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ARAM TER-GHEWONDYAN

*THE ARAB EMIRATES
IN BAGRATID ARMENIA*

Translated by

NINA G. GARSOÏAN

*Professor of Armenian Studies
Columbia University*



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LISBON — 1976

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November 1st. 1978

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The history of the numerous and extensive Arab emirates established in Mediaeval Armenia has rarely received a study commensurate with its importance, although their existence has long since been familiar to scholars. This relative neglect can, in part, be explained by the unsatisfactory character of the contemporary material. For Arabic and Byzantine sources, events in Armenia were geographically remote and of secondary interest to writers whose attention was focused primarily on the dominant events of their respective societies. Armenian ecclesiastical historians, on the other hand, understandably dwelt but reluctantly, and not always accurately, on the painful themes of the conquest of Armenia by Islam and of the newcomers' assimilation into the native naxarar society. In more recent times, few scholars have had the linguistic and historical competence to deal simultaneously with the complex mass of Armenian, Byzantine and Arabic materials. Yet only through a comparative treatment of this heterogeneous information could even a partial outline of the complexities of Armenian mediaeval society be obtained.

As a result of his background and training, Dr. Aram Ter Ghewondyan, who has long been concerned with the Arabic holdings of the Mastoc' Institute of Ancient Manuscripts of the Armenian SSR (Matenadaran) and has recently published a new Arabic version of the History of Armenia attributed to Agaf' angelos (Erevan, 1968), is particularly well qualified to undertake this difficult task. Painstakingly he has gathered together the scattered and fragmentary references in the sources to present as much information as possible on the Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia. The original edition of this work was published in Armenian with the title Arabakan Amirayut'yunnere Bagratunyac' Hayastanum (Erevan, 1965) under the auspices of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR. The aim of the present English version of this study is to make Ter Ghewondyan's extensive

investigations accessible to scholars unfamiliar with Armenian and consequently to facilitate further research into a crucial aspect of Mediaeval Armenian history.

The only liberties taken with the original text in the present edition have been the inevitable minor stylistic adjustments required by the passage from one language to another. In some cases the paragraphing has also been modified for the sake of greater clarity and compactness. No attempts have been made to edit the text beyond the correction of trifling misprints, the occasional addition of references and clarifications, and the substitution of more recent or familiar editions of sources in the Notes and Bibliography. In all cases these modifications have been set off by square brackets, parentheses being preserved for the author's own comments.

Although complete uniformity has proved unattainable, the pattern generally followed for toponymy and onomastica has been to give the Armenian version for Armenian terms [e.g. *Manazkert* rather than *Manāsđjird*], and Arabic forms for Muslim ones [e.g. *Abū Sa'id* rather than *Abusef*], except where required by the context. In cases of familiar classical names, the traditional form has been maintained [e.g. *Edessa* rather than *al-Ruha*]. This has also been the practice for accepted English forms and spellings where consistency would have produced unwarranted pedantry [e.g. *Azerbaijan*, *Baghdad*, *Constantinople*, *emir*, *John* not *Yorhannēs*, etc.]. In all cases of possible confusion alternate forms have been given, and all variants have been recorded in the Index of Proper Names. For the sake of convenience, authors' names have been given a single form [e.g. *H. Manandyan* as against *J. Manandian*) irrespective of the alterations required by the diverse languages in which they wrote.

Armenian names have been transliterated according to the Hübschmann — Meillet — Benveniste system. Arabic ones are given insofar as possible according to the system of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd. revised edition) even for the names not yet reached by this revision.

N. G. G.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIPHO	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum</i> , M.J. de Goeje ed. (Leyden)
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CHA	<i>Collection des historiens arméniens</i> , M.F. Brosset ed. (St. Petersburg)
CHAMA	<i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> , V. Langlois ed. (Paris)
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> , B.G. Niebuhr ed. (Bonn)
EI ¹	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 1st edition (1913-1942)
EI ²	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 2nd revised edition (1960 —)
EV	<i>Etnografii Vostoka</i>
HA	<i>Handēs Amsorya</i> (Vienna)
IAN	<i>Izvestiia Armianskoï Akademii Nauk</i> (Erevan)
IAFAN	<i>Izvestiia Armianskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk</i> (Erevan)
IAZAN	<i>Izvestiia Azerbaidzhanskoï Akademii Nauk</i> (Baku)
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KSIMK	<i>Kratkie soobshchenie Instituta Material'noi kul'tury</i>
P	<i>Pazmaveb</i> (Venice)
P-BH	<i>Patma-banasirakan Handes</i> [Historical-Philological Journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR (Erevan)]
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , J. Graffin and F. Nau edd. (Paris).
PS	<i>Palestinskiĭ Sbornik</i> (Leningrad)
SMOMPK	<i>Sbornik Materialov dlia Opisanii Mestnostei i Plemen Kavkaza</i> , N. Karaulov ed. (St. Petersburg)
T	<i>Telekagir</i> [Journal of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR (Erevan)]
VI	<i>Voprosy Istorii</i>
VV	<i>Vizantiĭskii Vremennik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZMNP	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia</i>

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The history of the Arab emirates established in Bagratid Armenia is set forth in the present work on the basis of Armenian, Arabic, Byzantine and other primary sources. Questions concerning the supposed origin of the Arab emirates, the inter-relations of these emirates with the kingdom of Armenia, as well as the internal social and economic life of the emirates have been examined in detail.

The appendices of this book contain the genealogies of the emirates a brief chronology of the city of Dwin, and a list of sources and secondary literature.

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INTRODUCTION

I The Sources

The problem of the study of the Arab emirates in Bagratid Armenia is connected on the one hand with the period of the Arab domination in Armenia, and on the other, with the history of the Bagratid kingdom. Consequently, we must use the sources relating to the one and the other as the bases for this study. Among these are to be found literary (Armenian, Arabic, Byzantine, etc.), epigraphic (Armenian, some Arabic), numismatic (Arabic), and archaeological (Dwin, Ani, etc.) materials.

Among literary sources, the first place evidently belongs to the Armenian histories, especially to those of the seventh to the eleventh century.

The earliest historical source relating to our subject is the *History* of the seventh century known under the name of Sebēos. Even though no doubts have been expressed concerning the date of this *History*, the identity of the author has been open to considerable question. According to K. Patkanyan, the first and second sections of this *History* are not the work of Sebēos (1), and the opinion has also recently been stated that Sebeōs is not its author altogether (2).

The most important historian for the period of the Arab domination in Armenia is the *Vardapet* Lewond. According to N. Akinian, this historian had been in Constantinople and had become acquainted there with the *Letters* of the Caliph 'Umar and of the Emperor Leo [III] the Isaurian which are included in his *History*. These documents probably have some real foundation, but they cannot be taken as authentic works (3).

Not a single historical work dating from the ninth century has come down to us. A manuscript history, to which some philologists attributed the name of Šapuh Bagratuni, was brought to Ejmiacin from the hermitage of Lim at the time of World War I (4). But this thesis was correctly rejected at that time both in Armenia and in the Diaspora (5).

The most important source for the last period of Arab domination is the work of Thomas [Товма] Arcruni, *The History of the Arcrunis*, whose composition is closely connected with Gagik Arcruni's effort to create an

independent kingdom for himself. The material of the *History of the Arcrunis* often coincides with the information given by contemporary Arab historians. Particular attention is obviously given in it to the relations between Armenia and the neighbouring Oriental lands perhaps because of the close ties between Vaspurakan and the Muslim world. This work has been analyzed by M. Brosset (6), and subsequently, in greater detail, by Norayr Biwandac'i, who argued that this *History* was composed by two authors, Thomas Arcruni himself and an *Arcruni Anonymous* (7).

A contemporary of Thomas, but the representative of the opposite party, is the kat'olikos John [Yovhannēs] Drasxanakertc'i, «The Historian» (898-929) (7a). Like Thomas Arcruni and his Anonymous Continuator, John's work bears the mark of contemporary politics. But whereas Thomas and particularly his Continuator are apologists for the Arcruni house, Drasxanakertc'i is a supporter of the Bagratid kings. Nevertheless, his evidence is very restrained, even in reference to Gagik Arcruni.

In the second half of the tenth century, considerable material concerning the Marwānids and other Armenian emirates is given by Stephen [Step'anos] Tarōnec'i, known as Asolik. S. Malxaseanc' brought out an excellent edition of his *History* in 1885, to which Norayr Biwandac'i added complementary notes (8).

The compilation known as the *History of Albania* is an important source, not only for Albania proper, but also for the history of the eastern provinces of Armenia. At the end of the last century, H. Acaryan (9) and H. Manandyan (10) concluded in their studies that this *History* had several authors, one of whom was the writer Moses [Movsēs] Kalankatwac'i, who compiled the entire work in the tenth century; whereas his continuator was Moses [Movsēs] Dasxuranc'i, who lived at the end of the same century. However, N. Akinian has recently shown that Kalankatwac'i and Dasxuranc'i are one and the same person, and that the correct name of the author consequently should be Moses Dasxuranc'i (11). Charles Dowsett unequivocally entitled his English translation of this work, the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Mosēs Dasxuranc'i (12).

Another important source for the period of Byzantine domination and the Seljuk invasions is Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, whose *History* is in fact a continuation of the work of Asolik (12a). The *Chronicle* of Matthew of Edessa [Matt'eos Urhayec'i] is likewise a notable source for the later period of Bagratid rule at Ani, but the events and dates given in his *Chronicle* must be treated critically (12b).

Among the works of thirteenth century Armenian historians, the *Universal History* of Vardan is of particular significance for our subject and has often been analyzed because of the value of its content (13). Among Vardan's sources are to be found Armenian historians (Vanakan and others), foreign writers, and oral sources—both Armenian and foreign. Although the facts presented by Vardan are often somewhat distorted because they are

Kurdish Kingdom

derived from oral sources, they correspond to historical events. For example, he relates the following tale concerning the origin of the Shaddāids, a woman named Mam who came «from among the Persians» (i.e. a Kurd) settled at P'afisos with her three sons who killed the emir of Ganjak and ruled over the city. The correctness of this information is established through a fragment of the Arabic original of the *History* of Münedjdjim Bashi, which has recently come to light, and where the same information is given more accurate form (13a).

Other important historians of the seventh to the thirteenth century have contributed in some measure to the clarification of problems bearing on our investigation, among them are Samuel Anec'i, Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Stephen Orbelean, and others (13b).

In addition to the historical sources, we should note that the *Armenian Lawcode* is of the greatest importance for the study of this period (13c). In the «Prologue» of the *Lawcode*, Mxit'ar Gos gives the following explanation for the first appearance of his work. It was necessary to have protection from the Muslim surroundings and for this reason he composed an independent Armenian *Code* so that the Armenian people should never seek to turn for help to foreign, Muslim law [the Shari'a] (13d). It is true that the *Lawcode* appeared in the twelfth century, nevertheless, it is of great importance for the elucidation of many phenomena of the Bagratid period.

Colophons should also be included among literary sources. Although their material refers for the most part to a later period, specifically to the late Middle Ages, we can find some valuable material for the Bagratid period as well in the colophons of this early period (14).

Together with Armenian literature, Byzantine historiography has long since attracted the attention of Armenologists. As early as the eighteenth century, M. Č'amē'an made extensive use of Byzantine sources in his famous *History of Armenia* (14a). The three works of the historian — emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos (913-959), the *De Thematibus*, *De Ceremoniis*, and *De Administrando imperio*, are of particular value for our subject (14b). Among other Byzantine historians, the work of George Kedrenos is an important source for the study of the later tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries. His *Chronicle* is a compilation in which he uses the work of the chronicler of the second half of the eleventh century, Skylitzes, together with a number of other sources (14c).

Syriac literature is of great importance for the study of Armenian history and literature (15), but it was in a period of decline during the Bagratid era. The following Syrian historians should, nevertheless, be noted for the period with which we are concerned: Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē and Michael the Syrian (16). Michael the Syrian [Mikaēl Asor], Patriarch of Antioch, wrote an extensive *Chronicle* from Adam to 1196, which was translated in 1248 from the Syriac original into Armenian by Isox the Priest and the historian Vardan at the request of the kat'olikos Constantine I. This *Chronicle* was also translated into Arabic. By the nineteenth century,

both the Syriac original and the Arabic translation were believed to have disappeared leaving only the Armenian translation. At the end of the century, however, the original text of Michael the Syrian was discovered and published together with a French translation by J.-B. Chabot (17). Among Syrian writers, we should also note Abu'l Faradj (Bar Hebraeus), who is also considered as one of the Arab historians, since his work was written in Arabic (17a).

The Georgian sources concerning the Armenians occupy an exceptional position thanks to the complete translation made by L. Melik'set'-Bek (18). The most important of the Georgian sources is the collection known as the *K'artlis C'xovreba* [*The Georgian Chronicle*], which was published by M. Brosset with both the Georgian text and a French translation (19).

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, only Armenian and Byzantine historians were used as the basic literary sources for the study of Bagratid history. With the passage of time, however, new sources have appeared to throw considerable additional light on the history of Armenia in the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Among these are the works of Arab historians and geographers, epigraphic material, numismatic data, and especially the rich archaeological finds.

The Arab historians and geographers are of primary importance for the study of the Arab emirates in Armenia. Arab historiography is derived from the traditional accounts which developed around the struggles and conquering expeditions of the prophet Muhammad and of the early Caliphs. A large part was also played in its formation by the Pehlevi literary inheritance whose influence on Arab historiography was considerable (20). We know that the collection of Iranian epic tales, the *Kh^watāy nāmag* (n. pers. *Khudāynāma*), «the *Book of Rulers*», which was the source of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma*, was translated into Arabic in the VIII century by the son of a Zoroastrian Persian, Ibn al-Mukaffa' (20a). The information of all these sources refers essentially to the period of the conquest of Armenia by the Arabs.

At the beginning of the ninth century the Arab historian al-Wākidī, who had close contacts with the court of Baghdad (in the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn) wrote a detailed history of the struggles of Muhammad and the conquering expeditions of the first Caliphs, but the greatest portion of his work is lost. In his own time, however, his history was used by other writers through whose works we can obtain some knowledge of the information which he had transmitted. In his account of the conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia, he likewise spoke of the first invasions by the Arabs of the provinces of Aġnik', Turuberan, and Barjr Hayk' [Upper Armenia]. Subsequently, probably at the time of the Crusades, a whole series of compositions bearing the name of al-Wākidī's works made their appearance and were attributed to him. These were the *Conquest of Syria*, the *Conquest of Mesopotamia*, and others. All of these works are known to scholars as the Pseudo-Wākidī, and have been published several times.

The information of the Pseudo-Wākidi concerning the conquest of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia was translated separately and analyzed by Niebuhr (21).

The most important source for the Arab conquest of Armenia is Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān* «*The Book of the Conquest of Nations*». Al-Balādhurī was a ninth century historian having close connexions with the court of the Caliphs, as the tutor of the son of one of them, and he is believed to have been of Persian origin. His *Book of the Conquest of Nations* is an admirable work in which he sets forth the history of the Arab conquest from the first contests of Muḥammad. One entire chapter is devoted to the conquest of Armenia (or, more correctly, of Armenia, Iberia, and Aḫbania). At the same time he collected interesting information concerning the events in Arab Armenia during the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries. The first scholarly edition of this work was brought out by M. J. de Goeje in Holland in 1866 (22), after which other editions appeared in the Orient. It was translated into European languages, and certain sections were translated into Armenian by B. Xalat'eanc' (23). Al-Balādhurī also composed a biographical dictionary known as the *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, the «*Book of the Lineage of Nobles*» (24).

Another leading historian of the same century is Aḥmad b. Abū Ya'kūb, who is known as al-Ya'kūbī. His grandfather Wādih had been governor [ostikan] of Armenia in 775 (25). Ya'kūbī spent his youth in Armenia then he served the Tāhirid rulers of Khurāsān. There he probably wrote his *History*, which begins with the birth of Muḥammad and goes to 872. His information concerning the period of Arab domination in Armenia is of great value, as is, to some degree, that concerning the Djahhāfids. Material concerning Armenia is also given in his geographical work, the *Kitāb al-Buldān*, the «*Book of Nations*» (26). The critical edition of the *History* was made from a single Cambridge manuscript (27). The sections concerning Armenia were translated into Armenian by H. A. Adamyan as well as by B. Xalat'yanc' (28), and they were used by J. Markwart as the basis for his scholarly studies (29).

The development of Arabic literature continued steadily during the tenth century. In this period Arab historiography produced a significant figure who was to win a leading place in Muslim historiography in general. This is Abū Dj'afar Muḥammad b. Djarir al-Ṭabari, who was probably born in 839 in Tabaristān (Iran), and travelled in Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. He studied the Muslim traditional accounts, and oral sources in general were of great importance to him. He died in 923. His most famous work is the *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa'l Mulūk*, the «*Annals of the Prophets and Kings*» (30). Although this work comprises a number of extensive volumes, it is considered to be only a small part of Ṭabari's original work which has not come down to us. Th. Nöldeke composed his famous work on the basis of Ṭabari's valuable information concerning Persia in

the period of the Sasanians (31). Tabari's account reaches to A. D. 915, and his enormous material was set forth chronologically, so that his work is known to scholars under the name of *Annals*.

A number of efforts were made to continue this enormous history. The continuation written by al-Farghānī has disappeared, while that of al-Hamadhānī has partially survived. The continuation of al-'Arīb is known, but it adds little to Tabari's great work (32). In 963 a condensed version of Tabari's *Annals* was translated into Persian by the Sāmānid *wazīr*, al-Bal'amī (32a). Tabari likewise produced a *Commentary on the Koran*, which played an important part in Arabic literature.

The principal historian of the tenth century is al-Mas'ūdī, who was probably born in Baghdad. He travelled in Persia and India to the China Sea, and subsequently to Zanzibar. Later he returned to the southern regions of the Caspian, to Syria, Palestine, and finally Egypt, where he died in 956 (33). His restless life is reflected in his literary works in which he attempts to speak about every subject, but pursues none in depth. He often brings up legends without any personal interpretation. In view of his great and many sided literary achievements (of which only a negligible part has come down to us), philologists have considered him to be the Arab Herodotus (34). His greatest work was the thirty-volume *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān*, the «*Book of Past Centuries*», which is lost. It was once believed that a copy of it existed in Constantinople, but it was already established by the end of World War I that it was not to be found there. The first volume alone was found in Aleppo and is now preserved in Vienna; in it Mas'ūdī speaks of Creation and continues with the legendary history of ancient Egypt, etc. An extract of this multivolumed work formed the history called *Kitāb al-Awsat*, the «*Middle Book*», of which one volume has survived in the Oxford library (or more correctly is believed to be that work).

A summary of all this material is found in Mas'ūdī's *Murūdj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādīn al-Djawhar*, «*Fields of Gold and Mines of Precious Gems*» (35), which has come down to us. It was completed in A. D. 947 and revised in 956. Several manuscripts of this work exist in Europe and in Arab lands. Armenia plays a relatively small part in this work which is historico-geographical in character, but Mas'ūdī is the only Arab historian to hint, even indirectly, at the existence of the ancient kingdom of Urartu. Since this is most surprising, Mas'ūdī's information on this subject and the source from which it was derived are naturally of great interest. Recalling the famed Semiramis, he writes here of the struggle between the kingdoms of Assyria and Urartu. In addition, Mas'ūdī contains valuable information concerning the regions of the Caucasus. The Paris edition of the text with a French translation is well known (36), and was followed by the Oriental editions.

The historian Ibn Miskawayh (or Miskawayh), who was probably of Persian descent and was a figure close to court circles, stands out among

the historians of the eleventh century. Miskawayh's great work is the *Tadjārib al-Umam*, the «*Experience of Nations*», a historical work of which the most important section is the one dealing with the 'Abbāsid Caliphate, although he begins the history from Creation, using Tabarī as a basic source for the earlier period. His information concerning the Bagratid period, and especially the relations of Vaspurakan with the southern emirates, is of great importance. This history was first brought out in photographic reproduction (37), then the sections referring to the 'Abbāsid Caliphate were published in London in 1920 together with an English translation (38).

Ibn al-Athīr is famous in Arabic literature for his numerous works. He was born in 1160 in the Djazira (Upper Mesopotamia) and died in Mosul in 1234 (38a). Among his many works stands out the *Kamil fi'l Tārikh*, «*General History*», in whose multiple volumes he brought together all the basic information of Arab history from the beginning to A.H. 628 (= A.D. 1231). The subject is presented chronologically in annal form. In his *History*, Ibn al-Athīr gives an uniquely rich collection of literary materials and a complete picture of the Arab information concerning Armenia can be obtained from it. The critical edition of the work was brought out by Thornberg (39), while ordinary editions have appeared in Arab countries (40).

Interesting information concerning the Kaysite emirs of Manazkert and south-western Armenia in general can be found in a whole series of minor authors (al-Fārikī, Ibn Zāfir, al-Zāhirī) (41), among whom we should like to distinguish the twelfth century historian al-Fārikī. As seems indicated by his surname, he was born in the city of Mayyāfārikīn (Muharkin or Arm. Np'rkert) in Aljnik'. He travelled in Armenia and visited the court of the Iberian king David the Restorer. He wrote a *History of Mayyāfārikīn*, which has been preserved in England in manuscript form (at Oxford). Certain sections of it have been published by H. F. Amedroz (42), M. Canard (43), and G. Cereteli (44), while V. Minorsky presented the content of the sections concerning Transcaucasia in an article (45), and subsequently used them again in his more recent works (46). The section dealing with the Marwānid emirs has also appeared recently (47).

Among the Arab historians of interest to us, we should also note the name of another historical work of primary importance for our subject. This is the work of the eighteenth century historian Mūnedjdjīm Bashi, *Jāmi' al-Duwal*, the «*History of Collected Kingdoms*» or «*Universal History*», which was written in Arabic and exists to this day in manuscript form in Constantinople. Two small sections of this enormous *History*, one concerning the Shaddādids (48), and the other concerning Shirwān (49), were recently published by Minorsky. At present, the scholarly world has at its disposal only a condensed Turkish translation of the whole of Mūnedjdjīm Bashi's vast work made in the eighteenth century by Ahmad Nedīm and published one century later (50).

Münedjdjim Bashi's work has a variegated content and the author himself indicates that he used in it a variety of sources which were divided into three parts — Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Among the sources mentioned in the introduction to the Turkish version is the work of a *fakih* (specialist in religious law), the *History of Shirwān and Derbent*, probably composed at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. This is the lost source which Münedjdjim Bashi used for the composition of the above mentioned sections published by Minorsky (50a). In view of the fact that the work of the *fakih* is no longer available, the sections of Münedjdjim Bashi published by Minorsky have acquired the value of a primary source. Great differences can be observed between these sections and the corresponding ones in the Turkish condensed translation, since the Turkish version was greatly abridged by Ahmad Nedim.

One of the Turkish sources used by Münedjdjim Bashi was the *Brief History of Armenia* by Eremya Celebi K'eomyurc'yan, which he had translated into Turkish (51). On the basis of this translation, Münedjdjim Bashi gave an account in his book of the events of Armenian history from Hayk to the last Leo [of Cilicia]. This section was subsequently translated into Armenian by G. T'ireakyan (51a).

