sup>138</sup> and why he was subject to more than one lord. It is difficult to answer these questions, but the fact is that the *Suda* clearly gives the reading δυναστῶν. One may suppose that initially Cephalion received instructions concerning the composition of his history from those rulers, and then for some reason he was deprived of their benevolence and had to flee to Sicily. Maybe only there he finished his *History*, this time without any official order and supervision. Such an explanation based on the information of the *Suda* seems quite convincing, but another one is possible too.

### *The Plural "Kings" in Armenian Tradition*

"We received a command from kings" (*Առաք Հրաման ի թագաւորաց*) may be understood not literally, not in the sense that Cephalion had received an order from more than one "king." This expression seems to be a stylistic figure and can be regarded as a *locus communis* in medieval Armenian literature. In translations, some passages of the texts could be rendered in an "Armenized" form (Cephalion's words were translated either by Xorenac'i himself or by another translator). Similar occurrences in other Armenian historiographic writings may confirm this interpretation. For example, in the Introduction (7) to *Agat'angelos' History* (mid-fifth century AD),<sup>139</sup> it is written that the "the command of kings" made the author narrate about the events of the past (...*Ստիպեաց ... Հրաման թագաւորաց ... զանցեալ իրացն եղելոց զիրս ճատենադրել*).

<sup>138</sup> The *Suda* erroneously calls him Γεργίθιος, confusing him with Cephalon Ger-githius: see *FHG*, III, 623 and *FGrHist*, II A, 436.

<sup>139</sup> Ագաթանգեղոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց (*Agat'angelos' History of Armenia*), edited by G. Ter-Mkrtč'ean and S. Kanayanc' (Tiflis, 1909).

Clearly, this should not be understood as an order of more than one king,<sup>140</sup> for elsewhere, in the same Introduction and in the Epilogue (12, 13, 892), only one commissioner, King Trdat, is mentioned. Other examples: Łazar P'arpec'i (late fifth–early sixth centuries) writes in his Introduction (1) that he has devoted himself to such an important work “forced by the command of the nobles” (*Հարկաւորեալ Հրամանաւ իշխանաց*),<sup>141</sup> whereas from Łazar's own testimony (Introduction, 4) it is known that his commissioner was one noble, Vahan Mamikonean. In the first quarter of the tenth century, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i also writes (in the Epilogue to his book) that he immediately started composing his *History* “because of being overtaken by the command of kings” (*ի Հրամանէ թագաւորաց ի վերայ Հասելոյ*).<sup>142</sup> Here, too, one cannot imagine at least two kings ordering the same history, even more so because Drasxanakertc'i frequently appeals to his commissioner in the singular: “o, you, lover of reading!” (*ո՛վ ընթերցասէրդ*).<sup>143</sup>

These examples demonstrate that when historiographers had no specific reason to mention their patron's name but merely wished to emphasize in a rhetorical manner the importance of the work they had undertaken, and the uncommon “royal” or “princely” character of the order they had received, they employed this style, writing “the command of kings” or “the command of nobles.”<sup>144</sup>

We cannot definitely state what was written in the Greek original of the passage ascribed by Xorenac'i to Cephalion, but it is beyond any doubt that in the Armenian quotation “the command of kings” may concern not two or more rulers but may be an example of the same literary formula used by Agat'angelos, Łazar P'arpec'i, and Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i.

<sup>140</sup> A. Ter-Lewondyan in his Modern Armenian translation of Agat'angelos has correctly rendered *Հրաման թագաւորաց* as “royal command” (*Թագաւորական Հրաման*). See Agat'angelos, *Հայոց պատմութիւն* (*History of Armenia*), Modern Armenian translation and commentary by A. Ter-Lewondyan (Erevan, 1983), 13. Thomson has translated the phrase literally, “the command of kings”: see Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary by R.W. Thomson (Albany, 1976), 13.

<sup>141</sup> Ղազարայ Փարպեցւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց և Թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան (Łazar P'arpec'i's *History of Armenia* and *Letter to Vahan Mamikonean*), edited by G. Ter-Mkrtč'ean and S. Malxasean (Tiflis, 1904).

<sup>142</sup> Եովհաննու Կարաթիկոսի Դրասխանակերտցւոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i's *History of Armenia*; Tiflis, 1912), 362–363.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibidem*, 12, 16, 23, 69, 111, 131, 141, 166, 228.

<sup>144</sup> A similar style could have existed also in Greek and Byzantine literature, and the *δυναστῶν* of the *Suda* (probably going back, directly or through somebody's mediation, to Cephalion) is possibly just such an example. This topic needs a special study, which we hope to undertake in the future. However, the Armenian examples themselves seem to be sufficient.

Thus, both explanations of the expression seem well-grounded; consequently, the main argument for criticism that there were no kings in the time of Hadrian loses its significance.

*The Details of the Passage are Corroborated by Photius*

Let us examine the other details of the citation. According to Xorenac'i, Cephalion says that he, making use of the royal archives, wanted to write down in detail all the genealogies but received an order to mention "only the brave and wise and victorious ancestors" and not to spend his time uselessly. In fact, Cephalion was instructed to be laconic and not to waste time in superfluous details unworthy of remembering. The patriarch Photius' testimonies thoroughly confirm this principle of brevity and economic use of time demanded from Cephalion by his commissioner(s). Photius notes (68, p. 34a, 10) that Cephalion wrote his work "being satisfied with brevity more than it is proper" (τοῦ προσήκοντος πλεον τῇ συντομίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος), and, when speaking of Diodorus Siculus (70, p. 35a, 5), he complements this characterization, recording that while telling about the same times, Diodorus' writing is "much more voluminous than that of Cephalion" (Ἔστι δὲ πολλῷ πλατύτερος τοῦ Κεφαλίωνος). As another typical feature of Cephalion's "concise history," Photius stresses its didactic character, stating that Cephalion "manifests nothing else worthy of admiration and envy except learning through history" (οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ζηλῶσαι ἐνδεικνύμενος πλὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθήσεως). This, too, is consonant with Movsēs' quotation, according to which Cephalion neglects the "insignificant and wicked men." From their example—to continue the conception with Photius' help—it is impossible to learn anything good from history, so Cephalion dedicated his time to writing only about exemplary, "brave and wise and victorious" persons.

The last detail is very interesting, and in this case too the authenticity of the citation is confirmed by Photius' *Library*. According to that datum, Cephalion made use of "royal archives." It is hard to specify in which archives Cephalion found material for his history, but the fact that he had numerous sources at his disposal is obvious from the following passages of Photius, where he repeats Cephalion's testimony: "Nevertheless (Cephalion) says that the first (book) of his history was compiled from 570 writings, for which he mentions 30 and 1 authors, the second (was compiled) from 208 books of 25 historiographers, the third, from

600 books of 20 historiographers; whereas the fourth, from 850 books of 32 historiographers, and the fifth, from 200 books of 21 historiographers"—(Κεφαλίων) φησὶ δ' ὁμῶς τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῷ τῆς ἱστορίας συνειλέχθαι ἐκ λόγων μὲν φο', ὧν πατέρας λ' καὶ α' ἀπομνημονεύει· τὸν δὲ δεῦτερον ἐκ βιβλίων ση', συγγραφέων δὲ κε' καὶ τὸν τρίτον δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων μὲν χ', συγγραφέων δὲ κ'· τὸν μέντοι τέταρτον ἐκ βιβλίων ὧν', συγγραφέων δὲ λβ'· καὶ τὸν πέμπτον δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων σ', συγγραφέων δὲ κα'. For unknown reasons, Photius omits the number of the authors and the sources used by Cephalion in the sixth-eighth "Muses," but for the ninth "Muse" he mentions 30 authors (συγγραφέων δὲ τριάκοντα) of sources, the number of which again is not specified (68, p. 34a, 20–30). Λόγος and βιβλίων here probably should be understood not as complete writings, but their separate sections, "books," like the nine books of Cephalion's *History*. Anyway, it is evident that such a number of old writings could be available to Cephalion only in a significant archive, very likely royal and collected for centuries, of which he could make use only through mediation or by permission of an influential ruler or rulers.

All this allows us to conclude that the genuineness of the passage quoted by Xorenac'i from "one chapter" of the lost "Nine Muses" has been denied groundlessly. It is impossible to find out in which language and how the passage reached Movsēs, either within a complete text or as a separate fragment,<sup>145</sup> but a detailed analysis of the citation and collation with auxiliary sources shows that this passage, too, must be counted among others by Cephalion, scattered in various writings. This means returning to Müller's view and rejecting Jacoby's approach. The fact that a similar passage, which can by no means be regarded as a literal parallel, has been found in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, rather confirms than denies the authenticity of the words attributed to Cephalion, for the two passages complement each other, affording a more complete notion of the principle of brevity and the criterion of memorability adopted by the historiographer of late classical antiquity.

### *The Reference to Cephalion in Chapter I, 18*

Cephalion's name occurs once more in the *History of Armenia* (I, 18). Xorenac'i tells about the mythical queen of Assyria Semiramis,<sup>146</sup> based

<sup>145</sup> The second possibility seems more realistic.

<sup>146</sup> See about the figures of Semiramis and Ninus in antiquity in M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford, 1938), 6–13.

on Mar Abas. Then, in order that the readers should not consider him unaware, he writes that he also knows the sequence of events according to Cephalion: *Ունիմ ի մտի և զԿեփաղիոնին, վասն ոչ տալ զմեզ բազմաց ծաղրել. զի ասէ ի բազմաց այլոց նախ յաղագս ծննդեանն Շամիրամայ, և ապա զպատերազմն Շամիրամայ ընդ Զրադաշտի և զյաղթելն ասէ Շամիրամայ, և ապա ուրեմն զպատերազմն Հնդկաց*—“I also have in mind Cephalion in order not to give many a chance to laugh at me. For he speaks among many other things first of the birth of Semiramis and then of Semiramis’ war against Zoroaster, which he says Semiramis won, and then of her Indian war.” This may be compared with Eusebius’ *Chronicle*: *Չառաջինն Ասիացոց Ասորեստանեայք թագաւորեցին, յորոց էր Նինոս Բեղեան... Ապա ի նոյն յարեալ՝ (Կեփաղիոն) ասէ և զծնունդն Շամիրամայ. և զԶարաւրշտ (= Զրադաշտ) մոգի արքայի Բաւտրացոց զպատերազմէն և զպարտութենէ ի Շամիրամայ. և զամս թագաւորութեանն Նինայ՝ ամս ԺԲ. և զվախճանէ նորա: Յետ որոյ թագաւորեալ Շամիրամայ՝ ած պարիսպ Բաբելոնի զայն ձև օրինակի... Ապա և զգործողովն իննել Շամիրամայ ի վերայ Հնդկաց աշխարհին վիպագրէ...—“First the Assyrians reigned over the Asians, among them was Ninus, son of Belus... Then, in addition to this, (Cephalion) also tells about the birth of Semiramis and the war of the king of the Bactrians, the Magus Zoroaster, and his defeat by Semiramis, and the 52 years of Ninus’ reign, and his decease. After whom Semiramis, ascending the throne, built the walls of Babylon in that shape... Then he also narrates that Semiramis gathered troops against the country of the Indians...”<sup>147</sup>*

### *The Greek Passage by Cephalion in George Syncellus*

In this instance, too, it seems that everything is clear: once again Xorenac’i makes use of the *Chronicle*. It could be so, but here, too, there is an opportunity to compare the passage with the Greek fragment extant in Syncellus (195, 25–29): *Τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος. Εἴτ’ ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμίραμωσ καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτη τε νβ’ τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας. Μεθ’ ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε ... στρατείαν τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἤτταν*—“In ancient times the Assyrians reigned over Asia, among them Ninus, son of Belus. Then (Cephalion) tells about the birth of Semiramis and the Magus Zoroaster, and the 52 years of Ninus’ reign. After that, he says, Semiramis fortified Babylon... And (he tells about) her campaign against the Indians and defeat.”

<sup>147</sup> Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, I, 91–92.

There is nothing in the Greek original about the war of Semiramis against “the king of the Bactrians,” the Magus Zoroaster, and her victory: correspondingly, one should expect in the Armenian translation *ասէ և զծնունդսն Շամիրամայ և Զարաւրչտ մոգի, և զամս թագաւորութեանն Նինայ՝ ամս ԺԲ*—“also tells about the birth of Semiramis and the Magus Zoroaster, and the 52 years of Ninus’ reign,” without *արքայի բախարացոց զպատերազմէն և զպարտութենէ ի Շամիրամայ*—“*the war of the king of the Bactrians, and his defeat by Semiramis.*”

### *Two Possible Explanations*

Two explanations are possible. First, that Syncellus’ citation is incomplete. This solution is simpler, seems more probable and can be more easily achieved: it was proposed already by Awgereanc,<sup>148</sup> who had noticed the omission in Greek. He correctly regarded the Armenian passage absent from the original as grammatically defective and tried to revise it, expressing regret for the incompleteness of the Greek citation, otherwise he could revise more accurately.

The second possible explanation is that the Greek original is complete, and that the words “the war of the king of the Bactrians, and his defeat by Semiramis” are interpolated into the Armenian translation, probably not by the translator but by a later reviser. In such case, one should speak about the influence of Xorenac’i’s text upon the extant version of the *Armenian Chronicle*.<sup>149</sup> This explanation seems less probable but cannot be easily rejected. Syncellus’ narrative is fluent; no trace of corruption can be noticed, and it is hard to believe that an essential episode of Semiramis’ life was simply omitted (which resulted in a thorough change of the sense of the sentence).

### *Other Omissions*

Examination of the Greek text in a wider context reveals that other details, cited in regular script (*italics* in the English translation) are also absent compared with the Armenian version: ...*յորոց էր Նինոս Բեղեան. առ նորա թագաւորութեամբն բազում իրք եւ մեծամեծ արարիւնք գործելին: Ապա ի նոյն յարեալ ասէ...*—“...among them was Ninus, son of Belus: *in his reign many things and great (deeds of) courage were performed.* Then, *in addition to this*, (Cephalion) tells...“Cf....τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου

<sup>148</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 91, note 4.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. similar cases in the Appendix.

Νίνος. Εἴτ' ἐπάγει — "...among them was Ninus, son of Belus. Then (Cephalion) tells..." ; Ապա և զգորաժողովն լինել Շամիրամայ ի վերայ Հնդկաց աշխարհին վիպագրէ, և զպարտութիւն նորա և զփախուստ, և թէ զհարդ ինքնին զիւր որդիսն կոտորեաց. և ինքն ի Նինեայ որդւոյն իւրոյ սպանաւ, բազաւորեալ ամս իբ: Յետ որոյ Նինուաս առնոյր զիշխանութիւնն, գորմէ ասէ Կեփաղիոն՝ թէ ոչինչ արժանի յիշատակի գործ գործեաց—“Then he also narrates that Semiramis gathered troops against the country of the Indians, and that she was defeated *and fled*, and how she herself killed her sons and was killed by her son Ninuas, *having reigned 42 years*. Then Ninuas received the power, *about whom Cephalion says that he did not perform any deed worth remembering*.” Cf. στρατείαν τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἦτταν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνεῖλεν υἱοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ Νινύου τῶν παίδων ἐνὸς ἀνῆρέθῃ, τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν —”(He) also (tells about) her campaign to India and defeat, and how (she) killed her sons and was killed by one of her offspring, Ninuas, who received the power.”

Either this is just a dereliction on the part of George Syncellus, or one must think of some other, more reasonable, explanation. The two significant omissions are: a) *առ նորա թագաւորութեամբն բազում իրք և մեծամեծ արութիւնք գործելին*<sup>150</sup>—“in his reign *many* things and great (deeds) of courage were performed”); b) *գորմէ ասէ Կեփաղիոն՝ թէ ոչինչ արժանի յիշատակի գործ գործեաց*—“about whom Cephalion says that *he did not perform any deed worth remembering*”). They obviously resemble Movsēs’ favourite expressions met with throughout his *History*.

### *Examples of Similar Expressions in Xorenac’i*

Such examples are numerous; here are a few of them:<sup>151</sup>...զԱյս Բարշամ վասն իւրոց արութեան բազում գործոց ... պաշտեցին (“...They worshipped... this Barsham... because of his *many deeds of courage*”) (I, 14); Բազում և այլ գործք քաջութեան ի սմանէ գտանին կատարեալ (“*Many other deeds of valour* were performed by him”) (I, 14);...Ոչ պարծանք ինչ նոցա՝... օտար ազգաց քաջութիւն և գործք արութեան (“...The valour and *deeds of courage* of foreign nations were no object of boasting... for them”) (I, 14);...Հրամայէ զբազում մատենս ...

<sup>150</sup> The words in regular (italic in English) script have parallels in Xorenac’i.

<sup>151</sup> For our specific purpose and for more literalness, we had to make slight changes in Thomson’s translation. Here in italic type are the words and expressions coinciding with Eusebius’ *Chronicle*.



գործոց քաջութեան, այրել (“...He ordered *many* books... concerning *deeds* of valour... to be burned”) (I, 14); Գրեմ... որ ինչ եղեալ աստ գործ քաջութեան և արութեան (“I shall now describe... whatever *deeds* of valour and *courage* were performed here”) (II, 1); ...Հերովդէս, յետ բազում գործոց արութեանց (“...Herod, after *many deeds of courage*”) (II, 25); Պատմի ... ոչ վասն արութեան ինչ գործոց (“It is said... not because of any *deeds of courage*”) (II, 47); Թագաւորեաց Խոսրով. ոչ ինչ արութիւն քաջութեան ցուցեալ (“...Khosrov became king: he gave *no* evidence of *courage* and valour”) (III, 8); Այլ որ ինչ գործ եղեալ ... ոչ ինչ յիշատակաց արժանի Համարեցաք (“Of the various *deeds* ... we have considered *nothing* worth remembering”) (II, 36); ...Մի ինչ ի մէնջ մնացէ ... արժանի յիշատակի մերոց չարագրութեանց (“...Without forgetting anything... *worth remembering* in our account”) (III, 1). Finally, the following passages nearly literally combine the two sentences absent from the Greek text: ...Բազում գործ արութեան գտանին գործեալ և ի մերում աշխարհիս, և արժանի գրոյ յիշատակի (“...*Many deeds of courage* have been performed in our land *worth remembering* in writing”) (I, 3) and ...Տիգրան վերջին ... մեռանի, ոչ ինչ գործ արութեան արժանի յիշատակի ցուցեալ (“...The last Tigran... died without exhibiting *any deed of courage* worth remembering”) (II, 64).

*Movsēs' Favourite Expressions in Other Parts of the Armenian Translation of Eusebius' Chronicle*

Words and stylistic figures extensively used by Xorenac'i also occur elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, again in cases where their equivalents are absent from the Greek original. Here is a passage about Nebuchadnezzar cited by Eusebius from Josephus' *Contra Apionem* (I, 133):<sup>152</sup> Տիրել ասէ բաբելոնացւոյն եգիպտացւոց աշխարհին ... անցեալ զանցեալ զամենեքումբ արութեամբ և քաջութեամբ—“He says that the Babylonian conquered the country of the Egyptians, surpassing everybody in *courage and valour*”: the last two words are absent from the Greek passage, and the complete expression is: πάντας δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι (“surpassing everyone in deeds”). Here are other examples quoted by Eusebius from Diodorus Siculus' *Historical Library* (II, 1, 4; II, 22, 5; I, 44, 4):<sup>153</sup> Նինոս ... մեծամեծ արութիւնս և քաջութիւնս վճարեաց—“Ninus... performed great (deeds of) *courage and valour*”;

<sup>152</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 64.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 84, 88, 199.

զՄեծնոնեայ զայսպիսի ինչ արուրիւնս ... *ասէն բարբարոսք*—“The barbarians tell about... such (deeds of) *courage* of Memnon”); ...*Որպիսի որ յիրաքանչիւր թագաւորացն եղև արուրեամբ և փառութեամբ*—“Each of the kings was such by *courage and valour*”). The Greek original reads: Νῖνος ... μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο—“Ninus... performed great deeds”; Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Μέμνονος τοιαῦτα ... φασὶν οἱ βάρβαροι—“The barbarians tell... such things about Memnon’s deeds”; ... Ὅπηλίκος ἕκαστος τῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐγένετο τῷ μεγέθει — “...How great was each of the kings by magnitude.”

*The Armenian Translation of Eusebius’ Chronicle Frequently Interpolated*

In general, the *Armenian Chronicle* contains many interpolated passages absent from the Greek fragments.<sup>154</sup> For example, the following sentence, where the translator’s or later reviser’s addition is obvious:<sup>155</sup> *Կրողն ասէ նմա ի քուն յայտնել, զոր հայրն անուանեն Արամազդայ, և այլք՝ Ժամանակ, ի Հնգետասաներորդուն զէսիոս ամսեան*—“He says that Cronus—who is called *Aramazd’s father*, and by others the *Time*—revealed (this) to him in his sleep on the fifteenth of the month Dae-sius.” The words in italic script are interpolated. They are of course of a different, interpretative character, but the fact of interpolation is typical (cf. the fragment from Alexander Polyhistor in Syncellus, quoted through Eusebius). The Greek text often does not contain words and expressions of the following type, concerning various authors: *Եւ յետ ամենայն պատմութեանն՝ ի նոյն յարեալ ասէ*—“And after the whole story, *adding to the same*, he says”;<sup>156</sup> *Եւ դարձեալ ի միւսուն վայրի նոյն այր պատմէ ձեւ զայս օրինակ*—“And again, at the other place, *the same man narrates in the following terms*”<sup>157</sup> (cf. Xorenac‘i: *Եւ գրէ առ նա ձեւ բանից օրինակ զայս*—“And he wrote to him *in the following terms*” (I, 8); *Բայց յարէ ... օրինակ զայս*—“But he *adds... in the following terms*” (I, 20); *Նոյն այր ասէ, եթէ ... նախարարք Հայոց ածեն իւրեանց յօգնականութիւն...*—“*The same man says that... the Armenian princes... brought to their own assistance...*” [II, 76]); *Եւ դարձեալ ևս յառաջ մատուցեալ՝ զնովիմբ ածէ*—“And again, *going forth*, tells in the

<sup>154</sup> M. Awgereanc‘ has cited the corresponding Greek passages in the footnotes. See them on the pages of the *Chronicle* referred to.

<sup>155</sup> Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, I, 31–32.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 41.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 56.

same manner”<sup>158</sup> (cf. Xorenac‘i:...*Հոյն ժամանակագիր յառաջ մատուցեալ ասէ*—“...The same chronographer, *going forth*, says” (I, 9); “And *going forth* in his narrative, says”—*Եւ յառաջ մատուցեալ զբանս իւր ասէ* [I, 11]).

*The Armenian Chronicle Possibly Revised by a Later Editor or Scribe Based on Xorenac‘i*

One cannot yet speak certainly about a later revision of Eusebius’ *Chronicle* based on Movsēs’ *History*, contrary to the traditional scholarly interpretation, according to which Xorenac‘i was the only borrower. The problem requires detailed examination. Nevertheless, one may already state that the examples adduced above and in the instance of Abydenus<sup>159</sup> make us think of new explanations. The fact is obvious: whole sentences or expressions, words that are absent from the extant Greek fragments of Eusebius’ writing, are met with, sometimes in the same, or a very similar form, both in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* and in the *History of Armenia*.

*Interpolation?*

Reverting to the episode about the war between Semiramis and the Magus Zoroaster, which is not found in Syncellus’ quotation,<sup>160</sup> we should add the following. There is a circumstance corroborating the hypothesis that it is a later interpolation. According to the classical historiographic tradition, the war against the Bactrians, whose king in the passage in question is named Magus Zoroaster, was led not by Semiramis but by Ninus, although Semiramis took part in it. This information is available thanks to Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about the mythical war between the Assyrians and Bactrians in detail (II, 4, 1–10). According to Diodorus, during Ninus’ campaign Semiramis even was not yet a queen but the wife of one of the court officials. It is important that what Diodorus says is confirmed by Eusebius’ *Chronicle* itself, which in the chronological tables of the second part reads: *Ջրադաշտ մոգ արքայ բակտրացւոց ճանաչի. ընդ որում պատերազմ էտ Նինոս*—“The Magus Zoroaster is known as king of the Bactrians, against whom Ninus waged

<sup>158</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 41.

