SERGIO LA PORTA | ALISON M. VACCA

An Armenian *Futūḥ* Narrative

Łewond's Eighth-Century History of the Caliphate

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LATE ANTIQUE AND MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC NEAR EAST • NUMBER 4

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ŁEWOND'S EIGHTH-CENTURY HISTORY OF THE CALIPHATE

By

Sergio La Porta and Alison M. Vacca

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
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The inscription in the margin reads: "In the name of God, this dirham was struck
in Armenia in the year 144."
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Table of Contents

List of Figures, Maps, and Tables . . . xi
Preface: How to Read This Volume . . . xiii
Acknowledgments . . . xv
Abbreviations . . . xvii

Introduction . . . xix
A. The Author . . . xxii
B. The History . . . xxv
B.1. Common Themes, Silences, and Emplotments . . . xxvi
B.2. Biblical Allusions . . . xxxiv
B.3. Armenian Sources and Historiography . . . xxxvi
B.4. Arabic Sources and Historiography . . . xl
B.5. Greek Sources and Historiography . . . l
C. The Manuscript . . . lii
C.1. Description of Matenadaran 1902 . . . lii
C.2. Textual Tradition and Stemma . . . lvi
D. Further Reading on Łewond . . . lvii

Principles of Edition and Translation . . . lix
Abbreviations in Apparatus . . . lx
Transliteration . . . lx
Previous Editions . . . lx
Previous Translations . . . lxi

I. The Caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān (r. AH 11–41/632–61 CE) . . . 1
English Translation . . . 1
Armenian Edition . . . 8
Commentary . . . 12
I.A. Vestiges of First/Seventh-Century Imperial Ideologies . . . 12
I.A.1. Threads of Umayyad Historiography . . . 12
I.A.2. Pro-Herakleian Context . . . 14
I.B. The Expansion of Islam . . . 15
I.B.1. Madiam . . . 16
I.B.2. Jews and the Islamic Conquest . . . 16
I.B.3. Battling the Romans . . . 18
I.B.4. The Fall of the Sasanian Empire . . . 18
I.C. Islamic Incursions into Armenia . . . 19
I.C.1. The Two Campaigns in 22/642–43 . . . 20
I.C.2. Another Campaign in 26/646–47? . . . 21
I.C.3. A Third Campaign in 32/652–53 . . . 23

isac.uchicago.edu

II. The Caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. AH 40–60/661–80 CE) 25
English Translation 25
Armenian Edition 27
Commentary 28
II.A. Armenian Defection from Roman Forces 28
II.A.1. The Rebellion of Pasagnathēs 29
II.A.2. Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni's Abandonment of the Greek Forces 30
II.A.3. The Rebellion of Saborios 31
II.B. Vard Ṙštuni Is Not a Traitor 32
II.C. Sufyānid Governance and the Interregnum 35

III. The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (r. AH 60–64/680–83 CE) 37
English Translation 37
Armenian Edition 37

IV. The Caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. AH 65–86/685–705 CE) 39
English Translation 39
Armenian Edition 51
Commentary 59
IV.A. Armenia and the Second *Fitna* 59
IV.A.1. The Imperial Vacuum in the North 59
IV.A.2. The *Fitna* as Providence 62
IV.B. The Prince of Armenia and the Marwānid Reforms 62
IV.C. Downplaying Rebellion and Reworking the Chronology of ʿAbd al-Malik's Reign 65
IV.C.1. Muḥammad b. Marwān and the Church of Saint Grigor 65
IV.C.2. The Battle of Vardanakert as a Rebellion 66
IV.C.3. The Roman Empire and the Rebellion at Vardanakert 68
IV.C.4. The Three-Year *Amān* of Muḥammad b. Marwān 70
IV.D. The Fires of Gukankʿ and Foreshadowing Nashawā/Naxčawan 72
IV.E. The Rebellion at Vardanakert in Intra-Armenian Politics 74

V. The Caliphate of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. AH 86–96/705–15 CE) 77
English Translation 77
Armenian Edition 84
Commentary 88
V.A. Roman Military Encounter with Muḥammad b. Marwān 88
V.B. The Fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan 89
V.C. The Establishment of the Umayyad *Dīwān* 90
V.D. Roman Interests in the West Caucasus 92
V.D.1. Relocation to Phasis under Justinian 93
V.D.2. Returning from Phasis under Bardanes Philipikos 95
V.E. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as Governor of Dabīl/Duin 97
V.E.1. Tunnels and *Takbīr* in Conquest Narratives 97
V.E.2. The Rebuilding of Dabīl/Duin 98
V.E.3. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Fashion Choices 99
V.F. Muḥammad b. Marwān's Campaign against China 100
V.F.1. A Legendary Account of Umayyad Campaigns in Central Asia 101

isac.uchicago.edu

V.F.2. The Dual Campaigns of Muḥammad b. Marwān and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik . . . 102

VI. The Caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. AH 96–99/715–17 CE) . . . 105
English Translation . . . 105
Armenian Edition . . . 107
Commentary . . . 108
VI.A. Maslama's Campaigns against the Caucasus and Constantinople . . . 108
VI.B. Maslama in Darband . . . 109
VI.B.1. The Destruction and Rebuilding of Darband . . . 110
VI.B.2. The End of Time, Marcian's Inscription, and Maslama as the New Alexander . . . 111
VI.C. Maslama's Flight from the Khazars . . . 113

VII. The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. AH 99–101/717–20 CE) . . . 117
English Translation . . . 117
Armenian Edition . . . 157
Commentary . . . 181
VII.A. The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz . . . 181
VII.A.1. Returning Captives . . . 181
VII.A.2. Fiscal Reforms . . . 182
VII.B. Relationship to the Other Versions of the ʿUmar-Leo Correspondence . . . 182
VII.C. The Composition and Translation of Łewond's Version of the Correspondence . . . 185
VII.C.1. Łewond's Version as a Translation from Greek . . . 185
VII.C.2. Dating the Greek *Vorlage* of the Armenian Letter . . . 187
VII.C.3. A Second/Eighth-Century Translation Incorporated into Łewond's *History* . . . 190
VII.D. Sectarianism in the Second/Eighth Century as Represented in the Correspondence . . . 192
VII.D.1. The Sects of Islam . . . 192
VII.D.2. The Groups within Christianity . . . 195

VIII. The Caliphate of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. AH 101–5/720–24 CE) . . . 199
English Translation . . . 199
Armenian Edition . . . 200
Commentary . . . 200
VIII.A. Yazīd's Iconoclasm and Anti-Christian Activities . . . 200
VIII.A.1. Łewond's Charges against the Caliph in Context . . . 200
VIII.A.2. Yazīd's Iconoclasm as Anti-Christian Policy . . . 202
VIII.B. Yazīd's Possession and Death . . . 203

IX. The Caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. AH 105–25/724–43 CE) . . . 205
English Translation . . . 205
Armenian Edition . . . 216
Commentary . . . 221
IX.A. Caliphal Governance . . . 221
IX.B. Economic Reform and the Cadastre . . . 223

isac.uchicago.edu

IX.C. The Khazar Capture of Ardabīl/Artawēt 224
IX.D. The Confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik. . . 226
IX.E. Maslama's Campaign against Constantinople 229
IX.E.1. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik as the Hero of the Ambush 229
IX.E.2. Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham: Mirror Images of the Siege of Constantinople 231
IX.E.3. The Elevation of Leo as a Pious Emperor 236
IX.E.4. Biblical Overtones of Łewond's Description of Maslama's Campaign 237
IX.F. The Bagratunikʿ and the Campaigns of Marwān b. Muḥammad. 238

X. The Caliphate of Walīd b. Yazīd (r. AH 125–26/743–44 CE) 243
English Translation. 243
Armenian Edition 244
Commentary 245
X.A. Walīd's Personality 245
X.B. The Third *Fitna* 246
X.B.1. The Role of the *Qurrāʾ*. 248
X.B.2. Sulaymān b. Hishām and the Sons of Concubines 249
X.C. Caliphal Governance 250

XI. The Caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. AH 127–32/744–50 CE) 253
English Translation. 253
Armenian Edition 261
Commentary 265
XI.A. The Siege of Damascus 265
XI.B. Mamikonean-Bagratuni Rivalry 267
XI.C. The Mamikonean Rebellion. 268
XI.C.1. Comparison with the Mamikonean Rebellion in 158/775. 269
XI.C.2. Kūshān al-Armanī and the Roman Capture of Qālīqalā/Karin 271
XI.C.3. The Mamikonean Rebellion in a Broader Regional Context. 274
XI.D. The ʿAbbāsid Revolution 276

XII. The Caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ (r. AH 132–36/749–54 CE) 279
English Translation. 279
Armenian Edition 280
Commentary 281
XII.A. Caliphal Governance and the Transition from Umayyad Rule 281
XII.B. Abū Jaʿfar's Travels around the Caliphate 282
XII.C. Łewond at the Nexus of Multiple Linguistic Circles. 283

XIII. The Caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr (r. AH 136–58/754–75 CE) 285
English Translation. 285
Armenian Edition 302
Commentary 312
XIII.A. Caliphal Governance 312
XIII.B. Imperial Policy on the Frontier. 315
XIII.C. The Arab-Khazar Wars 315
XIII.D. Enter the Arcrunikʿ 318

isac.uchicago.edu

XIII.E. Rebellions 319
XIII.E.1. A Two-Pronged Rebellion or Two Separate Rebellions? 319
XIII.E.2. The Bagratunikʿ and the Rhetoric of Unity 322
XIII.F. An Arabic Source on the Battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand 323
XIII.G. Łewond's Integration of Greek Vocabulary 327

XIV. The Caliphate of Muḥammad al-Mahdī (r. AH 158–69/775–85 CE) 329
English Translation 329
Armenian Edition 334
Commentary 337
XIV.A. Caliphal Governance 337
XIV.B. Summer Expeditions (*ṣawāʾif*) on the Arab-Roman Frontier 338
XIV.B.1. The Caliphal Campaign of AH 159/AM 6268/776 CE 339
XIV.B.2. The Roman Campaign of AH 161/AM 6270/778 CE 340
XIV.B.3. The Caliphal Campaign of AH 162/AM 6271/779 CE 343
XIV.B.4. The Caliphal Campaign of AH 165/AM 6274/782 CE 346
XIV.B.5. Conclusions about Łewond's Accounts of the *ṣawāʾif* 348
XIV.C. The Career of Tačat Anjewacʿi 349
XIV.C.1. The Chronology of Tačat's Career 349
XIV.C.2. Tačat's Death 352
XIV.C.3. The Afterlife of Tačat's Story 353

XV. The Caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī (r. AH 169–70/785–86 CE) 357
English Translation 357
Armenian Edition 361
Commentary 363
XV.A. Caliphal Governance 363
XV.B. The Death or Conversion of the Arcruni Princes 366
XV.B.1. An Armenian Revolt under Hādī 366
XV.B.2. The Identity and Location of the Caliphal Governor 368
XV.B.3. Description of the Patrimony of Armenian Nobles 369
XV.B.4. Dating the Execution of the Armenian Princes 370
XV.C. The Death of the Georgian Prince 371
XV.C.1. Dating the Execution of the Georgian Prince 371
XV.C.2. Identification of the Georgian Prince 372

XVI. The Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. AH 170–93/786–809 CE) 375
English Translation 375
Armenian Edition 378
Commentary 380
XVI.A. The Rivalry between Hārūn al-Rashīd and ʿUbayd Allāh 380
XVI.B. Caliphal Governance 381
XVI.B.1. The Viceroyalty 381
XVI.B.2. The Identification of the Governors 383
XVI.B.3. Generalizations about Early ʿAbbāsid Governance 384
XVI.C. Armenian Emigration from and Arab Immigration to Armenia 386
XVI.D. The Catholicoi of Armenia 388

isac.uchicago.edu

XVII. Colophon 391
English Translation 391
Armenian Edition 391
Commentary 391
XVII.A. The Sponsor 391
XVII.B. The Scribe 393

Bibliography 395
Arabic Sources 395
Armenian Sources 396
Georgian Sources 398
Greek Sources 399
Latin Sources 399
Persian Sources 399
Syriac Sources 399
Modern Studies 400
Indexes 413
General 413
Biblical Verses 439
Qurʾānic Verses 442

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List of Figures, Maps, and Tables

Figure 1. Marginal note in Uyghur script on folio 32v of Łewond's *History* liv
Figure 2. Herakleios as depicted on the Armenian church at Mren, in modern Turkey. 2
Figure 3. The ruins of Dabīl/Duin. 6
Figure 4. View of Zuartʿnocʿ. 27
Figure 5. The church at Aruč, built by Grigor Mamikonean. 40
Figure 6. Rubrication on folio 15r of Łewond's *History*. 70
Figure 7. The Great Mosque of Damascus, the only remaining standing structure in the city. 82
Figure 8. Darband, known as the Caspian Gates 106
Figure 9. A scribal correction on folio 51v of Łewond's *History*. 187
Figure 10. The marking of direct quotes in Łewond's *History* 192
Figure 11. The sixth-century Hagia Sophia, in modern Istanbul 209
Figure 12. Umayyad family tree for the third *fitna*. 247
Figure 13. ʿAbbāsid family tree. 260
Figure 14. Bagratuni family tree. 294
Figure 15. Coin minted Bājunays/Apahunikʿ in 191/806–7, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. 330
Figure 16. Coin of Khuzayma b. Khāzim, minted in Hārūniyya. 364
Figure 17. Saints Sahak and Hamazasp Arcruni depicted on the Church of the Holy Cross, Ałtʿamar, in modern Turkey. 367

Map 1. The Near East at the time of the Islamic conquests. 2
Map 2. The incursions into Armenia. 5
Map 3. Armenia, Albania, and the Khazars. 41
Map 4. The Armenian rebellion under ʿAbd al-Malik. 47
Map 5. Umayyad maneuvering in the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. 78
Map 6. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign against the Huns (i.e., Khazars). . . . 106
Map 7. Khazar raids during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik 207
Map 8. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign toward Constantinople. 208
Map 9. Mamikonean rebellion under the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad. 257
Map 10. The ʿAbbāsid Revolution 260
Map 11. Khazar raids during the reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. 287
Map 12. Mamikonean rebellion during the reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. 291
Map 13. Battles of Baghrawand/Bagrewand and Arjīsh/Arčēš. 295
Map 14. The *ṣawāʾif* during the reign of Mahdī. 331
Map 15. Flight of the Amatunikʿ during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. 377

Table 1. Beginning and ending formulae in Łewond's list of caliphs. xlv

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Table 2. Lengths of caliphal reigns in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs xlviii
Table 3. Łewond's comments on particular caliphs' characters xlix
Table 4. The battles of Arjīsh/Arčēš and Baghrawand/Bagrewand. 320
Table 5. The rebellions of 157/774 and 158/775 according to Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham . . .325
Table 6. Summary of information provided about the 159/776 campaign. 340
Table 7. Summary of information provided about the 161/778 campaign. 343
Table 8. Summary of information provided about the 162/779 campaign. 345
Table 9. Summary of information provided about the 165/782 campaign. 348
Table 10. Timeline of Tačat Anjewacʿi's career. 350

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Preface: How to Read This Volume

The *History* of Łewond has been translated and studied prior to our work. When talking to colleagues outside of the field of Armenology, however, we discovered that although they recognized the importance of the work as the only contemporary history of second/eighth-century caliphal rule in Armenia, they found the work difficult to use in their own research or to assign as readings. Through our conversations, we learned the main obstacle to their adoption of the text as a pedagogic or scholarly instrument was that Łewond remained "foreign" to them. That is, they were unable to locate Łewond within the historiographical traditions of the Caliphate, to identify his biases and his hermeneutic lens, and to properly contextualize specific portions of the text that could be used for instruction. Understanding this challenge, we set out to make the present translation and commentary usable both in the classroom and in research by undergraduate and graduate students as well as scholars of the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid Caliphates. A basic premise of our work is that Łewond's *History* is a caliphal history written by someone who lived in the Caliphate and was conversant with caliphal discourse. Łewond did not stand outside of caliphal historiography or constitute an independent witness who either corroborates or contradicts what has been transmitted in Arabic simply because he was Christian and wrote in Armenian. Instead, we see Łewond as part of the broad historiographical tradition of the Caliphate and seek to explain the similarities and differences between his text and works written in Arabic by understanding his narrative objectives. Behind this approach rests a desire to decenter our perception of the Caliphate, which too often focuses narrowly on a Muslim elite functioning in Arabic and considers this elite fundamentally separate from the majority of people within caliphal territory. As a representative of the caliphal North, Łewond provides a unique perspective on caliphal rule from within the Caliphate.

So what does this volume aim to achieve? Our introduction places Łewond in his historical context and locates his work within Armenian and Arabic historiography. It highlights the scholarly significance of his *History* but also points out the text's narrative emplotments, the author's personal biases, and poignant silences. We have attempted to make our English translation of the second/eighth-century work as readable as possible. To help those who are unfamiliar with aspects of the history of the period covered, we supply in the margin to the translation reading notes that identify figures, places, and concepts Łewond mentions, and we have placed references to biblical or other texts in the footnotes to the translation. For those who have knowledge of Armenian and wish to check our translation, we have also included a slightly modified diplomatic edition of Łewond's text based on manuscript 1902 (1274–1311 CE) of the Matenadaran (Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts) in Erevan, Armenia. It is the oldest copy of the

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History and the one from which all later copies ultimately derive. Finally, our commentary elucidates how Łewond shaped his historical narrative, how his intervention impacts our reading of the text, where he engages with information and tropes common in Arabic, and what light the *History* shines on caliphal rule in Armenia.

We should also be clear about what we have not attempted to do in this volume. First, the reception of Łewond's *History* in later historiography is an important issue, but one that lies beyond the scope of this work. We have not, therefore, fully traced the afterlife of the events he recounts within the Armenian historiographical tradition. We have limited comparisons with later historians to specific instances in which the later accounts shed light on Łewond's methodology. Similarly, we have not referenced every instance in later Arabic historiography. We have focused primarily on sources from the early ʿAbbāsid period, though selected references to later histories are included in the footnotes where they add to the discussion about the transmission of historical accounts. Finally, we have not systematically addressed the significance of the Eastern Roman Empire in Łewond's *History*, even though we have relied on Greek sources in the commentary and assess the possibility that Łewond drew on Greek sources in the Introduction. Łewond's *History* has already been the focus of exemplary studies from the perspective of the Eastern Roman Empire, most notably the recent edition and translation of the text by B. Martin-Hisard, J. P. Mahé, and A. Hakobian published by the Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance in 2015.

We hope that our translation and commentary will enable students and scholars of the Caliphate to integrate non-Arabic sources more easily into their research and teaching.

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Abbreviations

AE	Armenian Era, according to the Armenian calendar
AG	*Anno Graecorum*, according to the Seleucid Era as commonly found in Syriac sources
AH	*Anno Hegirae*, according to the Islamic calendar
AM	*Anno Mundi*, according to the calendar calculated from the creation of the world as commonly found in Greek sources
b.	*bin*, son
BCE	before the Common Era
bt.	*bint*, daughter
ca.	*circa*, about, approximately
CE	Common Era
cf.	*confer/conferatur*, compare
d.	died
ed.	edition, edited by
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
et al.	*et alia*, and others
ff.	and following
fig(s).	figure(s)
fl.	flourished
fol(s).	folio(s)
i.e.	*id est*, that is
lit.	literally
MS	manuscript
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
n.p.	no publisher
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
p(p).	page(s)
r	recto
r.	reigned
sed.	*sedit*, sat
ser.	series
v	verso
vs.	versus

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Introduction

Near the end of the second century of the Islamic calendar (the eighth century of the Common Era), a member of the noble Armenian Bagratuni family, Šapuh Bagratuni, asked a priest named Łewond to compose a history of the preceding century and a half. Although we cannot know Šapuh's reasons for making this request, the crushing of an Armenian rebellion in 158/775 by caliphal forces and the death of his father in that rebellion undoubtedly played a role. Having inherited part of his father's domains, Šapuh possibly wanted a book of history that could both help secure his family's position in Armenia and guide his political decisions. The result was Łewond's *History*, the only surviving second/eighth-century historiographical work written in Armenia.

This volume presents a new English translation, modified diplomatic edition, and commentary on Łewond's text. This introduction offers readers who have little familiarity with Armenian history or with the history of the Islamic Caliphate some background knowledge about the context in and about which Łewond wrote. It outlines what we know about the author and the date of his text and locates his *History* within both Armenian and Arabic historiography. It also describes the oldest manuscript of the work, which we used as the basis of our slightly modified diplomatic edition. The importance of Łewond's *History* should be underscored here. Historians have long lamented the lack of sources on the Islamic world from the second/eighth century, but Łewond's work fills this gaping hole, providing a contemporary interpretation of caliphal rule in one of its most critical provinces. In doing so, it forces scholars to acknowledge that non-Muslims living under caliphal rule did not write histories solely of their own communities but could also contribute to writing the history of the Caliphate.[1]

When the Prophet Muḥammad passed away in 11/632, his succession was far from clear. According to the Sunnī tradition, four "rightly guided" caliphs followed the Prophet, expanding the breadth of the Islamic world at a remarkable pace. Within just a few years of the Prophet's death, the Sasanian Empire, which had controlled the greater Iranian world, collapsed, and the Roman Empire lost key territories such as Syria and Egypt to the emerging Islamic Empire. This expansion continued into the period of the subsequent Umayyad caliphs, who began their rule in 41/661 and pushed into Transoxania and Sind in the East and Andalus in the West. Much to the dismay of many contemporaries as well as later historians, the Umayyads transformed the Caliphate into a hereditary position, defeating challengers who made bids to power on the basis of other qualifications, such

1 On the idea that Christian sources can resolve the lacunae of caliphal histories, see Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir.*

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as piety or relation to the Prophet. With the heart of their authority in Syria, the Umayyads sometimes had only nominal control over some of the edges of their empire. This situation changed after the second civil war (*fitna*), when a new branch of the Umayyad family, known as the Marwānids, came to power. The Marwānids are remembered for their building projects, such as the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqṣā Mosque, and the Great Mosque of Damascus; their coin reforms; numerous rebellions against their rule; and behavior that did not align with the expectations of the nascent class of religious scholars. In 132/750, the ʿAbbāsids overthrew the Umayyads and took control of the Caliphate. The ʿAbbāsid Revolution drew on the support of those who wanted to see the Prophet's family in power, and it attracted both Arab and non-Arab followers who saw un-Islamic values reflected in Umayyad rule. The early years of the ʿAbbāsids have been celebrated as their heyday, when the vibrancy of their new capital at Baghdad drew in scholars and courtiers from across the known world and the exploits of caliphs such as Hārūn al-Rashīd supplied wonder to stories of wealth, power, and culture in the early Islamic world.

By the time Łewond put words to a page at the end of the second/eighth century, Armenia had been a caliphal province for approximately a century. The first Islamic incursions into Armenia began much earlier—in the late 10s/630s and 20s/640s—but the mainstay of power in the region in those early years remained the local nobility, known in Armenian as the *naxarark*ʿ. The *naxarark*ʿ maintained generally positive relations with Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, who served first as the governor of Syria (in office 18–41/639–61) under the "rightly guided" caliphs and then as an Umayyad caliph of the Sufyānid branch (r. 41–60/661–80). In the aftermath of the second *fitna* and the advent of the Marwānids, however, the norms of caliphal rule in Armenia shifted significantly. Muḥammad b. Marwān, the brother of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, became governor over Armenia. In contrast to Muʿāwiya's rule, Muḥammad b. Marwān's tenure saw the establishment of caliphal garrisons in Armenian territory. The tribute previously levied by the *naxarark*ʿ morphed into direct tax collection by caliphal administrators settled in Armenian cities. Through these developments, Armenia was transformed from a tributary ally to a province of the empire. The transition was not easy, and it provoked an Armenian rebellion that was put down decisively. Armenian sources—including Łewond—complain about the heavy-handed policies of caliphal governors and the oppression of caliphal taxes. However, some Armenian houses, such as the Bagratunikʿ (that is, the Bagratuni family),[2] became allies of the Marwānids and the early ʿAbbāsids, serving to keep the peace in Armenia proper and to supplement caliphal armies on the Khazar and Roman frontiers. Powerful scions of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid families were stationed in Armenia because of the region's significance as a double frontier. Sitting at the nexus of the Caliphate, the Khazar Khaganate, and the Roman Empire, Armenia was far from a backwater province and certainly not removed from world affairs.

To the north, the Khazar Khaganate had periodically pushed southward into the territory to the west of the Caspian Sea. Most of our information about the Khazars derives from sources produced outside of Khazaria. The perceived threats of Khazar expansion and the caliphal expectation of expanding the empire into Khazar territory predominate in the sources. The earliest Islamic incursions into the Caucasus began in the 20s/640s and

2 The suffix -*k*ʿ marks a collective noun, so the members of the Bagratuni family are known collectively as the Bagratunikʿ.

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30s/650s, pushing northward to Balanjar from Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband. The Khazars shifted to the offensive in the 40s/660s and forged into Caucasian Albania, whose prince was allied with the first Umayyad caliph Muʿāwiya. The Albanians engaged in diplomatic attempts to convert the Khazars to Christianity, to no lasting effect. The Khazars then took advantage of the chaos of the second *fitna* in the Caliphate to extend their reach into Armenia, though this incursion was more transitory than their presence in Albania was. They also solidified relations with the Roman emperor Justinian II. With the rise of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad family, the situation on the Khazar frontier changed. Celebrated generals such as Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, and Marwān b. Muḥammad led campaigns into Khazar territory. The battle lines shifted dramatically, most noticeably when the Khazar general Bārjīk sacked Ardabīl/Artawēt and then killed Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh in Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan in 112/730. This feat prompted Umayyad offensives into the Caucasus nearly every year thereafter, with mixed results and no noticeable change of territory with the possible exception of the reestablishment of Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband as a caliphal garrison. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power, they attempted first to stabilize the Khazar border by organizing a marriage alliance between a Khazar princess and the caliphal governor of Armenia. The death of the bride is cited as the *casus belli* of the Arab-Khazar wars that erupted during the reign of the caliph Manṣūr. This engagement yet again confirmed Bāb al-Abwāb as the limit of caliphal control in the North.

On Armenia's western frontier stood the Eastern Roman Empire. On the eve of Islam, the Roman Empire had again assumed a dominant position in Syria and the Levant. Although the Sasanian Empire of Iran had managed to expand into Syria and steal the True Cross (a powerful relic that the Romans believed was the cross on which Jesus was crucified), the Roman emperor Herakleios defeated the Persians and triumphantly marched the Cross to Jerusalem in 9/630. The Roman recapture of Syria was a momentary victory, however, as it fell to caliphal armies only a few short years later. Egypt and North Africa soon followed suit. In the 50s/670s, caliphal troops even besieged the imperial capital at Constantinople. The Romans were subsequently faced with the expansion of the Bulgars from the Volga region on another front, to the northwest, as the Bulgars crossed the Danube River. Justinian II concluded a peace treaty with the Umayyad caliph to give his forces flexibility to campaign along the Bulgar front. When Justinian was overthrown (for a second time) in 711 CE, a new dynasty, called the Isaurians, came to rule the Roman Empire. They immediately faced a serious attack, as Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik besieged Constantinople for two years; he was finally repulsed with the help of the Bulgar khan. The Isaurian emperors are particularly famous for the Iconoclastic Controversy, an argument within the imperial Church about whether the veneration of images was permitted. In 726 CE, Emperor Leo III removed the image of Christ from the gate of Constantinople, kicking off a dispute that would continue unabated for over half a century. During the third *fitna* in the Caliphate, Emperor Constantine V took advantage of the disarray to reach into caliphal territory. Though his gains were temporary, they were part of a broader campaign of territorial expansion in the 130s/750s, as he also moved against the Bulgars to the north. In the first few decades of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, the ʿAbbāsids dispatched yearly raids into Anatolia, forcing the emperor on the defensive over a prolonged period despite the general stability of the frontier. After the death of Leo IV in 163/780, his wife, Eirene, came to

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power as regent for their son. With her deposition two decades later, the Isaurian dynasty came to an end.

Although Łewond records campaigns against both the Khazar Khaganate and the Roman Empire, his primary concern is with the caliphal province of Armenia. This political reality informs the very contours of his *History*. We should read Łewond's text as a history of the early Islamic Caliphate. He starts his *History* by noting that "first and foremost" are "those who were called Commander of the Faithful" (Նախ և առաջին որք և ամիրալմումնիք անուանեցան) [3v],[3] directly transcribing the caliphs' title *amīr al-muʾminīn*. The internal chronology of the text is based on the lives and deaths of the caliphs. Additionally, the text includes significant sections that do not directly concern Armenia, as the author's scope is far wider than his immediate milieu. For example, the work contains accounts of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's ill-fated attempt to take Constantinople and of a similarly unsuccessful Umayyad invasion of China. It also discusses the *fitnas*, the role of the *qurrāʾ* (Qurʾān readers) in the death of the caliph Walīd b. Yazīd, the Arab-Khazar wars, the heroes of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, and many other events that occurred outside of Armenian territory. Finally, and most importantly, we must remember that Armenia was a caliphal province from the first/seventh century on. The fact that the majority of its population was Christian and spoke Armenian would not have set Armenia apart from other, more central provinces of the Caliphate, all of which had their own non-Muslim populations and their own languages during the Umayyad and even the early ʿAbbāsid periods. Caliphal governors of the provinces minted Arabic-Islamic coins and oversaw the local nobility and tax collectors. The caliphal expeditions against the Khazars depended on Armenian troops. Even the most famous martyrs of this period, such as Vahan Gołtʿnecʿi and Dawitʿ Dunecʿi, were put to death for apostasy after converting from Islam to Christianity, suggesting the relevance of Islamic law in Armenia. In fact, the anonymous author of the Persian geographical text *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* later asserted that "these regions [Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Albania] are the most pleasant places in *dar-i Islām*" (این جایهاست بسیار نعمت ترین ناحیتهاست اندر اسلام).[4] Therefore, even if Łewond does center some of his *History* on events in first/seventh- and second/eighth-century Armenia, this focus arguably adds to the work's character as a history of the early Caliphate.

A. THE AUTHOR

Frustratingly, we know nothing about Łewond outside of his work. According to the title page of Matenadaran manuscript 1902 (M1902), the oldest manuscript witness to the *History*, the text's author, Łewond, was a "great *vardapet*" (մեծ վարդապետ). *Vardapet* in Armenian signified a teacher, usually of religious doctrine. The title was applied to the teachers of the medieval monastic schools. Although M1902 is the oldest witness to Łewond's *History*, the title page was inserted in the seventeenth century when the manuscript was repaired, and

3 Citations of Łewond's text refer to the folio numbers in the manuscript. They are also found in the text and translation below. On our transcription of the Armenian text, please see the Principles of Edition and Translation below.

4 *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 157. The assertion that Armenia is part of Islam is echoed by Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 373: هو اقليم للاسلام; وهو للاسلام فخر. Furthermore, the Balkhī geographers discussed only Islamic territory, so their inclusion of Armenia reflects this same perception.

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it is not certain that the manuscript originally designated Łewond a *vardapet*. One of the colophons to the *History* in M1902, which may be a copy of the original colophon, does not attribute any rank to Łewond. It does refer to the text as a "teaching" (*vardapetutʿiwn*), and this wording may have inspired Šmawon Loṙecʿi, who repaired the manuscript in 1664 CE, to call Łewond a *vardapet* when he composed the title page. The earliest reference to a history by Łewond is in the *History* of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi (ca. 1005 CE), who lists among the great works of history "the history of Łewond the priest, who [recorded] the emergence of the Arabs and the travails of Armenians in their tyranny" (Պատմութիւն Ղևոնդ երիցու, որ ինչ վասն Տաճկաց ելիցն և անցից Հայոց ի նոցուց բռնութենէ).[5] Later medieval historiographical writings similarly refer to Łewond not as a *vardapet* but as an elder, presbyter, or priest (*erēcʿ*).[6] The claim that Łewond was a *vardapet* or that the work was intended as a religious teaching is difficult to reconcile with the content of the *History*. As we will see below, Łewond shows no interest in the religious affairs of the period.

The renowned Mxitʿarist scholar N. Akinean attempted to reconstruct an outline of Łewond's life on the basis of what he decided were clues in the *History*.[7] He surmised that Łewond was a priest from the region of Gołtʿn and possibly from the town of Vanand. According to Akinean, Łewond was educated in one of the monasteries in the area, possibly in that of Makʿenocʿ. He had a personal relationship with the catholicos Esayi, who had been the bishop of Gołtʿn, both while Esayi was bishop in Gołtʿn and while he served as catholicos in Dabīl/Duin, where the seat of the catholicosate was located. He lived from 770 to 789 CE in the environs of Dabīl/Duin, but in 789 CE he fled to Byzantine territory, possibly to Sper, where he wrote his history in 790 CE. He traveled through the various parts of Armenia, including Ṭārūn/Tarōn, Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan, and Sirāj/Širak. He appears familiar with the imperial capital of Constantinople and with the Greek tongue. Despite Akinean's ingenious reading of the text, none of these points finds corroboration beyond the historiographical tradition's referring to Łewond as a priest. T. Greenwood has recently demonstrated that Dabīl/Duin plays a disproportionate role in Łewond's *History*, which suggests that he may have had personal connections to the region.[8] Beyond this detail, Akinean's suggestions should be taken as possibilities that cannot be proven with our current knowledge.

Łewond's *History* has traditionally been dated to the end of the second/eighth century because it cuts off abruptly around the year 172/788, but this date has come under considerable scrutiny. S. Gero proposed the most radical hypothesis for the provenance of the *History*, suggesting that a shorter version dealing only with Armenia was originally written in the second/eighth century but was expanded around the sixth/twelfth century to include events outside of Armenia.[9] In his view, the final form coalesced at the same time that the correspondence between the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the emperor

5 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 99–100; *Tiezerakan patmutʿiwn*, 7; "Patmutʿiwn tiezerakan," 640.

6 Thus, for example, Tarōnecʿi, *Tiezerakan patmutʿiwn*, 15; Ganjakecʿi, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, 7; Anecʿi, *Hawakmunkʿ*, 3; Anecʿi, *Matean ašxarhavēp handisaranacʿ*, 101; Ayrivanecʿi, *Histoire chronologique*, 25; *Patmutʿiwn žamanakagrakan*, 37.

7 Akinean, "Łewond erēcʿ patmagir," 347–48.

8 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 150–52.

9 Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm*.

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Leo the Isaurian was added to the text. The greatest support for this hypothesis is the lack of significant transmission of Łewond's work. With the exception of Łewond, Armenian histories written before the fifth/eleventh century offer precious little information about the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid Caliphates. Why do the fourth/tenth-century historians Dasxuranc'i, Drasxanakertc'i, and T'ovma Arcruni not cite Łewond directly or demonstrate any debt to his *History*?[10] It is not until the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century that another historian, Step'anos Tarōnec'i, displays obvious familiarity with Łewond's text. Still, Gero's *argumentum ex silencio* placing the composition of the work between the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries does not have strong support. In particular, his conclusion that the fifth/eleventh-century version of Łewond's text treated only the Islamic conquests is based solely on Tarōnec'i's citation of Łewond's *History* and finds no further support in any text.

Greenwood has suggested another, more plausible, alternative later date for the text, placing it at the end of the third/ninth century instead of the traditional second/eighth century. Most studies have identified the sponsor of Łewond's *History*, Šapuh Bagratuni, as the brother of the Bagratuni prince Ašot Msaker on the basis of his appearance in the text of Vardan Arewelc'i.[11] Greenwood suggests instead that this Šapuh Bagratuni may in fact be the famous historian whose work is now lost. This third/ninth-century Šapuh Bagratuni wrote a history covering the period from 174/790, only two years after Łewond's commentary ends, to the third/ninth century. In support of his hypothesis of a third/ninth-century date, Greenwood points to passages that appear to predict the rise and concerns of the Bagratuni Kingdom, established with the ʿAbbāsid caliph Muʿtamid's crowning of Ašot Bagratuni as the king of Armenia on 25 Ṣafar 271/August 26, 884.[12] Greenwood's hypothesis is significant in that it provides a viable alternative to the traditional account of the author, which is admittedly based on skeletal data. However, there is a limit to how far we can stretch the text. If Łewond was writing after the rise of the Bagratuni Kingdom, we then have to explain why he would criticize the monk who foretold the dynasty's rise to power and label him a deluded fraud "who was moved by the spirit of perversion and prophesied empty nonsense" (որ մոլորութեան հոգւովն շարժեցեալ մարգարէանայր սնոտիս և ընդունայն) [106r]. The tenor of Łewond's entire text is pro-Bagratuni and we would expect him to support their rise to kingship, but he does not. Likewise, it is indeed possible that the Bagratunik' opposed the rebellion against the Caliphate in 158/775 because they had survived the disastrous caliphal campaigns in the 230s/850s and knew the impossibility of escape, as Greenwood suggests.[13] However, the Bagratuni pro-caliphal (anti-rebellion) policy fits neatly with the family's disparagement of the idea of an independent Armenian kingdom. The Bagratunik' likely realized that their claim to authority depended on caliphal support, particularly given the repeated challenges to their authority by the more powerful Mamikonean family. Łewond's preoccupation with these Mamikonean challenges points away from the third/ninth century, when the family had lost its standing. With these

10 Mahé, "Le problème de l'authenticité," 122–24.

11 Arewelc'i, *Hawak'umn patmut'ean*, 76: Բայց անկելոցն ի մեծ պատերազմին մնացորդք էին այսոքիկ. երկու որդիք Սմբատայ որդւոյ Աշոտի, որոց անուանքն Աշոտ և Շապուհ.

12 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 104–21.

13 On the caliphal campaigns of the 230s/850s, see Vacca, "Conflict and Community."

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examples, the very details that seem to fit the third/ninth century find even better explanations in the second/eighth.

Greenwood has also pointed out Łewond's apparent lack of proximity to the events he reportedly lived through and witnessed personally, arguing that he did not include the kinds of details that might be expected of someone who lived through the events described. However, Łewond's account of the reign of the caliph Hādī reveals close attention to details that are frequently muddled in later sources. Arabic sources of the third/ninth century consistently confuse the chronology, placing Khuzayma b. Khāzim's first term as governor of Armenia during the later reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. By placing Khuzayma in Armenia under Hādī, Łewond's account diverges from the Arabic sources and from a relevant Armenian martyrology, but it aligns with the numismatic record. By avoiding the confusions that plague sources written in the third/ninth century, Łewond allows us an invaluable window into Hādī's reign. Furthermore, Łewond demonstrates knowledge of the catholicoi Esayi and Step'annos during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. A fourth/tenth-century telling of Esayi's life story was heavily embellished to emphasize his virtues, but such aggrandizement is completely absent from Łewond's account. Beyond Łewond's work, we know little about Step'annos, who served as catholicos for only two years. Like his knowledge of Khuzayma's presence in Armenia during the caliphate of Hādī, Łewond's inclusion of these two catholicoi suggests that he *was* proximate to the events he describes.

In short, the dating of Łewond's text is not certain. The work has traditionally been studied as a product of the second/eighth century given its abrupt end in the first years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign. The descriptions of Bagratuni compliance with caliphal administrators make sense in the context of the second/eighth century, as the family sought to bolster its power before achieving kingship. As a result, though the limits of our knowledge must be recognized, J.-P. Mahé's hesitant support for the traditional dating remains the most sensible approach: "La comparaison avec les historiens du Xe siècle, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i et T'ovma Arcruni, sans confirmer positivement la datation de Łewond au VIIIe siècle, n'oblige pas non plus à la rejeter. Il semblerait donc plus prudent de s'en tenir à cette datation."[14]

B. THE HISTORY

We emerge from these considerations with a general, albeit hazy, image of Łewond as a second/eighth-century priest who may have had some personal interest in the city of Dabīl/Duin, the caliphal capital of Armenia. Our understanding of Łewond as a historian comes into greater focus through a close examination of his *History*—its contours and its concerns, the placement and editing of historical accounts, and its rhetorical use of biblical allusions. Furthermore, placing Łewond into a broader context of Armenian, Arabic, and Greek historiography allows us to speculate about the author's goals and expectations, fitting this one history into the wider networks of historical writing in the early 'Abbāsid period.

14 Mahé, "Le problème de l'authenticité," 126.

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B.1. COMMON THEMES, SILENCES, AND EMPLOTMENTS

Łewond's editorial choices come into clear view in his placement of certain key events. Modern scholars have noted that he locates the Umayyad siege of Constantinople during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105–25/724–43), significantly later than any other source. We could read this misdating either as a dramatic mistake or, more productively, as an opportunity to understand what Łewond was trying to do with these accounts. Arabic, Greek, and Syriac sources indicate that the campaign against Constantinople took place during the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 96–99/715–17). But Łewond's account of Sulaymān's reign is instead full of the exploits of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in the Caucasus. Because of the privileging of Roman over Khazar history, historians have not noticed that the descriptions of these Caucasian campaigns are also out of place chronologically: Maslama warred against the Khazars during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Łewond did not accidentally misdate the campaign against Constantinople. He flipped the two campaigns, thus curating his narrative of Maslama's campaign to end in ruin.[15] This sort of creative chronology appears at multiple points in the *History*, including, most notably, in Łewond's account of the peace agreement between the Armenian catholicos Sahak and the caliphal governor Muḥammad b. Marwān (as described in the commentary below). Such details reveal the editorial voice of Łewond as he shapes his information to make his own position known. His *History* is perhaps not primarily concerned with an accurate account of events or transmission of historical reports; rather, he chose and arranged his anecdotes carefully to support his own views of caliphal rule.

Conflict is the most prominent theme in Łewond's *History*. He describes the Islamic conquests, Umayyad campaigns against Constantinople and China, the second and third *fitna*s, the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, the Arab-Khazar wars under both the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids, independent marauders, the summer campaigns (*ṣawāʾif*) on the Roman frontier, and numerous Armenian rebellions against the Caliphate. The focus on the military elite is hardly out of place in Near Eastern historiography, though it is perhaps difficult to reconcile with the traditional claim that Łewond was a *vardapet*. The conflicts he describes fall into three categories. Some are directly relevant to Armenia, such as the Islamic conquests, the second *fitna*, the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, and the second/eighth-century rebellions against caliphal rule. The conflicts in this category typically establish or regulate the relationship between Armenia and world empires, whether the Caliphate, the Khazar Khaganate, or the Roman Empire. Other conflicts unfurl outside of the geographical boundaries of Armenia but integrate Armenians into broader world dramas, as, for example, when Ašot Bagratuni and his cavalry upset the course of the third *fitna* by marching to Syria and when Tačat Anjewacʿi salvaged Hārūn al-Rashīd's attempt to take Constantinople during the reign of the latter's father, Mahdī. Finally, some conflicts, such as Muḥammad b. Marwān's purported campaign against China and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign

15 See Greenwood, "Reassessment," 131. On the topic of the misdating of the campaign against Constantinople, Greenwood compares Maslama's career to his uncle Muḥammad b. Marwān's and points out: "An error of this magnitude is hard to interpret unless one understands it as somehow intentional on the part of Łewond himself. It has the effect of postponing the humiliation of Maslama to the end of his career, much as the final notice describing the actions of Muḥammad b. Marwān also contemplates his failure on campaign."

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against Constantinople, have no clear link to Armenians or Armenian history. Łewond employs such stories to illustrate the fates of generals who occupied important positions in the history of Armenia, particularly those associated with violence. Such reports assure readers that such figures ended defeated and uncelebrated, even though their disrepute did not relate to Armenia.

Several of Łewond's accounts of conflict assert that Armenian nobles cooperated with caliphal administrators. Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, who fought against the first Islamic conquests in Armenia, subsequently retreated from Roman service and ordered his son Vard to help the caliphal forces during the reign of Muʿāwiya. As already mentioned, Bagratuni cavalry traveled to Syria during the third *fitna* to support Marwān b. Muḥammad. Armenian forces also played an important role in the Arab-Khazar wars. Łewond claims that Ašot Bagratuni met with Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to ensure the payments of military stipends to the Armenian troops. "After this, Marwān b. Muḥammad gathered a large force and took with him the prince Ašot along with the *naxarark*ʿ and their cavalry. United, they went raiding in the land of the Huns" (Յետ այսորիկ զաւր բազում զումարէր Մրուան որդի Մահմետի. և առնոյր ընդ իւր զիշխանն Աշոտ հանդերձ նախարարաւքն և նոցին հեծելոցն. եւ միաբանեալք ասպատակէին յաշխարհն Հոնաց) [83v]. Subsequently, during the reign of the caliph Mahdī, the caliphal governor ʿUthmān b. ʿUmāra brought the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ to fight in the vicinity of Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband. Each of these examples demonstrates Armenian involvement in caliphal campaigns against the Romans or the Khazars, focusing particularly (though not exclusively) on the Bagratuni family's cooperation with the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids.

The Bagratunikʿ, who sponsored Łewond's *History*, typically espouse a pro-caliphal position in the text. The sole exception—the events at Vardanakert in 83/703—is carefully curated in Łewond's text to appear as righteous self-defense instead of a rebellion against the Caliphate. Łewond goes as far as to have the most bloodthirsty of governors, Muḥammad b. Marwān, refer to them as "innocent men" (արանց անմեղաց) [23v], thus exonerating them from culpability for their rebellion. In the other two rebellions against caliphal rule, the Bagratunikʿ vocally protested the plans, exhorting the other *naxarark*ʿ not to participate. The family's patriarch did not participate in either of those rebellions, though other members of the family did. It is important to note that Łewond's descriptions of caliphal rule are overwhelmingly negative and frequently claim horrific oppression, despite his sponsors' pro-caliphal policy. Łewond navigates this tension between Bagratuni cooperation with caliphal forces and his own antipathy for caliphal rule by suggesting that assimilation into the Caliphate is the best option available for Armenian prosperity. He compares it favorably with emigration to Roman territory and assures the reader that resistance to the Caliphate can only lead to needless waste of lives. So, for example, when the Mamikoneankʿ rebelled against the Caliphate, the Bagratuni patriarch refused to participate with the following warning: "Behold: our troops are of little consequence in the midst the Ishmaelite violence. We are not able to oppose their troops, nor extract our land from the mouth of the dragons. We are only bringing it trouble and danger [with] your ideas" (ահա նուազունք են զաւրքս մեր ի մէջ բռնութե*ան*ն Իսմաելի. և ոչ կարեմք զդէմ ունել զաւրաց նոցա. և ոչ զերկիր մեր հանել ի բերանոյ վիշապացն. և միայն աշխատութի*ւն* և վտանգ հասուցանեմք զմտածմունս ձեր) [90r–v]. Later, another Bagratuni patrician cautioned that since the Romans, even with their vast might, could not repulse the Islamic

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conquest, how could the Armenians hope to succeed through independent action? Bagratuni support for the Caliphate is thus portrayed as a wholly pragmatic tactic aimed at saving Armenian lives and property, rather than a reflection of their agreement with the situation of Armenia under caliphal rule.

Because of Bagratuni support for caliphal authority and the family's unwillingness to join rebellions against the Caliphate, one of Łewond's primary concerns within Armenian society is the contention between the Bagratuni and Mamikonean *naxarar* houses. The latter frequently appear not only as anti-Caliphate but also as anti-Bagratuni. So, for example, when Grigor Mamikonean rebelled in 132/749–50, his professed aim, according to Łewond, was not to overthrow the Caliphate but to challenge Bagratuni preeminence within that system. To a large degree, the Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry is framed as a direct response to caliphal policy in the North. Łewond depicts the Bagratunikʻ as leaders of the Armenian *naxararkʻ*, and he reports that the caliphs repeatedly anointed Bagratuni patricians as prince of Armenia after the second *fitna*. Still, the details given in Łewond's text suggest that Bagratuni preeminence became the policy of the Caliphate specifically to undercut Mamikonean authority. The Mamikoneankʻ were able to raise multiple rebellions against the Caliphate, rallying the *naxarar* houses to their cause. Even though Łewond tries to distance the Bagratunikʻ from the rebellions, he also claims that they "involuntarily" or "unwillingly" participated at the request of the Mamikonean leaders, thereby implying that the Bagratunikʻ were compelled to follow Mamikonean orders. The Mamikoneankʻ also appear to have operated independently of Bagratuni or caliphal authority, collecting taxes, raiding certain regions, and even confiscating the treasury of the Bagratuni prince of Armenia. At one point, the governor (and future caliph) Marwān b. Muḥammad sought the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's intervention in the Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry; in response, the caliph himself sent the Mamikoneankʻ to prison in Yemen. Later, another governor named a Mamikonean prince of Armenia and the Bagratunikʻ marched to Syria to protest until the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad returned control to the Bagratuni family. Caliphal support for the Bagratunikʻ was politically sensible, as the Bagratunikʻ relied on their close relationship with the caliph to assert their own authority. By contrast, the Mamikoneankʻ were too powerful and could easily have decided to throw off caliphal rule or to defect to the Roman Empire. For the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids alike, patronizing a weaker noble house assured a consistent ally. As a result, Łewond chronicles caliphal involvement in the slow collapse of Mamikonean authority and the rise to power of the Bagratuni house.

On the other hand, Łewond shows little interest in inter-*naxarar* or intra-*naxarar* dynamics beyond the rivalry between the Mamikonean and Bagratuni families.[16] Of the

16 Despite the lack of attention paid to the internal situation of the *naxarar* houses, the seventh/thirteenth-century historian of the province of Sīsajān/Siunikʻ, Stepʻanos Ōrbēlean, comments that he found an order of precedence of the Armenian princes "that Łewond wrote" (զոր Ղեւոնդ զրեաց). Adontz, *Armenia*, 197, identified this Łewond with the second/eighth-century historian and justified his conclusion by claiming that there was only one historian named Łewond and by noting that Ōrbēlean did not need to qualify this personage in any way. Adontz further speculated that such a list of ranks may have preceded the *History*, either as part of an intentional preface to the work or as an accidental addition to Ōrbēlean's copy, but that it had subsequently been lost. There is no strong evidence, however, to equate these two people.

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some twenty *naxarar* houses known to have still existed in the late first/seventh and second/eighth centuries, the *History* mentions nine, including the Bagratunikʿ and the Mamikoneankʿ. Most of these mentions, however, are only brief evocations. For example, the Gnunikʿ and Trunikʿ are mentioned only in reference to the deaths during the Armenian rebellion of 158/775. More surprisingly, the prestigious Kamsarakankʿ are mentioned explicitly only once, when Nersēh Kamsarakan died during the caliphal campaign against the Khazars around 169/785. In a separate passage, Łewond refers to a certain Lady Šušan who aided wounded caliphal troops. This Lady Šušan should be identified with Šušan Kamsarakan. Łewond's omission of her name contributes to the downplaying of the Kamasarakankʿ in his *History*. The Amatuni house is mentioned three times. Varašapuh Amatuni and his brother are noted among those killed in Nashawā/Naxčawan in 83/703, and the family is listed as supporters of the Arcruni at the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš in 158/775. Finally, Łewond records that Šapuh Amatuni and his son Hamam led 12,000 people into Roman territory to escape the taxation policies of Hārūn al-Rashīd's early years. The Arcruni family garners more attention, undoubtedly because of its increasing prominence in the second/eighth century, and Łewond transmits information about several generations of the family. Like the Amatunikʿ, they are first mentioned among the victims in the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan in 83/703. They subsequently play a greater role in the events surrounding the rebellions of 158/775. During the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr, Hamazasp, Sahak, and Gagik Arcruni, the sons of Vahan Arcruni, fought against caliphal troops, and Łewond presents Gagik's son, also named Hamazasp, as the military leader of the Armenian forces at the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš in 158/775. In both instances, Łewond is more critical than complimentary about the activities of the Arcrunikʿ. His tone changes, however, when he relates the martyrdom of Hamazasp and Sahak during the reign of the caliph Hādī, possibly because he relies on a hagiographical report. Beyond these references, some *naxarar* families are present only in the stories of individual members, usually ones who had become recognized rulers of Armenia. It is possible that Łewond had access to *gestae*—tales to celebrate family histories—of these figures. So, for example, the exploits of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni and his son Vard are mentioned at the beginning of Łewond's text, but the family never reappears later. The drama of the rise and fall of Tačat Anjewacʿi likewise constitutes the only reference to this family. Although these tellings are fairly extensive, they focus on the individual actors and do not delve into relations between the houses more generally. With the exception of the tensions between the Bagratuni and Mamikonean families, then, Łewond generally chose to shine a light on the other noble houses only when they figured within broader imperial contexts rather than within local dynamics of power.

This interest in imperial power plays also informed Łewond's focus on describing the administration of Armenia. The Sufyānid period, which is sometimes extolled today as a formative "golden age" of medieval Armenia, in fact has spotty coverage in Łewond's text. He notes the activities of the patriarch and the prince of Armenia but rushes through the period without conveying the scale of the accomplishments evident from the architectural record. Instead, Łewond focuses more on the Marwānid and early ʿAbbāsid periods, when governors were on the ground in Armenia. He lists and describes the caliphal governors appointed over Armenia and frequently attests to the oaths or written promises to regulate their control over Armenia. Łewond consistently declares the governors to be warlike or

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bloodthirsty and describes their leadership of caliphal campaigns against Armenian rebellions and Khazar incursions. Although the Roman Empire often appears in Łewond's narrative, the caliphal governors of Armenia engage with Roman forces only rarely. Łewond tends to describe caliphal military engagement with the Romans as incidental to Armenian politics. For example, Muḥammad b. Marwān fought Roman forces after the battle of Vardanakert in 83/703, but in Łewond's telling the Romans were there only to support the Armenians. His account of the rebellion remains focused on the Armenians, relegating the Romans to auxiliary status. The majority of the battles between the Calipihate and the Roman Empire—such as Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign against Constantinople and the ʿAbbāsid-era *ṣawāʾif*—unfold in the western reaches of Anatolia or in northern Syria, so these conflicts do not usually make their way farther east into Armenia proper. Still, particularly in the early ʿAbbāsid period the administration of Armenia remains partly tied to the Roman Empire in Łewond's narrative, since many of the veterans of the wars with Rome appear later as governors of Armenia. However, such connections are visible only when one takes a prosopographical approach to Łewond's information, and they do not reflect Łewond's own interests.

Łewond's explicit concerns about administration tend toward the fiscal rather than the gubernatorial. He mentions the tribute paid by Armenia under Muʿāwiya and Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (for whose reign the tribute is the only piece of information recorded), then denounces the cadastre implemented under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik "to intensify the iron yoke of servitude of taxation by means of manifold evils" (վասն ծանրացուցանելոյ զանուր լծոյ ծառայութեան հարկատրութեան ազգի ազգի չարեալք) [73r–v]. His complaints about ʿAbbāsid taxation—that the caliph Saffāḥ raised taxes from the dead and used lead seals to signal the payment of taxes—likely reflect literary borrowings, but such framing nonetheless indicates his resentment about caliphal taxation. Manṣūr subsequently imposed a poll tax, though the imposition eased (according to Łewond) during the reign of Mahdī because silver was found in Armenia to satiate the tax collectors. Łewond describes the mercilessness of the governors through their rapacious taxation policies; for example, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the administrators demanded double the yield in taxes with immediate remission. The tribute and taxes were more than a basic financial agreement: they exemplified the complaints against caliphal rule. Perhaps more importantly, refusal to pay taxes constituted rebellion and so entailed both political and military repercussions. Armenians rebelled by withholding the tribute during the second *fitna*. Similarly, the Mamikoneanʿ killed caliphal tax collectors to signal the initiation of their rebellion in 158/775. In addition to taxes, the payment of Armenian troops was another important element of fiscal administration, given the Marwānid and ʿAbbāsid reliance on Armenian cavalry, as mentioned above. Łewond notes the salaries of the troops multiple times, including in the context of the Arab-Khazar wars when the Bagratuni patrician reportedly met with the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to ensure the salaries of the cavalry and to secure arrears for missed payments. More questionable references to salaries appear during the reigns of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (where the salaries appear to have been a ruse to gather *naxararkʿ* together) and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (where the recipient of the salaries is not specified). Łewond also observes that the salaries were cut during the reign of Saffāḥ, which leads him to label Bagratuni involvement in caliphal campaigns as "profitless labor" (զրաւաստակ աշխատութեանցն) [96r].

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With his focus firmly on military and political affairs, Łewond demonstrates a complete lack of interest in the religious controversies and developments of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. So, for example, he mentions none of the important ecclesiastical councils that took place during the time span covered in his work, such as the Council of Dabīl/Duin in 719 CE and that of Manazkert in 726 CE, which codified the Armenian liturgy, canon law, dogma, and the Church's relationship with the West Syrian Church. Similarly, Łewond ignores the activities of the leading ecclesiastics and catholicoi of the period, naming only five catholicoi in his entire text. He makes no reference to the Julianist controversy over the incorruptibility of Christ's flesh that was debated in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. Nor does he revisit the controversy over the Council of Chalcedon, which led to the theological schism between the Armenian, imperial, and Georgian Churches. Even if these schisms occurred prior to the events Łewond narrates, their effects were felt keenly into the first/seventh century. Likewise, he makes no mention of the Iconoclastic Controversy that embroiled the Byzantine Empire or of the Second Council of Nicaea, which restored the veneration of icons and took place in 787 CE, presumably while Łewond was writing his *History*. In fact, Łewond praises several Byzantine emperors as "pious," regardless of their adherence to Chalcedon or of their iconoclastic stance. Although these positive appraisals may be attributable to Łewond's sources rather than to Łewond himself, it is remarkable that he did not moderate them, as later historiographers chose to do. When he does pick up the issue of the destruction of images, he does so in reference not to the Christian debate over icons but to the iconoclastic campaign of the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. His indifference to the affairs and doctrines of the Church supports the suggestion that the title of *vardapet* was bestowed on him in the course of the eleventh/seventeenth-century repairs to the manuscript.

Łewond's focus on political and military matters, his highlighting of Bagratuni-Mamikonean tensions, and his silence about certain ecclesiastical affairs within the Armenian Church may stem from his sensitivity to the political position and tastes of his patron, Šapuh Bagratuni. His avoidance of well-known sectarian and doctrinal differences and identities within Christianity, however, cannot be ascribed to his anticipation of Šapuh's interests or to the simple reproduction of the *Tendenz* of his sources, which he is quite prepared to manipulate elsewhere. Rather, it seems to reflect an intentional decision to present Christianity as undifferentiated and united, in contrast to Islam, which he depicts as suffering from many internal, violent schisms. The juxtaposition of a cohesive Christian world and a fractured Islamic world aligns well with the depiction of both faiths in the one extended discussion of religious ideas in the work, the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence. There, divisions within Christianity are described as minor and deriving from the cultural-linguistic diversity of the Christian ecumene, while Islamic sectarianism is defined primarily by intrafaith violence.

Although Łewond may have downplayed confessional tensions between Armenians and the Roman Empire, his knowledge of and attitude toward the empire remain ambivalent. The information he provides about the lives of emperors and imperial affairs is scanty.[17] He is fairly well informed of the succession of Roman emperors during the period covered by his

17 See also Martin-Hisard, "L'empire byzantin"; Greenwood, "Negotiating the North."

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History, but he omits the names of some,[18] mistakenly refers to Tiberios III Apsimar as two people, and incorrectly places the reign of Theodosios III immediately before Justinian II's return to power in 698 CE, rather than before Leo III's accession in 717 CE. It is perhaps not surprising that his information about the reigns of emperors during the twenty-two-year period of rapid imperial change between 695 and 717 CE is particularly weak. For the most part, Łewond refuses to qualify the emperors, referring to them simply as "the Greek king." He does, however, praise Herakleios as "the divinely crowned" (աստուածապսակեալ) and "pious" (բարէպաշտ) [4r], reflecting the positive image of Herakleios in Armenia in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. Leo III is also portrayed in a positive light for his role in the defense of Constantinople. More unexpectedly, the only other emperor to be praised as "pious" (բարէպաշտ) [96v] is Constantine V, later denigrated in Greek historiography as Kopronymos (Dung-Named) for his iconoclasm. This suggests that Łewond's source here shared Constantine's iconoclast position. Ašot Bagratuni also praises the personal strength, bravery, and military might of Constantine V in his speech that attempted to dissuade the *naxarark'* from rebelling against the Caliphate. But we can perhaps detect a hint of irony in Ašot's words, as he follows his comment by noting that "in no way did he even once think to take this land of Armenia from their hands" (ամենևին ընդ միտ անգամ ոչ էառ ածել զմտաւ առնուլ զաշխարհս Հայոց ի ձեռաց նոցա) and that even the emperor is "subdued by fear" (ենթադրեալ է յահէ) of the Caliphate [108r].

Łewond offers even less information about figures other than emperors in the Greek hierarchy. The only general he names is Prokopios, and he does so early in his narrative. Moreover, Łewond blames Prokopios's arrogance toward the prince of Armenia, T'ēodoros Ṙštuni, for imperial losses in Armenia [7r]. Later in his *History*, Łewond comments that the emperor Leo appointed three generals to attack Cilicia in 778 CE. He names the two Armenian generals, Tačat Anjewac'i and Artawazd Mamikonean, but refers to the third merely as "one from the Greek troops" (միսն ի զաւրացն Յունաց) [119r]. This third general was Michael Lachanodrakon, known to both Greek and Arabic sources. It is unclear whether Łewond was in fact unaware of Michael Lachanodrakon's name, suggesting that his knowledge of imperial affairs was rather scanty, or whether he intentionally omitted the name to downplay imperial intervention and accentuate the role of the Armenian generals. Outside of the military, Łewond mentions only the office of the patriarch of Constantinople and the Senate in his description of the imperial reaction to the siege of Constantinople [78r]; these mentions certainly derive from the source he accessed for this episode, which also praises Emperor Leo III.

The valence of the physical space of the empire is similarly ambiguous. Łewond remarks on three occasions that Armenians sought refuge in imperial territory. However, the case of Smbat Bagratuni, the son of Varaztiroc', illustrates that Łewond contextualizes such relocations within more complex narratives. During the reign of Tiberios III Apsimar, Smbat Bagratuni resolved "to go from this land to the king of the Greeks" (գնալ յաշխարհէս առ թագաւորն Յունաց) [18v] because of worsening circumstances in Armenia. According to Łewond, Smbat and his men were intercepted by caliphal troops at Vardanakert. Smbat

18 He makes no mention of Heraklonas (r. 641 CE), but this is understandable given the brevity of his reign. He similarly omits Constantine IV (r. 668–85 CE), Philippikos Bardanes (r. 711–13 CE), and Anastasios II (r. 713–15 CE).

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was victorious in the subsequent battle and sent the noses of the defeated troops to the emperor, who rewarded him with the title of *curopalates*. This story of Smbat's desire to seek refuge in Roman territory, however, follows an earlier episode in which Smbat had deserted the imperial forces because the Romans had killed his father. At that time, Tiberios III Apsimar sent a force into Armenia to capture Smbat in order to punish him for his desertion [15v]. Rather than highlight the Roman Empire as a place of refuge for Armenians, Smbat's story highlights the ability of the Armenian nobility to move back and forth between imperial and caliphal service. Indeed, following the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan [27r–v], Smbat requested and was granted the town of Phasis in Eger by Justinian II. He and his followers remained there for six years, when they decided to accept an offer from the caliphal governor of Armenia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī, to return. Before leaving, they looted the city and even "plundered the vessels of the churches" (զսպաս եկեղեցեացն յափշտակեալ յաւարի) [27v]. In response, the emperor, unnamed but likely Philippikos Bardanes, ordered them to be excommunicated, and Łewond relates that their excommunication was read at Easter "from year to year, until today" (ամի ամի . . . մինչև ցայսաւր) [27v]. Łewond's account of the career of Tačat Anjewacʿi, who switched from imperial to caliphal employ because of the disdain with which he was treated by the empress Eirene after Leo IV's death [121v], provides another example of Armenian mobility.

During the caliphate of Manṣūr, Łewond reports that many people emigrated to the empire because of Constantine V's policy of depopulating the frontier. This allowed the Caliphate to capture Qālīqalā/Karin (Gr. Theodosiopolis; modern Erzurum) and settle people in it. At this time, unnamed Armenian *naxarark*ʿ also "fled to the land of Greeks and took refuge with the emperor Constantine [V]" (և փախստեա անկան յաշխարհն Յունաց. ապաւինեալք առ կայսրն Կոստանդին) [99v] because of the harsh measures of the governor, Ṣāliḥ. Yet we can sense that Łewond does not fully approve of their actions, as he remarks that they "abandoned their inheritance." Later in the chapter, he reports that Ašot Bagratuni cautioned the Armenian nobles about rebelling against the Caliphate, questioning what the results of such a rebellion would be. Either, he said, the Armenians would be forced to submit once again to caliphal rule or "you will be repulsed into flight from your land with all of your families and, abandoning the inheritance of your fathers, your homes, forests, and fields, and even the tombs of your fathers, you will go and live in exile with the king of the Greeks" (մերժել փախստեամբ համաւրէն ընդանեաւք յերկրէս ձերմէ. և լքանել թողուլ զժառանգութիւն հարց ձերոց. զբնակութիւնս ձեր և զանդաս և զանդաստանս. նաև զգերեզմանս հարց ձերոց. և երթալ բնակել նշդեհութեամբ ընդ արքային Յունաց) [108v]. Łewond thus has the Bagratuni patrician equate relocating to imperial territory with exile.

After the loss of the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš during the rebellion, Łewond observes that the Armenian regiments that had been stationed in Qālīqalā/Karin could have easily escaped harm by crossing over into imperial territory, but "they considered it better to choose their own death than to see the destruction of this land and the desertion of the churches of Christ" (լաւ համարեցան ընտրել զմահ անձանց՝ քան տեսանել զկորուստ աշխարհիս և զանապատութիւն եկեղեցեաց *Քրիստոս*ի) [112v]. It is only at the very end of his narrative that Łewond clearly posits the Amatuni family's move to imperial territory with 12,000 people as a better alternative to remaining in Armenia, stating that Constantine "honored the *naxarark*ʿ and their cavalry. He settled the other masses on good

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and fertile land" (տայր պատիւ նախարարացն և նոցին հեծելոցն. և զայլ խառնիճաղանճսն բնակեցուցանէր ի բարիոք և յարգաւանդ երկրի) [129v].

Finally, Łewond sometimes remarks on the inconsistency or ineffectiveness of Roman military support. In addition to noting the military losses the empire suffered during the Caliphate's early expansion, Łewond observes that the imperial troops sent to support Smbat *curopalates* after the battle of Vardanakert fled in fear when they came into contact with caliphal troops [24v]. Imperial troops apparently supported the Mamikonean rebellion against the Caliphate in 132/750 [91r], but, according to Łewond, the most palpable result of their military action was the raiding and pillaging of local communities.

In sum, Łewond has a nuanced perspective on the Roman Empire. Although he does not disparage the emperors themselves, he also does not see them or the empire as Armenia's savior. Rather, in Łewond's estimation, the empire is an inconsistent ally that cannot substitute for Armenian leadership and unity. It may sometimes serve as a useful place of refuge, but it is ultimately a place of exile and not to be preferred to Armenian territory.

B.2. BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Arguably in alignment with his emphasis on political conflict, economic distress, and idealistic presentation of Christianity is Łewond's comparatively sparse but strategically pointed use of biblical allusions and citations.[19] Unsurprisingly, Łewond employs biblical phrases most commonly in scenes of military conflict. For example, he describes the caliphal defeat of the Sasanian army as a "slaughter of the sword" (կոտորմամբ սրոյ) [6v], an evocation of the laws of warfare and the command to destroy idolatrous cities in Deuteronomy as well as of Israel's defeat of the Amorites in Numbers and Joshua's victory over Amalek in Exodus. The caliphal forces invading Armenia in 32/652–53 are described as "winged serpents" (օձք թեւաւորք) [8r], echoing Isaiah 14:29, and as "insolent and cruel" (ժպիրի եւ անողորմ) [8v], invoking the image of the invading army of the North found in Jeremiah 6:23. After the sacking of the city of Dabīl/Duin in that campaign, Łewond cites Psalm 78(79):1–3 to depict the destruction of the city. Later, during Maslama's siege of Constantinople, Łewond compares the emperor Leo to Hezekiah when Assyria threatened to capture Jerusalem (4 Kingdoms [2 Kings] 19 / Isaiah 37). Finally, when Sahak, the son of Vahan Arcruni, saw the death of his brother in combat against caliphal troops, he "slew many [men]" (զբազումս դիաթաւալ կացուցանէր) [97v], like Judas Maccabeus. Łewond also borrows phrasing from 1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) to signal the complete resignation of a military leader, comparing both the Roman emperor Constans and the caliphal general Muḥammad b. Marwān to the Philistines. After the Philistines were routed by Israel, they "never again went up against" (ոչ ևս յաւելին ելանել ի վերայ) the land of Israel (1 Kingdoms 7:13). Similarly, after losing the Battle of the Bridge, Constans "never again went up against" (ոչ ևս յաւել ելանել ի վերա) [11v] the Caliphate, and, after losing to Čenbakur, Muḥammad and his men "never again went up in war against" (ոչ ևս յաւել ելանել ի պատերազմ ի վերա) [30v] the realm of the Chinese.

19 We omit here discussion of the citations found in the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence. For a more detailed analysis of Łewond's use of the Bible, see La Porta, "The Bible."

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More significantly, Łewond refracts his retelling of the second and third *fitna*s through the lens of scriptural prophecy.[20] He explicitly frames the second *fitna* as the fulfillment of Psalm 36(37):15 and as retribution for the innocent Christian blood that the Muslims had shed. Similarly, the third *fitna* is expressly presented as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Amos 1:3–5, which shaped the imagined siege of Damascus. In a related vein, Łewond justifies the execution of Dawit‘ Mamikonean by the caliph Marwān as the consequence of the former's conspiracy against Smbat Bagratuni, not as "the bad yield of bad seeds" (չար սերմանցն չար արդիւնարարութիւն) [89v], a reference to Matthew 7:17. The subsequent passage relates the Mamikonean plan to take advantage of the third *fitna* and rebel against caliphal rule, in spite of Smbat Bagratuni's advice. The verse to which Łewond alludes here appears in the Sermon on the Mount as a warning about false prophets, and it is tempting to read this reference as a proleptic characterization of the Mamikonean rebellion as a false prophecy.

Unsurprisingly, Łewond uses scriptural citations in scenes of martyrdom. He describes those who carried out the murder of the priests of the church of Saint Grigor at the order of Muḥammad b. Marwān as the offspring of Satan, who "was a murderer from the beginning and stood not in the truth" (ի սկզբանէ մարդասպան էր և ի ճշմարտութեանն ոչ եկաց) [17r], citing John 8:44. Whereas the martyrs, says Łewond, received the "promised rest" (զխոստացեալն հանգիստ) [18r] of Matthew 11:29 and Hebrews 4, their tormentors were subjected to the evangelical torments of the "undying worm, the weeping of eyes and the gnashing of teeth" (զորդն անվախճան զլալն աչաց. և զկրճտելն ատամանց) [18r]. The *naxarark‘* trapped in the church of Nashawā/Naxčawan compared themselves, before they were immolated, to the three youths in the fiery furnace of the book of Daniel [25v]. At the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, the outnumbered Armenian forces invoked the Psalms and David's song of praise immediately before their defeat and death [114r]. By contrast, Łewond reports that the opposing general, ʿĀmir, was subsequently killed by the invisible sword of God's command, which "is more penetrating than all double-edged swords" (բափանցական է քան զամենայն սուր երկսայրի) [117r], a reference to Hebrews 4:12. The martyrdom of Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni under Mūsā al-Hādī is similarly embellished with scriptural references. Hamazasp and Sahak donned "the helmet of salvation" (սաղաւարտով փրկութեանն) [125r] of 1 Thessalonians 5:8, and their reward for accepting death was the "greatness of glory" (զմեծութիւն փառացն) [127r] promised by Paul in 2 Corinthians 4:17. At the same time, Łewond alludes to the breaking of the "sweet yoke" (զքաղցր լուծ) [124v] of Christ in Matthew 11:30 to describe the apostasy of Hamazasp and Sahak's brother Mehružan.

Finally, Łewond uses biblical allusions to intensify his depictions of caliphal oppression, particularly fiscal tyranny, in Armenia. When Muḥammad b. Marwān left Armenia, Łewond claims he took much booty and left the inhabitants "like a firebrand smoldering in the fire, like crushed ripe sheaves that hogs trample underfoot" (իբրև զխանձող ծխեալ ի հրոյ. և իբրև զաւրան վանակ[21] փխրեալ զոր առ ոտն կոխեալ խոզից) [18r]. Łewond here packs together three biblical allusions to portray the terrible circumstances of the Armenians. The first, "the firebrand smoldering in the fire," evokes Zechariah 3:2, but here the Armenians have not yet been snatched out of the fire as in the biblical text. The second, "like crushed ripe sheaves," recalls the Lord's punishment of Babylon in Jeremiah 51:33;

20 La Porta, "Sense of an Ending," 374–77.

21 M1902 has վանակ, but we should read վականակ.

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and the final part of the description ties it to the image of swine trampling pearls in Matthew 7. Łewond further compares the avariciousness of "the other ʿAbd Allāh," that is, Manṣūr, to the "net spread on Tabor" (զվարմ ȧզեալ ի Տամբիոն) [95r] of Hosea 5:1, in which the prophet berates the rulers of Israel for ensnaring their people in destruction rather than protecting them. He laments that the taxation policies of the governor Yazīd b. Usayd during the reign of Manṣūr drove people to hide in "caves and crevices" (ի յայրս և ի փապարս) [101r], like the righteous in Hebrews 11:38 and the mighty at the opening of the sixth seal in Revelation 6:15, including the Armenian nobility who ate "from the furnace of poverty" (ի հնոցէ աղքատութեան) [101v] mentioned in Isaiah 48:10. Similarly, Łewond likens the destitution of the Armenians resulting from the policies of Hārūn al-Rashīd to the servitude of the Gibeonites in Joshua 9 [129v].

Whether these scriptural citations were already present in the sources Łewond used or whether he added them himself, they helped him shape the reception of his work. Through the evocation of biblical precedent and the fulfillment of prophecy, Łewond's *History* becomes more than a retelling of the past for the purposes of antiquarian interest; instead, it underscores for his audience how to read and learn from the past by noting its patterns and giving history a coherent structure. In general, the patterning of history is a critical feature of Łewond's text, as events appear to repeat themselves in slightly different combinations or to follow the logic of a narrative arc. We can see this, for example, in the parallelisms between the sack of Dabīl/Duin and the siege of Damascus; in those between the failed rebellions of 83/703, 132/750, and 158/775; and in Łewond's recasting of the careers of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Muḥammad b. Marwān so that they end in failure. In this way, Łewond's work lives up to its description as a "teaching" (վարդապետութիւն) in the colophon, even if his lesson is not strictly religious but rather political in its message.

B.3. ARMENIAN SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Łewond's *History* stands both within and outside of the Armenian historiographical tradition. In order to fully grasp how much Łewond was indebted to his predecessors and how much he diverged from them, it is useful to situate his work among the other histories written in Armenian between the fifth and early eleventh centuries CE.[22] A concern with historical writing is a marked characteristic of the Armenian literary tradition, which began soon after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in 406 CE by a former member of the royal chancellery named Maštocʿ. The earliest known text to have been originally composed in Armenian, Koriwn's *Life of Maštocʿ* (ca. 440 CE), is technically an encomium rather than a "history," but it nonetheless recorded the process of the invention of the alphabet and of the translation of the Bible and other religiously important texts into Armenian. The second half of the fifth and the early sixth centuries saw the composition of a series of chronologically focused histories that provide a picture of Armenian culture and society from the Christianization of the monarchy to the Armenian rebellions against the Sasanian Empire in the second half of the fifth century CE. The *History* attributed to the elusive Agatʿangełos recounts the story of the conversion of the Arsacid king of Armenia, Trdat III/IV, to Christianity at the hands of Grigor Partʿew at the beginning of the fourth

22 For a helpful review of early Armenian historiography, see Mahé, "Entre Moïse et Mahomet."

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century CE. The textual history of the work is complicated; the version that became dominant in the Armenian tradition crystallized around 460 CE, although it was certainly based on older traditions. The *Epic Histories* or *Buzandaran* attributed to Pʿawstos (ca. 470 CE) continues the narrative from the descendants of Trdat to the partition of Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanian Empire in 387 CE. The work sheds much light on Armenian society during that period and particularly on the struggle between the Arsacid monarchy and the descendants of Grigor Partʿew, who led the Church for the majority of this time.

The late fifth-century *History* of Łazar Pʿarpecʿi concentrates on the period between 387 and 485 CE. Łazar's narrative discusses the fall of the Armenian Arsacid monarchy, the end of Grigor Partʿew's family's hold on the patriarchate, and the Armenian revolts led by the Mamikonean family against the Sasanian Empire in 450–51 and 481–84 CE. The war against the Sasanians in 450–51 CE spearheaded by Vardan Mamikonean received renewed treatment by Ełišē in the late fifth or early sixth century. The rebellion had been a significant military loss for the Armenian forces, as many of the rebellion's leaders, including Vardan himself, were killed at the battle of Awarayr in May of 451 CE, while others were taken away into captivity. Ełišē's achievement was to convert this physical defeat into a spiritual victory. He accomplished his desired purpose so successfully that his account became the dominant perspective on the rebellion in the Armenian tradition and remains so to this day. His treatment of the Sasanian Empire also served as a model for the depictions of the Caliphate in fourth/tenth-century Armenian sources.[23] Both Łazar's and Ełišē's texts were commissioned by members of the Mamikonean family, and it is thus unsurprising that the works emphasize the role of that family in Armenia's historical narrative.

After a hiatus in historical writing, the seventh-century *History* attributed to Sebēos addresses the 180-year period between the Armenian rebellion of the 480s CE and the first *fitna* that ended in 41/661. The work shows a discernible shift away from centering the Mamikoneankʿ in Armenian affairs and toward the rising Bagratuni family. The anonymous author contextualizes Armenian history within the complex relations between the Byzantine and Sasanian empires and is the first Armenian historian to analyze the rise of Islam and the early Islamic conquests. This work immediately precedes that of Łewond, which narrates events up to about 172/788.

Łewond's *History* fits well within the prior Armenian historiographical tradition in terms of his chronological approach, his broad geographical understanding of Armenia, and his focus on a specific period of time. Like Ełišē and Łazar, he foregrounds the role of his patron's family, the Bagratunikʿ, but his work is not a family history. After Łewond, the Armenian historiographical tradition took several different paths. On the one hand, Movsēs Xorenacʿi's *History*, which attempted to include Armenia within a universalist matrix from Creation until the fifth century CE, exerted an influence on many later authors, who provided summaries of the periods preceding their own focus. On the other, Yovhan Mamikonean's *History of Tarōn* and Tʿovma Arcruni's *History of the House of the Arcrunikʿ* started a tradition of local or family histories.

Although Łewond was informed by earlier texts such as those of Agatʿangełos and Ełišē and the *Buzandaran*, from which he borrowed phraseology, the only two earlier historiographical texts with whose material his overlaps is the *History* attributed to Sebēos

23 Muyldermans, "Un procédé hagiographique"; Arcruni, *History*, 45–50.

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and the *Anonymous Chronicle* attributed to Pʿilon Tirakacʿi. For the critical first decades of caliphal incursions into Armenia between 9/630 and 41/661, Łewond reviews the same historical events as Sebēos does. However, it is clear that Łewond did not rely on the earlier history or on a common source, as there is a stark divergence between the two authors' respective evaluations of Armenia's submission to the Caliphate.[24] According to Sebēos, in 652 CE, the prince of Armenia, Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, facing a coordinated Muslim invasion and not seeing any assistance arrive from the Byzantine Empire, decided to come to terms with the governor of Syria, Muʿāwiya. Sebēos decries this agreement as a "pact with death" (ուխտ ընդ մահու) and "an alliance with hell" (ընդ դժոխոց դաշինս).[25] He thus depicts Tʿēodoros's submission as an act of political cowardice that betrayed Armenia's Christian values and delivered the country to damnation. He further places the Islamic conquest of the Byzantine and Persian empires within the eschatological schema of Daniel 7. Łewond, by contrast, prefaces Tʿēodoros's decision to submit to the Caliphate with an episode highlighting Byzantine stupidity and arrogance. He also asserts explicitly that the initiative to accept the terms offered by the Caliphate came from the leadership of the Armenian Church, Catholicos Nersēs III, who garnered the support of the Armenian nobility. Furthermore, Łewond is at pains to point out that after Tʿēodoros died in 654 CE, Muʿāwiya appointed Grigor Mamikonean prince of Armenia, and peace endured throughout his reign. In Łewond's view, then, the circumstances of Armenia's submission to the Caliphate exemplified how ecclesiastical and political coordination could result in a period of prosperity. In addition, although Łewond was apparently aware of eschatological interpretations of the caliphal expansion similar to that expressed by Sebēos, he chose not to use them as a hermeneutical lens through which to understand caliphal supremacy.[26]

Although there are no apparent citations of Sebēos in Łewond's *History*, there is a passage that is found nearly verbatim in the first/seventh-century *Anonymous Chronicle* most recently attributed by Greenwood to Pʿilon Tirakacʿi.[27] The chronicle consists of two parts, both of which were translated from Greek and to which brief notices of Armenian interest were added. It is uncertain whether Łewond worked from the chronicle itself or accessed a source also used by the translator and compiler of the *Anonymous Chronicle*. The second part of the chronicle is arranged according to the succession of Roman emperors; its early sections until the reign of Constantine I are largely an adapted summary of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. Subsequently, the chronicle still follows imperial chronology but presents an ecclesiastical and conciliar history from a Miaphysite perspective down to the reign of Justinian II. The episode that appears both in this chronicle and in Łewond's work demonstrates how the confusion of the second *fitna* allowed the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Caucasian Albanians to cease paying tribute to the Caliphate. It also records the Khazar invasion and conquest of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania.[28] Although the amount of overlapping material is not extensive, it highlights potential ways in which

24 See Greenwood, "Reassessment," 133; *pace* Arzoumanian in Łewond, *History of Łewond*, 26.

25 Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 1.136; *Patmutʿiwn*, 164. Cf. Isaiah 28:15, 18.

26 La Porta, "Sense of an Ending," 374–75.

27 Greenwood, "'New Light.'"

28 See chapter I.C.2.

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Łewond adapted his sources by contextualizing the reported events within an Armenian frame and placing Armenian actors in the center of the narrative.

A very different text with which Łewond also shares material but whose genre is difficult to classify is the *History* of the Anonymous Storyteller. The text, whose author is also known as Pseudo-Šapuh as it was first mistakenly thought to be the history of Šapuh Bagratuni, is a compilation of tales that circulated around southern Armenia in the medieval period. The history can be divided into two main parts. The first part concerns itself with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, the reigns of the emperors Maurice and Herakleios, the coming of a piece of the True Cross to Hacʿiwn, and the exploits and repentance of the Armenian prince Vard Ṙštuni. The second part presents stories about events and figures in the region of Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan between the second/eighth and fourth/tenth centuries. The date of composition of this text is uncertain and the various stories included in it were likely written down at different times, but none of the events recounted in the text postdate the late fourth/tenth century. It is therefore possible that the text reached the form in which it has been transmitted in the manuscripts in the late fourth/tenth or early fifth/eleventh century. Although its chronology and dramatic flair have led some scholars to dismiss it as "confused" or "corrupted," it is a valuable resource for understanding the development of stories among medieval Armenian audiences. Certain stories—such as those about Prince Vard Ṙštuni, Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China, and Tačat Anjewacʿi—are shared by Łewond and Pseudo-Šapuh, but it is not possible to posit the relationship between the two as one of simple dependence of the latter upon the former. Pseudo-Šapuh's history contains details that do not occur in Łewond's, and the story has clearly been filtered through narrative retellings. Nonetheless, reading Łewond against Pseudo-Šapuh allows us to catch a glimpse of how these stories were received by different audiences and often brings into relief what aspect of them Łewond chose to emphasize in his account.

Although the fourth/tenth-century historians Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi and Tʿovma Arcruni do not seem to have been aware of Łewond's *History*, in a few instances their testimony helps evaluate Łewond's interpretation of events. Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi was catholicos of the Armenian Church from 898 to 929 CE, and his *History*, completed around 923 or 924 CE, begins with the Flood and continues to his own day. The focus of the work is on the reigns of the Bagratuni kings Smbat I (r. 890–914 CE) and Ašot II (r. 914–29 CE), although the author also provides a rather detailed overview of Armenian history prior to Smbat I's accession to the throne in 890 CE. Tʿovma Arcruni, whose *History of the House of Arcrunikʿ* ends in 904 CE, is chiefly concerned with the deeds and antagonisms of members of the Arcruni family and with events that occurred in the region of Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan.[29] Another work whose author was unaware of Łewond's *History* but which provides useful comparative information in places is the *History of Caucasian Albania* attributed to Movsēs Dasxurancʿi (or Kałankatuacʿi). Although compiled in the fourth/tenth century, it contains earlier texts and is particularly informative about the Khazar raids into the south Caucasus.

29 On the relationship between Łewond and Tʿovma, see Greenwood, "Reassessment," 124–25.

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It is not our intention here or in our commentary to document every text that availed itself of Łewond's work, but it may be worthwhile to mention two of them.[30] As stated earlier, Łewond's work first appears in the Armenian historiographical tradition with Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi's *Universal History* (ca. 1005 CE), which chronicles events from Creation until 1004–5 CE over the course of three books. Stepʿanos relies heavily on Łewond's text in book II, chapter 4, of his work. The seventh/thirteenth-century monastic scholar Vardan Arewelcʿi also relies on Łewond's work for those parts of his *Historical Compilation*, completed soon after 1267 CE, that address Armenia under caliphal rule in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. In addition to attesting to the incorporation of Łewond's text into and its reception by the Armenian historiographical tradition, these two works were written prior to the earliest surviving manuscript of the *History* and therefore potentially preserve readings older than those of M1902.

As part of his historical narrative, Łewond uses martyrological language and biblical allusions to depict the deaths of the nobles at Nashawā/Naxčawan and the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand. It is uncertain whether Łewond appropriated this language for his retellings from martyrological accounts or popular views of the deaths of the nobles as martyrdoms, or whether he employed this language precisely to promote such a perception. The latter possibility seems more likely; nevertheless, the slain did not enter into the standard commemorations of martyrs. On the other hand, Łewond almost certainly reframed a martyrological account of the executions of the Arcruni brothers Sahak and Hamazasp for his own history. The martyrologies of the brothers that have survived show no reliance on Łewond's text, but images of the pair on the facade of the third/ninth-century Church of the Holy Cross on the island of Ałtʿamar designating them martyrs suggest the existence of a developed cult by that time.

B.4. ARABIC SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Although Łewond continues the chronological thread of his Armenian predecessors, his literary style and historiographical approach are markedly different from theirs. He proceeds chronologically, but he does not present a continuous narrative as most of the authors before him did.[31] Instead, he provides vignettes of events that occurred during each caliphal period, which often results in a disjointed narrative that may be hard to follow as the narrative thread is repeatedly interrupted. These units, however, bear a resemblance to the reports (*akhbār*) of Arabic historiographical compositions of the conquest and in a few cases even repeat some of their tropes. Łewond's methodological and stylistic departures from the previous mainstream of Armenian historiography suggest that he was tapping into non-Armenian historiographical traditions, particularly those that circulated in Arabic.

In 1856 and 1857 Chanazarian published a Classical Armenian edition and French translation of Łewond's text under the titles *Aršawank Arabacʿ i Hays* ("The Incursions of the Arabs into Armenia") and *Histoire des guerres et conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*. Although the title seems spurious at first glance, we saw above that the fifth/eleventh-century text

30 Other historiographical works that contain pieces of information that assist in reading Łewond's text are discussed in the commentary.

31 Pseudo-Sebēos exhibits a similar tendency. See Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 1.lix.

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of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi describes Łewond's *History* as "the history of Łewond the priest, who [recorded] the emergence of the Arabs and the travails of Armenians in their tyranny" (Պատմութիւն Ղևոնդ երիցու, որ ինչ վասն Տաճկաց ելիցն և անցից Հայոց ի նոցունց բռնութենէ).[32] The word "emergence" in Armenian, *elkʿ*, may also be translated as "openings," which is the literal translation of the Arabic word *futūḥ*. Łewond did not explicitly say that he was writing in response to a specific genre or text in Arabic, but it is not entirely unknown for Christian authors to rewrite Arabic *futūḥ* narratives originally told from a Muslim perspective.[33] Furthermore, even if we prefer to see Łewond's text as fully independent of Arabic literary genres, the *futūḥ* narratives offer a productive hermeneutic for analyzing the parameters and goals of Łewond's *History*.

Defining the *futūḥ* as a genre of Arabic literature is surprisingly difficult. Several studies of individual *futūḥ* narratives have concluded that the narratives under consideration do not, in fact, qualify as *futūḥ*.[34] It thus seems easier to ascertain what fails to live up to the name of *futūḥ* than it is to define the genre with any sort of cohesiveness. This difficulty largely stems from the fluidity of the genre and its intersections with other forms of historical writing over time. A. Noth speculated that there were three stages in the development of *futūḥ* narratives: first texts on specific cities or battles, then works on specific provinces, and finally the universal collections. He noted, however, that many of the written versions of the earlier stages were put to the page around the same time as the universal *futūḥ* narratives. More recently, scholars have cast doubt on his description, preferring to identify *futūḥ* of various types as early developments.[35] For our purposes, the variety of geographical parameters is perhaps more important than the development of the genre over time. The chronological parameters of the *futūḥ* genre fluctuate as much as its geographical limits do. The most famous *futūḥ* works, such as Balādhurī's *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* and Ibn Aʿtham's *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, extend up to the authors' own lifetimes in the early ʿAbbāsid period. Such a frame effectively projects the conquests as an ongoing process that played out continuously across the Caliphate. Łewond's *History* is most comparable to the universal *futūḥ* narratives. Despite its focus on Armenia, Łewond expends significant effort chronicling events in regions outside the province. He also describes the conquests as ongoing, including those in Armenia, on the Khazar front, and against the Roman Empire even up to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

The goals of the *futūḥ* narratives differ as much as the forms, but F. Donner has identified several rationales that underpin the genre. He notes, first, that *futūḥ* narratives justify Islamic rule over non-Muslims, frequently with reference to the will of God or a divine plan. In describing the specifics of the conquests, these texts lay out how and why communities should exist in relation to one another. Donner further explains that such accounts offer

32 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 99–100; *Tiezerakan Patmutʿiwn*, 7; "Patmutʿiwn Tiezerakan," 640.

33 Chekroun, "Le Mäṣḥafä Seddät."

34 For example, M. Ahmed Asif, *Book of Conquest*, 62–67, compared the *Chachnāma* to Balādhurī's *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* and concluded that the former did not qualify as a *fatḥnāma*; a few years later, R. Lynch, *Arab Conquests*, argued that Balādhurī's book also does not constitute a *futūḥ* narrative, explaining that the title was added sometime after the work's composition. Another example, discussed below, is *Futūḥ Ifrīqiyya*. Yet another example is T. Khalidi's assessment of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* ("the title of the work is a misnomer") in Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 66.

35 Noth, *Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 31–33. For a response, see Donner, *Narratives*, 175–76.

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an explanation for the prominence of certain people or families who participated in the conquests.[36] Additionally, the *futūḥ* works elucidate administrative norms in the provinces of the Caliphate, offering a sense of antiquity for later ʿAbbāsid policies. *Futūḥ* narratives thus purport to preserve peace treaties, to record the collection of taxes, and to attest to the establishment of Muslim presence in cities. These themes are directly relevant to Łewond's *History*, which is largely concerned with how and why the Caliphate ruled Armenia. He frequently refers to the written oaths or treaties between caliphal governors and the Armenians. He tracks the changes in caliphal taxation and in the garrisons of caliphal forces. In particular, he celebrates and justifies Bagratuni dominance while describing how the family fought in tandem with caliphal forces against the Khazars to earn its position.

The structure of *futūḥ* narratives, like their form and goals, was not uniform. However, some generalizations can be made. First, the *futūḥ* typically contain stand-alone reports, occasionally with chains of transmission. Second, their authors frequently employ poems, select Qurʾānic verses, conversations, and/or letters to underscore the valor of the main actors.[37] Third, the narratives are organized chronologically. The obvious exception to this last general rule is Balādhurī's history, which frequently stands as the exemplar on which we judge the *futūḥ* genre as a whole; Balādhurī's text is organized first by province, then by region or city, and only then chronologically within each locale. Again, these structural considerations are useful in approaching Łewond's text. The vignettes that seem to be disjointed from the perspective of Armenian historiography, as noted above, fit comfortably into the context of the stand-alone reports of Arabic historical writing, where the placement of specific reports was often just as telling as their content. Further, Łewond's use of biblical texts and his inclusion of correspondence (between ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Leo the Isaurian, as well as between Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Leo) align with the expectations of both Arabic and Armenian historical writing.

Finally, the register of the *futūḥ* narratives depends largely on the specific author and, at times, the process of redaction. So, for example, Ibn Aʿtham's conquest narrative reads much like any other historical text in Arabic, comparable to the works of Ṭabarī and Yaʿqūbī despite his inclusion of legendary motifs. However, Pseudo-Wāqidī threads popular stories about legendary warriors through his account of the conquests of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. Some *futūḥ* narratives incorporate epic themes to such an extent that they have been tagged "offshoot veins—perhaps venules—from the bloodline of Homeric epic,"[38] while others have been called dry bureaucratic manuals with "little room for fantasy or miracle."[39] Given the range of possibilities for presenting the *futūḥ*, "register" does not seem a stable enough category to apply to the analysis of Łewond's text. However, it is worth noting that many of the *futūḥ* narratives reflect the oral transmission of the stories, suggesting that their content was particularly popular in storytelling circles.

36 Donner, *Narratives*, 177. Donner offers a third rationale, too: exhortation to holy war. Assessing this goal in relation to Łewond requires further study.

37 Ahmed Asif, *Book of Conquest*, 63.

38 Long, "Futûḥ Ifrîqîya," 135. For other accounts of the epic nature of the *futūḥ*, see Paret, "Die legendäre Futūḥ-Literatur"; Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 67. For Armenian material, in particular, see Ter-Łevondyan, "Ałǰik Taroni zruycʿə."

39 Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, 68.

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Some elements of Łewond's *History*, such as Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China, therefore allow for a productive comparison.

Łewond's *History* should be analyzed as a *futūḥ* narrative even though it does not fit into the genre neatly. The genre is plastic and diverse, so even the various texts explicitly labeled *futūḥ* frequently do not fit set patterns. However, we might harness the flexibility of the genre to our own advantage. Considering Łewond's *History* as a *futūḥ* narrative makes sense of some of his editorial choices—including the parameters, goals, structure, and register—which were taken in dialogue with other ʿAbbāsid-era texts. Such a hermeneutic does not imply that we should deny the specificities of Armenian historical writing. Instead, we should accept that histories in Armenian intersected with non-Armenian historiography in interesting ways. Above, we noted that the most prominent theme in Łewond's *History* is conflict. Instead of concluding that Łewond recorded the ongoing struggles of Armenians against the Caliphate—which, in fact, constitute a relatively small proportion of the contention described in his text—we might speculate about the value of such stories as proscriptive guides, just like in the *futūḥ*. The *futūḥ* are concerned with political and religious legitimation, and this agenda aligns well with Łewond's interest in caliphal control and Bagratuni ascendance within the caliphal system. Łewond explains why caliphal administration worked the way it did and how the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ found a place as active participants in the expansion of the Caliphate.

Łewond's connection to Arabic historical writing lies not merely in the work's similarity to the *futūḥ* as a genre. At several points in his *History*, we also find indications of familiarity with Arabic. Łewond attributes the account of the capture of Dabīl/Duin to the caliphal governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bāhilī: "He is said to have related this about himself with his own mouth" (զայս բերանով իւրով ասի պատմել զինքեանէ) [28r]. Of course, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was quite old when he became governor during the caliphate of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–15), at least seventy-five years before Łewond wrote his *History*. Łewond must thus be quoting the report from his source, rather than directly from the governor. Nevertheless, the details of the report suggest that stories about the conquests circulated orally between Arabs and Armenians, because Łewond deploys literary tropes in this passage that are very common in Arabic *futūḥ* narratives. Łewond later attests that he heard about the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand from members of the caliphal army: "As we heard from the very enemy himself" (որպէս ուսաք ի նոյն ինքն ի թշնամեացն) [114v]. In some places, Łewond translates phrases or passages that reflect familiarity with Arabic. For example, he describes troops "from the regiment of the house of Khorasan" (ի տոհմէ Խորասանի գնդին) [109v], which renders the common phrase "from the people of Khurāsān" (من اهل خراسان) used to refer to the ʿAbbāsid army. Łewond also employs phrases that find close parallels in Arabic *futūḥ* narratives; see, for example, his wording about the "fifth" of the spoils sent back to the caliph [84r].

The closest parallel for Łewond's text is undeniably the fourth/tenth-century conquest narrative of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī.[40] Among the Arabic sources Ibn Aʿtham offers the most

40 Ibn Aʿtham has traditionally been sidelined in studies of early Islamic history, though scholars have recently shown more interest in his history. One of the main points of contention has been the dating of his work, as some see him as a third/ninth-century historian while others place him in the early fourth/tenth century. Another common point of debate is the extent to which his history reflects Shīʿī tendencies. See Conrad, "Ibn Aʿtham"; Kurat, "Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Aʿtham al-Kūfī"; Lindstedt, "Al-Madāʾinī's

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in-depth account of the battle of Vardanakert as well as of the subsequent battle between Muḥammad b. Marwān and the Roman forces and of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan. Although none of these passages are found verbatim in Łewond, they are quite similar. Ibn Aʿtham is also the only early ʿAbbāsid Arabic writer to record the specific details of the flight of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik from the Khazars in line with Łewond's version. Both Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham side with Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī in his dispute with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and express their concerns about Saʿīd's "family" (ազգաւորեան; عشيرة), whereas other Arabic sources, such as Yaʿqūbī, paint Maslama in a much more favorable light. Łewond's and Ibn Aʿtham's presentations of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign against Constantinople are mirror images of each other; Łewond's deheroization of Maslama and Ibn Aʿtham's heroization narrative seem to riff off each other.[41] Łewond's references to the "fifth" of the spoils taken from the Khazars replicate the formula common in Ibn Aʿtham's account of the conquests. Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond both describe the marriage between the caliphal governor Yazīd b. Usayd and the Khazar khatun with similar details, whereas other Arabic texts, such as those of Ṭabarī and Azdī, abridge the story and replace the groom with Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. Ibn Aʿtham is the only Arabic source to offer a description of the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, and his account forces a reevaluation of Łewond's version of events. In short, Łewond's *History* must be read with close consideration to Ibn Aʿtham's text. Most of the passages relevant to both Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond relate to military affairs, particularly the wars with the Khazars. As a result, it seems very possible that the texts were related through storytelling along the frontier, given the Armenian involvement in the caliphal campaigns against the Khazars. This would make sense of the above-quoted statement: "As we heard from the very enemy himself."

The relationship between Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond seems to point to the existence of a broader circle of loosely affiliated texts. Some of the passages noted above appear nearly verbatim in the fourth/tenth-century Persian history of Balʿamī. So, for example, the argument between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik appears in Persian translation, though Balʿamī passes over some of the other episodes, such as the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, in silence. The current state of scholarship on Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī does not permit extensive conclusions about their interrelation with Łewond's text, as it seems quite possible that the copyist of Balʿamī's history may have had access to Ibn Aʿtham's work. Although Balʿamī wrote in the fourth/tenth century, the earliest extant manuscript dates to the seventh/thirteenth century, leaving adequate time for additions to be inserted into the text.[42] Nevertheless, as scholars continue to work on the many manuscripts of both Ibn Aʿtham's and Balʿamī's texts, it may be possible to extend the brief observations in this volume. Perhaps more intriguing still is the fact that where the details provided by Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond align, Balādhurī frequently has a much-abridged comment. We might think of the information in Ibn Aʿtham, Łewond, Balʿamī, and Balādhurī as a Venn diagram, with overlap between the respective circles even though the four texts

Kitāb al-Dawla"; Mclaren, "Dating Ibn Aʿtham's History"; Scheiner, "Writing the History"; Mónika Schönléber, "Notes."

41 See the commentary, which builds on Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*.

42 On the manuscripts of Balʿamī, see appendix III in Peacock, *Mediaeval Islamic Historiography*, and Daniel, "Manuscripts and Editions." The authors would like to thank A. Peacock for bringing up this possibility in a private email.

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are very different in content and goals. Other historians—particularly Yaʿqūbī and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ—intermittently provide useful information to read against Łewond's text. By contrast, some of the more commonly cited Arabic histories—notably, those of Ṭabarī and Masʿūdī—help surprisingly little.

Łewond's connection to caliphal historiography is evident not only in the links between his work and Arabic and Persian texts but also in the organization of his narrative according to the succession of caliphs. Łewond may have relied on an Arabic list of caliphs for this information.[43] He uses formulaic phrases to announce the death of a caliph, the accession of a new caliph, and the length of the latter's reign (table 1). These formulae are not usual in Armenian sources.[44] In fact, the changes in the formulae introducing and concluding each caliphal reign may suggest that Łewond or his source may have cobbled together multiple lists. Łewond here finds common ground with histories written in Syriac, Latin, and Arabic between the second/eighth and fourth/tenth centuries.

Table 1. Beginning and ending formulae in Łewond's list of caliphs.

Caliph	Beginning formulae	Ending formulae
Rightly guided caliphs	"After that, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān succeeded to Muḥammad's authority for thirty-eight years." (Յետ այնորիկ փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւնն Մահմետի. Աբուբաքր. և Ամր. և Աւթման ամս *երեսուն եւ ութ*:) [3v–4r]	"Having completed those evils, the Ishmaelite princes Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar each died." (և զայն չարիս կատարեալ իշխանացն Իսմայելի, Աբուբաքարա, Օթմանա, Ամրի, յաւուրս իւրեանց վախճանեցան:) [10v]
Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān	"Then after them, a certain Muʿāwiya reigned for nineteen years and four months, then he died." (Յետ նոցա ոմն զիշխանութիւնն Մաւիս ոմն ամս. *ինն եւ տասն*. և ամիս. *չորս*. և վախճանի:) [10v]	
Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya	"And after him, [there was] Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya; and he lived for two years and five months, then he died." (Եւ յետ նորա Իզիտ որդի Մաւեա. և ապրի ամս. *երկու*. և ամիս. *հինգ*. և վախճանի:) [12r]	
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	"After him, there was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He lived for twenty-one years, then he died. These [are] his deeds." (Եւ յետ նորա Աբդլմիլք որդի Մրուանա. և եկեաց ամս. *քսան եւ մի*. և վախճանեցաւ. և այս վարք նորայ:) [12v]	"After ʿAbd al-Malik held power in this manner, he died." (և Աբդլմելքի կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն այսպիսի վարուք վախճանէր:) [24r]
Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	"After him, his son, the Ishmaelite prince Walīd, succeeded him for ten years and eight months, then died. These [are] his deeds." (Եւ յետ նորա փոխանորդէ որդի նորին Վլիթ իշխան Իսմաելի ամս. *տասն*. և ամիս. *ութ*. և վախճանի: Եւ այս վարք նորա:) [24r]	"He lived for ten years and eight months, then he died." (ամս *տասն*. և ամիս *ութ* կեցեալ վախճանի:) [30v]

(continued)

43 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 121–33.

44 The closest comparison is Tʿovma Arcruni's fourth/tenth-century *History*, which lists the names of the caliphs and the lengths of their reigns.

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Table 1. Beginning and ending formulae in Łewond's list of caliphs *(continued)*.

Caliph	Beginning formulae	Ending formulae
Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik	"After him, Sulaymān reigned for two years and eight months, then he died. These [are] his deeds." (Յետ նորա փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւնն Սուլեման ամս. *երկուս.* և ամիսս *ութ* և վախճանի. և այս վարք նորա։) [30v]	"Having completed all of this, Sulaymān died." (և կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* վախճանեցաւ Մալիման։[45]) [31v]
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	"After him, ʿUmar reigned for two years and five months, then he died." (Եւ յետ նորա փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւնն Ոմար ամս. *երկուս.* և ամիսս. *հինգ.* և վախճանի։) [31v]	"And after all of that, he died." (և յետ այսր ամենայնի եղելոյ վախճանէր։) [72v]
Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	"Then after him, a certain Yazīd ruled for six years." (Իսկ ապա յետ նորա. Յեզկիրտ ոմն տիրեալ ամս։ *վեց.*) [72v]	
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik	"Shem, who is Hishām, succeeded him and ruled for nineteen years." (Տիրէ դարձեալ փոխանակ նորա Շամ որ է Հեշմ ամս. *ինն եւ տասն.*) [73r]	"After nineteen years, Hishām died." (և լցեալ. *ինն և տասն.* ամ. Հեշմա վախճանէր։) [84v]
Walīd b. Yazīd	"His successor Walīd ruled for a year and a half." (Եւ տիրէ փոխանակ նորա Վլիթ ամ. *մի.* և կէս.) [84v]	
Marwān b. Muḥammad	"He himself held power for six years." (Եւ յաղթահարէր Մրուանն զմիս կողմն և սպան զՍուլեմանն և կալաւ զիշխանութիւն ինքն ամս. *վեց։*) [86r]	"He committed all of these evils—the disturbances of wars, the capture of cities, and the shedding of blood—in six years, then he died." (և զայս *ամենայն* չարիս և դղրդմունս պատերազմաց և զառմունս քաղաքաց և զհեղմունս արեանց կատարեալ ամս. *վեց.* վախճանէր։) [94v]
ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ	"And ʿAbd Allāh ruled in his place. . . ." (Եւ տիրէ ընդ նորա Աբդլա.) [94v]	"After ʿAbd Allāh completed the third year of his reign, he died." (Եւ Աբդլայն լցեալ զերրորդ ամ իշխանութեանն վախճանէր.) [96r]
ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr	"And his brother, the other ʿAbd Allāh, took over his authority for twenty-two years." (Եւ առնոյր զիշխանութիւն նորա եղբայր նորին միւս Աբդլայ. ամս. *քսան եւ երկու։*) [96r]	
Muḥammad al-Mahdī	"And after this, his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī succeeded to his kingdom." (Եւ յետ այսորիկ յաջորդէ զիշխանութիւն նորա Մահմետ Մահադի որդի նորա.) [118r]	"Muḥammad reigned for eight years and, on the arrival of Rawḥ, he died." (Եւ կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն մահմետ ամս. *ութ.* և ընդ գալն Ռոհայ՝ վախճանեցաւ։) [123v]
Mūsā al-Hādī	"Then after him, Mūsā succeeded his father for a year." (Ապա յետ նորա Մուսէ փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւն հայր իւրոյ ամ մի.) [123v]	"Mūsā reigned for one year and died. . . . Having completed all of these evils, he died after a year." (Եւ Մուսէի կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն ամ մի, վախճանէր։ . . . Եւ կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* չարիս յետ ամի միոջ սատակէր։) [127r–v]
Hārūn al-Rashīd	"After him, there was Hārūn the son of Muḥammad and brother of Mūsā." (Յետ սորա կացեալ Ահարոն որդի Մահմետի, եղբայր Մուսէի.) [127v]	

45 Մալիման] read: Սուլիման.

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Since the lists of caliphs circulated in multiple languages, it is not possible to ascertain the provenance of Łewond's information with any certainty.[46] A comparison of the length of each reign in such lists reveals that Łewond's does not align completely with any other extant list (table 2). The inclusion of a list of caliphs is a common feature of Syriac texts composed in the Umayyad heartlands and of Latin histories from Umayyad Andalus, which suggests an underlying layer of second/eighth-century historiography that likely derives from the caliphal court. Łewond's reliance on such a source supports the broader argument that Christian sources can serve as an "echo of lost Islamic historiography," preserving snippets about the Umayyad period that were efficaciously edited out of the Arabic-Islamic texts of the ʿAbbāsid age.[47] Some details in Łewond's text indeed suggest an Umayyad provenance for his information. For example, Łewond omits any mention at all of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad, who famously clashed with the Umayyad governor of Syria (and later caliph) Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657. The omission of ʿAlī is a feature of all of the caliphal lists and seems to reflect pro-Umayyad tendencies, as it bypasses the question of Umayyad mistreatment of the Prophet's family.[48] Łewond follows this trend further by ignoring the ʿAlids entirely; his sole comment about the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya is a brief note about tribute, with no mention of his role in the murder of the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī.[49] Since Łewond wrote in the early ʿAbbāsid period, it is difficult to untangle Umay-yad subtexts from ʿAbbāsid perspectives. For example, Łewond's elevation of Sulaymān b. Hishām, whose mother belonged to the Umayyad family, as the primary leader during the third *fitna* may reflect unease with concubine-born caliphs, but this preoccupation does not fit the ʿAbbāsid period, when most caliphs were born of concubines. However, the concerns of the Umayyad period were not blotted out of ʿAbbāsid historiography writ large, and such Umayyad survivals continued to circulate in the decades after the fall of the dynasty.

Even if it conveyed Umayyad concerns, Łewond's caliphal list was updated in the ʿAbbāsid period to include later caliphs and to conform to the historiographical norms of the time. As Greenwood has pointed out, Łewond's list may have included brief character notes for some of the caliphs.[50] This possibility is best illustrated in the description of the Umayyad caliph Walīd b. Yazīd. Łewond notes the length of his reign and then asserts that "he was a robust man with great strength and took part in athletic wrestling" (նա էր այր պնդակազմ ուժով զաւրութեան. և վարէր ըմբշական մենամարտութեամբ) [84v]. After describing Walīd's attempts to test himself against "bravery of great strength" (զարիութիւն զաւրութեան ուժոյ), Łewond's account takes a sharp turn to denigrate the caliph for his despicable behavior. The dramatic change in tone suggests the seam between the caliphal list and Łewond's other source on Walīd's caliphate. Walīd is not the only caliph to receive

46 For the caliphal lists dated to 705, 724, and 775 CE, see Palmer, *Seventh Century*. For the two Latin chronicles, see "Chronicle of 741"; "Chronicle of 754," ed. Wolf; and "Chronicle of 754," ed. Mommsen. For the Syriac *Chronicle of 846*, see Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle."

47 Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 230; "Vanishing Syria."

48 Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 151 and 159; Constable, "Perceptions," 110 and 124.

49 The omission of the battle of Karbalāʾ is perhaps not that surprising, given the lack of attention it received in early sources writ large; see Borrut, "Remembering Karbalāʾ."

50 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 123.

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Table 2. Lengths of caliphal reigns in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs.

	Łewond	**List of caliphs, 705 CE**	**List of caliphs, 724 CE**	***Chronicle of 741***	***Chronicle of 754***	**List of caliphs, 775 CE**	***Chronicle of 846***
Prophet Muḥammad	20 y	7 y	10 y	10 y	10 y	10 y	skipped
Abū Bakr	n/a[51]	2 y	2 y 6 m	almost 3 y	3 y	1 y	skipped
ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb	n/a	12 y	10 y 3 m	10 y	n/a	12 y	skipped
ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān	n/a	12 y	12 y	12 y	12 y	12 y	skipped
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib	skipped	skipped	skipped	skipped	skipped	skipped	skipped
Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān	19 y 4 m	20 y	19 y 2 m	20 y	20 y	9 m	n/a
Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya	2y 5 m	3.5 y	3 y 8 m	3 y	3 y	3 y	3 y 6 m
Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd	skipped	skipped	skipped	0.5 y	0.5 y	skipped	n/a
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam	skipped	skipped	9 m	n/a	n/a	9 m	1.5 y
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	21 y	21 y	21 y 1 m	20 y	20 y	21 y	21 y
Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	10 y 8 m		9 y 8 m	9 y	9 y	9 y	9 y
Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik	2 y 8 m		2 y 9 m	3 y	3 y	2 y 7 m	2.5 y
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	2 y 5 m		2 y 5 m	3 y	n/a	2 y 7 m	2 y 7 m
Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	6 y		4 y 1 m 2 d	3 y	4 y	4 y 10 m 10 d	4 y
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik	19 y				n/a		19 y
Walīd b. Yazīd	1.5 y				1 y 9 m		1.5 y
Yazīd b. Walīd	skipped						skipped
Ibrāhīm b. Walīd	skipped						skipped
Marwān b. Muḥammad	6 y						n/a
ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ	3 y						n/a
Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr	22 y						23 y
Muḥammad al-Mahdī	8 y						8 y 9 m
Mūsā al-Hādī	1 y						1 y

Note: y = year(s); m = month(s); d = day(s); "n/a" signals that the caliph is included in the list, but the length of his reign is not specified. "Skipped" indicates that the caliph was not included in the list at all.

51 Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān are all included in Łewond's narrative, but he groups them together and offers twenty-eight years for their reigns combined.

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Table 3. Łewond's comments on particular caliphs' characters.

Caliph	Character note
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān	"He was a wicked man and fierce in battle" (Նա էր այր ժանդ և գոռ պատերազմաւ) [12v]
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz	"They say he was the most noble of all the men of his tribe" (Զսա ասեն ազնուականագոյն քան զ*ամենայն* արս ազգատոհմի իւրոյ) [31v]
Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik	"He was a wicked man and moved by fury" (որ էր այր ժանտ և մոլեկան[ան]ութ*եամբ* շարժեցեալ) [73v]
Walīd b. Yazīd	"He was a robust man with great strength and took part in athletic wrestling" (և նա էր այր պնդակազմ ուժով զաւրութ*եան*. և վարէր ըմբշական մենամարտութ*եամբ*) [84v]
Muḥammad al-Mahdī	"He was more noble than his father and better in conduct" (եւ սա էր ազնուական քան զհայր իւր և լաւագոյն բարուք) [118r]
Mūsā al-Hādī	"He was a noxious, licentious, and possessed man" (էր այր ժանդ և ապարասան և այսակիր) [123v]
Hārūn al-Rashīd	"He was avaricious and fond of money" (ագահ և արծաթասէր) [127v]

a brief character description before the account of his reign; see table 3 for Łewond's comments on several caliphs.

Although Syriac and Latin histories may preserve the tenor of Umayyad historical writing, such character notes are not common in the extant caliphal lists or other sources dependent on them. Instead, they resemble ʿAbbāsid-era deployment of caliphal lists. So, for example, Masʿūdī's fourth/tenth-century history offers the closest comparison to Łewond's structure:

> **An Account of the Reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik**
>
> Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik received the oath in Damascus on the day that ʿAbd al-Malik died. Walīd died in Damascus, halfway through Jumādā II in the year 96. His reign lasted nine years, eight months, and two nights. He died when he was forty-four years old. His patronymic was Abū al-ʿAbbās.
>
> **A Brief Account of His Deeds and His Life, and What Ḥajjāj Did during His Reign**
>
> Walīd was an obstinate, iniquitous, unjust tyrant . . .

> **ذكر ايام الوليد بن عبد الملك**
>
> وبويع الوليد بن عبد الملك بدمشق فى اليوم الذى توفى فيه عبد الملك وتوفى الوليد بدمشق للنصف من خمادى الآخرة سنة ست وتسعين فكانت ولايته تسع سنين وثمانية اشهر وليلتين وهلك وهو ابن اربع واربعين سنة وكان يكنى بابى العباس.
>
> **ذكر لمع من اخباره وسيرة وما كان من الحجاج فى ايامه**
>
> كان الوليد جبّارا عنيدا ظلوما غشوما . . .[52]

52 Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 5:360.

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Each time Masʿūdī introduces a new caliph, he mentions the length of his reign and provides a brief character assessment before enumerating the events of his reign. The information is filled out with more detail here than it is in Łewond, covering the date of the caliph's death and numerous other details. However, the phrase "a brief account of his deeds and his life" (ذكر لمع من اخباره وسيرة) is a useful comparand for Łewond's այս վարք նորա. As noted earlier, Masʿūdī rarely preserves information that matches Łewond's text. Despite the similarity of the two texts in form, none of the regnal lengths or character descriptions that Masʿūdī provides align with those in the Armenian work. Although no direct link exists between Masʿūdī and Łewond, we might suggest that Łewond's formulae derive from ʿAbbāsid-era reworkings of caliphal lists. However, a definitive understanding of how Umayyad information filtered into ʿAbbāsid historical writing continues to elude us, as does the answer to the question whether Łewond's caliphal list derived from a Syriac or an Arabic exemplar.

Aside from the possibility that Łewond may have had access to a list of caliphs in Syriac, little evidence connects Łewond to Syriac texts. Łewond employs the Syriac word *zuze* twice in reference to neck-sealing practices, which are described in Syriac sources as well.[53] However, one such reference is found in a passage with Grecisms, as well as a single-sentence snippet that appears in the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius (also potentially from either Greek or Syriac). Such spotty evidence suggests that individual words may have circulated between Syriac and Armenian at the time that Łewond was writing. The wholesale transmission of accounts from Syriac sources to Łewond is unlikely, particularly given how rarely his text corresponds with the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* despite the relative proximity of the two works in terms of both place and year of production. Although the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* occasionally preserves interesting details to compare to Łewond's narrative, the only time it is particularly useful in elucidating an episode in the Armenian text is in connection with the Roman incursion into Armenia during the third *fitna*, when the Romans relied on Christian troops from Jazīra.

B.5. GREEK SOURCES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Łewond's previously noted ambivalence toward the Roman Empire is reflected in the absence of detectable overlap between his work and surviving Greek historiographical works. Łewond's use of certain Greek expressions and words raises the possibility that he did have recourse to a Greek source or sources. For example, the titles "divinely crowned" (աստուածապսակեալ) and "pious" (բարէպաշտ) [4r] that he ascribes to the emperor Herakleios suggest familiarity with imperial titulature. The eschatological inscription supposedly left by Emperor Marcian in Darband [31r] similarly uses "autocrat," ինքնակալ, the Armenian calque on αὐτοκράτωρ, as well as the Armenian word "emperor," կայսր, derived from "caesar," and the Grecism "talent," տաղանդ, from τάλαντον. Łewond also records the movement of Maslama's troops across the Anatolian interior, identifying the region as *mesogaion* and then correctly translating it as "midlands" [75r]. During the reign of ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ, he refers to the future caliph Manṣūr as "the other ʿAbd Allāh" (միւս աբդլա) [94v] to distinguish him from Saffāḥ and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, an expression also used

53 See Commentary XII.C; Robinson, "Neck-Sealing."

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by Theophanes (τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀβδελᾶ). Łewond's account of the caliphate of Manṣūr contains even more vocabulary of Greek provenance. He calls the city of Qālīqalā/Karin by its Greek name, Theodosiopolis; he labels the Georgians Veṙia, confusing the Armenian rendition of the Greek toponym Ἰβηρία with the ethnonym for the Georgians; and he employs two loanwords from Greek ecclesiastical terminology, Armenian words that derive from Greek, and a Greek title.[54] Finally, Łewond's portrayal of Tačat Anjewacʿi's death evokes the name of the pagan god Hephaestus and other associations with volcanoes in Greek, and it uses the Armenian rendering of the Greek term "Caspian Gates" to refer to the pass at Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband [123r].

There are also three instances, outside of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, where Łewond's biblical citations show greater conformity to the Septuagint than to the Zohrab edition of the Armenian Bible (henceforth, Zohrab), which is the standard edition of the Armenian biblical text. Łewond's citation of Amos 1:1–3 [86v] has two lexical variants that may be informed by the Septuagint. Instead of "over three acts of iniquity" (ի վերայ երից անաւրէնութեանցն), Łewond's text reads, "over three acts of impiety" (ի վերայ երից ամբարշտութեանցն), which is closer to the Septuagint: ἐπὶ ταῖς τρισὶν ἀσεβείαις. Similarly, instead of "I will take captive the people Syria" (գերեսցի ժողովուրդն Ասորւոց), Łewond's text has "I will take captive the chosen people of Syria" (գերեսցի ընդիր ժողովուրդն Ասորոց), which seems to reflect the reading of the Septuagint, αἰχμαλωτευθήσεται λαὸς Συρίας ἐπίκλητος. On the other hand, his quote has two variants that do not find any support in the Septuagint. Instead of "they cut" (կտրէին), Łewond has "they cleaved," (հերձուին), while the Septuagint reads "they sawed," ἔπριζον; and instead of "I will destroy the tribe out of the men of Ḥarrān" (կեսերեցից զազգն յարանց Խառանու), Łewond's text reads, "I will destroy the *entire* tribe out of the men of Ḥarrān" (կոտորեցից զազգն *ամենայն* յարանց Խառանա), a reading not attested in the Septuagint.

The second instance is his reference to Hosea 5:1, "like a net spread on Tabor" (իբրեւ զվարմ ձգեալ ի Տաբիոն) [95r], when commenting upon the military reach of Manṣūr during the reign of ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ. The wording here again reflects the Septuagint, ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον. By contrast, Zohrab does not include the name Tabor but reads "on top of a high place" (ի գլուխ գահաւանդ). Łewond's reading of "Tabor," while slightly garbled, also preserves the case ending -*ion* of the Greek.

Finally, the beginning of his citation of 2 Corinthians 4:17 [127r] seems to have been influenced by the Greek New Testament. Łewond's text reads, "for the increase of a momentary, light affliction" (զի ի ժամանակի թեթև նեղութեան՝ յաճախութեամբ). In order to make the sentence legible, however, we have suggested that յաճախութ*եամ*ք in the instrumental is a scribal error for յաճախութի*ւն* in the nominative, a mistake that is easily made when the endings are abbreviated. Another explanation, however, is possible. Łewond's wording differs from Zohrab, "for the increase at present of our light affliction" (զի առժամայն յաճախութիւն թեթեւ նեղութեանս մերոյ ի յաւիտենական առաւելութիւն), and better aligns with that of the Septuagint, τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν. The instrumental յաճախութ*եամ*ք may not represent a scribal error but reflect the reading καθ' ὑπερβολὴν of the Greek New Testament.

54 See Commentary XIII.G.

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In this last instance, the citation occurs within the martyrdom of Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni, and Łewond most certainly did not rely on a Greek source but had access to an Armenian martyrology of the brothers. In fact, in these three cases, Łewond or his source may have relied on a version of the Armenian Bible that was closer to the Septuagint and Greek New Testament than Zohrab is, rather than directly on the Greek Bible itself.[55]

In general, the limited and sporadic nature of these lexical overlaps makes it difficult to determine whether Łewond accessed Greek sources to obtain this information or whether it stemmed from Armenian sources that had integrated Greek vocabulary or had been composed in a Greek cultural milieu. Indeed, the number of times Łewond's chronology and narrative differ from those of the surviving Greek historiographical tradition is remarkable, and his references to Greek actors are typically vague. One notable exception to this trend, however, is Łewond's account of the siege of Constantinople by the general Maslama.[56] Although there is nothing in Łewond's language or in his biblical citations to positively point to his reliance upon a Greek text, it is possible that he availed himself of a source that incorporated imperial propaganda from Leo III's reign.[57] Moreover, given his previously noted earlier praise of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V as "the pious king" (արքայ բարէպաշտ) [96v] and his attribution of the salvation of Constantinople from caliphal attack to the power of the Cross rather than to the icon of the Virgin Mary, Łewond may have had access to a now-lost work of iconoclastic imperial historiography. Nonetheless, the only clear case of Łewond's use of a Greek text is his inclusion of the correspondence between ʿUmar and Leo, which was likely known to Łewond in its Armenian version. We outline our arguments for the correspondence's Greek origin in the commentary to chapter VII.

C. THE MANUSCRIPT

This edition and translation are based on the oldest surviving copy of Łewond's *History*, contained within manuscript 1902 of the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, located in Erevan, Armenia (M1902). The manuscript itself informs some arguments in the commentary and so deserves a general introduction here.

C.1. DESCRIPTION OF MATENADARAN 1902

M1902 is a miscellany written on paper, copied between 1274 and 1311 CE at the monastery of Yovhannavankʿ. It contains 315 folios with dimensions of 24.4 × 16.4 cm. Each page contains nineteen or twenty lines of writing[58] in a single column 19.5 × 11.5 cm in size. Folios 1–3r and 310v–315 are blank. The first two quires of the manuscript have suffered damage and contain only ten folios altogether. The first full quire is the third. With some

55 For another possible example, see La Porta, "Persistence," 274–75.

56 See chapter IX.

57 See Commentary IX.E.4 for parallels with the correspondence between Emperor Herakleios and Shāh Ḵosrow II in the *History* attributed to Sebēos.

58 Folios 214r–217r contain between twenty-six and thirty lines of writing.

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exceptions, quires 3 through 27 contain twelve folios each.[59] The final quire contains six folios. Folios 1r–3v, 8r–10v, and 310r–315v were added during repairs in 1664; folios 4–5 have been affected by moisture. The principal scribe was named Sargis, and the patron of the manuscript was the abbot of the monastery, Hamazasp Mamikonean.

We can detect four hands involved in the copying of Łewond's text. The main hand (Hand 1) is that of Sargis and is responsible for folios 6r, 7r–v, and 11r to the end of the work. A characteristic of Sargis's hand is the presence of mixed uncial and miniscule forms of the letters Հ, Ձ, and Պ. Metathesis of the letter ր is detectable in some words, as in the appearance of նաւակարմջացն for նաւակամրջաց on folio 11r and կարմջին for կամրջին on folio 11v, and possible dialectical addition of ր can be seen in the use of պարշարեմ for պաշարեմ[60] and պահրակն for պահակն on folios 31r and 73v. Sargis corrected himself in some instances, and a later corrector (Hand 1[corr]) also corrected Sargis's text in places. We can also identify other orthographic tendencies in Sargis's hand, such as confusion of voiced and voiceless plosives, as well as confusion between the aspirated palatal չ and the voiced palatal ջ; confusion of ո and ի declensions resulting in the loss of ւ in oblique cases; and loss of intervocalic and final յ.

A second hand (Hand 2) is responsible for the top half of folios 4r and 5v; this hand is characterized by an unusual form of the letter ժ. A later hand (Hand 2[corr]) inserted a more common form of ժ.

A third hand (Hand 3) copied the bottom half of folios 4r–5r and 6v, lines 4–9 of folio 20r, and lines 5–9 of folio 23v. This hand also has mixed uncial and miniscule forms for the letters Ձ, Շ, Ղ, and Պ. Hand 3 both corrected his own text and had a corrector (Hand 3[corr]).

A final hand (Hand 4) is responsible for the text recopied on the pages added during the manuscript's repair in 1664 on folios 3v and 8r–10v. It has no mixed letter forms and does not add the ր before շ in պաշարէին.[61] Hand 4 corrected his text in places.

Łewond's *History* appears first in the manuscript and occupies folios 3v–130v. It is followed by the Armenian version of Evagrius's *Six Centuries* or *Kephalaia Gnostica* on folios 131r–177v. The *Centuries* is followed by other pieces of Evagriana and his *Letters*, folios 177v–212v. After these appears a very brief set of scholia on the *Centuries*, folios 213r–217v. The final text in the manuscript is the earliest known copy of the Georgian Royal Annals, folios 218r–309v.

In addition to the colophon at the end Łewond's *History* (on which see chapter XVII), Sargis also inscribed a colophon on folio 217v following the collection of texts related to Evagrius:

> Now, I beseech everyone who may read or listen or copy the spiritually profitable precepts of the very industrious ascetic Evagrius, remember Lord Hamazasp, worthy of good memory and of many testaments to his upright[ness]. If you remember me, the useless scribe Sargis, who am starving for spiritual nourishment, may compassionate God have compassion for everyone on the day of sorrow, since glory and worship are befitting Him, now and always and unto ages of ages. Amen.

59 Quire 16 has eleven folios; quire 17 has sixteen; and quires 25 and 27 have ten each.

60 See folios 74r, 74v, 86r, 91v, 100r, 107r, 112v, 114r, 120r, 121v, 122r, 124v.

61 See, e.g., folio 9v.

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> Արդ, աղաչեմ զամենեսեան, որք ընթեռնոյք, լսէք եւ կամ աւրինակէք զմեծավաստակ ճգնաւորին Եւագրեայ զհոգիայշահ հրամանքս, յիշեսջիք զարժանին բարի յիշատակաց եւ բազմաց վկայեալն ի լաւն զտէր Համազասպ: Թէ յիշէք զփծուն գրիչ զՍարգիս, որ եմ սովեալ ի հոգեւոր կերակրոց, ողոմածն Աստուած ամենեցուն ողորմեսցի յաւրն կարեաց, զի նմա վաել է փառք եւ երկրպագութիւն, այժմ եւ միշտ եւ յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից. ամէն:

The manuscript also includes multiple marginal notes, the most intriguing of which occurs in the bottom margin of folio 32v, the first page of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence. It is a note written in the Uyghur script used by the Mongolian chancellery. According to D. Matsui, the script could date to the thirteenth or fourteenth century CE. The text is written upside down but is decipherable (fig. 1). P. Zieme and M. Dickens kindly provided the following transliteration and translation:

> Line 1: (m)[ʾnk]w tʾṅkry {y//} ywkswn pw pydyk = (m)[äŋg]ü täŋrï-nï ögsün bo bitig
> Line 2 – two options:
> (y)w(β)ẅʾny βʾnk = Yovhanna vankʿ
> (x)w(β)ẅʾny βʾnk = Hovhanna vankʿ

> Line 1: One should praise the [eternal] God . . . this book [is in/of]
> Line 2: Yovhanna [or Hovhanna] monastery

Most of the other marginal notes firmly locate the manuscript in the eleventh/seventeenth century. One, on folio 4r, notes the ownership of the volume: "This book, Łewond the historian, belongs to Yohan Karčawanecʿi" (Ղեւոնդ պատմագիրք Յոհան Կարճաւանեցիոյ է գիրքս այս:). Later, on folios 293v–294r, this same Yohan appears:

> This history of Łewond and this book of Evagrius and, lastly, this history of the Georgians are a memorial for Yohan Karčawanecʿi. I repaired [the manuscript], which was ruined, and gave it to my friend Šmawon *vardapet* Loṙecʿi to bind in the [Armenian] year 1113 [= 1664 CE] for the glory of Christ. You who enjoy [it], remember [me] to Christ.

> Պատմութիւնս Ղեւոնդեայ եւ գիրքս Եւագրեա եւ վերջին Պատմութիւնս Վարցեաց յիշատակ է Յոհաննու Կարճաւանեցւոյ, որ փտեալ կայր, վերստին նորոգեցի եւ կազմել ետու սիրեցելոյն իմոյ Շմաւոն վարդապետի Լօռեցւոյ ի թվիս ՌՃԺԳ, ի փառս Քրիստոսի, որք վայելէք՝ յիշեսջիք ի Քրիստոս:

Figure 1. Marginal note in Uyghur script on folio 32v of Łewond's *History*. M1902. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

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Yet another marginal note, on folio 43r, confirms the date of the repair: "It was repaired in the [Armenian] year 1113 [= 1664 CE]" (Ի թվոյս ՌՃԺԳ նորոգեցաւ). Later, on folio 310r, we learn of another owner only a few decades later:

> I, Vardan *vardapet* Bałišecʿi, owner of this book, which is called Łewond the historian, and the historian of the Georgians, and the many words and counsels of our holy father of the anchorites Evagrius, bought [it] from my own legitimate earnings and gave [it] as a memorial to the court of Holy Ēǰmiacin for the salvation of my soul. You who read and profit from this holy book, remember to Christ Bałišecʿi Vardan *vardapet* and his parents, amen. In the [Armenian] year 1139 [= 1690 CE].

> Ձստացօղ գրոցս, որ կոչի Ղեւոնդ պատմագիր եւ Վրաց պատմագիր եւ սուրբ հօրն անապատաւորացն Եւագրի բանք եւ խրատք բազում, որ եւ Վարդան վարդապետս Բաղիշեցի ստացայ ի հալալ արդեանց իմոց եւ ետու յիշատակ ի դուռն Սուրբ Էջմիածնի՝ ի փրկութիւն հոգւոյ իմոյ. որք ընտեռնուք եւ օգտիք ի սուրբ գրոյս, յիշեցէք ի Քրիստոս զԲաղիշեցի Վարդան վարդապետն եւ զծնօղսն իւր. ամէն: Ի թվին ՌՃԼԹ.

These marginal notes are interesting for their data on eleventh/seventeenth-century book ownership, but they are particularly noteworthy given the subsequent transmission of the text. Another manuscript of Łewond's *History*, Matenadaran 3070, was based on M1902 and also associated with Vardan Bałišecʿi in Van. Yet another, Matenadaran 5501, was produced in Bitlīs/Bałēš and also mentions Vardan Bałišecʿi in the colophon. These other examples demonstrate that the repair of M1902 likely provoked interest in and copying of the *History* in the region around Lake Van in the late eleventh/seventeenth century.

There are a few further notes in addition to the Uyghur note and the multiple eleventh/seventeenth-century marginal notes. The start of the manuscript bears the ex libris stamp of Ēǰmiacin, the Mother See of the Armenian Church, on folio 3v:

> This book belongs to Ēǰmiacin.
>
> ԳԻՐՔՍ
> ՍԲ ԷՋՄ
> ԻԾՆԻ Է

Folio 23v carries the book stamp of a certain Andrēas *vardapet*. Further, a note in the bottom margin of folios 30v and 31r continues vertically up the right margin of 31v and commemorates the ordination of a certain Martiros in the year 1368 CE:

> In the year 815 [= 1368 CE], the sinner Martiros was ordained a disciple to God, amen. And may God, that is, Christ, recompense him a thousand [times] here and in the world to come; here, the arena; there, peace; here, this transitory life; and there, the unfading crown; here, life; there, immortality. ən ən əə O you who are without stain[?],[62] may God, who effaces the entire world, efface incessantly him [who] effaces our book this much; say, God have mercy and may God efface his cheirograph and efface yours incessantly.

62 The meaning of the schwas and the word չպծներովտ (*čʿpcnerovt*) is unclear, but we have suggested that the latter is a medieval form of the word բիծ, "stain," in the instrumental plural with a negative prefix and a demonstrative suffix.

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> ի թվին ութնհարիւր.հնգետասան. մեղուցեալ մարտիրոս ձեռնայդր[31r]եցաւ յաստուածն աշայկերտ ամեն: որ եւ աստուած հատուց[30v]է այս է քրիստոս[63] վարձս նորայ: հազար. աստ եւ ի հանդերձելումն[64] աստ հանդ[31r]եսն եւ անդ խաղաղութիւն աստ զանանց կենս եւ անդ[30v] զանքառամ պսակն աստ զկենանութիւն եւ անդ[31r] զանմահութիւն: ըն. ըն. ըը չպծներովտ զմեր զայս[written vertically up right margin]չափ զիրս ջնջէ աստուած որ ամենայն աշխարհի ջնջաւղ է զիւրն ջնջէ անխափան աստուած ողորմի ասայ [written along top margin] եւ զիւր ձեռացայգիրն ջնջե եւ աստուած ձեր ջնջէ անխափան:

Foliation is given in Arabic numerals in the top margin beginning on folio 4r. Another set of earlier page numbers in Arabic numerals extends from folio 4r to folio 8v (= pp. 7–16). It has been crossed out on the recto of each folio but allowed to remain on the verso. An error in recording the foliation has been made on folio 38r, which was originally marked as folio 39r. The incorrect foliation has been crossed out and the correct foliation inserted until the end of the text. In addition to this later foliation in Arabic numerals, folio numbers are indicated by Armenian letters in the right margin of the manuscript, beginning with ա (1) on 4r. Quire numbers are similarly indicated in the bottom margin at the beginning and end of each quire, beginning with quire գ (3) on folio 11r.

Łewond's name also appears in the bottom margin of some folios. On folios 22v–23r, the end of the third quire and the beginning of the fourth quire, as well as on 41v–42r, his name appears entirely on the verso and պ*ա*տմագիր (historian) is written on the recto. On folios 34v–35r, 46v–47r, 53v–54r, 55v–56r, 58v–59r, 70v–71r, 82v–83r, 94v–95r, 106v–107r, and 118v–119r his name is split in half so that ղեւ (łew) appears on the verso and ոնդ (ond) on the recto. With the exception of folios 53v–54r and 55v–56r, these tags all mark the end of one quire and the beginning of a new one.

Finally, there are a few other minor markings. On folio 10r, several ա's (a's) are written in the bottom margin. There is a ծ with two dots over it in the top left margin of 48r, the erased letters .....թ.....ի.. և կարդա: (.....read) in the bottom margin of 57v, the letters աբգ (abg) in the bottom margin of 96v, and the name Յովհաննու (John) in the bottom margin of 130v.

We have not included these marginal comments in our edition in order not to overburden the apparatus.

Beginning on folio 10v, chapter numbers indicated by Armenian letters are included in the margins. Although we have not followed these chapter divisions, we have included the numbering in both our edition and our translation.

C.2. TEXTUAL TRADITION AND STEMMA

There are sixteen surviving manuscripts of Łewond's *History* that contain either a complete or a partial copy of the text, and four printed editions. As already stated, the earliest manuscript of the text is contained in M1902. All the other copies of the text were made not only later than M1902 but also later than M1902's repair by Šmawon Lōřec'i in 1664 CE. In his critical edition, Tēr-Vardanean argued that all the copies of the text could be divided into three groups, each deriving independently from the original copy of Łewond's text.

63 այս է *քրիստոս* in left margin.

64 հանդերձելումն] հանդում before correction.

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He further contended that the older and preferable readings were contained in the first group whose *Vorlage* was M1902. More recently, Hakobian has convincingly demonstrated that all the surviving copies in fact ultimately descend from M1902. As we agree with Hakobian's arguments and stemma, we reproduce a modified diplomatic edition of the text of M1902 below. Where the text is clearly corrupt, we have suggested emended readings that have sometimes also been offered in the printed editions. These have been noted in the apparatus to the text.

D. FURTHER READING ON ŁEWOND

Adontz, Nicholas. "Łewond ew Xorenacʿi, kʿnnutʿiwn H. N. Akineani tesutʿean." *Hayrenikʿ* 11, no. 8 (1933): 79–90; no. 9 (1933): 120–26.

Akinean, Nerses. "Łewond erēcʿ patmagir: Matenagrakan-patmakan usumnasirutʿiwn mə." *Handēs Amsoreay* 43 (1929): 330–48, 458–72, 593–619, 705–18.

Ališan, Łewond. "Surb Łewond Erēcʿ Vanandacʿi." *Bazmavēp* 109 (1951): 235–43, 325–30; 110 (1952): 20–26, 78–86.

Arzoumanian, Zaven. "Kʿnnutʿyun jeṙagracʿ VIII. daru hay hełinak Łewond ericʿu patmagrutʿyan." *Ejmiacin* 1 (1977): 38–45.

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———. *Studies in Armenian Historiography: Bishop Sebēos, Ḷewond the Priest, Kirakos of Gandzak.* Philadelphia: Saint Sahak and Saint Mesrob Armenian Church, 1981.

Filler, Ernestus. "Qvaestiones de Leontii Armenii historia." Leipzig: Teubner, 1903.

Greenwood, Timothy. "A Reassessment of the History of Łewond." *Le Muséon* 125, nos. 1/2 (2012): 99–167.

Mahé, Jean-Pierre. "Le problème de l'authenticité et de la valeur de la *Chronique* de Łewond." In *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture*, 119–26. Paris: Publication de la Sorbonne, 1996.

Martin-Hisard, Bernadette. "L'empire byzantin dans l'œuvre de Łewond." In *Arménie et Byzance*, 135–44. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996.

Ter-Łevondyan, Aram. "Łevond." In *Hay mšakuytʿi nšanavor gorcičnerə 5-18-rd darerum*, 142–49. Erevan: Erevani hamalsarani hratarakčʿutʿyun, 1976. = "Гевонд." *Видные деятели армянской культуры*, 111–16. Ереван: Изд-во Ер. ГУ., 1982.

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Principles of Edition and Translation

We have attempted to make our modified diplomatic edition of the text of M1902 as legible as possible while still giving the reader an idea of what the manuscript looks like. In order to do so, we have adopted the following principles in preparing our text:

- We have maintained the spelling found in the manuscript, even when it is not conventional.
- We have followed the punctuation of the text in our edition but not necessarily in our translation.
- We have created paragraph breaks in the text for ease of reading.
- We have arranged the text into chapters according to caliphal reigns, but we also provide the section enumeration found in the manuscript.
- We have capitalized the first letter after every full stop (*verǰaket*) in the manuscript and the first letter of every new paragraph. We have also capitalized all names. The presence of uncial forms has been noted above but is not reflected in our transcription.
- We have resolved all abbreviations and set the missing letters in italics. When numbers have been given in letters, we have replaced the letter with the full written form of the number in italics.
- We have noted any text that has been placed in the margins or above or below the line in the apparatus.
- Additions made by a corrector with which we agree have been included in the text and placed between <angle brackets>.
- When we have disagreed with a reading that appears in the manuscript, we give what we think is the correct reading in the apparatus.
- Any letters that have been lost through stains or damage have been added in accordance with either the correctors or the printed editions. Such letters are enclosed in {curly brackets}.
- Any text deleted by a scribe that remains legible in the manuscript has been indicated in the apparatus. When the deleted text is not legible, we have indicated it with [.], with each period signifying a letter.

We have tried to provide a readable translation that preserves some of the feel of the Armenian original. In instances in which the subject of the action is unclear, we have furnished the actor in square brackets. Similarly, our additions in cases in which we have found it necessary to supply a word or words in order to clarify the meaning of a sentence are likewise enclosed in square brackets. When we have disagreed with a reading in the text, our translation follows our suggested reading.

We have placed all biblical references in the footnotes to the translation. We have followed the versification of the Armenian Bible unless otherwise noted. The numbering of the Psalms differs between the Armenian Bible and the Septuagint upon which it is based,

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on the one hand, and the Hebrew and the English translations based upon the Hebrew on the other. In the notes to the translation, we have placed the number and verse of the Psalm according to the Armenian Bible followed by the corresponding number and verse according to English translations based upon the Hebrew in parentheses.

All other basic information we thought useful for understanding the text is provided in the reading notes that accompany the translation.

ABBREVIATIONS IN APPARATUS

a.c.	*ante correctionem* (before correction)
add.	added
a.r.	*ante rasuram* (before erasure)
btm. mg.	bottom margin
corr	corrector
hmt	homoeoteleuton
in lit.	*in litura* (letters written over an erasure or blot)
ins.	inserted
lft. mg.	left margin
om.	omitted
rt. mg.	right margin
subscr.	*subscriptum* / *subscripta*
suppl.	supplied
suprascr.	*suprascriptum* / *suprascripta*

TRANSLITERATION

In the translation and the commentary, where transliteration has been necessary we have followed the Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste system for Armenian and the Arabic transliteration system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. We have regularized Arabic names to reflect their spelling in Arabic, as per the same transliteration system. We have rendered Greek names in accordance with *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* and Persian names according to the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.

In the translation, we have used the most commonly used form of each name present in the Armenian text. We have also regularized names even when we cite published translations. In the commentary, we have also provided the most commonly found spellings of Armenian place-names in Arabic; for example, Dabīl (Arabic) / Duin (Armenian).

PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Łewond. *Aršawank‘ arabac‘ i Hays*. Edited by Karapet Chahnazarian. Paris: E. Thunot, 1857.

———. *Discours historique*. Edited by Alexan Hakobian. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2015.

———. “Patmabanut‘wn.” Edited by Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean. In *Matenagirk‘ Hayoc‘* 6: 711–851. Antelias: Haykakan Matenašar Galust Kiwlpenkean Himnarkut‘ean, 2007.

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———. *Patmutʿiwn Łewondeay meci vardapeti Hayocʿ*. Edited by Stepʿan Malxaseancʿ. Saint Petersburg: N. Skoroxodov, 1887. [This edition is commonly attributed to K. Ezean, who wrote the introduction and clearly indicates that S. Malxaseancʿ prepared the text at his request.]

PREVIOUS TRANSLATIONS

Łewond. *Discours historique.* Translated by Bernadette Martin-Hisard. With *La Correspondance d'Omar et de Léon*, translated by Jean-Pierre Mahé. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2015.

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———. *History of Łewond, the Eminent Vardapet of the Armenians (VIII Century).* Translated by Zaven Arzoumanian. Wynnewood, PA: Western Diocese of the Armenian Church of North America, 1982.

———. *Patmutʿyun.* Translated by Aram Ter-Łevondyan. Erevan: Sovetakan Groł Hratarakčʿutʿyun, 1982.

———. *История халифов вардапета Гевонда, писателя VIII в.* Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1862.

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I The Caliphates of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān

r. AH 11–41/632–61 CE

Łewond's first chapter starts with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) and covers the first three caliphs, called "rightly guided" in the Sunnī tradition. Abū Bakr (r. 632–34), ʿUmar (r. 634–44), and ʿUthmān (r. 644–56) ruled successively, but Łewond combines their reigns into a single period. Łewond omits the last "rightly guided" caliph, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–61), likely because of his reliance on sources favorable to the Umayyads. The Umayyads were the first dynasty of the Caliphate and fought against ʿAlī and his supporters for the right to rule in the first civil war (*fitna*). Łewond's omission of ʿAlī, along with his favorable representation of the Roman emperor Herakleios (r. 610–41), reflects seventh-century imperial propaganda, albeit filtered through an eighth-century perspective. In this chapter, Łewond narrates the Islamic conquests, beginning with Arabia and then continuing north to Syria and Iran before arriving in Armenia. His account focuses primarily on the collapse of Roman power in both Syria and Armenia, as the Sasanian Empire in Iran fell quickly. In the second half of the chapter, Łewond is preoccupied with lamenting the fate of Armenia in the midst of these volatile changes.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[3v] The history of Łewond, the great *vardapet* of the Armenians, concerning the appearance of Muḥammad and [those who came] after him: how and in what way they ruled the world and, moreover, the Armenian people. First and foremost [were] those who were called *amīr al-muʾminīn*, since Muḥammad died after ruling for twenty years. After [4r] that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān succeeded to Muḥammad's authority for thirty-eight years in the eleventh year of Herakleios, the divinely crowned, pious king of the Romans. As long as the God-crowned Herakleios was alive, they [the Arabs] were not able to extend their raids into Judea, for the reputation of his bravery had spread and frightened them. And he ruled and held authority over Judea and Asorestan until the end of his life.

When Herakleios's son [Constantine III] reigned in place of his father, the Lord aroused the souls of evil men so that through them He might take revenge upon us Christian people who had sinned before the Lord our God. They

Vardapet: an Armenian title, frequently translated in English as "doctor of the Church." See Introduction, pages xxii–xxiii.

Muḥammad: born in Arabia around 570 and died in 632, understood to be a prophet in Islam.

Amīr al-muʾminīn: transcription of the Arabic title "Commander of the Faithful," used to refer to the caliph.

Abū Bakr (r. 632–34), ʿUmar (r. 634–44), and ʿUthmān (r. 644–56): the first three caliphs who ruled the early Islamic Empire (the Caliphate) after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Herakleios (r. 610–41): a Roman emperor renowned for recovering the True Cross that Christians believe Jesus was crucified on. He is also famous for his wars against the Sasanian Empire and his response to the Islamic conquests. Herakleios appears on the facade of the Armenian church at Mren (fig. 2).

The eleventh year of Herakleios corresponds approximately to 621. Due to the omission of ʿAlī and differences of opinion about the regnal dates of the next caliph, Muʿāwiya, it is not clear to what exact period the thirty-eighth year of the caliphs refers.

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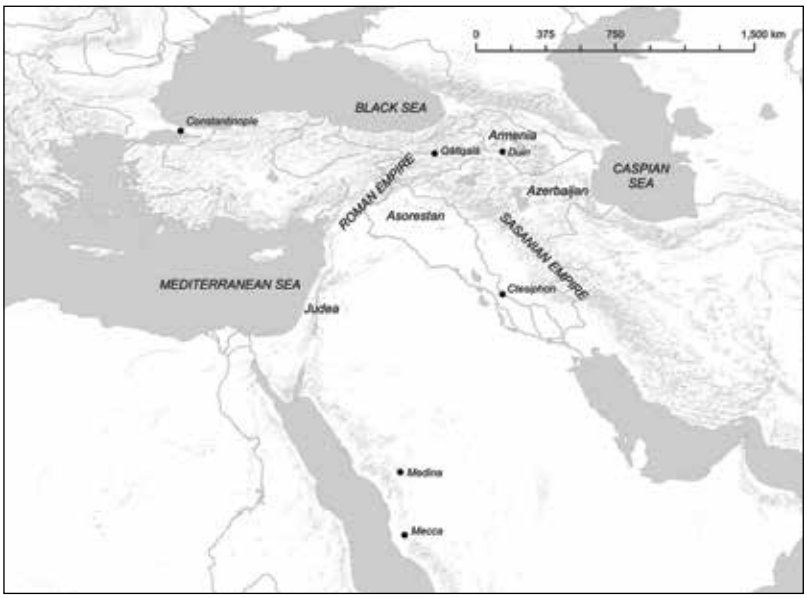
Figure 2. Herakleios as depicted on the Armenian church at Mren, in modern Turkey. Photo by Christina Maranci. Reproduced with permission.



Map 1. The Near East at the time of the Islamic conquests.

[the Arabs] began to prepare troops and to assemble forces against the authority of Constantine and against [4v] Judea and Asorestan, for they had as support the command of their lawgiver, the sower of weeds,[1] who enjoined: "Go out over the lands and subjugate them under your power. For it says, He has given us the riches of the land for our pleasure. Eat the meat of the chosen ones of the land and drink the blood of the strong."[2]

The Jews, who went into the camps of Madiam, were their provokers and leaders. They [the Jews] said to them:

Judea and Asorestan: Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia (map 1).

Constantine III: Herakleios's son, a Roman emperor. He ruled only briefly, for about four months, in 641.

Lawgiver: epithet for the Prophet Muḥammad for his traditional role as the establisher of Islamic law.

Madiam: Madīna, "the City of the Prophet," now in Saudi Arabia; the second holiest city in Islam. Muḥammad and his followers moved there in 622, which is the start of the Islamic calendar. It is also the burial place of the Prophet Muḥammad.

1 "Sower of weeds," դրմանցն սերմանողի; cf. Matthew 13:38–39.

2 Cf. Ezekiel 39:19.

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"God," they said, "promised to deliver the inhabitants of the earth into Abraham's service, and we are the heirs and sons of the patriarch. God was disgusted with us on account of our evil conduct, and He deprived us of the scepter of kingship and delivered us to the yoke of servitude. But you are also the children of Abraham and the sons of the patriarch. Go out with us and save [us] from the servitude of the king of the Greeks. And [5r] let us reign together." When they heard this, they were encouraged and overran Judea.

But then the king of the Greeks was informed [about it] and he wrote to the general in Judea. He said: "I heard that the Saracens rose up and invaded Judea and Asorestan. Now assemble your forces and fight them, and prevent them from marauding our land and bringing swords and destruction upon it. Now arm and prepare your forces." And he [the Roman general in Judea], having received the imperial order, wrote to the commanders who were under his command that wherever they were, they should come to him. They arrived immediately, and together they formed a large army. They moved and went forth against the brigand, who, having grown stronger, marched against them. They went and faced [5v] each other on the borders of Arabia Petraea. They saw the camps of Madiam and the immense number of camels and horses in their innumerable multitude, just like a swarm of locusts.

Then the Greek forces demonstrated great ignorance, as they distanced themselves many stadia from the supplies of their camp. They also left their horses in the camps, armed themselves, and went to make war against them [the Arabs] as infantry. When they fell upon their enemies, they were fatigued from the heat of the sun, the arid rocks, and the sand and wearied from the weight of their weapons. But they [the Arabs], since they were rested, immediately mounted their horses and attacked them, striking many blows upon the forces [6r] of the Greeks and making the survivors turn in flight. They pursued them up to the Greek camp and killed many in general. The survivors mounted horses and fled to their own land, while the Ishmaelites, laden with treasures from the Greek booty and taking spoils from those who fell at their swords, happily returned to their own land. From then on, they ruled over Judea and Asorestan, and they cast the land and the churches of the holy city of Jerusalem under tribute. Henceforth Judea and Syria ceased paying tribute to the king of the Greeks, since

Abraham: Jews and Muslims share an interest in the biblical figure of Abraham as patriarch and trace their lines of descent from his children Isaac and Ishmael, respectively.

Greeks: the eastern Roman Empire, now commonly known as Byzantium, used Greek as a major administrative and cultural language. Medieval sources—Christian and Muslim alike—refer to the empire's population variously as Greeks and as Romans. At this time, the western regions of Armenia were under Roman control. Although Christianity was the predominant religion among both Greeks and Armenians, they differed in certain matters of belief and practice.

Saracen: a derogatory term for Arabs, potentially related to a toponym in Arabia Petraea mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy. In the medieval period, however, the term is frequently taken to refer to a claimed relationship with Sarah, the wife of Abraham. The term is common in Greek, but this is its first appearance in Armenian.

Arabia Petraea: a Roman province containing Jordan and the Sinai Peninsula. This passage likely relates to the famous battle of Yarmūk in 636, in which the Arab Muslims routed the Roman forces.

Ishmaelites: descendants of Ishmael the son of Abraham, used in medieval sources to refer to Muslims.

Jerusalem: caliphal armies besieged the Roman city of Jerusalem for six months until the city capitulated, probably in 638. Muslim and Christian sources alike place the caliph ʿUmar at the city's surrender.

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the Greek forces were not able to resist the Ishmaelites. And Ishmael reigned over Judea.

CONCERNING ISHMAEL'S MARAUDING IN ARMENIAN LANDS AND ATTACKING OF THE ARMENIAN TROOPS.

Then the next year they began to defy the king of the Persians, and a multitude of forces was gathered.[3] They came against [6v] the king of the Persians whose name was Yazdegerd [and] who was the grandson of Ḵosrow. Yazdegerd also gathered his forces and warred against them, [but] he was not able to resist [them]. They [the Arabs] routed his forces by a slaughter of the sword[4] and killed the king. Henceforth the Persian Empire, whose rule had lasted 481 years, was destroyed and overthrown. The Ishmaelites plundered the land and carried off the royal treasury to their own land.

The majority of the force crossed over from the Persian side and went marauding in Armenian lands. They captured the towns of the Medes, the region of Gołtʿn, and the village of Naxčawan. They put many men to the sword and led away others, along with the women and children, into captivity, making them [7r] cross the Araxes River via the J̌uła ford. The forces divided into two; some brought the captives back to their land, while another regiment went marauding through the region of Artaz against the Greek general, whose name was Prokopios [and] who was encamped in the region of Kogovit on the borders of Bazujor and Marducʿaykʿ.

Learning of this, Prince Tʿēodoros, who was from the house of the Ṙštunikʿ, informed the general Prokopios: "A force of Ishmaelite brigands has risen against us." But he [Prokopios] placed his trust in the multitude of [his] forces and not in God, who grants success in war, so he did not value the words of the prince of Armenia. Grieved by the ruin of this land of Armenia and by the indolence of the general, he [Tʿēodoros] did not have patience but entered and repeated his words yet again, a second and a third time.

King of the Persians: the Sasanian Empire (224 to ca. 650) ruled the Iranian cultural sphere from the Caucasus to Central Asia. One of its main capitals was Ctesiphon, near modern Baghdad. The empire was largely Zoroastrian by religion, but it also claimed substantial Christian and Jewish populations. With certain exceptions, the Sasanians appear in Armenian sources as violent overlords set to force Zoroastrianism on the Armenian population.

Yazdegerd III (r. 632–51): the last Sasanian emperor. He appears in the Islamic tradition as haughty and dismissive of Muḥammad's message. His arrogance is used to explain the destruction of his empire. He fled west to Central Asia after the Arabs defeated the Sasanian forces in 636.

The Sasanian Empire lasted not **481 years** but 426 years. The battle that Łewond describes here is that of Nihāwand, which took place in 642.

For the places mentioned in the **incursions into Armenia**, see map 2.

Prokopios: the head of military affairs in the Roman East at the time of the conquests.

Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni: the prince of Armenia from 639 or 641 to 654, appointed by Herakleios. The Ṙštuni family controlled part of the region around Lake Van, now in modern Turkey.

Prince of Armenia: an honorific title bestowed on the de facto representative of the Armenian noble houses to imperial powers, whether Roman, Sasanian, or caliphal. This position allowed the Armenians some sense of continuity and autonomy in periods of transition.

3 Chahnazarian and Malxaseancʿ have corrected the text to read "they gathered a multitude of forces," but we are in agreement with Martin-Hisard that զուսարէր must be taken as a passive; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 9 n. 52.

4 "A slaughter of the sword," կոտորմամբ սրոյ; cf. Exodus 17:13; Numbers 21:24; Deuteronomy 13:15, 20:13.

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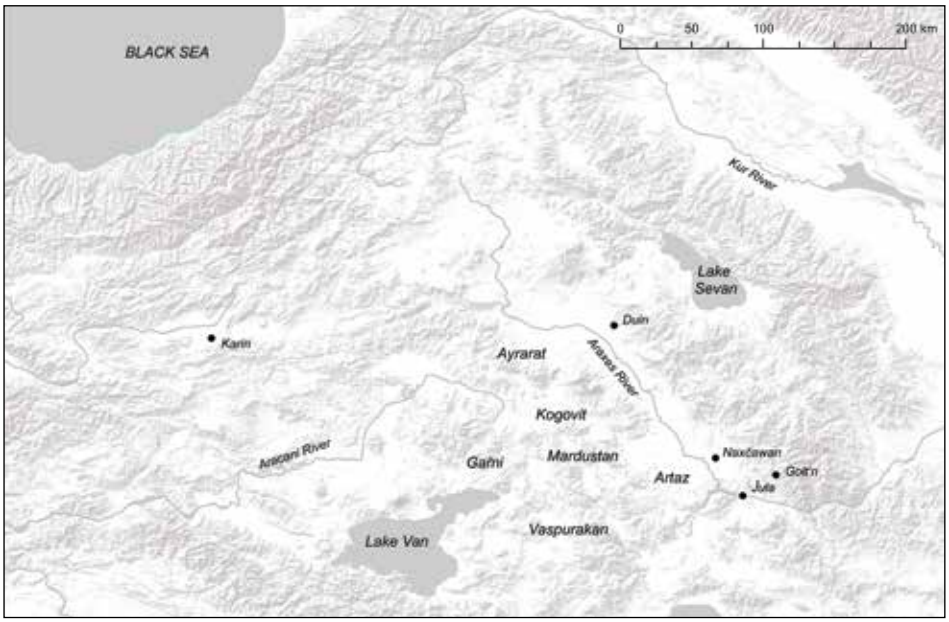

Map 2. The incursions into Armenia.

The general became enraged at the prince and threw the rod that was in his hand at him, and Tʿēodoros, exasperated, left his presence. [7v] At once, he ordered the forces under his command: "Arm yourselves," he said, "and march against Ishmael." They mounted their horses and lay in ambush at the hill that they called Ełbarkʿ. They seized the entrance of the pass and killed many of them [the Arabs]. They took booty from those who had fallen and, having separated from the [Greek] general, went to the region of Gaṙni. Then Prokopios also ordered his army to march against the enemy. The army of Ishmael poured forth upon them and destroyed most of the Greeks. Putting the others to flight, they [the Arabs] drove them to their own camp. They themselves returned to their camp and rested. It is said that the Greek forces numbered more than sixty thousand men, while the Ishmaelites were fewer than ten thousand. The next day they gathered the booty of the camp and retreated to their own land. [8r]

This occurred in the twenty-second year of the Ishmaelite princes Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar. They stopped crossing over to this land of Armenia for three years. Then, in the twenty-sixth year of their reign, they again attacked, coming up into Armenia with a heavy force.

Since **Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān** in fact ruled separately, it is difficult to guess what Łewond means by their "twenty-second year." However, many Arabic sources place the start of the incursions into Armenia in AH 22 (642–43 CE), so Łewond is likely using the Islamic calendar here.

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Figure 3. The ruins of Dabīl/Duin. Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian. Reproduced with permission.

In the second year of Constans, emperor[5] of the Romans, who was the grandson of Herakleios, Prince Tʿēodoros was informed that the brigand had arisen and overcome this land. So he took his troops and wanted to hold the Joray pass, but he was not able to reach it before them because the enemy attacked as swiftly as the wind and marched forth like winged serpents.[6] And leaving the Armenian forces behind them, they [the Arabs] set out to rush to the metropolis Duin. But they found the city empty of male warriors, since all of them had followed Prince Tʿēodoros with the sole exception of women, children, and other commoners [8v] who were not men of war. They penetrated the city and immediately took the fortress. They killed the men found in it and led the women and children into captivity, some thirty-five thousand people.

Constans II (r. 641–68): Roman emperor and grandson of Herakleios.

Duin: a major urban settlement and provincial capital of Armenia under Sasanian and caliphal rule (fig. 3). Caliphal forces took Duin in the 640s, but the exact date is contested. In Arabic sources, the city appears as Dabīl.

Now who could aptly lament the misery of these calamities? For in all places there was intolerable misfortune, because the holy churches, which the heathens were not worthy to enter, were destroyed and dismantled, trampled under the foul feet of the infidels. The priests, along with the deacons and the worshippers, were massacred by the sword of the insolent and cruel[7] enemy. Many delicate

5 "Emperor," կայսր (*kaysr*), from Greek καῖσαρ, lit. "caesar."

6 "Winged serpents," օձք թեւաւորք; cf. Isaiah 14:29.

7 "Insolent and cruel," ժպիրհ եւ անողորմ; cf. Jeremiah 6:23 and the description of the invading army of the North.

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women[8] who had not experienced affliction were beaten unmercifully with whips and dragged to the marketplaces. They raised their cries of lament about their unexpected agony. The general multitude was also seized in this same misfortune with their sons and their daughters. They [9r] increased their groaning and sobbing, since they did not know whom they should lament more: those who were slaughtered by the sword of the infidel or the living sons and daughters who were separated to be alienated from the[ir] faith in Christ and spiritual and divine exaltation. Although they were mourning, lamenting the pitiable sight of corpses falling upon corpses immersed in blood, they were not able to assemble the bodies and give them graves, and the prophetic lament was fitting which says: "God, heathens entered your inheritance, profaned your holy temple, and cast the corpses of your servants as food for the birds of the skies and the bodies of your saints to the beasts of the land. And there was no one to bury them."[9] All these calamities happened in the past in the time of Judea, and now it became fitting to have this anguish fall upon us.

And when the Armenian forces along with the *naxarark*ʿ and the prince [Tʿēodoros] saw the violent marauders [9v] overtaking them, the soldiers grew despondent and were not able to attack the marauders, for even though they saw their wives and children being led into captivity, they were too few in number and were not able to vanquish them. Rather, they only sat lamenting and weeping, bewailing their wives and children. So the Hagarenes, having taken them to Syria, ceased coming up into this land of Armenia for ten years. Then, after that, in the thirty-sixth year of their reign, they gathered an army under the generals ʿUthmān and ʿUqba and again attacked Armenia. When they arrived on the borders of Armenia they broke off into three divisions and spread out their incursions. One division cut through this land of Vaspurakan and took villages and fortresses up to the city of Naxčawan; one [other] division [cut] through the region of Tarōn; and the other reached Kogovit and besieged the fortifications of Arcapʿkʿ. They found [10r] the entrance to the castle and entered it stealthily by night, for they found the guards asleep. They took the castle and they cast the men found in it into chains.

***Naxarark*ʿ**: dynastic noble families. The semiautonomous noble clans ruled Armenia on the basis of hereditary rights. The houses often fought with one another for preeminence. Łewond's *History* is particularly concerned with the Bagratunikʿ, as it was sponsored by a scion of that family.

Hagarene: a term used in Syriac, Greek, and Armenian sources to refer to Muslims as the descendants of Abraham through his wife Hagar.

ʿUthmān and ʿUqba: unidentified generals who are unattested in Arabic accounts of the conquest.

Vaspurakan: a province of southern Armenia around Lake Van in modern Turkey. In the early Islamic period, it was controlled by the Ṙštuni, Anjewacʿi, and Arcruni families, among others; after the period of Islamic rule over Armenia, the Arcruni family emerged as the kings of Vaspurakan in the early tenth century. In Arabic sources, the province usually appears as Basfurrajān.

Tarōn: a province in southwest Armenia, in modern Turkey, controlled by the Mamikonean family until the eighth century, when it became a Bagratuni possession. In Arabic sources, the province appears as Ṭārūn.

8 "Delicate women," տիրնայք փապկաուսք; Łišē, *History*, 246; *Vasn Vardanay ew Hayocʿ paterazmin*, 201.

9 Psalm 78(79):1–3.

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Thenceforth, with great heedlessness,[10] they coupled with the women in obscene debauchery.

But the all-seeing God took pity on them, and He did not neglect those who believed in His name in this place. Rather, He sent Prince Tʿēodoros in vengeance for these evils that they had committed. He [Tʿēodoros] attacked the advancing marauders with a speedy assault like a swooping eagle,[11] and with him [were] six hundred men bearing weapons. They arrived suddenly and slaughtered the enemy, some three thousand men, and untied the people who had been bound. Putting the few surviving enemies to flight, they returned the captives, gathered the booty and spoils of their enemies, and returned, joyfully glorifying God, who had sought vengeance against their enemies. Then that force that I discussed earlier [10v] took booty and captives to Syria, and after that they ceased [their incursions] for two years. Having completed those evils, the Ishmaelite princes Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar each died.

Deaths of the "rightly guided" caliphs: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān died in 634, 644, and 656, respectively. ʿUthmān's death marks the end of the period of the "rightly guided" caliphs in Łewond's text, since he does not include ʿAlī (r. 656–61).

ARMENIAN EDITION

[3v][12] Պատմաբանութի*ւն* Ղևոնդեա մեծի վարդապետի Հայոց. որ յաղագս երևելոյն Մահմետի. և զկնի նորին: Թէ որպէս և կամ որով օրինակաւ տիրեցին տիեզերաց ևս առաւել թէ Հայոց ազգիս: Նախ և առաջին որք և ամիրրլմումնիք անուանեցան. զի զքսան ամ կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւնն*. Մահմետ մեռանի: Յետ այ[4r][13]նորիկ փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւնն Մահմետի. Աբուբաքր. և Ամր. և Աւթման ամս *երեսուն եւ ութ*: Ի *մեռասան*երորդ[14] ամի Հերակղի. ա*ստուա*ծապսակեալ[15] և բարէպաշտ թագաւորին Հոռոմոց:[16] Զոր մինչդեռ եր կենդանի ա*ստուա*ծապսակեալն Հերակղես. ոչ կարացին սփռել զասպատակս իւրեանց ի վերա Հրէաստանի. զի համբաւ քաջութե*ան* նորա սփռեալ եր և զարհուրեցուցանէր զնոսա. և նորա տիրեալ ունէր զիշխանութի*ւնն* Հրէաստանի. և Ասորեստանի մինչև ի վախճան կենաց իւրոց:[17]

Եւ իբրև թագաւորեաց որդի նորայ փոխանակ Հերակղի հաւր իւրոյ. յայնմհետէ զարթոյց տէր զհոգի արանցն չարաց. զի առցէ. նոքաւք զվրէժխնդրութի*ւն* յազգէն Քրիստոնիցզորս մեղաքն առաջի Տ*եառն* Ա*ստուծոյ* մերոյ եւ սկսան գունդ կազմել և զաւրս գումար{ել

10 "Heedlessness," անհոգութե*ան*; cf. Judith 1:16 and the description of the feasting of Nebuchadnezzar's army.

11 "A swooping eagle," զխոյանալ արծուոյ; cf. Deuteronomy 28:49, where, however, it refers to the form of punishment for Israel's disobedience.

12 Hand 4.

13 Hand 2.

14 ժ add. suprascr. Hand 2[corr], presumably to explain the unusual and later form of ժ used by the scribe; see the Introduction.

15 ա*ստուա*ծապսակեալ] ա*ստուա*ծապսակխլ a.c.

16 Հոռոմոց] -n[1]- suprascr.

17 Hand 3.

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ի} վե{ռայ} ի{շխ}անութե*ան*ն Կոստ{անդնի} ի վերա Հրէ[4v]աստանի և Ասորեստանի. զի զպատուէր աւրինադրին[18] իւրեանց ունէին աւժընդակ զոր պատուիրեաց որոմանցն սերմանաւղի. թէ ելէք ի վերա աշխարհաց. նուաճեցէք զնոսա ընդ ձեռամբ ձերով. զի մեզ ասէ տուեալ է ի վայելս զպարարտութի*ւն* երկրի. կերայք զմիս երկրի ընդրելոց. և արբէք զարիւն զաւրաւորաց.

Որոց և սադրիչք էղեն և Հրիայք առաջնորդք. որք երթեալ ի բանակս Մադիամու ասէին ցնոսա.[19] Աբրահամու ասեն խոստացաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ տալ զբնակիչս երկրի ի ծառայութի*ւն*. և մէք եմք ժառանկք և որդիք նահապէտին: Արդ ի մէնջ տաղտկացաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ վասն չարութե*ան* գնացիցն մերոց. եւ էբարձ ի մէնջ զթագաւորութե*ան* գաւազանն և մատնեաց զմէզ ի ստրկութի*ւն* ծառաութեան. այլև դուք զաւակ Աբրահամու և որդիք ն{ա}հապետին. {ե}լէք ընդ մեզ և փրկեցեք <զմեզ>[20] ի ծառայու{թենէ ար}քային Յունաց. և [5r] ի միասին կալցուք զիշխանութի*ւն*ս մեր: Իբրև զայս ևս լուան: Քաշալերեալ դիմեցին ի վերա Հրէաստանի.

Իսկ ապա ազդ եղել[21] թագաւորին Յունաց. գրէ առ զաւրավարն որ ի Հրէաստանի. լուա ասէ. թէ Սառակինոսք ելին յարձակեալ ի վերա Հրէաստանի. և Ասորեստանի: Արդ գումարեա զզաւրս քո և մարտիր ընդ նոսա և արգել զնոսա. զի մի ասպատակեսցեն[22] ի վերա [.....] երկրիդ մերոյ: Եւ ածիցեն սուր և սատակումն ի վերա դոցա. այլ արդ սպառազինեալ կազմեա զզաւրս քո: Իսկ նորա[23] ընկալեալ զիրաման աւգոստական. գրեր առ զաւրագլուխս որ ընդ իւրով իշխանութ*եամ*բ: Զի ուր և իցեն առ նա հասցեն. և վաղվաղակի հասեալք.[24] ի միասին լինէին բանակ մեծ. և խաղացեալ յառաջ գնացին ընդդէմ հինին ո{ր զ}աւրացեալ գայր ի վերա նոցա. {երթե}ալ յանդիմ{ա}ն[25] [5v][26] լինէին միմեանց ի սահմանս Ապառաժ[27] Արաբւոյ. տեսանէին զբանակս Մադիամու անթիւ բազմութ*եամ*բ. և իբրև զգունդս մարախոյ. զանչափութի*ւն* ուղտուցն և ձիոց:

Ապա անգիտացեալ զաւրուն Յունաց. անգիտութի*ւն* մեծ զատուցանէին զաղ[.]խս բանակին իւրեանց բացազոյն ի նոցանէն՝ բազում վտաւանաւք. լքանէին ի բանակին և զերիվարսն իւրեանց. և ինքեանք ի հետիոտս. սպառազինեալ ընդդեմ նոցա գնացին պատերազմել և ի ջերմութէնէ արեգակնային տապոյն և ծարաւուտ ապառաժէն.[28] և յաւազոյն աշխատեալք. և պարտասեալք ի ծանրութէնէ զինուցն անկան ի մեջ թշնամեացն. իսկ նոքա քանզի <ի>[29] հանգստեան էին յանկարծակի հեծեալք յէրիվարս իւր{ե}ան{գ}.[30] և յարձակեալ ի վերա նոցա հարին բազո{ւ}մ հարուածս ի զաւր[6r][31]էն Յունաց. եւ ի փախուստ դարձուցեալ զմնացեալսն հետամուտ եղեալ մինչև ի բանակսն Յունաց. զբազումս առ

18 աւրինադրին] -ա- suprascr.
19 ցնոսա] զնոսա a.c.
20 <զմեզ>] add. in rt. mg. Hand 3corr.
21 եղել] read: եղեալ with printed editions.
22 ասպատակեսցեն] ասպատակեսցին a.c.
23 նորա] -որ- subscr.
24 հասեալք] հասցեալք a.c.
25 յանդիմ{ա}ն] -ա2- add. suprascr. Hand 3corr.
26 Hand 2.
27 ժ add. in lft. mg. Hand 2corr.
28 ժ suprascr. Hand 2corr.
29 <ի>] om. Hand 2hmt add. suprascr. Hand 2corr.
30 իւր{ե}ան{գ}] -g add. suprascr. Hand 2corr.
31 Hand 1.

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հասարակ կոտորէին. և մնացեալքն հեծեալք յերիվարս փախստական անկան յաշխարհն իւրեանց: Եւ Իսմաելացոցն լցեալ յաւարէն Յունաց գանձիւք. և առեալ զկապուտ անկելոցն ի սրոյ դարձան խնդութ*եամ*ք յաշխարհն իւրեանց. և յայնմհետէ տիրեցին Հրէաստանի և Ասորեստանի վերա: Եւ արկին ընդ հարկաւք զաշխարհն և զեկեղեցիս սրբոյ քաղաքին Ե*րուսաղ*էմի. և յայնմհետէ դադարեցին ի հարկատութենէ արքային Յունաց Հրէաստան եւ[32] Ասորիք. զի ոչ կարացին զդէմ ունել Իսմաելի զաւրք Յունաց: Եւ Իսմաէլ տիրեաց ի վերա Հրէաստանի:

Յաղագս ասպատակելոյ Իսմաելի յաշխարհս Հաց. և հարկանելոյ զզաւրսն Հայոց:

Իսկ ի գալ միւսոյ ամին. խրոխտալ սկսան ընդդէմ արքային Պարսից. և գումարէր բազմութի*ւն* զաւրաց. և ե{կեալ հա}սանէին ի վերա ար[6v][33]քային Պարսից որում անուն էր Յզկերտ. որ էր թոռն Խոսրովու. ժո[.]դովեալ և Յազկերտի[34] զզաւրս իւր պատերազմէր ընդդէմ նոցա. որում ոչ[35] կարէր ընդդէմ ունել. հարկանէին զզաւրս նորա կոտորմամբ[36] սրոյ. և զթագաւորն հարեալ սատակէին. և յայնմհետէ բարձեալ կործանէր թագաւորութի*ւն*ն Պարսից. որոց եղեւ թիւ իշխանութե*ան*ն նոցա ամք *չորեքհարիւր ութսուն եւ մի*: Եւ Իսմայէլացոցն աւար առեալ զերկիրն. և զգանձսն արքունի հասուցանէին յաշխարհն իւրեանց.

Եւ մեծ մասն զաւրուն հատել[37] ասպատակէին յաշխարս[38] Հայոց ընդ կողմն Պարսից. և առնուին ի գերութի*ւն* զաւանս Մարաց. և զգաւառն Գողթն. և զդաստակերտսն Նախջաւանու. և զբազումս յարանց ընդ սուր անցուցանէին. և զայլս գերի վարէալ կանամբք և մանկ{տ} ե{աւ} անցուցանէին [7r][39] ընդ գետն Երասխ ընդ հունն Ջուղայիոյ: Եւ ընդ երկու բաժանեալ զաւրքն ոմանք զգերեալսն դարձուցանէին յաշխարհն իւրեանց. և գունդ մի հատեալ ասպատակէին ընդ գաւառն Արտազ ի վերա զաւրավարին Յունաց որում անուն էր Պոռկոպ. որ էր բանակեալ ի գաւառին Կոգովտի. ի սահմանս Բագուձորոյ և Մարդուցայիցն.

Որում իրազեկ եղեալ իշխանն Թէոդորոս, որ էր յազգէն Ռըշտունեաց, ազդէր զաւրավարին Պոռկոպա. էթէ զաւր հինին, Իսմաէլի զարթուցեալ գա ի վերա մեր: Իսկ նա ի բազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն ապաստանեալ և ոչ յԱ*ստուա*ծ որ յաջողէ զպատերազմ. ոչ ինչ գրէր զբանս իշխանին Հայոց. և նա մորմոքեալ ընդ կորուստ աշխարհիս Հայոց և ընդ ծուլութի*ւն* զաւրավարին. ոչ ունէր ժոյժ այլ մտեալ երկրորդէր և երրորդէր զբանսն. և բարկացեալ զաւրավարին ի վերա իշխանին ձգէր զվարգն որ ի ձեռինն գիտ նորա. և սրտմտեալ Թէոդ{որոս ե}լանէր յերեսաց [7v] նորա. և նոյնժամայն հրամայէր զաւրացն որ ընդ իւրով իշխանութ*եամ*բն էին. վառեցարուք ասէ և ելէք ընդդէմ Իսմայելի: Եւ նոքա հեծեալք յերիվարս իւրեանց. դարանամուտ եղեն ի սարակն որում Եղբարսն[40] կոչեին և կալեալ զառաջս կրճիցն՝ զբազումս ի նոցանէ սատակէին. և առեալ զկապուտ անգելոցն՝ հատուածեալ[41]

32 եւ] իւ a.c.
33 Hand 3.
34 Յազկերտի] -ա-, -ի suprascr.
35 ոչ] nn a.c.
36 կոտորմամբ] -մ- suprascr.
37 հատել] read: հատեալ.
38 յաշխարս] read: յաշխարհս.
39 Hand 1.
40 եղբարսն] ն- suprascr.
41 հատուածեալ] հատուածիալ a.c.

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ի զաւրավարէն գնացին ի զաւառն Գառնի: Հրաման ետ ապա և Պոռկոպն իւրում զաւրուն ելանել ի վերա թշնամեացն՝ յորոց վերա հեղեալ զաւրն Իսմաելի հարկանէին զմեծ մասն Յունաց, և զայլսն փախստական արարեալ անցուցանէին ընդ բանակն իւրեանց, և ինքեանք դարձեալ ի բանակս նոցա հանգչէին. և ասեն լինել զթիւ զաւրացն Յունաց աւելի քան զվեց բեւր արանց: Եւ զԻսմայելացիսն նուաղ[42] քան զբիւր մի արանց. և ի[43] վաղիւն ժողովեալ զկապուտ բանակին. դարձեալ ընդ կրունկն {գնացի}ն յաշխարհն իւրեանց. [8r][44]

Եւ եղև այս ի. *քսան.* և երկրորդ ամի Աբուբաքրա և Օթմանա. և Ամրի իշխանացն Իսմայելի: Եւ դադարեցին յելանելոյ ի վ*երա* աշխարհիս Հայոց, ամս երիս: Ապա ի. *քսան.* և ի *վեց.*երորդ ամի նոցին իշխանութե*անն*, դարձեալ յարձակէին ելանել ի վ*երա* աշխարհին Հայոց զօրու ծանու:

Յերկրորդ ամի Կոստանդնու կայսեր Հոռոմոց որ էր թոռն Հերակլի: Ազդ եղև առ իշխանն Թէոդորոս, եթէ հէն զարքուցեալ գայ ի վ*երա* աշխարհիս: Իսկ նորա առեալ զզօրս իւր. կամէր ունել զկիրճս ճանապարհին Զորայոյ, այլ ոչ կարաց ժամանել յառաջս նոցա, քանզի ըստ օդաթեւն արագութե*ան* յարձակե*ալ*ք իբրև օձք թեւաւորք յառաջեցին թշնամիքն, և զկնի իւրեանց թողեալ զզօրսն Հայոց. դէմ եղեալ ընթացան ի մայրաքաղաքն Դուին: Եւ վ*ասն* զի թափուր գտին զքաղաքն յարանց պատերազմողաց: Զի ամենեքեան գիտէ Թէոդորոսի իշխանին գնացեալ էին. բայց միայն զկանայս և զմանկտիս և զայլ խառ[8v]նիճաղանճս որք ոչ էին արք պատերազմի: Հասին ի վ*երա* քաղաքին և վաղվաղակի առին զամրոցն. և զգտեալ արսն ի նմա կոտորեցին. և զկանայս և զմանկտիս վարեցին ի գերութի*ւն*. յոգիս. *երեսուն եւ հինգ.* հազար:

Արդ ո՞վ արդեւք արժանաւորապէս ողբասցէ զթշուառութի*ւն* աղէտիցն: Քանզի ամ*են* ուստէք անհնարին էր վտանգն, զի ս*ուրբ* եկեղեցիք յորս ոչ էր արժան հեթանոսաց մտանել. քանդե*ալ* և քայքայե*ալ*.[45] կոխան պիղծ ոտիցն անօրինացն լինէր. և քահանայք հանդերձ սարկաւագօք և պաշտօնիւք. խողխողեալ սրով ժպիրի և անողորմ թշնամեացն, և բազում տիկնայք փափկասունք որոց ոչ էր առեալ զփորձ նեղութե*ան*. գանալից քրքրք թշնամանեալք և քարշեալք ի հրապարակս. զկականումն ողբոցն բարձրացուցանէին. վ*ասն* յեղակարծումն օրհասին: Այլև աշխարհախումբ բազմութե*ան*ն ըմբռնեալք ուստերօք և դստերօք ի նոյն վտանգս յաճա[9r]խէին գհառաչանս և գհեծութի*ւն*ս, զի ոչ գիտէին զոր առաւել ողբասցեն, զխողխողե*ալ*սն յանօրէն սրոյն՝ եթէ զկենդանոյն անջատե*ալ*սն զուստերս և զդստերս օտարացուցանել ի հաւատոյն որ ի ք*րիստո*ս. և ի հոգևոր յա*ստուա*ծային փառատրութե*ան*ցն. և զոմանս ողորմելի տեսլեամբ անկեալ դիակունս ի վ*երա* դիականց ընդ արիւն թաթաւեալք, թէպէտև ողբովք աշխարէին, այլ ոչ էին ձեռնահաս ամփոփել զմարմինսն և տալ գերեզմանի. և ի դէպ էր զմարգարէականն առնուլ ողբս որ ասէ, Ա*ստուա*ծ մտին հեթանոսք ի ժառանգութի*ւն* քո. պղծեցին զտաճար ս*ուրբ*ք քո. և արկին զդիակունս ծառայից քոց գէշ թռչնոց երկնից. և զմարմինս սրբոց քոց գազանաց երկրի. և ոչ ոք էր որ թաղէր զ[...]ն*ոսա*: Զայս ամ*են* անցս պատուհասից. յայնժամ Հրէաստանի[46] աղէտսն. և այժմ առ մերս հասեալ տարակուսանս դէպ եղև առնուլ:

Իսկ զօրքն Հայոց հանդերձ նախարարօքն և իշխանաւն՝ իբրև տեսին զհէնս սաստիկս [9v] հասեալ ի վ*երա* նոցա. լքան ձեռք արանցն պատերազմողաց. և ոչ կարացին յարձակել

42 նուաղ] read: նուազ.

43 ի] suprascr.

44 Hand 4.

45 քայքայե*ալ*] -յ- subscr.

46 Հրէաստանի] -է- suprascr.

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ի վ*երա* հինին. զի թէպէտ և տեսանէին զկանայս և զմանկունս իրեանց վարեալ ի գերութի*ւն*. այլ քանզի նուազունք էին թուով ոչ կարացին ի դիմի հարկանել ն*ոցա*, այլ նստեալ միայն ողբովք և աշխարանօք աւաղէին զկանայս և զմանկունս իր*եան*ց: Իսկ Հագարացիքն[47] առեալ տանէին զն*ոսա* յերկիրն Ասորաց, և դադարեցին յելանելոյ ի վ*երա* աշխարհիս Հայոց ամս. *տասն*, ապա յետ այնորիկ, *երեսուն եւ վեց*,երորդ ամի իշխանութե*ան*ն ն*ոցա*. զօր ժողովե*ալ* դարձեալ յարձակեցան ի վ*երա* աշխարհիս Հայ*ոց*. որոց էին գլխաւորք, Օթման, և Օգբայ. և իբրև հասին ի սահմանս Հայոց, յերիս բաժանեալ առաջս. սփռեցան յասպատակս իրեանց, առաջ մի հատեալ ընդ կողմն Վասպուրական աշխարհիս. առին զաւանս և զամրոցս որ մինչև ի Նախջաւան[48] քաղաք, և առաջ մի ընդ կողմն Տարօնոյ, և միւս առաջն հասեալ ի Կոգոյովիտ. պաշարէին[49] զամրոցն[50] Արծափաց. և գտե*ալ* [10r] զմուտ բերդին ի գիշերի գաղտագողի ելին ի նա, զի ի քուն գտին զպահապանսն և առին զամրոցն, և զգտեալ զարսն որ ի նմ*ա* արկին ընդ կապանօք: Եւ ի[51] բազում անհոգութե*ան* եղեալ, այնուհետև խառնակէին զազրալից պղծութ*եամ*ք ընդ կանայսն:

Յորս գթացեալ ամենատեսն Ա*ստուա*ծ. աստանօր ոչ անտես առնէր զհաւատացեալս անուան իւրոյ, այլ առաքէր ի վրէժխնդրութի*ւն* չարեացն զոր գործեցին. զիշխանն Թէոդորոս. որոյ երագաթև յարձակմամբ իբրև զխոյանալ արծուոյ. հասեալ ի վ*երա* հինին եկելոյ. և ընդ նմ*ա* արք. *վեց հարիւր*. վառեալք զինու. վաղվաղակի հասեալք սատակէին զթշնամիսն իբրև արս երիս. *հազար*. և զկապեալսն արձակէին, և զսակաւ մնացորդսն թշնամեացն փախստական արարեալ. և դարձուցանէին զգերեալսն. և զաւար և զկապուտ թշնամեացն ժողովեալ դարձան խնդութ*եամ*ք փառաւորելով զԱ*ստուա*ծ որ խնդրեաց զվրէժ թշնամե*ա*ց նոցա: Իսկ այն զօրք զոր յառաջագոյն պատմե[10v]ցի. առեալ զաւար և զգերեալսն գնացին յաշխարհն Ասորոց. և դադարեցին յետ այնորիկ ամս երկու. և զայն չարիս կատարեալ իշխանացն Իսմայելի, Աբուբաքարա, Օթմանա, Ամրի, յաւուրս[52] իրեանց վախճանեցան:

COMMENTARY

I.A. VESTIGES OF FIRST/SEVENTH-CENTURY IMPERIAL IDEOLOGIES

Although written in ʿAbbāsid Armenia, Łewond's text begins at the intersection of Umayyad and Roman imperial propaganda. In his references (or lack thereof) to Herakleios and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, he preserves a sense of political claims asserted in the first/seventh century.

I.A.1. Threads of Umayyad Historiography

It is noteworthy that Łewond makes no mention of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib or the first *fitna*. This omission likely derives from his reliance on a list of caliphs to organize his *History*, but it may also constitute the first indication of his pro-Sufyānid stance.[53] Other historical

47 Հագարացիքն] -ք- suprascr.

48 Նախջաւան] Նախչաւան a.c.

49 պաշարէին] պաշարեալ a.c.

50 զամրոցն] զամրոցսն a.c.

51 ի] suprascr.

52 post յաւուրս է a. c.

53 Studies of caliphal Armenia typically describe the Umayyad period in positive terms and the ʿAbbāsid era as more difficult. However, the difference seems to have lain in the degree of involvement of caliphal

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sources similarly omit ʿAlī. First, three lists of caliphs have survived from the second/eighth century. These lists, originally composed in Arabic but preserved today in Syriac, offer little but the names of the successive caliphs with the lengths of their respective reigns. As a result, they do not provide any clear reason for the omission of ʿAlī. Second, second/eighth-century Latin histories composed in Umayyad Spain seem also to incorporate such caliphal lists. These Latin histories invalidate ʿAlī's claims entirely. The *Chronicle of 741* reads:

> But soon Muʿāwiya obtained his [ʿUthmān's] seat and ruled for twenty-five years. However, for five of these years he waged civil war with his own [people], but indeed twenty he carried through with complete success, with the obedience of all the people of the Ishmaelites.[54]

> Sed mox Moabia eius sortitus est sedem regnatque annos XXV. Sed quinque ex his annis cum suis bella ciuilia gessit, uiginti uero omnes plebes Hismaelitarum oboedientes summa cum felicitate peregit.[55]

The *Chronicle of 754*, which likely shared a source with the *Chronicle of 741*, similarly reads:

> In the time [of Reccesuinth], in the era 690 [652 CE], in the thirty-fifth year of the Arabs, Muʿāwiya received the throne of his predecessor, ruling for twenty-five years. For five of these years, he waged wars against his own people, but he brought his reign to a very successful conclusion, and all the Ishmaelite people were obedient to him for twenty years.[56]

> Huius temporibus in era DCLXL, anno Arabum XXXV, Moabia precessoris sortitus est sedem, regnans in ca annis XXV. Sed quinque ex eis annis cum suis bella civilian gessit; viginti vero omni plebe Smahelitarum obediente summa cum felicitate peregit.[57]

Neither of these sources acknowledges ʿAlī's claim to the Caliphate. Instead, they present his reign as nothing more than a challenge to the legitimate caliph, Muʿāwiya. Given the provenance of the Syriac lists of caliphs and the Latin histories from Spain, it seems likely that they preserve a stratum of Umayyad historiography that was written out of ʿAbbāsid-era Arabic sources. As A. Borrut points out: "Il se pourrait même que ces listes soient basées sur des informations émanant de l'entourage syrien du califat omeyyade ou produites par ce dernier."[58]

All of the Syriac and Latin sources mentioned above were composed in the second/eighth century, but they seem to reflect earlier Umayyad rhetoric to discredit ʿAlī's reign. Similarly, Łewond's omission of ʿAlī places this part of his *History* into an Umayyad context and, in particular, reflects the specific political positioning of the first/seventh century. We may discern the same tactic in the *History* of Pseudo-Sebēos, written around the time of the first *fitna*, which similarly downplays ʿAlī and does not name him explicitly.

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governance in Armenia, rather than the specific dynasty. Łewond's pro-Sufyānid stance is particularly visible when compared to his description of the Marwānid reforms, on which see chapters IV and V.

54 Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 618.

55 "Chronicle of 741," 10.

56 "Chronicle of 754," ed. Wolf, 99. Brackets added.

57 "Chronicle of 754," ed. Mommsen, 343–44.

58 Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 56, 153.

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Pseudo-Sebēos merely explains that Muʿāwiya "slew that other king whom they had installed" (սպան զայն ևս արքայ, զոր նոքայն նստուցեալ էին).[59] By contrast, ʿAlī appears as a caliph in later Armenian histories, including that of Pseudo-Šapuh, whose work is otherwise particularly helpful in explicating Łewond's text. As a result, we surmise that Łewond relied on a source that preserved vestiges of Umayyad historiography and reflected the political concerns of the first/seventh century as they appeared to a second/eighth-century observer. As in Syria and Spain, Umayyad memory in Armenia may have been particularly persistent because the governorship of the province was held by scions of the Umayyad house for generations.

I.A.2. Pro-Herakleian Context

Łewond presents Herakleios in a positive light as divinely favored and as the bulwark of the Roman Empire, thereby mirroring the appreciation of Herakleios in first/seventh-century Christian sources. The *History* of Pseudo-Sebēos does not mark Herakleios out for any special recognition until the moment of the return of the Cross to Jerusalem, at which point it refers to the emperor as "blessed" (երանելի), "pious" (աստուածասէր, lit. "loving God"), and "late lamented" (երջանիք, lit. "happy," "blessed").[60] Later in the narrative, Pseudo-Sebēos includes a defense of Armenian orthodoxy that was supposedly composed by the catholicos Nersēs III and several bishops in 649 CE but that was never sent to the emperor Constans II. In that letter, the catholicos addresses Constans as "you who are crowned from heaven, you the boast of all Christians by the power of the divine sign of the Cross, you who resemble the pious servant of God, the divinely gracious, the valiant and victorious, the blessed savior Herakleios" (պսակեալդ յերկնուստ, պարծանքդ ամենայն քրիստոնէից զաւրութեամբ աստուածային խաչին նշանաւն, նմանեալդ աստուածասէր, աստուածապաշտ, աստուածաշնորհ, քաջ եւ յաղթող փրկութենագործ երջանիկն Երակլի).[61]

Such a favorable attitude toward Herakleios was certainly shared by those members of the secular elite who depended on imperial support for their status and who, as the bas-reliefs on the Cathedral at Mren pointedly illustrate, promoted Herakleios's imperial ideology.[62] Noncanonical texts also provide evidence that Herakleian propaganda constructed around the Persian Wars and his restitution of the Cross circulated in Armenia.[63] A positive estimation of Herakleios is similarly evident in the first/seventh-century source of Movsēs Dasxuranc'i's fourth/tenth-century *History of Caucasian Albania*, where the emperor is described as "Christ-loving" (քրիստոսասէր), "great" (մեծ), "zealous" (նախանձախնդիր), "brave" (քաջ), and "victorious" (բարեյաղթ) and depicted as "a general and leader of his troops" (զօրավար եւ առաջնորդ . . . զօրաց իւրոց).[64] By contrast, the later Armenian historians of the fourth/tenth century, Tʿovma Arcruni and Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi, are more muted in their evaluation of the emperor, whom they do not call either pious or blessed,

59 Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 1:154; *Patmutʿiwn*, 176.

60 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 130, 131, 137; cf. *Armenian History*, 1:90 n. 556 for "late lamented."

61 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 152; *Armenian History*, 1:119.