The importance of geography equalled that of history in Arabic literature. Arabic geography, as a learned subject, included not only the Arab lands, but the entire Muslim Orient as well, and even the whole of the Mediaeval world known to the Arabs (from Europe in the west and China in the east.) Geographical literature had a double significance — learned and practical — for the Arabs. From the scholarly point of view geography was for them a branch of science. From the practical point of view geography was of political importance. It was the means for a thorough study of the extensive Arab state. Geographers first described all the roads of the Empire, noting the distance between the various cities along the way. This was of great importance for the Arab Post, a department whose main function was to spy on the activity of all the governors [*ostikans*], and to transmit the information at once to the Caliph. Furthermore, the geographers, many of whom were former state officials, (in some cases in the Post), included in their registers the tax lists of the various provinces of the Caliphate. On this basis originated the work known as the «*Tax Register*» (*Kitāb al-Kharādj*) (52).

The tenth century was the classical period of Arab geographical literature. This is the period of the composition of the «*Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms*» [*Kitāb al-Masalik wa'l-Mamālik*] together with its maps. Based on this, rich geographical dictionaries began to appear in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The last great achievement of Arab geographical literature were the encyclopaedias written in Egypt during the Mamluk period (1250-1517). Thereafter geography, as well as Arabic literature in general, entered into a period of stagnation during the Ottoman period:

The first great Arab geographer of the ninth century was Abu'l-Kāsim 'Ubaid Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khurradādhbih. Persian by origin and the grandson of a Zoroastrian, he was born ca. A.D. 820, and his father was the governor of Tabaristān (South of the Caspian). He was close to the court of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid (A.D. 870-892), and a personage of great importance. At one time he was director of the Post in the province of Djibāl (Northern Iran, Kurdistān), and consequently was thoroughly familiar with the geography of the Caliphate (53). In his register (*Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*) Ibn Khurradādhbih gives the description of all the lands of the Caliphate with a minute description of the roads. He gives interesting information concerning his native land of Iran, and, in speaking of the Sasanian period, recalls the titles of the kings connected with Iran, among them the *Būzūrg Armenan shāh* («King of Greater Armenia», which was the title of the Arsacids) (54). The work of Ibn Khurradādhbih is a reliable source for both geography and history, since the author had at his disposal many official documents. The Arab writers who came after him were greatly assisted by his work.

The tenth century was the golden age of Arab geographical science. At that time a group of outstanding Arab geographers (al-Balkhī, al-Istakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and al-Mukaddasi) created the classical school of Arab geography (55). The last three are especially to be noted for the fact that they give important information concerning Armenia in their works.

Al-Istakrī was of Persian descent and was born in central Iran. He travelled extensively in Central Asia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, but only Muslim lands from the Indian Ocean to the Maghreb are described in his work known as the *Kitāb Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* «*The Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms*» (55a).

Abu'l-Kasim b. Hawkal al-Nasībī was an Arab apparently born at Mcbin (Nisibis) according to his surname. He lived for a time in Baghdad, then travelled through many lands, especially in North Africa and Spain. Certain Arabists believe that the cause for his endless wanderings was that he was a Fātimid or 'Abbāsīd spy in Spain, whose Umayyad rulers had broken with the Eastern Caliphate and founded a separate Caliphate, with Cordova as its capital. Ibn Hawkal's work was published in the series of De Goeje on the basis of a Paris manuscript, but in 1938 the Arabist J. H. Kramer published the critical edition from an older manuscript preserved in Constantinople which had been written in A.D. 1086 (56). Maps, which had reached a high level of development in tenth century Arab geography, play a large part in his work. These are known collectively in philological literature under the name of the *Atlas of Islam* (*Atlas Islamicus*).

Ibn Hawkal devotes one chapter of his work to Armenia together with Albania and Azerbaidjan [Atrpatakan]. In it he gives valuable information concerning the economic conditions of the Bagratid period. The focus of his attention is the city of Dwin as the true capital of Armenia. He speaks

of the contest between King Smbat I and the Sādjids, and, albeit a Muslim, is a sufficiently impartial observer to accuse the Sādjid Yūsuf, whom he considers a sinner before Allāh.

The last great representative of the tenth century classical school, al-Mukaddasi, appears from his surname to have been born in Jerusalem (Bayt al-Mukaddas). He was born in A.D. 946/7 and travelled through the whole of the Muslim world. He also visited Armenia, especially Dwin, concerning which he gives interesting information, and died in the year 1000. The result of these distant journeys was presented in his book, *Aḥsan al-Takāsim fi Ma'rifat al-Akālm*, «On the Best Classification for the Knowledge of Regions». This work is of such value that some scholars consider it to be the best geography of all times (57). This treatise also includes maps, but they are far lower in value than the work itself. Like the other geographers of the classical school, al-Mukaddasi described only the Muslim world, but he included Armenia, Iberia, and Albania within it. From the point of view of the classical geographers these three Christian lands were still formally considered to be part of the Islamic world, although they had in fact separated from the Muslim Caliphate.

Abū Dulaf, who made distant journeys, is likewise an author of the tenth century. He composed two accounts of his travels in the second of which he described Iran, Azerbaidjan, and Armenia. The text of this second account has recently been published by Minorsky at Cairo (58). Some scholars have expressed doubts concerning the trustworthiness of the facts related by Abū Dulaf, but the most recent studies do not share this reticent attitude toward him (59).

The twelfth century geographer al-Idrīsī has enjoyed a great fame among European scholars. To be sure, al-Idrīsī has a certain importance in Arab geography, but his real value is not commensurable with his fame. Descended from an ancient noble house which ruled Morocco during the ninth and tenth centuries, al-Idrīsī was born in A.D. 1110 and studied at Cordova. As it appears from his writings, he travelled in France, England, and Asia Minor. The milieu in which his work was composed is of considerable interest. He lived in Sicily, which had been in Muslim hands for nearly two centuries and had subsequently passed to the Normans (in the eleventh century). There, al-Idrīsī spent sixteen years of his life in Palermo, at the court of the Arabophile king Roger II, and died in 1165. In Palermo he wrote his famous work, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muḥtāk fi 'khtirāk al-āfāk*, [«The Recreation of Him who Yearns to Traverse the Lands»] under the patronage of King Roger, who was an amateur of Arab culture. At that time, the island of Sicily was the meeting point of Arab civilization on the one hand and the Catholic Latin world on the other. At the order of the same ruler, al-Idrīsī made a silver planisphere on which he indicated the world of his time, but this was subsequently destroyed during a rebellion. Al-Idrīsī also had maps drawn on paper. This work has come down to us in several manuscripts

which are scattered in a number of places, and the information which he gives concerning Western Europe is very valuable. Unfortunately no complete edition of al-Idrisi's Arabic text has appeared to date (59a). A brief and late (sixteenth century) abridgement appeared in Rome in 1592. The Latin translation made from it was published in Paris in 1619, while a French translation of the entire text was published in two volumes by A. Jaubert, a member of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition (60). The German Arabist, K. Miller, published an *Atlas of Mediaeval Arab Maps* based on those of al-Idrisi (61).

One of the most outstanding figures in Arab geography is Yāqūt al-Hamawī al-Rūmī, who was of Greek origin. He had been brought from Asia Minor as a slave and was sold to an Arab merchant from Hamāh. His master saw to it that he received a good education. After his death, Yāqūt was freed and began a series of journeys to Egypt, Persia, and Central Asia. It is said that one day in Merv, during an argument over a certain Arabic name, the idea came to him to compose a complete geographical dictionary. The Mongol invasion forced him to return to the Arab world where he wrote his famous *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, «*Geographical Dictionary*» (62). This is not merely an alphabetical dictionary of toponyms. First the place name is given with an indication of its vocalization, then follows a vast material both historical and geographical. In opposition to the geographers of the classical school, Yāqūt does not limit himself to the Islamic world alone, but describes the entire known world of his time. As sources he used not only historical and geographical works, but even poetry. The *Geographical Dictionary* is an all inclusive encyclopaedia which essentially brings together almost all of the historical and geographical information concerning the entire world available in Arabic literature. Yāqūt transmits a wealth of information concerning Armenia and includes both Greater Armenia and Cilicia. Like other Arab geographers, he speaks primarily about southern Armenia which had relatively closer ties with the Arab world.

For Arab geographers, Armenia entered into the general concept of «*Armīniya*», which included Armenia proper, eastern Iberia (K'art'li), and Albania (62a). Taken as a whole, *Armīniya* in Arabic literature is divided into three parts, according to the three main peoples living in the land, or (as is more frequent) into four parts — first Albania, second Iberia, and third and fourth, the eastern and western portions of Greater Armenia. This latter, quadripartite, division remained among the Arabs as a memory of the situation prevailing in the *naḡarar* period (VI-VII centuries). Generally, *Armīniya* and Azerbaidjan (Atrpatakan) appear together under one heading in the works of Arab geographers. This was also the case in the Sasanian period (VI century), when Armenia, Iberia, Albania, Atrpatakan (as well as certain small Caspian districts) formed the general administrative unit of K'ust-i Kapkoh.

Arab geographical literature won the attention of European scholars from the time of the birth of Islam, but its serious scholarly study came only with the nineteenth century. Special mention should be made here of the eight volume *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* of the Dutch Arabist M. J. de Goeje.

Arab geographical literature provided a model to other Muslim peoples for the development of a similar literature. Persian geography shows the influence of Arab geography both in its principles and its content. The same may be said of Turkish geography. Although many Persians played a leading rôle in Arabic literature, as geographers and primarily as historians, their works ultimately form a component part of Arabic literature. Truly Persian history, in its native language, essentially developed only after the eleventh century, and it is consequently impossible to draw much information concerning the Bagratid period from Persian authors.

The section concerning southern Armenia in the *Safar Nāma* or «*Book of Travels*» of Nāṣir-i Khusraw is of interest (63). Nasir-i Khusraw is known in Persian literature as a poet whose work is famous for its religious and moral content. He belonged to the Shi'ite Ismā'ili sect, and is considered to have been one of the great Persian authors of his age. The *Safar Nāma* is the description of the routes covered by the author at the time of his personal travels made in 1046.

The tenth century anonymous Persian geographical work known as the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, «*The Regions of the World*» reflects the influence of Arab geography. Its sole manuscript was discovered by A.G. Tumanski in 1892, and a photocopy of it was published by V. Barthoid in 1930. In 1937 V. Minorsky published in London an English edition with extensive commentaries of this work (64).

In view of the rôle played by Kurdish elements in the history of the foreign emirates founded in Armenia, the Persian work known as the *Sharaf-Nāma* composed by the Kurdish emir of Baḫš [Bidlis], Sharaf al-Dīn in the sixteenth century is of importance for our subject. This work is our only source for early Kurdish history, and brings together extensive information concerning the Kurds. The Persian text was published in St. Petersburg by V. Veliaminov-Zernov (65), and was subsequently translated into French by F. Charmoy (66).

Diplomatic documents have also survived among literary materials, but the documentary material relevant to Armenia history is rare. After wandering from city to city, the Bagratid court finally established itself at Ani. It maintained close diplomatic relations with Byzantium and the Caliphate, so that documents pertinent to these relations had unquestionably been collected in the archives of Ani. Unfortunately, these were totally destroyed, and all that has reached us concerning them are references or

brief quotations in the contemporary historians. Occasional deeds and letters have come down to us (indirectly), albeit in fragmentary form, but the edicts of the rulers from this period have totally disappeared. There are many mentions of grants by the Bagratid kings of fortresses, villages, provinces, etc. to this or that prince or monastery, but not a single document relating to any of this has reached us. The forged deed concerning the monastery of Malart'a, according to which King Ašot III had granted the entire province to the monastery, cannot give us the slightest conception of the authentic land charters of the Bagratid period.

We must, however, note that monumental inscriptions played the part of deeds in this period, and were more resistant than any other type of document. Armenian inscriptions have been published for the most part in studies dedicated to the monasteries (67). An incomplete collection of all the inscriptions was attempted by K. Kostaneanc' in his *Epigraphic Annals* (68). A general *Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions* was inaugurated recently under the auspices of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, and one volume of this complete collection has already appeared (69).

Arabic inscriptions are also to be found in Armenia, and although few in number, they have a definite importance. The oldest of them are three inscriptions from Zwart'noc', which actually date from the period of the Arab domination (70). These three inscriptions were put up as prayers in the eighth-ninth centuries by chance Arab individuals. Both the name of the author and the date of the incision are included in them.

At the time of the excavations at Dwin, some stone fragments bearing Arabic writing were found, but these are composed for the most part of odd words. It is only from the shape of the characters that it is possible to deduce that they belong to an early period. Late (XI-XIII century) decorative inscriptions on alabaster have also been found at Dwin, and are preserved now in the Historical Museum. According to their content, these are supplications probably addressed to the master of the edifice. After extensive excavations these are the only discoveries to date, but we can still hope that future excavations will reveal complete and valuable inscriptions.

The Arabic seal of King Ašot I Bagratuni (71), which was discovered a few years ago in the northern Caucasus is unique. In view of the fact that not a single document has reached us from the Bagratid period, the discovery of this seal is of exceptional importance.

The oldest complete Arabic inscriptions which have been found until now are those left by the Kurdish Marwānid rulers in the provinces of Aljnik' and Apahunik' during the period of Bagratid decline; these have been published by M. van Berchem (72). There is also an Arabic inscription with kufic characters dating from A.D. 1072 on the Manuče mosque in Ani, in which both Manuče [Manūčahr] and the Seljuk sultan are mentioned (73).

The Bagratid kings did not mint their own coinage, but were satisfied with the Arabic coins struck at Dwin and elsewhere, or with the ones which

came from Byzantium. The Arab mint at Dwin, established during the period of the Arab domination, continued its activity in the early Bagratid period as well. The last coin from Dwin in our possession bears the date A.H. 330 (= A.D. 941/2) (74). The famous numismatist of the early nineteenth century, Ch. Frähn, gave an analysis of the coins struck at Dwin in his multivolumed work devoted to Arabic coins (74a). R. Vasmer made great use of this numismatic material for his clarification of problems in Armenian history (74b). The discovery and study of these coins continue to the present time.

Archaeological excavations are of great importance for the study of Bagratid Armenian history. The excavations begun by N. Marr and J. Orbeli at Ani at the end of the nineteenth century revealed a great deal of material, and brought forth numerous objects relating to social history. The excavations begun as early as 1892 continued for many years and their results were published by Marr and Orbeli under the title of *The Ani Series*. Subsequently, N. Marr made use of the results of these excavations as well as of literary materials to write his extensive study of the city, *Ani* (75).

N. Marr had also begun excavations at Dwin in 1899, but soon abandoned them to carry on his work exclusively at Ani. Dwin was also partially excavated by the Vardapet Xaç'ik Dadean, but soon abandoned again. In 1937, the excavations of Dwin were resumed under the supervision of S. Ter Avetisyan, but the advent of the war once again interrupted archaeological activity. Systematic excavations were inaugurated once more at Dwin after the war, in 1946, and are being pursued to the present time under the supervision of K. Lafadaryan (76). The material brought forth by archaeological excavations has thrown considerable light on the development of mediaeval cities and on their social problems, a subject which it is difficult and occasionally even impossible to treat on the basis of literary information alone, or even of the illustrative material provided by miniatures.

II The Historiography of the Subject

Certain problems in Armeno-Arabic history and philology have become subjects for research as early as the beginning of the preceding century. Even in the eighteenth century, M. Č'amč'ean had devoted one whole chapter of his three volume *History of Armenia* to the period of the Arab domination (77). This chapter gives an account based essentially on the material given by Armenian historians completed by some additions taken from Byzantine sources. L. Inč'icean in his three volume *Antiquities* likewise considered some problems of Armenian history during this period, such as, for example, the establishment of Arab colonies in Armenia, the Arab invasions, and the revolts which occurred in the period of their domination (78). In his multivolumed studies devoted to the coinage of the Eastern Caliphate published in St. Petersburg at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the

famous numismatist C. Frähn included an analysis of the Arabic coins bearing the names of *ostikans*, which had survived in Armenia, alongside of his study of other Arabic coins (79). On the basis of these three works — C'ame'ean, Incicean, and Frähn — as well as of some material found in Arabic and Armenian historians, the German Armenologist J. H. Petermann brought out the first study devoted to Armenia in the Arabic period in which he included a brief list of the Arab governors (80).

In the nineteenth century, attempts were made by Armenologists to investigate and make use of the Arabic sources. Ł. Alishan, who often gives the Arabic forms of toponyms or onomastica in his famous historical and geographical studies, also published a small work on the Armenian Abusahl, who is to be identified with the fourteenth century Arab historian of Armenian origin, Abū Salih (81). Astwacatur Ter Yovhannisean's translation from Arabic of the *History of Tmūr Lang* and his successors by the fifteenth century Arab author, Ibn 'Arabshāh, appeared even earlier (82). There are also a few examples in the nineteenth century of the use of Arab sources from the point of view of Armenian studies. Thus, D'Ohsson's book, *Les Peuples du Caucase*, is of some value (83), but the most important studies are the articles of Mordtmann drawn from Arab historians (84). The Vienna Mexit'arist, Ł. Yovnanean, concerned himself with the problems of Armeno-Arabic literature (85). He attacked these problems in order to clarify questions relating to literature written in Middle-Armenian by means of an analysis of translations made from Arabic into Armenian (86).

The first study of major importance from our point of view was the work of M. Ghazarian on Armenia in the period of Arab domination (87). After the small work of Petermann, this was the first scholarly study in which Arabic and Armenian historiography were equally investigated in order to set forth the history of Armenia in the seventh to the ninth century. The vast information of Armenian (Sebēos, Lewond, John Drasxanakertc'i, Thomas Arcruni, etc.) and Arab (al-Balādhuri, Tabarī, Ya'kūbi, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.) historians, as well as of geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn al-Fakih, Ibn Hawkal, Yākūt, etc.) were successfully brought together in it for the first time. Making use of the Armenological material which had been accumulated in the nineteenth century, the author succeeded in producing a scholarly study of high quality.

The problem of the creation of the emirates is tied to the phenomenon of Arab (or more generally foreign) colonization in Armenia. As early as the first half of the nineteenth century, Ł. Incicean mentioned the following Arab tribes settled in Armenia in his *Antiquities*, under the heading «Foreign Peoples in Armenia» (87a) — the Kaysites, the 'Uthmānids, the Zurārids, and the Hamdānids. But the problem of the Arab migrations became a subject for serious investigation only at the beginning of the present century, with the works of H. Thopdschian and J. Markwart.

The names in
Armenian and
Kurds.

The study of Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I*, (88), is devoted to the history of Armenia in the ninth century. The problem of the emirates is evidently examined in it together with other questions, but Thopdschian gives only a brief and summary sketch of this subject. The first author to give some analysis of the problem of the Arab emirates in Armenia was J. Markwart. In one of his studies devoted to the history of the Bagratids (89), he included a condensed history of the appearance of the *Djähfids* in Armenia in the first half of the ninth century. M. Brosset had already written about them on the basis of the information given by Thomas Arcruni, but the value of Markwart's work lies in his ability to introduce, even if briefly, the material drawn from Arabic sources (primarily Ya'kūbi) side by side with that of the Armenian historians.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the present one, the investigation of literary ties began to develop alongside of the study of historical problems. Here, we should note in the first place the valuable works of Marr on the Arabic version of Agat'angelos (90), the Arabic translation of the *Fables* of Vardan Aygec'i (91), and others. During the same period, H. Hübschmann studied the question of the Arabic loan words in Armenian (92). The great importance of the information contained in Arabic historians necessarily brought about their translation into Armenian. In this same period, B. Xalat'eanc's translations of selections from Arab historians appeared in *Handēs Amsorya* (93), while Karaulov published in extract form the information on the Caucasus found in Arabic works, giving both the original text and a Russian translation (94). The Arabic inscriptions from Np'rkert [Mayyāfārikīn] and other cities published by van Berchem are also of importance for our study, since they shed considerable light on the history of the Marwānids (94a).

J. Laurent's. *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, published in 1919 (95) was the first major work devoted to the Arab period of Armenian history and was far more extensive than the abovementioned work of Ghazarian. Of particular interest is its last section concerning the *Shaybāni* rulers of Aġnik and other emirs.

Markwart comes close to an analysis of the problem of foreign emirates in the Bagratid period in his *Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen* (96). To be sure the subject investigated by Markwart in this study is essentially southern Armenia from the earliest times to approximately the twelfth century, but in view of the fact that the Arab emirates in Armenia arose for the most part in the southern portion of the country, he inevitably had to give an account of the history of the emirates in the Bagratid period.

The works of H. Manandyan (97), and in part H. Zoryan (98), are likewise important for a study in depth of the history of the Bagratid kingdom and the Arab emirates found in it. The development of cities in the Bagratid period is one of its characteristic phenomena, and the accounts of the conditions of cities to be found in the studies of H. Manandyan (99) and

B. Arak'elyan (100) are indispensable for an investigation of the internal life of Armenia in the ninth to the eleventh century.

In the initial period of their creation, the Arab emirates of Armenia waged war against the Caliphate, while at the same time carrying on a struggle against the Armenian *naxarar* houses. This problem is studied from the point of view of the centrifugal wars of the emirates against the Caliphate by P. Zhuze (101), who considers it to be a general manifestation characteristic of the whole of Transcaucasia. The work of H. Nalbandyan (102) is also of great importance for the study of Armenia in the Arab period.

In the post-war period, material relevant to the study of the Armenian emirates is to be found in the studies of V. Minorsky and M. Canard. The first scholar's *Studies in Caucasian History* (103) are devoted to the history of the Shaddādid house which ruled Dwin, Ganjak, and finally Ani. M. Canard's *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazīrah et de Syrie* (104) gives an analysis of the activity of the Hamdānid rulers of Ajlūnik' and other regions, who at one time even conquered Apahunik' and other Kaysite domains. Canard had also written an earlier substantial article on this subject which appeared in 1948 (103). Since the south-western group of Armeno-Arab emirates (Manazkert *et al*) had close ties with Byzantium, they did not escape the notice of Byzantinists such as A. A. Vasiliev (106), and E. Honigmann (107), sections of whose works are related to this problem.

While all of the above mentioned works are helpful for the study of Armenian emirates, none of them sets itself as a goal the task of giving a detailed general history of the Arab emirates found on Armenian territory. Consequently the question of foreign emirates in the Bagratid period has always remained insufficiently studied. The reason for this is that it is neither a purely Armenian nor a purely Arab problem, hence neither Armenologists nor Arabists have found it necessary to address themselves to it.

The specialists in the history of the Caliphate (e.g. G. Weil, M. Muir, J. Wellhausen, C. Huart, A. Muller) have always disregarded these emirates because they were cut off politically from the Arab, or more correctly the Muslim world, from the middle of the ninth century, and were basically tied to the Armenian highlands. The south-western emirates of Armenia (Manazkert *et al*) first formed a part of the Bagratid kingdom — in the period of Asot I and Smbat I — then they fell under the sway of Byzantium, and finally merged with the Empire. As for Dwin, it was an apple of discord between the Armenian king and the emirs of Azerbaidjan.

Armenologists have approached the problem in the same manner. In their studies of the history of the Bagratids, they have concerned themselves essentially with the provinces of the Armenian kingdom (Ayrarat, Gugark', Siwnik', Arc'ax, Vaspurakan, Mokk', Tarōn, etc.) which were ruled by Armenian princes, while the regions held by foreign emirs have altogether escaped their attention.