<sup>159</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>160</sup> There is no such information in any other Greco-Roman or Byzantine source either.

war”:<sup>161</sup> compare in the *PE* (X, 9, 484): Νῖνος ... καθ’ ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε—“Ninus, in whose days the Magus Zoroaster reigned over the Bactrians.” It is unlikely that the same Eusebius, based on the same information of Cephalion, first called the leader of the war against the Magus Zoroaster Semiramis and then Ninus.

Thus, as a second way of explaining the passage, one may conclude that the sentence in the Armenian *Chronicle* initially was like in the Greek original: *Կեփաղիոն ասէ և զծնունդսն Շամիրամայ և Զարաւրչտ մոդի*—“(Cephalion) tells also about the birth of Semiramis and the Magus Zoroaster,” and the words *արքայի բախտրացւոց զպատերազմէն և զպարտութենէ ի Շամիրամայ*—“the war of the king of the Bactrians and his defeat by Semiramis” were added later, probably under the influence of Xorenac’i, who in his turn had taken the information from an unknown source. In any case, a question remains open: did Cephalion really mention the war between Semiramis and the Magus Zoroaster, unlike Diodorus, or was this datum erroneously ascribed to him in the Armenian milieu, as a result of confusion with local traditions?

#### “A CERTAIN ARIUS”: AN ADDITIONAL ARGUMENT

In discussing various philological problems, we also tried to demonstrate that the situation with the sources of the initial chapters of the *History*, and particularly with the passages connected with Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion, is more complicated than has usually been presented. Due to von Gutschmid’s authority, a number of distinguished Armenologists traced nearly everything back to Eusebius’ *Chronicle*. Our differing view can be confirmed by the following additional detail. After the first mention of Cephalion, at the end of the same chapter (I, 5) Xorenac’i speaks about “a certain Arius” who, like many others, had translated into Greek “the knowledge” of the Chaldaeans: ...*Յոյնք ինքեանք ի Քաղղէացւոցն փոխեցին յիւրեանց լեզուն ... և Քաղղէացիք ինքնակամ յօժարութեամբ և կամ ի Հրամանէ թագաւորաց Հարկեալ զայս իրագործել, որպէս Առիոս ոմն և այլք բազումք*—“...The Greeks themselves translated from Chaldaean into

<sup>161</sup> Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, II, 64. Several pages of the single Armenian manuscript of the *Chronicle* are lost: Awgereanc’ has restored the lacuna here with the help of citations from Eusebius in other sources.

their own language, and... the Chaldaeans, either of their own accord or forced by the command of kings, undertook this task, like a certain Arius and many others." Thomson writes that Movsēs took Arius' name from Eusebius.<sup>162</sup> However, no Arius who translated from Chaldaean into Greek is mentioned either in the *Chronicle* or in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Eusebius has preserved the testimony of an unknown author about such a person in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, which was not translated into Armenian and was unknown to Movsēs. Apparently following Thomson, Sargsyan, in the commentary to his Russian translation of the *History of Armenia*, writes: "Arius: Eusebius of Caesarea relates that he made translations from Egyptian into Greek."<sup>163</sup> He, too, does not specify where Eusebius wrote this, and the impression is left that Xorenac'i once again made use of the *Chronicle*.

Eusebius' evidence is very brief and not completely clear (*PE*, I, 10, 40): the above-mentioned unknown author speaks about an Egyptian writing "which Arius Heracleopolites translated into the Greek language" (ὃν μετέφρασεν εἰς ἑλλάδα φωνὴν Ἀρειος Ἡρακλεοπολίτης). There were several figures named "Arius" in the ancient world: the most famous among them were the Stoic philosopher Arius Didymus (first century BC), the emperor Augustus' teacher, and the Christian heretic Arius of Alexandria (c. 260–336 AD). The "certain Arius" corresponds to neither of them. Since he, too, was a translator, even though not from Egyptian but Chaldaean, it seems probable that this "certain Arius" and Arius Heracleopolites were the same person. However, Movsēs' source is obviously not the *Praeparatio Evangelica*: the latter merely confirms that such a person really existed, and that Xorenac'i's information is true.

#### SUMMARY

All this leads to the conclusion that Movsēs had at his disposal either an unknown source or sources that reached him from the Greek milieu (in the original language or in Armenian translation), or the writings of the authors in question, probably, in collected excerpts,<sup>164</sup> the material of which he used in the first chapters of his *History* simultaneously with

<sup>162</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, 14.

<sup>163</sup> Movses Xorenaci, 220.

<sup>164</sup> On the doubtless existence and purposes of such collections, see W. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 167–168.

separate data drawn from Eusebius. The traditional view that the parallels between Eusebius' *Chronicle* and the *History* must be explained simply by Movsēs being the borrower needs revision, for a number of passages in the Armenian *Chronicle* may suggest that it was later edited and interpolated based on Xorenac'i.

The list of the Armenian ancestors is probably an authentic passage by Abydenus, while the citation from Cephalion is doubtlessly genuine.

## CHAPTER II

### JULIUS AFRICANUS' *CHRONICLE*

#### INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

##### *Africanus and His Magnum Opus*

Sextus Julius Africanus (Σέξτος Ἰούλιος Ἀφρικανός) is the first known Christian author to compose a universal chronicle. His *Χρονογραφίαι* in five books covered the history of the ancient world *ab anno Adam*, according to him 5499 BC, down to AD 221. Although he was famous in antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, there is but scant information about his life and personality. He was born about AD 180 in Jerusalem, and died about 250. He traveled much in Asia, Italy, and Egypt (hence his name “Africanus”) but afterwards mainly lived in the Palestinian town of Emmaus. He was appointed prefect there and later on, favored by the emperor Severus Alexander (222–235), became the regional ambassador to Rome. In his voluminous book, Africanus made an attempt to synchronize the biblical reckoning of years with Egyptian and Chaldaean chronologies. The Greek original of the *Χρονογραφίαι* survives only in the form of fragments, direct and indirect citations scattered in later authors' writings.<sup>1</sup>

##### *Movsēs' Reference and Related Questions*

Africanus' *Chronicle* is one of the most disputed literary sources mentioned by Xorenac'i. The passage in question is in Chapter II, 10, before which, at the end of Chapter II, 9, Movsēs writes that the material of Mar Abas Catina's book<sup>2</sup> is exhausted and adds: “We shall begin our narrative for you from the fifth book of Africanus the Chronographer, to

<sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive study on Africanus is H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, I–II (Leipzig, 1885–1888; reprinted New York, 1967). The extant passages of Africanus' chronicle are gathered together in M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, II (Oxford, 1846), 238–309. See the surviving fragments by Africanus also in *PG*, 10, col. 63–93.

<sup>2</sup> Xorenac'i's main source for the preceding chapters.

which Josephus and Hippolytus<sup>3</sup> and many other Greeks lend (corroborative) witness.”<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, the material in Xorenac‘i that seems to come from Africanus, with the exception of separate phrases, is not found in the surviving Greek fragments. Furthermore, Movsēs’ mention and knowledge of the source are unclear, and several questions must be answered. Does Xorenac‘i state truly that Africanus served him as a source? If yes, then in which chapter of his *History* does he start drawing information from the “fifth book”? Until when does he continue using that source, and, finally, are there any data in the *History*, which he really could have got from Africanus? The current negative opinion is not always well-grounded, so it is important, from the aspects of source study, verification of certain information in Xorenac‘i, and his methods of using sources, to turn once again to these questions and to find objective answers as far as possible.

Similar questions also arise concerning the continuation of the chapter. Xorenac‘i writes about Africanus: “He transcribed everything from the charters of the archive of Edessa, that is, Urha, which concerned the history of our kings. These books had been transported there from Nisibis and from the temple histories of Sinope in Pontus.”<sup>5</sup> Then he tries to make his information more exact and persuasive: “Let no one doubt this, for we have seen that archive with our own eyes. And as a closer witness the *Ecclesiastical (History)* of Eusebius of Caesarea is a guarantee, which our blessed teacher Mashtots had had translated into Armenian. If you search in Gefark‘uni in the province of Siwnik‘ you will find in book I, chapter thirteen, that he bears witness that in the Edessene archive are to be found all the acts of our first kings down to Abgar and from Abgar down to Eruand. I think that these are preserved today in the same city.”<sup>6</sup> The problematic issues related to this part of

<sup>3</sup> Josephus Flavius (37/38–100 AD) and Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–235 AD) are meant.

<sup>4</sup> Սկիզբն արասցուք պատմել քեզ ի Հինգերորդ գրոցն Ափրիկանոսի Ժամանակագրի, որում վկայէ Յովսէպոս և Հիւպոլիտայ և այլք բազումք ի Յունաց:

<sup>5</sup> Նա բովանդակ փոխադրեաց որ ինչ ի քարտէսս դիւանին Եդեսիայ, որ է ՈւռՀայ, որ յաղագս թագաւորացն մերոց պատմէր. որ մատենանքն ի Մծբնայ էին փոխեալ անդր և ի Սինոպայ Պոնտոսէ ի մեհենական պատմութեանցն:

<sup>6</sup> Մի ոք անՀատաացի, քանզի և մեզէն իսկ ականատես եղաք այնմ դիւանի: Եւ վկայ քեզ ի մօտոյ երաշխաւորեացէ Եկլէսիաստէ գիրք Եւսեբի Կեսարացոյ, զոր ետ թարգմանել երանելի վարդապետն մեր Մաշտոց ի Հայ լեզու: Խնդիր արասցես ի Գեղարքունի, ի գաւառին Սիւնեաց, և գտցես յառաջին Հագներգութեանն յերեքտասաներորդ թուին, զի վկայէ յԵդեսիայ դիւանին լինել ամենայն գործոց առաջնոց թագաւորացն մերոց մինչև



the chapter will be specified and discussed below, together with Xalatjanc's views.

### *How to Approach Chapter II, 10*

As we shall see below, if this chapter of the *History of Armenia* is viewed with critical strictness, and all details not understood correctly, nothing noteworthy will be found in what Xorenac'i afterward narrates. Such is the opinion of those Armenologists who were distrustful of Movsēs' book and person, while those who on other occasions held the opposite view, either did not go back to the problem of Africanus, or attended to it evasively, not suggesting any significant arguments. Of course, such arguments are difficult to adduce also today. The questions raised can be answered absolutely correctly only if a new source containing necessary data is found. This is hardly probable, so those who want to deal with the Chapter II, 10 and the following narrative of Xorenac'i, have to restrict themselves to the extant material. Further, the only thing that may be done is to review the auxiliary sources already known to scholars and, simultaneously, to follow Xorenac'i's account attentively: first, to comprehend accurately what he says, and second, to separate those parts which really might have been taken from or based on Africanus' *Chronicle*. Although not pretending to have reached final solutions, we shall make such an attempt.

### *The Immediate Topic of Our Research*

Since, according to Xorenac'i's information, a long period ("down to Eruand") may be connected with the source in question, a review of all the relevant chapters would demand voluminous study. Leaving this for the future, at present we wish to dwell on the above-mentioned Chapter II, 10 and the history of kings Artasēs (Artaxias) I (189–160 BC), Tigran II (95–55 BC) (according to Xorenac'i, "the middle Tigran"), and Artawazd II (55–34 BC) (according to Movsēs, Artawazd I). The chapters concerning the latter two are especially interesting, for most scholars think that Xorenac'i narrated about them using only one Greco-Roman source, the *Jewish War*<sup>7</sup> by Josephus Flavius (possibly, in a

ցԱրգար, և զկնի Արգարու մինչև ցերուանդ: Որ և այժմ կարծեն գտանի պաշտալ ի նոյն բաղաքի:

<sup>7</sup> Contrary to von Gutschmid's, and later Xalatjanc's opinion, that Xorenac'i utilized both the *Jewish War* and the *Jewish Antiquities*, Carrière stated that Xorenac'i did not know the *Jewish Antiquities* directly, and only the *Jewish War* was his source (see

non-extant old Armenian translation)<sup>8</sup> and drew nothing from Africanus. Before examining the related chapters, we need to summarize the past study of the issue.

### *The Dominant View*

As early as 1861, V. Langlois wrote that Xorenac'i was familiar with Africanus' work through Eusebius of Caesarea and, seemingly, made little use of it, for he does not quote any passage.<sup>9</sup>

In this case, too, von Gutschmid was the first to speak more harshly: "The impudent cheating that Movsēs has permitted himself is in no other place as obvious as here,"<sup>10</sup> that is to say, when he refers to Africanus, and in the following chapters. Nevertheless, von Gutschmid did not exclude the possibility that in separate passages (especially when narrating about Abgar, king of Osrhoene) Movsēs could have drawn information from Africanus' *Chronicle*, since that book was used in favor of Christianity also in the time of Xorenac'i. But this does not concern the history of Tigran II and his son Artawazd II, the only sources of which, in von Gutschmid's view, were Josephus' two writings.<sup>11</sup>

Gelzer in his famous investigation on Africanus' *Chronicle* has two brief remarks on Xorenac'i, in general echoing von Gutschmid.<sup>12</sup> He thinks that though Movsēs could have taken his "Abgarsage" from Africanus' *Chronicle*, no extant source witnesses to that; the version of the legend in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* "is directly translated from Syriac," and Xorenac'i, according to Gelzer, adds nothing that could have been taken from Africanus.<sup>13</sup> His other remark states that,

A. Carrière, *La légende d'Abgar dans l'Histoire d'Arménie de Moïse de Khoren* [Paris, 1895], 374–375). This fact is convincingly proved in the following article: Ž. Ėlč'ibekyan, «Հովսեփոս Փլավիոսը Մովսես Խորենացու աղբյուր» ("Josephus Flavius as a Source of Movsēs Xorenac'i"), *LHG*, 1975, No 5, 71–82.

<sup>8</sup> As noted above (see note 20 to Chapter I), among the sources used by Movsēs indirectly, through Eusebius, Terian erroneously mentions also Josephus.

<sup>9</sup> V. Langlois, *Étude*, 329.

<sup>10</sup> "Wie dreiste Schwindeleien sich Moses erlaubt hat, ist nirgends so durchsichtig wie hier."

<sup>11</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit," 22–26.

<sup>12</sup> H. Gelzer, *Africanus*, I, 209, 281.

<sup>13</sup> This is all that Gelzer says on page 281 of the first volume of his book about the relationship between Xorenac'i and Africanus (cf. in German: "...Könnte er (Moses) daher seine Abgarsage entlehnt haben... In den erhaltenen Berichten deutet aber nichts darauf hin, dass sie aus Africanus entlehnt seien; der des Eusebios ist direct aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, und in dem des Moses bleibt nach von Gutschmid's Untersuchungen "so gut wie Nichts" übrig, was aus Africanus herrühren könnte"). Thus, Thomson's ref-

even if Movsēs borrowed data from the chronographer, they are very insignificant ("...Was sonst etwa Moses aus Africanus entlehnt haben kann, sich nur auf ganz Unbedeutendes reduziert").

A. Garagašyan excluded any direct or indirect use of Africanus' information in the *History*, claiming that Movsēs was familiar with the chronographer's name only thanks to Eusebius.<sup>14</sup> He stated that Africanus' *Chronicle* was lost before the fifth century, because the last author using that book at first hand was Eusebius, and later historiographers referred to it through his works. This assertion is not correct: several later authors, namely Socrates Scholasticus (c. 380–450), John of Antioch (sixth–seventh centuries), the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Pascale* (seventh century)<sup>15</sup> and others took data from Africanus not through Eusebius. In particular, George Syncellus (eighth–ninth centuries), with whose *Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας* we have already dealt above, borrowed a lot from Africanus, though probably indirectly,<sup>16</sup> yet not by Eusebius' mediation.

Independently of Garagašyan and nearly simultaneously with him, A. Carrière too wrote that Africanus' work did not provide Xorenac'i with information, and that he knew of the *Chronicle* from Eusebius.<sup>17</sup> This opinion, as we shall see, was also supported by Xalatjanc and Thomson. Thus, the inference from what scholars say is that either Movsēs refers to Africanus as his source fraudulently, having read about the *Chronicle*'s "fifth book" exclusively in Eusebius, or he made some inconsequential use of Africanus only in the Abgar story.

Discussion of the chapters concerning Abgar is beyond our immediate concern. What we shall seek to do is to demonstrate that, first, viewing the case as mere fraud is unjustified, and, second, that evidence of

erence to Gelzer (see Moses Khorenats'i, 146, note 1) is inaccurate. He writes: "It is unlikely that Moses was acquainted with the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus at first hand; he knew of it through Eusebius' *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*. See Gelzer, *Julius Africanus*, 1:281."

<sup>14</sup> A. Garagašyan, *Քրիստոսի պատմությունը հայոց* (*A Critical History of Armenia*, I; Tiflis, 1895), 264–265.

<sup>15</sup> See *Культура Византии (IV—первая половина VII в.)* (*Byzantine Culture [Fourth—First Half of Seventh Centuries]*), edited by Z. Udalcova (Moscow, 1984), 194, 261, 267.

<sup>16</sup> Adler disagrees with Gelzer who assumed that in Byzantium there circulated complete copies of Africanus, Panodorus, Annianus, or Eusebius. He infers that what Syncellus "consulted instead was a collection, which included among other things only extended extracts from the chronicles of his Alexandrian predecessors." Adler means especially Panodorus and Annianus but his opinion concerns also Africanus and Eusebius. See W. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 164–165 and ff.

<sup>17</sup> A. Carrière, *La légende*, 365.

Movsēs' utilization of Africanus may also be traced in the stories of kings Artasēs I, Tigran II, and Artawazd II.

### *Baumgartner's Attempt*

Unlike the above scholars, A. Baumgartner tried to prove that Xorenac'i had obtained data from Africanus' *Chronicle* at first hand. He presented separate phrases in different parts of the *History of Armenia* (also before the mention of Africanus), which in his opinion Movsēs could have drawn from that source.<sup>18</sup> Baumgartner's observations are witty and quite notable. We shall revert to one of his parallels on the occasion of the extremely interesting Chapter II, 19 of the *History*. Xalatjanc, understandably, opposed Baumgartner's attempt.

### *Xalatjanc's Opinion Reconsidered*

Xalatjanc continued the critique of Xorenac'i's reference to Africanus, viewing it more thoroughly.<sup>19</sup> His study of the topic is the most detailed and reasoned one. It is a kind of summary of the previous critical remarks and, at the same time, the forerunner of the subsequent confutation. Therefore, let us dwell on his opinion. As we present Xalatjanc's main statements, we shall simultaneously make comments on them.

1. First of all, Xalatjanc notes that regardless of Xorenac'i's assertion, Josephus could not "bear witness (свидетельствовать) to Africanus," because he lived more than 200 years before the latter (the same idea was also expressed by Garagašyan). This is a result of misunderstanding. Saying, "the fifth book of Africanus the Chronographer, to which<sup>20</sup> Josephus and Hippolytus... lend (corroborative) witness" (ի Հինգերորդ գրոցն Ափրիկանոսի ժամանակագրի, որուն վկայէ Թովսեպոս և Հիպոլիտոս), Movsēs does not mean that Josephus had "testified to Africanus," or to the fifth book of his *Chronicle*, but that Africanus' information is corroborated, independently, by Josephus. Other passages of the *History* are a key to such explanation. Suffice it to give the following example. In Book II, 48 Xorenac'i, narrating about King Artasēs becoming a tributary to the Romans and about other events, writes:

<sup>18</sup> A. Baumgartner, "Über das Buch 'die Chrie'," *ZDMG*, 40 (1886), 506–512.

<sup>19</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 36–98, especially 40–50 and 56–68.

<sup>20</sup> More literally, որուն grammatically relates to Africanus, not to his *Chronicle*, and should be translated "to whom" (as Xalatjanc and Garagašyan understood). But this would be an incorrect interpretation of Movsēs' words.

"This is accurately told us by Olympius, priest of Ani and composer of temple histories,... to which<sup>21</sup> the books of the Persians and the epic songs of the Armenians bear witness."<sup>22</sup> Here Xorenac'i does not mean that the books of the Persians and the epic songs "testify to Olympius," but that they confirm what he tells.

Thomson interprets the same words from another aspect but again incorrectly. He writes: "Moses says that Josephus and others corroborate Africanus where the latter quotes from the Edessene archives concerning Armenia."<sup>23</sup> But Xorenac'i does not state precisely that Josephus and others corroborate specifically the data drawn from the Edessene archive; he means that in general Josephus and other Greek authors also suggest evidence for Africanus' information.<sup>24</sup>

2. Xalatjanc deems the other testimony, which, according to him, "Xorenac'i ascribes to Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*, I, 13) "doubtful": as if Africanus in the fifth book of his *Chronicle* narrated, making use of the Edessene archive, about the deeds of our (Armenian) first kings..." "It turns out," he writes, "that... there is no word about Africanus in the chapter of the *Ecclesiastical History* mentioned by Xorenac'i."

This is again an incorrect interpretation of Movsēs' words. Xorenac'i does not say that Africanus is mentioned in Chapter I, 13 of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and he does not attribute to Eusebius the evidence that Africanus, taking material from the Edessene archive, wrote about the acts of the first Armenian kings. To quote the passage once more: "...We have seen that archive with our own eyes. And as a closer witness the *Ecclesiastical (History)* of Eusebius of Caesarea is a guarantee... You will find in book I, chapter thirteen, that he bears witness that in the Edessene archive are to be found all the acts of our first kings down to Abgar..." It is clear that Xorenac'i refers to Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* only to confirm the existence of certain information in

<sup>21</sup> Literally, "to whom."

<sup>22</sup> Եւ զայս մեզ ստուգապէս պատմէ Ողիւմպ քուրմ Հանույ ... որում և Պարսից ճատեանքն վկայեն և Հայոց երկք վիպասանաց:

<sup>23</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, 26–27.

<sup>24</sup> As in other cases, Terian repeats almost verbatim what Thomson says: "Josephus is mentioned by him (Xorenac'i) ... as a corroborative witness to Edessene archives later utilized by Sextus Julius Africanus ... but there is neither mention of Edessene archive in Josephus" (Terian, "Xorenac'i," 113). If Terian had formulated his remark based directly on Xorenac'i and not on Thomson, he might have avoided this misinterpretation, because Movsēs' words are the following: "the fifth book of Africanus the Chronographer, to which Josephus and Hippolytus and many other Greeks lend (corroborative) witness." He speaks of Edessene archives afterwards, with no reference to Josephus.

the Edessene archive about the deeds of the first Armenian kings. Here is, in our English translation, the corresponding passage of the Armenian version of the *Ecclesiastical History*: "In those (documents of Urha) were written all the things done by the first, down to Abgar." One need not impute sinister motives to Movsēs. He simply errs in equating the history of Osrhoene with that of Armenia, and ascribing the deeds of "the first" to Armenian kings. That mistake had a certain reason, which is pointed to by Xalatjanc himself. The tradition of considering Edessa an Armenian town and Abgar an Armenian king existed before Xorenac'i. Also other sources, even foreign, bear witness to the Armenian origin of Abgar and his successors.<sup>25</sup>

3. Xalatjanc is mistrustful of the Edessene archive. He writes: "Xorenac'i needs the archives to justify his imaginary stories." However, that archive is also mentioned in the passage of the *Ecclesiastical History* cited above. In Xalatjanc's opinion, even if the archive existed, it is unlikely whether it contained data concerning Armenian kings. He puts forward no arguments for this assertion. In fact, nothing prevents us from supposing that archives related to Armenia were preserved in the cultural center Urha (Edessa), at least from the time when Osrhoene became part of Tigran II's vast kingdom.<sup>26</sup>

Thomson's view is nearly the same: "...One's confidence in Moses' 'archives' is even more shaken<sup>27</sup> by the patently false claim in II, 10 that Eusebius in his *Church History* (book I, 13) bears witness to the existence in Edessa of archives dealing with Armenia, for Eusebius merely says that in the Edessan archives he had found correspondence between

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Anonymous of Edessa, Ժամանակագրություն (*Chronicle*), translation from Syriac into Armenian, introduction and commentary by L. Ter-Petrosyan, *OAHM*, 12 (Erevan, 1982), 195–196.