62 Maranci, "Building Churches in Armenia"; *Vigilant Powers*.

63 La Porta and Pogossian, "Apocalyptic Texts."

64 Dasxuranc'i, *Patmut'iwn*, 128, 130, 131, 139, 142, 185, 316; *History*, 76, 78, 79, 86, 87, 119, 206.

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likely because of his Chalcedonianism. Drasxanakertcʿi blames Herakleios for deceiving the catholicos Ezr into accepting the Council of Chalcedon, something Pseudo-Sebēos pointedly does not mention when relating the same incident.[65] Łewond thus represents the last vestige of the first/seventh-century appreciation of Herakleios in the Armenian historiographical tradition.[66]

The titles here derive from the Greek. Łewond calls Herakleios "divinely crowned," in Armenian աստուածապսակեալ, lit. "God-crowned," and "pious," in Armenian բարեպաշտ. "Divinely crowned" is a rare word in Armenian, and this is the earliest attested use of the term.[67] It is a calque on the Greek θεοστεφής, which is common in Roman usage. The word appears in Drasxanakertcʿi's fourth/tenth-century *History* in the letter from Nikolaos Mystikos, which K. Maksoudian argues is a translation from a Greek original.[68] Comparing these with the regnal formulae found in papyri from Roman Egypt, Greenwood contends that the titles originate in imperial documents and render the corresponding Greek terms; for example, Łewond's "pious" is a translation of the Greek εὐσεβής, which appears as Herakleios's regnal title in papyri in the superlative form as εὐσεβέστατος. Greenwood identifies the same process on Herakleios's title on the first/seventh-century Armenian inscription at Bagawan, "protected by God"—in Armenian աստուածապահ—which appears in Roman papyri as θεοφύλακτος.[69]

Łewond's omission of ʿAlī among the early caliphs, his silence with regard to the first *fitna*, his praise of Herakleios, and his evocation of Greek titles illustrate well the location of his account of mid-first/seventh-century events at the confluence of Umayyad and Roman historiographical propaganda.

I.B. THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

Łewond begins his account of the Islamic conquests in Arabia. Drawing on a broader tradition that attributes the motivation for the conquests to Jewish communities in the Near East, he narrates the Arab defeat of the Roman army and the caliphal conquest of Syria. Łewond then turns his attention to the conquest of Iran from the Sasanians, within which he also situates the first incursions into Armenia. By contextualizing these incursions within the collapse of Roman power in Syria and the end of the Sasanian Empire, Łewond places the invasion of Armenia into a larger imperial narrative. Łewond's retelling culminates in the capture of the city of Dabīl/Duin, which he couches within a discourse of prophetic fulfillment.

65 Drasxanakertcʿi, *History*, 98–99; "Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ," 404; Sebēos, *History*, 91; *Patmutʿiwn*, 131–32.

66 The difficult-to-date history of Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni portrays Herakleios in a rather fantastical manner. He is depicted as falling for an otherwise unattested princess of Sīsajān/Siunikʿ named Biureł. Even more improbably, he is shown heeding the advice of Yovhannēs Mayragomecʿi, who was a staunch Julianist opponent of Chalcedon and therefore an unlikely person to have the ear of the emperor. Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 187–89.

67 Awetikʿean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerian, *Nor baṙgirkʿ*, 1:328.

68 Drasxanakertcʿi, *History*, 37.

69 Greenwood, "Corpus," 44–47.

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I.B.1. Madiam

Łewond refers to the "camps of Madiam" (բանակս Մադիամու) [4v] during the Islamic conquests. A. Ter-Łevondyan and Martin-Hisard take Madiam to refer to the Midian discussed in both the Hebrew Scriptures (מדין) and the Qurʾān (مدين). In particular, the Greek word for Midian is Μαδιάμ, which presents with a final -m as in Łewond. With this reading, "the camps of Madiam" might be understood as a reference to the Arabs in general.[70]

However, Łewond likely meant the Prophet's city, Madīna. The first/seventh-century *Chronicle of Khūzistān* makes the connection between Midian and the Prophet's city. The anonymous author explains that "Madina was named after Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Ketura, and it is also called Yathrib" (ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ ܒܪܗ ܕܩܛܘܪܐ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܪܒܥܝܐ ܘܐܝܬܝܗ ܝܬܪܒ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܝܬܪܒ). [71] This connection also appears in the fourth/tenth-century Armenian *History* of Tʿovma Arcruni, who refers to Madiam "which Israel had destroyed on leaving Egypt" (զոր աւերեացն Իսրայէլ յելանելն իւրում յԵգիպտոսի; cf. Numbers 31). Soon thereafter, he refers back to this passage in describing the *hijra*: "Muḥammad and ʿAlī fled with about forty men. They came to the city of Madiam, which we mentioned above" (և փախստական եղեալ Մահմետ և Ալի և ընդ նոսա իբրև արք Խ՝ եկին ի քաղաքն Մադիամ, զոր և ասացաք յառաջագոյն). Tʿovma also has Sałman—Salmān al-Fārisī—travel to Madiam.[72] The conflation between Midian and Madīna is therefore not exclusive to Łewond.

I.B.2. Jews and the Islamic Conquest

Łewond credits divine punishment for the sins of Christians as the reason for the Islamic conquests. In explaining the rise of the Caliphate, he provides a central role for the Jews, describing them as a catalyst of the Islamic expansion. Łewond here participates in a broader tradition in Christian literature, including in Armenian, that draws direct connections between Judaism and Islam.[73] According to the *History* attributed to Sebēos, the Jewish population of Edessa left that city after its successful siege by the Sasanian Empire in 629–30 CE.[74] Allowed to leave by the emperor according to the terms of the surrender, they went to Arabia (Tačkastan), where they invoked their and the Arabs' shared Abrahamic heritage in an attempt to garner the latter's assistance. Although the Arabs were convinced of the relationship, they were too divided to affect any meaningful alliance. Once Muḥammad successfully united them as sons of Abraham, they marched forth to claim the inheritance promised them in the Bible. They defeated the emperor's brother in Moab, putting him to flight. Then, all the sons of Israel gathered together and formed

70 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 5 n. 26; *Patmutʿyun*, 138 n. 12.

71 *Short Chronicle*, 110–11.

72 Arcruni, *History*, 164 on biblical references, 66 on the *hijra*, 68 on Salmān; *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Vardanyan, 156 on biblical references, 60 on the *hijra*, 62 on Salmān.

73 See Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*; Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*.

74 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 134–36; *Armenian History*, 1:95–98. Pseudo-Sebēos also includes the Jews in his description of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem earlier in the seventh century; on this, see Cameron, "Blaming the Jews." Arcruni, *History*, 101; *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Vardanyan, 166–68, follows the account of Pseudo-Sebēos, with only a few alterations.

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a large army. They defeated an imperial expedition, crossed the Jordan, and camped in Jericho. The population of Jerusalem panicked and fled with the Cross and other precious items. J. Howard-Johnston proposes that the source of this story was composed in Palestine, and possibly in Jerusalem itself, given its focus on the region, and therefore labels it the Palestinian Source.[75]

As Łewond similarly describes a Jewish plea for assistance from the Arabs predicated on a common Abrahamic origin, Howard-Johnston suggests that Łewond may have relied on that same source or something like it, despite the fact that Łewond incorrectly places the attack after the death of Herakleios in 20/641. This postdating may reflect the pro-Herakleian stance of either Łewond or his source: neither could fathom a military loss of this magnitude occurring under the leadership of the great Roman emperor. His later dating of these events also makes it impossible for Łewond to place the relocation of the Jews to Arabia around the time of Muḥammad's mission, as Pseudo-Sebēos does. According to Łewond's narrative, the Arabs had already united under Islam at the time of the Jewish request for assistance, and the Jewish intervention only provided them with an incentive to expand outside of the Arabian Peninsula.

In addition to these discrepancies between the accounts of Łewond and Pseudo-Sebēos, which hinge on the dating of the Islamic incursion into the Levant, other differences may also be noted: (a) Łewond uses direct speech to recount the Jewish appeal, whereas Pseudo-Sebēos uses it to report Muḥammad's exhortation; (b) Łewond's Jewish proposal states that the Arabs will rule jointly with the Jews over the inhabitants of the land, while in Pseudo-Sebēos's account Muḥammad promises his followers that they alone will seize the land that had been promised to Abraham; (c) Łewond does not mention the siege or surrender of Edessa; (d) Łewond states that the Roman general in Judea called his commanders to join him and together they formed a large army, whereas Pseudo-Sebēos says that the Arabs and the Jews together formed a large army; (e) Łewond makes no comparison between the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve tribes, each with a thousand men, that composed the Arab army; and (f) Łewond makes no mention of Jerusalem or of the flight of its inhabitants and the removal of the Cross. Łewond also shows no cognizance of the "Jewish plot" to discredit the Christian population of Jerusalem, as reported by Pseudo-Sebēos.[76] Jews do not feature in any of Łewond's conquest accounts, nor is the narrative topos of Jewish preference for and collaboration with caliphal or Muslim rule over and against Roman or Christian dominance present elsewhere in the text.[77] Indeed, Jews do not appear again in Łewond's historical narrative at all. The divergences between the accounts of Pseudo-Sebēos and Łewond make it highly unlikely that Łewond relied directly on Pseudo-Sebēos or on a common source. Rather, they suggest that Łewond accessed a polemical tradition which sought to counter Islamic claims that God had sanctioned the Muslims' political expansion (cf. Qurʾān 33:27) and their right to rule others by attributing that expansion to Jewish instigation. The emphasis on ruling other people,

75 Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 2:238–40.

76 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 139–40; *Armenian History*, 1:102–3. Similarly attributed to the Palestinian Source by Howard-Johnston in Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 2:94–99.

77 On this, see Astren, "Re-reading," 94–99.

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as opposed to simply acquiring more land, possibly reflects a later, post-conquest context than that imagined in Pseudo-Sebēos.

By contrast, Pseudo-Šapuh preserves an idiosyncratic version that has only very general characteristics in common with Łewond and Pseudo-Sebēos.[78] In his retelling, when Herakleios entered Persia, the Jewish elders and magnates took the books of Moses and other gifts and went to Baghdad. There they convinced Muḥammad of their kinship through Abraham and argued that as sons of Abraham, the Arabs should rule in Jerusalem instead of foreigners. Muḥammad informed his sister Fāṭima (*sic*) and his brother-in-law ʿAlī (*sic*) about what the Jews had told him and sent ʿAlī forth with an army to take Jerusalem. When the sons of Herakleios, Constantine and Theodosius, who were on their way to Jerusalem with the Cross and were camped in Ramla/Ṙamlay, heard that Jerusalem had been taken, they fled with the Cross to Antioch and thence to Constantinople. There is clearly much that is unique and anachronistic here, but like Pseudo-Sebēos, Pseudo-Šapuh situates the Jewish exhortation to the Arabs within the time of Muḥammad and associates the removal of the Cross to Constantinople with it. Like Łewond, Pseudo-Šapuh presents the Jewish address in direct speech. It thus appears that the author of this text was aware of the traditions preserved by Pseudo-Sebēos and Łewond but that the story had become very muddled in its—likely oral—transmission over time.

I.B.3. Battling the Romans

There were a number of battles between Arabs and Romans in the early conquest period. When Łewond refers to a battle in Arabia Petraea, he may mean the battle of Yarmūk, which resulted in the collapse of Roman power in Syria. Several details (the Romans' difficulty in securing supplies, the rout of the Roman army, and the high Roman death count) align with what other sources report about the battle. However, the battle of Yarmūk did not take place in Arabia Petraea, as Łewond claims, and it occurred in 15/636, not in 20/641 during the reign of Constantine III, where Łewond places it. Further, the Roman forces at Yarmūk were under the command of an Armenian general, a detail that Łewond does not relay.[79]

I.B.4. The Fall of the Sasanian Empire

Łewond's account of the fall of the Sasanian Empire is significantly shorter than his telling of the conquest of Syria and devoid of the biblical motifs that populate his account of caliphal victories over the Romans. The collapse of the Persian Empire serves as a narrative segue into the Islamic incursions into Armenia, creating the impression that Armenia was alone in its fight against the Caliphate.

Łewond explains that the Sasanian Empire lasted for 481 years, but the source of this claim is uncertain. Łewond clearly associates the downfall of the Sasanian Empire with the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642. Counting back 481 years would mean that the Sasanian

78 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 190.

79 On Yarmūk, see Bosworth and Kaegi, "Yarmūk"; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 112–45; Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, 130–46; Hoyland, *In God's Path*, 39–49.

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Empire began in 161 CE. Vardan Arewelcʿi and Kirakos Ganjakecʿi replicate Łewond's claim of 481 years, but Michael the Syrian and Mxitʿar Anecʿi instead report that the Sasanian Empire lasted 418 years.[80] It is unlikely that the difference in the numbers is the result of a scribal error in either Armenian (418 is rendered as ՆԺԸ, whereas 481 is ՆՁԱ), Greek (ΥΙΗ vs. ΥΠΑ), or Syriac (ܬܡܢ vs. ܬܫܥ).

A survey of other references to the length of Sasanian rule in Armenian texts makes it clear that Armenian historians did not share a unified chronology of Sasanian history. Pseudo-Sebēos explains that with the death of Yazdegerd, "so was extinguished the rule of the Persians and the Sasanians, which had held sway for 542 years" (Եւ բարձաւ տէրութիւնն Պարսից և ազգին Սասանայ, որ կալան զքաղաւորութիւնն ամս ՇԽԲ).[81] Tʿovma Arcruni follows Pseudo-Sebēos with 542 years, whereas Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi gives the unique number of 386 years. These calculations depend on the particular calendar used and the definition adopted of the start and end dates of the empire. We should not assume that these spans necessarily refer to the period between the coronation of Ardashīr in 224 CE and the death of Yazdegerd in 651 CE, which would be 427 years, as Armenian historians identified different events as the start and end of Sasanian power.[82]

Łewond remarks on the booty the Muslims captured on the conquest of Iran: "The Ishmaelites plundered the land and carried off the royal treasury to their own land" (Իսմայէլացոցն աւար առեալ զերկիրն. և զգանձսն արքունի հասուցանէին յաշխարհն իւրեանց) [6v]. In Arabic accounts of the battle of Qādisiyya, the immense riches of the Persian kings constitute a trope and serve to highlight the contrast between Persian opulence and the simple lifestyle of the nomadic Arabs. Persian traditions, however, frequently focus on symbolic treasures of the Sasanian kings, such as the standards of the Sasanians (درفش كاوانى) and the legendary ceremonial carpet of the audience hall at Ctesiphon (بهار كسرى); the capture and/or destruction of these signals the transfer of power to the Arab Muslim armies.[83]

I.C. ISLAMIC INCURSIONS INTO ARMENIA

The details of the Islamic incursions into Armenia are convoluted and contradictory in the sources, so a clear narrative continues to elude us. The Arabic accounts project a single, extended conquest that unfolded over a number of years. They focus on the famous generals of the caliphal armies and list each conquered region with a neat precision that belies the polycentric chaos of the incursions.[84]

80 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 343 n. 609.

81 Sebēos, *History*, 135; *Patmutʿiwn*, 164.

82 See, for example, Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 343 n. 609; Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 183 n. 301.

83 Lewenthal, "Qādisiyyah, Then and Now," 110–12.

84 We use "incursions" here rather than "conquests" because none of these campaigns resulted in a permanent caliphal presence in Armenia. The "conquests" of Armenia—in the sense of producing a recognizable caliphal administration in the province—occurred only in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. However, Arabic sources frequently project unbroken control over the region, beginning with the campaigns of ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm in the 630s CE. On the campaigns of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and Salmān b. Rabīʿa, in particular, see Vacca, "Armenian Sources"; on the problems raised by the various accounts of the conquests of Armenia, see Manandyan, "Les invasions arabes." C. Lo Jacono offers a translation of Ibn Aʿtham's

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Łewond, by contrast, is far more interested in lamenting the fate of Armenia caught between the haughty Roman Empire and motivated caliphal forces. These extremes are encapsulated in the Roman general Prokopios's mistreatment of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, on the one hand [7r], and the highly dramatic description of the sack of Dabīl/Duin [8r–9v], on the other.[85] Prokopios's insulting dismissal of Tʿēodoros culminates in the Roman general's humiliating defeat at the hands of the smaller caliphal army [7v]. By contrast, Tʿēodoros is able to retain his dignity and exact some retribution for the sack of Dabīl/Duin through his victory over a larger caliphal contingent at Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan [10r], with which Łewond closes the chapter devoted to the period of the "rightly guided" caliphs. Despite these narrative preoccupations, it is possible to draw parallels between Łewond's recounting of the early Islamic incursions into Armenia and those found in Arabic sources.

I.C.1. The Two Campaigns in 22/642–43

Łewond describes a caliphal military campaign in the year after the death of Herakleios (d. 20/641) that first defeated the Persian Empire and then moved into Armenia. The victory over the Persians here refers to the battle of Nihāwand in 21/642. Łewond employs the *hijrī* dating when he claims that these forces subsequently moved against Armenia "in the twenty-second year of the Ishmaelite princes Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar" (ի. *քսան.* և երկրորդ ամի Աբուբաքրա և Օթմանա. և Ամրի իշխանացն Իսմայելի) [8r].

According to the Arabic accounts, there were two separate incursions into Armenia in 22/642–43.[86] Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, then governor of Syria, sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī into Armenia. Facing the Roman forces in the environs of either Qālīqalā/Karin or Shimshāṭ, the Syrian forces requested reinforcements. The caliph ʿUmar ordered Kūfa to send troops, and these arrived under the command of Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī sometime after ʿUthmān came to power in 23/644. The Iraqi army arrived after the Syrians had already routed the Romans, so Ḥabīb and Salmān quarreled about the rights to the spoils. With the two Arab Muslim armies poised to battle each other in Armenia, Ḥabīb and Salmān leveled threats at one another and then reportedly paused to write to the caliph for directions. As they waited for a response (which was not recorded), the tensions receded as each army marauded through different territories. Ḥabīb b. Maslama remained in Armenia and then turned north into Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, while Salmān b. Rabīʿa brought his forces against Albania and Khazar territory along the Caspian Sea.[87]

In line with the usual pattern of *futūḥ* narratives, multiple dates are given for the campaigns of Ḥabīb and Salmān. Ṭabarī places Ḥabīb, Salmān, and several other generals in Armenia, Georgia, and Albania in 22/642–43 but then recounts the campaign again in

account of the campaigns of Ḥabīb b. Maslama and Salmān b. Rabīʿa, along with a discussion of the problems therein, in Lo Jacono, "Una fonta inesplorata."

85 See La Porta, "Sense of an Ending," 372–74, for his use of the Bible and of Ełišē; on the sack of Dabīl/Duin, see also Greenwood, "Reassessment," 146–47.

86 This early date may relate instead to the conquest of Azerbaijan, which precipitated the subsequent campaign into neighboring Albania.

87 See Vacca, "Armenian Sources."

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detail in 24/644–45.[88] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ locates Ḥabīb b. Maslama's campaign with the Syrian troops in 22/642–43, but he associates them with the conquest of Azerbaijan in the aftermath of Nihāwand. He places Salmān's campaign against Bardhaʿa/Partaw later, in 25/645–46.[89] Yaʿqūbī explains that ʿUmar "dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī to Armenia and sent Salmān b. Rabīʿa after him to reinforce him, but he did not reach him until after the murder of ʿUmar" (ووجّه حبيب بن مسلمة الفهرىّ الى ارمينية ثمّ اردفه سلمان بن ربيعة مددا له فلم يصل اليه الاّ بعد قتل عمر).[90] Since ʿUthmān came to power in 23/644, this account bridges the divide between 22/643 and 23/644.[91] However, Yaʿqūbī also offers a conflicting report according to which both Ḥabīb and Salmān were dispatched by ʿUthmān, which would place the campaign later.[92] The simplest solution to this chronological confusion is that 22/642–43 marked the start of the campaigns of Ḥabīb and Salmān, given that they were associated with the conquest of Azerbaijan in that year. However, the engagements of the two Muslim armies in Armenia and Albania unfurled over the subsequent years. The specific date of the campaign is less important than is Łewond's invocation of the *hijrī* year 22 and its alignment with the Arabic accounts of the inception of these campaigns, since it convincingly demonstrates both that Łewond was relying on the *hijrī* dating and that his chronology reflects one known in the Arabic sources, as well.

Although he does not name Ḥabīb or Salmān, Łewond acknowledges that this campaign was in fact two campaigns: "the forces divided into two" (ընդ երկու բաժանեալ զաւրքն) [6v]. His claim that "one regiment went marauding through the region of Artaz against the Greek general" (զունդ մի հատեալ ասպատակէին ընդ զաւառն Արտազ ի վերա զաւրավարին Յունաց) [7r] likely refers to the Syrian forces under the command of Ḥabīb b. Maslama, which defeated the Roman forces, though he seems to assert that they came from Iraq rather than Syria. The Roman army "was encamped in the region of Kogovit on the borders of Bazujor and Marducʿaykʿ" (բանակեալ ի զաւառին Կոգո ովտի. ի սահմանս Բազուձորոյ և Մարդուցայիցʿ) [7r]. Artaz and Marducʿaykʿ are both districts of Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan, midway between Lake Van and Nashawā/Naxčawan. By contrast, the reference to the other regiment that moved through "the towns of the Medes, the region of Gołtʿn, and the village of Naxčawan" (զաւանս Մարաց. և զզաւառն Գողթն. և զդաստակերտսն Նախչաւանու) [6v] must refer to Salmān b. Rabīʿa's campaign, given that he arrived via Azerbaijan. Łewond's account thus corresponds quite closely with the Arabic sources in terms of the dating and the direction of the campaigns.

I.C.2. Another Campaign in 26/646–47?

Łewond subsequently describes another incursion that took place three years later, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, and ʿUmar, which we should read as 26/646–47. However, Łewond clarifies that this second attack occurred in the second year

88 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2666 for 22/642–43 and 2:807–8 for 24/644–45. The first reference claims that Ḥabīb invaded Georgia, while the second includes an anecdote about Ḥabīb's wife that also appears in Balādhurī.

89 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 86, 90.

90 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:790; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:180.

91 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 790; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:180.

92 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 806–7; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:194.

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of the reign of Constans II, who ruled from 641 to 668 CE. According to the latter dating, then, Łewond's "second" set of incursions happened in 22/643, which corresponds exactly to the date he provided for the earlier incursions. Given the inconsistency in Łewond's dating, there are two ways to read this account.

If we prioritize Łewond's claim that this campaign occurred in the second year of Constans II, this wave of incursions could in fact refer to the campaigns addressed above. Łewond claims that the Muslim forces held the Joray pass and took the city of Dabīl/Duin. According to Balādhurī, after his defeat of the Roman forces Ḥabīb b. Maslama moved from the region of Lake Van to Dabīl/Duin: "His cavalry roamed and settled Jurnā. They reached Ashūsh, Dhāt al-Lujum, the mountain of Kū.ta, and Wādī al-Aḥrār. They conquered all of the villages of Dabīl, then moved against Sirāj Ṭayr and Baghrawand" (وجالت خيوله فنزلت جرنى وبلغت اشوش وذات اللّجم والجبل كوتة ووادى الاحرار وغلبت على جميع قرى دبيل ووجّه الى سراج طير وبغروند).[93] Some of the toponyms in this description of Ḥabīb's campaign have been only provisionally identified, but Jurnā is Garni; Dhāt al-Lujum is one of the villages of Dabīl/Duin; and Wādī al-Ahrār, "River of the Freemen," is a direct translation of the Armenian River Azat. From Dabīl/Duin, Ḥabīb's incursion into Armenia next took him to Nashawā/Naxčawan, Sīsajān/Siunikʻ, and Wayṣ/Vayocʻjor on the way back to Dabīl/Duin. Geographically, Łewond's description fits neatly with the accounts of Ḥabīb's campaign. If this is in fact a retelling of the 22/643 campaign, it is likely that Łewond is here stitching together two different sources.

One of Łewond's sources may relate to the *Anonymous Chronicle* attributed to Pʻilon Tirakacʻi, composed around 690 CE, which similarly attests to an Arab attack on Dabīl/Duin in the second year of Constans: "Constantine [i.e., Constans], son of Constantine, grandson of Herakleios, twenty-nine years. In his second year Duin was taken by the Arabs,[94] and the number of captured was thirty-five thousand" (Կոստանդին՝ որդի Կոստանդիանի, թոռն Հերակղի, ամս քսանեւինն: Ի սորա երկրորդ ամին առաւ Դուին ի Տաճկաց. եւ եղեւ համար գերելոցն ԼԵՌ).[95] In addition to placing this incursion in the second year of Constans's reign, the number of captives is the same in the two texts. Łewond may have been familiar with the first/seventh-century *Anonymous Chronicle* or the two works may be relying on a common source for this information; either way, it appears that Łewond was aware of two descriptions of an incursion in 22/643 and presented them as two separate attacks.

Indeed, there is significantly less evidence to support Łewond's alternative dating of the incursion to AH 26 (647 CE). However, Ṭabarī offers a relevant report, which underscores the uncertainty of precisely dating these incursions: "In this year—that is, the year 24—al-Walīd b. ʿUqba raided Azerbaijan and Armenia, because their inhabitants had repudiated the terms to which they had agreed with the Muslims during ʿUmar's reign. [That is] according to the account of Abū Mikhnaf, but other authorities relate that this took place in the year 26" (وفى هذه السنة اعنى سنة 24 غزا الوليد بن عقبة آذربيجان وأرمينية لمنع اهلها ما

93 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 200.

94 One manuscript (V1245, 1604 CE) adds here "in the year 90" (ի Ղ. թուականին), referring to the Armenian era; this date corresponds to 641 CE.

95 Tirakacʻi, "Žamanakagrutʻiwn," 967. On the work's relationship to Łewond, see Greenwood, "New Light."

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(كانوا صالحوا عليه اهل الاسلام ايّام عمر فى رواية ابى مخنف وامّا فى رواية غيره فان ذلك كان فى سنة 26).[96] This report may indicate that the peace terms these regions set with Ḥabīb did not stand, prompting a second incursion in either 24/645 or 26/647. More firmly, it indicates that the story of the conquests was just as contested and confused in Arabic accounts as it was in the Armenian ones.

I.C.3. A Third Campaign in 32/652–53

At the end of the chapter, Łewond reports that a third campaign entered Armenia ten years later, "in the thirty-sixth year of their reign" (*երեսուն եւ վեց*, երրորդ ամի իշխանութեանն նոցա) [9v]. This detail makes little sense in the context of early Islamic history. Ten years after 26/647 would indeed have been the year 36/656–57, as Łewond claims, but the Battle of the Camel took place in that year, followed soon thereafter by the battle of Ṣiffīn, and it is difficult to believe that the incursions into Armenia would have continued through the confusion of the first *fitna*. If they did, historians writing in Arabic did not record them.

An alternative reading of the date can be gleaned from the passage discussed above, in which Łewond offers two incompatible dates for the (possibly second) Arab incursion into Armenia. Łewond asserts that the campaign of 26/647 occurred in the second year of Constans II, which, as noted, actually fell in 22/643. He then explains that the Muslims "ceased coming up into this land of Armenia for ten years" (դադարեցին յելանելոյ ի վերա աշխարհիս հայոց ամս. *տասն*) [9v]. If, instead of counting ten years from 26/647 to arrive at 36/656–57, we take an interpretive leap to understand Łewond to mean ten years from the second year of Constans, we get the year 32/652–53. Again, just as with the previous set of incursions, there are numerous conflicting accounts, and this alternative possibility cannot be verified with any certainty. However, this date is consistent with Pseudo-Sebēos's account, which places the conquest of Dabīl/Duin in the thirteenth year of the reign of Constans (i.e., 653 CE). The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* also explains that "Ḥabīb invaded Jazīra" (ܚܒܝܒ ܡܛܐ ܠܓܙܪܬܐ) in AG 964, which corresponds to 652–53 CE.[97] Theophanes likewise places this campaign in AM 6145/652–53 CE, naming Ḥabīb explicitly, while Agapius and Michael the Syrian follow suit without naming the commander.[98] Arabic sources understand the campaigns of both Ḥabīb and Salmān to have extended over the entire decade. In addition to the numerous references to 22/642–43 outlined above, there are multiple reports about a campaign under the same generals in 31/651–52. Ṭabarī cites Wāqidī for the claim that "in this year—that is, the year 31 [651–52 CE]—Armenia was conquered by Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī" (وفى هذه السنة اعنى سنة 31 فتحت فى قول الواقدى ارمينية على يدى حبيب بن مسلمة الفهرى).[99] Bar Šinaya similarly places Ḥabīb in Armenia in the year 31/651–52, which he equates with AG 962.[100] Although we do not have Arabic texts that attest to a campaign in 32/652–53 in particular, several accounts of Salmān's incursions into Khazar territories

96 Ṭabarī, *History*, 15:7–8; *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2804.

97 *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 145; *Chronique de Denys*, 8 (Syriac).

98 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 140.

99 Ṭabarī, *History*, 15:78; *Taʾrīkh*, 1:2871. Note that Manandyan cites Yaʿqūbī for this same information, but Yaʿqūbī's report does not in fact include a date; Manandyan, "Invasions arabes," 171.

100 Bar Šinaya, *Chronographie*, 85–86.

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along the Caspian coast align with Pseudo-Sebēos's description of the campaign.[101] These details do little to unravel what might have happened in the conquest period, but they do establish that Łewond's information fits with some of the details found in the Arabic and Syriac sources. Whereas Łewond divides the accounts into three separate incursions, the narrators of the Arabic sources project them into a one unified story, combining events whose dates range from 22/642–43 to 32/652–53 into a single campaign.

Although Łewond clearly delineates three campaigns in 22/642–43, 26/646–47, and 32/652–53, both internal and external evidence suggests that the second campaign is in fact another telling of the campaign of 22/642–43. The duplication of the campaign of 22/642–43 may reflect Łewond's reliance on two different sources, one pegged to a *hijrī* chronology and the other to the regnal dates of Roman emperors.

101 See Vacca, "Armenian Sources." Cf. Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 1/2:344 (all references to Ibn Aʿtham's *Kitāb al-futūḥ* are to the 1986 Beirut edition unless otherwise noted).

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II The Caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān

r. AH 40–60/661–80 CE

Łewond's second chapter, on Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 661–80), is short even though it covers nearly twenty years. Łewond's brevity here reflects the parameters of what he wants to include in his *History* and should not be taken as an indication of a lack of activity in Armenia in this period. Muʿāwiya's governance was largely uncontentious, as it allowed Armenians control over their own territory. The chapter focuses on the Armenian nobility and clergy who organized the dispatch of hostages and tribute to the Umayyads. This arrangement affirmed the internal power structure in Armenia and appears to have been markedly different from the practice in the later Umayyad period, when the province's taxes were collected and its army was overseen by local caliphal administrators. The other main point of interest in Łewond's account of Muʿāwiya's reign is the Armenian volte-face to support the Umayyads against the Romans. This particular version of events does not appear as such in non-Armenian sources, though it follows patterns consistent with Armenian disaffection with and defection from Roman service throughout the seventh century. Importantly, Łewond differs from other Armenian sources in presenting the decision of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, the prince of Armenia, to make an alliance with the Umayyads in a positive light, instead of castigating him as a traitor.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After them [Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān], a certain Muʿāwiya reigned for nineteen years and four months, then he died. And how in his days Grigor became prince [of Armenia], and the events that transpired in Armenia and the deaths of the princes.

4. In the first year of his reign and in the twenty-fifth year of the emperor Constans, who was the grandson of Herakleios, the prince of the *Tačik*s began to assemble forces against this land of Armenia. King Constans was informed, and he ordered the general, who was in the region of Cilicia, to march out against them. He [Constans] also deposed Tʿēodoros from his authority on account of the perfidy that he had committed against the general Prokopios. In his place, he [Constans] appointed a certain Smbat [11r] from the house of the Bagratunikʿ. He [Constans] sent [Smbat]

Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. 639–61 as governor of Syria; 661–80 as caliph): Umayyad caliph remembered for his opposition to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, for the inauguration of the Umayyads as the first dynasty of the Caliphate, and for his expansionist policies in Anatolia.

Grigor Mamikonean: prince of Armenia from 662 to 685. He was the first to be invested in this post by a caliph, after being released from Damascus where he had been held as hostage. He built the church at Aruč, where inscriptions name him and his wife, Helinē. He died in battle against the Khazars in 685.

The number **4** here is a section marker, the first one preserved in the manuscript.

Tačik: Łewond typically calls Arab Muslims either Ishmaelites or *Tačik*s. It is uncertain whether *Tačik* here refers to ethnicity (Arabs), religion (Muslims), or some combination thereof. This word is an Armenian version of the name of the Arab tribe Ṭayyʾ, but it is used in a general sense to refer to Arabs.

Cilicia: Roman province along the southeastern coast of modern Turkey.

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with his general. He[1] wrote to Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, the former prince, saying: "Come to war with us with the troops under your command." But he [Tʿēodoros] did not want to march out. Again, he wrote a second time: "If you do not rise up against the marauders with us, on our return we will wipe out your house from among our noble famil[ies]." Intimidated by the threats, he [Tʿēodoros] prepared his son Vard to go with Prince Smbat. He ordered [his son] to deceive their allies and to unite with their enemies. He [Vard] went to the Greek general and they departed for Syria, crossing the Euphrates at some point. Tʿēodoros's son approached the general and requested that he himself [be] guard of the pontoon bridges, so he [the general] ordered him [Vard] to guard the bridgehead. When they [the Romans and the Arabs] clashed with each other in battle, [11v] the wounded fell on both sides. The forces of the *Tačik*s grew strong again and put the Greek legion to flight on the Holy Saturday of Easter. When Tʿēodoros's son saw the Ishmaelite victory, he was emboldened and crossed to the other side of the river. He severed the ropes of the bridge so that those [Greeks] who fled would not survive. They surrounded the Greek forces and threw some into the river. Some escaped and fled to Greek territory.

Hereupon the Greek king lost heart, for he realized that the deterioration of his reign was an act of the Lord, and he never again went up against[2] Ishmael. Then the prince of the Ishmaelites wrote an edict to this land of Armenia: "If you will not pay tribute to me and if you will not submit to my service, I will put everyone to the sword." At that time the high priest of the Armenians, [12r] Nersēs, the builder of [the church of] Saint Grigor, and the princes and *naxarark*ʿ of this land convened and took it upon themselves to pay tribute to the tyranny of the Ishmaelites. Hostages were requested from them, and they gave them two from among the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ: Grigor from the Mamikonean house and Smbat from the Bagratuni house. They brought them to the prince of the *Tačik*s, Muʿāwiya, and they set the tribute over this land of Armenia at five hundred silver coins (*dahekan*s) each year to remit to

Smbat V Bagratuni (d. after 652): a nobleman of the Bagratuni house who held several titles in the Roman military.

The Bagratuni house: a powerful noble family who served as the royal coronants in the Kingdom of Armenia from the first to the fifth century. In the seventh century, the Bagratuni family controlled Tarōn and territories farther north in Sper. From the ninth century onward, the Bagratunikʿ ruled the Kingdom of Armenia.

Vard Ṙštuni: son of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni and last known member of the Ṙštuni family.

Nersēs III: known as both Tayecʿi and Išxanecʿi as well as by the nickname "the builder," Nersēs was catholicos of the Armenians from 641 to 661. He is most famous for his role in the construction of the church of Saint Grigor, known as Zuartʿnocʿ ("Vigilant Ones") (fig. 4). Zuartʿnocʿ is the most famous medieval Armenian church; its ruins stand only a short distance from modern Erevan on the road to the Mother See of the Armenian Church at Ēǰmiacin.

Hostages: all three empires—the Roman Empire, the Sasanian Empire, and the Caliphate—took hostages to ensure the compliance of the Armenians. In this case the hostages were Smbat V Bagratuni and Grigor Mamikonean, who subsequently became the prince of Armenia.

1 The text is ambiguous. Chahnazarian and Arzoumanian consider the Roman emperor the subject of this sentence, but it seems to have been Smbat, given that the text of the letter refers to "*our* noble famil[ies]."

2 Cf. 1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) 7:13, where the same phrasing is used to refer to the Philistines' never invading Israel again.

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Figure 4. View of Zuartʿnocʿ. Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian. Reproduced with permission.

them in order to remain secure in their homes. Then, in the second year of his reign, Muʿāwiya summoned Grigor and Smbat, who were hostages at the royal court. He gave Grigor the honor of ruling over the Armenians and sent them with many honors to this land of Armenia. There was great peace during the days of his reign.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Յետ նոցա ունի զիշխանութիւն Մաւիս ոմն ամս. *ինն եւ տասն.* և ամիսս. *չորս.* և վախճանի: Եւ եթէ զիարդ յաւուրս նորա էր իշխանն Գրիգոր, և որ ինչ անցք անցին ընդ աշխարհս Հայոց. և մահուան իշխանացն:

դ[3] Ի սորա յառաջնում ամի իշխանութեան, և ի քսան և. *հինգ.* ամի Կոստանդիանոսի[4] կայսեր. որ էր թոռն Հերակլի. սկսաւ զօրս գումարել ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց իշխանն Տաճկաց. ազդ եղև առ թագաւորն Կոստանդին բանքն. և հրամայէր զօրավարին որ ի կողմանս Կիլիկեցւոց ելանել ընդդէմ նոցա: Ընկենոյր և զիշխանն Թէոդորոս յիշխանութենէն վասն նենգութեանն զոր արար առ զօրավարին Պոռկոպա. և փոխանակ նորա կացուցանէր

3 դ in lft. mg. Hand 4.

4 Կոստանդիանոսի] Կոստանդիանոս a.c.

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զՍմպատ ոմն [11r][5] ի տոհմէ Բագրատունեաց. և առաքէր ընդ զաւրավարին իւրում. գրէր[6] և առ Թէոդորոս ընՌըշտունի որ յառաջ իշխանն էր. ասէ {ե}լ ընդ մեզ ի պատերազմ զաւրովք որ ընդ ձեռամբ քո է. և ոչ կամեցաւ նա ելանել: Գրէ դարձեալ երկրորդ անգամ եթե ոչ ելցես ընդ մեզ ի վերա հինիս. ի դառնալն մերում այսրէն ջնջ[.]եսցուք զտունդ քո յազգատոհմէ մերմէ. որոյ երկուցեալ ի սպառնալեացն. հանդերձէր զորդի իւր զՎարդ {եր}թալ ընդ իշխանին Սմպատա. և տայր հրա{մ}ան նենգութի*ւն* առնել սիրելեացն և միաբանել թշնամեացն: Որոյ երթեալ առ զաւրավարն Յունաց. չուեցին ի կողմանս Ասորոց. և անցին ընդ զոմն Եւփրատա: Եւ մատուցեալ որդւոյն Թէոդորոսի առ զաւրավարն խնդրէր զինքն պահապան նաւակարմջացն. և նորա հրամաեալ նմա պահել գխելս զոմոյն. եւ իբրև բախեցին ընդ միմեանս պատերազմաւ և անկ[11v]ան յերկոցունց կողմանցն հարուածք. դարձեալ[7] զաւրացեալ զաւրքն Տաճկաց փախստական արարին զգունդն Յունաց յաւուր մեծի շաբաթուն զատկին: Իբրև էտե{ս} որդին Թէոդորոսի զյաղթութիւնն Իսմաելի· զաւրացեալ անցանէր յայնկոյս գետոյն. և հատեալ կտրեաց զլարս կարմջին զի մի ապրեսցին փախստեայքն. և նոցա ի մէջ արարեալ զզաւրսն Յունաց. զոմանս գետավէժս առնէին. և ոմանք զերծեալ փախստեամբ յաշխարհին Յունաց:

Եւ յայնմհետէ լքաւ սիրտ արքային Յունաց. զի գիտաց եթե ի տ*եառն*է է խոտորումն իշխանութեանն նորա. և ոչ ևս յաւել ելանել ի վերա Իսմաելի: Իսկ իշխանն Իսմաելի գրէ հրովարտակ յաշխարհս Հաց. եթե ոչ հարկեսջիք ինձ և ոչ անկջիք ընդ լծով ծառաութե*ան* իմոյ. ի սուր սուսերի մաշեցից զամենեսեան: Յայնժամ ժողովեալ ի միասին քահանայապետքն[8] Հայոց. Ներ[12r]սէս շինող սրբոյն Գրիգորի. և իշխանք և նախարարք աշխարհիս. յանձին կալան հարկել բռնութե*ան* Իսմաելացւոցն. յորոց խնդրե*ալ* պատանդս. տային[9] երկուս ի նախարարացն Հայոց. զԳրիգոր ի Մամիկոնեան տանէ. և զՍմպատ ի Բագրատունի տանէ. և տարեալ զնոսա առ իշխանն Տաճկաց Մաւէա. հատին ի վերա աշխարհիս Հաց հարկս: *հինգ հարիւր*:[10] դահեկան ի միում ամի հատուցանել նոցա. և աներկիւղ մնալ ի բնակութի*ւն*ս իւրեանց: Իսկ յերկրորդում ամի իշխանութե*ան*ն Մաւեա. կոչէ զԳրիգոր և զՍմպատ որ էին պատանդք ի դրանն արքունի. և տայր Գրիգորի զպատիւ իշխանութե*ան*ս Հայոց. և առաքէ զնոսա բազում մեծարանաւք յաշխարհս Հայոց. և եղև բազում խաղաղութի*ւն* յաւուրս նորա իշխանութե*ան*ն:

COMMENTARY

II.A. ARMENIAN DEFECTION FROM ROMAN FORCES

Łewond recounts the volte-face of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, who ordered his son Vard to shift his support from the Roman Empire to the Caliphate "in the first year of his [i.e., Muʿāwiya's] reign and in the twenty-fifth year of the emperor Constans" (Ի սորա յառաջնում ամի իշխանութե*ան*ն. և ի քսան և. *հինգ*. ամի Կոստանդիանոսի կայսեր) [10v]. Łewond's omission of ʿAlī from the sequence of caliphs leaves open the possibility that he considered Muʿāwiya's reign to begin with the death of ʿUthmān in 35/656. Typical summaries of

5 Hand 1.

6 գրէր] -ր suprascr.

7 դարձեալ] դարնեալ a.c.

8 քահանայապետքն] read: քահանայապետն with printed editions.

9 տային] տաին a.c.

10 շ add. in rt. mg.

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Umayyad history identify the starting date of Muʿāwiya's reign as 40/661 with the death of ʿAlī, but it seems likely that he was recognized as caliph in Syria already in the 30s/650s.[11] Whichever date we endorse as the first year of Muʿāwiya's reign, it does not align with the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Constans (r. 641–68), which falls in 45–46/666.

Only one other history associates the specific details mentioned in Łewond's narrative with Vard: the popular tales attributed to Šapuh Bagratuni (and any texts that derive from either of them). Scholars have attempted to associate Vard Ṙštuni with other Armenian rebels mentioned in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic sources, but the search for a historic Vard Ṙštuni outside of the works of Łewond and Pseudo-Šapuh has not been productive. Instead, Vard's defection fits within a larger collection of intertwined narratives about members of the Armenian elite turning away from Roman power. Instead of constituting clearly defined depictions of any particular event, the various details about Armenian discontent demonstrate the entangled nature and transmission of these stories. Some of the details in Łewond's account—the date, the Armenian defection, the Roman emperor's response, and the captives—align with other accounts of the reign (or governorship) of Muʿāwiya, as described in the so-called "Theophilus circuit."[12]

II.A.1. The Rebellion of Pasagnathēs

Theophanes describes the rebellion of Pasagnathēs in AM 6143/650–51 CE, the tenth year of Constans (651 CE) and the sixth year of ʿUthmān (29/649–50), thus: "In this year Pasagnathēs, the patrician of Armenia, rebelled against the emperor and made a treaty with Mauias, to whom he handed his own son. On hearing this, the emperor went as far as Caesarea of Cappadocia and, giving up all hope for Armenia, came back" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐστασίασε Πασαγνάθης, ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων πατρίκιος, τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ σπονδὰς μετὰ Μαυῖου πεποίηκε δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν. καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤλθεν ἕως Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας καὶ ἀπελπίσας τῆς Ἀρμενίας ὑπέστρεψεν).[13] Agapius places this same event in the fourth year of ʿUthmān (27/647–48):

> In the fourth year of ʿUthmān, the people of Armenia renounced their submission to Constans, king of the Romans, and submitted to the Muslims. Their governor was one of the patriarchs of Rome named Basaḥnāṭus. He wrote to Muʿāwiya and sent him his son as hostage. And when it reached Constans that the people of Armenia had rebelled and mutinied, he rose up with the armies of the Romans and went to Qaysāriyya of Cappadocia, heading for Armenia. When he was some distance away, the report of it reached him and grieved him. He had planned to enter Armenia, but he withdrew from it in despair.
>
> وفى السنة الرابعة لعثمان خلع أهل أرمينية طاعة قسطوس ملك الروم وصاروا فى طاعة المسلمين وكان عاملهم بطريق من بطارقة الروم يقال له بسحناطس وكاتب معوية ووجّه اليه بابنه رهينة فلما بلغ قسطوس ان أهل

11 Marsham, "Architecture of Allegiance"; Keshk, "When Did Muʿāwiya Become Caliph?"

12 The Theophilus circuit is a set of historical works by Theophanes, Agapius, Michael the Syrian, and the *Chronicle to 1234* that appear to have drawn on a source that modern scholars associate with Theophilus of Edessa.

13 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 480; *Chronographia*, 344.

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أرمينية قد عصوا وطغوا نهض فى جيوش الروم وصار الى قيسارية قباذوقية وهو يريد أرمينية فبينا هو فى مسيرة اذ اتّصل به خبرها واوحشه فبدا له فى دخول أرمينية فرجع عنها مويساً منها.[14]

Łewond's account of Vard's defection includes some details that are also found in the various versions of the Theophilus circuit. Łewond has the Roman forces march against Armenia from Cilicia, while Theophanes and Agapius place the emperor himself in nearby Cappadocia. All three of these sources refer to a treaty between the Armenians and Muʿāwiya. They also all note that "the Greek king lost heart" (լքաւ սիրտ արքային Յունաց) [11v] and so relinquished his claim on Armenia. However, there are also significant differences between Theophanes and Agapius, on the one hand, and Łewond, on the other. Neither Theophanes nor Agapius suggests that the Roman forces fought the Armenians or Muʿāwiya's forces. The name Pasagnathēs also finds no easy explanation. "Pasagnathēs" cannot be a rendering of any relevant Armenian name, though it has been conflated with the name of another rebel "of Persian origin" (Περσογένης), on whom see below. G. Abgaryan has also suggested that Πασαγνάθης might be a corruption of the Greek παραβάτης, "law-breaker."[15]

II.A.2. Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni's Abandonment of the Greek Forces

Despite the differences in the accounts, the rebellion of Pasagnathēs offers the closest parallel to Łewond. However, the transmission of reports about the Armenian defections was convoluted. Other sources associated with Theophilus do not mention Pasagnathēs; instead, Michael the Syrian refers to yet another Armenian rebel who appeared while Muʿāwiya was in Cappadocia during the reign of ʿUthmān. Michael explains that the Roman emperor sent out two contingents to face off with Muʿāwiya, one under an Armenian general and the other under a Greek general. In the Syriac version of the text, this encounter is set in Mesopotamia; in the Armenian version, however, Muʿāwiya defeated the Romans in Caesarea (which would tally with Theophanes's and Agapius's references to the city) and the Armenian general went to Cilicia (as Łewond claims).[16] The Armenian general reportedly witnessed the atrocities of the Roman forces and decided not to continue serving the imperial effort. He then left the field without confronting the Muslims or backing up the Roman war effort. This story is certainly different from the one found in Łewond and in the earlier texts associated with Theophilus, but it does include several shared details, notably the Armenian defection and the location.

Michael the Syrian's Armenian general is not Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni but "a certain Armenian whose name was Dawitʿ" (հայկազնոյ ումեմն, որում անունն Դաւիթ էր). This passage refers to Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni, who served as prince of Armenia immediately before Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni. According to Pseudo-Sebēos, Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni had earlier, around the year 637 CE, been implicated in a plot against Herakleios, and he rebelled by gathering the Armenian forces around him. Herakleios acknowledged him as *curopalates* and prince of Armenia, but his power degenerated after three years. That this affair took place earlier would in

14 Agapius, *ʿUnvan*, 482.

15 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 195 n. 19.

16 Michael the Syrian, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn* (1870); *Žamanakagrutʿiwn* (1871), 312.

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fact make sense, as the Syriac version of Michael the Syrian's chronicle claims that the commander of the Muslim forces was ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, who commanded the first wave of Islamic incursions against Jazīra in the 10s/630s.[17] Reading "Pasagnathēs" as "Saharuni" is not possible, but it may make more sense for Agapius than Theophanes. A. Vasiliev, who edited Agapius's text, noted that the manuscript reads سحماسن, which he corrected to بسحناطس on the basis of Theophanes's Πασαγνάθης. The Arabic is thus no closer to *سحارنى (per Michael) than it is to * بسحناطس (per Theophanes); both readings are equally conjectural.

Indeed, it seems plausible that the stories about Dawitʿ Saharuni and Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni were confused in the process of oral transmission. Evidence of this might be found in the later *Universal History* of Tarōnecʿi, who refers to him as "Tʿēodoros Saharuni the patrician (*patrik*), who was lord of the Ṙštunikʿ" (Թէոդորոս Սահառուսի պատրիկ, որ էր Ռշտունեաց տէր).[18] Such a claim demonstrates the pliable nature of the information about the Armenian elite who fought both Roman and caliphal authority in the first/seventh century.

II.A.3. The Rebellion of Saborios

Theophanes, Agapius, the *Chronicle to 1234*, and Michael the Syrian all attest to a subsequent rebellion in AM 6159/666–67 CE that was led by "the strategos of the Armeniacs, Saborios, who was of Persian origin" (ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων στρατηγὸς Σαβώριος Περσογένης; ܣܒܘܪܝܘܣ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܐܪܡܢܝܩܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܘܐ).[19] Both Constans and Saborios sent envoys to negotiate with Muʿāwiya in Damascus to support their claim. Muʿāwiya asked the Roman messenger for the taxes of the rebellious province, promising not to contest the ownership of the land itself. The Roman messenger refused, so Muʿāwiya instead made an agreement with Saborios's envoy. The Roman messenger and the rebel envoy both returned toward Melitene. The Roman messenger, who had been personally humiliated before the caliph and disparaged for being a eunuch, ambushed Saborios's envoy and had him castrated before ordering his death. Muʿāwiya sent a commander named Faḍl to support the rebellion, but Saborios was thrown off his horse and died from his injuries.[20] When the rebellion stalled, Muʿāwiya then sent his son Yazīd to raid Roman territory on his own.

This rebellion does not appear in Armenian historical sources. Given that the *strategos* was reportedly of Persian origin[21] and controlled the Armeniac theme, which lay well outside the regions that typically preoccupied Armenian historians, it seems unlikely that

17 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 4:443–44. On Dawitʿ Saharuni, see Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 133. The raids of ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm appear in many sources, particularly the Arabic and Syriac ones, but not in Łewond's *History*. This probably demonstrates the geographical scope of Łewond's sources, which do not frequently venture into Jazīra along ʿIyāḍ's route.

18 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 159; *Patmutʿiwn tiezerakan*, 91.

19 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 153–61; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 348; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 4:433; Peeters, "Πασαγναθης – Περσογενης."

20 Faḍl is a common name and so could refer to any number of people. However, Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd al-ʿUmarī played an important role in the campaigns during the reign of Muʿāwiya.

21 The Greek is the only clear indication of his Persian provenance. P. Peeters, in "Πασαγναθης – Περσογενης," argues that Michael the Syrian's ܣܒܘܪܝܘܣ derives from the Georgian ᲝᲜᲐᲒᲐᲗᲡᲠᲐᲔᲡ. This resolution is highly unlikely. Cf. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:451 n. 9: "Il est possible que le mot Περσογένης soit la transcription altérée du syriaque ܣܒܘܪ, ou inversement." Also, note that Agapius

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this incident could have been confused with the defection of Ṙštuni. The main similarities include the date, an ambush (though with a completely different outcome and setting), and Muʿāwiya's request for taxes. The mention of Melitene also makes a comparison with Łewond's report tempting, as its location directly on the Euphrates between Armenia and Cilicia would align with Łewond's account of Vard's defection.

In short, the rebellions of Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni, Pasagnathēs, and Saborios Persogenēs do little to clarify the convoluted histories of the conquest period or to explicate Łewond's odd passage. Modern scholars have sought Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni in the rebel Pasagnathēs,[22] but this sort of reconciliation of conflicting information oversimplifies the contradictions and overstates the agreements across accounts. Just like the contradictions found in Arabic conquest narratives, these details serve to remind us that information about the conquests could jump from one defection to another, with the result that attempting to untangle each and every detail becomes a futile exercise. It is instead more fruitful to acknowledge the common ground between these accounts as the product of storytelling settings and as evidence of the literary norms of conquest narratives, rather than as "real" facts about Pasagnathēs, Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni, Saborios Persogenēs, and Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni. Such an approach allows historians to investigate the significance of the story recounted in any given source on its own terms instead of attempting to judge its veracity.

II.B. VARD ṚŠTUNI IS NOT A TRAITOR

Łewond's account of Vard Ṙštuni's actions at the bridge over the Euphrates neatly encapsulates the complex shift in Armenian allegiances from the Roman Empire to the Caliphate in the mid-first/seventh century. As Łewond describes, Vard's father, Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, had been removed from his position as prince of Armenia by Constans after his conflict with the general Prokopios [7r–v, 10v]. Constans replaced him with Smbat Bagratuni, but the imperial forces still required the assistance of Ṙštuni troops to face the caliphal army. Tʿēodoros was reluctant to join the expedition and agreed to do so only out of fear of Roman threats. He ordered his son Vard to lead his troops into battle but to deceive the imperial army. Crossing the Euphrates at some undisclosed point, Vard asked to guard the pontoon bridge that offered a means of retreat for the Roman forces in case of a defeat. The Roman army indeed found itself in trouble, and Vard, anticipating the Romans' defeat, withdrew his forces and cut the cables to the bridge to prevent the Roman army from escaping. Although Łewond describes Vard's actions against his Roman "allies" (սիրելիք) as a "deception" (նենգութիւն), he does not pass further judgment on the cutting of the bridge or on Vard's support of the Caliphate. Much as in the earlier episode between Tʿēodoros and the general Prokopios, imperial policy comes across as heavy-handed. Constans not only dismissed Tʿēodoros but also threatened to destroy his lands if he did not assist the Roman expedition. Indeed, one wonders whether there might have even been a bit of irony in Łewond's use of the term "ally" in reference to the Roman Empire. Similarly, Łewond

identifies him only as بطريق من بطارقة الروم; see Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 320. Presumably, then, no one else really knew what to do with this either.

22 Peeters, "Πασαγναθης – Περσογενης."

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contextualizes the Roman loss as decreed "by the Lord" (ի տեառնէ), thereby couching Vard's actions within a discourse of divine providence.

If the *Homily on the Cross of Varag* by a certain Yovhannēs Kʿorepiskopos (first–second/seventh–eighth centuries) is indicative of a broader appreciation of Tʿēodoros and Vard Ṙštuni among Armenians, then the affair of the bridge did not blemish their reputation in the near term; nor, in contrast to Łewond, does this work recall any noteworthy shift of allegiance from the Roman Empire to the Caliphate.[23] In the conclusion to his homily, Yovhannēs extols both father and son for their piety and places the discovery of the relic of the Cross of Varag

> in the days of the pious king Constantine of the realm of the Romans, and in the patriarchate of Nersēs of the realm of the Armenians, and in the dominion of Vard Ṙštuni of Vaspurakan, son of the brave and virtuous lover of God, Lord Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni and general of the realm of Greater Armenia, who with valiant bravery for the sake of the building of holy churches spent all the days of his life in battle and expelled by his sword the nation of Ishmael, and was constantly victorious with supernal assistance. This Vard was a lover of Christ, and he conducted himself from his youth until the end of his days with a fear of God.
>
> յարուրս բարեպաշտ թագաւորին Կոստանդիանոսի կացելոյ Հռովմայեցւոց աշխարհին, եւ ի հայրապետութեան Ներսիսի Հայոց աշխարհին, եւ ի կողմնակալութեան Վարդայ Վասպուրականի Ռշտունոյ, որդւոյ քաջի եւ առաքինւոյ աստուածասիրին Թէոդորեայ Ռշտունեաց տեառն, եւ զաւրավարի Հայոց Մեծոց աշխարհին, որ արիաբար քաջութեամբ վասն սրբոյ եկեղեցեաց շինութեանց՝ զամենայն աւուրս կենաց իւրոց ի մարտ պատերազմաց անցուցեալ եւ վանեալ սրոյ սուսերի իւրոյ զազգն Իսմայէլեան, յաղթող լինէր հանապազ վերին աւգնականութեամբ: Այս Վարդ եղեալ քրիստոսասէր ի տղայական տիոց մինչեւ ցկատարեալ ժամանակս վարէր երկիւղիւն Աստուծոյ.[24]

The evocation of the pious king Constans suggests that Yovhannēs was unaware of, or wished to ignore, the tensions between the emperor and the Ṙštuni family. He praises Vard for his building activity, something not mentioned by Łewond, and for his successful fighting against caliphal forces, a characterization that is somewhat at odds with Łewond's account.

Vard's "betrayal" of the Roman forces and his building activity appear most famously in Pseudo-Šapuh's history.[25] Here, it is the Persian Empire, rather than the Caliphate, that challenges the Roman Empire.[26] Much else about the story differs from Łewond's version,

23 On the figure of Vard and his relationship with the discovery of the relic of the Cross of Varag, see Pogossian, "Locating Religion," 188–90; "Relics, Rulers, Patronage," 143–50.

24 Ananean, "Yovhannēs Kʿorepiskoposi erku čaṙerə," 28.

25 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 198–202.

26 Pseudo-Šapuh, like many later Armenian sources, frequently uses the word "Persians" to refer to Muslims regardless of ethnicity. However, in this case, Pseudo-Šapuh refers to the king as Hormizd, so he clearly understands this anecdote as belonging to Sasanian history. This temporal displacement may also explain the appearance of a certain Vard the patrician in Pseudo-Yovhan Mamikonean's *History of Tarōn*: "The prince of the Arcrunikʿ, who was named Vardpatrik, had built many churches and monasteries" (Իշխանն Արծրունեաց, որում անուն կոչիր Վարդպատրիկ, սա շինեաց բազում եկեղեցիս և վանորայս). Importantly, however, Pseudo-Yovhan's Vard the patrician went to Caesarea immediately before the death of Hormizd IV in 628 CE, a detail that aligns better with Pseudo-Šapuh's claim that Vard fought the Persians. The building of churches may reflect the traditions cited in Yovhannēs Kʿorepiskopos

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but the basic narrative of the bridge is the same. According to Pseudo-Šapuh's account, Tʿēodos (*sic*) Ṙštuni summoned his son Vard to his deathbed and told him to break the pact he had made with the Roman Empire and to join forces with the Persians. While the Persians were attacking Koloneia, Vard, called "the patrician" (*patrik*), went to the son of the Persian emperor and told him his plan to lead the imperial army across the river Gayl (Lykos) and then cut the cables of the bridge. In the battle, the Persians feigned a retreat and drew the Romans over the river while Vard guarded the bridge. Some of the Persians were waiting in ambush, and the main body of the army turned around to fight the Romans and defeated them. The Roman troops fled to cross back over the river, but Vard cut the cables and "went over to the Persians. Many of the Roman troops were killed on that day; and the Persian army returned with a great victory, accompanied by Vard the patrician" (ինքն Պարսիկս դարձաւ: Եւ բազումք ի զօրացն Հոռոմց մեռան յաւուրն յայնմիկ եւ դարձան զօրքն Պարսից մեծաւ աղթութեամբ եւ Վարդ պատրիկ զհետ նոցա).[27]

According to Pseudo-Šapuh, after returning home Vard was plagued by nightmares about what he had done, as he realized "that I have committed many impieties and have shed an immeasurable amount of Roman blood" (որ բազում անօրէնութիւնս գործեցի եւ զանչափ արիւն հեղի ի տանէն Հոռոմց).[28] More significantly for Pseudo-Šapuh, Vard's actions provide the narrative motivation for his ecclesiastical building program. In order to free himself of his anxiety and learn how he may be forgiven for his deeds, he traveled to Mount Tʿoṙos to see the hermit Simēon. The hermit told him to build many churches, including one for Saint Stephen the Protomartyr. Vard said that he wished he had a relic of Saint Stephen, and the hermit told him he, Simēon, would get one from Jerusalem. Simēon went to Jerusalem and served at the martyrium of Saint Stephen. After three years, Saint Stephen told the sacristan of the relics to give Simēon a piece of his bones to take to Armenia, "for many churches are being built in my name in Armenia" (զի բազում եկեղեցիկ շինին յանուն իմ ի աշխարհին Հայոց).[29] The sacristan gave Simēon a piece to take to Armenia and sent him on his way. Pseudo-Šapuh concludes: "As long as Vard lived, he wore a small hair shirt under his clothing as far as his elbows; and no one was able to discover this until the day of his death. In his days was revealed the Holy Cross on the mountain of Varag, and it was the year 200 of the Armenian era" (որչափ կենդանի եկաց, հագաւ մազեղէն փոքրիկ ի ներքոյ հանդերձին իւր մինչեւ յարմունկն եւ ոչ ոք կարաց իմանալ մինչեւ օր մահուան իւրոյ: Իսկ նորա յաւուրքն յայտնեցաւ սուրբ խաչն որ ի Վարագ լեառն, եւ էր թվականն Հայոց. ԲՃ).[30] In the end, for Pseudo-Šapuh, it is Vard's pious building projects, ascetic lifestyle, and association with the discovery of the relic of the Cross that are worthy of remembrance, not his adverse relations with the Roman Empire.

In contrast to both Yovhannēs Kʿorepiskopos and Pseudo-Šapuh, Łewond pays no attention to Vard's personal qualities of piety or impiety. Instead of portraying Vard as a traitor, he employs this episode to explain the deterioration of relations between the

and Pseudo-Šapuh, or it could simply be used to signal virtuous behavior. See Yovhannēs Mamikonean, *History of Tarōn*, 107; *Patmutʿiwn Tarōnoy*, 149.

27 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 199; *Patmutʿiwn*, 99.

28 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 200; *Patmutʿiwn*, 101.

29 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 201; *Patmutʿiwn*, 105.

30 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 202; *Patmutʿiwn*, 107.

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Armenian nobility and the Roman Empire, as well as why Armenia's elite decided to sign a treaty with the Caliphate.

II.C. SUFYĀNID GOVERNANCE AND THE INTERREGNUM

Several historians of Armenia have noted the flourishing of Armenian culture in the period between the end of the Roman-Sasanian wars and the Marwānid reforms. N. Garsoïan assessed this period from the perspective of historical, geographical, and religious literature to problematize the assumption that the Islamic conquests were a so-called "dark age" for medieval Armenia.[31] Similarly, art historians have built on a long tradition of scholarship throughout the twentieth century to argue against a dark age. In fact, P. Donabédian identifies the period between the 10s/630s and the 70s/690s as the "golden age" of Armenian architecture. The decrease in architectural production in the Roman Empire, Syria, and Mesopotamia in this period contrasts sharply with its immense flourishing in Armenia and, to a lesser extent, in Georgia.[32] Łewond here mentions that the catholicos Nersēs the Builder (*šinoł*) constructed the church of Saint Gregory, which is the famous cathedral Zuartʿnocʿ, near modern Erevan.

Both as governor of Syria and as caliph, Muʿāwiya implemented policies of indirect rule in Armenia that contributed to the flourishing of Armenian culture. Armenians paid low taxes and merely sent a few hostages to the Umayyads to signal their acceptance of caliphal authority. Łewond explains that the catholicos together with "the princes and *naxarark*ʿ of this land convened and took it upon themselves to pay tribute to the tyranny of the Ishmaelites" (և իշխանք և նախարարք աշխարհիս. յանձին կալան հարկել բռնութեան Իսմաելացւոցն) [12r]; in other words, Muʿāwiya did not send tax collectors to administer the province in his name but left the process of collection to the local elite. This arrangement seems to be corroborated in Pseudo-Sebēos's *History*, which purports to preserve an Arab-Armenian treaty from the reign of Muʿāwiya in which the latter promises not to send emirs to Armenia and to maintain a low level of taxes.[33] Greenwood has pointed out that Pseudo-Sebēos's treaty was a literary construction that drew on Armenian memories of Sasanian-era agreements.[34] Although this fact may suggest that the treaty cannot illustrate the actual circumstances of Sufyānid rule, such literary modeling was effective because it reflected the norms and expectations of Armenian relations with imperial powers, whether Sasanian or caliphal. Reports of conquest-era treaties in later Arabic sources similarly reflect pre-Islamic norms.[35] Pseudo-Sebēos's treaty need not be read as the actual

31 Garsoïan includes the entirety of the Umayyad period in her assessment and so blames Łewond for the negative view of the period in modern scholarship, citing Łewond's critiques of Muḥammad b. Marwān's activities in Armenia during the Marwānid reforms; see Garsoïan, *Interregnum*. However, the Umayyad period should not be evaluated as a whole, as the Marwānid reforms substantially changed the dynamics between Armenia and the Caliphate; see Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*.

32 Donabédian, *L'âge d'or*. C. Maranci addresses the complexities of this period as Armenia sat at the nexus of Roman, Iranian, and caliphal power in *Vigilant Powers*.

33 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 164; on this treaty, see Jinbashian, "Arabo-Armenian Peace Treaty."

34 Greenwood, "Negotiating the North."

35 Any attempt to equate the peace treaties of Balādhurī and Ṭabarī with that of Pseudo-Sebēos must take into account the formulaic nature of such accounts, as identified in Jinbashian, "Arabo-Armenian Peace Treaty"; Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*.

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words of Muʿāwiya, but it does attest that a first/seventh-century observer found such literary patterning to be a believable representation of the circumstances of Armenia in his own time. In addition to the evidence garnered from narrative sources, Armenian inscriptions also support the idea that Sufyānid governance was largely indirect. They reveal that the Armenian nobility likely gained control over significant portions of state-held lands.[36] The lack of direct imperial supervision, coupled with low taxation and the increase in income from state lands, left space for the Armenian nobles to advance their own varied interests, hence the dramatically diverse styles of architecture and types of literature available from the interregnum.

The policies of Muʿāwiya reflected a specifically Sufyānid relationship with Armenia. With the Marwānid reforms of the 70s/690s, the Umayyads became directly and personally involved in the administration of Armenia, as members of the Umayyad house served as governors over the North.[37] The shift in ruling norms appears after the second *fitna*, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (on which see chapter IV).

36 Greenwood, "Corpus," 75.

37 Vacca, "Umayyad North."

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III The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya

r. AH 60–64/680–83 CE

Łewond's third chapter is his shortest. He notes only the length of Yazīd's reign and the maintenance of the tribute. As such, this chapter is perhaps more interesting for what it omits. After the death of the Prophet Muḥammad, the so-called "rightly guided" caliphs had come to power through the deliberations of a council, but Muʿāwiya broke with this tradition to name his son Yazīd his successor. With the death of Muʿāwiya, numerous claimants rejected Yazīd's claim to the Caliphate. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, fought against Yazīd's ascension; his resistance culminated in his death at the hands of the Umayyad army in the infamous battle of Karbalāʾ in 680. Subsequently, ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr established his own Caliphate in Mecca. Łewond records nothing of these conflicts, nor does he note the names of two short-lived Umayyad caliphs, Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd (r. 683–84) and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (r. 684–85). Instead, he presents caliphal succession as if Umayyad rule were stable, conveniently sidestepping the fact that the Umayyads boasted at best a rocky claim to power until the defeat of the Zubayrids in 692.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

And after him [Muʿāwiya], [there was] Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya; and he lived for two years and five months, then he died. He managed this land of Armenia [12v] with the same amount of tribute.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ յետ նորա Իզիտ որդի Մաւեա. և ապրի ամս. *երկու*. և ամիսս. *հինգ*. և վախճանի: Եւ նա վարեաց զաշխարհս [12v] Հայոց ի նոյն սակ հարկի:

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IV The Caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān

r. AH 65–86/685–705 CE

This chapter starts with the second civil war (*fitna*), when the Umayyads were busy defending their claim to the Caliphate. Łewond describes the chaos of this period, during which Armenia sat on the edges of ineffectual Roman, Khazar, and Umayyad power. With the resolution of the *fitna*, Łewond introduces a dramatic change that accompanied the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. Instead of dispatching temporary incursions and negotiating with the nobles for tribute and hostages, the Umayyads began to send a governor and troops to stay in Armenia. The *naxarark*ʿ did not welcome these changes, which restricted their own claims to power, and rebelled. Łewond describes the dramatic success of his sponsor's family, the Bagratunikʿ, against Umayyad forces. The bulk of Łewond's narrative is aimed at placing this rebellion (and the aftermath looming in the next chapter) into context. He celebrates the Bagratuni house, in part by downplaying the involvement of other noble houses. Since the family supported caliphal rule during Łewond's time, he is also quick to frame the victories of the Bagratunikʿ as defensive maneuvers instead of outright rebellion. One of the ways in which he asserts the innocence of the Bagratuni family is by establishing the bad faith of the caliphal governor Muḥammad b. Marwān, the brother of the caliph, who murders clergy, chases noncombatants, and makes false promises.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After him [Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya], there was ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He lived for twenty-one years, then he died. These [are] his deeds.

5. He was a wicked man and fierce in battle. In the second year of his reign a great confusion and a war broke out amongst the *Tačik*s, and they shed a lot of each other's blood. War raged among them for three years, and their slain were innumerable to the extent that they fulfilled the prophecy of David, who said: "Their swords shall enter into their hearts and their bows shall be broken."[1] For instead of the innocent blood and cruel massacres that they had repeatedly inflicted upon this nation of Christians, the

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 685–705): Umayyad caliph famous for building the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as well as for his reforms such as minting coins with Qur'ānic text. The main challenges to his rule included the second *fitna* and the Khārijites.

Civil war: the second *fitna* began at the death of Muʿāwiya, when several groups of Muslims refused to recognize his son Yazīd as caliph. The most famous dissenter was Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, the grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, but he was killed in 680. Subsequently, the challenges came from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who ruled from Mecca from 683 to his death in 692, and Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, who controlled parts of Iraq. Armenians, Albanians, and Georgians took the opportunity to rebel.

1 Psalm 36(37):15.

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Figure 5. The church at Aruč, built by Grigor Mamikonean.
Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian. Reproduced with permission.

blood of the guilty was justly shed. God exacted vengeance [from them] for the offenses against His servants by their very own hands.

Yet Grigor, the prince of Armenia, kept this land of Armenia in peace from all [13r] marauders and attacks during his reign, for he was a God-fearing man who loved both his brethren[2] and foreigners[3] and who tended to the poor. He was perfect in his pious faith and built a house of worship in the region of Aragacotn in the village of Aruč, a temple glorifying the name of the Lord, decorated with beautiful elegance in memory of His name. And at the time of the war among the *Tačik*s, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians ceased paying tribute to them, having submitted to them for thirty years. Their rebellion lasted three years. Then, in the fourth year, the nation of the north called the Khazars ruled this land of the Armenians. They killed Prince Grigor, many of the *naxarark*ʻ, and the prince of the Georgians and the Albanians in battle. They [the Khazars] spread incursion[s] over this land of Armenia and took many regions and villages. Then, taking booty and captives,[4] they went back to their own land.

Aruč: a town in the region of Ayrarat. The church mentioned here still exists in the western part of the Republic of Armenia (fig. 5). Its inscription records its foundation on March 24, 670, the twenty-ninth year of Constans, by Grigor Mamikonean and his wife, Helinē.

Albanians: the Albanians were a Christian people who inhabited an area east of Armenia. Their territory encompassed the modern republics of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabagh and also (according to Arabic sources written in the period of caliphal rule) eastern Georgia. The sees of Albania and Armenia had a very close if sometimes tense relationship at this time. The only Albanian narrative source extant today is preserved in the Armenian language, rather than in Albanian.

Khazars: a Turkic confederation that appeared in the northern Caucasian Volga region in the sixth century. The Khazars controlled much of the Caspian coast in Albania at the time of the Islamic conquests. They frequently raided the Caliphate via Albania, reaching as far as Ardabil (in modern Iran) in the eighth century without establishing a permanent presence that far south. Armenians were an important contingent in the caliphal armies fighting the Khazars. See map 3.

2 "Lover of brethren," եղբայրասէր; cf. 1 Peter 3:8.

3 "Lover of foreigners," աւտարասէր; cf. 1 Peter 4:9.

4 "Captives": գերութիւն, lit. "captivity."

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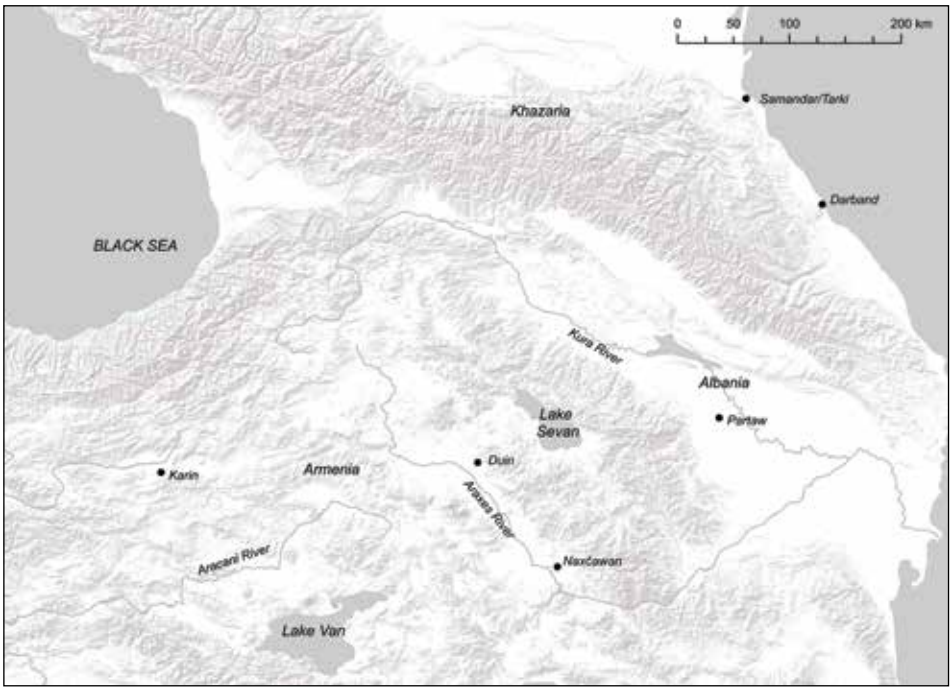

Map 3. Armenia, Albania, and the Khazars.

CONCERNING THE REIGN OF AŠOT, [13V] THE FIRE SET BY THE ROMANS, AND THE DEATH OF AŠOT.

6. Then the patrician Ašot succeeded Grigor after his death. He [Ašot] was from the Bagratuni house, an eminent and respected man among the *naxarark*ʿ of the Armenians. He was wealthy and magnificent in authority. In all earthly matters he was the most prudent, virtuous, and noble; [he was] known for [his] fear of God, as a purveyor of beneficence, and as assiduous in learning. He adorned the churches of God with pedagogical arts and with assemblies of ministers. He also honored them with rich vessels from his own treasury. He built the church in his capital Dariwnkʿ, and he put in it the painted[5] image [endowed] with the miraculous power of the incarnation of Christ, brought from the West. He named the church after it [the icon]. In the first year of his reign, a star with an amazing

Ašot II: the son of Smbat V Bagratuni and prince of Armenia from 685 to 689.

Dariwnkʿ: seat and ancestral burial site of the Bagratuni family in the region Kogovit, now Doğu Bayazit in eastern Turkey.

5 "Painted": կենդանագրեալ, life-depicting < կենդանագրեմ, calque on Greek ζωγραφέω; see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 593. See also page 151: "Portrait[s]," կենդանագրութիւն, a calque on Greek ζωγραφία, "painting"; see Awetikʿean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerian, *Nor Baṙgirkʿ*, 1:1085; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 33 n. 194.

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tress appeared, [14r] which, since it was radiating light behind it like a pillar of brilliant rays from itself, they called a comet. It was a sign of famine, and of the sword, and of great violence.

7. And in the second year of the reign of Emperor Justinian, during the rule of the patrician Ašot, he [Justinian] sent a great force against this land of Armenia. They came, ruined this land with pillage, and set flame to many elegant buildings, reducing them to ruins. Then they returned to their own land. The Greek nobles were enraged at this same Justinian: they cut off his nose and exiled him. In his place they crowned Leontios, Apsimar, Tiberios, and Theodosios. Meanwhile Justinian went to the land of the Khazars, married the daughter of the khagan, the Khazar king, and asked him for auxiliary troops. He [the khagan] sent a great force and a certain Tervel, Justinian's father-in-law, a man with mighty power, with the troops. [14v] Arriving at Constantinople, he [Justinian] fought and vanquished his rivals and restored his reign once more. Tervel died in battle, yet he [Justinian] sent the other Khazar forces to their own land with many gifts and precious goods.

Ašot reigned for four years. In the fourth year of his reign, a plundering regiment from the sons of Ishmael, who were the sons of sin[6] and the offspring of iniquity,[7] attacked this land of Armenia. They committed iniquity in the towns of the Medes—Xram, J̌uła, and Xošakun—for they tortured the men through the collection of taxes and they thought to violate the women with obscene profanity in accordance with their impiety. Prince Ašot was informed of their evil deeds, and he immediately ordered his troops to march out [15r] against them. They struck all of them down by the sword and put the survivors to flight. When the cunning son of Satan saw the raid upon his own forces intensify, he ordered them to scatter the treasure that they had gathered on the field before the Armenian forces. They [the Armenians] turned imprudently to the booty and abated in their pursuit. Only Prince Ašot, with a few men, persisted and went after them. The enemy recovered and turned back against them. They struck and wounded the prince of Armenia. Then the troops [with Ašot] raised a cry, and they [the rest of the Armenian forces] arrived immediately.

Comet: Halley's Comet would have been visible from Armenia between September 6 and October 17, 684. Łewond interprets it as a sign of tribulations.

Justinian II: Roman emperor from 685 to 695, then again from 705 to 711. He attempted to bring Armenia under the imperial Church in 689–90 but withdrew from Armenia in 693.

Roman succession: Leontios was Roman emperor from 695 to 698; Tiberios III Apsimar, who appears here under two different names as Ap'semeros and Tiber, ruled from 698 to 705; and Theodosios III ruled from 715 to 717.

Khagan: a Turkic title, here referring to a Khazar king.

Tervel: Łewond here confuses Justinian's brother-in-law, the Khazar khagan, with Tervel, the Bulgarian khagan, who married Justinian's daughter.

Constantinople: capital of the eastern Roman Empire, along the Bosporus in modern Istanbul.

The fourth year of Ašot's reign was 689.

The towns of the Medes: Xram, J̌uła, and Xošakun lie along the Araxes River south of Naxčawan.

6 "Sons of sin," որդիք յանցանաց; cf. 4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 2:24 (Zohrab).

7 "Offspring of iniquity," զաւակ անաւրէնութեան; cf. Isaiah 57:4.

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They struck and slaughtered the enemy and took the prince to Kogovit, mortally wounded. He died gloriously in his bed and was buried in his resting place in the village of Dariwnkʿ.

CONCERNING THE BATTLE IN THE SWAMP.

8. After these things that we related, again [15v] the Greek king, who was called Apsimar, the successor of the Emperor Justinian, sent a force. He ordered them to capture Smbat the son of Varaztirocʿ as retribution for deserting the Greek forces on account of the death of his father Varaztirocʿ, whom the Romans had killed. They came and warred with him on the marshy field of Payik. Many of the Armenian forces, since they were few in number, were struck, and many fell among the Greek troops, too. When Smbat saw that they were not able to withstand the Greek troops, he fled and narrowly escaped with only a few men.[8] The Greek forces returned to their own land.

Smbat VI Bagratuni: prince of Armenia from 691 to 711. He was the son of Varaztirocʿ III, who was killed by the Romans and is unattested elsewhere.

Payik: otherwise unknown.

9. I shall again narrate the insufferable woes that befell us from the house of Ishmael. For after sixteen years of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign, his heart was yet again inflamed by the evil-loving Satan and he ordered his troops [16r] to march out against this land. Their leader was the bloodthirsty and devil-possessed Muḥammad [b. Marwān], who had sworn a pact of impiety by an oath to their prince not to return [his] sword to its sheath until [they were] in this land. He went haughtily until he came up to the region of J̌ermajor. Putting the sword to work, he killed without care whomever he encountered, as he had promised. But since many people had already been forewarned, they secured themselves in the fortresses of castles. He [Muḥammad] took many fortresses by deceit because he sued for peace with lies. When the people trusted [his false words], they descended from the fortresses and he, putting the sword to work, killed the men and led the women and children into captivity. He brought much tribulation and anguish to this land, to the point [that the living] blessed the dead, who

ʿAbd al-Malik ruled from 685 to 705, so his **sixteenth year** was 700.

Muḥammad b. Marwān: brother of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik and governor of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Mesopotamia.

J̌ermajor is located on the southern side of Lake Van.

8 "He fled and narrowly escaped with only a few men," փախստական եղեալ գնաց մազապուր սակաւ արամբք, is a variation on the epic formula found in the *Buzandaran* when the king escapes alone on a single horse after a rout. Buzandacʿi, *Epic Histories*, 32, 591.

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departed from this world in peaceful repose instead of bearing life with such affliction.[9] [16v]

After two years, reaching the height of wickedness, he spewed fatal poison. He contrived death for the clergy of Saint Grigor, since they [the Arabs] saw the splendid beauty of the precious vessels that the kings, princes, and *naxarark'* of this land had stored in it [the church]. They also saw the orderliness of the angelic ranks of the priestly assembly and with that the discipline of the *vardapet*s and the ministers, and [heard] the angelic songs over the land. They were wounded by envy in their souls, so they deceitfully contrived their fatal ruin. One regiment of infidels went to lodge [in] its residence [i.e., of the church of Saint Grigor]. They rose in the night and strangled one of their own servants and threw him into a pit. When the morning dawned, they rose to go and searched for the servant whom they themselves had killed, but did not find him. They caused much tribulation and peril for the clergy of the church. [17r] They cast a search and found [the body] in the same pit in which they had thrown it. Then they fabricated pretexts and falsehoods and seized everyone from the youngest to the oldest and put them in prison. They wrote a letter to the bloodthirsty Muḥammad: "They did such-and-such to us. Now what sort of death shall we deal them?" When he heard this, [Muḥammad said] to judge them according to their wishes and to take the possessions of the church as booty. The executioners received the unjust order and went out together to complete the order of their father, Satan, who "was a murderer from the beginning and stood not in the truth," as we learned from the Lord.[10] They led everyone out of the prison, bound with ropes. First, they cut off their feet and hands, then they crucified them[11] and took their lives.

Church of Saint Grigor: there are a number of churches dedicated to Saint Grigor. This event may have taken place at the famous cathedral at Zuart'noc'.

Now who could suffer the unbearable woes that befell them without tears? The holy church deteriorated from the good order of the bema, and the sound of divine [17v] glorification was silenced. With that, the orders of the spiritual and rational liturgy, which the holy ones used to offer with

Bema: elevated platform in the apse of a church on which the altar is placed.

9 Cf. Ecclesiastes 4:2, Pseudo-Methodius, and the Edessene fragment in Palmer, *Seventh Century*, 233, 244.

10 John 8:44.

11 "Crucified," զփայտէ կախեալ, lit. "hanged around wood": cf. Acts 5:30, 10:39; Galatians 3:13.

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all their heart to the sole Purest One,[12] were silenced. The brilliance of the lanterns, by which they had illuminated the night like the day, was also extinguished. The sweet smell of the incense also ceased, [as did] the prayers of the priests through which they offered expiation for the congregation to the Creator and sought reconciliation from God, the lover of man. In short, the Lord's altar was divested of every splendor. O how patient was Christ! Why, truly, did He permit the slander of the infidels to bring the bitterness of that death upon His glorifiers? But [that] by transitory death He wanted to grant eternal life, because those who shared in His torments will also partake of His glory, and since they were crucified together with Christ, they shall also reign with Him. Those who die with Him shall also be revived through Him and from ages unto ages shall receive [18r] the promised rest.[13] And Satan's workmen shall inherit along with him the bitterness of the various tortures prepared for them: fire, darkness, the undying worm,[14] the weeping of eyes, and the gnashing of teeth,[15] as He who prepared all these knows. All of this will befall everyone who commits iniquity.

Indeed, the Muḥammad whom we have already discussed committed all of these evil deeds and went back to Asorestan with much booty. The inhabitants of this land remained like a firebrand smoldering in the fire,[16] like crushed ripe sheaves[17] that hogs trample underfoot.[18] When the general Muḥammad went to Syria, he left in his stead in this land of Armenia a prince from among the Ishmaelites. He fabricated a vile plot to remove the noble house[s] along with their cavalry from this land of Armenia. His treachery was immediately apparent to Smbat, who was from the

Ishmaelite prince: Muḥammad b. Marwān named ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Shaykh governor of Armenia.

12 According to Awetikʿean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerian, *Nor Baṙgirkʿ*, 2:232, the attribution of the epithet "Purest One" (մաքրագոյն) to God is attested only here.

13 Cf. Matthew 11:29; Hebrews 4:1–11.

14 "Undying worm," զորդնն անվախճան; cf. Isaiah 66:24; Mark 9:46, 48.

15 "The weeping of eyes and the gnashing of teeth," զլալն աչաց եւ զկրճտլեն ատամանց; cf. Matthew 8:12, 13:42, 13:50, 22:13, 24:51, 25:30; Luke 13:28.

16 "Like a firebrand smoldering in the fire," իբրև զխանձող ծխեալ ի հրոյ; cf. Isaiah 7:4; Amos 4:11; Zechariah 3:2, 12:6.

17 "Like crushed ripe sheaves," իբրև զաւրան վականակ փխրեալ; cf. Jeremiah 51:33.

18 "That hogs trampled underfoot," զոր առ ոտն կոխեալ խոզից; cf. Matthew 7:6.

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Bagratuni house, [18v] and to the other *naxarark'* and their cavalry.

10. When he [Smbat] sensed the intrigue, he summoned his relatives among the noble corps of the camp: Smbat the son of Prince Ašot, Vard the son of Prince T'ēodoros, his brother Ašot, and other *naxarark'*. He sought to find a way that they would be able to save their lives. They resolved to yield and to go from this land to the king of the Greeks. Right away, some of the *naxarark'* of the land of Vaspurakan separated [from the others] and left. But they [Smbat and the others] proposed to go from the region of Vaspurakan to the frontier plain that they call Aṙestakołmn because a certain hermit was living there. They went to him to ask about the state of affairs, since he was a holy man, chosen, and full of spiritual wisdom. He deplored and lamented the loss of this land, the destruction of the churches, and the emptying of the *naxarar* house[s]. He was not able to give counsel except [19r] to be on guard and to watch out for treachery. He prayed over them, entrusted them to the grace of the Lord, and saw them off. Going along the bank of the Araxes River, they passed through the borders of Ułayē and arrived at the large town of Akoṙi.

Smbats: there are two Smbat Bagratunis in this passage. Smbat VI Bagratuni, whom we saw earlier, gathered his relatives, including another Smbat Bagratuni, the son of Ašot II. For the Bagratuni family tree, see page 294, fig. 14.

Vard: see above; last known member of the Ṙštuni house.

His brother Ašot: Ašot the son of Varaztiroc'.

The Ishmaelite forces that were in the city of Naxčawan pursued them and did not give up their trail, for they were more than five thousand who wanted to swallow them [the Armenians] alive. When the Armenian force was informed about the brigand who, roused, had marched against them, they arose and crossed the Araxes River and camped in the village of Vardanakert. The *Tačik* force persisted in coming after them. Then the Armenian force sent a message to the *Tačik* forces, saying: "Why are you intent on pursuing us? What wrong did we commit against you? Behold, our land is before you. We have given you our homes, our vineyards, our forests, and our fields. Now why do you also ask for our lives? Permit us to go from our borders." But [19v] the Ishmaelite forces did not want to listen, for their hearts were hardened by the Lord[19] so that they would be put to the sword.

Vardanakert: a town in Ayrarat, not far from Vałaršapat. See map 4 for the locations mentioned in this passage.

The battle of Vardanakert: an encounter in which Bagratuni nobles defeated the caliphal army. Łewond's exclusion of other noble houses reveals his attempt to depict his sponsor's house in a positive light. At the same time, he is careful to avoid the claim that the Bagratunik' rebelled.

The Armenian force fortified the streets of the town and assigned guards until dawn. They stayed awake[20] the entire night in a prayer vigil, and they sought the assistance

19 "Their hearts were hardened by the Lord," ի Տեառնէ կարծրանային սիրտք նոցա; cf. Joshua 3:10.

20 "Stayed awake," կանխեալ, lit. "arose early."

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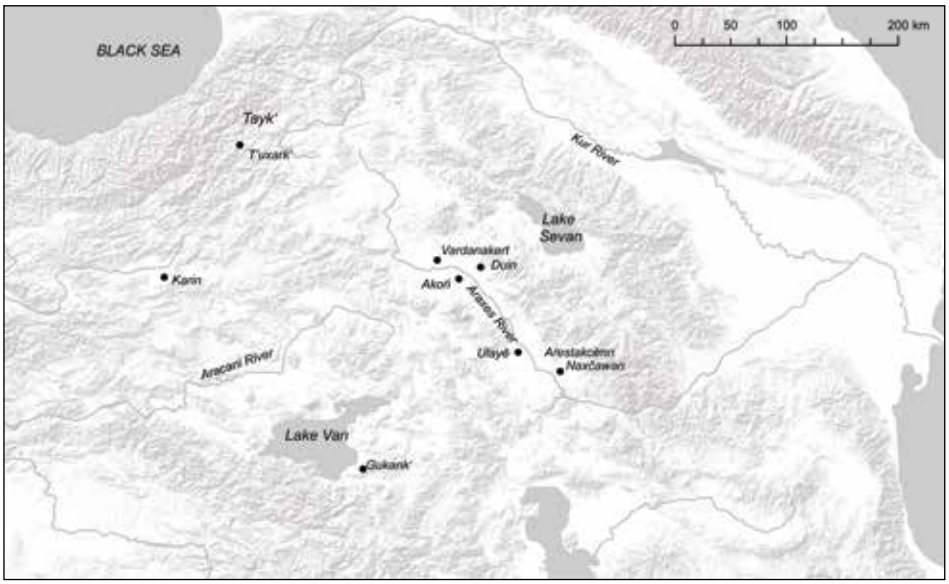

Map 4. The Armenian rebellion under ʿAbd al-Malik.

of the almighty right hand of the Lord of all and a just reckoning between them and their enemies. And immediately at dawn, when the morning office ceased, the spiritual liturgy was celebrated. The worthy partook of the body and blood of the Lord and considered it a viaticum for their souls. They took a little nourishment to strengthen their bodies, and then they arose. They arrayed themselves regiment to regiment and front to front, and the battle was joined. Omnipotent God came to the assistance of the Armenian regiment there. Although they were fewer than two thousand men, they nevertheless slaughtered many by the sword. [20r] The days were biting [and] icy cold and the bitter weather was worsening further, preventing the Ishmaelite troops from [making use of] their valiant strength, for they had lodged the whole night in the snow, and at dawn they fell to the sword. They who fled the sword fell into the Araxes River. It had frozen from the severity of the weather, and when a multitude of forces went onto the ice, the ice cracked. Those who had escaped the sword were immediately delivered to its depths and thus drowned.

A few of them, around three hundred men, turned to flee and took refuge with Lady Šušan. Smbat the son of Ašot pursued them with his own forces, wishing to put those who fled to the sword. Lady Šušan went before him with many supplications and agreements and rescued them, naked, barefoot, on foot, and wounded. She took and

Šušan Kamsarakan: wife of the former prince of Armenia Nersēh Kamsarakan. She was martyred in Ḥarrān in 706 or 707.

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covered [20v] [their] wounds, healed [them], and dressed them. She also gave horses from her own herd and sent them to the Ishmaelite prince ʿAbd al-Malik. For this she received many thanks from him, and he sent her great gifts.

The Armenian forces, gorged on the booty of their enemies, sent the good news of their triumph to the Greek king. They had fine *Tačik* horses from the booty of their enemies sent to him as presents. They also sent him as a present the noses that were cut from the corpses of those who fell. The emperor received that gift and offered great gratitude to the Creator and thanks to Smbat [son of Varaztirocʿ] and to the *naxararkʿ* who were with him and to their forces. He also had bestowed upon him [Smbat] the rank of *curopalates* in accordance with royal custom. He [Smbat] received this honor from the emperor, took his forces, and went to the land of Taykʿ. Cautious of the sons of Ishmael, he entered the fortress called Tʿuxarkʿ. [21r]

The Greek king: still Tiberios III Apsimar, r. 698–705.

Curopalates: high-ranking Roman title. This Smbat is to be identified with Smbat VI, prince of Armenia.

11. Around this time, another brigand came against the army in the land of Vaspurakan. They came and faced each other in the region of the Ṙštunikʿ in the village called Gukankʿ; there they faced each other. When they [the Arabs] saw that they [the Armenians] were few in number, they fell upon them violently. Then God's compassion had mercy [on them] and came to their assistance at that moment. They [the Armenians] put everyone to the sword except for only two hundred and eighty men, who fled and escaped into a church. When they were not able to prevail, they thought to set fire to the sanctuary; however, Smbat, the prince of the region of Vaspurakan and the son of Prince Ašot, did not permit them and would not allow [them] to commit such wickedness, for he said: "Far be it from us to lay hands on the dwelling place of the glory of God, who has granted us such a triumph." They assigned guards to watch over them until the shrine itself should dislodge them. Shortly thereafter, someone from [21v] the Ishmaelite troops, who was the highest-ranking of them, requested an arrangement for himself so that he would not die by them. He approached the Armenian forces and said: "We have heard that Christian people[21] are merciful. When they see someone in pain, they are compassionate and merciful. Now be charitable to us and grant us our lives

Prince of Vaspurakan: Smbat the son of Ašot, possibly to be identified with the Smbat above. There were a number of well-known Smbats in Armenia in this period, but none of them claimed the title of prince of Vaspurakan.

21 "People": M1902 reads the plural "peoples," ազգք, probably an error due to diplography, ազգ-ք ք-ṛիստոնէից. The following verbs are singular, although their subject is plural.

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as a gift. Take our belongings as booty." The general Smbat answered: "We," he said, "have learned from our Lord that it is worthy to be compassionate to the merciful,[22] but you are a cruel people and unworthy of mercy, so we will not be [merciful]." When the Ishmaelite heard this, [he said]: "Then at least grant me pardon and spare me, and I shall deliver the others into your hands." They accepted, [saying], "We will not kill [you]." So he [the Ishmaelite] entered inside [the church] and said, "There's no use in our staying here, for I saw them [to be] merciless regarding us. But now come and let us go out to them. If they kill us, let us die, for our lawgiver Muḥammad promised us paradise. If they let us live, we shall live." Taking courage [22r] from these words, they all went out together and immediately fell into the mouth of the sword. As for that man whom they had promised not to kill, they threw him into the depths of the sea alive. They took the spoils of the fallen, divided it among themselves, and dispersed to their own places.

12. Afterward, when the Ishmaelite prince ʿAbd al-Malik heard about the shattering of his forces, he summoned Muḥammad, the general of his army. He ordered him to take many troops with him and to go up against this land of Armenia, [to punish it] by sword and captivity. Then and there, he [Muḥammad] vigorously prepared his forces and arrogantly threatened to carry out the orders of their prince. When the *naxarark'* of this land of Armenia heard of the brigand who, strengthened, was coming against them, they arranged for the catholicos of the Armenians, Sahak, and some of the bishops of this land along with him to go before the Ishmaelite forces to speak words of peace with their general and to submit themselves [the Armenians] to the yoke of their servitude. When [22v] he was escorted from this land, he greeted everyone, [allowing them] a loving kiss of his right hand. He blessed his flock who believed in him, along with his fellow pastors, and commended them to the grace of the Lord. And when he had passed many dwellings and arrived at the city of Ḥarrān, an illness befell him.

Though the general Muḥammad had not yet arrived at Ḥarrān, his [Sahak's] end drew near and he wrote his final words in a testament to the Ishmaelite general: "I," he said,

The general Muḥammad: the brother of the caliph, on whom see page 43.

Catholicos: patriarch of the Armenian Church.

Sahak III: catholicos from 699 to 703. Later Armenian renditions of this story have Sahak set out to meet Okbay (ʿUqba) instead of Muḥammad b. Marwān.

Ḥarrān: city immediately south of Urfa in modern Turkey, which served as the Umayyad capital under the caliph Marwān II.

22 Cf. Matthew 5:7; Luke 11:41 (Zohrab).

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> was sent before you by my people to tell you my proposal, which the *naxarark'* and common people of Armenia in agreement beg of you. But He who is the keeper of the stores of life snatched me hastily to Himself, so I did not have time to meet you and to speak with you. But now I swear to you by the living God and I lay before you the pact, the covenant of God, which [was] with Ishmael, your ancestor, as it promised to give him [Ishmael] the world in servitude and in vassalage.[23] So, should you make peace with my people, they will serve you by paying tribute; should you stay your sword [23r] from bloodshed and your hand from pillaging, they will submit to you with all their heart. But concerning our faith, we should have the privilege of keeping to what we have believed and have confessed. May no one from among you torment us to turn from our beliefs. Now should you do as I have entreated, the Lord will favor your rule and the intent of your will shall be fulfilled. The Lord will subjugate everyone to you. But should you not wish to listen to my words and perversely conceive to rise up against my land, the Lord will shatter your intentions and your course will not be assured. He will turn the hearts of your troops so as not to do your wishes; he will agitate troublemakers for you from every side; and your rule will not be secure. So do not neglect my entreaty and may my blessings come upon you.

When Muḥammad arrived in Ḥarrān, they told him about the catholicos of the Armenians and they presented him with the letter. When he had read the letter, he asked about his death. They told him: "He is not yet buried, since he has just died." When he heard that, [23v] he immediately arose and went to the site. Standing close to the body of the deceased, he greeted him according to their custom. We heard the same thing from trustworthy people, a second and a third time. Then he took his hand and, as if he were speaking to a living person, said:

> I recognize your wisdom from the letter that I read, for like a brave shepherd keeping watch over your flock, you hastened to come before my imperious sword. I am convinced to stay my sword from innocent men. Now, I will do and fulfill everything that you once entreated of me so the blessing of your piety may rest

23 Cf. Genesis 17:20.

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> over me. If I should err in a single thing from all your words, may all the curses that I read in your letter come upon me.

Having said this, he went to the place of his lodging. And they who had left this land of Armenia with the catholicos Sahak took the body of the blessed patriarch and transferred it, putting [him] to rest in a tomb with much honor. They also [24r] took an oath in writing from the Ishmaelite general and returned from there to this land of Armenia. When the inhabitants of this land saw the oath of the written promise, they trusted him, and henceforth they submitted to Ishmaelite subjugation as slaves.

Oath in writing: oaths (Arabic: *amān*) in the Umayyad period very typically promised protection of lives and property in exchange for recognizing the authority of the caliphal governors.

13. Then the general Muḥammad went up to this land of Armenia a second time with a large force in the eighteenth year of Prince ʿAbd al-Malik. He remained tranquil for three years; he did not even pay heed to the misfortunes that befell the *Tačik* forces in the village of Vardanakert but remained firm in the written oath that he had given and merely oversaw the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ. After ʿAbd al-Malik held power in this manner, he died.

The **eighteenth year of ʿAbd al-Malik** fell in about 702.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ յետ նորա Աբդլմիլք որդի Մրուանա. և եկեաց ամս. *քսան եւ մի*. և վախճանեցաւ. և այս վարք նորայ:

ե[24] Նա էր այր ժանդ և գոռ պատերազմաւ. ի յերկրորդում ամի իշխանութե*ան* նորա. եղև խառնակումն սաստիկ ի մէջ Տաճկաց. և պատերազմ. և բազում հեղումն արեանց ընքեանք յընքեանց հանէին. և սաստկացաւ պատերազմ ի մէջ նոցա զ*եր*.իս ամս. և անթիւ եղեն սպանեալքն ի նոցունց. մինչև ի կատարել մարգարէութե*ան*ն Դաւթի որ ասէ. սուրք նոցա մտցեն ի սիրտս նոցա և աղեղունք նոցա փշրեսցին: Զի փոխանակ անպարտ արեանն և անողորմ սատակմանցն զոր յաճախեցին ի վերա ազգիս Քրիստոնէից. արիւն վրիժապարտ հեղաւ իրաւացի. և պահանջեաց Աստուած զվրէժ արհամարհանաց ծառայից իւրոց նոցին իսկ ձեռաւք.

Իսկ Գրիգոր իշխանն Հաց. յաւուրս իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս Հայոց *յամենայն*[25] [13r] հինից և յարձակմանց. զի էր այր երկեղած Յ*Աստուծոյ* եղբայրասէր և աւտարասէր. և դարմանիչ աղքատաց. և կատարեալ ի հաւատս *աստուա*ծպաշտութե*ան*. և շինեաց նա տուն աղաւթից ի գաւառն Արագածատին ի յաւանն Արուճ. տաճար փառաց անուան Տ*եառն*. գեղեցիկ վայելչութե*ամբ*ն զարդարեալ ի յիշատակ անուան իւրոյ: Եւ ի ժամանակի պատերազմին որ ի մէջ Տաճկաց. դադարեցին ի հարկատուութենէ նոցա Հայք. Վիրք. Աղուանք. ծառաե*ալ* նոցա ամս. *երեսուն*. և եղեն աւուրք ապստամբութե*ան* նոցա ամք.

24 ե in lft. mg.

25 *յամենայն*] post logograph add. մ later hand.

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երեք. և ի չորրորդում ամին տիրեցին ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց հիւսսային[26] ազգն որ ասին Խազիրք. և սպանին ի պատերազմին զիշխանն Գրիգոր. և զբազումս ի նախարարացն. եւ զիշխանն Վրաց և Աղուանից. և ինքեանք ասպատակ սփռեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս Հաոց. առին զբազում գաւառս և զաւանս, և առեալ զաւար և զգերութի*ւն* գնացին յաշխարհն իւրեանց:

Վասն Աշոտի իշխանութեանն [13v] և այրեցածին Հռոմի. և մահուն Աշոտի:

q[27] Իսկ ապա յետ մահուանն Գրիգորի յաջորդէ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն Աշոտ պատրիկ. այր երեւելի և նախամեծար ի մէջ նախարարացն Հայոց ի տոհմէ Բագրատունեաց. ճոխ և պերճ յիշխանութե*ան*ն. և *յամենայն* վարս երկրաինս զգաստ և առաքինասէր. և ազնուական քան զամենեսեան. և ծանաւթ երկեղի Ա*ստուծոյ*. և հոգաբարձու *ամենայն* բարեգործութե*ան*. փոյթ յուսումնասիրութե*ան*. և զարդարէր զեկեղեցիս Ա*ստուծոյ*[28] վարդապետական արուեստիւք և պաշտաւնէից խմբաւորութե*ամ*ք: Պատուէր և երևելի սպասիւք յիւրոց գանձուց. և շինէր զեկեղեցին Դարիւնից յիւրում ոստանին. և զկենդանագրեալ զպատկերն մարդեղութե*ան*ն Ք*րիստոս*ի ածեալ ի մտիցն արևու մեծասքանչ զաւրութե*ամ*ք հանգուցանէր ի նմա. եւ նորա անուամբ զեկեղեցին անուանեաց: Եւ յառաջնում ամի իշխանութե*ան* նորա երևեցաւ աստղն զարմանալի տեսլեամբ վարսաւ[14r]որ. զի ճաճանչ նշողիցն սիւնածն յիւրմէն փողփողէր զլոյսն յետոյ ինքեան, որ անուանեալ կոչէին աստղ գիսաւոր. որ եղև նշանակ սովոյ և սրոյ և մեծի սասանութե*ան*:

Է[29] Եւ յերկրորդում ամի թագաւորութե*ան*ն Յուստիանու կայսեր և յիշխանութե*ան*ն Աշոտի պատրկի. առաքէ զաւր բազում ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց.[30] որք եկեալ աւերեցին զաշխարհս աւարառութե*ամ*ք. և զբազում գեղեցկայարմար շինուածս հրձիգ արարին յաւեր դարձուցանելով. և ինքեանք դառնային[31] յաշխարհն իւրեանց: Եւ զսոյն Յուստիանոս թշնամանեալ մեծամեծացն Յունաց. և կտրեալ զքիթսն աքսորեցին. եւ փոխանակ նորա թագաւորեցուցին զՂևոն, և զԱփսեմերոս, և զՏիբեր, և զԹէոդոս: Իսկ Յուստիանոս գնացեալ յաշխարհն Խազրաց, առնոյր իւր կնութե*ան* զդուստրն խաքանայ արքային[32] Խազրաց. և խնդրեալ ի նմանէ զաւրս յաւգնականութի*ւն*. և նա առաքէր զաւր բազում. և զՏրուեղ ոմն աներ Յուստիանոսի ընդ զաւրուն. [14v] այր հզաւր զաւրութե*ամ*ք: Եւ հասեալ ի Կոստանդնուպալիս, մարտ եդեալ յաղթէր հակառակորդացն, և վերստին հաստատէր զթագաւորութի*ւն*ն. և Տրուեղն մեռանէր ի պատերազմին: Իսկ զայլ զաւրսն Խազրաց առաքէր բազում պարգևաւք և պատուական ստացուածովք յաշխարհն իւրեանց:

Իսկ Աշոտի կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն ամս. *չորս*. եւ ի չորրորդ ամի իշխանութե*ան* նորա գունդ մի ասպատակութե*ամ*ք յորդոցն Իսմայելի յարձակեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց որ էին որդիք յանցանաց և զաւակ անաւրէնութե*ան*. գործէին զանաւրէնութի*ւն*ն յաւանս Մարաց, ի Խրամի Զուղայ. և ի Խոշակունիս. զի զարսն հարկապահանջութե*ամ*ք խոշտանգէին. և զկանայսն զազրալից պղծութե*ամ*ք խորհէին խայտառակել ըստ անաւրէնութե*ան*ն իւրեանց: Ազդ եղև առ իշխանն Աշոտ համբաւ չարեաց նոցա, և վաղվաղակի հրաման տայր

26 հիւսսային] read: հիւսիսային with printed editions.

27 q in lft. mg.

28 Ա*ստուծոյ*] suprascr.

29 է in rt. mg.

30 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

31 դառնային] -յ- subscr.

32 արքային] -յ- subscr.

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զաւրացն ելանել [15r] ի վերա նոցա. հարին զամենեսեան սատակմամբ սրոյ. և զմնացորդսն փախստական առնէին: Իբրև էտես խորամանգ որդի սատանայի[33] զհենն ի վերա իւր սաստկացեալ. հրաման ետ զաւրաց իւրոց. զգանձսն ժողովեալ ցրուեալ[34] ի դաշտին առաջի զաւրացն Հայոց: Իսկ նոցա անխորհրդաբար դարձեալ յաւարն թուլացան ի հետոց նոցա. բայց միայն իշխանն Աշոտ սակաւ արամբք պնդեալ երթայր զկնի նոցա. և զաւրացեալ թշնամեացն դարձան ի վերա նոցա. և հարեալ վիրաւորեցին զիշխանն Հայոց.[35] ապա ճիչ բարձեալ զաւրացն. և նոքա վաղվաղակի հասեալ հարեալ սատակէին զթշնամիսն. և ինքեանք առեալ ածէին զիշխանն ի Կոգովիտ կարէվէր խոցմամբն. որ ի նոյն մահիճս վախճանեցաւ փառաւորապէս. և թաղեցաւ ի կայս հանգստեան իւրոյ ի գեղն Դարիւնս:

Վ*ասն* մաւրին կռուին:

ը[36] Յետ այնորիկ զոր պատմեցաք. դարձեալ [15v] զաւր առաքէր արքայն Յունաց որո{ւ}մ Ափսեմերոսն կոչէին որ էր փոխանակ Յուստիանու կայսեր. և հրամայէր ունել զՍմպատ որդի Վարազտիրոցի որպէս թէ քինախնդիր եղեալ զոր կրճատեաց նա ի զաւրացն Յունաց. վ*ասն* մահուան հաւրն իւրոյ Վարազտիրոցի զոր սպանին Հոռոմք: Եւ եկեալ պատերազմեցան ընդ նմա ի մաւրամէջ դաշտին Պայիկա. և բազում եղեն հարուածք զաւրացն Հայոց զի նուազունք էին, անկան և ի զաւրուէն Յունաց յոլովք: Իբրև էտես Սմպատ եթե ոչ կարէին զդեմ ունել զաւրացն Յունաց. փախստական եղեալ գնաց մազապուր սակաւ արամբք. և զաւրքն Յունաց դարձան յաշխարհն իւրեանց:

թ[37] Ճառեցից դարձեալ վ*ասն* անհնարին աղէտիցն որ էհաս ի տոհմէն Իսմաելի ի վերա մեր. զի յետ վեշտասան ամի իշխանութե*ան*ն Աբդլմելքի. դարձեալ գրգռեալ սիրտն նորա ի չարասերն սատանայէ. և հրամաեաց զաւրաց իւրոց [16r] ելանել ի վերա աշխարհիս. որոց զաւրագլուխ էր արիւնարբու և այսակիրն Մահմետ որոց[38] դաշինս անաւրէնութե*ան* ուխտեալ առ իշխանին իւրեանց երդմամբ չդարձուցանել զսուր ի պատեանս մինչև ի մէջ աշխարհիս: Եւ գնացեալ խրոխտալով մինչև ի գաւառն Ջերմաձոր ելանէր. և զորս միանգամ գտանէր սուր ի գործ արարեալ կոտորէր յանխնա ըստ խոստմանց իւրեանց. բայց զի բազմաց ազդ եղեալ յառաջագոյն զգուշացան յամրոցս բերդից ապաստանեալ. առնոյր և զբազում ամրոցս խաբէութ*եամ*բ. քանզի պատիր բանիւք կոչէր ի խաղաղութի*ւն*. և իբրև վստահացեալք իջանէին յամրոցացն· սուր ի գործ արարեալ կոտորէր զարսն և զկանայս և զմանգունս վարէր ի գերութի*ւն*. և բազում նեղութի*ւն* և տագնապ հասուցանէր աշխարհիս, մինչև երանել զմեռեալսն որք խաղաղական հանգստեամբ յաշխարհէս փոխեցան քան այնպիսի նեղութ*եամ*բք զկենդանութի*ւն* կրել: [16v]

Եւ զկնի երկուց ամաց ի գլուխ մոլորութե*ան*ն հասեալ փսխէր զմահաբեր թոյնսն. նիւթէր ի վերա ուխտին սրբոյն Գրիգորի զմահ. քանզի տեսին զվաեալչութի*ւն* երևելի պատուական սպասուցն որ ի նմա ամբարեալ. թագաւորացն իշխանաց և նախարարաց աշխարհիս: Տեսին և զկարգաւորութի*ւն* հրեշտակակերպ դասուց քահանայական[39] երաստուց. ընդ

33 սատանայի] -յ- subscr.

34 ցրուեալ] read: ցրուել with Malxaseanc‘, Tēr-Vardanean, and Hakobian.

35 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

36 ը in rt. mg.

37 թ in lft. mg.

38 որոց] read: որոյ with Chahnazarian.

39 քահանայական] -յ- subscr.

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նմին և զվարդապետացն և զպաշտաունէիցն բարեկարգութի*ւն*ս և զիրեշտակական երգս ի վերա երկրի: Եւ խանդացեալ խոցեցան յոգիս իւրեանց, և դաւաճանեալ նիւթեցին ի վերա նոցա զմահաբեր կորուստն. զի երթեալ գունդ մի անաւրինաց աւթեվանել յարկս[40] նորա. և յարուցեալ ի գիշերի զծառա մի զիւրեանց խեղդամահ արարին և ընկեցին ի խորափիտ մի, և ընդ լուսանալ առաւաւտին յարեան ի գնալ. և խնդրե*ալ* զծառայն զոր ինքեանք խողխողեալն էին և ոչ գտին. և բազում նեղութի*ւն* և վտանգ հասուցին ի վերա ուխտի եկեղեցոյն. [17r] և յոյզ արկեալ գտին ի խորափտին յոր ընկեցեալն էին. և նոյնժամայն բաղայս ստութե*ան* կարկատեալ ի վերա՝ կալան զամենեսեան ի փոքուէ մինչև ի մեծամեծս և եդին ի բանդի. և գրեցին հրովարտակ առ արիւնարբուն Մահմետ. եթե զայս և զայս գործեցին ընդ մեզ, արդ որպիսի մահուամբ կորուսցուք. որոյ լուեալ զայս՝ ըստ կամաց իւրեանց դատել զնոսա. և զինչս եկեղեցոյն վտարել յաւարի. եւ ընկալեալ դահճացն գիրամանն անիրաւ, զմիմեամբ[41] ելանէին կատարել զիրամանն հաւր իւրեանց սատանայի. որ ի սկզբանէ մարդասպան էր և ի ճշմարտութե*ան*ն ոչ եկաց որպէս ի Տ*եառն*է ուսաք: Եւ ածեալ զ*ամենայն* արտաքս ի բանդէն տոռամբք կապանաց. նախ ծայրակոտոր առնէին զոտս և զձեռսն. և ապա զփայտէ կախեալ բառնային զկենդանութի*ւն* նոցա:

Արդ ո՞վ ոք առանց արտասուաց բերիցէ զանհնարին աղէտսն որ ժամանեաց նոցա. զի սուրբ եկ<եղ>եցին[42] խրթնացեալ ի բարեկարգութենէ բեմին. և լռեալ ձայն ա*ստուա*ծային [17v] փառատրութեանն. ընդ նմին լռեալ հոգևոր և բանաւոր պատարագացն կարգք զոր ս*ուր*բքն մատուցանէին սրտի մտաւք միայնոյ մաքրագունին: Շիջեալ և պայծառութի*ւն* լապտերացն որովք զգիշերն որպէս զտիւ լուսաւոր առնէին: Դադարեալ և բուրումն անուշահոտ խնկոցն, և մաղթանք քահանայիցն որովք զքաւութի*ւն* ժողովրդոցն նուիրեին արարչին. և գհաշտութի*ւն* ի մարդասէրն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ հայցէին. և միանգամայն ասել՝ *ամենայն* բարեվայելչութի*ւն* խորանին Տ*եառ*ն դատարկացեալ: Ո՜վ Ք*րիստոս*ի երկայնմտութիւնն. զիա՞րդ արդեւք ներեաց անաւրինացն զրպարտութե*ան*. ածել ի վերա փառաւորչաց իւրոց գդառնութի*ւն* մահուն այնորիկ. այլ առժամայն մահուամբն կամեցաւ. զի զյաւիտենական կեանսն պարգևեսցէ. զի որք չարչարանացն կցորդ եղեն. և փառացն հաղորդ լինելոց են, և զի խաչակից եղեն Ք*րիստոս*ի· և ընդ նմա թագաւորեսցեն. և որք մեռան ընդ նմա ընդ նմին և կենագործեսցին. յաւիտեանս յաւիտենից ժառանգեսց[18r]են զխոստացեալն հանգիստ: Եւ գործաւնեայքն[43] սատանայի[44] ընդ նմին ժառանգեսցեն զպատրաստեալ նոցա գդառնութի*ւն*ն բազմատեսակ տանջանաց. զհուրն. և զխաւարն, զորդնն անվախճան զլալն աչաց. և զկրճտելն ատամանց. զորոց տեսակ գիտէ ինքն որ պատրաստեաց զնոսա: Այս *ամենայն* գալոց է ի վերա ամենեցուն որ գործեն զանաւրէնութի*ւն*:

Իսկ Մահմետն զորմէ պատմեցաքն, կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* չարիքս, գնաց անդէն բազում աւարով յԱսորեստան: Իսկ բնակիչք աշխարհիս մնացին իբրև զխանձող ծխեալ ի հրոյ. և իբրև զաւրան վանակ[45] փխրեալ զոր առ ոտն կոխեալ խոզից: Եւ իբրև գնաց Մահմետն զաւրավարն յԱսորիս. էթող յաշխարհիս Հայոց[46] իշխան փոխանակ իւր յԻսմաելացւոցն. որոյ

40 յարկս] read: ի յարկս with printed editions.

41 զմիմեամբ] read: զմիմեամբք with printed editions.

42 եկ<եղ>եցին] -եղ- add. suprascr. Hand 1corr.

43 գործաւնեայքն] -ե- suprascr.

44 սատանայի] -յ- subscr.

45 վանակ] read: վականակ.

46 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

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խորհուրդ վատ ի մէջ առեալ բառնալ զազատախումբ տոհմն յաշխարհէս Հայոց[47] հանդերձ նոցին հեծելովք: Եւ անդէն վաղվաղակի յայտնեցաւ նենգութի*ւն* նորա· Սմպատայ՝[48] որ էր ի տոհմէ Բագրատունեաց [18v] և այլոց նախարարաց և նոցին հեծելոց:

Ժ[49] Իսկ իբրև զգայր զդաւաճանութիւնն. կոչէր առ ինքն զհամազունս իւր զազատախումբ բանակին: ԶՍմպատ զորդի Աշոտի իշխանի. և զՎարդ որդի Թէոդորոսի իշխանի. և զեղբայր իւր զԱշոտ. և զայլ նախարարսն. և խորհէր հնարս գտանել որով մարթասցեն զանձինս ապրեցուցանել. և եղև խորհրդին տեղի տալ և գնալ յաշխարհէս առ թագաւորն Յունաց: Եւ անդէն անջատեալ մեկնեցան ոմանք ի նախարարաց Վաս{պու}ական[50] աշխարհին. իսկ նոցա դէմ եդեալ գնացին ի կողմանցն Վասպուրականի. ի դաշտավայր մարզէն որում Առեստակողմն կոչեն, քանզի անդ բնակեալ էր միայնակեաց ոմն, առ որ չոգան հարցանել զորպիսութի*ւն*[51] գործոյն· քանզի էր այր ս*ուրբ*, ընդրեալ և լի հոգևոր իմաստութ*եամբ*. իսկ նորա աշխարհ*ալ* և աւաղեալ զկորուստ աշխարհիս. և զկործանումն եկեղեց<եաց>[52] և զթափուր լինելն ի նախարարական տոհմէն. ոչ ինչ կարէր հրամայել. այլ միայն անձն[53][19r]ապահ լինել և զգուշանալ ի նենգութենէն. եւ աղաւթս արարե*ալ* ի վերա նոցա. յանձնեաց զնոսա շնորհացն Տ*եառն*. և առաքեաց յիւրմէ և նոքա գնացեալ ընդ եզր գետոյն Երասխա անցանէին ընդ սահմանս Ուղայէոյ. և հասանէին ի մեծ աւանն Ակոռի:

Իսկ զաւրքն Իսմաելի որ էին ի Նախճաւան քաղաքի յարձակեցան զկնի նոցա. և ոչ մեկնեցան ի հետոց նոցա. քանզի էին աւելի քան զ.*հինգ հազար*. հազար[54] որ կամէին կենդանոյն կլանել զնոսա: Եւ իբրև ազդ եղև զաւրուն Հաց*ոց* վ*ասն* հինին որ զարթուցեալ գայր ի վերա նոցա. յարուցեալ անցին ընդ գետն Երասխ. և բանակեցան ի Վարդանակերտն աւանի. և զաւրն Տաճկաց պնդեալ գայր զկնի նոցա: Իսկ զաւրուն Հայոց պատգամ յղեալ առ զաւրսն Տաճկաց. ընդէր ասէ պնդեալ գայք զկնի մեր. զի՞նչ ինչ մեղաք ձեզ. ահաւադիկ երկիրտ մեր առաջի ձեր է. ձեզ տուեալ եմք զբնակութի*ւն*ս մեր. զայգիս մեր և զանդառս և զանդաստանս մեր. արդ ընդէ՞ր և զանձինս մեր խնդրէք. թոյլ տուք մեզ գնալ ի սահմանաց մերոց. եւ ոչ կամեցան լսել [19v] զաւրքն Իսմաելի. զի ի Տ*եառն*է կարծրանային սիրտք նոցա զի մատնեսցին ի ձեռս սրոյ:

Իսկ զաւրուն Հայոց ամրացուցեալ զփողոցս աւանին. կարգեցին ի վերա պահապանս մինչև ի լուսանալ առաւաւտին. և ինքեանք զգիշերն ողջոյն ի հսկումն աղաւթից կանխեալ հայցէին ի բոլորեցունց Տ*եառն*է զմեծազաւր աջոյն աւգնականութի*ւն*. և զուղղութ*եամբ*ն դատել ի մէջ նոցա և թշնամեացն: Եւ իսկոյն ընդ ծագել առաւաւտին իբրև յանգէր պաշտաւնն առաւաւտին. մատուցանէր և հոգևոր պատարագն. և արժանաւորք հաղորդէին մարմնոյ և արեանն Տ*եառն*. իբրև յետին թոշակ զայն համարե*ալ* անձանց. և առնուին սուղ ինչ կերակուր յաղագս զաւրութե*ան* մարմնոյ. և նոյնժամայն յարուցեալ յարդարեցին զունդ առ զունդ և ճակատ առ ճակատ և խմբեցաւ պատերազմն: Անդ հասեալ յաւգնականութի*ւն* մեծազաւրն Ա*ստուծոյ* զնդին Հայոց. թէպէտ և նուազունք էին քան զթիւ երկուց հազարաց, սակայն զբազումս հարե*ալ* սատակէին ի սուր [20r] սուսերի. քանզի էին աւուրք ցրտաշունչ

47 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

48 Սմպատայ] -յ subscr.

49 ժ in lft. mg.

50 Վաս{պու}ական] -պու- add. in lft. mg. Hand 1corr.

51 զորպիսութի*ւն*] զորպիսի a.c.

52 եկեղեց<եաց>] -եաց add. in lft. mg. Hand 1corr.

53 անձն] -ձն in lit.; -ձն rewritten subscr. Hand 1corr.

54 զ.*հինգ հազար*. հազար] read: զ.*հինգ հազար*.

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սառամանեաց. և ևս առաւել սաստկ*ա*ցեալ[55] դառնաշունչ աւդոյն, կասեցուցանէր զզաւրսն Իսմաելի.[56] յարիական զաւրութենեն իւրեանց: զի զգիշերն[57] ամենայն ի վերա ձեան աւթագացեալ էին. և ընդ ծագել լուսոյն անգան ի ձեռս սրոյ. և որք ի սրոյն փախեան անգան ի գետն Երասխ. քանզի պաղացէալ եր ի խստութենէ աւդոյն.[58] և իբրև ելանէին ի վերա պաղին բազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն անդէն վաղվաղակի խորոց մատնէին· խորտակեալ պաղին որք ի սրոյն զերծեալք էին. և այնպէս հեղձամահ[59] վճարէին ի կենաց:

Յորոց նուազունք ի փախուստ դարձեալ իբրև արք. *երեքհարիւր*. ապաւինէին առ տիկինն Շուշան. զորոց զկնի հետամուտ եղեալ Սմպատ որդի Աշոտի զաւրաւքն իւրովք. կամէր արկանել զփախստեայսն[60] ի սուր սուսերի. որում ընդ առաջ եղեալ տիկինն Շուշան. բազում աղերսանաւք և դաշամբք թափէր զնոսա մերկս և բոկս և հետևակս և վիրաւորս. զորոց առեալ պատ[20v]էր զվէրս և ողջացուցանէր և զգեցուցանէր հանդերձիւք: Տայր և գրաստս յիւրոց երամակաց. և առաքէր առ իշխանն Իսմաելի Աբդլմիլք. վ*ասն* որոյ և ի նմանէ բազում շնորհակալութի*ւն* ընկալեալ և մեծամեծ պատիւս առաքէր նմա:

Իսկ զաւրն Հայոց[61] յղփացեալ յաւարէ թշնամեացն առաքէին առ թագաւորն Յունաց աւետիս զյաղթութե*ան*ն իւրեանց. տային[62] տանել նմա ընծայս յաւարէ թշնամեացն, զընդիրս երիվարաց Տաճիկ ձիոց. և զունչս դիակացն անկելոց հատե*ալ* առաքէին ընդ նմին ընծայի,[63] և կայսրն ընկալեալ զայն նուէր, մեծապէս գոհութի*ւն*ս մատուցանէր արարչին. և շնորհակալութի*ւն* Սմպատայ[64] և նախարարացն որ ընդ նմա և նոցին զաւրացն: Եւ տայր բերել նմա պատիւ կորապաղատութե*ան*[65] ըստ աւրինի թագաւորաց. և նորա ընկալեալ զպատիւն ի կայսերէն, առնոյր զզաւրս իւր և երթայր յաշխարհն Տայոց, մտանէր յամրոցն որում Թուխարսն կոչեն. և զգուշանայր յորդոցն Իսմաելի: [21r]

Ժա.[66] Զայնու ժամանակաւ դարձեալ այլ[67] հէն գայր ի վերա զաւրուն որ ի կողմանս Վասպուրական աշխարհին. և եկեալ յանդիման լինէին ի գաւառն Ռ-ըշտունեաց. ի գեւղն որում Գուկանսն կոչեն անդ յանդիման լինէին միմեանց. իբրև տեսին զի նուազունք էին, դիմեցին սաստկապէս ի վերա նոցա. և նոյնժամայն գթացեալ ողորմութե*ան*ն Աստ*ուծ*ոյ. և յայնմ նուազի հասանէր ի թիկունս ազգականութե*ան*. և զամենեսեան ի սուր սուսերի մաշեցին. բայց միայն արք. *երկերիւր եւ ութսուն*. ի փախուստ դարձեալ անկան յեկեղեցին. և իբրև ոչ կարացին ստանալ խորհեցան հրկէզ առնել զսրբարանն. այլ ոչ թողացոյց նոցա Սմպատ իշխան կողմանցն Վասպուրականի. որ էր որդի Աշոտի իշխանի. ոչ ետ գործել զապիրատութի*ւն*ն զայն. զի ասէր քաւ լիցի մեզ ձեռնամուխ լինել ի բնակարան փառացն Տ*ե*ա*ռ*ն. որ զայնպիսի յաղթութի*ւն* մեզ պարգևէաց: Եւ կարգեցին պահապանս պահել զնոսա.

55 սաստկ*ա*ցեալ] -u- suprascr.

56 Post Իսմաելի Hand 3.

57 զգիշերն] -ն suprascr. Hand 1.

58 Post աւդոյն Hand 1.

59 հեղձամահ] -ամ- in lit.; -ամ- rewritten in rt. mg. Hand 1corr.

60 զփախստեայսն] -ե- suprascr.

61 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

62 տային] -յ- subscr.

63 ընծայի] -յ- subscr.

64 Սմպատայ] -յ subscr.

65 կորապաղատութե*ան*] կորայպաղատութե*ան* a.c.

66 ժա in lft. mg.

67 այլ] suprascr.

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մինչև նոյն ինքն սրբարանն հանցէ զնոսա արտաքս յինքենէ. և յետ սակաւ միոյ, մի ոմն ի [21v] զաւրացն Իսմաելի որ էր գլխաւորագոյն նոցա խնդրէր հաշտութի*ւն* անձին իւրում չմեռանել ի նոցունց, և ել առ զաւրսն Հայոց, և ասէ մեր լուէալ է էթէ ազգք Քրիստոնէից ողորմած է. իբրև տեսանէ զոք ի վիշտս գթա և ողորմի. արդ ողորմեցարուք մեզ և տուք մեզ զանձինս մեր պարգև, և զինչս մեր առէք ձեզ յաւարի: Պատասխանի ետ Սմպատ զաւրավար. մեք ասէ ուսաք ի Տ*եառն*է մեր էթէ ողորմութի*ւն* ողորմածաց արժան է առնել[68] իսկ դուք ազգ անողորմ էք և ոչ էք արժանի ողորմութե*ան*. և ոչ արասցուք: Իբրև լուաւ զայս Իսմաելացին, արդ զոնեա անձին իմում[69] ներեցէք չսպանանել և զայլսն տաց ի ձեռս ձեր, և յանձին կալան թէ ոչ սպանցուք: Իսկ նորա մտեալ ի ներքս ասէ, ոչ ինչ աւգուտ է մեզ մնալ աստէն՝ զի անողորմ տեսի զնոսա ի վերա մեր. այլ արդ եկայք ելցուք առ նոսա. եթե սպանանեն զմեզ մեռցուք. քանզի զդրախտն խոստացաւ[70] մեզ աւրէնսդիրն մեր Մահմետ. և եթե կեցուցանեն զմեզ կեցցուք: Եւ քաջալերեալք [22r] այսու բանիւք ելին առ հասարակ արտաքս. և նոյնժամայն արկան ի բերան սրոյ: Իսկ զայն այր որում խոստացան չսպանանել. կենդանոյն յուղարկեցին ի խորս ծովուն. և ինքեանք առեալ զկապուտ անկելոցն բաժանեցին ի մէջ ինքեանց. և սփռէին յիւրաքանչիւր տեղիս:

Ժբ[71] Եւ եղև յետ այնորիկ իբրև լուաւ իշխանն Իսմաելի Աբդլմելք զբեկումն զաւրացն իւրոց. կոչէ առ ինքն զՄահմետ զաւրավար զաւրուն իւրոյ. և հրամայէ առնուլ ընդ իւր բազմութի*ւն* զաւրաց, և ելանել ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց, սրով և գերութ*եամ*ք, որոյ անդէն վաղվաղակի կազմեալ զզաւրսն սաստկապէս. և խրոխտալով սպառնայր կատարել զհրամանս իշխանին իւրեանց: Իբրև լուան նախարարք Հայոց[72] աշխարհիս. զիէնն որ գայր զաւրացեալ ի վերայ.[73] հանդերձեցին զկաթողիկոսն Հայոց զՍահակ. և զոմանս յեպիսկաւպոսաց աշխարհիս ընդ նմա երթալ ընդդէմ զաւրուն Իսմաելի. և խաւսել ընդ զաւրավարին նոցա[74] բանիւք խաղաղութե*ան*. և նուաճել զինքեանս ընդ լծով ծառաութե*ան* նոցա: Եւ իբրև յուղ[22v]արկեցաւ յաշխարհէս ողջունէր զամենեսին սիրական համբուրի աջոյն. աւրհնէր զհաւտն զոր ինքեան հաւատացեալ հանդերձ հովուակցաւք. և յանձն առնէր շնորհացն Տ*եառն*: Եւ իբրև զանց արարեալ զբազում աւթեվանաւք և հասանէր ի քաղաքն Խառան· և անդէն էհաս նմա ախտ հիւանդութե*ան*.

Եւ մինչև[75] էր հասեալ Մահմետ զաւրավարն ի Խառան, մերձեցաւ վախճան նորա. և գրէ զվերջինս բանից իւր յանդարձի առ զաւրավարն Իսմաելի: Ես ասէ

> առաքեցա ընդ առաջ քո յազգէն իմ խաւսել զխորհուրդս իմ առաջի քո. զոր միաբանեալ նախարարք և ռամիկք Հայոց հայցեն ի քէն. այլ որ կենացն է շտեմարանապետ ստիպով յափշտակեաց զիս առ ինքն, և ոչ ժամանեցի[76] հանդիպել քեզ և խաւսել ընդ քեզ. այլ արդ երդմնեցուցանեմ զքեզ ի կենդանին Ա*ստուա*ծ. և դաշինս դնեմ քեզ զուխտն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ որ առ Իսմաէլ հայրն ձեր, որպէս խոստացաւ տալ նմա զտիեզերս ի ծառաութի*ւն* և ի հնազանդութի*ւն*. զի արասցես խաղաղութի*ւն* ընդ ժողովրդեան իմում. և ծառաեսցեն քեզ հարկատրութ*եամ*ք. արգելցես զսուր քո [23r] յարենէ և զձեռն քո յաւարառութենէ.

68 առնել] in lit.; առնել add. in lft. mg. Hand 1corr.

69 իմում] իւմում a.c.

70 խոստացաւ] -ոստ- in lit.; -ոստ- rewritten in lft. mg. Hand 1corr.

71 ժբ in rt. mg.

72 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

73 վերայ] -յ subscr.

74 նոցա] նոսա a.c.

75 մինչև] read: մինչչև with printed editions.

76 ժամանեցի] ժամանեսցի a.c.

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> և հնազանդեսցեն քեզ յամենայն սրտէ իւրեանց: Բայց վ*ասն* հաւատոյս մեր, զի իշխանութի*ւն* լիցի մեզ պահել յոր հաւատացաքն և խոստովանեցաք. և ոք ի ձերոց այտի մի խոշտանգեսցէ զմեզ դառնալ ի հաւատոց մեր: Արդ եթե արասցես զհայցուածս իմ աջողեսցէ Տէր զիշխանութի*ւն*դ քո. և կատարէսցին խորհուրդք կամաց քո. և Տէր հնազանդեցուսցէ զամենեսին ընդ ձեռամբ քո. ապա թէ ոչ կամիցիս լսել բանից իմ. և խոտորնակ իմասցիս յառնել ի վերա աշխարհին իմ. Տէր ցրուեսցէ զխորհուրդ քո. և մի հաստատեսցին գնացք ոտից քո. և դարձուսցէ զսիրտ զաւրաց քո չառնել զկամս քո. և յարուսցէ *յամենայն* կողմանց նեղիչ անձին քո. և մի կացցէ իշխանութի*ւն*դ քո հաստատուն: Արդ մի անտես առներ զհայցուածս իմ. և եկեսցեն ի վերա քո աւրհնութի*ւն*ք իմ:

Եւ իբրև էհաս Մահմետն ի Խառան՝ պատմեցին նմա զկաթողիկոսէն Հայոց. և մատուցին առաջի նորա զգիրն. իբրև ընթերցաւ զգիրն էհարց զվախճանէ նորա, և պատմեցին նմա էթե ոչ ևս է եղեալ ի գերեզման, զի առժամայն էր վախճանեալ: Իբրև լուաւ վաղ[23v]վաղակի յարեաւ և չոգաւ ի տեղին. կացեալ մերձ առ մարմնոյ ննջեցելոյն ետ նմա ողջոյն ըստ սովորութեանն իւրեանց. և որպէս լուաք ի ճշմարտախաւս արանց երկրորդէր զնոյն բանս և երրորդէր:[77] Եւ ապա բուռն հարէալ զձեռանէ նորա իբրև ընդ կենդանւոյ ումեք խաւսէր ասելով:

> Ծանեա զիմաստութի*ւն*դ քո ի մատէնէն զոր ընթերցա. զի ըստ աւրինի քաջ հովուին[78] ի վերա քոին հաւտիտ հոգացե*ալ*. փութացար գալ ընդ յառաջ խրոխտացե*ալ* սրոյ իմ, հաւանեցա արգելուլ զսուր իմ յարանց անմեղաց: Այլ արդ արարից և կատարեցից զ*ամենայն* զոր միանգամ հայցեցեր յինէն և բարեպաշտութե*ան*դ քո աւրհնութի*ւն* հանգիցէ ի վերա իմ. և էթե սխալեցից բան մի *յամենայն* բանից քո. եկեսցեն ի վերա իմ *ամենայն* նզովքն զոր ընթերցա ի մատենիցն քոց:

Եւ զայս ասացեալ գնայր ի տեղի յիշաւանի իւրոյ: Իսկ որք ընդ կաթողիկոսին Սահակա երթեալ էին յաշխարհէս Հաւոց առե*ալ* զմարմինն երանեալ հայրապետին փոխէին ի հանգիստ եղեալ ի տապանի փառաւորապէս. և ինքեանք [24r] առնուին ի զաւրավարէն Իսմաելի բան երդման ի ձեռն գրոյ. և դարձան անդրէն յաշխարհս Հայոց. և իբրև տեսին բնակիչք աշխարհիս զբան էրդմանն խոստման գրոյն. վստահ եղեն ի նա. և ծառաեցին յայնմհետէ Իսմաելոցուցն ծառաութի*ւն* ստրկի:

Ժգ[79] Իսկ Մահմետն զաւրավար երկրորդ անգամ ելեալ յաշխարհս Հայոց զաւրու ծանու ի *ութ եւ տասն*.երորդ ամի Աբդլմելքի իշխանի, և զամս *երիս*. հանդարտեալ դադարէր. և ոչ ինչ չարեաց յուշ լինէր վ*ասն* անցիցն որ անց[80] ընդ զաւրն Տաճկաց ի Վարդանակերտն աւանի. այլ հաստատուն պահէր զերդումն գրոյն զոր տուեալ էր իւր. և միայն ընդ ակամբ հայէր[81] նախարարացն Հայոց:[82] և Աբդլմելքի կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն այսպիսի վարուք վախճանէր:

77 Hand 3.

78 Post հովուին hand returns to Hand 1.

79 ժգ in lft. mg.

80 անց] է- add. supscr. Hand 1[corr].

81 հայէր] -յ- subscr.

82 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

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COMMENTARY

IV.A. ARMENIA AND THE SECOND *FITNA*

Łewond notes the bloodshed of the second *fitna*, but he makes no attempt to outline the main claimants to power; ʿAbd al-Malik remains the only possible caliph. For Łewond, the disorder extends beyond the Caliphate to include the toppling of Justinian II and the Khazar incursions. Even with his assumption that these events took place during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, he leaves the general sense that no single empire claimed effective control over Armenia in the 680s and that the disruptions of the *fitna* fit into a global moment of divinely orchestrated chaos.

IV.A.1. The Imperial Vacuum in the North

The extant sources assert simultaneous competing claims over Armenia during the second *fitna*. Although some details align across traditions, the divergence in the accounts confirms the multiplicity of claims over the province, as well as the disconnected transmissions of the various sets of sources. They all agree on a single point—namely, that ʿAbd al-Malik himself had no effective claim to the province during the tumultuous second *fitna*. Beyond that point, the sources place Armenia within various imperial settings.

Łewond's account of the early part of the second *fitna* centers on the independence of the *naxarark*ʿ. His main concern is the stability of Grigor's rule as the prince of Armenia: "Grigor, the prince of Armenia, kept this land of Armenia in peace from all marauders and attacks during his reign" (իսկ Գրիգոր իշխանն Հաց. յաւուրս իրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս Հայոց *յամենայն* հինից և յարձակմանց) [12v–13r]. Łewond's presentation of Armenia as independent during the second *fitna* aligns with Balādhurī's account, which briefly mentions that the Armenians rebelled and does not report any other claim to the province until the arrival of Muḥammad b. Marwān after the *fitna*: "During the *fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr, Armenia rebelled and its noblemen and their followers broke away" (ولمّا كانت فتنة ابن الزبير انتقضت ارمينية وخالف احرارها واتباعهم).[83]

Later in the *fitna*, Łewond has the Khazar Khaganate, rather than the Roman Empire or the Caliphate, exert control over Armenia:

> And at the time of the war among the *Tačik*s, the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians ceased paying tribute to them, having submitted to them for thirty years. Their rebellion lasted three years. Then, in the fourth year, the nation of the north called the Khazars ruled this land of the Armenians. They killed Prince Grigor, many of the *naxarark*ʿ, and the prince of the Georgians and the Albanians in battle. They [the Khazars] spread incursion[s] over this land of Armenia . . .
>
> Եւ ի ժամանակի պատերազմին որ ի մէջ Տաճկաց. դադարեցին ի հարկատուութենէ նոցա Հայք. Վիրք. Աղուանք. ծառաե*ալ* նոցա ամս. *երեսուն*. և եղեն աւուրք ապստամբութե*ան*

83 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 205. Since this statement appears in the context of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan and lacks a specific date, it could refer to a later period. However, the specific reference to the *fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr—long resolved by the time of the fires—suggests that Balādhurī collapsed the circumstances of the *fitna* with the rebellion at Vardanakert ten years later.

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> նոցա ամք. *երեք*. և ի չորրորդում ամին տիրեցին ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց հիւսսային[84] ազգն որ ասին Խազիրք. և սպանին ի պատերազմին զիշխանն Գրիգոր. և զբազումս ի նախարարացն. եւ զիշխանն Վրաց և Աղուանից. և ինքեանք ասպատակ սփռեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս Հաոց . . . [13r]

Łewond's emphasis on the Khazar Khaganate is evident by comparison to the first/seventh-century *Anonymous Chronicle*.[85] The *Anonymous Chronicle* includes an entry for Constantine IV (given as III) and for Justinian II. Its final passages parallel Łewond very closely, but they embed Grigor's reign and the Khazar incursion into the history of the reigns of these Roman emperors:

> In his [Constantine's] days, there was the confusion of the *Tačik*s in fierce battle, and the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians ceased paying tribute to them, having submitted to them for thirty years. Justinian, the son of Constantine III [*sic*], two years. In his first year, the nation of the north called the Khazars ruled the Armenians, the Georgians, and the Albanians. And they killed the princes of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania in battle on the tenth day of the month of Sahmi in the year 134 of the Armenians [August 19, 685].

> Ի սորին աւուրս եղեւ շփոյտումն Տաճկաց՝ սաստիկ պատերազմաւ, եւ դադարեցին ի հարկատրութենէ նոցա Հայք, Վիրք, եւ Աղուանք, ծառայեալ նոցա ամս երեսուն: Յուստինիանոս, որդի երրորդ Կոստանդնի, ամս երկուս: Ի սորա առաջին ամին տիրեցին հիւսիսային ազգն, որ ասին Հազիրք, Հայոց, Վրաց եւ Աղուանից. եւ սպանին ի պատերազմի զիշխանս Հայոց, Վրաց եւ Աղուանից, յամսեանն Սահմի, որ աւր տասն եր ամսոյն, ի ՃԼԴ թուականին Հայոց:[86]

Even if Łewond was familiar with the *Anonymous Chronicle*, or if the source he accessed resembled that of the *Anonymous Chronicle*, Łewond's repositioning and deromanization of the second *fitna* and of the invasion of the Khazars is very clear. Instead of tying the two events to the reigns of Constantine IV and Justinian II, Łewond marks them with reference to Grigor Mamikonean's rule in Armenia. Similarly, instead of noting that the Khazars killed unnamed princes from Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, he specifically mentions Grigor, thereby recentering the notice on Armenian affairs.

Łewond makes no mention of lasting Roman claims and confines his comments on the Romans to recording a destructive raid into Armenia and political developments elsewhere the empire. However, many of the texts attributed to the Theophilus circuit suggest that the Romans expected Armenia to revert to Roman territory. Theophanes claims that Justinian and ʿAbd al-Malik agreed to share the tax revenues of Armenia in AM 6178/685–86 CE.[87] Agapius disagrees, asserting that "Armenia was not divided" (تكون ارمينية غير مقسومة), and goes as far as to say that the envoys of ʿAbd al-Malik and Justinian fought in single combat over the taxes of Armenia: "All the Arabs were killed and Armenia belonged to the Romans

84 հիւսսային] read: հիւսիսային with printed editions.

85 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 122.

86 Tirakacʿi, "Žamanakagrutʿiwn," 969.

87 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 506; *Chronographia*, 363.

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for ten years, together with Georgia, Albania,[88] and Azerbaijan" (وقتل عامة العرب وصارت ارمينية للروم عشر سنين مع جرزان واصان واذربيجان).[89] A similar notice, without the duel between the envoys, also appears in the history of Michael the Syrian, who explains that ʿAbd al-Malik agreed to pay tribute to the Roman Empire for ten years and that "the Armenians helped the Greeks" (եւ Հայք ձեռն եւնուն ի Յոյնս).[90] These sources thus assume that Armenia was Roman territory during the second *fitna*.

The Arabic-Islamic sources, by contrast, do not mention the Romans or the Khazars with any specificity. Rather, they outline the claims of various rivals during the *fitna*. Ṭabarī explains that in 66/685–86, "the first man to whom Mukhtār tied a banner was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥārith, the brother of Ashtar, whom he appointed over Armenia" (اوّل رجل عقد له المختار رايةً عبد الله بن الحارث اخو الأشتر عقد له على أرمينية),[91] while Yaʿqūbī notes the appointment of Ibrāhīm b. Mālik b. Hārith al-Ashtar in or immediately after that same year.[92] The following year, in 67/686–87, Mukhtār was killed and Ibrāhīm submitted to Zubayrid authority. Muṣʿab b. Zubayr subsequently appointed Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra over Mawṣil, Jazīra, Azerbaijan, and Armenia.[93] Ibn Aʿtham includes significantly more detail here. He purports to preserve correspondence from both Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and ʿAbd al-Malik to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, attempting to sway his allegiance. Muṣʿab reportedly wrote to Ibrāhīm to acknowledge that "indeed, the land of Jazīra is yours" (فان لك ارض الجزيرة), whereas ʿAbd al-Malik offered him the governorship of Iraq. Ibrāhīm traveled to Kūfa to acknowledge the Zubayrids. "Then Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr appointed al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra over the land of Mawṣil, and he dismissed him from battling the Azāriqa. Iraq, Jazīra, Ḥijāz, Yemen, Armenia, and Azerbaijan each belonged to the Zubayrids, while Syria and Egypt, up to the end of the West [i.e., *al-maghrib*], were under the control of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān" (ثم ولى مصعب بن الزبير المهلب بن أبي صفرة أرض الموصل وعزله عن حرب الأزارقة، واستوت العراق والجزيرة والحجاز واليمن وأرمينية وآذربيجان لآل الزبير، والشام ومصر الى آخر المغرب في يد عبد الملك بن مروان).[94] These sources all reflect imperial concerns of the second *fitna*, focused on the divisions within the Muslim community: the Khārijites, the rebellion of Mukhtār, the Zubayrids, and the Marwānids. There is no reason to believe that any of these claimants had concrete control over Armenia; rather, from the perspective of Arabic-Islamic sources, Armenia appears to have been appended to Jazīra.

These three very different sets of claims about the political control of Armenia in 66/685–86 suggest that competing imperial claims existed simultaneously. It is entirely possible that despite caliphal, Roman, and Khazar claims, no single empire held the province,

88 In Arabic, this reads "Aṣān." Hoyland renders it "Arzan," citing Michael the Syrian: "L'Arménie devait être aux Romains, avec Gourzan et Arzon, et la partie septentrionale de la Médie, c'est-à-dire l'Adhorbigan" (ܐܪܡܢܝܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܠܪܘܡܝܐ . ܥܡ ܓܘܪܙܢ ܘܐܪܙܘܢ . ܘܦܐܬܐ ܕܐܪܝܐ ܕܡܕܝܐ ܕܐܬܪܦܐܓܢ ܗܘܬ); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:469; 4:446. Arabic geographical literature frequently describes the caliphal North as a province that included Armenia, Albania, and Azerbaijan; in context, then, we should read both ارزان and اصان as scribal errors for اران.

89 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 181 (English), 321–22 (Arabic).

90 Michael the Syrian, *Žamanakagrutʿiwn*, 326.

91 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:634–35.

92 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:308–9.

93 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:750.

94 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 5/6:328.

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at least in its entirety. The example of the second *fitna* prompts two important conclusions about Łewond's positionality. First, the transmitted historical accounts in this case do not align at all. As a whole, Łewond can hardly be taken as an independent observer, but his information matches that found in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic sources only intermittently. Second, Łewond reports the cessation of the Armenians' tax payments to the Caliphate in the passage devoted to the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān. He does not allow for the possibility that Mukhtār had laid claim to the North or that the Zubayrids held the Caliphate and simply presents the Umayyads as the legitimate caliphs. This presentation could reflect Łewond's pro-Umayyad stance, but it also fits with the periodization of early Islam espoused in the early ʿAbbāsid period.

IV.A.2. The Fitna *as Providence*

According to Łewond, the disruptions of the second *fitna* were decreed by God. Citing the fulfillment of Davidic prophecy and the deaths of Armenian Christians, he asserts that the *fitna* was deserved: "For instead of the innocent blood and cruel massacres that they had repeatedly inflicted upon this nation of Christians, the blood of the guilty was justly shed. God exacted vengeance [from them] for the offenses against His servants by their very own hands" (Զի փոխանակ անպարտ արեանն և անողորմ սատակմանցն զոր յաճախեցին ի վերա ազգիս քրիստոնէից. արիւն վրիժապարտ հեղաւ իրաւացի. և պահանջեաց Աստուած զվրէժ արհամարհանաց ծառայից իւրոց նոցին իսկ ձեռաւք) [12v]. Łewond also notes the appearance of Halley's Comet as "a sign of famine, and of the sword, and of great violence" (եղև նշանակ սովոյ և սրոյ և մեծի սասանութեան) [14r]. Just as with the second *fitna* more broadly, Łewond does not restrict his interpretation solely to events within the Islamic world. Although there are a number of ways to connect this foretold violence to the *fitna* (e.g., Ibn al-Zubayr's proclamation of the Caliphate in Mecca or Mukhtār's revolt),[95] Łewond does not relate the perceived omens of the comet to specific events in the Islamic world. Rather, his description of the comet is bookended by the Khazar incursions on one side and by the quick turnover of Roman emperors during Justinian's exile on the other. This perspective situates his interpretation of the comet in much the same way as his description of the political circumstances of Armenia at the nexus of various fields of chaotic influence does.

IV.B. THE PRINCE OF ARMENIA AND THE MARWĀNID REFORMS

In the aftermath of the second *fitna*, ʿAbd al-Malik and several subsequent caliphs instigated a series of military, administrative, and fiscal reforms across the Caliphate, eliminating the vestiges of Roman and Sasanian administration in multiple provinces. The Marwānid reforms—so called after ʿAbd al-Malik's branch of the Umayyad dynasty—initiated a new type of imperial rule by attempting to systemize administration from Iraq to Egypt. The administrative changes were not immediate or uniform across the Caliphate but rather unfolded over time with innovations that were specific to each province. New aniconic Arabic coins replaced the earlier Umayyad models based on Roman and Sasanian

95 Cook, "Survey," 135; "Messianism," §§ 24–27.

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precedents, providing visible consistency to the imperial image.[96] Arabic sources also record the Arabicization of the *dīwān* in a piecemeal, province-by-province fashion over the reigns of ʿAbd al-Malik and his son Walīd, to the detriment of languages previously associated with other empires, such as Greek and Middle Persian.[97] At the same time, ʿAbd al-Malik and his son also both embarked on building programs, constructing the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqṣā Mosque, and the Great Mosque of Damascus.[98] Provincial governors such as Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and Muḥammad b. Marwān were sent to assert Umayyad control over key provinces and, in particular, to undertake the expansion of the Caliphate's frontiers. The army that upheld these frontiers also changed in leadership, organization, and—if the complaints of rebels such as Ibn al-Ashʿath are to be believed—expected length of garrisoning along the frontier.[99] The term "Marwānid reforms" is a useful shorthand to refer to a number of such disparate changes that were implemented across the Caliphate in the wake of the second *fitna*, but it is important to note that these reforms took unique paths in each province.

The Marwānid reforms initiated a dramatic change in caliphal policy concerning Armenia.[100] According to Pseudo-Sebēos, Muʿāwiya promised no caliphal military intervention in Armenia; although Łewond has Muʿāwiya impose a tribute and keep hostages, he does not suggest that the Sufyānids played a significant role in the day-to-day administration of the province. From the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik on, however, Umayyad agents became far more active in Armenia. Łewond refers to the direct collection of taxes, which we should consider in light of the reformed Arabic-Islamic coinage newly minted in the North. He also describes the arrival of a governor and a garrison of caliphal troops in Armenia. The caliph's choice of governor—his own brother—signals the significance of this frontier province to Umayyad interests vis-à-vis the Khazars and the Roman Empire.

Łewond also attests to interesting developments concerning the rank of prince of Armenia in the aftermath of the second *fitna*. The Sufyānids considered the Mamikonean family to be the key to controlling Armenia. As governor of Syria, Muʿāwiya took four Mamikonean hostages, prompting their father, Mušeł, to rebel against the Roman Empire to ensure their safety.[101] Muʿāwiya subsequently named Grigor Mamikonean prince of Armenia, a rank that the Roman emperor had previously conferred upon Grigor's brother

96 On the changes in coinage, see Bacharach, "Signs of Sovereignty"; Heidemann, "Evolving Representation." Aniconic Qurʾānic coins were not minted everywhere in the Caliphate, but they did become predominant. Local rulers such as the Dābuyids and the Ṭāhirids continued minting coins with Sasanian imagery into the ʿAbbāsid period. The Arabicization of the coinage was also not universal, as Umayyad coins in North Africa and Spain maintained Latin inscriptions.

97 As in the case of the coins, there were significant differences between provinces in the "Arabicization" of the Marwānid reforms. Coptic documentation actually increased, which suggests that the goal was to destabilize the hegemony of Greek and respond to local concerns rather than make a blanket assertion of the superiority of Arabic. See Sijpesteijn, "Early Islamic Empire," and Legendre, "Translation of the *Dīwān*."

98 On these building activities, see Bacharach, "Marwanid Umayyad Building Activities"; Flood, *Great Mosque of Damascus*; George, *Umayyad Mosque of Damascus*.

99 For a view of the armies, see chapter 2 of Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*. For Ibn al-Ashʿath's complaints, in particular, see al-Faruque, "Revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath."

100 See Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*.

101 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 175.

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Hamazasp. These actions make sense given the primacy of the Mamikoneanḳ among the *naxarar* families at the time. Muʿāwiya's strategy seems to have been to confirm the position of those in power and to triangulate the Roman and Armenian agendas. By contrast, after the Marwānid reforms the Mamikoneanḳ rarely held the office of prince. During the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik, the principate was bestowed upon Ašot Bagratuni, and with few exceptions, the subsequent princes of Armenia also hailed from the Bagratuni house.[102] Instead of seeing this trend as a definitive marker of Bagratuni ascendance, we should recognize that the later Umayyads fostered a relationship with the Bagratuni family specifically to undermine Mamikonean claims to supremacy among the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ. The close alliance that emerged between the Bagratunikʿ and the caliphs in the aftermath of the Marwānid reforms was mutually beneficial, providing the Caliphate with local allies while bolstering Bagratuni claims with external legitimation. The tensions between *naxarar* houses came to a head when the Mamikoneanḳ ousted the Bagratunikʿ as princes of Armenia under Marwān b. Muḥammad during the third *fitna*, as described in chapter XI.

The descriptions of the prince of Armenia in Łewond's text also suggest a change in how Armenians performed their power. Before the Marwānid reforms, the princes were expected to demonstrate piety through patronage of the Church. Building projects reflected Armenian political culture, but the "golden age"[103] of Armenian architecture in the first/seventh century resulted from the circumstances of Sufyānid rule, which was largely uninvolved in the day-to-day workings of the province. According to Łewond, Grigor Mamikonean "was perfect in his pious faith and built a house of worship in the region of Aragacotn in the village of Aruč, a temple glorifying the name of the Lord, decorated with beautiful elegance in memory of His name" (և կատարեալ ի հաւատս ա*ստուա*ծպաշտութե*ան*. և շինեաց նա տուն աղաւթից ի գաւառն Արագածոտին ի յաւանն Արուճ. տաճար փառաց անուան Տ*եառն*. զեղեցիկ վայելչութ*եամ*ք զարդարեալ ի յիշատակ անուան իւրոյ) [13r]. Ašot, who ruled after him, is described in a similar vein for having built a church at Dariwnkʿ: "He was wealthy and magnificent in authority. In all earthly matters he was the most prudent, virtuous, and noble; [he was] known for [his] fear of God, as a purveyor of beneficence, and as assiduous in learning. He adorned the churches of God with pedagogical arts and with assemblies of ministers. He also honored them with rich vessels from his own treasury" (ճոխ և պերճ յիշխանութե*ան*. և *յամենայն* վարս երկրաինս զգաստ և առաքինասէր. և ազնուական քան զամենեսեան. և ծանաւթ երկեղի Ա*ստուծոյ*. և հոգաբարձու *ամենայն* բարեգործութե*ան*. փոյթ յուսումնասիրութե*ան*. և զարդարէր զեկեղեցիս Ա*ստուծոյ* վարդապետական արուեստիւք և պաշտաւնէից խմբաւորութ*եամ*ք: Պատուէր և երևելի սպասիւք յիւրոց գանձուց) [13v]. These commonalities point to the expected performance of the prince of Armenia, extending Łewond's earlier accounts of the Armenian patriarch Nersēs the Builder (*šinoł*). But after the Marwānid reforms, Łewond places greater emphasis on the princes' military exploits and service to the Caliphate than he does on their building activities. This shift in focus

102 For a list of princes of Armenia, see Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 400–408; Ter-Łevondyan, "'Hayocʿ išxanə.'" Although the evidence is far from conclusive, the elevation of the Bagratunikʿ to the principate of Armenia could harken back to Sasanian practice. The late Sasanians had favored Bagratuni princes, installing Smbat Bagratuni over Armenia at the end of the sixth century, followed by his son Varaztirocʿ in 629.

103 Donabédian, *L'âge d'or*. For an account of the varieties of architectural voices in the seventh century, see Maranci, *Vigilant Powers*. See also the interpretations offered in Garsoïan, *Interregnum*.

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reflects caliphal reliance on the Armenian military and, by extension, the broader integration of Armenia into the Caliphate.

IV.C. DOWNPLAYING REBELLION AND REWORKING THE CHRONOLOGY OF ʿABD AL-MALIK'S REIGN

The Marwānid reforms initiated Armenia's transition from tributary vassal to imperial province, which substantially increased the caliphal army and administration in Armenia. These changes prompted an Armenian rebellion that culminated in the battle of Vardanakert in 83/703, as the Armenian *naxarar* houses sought to maintain their independence. The bulk of Łewond's account of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik is devoted to the exoneration of the Armenian forces for Vardanakert, which he construes as an inevitable defensive maneuver rather than a rebellion. First, Łewond establishes the bad faith of the caliphal army and governor. The caliphal forces staged a murder to justify the looting of an Armenian church, and Muḥammad b. Marwān, the public face of the Marwānid reforms in Armenia, allowed them free reign to torture and kill the clergy. Second, Łewond presents the battle of Vardanakert as the result of caliphal aggression against the Armenian nobility. The Armenians, attempting to flee, defeated the caliphal forces only when forced to fight. Third, Łewond has Muḥammad b. Marwān signal his acceptance of the intentions of the Armenian nobility and forgive their actions through his interaction with the catholicos Sahak and his issuance of a three-year oath of protection (*amān*).

These three events are connected in Łewond's narrative to establish the good faith of Smbat Bagratuni and his compatriots, but they are also meant to set the stage for Muḥammad b. Marwān's ultimate act of deception when he tricks the leading Armenian nobles into gathering in churches, locks the doors, and burns them alive (see chapter V). Łewond's narrative thrust toward this moment is evident from his manipulation of the chronology of events, which introduces three idiosyncrasies to his account. First, he presents the *amān* extended by Muḥammad b. Marwān as the resolution of the battle of Vardanakert instead of something that preceded it. Second, Łewond claims that three years passed between Vardanakert and the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, in contrast to other sources, which locate both events in the same year. Finally, as a result of those three additional years, Łewond places Muḥammad b. Marwān's burning of the Armenian nobility in the caliphate of Walīd, whereas all other Armenian and non-Armenian sources assert that the fires occurred during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. These chronological rearrangements underscore Łewond's assertion of the innocence of the Armenian nobility and attribute culpability for the violence in Armenia to the personal desire of Muḥammad b. Marwān.

IV.C.1. Muḥammad b. Marwān and the Church of Saint Grigor

Łewond's account of the governorship of Muḥammad b. Marwān is fixated on his bloodthirstiness: "Their leader was the bloodthirsty and devil-possessed Muḥammad [b. Marwān], who had sworn a pact of impiety by an oath to their prince not to return [his] sword to its sheath until [they were] in this land" (զաւրագլուխ էր արիւնարբու և այսակիրն Մահմետ որոց դաշինս անաւրէնութե*ան* ուխտեալ առ իշխանին իւրեանց երդմամբ չդարձուցանել զսուր ի պատեանս մինչև ի մէջ աշխարհիս) [16r]. The trials of the Armenians appear linked to

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him personally, even when he was not directly involved, as in the incident that occurred at the church of Saint Grigor. "After two years, reaching the height of wickedness, he spewed fatal poison. He [i.e., Muḥammad b. Marwān] contrived death for the clergy of Saint Grigor" (Եւ զկնի երկուց ամաց ի գլուխ մոլորութե*ան*ն հասեալ փսխէր զմահաբեր թոյնսն. նիւթէր ի վերա ուխտին սրբոյն Գրիգորի զմահ) [16v]. Łewond then recounts that a caliphal contingent duplicitously murdered one of its own servants in a ruse to deprive the church of its valuables out of envy for its wealth and its clergy's piety. Falsely blaming the clergy of the church for the death of the servant, the regiment imprisoned them for murder and wrote to Muḥammad b. Marwān for judgment. The latter replied that the regiment should do with them as they wished and plunder the church. The regiment then cruelly killed all of the clergy. Although the regiment performs all the action in this account, Łewond still relates the event to Muḥammad himself by attributing to him the final decision to allow the clergy to be killed.

The story of the fate of the church of Saint Grigor is not just an unmoored example of the cruelty of caliphal occupation. Rather, Łewond uses the story of the murdered servant as a narrative technique to prepare for his telling of the battle of Vardanakert.[104] He telescopes out from the specifics of this story to underscore that it is illustrative of caliphal policy toward the Church generally. The ruse and the murder of the clergy likewise signal the deceptive and destructive attitude of Muḥammad b. Marwān and, by extension, of the Caliphate toward Armenia. It foreshadows the attempt to eradicate the Armenian noble houses that Łewond will narrate next. Even though the "bloodthirsty" Muḥammad left Armenia and went to Syria, the situation did not improve. His successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Shaykh (on whom see below), simply called a "prince from among the Ishmaelites" by Łewond, "fabricated a vile plot" (խորհուրդ վատ ի մէջ առեալ) [18r], just as the regiment had done previously. The stakes of this plot for the Armenian nobility are clear, as Łewond has already attuned the reader to caliphal perfidy through the story of the killing of the clergy of Saint Grigor. It is not a surprise, then, that this governor's later treachery to remove the Armenian nobility was "immediately apparent to Smbat, who was from the Bagratuni house, and to the other *naxarark*ʿ and their cavalry" (Եւ անդէն վաղվաղակի յայտնեցաւ նենգութի*ւն* նորա Սմպատայ՝ որ էր ի տոհմէ Բագրատունեաց և այլոց նախարարաց և նոցին հեծելոց) [18r–v].

IV.C.2. The Battle of Vardanakert as a Rebellion

Łewond claims that the events at Saint Grigor had established a pattern in caliphal practice. The Armenian *naxarark*ʿ, recognizing the inevitability of violence, sought to remove themselves from their ancestral homeland altogether, but the caliphal forces persisted in their bloodlust:

> The *Tačik* force persisted in coming after them. Then the Armenian force sent a message to the *Tačik* forces, saying: "Why are you intent on pursuing us? What wrong did we commit against you? Behold, our land is before you. We have given you our

104 This feature of Łewond's text becomes even clearer when his telling is compared to the deployment of the same story in Drasxanakertcʿi's later text; however, such a comparison lies outside the scope of this commentary.

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> homes, our vineyards, our forests, and our fields. Now why do you also ask for our lives? Permit us to go from our borders." [19r]
>
> և զաւրն Տաճկաց պնդեալ գայր զկնի նոցա: Իսկ զաւրուն Հայոց պատգամ յղեալ առ զաւրսն Տաճկաց. ընդէր ասէ պնդեալ գայք զկնի մեր. զի՞նչ ինչ մեղաք ձեզ. ահաւադիկ երկիրտ մեր առաջի ձեր է. ձեզ տուեալ եմք զբնակութիւնս մեր. զայգիս մեր և զանդաս և զանդաստանս մեր. արդ ընդէ՞ր և զանձինս մեր խնդրէք. թոյլ տուք մեզ գնալ ի սահմանաց մերոց.

The battle of Vardanakert ensued, and the Bagratunikʿ, unable to escape, fought and defeated the caliphal forces. For Łewond, then, the events at Vardanakert did not constitute a rebellion.

In contrast to this depiction of a defensive battle, non-Armenian sources read Vardanakert as a rebellion. Theophanes's chronicle states it outright: "In this year [AM 6195/702–3 CE] the Armenian chieftains rebelled against the Saracens and killed the Saracens who were in Armenia" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἄρχοντες Ἀρμενίας κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπέκτειναν).[105] The relevant Arabic sources do not employ the word "rebellion," but they do substantiate Theophanes's comment. Ibn Aʿtham explains that Armenians gathered against the caliphal governor in large numbers:

> So ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Shaykh set out with that army of his until he entered the land of Armenia. The people there learned of that and they gathered against the Muslims with large numbers, exceeding one hundred thousand. They killed every last one of them, such that not a single one of them escaped. Then, they gathered their wealth, their weapons, and everything that they had and they took it [all].
>
> فسار عبد الله بن أبي شيخ في جيشه ذلك حتى دخل بلاد أرمينية، وعلم أهل البلد بذلك، فاجتمعوا على المسلمين في خلق كثير يزيدون على مائة ألف، فقتلوهم عن آخرهم حتى ما انفلت منهم أحد، ثم احتووا على أموالهم وأسلحتهم، وما كان لهم من شئ فأخذوه.[106]

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ includes two relevant reports with differing details that seem to refer to the same rebellion. The first report, dated to 82/701–2 and lacking a chain of transmission (*isnād*), claims that "ʿAbd al-Malik sent his brother Muḥammad to Armenia, and its people met him and he defeated them. Then, they asked him for peace and he made peace with them and appointed over them Nabīḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnzī, but they betrayed and killed him" (بعث عبد الملك أخاه محمداً إلى أرمينية، فلقيه أهلها فهزمهم ثم سألوه الصلح فصالحهم، وولى عليهم نبيح بن عبد الله العنزي، فغدروا به فقتلوه).[107] Then, only a few lines later under 83/702–3, he adds a similar report, also without *isnād*: "ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān sent his brother Muḥammad to Armenia. They made peace with him and he appointed over them Abū Shayḥ [*sic*] b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghanawī and ʿAmr b. al-Ṣuday al-Ghanawī, but they betrayed and killed them both" (بعث عبد الملك بن مروان أخاه محمداً إلى أرمينية، فصالحوه، واستعمل عليهم أبا شيح بن عبد الله الغنوي وعمرو بن الصدي الغنوي، فغدروا بهما فقتلوهما).[108] Similar information is preserved in the

105 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 519; *Chronographia*, 372.

106 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 5/6:402.

107 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 182.

108 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 183. Khalīfa's second report gives the *nisba* of the governor as al-Ghanawī, that is, from the Qaysī tribe Banū Ghanī; both Khalīfa's earlier al-ʿAnzī and Ibn Aʿtham's al-ʿAwī could

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later Arabic chronicle by Ibn al-Athīr as well.[109] Theophanes, Ibn Aʿtham, and Khalīfa all describe the battle of Vardanakert as a rebellion against Umayyad power, rather than a defensive maneuver.[110]

A closer look at Łewond's version of the events at Vardanakert suggests that he, too, recognized the battle as a rebellion and sought to shelter from blame his patron family, the Bagratunikʿ, who otherwise usually aligned themselves with caliphal forces. Łewond's description of Vardanakert follows his typical trajectory for Armenian rebellions: the *naxararkʿ* of various houses meet to discuss their circumstances under caliphal rule; some decide to challenge the status quo, while others leave; the *naxararkʿ* consult with a holy man for some sign of divine approval; the rebellion arises; caliphal forces put it down. Łewond records each step along the way, with the result that Vardanakert mirrors the later rebellions under the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad and then again under the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. However, Łewond also goes to great lengths to suggest that Vardanakert was not a rebellion but a defensive act in response to sustained violence against the Armenians. The main difference between Vardanakert and the later rebellions lay in Bagratuni involvement. During the reigns of Marwān and Manṣūr, the Bagratuni patricians spoke out to denigrate and derail Armenian rebellions led by the Mamikoneankʿ. Even if some Bagratuni forces in fact joined the later rebellions, the official stance of the family was compliance with caliphal orders. At Vardanakert, by contrast, the highest echelons of the Bagratuni house personally fomented rebellion. In response, Łewond obscures the actual rebellion itself as if to exonerate them. The Bagratunikʿ emerge as entirely victorious: they defeat the caliphal forces, but only in self-defense. Łewond thus keeps the Bagratunikʿ of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign in line with the family's pro-caliphal stance, building on his expectations of acceptable Bagratuni policy in the early ʿAbbāsid period.

IV.C.3. The Roman Empire and the Rebellion at Vardanakert

Łewond claims that on the eve of the battle, the Bagratuni forces were abandoning their ancestral lands for the Roman Empire: Smbat "sought to find a way that they would be able to save their lives. They resolved to yield and to go from this land to the king of the Greeks" (խորհէր հնարս գտանել որով մարթասցեն զանձինս ապրեցուցանել. և եղև խորհրդին տեղի տալ և գնալ յաշխարհէս առ թագաւորն Յունաց) [18v]. Some scholars have questioned this claim on the basis of the trajectory of the Armenian forces, but these misgivings are based on incorrect assumptions about the battle's location. After consulting with a hermit in

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easily be misreadings of "al-Ghanawī." This ʿAbd Allāh is likely the one who appears in the *History* of Drasxanakertcʿi and the martyrology of Dawitʿ Dunecʿi.

109 Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 4:213–14: وفيها (سنة 82) غزا محمد بن مروان أرمينية فهزمهم، ثم سألوه الصلح فصالحهم وولى عليهم أبا شيخ بن عبد الله، فغدروا به فقتلوه، وقيل: بل قتلوه سنة ثلاث وثمانين.
See also 4:230: وفيها (سنة 84) غزا محمد بن مروان أرمينية.

110 Both Yaʿqūbī and Balādhurī also say that the Armenians rebelled before the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, but neither places this rebellion explicitly in the years around 83/702–3 or offers significant detail about Vardanakert itself. As a result, their reports are useful in this context only when related with the others. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:324, about Muḥammad b. Marwān: وغزا ارمينية وقد خالف اهل (البلد) فقتل وسبى; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 205. However, note the chronological conflation with the earlier part of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign, as described above.

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Aṙestakołmn, the Armenian troops headed through Ułayē, reaching the town of Akoṙi (see map 4). At this point, Łewond claims, the Muslim forces at Nashawā/Naxčawan set out after them, crossed the Araxes, and camped at Vardanakert. The well-known town of Warthān/Vardanakert is situated on the border of Albania and Azerbaijan, but this location means that the Bagratunikʿ moved *away* from their own territory and that of the Roman Empire despite their professed desire to relocate in the latter.[111] In view of this dilemma, the location of the battle and, as a result, the trajectory of the troops should be reconsidered. Since Łewond writes that the Bagratunikʿ "went from the regions of Vaspurakan" (գնացին ի կողմանցն Վասպուրականի) [18v], it is likely that Smbat and his company in fact left from Nashawā/Naxčawan, just like the caliphal forces that came after them. We know from the next chapter that Nashawā/Naxčawan was the site of the caliphal administration at the time. Continuing from there to Ułayē and Akoṙi, the Bagratuni troops moved northwest with the caliphal forces in pursuit. As they were following the Araxes, they would have been heading toward their own territory and the Roman Empire. The battle of Vardanakert, therefore, took place in Ayrarat, not in Albania. The town of Vardanakert in Ayrarat is not clearly identified today, but it is attested in contemporary Armenian literature.[112] Pseudo-Sebēos mentions this Vardanakert in his description of Herakleios's campaign through Armenia: "Then Herakleios took his army and returned to Armenia. Passing through Širak, he reached the ford of the Araxes River; having crossed the river by the town of Vardanakert, he penetrated into the province of Gogovit" (յայնժամ առեալ Երակլի զզաւրս իւր՝ դարձաւ յերկիրն Հայոց, անցեալ ընդ Շիրակ հասանէ ի հուն գետոյն Երասխայ, և անց ընդ գետոյն առ Վարդանակերտուն աւանաւ).[113] We can therefore safely assume that Łewond's Vardanakert was situated along the Araxes, between Sirāj/Širak and Gogovit. Łewond's itinerary from Nashawā/Naxčawan through Ułayē and Akoṙi to Vardanakert, following the Araxes, thus makes perfect sense geographically.

Despite Łewond's claim that the Bagratunikʿ were emigrating from their own homes and leaving their ancestral territories under caliphal rule, he is careful to avoid any implication that Armenians defected to the Roman Empire at this time. It is only after the battle of Vardanakert that we find Roman involvement in Armenia (see chapter V). Instead, Łewond places the emphasis on creating an equivalency between the Roman Empire and the Caliphate. Under Justinian, the Romans "came, ruined this land with pillage, and set flame to many elegant buildings, reducing them to ruins" (եկեալ աւերեցին զաշխարհս աւարառութեամբ. և զբազում գեղեցկայարմար շինուածս հրձիգ արարին յաւեր դարձուցանելով) [14r]. Then Tiberios Apsimar ordered a campaign of retribution for Armenian defections from Roman service at the end of the first/seventh century. Łewond explains that many Armenians and Greeks fell in battle before they returned to their own land. The passages about Armenian-Roman relations are given a place of importance in Łewond's text. Two subtitles, which are generally few and far between in Łewond's text, draw the readers' attention to these battles with the Romans, even though they do not occupy nearly as much space overall as do the activities of Muḥammad b. Marwān. The oldest extant manuscript, M1902, is also rubricated to emphasize the passage about the

111 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 49 n. 285.

112 Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 471.

113 Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 1:83; *Patmutʿiwn*, 126.

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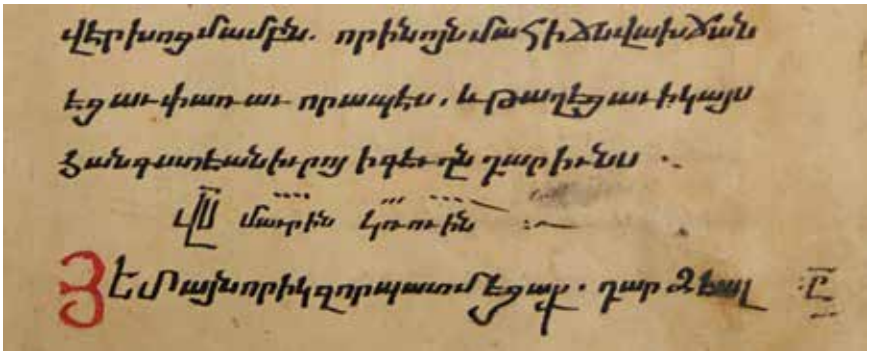

Figure 6. Rubrication on folio 15r of Łewond's *History*. M1902. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

Roman Empire; this mise-en-page is particularly noteworthy given the lack of clear delineation between caliphal reigns (fig. 6).

The first subtitle, "Concerning the reign of Ašot, the fire set by the Romans, and the death of Ašot" (Վասն Աշոտի իշխանութեանն և այրեցածին Հոռոմի. և մահուն Աշոտի) [13r–v], draws attention to the *Roman* fires and anticipates the subsequent, more detailed description of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan. The second subtitle, "Concerning the battle in the swamp" (Վ*ասն* մսուրին կռուին) [15r], shown in figure 6, focuses on a battle between Greeks and Armenians, which appears as a counterweight to Armenian-Umayyad conflict. The two reports about Roman aggression parallel the offenses of Muḥammad b. Marwān. Łewond may merely be stitching together reports from various sources here, but the end result suggests that neither empire offered a realistic option for Armenian security.

IV.C.4. The Three-Year Amān *of Muḥammad b. Marwān*

Nestled into this narrative bridging the events at Saint Grigor and the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan is a scene that makes little sense in its context, at least at first glance: Muḥammad b. Marwān met with the catholicos Sahak, praised his righteous bravery, forgave the caliphal losses at the battle of Vardanakert, and offered the Armenians a three-year *amān*. On the surface, this account lends a positive spin to the governorship of Muḥammad, as if perhaps Łewond picked up on an alternative tradition that sought to rehabilitate the reputation of the governor, which he then wove brokenly into the narrative of dissolute destruction. Upon further inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the scene of the catholicos and the governor is carefully curated in Łewond's narrative. Muḥammad's issuance of the *amān* to the Armenians, despite the battle of Vardanakert, shows that Muḥammad did not see the actions of the Armenians as active rebellion. Indeed, he claims that the Armenian catholicos's letter convinced him not to kill "innocent men" (արանց անմեղաց) [23v]. The account of the *amān*, then, does not constitute an alternative reading of Muḥammad. Rather, it supports Łewond's exoneration of the Armenian nobility from any act of rebellion at Vardanakert by foregrounding official recognition of their innocence.

Łewond refers to the oath as a written document three separate times: "an oath in writing" (բան երդման ի ձեռն գրոյ); "the oath of the written promise" (բան երդմանն խոստման

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գրոյն); "the written oath" (գերդումն գրոյն) [23v–24r]. Łewond then has Muḥammad b. Marwān retreat for a few years: "He remained tranquil for three years; he did not even pay heed to the misfortunes that befell the *Tačik* forces in the village of Vardanakert but remained firm in the written oath that he had given and merely oversaw the Armenian *naxarark'*" (և զամս *երիս*. հանդարտեալ դադարէր. և ոչ ինչ չարեաց յուշ լինէր վասն անցիցն որ անց ընդ զաւրն Տաճկաց ի Վարդանակերտն աւանի. այլ հաստատուն պահէր գերդումն գրոյն զոր տուեալ էր իւր. և միայն ընդ ակամբ հայէր նախարարացն Հայոց) [24r]. According to Łewond, the inhabitants of Armenia trusted Muḥammad and submitted to his authority only upon seeing the written document. This emphasis on the written oath and the Armenians' lack of faith in Muḥammad reinforces the skepticism with which Łewond treats Muḥammad's motives generally and again anticipates Muḥammad's role in the burning alive of the Armenian nobility at Nashawā/Naxčawan.

Łewond's narrative manipulation of events is most clearly evident in his treatment of Muḥammad's *amān*, as it causes significant distortions to the chronology of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign. Łewond has Muḥammad b. Marwān abstain from battling the Armenians for three years after Vardanakert in 83/703. This dating pushes the burning of the churches into the reign of Walīd, later than it appears in any other source. Other historians construe the burning of the churches as a direct result of Vardanakert, thus locating it toward the end of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

The Arabic and Greek sources offer a possible explanation for Łewond's surprising chronology and suggest that Łewond changed the order of events here to shape his narrative just as he did with the Umayyad campaigns against Constantinople and the Khazars (on which see chapter VI). According to Theophanes, ʿAbd al-Malik sent his brother Muḥammad b. Marwān to Armenia soon after his victory in the second *fitna*, in AM 6187/694–95 CE. A few years later, in AM 6192/699–700 CE, ʿAbd al-Malik's governor of the East, Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, faced off with the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath, and Muḥammad b. Marwān went to Iraq to bring reinforcements: "Muḥammad, at the head of a multitude of Arabs, made an expedition against ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. When he reached Persia, he joined forces with Chagan [read: Ḥajjāj]. They made war on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, whom they killed, and once again, Persia was handed over to Chagan" (καὶ ἐπεστράτευσε Μουάμεδ σὺν τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἀράβων κατὰ τοῦ Ἀβδεραχμάν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Περσίδα ἑνοῦται τῷ Χαγάν, καὶ πολεμήσαντες τὸν Ἀβδεραχμὰν κτείνοθσιν αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν τῷ Χαγὰν τὴν Περσικὴν ἐνεχείρισαν).[114] Ṭabarī confirms that Muḥammad b. Marwān campaigned in Iraq to support Ḥajjāj's fight against Ibn al-Ashʿath in both 82/701–2 and 83/702–3.[115] Muḥammad b. Marwān then returned to Armenia in AH 83/AM 6195/702–3 CE, immediately after the battle of Dayr al-Jamājim near Kūfa, which saw the collapse of Ibn al-Ashʿath's forces. In other words, he returned precisely three years after he left for the East and ordered the burning of the churches in that same year.

This reconstruction explains the reports in Arabic (e.g., the two above-cited traditions reported by Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ) that claim that Muḥammad had made peace with the Armenians *before* Vardanakert. It furthermore suggests that Łewond was indeed correct that Muḥammad b. Marwān "remained tranquil for three years" after the *amān* agreement:

114 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 518; *Chronographia*, 371.

115 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1075, 2:1096.

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he made peace with the Armenians in order to leave for a campaign in Iraq. Following the Arabic and Greek sources, a proposed chronology would be the issuance of the *amān* in 80/700, followed by a three-year peace that was ruptured by the battle of Vardanakert in 83/703. The events at Nashawā/Naxčawan could be seen as retribution for the actions taken at Vardanakert. Łewond's adjustment to this order of events creates two idiosyncrasies in his text: his dating of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan later than all other sources, including other Armenian histories, and his insertion of a three-year interval between Vardanakert and the fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan when every other source attests that they occurred in the same year. Throughout his *History*, Łewond values the narrative more than precise chronology, so this chronological fluidity aligns with his writing style. Reorganizing the timeline on the basis of Arabic and Greek sources (particularly when supported by tertiary details in Łewond's own narrative, such as the three years of quiet) allows us to speculate about what he was hoping to do with his account. Łewond's unique ordering of the events exonerates the warriors at Vardanakert and, at the same time, establishes the innocence of the victims of the fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan.

IV.D. THE FIRES OF GUKANKʿ AND FORESHADOWING NASHAWĀ/NAXČAWAN

In Łewond's text, the iniquities of Muḥammad b. Marwān culminate during the reign of Walīd when he calls the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ into the churches of Nashawā/Naxčawan, bars the doors, and burns the churches down, immolating the Armenian rebels. Łewond uses his discussion of the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik to build up to the fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan, which he places in the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.[116] Łewond includes a subtitle about "the fire set by the Romans" (այրեցածին Հռոմի) [13v] as a way to construe Roman aspirations as a mirror of caliphal rule, as discussed above (see IV.C.3). The events at the church of Saint Grigor, the battle of Vardanakert, and the *amān* then all look forward, establishing for the reader the iniquities of Muḥammad b. Marwān and his desire to destroy the *naxarark*ʿ. Łewond signals this forward-looking gaze a number of times in the text. For example, when Muḥammad b. Marwān returned to Asorestan, "the inhabitants of this land remained like a firebrand smoldering in the fire" (բնակիչք աշխարհիս մնացին իբրև զխանձող ծխեալ ի հրոյ) [18r]. In another instance, Łewond repurposes some of the same language to connect these events with later ones. He reports that at Vardanakert, "they arrayed themselves regiment to regiment and front to front, and the battle was joined" (յարդարեցին զունդ առ զունդ և ճակատ առ ճակատ և խմբեցաւ պատերազմն) [19v], and he then employs the same phrase later, immediately before the fires (see chapter V) [24v]. Repeated details and phrases encourage the reader to draw a clear line between disparate events toward a narrative conclusion—in this case, the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan.

As part of this foreshadowing, Łewond relates a story that inverts his narrative of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan. He explains that the Armenians defeated the caliphal forces at Gukankʿ, which is in Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan, and the enemy's survivors fled into a church. The Armenians under Smbat the son of Ašot surrounded the church and decided to set fire to it in order to destroy the remnants of the caliphal army. Łewond thus compares the Armenian Smbat directly to Muḥammad b. Marwān, placing both before the locked

116 See Vacca, "Fires of Naxčawan."

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doors of the churches full of trapped enemy soldiers. The Armenians wanted to burn the church down to defeat the caliphal forces, but Smbat refused:

> When they were not able to prevail, they thought to set fire to the sanctuary; however, Smbat, the prince of the region of Vaspurakan and the son of Prince Ašot, did not permit them and would not allow [them] to commit such wickedness, for he said: "Far be it from us to lay hands on the dwelling place of the glory of God, who has granted us such a triumph." They assigned guards to watch over them until the shrine itself should dislodge them. [21r]

> և իբրև ոչ կարացին ստնանել խորհեցան հրկէզ առնել զսրբարանն. այլ ոչ թողացոյց նոցա Սմպատ իշխան կողմանցն Վասպուրականի. որ էր որդի Աշոտի իշխանի. ոչ ետ գործել զապիրատութիւնն զայն. զի ասէր քաւ լիցի մեզ ձեռնամուխ լինել ի բնակարան փառացն Տեառն. որ զայնպիսի յաղթութիւն մեզ պարգևէաց: Եւ կարգեցին պահապանս պահել զնոսա. մինչև նոյն ինքն սրբարանն հանցէ զնոսա արտաքս յինքենէ.

The Armenian forces defeated their enemies without damaging the church. In fact, the church is personified and described as helping them in the process, which tallies with the claim to divine approval for the Armenians' victory.

According to Łewond, the highest-ranking officer among the caliphal troops locked in the church in Gukankʿ tried to bargain for his own life. Like most of the details of this story, the officer's attempt to strike a deal sets the events at Nashawā/Naxčawan into greater relief. All of the descriptions of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan in Arabic, Syriac, and Greek claim that the nobles were burned alive, but Łewond alone explains that only the unnamed troops were burned, while the nobles were pulled out of the church and tortured for their treasures: "At the risk of torment, they [the Armenians] gave into the hands of the enemy their hoard of treasures, which they had preserved out of sight of the torturers in the sea as well as in the ground, so that perhaps they might save themselves" (եւ նոքա առ վտանգի նեղութեանն, զբազում մթերս զանձուցն իւրեանց զորս ի պահեստի եղեալ յերեսաց նեղչացն· ի ծովու. և եթե ի ցամաքի, տային ի ձեռս թշնամեացն, զի թերևս ապրեցուսցեն զանձինս իւրեանց) [26r–v]. Both sets of victims attempted to buy their freedom, though Smbat did not torture the Muslim captives in Gukankʿ.

The officer confronted Smbat with the claim that the latter should release the captives because of his Christian values, implying that clemency would prove him superior to the Muslims. An obvious narrative choice would have been to show Smbat granting mercy to contrast with his opponent's godless bloodlust. However, Łewond instead has Smbat acknowledge that mercy is a Christian value and yet still refuse to release the prisoners. This choice forces Łewond to justify Smbat's un-Christian behavior and draws the parallel with Muḥammad's behavior at Nashawā/Naxčawan in even starker terms. The deception at the heart of both episodes might similarly seem to demonstrate that there is little difference between the two generals, as they both fail to honor their promises: Smbat promised to allow the highest-ranking leader of the caliphal troops to live, but then "they threw him into the depths of the sea alive" (կենդանոյն յուղարկեցին ի խորս ծովուն) [22r]. Even though Smbat accomplished his goals without burning the church, his rejection of Christian values and his deceitful promise ensure that he hardly emerges as a likable hero.

However, here Łewond borrows themes familiar from a broader storytelling tradition to construct the concept of heroic success by connecting military effectiveness to wit

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rather than merely to strength of arms. Smbat's story compares nicely to similar episodes in Arabic sources, such as Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's siege of Ḥayzān during his Caucasian campaigns in 113/731–32: "He battled them and they asked him for safe passage (*amān*). He swore that he would not kill a single man or dog from among them, so they came down [from the fortress]. He killed all of them except for a single man and a single dog, and took the fortress" (فقاتلهم فسألوه الأمان فحلف ألا يقتل منهم رجلاً ولا كلباً، فانحدروا فقتلهم أجمعين إلا رجلاً واحداً وكلباً واحداً، وأخذ الحصن).[117] The point of such reports is not merely to convey military victory but also to signal that conquest was made possible by the verbal acumen of the commander. Smbat, like Maslama, cleverly constructed an agreement that he could satisfy to the letter—he indeed left the leader of the caliphal troops alive, but in the middle of the sea, where he would then drown on his own. By contrast, Muḥammad b. Marwān simply lied to accomplish his goal, thereby ignoring both the letter and the spirit of his agreement. Reading Smbat as a heroic mirror of Muḥammad requires knowing the norms of such conquest narratives. Łewond's presentation suggests that the difference between Smbat and Muḥammad is not that the former embodied Christian values, but that he displayed cleverness as opposed to the mere brutality of the latter.

IV.E. THE REBELLION AT VARDANAKERT IN INTRA-ARMENIAN POLITICS

Łewond's description of the rebellion at Vardanakert not only elucidates the relations between Armenians and the Caliphate but also reveals competing narratives among Armenian noble families. Łewond's version of the battle of Vardanakert is wholly centered on the Bagratunikʿ, and so he does not acknowledge the involvement of other *naxarar* houses. This focus is particularly striking in comparison with other Armenian accounts of the battle. Drasxanakertcʿi explains that the Armenian nobles were tired of caliphal rule. Putting their trust "in a celestial visitation" (յերկնային այցելութիւնն), they decided to attack caliphal forces under the leadership of a general named ʿUqba.[118] The expedition was led by the Kamsarakan family with the support of the local nobility of Vanand. The focus on the role of the Kamsarakankʿ is reprised by Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi. Despite the difference in participants, we cannot read these stories as referring to two different battles because of the shared details (such as the battle's location at Vardanakert, the defeat of the caliphal army, and the notice of divine approval for the rebellion). It is possible that only one house confronted and defeated the caliphal army, which would mean that one of these versions is patently incorrect. However, it is also possible to read Łewond and Drasxanakertcʿi in concert. We might surmise that the caliphal forces were in pursuit of the Bagratuni leaders when they entered Kamsarakan territory, directly en route from Nashawā/Naxčawan. Given that Łewond notes the names of only a few participating Bagratuni leaders, the army that defeated the caliphal forces was likely largely Kamsarakan. Establishing the storyline, however conjectural, places the authorial choices of both historians in stark relief. Drasxanakertcʿi does not mention Bagratuni involvement, and Łewond entirely ignores the Kamsarakankʿ. Both authors may even be aware that they are leaving something out. Drasxanakertcʿi, for his part, strangely asserts that the Kamsarakankʿ found the Muslim

117 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 222; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:282.

118 Drasxanakertcʿi, "Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ," 416; *History*, 10.

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general as he "was wandering with a large army around the region of Vanand" (հանդերձ զաւրաւք բազմաւք շրջէր ընդ կողմամբք Վանանդայ), as if he happened to be lost rather than in pursuit of a rebellious Smbat Bagratuni.[119]

The story of Lady Šušan further complicates the Bagratuni-Kamsarakan issue. Łewond claims that Lady Šušan harbored the Muslim forces, stood up to Smbat Bagratuni the son of Ašot, and corresponded directly with ʿAbd al-Malik. Given the location of the battle and Drasxanakertcʿi's claim of Kamsarakan involvement, it seems likely that this Lady Šušan was the wife of Narseh Kamsarakan, as mentioned in an inscription at Tʿalin, dated before 695 CE: "I, Nerseh apohipat pa[trik],[120] lord of [Ši]rak and Ašarunikʿ, built this church in the name of the Holy Mother of God for the intercession of myself and Šušan, my wife, and Hrahat, our son" (ես Ներսեհ ապոհիպատ պա[տրիկ Սի]ռակայ եւ Աշարունեաց տէր շինեցի զեկեղեցիս յանուն սրբ[ո]յ Ա[ստուա]ծածնին ի բարեխաւսութիւն ինձ եւ Շուշանայ ամուսնոյ իմոյ եւ Հրահատայ որդիոյ մերոյ).[121] Lady Šušan Kamsarakan also appears in a list of Kamsarakan bishops found in a later miscellany composed between the seventh/thirteenth and eleventh/seventeenth centuries. She is described as a martyr in Ḥarrān/Xaṙan in AE 155/706–7 CE, in a passage that interestingly also refers to Kamsarakan building projects at Vardanakert: "Gagik Kamsarakan consecrated the church of Vardanakert, and the news arrived that Šušan Kamsarakan the daughter of Vahan patrik had inherited the name of confessor for the sake of Christ God, having been tortured in Xaṙan of Mesopotamia" (արար նաւակատիս եկեղեցոյն Վարդանակերտի Գագիկ Կամսարական և եհաս լուր աւետեաց, թէ Շուշան Կամսարական, դուստրն Վահանայ պատրկի, զխոստովանող անուն ժառանգեաց վասն Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ, չարչարեալ ի Խառան Միջագետոցն).[122] The omission of Lady Šušan's family affiliation in Łewond's narrative may serve two purposes. First, it is possible that Łewond was aware of stories about Kamsarakan involvement at Vardanakert but preferred to obscure the family's presence in order to portray the conflict as a moment of Bagratuni victory. This explanation might further clarify why the Armenian forces who were bent on killing the survivors should have heeded Lady Šušan—she was Kamsarakan, a noblewoman of an allied house. Second, the vague reference to Lady Šušan aligns with gendered descriptions of intercommunal conflict in medieval Armenian texts. Women frequently appear in moments of conflict as intermediaries who can cross battle lines with impunity because they do not threaten either side.[123] Although Lady Šušan must have belonged to a house, she appears without affiliation in Łewond's text because he does not construe her actions as reflecting back on her house. In short, the author or his source is not concerned with explaining her background because she fulfills an expected narrative role.

Another account, too, adds to the study of *naxarar* politics in relation to the battle of Vardanakert. Łewond claims that "right away, some of the *naxararkʿ* of the land of Vaspurakan separated [from the others] and left" (անդէն անջատեալ մեկնեցան ոմանք ի նախարարաց Վասպուրական աշխարհին) [18v]. The only *naxararkʿ* from Vaspurakan

119 Drasxanakertcʿi, "Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ," 416; *History*, 107.

120 These are both Greek titles, on which see Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 167 n. 212.

121 Greenwood, "Corpus," 86.

122 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 168 n. 215; Yovsēpʿian, *Yišatakarankʿ jeṙagracʿ*, no. 17.

123 For examples from the early ʿAbbāsid period, see Vacca, "Conflict and Community."

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listed by name at the meeting in Nashawā/Naxčawan in Łewond's account is Vard the son of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni. Since Łewond does not refer to Vard as a participant in the rebellion, he omits any potential Ṙštuni involvement in the battle of Vardanakert. By contrast, Pseudo-Šapuh reports that Arabs had attacked Vaspurakan and that "Tʿēodos (*sic*), in pursuit, overtook them at the bank of the river Erasx; many of them he slew and the others he put to flight" (եւ ապա Թէոդոս զհետ մտեալ էհաս նոցա եզր գետոյն Երազխայ, զբազումս ի նոցանէ էսպան և զայլսն փաստական արարեալ).[124] If this passage refers to the battle of Vardanakert, it is consistent with a number of other accounts that attribute rebellious activities in various times and places to Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni. In his typically convoluted fashion, Pseudo-Šapuh may well have adopted the skeleton of the narrative but transposed it on another house. The battle of Vardanakert is thus a contested site of memory in medieval Armenian narratives, as Łewond foregrounds the Bagratunikʿ against Drasxanakertcʿi's interest in the Kamsarakankʿ and Pseudo-Šapuh's concern with the Ṙštunikʿ.