KURDISH DYNASTY

11

Actually it is
Kurdish problem
which no one
had mentioned

Kurdish sources in Arabic

The collections of Arab sources published in recent years have been of great assistance in the preparation of the present work. Two should be mentioned above all others: the collection of texts relating to the Hamdānid ruler Sayf al-Dawla (108), and the publication of the text of passages drawn from the Arab historians (al-Fāriki, Ibn Zāfir, Miskawayh, etc.), as well as Münedjdjim Bashi (109). The first, brought out by M. Canard, provides some relatively new material for the history of the south-western Armenian emirates (Kaysites and others), while the second, published by V. Minorsky, presents entirely new information on the events which took place at Dwin during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Kurdish

In this study, our purpose is to set forth one of the unelucidated problems in the history of Bagratid Armenia, that is to say, the history of the foreign (Arab) emirates established in Greater Armenia, but only loosely tied to the Armenian kingdom. The investigation of this subject should not only shed light on the internal history of the Bagratid realm, but also help to clarify the problem of its relations with other powers, such as the lands of the Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire.

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CHAPTER I

THE CREATION OF THE FIRST EMIRATES IN GREATER ARMENIA

1. *The Nature of Arab Rule in Armenia*

The period of Arab domination in Armenia was characterized by certain traits which distinguish it from the previous Perso-Byzantine era. The natural policy of both the Sasanians and Byzantium toward Armenia was the attempt to bind the country to themselves by various religious and other ties. There was no thought in this period of colonizing Armenia with foreign elements, be they Persian or Greek. It is true that Byzantium had transferred Armenian contingents to Bulgaria under the Emperor Maurice in order to make them collaborators in its own military enterprises (1), but the aim of this policy was neither the weakening of the Armenian elements in Greater Armenia nor the settlement there of any foreign group.

The Arab empire of the Caliphate developed and was organized in a different manner from that of Byzantium or the Sasanians. With one stroke the Arabs conquered the whole of the Sasanian empire and a large portion of the Byzantine provinces. Into these conquered land, most of which were not bound to Arabia by either religion or language, they swiftly spread Islam together with an Arab population. By the eighth century, Islam officially dominated in almost all the provinces of the immense Arab Caliphate. In the regularly organized provinces, Islam and Arabic had been implanted at the same time, together with the settling of Arab elements; a policy which helped to strengthen the unification of the new realm.

Nevertheless, one of the Arab provinces differed sharply from the others, namely Armīniya, which included the three Christian lands of Armenia, Iberia, and Ałbania (2). While it is true that Islam did not spread at once in the other provinces of the Caliphate and that the native religions were not annihilated with a single blow, Islam was, nevertheless at least formally dominant by the eighth and especially the ninth century. Not a single native religion or language ruled exclusively, even within its own district. For example, although Zoroastrianism was alive in Iran, its *mōbadh* was

not officially recognized. The Syrian and Egyptian patriarchs were merely the heads of local communities, because numerous Arab tribes had already established themselves in these lands and Islam had rapidly spread. The native languages (Syriac, Coptic) were gradually replaced by Arabic, and it is sufficient to note that for Egyptian and Syrian clerics, Arabic had become the language of ecclesiastical literature by the ninth century.

The situation was altogether different in the *ostikanate* of Arminiya (3), where the Armenian *kat'olikos* was in fact a political figure, and the head of a religious community which was not a minority group. In it, the Armenian *naḡarars* were able to reach high offices (such as Prince of Princes of Armenia, or *sparaper*) without abandoning their religion. Whereas in other *ostikanates*, a Christian prince was able to reach a high position only as an exception, and for the most part, at the price of apostasy as well. This extraordinary situation was intolerable for the Caliphate, particularly for the 'Abbāsids, and the struggle against it in Armenia necessarily assumed an important place in Arab policy.

The Umayyads had adopted certain harsh measures in Armenia, but their actions had not altered anything fundamental within the country, where an unaltered state of affairs was maintained by certain factors. Until the end of the seventh century, violent conflicts opposed the forces within the Arab Caliphate to each other, so that the first Arab invasions (A.D. 640, 642, and 650) were not conquering expeditions but merely disorderly raids (4). Only the invasion of 654 can be considered as a true conquest, and it is consequently not fortuitously that this is the only expedition which is recorded in detail in Arab historiography (5), while the three earlier raids are known to us essentially only through Armenian sources (6). The Arabs considered Armenia conquered from that time, but in fact, the country enjoyed a degree of independence such as it had not known since the fall of the Arsacids, during the whole of the seventh century.

In the eighth century, when Armenia found itself to a greater or lesser degree within the Arab sphere of influence, the relations between it and the Caliphate were based for the most part on the treaty concluded in 652 between Mu'āwiyah and Theodore R̄stuni. According to this agreement, Armenia was bound to pay only a light tribute to the Caliphate and to send a supporting army to the Arabs in times of need. However, the following interesting clause was also included: «...and I shall not send emirs into your fortresses, nor a Tačik [Arab] officer, nor a single horseman...» (7). This indicates that the seventh century Caliphate had no representative, either administrative or military, in Armenia.

This favourable situation was altered in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705), when the Arab state was established on a firm basis and finally organized as a result of the vigorous repression of the rebellion of 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Under the leadership of the Caliph's brother Muḡammad b. Marwān, the Arab armies devastated Armenia and

totally subjected it (8). It was during this period of the Umayyad Caliphate that the *ostikanate* of Arminiya finally took shape as an Arab province including Armenia, Iberia, and Albania. In the first half of the eighth century, Arab garrisons were placed in the most important Armenian cities. Their purpose was not only to keep the country in a state of submission, but also to guard certain strategic points of military importance such as, for instance, the city of Karin, which was the most important base in the war against Byzantium. The capital of the newly created *ostikanate* was Dwin, the seat of the Arab *ostikan* together with the families of his garrison, as we know from the testimony of the historian Lewond (9).

Despite these measures, the attack against Armenian internal autonomy in the Umayyad period (both in the first and in the second periods) did not display the acute character which it was to acquire under the 'Abbāsids. The Umayyad Caliphate was Arab; the Arabic element dominated in it and non-Arabs, allied or converted Muslims, were able to participate in the political life only with difficulty. To Umayyad eyes, therefore, Christian Armenia (or more generally Christian Arminiya) was displeasing merely because it was non-Arab, and many other districts were equally displeasing to them for the same reason. Consequently, Armenia was not singled out as a target for attack. This obviously did not mean that the Umayyads were favourably disposed toward Armenia. The massacre of the *naxarars* in 705, for instance, is sufficient indication of the contrary, but even this action had a purely punitive aim and was not followed by any further measures.

This situation altered radically in the period of the 'Abbāsids. The Persian element, which had played a decisive rôle in the downfall of the Umayyads, began to be associated with the Arabs in the political life of the realm. The difference between Arab and non-Arab ceased to exist if the latter were Muslims.

From the very beginning, the pan-Muslim 'Abbāsīd Caliphate used radical means to weaken the power of the Armenian *naxarars*. The first 'Abbāsīd, Abu'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, «the Bloodshedder», drowned the Armenian revolt of 747-750 in blood (10). The period of his successor, Abū Dja'far al-Mansūr, likewise weighed heavily on Armenia. Armenian taxes reached fabulous proportions at that time (11), and this abnormal situation provoked a violent revolt which was to be the greatest Armenian protest movement during the whole period of Arab domination. The governor of Arminiya, al-Hasan b. Kaḥṭaba, was unable to fight the insurrection with the forces at his disposal, so that the general of Khurāsān, Āmir b. Ismā'il, had to come to his assistance with thirty thousand men (12). After a desperate resistance, the rebels were defeated at the decisive battle of Bagrewand, and with them fell their leaders, Musef Mamikonean and Smbat Bagratuni (13).

Both the rebellion and its repression shook the whole of Greater Armenia and produced certain definite results:

1. The Mamikonean family finally lost its leading position in Armenian political life. Its domains were dispersed, and its only surviving members

sought refuge in Byzantium or in other provinces of Armenia. After the downfall of the Mamikoneans, numerous princely houses abandoned their estates and migrated to Byzantium (14).

2. As a result of the annihilation of the Mamikoneans, only minor princely houses remained in the south-western provinces of Armenia. These were not in a position to oppose any attack, hence the way lay open for Arab migrations which pushed their way into the south-western districts of Armenia.

2. *The Arab-Byzantine Frontier Zone (Thughūr)*

The fact that the province of Armīniya was an outpost had a decisive influence on the history of the Arab domination in Armenia.

Although the Arabs stopped their advance before the chain of the Taurus after their conquest of the Byzantine eastern provinces, no definite frontier stretched between the two great powers. The long fortified zone (the *Ikltm al-thughūr* of the Arabs) whose fortresses and cities had continuously passed from hand to hand, had existed for some three hundred years. It stretched from Tarsus to the city of Karin and, according to Arab sources, included two basic areas: the Syrian fortified border zone (*al-Thughūr al-Shāmiya*), and the Upper Mesopotamian fortified border zone (*al-Thughūr al-Djazīriya*) (15). The fortified border region of Greater Armenia belonged in the latter. In the eyes of the Caliphate, the frontier area had a certain administrative autonomy, which was reinforced in the 'Abbāsīd period when the unit called *al-Awāsim*, with centers at Manbidj and Antioch (arab. Antākiya), was formed in the Syrian border zone (16). The details of the lengthy and bloody contests which took place in this frontier region are related by mediaeval Arab, Byzantine, and Armenian historians. Generally speaking, these took place in only a few important districts.

During the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries, the Arabs were advancing continually. After the conquest of Syria, the general Khālid b. al-Walīd went on to seize the cities of Cilicia as well, while 'Iyād b. Ghānm sent Habib b. Maslama (the future conqueror of Armenia) from Upper Mesopotamia to rule the Euphratine cities of Greater Armenia (17). Mu'āwiya made an attack against Constantinople as well, but was unsuccessful (18).

Although the Arabs retreated a little in the second half of the seventh century at the time of the revolt of 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Zubayr, they surged forth with greater impetus at the beginning of the eighth, all the more so because Armenia had finally been conquered, in the period of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik. In the reign of al-Walīd I (arm. Vlit'), 705-715, his brother Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik crossed the Taurus mountains and reached Constantinople. But the new Byzantine emperor, Leo III the Isaurian, hurled back this dangerous attack and the imperial dynasty founded by him generally fought off the

bold attacks of the Arabs (19). The Emperor Constantine V Copronymous (741-775) was even able to profit from the confused situation brought about by the fall of the Umayyads to seize numerous fortresses and cities, such as Mar'ash, Melitene [Malatya], and Karin [Kālikāla] in Cilicia and neighbouring districts (20).

It is interesting to note here that the Arabs were always eager to build fortresses and cities in these border districts, whereas the Greeks only attacked, destroyed, and retreated. Thus, instead of saying that the Greeks attacked and conquered, al-Balādhurī clearly states that they destroyed, whereas he implies, without actually saying so, that the Arabs reconstructed the sites on their return. The aim of the Greeks was merely to create a ruined neutral zone which would separate and isolate them from their dangerous adversary, while the Arabs sought to turn the castles and fortresses built by them in this area into bases for perpetual attacks against the Byzantine Empire.

In the 'Abbāsīd period, the Arabs invaded the far side of the Taurus. At the order of the Caliph al-Mansūr, the cities destroyed by Constantine Copronymous were rebuilt, and the yearly summer raids (arab. *sā'ifa*) became a customary event under the Caliphs al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. The attack of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim against Amorion (arab. 'Ammūriya) in A.D. 838 and its destruction was the last great Arab military achievement in Asia Minor (21). In the period of the Macedonian (Armenian) dynasty (867-1025), Byzantium began in its turn to press against the Arabs, so that within a century both Cilicia and the adjacent regions had passed into Byzantine hands.

The fortified border zone of Syria contained approximately all of Cilicia (22). The most important city there was Tarsus (arab. Tarsūs) on the Kydnos river; it had double walls and a large Arab garrison. Opposite Tarsus, in a gorge in the Taurus chain, lay the pass of the Cilician Gates through which crossed the highway from Cilicia to Constantinople. The city of Adana stood on the Saros (arab. Saihān) river, while in the valley of the main Cilician river, the Pyramos (arab. Djayhan) were to be found a number of the most important Arab fortresses, such as Mopsuestia (Mames-tia, arab. al-Maṣṣīsa) in the plain, and in the north, Anazarba (arab. 'Ayn-Zarba), Hārūniyya (founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd), and Germanicea (Mar'āsh). Although the last belonged in the Syrian border zone, some historians, such as al-Balādhurī, place it in the Mesopotamian military district (23).

The former Armenia III, as well as Samosata and certain Euphratine districts, were included in the military zone of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazira) (24). The main city here was Melitene (arab. Malatya) located on the Kubākib river, a tributary of the Euphrates. A little higher on the same river stood Derende (arab. Teranda), while to the south of Melitene were to be found the fortresses of Sozopetra (arab. Zibatra) and Hisn Mansūr. The latter was the foundation of a general named Mansūr from the powerful Arab tribe of the Kays. To the west, stood the fortresses of Behesni and

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Hadath (gr. Hadata). Opposite Hadath, lay a mountain pass known to the Arabs under the same name.

Very closely tied to the frontier zone of Upper Mesopotamia were those western provinces of Greater Armenia which were the scene of bloody border conflicts between the two great powers. These were the western provinces of Upper Armenia (Muzur, Ekeleac', Daranafi, etc.) and especially the districts lying both north (e.g. Degik') and south (Hanjit, etc.) of the Arsanias, which had formerly been part of Armenia IV. In these provinces the Arab raids reached as far as Kamaç (arab. Kāmakha) whose fate is particularly noteworthy. According to the account of al-Balādhurī (25), between the middle of the seventh century and the middle of the ninth, the fortress of Kamaç was successfully taken and retaken ten times by the Arabs and the Greeks. The same military rôle was played by some of the cities forming a part of the province of Armīniya. Among these we should note Arsamosata (arab. Shimshāt), Xarberd (arab. Ḥiṣn Ziyād), as well as Karin (arab. Kālikāla) (26), which was the last military outpost in the north for the war against Byzantium.

The centers of the Paulician movement were closely tied to the Arab-Byzantine frontier zone (27). It is interesting to note that one of the investigators of this heresy, E.E. Lipshits, mentions nine localities connected with the Paulician movement: Armeniakon, Koloneia, Antioch of Pisidia, Amorion, Melitene, Tephrike, Samosata, Mopsuestia, and Thrace (28). Of these, Melitene, Tephrike, Samosata, and Mopsuestia were situated directly in the Arab-Byzantine border zone, while Koloneia and Amorion were subject to Arab raids. In the ninth century, the Paulicians drew even closer to the Arab border. Their leader Karbeas founded the fortress of Tephrike not far from the Euphrates to protect himself from Imperial attacks. Two other famous Paulician centers, Argaun and Amara were also to be found near Melitene.

The perpetual state of war wrought great harm to the native population (Armenian, Syrian, *et al*) of the Arab-Byzantine frontier zone, and the Caliphs brought in new elements from among the Arabs or other peoples, such as the Turkic or even Indic (Zutt) tribes. According to al-Balādhurī, when the Arabs abandoned Melitene to the Greeks at the time of the rebellion of 'Abd-Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the eighth century, the city was filled with Armenians who kept it in their hands for a long time (29). Among the military contingents brought in by the Caliphate, the first place must be given to the Arabs of the Kays tribe who were settled in large numbers in the neighbouring Djazīra, and who played a decisive rôle in the wars against Byzantium.

The three hundred year war between the Arabs and Byzantium had a decisive significance for the fate of Armenia insofar as this country was one of the most important military bases against the Empire. The Arab provinces along the Byzantine frontier were three in number — Syria, or more

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exactly its northern portion Kinnasrīn, Upper Mesopotamia, or Djazīra, and Armīniya, but Armīniya was the most important strategic point, since it simultaneously faced the attacks of the Khazars. The powerful realm of the Khazars, which for a time had threatened Sasanian Iran (in the sixth century), forced the Caliphate of the seventh and eighth centuries to concentrate part of its forces in Albania and in the northern district of Derbent (arab. Bāb al-Abwāb) (30).

The exceptional military importance of Armīniya for the Arab Caliphate in its wars against Byzantium, as well as against the Khazars, raised all the more immediately and imperatively the question of populating this land with Arab military contingents. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that the Arab tribes were settled in those provinces which lay close to the Byzantine border and which had formed a part of the so-called Armenia IV.

3. *The Arab Tribes of Upper Mesopotamia — The Shaybānī*

Upper Mesopotamia, or al-Djazīra, «the Island», as the Arabs called it, played a decisive rôle in the development of Armenian political life in the Arab period. As early as the end of the fourth century, two provinces — Aljnik' and Korçayk' — had been torn from the kingdom of Armenia by the treaty of 387 and joined to Mesopotamia (31). Thus, the conquest of Upper Mesopotamia in fact marked the beginning of the conquest of Greater Armenia itself.

In A.D. 639-640, the Arab general 'Iyād b. Ghanm entered Mesopotamia from Syria, seized the city of Rakka (Kallinikos), and turned toward Edessa. Mēbin [Nisibis], Dara, Tūr 'Abdīn, as well as other cities, fell next (32). Amida and Np'rkert [Martyropolis] were taken without resistance, and the Arabs thus set foot on the border of Greater Armenia. 'Iyād apparently likewise subjected the districts of Korduk', and Tmorik', in the province of Korçayk', and the Prince of Anjewacik' (Sāhib al-Zawazān) made his submission (33). In A.D. 640, 'Iyād entered Armenia through the Jora pass at Baḷes [Bidlis] and raided as far as Dwin. The future conqueror of Armenia, Ḥabīb b. Maslama, also collaborated in the conquest of Upper Mesopotamia. Together with Safwān b. al-Mu'attal from the Sulaym tribe, he marched up the course of the Euphrates as far north as Kamax.

The conquest of Upper Mesopotamia was immediately followed by its settlement with Arab tribes. Lower Mesopotamia, called al-'Irāk by the Arabs, had been filled with nomad Arab groups during the earlier conquests. As early as the third century, the Lakhm and Tanūkh tribes belonging to the southern group had been settled in the Euphrates valley (34). In addition, the Taghlib and Bakr tribes belonging to the northern Rabi'a group had also found space in 'Irāk in the early years following the appearance of Islam. During the period of expansion of Islam, and the period of the first Arab conquests, the numerous Bakr tribe, and especially its Shaybānī

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sub-group, had greatly assisted the victorious advance of the Caliphate, whereas the Taghlib tribe remained Christian.

The wave of conquests moved the Taghlib and Bakr tribes which penetrated into Upper Mesopotamia. The Taghlibi settled in the district of Mōsul, which was called the Diyār («house, land») Rabī'a, while the Bakr, especially the Shaybānī (35), turned toward the upper courses of the Tigris and established themselves around Amida, thus ruling over the Armenian province of Aljnik'. This region was named Diyār Bakr after the Bakr tribe, so that to this day the city of Amida is called Diyārbakir. The remainder of Mesopotamia, known as Syrian Mesopotamia or Osrhoene, was settled by another great Arab tribe, the Kays (or more correctly Kays-'Aylān), whose component sub-groups had reached this region by way of Palestine and Syria. Coincident with the appearance and spread of Islam, the Kaysite tribal confederation (or great tribe) turned northward, but only a small group of it remained in Syria, while a larger portion crossed the Euphrates. The lands of Upper Mesopotamia conquered by them were called Diyār Muḍar (36), because the Kays tribe belonged to the Muḍar group. In Syria, the Kays came into constant conflict with the Arab tribes settled there, which belonged for the most part to the southern (Yemenite) group, and especially with the Kalb. This tribal rivalry had a fateful effect on the history of the Umayyad period, since the Caliphs of this dynasty relied now on the Kalb and now on the Kays tribes (37).

The local population did not disappear as the result of the settlement of the Arab tribes, nor did the Arabs at once form an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants, but they clearly became the dominant element. The native population of the Djazīra was varied; in addition to the Arabs, it was composed of Syrians, Armenians, Kurds, Jews, and others. The Arabization of the Syrian natives helped strengthen the Arab component (37a). A part of the them accepted Islam, but it was the Arabic language which won the greatest victory. Having become the spoken language of Upper Mesopotamia by the end of the ninth century, Arabic even penetrated into Syriac ecclesiastical literature. Thus, when the Chalcedonian Syrian missionary, Theodore Abū Kurra, came to Armenia, the Jacobite Syrians sent against him the deacon Nana who, after neutralizing the influence of Theodore, composed at the request of Bagarat Bagratuni an Arabic commentary on the Gospel of St. John, which was subsequently translated into Armenian (38).

Under the domination of the Arabs, the Djazīra emerged as one of the administrative units composing the Caliphate. It consisted in three parts — the Diyār Rabī'a, the Diyār Muḍar, and the Diyār Bakr. The Diyār Rabī'a included the middle course of the Tigris and bordered on Armenia in the north, since several of the districts of Korčayk' (i.e. Korduk', Tmorik', etc.) entered into it. Its center was the city of Mōsul [al-Mawsil], which simultaneously served as the capital for the entire Djazīra. The Diyār Muḍar consisted of the middle course of the Euphrates from Kir-

kesion to Samosata, and included the cities of Edessa [Urha, arab. al-Ruḥa], Harrān, as well as others.

The third part of the Djazīra, the Diyār Bakr, was more closely bound to Armenia than the others. Its administrative centre, the city of Amida, was an important centre for the goods coming from Armenia, and one of the four gates of the city was even called the Armenian gate (*Bāb al-Arman*). The city of Np'rkert in Aġnik' was called Mayyāfārikin by the Arabs. Among the other important cities of Aġnik' were Arzn [arab. Arzan] and Bales [arab. Bidlis]. Lesser cities were also included within the Diyār Bakr: Anhil (arm. Anġ) and Hāni to the west of Np'rkert, Slerd [arab. Si'irt] and Hizān to the east, while south of the Tigris stood the fortress of Hisn Kayfā (gr. Kiphas).

The Diyār Bakr was ruled by the Shaybānī tribe, whose emirs played an important rôle in the political life not only of the Djazīra, but also of Armenia and Azerbaidjan. At the time of the appearance of Islam, the leader of this warlike tribe, al-Muthanna b. Hāritha (40), already helped the victory of Arab arms in 'Irāk. Renowned in general for its raiding activity against neighbouring clans, this tribe gradually moved up the valley of the Tigris until it reached Aġnik'. Beyond this to the north-west began the Upper Mesopotamian military zone in which the district around Diyārbakir was known as the military zone of Diyār Bakr (*al-Thughūr al-Bakriyya*) (41). This area stretched to Lake C'ovk' [Gölcük] and Tluk' (arab. Dulük). One of the outstanding members of this clan was Ma'n b. Za'ida al-Shaybānī (42), who fought against the 'Abbāsids during the last days the Umayyads. Having saved the life of the Caliph al-Mansūr, he again dominated the political scene under the 'Abbāsids, and was appointed governor of Yemen; an office which was likewise held by his son Za'ida.