<sup>26</sup> The existence of a highly developed system of archives and libraries in the ancient Near East and Mesopotamia starting with earliest periods of civilization is a proven fact. See M. Weitemeyer, "Archive and Library Technique in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Libri*, VI (1956), 217–238; A. Poll, "Bibliotheken und Archive im alten Orient," *Orientalia*, XXV (1956), 105–109; and especially the following comprehensive study: E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972). Posner states that "all types of archival organization known to us were already in operation in the ancient Near East" (28). He also speaks of archives existing in Iran, Armenia's immediate neighbor (see the chapter "Record-Keeping in the Parthian and Neo-Persian Empires" [224–230]). It is hard to imagine that in that dense network of libraries no material on Armenia could be found in various oriental archives (in Edessa or elsewhere).

<sup>27</sup> At another place (Moses Khorenats'i, 27), Thomson writes that these archives "are a figment of Moses' own imagination." Even Terian, who always agrees with him, this time has reservations, noting that Thomson's remark is made "somewhat hastily" (Terian, "Xorenac'i," 113).

Abgar of Edessa and Jesus Christ.”<sup>28</sup> But, besides that correspondence, Eusebius clearly means also such sources preserved at Edessa, in which were written “all the things done by the first, down to Abgar.”<sup>29</sup>

4. The reference to the text of the *Ecclesiastical History* is somewhat arbitrary and bewildering, because Eusebius writes, “down to Abgar,” and Xorenac'i, “down to Abgar and from Abgar down to Eruand.” This, according to Xalatjanc, “engenders doubt and betrays the author's concealed intention.” It is not clear what exactly he means; however, it is unlikely that someone having a “concealed intention” resorted to such a primitive and evident falsification, which could be easily revealed. One might rather assume that when saying “down to Abgar and from Abgar down to Eruand,” Movsēs thought that to be true, i.e., when writing this part of his *History*, he did not have the *Ecclesiastical History* at hand and referred to it from memory. Sargsyan wrote about this method of using sources by heart, typical of Xorenac'i.<sup>30</sup> Before him, H. Levy noticed the same custom in an Armenian translation of Pseudo-Philo.<sup>31</sup> We can add another example from David the Invincible's *Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics*. David claims that Aristotle “spoke on the simple sounds and on the interpretation of the noun and the verb in the *Categories* as well.”<sup>32</sup> He even specifies how Aristotle did this, but in fact it turns out that the “sound” (ἀσπλῆ—φωνή) is mentioned only once in the *Categories* (4b 35), in a context having nothing to do with what David says; ὄνομα (ὀνόμα) as “name” occurs quite often, but it is defined as “noun” in another work of Aristotle, namely *On Interpretation* (16a 20 ff.), while “verb” (ῥῆμα—ῥήμα) is not found in the *Categories* at all.

Movsēs himself acknowledges that he wrote the first two books of the *History* at times relying upon his memory: “...As far as our ability and memory<sup>33</sup> permit, we have given a faithful account (of events) from

<sup>28</sup> Moses Khorenats'i, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Sargsyan, criticizing Thomson's introduction, also discusses the question of archives. He comes to the conclusion that, in all probability, the Edessene archive really existed, and Movsēs had been there (G. Sarkisjan, *Xorenac'i's History*, 35–36). Though what Sargsyan says is speculative, there are no grounds for claiming the opposite.

<sup>30</sup> G. Sargsyan, “The Method of Using Sources,” 33.

<sup>31</sup> H. Levy, *The Pseudo-Philonic De Jona*, I, the Armenian text with a critical introduction (London, 1936), 10.

<sup>32</sup> Յաղապս պարզ ձայնիցն խօսեցաւ և յաղապս մեկնութեան անուն և բայի և ի Ստոբորիստիկոն: Dawit' Anyaft', Մեկնութիւն ի Վերլուծականն Արիստոտէլի (*Commentary on Aristotle's Analytics*), critical text, translation into Russian, introduction and commentary by S. Arevšatyan (Erevan, 1967), 70.

<sup>33</sup> Thomson has translated “records” instead of “memory,” which is not correct.

Alexander the Great down to the death of Saint Trdat”<sup>34</sup> (III, 1), because some important sources were not at hand: “Likewise the works of Diodorus are not available to us” (III, 1) and, “Is there<sup>35</sup> a book near to me?”<sup>36</sup> (I, 3).<sup>37</sup> Xorenac’i obviously used some sources from memory, and this issue deserves special study. For the time being, the following is clear: had Eusebius’ book been then available to Xorenac’i, he would not have asked his patron to search for it “in Gefark’uni in the province of Siwnik’,” but would have referred to the copy at his disposal.

5. Xalatjanc thinks that Xorenac’i could scarcely have drawn any material related to the history of Armenia from Africanus’ *Chronicle*, for, in the passages quoted by Eusebius and other authors, there is no hint that Africanus wrote anything about the Armenians. Thomson repeats Xalatjanc’s assertion: “...None of the many later historians who used it (Africanus’ *Chronicle*)... suggests that Julius Africanus concerned himself with the acts of the Armenian kings.”<sup>38</sup>

It seems most unlikely that Africanus, whose book embraced a great period (from Adam down to AD 221), passed over Armenia in silence and uttered no word at least about the famous kings Artasēs I, Tigran II, and Artawazd II. Most major sources relating the historical events of these kings’ time speak about them. Armenia does not figure in the surviving fragments, because they mainly reflect other concerns. However, a sentence in Syncellus’ *Chronicle* attracts our attention. When narrating about one of the known events of the history of Judaea, the antagonism between the high priest and king Hyrcanus and his brother Aristobulus, Syncellus writes: “Finally, being deprived of the Jews’ assistance, Hyrcanus with Antipater comes to Damascus, to Pompey the Great, who at that time had come to Syria from Armenia, after his celebrated victory over Mithridates and Tigran, as well as over Albania, Iberia, Colchis, and the Assyrians themselves” (357, 21–25).<sup>39</sup> For these events of

<sup>34</sup> Այլ որչափ ջան և յիշողութիւն բաւեցին՝ պատմեցաք ստուգապէս ի մեծէն Աղէքսանդրէ մինչև ի վախճան սրբոյն Տրդատայ:

<sup>35</sup> Thomson has translated incorrectly: “Is there not a book near to me?”

<sup>36</sup> ...Ոչ մատենագրութիւնք Դիողորի Հուպ առ մեզ են and ...Միթէ մատենա՞ն մերձ կայցէ ինձ.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. N. Biwzandac’i and M. Minasean, Մովսիսի Խորենացոյ Պատմութիւն Հայոց (ժողովածու) (*Movsēs Xorenac’i’s History of Armenia [Collection]*; Geneva, 1991), 74.

<sup>38</sup> Moses Khorenats’i, 13.

<sup>39</sup> Λοιπὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμμαχίας Ὑρκανὸς ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἅμα τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν Δαμασκὸν καταλαμβάνει πρὸς Μάγνον Πομπήιον τὸν τήνικαῦτα καταλα-



Judaea, Syncellus mentions two sources (356, 25–26), Josephus Flavius and Julius Africanus. Josephus does not speak of Pompey's victories over "Albania, Iberia, Colchis, and the Assyrians." In addition, he does not tell about the famous battle between the Roman general and Mithridates, and the latter's defeat, but just says that Pompey heard the news of Mithridates' death near the town of Jericho (*BJ*, I, 138).<sup>40</sup> Concerning Tigran II, he only writes that while fighting against him in Armenia, Pompey sent the Roman commander Scaurus to Syria (*BJ*, I, 127). He touches upon Hyrcanus' and Antipater's coming to Pompey, but, according to Josephus, they were deprived of their Arab allies (τῶν Ἀράβων ἀφαιρεθέντες), while, according to Syncellus, "of the Jews' assistance" (Ἰουδαίων συμμαχίας). Thus, Syncellus' main source in this case is not Josephus; he most likely used the other one referred to on this occasion, that is, Africanus' *Chronicle*. If we accept this probable conjecture, then we should also accept that Africanus made mention at least of facts regarding Tigran II.<sup>41</sup>

6. Proceeding from these statements, Xalatjanc points to no passage that might have been taken from Africanus. Not believing that Movsēs had made any use of the *Chronicle*, he, as in other cases, tries to find Xorenac'i's hidden sources. In Xalatjanc's opinion, for the history of Artasēs I, such sources were certain descriptions, information or separate phrases borrowed from Pseudo-Callisthenes, Philo of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, Clement of Alexandria, John

βόντα ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου ἀριστείας κατὰ Μηθριδάτου καὶ Τιγράνου Ἀλβανίας τε καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ Κολχίδος καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀσσυρίων...

<sup>40</sup> Josephus, *The Jewish War*, with an English translation by H.St.J. Thackeray, *LCL* (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1967–1968).

<sup>41</sup> Terian disagrees with this remark (published in our article in the *LM*: A. Topchyan, "Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*," 153–185): "Topchyan ... fails to convince the reader that Africanus was utilized as a primary source by our author. The passing reference to Tigran II in Syncellus, even if it were from the mostly lost work of Africanus as a source (pp. 160–161), is a far cry from Xorenac'i's claim to a whole Armenian dynastic history in the fifth book of Africanus." It seems that Terian read only pages 160–161 of our article, containing the above point 5 of the discussion of Xalatjanc's views, because he presents our remark as the only argument for Africanus being Movsēs' source. In fact, the main arguments, namely, the possible parallels between the two authors, are on the following pages (see also below in the present chapter). Furthermore, we never called Africanus a "primary" source for Movsēs. What we have attempted (and currently attempt) to demonstrate is that some traces of Africanus' work are to be observed in Xorenac'i, and that certain pieces of his information might be based on Africanus. Finally, Movsēs never claims to have taken "a whole Armenian dynastic history" from Africanus' fifth book: this is a usual misunderstanding of his words, which, indeed, are ambiguous; see more for this issue under the subtitle "The Content of Chapter II, 10."

Malalas, the Bible, Agat'angelos (fifth century AD), P'awstos Buzand (fifth century AD), and Anania Širakac'i (seventh century AD). The enumeration of so many sources for three short chapters in itself makes Xalatjanc's opinion improbable. He thinks that not only Africanus but even the other four authors, Polycrates, Euagoras, Scamandrus and Phlegon, from whose writings Movsēs has long citations in Chapter II, 13, are fictitious sources.<sup>42</sup> Then Xalatjanc, following von Gutschmid and Carrière, states that Xorenac'i utilized only Josephus (i.e. made no use of Africanus) for the chapters on Tigran II and Artawazd II.<sup>43</sup> This view is supported by S. Malxasyan<sup>44</sup> and H. Manandyan.<sup>45</sup> G. Sargsyan<sup>46</sup> as well as A. and J.-P. Mahé,<sup>47</sup> slightly differently, repeat the same.

7. It should be added that, according to Xalatjanc's understanding of Chapter II, 10, Xorenac'i claims to have used Africanus' *Chronicle* up to Chapter II, 48, where he refers to Priest Olympius' temple history as to the main source of his further narrative, that is to say, from the accession of Artasēs I till the beginning of Artasēs II's reign, "a period of approximately 200 years."<sup>48</sup>

### *Remarks by Subsequent Scholars*

So far as we know, since Xalatjanc's study there has been no significant discussion of the problem.<sup>49</sup> Africanus as Movsēs' source is mentioned in two comparatively new works. G. Sargsyan writes that the part of the *History* related to Africanus is difficult to explain for the time

<sup>42</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 44–50.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, 56–68. Unlike von Gutschmid, Xalatjanc excludes any use of Africanus also for the Abgar story. In his usual pursuit of Movsēs' "real" sources, he considers Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, Josephus' two works, and the apocryphal *Teaching of Addai* ascribed to Labubna (also mentioned by Xorenac'i) to be the only sources for the 8 chapters about King Abgar; for the two previous chapters concerning King Aršam, again Josephus and Labubna, and for the history of King Sanatruk, Labubna and P'awstos' *History* (*ibidem*, 69–98).

<sup>44</sup> Movses Xorenac'i, 292.

<sup>45</sup> H. Manandyan, Փննական տեսություն հայ ժողովրդի պատմության (A Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People, I; Erevan, 1944; II [1]; Erevan, 1957), I, 283.

<sup>46</sup> "The history of the time of Tigran and Artawazd is almost entirely written on the basis of Josephus' data." See G. Sargsyan, «Տիգրան Բ-ի և Արտավազդ Բ-ի զաճատարիների քանակն ըստ Խորենացու» ("The Number of the Years of Tigran II's and Artawazd II's Reign According to Xorenac'i"), *LHG*, 1967, No 12, 67.

<sup>47</sup> Moïse de Khorène, 67.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 40.

<sup>49</sup> Thomson's statements were discussed simultaneously with Xalatjanc's views. For Terian's remarks, see notes 24, 27 and 41 to this chapter.

being (he means, before new data throwing light on the problem emerge). In Sargsyan's opinion, Xorenac'i refers to Africanus' *Chronicle* as his source for Chapters II, 10–25, until commencing his utilization of Labubna in Chapter II, 26.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, G. Traina has a brief notice concerning Chapter II, 10. He deems it probable that even if Xorenac'i did not read the material of the Edessene archive, he at least saw it.<sup>51</sup>

#### THE CONTENT OF CHAPTER II, 10

Now, re-reading Xorenac'i and considering all the preceding, first we shall try to understand correctly the content of Chapter II, 10 of the *History of Armenia*.

1. "We shall begin our narrative for you from the fifth book of Africanus the Chronographer." This does not mean that Xorenac'i used Africanus' *Chronicle* for the next 15 chapters, *a fortiori* for a period of almost 200 years. The phrase "We shall begin our narrative" (*Սկիզբն արասցուք պատմել*) may concern just a small part of the ensuing narration, for instance, only the history of Artasēs I or some events of that history. But it is also possible that this source provided Xorenac'i with material for the following chapters too. In short, we wish to emphasize that Movsēs' words are void of definition, and from them it is impossible to determine the extent of his use of Africanus' *Chronicle*.

The task is more complicated by the mention of Africanus' and Josephus' names side by side. It is known that these two historiographers in many cases dealt with the same events. Later authors (Eusebius of Caesarea, George Syncellus and others) often used their works as sources simultaneously. Therefore, sometimes it is difficult to determine whether Josephus or Africanus is Xorenac'i's source. For example, it seems that the story of Tigran II and Artawazd II is mainly based on Josephus, but Movsēs could also have been (and apparently was) familiar with certain information through Africanus.

Similarly, the phrase "from the fifth book of Africanus" is indefinite. Was Xorenac'i acquainted with the whole fifth book of the *Chronicle*, or only with passages preserved in a work of another author? Was the material in Classical Greek or it was translated into Armenian? Movsēs

<sup>50</sup> G. Sarkisjan, *Xorenac'i's History*, 32.

<sup>51</sup> G. Traina, *Il complesso*, 61–62.

says nothing precise also on this occasion, and again it is difficult to find a clear answer.

2. “He transcribed everything from the charters of the archive of Edessa, that is, Urha, which concerned the history of our kings.” Information reached Xorenac‘i that Julius Africanus had translated (or copied) all the data about Armenian kings, kept at the Edessene archive. He does not claim that all this material is at his disposal.

3. “These books had been transported there from Nisibis and from the temple histories of Sinope in Pontus.” Xorenac‘i also speaks about the transfer of the books to Edessa in Chapter II, 27 (from Nisibis) and in Chapter II, 38 (from Sinope). There is no reason to question the truthfulness of this testimony.

4. “Let no one doubt this, for we have seen that archive with our own eyes.” This should be understood simply: Xorenac‘i saw the archive but did not study the material in it. To all appearance, he was in Edessa for a short while and merely received general information about the archive. This is also clear from Chapter III, 62, where Movsēs describes his trip to the cultural centers of that time: “In such fashion... did we... reach the city of Edessa. Sailing gently over the deeps of the archives, we went on to worship at the holy places” (...յեղեսացւոցն Հասանէաք քաղաք. Թէթեւակի ընդ խորս դիւանին նաւեալ՝ անցաք ի սուրբ տեղիսն երկրպագել...). Likewise, from Xorenac‘i’s words it does not follow that in Edessa he became familiar with any material concerning Armenia: to confirm the existence of such data in the archive, he does not refer to his personal observation but to Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*.

5. In discussing Xalatjanc’s notices above, we have already spoken about the passage referring to material in the Edessene archive concerning the acts of Armenian kings, and to the corresponding chapter of Eusebius’ book.

6. “I think that these are preserved today in the same city.” Xorenac‘i just supposes or has heard that the documents mentioned by Eusebius still are kept at the Edessene archive. This datum, too, has a parallel in the *Ecclesiastical History* (I, 13): “These (the charters of Urha) to this day are preserved there.”

Thus, the content of this chapter of the *History of Armenia* should be understood literally, without subjective comments and conclusions. Movsēs’ reference is more indefinite than spurious: it simply lacks specificity and some necessary details.

## THE STORY OF ARTAŠĒS I

Now we shall follow the subject-matter of the narrative. Xorenac'i dedicated three chapters to Artašēs I (II, 11–13). He used at least two sources, one Armenian and one Greek. Probably, he also had some material concerning the Parthians at hand, maybe a list containing the names of Parthian kings and the years of their reign,<sup>52</sup> and he composed his chronology, including the parts in question, with the help of that source. For example, according to Xorenac'i, the accession of Artašēs I to the throne took place in the twenty-fourth year of the "Persian" king "Aršakan." Besides, certain information in these chapters reflects purely the internal life of Armenia, and is taken from oral tradition or a written source created in an Armenian milieu. For instance, in Chapter II, 11: "(Artašēs) gave his son Tigran for instruction to a youth called Varazh, son of Dat, from the seed of Gaṛnik, a descendant of Gelam. He... granted him villages by the River Hrazdan; from his name the Varazhnuni family is so called..."

Let us try to isolate those data, which may have been taken from a Greek source. It has been demonstrated that, notwithstanding the significant chronological displacement, the other Artašēs of Xorenac'i (II, 49–60) more closely corresponds to the historical Artašēs I (189–160 BC).<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, this Artašēs I, too, bears certain resemblance to the founder of the Artaxiad dynasty, though Movsēs erroneously places him in the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century BC.<sup>54</sup> M. Abelyan writes<sup>55</sup> without any doubt that the historical archetype of this Artašēs is the ancestor of Tigran II, "the founder of the kingdom."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Cf. G. Sargsyan, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 79–138. Such lists were most likely kept in Persian royal archives (see T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* [Leiden, 1879], 402 and E. Posner, *Archives*, 226). The Byzantine poet and historiographer Agathias (c. 536–581) used such a list in his *Five Books of History* (30, 3: see *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. R. Keydell [Berlin, 1967], 162), containing the names of the kings of Persia, the years of their reign and their deeds.

<sup>53</sup> See G. Tirac'yan, «Մոլիսե իտրենացու Հայոց պատմության և Սարաբնի Աւետարանի մի քանի տվյալներ Հայաստանի ճ.թ.ա. III–II դարերի պատմության մասին» ("Several Data in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia* and Strabo's *Geography* Concerning the History of Armenia in the Third-Second Centuries BC"), *BM*, 6 (1962), 8 ff and G. Sargsyan, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 139–236.

<sup>54</sup> G. Sargsyan, *The Chronological System*, 69.

<sup>55</sup> M. Abelyan, *History of Armenian Literature*, 278.

<sup>56</sup> The anachronisms, confusion of persons and events are another, very complicated, topic of study, which is beyond our immediate purpose.

Xorenac'i says about Artasēs that "as his fortunes progressed he did not hold the second rank but coveted the highest position" (...յառաջադէմ եղեալ՝ ոչ գերկորորդականն ունի գալ, այլ զաւագութեանն թեկն ածի). This is an echo of historical reality. Armenia in the end of the third century BC was under the Seleucids. The Seleucid king Antiochus III had appointed Artasēs governor of Armenia Major. But the latter "did not hold the second rank" and, grasping a favorable opportunity, in 189 proclaimed himself king of an independent Armenian state.<sup>57</sup> Then Movsēs calls him "a proud man and warlike," which perfectly suits Artasēs I. Furthermore, this king, according to Xorenac'i, "was striking his own coins with his image." It is quite probable that Artasēs I, creating a strong independent kingdom, had put his own coins into circulation (although such coins have not yet been found).<sup>58</sup> Information about a coin with the image of Artasēs I is also preserved in the Georgian *K'art'lis C'xovreba*.<sup>59</sup>

At the end of the chapter, "a certain Mithridates" is spoken of (by whom Xorenac'i probably means one of the kings of Pontus, named "Mithridates")<sup>60</sup> "from the seed of Mithridates, satrap of Darius." This is a historical figure, from the noble Pontic-Cappadocian family; he was the son-in-law of Darius III,<sup>61</sup> and is mentioned by Arrian, Plutarch, and Pseudo-Callisthenes. One might speculate that Movsēs' source is Pseudo-Callisthenes, but comparison of the texts affords no basis for thinking so. Pseudo-Callisthenes does not refer to Darius' satrap as the ancestor of any Mithridates. Xorenac'i had another source at hand.

In the next chapter Movsēs writes: *Յայնժամ Հրաման տայ Արտաշէս՝ զօր յարուցանել յարեւելից և ի Հիւսիսոյ բազում յոյժ... Եւ խաղայ այնու-Հտեւէ յարեւմուտս*—"Then Artasēs ordered an army to be raised from the east and north... He then marched to the west..." Here too an interesting correspondence with historical facts occurs. Using Strabo's information, G. Sargsyan concluded that Artasēs I first expanded the borders

<sup>57</sup> Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն (*History of the Armenian People*, I; Erevan, 1971; II, Erevan, 1984) (referred to henceforth as *HŽP*), I, 521, 525. K. Trever too identifies this Artasēs with the historical Artasēs I. See K. Trever, *Очерки по истории культуры древней Армении (II в. до н.э.—IV в. н.э.)* (*Essays on the History of Culture of Ancient Armenia [Second Century BC–Fourth Century AD]*; Moscow–Leningrad, 1953), 9–10.

<sup>58</sup> See P.Z. Bedoukian, "A Classification of the Coins of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia," *MN*, 14 (1968), 41–60.

<sup>59</sup> See L. Melikset'-Bek, *Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին* (*Georgian Sources about Armenia and the Armenians*, I; Erevan, 1934), 160.

<sup>60</sup> In Malxasyan's opinion, it is Mithridates Eupator, see Movses Xorenac'i, 288.

<sup>61</sup> See *RE*, Bd XV<sub>2</sub>, s.v. Mithridates (2), 2157–2158 (Berve).

of his country to the east. Then he took possession of territories in the north and afterwards moved to the west.<sup>62</sup> From Movsēs' narration, too, it follows that Artašēs first had conquered eastern and northern lands, and then he commanded them to provide him with auxiliary troops in order to advance to the west.

Xorenac'i tells about a transfer of pagan gods' statues to Armenia. In Asia Artašēs found the images of Artemis, Heracles, and Apollo "cast in bronze and gilded" (Heracles' image was made by the sculptors Scyllis and Dipoenus), and then brought them to Armenia. From Greece, he sent the sculptures of Zeus, Artemis, Athena, Hephaestus, and Aphrodite.<sup>63</sup> It seems that these names of gods are taken from a Greek source. The use of the name "Hellas" (հլլաղա) as the equivalent of "Greece" is noteworthy. Besides this case, "Hellas" is found in Movsēs' book only twice: in the next chapter, II, 13, when he cites from a Greek source, Phlegon, and in III, 62, where in a Hellenizing style he describes his trip. In other cases Xorenac'i prefers to call Greece by other names more usual for Classical Armenian, that is Թոյնք ("Greeks" = "Greece") or Թունաց երկիր, Թունաց աշխարհ ("the country of the Greeks," "the land of the Greeks"). The use of the name "Hellas" side by side with the Greek names of gods indicates that Xorenac'i took those data from a Greek source. It should be added that the genitive of the name "Hephaestus," Հեփեստու (see also in II, 14), instead of the more common form Հեփեստեայ,<sup>64</sup> is calked from Greek: Ἡφαίστου. It is another question whether in that source the transfer of those statues was attributed to Artašēs I or to a king of Persia, for instance, Cyrus the Great (559–529 BC) or Artaxerxes II (405–359 BC), son of Darius II, who is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protreptikos pros Hellenas*, V, 57) as spreading the worship of gods' images in Persia. Xalatjanc supposes that this very information of Clement had inspired Xorenac'i with the idea of the transfer of statues. According to Clement, Artaxerxes II put the statue of the goddess Aphrodite-Anahit (Ἀφροδίτης

<sup>62</sup> *HŽP*, I, 531–534.