Vestiges of Ṙštuni claims to involvement in the rebellion of Vardanakert may be found in Łewond's *History*, though they are visible only when reading against the grain of his text. Immediately after relating the events at Vardanakert, Łewond explains that an unnamed "brigand" entered Ṙštuni territory in the village called Gukankʿ. When the Armenians faced the caliphal forces, they killed them all and left only 280 alive (in comparison to the 300 at Vardanakert). Rather than fleeing to Lady Šušan, the survivors instead took refuge in a church. Here, Łewond switches to mirror the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, as discussed above, but the similarity of the first part of the narrative to Vardanakert suggests that Łewond may be manipulating accounts about the rebellion. This possibility is particularly noteworthy because the Armenian forces at both Vardanakert and Gukankʿ were led by a *naxarar* named Smbat the son of Ašot. There are two possibilities. Perhaps the Bagratunikʿ and the Ṙštunikʿ both routed caliphal forces, in each instance leaving around 300 survivors, whom someone named Smbat the son of Ašot pursued. Alternatively, perhaps Łewond melds his stories to obscure variants that suggest Ṙštuni involvement in the Armenian rebellion.

124 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 198; *Patmutʿiwn*, 95.

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V The Caliphate of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik

r. AH 86–96/705–15 CE

The violent relationship between the Armenians and Muḥammad b. Marwān reaches its height in Łewond's chapter on the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. The Romans, who had been engaged in fighting the Caliphate farther west, moved to support the Armenians after Vardanakert, but Muḥammad emerged victorious against the Roman-Armenian alliance. He then promised to enter the Armenians into the *dīwān* (the registry of military stipends), but this offer was merely a ruse to collect the *naxarark'* in one place and eliminate them. After the conflagration, some of the Bagratunik' emigrated to the West Caucasus under the auspices of the Roman emperor, who relied on Armenian allies to maintain a Roman presence in that region. This uneasy alliance with Rome proved fleeting. At the same time, Łewond suggests amelioration in the relationship between the Armenians and the caliphal administrators. He claims that Walīd acknowledged the complaints about Muḥammad's governorship and stepped in to name a new governor who worked closely with the Armenians. Muḥammad b. Marwān, for his part, met a fitting end, as his attempt to conquer China proved disastrous. Łewond's account of this campaign should not be taken at face value since it incorporates legendary motifs and does not align with other sources on Umayyad history. However, the episode dovetails with Łewond's general deheroization of the famous generals of the Umayyad family.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After him [ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān], his son, the Ishmaelite prince Walīd, succeeded him for ten years and eight months, then he died. These [are] his deeds.

Walīd (r. 705–15): Umayyad caliph famous for building the Great Mosque of Damascus and renovating the Prophet's mosque in Medina. His reign also saw the expansion of the Caliphate to Spain, Transoxiana, and Sind.

14. In the first year of his reign, he thought to rid this land of Armenia of the *naxarar* house[s] and their cavalry on account of the resentment that they [the Arabs] harbored for the *curopalates* Smbat, for he [Walīd] said: "They will always be a hindrance and an obstacle to our rule." [24v] While they contemplated this evil in their hearts, Smbat, whom we have already discussed, immediately wrote to the king of the Greeks and requested an auxiliary force from him. The emperor consented to fulfill the request and provided a large force under one general and sent him to aid [the Armenians]. Smbat joined with the Greek general; they marched out and arrived in the region of Vanand

Smbat VI Bagratuni: the *curopalates*, introduced earlier (see page 43).

The king of the Greeks: this is likely Justinian II, who reigned for the second time from 705 to 711.

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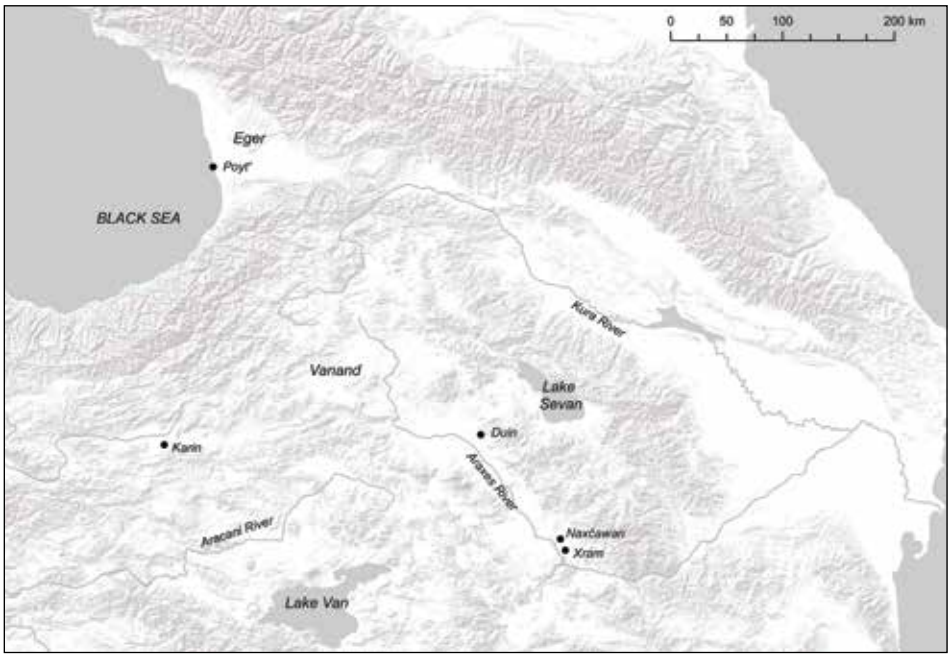

Map 5. Umayyad maneuvering in the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

in the village called Drašpet and set up their camp there. When Muḥammad, the prince of the Ishmaelite army, heard [about this], he gathered his troops with great preparation and went out to meet them on the field of battle. They arrived on a field and arrayed themselves regiment to regiment and front to front, and the battle was joined. Suddenly the wrath of the Lord came upon them there; it filled the hearts of the Greek warriors. They turned in flight and slipped away to the fort of their camp. The enemy grew in strength and struck many down by the sword. It is said that the number of the fallen [25r] was more than fifty thousand swordsmen. He [Muḥammad] pursued the few remaining survivors out of this land. He assembled the troops of the camp and returned to the city of Duin.

Drašpet: location unknown. The main battlegrounds of the Roman-Umayyad wars in this period were far to the southwest. The appearance of the Romans in Armenia shifted the front lines.

Returned to the city of Duin: this is the first indication in Łewond's text of the establishment of Duin as a caliphal administrative outpost (map 5). Numismatic evidence confirms Duin's new status in this period.

When the Ishmaelite prince also saw that the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ were guiding the Greek forces, he again ordered Muḥammad to complete that same malicious plan [to eliminate the *naxarark*ʿ from Armenia]. Muḥammad received the wicked order and commanded a certain Qāsim, who was his commander in the region of the city of Naxčawan, to summon the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ with their cavalry under the pretext of recording [their names] in the royal record, [in order for them] to collect their salary, then return. They, in their typical credulity, reckoned

Qāsim: a governor over Nashawā/Naxčawan who does not appear in Arabic sources.

Royal record: the *dīwān* recorded the names of the soldiers assigned stipends. This comment might reflect Łewond's knowledge of the later eighth century, but it signals the shift to direct caliphal rule in Armenia.

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the deception of the stealthy[1] hunters to be trustworthy and arrived there immediately. When they gathered there, they [the Arabs] ordered them to separate into two groups, one of which they gathered in the church of Naxčawan. They sent [the other] half to the village of Xram and threw them into its church, fixing [25v] guards over [them]. They pondered how to kill them. All of them together agreed to remove those of noble birth from the prison and to burn those who were imprisoned in the sanctuary; and they set fire to the roof of the divine altar.

When those who were trapped in such bitter danger saw that they were deprived of human help from all sides, they took refuge in the God of all. They implored Him alone, saying:

> You who are Refuge for the tormented, Aid for those in danger, and Comforter for the weary! Come to the aid of us [who are] tormented and in this danger that they set upon us. Save us from the bitter death that they have inflicted upon us. For behold, the heat of this flame has grown excessively strong over us and, enveloping us, is burning seven times hotter than the fire of Babylon.[2] Just as You sent aid, the protective power of the angel, to the Three Youths, so too do not [26r] neglect us in Your compassion, for we are also Your servants. Even though we sinned many times and angered Your sweet philanthropy, nevertheless, even in Your anger, may You remember to show mercy to Your servants. For behold, Your sanctuary and the place where Your name is glorified has become our grave. On account of this, we, thanking Your holy and awesome name, commend our spirits, our breath, and our bodies into Your hands.

Three Youths: an allusion to a biblical story from the Book of Daniel in which three youths are persecuted for their faith by being thrown into a furnace. It is typical in Armenian literature for martyrs to invoke the youths in the fiery furnace before their deaths.

Having said this, all of them together raised hymns on high and departed from this world. But they [the Arabs] put the noble *naxarark*ʿ in chains into prison and tormented them with insupportable tortures. They exacted from them much gold and an equivalent amount of silver. They promised them that once they paid them a tribute of silver, they would release them alive. On account of this, they made a pact with an oath and confirmed the false oath. At the

1 "Stealthy," քաղանաւոր: according to Awetikʿean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerian, *Nor Baṙgirkʿ*, 1:525, this compound is attested only here.

2 Cf. Daniel 3. On the Three Youths in Armenian historiography, see Cowe, "Reception," 90–101.

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risk of torment, they [the Armenians] [26v] gave into the hands of the enemy their hoard of treasures, which they had preserved out of sight of the torturers in the sea as well as in the ground, so that perhaps they might save themselves. When they were deprived of the treasures, the infidels seized and crucified them. Smbat the son of Ašot from the Bagratuni house, Grigor and Koriwn from the Arcruni house, Varašapuh and his brother from the Amatuni house, and many others from the Armenian *naxarark'*, whom I cannot name one by one, were seized there. In killing all of them, they rendered this land heirless of *naxarark'*.

At that time, this land of Armenia was empty of its *naxarar* house[s], and they were delivered like sheep into the midst of wolves.[3] The enemy let loose all sorts of evils and kept the inhabitants of this land in the immense misery of danger. Wearied by unabated torments, [27r] they raised sighs and cries of lamentation to heaven. But Smbat *curopalates* and the *naxarark'* who were with him went out and left this land. They went to request from the Greek king a city to live in and folds for their sheep. He gave them the city called Phasis in the region of the land of Eger, and they dwelt there for six years.

15. After Muḥammad completed all of these evils, the complaints of this land rose and reached the Ishmaelite prince whose name was Walīd. He immediately sent an edict and summoned him [Muḥammad]. He sent as his replacement a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was sickly and hard of hearing, but sagacious and full of worldly wisdom. He told tales and talked in proverbs. When he established his rule, he wrote an edict to the Armenian *naxarark'* and convinced them to return to their own lands. He gave them a written oath as per their custom. [27v] Once they had trust in his vow, they took the city in which they had dwelt, as well as the treasures of the city, and plundered the vessels of the churches; they returned to Armenia and separated from the emperor of the Greeks. The emperor heard [of this] and regretted that villainy. He called the prelates of the churches, the metropolitan, and the bishops. He ordered them to write [the Armenians'] excommunication in the register and to read about the perpetrators of the wickedness at the end of the feast of Easter, since they committed the impious deed on that feast. They further arranged for

Smbat Bagratuni: there are several Smbat Bagratunis in Łewond's story. The one who was killed at Naxčawan was Smbat the son of Ašot II.

Grigor and Koriwn Arcruni: Grigor and Koriwn appear only in Łewond's *History*. In this period, the Arcrunik' were expanding their control over the province of Vaspurakan on the eastern side of Lake Van in modern Turkey. They became kings of Vaspurakan in 908 and claimed descent from the biblical Sennacherib.

Varašapuh Amatuni: Varašapuh appears only in Łewond's *History*. The Amatuni house was of Caspio-Median descent, one of the prominent families of Vaspurakan in the fifth century. It lost its prominence during the Sasanian period and its territory to the Arabs in the late eighth century after the battle of Bagrewand.

Phasis: a city on the Black Sea coast, to be identified with the present-day city of Poti in the Republic of Georgia. The Roman emperor Justinian II allotted land in the area of Phasis to Smbat *curopalates*, that is, Smbat VI Bagratuni, and other *naxarark'*. Justinian used Phasis as a center for expanding Roman influence in the West Caucasus, relying on Armenians to navigate the relationship between the various peoples there.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī: governor of Armenia from either 704 or 705 to 709.

Plundering of Phasis: the Bagratunik' destroyed Phasis when they returned to Armenia. This may have been a response to the forced expulsion of Armenians from the Roman Empire in 712.

3 "Like sheep into the midst of wolves," որպէս զոչխարս ի մէջ գայլոց; cf. Matthew 10:16.

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the reading of those excommunications on that same festival from year to year, until today. This held power over them and was the cause of their ruin.

So ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ruled over this land of Armenia and pacified all unjust invasions of this land; and he disparaged the disdainful knavery of the sons of Ishmael with vehement reprimands. He rebuilt [28r] the city of Duin stronger and larger than before. He fortified [it] with gates and locks. He dug[4] a moat around the walls and filled it with water to protect the fortress, for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz said about himself at the prior sacking of Duin:

Rebuilding of Duin: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz rebuilt many of the cities in Armenia, but Łewond notes only this one.

> The city's destruction was by my hand and I shall rebuild it, for I was a child of twelve and I had my red girdle when the army of the *Tačik*s fought against the city. I entered via a conduit and I went up onto the walls. I shouted loudly to our force in my language. The guards on the front lines who guarded the walls immediately jolted and turned to flee. Ishmaelite victory prevailed and we destroyed the city.

The conquest of Duin: this story is very similar to accounts of the conquests of several cities in Iran and Syria. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz tells a familiar story, adapting it to Duin and making himself the hero.

He is said to have related this about himself with his own mouth.

With his own mouth: Łewond here gives us an idea of how information moved through conversations.

16. At that time, the heart of the general Muḥammad [b. Marwān] was again provoked against [28v] the land of the Chinese. He asked the Ishmaelite prince for a large force and promised him that he would reduce the king of the Chinese to submission. He [the prince] assembled a large force and gave him two hundred thousand men. Muḥammad marched from the regions of Damascus to the east with many troops. He passed by Asorestan, the land of the Persians, and Khorasan and arrived at a part of some Chinese land. He camped on the bank of the powerful river that was called Bawtis. He wrote an edict to the king of the Chinese:

Campaign against China: we find no trace of Muḥammad b. Marwān's expedition to the East in other sources, although Arab-Chinese diplomacy around this time is mentioned in both Arabic and Chinese sources, as are a number of Umayyad campaigns in Central Asia.

Damascus: the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate and the capital of modern Syria (fig. 7).

Khorasan (Khurāsān): a province that corresponds to modern northeastern Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkmenistan.

Bawtis: Łewond presents Bawtis as a river in China, but its identification is unclear. The story appears more legendary than factual.

> Why do you alone resist and not submit to our prince, since all peoples tremble in fear of us? Now, in whom do you trust that you do not submit to us? Certainly do not consider us like your girls, among whom you strut with affected dignity. But now, if you do not enter under the yoke of obedience to us, know [29r] that I will turn your land into a desert without inhabitants and I will put an end to your kingdom.

4 "Dug," անցուցանէր, lit. "caused to pass."

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Figure 7. The Great Mosque of Damascus, the only remaining standing structure in the city. Photo by Vyacheslav Argenberg from Wikimedia Commons (CC BY 4.0).

> Rather, take care not to delay the answer to this letter, but return [it] again quickly.

When the Chinese king, whose name was Čenbakur, read the letter, he called all of his bodyguards and his retinue, and he pondered what sort of answer he should give. They took each other's counsel and wrote an answer. They said:

Čenbakur: not a personal name but rather the Armenian title for the emperor of China.

> You are certainly not the strongest of all the kings who have ever ruled over the land here. How were the king of the Babylonians who ruled the world, that of the Macedonians, and that of the Persians not able to rule over our land? But know that you are more impertinent than a dog and entangled in the leash of impudence! For that reason, your evil lust ensnares you in the renown of my beautiful virgins and compels you to risk your life and the lives of your troops who marched out with you [29v] as if there are not graves in Damascus for your bodies. But know now that our land has not been tributary to anyone, and I will not submit myself to you. But if you should request a gift from me as per the custom of kings, I will give it to you, should you get up and go to your place in peace.

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Muḥammad again sent to Čenbakur: "Give me," he said, "thirty thousand girls and I will go away from you in peace. If not, I will wage war against you." The Chinese king received the message sent [to him] and he sent [a reply] to Muḥammad, saying: "Stay there in your camp until I can complete your request." Forthwith he ordered his troops to fashion wagons with brocade covers and to load the wagons with his select cavalry in full armor instead of the girls that he [Muḥammad] had requested, so that he [Čenbakur] might be able to trap them in his snare. They [the Chinese] came to the bank of the river and camped across from them, and there were more than forty thousand cavalry in the wagons. [30r] Čenbakur himself camped far from them, a few stadia away, with a few of his men, and he sent [a message] to the general Muḥammad, saying: "I brought what you requested from me: I selected thirty thousand girls from my entire kingdom for your nobles. Now take the nobles of your army, proportionate to the number of my girls, and cross to this side of the river. I will give my girls by casting lots to whoever arrives, lest battle break out among your forces." He had boats brought to the other side of the river so that they might cross to him all at once.

Then they [the Arabs] imprudently chose estimable forces and some thirty thousand men crossed to that side of the river. When they had finished crossing, the Chinese king gave the order to attack the Ishmaelite army. When they [the Arabs and the Chinese] struck each other in battle, the men who were hiding in the covered wagons suddenly poured out. They surrounded and slaughtered [them] by the sword until not one of them remained alive [30v] to flee. They cut the lines of the ships so that no one would survive. Only Muḥammad and a few cavalrymen on horses survived. They fell into the river, trusting in their horses' bravery. And thus they returned from the Chinese king humbled and shamed and went to the land where they lived. Never again did they go up in battle against[5] the land of the Chinese. He [the caliph Walīd] lived for ten years and eight months, then died.

5 Cf. 1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) 7:13 and fol. 11v above.

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ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ յետ նորա փոխանորդէ որդի նորին Վլիթ իշխան Իսմաելի ամս. *տասն.* և ամիսս. *ութ.* և վախճանի: Եւ այս վարք նորա:

Ժդ[6] Սա յառաջնում ամի իշխանութե*ան*ն իւրոյ խորհեցաւ բառնալ յաշխարհէս Հայոց զտոհմ նախարարաց նոցին հեծելովք վ*ասն* քինին զոր ունէին առ Սմպատա կորապաղատի. զի ասէր էթէ միշտ խոչ և գայթագղութի*ւն* լինելոց են իշխանութե*ան*ս մերոյ: [24v] Եւ մինչդեռ զայս չարութի*ւն* երկնէին ի սիրտս իւրեանց. անդէն վաղվաղակի Սմպատն. զորմէ ճառեցաք գրէր առ արքայն Յունաց և խնդրէր զաւր ի նմանէն յաւգնականութի*ւն*. և հաւանեալ կայսերն կատարէր զխնդիրն. տայր զաւր բազում ի ձեռն զաւրավարի միոյ և առաքէր նմա ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան*. և միաբանեալ Սմպատայ ընդ զաւրավարին Յունաց, եկեալ հասանէին ի գաւառն Վանանդայ.[7] ի գեւղն որում Դրաշպետն կոչեն. անդ հարկանէին զբանակս իւրեանց. եւ իբրև լուաւ Մահմետ իշխան զաւրուն Իսմայէլի. ժողովեալ զզաւրս իւր մեծաւ պատրաստութե*ամ*ք· ել ընդդեմ նոցա ի մարտ պատերազմի. և հասեալք առ մի վայր, կազմեցին գունդ առ գունդ· և ճակատ առ ճակատ. և խմբեցաւ պատերազմն: Անդ վաղվաղակի բարկութի*ւն* ի տ*եառն*է հասեալ ի վերա նոցա. լքաւ սիրտ պատերազմողաց արանց Յունաց. ի փախուստ դարձեալ անկան յամրոց բանակին իւրեանց. և զաւրացեալ թշնամեացն հարին զբազումս կոտորմամբ սրոյ. զորոց ասեն լինել զթիւ անկելոցն աւ[25r]ելի քան զ·*հինգ*. բեւր արանց սուսերամերկաց. և զսակաւ մնացորդսն փախստական առնէր յաշխարհէս. և իւր ժողովեալ զզաւրս բանակին դառնայր ի քաղաքն Դվին:

Իբրև զայս ևս տեսանէր իշխանն Իսմաելի եթէ առաջնորդ զաւրուն Յունաց եղեն նախարարք Հայոց. դարձեալ զնոյն խորհուրդ խորամանգութե*ան*ն հրամայէր Մահմետի կատարել: Եւ Մահմետի առեալ հրաման անիրաւ. հրամայէր[8] Կասմոյ ումեմն որ էր հրամանատար նորուն ի կողմանսն Նախճաւան քաղաքի. կոչել առ ինքն զնախարարս Հայոց[9] նոցին հեծելովք. իբրև պատճառանաւք էթէ անցուցանել ի համարու արքունի և առնուլ հոգ և դառնալ: Եւ նոքա ըստ աւրինի պարգամտութե*ան* իւրեանց հաւատարիմ համարե*ալ* զնենգութի*ւն* գաղտասոյր որսողացն. վաղվաղակի անդր հասանէին: Իբրև ժողովեցան անդր հրամայեցին յերկուս բաժանել զնոսա, զոմանս հաւաքեցին յեկեղեցին Նախճաւանու. և զկէսն յուղարկեցին յաւանն ի Խրամ. արկանէին յեկեղեցի նորա. կարգեալ ի վերա [25v] պահապանս. խորհէին թէ որպէս կորուսցեն զնոսա. և միաբանեալք առ հասարակ ամենեքին հանին արտաքս զազատատոհմն յարգելանէն. և զորս ի սրբարանն արգելեալ էին հրկէզ արարին. և տոչորէին ի յարկս ա*ստուա*ծային խորանին:

Իսկ ըմբռնեալք յայնպիսի դառնութի*ւն* վտանգի. իբրև տեսին թէ *ամենայն* ուստեք զրկեալք էին յաւգնականութենէ մարդկան· ապաւինէին առ բոլորեցունն ա*ստուա*ծ. և զնա միայն կարդային[10] յաւգնականութի*ւն* ասելով:

> Որ նեղելոց ապաւէնդ ես. վտանգելոց աւգնական. աշխատելոց անդուրրիչ. հաս յաւգնականութի*ւն* նեղելոցս. և վտանգիս որ պաշարեցին զմեզ. փրկեա զմեզ ի դառն մահուանէս զոր ածին ի վերայ[11] մեր. զի ահա սաստկապէս զաւրացաւ

6 ժդ in lft. mg.

7 Վանանդայ] -յ subscr.

8 հրամայէր] -յ- subscr.

9 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

10 կարդային] -յ- subscr.

11 վերայ] -յ- subscr.

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ի վերա մեր տապ բոցոյս. և առաւել տոչորի շրջապատեալ զմեւք եւթնպատիկ քան զԲաբելոնեան բոցոյն բորբոքումնն: Այլ որպէս երից մանգանցն առաքեցեր յաւգնականութի*ւն* զպահպանող զաւրութի*ւն* հրեշտակին. և զմեզ մի ան[26r]տես առներ ի քո գթութե*ան*ցդ. զի և մեք ծառայք քո եմք. թեպետ և բազում անգամ մեղուցեալ բարկացուցաք զմարդասիրութի*ւն*դ քո զքաղցր այլ ի բարկութե*ան* քում զողորմութի*ւն*ս յիշեսցես առ ծառայս քո. քանզի ահա սրբարան քո և տեղի փառաց անուան քո եղև մեզ տեղի գերեզմանի: Վ*ան*ն որոյ և մեք գոհանալով զս*ուրբ*ն և ահեղ անուանէդ քումմէ. ի ձեռս քո յանձնեսցուք զոգի և զշունչս մեր և զմարմին:

Եւ զայս ասացեալ միաբան ամենեքեան զաւրիներգութի*ւն* ի բարձունս վերառաքելով փոխեցան յաշխարհէս: Իսկ զնախարարս ազատացն եդին ի կապանս բանդի՝ յանհանդուրժելի տանջանս խոշտանգէին. և պահանջէին ի նոցանէ բազում ոսկի և կշիռ արծաթոյ. և խոստացան նոցա թէ յորժամ հատուցեն նոցա զսակ արծաթոյն, արձակեսցեն զնոսա կենդանիս. վ*ան*ն որոյ և երդմամբ դաշինս արարեալ հաւատարմացուցանէին զերդումն ստութե*ան*. եւ նոքա առ վտանգի նեղութե*ան*ն, զբազում մթերս գանձուցն իւր[26v]եանց զորս ի պահեստի եղեալ յերեսաց նեղչացն· ի ծովու. և եթե ի ցամաքի, տային ի ձեռս թշնամեացն, զի թերևս ապրեցուսցեն զանձինս իւրեանց: Եւ իբրև ունայնացեալք ի գանձուցն եղեն, ձեռնամուխ եղեալ անաւրինացն բառնային զկենդանութի*ւն* նոցա. և զփայտէ առեալ[12] դատապարտէին զնոսա: Անդ ըմբռնեցան Սմպատ որդի Աշոտի ի Բագրատունի տոհմէ. և Գրիգոր եւ Կորիւն ի տոհմէ Արծրունեաց. և Վարաշապուհ և եղբայր իւր ի տոհմէ Ամատունեաց. և բազումք այլք[13] ի նախարարաց Հայոց. զորս ոչ բաւեմ մի ըստ միոջէ պատմել. Զնոսա զամենեսին բարձեալ ի կենաց անժառանգ առնէին զաշխարհս ի նախարարաց:

Յայնմ ժամանակի թափուր եղեալ աշխարհս Հայոց[14] ի տոհմէ նախարարաց՝ մատնէին որպէս զոչխարս ի մէջ գայլոց: Եւ թշնամեացն ամենաւրինակ չարեաց յարձակեալ ի վերա յանհուն աղէտս վտանգի պահէին զբնակիչս աշխարհիս, որոց տաղտկացեալ յանհանգիստ նեղութե*ան*ցն՝ զհառաչ[27r]անս և զաղաղակ հեծութե*ան*ն բարձրացուցանէին յերկինս: Իսկ Սմպատ կորապաղատ և նախարարքն որ ընդ նմա գնացեալ մեկնեցան յաշխարհէս, և անցեալ խնդրեցին ի թագաւորէն Յունաց քաղաք բնակութե*ան*, և դադարս խաշանց իւրեանց, տայր նոցա զքաղաքն որ անուանե*ալ* կոչի Փոյթ. ի կողմանն Եգեր աշխարհին, և բնակեցան ի նմա ամս. *վեց.*:

Ժե[15] Իսկ Մահմետն կատարե*ալ* զայս *ամենայն* չարիս. բարձրացեալ բողոք աշխարհիս հասանէր յականջս իշխանին Իսմաելի որում անուն էր Վլիթ. և վաղվաղակի առաքէ հրովարտակ և կոչէ զնա առ ինքն. և փոխանակ նորա առաքէ զԱբդլազիզ ոմն, որ էր խաւթ լսելեաւք. այլ խորագէտ. լի երկրաւոր իմաստութ*եամ*ք. առասպելախաւս և առակարկու: Եւ իբրև հաստատեցաւ յիշխանութե*ան*ն գրէ հրովարտակ առ նախարարս Հայոց. և հաւանեցուցանէր զնոսա դառնալ յիւրեանցական աշխարհս. և տայր նոցա գիր երդմամբ չափ ըստ սովորութե*ան*ն իւրեանց: [27v] Եւ իբրև վստահ եղեալ յուխտադրութի*ւն* նորա. առին զքաղաքն յորում բնակեալն էին. և զգանձս քաղաքին. և զսպաս եկեղեցեացն յափշտակեալ յաւարի դարձան ի Հայս. հատուածեալք ի կայսերէն Յունաց. և կայսերն լուեալ. ստրջացաւ ընդ եղեալ ապիրատութի*ւն*ն. և կոչեցեալ զառաջնորդս եկեղեցեաց. զմետրապալիտն և զարքեպիսկոպոսունսն. հրամայէր նոցա նզով գրել ի մատենի. և ի կատարման տաւնին

12 առեալ] read: կախեալ with Chahnazarian and Malxaseanc‘.

13 այլք] -լ- suprascr.

14 Հայոց] -յ- subscr.

15 ժե in rt. mg.

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զատկաց հրամաէր ընթեռնուլ ի վերա գործողաց ապիրատութե*ան*ն. քանզի ի տաւնին յայնմիկ գործեցին զգործն անաւրէնութե*ան*. և ի նոյն տաւնի կարգաւորեցին ամի ամի զնոյն նզովք ընթեռնուլ մինչև ցայսաւր. որ և տիրեաց իսկ ի վերա նոցա. և եղև պատճառ կորըստեան նոցա:

Իսկ Աբդլազիզ տիրեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց խաղաղացոյց զ*ամենայն* յարձակմունս անիրաւութե*ան* յաշխարհէս, և զխրոխտացեալ անզգամութի*ւն* որդոցն Իսմաելի սաստիկ կշտամբութ*եամ*ք ցածուցանէր: Շինէր վերստին զքաղ[28r]աքն Դուին հզաւրագոյն և ընդարձականիստ մեծութ*եամ*ք քան զառաջինն. և ամրացուցանէր դրամբք և դռնափակաւք. անցուցանէր շուրջ զպարսպովն պարկէնս փոսից լցեալ[16] ջուր ապաստան ամրոցի. քանզի ասէր զիւրմէ Աբդլազիզ յառաջնում աւերածին Դուվնա էթէ

> ի ձեռն իմ եղև կործանումն քաղաքին և ես կանգնեցից զսա. զի էի ես ասէ մանուկ երկոտասանամեայ, և ունէի սփածանալիս կարմիր. և յորժամ զաւրն Տաճկաց մարտընչէր ընդ քաղաքիս, մտի ես ընդ խողուակ մի և ելի ի պարիսպն. և ի բարբառ իմ ի ձայնէ ուժգին աղաղակեցի առ զաւրն մեր. անդէն վաղվաղակի թաւթափեցան պայիկքն նախամարտիկք որք պահէին զպարիսպն և ի փախուստ դարձան. և յաղթութի*ւն* Իսմաելի զաւրացաւ. և կործանեցաք զքաղաքս:

Զայս բերանով իւրով ասի պատմել զինքենէ:

Ժq[17] Զայնու ժամանակաւ դարձեալ գրգռէր սիրտ զաւրավարին Մահմետի, ի վերա աշխ[28v]արհին Ճենաց և խնդրէր յիշխանէն Իսմաելի զաւր բազում. և խոստանայ[18] նմա ածել զարքայն Ճենաց ի հնազանդութի*ւն* ծառաութե*ան*: Իսկ նորա գումարել[19] զաւր բազում և տայ[20] ի ձեռն նորա իբրև արս. *երկերիւր*. հազար. և խաղացեալ Մահմետ ի կողմանցն Դամասկեայ[21] բազմութ*եամ*ք զաւրացն ի կողմանս արևելից. անցանէր ընդ Ասորեստան ընդ աշխարհին Պարսից և ընդ Խորասան. և երթեալ հասանէր ի մասն ինչ Ճենաց աշխարհին. և բանակէր առ եզր գետոյն հզաւրագունի որ Բաւտիսն կոչի. գրէ հրովարտակ առ արքայն Ճենաց,

> ընդէ՞ր ասէ դու միայն ընդվզեալ ոչ մտանես ընդ հնազանդութ*եամ*ք իշխանին մերոյ. զի *ամենայն* ազգք սարսեցին ի մէնջ: Արդ դու յո՞վ ապաստանե*ա*ղ[22] չհնազանդիս մեզ. մի արդեաք իբրև զաղճկունքդ քո համարիս զմեզ յորոց միջի փերևետեալ[23] ճոխանաս. այլ արդ էթէ ոչ մտցես ընդ լծով ծառաութե*ան* մերոյ. գիտասջիր [29r] զի անապատ արարից զերկիրդ[24] քո ի բնակչաց. և վախճան արարից արքայութե*ան*դ[25] քո: Բայց մի յանհոգս լեալ յապաղեսցես զպատասխանի գրոյս, այլ արագ դարձուսցես այսրէն:

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16 լցեալ] լջեալ a.c.

17 ժq in lft. mg.

18 խոստանայ] -յ subscr.

19 գումարել] read: գումարեալ with Chahnazarian.

20 տայ] -յ subscr.

21 Դամասկեայ] -յ subscr.

22 ապաստանե*ա*ղ] ապ- suprascr.

23 փերևետեալ] փերևերտեալ a.c.

24 զերկիրդ] -դ suprascr.

25 արքայութե*ան*դ] -յ- subscr.

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Իբրև ընթերցաւ զգիրն արքայն Ճենաց որ կոչէր Ճենբակուր. կոչէր առ ինքն զ*ամենայն* փշտիպանսն համահարցս իւր. և խորհէր թէ զինչ տացէ բանիցն պատասխանի. և խորհեալ առ միմեանս գրեն բանիցն պատասխանի, և ասեն:

> Մի արդեւք հզաւրագոյն իցես դու քան զ*ամենայն* թագաւորսս որ յիսկզբանցն և այսր տիրեցին ի վերա աշխարհի: Բաբելացւոց թագաւորն որ տիէզերացն տիրեաց. և Մակեդոնացւոցն, և Պարսից. ընդէր նոքա ոչ կարացին տիրել ի վերա աշխարհիս[26] մեր. այլ գիտասջիր զի լիրբ քան զամենայն շուն իցես դու. և ի տոռն պակշոտութե*ան* վարանեալ. և այդորիկ աղագաւ չար ցանկութի*ւն* քո ի համբաւ գեղեցիկ կուսից իմոց. խեւղբս արկեալ հարկեցոյց զքեզ դնել զանձն քո. և զանձինս զաւրացդ եկելոց ընդ քեզ: [29v] Իբրև թէ ոչ զոյին գերեզմանք ի Դամասկոս անձանց ձերոց: Այլ արդ գիտասջիր զի աշխարհս մեր ոչ է մտեալ ընդ հարկաւ ուրուք. և ոչ ես ի յանձին կալայց քեզ. բայց թէ ընծայ[27] յինէն խնդրեսցես ըստ աւրինի թագաւորաց տաց քեզ. և յարուցեալ երթիցես խաղաղութ*եամ*ք ի տեղի քո:

Իսկ Մահմետի դարձեալ յղեալ առ Ճենբակուր, տուր ինձ ասէ աղճկունս: *երեսուն հազար*: եւ գնացից ի քէն խաղաղութ*եամ*ք. ապա թէ ոչ պատերամզաւ ելից ընդդէմ քո.[28] և յանձին կալաւ արքայն Ճենաց պատգամին յղելոյ. և առաքեաց առ Մահմետ, ասէ մնա այդրէն ի բանակի քում մինչև կատարեցից զխնդրուածս քո. և նոյնժամայն հրաման ետ զաւրաց իւրոց. կազմել սայլս վաչիւք դիպակաւք. և զընդիրս հեծելոց իւրոց կուռ սպառազինութ*եամ*ք բառնալ ի վերա սայլիցն փոխանակ աղճկանցն զոր խնդրեաց. որպէս զի կարասցէ զնոսա որսալ յորոգայթ իւր. և եկեալ յեզր գետոյն բանակէին ընդդէմ նոցա. և էին ի վերա սայլիցն աւելի քան զ*քառասուն հազար* արանց հեծելոց: [30r] Եւ ինքն Ճենբակուր սակաւ արամբք բանակէր բացագոյն ի նոցունց. իբրև վտաւանաւք ինչ սակաւ և առաքէր առ Մահմետն զաւրավար. արի ասէ զոր հայցեցերն յինէն զայս. *երեսուն հազար*. աղջիկ *յամենայն* իշխանութե*ան* իմում ընտրեցի[29] պատուաւորաց քո. արդ առեալ զպատուաւորս քո զաւրուդ ըստ թուոյ աղճկանցս իմոց անց յայսկոյս գետոյս. և տաց զաղջկունս իմ ըստ թուոյ վիճակաւ ում ումեք և հասցէ. գուցէ մարտ պատերազմի եղիցի ի մէջ զաւրաց քո. և ետ տանել նաւս յայնկոյս գետոյն. զի միանգամայն անցցեն առ նա.

Իսկ նոցա անխոհուրդ[30] մտաւք ընդրեալ զպատուական զաւրացն անցին յայնկոյս գետոյն իբրև արք. *երեսուն հազար*. և իբրև վախճանեցին զանցանելն հրաման ետ արքայն Ճենաց յարձակել ի վերա զաւրուն Իսմաելի: Եւ իբրև բախեցին զմիմեանս մարտիւ պատերազմի վաղվաղակի ելին և որ ընդ վաչիւքն թաքուցեալն էին. և ի մէջ արարեալ կոտորեցին ի սուր սուսերի մինչև ոչ մնաց ի նոցանէն ապրե*ալ* [30v] և փախստական. և հատին զլարս նաւուցն զի մի ոք ապրեսցի. յորմէ ոչ ոք ապրեցաւ բայց միայն Մահմետն սակաւ արամբք հեծեալ յերիվարսն անկան ի գետն ապաստանեալք ի քաջութի*ւն* երիվարացն: Եւ այնպէս կորագլուխ ամաւթով դարձեալ յարքաէն Ճենաց. գնացին յերկիր բնակութե*ան* իւրեանց. եւ ոչ ևս յաւել ելանել ի պատերազմ ի վերա աշխարհին Ճենաց. ամս *տասն*. և ամիսս *ութ* կեցեալ վախճանի:

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26 աշխարհիս] աշխարհև a.c.

27 ընծայ] -յ suprascr.

28 քո] add. քո in lft. mg. Hand 1[corr].

29 ընտրեցի] ընորեցի a.c.

30 անխորհուրդ] read: անխորհուրդ with printed editions.

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COMMENTARY

V.A. ROMAN MILITARY ENCOUNTER WITH MUḤAMMAD B. MARWĀN

Whereas the rebellion at Vardanakert was solely an Armenian endeavor, Smbat Bagratuni subsequently turned to the Romans to counter the caliphal forces. Muḥammad b. Marwān gathered a great force in response and marched out against the Roman army, engaging it on a field. According to Łewond, the battle was decided in the Muslims' favor by divine intervention, which caused the Romans to retreat in flight and allowed Muḥammad's fighters to claim more than 50,000 lives. Łewond's account is thus very close to that provided by Ibn Aʿtham:

> [The news of Vardanakert] reached Muḥammad b. Marwān, and he was distressed by what had befallen the Muslims and uneasy with the whole affair. Then he summoned a force and he himself went along with forty thousand [troops] until, when he was in the middle of Armenia, the Romans and Armenians met [him] in a huge assemblage. So Muḥammad b. Marwān battled them fiercely, so much that he feared humiliation and [Roman] victory because of the sheer quantity of infidels gathered against him. Then God Almighty defeated the polytheists and made it possible for the Muslims to outflank them. So they killed many of them, took them captive, and gained their land and wealth.
>
> وبلغ ذلك محمد بن مروان، فاغتم لما قد نزل بالمسلمين وضاق به الأمر، ثم نادى في الناس وسار بنفسه في أربعين ألفاً، حتى إذا توسط بلاد أرمينية اجتمعت الروم والأرمن في جمع عظيم، فقاتلهم محمد بن مروان أشد القتال حتى خشي الفضيحة والغلبة لكثرة ما اجتمع عليه من الكفار، ثم إن الله تعالى هزم المشركين وأمكن بالمسلمين من اكتافهم، فقتلوا منهم بشراً كثيراً وسبوهم، واحتووا على بلادهم وأموالهم.[31]

Roman military support for Armenia after the battle of Vardanakert is also mentioned in other sources, but without much detail. Theophanes explains that the Armenians "made contact with Apsimaros and brought Romans into their country" (καὶ αὖθις πρὸσ Ἀψίμαρον πέμπουσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν φέρουσιν) after they had killed the "Saracens" in AM 6195/702–3 CE; "Muḥammad, however, made an expedition against them and killed many people" (ὁ δὲ Μουάμεδ ἐπιστρατεύσας κατ᾽αὐτῶν πολλοὺς κτείνει).[32] Likewise, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ acknowledges that Roman forces were active in Armenia in a report related to the fires (84/703–4) instead of Vardanakert (83/702–3): "The Romans marched into Armenia to Muḥammad b. Marwān, and then God defeated them" (زحفت الروم إلى أرمينية إلى محمد بن مروان فهزمهم الله).[33] Movsēs Dasxuranc'i similarly compresses the events surrounding the revolt at Vardanakert, the appeal for Roman assistance, and Muḥammad b. Marwān's victory.[34]

The appearance of Roman troops in Armenia at this time should be understood within the context of renewed Roman-Umayyad hostilities. In the course of the second *fitna*, clashes resumed between the Roman Empire and the Umayyads. Justinian broke the peace

31 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 5/6:402–3. Yaʿqūbī mentions this very briefly, but he refers only to Armenians and omits the involvement of the Greeks; Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:973; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:324.

32 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 519–20; *Chronographia*, 372.

33 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 183–4.

34 Dasxuranc'i, *History*, 207–8; *Patmut'iwn*, 317–18.

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treaty with ʿAbd al-Malik in AM 6183/690–91 CE,[35] and Muḥammad b. Marwān defeated the Romans at Sibīsṭa/Sebastopolis in AH 73/AM 6184/692 CE. Nearly every year thereafter, he or Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik conducted raids into Roman territory, except for in 80/699–700 on account of the plague. As Theophanes explains, "from that time on, the Hagarenes were further emboldened and devastated the Roman country" (ἔκτοτε ἐπὶ πλεῖον θρασυνθέντες οἱ Ἀγαρηνοὶ τῆν Ῥωμανίαν ἐλυμήναντο).[36]

Armenia had been largely removed from the main battlefields of Roman-Umayyad conflict as the primary front throughout the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik was in or around Cilicia. The Romans' decision to shift their forces to Armenia in response to Armenian requests in the early 700s was therefore somewhat unusual and ran against the grain of the previous two decades. The dispatch of Roman troops may not have been meant to reestablish Roman control over Armenia; rather, their goal seems to have been to curb caliphal raids into Anatolia. Whether or not this was an explicit strategy, the Romans gained the upper hand in this year. Immediately following his report of Muḥammad b. Marwān's foray into Armenia in AM 6195/702–3 CE, Theophanes adds: "The same year Azar made an expedition against Cilicia at the head of ten thousand men. The emperor's brother, Herakleios, met him and killed most of the enemy; the remainder he sent as captives to the emperor" (κατ᾽αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπεστράτευσεν Ἄζαρ τὴν Κιλικίαν μετὰ χιλιάδων δέκα· καὶ περιτυχὼν αὐτῷ Ἡράκλειος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, τοὺς πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δεσμίους τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπέστειλεν).[37] The following year, in AH 85/AM 6196/704 CE, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent Yazīd b. Ḥunayn to Sis, where they were roundly defeated.[38] The weakness of the Umayyad frontier in Cilicia likely reflected the urgency of the military situation elsewhere at the time. In the East, Ḥajjāj continued to pursue Ibn al-Ashʿath until the latter's death in 84/703–4, while ʿAbd al-Malik himself was engaged in succession politics to keep the caliphate out of the hands of his brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, then governor of Egypt. Roman support for the Armenian rebellion further contributed to the dilution of caliphal forces along the Syrian frontier and provided an opportunity for imperial victories in Cilicia.

V.B. THE FIRES OF NASHAWĀ/NAXČAWAN

The fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan appear in Armenian, Arabic, Greek, and Syriac sources. However, these accounts do not all agree on the event's date, place, victims, or aggressors (though Muḥammad b. Marwān's role remains a constant). Though many of the accounts appear in truncated form below, these references have been studied in greater depth elsewhere.[39]

35 Greenwood, in "Armenian Neighbours," 345 and n. 43, following Howard-Johnston, suggests that it was ʿAbd al-Malik and not Justinian II who broke the ten-year peace.

36 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 512; *Chronographia*, 367.

37 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 520; *Chronographia*, 372.

38 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 520; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 184.

39 Vacca, "Fires of Naxčawan."

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V.C. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UMAYYAD *DĪWĀN*

Łewond's account of the fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan seeks to illustrate the depraved bloodlust of the caliphal governor and to signal changes in caliphal administration. During the Sufyānid period, the *naxarark'* provided military support to the Caliphate in lieu of direct taxation. In the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, however, caliphal administration became more organized as part of the broad and disparate changes implemented at the start of Marwānid rule (commonly known as the Marwānid reforms). Tax collectors were posted in the North and the names of the soldiers were listed in the registry (*dīwān*), meaning that they were paid directly by the Umayyads. Łewond appears to recognize this shift in caliphal policy: "Muḥammad received the wicked order and commanded a certain Qāsim, who was his commander in the region of the city of Naxčawan, to summon the Armenian *naxarark'* with their cavalry under the pretext of recording [their names] in the royal record, [in order for them] to collect their salary, then return" (Եւ Մահմետի առեալ հրաման անիրաւ. հրամայէր Կասմոյ ումեմն որ էր հրամանատար նորուն ի կողմանսն Նախճաւան քաղաքի. կոչել առ ինքն զնախարարս Հայոց նոցին հեծելովք. իբրև պատճառանաւք էթէ անցուցանել ի համարու արքունի և առնուլ հոգ և դառնալ) [25r]. Ostensibly, now that the names were recorded in the "royal record," their salaries would be paid from the caliphal capital at Nashawā/Naxčawan. This arrangement may have been a mere ruse, but it is subsequently maintained throughout Łewond's text. It also aligns with other Armenian accounts, such as Drasxanakertc'i's: "By deceit, fraud, vain hopes and heartening promises they gathered in one place everyone, both the *azat*s and the cavalry forces, and registered their names in the archives [*diwan*], as if to give them their annual wages" (ստահամբաւ դաւողութեամբ, սնոտի յուսով եւ խնդացուցանաւղ բարի խոստմամբք զամենեսեան ի մի վայր գումարէին՝ զազատս եւ զհեծելազաւր գունդս, եւ զանուանսն նոցա ի դիւանն մատուցանէին՝ իբր թէ բաշխել նոցա զդահեկանաց տարեւորն).[40]

The establishment of the *dīwān* is completely absent from the works of the Theophilus circuit, though each of those texts does report the fires. Similarly, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and Ibn Aʿtham both describe the fires without reference to the *dīwān* or any other sort of "royal record." In fact, the only two Arabic sources to substantiate Łewond's claim to some degree do not provide clear attestations to the entering of the Armenian nobility into the *dīwān*, either; this interpretation must be inferred from the context. Yaʿqūbī explains that Muḥammad promised to allocate to them *al-sharaf*, which could be understood as "eminence" or "highness" and to refer to the highest possible amount of glory, honor, or rank, but in this context denotes stipends at the highest rank:

> He [Muḥammad b. Marwān] then wrote to the notables of the land, who were called *al-aḥrār* [= *azatk'*], giving them safe passage and promising to grant them stipends at the highest rate. To receive this, they gathered together in the churches of the district of Khilāṭ.[41] He ordered that firewood be collected and placed around these churches; he shut the doors on the nobles, ordered that the churches be set afire, and incinerated them all.[42]

40 Drasxanakertc'i, *History*, 108; "Patmut'iwn Hayoc'," 417.

41 On the placement of the fires in Akhlāṭ/Xlat' instead of Xram, see Vacca, "Fires of Naxčawan," 339–40.

42 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:973.

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ثمّ كاتب الاشراف من اهل البلد والذين يقال لهم الاحرار واعطاهم الامان ووعدهم ان يفرض لهم فى الشرف فاجتمعوا لذلك فى الكنائس فى عمل خلاط وامر بجمع الحطب حول الكنائس واغلق ابوابها عليهم ثمّ ضرب تلك الكنائس بالنار فحرّقهم جميعا[43]

Balādhurī offers much the same report, albeit abbreviated and distorted through copying so that حرقهم, "he burned them," has become حوفهم, "he frightened them" (or, possibly, خوقهم, "he surrounded them").[44] However, the specific wording in Balādhurī's text about the allocation of *al-sharaf* is identical: "He promised those of them who remained that he would allocate to them the highest amount (*al-sharaf*), so they gathered in churches in the region of Khilāṭ, and he locked them in them, assigned someone over their doors, and then frightened [read: burned] them" (وعد من بقى منهم ان يعرض لهم فى الشرف فاجتمعوا لذلك فى كنائس من عمل خلاط واغلقها عليهم ووكّل بابوابها ثمّ خوّفهم).[45]

Even where the *dīwān* is not explicitly evoked, however, the episode demonstrates the unease of the Armenian nobility with regard to increased caliphal control over Armenia in the aftermath of the Marwānid reforms. Ibn Aʿtham indicates that the fires resulted from the resistance of the Armenian nobility to accept changes in the administration of the province:

> After that [battle with Roman forces], Muḥammad b. Marwān sent [messengers] to their [public] squares and their nobles, and he promised them by his own good will that he would pay them whatever they wanted and appoint over them whomever they liked. And he kept on in that way until they felt confident in him and trusted him. Then they gathered to him and he made peace with them, with the stipulation that he satisfy them in every matter. Then he said: "I don't trust you. Rather, go into these churches of yours and swear to me that you are not deceiving me, just as I swore to you! After that, give me hostages and then go to your lands!" He [the narrator] said: They agreed with him about that, so they entered the churches to swear allegiance. And when he knew that they had all entered the churches together, he ordered their doors to be locked against them, then the churches and all they contained were covered in fire and pitch. So these churches are called "the burned" even to our own day.

ثم أرسل محمد بن مروان بعد ذلك إلى ساحاتهم وأحرارهم فوعدهم من نفسه الرضا وأنه يعطيهم ما يريدون ويولي عليهم من يحبون، فلم يزل كذلك حتى اطمأنوا إليه ووثقوا بناحيته، ثم اجتمعوا اليه، فصالحهم على أمر من الأمور أرضاهم، ثم قال: إني لست أثق بكم ولكن ادخلوا إلى كنائسكم هذه وأحلفوا لي فيها بما أحلفكم أنكم لا تغدرون! ثم أعطوني بعد ذلك الرهائن وانصرفوا إلى بلادكم! قال: فأجابوه إلى ذلك، ثم دخلوا الكنائس ليحلفوا، فلما علم أنهم صاروا بأجمعهم في الكنائس أمر بأبوابها فأغلقت عليهم، ثم ضربت الكنائس وما فيها بالنار والنفط، فسميت تلك الكنائس المحترقة إلى يومنا هذا.[46]

Ibn Aʿtham's account provides a backdrop for interrogating Łewond's claims about the establishment of the *dīwān*. Ibn Aʿtham's passage promises a normalization of affairs in Armenia, describing a situation that fits neatly into the models of Sufyānid rule. The *naxarark'* would maintain control over the appointment of the region's governor with caliphal blessing, hostages would ensure that the province remained peaceful, and the

43 Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:324–25.

44 Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 374.

45 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 205.

46 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 5/6:403.

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naxarark' would retain their own lands. There is no mention here of the reorganization of the military or tax collection, which went hand in hand. Muḥammad b. Marwān's promises, as presented in Ibn Aʿtham, clash with the model of caliphal rule that was newly imposed during his tenure, when Armenian cavalry were paid according to the royal record maintained by provincial administrators stationed in Armenia. This apparent contradiction between Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond likely reflects the process of administrative change in the second/eighth century. The *naxarark'* rebelled against the changes implemented during the Marwānid reforms, so Muḥammad b. Marwān promised them a return to prereform normalcy.

One other Armenian source also mentions the establishment of the *dīwān* but does not connect it to the fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan. Dasxuranc'i explains that "all the Armenian leaders whom he [Muḥammad b. Marwān] was unable to capture he seduced by means of a mighty oath, gathering them together by fraud and treachery" (և զորս ոչ կարաց ըմբռնել՝ դարան զարծեալ մեծապէս երդմամբ, դաւով և խաբէութեամբ առ ինքն ժողովեաց զամենայն գլխաւորս Հայոց).[47] Thus, Dasxuranc'i claims that Muḥammad promised something unspecified to lure the Armenians into the churches at Nashawā/Naxčawan—perhaps the promise concerned a return to Sufyānid norms, as for Ibn Aʿtham, or the addition of their names into the *dīwān*, as Łewond reports. In a different passage, Dasxuranc'i evokes the *dīwān* during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, though he identifies it as a registry to track those who might have become Chalcedonian: "All these names were written in the archives of ʿAbd al-Malik *amīr al-muʾminīn* in order that if any of them were found to have become Dyophysites, they might be destroyed by the sword or imprisonment" (այսք ամենեքեան որ գրեցան ի դիւանին Աբդլմելքի ամիրմումնոյ սակս այսորիկ, եթէ որ ի սոցանէ զտանիցի երկաբնակ եղեալ՝ սրով և գերութեամբ ապառեսցի).[48] Dasxuranc'i, then, retains the claim that the *dīwān* was established under ʿAbd al-Malik, but disassociates it from the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan.

V.D. ROMAN INTERESTS IN THE WEST CAUCASUS

Łewond explains that Smbat *curopalates*, who allied with the Romans and settled in Ṭayr/Tayk', moved to P'oyt', or Phasis, in Roman-controlled Lazica (Lazīqa/Eger/Egrisi, ancient Colchis). Łewond describes this move as an extension of the Bagratuni-Roman alliance: "They went to request from the Greek king a city to live in and folds for their sheep. He gave them the city called Phasis in the region of the land of Eger, and they dwelt there for six years" (և անցեալ խնդրեցին ի թագաւորէն Յունաց քաղաք բնակութեան, և դադարս խաշանց իւրեանց, տայր նոցա զքաղաքն որ անուանեալ կոչի Փոյթ. ի կողմանն Եգեր աշխարհին, և բնակեցան ի նմա ամս. վեց.) [27r]. Although references in Greek sources allow us to speculate about the broader imperial agendas at play in the Armenians' emigration, Łewond's chronology renders the context of the emigration to Phasis, their stay there, and their return to Armenia unclear.

47 Dasxuranc'i, *History*, 208; *Patmut'iwn*, 318.

48 Dasxuranc'i, *History*, 198; *Patmut'iwn*, 305. The word "archives" here is դիւան; in this context, it renders the Arabic ديوان, but the word entered Armenian from Middle Persian in translations of the Bible before the rise of Islam.

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V.D.1. Relocation to Phasis under Justinian

One plausible scenario connects the Bagratuni relocation to Phasis with Justinian II's efforts to strengthen the Roman Empire's foothold in the Caucasus during his second reign (705–11 CE).[49] According to Theophanes, Justinian awarded the future emperor Leo the title of *spatharios* as thanks for the latter's donation of 500 sheep in support of Justinian's effort to regain the throne. Theophanes then reports that Justinian distrusted Leo and so sent him on a mission to Phasis to generate trouble between the Alans and the Abasgians:

> Now Justinian did not wish to harm him openly, but conceived some sort of aversion toward him and dispatched him to Alania with a sum of money so as to rouse up the Alans against Abasgia: for the Saracens were in control of Abasgia, Lazica, and Iberia. When he had gone to Lazica, he deposited the money at Phasis and, taking a few natives with him, proceeded to Apsilia, crossed the Caucasian mountains, and reached Alania. Wishing to destroy him, Justinian sent instructions for the money to be removed from Phasis. The Alans, however, received the *spatharios* with great honor and, obeying his words, invaded and captured Abasgia.[50]

> ὁ οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς εἰ καὶ προφανῶς βλάψαι τοῦτον οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν βρόμος τις αὐτῷ κατ᾽αὐτοῦ ἐντίθεται, καὶ ἀποστέλλει αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀλανίᾳ μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς τὸ συγκινῆσαι τοὺς Ἀλανοὺς κατὰ Ἀβασγίας, τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐπικρατούντων τήν τε Ἀβασγίαν καὶ Λαζικὴν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῇ Λαζικῇ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἀπέθετο ἐν τῷ Φάσιδι, ὀλίγους δὲ λαβὼν τῶν ἐντοπίων ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἀψιλίαν, καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη ἦλθεν ἐν Ἀλανίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς θέλων ἀπολέσαι αὐτόν, πέμψας ἐπῆρε τὰ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ Φάσιδος· οἱ δὲ Ἀλανοὶ τὸν σπαθάριον μετὰ πάσης τιμῆς δεξάμενοι καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ ὑπακούσαντες εἰσῆλθον καὶ ᾐχμαλώτευσαν τὴν Ἀβασγίαν.[51]

Theophanes then inserts an extended anecdote about Alan-Abasgian stratagems.

At various points in the story, Theophanes mentions the involvement of Armenians, thus confirming an Armenian presence in the western Caucasus and in Phasis, in particular, precisely when Łewond's emigrés arrived there. The Armenians in Theophanes's chronicle play several different roles, making it difficult to draw a direct line between the vague references to "Armenians" in the Greek text and the specific Bagratuni emigrés in Łewond's work. While Leo remained in Alania, waiting to carve his way back to Roman territory without passing through Abasgia, a Roman-Armenian force arrived in the western Caucasus: "Some time later an army of Romans and Armenians entered Lazica and were besieging Archaiopolis, but on hearing that the Saracens were coming, they departed" (μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ φασάτον Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀρμενίων εἰσελθόντων ἐν Λαζικῇ καὶ τὴν Ἀρχαιόπολιν πολιορκούντων, ἀκουσάντων τε τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔλευσιν, ἀνεχώρησαν).[52] Some 200 men from this Roman-Armenian army separated from the rest to raid Apsilia, the region to the north of Lazica bordering Abasgia. The main

49 On this campaign, see Canard, "L'aventure caucasienne."

50 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 542.

51 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 391.

52 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 543; *Chronographia*, 393.

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army returned to Phasis, but this group despaired of rejoining the army and embarked on a life of brigandage in the mountains. The Alans thought that they were an imperial army and informed Leo, who went out with fifty Alans to find them. He did so, and together they made their way back to the coast. En route through the difficult and snowy terrain, they stopped at a fortress called Sideron, to be identified with modern Čʿxaltʿa,[53] "whose warden, a man named Pharasmanios,[54] was subject to the Saracens and at peace with the Armenians" (ἐν ᾧ ἦν τοποτηρητὴς Φαρασμάνιός τις τοὔνομα ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς τυγχάνων καὶ εἰρήνην ἔχων μετὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων).[55] Leo sent a message to him, saying, "Since you are at peace with the Armenians, make peace with me too, and become subject to the emperor" (ἐφ᾽ ὅσον εἰρήνην ἔχεις μετὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων, εἰρήνευσον καὶ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ· καὶ γενοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν).[56] Pharasmanios declined, and Leo instructed his men, "including some Armenians" (καὶ Ἀρμενίους), to set an ambush and capture the people when they went to work. Leo and his men succeed in taking the town and eventually, through a ruse, the fort. Despite promises made to Pharasmanios, Leo entered the fort and ordered it burned; "and as a great conflagration flared up, the families [of the inhabitants] went out seizing whatever possessions they could carry. Remaining there another three days, [the *spatharios*] demolished the walls down to the ground" (γενομένης δὲ πυρκαϊᾶς μεγάλης, ἐξῆλθον αἱ φαμιλίαι ἁρπάζουσαι εἴ τι ἠδύναντο βαστάσαι έκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὑτῶν· καὶ ποιήσας ἄλλας τρεῖς ἡμέρας κατέλυσε τὰ τείχη ἕως τῆς γῆς).[57]

Theophanes is the sole source for Roman interest in Lazica during the second reign of Justinian. This extended passage presents a number of difficulties. First, as noted above, it is not possible to identify "the Armenians" discussed by Theophanes, which makes their relationship to the Bagratunikʿ of Łewond's account unascertainable. Second, the claim that a local ruler recognized "Saracen" rule as far north as Lazica before the 90s/710s should be read with caution. Theophanes claims that the patrician of Lazica submitted to the Arabs in AM 6189/696–97 CE.[58] Arabic sources such as Balādhurī claim that the Arab conquerors reached the western Georgian provinces in the 20s/640s, but although these references consistently overstate the extent of the relationship between caliphal authorities and western Georgia in the first/seventh century, even they do not assert that caliphal allies held al-Abkhāz/Apʿxazetʿi or Lazīqa/Egrisi as per Theophanes. The earliest uncontested references to military engagements of this kind in the western Caucasus relate to the later campaigns of Murvan Qru, that is, Marwān b. Muḥammad, in the 110s/730s. Theophanes's claim may simply reflect Lazica's anti-Roman position, rather than its position vis-à-vis the Caliphate. Third, Theophanes was writing much later than the events he relates, and his own narrative agenda is outside our current remit. He places this entire episode in the first year of the reign of Leo, AM 6208/715–16 CE, presumably to introduce and laud the

53 Andrei Vinogradov, "Some Notes," 12. The claim that this region was under "Saracen" control may stem from confusion between multiple Roman fortresses named Sideron, or "iron." See, for example, later in the text, where Theophanes has Sulaymān b. Hishām conquer another place named Sideron; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 231–32. This Sideron is paired with other cities in Asia Minor, rather than the Caucasus.

54 This Pharasmanios is unidentified, but his name renders the Georgian ფარსმან.

55 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 544; *Chronographia*, 393.

56 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 544; *Chronographia*, 393–94.

57 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 544; *Chronographia*, 394.

58 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 516; *Chronographia*, 370.

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incoming emperor for his plucky resolve in teaching Roman troops to snowshoe across the Caucasus in support of the empire.

As an additional complication, the chronology of Armenian presence in Lazica is uncertain when based solely on the information available from Theophanes and Łewond. Theophanes does not explicitly date the Roman campaign into Lazica, but he claims that Justinian reconciled with Leo "when Justinian became emperor for the second time and was marching down with the Bulgarians" (ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων)—that is, in 705 CE.[59] The campaign could, then, have taken place in any year of Justinian's second reign; this date works well with Łewond's claim that Smbat and the other *naxarark*ʿ emigrated in the first year of the caliphate of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 86/705. The problem is that Łewond also presents the Armenian emigration as a direct result of the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, which he incorrectly dates to 86/705. As explained in chapter IV, these fires occurred in 84/703, which would bring the Armenians into Lazica well before Justinian regained the throne. There are a number of ways to explain this chronological discrepancy. Perhaps Łewond fabricated the explanatory link between the fires and the emigration, or perhaps there was a delay between the two events that Łewond smooths over. Alternatively, perhaps Tiberios Apsimar sent the Armenians to Phasis before Justinian returned to power, so Leo's campaign (if it even happened) was in response to these developments.

Despite these problems with Theophanes's narrative, the story of the future emperor Leo in Lazica is still useful to situate Łewond's account of the emigration of the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ. Theophanes establishes Phasis as a key city of interest during the second reign of Justinian, precisely when the Bagratunikʿ lived there. His account furthermore confirms that Roman emperors and local rulers alike relied on Armenian allies as they contested control over the region. "Armenians" appear in several places in his story. Some participated in military expeditions in Lazica alongside Roman forces but separately from Leo's campaign. Others filled the ranks of Leo's troops, while still others became brigands. When Theophanes specifies that Leo sent Armenians to work against Pharasmanios, the implication was that they could tip the balance in his favor. Presumably, their Armenianness made them useful to Leo because Pharasmanios had Armenian allies, but Theophanes does not explain why these details were important. What he offers is a complicated snapshot of Armenian involvement in Lazica during the second reign of Justinian. Although he does not explicitly mention Smbat's participation in these events, the emperor's settlement of Armenians in Phasis would make sense within this broader context of imperial engagement with Lazica and Alania.

V.D.2. Returning from Phasis under Bardanes Philipikos

According to Łewond's narrative, Smbat and the other *naxarark*ʿ remained in Lazica for six years before switching allegiances again and returning to caliphal Armenia. Since we do not have an undisputed date for Smbat's emigration from Armenia, the date of his return must similarly remain speculative. However, the Armenians' return corresponds approximately to Philippikos Bardanes's expulsion of (presumably Miaphysite) Armenians

59 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 542; *Chronographia*, 391.

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from imperial territory. Theophanes explains that "in this year [AM 6204/711–12 CE],[60] Philippikos drove the Armenians out of his country and obliged them to settle in Melitene and Fourth Armenia" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Φιλιππικὸς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γῆς ἐξελάσας Μελιτηνὴν καὶ τὴν τετάρτην Ἀρμενίαν οἰκῆσαι ἠνάγκασεν).[61] The anti-Armenian policy enacted by Philippikos would have been sufficient to explain both Smbat's return to the Caliphate and the vandalism the Armenians committed against the church in Phasis. As Łewond claims that the looting occurred during Easter, the earliest the Armenians could have returned in this scenario is 93/712, since Philippikos came to power in Muḥarram 93/November 711.

If the return of the Armenians should be tied to this imperial policy, the easiest reconstruction is that Smbat left for Phasis in the first year of Walīd's reign. Walīd came to power in Shawwāl 86/October 705, so the emigration likely occurred in 87/706, at the start of the reign of Justinian II. Smbat then returned from Phasis in 93/712, as outlined above. This dating fits both Łewond's narrative and most of the texts of the Theophilus circuit. Agapius confirms that Philippikos's expulsion order was enacted in the ninety-third year of the Arabs and the seventh of Walīd (فى سنة ثلث وتسعين للعرب والسنة السابع للوليد), corresponding to 711–12 CE: "In it [the year 93/711–12], Philippikos the king of the Romans ordered the expulsion of all Armenians from his realm into Armenia, so they left and passed to the Arabs. Walīd settled them in Malaṭiyya and Shimshāṭ" (وفيها امر فيلبقوس ملك الروم بنفى كلّ ارمنى فى سلطانه الى ارمينية فخرجوا وتجوّلوا الى العرب واسكنهم الوليد ملطية وشمشاط).[62] The problem with this reconstruction is that Łewond attributes the return to Armenia to an oath provided by "a certain ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz." This governor is to be identified as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim al-Bāhilī, who served in Armenia from 85/704 or 86/705 to 91/709. It is possible that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued to serve in Armenia after Maslama was appointed governor, as Laurent has suggested.[63] If so, that may explain why Łewond ascribes the overtures made to Smbat to him, even though they may have happened after he had been replaced in office.

An alternative reconstruction resolves the normative dates for the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz but claims very little support in the extant texts. It is possible that, as Łewond claims, Smbat left Armenia after the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, in 84/703. This date would place his return six years later in 91/709, which is still within the governorship of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Such a scenario is highly unlikely, but it would tally with the *Chronicle to 1234,* which claims that Philippikos took power and expelled the Armenians from Roman territory in AG 1021/709–10 CE.[64] This timeline would be more difficult to contextualize within imperial policy in Lazica. Perhaps more importantly, the fact that Łewond is not alone in his struggle to create a feasible chronology for these events suggests that the events were contested in the course of transmission.

60 This date also appears in Michael the Syrian, as AG 1023/711–12 CE; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 204.

61 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 532; *Chronographia*, 382. Philippikos's expulsion of the Armenian Miaphysite inhabitants of the empire certainly undermined his attempt to reconcile the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions through the imposition of monotheletism; see La Porta, "Purging John of Scythopolis," 58–60; Herrin, *Margins and Metropolis*, 197–98.

62 Agapius, *ʿUnvan*, 499–500.

63 Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 418.

64 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 204.

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V.E. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ AS GOVERNOR OF DABĪL/DUIN

Łewond describes the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim in surprisingly positive terms: he is "sagacious and full of worldly wisdom" (խորագէտ. լի երկրաւոր իմաստութեամբ) [27r] and "he disparaged the disdainful knavery of the sons of Ishmael with vehement reprimands" (զխրոխտացեալ անզգամութիւն որդոցն Իսմաելի սաստիկ կշտամբութեամբ ցածուցանէր) [27v]. The example of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz provides insight into Armenian knowledge of Arab-Islamic society (both its storytelling norms and its fashion cues), as well as the role of the governor in times of peace.

V.E.1. Tunnels and Takbīr *in Conquest Narratives*

As a rationale for the building program on which ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz embarks in Dabīl/Duin, Łewond has ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz explain that he had been personally involved in the destructive capture of the city during the Islamic conquest, when he was only twelve years old. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz claims to have climbed a water conduit (խողուակ մի) and confused the defenders by shouting out in his own language from the walls of the city. Thinking that the caliphal forces had breached their defenses, the Armenian troops protecting the city scattered and the city fell. Łewond recounts that the source of this amazing story was none other than ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself, from "his own mouth" (զայս բերանով իւրով ասի պատմել զինքենէ) [28r].

Narratives of the conquest of Tustar (the modern city of Shūshtar, Iran) share common elements with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's story, given that in the case of Tustar a local informant identified the city's water outlet (مخرج الماء; in Syriac, "tunnels": ܣܠܠܐ) for the Muslim troops, who were able to penetrate the city via this path. Once inside, they signaled to the main army with the *takbīr*. Tustar, like Dabīl/Duin, subsequently fell as the city's defense crumbled.[65] Similarly, Muʿāwiya, then the governor of Syria, was able to subdue Caesarea when a Jew showed him an entry into the city via a conduit filled with water (سرب فيه الماءُ الى حقو الرجل). Once inside, the caliphal troops shouted out "God is great!" and the Roman defenders fled.[66] There are other variations of this motif, as in the narratives of the conquest of Āmid (modern Diyarbakır in eastern Turkey). A dog from the city unwittingly revealed the water drains (مسرب الماء) to the invading forces, allowing a small group to enter the city. The commanding officer sent a notice to the main general: "Be ready when you hear the *takbīr* and the clamoring!"[67] (كن على أهبة إذا سمعت التكبير والتهليل). As expected, the city fell.[68]

65 Ṭabarī, *History*, 13:135; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:2555. This element appears also in the account of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, who describes the narrowness of the conduit: فأدخل من مدخل الماء، مدخلاً يضيق أحيانًا حتى ينبطح على بطنه; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 81. For a discussion of the Syriac and Arabic accounts of the conquest of Tustar, see Robinson, "Conquest of Khūzistān." The Syriac version has an inhabitant of the city conspire with the Muslims to dig "tunnels from inside underneath the wall" (ܣܠܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܕܫܘܪܐ ܕܡܬܚܬ), but there is no reference to the *takbīr* or to water; *Short Chronicle*, 104–5.

66 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141; Astren, "Re-reading," 96–97.

67 The term *tahlīl* literally means shouting, jubilation, or cheering, though it also has the more specific reading of uttering the phrase "There is no god except God."

68 Wāqidī, *Futūḥ al-Shām*, 2:151. Although the extant version of this work is late, it preserves some important traditions related to the conquest of Armenia; see Ter-Łevondyan, "Ałǰik Taroni zruycʿə." Also compare this particular passage to Fāriqī, *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfāriqīn*, 98.

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In addition to these examples of the conduit-shout-rout combination in Arabic conquest accounts, the same formula also appears in other contexts. Theophanes claims that Justinian took Constantinople in AM 6197/704–5 CE in the same manner: "Justinian . . . together with a few of his countrymen made his way in, without fighting, through the aqueduct and after raising a shout of 'Dig up the bones!' he won the city" (ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς μετ᾽ὀλίγων ὁμοφύλων πολέμου χωρὶς διὰ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ εἰσελθὼν καὶ θόρυβον ἀνασκαφῆς βαλὼν τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβε).[69]

The narrative resonates in a number of different settings and across languages in part because similar storylines appear in the Bible: "When the men gave a loud shout, the wall collapsed; so everyone charged straight in, and they took the city" (Joshua 6:20). This connection is perhaps clearest in the conquest narratives about Ḥimṣ in Syria, where the walls of the city reportedly collapsed at the sound of the *takbīr*.[70] The comparison to Jericho reveals one of the formulaic elements shared between the Book of Joshua and the Arabic conquest narratives. This story also pulls in details of David's capture of Jerusalem: "Anyone who conquers the Jebusites will have to use the water shaft [צנור] to reach those 'lame and blind' who are David's enemies" (2 Kingdoms [2 Samuel] 5:6). Although this last story has inspired a flurry of scholarship to identify and verify the use of Jerusalemite water conduits in warfare in particular, just as the story of the conquest of Tustar has generated maps of the city's water systems, the storyline crops up in Near Eastern contexts over a broad geographical and chronological span. Łewond's account of the capture of Dabīl/Duin should be read against this backdrop as making use of a shared vocabulary that draws on biblical models to make sense of conquest. The character of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz provides a sense of how such stories jumped from one historiographical tradition to another through word of mouth.

V.E.2. The Rebuilding of Dabīl/Duin

Modern scholars typically identify Dabīl/Duin as the capital of both Sasanian and caliphal Armenia. However, little evidence supports the assumption that the city transitioned immediately into the caliphal capital. Łewond calls Dabīl/Duin the "metropolis" (մայրաքաղաք, lit. "mother city") [8r] in his account of the Islamic conquests. This descriptor likely evokes the status of Dabīl/Duin as the seat of the governors of Sasanian Armenia.[71] With the exception of this one reference, the city does not appear again in Łewond's *History* until here in the reign of Walīd.

Instead of Dabīl/Duin, Nashawā/Naxčawan appears as a particularly important administrative center during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik. Łewond asserts that the caliphal forces were in Nashawā/Naxčawan before Vardanakert, and he also suggests that the "royal record" was kept in Nashawā/Naxčawan, where the fires were lit. Whereas Muḥammad b. Marwān had earlier been based in Ḥarrān/Xaṙan and Mawṣil, Łewond attests to his presence in Dabīl/Duin immediately before the fires in 84/703. Łewond's claim aligns precisely with the first caliphal coins minted in the city.[72] The appearance of Muḥammad

69 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 522; *Chronographia*, 376.

70 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:2392.

71 Sebēos, *Armenian History*, 1:64; *Patmutʿiwn*, 111. The city appears as *ostan* in Pseudo-Sebēos's chronicle.

72 Bates, "Dirham Mint," 92.

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b. Marwān in Dabīl/Duin and the subsequent building projects should be seen as a return to pre-Islamic norms, rather than as an attestation of unbroken continuity.[73]

This building program was not specific to Dabīl/Duin but part of a broader attempt by the caliphal administration to claim the provincial centers, including Nashawā/Naxčawan. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ explains that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḥātim "built the cities of Dabīl, Nashawā, and Bardhaʿa" (فبنى مدينة دبيل ومدينة النّشوى ومدينة برذعة) in 85/704–5.[74] Balādhurī offers more information about the people involved, as well as the specific projects:

> He [ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥātim] built and fortified the city of Dabīl and enlarged its mosque. He built the city of Nashawā and repaired the city of Bardhaʿa. It is said that he renovated its buildings and fortified [it], digging moats around it. He renovated the buildings of the city of Baylaqān. These cities were decaying and dilapidated. It is said that Muḥammad b. Marwān renovated the city of Bardhaʿa during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, but Wāqidī said that ʿAbd al-Malik had Ḥātim b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bāhilī or his son build the city of Bardhaʿa.
>
> فبنا مدينة دبيل وحصّنها وكبّر مسجدها وبنى مدينة النّشوى ورمّ مدينة برذعة ويقال انّه جدّد بناءها واحكم حفر الفارقين حولها وجدّد بناء مدينة البيلقان وكانت هذه المدن متشعّثة مستهدمة، ويقال انّ الّذى جدّد بناء برذعة محمّد بن مروان فى ايّام عبد الملك بن مروان وقال الواقدى بنى عبد الملك مدينة برذعة على يد حاتم بن النعمان الباهلى او ابنه.[75]

These passages demonstrate that the building projects constituted broader expressions of power, both by linking Dabīl/Duin to other cities in Armenia and Albania and by identifying the governors responsible for the work. These projects were not simply isolated local endeavors; rather, they were attributed to caliphal policy. Łewond's exclusive interest in Dabīl/Duin indicates that he either did not know about the wider context or did not find it worth reporting; this supports Greenwood's argument that Łewond had a particular connection to the city of Dabīl/Duin.[76]

V.E.3. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Fashion Choices

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's description of the conquest of Dabīl/Duin includes mention of what he was wearing: "I had my red girdle" (ունէի սպաղանալիս կարմիր) [28r]. This detail is odd, offered as if ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and/or Łewond assumed the reader would understand its significance. Red garments claimed several meanings in the early Islamic period, when those

73 S. Sears, in "Before Caliphal Coins," 89, suggests that Muḥammad b. Marwān likely minted Arab-Sasanian coins in Dabīl/Duin, but this theory fails to acknowledge Bates's persuasive argument that the mint moved with the governor. Bates demonstrates that the coins of the North were minted in Ḥarrān and Mawṣil during Muḥammad's tenure, which matches what the written sources say about his residence. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Arab-Sasanian coins were minted in Dabīl/Duin just because it was a Sasanian capital.

74 Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 184.

75 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 205.

76 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 151.

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who wore red were referred to as *muḥammira* in Arabic.[77] Here, the most likely explanation is that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was expressing support for the Banū Qays, one of the main tribal confederations that played a significant role in the expansion of Islam. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was Bāhilī and so belonged to the Banū Qays. Red was associated with the Qays, whereas the rival Yamanī bloc wore yellow.[78] Red also appears to have signaled support for Umayyad rule, given that rebels within the Umayyad family and their supporters donned red during the third *fitna*.[79]

Despite the multifaceted significance of red clothing in the Umayyad period, it is also possible that the color did not signal any specific religious or social distinction. In describing the rebellion of Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, Ṭabarī includes more than one account of how the famous general Ibn al-Ashtar rallied his men. In one of these reports, Ṭabarī's source asserts:

> I saw him [Ibn al-Ashtar] and his men when they tethered their horses close together and when Ibn al-Ashtar took the hem of his *qabāʾ* [coat], lifted it up, and pushed it into a red belt made from the borders of *burda* [mantle] materials, which he put on over his *qabāʾ*. He had covered up his armor with the *qabāʾ*.[80]
>
> فانّى لأنظر اليه والى اصحابه حين قرّبوا خيولهم وحين اخذ ابن الأشتر اسفل قبائه فأدخله فى منطقة له حمراء من حواشى البرود وقد شدّ بها على القباء وقد كفّربالقباء على الدرع.[81]

Ibn al-Ashtar was Madhḥijī and so would not have worn a red belt to mark belonging to the Banū Qays; he also consistently fought the Umayyads—first under Mukhtār and then under the Zubayrids—and so would not have worn red to signal support for the Umayyads. This passage suggests that the phrase used in Łewond's text may have been meant to rally men to the cause of a charismatic leader.

Regardless of its intended meaning, Łewond's reference to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's "red girdle" demonstrates that Łewond and, presumably, his audience belonged to a cultural setting in which the significance of this statement would have been clear.

V.F. MUḤAMMAD B. MARWĀN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHINA

Łewond describes Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China, which seems to incorporate legendary material. The passage is very difficult to make sense of even in light of other sources, whether in Arabic, Armenian, or Syriac.

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77 The most famous use of the term *muḥammira* is in relation to the Khurramiyya, which does not fit the particular context here. See the discussion of "color-coding" in Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 121–28. Crone argues that Marwān b. Muḥammad recruited *muḥammira* from Armenia and Azerbaijan to fight at the battle of Zāb in 132/750; this explanation rests on an explicitly apocalyptic passage in Ṭabarī. Another famous usage of red garments is apocalyptic and found particularly in the anti-Umayyad movements focused on the legendary figure of the Sufyānī, on which see Roggema, *Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā*, 75. However, this explanation, too, makes little sense in the context of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

78 Fierro, "Red and Yellow," 79.

79 Cobb, *White Banners*, 165 n. 15.

80 Ṭabarī, *History*, 20:214.

81 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:629.

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V.F.1. A Legendary Account of Umayyad Campaigns in Central Asia

Multiple campaigns in the East occurred during the reign of Walīd, though none fit the circumstances described in Łewond's account. The location of the campaign—China—is the first anomaly. The Umayyad campaigns in fact reached into Central Asia and did not extend as far as China. This problem might be somewhat mitigated by the definition of "China" in Łewond's text. Łewond merely notes that Muḥammad b. Marwān traveled though Asorestan, Persia, and Khurāsān to arrive at a river called Bawtis in the land of the "Čenkʿ."[82] The Armenian term Čenkʿ is difficult to pin down, as it is sometimes used as a catch-all term to refer to Central Asia.[83] The second discrepancy is the reported involvement of Muḥammad b. Marwān, since he is not known to have participated in any of the campaigns in Khurāsān or beyond during the reigns of ʿAbd al-Malik or Walīd. According to the Arabic sources, Muḥammad's only foray was likely to Iraq in response to the rebellion of Ibn al-Ashʿath. The campaigns in Central Asia were instead directed by Qutayba b. Muslim under the authority of Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.

Reading Łewond's account of Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against the reports of Umayyad campaigns in the East yields little of value. A number of military encounters share one or two similarities with that described by Łewond, but nothing definitive appears to explain his colorful account. Qutayba fought against the Turkish and Sogdian forces of Kūrbaghānūn al-Turkī in 88/706–7. Kūrbaghānūn may well have been the patrician of Samarqand, but he appears in Arabic sources as "the nephew of the king of China" (ابن اخت ملك الصين). The accounts of this campaign claim Chinese involvement in battle and assert that the caliphal forces numbered 200,000, though they lack the storyline of the maidens.[84] Another possibility is that Łewond's story is informed by Qutayba's campaign against the Hephthalite Ṭarkhān Nīzak in 91/709–10.[85] This episode inspired many retellings in Arabic and Persian; if it also inspired Łewond's report, then the river Bawtis might derive from Bādhghīs, the stronghold associated with the rebellion of Ṭarkhān Nīzak.

The legendary elements in Łewond's account suggest that the roots of his description of Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China lie in literary narratives or oral tales and should not be sought in the reports of Umayyad campaigns in Central Asia. However, even legendary material offers little grounding for specific details. It is possible that Łewond refracts details circulating about Alexander the Great. Syriac legends include accounts of Alexander's failed campaign against China. He disguised himself as an ambassador and met with the Chinese emperor. In the meeting, the pretend ambassador described the power and might of Alexander and the extent of his dominion over the Persians and the Indians. He then feasted with the emperor and returned with a large amount of luxury goods, resolving not to encroach further into Chinese territory. According to the Syriac legends, Alexander went to China with only a few companions and left his army on

82 Martin-Hisard suggests that the river Bawtis renders the Chinese Po-tsu, one of the names of the Oxus, or Āmū Daryā; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 72, n. 378.

83 Svazyan, "Čenkʿ ev Čenacʿ ašxarhə"; Bedrosian, "China and the Chinese." On the flexible definitions of Ṣīn in Arabic, see Gibb, "Arab Invasion," 473.

84 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 191; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1195; Narshakhī, *History of Bukhara*, 45; Chavannes, *Documents*, 289.

85 Esin, "Tarkhan Nīzak."

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the shores of the river that is mentioned three times, each time with a different spelling: Barsaṭīs (ܒܪܣܛܝܣ), Bīrsaṭūs (ܒܝܪܣܛܘܣ), and, in Sogdiana, Barṭisīṭūs (ܒܪܛܝܣܝܛܘܣ).[86] It is possible that Łewond's river Bawtis (Բաւտիս) derives from this type of storytelling setting. Such a narrative context would fit the broader Umayyad reframing of famous generals in the mold of the conqueror Alexander the Great, similar to what was done with Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (see chapter VI).

V.F.2. The Dual Campaigns of Muḥammad b. Marwān and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik

Łewond's account of Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China cannot be easily explained in relation to either Umayyad military encounters or extant legendary texts. The difficulty of situating the report suggests that Łewond or his source manipulated the details to make a broader claim. The significance of this campaign becomes clearer when it is read alongside Łewond's retelling of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's failure at the gates of Constantinople. Both episodes build on storytelling tropes and follow similar narrative arcs from the height of success to complete ruin.

Both generals issued a written proclamation to their opponents about the total superiority of Muslim military might at the edge of a body of water. When Muḥammad b. Marwān encamped on the banks of the river Bawtis, he wrote to the Chinese emperor: "Why do you alone resist and not submit to our prince, since all peoples tremble in fear of us? Now, in whom do you trust that you do not submit to us?" (Ընդէ՞ր ասէ դու միայն ընդվզեալ ոչ մտանես ընդ հնազանդութեամբ իշխանին մերոյ) [28v]. Similarly, when Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik ventured against Constantinople, Łewond claims he stopped on the shore of the Pontus Sea and wrote to Leo: "We vanquished and defeated all of the kingdoms" (զ*ամենայն* զթագաւորութիւնս վանեալ պարտեցաք) [77v]. Both descriptions are biblically informed, modeled after the Assyrian general Rabshakeh's siege of Jerusalem in 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 18–19 and Isaiah 36–37. Subsequently, both Maslama's and Muḥammad's armies drowned and both generals returned home chagrined. Unable to topple their enemies, they vowed never to go out on campaign again (at least according to Łewond's version of events). Although there are several important differences between the two narratives—notably, the focus on Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and the ruse with the wagons in China—both reports demolish the careers of ʿAbd al-Malik's two most prominent generals in Armenia by having them end in embarrassment. Łewond's accounts of these two generals' exploits, then, follow a narrative logic rather than chronological history, and their import rests in the image of Muḥammad b. Marwān and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik that Łewond creates for his audience.

The idiosyncrasies of Łewond's version of the campaign against China find their match in only one other text: the history associated with Šapuh Bagratuni. Pseudo-Šapuh melds Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against the Chinese into Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaigns against the Khazars. In his typically dizzying fashion, Pseudo-Šapuh narrates a very similar tale, but he places it on an ambiguous date: during the reigns of the Roman emperor Leo (r. 717–41) and of Amr, to be identified as ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–20) but labeled "king of Baghdad" (արքայ Բաղտադայ) in the text itself.

86 *History of Alexander*, 193, 96, 204.

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Muḥammad b. Marwān is called Aḥmad b. Muḥammad in Pseudo-Šapuh's text, but otherwise much of the story is the same, including the confrontation with Čenbakur and the ruse with the wagons. The name Čenbakur appears in many early medieval Armenian sources to refer to the king of China, combining *Čenkʿ* in reference to the Chinese with *bakur*, a word attested in several ancient Iranian languages and meaning "son of heaven."[87] However, Pseudo-Šapuh does not recognize the title and instead locates this encounter along the shores of the river Kur in the south Caucasus. He, like Łewond, has Čenbakur emerge victorious, but the caliphal forces do not drown. Instead, they suffer extreme losses but then regroup and return the following year:

> He [Muḥammad b. Marwān] stayed there [in Baghdad] until the next year; then he gathered troops in numberless multitudes and again attacked the land of the Čenkʿ. He completely devastated all the land of Armenia and passed into the land of the Khazars. But Čenbakur came to meet him and brought before him many treasures; noble horses with harnesses worked in gold, about three hundred thousand of them; fine pelts of wild animals; and many luminous gems. Satisfied, he [Muḥammad] went [away] and did not enter the land of the Khazars.[88]

> Եւ կացեալ մինչեւ ի միւս տարին եւ ժողովեաց զաւրս անթիւ բազմութիւնս եւ դարձեալ եկն ի վերայ երկրին Ճէնաց, եւ առհասարակ այրեաց զամենայն յերկիրն Հայոց եւ անցեալ գնաց աշխարհն Հազրաց: Իսկ Ճէնբակուրն ել ընդ առաջ նորա եւ բերեր առաջ նորա գնածս բազումս եւ երիվարս ազնիւս ոսկիակուռ սարօք՝ իբրեւ. ԳՃՌ. եւ պատուական մորդս զազանաց եւ բազում ակունս լուսաւորս: Եւ հաւանեալ գնաց եւ ոչ եմուտ ի յերկիրն Հազարաց:[89]

Having concluded this agreement, Muḥammad b. Marwān next turned against Darband (though it is left unsaid how this qualified as leaving the Khazars alone) and the Alans. Both of Pseudo-Šapuh's accounts of the aftermath of the defeat of the Čenkʿ resemble significant Umayyad campaigns in the Caucasus.

Łewond's narrative mirroring and Pseudo-Šapuh's convoluted account demonstrate that the campaigns of Muḥammad b. Marwān, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and the future caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad were conceptually entangled. The comparison is particularly striking because Łewond rearranges his chronology so that Maslama's Caucasian campaigns unfurl immediately after Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China (see chapter VI). It is perhaps not surprising that stories about them became intertwined, as uncle and nephew were both on campaign in the Caucasus together at the same time.

87 See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* entry "Fag̱ẖfūr."

88 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 192.

89 Bagratuni, *Patmutʿiwn*, 75.

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VI The Caliphate of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik

r. AH 96–99/715–17 CE

Łewond's chapter on the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik should include a description of a campaign against Constantinople led by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the brother of the caliph. However, Łewond proves inventive in his storytelling. Maslama may be most famous for his failed campaign against the capital of the Roman Empire, but he also led a series of campaigns in the Caucasus in the 720s and 730s. Łewond flips the two stories, so that Maslama's Caucasian campaigns appear first, earlier than they should, and his major defeat is delayed to the end of his life. This revised timeline depicts the arc of Maslama's career as ending in failure. In this chapter, Łewond selectively records elements of Maslama's Caucasian campaigns, such as the capture and rebuilding of the city of Darband, in modern Russia. In the process, Łewond casts Maslama as a hero by alluding to legendary details about Alexander the Great in his descriptions. Such metaphoric comparisons pave the way for the downward trajectory of his career, providing the heights of glory that will prove too much for Maslama to maintain. Łewond subsequently has Maslama flee from Khazar adversaries, beginning the dismantling of a military reputation vaunted across the Caliphate.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After him [Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik], Sulaymān reigned for two years and eight months, then he died. These [are] his deeds.

17. In the second year of his reign, he mustered many forces, placed them in the hands of the general Maslama, and sent [them] to the Caspian Gates. They came and did battle with the forces of the Huns, who [were] in the city of Darband. They [the Arabs] attacked them [the Huns] and drove them out. They knocked down and demolished the walls of the fortress. While they were knocking down the walls of the fortress, they found a stone in its foundation that was inscribed with the following inscription: [31r] "The autocrat Emperor Marcian built this city and these towers with many talents from his own treasury. In the last times,[1] the sons of Ishmael will raze it, and they will rebuild it from their own treasury." When they found the

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 715–17): Umayyad caliph remembered for attempts at expansion, especially the siege on Constantinople.

Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik: a celebrated Umayyad general who served as governor of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan starting in 710. He was particularly famous for his campaigns against the Byzantines in the 710s and against the Khazars in the 720s and 730s.

Caspian Gates: a reference to the large walled fortification built at Darband that closed access from the Caucasus Mountains to the Caspian Sea (fig. 8).

Huns: a people who expanded into Europe and the Middle East in the fourth and fifth centuries; here, Łewond uses classicizing vocabulary to refer to the Khazars.

Darband: an important trading city and fortification on the Caspian Sea, now in modern Russia.

Emperor Marcian (r. 450–57): Roman emperor. It is not clear why he would appear in relation to Darband (map 6).

1 "In the last times," ի յետին ժամանակս; cf. 1 Peter 1:5; 1 John 2:18; Jude 1:18; Agatʿangełos, *History of the Armenians*, §754.

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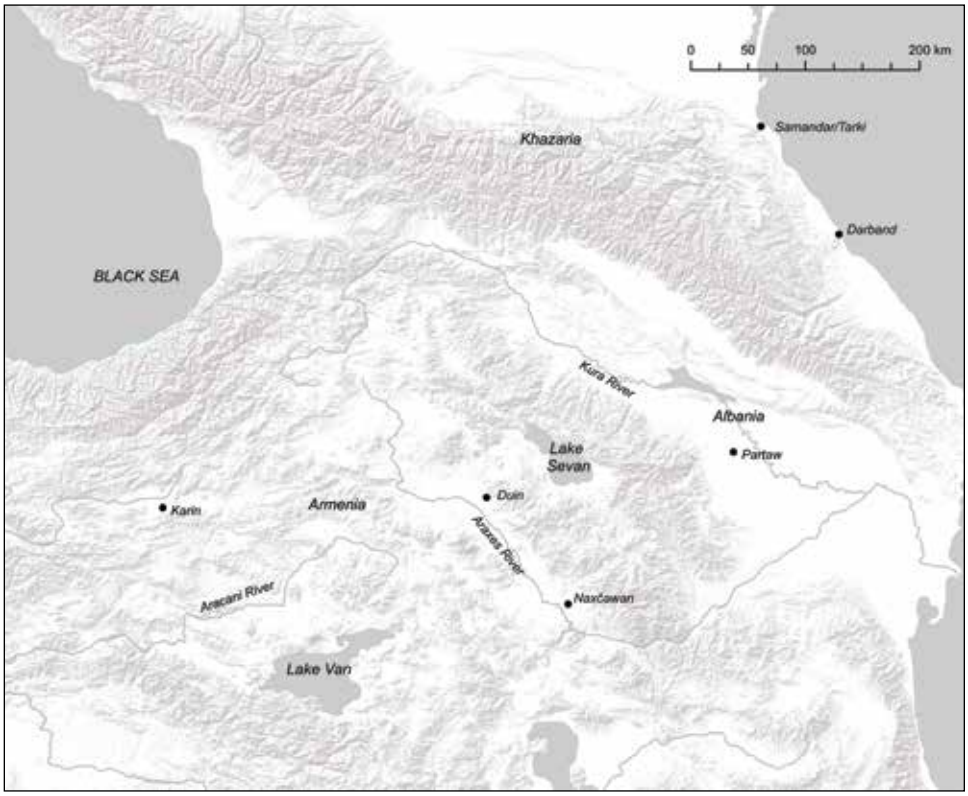
Figure 8. Darband, known as the Caspian Gates. Photo by Elnur Neciyev from Wikimedia Commons (CC BY 4.0).



Map 6. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malikʾs campaign against the Huns (i.e., Khazars).

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inscription written on the rock, they ceased breaking the wall. They placed overseers over the reconstruction of the destroyed wall.

Maslama himself took a multitude of forces and crossed through the Čora pass. His incursion spread in the land of the Huns, and he went and camped near Tarki, the city of the Huns. But the inhabitants of the land, when they saw the marauder who rose up and arrived against them, immediately notified the king of the Khazars, who was called Khagan. He took with him many troops and all of his strong giants, whose valor and strength were well known to all peoples, and he came and made camp near him [Maslama]. They did battle for many days; they did not fight [31v] each other legion to legion but rather wrestled [one on one]. And Khagan prolonged the confusion of the war so that Alpʿ Tʿarxan, whom he had called for help, could come.[2]

When Maslama saw the immense multitude of the soldiers, he was uncertain of himself, and he wondered if it was possible to find some ruse to escape from them. He ordered the troops to light a huge fire in the camp, left the chattel of the camp—the concubines, the servants, the maids, and the rest of the commoners—there, and headed toward the Caucasus Mountains. He cut down the forest and made a path and narrowly escaped the hands of the enemy. And thus he returned humble and full of shame from the land of the Huns. Having completed all of this, Sulaymān died.

Čora: one of the two main passes through the Caucasus. Scholars have debated whether it is a place within Darband or near it.

Tarki: a city in modern Dagestan. See map 6.

Wrestling giants: Łewond here draws on legendary tropes of masculine strength.

Alpʿ Tʿarxan: likely a Turkic honorific title designating a person of high military rank.

Maslama: the manuscript reads "Sulaymān" here and "Maslama" at the end of the paragraph, but the two names must have been inverted through scribal error, as they look very similar in Armenian. We have corrected the reading. Maslama fled from the Khazars, after which Sulaymān died. Maslama appears in later chapters in connection with his campaign against Constantinople.

Caucasus Mountains: mountain chain that connects the Black and Caspian Seas and is home to many peoples.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Յետ նորա փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւն Սուլեման ամս. *երկուս*. և ամիսս *ութ* և վախճանի. և այս[3] վարք նորա:

ԺԷ[4] Սա յերկրորդ ամի իշխանութեանն իւրոյ զումարէր զաւրս <բազում>[5] տայր ի ձեռս զաւրավարին Մսլիմայ. և առաքէր ի դրունս Կասբից. որոց եկեալ մարտ եղեալ ընդ զաւրս Հոնաց որ ի Դարպանդ քաղաքի. հարին զնոսա և հալածեցին. և քանդեալ աւերեցին զդղեակապարիսպ ամրոցին. և մինչդեռ քանդեին զպարիսպ ամրոցին գտին վեմ մի ի հիմունս նորա. որ ունէր վերնագիր դրոշմեալ աւրինակ զայս: [31r] Մարկիանոս ինքնակալ կայսր շինեաց զքաղաք <եւ զ>աշտարակս[6] զայս բազում տաղանդաւք յիւրոց գանձուց. և ի յետին

2 "So that Alpʿ Tʿarxan . . . could come," վ*առն* զալստեան Ալփ Թարխանին, lit. "on account of the coming of Alpʿ Tʿarxan."

3 այս] read: այս է with Chahnazarian, Malxaseancʿ, and Tēr-Vardanean.

4 ԺԷ in lft. mg.

5 <բազում>] suprascr. Hand 1[corr].

6 <եւ զ>աշտարակս] եւ զ- in lft. mg. Hand 1[corr].

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ժամանակս որդիքն Իսմաելի քանդեսցեն զսա. և յիւրեանց գանձուց վերստին շինեսցեն: Եւ իբրև գտին զդրոշմն գրոյն զոր ունէր քարն դադարեցին ի քակելոյ զպարիսպն. և կացուցեալ զործավարս ի վերա վերստին շինեցին զկործանեալ պարիսպն:

Եւ ինքն Մսլիմ առեալ զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն անցանէր ընդ պահրակն[7] Ճորա. ասպատակ սփռեալ յաշխարհին Հոնաց. և երթեալ բանակէր մերձ առ Թարգու քաղաքի Հոնաց: Իսկ բնակիչք աշխարհին իբրև տեսին զհենն որ զարթուցեալ հասանէր ի վերա նոցա, վաղվաղակի ազդ առնէին արքային Խազրաց որ անուանեալ կոչէր խաքան: Իսկ նորա առեալ ընդ իւր զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն, և զ*ամենայն* յաղթանդամ սկայազունսն իւր. որոց արիութի*ւն* զաւրութե*ան*ն հոչակեալ էր առ *ամենայն* ազգս. և եկեալ բանակէր մերձ առ նմա. և ի բազում աւուրս մարտ եղեալ մարտնչէին ընդ [31v] միմեանս. ոչ զունդ առ զունդ. այլ ըմբշամարտ մարտիւ. և յապաղէր խաքանն զխառնամիսի պատերազմն վ*առն* գալստեան Ալփ Թարխանին զոր էր կոչեալ ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան*.

Իբրև էտես Սուլիման[8] զանհուն զաւրացն զբազմութի*ւն*. վարանէր յանձն իւր. և խորհէր. եթէ զի՞նչ մարթասցէ հնարս գտանել զի կարասցէ զերծանել ի նոցանէ. և հրաման տուեալ զաւրացն լուցանել հուր սաստիկ ի բանակին, և թողեալ զաղխս բանակին անդէն. զհարճս և զծառայս և զաղախնայս, և զայլ խառնիճաղանճսն. ճանապարհ կալեալ ընդ լեառն Կաւկաս. կոտորէր զանդառն ճանապարհ արարեալ զերծանէր մազապուր ի ձեռաց թշնամեացն. և այնպէս կորագլուխ դառնայր լի ամաւթով յաշխարհն Հոնաց. և կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* վախճանեցաւ Մսլիման:[9]

COMMENTARY

VI.A. MASLAMA'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE CAUCASUS AND CONSTANTINOPLE

We would normally expect to see Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik lead his forces through Roman territory during the reign of Sulaymān, but Łewond instead places the campaign against Constantinople in the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105–25/724–43; see chapter IX), far later than any other source. However, Łewond's "incorrect" chronology is more productive than it is problematic. Just as he transposes Maslama's campaign against Constantinople from Sulaymān's reign to Hishām's, so, too, does he transpose Maslama's campaign against the Caucasus from Hishām's reign to Sulaymān's. Although historians have frequently pointed out that Łewond's chronology is incorrect, it is important to recognize that Łewond's misdating is a deliberate part of his narrative strategy rather than a mistake or due to misinformation. He flips the two campaigns so that Maslama's greatest defeat before the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople constitutes the culmination of his life.[10] Łewond deliberately restructures the arc of Maslama's career to set him up for failure. Łewond's reordering of the campaigns against the Caucasus and against Constantinople has practical implications for the way that we read this chapter on Sulaymān's reign. When Łewond claims that "in the second year of his reign, he mustered many forces, placed them

7 պահրակն] read: պահակն with printed editions.

8 Սուլիման] read: Մսլիման.

9 Մսլիման] read: Սուլիման.

10 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 131.

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in the hands of the general Maslama, and sent [them] to the Caspian Gates" ([u]ա յերկրորդ ամի իշխանութեանն իւրոյ զումարէր զաւրս բազում տայր ի ձեռս զաւրավարին Մսլիմայ. և առաքէր ի դրունս կասբից) [30v], we should read this "his" to refer to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik rather than his brother Sulaymān.

Reading Łewond against the relevant Arabic histories offers a jarring reversal of the narrative. In addition to the reordering of events, Łewond ignores some of the most dramatic accomplishments of Maslama's governorship of Armenia. He completely omits Maslama's earlier stint as governor during the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik,[11] as well as some of his successes after his fateful flight from the Khazars. In 113/731–32, he won a string of stunning victories against the *mulūk al-jabal* in the eastern Caucasus:

> Maslama proceeded through Khazar lands until he reached Ḥayzān.[12] He conquered it and killed its people. Then he went on to Sharwān, whose people made peace with him, and then to Masqaṭ, whose people sued him for peace. He sent his cavalry to the land of the Lakz, whose people sued him for peace, and wrote to Ṭabarsarān, whose people did likewise. He went through the region, meeting no opposition, until he reached Warthān, where he was met by Khāqān, the king of the Khazars.[13]

> وسار مسلمة فى البلاد التى للخزر حتى صار الى حيزان فافتتحها وقتل اهلها ثمّ صار الى سروان فسالمه اهلها ثمّ اتى مسقط فصالحه اهلها ووجّه خيله الى ارض اللّكز فصالحه اهلها وبعث الى طبرسران فصالحه اهلها فسار فى البلاد لا يلقاه احد حتّى بلغ ارض ورثان فلقيه خاقان ملك الخزر.[14]

The places listed here appear in a number of different texts, including those of Ibn Aʿtham, Balādhurī, and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ. These authors' notices include all of the familiar battlegrounds of other celebrated campaigns of the Arab-Khazar wars, recording Maslama's successes alongside Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh, and Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī. Łewond's narrative of Maslama's Caucasian campaigns is quite selective: he dampens Maslama's successes, passing by some victories in silence, and focuses on the defeats that the Arabic sources, in turn, attempt to downplay.

VI.B. MASLAMA IN DARBAND

Łewond describes the greatest success of Maslama's military career with the capture of Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband from the Khazars and the rebuilding of its walls. Many other sources mention these events, drawing comparisons between Maslama and both the Sasanian emperor Anūshirwān and Alexander the Great. The specific details provided in Łewond's account do not align with other sources, however, despite fitting into the same eschatological narrative mold.

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11 Spellberg, "Umayyad North."

12 The text here actually reads "Georgia" (جرزان), but in view of all other references to this campaign and the logic of its itinerary, this is likely a scribal error for Ḥayzān (حيزان)—the usual Arabic toponym for what should have read Khaydāq (خيداق). We have corrected it here in the English and the Arabic on the basis of the reading of Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 222; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207; and Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:282.

13 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1035. For this campaign, see previous footnote.

14 Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:381.

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VI.B.1. The Destruction and Rebuilding of Darband

According to Łewond, Maslama fought the Huns in Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband and expelled them from the city. He then had the walls of the fortress dismantled. But when Maslama's men discovered an inscription, they stopped razing the walls and instead rebuilt them.

Many Arabic sources about Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband describe its walls, but they do so nearly exclusively to commemorate the deeds of Anūshirwān.[15] Even references to Maslama's capture of the city refer back to its foundation: Ibn Aʿtham, Balādhurī, and Balʿamī explain that Maslama overcame the city's defenses by poisoning the water cistern that had been built by Anūshirwān. Without adequate water supplies, the Khazars were forced to abandon the city. Then Maslama ordered that the towers be turned into a granary and installed iron gates to protect the city.[16] Although he does not provide such details about the rebuilding, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ offers a specific date for this activity: "Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik went out in pursuit of the Turks in Shawwāl in the year 112 [December 730–January 731], through intense rain and snow, until he passed al-Bāb. He appointed [Ḥārith b. ʿAmr] al-Ṭāʾī to build and fortify the gate" (خرج مسلمة بن عبد الملك في شوال سنة اثنتي عشرة ومائة في طلب الترك في شدة من المطر والثلج حتى جاوز الباب وخلف الطائي في بنايان الباب وتحصينه).[17] This date aligns with Dasxuranc'i's account, which refers to the destruction and the rebuilding of the city: "In the year 180 [AE = 731–32 CE] Maslama rebuilt Darband in the name of the Arabs. They did not, however, destroy the palace of the eastern patriarch, which still stands there" (Եւ ի ՃՁ թուականին դարձեալ Մսլիման շինէ զԴարբանդ յանուն Տաճկաց, այլ զկաթողիկոսարանն արևելից ոչ աւերէ, որ դեռևս կայ ի նմա).[18]

The closest parallel to Łewond on this matter is not in Arabic, but rather in Syriac. The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* explains that Maslama captured "the gate of the land of the Turks" (ܬܪܥܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܘܪܟܐ) in AG 1042/730–31 CE. He tore down the gate "because they [the Huns] waged a battle behind this gate and also because they used to fortify themselves in it" (ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢܗ ܠܗ ܩܪܒܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܐܦ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܗ ܠܚܝܠܐ). The next year, in AG 1043/731–32 CE, Maslama rebuilt the city. The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* connects his newly rebuilt gate to Alexander the Great rather than to Anūshirwān as the Arabic texts do: "Maslama was pressed and ordered that the gate of the land of the Turks which had been built by Alexander of Macedon be destroyed" (ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܘܪܟܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܒܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܕܬܘܪܟܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܢܬܒܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܢ

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VI.B.2. The End of Time, Marcian's Inscription, and Maslama as the New Alexander

Like the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, the episode in Łewond alludes to the legacy of Alexander. The *Alexander Legend*, composed in Syriac in northern Mesopotamia in 629 CE or shortly thereafter, recounts Alexander's building of a large brass gate in the Caucasus to keep out the destructive forces of Gog and Magog, identified with the Huns.[20] On this gate, Alexander left an inscription with an eschatological prophecy predicting that the Huns would come forth through the gates, subjugate the lands of the Romans and the Persians, and then return home. In the last days, God will release the Huns once again, and they and the Persians will decimate each other. At this point, the Romans will destroy both of them, and "my kingdom, which is called that of the house of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, shall go forth and destroy the earth and the ends of the heavens; and there shall not be found any among the nations and tongues who dwell in the world that shall stand before the kingdom of the Romans" (ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܢ ܒܪܗ ܕܦܝܠܦܘܣ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܢܚܪܒܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܣܦܝܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܝܐ).[21]

The *Alexander Legend* is the earliest literary articulation to place the theme of Alexander's gate within an eschatological framework, and it proved a very productive text.[22] Although Łewond's inscription appears not on a gate but on the walls of the city, it is clear from the reference to the Huns and the eschatological tenor of the inscription—"in the last times" (ի յետին ժամանակս) [31r]—that it drew on a tradition related to the *Alexander Legend*. Unlike the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, which presents Maslama as superseding Alexander by destroying and then rebuilding his gate, Łewond's account has a Greek eschatological inscription restrain Maslama's destruction of the city walls. Even if Łewond's source here was not translated from Greek, the wording of the inscription attempts to endow it with a certain Romanicity. It contains the words "autocrator" (ինքնակալ), a calque on the Greek; "emperor" (կայսր), derived from "caesar;" and the Grecism "talent" (տաղանդ).

Łewond is unique in attributing an eschatological inscription to "Emperor Marcian," and the identification of the supposed dedicator of the inscription poses some challenges. At first glance, Emperor Marcian would seem to refer to Marcian, the fifth-century ruler of the Eastern Empire (r. 450–57 CE).[23] If he is indeed the intended dedicator, he is presumably named here because of some memory of his ceasing to pay tribute to Attila the Hun (as the Huns were associated with Gog and Magog) or because of his military action against Gubazēs I of Lazica, the closest point to the Caucasus where Marcian made an imperial presence felt.[24] His reign is recalled as a time of peace and prosperity, which may have prompted comparisons with a time before the eschaton, but beyond an explicit mention in the "Seventh Vision of Daniel," an apocalyptic text composed around 490 CE, Marcian does not seem to figure in known eschatological traditions.[25] Given that Marcian was

20 On the dating, see Reinink, "Die Entstehung," 268–70 n. 27.

21 *History of Alexander*, 155 (English), 270 (Syriac).

22 Van Donzel, Schmidt, and Ott, *Gog and Magog*, 21. See also Zadeh, *Mapping Frontiers*.

23 Czeglédy, "Syriac Legend," 248.

24 Toumanoff, *Studies*, 363.

25 La Porta, "Seventh Vision of Daniel," 410, 425.

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not active in the Caucasus or particularly associated with eschatological predictions, the fifth-century emperor is not a persuasive candidate for identification with Łewond's "Emperor Marcian."[26]

It is also possible that "Marcian" (Մարկիանոս) is a scribal error for "Maurice" (Մաւրիկիոս). It has long been recognized that the *Alexander Legend* reflects the imperial propaganda of the court of Herakleios in presenting Alexander as a "proto-Heraclius and Heraclius as a new Alexander."[27] But the deployment of Alexander in imperial propaganda may have predated Herakleios. G. Reinink has suggested, for example, that the emperor Ḵosrow II Parvīz, Herakleios's archrival, earlier cast himself in the image of Alexander and as the inheritor of Alexander's eastern conquests.[28] It is thus conceivable that even before Ḵosrow II, Alexander and his military conquests may have served Maurice—who was the first emperor since Theodosius the Great to lead Roman armies into battle, who conquered Persia and restored its ruler, and who was ceded large amounts of land in Syria, Armenia, and Iberia by the Persians—in the construction of imperial ideology. But even if Maurice entertained comparisons between himself and Alexander, there is no evidence to connect him with Darband. Łewond's inscription nonetheless underscores the malleability of Alexander's legacy within the context of competitive narratives of imperial legitimacy in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries.

Although the inscription of Marcian does not appear in Arabic sources, this passage fits a broader theme of Arabic conquest literature: conquered populations demonstrating foreknowledge of the Islamic conquests.[29] The most famous example of this comes from Andalus, where the Christian Visigothic kings kept a house that no one entered in which there was a chest with the Gospels. The building, known as the House of Locks, was opened only when a new king came to power and his name was recorded in the room. Immediately before the Islamic conquests, Roderic seized the throne and went inside the room without the approval of the people. As Ibn al-Qūṭiyya explains:

> He opened the building and the chest after the Christians had forbidden him to do so. He found in the chest pictures of Arabs shouldering their bows and wearing turbans on their heads. On the lower part of the wood was written: "When this building is opened and these pictures are taken out, a people in their image will enter Andalus, and they will triumph over it."

26 Another, though even less likely, possibility for Łewond's Marcian is Emperor Justin II's nephew Marcian, who was appointed *magister militum per Orientem* from 572 to 573 CE. According to Theophylact of Simocatta (iii.9.10–10.1) and Theophanes (AM 6064), Marcian's appointment and campaign against the Persians coincided with Justin's halting of payment to the Persians for the mutual upkeep of the fortresses that guarded the Caspian Gates. Yet this Marcian never fought beyond Nisibis, was not an emperor, and never appeared in an eschatological prophecy.

27 Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander," 86.

28 Reinink, "Heraclius, the New Alexander," 89–90.

29 For several examples of Christian and Zoroastrian leaders showing foresight about the Islamic conquests, see Shoshan, *Arabic Historical Tradition*, 64–67. Most of these examples have combatants who are fighting the Arab Muslims exclaim that certain territories will be taken. The Andalusī example is closer to what we find in Łewond because of the antiquity of the inscription.

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ثم فتح البيت والتابوت بعد ان نهته النصرانية عن فتحه فوجد فيه صور العرب متنكبة قسيها وعمائمها على رؤوسها وفي اسفل لعيدان مكتوب، اذا فتح هذا البيت وأخرجت هذه الصور دخل الاندلس قوم في صورهم فغلبوا عليها[30]

Other versions of the story describe the significance of the House of Locks differently, filling the room with the crowns of the Visigothic kings. Ibn Ḥabīb explains that according to the prophesy, the number of Visigothic crowns equals the number of Arab governors over Andalus until the end of time, thereby linking the House of Locks explicitly to the end of days.[31] Foreknowledge of the conquered, telling inscriptions, references to Alexander the Great, and apocalyptic sentiments are all common threads of Arabic-Islamic conquest literature, even if Łewond's combination of them remains unique.

VI.C. MASLAMA'S FLIGHT FROM THE KHAZARS

Łewond claims that Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik encountered the Khazars near Tarki. They fought one another one on one, which delayed the confrontation long enough for a Khazar champion to arrive with reinforcements. Maslama, seeing "the immense multitude of the soldiers" (քանիսն քաւրացն զբազմութիւն) [31v], was afraid. He ordered his men to light a fire in the camp, presumably to leave the impression that it was inhabited, and left the equipage there, fleeing back south through the Caucasus Mountains to escape.

Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī both describe the fire that Maslama set to fool the Khazars into believing that the caliphal troops remained in their camp. They frame the narrative with Maslama as a hero rather than a coward. Ibn Aʿtham explains that Maslama traveled through Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband to Balanjar, then Wabandar,[32] and then Samandar. Maslama found no one in Samandar, so he went on until the khagan met him. Ibn Aʿtham explains this encounter in terms reminiscent of Łewond:

> When all sorts of infidel peoples marched against Maslama, neither Maslama nor his army could endure them. Their number was so great that only the One who created them could count it. He [the narrator] said: When Maslama learned of this, he ordered his companions to set a fire, and they did so. And when it became night, they left their tents pitched where they were, and they left after evening had fallen. Maslama sped through the trip in hiding. He made every two stages into a single stage, even though the weak under his command preceded and the strong, men of endurance and bravery, made up the rear guard. This continued until he arrived at the city of al-Bāb.

اذا الأمم قد سارت الى مسلمة مع جميع أصناف الكفار فيما لا يطيقهم مسلمة ولا جيشه ولا يحصي عددهم إلا الذي خلقهم. قال: فلما علم بذلك مسلمة أمر أصحابه أن يوقدوا النيران، ففعلوا ذلك. فلما كان الليل تركوا خيامهم مضروبة في موضعها وارتحلوا بعد عشاء الآخرة، وجعل مسلمة يطوي المراحل طياً فجعل كل مرحلتين مرحلة، غير أنه قدم الضعفاء بين يديه والأقوياء أهل الجلد والشجاعة على الساقة، فلم يزل كذلك حتى صار إلى مدينة الباب.[33]

30 Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *History*, 14–15; Clarke, *Muslim Conquest*, 150.

31 Christys, "History of Ibn Ḥabīb," 332.

32 On Wabandar, see Dunlop, *Jewish Khazars*, 42–43. References to it appear in Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Persian sources but with some spelling differences as الوندر or الولندر.

33 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:283.

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A similar, though not verbatim, report on this engagement appears also in Balʿamī's history: the khaqan "rassembla son armée. Maslama vint ensuite à Derbend et de là à Samandar, sans rencontrer d'ennemis, puis il marcha contre le Khâqân, qui s'approcha à la tête d'une innombrable armée d'infidèles. Maslama, après avoir donné l'ordre d'allumer des feux et de poser les tentes, ramena les musulmans à Bâb al-Abwâb" (لشکر را گرد کرد. ومسلمه لشکر براند وبه دربند شد واز آنجا به سمندر شد وکس را نیافت. پس روی به خاقان نهاد. ولشکرهای کافران روی به مسلمه نهادند، چندانکه ایشان را شمار نبود. چون مسلمه آگاه شد، یاران خویش را فرمود تا آتش بر کردند وخیمه ها فرود کردند همچنان زده، وخود برفتند وبه شهر باب الابواب باز آمدند).[34] Balʿamī then diverges from Ibn Aʿtham by having the *mulūk al-jabal* take the rear guard, which discourages the khagan from following the group. Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī claim that Maslama met with the khagan soon after he passed Samandar, which is usually identified as Tarki. This detail aligns neatly with Łewond's account, but the fact that Łewond employs Tarki instead of Samandar here suggests separate transmission histories for this report. The specific details about the ruse are found in only a few histories.[35]

Other sources refer to Maslama's defeat and flight without mentioning the fires or providing the geographical specificity found in the works of Łewond, Ibn Aʿtham, and Balʿamī. Michael the Syrian notes that the large Turkish army forced Maslama to flee and abandon his equipage: "En l'an 1039 [AG = 727–28 CE], Maslama envahit de nouveau le pays des Turcs avec une nombreuse armée. Il y eut un combat de 40 jours. Quand les Ṭaiyayê virent qu'ils ne pouvaient vaincre les Turcs, ils abandonnèrent leurs bagages et s'enfuirent" (ܫܢܬܐ ܕܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܘܪܟܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܬܚܘܡܗ ܕܬܘܪܟܝܐ ܡܣܬܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܬܘܪܟܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ ܠܡܚܘܬܗ ܕܬܐܝܝܐ ܐܦܠܘ ܠܬܪܬܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܬܐ ܕܬܐܝܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܨܘ ܠܡܚܘܬܗ ܕܬܘܪܟܝܐ ܫܒܩܘ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܬܐܝܝܐ ܘܐܙܠܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܦܫܘ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܬܘܪܟܝܐ).[36] Although early Syriac texts also mention this defeat,[37] it is very likely that Michael learned of it from the traditions of the Theophilus circuit, because all of the historians dependent on Theophilus's reports include some snippet relevant to this event.[38] Theophanes notes the defeat with other details that evoke Łewond's story: "In this year [AM 6221/728–29 CE] Masalma invaded the land of the Turks. He joined battle with them, and there were many casualties on both sides. Seized by cowardice, Masalma took to flight and returned through the mountains of Khazaria" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐπεστράτευσε Μασαλμᾶς τὴν τῶν Τούρκων γῆν, καὶ συναφθέντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς πόλεμον, πίπτουσιν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν · καὶ δειλανδρήσας ὁ Μασαλμᾶς φυγῇ χρησάμενος διὰ τῶν ὀρέων Χαζαρίας ὑπέστρεψεν).[39] The *Chronicle to 1234* also adds that "Maslama was afraid, and by trickery and guile he got

34 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:285; *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:942.

35 In addition to Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī, the fires appear in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 4:409: وفيها (سنة 112) فرق مسلمة الجيوش ببلاد خاقان ففتحت مدائن وحصون على يديه وقتل منهم وأسر وسبى وأحرق ودان له من وراء جبال بلنجار، وقيل ابن خاقان، فاجتمعت تلك الأمم جميعها الخزر وغيرهم عليه في جمع لا يعلم عددهم إلا الله تعالى، وقد جاز مسلمة بلنجار فلما بلغه خبرهم أمر أصحابه فأوقدوا النيران ثم ترك خيامهم وأثقالهم وعاد هو وعسكره جريدة، وقدم الضعفاء وأخر الشجعان، وطووا المراحل كل مرحلتين في مرحلة حتى وصل إلى الباب والابواب في آخر رمق.

36 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:501, 4:462.

37 Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle," 585.

38 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 228–29.

39 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 563; *Chronographia*, 407. Theophanes has a similar report only two years later, in AM 6223/730–31 CE, but this later reference is likely a mistaken repeat of the 6221/728–29 campaign; see Balogh, "Notes on the Western Turks," 191.

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out of their country" (ܡܢ ܐܪܥܗ ܕܐܘܪܡܝܐ. ܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܗ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ).[40] Compiling the information from all of the various texts related to the Theophilus circuit, we find the abandonment of the equipage, the ruse, the flight, and the defeat. These works therefore offer a story that is analogous to the one Łewond tells, but only if they are all read in concert. They also do not explain the ruse—that is, that Maslama ordered the fires lit to suggest habitation in the camp; this detail is shared only by Łewond, Ibn Aʿtham, and Balʿamī.

With the additional information of the date furnished by the Theophilus circuit, we can return to the ʿAbbāsid-era Arabic sources. A close examination of the campaigns in 110/728–29 reveals confusion between Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's and Marwān b. Muḥammad's respective activities in the Caucasus. In contrast to Łewond, Ibn Aʿtham, and Balʿamī, some Arabic accounts locate a separate campaign, called the Campaign of Mud, in this year. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ explains that Maslama met with a large contingent of Khazars near al-Bāb on 7 Jumādā II 110/September 17, 728. On its own, al-Bāb refers to Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband, but Khalīfa also offers another report that locates Maslama near Bāb al-Lān/Dariali: "Maslama fought them for nearly a month in the pouring rain; then God defeated them" (كان قتال مسلمة اياهم نحواً من شهر في مطر شديد ثم هزمهم الله). Because of the rain, Khalīfa dubs this defeat the Campaign of Mud (غزاة الطين).[41] Ṭabarī also notes the heavy rain near Bāb al-Lān/Dariali in 110/728–29 but has Maslama return victoriously through Masjid Dhī al-Qarnayn/Mcʿxetʿa. There seems to have been a subset of traditions that interpreted Maslama's campaign as a success, as Eliya bar Šinaya also has Maslama defeat the Turks in AG 1039/728 CE.[42] These traditions are clearly quite different from those we saw above, as they place Maslama in Georgian territory rather than at Samandar/Tarki and focus on the challenging conditions.

Maslama's flight from the Khazars and his ruse with the fires thus cannot be connected with the Campaign of Mud. Although both Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī report on the Campaign of Mud, they clearly distinguish it from Maslama's flight from the Khazars. They claim that it was Marwān b. Muḥammad who led this campaign against Balanjar and that he did so only after Maslama had returned to Syria.[43] The confusion over the date and the attribution of this campaign to both Maslama and Marwān contribute to a broader pattern of conflating the various Umayyad generals in Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian sources. The reports about Maslama's flight from the Khazars demonstrate that Łewond aligns closely with Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī despite their differences in interpretation. The Theophilus circuit displays some similarities with this account, whereas Ṭabarī and Khalīfa diverge completely from it. These examples underscore the mobility of such reports and caution us not to erect boundaries between the various historiographical traditions of the Near East on the basis of language or religion.

40 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 229; "Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad 1234," 310.

41 Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 219.

42 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1506; bar Šinaya, *Chronographie*, 102.

43 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:288; Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 288.

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VII The Caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

r. AH 99–101/717–20 CE

Łewond offers very little information about the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, claiming little more than that he was better than the other Umayyads, a conviction shared by Arabic and Syriac sources. However, this chapter is by far the longest in his *History*. The vast majority of chapter VII is taken up by an extended religious polemic in the guise of a correspondence attributed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian (r. 717–41). Łewond first presents a brief letter from ʿUmar to Leo that challenges the tenets of Christianity; this letter was likely created to explain and introduce the response. The second letter, purporting to be from Leo to ʿUmar, occupies the rest of the chapter. This letter asserts the veracity of Christian beliefs, responds to the challenges that Muslims levied against Christianity, and then denigrates some of the tenets of Islam. The main themes include the nature of scripture, the Incarnation, biblical proof texts for the Prophet Muḥammad, and practices associated with the laws of the Bible or the Qurʾān. The correspondence was likely included in the earliest version of Łewond's *History*, but it was not written by him. Instead, it was originally written in Greek, as we can tell by certain biblical quotations and by the text's alignment with Chalcedonian Christian doctrine.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After him [Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik], ʿUmar reigned for two years and five months, then he died.

18. They say that he was the most noble of all the men of his tribe. He returned [32r] the captives[1] whom Muḥammad [b. Marwān] had captured from Armenia after burning the *naxarark*ʿ of this land, for he [Muḥammad] took many fortresses and captured men and women. When ʿUmar established his rule, he sent all of the captives to their own places and pacified the lands that were under his control. This same ʿUmar wrote a letter to Leo, the emperor of the Romans, to learn about the strength of our faith, and in it there were various questions that I shall record briefly below.

ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 717–20): Umayyad caliph praised by Christian and Muslim sources alike for his piety and for his reforms of caliphal taxation. He lifted the siege on Constantinople, but he supported campaigns against both the Khazars and the Khārijites.

1 "He returned the captives," Սա արար դարձ [32r] գերուբեանն, lit. "He made a return of the captivity."

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[LETTER FROM THE UMAYYAD CALIPH ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR LEO THE ISAURIAN]

"In the name of God, [from] ʿUmar, the prince of the believers, to Leo, the emperor of the Romans. Many times have I wanted to know the teaching of your supposed faith, and we have applied ourselves to learning what you really think; yet it has not been possible for us to comprehend [it]. But now tell me the truth.

"First, why did Jesus say to his disciples: 'You came naked and naked will you return'? Or, why do you not accept what Jesus said about himself, but instead examine the books of the Prophets and the Psalms to find in them testimony concerning [32v] the incarnation of Jesus? You doubted and [were] weak in your thought, and you did not consider sufficient that which Jesus testified about himself, but believed that which the prophets said. But Jesus was truly worthy of confidence, for he was close to God.[2] He knew himself better than [do] the scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have changed and corrupted.

"Or, how do you justify the scripture[s] and follow them however seems appropriate to you? You say that the Laws, which the sons of Israel used to read and know,[3] were written[4] many times and destroyed. And some time passed when not even a part of them [i.e., the Laws] existed among them, until some men wrote [them] afterward through their own understanding, and [they passed] from generation to generation and tribe to tribe. They were mortals from the sons of Adam who forget and are caught in conjecture, for Satan is near to them and they [are] his imitators in their enmity. Or, why is nothing found in the laws of Moses concerning the kingdom [of heaven], hell, the judgment, or the resurrection? Rather, they who wrote the Gospels, [33r] Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, related [these things]

ʿUmar raises a number of theological concerns in this short passage. They fall into five basic categories:

1. Why do Christians turn to the Old Testament instead of just trusting Jesus?
2. Why do Christians believe in the Trinity and the Incarnation?
3. How can Christians be certain that the Bible has not been corrupted?
4. Why don't Christians recognize that Jesus foretold the coming of Muḥammad?
5. Why have Christians changed biblical practices?

In the name of God: known as the *basmala*, this phrase is typically associated with Islam and widely used to start any document. Although Christian documents also adopt the phrase, it is not usual in the Armenian or Greek traditions of this early period. This version of the correspondence seems to be consciously imitating Arabic epistolary style.

Leo III the Isaurian (r. 717–41): Roman emperor remembered for his wars against the Caliphate, his alliance with the Khazars, and his iconoclasm.

You came naked and naked will you return: this quotation is not from the Gospels, as Leo will point out below, but from Job 1:21 and Ecclesiastes 5:15.

Jesus's testimony: the claim that Jesus speaks for himself may refer to a passage in the Qurʾān according to which Jesus spoke from the cradle to witness himself: "[Jesus] said, 'Indeed, I am the servant of God. He has given me the scripture and made me a prophet. And He has made me blessed wherever I am and has enjoined upon me prayer and charity as long as I remain alive and [made me] dutiful to my mother, and He has not made me a wretched tyrant. And peace is on me the day I was born and the day I will die and the day I am raised alive.' This is Jesus, the son of Mary, the word of the truth that they doubt" (Qurʾān 19:30–34).

Close to God: the Qurʾān refers to Jesus as someone who is close to God: "[And mention] when the angels said, 'O Mary, indeed God gives you good tidings of a word from Him, whose name will be the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, distinguished in this world and the Hereafter and among those close [to God]'" (Qurʾān 3:45).

Falsification of scripture (*taḥrīf*): Muslims and Christians accused each other of the falsification of scripture. Although Muslims recognized the Gospels (*Injīl*) as scripture, they expected that the Gospels would contain the word of God revealed through Jesus.

2 Cf. Qurʾān 3:45.

3 "Which the sons of Israel used to read and know," որք ընթեռնուին զնոսա յորդոցն Իսրայէլի. և գիտէին զնոսա, lit. "which were read by the sons of Israel and they knew them."

4 "Were written": the manuscript has գերեցան, "were captured," here and "were written," գրեցան, below in the analogous portion of Leo's response at fol. 37v. The editions of Malxaseanc', Tēr-Vardanean, and Hakobian emend the second instance to "were captured," but we think the reading "were written" is preferable in both cases.

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through their own understanding. The Paraclete whom Christ will send, as it says in the Gospels, is none other than our Muḥammad.

"Or, why did the Christian nations divide into seventy-two tribes after the disciples? You make [Jesus] a companion and equal to the incomparable power of God and like Him, [thereby] professing three gods. You yourselves freely endeavor to change all of the laws: changing circumcision into baptism, [changing] sacrifice into the communion of the bread and the cup of blessing [i.e., the Eucharist], and honoring Sunday instead of Saturday. Or, how was it possible for God to dwell in flesh and blood and in a womb of various impurities? Also, why do you honor the bones of the apostles and the prophets, or the sign of the cross, which according to the law was an instrument of torture, or the icons, which you venerate? For the prophet Isaiah testifies that our lawgiver [is] the companion of and equal to Jesus, since the Prophet saw him, a fellow traveler, in a vision: one mounted on [33v] an ass and the other mounted on a camel. So why do you not believe all this? Educate me, so that I will be able to know about your conjectured teaching."

The Paraclete: John 14:16 reads, "And I will ask the Father, and He will give you another advocate [παράκλητον] to help you and be with you forever." Muslims understood the word "Paraclete" (comforter) to refer to the Prophet Muḥammad. This shows how Muslims employed the Gospels to argue for the prophethood of Muḥammad.

Seventy-two tribes: the letter of ʿUmar undoubtedly referred to differing sects or beliefs, as per a famous *ḥadīth* that Christians would be divided into seventy-two sects. However, the author of ʿUmar's letter formed his list of accusations with Leo's response in mind. He therefore uses the word "tribes" instead of "beliefs" because Leo argues that Christians were divided into seventy-two different peoples and languages.

Companion and equal: this phrase echoes the seventh-century Umayyad anti-Trinitarian slogans "he has no partner" and "he has no equal." Both are found on the inscriptions inside the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (built in 692); the former is also found on Umayyad coins from the later seventh century. The Qur'ān clarifies Islamic views of Jesus by stressing the oneness of God: "He neither begets nor is born, nor is there to Him any equivalent" (Qur'ān 112:3–4).

Ass and camel: Isaiah 21:6–8 reads, "This is what the Lord says to me: 'Go, post a lookout and have him report what he sees. When he sees chariots with teams of horses, riders on donkeys or riders on camels, let him be alert, fully alert.' And the lookout shouted, 'Day after day, my lord, I stand on the watchtower; every night I stay at my post. Look, here comes a man in a chariot with a team of horses.' And he gives back the answer: 'Babylon has fallen, has fallen! All the images of its gods lie shattered on the ground!'" Muslims understood the rider on the ass as Jesus and the rider on the camel as Muḥammad, seeing in this evidence that the Hebrew Scriptures foretold the coming of Muḥammad.

[LETTER FROM THE ROMAN EMPEROR LEO THE ISAURIAN TO THE UMAYYAD CALIPH ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ]

ʿUmar, the prince of the Ishmaelites, wrote all of these disputations and many more to the king Leo. For that reason, it was necessary for the emperor Leo to respond in this manner:

17. "Emperor Flavian Leo, believer in Jesus Christ, our true God, and King to those who recognize Him. To ʿUmar, leader of the Saracens. What should I put forward as the most correct and most truthful [response] to what you sent to us? Especially as we were taught by God to instruct adversaries with kindness, [for] perhaps it may grant them time to repent. Moreover, royal custom is not to attack those who want to hear the miraculous mystery of truth with frightening words like rocks. But since indeed the beginning of your letter did not contain even the smallest semblance to the truth, one must not call 'just' that which is not true. For you said in your letter that 'many [34r] times we wrote to you' about the divine mystery of our Christians and that 'we applied ourselves to studying the teaching

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of your supposed beliefs.' But neither of these was possible, because no obligation at all has led us to these things. For we were not taught by our Teacher and Lord to expose such unique godly knowledge to the jeering mockery of foreign scholars, let alone to those who are not versed in the prediction[s] of the prophets and the preaching of the apostles. This is what we are accustomed to prescribing to others. Yes, we have written to you several times, and will yet again have occasion to write concerning other worldly matters, but not about divine affairs. Still, we who are counseled by the divine voice [have learned] to 'give an answer to everything that they ask you,'[5] but not to respond to him who does not ask. Moreover, we do not desire to learn anew the meaning of your opinions at present; rather, we have been counseled by God also concerning this: 'Examine everything,' He says, 'and hold fast to the good.'[6]

"Now, we have the written histories [34v] of our blessed bishops who were alive at the time when that Muḥammad, your lawgiver, lived, and for that reason it is not necessary to pester you about this. But lest you think us to be ashamed of such marvelous knowledge of God, listen then, if you are agreeable, and hear me: you will eat the goodness of the earth, as Isaiah said.[7] It is very difficult, O you man, to cast utter falsehood away when the opponent always thinks of contesting everything. What I am saying is as follows: If two people are standing near a fire, [and] one says that it is a fire (which is the case), while the other disputes and says that the same thing is a source of water, the seditious falsehood [of the latter] is readily apparent.

Written histories: we do not have any "written histories" by bishops in Greek from the seventh century (though we do have an Armenian history from that period). However, there is no reason to doubt that such texts circulated in the eighth century.

"Now, you said that our Lord said in the gospel, 'You came naked and naked you will return,' but nowhere in the Gospels do we find our Lord to have said this, although He always orders us to contemplate death. Rather, this is a saying of Job. For when [35r] Satanic temptations poured down upon him, the just one said this: 'I was born of my mother naked and I will return there naked. The Lord gives and the Lord takes; blessed be the name of the Lord.'[8] But you are in the habit of casting about in this way and culling one

5 Cf. Proverbs 26:5; 1 Peter 3:15. The Armenian quotation differs slightly from the text of the Zohrab edition of the Armenian Bible (Zohrab).

6 1 Thessalonians 5:21. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

7 Isaiah 1:19, where, however, the verbs are in the second person plural.

8 Job 1:21–22. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

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testimony after the other from the Holy Scripture, which you have not read and do not read. Rather, traffickers of God—in other words,[9] those traffickers of faith—who seek to gain your approval by saying something in the expression of the divine scriptures bark out to you whatever they need to.[10]

Holy Scripture: the author of Leo's letter criticizes Muslim readings of Christian scripture. The various versions of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence employ both biblical and Qurʾānic prooftexts, showing that Muslims and Christians were familiar with each other's texts.

"Even though you are swollen with pride in your tyranny, listen to my answers. You said that we find testimony about our Lord in the Psalms of David and the books of the prophets. [It is] not something new [that] we sought and found such sayings of the Holy Spirit that were spoken[11] through the prophets; but, by the grace and will of God, [it was] from [these sayings] that the promulgation of Christianity began and through those same [sayings that] it was realized. [35v] Having been established, it [i.e., Christianity] grew and will grow, by the power of God the Creator.

Leo's point here is that the Old and New Testaments both have essentially the same message inspired by the Holy Spirit. He understands the Hebrew Scriptures to reveal the coming of Christ to the Jewish people.

"You wrote that 'you reckoned sufficient and believed in those, so you leave aside what Jesus testified about himself. You doubted and fell into conjecture.' It would be blessed if you believed as you say in the firm and unerring histories of the Gospels more than all else. We know, however, that the Old and the New [Testaments] do not contradict each other, for indeed it was not possible for the one source of good—that is, the divinity—to cause both evil and good, truth and falsehood. But to make the bodily coming of His Word easy for the lawless Jewish people to understand, he forewarned the people with parables, proverbs, and the clearest commandments through the prophets so that they should not disbelieve in the coming of Christ, as is their way. In that very way, the Lord testified concerning Himself in the Gospels; and that which He said most clearly afterward when He took a body [is] not [36r] incompatible with[12] that which He himself said incorporeally through the mouths of the prophets. By the grace of God, we will demonstrate these points one by one in this letter to profess the most sublime things [about Him to be] beyond man and the most humble things [about Him to be] like man.

Mouths of the prophets: in this paragraph Leo continues to defend the idea that the prophets and Jesus say the same thing because God spoke through them.

Lawless: although it seems strange to refer to the Jewish people as lacking a law, the term "lawless" here is used in the sense of lacking faith. Armenian texts employ this term to refer to Jews, Muslims, the Antichrist, and Satan.

9 "In other words," զնոյն ասել, lit. "to say that same thing."

10 "Bark out to you whatever they need to," պէտք իրեանց դաւդանչեն, lit. "Their needs bark out."

11 The verb is singular, although the logical subject of the verb is plural.

12 "Incompatible with," աւտար, lit. "foreign from."

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"(2) You wrote that 'Jesus was truly worthy of trust, for he was close to God. He knew himself better than [do] the scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have altered and changed.' [My] answer: the truth does not know to deny what exists nor to affirm what does not exist; but falsehood easily takes hold of all, for it can disavow not only the apparent creations, but also the very Creator Himself by saying that there is no God. Now, it is not surprising that falsehood can also deny the scriptures of God or pretend that they are [36v] the cause of sins. Jesus was truly worthy of trust, not merely as some man deprived of the Word of God, but rather as perfect in both divinity and humanity. The sayings of the Word through the prophets are also trustworthy, not because men uttered them, but because the Word of God spoke through them incorporeally. And because He was mixed in the Old and the New [Testaments], for that reason also they do not contradict each other.

(2): the manuscript numbers the arguments made by Leo, although it is not consistent and some numbers are missing.
Close to God: see above, folio 32v.

"But as for what you said, that 'they altered the scripture': if the leader of your teaching taught you this, he forgot himself. If it was someone else, he lied even more. Now listen and consider this closely. The leader of your teaching says not to confirm a saying without witnesses. Similarly, he says that the Laws also order [this]. He says that 'every word must be confirmed from the mouths of two or three witnesses.' We know that Abraham first accepted [37r] the good news about Christ when God said to him: 'All of the peoples of the earth will be blessed through your descendants.'[13] With this hope, Isaac had blessed Jacob, and Jacob on account of the same reason had blessed Judah, his son: 'Judah, from you will go forth a prince for me and a leader from your loins until the future [generations] come. He is the expectation of the heathens.'[14] For Moses gave laws concerning this and he commanded Joshua, David, Solomon, the twelve prophets with Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job the just, and John the Baptist son of Zachariah. Add to those the twelve apostles of the Lord, as well as the seventy [disciples], and together in the Old and New [Testaments] there are 111 [witnesses].

Witnesses: in several places, the Qur'ān enjoins two or three witnesses; for example: "And bring to witness two just men from among you and establish the testimony for [the acceptance of] God. That is instructed to whoever should believe in God and the Last Day" (Qur'ān 65:2). This verse, and others in the Qur'ān, finds common ground with both the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament. See, for example, Deuteronomy 17:6: "On the testimony of two or three witnesses a person is to be put to death, but no one is to be put to death on the testimony of only one witness" and Matthew 18:16: "But if they will not listen, take one or two others along, so that 'every matter may be established by the testimony of two or three witnesses.'"

Prophets: compare this passage to Qur'ānic support for the prophets: "And We gave to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—all [of them] We guided as We had earlier guided Noah and, among his descendants, David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, and Aaron. Thus do We reward those who do good. And Zechariah, John, Jesus, and Elias—all were of the righteous. And Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah, and Lot—all [of them] We favored over the worlds. We elected [some] among their fathers, their descendants, and their brothers and We guided them to a straight path" (Qur'ān 6:84–87).

"Now, are you unconvinced by the words of so many holy men, beloved of God, whom your Muḥammad testified to be holy and servants of God, concerning the coming

13 Genesis 22:18. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

14 Cf. Genesis 49:10.

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of Christ? [37v] Do you consider your Muḥammad more trustworthy than God, who spoke through them, and the Word of God who appeared bodily? Now, I ask [you] succinctly. Please tell me which is the truth: the testimony of 111 servants of God, saying a single thing about a sole subject, or that of a single dissident and heterodox thinker, who thinks that he is telling the truth by lying? This is telling the truth through lying. Your Muḥammad teaches you to acknowledge the abovementioned[15] holy servants and beloved ones of God, yet he himself does not accept—and teaches others not to accept—what God said through them.

111 servants of God: Leo argues that there are 111 witnesses to the accuracy of the Bible who all say the same thing. By contrast, it is only Muḥammad who teaches that they have erred.

"(3) You said: 'How do you justify the scripture of the Jews and follow from it whatever seems appropriate to you?' You say that the Laws, which were read by the sons of Israel, and they knew what was in them, were written many times and were destroyed. And some time passed when[16] not even a single part of them [the Laws] existed among them until [38r] some men wrote [them] afterward with their own understanding according to their will, generation after generation and family after family. They were mortals from the sons of Adam, who forget and hold conjectures, for Satan is near to them and they [are] his imitators in their enmity.

ʿUmar's accusation is that since the Old Testament was handed down **generation after generation** by humans, it was subject to change and mistakes. Leo responds that the Bible was not a human endeavor but was inspired by God. Furthermore, he says that if the Jews had wanted to change scripture, it would have been more likely that they would have just removed a number of books and reduced the entire work to one or two books. In addition, Leo argues, it would make more sense for the Jews to have wanted to alter the texts that Christians thought prefigured Christ in the Hebrew Scriptures.

"[My] response: I am very surprised, not only at the disbelief of your teaching, but at your lack of shame in disclosing this. You even commit it to writing, and by doing so you appear ridiculous. You think to seduce us with our own words. You put that which you stole at the beginning of your letter [and] think to prop up what you say with what we said in writing. Now, if you consider what we said trustworthy, you are obliged to believe all of it, for no one gives witness with a lie, accepting half of the testimony while throwing the other half away. [38v]

"But since you are not well informed, listen and learn. We say that the Jews wrote[17] from a state of holiness[18] and did not create the stories on their own; rather, they were informed

15 "Abovementioned," վերագրեալ, lit. "above-written."

16 "And some time passed when," և մնային ժամանակս ինչ որ, lit. "And they remained for some time who."

17 "Wrote," գրեալ, following M1902. The edition of Hakobian emends the text to read "captured," գերեալ; if its emendation is followed, the clause would read: "We say the Jews, captured from a place of holiness. . . ."

18 "From a state of holiness," ի սրբութեան տեղոջէ, lit. "from a place of holiness."

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by the true histories of the pious men of the Hebrews and by their books of the prophets. There are twenty-two creations that God worked in six days in the beginning and twenty-two divine books for both the Hebrews and for us, and the same number of letters in their alphabet, although five of them have double [forms]. That is not without great mystery. God arranged and taught this about that [arrangement] through the prophets, for truths are evident and confirm each other. Of these twenty-two books, five are the Laws, which the Hebrews [call] Tʿawra [תּוֹרָה], the Syrians [call] Oratʿa [ܐܘܪܝܬܐ], and we call Noomaws [νόμος]. It contains the actuality of knowledge about God and God's creation of the world, as well as His command [39r] not to worship heathen idols, the covenant with Abraham about his child who is Christ, and other such orders about judgments and sacrifices to cause them to renounce heathen customs that had indeed been familiar [to them].

"Then there are the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four Kingdoms, and Chronicles. These tell the stories about the marvelous deeds of God in chronological order; the unerring genealogies of the righteous people who descend in order down to Christ; the histories of the kings of Israel (those that were pleasing to God and those that were not); the division of the people into two kingdoms, Israel and Judea, because of their transgression; and their captivity. Then the Psalms of David, the books of Solomon, which the Hebrews [call] Kohełētʿ [קֹהֶלֶת, Ecclesiastes] and Širatʿširiim [שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, Song of Songs], which we call Paṙimon [Παροιμίαι, Proverbs] and Samaton [Ἀσμάτων, from Ἄσμα Ἀσμάτων]. [39v] And there are all the prophecies of the twelve prophets, along with the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel about the coming of Christ. Now if some Jewish person had confused and corrupted [the scriptures], it would not have been possible to keep the writings intact, for the villains first would have removed a number of books, and it [i.e., the scriptures] would have been gathered into one or two, or perhaps more, into three books, and the rest suppressed,[19] for destroying them would have been easier [than altering them].

"Again, as I think that you are not uninformed about the enmity that [exists] between us Christians and the Jews, it is only about one thing: our acknowledgment of Jesus and

Twenty-two books: a tally of twenty-two books and their connection to the letters of the Hebrew Scriptures is an antique Christian reckoning and is known from patristic sources and Greek lists. It was not common in Armenian numberings of the books of the Bible, although it may have been known to some scholars through Armenian translations of Greek texts.

Double forms: Hebrew has five letters with a different form when they come at the end of a word.

The five books of the Laws (i.e., the first five books of the Bible, also known as the Pentateuch or Torah): notice that Leo claims that "we call" the Pentateuch *nomos* (the Greek form). This detail aligns with the purported author of the text (a Roman emperor), as well as with the Greek original of this version of the correspondence.

19 "The rest suppressed," զյաւելուածն ևս ի բաց բարձումն, lit. "the rest suppression."

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that He is Christ, who was proclaimed Son of God by the prophets, whereas the Jews, behold, they do not say that He is Christ. Although they confess that Christ shall come, they nevertheless remain unconvinced [by] the books of the prophets and therefore do not confess Christ Son of God. Now then, [40r] why do the corrupters of scripture leave in or themselves interpolate in their scripture such firm and indubitable testimonies, which cannot be understood [as applicable] to anyone else—even if one should excessively violate the word—except to the incarnated Son of God?

"Accept my third answer, as well. The captivity of the Jews preceded the bodily coming of Christ. So why had the Temple, the testaments, and the priesthood remained fixed in His time, as is indeed clear from the holy Gospels—just as you indeed testified about the Lord, about his circumcision, and about the other things that He fulfilled one after the other according to the Gospels? It is apparent [that] He did such things not for their own sake but in order to justify the sayings of the prophets about him and to demonstrate that they are [not only] not incompatible with but dear to Him and are solid testimonies to [40v] the mystery of His economy. Which testaments did the Jews have, if not the writings of the prophets, which remained with the Jews after both captivities, of Israel and [of] Judah, up to the time of our Savior, in which the Lord recalled many testimonies in order to instruct the incredulous Jews in the Gospels? The Jewish people were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, but divine supervision did not permit their captivity to end immediately. Instead, He settled the entire people in the places He wanted. Along with them were the scriptures, and also some of the prophets, as Ezekiel says about himself: 'I was among the captives on the banks of the river Kʿobar.'[20] And the blessed Ananiankʿ were thrown into the fire in Babylon.[21] The great Daniel prophesied in Babylon and was thrown into the pit of lions there.[22] And all of the events of Esther happened there.

Leo contends here that the **captivity of the Jews** in Babylon (598–538 BCE) was ordained by God. According to Leo, the Jews kept their writings throughout this period and rebuilt the Temple afterward so that the predictions of the prophets about the coming of Christ would be fulfilled. Leo claims [41r] that Psalm 136(137) predicted the captivity of the Jews and proves that the Jews kept their writings since the Psalm mentions their "words of blessing," which he interprets as the scriptures.

"But as to the fact that the scriptures were with them, [41r] listen to the Holy Spirit speaking through the prophets in the Psalm about the captivity of the Jews. Though it had not yet happened, it [the Holy Spirit] unmistakably indicated the unfolding of the events, saying in Psalm 136:

20 Ezekiel 1:1.

21 Cf. Daniel 3:21–23.

22 Cf. Daniel 6:16.

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'By the rivers of Babylon we sat and cried, as we remembered Zion among them. We hung our instruments on the willows. For there our captors asked for words in song and those who led us away [asked] for words of blessing.'[23] You said that 'the scripture was written with human reason.' I know that you mean to defame the second [composition of the Torah] by Ezra even though the grace of the Holy Spirit was upon him and he told everything without error. When the people simultaneously returned to Jerusalem from the lands where they had dispersed, carrying with them the scriptures, the marvelous work of God was apparent there, for not one thing from the Old [Testament] was found to be missing from Ezra's history. [41v]

Ezra: a priest famous for reintroducing the Torah to Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile. He appears here because he is tied to the relationship between human memory and the preservation of scripture.

"You said that they were men and seized by forgetfulness. Men are always weak in everything, as well as simple-minded and forgetful. But immortal God—who is great in power and thus has no limit or end to [His] wisdom, who spoke with man through His servants, the prophets, who possesses neither the stain of conjecture nor that of forgetfulness—He spoke to the prophets and did not abandon them to human wisdom. But do you not know that your Muḥammad is really a man? You reject the testimonies of so many saints of God with a single word of his. Or, you said that 'Satan is near the servants of God, but God [is] not at all [near to them].' But those who think critically know that Satan draws closer to the one who is without the testimony of scripture than he does to so many saints and witnesses of God.

Again, Leo argues that although he agrees that human beings are prone to **forgetfulness**, the Bible is the word of God, who does not forget. He also repeats the accusation that 'Umar accepts the word of one man, Muḥammad, over the word of the many prophets and apostles.

"As for the scripture, this much [should] suffice. When you said, [42r] 'We do not find anything in the laws of Moses concerning the kingdom [of heaven], hell, judgment, or resurrection,' you did not want to know that as [much as] men are able to grasp knowledge of God, so [much] does God teach them. It is not as though God spoke with men through a single prophet and at a single time, as you said, so that whatever God has commanded for the race of men, He commanded through Moses. It is not like that. What He commanded Noah, He did not command those who came before Noah. And what He commanded Abraham, He did not command Noah. Likewise, He did not command Moses [as He did] Abraham, and what [He commanded] Joshua, He did not command Moses; and what [He commanded] Samuel, David, and the other prophets each in their own time, He

Leo now addresses the topic of Christian beliefs that do not appear to be in the Hebrew Scriptures: the kingdom of heaven, hell, the judgment, and the resurrection. He repeats that God did not reveal Himself to one person at one time, but gradually through many prophets. He then invokes biblical verses that support these Christian ideas.

23 Cf. Psalm 136(137):1–3. The citation is closer to the Septuagint than it is to Zohrab.

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did not command Joshua. For as we said earlier, in this way God was pleased [42v] to make Himself and His will known little by little to humanity, for indeed men were not able to grasp the marvelous knowledge of Him all at once. Now, if He had said everything through a single prophet, then why did God send the other prophets? Or if He permitted everything to be corrupted as you say, then why did He speak through them at all? Now, even though Moses's instruction of man was preliminary and not yet the most perfect, God also indicated in it the resurrection, the judgment, and hell.

"Concerning the resurrection, He says: 'You see that I am God[24] and there is no other god[25] but Me. I kill and I bring to life, I wound and I heal, and no one will deliver you[26] from My hands.'[27] And concerning the judgment, He says: 'I will sharpen My sword like lightning and I will release My right hand in search of vengeance.'[28] And again: 'He will demand the vengeance of judgment from [His] enemies and He will repay [43r] those who hate [Him].'[29] Whereas concerning hell, He says: 'For a fire is kindled from My anger; it shall burn until the deepest hell.'[30] So He expanded on these more completely and most clearly through the other prophets.

"So you said that Matthew, Mark, Luke, [and] John wrote the Gospels. I know that you are troubled by the truth of us Christians, so you want to find a companion for your lie that we said that God sent them down from heaven, written, just as you say about your Pʿurkan [فرقان], although we are also not uninformed that ʿUmar, Abū Turāb, and Salmān the Persian wrote your [scripture]. And yet you, lying, spread the rumor that God sent it down from heaven. Now, know that the truth in this [matter] is ours, the Christians'. For if it [i.e., that which you said] were so, why do you slander [us by saying] that either we or someone else lied in the Gospels? What prohibited [us] from removing the names of the evangelists and also from

Authors of the Gospels: Leo points out that the evangelists wrote the Gospels because according to Islamic tradition the Gospels contain the prophecy revealed to Jesus, rather than his followers' accounts of his life. This leads to the assumption that the Christian Gospels were altered or invented and substituted for the prophecy of God through Jesus.

Pʿurkan: in Arabic *Furqān*, "Criterion." It is the name of the twenty-fifth chapter of the Qurʾān and is also sometimes used to refer to the Qurʾān in its entirety: "Blessed is He who sent down the Criterion to His Servant that he may be a warner to the worlds" (Qurʾān 25:1). Though the root is known in Arabic, the term is from Syriac: *purqānā*, meaning salvation, or possibly *puqdānā*, commandment.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: the second caliph, who ruled from 634 to 644. His copy of the Qurʾān was disseminated throughout the Islamic world while all other copies were burned. Furthermore, a tradition claims that ʿUmar recalled verses that were not included in this codex, but he was not immediately able to provide the sufficient number of witnesses to back his statement.

Abū Turāb: a name that the Prophet Muḥammad gave to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, his cousin and son-in-law who was also the fourth caliph, ruling from 656 to 661. He is likely included here because he was responsible for compiling the first complete copy of the Qurʾān; this was not accepted by the entire Muslim community and is therefore not the basis for the codified Qurʾān.

Salmān al-Fārisī, "the Persian": a famous Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad who died in either 655–56 or 656–57. An early *ḥadīth* has Salmān translate the first *sūra* of the Qurʾān into Persian.

24 "God," Աստուած: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

25 "God," Աստուած: not in Zohrab, but in the Septuagint.

26 "You," զձեզ: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

27 Deuteronomy 32:39.

28 Deuteronomy 32:41. "I will release My right hand in search of vengeance," և ի խնդիր վրիժուց արձակեցից զաջ իմ. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

29 Deuteronomy 32:43. The citation differs from both Zohrab and the Septuagint.

30 Deuteronomy 32:33.

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writing that [43v] God sent it down from the heavens? But also see this: God did not deign to counsel them either through His own incorporeal dialogue with human populaces or through sending angels to men. Rather, He chose prophets from among them and sent them. Therefore, the Lord, when He fulfilled everything that He had predetermined, spoke through the prophets before taking flesh.

"Knowing that men are in need of God's aid, He promised to send them the Holy Spirit, called the Paraclete, that is, the Comforter, for indeed they were pained and in mourning when they heard from their Teacher and their Lord that He would be leaving them.[31] And as we said, for that [reason] He called the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, as truly a comforter for them on account of His ascension and as a reminder [44r] of everything that He had spoken with them and that He had done before them, which they were to write for the entire world. Now know that Paraclete means 'comforter' and not Aḥmad [as you think], that is, 'I give thanks,' *euk'aristē*,[32] in our language, not *paraklētos*.[33] This blasphemy is truly without pardon, as the Lord said in the Gospels that he who blasphemes the Holy Spirit shall not be pardoned.[34] [It is] something more wicked than this blasphemy [when] you say that the Holy Spirit [is] a man, unknown to the scriptures of God.[35] As for what the Lord said concerning the Holy Spirit, listen indeed to these sayings: 'But the Comforter, the Holy Spirit,' He says, 'whom the Father will send in My name, will teach you everything and remind you of that which I taught you.'[36] He says, 'whom the Father will send in My name,' and your Muḥammad did not come in the name of our Lord, but in his own name. And the Holy Spirit, [44v] not a man, spoke [to the] holy, that is, to the disciples. You yourself know that the apostles of the Lord never saw your Muḥammad.

Revelation: Leo notes that the Christian scriptures were not revealed from the heavens, whether directly from God or via an angel. Here, he contrasts this position with Muslims' beliefs about the nature of the revelation of the Qur'ān (*tanzīl*): "And We have sent the Qur'ān down in truth, and with the truth it has come down. And We have sent you [Muḥammad] only as a bringer of good tidings and as a warner" (Qur'ān 17:105).

Paraclete: in the Qur'ān, Jesus foretells the prophethood of Muḥammad: "And [mention] when Jesus the son of Mary, said, 'O children of Israel, indeed I am the messenger of God to you, confirming the Torah that came before me and bringing good tidings of a messenger to come after me, whose name is Aḥmad.' But when he came to them with clear proofs, they said, 'This is clear magic'" (Qur'ān 61:6). Early Muslims identified the Aḥmad in this passage as the promised Paraclete mentioned in the Gospel. The superlative *aḥmad*, "most worthy of praise," shares a root with the name Muḥammad. The author of this version argues that Muslims have misinterpreted the meaning of the Paraclete.

31 Cf. John 14:16.

32 I.e., εὐχαριστῶ. The scribe misread եւքառիստէ as եւ քառիստրէ.

33 I.e., παράκλητος. The scribe misread պառակլիտոս as ապառակլիտոս.

34 Cf. Matthew 12:31.

35 "Unknown to," աւտար ի գիտութենէ, lit. "foreign to the knowledge of."

36 John 14:26: "and remind you of that which I taught you," և յիշեցուցէ ձեզ զոր ուսու[u]ցի ձեզ. The citation here seems to follow the Greek New Testament, καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα ἃ εἶπον ὑμῖν, as opposed to Zohrab, որ ինչ ասացի ձեզ, եւ յիշեցուցէ ձեզ.

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"Now, as I said above, our Creator taught the knowledge of His divinity over time from one prophet to another; but He did not complete through the prophets all 'the eternal righteousness to come,' as God [said] through the prophet Daniel.[37] For God revealed three changes by which men shall be able to arrive at the truest knowledge of God: from the darkness of idolatry to the measured ray of light of the Laws; and from there to the strongest light of the Gospels of Christ; and from the Gospels to the future nightless light.[38] Men did not receive a fourth change—either a teaching of others or a promise of prophets;[39] rather, [45r] on the contrary, the frequent commandment from the very Savior Himself [says] not to accept any prophet or apostle after His disciples.[40]

Leo repeats that **knowledge of God** was revealed gradually but that this revelation ended with Christ, as he did not inform humanity that another prophet would appear after him. Leo therefore does not consider Muḥammad to be a legitimate prophet.

"(6) Then you said that after the disciples of the Lord we divided into seventy-two groups. It is not so, so do not contrive to comfort yourself with a lie by making an example of some fault of ours. Your [faith] is truly contemptible, which is not befitting the servants of God. And how is that? I will explain. Your teaching is in one language and for one people. And the time since its appearance, as you yourself say, has been one hundred years, more or less. Now, in such a short period of time and among [only] a single people, we find many different teachings; but these are [some] that we have learned about: Kʿuzi, Sabartʿuṙabi, Kntri, Murǰi, Basli, the godless J̌di, who deny the existence of God and the resurrection [45v] and the sayings of your prophet, and the Hariwri. This Hariwri [is divided into] two: one part is not troublesome, but the other part has such hostility [and] hatred toward you that they consider killing you to be the best [form of] righteousness, calling and considering you

One hundred years: the author of the correspondence attempts to date the letter into the period of Leo III, a century after the revelation of Islam.

Kʿuzi: Kūziyya, a group of early Muslims concerned primarily with questions of purity.

Sabartʿuṙabi: Sabar renders the Arabic name Sabāʾī, to refer to Ibn al-Sabāʾ (seventh century), known as an "extremist" Shīʿī. The switch from Sabāʾī to Sabar is very easy in Armenian. Tʿuṙabi renders *turābī*, a pejorative name for the Shīʿa that derives from the name Abū Turāb (referring to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). The combination of the two terms appears in Arabic texts to refer to Shīʿī "heretics" with anti-Umayyad aspirations.

Kntri: Qadariyya, who believed in free will.

Murǰi: Murjiʾa, who withheld judgment about the beliefs of others.

Basli: perhaps a Muʿtazilī group of followers of Wāṣil b. ʿAtāʾ (d. 748–49), a theologian and ascetic.

The godless J̌di: the followers of Jaʿd b. Dirham, who was executed for heresy sometime between 724 and 738.

Hariwri: the earliest name for the Khārijites, who rejected the overtures of peace between Muʿāwiya and ʿAlī after the battle of Ṣiffīn (657). Known for their fanaticism and violence, the Khārijites were an extremely disruptive force throughout the Umayyad period.

Khārijite killing: this may be a reference to *istiʿrāḍ*, a word that broadly refers to slaughter but also serves as a technical term for the murder of non-Khārijite Muslims deemed licit by certain Khārijite subsects, such as the Azāriqa.

37 Daniel 9:24.

38 M1902 reads "to the light in the future night," ի հանդերձեալ գիշեր լոյսն, but it is almost certain that the scribe omitted the *an*-privative by parablepsis. The emended reading was proposed already by Chahnazarian. The word անգիշեր, "nightless," is a hapax in Armenian, but occurs below at n. 500; cf. *Dialogus* I.2, attributed to Caesarius Nazianzus (fourth century CE), PG 38.587, which refers to the Son as "matterless and nightless light," τὸ ἄϋλον καὶ ἀνύκτερον φῶς.

39 "Either a teaching of others or a promise of prophets," կամ մարգարէից խնամանմն. մարդիկ: the translation follows the correction made to the text by Hand 1corr. Otherwise, the word order as originally presented reads "either a teaching or a promise of other prophets."

40 Cf. Matthew 7:15, 24:23–24; Mark 13:21–22.

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atheists and an enemy. Indeed, they consider dying at your hands [to be] the best of all good deeds, and this is done on account of the fact that you, killing [them], consider those who differ a little from your opinions to sin against God.[41]

"Now, behold that such things are found among you, who are a single people with a single language and a single leader who is at once a prince, a hierarch, and a chief executioner. If the Christian faith were truly [endowed only] with human reason, would it be a surprise for there to be an even more ignoble faith than yours among us? [It has been] eight hundred years, more or less, [46r] since Christ appeared and the Gospel was spread among all the peoples and languages of man, from one end of the world to the other, to the civilizations of the Greeks and the Romans as well as to the remote barbarians. And if there is any inconsiderable [differing] understanding, that [is] also on account of some small variation of language, as I said, but [there is] not such inexorable enmity as you have. Since you said that [we have] seventy-two [sects], do not consider and refer to us as those who were impure and obscene in lewdness and impious against God like other heathens, who contrived to hide their filthiness in the holiest name of Christ and called themselves Christians, whose faith was blasphemy and whose baptism even [was] an abomination. When they returned from their abomination, the Holy Church baptized them like the heathens whom God destroyed long ago and [whose] [46v] vestiges are nowhere to be found. But they summoned these seventy-five Christians to us,[42] and they all received the same holy baptism as an assurance of eternal life. And if something [divisive] should arise about small matters among some of them—those [who are] far away and [speak] in a different language, and especially those who have dwelt in your tyranny—they are still Christian and do not need to be baptized again. And it is not surprising that those who are very far away and who speak another language are not as well informed as they should be about the traditions of the truth. However, the same books [were] preserved intact in each language, that very same Gospel without any mistakes.

Eight hundred years: see the commentary on dating the correspondence.

41 "You consider," խորհիս: the printed editions emend to "you do not consider," չխորհիս, suggesting that Muslims do not consider it a sin to kill other Muslims with whom they disagree.

42 The reference to seventy-five Christians here, in contrast to seventy-two above, likely reflects a scribal error in Greek. The text may have read OB (72), but the copyist or translator read it as OE (75).

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"And now I will leave aside the many languages in which the marvelous and salvific knowledge of God was spread but [only] recall a few of them: first, [the language] of us Greeks; second, that of the Romans; third, [47r] that of the Badałians; fifth, that of the Syrians; sixth, that of the Ethiopians; seventh, that of the Indians; eighth, that of you Saracens; ninth, that of the Persians; tenth, that of the Armenians; eleventh, that of the Georgians; twelfth, that of the Albanians. And now, as you said, maybe someone in one or two of these peoples really changed the scriptures, but how do you know about other peoples, who [are] very distant from us and with languages and customs that are foreign to each other? But you are accustomed to doing such things, especially that Ḥajjāj, who was appointed governor of the region of the Persians by you. He gathered all of your old scriptures and wrote another according to his tastes and disseminated it to your entire people, for it was much easier to do such a thing among a single people and in a single language, as indeed was done. And even so, there remained a small bit of Abū Turāb's writings, for he [i.e., Ḥajjāj] was not able [47v] to eliminate it entirely. By contrast, we first received a strict order from God not to be rash[43] in such things. And again, if someone dared oppose His command, it would be impossible to gather up together again what has been separated into so many languages, to verify [them all] carefully in their own language, and to not idly[44] seek out and set down translators so that they might remove from the scriptures what they wanted or to add what they desired.

Badałian: The list of languages preserved in this manuscript of Łewond's *History* is corrupted. The third language is not clear and the fourth is missing. The thirteenth-century historian Vardan Arewelcʿi (who relied on an earlier manuscript of Łewond) offers Babylonian instead of Badałian and Egyptian for the fourth language.

Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Ḥakam b. ʿAqīl al-Thaqafī (d. 714): famous Umayyad governor of Iraq who put down Zubayrid supporters and the Khārijite rebellion. The allusion here concerns his attempt to create a single authoritative Qurʾān, an endeavor that he undertook to stem theological debates and promote unity. He is also associated with the division of the Qurʾān into sections (*ajzāʾ*) and the introduction of vowel pointing.

"You are not uninformed, as you said yourself, that there are disputes among us Christians, although [they are] not about particularly important issues. How did the peoples not change the scriptures according to their own wishes? Now, such a thing did not occur among us Christians, neither to those far [from us] nor to those near. Do not continue your lie, lest you render that little bit of truth distasteful. But I am extremely surprised at this, since you reject the Gospels of the Lord and the books of the prophet[s], saying that men corrupted [48r] them and wrote them as they wished, yet you make every effort to

43 Cf. Titus 1:8(7); Genesis 49:7.

44 "Idly," զոյլ եւ պետ: we tentatively suggest that the meaningless զոյլ եւ պետ is a scribal error for ծուլապէս. This confusion could possibly have occurred at the aural level at the time of translation.

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gather testimony from them for your inconsistent suppositions. You remove a word [from a verse], which is produced as a witness, so that where 'Father' is written, you replace it with 'Lord' or 'God.' If you are searching for the truth, either you have to believe the scriptures and take them as testimony or, if you condemn them, as you say that they are corrupted, you must not take testimony from them. And you should accept the third [premise]: not to pervert the witnesses that you accept according to your wishes; rather, [you must] cite them just as they are in the scripture.

The author of Leo's letter criticizes ʿUmar for inconsistency. On the one hand, ʿUmar does not believe in the Christian scriptures; on the other hand, he tries to support his own argument through reference to them. Leo also accuses ʿUmar of cherry-picking his verses and changing their wording in order to twist their meaning.

"(7) It is very difficult for the servants of God who are obedient to His orders to speak with you, for other heathens, when they hear the names of the prophets or the apostles, are moved to intense laughter. But you, though you do not insult their names, scorn their words, and especially [those of] the One who speaks with them. Otherwise, let us consider[45] the things that were said [48v] to Moses: 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob';[46] or 'Come,[47] let us make man in our image and according to our likeness';[48] or 'Come, let us descend and confuse them [with different languages]';[49] or 'The Lord rained fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord'[50]—Lord, from the Lord. This is from the books of Moses, which you have not read and neither has your law teacher. What do you suppose—that God said such things to the angels, who cannot even look at Him? We are not like you that we could suppose the sayings of God's scripture to be insignificant and superficial. To whom was it suitable for God to say such things, if not to His Word who is the form of His existence and a ray of light of His glory,[51] and to the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies and illuminates everything? And we are slandered by you as confessors of three gods.[52]

"Listen and then answer, I beseech you. The sun and its rays are different things, even though [the rays] are from

45 "Consider," աբասցուք, lit. "let us make." We suggest that the verb here renders Greek ποιήσωμεν, which can mean "to consider," "to reckon."

46 Exodus 3:6.

47 "Come," եկայք: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

48 Genesis 1:26.

49 Genesis 11:7.

50 Genesis 19:24.

51 Cf. Hebrews 1:3.

52 Cf. Qurʾān 4:171, 5:73, 5:116.

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the sun. Without the rays, the sun is not the sun. If anyone says that the rays are born of [49r] the sun without stain or [without] a female, he is not lying. Although the sun and the ray are two different things, it does not mean that there are two suns. But is that not truly how you are counting them? Now if the birth of this light, which we can see with our eyes and which is God's creation, appears so pure from stain, even though it is covered by night and by the obstruction of buildings, how much more [pure, it seems] to me, should you consider a divine, uncreated, self-sustaining, and nightless[53] light? I was obliged to show this through some example, for you do not believe the commandments of God that [are] in the holy books; rather, you consider your wishes to be superior to them. You write what you like from among them and you substitute something else for what you do not want and you condemn and discard whatever you want. Cursed are all men who profess two or three gods, for one must say these [to be of] different kinds with different origins. But we know one God, Creator of heaven and earth, not irrational, but the most sacred and the Fashioner, through whose Word the creations were made and are maintained.[54] [49v] His Word is not like our words, dismissed and dispelled after they are spoken, and not heard or known until they are spoken. We know this, the Word of God, a ray of light without darkness, without quality—not like the sun, a birth only of rays—but above our ability to describe. The divine books call it the Son; not a birth through the passionate necessity of filthy desires, but in the manner of rays from the sun, light from fire, and word from the mind. Human language was able to render this much about the Word of God's having existence from God.

Sun and its rays: Leo defends Christianity from the charge of believing in three gods by explaining the doctrine of the Trinity through a metaphor of the sun and its rays. This comparison also appears in the work of John of Damascus, an eighth-century theologian. These similarities demonstrate the circulation of ideas in Umayyad-era Syria, where the *Vorlage* of this version of the correspondence was likely composed.

Leo now explains the doctrine of the Incarnation, beginning with the shared Islamic and Christian belief that humanity is the most beloved of God's creations and was created in His image.

"And then, since none of His creatures is more precious to God than man, even you confess that God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, although I do not find that in the divine scriptures.[55] Now, Adam was a man, you have testified correctly, censuring your pride, for they who would not bow before men knew with whom they should be ranked, as you said. Now it is clear that Adam came into being in the image of God. How [50r] do you suppose that God called our sinful, repellent body

Not bowing before men: Satan and the other rebellious angels were cast out of heaven for refusing to bow before Adam. Muslims have similar stories about Iblīs (see Qurʾān 2:34), so this detail would not have been intelligible to a Muslim audience.

53 Cf. n. 484 above.

54 "The creations were made and are maintained," ապաի և ուսի զարարածս, lit. "He made and maintains the creations."

55 Cf. Qurʾān 2:34, 17:61, 18:50, 20:116.

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His image? No. Rather, He put the likeness of Himself, His Word, and His Spirit into him: soul, mind, and word. Gathering these together in him, He fashioned [him], and investing him with the honor of free will, he became the image of God. By the Adversary's deceit he fell from the honor that the Creator had given him; he became despised through forgetting His Fashioner and through leading a dissolute life with execrable lust and various filthy impurities, with hatred, degradation of each other, slaughter, and idolatry—which is the last and first of all evils—and such fornication that I am too disgusted to mention. For they not only imagined nonexistent things as well as visible creations [to be] gods but indeed served their vices, imagining fornication and sodomy [to be] gods, which the Adversary made his worship. And he was pleased to perform in his worship the terrible signs of vices through the images of idols and through encouraging them [i.e., the people] in those things.

Adversary: Satan.

"Now, God saw His image [50v] hindered through worship of the Adversary and the deeds that pleased him [the Adversary]; He pitied him [i.e., man], since He is kind and truly benevolent. And since salvation lies in knowing his Creator and keeping away from the enemy, from time to time He dispersed knowledge of Himself into idolatry, like a candle into the dark, through his servants, the prophets. And since human minds were blind and not able to grasp the light of knowledge of the entire divinity, He therefore revealed knowledge of Himself to man in measures, bit by bit, as I said earlier, as much as it pleased God to instruct man until the completion of time. He promised the coming of His Word bodily in advance through the prophets, since the Word of God would take a body, a spirit, and everything of ours except for sin. And since no one from among men was able to descend to the degree of humility that He [did], [51r] we therefore know that everything referring to the most humble is about Him as the humblest man, whereas [everything referring to] the most sublime is [about Him] as the true God.

"You may truly remember what we said about Moses's sayings about the equality of the Word and God Himself. Listen now to that same Moses [speaking] about the appearance [of the Word] as a man: 'The Lord your God will raise a prophet for you from your brothers, like me. You will listen to everything that he says to you, and it will be that any man who does not listen to that prophet—that

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person will be killed by his own people.'[56] Many prophets—not just one—arose in Israel after Moses, but he made this commandment regarding the one who would speak the most powerful and most difficult things to believe.

"Now, henceforth, I will muster a collection of prophetic testimonies for you about the advent of Christ.[57] But listen to the more modest sayings about Him first, for I think you—delighting in these—will listen; perhaps through this method,[58] as with a ladder, I will undertake[59] to raise [you] up to the heights, if it be His will. David, prophesying about Him [Christ], said: 'I am a worm and not a man, [51v] a dishonor to man and an outrage to the people.[60] Everyone who sees me mocks[61] me.[62] They denigrate me and shake their heads. He trusted in the Lord and He shall deliver him, save him,[63] and preserve him, for He likes him.'[64] This was never done for David, but rather for the Lord at the hour of the crucifixion. Now, listen to this same David saying lofty things about Him: 'The Lord said to me: "You are My son; I have begotten you today."'[65] And concerning filling all the heathens[66]—which [means with]

Leo presents a series of biblical verses that indicate the coming of Christ and the nature of his incarnation. He is at pains to separate verses referring to Christ's divinity from those referring to his humanity. This interpretation of Christ shows the author to have been an adherent of the definition of Christ's incarnation adopted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and rejected by the Armenian Apostolic Church.

56 Acts 3:22–23. The addition of "that person," անձն այն, in the final part of the quotation apparently derives from contamination with Leviticus 17:4 and Numbers 9:13, 15:30, 19:20.

57 "I will muster a collection of prophetic testimonies for you about the advent of Christ," եկեսցեն քեզ . . . հոյլք վկայութեանց մարգարէից վասն գալստեանն Քրիստոսի, lit. "a collection of prophetic testimonies will come to you about the advent of Christ."

58 "Method," ինչ, lit. "thing."

59 "I will undertake," հուպ կացուցից, lit. "I will stand near," possibly rendering Greek ἄψω. Alternatively, it may be translated "I will stand ready," rendering Greek παρέσομαι.

60 "To the people," ժողովրդեան, singular: the text agrees with the Septuagint, λαοῦ, against Zohrab, ժողովրդոց.

61 "Mocks," այպանէին: rendering the Septuagint, ἐξεμυκτήρισάν, against Zohrab, արհամարհէին.

62 "Me," զիս, accusative: following the Septuagint, με, against Zohrab, զինեւ.

63 "He shall deliver him, save him," ապրեցուսցէ զնա փրկեսցէ զնա: "He shall deliver," ապրեցուսցէ, renders the Septuagint, ῥυσάσθω (< ῥύομαι, which ապրեցուցանեմ can render). The addition of "save him," փրկեսցէ զնա, in the text may represent an early gloss, as a scribe may have realized that Zohrab here does not read "deliver him," ապրեցուսցէ զնա, but "save him," փրկեսցէ զնա.

64 Psalm 21:7–9(22:6–8).

65 Psalm 2:7.

66 "Filling all the heathens," զամենայն հեթանոսքն լնլոյ: cf. Romans 11:25.

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faith in Him—he [David] added to that [verse]: 'Ask me and I will give you the heathens as inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession.'[67] And again: 'The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at My right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet. With you is the beginning of power, the brilliance of your saints; I begot you from the womb before the morning star.'[68]

"Whereas concerning there being one divine nature in heaven, David again indicated [that], saying: 'The earth was full of the Lord's mercy, and by the word of the Lord [52r] the heavens were established and by the Spirit of his mouth, all its powers.'[69] And Jeremiah: 'The Lord sent me and His Spirit.'[70] Concerning the incarnation of the Word, listen again to Jeremiah: 'He is our God,' he says, 'to whom no other can be compared. He found all the paths[71] of wisdom and He gave it[72] to His servant Jacob and His beloved Israel. Afterward He appeared on earth and moved among men. These are the books of the commandments of God and the laws of God, which exist perpetually. . . . Turn, Jacob, and grasp it at the dawn of its first light.'[73] This prophet indicated two dawning[s] of His light: [the] first [is] of His ineffable humility, with whose dawn He illuminated the entire universe with the splendor of divine knowledge, whereas the second [occurs] at the universal resurrection about which the prophet forewarned the Hebrew nation, advising that they believe in the first dawn, lest they be rebellious—as they indeed became—and [lest] strangers—[52v] that is to say, heathens—enjoy His glory. 'Turn, Jacob, and grasp it at the dawn of its first light. Do not give your glory to others or your profit to a foreign people.'[74] Heed what was said to you. He not only prophesied about the incarnation of the Word of God but also clearly predicted the transgression of revolt among the body of Israel.

67 Psalm 2:8.

68 Psalm 109(110):1, 3. The citation is closer to the Septuagint than to Zohrab.

69 Psalm 32(33):5–6.

70 Isaiah 48:16.

71 "Paths," ճանապարհս: the plural agrees with Zohrab against the singular in the Septuagint, "path," ὁδὸν.

72 "It,": i.e., the paths of wisdom, see previous note.

73 Baruch 3:35–4:2.

74 Baruch 4:2–3.

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"Moreover, it is not at all prohibited to listen to the prophecy of some outsider that did not [occur] by his own will, which Moses includes in his scripture: 'How beautiful is your house, Jacob, and your altar, Israel.'[75] And after a little bit: 'A man will rise from his descendants and will rule over many nations. His kingdom will be raised higher than Goga[76] and his kingdom will grow.'[77] Again: 'I will show him, but not now. I will bless him, but not soon. A star will rise from Jacob and a man will rise from Israel and he will strike the prince of Moab and take all the sons of Seth captive.'[78] Now, although he spoke about this man, see how it indicates His ruling all the heathens. You wanted to know [53r] what His ruling all of the nations means. [It refers to] everyone's believing in him, as you yourself indeed see. I will also point out the prince of Moab—[i.e.,] Satan and his devils who empowered the corruption and worship of idols among them—whom Christ struck, for the idolatries of the Moabites and all of the nations with them were more abominable than those of any nation, for they worshipped the genitalia of men and women, through which they performed lewd passions.

The prophecy of an outsider: the prophet Balaam in the book of Numbers, a non-Israelite prophet who was unable to curse the Israelites because God controlled his tongue.

"[You see] how His rule was raised above Govgay:[79] for whatever pertains to the latter is worldly, whereas that which pertains to Christ is heavenly. And since such is the kingdom of Christ, do not disobey what David says about the Spirit: 'God,' he says, 'give your judgment to the king and your justice to the king's son.'[80] Was not Christ the Son of the celestial and earthly king? In His divinity [He was] the Son of God, and in His humanity [He was the son] of David, just as we have said many times. Again, he adds: 'He will remain,' he says, 'with the sun before the moon, from generation to generation. . . . [53v] He will reign from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the universe. . . . All peoples[81] of the earth will worship Him and all peoples will serve Him. . . . They will pray to Him at every hour and

75 Numbers 24:5.

76 "Goga," qԳnqա: Zohrab reads qnվqայ, "Ovgay." Although this may the result of simple scribal error, it is possible that "Goga" is based on the reading Γωγ of the Septuagint.

77 Numbers 24:7.

78 Numbers 24:17.

79 "Govga," qԳnվqայ: see n. 76.

80 Psalm 71:2(72:1).

81 "Peoples," ազգք: "kings," թագաւորք, in Zohrab; οἱ βασιλεῖς in the Septuagint.

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praise Him daily. . . . May the name of the Lord be praised, for His name is before the sun! May all nations of the earth be praised with Him and may all peoples bless Him.'[82] Now, no one will be astonished to learn these [verses] concern a mere man, a descendant of David—and not a son of David physically, but the Word and Son of God according to His divinity, ruling by means of peaceful faith and not by the destruction of the sword, merciless bloodshed, and captivity. It says this clearly in that same Psalm: 'In his days, justice will dawn and there will be much peace until the moon will be extinguished.'[83] Again, God said through the prophet Micah: 'And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephrat, may be small in number among the thousands of Judah; he will arise from you to me to be a leader[84] who will guide his people Israel, and his coming forth is from the beginning of days [54r] of the world.'[85] And to come forth from the beginning of the world is not possible for a mere man. And again, God said through Jeremiah: 'He is a man, and who will recognize Him? . . . The Lord is the expectation of Israel. All who forsake You will be ashamed. Those who go astray will be prisoners on the earth, for they forsook the Lord, the source of the waters of life.'[86]

"But 'Israel' does not mean the unbelieving Jews, but rather those who saw the Word of God and believed that God is from God, for 'Israel' is translated as 'clear-sighted' in the Hebrew language. Now, God desires Israel to be a 'seer.' Listen to what was said through Isaiah: 'A child whose reign is on His shoulders was born to us. And He is named the angel of great advice, the wonderful counselor, all-powerful God, the prince of peace, the father of the world to come.'[87] He [the prophet Isaiah] said 'angel' on account of His humanity without sin, but 'wonderful counselor' and 'mighty God' on account of the name of divinity. And he adds this: 'Great is his authority, and His peace has

Clear-sighted: the traditional explanation of the name Israel (ישראל) is "one who strove [שרה] with God [אל]," from Genesis 32:28: "Then the man said, 'Your name will no longer be Jacob but Israel, because you have struggled with God and with humans and have overcome.'" The interpretation as "clear-sighted" or "clairvoyant" comes from the explanation found in Greek literature that the name Israel derives from איש ראה אל, "man sees God."

82 Psalm 71(72):5, 8, 11, 15b, 17.

83 Psalm 71(72):7.

84 "Leader," առաջնորդ: "prince," իշխան, in Zohrab; ἄρχοντα in the Septuagint.

85 Micah 5:2.

86 Jeremiah 17:9, 13.

87 Isaiah 9:6(5). The verse and its interpretation follow the Alexandrian version of the Septuagint and Zohrab.

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no limits. He will sit[88] on David's throne and glorify[89] His kingdom;[90] [54v] He will strengthen it with judgment and justice, henceforth and unto ages.'[91]

"Now, if He did not sit on the throne of David and did not rule Israel, [it was] because he meant not a temporal throne, but that which God mentioned to David: 'I will prepare your offspring unto eternity and I will build your throne [from] generation to generation like the days of the heavens.'[92] Now, how or what was the throne of David? Or [how] was it eternal or like the days of heaven, if [this is] not about the heavenly kingdom of the physical son of David, who is Christ, about whom he [Isaiah] also said that 'He will sit on the throne of David and glorify His kingdom; He will strengthen it with law and justice, henceforth and unto ages'?[93] It is clear that [it is] the most glorious and powerful kingdom of Christ, physically the son of David. He transferred His kingdom up to heaven, to the eternal and inaccessible. You must also pay attention to Isaiah: 'Behold: a virgin will conceive[94] and bear a son, and they will name [55r] him Emmanuel, that is, God is with us.'[95]

Throne of David: Leo explains that when the prophets predicted that the son of David would sit on the throne of David and rule his kingdom, they meant not a physical throne or the kingdom of Israel, but God's spiritual throne and heavenly kingdom. In this way, the physical son of David, Christ, reigns in the divine kingdom.

"I also have many more assemblies of other testimonies, the abridgment of which we considered more useful, so that the audience will not become weary. If you should desire, also listen about the ineffable humility of His suffering, which He bore and endured willingly in accordance with the previous prophecy of the prophets. The Holy Spirit said through Isaiah: 'I am not obstinate and I am not resisting. I gave my back to blows and my cheek to slaps. I will not turn my face away from shame at being spat in the

88 "He will sit," նստցի: follows Zohrab, not in the Septuagint.

89 "Glorify," փառաւորեսցէ: "make prosper," յաջողեսցէ, in Zohrab; κατορθῶσαι in the Septuagint.

90 "Kingdom," թագաւորութիւն: արքայութիւն in Zohrab, βασιλείαν in the Septuagint.

91 Isaiah 9:7(6).

92 A conflation of Psalm 88:5, 30(89:4, 29). Nonetheless, the citation agrees with the Septuagint against Zohrab: "I will prepare," պատրաստեցից, rendering ἑτοιμάσω, against "I will establish," հաստատեցից, in Zohrab; likewise, "unto eternity," մինչ զյաւիտեանս, renders ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος in the Septuagint against յաւիտեանս in Zohrab.

93 Isaiah 9:7(6).

94 "Will conceive," յղութիւն կալցի: յղացցի in Zohrab; cf., however, ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει in the Greek New Testament and the Septuagint.

95 Matthew 1:23; Isaiah 7:14.

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face.'[96] God said this, as well, through Zachariah: 'If it seems good in your eyes, give me my wages, and if not, inform me.[97] They weighed my wages at thirty pieces of silver.'[98] This happened to the Savior, [i.e., His] being sold by His disciple and betrayed to His death, like other prophecies that were realized in the Lord, that the holy Gospels relate, [and] that, if[99] you wish, you may read[100] with care and will find it thus. David, along with many [others], prophesied about this: 'He who ate my bread magnified [55v] his heel over me.'[101]

"Listen to another admonition of Isaiah:

> Behold here, my servant[102] will understand. He will be elevated, exalted, and glorified greatly. As . . . [so][103] many nations shall be surprised by you and kings shall silence their mouths for you, for what was not related about him they will see, and what had not been heard they will understand. Lord, who believed our news and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We have proclaimed [it] before him

96 Isaiah 50:5–6.

97 "Inform me," զրոյց արարէք. The reading conforms to Zohrab's rendering of the Septuagint's ἢ ἀπείπασθε. The word ἀπεῖπον can mean "to declare" or "to speak" as well as "to deny" or "to refuse."

98 Zechariah 11:12–13.

99 "If," թէ: added by Hand 1[corr].

100 "Read," ընթերց: we follow the emendation of Chahnazarian, who corrects this to ընթերցիր. The omission of the final –իր may be due to confusion with the subsequent initial խ-. The reading of Malxaseanc', ընթերցիս, would be even more likely to have caused this error, but considering that the author followed a conditional clause with the imperative earlier in the passage, we think the imperative was also intended here.

101 Psalm 40:10(41:9): "magnified his heel over me," մեծացոյց ի վերա իմ զգարշապար իւր: the text here shows that it was translated from the Septuagint, ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν, against Zohrab, "increased deceiving me," յաճախեաց առնել ինձ խաբէութիւն. Either the translator of the letter interpreted πτερνισμόν, "supplanting," as πτέρναν, "heel," or his exemplar included the reading, possibly caused by John 13:18, where the evangelist cites this verse with πτέρναν instead of πτερνισμόν. John 13:18 of Zohrab reads "deception," խաբէութիւն, as in Psalm 40:10(41:9).

102 "My servant," մանուկ իմ, lit. "my child."

103 The scribe's eye likely jumped from the beginning of verse 52:14 to 52:15 because of the similarity of the first words of the two verses. Verse 52:14 begins: "As many will be surprised . . ." (Զոր օրինակ զարմացին բազումք); 52:15 begins: "So many nations will be surprised" (Այնպէս զարմացին ազգք բազումք). This error could have happened only in the copying of the Armenian text.

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> like a child; [he is] like a root in the dry earth. . . . We saw him, and there was nothing to his appearance or his beauty. Rather, his appearance was more abject than that of all of the sons of man. A man in tribulation, knowing how to endure pain; because he turned his face away, he was despised and reckoned to be nothing. He bore our sins and was tortured for our sake. And we considered him in pains, tribulations, and tortures [to be] as though from God. But he was wounded for our sins and he was punished for our iniquity. The discipline for our peace was on him, and we were healed through his wounds. [56r] Everyone strayed like sheep; each man went astray on his own path. The Lord surrendered him to our sins, and because of his grief he did not open his mouth. Like a lamb led to slaughter, like a sheep before the sheepshearer remains mute, so he did not open his mouth. Because of his humiliation, his judgment was taken away. So who will describe his generation? Because his life was cut off from the earth, he was led to death by the iniquities of my people, . . . for he committed no iniquity and no deception was found in his mouth.[104]

"Now, you deny and gainsay these many testimonies of the Holy Spirit, which were proclaimed through His servants, the prophets, with only the word of your Muḥammad. And what about the order of your own lawgiver not to confirm even the smallest of matters without two witnesses? How are you not ashamed to speak such terrible blasphemies on the basis of only his word?

Leo returns to accusing Muslims of following the word of Muḥammad alone, although the Prophet himself told them not to believe in anything that does not have at least two witnesses. He further questions how ʿUmar knows the Bible has been corrupted if he does not possess a different version of it. If he does have such an alternative biblical text, says Leo, he would like to see it.

Truly, you forgot the terrible lie of your lawgiver. You indeed know that Mary is not the daughter of Amran [56v] the sister of Aaron, but the mother of our Lord. From those times [of Mariam, the sister of Aaron] to the mother of the Lord, there were 970[105] years and thirty-two generations. Truly, if you had a face of flesh and not of stone, it would blush with shame from such clear lies, for God promised the advent of Christ from the tribe of Judah, and Mariam the daughter of Amran was from Levi and [lived] in such ancient times, as I said.

Amran: in Arabic ʿImrān and in Hebrew ʿAmrām. According to Numbers 26:59, ʿAmrām was the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. Muslim historians adopted this genealogy and refer to Moses as Mūsā b. ʿImrān. The name ʿImrān also appears in Qurʾān 66:12 for the father of Virgin Mary, Maryam bt. ʿImrān. Qurʾān 19:28 further refers to Mary, the mother of Jesus, as the sister of Aaron. Christian authors saw this as a confusion between the two ʿImrāns and so evidence of the falsity of the Qurʾān.

104 Isaiah 52:13–53:9. The citation agrees with Zohrab.

105 The reading of M1902 is confused. It reads literally, "2,000 thousand years, less thirty." We suggest that a scribe mistakenly read U/uu, "1," as U/u, "2,000."

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"Yet how impossible it is to follow the greatest and most palpable of your lies! But even if[106] the unfounded tales of your limitless lies are deep, let us bail them out with a small bucket of the truth.[107] You said in the above writing that 'you and the Jews corrupted the Laws, the Gospels, and the Psalms' and added that 'I testify that they are from God.' If ours are confused and corrupted, where are yours to which you bore witness? Pray, show me other books about Moses and the prophets, and the Psalms of David that we may see them, or another gospel. Oh, [57r] your lie is worthy of shame. It is the most fictional of all lies. At least add: 'I was not there' and 'do not believe!' O you man, you take your testimony from these, which [are] our Gospels, although you violate and falsify them, and still you say that 'you have corrupted them.' Pray, tell about the gospel that your lawgiver saw; then I will know if you are telling the truth.

The sayings of Jesus: Leo responds to the charge that Jews and Christians have changed their scriptures by requesting that Muslims produce the books of Moses, David, and Jesus (the Torah, the Psalms, and the Gospels, respectively). The contested nature of the scriptures is the problem here: the Muslims expect that the scripture is God's direct word to humans via prophets, rather than stories about the prophets.

"And as to what you said, that 'there is one faith.' There is truly one faith and one baptism. There is no other faith transmitted from God and no [other] commandment received by men. As for what you said, that 'the Laws did not offer prayers in the direction in which you offer prayer, and they did not participate in your communion.' These are matters of nonsense and of pointless problems, for the direction of prayer of the prophets was not apparent. But you alone wish to honor the heathen altar of sacrifice that you named the house of Abraham. Nowhere in the divine scriptures do we find Abraham reaching those places that your lawgiver taught your people to worship and circumambulate. [57v] As for the mystery of communion, I will respond in its own place.

Direction of prayer (*qibla*): before the second century, Christians and Jews both prayed either toward the East or toward Jerusalem (see Daniel 6:10 and 3 Kingdoms [1 Kings] 8:44); thereafter, Christians prayed toward the rising of the sun in the East, while Jews prayed toward Jerusalem. Although Muslims originally prayed toward Jerusalem, their prayer direction was changed to Mecca (specifically, the Kaʿba) during the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad. See Qurʾān 2:142–44.

House of Abraham: although the Kaʿba also frequently appears as the house of God or the site of Ismāʿīl in Islamic texts, the Qurʾān has God sanctify the Kaʿba as a place where Abraham stood: "And [mention] when We made the House a place of return for the people and [a place of] security. And take the site of Abraham a place of prayer . . ." (Qurʾān 2:125; cf. 3:97). The author of Leo's letter describes the Kaʿba as a "heathen altar of sacrifice" because it served as a cultic center of pre-Islamic Arabian paganism. According to the Islamic tradition, the Prophet Muḥammad cleansed the Kaʿba to restore its original monotheist purpose.

"(8) But now, let us first look at what you said about the Gospels, whether it may really be as you think. Jesus truly prayed in accordance with His humanity, which He took from us, in order to teach us; and, in accordance with His divinity, He did not need prayers. But when He prayed, He did not say as you wrote. Rather, He said: 'Father, if it is possible, take this cup from me,'[108] indicating that 'I am truly a man.' For if anyone professes that the Word of God is imperfect in his divinity, he loses hope for His life; so, too, if he does not profess Him to be perfect in His humanity. But

Having finished with the Hebrew Scriptures, Leo turns his attention to ʿUmar's criticism of the Gospels. Leo argues that if Christians had intended to corrupt the meaning of the Gospels, they would certainly have removed the references to Jesus's humanity. The very presence of those references in the Gospels supports their authenticity. He then identifies biblical verses that ʿUmar or the Islamic tradition has rendered differently in order to distort their meaning. Even when the text has not been

106 "But even if," սակայն թէ եւ, rendering ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ.