The first Shaybānī emir to be appointed governor of Armīniya was Ma'n's nephew, Yazid b. Mazyad b. Za'ida al-Shaybānī (43), who was twice appointed to this office in the reign of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809). This was a period when the Caliphate was pursuing a harsh policy toward Armenia, and was moreover seeking to colonize the country with Arab elements by all possible means. Ya'kūbī testifies that Yazid settled so many Arabs from the Rabī'a tribe (more likely Bakr, i.e. Shaybānī) in Armīniya during the first period of his administration (787-788), that they already formed a majority of the population (44). These colonies were probably established not so much in Armenia as in Shirwān, where Yazid's successors established their hereditary principality in the ninth century. According to the kat'olikos John Drasxanakerc'i (45), Yazid displayed a harsh behaviour toward Armenia, even robbing the ecclesiastical vessels of the monasteries. The Arab sources likewise bear witness to his harshness.

After his removal from Armīniya, Yazid was sent to crush the revolt of al-Walid b. Ṭarīf al-Shaybānī, a member of his own tribe. The latter had gathered a large rebellious army in the region of Mabin, and caused

some difficulties to the Caliph's armies, but Yazid succeeded in killing his kinsman in a hard fought battle (46). Yazid was appointed governor for the second time in 799, at the time of the Khazar attack. Not only Armīniya but also Azerbaidjan lay under his authority (47), and he successfully drove back the Khazars.

After Yazid's death (A.D. 801), he was succeeded by his son Asad, who was simultaneously governor of Mōsul, and then by another son, Muḥammad (802/3). The latter, who ruled from the fortress of Shamākhī in Shirwān, fortified himself in this province so that the eastern part of Albania became his hereditary domain. During the reign of the Caliph al-Amin (809-813), Asad b. Yazid b. Mazyad was named governor of Armīniya at the time of the rising of the Arab *mutaghalliba* «conquerors», Yaḥyā b. Sa'id (Kawkal al-Subh [the Morning Star]) and Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb in Iberia. Asad first captured the rebels, but subsequently released them and was removed from his office for this reason (48).

Yazid's third son Khālid was named governor of Armīniya on four occasions. He was first assigned to this post in the first year of the reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-833). In this period he behaved very mildly toward the *naxarars*, and being on friendly personal terms with them accepted gifts (49a). In the second period of his administration (828-832), he fought against the rebel forces raising their head in Armīniya. In Iberia he obtained the submission of Muḥammad b. 'Attābī, and in Armenia that of Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Djahhāfī as well as Yazid b. Hiṣn in Naḥāwan (50). He proved a terror and a scourge both for the native population of the province and for the Arab conquerors (*mutaghalliba*) established there. During the reign of the Caliph al-Mut'asim (833-842), Khālid was appointed governor of Armīniya for the third time (841), but since the very fact of his coming provoked a rebellion in the country, the Caliph immediately recalled him. He was appointed for the fourth time by the Caliph al-Wāthiq (842-845). On this occasion he came with an army and quelled the Muslim rebels. He died and was buried at Dwin (51).

Khālid was succeeded by his son Muḥammad who conquered the land with fire and sword and fought against Ishak b. Ismā'il b. al-Shu'ayb, the emir of Tp'is [Tiflis], as well as the Canars [Lazes].

The Shaybānī were closely linked with Armīniya not only on account of their domains in Aġnik', but also because of their rule in Shirwān, which was already a part of Armīniya. Muḥammad's brother Haytham, as lord of Shirwān, already assumed the title of Shirwānshāh (52). His successors ruled Shirwān in hereditary succession, and are known to history as the Mazyadid dynasty (52a). After the decline of Arab domination (A.D. 861), they ruled as independent emirs until 1027, when they were replaced in Shirwān by the Kesrānids.

Muḥammad b. Khālid had evidently remained in the principality of Diyār Bakr, and was again appointed governor of Armīniya after the expe-

dition of Bugha al-Kabir (857). Thomas Arcruni furnishes some information concerning his third assumption of this office in 878. He tried to ally himself with the Kaysite emir of Apahunik', Abu'l-Ward and others to destroy the Prince of Princes Ašot, but was unsuccessful, and was driven from Armenia by Ašot (53). Muḥammad b. Khālid was the last Shaybānī emir to fill the post of governor of Armīniya.

In the middle of the ninth century, a new branch of Shaybānī emirs appeared in the Diyār Bakr and ruled until the beginning of the next century. Among them stands out 'Isā b. al-Shaykh, who was an eminent personage in the Caliphate. At first, he was appointed governor of Syria (al-Sh'am), then he was relieved of this post by the Caliph and sent to Armīniya. He started to resist, but was defeated and forced to proceed to Armīniya (54). According to Ibn al-Athīr, he ruled both in Armīniya and in the Diyār Bakr, and held this office before the third appointment of his kinsman, Muḥammad b. Khālid (in the 870's). His son Ahmad had designs against the nearby Zurārid house of Arzn, and even against the newly formed Armenian kingdom, but his son Muḥammad was severely defeated by the Caliph, and thereafter, the Shaybānī lost not only their important political position, but the greater part of their domains in the Diyār Bakr as well (55).

4. *The Arab Migration to Armenia — The Sulaym Tribe (al-Sulami)*

The first province of Greater Armenia to be settled by the Arabs was Aljuik', where the Arab element dominated and had established itself in large numbers in such cities as Np'rkert, Amida, Arzn, and Bafes. As the sources show, however, neither the Shaybānī tribe nor any of the Rabi'ā group in general had settled on this side of the Armenian Taurus. Crossing the Jora Pass, the Shaybānī ruled only at Datwan on the shores of Lake Van (56).

The settlement of Arab contingents in Armenia had a military as well as a political purpose. They not only kept Armīniya in obedience, but were also of outstanding military importance for the pursuit of the war against Byzantium and the Khazars. The presence of Arab military contingents in Armīniya above and beyond the Arab armies was indispensable for successful expeditions, since in moments of need they could bring immediate assistance with fresh troops. The reason that Arab elements had not been established in Armenia until the end of the eighth century was that Arab tribes had already entered the other two provinces adjoining the Byzantine frontier (Syria and the Djazira) as early as the seventh century. With the passage of time, however, it became evident that a certain mass of Arabs had to be maintained in Armenia as well, especially after the violent revolt of 774-775.

To create a successful defense against the Khazars, the Caliphate had spread Arab tribes in certain portions of Albania, and especially at Derbent, where Arabs had been settled in large numbers from the earliest period of

Arab domination (57). For the war against the Byzantine Empire, however, Arab tribes were settled in the very heartlands of Armenia. It is very indicative that the Sulaym tribe, which participated decisively in the wars waged on the Arab-Byzantine frontier, was the one to be settled in Armenia, and that it was moved to the very provinces of Armenia which were adjacent to Byzantine territory, from Balaš to the city of Karin.

The Sulaym tribe had taken an active part in the Byzantine war waged in the western provinces of Greater Armenia from the beginning of the Arab conquest. At the time of the conquest of Upper Mesopotamia, 'Iyād b. Ghanm had sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama and Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'attal al-Sulamī up the Euphrates to drive back the Byzantine forces. They seized Shimshāt [Arsamosata] and went up as far as Kamaḡ, although this city was taken neither by Ḥabīb nor by Ṣafwān, but by another Sulamī, 'Umayr b. al-Ḥubāb. (58). During the Umayyad period, we should likewise note Mansūr b. Dja'wana of the Kays tribe, who gave his name to the fortress of Hiṣn Mansūr south of Melitene. Al-Balādhurī relates that the city of Kamaḡ was in the hands of a general from the Kays tribe at the time of the great attack of Constantine V (59).

When the Arab invasions took on their definitive aspect in the 'Abbāsīd period, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī made his appearance as governor of Armīniya, and several members of his family were to hold this office in hereditary succession. According to al-Balādhurī, his mother was the daughter of the Patrician of Siwnik' [Sisadjan], who had been taken captive at the time of the expedition of Muḥammad b. Marwān (60). Yazīd took back the city of Karin, which had been captured by Constantine V, and compelled the Armenian population to take care of the material needs of the Arab contingent which he settled there (61). In his time, Sahak Bagratuni was designated as Prince of Armenia. Yazīd was appointed three times to the governorship of Armīniya (752-754, 759-770, and 775-780), and was an excellent leader in the war against the Khazars. In addition to Armīniya, he also governed the Djazira.

In the last years of the eighth century, Ya'kūbī mentions two sons of Yazīd who successively ruled Armīniya: Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī (794), and Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī (796-797) (62). The latter's son, 'Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Sulamī, ruled twice in Armīniya (825-826, and 829) and is referred to by Ya'kūbī as an ineffectual governor (63). The son of this 'Abd-Allāh, Yazkān al-Sulamī, participated in the Byzantine war and was wounded in the battle fought before Zibaṭra (Sozopetra) (64).

Other members of the Sulaym tribe filled the post of governor of Armīniya besides the members of the house of Yazīd b. Usayd. We know of Yūsuf b. Rashīd al-Sulamī (787), who encouraged the migration of Arab tribes into Armenia (65). The Djahhāfids, whom we will discuss subsequently, were also considered to belong to the Sulaym tribe.

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The Arab *ostikans* of the Sulaym tribe naturally supported the penetration of Armenia by their kinsman. Unfortunately, the Armenian historians have very little to say about the Arab migrations of the end of the eighth century. Valuable information concerning these migrations is, however given by the ninth century historian and geographer Ya'kūbī. He was a kinsman of the Armenian *ostikan* Wāḍih, and the question of the Arab colonies in Armenia interested him all the more because he had personally been in that country.

The current of migrations began in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809). In speaking of Armenia, Ya'kūbī reports the following,

«Rashīd appointed (as *ostikan*) Yūsuf b. Rashīd al-Sulamī in place of Khuzayma b. Khazim. He transplanted a mass of Nizārī to this land, and (until then) the Yemenites had formed a majority in Armīniya, but in the days of Yūsuf, the Nizārī increased in number. Then he (Hārūn al-Rashīd) named Yazīd b. Mazyad b. Za'ida al-Shaybānī, and he brought from every side so many of the Rab'ia that they now now form a majority, and he controlled the land so strictly that no one dared to move in it.

After him came 'Abd-al-Kabir b. 'Abd-al-Hamīd who was from the house of Zayd b. al-Khattāb al-Adawī whose home was Harrān. He came with a multitude of men from the Diyār Mudar, stayed only four months and left.» (66)

It is evident from this passage of Ya'kūbī that the southern, Yemenite tribes had been the first to come to Armīniya. Although we do not know the region of Armīniya in which they were located, it is probable that a few Yemenite colonies were to be found in Armenia proper. The centuries old enmity between the northern and southern Arab tribes continued to such a degree on the territory of Armīniya, that the governor, Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī, was forced to reconcile the Nizārī with the Yemenites. By the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, however, the tribes of the northern group had already gained the ascendancy among the Arab colonies in Armenia. As we have seen, the Muḍar and Rab'ia tribes belonged to the northern group, the Kays-'Aylān forming one branch of the Muḍar tribe and the Sulaym being one of the Kays clans (67). The irreconcilable hatred between the northern and southern tribal groups was so powerful and deep, that not a trace of the few Yemenite colonies remained after the settlement of the Kays tribes in Armenia (68).

Aljnik', which formed a part of the *ostikanate* of the Djazīra, became the bridge over which the north-Arabian contingents entered Greater Armenia. First Aljnik' itself was filled with Shaybānī who belonged to the Bakr tribe (from the Rab'ia group), then, through the same Aljnik', came a contingent from the Sulaym tribe of the Kays-'Aylān branch (the Kaysikk' or Kaysites)

who settled in the districts around Lake Van. Before the advent of Islam, the famous Sulaym tribe had lived in the region between Mekka and Medina (69). Setting out in the period of the seventh century conquests, it had then spread out toward Mesopotamia, North Africa, and other lands.

Summarizing our evidence, we see that the genealogies of the Arab tribes settled in Armenia and its vicinity present the following picture:

It is not clear which of the southern tribes (Ghassān, Lakhm, Tanūkh, Kalb, etc.) belonged in the preliminary colonies founded in Armenia (or other sections of Arminiya). These had probably come from Syria.

There were also colonies in Greater Armenia drawn from the two northern tribal groups, the Rab'ia and the Muḍar:

1. The Wā'il, a sub-group of the Rab'ia, was composed of two tribes, the Bakr and the Taghlib. The Shaybāni, descended from the Bakr tribe, occupied Aljnik' itself, while the Zurārids established at Arzn probably were also descended from the same Bakr tribe. From the Taghlib tribe, dwelling in the Diyār Rab'ia (Northern Mesopotamia), were descended the Hamdānids, who established their famous principality in the region of Mosul during the tenth century.

2. The Muḍar group included the Kays-'Aylān branch, as well as others, among whom we should note the Kuraysh (Fihri), the clan of the prophet Muḥammad. From the Kays-'Aylān were derived the Sulaym (al-Sulamī), one of whose subdivisions was composed of the Arabs known to Armenian historians under the name of Kaysikk' [Kaysites]. Both the Djahhāfids and the 'Uthmānids are likewise considered to have belonged to the Sulaym tribe (70).

All of these Arab tribes had not only been brought to Armenia for a specific purpose (i.e. the war against Byzantium), but also in a definite pattern. They were settled in the section of Armenia known to Arab geographers as Armenia IV (71). The ninth century geographer, Ibn Khurrādādhbih defines this section in the following manner, «Armenia IV is Shimshāt, Khilāt, Kālikāla, Ardjish, and Bahunays» (72). All of these were cities of great military significance in the Arab-Byzantine war and were populated with Arab contingents. Shimshāt and Karin [Kālikāla] were almost in the frontier zone, while Xlat' [Khilāt], Arcēs [Ardjish], and Manazkert (Bahunays < Bahunis, Apahunis), which had been settled with warlike tribes, formed a protective cordon behind the frontier zone from which fresh troops were drawn toward the border.

The massive emigration of the Armenian *naḡarars* greatly contributed to the establishment of the Arab tribes in Armenia. For economic, political, and other reasons, both the *naḡarars* and the *ramik* population was compelled to move to Byzantine territory and even to endure religious (Chalcedonian) persecutions (73). The stream of migrations was directed not only toward the west, but also to the north-west, toward the land of Eger (western Iberia). Thus, according to Lewond, after the crushing of

the revolt of 703, Smbat Bagratuni and the *naḫarars* accompanying him «rose and left this land, and having gone over, begged the king of the the Greeks for a city in which to dwell and for fields to pasture their flocks» (74). It is true that the *ostikan*, 'Abd-al-'Aziz (706-709) sent them an order «to return to this their land» (75), but the emigration to the west was generally characteristic for the Arab districts.

Another example of this emigration was the move of the Armenians from the city of Karin and the neighbouring district toward Byzantium at the time of the revolt of 747-750 in order to move into imperial territory (76). The Empire made use of these Armenians as military contingents for the wars waged against it in diverse areas.

During the 'Abbāsid period the oppressive tax system also increased the momentum of the Armenian migration. Many straightaway abandoned their possessions in order to be free of the Arab yoke. Lewond writes that «many of their own free will abandoned their fields and flocks and fled.» (77) The most powerful stream of migrations began after the crushing of the rebellion of 774-775 and altered the entire aspect of the Armenian political scene. Certain *naḫarar* houses, such as the Mamikoneans and the Kamsarakans, who for centuries had played a decisive rôle in the political life of the country, suddenly vanished without traces. The historian Vardan relates that the Gnuni who lived in the province of Aliovit besought the [Bagratid Prince] Ašot Msaker to save them from the Arabs who were infiltrating into the provinces to the north of Lake Van. Ašot came to Aliovit with one thousand men, and having collected the entire Gnuni clan, moved to Tayk' (78). As we shall see, their abandoned lands passed to the Arabs of the 'Uthmānid clan (79).

Such then was the situation at the end of the eighth century when Armenia found itself on the threshold of new changes. The leader of the revolt of 774-775, Mušel Mamikonean had left four daughters and three sons. One of these daughters married a certain Djahhāf, whose house was to play a definite part in the history of this period.

5. *The Djahhāfids*

The marriage of a daughter of the Mamikonean house to an unknown Muslim shows the level to which this powerful *naḫarar* house had sunk. Vardan strives to explain the causes motivating this act. The daughter of the ruined Mamikonean (her name is not given) «he gave in marriage to a certain Jahap [Djahhāf] an Ismailite, in order to obtain his support» (80). It is difficult to judge how influential a man Djahhāf could have been that the descendants of the Mamikoneans should have desired him as a supporter. As for the designs of the bridegroom, Vardan reports that «he intended to rule all the lands held by his wife» (81). It is clear that a marriage with the daughter of this princely house provided an excellent pretext for the

seizure of the Mamikonean estates by Djahhāf since feudal domains were hereditary. Although he relied on force of arms to carry out his plans, a legal basis was indispensable.

The family of Djahhāf had in all probability been brought to Armenia during the period of colonization in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The Armenian historian closest to the period of the Djahhāfids, John the Kat'olikos, says that Djahhāf came «from a Persian house» (82). This gives us some grounds for supposing that he may have been of Kurdish descent, but unfortunately, our information concerning Kurdish history in this period is so fragmentary that it is impossible to ascertain whether there had been any Kurdish activity in the southern districts of Armenia during the eighth and ninth centuries. The reference to another Djahhāfid, Sawāda surnamed Awaransan, in the *History of Albania* is incomprehensible (83). Stephen Orbelean, who gives to Sawāda the name of Mrwan, attributes the same surname to him (84). Both the *History of Albania* and Stephen Orbelean attempt to etymologize Awaransan as an Armenian word. For example, after relating Sawāda's expeditions, Orbelean adds the comment «he whose name means pillager», thus interpreting it by means of the Armenian words *awar* [«booty»] and *nsan* [«sign, mark»]. There was, however, no such word in Classical Armenian, so that Awaransan was probably a name referring to Sawāda or perhaps to his family. It could not be Arabic, but may have had an Iranian origin (85). In any case, Armenian historians for the most part considered the Djahhāfids as Tačiks or Ismaelites. Ya'kūbi, moreover, refers to one of them as a Sulamī (i.e. a Kaysite) (86). We may conclude from all this that the Djahhāfids were perhaps of non-Arab origin, but that they had become Arabized, and that they were even presented as Sulamī because of their connexion with the Kaysite clan.

The first Djahhāf made his appearance on the political scene after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd and was, as we have already noted, married to a daughter of Muscī Mamikonean. In order to rule over the entire land, he fought relentlessly against the representatives of the Caliphate. The early ninth century was a particularly suitable time for such an undertaking, as the Muslim state was passing through the difficult period following al-Rashīd's death, marked by the rivalry between his two sons, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn (87).

Armenia had not been altogether peaceful even in the days of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Ya'kūbi relates that the *ostikans* of Armīniya waged a long drawn out war against the rebel Abū Muslim al-Shāri, who had appeared in Albania at that time. Abū Muslim even went so far as to attack Dwin, which he besieged for four months in 794, but eventually withdrew (88). No internal political life existed in Greater Armenia at the beginning of the ninth century. The Mamikoneans and a number of the other *naxarar* families had disappeared from the scene thus disturbing its equilibrium. The fate awaiting the still surviving *naxarar* houses: the Bagratuni, the Arcruni,

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and Siwnik', was by no means clear. New forces such as the *Shaybāni* and subsequently the *Djahhāfids* had made their appearance in the country. Hence the first half of the ninth century in Greater Armenia was essentially a period of total war from which new conditions were to arise.

Prince Ašot Msaker, the son of Smbat Bagratuni who had fallen on the battlefield of Bagrewand, opposed the *Djahhāfids* from the start. Following a prudent and well thought out plan, Ašot had succeeded in acquiring great influence in a brief span of time. Unlike *Djahhāf*, he did not undertake open wars against the Caliphate and other powers, but rather acquired a number of districts in an unobtrusive fashion. First he established his rule over the ancient Mamikonean domain of Tarōn, then he bought the district of Širak and Arsarunik' from the ruined Kamsarakans, and transferred his residence from the traditional Bagratid center of Dariwnk' to the district of Arsarunik' (89). In so doing, he became the greatest landed *naḫarar* in Armenia and was soon designated as Prince of Armenia. Ašot clashed with the forces of *Djahhāf* in both Arsarunik' and Tarōn, but succeeded in routing them in both instances (90).

After his defeat by Ašot Msaker and his failure to establish himself in any province of Armenia, *Djahhāf* turned to pillage. Together with his son 'Abd al-Malik, he fell on the capital of Dwin and succeeded in capturing it. By this time, Dwin had ceased to be the permanent seat of the *ostikan* of Armīniya, who maintained his basic residence at Partaw [Bardha'a] and came to Dwin only from time to time. The capture of Dwin by the rebels complicated the political situation in Armīniya immeasurably since the *Djahhāfids* were threatening the power of the *ostikan* by laying hands on the city which was held to be the heart of the country. But since the situation in the Caliphate was still unstable, the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, who had just come to power, preferred to yield for a time, and even designated 'Abd al-Malik as *ostikan* (91). This act could not, however, provide a solution for the problem, since the *Djahhāfids*, who had thereby accidentally attained the highest rank, were opponents not only of the Armenian *naḫarars*, but of the Caliphate itself. In fact, their rule at Dwin lasted only a few months, since al-Ma'mūn soon appointed a new *ostikan*, Tahir b. Muḫammad al-Sa'nāni. 'Abd al-Malik' rebelled, and even besieged the new governor in his residence of Partaw, but was defeated and made his submission to the *ostikan* after receiving a guarantee of safety (arab. *amān*) (92).

This safeguard given to 'Abd al-Malik was naturally displeasing to the Bagratids who were consequently not freed from their dangerous foe. Even before his defeat by the *ostikan*, 'Abd al-Malik had sent an army of five thousand men (probably consisting in part of Arabs from Armenia) against Ašot Msaker in Tarōn. Ašot had succeeded in killing three thousand of them and taking much booty (93). Not satisfied with this victory, his brother Šapuh went on to raid the neighbourhood of Dwin. This expedition took place when 'Abd al-Malik had withdrawn to Dwin after receiving

the *amān*. Since he still wielded some authority in Dwin, 'Abd al-Malik sent out an army against Šapuh, but this action provoked an internal revolt in the city. Vardan reports that «the citizens turned against Abdl-Melik', killed him, and carried him to the gate of the city» (94). Such a behaviour toward a man having received the *amān* might under other circumstances have been considered as a gesture of insubordination by the Caliphate, or even as a threat against the authority of the *ostikan*, but the same conditions that had led the Caliph to deal cautiously with the *Djahhāfids* also furthered the success of the Bagratids' bold course of action. In fact, these expeditions marked the victory of the Bagratids over their most dangerous enemies, the *Djahhāfids* who, according to Vardan, «were annihilated and disappeared» (95).

It is difficult to determine the main center of the *Djahhāfids* (96). They were typical nomad adventurers who appeared in every province or city where circumstances were propitious for the seizure of power, as was the case in Tarōn, Aršarunik', or at Dwin. It is interesting to note that we have two *dirhams* bearing the name of 'Abd al-Malik dated A.H. 196 and 197 (= A.D. 811/2 and 812/3). These were minted in Apahunik', probably at Manazkert. The mint is indicated on these *dirhams* as «the mines of Bahunays (Bahunis, Apahunis)» (97). From this same mint, we have a few other *dirhams* struck during the first three decades of the ninth century A.D. It is difficult to assert that an Arab colony had already been established at Manazkert by that time. The existence of a state mint is insufficient evidence for such an assumption, especially since Thomas Arçruni, in speaking of the thirties of the ninth century, mentions the name of a certain Smbat as Prince of Apahunik' (98). Arab colonies may have been established in any part of Apahunik' and the neighbouring provinces, but not as the sole ruling element of the region.