<sup>63</sup> Գտեալ յԱսիայ պղնձաձոյլ ոսկեզօծ պատկերս զԱրտեմիդեայ և զՀերակլեայ և զԱպոլոնի՝ տայ բերել յաշխարհս մեր, զի կանգնեցեն յԱրմաւիր: Զոր առեալ քրմապետացն... զԱպոլոնին և զԱրտեմիդայն կանգնեցին յԱրմաւիր, իսկ զՀերակլեայն զսոնապատկերն, որ արարեալ էր ի Սկիւղեայ և ի Դիպինոսէ կրեաացւոյ... կանգնեցին ի Տարօն... յելլաղայ առեալ պատկերս զԴիոսի, զԱրտեմիդեայ, զԱթենայ, զՀեփեստու, զԱփրոդիտեայ՝ տայ բերել ի Հայս...

<sup>64</sup> Cf. in Eusebius' *Chronicle*: *Եփեստեայ*: I, 270; see also G. Awetik'ean, X. Siwrmēlean and M. Awgercan, Նոր բառգիրք հայկազեան լեզուի (*New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*; Venice, 1837) (referred to henceforth as *NBHL*), s.v.

Ἀναίτιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα) in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana. Xalatjanc thinks that the reference to Scyllis and Dipoenus in another part of Clement's work (IV, 42) is ample evidence to support his view.<sup>65</sup> It is difficult to see, *pace* Xalatjanc, a direct connection between Clement's and Movsēs' testimonies, which reflect quite different occurrences. As to the names of the two sculptors, they are also mentioned by other authors, e.g., by Pliny (*Historia naturalis*, XXXVI, 9-11, 14) and Pausanias (II, 15, 1; 22, 5), whose information could have been used equally well. But Xorenac'i apparently had another source.

It is notable that the names of Scyllis and Dipoenus also occur in the compilation of George Cedrenus, a Byzantine chronographer of the eleventh-twelfth centuries (P. 322, B).<sup>66</sup> Cedrenus re-narrates the information of different authors and, with the help of other sources, also cites from or refers to Africanus. His citations (through Syncellus) have been used to reconstruct the lost original of Africanus' work more precisely.<sup>67</sup> It is possible that the primary source of the reference to Scyllis and Dipoenus is Africanus' *Chronicle*. As one of the first expressions of the Christian-biblical conception of history and an encyclopedic work, it was among Byzantine authors' main sources for antiquity. A. Carrière, who dedicated one of his studies to criticizing Movsēs' information on the heathen beliefs of the Armenians,<sup>68</sup> writes that when speaking of Scyllis and Dipoenus, Cedrenus could have used a source close to that utilized by Xorenac'i.<sup>69</sup> Thus, there are some grounds for supposing that Movsēs and Cedrenus had the same source, probably, Africanus' *Chronicle*.

<sup>65</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Epos*, I, 288–290.

<sup>66</sup> τὸ ἄγαλμα ... Ἀθηναῖς ... ἔργον Σκύλλιδος καὶ Διποίνου ("the statue of Athena, Scyllis' and Dipoenus' work"); see *Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae ope ab Immanuele Bekkero suppletus et emendatus*, CSHB, I (Bonnae, 1838).

<sup>67</sup> See PG, 10, 67–68; see also J.-M. Rosenstiehl, "Énosh, le premier," *REArm*, NS 25 (1994–1995), 104. One of the citations relates to Chapter I, 4 of Movsēs' *History*, the probable source of which, in Baumgartner's view, is Africanus; see A. Baumgartner, "Über das Buch 'die Chrie'," 506.

<sup>68</sup> See A. Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires de l'Arménie payenne, d'après Agathange et Moïse de Khoren. Étude critique* (Paris 1895). Carrière was trying to prove that Movsēs' information, including the passage in question concerning Artasēs I, is of no historical value, for it is made up with the help of Agat'angelos' *History*. Sargsyan criticized Carrière's opinion, pointing to trustworthy data in Xorenac'i that have no connection with Agat'angelos (see G. Sargsyan, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 37–42). Contrary to Carrière, subsequent scholars emphasized the importance of Xorenac'i's information witnessing to the transfer of gods' statues and, consequently, the spread of their worship in Armenia. See, for example, K. Trever, *Essays*, 160–161; M.-L. Chaumont, "Bois sacrés dans l'Arménie païenne," *REArm*, NS 25 (1994–1995), 160.

<sup>69</sup> A. Carrière, *Les huit Sanctuaires*, 25.



In one of the extant fragments, Africanus speaks of gods' images in the context of Cyrus' activities: "For Hera's temple is there, beyond the royal palace, which Cyrus, the follower of perfect piety, built and called the gold and silver statues by gods' names."<sup>70</sup> Africanus could have written about the transfer of the statues in another, non-extant part of his *Chronicle*, and Xorenac'i, possibly, ascribed Cyrus' act to Artasēs, in the same way as in Chapter II, 13 he attributed Cyrus' victory over Croesus, king of Lydia to him.<sup>71</sup> He combined that piece of information with other data known to him about paganism in Armenia, and, seemingly, in this case too different kings<sup>72</sup> are given the name "Artasēs," as in Chapter II, 13.

Movsēs says that Artasēs ruled for 25 years: this nearly coincides with the real duration of his reign (c. 189–160 BC).

It is apparent from a passage in Chapter II, 13 that Xorenac'i knew reliable chronological data. He says to have found "the period of Croesus to be two hundred years before that of Nectanebo, while Nectanebo's period is more than another two hundred years before that of Artasēs the First, king of Armenia."<sup>73</sup> Since Artasēs I in Movsēs' opinion reigned at the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century, accordingly the years of the last indigenous king of Egypt, Nectanebo II ("more than... two hundred years before... Artasēs"), approximately coincide with the mid-fourth century, and

<sup>70</sup> Τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ ἐπέκεινα τῶν βασιλικῶν μελᾶθρων, ὅπερ Κῦρος ὁ πάσης εὐσεβείας γνώστης, κατεσκεύασε καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ὀνόματα θεῶν, ἀνδριάντας χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς... See PG, 10, 100.

<sup>71</sup> There were certain reasons for this confusion. Josephus in the *Jewish Antiquities* (XI, 184) writes: "On the death of Xerxes the kingdom passed to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes [= Artasēs]"—Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξου τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὸν υἱὸν Κῦρον, ὃν Ἀρταξέρξην Ἕλληνες καλοῦσιν, συνέβη μεταβῆναι (AJ, XI, 184); see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, with an English translation by R. Marcus and L.H. Feldman, LCL (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1958–1969, 1981). A similar passage occurs in Syncellus: "Cyrus... called Artaxerxes"—Κῦρον ... καλούμενον Ἀρταξέρξην (291, 25–26), and it may have been taken from Africanus. In the citations from the four Greek authors, too, the conqueror of Lydia is named "Artasēs," what allowed Xorenac'i to attribute Cyrus' victory to Artasēs, king of Armenia. It must be added that the conqueror acting in those four passages is a collective character, whose archetype is not only Cyrus but also other kings. This took place because of the presence of diverse sources at Movsēs' hand, and because he considered different kings named "Artasēs" ("Artaxerxes") to be one person.

<sup>72</sup> Also, Artasēs I or another Armenian king, in whose time sanctuaries had been established in Armenia.

<sup>73</sup> զԺամանակս Կրիստոսի երկերիւր ամաւ յառաջ քան զՆերսանդեայն, իսկ զՆերսանդեայ ժամանակս աւելի ևս երկերիւր ամաւ յառաջ եղեալ քան զառաջնոյն Արտաշիսի Թագաւորի Հայոց:

those of the last king of Lydia with the mid-sixth century, which is correct: Croesus reigned in 560–547 BC, and Nectanebo II in 360–343 BC. Syncellus included lists of kings of various countries in his book. Those lists are also based on Africanus' *Chronicle*, which might be the source of the quoted passage of the *History* as well. Syncellus speaks of Nectanebo (307, 21–28), referring to the Egyptian historiographer Manetho (in all probability, through Africanus, for the related passage of Eusebius' *Chronicle* is evidently not Syncellus' source). Likewise, Xorenac'i before the above-cited passage says: "And this Nectanebo is said by Manetho to have been the last king of Egypt, while some have called him the father of Alexander."

The continuation of the chapter contains quotations from four almost unknown Greek authors. It demands detailed study and cannot be addressed now. What we can already state is that Movsēs could have become familiar with those texts thanks to Africanus. One of the four authors, Phlegon, figures as a source in a surviving passage of Africanus' *Chronicle*, and it concerns the same Cyrus: "Cyrus became king of the Persians in the year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad... as we learn from Polybius and Phlegon."<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, here too an interesting parallel with Syncellus is found: "...Our Artasēs caught Croesus,"<sup>75</sup> Xorenac'i writes (also: "Artasēs caught Croesus," "Artasēs, catching him..."). The verb *մերիծ* ("to catch"), used by Xorenac'i in the past forms *կալալ* and *կալեալ*, is a literal rendering of λαμβάνω used by Syncellus: Κύρος ... Κροῖσον ἔλαβη (281, 13), while at the beginning of the chapter, when exactly repeating Eusebius' words,<sup>76</sup> Xorenac'i writes, *Կիրորսի սպանեալ զԿրիստս* ("Cyrus having killed Croesus").

## CHAPTERS II, 14–21: THE EVENTS IN TIGRAN II'S REIGN

The following eight chapters (II, 14–21) tell us the story of Tigran II ("the middle Tigran") and also speak of Roman, Egyptian, and Jewish

<sup>74</sup> Κύρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ᾧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦρχθη νε', ὥς ἐκ ... Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν... See PG, 10, 73. Phlegon is mentioned in another surviving passage by Africanus as well (Syncellus, 391, 18).

<sup>75</sup> *զԿրիստս մերոյ Արտաշիսի կալեալ* (also, *Արտաշես ... կալալ զԿրիստս* or *կալեալ զիսա Արտաշիսի*). In this case we are not quoting Thomson's translation, although it is quite correct ("Artasēs took Croesus prisoner"), because more literal equivalents of the verbal forms *կալալ*, *կալեալ*, namely, "caught," "catching," are required.

<sup>76</sup> See Moses Khorenats'i, 149, note 1.

affairs. The information drawn from Josephus is well known: all, or almost all, the possible parallels are presented in the second part of Xalatjanc's *Arsacids*. We shall see below whether those parallels are persuasive or not. Movsēs also continues using data known to him from the Armenian milieu, about which we have already spoken: for example, the information of Chapter II, 14 on the construction of the temples, Tigran's relations with the Bagratuni family, the name "brigand Vaykun" possibly referring to the Roman commander Lucullus, etc. Our purpose here is to find exact information of Greco-Roman origin, which is not drawn from Josephus.

G. Sargsyan has noticed that Xorenac'i indicates correctly, or almost correctly, the year of Tigran II's accession to the throne: 219 of the Seleucid era (= 93 BC). He even suggested that this date might be preferred to the 95 BC based on Plutarch's, somewhat indefinite, dating (*Lucullus*, 21), provided further research confirms that Movsēs information goes back to Africanus' *Chronicle*.<sup>77</sup>

Then Xorenac'i writes that Tigran "marched against the Greek (= Roman) army." As a result of this military action, "to... Mithridates he entrusted Mazhak and the care of Anatolia;<sup>78</sup> and leaving a numerous army with him, he returned to our country."<sup>79</sup> Here Movsēs speaks of Tigran's campaign to Cappadocia, which, exactly as Xorenac'i says, really took place at the beginning of his reign, in 93 BC,<sup>80</sup> in consequence of an agreement between Armenia and Pontus.<sup>81</sup> Pompey Trogus' (first century BC—first century AD) testimony about this alliance concluded by Mithridates Eupator with Tigran in the war against the Romans ("*bellum adversus Romanos*") is preserved in Justin (third century AD). The allies had agreed that the conquered towns and lands would be under the dominion of Mithridates, and the people and any movable property would

<sup>77</sup> G. Sargsyan, *The Chronological System*, 64. His remark is worthy of note, although it needs reassessment, because later on Sargsyan himself reviewed this and the following parts of the *History*, explaining the chronological data differently: see G. Sargsyan, "Tigran II and Artawazd II," 67–72.

<sup>78</sup> "Anatolia" is Thomson's translation of Xorenac'i's *Mējerkrayk'* (for the meaning of *Mējerkrayk'*, see below in this chapter).

<sup>79</sup> Ընդդէմ երթալ զօրացն Յունաց ... Ի ... Միհրդատ Հաւատացեալ զՄաժաք և զՀոգս Մէջերկրայցն և զօր բազում թողեալ առ նմա՝ դառնալ յաշխարհս մեր։

<sup>80</sup> *HZP*, I, 561.

<sup>81</sup> See H. Manandyan, Տիգրան Երկրորդը և Հռոմը (*Tigran II and Rome*; Erevan, 1940), 33. See also in the French translation of Manandyan's book: H. Manandian, *Tigrane II & Rome: nouveaux éclaircissements à la lumière des sources originales*, tr. H. Thorossian, *BAFCG* (Lisbon, 1963), 27.

belong to Tigran (XXXVIII, 3).<sup>82</sup> This coincides with Xorenac'i's information that Tigran returned to Armenia, leaving "Mazhak" (= Mazaca) and the *Mējerkrayk'* to Mithridates. Likewise, the evidence in Strabo's *Geography* about the conquest of Cappadocia and particularly its capital Mazaca is well-known: "Mazaca is distant from Pontus about eight hundred stadia to the south... Tigranes, the Armenian, put the people (i.e. the Mazaceni) in bad plight when he overran Cappadocia, for he forced them, one and all, to migrate into Mesopotamia; and it was mostly with these that he settled Tigranocerta (XII, 2, 9)."<sup>83</sup> From this testimony, too, it follows that Tigran deported people and, leaving the conquered country, returned to Armenia.

The mention of the *Mējerkrayk'* supplements Movsēs' truthful information. This geographical name is explained in the early medieval Armenian *Geography* (Աշխարհացոյց)<sup>84</sup> as countries between the Mediterranean and the Black Seas (ի մէջ Յուկաց ծովուն եւ Պոնտոսի). Among those were Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia.<sup>85</sup> After the conquest of Cappadocia, before the intervention of Rome, Mithridates also subjugated Bithynia for a short period.<sup>86</sup> Paphlagonia and Galatia too were under the rule of Pontus.<sup>87</sup> There is no word about these events in Josephus' works.

The passage concerning the siege of the city of Ptolemais in Phoenicia by Tigran II, as scholars opine, is taken from the *Jewish War*. However, some details in Xorenac'i are absent from Josephus. The following conform to Movsēs' narration: the passages նստի չուրջ զՊտղոմայիդ քաղաքաւ—"He (Tigran)... besieged the city of Ptolemais"; Իսկ զՀսոյն

<sup>82</sup> "Pactique inter se sunt, ut urbes agrique Mithridati, homines vero et quaecunque auferri possent, Tigrani cederent." See *Justini M. Juniani Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompeii Trogi*, ex recens. Fr. Rühl (Lipsiae, 1915).

<sup>83</sup> Ἀφέστηκε δὲ τὰ Μάζακα τοῦ μὲν Πόντου περὶ ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους πρὸς νότον... Διέθηκε δὲ φαύλως αὐτοὺς Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρμένιος, ἡνίκα τὴν Καππαδοκίαν κατέδραμεν· ἅπαντας γὰρ ἀναστάτους ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐκ τούτων συνέκτισε τὸ πλεόν. See *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by H.L. Jones, *LCL* (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1960).

<sup>84</sup> One of its recensions has been published in A. Abrahamyan, *Անանիա Շիրակացու մատենագրությունը* (*Anania Širakac'i's Works*; Erevan, 1944), 336–354; see also Robert Hewsen's English translation of the longer and shorter recensions: *The Geography of Ananias of Širak* (*Ašxarhac'oyc'*), *The Long and the Short Recensions*, introduction, translation and commentaries by R.H. Hewsen, *BTAVO*, Reihe B (*Geisteswissenschaften*), Nr 77 (Wiesbaden, 1992).

<sup>85</sup> A. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakac'i's Works*, 345–346 and R. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak*, 52, 52A–53A.

<sup>86</sup> See H. Manandyan, *Tigran II and Rome*, 34 and H. Manandian, *Tigrane II & Rome*, 28.

<sup>87</sup> See *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IX (Cambridge, 1932), 221 ff. (M.I. Ros-tovtzeff); see also *HŽP*, I, 559.

Հրէից Աղէքսանդրիայ ... ինչս բազումս տալով՝ դարձոյց զնա անտի—  
 “But the queen of the Jews, Alexandra... by giving him many presents  
 turned him back”; also, that Cleopatra, queen of Syria, was besieged in  
 Ptolemais, and that Tigran had to return to Armenia because of the  
 attack of “the brigand Vaykun.” Josephus is not the source of the evi-  
 dence that Tigran also “took many captives from among the Jews”—  
 առեալ գերի բազում և ի Հրէից,<sup>88</sup> as well as of the name “Messalina” of  
 Alexandra-Salome, queen of Judaea.<sup>89</sup>

It is also noteworthy that Tigran “attacked Palestine to seek ven-  
 geance from Cleopatra (daughter) of Ptolemy for the crimes of her son  
 Dionysus against his own father” (զիմէ յաշխարհն Պաղեստինացոց՝  
 վրէժս պաշանջել ի Պտղոմայիդ Կղէոպատրայ յաղագս Դիոնիսի որդւոյ  
 նորա առ Հայր իւր յանցանաց). This concerns Cleopatra-Selene, queen of  
 Syria, and her son Ptolemy Dionysus. Cleopatra-Selene was the daugh-  
 ter of Ptolemy VIII Physcon (145–116 BC) and Cleopatra III. It  
 becomes clear from Chapter II, 21 who is meant by “her son Dionysus.”  
 Xorenac'i writes about the well-known Cleopatra VII (51–30 BC), the  
 last representative of the Ptolemaic dynasty: “This Cleopatra was the  
 daughter of Ptolemy Dionysus, grandson of *Ptolemaic Cleopatra*” (Այս  
 Կղէոպատրայ զուտոր էր Պտղոմէոս Դիոնիսի, թոռն Պտղոմայիդ Կղէո-  
 պատրեայ).<sup>90</sup> Von Gutschmid, and then Xalatjanc, rejected this informa-

<sup>88</sup> This capture of many Jews by Tigran II most probably took place; see H. Man-  
 andyan, *A Critical Survey*, I, 257; G. Sargsyan, “The Means of Using Sources,” 35. An  
 attempt has been made to refute the fact of deportation of multitudes of Jews to Armenia  
 by Tigran, to which also the fifth century Armenian historiographer P'awstos Buzand wit-  
 nesses (IV, 55): see R. Manaseryan, “К вопросу о вероисповедании населения  
 городов Армении (I в. до н.э.—IV в. н.э.)” (“On the Problem of the Religion of the  
 Inhabitants of Armenian Cities [1st c. BC—4th c. AD]”), *PBH*, 1989, No 2, 198–204.  
 Manaseryan claims that the known Greco-Roman sources do not mention Jews among the  
 peoples taken captive by Tigran, so the numerous Հրէայք living in Armenia and referred  
 to by P'awstos Buzand and Movsēs Xorenac'i were proselytes. This view needs further  
 argumentation, because those Greco-Roman authors (Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, and Cas-  
 sius Dio) do not specify other deported nations too, either giving mostly the names of  
 their countries and cities of origin, or, according to the well-known custom, speaking of  
 Greeks and οἱ βάρβαροι. Those “barbarians” could well have included Jews as well.  
 Moreover, such a mass proselytization would hardly be possible if a significant number  
 of ethnic Jews had not settled in Armenia. One need not doubt the testimony of two  
 authors, and it should also be noted that what Movsēs says possibly derives from  
 Africanus, i.e., a reliable source.

<sup>89</sup> Xalatjanc on this occasion is perplexed: “Xorenac'i for an unknown reason calls  
 Alexandra also Messalina” (*Arsacids*, I, 62), but Movsēs did not invent this name. In the  
 Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* is written: “Alexandra, also (known as)  
 Messalina” (Աղէքսանդրա՝ որ և Մեսալինա): Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 193.

<sup>90</sup> Thomson's translation of Պտղոմայիդ Կղէոպատրեայ is odd: “Ptolemy Cleopater.”

tion too, for, according to them, Cleopatra-Selene was the mother of Antiochus Dionysus, and not of Cleopatra VII's father.<sup>91</sup> Though the father of the famous queen of Egypt is better known by the name Ptolemy XII Auletes, he was also called "Neos Dionysus" or just "Dionysus." His full name was Ptolemy XII Theos Philopater Philadelphus Neos Dionysus Auletes (80–58, 55–51 BC).<sup>92</sup> In the Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, his name figures in the following forms: "Ptolemy who was called Neos Dionysus" (Պտղոմէոս, որ Նորն Դիոնիսոսն անուանէր... Պտղոմէոս, որ կոչեցաւ Նոր Դիոնիսոս), or just "Ptolemy Dionysus" and "Ptolemy, also (known as) Dionysus" (Պտղոմէոս Դիոնէսիոս, Պտղոմէոս որ և Դիոնիսոս).<sup>93</sup> Thus Xorenac'i mentions his name correctly. As to the claim that Cleopatra-Selene was not his mother, the existing data may give grounds for supposing the opposite. Ptolemy Auletes was the son of Ptolemy IX Soter II (88–81), one of whose wives had been Cleopatra-Selene; and the extant information, discrepant and indefinite, affords some reason to conclude that the latter was the mother of Ptolemy Auletes, Cleopatra VII's father, who was born between 116 and 108 BC.<sup>94</sup> That is to say, Xorenac'i in this case, too, used an exact source. Moreover, with his help we can confirm the opinion of some scholars<sup>95</sup> that Ptolemy Auletes was Cleopatra-Selene's son. Therefore, Movsēs' testimony that Cleopatra VII's father had committed crime against Tigran's father, probably taken from the same trustworthy source (Africanus?), seems to be true. Unfortunately, he does not specify what crime Ptolemy Auletes had committed.

Another exact passage is the following: Դժխոյն ... Աղեքսանդրիայ, որ ... էր լեալ կին Աղեքսանդրի, որդւոյ ՅռՀաննու, որդւոյ Շմաւոնի, եղբօր Յուդայ Մակաբէի—"queen... Alexandra... who was the wife of Alexander, son of John, son of Simon the brother of Judas Macabaeus." The accurate reference to these persons and their relationship may be based either on Josephus or Eusebius.<sup>96</sup> But in Eusebius' *Chron-*

<sup>91</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 68. He agrees with von Gutschmid, referring to his study.

<sup>92</sup> See *RE*, Bd XXXIII<sub>2</sub>, s.v. Ptolemaios XII, 1748–1749.

<sup>93</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 197, 246, 252; II, 248.