107 Cf. John 4:11.

108 Luke 22:42. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament: եթէ հնար է vs. եթէ կամիս, εἰ βούλει.

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see the truth of the Gospels and of us believers, for both the humblest and the most sublime are kept intact in the books of the Gospels. And if either we or those who came before us corrupted [them], why did we not remove the humblest phrases from the Gospels? He said: 'The Son of Man cannot do anything by himself, but the Father, who has dwelt in Me, does [58r] the work.'[109] If you believe this [verse] of scripture, 'I cannot do anything by Myself,' believe that one, [which says,] 'The Father, who has dwelt in Me, does the work.' If you believe in His fear at the time of His vivifying death and in His sweat,[110] which He endured for the sake of the sweat of Adam, [about] which He Himself incorporeally said to Adam, 'You will eat your bread by the sweat of your brow,'[111] [then believe that] the 'strengthening' by the angel[112] was not for the sake of strengthening Him; rather, through the angel He secured the beliefs of the apostles, for they were looking [at Him] as at a mere man and they reckoned [Him] a mere man. For this reason, [it mentions the strengthening] so that from [His] conversing with the angel He might appear at least more than a mere man. Now, if you believe this, then believe that which He said in the same book: 'I lay Myself down by Myself and I take it back by Myself.'[113] And again, He did not say 'God sent Me to the world and I return to Him,' as you also wrote, but 'The Father who sent Me is with Me.'[114] Again, 'I came out from the Father and I came to the world; again, I am leaving the world and going [58v] to the Father.'[115]

explicitly changed, asserts Leo, Muslims remain unable to accept Jesus's divinity and continue to regard him as only a prophet.

"But where 'Father' is written, you change it to either 'Lord' or 'God.' Do you think to justify it for yourself? [Then] you think very unjustly. You did not lie only about this one thing, but even when you took testimony correctly, you were not able to believe that 'he who believed in Me

Changing "Father" to "Lord" or "God": one of the Muslim versions of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence includes a reference to a biblical verse in which the author switches these words; see the commentary for an example.

109 A combination of John 5:19a and 14:10b. The citation is closer to Zohrab than to the Greek New Testament.

110 Cf. Luke 22:43–44.

111 Genesis 3:19. The citation conforms to Zohrab.

112 Luke 22:43.

113 Cf. John 10:18. The second part of the citation is not from the biblical text.

114 John 8:29. The word "Father" does not appear in either Zohrab or the Greek New Testament, although it does appear elsewhere in John, e.g., 5:37, 8:16, 8:18.

115 John 16:28.

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believed not in Me, but in the one who sent Me,'[116] that is, not in this visible man, but in this invisible Word [of] God. And again: 'He who dishonors Me dishonors the one who sent Me.'[117] And, 'he who sees Me sees that one who sent Me.'[118] He 'is sent' as a man and He 'sends' as God. He said to the disciples, 'My Father is greater than I';[119] [i.e.,] He is greater than [His] humanity. If not, why does he say again: 'My Father and I are one'?[120] He said in the prayer, as you wrote: 'that they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent.'[121]

"Behold, he placed Jesus Christ in that same honor of divinity. Now, if he were an ordinary prophet, it would have been fitting to say 'that they may know the only true God and Moses and the other prophets and then Jesus.' So, discard your nonsensical [59r] conceptions, for He was perfect God, and by taking [humanity], He became truly man. And we find the most humble things [are] said about Him as about man and the most sublime [are said] as truly of God, as I have said many times. He was tempted by Satan through His covering, that is, His body, because Satan heard the voice at His baptism. When God said: 'This is My beloved son, with whom I am pleased,'[122] he became terrified and gave up, and he did not know to whom the voice truly referred. But the Lord undertook[123] the fast of forty days, and as He showed Himself by some voice, He also [showed] that voice to refer to Him. As the evil one is always envious of and displeased with those who strive in virtue, he approached and saw the Lord as a man. And He, as all-knowing, responded to him as a man, not deeming our enemy worthy to reveal [59v] the fullness of His plan. But how did you not read that after finishing His temptation, Satan went away from Him for a time and angels approached and worshipped Him?[124] Do angels worship a mere man?

116 John 12:44. In Zohrab and the Greek New Testament the verb "to believe" is in the present rather than the aorist tense.

117 Cf. Luke 10:16; John 12:48.

118 John 12:45.

119 John 14:28.

120 John 10:30.

121 John 17:3.

122 Matthew 3:17.

123 "Undertook," առաջ արկանեմ: rendering Greek ἐπιβάλλω.

124 Cf. Matthew 4:11.

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"It appears as though you are only fleeing from the truth and you want nothing else. This is what I am saying: you resist speaking of our Lord as God and you profess [that He was] a mere man, citing the example of Adam as one who was also born from God without parents. Whereas I have heard you say about His life-giving death that no one from among men can kill Him. But if He were a mere man, as you think, how is it unbelievable for a man to die? Now pay close attention and think about this, for you accept with ease the most humble verses concerning the Lord but you forsake and reject the sublime. Listen, therefore, to the Gospels concerning these things. On this matter, John the Evangelist said: [60r] 'He who believes in the Son will receive eternal life, and he who does not follow the Son will not see life, but the wrath of God.'[125] And again, John the son of Zachariah said: 'Behold,' Jesus, 'the Lamb of God, who removes the sins of the world.'[126] And similarly, the beginning of the Gospel of John: 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning. All things came into being through Him and without Him nothing came into being.'[127] And similarly the Word of God in His body said: 'He who sees Me sees My Father'[128] and 'As much as the Father knows Me, so I know the Father'[129] and 'The Father who sent Me is with Me';[130] 'I am going up to My Father and to your Father, to My God and to your God.'[131] [He is] His Father by nature and yours by grace, for 'to those who received Him,' it says, 'who believe in His name, He gave them the authority to be sons of God.'[132] Whereas that which belongs to Him as God [is] with us in accordance with the body and ours naturally. He is sent as a man and He sends as God; 'As the Father sent Me, so I send you.'[133] [60v] All of the voices of the evangelists [agree] on this.

The example of Adam: see Qur'ān 3:59: "Indeed, to God, the example of Jesus is like that of Adam. He created him from dust; then He said to him, 'Be,' and he was."

The death of Jesus: the Qur'ān states that Jesus was not crucified, but that God lifted him up to Him (see Qur'ān 4:157–58). Leo underscores the contradiction in Muslims' simultaneous denial of Jesus's divinity and rejection of his crucifixion.

125 John 3:36.

126 John 1:29.

127 John 1:1–3.

128 John 14:9.

129 John 10:15.

130 John 8:29. The word "Father" does not appear in either Zohrab or the Greek New Testament, although it does appear elsewhere in John, e.g., 5:37, 8:16, 8:18.

131 John 20:17.

132 John 1:12.

133 John 20:21.

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Leo justifies the Christian reinterpretation of the Jewish practices of circumcision, sacrifice, and keeping the Sabbath on Saturday as baptism, communion, and keeping the Sabbath on Sunday, arguing that they were in fact anticipated in the Old Testament.

"And as for what you said, about our freely turning circumcision into baptism and sacrifice into the communion of the blessing of [the] bread and cup: it is not us, but rather the Lord Himself who changed the types that [are] in the Old [Testament] into the true things in accordance with the prophecy of Jeremiah, who said: 'Behold, the days are coming, the Lord says, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them out from the land of the Egyptians.'[134] What was the covenant that He made with their fathers in the land of the Egyptians, if not that of the blood of the lamb on Passover, that is to say Easter, about which He said: 'Let this law be among your people'?[135] Now, the sons of Israel were spared from the executioner by the blood of the irrational lamb, so can we not be saved from eternal death by the blood of the immaculate Lamb? The stainless Lamb of God, at the time of the Passion, took bread, blessed [it], [61r] broke [it], and gave [it] to the disciples, and similarly the cup of wine, saying that they were His body and blood, ordering [them] to take these in memory of Him and to recognize Him as the sacrifice of the immaculate and pure Lamb, for He taught that the lamb meant that true Lamb. You have not read the scriptures or the names that the divine scriptures call Him: Word, Son, Ray, Image of God, Image of Servant, God, Man, Angel, Pearl, Hook,[136] Lord of Lords, Servant, Lamb, Sheep, Shepherd, Eldest among Brothers,[137] Eldest among the Dead.[138] Nothing would impede [me] from pointing out each of these names, as well as why and for what reason these names were given or may be [given], if I knew that you were seeking righteousness.

"As for circumcision, which you said we changed to baptism: you did not know the mystery of circumcision, why God was satisfied to establish his covenant in that most hidden member and not in other, [61v] more glorious and visible members; so, truly, you will not know that Abraham, before his circumcision, was pleasing to God and he received the order of circumcision as a sign of his faith in and love of God. But it is not known to you why, according

134 Jeremiah 31:31–32.

135 Cf. Exodus 12:17; Numbers 9:14, 15:15.

136 "Hook," կարթ: cf. Matthew 17:27(26).

137 Romans 8:29.

138 Colossians 1:18.

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to what was written above, [it was established] there in the hidden member. But we received a command to circumcise the heart,[139] spiritually, and not the exterior body, according to the aforementioned promise of God to make a new covenant.[140] If Christ, the teacher of the true Law, had not eliminated circumcision, sacrifice, and the Sabbath, then what new covenant did He make? Now, you should be ashamed of that, for in the latter times when God freed the human race from the bonds of the Law, you want to be vengeful about circumcision. You greatly ridiculed it, for in the Old [Testament] God commanded to circumcise every male on the eighth day,[141] but you [62r] shame not only the men but also the women with this disgrace, regardless of age.

Circumcision (*khitān*): not mentioned in the Qurʾān but appears in the *ḥadīth*. Female circumcision is known as *khifāḍ* or *khafḍ* and is also mentioned in the *ḥadīth*.

"But God foretold about divine baptism through the prophet Ezekiel, saying: 'I will sprinkle holy water over you and you will be cleansed of all your impurities. I will cleanse you of all your idols.'[142] And the Lord commanded the same in the Gospels: 'Go and henceforth make disciples of all the heathens. Baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.'[143] And the word of the prophet was fulfilled: 'I set you as a light for the heathens';[144] and again: 'The people who sat in the darkness saw a great light.'[145]

"We did not exchange Saturday for Sunday, as you are imprudently wont to do. You unadvisedly arranged Friday as your day of gathering, not knowing a single thing as a pretext for it. But on account of the bodily resurrection of the Lord, through which He promised us resurrection, we devote [62v] ourselves to prayer and praise of the Creator for such a truly great mystery. For it was on that day, in the beginning, that He said, '"Let there be light"; and there was light.'[146] On the same day He caused the light of the good news of the resurrection to shine for the human race, through the bodily resurrection of His only begotten Word. We did not receive an order to be idle on it [the day of rest], in the manner of the Jews, to the point of not

Sabbath: Leo explains why Christians devote Sunday rather than Saturday to prayer, while also criticizing the Islamic practice of Friday prayers. The idea of the Sabbath is foreign to Islam; see Qurʾān 50:38, which specifies that God felt no weariness after creation. However, the communal prayer on Friday, *jumʿa*, is mentioned in the Qurʾān (62:9–10).

139 Romans 2:29.

140 Cf. Jeremiah 31:31.

141 Genesis 17:9–14.

142 Ezekiel 36:25.

143 Matthew 28:19.

144 Acts 13:47.

145 Matthew 4:16.

146 Genesis 1:3.

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even preparing food once on it, like the Jews. But why do you consider these true traditions of us Christians to be important, since you do not believe in either the Lord or His prophets? For God spoke about you and people like you through His prophet: 'Despicable people; and be repulsed and ruin yourselves. For I am doing a deed in your days; a deed that you would not believe, even if someone told you.'[147]

Leo returns to the question of the incarnation and Jesus's presence in Mary's womb. According to Leo, Muslims claim that it would be unfitting for the divinity to inhabit a womb given all of its impurities. Leo responds that God honors humanity above all creation and that there is nothing impure in a human being besides sin, which God did not create. All the things that Muslims consider impure, says Leo, are in fact not shameful, but necessary and appropriate for life. Moreover, the bodies of the righteous are the dwelling place of God.

"(11) And I have not forgotten what you said: 'How was it possible for God to live in a human womb, among the blood and flesh and various impurities?' As far as I know, [63r] you are informed that the creatures of God, which He ordered into being from nothing with a word, are many, as Psalm 148 says: 'He spoke and they came into being; he commanded and they were built.'[148] [He created] that which you perhaps consider by your own designs to be even more venerable and more pure than man: the sky and the celestial bodies with the sun and the moon and the stars, and the earth with plants and all the living creatures. But this living being, which you say is impure, was created not by a command but by the hand of the Omnipotent and Most Holy One Himself and brought to life and animated with His breath. Now the fashioning of our nature, which was created by those hands of the Creator and was honored [to be made] in the image of that same Creator, was not filthy according to God. So now do not blaspheme its good Creator [by saying that] such filth [is to be attributed] to God; not a single thing from him [is filthy] except for sins, which God neither created nor commanded in man. Rather, no other thing exists [63v] that was created with more honor than man, on account of whom He indeed created everything.

"Now, He made that same [man] worthy of such honor. He did not consider it shameful to take His very image and to save him, for as I said, there is nothing impure in human nature, excepting only sin. What you consider to be the

147 Habakkuk 1:5. The citation differs from both Zohrab (Տեսէք արհամարհողք եւ հայեցարուք եւ զարմացարուք զարմանս եւ եղցարուք. զի գործ մի գործեմ ես յաւուրս ձեր որում ոչ հաւատայցէք թէպէտ եւ ոք պարմեսցէ ձեզ) and the Septuagint (ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται).

148 Psalm 148:5–6. "They were built," շինեցան, is a direct translation of the Septuagint's ἐκτίσθησαν and differs from Zohrab, which reads "it was established," հաստատեցաւ.

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most impure in our nature He formed in great appropriateness for our kind, like the menses of women for human fertility and ways to eliminate excess food and drink for the maintenance of life. These things are impure to you, but to God the things you love—wantonness, killing, blasphemy, and other such things—are impure, and not the things you mentioned before, which He Himself truly defined for their procreation and rest. Beyond these, understand this: [64r] He lit the bush next to Moses with the fire of His divinity and it did not burn.[149] Man is more honored than a bush and all created things, for God said concerning the saints who were among humankind that 'I will dwell in them and walk among them,'[150] and again: 'Where will I live, if not among the meek, among the humble, and among those who tremble at My words?'[151]

"Behold, He said that the righteous among men are the dwelling of His divinity, and the offenses of natural and human infirmities, which you classify as impurity, are not any sort of impediment to God,[152] for it was befitting the Ever-living to also be a living temple. I suggest this to you, especially as you are envious of the honor of the saints of God and their relics, in which God said that He Himself dwells. For if God cares for the bones of all to raise men up at the general resurrection, [then] how much more [does He care] for His saints, whose [64v] greatness and glory He spoke of many times, and especially those who suffered death for Him? The Holy Spirit indeed also spoke concerning them through the mouth of David: 'The death of His saints is honorable before the Lord';[153] and again: 'The afflictions of the just are many; He will deliver them from everyone and He will keep their bones and not one from among them will be ground to dust.'[154] It says 'many saints were not ground into dust' about the divine power that dwelt in the saints, but they were ground into dust and burned by fire. But you are not able to contemplate this at all; rather, like a child, you look only at visible things. And

149 Exodus 3:2.

150 2 Corinthians 6:16.

151 Cf. Isaiah 66:2. Both Zohrab and the Septuagint read "where will I look" (հայեցայց, ἐπιβλέψω) instead of "where will I dwell" (բնակեցայց).

152 Cf. 1 Corinthians 6:19–20.

153 Psalm 115:6(116:15).

154 Psalm 33(34):20–21. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

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again, it says: 'God is wonderful in His saints,'[155] and again Solomon [says]: 'The just stand forever and their recompense is from the Lord. Although in the eyes of man they died,'[156] they are at peace. I know that you are not informed that the uncircumcised foreigner was killed and thrown into the tomb of the prophet Elisha. He came close to the bones of the prophet [65r] and was resurrected immediately.[157] Behold, if divine power had not dwelt in the bones of the holy prophet, how were the bones of a mere dead man [i.e., Elisha] able to resurrect the dead man? The living God did not consider dwelling in the tomb of the dead to be an impurity for His divinity.

"What seems impure to me and you [is] but its opposite to God. But we shall request from you such honor for the saints, for you now torture those who fear the Lord to deny [God] in accordance with the usual heathen perversion. Indeed, by killing those who do not agree [with you], you kill yourselves with eternal death according to the predictions of our Lord: 'There will come a time when whoever kills [you] will consider it a service to offer God'[158]—just as Muḥammad, the brother of your father, on the day that he made the ungodly sacrifice, mixed the blood of the slaughtered camel with the blood of the Christians by decapitating the servants of God. [65v] And you are angered and discomfited at this, if we lay the saints of God who were martyred because of their confession of Him in places consecrated to God in this world.

Indeed, you recalled in regard to the sign of the cross and icon[s] [that] we honor the cross in memory of the Passion of the incarnate Word of God upon it, which we learned from God's command to Moses as well as from the preaching of the prophets. Moses ordered to make and put the mark of the cross on the forehead of the high priest; he called the plate holy and dedicated it. And the shape of the leaf [of the Temple door] was such that it appears to have shown a living being. For this reason, the foreheads of us Christians are sealed with the sign of the cross, as with the body of the Word of God that suffered for us. Indeed, the prophet Isaiah also clearly indicated the wood from which

Brother of your father: Leo is addressing ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, so this refers to the governor of Armenia, Muḥammad b. Marwān.

Camel sacrifice: broadly speaking, the sacrifice of camels was a pre-Islamic practice that continued into the Islamic period, following the example of the Prophet Muḥammad. The sacrifice ties Islam to the story of Abraham, and the camel was seen as the sacrificial animal par excellence.

Iconoclasm: the movement to remove or destroy icons, or images that portrayed scenes and/or people from scripture, was a major concern in the eighth and ninth centuries. Leo the Isaurian was particularly known for his antipathy toward icons and for inaugurating a policy against their use beginning in 726. Greek sources blame his position on contact with Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. However, here we have Leo arguing *for* the veneration of icons. Leo's support of icons suggests that the correspondence must date to the early eighth century, as this document predates Leo's iconoclast efforts.

The plate and the leaves: The "plate" here refers to Exodus 28:36–38, which reads ציץ, "shining thing." The same word (բիբեղն/πέταλον) is used to refer to the leaves of the Temple door, which were inscribed with cherubim and trees. See 3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 6:31(32) and 34(35).

155 Psalm 67:36(68:35).

156 Wisdom 5:16, 3:4. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

157 Cf. 4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 13:21.

158 John 16:2.

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the cross [was made and] with which the Church is ever crowned and boasts: 'With cedar,' he says, 'with pine, and with cypress together [66r] to bring glory to the place of My sanctuary; and I will glorify the place for My feet.'[159] And Solomon says: 'Blessed is the wood through which there is righteousness';[160] and again: 'It is a wood of life to all who make it and who trust in it firmly as in the Lord.'[161]

"But as for icons, we do not have anything like you think, for we did not indeed receive such commands from scripture, though we find in the Old [Testament] [that] God commanded Moses to make the likeness of the Cherubim for the Tabernacle of witness.[162] So we, too, warmed with the wishes of the disciples of the Lord and with the love of the incarnate Lord, assuredly rejoice while looking at[163] the portrait[s][164] and replica[s] that have come to us from their times as images truly of them, and we glorify God our Savior, who clothed his only begotten Son in such likeness and who glorified His saints; and it is not as if we worship the wood and the paint that is on the wood. [66v]

"(13) But you are not ashamed about venerating with sacrifices your house, which you call the Kaʿba and [which] you say was some house of Abraham, though it is really an arid, demonic desert that Abraham never saw once even in a dream. Your people worshipped the house before your Muḥammad, as [was] your custom. Your Muḥammad did not destroy it, but instead only said that Abraham settled [there]. Lest I appear insulting and inconsiderate to you, I will clarify this for you from the holy Gospels and from

Leo attacks Muslim practices associated with the *ḥajj*, that is, the pilgrimage to Mecca, which occurs in the final month of the Islamic calendar.

Kaʿba: see above on "the House of Abraham," folio 57r.

159 Isaiah 60:13. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint, but the words used for "with pine," պեկիւ (*pekiw*), and "with cypress," պեկիւրիսաւ (*pekiwṙisaw*), are from Greek πεύκη. According to Awetikʿean, Siwrmēlean, and Awgerian, *Nor Baṙgirkʿ*, 2:647, the latter occurs only in this passage, whereas the former is attested also in the Armenian translation of the Alexander romance.

160 Wisdom 14:7.

161 Proverbs 3:18. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint. It is possible that "who make it" (որ առնեն զնա) represents a scribal error in Armenian for "who take it" (որ առնուն զնա), which would be closer in meaning to the Septuagint (τοῖς ἀντεχομένοις αὐτῆς), although Zohrab reads որ պատսպարին ի նա.

162 Exodus 25:18–22; 26:1, 31.

163 "While looking at," յանդիման տեսանելով. We take the preposition յանդիման, "opposite," "in the presence of," "in the face of," as working with the verb "to see," տեսանել, possibly together rendering Greek ἐπισκοπέω.

164 See page 41 n. 5.

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your own histories, for many times the Lord sent a multitude of demons into that desert, as it says in the Gospel: 'They move around,' it says, 'through waterless places.'[165] Indeed, some demon *jinn*s reside there and appear to you sometimes in the likeness of snakes and sometimes they seduce with impure and lewd desires and give you thoughts of sexual intercourse,[166] as is their custom. [67r] Now you imprudently believe their deceptions [that] you are their equal here and in the world to come. You do not understand that in the world to come of the Gospel of the Savior, they are not able to draw near with such things; furthermore, his [i.e., Satan's] rebellious tyranny was bound by the power of His becoming human. Although they are malicious like their father Satan, they are not able to harm them [i.e., humans] openly. If they were able and dared, they would have killed you, burning you by fire in a single day, but instead they only stealthily seduce you into losing your souls through deception. You do not know why you worship and kiss the rock that you call *rukn*. And [you do not know the reason] for the demonic slaughter that the beasts and the birds abhor. [And you do not know the reason] they [the worshippers] would run on one foot, or [the reason] for the rock-throwing, for the fleeing, for the shaving [of] the head, or for the other shameful deeds that they commit.

"I will allow myself to mention the impure command of your lawgiver concerning men having relations [67v] with women, about which I am ashamed to speak, [and] to bring up the example of plowing the fields,[167] through which some of you have learned to have relations with women with such obscenity in the manner of a plough. Or what shall I say [about] the chaste demeanor of your prophet, the deceitful obscenity of the wife of Zayd, and attributing the causes of the impurity to God, whence also loathsome laws have entered among your people? What is a more evil blasphemy than making God the cause of those who desire that which he did? Indeed you said that David took Uriah's wife;[168] he took [her and] he sinned against God, on account of which he was punished by the Lord. Whereas your

Jinn: an Arabic word that refers to a category of intelligent beings that resemble humans or angels but are made of smokeless fire instead of clay or light. The prophets, according to the Islamic tradition, spoke to the *jinn* as well as to humans, and King Solomon reportedly relied on *jinn* to build his temple in Jerusalem. They are often the subject of folklore and storytelling.

Rukn: "corner" in Arabic, here referring to the corner of the Kaʿba. Each of the four corners of the Kaʿba is named; here the author is referring to *al-rukn al-aswad*, or the "black cornerstone," where the Black Stone is located. While circumambulating the Kaʿba, pilgrims touch or kiss the surface of the Black Stone, a twelve-inch rock of either lava or basalt mounted five feet from the ground. Christians use this as an example of continued idol worship related to the Black Stone, a charge that is resoundingly denied in early Islamic literature.

Ḥajj: each of the activities mentioned here relates to the annual pilgrimage to Mecca: slaughter refers to the sacrifice of animals for ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā; throwing the rocks to the ritual of *ramy al-jamarāt*; fleeing to the *ifāḍa*; and shaving the head to the rite that accompanies the final feast.

Would run on one foot: this obscure phrase refers to a tradition attributed to Muslims in Christian sources. It claims that when Abraham met Ishmael, he did not fully dismount from his ride to keep a promise he had made to his wife. Instead, he only placed one foot on a rock, which retained his footprint. According to these sources, Muslims run around the Kaʿba on one foot in honor of Abraham's precedent. Although the footprint of Abraham is indeed an important tradition in Islam, Muslims do not run around the Kaʿba on one foot during the *ḥajj*. The latter claim is an invention of Christian polemicists.

Zayd's wife: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh was the cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad on her mother's side. She was married to Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the Prophet's adopted son, but the Prophet happened upon her undressed and became interested in marrying her. When Zayd lost interest in his wife and divorced her, the Prophet married her. See Qurʾān 33:37–38. This story is part of a broader comparison between the Prophet Muḥammad and the Prophet David, who married Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah.

Uriah: the Qurʾān does not mention Uriah or Bathsheba by name. According to both Jewish and Islamic tradition, David caught sight of Bathsheba as she bathed and grew infatuated with her. He ordered her husband Uriah to the battlefront so as to clear the way for him to marry Bathsheba. Although Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike retain some version of this story, there are differences in the details, so the accusations

165 Matthew 12:43. In Zohrab and the Septuagint the subject is singular, "the unclean spirit" (այսն պիղծ, τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα).

166 "Sexual intercourse," սմուսնալոյ, lit. "of marrying."

167 Qurʾān 2:223: نِسَآؤُكُمْ حَرْثٌ لَّكُمْ فَأْتُواْ حَرْثَكُمْ أَنَّىٰ شِئْتُمْ وَقَدِّمُواْ لِأَنفُسِكُمْ وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَٱعْلَمُوٓاْ أَنَّكُم مُّلَٰقُوهُ وَبَشِّرِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ.

168 Cf. 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 11:4ff.

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Muḥammad and you do the very [thing] you oppose![169] No matter how evil the sins, [you do] not consider them to be sins; you do not ask forgiveness for them, and you do not find sins [to be] shameless. God commanded in the Gospels that a man not leave his wife, except in the case of adultery. And you, when you are satisfied with your wives, as if with food, you want [to leave them] and you leave [them]. [68r] So if it were possible, I would not say anything about the shameful remarriages, as you first allow others to profane a wife and then you take [her].

against David are not always applicable across religious traditions. The author of this correspondence sees the comparison between Muḥammad and David (along with that between Zaynab and Bathsheba) as evidence of the moral bankruptcy of Islam because the author is engaged with a different exegetical setting, one in which David is not exonerated for adultery and murder.

Divorce (*ṭalāq*): Islamic law allows for divorce, as supported in a number of Qur'ānic verses.

Remarriage: Leo points out that a divorced couple cannot be remarried unless the wife has been married to another man after the divorce. Here, he alludes to Qur'ān 2:230: "And if he has divorced her [three times], then she is not lawful to him afterward until [after] she marries a husband other than him. Then it is permissible for them to unite, should they think they can keep the laws of God. . . ."

"Where shall I put the unscrupulous fornication of your concubines, for whom you expend all the possessions and spoils of man? Buying expensive possessions at high cost, you satisfy that obscenity with her and then sell [her] like an animal. They say about the serpent that it has relations with the muraena, the reptile that is in the depths of the sea. And when it nears the seashore, it ejects fatal poison and in this way consummates its desire. Yet you are more venomous than even this snake, and more treacherous. Your wickedness is not relieved with bodily copulation, for even at your death, instructed by evil spirits, you sinfully exterminate one another by strangulation.

Muraena: sea serpent.

"As for what you said about Satan and the souls of the righteous, you make Satan the treasurer of God. You have many highly incorrect ideas about our wisdom. [68v] But Satan rejoiced over the despair caused by the death [of] men, and simultaneously Satan himself thought that the righteous who died were truly lost and forgotten by God. Presuming that the Word of God, on account of His body and immense humility, was like such people, he induced His [i.e., Jesus's] disciple to betray [Him] and the Jews to kill [Him]. Seeing the Lord's willing advance toward death on this cross, he became frightened and began to rebuke with terror the wife of the judge in order to hinder the salvation of the human race.[170] Having tasted death in His humanity, He [Jesus] remained immortal in the nature of His divinity and indivisible from His humanity as true God from true God. He arose and, even more, He resurrected His humanity according to the prophecy of David: 'May God arise and may His enemies be dispersed,'[171] and from the twelve prophets: 'Wait for

Treasurer of God: Leo here repudiates the claim that the souls of the prophets and the righteous who lived between Adam and Jesus should be in hell.

Leo asserts that Islam has an incorrect understanding of the power of Satan. Leo's response, however, does not correspond to any point made in the Armenian version of ʿUmar's letter. He argues that Satan originally thought that the dead had been forgotten by God, but Christ's incarnation and crucifixion freed them and rendered Satan powerless.

169 On the comparison between David and Muḥammad, see Maghen, "Intertwined Triangles."

170 Matthew 27:19.

171 Psalm 67:2(68:1).

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me on the day of my resurrection.'[172] He did not arise [69r] for His own sake, since He was incorporeal, immortal, and incorruptible; rather, He took on humanity and with that endured death for the sake of the human race. And by His resurrection He granted resurrection to humans and hope to the souls of the dead to be clothed in flesh once more, freeing incorporeal souls from the dress of the enemy incorporeally, for souls meet with not the smallest attentions of the Creator through the incarnation of the Word in Christ. Now, in this way Satan was bound with his own and his demons' despair, destruction, and impotency to no longer compel mankind to foreign worship that God does not want, and with hope of [their] inheriting the eternal fire of hell.

"I also did not forget what you said from the prophet Isaiah, the sayings about the riders on the ass and the camel. Now, the meaning of the vision is as follows. The seeing of an arid sea: the 'arid sea' is your desert, [69v] bordering on the sea, close to the Babylonian kingdom and neighbor to it. And after a little bit, he says: 'I saw two riders: one rider on an ass and one rider on a camel.'[173] The two were one single rider, as the prophet says clearly, having shown it in that same place. But the prophet calls 'an ass' the Jewish people, who read the Laws and the Prophets and yet, believing the teaching of Satan, did not recognize or obey the world-saving Gospel. He accused [them] about this at the beginning of his writing: 'The ox knew its owner and the ass its master's stable, but Israel has not known Me.'[174] Whereas he called the Midianites and the Babylonians 'a camel' because these animals are common among you. That enemy, who led the Jews astray with misconceptions about obeying the law, has overturned you through idolatry, for the two are one. See how the prophet shows this clearly again; he says: 'I saw the same rider, for a pair of horses was coming.'[175] [70r] So what previously seemed to be two is one. And 'the pair of horses,' since he [i.e., Satan] ruled the Jews and the heathens, who persecuted[176]

Leo interprets the vision in Isaiah 21 of the **two riders**, one on an ass, the other on a camel. Muslims used this verse to suggest that the Christian scriptures foretold the coming of Muḥammad: Jesus was the rider on the ass and Muḥammad that on the camel. Leo instead explains that the two riders are actually one. The ass signifies the Jewish people and the camel the heathen Midianites and Babylonians. Satan is the rider of both—Jewish obsession with the law and Midianite and Babylonian idolatry. When both of these were destroyed by the coming of Christ and the spread of Christianity, Satan had no other option than to ride the mounts of the law and heathenism into the Arabian desert and deceive its inhabitants with Islam, which combines Jewish law with heathen practices.

172 Zephaniah 3:8. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab, where the verse reads սպասեա ինձ instead of մնայ ինձ, as here. The verb մնամ, however, more usually renders Greek ὑπομένω, which is the verb found in the verse in the Septuagint: ὑπόμεινόν με.

173 Isaiah 21:7. The citation differs very slightly from Zohrab.

174 Isaiah 1:3.

175 Isaiah 21:9.

176 "Persecuted," հալածեաց: the verb is singular in the Armenian text, probably through the influence of "he ruled," տիրեաց, which immediately precedes the relative pronoun.

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Him. Now, how was he coming and what did he say? 'He was coming,' he says, 'on a pair of horses,' and he raised a shout and said: 'Babylon has fallen and its handiwork has been destroyed.'[177]

"Behold, the enemy is this one who laments its desolation, who did not know another place to flee to except for your desert, and who came to your people, leading both horses of his impiety, which are Jewish instability and heathen wantonness. He gave you these together. He deceived you stealthily, and not by force, for you circumcise and conceive of the divinity like the Jews do, without the substantial and creative Word and Spirit; but you believe in fortune and fate and demons who are *jinn*s, like the heathens do. With those who [are] like them, you lead lives of filthy and unmentionable impurities.

"You call your raids of merciless killings and of enslaving men 'the way of God.' [70v] Such are your beliefs and rewards, and your boasts of conducting an angelic lifestyle, but we know and are familiar with the mystery of our wondrous salvation. We expect to enjoy the kingdom of heaven after the resurrection, since we obeyed the proclamations of the Gospel. We are obedient for such good things that 'the eye did not see and the ear did not hear . . . , which God has prepared for those who love Him'[178] and believe in Him—not fountains of wine, milk, and honey, nor copulation with women who remain forever virgins, nor the birth of sons, nor any other such quackeries born of heathen and hellish folly. God forbid the nonsense of your farfetched stories, for 'the kingdom is not food and drink,' as the Holy Spirit says; rather, 'it is righteousness and holiness.'[179] For 'in the resurrection, they do not take wives nor are there husbands, but thus they are like [71r] the angels in heaven.'[180] But since you are never satisfied with impurity, with the pleasure of your filthy desires, and consider nothing else better than it, you therefore consider the kingdom of heaven nothing without it and you want to furnish it [i.e., heaven] with it [i.e., impurity].

"This we answer you in brief, since we have been troubled by you heathens because of our unshakeable and indubitable

"In the path of God" (*fī sabīl Allāh*) is a Qurʾānic phrase that appears most frequently in relation to charity given in the name of God, but it also refers to holy war in the name of God, *jihād fī sabīl Allāh*.

Leo presents the Christian idea of resurrection as superior to the more worldly vision of resurrection that includes food, drink, and sex, as depicted in Islamic traditions.

Leo concludes his letter by saying that he felt compelled to respond to ʿUmar because he has been bothered by the killing of Christians in the Caliphate, although they die with hope in the resurrection. Christians, he claims, unlike Muslims, put their confidence not in the strength of their weapons but only in God.

177 Cf. Isaiah 21:9.

178 1 Corinthians 2:9.

179 Romans 14:17. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

180 Matthew 22:30.

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faith in the past as well as now. We are constantly dying because of the venerable, holy, and unparalleled name that has been attributed to us in accordance with the prediction of the prophet Isaiah: 'He will call you a new name, which the Lord shall name,'[181] as the Lord prescribed to us while He was physically on earth, saying: 'If they persecuted Me, then they will also persecute you. If they kept My word, then they will also keep yours. But they will do this to you since they do not recognize My Creator.'[182] And again: 'Here in this world [71v] you will have affliction';[183] and in His prayers to the Father, He said: 'They whom You gave to the world were Yours and You gave them to Me,'[184] and 'They are not from this world like I am also not from this world,'[185] for 'if they were from the world here, this world would truly love its own. But they are not from this world; rather, I chose them from the world. Because of this, this world hates them.'[186]

"Now because of such hope we are tortured by you with threats and with death; and [you are tormented] by us with patience, for we do not put our hope in our bow nor will our sword save us, but the right hand and arm of the Lord and the light of His countenance.[187] Whether He wants and is pleased to in this world still or in the next, He may increase the recompense as much as He wants and whenever He may want in exchange for your punishments. Whereas you, persisting in your violence and your extortion, think this befitting of your faith for the sake of the pleasure of God, not remembering the Persians who tyrannized for four hundred years. [72r] God himself knows the reason why, but it was not on account of their correct beliefs. But we are pleased with these tribulations and these afflictions that befall us for the sake of the glorified name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, so that we may arrive at the goodness of the hereafter with those who loved the day

Right hand and protecting power: this Psalm also appears later in Łewond's text, in a letter purportedly sent from Leo to the Umayyad general Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik during his siege of Constantinople (see page 211). The use of the same biblical verses may point to Łewond's knowledge of this letter from Leo to 'Umar. This is important because some scholars argue that the letters between Leo and 'Umar were added to the text later.

The Persians: the author of Leo's letter here refers to the Sasanians who ruled over the Iranian cultural sphere from 224 to ca. 650. Earlier in Łewond's text, he offered 481 years for the length of their reign, but the precise dating varied (see page 4).

181 Isaiah 62:2.

182 John 15:20–21. The last part of the citation differs from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

183 John 16:33.

184 John 17:6. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

185 John 17:17.

186 John 15:19. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament, as in the biblical passage Jesus addresses his audience in the second person plural rather than the third person plural.

187 Cf. Psalm 43:4, 7(44:3, 6).

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when God's great judgment will appear for the glory and praise of those who love His name, and with whom may we also be worthy in glorifying the single divinity of the Father, His only begotten Word, and the Holy Spirit now, forever, and unto the ages. Amen."

The emperor Leo wrote this transcript of reply and sent it by means of one of his faithful servants to ʿUmar, the prince of the Ishmaelites, who, when he read it, very respectfully felt great shame. And by means of this letter he also increased his mildness and consideration toward the Christian people. [72v] He presented himself everywhere as an obliging person, for, as we already related, he released the captives and pardoned all of them for their transgressions by setting them free. He also demonstrated greater sincerity to his own people than the previous ones who were princes before him did, for he opened the stores of the treasury and distributed salaries to the officers. And after all of that, he died.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ յետ նորա փոխանորդէ զիշխանութիւն Ումառ ամս. *երկուս.* և ամիսս. *հինգ.* և վախճանի:

Ժը[188] Զսա ասեն ազնուականագոյն քան զ*ամենայն* արս ազգատոհմի իւրոյ: Սա արար դարձ [32r] գերութեանն զոր գերեաց Մահմետ յաշխարհէս Հայոց. յետ այրելոյն զնախարարս աշխարհիս. զի առ զբազում ամրոցս. և գերեաց զարս և զկանայս: Եւ իբրև հաստատեցաւ իշխանութիւն Ումառա արձակեաց զբովանդակ գերեալսն յիւրաքանչիւր տեղիս. և խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս որ ընդ իւրով իշխանութ*եամբ*. սոյն Ումառ գրէ թուղթ առ Լեւոն կայսր Հոռոմոց յաղագս ուսանելոյ զզաւրութիւն հաւատոյս մերոյ. յորում էին պէսպէս հարցմունք զորս համառաւտ ի ներքոյ դրոշմեցից:

[LETTER FROM THE UMAYYAD CALIPH ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR LEO THE ISAURIAN]

Անուամբ Ա*ստուծոյ* Ումառ իշխան հաւատացելոց. առ Ղեւոն կայսր Հոռոմոց: Բազում անգամ կամեցայ գիտել զձերոյ կարծեաւք հաւատոյդ ուսումնդ. և յաւելաք ուսանել. էթէ զի՞նչ արդեւք խորհիք. և ոչ եղև մեզ հնար հասու լինել. այլ արդ ասա ինձ զստուգութիւնն.

Նախ էթէ վ*ասն* էր ասաց Յ*իսուս*ս առ աշակերտսն. եթե մերկ եկիք և մերկ դառնայք. կամ ընդէ՞ր ոչ ընկալայք զոր ասաց Յ*իսուս*ս զինքենէ: Այլ քննել զգիրս մարգարէիցն և զՍաղմոսացն գտանել ի նոցանէ վկայութի*ւն*ս վ*ասն* մարդան[32v]ալոյն Յ*իսուս*ի. և երկուացար և ի կարծիս անկար. և ոչ բաւական համարեցար զոր վկայեաց[189] Յ*իսուս*ս զանձնէ իւր. այլ հաւատացեր յայն զոր ասացին մարգարէքն: Այլ Յ*իսուս*ս արդարև արժանի էր հաւատարմութե*ան* և մաւտ

188 ժը in lft. mg.

189 վկայեաց] -յ- subscr.

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էր յԱ*ստուա*ծ. և լաւագոյն գիտէր զինքն քան զգրեալսն զոր փոփոխեցին ազգք զորս ոչ գիտէք և այլայլեցին:

Եւ կամ զիա՞րդ արդարացուցանէք զգրեանն և զհետ երթայք նոցա որ ինչ նման թուի ձեզ. դուք ասէք էթէ աւրէնքն գերեցան[190] բազում անգամ և կորեան որք ընթեռնուին զնոսա յորդոցն Ի*սրայէ*ղի. և գիտէին զնոսա. և մնացին ժամանակս ինչ որ չկայր ինչ առ նոսա յայնմանէ և ոչ ինչ. մինչև գրեցին ոմանք ի մարդկանէ յետ այնորիկ իւրեանց հանճարով ազգ յետ ազգի. և ցեղ յետ ցեղի, և նոքա մարմնեղէնք էին յորդոցն Ադամա. որք մոռանան և ի կարծիս ըմբռնին, զի մաւտ է առ նոսա սատանա, և նմանողք նորա թշնամութ*եամ*բն իւրեանց: Եւ կամ ընդէ՞ր ոչ գտանի յաւրէնսն Մովսէսի, վ*ասն* արքայութե*ան*ն և դժոխոցն և դատաստանին. և յարութե*ան*ն. այլ որք զԱւետարանն գր[33r]եցին նոքա պատմեցին. Մաթէոս. Մարկոս. Ղուկաս. Յովհաննէս. իւրեանց հանճարով: Եւ զմխիթարիչն զորմէ ասաց յԱւետարանսն առաքել Ք*րիստոս*ի, զՄահմետէն մերմէ ասացին առաքել:

Եւ կամ ընդէ՞ր զկնի աշակերտացն Յ*իսուս*ի յեւթանասուն և երկու ցեղս բաժանեցան ազգք Քրիստոնէից: Եւ անզուգական զաւրութե*ան*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ ընկեր և համեմատ և նման նմա առնէք երիս Ա*ստուա*ծս խոստովանելով. և զ*ամենայն* աւրէնսն անձնիշխանաբար փոփոխել ջանայք. զթլփատութի*ւն*ն ի մկրտութի*ւն* փոխելով. և զզոհսն ի հաղորդութի*ւն* աւրհնութե*ան* հացի և բաժակի. և զկիւրակէն փոխանակ շաբաթու պատուեցեր: Եւ կամ զիա՞րդ էր հնար Ա*ստուծ*ոյ ի մէջ արեան և մարմնոյ և պէսպէս աղտեղութե*ան*ց յարգանդի բնակել. և կամ ընդէ՞ր զոսկերս առաքելոցն և մարգարէիցն պատուէք. և կամ զնշան խաչին որ դատապարտութե*ան* գործարան[191] էր ըստ աւրինացն. կամ պատկերս զոր պատուէք: Եւ զի մարգարէն Եսայի վ*ասն* մեր աւրինադրին վկայէ[192] ընկեր և համեմատ Յ*իսուս*ի. զի և ուղեկից նմա էտես մարգարէն ի տեսլեանն հեծեալ մի [33v] իշոյ և հեծեալ մի ուղտու: Իսկ դուք ընդէր ոչ հաւատայք զայս *ամենայն* հասոյ ինձ ի գիտութի*ւն*. զի կարացից գիտել զկարծիս ուսմանդ ձերոյ:

[LETTER FROM THE ROMAN EMPEROR LEO THE ISAURIAN TO THE UMAYYAD CALIPH ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ]

Զայս *ամենայն* և յոլովագոյն քան զայս ընդդիմաբանութի*ւն*ս. գրէր Ոմար իշխանն Իսմաելի առ թագաւորն Ղեւոն: Վ*ասն* որոյ հարկաւորի կայսրն Ղեւոն գրել պատասխանի աւրինակ զայս:

Ժթ[193] Փղաբիոն Լեւոն կայսր. հաւատացեալ ի Յ*իսուս* Ք*րիստոս*. ճշմարիտ Ա*ստուա*ծ մեր և թագաւոր ճանաչաւոց զնա. Ոմարայ,[194] Սառակինոսաց առաջնորդի: Որպիսի բան առաջի եդից ուղղագոյն և ճշմարտագոյն զառ ի քէն մեզ առաքելոցս. և զի մանաւանդ ուսեալք յա*ստուծ*ոյ հեզութ*եամ*ք խրատել զընդդիմակայսն, թերևս տացէ նոցա ժամանակ ապաշխարութե*ան*. այլև ոչ թագաւորական աւրէնք են խրտուցանող բանիւք որպէս քարամբք հարկանել զայնոսիկ որք լսել կամին զճշմարտութեանն զսքանչելի[195] խորհուրդ: Բայց վ*ասն* զի սկիզբն իսկ քո գրոյս գոնեա փոքրագոյն ինչ զկերպարան ճշմարտութե*ան*

190 գերեցան] read: գրեցան.

191 գործարան] -ար- suprascr.

192 վկայէ] -յ- subscr.

193 ժթ in lft. mg.

194 Ոմարայ] -յ subscr.

195 զսքանչելի] -u- suprascr.

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ոչ ունէր ապա հարկաւոր է զոչ ճշմարիտն. ոչ ասել թէ արդար է. քանզի ասացեր գրովն քո. թէ բազում անգ[34r]ամ գրեցաք առ ձեզ զմերոց Քրիստոնէիցս ա*ստուա*ծային[196] խորհուրդ. և եթե յաւելաք ուսանել զձերոյ կարծեաւք հաւատոյդ ուսումնդ. և չէր հնար լինել և ոչ միում յայսցանէ. քանզի և ոչ մի ինչ հարկ ի յայսպիսիսս զմեզ ածեր իրս. զի և ոչ ուսաք իսկ ի վարդապետէն մերմէ և ի Տ*եառն*է. ատար ուսումնականաց զայսպիսի միայնակ ա*ստուա*ծգիտութի*ւն* առաջի ընկենուլ ի ծաղր կատականաց. և մանաւանդ այնոցիկ որ չենն տեղեակ մարգարէիցն կանխասացութե*ան*, և առաքելոցն քարոզութե*ան*. զի զայս և այլոց պատուիրել սովորեմք: Այո. բազում անգամ գրեցաք առ քեզ. արդեաք թէ և այլ հասանիցէ գրել վ*ասն* այլ աշխարհական իրաց. և ոչ վ*ասն* ա*ստուա*ծային[197] իրողութե*ան*ց: Բայց[198] մեք որք խրատեալք յա*ստուա*ծայնոյ[199] ձայնէն. տուք պատասխանի ամենայնի որ հարցանենն զձեզ. իսկ որ ոչ հարցանէ առ նա ոչ պատասխանել: Այլ և ոչ զձերոց կարծեացդ զաւրութի*ւն* այժմիկ նորոգ կամիմք ուսանել. այլ առ ի յ*Աստուծ*ոյ և վ*ասն* այսորիկ խրատեալք. զ*ամենայն* ինչ ասէ քննեցէք. իսկ զբարին ընկալարուք.

Արդ ունիմք մեք պատմութի*ւն*ս գրով [34v] զերանելեաց եպիսկաւպոսացն մերոց որք էին առ ժամանակաւքն այնոքիւք՝ առ որով Մահմետն այն աւրէնսդիր ձեր լեալ է. վ*ասն* այսորիկ և ոչ յաղագս որոյ պետք էին աշխատ զքեզ առնել: Բայց զի մի կարծիցես զմեզ ամաչեցեալս, վ*ասն* այսպիսոյ սքանչելի ա*ստուա*ծգիտութե*ան*· լուր ապա: Եթէ ախորժիցես և լուիցես ինձ. զբարութի*ւն*ս երկրի կերիցես որպէս ասաց Եսաիաս: Յոյժ դժուարին է ով այր դու զամենևին սուտն ի բաց ընկենուլ. յորժամ հակառակաւղն զհակառակելն հանապազ խորհիցի: Այսպիսի ինչ է զոր ասեմս: Եթէ երկուք ոմանք առ հուր ինչ մերձեցեալ կային. մինն հուր զնա ասէր որպէս և էրն իսկ. և միւսն հակառակելով աղբեւր ջուրց զնոյն ասէր· յայտնապէս ահա երևէր ստութի*ւն* հակառակասիրին:

Արդ ասացեր Տ*եառն* մերոյ ասել յԱւետարանն՝ մերկ եկիք և մերկ դառնայք. և ոչ ուրեք յԱւետարանսն գտանեմք Տ*եառն* մերոյ ասացեալ զայս. թէպետև միշտ մեզ հրամայէ[200] առնել զխոկումն մահու. այլ այս բան Յոբա է: քանզի հոսեալ ի վերայ [35r] նորա սատանայական փորձութե*ան*ցն. ասաց զայս արդարն, մերկ եկի յորովայնէ մայր իմոյ. և մերկանդամ դառնամ անդրէն. Տէր ետ և Տէր առ, և եղիցի անուն Տ*եառն*ն աւրհնեալ: Բայց այսպէս մի զմիով սովորեցայք արկանել հատակոտորել զվկայութի*ւն*ս[201] գրոց սրբոց. զոր ոչ դուք ընթերցայք և ոչ ընթեռնոյք. այլ ա*ստուա*ծավաճառք զնոյն ասել հաւատավաճառքդ. որք առ ձեզդ զհաճոյսն ձեր որսալով ա*ստուա*ծայնոց գրոց բանիւ ասելով զինչ և պէտք իւրեանց դաւդանչեն:

Բայց թեպետ հպարտացեալ ես բռնակալութե*ամ*բդ՝ սակայն լուր զպատասխանիսս: Ասացեր գտանել մեզ ի Սաղմոսս Դաւթի և ի գիրս մարգարէիցն վկայութի*ւն*ս[202] վ*ասն* Տ*եառն*ս մերոյ. ոչ այժմ ինչ յուզեալ գտաք զայսպիսի Ասացուածս հոգւոյն սրբոյ զորս ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն խաւսեցաւ. այլ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ շնորհաւք և կամաւք. յորմէ սկսաւ քարոզութի*ւն*ն Քրիստոնէից՝ նովիմբ և կատարեցաւ [35v] հիմնացեալ. աճեաց և աճեսցէ նորին արարչի և Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զաւրութե*ամ*բ:

196 ա*ստուա*ծային] -յ- subscr.

197 ա*ստուա*ծային] -յ- subscr.

198 Բայց] եւ add. a.c.

199 յա*ստուա*ծայնոյ] յա*ստուա*ծայնոյ a.c.

200 հրամայէ] -յ- subscr.

201 զվկայութի*ւն*ս] -յ- subscr.

202 վկայութի*ւն*ս] -յ- subscr.

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Գրեցեր թէ բաւական համարեցար և հաւատացեր յայնս. և թողեր զայս զոր վկայեաց[203] Յ*իսու*ս ի վերայ[204] անձին իւրոյ. և երկուացար և ի կարծիս անկար: Երանի. եթէ հաւատայիր որպէս ասեաղ Աւետարանին հաստատուն և անսխալ պատմագրացն քան ամենայնի. թէպէտև ոչ հակառակ միմեանց զհին և զնորս գիտեմք. զի ոչ հնար իսկ էր միոյ բարութե*ան* աղբերն· այսինքն· ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն. բղխել չար և բարի. ճշմարտութի*ւն* և ստութի*ւն*: Այլ յաղագս դիւրընկալ[205] առնելոյ անաւրէն ազգին Հրէից. զմարմնով գալուստ բանին իւրոյ առակաւք և աւրինակաւք. և յայտնագոյն պատուիրանաւք ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն զգուշացուցանէր զազգն. զի մի անհաւանք ըստ սովորութե*ան*ն իւրեանց գալստեանն Ք*րիստոս*ի լինիցին: Ըստ նոցին վկայեաց[206] վ*ասն* ինքեան Տ*է*ր ն յԱւետարանսն. և ոչ աւտ[36r]ար յայնցանէ զորս ինքն անմարմնաբար ի մարգարէիցն խաւսեցաւ բերանոց. զորս յետ ժամանակաց ի մարմնանալն յայտնագոյնս խաւսեցաւ: Եւ զայնոսիկ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ շնորհաւն· ի սմին թղթի յիւրաքանչիւրսն ցուցցուք տեղիս. զբարձրագոյնսն առաւել քան զմարդոյ. և զխոնարհագոյնսն իբրև զմարդոյ խոստովանել:

Բ. Գրեցեր էթէ արդարև Յ*իսու*ս արժանի էր հաւատարմութե*ան* և մաւտ էր յԱ*ստուա*ծ. և լաւագոյն գիտէր զինքն քան զգրեալսն. զոր փոփոխեցին ազգք զորս ոչ գիտէք, որ այլայլեցին ի նոցանէ և փոխեցին: Պատասխանի: Ճշմարտութի*ւն* ոչ գիտէ զէն, չէ ասել· և զչէ, է. իսկ ստութի*ւն* զամենէ դիւրաւ բուռն հարկանէ, զի կարող է,[207] ոչ միայն զերևելի արարածս ուրանալ. այլ զնոյն ինքն զարարչէն ասէ ոչ է Ա*ստուա*ծ: արդ չէն ինչ զարմանք թէ և զգիրս Ա*ստուծ*ոյ ուրանալ կարէ ստութի*ւն*. կամ թէ պատճառել զնոցան[36v]էն պատճառս մեղաց: Յ*իսու*ս արդարև[208] արժանի էր հաւատարմութե*ան*: Ոչ որպէս մարդ ոք սոսկ յԱ*ստուծ*ոյ բանէն թափուր. այլ որպէս կատարեալ յերկոսին յա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն և ի մարդկութե*ան*. հաւատարիմ են և ի ձեռն մարգարէին նորին ասացուածք բանին. ոչ վ*ասն* այնորիկ են հաւատարիմ զի մարդիկ խաւսեցան զնոսա. այլ վ*ասն*ն զի անմարմնաբար նոքաւք խաւսեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծն բան: Եւ վ*ասն*ն զի խառն էր ի հնումն և ի նորումս. վ*ասն* այսորիկ և ոչ հակառակ են միմեանց.

Այլ որ ասացեր. այլայլեալ զգրեանն. էթէ առաջնորդ ուսմանդ քո ուսոյց քեզ զայդ· մոռացաւ զինքն. և էթէ այլ ոք. ևս առաւել ստեաց: Արդ լուր, և գեղեցկապէս խորհեա: Քում ուսմանդ առաջնորդ ոչ ասէ հաստատել զբանն առանց վկայից.[209] նմանապէս ասէ և աւրէնքն հրամայեն.[210] ասէ ի բերանոյ երկուց և երից վկայից[211] հաստատեսցի *ամենայն* բան: Գիտեմք զԱբրահամ վ*ասն* Ք*րիստոս*ի յառաջ ընկալեալ [37r] զաւետիսն. ասելով ցնա Ա*ստուա*ծ. ի զաւակի քո աւրինեսցին *ամենայն* ազգք երկրի: Եւ Սահակ այսպիսի յուսով աւրինեալ է զՅակոբ. զի Յակոբ վ*ասն* սորին աւրինեալ է զյուդա զիւր որդին. Յուդա. ի քէն ելցէ ինձ լինել իշխան և պետ յերանաց նորա մինչև եկեսցեն նմա հանդերձեալքն. և նա է ակնկալութի*ւն* հեթանոսաց: Զի Մովսէս վ*ասն*ն սորին աւրինադրեաց. և պատուիրեաց. զՅեսու. զԴաւիթ. զՍողովմոն. զերկոյտասան մարգարէսն հանդերձ Սամուէլիւ. Եղիայիւ. Եղիսէիւ. զԵսաի.

203 վկայեաց] -յ- subscr.
204 վերայ] -յ subscr.
205 դիւրընկալ] -ր- subscr.
206 վկայեաց] -յ- subscr.
207 ,] subscr.
208 արդարև] -ար- subscr.
209 վկայից] -յ- subscr.
210 հրամայեն] -յ- subscr.
211 վկայից] -յ- subscr.

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զԵրեմիայ. զԴանիէլ. զԵզեկիէլ. զարդարն զՅոբ. զՅովաննէս մկրտիչ զՔաքարիայի[212] որդին. դիր ի վերա սոցա զերկոտասան[213] աշակերտսն Տ*եառ*ն. ևս և զեւթանասունսն· և միանգամայն ընդ հինսն և ընդ նորս. *հարիւր մետասան*:

Արդ այսքան սրբոց և սիրելեաց Ա*ստուծ*ոյ վ*ասն Քրիստոս*ի գալստեանն խաւսեցելոց. զորոց և Մահմետն քո վկայեաց[214] լինել ս*ուրբ*ս և ծառայս Ա*ստուծ*ոյ, անհաւ[37v]ան լինիս. և զքո Մահմետն քան զԱ*ստուա*ծ որ նոքաւք խաւսեցաւ. և քան զԱ*ստուա*ծն բան մարմնով երևեալ հաւատարի՞մ համարիս: Եւ արդ զհամառատն հարցանեմ. ասա աղաչեմ. *հարիւր մետասան*. ծառայիցն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. զմի և յաղագս միոյ խաւսողաց վկաւութի*ւն* ճշմարիտ է, էթէ միոյ զայլախորհի և զայլիմացի. և ստելով ճշմարտօղ կարծողի. և այս է ստելով ճշմարտելն. զվերագրեալ ս*ուրբ*սդ. ծառայս և սիրելիս Ա*ստուծ*ոյ Մահմետն քո խոստովանել ուսուցանէ ձեզ. և զոր ի ձեռն նոցա խաւսեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ. ոչ ինքն ընդունի. և ոչ այլում ընդունել ուսուցանէ:

Գ. Ասացեր, և զիա՞րդ արդարացուցանէք զգրեանն Հրէից. և զհետ երթայք որ ինչ նման թուի ձեզ յայնցանէ. և դուք ասէք էթէ աւրէնքն գրեցան բազում անգամ և կորեան որք ընթեռնուին զնա յորդոցն Ի*սրայէ*ղի և գիտէին զորս ի նմա. և մնային[215] ժամանակս ինչ որ չկայր առ նոսա յայնցանէ և ոչ ինչ. մինչև [38r] գրեցին ոմանք ի մարդկանէ յետ այնորիկ իւրեանց հանճարով ըստ կամաց իւրեանց ազգ յետ ազգի և ցեղ յետ ցեղի. և նոքա մարմնեղէնք էին յորդւոցն Ադամայ որք մոռանան և ի կարծիս ըմբռնին. զի մաւտ է ի նոսա սատանայ. և նմանողք նորա թշնամութ*եան*մբն իւրեանց:

Պատասխանի: Զարմանամ, զարմանամ. ոչ ընթ[216] անհաւատութի*ւն* ևեթ ուսմանդ ձերոյ. այլ եթէ զիարդ ընդ յայտնութի*ւն*դ[217] ոչ ամաչէք. այլ զնոյնդ և գրով աւանդէք. որպէս զի ևս ծիծաղելի լինիցիք: Եւ զմեզ մերովք բանիւք կարծէք գայթագղեցուցանել. և զգլուխտ զոր ի թղթիդ քո յափշտակեալ դնես մերովք ասացուածովք կարծես հաստատել գրով թէ որ ասէք դուք. արդ եթէ հաւատարիմ[218] թուին քեզ ասացուածք մեր, ամենայնին պարտիս հաւատալ. քանզի ստով վկայի.[219] ոչ որ. զոմանս ի վկաւութե*ան*ն ընդունին և զկէսն ի բաց ընկեն[38v]ուն.

Բայց որովհետև չես տեղեակ. լուեալ ուսիր. ասեմք մեք Հրէիցն գրեալ ի սրբութե*ան*ն տեղոջէ ոչ յանձանց ինչ ստեղծեալ զրոյցս այլ ի ստոյգ պատմութե*ան*ց Եբրայեցի.[220] արանցն ա*ստուա*ծասիրաց տեղակացեալք. և ի գրոց նոցին իսկ մարգարէիցն. քսան և երկու են արարածք Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. զորս ի սկզբանն ի վեց աւուրս գործեաց. քսան և երկու գիրք ա*ստուա*ծանիք. և որ առ Եբրաեցիսն նոքին և առ մեզ. նոյնքան և թիւ աղփաբետիցն նոցա. թէպէտեւ հինգն ի նոցանէ կրկնակս ունին. և այն ոչ առանց մեծի խորհրդոյ: Զայս վ*ասն* այնորիկ Ա*ստուա*ծ մարգարէիւքն ուսուցեալ կարգեաց. զի ի միմեանց հաստատեալ ճշմարտութի*ւն*քն երևին այս քսան և երկու գրոց: Հինգ[221] են աւրէնքն. զոր Թաւրա. Եբրաեցիք. և Որաթա Ասորիք. և Նոոմաւս. մեք կոչեմք. որ ունի զա*ստուա*ծգիտութե*ան*ն զաւրութի*ւն*. և զարարչագործութե*ան*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զաշխարհս. և պատուէր [39r] վ*ասն* կոոցն հեթանոսաց

212 զզաքարիայի] -յ- subscr.

213 զերկոտասան] զերկոյտասան a.c.

214 վկայեաց] -յ- subscr.

215 մնային] -յ- subscr.

216 ընթ] read: ընդ; scribe mistakenly wrote -թ for -դ, possibly because of aural error.

217 յայտնութի*ւն*դ] յ- suprascr.

218 հաւատարիմ] -ար- suprascr.

219 վկայի] -յ subscr.

220 Եբրայեցի] -յ- subscr.

221 հինգ] Ե add. subscr.

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ոչ պաշտել զնոսա և ուխտն որ առ Աբրահամ, վ*ասն* զաւակին որ է Ք*րիստո*ս. և այլ պէսպէս դատաստանաց. և զոհից հրամանք ի բաց հրաժարեցուցանել զնոսա ի հեթանոսական սովորութե*ան*ցն որում ընդելն իսկ էին:

Իսկ Յեսովա. և Դատաւորացն՝ և Հռութա գիրքն՝ և Թագաւորութեանցն չորեքին. և Մնացորդացն. սոքա պատմողք են ըստ ժամանակին սքանչելագործութե*ան*ցն Ա*ստուծո*յ. և անսխալ ազգաբանք արդարոցն ազգի որ գա իշանէ կարգաւ ի Ք*րիստո*ս. և պատմութի*ւն*ք զթագաւորացն Ի*սրայէ*ղի. էթէ ոյք եղեն հաճոյք Ա*ստուծո*յ. և ոյք ոչ ևս. և բաժանումն ազգին վ*ասն* յանցանաց իւրեանց յերկուս թագաւորութի*ւն*ս Ի*սրայէ*ղի և Յուդա. և պատմողք վ*ասն* գերութե*ան* նոցին. իսկ Սաղմոսք Դաւթի և գիրք Սողոմոնի. զոր Կոհեղէթ.[222] և Շիրաթշիրիիմ Եբրաեցիք. և Պառիմոն. և Սամատոն մեք անուանեմք. և երկոյ[39v]տասան մարգարէիցն. Եսայի. Երեմիայ. Դանիէլ. Եզեկիէլի գրենովն. ամենայնքն մարգարէութի*ւն*ք են վ*ասն* գալստեանն Ք*րիստոս*ի. արդ էթէ ի Հրէից ոք շփոթեալ ապականէր. ոչ էր հնար գրենոյն ողջ պահիլ. զի չարագործաւքն յայնոսիկ նախ զթիւ գրենոյն ի բաց բառնային, և ի մի կամ յերկուս և կամ թերևս աւելի յերիս գիրս ժողովիւր. և զյաւելուածն ևս ի բաց բարձումն. քանզի ի նոսա դիւրագոյն է <զնջ>ելն.[223]

Եւ դարձեալ որպէս կարծեմ չես անտեղեակ թշնամութե*ան*ն որ ընդ մեզ Քրիստոնեայսս և ընդ Հրէայսն. և ոչ վ*ասն* այլոյ միոյ ուրուք. այլ վ*ասն* խոստովանելոյն մեր զՅ*իսուս*ս էթէ սա է Ք*րիստո*սն. որ և որդի Ա*ստուծո*յ առ ի մարգարէիցն քարոզեցաւ: Իսկ Հրէայք. ահա. զսա ոչ ասեն Ք*րիստո*ս, այլ թէև խոստովանին թէ արժան է գալ Ք*րիստոս*ի. սակայն անհաւանք մնացեալք գրոց մարգարէիցն որդի Ա*ստուծո*յ և ոչ այսպէս խոստովանին զՔ*րիստո*ս: Արդ ապա [40r] զիա՞րդ ապականիչք գրենոյն զայսպիսի հաստատուն և անտարակուսելի վկաութի*ւն*ս յիւրեանց գրեանն թողին՝ և կամ ինքեանք յաւելին. որք ոչ կարող են ի վերա այլոյ ուրուք իմանալ. թէև յոյժ որ բռնադատեսցէ զբանն՝ էթէ ոչ ի վերա մարմնացելոյ որդոյ Ա*ստուծո*յ:

Ընկալ և զերրորդ պատասխանիսս. գերութիւնն Հրէից նախքան զմարմնով գալուստն Ք*րիստոս*ի եղև. իսկ զիա՞րդ առ նովաւ հաստատուն կացեալ էր եւ[224] տաճարն և կտակարանքն և քահանաութի*ւն*ն, որպէս և յայտ իսկ է ի սրբոց Աւետարանացն որպէս դու իսկ վկաեցեր զՏ*եառ*նէն. զթլփատութենէն և զայլոցն մի ըստ միոջէ զոր ըստ Աւետարանացն կատարեաց. և զայս ոչ յաղագս այլ ինչ իրաց երևի արարեալ. այլ զի արդարացուսցէ զիւր ասացեալսն ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն. և ցուցցէ եթէ չեն հակառակ նմա՝ այլ սիրելիք. և հաստատուն վկայք տնտեսու թեանն նորա խորհրդոյ. և որք էին կտակարանքն[225] որ առ Հրէայսն. էթէ ոչ գրեանն մարգարէիցն որ յետ երկոցուն գերութե*ան*ցն Ի*սրայէ*ղի և Յուդա. առ Հրէայսն կային մինչև ի ժամանակս փրկչին մերոյ. յորում բազում վկաութի*ւն*ս Տ*է*րն յուսուցանելն զանհաւան Հրէայսն յիշեաց յԱւետարանսն. գերեցան ի Նաբուքոդոնոսորայ, ազգն Հրէից, այլ ա*ստուա*ծային[226] այցելութի*ւն*ն ոչ ետ նոցա թոյլ ըստ այժմու գերելոյդ կատարել. այլ զբաւանդակ ազգն բնակեցոյց ի տեղիս յորս կամեցաւ. ընդ նոսա էին գրեանն. այլ և ոմանք ի մարգարէիցն. որպէս Եզէկիէլ ասէ զինքենէ. թէ ես էի ի մէջ գերութե*ան*ն առ ափն Քոբար գետոյ. և Անանիանք

222 կոհեղէթ] կոհ- rewritten suprascr. Hand 1[corr].

223 <զնջ>ելն] ջնջ- suppl. in lft. mg. Hand 1[corr], lacuna in text.

224 եւ] -ւ suprascr.

225 կտակարանքն] -ր- subscr.

226 ա*ստուա*ծային] ա*ստուա*ծաին a.c.

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երանելիք ի Բաբելովնի ընկեցան ի հնոցն. և մեծն Դանիէլ ի Բաբելովնի մարգարէացաւ. և անդ ընկեցաւ ի գուբն[227] առեւծուց. և ամէն Եսթերա իրքն ի նմին գործեցան:

Բայց զի ընդ նոսա էին գրեանն. [41r] լուր հոգւոյն սրբոյ ի Սաղմոսին ասացեալ մարգարէիւն վ*ասն* գերելոյն Հրէից. որ թէպէտ տակաւին չէր եղեալ. այլ զանսխալ պատահումն իրացն նշանակեաց. ի *հարիւր երեսուն եւ վեց*. Սաղմոսին ասելով. առ գետովքն Բաբելացւոց անդ նստէաք և լայէաք. որպէս յիշեցաք զՍիովն ի միջի նոցա. զուռեաց կախեցաք զգործարանս մեր. զի անդ հարցին գերիչք մեր բանս երգոց. և տարիչք մեր բանս աւրհնութե*ան*: Իսկ որ ասացեր մարդկան հանճարով գրեալ զգրեանն. գիտեմ զի զաւ ի յԵզրէ զերկրորդումն կամիս բամբասել զի թէպէտև եղեն ի վերա նորա շնորհք հոգւոյն սրբոյ և առանց վրիպանաց պատմեաց զ*ամենայն*. և յորժամ միանգամայն ազգն յաշխարհացն յորոց սփռեցան. դարձան յԵ*ր*ուսաղէմ բերելով ընդ իւրեանս զգրեանն. երևեցաւ և անդ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ սքանչելեացն գործ. զի և ոչ մի ինչ ի հնոյն և առ ի յԵզրէ պատմութենէն գտաւ <պ*ա*կ*ա*ս:>[228]

Եւ որ [41v] ասացերն մարդիկ էին և մոռացմամբ ըմբռնէին. մարդիկ հանապազ յամենայնի տկարք են և պակասամիտք և մոռացկոտք: Իսկ Ա*ստուա*ծ յաւիտենական որ մեծ է զաւրութ*եամ*բ. այսպէս և իմաստութե*ան* ոչ ունի սահման և եզր, որ խաւսեցաւ ընդ մարդկան ծառաւիք իւրովք մարգարէիւք. առ որում ոչ է կարծեաց և կամ մոռացման ախտ. նա խաւսէր ի մարգարէսն. և ոչ ի մարդկան իմաստս թողոյր զնոսա: Բայց զքո Մահմետն չգիտիցե՞ս արդեւք մարդ. որոյ բանիւ զայսքան սրբոց Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զվկաւութի*ւն*ս միայն նորա բանիւ ի բաց ընկենուս: Կամ որ ասացեր մաւտ լինել զսատանայ ի ծառայս Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. և զԱ*ստուա*ծ ամենևին ոչ. բայց որք բարւոքն խորհին՝ գիտեն եթե ի մինն որ առանց վկայութե*ան*[229] գրոց է, նմա է մերձենալ սատանայի[230] քան էթէ յայսքան[231] ս*ուր*բս. և վկայեալս[232] Ա*ստուծ*ոյ:

Եւ որ յաղագս գրենոյն բան՝ այսքան բաւական: Իսկ որ ասացեր [42r] ոչ գտանել մեզ յաւրէնսն Մովսէսի վ*ասն* արքաւութե*ան*ն և դժոխոց և դատաստանի և յարութե*ան*, ոչ կամեցար գիտել եթէ որպէս կարէին մարդիկ ընդունել զգիտութի*ւն*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. այնպէս ուսուցանէր զնոսա Ա*ստուա*ծ. և ոչ եթէ միով մարգարէիւ խաւսեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ ընդ մարդկան և միով ժամանակաւ որպէս դու ասացեր եթէ զոր ինչ պատուիրելոց էր Ա*ստուա*ծ ազգի մարդկան զ*ամենայն* ընդ Մովսէսի ձեռն պատուիրեաց. չէ այդպէս զի զոր ինչ Նոյին պատուիրեաց. չպատուիրեաց զայն նոցա որ յառաջ քան զՆոյ. և զոր Աբրահամուն պատուիրեաց. չպատուիրեաց Նոյի. նոյնպէս զՄովսէսին չպատուիրեաց Աբրահամու. և զոր Յեսովայն, չպատուիրեաց Մովսէսի. և զոր Սամուէլին և Դաւթի և այլոց մարգարէիցն յիւրաքանչիւր ժամանակս. չպատուիրեաց Յեսովա: Զի որպէս ասացաքն յառաջագոյն. այսպէս առ սակաւ սակաւ հաճեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ զինքն և զկամս [42v] իւր ծանուցանել ազգի մարդկան. զի և ոչ կարէին իսկ մարդիկ միահաղոյն բուռն հարկանել զսքանչելի գիտութենէ նորա: Արդ եթէ զ*ամենայն* ընդ միոյ մարգարէի ձեռն խաւսեալ էր, ընդէր և զայլ մարգարէսն առաքէր Ա*ստուա*ծ, կամ եթէ այնմ ամենայնի թոյլ տայր ապականել որպէս դուդ ասես. ընդէ՞ր բնաւ խաւսեցաւ ընդ նոսա: Արդ թէև յառաջայ կրթութի*ւն* էր Մովսէսի, մարդկան և ոչ տակաւին կատարելագոյնք. սակայն նշանակեաց Ա*ստուա*ծ և ի նմա վ*ասն* յարութե*ան*ն և դատաստանին և դժոխոցն:

227 գուբն] բուրն a.c.

228 <պ*ա*կ*ա*ս:>] subscr. Hand 1[corr].

229 վկայութե*ան*] -յ- subscr.

230 սատանայի] -յ- subscr.

231 յայսքան] յ- subscr.

232 վկայեալս] -յ- subscr.

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Վ*ասն* յարութե*անն* ասէ, տեսէք զի ես եմ Ա*ստուա*ծ և ոչ է այլ ա*ստուա*ծ բայց յինէն. ես սպանանեմ և կեցուցանեմ հարկանեմ և բժշկեմ և ոչ ոք հանէ զձեզ ի ձեռաց իմոց: Եւ վ*ասն* դատաստանին ասէ. սրեցից[233] որպէս փայլակն զսուսեր իմ և ի խնդիր վրիժուց արձակեցից զաջ իմ: Եւ դարձեալ խնդրեսցէ վրէժս դատաստանաց թշնամեացն. հատուսցէ և ատ[43r]ելեացն: Իսկ վ*ասն* դժոխոցն. զի հուր բորբոքեալ է ասէ ի բարկութենէ իմմէ այրեսցէ մինչև ի դժոխքն ներքին: Իսկ զառաւել կատարելութի*ւն*ն և զսոցին աճումն այլովք մարգարէիքն յայտնագոյն ասէ:

Իսկ որ ասացեր Մաթէոս Մարկոս Ղուկաս՝ Յովհաննէս. գրեցին զԱւետարանն. գիտեմ ընդ ճշմարտութի*ւն*ս մեր Քրիստոնէիցս նեղիս. և կամիս զի ստութե*ամ*դ քո ընկեր գտանէիր. թէ ասէաք թէ գրեալ իջոյց զայդ Ա*ստուա*ծ յերկնից որպէս դու վ*ասն* փուրկանիդ քո ասես թէպէտև չեմք անտեղեակ.[234] թէ և զքոյդ Ոմա՛ն և Աբու Թուռաբ՛ և Սաղման պարսիկ գրեցին. և դուք ստելով համբաւէք եթէ յերկնից իջոյց Ա*ստուա*ծ: Արդ յայսմ ծանիր զճշմարտութի*ւն* մեր Քրիստոնէիցս. զի թէ այդպէս էր. զիա՞րդ դու զրպարտես թէ յետոյ ստեցին յԱւետարանսն կամ մեք և կամ այլ ոք. զի՞նչ արգելոյր զանուանսն[235] Աւետարանչացն ի բաց բառնալ. և զայն գրել ևս թէ[43v]և Ա*ստուա*ծ[236] յերկնից ի խոնարհ իջոյց: Այլ և զայս տես զի ոչ հաճեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ. ոչ իւր յանդիմանախաւսութե*ամ*բ առանց մարմնոյ առ ժողովուրդս մարդկան. և ոչ հրեշտակս առ մարդիկ առաքելով խրատել զնոսա. բայց մարգարէս ի նոցունց ընդրեաց և զնոսա առաքեաց.[237] վ*ասն* որոյ և Տ*է*րն յորժամ կատարեաց զ*ամենայն* յառաջագոյն սահմանեալսն իւր զորս ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն խաւսեցաւ նախքան զառնուլն[238] մարմին.

Եւ գիտացեալ էթե մարդիկ են կարաւտ աւգնականութե*ան*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. խոստացաւ նոցա առաքել զհոգին ս*ուրբ* պառակղիտոս կոչեցեալ. այսինքն մխիթարիչ. զի տրտմէին իսկ և սգային[239] յորժամ լսէին ի վարդապետէն իւրեանց և ի Տ*ետ*ն*է*ն եթէ[240] թողլոց է զնոսա: Եւ որպէս ասացաք՝ վ*ասն* այնորիկ զհոգին ս*ուրբ* պառակղիտոս կոչեաց՝ որպէս զարդարև մխիթարիչ իսկ զնոսա վ*ասն* նորա համբարձման, և որպէս զյիշեցուցանող [44r] *ամենայն* խաւսեցելոցն ընդ նոսա և գործեցելոցն առաջի նոցա. զոր և գրելոցն էին *ամենայն* տիեզերաց: Արդ գիտեա զի պառակղիտոս մխիթարիչ անուանի, և ոչ Ահմատ, այսինքն գոհանամ. և քառիստրէ[241] ի մեր լեզուս. ոչ ապառակղիտոս[242]: Արդարև առանց թողութե*ան* է հահոյութի*ւն*ս[243] այս որպէս ասաց Տ*է*րն յԱւետարանսն եթէ որ հայհոյէ զհոգին ս*ուրբ* մի թողցի նմա. զինչ չարագոյն քան զայս հայհոյութի*ւն* եթե զհոգին ս*ուրբ* ասէք զայր մի աւտար ի գիտութենէ գրոց Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. և զի զհոգւոյն սրբոյ Տ*է*րն ասաց[244], լուր նոցին իսկ ասացելոցն. իսկ մխիթարիչն հոգին ս*ուրբ* ասէ զոր առաքեսցէ հայր յանուն իմ նա ուսուսցէ ձեզ զ*ամենայն*

233 սրեցից] սրբեցից a.c.

234 անտեղեակ] անտեղաակ a.c.

235 զանուանսն] -ու- in lit.

236 և Ա*ստուա*ծ in lft mg.

237 առաքեաց] առաջեաց a.c.

238 զառնուլն] -ն- suprascr.

239 սգային] սգաին a.c.

240 եթէ] եթէ թէ a.c.

241 և քառիստրէ] read: նքառիստէ; scribe misread the transcription of Greek.

242 ապառակղիտոս] read: պառակղիտոս with Chahnazarian, Malxaseanc‘, and Hakobian; scribe misread the transcription of Greek.

243 հահոյութիւնս] read: հայհոյութիւնս with printed editions.

244 ասաց] ասասաց. a.c.

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և յիշեցուսցէ ձեզ զոր ուսուցի[245] ձեզ. զոր առաքեսցէ հայր յանուն իմ ասէ: Եւ քո Մահմետն ոչ եկն յանուն Տ*եառն* մերոյ. այլ յիւր անուն: Եւ հոգին ս*ուրբ* սուրբ ասաց [44v] ոչ մարդ. այսինքն աշակերտացն. և դու ինքնին գիտես թէ ոչ երբէք տեսին առաքեալքն Տ*եառն* զՄահմետն քո:

Արդ որպէս վերագոյնն ասացի՝ ընդ միոյ միոյ մարգարէի ձեռն ըստ ժամանակաց զիւրոյ ա*ստուա*ծութեանն գիտութի*ւն* ուսուցանէր արարիչն[246] մեր. բայց և ոչ մարգարէիքն կատարեաց զ*ամենայն* գալ յաւիտենական արդարութե*ան*ն. որպէս Ա*ստուա*ծ ի ձեռն Դանիէլի մարգարէի. զի երիս յայտնեաց Ա*ստուա*ծ փոփոխմունս, որովք ի ճշմարտագոյն ա*ստուա*ծգիտութիւնն մարդիկ յառաջ գալ կարասցեն՝ ի կռապաշտութե*ան*ն խաւարէ. ի չափաւոր ճաճանչ աւրինացն լուսոյ. և անդուստ ի հզաւրագոյն լոյս Ք*րիստոս*ի Աւետարանիս. և յԱւետարանէ անտի ի հանդերձեալ գիշեր[247] լոյսն: Չորրորդ փոփոխումն՝ կամ վարդապետութի*ւն* այլ*ոց*. <կամ մարգարէից խոստումն. մարդիկ>[248] ոչ ընկալան. այլ զնորին [45r] հակառակն. և պատուէրն յոլովակի ի նոյն ինքն փրկչէն. ոչ զոք մարգարէ կամ առաքեալ յետ աշակերտացն իւրոց ընդունել.

Զ: Իսկ որ ասացեր յետ աշակերտացն Տ*եառն* յեւթանասուն և յերկուս բաժանեալ մեզ մասունս. չէ այդպէս. քանզի մի ստութ*եամ*ք զքեզ[249] մխիթարել կարծիցես զմեր սխալանս ինչ աւրինակ առնլով. և արդարև աղարտելի է քոյդ որ ոչ է նման ծառայից[250] Ա*ստուծոյ*. և զիարդ է, ես ասացից. միոյ լեզուի է վարդապետութի*ւն*դ ձեր և միոյ ազգի. և ժամանակ երևման դորա որպէս դուքդ ասէք. *հարիւր*. ամ փոքր ինչ աւելի կամ պակաս. արդ յայսքան սակաւ ժամանակեան և միոյ ազգիդ ուսման՝ գտանեմք բազում որոշմունս. այլ որ ի գիտութի*ւն* մեր հասին՝ են այսոքիկ. Քուզի. Սաբարթուռաբի. Կնտրի. Մուրջի. Բասլի. անա*ստուա*ծ Զդի. որք ուրանան զէութիւնն Ա*ստուծոյ*. և զյարութիւնն, [45v] և զասացեալ քո մարգարէն Հարիւրի և այս Հարիւրիս երկու. մի մասնն ոչ է խոովասէր, և միւս մասնն այնքան ունի առ ձեզ հակառակութի*ւն* ատելութի*ւն*՝ որ լաւագոյն համարի զսպանանելն զձեզ քան զ*ամենայն* արդարութի*ւն* անա*ստուա*ծ և թշնամի զձեզ կարդալով և գիտելով: Իսկ զմեռանելն ի ձէնջ առաջին *ամենայն* բարէգործութե*ան* համարին. և այս գործի ի վերա այդր. զի դու սրով կոտորել[251] զայնոսիկ որ փոքր մի որոշին ի կարծեաց քոց խորհիս մեղանչել յԱ*ստուա*ծ.

Արդ եթե ի քոյումնդ աւադիկ գտան[.....]ին այնպիսի իրք. որ մի ազգ էք. մի լեզու. մի ազգապետ, նոյն և իշխան. և քահանայապետ. և դահճապետ. թէ արդարև մարդկային իմաստիւք էին հաւատք Քրիստոնէից. զի՞նչ զարմանք էին վատթարագոյն ևս հաւատ քան զձերդ ի մեզ լինել. *ութհարիւր*. ամք փոքր ինչ պակաս կամ աւելի [46r] յորմէ Ք*րիստոս*ս երևեցաւ. և տարածեցաւ Աւետարանն ընդ *ամենայն* ազգս և լեզուս մարդկան ի ծագաց մինչև ի ծագս տիեզերաց. ի Յունաց և ի Հռոմաեցւոց քաղաքավարութե*ան*ս և ի բարբարոսսն հեռաւորսն. և եթե <է>[252] ինչ սակաւ իմացութի*ւն*. և այն վ*ասն* լեզուին այլայլութե*ան* փոքր ինչ որպէս ասացի. բայց ոչ այդպիսի անուէր թշնամութի*ւն* որպէս քոյոյդ. զի[253] որ եւթանասուն և երկու ասացեր մի զայնոսիկ որք պիւղծք և աղտեղիք էին ի հեշտասիրութի*ւն* և ամպարշտեալք

245 ուսուցի] ուսուսցի a.c.

246 արարիչն] արաջիչն a.c.

247 գիշեր] read: անգիշեր with Chahnazarian, Malxaseanc‘, and Tēr-Vardanean.

248 <կամ մարգարէից խոստումն. մարդիկ>] Hand 1corr խոստումն. կամ մարգարէից մարդիկ a.c.

249 զքեզ] q- in lit.

250 ծառայից] -յ- subscr.

251 կոտորել] read: կոտորեալ with Hakobian.

252 <է>] suprascr. Hand 1corr.

253 զի] -ի suprascr.

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յԱ*ստուծ*ոյ որպէս և զայլ հեթանոսքն բերեալ մեզ համարիս. որ զգարշութի*ւն*ն իւրեանց ամենաս*ուրբ* անուամբն Ք*րիստոս*ի թագուցանել կարծեցին. և Քրիստոնեայք[254] ինքեանք[255] զինքեանս կոչեցին. որոց հաւատքն հայհոյութի*ւն* էին և մկրտութի*ւն*ն ևս պղծութի*ւն*, զորս ի դառնալն ի յիւրեանց պղծութենէն ս*ուրբ* եկեղեցի մկրտէր իբրև զհեթանոսքն, զոր վաղ էբարձ Ա*ստուա*ծ ի միջոյ. և չգտանին ուր[46v]եք հետք. այլ. *հինգ*. և եթանասունս կոչէին ի մեզ Քրիստոնեայս. և ամենեքին զնոյն ս*ուրբ* և զյաւիտենական կենացն գրաւական ընկալան մկրտութի*ւն*. և էթէ իցեն ինչ բանք ուրուք ի նոցանէն վ*ասն* փոքու իրիք. և այն ի հեռաւորսն և յայլալեզուսն. և մանաւանդ այնոցիկ որ ի մեջ ձերոյ բռնակալութե*ան*դ բնակեալ են, սակայն Քրիստոնեայք են և ոչ վերստին պէտս ունին մկրտութե*ան*. և այս չեն ինչ զարմանք էթէ յոյժ հեռաւորքն և այլալեզուքն չեն այնքան տեղեակք որքան պարտն է ճշմարտութե*ան* աւանդիցն. սակայն նոյն գիրք յիւրաքանչիւր լեզուսն ողջ պահեալ. նոյն Աւետարան առանց *ամենայն* սխալանաց.

Եւ արդ զյոլով լեզուսն թողից յորս այս սքանչելի և փրկական ա*ստուա*ծգիտութի*ւն*ս բաշխեցաւ. բայց զսակաւսն յիշեցից: Առաջին մեր Յունացս. երկրորդ Հռոմաեցոց. երրորդն՝ [47r] Բաղաղացոց. հինգերորդն Ասորոցն. վեցերորդն. Եթիովպացոցն. եւթներորդն՝ Հնդկացն. ութերորդն. ձեր Սառակինոսացդ. իններրորդն՝ Պարսիցն. տասներորդն. Հայոցն. մետասաներորդն. Վրացն. երկոյտասաներորդն. Աղուանից: Եւ արդ ըստ քո ասացուած[..] իդ գրէ թէ միոյ կամ զերկուց ազգի փոխէր ոք զգրեանն արդեւք. իսկ զիարդ և զայլոց ևս ազգաց զորս յոյժ հեռաւորս գիտէք ի մէնջ և ի միմեանց աւտար լեզուաւք և սովորութ*եամ*բք. բայց դուք սովորէք առնել զայսպիսիսս. մանաւանդ Հաշաշն այն որ ի կողմանս Պարսիցն առ ի ձէնջ ազգապետ կացեալ. ժողովեաց զ*ամենայն* հին գրեանն ձեր. և այլ ըստ իւր ախորժացն[256] գրեաց. և բաշխեաց ընդ *ամենայն* ազգ ձեր. զի կարի դիւրազոյն էր ի միում ազգի և ի միում լեզուի գործել այսպիսի ինչ որպէս գործեցաւ իսկ. և թէպէտ այսպէս սակաւք մնացին. Աբու Թուռաբա, գրեանն. զի ամենևին նա ոչ կարաց [47v] բառնալ. իսկ մեք նախ զի պատուէր սաստիկ ընկալաք յԱ*ստուծ*ոյ չյանդգնել յայսպիսի իրս. և դարձեալ եթէ յանդգնեալ ընդդիմանայր ոք հրամանի նորա անհնար էր զբաժանեալսն յայսքան լեզուս դարձեալ ի միասին հաւաքել. և խնամով ըստ իւրաքանչիւր լեզուի փորձել. ոչ զոյլ եւ պետ[257] թարգմանս յուզել և նստուցանել. զի ի բաց բարձցեն ի գրենոյն զոր բան կամիցին և յաւելցեն զոր ախորժեսցեն.

Եւ զայս ոչ անգիտանաս եթե հակառակութի*ւն*ք են ի մեզ Քրիստոնեայս որպէս և դուդ ասացեր թէպէտև ոչ վ*ասն* կարևորագոյն ինչ իրաց, զիարդ և զգրեանն ոչ փոխէին ազգքն ըստ իւրաքանչիւր կամաց: Արդ չգործեցաւ ինչ այսպիսի ի մէջ Քրիստոնէից ոչ ի հեռաւորս և ոչ ի մատաւորս. և դու մի յաճախեր զստելդ. զի մի և զսակաւ արդարն անհամեսցես. բայց ընդ այս յոյժ զարմանամ զի խոտես զԱւետարանսն Տ*եառ*ն և զմարգարէին՝[258] գիրս ասելով էթէ խանգարեցին մարդիկ [48r] զնոսա և որպէս կամեցան գրեցին. և դու զվկաութե*ան*ն անհաստատ կարծեացդ քո անդուստ ջանացար ժողովել. և զբան զոր առնի վկաութի*ւն* ի բաց բաժանես. զի ուր հայր գրեալ է, Տէր կամ Ա*ստուա*ծ փոխեալ դնես. եթե արդարութե*ան* ինչ ես ի խնդիր, կամ հաւանել պարտիս գրենոյն, և ապա առնուլ զնոսա ի վկաութի*ւն*. կամ եթե խոտես որպես ասես եթէ խանգարեալք են. չառնուլ վկաութի*ւն* ի նոցանէն. պարտիս և ունել

254 Քրիստոնեայք] -յ- subscr.

255 ինքեանք] -ք subscr.

256 ախորժացն] read: ախորժիցն.

257 զոյլ եւ պետ] read: ծուլապէս (?).

258 զմարգարէին] read: զմարգարէիցն with Chahnazarian, Malxaseanc‘, and Tēr-Vardanean.

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զերրորդն. զվկաութիւնսն զոր առնուս ոչ շրջել զնոսա ըստ քո կամացդ. այլ որպէս ի գրին կա այնպես ասել զնոսա.

Է: Յոյժ դժուարին է ծառայից Աստուծոյ. որք հընազանդեալ են հրամանաց նորա խաւսել ընդ ձեզ. զի այլ հեթանոսք յորժամ լսեն զանուանս մարգարէիցն և կամ զառաքելոցն ի ծաղր ուժգին շարժին. իսկ դուք թէև զանուանսն ոչ անարգէք. զբանս նոցա քամահէք. մանաւանդ էթէ զխաւսողին նոքաւք. ապա թէ ոչ զինչ արասցուք զասացեալսն [48v] առ Մովսէս ես եմ Աստուած Աբրահամու. և Աստուած Սահակա. և Աստուած Յակովբա. և կամ թէ եկայք արասցուք մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում և ըստ նմանութեան. և կամ թէ եկայք իջցուք և խառնակեսցուք զնոսա. կամ թէ Տէր տեղաց ի Սոդոմ և ի Գոմոր հուր ի Տեառնէ. Տէր. ի Տեառնէ. և այս ի Մովսէսի գրոցն է, զորս ոչ ընթերցար դու և ոչ աւրէնսուսոյցն քո, զի՞նչ. ցիրեշտակս կարծիցես ասել Աստուծոյ այսպիսի ինչ որք և տեսանել զնա ոչ կարեն: Չեմք որպէս զքեզ. եթէ վայրապար և հարևանցի կարծեմք զգրոց Աստուծոյ զասացուածս. ցո՞վ պատշաճ էր ասել Աստուծոյ այսպիսի բանս. էթէ ոչ առ[259] բանն իւր որ է կերպարան էութեան նորա և ճառագայթ լուսոյ փառաց նորա. և ցիոգին սուրբ որ սրբէ և լուսաւորէ զամենայն. և զրպարտիմք ի ձէնջ իբրև զերիս Աստուծոյ խոստովանողս:

Լուր և ապա պատասխանեա, աղաջեմ, այլ իմն է արեգակն և այլ ճառագայթք նորա. թէպէտև յարեգականէ անտի է. և առանց ճառագայթիցն արեգակն ոչ է արեգակն. և էթէ ասէ որ զճառագայթսն ծնեալ յարեգակ[49r]անէ առանց ախտի և կամ իգականի ոչ ստէ. և թէպէտ այլ ինչ է արեգակն և այլ ինչ ճառագայթն, ոչ եթէ վասն այնորիկ երկու արեգակունք իցեն. բայց քեզ արդեւք չթուի այսպէս. արդ էթէ այսմ լուսոյ զոր աչաւքս մեր տեսանել կարեմք. և արարած է Աստուծոյ երևի այսպիսի մաքուր ի յախտէ ծնունդ որ և գիշերաւ ծածկի և արգելանաւ շինուածոց. որչափ ևս առաւել ինձ իմասցիս զաստուածայնոյն. ինքնեղ և ինքնաբաւական և անգիշեր լուսոյն. և զայս հարկաւորեցա աւրինակաւ իւիք ցուցանել. զի պատուիրելոցն Աստուծոյ որ ի գիրս սուրբս ոչ հաւանիս. այլ զքո կամսդ վեհագոյն քան զնոսա համարիս. զորս կամիսն գրես ի նոցանէ. և զորս ոչն կամիս յայլ ինչ փոխարկես. և զորս կամիս խոտես և ի բաց ընկենուս. անիծեալ ամենայն մարդ որ երկուս կամ երիս խոստովանի աստուածս. զի հարկ է զայնոսիկ այլացեղս և այլսկզբունս ասել: Այլ մեք մի գիտեմք Աստուած արարիչ երկնի և երկրի. ոչ անբան այլ ամենասուրբ և արուեստաւորի<չ>ն[260] իւրով բանիւն որով արար և ունի զարարածս. զոր [49v] բան ոչ իբրև զմեր բանս յետ խաւսելոյն լուծեալ և ի բաց բարձեալ. և մինչչև խաւսեալ ոչ լուեալ և ոչ ծանուցեալ: Զսա գիտեմք Աստուծոյ բան, ճառագայթ. անխաւար անյորակ[261] լուսոյ. ոչ որպէս արեգակն ճառագայթիցն և եթ ծնունդ այլ ի վեր քան զկարողութիւն ասացուածիս մեր. զսա կոչեն որդի աստուածային գիրք. ոչ ախտաւոր կարաւտութեամբ և աղտեղի ցանգութեանց ծնունդ. այլ զոր աւրինակ յարեգականէ ճառագայթք. և որպէս ի հրոյ լոյս. և բան ի մտաց. և այս որչափ մարդկաինս կարաց թարգմանել լեզու. զբանին Աստուծոյ առ ի յԱստուծոյ ունել զգոյութիւն.

Եւ ապա քանզի ոչ ինչ պատուական է Աստուծոյ յարարածս իւր քան զմարդն. վասն զի և դու խոստովան լինիս էթէ հրամաեաց Աստուած հրեշտակաց երկրպագել Ադամա թէպէտև յաստուածային գիրս զայդ ոչ գտանեմ: Արդ Ադամ մարդ էր՝ գեղեցիկ վկաեցեր բամբասեալ զքոհն հպարտութիւնդ. զի որ մարդկան ոչ երկրպագեսցեն. գիտասցեն ընդ որս դասեսցին որպէս ասացեր: Արդ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ եղև Ադամ յայտ է. զիա՞րդ զայս ախտ[50r] աւոր ընդդիմահար մարմինս կարծեսցես Աստուծոյ ասել պատկեր իւր. ոչ. այլ զիւր և

259 առ] suprascr.

260 արուեստաւորի<չ>ն] -չ- subscr. Hand 1corr.

261 անյորակ] read: անորակ with Chahnazarian, Malxaseancʿ, and Tēr-Vardanean.

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զբանին իւրոյ. և զհոգոյն իւրոյ զնմանութի*ւն* եդ ի նմա. զհոգի. զմիտս. և զբան: Զսոսա ի սմա հաւաքեալ կառոյց և ընդ ինքնիշխանութե*ան* շրջարկեալ պատիւ, եղև Ա*ստուծ*ոյ պատկեր: Սա խաբանաւք բանսարկուին անկաւ ի պատուոյն զոր ետ սմա արարիչն. անարգեալ եղև մոռացմամբ ստեղծողին իւրոյ. և վարուք անառակ և գարշելի ցանգութ*եամ*ք պիղծ և պէսպէս գիճութ*եամ*քք կելով. ատելութ*եամ*քք՝ զրկութ*եամ*քք միմեանց. սպանութ*եամ*քք. և որ վերջին և առաջին է *ամենայն* չարեաց. կռապաշտութ*եամ*քք. և այնպիսի պոռնկութ*եամ*ք որ ասել տաղտկամ. զի ոչ միայն զոչէսն ա*ստուա*ծս[262] կարծեցին. և կամ զերևելի արարածս՝ այլ զնոսին իսկ զախտսն. զպոռնկութի*ւն*, և զարուագիտութի*ւն* ա*ստուա*ծս[263] կարծեալ պաշտեցին. զոր բանսարկուն իւր արար երկրպագութի*ւն*. և ուրախ լինէր պատկերաւք կռոցն. չարաչար նշանս ախտից կատարելոյ յերկրպագունսն և ի նոսին յորդորելով զնոսա:

Արդ տեսեալ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զիւր պատկերն ան[50v]արգեալ երկրպագութ*եամ*ք բանսարկուին եւ գործովք հաճոյիցն նորա. ողորմեցաւ սմա որպէս բարերար և արդարն մարդասէր: Եւ զի այս էր փրկութի*ւն*. ճանաչել զարարիչն իւր և ի բաց կալ ի թշնամոյն. ըստ ժամանակի ժամանակի որպէս ի խաւարի ի կռապաշտութե*ան* անդ. որպէս ճրագ լուցանէր զգիտութիւնն իւր ի ձեռն ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէից. և զի կուրացեալ էին միտք մարդկան և ոչ կարէին զբաւանդակ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան* գիտութե*ան*ն ընդունել լոյս. վ*ասն* այսորիկ զչափաւոր գիտութի*ւն*ն իւր առ սակաւ սակաւ յայտնէր մարդկան որպէս կանխաւ ասացի, մինչև ցկատարումն ժամանակացն որչափ հաճեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ խրատել զմարդիկ. և յառաջագոյն խոստացաւ մարգարէիւք զգալուստ մարմնով բանին իւր. և քանզի զմարմին և զհոգի և զ*ամենայն* ինչ առնլոց էր Ա*ստուծ*ոյ բանն զմերս բաց ի մեղաց: Եւ զի ոչ ոք կարաց ի մարդկանէ այնքան ի խոնարհութե*ան*ն իջանել աշտիճան որքան նա վ*ասն* այսորիկ զխոնարհագոյնս զնմանէ որպէս զխոնարհագուն[51r]է մարդոյ գիտեմք ասացեալ. իսկ զբարձրագոյնսն իբրև զարդարն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ:

Յիշեսցես արդեւք զոր ասացաք վ*ասն* զՄովսէսի ասացեալսն հաւասարութի*ւն* բանին առ նոյն ինքն Ա*ստուա*ծ: Լուր նմին իսկ Մովսէսի յաղագս մարդկապէս երևմանն. մարգարէ յարուսցէ ձեզ Տ*է*ր Ա*ստուա*ծ ձեր յեղբարց ձերոց իբրև զիս. նմա լուիջիք ըստ ամենայնի զոր ինչ և խաւսեսցի առ ձեզ. և եղիցի *ամենայն* մարդ որ ոչ լուիցէ մարգարէին այնմիկ. սատակեսցի անձն այն ի ժողովրդենէն իրմէ: Բազում և ոչ թէ մի մարգարէք յարեան յԵ*սրա*էղի յետ Մովսէսի. այլ զայս պատուէր յաղագս միոյն առնէ. և որ զաւրաւորագոյնս և դժուարահաւատալիսն էր խաւսելոց:

Արդ եկեսցեն քեզ այսուհետև հոյլք վկաութե*ան*ց մարգարէից վ*ասն* գալստեանն Ք*րիստոս*ի: Բայց լուր նախ զխոնարհագոյն[264] ասացեալսն զնմանէ, զի զայսոսիկ ախորժելով որպէս կարծեմ լսես. թերևս որպէս սանդղովք ինչ այսուիկ ի բարձրագոյնսն. էթէ նորա իցեն կամք հանել հուպ կացուցից: Դաւիթ մարգարէանալով ընդ նորա ասէ. ես եմ որդն և ոչ մարդ. նախ[51v]ատինք մարդկան և արհամարհանք ժողովրդեան. ամենայն որ տեսանէին զիս այպանէին զիս. խաւսէին շրթամբք և շարժէին զգլուխս իւրեանց. յուսացաւ ի Տ*է*ր և ապրեցուսցէ զնա փրկեսցէ զնա կեցուսցէ զնա [.....] զի կամի զնա: Եւ այս երբէք ոչ գործեցաւ ի Դաւիթ. բայց ի Տ*է*ր ի ժամ խաչելութե*ան*ն: Արդ լուր նմին Դաւթի վ*ասն* նորա զբարձրագոյնսն ասացեալ. Տ*է*ր ասաց ցիս որդի իմ ես դու ես այսաւր ծնայ[265] զքեզ. և յաղագս զ*ամենայն* հեթանոսքն լնլոյ որ ի նայն հաւատոց. յարեաց ի նոյն. խնդրեա յինէն և տաց քեզ

262 ա*ստուա*ծս] marker of abbreviation subscr.

263 ա*ստուա*ծս] marker of abbreviation subscr.

264 զխոնարհագոյն] -ր- subscr.

265 ծնայ] ծնա a.c.

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զհեթանոսքն ի ժառանգութի*ւն* և յունողութի*ւն* քեզ զծագս երկրի. եւ դարձեալ ասաց Տէր Տ*եառ*ն իմոյ նիստ ընդ աջմէ իմմէ մինչև եդից զթշնամիս քո պատուանդան ոտից քոց. ընդ քեզ է[266] սկիզբն զաւրութե*ան* պայծառութի*ւն* սրբոց քո յարգանդէ յառաջ քան զարուսեակ ծնա զքեզ:

Իսկ յաղագս յերկինս մի գոլոյ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն բնութե*ան*. դարձեալ նշանակեալ Դաւիթ ասելով. ողորմութ*եամ*ք Տ*եառ*ն լի եղև երկիր և բանիւ Տ*եառ*ն երկ[52r]ինք հաստատեցան և հոգով բերանոյ նորա *ամենայն* զաւրութի*ւն*ք նորա: Եւ Երեմիաս Տէր առաքեաց զիս և հոգի նորա. և յաղագս մարմնանալոյ բանին. լուր դարձեալ Երեմիահ. նա է Ա*ստուա*ծ մեր ասէ ընդ որում ոչ համարեսցի այլ. եգիտ զ*ամենայն* ճանապարհս իմաստութե*ան*. և ետ զնա Յակոբա ծառահ իւրոյ. և Ի*սրա*էլի սիրեցելոյն ի նմանէ յետ այսորիկ յերկրի երևեցաւ և ընդ մարդկան շրջեցաւ: Այս են գիրք հրամանաց Ա*ստուծո*յ և աւրէնք Ա*ստուծո*յ որ կան յաւիտեան. դարձ Յակոբ և բուռն հար զնմանէն ընդ ծագումն առաջին լուսոյ նորա: Երկուս ծագումն լուսոյ նորա եցոյց մարգարէս. նախ զանճառ խոնարհութե*ան*ս որով ծագմամբ զընդհանուր տիէզերս լուսաւորեաց ա*ստուա*ծգիտութե*ան*ն ճառագայթիւք: Իսկ զերկրորդն ի համաշխարհական յարութե*ան*ն յորմէ զգուշացուցանէ մարգարէս զԵբրաական ազգն և խրատէ. զի առաջնոյ ծագմանն հաւատասցեն և մի ապստամբք եղիցին որպէս և եղենն իսկ. և աւտարք վաելեսցեն ի փառք[267] [52v] նորա. այսինքն հեթանոսք. դարձ Յակոբ և բուռն հար զնմանէն ընդ ծագումն առաջին լուսոյ նորա. մի տալ[268] այլում զփառք[269] քո և մի զաւգուտ քո ազգի աւտարոտւոյ: Ունկնդիր լեր ասացելոցդ. ոչ զմարդանալոյն ևեթ Ա*ստուծո*յ բանին մարգարէացաւ, այլ յայտնապէս գուշակեալ և գհեստութի*ւն* ապստամբութե*ան*ն ըստ մարմնոյ Ի*սրա*էղին.

Ոչ ինչ արգել է լսել այլևս արտաքնոյ ուրումն. ոչ ըստ իւրոց կամաց մարգարէութե*ան*. զոր և Մովսէս եդ յիւրում գրաւորութեանն. իբրև զի գեղեցիկ է տուն քո Յակովբ և խորան քո Ի*սրա*էլ. և յետ փոքր միոյ. ելցէ այր ի զաւակէ նորա և տիրեսցէ ազգաց բազմաց. և բարձրասցի քան զԳոգա թագաւորութի*ւն* նորա. և աճեսցէ թագաւորութի*ւն* նորա. և դարձեալ ցուցից զնմանէն և ոչ այժմ. երանեցից և ոչ ի մատոյ. ծագեսցէ աստղ ի Յակոբա և ծագեսցէ այր յԻ*սրա*էլէ և հարցէ զիշխանն Մովաբա. և առցէ աւար զ*ամենայն* որդիս Սեթայ: Արդ թէպէտ իբրև զմարդոյ զայսոսիկ ասաց. այլ տես զիարդ նշանակեաց զտիրելն նորա *ամենայն* հեթանոսաց. կամիցիս գիտել [53r] որ է տիրելն[270] նորա *ամենայն* ազգաց. ամենեցունց հաւատալ ի նա զոր և դու իսկ տեսանես: Ցուցից և զիշխանն Մովաբա. զոր էհար Ք*րիստո*ս զսատանա հանդերձ դիւաւքն որք զաւրացուցանէին ի նոսա զկռոցն մոլորութի*ւն*ն և զպաշտամունսն. քանզի Մովաբացւոցն և որք ընդ նովաւ ազգացն կռապաշտութի*ւն*ք գարշելագոյնք էին քան զ*ամենայն* ազգաց. զի և զանդամս առնացի և կանացի որով անառակ ցանկութի*ւն*քն կատարին. և պաշտէին:

Եւ զիարդ բարձրացաւ քան զԳովգայ թագաւորութի*ւն* նորա. զի նորայն որպիսի ինչ է երկրաւոր է. իսկ Ք*րիստո*սին երկնաւոր է, և զի այսպիսի է Ք*րիստոս*ի թագաւորութի*ւն*ն. մի ստունգաներ զհոգոյն ասացեալսն ի Դաւթա: Ա*ստուա*ծ ասէ զիրաւունս քո արքայի տուր. և զարդարութի*ւն*ս քո որդոյ թագաւորի. եթե ոչ էր երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր թագաւորի որդի Ք*րիստո*ս. ըստ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն Ա*ստուծո*յ որդի. և ըստ մարդկութե*ան*ն Դաւթի որպէս բազում անգամ ասացաք: Դարձեալ ի վերա ածէ. մնասցէ ասէ ընդ արևու յառաջ

266 է] post է ինձ a.r.

267 փառք] read: փառս with printed editions.

268 տալ] read: տար with printed editions.

269 զփառք] read: զփառս with printed editions.

270 տիրելն] -ր- suprascr.

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քան զլուսին ազգաց յազգս. [53v] և տիրեսցէ նա[271] ի ծովէ մինչև ի ծով. և ի գետոց մինչև ի ծագս տիեզերաց. և երկիր պագցեն նմա *ամենայն* ազգք երկրի. և *ամենայն* ազգ ծառաեսցեն նմա. աղաւթեսցեն առ նա *յամենայն* ժամ. և զաւրհանապազ աւրհնեսցեն զնա. եղիցի անուն Տ*եառն* աւրհնեալ զի յառաջ քան զարև է անուն նորա. աւրհնեսցին նովաւ *ամենայն* ազգք երկրի և *ամենայն* ազինք երանեսցեն նմա: Արդ ոչ ոք զարհուրեսցի ի վերա սոսկ մարդոյ զաւակի Դաւթի զայսոսիկ իմանալ և ոչ ի վերա ըստ մարմնոյ որդւոյն Դաւթի. իսկ ըստ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն բանի և որդոյն Ա*ստուծո*յ. և ի ձեռն խաղաղարար հաւատոց տիրել. և ոչ սրոյ կոտորածի և անողորմ արիւնհեղութե*ան*ց և գերութե*ան*ց. զսոյն ի նոյն Սաղմոսին յայտնապէս ասէ. ծագեսցէ յաւուրս նորա արդարութի*ւն* և բազում խաղաղութի*ւն* մինչև սպառեսցի լուսին: Դարձեալ և մարգարէիւն Միքէիւ ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ. և դու Բեդղէէմ տուն Եփրաթա սակաւաւոր, իցես լինել ի հազարաւորս Յուդա. ի քէն ելցէ ինձ լինել առաջնորդ որ հովեսցէ զժողովուրդ իւր զԻ*սրա*էլ. և ելք նորա ի սկզբանէ աւուրց [54r] աշխարհի: Եւ սոսկոյ մարդոյ ելք ոչ է հնար լինել ի սկզբանէ աշխարհի. և Երեմիաւ դարձեալ ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ. մարդ է և ով ծանիցէ զնա: Ակնկալութի*ւն* Ի*սրա*էղի Տէր. ամենեքեան որ թողինն զքեզ ամաչեսցեն հեռացեալքն յերկրի. գերեսցին զի թողին զՏէր զաղբիւր ջուրցն կենաց.

Բայց Ի*սրա*էղ կոչէ ոչ զանհաւան Հրէայսն. այլ որք տեսին զբանն Ա*ստուծո*յ և հաւատացին եթէ Ա*ստուա*ծ յԱ*ստուծո*յ է. զի Ի*սրա*էլ սրատեսաւ թարգմանի ի լեզու Հէբրաեցի. արդ տեսաւ զԻ*սրա*էլ կամի Ա*ստուա*ծ. լուր ի ձեռն Եսաեա ասացելոյն. մանուկ ծնաւ մեզ որոյ իշխանութի*ւն*ն իւր ի վերա ուսոց իւրոց. և անուն կոչեցաւ նմա հրեշտակ մեծի խորհրդոյ. սքանչելի խորհրդակից. Ա*ստուա*ծ հզաւր իշխան խաղաղութե*ան* հայր հանդերձելոյ աշխարհին: Հրեշտակ ասաց վ*ասն* առանց մեղաց մարդկութե*ան*. իսկ սքանչելի խորհրդակից և Ա*ստուա*ծ[272] հզաւր, վ*ասն* անուանն ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*. և ի վերա բերէ զայսոսիկ. մեծ է իշխանութի*ւն* նորա. և խաղաղութե*ան* նորա չիք սահման. յաթոռն Դաւթի նստցի և զթագաւորութի*ւն* նորա փառաւոր[54v]եսցէ. և զաւրացուսցէ զնա իրաւամբք[273] և արդարութ*եամ*ք յայսմհետէ և յաւիտեանս ժամանակաց:

Արդ եթէ ոչ նստաւ յաթոռն Դաւթի և ոչ թաւորեաց[274] Ի*սրա*էղի. զի ոչ զանցաւոր աթոռոյ ասէ. այլ զայնմանէ զորմէ ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ ցԴաւիթ. մինչ ցյաւիտեանս պատրաստեցից զզաւակ քո. և շինեցից ազգէ յազգ զաթոռ քո որպէս զաւուրս երկնից: Եւ ապա զիա՞րդ. կամ որ աթոռ էր Դաւթի. կամ եղև՞ յաւիտեան, կամ որպէս զաւուրս երկնից. եթէ ոչ զերկնաւոր թագաւորութենէ ըստ մարմնոյ Դաւթի որդոյն որ է Ք*րիստո*ս. զորմէ և ասացն իսկ յաթոռն Դաւթի նստցի և զթագաւորութիւն նորա փառաւորեսցէ և զաւրացուսցէ իրաւամբք և արդարութ*եամ*ք յայսմհետէ և յաւիտեանս ժամանակաց: Յայտ է թէ առաւել փառաւորագոյն և զաւրաւորագոյն թագաւորութի*ւն*ն Ք*րիստոս*ի ըստ մարմնոյ որդի Դաւթի. փոխեաց զնորա թագաւորութի*ւն*ն ի վեր յերկինս. յաւիտենականն և յանհասանելին: Պարտիս ուշադրել և Եսայեա. ահա կոյս յղութի*ւն* կալցի և ծնցի որդի և կոչեսցեն զանուն [55r] նորա Եմմանուէլ՝ այսինքն, ընդ մեզ Ա*ստուա*ծ:

Ունիմ և այլ վկաութի*ւն*ս յոլովագոյն հոյլս զոր համառաւտել աւգտակարագոյն վարկաք. զի մի լսաւղքն զձանձրութի*ւն* ախտասցին. թէ կամեսցիս լուր և վ*ասն* անճառ խոնարհութե*ան* չարչարանացն նորա. զոր կամաւորաբար կրե*ալ* համբերեաց զնոցին կանխաւ մարգարէիցն գուշակումն: Եսայիաւ ասաց հոգին ս*ուրբ*. ես ոչ խստանամ և ոչ ընդդէմ դառնամ, զթիկունս իմ

271 նա] suprascr.

272 Post Ա*ստուա*ծ: եւ a.r.

273 իրաւամբք] -աւ- suprascr.

274 թաւորեաց] read: թագաւորեաց with Chahnazarian, Tēr-Vardanean, and Hakobian.

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ետու ի հարուածս և զծնաւտս իմ յապտակս. և զերեսս իմ ոչ դարձուցից յամաւթոյ ընդ երեսս թքանելոյ. զինչ և ի ձեռն Զաքարիա ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ. եթէ բարւոք թուի յաչս ձեր տուք զվարձս իմ. ապա եթէ ոչ զրոյց արարէք. և կշռեցին զվարձս իմ. *երեսուն*. արծաթի. և այս գործեցաւ ի փրկիչն. վաճառել յիւրմէ աշակերտէն մատնել ի մահ. որպէս և այլ մարգարէութի*ւն*քն որ կատարեցան ի Տէր զորս պատմեն ս*ուրբ* Աւետարանքն. զոր <թէ>[275] կամիցիս ընթերց[276] խնամով և այսպէս գտցես: Ընդ բազմաց և Դաւիթ ասաց մարգարէութ*եամ*բ վ*ասն* սոցին. որ ուտէր զհաց իմ մեծացոյց ի վերա իմ [55v] զգարշապար իւր.

Լուր և միւս ազգմանն ի ձեռն Եսայեա. ահաւադիկ ի միտ առցէ մանուկ իմ վերասցի և բարձրասցի և փառաւորեսցի յոյժ. զոր աւրինակ զարմացին ազգք բազումք ի վերա քո. և կարկեսցեն թագաւորք զբերանս իւրեանց ի վերա քո. զի որոց ոչ պատմեցաւ վ*ասն* նորա տեսցեն և որոց ոչ իցէ լուեալ ի միտ առցեն. Տէր ով հաւատաց ի լուր մեր և բազուկն Տ*եառն* ում յայտնեցաւ. պատմեցաք առաջի նորա իբրև զմանուկ իբրև զարմատ ի ծարաւուտ երկրի. տեսաք մեք զնա և ոչ գոյր նորա տեսիլ. և ոչ գոյր նորա գեղեցկութի*ւն*. այլ տեսիլ նորա անարգ նուազեալ քան զ*ամենայն* որդոց մարդկան. այր մի ի հարուածս և գիտէ համբերել ցաւոց զի դարձուցեալ զերեսս իւր անարգեցաւ և ոչ ինչ համարեցաւ. նա զմեզս մեր բառնա. և վ*ասն* մեր չարչարի և մեք համարեցաք զնա ի ցաւս և ի հարուածս և ի չարչարանս իբրև յԱ*ստուծոյ*. բայց նա վիրաւորեցաւ վ*ասն* մեղաց մերոց և պատժեցաւ վ*ասն* մերոյ անաւրէնութե*ան*. խրատ խաղաղութե*ան* մերոյ ի նմա և նորա վիրաւքն բժշկեցաք. ամեն[56r]իքեան որպէս ոչխարք մոլորեալք. այր ի ճանապարհի իւրում մոլորեցաւ. և Տէր մատնեաց զնա առ մեզս մեր. և նա առ վշտին ոչ բանա զբերան իւր. իբրև ոչխար ի սպանդ վարեցաւ. իբրև աւրոջ առաջի կտրչի անմռունչ կա այնպէս ոչ բանա զբերան իւր. առ խոնարհութե*ան* նորա դատաստան նորա բարձաւ և զազգատոհմն նորա ով պատմեսցէ զի բառնան յերկրէ կեանք նորա. յանաւրէնութե*ան*ց ժողովրդեան իմոյ ի մահ վարեցաւ. զի անաւրէնութի*ւն* ոչ գործեաց և ոչ գտաւ նենգութի*ւն* ի բերան նորա: Արդ զայսքան վկաւութի*ւն*ս հոգւոյն սրբոյ զոր խաւսեցաւ ի ձեռն ծառայից իւրոց մարգարէից. միայն Մահմետին քո բանիւ ուրանաս և սուտ առնես՝ և ուր է իւր իսկ աւրինադրին քո հրամանն. առանց երկուց վկայից[277] ոչ հաստատել և զկարի յոյժ փոքրագոյն իրս. իսկ զիա՞րդ զայսպիսի ահագին հայհոյութի*ւն* միայն նորա բանիւ խաւսել ոչ պատկառես.

Զքո աւրինադրին զահագին ստութի*ւն*ն մոռացար՝ արդեւք. թէև գիտես իսկ ոչ. զՄարիամ զԱմրանա դուստրն. զԱհար[56v]ոնի զքոյրն. նայ է մայր Տ*եառն* մերոյ. և ի ժամանակացն յայնցանէ մինչև ցմայր Տ*եառն* են ամք. *երկու հազար*[278] հազար,[279] պակաս երեսնիւ. իսկ ազգ. *երեսուն եւ երկու*. թէ արդարև մարմնեղէն և ոչ քաղեղէն[280] ունիցիս երեսս՝ ամաչեա ընդ այսքան յայտնութի*ւն*ս յայտնի ստութի*ւն*ս: Զի ի Յուդայի, ցեղէ անդի խոստացաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ զգալուստն Ք*րիստոս*ի. և Մարիամ Ամրանա դուստրն ի Ղեւեայ էր և այնքան երիցագոյն ժամանակաւք զոր ասացի.

Բայց զյոլովագոյն և զգայագոյն ստութե*ան*դ ձերոյ որքան անհնար է գալ զհետ. սակայն թէ և առասպելք քո անհաստատութե*ան*դ անբաւ ստութե*ան*ցդ զոն խորք. փոքր դուլիւ

275 <թէ>] ins. Hand 1corr.

276 ընթերց] read: ընթերցիր with Chahnazarian; reading possibly due to confusion of the letters -իր with the letter խ-, which begins the next word.

277 վկայից] վկաի a.c. -յ- subscr.

278 *երկու հազար.*] read: *mi*; reading due to confusion between the letters Ս/ս (= 2,000) and Ա/ա (= 1).

279 ,] subscr.

280 քաղեղէն] read: քարեղէն with printed editions.

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ճշմարտութե*ան*ն ցամաքեցուսցուք. ասացեր վերագրելով զԱւրինացն և զԱւետարանացն և զՍաղմոսացն թէ խանգարեցէք դուք և Հրէայք. ի վերա ածեր՝ եթէ վկաեմ էթէ յԱ*ստուծոյ* են. եթէ մերքս շփոթեալ են և ապականեալ. քոյն ու՞ր է. որում վկաեցեր. աղէ ցոյց ինձ այլ գիրս. զՄովսէսէ և զմարգարէիցն և զՍաղմոս Դաւթի զոր տեսցուք. կամ այլ Աւետարան. ո՛հ. ամաւթոյ արժ[57r]անի ստութի*ւն*դ. և առասպելագոյն քան զ*ամենայն* ստութի*ւն*. զոնեա ի վերա ածՍ[281] եթե ես ոչ էի անդ. և մի դուք հաւատայք, ո՞վ այր դու զվկաւութի*ւն*դ որ յայսց որ առ մեզ Աւետարանացս առնուս թէպէտ և զնոսին բռնադատես և այլայլես և տակաւին ասես էթէ զայսոսիկ խանգարեալ է ձեր. աղէ յայնմ Աւետարանէ խաւսեաց զոր էտես աւրէնսդիրն քո. ապա գիտեմ եթե ճշմարիտ ասես:

Եւ որ ասացեր եթե մի են հաւատք. արդարև մի են հաւատք և մի մկրտութի*ւն*. և ոչ գոյ այլ հաւատ աւանդեալ յԱ*ստուծոյ* և ոչ պատուէր առեալ ի մարդիկ: Եւ որ ասացէրն, չաղաւթեցին աւրէնքն յոր կողմն աղաւթէքդ. և ոչ հաղորդեցան զձեր հաղորդութի*ւն*դ. այս բաշաղանաց և ընդ վայրի խնդրոց են հոյլք. զի կողմն աղաւթից մարգարէիցն չերևէր. բայց դու միայն յարգել կամիս գիեթանոսական զոհանոցն. զոր տուն Աբրահամու անուանեցեր. և ոչ ուրեք յա*ստուա*ծային գիրս գտանեմք զԱբրահամ հասեալ ի տեղիսն յայն. զոր աւրէնսդիրն քո շուրջանակի երկրպագել ազգիդ ձերոյ [57v] ուսոյց: Իսկ հաղորդութե*ան* խորհրդոյն ի տեղոջ իրում եդից զպատասխանին:

Ը: Այլ այժմ նախ զԱւետարանացն ասացուածս տեսցուք թէ այսպէս արդարև իցէ որպէս դուդ կարծես. աղաւթեաց արդարև Յ*իսու*ս ըստ մարդկութե*ան*ն զոր էառ ի մէնջ առ ի զմեզ ուսուցանելոյ. և ըստ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն ոչ կարաւտ աղաւթից. այլ յաղաւթելն ոչ ասէր որպէս դուդ գրեցեր. այլ էթէ հայր եթէ հնար է անցո զբաժակս զայս յինէն. ցուցանելով թէ մարդ ճշմարիտ եմ. զի թէ յա*ստուա*ծութենէն ոք թերի զԱ*ստուծոյ* բանն խոստովանի. կորուսանէ զյոյս կենաց իւրոց. նոյնպէս և եթէ ի մարդկութե*ան*ս ոք կատարեալ զնա ոչ խոստովանի: Բայց տես զճշմարտութի*ւն* Աւետարանացն և զմեր հաւատացելոցս. զի և խոնահագոյնքն[282] և բարձրագոյնքն ողջ պահին ի գիրս Աւետարանացն. և թէ ապականէաք. կամ մեք կամ առաջինքն. ընդէր զխոնարհագոյն ձայնսն յԱւետարանացն ոչ բառնայ[.]աք. ասաց՝ ոչ կարէ որդի մարդոյ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. այլ հայրն որ յիս բնակեալ է նա գործէ [58r] զգործն.[283] եթե հաւատաս այնմ գրելոցն ոչ կարեմ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. հաւատա այնմ թե հայր որ յիս բնակեալն է նա գործէ զգործսն: Եթե հաւատաս երկիղին ի ժամ մահուն կենարար և քրտանցն որ վ*ասն* Ադամա քրտանցն կրեաց. զոր ինքն անմարմնաբար ասաց ցԱդամ քրտամբք երեսաց քոց կերիցես զհաց քո: Եւ առ ի հրեշտակէն զաւրանալոյ որ ոչ վ*ասն* զնա զաւրացուցանելոյ. այլ հրեշտակաւն զկարծիս աշակերտացն նորա հաստատելով. զի իբրև ընդ մարդ լոկ նայէին[284] և մարդ սոսկ կարծէին. վ*ասն* այնորիկ զի զոնեա ի հրեշտակին խաւսակցութենէ ի վեր քան զմարդ սոսկ երևիցի: Արդ եթե այսմ հաւատաս, հաւատա դու այնմ որ ասաց ի նմին գիրս. ես դնեմ զանձն իմ անձամբ իմով և դարձեալ անձամբ իմով առնում զսա. և դարձեալ ոչ ասաց առաքեաց զիս Ա*ստուա*ծ առ տիեզերս և դառնամ առ նա որպէս և դու գրեցեր. այլ թե որ առաքեացն զիս հայր ընդ իս է. և դարձեալ ելի ի հաւրէ և եկի յաշխարհ. դարձեալ թողում զաշխարհ և երթամ [58v] առ հայր.

Բայց ուր հայր գրեալ է. դու զայն Տ*է*ր կամ Ա*ստուա*ծ շրջես. և անձամբ զանձն իրաւացուցանել կարծես. յոյժ կարծես յանիրաւութե*ան* զմինս ևեթ ոչ ստեցեր. այլ թէև

281 ածՍ] ածէ a.c.

282 խոնահագոյնքն] read: խոնարհագոյնքն with printed editions.

283 An asterisk formed by a cross with a dot in each quadrant appears above զգործն.

284 նայէին] -յ- subscr.

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զվկաութի*ւն*ն ուղիղ եդիր հաւանել ոչ կարացեր. որ հաւատաց յիս՝ ոչ հաւատաց յիս այլ յայն որ առաքեացն զիս. այսինքն է, ոչ յերևելի մարդս. այլ յաներևոյթ Ա*ստուա*ծ բանս. և դարձեալ որ անարգէ զիս. անարգէ զառաքիչն իմ. և որ տեսանէ զիս. զայն տեսանէ որ առաքեացն զիս. առաքի իբրև զմարդ և առաքէ իբրև զԱ*ստուա*ծ. ասաց աշակերտացն. հայր իմ մեծ է քան զիս. քան զմարդկութի*ւն*ն է մեծ. թէ ոչ զիարդ դարձեալ ասէր ես և հայր իմ մի եմք. ասաց յաղաւթսն որպէս և գրեցեր. զի ծանիցեն զքեզ միայն ճշմարիտդ Ա*ստուա*ծ. և զոր առաքեցեր զՅ*իսու*ս Ք*րիստո*ս:

Ահա ի նոյն պատուի ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն եդ զՅ*իսու*ս Ք*րիստո*ս: Արդ եթէ սոսկ մարգարէ էր. արժան եր ասել զի ծանիցեն միայն ճշմարիտ Ա*ստուա*ծ և զՄովսէս և զայլ մարգարէսն և ապա զՅ*իսու*ս: Արդ ի բաց թող զբաշղանաւք լի իմաց[59r]ուածսդ. քանզի էր Ա*ստուա*ծ կատարեալ. և առմամբ եղև մարդ ճշմարիտ. և զխոնարհագոյնսն գտանեմք զնմանէն ասացեալ իբրև զմարդոյ.[285] որպէս բազում անգամ ասացի. և զբարձրագոյնսն որպէս արդարև Ա*ստուծո*յ. փորձի ի սատանաէ ի ձեռն ծածկութին[286] այսինքն է մարմնոյն. քանզի լուեալ սատանաի զձայնն որ ի մկրտութե*ան*ն. ասելով Ա*ստուծո*յ դա է որդի իմ սիրելի ընդ որ հաճեցա. զարհուրեալ սոսկացաւ և ոչ գիտէր վասն ոյր արդեւք եղև ձայնն. իսկ Տէրն զպահոցն քառասնաւրեայ ժամանակ առաջի արկեալ որպէս ձայնիւ[287] ինչ ցուցանէ զինքն՝ և վասն իւր եղեալ զձայնն զի միշտ ընդ առաքինութեանն փութացողսըն՝ նախանձի և տրտմի չարն և մատուցեալ տեսանէ մարդ զՏէրն. իսկ նայ իբր զգիտակ ամենայնի. իբր մարդ առնէ նմա զպատասխանին. չարժանաւորեալ զթշնամին մեր և յայտնել զկատ[59v][288]արելութի*ւն* խորհրդոյն. այլ զիարդ ոչ ընթերցար էթէ յետ կատարելոյ փորձութե*ան*ն. ի բաց եկաց ի նմանէ սատանա առ ժամանակ մի. և հրեշտակք մատե*ան*ն և պաշտէին զնա. և հրեշտակք զսոսկ մարդ պաշտեն.

Ի ճշմարտութենէն ևեթ որպէս երևի փախչիս. և ոչ այլ ինչ կամիս. և այս է զոր ասեմս ա*ստուա*ծաբանել զմեր Տէրն ընդդիմանաս. և մարդ սոսկ խոստովանիս. աւրինակ ածելով զԱդամ թէև նա առանց ծնողաց յԱ*ստուծո*յ ծնեալ եղև: Իսկ զկենարար մահուանէն որ լուեալ ևս ասելով. ոչ ումէք կարող գոլ ի մարդկանէ սպանանել զնա. և եթէ սոսկ մարդ է ըստ քո կարծեացս. զինչ անհաւատ է մեռանել մարդոյ: Արդ քաջ միտ դիր և խորհեա յայնոսիկ, և զի դու զխոնարհագոյնսն որ յաղագս Տ*եառ*ն ձայնս հեշտութ*եամ*ք ընդունիս. և զբարձրագոյնսն ի բաց լքանես ընկենուս: Լուր նոցին իսկ Աւետարանացն յաղագս այսոցիկ. Յոհաննէս Աւետարանիչ յաղագս որոյ ասելով որ հաւ[60r]ատա յորդի ընդունի[289] զկեանսն յաւիտենական. և որ ոչ հնազանդի որդոյ. ոչ տեսցէ զկեանսն այլ զբարկութիւնն Ա*ստուծո*յ: Եւ դարձեալ Յովաննէս Զաքարիայի որդին ասէ. ահա Յ*իսու*ս գառն Ա*ստուծո*յ որ բառնա զմեղս աշխարհի. և նոյն ինքն սկիզբն[290] Յոհաննու[291] Աւետարանին: Ի սկզբանէ էր բանն և բանն էր առ Ա*ստուա*ծ և Ա*ստուա*ծ էր բանն. նա էր ի սկզբանէ առ Ա*ստուա*ծ. *ամենայն* ինչ նովաւ եղև և առանց նորա եղև և ոչ ինչ. և նոյն ինքն Ա*ստուծո*յ բանն հանդերձ մարմնով ասէր որ էտես զիս էտես զհայր իմ. և որպէս գիտէ զիս հայր գիտեմ և ես զհայր. և որ առաքեաց զիս հայր ընդ իս է. ելանեմ ես առ հայր իմ և առ հայր ձեր և Ա*ստուա*ծ իմ և Ա*ստուա*ծ ձեր. հայր

285 Post զմարդոյ Hand 4.

286 ծածկութին] ծածկութի a.c.

287 ձայնիւ] -ն- suprascr.

288 Hand returns to Hand 1.

289 ընդունի] -ն- suprascr.

290 սկիզբն] -ն suprascr.

291 Յոհաննուու] -ու- suprascr. Hand 1corr.

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նորա բնութ*եամբ*, և ձեր շնորհաւք. զի որք ընկալանն զնա ասէ. ետ նոցա իշխանութի*ւն* որդիս Ա*ստուծոյ* լինել որոց հաւատասցեն յանուն նորա. իսկ Ա*ստուա*ծ սորա ըստ մարմնոյն ընդ մեզ և մեր բնաբար. առաքի իբրև զմարդ. և առաքէ իբրև զԱ*ստուա*ծ. որպէս առաքեաց զիս հայր և ես առաքեմ զձեզ. [60v] ըստ այսմիկ և *ամենայն* ձայնք Աւետարանացն:

Իսկ այն որ ասացերն. անձնիշխանաբար զթլփատութի*ւն*ն մեզ ի մկրտութի*ւն* փոխել. և զզոհսն, ի հաղորդութի*ւն* աւրհնութե*ան* հացի և բաժակի. զայս. ոչ մեք այլ նոյն ինքն Տ*է*րն զաւրինակս որ ի հնումն ի ճշմարտութի*ւն* իրացն փոխեաց ըստ մարգարէութե*ան*ն Երեմիահ որ ասէ. ահա աւուրք գան ասէ Տ*է*ր. և ուխտեցից տանդ Ի*սրաէ*ղի և տանդ Յուդա ուխտ նոր.[292] ոչ ըստ ուխտին զոր ուխտեցի ես ընդ հարսն նոցա յաւուր յորում հանի զնոսա յերկրէն Եգիպտացւոց: Եւ զո՞ր ուխտ. եղ ընդ հարսն նոցա յերկրին Եգիպտացւոց. եթե ոչ զարիւն գառինն ի պասքահին այսինքն ի զատկին. զորմէ ասացն. այս աւրէն կացցէ յազգս ձեր: Արդ արեամբն անասուն գառինն ապրեցան որդիքն Ի*սրաէ*ղի ի սատակչէն. իսկ արեամբ անարատ գառինն ոչ ապրիմք յաւիտենական ի մահուանէն. ամբիծ գառինն Ա*ստուծոյ*. ի ժամանակ ի չարչարանացն առեալ հաց աւրհնեաց եբ[61r]եկ և ետ աշակերտացն. այսպէս և զբաժակ գինոյն ասելով մարմին և արիւն իւր պատուիրեալ զայս առնել յիշատակ իւր նշանակելով զիւր իբրև զամբիծ և զանարատ գառինն զենումն: Զի և այն գառնն ճշմարիտ զայս նշանակելով ուսուցանէր գառն. զի ոչ ընթերցար զգիրս և ոչ զանուանս զոր կոչեցին սմա ա*ստուա*ծաին գիրք. բան. որդի. ճառագայթ. կերպարան Ա*ստուծոյ*. կերպարան ծառայի. Ա*ստուա*ծ. մարդ. հրեշտակ. մարգարիտ. կարթ. Տ*է*ր տերանց. ծառա.[293] գառն. ոչխար. հովիւ. անդրանիկ յեղբարց. անդրանիկ ի մեռելոց. ոչ ինչ արգել էր զիւրաքանչիւր զայսոսիկ անուանս ցուցանել. թէ ընդէր և ըստ որում այսոքիկ անուանեցան. և կամ իցէ եթե ճանաչէի զքեզ խնդրաւղ արդարութե*ան*:

Իսկ զթլփատութի*ւն*ն որ ասացեր մեզ փոխել ի մկրտութի*ւն*. զթլփատութե*ան*ն խորհուրդ ոչ գիտացեր. եթե ընդեր հաճեցաւ Ա*ստուա*ծ յայնմ անդամի ծածկագունի դնել զուխտ իւր. և ոչ յայլ [61v] փառաւորագոյն և յայտնի անդամս. և զի թէ արդեւք զայն ոչ գիտիցես թէ Աբրահամ նախքան զթլփատութի*ւն*ն եղև հաճոյ Ա*ստուծոյ*. և նշանակ հաւատոցն և սիրոյն որ առ Ա*ստուա*ծ. ընկալաւ զթլփատութե*ան*ն հրաման. բայց թէ ընդէր ըստ վերագրելոցն ի ծածուկ անդամի անդ. այլ քեզ ոչ է գիտելի. բայց մեք զթլփատութի*ւն*ն սրտի հոգւով հրաման առաք ընդունել և ոչ զարտաքին մարմնոյ. այլ ըստ վերագոյն ասացելոցդ. խոստմանն Ա*ստուծոյ* նոր ուխտ ուխտել. և թէ զթլփատութի*ւն*ն և զոհսն և զշաբաթսն ոչ բառնալ ճշմարիտ աւրինացն ուսուցչի<ն>[294] Ք*րիստոս*ի. ապա զոր նոր ուխտ ուխտէր: արդ արժան էր յայդմիկ ամաչել քեզ. զի կամեցեալ քո ի յետին ժամանակս յորս ազատեաց Ա*ստուա*ծ զմարդկան ազգ ի կապանաց աւրինացն վրէժխնդիր զթլփատութե*ան*ն լինել. յոյժ ձաղեցեր զնա. քանզի ի հնումն հրամաեաց Ա*ստուա*ծ թլփատել զամենայն արու յաւուր ութերորդի.[295] իսկ դուք ոչ զարս [62r] այլ և զկանայս յորում և իցէ հասակի ամաւթալեաւք խայտառակէք.

Այլ զա*ստուա*ծայնոյ մկրտութենէս կանխաւ մարգարէիւն Եզեկիէլիւ Ա*ստուա*ծ զուշակեաց ասելով. և ցանեցից ի վերա ձեր ջուր ս*ուրբ*. և սրբեսջիք *յամենայն* պղծութե*ան*ց ձերոց. և *յամենայն* կռոց ձերոց սրբեցից զձեզ: Զնոյն և Տ*է*րն յԱւետարանի անդ պատուիրեաց. գնացէք. այսուհետև աշակերտեցէք զ*ամենայն* հեթանոսքն. մկրտեցէք զնոսա յանուն հաւր և

292 նոր] նորա a.c.

293 .] suprascr.

294 ուսուցչի<ն>] -ն suprascr. Hand 1corr.

295 ութերորդի] ութերրորդի a.c.

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որդոյ և հոգոյն սրբոյ. և կատարեցաւ բանն որ ի մարգարէէն. եթէ եդի զքեզ ի լոյս հեթանոսաց. և դարձեալ ժողովուրդ որ նստէր ի խաւարի ետես զլոյս մեծ:

Իսկ զկիւրակէն ոչ փոխանակ շաբաթու եդաք որպէս դու սովոր ես գործել անխորհրդաբար. դու զուրբաթ անխոհականապէս աւր ժողովոց կարգեցեր, զպատճառ և ոչ մի ինչ իրաւանց գիտելով. այլ վ*ասն* յարութե*ան* Տ*եառն* ըստ մարմնոյ որով մեզ զյարութի*ւն* խոստացաւ. յաղաւթս և ի զովութի*ւն* զար[62v]արչէն պարապեմք. վ*ասն* արդարև մեծի և այսպիսի խորհրդոյ. քանզի յաւուրն ի սկզբանն յորում ասաց եղիցի լոյս և եղև լոյս. ի սմին աւուր զլոյս աւետեաց յարութե*ան*ն ծագեաց ազգի մարդկան: Յարութ*եամ*ք ըստ մարմնոյ միածնին իւրոյ բանին. և ոչ հրէաբար դատարկանալ ի նմա հրաման ընկալաք մինչ զի և զկերակուրս անգամ հրէերեն ոչ պատրաստել ի սմա: Բայց դու որովհետև մարգարէիցն և իւր իսկ Տ*եառն*ն ոչ հաւատաս զիա՞րդ զճշմարիտ աւանդութի*ւն*ս մեր Քրիստոնէիցս առ կարևորս ունիցիս. զի վ*ասն* քո և նմանեաց քոց ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ ի ձեռն մարգարէին. տեսէք արհամարհոտք և արհամարհեցարուք և եղծարուք. զի գործ մի գործեմ ես յաւուրս ձեր գործ որում ոչ հաւատայցէք. էթէ ոք պատմեսցէ ձեզ:

ԺԱ: Ոչ ևս եմ մոռացեալ որ ասացերն. եթե զիա՞րդ էր հնար Ա*ստուծ*ոյ ի մարդկային արգանդի բնակել. ի մէջ արեան և մարմնոյ և պէսպէս աղտեղութե*ան*: Որպէս կարծեմ [63r] տեղեակ ես. եթէ բազում են արարածք Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զորս հրամանաւ ևեթ յոչ լինելոյ բանիւ ի լինելութի*ւն* էած, ասելով ի. *հարիւր քարասուն եւ ութ*. Սաղմոսին. թէ նա ասաց և եղեն ինքն հրամաեաց և շինեցան. և զայն զորս թերևս պատուականագոյնս և մաքրագոյնս ըստ քոց խորհրդոց քան զմարդն կարծիցես. զերկինն և զերկնաւորքն արեգակամբ և լուսնով և աստեղաւք. և զերկիր բուսովք և բոլոր կենդանեաւք. իսկ զայս կենդանիս որ աղտեղիս ասացեր. ոչ հրամանաւ այլ ամենակարող և ամենասրբովքն իւրովք ստեղծագործեաց ձեռաւք և փչմամբ իւրով հոգիացուցեալ կենդանացոյց: Արդ ոչ էր ըստ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ պիղծ բնութե*ան*ս մերոյ կազմած որ յայնոցիկ արարչագործ ձեռացն եղև ստեղծեալ. որ և ի պատկեր ստեղծողին ի նմին արարչէ պատուեցաւ: Եւ արդ մի հայհոյեր զբարի արարողն նորա. զի Ա*ստուծ*ոյ պիղծ և ոչ մի ինչ[296] է որ յինքենէ եղեն բաց ի մեղաց. զոր ոչ ստեղծ Աստուած ի մարդն և ոչ հրամաեաց. այլև ոչ զոյ ինչ պատ[63v]ուականագոյն արարած քան զմարդն. վ*ասն* որոյ արար իսկ[297] զ*ամենայն*:

Արդ զոր այսքան պատուոյ արժանի արար զնոյն իւր պատկերն առնուլ և փրկել ոչ ամաւթ համարէր. զի որպէս ասացի. ոչ ինչ աղտեղի է ի մարկային բնութենէս. բայց միայն մեղք. զի զոր դու աղտեղագոյն ի բնութե*ան*ս մերում համարիս, զսա ի մեծ յարդարութի*ւն* ազգիս մերոյ յաւրինեաց. որպէս զառամսեայս կանանց ծնընդականութի*ւն* մարդկան. և զխողուակս բացահոսմանց աւելորդաց կերակրոցն և ըմպելեացն[298] ի կենացն պահպանութի*ւն*. զի այսոքիկ քեզ աղտեղիք. իսկ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ որ քեզ է սիրելի. զիջութի*ւն*. և սպանութի*ւն*. և հայհոյութի*ւն*. և այլքս այսպիսիքս աղտեղիք՝ և ոչ վերասացեալքդ զորս ինքն առ ի յարարչութի*ւն* ծնընդեանն և հանգստեան նոցին արդարև սահմանեաց: Ի վերա այսոցիկ և զայս իմա. զի թէ զմորենին առ Մովս[64r]էսիւ վառեաց հրով ա*ստուա*ծութ*եամ*բն իւրով և ոչ եկեզ. պատուականութի*ւն* մարդոյ է[299] քան զմորենին և քան զ*ամենայն* արարածս զի վ*ասն* սրբոցն որ առ ի մարդկանէ

296 ինչ] ի- suprascr.

297 իսկ] -կ suprascr.

298 ըմպելեացն] ըմպելեալ a.c.

299 է] suprascr.

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լինեին. ասաց Ա*ստուա*ծ բնակեցայց ի նոսա և գնացից ի նոսա. և դարձեալ թէ յո՞ բնակեցայց եթե ոչ ի հեզս[300] և ի խոնարհս և յայնոսիկ որք[301] դողան ի բանից իմոց.

Աւասիկ բնակարան իւրոյ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն ասաց զարդարսն ի մարդկանէ. և չեղև ինչ խափանումն Ա*ստուծոյ*. և թշնամանք ի բնութի*ւն*ական[302] մարդկին ախտից նոցա զոր դու աղտեղութի*ւն* կարգեցեր. զի և վաելուչ էր միշտ կենդանոյն կենդանի և տաճար իմն լինել: Եւ զայս քեզ առաջի արկանեմ մանաւանդ զի՞ խանդաս ընդ պատիւ Ա*ստուծոյ* սրբոց և նոցին նշխարաց յորս զինքն ասաց բնակել Ա*ստուա*ծ. զի եթե ամենեցուն ոսկերաց խնամ տանի Ա*ստուա*ծ առ ի յառնել մարդկան զհասարակաց յարութի*ւն*. ո՞րչափ ևս առաւել սրբոց իւրոց: Վ*ասն* որոյ բազում անգամ մեծամեծս և փառ[64v]աւորեալս խաւսեցաւ. և մանաւանդ որք մահու վ*ասն* նորա համբերեցին: Վ*ասն* որոյ և ասաց իսկ հոգին ս*ուրբ* բերանով Դաւթի: Պատուական է առաջի Տ*եառն* մահ սրբոց իւրոց. դարձեալ բազում նեղութի*ւն*ք են արդարոց յամենեցունց փրկեսցէ զնոսա և պահեսցէ զոսկերս նոցա և մի ի նոցանէ մի փշրեսցի: Զա*ստուա*ծայնոյ զաւրութենէն որ ի ս*ուրբ*սն բնակեալ էր ասէ ոչ փշրել. այլ բազմաց սրբոց փշրեցան և հրով կիզան. բայց դու և ոչ բնաւին կարես խորհել յայսոսիկ. այլ իբրև զտղա ընդ երևելիսս ևեթ հաիս. և դարձեալ ասէ սքանչելի է Ա*ստուա*ծ ի վերա սրբոց իւր. և Սողոմոն դարձեալ արդարք յաւիտեան կեցցեն, և ի Տ*եառն*է է[303] վարձք նոցա. զի թէպէտև յաչս մարդկան մեռան այլ նոքա ի հանգստեան են: Գիտեմ զի և այնմ չես տեղեակ թէ սպանեալ զանթլփատ այլազգին և ընկեցեալ ի գերեզման մարգարէին Եղիսէի. եւ նորա մերձեցեալ յոսկերսն մարգարէին [65r] յարեաւ վաղվաղակի: Ահա թէ ոչ էր ա*ստուա*ծային զաւրութե*ան*ն բնակեալ յոսկերս մարգարէին սրբոյ. զիարդ կարեին սոսկ մեռելոյ մարդոյն ոսկերք յարուցանել զմեռեալ այրն. և կենդանին Ա*ստուա*ծ ոչ համարեցաւ աղտեղութի*ւն* իւրոյ ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն բնակել ի գերեզման մեռելոյն.[304]

Որ ինձ և քեզ աղտեղի թուի. այլ Ա*ստուծոյ* նորին հակառակն: Բայց ի քէն զորպիսի պատիւ սրբոցն խնդրեսցուք. զի դու այժմ զերկեղածս Տ*եառն* ըստ սովորական հեթանոսական մոլորութե*ան*ն խոշտանգես ուրանալ. իսկ զոչ հաւանեալսն սպանանելովն զանձն քո յաւիտենական մահուամբն[305] սպանանես. ըստ կանխասացութե*ան*ն Տ*եառն*ն մերոյ. թե եկեսցէ ժամանակ զի *ամենայն* որ սպանանիցէ <զձեզ>[306] համարիցի պաշտաւն մատուցանել Ա*ստուծոյ*. որպէս Մահմետ եղբայր հաւրն քո. յաւուր յորում զանա*ստուա*ծ զզոհագործութի*ւն*ն առներ, զարիւն ուղտուն սպանելոյ ընդ արիւն Քրիստոնէից ծառայից Ա*ստուծոյ* գլխատելովն խառնէր. [65v] և ընդ այս առատանեալ նեղիս. եթէ զս*ուրբ*քն Ա*ստուծոյ* որ վ*ասն* նորա խոստովանութե*ան* կատարեցան յաշխարհիս ի նուիրեալ Ա*ստուծոյ* տեղիսն դնեմք:

Իսկ որ յաղագս նշանի խաչին և պատկերին յիշեցեր. պատուեմք վ*ասն* յիշատակի չարչարանացն զխաչն մարմնացելոյ Ա*ստուծոյ* բանին ի վերա նորա. զոր ուսաք հրամանաւ Ս*ստուծոյ* առ Մովսէս. ևս և քարոզութ*եամ*ք մարգարէիցն. Մովսէսի հրամաելով առնել և դնել զտպաւորութի*ւն* խաչին ի վերա ճակատոյ քահանայապետին անուանեալ զնա թիթեղն ս*ուրբ*ք և նուիրեալ. և ձև թիթեղանն է այսպես որպէս և կենդանին ցուցեալ երևի: Քանզի և նշանաւ խաչին կնքին ճակատք մեր Քրիստոնէիցս որպէս վ*ասն* մեր չարչարեցելով մարմնով բանին

300 Above հեզս is written ե, which must stand for եսայի.

301 որք] -ք suprascr.

302 բնութիւնական] բնութիւնանկան a.c.

303 է] suprascr.

304 մեռելոյն] ի մեռելոյն a.c.

305 մահուամբն] -ք- subscr.

306 <զձեզ>] suprascr. Hand 1[corr].

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Աստուծոյ: Իսկ մարգարէն Եսայիաս յայտնապէս և զփայտէն նշանակեաց յորոց խաչն որով պսակեալ միշտ պարծի եկեղեցի. մայրիւ ասէ և պեկիւ. և պեկիւռիսաւ առ հասարակ [66r] փառաւոր առնել զտեղի սրբութեան իմոյ և զտեղի ոտից իմոց փառաւորեցից. և Սողոմոն ասէ. աւրինեալ փայտն որով լինի արդարութիւն. եւ դարձեալ փայտ կենաց է ամենեցուն որ առնեն զնա և որք յենուն ի նա իբրև ի Տէր հաստատութեամբ:

Այլ վասն պատկերի չունիմք ինչ այսպիսի կարծիս. զի և ոչ ընկալաք իսկ ի գրոց այսպիսի պատուէրս. թեպետև գտանեմք ի հնումն, հրամաեալ Աստուծոյ Մովսէսի խորանին վկաութեան առնել զնմանութիւն քրոբէիցն: Այսպէս և մեք փափագանաք աշակերտացն Տեառն և նորին իսկ Տեառնն մարմնանալոյն սիրովն ջեռեալք. հաւաստիւ կենդանագրութեան և նմանագրութեան որ ի նոցունց ժամանակաց առ մեզ էիաս որպէս զկերպարանս իսկ նոցա յանդիման տեսանելով զուարճացեալ. փառաւորեմք զԱստուած զփրկաւոն զմեզ. ի ձեռն այսպիսի նմանութեամբ զգեցողին որդւոյն իւրոյ միածնի և փառաւորաւղի զսուրբս իւր. և ոչ թէ փայտին և դեղոյն որ ի վերա փայտին [66v] երկիր պագանեմք.

ԺԳ: Բայց դու ոչ ամաչես վասն զոհիւք պատուելոյ տանն քո զոր քաբարն կոչեցեր. և Աբրահամա իմն ասես տուն. զոր արդարև զանջուր դիւական անապատն և յերազի անգամ չիք տեսեալ Աբրահամու. զոր տուն և նախ քան զՄահմետն ձեր ազգդ ձեր պաշտէր. զոր սովորութիւն ձեր. և Մահմետն ձեր ոչ էբարձ. այլ միայն նստեալ Աբրահամու ասաց: Իսկ զի մի յախուռն նախատող քեզ երևեցայց. զայս և ի սրբոց Աւետարանացն և ի քոց իսկ պատմութեանց յայտնի քեզ արարից. զի յոլով անգամ զբազմութիւն դիւացն Տէրն յանապատն յայն յուղարկէր. որպէս և ասէ յԱւետարանին. շրջին ասէ ընդ անջրդի տեղիսն. իսկ դու[307] գեանս իմն բնակեալ անդ. և յակն անկեալ ձեր. երբեմն ի նմանութիւն աւձից. և երբեմն աղտեղի և գէճ ցանկութեամբք ըստ սովորութեանն իւրեանց պատրեալ զձեզ ամուսնանալոյ կարծիս տան. իսկ դուք անընդր[67r]ողաբար հաւանեալք պատրանաց նոցա. աստ և ի հանդերձելումն հաւասար նոցա էք և զայս ոչ իմանայք էթէ առ հանդերձեալսն Աւետարանի փրկչին ոչ կարեն նոքա այսպիսեաւ իւիք մերձենալ. այլ և մարդանալոյն նորա զաւրութեամբ կապեալ ապստամբ նորա բռնութիւնն թէպէտև չարասէր գոն որպէս և հայրն իւրեանց սատանա. վնասել յայտնապէս ոչ կարեն զնոսա. զի թե կարէին և իշխէին ի միում աւուր հրով տոչորեալ սպանանէին զձեզ. այլ միայն գողաբար խաբէութեամբ ի կորուստ ոգոց ձերոց պատրեն զձեզ. կամ զքարն զոր ոքունն կոչեցեր. զորմէ ոչ գիտես եթե ընդէր երկրպագեալ համբուրես. և դիւական կոտորածին յորմէ գազանք և թռչունք գարշին և միոտանի վազեսցեն. եւ քարածգութեանն և փախստեանն և զգլուխ զգերծնլոյն և այլոց ամաւթալեաց զոր գործենն:

Թողում ասել զաւրինադրին ձերոյ զաղտեղի հրամանն յաղագս մերձենալոյ [67v] արանց ի կանայս. զորմէ ամաչեմ ասել. աւրինակ բերել զվարելն անդաստանաց որովք արաւրաբար պղծութեամբք ոմանք ի ձէնջ ուսան մերձենալ ի կանայս. կամ զի՞նչ ասացից զողջախոհ պարկեշտութիւն մարգարէին ձերոյ. զՋեդա. կնոջն գխարդաւանական պղծութիւնն և զպատճառս աղտեղութեանն յԱստուած ի վեր առաքել. ուստի և տաղտկաին աւրէնքն յազգ ձեր ի ներս մտին. և զի՞նչ չարագոյն հահոութիւն[308] քան զայն կամողացն զոր գործէր, պատճառ զԱստուած դնելով: Իսկ որ Դաւթի զՈւրիայ կինն ասացեր առնուլ՝ էառ, մեղուցեալ Աստուծոյ. վասն որոյ պատուհասեցաւ ի Տեառնէ: Իսկ Մահմետն քո և դուք հակառակիք բարւոք առնէք. և զի՞նչ քան զայն չարագոյն. զմեղք չհամարել մեղք. որում և թողութիւն իսկ ոչ խնդրէք. և ոչ գրտանէք անամաւթ մեղացն: Աստուած հրամաեաց յԱւետարանսն՝ չթողուլ

307 դու] read: դեւ.

308 հահոութիւն] read: հայհոյութիւն.

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առն զկին. բայց վ*ասն* պոռնկութե*ան*. և դուք իբրև կերակրով յագեալ կանամք[309] յորժամ և կամիք թող[68r]ուք. իսկ զանդրէն առնլոյն զամաւթ էթէ էր հնար ոչ ասէի. քանզի նախ այլոց տայք պղծել զկինն և ապա առնուք.

Իսկ զանխիղճ պոռնկութի*ւն* հարճիցդ յորս զ*ամենայն* ստացուածս և զկողոպուտս մարդկան ծախէք. ուր եդից. մեծագնից գնելով մեծագնոց ստացուածոց. և յագեալք որ ընդ նմայն պղծութի*ւն* իբրև զանասուն վաճառէք: Ասեն զաւձէ էթէ ընդ միւռինէս զեռնոյ որ ի ծովու է ի խառնակումն մերձաւորութե*ան* գայ. և իբրև մերձենայ[310] յեզր ծովուն զմահացու թոյնսն[311] ի բաց դնէ և այսպէս կատարէ զցանկութի*ւն*: Իսկ դուք քան զնոյն ինքն զաւձ թունաւոր էք. և նենգաւորագոյն. զչարութի*ւն*դ քո ոչ մարմնական մերձաւորութ*եամ*բն թողեալ. զի և մահուանն ձեր մեղանչական խեղդամահ կորուսեալ զմիմեանս վարդապետելով չար դիւին:

Իսկ[312] վ*ասն* սատանայի և արդարոցն հոգւոց որ ասացեր զսատանա Ա*ստուծոյ* գանձապահ առնէք. կարի յոյժ սխալեցեր ի խոհականութենէն [68v] մեր. այլ զի ուրախ էր սատանա ի վերա անյուսութե*ան*ն զոր վ*ասն* մահու<*ա*>ն[313] մարդ<կան>.[314] և միանգամայն կարծէր և ինքն սատանա. էթէ որք ննջեցին արդարքն կորեան արդեւք և մոռացեալք եղեն յԱ*ստուծոյ*. կարծելով ի ձեռն մարմնոյն և անբաւ խոնարհութե*ան*ն և զբանն Ա*ստուա*ծ այնպիսի ոք. յորդորեաց զաշակերտն նորա ի մատնութի*ւն* և զՀրէայսն ի սպանութե*ան* խորհուրդ. եւ տեսեալ զկամաւոր գալուստն Տ*եառ*ն ի մահ խաչիս. երկուցեալ սկսաւ արհաւրաւք[315] կշտամբել զկին դատաւորին առ ի խափանել զազգի մարդկան փրկութի*ւն*ն. և ճաշակե<*ա*>լ[316] զմահ մարդկութ*եամ*բն. անմահ մնացեալ բնութ*եամ*ք ա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն. և անմեկնելի ի մարդկութենէն իւրմէ. իբրև զԱ*ստուա*ծ ճշմարիտ յԱ*ստուծոյ* ճշմարտէ. յարեաւ մանաւանդ. և եթե յարոյց զիւր զմարդկութի*ւն*՝ ըստ մարգարէութե*ան*ն Դաւթի եթէ յարիցէ Ա*ստուա*ծ և ցրուեսցին *ամենայն* թշնամիք նորա: Եւ յերկոտասան մարգարէսն, եթե մնայ[317] ինձ յաւուր յարութե*ան* իմ. որ յարուցեալ. [69r] ոչ վ*ասն* իւր որ անմարմինն էր և անմահ և անապական. այլ վ*ասն* ազգի մարդկան առնու զմարդկութի*ւն*ն և նովաւ համբերելն մահու: Որ և իւրով յարութ*եամ*բն շնորհեաց մարդկան զյարութի*ւն*,[318] և զոյս վերստին զգենլոյն մարմին ննջեցելոցն հոգոց. զերծեալք հոգիքն անմարմինք. և յանմարմնաբար զգեցութենէ թշնամոյն. քանզի և <ոչ>[319] փոքրագոյն խնամոց արարչին. հանդիպին հոգիքն ի Ք*րիստո*ս մարմնաւորութ*եամ*ք բանին: Արդ այսպէս սատանա անյուսութ*եամ*բն իւր և դիւացն իւրոց կորստեամբ և տկարութ*եամ*ք կապեալ առ ի յոչ ևս բռնագբաւսել զմարդիկ ի պաշտամունս աւտարոտի. զոր ոչ կամիցի Ա*ստուա*ծ. և յուսով ժառանգելոյ զյաւիտենական հուր գեհենին:

309 կանամք] read: կանամքք with printed editions; scribe omitted -ք- because of haplography.

310 մերձենայ] -յ subscr.

311 թոյնսն] -u- suprascr.

312 ժդ in rt. mg., 14.

313 մահու<*ա*>ն] mark of abbreviation ins. Hand 1corr.

314 մարդ<կան>] Hand 1corr մարդիկ a.c.

315 արհաւրաւք] -ւ1- suprascr.

316 ճաշակե<*ա*>լ] mark of abbreviation ins. Hand 1corr.

317 մնայ] -յ subscr.

318 ,] subscr.

319 <ոչ>] suprascr. Hand 1corr.

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Ոչ[320] մոռացա<յ>[321] և զոր ասացեր ի մարգարէէն Եսայեայ, զասացեալսն հեծելոյն իշոյն և ուղտուն. եւ արդ դիտաւորութի*ւն* տեսլեանն այսպիսի է. տեսիլ անապատին ծովուն. անապատ ծովուն քո անապատն է. ծովեզ[69v]եր<ե>ա<յ>[322] մերձ ի Բաբելացւոց իշխանութի*ւն*ն և սահմանակից նորին. և յետ փոքու միոյ ասէ. տեսանէի հեծեալս երկուս. հեծեալ մի յէշ և հեծեալ մի յուղտ. երկոքին մի հեծեալ էին որպէս ի նմին տեղւոջ մարգարէն յայտնապէս ասէ ցուցեալ: Բայց էշ կոչէ մարգարէն զիրէական ժողովուրդն որք ընթեռնուին զաւրէնս և զմարգարէս. եւ հաւանեալք վարդապետութե*ան*ն սատանայի ոչ ծանեան և հնազանդեցան տիէզերափրկաւ[323] Աւետարանին. զորմէ և ի սկզբան գրոցն իւրոց դատախազ լինի ասելով. ծանեաւ եզն զստա<ց>իչ[324] իւր և էշ զմսուր Տ*եառ*ն իւրոյ. և Ի*սրա*էլ զիս ոչ ծանեաւ: Իսկ ուղտ կոչեաց զՄադիանացիսն և զԲաբելացիսն վ*ասն* յաճախ լինելոյ առ ձեզ կենդանոյս այսորիկ. և այն թշնամի որ զՀրէայսն աւրինապահութե*ան*ն կարծեաւք մոլորեցոյց. զձեզ կռապաշտութե*ամ*բն գլորեաց և զի երկոքեան մի են. տես զիա՞րդ յայտնապէս ցուցանէ մարգարէս. և դարձեալ ասէ տեսանէի զնոյն հեծեալ զի գայր երկնի. [70r] ահա մի է որ յառաջն երկուքն երևէր. և զի երկնի. զի Հրէից և հեթանոսաց տիրեաց որ հալածեացն զնա: Եւ արդ զի գայր, և զի՞նչ խաւսէր. գայր ասէ երկնի. և զաղաղակ բարձեալ ասեր անկաւ Բաբելոն և կործանեցան ձեռագործք նորա.

Ահա թշնամին է այս որ ողբայ[325] զամայութի*ւն*[326] իւր. որ այլ տեղի փախստեան ոչ էգիտ բայց զանապատն քո. և զերկոսին զձիս ամպարշտութեն[327] իւրոյ եկն եած ազգիդ քո. որ է Հրէական անհաստատութի*ւն* և հեթանոսական անառակութի*ւն*ն. և զայս ի միասին ետ ձեզ, զողախիժաբար զձեզ պատրեալ և ոչ բռնութե*ամ*բ. զի թլփատիք, և առանց եղուտ և արարչագործ բանին և հոգւոյն իմանայք զա*ստուա*ծութի*ւն*ն. իբրև զՀրէայսն. իսկ բախտից և ճակատագրի և դիւաց, որ են գեանք. հաւանիք իբրև զհեթանոսքն ընդ նոսին որ իբրև զնոսա վարիք աղտեղի և անասելի գիճութե*ամ*բք.

Ճանապահ[328] Ա*ստուծ*ոյ կոչէք զանողորմ սպանութե*ան*ց. և գերութե*ան*ց մարդկան՝ զասպատ[70v]ատակսն ձեր. հաւատք և վարքք ձեր այսպիսիք. և պարծանք ձեր հրեշտակային[329] վարս վարողաց: Իսկ մեք գիտացեալք և ծանուցեալք զմեր սքանչելի փրկութե*ան*ս խորհուրդ. ակն ունիմք յետ յարութե*ան*ն վաէլման թագաւորութե*ան*ն երկնից որ քարոզութե*ան* Աւետարանին հնազանդեցաք. և հնազանդիմք այնպիսեաց բարեաց. զոր ակն ոչ էտես և ունկն ոչ լուաւ, զոր պատրաստեաց Ա*ստուա*ծ սիրելեաց իւրոց և հաւատացելոց. եւ ոչ գինոյ և կաթին և մեղու աղբերս և կանանց միշտ կոյս մնացելոց խառնակմունք. և ծնունդ[330] որդւոց և այլ այսպիսիք հեթանոսական և յիմարութե*ան* անդընդոց շաղակրատմունք. անդր ի բաց տար զառասպելական բաշաղմանցդ բարբաշմունս. զի ոչ է արքաութի*ւն*ն կերակուր և ըմպելի. որպէս ասաց հոգին ս*ուրբ*. այլ արդարութի*ւն* է և սրբութի*ւն*: Քանզի ի յարութե*ան*ն

320 ժե in rt. mg., 15.

321 մոռացա<յ>] Hand 1corr.

322 ծովեզեր<ե>ա<յ>] Hand 1corr.

323 տիէզերափրկաւ] տիէզերայպրկաւ a.c.

324 զստա<ց>իչ] Hand 1corr.

325 ողբայ] ողբա a.c.

326 զամայութի*ւն*] -յ- subscr.

327 ամպարշտութեն] read: ամպարշտութեան with printed editions; scribe omitted abbreviation mark.

328 Ճանապահ] read: Ճանապարհ with printed editions; scribe omitted -ր- by parablepsis.

329 հրեշտակային] -յ- subscr.

330 ծնունդ] after ծնունդ Hand 3.

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ոչ կանայս առնեն և ոչ արանց լինին. այլ այնպես ե [71r][331] որպէս զհրեշտակք ի յերկինսն: Բայց վ*ասն* զի դուք զիճութ*եամ*ք աղտեղի ցանկութե*ան*ցդ հեշտութ*եամ*ք ոչ երբեք յագիք. և քան զնա այլ ոչ ինչ բարի համարիք. վ*ասն* այսորիկ և զերկնից արքաութի*ւն*ն առանց այնր ոչ ինչ համարիք. և այնուիկ կամիք զարդարել զնա:

Այս քեզ համառաւտ պատասխանիք զի յաղագս անսասանելի և անտարագրելի հաւատոյս նեղեցաք ի նախնումն և այժմ ի ձէնջ հեթանոսաց. և հանապազ մեռանիմք յաղագս պատուական ս*ուրբ*ն և անզուգական անուանն որ կոչեցեալ է ի վերա մեր ըստ կանխագուշակ մարգարէին Եսաեայ. թէ կոչեսցի քեզ անուն նոր զոր Տ*է*ր անուանեսցէ որպէս պատուիրեաց մեզ տ*է*րն մինչդեռ մարմնով յաշխարհիս էր. ասելով՝ եթէ զիս հալածեցին. ապա և զձեզ հալածեսցեն. եթէ զբանն իմ պահեցին. <ապա.>[332] և զձերն պահեսցեն. այլ զնոյնս արասցեն առ ձեզ զի ոչ ծանեան զառաքիչն իմ. և դարձեալ եթէ յաշխարհի աստ [71v] զնեղութի*ւն* ունիցիք. և ցհայրն յաղաւթսն ասելով. զորս ետուրն յաշխարհի քո էին և ինձ ետուր զնոսա. և յաշխարհէ աստի չեն որպէս և ես չեմ յաշխարհէս. զի եթէ յաշխարհէ աստի էին աշխարհս զիւրսն սիրէր արդեւք. բայց չեն յաշխարհէս. այլ ես ընդրեցի զնոսա յաշխարհէ. վ*ասն* այսորիկ ատեա զնոսա աշխարհս:

Արդ վ*ասն* այսպիսի յուսոյ ի ձէնջ տանջիմք. սպառնալեաւք և մահուամբք և ի մէնջ համբերութ*եամ*ք. զի և ոչ յաղեղն մեր յուսամք և ոչ սուր մեր փրկեսցէ զմեզ. այլ աջ Տ*եառ*ն և բազուկ նորա և լուսաւորութի*ւն* երեսաց նորա. եթե յայսմ աշխարհի տակաւին կամեսցի և հաճեսցի. և եթէ ի հանդերձելումն փոխանակ ի ձէնջ վտանգիցդ. զվարձսն աճեցուսցէ որպէս կամի և յորժամ կամեսցի: Իսկ դուք ի բռնակալութե*ան*դ և ի զրկմանդ մնալով կարծէք վ*ասն* հաճոյիցն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ հաւատոց ձերոց վաելել զայս. ոչ յիշելով զՊարս որ *չորեքհարիւր* ամ բռնակալեցին [72r] վ*ասն* որոյ պատճառանաց ինքն Ա*ստուա*ծ գիտէ. այլ ոչ յաղագս նոցա ուղիղ հաւատոց. իսկ մեք հաճեալ եմք ընդ նեղութի*ւն*ս և ընդ վիշտս որ հասանեն մեզ վ*ասն* փառաւորեալ անուանն Տ*եառ*ն մերոյ, և փրկչին Յ*իսուս*ի Ք*րիստոս*ի, որպէս զի հանդերձելոց բարեացն հասցուք ընդ այնոսիկ որ սիրեցին զաւր երևելոյ մեծի դատաւորութե*ան*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ ի փառս և ի գովեստ սիրելեաց անուան նորա. ընդ որս և փառաւորելով արժանի եղիցուք զմի ա*ստուա*ծութի*ւն*ն հաւր և միածնի իւրոյ բանին և հոգւոյն սրբոյ այժմ և միշտ և յաւիտեանս: Ամէն:

Եւ զայս պատճէն պատասխանոյ գրեալ կայսերն Ղեւոնի առաքէ ի ձեռն միոյ հաւատարիմ ծառայի իւրոյ առ Ոմառ իշխանն Իսմաելի. զոր իբրև ընթերցաւ յոյժ պատկառանաւք ամաչե*ալ* զամօթ[333] մեծ, և ի ձեռն այսր, թղթոյ առաւել ևս յաւելոյր զբարէխառնութի*ւն*ն և զբարէմտութի*ւն* առ ազգ Քրիստոնէից. և *ամենայն* ուստ[72v]եք բարեացապարտ զինքն ցուցանէր. քանզի որպէս նախքան զայս պատմեցաք գերեաց գերադարձ առնէր. և ամենեցուն շնորհէր զյանցանս նոցա. ձրի թողութ*եամ*ք. ցուցանէր և առ իւրաքանչիւր ազգն մտերմութի*ւն* լաւագոյն քան զառաջինսն որ նախքան զնա իշխանքն էին. քանզի զմթերս զանձուց բացեալ բաշխէր հոռք սրպայիցն. և յետ այսր ամենայնի եղելոյ վախճանէր:[334]

331 Hand 1.

332 <ապա.>] suprascr. Hand 1corr.

333 զամօթ] զամութ a.c.

334 ի, 20, in lft. mg.

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COMMENTARY

VII.A. THE CALIPHATE OF ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ

Christians and Muslims alike recorded positive accounts about the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–20), rescuing his image from the wreckage of public opinion concerning the Umayyads. Łewond's remarks about ʿUmar compare him directly with the earlier caliphs: "They say that he was the most noble of all the men of his tribe" (զսա ասեն ազնուականագոյն քան զ*ամենայն* արս ազգատոհմի իւրոյ), [31v] and, later, "he also demonstrated greater sincerity to his own people than the previous ones who were princes before him did" (ցուցանէր և առ իւրային ազգն մտերմութի*ւն* լաւագոյն քան զառաջինսն որ նախքան զնա իշխանքն էին) [72v]. The description of ʿUmar as one of the few meritorious Umayyads finds echoes elsewhere. Masʿūdī famously quotes the opinion of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr, who denigrated the Umayyad caliphs but demurred somewhat in the case of ʿUmar: "as for ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he was one-eyed among the blind" (اما عمر بن عبد العزيز فكان اعور بين عميان).[335] Portrayals of ʿUmar as one of the only righteous Umayyads proliferated in Arabic, Syriac, and Greek. Beyond this similarity, however, Łewond's account of ʿUmar's caliphate shows little concrete overlap with the themes of any other historiographical tradition.

Łewond includes very little information about ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. He was noble and returned the captives taken by Muḥammad b. Marwān; he wrote a letter to the Roman emperor to challenge Christianity; he instigated fiscal reforms. By contrast, Muslim sources focus on ʿUmar's piety: he ruled like a Companion of the Prophet, worthy of comparison to the earlier caliph who shared his name, his maternal great-grandfather ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He also appears imbued with eschatological expectations as the potential *mahdī* at the turn of the second century AH.[336] The Syriac sources, including the Theophilus circuit (which circulated in Greek and Arabic, as well), focus instead on ʿUmar's lifting of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's siege of Constantinople, on his persecution of Christians, and on his prohibition of alcohol. None of these details appear in Łewond's text, which suggests that these sets of sources emanated from different constellations of traditions that circulated widely across the Near East.[337]

VII.A.1. Returning Captives

The concern with the return of captives is specific to Łewond's immediate Armenian context. Łewond connects the success of ʿUmar's rule to the return of captives after the fires of Naxčawan/Nashawā (see chapter V), establishing ʿUmar as the corrector of Muḥammad b. Marwān: "He returned the captives whom Muḥammad [b. Marwān] had captured from Armenia after burning the *naxarark*ʿ of this land, for he [Muḥammad] took many fortresses and captured men and women. When ʿUmar established his rule, he sent all of the

335 Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 6:161.

336 On ʿUmar as *mahdī* and/or *mujaddid*, see Borrut, "Entre tradition et histoire"; *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*.

337 Łewond's account of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's siege of Constantinople appears later, during the reign of Hishām (from folio 75r onward).

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captives to their own places and pacified the lands that were under his control" (Սա արար դարձ գերութեանն զոր գերեաց Մահմետ յաշխարհէս Հայոց. յետ այրելոյն զնախարարս աշխարհիս. զի առ զբազում ամրոցս. և գերեաց զարս և զկանայս: և իբրև հաստատեցաւ իշխանութիւնն Ումառա արձակեաց զբովանդակ գերեալսն յիւրաքանչիւր տեղիս) [31v–32r]. This information diverges from that in Arabic and Syriac sources but aligns closely with the second/eighth-century martyrology of Vahan Gołtʿnacʿi. Vahan was taken prisoner as a child of only four years, along with his mother, when Muḥammad b. Marwān burned the churches in Naxčawan/Nashawā. Vahan's *Vita* praises ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in much the same way as Łewond does: "When ʿUmar sat at the head of the *Tačik*s, God cast into his heart remembrance of the injustice that was upon the Armenians. He gave the order to gather the captives with great diligence, and upon gathering them, he released them all" (Եւ իբրեւ նստաւ Ումառ ի գլխաւորութիւն Տաճկաց, արկ ի սիրտ նորա Աստուած յիշել զանիրաւութիւնն որ առ Հայս . հրաման տայր ժողովել զգերեալսն մեծաւ պնդութեամբ . և ի ժողովելն՝ արձակեաց զամենեսեան).[338] This similarity is specific to Armenian texts and circumstances and likely reflects the local traditions about the fires in Naxčawan/Nashawā.

VII.A.2. Fiscal Reforms

Łewond also claims that ʿUmar "opened the stores of the treasury and distributed salaries to the officers" (զմթերս գանձուց բացեալ բաշխէր հոռք սրպայիցն) [72v]. This reference, though oblique, may refer to the fiscal reforms that ʿUmar enacted. ʿUmar circulated a rescript about his fiscal reforms to his provincial governors, preserved today in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's third/ninth-century *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.* This text outlines the expectations facing Muslims, Muslim converts, and non-Muslims as regards taxation; some legal specifications (such as the prohibition against alcohol); and the financial claims of the caliphs. In his discussion of the fifth (*khums*, on which see below at folio 84r), ʿUmar makes a claim to caliphal control over the spoils of war, arguing that it cannot be farmed out to local leaders.[339]

VII.B. RELATIONSHIP TO THE OTHER VERSIONS OF THE ʿUMAR-LEO CORRESPONDENCE

Łewond's text includes one of six surviving versions of the correspondence between ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Leo the Isaurian.

1. The earliest extant manuscript is a Latin translation from Arabic, preserved in an early third/ninth-century manuscript housed today in Paris. Three other Latin manuscripts, preserved in Madrid (fifth/eleventh century), Tortosa (seventh/thirteenth century), and Salamanca (eighth/fourteenth or ninth/fifteenth century), contain variants of this version.
2. A Christian Arabic version from Mount Sinai survives in a fourth/tenth-century manuscript.

338 "Ołbkʿ vasn čʿareacʿn ašxarhis Hayocʿ," 20; "Patmutʿiwn ew vkayabanutʿiwn," 874–75.

339 Guessous, "Le rescrit fiscal," 123.

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3. A single quire exists of a Muslim Arabic version from a late third/ninth- or early fourth/tenth-century manuscript, housed today in Istanbul but originally discovered in the Great Mosque of Damascus.
4. Łewond's Armenian version, reproduced here.
5. An Aljamiado version is reproduced in two tenth/sixteenth-century manuscripts. Given the overlap between the two texts, it is clear that the Aljamiado is a translation from the earlier Muslim Arabic version (no. 3 above).
6. A heavily revised version of the Latin was printed in Lyons in the early sixteenth century and republished by Migne in the *Patralogia Graeca*. With one exception,[340] scholarship about the Latin version of the correspondence thus far has relied solely on the printed editions.

Common strands of material connect all extant versions of the correspondence. The existence of this connective tissue suggests that the six different texts should be analyzed intertextually despite the dramatic differences between them. In addition to a common core of argumentation, there are also groupings of traditions. For example, the Christian Arabic and Latin versions demonstrate closer parallels with each other than they do with the other versions. The Aljamiado text, as pointed out above, is a translation of the Muslim Arabic version; together, they form a second grouping. Łewond's version is a translation of a Greek *Vorlage*, representing a third grouping of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence. Further, there is a close connection between the Greek-Armenian and Arabic-Aljamiado groupings. As J.-M. Gaudeul has pointed out, the Armenian version responds to the challenges levied in the Muslim Arabic and Aljamiado versions. It follows the same order of arguments and cites the same biblical verses.[341]

All six versions of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence have been edited and translated and will, in the future, be published in the LAMINE series. For more information on the relationship between the six versions, we invite readers to refer to that volume. Here, a single concrete example suffices to demonstrate both the common strands and the close relationship between the Greek-Armenian and Muslim Arabic–Aljamiado versions. The Aljamiado text explains that Jesus could not be the Lord because he himself refers to someone else as the Lord. It then cites multiple proof texts from the Bible to support this claim. The author of Łewond's version responds to the specific wording found in the Aljamiado citations of Christian scripture. For example, the Aljamiado cites a combination of multiple biblical verses: "I cannot do anything, and cannot say anything, without the power of my Lord. What I do, I do, and what I say, I say in the power and name of my Lord God who has sent me" ("Yo no puedo fazer cosa ni puedo fablar sino que seya con poder de mi Señor. Que fago lo que fago, y fablo lo que fablo con el poder y nonbre de mi Señor Allah, aquel que me á enviado").[342] The Armenian text then responds:

340 The sole exception is Vivancos, who established that the version contained in the Latin manuscript was translated from Arabic in Spain because of its use of the Mozarabic Psalter; Vivancos, "La *Epistola Leonis*."

341 Gaudeul, "Correspondence."

342 See Burman et al., *A Connecting Polemic*, Aljamiado, A12v.

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> But when He prayed, He did not say as you wrote. Rather, He said: "Father, if it is possible, take this cup from me." . . . He said: "The Son of Man cannot do anything by himself, but the Father, who has dwelt in me, does the work." If you believe this [verse] of scripture, "I cannot do anything by myself," believe that one, [which says,] "The Father, who has dwelt in me, does the work."
>
> այլ յաղաւթելն ոչ ասէր որպէս դուդ գրեցեր. այլ էթէ հայր եթէ հնար է անցո զբաժակս զայս յինէն . . . ասաց՝ ոչ կարէ որդի մարդոյ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. այլ հայրն որ յիս բնակեալ է նա գործէ զգործն. եթե հաւատաս այնմ գրելոցն ոչ կարեմ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. հաւատա այնմ թե հայր որ յիս բնակեալն է նա գործէ զգործսն: [57v–58r]

The author of the Armenian version identifies a problem in challenges levied against Christianity by Muslim polemicists, namely, that "you remove a word [from a verse], which is produced as a witness, so that where 'Father' is written, you replace it with 'Lord' or 'God'" (և զբան զոր առնի վկայութիւն ի բաց բաժանես. զի ուր հայր գրեալ է, Տէր կամ Աստուած փոխեալ դնես) [48r]. The author of the Armenian version cites nearly all of the biblical verses found in the Aljamiado version in the same order, arguing about the polemicists' use of specific words. This level of detail and organization demonstrates the close relationship between the Greek-Armenian and the Muslim Arabic–Aljamiado groupings. Although the Christian Arabic and Latin grouping includes references to these same arguments, the authors did not seem to understand the argument that Muslims were not citing Christian scripture precisely.

The connection between the six versions of the correspondence and, in particular, the close relationship between the Greek-Armenian and Muslim Arabic–Aljamiado groupings suggest that these other versions should inform the interpretation of Łewond's text. For example, at one point the author of Leo's letter refers to Satan as the treasurer of God: "As for what you said about Satan and the souls of the righteous, you make Satan the treasurer of God" (Իսկ վասն սատանայի և արդարոցն հոգւոց որ ասացեր զսատանա Աստուծոյ գանձապահ առնէք) [68r].[343] With the Armenian text alone, this reference is oblique. However, it becomes clearer with recourse to the Muslim Arabic text, which challenges the idea that the souls of the prophets who lived after Adam but before the coming of Jesus should reside in hell: "And why should God—may He be glorified and praised!—make Iblīs treasurer of the souls of the prophets and the righteous of His creation who served Him and did not allow him to exert power over them? Why should Satan prevail over God regarding these souls?" (ما كان الله سبحانه ويحمده ليستخزن ابليس على انفس انبيايه وصلح خلقه الذين يعبدونه ولا يسلطه عليهم؟ وما كان الشيطان ليغلب الله على تلك النفوس؟).[344] In the Armenian version, then, that phrase "you make Satan the treasurer of God" is not a Christian charge against Muslims but a direct quotation from a Muslim text that the Christian author attempts to rebut.

343 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 431 n. 128.

344 Burman et al., *A Connecting Polemic*, citing the only extant manuscript, currently in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul (MS Ş_E_4419), fol. 3v.

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VII.C. THE COMPOSITION AND TRANSLATION OF ŁEWOND'S VERSION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

The Armenian version of the correspondence between ʿUmar and Leo has been the subject of several significant debates since the middle of the twentieth century. The collection of all six versions of the correspondence has prompted a reevaluation of some of the main points of earlier publications on the topic. Here, we establish three main points. First, the Armenian version as found in Łewond's text is a translation from Greek and was not originally composed in Armenian. Second, the now-lost Greek *Vorlage* was composed in the second/eighth century. Finally, the correspondence was part of Łewond's original composition in the second/eighth century, not added at some later date.

VII.C.1. Łewond's Version as a Translation from Greek

The dating and original context of the letter of Leo have proven elusive and contentious. Akinean argued that the letter had been translated from Greek.[345] In his study of Byzantine iconoclasm during the reign of Leo III, Gero instead came to the conclusion that the letter of Leo found in Łewond's text was an original Armenian composition. He suggested that a fifth/eleventh- or sixth/twelfth-century reviser of Łewond's *History* composed the letter and inserted it into Łewond's text on the basis of a reference to a letter in the fourth/tenth-century *History* of Tʿovma Arcruni. Gero's theory was subsequently accepted by other scholars, but it has faced renewed criticism.[346]

A Greek *Vorlage* to the Armenian text is supported by four arguments. First, the text transliterates certain Greek terms into Armenian and refers to Greek as "our language." For example, Leo observes that the books of the Bible that "the Hebrews [call] Kohełēt' and Širatʿširiim, we call Paṙimon [Παροιμίαι, Proverbs] and Samaton [Ἀσμάτων, from Ἄσμα Ἀσμάτων]" (Կոհեղէթ. և Շիրաթշիրիիմ Եբրայեցիք. և Պառիմոն. և Սամատոն մեք անուանեմք) [39r]. Similarly, in Leo's discussion of the definition of the word "Paraclete," he asserts that it "means 'comforter' and not Aḥmad [as you think], that is, 'I give thanks,' *eukʿaṙistē* [i.e., εὐχαριστῶ], in our language, not *paraklētos*" (Արդ գիտեա զի պառակղիտոս մխիթարիչ անուանի, և ոչ Ահմատ, այսինքն գոհանամ. կարդիստրէ ի մեր լեզուս) [44r]. In its citation of Isaiah 60:13 [66r], the text uses պեկիւ (*pekiw*) and պեկիւռիսաւ (*pekiwṙisaw*) for cypress and pine, both from Greek πεύκη, though պեկիւռիսաւ (*pekiwṙisaw*) is likely a corruption of κυπάρισσος. On folio 68r, the word միւռինէս (*miwṙinēs*) derives from Greek μύριαινα in a passage that is probably indebted to Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

Second, there are syntactical constructions that read awkwardly in Armenian but may reflect a more literal rendering of the Greek text underneath.[347] For example, on folio 48r, we have translated արասցուք ("let us make") as "let us consider," suggesting that the verb here renders Greek ποιήσωμεν, which can mean "to consider," "to reckon." On folio 66r, we take the phrase յանդիման տեսանելով ("looking opposite") to render Greek ἐπισκοπέω and translate it as "looking at."

345 Akinean, "Łewond," 607–8.

346 See the discussion in Łewond, *Discours historique*.

347 See also Akinean, "Łewond," 608; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 347–48.

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Third, on folio 58r the author refers to the pericope of the bloody sweat and the strengthening by the angel in Luke 22:43–44. Although the passage was known to Armenian authors, it does not appear in extant copies of the Armenian Gospel of Luke before the sixth/twelfth century and becomes common only in the seventh/thirteenth. The pericope was a central point of contention in the Julianist controversies in Armenia in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries and was unlikely to be used as a proof text in this context by an Armenian polemicist at any time.[348]

Finally, *pace* Gero, there are certain cases in which a citation disagrees with the Armenian Bible and shows signs of having been translated directly from the Greek Bible. For example, in the citation of Psalm 136(137):2 [41r], the letter reads, "we hung up our instruments." "Instruments" (զգործարանս) is a translation of τὰ ὄργανα in the Septuagint and does not match զկտակարանս, "covenants," in the Armenian Bible. Similarly, in the next verse, the letter renders the Septuagint's "words of song" (λόγους ᾠδῶν) as բանս երգոց ("words of songs"), rather than the Armenian Bible's բանս աւրհնութեան ("words of blessing"). Additionally, the letter cites the end of that verse in accordance with the Septuagint and differs completely from the Armenian Bible. Leo's letter here reads "and those who carried us away [asked] for words of blessing" (եւ տարիչք մեր բանս աւրհնութեան), which aligns with the Greek Bible's "and they who carried us away [asked for] a hymn" (καὶ οἱ ἀπαγαγόντες ἡμᾶς ὕμνον) but not with the Armenian Bible's "our captors forced us and were saying" (գերեվարք մեր ստիպէին զմեզ եւ ասէին). Likewise, the letter cites Psalm 148:5–6 [63r] as "he commanded and they were built" (շինեցան), following the Septuagint (ἐκτίσθησαν), against the Armenian "he commanded and it was established" (հաստատեցաւ). The citation of Psalm 40:10(41:9) [55r–v] reflects an error that could have happened only in Greek. The text cites David, who prophesied, "He who ate my bread magnified his heel over me." The mistaken use of the word "heel" (զգարշապար) here must be due to a misreading of the Septuagint's πτερνισμόν, "cunning," as πτέρναν, "heel." It is not possible to derive the reading "heel" (զգարշապար) from the Armenian Bible's wording, "deception" (խաբէութիւն). Other examples have been noted in the footnotes to the translation.[349]

In support of his argument that the letter was originally composed in Armenian, Gero pointed to instances in which the letter's citations of the Bible adhere to the Armenian text rather than the Greek. However, the quotation of Psalm 109(110):1, 3 [51v], shown in figure 9, reveals that the scribe, Sargis, sometimes hypercorrected his text by inadvertently supplying the reading of the Armenian Bible, although in this case he subsequently restored the original, Septuagint-based text. The verse in question reads: "With you is the beginning of power,[350] the brilliance of your saints" (ընդ քեզ է սկիզբն զաւրութե*ան* պայծառութի*ւն* սրբոց քոյ). Sargis originally wrote the pronoun ինձ before սկիզբն, probably on the basis of his recollection of the Armenian text, but subsequently erased it. He probably realized that the pronoun was not in fact in his exemplar, which lacked the dative of

348 On the treatment of this episode in the Armenian Bible, see Cowe, "Christological Trends."

349 See the citation of John 14:26 on fol. 44r; of Psalm 21:7–9(22:6–8) on fol. 51r–v; of Micah 5:2 on fol. 53v; and of Zephaniah 3:8 on fol. 68v.

350 The "beginning of power" is a scribal error for the "beginning of the days of power"; the word for "days," աւուրց, has been omitted by parablepsis.

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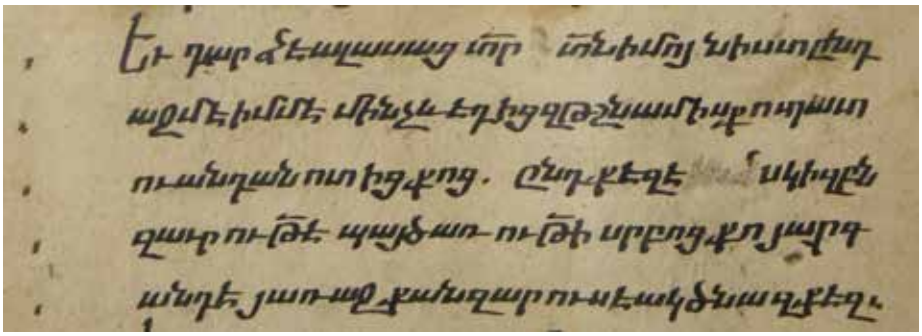

Figure 9. A scribal correction on folio 51v of Łewond's *History*. M1902. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. Reproduced with permission.

the first person personal pronoun, in agreement with the Septuagint. The subsitution of պայծառութիւն, "brilliance," for վայելչութիւն, "beauty," as in the Armenian text, also reflects the Greek text: λαμπρότησιν, from λαμπρότης, which is normally rendered պայծառութիւն in Armenian. This example suggests that Sargis likely relied on his recollection of the Armenian Bible when copying certain citations, which may explain why the text is closer to the Armenian Bible in some instances.

In the case of Psalm 109(110), Sargis restored the text by checking the original manuscript from which he was copying the text, but elsewhere it is possible that errors occurred through aural confusion at the time of translation. The process of translation often involved two people. One person would read out a translation of the original text while the other—a scribe—committed it to paper. On folio 47v, we suggest that the meaningless զոյլ եւ պեսո is an error for ծուլապէս caused by the scribe's mishearing of what the translator said. This error was then faithfully transmitted by Sargis when he made his copy.

On the basis of the above evidence, we agree with those scholars who have argued that the letter was composed in Greek and then translated into Armenian. The dating of the Armenian translation's Greek *Vorlage*, however, has proven equally difficult to ascertain. Although the letter's inclusion within Łewond's late second/eighth-century text would seem to indicate that it was originally composed earlier in that century, some scholars have suggested that the letter was in fact written in the third/ninth century and interpolated into Łewond's work. Although no absolute certainty is possible on this question, below we argue that the Greek text was most likely composed in the second/eighth century and was integral to Łewond's original composition.

VII.C.2. Dating the Greek Vorlage *of the Armenian Letter*

The main argument for dating the original letter of Leo to later than the second/eighth century has been its anachronistic references to Islamic sects that appeared only in the third/ninth century. The interpretation of these references, however, has been incorrect and often based on mere supposition. In fact, all of the sects mentioned in the text can be securely located in the Umayyad period (see below under "The Sects of Islam"). Additionally, there is positive, albeit meager, evidence to suggest that the letter was composed in the second/eighth century.

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We should first note that cues in the text itself that seem to locate its composition chronologically are inconclusive. The author of the letter from Leo to ʿUmar at one point asserts a second/eighth-century date of composition by claiming that he was writing a hundred years after the emergence of Islam: "The time since its appearance, as you yourself say, has been one hundred years, more or less" (և ժամանակ երևման դորա որպէս դուքդ ասէք. *հարիւր.* ամ փոքր ինչ աւելի կամ պակաս) [45r]. The year AH 100 corresponds to 718–19 CE. However, he also writes that "[It has been] eight hundred years, more or less, since Christ appeared and the Gospel was spread among all the peoples and languages of man" (*ութհարիւր.* ամք փոքր ինչ պակաս կամ աւելի յորմէ *քրիստոս* երևեցաւ. և տարածեցաւ Աւետարանն ընդ *ամենայն* ազգս և լեզուս մարդկան) [45v–46r]. On its own, this second claim would suggest a third/ninth-century date of composition. However, the addition of the phrase "more or less" and the inclusion of both contradictory claims nearly back to back in the same passage make it clear that these numbers cannot be taken to indicate precise measurements of time. We must look elsewhere to date Łewond's version of the correspondence.

As J. Meyendorff has observed, Leo's defense of the use of images as an opportunity for the glorification of God is consonant with the position expressed by the Patriarch Germanus (sed. 715–30) around 720 CE in his letters and generally points to an intellectual and theological context that predates the iconoclastic edict of 726 CE.[351] It would have been highly unlikely that the author would support an iconophile position in the charged atmosphere of the Iconoclastic Controversy. This piece of evidence points to a date of original composition for the correspondence between 717 (the year both ʿUmar and Leo came to power) and 726 CE.

Other incidental details also support a second/eighth-century composition. For example, the claim that "you make [Jesus] a companion and equal to the incomparable power of God and like Him, [thereby] professing three gods" (և անզուգական զաւրութեան Աստուծոյ ընկեր և համեմատ և նման նմա առնէք երիս աստուածս խոստովանելով) [33r] reflects Umayyad anti-Trinitarian slogans: "He has no associate" (لا شريك له) and Qurʾān 112:4, "He has no equal" (وَلَمْ يَكُن لَّهُ كُفُواً أَحَدٌ). Both are found on the inscriptions from 72/691 inside the Dome of the Rock, and the former is also inscribed on Marwānid reformed coinage.[352]

One last potential objection to a second/eighth-century date of composition that can be leveled, but has not been in previous scholarship, is the enigmatic description of Islamic practices during the *ḥajj* in Leo's letter that are otherwise found only in later texts. Addressing the Muslims, the letter charges:

> You do not know why you worship and kiss the rock that you call *rukn*. And [you do not know the reason] for the demonic slaughter that the beasts and the birds abhor. [And you do not know the reason] they [the worshippers] would run on one foot, or [the reason] for the rock-throwing, for the fleeing, for the shaving [of] the head, or for the other shameful deeds that they commit.

351 Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views," 126–27.

352 Bacharach, "Signs of Sovereignty"; Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*, 235; Kessler, "ʿAbd al-Malik's Inscription."