The *Djahhāfid* attempt to seize Dwin is a notable event. By the last quarter of the eighth century, Dwin had ceased to be the sole residence of the *ostikan* of Armīniya whose main seat had been moved to Partaw. Two different scholarly theories have been presented concerning this move, both of them requiring correction. At first, scholars (such as M. Č'amč'ean and M. Ghazarian) believed that Dwin had remained the capital of Armenia even as late as the formation of Bagratid kingdom (99). This thesis was based on the fact that Armenian historians always refer to Dwin as the capital. During the last twenty or thirty years, however, an opposing thesis has taken root in Soviet historiography (100). According to this interpretation, Dwin finally ceased to be the capital of Armenia after the rebellion of 774-775 and this position passed entirely to Partaw, while Dwin became a provincial city where local governors might nevertheless be in residence. Although this thesis contains some truth, it is an exaggeration of the situation; after the rebellion, Dwin did not altogether lose its position as capital, but merely ceased to be the sole capital. The city always remained, side by side with Partaw, one of the two capitals of Armīniya (101).

Partaw had already acquired a certain importance even in the period of the Umayyads, as a military base for the war against the Khazars. Coins were issued by the Partaw mint from the very beginning of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty (102). The war with the Khazars intensified in this period (103), and the importance of Partaw reached such a degree that by the ninth century it had become one of the two main commercial centers of Armīniya. The first reference to Partaw's transformation into a capital is found in Lewond, according to whom the *ostikan* Sulaymān (A.D. 788-790) had his seat at Partaw (104). A similar reference is found in the *History of Albania* where we read, in a discussion of the second half of the eighth century, that the Armenians went to Partaw for their administrative affairs (105). In spite of these indications, a study of both Armenian and Arab historians shows that Dwin never ceased to be one of the residences of the *ostikan* of Armīniya. It was, first of all, the location of a state mint emitting currency of which we have examples reaching to the middle of the tenth century (106). Moreover, tenth century Arab geographers recall that there was at their time at Dwin a palace of the *ostikan* which, according to Ibn Hawqal was the equal of the palace of the *ostikan* at Partaw in Albania, or to the one at Ardabil in Azerbaidjan (107). This palace, which was situated in the citadel of Dwin, is not referred to as a monument from the past, but as an active center in which the *ostikan* resided to the end of the ninth century.

It is important to note here, despite the preceding discussion, that when Partaw became the main administrative residence, Dwin found itself neglected to a certain degree, and adventurers could threaten to establish themselves in the city. Attempts of this type were made by Djahhāf and by his son 'Abd al-Malik. Their seizure of Dwin, the first serious attempt to turn the ancient capital of Armenia into a feudal possession, ended in failure. As the residence of the *ostikan*, Dwin not only could not be held by a feudal power, but it did not and could not receive a local representative of the *ostikan* of all Armīniya such as was, for instance, the emir of Tiflis. As we have seen already, another adventurer, Abū Muslim al-Shārī had failed to take the city, although he besieged it during four months, even before the attempt of the Djahhāfids to rule there.

The first defeat of the Djahhāfids did not bring peace to the country. The revolt of Bābak, which profoundly shook the Caliphate, soon arose in neighbouring Azerbaidjan, and for nearly twenty years until his death in A.D. 837, the leader of this movement against the intolerable oppression of the Caliphate kept the Arab armies in a state of alert (108). This movement raging in adjacent lands influenced the political life of Armenia both directly and indirectly since Bābak was now the military ally (109), and now the opponent (110), of the Armenian *naḡarars* of Arcaḡ and Siwnik'. The indirect influence of this revolt was very great when we remember that it turned the whole of Armīniya into an arena for political movements.

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A new Djahhāfid, Sawāda, whom Ya'kūbi calls Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Djahhāfi, made his appearance in this period (111). Here, the name al-Djahhāfi has already become a surname, whereas his predecessor (his paternal uncle) is still given his tribal name, 'Abd al-Malik b. Djahhāf al-Sulami, by the same historian. Consequently, Sawāda was Djahhāf's nephew on his brother's side. The dissimilarity in the references to Sawāda in the Armenian sources is very characteristic. John Drasjanakerc'i (112) and Vardan (113), for example, merely set forth the facts and the events which took place. On the contrary, the historian of Siwnik', Stephen Orbelean (114), and the *History of Albania* (114a) immediately enlarge on the epithet Awaransan, as soon as they mention Sawāda's name, and give it simultaneously the etymology «pillager». This variation is not fortuitous. Drasjanakerc'i, who was closely linked with the Bagratids, had no reason to vilify a figure who was both an ally and a relative by marriage of this house. Whereas, on the contrary, the population of Siwnik' and the adjoining lands which had been subject to Sawāda's destructive raids, could not be expected to remain dispassionate.

The alliance of the Bagratids and the rebel Sawāda against the Caliphate was clearly a result of the chaos brought about by the movement of Bābak. The Armenian *naḫarars* had become so bold in this period that they even paid taxes as they saw fit. This situation is clearly depicted by the Arab historian of the same century, al-Balādhuri according to whom,

«The Armenian patricians [*naḫarars*] did not cease to hold their lands as usual, each trying to protect his own region; and whenever a 'āmil came to the frontier they would coax him; and if they found in him purity and severity, as well as force and equipment, they would give the *kharādj* and render submission, otherwise they would deem him weak and look down upon him.» (115).

This passage refers to the beginning of the ninth century.

The first Djahhāf had been married to a Mamikonean princess, while Sawāda was wed to Aruseak Bagratuni. We know that during the earliest period of his career Sawāda clashed with Ašot Msaker and his brother Šapuh, who could not bear to see a new enemy raising his head after the rout of Djahhāf and his son (116). After Ašot's death, however, his son Smbat became *sparapet* and took a new position consonant with the new political situation. In the first quarter of the ninth century, Ašot Msaker had been able to defeat Djahhāf by pursuing a cautious policy toward the Caliphate and even making use of its forces, but in the period of Smbat Bagratuni, the Caliphate was so concerned with the movement of Bābak that it seemed in no position to take any decisive steps toward the pacification of Arminiya. For a time, the princes of Siwnik' were also carried away by the ideals of the rebellion, but the Arcrunis apparently remained neutral.

It is interesting that in speaking of Sawāda, the Armenian historian [John Dras̄anakertc'i] does not tell us the means by which he rose to power, but suddenly refers to him as to a personage holding a dominant position in Armenia. According to the historian, the *ostikan* Hawl came to Armenia with a small army and established himself at Dwin, but Sawāda set out against him, «[Sawāda] who had seized by force the greater part of our land and ruled it as his own» (117). There is no indication here to show where Sawāda was ruling, or whether his strength lay in the size of the domains of which he was lord and in the high office held by him. If we believe Vardan's statement that Smbat Bagratuni had received the office of *sparapet* from him, we must conclude that Sawāda was the equal of the *ostikan*. At the beginning of his career, he had commanded four thousand men and had succeeded in defeating even Ašot Msaker and his brother Šapuh. It is probable that his army increased with the passage of time, and that this also provided a basis for his adventurous activities.

It is noteworthy that throughout these events the Shaybānī did not alter their traditional policy of unlimited loyalty toward the Caliphate, so that it is not surprizing that the Caliphs placed such trust in them. In general, the office of *ostikan* of Arminiya was subject to rotation (118) and a large number of *ostikans* came from different families, so that the new governor should have no ties of kinship with his predecessor. There were, however, certain exceptions to this rule, and among them the Shaybānī must be noted in first place. Until the end of the ʿAbbāsīd domination, they ruled Armenia in hereditary succession, and in the course of one century, the Caliphs entrusted the office of *ostikan* thirteen times to the Shaybānī, some of whom ruled several times.

During the complicated events of the first half of the ninth century, the representative of the Caliph's authority was the Shaybānī, Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mazyad, who is known to the Armenian sources under the name of Hawl. During his administration took place the battle of Kawakert at which the forces of the *ostikan* and of the rebels met face to face. Our source for this event, John Dras̄anakertc'i, reports that as soon as the new *ostikan* came to Armenia, «Sawāda [displayed] insolence and contempt toward the *ostikan* Hawl» (119), and brought forth a large army against him. This army was not exclusively made up of his own forces, since the troops of the Armenian *naḡarars* headed by the *sparapet* Smbat and by Prince Saḡak of Siwnik' were also present. The situation in the Caliphate was so confused that the *ostikan* was not a partisan of a solution by force of arms. He sent the kat'olikos David as an ambassador to persuade the rebels of the pointlessness of their rash move based on the suspicion that he had designs on their domains (120). The rebels were not persuaded to desist, however, and the *ostikan* sent two thousand men northward from Dwin along the bank of the Hrazdan to the estate called Kawakert, where the enemy armies met. The outcome of the battle was disastrous for the rebels and their defeat turned

into a rout. Sahak of Siwnik' was killed, while Smbat and Sawāda fled. Smbat took refuge in his own domains whereas Sawāda fled to Siwnik' where he gave himself over to pillaging activities. According to the *History of Albania*, he established himself in the village of Salat in the province of Cluk, from which he greatly oppressed the princes of Siwnik' with his raids. Finally, one of these princes called Vasak turned to Bābak and drove out Sawāda with his assistance (121).

Ya'kūbī relates these events in a different manner. According to him, al-Ma'mūn had appointed 'Isā b. Muḥammad as governor of Armīniya and Azerbaidjan. Desirous of pacifying the land, 'Isā offered the *ostikanate* of Armīniya to the rebel Sawāda, while presumably keeping the over-all command in his own hands. However, Sawāda «refused and (agreed) only to fight» (122). Sawāda's refusal of such a proposal seems incomprehensible, we can only suppose that he did not trust the offer. At Sawāda's refusal, 'Isā attacked and defeated him.

The events related here by Drasḡanakert'ī and Ya'kūbī differ fundamentally in that for one the Arab *ostikan* is Hawl (= Khālid b. Yazīd) while for the other he is 'Isā b. Muḥammad. This discrepancy should probably be taken as a misunderstanding, since the events are probably more accurately set forth by Drasḡanakert'ī. This is all the more so, that Ya'kūbī himself notes a little further that Khālid b. Yazīd, having gone to Armenia, gave Xlat' with an *amān* to Sawāda who had come forth to meet him. It is also possible that Sawāda revolted on two occasions: first in the period of 'Isā's administration (A.D. 820-823), and subsequently under Khālid (829-832). The first time he received an *amān*, whereas the second time he was defeated at Kawakert. This hypothesis, however, also fails to clarify the problem entirely. After these events, Sawāda withdrew to his kinsmen in the provinces north-west of Lake Van, where he remained until his death. We know that he was still living in the period of the *ostikan* Yūsuf (851-852) (123).

Although Sawāda's revolt in Armenia was greatly helped by Bābak's movement in Azerbaidjan there were no links whatsoever between the two, and Bābak was even ready to fight Sawāda at the invitation of the Prince of Siwnik', as we have already seen. It is also important to note that like his predecessors Sawāda made a move toward Dwin. Only after such a move could he have subjected the whole of Armenia to his authority, and it is therefore, no accident that he had come to Kawakert from which he could easily have raided in the direction of Dwin.

Sawāda was not alone in raising a rebellion during the twenties of the ninth century. From Ya'kūbī, we know that after receiving Sawāda at Xlat', the *ostikan* Khālid moved toward Naḡcawan, where Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn had revolted, but as soon as Khālid drew near, the rebel fled to the north (124). Vardan also relates that a *Djahhāfid* named Abihert' (Abu'l-Harith), «a man from the house of *Djahhāf*» appeared at this time in Siwnik' and attacked it with four thousand men, but Babgen Siwni defeated him and put him to flight (125).

6. *The Results of Bugha's Expedition*

After these events, the *Djāhhāfids* disappeared from the political scene for a certain time. They had been thoroughly routed and the victorious Bagratids dominated the stage. In the thirties and forties of the ninth century, that is to say approximately during the period of the Caliphate of al-Mu'tasim (A.D. 833-842) and of al-Wāthik (842-847), the same situation developed to some degree in Armenia as had prevailed in the initial period of Arab domination in the seventh century. That is to say the country was formally subject to the Arab Caliphate, and paid a yearly tribute, but the real power lay in the hands of the Armenian *naḡarars*. Three great *naḡarar* houses: the Bagratids, the Arcrunis, and the Siwnis were *de facto* masters of the country. Bagarat Bagratuni, the eldest son of Ašot Msaker, ruled Tarōn and was at the same time Prince of Princes (*Batrik al-baṡārika*) of Armenia (126). Ašot's other son, Smbat was *sparapet* and ruled over Širak, while Ašot Arcruni ruled in Vaspurakan.

During this period, Armenia was substantially helped by the political situation brought about by the revolt of Bābak. Although al-Mu'tasim's general Afshin had finally succeeded in annihilating Bābak in 837, this victory was won at the price of such sacrifices that the Caliphate was in no position to undertake any other contests. Al-Mu'tasim's feeble successor al-Wāthik, made no attempt to reinforce the position of the Caliphate in the provinces.

In the middle of the century, however, the throne passed to *Dja'far al-Mutawakkil 'ala-llāh* (A.D. 847-861), who is known as Jap'ir to the Armenian historians (127). The new Caliph turned to the most severe and cruel measures in order to strengthen the unity of the Caliphate. The intellectual and literary movement which had developed in the reign of al-Ma'mūn and which had disseminated the achievements of Greek philosophy through their translations, attracted the utmost persecution from the new Caliph, because he saw in this movement a threat to Islam and consequently to the Caliphate. Christian and Jewish persecutions essentially began under al-Mutawakkil, since until his reign they had been subject to some oppression only in the period of the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II (715-717), and a policy of severe persecution had not been pursued in the Caliphate.

The Caliph sent to Armenia a new *ostikan*, Abū Sa'īd (Abuset' in Armenian), who came with troops to collect the Armenian tribute (128). The Prince of Princes, Bagarat Bagratuni, sent an embassy loaded with gifts. This embassy was to hand over the tribute to Abū Sa'īd and, consequently, did not allow his tax collectors to move from province to province. This opposition, which was presumably to protect the internal autonomy of the country, was a serious revolt, and Abū Sa'īd feeling the gravity of the situation decided not to pursue his journey toward Dwin and Partaw but rather to withdraw. In his retreat from Armenia he took with him letters of protest from the Arabs in Armenia directed against the Armenian *naḡarars* (129).

Before his departure from Armenia, Abū Saʿīd had also entrusted the task of putting down the rebellious provinces of Tarōn and Vaspurakan to two of his men. One of these was Mūsā b. Zurāra, lord of Arzn, and the other, Alay Covapʿi [Al-ʿAlā b. Aḥmad al-Azdi] (130).

We do not know when the family of the Zurārids had established itself in Aḥnikʿ, nor what were its ties with the Shaybānī rulers of this region. It is possible that they were from the Bakr tribe as were the Shaybānī, but Mūsā b. Zurāra, who was married to the sister of Bagarat Bagratuni, is the first of them known to us. Thomas Arcruni gives us some information concerning him in connexion with the return of Abū Saʿīd, «the great *hazarapet* (Abusetʿ) went to the court, and he entrusted the collection of the royal tribute of the land of Armenia to a certain Musa son of Zorahay the Agarene, who then ruled Arzn within the district of Aḥnikʿ near the boundaries of Tarōn» (131). We find very little information in the historians concerning this Musa son of Zorahay (arab. Mūsā b. Zurāra) (132). Both Thomas Arcruni and al-Balādhurī give the name in the same form, that is to say the name and patronymic without any surname.

Mūsā was so successful that he was designated as successor to the *ostikan* of all Armīniya, or, in the words of Thomas Arcruni, he was the «overseer» of the land of Armenia who was to concern himself with the problem of the tribute. If, however, we bear in mind the fact that Bagarat Bagratuni had already sent the tribute with Abū Saʿīd, it becomes obvious that the latter had really entrusted Mūsā with the task of fighting against the Armenian *naḡarars*, Bagarat first and foremost, under the pretense of raising the tribute. It was natural for Mūsā to be on bad terms with Bagarat Bagratuni, since he was the feudal lord of the lands immediately adjoining Tarōn. In fact, Mūsā entered Tarōn from the side of Aḥnikʿ and attacked Bagarat, while Ala Covapʿi began to raid Vaspurakan from the Azerbaidjan side. The latter is known to Arab historians under the name of al-ʿAlā b. Aḥmad al-Azdi, Covapʿi being a corruption of Sawafī (133).

Al-ʿAlā's activities in Vaspurakan aroused Ašot Arcruni who, on seeing that peace negotiations were useless, attacked and routed al-ʿAlā's forces. Together with a few of his men, al-ʿAlā then sought refuge with the ʿUthmānids in the district of Berkri (134). Thomas carefully records this victory which evidently marked the outbreak of the revolt. Hearing that Bagarat was in difficulties, Ašot hurried to Tarōn where Mūsā's men were drawn up in the plain of Muš. The joint forces of Ašot and Bagarat defeated Mūsā and drove him to Bales where they stopped at the imploration of Bagarat's sister, that is to say Mūsā's wife. In Aḥnikʿ the troops of Ašot and Bagarat massacred the local Arab settlers who turned to the Caliph for help (135).

This was the moment when Abū Saʿīd came to Armenia with new forces, but he died on the way and the leadership of the Arab army passed to his son Yūsuf, who first moved against Vaspurakan from the side of Lake Urmia, because Ašot Arcruni was one of the main leaders of the rebellion (136). Ašot

succeeded in winning over Yūsuf with the gifts brought by his mother, the lady Hrip'simē so that he would desist from attack. Yūsuf then crossed to Tarōn where he treacherously seized Bagarat and sent him to Sāmarrā. This act led to the famous attack of the inhabitants of the district of Xoyt' in which Yūsuf was killed (137).

Why that expedition?

The killing of Yūsuf, coming after the defeats of Mūsā b. Zurāra and al-'Alā al-Azdi, roused al-Mutawakkil to the utmost exertion, so that he sent the general Bugha [the Elder] to Armenia after major preparations. The Armenian revolt and the expedition of Bugha attracted particular attention from the Arab historians and many sources record these events. According to the testimony of both Armenian and Arab historians, the expedition of Bugha rapidly reduced the country to a state of helplessness and left not a trace of the rebellion. We should particularly stress here that, whereas both after the defeat of the Djahhāfids and the victory of the Bagratids the Armenian *naḡarars* had assumed a certain degree of independence and had been able to crush the Arab element in Armenia, Bugha's expedition enabled the Arabs to make the most of the situation and to display a renewed vitality. Thomas Arcruni bears witness to this when he says in his description of Bugha's expedition «the Tačiks who were living in Armenia, in the various regions of the land, directed Bugha to the ways in and out of the country» (138). The Arcruni historian is probably referring here to the descendants of the Djahhāfids who had been greatly weakened by this time. Tabarī says that before the coming of Bugha, Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Djahhāfi, who was still alive, had advised the *ostikan* Yūsuf to withdraw from Armenia because he had become aware of the designs of the Armenian princes against him (139).

The Arab forces raiding into Armenia, as well as the contingents settled in the country, were heartened in this period. An excellent indication of their goals is given in the passage of Thomas Arcruni where the Caliph encourages Yūsuf, the commander of the army attacking Armenia, by promising him, among other things, «to give this land as an inheritance to thee and thy son» (140). Here the new 'Abbāsīd method for the consolidation of the Arab domination in Armenia manifests itself very clearly. In the Umayyad period, the *ostikan's* power had not been hereditary and it is difficult to find two *ostikans* from the same family at that time (141). The 'Abbāsīds did not abandon this principle altogether, but they made exceptions in the case of certain emirs such as the Shaybāni and the Sulamī. A similar exception was apparently to have been made in the case of the Marwazī, two of whom, father and son, had already succeeded each other in the *ostikanate*, but the killing of Yūsuf interfered with its realization. The hereditary *ostikanate* of Armīniya should also be connected with the hereditary ownership of land in many provinces of Greater Armenia. Thus, for example, the sovereignty of the Shaybāni in Aġnik' helped them reach high office, while on the contrary, the assumption of the office of *ostikan* by the Sulamī helped the establish-

ment of the Sulaym tribe in Armenia and its gradual acquisition of a dominant position in Apahunik', and elsewhere.

Bugha left Armenia in A.D. 855. All the leading Armenian *naxarars* had been taken prisoners and the time had apparently come for the Arab settlers to make the most of the situation. The local Arabs had contributed in every way to the advance of Bugha's army, and gradually increased their own holdings. When Gurgen Apupelc assumed the lordship of Vaspurakan on the eve of Bugha's departure, the Arab army which moved against him was joined by «the citizens of Berkri who are called *Ut'manikk'*» (142). The Arab tribe of the 'Uthmānids had established itself at the north-eastern corner of Lake Van, most probably during the great migrations which are known to have occurred in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd. This tribe conquered the city of Berkri from the Gnuni family (143). The defeat of the Prince of Vaspurakan provided them with a favourable occasion to extend their holdings as far as the fortress of Amiwk (north of Van) and to reach Varag.

An important result of Bugha's expedition was thus the spread of the domination of the Arab emirs in Armenia. In addition to the 'Uthmānids, the Shaybānī and the Sulamī also extended their domains. The lord of Arzn, Mūsā b. Zurāra who had gone over to the Armenian side because of his opposition to Yūsuf, was immediately arrested by Bugha (144). Part of his possessions passed to the Shaybānī who then extended their holdings still further to reach the shores of Lake Van at Datwan. The most outstanding case of expansion was the Sulamī domination of Apahunik' which must have occurred at this time. According to Thomas Arcruni, some Arab migrants had accompanied Bugha's expedition. Speaking of the anarchy in Vaspurakan, Thomas adds,

... then began with fearless insolence to spread over the face of the land the whole nation of the *Tačikk'* who had come with him together with their families, and they began to divide the land among themselves, and they cast lots, and stretched lines over boundaries, and dwelt without fear in the fortresses (145).

These settlers, who had come with their families, divided the masterless land as well as the fortresses among themselves. The reference here is not so much to new migrations (which were probably few in number) as to the extension of the possessions of already settled tribes. Among these we must note the Sulaym tribe which profitted from the confused situation to extend its rule over Manazkert.

A new *Djahhāfid* adventurer, *Djahhāf* b. Sawāda, made his appearance in the midst of these propitious circumstances. We do not know when Sawāda died, nor where or what the younger *Djahhāf* had been doing until this time. He appeared at a moment when the country seemed plunged into anarchy, and it seemed as though he would succeed

in achieving the goals missed by his predecessors. However, he too clashed in his turn with the Bagratids, and with him the Djāhhāfids disappeared once and for all from the scene.