<sup>94</sup> See *RE*, Bd XXXIII<sub>2</sub>, *ibidem*.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. in Eusebius' *Chronicle*: Շմաւոն Հրէից քահանայապետ սպանանի, զոր յաջորդէ ՅովՀաննէս նորին որդի... Յուդա՝ որ կոչեցաւ Մակաբէոս... Յետ որոյ Սիմոն (= Շմաւոն) եղբայր նորին... Յետ որոյ (Արիստոբուլոսի) Աղեքսանդրոս՝ որ և Յաննէոս... ("Šmawon [= Simon], the high priest of the Jews, is killed, John, his son, succeeds him," "Judas that was called Maccabaeus... After whom Simon, his brother," "After whom [Aristobulus], Alexander, also [known as] Jannaeus"). See Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 193; II, 244.

icle the data concerning them are in other contexts, and in Josephus' *Jewish War* they occur in different parts: there is no enumeration of their names, similar to that of Xorenac'i. It is likely that Movsēs simply copied this passage from Africanus without altering anything. Why else would he choose to organize the scattered data and enumerate the names of Alexandra's husband and his ancestors, without any specific purpose? Besides, Eusebius does not say who Alexander's father was. Xorenac'i exactly indicates his name, John, whereas Eusebius, before Alexander, just refers to his predecessor Aristobulus, high priest and king of the Jews. Josephus mentions John but usually calls him Hyrcanus, only once giving his other name, John (*BJ*, I, 54–55). That Movsēs could have taken this passage from Africanus is seen from Eusebius' *Chronicle*: while speaking about the reign of Simon, John, Alexander Jannaeus, and Alexandra, Eusebius refers to two sources: Josephus and Africanus.<sup>97</sup>

The next chapter (II, 15) concerns Pompey's renowned eastern campaign. Xorenac'i writes: "At that time Pompey, the Roman general, arrived in Asia Minor with a large army and sent his commander Scaurus to Syria..." Then: "Scaurus passed on to Damascus. Finding that city taken by Metellus and Lullus, he expelled them; then he hastened to Judaea against Aristobulus to the help of his elder brother Hyrcanus, the high priest."<sup>98</sup> Here too Josephus is deemed to be Movsēs' sole source, but the cited passages, as well as the continuation of the chapter contain deviations from his account. According to Josephus, Scaurus, taking a bribe from Aristobulus, helps him (*BJ*, I, 128); according to Xorenac'i, he goes to Judaea to assist Hyrcanus. However, there is no reason to consider Movsēs' information to be incorrect, for afterward Scaurus became Aristobulus' enemy (*AJ*, XIV, 37–38), and the Romans helped Hyrcanus (*AJ*, XIV, 48–49; *BJ*, I, 133). Africanus could have presented the course of events a little differently, as a result of which Xorenac'i made Scaurus Hyrcanus' ally from the beginning.

Josephus remains silent about the encounters and battle between Pompey's and Mithridates' armies—a known fact, which is mentioned by Movsēs: "But Pompey in his war with Mithridates met with strong resistance and terrible battles, and he was in great danger. Nonetheless,

<sup>97</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 193.

<sup>98</sup> Յայնմ ժամանակի Պոմպէոս Հռոմայեցոց զօրավար բազմօք եկեալ Հասեալ ի Միջերկրեայս՝ զՍկաւրոս սպարապետ իւր յԱսորիս առաքէ... Անցեալ Սկաւրոսի ի Դամասկոս, և տեսեալ զքաղաքն առեալ ի Մետեղայ և ի Ղուղայ՝ զնոսա Հալածեալ անտի, ինքն ի Հրէաստան փութայր Հասանել ի վերայ Արիստոբուղի, յօգնականութիւն եղբոր նորա երիցու, Հիւրկանու քահանայապետի:

his superior numbers gained the victory, and Mithridates fled to the regions of Pontus.”<sup>99</sup> In addition, also the details of this information are precise. At the beginning, Mithridates by unexpected small attacks had inflicted significant losses upon the Romans. Pompey’s troops had also been “in great danger” due to the shortage of foodstuffs. Cassius Dio (c. 150–235 AD) writes that Mithridates even “was receiving large numbers of deserters” (ἐξαυτομολοῦντας ... συχνοὺς ἐδέχετο) escaping from the Roman army (XXXVI, 47, 2).<sup>100</sup> But, finally, the “superior numbers” of the Romans<sup>101</sup> won the victory in the decisive battle in Armenia Minor, and Mithridates with the remainder of his troops escaped to the north,<sup>102</sup> toward “the regions of Pontus,” that is, the Black Sea.<sup>103</sup> Appian (second century AD) writes that Mithridates fled to Colchis and conceived the idea of “making the circuit of the whole Pontus” (τὸν Πόντον ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ) (*Mithridatica*, 101).<sup>104</sup>

Afterward Pompey, Xorenac’i says, “unexpectedly freed from him (i.e. Mithridates), captured Mazhak... put a garrison in the city” and withdrew. In early 66, Tigran, re-conquering some lost territories, had reached Cappadocia, but, because of his son’s rebellion, he had to interrupt his campaign and return to Armenia. Pompey again annexed Cappadocia to the Roman Empire and, leaving three legions there and in Cilicia, continued his advance.<sup>105</sup>

The end of the chapter contains data not corroborated by other sources,<sup>106</sup> but here Xorenac’i mentions a son of Mithridates, also called Mithridates. It is clear from Chapter II, 18 that Mithridates of Pergamon

<sup>99</sup> Իսկ Պոմպեյի պատերազմեալ ընդ Միհրդատայ՝ տեսանէ սաստիկ ընդդիմակացութիւն և աւագին մարտս, և վտանգի յոյժ. սակայն բազմութեանն յաղթեալ՝ փախստական լինի Միհրդատ ի Կողմանս Պոնտոսի:

<sup>100</sup> Dio’s *Roman History*, with an English translation by E. Cary, LCL (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1961–1969).

<sup>101</sup> Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), based on the indirect data of the sources, calculated the number of the Roman army and concluded, quite plausibly, that Pompey had about 40–50 thousand soldiers not counting the allies; see Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, I–IV (Berlin, 1894–1922), III, 103. The number of Mithridates’ troops is precisely indicated by Plutarch (*Pompeius*, XXXII) and Appian (*Mithridatica*, 97): 30 thousand infantry and 2–3 thousand cavalry.

<sup>102</sup> See H. Manandyan, *Tigran II and Rome*, 175–177, 185 and H. Manandian, *Tigrane II & Rome*, 158–161, 167.

<sup>103</sup> Cf., for example, in Chapters I, 8 and II, 8: “from the Sea of Pontus,” “the Pontus Sea” – ի ծովէն Պոնտոսի, Պոնտոս ծովու.

<sup>104</sup> Appian’s *Roman History*, with an English translation by H. White, LCL (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1962–1968).

<sup>105</sup> See H. Manandyan, *Tigran II and Rome*, 173–174 and H. Manandian, *Tigrane II & Rome*, 158.

<sup>106</sup> For example, the poisoning of Mithridates by the hand of Pontius Pilate’s father.



is meant.<sup>107</sup> In 48 BC he was Julius Caesar's ally in the war against the Egyptians, and for his courage received from him the kingdom of Bosphorus.<sup>108</sup> Movsēs does not err, because Mithridates of Pergamon considered himself Mithridates Eupator's illegitimate son.<sup>109</sup> Josephus does not indicate who Mithridates of Pergamon's father was (*BJ*, I, 187–192).

In the next three short chapters (II, 16–18), Xorenac'i certainly utilized Josephus' *Jewish War*, attributing the acts of the Parthians, mentioned by the latter, to the Armenians and Tigran II.<sup>110</sup> Nonetheless, though having mainly based himself on the *Jewish War*, Movsēs gives some data, particularly related to "Mithridates' son Mithridates," the source of which is not Josephus. One doubts whether those data reflect historical facts; more likely, they too are a result of misunderstanding. Some, possibly foreign, source was used by Xorenac'i and, being interpreted incorrectly, caused confusion. Whatever the case may be, Movsēs correctly knows that at last, resisting the Romans, Tigran afterwards counter-attacked them. True, he tells about it in an original manner: "Tigran, after... exterminating the brigands from the mountain... marched to Syria against the Roman army" (II, 16). He also knows that the town of Mazaca had been renamed Caesarea.

The next chapter (II, 19) contains significant information and is important both for the study of Movsēs' sources and his methods of using them.<sup>111</sup> The content of the relevant parts of this chapter is as follows. A Persian-Armenian joint army is sent to Syria and Palestine to reconcile the inhabitants of those countries. A certain "Pacarus" (= Pacorus) comes to the commander Barzap'ran Rštuni and promises him five hundred beautiful women and a thousand talents of gold if he helps

<sup>107</sup> Միհրդատայ արՀամարՀութին կրեալ ի ... Տիգրանայ ... անկանի առ Կեսար, իշխանութին գտեալ ի նմանէ զՊերդէայ քաղաքի...

<sup>108</sup> See *RE*, Bd XV<sub>2</sub>, s.v. Mithridates (15), 2205–2206.

<sup>109</sup> See Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, III, 362.

<sup>110</sup> Josephus himself gives reason for this confusion. In the *Jewish War*, he writes that Antony campaigned "against the Parthians." This is said about the Roman general's campaign to Armenia, in consequence of which Artawazd II was captured. Then, as Josephus writes, returning from Parthia (ἐκ Πάρθων), Antony presented "the Parthian" (ὁ Πάρθοϛ) Artawazd to Cleopatra (I, 362–363). In general, Xorenac'i considers the kings of Armenia down to Tigran I to be natives (see I, 22), and the others, beginning with Valaršak down to the elimination of the Arsacid dynasty, to be of Parthian origin.

<sup>111</sup> The question why and on what grounds does Xorenac'i attribute the Parthian campaign to the "Armenian and Persian" army should be answered. The participation of Armenians in these events, as already noted in our Introduction (10), has been deemed very likely (see also *HŽP*, I, 613–614), but the possible role of Africanus as Movsēs' source has not been considered.

to deprive King Hyrcanus of power and to enthrone Antigonus in Judaea. Barzap'ran agrees and leads his army against Hyrcanus and his companion-in-arms Phasael, Herod's brother. A separate cavalry regiment under the command of the Armenian king's cup-bearer moves to Jerusalem. The cup-bearer persuades Hyrcanus to meet Barzap'ran for negotiation. Hyrcanus believes the commander's oath and, leaving Herod in Jerusalem, goes to the seaside village of Ekdippa (= Ἐκδίππων), accompanied by Phasael. Barzap'ran Rštuni orders his soldiers to hand them over to Antigonus. The latter bites Hyrcanus' ears off, so that he can never hold the high priesthood again, for, according to the Jewish law, a priest must be whole of limb.<sup>112</sup>

The same events, with some differences and without any reference to the participation of Armenians,<sup>113</sup> are also narrated by Josephus, and Xorenac'i undoubtedly took his version into account. Once again, scholars regard Josephus as Movsēs' only source, but the factual picture seems to be a little different. It is remarkable Syncellus has preserved (371, 1-373, 16),<sup>114</sup> in a very abridged form, Africanus' information concerning those and the subsequent occurrences. That part in Syncellus bears the following title: Ἀφρικανοῦ περὶ τῶν Ὑρκανῶ καὶ Ἀντιγόνου συμβάντων καὶ περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τε Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ ("Africanus' [information] about what happened to Hyrcanus and Antigonus, and about Herod, Sebastus, Antony, and Cleopatra in brief").

In Movsēs' narrative, some traces of this passage are noticeable:

1) According to Josephus, the invaders are commanded by Barzapharnes, satrap of the Parthians, and Pacorus, the king's son (*BJ*, I, 248).

<sup>112</sup> Առեալ Տիգրանայ զԲարզափրան նաՀապետ Ռըշտունեաց նախարարութեանն՝ սպարապետ կացուցանէ զօրացն Հայոց և Պարսից և առաքէ ի վերայ զօրացն Հոռնայեցւոց, Հրաման տուեալ զքնակիչս աշխարհին Ասորւոց և Պաղեստինացւոց ի Հաշտութիւն Հաւանութեան խօսել: Նմա ընդ առաջ լինի ոմն Պակարոս անուն... Եւ եկեալ առ Բարզափրան... խոստանայ Հինգ Հարիր կին գեղեցիկ և Հազար քանքար ոսկւոյ, զի օգնեսցէ նոցա՝ ընկենլով ի թագաւորութենէ Հրէից զՀիւրկանոս, և թագաւորեցուցանել զԱնտիգոնոս: Իբրև ետես Հիւրկանոս... և Փասայեղոս եղբայր Հերովդի, եթէ... ընդ երկիրն անցանէր Բարզափրան՝ խօսին և ինքեանք զխաղաղութիւն առ Բարզափրան: Եւ նա զԳնէլ ոմն, որ էր տակառապետ արքային Հայոց, առաքէ յԵրուսաղէմ Հանդերձ Հեծելազօրու... Եւ տակառապետին գաւով խրատ տուեալ Հիւրկանոս՝ զի առ Բարզափրան երթիցէ... Եւ Հիւրկանոս երդումն խնդրեալ ի Բարզափրանայ՝ երդնու... Ընդ որ վստահացեալ Հիւրկանոս՝ թողու զՀերովդէս ի վերայ Երուսաղէմի, և զՓասայեղոս գերէց եղբայր Հերովդի առեալ ընդ իւր՝ գայ առ Բարզափրան ի ծովեզրն, ի գետն որ կոչի Եքսիպոն: Եւ Բարզափրան... Հրաման տայր՝ ի բռն առնուլ զնոսա և ի ձեռն Անտիգոնի մատնել: Եւ Անտիգոնոս ի վերայ Հիւրկանոս անկեալ՝ զականջս նորա ատամամբքն ի բաց կտրէր. զի... անՀնար լիցի նմա զբաՀանայապետութիւնն ունել:

<sup>113</sup> Josephus attributes the campaign exclusively to the Parthians.

<sup>114</sup> See also *PG*, 10, 84–88.

In return for installing Antigonos, Lysanias, king of Coele-Syria, promises Barzapharnes a thousand talents and five hundred women. In Xorenac'i, "a certain Pacarus," corresponding to Josephus' Pacorus, the king's son, acts as mediator. Why did Movsēs call the mediator "Pacarus"? Let us look at the extant data by Africanus: Ἀντίγονος δὲ προσφυγὼν ... τῷ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεῖ διὰ Πακόρου τοῦ υἱοῦ κατήλθεν, ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ ταλάντοις χιλίοις ("and Antigonos, escaping, came to the king of the Parthians with a thousand talents of gold, through the mediation of Pacorus, the [king's] son"). That is to say, according to Africanus, the bribe is offered directly to the king of the Parthians, and the mediator's name, as in Xorenac'i, is "Pacorus." This is an interesting parallel, unnoticed by others, between Africanus and Movsēs.

2) In Josephus, the Parthians conquer Syria; there is no word about Palestine in the corresponding passages, while according to Xorenac'i, Barzap'ran Rštuni leads the Armenian and Persian armies to the land of "the Syrians and Palestinians" (Ասորիոց և Պաղեստինացւոց). In Syncellus' citations from Africanus' *Chronicle*, too, the events take place ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ Συρίᾳ ("in Palestine and Syria").

3) Movsēs' mention of "a thousand talents of gold" (Հազար քանքար ոսկւոյ) attracted our attention: it is a verbatim borrowing from Africanus (χρυσοῦ ταλάντοις χιλίοις), and not from Josephus, for the latter writes (*BJ*, I, 248) "a thousand talents" (ὑποσχέσει χιλίων ταλάντων—"by the promise of a thousand talents"): the word "gold" is absent, whereas in Xorenac'i it not only occurs but also is in genitive (χρυσοῦ—*ոսկւոյ*), like in Syncellus' citation.

4) Already A. Baumgartner took notice of the passage where Antigonos bites off Hyrcanus' ears.<sup>115</sup> According to Movsēs, Antigonos "cut off his (Hyrcanus') ears with teeth" (զաղանջս նորա [Հյուրկանոսի] ատաճաճքն ի բաղ կտրէր).<sup>116</sup> Based on Gelzer's study,<sup>117</sup> Baumgartner states that this phrase of Xorenac'i is an exact repetition of the following words in Syncellus: τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀποτεμὼν αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄτα, while Josephus in the *Jewish Antiquities* (*AJ*, XIV, 366) writes ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄτα ("cuts off his ears"), and in the *Jewish War* (*BJ*, I, 270), τὰ ὄτα λωβᾶται τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ("lacerates [his] ears with teeth"). As

<sup>115</sup> A. Baumgartner, "Über das Buch 'die Chrie'," 510.

<sup>116</sup> Thomson translates "bit off."

<sup>117</sup> H. Gelzer, *Africanus*, I, 264–265.

stated,<sup>118</sup> it is certain that Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* was not a source for Xorenac'i: he used only the *Jewish War*. Taking into consideration this fact as well, we should accept that Movsēs borrowed from Africanus, either from the Greek original of the passage or from an Armenian translation, at least the phrase *ἡ ρωγ ἡμῖν*—"cut off" = ἀποτεμών (cf. in Syncellus' quotation from Africanus: ἀποτεμών αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα—"cutting off his ears"). Syncellus' own narrative (369, 15–17) containing the literal parallel to Movsēs' words also seems to be based on Africanus, for it manifests a close similarity with the abridged citations from Africanus. Let us compare:

Africanus	Syncellus
<u>Φασάϊλος δὲ ... ἀναιρεῖται Ὑρκανὸς δὲ Ἀντιγόνῳ παρεδόθη ζῶν. Ὁ δὲ Πάρθοις ἔδοκεν ἄγειν, ἀποτεμών αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα, ὥς μηκέτι ἱερῶτο.</u>	... (Ἀντιγόνος) κρατεῖ ... ζῶντα τὸν Ὑρκανὸν χεροσάμενος καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀποτεμών αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα, ὥς ἂν μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἱερατεύοι, καὶ Πάρθοις ἐκδίδωσιν ἄγειν ... ἀναιρεῖ δὲ Φασάϊλον...

In some cases, Xorenac'i does not follow Josephus and presents the events differently. For example, according to him, Hyrcanus and Phasael negotiate with Barzap'ran Rštuni earlier, when he, invading their country, was advancing peacefully, whereas, according to Josephus, the negotiations take place only after the cup-bearer enters Jerusalem and convinces them to meet Barzapharnes. Josephus writes (*BJ*, I, 255) that the cup-bearer induces Phasael to go on an embassy to Barzapharnes, and he goes, taking with him Hyrcanus as companion, while Xorenac'i considers Hyrcanus the main negotiator, and Phasael accompanies him. Josephus says (*BJ*, I, 268) that the Parthians pillaged Jerusalem, refraining only from Hyrcanus' funds, worth no more than three hundred talents, whereas in Xorenac'i, firstly, Hyrcanus' wealth amounts to "more than three hundred talents," secondly, the invaders take only his possessions, without harming anybody else. Such differences too indicate that Movsēs, in addition to Josephus, probably was also familiar with Africanus. Unfortunately, the main part of the chapter in question cannot be compared with Africanus' narrative, because Syncellus significantly abridged the text in his quotation.

<sup>118</sup> See note 7.

Movsēs begins Chapter II, 20 as follows: "When he arrived in Rome, Herod... before Antony, Caesar and the senate... told of his own fidelity to the Romans. He was made king of Judaea by Antony..."<sup>119</sup> This passage in its briefness and precise style resembles Africanus (Syncellus, 372, 1, 5–6): <sup>120</sup> Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ἡρώδην μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνηγόρευσε βασιλέα.. ("Antony himself proclaimed Herod to be king");... Ἡρώδης ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ βασιλεὺς Ἰουδαίων ἀνηγορεύθη ("Herod was proclaimed king of the Jews by the senate and Octavianus Sebastus"). Besides, Africanus here calls the Roman senate σύγκλητος, as Xorenac'i (*սինկληտոս*). The latter took this Greek word from his source, commonly held to be Josephus.<sup>121</sup> In the *Jewish War*, this event is presented in a detailed, descriptive manner, and it is difficult to find similarity with Xorenac'i. The passages in question are the following (*BJ*, I, 281–285): "(Herod) procured the construction of an immense trireme, which carried him and his friends to Brundisium, whence he sped to Rome. He waited first on Antony, as his father's friend, and told him the story of his own and his family's misfortunes... Antony was moved with compassion at his reverse of fortune; and influenced by the recollection of Antipater's hospitality, but above all by the heroic qualities of the man in front of him, determined then and there to make him king of the Jews whom he had himself previously appointed tetrarch... Caesar proved a yet more ready champion than Antony, as his memory recalled the part which Antipater had borne with his own father in the Egyptian campaigns... So he convened the Senate, to which Messala, seconded by Atratinus, presented Herod and dwelt on the services rendered by his father and his own goodwill towards the Roman people... When Antony came forward and said that with a view to the war with Parthia it was expedient that Herod should be king, the proposal was carried unanimously. The meeting was dissolved and Antony and Caesar left the senate-house with Herod between them... On this, the first day of his reign, Herod was given a banquet by Antony."<sup>122</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Հերովդէս անցեալ ի Հռոմ՝ առաջի Ալեսանդրոսի և Կեսարու և սինկληտոսին զհնքեան ծիսաժողովին առ Հռոմայեցիս պատմէ, և թագաւոր Հրէաստանի յԱլեսանդրոսէ եղեալ...

<sup>120</sup> See also in *PG* 10, 85–86. Octavianus Sebastus = "Caesar" in Josephus and Xorenac'i.

<sup>121</sup> See e.g. Malxasyan's comment: Movses Xorenac'i, 293, note 150.

<sup>122</sup> (Ἡρώδης) ναυπηγεῖται τριήρη μεγίστην, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Βρεντέσιον καταπλεύσας, κάκειθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπειχθεὶς, πρῶτον διὰ τὴν πατρῶαν φιλίαν ἐνετύγχανεν Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ τὰς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γένους συμφορὰς ἐκδιηγείτω ... Ἀντωνίου δὲ ἡπτετω ... οἷκτος, καὶ κατὰ μνήμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας, τὸ

These extended citations demonstrate their stylistic difference from Moysēs' laconic reference, as well as the absence of textual parallels such as, for instance, the following: Xorenac'i: "Herod... was made king of Judaea by Antony"—Africanus: "Antony himself proclaimed Herod to be king." It is interesting that in the quoted passages Josephus does not use the word σύγκλητος but βουλή.<sup>123</sup>

The sequence of the subsequent events and some circumstances are so much altered in Xorenac'i that again Josephus can hardly be considered to be his only source. Here is a comparison: Xorenac'i: "He (Ventidius) arrived in Syria and put the Armenian army to flight. Leaving Silo to oppose the Armenians near the Euphrates, he killed Pacorus and returned to Jerusalem against Antigonus"—Josephus: 1) Ventidius does not reach Syria but was sent from there (πεμφθεὶς ἐκ Συρίας) to hinder the advance of the Parthians (*BJ*, I, 288). 2) Withdrawing, he leaves Silo not "near the Euphrates" but near Jerusalem, and not to resist the invaders, according to Josephus, the Parthians, but that by this action the bribery (he had taken money from Antigonus) should be disguised (*BJ*, I, 289). 3) Pacorus is not killed by Ventidius, but he falls in the battle against the Romans (*AJ*, XIX, 434). In the *Jewish War*, Josephus does not indicate how and by whom Pacorus was killed; he just tells about Ventidius' further acts after the Parthians were expelled and Pacorus was dead: Πάρθων μὲν ἐξεληλαμένων, ἀνηρημένου δὲ Πακόρου (*BJ*, I, 317). Xorenac'i's information, "(Ventidius)... killed Pacorus," coincides with Strabo (XVI, 2, 8): "...Near which places Pacorus was killed by Ventidius" (...Περὶ οὗς τόπους ὑπὸ Οὐεντιδίου Πάκορος διεφθάρη), so it is taken not from Josephus but another accurate source. 4) Pacorus is killed not before but after Ventidius' advance to Jerusalem against Antigonus; moreover, in the *Jewish War*, Ventidius himself does not fight against Antigonus but, taking a bribe from him, withdraws and afterward sends his commanders to the aid of Herod (*BJ*, I, 288–289, 317).

δὲ ὅλον καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἀρετὴν, ἔγνω καὶ τότε βασιλέα καθιστᾶν Ἰουδαίων ὃν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τετράρχην... Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἐτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας ἀνανεούμενος... Συνήγαγεν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν, ἐν ἣ Μεσσάλας καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀτρατίνος παραστησάμενοι τὸν Ἡρώδην τὰς τε πατρῶας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν διεξήεσαν... Ὡς παρελθὼν Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἡρώδην συμφέρειν ἔλεγεν, ἐπιψηφίζονται πάντες. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καῖσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην ἐξήεσαν... Τὴν δὲ πρώτην Ἡρώδη τῆς βασιλείας ἡμέραν Ἀντώνιος εἰστία (αὐτόν).