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> կամ զքարն զոր ոտքունն կոչեցեր. զորմէ ոչ գիտես եթե ընդէր երկրպագեալ համբուրես. և դիւական կոտորածին յորմէ զազանք և թռչունք զարշին և միոտանի վազեսցեն. եւ քարածգութե*ան*ն և փախստեանն և զգլուխ զգերծնլոյն և այլոց ամաւթալեաց զոր գործենն: [67r]

The odd allusion to "running on one foot" is particularly confusing, but its meaning can be better understood through reference to an Armenian translation of a Karshuni text that purports to preserve details of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad as narrated by a convert to Islam in the first/seventh century. According to this text, Muslim pilgrims hop around the Kaʿba on one foot to honor the precedent of Abraham. Sarah made Abraham promise not to dismount when he visited Ishmael, out of fear that he would find Hagar or another woman there. To keep his promise, Abraham set one foot on a rock and left the other foot on his mount. His single footprint remained in the rock—"the rock gave way to his foot, showing the imprint" (եւ վիմին տեղի տուեալ մի ոտինն զհետն ցուցանէ)[353]—and this location became *maqām Ibrāhīm*, the site of Abraham, in the Kaʿba.[354] When Muḥammad set the rituals of the *ḥajj*, "he told [the Muslims] to circle the outside [of] the <st>one where Abraham's footprint is, running on one foot" (զարտաքին <վիմ>ովն,[355] ուր զոտնահետն Աբրահամու ասաց, շուրջ գալով՝ միոտանի վազելով).[356]

The earliest manuscript of this Karshuni text dates to 1273 CE, but it served as a source for the sixth/twelfth-century history of Mxitʿar Anecʿi and, independently, the seventh/thirteenth-century history of Vardan Arewelcʿi, so the Armenian translation must have been executed at least by then. The original Karshuni document could have been composed at any point between the first/seventh and sixth/twelfth centuries. This is the only detail that is shared between Leo's letter and the Karshuni text, which suggests that the author of the correspondence was not working from this text. Instead, both he and the author of the Karshuni document seem to have had access to a common interpretative tradition of the *ḥajj* that circulated in Christian polemical circles. Therefore, the Karshuni text and the later Armenian histories are useful for unpacking the meaning of the letter's obscure reference, but they cannot be used to help date the letter itself.

Without the argument that the sects of Islam mentioned in the letter appear only in the third/ninth century, there is no evidence to disprove a second/eighth-century date for the composition of the Greek letter and, in fact, some circumstantial evidence exists. A date of composition between 717 and 726 CE would have made it possible for the letter to have been translated into Armenian and included in Łewond's *History* by the 170s/780s. As a point of comparison, we may observe that the earliest Latin version of the letter of Leo was translated from Arabic in Spain and then copied in southern France, all by the first half of the third/ninth century. The speed of transmission of the correspondence is thus attested elsewhere, even further afield than Armenia.[357] The question remains, however,

353 Kiwleserean, *Islamə*, 200.

354 On the footprints of Abraham in Muslim texts, see Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:97.

355 The text reads միովն ("one") here, but Kiwleserean plausibly suggests <վիմ>ովն ("stone").

356 Kiwleserean, *Islamə*, 200, 202. See also Thomson, "Muhammad," 847; Anecʿi, *Matean ašxarhavēp handisaranacʿ*, 95. On this passage in Mxitʿar Anecʿi, see Thomson, "Muhammad," 855; Arewelcʿi, *La domination arabe*, 78.

357 On the extant manuscripts of the Latin version, see Burman et al., *A Connecting Polemic*.

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whether this was the case for the Armenian version or whether someone translated the letter later on and inserted it into Łewond's work before the copying of M1902, the earliest manuscript witness to the *History* copied between 1274 and 1311 CE.

VII.C.3. A Second/Eighth-Century Translation Incorporated into Łewond's History

At this time, it is not possible to determine when the translation was executed on the basis of any internal evidence of translation method. Instead, the dating of the translation has hinged on the date of the Greek *Vorlage* and on whether the letter should be considered integral to Łewond's text. As the Greek original was likely composed in the second/eighth century, the only arguments for a third/ninth-century (or later) date of translation into Armenian have been based on the reception history of the correspondence and on stylistic concerns with respect to Łewond's *History*. Neither of these arguments, however, is convincing. Besides Łewond's text, the exchange of letters between ʿUmar and Leo is mentioned in the *History of the House of Arcrunikʿ* of Tʿovma Arcruni.[358] Tʿovma composed his work shortly after 904 CE and shows some familiarity with Łewond's *History*, although he does not name him.[359] Tʿovma's reference to the correspondence would seem to support the existence of an Armenian version by the end of the third/ninth century, but he does not cite the letters themselves, and his very brief summary of them does not necessarily demonstrate that he had knowledge of the correspondence as found in Łewond's *History*. Tʿovma's testimony thus does not definitively corroborate that the letters existed in Łewond's work or in Armenian by the third/ninth century, but neither does it disprove it.

It has also been noted that Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, who wrote around 1004–5 CE and relied on Łewond for much of his information on this period in his *Universal History*, does not mention the correspondence. However, this fact alone cannot prove that the correspondence did not exist when Tarōnecʿi wrote his *Universal History*. Further, Tarōnecʿi's account of ʿUmar's caliphate appears defective.[360] He recounts the reign of Sulēyman (the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, r. 96–99/715–17) and at the end writes: "Then, after ʿUmar, Yazīd became prince for six years" (Իսկ յետ Օմարայ եկաց իշխան Եզիտ ամս 6).[361] Either Tarōnecʿi skipped over ʿUmar's entire reign or material has been lost from the text. The latter seems likely given that the phrasing used to introduce Yazīd implies that something had been said about ʿUmar. In addition, many manuscripts of the *Universal History* bear other lacunae at this point in the text. They omit the ends of sections II.iii and II.iv as well as the entirety of II.v and II.vi.[362] Tarōnecʿi's silence on the correspondence, then, should be considered in light of the overall absence of any information on ʿUmar's caliphate in his text and the question of the transmission history of the text itself. Whether it was authorial or scribal error that resulted in the omission of ʿUmar's caliphate, Tarōnecʿi's work provides no support for excluding the correspondence from Łewond's *History*.

358 Arcruni, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Patkanov, 105; *History*, 171. As mentioned above, it is this *History* that Gero speculated served as the inspiration for the composition of the letter.

359 See Arcruni, *History*, 37.

360 Cf. Asołik, *Patmutʿiwn tiezerakan*, 370 n. 98; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 350.

361 Asołik, *Patmutʿiwn tiezerakan*, 130.

362 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 83, 85.

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Finally, there is the relationship between the letter, the Karshuni document, and the histories of Mxitʿar Anecʿi and Vardan Arewelcʿi mentioned above. It could be argued that as the details about the specific practices of *ḥajj* do not appear in Armenian until the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, the letter was likely translated in that period, when there was particular interest in those customs and the origins of Islam. As noted earlier, however, there is no direct relationship between these texts. This is the only point of similarity between the text of the letter and the Karshuni document that served as the source for the other two histories. Moreover, it is just as probable that the increased interest in Islamic history and practice in Armenia at this time motivated the copying of the entire text of Łewond, including the correspondence. The earliest manuscript that includes Łewond's *History* also preserves the Armenian translation of the Georgian Royal Annals, which shares some of the same discourse on Islam as that found in Mxitʿar Anecʿi and Vardan Arewelcʿi. Additionally, if the letter had been translated separately from Łewond's text in the sixth/twelfth or seventh/thirteenth century, we would expect manuscript evidence attesting to its independent circulation. In fact, however, it appears only within the text of Łewond's *History* or, much later, excerpted from it. Although this is only an argument *ex silentio*, the manuscript evidence does not support the circulation of the letter independently of Łewond's text.

A more weighty objection to considering the correspondence integral to the original composition of the *History* is that its presence creates stylistic imbalances in the narrative. The correspondence's length is disproportional to the rest of the work. In addition, in contrast to other letters cited in the *History*, the text of the Leo-ʿUmar correspondence shows no evidence of having been revised by Łewond to conform to the language or style of the rest of work.[363] Finally, Łewond does not show concern with religious controversies—whether between Christianity and Islam or within Christianity itself—anywhere else in his work.[364] On the other hand, lengthy epistolary exchanges are a commonplace in Armenian historiography.[365] Although this particular correspondence may be of extraordinary size for a work of this length, there is no sense that narrative balance was a stylistic concern for Łewond.[366] Of the other explicitly labeled written communications included in the *History*, only that between Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Leo (see chapter IX) is truly analogous. In that instance, Łewond likely did not have access to an Armenian version of the correspondence and composed something apposite instead.[367] Despite the very different contexts in which the actors exchange epistles, Leo's response to Maslama resonates with his earlier reply to ʿUmar, particularly in its defense of the cross and in Leo's derision

363 Cf. Łewond, *Discours historique*, 349.

364 On Łewond's silence regarding theological controversies, see the Introduction.

365 See the discussion in Łewond, *Discours historique*, 349.

366 For example, the space apportioned to and the amount of detail provided for each caliphal reign differ between chapters, as they do for individual battles and sieges. Such discrepancies may reasonably be accounted for by the source material that was available to Łewond, but he did not attempt to offset these imbalances for the sake of stylistic considerations.

367 Cf. Łewond, *Discours historique*, 349 n. 30. The letter of Sahak, if authentic, was presumably not a translation but originally written in Armenian; the letter between Muhammad and Čenbakur is a literary fiction and possibly Łewond's own invention.

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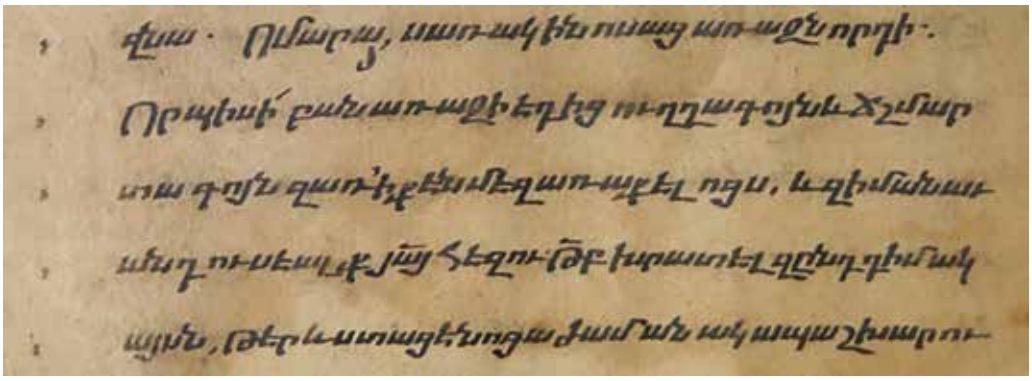

Figure 10. The marking of direct quotes in Łewond's *History*. M1902. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. Reproduced with permission.

of Muslim "boasts" (պարծանք).[368] Likewise, Leo has recourse to Psalm 43(44) to claim that Christians put their faith in God in both letters. In addition, it has been shown that the use of prophetic texts in the correspondence is consistent with Łewond's conception of prophecy and his attitude toward Muslim political power.[369]

Finally, we may note that the correspondence is marked off by the scribe Sargis in M1902 in exactly the same manner as other quoted material and that it does not appear to have been added by him (fig. 10). If someone had interpolated the text after Łewond, that alteration had to have been accomplished before Sargis obtained the text. However, it is likely that Sargis worked from the original of Łewond's text, as the end of the text contains only his colophon, with no record of an earlier colophon.

In conclusion, we agree with Mahé that the burden of proof rests with those who wish to challenge the traditional dating ascribed to the correspondence.[370] As no evidence has come to light that decisively precludes the composition of the original Greek text in the second/eighth century, its translation into Armenian shortly thereafter, and its inclusion by Łewond in his original text, we conclude that it is indeed a second/eighth-century work translated from Greek and incorporated by Łewond in his *History*.

VII.D. SECTARIANISM IN THE SECOND/EIGHTH CENTURY AS REPRESENTED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE

One of the points of argumentation of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence is the division of both Christianity and Islam into various groups.

VII.D.1. The Sects of Islam

Leo's letter asserts that the Muslims have broken into more sects than the Christians have. He lists the "Kʿuzi, Sabartʿuṙabi, Kntri, Murǰi, Basli, the godless J̌di, who deny the existence

368 Cf. fols. 70v and 77v–79r.

369 La Porta, "Sense of an Ending," 377–79.

370 Mahé, "Le problème de l'authenticité."

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of God and the resurrection and the sayings of your prophet, and the Hariwri" (քուզի. սաբարթուռաբի. կնտրի. մուրջի. բասլի. անա*ստուած* ջղի. որք ուրանան զէութիւնն ա*ստուծոյ*. և զյարութիւնն, և զասացեալ քո մարգարէն հարիւրի) [45r–v]. Scholars have interpreted these names to support a third/ninth-century date for this version of the correspondence, but these groups all existed in the Umayyad period.

Most modern sources identify the Kʿuzi as the Khārijites even though the Khārijites appear again later in the list. However, the term "Kʿuzi" may refer to the Kūziyya, a sect of Islam that was particularly concerned with questions of purity. The Kūziyya believed that they should not introduce impurities into the earth through urination or defecation. They received their name from the *kūz*, or jugs, in which they relieved themselves. They were also noteworthy for covering their genitals during prayer out of fear of accidental distraction and for refusing to pray in pants (preferring, presumably, a different type of clothing).[371]

K. Chahnazarian understands the next name, Sabartʿuṙabi, to represent a conflation of two separate sects. He identifies the first, which he calls "celle des Djobbâiens ou de Sabar," as the adherents of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Jubbāʾī (d. 303/916), a Muʿtazilī scholar.[372] A. Jeffery instead suggests that the reference is to the earlier, fatalist sect of the Jabariyya.[373] The reading of "Sabar" as "Jubbāʾiyya" or "Jabariyya" requires substantiation. Chahnazarian's "Djobbâiens" does not appear in Łewond's text. Instead, we contend that Łewond's Sabartʿuṙabi (Սաբարթուռաբի) is a scribal error for Sabaitʿuṙabi (Սաբաիթուռաբի); the only difference is in the letters ր (r) and ի (i), which are easily confused in transmission. The designation *sabāʾī* derives from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sabāʾ (fl. first/seventh century) and appears frequently in Islamic heresiography to refer to the *ghulāt*, or "extremist" Shīʿī groups who espoused beliefs rejected by the mainstream Muslim community, though the definition of the term appears fluid over time.[374] The name Tʿuṙabi renders the Arabic *turābī*, a more generic pejorative term for an ʿAlid group derived from the *kunya* Abū Turāb, or "father of mud," referring to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[375] The joint term "Sabartʿuṙabi" likely renders what Ibn Aʿtham calls "this vile band of Sabaʾī-Turābīs" (هذه العصبة الرديئة السبئية الترابية), used in reference to the Shīʿī supporters of the rebel Mukhtār al-Thaqafī (d. 67/686–87).[376] The term *turābī* also appears linked to the *nisba* Sabaʾī elsewhere, referring to the Shīʿa who refused to accept Muʿāwiya as caliph. In 51/671–72, Ṭabarī has Ziyād b. Abīhi write to complain: "Verily, devils from these Turābiyya, Sabāʾiyya—their leader is Ḥujr b. ʿAdī—have defied the Commander of the Faithful, split from the united community of Muslims, and declared war against us" (ان طواغيت من هذه الترابيّة السبائيّة رأسهم حجر بن عدىّ

371 On the Kūziyya, see Lewinstein, "Notes." The authors would like to thank Antoine Borrut for bringing this reference to their attention. See also Lewinstein, "Notes," 596 n. 108; Khalidi, "Muʿtazilī Historiography."

372 Łewond, *Histoire*, 57.

373 Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text," 295 n. 46; Łewond, *Discours historique*, 391 n. 42.

374 On the uses of the term in the Umayyad period, see chapter 7 of Anthony, *Caliph and Heretic*.

375 Kohlberg, "Abū Turāb," esp. 350 for the use of the name after his death. For a contextual reading of the nickname Abū Turāb, see Husayn, "Rehabilitation of ʿAlī."

376 Anthony, *Caliph and Heretic*, 284 n. 145; Haider, *Rebel and Imām*, 51. Note that Ibn Aʿtham, in *Futūḥ*, 5/6:279, switches Sabaʾī to السيئة, but we follow here the alternative Hyderabad edition of Ibn Aʿtham's *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, 6:133.

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خالفوا امير المؤمنين وفارقوا جماعة المسلمين ونصبوا لنا الحرب).[377] In other words, the Arabic equivalent of the name Sabaitʿuṙabi, which combines two designators to refer to Shīʿī heretics with anti-Umayyad political aspirations, is attested in Arabic historical accounts. These passages gloss the term *sabaʾī* to clarify to the reader that it refers to *turābīs*, that is, an ʿAlid group the authors wish to denigrate.

The identification of the next two sects is uncontested. The Kntri are probably the Qadariyya (fl. from the first/seventh century on), who believed in free will. The Murǰi are undoubtedly the Murjiʾa (fl. from the first/seventh century on), so called because they withheld judgment about the beliefs of others. The next sect, Basli, is possibly a Muʿtazilī group that followed Wāṣil b. ʿAtāʾ (d. 131/748–49). However, other interpretations are also possible—notably based on the name's similarity to that of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), a celebrated theologian whose work provided much impetus for later developments in Ṣūfī thought. Without additional information on the Basli, it may not be possible to determine their identity with any conviction.

The identification of the next sect, accused of denying the existence of God, the resurrection, and the sayings of the prophet, has provoked some debate. Chahnazarian identified "the godless J̌di" as followers of Jāḥiẓ, famous for his works of *adab* and his Muʿtazilī theology.[378] Jeffery attempted to support this identification through an appeal to logic: "The thoroughgoing philosophical scepticism of Jāḥiẓ, and his clever mockery of much that the orthodox taught both about Allah and the hereafter, may well have sounded like a denial of both."[379] Such an interpretation of the J̌di would suggest a third/ninth-century date for this text, given that Jāḥiẓ died in 255/868. In an appropriately caustic footnote, however, P. Crone and M. Cook remind scholars that "the 'Jāḥiẓiyya' are an invention of the modern translators."[380] Recently, Armenologists have offered another possible explanation for the "godless J̌di." Mahé, following Ter-Łevondyan, suggests that they are the followers of Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/746).[381] Yet given the form of the name J̌di (with a *d*, but without an *h* or an *m*), it seems rather more likely that the "godless J̌di" refers to Jaʿdiyya, the followers of Jaʿd b. Dirham. Jaʿd was put to death for heresy sometime between 105/724 and 120/738. He appears in some sources as a mentor to Jahm b. Ṣafwān and in others as a tutor to the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad. Jaʿd seems to have espoused views that challenged anthropomorphism, as he was accused of denying the attributes of God, challenging the close relationship between God and His prophets (namely, that Abraham was a "friend" of God or that Moses spoke to God), and questioning whether the Qurʾān could be the word of God.[382] Other sources cite his denial of the resurrection,[383] just as the author of Leo's letter claims. That said, the accusations of heresy leveled against Jaʿd are at times contradictory, such that Jaʿd appears as a catch-all for Umayyad-era heretical notions.[384]

377 Anthony, *Caliph and Heretic*, 252; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:136.

378 Łewond, *Histoire*, 58 n. 3.

379 Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text," 296 n. 46.

380 Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 163 n. 26.

381 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 391 n. 47.

382 Hawting, "Case of Jaʿd b. Dirham."

383 Vajda, "Ibn Dirham"; Judd, "Muslim Persecution," 8–9.

384 Judd, "Jaʿd b. Dirham"; Vajda, "Les zindîqs," 179–81.

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The final sect mentioned in Leo's letter is the Hariwri, which renders the Arabic Ḥarūriyya via the Greek Ἀρουρῖται. The name Ḥarūriyya derives from toponym of Ḥarūra, located near Kūfa. When ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib agreed to mediation with the Umayyads at the battle of Ṣiffīn in 37/657, the Khārijites broke away from his forces in protest and gathered in the town of Ḥarūra. The Khārijites were remembered as an extremely destructive force throughout the Umayyad period.[385] The author claims that one group of Khārijites "consider killing you to be the best [form of] righteousness" (զմեռանելն ի ձէնջ առաջին *ամենայն* բարէգործութեան հասարին) [45v]. *Istiʿrāḍ*, which broadly means "slaughter," also served as a technical term for the murder of non-Khārijite Muslims that was deemed licit by certain Khārijite sects such as the Azāriqa.[386]

The sects mentioned in Łewond's version therefore cannot substantiate an argument for a late date, as they are all consistent with the claim of Umayyad-era authorship.

VII.D.2. The Groups within Christianity

In the passage designed to reveal the divisions within Islam, the author of Leo's letter also explains and rejects the Muslim belief that there were seventy-two sects of Christianity: "Then you said that after the disciples of the Lord we divided into seventy-two groups. It is not so" (Իսկ որ ասացեր յետ աշակերտացն Տեառն յեւթանասուն և յերկուս բաժանեալ մեզ մասունս. չէ այդպէս) [45r].[387] The Aljamiado version of ʿUmar's letter to Leo includes this accusation: "You [Christians] went away from Jesus and the apostles regarding seventy-two beliefs through lying against them" ("Y partiestes vos depués de ʿĪsā y de los apóstoles de setanta y dos cre<ye>ncias por esmentimiento a ellos").[388]

With its focus on the number of sects within Christianity, this section demonstrates the author's familiarity with a famous *ḥadīth*. Recorded in the *ḥadīth* collections of Ibn Mājah, Abū Dāʾūd, Tirmidhī, and Nasāʾī, the *ḥadīth al-tafriqa* (the *ḥadīth* of divisions) has the Prophet Muḥammad explain:

> The Jews divided into seventy-one sects and a single one is in heaven, while seventy are in hell. The Christians divided into seventy-two sects and seventy-one are in hell, while a single one is in heaven. And as for that which was under the authority of Muḥammad himself: indeed, my community will divide into seventy-three sects and a single one is in heaven, while seventy-two are in hell. They said: O messenger of God, who are they? He responded: the collective community.

افْتَرَقَت الْيَهُودُ عَلَى إِحْدَى وَسَبْعِينَ فِرْقَةً فَوَاحِدَةٌ فِي الْجَنَّة وَسَبْعُونَ فِي النَّار وَافْتَرَقَت النَّصَارَى عَلَى ثِنْتَيْنِ وَسَبْعِينَ فِرْقَةً فَإِحْدَى وَسَبْعُونَ فِي النَّار وَوَاحِدَةٌ فِي الْجَنَّةَ وَالَّذِي نَفْسُ مُحَمَّدٍ بِيَدِه لَتَفْتَرِقَنَّ أُمَّتِي عَلَى ثَلَاثٍ وَسَبْعِينَ فِرْقَةً فَوَاحِدَةٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَثِنْتَانِ وَسَبْعُونَ فِي النَّارِ. قِيلَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ مَنْ هُمْ قَالَ الْجَمَاعَةُ.[389]

385 On the Khārijites in general, see Hagemann, "History and Memory"; *Kharijites*; Thomson, *Khārijitism and the Khārijites*.

386 Daftary, "Diversity in Islam," 140; Pellat, "Istiʿrāḍ."

387 On fol. 46v, the number changes from seventy-two groups of Christians to seventy-five. This change likely derives from a scribal error in Greek. The text may have read OB (72), but the copyist or translator read it as OE (75).

388 See Burman et al., *A Connecting Polemic*, Aljamiado, A10r–v.

389 Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 3:414 no. 3992.

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This version of the *ḥadīth al-tafriqa* reflects an explicitly Sunnī perspective, as the Prophet Muḥammad reportedly acknowledged the righteous stance of *al-jamāʿa*, a phrase that evokes the name *ahl al-sunna wa-l-jamāʿa* (i.e., Sunnī Muslims).[390] However, the author of Leo's letter demonstrates no familiarity with the *ḥadīth*'s claims about Islam and focuses instead on the perceived challenge against Christianity.

The author of Leo's letter responds that the seventy-two groups represent not differences in belief, but differences of language. He points out that Muslims were "a single people with a single language and a single leader who is at once a prince, a hierarch, and a chief executioner" (մի ազգ էք. մի լեզու. մի ազգապետ, նոյն և իշխան. և քահանայապետ. և դահճապետ) [45v], whereas Christianity has spread among many peoples and in many languages. This rationale—that there were seventy-two peoples, not seventy-two beliefs—likely underpins the back-formed letter from ʿUmar to Leo, where the groups appear as "tribes" (ցեղս) [33r] instead of the "groups" (մասունս) [45r] found in Leo's letter to ʿUmar. Any differences among Christians, the author claims, derive from mere problems in translation, but the Christian community is unified through the rite of baptism. Moreover, the author avers, the promulgation of the Christian scriptures in a number of languages actually proves that Christians have not tampered with them (as, he claims, Muslims have corrupted the Qurʾān), since they all preserve the same text.

The author's reading of "groups" as languages rather than as religious sects may reflect an underlying assumption derived from broader conversations in early Christian circles, given that many sources assert that the world contains either seventy-two peoples or seventy-two languages on the basis of interpretations of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 10 and the disciples of Christ in Luke 10.[391] However, the author of Leo's letter does not explicitly allude to these interpretations and, in fact, does not admit the interpretive importance of the number seventy-two at all. Instead, he simply denies that Christians had divided into seventy-two groups and justifies differences within Christianity as rooted in the diversity of languages.

The author of Leo's letter presents a list of some of the languages into which the Christian scriptures have been rendered: "first, [the language] of us Greeks; second, [that] of the Romans; third, [that] of the Badałians; fifth, [that] of the Syrians; sixth, [that] of the Ethiopians; seventh, [that] of the Indians; eighth, [that] of you Saracens; ninth, [that] of the Persians; tenth, [that] of the Armenians; eleventh, [that] of the Georgians; twelfth, [that] of the Albanians" (Առաջին մեր Հունացս. երկրորդ Հռոմաեցոց. Երրորդն Բադաղացոց. հինգերորդն Ասորոցն. վեցերորդն. Եթիովպացոցն. եւթներորդն՝ Հնդկացն. ութերորդն. ձեր Սառակինոսացդ. ինեներորդն՝ Պարսիցն. տասներորդն. Հայոցն. մետասաներորդն. Վրացն. երկոյտասաներորդն. Աղուանից) [46v–47r]. In claiming Greek as the language of the author and Arabic as the language "of you Saracens," this passage reflects the claim that the letter was written by the Roman emperor to the Umayyad caliph.

The third and fourth groups on this list present difficulties. Our edition is based on M1902, the oldest extant manuscript, from which all other manuscripts derive. This manuscript identifies the third group as the Badałians and omits the fourth group entirely. Other manuscripts amend the list to make sense of the two groups. Several later manuscripts,

390 Mottahedeh, "Pluralism."

391 Major, "Seventy-Two."

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printed editions, and translations list Hebrew (Եբրայեցւոցն) as the third language and Chaldean (Քաղդէացւոցն) as the fourth. Chahnazarian, by contrast, retains the original Badałians for the third language, identifying it as a dead language formerly spoken on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. He cites a synaxarion published by Brosset, which describes the martyrdom of a Georgian family named either the Badelians or the Badelelians.[392] However, the Badelian family would be an unusual explanation of this passage for three reasons. First, it would separate the family from the rest of the Georgians, given that the Georgian language also appears on the list. Second, it would compare a single obscure family (absent from *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba*) to the likes of the Romans, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Indians. And third, it would suggest that this particular family circulated the scriptures in its own language.

The thirteenth-century historian and geographer Vardan Arewelcʿi (d. 1271 CE) may help us resolve this issue. He wrote his *Historical Compilation* around 1268 CE, before the earliest manuscript evidence for Łewond's text. He included this passage in his history, though in a slightly different form. Instead of Badałians (Բաղաղացւոց), his text lists the Babylonians (Բաբելացւոց), followed by the Egyptians: "At that time ʿUmar wrote to Emperor Leo on many topics, including this: 'We have heard that the Christians are divided into seventy-two [groups].' He replied that there are twelve: 'Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians, Syrians, Armenians, Saracens, Persians, Ałuankʿ, Georgians'" (Յայնմ ժամանակի գրեաց Ումար առ Լևոն կայսր շատ ինչ բանս, և զայն ևս, թէ լուեալ է մեր թէ եօթանասուն և երկու բաժին են քրիստոնեայք: Նա գրեաց պատասխանի թէ երկոտասան են . Յոյնք, Հռոմք, Բաբելացիք, Եգիպտացիք, Եթէովպացիք, Հնդիկք, Ասորիք, Հայք, Սարակինոսք, Պարսք, Աղուանք, Վիրք).[393] As Vardan wrote his history before M1902 was created, he had recourse to an earlier manuscript. Given that M1902 is clearly corrupt at this juncture—with the third language unintelligible and the fourth missing entirely—and Vardan's version is entirely plausible, the latter may preserve the original reading.

392 Brosset, *Chronique géorgienne*, 108–9.

393 Arewelcʿi, "Historical Compilation," 180; *Hawakʿumn patmutʿean*, 73.

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VIII The Caliphate of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik

r. AH 101–5/720–24 CE

Łewond's eighth chapter tells us nothing specific about Armenia during the reign of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, nor does he mention the many disruptions that fill the pages of Arabic histories about this period. Instead, his short account is fixated on the iconoclastic policies of the caliph, who ordered the destruction of images, the slaughter of pigs, and the breaking of crosses. Instead of placing Yazīd's edicts into a broader context of the destruction of all images, Łewond asserts that they specifically targeted Christians. He also attributes the policies to demonic possession of the caliph. Although the tenor of his descriptions of Yazīd's policies and demons overlaps with other Christian sources, Łewond's specific combination of details has no direct parallels.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

20. Then after him [ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz], a certain Yazīd ruled for six years. He was a wicked man and moved by fury. He fought the Christian peoples with great cruelty, for he was led by demonic violence. He ordered that the icons portraying the true incarnation of our Lord and Savior and His disciples be crushed and broken. He also broke the sign of the dominical cross of Christ, which was erected everywhere in the name [of Christ] for the purpose of worshipping the consubstantial Trinity, [73r] for demonic perversion greatly pressed him to be obstinate and to rise up against the stable rock. He was not able to do any damage to the rock, but he himself was crushed by the rock.[1]

And having reached the pinnacle of his perversion, he ordered the slaughter of pigs and wiped out a multitude of the unclean animals—grazing pigs—from the earth, for again demonic perversion perverted and transformed his mind to this [end]. As [this] came to completion, his death grew near. Thus he was strangled to death by the violence of the demon. He received worthy judgment from the Lord of all, and in this way he was bitterly murdered.

Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r.720–24): Umayyad caliph whose reign included rebellion in Iraq, campaigns along the Khazar frontier, and iconoclasm. Łewond here associates him with iconoclasm.

Six years: in fact, Yazīd's rule lasted approximately one month short of four years.

Icons: see reading note on 65v.

The rock: Christ.

Slaughter of pigs: the fate of pigs is a common indicator of Muslim-Christian conflict, since it was licit for Christians (but not Muslims) to eat and sell pigs. The slaughter of pigs suggests that Muslim authorities were restricting the lifestyles and livelihoods of Christian communities in the Caliphate.

Yazīd's death: Yazīd was not actually murdered, but several Christian sources claim supernatural causes for his death. The authors of these sources create a direct link between his anti-Christian policies and his death.

1 Cf. Matthew 21:42–44, citing Psalm 117:21(118:22). However, note that the wording is very different.

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ARMENIAN EDITION

ի[2] Իսկ ապա յետ նորա. Յեզկիրտ ոմն տիրեալ ամս: *վեց.* որ էր այր ժանտ և մոլեկանութ*եամ*ք[3] շարժեցեալ. բազում չարեաւք մարտընչէր ընդ ազգիս Քրիստոնէից. քանզի յածեալ յայսոյն բռնութենէ. տայր հրաման փշրել և խորտակել զկենդանագրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութե*ան*ն Տ*եառ*ն[4] մերոյ և փրկչին և նորին աշակերտացն.[5] խորտակէր և զնշան տերունեան խաչին Ք*րիստոս*ի. զոր ուրեք ուրեք կանգնեալ էին յանուն և ի պատճառ երկրպագութե*ան* համագոյ երրորդ[73r]ութե*ան*ն. քանզի յոյժ ստիպէր զնա մոլորութի*ւն* այսոյն. ուս դնել և համբառնալ ընդ վիմին հաստատնոյ. վիմին ինչ ոչ կարէր ստնանել. բայց ինքն առ վիմին խորտակեցաւ.

Եւ ի գլուխ մոլորութե*ան*ն հասեալ. տայր հրաման խոզասպանութե*ան* և ջնջէր յերկրէ զբազմութի*ւն* անս*ուրբ* անասնոցն արաւտական խոզիցն. զի դարձեալ յայս շրջեալ փոխեաց զմիտս նորա մոլորութի*ւն* այսոյն. և ի կատարումն եկեալ մերձենայր վախճան նորա. եւ այնպէս խեղդամահ սատակեր ի բռնութենէ այսոյն. զարժանաւորն ընկալեալ զդատաստան ի բոլորեցունն Տ*եառն*է. և այսպէս դառնութ*եամ*ք սատակեր ի կենացն:

COMMENTARY

VIII.A. YAZĪD'S ICONOCLASM AND ANTI-CHRISTIAN ACTIVITIES

Unlike Christian sources, most Arabic-Islamic sources (e.g., Yaʿqūbī, Ṭabarī, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, Ibn Aʿtham) do not mention Yazīd's iconoclasm or refer to any anti-Christian activity on his part;[6] instead, they are primarily preoccupied with the rebellion of the Banū Muhallab and Jarrāḥ's campaign against the Khazars, neither of which appear associated with Yazīd in Łewond's text. Łewond, by contrast, is nearly exclusively concerned with iconoclasm in this period. His assertions depart from the attestations of these policies in other Christian sources and interprets a broader iconoclastic policy as explicitly anti-Christian.

VIII.A.1. Łewond's Charges against the Caliph in Context

The variations in accusations and descriptions of Yazīd's iconoclast decree likely indicate that it was interpreted in various ways across the Caliphate. Three distinct sets of traditions can be identified. Texts from the Roman Empire blame a Jewish magician for influencing Yazīd, whereas those from Umayyad Egypt focus on the destruction of statues in a bathhouse. Syriac sources, meanwhile, either describe the various physical locations of the images (walls, books, shrines, churches, homes)[7] or enumerate the wide array of media destroyed (wood, ivory, paint, statue, stone, bronze).[8] Łewond's description does not match

2 Ի in lft. mg.

3 մոլեկանութեամբ] մոլեկանանութեամբ a.r.

4 Տ*եառ*ն] suprascr.

5 Աշակերտացն] -տ- suprascr., աշակերմաց a.c.

6 Sahner, "First Iconoclasm," 16. Sahner points out the exception: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr.*

7 These include Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle to 1234*, and *Chronicle of Zuqnin.*

8 These include *Chronicle of 819* and *Chronicle of 846.*

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any of these threads, nor does it include corollary charges levied against Yazīd in other sources (e.g., the levying of taxes that ʿUmar had abolished or changing the laws permitting certain witnesses at court).

Łewond's account of Yazīd's iconoclasm is distinctive in several ways. First, he pairs the destruction of images with the breaking of the cross. This combination appears in only one other source, the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: "He ordered the breaking of crosses everywhere and the scraping off of the images that are in churches" (امر بكسر الصلبان في كل مكان وكشط الصور الذي في البيع).[9] Second, Łewond claims that Yazīd's edict also called for the slaughter of pigs. This was a common motif used in medieval sources to bemoan the conditions of Christians living under Muslim rule by suggesting that Muslim dietary laws restricted Christian lifestyles and economy. This complaint, like the criticism of iconoclasm, also resonated with broader Christian biases about Jewish influence over Muslim persecutions of Christians. However, the only other source to pair iconoclasm with the slaughter of animals (although not of pigs specifically) during Yazīd's reign, in particular, is the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*:

> The year one thousand and thirty-five: Yazid ordered that all images be destroyed wherever they were found, whether in a shrine, church or house. Thus people among his agents went out and destroyed all images wherever they were found. The year one thousand and thirty-six: The same Yazid also ordered that white dogs, white pigeons and white cocks be killed. Thus a swift order was issued and dumb animals that had done no wrong were destroyed, causing stench in the streets of the cities and villages.[10]

ܐܡܪ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܘܢ ܡܬܩܛܠܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܬܟܚܫ ܗܘ

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AG 1015/692–93 CE, during the reign of Yazīd's father ʿAbd al-Malik.[14] One of these authors—Michael the Syrian—pairs the slaughter of pigs with the dismantling of crosses: "ʿAbd al-Malik, king of the Arabs, ordered that crosses should be taken down and pigs should be killed" (ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܛܝܝܐܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܕܢܬܪܡܘܢ ܨܠܒܐ ܘܢܩܛܠܘܢ ܚܙܝܪܐ).[15] The references to ʿAbd al-Malik are therefore the closest in content to Łewond's comments about Yazīd, though it is worth noting that several Umayyad caliphs enacted laws restricting Christian practices. Yazīd's immediate predecessor, ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, is frequently (though not without contention) associated with legal restrictions against non-Muslims, the so-called *shurūṭ ʿUmar*.[16] Accusations of restrictions on religious practices (the destruction of the cross or the slaughter of pigs) were recurrent and relatively common catch-all complaints. Although Łewond's precise combination of charges against Yazīd is not found elsewhere, it draws on established norms and serves to disparage caliphal policy as anti-Christian.

VIII.A.2. Yazīd's Iconoclasm as Anti-Christian Policy

This short chapter focuses clearly on the anti-Christian bent of caliphal policies: the destruction of images of Jesus and his disciples, the breaking of crosses, and the slaughter of pigs can hardly be interpreted in any other light. Although Łewond does not indicate that the iconoclastic edict had any impact on Armenia itself, his spelling of Yazīd's name in this chapter situates the anti-Christian policies in a way that is specific to Armenian audiences. Earlier, in connection with Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, he spells the name as "Izid," but here he renders Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik as "Yezkirt." This spelling is a veiled reference to the Sasanian emperor Yazdegerd II (r. 439–57 CE), who was famous for attempting to force Armenian Christians to convert to Zoroastrianism. The reports of the subsequent battle of Avarayr (451 CE) are foundational to Armenian historiography, so the reader is easily cued into the comparison. With this spelling, Łewond primes his reader to expect iniquity and anti-Christian violence from Yazīd.

Despite Łewond's overt attempts to cast Yazīd's policies as anti-Christian, other sources instead suggest that his iconoclasm was not geared specifically to restricting the practice of Christianity. As noted above, the examples from Umayyad Egypt attest that the pivotal point was images in nonreligious spaces such as bathhouses, rather than in churches. Some texts suggest that Yazīd targeted images that represented people more generally, as implied by their use of the terms for "likeness" and "representation" (ὁμοίωμα, تماثل). This terminology has led C. Sahner to interpret the edict in light of the *ḥadīth* that prohibits artists from usurping the creative role of God. Such a reading, particularly in conjunction with the accounts of the destruction found in Muslim Arabic texts, opens up the possibility that the images destroyed were not exclusively Christian.[17] Thus, for example, where-

14 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 513; "Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens," 14; Brooks, "Syriac Chronicle," 581; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 189.

15 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:475; 4:447.

16 Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*; Yarbrough, "Origins of the Ghiyār." On the ordinances of ʿUmar in general, see Noth, "Problems of Differentiation."

17 Sahner, "First Iconoclasm," 19–20.

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as several of the Greek sources specifically mention the destruction of Christian images, Nikephoros claims that Yazīd's edict called for the destruction of all images, even if only to conceal his true goal of destroying Christian images specifically.[18]

Indeed, if we take a closer look at Łewond's phrasing here, we find traces of a broader iconoclastic policy. Łewond's account focuses on the destruction of images "portraying the true incarnation of our Lord and Savior and His disciples" (զկենդանագրեալ պատկերս ճշմարիտ մարդեղութեանն տեառն մերոյ և փրկչին և նորին աշակերտացն) [72v]. In describing the images, Łewond employs the word կենդանագրեալ, literally "life-depicting" (from the verb կենդանագրեմ, a calque on ζωγραφέω),[19] which may indicate that his underlying source was concerned precisely with the tension between the creation of images and the usurping of the creative power of God. The possibility that Łewond relied on an iconoclast source aligns with his later description of the use of the cross (rather than an icon of the Virgin Mary) to protect Constantinople from the Umayyad campaigns and with his positive description of Roman emperors who supported iconoclasm (see chapter IX). However, Łewond here mobilizes his source to interpret the broader iconoclastic project as a specific attack on Christian iconography.

VIII.B. YAZĪD'S POSSESSION AND DEATH

Within only a few lines, Łewond refers four separate times to "demonic perversion" (այսոյն մոլորութիւն) and "demonic violence" (այսոյն բռնութիւն) to explain Yazīd's actions. He also asserts that the demon murdered Yazīd: "Thus he was strangled to death by the violence of the demon" (այնպէս խեղդամահ սատակեր ի բռնութենէ այսոյն) [73r]. This claim appears more evocative than factual, given that all Arabic sources claim that Yazīd died of natural causes. The demon connects Yazīd's death to his actions in life and holds him accountable for anti-Christian legislation in a very concrete manner. No other accounts of Yazīd's possession and death are precisely the same as Łewond's, though two evince the same reasoning even if they are set in different contexts.

The closest parallel to Łewond's version is Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ does not explicitly claim demonic possession, but he does explain that Yazīd "traveled the path of Satan and turned away from the paths of God" (سلك في طريق الشيطان وحاد عن طرق الله).[20] After describing the unjust taxes levied on Christians under his reign and the anti-Christian ordinances described above (the breaking of crosses and the effacement of images in churches), Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ also blames Yazīd's death on his actions in life: "The Lord Messiah destroyed him on account of that and took his soul" (السيد المسيح اهلكه لاجل ذلك واخذ نفسه).[21] Like Łewond's version, this account claims supernatural impetus for the natural causes of Yazīd's death. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's assertion might be compared to Łewond's claim that Yazīd "received worthy judgment from the Lord of all, and in this way he was bitterly murdered" (զարժանաւորն ընկալեալ զդատաստան ի բոլորեցունն Տեառնէ. և այսպէս դառնութեամբ սատակեր ի կենացն) [73r].

18 Vasiliev, "Iconoclastic Edict," 31.

19 Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 593.

20 Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Historia Patriarcharum*, 153.

21 Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Historia Patriarcharum*, 153.

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Greek sources, particularly the account of the Second Council of Nicaea (787 CE), also exhibit some similarities. John of Jerusalem recounts that a Jewish magician served as "an instrument of soul-destroying demons" (δαιμόνων ψυχοβλαβῶν ὄργανον; *dæmonum animas lædentium organum*) to sway Yazīd's convictions. He prophesied a long reign if Yazīd would only order the destruction of images across his realm. When Yazīd died only a few years after the promulgation of this edict, his son Walīd had the Jewish magician killed for murdering the caliph.[22] This tradition filters through the Greek narratives about Yazīd's iconoclasm, building on the negative associations of Jews and Muslims in Roman literature. Theophanes's account reflects this tradition: he finishes his description of the Jewish magician with the claim that "by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the intercessions of His chaste Mother and of all the saints, Yazīd died that same year before his satanic constitution had come to the notice of most people" (ἀλλὰ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς ἀφθόρου μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τέθνηκεν Ἰζίδ, οὐδὲ ἀκουσθῆναι φθάσαντος τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῦ σατανικοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος).[23] Like Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, then, the Greek authors project Yazīd's death as a punishment for his actions in life and frame Yazīd's iconoclasm as the product of satanic involvement. However, Łewond's account stands alone in preferring demonic perversion to divine intervention as the underlying cause of Yazīd's death.

22 Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, 197 (Greek), 198 (Latin). See also Vasiliev, "Iconoclastic Edict," 28–29.

23 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 555; *Chronographia*, 402. The part about a Jew predicting Yazīd's forty-year reign is repeated in Arabic, but without reference to iconoclasm; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1464; Sahner, "First Iconoclasm," 12.

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IX The Caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik

r. AH 105–25/724–43 CE

Łewond's ninth chapter covers two main fronts. Much of his account of the reign of Hishām narrates the expansion of the Khazar Khaganate and the subsequent Arab-Khazar wars. However, Łewond also inserts a lengthy description of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's failed campaign against Constantinople. The Umayyad defeat at Constantinople should have been placed in chapter VI, where Łewond instead describes Maslama's campaign against the Caucasus. From Arabic, Greek, and Syriac texts, we know that chapter VI's Caucasian campaign should have been in this chapter. Łewond's flipping of the two storylines is deliberate: he transposes the events of the two reigns so that he can narrate Maslama's career as ruinously unsuccessful. If we were to put the two campaigns back where they belong, chapter IX would be entirely about the Khazar incursions into caliphal territory and the (mostly) successful Arab response; conflict between the generals of the caliphal army is quelled and the governor launches a victorious counterattack with the help of the Bagratunikʿ. In the chapter in its present form, however, the narrative flow is broken. The Khazars invade and the caliphal forces are victorious against them, but they are hampered by infighting. Maslama leaves on an unrelated campaign against Constantinople, which proves disastrous because he is no match for the divinely protected city. We then return to the Caucasian campaigns, now under Marwān b. Muḥammad (the future Umayyad caliph, r. 744–50), to discover that their success is dependent on Bagratuni involvement. In this iteration, the caliphal campaigns appear far less successful, and the Roman and Armenian (and, to a lesser extent, even Khazar) victories drive the storyline.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

21. Shem, who is Hishām, succeeded him [Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik] and ruled for nineteen years. And in the first year of his rule, he came up with a wicked plan. He sent a certain general whose name was Ḥārith to conduct a cadastre of the land of the Armenians in order to intensify [73v] the iron yoke of servitude of taxation by means of manifold evils because he was vexed by the goodness of ʿUmar, as if he had unjustly spent the stores of the treasury that had been amassed for the princes before him [i.e., ʿUmar]. And so much danger came upon this land that everyone sighed over the tumultuous tribulations; [and] there was no place

Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 724–43): Umayyad caliph whose reign is frequently construed as the final golden period of the Umayyad era, followed by decline. The main events of his reign include intensified campaigns against the Khazars, Berber revolts, and tax reform.

Ḥārith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥaraja al-Ṭāʾī: governor of Armenia in 724 and 725. He was a Syrian general who was particularly famous for his success in fighting the Khazars.

Cadastre: documentation about taxable land. The compilation of a cadastre is an indication that caliphal administration became more established in the North at this time.

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to live because of the intolerable dangers. Thereafter, his hand weighed even heavier over this land of Armenia.

22. At that time the rabble from the northern regions was again agitated, since the king of the Khazars, whom they call the khagan, died. When his mother, whose name was Pʿarsbitʿ, saw this, she ordered the general, who was called Tʿarmačʿ, to gather a large force against this land of Armenia. Uniting, they marched out through the land of the Huns, through the Čoray pass, and [74r] through the land of the Mazkʿutʿkʿ. They marauded in the land of Pʿaytakaran; they crossed the Araxes River into the land of the Persians, and they destroyed Artawēt, the capital Ganjak, the district that was called Atʿšibagwan, a certain Spatar Pʿerawz, and Ormizd Pʿerawz. They attacked and destroyed all of the Ishmaelite troops and their general, a certain Jarrāḥ, by the sword. They plundered the district of Zarewand and besieged the fortress called Ampriotik. They left the equipage of the camp and those who had been captured by the sword near the city of Artawēt.

While they were fighting against the fortress of Ampriotik, a regiment from the Ishmaelite forces and their general, whose name was Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī, unexpectedly fell upon their camp with only a few men. He struck and put many to his sword [74v] and released those they had taken captive by their sword. The sad news of the fray immediately reached the [Khazar] troops who were guarding the fortress of Ampriotik. When they heard of the evils that had befallen them, they left the besieged fortress and arrived against the marauder [Ḥarashī] who had come against their camp. These same forces attacked him, and they were soundly beaten. He [Ḥarashī] carried off from them their standard, a bronze image that al-Ḥarashī's regiment still has with it as a token of its ancestors' bravery. And after that the Ishmaelite prince sent his brother Maslama with a large force to aid Ḥarashī's regiment. And when Maslama came and saw that he had not arrived in time for the battle, since Saʿīd had achieved victory, he had some put to death by the sword, [75r] put some to flight, and took away booty and captives. He reproached him [Ḥarashī] with numerous insults and beat him. He wanted to kill him, but he was not able to give the order publicly, for his [Ḥarashī's] tribe would have raised an uproar. He did not dare give in to his own wishes but silently checked his plan and returned to the Ishmaelite prince.

Pʿarsbitʿ: a common Turkish name. An individual with a similar name appears in Arabic sources on the Khazars of this period, but he is male, identified as the "son of the khagan."

Tʿarmač: likely the Turkic word *talmačʿ*, "translator"; the exact identity of this person is unknown.

Mazkʿutʿkʿ: a people whose identity remains debated among scholars; various Indo-European, Caucasian, and Turkic peoples have been suggested, but the Mazkʿutʿkʿ lived along the western shores of the Caspian Sea.

Artawēt: Łewond supplies the earliest mention in Armenian of Artawēt, an important city in Azerbaijan (map 7). It is known today as Ardabīl, in the modern Republic of Iran.

Ganjak: known as Shīz in modern Iran, this city is to be differentiated from the city of Janza/Ganjak in Caucasian Albania, now in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Districts of the Persians: the districts listed here retained Zoroastrian names. They are all in the modern Republic of Iran, along the coast of the Caspian Sea. See map 7.

Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī: governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan from 722–23 to 725–26 and again from 729–30. He was a Syrian general who had previously served in Baṣra, Khurāsān, and Sijistān.

Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Aswād al-Ḥarashī: governor of Armenia from 730–31 to 731–32. He was a Qaysī general from Qinnasrīn who had previously served in Baṣra and Khurāsān.

The Ishmaelite prince: the caliph Hishām.

Maslama: the famous Umayyad general and brother of Caliph Hishām; on him, see chapter VI.

Ḥarashī's tribe: the Banū Qays, one of the main tribal blocs. The Umayyads relied heavily on the Banū Qays in their wars of expansion and in their governance. In general, Maslama maintained a very good relationship with the bloc.

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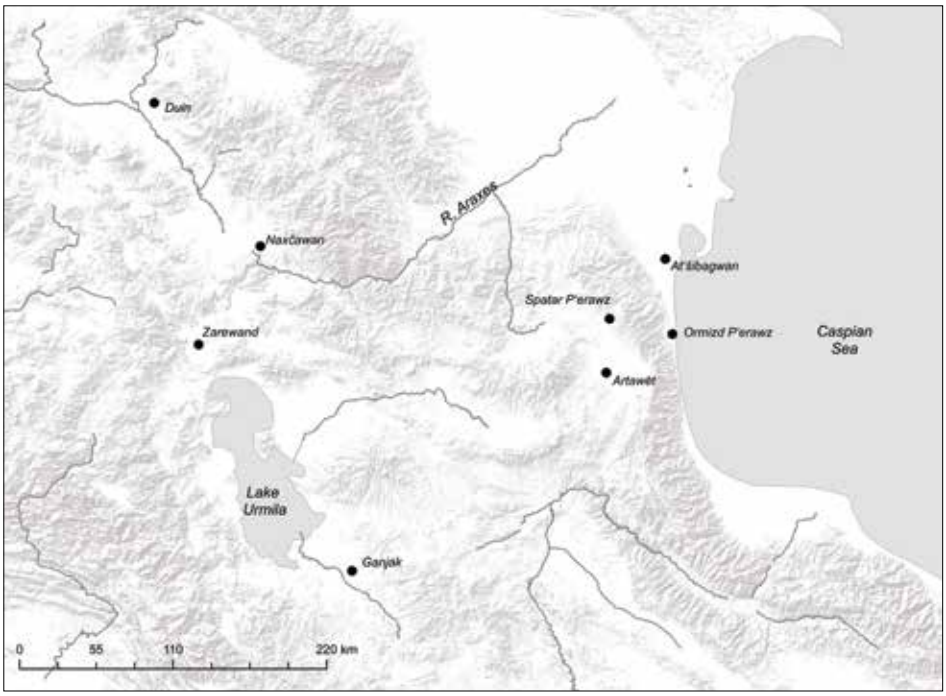

Map 7. Khazar raids during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

23. And after this, he [the caliph] started to insult the king of the Greeks and sent an envoy to Leo, the emperor of the Romans, to come to him and submit to taxation. And when the emperor Leo would not entertain the matter of the message that was sent, he [the caliph] became enraged and sent his brother Maslama with a great force against the land of the Greeks. He took a multitude of forces and crossed through Cilicia of the Syrians, to the *mesogaion* land, which they translate as the "midlands." He went [75v] and arrived in the land of Bithynia and camped on the shore of a powerful river, which is called the Sagaris. Then the Greek troops prepared and transferred the inhabitants of the land to the fortresses and fortified cities on account of the Ishmaelites. They themselves camped across from them on the other side of the river, fortifying their camp by encircling it with a ditch. In this way they sat and watched for a considerable time.

Then, day after day, many warnings arrived from King Leo for the Greek general, lest he be trapped in his [Maslama's] trap through deception. Instead, he should only remain and guard them without warring. But he was not attentive as the emperor ordered, because the Ishmaelite general announced that his troops would launch raids

Maslama's campaign: this infamous campaign lasted from 716 to 718. Łewond flipped Maslama's campaigns; according to actual chronology, this campaign should be included in chapter VI and the Caucasian campaigns should be here.

Mesogaion: a Greek toponym, correctly translated as "midlands" in the text. The Anatolian interior is intended.

Sagaris: the Classical Sangarios River (see map 8), the modern Sakarya River in Turkey.

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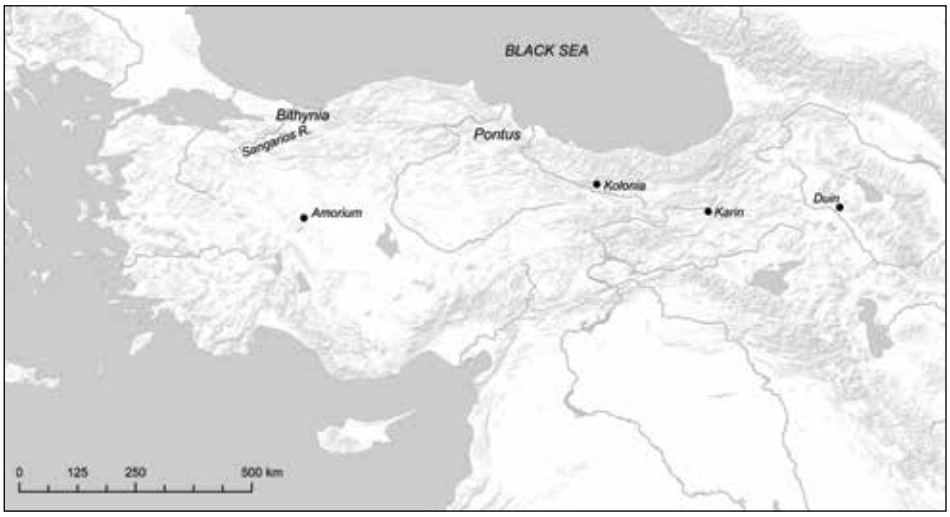

Map 8. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malikʾs campaign toward Constantinople.

through every region to take booty and [76r] many captives and [then] return to their land. The Greek general heard this and ordered his forces to follow them warily. When they went out after the Ishmaelite force, they [the Arabs] immediately saw and felt their coming up behind them, for a haze of dust collected over them. They set aside the equipage of their camp and, dividing their troops into three regiments, set up an ambush then and there, while Maslama himself and some part of his forces arrayed against them. But they [the Greeks] attacked them unprepared with the equipage of their camp and fell among the enemy. The ambushers rose out of hiding, surrounded [them], and put many of the Greek forces to death by the sword. They spread their raids to those regions and took districts and cities [76v] of that land. It is said that the number of captives was more than eighty thousand men. They [the Muslim forces] returned to their land with great joy. The great Ishmaelite prince saw the victory and rejoiced greatly along with his *naxarark*ʿ. He bestowed many honors on his brother, and on his [brother's] arrival he blessed the victory that he had secured. He distributed the booty to the troops and purchased the captives as servants and maids. At ease, he ceased [warring] in that same [year].

Ambush: comparisons with other texts in Syriac, Arabic, and Greek indicate that this passage refers to Maslama's capture of the city of Tyana in 707, although it is not in Bithynia (map 8).

***Naxarark*ʿ**: note the use of the Armenian term *naxarark*ʿ to refer to nobles at the caliphal court.

24. But the next year he again assembled a force larger than the first one. He gave it into the hands of the general Maslama and sent it to the land of the Greeks. He [Maslama] swore an oath to his brother not to return to him until he had completed his wishes. This was the oath

The next year: it is not clear what year Łewond means here because this whole passage is out of place. The campaign against Constantinople began in 716, so he may intend the year after Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to power.

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Figure 11. The sixth-century Hagia Sophia, in modern Istanbul.
Photo by Adli Wahid from Wikimedia Commons (CC BY 4.0).

that he took: to capture the kingdom and to demolish the city called Constantinople, [77r] as well as the exquisite foundation of Hagia Sophia, which was built by supernal wisdom as a house of God on earth, [and] to turn it into a place of worship of filthy idolatry. Affirming all of this in his heart, he marched forth with many troops and arrived in the land of the Greeks. He camped on the shore of the Pontus Sea with his entire equipage. He was immediately defiant toward King Leo. He sent an envoy and wrote to him a contemptuous edict in which there was much derision in the following manner:

Hagia Sophia: the cathedral of the imperial capital of Constantinople and the seat of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the highest ecclesiastical rank of the Greek imperial Church (fig. 11). It was built by the Roman emperor Justinian in 537 CE.

Pontus Sea: the Black Sea.

> What is [the nature of] your obstinacy in which you take refuge [that] you do not submit to paying taxes to us, for all peoples tremble in fear of us? In whom do you take refuge that you harden against us in this way? Perhaps you did not hear about all of the evil things that we have brought upon all of the kingdoms that turned against our authority, which we smashed and crushed like clay pots.[1] All [77v] of the riches

1 "Smashed and crushed like clay pots," խորտակեալ փշրեցաք իբրև զանաւթ խեցեղէն: the language here is reminiscent of Jeremiah 19:11 and Psalm 2:9. Overall, Maslama's opening words resemble in intent those of the Assyrian general Rabshakeh in 4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 19:10 and Isaiah 37:10.

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> of the earth have become ours through the order of the Lord, and [His] promise to our father Ishmael has been brought to fulfillment: we vanquished and defeated all of the kingdoms. Or even if you did not see that, how much danger has come over your land in the days of your rule? For I destroyed many cities with my own hand and I killed many of your troops with my sword. But now let it be known to you that if you do not pay tribute to me, I have sworn an oath that I will not see the land of my birth until I raze your kingdom and destroy the fortification of your walled city in which you have placed your hopes. I will make what you call Sophia, which is your house of worship, into a bathhouse for my troops. I will smash and crush the wood of your cross that you worship on your head. For the aid and boast of our faith [78r] are great before God.

Defeat of all of the kingdoms: Maslama is drawing on an argument that appears in many guises in medieval literature—namely, that the success of an army indicates divine approval and, possibly, the promise of continued success. Compare this to the letter of Muḥammad b. Marwān to the Chinese emperor in chapter V. Similar claims appear in the Hebrew Scriptures.

He sent this and even more wicked reproaches to the emperor Leo.

When he [Leo] read the contemptuous letter, he immediately ordered the patriarch with the senate and the people of the city not to cease the sound of the glorification of Hagia Sophia for three days. And the entire city raised a commotion[2] in the place of worship, per the order of the king. Then the king himself also got up and arrived at the holy site of expiation. He took the letter of reproaches in hand and spread it before the Lord in imitation of Hezekiah,[3] recalling the solicitous forgiveness of our Savior, who reserved mercy for His loved ones from the beginning. In tears, he beseeched the God of all to help achieve vengeance against the wicked enemy. He also recalled the blame of the iniquitous, saying David's [78v] words: "How wickedly the enemy acted in your place of holiness. The hated ones boasted in the midst of their rejoicing. They attributed victory to themselves and did not recognize the visitation from on high."[4] He poured this and many such things out before the Lord, drawing out the confessions for three days, and he completed his oath of prayers with fasting.

Patriarch of Constantinople: Germanus I (sed. 715–30).

Senate: an advisory body for the Roman emperor that served a largely ceremonial function.

Hezekiah: king of Judah in the seventh century BCE whose rule is described in the Hebrew Scriptures. When Assyrians threatened to take Jerusalem, they sent a similar message boasting of their victories. Łewond compares Leo to Hezekiah, implying that Leo, too, will save his city.

2 "The entire city raised a commotion," դղորդեցաւ ամենայն քաղաքն: cf. Matthew 21:10 in reference to the entry of Christ into Jerusalem.

3 Cf. 4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 19:14.

4 Psalm 73:3–5(74:3–4); the citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

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25. After this, he wrote an edict to Maslama, the Ishmaelite general, in the following manner:

> Why did you boast about your great impiety in wickedness? You sharpened deception like a razor.[5] Having rebelled, you bragged before the Omnipotent; you contemplated malice in the heavens against Christ our Savior and His sustaining throne. Therefore, you hope for His mercy, which you insulted, that He might reward you for your wickedness. And may the Lord quiet your filthy mouth that you opened against [79r] the King of kings and against this, His city, and against the temple for the glory of His name, and against me, for I am the guardian of Christ's throne, according to the curse of the prophet David that "the mouths of those who speak iniquity shall be shut."[6] But we do not boast in our bow and we do not live by our sword; rather, the right hand and arm of the Lord and the protecting power of the light of His countenance[7] can smash those who boast of their presumptuousness like you do. It never came to [your] mind that the blood of those whom your sword slaughtered and [of those who] were captured from my land will be demanded of you. For it was not on account of the righteousness of your deeds but rather for our iniquities that "He allowed the rod of the sinners to reduce the allotment of the righteous,"[8] so that we might accept the measure of our weakness and admonish [ourselves] to live according to the pleasing wishes of the Creator. But you should not tempt the Lord our God, for He can [79v] consign you with all your multitudes to the depths of your sea [and] agitate the waters of your sea like he consigned the hard-hearted Pharaoh to the depths of the Red Sea. For it was the rod of Moses that He used to turn the waters over the Egyptian army and condemn [them] to destruction in the deep.[9] And that rod was a type of the omnipotent sign of this cross of Christ, which was insulted by you today. But if you should now turn away from me, you will have chosen well

5 "You sharpened deception like a razor," սրեցեր իբրև զաւծելի զնենգութիւն: cf. Psalm 51:4(52:2): "he sharpened deception like a razor," որպէս զաւծելի սուր սրեաց զնենգութիւն.

6 Psalm 62(63):12.

7 Cf. Psalm 43:4, 7(44:3, 6). Note that the same verse is cited in the letter of Leo to ʿUmar on 71v.

8 Cf. Psalm 124(125):3.

9 Cf. Exodus 14:28.

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> for yourself and for your troops. Otherwise, do whatever you have planned immediately,[10] and the Lord will do what is good and pleasing to Him. He will make His own judgment and He will save His people. And He will avert our oppressors from us, with their heads hung in shame.

When the Ishmaelite general read this edict, his anger was provoked even more. He raged ferociously[11] and rose up to make war [80r] against the solid rock, so that he became ensnared in his own trap, as he deserved, for his heart was hardened by the Lord.[12] And he ordered his troops to build ships, and the order was immediately carried out because he had been preparing [to build] ships for many days. They boarded the ships at once with all their equipage, [and] he approached the city. When the emperor Leo saw the multitude of troops, like a forest on the sea, he ordered a wall to be built, furnished with iron grates, and the chainmail gate to the fortress to be closed. He did not allow anyone to battle against the enemy, because he was waiting for a visitation from above and vengeance in accordance with his deeds. And then he ordered the patriarch along with the senate and the multitude of the city to take with them as a comrade-in-arms in perfect and ardent faith the invincible and luminous [80v] sign of the cross of Christ. And the king himself, with the entire crowd, carried the invincible [sign of] victory on his shoulders. The people raised up the sound of glorification and the sweet odor of incense, carrying brilliant candles and torches in the front and back [of the procession] in honor of the victorious and venerable cross. They opened the gate of the city, and the entire crowd went out, lifting up the sign of the cross over the water and saying, "Help us, Christ, Son of God and Savior of the world." He [the emperor] sent up this phrase three times to the heavens and struck the water of the sea with the sign of the cross, marking[13] the outline of the cross over [it]. The depths of the sea were immediately agitated by the

Ferociously: literally, "like a wild beast." Łewond here (and elsewhere) builds on tropes relating non-Christians to beasts through their shared inability to reason.

Chainmail gate: this is the first reference to the famous defensive chain at Constantinople, which prevented ships from traveling down the Golden Horn and thus left attackers to face the city walls from the sea.

Cross of Christ: other sources attribute the Greek victory to the power of an icon of the Virgin Mary rather than to the cross. This is likely indicative of the iconoclastic proclivities of Łewond's source.

10 "Do whatever you have planned immediately," զոր ինչ ստիպիսդ ի խոր<հ>ն<ւ>րդ քո արա վաղվաղակի: the expression is evocative of contemporary martyrologies; cf. "Vkayabanutʿiwn Srboyn Dawtʿi," 92.

11 "Ferociously," զազանաբար, lit. "like a wild beast."

12 Cf. Exodus 9:12, 10:20, 10:27, 11:10, 14:8.

13 "Marking": the verb դրոշմեմ also denotes "sealing," as in the rites of baptism and chrismation.

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power of the holy cross, which caused its powerful waves to boil over with movement. There were violent shipwrecks and a great wreckage of the Ishmaelite troops, so that [81r] a majority of the forces sank into the waters of the sea and they, like Pharaoh's army, suffered His anger as punishment by sea.[14] It carried and led some part of the remaining force on planks to the other side of the sea to the land of Thrace; it drove and discarded some on distant islands, for the multitude of the forces was more than five hundred thousand men.

Thrace: a Roman province to the north of the Sea of Marmara, in what is today in the European part of Turkey.

26. But he [Leo] did not undertake to cruelly deliver to the sword those who had escaped from the dangerous tribulation to dry land; rather, he ordered to keep them surrounded so they would not be able to go out anywhere to look for food. So a great famine came upon their camp, to the point that they devoured horses and mules. Subsequently, they laid hold of the concubines and the servants to slaughter and eat [them] so that they might stave off their starvation. So then he [Maslama] beseeched the emperor Leo with many entreaties to show him mercy and release [81v] [them] from imprisonment, for few remained from his many [forces]. And King Leo considered that the Lord had exacted vengeance from his enemies. He showed him great mercy and summoned him and criticized him greatly. He also recalled their [i.e., the Muslims'] shameless impudence:

> Why did you really want to attack our land and put my forces to the sword without care and lead away the inhabitants of my cities into captivity? Now, as the Lord lives, you are the son of death and unworthy of life![15] But since the Lord judged my judgment and returned your iniquity back upon you and sought from you the blood of sinless people, I will not put my hands on you and I will not judge you as is fitting. For behold, you are in my hands and I have the power [82r] to kill you or to let you live; but you will not die. Rather, go and tell of the immense powers of God that you saw.

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14 "His anger as punishment by sea," ծովապտիժ բարկութիւն: the expression occurs in *The Teaching of St. Gregory* included in Agatʿangełos, *History of the Armenians*, §296, where God sends the flood of Genesis 6 "in anger as a punishment by sea," ծովապտիժ բարկութեամբ; Agatʿangełos, *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, 154; Thomson, *Teaching of Saint Gregory*, 55.

15 Cf. 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 12:5.

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Maslama answered the emperor and said:

> What can I say about this before you? For truly I am not worthy of life. The crimes that I committed against your land are not few, but you showed great mercy toward me in letting me live. I am witness to my own errors. But because your heart is moved by mercy for me, release me to my place and I will vow to you to never again march out in war.

He [Leo] allowed his request. He [Maslama] prepared and boarded a ship, planning to cross the Mediterranean, and returned to his own land with great shame. Then they [i.e., the people] went out before him in many cities with laments and wailing, striking their foreheads and scattering ashes over [themselves]. He [82v] met them with his head hung in great shame. He was reproached by them with many rebukes, and he did not have anything else to answer but this: "I could not fight against God." And after this, he went to his house and did not carry a sword at his waist until the day he died.

27. At that time, the Ishmaelite prince Hishām sent Marwān b. Muḥammad over the Armenian people to replace Saʿīd, whom they called Ḥarashī. When Marwān arrived in the city of Duin, the *naxararkʿ* of the Armenians met him, and he spoke to them with words of peace. He summoned Ašot the son of Vasak from the Bagratuni house and gave him the rule of the patriciate over this land of Armenia by order of Hishām. He bestowed many honors on him. But the sons of Smbat learned of the honor [bestowed upon] Ašot—that he had become important in the eyes of Hishām [83r] and in the eyes of the general Marwān—and they acted with extreme insubordination toward him, to the point that their discord reached the ears of the son of Muḥammad. He immediately ordered their arrest and sent Grigor and Dawitʿ, who were from the Mamikonean house, to the Ishmaelite prince. He [Marwān b. Muḥammad] wrote an accusation against them, [charging] that they were opponents of Ašot and agitators against his authority. He [Hishām] ordered that they be taken to [the place] called Yemen, which is a desert, and he put them in prison until the end of their lives.

But when Ašot's authority as patrician was established, he went to the prince of the Ishmaelites concerning the tyranny [in] this land, for he [Hishām] had withheld the stipends of the Armenian *naxararkʿ* and their cavalry

Maslama's career: Łewond claims that Maslama did not fight again after his failed attempt on Constantinople, but he in fact served for another two decades and fought in the Arab-Khazar wars until his death in 738.

Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān: the son of Muḥammad b. Marwān, the governor of Armenia mentioned in chapters IV and V. Marwān served as governor of Armenia beginning in either 732 or 733. He is famous for his campaigns in the Caucasus, particularly against the Khazars. He became the last Umayyad caliph (r. 744–50); see chapter XI.

Ašot Bagratuni the son of Vasak: known as "the Blind," this Ašot was the prince of Armenia from 726 or 732 to 748. Note the change in tone regarding Hishām's reign from the appointment of Marwān and Ašot on.

Sons of Smbat: although the name Smbat is typically connected to the Bagratuni house, the sons of Smbat here must refer to Grigor and Dawitʿ Mamikonean (see below). This supposes that their father's name was Smbat Mamikonean.

Mamikonean resistance: the Mamikoneankʿ were the most powerful *naxarar* house in the early Islamic period. Grigor and Dawitʿ's refusal to acknowledge Ašot shows their resistance to the Bagratuni position of prestige under the Umayyads. The Umayyads fostered a relationship with the Bagratunikʿ specifically to undermine Mamikonean control over Armenia.

Mamikonean brothers: Grigor, Dawitʿ, and Mušeł (who appears only in chapter XI) are the main opponents to the rule of Ašot Bagratuni. Dawitʿ was executed in 746 on the orders of Marwān II, but the other two brothers survived into the early ʿAbbāsid period.

Yemen: the southernmost part of the Arabian Peninsula.

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for three years. He met with Hishām and spoke before him with efficacious and [83v] wise words. He [Hishām] honored him justly and acceded to his request. He gave an order through him to calculate three-year [stipends] at a hundred thousand per year. From then on, during the days of his reign, that same amount of stipend arrived uninterrupted for all the cavalry.

Stipends: in the early Umayyad period, the Armenian cavalry were not paid but served in the army instead of paying taxes. By the reign of Hishām, however, the Armenian cavalry were paid by caliphal administrators. This change is noted in Łewond's reference to the "royal record," which lists the names of stipend recipients, in chapter V.

28. After this, Marwān b. Muḥammad gathered a large force and took with him the prince Ašot along with the *naxarark'* and their cavalry. United, they went raiding in the land of the Huns. They provoked the city, beat the forces of the city, and took the city. When the inhabitants of the city saw the marauder who had triumphed over them and that he had taken the city, many of the city folk surrendered their things into the depths of the sea. They also surrendered themselves into the depths of the sea [84r] and drowned. So the Ishmaelite forces took the other mass [of city folk] and the booty. Marwān, along with the prince Ašot, returned from the regions of the Huns in great triumph and with much booty. And when he arrived in the capital[16] of Partaw, he selected a fifth of the captives and booty and sent it to their prince, Hishām, and informed him of the circumstances of the victory. He received the gift of the booty and offered great thanks to Marwān and his troops. He reproached his brother Maslama by showing him the example of Marwān's brave victory. In response, he [Maslama] said: "Mine was a war not against men but against God. His was but against dumb animals."

Land of the Huns: Khazaria, in the northern Caucasus, roughly present-day Daghestan. Armenian forces fought as part of the Umayyad military in the Arab-Khazar wars.

The city: this is likely to be Tarki (mentioned earlier), which lay on the coast.

Partaw: capital of Caucasian Albania; in Arabic Bardhaʿa. Today it is the city of Barda in the modern Republic of Azerbaijan.

Fifth: according to Islamic law, one fifth of the spoils of war from any campaign is sent to the caliph to be used for the benefit of the Muslim community as a whole (see Qur'ān 8:41).

Marwān distributed the rest of the booty along with the captives [84v] to his troops. He gave a part to Ašot and [he gave] servants and maids to the other honorable *naxarark'*. He ruled over this land and pacified all of the violent invasions. He cut off the feet and hands of those who committed iniquity: thieves, bandits, and enemies of good order. He sentenced them to death by crucifixion.[17] After nineteen years, Hishām died.

Servants and maids: Arabic sources note that many captives were taken in the course of these campaigns; here, we learn that some of them were gifted to the Armenian *naxarark'* as part of the distribution of spoils.

16 "Capital" appears here as շահաստան (*šahastan*), which renders the New Persian شهرستان (*shahristān*). See Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 205.

17 "By crucifixion," փայտիւ, lit. "by wood."

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իա[18] Տիրէ դարձեալ փոխանակ նորա Շամ որ է Հեշմ ամս. *ինն եւ տասն.* եւ սա յառաջնում ամի իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն. խորհուրդ վատ ի մէջ առեալ՝ առաքեր զոմն զաւրավար որում անուն էր Հերթ. աշխարհագիր առնել ընդ աշխարհս Հայոց վ*ասն* ծանրացուցանելոյ [73v] զանուր լծոյ ծառաութե*ան* հարկատրութե*ան* ազգի ազգի չարեաւք որպէս զի դժուարելով ընդ բարէմտութիւնն Ոմառայ. էթէ անիրաւութ*եամ*ք ծախեաց զմթերս գանձուցն զորս համբարեալ էր իշխանացն որ յառաջ քան զնա. և բազում վտանգ հասուցաներ աշխարհիս. մինչ զի ամենեցուն հառաչել ի վերա անհանգիստ նեղութե*ան*ցն. յորմէ ոչ զոյր ապրել ումեք յանհնարին վտանգիցն և յայնմհետէ առաւել ծանրացաւ ձեռն նորա ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց:

իբ[19] Զայնու ժամանակաւ դարձեալ ամբոխ յուզէր ի կողմանցն հիւսիսոյ. քանզի մեռաւ արքայն Խազրաց որ խաքանն կոչէին. իբրև ետես մայր նորին որ անուն էր Փարսբիթ. հրաման տայր զաւրավարին որ Թարմաչ[20] կոչէր. զաւր բազում գումարել ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց. և միաբանեալք ելանէին ընդ աշխարհն Հոնաց և ընդ պահրակն[21] Ճորայ [74r] ընդ երկիրն Մաքստաց. ասպատակէին յաշխարհն Փայտակարան. անցանէին ընդ գետն Երասխ յերկիրն Պարսից. աւերէին զԱրտաւէտ և զԳանձակն շահաստան. և զգաւառն որ Աթշիբագուանն կոչի. և զՍպատար ոմն՝ Փերաւզ. և զՈրմիզդ Փերաւզ. և ի դիմի հարան զաւրքն Իսմաելի. և Զառա, ոմն անուն զաւրավար նոցա. կոտորէին զամենեսին ի սուր սուսերի. և ինքեանք ասպատակէին ի գաւառն Զարևանդ. և պարշարէին զամրոցն որ անուանեալ կոչի Ամպրիոտիկ. և զախ բանակին և զգերեալսն ի սրոյն թողուին մերձ[22] ի քաղաքն Արտաւէտ.

Եւ մինչդեռ մարտընչէին ընդ ամրոցն Ապրոտիկ[23]. յանկարծակի գունդ մի ի զաւրացն Իսմաելի, և զաւրավար նոցին. և անուն զաւրավարին, նոցա, Սեթ Հարաշի. անկանէր ի վերա բանակի նոցա սակաւ արամբք. և զբազումս հարեալ սատակէր ի սուր [74v] սուսերի իւրոյ և թափէր զգերեալսն ի սրոյ նոցա. վաղվաղակի հասանէր գոյժ աղմկին առ զաւրսն որ պահէին զամրոցն Ամպրոտիկ[24]. և իբրև լուան զչարիսն որ հասին ի վերա նոցա, թողին զբերդն զոր պարշարեալ էր և հասին ի վերա հինին որ եկեալ էր ի վերա բանակի նոցա. որում ի դիմի հարեալ նոյն զաւրք հարկանէին ի նոցանէ բազում հարուածս. և յափշտակէր ի նոցանէ զնշան դրաւշին որ էր պատկեր պղընձի. զոր դեռ ևս ունին առ ինքեանս գունդ Հարաշեայ[25] իբրև զպատիւ քաջութե*ան*, նախնեաց իւրեանց: Եւ յետ այնորիկ առաքէ իշխանն Իսմաելի զՄսլիմ զեղբայր իւր բազմութ*եամ*ք զաւրաց ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան* զնդին Հարշեայ:[26] Եւ իբրև եկն Մսլիմ և էտես զի ոչ ժամանեաց հասանել ի մարտ պատերազմին. քանզի ստացաւ զյաղթութի*ւն*ն Սէթն. զի զոմանս հարեալ էր ի կոտորման սրոյ [75r] և զոմանս փախստական արարեալ և զաւար և զգերութի*ւն* թափեալ. բազում թշնամանաւք կշտամբեալ խոշտանգէր

18 իա in lft. mg.

19 իբ in lft. mg.

20 Թարմաչ] թարմած a.c.

21 պահրակն] read: պահակն.

22 մերձ] մերկ a.c.

23 Ապրոտիկ] read: Ամպրիոտիկ.

24 Ամպրոտիկ] read: Ամպրիոտիկ.

25 Հարաշեայ] Հարաշեա a.c.

26 Հարաշեայ] Հարաշեա a.c.

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զնա. և կամէր սպանանել. այլ ոչ կարէր յանդիման տալ հրաման.[27] քանզի ազգատոհմն նորա յարուցեալ բարձրացուցանէին զաղաղակ. և ոչ իշխեաց համարձակել ի կամս անձին իւրոյ. այլ լուռ եղեալ արգելոյր ի խորհրդոց իւրոց և դառնայր առ իշխանն Իսմաելի:

իգ[28] Եւ յետ այսորիկ սկսաւ գոռալ ընդդէմ թագաւորին Յունաց. և յղէր դեսպան առ Լեւոն կայսր Հոռոմոց, գալ նմա ի հնազանդութի*ւն* հարկատրութե*ան*, և իբրև ոչ ունէր յանձին կայսրն Լեւոն զիրս պատգամին յղելոյ, սրտմտել առաքէր զՄսլիմ զեղբայր իւր զաւրու ծանու ի վերա աշխարհին Յունաց. որոյ առեալ զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն անցանէր ընդ Կիլիկիա Ասորւոց յաշխարհն միւսիգիոն. որ թարգմանին միջներկրեայք. և երթեալ [75v] հասանէր յաշխարհն Բիւթանացւոց և բանակէր առ եզեր գետոյն հզաւրագունի որում Սագոիսն կոչի: Պատրաստին ապա և զաւրքն Յունաց և գաղթեն զբնակիչս աշխարհին յամրոցս և ի քաղաքս ամուրս յերեսաց Իսմաելի. և ինքեանք բանակէին ընդդէմ նոցա ի միւս կողմն գետոյն, ամրացուցեալ զտեղի բանակին իւրեանց պարկենաւ փոսիւ շրջապատեալ: Եւ այնպէս նստեալ պահէին ոչ սակաւ ժամանակս.

Իսկ ապա ի թագաւորէն Լեւոնէ բազում զգուշութի*ւն* հասանէր աւրստաւրէ առ զաւրավարն Յունաց զի մի նենգութ*եամ*ք որսասցի յորոգայթ նորա. այլ միայն նստեալ պահեսցէ զնոսա առանց պատերազմելոյ: Իսկ նորա ոչ զգուշացեալ ըստ հրամանի կայսերն. քանզի քարոզ կարդացեալ զաւրավարին Իսմաելի ասպատակ սփռեալ[29] զաւրացն իւրոց ընդ կողմանս կողմանս առնուլ աւար և [76r] գերութի*ւն* բազում և դառնալ յաշխարհն իւրեանց: Եւ լուեալ զայս զաւրավարին Յունաց հրամաէ զաւրաց իւրոց պատրաստութ*եամ*ք վառել զկնի նոցա. և իբրև ելին զկնի զաւրուն Իսմաելի. և նոյնժամայն տեսին և զգացին զգալուստ նոցա զկնի իւրեանց. քանզի զաւրացաւ մէգ փոշէզգած, ի վերա նոցա. եւ նոքա զատուցեալ զաղխ բանակին իւրեանց. և զգունդս զաւրացն յերիս բաժանեալ՝ կացուցանէին դարանամուտս աստի և անդի. և ինքն Մսլիմ և մասն ինչ զաւրացն ընդդէմ նոցա ճակատէին. իսկ նոքա ի դիմի հարեալք նոցա անպատրաստ հարնդերձ աղխիւ բանակին իւրեանց անկան ի մէջ թշնամեացն. և յարուցեալ դարանամուտքն ի թագստեանցն ի մէջ արարեալ հարին զբազումս ի զաւրէն Յունաց կոտորմամբ սրոյ. և ինքեանք ասպատակ սփռեալ զկողմամբքն այնքիւք առնուին զգաւառս և զքաղաքս [76v] երկրին այնորիկ. զորոց զթիւ գերելոցն ասեն աւելի քան զուութ բիւր մարդկան. և դարձան բազում խնդութ*եամ*ք ի յաշխարհն իւրեանց: Եւ տեսեալ զյաղթութի*ւն*ն մեծ իշխանին Իսմաելի. բազում խնդութի*ւն* առնէր նախարարաւքն իւրովք. և մեծամեծ պատուաւք պատուէր զեղբայրն իւր. և աւրհնէր յոտին նորա զյաղթութի*ւն*ն զոր արար: Եւ զառ աւարին բաշխէր զաւրացն. և զգերեալսն ստանայր ի ծառայս և յաղախնայս և հանգստեամբ դադարէր յամին յայնմիկ:

իդ[30] Իսկ ի գալ միւսոյ ամին. դարձեալ զաւր գումարէր բազում քան զառաջինն. և տայր ի ձեռս զաւրավարին Մսլիմայ և առաքէր ի վերա աշխարհին Յունաց. որոյ ուխտ եդեալ երդմամբ չափ եղբաւր իւրում. ոչ դառնալ առ նա մինչև կատարեսցէ զկամս անձին իւրոյ. զի ուխտ եդեալ էր զայս. բառնալ զթագաւորութի*ւն*ն և կործանել զքաղաքն ի հիմանց որ կոչի Կոստանդինուպալ[77r]իս. և զգանազան հիմնարկութի*ւն* սրբոյն Սոփիայ. որ ի վերնոյն իմաստութենէ շինեցաւ յերկրի տուն Ա*ստուծոյ*. պղծալից դիցապաշտութե*ան*ն լինել տեղի երկրպագութե*ան*. և զայս *ամենայն* հաստատեալ ի սրտի իւրում խաղացեալ յառաջ բազմութ*եամ*ք զաւրացն հասանէր յաշխարհն Յունաց. և բանակէր առ եզեր ծովուն Պոնտոսի

27 հրաման] -մ- suprascr.

28 իգ in rt. mg.

29 սփռեալ] սփռիլ Hand 1corr.

30 իդ in lft. mg.

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ամենայն ախիւն իւրով. և իսկ և իսկ խրոխտալով ընդ արքային Լեւոնի. յդէր դեսպան և գրէր հրովարտակ առ նա այպանութե*ան*. յորս էին բազում ձաղանք. որ ունէր աւրինակ զայս: Զինչ է յամառութի*ւն*դ յոր ապաստ<ան>եալ[31] ոչ եկիր ի հնազանդութի*ւն* հարկատրութե*ան*ս մեր. զի *ամենայն* ազգք սարսեալ դողացին ի մէնջ. իսկ դու յով <ապ>աստանեալ[32] այդպէս կարծրանաս ընդդէմ մեր. ոչ ապաքէն լուար զչարիսն զոր ածաք ի վերա *ամենայն* թագաւորութե*ան*ց որք ընդդէմ դարձան իշխանութե*ան*ս մերոյ. զոր խորտակեալ փշրեցաք իբրև զանաւթ խեցեղէն. և մեր եղև *ամենայն* [77v] պարարտութի*ւն* երկրի. քանզի հրամանն Տ*եառ*ն և խոստումն որ առ հայրն մեր Իսմայէլ ի գլուխ ել. և զ*ամենայն*[33] զթագաւորութի*ւն*ս[34] վանեալ պարտեցաք. կամ թէև զայդ ոչ տեսեր որչափ վտանկ էհաս ի վերա երկրիդ քո[35] յաւուրս քոոյ թագաւորութե*ան*դ. զի ձեռամբ իմով աւերեցի զբազում քաղաքս և սրով իմով կոտորեցի զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրաց քո: Այլ արդ գիտութի*ւն* լիցի քեզ. զի թէ ոչ մտցես ընդ հարկատրութ*եամ*ք իմով ուխտ եդեալ եմ երդմամբ զի ոչ տեսից զերկիր ծնընդեան իմոյ մինչև բարձից զթագաւորութի*ւն*դ քո և կործանեցից զամրութի*ւն* պարսպաւոր քաղաքիդ յոր յուսացեալդ ես. և զանուանեալդ քո Սոփիա. որ է տուն երկրպագութե*ան* քո. արարից ի լուալիս զաւրաց իմոց. և զփայտ խաչիտ որում երկրպագես խորտակեալ ջախջախեցից ի գլուխ քո. զի աւգնութի*ւն* և պարծանք հաւատոյս մեր [78r] մեծ է առաջի Ա*ստուծ*ոյ: Զայսոսիկ և ևս վատթարագոյն յդէր նախատինս առ Լեւոն կայսր:

Իսկ նորա ընթերցեալ զգիր<ն>[36] այպանութե*ան*. վաղվաղակի հրաման տայր հայրապետին հանդերձ սինկղիտոսիւն և *ամենայն* բազմութե*ան* քաղաքին մի պակասեցուցանել զհնչիւն փառատրութե*ան* ի սրբոյն Սոփիայ մինչև յերիս աւուրս. և դղորդեցաւ *ամենայն* քաղաքն ի տեղի պաշտամանն ըստ հրամանի կայսերն: Ապա և ինքն թագաւորն յարուցեալ ժամանէր ի ս*ուրբ*ք քաւարանն. և զգիր նախատանացն առեալ ի ձեռն տարածեալ առաջի Տ*եառ*ն ըստ նմանութե*ան* Եզեկիայ[37] յուշ առնելով զբազմախնամ ներողութի*ւն* փրկչին մերոյ. զոր ի սկզբանցն պահեաց զողորմութի*ւն* առ սիրելիս իւր: Մաղթէր արտասուաք զբոլորեցունն Ա*ստուա*ծ աւգնական լինել ի վրէժխնդրութի*ւն* հասանել չարաւէր թշնամոյն. յուշ առնէր և զեպերանս նախատորդոյն, ասելով զԴաւթեան [78v] բանն որչափ չարացաւ թշնամին ի սրբութե*ան* քում. պարծեցան ատեցաւղքն ի մէջ բարկենդանութե*ան*ն իւրեանց. եդին անձամբք անձանց զյաղթութի*ւն*. և զայցելութի*ւն* ի վերուստ ոչ ծանեան: Զայս և զսոյնպիսիս բազումս հեղոյր առաջի Տ*եառ*ն խոստովանութի*ւն*ս յերկարաձգեալ մինչև յերիս աւուրս անճաշութ*եամ*ք կատարէր զուխտ աղաւթիցն:

Իե[38] Իսկ յետ այսորիկ գրէ հրովարտակ առ Մսլիմ զաւրավարն Իսմաելի որ ունէր աւրինակ զայս: Ընդէ՞ր պարծեցար ի չարութե*ան* հզաւրդ. զանաւրէնութի*ւն*: Եւ սրեցեր իբրև զածելի զնենգութի*ւն*. և առաջի ամենակալի ընդվզեալ մեծաբանեցեր զապիրատութի*ւն* ի բարձունսն խորհեցար. զՔ*րիստոս*է փրկչէն մեր և զվերընկալ աթոռոյ նորա. վ*ասն*ն որոյ յուսացեալ յողորմութի*ւն* նորա զոր նախատեցեր եթէ հատուսցի քեզ փոխարէն չարութե*ան*դ քո: Եւ զբերանդ պղծութե*ան* զոր բացեր ի վերա [79r] թագաւորին թագաւորաց և քաղաքիս

31 ապաստ<ան>եալ] -ան- suprascr. Hand 1corr.

32 <ապ>աստանեալ] ապ- suprascr. Hand 1corr.

33 զ*ամենայն*] *ամենայն* a.c.

34 զթագաւորութի*ւն*ս] թագաւորութի*ւն*ս a.c.

35 քո] add. -ɟ Hand 1corr.

36 զգիր<ն>] -ն ins. Hand 1corr.

37 Եզեկիայ] եզեկիա a.c.

38 իե in lft. mg.

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նորա. և տաճարի փառաց անուան նորա և իմ. զի պահապան եմ աթոռոյն *Քրիստոս*ի. կարկեսցէ Տ*է*ր ըստ նզովից մարգարէին Դաւթա որ ասէ թէ խցցին բերանք այնոցիկ որ խաւսին զանաւրէնութի*ւն*. այլ մեք ոչ եթէ յաղեղն մեր պարծիմք և ոչ սրով մերով կեցցուք. այլ աջ Տ*եառն* և բազուկ նորա և պահպանող զաւրութի*ւն* լուսոյ երեսաց նորա կարող է խորտակել զայնոսիկ[39] որ պարծին յամբարտաւանութի*ւն* իւրեանց իբրև զքեզդ. որ ոչ զմտաւ ածէր երբեք էթէ զորս խողխողեաց[40] սուր քո. և կամ գերեցան յերկրէս իմ. խնդրի արիւն նոցա ի ձեռաց քոց. քանզի ոչ վ*ասն* արդարութե*ան* գործոց քո. այլ վ*ասն* մերոյ անաւրենութե*ան*ց թողացոյց զգաւազան մեղաւորաց ածել ի վիճակս արդարոց. զի զչափ առցուք տկարութե*ան*ս մերոյ. և խրատեսցուք գնալ ըստ կամաց հաճոյից արարչին: Այլ դու մի փորձեսցես զՏ*է*ր Ա*ստուա*ծ մեր զի կարող է զքեզ *ամենայն* բազմու[79v]թ*եամ*ք քո. մատնել խորոց ծովուդ. ծփել զջուրս ծովուդ որպէս զխստասիրտն Փարաւովն. մատնեաց խորոց Կարմիր ծովուն. քանզի գաւազանն Մովսէսի էր որով դարձաւ ջուրն ի վերա Եգիպտական զաւրուն և խորասոյզ կորստեամբ դատեցաւ. եւ գաւազանն այն ունէր աւրինակ զամենազաւր նշանի խաչիս *Քրիստոս*ի. որ ի քէն այսաւր նախատեալ եղև. այլ արդ եթե դառնալով դարձցիս յինէն. ընտրեցեր անձինդ զբարին և զաւրացդ քոց. ապա թէ ոչ զոր ինչ ստիպիսդ ի խոր<հ>ո<ւ>րդ[41] քո արա վաղվաղակի. և Տ*է*ր արասցէ զբարին և զհաճոյսն առաջի իւր. և զդատաստան իւր դատեսցի. և զժողովուրդ իւր փրկեսցէ. և զնեղիչս մեր կորագլուխ ամաւթով դարձուսցէ ի մէնջ:

Իսկ իբրև ընթեռնոյր զայս հրովարտակ զաւրավարն Իսմաելի. ևս առաւել սրտմտէր բարկութի*ւն* նորա. և զայրացեալ գազանաբար համբառնայր մարտնչել [80r] ընդ հաստատուն վիմին. զի որսասցի յորոյգայթ իւր ըստ արժանին. զի ի Տ*եառն*է խստանայր սիրտ նորա: Եւ տայր հրաման զաւրաց իւրոց. նաւս կազմել. և վաղվաղակի կատարէր հրամանն. քանզի զբազում աւուրս պատրաստե*ալ* էր զնաւսն. և նոյնժամայն մտեալ ի նաւսն *ամենայն* ախիւն իւրեանց. երթեալ մերձենայր ի քաղաքն. իբրև էտես կայսրն Լեւոն զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն անտառացեալ ի վերա ծովուն. տայր հրաման կազմել զվանդակակապ կազմած երկաթեղէն պարսպին և ախեալ զդուռնն շղթայագործ ամրոցին: Եւ ոչ ումեք ետ պատերազմել ընդդէմ թշնամեացն. քանզի մնայր ի վերուստ լինել այցելութի*ւն* նմա և վրէժխնդրութի*ւն* ըստ գործոց իւրոց: Եւ իսկոյն հրամաէ հայրապետին հանդերձ սինկղիտոսիւն և *ամենայն* բազմութե*ան* քաղաքին կատարեալ և ջերմն հաւատով առնուլ ընդ ինքեանս մարտակից զանյաղթելի և զպայծառացեալ [80v] նշան խաչին *Քրիստոս*ի. և ինքն թագաւորն ընդ *ամենայն* բազմութե*ան*ն բառնայր զանպարտելի յաղթութի*ւն*ն ի վերա ուսուցն. և ժողովուրդքն զհնչիւն փառատրութե*ան*ն բարձրացուցանէին ի վեր. և զբուրումն անուշահոտութե*ան* խնկոցն. և զպայծառութի*ւն* մոմեղինացն եւ ջահիցն առաջի և զկնի բերելով. ի պատիւ յաղթող և պատուական խաչին: Եւ բացեալ զդուռն քաղաքին ելին արտաքս *ամենայն* բազմութիւնն. համբարձեալ զնշան խաչին ի վերա ջուրցն. ասելով աւգնեա մեզ *Քրիստոս* որդի Ա*ստուծոյ* փրկիչ աշխարհաց: Եւ զայս բարբառ երեքկին[42] առաքեալ ի վեր յերկինս. հարկանէր նշանաւ խաչին զջուրս ծովուն դրոշմելով ի վերա զտերունեան գիծն: Եւ նոյնժամայն դղրդեալ խորք ծովուն ի զաւրութենէ *սուրբ* խաչին. եռացոյց ի վեր զալիս իւր ուժգին շարժմամբ: Եւ սաստիկ նաւաբեկութի*ւն*ք լինէին և մեծ խորտակումն զաւրացն Իսմաելի. մինչև մեծ [81r] մասն զաւրացն ընկղմէր ի ջուրս ծովուն. և ըստ Փարաւոնեան զաւրուն զծովապատիժ բարկութի*ւն*ն

39 զայնոսիկ] in rt. mg.

40 խողխողեաց] -խ- suprascr.

41 խոր<հ>ո<ւ>րդ] -հ-, -ւ- suprascr. Hand 1corr.

42 երեքկին] երեկկին a.c.

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կրեցին: Եւ զմասն ինչ մնացեալ զաւրուն ի տախտակսն տարեալ հանէր յայնկոյս ծովուն յաշխարհն Թրակացւոց. և զոմանս ի կղզիս հեռաւորս վարեալ ընկենոյր. քանզի էին բազմութի*ւն* զաւրացն աւելի քան զ.*յիսուն*. բեւր արանց:

իզ[43] Իսկ որ ի վտանգաւոր նեղութենէն զերծան ի ցամաք. ոչ եղև ձեռնամուխ մատնել ի սուր անողորմ. այլ ետ հրաման պահել զնոսա պաշարմամբ. զի ոչ ուրեք զոյր հնար ելանել նոցա ի խնդիր կերակրոյ. և սով մեծ լիներ ի բանակին նոցա մինչև սպառել զձիս և զջորիս: Ապա յետ այնորիկ ձեռնամուխ լինէին ի հարճս և ի ծառայս փողոտել և ուտել զի լցցեն զսովառութի*ւն*ն իւրեանց: Իսկ ապա բազում աղերսանաւք աղաչէր զԼեւոն կայսր առնել ողորմութի*ւն* ընդ նմա և թողուլ ի պաշար[81v]մանէն. քանզի մնացին սակաւք ի բազմացն: Իսկ թագաւորն Լեւոն զմտաւ ածէր զայն զի Տէր հատոյց զվրէժխնդրութի*ւն* ի թշնամեացն. արար ողորմութի*ւն* մեծ ի վերա նորա. և կոչէր զնա առ ինքն և խաւսէր ընդ նմա բազում դատաստանաւք: Յուշ առնէր և զանամաւթ լրբութի*ւն* նոցա. թէ ընդէր արդեւք կամեցեալ յարձակեցար ի վերա երկրիս մերոյ. և յանխնա կոտորեաց սուր քո զզաւրս իմ. և վարեցեր զբնակիչս քաղաքաց իմոց ի գերութի*ւն*: Եւ արդ կենդանի է Տէր զի որդի մահու ես դու և ոչ ես արժանի կենաց, այլ որովհետև զդատաստան իմ Տէր դատեցաւ և դարձոյց զանաւրէնութի*ւն* քո ի գլուխ քո. և զարիւն անձանց անմեղաց խնդրեաց ի ձեռաց քոց. ես ոչ մխեցից զձեռս իմ ի քեզ և ոչ դատեցայց զքեզ ըստ արժանի.[44] զի ահա անձն քո ի ձեռին իմ է. և իշխան եմ ի վերա ձեր [82r] սպանանել և կեցուցանել. բայց ոչ մեռցիս. այլ երթ պատմեա զմեծամեծս Ա*ստուծ*ոյ զաւրութե*ան*ցն զոր տեսեր:

Պատասխանի ետ Մսլիմ կայսերն և ասէ. զի՞նչ կարացից խաւսել առ այդ առաջի քո. զի արդարև ոչ եմ արժանի կենաց. զի ոչ են սակաւ յանցանք իմ զոր գործեցի ընդ երկիր քո. այլ դու մեծ արարեր զողորմութի*ւն* քո առ իս ապրել անձին իմոյ. քանզի սխալանաց իմոց ես ինձէն վկաեմ: Այլ որովհետև անկաւ ի սիրտ քո ողորմութի*ւն* առնել ի վերա իմ. արձակեա զիս ի տեղի իմ և ուխտեցից առ քեզ ոչ ևս ելանել ի պատերազմ. և հրամաէր նմա զխնդիրն. իսկ նորա պատրաստե*ալ* մտանէր ի նաւ ուշ եդեալ անցանէր ընդ Միջերկրեայս. և դառնայր յերկիր իւր մեծաւ ամաւթով. ապա ելանէին ընդ յառաջ նորա ի քաղաքաց քաղաքաց վայիւք և ճչաւք և զճակատ հարկանելով և զմոխիր ցանելով ի վեր: Իսկ նորա ամաւթով մեծ[82v]աւ կորագլուխ եղեալ յանդիման լինէր: Եւ ի նոցանէ բազում կշտամբանաւք կշտամբէր. և ոչ ինչ աւելի պատասխանի առներ. բայց զայն ևեթ ասէ ոչ կարէի ընդ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ կռուել. և յետ այսորիկ գնաց ի տուն իւր և ոչ արկ սուր ընդ մէջ իւր մինչև ցաւր մահուան իւրոյ:

իէ[45] Յայնմ ժամանակի առաքէ իշխանն Իսմաելի. Հեշմ ի վերա ազգիս Հայոց զՄրվան որդի Մահմետի փոխանակ Սեթա. որում Հրաշին[46] կոչէին: Իբրև հասանէր Մրվան ի քաղաքն Դվին. յանդիման լինէին նմա նախարարք Հայոց. և խաւսի ընդ նոսա բանիւք խաղաղութե*ան*. և կոչէ առ ինքն զԱշոտ որդի Վասակա ի տանէ Բագրատունոյ. և տայր նմա իշխանութի*ւն* պատրկութե*ան* ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց հրամանաւ Հեշմա. և բազում պատուով պատուէր զնա. իսկ իմացեալ որդւոցն Սմպատա զպատիւն Աշոտի. զի մեծացաւ անձն նորա յաչս Հեշմա [83r] և յաչս զաւրավարին Մրվանա. և յոյժ խեռութ*եամ*ք կէին ընդ նմա մինչև հասանէր գժտութի*ւն* նոցա յականջս որդոյն Մահմետի. և վաղվաղակի հրամաէ ունել զնոսա. և առաքէր առ իշխանն Իսմաելի զԳրիգոր և զԴաւիթ որք էին ի տոհմէ Մամիկոնեան. և գրէր ամբաստանութի*ւն* զնոցանէն թէ հակառակք և խազմարարք են իշխանութե*ան*ս Աշոտի. և

43 իզ in lft. mg.

44 արժանի] արժանեաց Hand 1corr.

45 իէ in lft. mg.

46 Հրաշին] -ր- suprascr.

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հրամաէր տանել զնոսա Յեմանն կոչեցեալ որ է անապատ. և դնէր զնոսա ի կալանս բանդի մինչև ցվախճան կենաց իւրեանց:

Իսկ իբրև հաստատեցաւ իշխանութի*ւն* պատրկութեանն[47] Աշոտի. երթայր առ իշխանն Իսմաելի վ*ասն* բռնութե*ան* աշխարհիս. զի յերից ամաց և անդր արգելեալ էր զնախարարացն[48] Հայոց և նոցին հեծելոց խածիթայսն. և յանդիման լինէր Հեշմա. խաւսէր առաջի նորա բանս արգոյս և ի[83v]մաստունս և մեծացուցանէր զնա ըստ արժանի. կատարէր զխնդիր նորա. և տայր հրաման կշռել ի ձեռս նորա ամի ամի հարիւր: *հազար*: զերից ամաց: Եւ յայնմհետէ[49] յաւուրս իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն անխափան գայր նոյն սակ արծաթին յամենայն հեծելոցն:

իր[50] Յետ այսորիկ զաւր բազում գումարէր Մրուան որդի Մահմետի. և առնոյր ընդ իւր զիշխանն Աշոտ հանդերձ նախարարաւքն և նոցին հեծելոցն. եւ միաբանեալք ասպատակէին յաշխարհն Հոնաց. և մարտուցեալ ընդ քաղաքին հարին զգաւրս քաղաքին և առին զքաղաքն. և իբրև տեսին բնակիչք քաղաքին զհենն որ զաւրացաւ ի վերա նոցա. և զի առաւ քաղաքն. բազումք ի քաղաքացւոցն զինչս իւրենց[51] խորոց ծովուն մատնէին. այլ և զանձինս իւրեանց խորոց ծովուն մատնէին. և ծովա[84r]վէժ խեղդամահ առնէին. իսկ զայլ բազմութի*ւն* և զաւարն. առեալ զաւրացն Իսմաելի հանդերձ իշխանիւն Աշոտիւ դառնայր Մրվանն ի կողմանցն Հոնաց մեծաւ յաղթութե*ամ*ք և բազում աւարաւ: Եւ իբրև հասանէր ի շահաստանն Պարտաւ. որոշէր ի գերելոցն և յաւարէն հինգեակս և առաքէր իշխանին իւրեանց Հեշմա. և զգացուցանէր նմա զիրս յաղթութե*ան*ն. իսկ նորա ընկալեալ զընծայս աւարին՝ մեծապէս շնորհակալութի*ւն* մատուցանէր Մրուանա և զաւրաց նորա. և նախատէր զեղբայրն Մսլիմ աւրինակ բերելով զքաջութե*ամ*ք յաղթութի*ւն*ն Մրուանա: Իսկ նորա պատասխանեալ ասէր. ինձ ոչ էր մարտ պատերազմի ընդ մարդկան այլ ընդ *Աստուծոյ*. բայց նմա ընդ անբան անասունս:

Իսկ Մրուանն զմընացեալ աւարն հարդերձ գերելաւքն բաշխէր [84v] զաւրացն իւրոց. տայր մասն Աշոտի և այլոց պատուաւոր նախարարացն ծառայս և աղախնայս. և ինքն տիրեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս խաղաղացոյց զամենայն յարձակմունս բռնութե*ան*. և զգործաւոնս անիրաւութե*ան* զաւազակսն և զգողսն և զթշնամիսն բարեկարգութե*ան*. ծայրակոտոր արարեալ ոտիւք և ձեռաւք. փայտիւ դատապարտէր ի մահ. և լցեալ. *ինն և տասն*. ամ. Հեշմա վախճանէր:

COMMENTARY

IX.A. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

Łewond mentions only two governors of Armenia during the reign of Hishām, claiming that the caliph had appointed Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Ṭāʾī and Marwān b. Muḥammad over Armenia. Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī, and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik appear only as "generals" (զաւրավարք) in Łewond's text, and he focuses solely on their military campaigns to the exclusion of any administrative duties. All five of these governor-generals held leadership positions in the Arab-Khazar wars, making it impossible

47 պատրկութեանն] նատրկութեանն a.c.

48 զնախարարացն] զանախարարացն a.c.

49 յայնմհետէ] -մ- suprascr.

50 իր in lft. mg.

51 իւրենց] read: իւրեանց

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to distinguish between "governor" and "general" in any useful sense. Ḥārith raided the Laks, conquering an unidentified region (رستاق حمسدان or حسدان). The Khazar commander Ibn Khāqān (on whom see below) killed him in battle near Warthān/Vardanakert in 108/726–27.[52] Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh was one of the most celebrated generals in this conflict, leading his forces against the Alans and the Khazars past Balanjar. He also fell in battle with Ibn Khāqān in 111/729–30.[53] Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī was particularly successful in fighting the Khazars, defeating them on multiple occasions. Some sources credit him with the death of Ibn Khāqān, whereas others claim that he merely defeated him.[54]

The active involvement of Umayyad princes in the Arab-Khazar wars underscores the importance of this front to the Caliphate, but it also contributes to the difficulty of untangling the sequence of governor-generals under Hishām. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Marwān b. Muḥammad were well-connected, powerful, and resourceful governors and generals in their own right. Both fought the Khazars throughout Hishām's reign, and their presence on the frontier sometimes makes it difficult to decipher the chain of command, that is, whether the generals reported to them or to the caliph. Łewond claims that Hishām himself sent Ḥārith b. ʿAmr al-Ṭāʾī to serve as governor of Armenia in 105/724, the first year of his reign. Multiple Arabic sources claim that Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik appointed Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik over Armenia and Azerbaijan and that Maslama sent Ḥārith to govern in his name. This same confusion about who in fact appointed the governor—Hishām or Maslama—also appears in sources about Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī. When historians report on the argument between Saʿīd and Maslama (discussed below), some claim that Saʿīd was insubordinate, while others claim that Saʿīd was acting on direct orders from Hishām himself.

Ḥārith and Jarrāḥ were both Syrian generals who belonged to the Yemeni tribal bloc. Both have been associated with the containment policies that were supposedly characteristic of the Yemenis and that are contrasted with the expansionist policies of the Banū Qays. The evidence offered for such purported leanings is that they "attacked only districts in the Kur valley south of the Caucasus."[55] However, this line of reasoning does not withstand closer scrutiny. Jarrāḥ was one of the most successful expansionists of the Umayyad period despite being Yemeni. Jarrāḥ moved well past the recognized frontier at Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband, pushing as far as Balanjar in 104/722 and the following year. Furthermore, the two "internal" campaigns that have served to buttress this argument were Jarrāḥ's wars with the Alans and Ḥārith's against the Laks. Neither the Alans nor the Laks

52 Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 25, 27; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 218; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1527, 1531–32; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:395. See also Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 420–21 n. 16; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 127 n. 23; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 109 n. 14; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 120 n. 14.

53 Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 17, 20, 22–23, 25, 30, 32; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 202, 206; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 197–221; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:267–70; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1530–31; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:378, 394–95. See also Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 420 n. 15 and 421 n. 17; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 132–33 n. 16; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 109 n. 13 and 110 n. 16; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 120 n. 16.

54 Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 32; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206–7; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 221–22; Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:270–81; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1531; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:381. See also Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 421 nn. 19 and 21; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 144–45 n. 74; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 110 n. 18; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 120 n. 18.

55 Blankinship, *Jihād State*, 122–23.

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were part of the Umayyad Caliphate. The campaigns of these two generals instead demonstrate that their expansionist efforts extended beyond their conflict with the Khazars. As Crone has demonstrated, such generalizations about the goals of the Yemen or the Qays are not borne out in the sources.[56]

IX.B. ECONOMIC REFORM AND THE CADASTRE

Łewond starts his account of Hishām's reign with a comment about ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's taxation policies. ʿUmar was famous for reforming caliphal taxation to reflect Qurʾānic norms, dispensing with customs that had accumulated on the basis of local practices. Łewond claims that Hishām was angry about these reforms, "as if he [ʿUmar] had unjustly spent the stores of the treasury that had been amassed for the princes before him" (էթէ անիրաւութեամբ ծախեաց զմթերս գանձուցն զորս համբարեալ էր իշխանացն որ յառաջ քան զնա) [73v]. ʿUmar had eliminated the Umayyad princes' stipends, divested them of their tax-farming estates, and withdrawn their exemption from *kharāj* taxes. To justify these changes, he cited his interpretation of Qurʾān 59:7, which he read to warn against the perpetual accumulation of communal wealth in the hands of the rich.[57] Łewond claims that Hishām did not share his predecessor's fiscal policy, contrasting ʿUmar's "goodness" (բարէմտութիւնն) with Hishām's avarice.

ʿUmar's taxation policies and Hishām's cadastre were both attempts to sustain an empire that was far outspending its reserves. Łewond's description of Hishām's reign includes significant information about the various armies of the Arab-Khazar wars. We should also keep in mind that the Umayyads were engaged in a multifront conflict, as their conquests hit their apogee during the caliphate of Hishām. As K. Blankinship has demonstrated, caliphal finances became increasingly strained in the aftermath of the expensive campaigns against Constantinople. Funding troops on multiple fronts—Armenia, Transoxiana, Sind, and Spain—was challenging and, in the end, impossible to maintain. Hishām's response to this difficulty was to impose an empire-wide crackdown aimed at forcing governors to send tax revenues to the caliph. In the first years of his reign, a number of wars broke out across provinces in response to the more draconian taxation policies he had introduced.[58]

The harsh taxation policies and the taking of a cadastre that Łewond attributes to Hishām appear in other sources, too.[59] Movsēs Dasxuranc'i similarly records that in the winter of AE 174/725 CE, Ḥārith took a cadastre, which "subjected man and beast and all regions of the country to servitude by the imposition of heavy tribute" (որ արկ զմարդ և զանասուն և զսահմանս երկրի ընդ հարկաւ անթիւ ծառայութեամ).[60] The anonymous Syriac *Chronicle to 1234* also recounts the heavy taxes imposed by Hishām: "When Hishām b. ʿAbd

56 Crone, "Qays and Yemen."

57 Blankinship, *Jihād State*, 85; Gibb, "Fiscal Rescript," 5 and 10–11.

58 Blankinship, *Jihād State*, 88–89.

59 We have translated աշխարհագիր as "cadastre" because the term contains the word աշխարհ, "realm," "land," and the sentence says that it was imposed over the land of Armenia. Nonetheless, we may surmise that a census was simultaneously taken. It is difficult to differentiate between the census and the cadastre, as the Syriac/Arabic word *taʿdīl* does not have a single clear definition.

60 Dasxuranc'i, *History*, 209; *Patmutʿiwn*, 320.

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al-Malik reigned, he oppressed men with the taking of tribute, more than all the kings before him" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܗܒܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܟ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܩܕܡܘܗܝ).[61] However, this policy was apparently not maintained across the Caliphate during Hishām's entire reign. For example, Ṭabarī notes that when Naṣr b. Sayyār assumed the governorship of Khurāsān in 120/738, he lowered the *kharāj* and made Khurāsān prosperous.[62] Such notices may reveal differences in provincial-level policies, but it is also possible that Łewond's assessment is skewed chronologically. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik ruled for twenty years, but Łewond's information about his taxation policies pertains only to the first few years of his reign.

IX.C. THE KHAZAR CAPTURE OF ARDABĪL/ARTAWĒT

Łewond does not add anything substantial to the story of the death of Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh, but his information on the Khazar campaign against Ardabīl/Artawēt offers interesting details about the Khazars and their campaign into Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan. Tʿarmač is likely the Turkic word *talmačʿ*, "translator," employed here as a title to refer to the representative of Pʿarsbitʿ.[63] Pʿarsbitʿ is a far more difficult name to parse, in part because of the potential variants. Arabic and Persian sources discuss the Khazar general who led the campaign against Ardabīl/Artawet by the name Bārjīk (بارجيك). Ibn Aʿtham names the general as Bārsbīk b. Khāqān (بارسبيك بن خاقان), whereas Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ corrupts the name to Mārdīk (ماردیك).[64] Theophanes and Ṭabarī refer to him merely as "the son of the khagan" (ὁ υἱὸς Χαγάνου; ابن خاقان), without a proper name. Some modern scholars have argued that Bārjīk the son of the khagan is in fact Łewond's Pʿarsbitʿ, but this identification poses some problems. First, Łewond claims that Pʿarsbitʿ was the name of the mother of the khagan who died. K. Czeglédy proposes that we read Łewond's մայր (mother) as հայր (father), which would at least resolve the issue of Pʿarsbitʿ's gender.[65] However, this emendation does not necessarily solve the whole problem. In all of the non-Armenian sources, Bārjīk b. Khāqān is the one who led the campaign against Ardabīl/Artawēt. He was sent by his father, the (presumably living) khagan. In Łewond's text, the khagan was dead and Pʿarsbitʿ merely ordered the campaign without personally leading it. In view of the different roles, the khagan's possible death, and the confusion about Pʿarsbitʿ's gender, it is worth revisiting the assumption that Bārjīk and Pʿarsbitʿ were one and the same person. Further, P. Golden warns that looking for *بارسبيك in بارحك may not be wise. Others, including S. Shirota, have argued that Bārjīk was the son of the previous khagan, since he appears with that patronymic in connection with events in 103/721–22; this would make him the brother of the deceased khagan mentioned in Łewond and the son or ward of Pʿarsbitʿ.[66]

61 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 223–24; "Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad 1234," 309.

62 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1665.

63 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 213–14.

64 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 156–60.

65 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 159.

66 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 213–14 on Tʿarmač, 156–60 on Bārjīk, 205–6 on Pʿarsbitʿ; Shirota, "Tʿarmačʿ, Ταλμάτ, and Tolmač."

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Łewond's geographical information here is also useful for tracing the Khazar invasion of the southern Caucasus. The Khazars entered caliphal territory through the Ṣūl/Čoray pass and crossed the land of the Makʿstkʿ (Մաքստաց). This seems to be a misspelling of Mazkʿutkʿ, a common ethno-toponym with a contested definition. Garsoïan has outlined the difficulties of identifying the Mazkʿutkʿ, tracing several different strains of scholarship on the question. They may be the Massagetae or potentially Alans, but earlier Armenian and Greek sources identify them as Huns (Μασαχούτων Οὔνων). Some scholars have associated the Mazkʿutkʿ with the region of Μόσχοι (მესხეთი) in southwestern Georgia, but most geographers have connected them to the region along the Caspian Sea near Ṣūl/Čoray.[67] The latter is in line with the Arabic sources, which locate Masqaṭ between Shābarān and Bāb al-Abwāb.[68]

Łewond next has the Khazars crossing the Araxes into Pʿaytakaran, which he labels "the land of the Persians" (երկիրն Պարսից) [74r]. Pʿaytakaran is a difficult province to map, though the short recension of Širakacʿi's geography is invaluable: "Pʿaytakaran lies east of Utikʿ along the Araxes. It has twelve districts: Hrakʿotperož, Vardanakert, Ewtʿnpʿorakean Baginn, Kʿoekean, Ṙovtibała, Kʿałanṙot, Boṙospičan, Hani, Atʿli, Bagawan, Spandaranperož, Ormzdperož, Alawan" (Փայտակարան յելից կայ Ուտիոյ առ Երասխաւ։ Ունի գաւառս երկոտասան . Հրաքոտպերոժ, Վարդանակերտ, Եւթնփորակեան Բագինն, Քոեկեան, Ռովտիբաղա, Քաղանռոտ, Բոռոսպիճան, Հանի, Աթլի, Բագաւան, Սպանդարանպերոժ, Որմզդեպերոժ, Ալաւան).[69] Other editions of Širakacʿi add the gloss that Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan "now" controls these districts (գաւառս ունի երկոտասան, զոր այժմ Ատրպատական ունի).[70] Širakacʿi thus includes the districts listed in Łewond's account—Atʿšibagwan, Spatar Pʿerawz, and Ormizd Pʿerawz—with some differences in spelling. Since Širakacʿi claims that Pʿaytakaran consists of twelve districts but includes thirteen in his list, Łewond's "district that was called Atʿšibagwan" (գաւառն որ աթշիբագուանն կոչի) [74r] should correct Širakacʿi: Աթլի and Բագաւան are one district, although they appear in the modern editions as two. Łewond's spelling, Atʿšibagwan, also renders the Middle Persian more correctly than Širakacʿi's text does, as the name means "the place of the god of fire." This toponym, like Spandaranperož and Ormzdperož, reflects local memories of Zoroastrian traditions in Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan.[71]

This campaign also appears in Arabic sources, the most detailed of which is that of Ibn Aʿtham, who similarly situates the conflict in Ardabīl/Artawēt but otherwise tracks the Khazars using very different points of reference: Shakkī, Bardhaʿa, Baylaqān, Warthān, and Bājarwān. However, Ibn Aʿtham does claim that Jarrāḥ sent raiding parties into Jīlān/Gelan, the province that R. Hewsen places adjacent to Atʿšibagwan, Spandaranperož, and Ormzdperož.[72]

67 Buzandacʿi, *Epic Histories*, 389–90; Širakacʿi, *Geography*, 121–22; see Gadjiev, "Armenia."

68 Balādhurī, in *Futūḥ*, 194, does not explicitly locate Masqaṭ, but he does describe these three regions together. The *History of Darband* places Masqaṭ on the river Sammūr, which lies between Darband and Shābarān; Minorsky, *History*, 35. See also Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:127.

69 Širakacʿi, "Ašxarhacʿoycʿ," 350.

70 Širakacʿi, *Ašxarhacʿoycʿ*, 33.

71 Širakacʿi, *Geography*, 257–59.

72 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:266–69; Hewsen and Salvatico, *Armenia*, 100, map 77.

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IX.D. THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SAʿĪD AL-ḤARASHĪ AND MASLAMA B. ʿABD AL-MALIK

Part of Łewond's discussion of Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī's campaigns against the Khazars appears in similar form in Arabic texts. Łewond claims that Saʿīd defeated the Khazars unexpectedly and won the release of their prisoners. Ṭabarī aligns with Łewond this far, noting that in 112/730–31, "it is mentioned that Saʿīd b. ʿAmr came upon three groups of Turks who were going to the Khāqān with the Muslims and *dhimmīs* they had captured. Al-Ḥarashī rescued those who had been taken and made great slaughter among the Turks" (فذكر ان سعيد ابن عمرو اصاب للترك ثلثة جموع وفوداً الى خاقان بمن اسروا من المسلمين واهل الذّمة فاستنقذ الحرشىّ ما اصابوا واكثروا القتل فيهم).[73] Ibn Aʿtham states that "the Muslim men, women, and children who were held by the Khazars were delivered, along with their animals" (استنقذ المسلمون والمسلمات والذراري الذين كانوا في أيدي الخزر ودوابهم); he subsequently credits Saʿīd with the release of the female slaves and children of Jarrāḥ.[74] Ibn Aʿtham, Balʿamī, and Yaʿqūbī mention only Muslim prisoners in this context.

Łewond's account of the disagreement between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik makes little sense on its own: Saʿīd was successful against the Khazars, so Maslama wanted to kill him. Łewond offers no explanation for Maslama's actions, which can only paint him as an unreasonable aggressor. Similarly laconic narratives appear in Arabic. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, for example, presents the argument without enough detail to make it meaningful.[75] Yaʿqūbī, Ibn Aʿtham, and Balʿamī offer the most detailed versions of what happened, but they do not fully agree with each other. The main difference is that Yaʿqūbī clearly denigrates Saʿīd as an upstart, whereas Ibn Aʿtham is relentlessly defensive of Saʿīd. These details help us situate Łewond's inchoate explanation within a broader context of confrontation, as the details in Łewond's version locate him firmly in the pro-Saʿīd tradition of Ibn Aʿtham.

Yaʿqūbī claims that Saʿīd was acting under Maslama's orders but that he killed the Khazar commander and sent his head back to Hishām without bothering to report to Maslama for the latter's approval. Maslama consequently imprisoned him at Qabala/Kapałak until Hishām demanded his release.[76] Saʿīd's crime, then, was insubordination, as he flagrantly ignored the expected chain of command. Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī rebut these claims by insisting that Hishām, not Maslama, had sent Saʿīd and that Saʿīd had discussed the plan with Hishām at length before he left. Saʿīd had led several battles against the Khazars before Maslama was even appointed over Armenia and Azerbaijan. When Hishām appointed Maslama, the former wrote to Saʿīd to order him to cease his campaigns until Maslama could take over the leadership, recalling Saʿīd so he might receive a reward for his amazing deeds. Saʿīd did as he was ordered: "He remained where he was [in Sharwān] without battling anyone" (أقام قي موضعه ذلك لا يحارب أحداً);[77] or, as Balʿamī puts it: "Il

73 Ṭabarī, *History,* 25:71; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1531. Cf. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 32.

74 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:275.

75 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 222. In 113/731–32, according to Khalīfa, Hishām replaced Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī with his brother Maslama and Maslama "seized Saʿīd b. ʿAmr and then shackled and imprisoned him, but Hishām sent to have him released from prison" (أخذ سعيد بن عمرو فقيّده وحبسه، فبعث هشام فاخرجه من الحبس).

76 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:381.

77 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:280.

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suspendit immédiatement sa campaigne et attendit Maslama, pour lui remettre le gouvernement" (وهم آنجا كه بود بايستاد وحرب نكرد وچشم همى داشت كه مسلمه بيايد وكار بدو سپارد).[78] Maslama arrived in Bardhaʿa/Partaw and ordered Saʿīd to come to him. Maslama accused Saʿīd of disobeying his orders to refrain from battling the Khazars until he arrived. Saʿīd responded that he had defeated the Khazars before he received Maslama's orders, but Maslama called him a liar and accused him of seeking glory to appease his own vanity. Maslama threw Saʿīd into the jail at Bardhaʿa/Partaw. When he heard of what had happened, Hishām wrote an angry letter to accuse Maslama of imprisoning Saʿīd out of envy over his success and to demand Saʿīd's release. Maslama relented and forwarded Hishām's letter to Saʿīd. These letters should be construed as rhetorical crutches, but they allow Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī to build a narrative in support of Saʿīd with direct approval of the caliph: "He expressed his approval for him, his family members, and his clan" (يعده الرضاء له ولأهل بيته وعشيرته). Maslama had Saʿīd released from prison, bathed, and dressed in a robe of honor that the caliph had sent. According to Ibn Aʿtham, Saʿīd returned to Hishām and the caliph "bestowed estates upon him, his family members, and his clan" (أقطعه وأقطع أهل بيته وعشيرته قطائع).[79] In Balʿamī's text, Maslama himself bestows favors on Saʿīd and his family: "Maslama le reçut avec distinction, le fit revêtir d'une robe d'honneur et lui donna un press ent, ainsi qu'à ses familiers; puis il leur assigna des grands fiefs, auxquels leur nom est resté attaché jusqu'à ce jour" (مسلمه او را بنواخت وخلعت افكند وصلت داد او را وعشيرت او را واقطاعشان بداد. تا اوروز آن اقطاع بديشان معروف است).[80]

Łewond, Ibn Aʿtham, and Balʿamī alike note a concern with Saʿīd's "family" (اهل بيت) or "clan" (ԱՔՔԱՍՆՆՀԱ in Armenian; عشيرة in Arabic; عشيرت in Persian). This shared detail is interesting, because we know little of Saʿīd's immediate family. Saʿīd was a general from the Syrian frontier who served as governor of Baṣra and then Khurāsān before his Khazar campaigns.[81] His sons and grandsons would serve in prominent positions, but their importance is usually traced back to the fame and deeds of Saʿīd himself. There is nothing to indicate that his immediate family held high positions of power at the time of this incident. In fact, the Ḥarashīs are difficult to pin down. The *nisba* is frequently distorted, most commonly confused with either al-Jurashī (the clan of Jurash in Ḥimyār) or al-Jarashī (from Jarash in Jordan or a branch of the Banū Quḍāʿa).[82] However, these variations reflect the spelling of the *nisba* in Arabic; Łewond's spelling as ՀԱՌԱՇԻ confirms that here Ḥarashī must be correct.[83] The *nisba* derives from Saʿīd's purported ancestor Ḥarīsh: Ṭabarī provides Saʿīd's full name as Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Aswad b. Mālik b. Kaʿb b. Waqdān b. Ḥarīsh b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa.[84] This lineage establishes Saʿīd as a member of the Banū Kaʿb, so the concern here must be with the powerful Qaysī confederation to which the

78 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:283; *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:940.

79 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:281.

80 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:284; *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:941.

81 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 144 n. 74.

82 Even V. Minorsky questioned whether Saʿīd's *nisba* should be read as Jarashī instead of Ḥarashī; Minorsky, "New Book," 127.

83 Logically, the only alternative is that Łewond received this report after the *nisba*'s corruption from Jarashī, as the change makes sense only as a scribal error in Arabic. Given the tribal explanation, this theory is unnecessary.

84 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1436.

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Banū Kaʿb belonged, rather than with Ḥarashī's immediate relations. At the time when Maslama threw Saʿīd in jail, all of his commanding forces were Qaysī, and many of them were even Kaʿbī.[85] The Syro-Jazīran Qaysīs maintained control over military and political positions of the Marwānid period until the third *fitna* and the ʿAbbāsid Revolution.[86] We might wonder, then, why Maslama would throw a powerful Qaysī general—one who had proven himself successful against the Khazars—into jail, risking a confrontation between the Umayyads and the main tribal bloc that sustained their army. This move is even more surprising given that Maslama was elsewhere relentlessly pro-Qaysī.

The crux of the matter seems to be that Saʿīd generated animosity even within his tribe. Despite his remarkable deeds, he was also quite clearly a divisive figure. Ṭabarī records a number of episodes in which people openly questioned Saʿīd's leadership, abilities, and courage. During his earlier governorship of Khurāsān, in 104/722–23, he reportedly wrote to the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik directly to inform him about his campaigns in Sogdiana, thereby bypassing the Qaysī governor of Iraq, ʿUmar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī. Saʿīd subsequently killed a nobleman from Samarqand, even though Ibn Hubayra had ordered Saʿīd to release him. This caused Ibn Hubayra to dismiss Saʿīd from the governorship and to order his men to imprison, torture, and kill Saʿīd. The new governor, even though he openly admitted to Ibn Hubayra that he disliked Saʿīd, intervened to save his life, claiming that Saʿīd was the bravest of the Banū Qays and so his death would be disadvantageous for them all.[87] Ibn Hubayra backed down and ordered Saʿīd's release.

There are a number of parallels between the Khurāsānī and Armenian stories. In both, Saʿīd was accused of neglecting the proper chain of command. In both, the governor imprisoned Saʿīd and yet he was released because of his status and reputation within the Qaysī confederation. Both episodes signal that Saʿīd enjoyed the support of the Banū Qays despite his abrasive personality. However, in the Khurāsānī story, the governor, Ibn Hubayra, was even more prominent than Saʿīd was among the Banū Qays. This detail demonstrates that Saʿīd was a controversial figure even within his own tribe, generating both support for his valorous deeds and recriminations for his methods and attitude. The Khurāsānī comparison allows us to speculate that the two attitudes emerged even *within* the Qaysī milieu, as the first seen in Yaʿqūbī and the second in Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī.

When his actions are viewed in light of these other sources, Maslama is not as rash or impetuous as he appears in Łewond's account. Instead, Łewond reflects a pro-Saʿīd version of the story and so casts Maslama as irrational and power-hungry, a perspective shared by Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī. Placing Maslama's actions into a broader context nuances our interpretation of his relations with the Banū Qays, whose members served as his commanders. Maslama's animosity for Saʿīd likely did not alienate the entire clan. Therefore, when Łewond claims that Maslama was concerned about Saʿīd's clan, we need not read this as a confrontation between the Umayyads and the Banū Qays writ large.

85 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 206. Among the Banū Kaʿb, Balādhurī lists Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī and his brothers, and Jaʿwana b. Ḥārith b. Khālid; as non-Kaʿbī commanders who were nonetheless Qaysī, he mentions Dufāfa and Khālid b. ʿUmayr b. Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, Furāt b. Salmān al-Bāhilī, and Walīd b. Qaʿqāʿ al-ʿAbsī.

86 Crone, "Qays and Yemen," 7–8 and 54 n. 287 for Saʿīd in particular.

87 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1455.

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IX.E. MASLAMA'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE

Łewond's recounting of Maslama's siege of Constantinople provides a seemingly idiosyncratic reading of this famous military endeavor and defeat. His chronology and selection of recorded events are determined by either his own or, more likely, his source's narrative thrust, which seeks to simultaneously highlight the piety of the emperor Leo and invert the heroic portrayal of the general Maslama. Łewond's account shares points of information with other sources, most prominently Ibn Aʿtham's report, but he often endows them with a different valence. Moreover, his depiction of the failed siege of the city ties together ideological strands about the veracity of Christianity and the power of the cross that support the arguments made by Leo in the correspondence and refute the "anti-Christian acts" of the caliph Yazīd.

IX.E.1. Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik as the Hero of the Ambush

Łewond describes one of Maslama's campaigns in Anatolia before he went to Constantinople. Łewond claims that Leo was following Maslama's progress and that he signaled to the Greek general to beware of deception. "The Ishmaelite general" then announced that his forces would raid the countryside; the Greeks believed him and went after them, but it was a trap. Maslama ambushed the Greeks and roundly defeated them. His forces took 80,000 captives, distributed spoils among the troops, and returned to caliphal territory, where his brother, the caliph, was pleased with his success.

The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* offers a close parallel to Łewond's account of the ambush and allows us to trace the encounter through other sources. The *Chronicle* explains that the event occurred in the city of Tyana. The governor decided to attack the Arabs by surprise, but the Arabs discovered the plan. Maslama sent a famous commander named ʿAbbās along with an army to catch the Greeks off guard. "He placed the whole army in ambushes, ravines, and reed-islands that were there" (ܡܬܚܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܒܬܡܐ ܘܒܓܘܒܐ ܘܒܩܢܝܐ).[88] When the Greeks pitched camp and set their animals out to pasture, the Arabs emerged, surrounded the Greeks, and killed them all. Then the Arabs returned to their land.

The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* provides details such as the name of Maslama's general—ʿAbbās—and the location of the ambush—the Greek city of Tyana—that allow us to investigate the ambush further. The Syriac ܛܘܢܐ renders the Greek Τύανα, in Cappadocia; it appears in Arabic as طوانة. Arabic accounts such as Ṭabarī's have Maslama and his nephew ʿAbbās b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik fighting in Ṭuwāna in Jumādā II 88/May–June 707:

> Ṭuwāna was captured by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbbās b. Walīd. On that day, the Muslims defeated the enemy. They went into their church, then returned. The people were defeated such that they thought they would never recover from it. ʿAbbās remained with a troop among whom was Ibn Muḥayrīz al-Jumaḥī. ʿAbbās said to Ibn Muḥayrīz: "Where are the people of the Qur'ān who seek paradise?" and Ibn Muḥayrīz responded: "Call them and they will come to you." So ʿAbbās called: "O

88 *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 152; *Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum*, 2:159.

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> people of the Qurʾān!" and they all came forward. God defeated the enemy until they entered Ṭuwāna.
>
> كان فتح طوانة على يدى مسلمة بن عبد الملك والعبّاس بن الوليد وهزم المسلمون العدوّ يومئذ هزيمة صاروا الى كنيستهم ثم رجعوا فانهزم الناس حتى ظنوا ألّا يجتبروها ابدا وبقى العبّاس معه نفير منهم ابن محيريز الجمحىّ فقال العبّاس لابن محيريز اين اهل القرآن الذين يريدون الجنّة فقال ابن محيريز نادهم يأتوك فنادى العبّاس يا اهل القرآن فأقبلوا جميعا فهزم الله العدوّ حتى دخلوا طوانة.[89]

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ also attests to Maslama and ʿAbbās's capture of Ṭuwāna from the Greeks in 88/707: "The Greeks gathered a large force against them and they marched against them. God defeated the Greeks and killed many of them—it is said fifty thousand" (جمعت لهم الروم جمعاً كثيراً، فزحفوا إليهم، فهزم الله الروم وقتل منهم بشراً كثيراً يقال: خمسون ألفاً).[90]

Elīyā bar Šināyā, by contrast, places this campaign in 89/708, or AG 1019, "en lequel Maslama, fils de ʿAbd al-Malik, et ʿAbbās, fils de Walīd, entrèrent dans le pays des Romains et [en] sortirent victorieux" (فيها دخل مسلمة بن عبد الملك وعبّاس بن وليد الى بلاد الروم وعادوا غالبين، ܒܗܝܢ ܥܠܘ ܡܣܠܡܐ ܒܪ ܥܒܕܡܠܟ ܘܥܒܒܐܣ ܒܪ ܘܠܝܕ ܠܬܚܘم ܪܘܡܐ ܘܦܢܘ ܙܟܝܢܝܢ;).[91] This date aligns with Theophanes's description of the same event in AM 6201:

> The emperor sent against them [Maslama and ʿAbbās] two generals, namely Theodore Karteroukas and Theophylaktos Salibas, with an army and a throng of peasant militia so as to fight and expel them. Rent by mutual dissensions, they made a disorderly attack and were routed; many thousands perished and many more were taken captive. The Arabs seized the camp equipment and the provisions and continued the siege until they had taken the city, for they had been short on food and were on the point of departing. On seeing this, the inhabitants of Tyana gave up hope. They accepted a promise of immunity and came out to the Arabs, leaving the city deserted until this very day. The Arabs did not keep their promise and drove some of them into the desert, keeping many others as slaves.[92]
>
> καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς δύο στρατηγούς, Θεόδωρον τὸν Καρτεοῦκαν καὶ Θεοφύλακτον τὸν Σαλιβᾶν μετὰ στρατοῦ καὶ γεωργικοῦ λαοῦ χωρικοβοηθείας πρὸς τὸ πολεμῆσαι καὶ ἐκδιῶξαι αὐτούς. αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς ἔριν ἀλλήλων ἐλθόντες καὶ ἀτάκτως συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς τρέπονται, καὶ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες ἀπώλοντο, καὶ ᾐχμαλωτεύθησαν πολλοί. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ τοῦλδον καὶ τὰ τούτων βρώματα παρεκάθισαν, ἕως οὗ παρέλαβον τὴν πόλιν. λειφθέντες γὰρ ἦσαν τὰ βρώματα, καὶ ἤμελλον ἀναχωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Τυάνων ταῦτα ἰδόντες καὶ ἀπογνόντες ἔλαβον λόγον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀπαθείας καὶ ἐξῆλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον ἕως τοῦ νῦν. οἱ δὲ τὸν λόγον μὴ φυλάξαντες τούτους εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἐξώρισαν, καὶ πολλοὺς δαύλους ἐκράτησαν.[93]

Here, finally, we find some of the same elements as those found in Łewond—namely, the Arab seizure of the Greek equipment and the reportedly high number of slaves.

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89 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1192.

90 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 191.

91 Bar Šinaya, *Chronographie*, 98; bar Šinaya, *Opus Chronologicum*, 7:158.

92 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 526.

93 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 377. Cf. Nikephoros, *Short History*, 106–7 (text) and 201–2 (commentary).

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This episode is far from straightforward. Perhaps most problematically, Łewond places the ambush in Bithynia on the river Sagaris (Sangarios), which is too far to the north to make sense of Tyana, which lies 200 km directly east of Konya. It is only the evidence of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* that allows us to speculate that Maslama's ambush relates specifically to his capture of Ṭuwāna/Tyana in 88/707 or 89/708. Whereas the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* places the ambush after the siege of Constantinople, Łewond's sequence of events is consistent with the dates given in all other sources—Greek, Arabic, and Syriac alike. However, like the *Chronicle,* Łewond clearly construes the ambush to be linked conceptually to the siege of Constantinople. Although Łewond does specify that Maslama returned to the caliph after the ambush (so the siege cannot have been part of the same expedition), he places both campaigns during the reign of Hishām, several decades later than we would expect. In this context, the ambush serves to establish Maslama's career in the field and to demonstrate that his endeavors against Roman power had been successful in the past. When this episode is added to Łewond's account of Maslama's success at Darband/Bāb al-Abwāb (chapter VI), we might speculate that the aim of Łewond's selective narrative is to establish Maslama as a worthy foe, as if to put his victory against Constantinople into the realm of possibility and thereby to highlight the divine involvement in the city's protection and his subsequent failure.

IX.E.2. Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham: Mirror Images of the Siege of Constantinople

As Borrut explains, Łewond's report of the siege of Constantinople reads as a mirror image of that of Ibn Aʿtham: "ils furent toutefois développés dans une direction opposé, dans le cadre d'une compétition historiographique, où chaque camp finira par ériger son chef en héros donneur de victoire."[94] To this, we might add Balʿamī's *History*. Although Balʿamī also had access to another set of traditions, his overall explanation of the siege aligns neatly with Ibn Aʿtham's against Łewond's. Łewond's text, then, participates in this competitive recasting of the story to allow for the deheroization of Maslama.

Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī construe Maslama's campaign as a fourteen-year affair stretching from the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik to that of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (though it somehow still fell entirely within the reign of Leo, *ṣāḥib al-Rūm*). Because the campaign unfurled over such a long period, Ibn Aʿtham interrupts his account of it with the conquests of Qutayba b. Muslim in Khurāsān and the rebellion of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. As a result, the events of the campaign are scattered across more than a hundred pages of Umayyad history. Ibn Aʿtham includes many of the same events that Łewond does, but not always in the same order. Nonetheless, the correspondences between Ibn Aʿtham, Balʿamī, and Łewond are simply too close to be coincidental, and Borrut postulates that they drew their information from a common version of events, which he labels "version 2." Nonetheless, the historians' own editorial voices shine through in the differences between the three accounts.

First, Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond both have Maslama travel from Armenia to the caliph and thence to Constantinople. According to Łewond, Maslama moved from Armenia through Cilicia to arrive at Constantinople. Given this path, he must have returned to Damascus after the affair with Saʿīd, since he arrived at Constantinople from the south.

94 Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 259.

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This detail aligns with Ibn Aʿtham's text. Ibn Aʿtham claims that when ʿAbd al-Malik decided to launch the attack against Constantinople, he called on the governors of various provinces for support: "Then he also wrote to his brother Muḥammad b. Marwān and his son Maslama, who at that time were in Armenia and Azerbaijan, and he summoned the two of them to him with all of the troops that were with them both" (ثم كتب ايضاً إلى أخيه محمد بن مروان وإلى ابنه مسلمة وهما يومئذ في بلاد أرمينية وأذربيجان فأشخصهما إليه في جميع من معهما من أجنادهما).[95] The caliph traveled with Maslama as far as Dābiq, and then Maslama continued on via Ṭuwāna/Tyana and ʿAmūriyya/Amorium.

Second, according to Łewond, Maslama swore an oath not to return until he had fulfilled the caliph's wishes:

> He [Maslama] swore an oath to his brother not to return to him until he had completed his wishes. This was the oath that he took: to capture the kingdom and to demolish the city called Constantinople, as well as the exquisite foundation of Hagia Sophia, which was built by supernal wisdom as a house of God on earth, [and] to turn it into a place of worship of filthy idolatry.
>
> ուխտ եդեալ երդմամբ չափ եղբաւր իւրում. ոչ դառնալ առ նա մինչև կատարեսցէ զկամս անձին իւրոյ. զի ուխտ եդեալ էր զայս. բառնալ զթագաւորութիւն և կործանել զքաղաքն ի հիմանց որ կոչի Կոստանդինուպալիս. և զգանազան հիմնարկութիւն սրբոյն Սոփիայ. որ ի վերնոյն իմաստութենէ շինեցաւ յերկրի տուն Աստուծոյ. պղծալից դիցապաշտութեան լինել տեղի երկրպագութեան. [76v–77r]

This point appears in Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī, as well, though there it is clearly cast to support Maslama's campaign. Leo reached out to Maslama by letter to request a peaceful end to the conflict, suggesting that he withdraw from the environs of the city. Maslama responded: "I would travel from you to Masīḥiyya except that I have already sworn an inviolable oath that I will never leave this peninsula [of Constantinople] unless I enter this city of yours" (أرحل عنك إلى المسيحية، غير أني قد آليت يميناً لا كفارة لها أني لا أرحل عن هذا الجزيرة أبداً دون أن أدخل مدينتك هذه).[96] Balʿamī follows suit:

> J'aurais fait la paix, si je n'en étais empêché par mon sermon; car j'ai juré de ne point quitter ces lieux avant d'être entré dans la ville et d'avoir fait ce que j'aurai voulu; j'ai juré de rester ici jusqu'à ce que Dieu me donne la grâce de la prendre par la force, ou jusqu'à ce qu je sois tué ou que je meurre.[97]
>
> من با تو صلح کردمی اگر نه آن بودی که سوگند خورده ام که از اینجا باز نگردم تا در این شهر نیایم. چون اندر آمده باشم آنچه خواهم بکنم، واگر نه خودهم اینجا بباشم وصبر همی کنم تا خدای عز وجل آن را بگشاید به دست من، یا کشته شوم.[98]

Third, Łewond claims that Leo built fortifications to protect Constantinople and refused to fight the Muslims as he waited for divine guidance. Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī, by contrast,

95 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:123. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1315, which has Leo come from Armenia.

96 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:223. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1316, which has Sulaymān, rather than Maslama, swear the oath; Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 258.

97 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:240.

98 Balʿamī, *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:900.

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narrate the precise opposite. In their tellings, when Leo heard of Maslama's crossing, he loaded ships full of warriors and weapons, all of which were roundly defeated. They also have Maslama build a fortified city outside of Constantinople called "the city of subjugation" (*madīnat al-qahr*). Maslama roamed the region around Constantinople, killing many of the Greeks who came out to face them.[99]

Fourth, Łewond claims that Maslama's troops were starving, so he begged Leo to allow them to leave:

> So a great famine came upon their camp, to the point that they devoured horses and mules. Subsequently they laid hold of the concubines and the servants to slaughter and eat [them] so that they might stave off their starvation. So then he [Maslama] beseeched the emperor Leo with many entreaties to show him mercy and release [81v] [them] from imprisonment, for few remained from his many [forces].

> և սով մեծ լիներ ի բանակին նոցա մինչև սպառել զձիս և զջորիս: Ապա յետ այնորիկ ձեռնամուխ լինէին ի հարճս և ի ծառայս փողոտել և ուտել զի լցցեն զսովառութիւնն իւրեանց: Իսկ ապա բազում աղերսանաւք աղաչէր զԼեւոն կայսր առնել ողորմութիւն ընդ նմա և թողուլ ի պաշար[81v]մանէն. քանզի մնացին սակաւք ի բազմացն:

By contrast, Ibn Aʿtham proclaims that soon after they arrived at Constantinople, "Maslama ordered his companions to cultivate [the land], and so they planted vineyards and various fruits. They decided on a place there to settle those who never wanted to return to the lands of Islam" (أمر مسلمة أصحابه بالغرس فغرسوا الاشجار من الكروم وأنواع الفواكه، وعزموا على المقام هنالك إقامة من لا يريد الرجوع الى بلاد الإسلام أبداً).[100] As in the case of Leo's response to Maslama's crossing, then, Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham here offer mirrored accounts. Balʿamī's version is more complicated; although he, too, asserts that Maslama ordered his men to plant food when he arrived at Constantinople. He then cites Ṭabarī explicitly and switches tracks to claim, like Łewond, that there was a famine that ultimately forced the Muslims to eat their horses. Afterward Balʿamī returns to the narrative as found in Ibn Aʿtham.[101]

Fifth, Łewond reports that upon reaching the shores of the Black Sea, Maslama sent an insulting letter to the emperor, boasting that he would level Constantinople if the Romans did not submit to taxes: "I will make what you call Sophia, which is your house of worship, into a bathhouse for my troops. I will smash and crush the wood of your cross that you worship on your head" (և զանուանեալդ քո Սոփիա. որ է տուն երկրպագութեան քո. արարից ի լուալիս զաւրաց իմոց. և զփայտ խաչիտ որում երկրպագես խորտակեալ ջախջախեցից ի գլուխ քո) [77v]. In response, Leo sent a letter of his own to Maslama, accusing the caliphal general of arrogance and comparing him to Pharaoh at the Red Sea. Maslama, insulted by the letter, prepared for a naval attack on the city. Ibn Aʿtham similarly preserves the purported correspondence between Leo and Maslama, though he places the exchange at the end of the encounter rather than at the sea crossing. Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī both have Leo write to Maslama to decry the long siege and offer to pay a million dirhams per annum, as well as a number of other sumptuous gifts and taxes in kind. Maslama responded that he must either

99 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:143–44; cf. Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:223, 239.

100 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:144. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1315–16. Ibn Aʿtham has Maslama sow crops and then burn them to force the war along; see also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:359; *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 151.

101 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:224–25.

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enter the city or fall before its walls in the path of God. At the end of the encounter, Ibn Aʿtham claims that the two exchanged letters yet again. As he boarded his ships to leave the land of the Romans, Maslama asked that Leo refrain from harming the mosque near Constantinople—that he not extract a single stone from its walls, remove a single beam of wood from its roof, or break a single column in the mosque after the Muslims leave. Leo promised to fulfill Maslama's request and to ensure that no Greek would set foot in the mosque.

Sixth, Łewond's text seems to imply that Maslama in fact entered Constantinople: Leo "summoned him and criticized him greatly" (կոչէր զնա առ ինքն և խաւսէր ընդ նմա բազում դատաստանաւք) [81v]. Ibn Aʿtham also describes Maslama's entrance into Constantinople, but with more detail. Maslama wore white, the color of the Umayyads, as he rode alone into the city: "The Romans watched him with gazes from every corner, amazed by his courage, daring, and fortitude. He [the narrator] said: But Maslama went through the city without even glancing at anyone until he arrived at the entrance of the palace of Leo, the king of the Romans" (رمقته الروم بأبصارها من كل ناحية متعجبين من شجاعته وإقدامه وشدة لبه. وقال: ومسلمة يسير في المدينة فلا ينظر إلى أحد حتى صار إلى باب قصر إليون ملك الروم).[102] According to Ibn Aʿtham, Leo, rather than criticizing Maslama, greeted him by kissing his hand and then accompanied him as he rode through the city. Balʿamī includes this passage, as well, adding that Leo kissed not just Maslama's hand but also his feet.[103]

Seventh, Łewond has Leo order a procession, focused on the centrality of Hagia Sophia as a religious center and a symbol of the city. This passage suggests that Leo's firm commitment to Christianity aided in the city's protection, as the emperor called for divine assistance against the threat of invasion. Ibn Aʿtham's and Balʿamī's accounts resonate with Łewond's by likewise depicting Hagia Sophia as the focal point of Christian power in the city. However, Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī do not report a religious procession, but describe Maslama's ride from the royal palace to Hagia Sophia as a spectacle, evoking political grandeur. Along the road to the palace, Leo "ordered a row of horses and men, from the gate of the city to the gate of the great church, with banners and flags. The patricians were arranged in the best finery that they could manage, standing in two lines along Maslama's path" (أمر بصف الخيل والرجالة من باب المدينة إلى باب الكنيسة العظمى بالرايات والأعلام، وترتبت البطارقة بأحسن ما يقدرون عليه من الزينة ووقفوا سماطين على طريق مسلمة).[104] Like the procession in Łewond's account, Ibn Aʿtham's description of a scripted reception connects politics with pomp, both tethered to Hagia Sophia.

Eighth, Łewond invokes the cross multiple times. First he has Maslama threaten to smash the cross, as discussed above. Then he refers to the cross as part of the procession to protect the city: "The people raised up the sound of glorification and the sweet odor of incense, carrying brilliant candles and torches in the front and back [of the procession] in honor of the victorious and venerable cross" (և ժողովուրդքն զհնչիւն փառատրութե*ան*ն բարձրացուցանէին ի վեր. և զբուրումն անուշահոտութե*ան* խնկոցն. և զպայծառութի*ւն* մոմեղինացն եւ ջահիցն առաջի և զկնի բերելով. ի պատիւ յաղթող և պատուական խաչին) [80v]. Finally, he reports that the emperor struck the water with the sign of the cross, which created a storm that destroyed the caliphal navy. Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī also place

102 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:224. Cf. *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 152.

103 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:242.

104 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:224.

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the cross at the heart of this story. Despite his failure to take the city, they imagine Maslama's campaign against Constantinople as symbolically successful through his capture of the cross of Hagia Sophia. Whereas Łewond's cross represents spiritual fortitude, divine intervention, and communal prayer, Ibn Aʿtham's and Balʿamī's cross is made of gold and gems. Ibn Aʿtham explains that "Maslama looked at their greatest cross, which was made of gold and inlaid with gems, set up on a stand of gold. So Maslama approached the cross and took it off of the stand, holding it in his hands" (نظر مسلمة إلى صليبهم الأعظم، والصليب من الذهب المرصع بالجوهر، وقد نصب على كرسي من ذهب. قال: فدنا مسلمة من الصليب فاحتمله عن الكرسي ووضعه بين يديه);[105] Balʿamī describes a similar scene: "Il entre dans l'église, où il y avait une grande croix d'or, ornée de pierres précieuses, et un trône d'or. Maslama étendit la main et prit la croix" (پس مسلمه به کلیسیا اندر شد. وطبقها بود بزرگ از زرو نقره، وصلیبها بود مهین وبه زر کرده وگوهرها اندروی نشانده وکرسیهای زرین نهاده. مسلمه دست دراز کرد واز آن صلیب بزرگ برگرفت وپیش خویش بنهاد).[106] Leo reportedly became unsettled at Maslama's handling of the cross and requested its return. In response, Maslama swore that he would not leave the city without the cross, and he "hoisted the cross upside down on the point of his spear" (رفع الصليب منكسا على رأس رمحه; مسلمه بیرون آمد با آن صلیب بر سر نیزه کرده نگوسار). Leo assuaged the Romans' concerns about the cross by promising to provide another like it (كفوا إياكم الرجل، ذروه يأخذه ولكم عليّ مثله; خاموش باشید که من عوض آن شما را راست کنم).[107] This promise suggests not only that the cross was eminently replaceable but also that the emperor himself admitted to its dispensability. The Muslims at the walls surrounding the city shouted the *takbīr* ("God is great") to signal the symbolic capture of the city.[108]

Finally, Łewond has Maslama, grateful for Leo's mercy, vow never to march out to war again. Allowed to leave, he returns home in shame and to a funereal welcome, lamenting that "I could not fight against God" (կարէի ընդ Աստուծոյ կռուել) [82v]. Łewond concludes this episode with the observation that "he went to his house and did not carry a sword at his waist until the day he died" (գնաց ի տուն իւր և ոչ արկ սուր ընդ մէջ իւր մինչև ցաւր մահուան իւրոյ) [82v]. By contrast, both Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī make a point of noting that Maslama "girded two swords, with a spear in hand" (تقلد سيفين وفي يده رمح) even as he rode through Constantinople.[109] They have Maslama shout the *takbīr* and then enter Constantinople heavily armed and dressed in white, the color of the Umayyad house: "Il portait une tunique de soie écrue, une cuirasse, et par-dessus la cuirasse un manteau. Autour de son casque était noué un bandeau d'etoffe blanche. Il avait son sabre suspend au cou et il tenait dans la main une lance, au bout de laquelle flottait un drapeau blanc" (و دخل قسطنطينية وحده وعليه درع وبيضة ومن فوق الدرع عمامة بيضاء، وقد تقلد سيفين وفي يده رمح وفي رأسه عذبة بيضاء | زرهی پوشیده داشت وخودی بر سر نهاده، وبه زیر زره صدرهٔ خز پوشیده وبر زبر زره خفتان پوشیده وعمامهٔ سپید بالای خود بسته وشمشیر حمایل کرده ونیزه اندر دست وبر نیزه علامتی سپید).[110] In the Arabic and Persian versions, Maslama subsequently went on to fight against the Khazars when

105 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:224.

106 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:242; Balʿamī, *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:901–2.

107 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:225; Balʿamī, *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:902.

108 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:224–25; Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:242.

109 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:224.

110 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:241; *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:901.

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serving as governor of Armenia under Hishām—a story that Łewond places instead in the reign of Sulaymān to allow Maslama to die after his defeat.

This myriad of shared or inverted details certainly cannot substantiate direct borrowing from one text to another. At the same time, we cannot conclude that Łewond's, Balʿamī's, and Ibn Aʿtham's accounts are wholly independent. Rather, as Borrut points out, the accounts of Łewond, on the one hand, and of Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī, on the other, are mirror images, offering diametrically opposed versions of the overall moral of the story. Their similarities are born of a milieu in which storytelling was competitive and a storyteller might transform a chagrined loser into a victorious hero or vice versa. Far from an idiosyncratic account that might serve to corroborate the versions found in Arabic literature, Łewond's version of the siege engages with accounts of the same event circulating in Arabic-Islamic settings. The diverse extant written versions of this tale demonstrate the ways in which authors could manipulate the details of a story to make their own points. Indeed, Łewond's narrative seems shaped by the need to illustrate the deheroization of Maslama and, as we show below, the elevation of Leo as the "the pious emperor." The goal of deheroizing Maslama certainly determines Łewond's oft-noted chronological inaccuracies. Łewond reverses the temporal placement of Maslama's victorious campaigns in the Caucasus and his defeat at the siege of Constantinople: Maslama should have suffered defeat at Constantinople under Sulaymān and then redemption in the Caucasus under Hishām, but Łewond has flipped the narrative to fit Maslama's success in the Caucasus under Sulaymān and his failure at Constantinople under Hishām. The relocation of the failed siege to this historical moment casts his defeat as the tragic denouement of Maslama's long life in the field. Łewond, or his source, thereby follows not any historical chronology but the narrative logic required to transform Maslama from a heroic to a chastened warrior.

IX.E.3. The Elevation of Leo as a Pious Emperor

This episode neatly ties together the letter of Leo to ʿUmar and Yazīd's edict to destroy Christian images. By defeating Maslama through divine intervention, Leo provides empirical "proof" for his argument about the truth of Christianity against ʿUmar. The desire to provide such evidence may have also helped determine Łewond's placement of these events chronologically *after* the epistolary exchange and once Leo was firmly ensconced in power. Similarly, the specific use of the cross as the weapon that defeats Maslama's navy counters and to some degree overturns Yazīd's order to demolish them. This parallelism may have inspired Łewond or his source to emphasize the efficacy of the cross as opposed to the Virgin Mary, to whom Patriarch Germanus attributes the salvation of the city in his famous "Homily on the Deliverance of Constantinople," likely given in 728 CE.

On the other hand, Łewond's treatment of events raises an interesting tension in his narrative. He presents Emperor Leo as the savior of Constantinople through the cross rather than through the image of the Virgin Mary, as described in Germanus's homily. Later in the text, Łewond refers to Leo's son and successor Constantine (r. 741–75 CE) as "the pious king" (արքայ բարէպաշտ) [96v]. By contrast, Theophanes calls Constantine "the impious emperor" (ὁ δυσσεβὴς βασιλεὺς) because of his iconoclasm.[111] Łewond's neg-

111 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 578; *Chronographia*, 417.

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ative portrayal of Yazīd's iconoclastic policies also specifically and uniquely foregrounds the destruction of crosses, as opposed to just painted images, as the true blasphemy in the caliph's actions (see chapter VIII). The question thus arises whether Łewond himself subscribed to an iconoclastic position. Iconoclastic sympathies did manifest themselves in Armenia independently of and prior to the iconoclastic movements within the Roman Empire and Islam, although they did not achieve official adoption or sanction by the Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy.[112] It is possible, then, that Łewond favored the iconoclastic activities of Leo and, particularly, Constantine. It seems more likely, however, that the replacement of the Virgin Mary with the cross as the instrument of Constantinople's deliverance and the ascription of piety to Constantine reflect the iconoclastic bent of Łewond's source. Łewond elsewhere describes icons in positive terms [13v], and he also shows no interest whatsoever in the Iconoclastic Controversy or in the Second Council of Nicaea (787 CE). Nevertheless, the focus on the cross resonates well with Łewond's narrative.

IX.E.4. Biblical Overtones of Łewond's Description of Maslama's Campaign

The description of Leo's defense of Constantinople and the "rescript" of Leo's letter to Maslama employ two biblical tropes. The first is a comparison between Leo and Hezekiah. According to Łewond, Leo reacted to Maslama's aggressive letter by ordering the entire population to pray for three days in the Hagia Sophia. Then, in imitation of King Hezekiah's actions upon receipt of Sennacherib's threatening missive, Leo himself entered the cathedral with the letter, "spread it before the Lord," and implored God to help him against his enemy.

This scene bears similarities with one described in the *History* attributed to Sebēos.[113] There, it is the emperor Herakleios who received an insulting letter from the Sasanian Shāh Ḵosrow II in 624 and ordered it to be read before the patriarchs and nobles and spread out before the altar in the house of God:

> When the emperor Herakleios received this epistle, he ordered it to be read before the patriarch and the magnates. Entering the house of God, they spread the letter before the holy altar. They fell on their faces to the ground before the Lord and wept bitterly, so that He might see the insults that His enemies had inflicted upon Him.
>
> Եւ առեալ Երակլի կայսեր զիրովարտակն՝ հրամայեաց ընթեռնուլ առաջի հայրապետին եւ մեծամեծացն: Եւ մտեալ ի տունն Աստուծոյ տարածեցին զիրովարտակն առաջի սրբոյ սեղանոյն. Անկան ի վերայ երեսաց իւրեանց յերկիր առաջի Տեառն, եւ լացին դառնապէս, զի տեսցէ զնախատինսն, զոր նախատեցին զնա թշնամիք նորա:

Later in the text, Pseudo-Sebēos again evokes the image of Hezekiah when he describes the caliphal attack on Constantinople in 34/654–55. Upon receipt of an insulting letter from the caliph, presumably ʿUthmān, Constans II "went into the house of God, fell on his face and said, 'See, Lord, the insults that these Hagarenes have inflicted upon You'" (Եւ առ արքայ զթուղթն եւ եմուտ ի տունն Աստուծոյ, եւ անկաւ ի վերայ երեսաց իւրոց եւ ասէ. «Տե՛ս,

112 See Mathews, "Vrtʿanēs Kʿertʿoł."

113 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 141.

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տէր, զնախատինսն, զոր նախատեցին զքեզ Հագարացիքս այս»). The emperor and the populace fasted and prayed, and the caliphal navy was destroyed by a sea storm. Noting that no exact verbal parallelisms are discernible between these two passages and Łewond's description of the siege of Constantinople, Greenwood nonetheless suggests that it is possible that Łewond modeled his account on them given their similar themes.[114] Howard-Johnston has plausibly argued that in his representation of the episode in 624 CE, Pseudo-Sebēos reproduces a piece of Herakleian propaganda in which the emperor promoted himself as a latter-day Hezekiah and even possibly produced "a carefully stage-managed performance before the court in Constantinople."[115] Instead of Łewond's contouring his narrative to Pseudo-Sebēos's account, then, Łewond's source may have repurposed a piece of Herakleian propaganda to suit Leo.

Łewond's account also twice conjures the image of the destruction of Pharaoh's army at the Red Sea to depict the ruin of the caliphal navy at Constantinople. Pseudo-Sebēos does not reference that biblical example when portraying the devastation of the caliphal navy in 34/654–55; instead, he lists the types of weaponry stored on the ships, echoing the depiction of the siege of Jerusalem in 1 Maccabees 6:51. On the other hand, Patriarch Germanus repeatedly draws a comparison to Pharaoh's army in his homily.[116] The correspondence here is very loose, and one cannot posit any direct relationship between the texts, but it does suggest that Łewond's source drew on a different set of associative images than Pseudo-Sebēos did.

IX.F. THE BAGRATUNIKʿ AND THE CAMPAIGNS OF MARWĀN B. MUḤAMMAD

As the Khazar wars intensified in the 110s/730s, Marwān b. Muḥammad relied heavily on the military assistance of Ašot III Bagratuni, who, according to Łewond, "had become important in the eyes of Hishām" (մեծացաւ անձն նորա յաչս Հեշմա) [82v] and was recognized as prince of Armenia. Łewond's main concern here is to document the elevation of the Bagratuni family over the powerful Mamikoneankʿ. Ašot's relationship with Marwān gave him leverage over his rivals Grigor and Dawitʿ Mamikonean, who were exiled to Yemen. Łewond describes Hishām's payments to the Bagratunikʿ as a way to affirm Armenian support for the caliphal army.

Blankinship construes the payments made to the Armenian cavalry as a sign of Hishām's desperation for additional troops.[117] He is certainly correct that the payment of arrears was an extraordinary measure. However, we should keep in mind that the Armenians had always supplied cavalry to the Caliphate. In the first/seventh-century *History* attributed to Sebēos, the earliest treaty between Muʿāwiya (as governor of Syria) and the Armenians included the maintenance of cavalry in lieu of taxation.[118] Łewond also mentions Armenian military service to the Caliphate in several places. His first reference to the *dīwān*, the registry of names and stipends, appears during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik (see

114 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 142.

115 Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, 91.

116 Grumel, "Homélie de Saint Germain," esp. §§14, 17, 19, 20; Borrut, *Entre mémoire et pouvoir*, 256.

117 Blankinship, *Jihād State*, 153.

118 Sebēos, *Patmutʿiwn*, 164.

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chapter V), when Muḥammad b. Marwān was governor. As noted, the payment of stipends indicates a shift from the Sufyānid practice of accepting military service in lieu of taxation to the Marwānid policy of levying taxes to pay the military. This practice continued into the early ʿAbbāsid period through the caliphate of Mutawakkil, when Armenians accompanied caliphal troops on a number of excursions. Payments for military services were not consistent, however, as Łewond subsequently criticizes the early ʿAbbāsids for their reliance on the cavalry without stipends: "They required that the princes have a certain number of cavalry and there was a tax on their own houses to equip the regiments of the arms and to keep uninterrupted the progress of profitless labor" (Եւ զհամար հեծելոցն պահանջէին յիշխանացն. և հարկ լինէր ի տանց իւրեանց հանդերձել զգունդս զաւրացն. և զընթացս զ[.]դավաստակ աշխատութեանցն ողջ պահել) [96r]. The participation of Armenians in the campaigns of the second/eighth century should be seen as the norm rather than an exceptional case, and Łewond suggests that the Bagratunikʿ, in particular, were frequently called on as caliphal allies.

Because of the close relationship between the Umayyads and the Bagratunikʿ, Blankinship understands the reference to the destruction of fortresses in Armenia as a concerted effort against Mamikonean possessions.[119] Ibn Aʿtham explains that Hishām sent Marwān from Syria to Armenia with 120,000 men. "Then he battled the kings and patricians of Armenia until they conceded to listen to and obey him. Then he proceeded to conquer fortress after fortress until he had conquered all of the fortresses in Armenia" (ثم جعل يقاتل ملوك أرمينية وبطارقتها حتى أذعنوا له بالسمع والطاعة، ثم إنه تقدم فجعل يفتح قلعة بعد قلعة حتى فتح قلاع أرمينية كلها).[120] Balʿamī echoes this account: "Il entreprit une série d'expéditions et réussit à soumettre tous les princes de la contrée, et à prendre toutes les places fortes, les unes après les autres, se rendant ainsi maître de toutes les villes de l'Arménie" (ودست بکشید به حرب کردن تا ملکان ارمینیه همه به طاعت آمدند. پس پیشتر رفت ویک یک از آن قلعه ها همی گشاد تا همه بلاد ارمینیه بگشاد).[121]

To understand Ibn Aʿtham's and Balʿamī's claim, however, we must read it in the broader context of their histories. Ibn Aʿtham defines Armenia according to the tradition of the Iraqi school of geography as any territory south of the Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea.[122] Before asserting that he reduced all of the fortresses of Armenia to submission, Ibn Aʿtham explains that Marwān set up his base in Kisāk (كساك); Balʿamī has Kisāl (كسال). Kisāl (كسال) renders Kʿasał (Քասաղ), which lies 20 *farsangs* from Tiflīs/Tʿpilisi and 40 *farsangs* from Bardhaʿa/Partaw,[123] far to the north of Lake Sevan. In the very next sentence, Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī have Marwān order his commander Usayd b. Zāfir al-Sulamī to move north from Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband while he himself leads the contingent from Kisāl through Bāb al-Lān/Dariali. In other words, according to the Arabic texts, Marwān had already left the territory held by Armenians before attacking the fortresses and immediately moved across the Caucasus afterward. It is therefore highly unlikely that Ibn Aʿtham

119 Blankinship, *Jihād State*, 172.

120 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:289.

121 Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:288; *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:944.

122 On the differences between the definitions of Armenia held by the Iraqi and Balkhī schools of geography, see Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*; "Buldān al-Rān."

123 The location of Kisāl is mentioned in this passage in both Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī, and it appears also in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 207.

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and Balʿamī are referring here to Mamikonean holdings, which are too far west to have been of any interest to Marwān by that point.

Marwān campaigned in the Caucasus between 117/735 and 123/741. Łewond's account most likely describes his main excursion in 119/737, which pushed along two fronts—one from Bāb al-Lān/Dariali and the other from Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband—through Khazar territory to the realm of the Slavs.[124] This campaign garnered so much animosity in the Georgian records that it earned Marwān the name Murvan Qru, Marwān the Deaf:

> There arrived in Kʿartʿli the Hagarene emir who was called Marwān Qru [deaf], son of Muḥammad; he had been sent by Hishām amīr al-muʾminīn of Baghdad, son of ʿAbd al-Malik, a descendant of Amatʿ. He was nicknamed "deaf" because he did not pay attention to the words of his counsellors. All the *mtʿavaris*, *pitiaxš*es, and the relatives of the *eristʿavis* and nobles took refuge in the Caucasus and hid in the forests and caves. Qru came to all the Caucasus; he seized the passes of Dariel and of Daruband and destroyed all the cities and innumerable fortresses in every region of Kʿartʿli.[125]

> რამეთუ მოიწია ამირა აგარიანი ქართლად, რომელსა ერქუა მურვან ყრუ, ძე მომადისი, რომელი წარმოევლინა ეშიმს, ამირმუმლსა ბაღდადელსა, ძესა აბდალ-მელიქისსა, ნათესავისაგან ამათისა. ამისთჳს ეწოდა მეორედ ყრუ, რომელ არა მიითუალვიდა სიტყუასა განმზრახთასა . . . და ყოველნი მთავარნი და პატიახშნი, ნათესავნი ერისთავთა და წარჩინებულთანი შეიმეოტნეს კავკასიად, და დაიმალნეს ტყეთა და ღრეთა. და მოვლო ყრუმან ყოველიკავკასია, და დაიპყრა კარი დარიელისა და დარუბანდისა, და შემუსრნა ყოველნი ქალაქნი და უმრავლესნი ციხენი ყოველთა საზღვართა ქართლისათა.[126]

Given this passage in the *History of Vaxtang Gorgasali*, we should understand Ibn Aʿtham's and Balʿamī's claim that Marwān "conquered all of the fortresses in Armenia" to refer to his submission of the Kʿartʿvelian elite rather than the Mamikoneankʿ. Łewond's positive estimation of Marwān may furnish further support for this interpretation. In contrast to the *History of Vaxtang Gorgasali*, Łewond does not refer to Marwān as "deaf" in his text and does not suggest that Marwān harassed the Armenian *naxararkʿ*. Instead, he focuses on the cooperation between Marwān and Ašot Bagratuni and cites the former's fairness in the distribution of spoils and his maintenance of security: "He gave a part [of the spoils] to Ašot and [he gave] servants and maids to the other honorable *naxararkʿ*. He ruled over this land and pacified all of the violent invasions" (տայր մասն Աշոտի և այլոց պատուաւոր նախարարացն ծառայս և աղախնայս. և ինքն տիրեալ ի վերա աշխարհիս խաղաղացոյց զամենայն յարձակմունս բռնութեան) [84v]. Indeed, Marwān appears in a completely different light compared to both his father, Muḥammad b. Marwān, and his cousin Maslama, to whom Łewond explicitly and favorably compares him.

124 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:289; cf. Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 39–40.

125 Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 241. For an overview of this campaign, see Dunlop, *Jewish Khazars*, 80ff. On the significance of this campaign in Georgian sources, see Martin-Hisard, "Les Arabes en Géorgie."

126 Rapp, *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba*, 1:233–34; cf. 2:195: քանզի չոգաւ ի վերայ նոցա Քարթլայ Մրվան՝ որդի Մահումադայ, որ կոչեր Խուլ, և կալաւ զԴուռն Դարիալայ, և աւերեաց զբնակութիւն լերինն Կովկասու: Եւ լուաւ, եթէ տէրքն Քարթլայ փախեան յԵգրիս, և անտի յԱփխազէթ, ել զհետ նոցա, և առ զամրոցն Եգրայ.

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Although little in Łewond's account aligns with the references to this campaign in the Arabic sources beyond the point that Marwān returned to Bardhaʿa/Partaw, Łewond's reference to the spoils of war employs a formulaic Arabic phrase that appears multiple times in Ibn Aʿtham's account. Łewond says that Marwān "selected a fifth of the captives and booty and sent it to their prince, Hishām, and informed him of the circumstances of the victory" (որոշէր ի գերելոցն և յաւարէն հինգեակս և առաքէր իշխանին իւրեանց Հեշմա. և զգացուցանէր նմա զիրս յաղթութեան) [84r] and that he then "distributed the rest of the booty along with the captives to his troops" (զմընացեալ աւարն հարդերձ գերելաւքն բաշխէր զաւրացն իւրոց) [84r–v]. Ibn Aʿtham inserts a similar formulaic phrase—albeit with some variations—at the end of each military encounter he describes during Maslama's governorship: "Maslama gathered these spoils and extracted a fifth from them and divided the remainder among the Muslims. Then he sent the fifth to his father, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, and he wrote to him to inform him of what God had conquered through him" (جمع مسلمة هذه الغنائم، فأخرج منها الخمس وقسم باقي ذلك على المسلمين، ثم وجه بالخمس إلى أبيه عبد الملك بن مروان، وكتب إليه يخبره بما فتح الله على يديه).[127] Ibn Aʿtham and Balʿamī use the phrase only once, and in a shorter form, in reference to Marwān b. Muḥammad, following his campaign against the Khazars in 119/737: "He wrote to Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to inform him about that [victory], and he sent him one-fifth of all that God had provided him" (كتب إلى هشام بن عبد الملك يخبره بذلك، ووجه إليه الخمس من جميع ما أفاء الله عليه; ونامه نوشت به هشام واو را آگاه كرد بر آن فتح. وپنج يک غنيمت را بفرستاد).[128] This emphasis on the governor-generals' sending of the required "fifth" to support the central administration and informing of the caliph of their activities projected caliphal involvement in these victories and provided assurance that the powerful governor-generals were not acting for their own benefit. Łewond's knowledge of the fifth may suggest that he was familiar with early Islamic practice, but his specific wording about the distribution of the spoils further reflects familiarity with the literary expectations governing conquest narratives in Arabic.

127 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:135; Balʿamī, *Tārīkhnāma*, 4:946.

128 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:291; Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:290.

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X The Caliphate of Walīd b. Yazīd

r. AH 125–26/743–44 CE

ŁEWOND'S INFORMATION ABOUT THE REIGN of Walīd b. Yazīd is unique. Walīd is maligned in most sources as a drunk womanizer, unfit for the position of caliph. Łewond agrees with this dominant narrative. However, he also claims that the *qurrāʾ* (Qurʾān reciters) ordered the caliph's death; this interesting detail does not find a precise parallel elsewhere, but it fits within the broader interpretive frameworks of Islamic historical writing. The third civil war (*fitna*) erupted as the result of Walīd's death and the subsequent succession disputes. Again, Łewond offers an interesting perspective. He completely ignores two of the main claimants to the Caliphate at this time (Yazīd b. Walīd and Ibrāhīm b. Walīd) to assert that Sulaymān b. Hishām, the son of the previous caliph, rose to power. Sulaymān was never officially recognized as caliph, though he did fight in the civil war. Stressing the ethnicity and background of Sulaymān, Łewond's account engages with Umayyad-era debates about the suitability of concubine-born contenders for the Caliphate. The rest of this short chapter addresses the trauma of internecine conflict, describing how Marwān b. Muḥammad left Armenia to go fight his own brethren in Syria.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

29. His [Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's] successor Walīd ruled for a year and a half. He was a robust man with great strength and took part in athletic wrestling. Wherever he heard about bravery of great strength, he summoned [the described person] to him so that he might test himself. He also occupied himself with drunkenness [and] uninhibited, sordid fornication. But the *naxarark'* of the same house saw [85r] the deed[s] of their prince [and] that he lived in abject, execrable debauchery; [and] they asked the faithful of their religion, whom they call *qurrāʾ*, what they thought of him. They answered them by saying: "Because he offended the honor of our kingdom and transgressed the order of our lawgiver and lived in execrable debauchery, he is worthy of death. Let him die." In accordance with the order that they received from the *qurrāʾ*, they entered the royal palace, found him sleeping in a drunken stupor, and

Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 743–44): Umayyad caliph whose reign was short and reportedly dissolute. He was famous for his interest in women and wine and was noted as a particularly influential poet. He was criticized for his inability to balance the tribal factions in the Caliphate.

Qurrāʾ: the term literally means "readers" or "reciters" of the Qurʾān, but there are significant debates regarding its definition. No other historian mentions the involvement of the *qurrāʾ* in the death of Walīd; Łewond's reference to them could be part of a broader comparison between the murder of Walīd and that of the earlier caliph ʿUthmān.

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killed him by the sword. As his successor, they set up a certain Sulaymān [who was] of the same ethnicity [and] from the royal house.

30. When Marwān heard of the death of their prince Walīd, he immediately gathered his forces and left Isḥāq b. Muslim in this land of Armenia. He, along with [85v] the entire multitude of his troops, went to wage war with his own people as vengeance for the death of Walīd and his son. He found some men from the house of those who had been killed and convinced them to join him. He gathered all of the men of his ancestral house to him. Many other sons of Ishmael were united in a great camp. They marched forward and crossed the large Euphrates River. They were facing each other near the borders of Damascus, [at a place] called Ruṣāfa. They were lined up for battle there for many days and attacked each other hard. When the day turned to evening, when the hour of the last prayer neared, they disengaged from battle and sat crying over each other's fallen. They assembled the corpses and buried them, saying to each other: [86r] "We are one people with one language and one rule. Beyond that, we are even brothers. So why do we butcher each other by the sword?" Having said this, they still waged war the next day, and the battle continued among them.

A certain Sulaymān: Łewond skips over two caliphs, Yazīd and Ibrāhīm b. Walīd. Instead, he claims that a certain Sulaymān was appointed leader. He is referring to Sulaymān b. Hishām, the son of the former caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Sulaymān was never recognized as caliph, though he did support both Yazīd and Ibrāhīm and he continued to battle against Marwān even after their deaths. He was put to death by the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Saffāḥ.

Same ethnicity and **royal house**: Sulaymān's mother and father both belonged to the Umayyad family, which set him apart from the other claimants to the Caliphate because Yazīd and Ibrāhīm were Umayyads only on their father's side. Łewond (or his source) is specifying that Sulaymān was an Arab and the descendant of Umayyad Arabs, rather than the son of a non-Arab concubine.

Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī: leader of the Banū Qays and governor of Armenia from 743–44 to 749–50.

Civil war (*fitna*): when Łewond has Marwān set out "to wage war with his own people," he is referring to the third *fitna*, or civil war, which began in 744. This first battle near Damascus took place at ʿAyn al-Jarr, now in Lebanon.

The son of Walīd: Walīd had two sons, ʿUthmān and Ḥakam b. Walīd, who were both killed before Marwān took control of Damascus.

Ruṣāfa: city in the Syrian desert near Raqqa. It was once one of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik's bases and subsequently became important in his son Sulaymān's rebellion against Marwān.

ARMENIAN EDITION

իթ[1] Եւ տիրէ փոխանակ նորա Վլիթ ամ. *մի*. և կէս. և նա էր այր պնդակազմ ուժով զաւրութե*ան*. և վարէր ըմբշական մենամարտութե*ամբ*. եւ ուր ուրեք լսէր զարիութի*ւն* զաւրութե*ան* ուժոյ. առաքէր առ ինքն տանէր, զի փորձ անձին իւրոյ գտցէ. վարէր ընդ նմին արբշռութե*ամբ*ք յանարգել գիշոութի*ւն*. իգախազգութե*ան*: Իսկ համատոհմ նախարարացն տեսեալ [85r] զգործ իշխանին իւրեանց զի վարէր անպիտան զազրալից պղծութե*ամբ*ք. հարցին ցհաւատարիմս հաւատոյն իւրեանց որ անուանին ի նոցունց կուռայք. էթե որպէս խորհեսցին վ*ասն* նորա. իսկ նոքա պատասխանի տուեալ նոցա ասեն որովհետև անարգեաց զպատիւ իշխանութե*ան*ս մերոյ և անց ըստ հրաման աւրինադրին մերոյ և վարեցաւ զազրալից պղծութե*ամբ*. արժանի է մահու. մեռցի: Իսկ նոքա ըստ հրամանին զոր ընկալան ի կուռաիցն. մտեալ յարքունական ապարանսն. գտին զնա թմբրեալ գինէզեխութե*ամբ*ք և սպանին զնա սրով, և փոխանակ նորա կացուցին զՍլեման ոմն ի նոյն ազգէ յարքունեան տոհմէ:

լ[2] Իսկ Մրուան իբրև լուաւ զմահ իշխանին իւրեանց Վլթի. վաղվաղակի կազմեալ զզաւրս իւր. և թողոյր յաշխարհիս Հաց զԻսահակ որդի Մսլիմի. և ինքն հանդերձ [85v] *ամենայն* բազմութե*ամբ*ն զաւրաց. երթեալ պատերազմէր ընդ ազգին իւրում որպէս թէ քինախնդիր[3]

1 իթ in lft. mg.

2 լ in rt. mg.; սպանումն, "killing," in rt. mg.

3 քինախնդիր] -ի[1]- suprascr.

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եղեալ մահուանն Վլթի և որդոյ նորա. եւ զոմանս ի տոհմէ սպանելոցն գտեալ յանկուցանէր առ ինքն. և զ*ամենայն* արս ազգատոհմի իւրոյ ժողովեալ առ ինքն. և բազումք այլք յորդոցն Իսմաելի միաբանեալք լինել ի բանակ մեծ. և խաղացեալք յառաջ անցանեին ընդ մեծ գետն Եփրատ. և յանդիման լինէին միմեանց մերձ ի սահմանս Դամասկեա, ի կոչեցեալն Ռուսփայ. անդ ճակատեալք ի պատերազմ աւորս[4] բազումս, հարկանէին ի միմեանց բազում հարուածս. և իբրև լինէր աւրն ընդ երեկս իբր թէ մերձենալ ժամ յետին աղաւթիցն. ի բաց կային[5] ի պատերազմելոյ. և նստեալ լային զանկեալսն ի միմեանց, և ամփոփեալ զդիակունսն տային գերեզմանի ասելով առ միմեանս. մի ազգ [86r] եմք. մի լեզու. և մի իշխանութիւն. այլև եղբարք կս. և ընդէր խողողեմք զմիմեանս սրով. և զայս ասացեալ առ վաղիւն ժամ տային պատերազմի. և մարտ պատերազմին յերկարեալ ի մեջ նոցա.

COMMENTARY

X.A. WALĪD'S PERSONALITY

Łewond accuses Walīd of "drunkenness" (արբշռութիւն) and claims that he was murdered while he was "sleeping in a drunken stupor" (թմբրեալ գինէգեխութ*եամբ*). He also focuses on Walīd's sexual immorality: his "uninhibited sordid fornication" (յանարգել գիշերութի*ւն* իգախաւզութե*ան*) and "abject, execrable debauchery" (անպիտան զազրալից պոծութ*եամբք*) [84v–85r]. By all accounts, Walīd was a libertine.[6] Perhaps the most evocative report is found in Yaʿqūbī's history, which explains:

> The regions were all in an uproar. Al-Walīd was neglectful of his affairs and unconcerned about his outlying regions. He was given to amusements and singing-girls, to undisguised killing and oppression, to distractions from public affairs, and to drinking and dissoluteness. He went so far in his dissoluteness that he decided to have a booth built atop the Kaʿba in which he might sit for amusement, and he dispatched an architect for that purpose.[7]

> واضطربت البلدان كلّها وكان الوليد مهملا لأمره قليل العناية باطرافه وكان صاحب ملاه وقيان واظهار للقتل والجور وتشاغل عن امور الناس وشرب ومجون فبلغ من مجونه انّه اراد ان يبنى على الكعبة بيتا يجلس فيه للّهو ووجّه مهندسا لذلك.[8]

Arabic accounts of Walīd's reign do not have Walīd meet his end in his sleep but rather present him as challenging the mob to rebut their claims. According to Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, and Iṣfahānī, the mob complained: "We are against you because you have violated the sacred ordinances of God, because you have drunk wine, because you have debauched the mothers of your father's sons, and because you have held God's command in contempt" (ننقم عليك فى انفسنا ولكن ننقم عليك فى انتهاك ما حرّم الله وشرب الحمر ونكاح امّهات اولاد ابيك واستخفافك بأمر الله).[9] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and Balādhurī further accuse Walīd of homosexuality, overtones of

4 աւորս] read: աւուրս with printed editions.

5 կային] կացին a.c.

6 For a critical reading of Walīd's reputation, see Judd, "Reinterpreting al-Walīd b. Yazīd."

7 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1055.

8 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:400.

9 Ṭabarī, *History*, 26:153; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1799–1800.

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which may be reflected in Łewond's choice of words—պոնրիւն instead of պոռնկութիւն for "fornication." In the Arabic texts, Walīd responded that "the things you mention are within the scope of what is licit for me" (وان فيما احل لى لسعة عما ذكرت), thus admitting to their accusations but excusing them.[10]

X.B. THE THIRD *FITNA*

Łewond explains that Marwān marched against Syria in response to the murder of Walīd and his son (fig. 12). Łewond's rationale for Marwān's involvement and the sequence of events he provides differ from those in Arabic accounts. According to these accounts, on Walīd's death, Marwān remained in Jazīra to deal with a rebellion and so did not confront Yazīd during his short six-month reign in 126/744. After Yazīd b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's death, his brother Ibrāhīm ruled for only two months in 126–27/744. Marwān marched southward, proclaiming that he was seeking vengeance for Walīd b. Yazīd's death and expecting to install one of Walīd b. Yazīd's sons as caliph. Ibrāhīm sent Walīd b. Yazīd's sons ʿUthmān and Ḥakam to prison in Damascus, where they were killed. Ibrāhīm fled, Marwān assumed the Caliphate, and Ibrāhīm subsequently requested and was granted a pardon. Since in this version of events Walīd's sons were not murdered until Marwān was approaching Damascus, Łewond's claim that Marwān left Armenia to avenge their deaths does not align with the Arabic narratives. Łewond's source likely collapses the details, knowing that Walīd's sons would die before Marwān could avenge their father, and so extends Marwān's vengeance to cover both Walīd and his sons.

Łewond's insistence that "they set up a certain Sulaymān [who was] of the same ethnicity and from the royal house" (փոխանակ նորա կացուցին զՍլեման ոմն ի նոյն ազգէ յարքունեան տոհմէ) [85r] also adds an unexpected twist to the usual story of the third *fitna*. Although he never appears as a viable contender for the throne in Arabic sources, Sulaymān b. Hishām rallied against the murder of Walīd. However, in an abrupt about-face, Sulaymān reconciled with Walīd's murderer, Yazīd b. Walīd, who married Sulaymān's sister Umm Hishām to seal their alliance. Sulaymān went forth to put down a rebellion in the city of Ḥimṣ, whose inhabitants had not accepted Yazīd's rule. He also combated rebels in Damascus, Palestine, and Jordan, prompting Greater Syria to recognize Yazīd's rule. Sulaymān further launched a remarkably ineffective foray against Marwān in Ibrāhīm's name. Sulaymān brought 120,000 cavalry against Marwān's 80,000, but Marwān roundly defeated Sulaymān's army at ʿAyn al-Jarr (ʿAnjar in modern Lebanon) between Ḥimṣ and Damascus on 7 Ṣafar 127/November 18, 744. Łewond's reference to Marwān's attack on Damascus might reflect traditions about ʿAyn al-Jarr, which is located "in the district of Damascus" (من عمل دمشق).[11] Łewond aligns neatly with the Arabic sources in claiming that Marwān's men were loath to kill anyone from Sulaymān's army. However, where Łewond explains the wanton killing in terms reminiscent of Ibn Aʿtham's "ignominious destruction" (هزيمة قبيحة), Ṭabarī instead reports that Marwān killed only two men who were personally implicated in the death of Walīd.[12]

10 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1800.

11 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1059; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:403. On ʿAyn al-Jarr, see Chehab, "Identification of ʿAnjar"; Santi, "Mosque—Dār al-Imāra Complex."

12 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:336; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1800.

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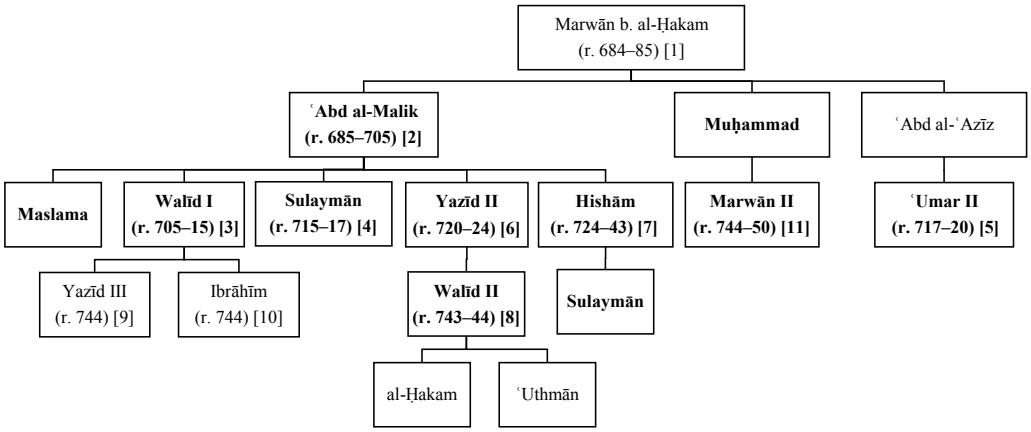

Figure 12. Umayyad family tree for the third *fitna*.

Whereas the Arabic sources locate the battle between Marwān and Sulaymān in ʿAyn al-Jarr, Łewond has Marwān gather his men elsewhere: "They marched forward and crossed the large Euphrates River. They were facing each other near the borders of Damascus, [at a place] called Ruṣāfa" (և խաղացեալք յառաջ անցանեին ընդ մեծ գետն Եփրատ. և յանդիման լինէին միմեանց մերձ ի սահմանս Դամասկեա, ի կոչեցեալն Ռուսփայ) [85v]. This reference likely reflects the later circumstances of the third *fitna*. After Marwān defeated Sulaymān at ʿAyn al-Jarr, he took Damascus without a fight (see chapter XI). Sulaymān fled, but then accepted Marwān's claim to the Caliphate.[13] Later in 127/745, however, Marwān and Sulaymān went to Ruṣāfa/Ṙusapʿ together, and Sulaymān asked to remain there to organize his troops while Marwān continued on. Once Marwān had left, Sulaymān rejected his claim to the Caliphate: "In this year, I mean the year 127, Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān renounced Marwān b. Muḥammad and pitched war [against him]" (وفى هذه السنة اعنى سنة 127 خلع سليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك بن مروان مروان بن محمد ونصب الحرب).[14] Marwān's main power base was the Qaysiyya, whereas Sulaymān emerged as the contender for the Yamāniyya.[15] Marwān was forced to turn back to confront Sulaymān again.

Łewond claims that Marwān killed Sulaymān (see chapter XI), but other sources report that Sulaymān joined Khārijite rebels in Iraq and was subsequently killed by the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Saffāḥ.[16] Łewond has compressed and reordered Marwān's victory at ʿAyn al-Jarr, Sulaymān's rebellion at Ruṣāfa/Ṙusapʿ, and Sulaymān's subsequent death at the hands of Saffāḥ. However, with the exception of ʿAyn al-Jarr, none of these events is attested in multiple Arabic sources.

13 See, for example, Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 244.

14 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1908; cf. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:405, which places the confrontation in Khusāf instead of Ruṣāfa/Ṙusapʿ.

15 See Cobb, *White Banners*, 74.

16 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:430–31.

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X.B.1. The Role of the Qurrāʾ

Łewond claims that Walīd's murder was prompted by the *qurrāʾ*, rendered in Armenian as կուռայք. The word literally denotes "readers" or "reciters" of the Qurʾān, from the root q-r-ʾ, but its precise meaning is subject to significant debates. Some modern scholars have moved away from the term's Qurʾānic connotations (T. Nagel, for example, opines that "it seems rather absurd to refer to the *ḳurrāʾ* as 'Ḳurʾān-readers'"),[17] claiming that the *qurrāʾ* simply wanted the prestige traditionally allotted to Qurʾān reciters. M. A. Shaban has suggested that the name refers instead to Arabic *qurā*, or villages (so *ahl al-qurā*, "villagers") from the root q-r-y, though this suggestion has not gained much support. Modern scholarship has focused on the Kufan context of the *qurrāʾ*, their role in the *ridda* wars and in the murder of ʿUthmān, and their relationship to the Khārijites.[18] The debate about the definition of the *qurrāʾ* at times assumes that the term had a stable meaning, but it seems possible that its meaning (and so the relationship of the *qurrāʾ*, to both the Qurʾān and to political strife) depended on situational factors. Here, their engagement in Qurʾān recitation is neither established nor explicitly precluded. Łewond's *qurrāʾ* are known for their religious knowledge, which supports the traditional interpretation, but he also corroborates the political engagement of the *qurrāʾ*.

None of the Arabic-Islamic texts implicate the *qurrāʾ* in the death of Walīd. These sources' reports revolve around Yazīd's resistance to Walīd's rule and largely ignore the positions of the religious elite. However, a central underlying pattern in the Arabic-Islamic texts is the comparison of the murder of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān to that of Walīd b. Yazīd. ʿUthmān was murdered by discontents who objected to his administrative decisions as caliph. His death was shocking, however, because he reportedly died as he read the Qurʾān. This detail suggests the amorality of the murderers by contrasting their earthly concerns with ʿUthmān's righteous piety. In several texts, Walīd himself draws a comparison to ʿUthmān. He invokes the family relationship (ʿUthmān was similarly Umayyad) and the shock value of a caliph murdered while sitting before his Qurʾān. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ claims that Walīd's last words made the parallel explicit: "When they surrounded Walīd, he took a codex of the Qurʾān and said: 'I am killed like my cousin ʿUthmān was killed'" (لما أحاطوا بالوليد أخذ المصحف وقال: أقتل كما قتل ابن عمي عثمان).[19] Ibn Aʿtham provides much the same account: "They surrounded him, so Walīd sat down, took a codex of the Qurʾān, and said: 'It is a day just like ʿUthmān's day'" (فأحاطوا به، فجلس الوليد وأخذ مصحفاً وقال: يوم كيوم عثمان).[20] Łewond's reference to the *qurrāʾ* must be read in this narrative context. The Kūfan *qurrāʾ* were famously implicated in the murder of the caliph ʿUthmān, undertaken in response to their frustration at the caliph's land policies in Iraq. In claiming that the *qurrāʾ* were also responsible for the death of Walīd, Łewond—or his source—participates in the broader project of interpretation found also in the works of Ibn Aʿtham and Khalīfa by continuing the comparison between the two caliphs. This passage suggests that Łewond drew on

17 Nagel, "Ḳurrāʾ."

18 Calder, "*Qurrāʾ*"; Hinds, "Kûfan Political Alignments"; Juynboll, "*Qurrāʾ*"; Juynboll, "Qurʾān Reciter"; Yahaya, "Kūfan Qurrāʾ"; Nagel, "Ḳurrāʾ"; Shah, "Quest."

19 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 237.

20 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:335. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1800.

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Arabic-Islamic sources—not because he employs a single word in Arabic, since words can float easily from one language to the next, but rather because he reflects an interpretive context that associated the murders of ʿUthmān and Walīd.

X.B.2. Sulaymān b. Hishām and the Sons of Concubines

Łewond asserts that the *qurrāʾ* set up "a certain Sulaymān" to replace Walīd. Here Łewond completely omits two caliphs: Yazīd b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibrāhīm b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik. The latter was not universally accepted as caliph, but the former was. At the same time, Łewond elevates Sulaymān to the Caliphate when no caliph by that name reigned in the second/eighth century. Łewond's Sulaymān is very likely Sulaymān b. Hishām, the son of the former caliph. Łewond points out that he was "of same ethnicity and from the royal house" (ի նոյն ազգէ յարքունեան տոհմէ) [85r].

Łewond's (mis)information and his explicit characterization of Sulaymān reflect the tensions associated with the status of concubine-born Arabs in the late Umayyad state.[21] For most of Umayyad history, the caliphs' concubine-born sons, such as Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, could not hope to attain power. The Umayyad caliphs were all born of noble Arab mothers, whether from the Umayyad family itself or from other prominent families in the early Islamic state. Yazīd b. Walīd was the first to break this trend, as his mother was the daughter of the last scion of the Sasanian line, Pērōz III (d. 679 CE), and the unnamed daughter of a Turkic khagan. Ibrāhīm b. Walīd, who succeeded him, was the son of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and an *umm walad* (enslaved mother) named Suʿār. Łewond therefore omits the first two so-called *hajīn* ("mixed," i.e., not fully Arab) caliphs, while expressly noting that Sulaymān was "of the same ethnicity and from the royal house." Sulaymān was the son of the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and the daughter of Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam, the brother of the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Ḥakam.[22] He thus hailed from Umayyad stock, and no one could question his loyalty to the community, whether understood as Arab or Islamic. In other words, Łewond's informant was responding to a conceptual shift in the late Umayyad period, when the legitimacy of claimants to the Caliphate who were not of fully Arab parentage began to be accepted. Łewond acknowledges a fully Arab as the legitimate caliph and ignores the two mixed claimants.