The younger Djāhhāf came at a time when Ašot (the son and successor of Smbat *sparapet* who had been captured by Bugha) had gradually restored, with his brother Abas, the shaken position of the Bagratids in the political life of Armenia. In speaking of these events, Asolik says that Sahap (i.e. Djāhhāf) son of Sewaday had «come ... to this land of Armenia» in E.A. 312 (= A.D. 863) (146). That is to say, after Ašot had been designated as Prince of Princes of Armenia. Are we to conclude from Asolik's words that Djāhhāf had come to Armenia from outside? It is probable that after their defeat the remaining Djāhhāfids had found refuge in some neighbouring land such as Azerbaidjan or Aĭjnik'. Djāhhāf came with a large army, «an overwhelming host», which could have been given to him only by a mighty prince. The very fact that Abas *sparapet* was forced to attack Djāhhāf's host with an army of forty thousand men in order to defeat it bears witness to its might. Djāhhāf advanced as far as the province of Arsarunik' where Abas annihilated his entire army and perpetrated such a slaughter that Djāhhāf was forced to flee with barely twenty-six men, «...and Sahap remained with 26 men and he left and fled shamefully» (147). At approximately this same time (A.D. 865), we have the mention of a Djāhhāf b. Sawāda as the commander of the Arab forces at Melitene (148). It is, therefore, probable that he went to seek his fortune there.

Thus, the Djāhhāfids vanished forever, having failed to create a lasting principality in the course of their half-century of effort. Nevertheless they served as a precedent for the establishment of new Arab emirates, and particularly for the appearance of their kinsmen the Kaysites on the political scene.

7. *The Assimilation of the Arab Emirates into the Ranks of the Armenian Naxarars*

At the time of their emergence from the Arabic peninsula, the military aristocracy of the Arab tribes (tribal chiefs, etc.) settled in a land whose economic conditions and social structure differed radically from their own. In the Arabian desert (149), the warlike tribes had had a definite territory for their activities, in which they wandered caring only for their flocks. It is obvious that under such conditions, agriculture and crafts could not emerge from a primitive level, either there or especially in Yemen and a few other regions.

In Arab society, the tribe was the all-important unit. It was the fundamental nucleus around which developed both political and social life. Family blood ties played a definite part in Arab life, since the tribe required a fanatical allegiance from its members. The tribe was subject to its chief,

who was characterized by strikingly patriarchal traits, and who was chosen from one of the families holding a dominant position in the given tribe.

This situation altered radically when the Arab tribes under the banner of Islam sallied forth in massive groups from the arid desert toward the fertile valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt, or even, moving still further afield, to the Valley of the Indus in the East or to Spain in the West. For nearly a century after the beginning of the invasions, the Arab tribes concerned themselves exclusively with warlike activities (150). Consequently, they showed no great tendencies toward settlement and the acquisition of land in the countries which they had taken. In the period of the first four Caliphs who had succeeded the prophet, and even to some degree in that of the Umayyads, the Arabs were satisfied with the tribute of the conquered territories, which they collected by means of the lands and poll taxes levied on Christians (though generally not on Muslims). The conquests reached their peak in the reigns of the Umayyad Caliphs, 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid (arm. Vlit'), A.D. 685-715, when the Arabs acquired Central Asia, the Valley of the Indus and Spain. By the second quarter of the eighth century, the conquests had come to an end, and the Arab military chiefs and generals, who had already attained high positions in other countries, had not yet laid down their weapons only in frontier districts, such as the provinces bordering on the Byzantine Empire.

Various Arab tribes settled in the provinces of the Caliphate. The Yemenites were established in southern Syria, whereas the Kays-'Aylān from the northern group (part of which subsequently crossed into Armenia) were settled in the mid-Euphratine district of the Djazira. As long as the wars of conquest continued, the military spirit of the Arab tribes remained high, but by the time of the last Umayyads, and especially in the second quarter of the eighth century, the tendency to settle permanently in the conquered lands and the urge to acquire domains in them gradually developed.

During the period of conquest, the Caliphs strove by every means at their disposal to prevent the acquisition of domains by the Arabs outside of the Arab peninsula. The Caliph 'Umar (A.D. 634-644) even forbade this by decree, since he was persuaded that the acquisition of landholds by the Arabs would weaken their martial spirit and make them subject to local customs (151). Nevertheless, the natural course of development could not be halted, so that the last period of the conquering era became simultaneously the beginning of a new era in which the upper stratum of the Arab tribes began to grow closer to the local aristocracies. This phenomenon is mostly characteristic of the 'Abbāsid period, and it marks a radical cleavage which had developed in the Arab social structure. The lands in which the Arab tribes had settled had already entered into the phase of feudal development for some centuries, consequently the Arabs of necessity not only influenced, but, to a greater degree, were themselves influenced by the institutions of the conquered lands. The period of Arab military feudalism was inaugu-

rated, and took different forms in different regions. Thus, for instance, the contemporary Arab military aristocracy holds much of the lands in its hands in Arab countries and constitutes the landlord class in these countries; whereas in other countries, such as Iran, the local aristocracy did not surrender its position to the conquerors. The Persian aristocracy accepted Islam, and for a time Arabic even became the literary language of Persia, but the Arab emirs were never able to acquire great tracts of land in Iran or to drive out the Persian land holders.

As we have already said, the Caliphs did not condone the acquisition of landed estates by the Arab military contingents during the formative period of the Caliphate. The governors of provinces were changed so rapidly that each one remained in office barely a few years. Moreover they were appointed from different families so that the members of a family should not develop claims over lands which they had ruled in hereditary succession. In Egypt between A.D. 640 and 869, that is to say for a period of more than two centuries, over one hundred governors succeeded one another (152), while twenty governors ruled in Spain (al-Andalus) during the Umayyad period (711-756) (153). In Armenia twenty-three *ostikans*, generally without family ties, were alternated during the nearly half-century of Umayyad rule (154).

In the 'Abbāsid period this policy changed to some extent. The former tribal chiefs and military leaders were already tied to the lands over which they had been ruling in hereditary fashion. Even the office of *ostikan* occasionally became hereditary as in the case of the Shaybānī and Sulamī emirs of Arminiya who furnished large numbers of *ostikans*. Nevertheless, the policy of rotating *ostikans* at a rapid rate was also reinforced. In the one hundred and thirty years of 'Abbāsid rule, the *ostikan* was changed in Arminiya approximately eighty-five times as a method of preventing the development of centrifugal tendencies.

The Arab tribes settled in certain districts of Armenia in the 'Abbāsid period found themselves in a different milieu from the one found by those settled in Mesopotamia or Syria. In Armenia they constituted a numerical minority even though they enjoyed the protection of the rulers of the land. Consequently it was obviously impossible for them to become the masters of the country in a brief span of time as had been the case in Mesopotamia and Syria.

The Shaybānī easily dominated Aġnik^c because of the easy conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia, since Aġnik^c in this period formed a part of Upper Mesopotamia. They still felt no great need to amalgamate themselves into the milieu of the Armenian *naḡarars*, even though the *ostikanate* of Arminiya was one of the essential areas for their designs and activities.

Such was not the case, however, for the Djahhāfid and Zurārid houses. Djahhāf and his descendants displayed the greatest flexibility and resorted to every means to obtain results in Armenia. Where the Shaybānī and

other houses had become assimilated through their inclusion into the ranks of the feudal nobility and become hereditary feudatories themselves, the Djahhāfids even strove to link themselves with the Armenian *naḫarars* through family ties in order to profit from their hereditary rights. It was through a marriage that Djahhāf the Elder had sought to obtain rights over the Mamikonean house. This marriage with the daughter of the ruined Mamikoneans made it possible for him to become the hereditary claimant of Tarōn, Tayk', and other domains. Seeing the weakness of this position, however, his nephew Sawāda married not the daughter of a decaying house, but Princess Aruseak from the rapidly rising Bagratids, and he maintained good relations with the Armenian *naḫarars*. It is obvious that family ties presuppose the acceptance of Armenian *naḫarar* customs as an indispensable step for the success of the Djahhāfid plans. Having emerged from their tribal background, the Djahhāfids thus fell into a purely Armenian *naḫarar* milieu. Consequently, the local influence exerted over them must have been very powerful.

Mūsā b. Zurāra lord of Arzn and Bales displayed similar tendencies toward rapprochement and assimilation. He was married to the sister of the mightiest Bagratid prince, Bagarat of Tarōn, whose possessions bordered on his own domains. As the brother-in-law of such a powerful ruler he could feel secure from any claims, even those of the Arcrunis (although they subsequently attacked the lands of his last descendants south of Lake Van, under the leadership of Gagik Arcruni, at the beginning of the tenth century). This relationship did not, however, prevent Mūsā from fighting against his brother-in-law, so that the intercession of his wife was needed after his defeat to save the city of Bales from the vengeance of the Armenians. Mūsā's son Abu'l-Maghra, who was Armenian on his mother's side, subsequently married an Arcruni princess, and was so thoroughly «Armenized» that he even secretly adopted Christianity. As a son-in-law of the Arcrunis, Abu'l-Maghra had almost become one of them, and when the great Arcruni princes went into battle, the forces of the lord of Arzn accompanied them (155a). This rapprochement of the Zurārids with the Armenian *naḫarars* was not the result of their designs (as had been the case with the Djahhāfids), but was obviously a means of self-protection from their immediate neighbours the Shaybāni who presented such a threat, that the Zurārids naturally sought the protection of the Armenian *naḫarar* houses. As we shall see, it was in fact the Shaybāni who destroyed the power of the Zurārids by extending their dominion over the latter's possessions.

It should be emphasized that this tendency toward assimilation found among the Arab emirs is exclusively a phenomenon of the late eighth and ninth centuries. In a later period, as we shall see, the Kaysites of Manazkert manifested no such tendencies, and this change is to be explained by the contemporary conditions. As contemporaries of the Bagratid kingdom, the Kaysites obviously could not achieve the same assimilation as the Djahhā-

fid. They lived as isolated as possible from the Armenian *naxarar* world and were connected for the most part with the Shaybānī of Aġnik' and the Hamdānids. It is true that the Kaysites as well as 'Uthmānids of Berkri had certain relations with the Armenian *naxarars*, especially with the Arcrunis and the Bagratids (both of Ani and of Tarōn), but they never achieved the close connexions which had been enjoyed by the Djahhāfids and others. The tendency to merge with the Armenian *naxarars* was to reappear still more powerfully at a later date, at the time of the infiltration of the Kurdish elements, of whom we shall speak in their place.

The clearest proof of the fusion into the ranks of local feudatories is provided by the separatist tendencies manifested by the Arab colonists of the first half of the ninth century. The Arab contingents settled in Armenia proved a two edged sword for the Caliphate. They provided faithful support for the subordination of the local elements (Armenians, Iberians, Albanians), and furnished a particularly trustworthy source of protection against Greek and Khazar attacks. But, once the Arab military leaders had become land owners, they began to seek every opportunity of breaking their ties with the Caliphate and of becoming independent rulers (arab. *mutaghalliba* — from the verb *taghballa*, «conquer, dominate, triumph over») (157). The center of this dissident movement was Derbent, which had been inhabited by Arabs as early as the Umayyad period, even though the Caliphs had used all available means of keeping the Arab warriors of the region satisfied, because of its strategic importance for the Khazar war (158).

The revolt of the Persian Abū Muslim al-Shāri began in Armīniya in the 790's, during the reign of the initiator of Arab colonization, Hārūn al-Rashīd (159). This revolt flared up after the murder of the tax collector Abu'l Sabbā, which had occurred at Partaw and alarmed the Arab administrators. As we have seen, al-Shāri even went so far as to besiege Dwin for a few months. The *ostikan*, Khālid b. Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī and his general 'Abd al-Malik al-Harashī were defeated by al-Shāri, as was Khālid's successor. At the same time Muhalhil al-Tamīni revolted in Azerbaidjan. Hārūn al-Rashīd consequently sent Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī with an army of ten thousand men against al-Shāri, while he sent Yahyā al-Harashī with twelve thousand men against the rebels in Azerbaidjan. After pacifying Azerbaidjan, Yahyā came to join Yazīd. Al-Shāri died at that time and his successor Sakan b. Mūsā al-Baylakānī was taken prisoner and sent to Baghdad.

Although the revolt of Bābak was essentially a revolt of local Iranian elements against the oppression of the Caliphate and against Islam, in Armīniya, it also served to consolidate the position of the Armenian and Albanian *naxarars* and to encourage the Arab *mutaghalliba*. We even find an occasion when the Arab governor joined with the rebels. Thus, when the newly arrived governor of Armīniya and Azerbaidjan, Hatim b. Harthama b. A'yān, heard the news of his father's murder, he immediately entered into contact

with Bābak and the Armenian *naḡarars* to prepare a revolt, but soon died himself (160).

As we have already seen, the revolt of *Djahhāf* and his successors began in Armenia, while the movement of *Muḥammad b. 'Attābī* took place in Iberia (161). The Arab governor, *'Abd-Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Sulamī*, having proved helpless against the rebel, the Caliph *al-Ma'mūn* sent *Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī*, who reduced *Muḥammad b. 'Attābī* to obedience. Some time later, *Ishāk b. Ismā'il*, who was the local administrator in *Djurzān* [Iberia] representing the governor of *Armīniya*, made himself master of the situation in *Tiflis* [*Tp'lis*]. *Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Shaybānī* the son of the abovementioned *Khālid*, fought against him, although without success, and *Bugha* had *Ishāk b. Ismā'il* put to death at the time of his famous expedition (162). It is interesting to note that during all of these rebellions the *Shaybānī* emirs remained loyal to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. As the holders of high offices in *Armīniya*, *Azerbaijan*, and the *Djazīra*, they even take on the aspect of oppressors.

The revolts of the Arab rulers established in Armenia, Iberia, and Albania might seem to have profited these countries insofar as they were rebellions directed against the Caliphate, but in fact they brought great damage to these countries and laid the foundation for new difficulties. The goal of the firmly established Arab rulers was merely to sink deep roots into their own districts. Even after the decline of the Caliphate, they remained a long time, creating independent emirates, and preventing the consolidation and reinforcement of the Armenian, Iberian, and Albanian kingdoms.

CHAPTER II

THE EMIRATES IN THE BAGRATID KINGDOM

1. *The Establishment of the Kaysites at Manazkert in the Period of Ašot I*

The Arab contingents settled in Armenia, who has been unable to create a single stable principality in the first half of the ninth century, became masters of entire provinces and cities after Bugha's expedition. The house which profitted the most was that of the emirs of Manazkert, who belonged to the Sulaym tribe (they are simply called Kaysikk' in the Armenian sources), and who were already lords of Apahunik' in the sixties of the ninth century. This group had probably migrated to Armenia as early as the period of Hārūn al-Rashīd at the end of the eighth century, but they ruled Manazkert only from the time of Bugha's expedition and the captivity of the Armenian *naxarars*. It is difficult to identify them completely with the *Djāhhāfids*, as has been done by some scholars (1), although there is no doubt that the *Djāhhāfids* had had close connexions with the Sulaym tribe. The very fact that Ašot Bagratuni carried on a bitter struggle against the younger *Djāhhāf* in the 860's while recognizing almost simultaneously the hereditary rule of the Kaysite emir Abu'l-Ward over Manazkert militates against the hypothesis of identification.

In the tenth century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks of the recognition of Abu'l-Ward by Ašot. According to him, Ašot, Prince of Princes, who ruled over all the regions of the East, gave the cities of Xlat', Arčēš, and Berkri to Abu'l-Ward (2). Constantine Porphyrogenitus consciously distorts certain facts thus attributing later events to an earlier period (3). For example, we are certain that the city of Berkri belonged to the 'Uthmānids in the period of Ašot I and even in that of his successor Smbat I, whereas the Byzantine historian inserts it among the cities given to the Kaysites by Ašot I. The reason for this is that the Kaysites had become in some measure subjects of Byzantium in the tenth century, consequently, any city given to them legally and willingly by Ašot might further the purposes of Byzantine diplomacy.

Joseph Markwart took the Greek form of Abu'l-Ward («Apelbard») given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (4) as a corruption of the Arab name

'Abd al-Barr (5). But there is another Kaysite emir named Abu'l-Ward in Arabic sources (6), whose name is again rendered in the same form by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (7), and it is probable that the form Aplbar found in Thomas Arcruni provoked Markwart's misunderstanding. By now, however, there can no longer be any doubt that the name of the emir was Abu'l-Ward (8), especially since this is the form in which it is also found in Gregory Narekac'i (Aplward) (9). Thomas Arcruni also refers to the emirs of Manazkert as «Manawazean» (10), recalling that the ancient lords of this province had been the Manawazean princes and that Apahunik' itself had been called the «Manawazean region».

Abu'l-Ward and the date of his rule have become a subject of disagreement among contemporary Armenologists concerned with the problem of the origin of the sect of the T'ondrakec'i. A few lines in the *Letter* of Gregory Narekac'i concerning the T'ondrakec'i are devoted to Abu'l-Ward. Of the T'ondrakec'i Gregory says, «those who were cut off with the sword by the avenging heathen amir Apl-Vard who is in fact a rod of wrath in the hand of our Lord Jesus». He then adds that the same emir had killed the ancestors of the T'ondrakec'i, «a valiant man who destroyed and put to an infamous death their accursed ancestors». In the killing of the T'ondrakec'i's leader Smbat Zarehawanc'i, the emir had also said, «If Christ arose on the third day, then since you call yourself 'Christ' I will slay you and bury you and if you shall come to life again after thirty, then I will know that you are Christ» (11). Narekac'i considers both Zarehawanc'i and Abu'l-Ward as heretics («...for he was close to them and to their bitter madness») (11a), because both were enemies of the Armenian Church.

Rejecting B. Sargisean's mistaken hypothesis the «Aplvard» mentioned by Narekac'i might be identified with either Abu'l-Haydja or Abū-Dulaf (Apu Tlup') who both lived in the tenth century (12), A. Hovhannisyan correctly deduced that he was to be identified with the first Kaysite emir, Abu'l-Ward himself (13). However, he further concluded that Smbat Zarehawanc'i had appeared in the first half of the ninth century and moved the beginning of Abu'l-Ward's rule to the 830's. As we have already seen, this Kaysite emir belongs in the sixties of the same century. He ruled Apahunik', with the city of Manazkert, and became a lord of considerable power («a valiant man») only thereafter. It is therefore incorrect to put him on the eve of Bugha's expedition, at a time when the Djahhāfid Sawāda himself was still alive.

In his discussion of the same problem, S. Polosyan shifts the other Abu'l-Ward, who lived in the tenth century, to the beginning of that century (14), thus completely ignoring the existence of other Kaysites (discussed in detail by Constantine Porphyrogenitus) who intervened between the two Abu'l-Wards. According to him, the name of the first Kaysite emir who lived in the ninth century was Aplbar, whereas the last Kaysite living in the tenth century was called Abi-l-Vard. In Arabic, the form *Abi-* is the genitive

case of *Abū-i*, «father», and the name of both Kaysite emirs was in fact Abu'l-Ward.

We should also note that the founder of the T'ondrake'i sect, Smbat Zarehawanc'i, was born in the village of Zarehawan located in the province of Calkotn in the region of Ayrarat (15), but that he found refuge in the lands of the Kaysite emirs at the village of T'ondrak in the province of Apahunik'. The province of Calkotn, which was part of the Bagratid domain, was evidently not a safe place for heretical activities directed against the Armenian Church, whereas under the dominion of the Muslim emir, Smbat could feel relatively safe from the attacks of his opponents. From the testimony of Gregory Narekac'i, however, we see that the refuge in Apahunik' was to prove costly for the founder of the new sect. If in truly Armenian provinces the target of the sectarian struggle was the feudal aristocracy, so that the movement bore an essentially social stamp, then in the domains of the Kaysites, this class struggle was inextricably bound with liberation movements directed against the foreign conquerors. The rule of the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward was doubly burdensome for the population of Apahunik' in that he was not only an exploiter but a foreign conqueror as well. It is consequently no accident that he should have drowned the movement of Smbat Zarehawanc'i in blood. We observe the same characteristics among the Paulicians, who in purely Byzantine territory fought exclusively against the ruling class, whereas in border districts their movement took on a certain colouration of anti-Arab drive for liberation. When the T'ondrakian movement subsequently acquired greater momentum in the tenth century (16), we know that the Arab emirates of Armenia once again provided the setting for its activity.

2. *The Relations of Ašot I and the Emirates of Greater Armenia*

In order to consolidate his power in Armenia Ašot I established family ties with the senior Arcruni and Siwni princes. He also pursued a cautious policy toward the Kaysites of Manazkert (17), who were lords of considerable importance in Armenia after the Bagratids, Arcrunis and Siwnis. Moreover, any openly hostile activity directed against them might arouse the wrath of the 'Abbāsids, who could still cause considerable difficulties to the Bagratids despite the decline of the Caliphate.

The power of Ašot Bagratuni had grown to such a degree that he was already referred to as king in the land (18), since he already actually enjoyed many royal prerogatives. To be sure, he still formally paid tribute to the Baghdad Caliphate, but even the presence of an Arab *ostikan* in the province of Armīniya had lost most of its significance. The irregularities observed in the *ostikan* lists of this period (19), are caused by the fact that the governors no longer invariably came to Armenia, and when they did come, limited

their functions to the reception and forwarding of the collected tribute to Baghdad (20).

By the sixties of the ninth century, Ašot I had created so stable a system, and had set up such close relations between the Bagratids and the feudal princes, that these lasted until the defeat and death of Smbat I, that is to say for approximately half a century. Taking advantage of the murder of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil and of the resultant weakening of the Arab state, the captive *naḫarars* had returned to their provinces, and many of them were once again ruling over their domains. Ašot Bagratuni asserted once and for all the sovereign rights of his house over the remaining Armenian feudatories (21), that is to say the prerogatives once enjoyed by the Arsacid kings. The Bagratids had already enjoyed these rights as early as the beginning of the century, when the 'Abbāsids had recognized Ašot Msaker, and particularly his son Bagarat, as senior prince of Armenia, even conceding to the latter the title of Prince of Princes («*Batrīk al-batārika*») (22). But with the period of Ašot I not only the Armenian *naḫarars*, but even the Arab emirs, who were by then reckoned among the Armenian feudal lords, found themselves in a subordinate position vis-à-vis the Bagratids. Among the latter were to be found the Kaysites of Manazkert, the 'Uthmānids of Berkri, and to some degree the emirs of the city of Karin. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the minor emirates of Her and Salmast were likewise subject to Ašot Bagratuni (23).

We must admit, however, that the Bagratids pursued a different policy toward Dwin and the district of Ostan. They were well aware of the fact that the possession of the most important city in the land was indispensable for the assumption of a dominant position in Armenia. Without it they would be limited to the rule of their own centers of Sirak and Arsarunik'. The anarchic state of Dwin was made all the more evident by the rarer visits of the *ostikans*. The district of Ostan was in fact totally masterless, and in time the Bagratids came to rule over the whole of it without opposition. Here, Ašot did not run counter to the interests of any Muslim emir, so that the Bagratid holdings came to include Ostan as well as the other districts of Ayrarat.