<sup>123</sup> Though σύγκλητος too is commonly found in his works.

In Chapter II, 21, Xorenac'i took the following datum from Josephus (*BJ*, I, 327): Antony, conquering the town of Samosata, leaves Sossius to help Herod in his fight against Antigonus and goes to Egypt; but then Movsēs, very exactly, indicates, as Africanus does twice in Syncellus' quotation (371, 22; 372, 12), the reason for Antony's departure for Egypt, of which Josephus says nothing: "He hastened there with the passion of a sensuous man, burning with desire for Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt." Moreover, the phrase *ցանկութեամբ վառեալ ի Կլէոպատրայ*—"burning with desire for Cleopatra," resembles Africanus' *ἀλώκει τῆς γυναικὸς ἔρωτι*—"was seized with desire for the woman" (in the other passage, Africanus writes *Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι*). After this, Movsēs once more mentions the names of Cleopatra's father and grandmother referred to above. Josephus, when relating the execution of Antigonus, uses the phrase *πέλεκυς ἐκδέχομαι*, literally, "to receive an axe" (*BJ*, I, 357). Xorenac'i does not speak of Antigonus' death as execution but writes that Sossius "killed Antigonus and made Herod king": cf. Africanus in Syncellus (372, 7–8): "Antony... killed Antigonus, king of the Jews"—*Ἀντώνιος ... Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτεινε βασιλέα*.

## CHAPTERS II, 22–23: ARTAWAZD II

The last two chapters in question (II, 22–23) concern Artawazd II, son of Tigran II. First, we must observe that, despite the current view, II, 23 has no connection with Josephus. At the beginning of the chapter, Xorenac'i speaks of some changes in the internal life of Armenia introduced by Artawazd II, which are not known from any other writing: he apparently took those data from Armenian sources. The rest of the chapter is interesting: it contains a negative characterization of Artawazd and an account of the hostilities between him and Antony for possession of Mesopotamia.

Scholars have repeatedly stated that Movsēs' notion of Artawazd's character is erroneous. Xorenac'i's attitude towards this king seems to be biased; he imputes blameworthy way of life to Artawazd II and says that he was "unconcerned with wisdom, valor, or good repute" (*զիմաստութենէ և զբաշխութենէ և զբարի յիշատակաց անփոյթ արարեալ*). The reasons for this negative characterization are unknown, but it is significant that defamation of Artawazd II was commonplace in Greco-Roman

sources,<sup>124</sup> because Antony censured him for the unsuccessful outcome of his eastern campaign of the year 36 BC. So if we consider it possible that Xorenac'i, together with using local legends, also drew pieces of information about Artawazd II from Africanus,<sup>125</sup> then his attitude towards Tigran's successor should not seem odd.

For example, Movsēs writes that Artawazd "occupied his time with eating and drinking" (*ուտելեաց և ըմպելեաց պարապելալ*). This corresponds to Plutarch's famous testimony that Orodes, king of the Parthians, and Artawazd II were organizing together "banquets and drinking-bouts"—ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότοι (*Crassus*, XXXIII). Likewise, we have no grounds to doubt that he was fond of hunting, as Xorenac'i observes.

The passages concerning Mesopotamia, although they contain chronological mistakes and confusion of persons, in general content do not contradict the known facts.

1) Xorenac'i says that "Antony had deprived him (Artawazd) of Mesopotamia" (*զՄիջագետս Անտոնիոսի Հանեալ էր ի նմանէ*). In fact, as a result of the eastern campaign of the Romans in 66, Armenia had lost, among other possessions, the main part of northern Mesopotamia.<sup>126</sup> 2) According to Movsēs, Artawazd II, in order to regain Mesopotamia, gave commands to assemble an army from the hosts of Atropatene and "the inhabitants of the Caucasus Mountain with the Albanians and Georgians" (*...Հրաման տայր զօր յարուցանել զբնիւրաւորս Ատրպատական նահանգին և բնակիչս լէրիկնն Կապասու Հանդերձ Աղուանիւք և Վրօք*). Before Antony's campaign to Parthia (in the spring of 36), the Romans had fought against the Albanians and Iberians (= Georgians).<sup>127</sup> Then Antony had moved to Atropatene and besieged the capital Phraaspa.<sup>128</sup> That is to say, the battle spoken of by Movsēs, between Antony's legions and the inhabitants of Atropatene, the Albanians and the Iberians is rooted in reality. It seems that the geographical name "Caucasus Mountain" (*լեան Կապասու*) also is taken from a Greek source.<sup>129</sup> 3) In the year 64, by the agreement with the Romans and the Parthians, a part of northern Mesopotamia was again included in Armenia.<sup>130</sup> In the time

<sup>124</sup> See Strabo, XI, 13, 4; 14, 15; Plutarch, *Antonius*, L; Dio, XLIX, 31, 2.

<sup>125</sup> Josephus says nothing about Artawazd's personality traits.

<sup>126</sup> See H. Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*, I, 238–241.

<sup>127</sup> See Dio, XLIX, 24, 1.

<sup>128</sup> See H. Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*, I, 264; *HŽP*, I, 618–619.

<sup>129</sup> Cf., for instance, in Herodotus (III, 97 Καυκάσιον ὄρος) and Appian (*Mithridatica*, 103 Καύκασον ὄρος).

<sup>130</sup> H. Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*, I, 240; *HŽP*, I, 600.



of Artawazd it remained under his control.<sup>131</sup> In Xorenac'i's account, that fact is reflected (true, as a far echo) as follows: (Արտաւազդ) խաղալ իջանէ ի Միջագետս, և Հալաճականս առնէ զգօրս Հռոմայեցւոց—“(Artawazd) marched down to Mesopotamia and expelled the Roman forces.”

The subject-matter of the short Chapter II, 23 mainly corresponds to Josephus' information with the exception of the beginning: “Antony roared like a wild lion, especially envenomed by Cleopatra because she nourished rancour for the ill treatment inflicted on her grandmother by Tigran.” Josephus does not speak about Antony's anger at Artawazd II but only writes that he campaigned against the Parthians and returned from there bringing “the Parthian” (Artawazd II) as a present for Cleopatra (*BJ*, I, 362–363). Antony really “roared” with anger, because he considered the king of Armenia to be the culprit of his failure in Atropatene, and he finally punished Artawazd perfidiously and cruelly.<sup>132</sup>

Movsēs' indication of Cleopatra VII's vindictiveness against Tigran and his offspring is interesting and may be truthful; as we noted above, this queen of Egypt possibly was Cleopatra-Selene's granddaughter.

The passage on the capture of Artawazd II, taken from Josephus, completes Chapter II, 23 and this debatable part of Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*.

## SUMMARY

Now, taking the above into account, let us try to summarize our observations:

1) In the passages concerning Artasēs I, there is material truly reflecting history, proper names originating from a Greek source and citations from four Greek authors. All these may have been taken from Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*, in the extant parts of which one of the four authors, Phlegon, is referred to.

2) Xorenac'i's *History* contains exact information, directly or indirectly related to Tigran II and Artawazd II, the source of which is not Josephus Flavius. Most probably, Movsēs knew such precise data, as well as those in the history of Artasēs I, from another writing created in a Greco-Roman milieu. One cannot prove that in all these cases it was

<sup>131</sup> *Ibidem*, I, 245.

<sup>132</sup> See *HŽP*, I, 618–625.

Africanus, but it seems evident, through the verbatim parallels in Chapters II, 19–20 with the preserved passages in Syncellus, that Africanus' *Chronicle*, at least occasionally, was among Movsēs' sources.

3) As we have stated above, those later authors who used Josephus' and Africanus' works, often mention them side by side, as the main sources for a certain period. Therefore, in some cases when Xorenac'i deviates from Josephus, he probably based himself on Africanus.

4) In view of the foregoing, it should be accepted that although Julius Africanus' *Chronicle* did not provide Xorenac'i with much material, it was one of his sources, in the Greek original or an Armenian translation, directly or through citations of another author, and the opinion that Movsēs knew Africanus' name only thanks to Eusebius is not correct.

## CHAPTER III

### FIRMILIAN'S "NARRATION"

#### INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

##### *Firmilian*

Firmilian (d. 268/9), Origen's disciple, was a prominent cleric in the third century AD, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea from about 230. As an authoritative prelate, in 264 he presided at the synod of Antioch held to condemn Paul of Samosata, the heretical bishop of Antioch. Only one writing by Firmilian survives: a letter to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Epistolae*, 75), in which he supports the idea that baptism outside the Church cannot be valid. However, a quite reliable testimony by Basil the Great (*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 29, 74)<sup>1</sup> indicates that Firmilian also composed other works. Xorenac'i refers to Firmilian as to one of his important sources.

##### *The Reference*

In Chapter II, 75 of the *History*, Movsēs writes the following about Firmilian:<sup>2</sup> "Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was a marvellous scholar who in his youth had gone to study with Origen. He composed many *writings*, among them a *narration*<sup>3</sup> of the persecutions of the church, which arose first in the days of Maximian<sup>4</sup> and Decius<sup>5</sup> and last of all in the reign of Diocletian;<sup>6</sup> he also included in it the deeds of the kings. In this (*narration*) he says that Peter, the sixteenth bishop of the Alexandrians, was martyred in the ninth year of the persecution.<sup>7</sup> He writes also of many who were martyred by Khosrov in our own land, and similarly after him of others (martyred) by others. But because he

<sup>1</sup> See *PG*, 31, col. 1429–1438; the testimony is discussed below in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> As in other cases, we have made some changes (in italics) in Thomson's translation, for more accuracy.

<sup>3</sup> Thomson translates "history." This matter is discussed below.

<sup>4</sup> The names of two emperors, Maximinus and Maximian, are confused. Here Maximinus Thrax (235–238) is meant. Maximian was emperor much later, in 286–305.

<sup>5</sup> Roman emperor in 249–251.

<sup>6</sup> Roman emperor in 284–305.

<sup>7</sup> In 311.

*does not narrate*<sup>8</sup> accurately and properly and indicates neither the names nor the places, we have not considered it important enough to repeat... But as for his account of events after the death of Khosrov down to the reign of Trdat in the period of anarchy, considering this to be accurate, we shall repeat it for you briefly.”<sup>9</sup>

### *Various Explanations of the Reference*

This passage about Firmilian and his *narration* (պատմութիւն, which has always been interpreted as “history”) is enigmatic and, quite understandably, has aroused scholars’ doubts. Firmilian, a disciple of Origen and already bishop in 231, could not have written about Diocletian’s persecution and certainly not about Peter’s martyrdom in 311. No trace whatsoever has been found of the historiographic work attributed to him by Xorenac’i. Consequently, as von Gutschmid claimed, once again Movsēs drew data from the Armenian translation of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*, this time, concerning Firmilian.<sup>10</sup> Xalatjanc supplemented von Gutschmid’s statement: Xorenac’i did not know any “history” by Firmilian. What he ascribes to the bishop of Caesarea in Chapters II, 75–79, is actually taken from other sources: Agat’angelos, Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, and “some other” chronicle resembling Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*. Movsēs knew of Firmilian only thanks to the *Ecclesiastical History*, from which he also took the datum about Peter’s martyrdom.<sup>11</sup>

Armenologists indicate the year of Firmilian’s death: 268/9, and, finally, Thomson concludes that the “history of persecutions” is nothing more than a product of Movsēs’ imagination, one of his inventions.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Thomson translates “did not compose his history,” which is inexact for ոչ ... պատմէ.

<sup>9</sup> Փերմենիանոս եպիսկոպոս Կեսարու Կապաղովկացոց էր այր սքանչելի յուսումնասիրութեան, որ և ի տղայութեան իւրում առ Որոգինես երթեալ վարժեցաւ: Սա բազում խօսս արար, յորոց մի է պատմութիւն Հալաժանաց եկեղեցւոյ, որ յառաջ յաւուրս Մաքսիմիանոսի և Դեկոսի յարեաւ և որ Հուսկ յետոյ յամս Դիոկղետիանոսի, չարայարեալ ի նա և զգործս թագաւորացն: Յորում ասէ՝ վեշտասաներորդ եպիսկոպոս կացեալ Աղեքսանդրացոց Պետրոս, վկայեալ յիններորդ ամի Հալաժանացն: Գրէ զբազումս վկայեալս և ի Խոսրովայ, ի մերում աշխարհիս, Համայն և յետ նորա օտարք յօտարաց: Բայց զի ոչ ճշմարտութեամբ և ոճով պատմէ, և ոչ զանուանսն նշանակէ կամ զտեղիս կատարմանցն՝ ոչ ինչ կարեւորագոյն Համարեցաք երկրորդել... Իսկ որ ինչ զկնի մահուանն Խոսրովայ մինչեւ ցթազաւորութիւնն Տրդատայ ի Ժամանակս անիշխանութեանն պատմէ՝ ստոյգ Համարելով երկրորդեմք քեզ Համառօտ բանիւք:

<sup>10</sup> A. von Gutschmid, “Über die Glaubwürdigkeit,” 19.

<sup>11</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 125–127.

<sup>12</sup> Moses Khorenats’i, 35.

G. Sargsyan attempts to understand the sentence concerning Peter differently: Movsēs borrowed from Firmilian only the phrase *վէշտասաներորդ եպիսկոպոս կացեալ Աղէքսանդրացւոց Պետրոս* ("Peter, the sixteenth bishop of the Alexandrians"),<sup>13</sup> to which he subsequently added *վկայեալ յիններորդ ամի Հալաժանացն*—"was martyred in the ninth year of the persecution."<sup>14</sup> G. Sargsyan's remark is noteworthy because it is indeed correct to divide the passage into two parts, since it is based on two sources: Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (the year of martyrdom) and an unknown writing (the fact that Peter was the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria). However, Firmilian could not have written about Peter's episcopate either, for the latter became patriarch of Alexandria in the summer of 300,<sup>15</sup> approximately 32 years after Firmilian's death.

There have also been other conjectures. One is that Movsēs calls Firmilian to witness, because he needed to note an ecclesiastical source for his account; in reality, he possibly borrowed information from the Byzantine chronographer Domninus.<sup>16</sup> Another is that in the above-mentioned chapters of the *History* we are dealing either with a kind of "montage," i.e. a combination of data from different sources under Firmilian's name, by means of which Movsēs intended to create the impression that he utilized some reliable information lacking in Agat'angelos' *History*, or that the "history of persecutions" was a work of another author, and Xorenac'i ascribed it to Firmilian by mistake.<sup>17</sup> These opinions, too, arise from the supposition that Movsēs had no work of Firmilian at his disposal.

#### FIRMILIAN COULD HAVE BEEN MOVSE'S SOURCE

We shall try to examine the problem from the other point, namely that Xorenac'i really did utilize a writing by Firmilian. The following considerations may support our approach:

1. The word *պատմութիւն* does not necessarily mean "history" and imply that Movsēs attributes a voluminous historiographic writing to Firmilian. He uses the word *պատմութիւն* in different senses, e.g.,

<sup>13</sup> More literally, "Peter was the sixteenth bishop of the Alexandrians."

<sup>14</sup> Movses Xorenaci, 251.

<sup>15</sup> See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II (Darmstadt, 1962), 239.

<sup>16</sup> G. Traina, *Il complesso*, 58.

<sup>17</sup> Moïse de Khorène, 45.

“story,” “a mentioned event” or “information about some occurrence.” For example, in Chapter II, 60 Xorenac‘i says that Ariston Pellaeus describes King Artasēs’ death: *Գեղեցիկ իմն պատմէ և Արիստոն Փեղղացի յաղագս մահուանն Արտաշիսի*—“Ariston of Pella gives a beautiful account of the death of Artasēs.” Then he refers to the description of Artasēs’ burial as follows: *Եւ (Արիստոն) գրէ, եթէ որչափ ամբոխութիւնք մեռան ի մահուանն Արտաշիսի*—“And (Ariston) writes how many multitudes died at the death of Artasēs.” This account of burial is already a *պատմութիւն* for Xorenac‘i, because previously he said that Ariston was “the man who gave this story to us” (*այս այր, որ զայս պատմութիւն ետ մեզ*).

At the end of Chapter II, 92, Movsēs repeats his testimony to the poisoning of King Trdat: *Այլ պատմութիւն յաղագս սրբոյն Տրդատայ ճշմարիտ է. քանզի արբուցեալ նմա ղեղ մահու՝ զրկեցան ի լուսոյ շնորհաց ճառաղայթից նորա*—“But this story concerning Saint Trdat is true. For having made him drink a mortal poison, they were deprived of the rays of the light of his grace.” That is to say, this statement of the murder is a *պատմութիւն* too.

It is notable that in all manuscripts containing the list of chapters of Book II, the title of Chapter II, 75 is: *Յաղագս Փերմեթիանեայ եպիսկոպոսի Կեսարու Կապադովկացոց և պատմութեանց նորին*—“Concerning Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and his *narrations*.” The plural form of the word also recurs in the title of the chapter itself, in one of the main groups of manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> The plural must be the original reading. In some later manuscripts it was changed into singular by scribes, in accordance with the phrase *պատմութիւն Հալաժանաց եկեղեցոյ*—“a *narration* of the persecutions of the church.” The contrary conjecture, that the singular became plural, is less probable, because the content of the chapter would not have given to scribes grounds for such a change. If so, then the very title suggests that Movsēs does not mean a “historiographic work” but a narrative, to be understood as “information, data,” about the persecutions of the church. Such data could have occurred in a non-historiographic writing as well, such as an epistle or sermon by Firmilian. Even if the singular is the correct reading, it has the meaning “narration, information, data” rather than “history”: compare the Greek ἱστορία, which also means “information, data,” for example, in Herodotus’ *History* (II, 99): ὄψις ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορία—“my sight and opinion and (obtained) information.”

<sup>18</sup> The group S of the critical edition: see Movsēs Xorenac‘i, 213.

Xorenac'i himself considers this *պատմութիւն* to be just one of Firmilian's *խօսք*-s: "He composed many *խօսս*, among them a *պատմութիւն* of the persecutions of the church." In the *NBHL* (s.v.), this sense of the word *խօսք* is explained as *բան գրաւոր*—"written speech," *ճառ*—"homily," *չարագրութիւն*—"composition," *պատմութիւն*—"narrative," and in this case *պատմութիւն* obviously does not mean "historiographic work." *Պատմութիւն* is also glossed as *ճառ*, and *ճառ* as *պատմութիւն*. That is to say, in medieval tradition *խօսք*, *ճառ* and *պատմութիւն*, not in the sense of "historiographic work," in fact were not always distinguished from one another as different concepts or literary forms. This is also evident from the Greek and Latin equivalents of these words that are adduced in the same dictionary: *λόγος*, *ὁμιλία* and *sermo*, the equivalents of *խօսք*, and *ἱστορία*, *historia*, the equivalents of *պատմութիւն*, are also given for *ճառ*.

It is interesting that in Chapter I, 32 Xorenac'i mentions Homer and calls his narrations *ճառք*: *Եւ ո՞չք արդեօք այսպիսեաց ճառից առաջինք, եթէ ոչ որք ի Հոմերոսէ պատմին. այն, որ վասն Եղիականին պատմի պատերազմին*—"What then are the first of such tales if not those narrated by Homer: the one that is told about the Ilian war..."<sup>19</sup> In light of the above considerations, it seems implausible to conclude that Movsēs regards Firmilian as a historiographer.

2. Not all of Xorenac'i's information concerning Firmilian and Peter of Alexandria is drawn from Eusebius. The corresponding passages of the Armenian translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* are the following: "At that time Firmilian, bishop of the church of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was highly marvellous, for he had such an intense interest in Origen that once he sent for him and invited him to go to the parts where he was, for the advantage and benefit of the churches. At another time, when he himself went to the land of Judaea, stayed long with them..." (VI, 27);<sup>20</sup> "...After adorable Theonas had served for nineteen years, Peter took over the bishopric of the Alexandrians; he was particularly glorified there during the twelve years of his bishopric... Now in the ninth year of the persecution his head was cut off and adorned with the coronet of martyrdom..." (VII, 32).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Movsēs uses *ճառ* in the sense of *պատմութիւն* also elsewhere (see, e.g., II, 15; II, 59).

<sup>20</sup> *Աբանչեփ էր յոյժ յայնմ ժամանակի Պերմեղեղիոս եպիսկոպոս եկեղեցւոյն Կեսարու Կապադովկացոց, զի այսպիսի փոյթ պնդութեան յանձին ունէր վասն Երեմեայի. զի երբեմն յաշխարհն իւր՝ ուր ինքն, յղեաց և կոչեաց զնա, երթալ իբրեւ յօգուտ և ի շահ եկեղեցեաց: Ի ժամանակի իբրեւ եկն նա յերկիրն Հրէաստան՝ ժամանակա բազումս եղել առ նոսա...*

<sup>21</sup> *Իսկ յետ պաշտելոյն Թէոնեսեայ զինն և տասն ամ, կալաւ յետ նորա զեպիսկո-*

Eusebius writes nothing about Firmilian being an author of writings, whereas what Xorenac'i says (*խօսս արար*—"composed writings") is reliable and corroborated by Basil the Great's testimony.<sup>22</sup> The latter, when formulating his doctrine about the Holy Spirit, alludes to the "writings that (Firmilian) left" (οἱ λόγοι οὗς καταλέλοιπε) (*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 29, 74). Besides, Xorenac'i's word *խօսք* is the exact translation of Basil's λόγοι. Furthermore, Eusebius does not indicate directly that Peter was the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria. This is another precise datum,<sup>23</sup> which Movsēs copied from some other source.

3. In Chapters II, 75–79, we encounter a distinctive method of using sources, typical of Xorenac'i. He notes a principal source for a certain period, which creates the impression that henceforth he will take from it the major material necessary for his narrative, or at least extensive information. Examination of such passages in the *History* shows that this is not the case. Already in 1891 G. Ter-Mkrč'yan, in the course of a thorough study of the volume of Movsēs' use of Mar Abas, concluded, quite convincingly, that the material drawn from the latter is much more scant than all specialists thought. It is not the main content of Chapters I, 8—II, 9 but comes to "just a few pages." Moreover, "the greatest part of that great section is not from Mar Abas."<sup>24</sup>

Movsēs' method has not been recognized by most experts. As a result, the assertion that he actually did not utilize most of the foreign sources he refers to prevails, and the usual explanation is that Xorenac'i merely introduced into his text names he learned from Eusebius. This view is too facile and does not take proper account of the data. For example, scholars are distrustful of the reference to Africanus (II, 10):<sup>25</sup> Movsēs, they say, faked up his source, because it is hardly probable that Africanus' *Chronicle* contained the extensive information about the Armenians, which Xorenac'i, as they think, ascribes to him. Hardly anyone has seriously tried, taking Movsēs' method into consideration, to differentiate between various passages of various origins, some of which to all appearance come from Africanus. Firmilian's *narration* has been treated in the same way.

*պոստիւթիւնն Աղէքսանդրացոց Պէտրոս, որ փառաւորեցաւ նա առաւելագէս զերկոտասան ամ յեպիսկոպոստութեան անդ... Արդ յամին իննէրորդի Հայածանացն Հատաւ գլուխ նորա և զարդարեցաւ պսակեալ վկայութեամբ...*

<sup>22</sup> Cf. H. Gat'arčean, Տիեզերական պատմութիւն (*Universal History*, II; Vienna, 1852), 248.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, II (Leipzig, 1890), 417, 425–426.

<sup>24</sup> G. Ter-Mkrč'yan, *A Study of Xorenac'i*, 60, 83.

<sup>25</sup> See our detailed analysis of the reference in Chapter II of this book.



Naturally, Movsēs needed to cite names of well-known authorities in order to lend credibility to his narrative. Yet, to move directly from this statement to claim that he did not use their works, raises more questions than it solves. We are driven to ask from which sources Xorenac'i took such exact details concerning international history, which evidently are of Greco-Roman origin. Philology has not ascertained what those sources might be. For instance, following the reference to Firmilian, Movsēs reliably mentions certain events (see below); if there was no work by Firmilian, then we are led to Xalatjanc's conclusion that Xorenac'i had "some chronicle" at his disposal.<sup>26</sup> Here, however, is an absurdity of philological hypercriticism. Movsēs had a source; he says it was Firmilian, but scholarly acumen casts doubt on Firmilian, and instead proposes "some chronicle." Xorenac'i's motives in changing attribution of material must be analyzed.