Łewond's elevation of Sulaymān to the Caliphate is unusual and not repeated in any known history; after all, by the time Arabic-Islamic histories were put to the page, the Islamic world had become habituated to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, nearly all of whom were born to non-Arab concubine mothers. We can see echoes of the concern with concubine-born Arabs in the Arabic accounts of the third *fitna*, but these are not explicit. For example, Ṭabarī records that ʿAbbās b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik was called Ibn Qusṭanīn, "son of Constantine," because his mother was a Greek concubine; this *nasab* subtly negates Walīd's Arabness and suggests that ʿAbbās's mother's background might influence the son to act Greek.[23] The issue

21 Urban, *Conquered Populations*.

22 Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, 22:395. On the multiple identifications of the mother of Sulaymān b. Hishām, see Goodall, "Sons and Daughters."

23 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:1798. On the role of concubine-born sons of Umayyads in this *fitna*, see Goodall, "ʿAbbas."

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is explicit in later Syriac accounts of the third *fitna* that draw on the traditions associated with Theophilus of Edessa. Michael the Syrian explains that ʿAbbās would have become caliph but "the Arabs did not accept that because ʿAbbās was the son of a concubine" (ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܐܡܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ).[24] The *Chronicle to 1234* similarly states that Walīd had allowed ʿAbbās to govern in his name "since he [ʿAbbās] was the son of a maidservant and he knew that the Arabs would not accept the son of a concubine to rule over them" (ܕܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܡܬܐ ܘܝܕܥ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܕܢܬܠܛ ܒܗܘܢ).[25] These examples provide a broader context for Łewond's omission of Yazīd and Ibrāhīm and his explanation that Sulaymān ascended the throne because he was "of the same ethnicity [as Walīd] and from the royal house."

X.C. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

Łewond explains that Marwān left Isḥāq b. Muslim as governor over Armenia when he marched against Syria.[26] This claim conflicts directly with some Arabic sources. For example, Ibn Aʿtham contends that

> power transferred to his [Yazīd's] brother Ibrāhīm b. Walīd. When that reached Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, he called a man from among his companions named ʿĀṣim b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hilālī and appointed him over Armenia and Azerbaijan; then the people from Syria and Jazīra who were with him started out until they arrived in the land of Syria.
>
> وصار الأمر إلى أخيه إبراهيم بن الوليد، وبلغ ذلك مروان بن محمد بن مروان، فدعا برجل من أصحابه يقال له عاصم بن يزيد بن عبد الله الهلالي فاستخلفه على أرمينية وأذربيجان، ثم شخص من معه من أهل الشام والجزيرة حتى قدم أرض الشام.[27]

Yaʿqūbī offers a possible explanation for this discrepancy between Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham: he claims that Marwān first appointed ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī over Armenia and Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī over Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband and "then added Armenia to Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī's governorship" (ثمّ جمع ارمينية لاسحاق بن مسلم العقيلى).[28] It is also possible that the confusion reflects various levels of caliphal control and/or spheres of power. Alternatively, the discrepancy may be rooted in the different duties expected of Isḥāq and ʿĀṣim. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ includes nearly the same sentence as Ibn Aʿtham does, acknowledging that Marwān left ʿĀṣim in charge of Armenia and Azerbaijan when he marched south. However, he situates this report in a list of the judges (قضاء), not the governors (عمال), of Walīd's reign; the two lists appear separately, one after the other, and the list of governors does not include Armenia, Azerbaijan, or Jazīra. On the other

24 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 2:502; 4:463.

25 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 247; "Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad 1234," 315.

26 Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 423 n. 23; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 106; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 110–11 n. 22; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 120 n. 22.

27 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:336.

28 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1058; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:403.

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hand, Khalīfa later includes a report locating ʿĀṣim in Syria among Marwān's troops, so the contradiction finds no easy resolution.[29]

Isḥāq's role in Armenia is important because he demonstrates the significance of family relations and tribal politics in Umayyad governance. He was one of several members of the Banū ʿUqayl to hold administrative positions in Armenia, and his appointment reflects the strength of the Qaysī supporters of the late Umayyad state. Isḥāq's brother ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim had participated in Maslama's campaigns in the Caucasus and served as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan under Marwān.[30] His other brother, Bakkār b. Muslim, also served as governor of Armenia, but later, during the reign of Manṣūr. Both Isḥāq and Bakkār supported Marwān during the ʿAbbāsid Revolution and subsequently received pardons, transferring their loyalties to the early ʿAbbāsid state.[31] Isḥāq also represents broader tribal politics during the third *fitna*. Łewond claims that Marwān "gathered all of the men of his ancestral house to him" (և զ*ամենայն* արս ազգատոհմի իւրոյ ժողովեալ առ ինքն) [85v]. In this context, the ancestral house cannot refer to the Banū Umayya, because Marwān was fighting against Sulaymān, his cousin's son, who was equally Umayyad. Rather, Marwān relied on Qaysī support in his campaigns during the third *fitna*, while Sulaymān's army was Yemeni. Since Isḥāq held command over Qaysī factions, his support was particularly important for Marwān. Khalīfa explains that after the death of Yazīd in 127/744, Marwān immediately addressed the payment of stipends for the Banū Qays and the Banū Rabīʿa, appointing Isḥāq b. Muslim over the former and Musāwir b. ʿUqba over the latter.

29 Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 243. Khalīfa refers to Hilālī as ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, whereas Ibn Aʿtham calls him ʿĀṣim b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh. But given the similarity between Ibn Aʿtham's and Khalīfa's reports these are presumably the same man.

30 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:338.

31 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 106.

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XI The Caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad

r. AH 127–32/744–50 CE

THE THIRD *FITNA*, OR CIVIL war, continues in chapter XI. Łewond's account is idiosyncratic, as he uses a prophecy from the Hebrew Scriptures to interpret specific details. When Marwān b. Muḥammad left Armenia to fight in the third *fitna*, he left open the possibility that the conflict would extend into Armenia. The Mamikonean brothers, who had earlier been exiled to Yemen, returned and challenged the Bagratuni position of authority. The Bagratunikʿ thus ventured to Syria, offering support for Marwān in the *fitna* in exchange for confirmation of their position in Armenia. The Mamikoneankʿ used this as a rationale for a rebellion aimed not only at overthrowing the Umayyads but also at ending the Bagratuni monopoly on the principate of Armenia. To achieve both ends, the Mamikoneankʿ allied with the Roman emperor Constantine V, though Łewond gives little indication of the expansion of Roman power into western Armenia in this period (it is far more visible in other sources). Between the *fitna*, Mamikonean rebellion, and Roman expansion, Marwān's reign reads as dangerous and chaotic, a period of incessant warfare and splintering alliances. This impression comes to full fruition when Łewond describes the emergence of the armies of Khurāsān (northeastern Iran) in the late 740s and their campaign to overthrow the Umayyads. Despite his generally favorable assessment of Marwān himself, Łewond attributes the success of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution of 750 to divine vengeance for the constant killing that characterized Marwān's reign.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Marwān vanquished the other side and killed Sulaymān. He himself [Marwān] held power for six years. And during the time of his rule, war did not cease among the sons of Ishmael, for Marwān besieged the city of Damascus. He battled and smashed its gates of iron. They bound the inhabitants of the city—sons of Ishmael, whoever had reached manhood—to four stakes and scraped off their faces with instruments of textured blades. In that way, they were brutally slaughtered. They cleaved pregnant women across the middle; they put boys in walls up to their waists and [86v] then continued the walls,[1] and thus they suffered a horrific death. They carried off into captivity girls who had not known the bed of a man as well as a multitude of other

Marwān b. Muḥammad (r. 744–50): last Umayyad caliph overthrown by the ʿAbbāsids. He was formerly the governor-general of the North under the earlier Umayyad caliphs; see chapters IX and X.

War did not cease: Łewond suggests that the third *fitna* continued through the reign of Marwān, which is an apt summary.

1 "Continued the walls," ի վերա անցուցանէին զորմսն, lit. "caused the walls to pass over."

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commoners, for the vengeance of the Lord came upon the city on account of their frequent evil deeds. Here is the fulfillment of the prophecy of Amos, who said:

The prophecy of Amos: Łewond shapes his description of the third *fitna* to a prophecy from the Hebrew Scriptures (Amos 1:3–5).

> Thus says the Lord: I, the Lord,[2] will not turn from them over three acts of impiety of Damascus, or over four, because they cleaved[3] the pregnant women of Gilead with iron saws. I will send fire to the house of Azael, and it will devour the foundations of the sons of Ader. I will crush the locks of Damascus and slaughter the inhabitants of the plains of Aven, and I will destroy the entire tribe out of the men of Ḥarrān. I will take captive the chosen people of Syria.[4]

For destruction came upon it [Damascus] because of the inhabitants of Ḥarrān, [87r] in accordance with the voice of the prophet. But it is worth asking why this prophet, having clarified all three iniquities, introduces the fourth to be the renunciation of the Lord's wrath. It seems to me that the city of iniquitous people was full of very abundant evils, for, sick in mind, in senses, and in the heart, they committed the death pangs of their mind and senses, [that is,] the copious generation of iniquities: murder, iniquity toward property, and lustful desires. And fourth: they did not expect the visitation of God but even considered Him, who is the source of all goodness, to be the cause of the evil deeds that they did. And that was what irrevocably provoked the sweet forgiveness of God toward wrath against the iniquities.

Ḥarrān: location of an Umayyad court associated with Marwān b. Muḥammad and his father.

31. And as the tumultuous revolt grew in strength, it increased among [87v] the sons of Ishmael on account of the continual war. At that time, the sons of Smbat were freed from imprisonment as hostages because they were released from prison by order of Walīd. Before they could leave the land of Syria Walīd was killed and they were held there in that land, for no one allowed them to leave the land. Then, when the war increased among them [the Arabs], they escaped and fled to Armenia. A little time after they arrived in the land of Armenia, they went to the region of Vaspurakan and raised torments and great anguish over the land. And they tormented them [the people of Vaspurakan] with tyrannical taxation until the cries of this land reached

Sons of Smbat: Grigor, Dawitʿ, and Mušeł Mamikonean. They were exiled to Yemen in chapter IX.

Vaspurakan was neither Bagratuni nor Mamikonean territory. It was possibly without strong leadership in the mid-eighth century.

2 Repetition of "the Lord" here is likely due to diplography.

3 "They cleaved," հնդանիին: Zohrab reads կտրէին, "they cut"; the Septuagint reads ἔπριζον, "they sawed."

4 Amos 1:3–5.

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the commander Isḥāq b. Muslim, and he stopped them from committing this villainy. Then, when [88r] they saw the events of the tumultuous time, they began to oppose the authority of Ašot once again. They labored everywhere to set a trap for him. They attacked him at night since he was resting and his troops were spread out in the districts. They wanted to kill him, but the guards warned and informed the prince about the marauders who penetrated [the castle]. He escaped from their clutches and lived. Whereas they, filled with much booty from the treasury of Prince Ašot, gave up the chase.[5] He [Ašot] knew of their treason, for in days of peace they sought to take malicious revenge against him. He was on guard for them for some days, and he gathered the equipage of his house in the fortress of Dariwnkʿ, along with his wife and his entire family. He left a guard to keep watch over the fortress. [88v]

He stopped them: note the positive descriptions of caliphal authority, particularly for controlling Mamikonean ambitions.

He [Ašot] went to Syria to the Ishmaelite prince Marwān to notify him about the circumstances of the quarrel between himself and his *naxararkʿ*. And when the patrician arrived with his forces at the site of the battle, there was a great victory for the troops of Marwān and a defeat for his opponents. For they heard a rumor of his coming, that is, that the patrician of the Armenians had arrived to aid [Marwān] and that he had with him select cavalry [and] fifteen thousand armed men. When the opponents of Marwān heard this, they abandoned the battle and were very hard hit that day. Vanquished, they ceased the war for a little while.

He went to Syria: this passage suggests that Marwān's Bagratuni allies helped him settle the disputes of the third *fitna*. For Łewond, this claim solidifies the Bagratuni-Umayyad alliance, but the appeal to Marwān also suggests the weakness of the Bagratuni position vis-à-vis the other houses since the Bagratunikʿ required recourse to the caliph to maintain their position.

And during that time when Prince Ašot was in Syria, Ibn Muslim appointed Grigor from the Mamikonean house prince over the Armenian troops [89r] as Ašot's replacement. But Marwān, informed of the prince's accusation against the sons of Smbat and of what Dawitʿ, Grigor's brother, had done to him, sent a messenger to Isḥāq b. Muslim, who was the commander of this land of Armenia, and ordered [him] to arrest Dawitʿ and give him into the hands of a certain ʿUqba so that he may judge him as he had been ordered. When he [ʿUqba] received the order, he was not able to delay but immediately summoned [Dawitʿ] to arrest him by trickery, and he handed him over to the merciless executioner. He seized him and bound him with painful bonds and threw him in prison for some days. And he [ʿUqba] wrote to Marwān about what he might command. He [Marwān]

ʿUqba: unidentified.

5 "Gave up the chase," դարձան ի հետոց նորա, lit. "turned from his tracks."

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gave the order to cut off his feet and hands and to execute him by crucifixion.[6] In this way, he departed this life with a pitiable and contemptible death. [89v] For the hateful conduct that they displayed toward each other was not said [to be] pleasing to God, for truly [it was] the bad yield of bad seeds, according to the saying.[7] And when these evils came to a head, Marwān again confirmed the authority of Ašot and sent him along with many honors to this land of Armenia. Ever since, Grigor has not stopped plotting his opposition as vengeance for his brother's destruction. Although he made peace with Ašot because the usurpers were afraid, [it was] only in word, as in his heart he did not accept his authority. He waited for the time to arrive when he could achieve the intention of his will.

Ever since, Grigor has not stopped . . .: Grigor died in 748, several decades before Łewond wrote his *History*. This passage reveals Łewond's reliance on a source contemporary to the events described.

32. While the war still persisted among them [the Arabs], all of the *naxarark'* of this land planned to cast off the yoke of submission, to rebel, and to break free [90r] from Ishmaelite submission. That one [i.e., Grigor] from the Mamikonean house urged them on in this plot; he contrived this fraud in order to dislodge Ašot's authority. All of the Armenian *naxarark'* came to Prince Ašot, and they pressed him to consent to and join in the vain plan. The prince saw the unity of the *naxarark'* and their cavalry, for they had generally been swayed toward the vain plan. He vacillated and summoned [each] one of his *naxarark'* and entreated [them] with many words not to join in the act of villainy. He said:

Armenian rebellion: the Mamikonean family spearheaded a rebellion against the Umayyad Caliphate in the last few years of Marwān's reign.

To dislodge Ašot's authority: note that the rebellion was not just against the Umayyad Caliphate but also against the Bagratuni position of power within the Caliphate.

> O brothers, I see not a thought-out act in your insensibility, but rather a perverse plot and useless words. For behold, our troops are of little consequence in the midst of the Ishmaelite violence. We are not able to oppose their troops, nor [90v] extract our land from the mouth of the dragons. We are only bringing it trouble and danger [with] your ideas. But should you wish to accept my advice, we should not do this thing. We should pay tribute to them even as it was until now, and we will keep our property, vineyards, forests, and fields.

The Armenian *naxarark'* did not wish to accept his wise counsel, but opposed [him] and said: "If you will not join our plot, not even one of your forces will remain to you.

6 "By crucifixion"; see above.

7 Cf. Matthew 7:17.

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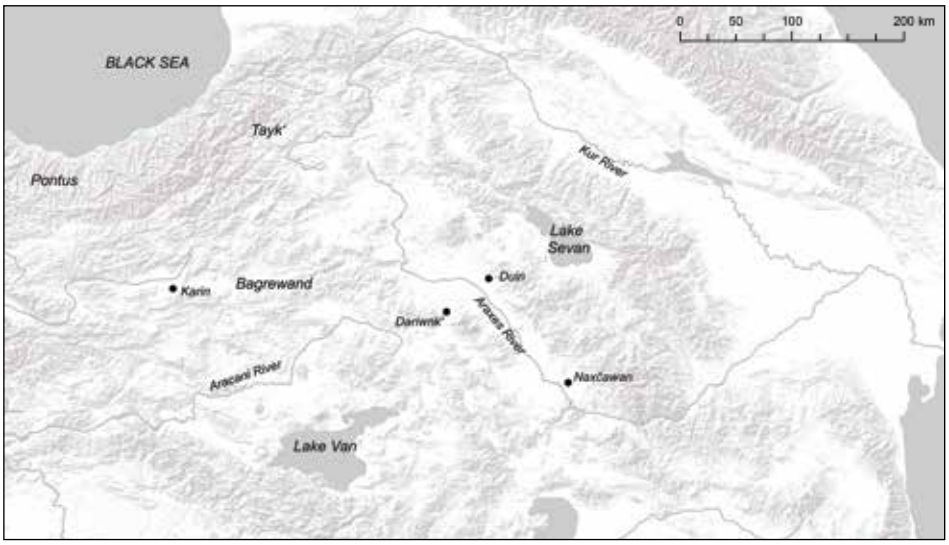

Map 9. Mamikonean rebellion under the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad.

We are not able to suffer patiently the anguish that exists in this land of Armenia." So then Prince Ašot involuntarily consented and joined with Grigor and the other *naxarark'*. They made an oath of compact to each other on the cross[8] to keep the love of their union without deception. Once [91r] they confirmed this oath, they separated from the governor who was over this land. They went and took refuge in the fortresses of the land of Tayk' along with all of their families and goods. They sought greater refuge in the troops of the king of the Greeks, who were in the region of Pontus, for there was a covenant of peace between them by order of the emperor Constantine. All the sons of transgression, who did not know the fear of God, nor the dread of princes, nor the honor [due] to elders, went and joined the regiment of sedition. But like foreigners and strangers, they raided widely, captured their brothers and compatriots, and committed much pillage, bringing suffering with torture and scourges upon their brothers. On account of this, God regretted His mercy and dissolved their unity, for [91v] He did not allow their act of wickedness to prosper for even a full year.

But Prince Ašot soon left them. He arrived in the district of Bagrewand in the village of Hazr with some of the *naxarark'*. He wanted to unite with the sons of Ishmael.

Involuntarily consented: Ašot agreed to join the rebellion but does so reluctantly. This detail suggests that the Mamikoneank' were the real power brokers in Armenia at this time, even though Łewond acknowledges only the Bagratunik' as viable rulers.

The governor: Isḥāq b. Muslim. See map 9 for locations mentioned in this passage.

Constantine V (r. 741–75): Roman emperor, married to the daughter of the Khazar khagan. He was unpopular for his iconoclasm but recognized as an outstanding general.

The sons of transgression: several Arabic and Syriac sources suggest that an Armenian general from Jazīra named Kūshān al-Armanī fought on behalf of Constantine V at this time. Given the lack of information about him in Armenian sources, he may have been a Chalcedonian (an adherent of the imperial Church). Łewond's references to these "sons of transgression" as "brothers" who acted like "foreigners" might relate to Kūshān or to other such soldiers involved in these conflicts.

Hazr: although the village of Hazr remains unidentified, the region of Bagrewand was located in the province of Ayrarat. It was in Mamikonean territory, so Ašot's presence there with Umayyad allies may indicate an attempt to expand the reach of Bagratuni power.

8 "On the cross," միջնորդութեամբ տէրունական նշանին, lit. "by mediation of the dominical sign."

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Then the *naxarark'* who were with him betrayed[9] him and informed the malicious Grigor of the details of his plan. For a long time he [Grigor] had thought of an ambush, wanting to bring it to a head. He immediately gathered his forces and pursued him like a crow; running through the mountains, he overtook him at night. He besieged his dwelling, knowing the vacillation of his troops [and] that they would not come to his aid. He [Grigor] captured him [Ašot] and gave him to the servants of Dawit' [his brother]. He ordered [92r] the light of his eyes to be extinguished. He obscured the splendor of the entire land with shadowy darkness and enveloped not only that person [Ašot] but all the *naxarark'* of the same house of his own people in deep sadness. They were informed after the fact and were not able to do anything useful. They only sat lamenting and crying, for the magnificent crown fell from their heads and was destroyed. From then on, the glory of the Armenian people was extinguished.

Ašot "the Blind" Bagratuni: deposed in 748.

The ungrateful Grigor again descended into the city Karin as if [returning] from [an act of] great valor, and he sent news of his victory to every region. Not many days later, the judgment of God overcame him, commensurate with the worth of his actions, for his stomach was swollen very dangerously. It tormented him, and in that way he died, [92v] removed from this life, forgotten. They [the *naxarark'*] appointed his brother Mušeł prince in his place for a short time. Ašot held authority for seventeen years, gloriously and with more honor than all of the earlier princes who came before him. He encountered the plot of deception and lived for another thirteen years after that. He died in ripe old age and was put to rest gloriously in a tomb in the village of Dariwnk'.

Karin: present-day Erzurum in the Republic of Turkey. In Arabic, this city was known as Qālīqalā and was famous as a frontier outpost between the Roman Empire and the Caliphate.

Mušeł Mamikonean: prince of Armenia from 748 to 753. However, the caliph never officially recognized his position.

Dariwnk': ancestral burial place of the Bagratunik'. See map 9.

33. It remains for us to return to the earlier sequence of this history, for while Marwān held authority over the Ishmaelites and warred with his own people, another raging fire flared up in the eastern regions from the land of Khorasan. When all of the *naxarark'* of the sons of Ishmael saw that [93r] the insupportable danger from their own people had overpowered them, they tried to find a way to save their lives. Some of them from the same house as their lawgiver[10]

It remains for us to return to the earlier sequence of this history: this phrase demonstrates Łewond's construction of his narrative from separate accounts. He is returning here to his earlier source, which narrated the history of the third *fitna*. The extended paragraph 32 (and perhaps paragraph 31) thus appears to constitute an aside to describe the Armenian rebellion, which interrupts the description of the caliphal wars.

The 'Abbāsid Revolution challenged the Umayyad Caliphate between 747 and 750. The 'Abbāsids' bid for power was rooted in the 'Alid claim that the family of the Prophet Muḥammad should rule the Islamic world.

Khurāsān: a region to the northeast of the Iranian plateau, the heart of the 'Abbāsid Revolution, and the region that supplied the early 'Abbāsid Caliphate with troops.

9 "Betrayed," նենգեալ: cf. Łewond's description above of the pact the *naxarark'* made that was to be maintained "without deception," անենգ.

10 "Some of them from the same house as their lawgiver broke away," ոմանք ի նոյն տոհմէ յաւրէնսդրէն իւրեանց հատուածեալք, lit. "Some of them from the same house broke away from the lawgiver." We have read յաւրէնսդրէն as աւրէնսդրին.

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broke away and fled into the land of Khorasan, where they lived in hiding for some time. Then, after that, having united the troops of the land of Khorasan, Qaḥṭaba and a certain Abū Muslim, who was cunning in astrological sorcery, were appointed[11] generals over them. They, united, killed the governor of the land and won over his troops as well as the rest of the multitudes of commoners of the land, who were tormented by the impossible tyranny of the tax collectors. Little by little they began to attack the region of Asorestan.

The forces of Marwān marched against them but were not able to oppose that mob, [93v] for the defeat of his reign was from the Lord. The regiments of the ʿAbd Allāhs who were called the sons of Hāshim struck and killed many and put the others to flight. They advanced toward and crossed the Tigris River and reduced many cities to submission. They crushed and defeated the entire army that Marwān had sent against them all at one time. They subjugated everyone up to the great *Tačik* cantonment of Kūfa. When the inhabitants of Kūfa and Baṣra saw the violence of their troops, they surrendered and added their forces. Marwān felt greatly alarmed and waited in ambush. He opened the stores of the royal treasuries and spread them among his troops. He armed himself with a multitude of forces and went out against them. And when they arrived [94r] against each other and formed their arrays, war broke out. Many were wounded on both sides, and innumerable corpses fell dead on the fields. The war between the two sides extended until the end of that year. At the end of the sixth year of Marwān's reign, God's vengeance came upon him by His hand for the blood of his own people that he had shed. The forces of ʿAbd Allāh grew stronger and attacked him ferociously. They hurried and reached Marwān's camp and, striking them extremely violently, butchered them, for it is said that the number of fallen in one bout was three hundred thousand cavalrymen, to the point that rivulets flowed from the blood and an endless haze and darkness emerged from the steam of the blood. [94v] Taking the rest of the army, they launched into Marwān's camp and reached the hill formed like a fortress and Marwān's tent. They struck and killed him. He committed all of these evils—the disturbances of wars, the capture of cities, and the shedding of blood—in six years and then he died.

Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb b. Khālid al-Ṭāʾī: an Arab of the Banū Nabhān and one of the primary agents of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. He accompanied Abū Muslim in propagating ʿAbbāsid claims and led the army in Khurāsān, Iran, and Iraq. He reached as far as Kūfa but died in the battle to take the city in 749, before the fall of the Umayyads.

Abū Muslim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Khurasānī: leader of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. He was the first to raise the black banners of the revolution. When Qaḥṭaba moved west with the army, Abū Muslim remained as governor of Khurāsān. He acquired vast powers, serving in the East under the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr executed him in 754, which led to significant disruption in the ʿAbbāsid East and to the development of legendary traditions about him.

See map 10 for locations mentioned in this passage.

The ʿAbd Allāhs: the early ʿAbbāsids all took the name ʿAbd Allāh, lit. "servant of God." Three ʿAbd Allāhs were involved in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution: (1) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās (d. 764), who defeated Marwān and whose nephews became caliphs; (2) Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as Saffāḥ (d. 754), on whom see chapter XII; and (3) Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as Manṣūr (d. 775), on whom see chapter XIII. For the ʿAbbāsid family tree, see figure 13.

Sons of Hāshim, or Banū Hāshim: descendants of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the common ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, and Abū al-ʿAbbās. The name stressed the ʿAbbāsid's relation to the family of the Prophet.

The forces of ʿAbd Allāh: this refers to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās, the uncle of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs Saffāḥ and Manṣūr. He met Marwān at Greater Zāb, defeated him, then pursued him to Egypt. He made a bid for the Caliphate in 754 but faced Abū Muslim (fighting for Manṣūr) and lost. He died in 764.

Battle of Zāb: the ʿAbbāsids defeated the Umayyads on the Great Zāb River in Iraq, northeast of Mawṣil and immediately south of Lake Van, in 750. Łewond has Marwān die in the battle, but according to Arabic sources he survived, fled, and was ultimately killed in Egypt.

11 "Were appointed"; the text here reads in the singular, but Chahnazarian and Malxaseanc' correct it to plural.

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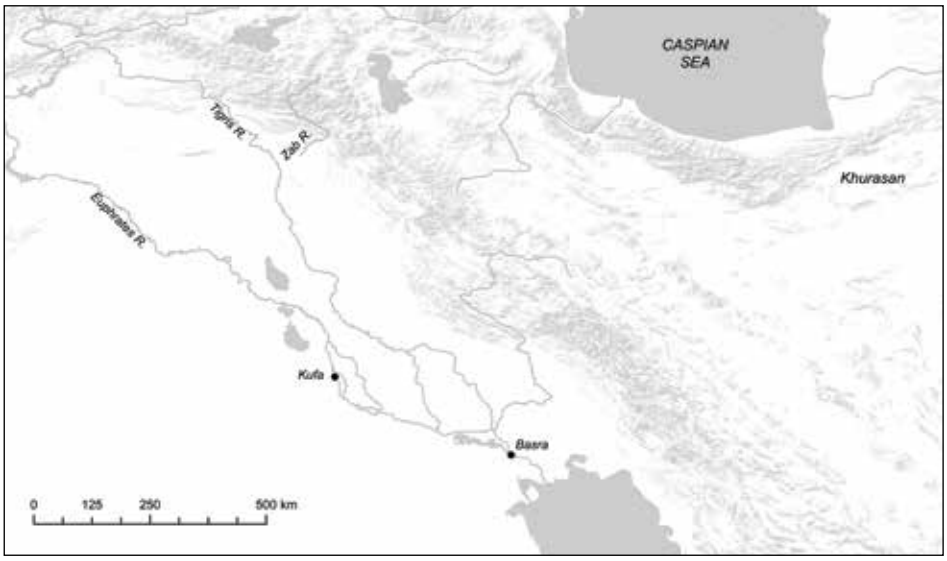

Map 10. The ʿAbbāsid Revolution.

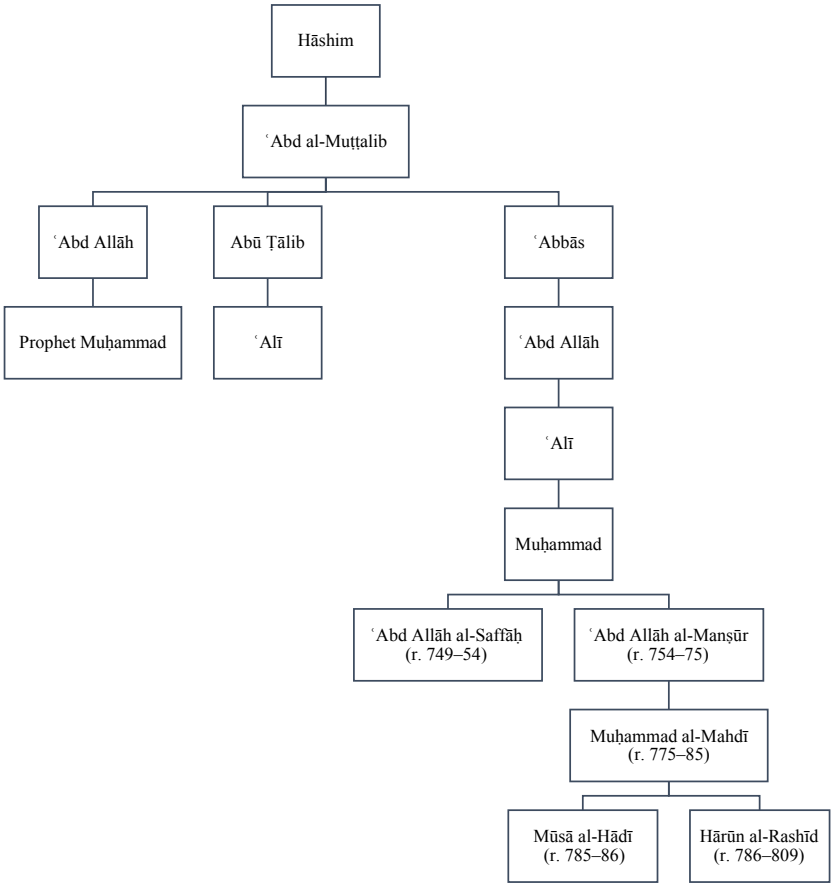

Figure 13. ʿAbbāsid family tree.

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ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ յաղթահարէր Մրուանն զմիւս կողմն և սպան զՍուլեմանն և կալաւ զիշխանութիւնն ինքն ամս. *վեց*: Եւ զայն ժամանակս իշխանութեանն իւրոյ ոչ դադարէր պատերազմ յորդւոցն Իսմայելի. քանզի պարշարէր Մրուան զքաղաքն Դամասկոս. և մարտ եղեալ խորտակէր զդրունսն երկաթիս. և զբնակիչս քաղաքին զորդիսն Իսմայելի որք միանգամ յարիութիւն հասեալ էին ի չորս ցիցս պրկեալ տաշէին զդէմս նոցա գործովք հիւսական սրոց. և այնպէս դառնութեամբ սատակէին ի կենաց. և զկանայս յդիս հերձուին ընդ մէջ. և զմանկունս արուս դնէին ի մէջ որմոցն միջով չափ եւ ի վերա անցուցանէ[86v]ին զորմսն. այնպէս չարամահ սատակէին ի կենաց. և զաղջկունսն որ ոչ գիտէին զանկողինս արուի. այնպէս վարէին ի գերութիւն. և զայլ խառնաղանճ բազմութիւնն, քանզի վրէժխնդրութիւն Տեառն էր ի վերա քաղաքին վասն յաճախութեան չարեաց նոցա: Աստանաւր լնու մարգարէութիւնն, Ամովսա որ ասէ. այսպէս ասէ Տէր Տէր ի վերայ երից ամբարշտութեանցն Դամասկեայ. և ի վերա չորիցն ոչ դարձայց ի նոցանէն. փոխանակ զի հեղձուին զյդիս Գաղաադացւոյն սղոցաւք երկաթեաւք. և առաքեցից հուր ի տունն Ազայելի և կերիցէ զհիմունս որդւոցն Ադերայ. և խորտակեցից զնիգս Դամասկեայ. և սատակեցից զբնակիչս դաշտացն Ովնայ. և կոտորեցից զազգն *ամենայն* յարանց Խառանա. և գերեսցի ընդիր ժողովուրդն Ասորոց. քանզի ի բնակչաց Խառան{ու}[12] էիաս նմա կործան[87r]ումն ըստ մարգարէին ձայնի. բայց արժան է ի խնդիր լինել. էթէ զիա՞րդ մարգարէս զբոլորիցն ամպարշտութիւն երիս ի վերա յայտնելով ի վերա բերե[13] զչորրորդ լինել հրաժեշտ բարկութեանն Տեառն. թուի ինձ բազմաբեղուն չարութեամբ լցեալ քաղաք ամպարշտացն. քանզի ախտացեալք մտաւք և զգայութեամբք և սրտիւ կատարէին գերկունս մահու մտացն և զգայութեանց[14] զչարութեանցն առատագոյն ծնունդս. զսպանութիւնն. զչարութիւն ընչից. և զհեշտ ցանկութիւնն. և չորրորդ զի ոչ ակն ունէին այցելութեանն Աստուծոյ. այլև պատճառ ևս չարեացն զոր գործէին համարէին զնա. որ *ամենայն* բարութեանց է աղբիւր. և այն էր որ զներողութիւն քաղցրութեանն Աստուծոյ անդառնալի շարժմամբ շարժէր առ ցասումն ամպարշտութեանցն:

Լա[15] Եւ մինչդեռ ամբոխ աղմկին զարացեալ յաճախէր ի մէջ [87v] որդոցն Իսմաելի վասն անհատ պատերազմին. յայնժամ զերծեալ որդիքն Սմպատա ի կալանաւոր պատանդէն. քանզի արձակեցան հրամանաւ Վլթի ի բանդէն. բայց յառաջ քան զգալ նոցա յաշխարհէն Ասորւոց սպանաւ Վլիթ. և արգելան անդէն յաշխարհին. զի ոչ ոք համարձակեաց նոցա ելանել յաշխարհէն. ապա իբրև յաճախեաց պատերազմն ի մէջ նոցա յայնժամ զերծեալ անկան ի Հայս. և իբրև հասին յաշխարհս Հայոց. յետ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակի երթեալք ի կողմանս Վասպուրական աշխարհին խոշտանկանս և տագնապ մեծ յարուցանէին ի վերա երկրին. և հարկապահանջ բռնութեամբ վտանգէին զնոսա. մինչև հասանէր բողոք աշխարհիս առ հրամանատարն առ Իսահակ որդի Մսլիմի. և արգելոյր զնոսա ի գործելոյ զապիրատութիւնն: Ապա իբրև զիրս մարտ[88r]ամբոխ ժամանակին տեսին. սկսան վերստին հակառակ լինել իշխանութեանն Աշոտի. և *ամենայն* ուրեք ջանային գայթագղութիւն դնել անձին նորա. եւ յարձակեալ ի վերա նորա գիշերի զի էր ի հանգստեան և զգաւրսն իւր սփռեալ զգաւառաւն՝ կամէին սպանանել զնա. այլ զգացեալ պահապանքն ազդեցին իշխանին զհէն որ էիաս ի վերա. և փախստական եղեալ ապրէր ի ձեռաց նոցա. իսկ նոցա լցեալ բազում աւարաւ ի

12 Խառան{ու}] -ու rewritten suprascr. Hand 1corr.

13 բերե] բերելով a.c.

14 զգայութեանց] -յ- subscr.

15 լա in rt. mg.

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գանձուց իշխանին Աշոտի. դարձան ի հետոց նորա. իսկ նորա իմացեալ զդաւաճանութի*ւն* նոցա. զի յաւուրս խաղաղութե*ան* վրէժխնդրութի*ւն* չարութե*ան* յուզէին առնուլ ի նմանէն. անձնապահ լինէր ի նոցանէն աւուրս ինչ. և ժողովէր զախս տանն իւրոյ յամրոցս Դարիւնից. և զտիկինն և զ*ամենայն* ընտանիս իւր. և թողոյր ի վերա պահապան զամրոցն պահել. [88v]

Եւ ինքն անցեալ գնայր յաշխարհն Ասորոց առ իշխանն Իսմաելի Մրուան. առ ի զեկուցանել նմա զիրս աղմկին որ ի մէջ նորա եւ նախարարաց իւրոց: Եւ <իբրեւ>[16] էհաս պատրիկն զաւրաւք իւրովք ի տեղի մարտին. բազում յաղթութի*ւն* լինէր զաւրացն Մրուանայ[17] և խորտակումն հակառակորդաց նորին. քանզի լուան զհամբաւ գալստեան նորա, եթէ էհաս պատրիկն Հայոց ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան*. և ունի ընդ իւր ընտիրս հեծելոց հնգէտասան հազար արանց վառելոց. եւ զայս լուեալ հակառակորդացն Մրուանա. լքան ի պատերազմէն. և հարուածք մեծամեծք եղեն յաւուր յայնմիկ. և պարտեալք ի պատերազմէն առ փոքր մի դադարեցին:

Եւ զայն ժամանակ յորում էր իշխանն Աշոտ յերկրին Ասորւոց. կացոյց որդին Մսլիմի ի վերա զաւրացն Հայոց իշխան զԳրիգոր ի տանէ [89r] Մամիկոնեան փոխանակ Աշոտի: Իսկ Մրուանն տեղեկացեալ զամբաստանութի*ւնն* իշխանին զորդոցն Սմպատա, և զոր ինչ արար ընդ նա Դաւիթ եղբայր Գրիգորի. յղէր դեսպան առ որդին Մսլիմի Իսահակ որ էր հրամա<նա>տար[18] աշխարհիս Հայոց. և հրամէ ունել զԴաւիթ և տալ {ի}[19] ձեռ{ն}[20] Աւքբայի ումեմն զի դատապարտեսցէ զնա որպէս և հրամաեալ էր վ*ասն* նորա. և նա իբրև ընկալաւ զհրամանն ոչ կարաց յապաղել այլ նոյնժամայն կոչեաց նենգութ*եամ*ք ունել զնա. և տայր ի ձեռն անողորմ դահճի, զոր առեալ կապէր դառն կապանաւք և դնէր ի կալանս բանդի աւուրս ինչ. և գրէ առ Մրուան եթէ զինչ հրամայեսցէ[21]: Եւ տուեալ հրաման ծայրակոտոր առնել ոտիւք և ձեռաւք. և փայտիւ դատապարտել[22] ի մահ. և այսպէս ողորմելի և ծանականաց մահու վճարէր ի կենաց. զոր ոչ[23] ասաց[89v]աւ հաճոյ Ա*ստուծոյ* բարք ատելութե*ան*ն զոր ունէին առ միմեանս. զի արդարս չար սերմանցն չար արդիւնարարութի*ւն* ըստ ասաւղին բանի: Եւ իբրև այս չարիք ի գլուխ ելանէին, դարձեալ հաստատէ զիշխանութի*ւնն* Աշոտի Մրուան. և առաքէ զնա մեծամեծ պատուաւք յ{ե}ղկիրս Հայոց. եւ յայնմհետէ ոչ դադարէր Գրիգոր յերկնելոյ զհակառակութի*ւն* վ*ասն* քինախնդիր լինելոյ կորստեան եղբաւրն. թեպետև վ*ասն* երկեղի բռնաւորացն առնէր խաղաղութի*ւն* ընդ Աշոտի բանիւք միայն. այլ սրտիւ ոչ մօտեցաւ[24] զհետ իշխանութե*ան* նորա. քանզի սպասէր հասանել ժամու յորում հասանէր կամացն խորհրդի:

Լբ[25] Եւ մինչդեռ տակաւին յերկարէր մարտ պատերազմին ի մէջ նոցա. յայնժամ խորհեցան *ամենայն* նախարարք աշխարհիս ընկենուլ զլուծ հնազանդութե*ան*ն և ապստամբել և ի բաց կալ ի հնազ[90r]անդութենէն Իսմաելի. յոր խորհուրդ յորդորեաց զնոսա ի Մամիկոնեանն ի տոհմէ. և զայս խորամանգութի*ւն* նիւթէր վ*ասն* հանելոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն Աշոտի: Եւ եկեալ

16 <իբրև>] suprascr. Hand 1corr.

17 Մրուանայ] Մրուանա a.c.

18 հրամա<նա>տար] -նա- suprascr. Hand 1corr.

19 {ի}] ի rewritten suprascr. Hand 1corr.

20 ձեռ{ն}] -ն rewritten Hand 1corr.

21 հրամայեսցէ] -յ- subscr.

22 դատապարտել] դատապարտեալ a.c.

23 ոչ] suprascr.

24 մօտեցաւ] մոտեցաւ a.c.

25 Լբ in lft. mg.

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ամենայն նախարարք Հայոց առ իշխանն Աշոտ. հարկեցուցանէին զնա կամակցել և միաբանել անաւգուտ խորհրդին: Եւ տեսեալ իշխանին զմիաբանութի*ւն* նախարարացն և նոցին հեծելոցն զի առ հասարակ յեղեալք էին զհետ անաւգուտ խորհրդին: Վարանէր յանձն. և կոչեցեալ զմի ի նախարարացն իւրոց. և բազում բանիւք թախանձէր ոչ մտանել ի գործ ապիրատութե*ան*ն. զի ասէր ով եղբարք. ոչ տեսանեմ խոհական մտաց զգործ անզգայութե*ան*դ.[26] այլ անուղղա[27] խորհուրդ և բանս տարապարտս. քանզի ահա նուազունք են զաւրքս մեր ի մէջ[28] բռնութե*ան*ն Իսմաելի. և ոչ կարեմք զդէմ ունել զաւրաց նոցա. և ոչ զերկիր մեր [90v] հանել ի բերանոյ վիշապացն. և միայն աշխատութի*ւն* և վտանգ հասուցանեմք զմտածմունս ձեր. այլ էթէ կամեսջիք ընդունել զխրատ իմ. ոչ արասցուք զբանդ զայդ. և հարկեսցուք նոցա որպէս ցարդ ևս. եւ կալցուք զստացուածս մեր զայգիս զանտառս և զանդաստանս մեր:

Եւ ոչ կամեցան ընդունել զխրատ իմաստութե*ան* նախարարքն Հայոց. այլ դիմադարձեալ ասեն. էթե ոչ միաբանեսցես ի խորհուրդս մեր. ոչ մնասցէ առ քեզ և ոչ մի ոք ի զաւրաց քո. չկարեմք ժուժկալել տ*ա*գնապիս յորում կայ[29] երկիրս Հայոց. իսկ ապա հաւանեալ ակամայութ*եամ*ք[30] իշխանին Աշոտի. առնէր միաբանութի*ւն* ընդ Գրիգորի և ընդ այլոց նախարարացն. և դնէին դաշինս ուխտի առ միմեանս. միջնորդութ*եամ*ք տ*է*ր ունեան նշանին աննենգ պահել զսէր միաբանութե*ան*ն: Եւ իբրև զայս դաշինս հաստ[91r]ատէին, մեկնէին ի հրմանատարէն[31] որ ի վերա աշխարհիս. և երթեալք ապաստանէին յամուրս աշխարհին Տայոց հանդերձ *ամենայն* ընդանեաւք իւրեանց և *ամենայն* աղխիւք. և ապաստանեալք առաւել ի զաւրս արքային Յունաց որ էին ի կողմանս Պոնտոսի. քանզի էր ի մէջ նոցա ուխտ խաղաղութե*ան* հրամանաւ կայսերն Կոստանդնի. և *ամենայն* որդիք յանցանաց երթեալ խառնէին ի գունդ ապստամբութե*ան*ն որք ոչ ճանաչէին զերկիւղ Ա*ստուծ*ոյ և ոչ զահ իշխանաց և ոչ զպատիւ ծերոց. այլ իբրև զայլազգի և զաւտարացեալ. ասպատակ սփռեալ գերէին զեղբարս և զազգակիցս իւրեանց. և բազում աւարառութի*ւն*ս. առնէին խոշտանկանաւ և գանիւք տանջանս ածե*ալ* ի վերա եղբարց իւրեանց: Յաղագս որոյ ստրջացեալ ներողութի*ւն*ն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. քակեաց զմիաբանութի*ւն* նոցա. զի և ոչ զամն ողջոյն աջողեաց [91v] նոցա զգործ ապիրատութե*ան*ն.

Այլ անդէն ի մատոյ մեկնեալ ի նոցանէն իշխանն Աշոտ. գայր հասանէր ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ. ի գեղն Հազր. և ոմանք ի նախարարացն ընդ նմա. և կամէր միաբանել ընդ որդիսն Իսմաելի. անդ ուրեմն նենգեալ նախարարքն որ ընդ նմայն էին, զեկուցանէին չարասէրն Գրիգորի զիրս խորհրդին: Իսկ նորա զվաղնջուցն խորհեալ դաւաճանութի*ւն*, ի գլուխ կամեցեալ տանել. վաղվաղակի կազմէր զզաւրս իւր. և հետամուտ եղեալ զկնի նորա իբրև զագռաւ ընդ լերինս ընթացեալ հասանէր ի գիշերի ի վերա նորա. և պարշարէր զկայս հանգստեան նորա. գիտացեալ[32] զերկմտութի*ւն* զաւրաց նորա զի ոչ եկին ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան*: Եւ ըմբռնեալ զնա տայր ի ձեռս ծառայիցն Դաւթի. և հրամայէր բառնալ զլուս[92r]աւորութի*ւն* աչաց նորա. և ստուերամած խաւարաւ նսեմացուցանէր զբոլոր աշխարհիս պարծանս. և ի խոր տխրութե*ան* պարփակէր. ոչ միայն զանձն նորա այլ և զ*ամենայն* համատոհմսն նախարարս ազգին իւրոյ. որոց յետոյ իրազեկ եղեալ ոչ ինչ

26 անզգայութե*ան*դ] -յ- subscr.

27 անուղղա] -ղ- suprascr.

28 մէջ] թ suprascr.

29 կայ] կա a.c.

30 ակամայութ*եամ*ք] -յ- subscr.

31 հրմանատարէն] -ա²- subscr.

32 Ante գիտացեալ: և a.r.

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կարացեալ աւգուտ գործել. այլ նստեալ՝ միայն ողբովք և աշխարանաւք լային. զի անկեալ կործանէր պսակն պերճութե*ան* ի գլխոց նոցա. և յայսմհետէ բառնայր փառք ազգիս Հայոց:

Իսկ բարէդրուժն Գրիգոր որպէս ի մեծ արիութենէ դարձեալ անկանէր ի քաղաքն Կարնոյ. և առաքէր ի կողմանս կողմանս աւետիս զյաղթութե*ան*ն իւրոյ. և ոչ յետ[33] բազում աւուրց. հասանէր ի վերա նորա դատաստանն Ա*ստուծ*ոյ[34] ըստ արժանի գործոց իւրոց. քանզի ուռուցեալ որովայն նորա ուժգին վտանգիւ. տագնապէր զանձն նորա. և այնպէս սատակէր [92v] ի կենաց՝ անյիշատակ բարձեալ ի միջոյ: Եւ փոխանակ նորա կացուցին իշխան զեղբայր նորին Մուշեղ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակս: Իսկ Աշոտի կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն ամս. *եւթն եւ տասն*. փառաւորապէս պատուով քան զ*ամենայն* առաջինն որ նախքան զ*ամենայն* իշխանսն որ յառաջ քան զնա. հանդիպէր դաւող նենգութե*ան*ն. և կեցեալ յետ այնորիկ ամս. *երեքտասան*. վախճանէր բարւոք ծերութե*ամ*ք. և եղեալ ի տապանի փառաւորապէս ի կայս հանգստեան իւրոյ ի գեղն {ի} Դարիւնս:

Լգ[35] Կայ ևս մեզ դառնալ յառաջին շարակարգի պատմութե*ան*ս. քանզի մինչդեռ Մրուան ունէր զիշխանութի*ւն*ն Իսմայելի. և մարտնչէր ընդ իւր ազգին. դարձեալ այլ մոլեկան հուր հրդեհի բորբոքէր ի կողմանց արևելից յերկրէն Խորասան աշխարհին. քանզի իբրև տեսին *ամենայն* նախարարք որդոցն Իսմաելի. զի զաւրացաւ ի վերա նոց[93r]ա անհանդուրժելի վտանգն յիւրեանցայոցն. ջանային զապրիլ անձանց գտանել. յորոց ոմանք ի նոյն տոհմէ յաւրէնսդրէն իւրեանց հատուածեալք՝ փախստեա անկանէին ի Խորասան յաշխարհն. և թաքստեամբ կէին անդ ժամանակս ինչ. ապա յետ այնորիկ միաբանե<*ա*>լ[36] զզաւրս Խորասան աշխարհին. կացուցանէր զաւրավարս ի վերա նոցա՝ զԿահաթբա և զԱբու Մսլիմ ոմն որ էր խորամանգ յաստեղագիտական աղանդն. և սոքա մի<ա>բանեալք[37] սպանին զհրամանատար աշխարհին. և զզաւրս նորա յինքեանս դարձուցեալ. և զայլ բազմութի*ւն* խառնիճաղանճից աշխարհին. որք տագնապեալ էին յանհնարին բռնութենէ հարկապահանջացն. սկսան տակաւ յարձակէլ ի կողմանս Ասորեստանի.

Որոյ ընդդէմ երթեալ զաւրք Մրուանայ ոչ կարէին զդէմ ունել այնմ ամբոխին՝ [93v] զի ի Տ*եառն*է էր խորտակումն իշխանութե*ան* նորա. և զբազումս հարե*ալ* սատակէին. և զայլսն[38] փախստական առնէին գունդք Աբդլայիցն որ կոչին որդիք Հեշմայ: Եւ ինքեանք յառաջ մատուցեալք անցանէին ընդ գետն Տիգրիս. Եւ նուաճէին զբազում քաղաքս հնազանդել ընդ նոքաւք. և զ*ամենայն* զաւրս[39] զոր միանգամ առաքէր Մրուան ընդդէմ նոցա՝ խորտակե<ա>լ[40] ջախէին. եւ ցմեծ բանակեղն Տաճկաց Ակողա, զամենեսին հնազանդէին: Իսկ բնակչացն Ակողայ. և Բասրայ տեսեալ զբռնութի*ւն* զաւրութե*ան* նոցա. ձեռնատու եղեն և յաւելան ի զաւրս նոցա. զոր զգացեալ Մրուան տագնապաւ մեծաւ վարանէր. և բացեալ զխանութս գանձուցն արքունեաց, սփռէր զաւրացն. և վառեալ զինքն բազմութ*եամ*ք զաւրացն. ելանէր ընդդէմ նոցա. եւ իբրև հասանէին առ մի[94r]մեանս և յարդարէին ճակատ առ ճակատ, և խառնէր պատերազմն. բազումք լինէին վիրաւորք ի կողմանցն երկոցուն. և անթիւ դիակունք դաշտացն տապաստ անկանէին. և յերկարաձգէր պատերազմն ի մէջ երկոցունց մինչև ի

33 յետ] ատ a.c.

34 Ա*ստուծ*ոյ] յԱ*ստուծ*ոյ a.c.

35 լգ in lft. mg.

36 միաբանե<*ա*>լ] mark of abbreviation ins. Hand 1[corr].

37 մի<ա>բանեալք] mark of abbreviation ins. Hand 1[corr].

38 զայլսն] -ն suprascr.

39 զաւրս] -u suprascr.

40 խորտակե<ա>լ] mark of abbreviation ins. Hand 1[corr].

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գլուխ ելանել ամին այնմիկ: Իսկ ի վերանալ ամին վեցերորդի իշխանութե*ան*ն Մրուանայ. հասանէր ի վերա նորա վրէժխնդրութի*ւն* յԱ*ստուծոյ*՝ խնդրել ի ձեռանէ նորա զարիւն զոր էին յազգէն իւրմէ: Եւ զաւրացեալ զաւրք Աբդլայի յարձակէին ի վերա նորա գազանաբար. դիմեալ հասանէին ի բանակն Մրուանայ.[41] և հարեալ սատակէին ի նոցունց հարուածս սաստիկս յոյժ յոյժ. զի ասեն լինել գթիւ անկելոցն ի միում նուագի երեք հարիւր[42] հազար արանց հեծելոց. մինչև գնալ յարենէն վտակք առուաց. և ի գոլորշիս արեանն լինել մէգ և մութ անբաւ. եւ զմնացորդս [94v] զաւրուն առեալ արկին ի մէջ բանակին Մրուանայ. և հասանէին մինչև ի դղեկաձև կազմած պարտակին. և ի վրանն Մրուանա. եւ զնա ինքն հարեալ սատակէին. և զայս *ամենայն* չարիս և դդրդմունս պատերազմաց և զառմունս քաղաքաց և զհեղմունս արեանց կատարեալ ամս. *վեց*. վախճանէր:

COMMENTARY

XI.A. THE SIEGE OF DAMASCUS

Although Łewond provides a detailed description of Marwān's siege of Damascus, the passage is unlikely to refer to a specific encounter. Rather, it stands in for Marwān's troubles in Syria. Marwān did march on Damascus after defeating Sulaymān's forces at ʿAyn al-Jarr, but all Muslim Arabic accounts agree that Damascus fell without a fight. Yaʿqūbī, for example, has Marwān defeat Sulaymān b. Hishām and then enter Damascus without even a hint of conflict: "The people of Damascus swore allegiance to him, and he entered the city" (فبايع له اهل دمشق ودخلها).[43]

Christian sources, however, do attest to violence in or near Damascus. Agapius asserts that Marwān entered Damascus peacefully: "Marwān marched to Damascus and its people opened the gates to him" (ثم سار مروان الى دمشق ففتح له اهلها الابواب). However, he subsequently has Marwān make an example of the "Badriyya" near Damascus, which R. Hoyland reads as "Qadariyya": "He ordered the Qadariyya to be assembled before him and made an example of them. He cut off the arms and legs of some and others he had crucified; he ordered the killing of some and the banishment of others" (وامر ان يجمع له البدريّة فنكّل بهم فمنهم من قطع يديه ورجليه ومنهم من امر بصلبه ومنهم من امر بقتله ومنهم من بنفيه).[44] Both Theophanes and the *Chronicle to 1234* report violence in Damascus itself: Theophanes recounts that Marwān "killed many prominent men" (ἀνεῖλε πολλοὺς τῶν ὑπερεχόντων), while the chronicle claims that he "cut off the hands and feet of many men" (ܡܩܛܥ ܐܝܕܝܢ ܘܪܓܠܝܢ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ).[45]

The assertion that Marwān "scraped off their faces with instruments of textured blades" (տաշէին զդէմս նոցա գործուվք հիւսական սրոց) [86r] is unique to Łewond. However, it aligns with attestations found in other Christian sources and with Muslim condemnations of Marwān's rule. In 129/747 or 130/748, the Khārijite Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf offered a resounding sermon to the people of Medina in which he denigrated Marwān's claim to the Caliphate. Abū Ḥamza asserted that true believers were being killed,

41 Մրուանայ] մրուանա a.c.

42 հարիւր] -ı- suprascr.

43 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1059; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:403.

44 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 253; Agapius, *ʿUnvan*, 2:515.

45 "Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad 1234," 318.

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and he placed the blame directly on the family of Marwān. In both Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ's and Ṭabarī's histories, Abū Ḥamza's speech mentioned not only abraded faces but also some of the charges levied in the Christian sources:

> How many an owner of an eye now being nibbled by birds used to weep out of fear of God! How many an owner of a hand that has been separated at its wrist used to lean on it while prostrating himself in prayer to God in the middle of the night! And how many soft cheeks and noble brows have been torn by shafts of iron! May God have mercy on bodies such as those, and may He admit their souls to paradise.[46]

> فكم من عين في منقار طائر طال ما بكى صاحبها من خشية الله، وكم من كف قد بانت بمعصمها طالما اعتمد عليها صاحبها في سجوده في جوف الليل الله، وكم من خد رقيق وجبين عتيق قد فلق بعمد الحديد، رحمة الله على تلك الأبدان، وأدخل أرواحها الجنان.[47]

In Khalīfa's version, Abū Ḥamza went on to declare that "the people are from us and we are from them" (الناس منا ونحن منهم) to underscore the futility of internecine warfare; we may see an echo of this in Łewond's report that the combatants of the third *fitna* exclaimed, "We are one people" (մի ազգ եմք) [86r]. Abū Ḥamza's challenge to Marwān also appears in much later sources, such as Izkawī: "Marwān b. Muḥammad took charge and claimed the Caliphate. He abraded faces, put out eyes, and cut off hands and feet" (ثم ولي مروان بن محمد، وادعى الخلافة، فنحت الوخوه، وسمل الأعين، وقطّع الأيدي والأرجل).[48] Abū Ḥamza was speaking generally about Marwān's actions, not specifically about his capture of Damascus, but the reference to scraping faces corresponds very closely with Łewond's description. Given the uneven adoption of details about Marwān's rule in Abū Ḥamza's sermon and the commonality of tropes such as the cutting off of the hands and feet of Khārijite rebels, it seems that the sermon drew on critiques that circulated widely across the Umayyad realm, including in Armenia.

Although Łewond may have been familiar with common tropes about Marwān's violent acts, his particular account of the siege of Damascus, like his earlier depiction of the siege of Dabīl/Duin, seems shaped by his interpretive reading of Hebrew Scriptures.[49] Łewond cites Amos 1:3–5 explicitly in his account, probably because of the reference to both Damascus and Ḥarrān/Xaṙan in Amos 1:5: "I will crush the locks of Damascus and slaughter the inhabitants of the plains of Aven, and I will destroy all of the men of Ḥarrān. I will take captive the chosen people of Syria" (և խորտակեցից զնիզս Դամասկեայ. և սատակեցից զբնակիչս դաշտացն Ովնայ. և կոտորեցից զազգն *ամենայն* յարանց Խառանա. և գերեսցի ընդիր ժողովուրդն Ասորոց) [86v]. Łewond interprets the third *fitna* as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Amos because Marwān's base was in Ḥarrān/Xaṙan and he attacked Damascus. This biblically informed lens allows Łewond to portray the third *fitna* as the divine punishment for the prophesied sins of Damascus. Łewond's claim that "they cleaved pregnant women across the middle" (և զկանայս յդիս հերձուին ընդ մէջ) [86r] continues to draw on the same prophecy. Amos 1:13 decries the sins of Ammon, "because he ripped open the pregnant women of Gilead."

46 Khalīfa, *History*, 283.

47 Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 251–52; cf. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:2011.

48 Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, 132; Izkawī, *Kashf al-ghumma,* 2:414; cf. 2:349.

49 Greenwood, "Reassessment," 136–37; La Porta, "Sense of an Ending," 375–77.

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XI.B. MAMIKONEAN-BAGRATUNI RIVALRY

Rather than reifying "Armenian" interests and "Arab" policies in Armenia, Łewond's account of the background to the Armenian rebellion offers a snapshot of the complicated political alliances of the late Umayyad period. He expounds on the rivalry between the Bagratuni and Mamikonean houses and describes how the antagonism that led to the exile of the Mamikonean brothers culminates in the blinding of Ašot Bagratuni. The Armenian rebellion against the Caliphate during the reign of Marwān must be interpreted with this animosity in mind. Łewond, always a supporter of the Bagratuni cause, claims that the goal of the rebellion was to dislodge Bagratuni power: "He [i.e., Grigor] from the Mamikonean house urged them on in this plot; he contrived this fraud in order to dislodge Ašot's authority" (Յոր խորհուրդ յորդորեաց զնոսա ի Մամիկոնեանն ի տոհմէ. և զայս խորամանգութիւն նիւթէր վասն հանելոյ իշխանութեանն Աշոտի) [90r]. This statement restructures the "Armenian" rebellion against the "Caliphate" into a more complicated moment. The Mamikonean rebellion was aimed at least as much at preventing the expansion of Bagratuni power as it was at uprooting caliphal claims to Armenia.

Throughout Łewond's text, even before this chapter in the earlier account of their exile to Yemen, the Mamikoneanḳ appear as unlawful rulers. They were evidently released from exile by the caliph Walīd for unknown reasons. When Walīd died, however, they were unable to proceed to Armenia and remained in Syria. When the third *fitna* broke out, the brothers took advantage of the political instability to return to Armenia through the province of Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan. Łewond levies two charges against them. First, he claims that the Mamikoneanḳ "tormented them [the people of Vaspurakan] with tyrannical taxation until the cries of this land reached the commander Isḥāq b. Muslim, and he stopped them from committing this villainy" (և հարկապահանջ բռնութեամբ վտանգէին զնոսա. մինչև հասանէր բողոք աշխարհիս առ հրամանատարն առ Իսահակ որդի Մսլիմի. և արգելոյր զնոսա ի գործելոյ զապիրատութիւնն) [87v]. Since Łewond's usual complaints about taxation concern caliphal collections, this passage paints the Mamikoneanḳ as even more heinous than the caliphal tax collectors, oppressive enough that they elicit a response from the very people whom Łewond frequently condemns. The implication, then, is that Mamikonean ascendancy would offer no improvement over caliphal rule. Second, Łewond's account of the blinding of Ašot invokes the vocabulary of just rule: in blinding Ašot, Grigor Mamikonean "obscured the splendor of the entire land with shadowy darkness and enveloped not only that person [Ašot] but all the *naxarark'* of the same house of his own people in deep sadness . . . From then on, the glory of the Armenian people was extinguished" (և ստուերամած խաւարաւ նսեմացուցանէր զբոլոր աշխարհիս պարծանս. և ի խոր տխրութեան պարփակէր. ոչ միայն զանձն նորա այլ և զամենայն համատոհմսն նախարարս ազգին իւրոյ . . . և յայսմհետէ բառնայր փառք ազգիս Հայոց) [92r]. The word "glory," *p'arḳ'*, evokes notions of divine kingship associated with the Middle Persian *xwarrah*. In this passage, then, Łewond asserts that Ašot was the only rightful ruler, irreplaceable despite Mamikonean ambitions. These two details establish the Mamikonean rivals as worse than even Umayyad governors, paving the way for Ašot to emerge as the righteous party despite his purported connection to the caliph himself.

If we read against the grain of Łewond's account, which is saturated in pro-Bagratuni narrative, the Mamikoneanḳ in fact appear to have remained the primary power brokers

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in Armenia in the time of Marwān. Their primacy is visible in their ability to exact taxes; in Grigor's appointment over the Armenian troops; and in the elevation of Mušeł to the principate after Grigor's death without clear recourse to the caliph. Mamikonean power is furthermore implied in Grigor's exemption from punishment despite his complicity in plots against caliphal allies and the caliphal governor. The Mamikoneanḳ' are effective in rallying the *naxarark'* to their cause, and their success stands in stark contrast to the Bagratuni inability to sway the rebellions under both Marwān and, later, under Manṣūr (see chapter XIII). Łewond's odd wording when he says that "Prince Ašot involuntarily consented and joined with Grigor [Mamikonean] and the other *naxarark'*" (իսկ ապա հաւանեալ ակամայութեամբ իշխանին Աշոտի. առնէր միաբանութիւն ընդ Գրիգորի և ընդ այլոց նախարարացն) [90v] suggests not only that the Bagratuni patrician was ineffective at setting policy but also that the Mamikoneanḳ' could force the Bagratunik' into action. The Bagratunik' repeatedly rely on caliphal aid to support their position of power. The central place of the Bagratunik' as the leading *naxarar* family is thus more a claim put forward by Łewond than a genuine reflection of the power dynamics in Armenia in the late Umayyad period.

Acknowledging the Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry and the actual power structure outlined above, we might speculate that Ašot attempted to make inroads into Mamikonean territory with the help of caliphal forces. Łewond claims that Ašot quickly abandoned the Mamikonean rebellion: "Prince Ašot soon left them. He arrived in the district of Bagrewand in the village of Hazr with some of the *naxarark'*. He wanted to unite with the sons of Ishmael" (այլ անդէն ի մատոյ մեկնեալ ի նոցանէն իշխանն Աշոտ. գայր հասանէր ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ. ի գեւղն Հազր. և ոմանք ի նախարարացն ընդ նմա. և կամէր միաբանել ընդ որդիսն Իսմաելի) [91v]. Bagrewand was Mamikonean territory from at least the fifth century until the caliphate of Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61).[50] The village of Hazr is mentioned as a staging ground for the campaign of Constantine V in 133/750–51, after the Mamikoneanḳ' allied with the Romans (on which see below), further corroborating Mamikonean control over the region. Ašot's attempt to unite with caliphal forces in Mamikonean territory suggests an aggressive, but ineffective, Bagratuni policy of contesting Mamikonean power in their family's territory at this moment.

XI.C. THE MAMIKONEAN REBELLION

The rebellion during the reign of Marwān seems to have been a much smaller affair than the other two second/eighth-century rebellions were. Łewond's description here follows the same pattern as in the later rebellion under Manṣūr, but the Arabic sources cannot easily help elucidate the significance of this earlier rebellion. Furthermore, we have less information about the participants in this rebellion. Although Łewond takes pains to frame this rebellion as pan-Armenian, the actors he identifies are exclusively Mamikonean. The actions of the Mamikoneanḳ' might more accurately be construed as an expression of frustration with the rising power of the Bagratunik' and as defection to the Roman Empire than as an Armenian rebellion as they are often portrayed in modern sources.

50 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 130 n. 629; Muyldermans, "Le dernier prince."

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XI.C.1. Comparison with the Mamikonean Rebellion in 158/775

The Arabic sources offer few additional details that could inform the analysis of Łewond's description of the Mamikonean rebellion under Marwān b. Muḥammad, but Łewond's narrative here compares neatly with his account of the Mamikonean rebellion against Manṣūr in 158/775. The parallels signify more than the literary shaping of Łewond's narrative: they also help bring into relief Łewond's intentions in recounting these rebellions. The common details allow us to identify themes in Łewond's descriptions of rebellion and, in particular, in his attempts to champion the Bagratuni house.

First, his accounts of both rebellions stress the unity of the Armenian *naxarark*': "All of the *naxarark*' of this land planned to cast off the yoke of submission, to rebel, and to break free of Ishmaelite submission" (յայնժամ խորհեցան *ամենայն* նախարարք աշխարհիս ընկենուլ զլուծ հնազանդութե*ան*ն և ապստամբել և ի բաց կալ ի հնազանդութենէն Իսմաելի) [89v–90r]. The same assertion of the unity of the *naxarark*' also appears in the description of the Mamikonean rebellion in 158/775: "All of the Armenian *naxarark*' gathered in one place and made an oath to each other and a covenant of allegiance to live and die for each other" (Եւ ժողովեալ *ամենայն* նախարարք Հայոց ի մի վայր. առնէին առ միմեանս երդմունս և դաշինս ուխտի. կեալ և մեռանել առ միմեանս) [107r]. In both cases, the united *naxarark*' turn to the Bagratuni prince and ask him to join their rebellion. Under Marwān, "all of the Armenian *naxarark*' came to Prince Ašot, and they pressed him to consent to and join in the vain plan" (և եկեալ *ամենայն* նախարարք Հայոց առ իշխանն Աշոտ. հարկեցուցանէին զնա կամակցել և միաբանել անաւգուտ խորհրդին) [90r], and under Manṣūr, "everyone who was deceived by these words urged the great *sparapet* Smbat the son of Ašot to agree to this plot" (և յայսմ բանէ ամենեքեան պատրեալք գրգռեցուցանէին զմեծ սպարապետն Սմպատ որդի Աշոտի հաւանել այնմ խորհրդի) [106v].

In the case of the Mamikonean rebellion against Marwān, the Bagratuni prince Ašot attempted to deescalate the situation and avoid a rebellion:

> O brothers, I see not a thought-out act in your insensibility but rather a perverse plot and useless words. For behold: our troops are of little consequence in the midst of the Ishmaelite violence. We are not able to oppose their troops, nor extract our land from the mouth of the dragons. We are only bringing it trouble and danger [with] your ideas. But should you wish to accept my advice, we should not do this thing. We should pay tribute to them even as it was until now, and we will keep our property, vineyards, forests, and fields.
>
> ով եղբարք. ոչ տեսանեմ խոհական մտաց զգործ անզգայութե*ան*դ. այլ անուղղա խորհուրդ և բանս տարապարտս. քանզի ահա նուազունք են զաւրքս մեր ի մէջ բռնութե*ան* Իսմաելի. և ոչ կարեմք զդէմ ունել զաւրաց նոցա. և ոչ զերկիր մեր հանել ի բերանոյ վիշապացն. և միայն աշխատութի*ւն* և վտանգ հասուցանեմք զմտածմունս ձեր. այլ էթէ կամեսջիք ընդունել զխրատ իմ. ոչ արասցուք զբանդ զայդ. և հարկեսցուք նոցա որպէս ցարդ ևս. եւ կալցուք զստացուածս մեր զայգիս զանտառս և զանդաստանս մեր: [90r–v]

A generation later, another Ašot, the son of the Bagratuni prince Sahak, similarly attempted to forestall the rebellion and urged compliance with caliphal rule. Łewond claims to preserve this later Ašot's considerably longer address to the *naxarark*', which touches on

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many of the same points as the earlier Ašot's argument. Ašot the son of Sahak argued that the united Armenian front would not emerge victorious from a confrontation with the "Ishmaelites" because of the latter's superior strength, numbers, and arms. He asked the *naxarark'* to accept his counsel and submit to caliphal control in order to protect their ancestral territory, described in terms similar to those used by the earlier Ašot: "the inheritance of your fathers, your homes, forests, and fields, and even the tombs of your fathers" (զժառանգութիւն հարց ձերոց. զբնակութիւնս ձեր և զանդառս և զանդաստանս. նաև զգերեզմանս հարց ձերոց) [108v].

In both rebellions, Łewond awkwardly claims that the Bagratuni princes were coerced into union with the *naxarark'*. During the earlier rebellion under Marwān, "Prince Ašot involuntarily consented and joined with Grigor [Mamikonean] and the other *naxarark'*" (իսկ ապա հաւանեալ ակամայութեամբ իշխանին Աշոտի. առնէր միաբանութիւն ընդ Գրիգորի և ընդ այլոց նախարարացն) [90v]. In the later rebellion, the Bagratuni prince Smbat joined the rebellion "as if [his] will reluctantly moved from its own constant and firm intentions" (իբրև յակամա<յ> կամաց շարժեալ յիւրմէ հաստատուն և յանխոնարհելի խորհրդոցն) [106v]. Such passages allow Łewond to create a space between Bagratuni actions in support of the Armenian rebellions and the quietist policies of the Bagratuni house.

However, in both rebellions, the disunity of the Armenian houses was inevitable. Under Marwān, infighting between Armenians was exacerbated by alliances with outsiders,[51] which caused them to turn on one another: "God regretted His mercy and dissolved their unity" (ստրջացեալ ներողութիւնն Աստուծոյ. քակեաց զմիաբանութիւն նոցա) [91r]. The Armenian *naxarark'* were similarly unable to maintain their aspirational unity during the Mamikonean rebellion a generation later: "The incorrigible perversity of the weak plan soon appeared, for they broke from one another and were disunited" (որոյ անուղղայ կամակորութիւնն ջաղջախուն խորհրդին անդէն ընդ հուպ երևէր. զի քակեալ ի միմեանց անմիաբանք լինէին) [109r]. Claims to unity and laments about disunity are both commonly found across Armenian historical sources; in this context, it is particularly important to recognize that such claims form part of the expected literary patterning of rebellion accounts.

Finally, in both cases the Bagratuni princes seem to join the caliphal forces. In the rebellion under Marwān, Łewond explains that "Prince Ašot soon left them. He arrived in the district of Bagrewand in the village Hazr with some of the *naxarark'*. He wanted to unite with the sons of Ishmael" (այլ անդէն ի մաւտոյ մեկնեալ ի նոցանէն իշխանն Աշոտ. գայր հասանէր ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ. ի գեւղն Հազր. և ոմանք ի նախարարացն ընդ նմա. և կամէր միաբանել ընդ որդիսն Իսմաելի) [91v]. In the later rebellion, the loyalties of the Bagratuni house during the battle of Bagrewand were more complicated. Some of the Bagratunik' fought against Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba at Bagrewand in 158/775. However, Ašot, who argued against the rebellion, did not participate in the battle. Instead, he went to Akhlāṭ/Xlat', the main staging area for the caliphal forces. According to Łewond, Ašot tried to continue helping the Armenian rebels by warning them of the enemy's strength; "they,

51 The phrase "sons of transgression" has been interpreted as a reference to the Paulicians; see below, IX.C.2. However, it should be noted that Łewond refers here to the Pontus, which lies outside the usual regions associated with Paulician communities; see Ter-Łevondyan, *Arab Emirates*, 24.

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however, considered the substance of his letter untrustworthy and thought he wanted to save the city from the present siege through deceitful artifice, so as to show himself a confidante of the Ishmaelites" (Իսկ նոցա անհաւատալի թուեալ իրք հրովարտակին. համարէին դաւող խորամանգութեամբ կամի փրկել զքաղաքն ի պաշարմանէ աստի. իբր մտերիմ զինքն ցուցանել Իսմաելացւոցն) [110r].

The similarities between the two Armenian rebellions, only a generation apart, bring into relief narrative patterns in Łewond's descriptions of rebellions against the Caliphate. As indicated in chapter IV, the paradigm Łewond establishes for the Mamikonean rebellions against Marwān and Manṣūr allows us to read the episode at Vardanakert in 83/703 as rebellion, despite the claims to the contrary in the text. Furthermore, these patterns caution the reader against constructing a positivist interpretation of rebellions in the second/eighth century.

XI.C.2. Kūshān al-Armanī and the Roman Capture of Qālīqalā/Karin

Łewond explains that "they [the Mamikoneanʿ] sought greater refuge in the troops of the king of the Greeks, who were in the region of Pontus, for there was a covenant of peace between them by order of the emperor Constantine" (և ապաստանեալք առաւել ի զաւրս արքային Յունաց որ էին ի կողմանս Պոնտոսի. քանզի էր ի մէջ նոցա ուխտ խաղաղութեան հրամանաւ կայսերն Կոստանդնի) [90v]. Grigor then went to the city Qālīqalā/Karin, where he appointed his brother Mušeł as his successor prior to his death. These two details—cooperation with the Romans and settlement in Qālīqalā/Karin—suggest that the Mamikonean rebellion was linked to the Roman capture of the city around the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution.

Theophanes describes the capture of Qālīqalā/Karin as if it had happened at the hands of the Roman emperor himself, with no reference to the Mamikonean inhabitants: "In the same year [AM 6243/750–51 CE], Constantine occupied Theodosioupolis as well as Melitene and conquered the Armenians" (τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν Θεοδοσιύπολιν παρέλαβεν ἅμα τῇ Μελιτηνῇ, καὶ ᾐχμαλώτευσε τοὺς Ἀρμενίους).[52] However, subsequent reports explain that Constantine campaigned only against Melitene, and references in both Arabic and Syriac attest to the involvement of a mysterious patrician named Kūshān al-Armanī. For example, Agapius explains that the governor of Armenia, Iṣḥāq b. Muslim, along with the Banū Qays, continued to fight the ʿAbbāsids after the death of Marwān b. Muḥammad. "While the people were thus afflicted, the king of the Romans raided Melitene, captured it, took its people captive, and returned. Kūshān, patriarch[53] of the Armenians, took all the people of Armenia and brought them into the land of the Romans" (فبينما الناس فى هذا الجهد اذ غزا ملك الروم ملطية وفتحها وسبى اهلها ورجع وفى هذه السنة أخذ كوسان جاثليق الارمن عامّة أهل ارمينية وأدخلهم بلاد الروم).[54] The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* denigrates this Kūshān over

52 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 590; *Chronographia*, 427.

53 The identification of Kūshān as the catholicos (جاثليق) is unique in Agapius and could possibly stem from the relationship between the words "patrician" (البطريق) and "patriarch" (البطريرك). Other sources call Kūshān "patrician" (بطريق).

54 Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 289–90, which also includes the parallel passages across the Theophilus circuit, including Agapius, *ʿUnvan*, 271. The name Kūshān does not appear in Michael the Syrian or the *Chronicle*

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multiple pages, citing his violent marauding of Jazīra in AG 1065 and 1066/753–55 CE.[55] Kūshān does not appear in Łewond's narrative. Despite the rancor elicited by Kūshān's actions and his appearance in multiple historiographical traditions, we know little about him beyond his involvement in this campaign and his subsequent death by stoning in Ḥarrān/Xaṙan.[56] His identity and his relationship to the *naxarar* houses is thus unknown. Given his service in the Roman army and the silence about him in the Armenian sources despite the frequent attestation of his Armenianness, he may have been Chalcedonian.

Balādhurī provides a link between Łewond's account and the various reports about Kūshān:

> Muḥammad b. Bishr al-Qālī and Ibn Warz al-Qālī told me on the authority of the shaykhs among the people of Qālīqalā: Since it was conquered, the city of Qālīqalā remained impenetrable on account of its people who were in it until the tyrant [Constantine] went out in the year 133 [AH = 750–51 CE]. He besieged Malaṭya, razed its walls, and removed the Muslims who were there to Jazīra, and then he settled at Marj al-Ḥaṣā. He dispatched Kūsān al-Armanī to subjugate Qālīqalā, so he [Kūsān] besieged it. There were few people there at that time, and its governor was Abū Karīma. Two Armenian brothers from the people of the city of Qālīqalā broke through the rubble that was in the walls and they went out to Kūsān and brought him into the city. So he conquered it, killed, took prisoners, razed it, sent what he gathered to the tyrant, and divided the prisoners among his companions.
>
> حدثنى محمد بن بشر وابن ورز القاليان عن مشايخ اهل قاليقلا قالوا لم تزل مدينة قاليقلا مذ فتحت ممتنعة بمن فيها من اهلها حتّى خرج الطاغية فى سنة 133 فحصر اهل ملطيّة وهدم حائطها واجلى من بها من المسلمين الى الجزيرة ثمّ نزل مرج الحصى فوجّه كوسان الارمنى حتّى اناخ على قاليقلا فحصرها واهلها يومئذ قليل وعاملها ابو كريمة فنقب اخوان من الارمن من اهل مدينة قاليقلا ردما كان فى سورها وخرجا الى كوسان فادخلاه المدينة فغلب عليها فقتل وسبى وهدمها وساق ما حوى الى الطاغية وفرّق السبى على اصحابه.[57]

Balādhurī's two Armenian brothers who help Kūshān take Qālīqalā/Karin for the Romans should be identified as Grigor and Mušeł Mamikonean on the basis of Łewond's claim that they lived in Qālīqalā/Karin at that time and allied with the Greeks in their rebellion. Balādhurī's reference to Constantine's presence at Marj al-Ḥaṣā should also be read against Łewond's comment about the village of Hazr (qhnnû Հազր) [91v]; مرج الحصى should be read as مرج الحصر.[58] Łewond has the Bagratunik' go to Hazr to join the caliphal forces during the rebellion; it must have then switched hands from Bagratuni-Umayyad to

to 1234. Like these sources, bar Šinaya, *Chronographie*, 106, notes the campaign against Melitene without mentioning Kūshān or Qālīqalā.

55 *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 190–91.

56 Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:43 describes the death of Kūshān in 132/749–50. However, Khalīfa places him in Syria in 134/751–52; Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 269.

57 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 199. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 5:92: وسار ملك الروم إلى قاليقلا فنزل مرج الخصي، وأرسل كوشان الأرمني فحصرها، فنقب أخوان من الأرمن من أهل المدينة ردماً كان في سورها، فدخل كوشان ومن معه المدينة وغلبوا عليها وقتلوا رجالها وسبوا النساء، وساق القائم إلى ملك الروم.

58 Note, however, the location of the "Armenian-Assyrian" rebellion described in the *Chronicle of Zuqnīn* as ܚܙܪ; *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 182; Ter-Łevondyan, "Sasuni anhayt apstambut'yunə," 198.

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Mamikonean-Roman control, which is not surprising given that the village lay in territory that was traditionally Mamikonean.[59]

The story of Kūshān al-Armanī may intersect with Łewond's text in yet another way. In his description of the Mamikonean rebellion, Łewond explains that Grigor allied with Roman troops. He adds:

> All the sons of transgression, who did not know the fear of God, nor the dread of princes, nor the honor [due] to elders, went and joined the regiment of sedition. But like foreigners and strangers, they raided widely, captured their brothers and compatriots, and committed much pillage, bringing suffering with torture and scourges upon their brothers. On account of this, God regretted His mercy and dissolved their unity, for He did not allow their act of wickedness to prosper for even a full year.

> և *ամենայն* որդիք յանցանաց երթեալ խառնէին ի գունդ ապստամբութե*ան*ն որք ոչ ճանաչէին զերկիւղ Ա*ստուծոյ* և ոչ զահ իշխանաց և ոչ զպատիւ ծերոց. այլ իբրև զայլազգի և զաւտարացեալ. ասպատակ սփրեալ գերէին զեղբարս և զազգակիցս իւրեանց. և բազում աւարառութի*ւն*ս. առնէին խոշտանկանաւ և զանիւք տանջանս ածե*ալ* ի վերա եղբարց իւրեանց: Յաղագս որոյ ստրջացեալ ներողութի*ւն* Ա*ստուծոյ*. քակեաց զմիաբանութի*ւն* նոցա. զի և ոչ զամն ողջոյն աջողեաց նոցա զգործ ապիրատութե*ան*ն. [91r–v]

The phrase "sons of transgression" has been interpreted as a reference to the Paulicians, who are otherwise entirely absent from Łewond's text.[60] However, the "sons of transgression" may very well allude to Kūshān, given his prominence in the stories about the last years of Umayyad rule in the North. The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* offers an extended account of Kūshān's activities in the first years of ʿAbbāsid control, but it also situates Kūshān's rise before Marwān's defeat: "The year one thousand and sixty-five [753–54 CE]: The whole northern land was laid waste by Kushan, an Armenian man from Fourth Armenia. When Marwan was routed and he fled, Kushan took away all his possessions and people and entered the Roman territories. Because he was a bold and powerful man, Constantine (V) appointed him as a military commander" (ܐܪܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܒܥܐܝܬܐ. ܕܟܘܫܢ ܒܝܬܗ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܘܠܗ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܘܢ ܕܗܪܒ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܘܢ ܕܗܪܒ ܘܫܒܐ. ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܘܢ ܕܗܪܒ ܘܫܒܐ. ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܘܢ ܕܗܪܒ ܘܫܒܐ. ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܝ

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explain Łewond's accusation that they "captured brothers and compatriots," as well as his charge that Kūshān and his men acted "like foreigners and strangers." If indeed this passage refers to Kūshān, Łewond seems to have expected him to perform in accordance with his Armenianness in some way.

XI.C.3. The Mamikonean Rebellion in a Broader Regional Context

Arabic, Greek, and Syriac sources do not record the Mamikonean rebellion during the caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad. As a result, we cannot triangulate Łewond's text against non-Armenian accounts to get a sense of how or why Łewond crafted his narrative. The lack of information about this particular rebellion forces a different interpretive approach than what was possible for the battle of Vardanakert in 83/703 (chapter IV) or the battle of Bagrewand in 158/775 (chapter XIII). The circumstances of this rebellion are set in relief through broader contextualization of the various rebellions across the caliphal North in the last years of Marwān's reign. Multiple groups took advantage of the chaos of the prolonged *fitna* to pursue their own political and military goals. Two rebellions, in particular, deserve additional attention because they help locate the Mamikonean rebellion in this broader regional context, allowing us to speculate about the opportunities and challenges facing Armenian *naxarark'* and caliphal administrators alike.

First, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* records a convoluted story of a three-front conflict between the governor, Arab Muslims, and Christian Syrians in Jazīra around the same time as the ʿAbbāsid Revolution.[63] The Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn/Npʿrkert rebelled, and a local Christian leader named John son of Daddi took up arms to defend the region. The Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn/Npʿrkert sent a man named Sawāda to curtail their independence. The Arabs and Syrians (ܣܘܪܝܐ) both resisted the governor Qurra b. Thābit, who was ensconced in a fortress called Qulab (ܩܘܠܒ);[64] John was able to kill the governor in battle. Another of the leaders in the region, a man named Stephen son of Paul, allied with the Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn/Npʿrkert to betray John. Stephen met with ʿAwf, the leader of the Arab army, in a village named Ḥazro (ܚܙܪܘ), where he hoped to lure John in to hand him over to the Arabs. An ally tipped John off to the ambush and he was able to surprise and defeat Stephen and ʿAwf: "From this point onward, evils dangerously increased between the people of the mountain and the Arabs, for they committed murder against each other every day without end. The people of the mountain seized all the passes; not one Arab was seen in the whole mountain" (ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬ ܗܘܬ ܒܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܪܒܐ ܕܡܢ ܝܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܩܛܠܐ ܥܒܕܘ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܟܠ ܫܒܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܚܕ ܥܪܒܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܛܘܪܐ).[65] Another leader emerged, "an Urṭian[66] man named Grigor" (ܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܐܘܪܛܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ). Grigor fought against the people of the mountain, who remained loyal to

63 The *Chronicle of Zuqnīn* dates this rebellion to the year AG 1062/750–51 CE, but this dating is up for debate because the anonymous author describes the ʿAbbāsid Revolution twice: once before and then again after the report about these rebellions. Also, the *Chronicle of Zuqnīn* afterwards skips back to AG 1061/749–50 CE.

64 Harrak notes that it should be understood as a "city in Sophanene near Pheison."

65 *Chronicle of Zuqnīn*, 183; *Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum*, 2:199.

66 Ter-Łevondyan identifies the Urṭians as Armenians, but the Syriac ܐܪܛܝܐ (الارطان) are Arameans; see Vacca, "Conflict and Community," 74.

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John. The Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn/Npʿrkert convinced the ʿAbbāsid governor Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ to kill John, but he instead deported him to Ḥarrān/Xaṙan. Ter-Łevondyan has traced the toponyms mentioned in this passage to the region of Ṣāṣūn/Sasun and Khoyṭ/Xoytʿ and argued that this rebellion is best described as an "Armeno-Syrian movement against Arab tyranny" (հայ-ասորական մի շարժում՝ արաբական բռնապետության դեմ).[67]

The second main rebellion in the North in the last years of Marwān's reign is similarly diffuse and difficult to place into easy categories. The Khārijite rebellion of Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī (d. 129/746) reached into Jazīra and Albania and remained disruptive even after the death of its leader. The *Chronicle of Zuqnin* records the names of monasteries in Jazīra that were destroyed by one of Ḍaḥḥāk's successors, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Bukhturī, but the rebellion also stretched to the east. According to Ibn Aʿtham, another devotee of the rebel Ḍaḥḥāk named Musāfir b. Kathīr al-Qaṣṣāb was the leader of the Khārijite revolt in Albania and Azerbaijan. Marwān's governor ʿĀṣim b. Yazīd (on whom see chapter X) arrested two Khārijites in Baylaqān. Musāfir subsequently moved from Warthān to Baylaqān, forcing ʿĀṣim to flee to Bardhaʿa/Partaw. Musāfir followed and killed ʿĀṣim, which prompted Marwān to send ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī as governor over Armenia and Azerbaijan. ʿAbd al-Malik was likewise killed in battle with the Khārijites near Bardhaʿa/Partaw, so his brother Isḥāq undertook a large-scale response against Musāfir, battling day and night until the ʿAbbāsids arrived to overthrow Marwān.[68] Balādhurī offers a brief summary of Ibn Aʿtham's account, but he provides a few additional details. First, he links the Khārijite rebellion in Bardhaʿa/Partaw to yet another rebellion, in Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband: when Marwān went off to fight in the third *fitna*, he left in charge of Bāb al-Abwāb Thābit b. Nuʿaym al-Judhāmī, who rebelled at the prompting of Musāfir.[69] Second, Balādhurī names the location of Musāfir's fortress: "Marwān b. Muḥammad appointed Isḥāq b. Muslim over Armenia, and he continued to battle Musāfir, who was in the fortress of Kulāb in Sīsajān" (ولّى مروان بن محمد اسحاق بن مسلم ارمينية فلم يزل يقاتل مسافراً وكان فى قلعة الكلاب بالسيسجان).[70] These details connect various rebellions in Albania while also charting the Khārijite rebellions in Azerbaijan, Albania, and Sīsajān/Siunikʿ.

The Mamikonean rebellion described by Łewond was thus just one of several challenges to Marwān's authority around this time. Isḥāq b. Muslim, the governor of Armenia, faced an incredibly unstable scene. Ṭabarī captures the chaos of the fractured and rebellious North well in his description of 132/749–50:

> The people of the Jazīra displayed white and threw off their allegiance as soon as word came to them of the revolt of Abū al-Ward and the uprising of the people of Qinnasrīn. The rebels marched to Ḥarrān, where at this time Mūsā b. Kaʿb was stationed with three thousand men of the army. The defenders stuck fast to the city, and wearers of white flocked to it from every direction. They besieged Mūsā and those with him, but their command was not unified and they had no single chief to unite them.[71]

67 Ter-Łevondyan, "Sasuni apstambutʿyunə."

68 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:336–38. See Vacca, "Rebels."

69 For more information on Thābit, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 61.

70 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 209.

71 Ṭabarī, *History*, 27:180; *Taʾrīkh*, 3:56.

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كان اهل الجزيرة بيّضوا ونقضوا حيث بلغهم خروج ابى الورد وانتقاض اهل قنّسرين وساروا الى حرّان وبحرّان يومئذ موسى بن كعب فى ثلثة آلاف من الجند فتشبّث بمدينتها وساروا اليه مبيّضين من كلّ وجه وحاصروه ومن معه وأمرهم مشتّت ليس عليهم رأس يجمعهم.[72]

This passage suggests that the rebellions proliferated, but without a central thread to pull them all together. Ṭabarī then describes the attempts of both Isḥāq b. Muslim (who was still working for the Umayyads at that time) and Abū Jaʿfar (the future ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr) to curtail rebellions city by city across Jazīra.

Although none of the descriptions of the rebellions in Jazīra and Albania in the last year of Marwān's reign relate directly to Łewond's description of the Mamikonean rebellion, they place the Mamikonean rebellion into the broader context of the political and military circumstances of Marwān's caliphate and, in particular, Isḥāq b. Muslim's governorship. The many rebellions in Jazīra and Albania may explain why the Mamikoneanḳ and their allies decided to rebel at that particular time, why they never actually engaged with Isḥāq or other caliphal forces, and why both Marwān and Isḥāq were keen to maintain friendly relations with the Bagratunikʿ as their attention remained elsewhere. Perhaps more speculatively, we might also consider whether the toponyms "the village of Hazr" (qիւղն Հազր; ܟܦܪ ܚܙܪ ܕܐܪܥܐ ; in Arabic: مرج الحصر, "the pastures of Ḥaṣr") and "the fortress of Kulāb" (ܩܠܥܬ ܟܠܐܒ; قلعة الكلاب) may have served as mnemonic hooks on which to hang the stories of rebellions that are completely separate in the extant sources in terms of both actors and geography.

XI.D. THE ʿABBĀSID REVOLUTION

Much of Lewond's information about the ʿAbbāsid Revolution is consistent with the accounts in the Arabic sources. He construes the third *fitna* to have extended into the revolution, though the phrase "another raging fire" (այլ մոլեկան հուր) [92v] indicates that he separates the two. He identifies Qaḥṭaba and Abū Muslim as the leaders; mentions the killing of the governor of Khurāsān (Naṣr b. Sayyār) provoked by his fiscal policies; and describes the significance of Kūfa in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*.

Łewond's account of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution captures well the uncertainty about the leadership of the early *daʿwa*, when the armies of Khurāsān followed the generals into revolt without a clear identification of the prospective caliph. Łewond explains that the Umayyads were overthrown by unnamed kinsmen of the Prophet Muḥammad who had lived in Khurāsān "for some time" (ժամանակս ինչ) [93r]. This detail is interesting because it reflects the early stage of the *daʿwa*, which was propagated in the name of an unspecified relative of the Prophet Muḥammad. Although the Khurāsānī troops drove the revolution, the ʿAbbāsid family line was not based in Khurāsān. Like the early revolutionaries, then, Łewond leaves open the possibility that the *daʿwa* was not ʿAbbāsid. That said, Łewond subsequently identifies the revolutionaries as "the regiments of the ʿAbd Allāhs who were called the sons of Hāshim" (զուսդք աբդլայիցն որ կոչին որդիք Հեշմայ) [93v]; this phrasing acknowledges that the revolt was Hāshimī in nature (and so open to a number of potential claimants) but refers specifically to the ʿAbd Allāhs, that is, the ʿAbbāsids. The early ʿAbbāsids all took the sobriquet ʿAbd Allāh ("the servant of God"), and "the ʿAbd Allāhs"

72 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:56.

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involved in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution were Abū al-ʿAbbās, who became the first ʿAbbāsid caliph Saffāḥ; his brother Abū Jaʿfar, the second ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr; and the third, their uncle ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. Łewond designates Saffāḥ as ʿAbd Allāh, whereas Manṣūr is the other ʿAbd Allāh (միւս Աբդլա) [94v]. Łewond's identification of the *daʿwa* with the ʿAbbāsid family appears in his text after the troops arrive in Asorestan but before Kūfa, where Abū al-ʿAbbās was declared caliph in 132/749.

Łewond's account of the battle of Zāb in 132/750 is idiosyncratic. Marwān's distribution of funds to his troops, which played a central role in most other accounts, is mentioned in a completely different context by Łewond. Ṭabarī explains that Marwān wanted to distribute money to his soldiers, but he feared mass desertions in the aftermath. He thus sent his son to patrol for deserters, which the soldiers interpreted as a retreat. This misunderstanding threw the Umayyad forces into chaos and culminated in their defeat.[73] Theophanes and Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ also mention that Marwān had confiscated the treasuries (πάντων τῶν συλληφθέντων θησαυρῶν; بيوت الاموال والكنوز—note the plural) from Damascus during his flight from Zāb, a detail that does not match the accounts of Ṭabarī and Łewond. Without mentioning the plan of distributing the funds to his army, Theophanes and Khalīfa imply that Marwān took the money for himself.[74] Theophanes also asserts that Marwān had 300,000 men: "Then, at the river Zabas, he [Abū Muslim] overtook Marwān, who had three hundred thousand men, made war on him, and slew an infinite multitude" (καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Μαρουὰμ εἰς τὸν Ζάβαν ποταμὸν ἔχουτα τ΄ χιλιάδας πολεμεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἀναιπεῖ ἐξ αὐτῶν).[75] The Arabic sources, by contrast, never allow him more than 150,000 men at most. Beyond the detail about the treasuries and the attestation that Marwān had 300,000 men at his disposal, very little of Łewond's account of the battle of Zāb aligns with other sources. Łewond's reference to a hill and to Marwān's tent is unique, as is his claim that Marwān died at the battle of Zāb.

73 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:42.

74 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 588; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 263. The histories of the Theophilus circuit also mention Marwān's seizure of the treasuries of Damascus when he came to power as part of his move to his new capital at Ḥarrān/Xaṙan. See Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 252–53.

75 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 587; *Chronographia*, 425.

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XII The Caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ

r. AH 132–36/749–54 CE

Łewond's twelfth chapter introduces us to the reign of the ʿAbbāsids, who toppled the Umayyads in 750 and ruled from Iraq until the coming of the Mongols in 1258. The first ʿAbbāsid caliph, called here ʿAbd Allāh, is more commonly known today by his regnal title, Saffāḥ ("the blood shedder"). He ruled from 749 to 754. Most of Łewond's description of his reign is about "the other ʿAbd Allāh," meaning Saffāḥ's brother Abū Jaʿfar, who succeeded Saffāḥ and took the regnal title Manṣūr. Łewond describes the power and influence of Abū Jaʿfar during his brother's reign, deploying details that reveal that Łewond was privy to information circulating in the Caliphate. Łewond also confirms that the norms of late Umayyad governance were upheld despite the regime change. The Bagratunikʿ remained in a position of power as the point of contact with caliphal forces, and the governor under Saffāḥ hailed from a family with a long history of service in Armenia. These details suggest that the shift to ʿAbbāsid control was focused more on continuity than on a dramatic break from the past.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

34. And ʿAbd Allāh ruled in his [Marwān b. Muḥammad's] place and sent his brother, the other ʿAbd Allāh, to circle through all of the lands of his kingdom. He went first to this land of Armenia and tormented everyone with many afflictions and tribulations. He caused extreme impoverishment to the point of exacting taxes even from the dead. He cruelly afflicted all of the many orphans and widows and tormented the priests and servants of the divine altar with tortures, ridicule, and whippings to make them reveal the names [95r] of the dead and their families. He also tortured the inhabitants of this land with very forceful and grievous tax collection, taking many *zuze* of silver per capita and placing a lead seal around everyone's neck. Indeed, the house[s] of the *naxarark*ʿ, willing or otherwise, gave increased gifts of horses and mules, of precious vestments and other hoards of gold and silver, so that they could glut the mouth of the dragon that had attacked and polluted this land. Having sated the gluttony of his voracious stomach,

ʿAbd Allāh: the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known by his regnal title Saffāḥ (r. 749–54). His reign is remembered for the suppression of Umayyad and ʿAlid threats to the new regime.

The other ʿAbd Allāh: Saffāḥ's brother, Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, more commonly known by his later regnal title Manṣūr (r. 754–75). Manṣūr fought in Iraq during the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, then served as governor of Jazīra and Armenia under his brother until he became caliph.

Taxes from the dead: this phrase appears in the Christian apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius to describe the hardships of caliphal rule.

Zuze: the plural form of *zuza*, a Syriac term for a coin.

Lead seal: sealing the necks was a way to mark who had paid taxes. This may be a literary representation of the harshness of caliphal rule, but there is sigillographic corroboration of this practice elsewhere in the Caliphate, as well as references in Arabic and Syriac sources.

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he crossed through the region of the Persians and the Medes to the land of Khorasan and thence to Egypt and to the land of Pentapolis up to Africa. Wherever he reached, he ravished avariciously "like a net spread on Tabor"[1] [and] hunted the lives of men. [95v] As a consequence, he was given a name for his deprivation by his own people: the father of farthings, as it is said that he honored the farthing more than God.

When he departed from this land, he left a governor for adjudication and for the collection of taxes over this land of Armenia, Yazīd b. Usayd. And Yazīd appointed over this land a prince from among the Armenian *naxarark'*: Sahak, the son of Bagarat, from the same house as Prince Ašot, who was his cousin. He was a handsome man and tall, with a noble nature, and God-fearing. He [Sahak] unwillingly led his troops to press the labor of battle wherever he was sent, for from then on the yearly salary of silver that came to the Armenian troops from the royal treasury was cut. And [96r] they required that the princes have a certain number of cavalry and there was a tax on their own houses to equip the armed regiments and to keep uninterrupted the progress of profitless labor. After ʿAbd Allāh completed the third year of his reign, he died.

Pentapolis: Barqa, in modern Libya. Manṣūr's supposed trip there is not corroborated in the Arabic sources.

Africa: here, Africa likely refers to the Arabic toponym Ifrīqiyya, corresponding to Libya and Tunisia, rather than Africa in the broader modern sense.

The father of farthings: Manṣūr was known in both Christian and Muslim texts for his stinginess. This nickname appears in Syriac and Middle Persian, as well.

Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī: the governor of Armenia from 752 to 754, then from 759 to 769, and again from 775 to 780. His mother was taken prisoner after the fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, though his name indicates that he identified with his father's Arab tribe instead of with his mother's ancestral background.

Sahak Bagratuni: son of Bagarat and cousin of Ašot, and prince of Armenia from 753 to about 770.

ARMENIAN EDITION

լդ[2] Եւ տիրէ ընդ նորա Աբդլա. եւ առաքէ զեղբայր իւր զմիւս Աբդլա. շրջել ընդ *ամենայն* աշխարհս իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն. որ նախ ելեալ յաշխարհս Հայոց. բազում վշտաւք և նեղութե*ամ*բք վտանգէր զամենեսին. և հասուցանէր ի չքաւորութի*ւն* տնանկութե*ան*. մինչև պահանջել հարկս և ի մեռելոցն: Զ*ամենայն* բազմութի*ւն* որբոց և այրեաց չարալլուկ տառապեցուցանէր, վտանգէր զքահանայս և զպաշտաւնեայս. ա*ստուա*ծային խորանին. խոշտանգանաւք և քրքաւք այպանութե*ան*. և գանիւք ի յայտ ածել զանուանս վախ[95r] ճանելոցն և զընդանիս նոցուն. խոշտանգէր և զբնակիչս աշխարհիս բռնագոյն և դառն հարկապահանջութե*ամ*ք առնուլ ըստ գլխոյ բազում զուզէս արծաթոյ. և դնել կնիք կապարեայ յամենեցուն պարանոցս: Իսկ տոհմ նախարարացն որ կամաւ, որ ակամա յաճախէին տալ ընծայս ձիոց և ջորոց. և հանդերձից պատուականաց. և զայլ մթերս ոսկոյ և արծաթոյ. որպէս զի կարասցեն լնուլ զբերան վիշապին որ յարձակեալ էր ապականել զերկիրս. և նորա լցեալ զանյագութի*ւն* չարընկալ որովայնին. անցանէր ըն[3] կողմն Պարսից և Մարաց մինչև յաշխարհն Խորասան. և անդուստ յԵգիպտոս. և ի Պենդապաւսական յաշխարհն մինչև յԱփեկա. և *ամենայն* ուրեք ուր և հասաներ զյափշտակող բարս ագահութե*ան*ն իբրև զվարմ ձգեալ ի Տամբիոն. որսայր զկենաց մարդկան զհետն[95v]անս. մինչև կոչել յիւրական ազգէն

1 Cf. Hosea 5:1.

2 լդ in lft. mg.

3 ըն] read: ընդ with printed editions; scribe omitted -դ by parablepsis.

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անուն զրլացութե*ան* նորա հայր դանգի. զի որպէս բանից կարգ է ասել զդանգ. առաւել քան զԱ*ստուա*ծ մեծարէր.

Եւ իբրև գնացեալ մեկնէր յաշխարհէս. թողոյր հրամանատար դատաւորութե*ան* և հարկապահանջութե*ան* ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց. զԵզիտ որդի Ուսագի: Եւ Եզիտ[4] կացուցանէր ի վերա աշխարհիս իշխան ի նախարարացն Հայոց զԻսահակ որդի Բագարատայ.[5] ի նոյն տանէ իշխանին Աշոտի. որ էր որդի հաւրեղբաւր նորա. այր գեղաղէշ երեսաւք և եր[ան]ելի հասակաւ. և ազնուական բնութ*եամ*ք. և ծանաւթ երկեղի Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. և առաջնորդէր զաւրաց իւրոց ակամաութ*եամ*ք կոխել զաշխատութի*ւն* մարտիցն ուր և առաքէր: Զի յայնմհետէ հատաւ սակ արծաթոյն որ գայր ամի ամի յարքունուստ զաւրացն Հայոց: Եւ զհամ[96r]ար հեծելոցն պահանջէին յիշխանացն. և հարկ լինէր ի տանց իւրեանց հանդերձել զգունդս զաւրացն. և զընթացս զրավաստակ աշխատութե*ան*ցն ողջ պահել: Եւ Աբդլայն լցեալ զերրորդ ամ իշխանութե*ան*ն վախճանէր.

COMMENTARY

XII.A. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE AND THE TRANSITION FROM UMAYYAD RULE

Łewond's account of Saffāḥ's reign attests to both continuity and change in the transition from Umayyad to ʿAbbāsid rule. As in the Marwānid period, the caliph appointed a governor who in turn worked with local potentates. The caliphal governor was responsible for adjudication and the collection of taxes, though he relied on an Armenian (and specifically a nobleman from the Bagratuni family) to provide internal stability and lead the other nobles. The early ʿAbbāsids thus maintained both the structure and the networks established under the previous regime.

This passage also reveals the taxes that Armenians levied on their own houses in order to maintain their cavalry. On the surface, this practice suggests a definite break from the Marwānid period. From the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik on, Armenians were likely listed in the *dīwān*, the registry of forces paid a stipend. Łewond notes here that the stipends were not maintained during Saffāḥ's reign. However, his comment should not be used to differentiate between Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid practice, as the stipends were also intermittently suspended under Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [83r–v]. The withholding of stipends is more likely a signal that the Armenian noble houses were not as central to Saffāḥ's interests as they had been to the Marwānids' because of caliphal reliance on Armenian cavalry in the Arab-Khazar wars. Łewond also mentions poll taxes in this passage, though his dramatic description of them seems to reflect literary borrowing more than administrative norms (on which see below).

The choice of Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī as governor also reflects the norms of early ʿAbbāsid governance. Yazīd's roots were in Armenia: his mother was a noblewoman from Sīsajān/Siunikʿ. He had served the Umayyads under Marwān b. Muḥammad, as his father had before him,[6] so Yazīd's rise to power reveals the integration of the Umayyad elite into

4 Եզիտ] յԵզիտ a.c.

5 Բագարատայ] Բագարատա a.c.

6 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 165.

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the ʿAbbāsid ruling structure.[7] ʿAbbāsid governors tended to serve terms of less than five years before being reassigned to other provinces; Yazīd fits this pattern, as he served three nonsequential terms in Armenia. Yazīd stands out from the other governors, however, in that he appears in Arabic sources as the confidante of Manṣūr, both in chains of transmission related to the future caliph and in anecdotes in which he provides the future caliph with suggestions and critiques.

XII.B. ABŪ JAʿFAR'S TRAVELS AROUND THE CALIPHATE

Łewond claims that Abū al-ʿAbbās sent his brother ʿAbd Allāh (Abū Jaʿfar, later to become the caliph Manṣūr) "to circle through all of the lands of his kingdom" (շրջել ընդ *ամենայն* աշխարհս իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն) [94v]. He also explains that "he crossed through the region of the Persians and the Medes to the land of Khorasan and thence to Egypt and to the land of Pentapolis up to Africa" (անցանէր ընդ կողմն Պարսից և Մարաց մինչև յաշխարհն Խորասան. եւ անդուստ յԵգիպտոս. և ի Պենդապաւսական յաշխարհն մինչև յԱփեկա) [95r]. Łewond employs Africa (Ափեկա) in the same sense as the Arabic Ifrīqiyya to refer to the province to the west of Egypt. Also, Pentapolis (Greek: Cyrenaica, Κυρηναϊκή; Arabic: Barqa, برقة) was separate from both Egypt and Ifrīqiyya,[8] as suggested in this passage.

Even if this passage broadly fits with geographical conceptions of North Africa in early ʿAbbāsid Arabic texts, the specific reference to North Africa does not find an easy explanation. We have no reason to believe that Manṣūr ever went to Barqa/Pentapolis, whether during his brother's or during his own caliphate. Only some of Abū Jaʿfar's travels described here are corroborated in Arabic sources. According to Ibn Aʿtham, Saffāḥ sent Abū Jaʿfar first to Wāsiṭ in Iraq, then to Khurāsān. "Then Abū al-ʿAbbās sent for Muḥammad b. Ṣūl and discharged him. He appointed his brother Abū Jaʿfar over Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the land of Jazīra" (ثم بعث أبو العباس إلى محمد ابن صول فعزله وولى أخاه أبا جعفر أرمينية وأذربيجان وبلاد الجزيرة). Abū Jaʿfar wintered in Kīrān (between Tabrīz and Baylaqān) and summered in Jurzān/Kʿartʿli.[9] He also led the pilgrimage to Mecca in 136/753–54.[10]

Martin-Hisard interprets Łewond's account of Abū Jaʿfar's travels as an ʿAbbāsid attempt to lay claim to former Umayyad territories, symbolically inscribing the boundaries of legitimacy.[11] Literary patterning of ʿAbbāsid descriptions of the Caliphate support her explanation for this passage. It is quite normal to find passages that list provinces of the Caliphate in order to extol a particular site or to invoke the perception of shared values. So, for example, Ibn al-Faqīh lists the cause of destruction of each caliphal province at the end of time, whereas Yaʿqūbī explains how and why Iraq is preferable to each province and Ibn Khurradādhbih describes the direction of prayer of people in each province.[12] Such lists

7 On this broader process, see Elad, "Aspects."

8 Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 224: وهى بين مصر وافريقية; Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 216: فاوّل كورة من قبل مصر برقة ثم إفريقية.

9 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:380; Balʿamī, *Chronique*, 4:347–48. Note that the extent of the governorship of Abū Jaʿfar is questioned elsewhere; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:87.

10 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:86–87; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 271; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 6:157.

11 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 138 n. 673.

12 Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*, 109 n. 29.

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posit shared practices and universal sites of reference, as if everyone in those regions participated in the same activities or held the same fate or values. Similar lists of places also appear in Armenian sources related to claims of universality. For example, Tʿovma Arcruni explains that Mutawakkil's troops were "from distant places" (ի հեռաբնակ վայրս) such as Syria, Babylonia, Turkestan, Khuzistan, Media, Elam, Egypt, and Arabia.[13] His point is not to inform the reader about the campaign but to convey the impressive effort extended to curtail Armenian rebels, which necessitated pulling troops from the farthest reaches of the Caliphate. Łewond's reference here to Persia, Media, Khurāsān, Egypt, and Africa may serve much the same purpose, namely, to remark on the breadth of the Caliphate during the reign of Ṣaffāh and, particularly, Manṣūr's claim to these territories.

XII.C. ŁEWOND AT THE NEXUS OF MULTIPLE LINGUISTIC CIRCLES

Łewond's account of Saffāḥ's reign suggests multiple possible connections to non-Armenian material. The passage about taxing the dead is reminiscent of Pseudo-Methodius. Łewond claims that the future Manṣūr "caused extreme impoverishment to the point of exacting taxes even from the dead. He afflicted all of the many orphans and widows cruelly and tormented the priests and servants of the divine altar with tortures, ridicule, and whippings to make them reveal the names of the dead and their families" (և հասուցանէր ի չքաւորութի*ւն* տնանկութե*ան*. մինչև պահանջել հարկս և ի մեռելոցն: զ*ամենայն* բազմութի*ւն* որբոց և այրեաց չարալլուկ տառապեցուցանէր, վտանգէր զքահանայս և զպաշտաւնեայս. ա*ստուա*ծային խորանին. խոշտանգանաք և քրքաք այպանութե*ան*. և զանիւք ի յայտ ածել զանուանս վախճանելոցն և զընդանիս նոցուն) [94v–95r]. This same combination of taxing widows, orphans, holy men, and the dead appears in the Armenian version of Pseudo-Methodius, which was translated from Greek: "And their heart[s] will become so haughty that they will demand as much [taxes from] the dead as from the living. They will not have pity on orphans, widows, or holy men" (Եւ բարձրասցի սիրտ նոցա՝ պահանջել զմեռեալս ըստ հաւասարութեան կենդանեաց: Որբոց և այրեաց և սրբոց ոչ ողորմեսցեն).[14] However, given the late date for the Armenian translation of Pseudo-Methodius, it remains possible that Łewond heard this snippet in Syriac, rather than in Armenian. In the same passage, he also employs the word ܙܘܙܐ (from the Aramaic זוזא, like Hebrew זוז) for dirhams and refers to neck sealing, a practice that appears more frequently in Syriac texts than it does in Armenian ones.[15] The Syriac version of the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius offers a similar line: "They will be so elated in their wrath and pride that he will even demand tribute from the dead who lie in the dust. He will take a capitation tax from orphans, from widows, and from holy men" (ܘܢܬܪܡܡܘܢ ܒܪܘܓܙܐ ܘܒܓܐܘܬܐ ܕܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܫܪܝܢ ܒܥܦܪܐ ܘܢܣܒܘܢ ܡܢ ܝܬܝܡܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܪܚܡܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ).[16]

Pseudo-Methodius also circulated in Greek, so it is further possible that this theme entered Armenian from Greek. There are two other possible indications here of Łewond's

13 Arcruni, *Patmutʿiwn*, 198.

14 Topchyan, "Armenian Version," 18–19, 40.

15 On neck sealing, see Robinson, "Neck-Sealing"; Soucek, "Early Islamic Seals."

16 Brock, "Syriac Sources," 34; Palmer, *Seventh Century*, 223; Penn, *Envisioning Islam*, 120; Robinson, *Empire and Elites*, 49. For the Syriac, see Pseudo-Methodius, *Die syrische Apokalypse*, 29.

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familiarity with traditions in Greek. First, he refers to Abū Jaʿfar, the future caliph Manṣūr, as "the other ʿAbd Allāh" (միւս Աբդլա) [94v] to differentiate him from Saffāḥ and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī. Theophanes does the same thing, referring to him as τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀβδελᾶ.[17] Second, in the passage about Saffāḥ's reign, Łewond demonstrates familiarity with the Septuagint. He cites Hosea 5:1 according to the Greek, employing the phrase "like a net spread on Tabor" (իբրև զվարս ձգեալ ի Տաբիոն). The Armenian Bible does not include the name Tabor, replacing it with "on top of a high place" (ի գլուխս գահաւանդ). Łewond's reference to Tabor must derive from the Septuagint because he preserves the case ending *-ion* (ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον), whereas the Syriac version of the Bible omits the Greek case endings and refers to the mountain only as ܬܒܪ.

In conjunction with Łewond's use of the Syriac *zuze*, the appearance of this biblical Grecism indicates Łewond's position at the nexus of multiple literary and linguistic circles. Accordingly, whether the snippet of Pseudo-Methodius was transmitted into Łewond's text from Greek or Syriac is perhaps less significant than is the open circulation of text blocks across multiple linguistic lines that its presence in Łewond's work signals. Łewond does not demonstrate familiarity with the rest of Pseudo-Methodius, so this bit of information likely circulated orally.

Łewond's reference to Abū Jaʿfar as "the father of farthings" (հայր դանգի) adds Arabic to the nexus of Greek, Armenian, and Syriac. As Łewond claims, this epithet was given "by his own people" (յիւրական ազգէն). As in the case of Pseudo-Methodius's snippet, there is no easy explanation for how the nickname arrived in Łewond's text. Although it is certainly attested in Arabic as ابو الدوانيق,[18] it also appears in Middle Persian: "The city of Baghdad was built by Abū Jaʿfar, whom they call Abū Dawānīq" *(šahrestān ī baγdād abū-jafar čiyōn-šan abū-dawānīg xwānd kard*) and in Syriac: "When Manṣūr Dawanaqī reigned over it, he built a castle in Raqah [read: Rāfiqa]" (ܕܡܢܘܪ ܕܥܒܕ ܩܠܥܐ ܒܪܩܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܐܦܩܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ).[19] The appearance of the nickname across historiographical traditions demonstrates that Łewond participated in broader regional patterns of transmission that were not based on language or religion. Since both examples—the claim to tax the dead and Abū Jaʿfar's nickname—were short and show no clear connection to extended passages in other texts, it seems likely that such information circulated orally through conversations, rather than on the written page.

17 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 529; *Chronographia*, 428.

18 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:278.

19 *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, 16, 21; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 3:279; 4:640.

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XIII The Caliphate of ʿAbd Allāh al-Manṣūr

r. AH 136–58/754–75 CE

Łewond's chapter on the reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr—called "the other ʿAbd Allāh" to differentiate him from his brother Saffāḥ—is invested in the political and military threats to Armenia, as opposed to the Caliphate at large, though he does include significant information on the Arab-Khazar wars. Łewond describes the many governors posted to Armenia, accounting for their involvement in the fight against the Khazars and their conflicts with the Armenian noble houses, as well as decrying the greater centralization of tax collection. Within this description, Łewond narrates the growing resistance to caliphal rule among the Mamikoneanʿ and among the Arcrunikʿ, a family that ruled the region around Lake Van. By the end of Manṣūr's reign, several smaller skirmishes had developed into a full-scale rebellion. Łewond presents the rebellion as a Mamikonean-led effort to unite all Armenians against caliphal rule. He uses generalizing language such as "the Armenian troops," which smooths over differences between the various *naxarar* houses. Reading his account against the main Arabic source on the rebellion suggests that he overestimates this short-lived unity. The Arcrunikʿ were defeated at the battle of Arčēš and the Mamikoneanʿ at the battle of Bagrewand, both in 775. Łewond positions the Bagratunikʿ in all theaters of this war, alongside the Mamikoneanʿ, the Arcrunikʿ, and caliphal forces alike. Despite the reported significance of the battle of Bagrewand in Armenian historical memory, Armenian sources do not mention it for centuries after Łewond, and Łewond himself admits to reliance on the reports of "the enemy" (likely Arab soldiers) in his account.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

And his [Ṣaffāḥ's] brother, the other ʿAbd Allāh [Manṣūr], took over his authority for twenty-two years. In his days, the king of the Greeks stirred an idea in the imperial court: with a large and troublesome mob, he went and arrived in the land of Karin in the city called Theodosiopolis. King Constantine, who was the son of Leo, immediately destroyed the walls of the fortress. He opened the treasury and removed a great weight of gold and silver. He found there in the treasury the sign of the dominical cross, which he took and carried off with him. He also [96v] removed the troops of the city and its Saracen inhabitants, along with their families, to the land of the Greeks. Many of

The other ʿAbd Allāh: Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsid caliph (r. 754–75). He was particularly famous for the foundation of Baghdad and for his sponsorship of scholarship and translation.

The king of the Greeks: as noted above [91r], this refers to the Roman emperor Constantine V (r. 741–75).

Theodosiopolis: the Greek name for the city of Karin/Qālīqalā, modern Erzurum in eastern Turkey.

Saracen: a derogatory name for Muslims that derives from Greek sources. It is unusual in Łewond's text. Since he also uses the Greek name Theodosiopolis, his source here may have been Greek.

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the inhabitants of the [neighboring] districts requested of the king that they be allowed to throw off the iron yoke of Ishmaelite servitude and follow him. When he gave the order, they gathered their goods immediately and started on the journey, trusting in the power of the dominical cross and in the glory of the king. They left the land of their birth and emigrated, settling in the country of the pious king. At the beginning of the next year, Yazīd gathered forces that set out and arrived in the city of Karin under his command and imposed a poll tax over the land. Having collected an innumerable multitude [of people], he placed foremen in charge of the work, and taking care of it himself, he rebuilt [97r] the breached wall of the city. He had men from the sons of Ishmael settle in it [Karin] with their families to guard the city and defend it from the enemy. He arranged for the provision of their food from this land of Armenia.

Glory: the word used here, *parkʿ*, is an Armenization of an ancient Iranian word (Middle Persian *xwarrah*). This term signifies the king's divine right to rule.

At the beginning of the next year: ca. 755.

35. At that time the riotous rabble of the infidel people did not stay [their] rancour from this land, for everywhere the sons of Beliar did not forsake their innate maliciousness, but a certain godless man named Sulaymān, along with the sons of transgression from the regions of Persia, struck like a viper. They raided the region of Vaspurakan, acting in the unworthy manner of their fellow bad seeds. The *naxararkʿ* of the Arcruni house, Sahak and Hamazasp, attacked and fell upon the enemy with a few men. But when they [97v] [i.e., the enemy] saw that they were few, they enclosed them, wanting to kill them. When Sahak and Hamazasp saw the marauder rising up and knew that there was nowhere to flee, they put their swords to work, killing many of the enemy. They charged a place in the crowd, trying to escape. There, Hamazasp, mortally wounded, fell from his horse; and the enemy, surrounding him, killed him. When Sahak saw the killing of his brother, he resigned himself to death on account of the overwhelming love that he had for his brother. He dismounted from his horse, hamstrung it, and struggled furiously in single combat. He slew many [men][1] until he had avenged his brother's blood. Then, vanquished in battle, he died. Thus the choice [98r] *naxararkʿ*, who were the sons of Vahan Arcruni, died. Then their brother Gagik and the other *naxararkʿ* who were with him, informed [of their death], went out to the battlefield moaning and wailing, but they were not able to catch up

Sons of Beliar: in a Christian context, this phrase means wicked men, the sons of Satan. It appears in Judges 20:13; cf. 2 Corinthians 6:15.

Sulaymān: unidentified. Some modern scholars have suggested that the manuscript's "Suleman" is a corruption of the tribal designation "Sulamī" (that is, of the Sulaym tribe) and so refers to the governor Yazīd b. Usayd.

Sahak, Hamazasp, and Gagik: sons of Vahan Arcruni. Gagik, who first appears in this paragraph, also has sons named Sahak and Hamazasp, who are mentioned below (100v, 124r).

Hamstrung horse: this epic motif is familiar in the Iranian world.

1 "He slew many [men]," զբազումս դիաբաւալ կացուցանէր: cf. 1 Maccabees 3:24, 5:34, 6:42; 2 Maccabees 5:26; Ezekiel 6:5.

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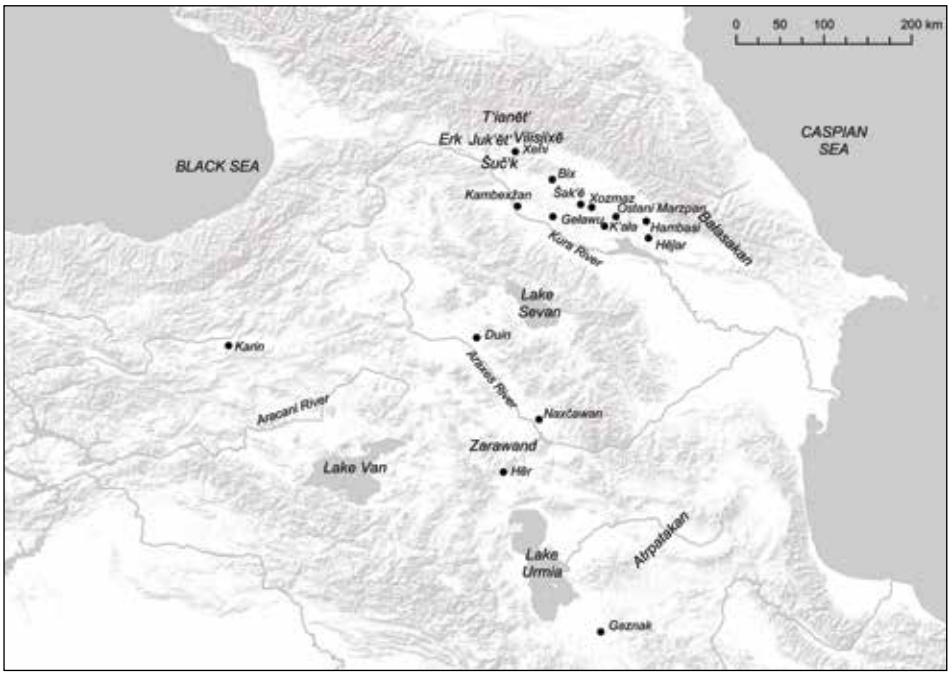

Map 11. Khazar raids during the reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.

to the enemy. They returned, lamenting and mourning, to bury the dead. The enemy returned by that same road. Shortly thereafter Sulaymān fell into the hands of Gagik Arcruni, and he and many others who were with him were killed.

36. During his governorship, Yazīd sent an envoy to the king of the North who was called the khagan and sought a marriage alliance with him, so as to form a peace treaty between him and the Khazar forces. The king of the Khazars was persuaded and gave his sister, whose name was [98v] Khatun, to him in marriage. He sent many maids, female slaves, and servants with her. Khatun lived a short time and died; and the peace treaty between them was canceled, for they [the Khazars] considered her death a deceitful plot. He [the Khazar king] mustered a large army and placed it in the hands of a general whose name was Ṙažtʿarxan from the regiment of Xatʿir Litʿber. He sent it against this land controlled by Yazīd. They spread their raids north of the strong river called Kur and took many districts: Hēǰar, Kʿała, Ostani Marzpan, Haband, Geławu, Šakʿē, Bix, Xeni, Kambexžan, and Xozmaz. These districts are in the land of Albania. They also took the desirable plain of Bałasakan in which there were innumerable flocks [99r] of sheep and

Khatun: a title, roughly the female equivalent of "khan" in Turkic and Mongol societies. Arabic sources attest to the marriage and claim that the caliph Manṣūr himself ordered it. Like Łewond, the historians writing in Arabic see the death of the khatun as a casus belli for the Arab-Khazar wars.

Ṙažtʿarxan: the Khazar general subordinate to the khagan. "Tarkhan" is a title; Ṙaž may be his name, part of his title ("the head of"), or a misinterpretation of the Ās or Allān people.

Xatʿir Litʿber: a Khazar general from about 758 to 764. His name here is an Armenization of the Turkic name Qaðır il tābār.

Łewond relies on a source with knowledge of the **districts of Albania, Georgia, and Azerbaijan**. In his first list, he refers only to districts of Albania that are north of the river Kur (map 11). The sole exception is Haband, which lies south of the Kur. However, given where the toponym falls in the list, it seems likely that the author or scribe mistook the district of Hambasi (which is

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many herds of cattle, which they took as booty. They also took seven districts from the land of the Georgian principality: Šučʻkʻ, Kʻwełdapʻor, Čʻeldtʻ, Jukʻētʻ, Vilisjixē, Tʻianētʻ, and Erk. They gathered a multitude of captives and much booty [and then] returned to their dwelling places. That gouty braggart [Yazīd] was not able to raise his head [out of shame]. He possessed the authority of the governor of this land of Armenia, but he only hid, living like an animal. He thought nothing of the destruction of this land. Then a short time later, having gone away, that same beast [the khagan] who had brought a shadow over the land of the Albanians came to unite with the Ishmaelite prince; and he sent his son to Syria as hostage. He [the khagan] suddenly died by the sword near the gates of Albania. [99v]

near all of the other districts listed) for the more famous district of Haband.

37. I will also speak once again about that rebellious one whom ʿAbd Allāh first sent to this land of Armenia, whom they called Ṣāliḥ. He was a lawless and bloodthirsty man. Many mistrusted him and were on guard, for they were not able to bear such torment at that time. There were some of the Armenian *naxarark*ʻ who objected and abandoned their inheritance. They fled to the land of the Greeks and took refuge with the emperor Constantine. But when Gagik, who was lord of the Arcruni house, did not find a place to flee to, he stole away[2] thence to the fortress called Nkan. He gathered the *naxarark*ʻ of that land with their cavalry to him and went out and raided the land of Atrpatakan—the district[s] of Zarawand, Rutaks, Zidṙoy, Tasuk, [100r] Gaznak, Yormi, Surenapat, and still other neighboring districts—where they committed deeds unpleasing to God, resembling the infidels, which was not pleasing to the Christians. He also exacted taxes from the land and tormented [the people] with much anguish. He went and arrived in the district of Hēr.

I will also speak once again: here Łewond's source must have referred to Ṣāliḥ earlier, since this is the first time he appears in Łewond's text.

Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣabīḥ [or Ṣubayḥ] al-Kindī: governor of Armenia. Łewond says he was sent by ʿAbd Allāh, by whom he means the caliph Saffāḥ. The Arabic history of Ṭabarī has Ṣāliḥ appointed in 750–51 and dismissed in 751–52, which conflicts with his placement here under the caliph Manṣūr (r. 754–75).

Atrpatakan: the Armenian term for Azerbaijan. By this, Łewond means not the modern Republic of Azerbaijan but the region in northwestern Iran, including the cities of Tabrīz and Ardabīl.

Resembling the infidels: Łewond compares Gagik Arcruni and the Armenian *naxarark*ʻ supporting him to both the Khazars and caliphal agents for their collection of taxes. Compare the similar denigration of the sons of Smbat Mamikonean for exacting taxes on 87v.

A certain Rawḥ, an Ishmaelite general, arrived at that place and wounded many of the Armenian forces, causing the others to flee to the fortress of Nkan. He surrounded the districts of Vaspurakan so that he could trap them in his snare. Then, when the lord of the Arcrunikʻ saw the defeat of his troops, he was not able to go out to commit lawless acts but escaped to the fortress and stopped [warring] for a little. Subsequently, another force under the commander

Rawḥ: this Rawḥ is unidentified. Another Rawḥ, the son of Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, later served as governor of Armenia in 785.

2 "He stole away": M1902 reads in the plural, "they stole away," quŋpŁḥû, but we follow Chahnazarian's and Malxaseancʻ's emendation as the logic of the sentence presumes a singular subject, Gagik.

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Mūsā came out against him. He besieged [100v] the fortress for one year. When he was not able to prevail, he deceived them with a ruse and called for peace. He captured [Gagik] and handed him over to the Ishmaelite prince [Manṣūr]. The latter threw him in chains and put him in prison with intolerable afflictions. He exacted from him the silver that he [Gagik] had collected through the collection of taxes from the land of the Persians. He was not stingy with the treasury and [gave] as much as he found into his hand, so that he might perhaps be able to save his life. Nothing helped. Instead, he died there in the misery of prison, as a contemptible man. He [the caliph] held his sons Hamazasp and Sahak in prison for a long time but resisted the desire of the ignoble executioner and, satisfied by persuasion, was reconciled with them. He honored them and sent them to this land of Armenia. [101r]

Mūsā: this Mūsā is unidentified, but it may refer to Mūsā b. Muṣʿab, who was the governor of Jazīra in the early ʿAbbāsid period.

Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni: sons of Gagik Arcruni, to be distinguished from Gagik's brothers (mentioned at 97r).

38. At this same time, during the governorship of Yazīd and in the reign of the other ʿAbd Allāh [Manṣūr], the iron yoke of taxation became much more severe over this land of Armenia. The hellish avarice of the implacable enemy was not satisfied with eating the flesh of the chosen flocks of Christ or drinking [their] blood like water [out of] contempt for them; instead, he subjected this entire land of Armenia to intolerable anguish. For he exhausted the silver finds of this land, and everyone gave their livelihoods and possessions, but they did not meet the price for the salvation of their lives. They tormented human lives with malicious tortures, imprisonment, hanging, and bitter punishments. Of those who fled, many hid, concealing themselves in caves and crevices of the earth.[3] [101v] Some were smothered in snow and drowned in a river on account of such unbearable misfortunes, for that which they [i.e., Yazīd's men] sought was not found. A demand for a silver tax was invented besides the poll tax, by which they [i.e., the Armenians] were deprived of all belongings. They bound this land of Armenia in the chains of impoverishment. Even the *naxarark*ʿ and the nobility ate in general from the furnace of poverty.[4] Although Prince Sahak and the patriarch Lord Trdat, who was from the house of the *naxarark*ʿ of the district of Vanand, complained many

Caves and crevices: the motif of the persecuted faithful hiding in caves and crevices features in scripture as well as in many eschatological texts, such as the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius.

Prince Sahak Bagratuni: the prince of Armenia from 753 to about 770.

Lord Trdat Ōtʿmsecʿi: Armenian catholicos from 741 to 764.

3 Cf. Hebrews 11:38; Isaiah 2:19, 7:19; Matthew 24:16; Mark 13:14; Revelation 6:15.

4 "From the furnace of poverty," ի հնոցէ սղքաւորութեան: cf. Isaiah 48:10.

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times, Yazīd, who was responsible for taxation in this land, still did not listen to their appeals. Cries of complaint went up and reached ʿAbd Allāh, and he disdainfully recalled Yazīd and sent Bakkār b. Muslim as his replacement. Not long afterward, for [102r] Bakkār did not last even an entire year, he [Manṣūr] summoned him without any reason and sent Ḥasan, because his scheming malice incited [him] to debase this land of Armenia to a place of torment. In effect, it was not his will but that of the Corrector of princes that was executed, to which the coming anger from on high testified: the multitude of locusts, hail, and droughts. These were signs of [God's] anger with us.

Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī: governor of Armenia from 769 to 771. His brother, Isḥāq b. Muslim, had been the last Umayyad governor of Armenia.

Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī: son of the famous general of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution. Ḥasan served as governor of Armenia from 753 to 758 and then again from 771 to 775. According to the Arabic sources, he placed his sons in charge of various towns in Armenia, Albania, and Georgia.

39. When the governor Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba assaulted this land of Armenia along with a large regiment from the house of the land of Khorasan, who frequently committed more disgusting lewd acts, they also increased the miseries and woes of this land. For as was explained earlier, their hearts were hardened by the Lord [102v] as vengeance for our evil deeds. For truly, famine, sword, and earthquake abounded during his governorship. In addition to this, the pontiffs were humiliated, the bishops were ridiculed, the priests were whipped and tortured, and the princes and *naxarark*ʿ were led away and dispersed. The leaders of our land could not endure this. They lamented and sighed from the intolerable anguish, because they [i.e., Ḥasan and his men] tormented the mass of commoners with various wicked acts: they oppressed some with whippings for the sake of harsh taxation and others with fetters and the gallows; they threw some, stripped of their clothes, into lakes during the bitter winter; and they assigned guards to torture them. In that way [103r] they embittered their lives with cruel torments such that we cannot tell the story of their miseries.

Large regiment from the house of the land of Khorasan: this passage renders the Arabic phrase *min ahl Khurāsān*. While this literally means "from the people of Khurāsān," it is used specifically to refer to the military units from the caliphal East, which formed the backbone of the ʿAbbāsid army.

40. Henceforth, I will relate the relentless bitterness committed by the savage Ishmaelite people. For when the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ saw the dangerous anxieties coming over them, they risked their lives and undertook things that they were not able to accomplish, since they were few, but they considered a brave death to be better than a perilous life. They undertook acts of rebellion and renounced Ishmaelite subjugation. The beginning of these acts was committed by Artawazd, who was from the house of the Mamikoneankʿ. He went to the capital Duin and took a large formation of his troops. There he obtained arms and instruments of war. [103v] He armed himself with cuirasses,

Artawazd Mamikonean: son of Hmayeak (according to 103v). He was responsible for the rebellion in the early 770s but apparently then left Armenia for western Georgia. See map 12 for locations mentioned in this passage.

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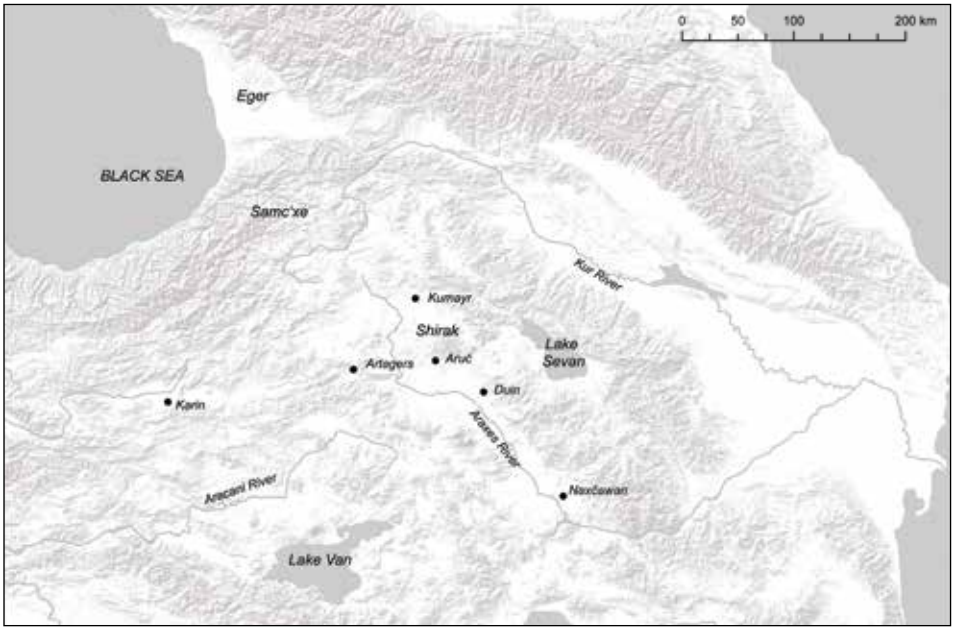

Map 12. Mamikonean rebellion during the reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr.

helmets, and full sets of armor. He feigned that he was a confidante of the Ishmaelite troops, as if he were ready to battle with their enemy. He separated himself from their company and arrived in the district of Širak in the town of Kumayr. He killed the tax collector and took everything that he found in his possession. He rose up with his entire house and went to the region of the Georgians along with all the *naxarark*ʿ of this land. When the report reached the city of Duin that such grievous crimes had been committed by the sons of Hmayeak, Muḥammad [b. Ḥasan] immediately took a large force, including Smbat the son of Ašot, the Armenian *sparapet*, and other *naxarark*ʿ, and followed them. He arrived in the land of the Georgians in the district called [104r] Samcʿxē and held the passes. He seized some booty from the plunder and drove them [i.e., Artawazd and his troops] into flight from this land of Armenia. They went and took shelter in the land of the Egerians. He [Artawazd] personally acquired authority for himself over the Egerians and the Vēřia, who are Georgians. The governor Ḥasan was even more incensed by this act and immediately launched an assault on all the regions under his rule to collect taxes with great alacrity. The lamentation of this land greatly intensified from the tax collectors, for the discovery of silver had completely diminished from this land of Armenia.

Feigned that he was a confidante: Łewond portrays this event as an Armenian rebellion against the Caliphate. Armenians were enrolled in the caliphal army, however, so in Arabic sources this event appears as a mutiny rather than a full-scale rebellion.

Tax collector: taxation was the most visible sign of caliphal rule, so tax collectors were frequently the first victims of conflict.

Sons of Hmayeak: Artawazd Mamikonean and, presumably, his brothers.

Muḥammad: son of the governor Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, responsible for administering Karin and Xlatʿ (modern Erzurum and Ahlat in eastern Turkey) in his father's name.

Sparapet: a military title to identify the general in charge of the Armenian forces. It was traditionally given to a scion of the Mamikonean family; Smbat the son of Ašot was the first Bagratuni to hold this position.

Vēřia: this term is not Armenian but rather renders the Greek term "Iberia," referring to south-central Georgia. Łewond translates the term for an Armenian audience with the explanation "who are Georgians."

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Consequently, the heart of a certain *naxarar* named Mušeł, who was the son of Count Hrahat from the Mamikonean house, was moved to anger. He joined [104v] some of the Armenian *naxarark'* and left Ishmaelite subjugation. He found in his district and in his house some of the sons of Ishmael who had come to exact from him the blood of those from their family whom he had killed. He slaughtered them by his sword and escaped to the fortresses of Artagers along with his house. Then he went to the district of Bagrewand along with sixty men and seized the tax collector, whose name was Abumčur, as well as those who were with him. He struck and killed them by his sword and interrupted the collection of taxes from this land. When this was thus carried out, all of the afflicted and aggrieved gathered to him; and from then on, enemies from every region rose against them. And prior to this, other sons [105r] of Ishmael from the city of Karin—some two hundred men fully armed with heavy armor—had gone out to catch him. He [Mušeł] surprised them at night in the village of Xars with a few men, for they were camped in the vineyards. Surrounding them, they [Mušeł and his men] destroyed the small barrier of the vineyards, for it was a heap of stones without mortar. The horses, shocked by such disturbance of the rocks, trampled and killed many underfoot. He [Mušeł] took the weapons and spoils of the fallen, as well as the horses and all of the caparisons, and gave them to his troops. He marched toward his fortress.

When news of the misfortune reached the Ishmaelite general Muḥammad [b. Ḥasan] in the city of Duin, great anguish rose over him from all sides. He gathered the troops of the city of Duin and handed them over to [105v] a general whose name was Abū Najīb to go out to seek vengeance for the blood of those killed. That general took the finest cavalrymen, some four thousand men, and went out carefully on the royal highway to reach the village of Bagawan in the district of Bagrewand. There Mušeł met them with two hundred men, and they engaged in battle against each other. Help immediately arrived from the Lord to aid the regiment of Mušeł, and they delivered many blows, slaughtering the Ishmaelite troops. They put the survivors to flight and pursued them until the village of Aruč. They exterminated many [of them] to the point that they even killed that general [Abū Najīb]. They returned from pursuing them in great victory and loaded with much booty [106r] from the enemy's spoils. Those who [managed to]

Mušeł the son of Hrahat: a member of the Mamikonean family and the leader of the revolt against the ʿAbbāsids in the 770s; he appears as Mūshāʾīl al-Armanī in Arabic sources.

Abumčur: although it is obviously an Arabic teknonym (*kunya*), this name is otherwise unattested.

Abū Najīb: otherwise unattested.

The royal highway: this led from Duin to Bagawan, passing by Artašat. The royal highway likely began from Tigranakert in the west and veered north to Artašat via Bagawan, then southeast to Ecbatana.

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flee—a few out of many—came down to the city of Duin. Then men and women from their own people came before them crying, wailing, with earth on their heads, hitting their foreheads and tearing their collars. All of the streets of the large city were filled with their lamentations and tears. The Saracen regiment was extremely afraid and dared not go outside of the city. Instead, they were on guard[5] in the citadel of the city.

Then, when the Armenian *naxarark‘* saw this success, they were of one mind to pursue this mindless plan, for they thought that the time of Ishmaelite rule had expired. Above all, they were further deceived by the fantasies of a single man, a monk, who was moved by the spirit of perversion and prophesied empty nonsense, [106v] saying:

> Behold, the time of your salvation is near, for soon now the scepter of the kingdom shall return once again to the house of Togarmah to take revenge on the Ishmaelite people through you. Do not be afraid to face them because you are fewer in number, for one man from among you shall expel thousands and two [shall expel] myriads, for the Lord shall fight your war. Be strong and do not be afraid.

In this way he related false apparitions and desirable lies day after day to them, and they, in general, believed him and called him a seer. And everyone who was deceived by these words urged the great *sparapet* Smbat the son of Ašot to agree to this plot. Indeed, he followed that fraudulent and perverse man, as if [his] will reluctantly moved from its own constant and firm intentions. [107r] All of the Armenian *naxarark‘* gathered in one place and made an oath to each other and a covenant of allegiance to live and die for each other. In this way the gathered throng was together about five thousand men, for many common people came and mixed with their regiment. They rose up and went from those regions to besiege the city of Theodosiopolis, which is the city of Karin. They laid siege to it with blockades. They gave battle and fought with it for the entire winter, building a bulwark around it. They cut holes into the outer walls of the city, but they were not able to prevail, though quite a few people of the city were killed by rocks from the catapults.

Mindless plan: note that throughout this description Łewond expresses disapproval of the rebellion. He thus echoes the position of the house of his sponsors, the Bagratunik‘. Some members of the Bagratuni house appear on the battlefields of this rebellion, but Ašot Bagratuni continued his family's policy of allying with the Caliphate.

Monk: a solitary or hermit, since we have no solid evidence for monasticism at this point in Armenian history.

Togarmah: one of the traditional genealogies of the Armenian people was traced from the patriarch Togarmah, in Armenian Tʿorgom. This name relates to the designation of Armenia as "the North," as Ezekiel 38:6 explains that Togarmah lived in "the remotest parts of the north." Togarmah was the father of Hayk, the eponymous ancestor of the Armenian people.

Smbat *sparapet* the son of Ašot: see 103v. He became *sparapet* in 753 and died at the battle of Bagrewand in 775.

5 "They were on guard": following here the emendation of the printed editions, անձնապահ լինէին, against manuscript M1902, which reads "they killed themselves," անձնասահ լինէին.

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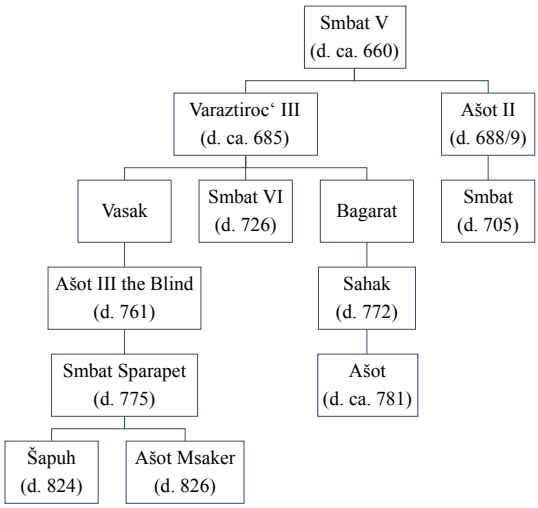

Figure 14. Bagratuni family tree.

But Ašot from the Bagratuni house, son of Prince Sahak, since he was a [107v] a thoughtful and sensible man, did not join this act of disadvantageous misery. Rather, he admonished them to set aside the detrimental thoughts that they had from the pernicious counsel of the mad monk and to keep themselves and their families safe. He said:

Ašot the son of Prince Sahak: an ally of the caliphal forces and the prince of Armenia from 775 to 781 (fig. 14).

> You are children and young in years. I know that you are not able to withstand the strength of the many-headed dragon, for his strength is mighty and he controls an innumerable multitude and an immense equipage of weapons in his treasury. All of the kingdoms that opposed his rule were crushed to pieces like pottery.[6] For the kingdom of the Romans was not able to raise its hand against him, but instead quakes and trembles before him, nor [was it able] to be emboldened against the command of the Lord, for you also are not [108r] unaware of the entire strength of the king of the Greeks, his personal bravery, and the large number of his equipped troops. But in no way did he even once think to take this land of Armenia from his hands. Constantine the son of Leo, who one day wrestled against terrible beasts, killed the lion as if it were a baby goat! Even he, who had this great strength, is thus subdued by fear of the perverse beast that corrupts the earth. So on whom are you truly relying? With whose strength and whose force can you resist

6 "Crushed to pieces like pottery," փշրեցան որպէս զանաւթ բրտի: cf. Psalm 2:9; Revelation 2:27.

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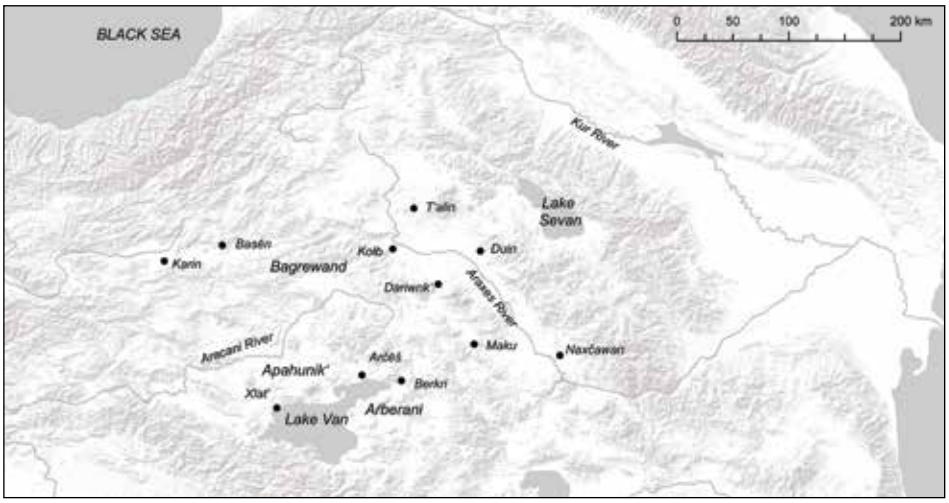

Map 13. Battles of Baghrawand/Bagrewand and Arjīsh/Arčēš.

their insurmountable reign? But now, if it seems pleasing to you, accept my counsel, for I am looking to help you and to provide for the needs and comfort of this land. The outcome of your deed will be this: either you will return and submit to [108v] them, staying silent and living peacefully in your land, or you will be repulsed into flight from your land with all of your families and, abandoning the inheritance of your fathers, homes, forests, and fields and even the tombs of your fathers, you will go and live in exile with the king of the Greeks. Or if not, you will fall into the hands of your persecutors one day and they will take your life away with an unsavory death. For I know the disposition of the godless Ishmaelite prince; he does not stop until he accomplishes his own desires.

But they did not heed the useful counsel that they heard and scorned it as treason, for they were fully taken in by the crazy charlatan who exhorted them day after day to remain steadfast [109r] in the proposed deed and not to condemn themselves through any irresolution.

The incorrigible perversity of the weak plan soon appeared, for they broke from one another and were disunited. The *naxarark*ʿ of the Arcruni house, Hamazasp and his brothers, along with their troops remained there in the regions of the land of Vaspurakan. Vasak the son of Ašot and those from the house[s] of the Amatunikʿ and the Trunikʿ remained there. Some were in the fortress in the village of Dariwnkʿ and at the edge of Maku, while others fortified themselves in the Aragełt valley and spread out in

Vasak Bagratuni: son of Ašot the Blind and brother of Smbat *sparapet*.

Amatunikʿ: see 26v.

Trunikʿ: an ancient house mentioned in earlier Armenian histories as Trpatunikʿ. This family lived in the region of Vaspurakan and was absorbed into the Arcrunikʿ in the ninth century.

See map 13 for locations mentioned in this passage.

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the surrounding districts in search of food, then returned to their fortress. Meanwhile, the *Tačik* forces that were in Duin went marauding from place to place in the districts that were around them, and they pillaged and shed blood in the villages of Ptłunkʻ, Tʻalin, [109v] Kołb, and many other places. They put their swords to work, resulting in many corpses.

41. But on the coming of spring, the Ishmaelite prince [Manṣūr] assigned a regiment over this land of Armenia. He gathered the best cavalrymen, some thirty thousand choice riders in heavy armor from the regiment of the house of Khorasan. He handed them over to a general whose name was ʿĀmir and dispatched him from the vast and famous city that ʿAbd Allāh [Manṣūr] himself had built, fortified for safety with extremely strong and impregnable walls, called by the name of Baghdad. The general rose up from the regions of Syria and arrived in the city of Xlatʻ in this land of Armenia, very cautiously and readily armed. When he entered the city, he was informed by the citizens there about the state of the [110r] Armenian forces: how many there were, who their commanders were, whether they were united in mutual admiration, whether they were plagued by doubt, whether they were brave conquerors, whether they were slow, and whether they had arms ready or not. He was informed about all of this and prepared the commander of his forces with it. But Ašot the son of Sahak, since he was in that city, warned the Armenian *naxararkʻ* about the arrival of their enemies, so that where[ever] they might be, they could gather in one place to live or die with one another. They, however, considered the substance of his letter untrustworthy and thought he wanted to save the city [of Karin] from the present siege through deceitful artifice, so as to show himself a confidante of the Ishmaelites. With this in mind, they rejected his words and instead [110v] still thought to complete their proposed plan.

Subsequently, the Arcruni *naxararkʻ* gathered the troops of the land of Vaspurakan. Hamazasp and his brothers, and those who were from the house of the Amatunikʻ and the forces that were with them, called Vasak the son of Ašot, brother of Smbat *sparapet* from the Bagratuni house, and his troops for help. They marched forth and attacked the village of Arčēš, undermining its foundations and putting the troops in it to the sword. When they arrived in the village of Berkri, in the district of Arberani, they stayed with each other in a group. They enticed and brought many inhabitants of that land into battle on foot behind themselves. And

ʿĀmir: identified in Arabic sources as ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī. The reference to ʿĀmir poses one of the chronological problems entailed by Łewond's text, as ʿĀmir died in 774 and the battle of Bagrewand took place in 775. According to the Arabic sources, ʿĀmir had put down a revolt in Georgia in 774 and another general came to Armenia in 775. It is likely that Łewond is mixing details about the two rebellions, one in Georgia and the other in Armenia.

Baghdad: the capital of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, known in Arabic as the City of Peace, *madīnat al-salām*. Manṣūr ordered its construction in 762. It is famous for its circular layout, familiar from the ancient Iranian world, which features the caliph's palace and the mosque at the center with four main avenues radiating outward, one to each of the city's gates.

Xlatʻ: a city on the banks of Lake Van. The caliphal governor Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba had placed his son Muḥammad in charge of this city. Xlatʻ, Khilāṭ in Arabic, is modern Ahlat in eastern Turkey.

Arčēš: Arjīsh in Arabic; modern Erciş in eastern Turkey.

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while they were all still wanting [111r] to go forth with this plan, news of the Ishmaelite forces suddenly reached them, for someone came and told them that "many of the sons of Ishmael have arrived and are waiting for you." Hamazasp, the lord of the Arcruni, did not listen to him but tortured him with beatings as an instigator of lies. He pretentiously went against the village of Arčēš with his troops.

The battle of Arčēš: fought between the Arcrunikʿ and caliphal forces, the battle resulted in the defeat of the Armenian troops in 775.

When he arrived close to the village, the inhabitants of the city immediately notified ʿĀmir the Ishmaelite general in the city of Xlatʿ of the arrival of the Armenian *naxararkʿ*. He marched with a multitude of forces and went to ambush them near the village of Arčēš. While the Armenian regiment was fighting against the fortifications, the ambushers suddenly came out of hiding, [111v] poured over the Armenian troops, and put them to flight. They killed the majority of the infantry, who were local men, since they were unprotected,[7] without weapons and unpracticed in war; once they met the bitter light of that day, they [i.e., the Ishmaelites] destroyed them by the merciless sword. Some, fearing an uncertain fate, threw themselves into the river and drowned. By contrast, four men from the house[s] of the *naxararkʿ* died, including three from the house of the Trunikʿ and one from the village of Yurc. Some fifteen hundred men from the common people died and others turned in flight, barely finding sustenance for themselves anywhere. This hellish, unfortunate affliction occurred on [112r] the fourth day of the month of Hroticʿ, on a Saturday.

Saturday, the **fourth day of the Armenian month of Hroticʿ**, corresponded to April 15, 775.

The enemy hounded the Armenian troops up to the place called the village of Tay. Then they returned from following them and greatly rejoiced in their camp. At that time the woes of this land of Armenia were multiplied considerably, as [was] the joy and delight of the renegade enemy. For after taking a breath, they straightaway attacked again and carefully marched forth on the royal highway through the district of Apahunikʿ. They arrived in the village of Arjni in the district of Bagrewand and they pitched their camp there on the bank of the river that flows through it. All of the artisans who make weapons were there with them, and they prepared weapons and instruments of war. [112v] Those [Armenian] forces that held watch [over the siege] of the city of Karin nearly brought it to destruction, for hunger wrought havoc in the city and they [the inhabitants] wanted, against their will, to hand the city over.

7 "Unprotected," մերկք, lit. "naked."

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When word of the defeat of the regiment reached the city of Karin, the hearts of the warriors of the Armenian forces deserted them and they abandoned the siege of the city. Although they could have left for the region of the Greeks and saved themselves from the evil villainy of the unjust, they considered it better to choose their own deaths than to see the destruction of this land and the desertion of the churches of Christ. Thinking thus, although they were fewer in number than their enemies were, they faced the suffering with a willing disposition.

They gathered their regiments, [113r] some five thousand men, and went from the city of Karin, passing through the borders of Basen in the district of Bagrewand. Speedily crossing the Aracani River, they valiantly attacked the enemy. At a distance of two stadia, they left behind their goods and their horses and angrily prepared to battle the enemy on foot. The regiments of the enemy, fully equipped, also marched out against them then. At the break of dawn, the battle was joined. When they crashed into each other, the Armenian regiment first gained the upper hand and scored many blows. They set the enemy to flight and slaughtered many. Then they [the Arabs] recouped and returned from their flight. They opposed them with furious [113v] anger and spread terror over the multitude of the common crowd. They put some of the *naxarark'*, their cavalry, and the commoners who were with them to flight, while they struck many of them and slayed them on the field of battle.

The battle of Bagrewand: this took place on the fourteenth day of the Armenian month of Hrotic', or April 25, 775. The Armenian forces were led by the Mamikonean family, though members of the Bagratunik' were also present at this battle, at the battle of Arčēš, and with the caliphal forces at Xlat'.

The victorious martyrs, though they were small in number among the ferocious hunters, still had no fear of bitter death. Instead, they gathered together heartily till the end and prepared[8] each other with these words. They said:

> Let us die bravely for our land and our people. Our eyes will not see our sanctuaries and places for the glorification of our God destroyed and trampled by the profane. Rather, the sword of our enemies will strike us first and so it will be as they want. Let us exchange our lives for our true faith and not for earthly [114r] goods, for "this death is temporary and [the next] life is eternal."[9]

8 "They prepared," մարզէին, lit. "they trained." The terminology underscores the martyrological context of the captives.

9 "This death is temporary and [the next] life is eternal," մահ ժամանակեան, եւ կեանքն յաւիտենական: cf. Agat'angełos, *History of the Armenians*, §749.

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They gave this exhortation to each other, then they fixed their eyes on the heavens and looked for help from on high, saying:

> God, look upon us in succor and hasten to aid us. May they who demand our lives be deeply shamed.[10] And we shall call Your name, Lord, in our tribulations, and we will glorify Your name, Lord, in these tribulations in which we are besieged. For behold, innumerable evils surround us and keep us and the pangs of death have arrived upon us.[11]

They offered these and even more supplicatory requests and yearning entreaties.

After this, they were again empowered by heavenly aid, and they stopped at nothing to proceed with the plan. For they were not more than a thousand men [114v] among thirty thousand, as we learned from the very enemy himself. He said [that] they [the Armenians] had with them a multitude of angels who fought with them and appeared in human form to the enemy. They saw priests and pontiffs with gospels, candles, and incense going before them, [and] they empowered them. They sought revenge with compassionless slaughter until their hands were overcome by the weight of the[ir] weapons. All those who remained without weapons fell into their [the Arabs'] hands. The blessed and brave martyrs immediately relinquished their sinful lives and traded [them] for the expectation of hope in the world to come. These are the names of these generals: from the Bagratuni house, the *sparapet* Smbat and his partner [115r] and comrade Sahak; from the Mamikonean house, the general Mušeł, and Samuēl, lord of the Mamikoneanḳ', who was [his] young son of lively beauty and the brother-in-law of the great *sparapet*; and from the Gnuni house, Vahan "the Dagger"; and many other *naxarark'* and commoners whose names I am not able to number one by one. Around three thousand men fell, and their deaths were pitiable and their end ignoble, for there was not even enough ground to bury the corpses of the miserable [victims] of the battle.

As we learned from the very enemy himself: here Łewond acknowledges that his source for the material on the battle of Bagrewand is an Arabic one. This is confirmed by a comparison of his text with a tenth-century Arabic account of the battle.

Fighting angels: medieval Armenian texts often attribute Armenian victories to the involvement of angelic multitudes on the battlefield, fighting on the Armenians' side.

Smbat Bagratuni: the *sparapet* mentioned above, to be distinguished from Sahak Bagratuni, prince of Armenia, who died sometime before Bagrewand.

The list of the fallen at Bagrewand: most of the names here are unattested beyond the battle of Bagrewand.

10 "God, look upon us in succor and hasten to aid us. May they who demand our lives be deeply shamed," Աստուած յաւգնութիւն մեզ հայեաց. եւ յնկերել մեզ փուտա. ամաչեսցան զամաւթ մեծ որք խնդրեն զանձինս մեր: cf. Psalm 69(70):2–3, as well as a number of other similar passages: Psalms 34(35):4, 37(38):23, 39(40):14–15.

11 For the rest of this quotation, cf. David's song of praise in 2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 22:4–7 and Psalm 17:5–7(18:4–6).

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Instead, they stayed, discarded, on the field, in the sun, dust, rain, and storms.

And then the laments and mourning of this land of Armenia multiplied excessively, since her great leaders and venerable generals were eliminated in a single instant. This land was universally [115v] seized in deep sorrow, and they [the Armenians] grieved greatly. They bewailed the death of the strong and brave champions who were first into battle, for they remained deprived of their aid. And they were delivered into the hands of the bestial and brutal enemy. They remembered then in their tribulation the protection of the visitation of God, who from the beginning retained mercy for humans and especially for those who glorify His name. They beseeched [God] for His solicitous forgiveness to arrive in aid of those who doubted and who had lost hope in the life of this world, for after the destruction that took place in the village of Arčēš, these evils came upon them soon afterward in the same month of Hrotic‘ on Monday the fourteenth. The painful tribulation was even greater since there was not even an opportunity to cry or lament freely [116r] for the deceased, no bread of mourning to break in their houses, and no graves for the dead.

Monday the fourteenth day of the Armenian month of Hrotic‘ corresponded to April 24, 775.

42. The enemy spread their incursions in the district of Bagrewand and in neighboring regions and raised great anguish among the inhabitants of the land. They were obstinate and intended to destroy all the places of worship and to defile the holiness of Christ's churches. They also crushed and destroyed by burning the likeness of the brilliant Cross of Christ, which hangs in entrances and exits[12] as an assurance and shield for worshiping the consubstantial Trinity. They drove out the priests, the monks, and their fellow servants with intense hatred, as being the leaders of those who died in the war. They also in <many>[13] places carried off the implements of the Church and took away the relics of the saints of God as booty. And when [116v] the lawless troops had taken their fill of booty from this

Destruction of churches: the main Arabic source on the battle of Bagrewand confirms the destruction of a single Mamikonean church, though not the widespread destruction described here.

12 "In entrances and exits," ի յելս և ի մուտս: although, as Martin-Hisard points out (Łewond, *Discours historique*, 185 n. 915), the phrase ելս եւ մուտք is a fixed term indicating a passage serving a building, it seems that Łewond here stresses the ubiquity of crosses over such passages, and we have therefore chosen to translate the phrase literally.

13 "<Many> places," տեղիս <տեղիս>: the scribe of M1902 likely omitted the second տեղիս, "places," because of homoeoteleuton, although a later corrector inserted it above the line.

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land of Armenia, they marched against the fortresses again and vanquished the refugees in the fortresses, who sued for peace. They gave a letter of oath and brought them [the Armenians] down from the fortresses.

Making as if he [i.e., ʿĀmir] were illustrious and brave in victory, he turned and left this land of Armenia and crossed through the land of the Persians. He wanted to meet the prince of Ishmael [Manṣūr], as if he would receive recompense from him for his loyal services. At that time the judgment of God, the just Judge,[14] arrived upon him, and he was cut down in the land of the Persians. For he died after suffering from the most grievous pains and worthily received his compensation of revenge, for [his] blood was justly spilled in exchange for the innocent blood spilled by his hand. Although [his death was] not by the sword of man, [it was] [117r] by an invisible sword, [namely,] the command of the Most High, which with efficacious strength is more penetrating than all double-edged swords in piercing the spirit, breath, joints, and brain.[15] With that sword He sought vengeance for the blood of His sons, punished those who were hateful to Him, and purified the land of His people. He spared His people, for He drove out the cudgel of the people from their sight; once again they were safe in their homes.

Death of ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl: according to Arabic sources, ʿĀmir died in Baghdad in 774.

At that time the Ishmaelite prince [Manṣūr] again sent Yazīd [b. Usayd] as governor over this land of Armenia to replace Ḥasan. ʿAbd Allāh [i.e., Manṣūr] satisfied his evil will with everything he desired, oppressed his soul with the desires of the illness of avarice, and coveted an evil covetousness for his house.[16] He received the curses of the prophet [Habakkuk] and soon died there desperately in that same year. [117v] Indeed, He who remunerates all revealed the future place of his [Manṣūr's] judgment to a priest from among His worthy servants, for just a few days before the end of his [Manṣūr's] life, he [the priest] saw in a vision a place of tortures, and in it there was a subterraneous pit of limitless depth. And at the mouth of this pit was constructed a door of iron. Two soldiers brought him to the mouth of the abyss. Opening the cover to the pit, he

14 "Just Judge," իրաւադատն։ cf. 2 Timothy 4:8, where it is արդար դատաւորն.

15 "Is more penetrating than all double-edged swords," թափանցական է քան զ*ամենայն* սուր երկսայրի։ cf. Hebrews 4:12.

16 "Coveted an evil covetousness for his house," ագահեալ զագահութի*ւն* չար տան իւրոյ։ Habakkuk 2:9.

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[the priest] saw a fire rage out from the pit to the heavens. They took and threw the minister of evil [Manṣūr] into it and closed that same door over it again. They trapped him in the inextricable prison to receive his just reward. Such was the revelation of the vision foreseen about him. This was truly befitting his evil conduct, [118r] to receive in this way recompense from the just Judge.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Եւ առնոյր զիշխանութի*ւն* նորա եղբայր նորին միւս Աբդլայ. ամս. *քսան եւ երկու*: Ի սորա աւուրն շարժեալ թագաւորն Յունաց ի կայսերական արքունեան մտին. բազում և ծանր ամբոխիւ. գայր հասանէր յաշխարհն Կարնոյ. ի քաղաքն որ կոչի Թէոդոսպալիս: Եւ իբրև յական թաւթափել կործանէր զդղե*ա*կպարիսպ[17] ամրոցին, արքայն Կոստանդին. որ էր որդի Լեւոնի: Եւ բացեալ զտուն գանձուցն՝ բառնայր բազում կշիռ ոսկւոյ և արծաթոյ. գտանէր ի գանձի անդ զնշան տէրունեան խաչին զոր առեալ տանէր ընդ ինքեան: Նաև զաւրսն քաղաքին [96v] և զբնակեալսն ի նմա Սառակինոսս բառնայր նոցին ընդանեաւք յաշխարհն Յունաց, և բազումք ի բնակչաց գաւառացն խնդրե*ալ* յարքաէն զի ընկեսցեն զանուր լծոյ ծառաութե*անն* Իսմայելի յանձանց և գնասցեն զկնի նորա: Եւ նորա տուեալ հրաման՝ վաղվաղակի հանդերձեալ զախս իւրեանց խաղացին յառաջ ապաւինեալք ի զաւրութի*ւն* տէրունեան խաչին. և ի փառք արքային. թողին զերկիր ծնընդեան իւրեանց՝ և հատուածեալք անկան ի կողմն արքային բարէպաշտի: Իսկ ի գալ միւսոյ ամին. կազմեալ Իգիտն զզաւրսն որ ընդ ձեռամբ իւրով երթայր հասանէր ի քաղաքն Կարնոյ և արկանէր մարդահարկ ի վերա աշխարհին. և հաւաքեալ զբազմութի*ւն* անթիւ՝ կացուցանէր գործավարս ի վերա գործոյն. և փոյթ յանձին կալեալ շինէր զխրամատեալ [97r] պարիսպ քաղաքին. և ածեալ արս յորդոցն Իսմաելի բնակեցոյց ի նմա՝ նոցին ընդանեաւք. պահել զքաղաքն և զգուշանալ ի թշնամեացն. և կարգեաց նոցա պատրաստութի*ւն* կերակրոց յաշխարհէս Հայոց:

լե[18] Յայնմ ժամանակի ոչ դադարէր ամբոխ աղմկի հեռութե*ան* անաւրէն ազգին յաշխարհէս. քանզի *ամենայն* ուրեք զբնական իւրեանց չարահնարութի*ւն*ն ոչ լքին յանձանց որդիքն Բելիարայ.[19] այլ իժաբար դիմեալ անա*ստուա*ծ ոմն որում անուն էր Սուլեման. և ընդ նմա որդիք յանցանաց ի կողմանցն Պարսից. ասպատակէին ի կողմն Վասպուրական գործել զանարժան բարս սնընդակից չար սերմանցն. որոց ի դիմի հարեալք նախարարք տանն Արծրունեաց Սահակ և Համազասպ՝ սակաւ արամբք անկան ի մէջ թշնամեացն: Իսկ նոքա իբրև տես[97v]ին զի նուազունք էին ի մեջ արգելեալք կամէին սպանանել: Իբրև տեսին Սահակ և Համազասպ զիէնն զարթուցեալ ի վերա. և զի ոչ ուստեք փախուստ գտանէր. սուր ի գործ արարեալ զբազմութի*ւն* թշնամեացն խողխողէին. և ինքեանք[20] դիմեալ ընդ տեղի մի ամբոխին. զերծանել ջանային: Անդ կարէվէր խոցեալ Համազասպ անկաներ յերիվարէն. և պատեալ զնովաւ թշնամեացն. սպանին. և Սահակ իբրև էտես զսպանումն եղբարն՝ յաղագս յաճախ սիրոյն որ ունէր առ եղբայրն. մատնէր զանձն ի մահ. և ի խոնարհ անգեալ

17 զդղեակպարիսպ] read զդղեակապարիսպ with MS a.c. and printed editions.

18 լե in rt. mg.

19 Բելիարայ] Բելիարա a.c.

20 ինքեանք] ինքնանք a.c., ի- suprascr.

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յերիվարէն, կարթակոտոր առնէր. և ինքն զայրագին անձամբ մենամարտէր. և զբազումս դիաթաւալ կացուցանէր՝ մինչև խնդրել զվրէժ արեան եղբաւր իւրոյ: Եւ ապա պարտեալ ի մարտին՝ վախճանէր, և այնպէս վճարէին ի կենաց ընդիր նախ[98r]արարքն. որ էին որդիք Վահանա Արծրունոյ: Իսկ ապա յետոյ ազդ եղեալ եղբաւրն նոցա Գագկա. և այլոց նախարարացն որ ընդ նոսա, ելանէին ի տեղի մարտին վայիւք և ճչաւք. այլ ոչ կարացին հասանել թշնամեացն. դարձան ողբաւք և աշխարանաւք թաղել զմեռեալսն: Իսկ թշնամիքն դարձան ընդ նոյն ճանապարհ: Որ ապա յետ սակաւ միոյ անկաւ ի ձեռս Գագկա Արծրունոյ, և սպանաւ Սուլեմանն և բազումք այլ ընդ նմա:

ԻԶ[21] Եւ մինչդեռ ունէր զհրամատարութի*ւն* իշխանութե*ան*ն Իզիտ. յղէր դեսպան առ արքայն հիւսիւսոյ որում Խաքանն կոչէր. և խնդրէր առնել խնամութի*ւն* ընդ նմա, որպէս զի ի ձեռն այնորիկ արասցէ ուխտ խաղաղութե*ան* ընդ նմա և ընդ զաւրս Խազրաց: Եւ հաւանեալ արքայն Խազրաց. տայր զքոյրն իւր նմա կնութե*ան*. որում անուն էր [98v] Խաթուն. և առաքէր ընդ նմա նաժիշտս[22] և աղախնայս[23] և ծառայս բազումս. և կեցեալ Խաթունն սակաւ ինչ ժամանակս վախճանէր. և բարձաւ ուխտ խաղաղութե*ան* որ ի մէջ նոցա. քանզի իբրև դաւով նենգութ*եամ*ք համարեցան զմահ նորա: Եւ գումարեալ զաւր բազում տայր ի ձեռն զաւրավարի միոջ. որ անուանեալ կոչիւր Ռաժթարխան. ի գնդէն Խաթիր լիթբերա. և առաքէր ի վերա աշխարհիս որ ընդ ձեռամբ Եզտի[24]: որոց սփռեալ զասպատակս իւրեանց ըստ հիւսիւսոյ գետոյն հզաւրագունի որ կոչի Կուր. առնուին բազում գաւառս. զՀէջար՝ զՔաղա. զՈստանի մարզպանեան. զՀաբանդ. զԳեղաւու. զՇաքէ. զԲիխ. զԽենի. զԿամբեխճան. զԽոզմազ: այս գաւառք աշխարհին Աղուանից: առին և զցանգալի դաշտն Բաղասական. յորում անթիւ բազմութիւն [99r] հաւտից. և նախիրք անդէոց բազմաց զոր առին յաւարի: Առին և յաշխարհէն իշխանութե*ան*ն Վրաց գաւառս. *եաւթն*. զՇուշք. զՔուեղդափոր. զՉելդք. զԾուքեթ. զՎիլիսծիխէ. զԹիանեթ. զԵրկ: Եւ հաւաքեալ զբազմութի*ւն* գերեստանեացն, և աւար բազում. դարձան ի բնակութի*ւն*ս իւրեանց: Եւ ոչ կարաց. ընդոստախաւս պատագրոսն այն, համբառնալ զգլուխն իւր, որ ունէր զիշխանութի*ւն* հրամատարութե*ան* աշխարհիս Հայոց. այլ միայն դաւղեալ իբրև զանբան կալով. ոչ ինչ թուէր նմա կործանումն աշխարհիս: Իսկ ապա յետ սակաւ ինչ ժամանակի հատուածեալ նոյն վիրագն՝ որ էած ստուեր[25] ի վերա երկրին Աղուանից՝ գայր միաբանել ընդ իշխանին Իսլայելի: Եւ յղեալ յաշխարհն Ասորոց պատանդս զորդի իւր. ինքն վաղվաղակի վախճանէր սրով մերձ ի դրունս Աղուանից: [99v]

ԼԷ[26] Ասացից դարձեալ և վ*առն*ն ապստամբին այնմիկ զոր նախ առաքէր Աբդլա, յաշխարհս Հայոց. որում Ծալեհ կոչէին. որ էր այր անաւրէն և արիւնահեղ[27]: Յորմէ բազումք զգուշացեալ անձնապահ լինէին. քանզի ոչ կարէին յայնժամ այնպիսի նեղութե*ան* տանել: Էին ոմանք ի նախարարացն Հայոց որք մերժեալ լքին զժառանգութի*ւն*ս իւրեանց. և փախստեա անկան յաշխարհն Յունաց. ապաւինեալք առ կայսրն Կոստանդին: Իսկ Գագիկն որ էր տէր Արծրունեաց տանն, իբրև ոչ գտանէր տեղի փախստեան. անդէն գաղթէին[28] յամրոցն որում Նկանն կոչեն: և ժողովէր առ ինքն զնախարարս աշխարհին նոցին հեծելովք.

21 ԻԶ in rt. mg.

22 նաժիշտս] նաիիշտս a.c.

23 աղախնայս] առախնայս a.c.

24 Եզտի] յԵզտի a.c.

25 ստուեր] ստուերածս a.c.

26 ԼԷ in lft. mg.

27 արիւնահեղ] -ա- suprascr.

28 գաղթէին] read: գաղթէր with Chahnazarian and Malxaseanc‘.

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և ելեալ ասպատակ սփռէր զկողմամբք Ատրպատական աշխարհին ի Զարաւանդ գաւառ. ի Ռուտակս. և ի Զիդռոյ. ի Տասուկ. [100r] ի Գազնակ. ի Յորմի. ի Սուրենապատ՝ և յայլ ևս մերձակա գաւառսն: Յորում գործէին գործ անհաճոյ *Աստուծոյ*. նմանեալ անաւրինաց. որ ոչ վաել էր Քրիստոնէից: Պահանջէր և հարկ յաշխարհէն բազում տագնապաւ խոշտանգեալ. և գայր հասանէր ի գաւառն Հէր:

Որում ի վայրի հասանէ Ռուհ ոմն զաւրավար Իսմաելացւոցն. և ընկենոյր բազում վիրաւոր ի զօրուէն[29] Հայոց. և զայլքն փախստական ընկենոյր յամուրն Նկան. և ինքն շրջէր զգաւառաւքն[30] Վասպուրական զի կարասցէ զնոսա որսալ յորոգայթ իւր: Ապա իբրև տեսանէր տէրն Արծրունեաց զխորտակումն զաւրաց իւրոց. ոչ ևս կարաց ելանել ի գործ անաւրէնութե*ան*. այլ անկեալ յամրոցն դադարէր առ սակաւ մի: Յետոյ այլ զաւր եկեալ ի վերա նորա. որ զաւրագլուխ էր Մուսէ. պարշարեալ պահ[100v]էին զամրոցն ամ մի. և իբրև ոչ ինչ կարէր ստնանել. դաւով նենգեալ կոչէր ի խաղաղութի*ւն*. և ըմբռնէալ տայր ի ձեռն իշխանին Իսմաելի. և նորա արկեալ ընդ կապանաւք դնէր ի կալանս բանդի յանհանդուրժելի նեղութե*ան*. և պահանջէր ի նմանէ զարծաթն զոր հարկապահանջութ*եամ*ք ժողովեալ էր յերկրէն Պարսից: Իսկ նորա ոչ խնաեալ ի գանձս որչափ գտանէր ի ձեռին նորա զի թերևս կարասցէ շահել զկեանս իւր, ոչ ինչ աւգտեալ. այլ անդէն վախճանէր ի տառապանս բանդին իբրև զայր մի յանարգաց: Եւ զորդիս նորին զՀամազասպ և զՍահակ յոլով ժամանակս կալեալ ի կապանս. յապա[31] ուրեմն անկուշեալ կամք չարաշուք դահճին հաճեալ հաւանութ*եամ*ք հաշտէր ընդ նոսա պատուելով. և առաքէր յերկիրս Հայոց: [101r]

Լը[32] Զսոյն ժամանակս ի հրամանատարութեանն[33] Եգիտի[34] և յիշխանութե*ան*ն Աբդլահի միւսոյ. յոյժ ծանրացաւ անուր լծոյ հարկապահանջութե*ան* ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց: Քանզի դժոխաձեւ ագահութի*ւն* անհամբոյր թշնամոյն ոչ շատացաւ ուտել զմարմինս ընդրելոց *Քրիստոս*ի հաւտիս. և ըմպել զարիւն իբրև զջուր, զարհամարհանս նոցա. այլ համաւրէն զբոլոր երկիրս Հաց արկանէր ընդ անհանդուրժելի[35] վտարանդիւք: Զի վախճանեաց զգիւտ արծաթոյ ի յերկրէս. և *ամենայն* ոք տալով զպաճարանս ընչից իւրոց,[36] ոչ գտանէր զգինս փրկանաց անձին իւրոյ. և չար կտտանաւք գելարանաւք և կախաղանաւք և դառն տանջանաւք կեղէին զկեանս մարդկան: Յորմէ փախստեայ[37] եղեալ բազումք ի յայրս և ի փապարս երկրի դաւղեալ թաքչէին: [101v] Եւ ոմանք ձիւնահեղձ և գետավէժ լինէին վ*ասն* անտանելի աղետիցն. զի ոչ էր գիւտ զոր հայցէինն. գտաներ պահանջումն սակի արծաթոյն. այլ ըստ գլուխս արանց որովք թափուր մնացեալք *յամենայն* ստացուածոց. կապէին կապանաւք տնանգութե*ան* երկիրս Հայոց. և առ հասարակ ճաշակէին ի հնոցէ աղքատութե*ան*ն նախարարք և մեծամեծք:[38] Թէպէտև բազում անգամ բողոքէր իշխանն Սահակ և հայրապետն տէր Տրդատ որ ի տանէ նախարարացն Վանանդ գաւառի. այլ ոչ լուաւ զաղաղակ նոցա Իզիտն որ ի վերա հարկին էր յաշխարհիս. բարձրացեալ բողոք

29 զօրուէն] զաւրուէն a.c.

30 զգաւառաւքն] -ւ- suprascr.

31 յապա] ապա a.c.

32 լը in rt. mg.

33 հրամանատարութեանն] -նա- suprascr.

34 Եգտի] յԵգտի a.c.

35 անհանդուրժելի] ան- suprascr.

36 իւրոց] իւր..ոց a.c.

37 փախստեայ] փախստեա a.c.

38 մեծամեծք] նամեծամեծք a.c.

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տրտընջմանն հասանեն առ Աբդլայն. և խրոխտացեալ կոչէ առ ինքն զԻզիտն. և փոխանակ նորա առաքէ զԲաքար որդի Մսլիմայ: Եւ յետ ոչ բազում ժամանակի. զի և ոչ զամ մի ողջոյն տեւ[102r]եալ Բաքարն. կոչէ զնա առ ինքն առանց իրիք պատճառի. և առաքէ զՀասան: Քանզի մեքենայող խորամանկութիւնն յորդորէր խոնարհեցուցանել զերկիրս Հայոց ի տեղիս չարչարանաց. մանաւանդ թէ ոչ նա այլ կամք ուղղչի իշխանացն կատարի. որում ի վերուստ վկաէր բարկութի*ւն* գոլ բազմութի*ւն* մարախոցն. և կարկուտք. և երաշտութի*ւն*ք անձրևաց: Այսոքիկ ցոյցք բարկութե*ան*ն ի վերա մեր:

Լթ[39] Իսկ իբրև եկն Հասան որդի Կահադբա հրամ*ա*նատար ի վերա երկրիս Հայոց. և ընդ նմա գունդ բազում ի տոհմէ Խորասան աշխարհին. որք առաւել դառնութ*եամ*ք յաճախ գործէին զզազրագործութի*ւն*. և բազմացուցանէին զաղէտս և զհեծութի*ւն*ս աշխարհիս: Զի որպէս նախքան զայս պատմեցաւ ի Տ*եառն*է կարծրանային սիրտք նոցա առ ի վր[102v]էժխնդրութիւն չարեաց մերոց: Զի արդարև սով և սուր և սասանութի*ւն* յաճախէր յազգապետութե*ան*ն նորա. և ևս առ այսոքիւք արհամարհութի*ւն*ք հայրապետաց. այպանութի*ւն*ք եպիսկոպոսաց. գան և խոշտանգանք քահանայից.[40] իշխանաց և նախարարաց քարշանք և քայքայութի*ւն*ք[41]: Որում ոչ կարացեալ հանդուրժել զաւրագլուխք աշխարհիս. հեծէին և հառաչէին յանհանդուրժելի տագնապէն: Քանզի զոռմիկ բազմութի*ւն* մարդկան խոշտանգէին ազգի ազգի չարեաւք. զոմանս փոկահարութ*եամ*ք լլկէին վ*առն* դառն հարկապահանջութե*ան*. և զոմանս գելարանաւք և կախաղանաւք. և զոմանս մերկացեալ ի զգեստուցն արկանէին ի մէջ լճից յաւուրս դառնաշունչ ձմերայնոյ:[42] Եւ կարգէին ի վերա պահապանս զի չարչարեսցեն զնոսա: Եւ այնպէս չարալլուկ [103r] կտտանաւք կեղէին զկեանս նոցա. զոր պատմել ոչ կարեմք զաղետիցն պատմութի*ւն*:

Խ[43] Յայսմ վայրի ճառեցից զվայրենամիտ ազգին Իսմաելի զխստասիրտ դառնութի*ւն*ն ի գլուխ ելեալ: Քանզի իբրև տեսին նախարարք Հայոց զվտանգ տարակուսանացն հասեալ ի վերա ինքեանց. եդին զոգի ի ձեռին իւրեանց և ձեռնամուխ եղեն յիրս որ ոչ կարէին վճարել. վ*առն*ն զի նուազունք էին: Այլ սակայն լաւ համարե*աղ* զմահ քաջութ*եամ*ք՝ քան զկեանս վտանգաւոր. և ձեռնամուխ եղեն յիրս ապստամբութե*ան*. և ի բաց կացին ի հնազանդութենէն Իսմաելի: Եւ սկիզբն բանիս այսորիկ լինէր ի ձեռն Արտաւազդա. որ էր ի տանէ Մամիկոնէից. որոյ երթեալ ի մայրաքաղաքն Դվին. կազմութի*ւն* մեծ առնէր զաւրաց իւրոց. և ստանայր անդ զէնս և անաւթս պատերազմի. և [103v] վառէր զինքն զրահիւք և սաղաւարտիւք և *ամենայն* սպառազինութ*եամ*ք. և մտերիմ զինքն երևեցուցանէր զաւրացն Իսմաելի. իբրև թէ մարտնչել ընդ թշնամիսն նոցա կազմիցի: Եւ որոշեալ զինքն ի միաբանութենէ նոցա հասանէր ի գաւառն Շիրակ ի գեւղն Կումայրի. և սպանանէր զիրամատար հարկին. և որ ինչ գտանէր ի ձեռին նորա առեալ. համբառնայր *ամենայն* տամբ իւրով. գնայր ի կողմանս Վրաց աշխարհին. և ընդ նմա *ամենայն* նախարարք աշխարհիս: Եւ հասեալ համբաւն ի քաղաքն Դվին. էթէ այս աւճիրք դառն գործեցան յորդւոցն Հմայեկի. վաղվաղակի առնոյր զաւր բազում Մահմետն. և զՍմպատ որդի Աշոտի զսպարապետն Հայոց և զայլ նախարարսն. և հետամուտ լինէր զկնի նոցա. հասանէր յաշխարհին Վրաց՝ ի գաւառին որ կոչի Սամ[104r]ցխէ. և կալեալ զկիրճսն. թափէր ապուռ ինչ յաւարէն. և զնոսա վարեալ փախստական առնէր յաշխարհէս Հայոց: Իսկ նոքա երթեալ պատսպարէին յաշխարհին Եգերացւոց. և ստանայր անձամբ զիշխանութի*ւն*

39 լթ in rt. mg.

40 քահանայից] -յ- subscr.

41 քայքայութի*ւն*ք] քաքաութի*ւն*ք a.c.

42 ձմերայնոյ] -յ- subscr.

43 խ in rt. mg.

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անձին իւրոյ ի վերա Եգերացւոց և ի վերա Վէռիայ[44] որ են Վիրք: Եւ ի ձեռն այսր գործոյ առաւել զայրագնեալ հրամանատարն Հասան. եւ վաղվաղակի առաքէր *յամենայն* կողմանս իւրոյ իշխանութե*ան*ն զբռնութի*ւն* հարկին ժողովել մեծաւ ստիպով: Եւ յոյժ սաստկանայր հեծութի*ւն* աշխարհիս ի պահանջողաց հարկին. քանզի ամենևին նուազեալ էր գիւտ արծաթոյ յաշխարհէս Հայոց:[45]

Անդ ուրեմն շարժէր սիրտ նախարարի ուրումն ցասմամբ. որ էր որդի Հրահատա կոմսի. որ էր ի տանէ Մամիկոնեան, որոյ անուն էր Մուշեղ: Սա՝ միաբան[104v]եալ ընդ իւր զոմանս ի նախարարացն Հայոց, ի բաց էկաց ի հնազանդութենէ Իսմայելի: Եւ գտեալ զոմանս յորդոց Իսմայելի. ի գաւառի իւրում և ի տան իւր. որք եկեալ պահանջէին ի նմանէ զարիւնս ոմանց սպանելոց ի տոհմէ իւրեանց. խողխողէր զնոսա ի սուր սուսերի իւր. եւ ինքն գաղթէր յամրոցսն Արտագերոյ հանդերձ տամբ իւրով: Եւ ելեալ նոյնժամայն ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ և ընդ նմա արք. *վաթսուն*. և ըմբռնեալ զպահանջողսն հարկին որում անուն էր Աբումճուր. և զորս ընդ նմա, հարեալ սատակէր ի սուր սուսերի իւր. և լռեցուցանէր զպահանջումն հարկին յերկրէս: Եւ իբրև այս այսպէս վճարէր. ժողովէին առ նա *ամենայն* վշտատեսք և վտանգեալք հոգով. և յայնմհետէ զարթեան *յամենայն* կողմանց թշնամի[.]ք ի վերա նոցա: Եւ նախքան զայս այլք յորդոցն [105r] Իսմայելի ի քաղաքէն Կարնոյ. հասանէին ի վերա նորա. որք էին իբրև արք. *երկերիւր*. վառեալք կուռ սպառազինութե*ամ*ք: Յորոց վերա հասեալ ի գիշերի ի գեւղն Խարս սակաւ[46] արամբք. զի էին բանակեալ ի մեջ այգեստանեացն: Շուրջ կացեալ զնոքաւք: Փլուզին զդուզնաքեա պատուար այգեստանեացն. զի էր կարկառակոյտ քարանց առանց հողոյ. և յանչափ դղրդմանէ քարանցն, բախեալ երիվարացն, զբազումս առաքուր հարեալ սատակէին. և առեալ զէնս և զկապուտ անկելոցն տայր զաւրաց իւր. և զերիվարս և զ*ամենայն* կազմած զինուց. և ինքն խաղացեալ գնայր ի կողմն ամրոցի իւրոյ:

Եւ իբրև այս լուր աղիտի հասանէր ի քաղաքն Դուին առ զաւրավարն Իսմայելի Մահմետ. *յամենայն* կողմանց տագնապ մեծ յառնէր ի վերա նորա. և գումարեալ զզաւրս քաղաքին Դուվնա. տայր ի ձեռս զաւրա[105v]գլխի միում որում անուն էր Ապունճիպ ելանել ի խնդիր վրիժու արեան սպանելոցն. և առեալ զաւրավարին այնմիկ զընդիրսն հեծելոց իբրև արս. *չորս հազար*. հազարս ուշ եդեալ ընդ պողոտայն արքունի հասանէր ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ ի գեւղն Բագաւան: Անդ ի վերա հասանէր նոցա Մուշեղ ընդ նմա իբրև արք: *երկերիւր*: և մարտուցեալք[47] ընդ միմեանս աւգնութի*ւն* ի Տ*եառն*է վաղվաղակի հասանէր ի թիկունս գնդին Մուշեղի. և բազում հարուածս հարեալ սատակէին, ի զաւրացն Իսմաելի: Եւ զմնացորդսն ի փախոստ դարձուցեալ. հետամուտ լինէին մինչև յաւանն Արուճ. և զբազումս ճռաքաղ առնէին. մինչև զնոյն ինքն զզաւրագլուխն հարեալ սատակէին. և մեծաւ յաղթութ*եամ*ք դարձեալ ի հետոց նոցա. լնուին բազում աւար[106r]աւ յաւարէ թշնամեացն: Եւ փախստեայքն անկան ի քաղաքն Դուին սակաւք ի բազմաց, ապա ընդ առաջ լինէին նոցա համազգիքն արք և կանայք վայիւք և ճչաւք հող ի գլուխ լինելով զճակատ հարկանէին և զաւձիս պատառէին. և ողբովք և աշխարանօք[48] լնոյր *ամենայն* փողոցք լայնանիստ քաղաքին. և ահ մեծ անկանէր ի վերա Սառակինոս գնդին. և ոչ լինէր նոցա համարձակ ելանել քան զքաղաքն. այլ անձնամահ[49] լինէին յամրութե*ան* քաղաքին:

44 Վէռիայ] Վէռիա a.c.

45 :] subscr.

46 սակաւ] u- suprascr.

47 մարտուցեալք] -ր- suprascr.

48 աշխարանօք] -օ- suprascr.

49 անձնամահ] read: անձնապահ with printed editions.

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Ապա իբրև զայս յաջողուած գործոյ տեսանէին նախարարք Հայոց. ամենեքեան միամտեալ ընթանային գիետ անմիտ խորհրդին. զի կարծէին լցեալ զժամանակ իշխանութե*ան* Իսմաելի: Եւ մանաւանդ պատրեալք առաւել ի կարծիս առն միոյ մոնոզոնի. որ մոլորութե*ան* հոգւովն շարժեցեալ մարգարէանայր սնոտիս և ընդունայն [106v] ասելով. ահա մերձեալ է ժամանակ փրկութե*ան* ձերոյ. զի այժմ ընդ հուպ դարձցի գաւազան թագաւորութե*ան*ն միւս անգամ ի տուն Թորգոմայ, առնուլ ձեւք զվրէժ յազգէն Իսմաելի: Եւ դուք մի զանգիտէք յերեսաց նոցա թէ նուազունք իցէք. զի մի այր ի ձէնջ հալածեսցէ զհազարսն և երկուքն զբեւրսն. զի զպատերազմ ձեր Տէր պատերազմեսցի. զաւրացարուք մի զանգիտէք: Եւ այսպէս տեսիլ սուտ և բաղձալի ստից աւր ըստ աւրէ պատմէր նոցա. որում առ հասարակ հաւատացեալ տեսանօղ[50] զնա կոչէին. և յայսմ բանէ ամենեքեան պատրեալք գրգռեցուցանէին զմեծ սպարապետն Սմպատ որդի Աշոտի հաւանել այնմ խորհրդի: Իսկ նա իբրև յակամա<յ>[51] կամաց շարժեալ յիւրմէ հաստատուն և յանխոնարհելի խորհրդոցն՝ չոգաւ զկնի խաբեբայ և մոլեկան առնն [107r] այնորիկ: Եւ ժողովեալ *ամենայն* նախարարք Հայոց ի մի վայր. առնէին առ միմեանս երդմունս և դաշինս ուխտի. կեալ և մեռանել առ միմեանս: Եւ այսպէս միախուռն ժողովեալք առ միմեանս լինէին իբրև արք: *հինգ հազար*: զի բազումք ի ռամիկ ժողովոց եկեալ խառնէին ի գունդն նոցա: Եւ համբարձեալ գնացին ի կողմանցն այնոցիկ՝ պարշարել զքաղաքն Թէոդոսոյպալիս. որ է Կարնոյ քաղաք: Եւ պարշարէին զնա պատնիշաւք. և զ*ամենայն* ժամանակս ձմերանոյն մարտ եղեալ կռուէին ընդ նմա. կանգնեալ զնովաւ մահարձան: Եւ հատանէին վեսս ծակուց արտաքուստ ի քաղաքն. այլ ոչ ինչ կարացին ստնանել. բայց որչափ սակաւ ինչ ի քարէ մեքենաիցն որովք սատակէին ի քաղաքէն:

Իսկ Աշոտ ի տանէ Բագրատունեաց. որդի իշխանին Սահակա<յ>.[52] զի էր այր խոհակ[107v]ան հանճարով. ոչ միաբանեաց ի գործ վնասակար աղիտին. այլ և զնոսա ևս խրատէր ի բաց թողուլ զվնասակար կարծիսն զոր ունէին ի վնասակար խրատուէ մոլեկան մոնոզոնին. և անձնապահ լինել անձանց և ընդանեաց նոցին: Զի ասէր մանկունք էք և կրտսերագոյնք հասակաւ. և գիտեմ եթե ոչ կարէք զդէմ ունել զաւրութե*ան* բազմագլուխ վիշապին. զի հզաւր է զաւրութի*ւն* նորա. և անթիւ բազմութի*ւն* ընդ ձեռամբ նորա. և անչափ պատրաստութի*ւն* զինուց ի գանձս նորա: Եւ *ամենայն* թագաւորութի*ւնք* որք հակառակ կացին իշխանութե*ան* նոցա փշրեցան որպէս զանաւթ բրտի: Զի թէ Հռոմայեցւոց[53] թագաւորութի*ւնն* ոչ կարաց համբառնալ զձեռս ի վեր. այլ սարսեալ դողայ յերեսաց նորա. և ոչ յանդգնել ընդդէմ տերունեան հրամանին. զի և դուք չէք անտեղ[108r]եակ *ամենայն* զաւրութե*ան* արքային Յունաց. քաջութե*ան* անձին նորա. և բազմութե*ան* և պատրաստութե*ան* զաւրաց նորա. զի ամենևին ընդ միտ անգամ ոչ էառ ածել զմտաւ առնուլ զաշխարհս Հայոց ի ձեռաց նոցա: Կոստանդին որդի Լևոնի. որ մենամարտեալ ի միում աւուր ընդդէմ ահաւոր գազանացն, սպան զառեւծն իբրև զուլս[54] այծեաց: Արդ որ զայս ոյժ զաւրութե*ան* ունէր. այնպէս ենթադրեալ է յահէ չարաթոյն գազանին որ ապականէ զերկիր: Իսկ դուք յո՞վ արդեւք ապաւինե*ալ*. և կամ որո՞վ զաւրութ*եամ*ք և որո՞վ ուժով կարէք զդէմ ունել անյաղթելի իշխանութե*ան* նոցա: Այլ արդ եթէ հաճոյ թուի անձանց ձեռոց. ընկալարուք զխրատ իմ. քանզի զաւգուտն ձեր և զպիտոյսն և զանդորրութի*ւն* աշխարհիս տեսանեմ ես. զի այս լինի ելք գործոյդ. կամ դառնալ

50 տեսանօղ] տեսանող a.c.