Erroneous hypotheses have sometimes been presented concerning the situation of Dwin in the period of Ašot I. Thus it is said in the textbook of Armenian history that «the emir of the city of Dwin also recognized Ašot's authority and paid tribute to him» (24). Against this thesis we find the very words of the Arab author, Ibn Hawkal, which were incidentally incorrectly translated by N. Karaulov. Ibn Hawkal writes as follows: «(Dwin) in ancient times belonged to Sambāt b. Ashūṭ king of all the Armenians and to his ancestors and thus it remained in the hands of their magnates» (25). This passage is translated by Karaulov in the following fashion «and it remained in the hands of its leading citizens» (26). According to this reading the city would have been not in the hands of the Armenian magnates in general but in those of the elders of the city. The Russian

translation of this small section is given by the Arabist V. Rosen in an article of Vasil'evskii (27), and confirms my interpretation.

There was no local emirate at Dwin during the period of the rule of Ašot Bagratuni (A.D. 862-890). A commercial city and administrative center of such great importance could not belong to anyone other than the master of the country, since in a certain sense the mastery of Dwin and the mastery of the entire country were interrelated. The incorrect translation of Karaulov led to the hypothesis that this passage of Ibn Ḥawkal refers to the elders of Dwin that is to say to the administration of the city (28).

We do not know whom Ašot Bagratuni appointed as governor of Dwin nor whether he was an Arab or an Armenian prince. We do, however, know that there were Arab city governors in this period, as for instance at Karin, the name of two of whose governors, Bšir and Zk'ri have been recorded (29). Thomas Arçruni relates that approximately in the period when Ašot Bagratuni was *sparapet* (A.D. 855-862), one of the princes of Vaspurakan, Gurgen Apupelč, wishing to stay out of the quarrels of the country, attempted to go west and enter the service of Byzantium, but on the way, he was seized in the city of Karin by the two above-mentioned governors and handed over to Ašot. The latter wished to save the Armenian prince, but, not having the authority to do so, and especially since his own father was a captive at the time, he deemed it wiser to hand Gurgen over to the Arabs. The city of Karin was not directly subject to the Bagratids in this period, but at a later stage governors of the city were to some degree subordinates of both Ašot I and Smbat I (30).

The return of the imprisoned *naxarars* produced fresh dissensions. The lands of the captive feudatories had passed in their absence either to other local princes or to Arab emirs. Thus, after the imprisonment of the great prince of Vaspurakan, Ašot Arçruni, Vaspurakan had been ruled by Gurgen Apupelč, but after the return of Ašot's son Derenik, Gurgen was restricted to the rule of the province of Anjewac'ik' (31). In the period of the captivity of Bagarat Bagratuni and Ašot Arçruni, Arab emirs had also extended their rule over new territories. Xlat' (and probably Arckē) which had formed part of the Bagratid domain of Tarōn gradually fell into the hands of the Kaysites, while the Shaybānī extended their holdings and reached to the shores of Lake Van at Datwan (32).

The expedition of Bugha and the growing power of the Shaybānī had a different effect on the Zurārids of Arzn. Although Mūsā b. Zurāra had begun by attempting to fight against his brother-in-law Bagarat Bagratuni (33), he soon joined the Armenian princes and was also sent in chains to Sāmarrā by Bugha. Ibn al-Athīr gives the following description of the massacre of the Zurārids:

And (Bugha) went to Mawšil and the Djazīra and he began with Arzan where was Mūsā b. Zurāra. His brothers were Sulaymān, Ahmad, 'Isā,

Muhammad, and Hārūn. Bugha took Mūsā b. Zurāra to al-Mutawakkil and accused him of being involved in the murder of Yūsuf. Then he slaughtered thirty thousand of them and captured and sold many (34).

After Mūsā's death, his son Abu'l-Mughra (who is also known as Abu'l-Mu'izz and is called Aplmaḡray by John Drasḡanakerte'i) (35), married an Arcruni princess out of fear of his powerful Shaybānī neighbours. He was all the more ready to take this step that his own mother was an Armenian. At this time, the Shaybānī had taken possession of Bates, which had been one of Mūsā's domains and had advanced as far as Datwan. From an administrative point of view, Abu'l-Maghra was of course a subordinate of 'Isā b. al-Shaykh al-Shaybānī, and participated in the wars which he undertook. Thus, when Ishāk b. Kendādjik was involved in a war with the ruler of Mosul, Ishāk al-Ayyūbī, and the latter appealed to 'Isā and Abu'l-Maghra for help, both came to his assistance. When the ruler of Mosul was defeated, both 'Isā and the lord of Arzn had to offer two hundred thousand gold (*ḡnārs*) to be confirmed in their possessions, since Ishāk b. Kendādjik had been appointed *ostikan* of the Djazīra and Armīniya (A.D. 879). The new *ostikan* did not respond at first, but satisfied their demands when they resorted to force of arms (36).

The ruler of Arzn was linked on the one side with the Shaybānī, but on the other he had close ties with the Arcrunis whose «son-in-law» he had become (37). According to Thomas Arcruni, Tarōn, Anjewac'ik' and Arzn had all come under the influence of Gurgen Apupelē (38). This was probably the period in which the lord of Arzn contracted family ties with the Arcrunis. Arzn never escaped the attention of the Arcrunis and for this reason they incorrectly connected their name with this city (Arzn < Arcn < Arcruni) (39). When Ašot Arcruni subsequently returned from captivity and began to fight against Gurgen Apupelē, Abu'l-Maghra sided with the Arcrunis. Thus, when the fortress of Kangwar in Anjewac'ik' was besieged by the Arcrunis, the troops of Arzn were among the besiegers (40).

In the second half of the ninth century, however, the Zurārids formed an exception insofar as they supported the Armenian *naḡarars*. The 'Uthmānids of Berkri, for example, in addition to their support of Bugha's expedition also began to nourish designs against the Armenian *naḡarars*. In plus of Berkri, they ruled over the fortress of Amiwk and reached out to the mountain of Varag. This move was considered a threat by the Arcrunis, and the murder of one of the princes of Vaspurakan, Rstom Varāznuni, by the 'Uthmānids consequently served as a pretext for the interference of Ašot Arcruni (41). The Arcrunis, who had formerly had relatively small holdings, extended their domains in this period acquiring the province of Rstunik' among others. With their definite shift to the shores of Lake Van, Van, Ostan, and Alt'amar became their main centers. The 'Uthmānid holdings presented an obstacle in this very region, and Ašot Arcruni immediately

attacked the fortress of Amiwk. But having been unable to take this inaccessible castle, he contented himself with the capture of the mountain of Varag which had a similar strategic importance.

As early as the period of Ašot Bagratuni's *sparapet*-dom, shortly after Bugha's withdrawal from Armenia, the Arcruni princes turned to means of freeing themselves from the Arab elements settled in the land. Thomas Arcruni relates that Gurgēn Apupelē began to move through all the districts of Vaspurakan in which Bugha had settled Arabs and to annihilate them all (...«and he began to circle through all the lands in which lived the Tačikk' who remained in them at the order of Buḡa. And he struck great blows at the foreigners...») (42). The same policy was also followed by Ašot Arcruni.

These minor conflicts among the local feudatories attracted the attention of the contemporary *ostikan* who was then 'Isā b. al-Shaykh from the Shaybānī tribe (A.D. 870-877). Insofar as he was the representative of the Caliph, 'Isā was not particularly disturbed by the contest which had arisen over the fortress of Amiwk, but insofar as he had possessions in Armenia, he could not reconcile himself with the idea that the Arcrunis were pursuing a hostile policy toward any of the Arab emirs settled around Lake Van, since he himself was one of their number. Seeing the threat to their interests, the Arab emirs established in Armenia began a general war against the Arcrunis. According to Thomas Arcruni, 'Isā (arm. Yisē son of Šeh) was appealed to by the Manawazean lord, i.e. the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward and by the 'Uthmānids of Berkri. Collecting an army of some fifteen thousand men, 'Isā came to Vaspurakan and established his camp near the summit of the hill of Ak'alayi. Knowing that Ašot had but two thousand horsemen with him, the Arcruni princes turned to the *ostikan* and sued for peace, promising that they would give hostages and pay the tribute, but they did not allow him to enter Vaspurakan. After the conclusion of the peace at Van, 'Isā withdrew to Partaw (43).

The Shaybānī and Kaysite coalition could not tolerate the threat posed to their own possessions by the rise of the Arcrunis and Bagratids. Although Armenia was still nominally subject to the Caliphate, the local emir could no longer hope for any direct help from the 'Abbāsids and had to rely on their own forces in their contests with the Armenian *naḡarars*. 'Isā made no move which might worsen his formal relations with the Armenian princes, all the more when his representative at Partaw, Muḡammad al-Yamanī (arm. Yamanik) revolted there. 'Isā besieged the city for thirteen months with the help of Ašot Bagratuni, but having failed to capture it, preferred to withdraw to Syria where he had been appointed *ostikan* (44).

Yamanik tried to make the most of the opportunity and demanded that the Armenian *naḡarars* recognize him as *ostikan*, but the latter for various reasons preferred to ask the Caliph to re-appoint Muḡammad b. Khālīd from the same Shaybānī tribe, who had already twice been *ostikan*

in Armīniya. It is evident that Ašot Bagratuni played a decisive rôle in the appointment of the new Shaybāni *ostikan*, nevertheless, Muhammad b. Khālid directed his activity against the Bagratid prince from the very first day. The events are very well described by Thomas Arcruni. According to him, the Armenian *naḫarars* had taken precautions against Yamanik because his real purpose was to destroy them and «especially the most senior of them, Ašot Prince of Princes» (45). From the moment he set foot in Armenia, however, it was the new *ostikan* who strove to carry out the designs which the Armenian *naḫarars* had attributed to Yamanik. Muhammad b. Khālid entered Armenia in A.D. 879 and stopped at Datwan which was held by the Shaybāni. There came before him, the Arcruni *naḫarars* — Derenik, whose father Ašot had died eight years earlier, Gagik, Gregory, and others; the Taronites — Ašot Curopalates and Šapuh, the brother of the Prince of Princes; the Prince of Mokk' — Musel; and Aplbar Kaysik, the despot of Apahunik', that is to say, Abu'l-Ward. The Shaybāni, the Kaysites and the other emirs immediately entered into a plot essentially directed against Ašot Bagratuni as well as the Armenian *naḫarars* in general, and wrote to inform Yamanik of Partaw of their plans. The *ostikan* Muhammad b. Khālid wrote him as follows:

«When I enter the city of Dwin and take the royal tribute, the Armenian princes will come to me without suspicion, but do thou collect an army under the pretext that thou art attacking me and art come to fight against me, and together we shall slaughter them and drive them from the domains of Armenia (46).

It is important to note that Ašot Bagratuni who had been instrumental in the appointment of Muhammad b. Khālid was suspicious of him from the start and took every measure for countering his plot. The above-mentioned letter did not reach its destination; Ašot's spies lying in ambush in the gorge near the Armenian bridges seized the Arab courier and took away his message (46a).

A number of plotters figure in these complicated events. Among them Thomas Arcruni mentions the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward in the first rank. Not only did he strive to discredit the Armenian *naḫarars* in the eyes of the new *ostikan*, but he was also suspected of arousing the anger of Derenik Arcruni against Ašot Curopalates of Tarōn. At the same time, Abu'l-Ward was also wary for his own sake, so that when he came to hunt with the *ostikan* and the Armenian *naḫarars* he was accompanied by a contingent of Kaysite horsemen (46b). The Armenian *naḫarars* gradually left the presence of the *ostikan* (probably at the order of Ašot) and withdrew to their own domains, while the latter accompanied by a Kaysite force («Ahmat and the Kaysikk' army with him»), according to Thomas Arcruni, moved toward Dwin (47). One day during a feast, the tent of the *ostikan* was surrounded by Armenian

forces, and the *sparapet* Abas, entering into the tent, showed to him the letter which he had written to Yamanik. The *sparapet* then convoyed the *ostikan* to the frontier under guard, disarmed his Kaysite collaborators, and sent them back to Apahunik' (47a).

Ašot advanced no further after the trapping of the *Shaybāni ostikan*, and contented himself with the disarmament of the treacherous Kaysites. Abu'l-Ward did not, however, remain inactive. Through his intrigues Derenik Arcruni seized Ašot Curopalates of Tarōn and imprisoned him in the fortress of Sewan in Vaspurakan which was held by Hasanik Arcruni. Derenik was particularly interested in seeing Ašot's brother David become Prince of Tarōn since he was his own brother-in-law. However, Ašot, seeing that he could not escape from Sewan, succeeded in persuading the young Hasanik that Derenik was also his enemy and the young man treacherously seized the Arcruni prince.

At the time of these events, Ašot Prince of Princes had undertaken a punitive expedition against Abu'l-Ward and his forces were besieging Manazkert. The news from Vaspurakan forced him to raise the siege and hurry to save Derenik who was his relative by marriage (48). It is true that the events in Vaspurakan saved the Kaysites from impending punishment on this occasion, but the situation had already altered. After these complications, no *Shaybāni* was ever again appointed *ostikan* of Armīniya, and the Kaysites lost their all-powerful protectors. Only one *ostikan* came to Armenia after this, Ishāk b. Kendādjik, after whose tenure the Caliph al-Mu'tamid sent a crown to Ašot Bagratuni (49), thereby officially recognizing him as King of Armenia («*Malik al-Arman*») (50).

After the expulsion of Muhammad b. Khālid, Yamanik of Partaw once again attempted by his letters to arouse Abu'l-Ward and even Derenik Arcruni against Ašot Bagratuni, but his efforts remained unsuccessful (51), and the official recognition by the Caliph reinforced the position of King Ašot I. All of the feudatories of Armenia, be they Armenian princes or Arab emirs, found themselves subject to his authority.

Ašot I did not make Dwin his capital, although he often stayed there in the course of his long rule and even used it to receive the newly arrived *ostikans*, whose normal residence was Partaw. He preferred to make his capital at Bagaran where the *kat'olikos* George Garnec'i solemnly anointed him as king (52). Ašot probably did not wish this ceremonial anointment to take place at Dwin, which was known as the ancient residence of the representatives of the Caliphate. Ašot I likewise did not attempt to strike his own currency but was satisfied with the coins minted at Dwin, which were used for a long time thereafter on Armenian marts (53).

The Armenian emirs made a last attempt to hinder the growing might of the Armenian *naxarars* in the last years of the reign of Ašot I. Since any direct move against Ašot whose position was secure would have been useless at this point, they directed their attack against the Prince of Vas-

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they locate

purakan. John Drasxanakertc'i says that Derenik Arccruni had conquered the provinces of Her and Zarewand which had belonged to Arab emirs. The latter hypocritically feigned obedience, while seeking an occasion to free themselves from Armenian suzerainty. The time had now come to carry out the former design of Abu'l-Ward and Yamanik of Partaw. The emir of the city of Her, «Aplbers son of Apumnar» (Abu'l Fāris b. Abū Mansūr), gathered an Arab force and killed Derenik from ambush as he was passing near Her (54). The murder of the Prince of Vaspurakan was an event of considerable importance for the Arab emirs of Armenia, who were for the most part located in southern Armenia, and whose very existence was threatened by the growing might of the Arccrunis.

During the entire period of Ašot Bagratuni's rule, the status of Dwin remained uncertain, since the *ostikans* no longer had their residence there, while Ašot I had been too cautious to make it his capital. From a political point of view, therefore, Dwin was on the eve of new vicissitudes. From the economic point of view, however, the city developed naturally as the most important commercial and industrial center of Armenia.

3. *The Struggle of Smbat I over Dwin.*

The reign of Ašot I's successor, Smbat I (A.D. 890-913) began in the midst of dissensions. Smbat and his uncle Abas clashed over the succession to the throne, and only the interference of the Caliph finally confirmed the rights of Smbat to his father's crown. The royal crown and robes sent by the Caliph were brought by the new governor of Azerbaidjan, Afshin b. Abu'l-Sād̄j who became the founder of a new emirate in Azerbaidjan (55).

The native population of Azerbaidjan was composed of Iranian elements who had accepted Islam after various manifestations against the Arab domination (such as the revolt of Bābak). Under the rule of the Caliphate, Azerbaidjan was often joined to the *ostikanate* of Armīniya, thus indicating the survival of an administrative division whose origin went back to the Sasanian period (56). A particular «union» of Armīniya and Azerbaidjan occurred in the reign of Smbat I (57). The problem was that by the period of Ašot I, the tribute of Armīniya had already come to be collected by the local princes, while the *ostikans* coming from time to time to Partaw or Dwin merely forwarded it to the 'Abbāsids. After the coronation of Ašot I, however, and in the period of Smbat I, the 'Abbāsids completely stopped sending governors to Armīniya. Instead they planned to create a system whereby the Armenian kingdom might be kept under indirect control. For this purpose they entrusted the duty of forwarding the Armenian tribute to the Sād̄jid Afshin, the *ostikan* of Azerbaidjan, who was consequently officially styled *ostikan* of Azerbaidjan and Armīniya (58).

This clever 'Abbāsīd scheme introduced new complications into the situation. If the Sād̄jid Afshin was to be considered *ostikan* of Armīniya,

he obviously had to have the right of interference in Armenian internal affairs even though he himself had been the one to bring the royal crown to Smbat I. But Smbat Bagratuni acted like an independent ruler and fortified the frontiers of his realm, which, according to his contemporary John Drasxanakertc'i, reached westward to the city of Karin and the Black Sea («to the shores of the Great Sea»), northward to the Gate of the Alans, and eastward to Samk'or (59). On the southern side, it coincided with the ancient boundaries of the *ostikanate* of Arminiya. Furthermore, Smbat I concluded an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (886-912), an action which provided Afshin with a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of Armenia.

Among the Armenian emirs, Afshin's threatening move aroused hopes of escaping from the suzerainty of the Armenian king, and it is probable that the *ostikan* of Azerbaidjan had formed definite connexions with them. Hardly had King Smbat I reached Dwin on his return from the frontier of Azerbaidjan, when he found the city gates closed before him. The governors of Dwin at that time were two Arab brothers, Muhammad and Umayya, whom John Drasxanakertc'i calls «the chief *ostikans* and commanders of the city» (60). These two emirs, whose origin is unknown, had probably become rulers of Dwin in the first years of Smbat I's reign, obviously as a result of the quarrels between Smbat I and his uncle Abas over the throne. By leaving Dwin and establishing his capital at Bagaran, Asot I had, moreover, in a sense abandoned the former capital to the whims of fortune. The above-mentioned brothers profitted from the occasion, although they still remained vassals of the Armenian king and had certain duties toward him as their overlord. John the Kat'olikos reports, however, that they neglected their duties to their king and did not even pay the tribute in full («for those who had been given the first places he saw did not perform the service of obedience, and the amount of the royal taxes decreased») (61). The king attacked the city and the two rebel governors fled, but they were seized on the way and brought back before Smbat I who had them chained, and, after torturing them and collecting gold and silver, sent them to the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI.

The capture of Dwin was undoubtedly of major importance for the preservation of the unity of the Armenian kingdom, first and foremost from a geographical point of view. The valley of the Araxes with its capital of Dwin was the focus for the whole of the surrounding Armenian highlands. Furthermore, not only had Dwin been the administrative center of Armenia for a long period of time, but it was also a city of the greatest economic importance. It is, therefore, not fortuitous that immediately after the capture of Dwin, Smbat I undertook the elimination of separatist tendencies in various parts of his kingdom (62).

In A.D. 893/4 Dwin suffered a frightful earthquake which brought great suffering to its population. This event is minutely related by John the Kat'olikos (63), and Thomas Arçruni (64), while the Arab historian

Ibn al-Athīr describes it in the following manner: under the month of *Shawwāl* A.H. 280 (= 14 december A.D. 893 — 12 january 894):

And the moon of (the month) of *Shawwāl* was darkened and the people of *Dābil* and of the country remained in darkness, and the darkness remained until evening when a black wind blew and lasted until the third hour of the night. And at the third hour of the night the city shook and was destroyed and barely a thousand houses were left standing. After that it shook five times and the number of those removed from under the ruins was one hundred and fifty thousand and all of them dead (65).

This catastrophe had a profound effect on the fate of the city. The residence of the *Kat'olikos* and the cathedral collapsed, the first of them probably to be reconstructed subsequently as a mosque (66). The city population, which had been trapped under the ruins, suffered greatly. Thomas Arcruni sets the number of victims at only seventy thousand, but even this is an enormous figure (66a).

Immediately after the earthquake, *Dwin* also suffered the attack of *Afshīn*, and this event radically altered the course of its history. After having been the possession of the *Bagratids* for nearly half a century, the district of *Ostan* passed into the hands of the *Sādjids* of *Azerbaijan*. *Afshīn* also could not fail to exploit the fact that *Smbat I* had sent the Arab governors of *Dwin* in chains to the enemy of the *Caliphate* even though he was himself a client prince of the *Abbāsīd Caliph*. We should also add here that the revolt of the two brothers had in all probability been directly instigated by *Afshīn*.

In 894, *Afshīn* attacked the *Armenian kingdom* and seized *Naxčawan*. Unwilling to organize the resistance at *Dwin*, *Smbat I* pitched his camp at the foot of *Mt. Aragac* in the village of *Vzan*, and *Afshīn* consequently entered *Dwin* without opposition. The intervention of the *Kat'olikos George* failed to avert the battle, and the *Kat'olikos* himself was taken prisoner by *Afshīn*. Nevertheless, the army of *Azerbaijan* was defeated near the village of *Dołs* and *Afshīn* was compelled to retreat (67).

The great earthquake of 893/4 and the subsequent attack of *Afshīn* led the *Kat'olikos*, who had been freed at the intervention of the *Armenian naḡarars* and of the *King of Albania*, to abandon *Dwin* and settle at *Nor K'alak'* (*Valarsapat*) (68). At *Dwin*, as we have already said, the cathedral church of *St. Gregory* and the residence of the *Kat'olikos* had been destroyed making it impossible for him to remain there, especially since the status of the city had now become far more complicated.

Despite these vicissitudes, the kingdom of *Armenia* still remained united, and even though *Smbat I* was surrounded by numerous foes, he still fought successfully against them all.

In 895, Byzantium seized the opportunity to attack the city of Karin (69) which had never lost its autonomous status as the most important military base of the Caliphate against the Byzantine Empire although it had become part of the kingdom of Armenia. It was so important from this point of view, that the Arab geographers in the ninth and tenth centuries consider it to be the bulwark of Islam (70). This attack was, however, merely intended as a raid, and the Greek army retreated westward to its own territory upon abandoning the city.

4. *The Conflict between King Smbat I and Ahmad al-Shaybānī*

The Sādjjids of Azerbaidjan were not the only ones nurturing acquisitive designs against the Armenian kingdom. Although they remained in Aġnik', the Shaybānī had not yet abandoned their claims on the Armenian provinces. Since they no longer had the possibility of being appointed *ostikan* of Armīniya, they turned their attention to the annexation of the southern districts of Armenia. The Shaybānī emir in the last decade of the ninth century was Aġmad b. 'Isā b. al-Shaykh. His first step was the annihilation of the emirate of Arzn, whose rulers had drawn so close to the Armenian *naġarar* houses that they had become partially Armenized. As we have already noted, Mūsā b. Zurāra had been married to the sister of Bagarat Bagratuni, while his son Abu'l-Maghra (Aplmaġray) had not only been wed to an Arcruni princess, but had even secretly adopted Christianity (71). Aġmad b. 'Isā imprisoned Abu'l-Maghra and stripped him of all his lands (72), thus bringing to an end the rule of the Zurārid house in Arzn. Aġmad's position was obviously improved by the war waged by Afshīn against Smbat I and when the emir of Azerbaidjan seized Dwin, Aġmad hastened to annex the adjacent provinces. He began a war against David Bagratuni, Prince of Tarōn and took from him Sasun (the mountain of Sim). Moreover, after David's death and the accession of his nephew Gurgen, Aġmad killed the new prince and seized the whole of Tarōn (A.D. 895) (73). Since Tarōn was not only an important part of the Armenian kingdom, but also one of the domains of the Bagratids, such a move on the part of Aġmad al-Shaybānī could not fail to provoke a war.