If some Greco-Roman writings were preserved and reached Xorenac'i, then all those probably were works of well-known authorities, especially if they were translated into Armenian. What would impel an author to ignore the name of one authority and ascribe the writing to another? It might be claimed that he did this to enhance the authoritativeness of his quotation, yet this is not the criterion by which Movsēs is always guided when referring to sources. He names many little-known authors whose information he used: Palaephatus, Philemon, Polycrates, Euagoras, Scamandrus, Phlegon, Ariston Pellaëus, et al.

In the preceding chapter, we sought to demonstrate that Xorenac'i drew some data from Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*. In the present instance, we are led towards a similar view—the simple conclusion that a work by Firmilian served as Xorenac'i's source. We ask, nonetheless, to what extent Movsēs incorporated material from Firmilian into his historical account. In assessing the answer to this question, Movsēs' method spoken of above must be considered. Xorenac'i borrows from certain Greco-Roman writings just a few exact data, some of which, maybe, even bore no direct relation to Armenia in the given source. He surveys those facts in the context of other information obtained by him in different ways, thus trying to restore the history of Armenia and specify the role of the Armenians in international historical occurrences. Does he attain significant results? This is the other aspect of the issue needing detailed study, but one thing is clear enough: when approaching the problem of Firmilian's "history," one must note that Movsēs took

<sup>26</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 127.

from it not the main material of Chapters II, 75–79 but only four or five pieces of information. He himself marks that information, writing about Firmilian: *ասէ, գրէ, նոյն այր ասէ, պատմէ* (“says,” “writes,” “this same man says,” “narrates”), and even if he had not done so, it would be easy to distinguish those passages on the basis of accurate chronology and subject-matter.

4. Firmilian, as a contemporary, could have written about the persecutions of the church under the emperors Maximinus Thrax (235–238) and Decius (249–251), and most likely he did so. Unfortunately, we can only speculate about this, since, as already stated above, only one writing by Firmilian survives. It is a letter in Latin translation, addressed to Cyprian (Cyprian, *Epistolae*, 75), written in 256. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that the bishop of Caesarea, who must have been in the first ranks of the persecuted, did not respond in his works to those fatal events. The most eminent ecclesiastical figure of the time, Origen, for example, as Eusebius witnesses (*Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 28), reacted on various occasions to Maximinus’ persecution. A writing of his entitled *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* is dedicated to the martyrs in 235.

5. All the information that, according to Xorenac’i, is taken from Firmilian, with one exception, the mention of Peter, could chronologically have occurred in that source. The information is the following:

II, 75: The emperor Antoninus Caracalla fights against the Parthians and is killed (217), the king of Armenia remains neutral: ...*դԱնտոնինէ որդւոյ Սեւերեայ ասէ՝ պատերազմեալ ընդ Վաղարշայ Պարսից արքայի ի Միջպագետս, և մեռանել ի մէջ Եդեսիայ և Խառանու, և մերոյն Խոսրովու ոչ յոք Հակածիտեալ*—“(Firmilian) says about *Antoninus*, the son of Severus, that he waged war against Valarsh, king of Persia, in Mesopotamia and died between Edessa and *Carrhae*, while our Khosrov supported neither side.”

This information about Caracalla, with some differences, is extant in the seventh century *Chronicon Paschale* (P. 267, B–C), which Movsēs did not know: “Antoninus Caracalla, going to Persia and conquering Osrhoene, being involved in a war was killed between Edessa and Carrhae.”<sup>27</sup> Xorenac’i undoubtedly knew about this from some late Greco-

<sup>27</sup> Ἀντωνῖνος Καράκαλλος κατὰ Περσῶν ἀπελθὼν καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν Ὀσροηνήν, συμβαλὼν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐσφάγη, μέσον Ἐδέσσης καὶ Καρρῶν. See *Chronicon Paschale*, recensuit Ludovicus Dindorfius, CSHB, I (Bonnae, 1832). Cf. also in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Aellii Spartiani Antoninus Caracallus: VII, 1): “(Antoninus) was killed... between Carrhae and Edessa.” See *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, with an English translation by David Magie, I–III, LCL (Cambridge [Mass.], London, 1961–1967).

Roman source, which, like the *Chronicon Paschale*, reflected the same tradition of mentioning Caracalla's death. In both texts, Xorenac'i and the *Chronicon Paschale*, Parthia is identified with Persia, with the difference that Movsēs also writes correctly the name of one of the kings ruling in the Parthian kingdom during Caracalla's campaign: Valarsh. Indeed, in 217 Valarsh (Vologeses) V was on the throne, together with his brother and adversary Artabanus V ruling in the greater part of the empire.<sup>28</sup>

II, 75: During the persecutions there were many martyrs in Armenia too: *Զքէ զբազունս վկայեալս և ի Խոսրովայ, ի մերում աշխարհիս... Բայց զի ոչ ճշմարտութեամբ և ոճով պատմէ, և ոչ զանուանսն նշանակէ կամ զտեղիս կատարմանցն՝ ոչ ինչ կարեւորագոյն Համարեցաք երկրորդել*—"He writes also of many who were martyred by Khosrov in our own land... But because he *does not narrate accurately and properly* and indicates neither the names nor the places, we have not considered *it* important enough to repeat..." This means that there was just an indefinite mention of martyrs in Armenia in Xorenac'i's source, without specific details.

This Xosrov (Khosrov), as stated in the standard *History of the Armenian People*, is the Tiridates of foreign sources: Trdat II who reigned in 216–256. "Xosrov" was not only a personal name but also a title borne by different kings.<sup>29</sup> There are other opinions too. According to one of them, Trdat II reigned till 252/3, when the Persians conquered Armenia, and he had to escape to Rome (as the twelfth century Byzantine author Zonaras reports). Then Trdat III's father, Xosrov II ascended the throne; he was killed by treachery in 257/8. That is to say, Agat'angelos and Xorenac'i ascribe the deeds of two kings, Trdat II and Xosrov II, to *Xosrov*.<sup>30</sup> This view seems to be well argued and persuasive, but it is beyond the limits of the present study to decide between the two opinions. For us, it is significant that *Xosrov* was killed long before Firmilian's death.

II, 75: Xorenac'i promises to repeat some passages of his source: *Իսկ որ ինչ զկնի մահուանն Խոսրովայ ... պատմէ՝ ստոյգ Համարելով երկրորդեմք քեզ Համառոտ բանիւք*—"But as for his account of events after the death of Khosrov... considering this to be accurate we shall repeat it for

<sup>28</sup> For Caracalla's campaign, see N.C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938, reprinted 1969), 262–266.

<sup>29</sup> *HŽP*, II, 22, 25, 27.

<sup>30</sup> A. Martirosyan, «Հայաստանը և առաջին Սասանյանները» ("Armenia and the First Sassanids"), *PBH*, 1975, No 3, 149–153, 171.

you briefly.” The bishop of Caesarea could well have written about the events preceding the year 268/9, and the two pieces of information directly attributed to him by Movsēs in Chapters II, 76–79 concern this very period. Xorenac‘i does not claim he quotes anything else from Firmilian, and it can be confirmed by a careful examination of those chapters.

II, 76: After the murder of their king, the Armenians asked the emperor Valerian (253–259) for assistance: *Նոյն այր ասէ, եթէ յետ սուերաւարն լինելոյ Խոսրովու, միաբանեալ նախարարք Հայոց՝ ածեն իւրեանց յօգնականութիւն զգօրս Յունաց որ ի Փռիւգիայ՝ Պարսից ընդդիմանալ և պաշէլ զաշխարհս: Եւ իսկոյն ազդեցին Վաղերիանոսի կայսեր: Բայց վասն զի Գունդք անցեալ ընդ Դանուբ գետ զբազում գաւառս գերի վարեցին, և զԿիւղաղայ կղզիս աւար առին՝ վասն որոյ ոչ ժամանէ մերոյ աշխարհիս թեւարկել Վաղերիանոս. նա և ոչ յերկարէ զկեանսն, աոնյով ի նմանէ զթագաւորութիւնն Կղաւղիոս...—“This same man says that after the murder of Khosrov, the Armenian princes united and brought to their own assistance the Greek army, which was in Phrygia, to oppose the Persians and save the country. And straightway they informed the emperor Valerian. But because the Goths, crossing the River Danube, had taken many provinces captive and had plundered the Cyclades Islands, for that reason Valerian was not in time to protect our land. Nor did he live much longer; Claudius gained the throne from him...”*

The names of Valerian’s successors starting with Claudius (Claudius [268–270], Aurelian [270–275] et al.) as well as the information about their short reigns are taken from Eusebius’ *Chronicle*.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, neither in the continuation of this chapter, nor in the next two chapters (II, 77–78) is there anything that leads us to suppose that Movsēs drew more information from Firmilian. Chapter II, 77 chiefly concerns the internal life of Armenia, and in Chapter II, 78 Xorenac‘i narrates about the massacre of the family of Artawazd Mandakuni, who had taken *Xosrov’s* son Trdat to the Roman court, and the escape of a beautiful maiden.

II, 79: At the beginning of this chapter, Movsēs quotes Firmilian for the last time. The bishop “speaks of the prowess of Trdat” (*պատմէ զնա-Հատակութեանցն Տրդատայ*) before his accession to the throne: ...*Նախ ի մանկութեանն յերիվար կամակար աշտանակեալ, և կորովի ձիավարեալ, և զէնս շարժեալ յաջողակաբար, և այլ պատերազմականս ուսանել ախորժակս. ապա ... ի մրցանակս ագոնին առաւելեալ քան զԿղիտոստրագոս Հոդդացի, որ զվզէ եւեթ կալեալ յաղթէր. դարձեալ և քան զԿերասոս*

<sup>31</sup> See G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 128–129.

արգիացի...—“...First of all, in his youth he delighted in horse riding; he was an expert horseman, dexterous in the use of arms, and a willing pupil of other military exercises. And then... in the boxing match he outdid Clitostratos of Rhodes, who used to win by a neck grip, and also Cerasos of Argos...” Then Xorenac'i tells how Trdat surpassed those Greeks.

The phrase “delighted in horse riding” (կամակար աշտանակեալ) is taken from Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* (կամակար ի ձի աշտանակէր), and the names of the Olympic winners are cited from Eusebius' *Chronicle*.<sup>32</sup> By means of this material imported from other sources, Xorenac'i simply intended to present Trdat's deeds in more detail and elevated style. Movsēs' custom of enriching his account by such borrowings was examined long ago,<sup>33</sup> and, quite correctly, the following conclusion was drawn: words or phrases from subsidiary sources are just a “stylistic dress” and do not change the essence of the narrative;<sup>34</sup> borrowings of this type do not give grounds to call in question the truthfulness of the information given or, indeed, the existence of a source to which Movsēs refers (such as Firmilian, in this instance).

Since the boy Trdat was taken to Rome in 256,<sup>35</sup> or in 261 at the latest,<sup>36</sup> after the murder of his father, the bishop of Caesarea could have written of his childhood and youth.

6. Eusebius in the *Ecclesiastical History* writes (VII, 29–30) that when, in the time of Aurelian, a synod of bishops assembled in Antioch, Firmilian had already died in Tarsus: Aurelian became emperor in 270. Xorenac'i knew the *Ecclesiastical History* quite well, so it is doubtful whether this passage could have escaped his attention. Besides, he had a precise notion of the succession of the Roman emperors in this period. Of course, he presents the years of their reign in parallel with those of the Armenian and Persian kings according to his chronological system, sometimes correctly, sometimes erroneously, but the sequence of the emperors is correct: Aurelian, Tacitus, Florian, Probus, Carus, with Carinus and Numerian, Diocletian (II, 76–79).

Scholars consider the *Ecclesiastical History* to be the only source of Movsēs' reference to Firmilian. Even if this is so, then Xorenac'i must

<sup>32</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 141–142.

<sup>33</sup> See the Introduction of this book.

<sup>34</sup> See G. Sargsyan, “The Means of Using Sources,” 36–42; *idem*, *The Hellenistic Epoch*, 223–224.

<sup>35</sup> See *HŽP*, II, 44.

<sup>36</sup> See A. Martirosyan, “The First Sassanids,” 153.

have learned from the *Ecclesiastical History* that Firmilian had died before Aurelian's accession. Consequently, he would hardly have attributed a "history" of Diocletian's persecution to him. It seems that Movsēs' words "composed many writings, among them a narration of the persecutions of the church, which arose first in the days of Maximian and Decius and last of all in the reign of Diocletian" (խօսս արար, յորոց մի է պատմութիւն Հալաժանաց եկեղեցւոյ, որ յառաջ յաւուրս Մաքսիմիանոսի և Դեկուսի յարեաւ և որ Հռակ յետոյ յամս Դիոկղետիանոսի) should be understood differently. Movsēs does not claim to use Firmilian at this point, nor that the latter's work related the persecutions under all three emperors; he is just explaining additionally that such persecutions occurred in the time of Maximinus, Decius and, lastly (Հռակ յետոյ), Diocletian. Xorenac'i's language is sometimes intricate, ambiguous, and if one misunderstands him, inappropriate censorious inferences can result. For example, in Chapter II, 2 Movsēs writes: "And Aršak ruled over a third of this world, as we learn from the fourth book of Herodotus' *Histories*, which deals with the division of the whole world into three parts, calling one Europe, another Libya, and another Asia—over which ruled Aršak."<sup>37</sup> From this passage one might conclude that Xorenac'i ascribed to Herodotus the information about Aršak ruling over a third part of the world. In fact, Movsēs calls the Greek historiographer to witness simply for corroboration of the idea that the world is divided into three parts.<sup>38</sup>

### THE MENTION OF PETER, BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

#### *Confusion of Authors?*

The only obstacle to accepting that Xorenac'i used a writing by Firmilian remains the mention of Peter. That passage is peculiar, for, as was already noted, it must be divided into two parts: the year of martyrdom, known to Movsēs from the *Ecclesiastical History*, and the fact of Peter being the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, taken from elsewhere. The piece of information differs from the other data directly attributed to Firmilian by Xorenac'i in other features as well. There is a great interval

<sup>37</sup> Եւ Արշակ տիրէ երրորդ ծառին աշխարհիս, որպէս յիրականացն պատմութեանց Հերոդոտեայ է ուսանել ի չորրորդէն, որ յաղագս բաժանելոյ զբոլոր երկիրս յերիս ծառունս, և կոչել զոմն Եւրոպէ, և զոմն Լիբիէ, և զոմն Ասիայ, որում և տիրեաց Արշակ:

<sup>38</sup> See G. Sargsyan, *Xorenac'i's History*, 34.

between the first event, Caracalla's campaign and death in 217, and the year of Peter's consecration (300), approximately 84 years. The other data, as distinct from this one, could have occurred in a writing of Firmilian. They are coherent, interrelated chronologically and in content, and they look as if were taken from one source. Let us review them: the war of Caracalla against the Parthians and his death; the neutral position of Trdat II at the beginning of his reign; the martyrdom of Christians in Armenia in his time, perhaps simultaneously with the persecutions of Maximinus Thrax or Decius; the murder of *Xosrov* and the appeal of the Armenian princes to Valerian; the deeds of Trdat III in Rome, before his accession. The reference to Peter's episcopate has nothing to do with those kings, that period and, in general, Armenia, as if it comes from another source and is ascribed to Firmilian mistakenly. What reason could there be for such a misapprehension?

In the periodical *Ararat* (I, 1894), E. Madat'ean remarked that Xorenac'i apparently confused Bishop Firmilian with another author, "Lanctantius" whose complete name is "Firmilianus Lanctantius."<sup>39</sup> The name must be corrected: Lucius Caelius (Caecilius) Firmianus Lactantius, one of the most eminent representatives of early Christian literature. He was born in Africa before 250; the probable year of his death is 325.<sup>40</sup> The author of the essay adduced no arguments to support his view but merely wished to call scholars' attention to that possible interpretation. This suggestion found no response, though it can lead to an interesting conclusion.

The mature period of Lactantius' literary activity coincided with the persecutions (from 303) of Diocletian, then Galerius (305–311), Maximinus Daia (309–313), and the following years. He was an eye-witness to the events and, what is more, as a Christian he lost his position as teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia. The grim impressions and repercussions of those events are reflected in his works, and the noted writing *De Mortibus Persecutorum* is a description of the deeds and dreadful deaths of the persecutors, the emperors from Tiberius up to Maximinus Daia. Peter does not figure in his extant writings, but on another occasion Lactantius might have written about the bishop of Alexandria, the more so as he was from Africa and probably returned there after 305.<sup>41</sup> He must

<sup>39</sup> E. Madat'ean, «Փիրմիլիանոսը Մովսէս Խորենացու Պատմութեան մէջ» ("Firmilian in Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History*," *Ararat*, 1894, No 1, 26–27.

<sup>40</sup> See Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, edited and translated by J.L. Creed (Oxford, 1984), XXV, XXVII.

<sup>41</sup> T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Harvard, 1981), 291.

have been closely familiar with the events in Alexandria. Jerome (c. 342–420) in *De Viris Illustribus* (80) speaks of a writing by Lactantius entitled *De Persecutione*.

Incidentally, another chapter of Movsēs' *History* (II, 83) has an interesting parallel with *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. This is the passage concerning the "Inventio of the Cross," which has attracted scholarly attention. It was supposed that Xorenac'i had borrowed the passage from the shorter Armenian version (696/7) of the *Acts of Silvester*,<sup>42</sup> or from both versions.<sup>43</sup> F. Conybeare refuted this opinion and proved that Movsēs used an earlier text.<sup>44</sup> One of his main arguments was Xorenac'i's word *սիւղնոյն* (*signum*), which occurs neither in the Greek nor in the Armenian versions. Lactantius' record of that legend is the oldest,<sup>45</sup> and the word *signum* in that connection is first attested in his *De Mortibus Persecutorum* (44, 5–6).

It is quite possible that Xorenac'i confused the names *Firmilianus* and *Firmianus*.<sup>46</sup> In this case, he was conveying a datum of no importance for the history of Armenia ("Peter was the sixteenth bishop of the Alexandrians"), and he would not think it absolutely necessary to specify the name of the author.

In general, we may assume the following scenario. Movsēs had at hand a collection of Greco-Roman texts rendered into Armenian, probably all from the Greek language (from Greek originals or translations from Latin), including Firmilian's and Lactantius' writings. Possibly, it was just a collection of select passages or pieces of information about the persecutions, or else a work containing quotations from those authors. Elsewhere, he surely used such sources, e.g., in Chapter II, 13, in which he cited Polycrates, Euagoras, Scamandrus, and Phlegon.<sup>47</sup> Distortion of personal names was usual in Armenian translations. For example, in the *Ecclesiastical History*, Firmilian's name is found in different forms, and none is correct: Permelianos, Parmelianos, Permelelios, Permelelianos—Պերմեղիանոս, Պարմեղիանոս, Պերմեղեղիոս, Պերմեղեղիանոս. In the supposed collection or work, the names of the two

<sup>42</sup> A. Carrière, *Nouvelles sources*, 18–19.

<sup>43</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 164–167.

<sup>44</sup> F.C. Conybeare, "The Date of Moses," 492–493.

<sup>45</sup> M. van Esbroek, "Legends about Constantine in Armenian," *UPATS*, 4: *Classical Armenian Culture*, edited by Thomas J. Samuelian (University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 80; Lactantius, 119.

<sup>46</sup> It is appropriate to remember, as a similar example, the confusion of Cephalion and Cephalon Gergithius in the *Suda* (see note 138 to Chapter I).

<sup>47</sup> See also the Summary and note 164 of Chapter I.



authors might have been distorted and alike, and, when quoting the passages one after the other, Movsēs might have erred. It should be added that the two names of the African author, Firmianus and Lactantius, were in equal use, and the first even occurs without the second. Jerome (80) names him "Firmianus qui et Lactantius"—"Firmianus who also (is called) Lactantius." In an inscription found in Africa, he is mentioned as Lucius Caecilius Firmianus.<sup>48</sup>

It is notable that Lactantius, being a theologian and mainly an author of philosophical treatises, composed the original historiographic writing *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, different from the rest of his works in style and character. Following this pattern, we may propose even more definitely that Firmilian too wrote about historical events.

One may demur: if Xorenac'i confused the names in this one instance, could he not have confused the author of the whole writing? Perhaps, but misunderstanding is more probable in the case of one immaterial datum than a whole source. Besides, as was noted, that passage diverges from the others and most likely is of a different origin.

#### *A Possible Reason for the Confusion*

There is a testimony that 50 years before Peter's episcopate, during the persecutions of Decius, when Dionysius, patriarch of Alexandria (247–264) had taken refuge in Libya, one of his companions was named Peter. It has been proposed that this was the future bishop.<sup>49</sup> The biography of Peter before the year 300 is almost unknown. Lacking dates, it is difficult to define his age. It cannot be excluded that in his youth he did accompany Dionysius. If this is so, then in the sixties Peter must have been notable among the clergymen. That he was a distinguished figure before becoming bishop is evident from the information by the Christian historiographer Philip of Side (fifth century) about Peter leading the well-known catechetical school of Alexandria.<sup>50</sup> The following facts, too, deserve attention. Firmilian was on friendly terms with the Patriarch Dionysius.<sup>51</sup> Second, in the debate concerning heretical baptism,<sup>52</sup> Peter

<sup>48</sup> See Lactantius, XXX:

<sup>49</sup> *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, IV, London, 1887, s.v. Petrus of Alexandria, 331 (W. Bright).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>51</sup> See *RE*, VI<sub>2</sub>, s.v. Firmilianus, 2379–2380 (A. Jülicher):

<sup>52</sup> For Firmilian's view on heretical baptism see G.A. Michell, "Firmilian and Eucharistic Consecration," *JTS*, NS V (1954), 215–220.

was a follower of Cyprian and, consequently, Firmilian.<sup>53</sup> The only extant writing of Firmilian, the letter addressed to Cyprian, touches that problem.

All this leads, moreover, to another possible inference: Movsēs saw Peter's name in a writing of Firmilian and then, from another source (Lactantius?), learned that he was the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, and erroneously ascribed this datum, too, to Firmilian, maybe citing him from memory.

### *Concluding Remark*

Some of our observations, especially those related to Peter of Alexandria, though argued within the limits of the possible, are in the final analysis hypothetical and may give cause for objections. It should, however, not be forgotten that a student of Movsēs' *History* often deals with very complicated issues, any examination or explanation of which cannot be definitive and perfectly convincing. Firmilian's "narration" as Xorenac'i's source is one such problem both from philological and historical aspects, and it is not difficult to become sure that the current opinion, according to which Movsēs drew no information from a writing of Firmilian, despite all suggested arguments, is a less plausible supposition.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, IV, 333.

<sup>54</sup> For the importance of Movsēs' utilization of Firmilian from the historical point of view see the section Implications of this book.

## IMPLICATIONS

We tried to elucidate, in a new approach, Movsēs Xorenac'i's relationship with several literary sources alongside relevant arguable matters. We proposed explanations that seem logical to us; philologists and historians will judge whether our attempt was successful or not. There are problematic questions, which yet cannot be answered comprehensively. However, the one-sided attitude toward them, and the reiteration, by subsequent eminent scholars, of the opinions expressed at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, have hindered, down to the present day, the development of new methods and approaches in the study of the *History of Armenia*. It is time to embark boldly on the constructive study of this extremely interesting and significant monument of Armenian antiquity, setting aside old-fashioned methods and outdated shibboleths. The purpose of contemporary specialists in antiquity and the Middle Ages has become complex and nuanced, but it certainly includes uncovering and describing the values of ancient cultural heritages. Today, it is widely acknowledged that hypercriticism has outlived its usefulness as a weapon in the historian's arsenal. Moreover, we have come to realize that much indeed is to be learned from listening carefully to the telling of the past and attending to how the past was told. This is the challenge facing the coming generation of scholarship devoted to this remarkable (and often unjustly maligned) book, Movsēs Xorenac'i's *History of Armenia*.