51 յակամա<յ>] -յ subscr. add. Hand 1corr.

52 Սահակա<յ>] -յ add. Hand 1corr.

53 Հռոմայեցւոց] Հռոմաեցւոց a.c.

54 զուլս] զզուլս a.c.

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ձեզ և մտանել ընդ հնազ[108v]անդութ*եամ*ք նոցա. և հանդարտել և կեալ խաղաղութ*եամ*ք յերկրիս ձեր. և կամ մերժել փախստեամբ համարէն ընդանեալք յերկրէս ձերմէ. և լքանել թողուլ զժառանգութի*ւն* հարց ձերոց. զբնակութի*ւն*ս ձեր և զանդառս և զանդաստանս. նաև զգերեզմանս հարց ձերոց. և երթալ բնակել նշդեհութ*եամ*ք ընդ արքային Յունաց. և կամ թէ ոչ՝ անկանիցիք ի ձեռս նեղչաց ձերոց ի միում աւուր. և անախորժելի մահուամբ բառնայցեն զձեզ ի կենաց: Զի գիտեմ ես զբարս անա*ստուա*ծութե*ան*ն իշխանին Իսմաելի. զի ոչ դադարէ մինչև կատարէ զկամս անձին իւրոյ: Իսկ նոքա ոչ ընկալան զոր լուան զբանս խրատու աւգնականութե*ան*ն. յընչաց քերէին իբրև զխրատ նենգութե*ան*. քանզի յոյժ հաւանեալ էին ստապատում[55] առնն մոլորելոյ որ աւր ըստ աւրէ յորդորէր զնոսա կալ պնդակազմ ի [109r] գործն առաջարկեալ. և մի ինչ երկմտութ*եամ*ք ըստգտանել զանձինս.

Որոյ անուղղայ[56] կամակորութի*ւն*ն ջաղջախուն խորհրդին անդէն ընդ հուպ երևէր. զի քակեալ ի միմեանց անմիաբանք լինէին: Զի նախարարք տանն Արծրունեաց Համազասպ և եղբարք իւր և զաւրք նորին մնացին անդրէն ի կողմանս Վասպուրական աշխարհին: Եւ Վասակ որդի Աշոտի և որք ի տոհմէ Ամատունէացն՝ և Տրունեաց՝ մնացին անդէն, ոմանք յամուրն բերդի, ի Դարիւնս գեւղ. և ի ծակն Մակուա. և ոմանք ի ձորն Արագեղտ ամրացեալք. սփռէին շուրջ զգաւառաւքն ի պէտս կերակրոյ. և անդէն դառնային յամուրս իւրեանց: Իսկ զաւրքն Տաճկաց որ ի Դվին քաղաքի՝ ելեալ ասպատակէին ի տեղիս տեղիս գաւառաց որ շուրջ զինքեամբք, և առնէին աւարառութի*ւն* և հեղմունս արեանց ի գեւղն Պտղունս. և ի Թալին [109v] և ի Կողբ. և յայլ բազում տեղիս սուր ի գործ արարեալ զբազումս դիաթաւալ կացուցանէին:

խա[57] Իսկ ի գալ գարնանայն. գունդ կազմէր իշխանն Իսմաելի ի վերա երկրիս Հայոց. և գումարէր զընդիրս հեծելոց իբրև արս. *երեսուն*. հազար ընդիր երիվարաւ և կուռ սպառազինութ*եամ*ք ի տոհմէ Խորասան գնդին. տայր ի ձեռս զաւրավարի միոյ որում անուն <էր>[58] Ամր. և առաքէ զնա յինքենէ[59] ի լայնանիստ և ի հռչակաւոր անուն քաղաքէն զոր շինեաց ինքն Աբդլա՝ ապաւէն ամրութե*ան*՝ հզաւրագոյն և անառիկ պարսպով ամրացեալ որ անուանեալ կոչէր Բաղտատ: Եւ համբարձեալ զաւրավարին ի կողմանցն Ասորոց. գայր հասանէր յաշխարհս Հայոց. ի քաղաքն Խլաթ. մեծաւ զգուշութ*եամ*ք և բազում պատրաստութ*եամ*ք զինուց: Իբրև մտանէր ի քաղաքն տեղեկանայր ի քաղաքացւոց անդի զորպիսութի*ւն* զաւրացն [110r] Հայոց. էթէ քանի՞ք. և էթէ ո՞յք իցեն զաւրագլուխք. և էթէ միաբա՞նք իցեն ի սէր միմեանց. էթէ երկբայք. էթէ քաջայաղթք իցե՞ն. էթէ յամրեղք. եթե ունիցի՞ն պատրաստութի*ւն* զինուց էթէ ոչ: Զայս *ամենայն* տեղեկացեալ պատրաստէր ըստ նմին զաւրագլուխ զաւրաց իւրոց: Իսկ Աշոտ որդի Սահակա զի էր ի քաղաքին յայնմիկ. զեկուցանէր զգալուստ թշնամեացն նախարարացն Հայոց. զի ուր ուրեք և իցեն ի մի վայր գումարեսցին, կալ[60] և մեռանել ի վերա միմեանց: Իսկ նոցա անհաւատալի թուեալ իրք հրովարտակին. համարէին դաւող խորամանգութ*եամ*ք կամի փրկել զքաղաքն ի պաշարմանէ աստի. իբր մտերիմ զինքն ցուցանել Իսմաելացւոցն. և զայս առեալք ի միտ, անընկալք եղեն բանից նորա. այլ տակաւին զառաջի արկեալն [110v] իւրեանց խոկաւին կատարել:

55 ստապատում] սրտապատում a.c.; o add. above ը to mark deletion.

56 անուղղայ] -ղ- suprascr.

57 խա in lft. mg.

58 <էր>] ins. Hand 1corr.

59 յինքենէ] -ի- suprascr.

60 կալ] read: կեալ with Malxaseanc‘ and Tēr-Vardanean.

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Ապա յետ այսորիկ գումարէին նախարարք ազգին Արծրունեաց զզաւրսն Վասպուրական աշխարհին. Համազասպ և եղբարք իւր. և որք ի տոհմէ Ամատունեաց և զաւրքն որ ընդ նոսա. կոչէր ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան* զՎասակ որդի Աշոտի զեղբայր Սմպատա սպարապետի ի տոհմէն Բագրատունեաց և զզաւրսն նորին. և խաղացեալ յառաջ երթային ի վերա Արճէշն աւանի. բրել զնա ի հիմանց և զզաւրսն որ ի նմա հարկանել սրով: Եւ իբրև հասանէին ի գաւառն Առբերանի, ի գեւղն Բերկրի. մնային միմեանց գումարութ*եամ*ք. և զբազումս յաշխարհականացն հրապուրե*ալ* զկնի ինքեանց. ի հետիոտս տանէին ի մարտ պատերազմի: Եւ մինչդեռ զայս խորհուրդ առհասարակ կամէ[111r]ին կատարել. վաղվաղակի հասանէր առ նոսա լուր զաւրացն Իսմաելի. քանզի եկեալ ոմն պատմեաց նոցա էթէ զաւր բազում յորդոցն Իսմաելի հասեալ ի վերա սպասէ ձեզ. որում ոչ անսացե*ալ* Համազասպ տէրն Արծրունեաց հարուածովք տանջէր զնա իբրև զհրապուրիչ ստութե*ան*. և ինքն խրոխտացեալ գնաց ի վերա Արճէշն աւանի հանդերձ[61] զաւրաւքն իւրովք.

Եւ իբրև մատ հասանէին ի քաղաքագեւղն: Իսկ բնակիչք քաղաքին յառաջ զգացուցին ի քաղաքն Խլաթ. առ Ամր զաւրավարն Իսմաելի զգալուստ նախարարացն Հայոց: Եւ նորա խաղացեալ բազմութ*եամ*ք զաւրացն. գայր դարանամուտ լինէր մերձ ի գեւղն Արճէշ: Եւ մինչդեռ մարտնչէին գունդն Հայոց ընդ ամրոցին, վաղվաղակի յարե*ան* դարանամուտքն ի թաքստենէն [111v] և հեղան ի վերա զաւրացն Հայոց. և ի փախուստ դարձուցեալ. կոտորեցին զմեծ մասն հետևակ զաւրուն որ յաշխարհաբնակ մարդկանէն էին. քանզի էին մերկք և առանց զինուց և անհրմուտք պատերազմի. որք մի անգամ հանդիպեալք դառն լուսոյ աւուրն այնորիկ. ի սուր անողորմ մաշեցին զնոսա: Եւ ոմանք առ վտանգի տարակուսանացն գետավէժ <և>[62] ծովահեղձ լինէին: Իսկ ի տոհմէ նախարարացն վախճանեցան արք. *չորք*. որք էին ի նոցանէն: *երեք*. ի տոհմէ Տրունեաց. և մի ի Յուրծա գեղջէ. իսկ որ յոամիկ ժաղովոյն վախճանեցան էին իբրև: *հազար հինգ հարիւր*. մարդ. և այլք ի փախուստ դարձեալք[63] հազիւ ուրեմն զապրուստ անձանց գտանէին: Եւ եղև չարամբեր նեղութի*ւն* վտանգիս այսորիկ յամս[112r]եանն հրոտից որ աւր. *չորք*. էր ամսոյն յաւուր շաբաթու:

Եւ թշնամեացն հետամուտ էղեալ հալածէին զզաւրսն Հայոց մինչև ի տեղին որ կոչի Տայ գիւղ. եւ ապա դարձան ի հետոց նոցա. և առնէին ուրախութի*ւն* մեծ ի բանակն իւրեանց: Յայնժամ ոչ սակաւ յաճախէր հեծութի*ւն* աշխարհիս Հայոց. և ուրացողաց թշնամեացն ցնծութի*ւն* և հրճուանք. քանզի նոյնժամայն շունչ կլեալք դարձեալ յարձակէին ուշ եղեալ ելանել յառաջին պողոտայն արքունի ընդ գաւառն Ապահունիս: Հասանէին ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ ի գեւղն Արձնի. անդ հարկանէին զբանակս իւրեանց առ եզերբ գետոյն որ ընդ նա անցանէ: Եւ ընդ նոսա *ամենայն* արուեստականք յարդարիչք[64] զինուց. որք պատրաստէին զէնս և անաւթս պատերազմի: Իսկ [112v] այն զաւրք որք պահեին զքաղաքն Կարնա հասուցանեին զնա մերձ յապականութի*ւն*: Քանզի սաստկացաւ սով ի քաղաքին. և կամեին յակամա տալ զքաղաքն ի ձեռս: Եւ իբրև էհաս զրոյց պարտութե*ան* գնդին ի քաջաքն Կարնոյ. յայնժամ լքաւ սիրտ արանց պատերազմողաց զաւրացն Հայոց. և թոյլ ետուն պարշարման քաղաքին: Եւ թէպէտ էին կարող[65] մեկնել ի կողմն Յունաց և ապրեցուցանել զանձինս ի չարասէր ապիրատութենէ զրպարտողացն, սակայն լաւ համարեցան ընտրել զմահ անձանց՝ քան տեսանել զկորուստ

61 հանդերձ] հանդերկ a.c.

62 <և>] add. suprascr. Hand 1corr.

63 դարձեալք] դրած...եալք a.c.

64 յարդարիչք] -ք suprascr.

65 կարող] կարող a.c.

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աշխարհիս և զանապատութի*ւն* եկեղեցեաց Ք*րիստոս*ի: Եւ զայս զմտաւ ածեալ թէպէտև նուազունք էին քան զթիւ թշնամեացն ինքնակամ յաւժարութ*եամ*ք դիմեցին ի վիշտն:

և ժողովեալ զգունդս իւրեանց [113r] իբրև արս հինգ հազար. գնացին ի քաղաքէն Կարնա. անցանէին ընդ սահմանսն Բասենոյ ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ. իսկ և իսկ անցեալ ընդ գետն Արածանի. յարձակէին արիութ*եամ*ք սրտի ի վերա թշնամեացն. և բացագոյն. *երկու*. վտաւանաւք զատուցանէին զախն իւրեացն. և զերիվարս. և ի հետիոտս զայրագնեալ պատրաստէին ի մարտ պատերազմի թշնամեացն. ելանէին ապա և գունդք թշնամեացն ի վերա նոցա բազում պատրաստութ*եամ*ք: Եւ ընդ ծագել արեգականն խմբեցաւ պատերազմն. և իբրև բախեցին ընդ միմեանս՝ նախ զաւրացեալ գունդն Հայոց հարկանէին բազում հարուածս. և ի փախուստ դարձուցեալ զթշնամիսն՝ սատակէին զբազումսն: Եւ դարձեալ զաւրացէալ դարձան ի փախստենէ. և դիմադարձեալ զայրագին ցասմ[113v]ամբ լնուին արհաւրաւք զբազմութի*ւն* ռամիկ ժողովոյն: Եւ ի փախուստ դարձուցեալ զոմանս ի նախարարացն և ի[66] նոցին հեծելոցն և զռամիկսն որ ընդ նոսա. զի զբազումս ի նոցանէն հարեալ տապաստ դաշտացն արկանէին:

Իսկ քաջայաղթ նահատակքն թէպէտև նուազունք էին ի մէջ չարաշուք որսողացն. սակ[...]այն ոչ ինչ զանգիտեցին ի դառնաշունչ աւրհասէն, այլ մինչ ի սպառ գումարեալք ոգուվք չափ մարգէին զմիմեանս բանիւք. ասելով. քաջութ*եամ*ք մեռցուք ի վերա աշխարհիս մեր և ի վերա ազգիս մեր. և մի տեսցեն աչք մեր կոխան ոտից պղծալից լեալ զսրբարանս մեր և զտեղի փառատրութե*ան* Ա*ստուծոյ* մերոյ. այլ նախ ընդդէմ մեր լիցի սուր թշնամեացն. և ապա լիցի զոր կամիցին: Փոխանակեսցին անձինք մեր ընդ ճշմարտութե*ան* հաւատոյս և մի ընդ երկրաւ[114r]որ զբազմանս. զի այս մահ ժամանակեան, և կեանքն յաւիտենական: Եւ զայս քաջալերութի*ւն* տուեալ միմեանց. ի բարձունսն կարկառեալ զաչս աւգնութի*ւն* ի բարձրելոյն հայցէին ասելով. Ա*ստուա*ծ յաւգնութի*ւն* մեզ հաեաց. և յնկերել[67] մեզ փութա. ամաչեսցեն զամաւթ մեծ որք խնդրեն զանձինս մեր. և մեք զանուն քո Տէր կարդասցուք ի նեղութե*ան*ս մերում. և զանուն քո Տէր փառաւորեսցուք ի նեղութե*ան*ս յոր պարշարեալս եմք. զի ահա շրջապատեալ պահեն զմեզ չարք որոց ոչ գոյ թիւ. և ժամանեցին առ մեզ երկունք մահու: Զայս և ևս առաւել քան զսոյն մատուցանէին խնդրուածս աղերսականս և մաղթանս փափագելիս:

Եւ յետ այսորիկ դարձեալ զաւրացեալք, յաւգնականութենէ վերնոյն, ոչ ինչ կասեցին յառաջի արկեալ խորհրդէն. քանզի չէին աւելի քան. *հազար*. մի արանց [114v] ի մէջ. *երեսուն*. հազարացն. զի որպէս ուսաք ի նոյն ինքն ի թշնամեացն. ունէին ասէ ընդ ինքեանս մարտակիցս հրեշտակական բազմութի*ւն*ս որք մարմնական տեսլեամբ երևեալ թշնամեացն. զի տէսանէին էռիեսունս և պապասս, Աւետարանաւք և մոմեղինաւք և խնկովք առաջի նոցա երթալով զաւրացուցանէին զնոսա. և անխնա կոտորմամբ խնդրեցին զվրէժ անձանց մինչև պարտեցան ձեռք ի ծանրութենէ զինուցն. միանգամայն զի ոմանք թափուր մնացեալք ի զինուցն անկան ի ձերս նոցա. եւ իսկոյն առեալք զհրաժեշտ մեղանչական կենցաղոյս. փոխեցան ի հանդերձեալ յուսոյն ակնկալութի*ւն*ն երանելի և քաջ նահատակքն. որոց անուանքն են այսոքիկ զաւրագլխացն: Ի տանէն Բագրատունեաց սպարապետն Սմբատ. և Սահակ բարձակից [115r] և նիզակակից նորին: Ի տանէն Մամիկոնեանց Մուշեղն զաւրավար. և Սամուել տէր Մամիկոնէից որ էր որդի մատաղ և առոյգ գեղեցկութ*եամ*ք աներ սպարապետին մեծի: Եւ ի տոհմէն Գնունեաց Վահանն դաշնակ. և այլք բազումք ի նախարարաց և յռամկաց զորս ոչ բաւեմ մի ըստ միոջէ յանուանէ թուել որք անկանէին իբրև

66 ի] suprascr.

67 յնկերել] read: յընկերել with printed editions.

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արք. *երեք հազար.* որոց ողորմելի կատարածն. և վախճանն անարգապէս. զի և ոչ հող նոցա բաւէր թաղել զդիակունսն թշուառացելոցն ի պատերազմէն. այլ բացընկեցիկ աւթագացեալ ի վայրի. ի յարևու և ի փոշոջ և յանձրևի[.] և ի մրրիկս հողմոց:

Եւ յայնժամ սաստկապէս յաճախէին ողբք և աշխարանք աշխարհիս Հայոց. վ*ասն* զի առաջնորդք մեծք և զաւրագլուխք պատուականք բարձան ի միջոյ ի միում վայրկենի ժամու. եւ երկիրս առ հասար[115v]ակ ի խոր տխրութե*ան* ընբռնեալ կոծէին կոծ մեծ. և աւաղէին զվախճան նախամարտկացն հզաւրաց և քաջաց. քանզի մնացին թափուրք յաւգնականութենէ նոցա. և մատնեցան ի ձեռս գազանաբարոյ և անհամբոյր թշնամեացն. յիշէին ապա և ի նեղութե*ան* զպաշտպանութի*ւն* այցելուին Ա*ստուծոյ*. զոր յիսկզբանցն պահեաց զողորմութի*ւն* առ ազգս մարդկան և մանաւանդ առ փառաւորիչս անուան իւրոյ. և հայցէին զխնամօղ[68] ներողութի*ւն* նորա հասանել յաւգնականութի*ւն* տարակուսելոցն և յուսակորոյս եղելոցն ի կենաց աշխարհիս. զի յետ կորստեանն, որ եղևն յԱրճէշն աւանի, անդէն ընդ հուպ հասին չարիքս այս ի նոյն ամսեան ի հրոտից. *չորեքտասան.* յաւուր երկշաբաթոջ. և ևս դժընդակ նեղութի*ւն* էր. զի և ոչ տեղի անգամ գոյր լալոյ և ողբոց համարձակապէս զննջեց[116r]եալսն. և ոչ հաց սգոյ բեկանել ի տունս իւրեանց. և ոչ տալ գերեզմանի զվախճանեալսն:

խբ[69] Իսկ թշնամեացն սփռեալ զասպատակ իւրեանց ի գաւառն Բագրևանդ և ի սահմանակիցս նորա. և տագնապ մեծ յարուցանէին ի վերա բնակչաց երկրին. ուս եղեալ ընդ *ամենայն* քաւարանս աղաւթից խոկային կործանել և շփոթել զսրբութի*ւն* եկեղեցեաց Ք*րիստոս*ի. խորտակէին և զնմանութի*ւն* պայծառացեալ խաչին Ք*րիստոս*ի զոր ապաւէն և հովանի ի յելս և ի մուտս կանգնեալ ի պատճառս երկրպագութե*ան*. համագոյ երրորդութե*ան*ն. և հրկիզութ*եամ*ք բառնային ի միջոյ: Վարէին ուժգին հեռութ*եամ*ք ընդ քահանայս և ընդ մոնոզոնս և ընդ պաշտաւնակիցս նոցին. իբրև առաջնորդք գոլ նոցին որք վախճանեցան ի պատերազմին. յափշտակէին և ի տեղիս <տեղիս>[70] զսպաս եկեղեցւոյ. և զնշխարս սրբոց Ա*ստուծոյ* վարեալ տանէին յաւարի. և իբրև [116v] լցան զաւրքն անաւրէն յաւարէ աշխարհիս Հայոց. դարձեալ ելանէին ի վերա ամրոցաց և նուաճէին զապաստանեալսն յամուրսն կոչե*ալ* ի խաղաղութի*ւն*. եւ տային գիր երդման և իջուցանէին յամրոցացն:

Եւ ինքն չու արարեալ իբրև պանձալի և քաջ յաղթութ*եամ*ք. դէմ եդեալ գնայր յաշխարհէս Հայոց. անցանէր ընդ աշխարհն Պարսից.[71] յանդիման կամէր լինել իշխանին Իսմաելի. իբրև զփոխարէն միամտութե*ան* վաստակոցն առցէ ի նմանէն: Եւ նոյնժամայն հասեալ ի վերա նորա դատաստան յիրաւադատն Ա*ստուծոյ*. սատակէր ի կենաց յերկրին Պարսից: Քանզի չարաչար ցաւովք տանջեալ սատակէր. և ըստ արժանոյն ընդունէր զհատուցումն վրէժխնդրութե*ան*. զի փոխանակ անպարտ արեանն հեղլոյ ի ձեռն նորա. հեղաւ արիւն իրաւացի: Թէպէտև ոչ սրով մարդկան. այլ ան[117r]երևոյթ սրով հրամանաւ բարձրելոյն. որ ազդողական զաւրութ*եամ*բն թափանցական է քան զ*ամենայն* սուր երկսայրի յորոշումն ոգւոյ և շնչոյ և յաւդից և ուղղոց անցանէ. այնու սրով խնդրեաց զվրէժ արեան որդոց իւրոց. և զհատուցումն ատելեաց իւրոց հատոյց. և զերկիր ժողովրդեան իւրոյ սրբեաց. և խնաեաց ի ժողովուրդ իւր. զի զգաւազան ժողովրդեանն մերժեաց յերեսաց նոցա. միւսանգամ յապահով եղեն ի բնակութի*ւն*ս իւրեանց:

Յայնմ ժամանակի դարձեալ առաքէ իշխանն Իսմաելի ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց հրամանատար փոխանակ Հասանա. զԵզիտ: Եւ ինքն Աբդլա լցեալ *ամենայն* ախորժակաւք

68 զխնամօղ] զխնամող a.c.

69 խբ in lft. mg.

70 <տեղիս>] om.^{hmt} add. suprascr. Hand 1^{corr}.

71 Պարսից] Պար.սից a.c.

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չարասէր կամաց իւրոց. և ճնշեալ զոգի իւր ի բաղձանս արծաթսիրութե*ան* ախտի. և ագահեալ զագահութի*ւն* չար տան իւրոյ. ընդունէր զմարգարէին նզովսն և յուսակորոյս սատակէր անդէն ընդ հուպ ի նմին ամի: [117v] Իսկ զհանդերձեալսն զտեղի դատաստանի նորա յայտնեաց որ բոլորեցունն է հատուցանող[72] միում ումեմն յարժանաւորաց իւրոց ծառայից[73] քահանայի միոջ. զի տեսանէր ի տեսլեան սակաւ աւուրքք յառաջ քան զվախճանել կենաց նորա. տեղի խոշտանգանաց և ի նմա վիհ գբոյ որ անբաւ էր խորութ*եան*ք. և ի բերան վիհին կառուցեալ դուռն մի երկաթի: Եւ ածեալ զնա երկուց զինուորաց կացուցանէին առ բէրան գբին. և ի բաց առնլով զկափարիչ վրիին. տեսանէր զի ելանէր բոց վրիին ի վեր մինչև յերկինս. յոր առեալ ընկեցին զգործաւնեա չարին. և դարձեալ ի վերա կափուցեալ զնոյն դուռն ըմբռնէին զնա յանելանելի կապանսն ընդունել զարժանաւոր հատուցումն: Զայսպիսի յայտնութի*ւն* տեսլեան զուշակեալ վ*ասն* նորա. որ արդարև վայել էր ըստ չարութե*ան* գնացից իւրոց, զայնպիս[118r]ին ընդունել հատուցումն յարդար դատողէն:

COMMENTARY

XIII.A. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

The settlement of frontier cities and the payment of soldiers are both primary concerns of caliphal governors in Łewond's text, and these preoccupations reveal the strategic policy the Caliphate employed in order to stabilize the region and integrate it into the broader empire. The section on Manṣūr's caliphate helps elucidate the connections between Armenia and other provinces in the early ʿAbbāsid period, the duties of the provincial governors, the relationship between the province and the imperial center, and taxation.

The governors and generals listed here under Manṣūr demonstrate family ties to Jazīra and/or Khurāsān. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣubayḥ, a *mawlā* of Banū Kinda, was Khurāsānī. The few references to him beyond Łewond's text place him in Jazīra, attempting to put down a rebellion on Manṣūr's orders in 137/754–55.[74] Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, as discussed in chapter XII, was half Siunecʿi; his father was from Jazīra and served in the Umayyad army under Marwān. His brother Khālid served as governor of Armenia, his son Aḥmad served over both Jazīra and Armenia, and his great-grandson Yaqẓān was later governor of Armenia.[75] Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī's family was also from Jazīra. His brothers ʿAbd al-Malik and Isḥāq had campaigned in Armenia and served as governors over Armenia under Umayyad rule. Like his brothers, Bakkār b. Muslim served the Umayyads, then defected to campaign in Khurāsān, and eventually governed Armenia for the ʿAbbāsids.[76] Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī is yet another example of the connection to the East, as his family was Khurāsānī. Over the course of his career, Ḥasan governed Jazīra, Egypt, and Khurāsān. As discussed below, Ibn Aʿtham confirms the involvement of Ḥasan's sons Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad, and Qaḥṭaba in governing the North. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan served as governor of Khurāsān like his father and grandfather, as did Ḥasan's other son ʿAlī. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan does not appear in histories

72 հատուցանող] հատուցանող a.c.

73 ծառայից] ծառաից a.c.

74 Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3:248; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:120.

75 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 165.

76 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 106.

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about the North, but he was governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān, and Damascus in turn.[77] Finally, Łewond mentions a certain Rawḥ as a general, rather than a governor. His identity is uncertain. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī was governor of Armenia under Hārūn al-Rashīd, but there is no evidence of his service in Armenia under Manṣūr. If Łewond's Rawḥ is indeed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, he diverges from the pattern set by the others in that he demonstrates no ties to Jazīra at all. Although his family was indeed Khurāsānī, they served across the Caliphate. The Muhallabīs, including Rawḥ, were famous for serving in Sind (Pakistan) and Ifrīqiyya (Tunisia). These examples reveal the significance of particular families that produced governors for the ʿAbbāsids. The increase in governors with close ties to Khurāsān is not surprising, given that this was the heartland of the ʿAbbāsid military.[78]

It is frequently difficult to untangle the relationship between Armenia and Jazīra, as they were sometimes combined under a single governor and some governors claimed family ties to Jazīra or served first in one province and then in the other. During the caliphate of Manṣūr, Armenia and Jazīra appear to have been governed separately, but they were very much intertwined, given the familial ties of both Yazīd and Bakkār. The connection between Armenia and Jazīra allows us to speculate about unclear details in Łewond's text. When Gagik Arcruni threatened caliphal control over Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan, a commander (զաւրագլուխ) named Mūsā stepped in to support the governor. No such general has been identified in Arabic sources, though it is possible that the name refers to Mūsā b. Muṣʿab, who replaced Yazīd as the military governor over Jazīra in either 154/770–71 or 155/771–72.[79] The purview of his authority "over matters of war and taxation" in Jazīra (على حرب الجزيرة وخراجها)—that is, without the responsibility of appointing *qāḍīs* and leading prayer—seems to correspond to the responsibilities of the governors over Armenia.

The governors' duties were largely military in nature—understandably, given the position of Armenia along the frontier with Rome and Khazaria. The Arabic descriptions of the campaigns against the Roman Empire usually revolve around the military, particularly its commanders, the movements of troops, and the cities sacked in any given campaign. Łewond helps us move from the military to the social side of the Arab-Roman encounter. When Constantine took Qālīqalā/Karin, he "removed the troops of the city and its Saracen inhabitants, along with their families, to the land of the Greeks" (Եւ զաւրսն քաղաքին և զբնակեալսն ի նմա Սառակինոսս բառնայր նոցին ընդանեաւք յաշխարհն Յունաց) [96r–v]. A number of others followed, apparently including Armenian Christians who "left the land of their birth and emigrated, settling in the country of the pious king" (թողին զերկիր ծնընդեան իւրեանց և հատուածեալք անկան ի կողմն արքային բարէպաշտի) [96v]. When Yazīd recaptured Qālīqalā/Karin, he responded by rebuilding the city and resettling it with Arab Muslims: "He had men from the sons of Ishmael settle in it [Karin] with their families to guard the city and defend it from the enemy. He arranged for the provision of their food from this land of Armenia" (և ածեալ արս յորդոցն Իսմաելի բնակեցոյց ի նմա նոցին ընդանեաւք. պահել զքաղաքն և զզուշանալ ի թշնամեացն. և կարգեաց նոցա պատրաստութիւն կերակրոց յաշխարհէս Հայոց) [97r]. This is not specific to the Arab-Roman

77 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 188.

78 Vacca, "Khurāsānī and Transoxanian Ostikans."

79 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:375; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 222. Note that this Mūsā is sometimes confused with Mūsā b. Kaʿb; on this, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 186.

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frontier, as Łewond records that Armenian *naxarark'* also moved north into the Caucasus, including to Lāz/Egrisi (Colchis, outside of caliphal territory) and to Phasis (see chapter V). Building both the walls and the populations of such cities was as much if not more an imperial assertion over territory as the transitory annual campaigns (*ṣawā'if*) were.

The governors also ensured the payment of taxes, which provoked the most persistent complaints about caliphal rule in Armenia. Much of such writing is emotive, decrying and lamenting the poverty caused by the demands of the caliphal governors. Yet these sections yield data points about the fiscal regime in the North. Łewond reports, for example, that Yazīd b. Usayd imposed a poll tax (մարդահարկ) over Qālīqalā/Karin [96v]. This suggests a localized policy, specific to particular cities or subregions, as described by Balādhurī. Łewond also attests to changes in normative taxation, perhaps an attempt at changing the fragmented policies of the earlier period: "a demand for a silver tax was invented besides the poll tax" (գտաներ պահանջումն սակի արծաթոյն . այլ ըստ գլուխս արանց) [101v]. Both the prince of Armenia and, interestingly, the patriarch of the Armenian Church first intervened with the caliphal governor Yazīd. When this effort failed, they appealed to the caliph himself. According to Łewond, Manṣūr replaced Yazīd because of the complaints about his overtaxation of Armenia.

Taxation was likely one of the most overt symbols of caliphal claims over Armenia, which explains its centrality to Łewond's overall narrative. When Artawazd Mamikonean rebelled, his first move was to kill the tax collector: "He killed the tax collector and took everything that he found in his possession" (սպանանէր զհրամատար հարկին. և որ ինչ գտանէր ի ձեռին նորա առեալ) [103v]. Łewond understands Artawazd's actions as rebellion. However, from the perspective of Baghdad, they were likely perceived as mutiny. The Armenians served as troops in the caliphal army and received stipends from the treasury. This is why Artawazd was able to feign "that he was a confidante of the Ishmaelite troops, as if he were ready to battle with their enemy" (և մտերիմ զինքն երևեցուցանէր զաւրացն Իսմաելի. իբրև թէ մարտնչել ընդ թշնամիսն նոցա կազմիցի) [103v]. It also explains a somewhat oblique comment by Ṭabarī that in 158/774–75, "the governor of Armenia wrote to Manṣūr that the army had mutinied against him and broken the locks of the treasury and taken what was in it, and Manṣūr said in his letter, 'Leave our office in disgrace, for if you were intelligent they would not have mutinied, and if you were strong they would not have plundered" (كتب صاحب ارمينية الى المنصور ان الجند قد شغبوا عليه وكسروا اقفال بيت المال واخذوا ما فيه فوقّع فى كتابه اعتزل عملنا مذموما فلو عقلت لم يشغبوا ولو قويت لم ينتهبوا).[80] As the Mamikonean rebellion continued, the tax collectors remained a primary symbol. Mušeł Mamikonean also killed a tax collector, named Abumčur: "He struck and killed them [Abumčur and those who were with him] by his sword and interrupted the collection of taxes from this land" (հարեալ սատակէր ի սուր սուսերի իւր. և լռեցուցանէր զպահանջումն հարկին յերկրէս) [104v].

80 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:142; *Ta'rīkh*, 3:436. Note that the verb used here—*shaghaba*—means "to cause a disturbance" or "to riot." The subject *al-jund* (the army) informs its reading as mutiny.

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XIII.B. IMPERIAL POLICY ON THE FRONTIER

Łewond notes the emigration of several *naxarar* and Muslim families to Roman territory in the early 130s/750s. Caliphal policy was to populate the cities of the frontier. By contrast, the Roman emperor actively worked to create breathing room along the frontier by moving families westward.[81] Łewond's account suggests that the emperor supported such emigration himself, either by force or by incentive. We see this first in the recognition that "the king of the Greeks stirred an idea in the imperial court" (շարժեալ թագաւորն Յունաց ի կայսերական արքունեան մտին) [96r]. Later, Łewond explains that the Armenian *naxararkʿ* "abandoned their inheritance. They fled to the land of the Greeks and took refuge with the emperor Constantine" (լքին զժառանգութիւնս իւրեանց. և փախստեա անկան յաշխարհն Յունաց. ապաւինեալք առ կայսրն Կոստանդին) [99v]. The insertion of Constantine's name associates the movement of Armenians directly with the emperor. Although Roman emperors had supported Armenian migration from caliphal territory in the past [cf. 27r], this migration of *naxararkʿ* seems to have constituted part of Constantine's broader imperial policy for the border.

XIII.C. THE ARAB-KHAZAR WARS

The caliph Manṣūr engaged with the Khazars through diplomacy in an attempt to curtail the Arab-Khazar wars that had earlier [74r] threatened caliphal territory as far as Ardabīl/Artawēt. Łewond includes names and details that align with Arabic sources relating to the Khazars during the caliphate of Manṣūr, though he also includes snippets of information that either do not appear elsewhere or disagree with the non-Armenian sources.

Łewond claims that Yazīd b. Usayd wrote to the khagan to arrange a marriage alliance. Arabic sources attest to Manṣūr's role in this arrangement, suggesting that this diplomatic marriage was caliphal policy rather than Yazīd's personal decision. Balādhurī mentions it briefly, explaining that Manṣūr had placed Yazīd as governor over Armenia. "Manṣūr wrote to him [Yazīd] to order him to make a marriage alliance with the king of the Khazars, so he did so. She gave birth to his children, one of whom was a son who died, and she died herself" (فكتب اليه المنصور يامره بمصاهرة ملك الخزر ففعل وولدت له ابنته منه ابناً فمات وماتت فى نفسها).[82] Ibn Aʿtham offers significantly more information that helps us read Łewond's text. Ibn Aʿtham confirms Balādhurī's statement that the caliph himself ordered the marriage alliance. Manṣūr sent Yazīd b. Usayd to rule from Bardhaʿa/Partaw and ordered him to make a marriage alliance with the Khazars. Yazīd followed up by approaching the Khazar khagan, named Taʿāṭr (تعاطر, which could be corrected to بغاطر [Baghāṭur], meaning "hero," or,

81 On population movements orchestrated by the Romans, see Charanis, "Transfer of Population." On Sasanian and caliphal settlement, see Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*. On Roman versus caliphal policies toward the frontier, see Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 83: "Constantine V's policy of population transfer away from this area can be viewed not only as a means of strengthening the population of Thrace, but of deliberately depopulating the south-eastern border zones, tending to create a no-man's land behind which Roman Asia Minor was relatively safe." This compares neatly to ʿAbbāsid policy, which Haldon and Kennedy describe on page 109: "It was in the half century from 132/750 onwards, the first half-century of Abbasid rule, that the frontier was organized and the scorched earth policy of the early days replaced by one of advancing settlement."

82 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210.

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alternatively, it could render "Theodoros"),[83] who betrothed his daughter Khāṭūn to Yazīd for 100,000 dirhams. Two details in Ibn Aʿtham's history echo Łewond's: (1) the reference to her solely as Khāṭūn/Xatʿun (وكان يقال لها خاطون and անուն էր Խաթուն) [98v], a title that acts as her name; and (2) the description of the retinue that accompanied her (though this is far more expansive in Ibn Aʿtham's account, attesting to the social and economic power of Khāṭūn). Ibn Aʿtham has her settle in Bardhaʿa/Partaw, where she learned about Islam and the Qurʾān from Muslim women before she agreed to consummate the marriage with Yazīd. Khāṭūn lived with Yazīd in Bardhaʿa/Partaw for two years and four months, giving birth to two children in that time. She died in childbirth, and the child along with her, and "Yazīd grieved for her intensely" (فاغتم عليها يزيد غما شديدا).[84] His grief was compounded by the subsequent Khazar raid to avenge her death. Ibn Aʿtham reports that when the Khazars heard of the death of Khāṭūn, the daughter of their king, they gathered and poured outward from Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband. Czeglédy reviews the sources on this marriage to suggest that Balādhurī and Ibn Aʿtham likely draw on the same source;[85] Łewond should also be included in this cluster, given the close connections between the three accounts of this marriage and the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand (discussed below). By comparison, the narratives of Ṭabarī and Azdī differ in significant details from these three. The fourth/tenth-century historians identify the groom as Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, push the marriage later to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and omit reference to the couple's children.[86]

The amount of geographical and prosopographical detail preserved in Łewond's *History* and in the corresponding passages in Ibn Aʿtham demonstrates the perceived importance of Khāṭūn/Xatʿun in early medieval narratives.[87] The story contains information specific to the early ʿAbbāsid period but also reinvents tropes commonly deployed to inscribe difference between Iran and the Huns/Khazars at their borders. Łewond's explanation that the Khazars "considered her death a deceitful plot" (իբրև դաւով նենգութեամբ հասարեցան զմահ նորա) [98v] may refer to a similar story in which the Sasanian emperor Anūshirwān plays a trick on the king of the Huns through a royal marriage alliance that turns out to be a ruse. Either both stories echo a typical literary form to imagine the frontier or such marriages were commonly expressions of both hope and distrust between empires.[88]

Arabic and Greek sources confirm the Khazars' retaliatory raid into caliphal territory in 147/764–65 after the death of Khāṭūn. The name of the Khazar general responsible for this raid has provoked considerable debate. Łewond's Ṙažtʿarxan appears in Ṭabarī as Āstarkhān al-Khwārizmī.[89] This reference has led scholars to suggest that he was the leader (*ṭarkhān*) of the Ās, or Alans, which in turn may explain the claim that he was Khwārizmī, since Masʿūdī identifies the Lārsiyya (meaning the Alans) as originally Khwārizmī: "The

83 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 155–56; Pritsak, "Dawn of Christianity," 101. If we follow Pritsak's suggestion, Łewond's Xatʿun is the sister of the Roman empress Eirene, wife of Constantine V (r. 741–75).

84 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:393.

85 Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids," 81.

86 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:647; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 249.

87 For discussions of this marriage, see Czeglédy, "Khazar Raids"; Kurat, "Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Aʿtham al-Kūfī"; Noonan, "When and How."

88 Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*, chapter 3.

89 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:328.

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majority in this region are Muslims because they are the regiment of the king. They are known in this region as Lārsiyya. They emigrated from the environs of the land of Khwārizm. A long time ago, before the appearance of Islam, there was war and disease in their land, so they moved to the king of the Khazars" (والغالب فى هذا البلد المسلمون لانهم جند الملك وهم يعرفون فى هذا البلد باللارسية وهم ناقلة من نحو بلاد خوارزم وكان فى قديم الزمان بعد ظهور الاسلام وقع فى بلادهم حرب ووبا فانتقلوا الى ملك الخزر).[90] However, Łewond's Ṙažtʿarxan also appears in Yaʿqūbī with the spelling Rās Ṭarkhān; Yaʿqūbī may have derived the title from an Armenian source.[91] There are similarly multiple explanations for the term "Xatʿir Litʿber," which appears only in Łewond's narrative. First, Xatʿir Litʿber might render *Qaðır il täbär (Xatʿirlitʿbēr = Xatʿir il tʿbēr = Qaðır il täbär), the personal name of a commander rather than the name of the regiment itself.[92] Second, and less likely, Xatʿir may be a muddled reference to the Khazars as Xazirkʿ, such that the title "the täbär of the Khazars" would refer to Ṙažtʿarxan's title as the leader of the Khazars within a broader Western Turkic Khanate.[93]

Łewond's references to the geographical reach of Ṙažtʿarxan's campaign are more specific than those we find in the Arabic and Greek sources, which typically identify the raids vaguely as occurring in "Armenia."[94] By contrast, Łewond offers a list of places in Albania and Georgia that were captured by the Khazars. Most of these toponyms are not attested in Arabic. Exceptions include Քաղա (Kʿała; قلعة), Շաքէ (Šakʿē; شكى), Կամբեխշան (Kambexžan; قميبران), and Բաղասական (Bałasakan; بلاسجان). Further, Գազնակ (Gaznak) and Յորմի (Yormi) might refer to Գանձակ (Ganjak; جنزة) and Ուրմի (Urmia; ارمية), respectively. Ṭabarī claims that the raids took place in the region of Armenia but names only Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi explicitly; Yaʿqūbī similarly merely identifies their site as "in the region of Armenia."

Łewond's information here is geographically oriented, as he outlines districts in Albania and Georgia with explicit statements about the provincial delineation. Perhaps more interestingly, the placement of this geographical information sheds light on Łewond's active editing. At first, it seems that sections 36 and 37 are separate. Section 36 recounts the marriage of Xatʿun, her death, and the subsequent Khazar raids. Section 37 is thematically different and set off by a narrative marker used to introduce new material: "I will also speak once again" (ասացից դարձեալ և) [99v]. Section 37 describes caliphal governance, Arcruni raids into Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan, and the burdensome taxation imposed by the Arcrunikʿ. However, Łewond's listing of the districts in Albania and then in Georgia in section 36 is markedly paralleled by his listing of the districts in Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan in section 37. Łewond has interwoven material from different sources into these two accounts, but the structural parallelism between the Khazar and Arcruni raids cannot be fortuitous. Although a surface reading might suggest that Łewond is comparing the Arcrunikʿ to caliphal governors when he decries Arcruni deeds as "unpleasing to God, resembling the

90 Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:10; Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 152.

91 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:446; Markwart, *Streifzüge*, 355 n. 2; Dunlop, *Jewish Khazars*, 180 n. 43.

92 Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 197–98. Martin-Hisard identifies Xatʿir Litʿber as Ałp Iłutʿuēr, the Khazar leader who converted to Christianity and allied with the Albanians in 628 CE. However, although Ałp Iłutʿuēr may also be a title, these are different people: Ałp Iłutʿuēr is the Armenization of Alp il täbär.

93 Semenov, "Origin and Meaning."

94 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:328; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 433; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, 305.

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infidels" (անհաճոյ Աստուծոյ. նմանեալ անաւրինաց) [100r], the structure and placement of the account suggest that the "infidels" here are not in fact caliphal troops but the Khazars. Gagik's raids into Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan become an extension of the Khazar raids and are described as their continuation. Through his comparison of the Arcrunikʿ to infidels, Łewond doubly condemns them in relation to both the Khazar raids and to the rapacious taxation of the Caliphate.

The subsequent caliphal response is studiously ignored by Łewond, who dismisses Yazīd by claiming that "he only hid, living like an animal" (միայն դաւղեալ իբրև զանբան կալով) [99r]. By contrast, the Arabic histories describe his response to the Khazar incursions in greater or lesser detail. Yazīd reportedly gathered troops and moved against Sharwān before retreating to Bardhaʿa/Partaw. He then either went or, more believably, wrote to Baghdad to request more troops. He subsequently returned and took Bāb al-Abwāb, settling it with soldiers on a stipend.[95]

XIII.D. ENTER THE ARCRUNIKʿ

Although the Bagratunikʿ remain dominant in Łewond's *History*, we can observe the emerging centrality of the Arcruni house in medieval Armenian politics, a process that started before the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand. Łewond's treatment of the Arcrunikʿ hinges on his ideal of Armenian solidarity, which results in a highly contextualized assessment of the members of the family. He provides epic overtones to laud Arcruni heroes while comparing other members of the family to Khazars and/or Muslims (on which see above) and criticizing them for their lack of commitment to a unified Armenian front. The first reference to the Arcruni family during Manṣūr's caliphate relates the resistance and death of Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni as they fought some unidentified Sulaymān. Hamazasp was killed and so Sahak, overcome by grief, "dismounted from his horse, hamstrung it, and struggled furiously in single combat" (և ի խոնարհ անգեալ յերիվարէն, կարթակոտոր առնէր. և ինքն զայրագին անձամբ մենամարտէր) [97v]. Łewond may have relied on a hagiographical source for this material, but even such a confessionally bounded genre as hagiography reveals resonances to the broader cultural contexts of the medieval Near East. This formula, familiar already in an Iranian context, also appears to celebrate the heroes of early Islamic history despite the prohibition against killing horses under Islamic law.[96]

Łewond also relates the story of Gagik Arcruni—the brother of the Hamazasp and Sahak discussed above and the father of the Hamazasp who fought at Arjīsh/Arčēš discussed below—and criticizes him for raiding neighboring territories and oppressing people through excessive taxation. "They [the Arcrunikʿ] committed deeds unpleasing to God, resembling the infidels, which was not pleasing to the Christians. He [Gagik Arcruni] also exacted taxes from the land and tormented [the people] with much anguish" (գործէին գործ անհաճոյ Աստուծոյ. նմանեալ անաւրինաց. որ ոչ վաել էր Քրիստոնէից: Պահանջէր և հարկ յաշխարհէն բազում տագնապաւ խոշտանգեալ) [100r]. Two caliphal generals, Rawḥ and then Mūsā, were sent to put a stop to Gagik's marauding. Mūsā finally captured him through deception, and Gagik died in prison. As discussed above, Łewond's description

95 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:394–96. Cf. Yaʿqūbī, *Taʿrīkh*, 446–77.

96 Cf. Māwardī, *Ordinances of Government*, 46.

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of Gagik's activities may have been intended to draw a comparison with the raids of the Khazars. However, the focus on taxation simultaneously establishes the "lawless acts" (գործ անաւրէնութեան) of the Arcrunikʿ as mirrors of caliphal administration.

XIII.E. REBELLIONS

Łewond catalogs a number of rebellions that occurred during the reign of Manṣūr, primarily in reaction to the taxation policy of the Caliphate. The rebellions were first led by members of the Mamikonean family, but they subsequently attracted the support of other *naxarar* families. The senior branch of the Bagratunikʿ, represented by Ašot Bagratuni, strongly cautioned against rebelling, even though his kinsmen Smbat Bagratuni, who was allied with the Mamikoneankʿ through marriage, and Vasak Bagratuni apparently supported the uprisings. From Łewond's account, it is clear that the earlier rebellions of Artawazd Mamikonean and then of Mušeł Mamikonean should be considered individual acts of revolt and were not associated with a broader movement. Mušeł's initial successes, however, prompted other houses—most notably the Arcrunikʿ—to undertake similar actions. The extent of coordination between the various houses is difficult to ascertain, particularly because of Łewond's rhetorical concern with the unity of the Armenian *naxararkʿ*.

XIII.E.1. A Two-Pronged Rebellion or Two Separate Rebellions?

The main participants in the rebellion(s) of 158/775 were the Mamikonean and Arcruni houses. The Arcrunikʿ were defeated at the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš, and the Mamikoneankʿ fell only nine days later at the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand. The Armenian leaders and *naxarar* houses involved in these two battles were different, and Ibn Aʿtham's account shows that the caliphal commanders and the provenance of the caliphal forces involved in the battles also differed (table 4). Although the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ clearly knew about each other's rebellions, the extent of coordination between the two fronts is unclear. The evidence from Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham could be marshaled either to claim that the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ worked together or, conversely, to suggest that the two separate rebellions unfurled simultaneously.

The first possibility is that the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ formed two prongs of a loosely affiliated rebellion. Łewond explicitly describes a meeting of the *naxarar* houses in which they all decided to rebel against caliphal governance against the advice of Ašot Bagratuni: "All of the Armenian *naxararkʿ* gathered in one place" (ժողովեալ *ամենայն* նախարարքՀայոց ի մի վայր) [107r]. Łewond also repeatedly refers to a plan involving multiple *naxarar* houses (on which see below). The meeting and these references to a plan suggest that a coordinated military offensive was agreed upon, and there is some evidence to support such an interpretation. The primary objective of both the Mamikonean and Arcruni rebellions seems to have been to attack the two garrisons of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Ibn Aʿtham explains that the caliphal governor Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba had appointed his sons to govern various cities of the North. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan was responsible for Qālīqalā/Karin and Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ. The heart of the Mamikonean rebellion was the siege of Qālīqalā/Karin, one of his main garrisons, whereas both Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham assert that Manṣūr's reinforcements gathered at Muḥammad's other garrison in Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ. The

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Table 4. The battles of Arjīsh/Arčēš and Baghrawand/Bagrewand.

	Battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš	**Battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand**
Date	9 Jumādā II 158/April 15, 775	18 Jumādā II 158/April 24, 775
Armenian leader	Hamazasp Arcruni	Mušeł Mamikonean
Noble houses	Arcrunikʿ, Amatunikʿ, Trunikʿ	Mamikoneankʿ, Gnunikʿ
Starting point of Armenian forces	Barkrī/Berkri	Qālīqalā/Karin
Bagratuni involvement	Vasak Bagratuni	Smbat and Sahak Bagratuni
Caliphal general	Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan and his father (according to Ibn Aʿtham), ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl (according to Łewond)	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, with reinforcements from Manṣūr (according to Ibn Aʿtham), ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl (according to Łewond)
Starting point of caliphal forces	Bardhaʿa/Partaw (according to Ibn Aʿtham), Akhlāt/Xlatʿ (according to Łewond)	Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ, with reinforcements from Baghdad

Arcrunikʿ and their allies mustered at Barkrī/Berkri before attacking Arjīsh/Arčēš. This trajectory places them directly en route from their home territory in Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan to Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ (see map 5). The "plan" that Łewond mentions multiple times may have been for Mamikonean forces to attack Muḥammad's garrison at Qālīqalā/Karin while the Arcruni assailed his base at Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ. The two prongs would have forced Muḥammad b. Ḥasan into a two-front war and decreased the possibility that one of his garrisons could send reinforcements to the other. Such a strategy might explain why the Mamikoneankʿ lifted the siege of Qālīqalā/Karin when they heard that the Arcrunikʿ were in trouble and hurried back across the Aracani River to face a caliphal army at Arjni in the direction of the Arcruni forces. Had there been no coordination between the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ at all, it would be difficult to explain the Mamikonean course of action.

On the other hand, it is just as possible to read Łewond's and Ibn Aʿtham's accounts and conclude that these were separate rebellions that unfolded simultaneously. Even though Łewond claims that all of the *naxararkʿ* gathered to discuss the plan, he also notes that the plan did not hold together. Furthermore, he admits that the *naxararkʿ* did not come together to create a single army; rather, each house remained in its own territory: "The *naxararkʿ* of the Arcruni house, Hamazasp and his brothers, along with their troops remained there in the regions of the land of Vaspurakan" (նախարարք տանն Արծրունեաց Համազասպ և եղբարք իւր և զաւրք նորին մնացին անդրէն ի կողմանս Վասպուրական աշխարհին) [109r]. Łewond's acknowledgment that the Arcrunikʿ did not join the rest of the *naxararkʿ* aligns with Ibn Aʿtham's description of the rebellions. Ibn Aʿtham claims that the Mamikoneankʿ rebelled with only the *naxararkʿ* who were in their own orbit, and that this provided an opportunity for the Arcrunikʿ to rebel in turn:

> [Mušeł] immediately wrote to his patricians who were near him and asked them to help him fight Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, and they agreed to that. Mūshābidh gathered the patricians and set them to war against him [Muḥammad]. Ḥamza b. Jājīq,

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> the lord of al-Basfurrajān,[97] heard this and gathered troops and set them to war against Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, who was in the city of Bardhaʿa at that time, and so he was at a loss and did not know what to do.
>
> كتب من ساعته إلى بطارقته الذين حوله فاستعان بهم على حرب محمد بن الحسن بن قحطبة، فأجابه إلى ذلك. فجمع موشابذ البطارقة وجعل يحاربه، وسمع بذلك حمرة بن جاجيق بطريق بلاد جرزان فجمع الجموع وجعل يقاتل ابراهيم بن الحسن بن قحطبة وهو يومئذ بمدينة برذعة، فضاق به الأمر ولم يدر ما يصنع.[98]

Ibn Aʿtham's account makes sense of the separate leadership, theaters of action, and objectives of the different participants in these rebellions. The rebellions were mutually responsive—the Arcruni leadership knew of the Mamikonean rebellion, and the Mamikoneankʿ were aware of what happened to the Arcrunikʿ—but they did not share a centralized plan.

Even though both Qālīqalā/Karin and Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ were controlled by the same commander, we cannot be certain that the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ planned their offensives together. It is possible that the Arcrunikʿ moved toward Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ for their own benefit, thinking to take advantage of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's preoccupation with the siege of Qālīqalā/Karin, rather than as part of a strategy coordinated with the Mamikoneankʿ. Similarly, the Mamikonean decision to abandon the siege of Qālīqalā/Karin and head toward Bagrewand may not have been an attempt to assist the Arcrunikʿ. Łewond claims that the Mamikoneankʿ traveled toward the Arcrunikʿ only *after* they heard of the defeat at Arjīsh/Arčēš: "When word of the defeat of the regiment reached the city of Karin, the hearts of the warriors of the Armenian forces deserted them and they abandoned the siege of the city" (իբրև էհաս զրոյց պարտութեան գնդին ի քաղաքն Կարնոյ. յայնժամ լքաւ սիրտ արանց պատերազմողաց զաւրացն Հայոց) [112v]. This passage merely claims that the Mamikoneankʿ knew of the fate of the Arcrunikʿ, not that they worked together or that the Mamikoneankʿ sought to relieve the Arcrunikʿ. Hearing of the caliphal victory at Arjīsh/Arčēš, the Mamikoneankʿ may have feared that they would have been trapped outside the walls of Qālīqalā/Karin, squeezed between Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's garrison in the city and Manṣūr's reinforcements from Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ. In order to avoid this predicament, they may have preferred to attack Manṣūr's troops head on.

In sum, the information available on the events of 158/775 is ambiguous and supports differing possible interpretations. The Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ may have been working together, as two prongs of a single rebellion, united by a single plan. Alternatively, they may have taken advantage of the chaos of the moment to rebel, each with their own strategy and objective. Although both Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham indicate that the leaders knew of each other's revolts, the level of coordination between the Mamikoneankʿ and the Arcrunikʿ remains uncertain.

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97 Vacca, "Al-Basfurrağān": The name is mispointed and the title corrupted such that "Ḥamra b. Jurjīq, the patrician of the land of Jurzān" (حمرة بن جرجيق بطريق بلاد جرزان) should read as "Ḥamza b. Jājīq, the patrician of al-Basfurrajān" (حمزة بن جاجيق بطريق البسفرجان), referring to Hamazasp the son of Gagik Arcruni, the patrician of Vaspurakan.

98 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:396.

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XIII.E.2. The Bagratunik‘ and the Rhetoric of Unity

Łewond contextualizes all of the rebellions—including the first, under Artawazd—with unifying language: "For when the Armenian *naxarark‘* saw the dangerous anxieties coming over them, they risked their lives and undertook things that they were not able to accomplish, since they were few, but they considered a brave death to be better than a perilous life. They undertook acts of rebellion and renounced Ishmaelite subjugation" (Քանզի իբրև տեսին նախարարք Հայոց զվտանգ տարակուսանացն հասեալ ի վերա ինքեանց. եդին զոգի ի ձեռին իւրեանց և ձեռնամուխ եղեն յիրս որ ոչ կարէին վճարել. վ*ասն* զի նուազունք էին: Այլ սակայն լաւ համարե*ալ* զմահ քաջութե*ամբ*՝ քան զկեանս վտանգաւոր. և ձեռնամուխ եղեն յիրս ապստամբութե*ան*. և ի բաց կացին ի հնազանդութենէն Իսմաելի) [103r]. Once Mušeł had rebelled, Łewond repeatedly refers to a plan shared by the Armenian *naxarark‘*: "Then, when the Armenian *naxarark‘* saw this success, they were of one mind to pursue this mindless plan, for they thought that the time of Ishmaelite rule had expired" (Ապա իբրև զայս յաջողուած գործոյ տեսանէին նախարարք Հայոց. ամենեքեան միամտեալ ընթանային զհետ անմիտ խորհրդին. զի կարծէին լցեալ զժամանակ իշխանութե*ան*ն Իսմաելի) [106r]. When Ašot Bagratuni warned them of the folly of their actions, they chose "to remain steadfast in the proposed deed and not to condemn themselves through any irresolution" (կալ պնդակազմ ի գործն առաջարկեալ. և մի ինչ երկմտութե*ամբ* ըստգտանել զանձինս) [108v–109r]. When Ašot Bagratuni subsequently advised the Mamikoneank‘ and the Arcrunik‘ to work together, they rejected his counsel and "still thought to complete their proposed plan" (տակաւին զառաջի արկեալն իւրեանց խոկային կատարել) [110r–v]. The Arcrunik‘, hearing of the presence of caliphal reinforcements at Arjīsh/Arčēš, "were all still wanting to go forth with this plan" (մինչդեռ զայս խորհուրդ առհասարակ կամէին կատարել) [110v–111r]. Outnumbered at the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, the Mamikonean forces prayed and "stopped at nothing to proceed with the plan" (ոչ ինչ կասեցին յառաջի արկեալ խորհրդէն) [114r]. Although he omits numerous houses, Łewond's association of each of these houses with a singular plan projects a sense of Armenian unity. His assertion that the rebellions involved all the Armenian *naxarark‘* may be rhetorical hyperbole, but in combination with his repeated references to a plan and his indiscriminate use of the phrase "Armenian forces," he produces a sense of unified Armenian action.

However, even as he maintains that the Armenian *naxarark‘* adhered to a plan until the bitter end, Łewond disparages their lack of unity: "The incorrigible perversity of the weak plan soon appeared, for they broke from one another and were disunited" (Որոյ անուղղայ կամակորութի*ւն*ն ջաղջախուն խորհրդին անդէն ընդ հուպ երևէր. զի քակեալ ի միմեանց անմիաբանք լինէին) [109r]. Ascribing military failure to disunity among the *naxarar* houses is a historiographical trope in Armenian, so Łewond's complaint may stand in for criticism of a strategy that included a two-pronged attack by design instead of fighting as a single force. Łewond has Ašot Bagratuni make this point immediately prior to the Arcruni attack on Arjīsh/Arčēš. Ašot alerted the other *naxarark‘* that caliphal reinforcements had arrived in Akhlāṭ/Xlat‘, so that they "could gather in one place to live or die with one another" (զի ուր ուրեք և իցեն ի մի վայր զումարեսցին, կալ և մեռանէլ ի վերա միմեանց) [110r]. But distrusting Ašot, the other *naxarark‘* once again refused to follow his advice.

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Łewond's ideological support of the Bagratunikʿ further complicates our reading of his account. He emphasizes the sagacity of the advice provided by Ašot, who first counsels against rebellion and then advocates fighting as a single force, over the fact that the other *naxararkʿ* mistrusted him because of his relationship with caliphal power. At the same time, he explicitly identifies other Bagratunikʿ who joined the rebellions: Vasak Bagratuni helped the Arcrunikʿ at Arjīsh/Arčēš, and the *sparapet* Smbat Bagratuni and Sahak Bagratuni died on the field at Baghrawand/Bagrewand. In his version of events, Łewond presents the Bagratunikʿ as omnipresent actors, rather than as a family whose loyalties were divided.

Łewond's ideological commitment to the Bagratunikʿ is brought into greater relief by Ibn Aʿtham, who does not mention Bagratuni involvement at any point. Instead, he focuses solely on Mušeł Mamikonean and Hamazasp Arcruni as the main agitators of the rebellions. Unlike Łewond, he does not suggest that all of the *naxararkʿ* conferred from the start or that they shared a single plan. Rather, he explains that Mušeł Mamikonean engaged in a personal argument with Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Mušeł "immediately wrote to his patricians who were near him" (كتب من ساعته الى بطارقته الذين حوله), not to all of the Armenian *naxararkʿ*. Hamazasp Arcruni then took this opportunity to rebel. Ibn Aʿtham thus grants no role to the Bagratunikʿ and makes no argument for the unity of the *naxararkʿ*. After asserting that Hamazasp rebelled, Ibn Aʿtham admittedly ignores the Arcrunikʿ entirely and refers to the rebels in generalizing terms reminiscent of Łewond: "The infidels from every region gathered against him [Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan] to defend Mūshābidh from them" (اجتمع إليه الكفار من كل ناحية غضباً منهم لموشابذ).[99] However, with this passage Ibn Aʿtham is not asserting the unity of the Armenian houses, to which he seems largely indifferent. Rather, by referring to an extensive gathering of infidels from all regions, he emphasizes the extent of the dangers facing the children of Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba.

XIII.F. AN ARABIC SOURCE ON THE BATTLE OF BAGHRAWAND/BAGREWAND

Despite the status of Baghrawand/Bagrewand as a "watershed" in medieval Armenian history,[100] the Armenian historical tradition is surprisingly sparse on the battle's details. It is not described in the fourth/tenth-century Armenian sources ascribed to Dasxuancʿi, Drasxanakertcʿi, or Tʿovma Arcruni. It also does not appear in the fifth/eleventh-century *History* of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, who in other places follows Łewond's narrative quite closely. This silence regarding the battle in Armenian sources of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries lends indirect support to Łewond's claim that he gained his information on it from conversations with members of the caliphal army: "As we learned from the very enemy himself" (որպէս ուսաք ի նոյն ինքն ի թշնամեացն) [114v]. His reliance on Arabic sources, despite the fact that the battle occurred in Łewond's own lifetime, reinforces the impression that the battle did not loom large in contemporary Armenian imagination.

Łewond refers to "a large regiment from the house of the land of Khorasan" (զուսդ բազում ի տոհմէ Խորասան աշխարհին) [102r] and, later, to troops "from the regiment of the house of Khorasan" (ի տոհմէ Խորասան զնդին) [109v]. Martin-Hisard has pointed out

99 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:396.

100 Some of the ideas developed below first appeared in Vacca, "Khurāsānī and Transoxanian Ostikans." The interpretations have been extended here.

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that the word "army" or "regiment" in Armenian—qnıմդ (*gund*)—is analogous to the Arabic جند (*jund*).[101] The use of the word for "house" here—unnhմ (*tohm*)—is equally interesting; it is unusual to see it applied to a province as a whole, as it normally refers to an extended family unit. The Armenian *tohm* renders the Arabic اهل, which can also refer to a noble house in the sense of اهل بيت. Łewond is in fact translating here the idiomatic Arabic phrase من اهل خراسان (*min ahl Khurāsān*), which literally means "from among the people of Khorasan" but which appears in early ʿAbbāsid texts to refer to the army with its large number of Khurāsānī soldiers. This opens the possibility that Łewond or his source were aware of commonly used vocabulary in Arabic, whether in writing or conversationally.

Łewond's reliance on Arabic sources is confirmed by a chronological discrepancy. Łewond claims that the caliph Manṣūr sent a general named Amr to reinforce Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba when the Mamikoneanʿ rebelled. Balādhurī identifies this general as ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl (فبعث اليه المنصور الامداد وعليهم عامر بن اسماعيل),[102] a famous Ḥārithī general in the service of the ʿAbbāsids. The problem is that ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl died in Baghdad in 157/774. The caliph himself prayed over his body, and he was buried in the ʿAbbāsid family cemetery.[103] Therefore, if we follow Łewond's dating, ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl was already dead by the time of the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand. Łewond claims that the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš occurred on a Saturday, the fourth day of the Armenian month of Hroticʿ, whereas the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand fell on a Monday, the fourteenth day of Hroticʿ. Modern scholars have identified these dates as April 15 and 24, 775 CE, respectively, which correspond to 9 and 18 Jumādā II 158. Łewond further clarifies that al-Manṣūr "received the curses of the prophet [Habakkuk] and soon died there desperately in that same year" (ընդունէր զմարգարէին նզովսն և յուսակորոյս սատակէր անդէն ընդ հուպ ի նմին ամի) [117r]. This confirms the year he means, as Manṣūr died on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijja 158, or October 7, 775.

This chronological discrepancy can be reconciled through analysis of narratives provided by Ibn Aʿtham. Ibn Aʿtham reports two different rebellions in the caliphal North during the caliphate of Manṣūr: one by the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ and the other by the Armenians. Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba first arrived in Armenia with an army of soldiers from Khurāsān, Syria, and Iraq. He faced a rebellion of the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ, so he wrote to Manṣūr, who dispatched ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Jurjānī al-Ḥārithī, ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Khurāsānī, Faḍl b. Dīnār, and Muqātil b. Ṣāliḥ, along with 30,000 cavalry, to Jurzān/Kʿartʿli.[104] Ḥasan and ʿĀmir were victorious and defeated the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ in a single battle.[105] ʿĀmir returned to Baghdad, where he then died.[106] After describing the defeat of the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ, Ibn Aʿtham

101 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 158 n. 781.

102 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210.

103 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:380; Azdī, *Taʾrīkh al-Mawṣil*, 226.

104 The Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ are more typically placed in Khākhīṭ/Kaxetʿi, as Ibn Aʿtham attests by calling them أهل خاخيط. Both Khākhīṭ/Kaxetʿi and Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ are pointed incorrectly in the Hyderabad edition of the text, as حاحيط and الضيارية, respectively. It appears, then, that ʿĀmir used Jurzān/Kʿartʿli as his base to move against them. This makes sense, since the caliphal presence in the region was at Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi under Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan.

105 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:395–96.

106 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1106, also mentions ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī's campaign against the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ, but he then shifts to an account of governors in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Ṭabaristān at the end of Manṣūr's reign and does not mention any Armenian uprising.

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Table 5. The rebellions of 157/774 and 158/775 according to Łewond and Ibn Aʿtham.

	Łewond on Bagrewand	**Ibn Aʿtham on the Ṣanāriyya**	**Ibn Aʿtham on Bagrewand**
Year	158/775	157/774	158/775
General	Amr	ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl	Unknown
Number of troops	30,000 cavalry	30,000 cavalry	10,000 cavalry
Provenance of troops	Khurāsānī army	Khurāsānī, Syrian, and Iraqi army	Iraqi army
Base of caliphal forces	Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ	Tiflīs/Tʿpilisi	Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ

turns to the Armenian rebellion, led by Mūshābidh (موشابذ, a clear scribal error for موشائل, or Mušeł Mamikonean). Ibn Aʿtham constructs an argument between Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, the son of the governor of Armenia, and Mūshābidh that began when Muḥammad demanded that Mūshābidh gift him a signet ring. Mūshābidh refused, claiming that the ring was his father's and could not be passed on to others. Mūshābidh then rallied the Armenian noble houses against Muḥammad. Ḥasan again wrote to Manṣūr for reinforcements, and the latter sent 10,000 Iraqi troops. They gathered in Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ, Ḥasan joined them from Bardhaʿa/Partaw, and they engaged with the Armenian forces "on the shores of Lake Van" (على شاطئ بحيرة أخلاط).[107] The caliphal forces emerged victorious, looted a church, and then took the heads of Mūshābidh and his companions back to Manṣūr.

If we compare Ibn Aʿtham's two adjacent reports with Łewond's text, certain similarities emerge (table 5). This comparison shows that Łewond's account merges details from the two different rebellions. The name of the commanding officer, the number of troops, and the provenance of the troops are actually from the report on the rebellion of the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ, not from that on Baghrawand/Bagrewand. This is a common phenomenon in Arabic accounts of the conquests, as stories with similar content often include wandering details that jump from one story to the next. L. Conrad has demonstrated how details about the conquests of Mediterranean islands migrated from one island to the next as the stories of the conquests were transmitted by word of mouth.[108] Something similar happened here in reports about rebellions in the North.

Details about the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ were already intertwined with the report about the rebellion of the Armenians before Łewond heard the story. We can surmise this because Balādhurī also places the deceased general ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl on the field against Mūshāʾīl al-Armanī:

> Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl informed me on the authority of some shaykhs that the people of Armenia rebelled during the governorship of Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭāʾī after [Yazīd] Ibn Usayd and Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī were dismissed. Their leader was Mūshāʾīl al-Armanī. So Manṣūr sent reinforcements to him under the command of

107 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:396.

108 Conrad, "Conquest of Arwād."

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> ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl. Ḥasan fought Mūshāʾīl, who was killed, and his forces were scattered. So things fell into line for him [Ḥasan].
>
> وحدثنى محمد بن اسماعيل عن المشيخة انّ اهل ارمينية انتقضوا فى ولاية الحسن بن قحطبة الطائى بعد عزل ابن أسيد وبكّار ابن مسلم العقيلى وكان رئيسهم موشائيل الارمنى فبعث اليه المنصور الامداد وعليهم عامر بن اسماعيل فواقع الحسن موشاعيل فقتل وفضت جموعه واستقامت له الامور.[109]

Balādhurī does not offer much to inform the general narrative, but he does confirm that the placement of ʿĀmir against the Armenians (instead of against the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ) is not exclusive to Łewond. Given the problematic chronology—notably, the death of ʿĀmir in 157/774—Ibn Aʿtham's account is to be preferred. However, the fact that both Łewond and Balādhurī place ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl at the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand implies that the alternative narrative circulated early and that the omission of the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ is unlikely to have been Łewond's own editorial decision.

Given that Łewond's version of the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand relies in part on Arabic stories, we can look to Ibn Aʿtham to fill in some of the lacunae in his text. The most obvious example is Łewond's reference to an unidentified Muḥammad, who, Arzoumanian and Martin-Hisard suggest, may be the caliphal governor of Dabīl/Duin. However, Ibn Aʿtham explains that Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba placed his sons over various cities in the North:

> Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba remained in Armenia. He drew near until he settled in Bardhaʿa [Partaw]. He summoned his son named Qaḥṭaba and invested him over Bāb al-Abwāb [Darband]. He summoned his son Ibrāhīm and invested him [to rule] over Jurzān [Kʿartʿli] from Tiflīs and its environs. He summoned his son Muḥammad and invested him over Fourth Armenia from the land of Akhlāṭ [Xlatʿ], Qālīqalā [Karin], and its environs.
>
> وبقى الحسن بن قحطبة بأرمينية، فأقبل حتى نزل إلى مدينة برذعة، ودعا بابن يقال له قحطبة فولاه الباب والأبواب، ودعا بابنه إبراهيم فولاه بلاد جرزان من تفليس وما والاها، ودعا بابنه محمد فولاه إرمينية الرابعة من بلاد أخلاط وقاليقلا وما والاها.[110]

As we saw above, Ibn Aʿtham explains the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand as the result of demands that Muḥammad b. Ḥasan made of Mušeł Mamikonean. In this passage, Ibn Aʿtham refers to Mūshābidh—Mušeł Mamikonean—as a patrician of Fourth Armenia: "In Fourth Armenia, there was a patrician whose name was Mūshābidh, who was one of the princes and lords of Rome" (وكان بارمينية الرابع بطريق يقال له موشابذ وكان من أبناء ملوك الروم وساداتهم).[111] This confirms that Mušeł was within the territory controlled by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Interestingly, Muḥammad used Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ as his base instead of Dabīl/Duin, which explains why the caliphal forces rallied there. Given this evidence, it is clear that Łewond's previously unidentified Muḥammad is in fact the son of the caliphal governor Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba. It also seems that the choice of Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ as the headquarters of the caliphal army was prompted solely by Ḥasan's investment of his son Muḥammad there; no other evidence suggests that the city was particularly important as a garrison.

109 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210.

110 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:396.

111 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:396.

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Unfortunately, Ibn Aʿtham's text does not help us identify the general working under Muḥammad, Apunčip (Ապունճիպ) [105v], which apparently renders a name such as Abū Najīb.

XIII.G. ŁEWOND'S INTEGRATION OF GREEK VOCABULARY

Łewond's description of Manṣūr's caliphate includes several words that demonstrate Greek influence, though these are isolated cases that likely evince the integration of Greek words into Armenian rather than an underlying Greek source.

The most likely passage to derive directly from Greek is Łewond's reference to the "Saracen" inhabitants of Theodosiopolis [96r]. Both the ethnonym and the toponym are Greek and uncommon in early medieval Armenian texts, which points to the possibility of a Greek source for this material. Łewond employs the word "Saracen" also earlier, but most of these references occur in the correspondence attributed to ʿUmar and Leo, which was translated from Greek. The name Թէոդոսպաւլիս renders the Greek version of the toponym Theodosiopolis (Θεοδοσιούπολις), which usually appears as Karin (Կարին) in Armenian. When paired with the word "city" as Karnoy Kʿałakʿ, the Armenian serves as the basis for the Syriac Qalīnqalā (ܩܠܝܢܩܠܐ), the Arabic Qālīqalā (قاليقلا), and the Georgian Karnu Kʿalakʿi (კარნუ ქალაქი).[112] Łewond noticeably switches back to the Armenian Karin in the same paragraph. He also repeats the toponym Theodosiopolis later in this chapter [107r], though he explains to the reader that he means Karin.

Another toponym in this section is also Greek, although it probably constitutes evidence of the convoluted transmission of geographical material between Armenian and Greek and does not attest to an underlying Greek source. Łewond refers to control "over the Egerians and the Vēřia, who are Georgians" (ի վերա Եգերացւոց և ի վերա Վէռիայ որ են Վիրք) [104r]. Vēřia here renders the Greek Ἰβηρία, which Łewond then translates for an Armenian audience with the comment "who are Georgians." This likely does not come directly from a Greek text, as a similar snippet also appears in the short recension of Širakacʿi's first/seventh-century *Ašxarhacʿoycʿ*: "Veřia, that is Virkʿ" (Վեռիա է, այսինքն Վիրք).[113] Širakacʿi rightly understands Veřia as a toponym, though Łewond apparently takes it to be an ethnonym. This suggests that Łewond did not recognize the underlying Greek Ἰβηρία.

Finally, Łewond employs words for priest (եռիէս) and pontiff (պապաս) that are both loanwords from Greek (ἱερεύς and πάππας, respectively) and uncommon in Armenian [114v]. Martin-Hisard claims that this is evidence of his Arabic source: "Les Arabes, dont le témoinage est cité, ne connaissent pas les équivalents arméniennes de ces termes: *erēcʿ* et *kʿahanay*; c'est là une eloquent témoinage de l'authenticité des sources de Łewond."[114] But this claim is untenable for three reasons. First, πάππας could not yield պապաս if it were transmitted via Arabic because Arabic does not have a "p" sound. Had Łewond's text rendered the Greek as *բաբաս, an Arabic intermediary would be feasible. Second, neither يائيري (rendering ἱερεύς) nor بيباص (πάππας) is attested this early. And third, բահանայ is

112 On the name Qālīqalā, see Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*.

113 Širakacʿi, "Ašxarhacʿoycʿ," 348.

114 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 180–81 n. 897.

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a cognate of the Semitic ܟܗܢܐ/كاهن/כוהן; as such, the Armenian word for "priest" would have been comprehensible in Arabic—certainly far more than ἱερεύς. Accordingly, these unusual terms are evidence of the integration of Greek terminology into Armenian vocabulary, rather than of the transmission of historical accounts from Arabic into Armenian.

Although these examples cannot show that Łewond heard material in Greek and integrated it into his *History*, they do attest to a linguistically fluid environment in which specific vocabulary and short phrases could pass from one language to the next. In addition to the Greek words already mentioned, the word for "royal highway" appears as պողոտայ, from πλατεῖα (a word that was internalized into Syriac, too, as ܦܠܛܝܐ [105v, 112r]). We also find a Greek title in this passage, as Hrahat Mamikonean is referred to as the "count" (կոմս) [104r], from the Greek κόμης (ܩܘܡܝܣ).

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XIV The Caliphate of Muḥammad al-Mahdī

r. AH 158–69/775–85 CE

If Łewond's extended discussion of Manṣūr's reign largely focused on Armenian territory, his account of Manṣūr's successor, Mahdī, looks elsewhere. The majority of chapter XIV focuses on the *ṣawāʾif,* summer expeditions by ʿAbbāsid and Roman forces across the western reaches of Anatolia. Łewond traces four of these campaigns, which he construes as the acts of caliphs and emperors rather than as acts of their generals and armies. With his focus on high-level politics, Łewond studiously ignores some of the important generals mentioned in Greek and Arabic accounts of these campaigns. This selectiveness makes his insertion of Armenian players into this broader drama even more noteworthy, as if he is arguing for the importance of Armenians in directing ʿAbbāsid-Roman relations. In particular, Łewond describes the defection of Tačat Anjewacʿi, who switches his allegiance to Mahdī after more than twenty years in Roman service. The focus on Tačat casts Armenia as a key player in imperial interactions. Even while demonstrating the mobility of elites across the political landscape, Tačat's story also reveals the tensions between the prince of Armenia and the caliphal governor.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

43. And after this, his [Manṣūr's] son Muḥammad al-Mahdī succeeded to his kingdom. He was more noble than his father and better in conduct. He opened all of his treasuries that the impious ʿAbd Allāh had kept locked and distributed pensions to his troops. He also allowed merchants to forgo border gates for their merchandise and to fulfill the needs of those in want. The land was abundant, and the discovery of silver spread. The inhabitants of the land experienced a reprieve from the violent collection of taxes, for although he overloaded the iron yoke of taxes, still this land received a small respite from the evil peril of distress due to the discovery of silver, since mountains of silver were revealed in this land of Armenia, [and they were able] to apportion [118v] from them stores of pure silver for the needs of the people in the days of his reign.

And he, Muḥammad, began to assault the kingdom of the Greeks. He gathered forces and handed them to a

Muḥammad b. Abū Jaʿfar, known as al-Mahdī (r. 775–85): ʿAbbāsid caliph whose reign was famous for the entrenchment in power of a famous family of viziers called the "Barmakids" and for his persecution of *zindīqs*, or heretics. As Łewond's text certainly attests, the ʿAbbāsids were particularly focused on Roman power in this period.

The reference to **border gates** suggests that there were checkpoints for collecting customs taxes from merchants.

Discovery of silver: modern scholars have appealed to Łewond's passage here to explain the pattern of coins being minted at Bājunays/Apahunikʿ, the area to the west of Lake Van in eastern Turkey (fig. 15).

Summer campaigns: the ʿAbbāsids launched annual summer raids (*ṣawāʾif*) into Roman territory in the late 770s and early 780s.

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Figure 15. Coin minted Bājunays/Apahunikʿ in 191/806–7, during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. ANS 1921.999.60. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. Reproduced with permission.

general, his brother, whose name was ʿAbbās. He sent him to the land of the Greeks, for in the same year as ʿAbd Allāh's death, the emperor Constantine died and his son Leo succeeded to his father's throne. While that one was contemplating raiding the land of the Greeks with his forces, the [Greek] king suddenly sent a large force to Basanastan, which is called Bišan. He appointed three generals over them, two of whom were Armenian *naxarark*ʿ. One of them was named Tačat from the house of the Anjewacʿikʿ, the second was Artawazd [119r] from the Mamikonean house, and the other one was from the Greek troops. They advanced with many troops and arrived in the region of the Cilicians and Bišan. They spread their raids over the land and took many cities, districts, and villages. As for those who came out to war against them, they dashed them to pieces like dust. They took many of the commoners and carried them off as booty. It is said that the captives numbered more than fifteen thousand men, whom they brought into the land of the Greeks. They went to meet the emperor of the Greeks with much booty, and the emperor Leo received his troops with great praise and bestowed great honors upon his commanders. And they stopped [raiding] for that year.

ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad: the brother of Saffāḥ and Manṣūr. He served as governor of Mesopotamia from 759 to 772 and died in 802. He was responsible for Mahdī's attack on Asia Minor in 776.

Leo IV (r. 775–80): Roman emperor, later named "the Khazar" because he was the son of Constantine V and Eirene, his Khazar wife.

Basanastan: Albistān in modern south-central Turkey, also referred to as Bišan.

Generals: Łewond notes that there were three Roman generals, but he names only the two Armenian generals and omits the name of the third, Greek general. The latter, according to Arabic and Greek sources, was Michael Lachanodrakon (d. 792).

Tačat Anjewacʿi: Roman general and governor who served under Constantine V and fought the Bulgars. His offensive against Commagene is dated to 776–77. He defected to the ʿAbbāsids and became the prince of Armenia in 781 or 782. He died in 785.

Artawazd Mamikonean: this Artawazd might be the Artawazd Mamikonean who rebelled against Marwān b. Muḥammad and then fled to Georgia in 749.

For that year: the year 778.

44. But the next year the Ishmaelite prince sent envoys, [119v] as if he wanted to intimidate [them] through bragging; he was greatly puffed up with pride. As we heard, he ordered them to take with the message two bushels of mustard seeds and wrote to the king of the Greeks: "I will soon send my many troops over your land, in accordance with the number of mustard seeds that you see, should the area of your land be sufficient to receive my innumerable troops! But now, if perhaps you have the strength, prepare to come against me in war." When the emperor read the letter, nothing disturbed him from his plan. Instead, he sent an answer with a steadfast mind. He said: "Men do not attain

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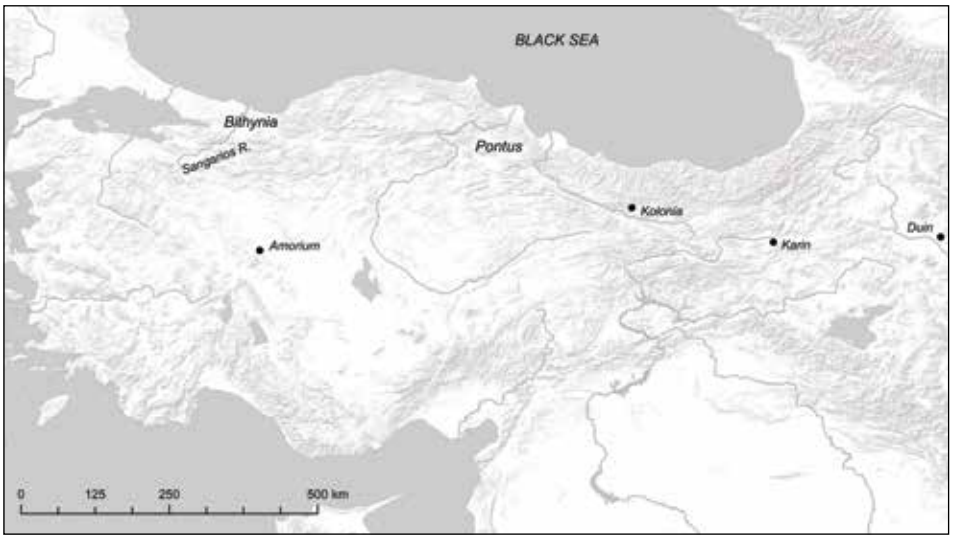

Map 14. The *ṣawāʾif* during the reign of Mahdī.

victory on their own. Rather, God grants it. For God is able to give your troops as food to my troops, according to the parable of the mustard seed that you sent.[1] But do what you promised to do, [120r] and whatever is pleasing to the will of God will be completed." At that time an order went out from the emperor to relocate the inhabitants of the land to fortified cities and strong towers.

The Ishmaelite prince gathered innumerable forces and appointed a general, the same man whom we discussed above, over them. He sent them in [their] multitude against the land of the Greeks. They arrived in the land of the Galatians and besieged the large city called Amorium. The troops in [their] multitude encamped around it, besieged it, and held it for about three months. But they were not able to take it, since it was fortified with a wall. The surroundings also did not offer even the slightest cover, for the sources of the Sangarios River bubble up around the city, and through them the secure position of the city remained impregnable in its marshy mire; and [120v] they were not able to harm anything. Instead, they only sat and guarded [it]. Then Yazīd [b. Usayd], who was the governor of this land of Armenia, also gathered his troops to arrive in aid of the general ʿAbbās. He headed toward the region of Pontus and arrived in the cities of Kolonia fortress, Govatʿa, and Kastiłon and the district of Maritʿenēs. He engaged and battled against them but gained nothing from it. He returned

The same man whom we discussed above: Arabic and Greek sources identify this general as Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, who was indeed discussed at great length in chapter XIII. However, Łewond seems to be referring to ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, whom he has just mentioned. It is possible that this confusion stems from stitching together multiple sources.

Land of the Galatians: in central Anatolia, modern Turkey.

Amorium: a stronghold in Phrygia south of the Sangarios River in modern central Turkey (map 14). Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, who later served as the governor of Armenia, led the unsuccessful siege of the city in 779. The city did not fall into ʿAbbāsid hands until 838.

Yazīd b. Usayd [or Asīd] al-Sulamī: the governor of Armenia, on whom see 95v.

The location of **Govatʿa**, **Kastiłon**, **and Maritʿenēs** is not exactly known. For the other locations mentioned here, see map 14.

1 Cf. Matthew 17:19; Luke 17:6.

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to this land of Armenia in deep shame. The Ishmaelite forces also abandoned the siege of the city of Amorium and went to the land of their own dwelling.

45. We still have to discuss what we intended to before. For in the seventh year of Muḥammad's [reign], the emperor Leo, the son of Constantine, died and his son Constantine, a very young child, ruled instead of him. When the [121r] Ishmaelite prince Muḥammad saw the death of the king of the Greeks, he gathered a large force, appointed Hārūn, his son, their general, and sent them against the land of the Greeks. And when the Ishmaelite forces arrived in the land of the Greeks, the Greek forces came out against them. They camped and watched each other. They [the Greeks] blocked their [the Arabs'] routes, and the Ishmaelite forces were not able to go out in search of food; there was a great famine in the Ishmaelite camp.

The **seventh year of Mahdī's reign** fell in 781 or 782. Leo IV died in 780; his son, Constantine VI, had been crowned in 776, but Eirene ruled as regent until 790.

Hārūn b. Muḥammad: later known as caliph by the regnal name Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809). Before becoming caliph, he led expeditions against the Roman Empire in both 779–80, taking Samālū, and 781–82, reaching as far as the Bosporus. He was named governor over Armenia, as well as Azerbaijan, Egypt, Syria, and Ifrīqiyya, in the 780s.

Now Tačat the son of Grigor, who was from the house of the Anjewacʿikʿ and whom we mentioned earlier, had at some time fled from the Ishmaelite prince to the emperor Constantine [V] in the land of the Greeks. The latter received him with great joy and honored him with splendor on account of his bravery, for he was aware of his bravery from earlier renown. [121v] He proved his bravery to the king in the regions of the Sarmatians, who are called the Bulgars, and he returned with great victories. The emperor saw the courage of his heart. He appointed him general over sixty thousand men, and he served the Greek king for twenty-two years. Then, after the death of Constantine [V] and his son Leo, Constantine [VI] held power. The queen, who was Emperor Constantine's mother, treated him [i.e., Tačat] with disdain. For that reason, he reached out to the Ishmaelite prince. For when the Ishmaelite force was besieged by the Greeks, he requested a letter of oath from them to return from there to his own land, and he promised to relieve them from their siege and take them to the land where they lived. The Ishmaelite prince heard this and fulfilled his request promptly. He also gave him, [122r] by oath, everything that he requested of them. Trusting in that written oath, he went out from the land of the Greeks with his entire house and relieved the Ishmaelite troops from the siege there. Hārūn, the son of the Ishmaelite prince, called him his father and gave him magnificent honors. When Tačat met the Ishmaelite prince, he [Hārūn] thanked him [Tačat] profusely and loaded him with many goods from the royal treasury. He gave him the honor of being prince

Whom we mentioned earlier: see 118v.

Sarmatians: the Bulgar Khanate, which by the early ninth century shared the Roman Empire's northern border.

The queen: Eirene of Athens, to be differentiated from Eirene of Khazaria. She ruled as regent for her son Constantine VI before becoming sole empress (r. 797–802).

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over this land of Armenia and sent him to his land with great splendor.

But when Prince Tačat arrived in our land of Armenia by order of the Ishmaelite prince, he was not accepted by ʿUthmān, who was the governor and chief over this land. He did not fulfill his prince's orders but tarried and sent envoys to their prince. [122v] [They said]: "These Armenian *naxarark*ʿ have no desire for harmony; if [you] appoint a man who rebelled from your rule and aided the king of the Greeks prince over those who have been subject to your rule, perhaps he may betray our forces." Although Tačat wanted to inform the Ishmaelite prince about their [i.e., ʿUthmān and his men's] rebuffing of his rule many times, he was not able to because they guarded the entrances to the roads everywhere and seized the envoys that he sent and threw them in prison. His complaint did not reach Prince Muḥammad [al-Mahdī] nor his son Hārūn until the end of that year. After that, his appeal reached Prince Muḥammad and his son Hārūn, creating great agitation for ʿUthmān, the governor of this land. He unwillingly ceded power [123r] to Tačat by order of the Ishmaelite prince.

ʿUthmān: ʿUthmān b. ʿUmāra b. Khuraym (or Ḥuraym) was governor of Armenia from 783 to 785.

Then after that ʿUthmān gathered the troops of the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ in the land of the Albanians at the Caspian Gates in the city called Darband, which is fortified with walls and ramparts built against the forces of the Huns and the Khazars. He called Prince Tačat, the *sparapet* Bagarat, Nersēh Kamsarakan, and others from among the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ in the days of the burning dawn of Hephaestus's fiery head. He pitched his camp in the field called Kʿeran in the terrible and intolerable temperatures of excessive burning heat. He spent the entire summer in the furnace-like, rocky field. The Armenian *naxarark*ʿ were not able to endure it and they died from the burning air, which was perilous and took their lives. Prince [123v] Tačat, the *sparapet* Bagarat, Nersēh Kamsarakan, and others from the troops died. The Ishmaelite prince Muḥammad was extremely angry about the deplorable death of Prince Tačat and the *naxarark*ʿ who were with him. He revoked his [ʿUthmān's] authority and sent his replacement, a certain Rawḥ, to be prince and governor of this land of Armenia. Muḥammad reigned for eight years and, on the arrival of Rawḥ, he died.

The *sparapet* Bagarat: otherwise unattested. Łewond mentions another Bagarat, the father of Sahak Bagratuni, during the reign of Saffāḥ, but that Bagarat was likely already deceased by the reign of Mahdī.

Nersēh Kamsarakan: otherwise unattested. He should be distinguished from the Nersēh Kamsarakan who served as prince of Armenia until 691.

Hephaestus: the mention of Hephaestus, the Greek god of blacksmithing and fire who is said to live under Mount Etna, suggests the presence of volcanoes, which are corroborated in tenth-century Arabic texts.

Rawḥ: Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī served as governor of various provinces, including Sind, Palestine, Armenia, Kūfa, Baṣra, Ṭabaristān, and Ifrīqiyya, in quick succession over the reigns of five caliphs. He was the governor of Armenia from 785 to 786. Mahdī died in 785.

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ARMENIAN EDITION

խգ[2] Եւ յետ այսորիկ յաջորդէ զիշխանութի*ւն* նորա Մահմետ Մահադի որդի նորա. և սա էր ազնուական քան զհայր իւր և լաւագոյն բարուք. էբաց զ*ամենայն* տունս գանձուց զոր ախեալ պահէր ամբարիշտն Աբդլա.[3] և բաշխեաց պարգևս զաւրաց իւրոց. համարձակեաց և զդրունս մարգից. հանել զվաճառականսն ի վաճառս իւրեանց և լնուլ զպէտս կարաւտելոց. և եղև առատութի*ւն* երկրի և գիւտ արծաթոյ ընդարձակեցաւ. և բնակչաց երկրի անդորրութի*ւն* եղև ի հարկապահանջ բռնութենէ. զի թէպէտև զանուր լծոյ հարկին ծանրացոյց. սակայն վ*ասն* գիւտի արծաթոյն հանգեաւ երկիրս առ փոքր մի ի չար տառապանաց վտանգին. քանզի և լերինք արծաթոյ յայտնեցան յաշխարհիս Հայոց. հատանել ի [118v] նոցունց զխանութս արծաթոյ զտոյ առ ի պետս մարդկան յաւուրս իշխանութե*ան* նորա:

Եւ ինքն Մահմետ սկսաւ գոռալ ընդդէմ իշխանութե*ան*ն Յունաց. և գումարեալ զաւրս տայր ի ձեռս զաւրավարի միոջ իւրոյ եղբաւր որում անուն էր Աբաս, և առաքէ զնա յաշխարհն Յունաց. քանզի ի նոյն ամի սատակմանն Աբդլայի. վախճանեցաւ կայսրն Կոստանդին. եւ Լեւոն որդի նորա փոխանորդեալ զաթոռ հաւր իւրոյ: Եւ մինչդեռ նա զայս ածէր զմտաւ ի վերա աշխարհին Յունաց. ասպատակել[4] զաւրաւք ի վերա նորա. առաքէ վաղվաղակի արքայն զաւր բազում ի վերա Բասանաստանի որում Բիշանն կոչի. և կարգէ ի վերա նոցա զաւրավարս. *երեք*. որք էին. *երկու*. ի նոցանէն ի նախարար*աց* Հայոց. անուն միումն Տաճատ ի տանէ Անձևացեաց. և երկրորդն Արտաւազդ [119r] ի տանէ Մամիկոնեանց. և միւսն ի զաւրացն Յունաց: Որոց խաղացեալ յառաջ զաւրաւք բազմաւք. հասանէին ի կողմանս Կիլիկեցւոց և Բեշանու. և սփռեալ զասպատակս իւրեանց ի վերա աշխարհին. առին զբազում քաղաքս և զգաւառս և զգիւղս. և որք միանգամ ելին ընդդեմ նոցա պատերազմել. ջաղխեցին մանր իբրև զփոշի. և ինքեանք առեալ զբազմութի*ւն* խառնիճաղանճիցն վարեցին յաւարի. զորոց զքիւ գերելոցն ասեն լինել աւելի քան զտասն և հինգ բիւր արանց. զորս առեալ տանէին յաշխարհն Յունաց. եւ երթեալ յանդիման լինէին կայսերն Յունաց հանդերձ բազում աւարաւ. և բազում գովութ*եամ*ք ընդունէր կայսրն Լեւոն զզաւրսն իւր. եւ մեծամեծ պատիւս ընծաէր զաւրագլխաց իւրոց. և դադարէին յամին յայնմիկ:

խդ[5] Իսկ ի գալ միւսոյ ամին յղէր դեսպանս իշխանն Իսմայելի [119v] իբրև խրոխտալով. զարհուրեցուցանել կամեցեալ. մեծամեծս փքայր: Տայր տանել որպէս լուաք ընդ պատգամին սերմն մանանխոյ զչափ երկուց գրուաց. և գրէր առ թագաւորն Յունաց. էթե վաղվաղակի առաքեցից ի վերա աշխարհիդ քո զբազմութի*ւն* զաւրաց իմոց ըստ թուոյ հատոյ մանանխոյդ զոր տեսէրդ. թէ բաւեսցէ հող երկրի քո զանչափութի*ւն* զաւրաց իմոց ընդունել. այլ արդ էթէ գուցէ զաւրութի*ւն*[6] ի ձեռին քո պատրաստեա ընդ իս ի պատերազմ: Եւ ընթերցեալ կայսերն զգիրն. ոչ ինչ ամբոխէր ի խորհուրդս իւր. այլ հաստատուն մտաւք յղէր պատասխանի: Ոչ է ասէ զյաղթութի*ւն* մարդկան ստանալ անձամբք. այլ որոց պարգև է Ա*ստուա*ծ. քանզի կարող է Ա*ստուա*ծ տալ զզաւրսդ քո կերակուր զաւրաց իմոց ըստ առակի մանանխոյն զոր յղեցեր. այլ դու զոր ինչ խոստացար առնել, արասց[120r]ես. և որ ինչ հաճոյք են կամաց Ա*ստուծ*ոյ. կատարեսցին: Եւ նոյնժամայն ելանէ հրաման ի կայսերէն գաղթել զբնակիչս աշխարհին ի քաղաքս ամուրս. և յամուր աշտարակս:

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2 խգ in rt. mg.

3 Աբդլա] Աբդլայ a.c.

4 ասպատակել] ասպատակեալ a.c.

5 խդ in rt. mg.

6 զաւրութիւն] զաւր.ութիւն a.c.

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Եւ գումարեալ իշխանն Իսմաելի զարս անթիւս. կարգէր ի վերա նոցա զարաւար զնոյն այր զորմէ վերագոյնն ասացաք. և առաքէ զնոսա բազմութ*եամ*ք ի վերա երկրին Յունաց. որոց երթեալ հասանէին ի վերա երկրին Գաղատացւոց. և պարշարէին զքաղաքն լայնանիստ որ անուանեալ կոչի Ամուրիա. և նստեալ զնովաւ բազմութ*եամ*ք զարացն պարշարե*ալ* պահէին զնա իբրև ամիսս. *երեք*. այլ ոչ կարէին ստնանել. քանզի պարսպաւոր ամրացեալ. և ոչ ինչ նուազ զգուշութի*ւն* մատուցանէին[7] շուրջքն. քանզի շուրջ զքաղաքաւն բղխեն[8] ակունք Սագառիս գետոյ. որով ի ճաղճախուտ տղմոյն անկոուելի մնայր հաստայարկ[9] դիրք քաղաքին. և ոչ ինչ [120v] կարէին վնասել. այլ նստեալ միայն պահէին. գումարէր զզարքն իւր ապա և Իզիտ որ էր հրամատար աշխարհիս Հայոց. հասանել ի թիկունս աւգնականութե*ան* զարաւարին Աբասա: Եւ երթեալ ի կողմանս Պոնդոսի. հասանէր ի Կողոնիա բերդ քաղաքաց և ի Գովաթա. և ի Կաստիղոն. և ի գաւառն Մարիթենէս. ընդ որս մարտ եղեալ կռուէր. այլ ոչ ինչ աւգտեալ ի նոցունց. դառնայր մեծաւ ամաւթով յաշխարհս Հայոց: Թողին և զարքն Իսմայելի զքաղաքն Ամուրիա. ի պաշարմանէն. և գնացին յաշխարհ բնակութե*ան* իւրեանց:

խե[10] Կայ ևս մեզ պատմել զառաջի արկեալ խորհուրդս: Քանզի յեւթներորդ ամի Մահմետի. վախճանեցաւ կայսրն Լեւոն որդի Կոստանդնի. և թագաւորէ Կոստանդին որդի նորա ընդ նորա. մանուկ մատաղ հասակաւ: Իբրև էտես Մահմետ իշխ[121r]անն Իսմայելի. զվախճան արքային Յունաց՝ գումարէ զաւր բազում. և կարգէ ի վերա նոցա զարաւար զԱհարոն զորդի իւր. և առաքէ ի վերա աշխարհին Յունաց: Եւ իբրև հասին զարքն Իսմայելի յաշխարհն Յունաց. նոյնժամայն ելին զարքն Յունաց ընդդէմ նոցա. և նստեալ պահէին զմիմեանս. խից արկեալ ճանապարհաց նոցա. և ոչ կարեին ելանել զարքն Իսմաելի ի խնդիր կերակրոյ. և լինէր սով մեծ ի բանակին Իսմայելի:

Իսկ Տաճատն որդի Գրիգորի[11] որ էր ի տանէ Անձևացի զորմէ յառաջագոյն պատմեցաք. զի երբեմն փախստական եղեալ յիշխանեն Իսմաելի առ կայսրն Կոստանդին յաշխարհն Յունաց. և նորա ընկալեալ զնա խնդութ*եամ*ք մեծաւ և շքեղութ*եամ*ք մեծարէր վ*ասն* քաջութե*ան* անձին նորա. զի յառաջագոյն ի համբաւոյ ծանուցեալ էր զարիութի*ւն* նորա. որոյ անդէն ցուցեալ արք[121v]ային զարիութի*ւնն* ի կողմանս՝ Սարմատացւոց որ անուանեալ կոչին Բուլկարք և դառնայր մեծաւ յաղթութ*եամ*ք: Եւ տեսեալ կայսերն զքաջութի*ւն* սրտի նորա. կարգէր զնա զարաւար ի վերա. *վեց*. բիւր արանց. և կայր ի հնազանդութե*ան* արքային Յունաց ամս. *քսան եւ երկու*: Իսկ յետ վախճանին Կոստանդնի և Լեւոնի որդոյ նորա. և ունել զթագաւորթի*ւնն* Կոստանդնի. հեռութ*եամ*ք վարէր առ նա թագուհին որ էր մայր Կոստանդնի[12] կայսեր. և վ*ասն* այնր պատճառ ի ձեռնամուխ եղև առ իշխանն Իսմայելի. քանզի իբրև էմուտ զարսն Իսմայելի ընդ պարշարմամբն Յունաց. յայնժամ խնդրէր ի նոցանէ գիր երդման դառնալ անդրէն յերկիր իւր. և խոստանայր հանել զնոսա ի պաշարմանէն իւրեանց և տանել յերկիր բնակութե*ան* իւրեանց: Եւ լուեալ իշխանին Իսմաելի արագապէս կատարէր զխնդիրն. և տայր նմա [122r] երդմամբ չափ զինչ և խնդրեսցի ի[13] նմանէն: Եւ վստահ եղեալ յայն գիր երդման. ելանէր յերկրէն Յունաց *ամենայն* տամբ իւրով. և հանէր

7 մատուցանէին] մատուցին a.c.

8 բղխեն] -ղ- suprascr.

9 հաստայարկ] հաստացարկ a.c.

10 խե in lft. mg.

11 Գրիգորի] Գրիգոր.ի a.c.

12 Կոստանդնի] -ն- suprascr.

13 ի] suprascr.

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զզաւրն Իսմայելացւոց ի պարշարմանէ անդի: Եւ Ահարոն որդի իշխանին Իսմայելի. հայր իւր անուանեաց զնա. և մեծամեծ պատուաւք ընծայէր[14] զնա: Եւ իբրև յանդիման լինէր իշխանին Իսմաելի Տաճատն՝ բազում շնորհակալութի*ւն*[15] առնէր նմա. և լնոյր զնա բազում ստացուածովք գանձուց արքունի. և տայր նմա պատիւ իշխանութե*ան* ի վերա երկրիս Հայոց. և առաքէ զնա յաշխարհ իւր մեծաւ շքեղութե*ամբ*:

Իսկ իբրև հասանէր իշխանն Տաճատ յաշխարհս Հայոց հրամանաւ իշխանին Իսմաելի առ Աւթմանն որ էր հրամանատար և ազգապետ ի վերա երկրիս. անընկալ եղեալ և ոչ կատարէր զհրաման իշխանին իւրոյ. այլ յապաղէր. և յղէր դեսպանս առ իշխանն իւրեանց. [122v] էթե ոչ է կամք միաբանութե*ան* նախարարացս Հայոց. եթե զայր մի ապստամբեալ յիշխանութենէդ քու<մ>մէ[16] և ձեռն տուեալ առ արքայն Յունաց. կացուցանել իշխան ի վերա այնոցիկ որ նուաճեալ են ընդ իշխանութ*եամբ* քով. գուցէ և դաւաճան զաւրաց մերոց լինիցի: Եւ թէպէտ բազում անգամ կամեցեալ Տաճատն զեկուցանել զբեկումն իշխանութե*ան*ն իւրոյ յականջս իշխանին Իսմաելի այլ ոչ կարաց. զի *ամենայն* ուրեք զմուտս ճանապարհին պահէին. և ըմբռնէին զդեսպանս յղեալս. և դնէին ի բանդի: Եւ ոչ էհաս տրտունջ նորա առ Մահմետ իշխանն[17] և ոչ առ Ահարոն որդի նորա, մինչև ի կատարումն ամին այնորիկ: Եւ յետ այնորիկ հասեալ բողոք տրտընջմանն առ Մահմետ իշխանն և Ահարովն որդի նորա. խռովութի*ւն* մեծ հասուցանէր առ Աւթմանն[18] հրամատար երկրիս: Եւ իբրև յակամա կամաց տայր զիշխանութի*ւն*ն Տաճ[123r]ատայ[19] հրամանաւ իշխանին Իսմայելի:

Եւ ապա յետ այնորիկ գումարէր Աւթմանն զզաւրս նախարարացն Հայոց յերկիրն Աղուանից. ի դրունս Կասբից. ի Դարպանդն կոչեցեալ քաղաք՝ որ է պարիսպ և պատուար ամրութե*ան*, շինեալ ընդդէմ զաւրացն Հոնաց. և Խազրաց: Կոչէ զՏաճատն իշխան և զսպարապետն Բագարատ. և զՆերսեհն Կամսարական, և զայլսն ի նախարարացն Հայոց. յաւուրս տապախառն ծագման Յեփեստեայ.[20] հրագագաթան: Եւ հարկանէ զբանակս իւր ի դաշտին որ կոչէր Քերան, ի դժընդակ և յանհանդուրժելի ջերմութե*ան* տապոյ խորշակին. և զբովանդակ աւուրս ամարա<յ>նոյ[21] անցուցանէր ի հնոցաձեւ ապառաժին դաշտի: Որում ոչ կարացեալ հանդուրժել նախարարք Հայոց, վախճանէին ի տապախառն աւդոյն. որ վտանգեալ բառնայր ի կենաց աշխարհիս: Եւ վախճանէր իշխանն [123v] Տաճատ. և սպարապետն Բագարատ. և Ներսեհն Կամսարական. և այլք[22] ի զաւրացն: Եւ յոյժ ցասուցեալ իշխանն Իսմաէլի Մահմետ ընդ աւաղական մահ իշխանին Տաճատայ և նախարարացն որ ընդ նմա. խափանէ զիշխանութի*ւն* նորա. և առաքէ փոխանակ նորա. զՌոհ ոմն իշխան և հրամանատար ի վերա աշխարհիս Հաոց: Եւ կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն Մահմետ ամս. *ութ*. և ընդ գալն Ռոհայ՝ վախճանեցաւ:

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14 ընծայէր] ընծաէր a.c.

15 շնորհակալութի*ւն*] -ր- suprascr.

16 քու<մ>մէ] -մ- suprascr. Hand 1[corr].

17 իշխանն] -ն suprascr.

18 աւթմանն] աւթ- ins. lft. mg.

19 տաճատայ] -յ subscr.

20 յեփեստեայ] -յ subscr.

21 ամարա<յ>նոյ] -յ- subscr. Hand 1[corr].

22 այլք] -լ- subscr.

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COMMENTARY

XIV.A. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

The example of Tačat Anjewacʿi offers a remarkable illustration of elite power plays during the caliphate of Mahdī. It reveals the potentially stressful relationship between the prince of Armenia and the caliphal governor, the access of an Armenian general to the caliph, and the participation of the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ in the wars against the Khazars. Beyond Tačat's career, Łewond's account of the caliphate of Mahdī is nearly exclusively preoccupied with the *ṣawāʾif*. Accordingly, the drama unfurls across the battlefields of Anatolia, and we find precious little said about the governance of Armenia.

The first paragraph of Łewond's account of Mahdī's reign, however, is instructive. It informs us that Mahdī "opened all of his treasuries that the impious ʿAbd Allāh had kept locked and distributed pensions to his troops" (էբաց զ*ամենայն* տունս զանձուց զոր ախեալ պահէր ամբարիշտն Աբդլա. Եւ բաշխեաց պարգևս զաւրաց իւրոց) [118r]. Łewond claims that Mahdī allowed merchants to cross the borders, confirming that the *ṣawāʾif* were localized military encounters that did not necessarily translate into an impermeable Arab-Roman border. Łewond then claims that Armenia prospered despite caliphal taxation because of the discovery of silver:

> The land was abundant, and the discovery of silver spread. The inhabitants of the land experienced a reprieve from the violent collection of taxes, for although he overloaded the iron yoke of taxes, still this land received a small respite from the evil peril of distress due to the discovery of silver, since mountains of silver were revealed in this land of Armenia, [and they were able] to apportion from them stores of pure silver for the needs of the people in the days of his reign.

> և եղև առատութի*ւն* երկրի և գիւտ արծաթոյ ընդարձակեցաւ. և բնակչաց երկրի անդորրութի*ւն* եղև ի հարկապահանջ բռնութենէ. զի թէպէտև զանուր լծոյ հարկին ծանրացոյց. սակայն վ*առն* գիւտի արծաթոյն հանգեաւ երկիրս առ փոքր մի ի չար տառապանաց վտանգին. քանզի և լերինք արծաթոյ յայտնեցան յաշխարհիս Հայոց. հատանել ի նոցունց զխանութս արծաթոյ զտոյ առ ի պետս մարդկան յաւուրս իշխանութե*ան* նորա: [118r–v]

M. Bates construes this passage as the first reference to the output of *maʿdin* Bājunays, the mine of Apahunikʿ, and identifies this mine as the source of the coins minted in the name of Mahdī and Hārūn at Hārūnābād in Armenia in 168/784–85 and, subsequently, at Hārūniyya (without reference to Armenia) between 169/785–86 and 171/787–88.[23] These he attributes to the "fortified administrative center" of Hārūn, which subsequently passed to his son Muḥammad (later to become the caliph Amīn) as evidenced by the minting of coins in Muḥammadiyya.[24] However, Łewond does not record the minting of coins, let alone the precise source of the silver.

23 It is important to note that the only coins minted in *maʿdin Bājunays* postdate the reign of Mahdī. All dated specimens are from the late decade of the second century or the first two decades of the third century AH (early ninth century CE).

24 Bates, "Second Muḥammadiyya." See also Bonner, "Mint of Hārūnābād."

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Łewond mentions two governors of Armenia by name during the reign of Mahdī. The first of these is ʿUthmān b. ʿUmāra. We know little about him. His father, ʿUmāra, was the deputy governor of Khurāsān, and Ibn al-Kalbī states that ʿUthmān himself served as governor in both Khurāsān and Armenia. Crone rejects this claim as "certainly wrong," likely because of the lack of corroboration for ʿUthmān's governorship in Khurāsān. ʿUthmān's governorship over Armenia is attested in both the numismatic record and written accounts (Łewond, Balādhurī), and he also later appears as governor over Sīstān in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ and *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*.[25] He therefore fits several patterns of ʿAbbāsid governors established above: like many others, he came from a family of governors that rose to prominence in the Umayyad period and maintained control through its connections to the ʿAbbāsid East.[26] ʿUthmān was replaced by Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī at the very end of Mahdī's reign. On Rawḥ's term as governor, see chapter XV.

XIV.B. SUMMER EXPEDITIONS (*ṢAWĀʾIF*) ON THE ARAB-ROMAN FRONTIER

Barring external threats or internal disturbances, the ʿAbbāsids organized annual raids into Roman territory. These very typically occurred during the summer, when it was easier to move troops across Anatolia, which explains the name of the raids. *Ṣāʾifa*, plural *ṣawāʾif*, literally means "summertime." Territory rarely changed hands in these encounters, and for the most part, we might imagine them as localized skirmishes or transitory raids. However, during the reigns of Mahdī, Hādī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd, the extent of and interest in the campaigns increased markedly.[27] This change may relate to the personal involvement of Hārūn and other members of the ʿAbbāsid family in the summer campaigns, which offered the opportunity to found new cities along the frontier named after the "*ghāzī* caliphs": Mahdiyya and Muḥammadiyya after Mahdī; Hārūniyya or Hārūnābād after Hārūn al-Rashīd; and another Muḥammadiyya after Amīn, Hārūn al-Rashīd's son. During the reigns of Mahdī, Hādī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd, the battles took place not only on the field in Anatolia but also rhetorically in Baghdad, where the caliphs were lauded in court panegyrics for their commitment to the wars against the Roman Empire.[28]

Historians frequently approach the shift in the intensity of the *ṣawāʾif* under Mahdī from the perspective of the Greek or Arabic sources. Łewond offers a distinctly Armenian perspective on these incursions. He reports on four campaigns during Mahdī's caliphate, and his descriptions both align with and diverge from the Greek and Arabic accounts in interesting ways. The Arabic and Greek sources concur to a surprising extent on the general sequence of events, many of the places named, and the participants. When the details found in the Greek and Arabic sources agree with one another but differ from Łewond, we may speculate about Łewond's access to information and his active editing process.

25 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 98; Nicol, "Early ʿAbbāsid Administration," 97–98.

26 On families that maintained power in the transition from Umayyad to ʿAbbāsid rule, see Elad, "Aspects."

27 Haldon and Kennedy, "Arab-Byzantine Frontier," 113.

28 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 69–106.

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XIV.B.1. The Caliphal Campaign of AH 159/AM 6268/776 CE

Following the death of Constantine V and the ascension of Leo IV (r. 775–80), Mahdī marshaled an army under ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī to fight the Roman Empire [118v]. Łewond identifies ʿAbbās as Mahdī's brother, but he was in fact the brother of Saffāḥ and Manṣūr, making him the uncle of Mahdī.

The Arabic references to this campaign are, like Łewond's, short. They focus on the safe return of the caliphal troops. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ states that "ʿAbbās penetrated [Rome] and his raiding parties spread out. He returned safe and sound" (ودخل العباس بن محمد وبثّ سراياه فقفل غانماً سالماً).[29] Yaʿqūbī offers a similarly succinct summary: "ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad led the forces on campaign, reaching as far as Ankara" (وغزا بالناس العبّاس بن محمد فبلغ أنقرة).[30] Ṭabarī likewise notes that the raid of 159/776 extended as far as Ankara and returned home safely. However, he also adds the conquest of a cave en route: "During his [ʿAbbās's] raids he conquered a city of the Romans and a *maṭmūra* with it and returned safely, not a single one of the Muslims being injured" (ففتح فى غزاته هذه مدينةً للروم ومطمورةً معها وانصرفوا سالمين لم يصب من المسلمين احدٌ).[31] This passage demonstrates how similar the accounts of these *ṣawāʾif* can be, even if they do not rely on the same sources or display any evidence of intercultural transmission. The term *maṭmūra* refers to subterranean structures, explicitly linked to Cappadocia by Arabic authors such as Masʿūdī. Such places were sometimes expansive, but they were generally more likely to have been used as storage and shelter during attacks than as underground cities.[32] Theophanes describes this campaign with similar information: "In this year Mahdī sent ʿAbbās at the head of a great force against the Roman country. With the help of smoke he opened the cave called Kasin and, after capturing the men who were in it, returned home" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀποστείλας Μαδὶ τὸν Ἀβασβαλὶ κατὰ Ῥωμανίας μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, ἤνοιξε τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Κάσιν ἀπὸ καπνοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ αἰχμαλώτους ὑπέστρεψεν).[33] The information provided in the various sources is summarized in table 6.

The example of 159/776 confirms the frequently transitory nature of the *ṣawāʾif*: they were seasonal, took little territory, and claimed few (in this case zero) casualties. However, during the caliphate of Mahdī, they began to appear in the written record in greater detail and involved highly ranked generals. The caliph himself is frequently mentioned in these reports. According to the Arabic accounts, Mahdī accompanied ʿAbbās as far as Baradān in 159/776. In terms of distance, his participation in the campaign was negligible; rather, it

29 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 283. There is some chronological inconsistency here. Khalīfa clearly places the death of Manṣūr in 158 and this raid in 159. But he also claims that the oath of allegiance was read in Mahdī's name only in 160. This is atypical; cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:451. If there was an alternative reading of the narrative that placed ʿAbbās's campaign at the very end of Manṣūr's caliphate, this could potentially explain Łewond's description of ʿAbbās as the caliph's brother instead of his uncle. However, this is unlikely because Łewond clearly identifies the caliph in question as Mahdī.

30 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1146; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:486. Note that Yaʿqūbī placed a Roman campaign into Sumaysāṭ in this same year, but this campaign does not appear in other texts. It seems to have been a separate project, however, and not part of the *ṣāʾifa*, since a different general led it.

31 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:170; *Taʾrīkh*, 3:459.

32 Ousterhout, *Visualizing Community*, 347–49.

33 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 620; *Chronographia*, 449. The editors place Kasin in Cappadocia near Nazianzus.

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Table 6. Summary of information provided about the 159/776 campaign.

	Łewond	**Khalīfa**	**Balādhurī**	**Yaʿqūbī**	**Ṭabarī**	**Theophanes**
Places				Ankara	Ankara	
Roman forces						
Caliphal forces	ʿAbbās	ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad		ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad	ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, Ḥasan b. Waṣīf	ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī
Results	Nothing accomplished	Safe return			Safe return, a cave conquered	A cave conquered

was a symbolic act to signal caliphal involvement.[34] The same concern appears in Łewond's attribution of the campaign to Mahdī himself: "And he, Muḥammad, began to assault the kingdom of the Greeks" (Եւ ինքն Մահմետ սկսաւ զոռալ ընդդէմ իշխանութեանն Յունաց) [118v].

XIV.B.2. The Roman Campaign of AH *161/*AM *6270/778* CE

According to Łewond, Roman forces raided Anatolia in 161/778. Tačat Anjewacʿi, Artawazd Mamikonean, and a third, unnamed Greek general raided "Basanastan, which is called Bišan" (ի վերա բասանաստանի որում բիշանն կոչի) [118v], which he also defines as lying "in the region of the Cilicians and Bišan" (ի կողմանս կիլիկեցւոց և բեշանու) [119r].[35] "They spread their raids over the land and took many cities, districts, and villages. As for those who came out to war against them, they dashed them to pieces like dust" (և սփռեալ զասպատակս իւրեանց ի վերա աշխարհին. առին զբազում քաղաքս և զգաւառս և զգիւղս. և որք միանգամ ելին ընդդեմ նոցա պատերազմել. ջաղխեցին մանր իբրև զփոշի) [119r]. The Roman forces took 15,000 captives and then returned to receive commendations from the emperor.

This raid appears in Theophanes, as well, under the year AM 6270/778 CE. Theophanes lists a number of other generals involved on the Roman side of this campaign, most of whom were Armenian:

> The emperor Leo mobilized the Roman army: a hundred thousand men invaded Syria under the command of Michael Lachanodrakon of the Thrakesians, the Armenian Artabasdos of the Anatolics, Tatzates of the Bucellarii, Karisterotzes of the Armeniacs, and Gregory, son of Mousoulakios, of the Opsikians; and they surrounded Germanikeia. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, Mahdī's uncle, was there, and they took all his camels and were about to take Germanikeia itself, had not ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī prevailed upon Lachanodrakon by means of gifts to draw away from the fortified town; he went forth to devastate the countryside and, after capturing the heretical Syrian Jacobites, returned to the fort. Thumāma sent an army and a number of emirs from Dabekon and made war on the

34 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 71.

35 Basanastan and Bišan, also spelled Bešan, are as yet unidentified but may refer to the area of Albistān.

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> Romans. It is said that five emirs and two thousand Arabs fell. They withdrew on a Friday, having come on a Sunday.
>
> Λέον δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλυσε τὰ στρατεύματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἐν Συρίᾳ χιλιάδες ρ´, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Μιχαὴλ ὁ Λαχανοδράκων τῶν Θρᾳκησίων, καὶ Ἀρτάυασδος ὁ Ἀρμένιος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, καὶ Τατζάτης τῶν Βουκελλαρίων καὶ Καριστερότζης τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων, καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ Μουσουλακίου τῶν Ὀψικιάνων, καὶ ἐκύκλωσαν τὴν Γερμανίκειαν. καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ Ἰσβααλί, ὁ θεῖος τοῦ Μαδί, καὶ ἔλαβον πάσας τὰς καμήλους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἤμελλον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν Γερμανίκειαν, εἰ μὴ διὰ δώρων ἔπεισε τὸν Λαχανοδράκοντα ὁ Ἰσβααλί, καὶ ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πραῖδαν τῆς χώρας, καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσας τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς Ἰακωβίτας Σύρους πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ. καὶ πέμψας Θουμάμας στρατὸν ἐκ τοῦ Δαβέκου καὶ ἀμηράδας, ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἔπεσον πέντε ἀμηράδες καὶ δύο χιλιάδες Ἄραβες, ὥς φασιν· καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ ὑπέστρεψαν. ἦσαν γὰρ εἰσελθόντες τῇ κυριακῇ.[36]

Theophanes's Artabasdos[37] and Tatzates refer to Łewond's Artawazd and Tačat. Interestingly, Łewond omits all of the other names, even though Theophanes's other leaders were likely Armenian, too: Karisterotzes of the Armeniacs renders Varaz-Tirocʿ (where Καριστερότζης is a scribal error for βαριστερότζης), and Gregory the son of Mousoulakios is likely Grigor son of Mušēł.[38] It is possible that Łewond or his source ignores these leaders because they were members of the imperial army and played no role in Armenia.

Of the names offered in Theophanes's account, Łewond's unnamed Greek general can be only Michael Lachanodrakon. This identification is confirmed by the Arabic sources, all of which name the Roman leader Michael. Unlike Łewond, the Arabic sources also identify the leaders of the caliphal army as per Theophanes. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ reports that in 161/778,

> Michael the Patrician set out from the region of Darb al-Ḥadath. He came to the pass of Ḥartina,[39] and then he vanquished its people. He came to the town of ʿAnzarān and killed, took prisoners, and burned it with fire. Then he came to Marʿash, where ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was garrisoned. And Sālim al-Burnusī went out against him and battled him but did not achieve anything. Then he [Michael] arrived at Jayḥān. Thumāma b. Walīd, who was raiding in Rome, sent Malāla b. Ḥikma after Michael. He descended upon him in the pass, and he overcame Malāla and his companions.
>
> خرج ميخائيل البطريق من نَاحيَة درب الحدث فأتى عقبة حِرتنا فظفر بأهلها، وأتى قرية عنزران فقتل وسبى وحرقها بالنّار ثم أتى مرعش وفيها عيسى بن علي مرابطاً فخرج إليه سالم البرنسي فقاتله فلم يصل إلى

36 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 623; *Chronographia*, 451.

37 Mango and Scott, Theophanes's translators, render the name Artabasdos; the Greek text actually reads Artauasdos, which is even closer to Armenian Artawazd.

38 Markwart understands this Mušeł to be the same Mušeł Mamikonean who led the earlier rebellion; see Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 293 n. 2. Ačaṙyan lists these Mušełs as separate people in *Hayocʿ anjnanunneri baṙaran*, 3:460 nos. 20 and 21.

39 This is a toponym, but it is as yet unidentified. It could be translated literally as "the pass of our lava field," which seems quite unlikely. If we assume that عنزران is a corruption of عين زربة or Ἀναζαρβός, this must have lain between Ḥadath and ʿAyn Zarba.

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شيء ثم أتى جيحان فبعث ثمامة بن الوليد وكان غازياً بالروم ملالة بن حكمة في طلب ميخائيل فلحقه بالدرب فأصيب ملالة وأصحابه.[40]

Quite similarly, Balādhurī has Michael start in Darb al-Ḥadath but adds that he had 80,000 men with him. Michael attacked Marʿash, where ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was garrisoned. Michael feigned defeat, and the men stationed in Marʿash followed him. He then turned back to surprise the Muslim forces, killing eight of the *mawālī* of ʿĪsā. Michael then went to Jayḥān: "The news of this reached Thumāma b. Walīd al-ʿAbsī while he was in Dābiq, charged with the summer campaign for the year 161. So he sent against him [Michael] heavy cavalry, but they overcame [all] except those of them who escaped" (وبلغ الخبر ثمامة بن الوليد العبسى وهو بدابق وكان قد ولى الصائفة سنة 161 فوجّه اليه خيلا كثيفة فأصيبوا الا من نجا منهم).[41]

Yaʿqūbī's version of this campaign is surprisingly sparse; he acknowledges only that Roman forces raided Marʿash from Ḥadath sometime before 163. He does not offer any details about this attack but focuses instead on later rebuilding projects.[42] He does add the following notice to his list of the commanders of the *ṣawāʾif*: "In the year 160, Thumāma b. Walīd al-ʿAbsī led the campaign. In the year 161, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī campaigned, but the Roman army met him and surrounded him" (سنة 160 غزا ثمامة بن الوليد العبسى سنة 161 غزا عيسى بن علىّ ولقيه جيش الروم فحاصروه).[43] This sets Yaʿqūbī apart from Theophanes, Khalīfa, and Balādhurī, who have Thumāma b. Walīd and ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī respond to the same Roman raid from Dābiq and Marʿash, respectively. Ṭabarī confirms the involvement of both men in the response to the Roman raid of 161/778. He claims that Thumāma b. Walīd had been placed over the *ṣāʾifa*, again organized from Dābiq, but he was negligent and the Roman forces advanced successfully: "He went out against the Romans, who were commanded by Michael, with the advance guard, and a number of the Muslims were killed. ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī was posted at the fortress of Marʿash at that time. The Muslims did not carry out a summer raid this year because of that" (وخرج الى الروم وعليها ميخائيل بسرعان الناس فأصيب من المسلمين عدّة وكان عيسى بن علىّ مرابطاً بحصن مرعش يومئذ فلم يكن للمسلمين فى ذلك العام صائفة من اجل ذلك).[44] For a summary of the accounts of this campaign, see table 7.

The Greek and Arabic accounts of this raid align particularly closely, as they all mention the same people (Michael Lachanodrakon, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, and Thumāma b. Walīd) and places (Marʿash/Germanikeia and Dābiq/Dabekon). Łewond's account stands out for its omission of the names of cities and Roman and ʿAbbāsid generals alike. The discrepancy between Łewond's account and the others demonstrates that the campaigns bore different valences for their recorders. In Arabic, the inclusion of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī is significant because he was the uncle of Manṣūr and the great-uncle of Mahdī. His presence, therefore, created a concrete tie between the frontier and the family of the caliph, like that in the campaign of 159/776. Theophanes also includes ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī and identifies him as a kinsman of the caliph. In view of the detail with which he lists the generals involved, Theophanes's intent here seems to be to place the campaign within a discourse of Roman victory. By contrast,

40 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 287–88.

41 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 189.

42 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1137; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:477–78.

43 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1146; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:486.

44 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:198; *Taʾrīkh*, III 485–86.

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Table 7. Summary of information provided about the 161/778 campaign.

	Łewond	**Khalīfa**	**Balādhurī**	**Yaʿqūbī**	**Ṭabarī**	**Theophanes**
Places	Cilicia, Basanastan, Bišan	Ḥadath, Ḥartnā, ʿAnzarān, Marʿash, Jayḥān	Ḥadath, Marʿash, Jayḥān, Dābiq		Dābiq, Marʿash	Germanikeia/ Marʿash, Dabekon/ Dābiq
Roman forces	Tačat Anjewacʿi, Artawazd Mamikonean, "a Greek general"	Michael	Michael		Michael	Michael Lachanodrakon, Artawazd, Tačat, Varaz-Tirocʿ, Grigor
Caliphal forces		ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, Sālim al-Burnusī, Thumāma b. Walīd, Malāla b. Ḥukma	ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, Thumāma b. Walīd	ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī	ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, Thumāma b. Walīd	ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, Thumāma b. Walīd
Results	Greek victory	Greek victory	Greek victory	Greek victory	Greek victory	Greek victory

Łewond studiously ignores other actors in the campaign beyond the Armenian commanders, thereby foregrounding the decisive role of Armenian involvement in the Roman victory. Łewond and Theophanes both accentuate imperial involvement by highlighting the bestowal of rewards and honors upon the troops. By drawing in the emperor, they present a mirror image to the Arabic texts by connecting the periphery to the center. In all of these sources, both the emperor and the caliph are shown to be actively involved with what transpires on the frontier.

XIV.B.3. The Caliphal Campaign of AH *162/*AM *6271/779* CE

Caliphal forces responded to the Roman raid the next year, in AM 6271/779 CE. The Arabic and Greek accounts agree on the cause of these campaigns (Mahdī's anger), the raided area (Dorylaion and Amorium), and the general who led the campaign (Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba).

Most of the accounts of this raid start with the anger of the caliph Mahdī over the Roman raid in the previous year. Łewond introduces this campaign with a letter exchange between Mahdī and Leo in which the caliph threatens the Roman Empire but the emperor remains unruffled and places his faith in God. Mahdī dispatched "a general, the same man whom we discussed above" (զաւրավար զնոյն այր զորմէ վերագոյնն ասացաք) [120r], who ineffectively besieged Amorium. Theophanes recounts this same raid as follows: "In this year Mahdī, the leader of the Arabs, waxed angry and sent Ḥasan with a great force of Maurophoroi ["black-wearers," i.e., ʿAbbāsid supporters], Syrians, and Mesopotamians, and they advanced as far as Dorylaion. The emperor ordered the *strategoi* not to fight an open war but to make the forts secure by stationing garrisons of soldiers in them" (Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει θυμωθεὶς ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγὸς Μαδὶ πέμπει τὸν Ἄσαν μετὰ δυνάμεως

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πολλῆς Μαυροφόρων τε καὶ τῶν τῆς Συρίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας, καὶ κατῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ Δορυλαίου. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διετάξατο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ πολεμῆσαι αὐτοὺς δημόσιον πόλεμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ κάστρα καὶ λαὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν πρὸς παραφυλακὴν αὐτῶν).[45] This account aligns with Łewond's complaint about Mahdī's attempts to intimidate the emperor, as well as his claim that "an order went out from the emperor to relocate the inhabitants of the land to fortified cities and strong towers" (ելանէ հրաման ի կայսերէն զաղթել զբնակիչս աշխարհին ի քաղաքս ամուրս. և յամուր աշտարակս) [120r]. The Arabic accounts, too, frame this campaign as a result of the anger of Mahdī over the Roman raid in 161/778. At the end of his description of the 161 raid, Balādhurī adds: "This galled Mahdī, so Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba gathered [men] for raids in the following year, that is, 162" (فاحفظ ذلك المهدى واحتفل لاغزاء الحسن بن قحطبة فى العام المقبل وهو سنة 162).[46]

The 162/779 campaign started in Ḥadath, as Balādhurī confirms that when Ḥasan approached the Roman Empire (*bilād al-Rūm*), "he entered from the pass of Ḥadath, where he assessed its city. He was informed that Michael had left it, so Ḥasan intended to establish his base there. He wrote to Mahdī about fortifying it and the city of Ṭarsūs. He [Mahdī] ordered [him] to start with the building of Ḥadath" (وكان دخوله من درب الحدث فنظر الى موضع مدينتها فاخبر انّ ميخائيل خرج منه فارتاد الحسن موضع مدينته هناك فلمّا انصرف كلّم المهدى فى بنائها وبناء طرسوس فامر بتقديم بناء مدينة الحدث).[47] Balādhurī does not specify where Ḥasan raided beyond Ḥadath itself. By contrast, Ṭabarī introduces the 162/779 *ṣā'ifa* in a passage that mentions Ḥadath but explicitly places Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba only in Dorylaion: "Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba led the summer expedition with thirty thousand regular troops, besides volunteers. He reached Ḥammat al-Adhrūliyya [i.e., Dorylaion] and wrought great destruction and damage in Roman lands, without capturing a fortress or meeting an army" (وغزا الصائفة الحسن بن قحطبة فى ثلثين الف مرتزق سوى المطّوّعة فبلغ حمّة أذرولية فأكثر التخريب والتحريق فى بلاد الروم من غير ان يفتح حصناً ويلقى جمعاً).[48] Ṭabarī's placement of Ḥasan's raids into Dorylaion clearly aligns with Theophanes's account. Theophanes, Ṭabarī, and Balādhurī do not provide support for Łewond's claim that this raid included the siege of "the large city that was called Amorium" (զքաղաքն լայնանիստ որ անուանեալ կոչի Ամուրիա) [120r]. But the siege of Amorium does appear in Khalīfa's history, which states that "Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba came to Bithynia and his raiding parties spread out. So he razed and burned [the land] and took prisoners. He sent his son Muḥammad b. Ḥasan to ʿAmūriyya, and then Ḥasan arrived there. There were skirmishes between them, and then he left" (غزا الحسن بن قحطبة فأتى بطنة وبث سراياه فهدّم وحرق وسبى، ووجّه ابنه محمد بن الحسن إلى عمورية ثم أتاها الحسن فكانت بينهم مناوشة ثم انصرف).[49] Table 8 summarizes the accounts of this campaign.

The only significant point of disagreement between Łewond and the non-Armenian sources concerns the name of the caliphal general responsible for this *ṣā'ifa*. Łewond refers to "a general, the same man whom we discussed above" (զաւրավար զնոյն այր զորմէ

45 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 624; *Chronographia*, 452.

46 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 189.

47 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 190.

48 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:206; *Ta'rīkh*, 3:493.

49 Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, 288. Khalīfa here uses the toponym بطنة. Though it does not appear in Yāqūt, we read it here as Bithynia on the basis of the references to Ḥammat al-Adhrūliyya (Dorylaion) in Ṭabarī and Theophanes.

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Table 8. Summary of information provided about the 162/779 campaign.

	Łewond	**Khalīfa**	**Balādhurī**	**Yaʿqūbī**	**Ṭabarī**	**Theophanes**
Places	Land of the Galatians, Amorium, the Sangarios	Bithynia, ʿAmūriyya	Ḥadath, Ṭarsūs		Ḥadath, Ḥammat al-Adhrūliyya/ Dorylaion	Dorylaion, Amorion
Roman forces						
Caliphal forces	"The same man whom we discussed above"; ʿAbbās	Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan	Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, Mandal al-ʿAnazī, Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Baṣrī	Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba	Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba	Ḥasan
Results	Abandoned siege	Abandoned siege	Rebuilding of Ḥadath		No lasting gains	Abandoned siege

վերագոյնն ասացաք) [120r], then immediately afterward specifies that "Yazīd [b. Usayd], who was governor of this land of Armenia, also gathered his troops to arrive in aid of the general ʿAbbās" (Իզիտ որ էր հրամատար աշխարհիս Հայոց. հասանել ի թիկունս աւգնականութեան զաւրավարին Աբասա) [120v]. This suggests that "the same man whom we discussed above" was ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, the general responsible for the *ṣāʾifa* in 159/776. This is logical because ʿAbbās appeared at the head of a caliphal army in Roman territory immediately before this section of Łewond's text. However, no other source corroborates the involvement of ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad after the 159/776 *ṣāʾifa*.[50] All of the Greek and Arabic sources instead identify the general responsible for the 162/779 *ṣāʾifa* as Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba. Accordingly, we may surmise that Łewond's "same man whom we discussed above" should not be read as ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad but rather refers to Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, who was indeed discussed at great length in Łewond's narrative of Manṣūr's caliphate. It is possible that the apparent confusion stems from Łewond's editorial process as he stitched together material from multiple sources.

Łewond also refers to Yazīd b. Usayd's raids in this same year: "He headed toward Pontus and arrived in the cities of Kolonia fortress, Govatʿa, and Kastiłon and the district of Maritʿenēs. He engaged and battled against them but gained nothing from it. He returned to this land of Armenia in deep shame" (Եւ երթեալ ի կողմանս Պոնդոսի. հասանէր ի Կողոնիա բերդ քաղաքաց և ի Գովաթա. և ի Կաստիղոն. և ի գաւառն Մարիթենէս. ընդ որս մարտ եղեալ կռուէր. այլ ոչ ինչ աւգտեալ ի նոցունց. դառնայր մեծաւ ամաւթով յաշխարհս Հայոց) [120v]. Unlike the claimed involvement of ʿAbbās, Yazīd's raid in 162/779 is corroborated elsewhere. Ṭabarī attests that Yazīd b. Usayd raided through Qālīqalā/Karin in that same year and even that he reached three (unnamed) cities: "In this year Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī raided through the pass of Qālīqalā, took booty, and conquered three fortresses and took many prisoners and captives" (غزا يزيد بن أسيد السلمى من باب قاليقلا فغنم

50 Ṭabarī has ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad accompany the *ṣāʾifa* campaign of 163/780 as it sets out toward the Roman Empire, but ʿAbbās leaves with Mahdī and does not continue on to Roman territory with Hārūn.

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وفتح ثلثة حصون وأصاب سبيا كثيراً وأسرى).[51] But whereas Łewond describes Yazīd's raid as support for the *ṣāʾifa*—claiming that Yazīd went "in aid of the general ʿAbbās" (ի թիկունսս աւգնականութեան զաւրավարին Աբասա) [120v]—Ṭabarī separates the two raids entirely. Given the geographical distance between the two raids and Yazīd's status as governor of Armenia, it seems unlikely that Yazīd aimed to help the *ṣāʾifa*. By his own account, Łewond places the *ṣāʾifa* in Amorium, whereas Yazīd raided Pontus.

XIV.B.4. The Caliphal Campaign of AH *165/*AM *6274/782* CE

Łewond places the final campaign under Mahdī after the death of Leo IV in 163/780, in the seventh year of Mahdī's reign—that is, 165/782. He thus skips over the *ṣawāʾif* of 163/780 and 164/781, the former led by Hārūn al-Rashīd and the latter by ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. But these raids did not have long-reaching consequences. The 165/782 *ṣāʾifa*, by contrast, resulted in the defection of Tačat Anjewacʿi from Roman to caliphal service and in the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Roman Empire and the Caliphate (on which see XIV.C below). Łewond offers little detail about the *ṣāʾifa* itself. He does not identify the names of any places or generals involved beyond Hārūn and Tačat. Even the details of the peace treaty are omitted. Instead, Tačat's defection from Roman service drives Łewond's narrative.

Theophanes offers significantly more information about the *ṣāʾifa* of 165/782:

> Mahdī's son Hārūn sallied forth with an enormous armed force composed of Mauro-phoroi and men from all of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the desert and advanced as far as Chrysopolis after leaving Bounousos to besiege Nakoleia and guard his rear. He also sent Bourniche to Asia with a force of thirty thousand. The latter gave battle to Lachanodrakon and the Thrakesian *thema* at a place called Darenos, and the Arabs, being thirty thousand strong, killed fifteen thousand.
>
> ἐξέρχεται Ἀαρών, υἱὸς Μαδὶ, μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀπό τε Μαυροφόρων καὶ πάσης Συρίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ἔρχεται ἕως Χρυσοπόλεως, καταλιπὼν τὸν Βούνουσον πολιορκεῖν τὴν Νακώλειαν καὶ φυλάττειν τὰ νῶτα αὐτοῦ. ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὸν Βουρνιχὲ εἰς Ἀσίαν μετὰ λʹ χιλιάδων, ὃς καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Λαχανοδράκοντα σὺν τῷ θέματι τῶν Θρᾳκησίων ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Δαρηνῷ, καὶ αὐτῶν λʹ χιλιάδων ὄντων ιεʹ χιλιάδας ἀπέκτεινεν.[52]

The main Arabic source on this campaign is Ṭabarī, though the campaign also appears in abridged form in the earlier histories. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ explains that in the year 165/782 "during the reign of his father, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful conducted the summer raid until he reached the gulf. He returned home in the year 166" (غزا هارون أمير المؤمنين في خلافة أبيه الصائفة حتى نزل بالخليج، وقفل سنة ست وستين ومائة).[53] Yaʿqūbī clarifies the word "gulf" in his history: "In the year 164, Hārūn led it [the *ṣāʾifa*] again and reached the gulf

51 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:206–7; *Taʾrīkh*, 3:493.

52 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 628–29; *Chronographia*, 456.

53 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 289.

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of Constantinople" (ستة 164 هارون ايضاً فبلغ خليج القسطنطينية).[54] Theophanes's reference to Chrysopolis (modern Üsküdar) and Ṭabarī's reference to "the gulf of the sea that is by Constantinople" (خليج البحر الذى على القسطنطينية) confirm Hārūn's arrival at the Bosporus Strait.

The names of the generals involved in this campaign are potentially problematic. Theophanes's "Bounousos" renders "Ibn Yūnus," which appears in Ṭabarī's version as "Rabīʿ b. Yūnus." Theophanes places Bounousos over Nakoleia (Seyitgazi), whereas Ṭabarī places Rabīʿ over Nicomedia (İzmit). Either is possible, given that Ṭabarī has the campaign start in Mājida (Niğde), which would believably place Nakoleia en route. Theophanes's "Bournike" has been read as "Barmakī," citing the Syriac spelling in Michael the Syrian.[55] This is circular reasoning, however, since Michael the Syrian's text reads ܒܘܪܢܝܩܝ. Chabot's reading of this name as "Bournikê" derives from Theophanes and not from the original Syriac.[56] There is no reason to insert the Barmakids into this narrative, particularly since their involvement would likely have been noted in the Arabic texts. Bournike, and even more so the Syriac spelling Būrnsī, could also potentially render the *nisba* Burnusī as found in Khalīfa's account of the Roman campaigns of 161/778. Sālim al-Burnusī was a *mawlā* of ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, the great-uncle of the caliph who fought on the frontiers.[57]

Both Theophanes and Ṭabarī focus on the peace treaty that resulted from this *ṣāʾifa*, describing the *jizya* owed to the Caliphate over a three-year period. Łewond's account of the campaign does not match those of Theophanes and Ṭabarī. Łewond claims that the caliphal forces negotiated to avoid starvation. Should Hārūn have been in such a crisis, on the brink of losing the war, it is not immediately clear why Eirene would have agreed to pay the Caliphate. The defection of Tačat, as noted in Łewond and Theophanes, makes sense of the circumstances of such a peace treaty. Theophanes, however, downplays the threat to the empire by claiming that the Roman Empire relented because their negotiators forgot to arrange for hostages before crossing the front line. Without Arab hostages, the Roman negotiators had no assurance of their own safety. Theophanes blames this predicament on Tačat, claiming that Tačat directed Hārūn to take advantage of the situation: "On his advice the Arabs asked for peace" (δοὺς αὐτοῖς βουλήν, ᾐτήσαντο εἰρήνην).[58] This suggests that the Arab-Roman peace treaty, under whose terms the Roman Empire paid tribute to the Caliphate for several years, was a payment to save the lives of a few of Eirene's supporters. This interpretation diminishes the threat to Constantinople. Łewond, by contrast, does not mention the Arab-Roman peace treaty at all but instead focuses on how Tačat was able to ameliorate the situation of the caliphal forces. In his telling, it was Tačat's defection—rather than his advice in negotiation strategy—that turned the tide of the encounter to offer the upper hand to the caliphal forces. As the *strategos* of the Bucellarii, Tačat controlled a famous contingent of cavalry and a powerful theme in

54 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 3:1146; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:486. The translators render *khalīj* as "bay" instead of "gulf." Note that Yaʿqūbī's placement of this campaign in 164/781 is the only chronological discrepancy related to the *ṣawāʾif* found across these texts.

55 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 629 n. 6.

56 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 3:2; 4:480.

57 Pace Crone, who notes that he was the *mawlā* of Ismāʿīl, not ʿĪsā; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 194.

58 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 629; *Chronographia*, 456.

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Table 9. Summary of information provided about the 165/782 campaign.

	Łewond	**Khalīfa**	**Balādhurī**	**Yaʿqūbī**	**Ṭabarī**	**Theophanes**
Places		The "gulf"	The "gulf," Maṣṣīṣa	The "gulf" of Constantinople	Mājida, the "gulf" of Constantinople, Nicomedia	Chrysopolis, Nakoleia, Darenos
Roman forces	Tačat Anjewacʿi					Michael Lachanadrakon, Tačat
Caliphal forces	Hārūn al-Rashīd	Hārūn al-Rashīd	Hārūn al-Rashīd	Hārūn al-Rashīd	Hārūn al-Rashīd, Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, Yazīd b. Mazyad	Hārūn, Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, (Sālim) al-Burnusī
Results	Hārūn-Tačat agreement	Hārūn's return home			Arab-Roman peace treaty	Arab-Roman peace treaty

close vicinity to Constantinople itself. Tačat's defection would have challenged Eirene far more than Hārūn's mere presence outside of Constantinople, especially since the caliphal troops were starving and so unable to threaten the city. Łewond's account portrays Tačat as the linchpin of this campaign. Łewond's focus on Armenian involvement means that the Arab-Roman peace treaty is largely inconsequential to his narrative. He alludes to a "written oath" (qḥṛ երդմամ) [122r], but this is the agreement between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Tačat Anjewacʿi, rather than a treaty with the empress Eirene.

The great variety of toponyms and personal names found in the sources relevant to this particular campaign indicates that there were multiple threads of transmission. Most historians agree on the broad strokes of what happened—namely, that Hārūn al-Rashīd raided as far as the shores opposite Constantinople in 165/782—but they do so in different ways and preserve different snippets of information (for a summary, see table 9). Unlike all of the other accounts of the 165/782 campaign, Łewond's text does not even mention Constantinople. This, along with the lack of information about the Arab-Roman peace treaty, signals Łewond's disinterest in the Roman Empire in this instance. He places the focus squarely on Tačat and his role as a champion of the Roman Empire and savior of caliphal forces.

XIV.B.5. Conclusions about Łewond's Accounts of the ṣawāʾif

When we review the main accounts of the *ṣawāʾif* during the reign of Mahdī, certain trends emerge. The accounts of these campaigns are remarkably stable. The dates, regions, and commanders typically align across the Greek, Arabic, and Armenian sources. In all of these narratives, the *ṣawāʾif* are portrayed as centrally organized; the caliph and the emperor direct them. This correspondence does not imply that they were working with the same underlying source(s), as word choice, toponyms, and personal names do not provide clear indications of intercultural transmission. Instead, the stable core of the accounts indicates that the stories about the *ṣawāʾif* circulated widely. Through the stories we can see

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common threads across languages, such as the anger of Mahdī following the Roman victories of 161/778 and the effort to shelter people in fortified cities along the frontier.

The stability of the storyline of the *ṣawāʾif* across religio-linguistic boundaries also sets Łewond's or his sources' narrative choices into relief. For example, he consistently excludes the names of most caliphal generals and all Roman generals. In particular, his reference to Michael Lachanadrakon without name, merely as "the other one" who "was from the Greek troops" (միւսն ի զաւրացն Յունաց) [119r], reads as a calculated decision in light of Michael's centrality to both Greek and Arabic accounts of the *ṣawāʾif*. The downplaying of Michael foregrounds Armenian participation in imperial service while also providing a thematic link between the first and second parts of this chapter in the figure of Tačat Anjewacʿi.

XIV.C. THE CAREER OF TAČAT ANJEWACʿI

Tačat Anjewacʿi provides an interesting case study of the mobility of elites in the second/eighth century as well as of the political relationship between the prince of Armenia and the caliphal governor, the military role of Armenian *naxararkʿ* on the northern frontier, the relevance of loyalty in the Arab-Roman wars, and the significance of storytelling in medieval Armenia. Tačat's name indicates that he belonged to the Anjewacʿikʿ, the ruling family of Zawazān/Anjewacʿikʿ in Basfurrajān/Vaspurakan, though we lack any information about his early life.

XIV.C.1. The Chronology of Tačat's Career

Łewond states that Tačat served Constantine V for twenty-two years, fighting "in the regions of the Sarmatians, who are called the Bulgars" (ի կողմանս՝ Սարմատացւոց որ անուանեալ կոչին Բուլկարք) [121v]. If we assume that he served straight through the reign of Constantine V (r. 741–75 CE), this means that he entered Roman service around 135/753. This date corresponds, roughly, to the implementation of Constantine's policy to encourage Armenian emigration to Roman territory (on which see chapter XIII), but we find no explicit evidence to suggest that Tačat moved as a result of such policies. Łewond explains that Tačat "fled from the Ishmaelite prince" (փախստական եղեալ յիշխանեն Իսմաելի) [121r], which matches his usual couching of emigration as a flight from caliphal oppression. This phrase also implies that Tačat may have served the Caliphate before moving to Roman territory, hence his flight from the Ishmaelite prince specifically (instead of the Ishmaelites generally). Tačat served Constantine V until the latter's death, then fought for his son Leo IV during the Roman attack on Syria in 161/778, as discussed above. Following the death of Leo IV in 780 CE, Tačat served the empress Eirene, who ruled on behalf of her minor son Constantine VI (r. 780–97 CE). Table 10 outlines the known facts of Tačat's career.

Note that these accounts are out of order in Łewond's text, possibly because he relied on two different sources. The first source included a passage on the Roman raid into Syria during the reign of Leo IV and mentioned Tačat's activities in passing. The second source provided a more detailed account of Tačat's military career, beginning with his service under Constantine V. This foray into an earlier period allows us to speculate about how

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Table 10. Timeline of Tačat Anjewacʿi's career.

Folio in Łewond	Year	Ruler served	Tačat's activity
121v (implied)	before 753	Saffāḥ	Given the claim that he "fled from the Ishmaelite prince," Tačat may have begun his career in the caliphal army.
121v	ca. 753–75	Constantine V	Tačat fought the Sarmatians (Bulgars).
118v–119r	775–80	Leo IV	Tačat became *strategos* of the Bucellarii[59] and fought in Cilicia and Bišan.
121v	780–82	Eirene and Constantine VI	Tačat remained *strategos* of the Bucellarii.
121v–123v	782–85	Mahdī	Tačat defected and became prince of Armenia, then fought in Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband.

Łewond edited his text. He curates the chronological inconsistencies through narrative markers such as the phrase "whom we mentioned earlier" (զորմէ յառաջագոյն պատմեցաք) [121r]. He also acknowledges vaguely that the earlier events happened "at some time" (երբեմն) [121r], as they should rightly have appeared in his account of Manṣūr's caliphate. Łewond then jumps awkwardly over the deaths of two emperors in a single statement, even though he has already noted their deaths in the proper place on folios 118v and 120v, respectively: "Then after the death of Constantine [V] and his son Leo [IV], Constantine [VI] held power" (Իսկ յետ վախճանին Կոստանդնի և Լեւոնի որդոյ նորա. և ունել զթագաւորթիւնն Կոստանդնի) [121v]. The repetition of their deaths ends the flashback to Constantine V's reign and brings the reader back to Łewond's point of interest in the affairs of 165/782.

In the Arabic sources, Tačat appears as a Roman general who countered the *ṣawāʾif*. He comes across not as a significant player but rather as a single (albeit named) soldier serving among the tens of thousands under the command of Michael Lachanadrakon. Ṭabarī describes the 164/781 raid led by ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in Ḥadath—notably, a campaign that Łewond omits entirely from his narrative. Ṭabarī explains that "Michael the Patrician met him [ʿAbd al-Kabīr], it is said, with about ninety thousand men, among them Tačat the Armenian the Patrician. ʿAbd al-Kabīr lost heart before him and prevented the Muslims from fighting and returned" (فأقبل اليه ميخائيل البطريق فيما ذكر فى نحو من تسعين الفا فيهم طازاذ الأرمنى البطريق ففشل عنه عبد الكبير ومنع المسلمين من القتال وانصرف).[60] Although Ṭabarī discusses Hārūn al-Rashīd's campaign to Constantinople in 165/782 at length, including the peace treaty with Eirene, he does not refer to Tačat or his defection in that narrative. In Ṭabarī's text, therefore, Tačat appears as a servant of the Roman Empire, repelling the 164/781 *ṣāʾifa* without hint of anticipation of his defection.

59 Theophanes acknowledges Tačat as *strategos* of the Bucellarii during the reign of Leo IV in the year AM 6270/777–78 CE. Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight," 283; Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 623; *Chronogra*phia, 451. Tritle claims that Łewond attests to Tačat's appointment to the Bucellerion theme under Constantine V, but this claim cannot be substantiated.

60 Ṭabarī, *History*, 29:217; *Taʾrīkh*, 3:501; see also Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 288. Tritle reads Ṭabarī's عنه to refer to Tačat, but this is open to debate; Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight," 288.

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Unsurprisingly, Theophanes's ninth-century chronicle focuses on Tačat's defection from Roman service under the year AM 6274/781–82 CE:

> But Tačat, the *strategos* of the Bucellarii, defected to the Arabs because of his hatred toward the eunuch Staurakios, the patrician and logothete of the Course, who at that time was at the head of everything and administered all matters. On his advice the Arabs asked for peace. When Staurakios, the *magistros* Peter, and the *domesticus* Antony went forth on this mission, they did not take care to receive explicit promises to take the children of the Arab leaders as hostages. Instead, they went out heedlessly and were seized by them and put into chains. So both sides were obliged to make peace. The Augusta [Eirene] and Hārūn exchanged many gifts and agreed that at stated times [tribute] should be paid to the Arabs. After peace had been concluded they departed, abandoning also the fort of Nakoleia. Tačat took away his wife and all his possessions.
>
> Προσέφυγε δὲ αὐτοῖς Τατζάτιος, ὁ τῶν Βουκελλαρίων στρατηγός, μίσει τῷ πρὸς Σταυράκιον, τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ λογοθέτην τοῦ δρόμου, τὸν εὐνοῦχον, πρωτεύοντα πάντων τῶν τηνικαῦτα ὄντων καὶ τὰ πάντα διοικοῦντα. καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς βουλήν, ᾐτήσαντο εἰρήνην. ἐξελθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο Σταυρακίου καὶ Πέτρου μαγίστρου καὶ Ἀντωνίου δομεστίκου, οὐκ ἠκριβολογήσαντο λόγον λαβεῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν πρωτευόντων, ἀλλὰ ἀσκόπως ἐξελθόντες ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπ᾽αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεδήθησαν, καὶ ἐβιάσθησαν ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τοῦ ποιῆσαι εἰρήνην· καὶ ἐδωρήσαντο ἀλλήλοις ἥ τε Αὐγούστα καὶ ὁ Ἀαρὼν ξένια πολλά, στοιχήσαντες καὶ <φόρους> κατὰ καιρὸν τελεῖν αὐτοῖς· καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης ἀνεχώρησαν ἀφήσαντες καὶ τὸ κάστρον Νακωλείας. ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τατζάτης τὴν γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν.[61]

The rationale for Tačat's defection, which cost him the power and wealth associated with his position as *strategos*, is explicit in both histories. Whereas Theophanes claims that the general disliked Staurakios, Łewond instead places the blame directly on the empress Eirene, who "treated him with disdain" (հեռութեամբ վարէր առ նա) [121v]. L. Tritle argues that Łewond's account is logically sounder than Theophanes's. The heart of the problem was Eirene's agenda to protect her son's position, so she worked to dislodge from power anyone who had wielded influence during the reigns of Constantine V or Leo IV.[62] It is worth noting, however, that Łewond's criticism of Eirene is not at odds with Theophanes's blame of Staurakios, as the latter was one of Eirene's trusted generals.

From the perspective of caliphal history, Tačat is an interesting example of a member of a transregional elite who was able to navigate imperial politics successfully. His story also demonstrates caliphal involvement in the recognition of the prince of Armenia in an instance that is particularly notable because the ʿAbbāsids had previously acknowledged only scions of the Bagratuni family in this position.[63] Further, the descriptions of Tačat's career demonstrate the fault lines between the caliphs in Baghdad and their provincial representatives. When Tačat arrived in Armenia, the caliphal governor ʿUthmān refused to acknowledge him, sought to convince the caliph to revoke Tačat's appointment, and

61 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 629; *Chronographia*, 456.

62 Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight," 296–97.

63 For a list of princes of Armenia in the ʿAbbāsid period, see Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 404–6; Ter-Łevondyan, "Hayocʿ išxanə." Canard lists Mušeł Mamikonean as *išxan* from 748 to 753 CE but rightly notes that "son principat ne fut pas reconnu, semble-t-il par la nouvelle dynastie."

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prevented Tačat from seeking help from Baghdad. These actions suggest that ʿUthmān was threatened enough by Tačat to risk disobedience. Łewond explains ʿUthmān's actions as caused by his concern about Tačat's defection, as if Tačat might turn on the Caliphate in the same way he turned on the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, the caliph blamed ʿUthmān for Tačat's death and replaced him as governor. The interplay between ʿUthmān, Tačat, and Mahdī underscores the delicate triangulation often required in caliphal governance in the provinces.[64]

XIV.C.2. Tačat's Death

Łewond describes Tačat's death during a campaign against the Khazars in Albania at Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband thus:

> He [ʿUthmān] called Prince Tačat, the *sparapet* Bagarat, Nersēh Kamsarakan, and others from among the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ in the days of the burning dawn of Hephaestus's fiery head. He pitched his camp in the field called Kʿeran in the terrible and intolerable temperatures of excessive burning heat. He spent the entire summer in the furnace-like, rocky field. The Armenian *naxarark*ʿ were not able to endure it and they died from the burning air, which was perilous and took their lives.
>
> Կոչէ զՏաճատն իշխան և զսպարապետն Բագարատ. և զՆերսեհն Կամսարական, և զայլսն ի նախարարացն Հայոց. յաւուրս տապախառն ծագման Յեփեստեա/յ\. հրազգաթան: Եւ հարկանէ զբանակս իւր ի դաշտին որ կոչէր Քերան, ի դժընդակ և յանհանդուրժելի ջերմութե*ան* տապոյ խորշակին. և զբովանդակ աւուրս ամարանոյ անցուցանէր ի հնոցաձեւ ապառաժին դաշտի: Որում ոչ կարացեալ հանդուրժել նախարարք Հայոց, վախճանէին ի տապախառն աւդոյն. որ վտանգեալ բառնայր ի կենաց աշխարհիս: [123r]

Although Łewond's description apparently ascribes the deaths of the Armenian *naxarark*ʿ to the high temperatures, his word choice—Hephaestus, perilous burning air—evokes volcanoes and so suggests that the forces may have faced more than just the usual summer conditions.

Medieval Arabic descriptions of the Caspian coast include references to erupting volcanoes, which may have contributed to the violent weather conditions described by Łewond. Masʿūdī, for example, describes the coast of the Caspian Sea up to the oil fields of Bākuh and adds:

> In the oil-bearing area there is a volcano that is one of the fire-spitting springs; it does not rest at any time and emits long jets of flame. Off this coast lie several islands: one of these lies at three days' distance from the coast and possesses a huge volcano that at certain periods of the year emits a hissing sound, and a great flame appears from it and flashes into the air as high as the highest mountains. It lights up the major part of the [Caspian] Sea, and this phenomenon can be seen from land at a hundred *farsakh*s' distance. This volcano resembles Mount Burkān in Sicily, which lies within the dominion of the Franks and [in the proximity of] Ifrīqiyya of the Maghrib.[65]

64 For a study of early ʿAbbāsid Syria, see Cobb, *White Banners*, chapter 2.

65 Minorsky, *History*, 153–54.

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فى هذه النفاطة اطمة وهى عين من عيون النار لا تهدأ على سائر الاوقات تتضرم الصعدا ويقابل هذا الساحل فى البحر جزائرمنها جزيرة على نحو من ثلاثة أيام من الساحل فيها اطمة عظيمة تصفر فى الاوقات من فصول السنة فتظهر منها نار عظيمة تذهب فى الهواء كاشمخ ما يكون من الجبال العالية فتضى الاكثر من هذا البحر ويرى ذلك فى نحو ماية فرسخ من البرّ. وهذه الاطمة تشبه باطمة جبل البركان من بلاد صقلية من ارض الافرنجة وبلاد افريقية من ارض المغرب.[66]

For "volcano," Masʿūdī uses the word اطمة, which renders the Greek ἀτμίς, "steam" or "vapor." This term may refer to the same sort of noxious air apparently described by Łewond, particularly given the comparison to Mount Etna in both the Arabic and the Armenian (in the latter through the evocation of Hephaestus). Other Arabic geographies and travelogues refer to the naphtha and oil fields of Bākuh,[67] though without the streams of fire that rivaled mountains—a dramatic claim, given the proximity of the Caucasus. Masʿūdī's flame-spitting volcano on the Caspian may explain the extreme conditions along the coast, indicating that Tačat and his companions died of more than mere heat exhaustion.

Łewond's passage on the death of Tačat may build on broader associations with volcanoes in Greek texts. Strabo (*Geog.* V.4.7) describes the smells of Gulf Lucrinus near Mount Vesuvius in similar terms, reporting that "immediately above the city lies the Forum of Hephaestus, a plain shut in all around by exceedingly hot ridges, which in numerous places have fumaroles that are like chimneys and that have a rather noisome smell; and the plain is full of drifted sulphur" (ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἡ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἀγορά, πεδίον περικεκλειμένον διαπύροις ὀφρύσι, καμινώδεις ἐχούσαις ἀναπνοὰς πολλαχοῦ καὶ βρωμώδεις ἱκανῶς: τὸ δὲ πεδίον θείου πλῆρές ἐστι συρτοῦ). The word translated here as "like chimneys" is καμινώδεις, which literally means "ovenlike"; this compares well to Łewond's hůngwůł. Both καμινώδεις and hůngwůł are exceedingly rare. Their appearance in similar contexts may suggest a common literary trope related to volcanoes. These rare words and the evocation of Hephaestus indicate that Łewond's information may have derived from a Greek milieu. This supposition is further supported by Łewond's use of the rare Armenian toponym "Caspian Gates" (դրուռք Կասբից), which renders the Greek Κάσπιαι πύλαι.[68] This term does not exist in Arabic texts, which instead refer to the Darband pass as the "gate of gates" (باب الابواب).

XIV.C.3. The Afterlife of Tačat's Story

The history of Pseudo-Šapuh Bagratuni reveals the popularity that the story of Tačat enjoyed in medieval Armenia long after his death. Pseudo-Šapuh includes an extended discussion of the career of Tačat Anjewacʿi. According to Pseudo-Šapuh, Mahmat the king of Baghdad (presumably meaning Muḥammad al-Mahdī) had been friendly to Tačat. One of Tačat's men, however, killed Mahmat's unnamed son. The death of the caliph's son forced Tačat to flee to the land of the Greeks, where the king Phokas "recognized him,

66 Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:25–26.

67 Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, 35 (English) and 6 (Arabic); Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa-mamālik*, 190; Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 578.

68 The Greek term does not usually refer to Darband, but it seems to do so beginning with the time of Herakleios; Anderson, "Alexander."

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honored him, and appointed him *katapan* [կատապան to render κατεπάνω][69] opposite Tarsus" (ճանաչ զնայ և մեծարեաց և կացոյց զնայ կատապան ընդդէմ Տարսոյ).[70] Mahmat subsequently sent campaigns against the Greeks to avenge his son's death. This account places Tačat at the heart of the Arab-Roman wars, not only as a main protagonist but also as the very impetus for the *ṣawāʾif*. Pseudo-Šapuh describes the *ṣawāʾif* as wars between the Romans (switching from the Greeks) and the Babylonians, headed by another son of the king of Baghdad.

According to Pseudo-Šapuh, Tačat, at the head of a Roman army and dressed as a Roman, defeated the Babylonian army at Tarsus and then came across Musē, the caliph's son, lost and defeated on the battlefield. He invited Musē into his house, traveled to receive praise from the Roman king for his military success, and then returned to Zawazān/Anjewacʿikʿ. Tačat next presented himself at court in Baghdad along with the caliph's son, announcing: "I have come from the Roman Empire in order to serve the king" (ես եկել եմ Հռոմոց աշխարհէն. զի ծառայեմ արքային).[71] He feigned ignorance of what had befallen the royal family. The chamberlain recounted the deaths of both of the caliph's sons, the first in Zawazān/Anjewacikʿ and the second in battle with the Romans, and said that the caliph remained in mourning. This set up the dramatic reveal, when Tačat theatrically produced Musē, the son who had reportedly died on the battlefield, and so transformed himself from enemy to ally. Pseudo-Šapuh has Tačat exclaim: "Hear, O king; I am Tačat, and this is your son Musē, who they said had been killed. But behold, happy are you, since here is your son alive" (Լուր, արքայ, ես եմ Տաճատ, և այս է որդին քո Մուսէ, որ ասացին թէ սպանված է և, ա՛մ երանի քեզ զի ահա որդիտ քո կենդանի է).[72] The caliph fainted and then wept before assigning the governorship of Armenia to Tačat. In Pseudo-Šapuh's account, two Armenian *naxararkʿ* subsequently killed Tačat, which led the caliph (still "Mahmat," referring to Mahdī) to send his general Bughā.

Clearly, Pseudo-Šapuh has recast events of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, and his version does not align with the established narrative of early caliphal history. All of the other accounts described above identify the son of the caliph Mahdī who fought on the frontier against the Roman Empire as Hārūn al-Rashīd (Mahdī's younger son, r. 170–93/786–809) instead of Mūsā al-Hādī (Mahdī's older son, r. 169–70/785–86). Moreover, Pseudo-Šapuh's history confuses other elements of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, most noticeably the caliphal campaigns under Bughā, which took place in the 230s/850s under Mutawakkil (r. 232–47/847–61) instead of under Mahdī.[73]

Nonetheless, Pseudo-Šapuh exhibits a narrative perspective that resonates with Łewond. Like Łewond, Pseudo-Šapuh casts Tačat in a central role, as a key player in the major campaigns across Anatolia. This perspective separates Łewond and Pseudo-Šapuh from the Arabic tradition. Further, although all of our sources construe the *ṣawāʾif* as imperially driven campaigns, neither Łewond nor Pseudo-Šapuh give much attention to

69 The title κατεπάνω is first attested in the fourth/tenth century, which points to the later composition of Pseudo-Šapuh's text.

70 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 210; *Patmutʿiwn*, 135.

71 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 211; *Patmutʿiwn*, 137.

72 Bagratuni, "Anonymous Storyteller," 212; *Patmutʿiwn*, 141.

73 On these, see Vacca, "Conflict and Community."

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the imperial actors. As discussed above, the Arabic and Greek sources, unlike Łewond, frequently preserve details about the generals and forces in the field. Pseudo-Šapuh's reading of Armenian history into imperial history differs from Łewond's, however, in that he projects the *ṣawā'if* into a timeless biblical framework. He accomplishes this by switching the Romans and the Greeks, on the one hand, and the Babylonians and the Caliphate, on the other.

Although Pseudo-Šapuh's history cannot corroborate any details in Łewond's narrative as "true" or "correct," it can help us understand the story's circulation in the medieval period. For example, we suggested above, following Tritle, that Tačat may have been in the service of the Caliphate before he moved to the Roman Empire given Łewond's oblique comment that Tačat had fled the Ishmaelite prince, which is an unusually specific way to refer to emigration from Armenia. Pseudo-Šapuh confirms that the popular version of the story did indeed have Tačat defect twice, first from caliphal service and then from the Roman Empire.

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XV The Caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī

r. AH 169–70/785–86 CE

Łewond's fifteenth chapter is short, reflecting the length of the caliphate of Mūsā al-Hādī. Łewond's main concern in this period is the fate of three Arcruni brothers. He does not offer a clear explanation for their imprisonment beyond the malicious nature of the caliph and his governor, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. However, Arabic sources and the Armenian martyrology of the brothers note an Armenian rebellion during the reign of Hādī; if the Arcrunikʿ in fact rebelled, Łewond either did not know about the rebellion or was not interested in recording it. One of the Arcruni brothers subsequently converted to Islam and the other two were executed. Łewond also recounts the execution of a Georgian prince during the reign of Hādī. Coming after a critique of the caliph's murderous personality, the caliphal governor's warlike agenda, and an extended description of the Arcruni martyrs, the execution of an unnamed Georgian prince suggests that Łewond hoped to establish the death of the Arcrunikʿ as part of a broader program of caliphal bloodlust and destruction.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

47. Then after him, Mūsā succeeded his father [Mahdī] for a year. He was a noxious, licentious, and possessed man who was so driven by a demon in him that to entertain himself in games of unworthy behavior, he used to place men instead of targets and shoot arrows at them for his own practice. As soon as he hit them, he killed them.

Mūsā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq (r. 785–86): ʿAbbāsid caliph whose short reign was contested from the start. He is known for his harsh stance against the ʿAlids.

When he established his authority, [124r] he sent a certain Khuzayma, who was truly hellish and warlike as his name suggests, over this land of Armenia to replace Rawḥ. When he arrived in the city of Duin, all of the Armenian *naxararkʿ* came before him. The princes of the Arcruni house, Hamazasp, Sahak, and Mehružan, came before him. But the malicious enemy saw the charming beauty of their countenance and the adornment of their noble regiment that was with them and immediately arrested them. He consigned the brave and prime generals to prison and kept them chained and imprisoned for a period of three

Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī: governor of Armenia from 786 to 787 and again from 804–5 to 806–7.

Warlike: Łewond here presents Khuzayma's name in Armenian, Xazm, as a play on words; it is similar to the Armenian word for "warlike" (*xazmarar*). Khuzayma had a similar reputation for his strict methods of rule in the Arabic sources.

Hamazasp, Sahak, and Mehružan Arcruni: sons of Gagik Arcruni. Earlier, Łewond discussed another pair of Arcruni brothers named Hamazasp and Sahak who were killed fighting Arab troops [97v]. The Hamazasp and Sahak mentioned earlier in the text were

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<months>.[1] He sent a complaint about them to Mūsā the Ishmaelite prince and received an order from the latter to execute them. He had the order for their death and the unjust [124v] sentence of anger brought to the prison where they kept the blessed martyrs locked up.

When the death sentence was read over them, the imprisoned asked a certain one of them [the Arabs] called Qutayba, who was the nicest and friendliest to them: "Tell us," they said, "how we can escape this unjust death that we are caught in." He said to them: "There is no way at all for you to survive his clutches. However, if you commit yourself to converting to our faith and believing the voice of our prophet, you will escape the snare of death." Me[h]ružan heard this order and was terrified of ephemeral death, [so] he delivered himself to the eternal perdition of Gehenna. He crushed the sweet yoke[2] of faith in Christ and separated from the flock of the Lord. He donned the form of a wolf[3] and condemned himself in the eternal court. But since [125r] he did this unwillingly and out of the fear of death that overcame him, perhaps Christ will have mercy [on him] for his sincere repentance.

But the victorious martyrs donned the cuirass of faith and fortified their heads with the helmet of salvation.[4] They said to him: "God forbid that we should trade God's truth for lies, eternal for temporal life, perpetual for transitory glory, or Christ, the hope of all, for a little bit of our blood." In this way, during the time of their imprisonment, they trained each other, saying: "O brothers, we have sufficiently enjoyed the glory of this transient world. But from this moment on nothing will seduce us: not greatness, not fleeting glory, not gold-embroidered tunics in our honor, not love of our relations, not tenderness for our children, [125v] nor any other imminent goods, which many desired, [thereby] inheriting irretrievable perdition." In this way they encouraged each other during the afflictions of prison

sons of Vahan Arcruni and brothers of Gagik Arcruni. The Hamazasp and Sahak mentioned here were thus nephews of the previous Hamazasp and Sahak. They were imprisoned for an extended period and were released after the death of their father [100v]. Hamazasp was the leader of military activities at the battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš [110v–111r].

Qutayba: otherwise unattested.

Mehružan: this name is particularly striking. According to multiple Armenian sources, a fourth-century nobleman named Mehružan Arcruni converted to Zoroastrianism and helped the Sasanian Empire invade Armenia. It is possible that the name Mehružan here is meant to draw parallels with that well-known story.

1 <Months>: the manuscript reads "years," probably reflecting a scribal error caused by confusion of the letters -un- and -ɯ-. Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni were martyred during the reign of Hādī, which lasted only fourteen months (or just one year, according to Łewond).

2 Cf. Matthew 11:30.

3 Cf. Matthew 7:15; Acts 20:29. See also the vision of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in Agatʿangełos, *History of the Armenians*, §740; Aleksidze, "Visions."

4 Cf. 1 Thessalonians 5:8.

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and, united with God in prayer, asked to inherit the expectation of hope in the world to come. When the time arrived for them to finish running the race of martyrdom in the days of the holy and glorious Epiphany of Christ, which the ranks of the faithful in Christ observed solemnly for eight days, the operator of injustice ordered them called before the tribunal. He knew in advance about the valor of their hearts and the warmth of their faith in Christ, [so] he did not repeat those words to them. Instead, he led first the blessed Sahak into the arena.

The instrument of torture [126r] that they prepared was new. They planted forked branches of wood into the firm ground, secured unshakably on the right and the left. They placed the martyr between them and beat the forked branches of wood into his armpits. They bound his hands to the wood and tied them tightly. Hitting his back with a cudgel, they tortured him greatly until his body was completely torn apart. They kept the blessed Hamazasp in chains outside. He prayed to the Lord in his heart. His lips did not move and his words were not audible, but from his heart alone he cried out, weeping. He called on the Lord for assistance against the danger in which they stood. When they had tortured him [Sahak] violently in that way, they unchained him from the bitter bonds and brought the blessed [126v] Hamazasp to the same place of tortures and bound him in the same way between the two pieces of wood. They tortured his back even more bitterly as he bore the tortures even more courageously. After that, the judge gave the order to kill them by the sword. When the executioner heard his order, he immediately drew his sword[5] over them and cut off their heads. In that way they remitted their souls and left this world.

The next day he [the judge] gave the order to hang their bodies from a cross,[6] and he assigned soldiers over [them] lest any Christians steal and bury their bodies. For the lawless judge was impenitent at heart, and after their deaths he refused to sweeten the bitterness of his heart. Instead, he brought [them] down from the cross[7] and burned the bodies and bones of the blessed [127r] generals with fire. He did not even spare the ashes for burial but delivered them

5 "Sword," qunıpսն, lit. "swords."

6 "From a cross," ի փայտէ, lit. "from wood."

7 "From the cross," ի փայտէն, lit. "from the wood."

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to the waters of the river. For the increase[8] of a momentary, light affliction will work <the greatness>[9] of glory in them, according to the apostolic saying,[10] and in return, the generosity[11] of the Rewarder[12] will recompense them one hundredfold, according to the promise of the Lord that "everyone who leaves father or mother or wife or son or land for the sake of My name will receive one hundred times as much in this world and will inherit eternal life."[13] This took place during the reign of Mūsā, under the governorship of Khuzayma, in the days of the holy Epiphany of the Lord in the year of the Armenians 233.

Mūsā reigned for one year and died. In those days, he also killed the prince of the Georgians in a horrible death, for he removed his feet and hands [127v] and cut his youthful age in half. Thus reckoned like a lamb for slaughter, he bid farewell to this life. Having completed all of these evils, he [Mūsā] died after a year.[14]

According to the manuscript, Hamazasp and Sahak were executed in 233 of the Armenian era, which corresponds to 784–85 CE. This is one of the earliest references to the Armenian era, which began in 552 CE. But Łewond also notes that their deaths took place during the caliphate of Hādī and the governorship of Khuzayma, which could not have been before 786. It is possible that a scribe misread the դ (= 4) as գ (= 3) and that the text originally read 234 of the Armenian era (785–86).

Prince of the Georgians: the identification of the prince of the Georgians is uncertain. Habo, the patron saint of Tbilisi, and Arčʿil the king of Kaxetʿi are likely candidates.

8 "The increase": the text reads "through the increase," with "increase" in the instrumental case. On the basis of the biblical text, we suggest that the scribe misread the abbreviated form of the nominative singular, յաճախութիւն, as the abbreviated form of the instrumental singular, յաճախութիւնս.

9 "<The greatness>": the scribe originally miscopied զմեծութիւն, "the greatness," as զմերժումն, "the repulsion," but then indicated that it should be expunged. The scribe did not provide any text to replace it; we have supplied the reading զմեծութիւն on the basis of the biblical reference.

10 Cf. 2 Corinthians 4:17.

11 "Generosity," առատութիւնք: in the manuscript the word is in the nominative plural, but no plural is attested for this word. We suggest that the scribe mistakenly copied the marker of the definite, -ն, as the ending of the nominative plural, -ք, thus առատութիւնն. Martin-Hisard has plausibly suggested that the noun may have been in the instrumental singular, առատութեամբ, but such a reconstruction renders the translation of պարգեւատու (*pargewatu*) awkward: "through the generosity of the Rewarder, He will recompense. . . ."

12 "Rewarder," պարգեւատու: cf. Hebrews 11:6.

13 The citation is an abridgment and slight conflation of Matthew 19:29 and Luke 18:29–30.

14 In her translation, Martin-Hisard adds "for the glory of Satan" to the end of the final sentence. She has, however, misread Tēr-Vardanean's apparatus. Hakobian also does not include this final phrase in the edition facing Martin-Hisard's translation, judging it to have been an addition.

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ARMENIAN EDITION

խէ[15] Ապա յետ նորա Մուսէ փոխանորդէ զիշխանութի*ւն* հաւր իւրոյ ամ մի. և էր այր ժանդ և ապարասան և այսակիր. որ յանչափ շարժօղ[16] այսոյն որ ի նմա՝ ի զբաւսանել իւրում ի խաղս անարժան բարուցն. զմարդիկ կանգնէր փոխանակ մղղակի. նետածիգս առնել ի նոսա, ի վարժումն անձին իւրոյ: զոր առ ժամայն հարե*ալ* սատակէր ի կենաց:

Եւ իբրև հաստատեաց զիշխանութի*ւն*ն իւր, [124r] առաքէ ի վերա երկրիս Հայոց փոխանակ Ռոհայ զԽազմ ոմն. որ արդարև ըստ անուանն իսկ խազմարար և դժոխածն: Որ իբրև էհաս ի քաղաքն Դվին ընդ առաջ եղեն նմա *ամենայն* նախարարք Հայոց: Ընդ առաջ լինէին նմա և իշխանք տանն Արծրունեաց. Համազասպ և Սահակ. և Մեհրուժան: Իսկ բարիատեացն թշնամին տեսեալ զգեղաղէշ վայելչութի*ւն*[17] փառաց նոցա. և զբարեզարդութի*ւն* ազատախումբ գնդին որ ընդ նոսա. վաղվաղակի ըմբռնեալ զնոսա. տայր ի պահեստ բանդի զանձինս զաւրավարաց նախամարտկաց և քաջից; և պահէր զնոսա ի կապանս կալանաւոր բանդի ժամանակս երեք ամաց[18]: Եւ առաքէ ամբաստանութի*ւն* զնոցանէ առ Մուսէ իշխանն Իսմայելի. և առնոյր ի նմանէ հրաման բառնալ զնոսա ի կենաց: Եւ տայ[19] տանել զհրաման մահուն և զանիրաւ վճիռն [124v] ցասման ի բանդն յորում պարշարե*ալ* պահէին զերանելի նահատակսն:

Եւ իբրև ընթերցաւ վճիռ մահուն ի վերա նոցա. հարցանէին կապեալքն զոմն ի նոցանէն որում անուն էր Քուդեբա. որ սիրելագոյն էր առ նոսա և բարեկամ. ասեն. պատմեա էթէ զի՞նչ հնար գոյ մեզ զերծանել յանիրաւ մահուանես յոր ըմբռնեալս եղեաք: ասէ ցնոսա. ոչ իւիք գոյ հնար ձեզ ապրել ի ձեռաց նորա. բայց էթէ յանձին կալցիք դառնալ ի հաւատս մեր. և հաւանել ձայնի մարգարէին մերոյ և ապա զերծցիք ի դաւօղ[20] մահուանէն: Եւ զայս հրաման լուեալ Մերուժանայ՝[21] զարհուրեցաւ յառաւրեայ[22] մահուանէս. մատնէր զանձն ի կորուստ յաւիտենական Գեհենին. և խորտակէր զքաղցր լուծ հաւատոյն որ ի Ք*րիստո*ս. և որոշէր ի հաւատէն Տ*եառ*ն. և զգենոյր զկերպարան գայլոյ. և պարտաւոր առներ զինքն տիեզերական ատենին: Այլ քանզի [125r] ոչ ի կամաց. այլ յերկիւղէ մահուն որ ի վերայ[23] էր հասանելոց արար զայս. թերևս գթասցի Ք*րիստո*ս ի զղջումն սրտի նորա:

Իսկ քաջայաղթ նահատակքն զգեցեալ զզրահ հաւատոցն. և սաղաւարտով փրկութե*ան*ն ամրացուցեալ զգլուխս իւրեանց. ասէին ցնա: Քաւ լիցի թէ փոխանակեսցուք զճշմարտութի*ւն*ն Աստուծոյ ընդ ստութե*ան*ն. կամ զկեանսն յաւիտենական ընդ առաւրէիս. կամ զփառսն մշտնջենաւոր. ընդ անցաւորիս. կամ զյոյսն բոլորեցուն զՔ*րիստո*ս ընդ դուզնաքեայ[24] արեանս մերոյ: Եւ այսպէս զժամանակս արգելանին իւրեանց. մարգէին զմիմեանս ասելով. բաւականապէս վայելեցաք[25] ի փառս անցաւորիս ով եղբարք: Այլ

15 խէ lft. mg.
16 շարժօղ] շարժող a.c.
17 վայելչութի*ւն*] -յ- subscr.
18 ամաց] read: ամսոց with Tēr-Vardanean.
19 տայ] տա a.c.
20 դաւօղ] դաւող a.c.
21 Մերուժանայ] -յ subscr.
22 յառաւրեայ] -յ subscr.
23 վերայ] -յ subscr.
24 դուզնաքեայ] դուզնաքեա a.c.
25 վայելեցաք] -յ- subscr.

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արդ այսուհետև ոչ պատրեսցեն զմեզ. ոչ մեծութի*ւն*ք. ոչ փառք անցաւորք. ոչ ոսկէհուռ պատմուճանք շքեղութե*ան* մերոյ. ոչ սէր մերձաւորաց, ոչ գութ մանկանց. [125v] և ոչ այլ ինչ ի մերձակայ[26] բարեացս. որոց բազումք ցանկացեալք, զանգիւտ կորուստն ժառանգեցին: Եւ այսպէս զմիմեանս քաջալերեալ ի ժամանակս բանդամուտ վշտացն. աղաւթիւք ընդ Ա*ստուծո*յ միաւորեալ հայցէին զհանդերձեալ յուսոյն ակնկալութի*ւն*ն ժառանգել: Իսկ իբրև էհաս ժամ ասպարիզին կատարել զընթացս նահատակութե*ան* յաւուրս ս*ուրբ* և փառաւորեալ յայտնութե*ան*ն Ք*րիստո*ս. զոր ութաւրեայ[27] տանեախմբութ*եամ*ք երգաբանէին ի Ք*րիստո*ս հաւատացելոցն դասք: Յայնժամ հրամայէ[28] գործաւնեայն անիրաւութե*ան* կոչել զնոսա առաջի ատենին: Եւ զյառաջ ծանուցեալ զարիութի*ւն* սրտից նոցա և զչերմութի*ւն* հաւատոցն որ ի Ք*րիստո*ս, ոչ երկրորդէր առ նոսա զնոյն բանս, այլ մուծանէր նախ զերանելին զԻսահակ ի տեղի ասպարիսին:

Եւ էր տանջանարանն զոր պատր[126r]աստեցին նորագոյն: Քանզի փայտս երկաթիղս ցցեալ ի հաստատութե*ան* երկրի. անխախուտս հաստատեալ յաջմէ և յահեկէ. և կացուցեալ զնահատակն ի մէջ այնորիկ. հարկանէին զերկաթիղս փայտիցն ի ներքոյ անթիցն: Եւ պրկեալ զձեռս նորա ի փայտին. կապէին պնդագոյնս. և հարեալ ջալոտիւք զթիկունս նորա սաստկագոյնս տանջէին, մինչև քանցել առ հասարակ մարմնոյ նորա: Եւ զերանելին Համազասպ պահէին կապանաւք արտաքոյ. և նա աղաւթէր առ Տ*է*ր ի սրտի իւրում. և շրթունք իւր ոչ շարժէին. և բարբառ իւր ոչ լինէր լսելի. այլ միայն ի սրտէ իւրմէ գոչէր հառաչանաւք. կոչէր զՏ*է*ր յաւգնականութի*ւն* վտանգին յորում հասեալ կային: Եւ իբրև այնպէս սաստկագոյն տանջեալ լուծին զնա ի դառն կապանացն. և ածին զերանելին [126v] զՀամազասպ ի նոյն տեղի տանջանաց. և ըստ նմին աւրինակի կապեալ ի մէջ երկուց փայտիցն. տանջէին զթիկունս նորա ևս դառնագոյնս: Եւ իբրև նա ևս արիաբար համբերեալ տանջանացն. յետ այնորիկ տայր հրաման սպանանել զնոսա սրով. և դահճացն լուեալ զհրաման դատաւորին. վաղվաղակի վերացուցեալ զսուրսն ի վերա նոցա՝ բառնային[29] զգլուխս նոցա: Եւ այնպէս աւանդեալ զհոգիսն՝ փոխեցան յաշխարհէս:

Եւ ի վաղիւ անդր հրաման ետ կախել զմարմինս նոցա զփայտէ. և կարգէր ի վերայ[30] զինուորս. զի մի ոք ի Քրիստոնէից գողասցի և թաղեսցէ զմարմինս նոցա: Եւ զի անզեղջ էր սրտիւ անաւրէն դատաւորն. և ոչ յետ մահուանն անկուշեալ քաղցրանայր դառնութի*ւն* սրտին. այլ իջուցեալ ի փայտէն՝ հրով ծախէր զմարմինս և զոսկերս երանեալ [127r] զաւրավարացն: Եւ զփոշին ևս ոչ անխայեաց տալ գերեզմանի. այլ ի ջուրս[31] գետոյն մատնէր. զի ի ժամանակի թեթև նեղութե*ան՝* յաճախութ*եամ*ք.[32] զմերժումն[33] փառացն գործեսցէ ի նոսա ըստ առաքելական բանին. և ի փոխարէն հատուցմունսն հարիւրաւորս հատուսցէ նոցա պարգևատուին առատութի*ւն*ք ըստ խոստմանն Տ*եառ*ն, եթէ *ամենայն* ոք որ էթող զհայր կամ զմայր, կամ զկին. կամ զորդիս. կամ զագարակս. վ*ասն* անուան իմոյ՝ հարիւրապատիկ առցէ յաշխարհիս յայսմիկ. և զկեանսն յաւիտենից ժառանգեսցէ: Գործեցաւ այս՝ յիշխանութե*ան*ն

26 մերձակայ] -յ subscr.

27 ութաւրեայ] -յ subscr.

28 հրամայէ] -յ- subscr.

29 բառնային] -յ- subscr.

30 վերայ] -յ subscr.

31 ջուրս] -ր- subscr.

32 յաճախութ*եամ*ք] read: յաճախութի*ւն* (cf. 2 Corinthians 4:17).

33 զմերժումն] read: զմեծութիւն with Chahnazarian (cf. 2 Corinthians 4:17).

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Մուսէի. յազգապետութե*ան*ն Խազմայ[34]. յաւուրս *սուրբ* յայտնութե*ան*ն Տ*եառ*ն. յորում էր թուականս Հայոց: *երկերիւր երեսուն և երեք*:

Եւ Մուսէի կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն ամ մի, վախճանէր: Ի սորա աւուրս սպան և զիշխանն Վրաց չարաչար մահուամբ. զի վերամբարձ առեալ զոտիցն և զձեռ[127v]ացն՝ ընդ մէջ կտրէր զմատաղութի*ւն* հասակի նորա: Եւ այսպէս իբրև զգառն համարեալ ի սպանդ. հրաժարէր ի կենացս այսոցիկ: Եւ կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* չարիս յետ ամի միոջ սատակէր:

COMMENTARY

XV.A. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

At the end of the caliphate of Mahdī, Łewond introduces Rawḥ as a replacement for the governor ʿUthmān b. Umāra: the caliph "revoked his [ʿUthmān's] authority and sent his replacement, a certain Rawḥ, to be prince and governor of this land of Armenia. Muḥammad reigned for eight years and, on the arrival of Rawḥ, died" (խափանէ զիշխանութի*ւն* նորա. և առաքէ փոխանակ նորա. զՌոհ ոմն իշխան և հրամանատար ի վերա աշխարհիս Հայոց: Եւ կալեալ զիշխանութի*ւն*ն Մահմետ ամս. *ութ*. և ընդ գալն Ռոհայ՝ վախճանեցաւ) [123v]. Balādhurī provides the following list of the governors of ʿAbbāsid Armenia: Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, ʿUthmān b. ʿUmāra, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, Khuzayma b. Khāzim, and Yazīd b. Mazyad. This passage allows us to identify Łewond's second Rawḥ as Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. Łewond also referred to a man named Rawḥ in Armenia earlier in his text, immediately before the battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand in 158/775 during the reign of Manṣūr [100r]. The designation of the first Rawḥ as an "Ishmaelite general" (զաւրավար Իսմաելացւոցն) is inconclusive, as the term "general" was applied to both the leader of troops and the governor. It remains possible that the Rawḥ whom Łewond places in Armenia during the reign of Manṣūr was one and the same as Mahdī's governor, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. The latter had served as Manṣūr's governor over Ṭabaristān as early as 144/761–62 and so was already in caliphal service by the time Łewond first notes the appearance of a Rawḥ in Armenia.[35] However, given that Rawḥ is a relatively common name, we have no reason to assume that Łewond's two Rawḥs are in fact the same person.

When Hādī came to power in 169/785, he recalled Rawḥ from Armenia to respond to the situation along the Roman frontier. That winter, heavy snowfall caused the flimsy buildings of Ḥadath to collapse and the Greeks to abandon the city. Hādī responded by mustering a force to take the city: "The report reached Mūsā [al-Hādī], so he assigned a contingent with Musayyib b. Zuhayr, a contingent with Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, and a contingent with Ḥamza b. Mālik. But Mūsā died before they executed [the campaign]" (وبلغ الخبر موسى فقطع بعثاً مع المسيّب بن زهير وبعثاً مع روح بن حاتم وبعثاً مع حمزة بن مالك فمات قبل ان ينفذوا).[36] There is reason to doubt that the campaign took place at all, as Hādī died in 170/786 before the planned campaign could take place, but it remains possible that Rawḥ left in order to take

34 Խազմայ] Խազմա a.c.

35 Ibn Isfandiyār, *Abridged Translation*, 124; *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, 181.

36 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 191. Bonner employs this passage to explain Rawḥ's presence in Ḥadath and so the minting of Armenian coins in Hārūniyya; Bonner, "Mint of Hārūnābād," 178.

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Figure 16. Coin of Khuzayma b. Khāzim, minted in Hārūniyya. ANS 1972.79.589. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. Reproduced with permission.

command of his contingent before Hādī's death. Rawḥ then appears as the governor of Ifrīqiyya in that same year.[37]

Łewond's second governor under Hādī, Khuzayma b. Khāzim, is somewhat easier to track in the historical record. Coins minted in Hārūniyya demonstrate that Khuzayma was already associated with Armenia during the reign of Mahdī, before he appears in the written record as a governor (fig. 16). His Hārūniyya coins explicitly identify the caliph, Mahdī, and the heir apparent, Hārūn al-Rashīd, in 169/785.[38] On the basis of this evidence, M. Bonner argues that Łewond confused the dates of Khuzayma b. Khāzim's governorship of Armenia and placed him in power later than expected from the numismatic record.[39] However, the only evidence for Khuzayma's role in Armenia during the reign of Mahdī is his Hārūniyya issue. The location of Hārūniyya remains uncertain, but scholars have typically followed Ibn Ḥawqal's explanation that it was only one stage from Marʿash. Hārūniyya coins were thus minted along the Syrian frontier, far from traditional Armenian territory despite the fact that they bear the name Armenia.[40] Even though these coins claim an Armenian provenance, we should not expect the governors and generals on the Syrian frontier against the Romans to play any significant role in the governance of Armenian territory proper (i.e., Dabīl/Duin). Khuzayma appears on the coins of Armenia proper precisely when we would expect him to do so according to Łewond's account, namely, in 169/785–86 during the caliphate of Hādī.[41] This same disconnect between the Hārūniyya

37 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:569. Bonner argues that Rawḥ's activities on the frontier were connected to his role as governor of Armenia; Bonner, "Mint of Hārūnābād," 177–78. However, he revisits this conclusion in Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 79.

38 Bonner, "Mint of Hārūnābād"; "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī"; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins,* 87–88. See further discussion of the dating of Khuzayma's governorship in the next chapter.

39 Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī," 89.

40 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣurat al-ʿarḍ*, 188 explicitly placed Hārūniyya near the *thughūr* of Jazīra: ومن الهارونيّة الى مرعش من ثغور الجزيرة مرحلة. See also Ibn Ḥawqal, 182: وكانت الهارونيّة من غربىّ جبل اللكام وفى بعض شعابه حصنا صغيرا بناه هارون الرشيد وأدركته فى غاية العمارة وأهله فى جهادهم فى نهاية الجلد والشطارة يغزون فيغنمون ويتلصّصون على بلد الروم فيسلمون وقد ملكه الروم. Bonner, in both "Mint of Hārūnābād" and "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī," follows Ibn Ḥawqal, citing Weir, "Al-Hārūniyya," EI2. More recently, Michael Bates, "Second Muḥammadiyya," argues that Hārūniyya and Hārūnābād are in fact the mine at Bājunays/Apahunikʿ.

41 Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 64; Vardanyan, "Administration," 224 n. 38.

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issues and the governorship of Armenia appears again for Yazīd b. Mazyad (on whom see chapter XVI).