Reverting to the specific questions dealt with in the three chapters of this study, we regard it as necessary to supplement all that was said with the following conclusions. The references to Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion may be based, besides Eusebius' *Chronicle*, directly on the writings of those authors, probably extant in the days of Movsēs in fragments. Alternatively, they are based on another Greek source or sources, in their original language or in Armenian translation. From those sources he borrowed the data concerning Ptolemy Philadelphus, as well as the ruler who had ordered Berossus to write a history, the "arts" of the ancient peoples, the citation from one chapter of Cephalion's "Nine Muses," and the reference to the translator Arius. The passage by Cephalion, which doubtlessly is genuine, should be considered a valuable fragment from the lost book of that

author famous in the ancient world, so C. Müller was absolutely right, when he put this passage, in Latin translation, among other surviving excerpts from the "Nine Muses."

It is possible that the Greek source or sources, different from Eusebius' *Chronicle*, also aided Xorenac'i in the cases related to Abydenus and when he mentioned Cephalion for the second time. As to the list of the seven Armenian patriarchs, there are certain grounds for supposing that their names were really present in Abydenus' genealogies forming part of the book, which, according to Xorenac'i, was brought to Armenia by Mar Abas. Thus, it is unjustified to assert that all deviations from Eusebius in the references to the authors in question are merely Movsēs' inventions.

At the beginning of the chapter dedicated to Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*, we wrote that to find answers to the proposed questions is important from the aspects of source study, clarification of the truthfulness of certain information by Xorenac'i, and his methods of using sources. In this connection, the following should be noted:

1) If we take into consideration that Africanus' *Chronicle* was a source for Xorenac'i, then the connections of his *History* with other authors, for example, with Josephus, must be viewed in a new light.

2) A number of data in the *History of Armenia*, drawn, as it emerges, from an accurate source, possibly Julius Africanus, corroborate evidence occurring in other writings: for example, that Artasēs minted coins with his image; that in the beginning he expanded his country to the east, then to the north and afterward campaigned to the west; that in the year 40 the Armenians, too, invaded Syria with the Parthians, under the command of Pacorus, the king's son (P'awstos Buzand too refers to this fact: see IV, 55), etc. Movsēs' hints at the hostile attitude of the Armenian Artaxiads and the Ptolemaic rulers towards each other are also noteworthy.

3) In the case of Movsēs' relation with Julius Africanus' *Chronicle*, too, one of Xorenac'i's characteristic methods of using sources is evident. When he names a source he will use in the course of his further narration, it does not mean that subsequently he will simply copy that source. Frequently, in such instances, Movsēs often takes only a few details from the given text. He considers them in comparison with the information known to him from elsewhere, drawing conclusions and compiling a history according to his own logic. This is exactly how he used Africanus, taking individual passages and weaving them into his account.

As to Firmilian's "narration," it is necessary to specify what data Movsēs extracted from that source, pieces of information, which are in all probability trustworthy and valuable for the study of the history of Armenia.

Christians were martyred in Armenia too,<sup>1</sup> and intensification of persecutions in the time of "Xosrov," simultaneously with similar actions in the Roman Empire, seems likely. The reliable evidence by Xorenac'i corroborates this.

In 216, the emperor Antoninus Caracalla treacherously invited Xosrov I to Syria and arrested him. The Armenians rose in arms and defeated the Roman commander Theocritus who was sent against them.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of this incident related by Cassius Dio, Xalatjanc writes that Movsēs' claim about the Armenian king's neutrality during these events cannot be true, as "it does not correspond to the facts."<sup>3</sup> But Xalatjanc confuses things: Xorenac'i's account does not concern this period of time. He is speaking of the spring of 217, when Caracalla, having wintered in Edessa, was killed on his way to the town of Carrhae (on April 8). Xosrov I was arrested, Trdat II ascended the throne, and it is quite probable that the new king, after the preceding troublesome incidents, temporarily conducted a neutral, balanced policy to avoid trouble. It is not important how Movsēs, in accordance with his notions about the history of this period, calls the king, and who was really reigning in Armenia. It is the fact of the Armenians' neutrality, provided by Movsēs' source, which is important. Even the strict critic of Xorenac'i, C. Toumanoff relies upon the truthfulness of this testimony.<sup>4</sup>

The next evidence must also be considered reliable. In 256, the emperor Valerian had undertaken a campaign to the east.<sup>5</sup> It is probable that the Armenian princes, after the murder of their king, asked for his help in standing up to the Persians, the enemies of the Roman Empire. It was the period of Sapor I (241–272). His policy towards Armenia was

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, the information recently discovered by Hrač' Bart'ikyan in a martyrology preserved by Simeon Metaphrastes (tenth century) is very interesting. According to that source, already before the early fourth century AD (when the country officially became a Christian state) Christianity was widespread in Armenia: see H. Bart'ikyan, «Վասպուրականցիներ Բյուզանդական Կայսրության ծառայության մեջ XI–XII դարերում» ("Vaspurakanians in the Service of the Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries"), *PBH*, 2000, No 3, 139.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*, II (1), 60–61.

<sup>3</sup> G. Xalatjanc, *Arsacids*, I, 127–128.

<sup>4</sup> C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids. A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm*, NS 6 (1969), 247–248.

<sup>5</sup> See H. Manandyan, *A Critical Survey*, II (1), 92.

extremely bellicose. After the establishment of the Sassanid kingdom (224), the Armenians often had to pin their hopes on the “protection” of Rome.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, it is known that under Valerian the northern border of the Empire, the vicinity of the Danube, was attacked by the Goths, to which also Movsēs witnesses. As to the unusual feats of Trdat in Rome, his victories in the Olympic Games, those stories undoubtedly have a real basis. Similar testimonies are also preserved in Agat’angelos’ *History* (42–45, 202).

All this, besides being interesting and worthy of attention by itself, corroborates, once again, the following: first, irrespective of the familiar underestimation of the *History* as a historiographic source, scholars must continue searching for trustworthy information in this writing, which surely promises revelation of new notable historical facts, and, second, the study of the other arguable sources of Xorenac’i should be carried out not under the direct influence of the tradition founded by A. von Gutschmid, A. Carrière, and G. Xalatjanc, but in an objective approach rejecting any extreme, and striving for a detailed analysis of Movsēs’ work point by point, in the context of the whole relevant material.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *HŽP*, I, 794–795.

<sup>7</sup> Recently, an article on Movsēs’ use of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* has been published (see M. Krivov, “Церковная история Евсевия Кесарийского как источник Мовсеса Хоренаци” (“The *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea as a Source of Movsēs Xorenac’i”), *VV*, LIX [2000], 108–115), the author of which has come to conclusions partly coinciding with those in this book, particularly in Chapters II and III; e.g., that Xorenac’i, when referring to Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History*, did not have it at hand and retells the content of the corresponding passage from memory (111), or that, while speaking of Firmilian, he used not only Eusebius’ book (M. Krivov’s wording is more categorical and incorrect [114]: “Movsēs writes about Firmilian without any consultation of Eusebius” [без какой-либо консультации с Евсевием] etc). Before the present study (and before its initial Armenian version), we have dwelt on those circumstances in detail in our articles on Firmilian’s “narration” and Julius Africanus’ *Chronicle* (see A. Topchyan, “Firmilian’s ‘Narration’,” *HA*, 110 (1997), 70–71 [or *PBH*, 1999, No 1, 224; see the English version in the *REArm*, NS 27 [1998–2000], 102–103; *idem*, “Julius Africanus’ *Chronicle*,” *PBH*, 2000, No 2, 133–134 [see the full titles of both articles in note 39 to the Introduction or in the Bibliography]; see the revised English version in the *LM*, 114 [2001], 159–160). Supposedly, M. Krivov is not familiar with our articles (probably he does not read Armenian, and the English versions were published after his article) and has made those observations independently, using G. Sargsyan’s Russian translation of the *History*. This is gratifying and confirms the truthfulness of our inferences.

## APPENDIX

### REMARKS ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM ABYDENUS IN CHAPTERS I, 4 AND II, 8

#### Chapter I, 4

Xorenac'i	Eusebius
Քանզի ասէ վասն նորա Աբիղենոս Հանգոյն այլոցն այսպէս. «Եւ զնա ամենախնամն Աստուած եցոյց Հովիւ և առաջնորդ ժողովրդեանն»: Յետ որոյ ասէ. «Թագաւորեաց Ազովրոս շարս տասն», որ լինին ամբ երեսուն և վեց Հազար:	Քանզի և նա Հանգոյն Բագմավիպին՝ պատմէ զայս... Բայց Թագաւորել աշխարհին նախ զԱզովրայ ասեն. այլ վասն իւրոյ անձինն այսչափ ինչ բանք են պատմելոյ. զի զնա ժողովրդեանն ամենախնամն Աստուած եցոյց Հովիւ, որ Թագաւորեաց շարս Ժ: Եւ շարն է՝ վ և n ամ:
“For Abydenus says the following about him, <u>in agreement with</u> the oth- ers: ‘ <u>The all-merciful God rewarded</u> <u>him</u> as a <u>shepherd</u> and <u>guide for the</u> <u>people.</u> ’ Later he says: ‘ <u>Aiovros</u> <u>reigned for ten shars</u> ’—that is for thirty-six thousand years.”	“For he (Abydenus), too, <u>in agree-</u> <u>ment with</u> Polyhistor, tells this... But they say that first <u>Aiovros reigned</u> over the world, and so much is told about his personality: that <u>the all-</u> <u>merciful God rewarded him</u> as a <u>shepherd for the people</u> ; he <u>reigned</u> <u>for ten shars</u> , and one <u>shar</u> is three thousand and six hundred years.”

#### Chapter II, 8

Xorenac'i	Eusebius
Աբիղենոս պատմէ այսպէս ասելով. Մեծագորն Նաբուգոդոնոսոր բռնա- գոյն (variant: ուժգնագոյն) էր քան զերակէս լիբիացոց. զօրաժողով լեալ. Հասանէր ի վերիացոց աշխարհն, և վանեալ խորտակեալ (variant: վտան-	...(Աբիղենոս) գրէ իսկ պէս զայս օրի- նակ բանից: Մեծագորն ասէ, Նաբու- կոդրոսսորոս, որ ուժգնագոյն էր քան զՀերակլէս, ի լիբիացոց և յիբեր- ացոց աշխարհն զօրաժողով լիեալ Հասանէր. և վանեալ վկանդեալ

<p><u>զեալ) ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր. և զմասն մի ի նոցանէ յաջակողմն Պոնտոս ծովու յարեւոտս տարեալ բնակեցուցանէր:</u></p>	<p><u>ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր. և զմասն մի ի նոցանէն յառաջակողմն Պոնտոս ծովու տարեալ բնակեցուցանէր:</u></p>
<p>“...Abydenus narrates, <u>saying the following: ‘The powerful Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Iberians. Having expelled (them) and routed, he subdued them.’<sup>1</sup> And part of them he led and settled on the right-hand side, west of the Pontus sea’.</u>”</p>	<p>“(Abydenus) writes as follows: ‘The powerful,’ (he) says, ‘Nebuchadnezzar, who was stronger than Heracles, gathering an army, came and attacked the land of the Libyans and Iberians. Having expelled (them) and defeated, he subdued them. And part of them he led and settled on the front side of the Pontus sea’.</p>

Scholars have unanimously stated that both quotations from Abydenus are taken from Eusebius’ *Chronicle*. It is not our aim to refute this opinion, but it seems necessary to draw scholarly attention to several aspects of the parallel texts.

There are some differences from Eusebius in the citation in Chapter I, 4: instead of Հովիւ (“shepherd”) Movsēs writes Հովիւ և առաջնորդ (“shepherd and guide”), which possibly is a translation of one word with two (doublet rendering), a practice widespread in ancient Armenian translations. Xorenac’i mentions the total duration of “ten *shars*” (Հարս տասն), “thirty-six thousand years” (ամբ երեսուն և վեց Հազար), while in the Armenian Eusebius,<sup>2</sup> the duration of one “shar,” “three thousand and six hundred years” (վ [երեք Հազար] և ք [վեց Հարիւր] ամ) is stated, and it must be multiplied by ten. The word “all-merciful” (ամենախնամն) in both Armenian texts has no equivalent in the Greek original, where we read ὁ θεός, without any epithet. How did that word enter the Armenian passage, from Eusebius to Xorenac’i, or from Xorenac’i to Eusebius?<sup>3</sup> Why did the translator add a word on his part? Did he use another recension of the Greek text containing the equivalent of the word *ամենախնամն*?

<sup>1</sup> Literally, “subjected to his hand.”

<sup>2</sup> As well as in the Greek original of the passage preserved in George Syncellus (39, 3–6: see also *FHG*, IV, 280; *FGrHist*, III C<sup>1</sup>, 399–400).

<sup>3</sup> See more on such a possibility below in this Appendix. Movsēs’ likely influence on a later revision of the Armenian *Chronicle* was also discussed in Chapter I of this book.



Furthermore, several questions arise concerning the quotation in Chapter II, 8. Why in many manuscripts of Xorenac'i, *ուժգնագոյն* of the Armenian *Chronicle* has become *բոնագոյն* (both meaning "mightier" or "stronger")? Why has *վկանդեալ* ("having defeated") become *վտանդեալ* ("having put in danger"; this, perhaps, may be explained by the likeness of the words), or *խորտակեալ* ("having routed")? The editors of the critical text write that in Group U of the manuscripts and in Manuscript w it is *ուժգնագոյն*, while in the rest it is *բոնագոյն*; likewise, U, w—*վտանդեալ*, and in the rest—*խորտակեալ*.<sup>4</sup> Is this merely a result of negligence or an intentional change of words on the part of scribes?

G. Ter-Mkrtč'yan (Miaban), comparing manuscripts of the *History of Armenia*, pointed to some passages where the text has been "translated," i.e., significantly changed by copyists or medieval editors. For instance, the *variae lectiones* (II, 24) *մանկան տղայոյ փոքրկան յոյժ* ("of the child, very small minor") and *որ էր փոքրիկ մանուկ և տղայ* ("who was a small child and a minor"). Such modifications, Ter-Mkrtč'yan concludes, apparently had the purpose of making the text more understandable, "from the difficult to the easy, from the literary to the vernacular."<sup>5</sup>

It is not excluded that in the passage from Abydenus, we encounter a similar phenomenon, but in that case the change of *ուժգնագոյն* into *բոնագոյն* (both meaning "mightier" or "stronger") and of *վտանդեալ* ("having put in danger") into *խորտակեալ* ("having routed") seems odd, for, evidently, *բոնագոյն* was not more understandable than *ուժգնագոյն*, and *վտանդեալ*—*խորտակեալ* were not synonyms.

Might we assume the opposite direction of edition, namely that in its original state Movsēs' text read *բոնագոյն*, *խորտակեալ* and later on, based on the Armenian *Chronicle*, it was edited: *բոնագոյն* became *ուժգնագոյն*, and *խորտակեալ*, under the influence of *վկանդեալ* ("having defeated"), was changed, but with a simpler word, *վտանդեալ*? If this is the case, then the other literal parallels appeared in consequence of the same later revision. This approach seems reasonable too. It is doubtless that while dealing with the historiographers Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion, Xorenac'i, in addition to Eusebius' *Chronicle*, used some other Greek source(s), from which he could have borrowed Megasthenes' story about Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>4</sup> See Movsēs Xorenac'i, 114.

<sup>5</sup> G. Ter-Mkrtč'yan (Miaban), *Խորենացու Պատմութեան ուսումնասիրութիւն (A Study of Xorenac'i's History; Vafaršapat, 1896)*, 2–4.

Manifestly, the above passage by Megasthenes was well-known to ancient authors. Eusebius quotes it in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (IX, 41, 456) as well,<sup>6</sup> and the passage is spoken about twice by Josephus Flavius in the *Antiquitates Judaicae* (X, 227) and *Contra Apionem* (I, 144): “In the fourth (book) of the Indian (history), Megasthenes... tries to represent that king (Nebuchadnezzar) as excelling Heracles in courage and in the greatness of deeds, for (Megasthenes) says that he subdued the major part of Libya and Iberia.”<sup>7</sup>

Probably, the passage also occurred in Alexander Polyhistor, whence very likely Abydenus took it,<sup>8</sup> and Eusebius quoted it from Abydenus. That is to say, it could be available to Xorenac'i in a number of ways.

Josephus' reference prompts us to examine another detail too. The Greek original of the passage in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* reads ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενον—“subduing them,” against which the Armenian *Chronicle* and Xorenac'i have վանեալ, վկանդեալ (վտանդեալ, խորտակեալ) ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր—literally, “having expelled, defeated (put in danger, routed), subjected to his hand.” Apparently, the Armenian translator understood the Greek χειρώω as derived from the word χείρ (“hand”) and translated it ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր—“subjected to his hand,” whereas վանեալ, վկանդեալ (վտանդեալ, խորտակեալ), which probably is a translation of one word with two, has no equivalent in the Greek citation in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*. Josephus writes: καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν—“for (Megasthenes) says that he subdued<sup>9</sup> the greater part of Libya and Iberia.” In all probability, Josephus cited the verb καταστρέφω from Megasthenes, that is to say, it occurred in the original passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar but was neglected by Abydenus and, consequently, Eusebius. One should

<sup>6</sup> Μεγασθένης δὲ φησι, Ναβουκοδόσορον Ἡρακλέος ἀλκιμώτερον γεγονότα ἐπὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίην στρατεῦσαι· ταύτας δὲ χειρωσάμενον, ἀπόδασμον αὐτέων εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου κατοικῆσαι.

<sup>7</sup> The quotation is from the *Antiquitates Judaicae*, in our literal translation. Cf. the Greek original: Μεγασθένης δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ... ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων ὑπερβεβηκότα τὸν Ἡρακλέα· καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. The same passage in the *Contra Apionem* is slightly different. Eusebius, in addition to Abydenus, cited Josephus' version too (from the *Contra Apionem*), which occurs in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* (Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 70–71): Եւ Մեգասթենէս ի չորրորդում ճատենին Հնդկաց. յորում ցուցանել կամի զյառաջագոյն ասացելոյ զԹաւուրէն բարեպաշտ, թէ արութեամբ և իրաց քաջութեամբ անցանէր զանցանէր զՀերակլիւ, ծինչեւ ցճեճ ձսսն ասէ լիբէացւոցն և զիբէացւոցն (իբերացւոցն) կործանեալ.

<sup>8</sup> See *RE*, I, s.v. Abydenos, 123 (Schwartz).

<sup>9</sup> The verb καταστρέφω could also be translated “defeat,” “rout.”

suppose that in the Greek *Chronicle* the passage was the same or nearly the same text as is preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

Καταστρέψασθαι in Josephus well corresponds to the translation վանեալ, վկանդեալ (վտանդեալ, խորտակեալ). What may be concluded? Had not Xorenac'i originally quoted another source, in which was also καταστρέψασθαι—վանեալ, վկանդեալ (վտանդեալ, խորտակեալ)? If this is so, then Abydenus' passage in the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* was later edited with Xorenac'i's help,<sup>10</sup> which resulted in վանեալ, վկանդեալ (վտանդեալ, խորտակեալ) ընդ ձեռամբ նուաճէր. Thus, the literal affinity between the two passages appeared as a result of interaction of the texts. They were edited at different times based on one another.<sup>11</sup> The problem is so complex and intricate that it is difficult to insist on any view, but the differences and details we have mentioned undoubtedly deserve attention.

Furthermore, the following must be added: after “the Pontus sea” (Պոնտոս ծովու), the same group of the *History*'s manuscripts differing from the group *Uw* reads յարևմուտս<sup>12</sup>—“west” (which is taken from another source, not Eusebius), and εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ is translated correctly in Xorenac'i: “on the right-hand side,” as distinct from յառաջակողմն (“on the front side”) in the *Chronicle*. Both in the Greek original and the Armenian translation of Eusebius' citation from Abydenus the name of the Babylonian king is “Nabukodros(s)oros” (Ναβουκοδρόσ(σ)ορος—Նաբուկոդրոս(ս)որոս), while Movsēs writes “Nabugodonosor,” which is an Armenian form of Ναβουχοδονόσορ (both forms of the name occur in Greek texts).<sup>13</sup>

The translation of Μεγασθένης by “powerful” seems at first glance to be a primitive mistake, which Xorenac'i repeated. However, it is most improbable that Eusebius' Armenian translator made such a mistake, because a few pages later, translating the same narrative of Megasthenes about Nebuchadnezzar (this time, according to Josephus), he writes the historiographer's name correctly: Մեգասթենէս ի չորրորդում ճատենին Հնդկաց...<sup>14</sup>—“Megasthenes in the fourth (book) of the Indian history...” It is hard to imagine such inattentiveness and carelessness.

<sup>10</sup> See note 131 to Chapter I of this book.

<sup>11</sup> In this case, it is not essential that the version in Josephus' *Contra Apionem* is also cited in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, for there is no similarity between Abydenus' passage and that citation, and καταστρέψασθαι is translated there կործանեալ.

<sup>12</sup> See Movsēs Xorenac'i, 114.

<sup>13</sup> Ναβουχοδονόσορ is the form used in the Greek Bible.

<sup>14</sup> Eusebius' *Chronicle*, I, 70.

The structure of Abydenus' first sentence does not imply a clear interpretation: *Մեծազորն ասէ*, (there is no comma here in the single Armenian manuscript of Eusebius' *Chronicle*: it is added by the editor [Awgereanc']) *Նաբուկոդորոսսորոս, որ ուժգնագոյն էր քան զՀերակլէս...*—"The powerful, he says, Nebuchadnezzar, who was stronger than Heracles..." One need not connect "powerful" with Nebuchadnezzar as an epithet. It should rather be interpreted as a translation of the name "Megasthenes": in the same way as, for instance, "Polyhistor" was translated "Bazmavēp." That is to say, the text means: "Powerful says (that) Nebuchadnezzar..." and not "The powerful, says, Nebuchadnezzar..." It is not impossible that the mistake goes back to another source, whence it penetrated into Xorenac'i's book and then, under its influence, into the *Chronicle*. This would mean that Eusebius' translator wrote: *Մեգասթէնէս ասէ...*—"Megasthenes says..." which, as a result of a later revision, became *Մեծազորն ասէ...*—"The powerful, says..."

The existence of passages from Abydenus' work in Armenia not only thanks to the Armenian *Chronicle* (which means that Movsēs could know those passages not only via Eusebius) seems to be confirmed by a letter of Grigor Magistros (c. 990–1058). He writes: *Ապիւղինոս Քաղղէայ և Բիւռոսս ալլանդակ իմն պատմեն զլինելութիւն երկնի և երկրի*<sup>15</sup>—"Abydenus the Chaldaean and Berossus tell strangely about the creation of the heavens and the earth"). Abydenus and Berossus described the creation in a strange way, contradicting the Bible. It would be possible to learn about Berossus' story of the creation from Eusebius' *Chronicle*, yet it contains almost nothing from Abydenus' version (only a sentence hinting at it,<sup>16</sup> the Greek original of which survives in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* [IX, 41, 457]).<sup>17</sup> Had not Grigor Magistros read the same writing used by Xorenac'i, different from the *Chronicle*? This supposition is supported by the similar corrupted form of Berossus' name in Grigor's letter: *Բիւռոսս* (the forms in the *History*'s manuscripts are: *Բիւռոս, Բիւռիոս, Բելոիոս, Բերիոս*).

<sup>15</sup> Գրիգոր Մագիստրոսի թղթերը (*The Letters of Grigor Magistros*), edited, with an introduction and commentary, by K. Kostaneanc' (Alexandropol, 1910), 179.

<sup>16</sup> *Ամենայն ինչ ասէ (Աբդիւնոս) ի սկզբանէ ջուր էր, որ անուանեալ կոչէր ծով, և Բելոսն ցածուցանէր զնոսա. և իւրաքանչիւր աշխարհս բաժանէր տայր*—" (Abydenus) says that in the beginning everything was water, which was called sea, and Belus lowered them, and divided and gave lands (to) each."

<sup>17</sup> ...Ὁ αὐτός (Ἀβυδηνός) ταῦτα γράφει· λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλεομένην. Βῆλον δὲ σφεα παῦσαι, χώρην ἐκάστῳ ἀπονεύματα...

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