The Arabic sources on Khuzayma's first term as governor of Armenia under Hādī are complicated. As seen above in Balādhurī's list, his first term does appear in the historical record: Khuzayma is listed directly between Rawḥ b. Ḥātim (168/784–85) and Yazīd b. Mazyad (170/786–87). However, all other references in Arabic sources to Khuzayma's role as governor date to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd.[42] Khuzayma's second term during Hārūn's caliphate lasted much longer, from 187/803–4 to 192/807–8. As a result, general comments about Khuzayma's conduct in Armenia cannot easily be assigned to Hādī's reign. Most of the Arabic accounts of Khuzayma's actions in Armenia (whether under Hādī, under Hārūn, or undated) align with the tenor of Łewond's account. Łewond refers to him as "warlike" (Խաղմաղաղ), offering the Armenian word *xazm*, "war," as an explanation for the name Khuzayma. At the end of his list of ʿAbbāsid governors, Balādhurī concludes that "Khuzayma was the strictest of them in terms of governance. He was the one who introduced the cadastre in Dabīl [Duin] and Nasḥawā [Naxčawan], though it was not there before" (وكان خزيمة اشدّهم ولاية وهو الّذي سنّ المساحة بدبيل والنشوى ولم يكن قبل ذلك).[43]

In terms of caliphal governance, both Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī and Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī display four traits common to many ʿAbbāsid governors of Armenia. First, both men had served as ʿAbbāsid governors in other provinces, rotating from one region to another. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim had served as governor over both Kūfa and Sind, whereas Khuzayma had served the ʿAbbāsids in Ṭabaristān, Baṣra, Jazīra, and Syria. ʿAbbāsid governors circled the Caliphate, rarely remaining in one place for more than a few years. Second, both Rawḥ and Khuzayma are associated with major caliphal campaigns, the former in Ṭabaristān and the latter against the Khazars. This similarity points to the presumed military capacity of the governorship of any province, which was perhaps particularly important on the frontier in Armenia. Third, both hailed from gubernatorial houses, that is, a small number of elite families whose members were often selected for governorships under the ʿAbbāsids.[44] The Muhallabī family was famous for its near-dynastic control over ʿAbbāsid Ifrīqiyya, though scions of the house also appear as governors of Baṣra, Baḥrayn, Sind, Ahwāz, and Mawṣil. The Banū Khāzim, by contrast, appear in Nuṣaybīn, Ṭabaristān, and Damascus. This pattern suggests that the ʿAbbāsids cultivated the loyalties of particular families and relied on social pressures to keep their governors in line. Members of both Banū Muhallab and Banū Khāzim appear in the courts of the caliphs in various capacities. Finally, both governors had a deep-rooted connection to Khurāsān. The Muhallabī family, descendants of Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, rose to prominence as governors of Khurāsān under the Umayyads. The Banū Khāzim hailed from Marw al-Rūdh and fought in the ʿAbbāsid Revolution.[45] These trends in early ʿAbbāsid administration continued until the

42 Khalīfa, Ṭabarī, and Ibn Aʿtham do not refer to Khuzayma's first term as governor of Armenia under Hādī. Yaʿqūbī's account, as discussed in detail below, records two terms for Khuzayma as governor of Armenia but places them both under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

43 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210. See also Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar*, 294. Łewond claims that the cadaster was first launched during the reign of Hishām, on which see chapter IX.

44 Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 77.

45 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 133–35, 180–81.

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fourth *fitna*, when the integration of slave soldiers from Central Asia changed the practices established in the earlier period of the ʿAbbāsids' reign.[46]

XV.B. THE DEATH OR CONVERSION OF THE ARCRUNI PRINCES

Most of Łewond's account of the reign of Hādī is occupied with the execution of two Arcruni brothers, Hamazasp and Sahak, and the conversion of a third brother, Mehružan, to Islam. The story of the martyrdom of Hamazasp and Sahak Arcruni has been published in two noncritical editions as well as in editions of the Armenian *Yaysmawurkʿ*, or *Synaxarion*. The Mxitʿarist monk Mkrtičʿ Awgerian (Jean-Baptiste Aucher, 1762–1854) published the first version of the martyrdom in volume 6 of his *Liakatar varkʿ ew vkayutʿiwnkʿ srbocʿ* (*Complete Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints*).[47] Awgerian notes that his version was based primarily on what he labels *Čaṙəntir* A (*Select Discourses* A). This text is identified with folios 273v–276v of a manuscript in the Mxitʿarist archive in Venice, MS 200 (olim 17), which dates to 1224 CE. The martyrology was published again in 1854 by the Mxitʿarist order in the series *Sopʿerkʿ haykakankʿ* (*Armenian Writings*), and this edition, too, used Venice MS 200 as one of its witnesses.

As discussed in detail below, it is clear that the martyrology did not rely on Łewond's account for its narrative, so another version of the martyrdom must have been in circulation. Although it is not possible to date the emergence of that version, it must be earlier than the twelfth century, as the martyrdom is also included in a *Čaṙəntir* dated to 1186–87 CE and currently housed in the Matenadaran in Erevan (MS 3777). The popularity of the saints Sahak and Hamazasp predates manuscript evidence of their vitae, as both appear labeled as martyrs and witnesses (մարտիրոսք եւ վկայք) on the south facade of the famous fourth/tenth-century Church of the Holy Cross at Ałtʿamar (fig. 17). Their cult must have developed soon after their martyrdom.

XV.B.1. An Armenian Revolt under Hādī

Łewond offers no justification for the execution of the Arcruni brothers, but their martyrology claims that Hamazasp and Sahak were arrested on suspicion of fomenting revolt: "Because some sycophantic men made allegations about them at the court of the *amirapet* [i.e., the caliph] and were informers[, alleging]: 'Those three Arcruni brothers are the cause of the rebellion of the realm of Armenia and [are] assisting the Greeks'" (քանզի արք ոմանք սուտակասպասք քսութիւսս զնոցանէ ի դուռն ամիրապետին առնէին, եւ ամբաստան լինէին, թէ երեքին այս եղբարք Արծրունիք են պատճառք ապստամբութեան Հայոց աշխարհին, եւ ձեռնտուք ի Յոյնս).[48] This information tallies with that provided in the Arabic sources. Yaʿqūbī's chronology of Khuzayma's terms as governor of Armenia is skewed (see below), but he similarly claims that Armenians rebelled against the Caliphate during the reign of Hādī: "Armenia had rebelled following the death of al-Mahdī [169/785] and remained in

46 Vacca, "Khurāsānī and Transoxanian Ostikans."

47 Awgerian, *Liakatar varkʿ*, 6:330–45.

48 Awgerian, *Liakatar varkʿ*, 331. Note that this text appears differently in the edition published in 1854, but a resolution would require examination of the relevant manuscripts.

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Figure 17. Saints Sahak and Hamazasp Arcruni depicted on the Church of the Holy Cross, Ałʿamar, in modern Turkey. Photo by Hrair Hawk Khatcherian. Reproduced with permission.

rebellion in the days of Mūsā [al-Hādī]. When [Hārūn] al-Rashīd appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī over Armenia, he served there for a year and two months, bringing the province under control. The province was pacified and its people gave their obedience" (وكانت ارمينية قد انتقضت بعد وفاة المهدىّ فلم تزل منتقضة ايّام موسى فلمّا ولّى الرشيد خزيمة بن خازم التميمىّ ارمينية قام بها سنة وشهرين وضبطها وصلحت البلاد واعطى اهلها الطاعة).[49] In this passage, Yaʿqūbī claims that Khuzayma arrived in Armenia only after the death of Hādī, which contradicts not only Łewond's account but also the numismatic record. This passage certainly refers to Khuzayma's first term as governor, since his second term lasted much longer.

This confusion between Hādī's and Hārūn al-Rashīd's reigns appears not only in Yaʿqūbī but also in the edition of the martyrology of Hamazasp and Sahak published in 1854. This text identifies both Hādī and Hārūn al-Rashīd as the leaders of the *Tačik*s (գլխաւորք Տաճկաց).[50] This comment likely stems from the fact that Hārūn administered the North and assigned its governors even before he became caliph. Mahdī split the Caliphate administratively, naming Hārūn "viceroy" of the West, Azerbaijan, and Armenia

49 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1177–78; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:515.

50 "Vkayabanutʿiwn srbocʿ išxanacʿn Hamazaspay ew Sahakay," 64: "At that time, the chiefs of the Tačiks [were] Mūsā and Hārūn, sons of Muḥammad" (ի ժամանակին յայնմիկ գլխաւորք Տաճկաց Մուսի եւ Ահարոն անուանք նոցա որդիք Մահմեդեայ).

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in 163/779–80.[51] Ter-Łevondyan has argued that Hārūn's viceroyalty lasted through the caliphate of Hādī, given that Hārūn's name appears on coins minted in Hārūnābād and Hārūniyya in both years of Hādī's reign.[52] Ṭabarī asserts that when Hādī came to power, he assigned Yaḥyā b. Khālid over the territory of the West, thereby deposing his brother Hārūn. Hādī then decided to deprive his brother of his claim to the Caliphate just as he had removed him from his appointment in the West.[53] Hārūn's name subsequently disappeared from the coinage of Armenia.[54] Ter-Łevondyan's main point—that Hārūn had indeed governed Armenia during Hādī's caliphate—is certainly correct, even if Hārūn was eventually deprived of this position in the power struggle with his brother. We might speculate that the displacement of events from Hādī's reign into Hārūn's stems from the blurry distinction between the two caliphs from the perspective of the North.

XV.B.2. The Identity and Location of the Caliphal Governor

Łewond claims that the Arcruni brothers were arrested and executed in Dabīl/Duin when summoned to take an oath of loyalty. By contrast, the martyrology of the brothers relates that Mūsā (al-Hādī) was enraged at the Armenians' rebellion and encouraged his brother Hārūn to seek revenge on them since Armenia had been entrusted to his care. The latter quickly sent a certain Yazīd as governor to Armenia, and with him he dispatched the chiliarch Khuzayma to suppress the revolt. Łewond does not mention anyone named Yazīd in Armenia during the reign of Hādī, but there are two possible explanations for his presence in the other texts on the Arcruni executions. First, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī minted undated copper coins in Armenia that numismatists have placed at the start of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd in either 170/786–87 or 171/787–88, though no texts corroborate his post at that time.[55] Yazīd b. Usayd had served multiple terms earlier in the ʿAbbāsid period. Second, and more likely, the reference points to Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, who minted coins in Hārūniyya and Hārūnābād in 169/785–86 and 170/786–87, though he appears in written texts (including Łewond's) as governor of Armenia only later, during the reign of Hārūn.

The martyrology relates that Yazīd and Khuzayma subdued the princes peacefully and sent invitations to the three brothers to come to them in friendship. Before leaving, the Arcrunikʿ entrusted their lands to Dawitʿ Mamikonean. When Khuzayma saw them, he received them well and took them with him to Bardhaʿa/Partaw upon a pretext. Only there did he reveal his true intentions and make them choose between converting to Islam or death. Mehružan feared for his life and apostatized, but according to the martyrology, Dawitʿ Mamikonean killed him when he returned to his lands. The martyrology's placement of Khuzayma in Bardhaʿa/Partaw departs from Łewond's reference to Dabīl/Duin, but it corresponds better with the Arabic sources. Ibn Aʿtham, for example, places both

51 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:500.

52 Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 121 n. 36; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 86, 88.

53 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:571. On the role of Armenia in the rivalry between Hādī and Hārūn, see Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī."

54 Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī," 87.

55 Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 115, 18.

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Khuzayma and Yazīd b. Mazyad in Bardhaʿa/Partaw during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in the aftermath of the rebellion of Abū Muslim al-Shārī.[56] It remains possible, then, that the details of any specific rebellion were confused, accounting for the divergent attributions of both dates and places.

XV.B.3. Description of the Patrimony of Armenian Nobles

According to Awgerian, the preamble to the martyrology of Hamazasp and Sahak includes the following description of the context: "At this time, the princes of Armenia were constrained by the oppression of the Muslim governors, who drove them out from their land, and each of the magnates sat in his own region and protected [it] from enemies. And since the greatest of all the magnates was Hamazasp Arcruni, he was reckoned the *marzpan* of the realm" (Յորում ժամանակի նեղեալ իշխանաց հայոց ի հարստահարութենէ այլազգի ոստիկանաց ի բաց վանեցին զնոսա յաշխարհէն. եւ իւրաքանչիւր նախարարք նստէին ի սեպհական գաւառս, եւ պահէին ի թշնամեաց: Եւ զի մեծ էր ի մեջ ամենայն նախարարաց Համազասպ Արծրունի, նա որպէս մարզպան համարեալ լինէր աշխարհին).[57] The passage is striking for its contrast in the use of the terms ոստիկան ("caliphal governor") and մարզպան (*marzpan*, governor during the Sasanian Empire). Łewond does not employ either term in reference to governors or as an Armenian honorific. Even more remarkably, the description of the Armenian nobility in the martyrology of Sahak and Hamazasp seems to echo that given by Balādhurī about Armenia, in a passage that immediately follows his explanation of Khuzayma's reputation as a harsh governor:

> The patricians of Armenia remained in their regions, each one among them defending his own region. Should one of his governors approach the frontier, they flatter him. If they see him display integrity and harshness, and he has strength and numbers, they contribute taxes to him and concede the oath of loyalty to him. If not, they disparage him and scorn his command.
>
> ولم يزل بطارقة ارمينية مقيمين فى بلادهم يحمى كلّ واحد منهم ناحيته فاذا قدم الثغر عامل من عمّاله داروه فان وراوا منه عفّة وصرامة وكان فى قوّة وعدّة ادّوا اليه الخراج واذعنوا له بالطاعة والّا اغتمزوا فيه واستخفّوا بامره.[58]

Although Łewond does not use such language when discussing the specific context of the execution of Sahak and Hamazasp, Balādhurī's description of the Armenian nobles resonates not only with the brothers' martyrology but also with Armenian historiography more generally. We can compare this phrasing to Łewond's references to the prosperous state of Armenia during the time of Grigor Mamikonean (in office as prince 661–85 CE), who "kept this land of Armenia in peace from all marauders and attacks" (խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս Հայոց *յամենայն* հինից և յարձակմանց) [12v–13r]. Similarly, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi describes the period of peace established by King Smbat I Bagratuni with

56 Ibn Aʿtham, *Futūḥ*, 7/8:412.

57 Awgerian, *Liakatar vark*ʿ, 330.

58 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210–11. The referent of the phrase عامل من عمّاله (lit. "a governor from among his governors") is unclear; grammatically, it seems to refer back to *wāḥid*, that is, a governor from each one of the patricians, but this makes no sense in the context.

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Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj at the beginning of the fourth/tenth century as a time when "each one dwelled in his own patrimony and, taking possession of his own land, cultivated vineyards and planted orchards of olive trees and fruit trees" (բնակեցան իւրաքանչիւր ոք ի ժառանգութիւնս իւրեանց. եւ սեպհականեալ զերկիր, տնկեցին այգիս եւ արմատացուցին բուրաստանս ձիթենեաց եւ պարտիզաց).[59] Finally, Aristakēs Lastivertcʿi accentuates the instability of the region in the middle of the fifth/eleventh century by highlighting the opposite process: "The princes left their patrimonial inheritance and became wanderers in a foreign land" (ելին իշխանք ի հայրենի ժառանգութենէ իւրեանց, եւ եղեն պանդուխտ յօտար երկիր).[60] It seems possible, then, that Balādhurī may have tapped into an Armenian rhetorical trope used to signal sociopolitical stability when he depicted the nobility of Armenia as remaining in their regions.

It should be noted, however, that it is not clear whether the preamble of the martyrology of the Arcruni brothers, which echoes Balādhurī, was originally part of the text or added later by Awgerian. The version published in 1854 is similar to that printed by Awgerian—it mentions the taking of the brothers to Bardhaʿa/Partaw and Dawitʿ Mamikonean's execution of Mehružan—but it does not include the same preamble. Unlike Awgerian's version, it recounts the siege of Constantinople, possibly confusing the reign of Leo IV with that of Leo III, during which the siege occurred. Awgerian may have rewritten the preamble to suit his own style, because in the notes to his text he cites the incipit of the martyrdom, which aligns with what is printed in *Sopʿerkʿ haykakankʿ*, as well as the manuscript catalog of the Mxitʿarist Library: "During the time of the kingdom of Emperor Leo . . . the oppression of the *Tačik*s over the Christians worsened and became stronger, and more than a few became martyrs in Syrian Mesopotamia and in the region of Cappadocia and in Arabia" (ընդ ժամանակս թագաւորութեանն Լեւովնի կայսեր . . . սաստկացեալ զօրանայր հարստահարութիւնն Տաճկաց ի վերայ քրիստոնէից. յոլովք քան թէ սակաւք եղեն վկայք ի Միջագետս Ասորւոց և ի կողմանս Կապպադովկացւոց և յԱրաբիա).[61] On the other hand, Awgerian may have supplied the text of his preamble from another manuscript or version, but we have not been able to locate that source.

XV.B.4. Dating the Execution of the Armenian Princes

Łewond dates the martyrdom of the Arcruni brothers explicitly to the feast of Epiphany of the year AE 233. That year started on May 14, 784, which means that Epiphany must have fallen on January 6, 785. This corresponds to 15 Jumādā II 168, before Hādī became caliph. It is possible that the scribe confused 233 and 234, writing ɋ instead of ղ. Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi, who drew on Łewond, records the date as AE 234, so according to him the Arcruni princes died on January 6, 786, or 25 Jumādā II 169.[62]

59 Drasxanakertcʿi, *History*, 158; "Patmutʿiwn hayocʿ," 481.

60 Lastivertcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn*, 55.

61 "Vkayabanutʿiwn srbocʿ išxanacʿn Hamazaspay ew Sahakay," 61–62.

62 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 195 n. 364. Also note that this is one of the first uses of the Armenian era in a text, though it appears before this on an inscription at Tʿalin and in the seventh-century *Anonymous Chronicle* attributed to Pʿilon Tirakacʿi (cited above at IV.A.1), where the author dates a Khazar invasion of the Caucasus to AE 134.

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XV.C. THE DEATH OF THE GEORGIAN PRINCE

After relating the martyrdom of the Arcrunikʿ, the end of Łewond's account of Hādī's reign stitches together passages from separate sources:

> Mūsā reigned for one year and died. In those days, he also killed the prince of the Georgians in a horrible death, for he removed his feet and hands and cut his youthful age in half. Thus reckoned like a lamb for slaughter, he bid farewell to this life. Having completed all of these evils, he [Mūsā] died after a year.

> Եւ Մուսէի կալեալ զիշխանութիւնն ամ մի, վախճանէր: ի սորա աւուրս սպան և զիշխանն Վրաց չարաչար մահուամբ. զի վերամբարձ առեալ զոտիցն և զձեռացն ընդ մէջ կտրէր զմատաղութիւն հասակի նորա: և այսպէս իբրև զգառն համարեալ ի սպանդ. հրաժարէր ի կենացս այսոցիկ: եւ կատարեալ զայս *ամենայն* չարիս յետ ամի միոջ սատակէր: [127r–v]

The martyrdom story thus segues into the list of caliphs, as Łewond follows the same pattern that he has used elsewhere to announce the death of each ʿAbbāsid caliph. Then, however, he inserts an additional sentence about the Georgian prince, only to reassert the caliph's death immediately thereafter.

XV.C.1. Dating the Execution of the Georgian Prince

The only Arabic source directly relevant to this passage includes a complicated dating. As we saw above, Yaʿqūbī incorrectly places both of Khuzayma's terms as governor of Armenia during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The passage concerning Khuzayma's campaign in Jurzān/Kʿartʿli is consequently found later than expected, in his second term as governor:

> Al-Rashīd then appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who seized the notables and princes and beheaded them; he treated the people very badly, and so Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya rose in rebellion. He dispatched an army against them, but they killed him. He then sent Saʿīd b. al-Haytham b. Shuʿba b. Ẓuhayr al-Tamīmī with a large army. He fought the people of Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya until he had expelled them from the province. He then departed for Tiflīs. Khuzayma b. Khāzim remained for less than a year.[63]

> ثمّ ولّى الرشيد خزيمة بن خازم التميمىّ فاخذ البطرقة وابناء الملوك فضرب اعناقهم وسار فيهم أسوء سيرة فانتقضت جرجان والصّنارية فانفذ اليهم جيشاً فقتلوه فوجّه اليهم سعيد بن الهيثم بن شعبة بن ظهير التميمىّ فى جيشٍ عظيم فقاتل اهل جرجان والصنارية حتّى اجلاهم عن البلد وانصرف الى تفليس فاقام خزيمة بن خازم اقل من سنة.[64]

63 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1180. Ibn Aʿtham does place Khuzayma in Armenia and Albania (though not Georgia specifically) in response to the later rebellion of Abū Muslim al-Shārī, during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd. However, Saʿīd b. Haytham does not appear during that campaign, which leaves the interpretation of Yaʿqūbī's passage open.

64 Yaʿqūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:519.

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This passage seems to have been corrupted, as the modern translators point out: the phrase "he dispatched an army against them, but they killed him" would read more easily if we presume there was a name in place of the word "army." "Jurjān" should be read here as "Jurzān/Kʿartʿli,"[65] given the reference to both Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi and the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ (Σαναραῖοι), a Christian people who lived in Khākhiṭ/Kaxetʿi. From textual and numismatic evidence, we know that Khuzayma served as governor under Hādī for one year (169/785–86) and then again under Hārūn for five years (187/803–4 to 192/807–8).[66] Although Yaʿqūbī places this report in the midst of events that occurred during Khuzayma's second term as governor in the 180s, he also states explicitly that Khuzayma remained for only one year. It seems possible, then, that Yaʿqūbī or his source correctly identified that the event occurred under Khuzayma's rule, but incorrectly assigned the account to his second term as governor. If so, this account rightly belongs under Hādī's caliphate instead of Hārūn's.

XV.C.2. Identification of the Georgian Prince

The identification of the Georgian prince mentioned in Łewond's text remains uncertain. Several Georgian notables were executed during the early ʿAbbāsid period, but none of them fits perfectly with the information provided by Łewond. It is perhaps more useful to acknowledge this passage as a general recognition that the reign of Khuzayma disrupted many lives beyond those of the Arcrunikʿ than it is to seek in it corroboration of a specific historical account. Nevertheless, two primary candidates emerge as possible referents.

First, Łewond could be referring to Habo of Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi, an Arab perfumer who converted to Christianity and was martyred on 25 Jumādā II 169/January 6, 786.[67] Habo's *Vita* was composed soon after his death, between 786 and 790 CE.[68] It identifies the date of Habo's death with close attention to detail:

> In the 846th year of the reigning of our Lord Jesus Christ, counted from his sufferings and his resurrection from the dead, when Kostantin the son of Leon was ruling over the Christians in the big city of Constantinople, and Mūsā, *amira mumni* [*amīr al-muʾminīn*], the son of Mahdī was ruling over the Saracens, when Samoel was the catholicos in Kʿartʿli and Gurgen the son of Stepʿanoz was the *erismtʿavar* ["presiding prince"], in the 6389th year counted from creation of the world, on the sixth day of the month of January, at the Epiphany, took place the martyrdom of the saint and blessed martyr Habo in the city of Tpʿilisi.[69]

> სოფევასა უფლისა ჩუენისა იესუ ქრისტჱსსა, წელიწადსა ვნებითგან და მკუდრეთით აღდგომითგან რვაას ორმეოც და ექუსსა, მეფობასა კოსტანტინეპოლის, ქალაქსა მას დიდსა, ქრისტეანეთა ზედა კოსტანტინჱსსა, ძისა ლეონისსა, სარკინოზთა შორის

65 The shift from جرجان to جرزان is not an obvious scribal error, but it is also possible that the scribe was unfamiliar with the Ṣanāriyya and so placed them in the better-known province of Jurjān.

66 Ibn Aʿtham, in *Futūḥ*, 7/8:412, places him in Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband, Bardhaʿa/Partaw, and Armenia in the 180s, but he does not provide any information about Jurzān/Kʿartʿli in particular.

67 Łewond, *Discours historique*, 210 n. 1036.

68 The patron of the *Vita* was reportedly Samoel, who was the catholicos of Jurzān/Kʿartʿli until 690 CE, thus providing the terminus ad quem for its composition.

69 Bíró, "Abo's Georgian 'Vita,'" 258.

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> მეფობასა მოსე ამირა მუმნისასა, ძისა მაჰდისსა, ქართლს შინა კათალიკოზობასა სამოელისსა, ერისმთავრობასა სტეფანოზისსა, ძისა გურგენისსა, დასაბამით გარდასრულთა ექუს ათას სამას ოთხმოც და ცხრასა წელსა, თთუესა იანვარისასა ექუსსა; დღესა პარასკევსა, განცხადებასა, შევისწავეთ მარტჳლობაჲ წმიდისა და ნეტარისა ამის მოწამისა და კვთილად მოღუაწისა ჰაბოჲსა ქალაქსა ტფილისს.[70]

The *Vita* explains that Habo moved to Jurzān/Kʿartʿli when he was young, around seventeen or eighteen years old, during the reign of Mahdī. He admired Christianity and reportedly converted during a stay outside of caliphal territory, in Khazaria. Upon returning to Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi, Habo lived there openly as a Christian for three years before being arrested for apostasy and beheaded. Habo fits some of the circumstances described in Łewond's text. The date matches, though perhaps too neatly, the martyrdom of the Arcruni brothers on Epiphany in 786 CE. Łewond's reference to the murdered prince's young age also fits: if Habo was seventeen or eighteen when Mahdī came to power, he was martyred when he was around twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old. That said, it seems unlikely that Łewond would misidentify an Arab perfumer as a Georgian prince.

The second possible identification of Łewond's Georgian prince is Arčʿil, the prince of Khākhiṭ/Kaxetʿi, who was similarly beheaded in 169–70/786.[71] The *Martyrdom of King Arčʿil II* records that a "Saracen" named Čičnaum the son of Mohamedi (ჭიჭნაუმ ძე მოჰამედისა; Ճիճնաում որդի Մահադեայ), "who was also called Asim" (რომელსა ეწოდა ასიმ; որ և կոչէին Ասիմ),[72] attacked Jurzān/Kʿartʿli and moved against Khākhiṭ/Kaxetʿi fifty years after the campaigns of Murvan Qru (i.e., Marwān b. Muḥammad, who campaigned in the North, including Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, several times in the 110s/730s). A convert to Islam convinced Asim that Arčʿil knew where to find the treasures hidden by his forefathers, the Xosroiani kings of Kʿartʿli, including the wealth of Herakleios, who had ventured through their territory. Arčʿil explained to Asim: "Know well that I was young in age when Herakleios crossed this land" (უწყოდე მტკიცედ, რამეთუ მცირე ვიყავ ასაკითა, ოდეს-იგი განვლო ქუეყანა ესე ერაკლე მეფემან; Յորժամ էանց ընդ երկիրս մեր Հերակլ՝ տղայ էի ես).[73] Herakleios passed through Jurzān/Kʿartʿli in approximately 628 CE; if Arčʿil was "young in age" then, he was a mere 160 years old by the time he spoke to Asim. S. Rapp argues that the anachronism here likely derives from the fact that Arčʿil's father, Stepʿanoz, and grandfather Adarnase shared names with generals of the first/seventh century, who did indeed live through Herakleios's campaign.[74] The *History of Vaxtang Gorgasali* includes an account of Herakleios's hidden treasures and the first/seventh-century Arčʿil's knowledge of their location in Khākhiṭ/Kaxetʿi.[75] The author of

70 Sabanis-że, "Camebay cmidisa," 63.

71 Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 251 n. 89.

72 Rapp, *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba*, 1:245 (Georgian), 2:204–5 (Armenian). The variants for Čičnaum in Georgian are ჭიჭნაუმ, ჭიჭნომ, ჭიჭუამ, and ჭიჭკმ; there are no variants for this name in the Armenian. The variants for Mohamedi are მოჰამედისი, მოაჰმადისი, მოჰმადისი, მომედისი, and მიჰმედისი in Georgian and Մահաեիայ and Մահադայ in Armenian.

73 Rapp, *Kʿartʿlis cʿxovreba*, 1:247 (Georgian), 2:206 (Armenian).

74 Rapp, *Studies*, 472 n. 8.

75 Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 240. Note that this Arčʿil is also challenged for his knowledge of Herakleios's treasures, but by Murvan Qru.

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the second/eighth-century martyrology of Arčʿil merely compressed the generations of his family line. Arčʿil's story fits some of the circumstances outlined in Łewond's account: Arčʿil was a Georgian prince, killed by a "Saracen" named Asim (which may render the name Khāzim). It aligns particularly well with Yaʿqūbī's statement above that Khuzayma b. Khāzim moved against the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ in Khākhiṭ/Kaxetʿi. However, there are two reasons to doubt that Łewond's "Georgian prince" was in fact Arčʿil. First, Łewond also specifies that the Georgian prince was young in age, a detail that decidedly diverges from Arčʿil's story. Regardless of the obvious anachronism, Arčʿil was old enough to have six children when he died. Second, there is no ready explanation for Asim's full name's being Čičnaum the son of Mohamedi.

In the end, the specific identification of the Georgian prince in Łewond's text is perhaps less important than is the very fact that he includes such a reference at all. This passage suggests that Łewond was aware of stories circulating about Georgian elites, which locate the rule of Hādī and Khuzayma, in particular, in the broader context of the Christian communities of the North. Further, these passages align with references to both Armenia and Jurzān/Kʿartʿli in ʿAbbāsid-era Arabic texts; Łewond's martyrs are Yaʿqūbī's rebels.

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XVI The Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd

r. AH 170–93/786–809 CE

Łewond's final chapter covers only the first years of the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Łewond breaks with his own precedent when he introduces the new caliph without specifying the length of his reign, probably because he brings his narrative up to his own day and thus does not know how long Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign will last. In view of the dates of the caliphal governors and catholicoi (leaders of the Armenian Church) listed in this chapter, Łewond was likely writing in about the year 790. His primary concern in this chapter is the governorship of Armenia, and he lists several governors, including ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mahdī, the brother of the caliph. Łewond decries the state of Armenia under the heavy hand of these governors, focusing on oppressive taxation policies. He claims that many Armenians fled to Roman territory to escape taxation, while the catholicos sought unsuccessfully to relieve the economic burden on the population. This is one of the few places where Łewond reports on the activities of the catholicoi in Armenia, as he is usually far more interested in military and political history.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

48. After him [Mūsā al-Hādī] there was Hārūn the son of Muḥammad and brother of Mūsā. He was avaricious and fond of money. And in the days of his rule, he had a rival in his brother ʿUbayd Allāh. On account of the rivalry between them, he divided [the kingdom] and gave his brother Atrpatakan and Armenia, along with Georgia and Albania. In accordance with his contrary disposition, he appointed over this land governors of licentious and perverse ungodliness who never paid heed to the fear of God. The first was a certain Yazīd b. Mazyad, and after him was ʿAbd al-Kabīr. He stayed for a short time and did not do any good or any evil but demonstrated some good sense. [128r] After him there was a certain Sulaymān, [who was] the wickedest evildoer of them all. After this, ʿUbayd Allāh himself came to the city of Partaw and established Sulaymān as prince of this land. He handed the people of the Lord over to him like

Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–809): ʿAbbāsid caliph famous for his campaigns against the Romans and frequently immortalized in popular literature.

ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Mahdī: the brother of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd who served as the governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan from 788 to 791.

Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī: the governor of Armenia from 787 to 788 and then again from 799 to 801. The Shaybānī family, based in Mesopotamia, held a prominent position in caliphal Armenia.

ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAdawī: in Arabic sources, he appears as the leader of campaigns against the Roman Empire. He served as the governor of Armenia for only four months, possibly in 789–90.

Sulaymān: Łewond's Sulaymān has not been identified, but one Arabic text lists Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar as a governor in the North. The uncle of both ʿUbayd Allāh and Hārūn, this Sulaymān was the son of the former caliph Manṣūr.

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sheep among corrupting wolves.[1] He placed the insupportable yoke of oppression over the people, who were not able to bear it, for no means were found in anyone's possession to be of sufficient value in exchange for his life.

This Sulaymān sent his son-in-law, whose name was Ibn Dūqlih, a certain lawless and vile son of a slave woman from the Romans. He came to the city of Duin and tormented the inhabitants of this land with excessive harshness by exacting taxes, to the point that all of the *naxarark'* and the commoners, along with the clergy and the catholicos, whose name was Esayias, gathered [128v] and begged to lighten the iron collar of oppressive taxes that he exacted. They did not gain anything, for the command of the Lord's anger offered the Christian people into unmerciful hands. He then sent tax collectors to various regions in this land and ordered them to exact double the yearly tax and to gather it all at once. He carried out the order. When that was finished, the son of Satan immediately devised other evil punishments. He gave lead seals to put on everyone's necks. For one seal he exacted many *zuze*, to the point of bringing abject poverty to people from the insupportable tribulations by the cruel executioner.

Ibn Dūqlih: in Armenian, Ibndokē. He appears exclusively in Armenian texts. Although his name is certainly Arabic, it has been tentatively reconstructed here on the basis of numismatic evidence.

Esayias: also known as Esayi; catholicos from 775 to 788.

Lead seal: sealing people's necks was a way of marking who had paid taxes. This may be a literary representation to denote the harshness of caliphal rule, but there is sigillographic corroboration of this practice elsewhere in the Caliphate, as well as references in Arabic and Syriac sources. For another reference, see chapter XII.

Zuze: the plural form of *zuza*, a Syriac term for a coin.

49. Then in the following year, when 'Ubayd Allāh came, he increased the same anguishes even more, so that afterward no one owned [129r] their own goods, but they [i.e., the goods] were generally carried away as booty. Many left their flocks and fields voluntarily and fled so as not to bear the severe calamities. The enemy took captive their animals and possessions and carried them off as booty, whereas they [i.e., the people]—as [they had been] deprived of their possessions in this way—then remained naked, barefoot, and starving, and they could not support themselves. They went afar and fled to the land of the Greeks. It is said that the number of people [who left] surpassed twelve thousand men with women and children. Their leaders were Šapuh from the house of the Amatunik' and his son Hamam, and others from the Armenian *naxarark'* and their cavalry. The lawless, cruel enemy pursued the fugitives with his army. He arrived [129v] at the borders of Georgia in the district of Koł. They battled with him and put [them] to flight and killed some. And they crossed the river Akampsis, which

Šapuh and Hamam Amatuni: otherwise unattested. On the Amatuni family, see 26v.

See map 15 for locations mentioned in this passage.

1 The phrase "corrupting wolf" occurs in Agat'angełos, *History of the Armenians*, §145, and in the letter of Vrt'anēs K'ert'oł to Bishop Movsēs of C'urtavi. Cf. Aleksidze, "Visions."

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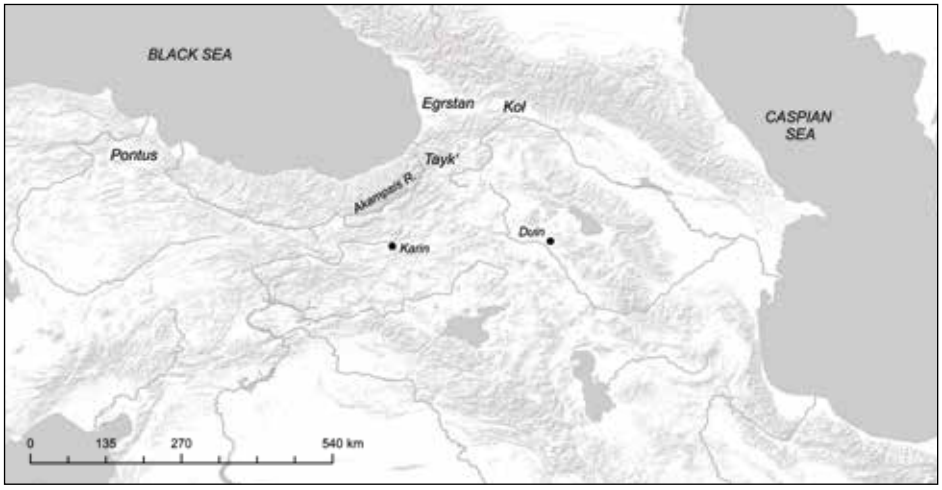

Map 15. Flight of the Amatunik' during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

rises up in the region of Tayk' and flows to the northwest, crossing through Egrstan to Pontus. When they crossed the river, the Greek king Constantine was immediately notified. He called them to him and honored the *naxarark'* and their cavalry. He settled the other masses on good and fertile land. But half of the people[2] remained [in Armenia]; they were subjected to extreme poverty in slavish servitude. They were woodcutters and water carriers like the Gibeonites,[3] some under grievous tribulations.

Egrstan: Egrisi, along the eastern shores of the Black Sea.

Gibeonites: servants of the Israelites in Joshua 9:3–27.

The hellish and cruel man who [130r] was the commander of the city of Duin on the authority of Sulaymān impiously pondered yet another wicked plan. For at that time the blessed Esayias, catholicos of the Armenians, of holy and correct faith, was taken up to Christ. He [Ibn Dūqlih] thought to enumerate and examine all of the possessions and utensils of the Church. He called to him all of the attendant clergymen and intimidated them with menacing threats. He said: "See that you do not hide anything from me but bring everything forth. But if anyone should hide something and it appears later, he will be culpable for his life." They, frightened by the threats of punishment, gave everything to him. They showed him everything that they found in the hidden treasuries, and nothing remained in hiding that they did not bring before him: coveted utensils of gold and silver, which also [were covered] by precious stones, and royal attire, which [130v] had been

2 After "people," a later hand added "who," որոք.

3 Cf. Joshua 9:21, 27.

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donated in honor of the holy, glorious, and God-receiving altar and tabernacle of the Lord. When he saw all of that, he thought to take it as booty all at once. He changed his mind again and took what he considered desirable from the treasuries and the noble attire for himself. He gave the other utensils and whatever had once been in the consignment of the Church to the keepers of its deposits before Step‘annos, who succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate through many bribes, succeeded to the throne of the patriarchate. He exhausted all of the things and possessions [of the patriarchate] until there was forgiveness for villages, servants, and debts.

And finally, the end.

Step‘annos Dunec‘i: catholicos of the Armenians from 788 to 790.

ARMENIAN EDITION

խը[4] Յետ սորա կացեալ Ահարոն որդի Մահմետի, եղբայր Մուսէի. ագահ և արծաթասէր: Եւ սա յաւուրս իշխանութե*ան*ն ունէր հակառակորդ զեղբայր իւր Ովբէդլա. և վ*ասն* հակառակութե*ան*ն որ ընդ միմեանս, բաժանէր և տայր եղբաւր իւրում զԱտրպատական՝ և զՀայս. հանդերձ Վրաւք և Աղուանիւք: Եւ կարգէր ի վերայ[5] երկրիս ըստ հակամիտ բարուց իւրոց հրամանատարս ապարասան և ժանդաբարոյ անա*ստուա*ծութ*եամ*ք. որք զերկեղ Ա*ստուծոյ* անգամ և ընդ միտ ոչ ածէին: Նախ զԵզիտ ոմն. որդի Մզդէի: Եւ յետ նորա զԱբդալքբիր. սակաւ ինչ յամեալ. ոչ բարի ինչ գործեաց և ոչ չար. այլ զկարծիս լաւ իմն ցուցանէր: [128r] Եւ յետ նորա Սուլեման ոմն. քան զամենեսին ժանդ և չարագործաւղ: Յետ սորա և ինքն իսկ Ովբեդլա եկն ի քաղաքն Պարտաւ. և հաստատէր զՍուլեմանն իշխան աշխարհիս. և տայր ի ձեռս նորա զժողովուրդ Տ*եառ*ն իբրև զոչխարս ի մէջ ապականիչ գայլոց: Իսկ նորա զանբառնալի լծոյ ծանրութի*ւն*ն եդեալ ի վերա մարդկան զոր ոչ կարէին բառնալ. զի որ ինչ գտանէր ի ձեռին ուրուք հայթայթանք՝ ընդ անձին իւրոյ ոչ լինէր բաւական զնոց:

Այս Սուլեման յղէր զոմն անաւրէն և վատթարազգի որդի աղախնոյ միոյ՝ որ էր Հոռոմ յազգէ փեսայ[6] Սուլեմանայ. որում անուն էր, Իբնդոկէ: Որ եկեալ ի քաղաքն Դվին, սաստիկ դժընդակութ*եամ*ք խոշտանգէր զբնակիչս աշխարհիս հարկաւ պահանջմամբ: Առ որ ժողովեալ *ամենայն* նախարարք և ռամիկք հանդերձ եկեղեցականաւք, և կաթողիկոսիւն. որոյ անուն էր Եսայիաս. [128v] աղաչէին թէթևացուցանել զանուր ծանրութե*ան* սակին զոր պահանջէր: Եւ ոչ ինչ աւգտէին՝ զի բարկութե*ան* Տ*եառ*ն էր հրամանն տալ ի ձեռս անողորմ զազգ Քրիստոնէից: Որոյ անդէն յղեալ ընդ կողմանս կողմանս աշխարհիս պահանջող. և տուեալ հրաման՝ կրկին քան զոր ըստ ամին պահանջէին. ի միում վայրկենի հաւաքել. և կատարէր հրամանն: Իսկ իբրև այն ի գլուխ ելանէր. վաղվաղակի այլ վտանգ չարեաց

4 խը lft. mg.

5 վերայ] վերա a.c.

6 փեսայ] -յ subscr.

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խորամանգէր որդին սատանայի[7]. և տայր կնիք կապարեայ[8] դնել յամենեցուն պարանոցսն. և առ մի կնիք. պահանջէր բազում զուգայս. մինչև հասանել մարդկան յետին տնանկութիւն՝ յանհամբեր նեղութեանցն առ ի չարաշուք դահճէն:

խք[9] Իսկ ապա ի գալ միւսոյ ամին. ի գալն Աւբայդլայի. զնոյն վտանգ տարակուսանաց ևս առաւել զաւրացուցանէր: Զի յայնմհետէ ոչ ոք էր տէր [129r] ընչից իւրոց. այլ առ հասարակ վարէին յաւարի: Եւ բազումք ինքնակամութեամբ թողուին զհաւտս[10] և զանդեայս և զնային փախստական վասն ոչ բերելոյ զծանրութիւն աղիտիցն: Եւ թշնամեացն վարեալ գերէվարութեամբ. զանասունս և զստացուածս, վարէին յաւարի: Իսկ ապա իբրև այնպէս թափուրք ի ստացուածոց մնային մերկք և բոկք և սովամահք, և ոչ գտանէին ապրուստք անձանց. դէմ եդեալ տարադէմ գնացին փախստեայ[11] յաշխարհն Յունաց. զորոց ասեն լինել զթիւ մարդկանն աւելի քան զ.տասն. և զերկու[12] հազար արանց հանդերձ կանամբք և մանկտեաւ: Որոց առաջնորդք. Շապուհ. ի տոհմէ Ամատունեաց. և Համամ որդի նորա. և այլք ի նախարարաց Հայոց և նոցին հեծելոց: Եւ անաւրէն չարաշուք թշնամւոյն հետամուտ եղեալ զաւրու իւրոյ զկնի փախստէիցն, հասանէր [129v] ի սահմանս Վրաց. ի գաւառն Կոդ: Ընդ որում մարտ եղեալ՝ փախստական առնէին. և զոմանս սատակէին. և ինքեանք անցանէին ընդ գետն Ակամսիս. որ ի կողմանս Տայոց[13] բղխեալ[14] երթայ[15] զհիւսիսով արևմտից՝ անցանելով ընդ Եգրստանէ ի Պոնդոս: Եւ իբրև անցին ընդ գետն՝ վաղվաղակի ազդ եղև արքային[16] Յունաց Կոստանդնի: Եւ կոչեցեալ զնոսա առ ինքն տայր պատիւ նախարարացն և նոցին հեծելոցն. և զայլ խառնիճաղանճսն բնակեցուցանէր ի բարիոք և յարգաւանդ երկրի: Իսկ կէսք ժողովրդեանն[17] մնացին, առ սաստիկ կարաւտութեանն անձնատուրք եղեն ի ծառայութիւն[18] ստրկի. փայտակոտորք և ջրբերք ըստ նմանութեան Գաբաւոնացւոցն՝ ոմանք առ վշտաբեկ նեղութեանն:

Դարձեալ միւս ևս խորհուրդ չարութեան խորհեր դժոխաձեւ և չարաշուք այրն ամբարիշտ. որ ի ձեռանէ Սուլեմանայ[19] [130r] էր հրամանատար ի Դվին քաղաքի: Զի ի ժամանակին յայնմիկ փոխեցաւ երանելին առ Քրիստոս սուրբ և ուղիղ հաւատով կաթողիկոսն Հայոց Եսայիաս: Եւ խորհեցաւ համար և քնին առնել *ամենայն* ստացուածոց և սպասուց եկեղեցոյն: Եւ կոչէր առ ինքն զ*ամենայն* կղերոսս սպասաւորացն. և ուժգին սպառնալեաւք զարհուրեցուցանէր զնոսա: Տեսէք ասէ, մի ինչ ծածկիցէք յինէն. այլ զ*ամենայն* յայտ բերջիք. ապա թէ ոք թաքուսցէ ինչ՝ և յետոյ յայտ գայցէ, ինքն անձին իւրում պարտաւոր եղիցի: Իսկ նոցա երկուցեալ ի սպառնալեաց պատուհասին. ետուն ի ձեռք նորա զ*ամենայն* ինչ. և զ*ամենայն* ինչ զոր գտանէին ի գանձս ծածկութին՝ ցուցին նմա. և ոչ ինչ մնաց ի ծածկութեան

7 սատանայի] սատանաի a.c.
8 կապարեայ] -յ subscr.
9 խք lft. mg.
10 զհաւտս] զհաւ[.]տս a.c.
11 փախստեայ] փախստեա a.c.
12 զերկու] -կ- suprascr.
13 Տայոց] Տայ[.]ոց a.c.
14 բղխեալ] բխեալ a.c.
15 երթայ] երթա a.c.
16 արքային] -յ- subscr.
17 Post ժողովրդեանն add. որք suprascr. Hand 1corr.
18 ծառայութիւն] -յ- subscr.
19 Սուլեմանայ] Սուլեմանա a.c.

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զոր ոչ եդին առաջի նորա, զսպասս ցանկալիս՝ ոսկւոյ և արծաթոյ. և որ ի քարանց պատուականաց: {Եւ}[20] զհանդերձս թագաւորացն, զոր ի պատի{ւ}[21] սրբոյ և փառաւորեալ Աստուածընկալ սեղանոյ{ն}[22] [130v] և խորանին Տ*եառ*ն նուիրեալ էին: Եւ իբրև էտես զայն *ամենայն*. խորհեցաւ միանգամայն վարել յաւարի. և դարձեալ շրջե*ալ* յայնց մտաց՝ առնոյր որ ինչ ցանկալի թուէր անձին իւրոյ ի գանձուցն և ի հանդերձիցն պատուականաց: Եւ զայլ ինչ սպասուցն և որ ինչ միանգամ յաւանդս եկեղեցւոյն. տայր ցաւանդապահս նորին: Մինչև[23] յաջորդել յաթոռ հայրապետութե*ան*ն զՍտեփաննոս. որ բազում կաշառաւք յաջորդեալ ի հայրապետութե*ան*ն աթոռ. վատնեաց զ*ամենայն* ինչս և զստացուածս. մինչև եղև թողութի*ւն* գիւղից և ծառայից[24] և պարտուց:

Եւ ապա կատարած:

COMMENTARY

XVI.A. THE RIVALRY BETWEEN HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD AND ʿUBAYD ALLĀH

Łewond claims that Hārūn established the viceroyalty of the North in response to the rivalry between himself and his brother ʿUbayd Allāh: "On account of the rivalry between them, he divided [the kingdom] and gave his brother Atrpatakan and Armenia, along with Georgia and Albania" (Եւ վ*ասն* հակառակութե*ան*ն որ ընդ միմեանս, բաժանէր և տայր եղբաւր իւրում զԱտրպատական՝ և զՀայս. հանդերձ Վրաւք և Աղուանիւք) [127v]. This rivalry between the brothers does not surface in the Arabic sources at all. Ṭabarī refers to ʿUbayd Allāh only once, to date the start of his governorship over Armenia to 172/788–89.[25] Yaʿqūbī, whose information on Armenia is usually quite detailed, does not mention ʿUbayd Allāh in this context; he appears only in a list of the children of Mahdī and as a witness to the succession agreement between Amīn and Maʾmūn.[26]

Bonner argues that Łewond is confused, reporting the succession disputes between Hādī and Hārūn in 169/785 as if they had taken place between Hārūn and ʿUbayd Allāh in 170/786. With barely more than a year between the two successions, Bonner's argument offers a plausible explanation for the complete silence on the rivalry between Hārūn and ʿUbayd Allāh in the Arabic texts. However, it rests on the belief that Łewond's chronology is skewed because it does not fit with the numismatic record of coins minted in Hārūniyya.[27] As we argue in reference to both Khuzayma's governorship during the reign of Mahdī (see chapter XV) and Yazīd b. Mazyad below, Łewond's chronology aligns very well with the

20 {եւ}] MS ripped in lower right corner, later repaired, *p*, 8, on repair.

21 պատի{ւ}] MS ripped in lower right corner, later repaired.

22 սեղանոյ{ն}] MS ripped in lower right corner, later repaired, *p*, 9, on repair.

23 Մինչև] read: Մինչչև.

24 ծառայից] -յ- subscr.

25 Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:607.

26 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:506.

27 In addition, Bonner's argument about Łewond's references to ʿUbayd Allāh relies on Chahnazarian's loose translation of Łewond's յաւուրս իշխանութե*ան*ն ("in the days of his rule") as "pendant tout le temps de son règne," which leads Bonner to argue that Łewond cannot be correct because ʿUbayd Allāh did not serve as governor for the entirety of Hārūn's reign.

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coins issued in Armenia proper, instead of along the Roman frontier in Hārūniyya. Therefore, there is no reason to think that Łewond transposed the succession disputes.

Although it remains possible that Łewond records a succession dispute that does not appear in the Arabic sources, we cannot be certain what Łewond means by "rivalry" (հակառակութիւն) in this particular case. Primogeniture was not assumed in the early ʿAbbāsid period, so it was common for the sons of ʿAbbāsid caliphs to jockey for power. This passage may reflect Łewond's own interpretation of ʿUbayd Allāh's position as viceroy, based on his knowledge of the rivalry often involved in ʿAbbāsid succession politics and his own familiarity with the North, where ʿUbayd Allāh's ambitions may have been more visible. ʿAbbāsid heirs apparent frequently served as governor of the North, so the very fact of ʿUbayd Allāh's placement over Armenia may offer some substantiation to Łewond's reading of the situation.

XVI.B. CALIPHAL GOVERNANCE

Łewond's brief account of the first years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign contains the names of several governors appointed over Armenia. These names allow us to speculate about the relationship between the ʿAbbāsid North and the broader Caliphate, as well as to identify patterns in early ʿAbbāsid governance.

XVI.B.1. The Viceroyalty

Łewond's claim that ʿUbayd Allāh governed the North separately from the rest of the Caliphate is very much in line with the ʿAbbāsids' practice from the very start of their reign. Yaʿqūbī explains that "Abū al-ʿAbbās appointed his brother, Abū Jaʿfar, over Jazīra, Mosul, the regions along the frontier, Armenia, and Azerbaijan" (وولّى ابو العبّاس ابا جعفر اخاه الجزيرة والموصل والثغور وارمينية وآذربيجان).[28] Mahdī followed suit by placing his son Hārūn al-Rashīd in control of the North while his other son Mūsā al-Hādī was heir to the Caliphate. Hārūn was next in line to the throne after his brother; his experience on the frontier provided him the necessary military training and a lofty reputation as a *mujāhid*.

The Arabic texts assert that Hārūn al-Rashīd himself (rather than ʿUbayd Allāh) appointed the governors of Armenia, which suggests that the provinces were ruled directly by the caliph.[29] Łewond's text is not precise on this matter, because he employs a pronoun rather than the full name: "In accordance with his contrary disposition, he appointed over this land governors of licentious and perverse ungodliness, who never paid heed to the fear of God" (Եւ կարգէր ի վերայ երկրիս ըստ հակամիտ բարուց իւրոց հրամանատարս ապարասան և ժանդաբարոյ անաստուածութեամբ. որք զերկեղ Աստուծոյ անգամ և ընդ միտ ոչ ածէին) [127v]. The subject of this passage could be read as either ʿUbayd Allāh or Hārūn al-Rashīd, though the latter reading would prompt the question of what an assignment over the North would mean if not having the authority to oversee its governance. Coins cannot answer this question definitively, but they do contribute additional information to

28 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1086; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:430. See also Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar*, 294: ثم جاءت الدولة العبّاسيّة فولى ابو جعفر الجزيرة و ارمينية في خلافة اخيه ابي العبّاس ثم استخلف.

29 See, e.g., Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:515; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 3:607.

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the discussion. ʿUbayd Allāh minted coins in Armenia in his own name (with the phrase "among that which the emir ʿUbayd Allāh son of the Commander of the Faithful ordered" [ممّا أمر به الأمير عبيد الله بن أمير المؤمنين] in the center) from 172/788–89 to 175/791–92, without including the name of the caliph.[30] The omission of the caliph's name was common practice for viceroys: Mahdī minted coins in his own name in Armenia during the caliphate of Manṣūr, just as Amīn would do later in Hārūn's reign. The omission of the caliph's name thus cannot confirm Łewond's claim of a rivalry between Hārūn and ʿUbayd Allāh, since it merely reflects the practices of ʿAbbāsid princes. However, it demonstrates that ʿUbayd Allāh followed the minting standards established by earlier viceroys. Here again, as in the previous chapter, Łewond's information fits well with the numismatic evidence even when the Arabic sources diverge from his account in details.

In two ways, the viceroyalty demonstrates that the early ʿAbbāsids embarked on a project to present themselves as heirs to Iranian kingship, building on their own understandings of the Sasanian kings. First, the viceroyalty collapsed the northern provinces of the Caliphate into a broad administrative grouping. A similar Sasanian administrative grouping of provinces appears as *kūst-i Ādūrbādagā*n in Sasanian-era seals and in the Middle Persian geography *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr*, and also as *kʿusti Kapkoh* in Širakacʿi's first/seventh-century Armenian geography. It is likely that the toponym Ādūrbādagān provided a value-neutral replacement for the charged meanings of *abāxtar* (the North) in Middle Persian. In ʿAbbāsid-era Arabic texts, the Sasanian North appears as *al-jarbī* (الجربي), via the Syriac *garbāyā* (ܓܪܒܝܐ), or "north." The ʿAbbāsid viceroyalty recreated this North on the basis of the ʿAbbāsids' memory of Sasanian administrative models.[31] This backdrop allows us to reconsider the appointment of both Hārūn al-Rashīd and ʿUbayd Allāh as viceroys over the North. In placing heirs to the Caliphate in charge of the North, the ʿAbbāsids built on a long tradition of Sasanian succession practices. Sasanian rule provided precedents for the ʿAbbāsids both in administrative organization and in succession. In neither area was there direct continuity from Sasanian to ʿAbbāsid rule. The Marwānid Umayyads combined the North into a single province, as demonstrated by minting practices, but the Sufyānids did not do so. Clearly, however, the Umayyads did not place their heirs in the North. The many scions of the Umayyad house who ruled over the North (e.g., Muḥammad b. Marwān, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and Marwān b. Muḥammad) were not candidates for the Caliphate when they served in the North. Umayyad practices indicate that the ʿAbbāsids did not inherit the perceived significance of Armenia in their succession directly from the Sasanians. Rather, both the administrative paradigm and succession norms were reestablished on a Sasanian model in the ʿAbbāsid period. Nevertheless,

30 Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 431; Vardanyan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Accession," 84. Vardanyan notes that ʿUbayd Allāh changed his patronymic in the 180s to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mahdī. However, ʿUbayd Allāh's continued reference to his father (instead of his brother) as *amīr al-muʾminīn* cannot be considered evidence of the claimed rivalry between ʿUbayd Allāh and Hārūn because it was normative practice for ʿAbbāsid princes. The coins minted by Hārūn in Armenia similarly refer to Hārūn as the son of the *amīr al-muʾminīn* even during Hādī's reign—that is, after Mahdī's death once Hādī had claimed that title. Bonner, in *Aristocratic Violence*, 82, explains that the phrase ممّا أمر به "is associated with the names of sovereigns, of heirs to the throne, of viceroys close in blood to the sovereign and ruling over a group of provinces, and of revolutionaries. Provincial governors only use this phrase on bronze coins."

31 Vacca, *Non-Muslim Provinces*, xv.

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the ʿAbbāsid administrative system and succession patterns would have been legible to an Armenian author such as Łewond because of his familiarity with both Sasanian and Arsacid practice.

XVI.B.2. The Identification of the Governors

Łewond omits some of the governors listed in Arabic sources for the first years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign. All extant Arabic sources similarly name only a selection of the ʿAbbāsid governors who served during this period. None of our sources is comprehensive, and the corpus of ʿAbbāsid-era texts hardly yields consistent information. Indeed, the very fact that modern scholars have produced multiple lists of the governors of Armenia indicates that the sequence is neither clear nor straightforward. Łewond lists Yazīd b. Mazyad, ʿAbd al-Kabīr, and Sulaymān as governors before ʿUbayd Allāh himself appeared in Bardhaʿa/Partaw.

Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Zāʾida al-Shaybānī is well attested, though the precise dates of his governorship are unclear.[32] He minted coins in Hārūniyya and Hārūnābād in 170/786–87 in the name of the caliph Hādī,[33] but Łewond mentions him only after Hārūn's ascension. The possible discrepancy stems from the assumption that coins minted in Hārūniyya were issued by the governors of Armenia. But although the mint was administratively controlled by Armenia, these coins may reflect the military leadership along the frontier rather than the caliphal representation in Dabīl/Duin or Bardhaʿa/Partaw. The numismatic evidence placing Yazīd b. Mazyad in Hārūniyya during the reign of Hādī need not be interpreted as evidence of his governorship of Armenia. Textual evidence in both Arabic and Armenian (including, of course, Łewond) suggests that he was governor of Armenia only after Hārūn's ascension.[34] The *Taʾrīkh al-Bāb* anachronistically extolls Yazīd b. Mazyad as the first Sharwānshāh, in control of Armenia, Albania, Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband, and Azerbaijan under Hārūn al-Rashīd until 172/788. Then, in 178/794 or 179/795, Yazīd defeated a Khārijite rebel in Jazīra with Dhū al-Fiqār, the sword of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. As a reward, Hārūn al-Rashīd reappointed him to the North, where he lived in Bardhaʿa/Partaw.[35]

The governorship of ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAdawī is uncontested and unproblematic. He served as governor of Armenia for only four months in either 172/788–89 or 173/789–90.[36] Although Ṭabarī and Khalīfa mention only his campaigns on the Roman frontier (on which see chapter XIV), Yaʿqūbī confirms Łewond's claim that he also served as governor of Armenia under Hārūn al-Rashīd.[37] ʿAbd al-Kabīr did not mint coins

32 Crone, in *Slaves on Horses*, 169, claims that he became governor of Armenia under Hādī, which is consistent with the numismatic evidence. Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 431 n. 39; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 114 n. 41; Nicol, "Early ʿAbbāsid Administration," 100–101 n. 15; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 122 n. 43; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 119 n. 29; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 29.

33 Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī," 85; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 88.

34 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 210; Drasxanakertcʿi, *Hayocʿ Patmutʿiwn*, 110; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:516.

35 Minorsky, *History*, 1–2 (Arabic), 22–23 (English).

36 Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 431 n. 41; Nalbandyan, "Arabayi ostikannerə," 114–15 n. 44; Nicol, "Early ʿAbbāsid Administration," 101–2 n. 16b; Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 122 n. 47; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 120 n. 33; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 31.

37 Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:516.

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in Armenia, though some of the issues of ʿUbayd Allāh from 173/789–90 include a disjointed letter *ʿayn*, separate from the main inscription, which could refer to his name.[38]

The identification of Łewond's Sulaymān is uncertain.[39] The only potential numismatic evidence for Sulaymān is the letter *sīn* on coins minted in the name of ʿUbayd Allāh,[40] which could obviously refer to a great number of things. Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ lists the governors who ruled each caliphal province in the name of Hārūn al-Rashīd, including the governors of Armenia under the heading of Jazīra. After Khuzayma b. Khāzim and Yazīd b. Mazyad, he names Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar.[41] Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar was the son of the caliph Manṣūr, which makes him the uncle of Hādī, Hārūn al-Rashīd, and ʿUbayd Allāh. He appears in multiple sources as the leader of the *ḥajj* in the early 170s/late 780s; he then became governor of Baṣra at the end of 174/791 and of Damascus in the mid-180s/early 800s.[42] He also appears as a signatory to the agreement between Hārūn's sons Maʾmūn and Amīn that ʿUbayd Allāh also signed. Given Khalīfa's attestation of Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar's governorship in Jazīra and the ʿAbbāsid practice of appointing family members over the North, it seems likely that Łewond's unidentified Sulaymān is indeed Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar.

Some modern studies of the ostikanate identify Sulaymān's son-in-law Ibn Dūqlih as a governor of Armenia.[43] However, Łewond states that Ibn Dūqlih collected taxes for Sulaymān, not that he was named a caliphal governor by Hārūn al-Rashīd. He appears exclusively in Armenian texts. Although Łewond in fact calls him Ibndokē, Իբնդոկէ, without the letter "l," his name has been reconstructed here on the basis of Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi's fifth/eleventh-century *History*. Tarōnecʿi worked with Łewond's text and spelled the name as Ibn Dōlk.[44] This attestation might be supported by numismatic evidence: Vasmer suggests that the largely illegible inscription on a coin dated to 174/790–91 could be read as "Dūqlih."[45]

XVI.B.3. Generalizations about Early ʿAbbāsid Governance

The governors who ruled in Armenia in the early days of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign illustrate three features of ʿAbbāsid governance.

38 Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 120 n. 33.

39 Laurent and Canard, *L'Arménie*, 431–32 n. 42; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 120 n. 32; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 32. Vasmer and Ter-Łevondyan do not provide this Sulaymān with a patronymic. In modern studies of the ostikanate, Łewond's Sulaymān appears as Sulaymān [b. Yazīd?] b. Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī, and he is assigned the governorship in 173/789–90. However, Yaʿqūbī and numismatic evidence attest to the rule of Sulaymān b. Aṣamm al-ʿĀmirī in Armenia only in 192/807–8. There is no reason to identify Łewond's Sulaymān with the later governor.

40 Vardanyan, "Hārūn al-Rashīd's Accession."

41 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 307.

42 Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, 305. For Baṣra, see Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2:494.

43 Ter-Łevondyan, "Arminiayi ostikanneri žamanakagrutʿyunə," 122; Vardanyan, *Islamic Coins*, 120 n. 34; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 32 n. 31.

44 Tarōnecʿi, *Universal History*, 195. This is particularly significant given the scribal error in Łewond's text regarding the date of the Arcruni brothers at the end of the caliphate of Hādī, which is corrected in Tarōnecʿi's history.

45 Vasmer, *Chronologie*, 32 n. 31.

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First, Yazīd b. Mazyad demonstrates the significance of gubernatorial families in the governance of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, as described in earlier chapters. Yazīd b. Mazyad is particularly important because he was yet another scion of the Shaybānī family to rule over Armenia. The Banū Shaybān were prominent in Jazīra in the Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods. Yazīd's relatives served as governors of Yemen, Sīstān, Kūfa, and Damascus, and they campaigned across the Caliphate, from Khurāsān to Egypt.[46] Yazīd's descendants grew in power in Albania in the aftermath of the death of Mutawakkil in 247/861 and became the Sharwānshāhs, ruling along the Caspian coast in Albania.[47] The other family that is conspicuous among the governors is the ʿAbbāsid family itself. Hārūn al-Rashīd posted his own brother over the North, just as his father and his brother had once appointed him. If we read Łewond's Sulaymān as Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar, we find yet another ʿAbbāsid governing the North. In addition, Sulaymān placed his son-in-law in a position of power. Other members of the ʿAbbāsid family also controlled estates in the North, including, presumably, these estates' tax revenues.[48] With the exception of ʿAbd al-Kabīr, all of the governors named in Łewond's text attest to the significance of gubernatorial families who ruled the Caliphate.

Second, these governors serve as a reminder that the ʿAbbāsid administration of the North involved a number of functionaries at various levels. Ibn Dūqlih need not be understood as a governor on the basis of Łewond's description; a number of similar functionaries appear in the Arabic texts. The term used for "governor" is not stable in either Arabic or Armenian, so these various functionaries complicate the modern historian's task of untangling the sequence of governors. For example, Drasxanakertcʿi remarks that when Yazīd was appointed governor of Armenia, he "sent prefects (*kusakals*) and officials (*gorcakals*) to the several regions" (կուսակալս եւ գործակալս ըստ զաւառաց զաւառս առաքէր).[49]

Finally, these governors demonstrate the significance of the frontier in the politics of Armenia. As noted earlier, the governors who appear on the coins of Hārūniyya do not consistently reflect the sitting governors of Armenia even though they are minted with the name Armenia on them. Both Khuzayma b. Khāzim and Yazīd b. Mazyad appear to have minted coins in Hārūniyya before they played a role in Armenia proper. Nonetheless, the Hārūniyya coins name Armenia as a home mint, and several governors who once served on the frontier (as indicated by their Hārūniyya coins) were also later posted to Armenia proper. These details demonstrate the close connection between the governance of Armenia and the maintenance of the Roman frontier, although the two should not be considered identical. This relationship is evident in the case of ʿAbd al-Kabīr. As discussed in chapter XIV, ʿAbd al-Kabīr led the *ṣāʾifa* in 164/781, when he was defeated by Michael Lachanadrakon. He hailed from Ḥarrān/Xaṙan and was a member of the local border elite who was largely ineffective against the imperial forces but still remembered only for warfare on the frontier. Like several other generals in the wars against the Romans, he became governor of Armenia after serving on the frontier.

46 Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 169–70.

47 Minorsky, *History*, 1–2 (Arabic), 22–23 (English).

48 For example, Warthān/Vardanakert belonged to Zubayda bt. Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr, while one of the daughters of Hārūn al-Rashīd claimed Marāgha; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar*, 284.

49 Drasxanakertcʿi, *History*, 114; "Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ," 424.

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XVI.C. ARMENIAN EMIGRATION FROM AND ARAB IMMIGRATION TO ARMENIA

Łewond suggests that the tax policies of the Caliphate, and most immediately those of ʿUbayd Allāh, encouraged more than 12,000 Armenians to leave their land and migrate to Roman territory. According to Łewond, they were led by members of the Amatuni family, Šapuh and his son Hamam. The date of this migration is uncertain.[50] Łewond mentions this episode immediately before the death of Catholicos Esayias in 788 CE, implying that it occurred in that year or shortly before it. He also asserts, however, that the Roman emperor Constantine was immediately notified once the refugees had crossed over the Akampsis River into Roman territory. Constantine VI was born in 771 CE, and his mother Eirene ruled as regent from 780 until 790 CE, when Constantine reached maturity. Thanks to the support of the Armeniac theme, Constantine became sole emperor in that year, but he restored Eirene as coruler in 792 CE. As Łewond makes no reference to Eirene and depicts Constantine as the sole agent in this episode, it is possible that these events occurred after he had assumed full power in 790 CE. On the other hand, Łewond may here reflect the bias of the Armeniacs in refusing to accept Eirene as ruler and thereby attributing all imperial action to Constantine.

Ter-Łevondyan argues that the tax policies of the early years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign were repressive and provided the impetus for Armenian emigration. He also postulates that Hārūn implemented a policy to increase Arab settlement in Armenia. These policies worked in tandem as a concerted effort to replace Armenians with Arabs.[51] Łewond's references to Armenian emigration would seem to support Ter-Łevondyan's argument. However, this conclusion may require some refinement. The evidence available in Armenian, Greek, and Arabic sources does not necessarily support such a definitive conclusion; instead, it allows for ambiguous contexts and multiple readings.

Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi does not record this particular emigration of 12,000 Armenians to Roman territory, but he remarks that during the 790s CE, "the Hagarites completely dominated and subdued the Armenian people, and the number of the nobility of the land decreased—while those that survived remained quiet and subservient to their sway. As a result of this, accounts concerning our princes of this period are missing from the present *History*"[52] (Եւ վասն զի սպառ սպուռ հագարացիքն տիրեցին կալան զՀայաստանեայսս, եւ մեծամեծաք աշխարհիս նուազեցան, եւ մնացեալք դաւղեալ դադարեալ կային ընդ լծով ծառայութեան նոցա, սակս այսորիկ իսկ յայմ վայրի պակասեցաւ ի Պատմութենէ աստի զրոյցք իշխանաց մերոց).[53] Given his lack of access to historical documentation, Drasxanakertcʿi sends his reader to the history attributed to Šapuh Bagratuni, which is now lost. It would be incautious to draw any conclusions about large demographic change in the 790s CE on the basis of such thin evidence.

In contrast to its role in the earlier migration of Armenian nobles that occurred in the 750s CE, the Roman Empire does not seem to have actively promoted this emigration, although Constantine may have benefited from the Armenians' presence. Rather,

50 Charanis, "Ethnic Changes," 29.

51 Ter-Łevondyan, *Arab Emirates*, 27.

52 Drasxanakertcʿi, *History*, 115.

53 Drasxanakertcʿi, "Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ," 426.

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the Armenians' emigration into Roman territory seems to have been driven by their own concerns instead of broader imperial policy. The fate of the city of Kamakh/Kamachon illustrates the significance of Armenian involvement along the Roman-ʿAbbāsid frontier in the 790s CE. According to Theophanes, the Armeniac theme revolted in AM 6285/792–93 CE when the people heard of Eirene's restoration and the imprisonment and blinding of their former strategos Alexios Mousoulem (i.e., son of Mušeł). Constantine was able to defeat the rebellion, "thanks to the deceit of the Armenians who were with them and who betrayed them" (δόλῳ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἀρμενίων προδεδωκότων νικήσας συλλαμβάνει αὐτοὺς).[54] But then, according to Theophanes, "when they [these Armenians] received no reward from the emperor, they surrendered to the Arabs the fort of Kamachon" (μηδὲν φιλοτιμηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ κάστρον Κάμαχον παρέδωκαν τοῖς Ἄραψιν).[55] Theophanes thus attests to the ability of Armenians to work for or against the Roman Empire as it suited their purposes. Balādhurī's account aligns with that of Theophanes, though he has Kamakh/Kamachon switch back and forth between empires with few dates to pin the narrative to a clear timeline. He does record that Kamakh/Kamachon fell to the Arabs in 177/793–94, though he does not mention Armenian involvement at this time. Later, however, Balādhurī attests that Armenians—specifically, Baqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ, meaning Bagarat the son of Ašot Bagratuni—returned Kamakh/Kamachon to the Romans yet again during the reign of Maʾmūn.[56] Such details suggest that Armenian involvement in the transfer of cities along the frontier was not unusual or part of a specific policy of Armenian emigration to Roman territory during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It is impossible to know whether the Armenians who facilitated the capture and recapture of Kamakh/Kamachon were Łewond's refugees, but Theophanes's and Balādhurī's reports suggest that Armenians were active brokers in the transfer of territory between the Roman Empire and the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate. Furthermore, these accounts also indicate that Armenian emigration was not a one-way street to escape caliphal rule in the 790s CE; just as in previous cases, such as that of Tačat Anjewacʿi (see chapter XIV), Armenian elites could maneuver between the empires in the service of their own interests.

The Arabic sources do not add anything to the discussion of emigration from Armenia, but Yaʿqūbī does claim that the caliphal governors of Armenia increased Arab settlement at this time. He does not present this as caliphal policy and is largely focused on tribal politics instead. According to him, Yūsuf b. Rāshid al-Sulamī, who does not appear in any other literary sources, was appointed governor after Khuzayma b. Khāzim's first tenure.[57] Yaʿqūbī explains that "Yūsuf moved a group of the Nizāriyya to the province, where the Yamāniyya heretofore had been dominant. The Nizāriyya became numerous during Yūsuf's time" (فنقل الى البلد جماعة من النزاريّة وكان الغالب على ارمينية اليمانية فكثرت النزاريّة فى ايّام يوسف).[58] Both the Muḍar and the Rabīʿa are construed as the sons of Nizār b. Maʿadd,

54 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 644; *Chronographia*, 469.

55 Theophanes, *Chronicle*, 644; *Chronographia*, 469.

56 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 185.

57 Yūsuf does appear on the coins of Hārūniyya. If Hārūniyya is far from Armenia as per Ibn Ḥawqal (see Commentary XV.A), he may have remained in the Syrian frontier and so never reached Armenia proper. It is therefore possible that Yūsuf's settlers were in fact on the *thughūr*. This reading would explain why Łewond never wrote of Yūsuf as a governor of Armenia: he was not in fact in Armenian territory.

58 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1178; *Taʾrīkh*, 2:515.

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the eponymous ancestor of the Northern Arabs. Yaʿqūbī subsequently refers to the population shifts under Yazīd b. Mazyad, who "brought in Rabīʿa tribesmen from everywhere, so that today they dominate the province" (فنقل اليها ربيعة من كلّ ناحية حتّى هم اليوم الغالبون عليها).[59] According to Ter-Łevondyan, these were most likely members of the Bakr tribe, specifically the Banū Shaybān, and they probably settled more in Sharwān than in Armenia proper, as the former is where Yazīd's descendants set up their hereditary principality.[60] However, Yaʿqūbī's evidence does not allow us to specify the Banū Shaybān in particular, and as noted above, Yazīd b. Mazyad may have ruled over Sharwān but lived in Bardhaʿa/Partaw. Although he appears in later sources as the first Sharwānshāh, the title was awarded posthumously, and the Shaybānī family's association with Sharwān postdates Yazīd's death. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that Yaʿqūbī is referring specifically to Sharwān, even though these tribesmen or their descendants did move there eventually. More importantly, Yaʿqūbī's primary concern is not in fact the Arabicization of Armenia. He mentions Yūsuf's and Yazīd's actions here because they upended the balance between Northern and Southern Arabs in Armenia. Both governors brought in Northern Arabs, which shifted the local demographics because Armenia had been a bastion of Southern Arabs (Yamāniyya) before Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign. These broader power blocs played an important role in balancing regional politics, as evidenced by the fact that the Nizāriyya frequently served as governors of Armenia.[61] Yaʿqūbī's primary concern is brought into relief in his discussion of ʿAbd al-Kabīr's tenure as governor, where he specifies that the governor relied on tribesmen from Diyār Muḍar, again suggesting reliance on the Nizāriyya. Furthermore, Yaʿqūbī's interest in the balance of tribal representation likely reflected problems in the broader Caliphate, as the early years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign saw battles in both Jazīra and Syria between the Nizāriyya and the Yamāniyya.[62]

The nuances of Arab politics and demographic movements are entirely lost on Łewond, who does not refer to Arab immigration into Armenia at all in this period. However, Łewond and Yaʿqūbī share a general concern with the effect of population movements on the region's relationship with imperial powers (both Roman and ʿAbbāsid) during the early years of Hārūn al-Rashīd's caliphate. Both historians understand the movement of populations in relation to their neighboring provinces (Armeniac and Jazīra, respectively). Given the disparate sources about emigration and immigration, it is difficult to detect a clear and cohesive policy under Hārūn al-Rashīd, nor is there a discernable relationship between tax policies and tribal settlement in Armenia.

XVI.D. THE CATHOLICOI OF ARMENIA

Along with Catholicos Sahak, Catholicos Esayias (Esayi) of Ałapatruš or Ełipatruš (in office 775–88 CE) and Catholicos Stepʿannos Dunecʿi (in office 788–90 CE) are the only catholicoi mentioned by Łewond. Łewond records that Esayias asked Sulaymān's son-in-law, Ibn Dūqlih, who was posted in Dabīl/Duin, to lower the Armenians' taxes, but that he

59 Yaʿqūbī, *Works*, 1178; *Ta'rīkh*, 2:516.

60 See Minorsky, *History*.

61 Nicol, "Early ʿAbbāsid Administration," 100.

62 Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 269, 279.

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was unsuccessful. Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i reports that "the Armenians, in their country's distress, sent their patriarch Lord Esayi and his bishops" (Հայաստանեայք սակս աշխարհին հոգւոց զհայրապետն իւրեանց զտէր Եսայի հանդերձ եպիսկոպոսաւքն յղեալ . . . առաքեն) to Bardha‘a/Partaw, presumably to seek tax relief for Armenia.[63] It is unclear when this trip took place, but if Esayias did not receive a positive response to his request from Ibn Dūqlih in Dabīl/Duin, it is possible that he then tried his luck with Sulaymān in Bardha'a/Partaw. According to Ačaṙyan, the catholicos Esayias is to be identified with the bishop Esayi of Gołt‘n who participated in the famous Council of Manazkert in 726 CE, which would make him quite old when he assumed the position of catholicos in 775 CE.[64] He was also present at the Council of Partaw convened in 768 CE by Catholicos Sion (in office 767–75 CE), whom he succeeded. Armenian historiographers after Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i focus on Esayias's rise, prophesied by his mother, from very humble origins as the son of a widowed beggar to become bishop of Gołt‘n and then catholicos, a story not mentioned by Łewond.[65]

Even less is known about the brief tenure of Step‘annos as catholicos. Łewond claims that he succeeded to the position through bribery. Among later Armenian historiographers, only Samuēl Anec‘i and Kirakos Ganjakec‘i preserve this piece of information.[66]

The very fact that Łewond chose to mention these two catholicoi, in addition to the fact that he does not seem to have been familiar with the later legendary account of Esayias's life, may further support the claim that Łewond was contemporary to both religious figures.

63 Dasxuranc‘i, *History*, 213; *Patmut‘iwn*, 325.

64 Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc‘ anjnanunneri baṙaran*, 2:124–25.

65 Drasxanakertc‘i, *History*, 113; "Patmut‘iwn Hayoc‘," 423–24.

66 Anec‘i, *Hawakmunk‘*, 89; Ganjakec‘i, *Patmut‘iwn*, 75.

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XVII Colophon

A COLOPHON IS A STATEMENT at the end of a text to explain the circumstances of the text's production and transmission. The oldest extant manuscript of Łewond's work contains a colophon that provides the name of the scribe and of the patron who ordered it to be copied. These names allow us to date the text, as the patron who paid for the manuscript was the abbot of a monastery called Yovhannavank'. From inscriptions, we know that he served in that position from 1274 to 1311. The colophon also tells us what the scribe and the patron knew about the text—namely, that it was written on the orders of a Bagratuni patrician.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The teaching of Łewond about the chronology of this house of T'orgom was completed by the order of Lord Šapuh Bagratuni. Lord Hamazasp from the honorable house of the Mamikoneank', who was also desirous of the same, gave the order for the impure scribe Sargis to write it from his legitimate funds. I pray that you remember me before the merciful God. Glory be to Him forever. Amen.

Šapuh Bagratuni: son of Smbat (the son of Ašot the Blind) and brother of Ašot Msaker, presiding prince of Armenia from 806 to 826 CE. Šapuh died in 824 CE.

Hamazasp Mamikonean: abbot of Yovhannavank' from 1274 to 1311 CE.

Legitimate: in Armenian, *halal*, which renders the Arabic word for "licit." This word appears in medieval Armenian inscriptions, too.

ARMENIAN EDITION

Կատարեցաւ վարդապետութի*ւն* Ղեւոնդի. վ*ասն* ժամանակագրաց, տանս Թորգոմայ, ի հրամանէ տ*եառն* Շապհոյ Բագրատունոյ: որ և ցանկացող եղեալ սորին տէր Համազասպ՝ ի պատուաւոր յազգէն Մամիկոնեանց, ի հալալ արդեանց ետ հրաման ծրել փծուն գրչի Սարգի[1]: Աղաչեմ յիշեցէք յողորմածն Ա*ստուա*ծ. և նմա փառք յաւիտեանս: Ամէն:

COMMENTARY

XVII.A. THE SPONSOR

The colophon of M1902 specifies that "Lord Hamazasp from the honorable house of the Mamikoneank', who was also desirous of the same, gave the order for the impure scribe Sargis to write it from his legitimate funds" (որ և ցանկացող եղեալ սորին տէր Համազասպ՝ ի պատուաւոր յազգեն Մամիկոնեանց, ի հալալ արդեանց ետ հրաման ծրել փծուն գրչի Սարգի) [130v]. The Mamikonean family stands out in Łewond's narrative as a steadfast

1 Սարգի] read: Սարգսի.

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opponent of caliphal rule in Armenia. Grigor and Dawitʿ Mamikonean were rivals of the Bagratunikʿ to the point that the caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik exiled them to Yemen and the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad had Dawitʿ executed after first cutting off his hands and feet. Ruminating on Dawitʿ's execution, Łewond evokes Matthew 7:17, stating that it was "the bad yield of bad seeds" (չար սերմանցն չար արդիւնարարութիւն) [89v]. Later, Artawazd Mamikonean was the first to raise a rebellion against the ʿAbbāsid caliph Manṣūr, and Mušeł Mamikonean appears as a leader of the 158/775 rebellion. Łewond's editorializing clearly reflects his disapproval of all of these actions, as he sides with the Bagratunikʿ and discourages any sign of insubordination against the Caliphate. Although it is curious that a Mamikonean lord ordered the preservation of an anti-Mamikonean, pro-Bagratuni work of history, there is little we can surmise about his reasoning. Perhaps he wanted to promote his family as opponents to the spread and rule of Islam over Armenian territory. However, we can hardly advance the theory that the exploits of the Mamikonean elite in the second/eighth century meant anything in particular to a specific scion of the house a full five centuries later. Further, we cannot extrapolate about how Armenians would have read the history of caliphal occupation in the period of the Mongol invasions immediately after centuries of Kurdish and Turkish supremacy in Greater Armenia. Hamazasp Mamikonean's interest in Łewond's *History* could have been spurred by any number of personal or societal impetuses.

Hamazasp did, however, leave historical footprints. According to the seventeenth-century historian Zakʿaria Sarkawag Kʿanakʿeṙcʿi, Hamazasp was abbot of Yovhannavankʿ, a monastery in Ohanavan in the province of Argacotn, and increased the library's holdings: "In the year 728 [= 1279], Father Hamazasp became [abbot]. This Hamazasp accomplished many deeds and accumulated divine writings, many of which still exist. He lived in the days of the sons of prince Kurd, and led the prelacy with secular authority. And he himself was a glorious man of fearful appearance from the Mamikonean clan. We learned this from many colophons to books and memorials in many places" (Թուին ՉԻԸ. եղեւ Հայր Համազասպ: Այս Համազասպ բազում արդիւնս արար եւ բազմացոյց զգրեանս Աստուածային. որ եւ բազումք կան դեռեւս: Սայ էր յաւուրս որդւոց իշխանին Քրդոյ եւ վարէր զառաջնորդութիւնն մարմնաւոր իշխանութեամբ. եւ էր ինքն յազգէ Մամիկոնէից, այր փառահեղ եւ ահարկու տեսողացն: Զայս ուսաք ի բազում գրոց յիշատակարանաց եւ յարձանաց ի բազում տեղիս).[2] Yovhannavankʿ, along with nearby Sałmosavankʿ, controlled large estates, attracted generous donations, and was financially well off in the thirteenth century. Although Zakʿaria places the beginning of Hamazasp's tenure as abbot of Yovhannavankʿ in 1279, an inscription from the monastery mentions him as abbot from 1274; others testify to his presence there in 1279, 1283, and 1300 CE.[3] In addition to the inscriptions, a number of colophons that name him exist in manuscripts dated to the last two decades of the thirteenth century. The colophons appear to works such as the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus, the *History* of Agatʿangełos, and the *Commentary on the Proverbs of*

2 Kʿanakʿeṙcʿi, *Patmutʿiwn*, 194; *Chronicle*, 295; Łewond, *History*, 196–97 n. 4.

3 Jakobson, Łafadaryan, and Curatola, *Kʿasakhi vankʿer*, 10, 31; Kʿiwrtean, "Dseł kam Hamazaspean Mamikoneanneru tunə," 161–64; Łafadaryan, *Yovhannavankʿə ev nra arjanagrutʿyunnerə*, 83 (inscription 16, line 7), 91 (inscription 30, line 9), 106 (inscription 56, line 4, and inscription 57, line 6); Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, xl.

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Solomon of Nersēs Lambronacʿi.[4] Hamazasp's connection to the Armenian Church and his sponsorship of other works of Armenian and ecclesiastical history indicate other possible motives for his interest in Łewond's *History.*

XVII.B. THE SCRIBE

The scribe Sargis wrote in minuscule (*bolorgir*) script, though there are passages of mixed majuscule (*erkatʿagir*) and miniscule script. We know nothing about Sargis beyond the colophons he left in this manuscript.

4 Kʿiwrtean, "Dseł̄i kam Hamazaspean Mamikoneanneru tunə," 161–64.

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Indexes

Note: Italicized page locators refer to illustrations; tables are noted with a *t*.

GENERAL

ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad (governor of Mesopotamia), 330
ʿAbbāsid Revolution, xx, xxvi, 251, 253, 258–59, 260 (map), 274, 276–77; ʿAbbāsid family tree, *260*; ʿAbd Allāhs and involvement in, 259, 276, 277; Łewond's account of, as consistent with Arabic sources, 276
ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-ʿAdawī, 375, 383–84, 385, 388
ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās: ʿAbbāsid Revolution and, 259, 277
ʿAbd Allāhs: ʿAbbāsid Revolution and involvement of, 259, 276, 277
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, 39–76; Armenia and the second *fitna*, 59–62; Armenian edition, 51–58; Armenian rebellion under, 47 (map); battle of Vardanakert as a rebellion, 66–68; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvt; concerning the battle in the swamp, 43–51; concerning the reign of Ašot, the fire set by the Romans, and the death of Ašot, 41–43; downplaying rebellion and reworking chronology during reign of, 65–72; English translation, 39–40; fires of Gukankʿ and foreshadowing of Nashawā/Naxčawan, 72–74; Muḥammad b. Marwān and the church of Saint Grigor, 65–66; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviiit; Łewond's character note on, xlixt; Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvt; prince of Armenia and the Marwānid reforms, 62–65; rebellion at Vardanakert in intra-Armenian politics, 74–76; Roman Empire and rebellion at Vardanakert, 68–70; three-year *amān* of Muḥammad b. Marwān, 70–72
ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muslim (governor of Armenia), 251
ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor of Dabīl/Duin, 80–81, 96, 97–99; fashion choices of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 99–100; Łewond's positive description of, 97; rebuilding of Dabīl/Duin, 98–99; tunnels and *takbīr* in conquest narratives, 97–98
Abraham, 122, 126, 142, 194; footprint of, as important tradition in Islam, 152, 189; house of, 142; Jews and Muslims share common interest in, 3; Qurʾānic support for, 122
Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Alī (regnal title Saffāḥ), 279–84, 381; ʿAbbāsid Revolution and, 259, 277; Abū Jaʿfar's travels around the caliphate, 282–83; Armenian edition, 280–81; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance and the transition from Umayyad rule, 281–82; English translation, 279–80; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond at the nexus of multiple linguistic circles, 283–84
Abū Bakr: length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*
Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān, caliphates of, 1–24; Armenian edition, 8–12; battling the Romans, 18; concerning Ishmael's marauding in Armenian lands and attacking of the Armenian troops, 4–8; English translation, 1–4; expansion of Islam, 15–19; fall of the Sasanian Empire, 18–19; incursions into Armenia, 5 (map); Islamic incursions into Armenia, campaigns within, 19–24; Jews and the Islamic conquest, 16–18; Madiam, 16; overview, 1; pro-Herakleian context, 14–15; threads of Umayyad historiography, 12–14; vestiges of first/seventh-century imperial ideologies, 12–15

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Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf: denigrates Marwān's claim to the caliphate, 265–66
Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (regnal title Manṣūr), 285–328; ʿAbbāsid Revolution and, 259, 277, 279; Arabic source on battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 285, 323–27; Arab-Khazar wars, 285, 315–18; Armenian edition, 302–12; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance, 285, 288, 289, 290, 312–14; differentiation of, from his brother, in both Łewond and Theophanes, 284; emergence of the Arcrunikʿ, 318–19; English translation, 285–302; imperial policy on the frontier, 315; Khazar raids during reign of, 287 (map); length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's integration of Greek vocabulary in description of, 327–28; Mamikonean rebellion during reign of, 290–300, 291 (map); power and influence of, as Saffāḥ's brother, 279; rebellions during the reign of, 285, 319–23; travels around the caliphate, sent by Abū al-ʿAbbās, 282–83
Abū Muslim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim al-Khurasānī: ʿAbbāsid Revolution led by, 259
Ačaṙyan, Hračʿeay: on identification of catholicos Esayias, 389
Adam, 133, 143; example of Jesus and example of, 145
administration: Łewond's explicit concerns about, xxix–xxx, xliii. *See also* caliphal governance under each caliph; fiscal administration; taxes and taxation
Agapius: Dawitʿ Saharuni's abandonment of the Greek forces and, 31; on Marwān and violence in Damascus, 265; on rebellion of Pasagnathēs, 29, 30; rebellion of Saborios and, 31; on third campaign entering Armenia in 32/652–53, 23
Agatʿangelos: *History,* 392
Akhlāṭ/Xlatʿ (city on the banks of Lake Van), 296; starting point of caliphal forces, battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 319, 320, 320*t,* 321, 326
Akinean, N.: outline of Łewond's life by, xxiii
al-Aqṣā Mosque, xx; Marwānid reforms and construction of, 63
Albania: Armenia, the Khazars, and, xxi, 40, 41 (map); Atrpatakan, Armenia, Georgia and, given by Hārūn al-Rashīd to his brother, 375, 380; building projects linking Dabil/Duin to, 99; death of Tačat during campaign against Khazars in, 352; districts taken by Khazar king in, 287–88, 317; Khārijite rebellions in Azerbaijan, Sīsajān/Siunikʿ, and, 275–76; payment of tribute to Tačiks ceased, 59–61; rule of Sharwānshāhs (descendents of Yazīd) along Caspian coast in, 385; span of territory encompassed by, 40
alcohol: ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's prohibition on, 181
Alexander Legend: Alexander's gate within eschatological framework in, 111; imperial propaganda of the court of Herakleios and, 112
Alexander the Great, 110; failed campaign against China, 101–2; Łewond's casting of Maslama as a hero with allusions to, 105, 111–13
ʿAlids: Mūsā al-Hādī's harsh stance against, 357
ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, xlviii*t*; Łewond's omission of, reason for, 1, 12–13; name given to, by Prophet Muḥammad, 127; omission of, from caliphal lists, xlvii
Aljamiado version of ʿUmar-Leo correspondence: accusation focused on number of sects within Christianity in, 195; close relationship between Greek-Armenian version and, concrete example of, 183–84
Amatuni, Hamam, 376, 386
Amatuni, Šapuh, 376, 386
Amatuni, Varašapuh: murder of, 80
Amatunikʿ, xxix; flight of, during reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, 376–77, 377 (map)
Amīr al-muʾminīn ("Commander of the Faithful"), 1
ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥārithī: chronological problems in Łewond's text and reference to, 296, 324; death of, 301, 324, 326; general, at battle of Arjish/Arčēš, 320*t,* 324
Amorium (stronghold in Phrygia), 331
Amos, prophecy of: Łewond's description of the third *fitna* shaped to, 253, 254, 266

isac.uchicago.edu

Anatolia: Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik as the hero of the ambush in, 229; summer expeditions on the field in, 338
Andalus: foreknowledge of Islamic conquests in example of, 112–13
Anecʿi, Mxitʿar: reports on Sasanian Empire, 19
Anecʿi, Samuēl: on brief tenure of Stepʿannos as catholicos, 389
angelic multitudes: Armenian victories and, in medieval Armenian texts, 299
Anjewacʿi, Tačat, career of, xxxii, xxxiii, 337, 349–55, 350*t,* 387; afterlife of Tačat's story, 353–55; caliphal campaign of 165/782 and, 346, 347, 348, 348*t*; chronology of, 349–52; death of Tačat, during campaign against the Khazars, 330, 333, 352–53; defection of, 329, 330, 332–33, 346, 347, 348, 350*t,* 351, 355; Roman campaign of 161/778, 340, 341, 343*t*; timeline of, 350*t*; triangulation between ʿUthmān, Mahdī, and Tačat, 351–52
Anonymous Chronicle (Pʿilon Tirakacʿi), 22; Łewond's emphasis on Khazar Khaganate and comparison with, 60; two parts in, xxxviii–xxxix
Anonymous Storyteller. *See* Bagratuni, Šapuh (Anonymous Storyteller or Pseudo-Šapuh)
Anūshirwān: deeds of, sources about Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband and, 110; royal marriage alliance as a ruse and, 316
Apocalypse (Pseudo-Methodius), l; caves and crevices motif in, 289
apocalyptic sentiments: in Arabic-Islamic conquest literature, 112–13
apostles of Christ, 122
Arabia Petraea, 3, 18
Arabic sources and historiography: Łewond's *History* within, xl–xlv, xlvii, xlix–l
Arab immigration: to Armenia, 387–88
Arab-Khazar wars, xxvi, 223–24; active involvement of Umayyad princes in, 222; caliphal finances and, 223; death of the khatun as a casus belli for, 287, 316, 317; governor-generals with leadership positions in, 221–22; Łewond's geographically oriented information about, 317–18; Maslama's fighting in, 214; during reign of the caliph Manṣūr, xxi, 285, 286, 287–88, 287 (map), 315–18; role of Armenian forces in, xvii; salaries of troops and, xxx
Arčēš, battle of. *See* Arjīsh/Arčēš, battle of
architectural production in Armenia: interregnum and, 35
Arčʿil the king of Kaxetʿi: as likely candidate for prince of the Georgians, 360, 373–74
Arcruni, Gagik (son of Vahan Arcruni), xxix, 286, 313; death of, 287, 318; Łewond's description of activities of, 318–19; sons of, 286, 289, 318
Arcruni, Grigor: murder of, 80
Arcruni, Hamazasp (son of Gagik Arcruni), 286, 289; arrest and imprisonment of, under Hādī, 357, 368; dating execution of, 360, 370; leader at battle of Arjish/Arčēš, xxix, 320, 320*t,* 358; martyrdom of, xxix, 357, 358–60, 366, 368; preamble to martyrology of, description of the patrimony of Armenian nobles, 369–70; saint, depicted on the Church of the Holy Cross, Ałtʿamar, 366, *367*
Arcruni, Hamazasp (son of Vahan Arcruni), xxix, 286, 289, 318; killed fighting Arab troops, 286, 357–58
Arcruni, Koriwn: murder of, 80
Arcruni, Mehružan (son of Gagik Arcruni): arrest and imprisonment of, under Hādī, 357, 368; conversion of, to Islam, 358, 366, 368; Dawitʿ Mamikonean's execution of, 368, 370
Arcruni, Sahak (son of Gagik Arcruni), 286, 289, 318; arrest and imprisonment of, under Hādī, 357, 368; dating execution of, 360, 370; martyrdom of, xxix, 357, 358–60, 366, 368; preamble to martyrology of, description of the patrimony of Armenian nobles, 369–70; saint, depicted on the Church of the Holy Cross, Ałtʿamar, 366, *367*
Arcruni, Sahak (son of Vahan Arcruni), xxix; killed fighting Arab troops, 286, 357–58
Arcruni, Tʿovma: evaluation of Herakleios by, 14–15; *History of the House of the Arcrunikʿ,* xxvii, xxxix, 190; on length of Sasanian rule, 19; list of places used by, 283
Arcruni, Vahan: sons of, xxix, 286, 357–58
Arcrunikʿ: defeat of, at battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš, 285, 295 (map), 296–98, 319; emerging

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centrality of, during Manṣūr's caliphate, 318–19; Łewond's information about, xxix
Arcruni princes, death or conversion of, 366–71; an Armenian revolt under Hādī, 366–68; dating the execution of the Armenian princes, 370; description of the patrimony of Armenian nobles, 369–70; identity and location of the caliphal governor, 368–69; saints Sahak and Hamazasp Arcruni depicted on Church of the Holy Cross, 366, *367*
Ardabīl/Artawēt: Khazar capture of, 224–25; Łewond's earliest mention of, 206
Arjīsh/Arčēš, battle of: battle of Baghrahwand/Bagrewand and, 295 (map), 320*t*; caliphal commanders and provenance of caliphal forces involved in, 319, 320*t*; defeat of the Arcrunikʿ at, 285, 295 (map), 296–98, 319; primary objective of, 319
Armenia: Albania, the Khazars, and, 40, 41 (map); alphabet in, invention of, xxxvi; Arab immigration to, during reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, 387–88; Armenian emigration from, tax policies of ʿUbayd Allāh and, 375, 386–87; catholicoi of, Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign and, 375, 388–89; defection from Roman forces, volte-face of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, 25, 28–32; disconnect between Hārūniyya issues and governorship of, 364–65; four traits common to many ʿAbbāsid governors of, 365–66; historiographical tradition in, Łewond's *History* within and outside of, xxxvi–xl; incursions into, places mentioned in, 4, 5 (map); Isḥāq b. Muslim's role as governor in, importance of, 250, 251; Łewond's treatment of the Arcrunikʿ and solidarity in, 318; Mamikonean control over, Umayyads and undermining of, 214; Marwānid reforms and dramatic change in caliphal policy relative to, 63; minting of undated copper coins by Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī in, 368; as part of Islam, xxii, xiin4; silver discovered in, 291, 329, 337; untangling relationship between Jazīra and, 313. *See also* Islamic incursions into Armenia
Armenian language: ʿUmar-Leo letter composed in, Gero's argument for, 186
Aršawankʿ Arabacʿ i Hays ("The Incursions of the Arabs into Armenia") (Chanazarian), xl
Artawēt: *See* Ardabīl/Artawēt
Aruč: church at, built by Grigor Mamikonean, 25, *40,* 64; description of town, 40
Āstarkhān al-Khwārizmī, 316
Atrpatakan (Armenian term for Azerbaijan), 288
Attila the Hun, 111
Avarayr, battle of, 202
ʿAyn al-Jarr: Marwān's victory at, 246, 247, 265
Azāriqa (Khārijite sect), 195
Azerbaijan, 40; Khārijite rebellions in Albania, Sīsajān/Siunikʿ, and, 275; Khazars and campaign into Azerbaijan/Atrpatakan, 224–25

Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband (Caspian Gates): destruction and rebuilding of, 105, 110; end of time, Marcian's inscription, and Maslama as the New Alexander, 105, 111–13; fortification built at, 105, *106*; Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik in, 105, 109–15; Maslama's capture of, from the Khazars, 109, 110; Maslama's flight from the Khazars, 105, 109, 113–15; Tačat Anjewacʿi's death during campaign against the Khazars at, 352
Babylon: captivity of the Jews in, 125–26
Badalian: among list of languages in Łewond's *History,* 131
Baghdad (City of Peace): circular layout of, 296; summer expeditions in, 338
Baghrawand/Bagrewand, battle of, 274, 285, 295 (map), 296, 298–301; an Arabic source on, 323–27; battles of Arjīsh/Arčēš and, 295 (map), 320*t*; caliphal commanders and provenance of caliphal forces involved in, 319, 320*t*; comparison between Ibn Aʿtham's and Łewond's accounts of, 324–27, 325*t*; complicated loyalties of Bagratuni house during, 270; Łewond acknowledges Arabic source for the material on, 299; list of the fallen at, 299; Mamikonean defeat at battle of, 285, 295 (map), 296, 298–301, 319; silence regarding, in Armenian sources, 323
Bagratuni, Ašot (son of prince Sahak): attempts by, to forestall Mamikonean rebellion, 256, 269–70, 319, 322, 323; Bagratuni house, admonishment of, 294–95
Bagratuni, Ašot II (son of Smbat V; prince of Armenia), xxxix; death of, 43; reign of, 41–42, 64

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Bagratuni, Ašot III (son of Vasak, known as "the Blind"), 255; blinding of, 258, 267; Marwān b. Muḥammad's reliance on, 238
Bagratuni, house of: family tree, *294*
Bagratuni, Sahak (prince of Armenia), 280, 289; death of, 299; involvement of, at battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 320*t,* 323
Bagratuni, Šapuh (Anonymous Storyteller or Pseudo-Šapuh): concern with the Ṙštunikʿ, battle of Vardanakert and, 76; discussion on career of Tačat Anjewacʿi, 353–55; *History,* reading Łewond against, xxxix, 14; idiosyncrasies of Łewond's version of campaign against China and history associated with, 102–3; Jews and Islamic conquest according to, 18; Łewond's *History* and role of, xix, xxiv, xxxi, 391; projects the *ṣawāʾif* into a timeless biblical framework, 355; Vard's "betrayal" of the Roman forces accounted by, 33–34
Bagratuni, Smbat (son of Ašot II), xxxii, xxxiii, 32, 80, 319; compared with Muḥammad b. Marwān, in Łewond's foreshadowing of fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, 72–74; involvement of, at battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 320*t,* 323
Bagratuni, Smbat I, xxxix; Drasxanakertcʿi on period of peace established by, 369–70
Bagratuni, Smbat *sparapet* (son of Ašot III, the Blind): dies at battle of Bagrewand, 293, 299
Bagratuni, Smbat V, 25, 26, 27
Bagratuni, Smbat VI, 43, 48
Bagratuni, Vasak, 295, 319; involvement of, at battle of Arjish/Arčēš, 320*t,* 323
Bagratunikʿ: campaigns of Marwān b. Muḥammad and, 238–41; Mamikonean resistance and Umayyad relationship with, 214; peacekeeping in Armenia and, xx; pro-caliphal position of, in *History,* xvii–xviii; rebellions, rhetoric of unity, and, 322–23; rise of, xxxvii; rule of, overview, 26; as victorious at battle of Vardanakert, in Łewond's version of events, 68
Bagratuni-Kamsarakan issue: competing narratives of battle of Vardanakert and, 74–75. *See also naxararkʿ* (dynastic noble families)
Bagratuni-Mamikonean *naxarar* houses: Łewond's highlighting of tensions between, xxviii–xxix, xxxi, 267–68. *See also naxararkʿ* (dynastic noble families)
Bagrewand, battle of: *See* Baghrawand/Bagrewand, battle of
Bājunays/Apahunikʿ: coins minted at, 329, *330*
Bakkār b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī (governor of Armenia), 251, 290, 312
Bākuh: Masʿūdī on coast of Caspian Sea up to the oil fields of, 352, 353
Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, xliv; on Armenians and fate of Kamakh/Kamachon, 387; on building projects and caliphal administration, 99; description of the patrimony of Armenian nobles, 369; on destruction and rebuilding of Darband, 110; on fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan, 91; on Khārijite revolt, 275; on Khuzayma's introduction of cadastre in Dabīl and Nashawā, 365; *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān,* xli, xlii; list of governors of ʿAbbāsid Armenia provided by, 363; on localized tax policies, 314; on marriage alliance with the Khazars, 315; on placement of ʿĀmir against the Armenians, 325–26; on reports about Kūshān al-Armanī, 272; second *fitna* according to, 59; summary of information on Roman campaign of 161/778, 342, 343*t*; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 348*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 344, 345*t*; Walīd b. Yazīd's libertine personality in accounts of, 245–46
Bałišecʿi, Vardan, lv
Balʿamī: Campaign of Mud report by, 115; on confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 226–27, 228; on destruction and rebuilding of Darband, 110; on destruction of fortresses in Armenia, claims put in context, 239, 240; explanation of the siege of Constantinople in *History* of, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236; on fire ruse and Maslama's flight from the Khazars, 113–14, 115; Persian history of, xliv
Banū Khāzim: appearance of, in courts of the caliphs, 365

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Banū Muhallab: appearance of, in courts of the caliphs, 365; Arabic-Islamic sources on rebellion of, 200
Banū Qays, 271; color red associated with, 100; expansionist policies of, 222–23; Umayyads and reliance on, 206, 251
Banū Shaybān: prominence of, in Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid periods, 385, 388
baptism: Christian community unified through, 196; Leo the Isaurian on anticipation of, in the Old Testament, 146, 147
Baqrāṭ b. Ashūṭ: return of Kamakh/Kamachon and role of, 387
Bardhaʿa/Partaw: starting point of caliphal forces, battle of Arjīsh/Arčēš, 320*t*
Bārjīk b. Khāqān: Khazar campaign against Ardabīl/Artawēt and, 224
Barkri/Berkri: starting point of Armenian forces, battle of Arjish/Arčēš, 320, 320*t*
"Barmakids" (family of viziers): Muḥammad al-Mahdī and entrenchment of power of, 329
Basanastan, 330
Basli, 129, 192
basmala: Arabic epistolary style and use of term, 118
Bates, M.: on minting of silver coins, 337
Bathsheba: David's marriage to, according to Jewish and Islamic tradition, 152–53
Bawtis river (China), 81
bema: defined, 44
Bible: conduit-shout-rout combination in storylines in, 98; five books of the Laws in, 124; four Kingdoms and Chronicles in, 124. *See also* Gospels of Christ; Hebrew Scriptures; New Testament; Old Testament; scripture, nature of
biblical allusions and citations in Łewond's *History,* xxxiv–xxxvi; conformity to the Septuagint and, li; fiscal tyranny in Armenia, xxxv–xxxvi; martyrdom scenes, xxxv, xl; military conflict scenes, xxxiv; retelling of the second and third *fitnas,* xxxv
biblical proof texts, for the Prophet Muḥammad: theme of, in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 117, 119
biblical tropes: employed in Łewond's description of Maslama's campaign, 237–38
Black Stone, 152
Blankinship, Khalid Yahya: on caliphal finances, 223; on destruction of fortresses in Armenia, 239; on Hishām's payments to the Armenian cavalry, 238
"blue people": Yazīd b.ʿAbd al-Malik's killing of, 201
Bonner, M.: on Rawḥ's activities on the frontier, 364n37; on succession disputes between Hādī and Hārūn, 380
Book of Chronicles (Old Testament), 124
Borrut, Antoine, 13; on Łewond's report of the siege of Constantinople, 231
building programs: Marwānid reforms and, xx, 63, 64, 98–99
Bulgars, xxi
Buzandaran or *Epic Histories* (Pʿawstos), xxxvii

cadastre: defined, 205; differentiating between census and, 223n59; economic reform and, during caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, xxx, 223–24; Khuzayma's introduction of, in Dabīl and Nashawā, 365. *See also* taxes and taxation
caliphal histories: Christian sources and, xixn1
caliphal lists: lengths of caliphal reigns, second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists, xlviii*t*; Łewond's beginning and ending formulae in, xlv, xlv*t*–xlvi*t*; Łewond's character notes on, xlvii, xlix*t,* l; provenance of, uncertainty around, xlvii; from second/eighth century, survival of, 13
camel sacrifice: Islam tied to the story of Abraham through, 150
Campaign of Mud, 115
Canarkʿ: *See* Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ
captives: return of, under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 117, 157, 181–82. *See also* hostage taking
Caspian coast: volcano references in medieval Arabic descriptions of, 333, 352
Caspian Gates (fortification at Darband), 105, *106*
Catholicos/catholicoi, 49; of Armenia, Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign and, 375, 388–89; Łewond's scant mention of, xxxi
Caucasian campaigns of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Łewond's reordering of events related to, 105, 108, 109, 205

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Caucasus: earliest Islamic incursions into, xx–xxi; Caucasus Mountains, 107. *See also* West Caucasus, Roman interests in
cavalry: establishment of Umayyad *dīwān* and, 90; maintenance of, in lieu of taxation, 238–39. *See also* military service; royal record; stipends
caves and crevices motif: persecuted faithful and, multiple appearances of, 289
Čenbakur (Armenian title for emperor of China), 82, 83, 103
Central Asia: Umayyad campaigns in, legendary account of, 101–2
Chahnazarian, K., 193, 194
character notes: in Łewond's caliphal list, xlvii, xlix*t,* l
China: definition of, in Łewond's text, 101; dual campaigns of Muḥammad b. Marwān and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 102–3; legendary account of Umayyad campaigns in Central Asia read against, 101–2; Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against, 77, 81–83, 100–103; Umayyad campaigns against, xxvi
Christianity: groups within, represented in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 195–97; Łewond's presentation of, xxxi
Christians: direction of prayer and, 142. *See also* Bible; Jesus Christ; New Testament
Chronicle of 741, 13
Chronicle of 754, 13
Chronicle of 819/Chronicle of 846: slaughter of pigs in, 201
Chronicle of 1234: concern with concubine-born Arabs in, 250; on heavy taxes imposed by Hishām, 223–24; Marwān and violence in Damascus in, 265; rebellion of Saborios and, 31
Chronicle of Khūzistān: Madīna/Midian conflation in, 16
Chronicle of Zuqnin, l, 23, 111; denigration of Kūshān al-Armanī in, 271–72, 273–74; destruction and rebuilding of Darband in, 110; iconoclasm paired with slaughter of animals in, 201; Mamikonean rebellion and three-front conflict in, 274–75; on Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik as hero of ambush in Tyana, 229, 231; on monasteries destroyed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Bukhturī, 275
churches: at Aruč, built by Grigor Mamikonean, 25, *40,* 64; at Dariwnkʿ, built by Ašot II, 41–42; at Mren, depiction of Herakleios on facade of, 1, *2*; of Saint Grigor (Zuartʿnocʿ), 26, *27,* 44
Church of the Holy Cross, Ałtʿamar (modern Turkey): saints Sahak and Hamazasp Arcruni depicted on, 366, *367*
circumcision: Leo the Isaurian on Christian reinterpretation of Jewish practice of, 146–47; male and female, mentioned in the *ḥadīth,* 147
civil wars. *See fitna*s
clergy of Saint Grigor: Muḥammad b. Marwān and ruse and killing of, 39, 44, 65–66
coins: aniconic Arabic, Marwānid reforms and, 62–63, 63n96; Arabic-Islamic, minting of, xxii; early ʿAbbāsids and minting standards for, 382, 382n30; first caliphal, minted in Dabīl/Duin, 98, 99n73; of Khuzayma b. Khāzim, minted in Hārūniyya, 364, *364*; minted at Bājunays/Apahunikʿ, 329, *330*; minted in Muḥammadiyya, 337; reforms, Marwānids and, xx; ʿUbayd Allāh's minting of, in his own name, 382, 382n30; undated copper, minted by Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī in Armenia, 368; Yazīd b. Mazyad and minting of, 383
colophon, 391–93; Armenian edition, 391; defined, 391; English translation, 391; for oldest extant manuscript of Łewond's work, 391–93; scribe, 391, 393; sponsor, 391–93
Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon (Nersēs Lambronacʿi), 393
communion: Leo the Isaurian on anticipation of, in the Old Testament, 146
Complete Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints (Jean-Baptiste Aucher): martyrdom of the Arcruni princes in, 366
concubines: caliphs born of, xlvii; Sulaymān b. Hishām and the sons of, 243, 249–50; tensions related to status of concubine-born Arabs in late Umayyad state, 249
conduit-shout-rout combination: in Arabic conquest accounts, 97–98
conflict: prominence of, in Łewond's *History,* xxvi–xxvii, xliii

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conquest narratives: foreknowledge of Islamic conquests in, 112–13; Łewond's concept of heroic success and norms of, 73–74; tunnels and *takbīr* in, 97–98; wording about distribution of spoils in, 241
Conrad, L.: on migration of stories of conquests, 325
Constans II (Roman emperor), 6, 14, 25; Arab attack on Dabīl/Duin and, 22
Constantine III (Roman emperor), 1, 2, 18
Constantine V (Roman emperor), xxi, 257, 285, 330, 386; imperial policy on the frontier and, 315, 315n81; Łewond's portrayal of, xxxii, xxxiii–xxxiv, lii; Mamikonean alliance with, 253; Tačat Anjewacʿi's service under, 332, 349, 350*t*
Constantine VI (Roman emperor): birth of, 386; crowning of, 332
Constantinople, 42, 98; chainmail gate at, 212; Maslama's campaigns against the Caucasus and, 105, 108–9, 156, 208–15, 208 (map); Umayyad siege of, xxi, xxvi, 229–38
Cook, M., 194
copyists. *See* scribes and copyists
Čora (one of two main passes through the Caucasus), 107
Council of Chalcedon, xxxi, 15; definition of Christ's incarnation adopted at, 135
Council of Dabīl/Duin, xxxi
Council of Manazkert, xxxi, 389
Council of Partaw, 389
creative chronology: editorial voice of Łewond and, xxvi
Crone, P., 194, 338; discussion of color coding in, 100n77; on goals of Qays and Yemen, 223
cross(es): breaking of, iconoclasm of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and, 199, 201, 203, 237; invoked multiple times, in Łewond's and Ibn Aʿtham's mirror images of siege of Constantinople, 234–35
curopalates (high-ranking Roman title), 48, 77; Roman interests in West Caucasus and, 92
Czeglédy, Károly: reviews sources on marriage between Khāṭūn and Yazīd, 316

Dabīl/Duin (caliphal capital of Armenia): ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor of, 97–100; description of, 6; establishment of, as a caliphal administrative outpost, 78, 78 (map); first caliphal coins minted in, 98, 99n73; Łewond's connection to, in Greenwood's argument, 99; Łewond's "metropolis" descriptor for, 98; Łewond's personal interest in, xiii, xxv; rebuilding of, 81, 98–99; ruins of, *6*
Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī: Khārijite rebellion of, 275
Damascus: capital of the Umayyad Caliphate, 81; Great Mosque of, *82*; Marwān b. Muḥammad and siege of, 253–55, 265–66
Daniel, 122, 129; writings of, about the coming of Christ, 124
Darband: *See* Bāb al-Abwāb/Darband (Caspian Gates)
Dariwnkʿ: ancestral burial place of the Bagratunikʿ, 258; church at, built by Ašot II, 41–42, 64
Dasxuancʿi, Movsēs (or Kałankatuacʿi): on the cadastre during Hishām's reign, 223; on Esayias's seeking of tax relief for Armenia, 389; *History of Caucasian Albania,* xxxix, 14; on Roman military support for Armenia after battle of Vardanakert, 88
David (Prophet), 121, 122, 126; marriage to Bathsheba, 152–53; prophesying about Christ, 135–36, 153; Psalms of, 124, 142
daʿwa: early, ʿAbbāsid Revolution and uncertain leadership of, 276
demonic perversion: in Łewond's account of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's death, 199, 203, 204
dietary laws, Muslim: animal slaughter and, 199, 201–2
direct quotes: marking of, in Łewond's *History,* 192, *192*
disciples of Christ, 122
districts of the Persians, 206
divorce *(ṭalāq):* Islamic law's allowance for, 153
dīwān: Arabicization of, Marwānid reforms and, 63, 63n97; Armenians listed in, 281; Umayyad, establishment of, 90–92, 238–39
Dome of the Rock, xx, 188; construction of, Marwānid reforms and, 63; Umayyad anti-Trinitarian slogans found in, 119
Donabédian, P.: on "golden age" of Armenian architecture, 35
Donner, F.: on goals of *futūḥ* narratives, xli–xlii

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double forms of letters: in Hebrew language, 124
Drašpet, 78
Drasxanakertcʿi, Yovhannēs: competing narratives of battle of Vardanakert and, 74, 76; on domination under the Hagarites, 386; establishment of the *dīwān* in account of, 90, 92; evaluation of Herakleios by, 14–15; *History,* xxxix; on period of peace established by King Smbat I Bagratuni, 369–70
Duin: *See* Dabīl/Duin (caliphal capital of Armenia)
Dunecʿi, Stepʿannos (catholicos of the Armenians), 378, 388, 389
Dunecʿi, Dawitʿ, xxii

ecclesiastical councils: Łewond's lack of mention of, xxxi
Ecclesiastical History (Eusebius), xxxviii
Ecclesiastical History (Socrates Scholasticus), 392
economic reform: the cadastre and, during caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 223–24. *See also* fiscal administration
edition and translation, principles of, lix–lxi; abbreviations in apparatus, lx; biblical references, lix–lx; overview, lix; previous editions, lx–lxi; previous translations, lxi; transliteration, lx
Eirene of Khazaria (wife of Constantine V), 316n83, 330, 332
Eirene of Athens (wife of Leo IV), 386, 387; comes to power after death of Leo IV as regent for their son, xxi; deposed, xxii; Łewond on Tačat Anjewacʿi's defection and agenda of, xxxiii, 332, 347, 348, 351; reign of, 332
Elijah, 122
Ełišē: account of Armenian rebellion against Sasanians by, xxxvii
Elisha, 122, 150
Elīyā bar Šināyā: on Maslama and ʿAbbās's capture of Ṫuwāna from the Greeks, 230
emigration: imperial policy on the frontier and, 315, 315n81
emperors: Łewond's portrayal of, xxxii–xxxiv
Enclopeadia Iranica, lx
Epic Histories: *See Buzandaran* or *Epic Histories* (Pʿawstos)
epistolary exchanges, lengthy: in Armenian historiography, 191
Esayias (catholicos of the Armenians), 376; death of, 377, 386; later legendary account of life of, 389; Łewond's personal relationship with, xxiii; unsuccessful intervention with Ibn Dūqlih over tax burden, 376, 388–89
eschatological prophecy: Marcian's inscription, Maslama as the New Alexander and, 111–13
Euphrates: Łewond's account of Vard Ṙštuni's actions on bridge over, 26, 32–33
Eusebius: *Ecclesiastical History,* xxxviii
Evagrius: *Six Centuries* or *Kephalaia Gnostica,* liii
evangelists: as authors of the Gospels, 127
Ezekiel, 122; divine baptism foretold through, 147; writings of, about the coming of Christ, 124
Ezra, 126

Faḍl b. Dīnār: dispatched to Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, 324
Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, 316
falsification of scripture *(taḥrīf):* accusations of, between Muslims and Christians, 118
family histories: Armenian tradition of, xxxvii
fashion choices: of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 97, 99–100
"Father" changed to "Lord" or "God": citations of biblical verses in Armenian and Aljamiado versions of ʿUmar-Leo correspondence and, 184; referenced in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 143–44
"father of farthings" epithet: Łewond's reference to Abū Jaʿfar as, 280, 284
first *fitna:* Łewond's omission of, 1, 12, 15
fiscal administration: gubernatorial administration *vs.,* in Łewond's accounts, xxx; reforms of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 182, 223. *See also* economic reform
fiscal tyranny in Armenia: Łewond's biblical allusions in depiction of, xxxv–xxxvi
*fitna*s, xx. *See also* first *fitna;* second *fitna*; third *fitna*; fourth *fitna*
foreshadowing: Łewond's use of, toward a narrative conclusion, 72

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fortresses: campaigns of Marwān b. Muḥammad and destruction of, 239–40
fourth *fitna:* integration of slave soldiers from Central Asia during, 366
free will, 134, 194
Friday prayers: Islamic practice of, 147
frontier: Armenian involvement in transfer of cities along, 387; governors and significance of, in Armenian politics, 385; imperial policy on, 315; royal marriage alliances and, 316; settlement of cities, caliphal governors in Łewond's text, and, 312
futūḥ narratives: defining, as genre of Arabic literature, xli; geographical parameters, xli; goals of, xli–xlii; Łewond's *History* analyzed as, xliii; multiple dates given in, 20; register of, xlii; structure of, xlii; three stages in development of, xli; universal, xli

Ganjak (Shiz, modern Iraq), 206
Ganjakecʿi, Kirakos: on brief tenure of Stepʿannos as catholicos, 389; on length of Sasanian rule, 19
Garsoïan, N., 35
Gaudeul, J.-M., 183
Georgian prince, death of, during Hādī's reign, 357, 371–74; dating the execution of the Georgian prince, 371–72; identification of the Georgian prince, 360, 372–74; overview, 371
Georgian Royal Annals, liii, 191; *See also History of Vaxtang Gorgasali*; *Martyrdom of King Arčʿil II*
Germanus I (patriarch of Constantinople), 210; comparison to Pharaoh's army in homily of, 238; "Homily on the Deliverance of Constantinople," 236; position on use of images, 188
Gero, Stephen: hypothesis on provenance of *History* (Łewond), xxiii–xxiv; on ʿUmar-Leo correspondence as original Armenian composition, 185, 186–87
ghāzī caliphs: summer expeditions and cities named after, 338
Gibeonites, 377
godless J̌di, 129, 192, 194
Golden, P., 224
Gołtʿnecʿi, Vahan, xxii
Gospels of Christ, 118, 143; authors of, 127; Leo's attention turns to ʿUmar's criticism of, 142–48; used to argue for prophethood of Muḥammad, 119
Great Mosque of Damascus, xx; construction of, Marwānid reforms and, 63; Muslim Arabic version of ʿUmar-Leo correspondence discovered in, 183; Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik and building of, 77, *82*
Greek: Łewond's version of ʿUmar-Leo correspondence as translation from, 185–87; sources and historiography, Łewond's *History* and, l–lii
Greek New Testament: Łewond's text and influence of, li–lii
Greeks, in eastern Roman Empire, 3
Greek vocabulary: Łewond's integration of, in description of Manṣūr's caliphate, 327–28
Greek *Vorlage:* to Armenian text for ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, four arguments supporting, 185–87; Armenian translation, difficulties in dating of, 187; translation of, as third grouping of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 183
Greenwood, Timothy, xxxviii; hypothesis on date for *History,* xxiii, xxiv–xxv; on Łewond's character notes, xlvii; on titles in imperial documents, 15
gubernatorial houses: ʿAbbāsid governors hailing from, 365, 385
Gukankʿ: fires of, and foreshadowing of fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, 72–74

Habakkuk (prophet): al-Manṣūr receives curses of, and dies, 301–2, 324
Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī: campaign in 26/646–47(?) and, 22, 23; campaigns in 22/642–43 and, 20, 21; third campaign in 32/652–53 and, 23
Habo of Tiflīs/Tpʿilisi: as likely candidate for prince of the Georgians, 360, 372–73
ḥadīth al-tafriqa (*ḥadīth* of divisions): sectarianism explained by Prophet Muḥammad in, 195–96
Hagarenes, 7
Hagia Sophia, 237; description of, 209; as focal point of Christian power, 234; in modern Istanbul, *209*

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Ḥajj (annual pilgrimage to Mecca): Leo the Isaurian's attack on Muslim practices associated with, 151, 152, 188
Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Ḥakam b. ʿAqil al-Thaqafī (governor of Iraq): campaigns in Central Asia under authority of, 101; single, authoritative Qurʾān and endeavors of, 131
Ḥakam b. Walīd: death of, 244, 246
Halley's Comet: as a sign of tribulations, 42, 62
hamstrung horse epic motif, in Iranian world, 286
Ḥamza b. Mālik, 363
Ḥarith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥaraja al- Ṭāʾī: as governor-general, 205, 221, 222
Hariwri, 129, 193, 195
Ḥarrān: description of, 49; Umayyad court in, 254
Hārūn al-Rashīd, xx, xli, 364, 365, 375–89; Armenian edition, 378–80; Armenian emigration from and Arab immigration to Armenia under, 386–88; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal campaign of 165/782 and, 346, 347, 348, 348*t*; caliphal governance, 381–88; catholicoi of Armenia and, 375, 388–89; coin minted at Bājunays/Apahunikʿ during reign of, *330*; English translation, 375–78; expeditions against Roman Empire and governorship before becoming caliph, 332; flight of the Amatunikʿ during reign of, 376–77, 377 (map); generalizations about early ʿAbbāsid governance, 384–85; identification of governors, 375, 383–84; Łewond's character note on, xlix*t*; rivalry between ʿUbayd Allāh and, 375, 380–81; summer expeditions during reign of, 338; taxation policies of, xxx, xxxvi; viceroyalty and early ʿAbbāsid governance, 380, 381–83
Hārūniyya: coins of Khuzayma b. Khāzim, minted in, 364, *364*; disconnect between governorship of Armenia and issues of, 364–65, 385
Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 194
Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba: caliphal campaign of 162/779 and, 344, 345, 345*t*; governor of Armenia, 290, 312, 326
Hayk (eponymous ancestor of the Armenian people), 293
Hazr, village of: Mamikonean rebellion and, 257, 270, 272
Hebrew language: double forms of letters in, 124
Hebrew Scriptures: Christian beliefs not appearing in, 126; Łewond's description of third *fitna* fit to a prophecy from, 253, 254, 266; twenty-two books and their connection to the letters of, 124; witnesses in, 122
hell: Leo addresses topic of, in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 126, 127
Hephaestus (Greek god of blacksmithing and fire): presence of volcanoes and, 333, 352, 353
Herakleios (Roman emperor), xxi, 1; death of, 20; as depicted on Armenian church at Mren, *2*; hidden treasures of, in *History of Vaxtang Gorgasali,* 373; image of Hezekiah and insulting letter scene in *History* (Pseudo-Sebēos), 237–38; Łewond's favorable portrayal of, xxxii, 1, 12, 14–15, 17; plots against, 30
heretical notions: Umayyad-era, 194
Hexaemeron (Basil), 185
Hezekiah (king of Judah): Łewond compares King Leo to, 210, 237
hijrī chronology: for two separate incursions into Armenia, 20, 21, 24
Hishām, Umm: marriage to Yazīd b. Walīd, 246
Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 205–41, 244; Armenian edition, 216–20; the Bagratunikʿ and the campaigns of Marwān b. Muḥammad, 205, 238–41; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance, 221–23; confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 226–28; economic reform and the cadastre, 223–24; English translation, 205–15; the Khazar capture of Ardabīl/Artawēt, 224–25; Khazar raids under, 207 (map); length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Maslama's campaign against Constantinople, 108–9, 205, 208–14, 208 (map), 229–38
Histoire des guerres et conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie (Chanazarian), xl
Historical Compilation (Vardan Arewelcʿi), xl, 197

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historical writing: Armenian literary tradition and concern with, xxxvi
History (Agatʿangelos), 392
History (Arcruni), 185; Midian/Madīna conflation in, 16
History (Balʿamī): report of the siege of Constantinople as mirror image of that of Ibn Aʿtham and Łewond, 231
History (Łazar Pʿarpecʿi), xxxvii
History (Łewond), xxv–lvii; Arabic sources and historiography, xl–xlv, xlvii, xlix–l; Armenian sources and historiography, xxxvi–xl; biblical allusions, xxxiv–xxxvi; central concerns of, xlii; common themes, silences, and emplotments, xxvi–xxxiv; contained within manuscript 1902 of the Matenadaran, lii; dating of text, hypotheses on, xxiii–xxv; description of Matenadaran 1902, lii–lvi; as a *futūḥ* narrative, analysis of, xliii; Greek sources and historiography, l–lii; as history of early Islamic Caliphate, xxii; importance of, xix; located within Armenian and Arabic historiography, xix; marginal note in Uyghur script on folio 32v of, liv, *liv*; marking of direct quotes in, 192, *192*; rubrication on folio 15r of, 69–70, *70*; Šapuh Bagratuni's role in, xix, xxiv, 391; scribal correction on folio 51v of, 186, *187*; surviving manuscripts of, lvi; textual tradition and stemma, lvi–lvii. *See also* Łewond; Matenadaran 1902
History (Movsēs Xorenacʿi), xxxvii
History (Pseudo-Šapuh or Anonymous Storyteller): two parts within, xxxix; ʿAlī's appearance in, 14
History (Pseudo-Sebēos): downplaying of ʿAlī in, 13–14
History (Sebēos), xxxvii, 237, 238
History (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertcʿi), xxxix
History of Caucasian Albania (Movsēs Dasxurancʿi or Kałankatuacʿi), xxxix; pro-Herakleian context in, 14
History of Tarōn (Yovhan Mamikonean), xxvii
History of the House of Arcrunikʿ (Tʿovma Arcruni), xxvii, xxxix; ʿUmar-Leo correspondence mentioned in, 190
History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ): breaking of crosses and iconoclasm of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik in, 201, 203; Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's death in, 203
History of Vaxtang Gorgasali: hidden treasures of Herakleios in, 373; passage on destruction of Armenian fortresses in, 240
Holy Scripture: ʿUmar-Leo correspondence and use of term: 121. *See also* Bible; Qurʾān
Holy Spirit, 128, 141; speaking through the prophets about the captivity of the Jews, 125–26
holy war: "in the path of God" Qurʾānic phrase and, 155
Homeric epic: *futūḥ* narratives and, xlii
Homily on the Cross of Varag (Kʿorepiskopos), 33
"Homily on the Deliverance of Constantinople" (Patriarch Germanus), 236, 238
horses: Islamic law and prohibition against killing of, 318
hostage taking: compliance of Armenians ensured with, 26, 35, 91. *See also* captives
house of Abraham, 142
House of Locks: Christian Visigothic kings and versions of story about, 112–13
Howard-Johnston, J., 17
Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste transliteration system, lx
Ḥudūd al-ʿālam (Persian geographical text): on Armenia as part of Islam, xxii, xxiin4
Huns (Khazars): Alexander's eschatological prophecy about, 111; Marwān b. Muḥammad's campaign against, 215; Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign against, 105, 106 (map), 107; Maslama's flight from, 105, 113–15
Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, xlvii

Ibn al-Faqīh, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad: destruction of caliphal provinces list used by, 282
Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, Sāwīrus: *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,* 201, 203
Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz: on House of Locks, 112
Ibn Aʿtham, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad: on Abū Jaʿfar's travels, 282; on battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, compared with Łewond's account, 324–27, 325*t*; battle

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of Vardanakert described by, 67, 68; on caliphal governance under Walīd b. Yazīd, 250; Campaign of Mud report by, 115; on confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 226–27, 228; dating of work by, contention over, xliii–xlivn40; on destruction and rebuilding of Darband, 110; on destruction of fortresses in Armenia, claims put in context, 239, 240; on fire ruse and Maslama's flight from the Khazars, 113, 115; on fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan, 90, 91, 92; on Khārijite revolt, 275; Khazar invasion of southern Caucasus detailed by, 225; *Kitāb al futūḥ,* xli, xlii; on marriage alliance with the Khazars, 315–16; on murder of Walīd, compared with murder of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, 248; on rebellions of 157/774 and 158/775 according to Łewond and, 319, 320, 321, 323, 324–25, 325*t*; report of the siege of Constantinople as mirror image of that of Łewond, 231–36; on the Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ, 324, 325, 325*t*; textual relationship between Łewond and, xliii–xlv

Ibn Dūqlih, 385; Esayias's unsuccessful intervention with, over tax burden, 376, 388–89; iron collar of oppressive taxes exacted by, 376; as tax collector for Sulaymān, 384

Ibn Ḥabīb: on House of Locks linked to the end of days, 113

Ibn Ḥawqal, Muhammad: on location of Hārūniyya, 364n40

Ibn Khāqān (Khazar commander): in Arab-Khazar wars, 222

Ibn Khurradādhbih: direction of prayer list used by, 282

Ibrāhim b. Ḥasan: general, at battle of Arjish/Arčēš, 320*t,* 321

Ibrāhīm b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Łewond's omission of, while elevating Sulaymān to the Caliphate, 249, 250

iconoclasm: defined, 150; iconoclasm of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 199, 200–203; Iconoclastic Controversy, xxi, xxxi, 188, 237

icons: Leo the Isaurian arguing for veneration of, 150, 151

Ifrīqiyya (Arabic) (province to the west of Egypt), 280, 282

imperial territory: Łewond on valence of physical space of, xxxii–xxxiv

Incarnation: doctrine of, Leo's explanation in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 133, 148–49; theme of, in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 117, 118

International Journal of Middle East Studies: Hübschmann-Meillet-Benveniste transliteration system for, lx

interregnum: architectural production in Armenia and, 35; Sufyānid governance and, 35–36

Iran: booty Muslims captured during conquest of, 19

Iranian kingship: viceroyalty and early ʿAbbāsids presenting themselves as heirs to, 328

Isaac, 3; Qur'anic support for, 122

Isaiah, 122, 156; prophesying about Christ, 124, 138–39, 140–41; vision of two riders in, Leo the Isaurian's interpretation of, 154–55

Isaurian dynasty: end of, xxii; Roman Empire ruled by, xxi

ʿIsā b. Mūsā al-Khurāsānī: dispatched to Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, 324

ʿIsā b. ʿAlī: Roman campaign of 161/778 and, 342, 343*t*

Iṣfahānī: Walīd b. Yazīd's libertine personality in accounts of, 245

Isḥāq b. Muslim al-ʿUqaylī, 244, 290; Mamikonean rebellion and unstable scene faced by, 275; role in Armenia, importance of, 250, 251, 257

Ishmael (the son of Abraham), 3

Ishmaelites, use of term in medieval sources, 3

Islam: expansion of, 15–19; Islamic calendar, start of, 2; Łewond's depiction of, xxxi; rise of, first Armenian history on, xxxvii; Roman Empire territories lost to Islamic Empire, xix; sects of, represented in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 187, 189, 192–95

Islamic incursions into Armenia, 19–24; campaign in 26/646–47?, 21–23; contradictory details of, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24; third campaign in 32/652–53, 23–24; two campaigns in 22/642–43, 20–21; use of "incursions" *vs.* "conquests," 19–20n84

Islamic law: relevance of, in Armenia, xxii

Israel: translated as 'clear-sighted' in Hebrew language, 138

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Istanbul: modern, Hagia Sophia in, *209*

Jabariyya (fatalist sect), 193
Jacob: prophesying about Christ, 136–37; Qurʾānic support for, 122
Jāḥiẓ: works of *adab* and, 194
Jahm b. Ṣafwān, 194
Jaʿd b. Dirham: followers of, 129, 194
Janza/Ganjak (in Republic of Azerbaijan), 206
Jarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī: as governor-general, 206, 221, 222
Jazīra: governors under Manṣūr with ties to, 312, 313; untangling relationship between Armenia and, 313
Jeffery, A., 193, 194
Jeremiah, 122; prophesying about Christ, 124, 136, 138
Jermajor, location of, 43
Jerusalem: David's capture of, conduit-shout-rout combination in, 98; surrender of, in 638, 3
Jesus Christ: crucifixion of, Muslims' rejection of, 145; enmity between Christians and Jews over beliefs about, 125–26; prophetic testimonies about advent of, Leo's series of, 135–41; testifies about himself, passage in Quʾrān, 118
Jews: captivity of, in Babylon, 125–26; direction of prayer and, 142; Islamic conquest and, 16–18. *See also* Bible; Old Testament
jinns (category of intelligent beings), 152
Job the just, 122
John: evangelist and author of the Gospels, 118, 127
John of Damascus: Trinity metaphor in work of, 133
John of Jerusalem, 204
John the Baptist, 122
Joshua, 122, 126, 127
Judah, 122
Judea and Asorestan, 1, 2, 2 (map), 3
judgment, the: Leo addresses topic of, in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 126, 127
Julianist controversies (Armenia): pericope as central point of contention in, 186
Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, 324
Justinian I (Roman emperor): Hagia Sophia built by, 209
Justinian II (Roman emperor), xxxviii, 69; breaks peace treaty with ʿAbd al-Malik, 88–89; Phasis as a center of Roman influence and, 80; relocation to Phasis under, 93–95; second overthrow of, xxi; second reign of, 77; withdraws from Armenia, 42

Kaʿba (house of Abraham): Leo the Isaurian on, 151; Prophet Muḥammad and cleansing of, 142
Kamakh/Kamachon: Armenian involvement along Roman-ʿAbbāsid frontier and fate of, 387
Kamsarakan, Lady Šušan, xxix; Bagratuni-Kamsarakan issue and conflicting stories of, 75; martyrdom of, 47; valiance of, 47–48
Kamsarakan, Nersēh (prince of Armenia until 691), 333; death of, xxix, 333; husband of Lady Šušan Kamsarakan, 47
Kamsarakan-Bagratuni issue: competing narratives of battle of Vardanakert and, 74–75
Kʿanakʿeṙcʿi, Zakʿaria Sarkawag: on history of Hamazasp Mamikonean, 392
Karčawanecʿi, Yohan, liv
Karin (present-day Erzurum, Republic of Turkey): *See* Qālīqalā/Karin
Karshuni text: earliest manuscript of, Leo's letter and, 189, 191
Karteroukas, Theodore, 230
Khagan (king of the Khazars), 107
khagan (Turkic title), 42
Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ: on Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ʿAwf's challenge to Marwān's claim to the caliphate, 266; battle of Vardanakert and reports of, 67, 68, 71; on battle of Zāb and Marwān's confiscation of treasuries from Damascus, 277; on building projects and caliphal administration, 99; on caliphal governance under Walīd b. Yazīd, 250–51; on Campaign of Mud, 115; on confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 226; on destruction and rebuilding of Darband, 110; on fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan, 90; Łewond's text read against, xlv; on Maslama and ʿAbbās's capture of Ṭuwāna from the Greeks, 230; on murder of Walīd, compared with murder of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, 248; on Roman

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military support for Armenia after battle of Vardanakert, 88; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 339, 339n29, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 348*t*; summary of information provided about Roman campaign of 161/778, 341–42, 343*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 344, 345*t*; Walīd b. Yazīd's libertine personality in accounts of, 245–46

kharāj taxes: Ṭabarī on lowering of, 224; Umayyad princes and, ʿUmar's withdrawal of exemption from, 223

Khārijites, 129, 193, 195

Khāṭūn/Xatʿun: betrothed to Yazīd in royal marriage alliance, 287, 316; death of, as a casus belli for the Arab-Khazar wars, 287, 316; dies in childbirth, 315, 316; perceived importance of, in early medieval narratives, 316

Khazaria (Land of the Huns), 215

Khazar Khaganate: extended reach of, xx–xxi; second *fitna* and Łewond's emphasis on, 60

Khazar raids: during reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, 287 (map); during reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 207 (map)

Khazars (Turkic confederation): Arabic-Islamic sources on Jarrāḥ's campaign against, 200; Armenia, Albania, and, 40, 41 (map); Armenian involvement in caliphal campaigns against, xvii; description of, 40; Ḥarith b. ʿAmr b. Ḥaraja al-Ṭāʾī's fight against, 205; Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik's campaign against, 105, 106 (map), 107; Maslama's flight from, 105, 109, 113–15; raids during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 205, 206. *See also* Huns (Khazars)

Khurāsān or Khorasan (northeastern Iran), 81; emergence of armies of, 253, 258–59; governors under Manṣūr with ties to, 312, 313

Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī (governor of Armenia), 357, 360; coin of, minted in Hārūniyya, 364, *364*; complicated Arabic sources on first term of, 365; second term of, 371–72

kingdom of heaven, 126; Leo addresses topic of, in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 126

Kitāb al futūḥ (Ibn Aʿtham), xli, xlii

Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān (Balādhurī): chronological parameters of, xli; structure of, xlii

Knitri, 129, 192, 194

Kʿorepiskopos, Yovhannēs: *Homily on the Cross of Varag,* 33

Ḵosrow II Parvīz, 112

Kūshān al-Armanī (patriarch of the Armenians), 271–72; fights on behalf of Constantine V, 257; Roman capture of Qālīqalā/Karin and, 271–74

Kʿuzi (Kūziyya), 129, 192, 193

Lachanodrakon, Michael, xxxii, 349, 385; Roman campaign of 161/778 and command of, 340, 341, 342, 343*t*, 350

Lambronacʿi, Nersēs: *Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon,* 393

languages: Łewond's integration of Greek vocabulary, in description of Manṣūr's caliphate, 327–28; multiple, author in Leo's letter on Christian scriptures rendered in, 196–97

Lastivertcʿi, Aristakēs: on instability around patrimony of Armenian nobles, 370

Lazica: Theophanes as sole source for Roman interest in, 94–95

Łazar Pʿarpecʿi, *History,* xxxvii

lead seals, xxx; Ibn Dūqih's harsh taxation and use of, 376; taxation under ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ and use of, 279

Leo III, the Isaurian (Roman emperor), xxi; elevation of, as a pious emperor, 236–37; legacy of, 118; letter from, to the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Armenian edition), 158–80; letter from, to the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (English translation), 119–57; letter from the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to (Armenian edition), 157–58; letter from the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to (English translation), 118–19; Łewond's comparison between Hezekiah and, 210, 237; Łewond's portrayal of, xxxii

Leo IV (Roman emperor, "the Khazar"): assumes the throne upon Constantine V's death, 330; death of, 332, 346, 349

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Łewond: Akinean's outline of life of, xxiii; further reading on, lvii; literary style and historiographical approach of, xl; at the nexus of multiple linguistic circles, in account of Saffāḥ's reign, 283–84; possible knowledge of ʿUmar-Leo letters, significance of, 156; pro-Sufyānid stance of, 12; on rebellions of 157/774 and 158/775 according to Ibn Aʿtham and, 324–25, 325*t*; report of the siege of Constantinople as mirror image of that of Ibn Aʿtham, 231–36; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 339, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 346, 347, 348, 348*t*; summary of information provided about Roman campaign of 161/778, 340, 343, 343*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 343, 345, 345*t*, 346; textual relationship between Ibn Aʿtham, xliii–xlv. *See also History* (Łewond)

Łewond's version of ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, composition and translation of, 185–92; dating the Greek *Vorlage* of the Armenian letter, 187–90; Łewond's version as a translation from the Greek, 185–87, *187*; second/eighth-century translation incorporated into Łewond's *History,* 190–92

Life of Maštocʿ (Koriwn), xxxvi–xxxvii

local histories: Armenian tradition of, xxxvii

Lord Trdat Ōtʿmsecʿi (Armenian catholicos), 289

Luke: evangelist and author of the Gospels, 118, 127

Madiam (Madīna): "camps of," during the Islamic conquests, 16; the "City of the Prophet," 2, 16

Mahé, Jean-Pierre, 192; on dating of *History,* xxv; on godless J̌di, 194

Malāla b. Ḥikma: Roman campaign of 161/778 and, 341, 343*t*

Mamikonean, Artawazd, xxxii, 290, 291, 319, 330, 392; Roman campaign of 161/778 and, 340, 341; tax collector killed by, 291, 314

Mamikonean, Dawitʿ, 214; death of, 255–56, 392; executes Mehružan Arcruni, 368, 370; exile to Yemen, 238, 253, 254, 267, 392

Mamikonean, Grigor (prince of Armenia), xxxviii, 214, 369; biographical note, 25; church at Aruč built by, 25, *40,* 64; death of, 256; exile to Yemen, 238, 253, 254, 267, 392; Ibn Muslim appoints as prince over Armenian troops, 255; Kūshān al-Armanī's taking of Qālīqalā/Karin aided by, 272; Marwānid reforms and, 63–64; rebellion of, xxviii

Mamikonean, Hamazasp, liii; abbot of Yovhannavankʿ, 391, 392; historical footprints left by, 392–93

Mamikonean, Helinē, 25, 40

Mamikonean, Hrahat, 328

Mamikonean, Mušeł (brother of Grigor and David), prince of Armenia (748–753), 214, 258, 271; exile to Yemen, 253, 254, 267; Kūshān al-Armanī's taking of Qālīqalā/Karin aided by 272

Mamikonean, Mušeł (son of Hrahat), 292, 319, 320, 322, 325, 326, 341(?), 392; leader at battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 320*t,* 323; tax collector killed by, 314

Mamikonean, Vardan, xxxvii

Mamikonean, Yovhan: *History of Tarōn,* xxvii

Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry: during caliphate of Marwān b. Muḥammad, 253, 267–68; Łewond's highlighting of, xviii–xxix, xxxi

Mamikoneankʿ: defeat of, at battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 285, 295 (map), 296, 298–301, 319; elevation of Bagratuni family over, Łewond's documentation of, 238; Łazar's and Ełišē's texts commissioned by, xxxvii; spearheading of Armenian rebellion against Umayyad caliphate, 256

Mamikonean rebellion: aims of, 267, 319; in a broader regional context, 274–76; comparison with Mamikonean rebellion in 158/775, 269–71; Kūshān al-Armanī and the Roman capture of Qālīqalā/Karin, 271–74; referenced in colophon, 392; during reign of Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, 291 (map); Umayyad undermining of, 214; under reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad, 253, 256–58, 257 (map), 268–76

Manṣūr: *See* Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (regnal title Manṣūr)

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Marcian (Roman emperor), 105; eschatological inscription attributed to, and Maslama as the New Alexander, 111–13
Mark: evangelist and author of the Gospels, 118, 127
Martin-Hisard, Bernadette, 323; on Łewond's account of Abū Jaʿfar's travels, 282–83; on Łewond's integration of Greek vocabulary, 327
martyrdom: invoking of Three Youths and, 79; Łewond's use of biblical allusions in scenes of, xxxv, xl
Martyrdom of King Arčʿil II, 373
martyrology of Arcruni princes, 357–60, 366–71; arrests on suspicion of fomenting revolt, 366, 368; dating of execution, 370; preamble to, description of the context, 369–70
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 37; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*
Marwān b. Muḥammad, 194, 253–77, 281; ʿAbbāsid Revolution, 253, 276–77; Armenian edition, 261–65; Bagratunikʿ and campaigns of, 238–41; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; earns name of Murvan Qru (Marwān the Deaf), 240; English translation, 253–59; as governor-general, 221, 222, 253; legacy of, 214; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry, 253, 267–68; Mamikonean rebellion during, 253, 256–58, 257 (map), 268–76; marches against Syria, in the third *fitna,* 243, 246–47; siege of Damascus, 265–66; Sulaymān b. Hishām killed by, according to Łewond, 247, 253
Marwānid reforms: payment of stipends and, 90, 92, 239; prince of Armenia and, 62–65
Marwānids: ascension to power, xx
Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (Umayyad general): confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and, 226–28; in Darband, 105, 109–15; destruction and rebuilding of Darband, 105, 110; dual campaigns of Muḥammad b. Marwān and, 102–3; failed campaign against Constantinople, Łewond's description of, 205, 207–14, 208 (map); flight from the Khazars, 105, 109, 113–15; as governor-general, 221, 222; as the hero of the ambush of the Greeks in Anatolia, 229; Łewond's inventive storytelling about, 105, 108, 109, 111, 205; as the New Alexander, end of time, Marcian's inscription, and, 105, 111–13; siege of Ḥayzān and Smbat's story compared with, 74. *See also* Constantinople, Maslama's campaign against the Caucasus and
Masʿūdī: account of reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, xlix; on coast of Caspian Sea up to the oil fields of Bākuh, 352, 353
Matenadaran 1902: book stamp of Andrēas *vardapet,* lv; chapter numbers, lvi; colophons, liii–liv, lv; description of, lii–lvi; ex libris stamp, lv; foliation, lvi; four hands detected in copying of Łewond's text, liii; Łewond's name in bottom margin of some folios in, lvi; marginal notes, *liv,* liv–lv; minor markings, lvi; orthographic tendencies in Sargis's hand (Hand 1), liii; ownership of volume, marginal note on, liv; patron of, liii; principal scribe, liii; quires in, lii–liii; repair of, liv–lv, lvi; textual tradition and stemma, lvi–lvii
Matenadaran 3070, lv
Matenadaran 5501, lv
maṭmūra (subterranean structures): summer expeditions and use of, 339
Matthew: evangelist and author of the Gospels, 118, 127
Mazkʿutʿkʿ (people living along Caspian Sea), debate over identity of, 206, 225
maʿdin Bājunays: coins minted in, 337, 337n23
Mecca: Leo the Isaurian's attack on pilgrimage to *(ḥajj),* 151; prayer direction to, 142
medieval literature: success of armies and divine approval argument in, 210
Melitene: Constantine's campaign against, 271
mesogaion (midlands), 207
Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Erevan, Armenia), lii
Meyendorff, J.: on Leo's defense of the use of images, 188
Micah: prophesying about Christ, 138
Michael the Syrian, 347; concern with concubine-born Arabs, 250; Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni's abandonment of the Greek forces and, 30,

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31; on Maslama's flight from the Khazars, 114; political control of Armenia in 66/685–86 in history of, 61; rebellion of Saborios and, 31; reports on Sasanian Empire, 19; slaughter of pigs paired with dismantling of crosses in texts of, 202; on third campaign entering Armenia in 32/652–53, 23
military conflict scenes: Łewond's biblical allusions in, xxxiv–xxxv
military elite: Łewond's focus on, xxvi
military service: Armenian, to the Caliphate, 238–39. *See also* cavalry; pensions for troops; soldiers, payment of
Mkrtičʿ Awgerian (Jean-Baptiste Aucher): *Complete Lives and Martyrdoms of the Saints,* 366
Mongols: coming of, in 1258, 279
Moses, 126, 132, 134, 135, 137, 151, 194; Muslim historians and genealogy of, 141
Mount Etna: Hephaestus and, 333
Mount Vesuvius: Strabo on smells of Gulf Lucrinus near, 353
Mousoulem, Alexios: imprisonment and blinding of, 387
Movsēs Xorenacʿi, *History,* xxxvii
Mren: Herakleios as depicted on Armenian church at, *2*
Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, 25–36; Armenian defection from Roman forces, 28–32; Armenian edition, 27–28; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlv*t*; campaigns in 22/642–43 and, 20; Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni's abandonment of the Greek forces, 30–31; English translation, 25–27; as first governor of Syria, xx; inauguration of Umayyads as first dynasty of the caliphate, 25, 36; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's focus on and brevity in covering, 25; rebellion of Pasagnathēs, 29–30; rebellion of Saborios, 31–32; Sufyānid governance and the interregnum, 35–36; Vard Ṙštuni portrayed as not a traitor, 32–35
Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd, 37; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*
Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, 365
Muhallabīs: near-dynastic control of ʿAbbāsid Ifrīqiyya by, 365; service of, in Sind (Pakistan) and Ifrīqiyya (Tunisia), 313
Muḥammad (Prophet), xlvii, 259; birth of, 1; burial place of, 2; death of, xix, 1, 37; explanation of sectarianism by, in *ḥadīth al-tafriqa* (*ḥadīth* of divisions), 195–96; Gospels used to argue for prophethood of, 119; lawgiver epithet for, 2; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; marriage to Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, 152
Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 329–55; Armenian edition, 334–36; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance, 337–38; career of Tačat Anjewacʿ, 349–55, 350*t*; death of, 333; elite power plays during caliphate of, 337; English translation, 329–33; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's character note on, xlix*t*; summer expeditions (*ṣawāʾif*) on the Arab-Roman frontier, 331 (map), 338–49, 340*t*, 343*t*, 345*t*, 348*t*
Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, 291, 312; caliphal campaign of 162/779 and, 343, 344, 345*t*; general, at battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 319, 320, 320*t*, 321, 323
Muḥammad b. Marwān, 39, 43, 232, 239; caliphal garrisons in Armenian territory under, xx; campaign against China, 77, 81–83, 100–103, 210; defeats Romans at Sibīṣṭa/Sebastopolis, 89; Roman military encounter with, 88–89; three-year *amān* of, 70–72
Muḥammadiyya: minting of coins in, 337, 364, *364*
muḥammira: most famous use of term, 100n77
Muqātil b. Ṣāliḥ: dispatched to Jurzān/Kʿartʿli, 324
Muraena (sea serpent), 153
Murji, 129, 192, 194
Mūsā al-Hādī, 357–74; Armenian edition, 361–63; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance, 363–66; contested short reign, 357; death of the Georgian prince, 360, 371–74; death or conversion of the Arcruni princes, 357–60, 366–71; English translation,

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357–60; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's character note on, xlix*t*; summer expeditions during reign of, 338
Mūsā b. Muṣʿab (governor over Jazīra), 313
Musayyib b. Zuhayr, 363
Mušel the son of Count Hrahat, 292
Muslims: direction of prayer and, 142; prophethood of Muḥammad and employment of the Gospels by, 119. *See also* Islam; Muḥammad (Prophet); Qu'rān
mustard seed, parable of, 331
mutiny: killing of tax collectors viewed as, 314
Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān al-Baṣrī: caliphal campaign of 162/779 and, 345*t*
Mxitʿar Anecʿi: Leo-ʿUmar letter, Karshuni document, and history of, 189, 190
Mystikos, Nikolaos, 15

Nagorno-Karabagh: Albanians and, 40
Nashawā/Naxčawan: cadastre introduced by Khuzayma in, 365; establishment of the Umayyad *dīwān* and fires of, 90–92; fires of, appearance in Armenian, Arabid, Greek, and Syriac sources, 89; fires of Gukankʿ foreshadowing fires of, 72–74; Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihrī ʿs incursion into, 22; as an important administrative center during the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, 98–99; Łewond's biblical allusions to, xxxv; Qāsim governor over, 78; rebellion at Vardanakert and Muslim forces at, 69; return of captives after fires of, under ʿUmar's rule, 181–82
Naṣr b. Sayyār: Ṭabarī on lowering of the *kharāj* and, 224
naxararkʿ (dynastic noble families): Bagratunikʿ, rhetoric of unity, and, 322–23; competing narratives of battle of Vardanakert and Bagratuni-Kamsarakan issue, 74–75; description of, 7; imperial policy on the frontier and, 315; Łewond's highlighting of tensions between Bagratuni-Mamikonean *naxarar* houses, xxviii–xxix, xxxi, 267–68; mainstay of power residing in, xx; Mamikonean-Bagratuni rivalry and, xxviii–xxix; Mamikonean rebellions and unity of, 269–70; reference to nobles at the caliphal court, 208; "rightly guided" caliphs and, xx; royal record ruse and elimination of, 77, 78–80, 90; salaries and, xxx, 253, 267–68; second *fitna* and independence of, 59; Tačat Anjewacʿi and military role of, on northern frontier, 349
Naxčawan: *See* Nashawā/Naxčawan
Near East: mobility of reports in various historiographical traditions of, 115; at the time of the Islamic conquests, 2 (map)
Nebuchadnezzar, 125
neck sealing: harsh taxation under caliphal rule and, l, 279, 283, 376
Nersēs III, xxxviii, 14, 35; role in construction of Zuartʿnocʿ (church of Saint Grigor), 26, *27*
New Testament, 121; total number of witnesses in, 122. *See also* Gospels of Christ
Nihāwand, battle of, 4, 20
Nikephoros: Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's destruction of Christian images in account of, 203
Nizār b. Maʿadd (eponymous ancestor of Northern Arabs): sons of, 387–88
Nizāriyya: group of, moved to Armenia under Yūsuf b. Rāshid al-Sulamī, 387–88; served as governors of Armenia, 388
Noah, 126
non-Christians: Łewond's use of "wild beast" trope related to, 212
Noth, A.: on stages of *futūḥ* narratives, xli
numismatic record: fit of Łewond's information with evidence in, examples of, 364, 382, 383, 384. *See also* coins

oaths in writing: caliphal governors, control over Armenia, and, xxix; three-year *amān* of Muḥummad b. Marwān and, 70–71; in Umayyad period, 51
oil fields of Bākuh: Masʿūdī on coast of Caspian Sea up to, 352, 353
Old Testament, 121; four Kingdoms and Chronicles in, 124; total number of witnesses in, 122
Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, lx

Paraclete: Muslim understanding of word, 119, 128
Pʿarsbitʿ: Khazar campaign against Ardabīl/Artawēt and, 224
Partaw: *See* Bardhaʿa/Partaw

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Partʿew, Grigor, xxxvi, xxxvii
Pasagnathēs: rebellion of, 29–30
Patralogia Graeca, 183
Paulicians: "sons of transgression" reference and, 273
Pʿawstos: *See Buzandaran* or *Epic Histories* (Pʿawstos)
Pʿaytakaran: short recension of Širakacʿi's geography on, 225
pensions for troops: distribution under Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 329
Pentapolis (Barqa, in modern Libya), 280, 282
Pentateuch, 124
pericope: as point of contention, in Julianist controversies in Armenia, 186
Pērōz III (last scion of Sasanian line), 249
Persians: collapse of Persian Empire, 18; Ishmaelites and overthrow of, 4; Łewond on length of reign of, 156. *See also* Sasanians
Persian texts: Łewond's connection to, xiv, xliv
Pharaoh's army, destruction at the Red Sea: Łewond conjures image of, in description of Maslama's campaign, 238
Phasis, 92, 314; Bagratuni relocation to, under Justinian, 93–95; as a center of Roman influence, 80; plundering of, 80; returning from, under Bardanes Philipikos, 95–96
Philippikos Bardanes, xxxiii, xxxiin18; returning from Phasis under, 95–96
pigs: Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's slaughter of, 199, 201–2
place lists: claims of universality and, 282–83
poems: in *futūḥ* narratives, xlii
Pontus Sea (Black Sea), 208
populated movements: Romans and orchestration of, 315, 315n81
prayer, direction of *(qibla),* 142
primogeniture: early ʿAbbāsid period and lack of assumption of, 381
prince of Armenia (honorific title), 4
princes of Armenia: list of, 64n102; Marwānid reforms and broader integration of Armenia into the Caliphate and, 63–65
Prokopios (Roman general), 4, 25; dismissal of Tēʿodoros by, 20; Łewond's portrayal of, xxxii
prophetic texts: use of in ʿUmar-Leo letters, and Łewond's conception of prophecy, 192
prophets: Qurʾānic support for, 122
Pseudo-Methodius: *Apocalypse,* l; caves and crevices motif in Christian apocalypse of, 289; "taxes from the dead" phrase in Christian apocalypse of, 279, 283
Pseudo-Šapuh. *See* Bagratuni, Šapuh (Anonymous Storyteller or Pseudo-Šapuh)
Pseudo-Sebēos: on Dawitʿ Saharuni's abandonment of the Greek forces, 30–31; divergences between Łewond and, over Jews and Islamic conquest, 17; on impact of Marwānid reforms on Armenia, 63; on length of Sasanian rule, 19; mention of Vardanakert, in description of Heraklios's campaign through Armenia, 69; on third campaign entering Armenia in 32/652–53, 23, 24
Pseudo-Wāqidī: *futūḥ* narratives of, xlii
Ptolemy (geographer): Saracen related to toponym in Arabia Petraea mentioned by, 3
Pʿurkan ("Criterion"), Qurʾān, 127

Qadariyya (Islamic sect), 194
Qādisiyya, battle of: booty the Muslims captured at, 19
Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb b. Khālid al-Ṭāʾī: ʿAbbāsid Revolution and, 259
Qālīqalā/Karin, 258, 297, 298; Kūshān al-Armanī and Roman capture of, 271–74; starting point of Armenian forces, battle of Baghrawand/Bagrewand, 320, 320*t*; Yazīd b. Usayd's poll tax in, 314
Qāsim (governor over Nashawā/Naxčawan), 78, 90
Qurra b. Thābit, 274
qurrāʾ (Qurʾān reciters): debates over definition of, 243, 248; Walīd's murder and role of, xxii, 243–44, 248–49
Qurʾān, 194; communal prayer on Friday *(jumʿa)* mentioned in, 147; division of, into sections *(ajzāʾ),* 131; divorce allowed in, 153; example of Adam in, 145; "in the path of God" reference in, 155; Pʿurkan ("Criterion"), twenty-fifth chapter of, 127; rejection of Jesus's crucifixion in, 145; remarriage as permissible in, 153; support for prophets in, 122; Uriah and Bathsheba not mentioned by name in, 152; witnesses in, 122; ʿUmar's fiscal policy based on interpretation of, 223

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Qutayba b. Muslim: campaigns in Central Asia directed by, 101

Rabīʿ b. Yūnus: caliphal campaign of 165/782 and, 347, 348*t*
Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (governor of Armenia and various provinces), 288, 313, 333, 338, 357, 363, 365
Ṙažtʿarxan (Khazar general subordinate to the khagan), 287, 316, 317
rebellions during reign of Manṣūr, 319–23; the Bagratunikʿ and the rhetoric of unity, 322–23; two-pronged rebellion or two separate rebellions?, 319–21, 320*t*
red clothing/garments: meanings of, in early Islamic period, 99–100
Reinink, G.: on Ḵosrow II Parvīz, 112
religious controversies: Łewond's lack of interest in, xxxi
remarriage: Islamic law and, 153
resurrection, 126, 127, 194; Christian Sabbath on Sunday and good news about, 147; Christians and hope in, 155–57; Leo addresses topic of, in Leo-ʿUmar correspondence, 126, 127; Leo the Isaurian on Christian idea of, *vs.* worldly vision of, 155
revelation: Christian *vs.* Muslim beliefs about nature of, 128
"rightly guided" caliphs, xx, 37; deaths of, 8; expansion of Islamic world and, xix; Łewond combines reigns of, into a single period, 1; Łewond's beginning and ending formulae in list of, xlv*t*; *nazarark*ʿ and, xx
Roman Empire: Arabic descriptions of military campaigns against, 313; Isaurians and rule of, xxi; Łewond's nuanced perspective on, xxxi–xxxiv, l; rebellion at Vardanakert and, 68–70; territories lost to Islamic Empire, xix. *See also* West Caucasus, Roman interests in
Roman forces: Armenian defection from, volte-face of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni, 25, 28–32; Armenian involvement in caliphal campaigns against, xvii; battling, in early conquest period, 18
royal record: *dīwān* and names of stipend recipients recorded in, 78, 90, 215. *See also* stipends
Ṙštuni, Tʿēodoros (prince of Armenia), xxvii, xxix, xxxii, xxxviii, 4, 5, 6, 8, 25, 26, 32
Ṙštuni, Vard, xxvii, xxix, 26; Armenian defection from Roman forces and, 28–19; cast not as a traitor, 32–35; pious building projects of, 34
Ṙštuni family: span of control of, 4
rukn (corner of the Kaʿba), 152, 188
Ruṣāfa (city near Raqqa): Sulaymān's rebellion at, 244, 247

Sabartʿuṙabi, 129, 192, 193–94
Sabbath on Sunday: Leo the Isaurian on anticipation of, in the Old Testament, 146, 147
Saborios: rebellion of, 31–32
sacrifice: Leo the Isaurian on Christian reinterpretation of Jewish practice of, 146
Saffāḥ: *See* Abū al-ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (regnal title Saffāḥ)
Sahak III (catholicos), 49, 51, 388
Saharuni, Dawitʿ: abandonment of the Greek forces and, convoluted reports on, 30–31
saints: Leo the Isaurian on, 149–50, 151
salaries for troops: Łewond's multiple references to, xxx. *See also* pensions for troops; stipends
Salibas, Theophylaktos, 230
Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣabīḥ [or Ṣubayḥ] al-Kindī (governor of Armenia), 288, 312
Sālim al-Burnisī: Roman campaign of 161/778 and, 341, 343*t*
Salmān al-Fārisī (Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad), 127
Salmān b. Rabīʿa: campaigns in 22/642–43 and, 20, 21; incursions into Khazar territories, 23–24
Samuel, 122, 126
Ṣanāriyya/Canarkʿ: Ibn Aʿtham on defeat of, 324, 325, 325*t*
Sagaris (Sangarios) River, 207, 208 (map), 231, 331, 345*t*
Saracen: as derogatory name for Muslims, 285
Sarah (wife of Abraham), 3
Sargis (scribe), 391; marking of direct quotes in Łewond's *History,* 192, *192*; miniscule *(bolorgir)* and majuscule *(erkatʿagir)* script used by, 393; principal, Matenadaran 1902,

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liii; text hypercorrected by, quotation of Psalm 109, 186–87, *187*
Sarmatians (Bulgar Khanate), 332
Sasanians: Armenian rebellions against, xxxvi, xxxvii; collapse of Sasanian Empire, xix, 18–19; length of rule and description, 4; Łewond on length of rule of, 156; Sasanian succession practices and ʿAbbāsids' placement of heirs to the Caliphate in charge of the North, 382–83; siege of Edessa, 16; theft of True Cross and, xxi
Satan, 133, 134, 137, 152; "as the treasurer of God," in Armenian text alone *vs.* Muslim Arabic text, ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 184; Leo the Isaurian on Islam's incorrect understanding of, 153–54
ṣawāʾif (summer expeditions) on the Arab-Roman frontier, 329, 331 (map), 337, 338–49; ʿAbbāsids and organization of, 338; caliphal campaign of AH 159/AM 6268/776 CE, 339–40, 340*t*; caliphal campaign of AH 162/AM 6271/779 CE, 343–46, 345*t*; caliphal campaign of AH 165/AM 6274/782 CE, 346–48, 348*t*; conclusions about Łewond's accounts of, 348–49; Roman campaign of AH 161/AM 6270/778 CE, 340–43, 343*t*
Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Aswād al-Ḥarashī: abrasive personality of, 228; confrontation between Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and, 226–28; as governor-general, 206, 221, 222
scribes and copyists: access to historical texts, xliv; process of translation and, 187. *See also* Sargis (scribe)
scriptural prophecy: Łewond's retelling of second/third *fitnas* through lens of, xxxv
scripture, nature of: ʿUmar-Leo correspondence and theme of, 117, 121, 122, 123–24, 132, 142
Sebēos: *History* (seventh-century) of, xxxvii, 13, 237, 238; Łewond's *vs.* Sebēos's evaluation of Armenian submission to caliphate, xxxviii–xxxix
Second Council of Nicaea, xxxi; Greek sources on, 204; Łewond's lack of interest in, 237
second *fitna:* Armenia and, 39, 59–62; dissenters and beginning of, 39; the *fitna* as Providence, 62; imperial vacuum in the North, 59–62; Łewond's retelling of, through lens of scriptural prophecy, xxxv; renewed Roman-Umayyad hostilities during, 88–89
sectarianism represented in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 192–97; groups within Christianity, 195–97; sects of Islam, 187, 189, 192–95
Septuagint: Greek *Vorlage* to Armenian text for ʿUmar-Leo correspondence and, 186, 187; Łewond's demonstrated familiarity with, 284
Sermon on the Mount, xxxv
"Seventh Vision of Daniel," 111
Shirota, S., 224
shurūṭ ʿUmar (legal restrictions against non-Muslims), 202
Sibīsṭa/Sebastopolis: Muḥammad b. Marwān's defeat of Romans at, 89
sign of the cross: Leo the Isaurian on, 150–51
silver: discovery of, in Armenia, 291, 329, 337; tax, 289, 291, 314
Simēon (hermit): Vard Ṙštuni's pious building projects and role of, 34
Sion (catholicos of Armenia), 389
Sīsajān/Siunikʿ: Khārijite rebellions in Azerbaijan, Albania, and, 275
Six Centuries (or *Kephalaia Gnostica*) (Evagrius), liii
slaves: high number of, Maslama and ʿAbbās's capture of Ṫuwāna from the Greeks and, 230; soldiers from Central Asia, integration of, during fourth *fitna,* 366
Socrates Scholasticus: *Ecclesiastical History,* 392
Sodom and Gomorrah, 132
soldiers, payment of: caliphal governors in Łewond's text and concern about, 312. *See also* cavalry; pensions for troops; salaries for troops; stipends
Solomon, 122, 124
Song of Songs, 124
sons of Beliar: Christian context for phrase, 286
sons of Hāshim, or Banū Hāshim, 259, 276
sons of Smbat, 254
sparapet (military title), 291
spoils of war: conquest narratives and wording about distribution of, 241
Staruakios: Theophanes on Tačat Anjewacʿi's defection and, 351

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stipends, 251, 314; *dīwān* and, 90–92, 238–39; Marwānid reforms and payment of, 90, 92, 239; of Umayyad princes, ʿUmar's elimination of, 223; withholding of, in transition from Umayyad rule to ʿAbbāsid rule, 281. *See also* royal record

Strabo: on smells of Gulf Lucrinus near Mount Vesuvius, 353

Sufyānids: "golden age" of Armenian architecture and, 64; governance, interregnum and, 35–36; Łewond's spotty coverage of, xxix–xxx

Sulaymān b. Abī Jaʿfar, 375, 377, 384, 384n32, 385

Sulaymān b. Hishām: death of, 244, 247; killed by Marwān, according to Łewond, 247, 253; Łewond's unusual elevation of, to the Caliphate, 249–50; the sons of concubines and, 243, 249–50; the third *fitna* and role of, 246

Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 105–15; Armenian edition, 107–8; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; English translation, 105, 107; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Maslama in Darband, 105, 109–15; Maslama's campaigns against the Caucasus and Constantinople, 105, 108–9

summer expeditions. *See ṣawāʾif* (summer expeditions) on the Arab-Roman frontier

Syria: collapse of Roman power in, 18; Marwān b. Muḥummad's march against, in third *fitna,* 243, 246–47

Syriac texts: spotty evidence connecting Łewond to, l

Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr: on battle of Zāb and Marwān's distribution of funds for troops, 277; concern with concubine-born Arabs, 249; confusion between Hādī's and Hārūn's reigns and assertion of, 368; on Khazar raids, 317; on lowering of the *kharāj,* 224; oblique remark about mutiny, 314; political control of Armenia in 66/685–86 in account of, 61; on rebellions across Jazīra, 275–76; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 339, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 344, 345*t,* 346; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 346, 347, 348*t*; summary of information provided about Roman campaign of 161/778, 342, 343*t*; ʿUbayd Allāh referenced by, 380; Walīd b. Yazīd's libertine personality in accounts of, 245

Tačiks, 25, 39, 40, 51, 296, 370

takbīr: tunnels and, in conquest narratives, 97–98

Tarki, 107, 113

Tarōnecʿi, Stepʿanos: competing narratives of battle of Vardanakert and, 74; on date of execution of the Armenian princes, 370, 370n62; on length of Sasanian rule, 19; reconstruction of name for Ibn Dūqlih and history of, 384, 384n44; *Universal History,* xl, xli, 31, 190

Tarōn or (Ṭārūn), 7

Taʾrikh al-Bāb: Yazīd b. Mazyad extolled as first Sharwānshāh in, 383

tax collectors: killing of, xxx, 291, 292, 314

taxes and taxation, 42, 312, 318; Armenian emigration and, 386–87; border gates and, during reign of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, 329; cadastre during caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 205, 223–24; caliphal, oppression of, xx; establishment of the Umayyad *dīwān* and, 90, 92, 238–39; fiscal reforms under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and, 182, 223; "lawless acts" of the Arcrunikʿ and, 319; Łewond's resentment about, xxx; low, Sufyānid rule and, 35, 36; maintenance of cavalry in lieu of, 238–39; Marwānid reforms and, 63; as most visible sign of caliphal rule, 291; neck sealing and, under ʿAbd Allāh al-Saffāḥ, 279, 283; oppressive, Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign and, 375, 376, 386, 388–89; as overt symbol of caliphal claims over Armenia, 314; poll taxes, 314; rebellion of Saborios and request for, 32; rebellions during reign of Manṣūr in reaction to, 319; during reign of ʿAbd Allāh [Manṣūr], 289–90; silver tax, 289, 291, 314; in transition from Umayyad rule to ʿAbbāsid rule, 281; tyrannical, in Vaspurakan, 254, 267;

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Umayyads' multifront conflicts and impact on, 223
"taxes from the dead" phrase: in apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, 279, 283
Ter-Łevondyan, Aram: on Armenian emigration and tax policies, 386; on length of Hārūn's viceroyalty, 368; on population shifts under Yazīd b. Mazyad, 388
Theodosiopolis, 285; Łewond's reference to "Saracen" inhabitants of, 317; siege of, 293
Theodosios III: reign of, 42
Theodosius the Great, 112
Theophanes: anecdote about Alan-Abasgian stratagems, 93–94; on Armenians and fate of Kamakh/Kamachon, 387; battle of Vardanakert and chronicle of, 67, 68; on battle of Zāb and Marwān's confiscation of treasuries from Damascus, 277, 277n74; on Constantine as the "impious emperor," 236; Dawitʿ Sahaṙuni's abandonment of the Greek forces and, 31; on Justinian's taking of Constantinople, 98; on Marwān and violence in Damascus, 265; on Maslama and ʿAbbās's capture of Ṭuwāna from the Greeks, 230; political control of Armenia in 66/685–86 in account of, 60–61; on rebellion of Pasagnathēs, 29; rebellion of Saborios and, 31; relocation to Phasis under Justinian and chronicle of, 93–95; on renewed Roman-Umayyad hostilities during second *fitna,* 89; on return from Phasis under Bardanes Philippikos, 95–96; on Roman military support for Armenia after battle of Vardanakert, 88; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 339, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 343–44, 345*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 346, 347, 348*t*; summary of information provided about Roman campaign of 161/778, 340–41, 343, 343*t*; on Tačat Anjewacʿi's defection from Roman service, 351; on third campaign entering Armenia in 32/652–53, 23; three-year *amān* of Muḥummad b. Marwān and chronicle of, 71; Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik's death in account of, 204
"Theophilus circuit," 60, 96, 181; Campaign of Mud and, 115; establishment of the *dīwān* absent from works of, 90; Maslama's flight from the Khazars and, 114–15; Vard's defection and versions of, 29, 30
Theophilus of Edessa: concern with concubine-born Arabs, 250; slaughter of pigs attested to in texts of, 201
third *fitna:* Łewond's retelling of, through lens of scriptural prophecy, xxxv; Mamikonean ousting of Bagratunikʿ as princes of Armenia during, 64; Marwān b. Muḥammad's reign and continuation of, 253; red clothing worn during, 100; tribal politics during, 251; Umayyad family tree for, *247*; Walīd's death and eruption of, 243, 244, 246–47, 267
Thrace, 213
Three Youths allusion, from Book of Daniel, 79
throne of David: Leo's explanation of, in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 139
Thumāma b. Walīd: Roman campaign of 161/778 and, 341, 342, 343*t*
Tiberios III Apsimar, xxxii, xxxiii, 42, 69
Tirakacʿi, Pʿilon: *Anonymous Chronicle,* xxxviii–xxxix
Togarmah (one of traditional genealogies of Armenian people), 293
Torah, 124, 126
Tower of Babel, 196
Trdat III/IV (Arsacid king of Armenia): conversion to Christianity, xxxvi
tribal politics: Umayyad governance and, 251
tributes: dispatched to the Umayyads, organization of, 26; Łewond's explicit concerns with, xxx. *See also* cadastre; taxes and taxation
Trinity, doctrine of: Leo's explanation in ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 132–33
True Cross: Herakleios and recovery of, 1, 14; Sasanian Empire and theft of, xxi
Trunikʿ (or Trpatunikʿ), 295
tunnels: and *takbīr,* in conquest narratives, 97–98
Ṭuwāna/Tyana: Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik as hero of ambush in, 229; Muslim capture of, 229–30

isac.uchicago.edu

ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Mahdī (governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan): coins minted by, in his own name, 382, 382n30; oppressive tax policies and, 375, 376, 386; rivalry between Hārūn al-Rashīd and, 375, 380–81, 382
ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 181; disseminates his copy of the Qurʾān throughout Islamic world, 127; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*
ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 117–97; accomplishments of, 117; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; composition and translation of Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 185–92; English translation, 117; fiscal reforms, 182; length of reign, 117; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; letter from the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian, to the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (English translation), 117, 119–57; letter from the Roman Emperor Leo the Isaurian to the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Armenian edition), 158–80; letter from the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian (Armenian edition), 157–58; letter from Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian (English translation), 117, 118–19; Łewond's character note on, xlix*t*; Łewond's paucity of information about, 117, 181; Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, as a translation from Greek, 117, 185–87; Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, dating the Greek *Vorlage* of the Armenian letter, 187–90; Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, groups within Christianity represented in, 195–97; Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, second/eighth-century translation incorporated into Łewond's *History,* 190–92; Łewond's version of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, sects of Islam represented in, 192–95; positive accounts about, 117, 181; relationship to the other versions of the ʿUmar-Leo correspondence, 117, 182–84; return of captives, 117, 157, 181–82
Universal History (Stepʿanos Tarōnecʿi), xl, xli, 31, 190
Uriah: death of, according to Jewish and Islamic tradition, 152
ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān: length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; murder of Walīd b. Yazīd compared with murder of, 248–49
ʿUthmān b. ʿUmāra b. Khuraym (or Ḥuraym), governor of Armenia, 333, 338, 363
ʿUthmān b. Walīd: death of, 28, 244, 246

Vahan Gołtʿnacʿi: on return of captives, under ʿUmar's rule, 182
Varaztirocʿ III, 43
Vardanakert, battle of, 46, 47 (map), 274; Łewond's account of, 65; as a rebellion, 66–68; rebellion at, in intra-Armenian politics, 74–76, 271; rebellion at, Roman Empire and, 68–70; Roman military support for Armenia after, 88
Vardan Arewelcʿi: *Historical Compilation,* xl, 197; on length of Sasanian rule, 19; Leo-ʿUmar letter, Karshuni document and history of, 189, 191
vardapet: definition of, 1; title applied to Łewond, traditional claim of, xii–xxiii, xxvi, xxxi, 1
Vaspurakan: province near Lake Van, control of, 7; tyrannical taxation in, 254, 267
Venice MS 200: as witness, in martyrology of the Arcruni princes, 366
viceroyalty: Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign and, 380, 381–83
Virgin Mary: "Homily on the Deliverance of Constantinople" (Patriarch Germanus) and role of, 236, 237
Vita (Habo), 372, 373
volcanoes: evocation of Hephaestus and presence of, 333, 352, 353
volte-face of Tʿēodoros Ṙštuni: Armenian defection from Roman forces, 25, 28–32
vowel pointing: introduction of, 131

Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 77–103; account of reign of, Masʿūdī's fourth/tenth-century history, xlix; Armenian edition, 84–87; beginning and ending formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlv*t*; English translation, 77–83;

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establishment of the Umayyad *dīwān*, 90–92, 238–39; fires of Nashawā/Naxčawan, 89; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Muḥammad b. Marwān's campaign against China, 77, 81–83, 100–103; overview, 77; Roman interests in the West Caucasus, 77, 92–96; Roman military encounter with Muḥammad b. Marwān, 88–89; Umayyad maneuvering in the reign of, 78 (map); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz as governor of Dabīl/Duin, 97–100

Walīd b. Yazīd, 243–51; Armenian edition, 244–45; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; caliphal governance, 250–51; English translation, 243–44; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's character note on, xlvii, xlix*t*; overview, Łewond's unique information about, 243; the role of *qurrāʾ* in death of Walīd, 243–44, 248–49; Sulaymān b. Hishām and the sons of concubines, 243, 249–50; the third *fitna,* 243, 246–47, *247*; Walīd's personality, 243, 245–46

water conduit-shout-rout combination: in conquest narratives, 97–98

West Caucasus, Roman interests in, 77, 92–96; relocation to Phasis under Justinian, 93–95; returning from Phasis under Bardanes Philipikos, 95–96

white: as Umayyad color, 234

"wild beast" trope: Łewond's use of, related to non-Christians, 212

witnesses: in Qurʾān, Hebrew Scriptures, and Old and New Testaments, 122

women: narrative role of, in moments of conflict, 75

wrestling giants tropes, of masculine strength, 107

Xatʿir Litʿber (Khazar general), 287

Xlatʿ: *See* Akhlāt/Xlatʿ

Yaḥyā b. Ḥakam, 249

Yamanī bloc: yellow clothing associated with, 100

Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Wahb b. Wādiḥ: on Arab immigration to Armenia, 387; on confrontation between Saʿīd al-Ḥarashī and Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 226; on fires at Nashawā/Naxčawan, 90–91; Łewond's text read against, xlv; list of places used by, 282; on population shifts under Yazīd b. Mazyad, 388; skewed chronology of Khuzayma's terms as governor of Armenia, 366–67, 371; summary of information provided about 159/776 summer campaign, 339, 339n30, 340*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 162/779, 345*t*; summary of information provided about caliphal campaign of 165/782, 346, 348*t*; summary of information provided about Roman campaign of 161/778, 342, 343*t*; ʿUbayd Allāh referenced by, 380; Walīd b. Yazīd's libertine personality in accounts of, 245

Yarmūk, battle of, 3, 18

Yazdegerd II (Sasanian emperor), 202

Yazdegerd III (Sasanian emperor), 4, 19

Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī (governor of Armenia), 363, 365, 375, 383, 385, 388

Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, 37; Armenian edition, 37; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlv*t*; English translation, 37; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's omissions related to, 37

Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī (governor of Armenia), 301, 312, 331; caliphal campaign of 162/779 and, 345–46; minting of undated copper coins in Armenia by, 368; norms of early ʿAbbāsid governance and, 280, 281–82; poll tax in Qālīqalā/Karin imposed by, 314

Yazīd b. Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik: Łewond's omission of, while elevating Sulaymān to the Caliphate, 249, 250; marriage to Umm Hishām, 246

Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, 199–204, 222; Armenian edition, 200; beginning formulae, Łewond's list of caliphs, xlvi*t*; English translation, 199; iconoclasm of, as anti-Christian policy, 202–3; iconoclasm of, distinctiveness of Łewond's account of, 199, 200–202, 237; length of reign, in second/eighth- and third/ninth-century lists of caliphs, xlviii*t*; Łewond's character note on, xlix*t*; possession and death of Yazīd, 199, 203–4

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yellow clothing: Yamanī bloc and, 100
Yemen, 214
Yemeni tribal bloc: containment policies of, 222
Yovhannavankʿ (monastery): Hamazasp Mamikonean as abbot of, 391, 392; M1902 copied at, lii
Yūsuf b. Rāshid al-Sulamī (governor of Armenia): group of the Nizāriyya moved to Armenia under, 387–88

Zāb, battle of, 259; Łewond's idiosyncratic account of, 277
Zachariah: prophesying about Christ, 140, 145
Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh: marriage to Prophet Muḥammad, 152
*zindiq*s (heretics): Muḥammad al-Mahdī and persecution of, 329
Zoroastrianism: Yazdegerd II's attempts to convert Armenian Christians to, 202
Zuartʿnocʿ ("Vigilant Ones"): Nersēs III and construction of, 26, 35; view of, *27*
Zubayrids: defeat of, Umayyads claim to power and, 37
zuze (or *zuza*), l, 279, 284, 376. *See also* taxes and taxation

BIBLICAL VERSES

Genesis 1:3, 147n146
Genesis 1:26, 132n48
Genesis 3:19, 143n111
Genesis 10, 196
Genesis 11:7, 132n49
Genesis 17:9–14, 147n141
Genesis 17:20, 50n23
Genesis 19:24, 132n50
Genesis 22:18, 122n13
Genesis 49:7, 131n43
Genesis 49:10, 122n14

Exodus 3:2, 149n149
Exodus 3:6, 132n46
Exodus 9:12, 212n12
Exodus 10:20, 212n12
Exodus 10:27, 212n12
Exodus 11:10, 212n12
Exodus 12:17, 146n135
Exodus 14:8, 212n12
Exodus 14:28, 211n9
Exodus 17:13, 4n4
Exodus 25:18–22, 151n162
Exodus 26:1, 151n162
Exodus 26:31, 151n162
Exodus 28:36–38, 150

Leviticus 17:4, 135n56
Numbers 9:13, 135n56
Numbers 9:14, 146n135
Numbers 15:15, 146n135
Numbers 15:30, 135n56
Numbers 19:20, 135n56
Numbers 21:24, 4n4
Numbers 24:5, 137n75
Numbers 24:7, 137n77
Numbers 24:17, 137n78
Numbers 26:59, 141

Deuteronomy 13:15, 4n4
Deuteronomy 17:6, 122
Deuteronomy 20:13, 4n4
Deuteronomy 28:49, 8n11
Deuteronomy 32:33, 127n30
Deuteronomy 32:39, 127n27
Deuteronomy 32:41, 127n28
Deuteronomy 32:43, 127n29

Joshua 3:10, 46n19
Joshua 6:20, 98
Joshua 9, xxxvi
Joshua 9:3–27, 377
Joshua 9:21, 377n3
Joshua 9:27, 377n3

Judges 20:13, 286
1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) 7:13, xxxiv, 26n2, 83n5

2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 5:6, 98
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 11:4ff., 152n168
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 12:5, 213n15
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 18–19, 102
2 Kingdoms (2 Samuel) 22:4–7, 299n11

3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 6:31(32), 150
3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 6:34(35), 150
3 Kingdoms (1 Kings) 8:44, 142

4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 2:24, 42n6
4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 13:21, 150n157
4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 19, xxxiv
4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 19:10, 209n1

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4 Kingdoms (2 Kings) 19:14, 210n3

Judith 1:16, 8n10

1 Maccabees 3:24, 286n1
1 Maccabees 5:34, 286n1
1 Maccabees 6:42, 286n1
1 Maccabees 6:51, 238

2 Maccabees 5:26, 286n1

Psalm 2:7, 135n65
Psalm 2:8, 136n67
Psalm 2:9, 209n1, 294n6
Psalm 17:5–7(18:4–6), 299n11
Psalm 21:7–9(22:6–8), 135n64, 186n349
Psalm 32(33):5–6, 136n69
Psalm 33(34):20–21n 149n154
Psalm 34(35):4, 299n10
Psalm 36(37):15, xxxv, 39n1
Psalm 37(38):23, 299n10
Psalm 39(40):14–15, 299n10
Psalm 40:10(41:9), 140n101, 186
Psalm 43:4(44:3), 156n187, 211n7
Psalm 43:7(44:6), 156n187, 211n7
Psalm 51:4(52:2), 211n5
Psalm 62(63):12, 211n6
Psalm 67:2(68:1), 153n171
Psalm 67:36(68:35), 150n155
Psalm 69(70):2–3, 299n10
Psalm 71:2(72:1), 137n80
Psalm 71(72):5, 138n82
Psalm 71(72):8, 138n82
Psalm 71(72):11, 138n82
Psalm 71(72):15b, 138n82
Psalm 71(72):17, 138n82
Psalm 71(72):7, 138n83
Psalm 73:3–5(74:3–4), 210n4
Psalm 78(79):1–3, xxxiv, 7n9
Psalm 88:5(89:4), 139n92
Psalm 88:30(89:29), 139n92
Psalm 109(110):1, 136n68, 186
Psalm 109(110):3, 136n68, 186–87
Psalm 115:6(116:15), 149n153
Psalm 117:21(118:22), 199n1
Psalm 124(125):3, 211n8
Psalm 136(137):1–3, 126n23
Psalm 136(137):2, 125, 186
Psalm 148:5–6, 148n148, 186

Proverbs 3:18, 151n161
Proverbs 26:5, 120n5

Ecclesiastes 4:2, 44n9
Ecclesiastes 5:15, 118

Wisdom 3:4, 150n156
Wisdom 5:16, 150n156
Wisdom 14:7, 151n160

Job 1:21, 118
Job 1:21–22, 120n8

Isaiah 1:3, 154n174
Isaiah 1:19, 120n7
Isaiah 2:19, 289n3
Isaiah 7:4, 45n16
Isaiah 7:14, 139n95
Isaiah 7:19, 289n3
Isaiah 9:6(5), 138n87
Isaiah 9:7(6), 139n91, 139n93
Isaiah 14:29, 6n6
Isaiah 21:6–8, 119
Isaiah 21:7, 154n173
Isaiah 21:9, 154n175, 155n177
Isaiah 28:15, xxxviiin25
Isaiah 28:18, xxxviiin25
Isaiah 36–37, 102
Isaiah 37, xxxiv
Isaiah 37:10, 209n1
Isaiah 48:10, xxxvi, 289n4
Isaiah 48:16, 136n70
Isaiah 50:5–6, 140n96
Isaiah 52:13–53:9, 141n104
Isaiah 57:4, 42n7
Isaiah 60:13, 151n159, 185
Isaiah 62:2, 156n181
Isaiah 66:2, 149n151
Isaiah 66:24, 45n14

Hosea 5:1, xxxvi, li, 280n1, 284
Amos 1:1–3, li
Amos 1:3–5, xxxv, 254, 254n4, 266
Amos 1:5, 266
Amos 1:13, 266
Amos 4:11, 45n16

Micah 5:2, 138n85, 186n349

Habakkuk 1:5, 148n147
Habakkuk 2:9, 301n16

Zephaniah 3:8, 154n172, 186n349

Zechariah 3:2, xxxv, 45n16
Zechariah 11:12–13, 140n98
Zechariah 12:6, 45n16

Jeremiah 6:23, xxxiv, 6n7
Jeremiah 17:9, 138n86
Jeremiah 17:13, 138n86
Jeremiah 19:11, 209n1
Jeremiah 31:31, 147n140
Jeremiah 31:31–32, 146n134
Jeremiah 51:33, xxxv, 45n17

Baruch 3:35–4:2, 136n73
Baruch 4:2–3, 136n74

Daniel 3, 79n2
Daniel 3:21–23, 125n21
Daniel 6:10, 142
Daniel 6:16, 125n22
Daniel 9:24, 129n37

Ezekiel 1:1, 125n20
Ezekiel 6:5, 286n1
Ezekiel 36:25, 147n142
Ezekiel 39:19, 2

Matthew 1:23, 139n95
Matthew 3:17, 144n122
Matthew 4:11, 144n124
Matthew 4:16, 147n145
Matthew 5:7, 49n22
Matthew 7, xxxvi

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Matthew 7:6, 45n18
Matthew 7:15, 129n40, 358n3
Matthew 7:17, xxxv, 256n7
Matthew 8:12, 45n15
Matthew 10:16, 80
Matthew 11:29, xxxv, 45n13
Matthew 11:30, xxxv, 358n2
Matthew 12:31, 128n34
Matthew 12:43, 152n165
Matthew 13:38–39, 2
Matthew 13:42, 45n15
Matthew 13:50, 45n15
Matthew 17:19, 331n1
Matthew 17:27(26), 146n136
Matthew 19:29, 360n13
Matthew 21:10, 210n2
Matthew 22:30, 155n180
Matthew 21:42–44, 199n1
Matthew 22:13, 45n15
Matthew 24:16, 289n3
Matthew 24:23–24, 129n40
Matthew 24:51, 45n15
Matthew 25:30, 45n15
Matthew 27:19, 153n170
Matthew 28:19, 147n143

Mark 9:46, 45n14
Mark 9:48, 45n14
Mark 13:14, 289n3
Mark 13:21–22, 129n40

Luke 10, 196
Luke 10:16, 144n117
Luke 11:41, 49n22
Luke 13:28, 45n15
Luke 17:6, 331n1
Luke 18:29–30, 360n13
Luke 22:4, 142n108
Luke 22:43, 143n112
Luke 22:43–44, 143n110, 186

John 1:1–3, 145n127
John 1:12, 145n132
John 1:29, 145n126
John 3:36, 145n125
John 5:19a, 143n109
John 5:37, 143n114, 145n130
John 8:16, 143n114, 145n130
John 8:18, 143n114, 145n130
John 8:29, 143n114, 145n130
John 8:44, xxxv, 44n10
John 10:15, 145n129
John 10:18, 143n113
John 10:30, 144n120
John 12:44, 144n116
John 12:45, 144n118
John 12:48, 144n117
John 13:18, 140n101
John 14:9, 145n128
John 14:10b, 143n109
John 4:11, 142n107
John 14:16, 119, 128n31
John 14:26, 128n36, 186n349
John 14:28, 144n119
John 15:19, 156n186
John 15:20–21, 156n182
John 16:2, 150n158
John 16:28, 143n115
John 16:33, 156n183
John 17:3, 144n121
John 17:6, 156n184
John 17:17, 156n185
John 20:17, 145n131
John 20:21, 145n133

Acts 3:22–23, 135n56
Acts 5:30, 44n11
Acts 10:39, 44n11
Acts 13:47, 147n144
Acts 20:29, 358n3

1 John 2:18, 105n1

1 Peter 1:5, 105n1
1 Peter 3:8, 40n2
1 Peter 3:15, 120n5
1 Peter 4:9, 40n3

Jude 1:18, 105n1

Romans 2:29, 147n139
Romans 8:29, 146n137
Romans 11:25, 135n66
Romans 14:17, 155n179

1 Corinthians 2:9, 155n178
1 Corinthians 6:19–20, 149n152

2 Corinthians 4:17, xxxv, li, 360n10, 362nn32–33
2 Corinthians 6:15, 286
2 Corinthians 6:16, 149n150

Galatians 3:13, 44n11

Colossians 1:18, 146n138

1 Thessalonians 5:8, xxxv, 358n4
1 Thessalonians 5:21, 120n6

Hebrews 1:3, 132n51
Hebrews 4, xxxv
Hebrews 4:1–11, 45n13
Hebrews 4:12, xxxv, 301n15
Hebrews 11:6, 360n12
Hebrews 11:38, xxxvi, 289n3

2 Timothy 4:8, 301n14

Titus 1:8(7), 131n43

Revelation 2:27, 294n6
Revelation 6:15, xxxvi, 289n3

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QUR'ĀNIC VERSES

Qur'ān 2:34, 133, 133n55
Qur'ān 2:125, 142
Qur'ān 2:142–44, 142
Qur'ān 2:223, 152n167
Qur'ān 2:230, 153
Qur'ān 3:45, 118, 118n2
Qur'ān 3:59, 145
Qur'ān 3:97, 142
Qur'ān 4:157–58, 145
Qur'ān 4:171, 132n52
Qur'ān 5:73, 132n52
Qur'ān 5:116, 132n52
Qur'ān 6:84–87, 122
Qur'ān 8:41, 215
Qur'ān 9:33, iv
Qur'ān 17:61, 133n55
Qur'ān 17:105, 128
Qur'ān 18:50, 133n55
Qur'ān 19:28, 141
Qur'ān 19:30–34, 118
Qur'ān 20:116, 133n55
Qur'ān 25:1, 127
Qur'ān 33:27, 17
Qur'ān 33:37–38, 152
Qur'ān 50:38, 147
Qur'ān 59:7, 223
Qur'ān 61:6, 128
Qur'ān 62:9–10, 147
Qur'ān 65:2, 122
Qur'ān 66:12, 141
Qur'ān 112:3–4, 119
Qur'ān 112:4, 188

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The *History* of the Armenian priest Łewond is an important source for the history of early Islamic rule and the only contemporary chronicle of second/eighth-century caliphal rule in Armenia. This volume presents a diplomatic edition and new English translation of Łewond's text, which describes events that took place during the century and a half following the Prophet Muḥammad's death in AH 11/632 CE. The authors address Łewond's account as a work of caliphal history, written in Armenian, from within the Caliphate. As such, this book provides a critical reading of the Caliphate from one of its most significant provinces. Reading notes clarify many aspects of the period covered to make the text understandable to students and specialists alike. Extensive commentary elucidates Łewond's narrative objectives and situates his *History* in a broader Near Eastern historiographical context by bringing the text into new conversations with a constellation of Arabic, Greek, and Syriac works that cover the same period. The book thus stresses the multiplicity of voices operating in the Caliphate in this pivotal period of Near Eastern history.

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