At the same time, Gagik Apumrwan Arcruni, the guardian of the three sons of the murdered Derenik (Ašot, Gagik, and Gurgen), had them treacherously thrown into prison. The eldest of them Ašot, beguiled by Afshīn's assurances, had established close ties with him and even received the *ostikan*'s promise that he would be made king. Angered by these manoeuvres, Smbat I ordered Gagik Apumrwan and Gurgen Apupelč of Anjewac'ik' (who soon died however) to divide Vaspurakan between themselves (74). This was the reason for the capture of the three Arcruni brothers by Gagik Apumrwan which provoked great dissatisfaction among the nobles of Vaspurakan. After an unsuccessful war, the discontented princes found it preferable to

go over to Aĭjnik' and enter the service of the Shaybānī, than to endure such an action on the part of Gagik (75).

Smbat I raised an enormous army against Aĥmad al-Shaybānī (sixty thousand men according to John Drasġanakertc'i, and one hundred thousand according to Thomas Arcruni) (76). This army moved in the direction of Vaspurakan so that Gagik Apumrwan might lead it as far as Aĭjnik', but the latter suddenly reversed his policy and instead of supporting his protector King Smbat, went over to the side of Aĥmad b. 'Isā who had given asylum to the rebellious princes of Vaspurakan (77). The Armenian army crossed along the northern shore of Lake Van, and having come down on the side of Tarōn, stopped near the village of Tuġ. Before reaching this point, however, the royal army had been led by Gagik along such difficult roads that it arrived in a state of total exhaustion. The wearied troops were barely able to fight the Shaybānī army and Gagik spread disheartenment in the ranks of the soldiers, so that Smbat barely succeeded in escaping back to Bagrewand (78). A detailed account of these events is to be found in John Drasġanakertc'i (78a), but the historian of the Arcrunis makes no reference to this action of Gagik Apumrwan. On his return Gagik Apumrwan was killed in his turn by Gagik the son of Derenik, who had escaped from his prison (78b), but the breach between the Bagratids and the Arcrunis was now so deep that it had become a threat to the unity of the Armenian kingdom.

The victory of Aĥmad al-Shaybānī strengthened the Sādġid Afshīn, who attacked Armenia once again, this time from the eastern side. By way of Partaw (which was one of his possessions), he entered Utik' and thence moved to the district of Gugark' for the purpose of making a sudden attack on the heartland of the Bagratid domains, that is to say, Širak, Vanand, and Arsarunik', since Smbat I's capital, Erzgawors (Širakawan) was located in Širak. He took captive the queen of Armenia and other noble ladies in the fortress of Kars, and came to Dwin with much booty (79).

We do not know in whose hands Dwin had remained after Afshīn's retreat from Armenia after the defeat of Dols. But even though Afshīn had abandoned the city, it is probable that it had remained once more in Arab hands. Throughout this period, whenever Afshīn and Smbat I fought each other, Dwin generally remained in the possession of the Sādġids as a military base. When Afshīn withdrew from Armenia in A.D. 900, he left in his place his son Dīwdād together with the chief eunuch (80). Dīwdād remained only one year at Dwin as governor of the city, and during that time he maintained definite contacts with Smbat I. John Drasġanakertc'i notes that during Dīwdād's stay at Dwin, «King Smbat prepared *roġik* for him, a little less than one year's worth» (81). It is unlikely that the word *roġik* in this case means tribute, i.e. the customary tribute that the Armenian kingdom paid to the Caliphate in the period of Smbat I, it would be more correct to understand this term in its basic sense [pay, salary] (82). The

king had obviously promised to pay a certain sum to Diwdāt, the governor of Dwin, perhaps for the purpose of reconstructing the city and repairing the damages caused by the earthquake.

Before an entire year had passed, however, Afshīn died (A.D. 901), and upon receiving the news, his son Diwdāt went forth by night and fled secretly to Azerbaidjan (83). It is probable that he feared that he would be unable to keep the rule of that country, and in fact the mastery of Azerbaidjan was wrested from him by his uncle Yūsuf.

At the time of his last campaign, Afshīn had also raided Vaspurakan, whose three princes, Ašot, Gagik, and Gurgen had refused to support him. The forces of Afshīn seized the two Arcruni cities of Van and Ostan and appointed governors for them, one of whom, the governor of Van named Sap'i (Safi), was a Greek renegade (84). It is interesting to note that another renegade Greek eunuch named Yovsep' (Wāsif in the Arabic sources) was appointed governor of Partaw (85), but revolted against him and marched toward Mesopotamia. Afshīn recalled his representatives from Vaspurakan in order to prepare a campaign against the rebel, but he himself, as well as Safi and numerous others, fell victim to an epidemic which had spread throughout his army (85a).

5. *The Crushing of the Kaysite Rebellion*

Apahunik' did not remain quiet during the period of these complicated events. Abu'l-Ward, known to us from the period of Ašot I, was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Hamīd (gk. Abelchamit) (86), whom the Arcruni Anonymous calls Abdrahman (87). He apparently ruled for only a short time and was succeeded at Manazkert by his eldest son, Abū Sawāda (gk. Aposebastas). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the possessions of the Kaysites were divided after the death of 'Abd al-Hamīd among his three sons. According to him, the eldest obtained the main city, while the two other brothers Abu'l-Aswad (gk. Apolesphouet) and Abū Sālim (gk. Aposelmis) were settled in other cities (88). On the basis of the information given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the three sons of 'Abd al-Hamīd paid tribute to King Smbat I, since their possessions were subject to him. When Smbat crossed through their lands with a large army on his way to fight Aḥmad al-Shaybānī, the Kaysites showed no signs of disobedience. But after the defeat of the Armenian king, when Afshīn attacked the country from the other side, the three brothers («the sons of Abdrahman») refused to pay tribute or to furnish military service to the king of Armenia (89).

In order to crush the rebellion of the Kaysite brothers, Smbat I was forced to assemble a large host. According to Thomas Arcruni, the royal troops were joined by forces from Vaspurakan, Anjewac'ik', Mokk', and even Iberia and Albania. The raising of such a large army seems exaggerated to fight a local prince, since three kingdoms actually prepared to fight

against a single, by no means large, emirate, but the size of the attacking force was in no sense too great if we bear in mind that the Kaysites of Manazkert were not alone in this struggle. Thomas Arcruni clearly distinguishes two groups within their army, one composed of purely Kaysite forces, the other made up of those Muslim contingents which had come in great numbers to fight against Byzantium («And the Kaysikk', who were masters of the land of Apahunik' collected their own troops and those from the cities around, and the Persian raiders who were making attacks on the Greeks») (90). Later on, when the historian speaks of the actual battle, he again differentiates the two military contingents, «the Kaysikk' and those with them» being a separate group, as against «the forces of the Persians» (91). This «Persian force» had come to fight against the Greeks whose advance in the ninth century had sounded the alarm throughout the Muslim world. As a result, volunteers were coming to the border districts such as Northern Syria, Amida (and Aljnik'), and finally the western provinces of Armenia. They maintained Apahunik' as a safe base of operations whence they sallied forth to their last strategic outpost, the city of Karin.

The Kaysites and their supporters first had recourse to wiles and sued the king for peace, but then fell suddenly on the unwary royal army. According to Thomas Arcruni, the Bagratid king was ready to flee and the forces of Ašot Arcruni and the Prince of Mokk' alone resisted successfully, throwing the enemy back toward Manazkert. The population of this city then began to implore the intercession of Ašot Arcruni before the king so that he would agree to make peace. As a result, peace was concluded on the following terms: the Kaysites were again obligated to pay the customary tribute to the king and likewise to give hostages, while the fortress of Erikaw in Halac'ovit, which the Kaysites had taken from the emir of Berkri was to be returned to him. Thomas adds that in his own time, the 'Uthmānid emirs of Berkri, whom he simply calls the Berkrians, had seized this fortress from the Gnumis. It is evident that the 'Uthmānids had sided with the king in this contest because the Kaysites had designs on their possessions. As we shall see, the Kaysites eventually annexed their domains, in which the Arcrunis were likewise interested, and Thomas himself notes that Berkri had once formed a part of Vaspurakan («...and Berkri had also been a portion of Vaspurakan»). According to him all of these events occurred in E.A. 351 (= A.D. 902) (92).

Thus, Smbat I was once again able to preserve the unity of his kingdom by the defeat of the Kaysites. After the death of Ahmad al-Shaybānī (A.D. 898), a cousin of the murdered Gurgēn Bagratuni, Grigorikios (gk. Krikorikios) became Prince of Tarōn (93). Only Dwin retained its uncertain status, as we do not know its fate after the flight of Diwdāt. In order to safeguard himself against incursions from Azerbaidjan, Smbat I even appealed to the Caliph al-Muktafi and received from him the right to separate Armenia from the *ostikanate* of Azerbaidjan and to forward the the tribute directly to Baghdad (94).

The new *ostikan* of Azerbaidjan, Yūsuf b. Abu'l-Sād̄j (A.D. 901-919), however, pursued even more intensely the war against Smbat I begun by his brother Afsh̄n. The Sād̄jids of Azerbaidjan had decided to transform the kingdom of Armenia once and for all into a series of sub-divided principalities, and to keep it permanently in a tributary position to the Caliphate. Dissatisfied with the decision of the Caliph al-Muk̄tafi, Yūsuf attacked Armenia and Smbat found himself again compelled to forward the tribute by way of Yūsuf (95).

The subsequent revolt of Yūsuf against al-Muk̄tafi and Smbat's military support of the Caliph again complicated the relations between the Bagratids and the Sād̄jids. On this occasion, however, Gagik Arcruni allied himself with Yūsuf. Smbat Bagratuni had found the close relations between the growing might of the Arcrunis and the Sād̄jids very suspicious and as a punishment had taken Naḡcawan from the Arcrunis and given it to the princes of Siwnik' (96). The active and able Gagik Arcruni not only split the Armenian kingdom in return for the royal crown, which he received from Yusuf, but even opened the way for the conflicts which were to prove disastrous for the Bagratid kingdom. The Armenian kingdom never regained the unity of the reign of Ašot I after Gagik Arcruni became an independent king in A.D. 908, and after a five year struggle against the joint forces of the Sād̄jids and the Arcrunis, Smbat I was finally defeated and slain. A new period whose characteristic trait was to be fragmentation had been inaugurated.

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CHAPTER III

THE EMIRATES IN THE PERIOD OF FRAGMENTATION OF ARMENIA

With the downfall of the kingdom of Smbat I, Bagratid Armenia was fragmented into a series of autonomous principalities. The kingdom of Armenia was not alone in its decline; the whole of the *ostikanate* of Arminiya, which had existed, at least in name, as a tax district of the Caliphate until the death of Smbat I, now fell apart. Iberia consisted of the kingdoms of K'art'li and Abkhazia, of the principality of Kazet'i, and of the emirate of Tp'his (1). The Bagratids of Tarōn formed a separate political unit, which however acknowledged the senior authority of the Armenian kings. In the northern part of the territory of Albania was located the kingdom of Albania (Šak'ē), in its eastern portion lay the emirates of Shirwān and Derbent, while the districts of Baylakan (P'aytakaran) and Partaw were part of the territory of Azerbaidjan (2).

In the tenth century, the kingdom of Armenia was subdivided into the following parts: the Bagratid kingdom proper; the kingdoms of Tasir-Joraget, P'arīsos, Kars, Siwnik', and Vaspurakan; the principalities of Tarōn, Anjewac'ik', Mekk', Xac'en, and so forth; and the various Arab emirates.

changes

The fragmentation of Armenia was caused by both internal and external stimuli. Feudal relations in this period took on a new form as a result of which the landed princes intensified their autonomous and centrifugal tendencies. The large feudal domain containing numerous districts was the hall-mark of the period. The vicissitudes of Armenia in the eighth and ninth centuries had introduced radical transformations into its *naḫarar* composition. Many of the ancient *naḫarar* families such as the Mamikonean, Kamsarakans, Gnunis, Rstunis, and other ceded their place to other houses among whom three, the Bagratunis, Arcrunis and Siwnis stood out in particular. In this period the great feudal estates consisted not only of the original domain, but also of acquired territories and other lands received as fiefs. Such landholds were characterized by instability. In the tenth century, for example, the Bagratunis expanded at the expense of the fallen Mami-

koneans or of the Kamsarakans, while the Arcrunis and the Kaysites annexed, as we shall see, the lands of the declining 'Uthmānids. The great feudatories seized new lands by force, or occasionally bought them (acquired lands) as for instance Širak had been bought by the Bagratids from the Kamsarakans. Sometimes new lands were granted as benefices, a system which led to internal dissensions. Thus, for example, the granting of Naḫcawan first to Vaspurakan and then to the Prince of Siwnik' (3) served as a pretext for a rebellion which destroyed the foundations of the Bagratid kingdom. Another example of such a benefice was the wresting of the province of Ernjak from the Siwnis and its grant to the emir of Golt'n by the Sādjid Yūsuf. On this occasion also, a contest arose between the rulers of Siwnik' and Golt'n. In such cases the rulers of the territory displayed charters to bolster their rights over the granted provinces. Smbat I granted such a charter for the province of Naḫcawan first to the Prince of Vaspurakan and then to the Prince of Siwnik', whereas the emir of Golt'n asserted to Smbat Prince of Siwnik' that the province of Ernjak had been granted to him «by the court» (4).

Such conditions of land tenure could hardly favour the unity of the Armenian highlands. On the contrary, as the feudal relations deepened, the centrifugal autonomous tendencies of the provinces increased. Only a monarch as powerful as Ašot I could preserve the unity of the kingdom. Smbat I was able to contain the rebellions for a time, but he remained totally helpless when foreign interference (by the Sādjids of Azerbaidjan) compounded the difficulties.

Still another factor, added to the above mentioned separatist tendencies of Armenia in this period, increased the problems of the Bagratid kings. This was the existence of the Arab emirates whose activity essentially reflected the two (internal and external) influences noted above. As princes striving for local autonomy, the struggle of the emirs was part and parcel of the separatist tendencies of the other Armenian feudatories. But as an intrusive element, they preserved their foreign character in the Armenian milieu, and as a result of their ethnic and religious ties with Azerbaidjan and Syria, as well as Upper Mesopotamia, they served as crucial bases for the rulers of these countries. Up to a certain point, the emirates even divided Armenia into several sections from an economic point of view. The emirate of Dwin cut Siwnik' and Arc'aḫ from Širak and Aršarunik'; the Kaysite emirate completely isolated Tarōn from the whole of Armenia and simultaneously separated Vaspurakan from Širak and Aršarunik'.

The Armenian emirates of this period can be divided into two groups: to the first belong the emirates of the Araxes valley — Dwin and Golt'n, while in the second are to be found the south-western emirates of the Kaysites, of the 'Uthmānids, of the city of Karin, and others.

A considerable transformation had also taken place in the composition of the Armenian emirates in this period. The 'Uthmānids of Berkri were

the first to be eliminated, as their lands had been for the most part absorbed by the Kaysites. But the greatest transformation had taken place in Ajnik', where the Zurārid house of Arzn had already been absorbed by the Shaybānī at the end of the ninth century, with only a small fragment surviving south-west of Lake Van. In order to find materials for his building activities, Gagik Areruni attacked the village of Kotom in Ajnik' which was ruled by the descendants of the Zurārids,

he found near the gates of Assyria in the village of Kotom a fortress of the princes of Ajnik' which was the personal domain of a house called Zurarek'. After extirpating them to the last man and destroying their fortress to its foundation, he transported its stones through the waves of the sea to serve for the construction of the church of the Holy Cross at Alt'amar (5).

In the first quarter of the tenth century the Shaybānī likewise vanished, having gradually lost their possessions after the clash between Smbat I and Aḥmad al-Shaybānī. Unfortunately, their decline and disappearance are not described clearly in either the Armenian or especially the Muslim historians. Ibn al-Athir merely records that in A.H. 302 (= A.D. 914/5) one of the generals of the Caliph carried out a great massacre of the Shaybānī tribe, because they had looted commercial caravans (6).

Thus, only four emirates of which we can speak with some degree of precision were left in tenth century Armenia. These were the emirates of Dwin, of Golt'n, of Manazkert (the Kaysites), and of the city of Karin.

1. *The Creation of the Emirates of Dwin and Golt'n in the Sādjid Principality*

After its capture by the Sādjids, Dwin revived as a military base and became an important position in their long war against Smbat I. It was there that Yūsuf imprisoned the Armenia princes who had fallen into his hands, as well as the Kat'olikos John. It was at Dwin that King Smbat I was finally crucified. During the nearly thirty years of Sādjid rule, Dwin was isolated from the Armenian kingdom not only politically but from every point on view. Its domination was the cause for the final transfer of the kat'olikosate from the city. The kat'olikos John had already established himself at Vałarsapat after the earthquake of 893/4. Unable to return to Dwin, he lived for the most part a wandering life and at last, as we shall see, hopelessly retired to Vaspurakan (7). Thus Dwin was deprived of the influence of both its Armenian secular and spiritual princes and was obviously more strongly affected by the Muslim element. It was probably in the Sādjid period that the palace of the kat'olikos at Dwin was turned into a mosque so that a Muslim house of prayer was erected by the side of the cathedral

and only a few steps from it. The kat'olikos John Draxanakertci always dreamed of reestablishing the residence of the kat'olikos at Dwin (8), but political circumstances prevented this, and we do not know the fate of the cathedral church of St. Gregory (9). The presence of a Christian church so close to a mosque could arouse nothing but surprise, so that the Arab authors themselves add as a matter of course that the same situation existed at Emesa (Hims or Homs in Syria) whenever they report on the case of Dwin. So Ibn Hawkal writes, «the main mosque is next to the church» and then adds to dispel the amazement of the reader, «just as the mosque at Hims is linked with a church, being both next to and adjacent to it» (10).

Even though Dwin had fallen into the hands of the Sādjids, the city was not directly joined to Azerbaidjan. Consequently, Yūsuf created the emirate of Golt'n in the section of the Araxes valley which stretched from Dwin to Azerbaidjan. The province of Golt'n had formed a part of the district of Vaspurakan from the earliest times. At the time of the notorious massacre of Naḫcawan under the Umayyads (A.D. 706), Xosrov Prince of Golt'n had been one of the victims together with a great number of *naxarars*, but his son Vahan had been taken to Damascus as a prisoner and converted to Islam. Vahan returned to his native province, however, and even reverted to the faith of his ancestors because he had married the daughter of the Prince of Siwnik'. The Arabs did not forgive him for this deed, Vahan was martyred, and is well known as a martyr in mediaeval literature. Some thirty years later a certain Prince Sahak is mentioned as ruler of Golt'n. By that time, the province had probably already passed voluntarily to Siwnik' (11). At the beginning of the tenth century, probably in the very period of Yūsuf's rule, this province was held by an intruder Arab emir whom John Draxanakertci merely calls the Agarene without giving his name. This emir had seized the province by force («he had succeeded by violence in the province of Golt'n») (12) and enjoyed the protection of the Sādjids. After the seizure of the fortress of Ernjak, Yūsuf handed it over to him as well, thereby increasing the power of the emirate of Golt'n (13).

In the tenth century, the emirs of Golt'n sought to expand up the valley of the Araxes and Naḫcawan was the first city that had to be captured for this expansion. During the period of Arab domination, it was a sort of outpost for Dwin where the *ostikans* often stopped before making their entrance into Dwin. It was in the church of Naḫcawan that the *ostikan* al-Kasim had burned the Armenian *naxarars* alive. The administrative importance of Naḫcawan is demonstrated by the fact that the *ostikans* often left their lieutenants there, for example, Bugha posted Ibrāhim at Naḫcawan on his own withdrawal from Armenia (14). In the second half of the ninth century, however, Naḫcawan was already under the power of the Bagratids. Traditionally, the province of Naḫcawan had been considered one of the possessions of the rulers of Vaspurakan, but in the Arab period it belonged for the most part to Siwnik'. At the end of the ninth century,

King Smbat I gave Naxçawan to the Arcrunis in return for the services rendered by Ašot Arcruni at the time of the struggle with the Kaysites (15). Siwnik⁷ rebelled at this time, but resumed its allegiance to Smbat I at the intervention of Ašot Arcruni. When Gagik Arcruni subsequently revolted, King Smbat took Naxçawan from the Arcrunis and transferred it to the Prince of Siwnik⁷ (16). However, the Siwnis were not able to keep Naxçawan for long in the tenth century. As we shall see, the city had already escaped from their dominion by the second half of the century.

Yūsuf seemed to have achieved his goal with the defeat and death of Smbat I. The Armenian kingdom was split into two portions. In Vaspurakan Gagik Arcruni ruled with the title of king, while in the core possessions of the Bagratids — Sirak-Arsarunik⁷ — Yūsuf sponsored the *sparapet*, Ašot, son of Šapuh Bagratuni, as a pretender to the Armenian throne (17), despite the fact that Ašot had no influence whatsoever, even in the northern Armenian districts. Armenia was in an extremely difficult situation, but Yūsuf's sovereignty was only illusory. Even Vaspurakan had already abandoned Yūsuf on the eve of Smbat's defeat and assumed the rôle of defender against him (18). The kingdom of Vaspurakan was relatively strong and well fortified from a military point of view. All the attacks of Azerbaidjan proved vain, and Vaspurakan became the obstacle which hindered the subsequent activities of the Sādjids in Armenia.

Immediately after the execution of Smbat I, his son Ašot made his appearance. He refused to recognize the rule of his cousin Ašot son of Šapuh, and began an all out struggle for the restoration of his father's kingdom. Through the Kat'olikos John Drasžanakerc'i, Ašot entered into diplomatic relations with Byzantium (19). He went personally to Constantinople, returned to Armenia with a supporting army, and renewed the contest against both the Sādjids and the rebellious Armenian princes.

Hearing of Prince Ašot's return, Yūsuf summoned the *sparapet* Ašot son of Šapuh to Dwin and placed a crown on his head. Through this action three kings were created in Armenia, all of whom considered themselves to be «King of Greater Armenia». These were Ašot II son of Smbat I, Gagik Arcruni of Vaspurakan, and Ašot son of Šapuh [the anti-king Ašot] (19a).

While the anti-king Ašot came and consolidated himself at Dwin, his cousin Ašot II attacked Arsarunik⁷ (20). As a result, the situation was complicated to a still greater degree and for two whole years the Kat'olikos John was unable to reconcile the cousins. Nevertheless, Ašot II's position had greatly improved and Yūsuf suddenly decided to recognize him by sending him a crown, precious objects, horses with gold trappings, and even a contingent of cavalry («and a detachment of Ismailite horsemen for his support» (21). Yūsuf's unexpected shift of policy was the result of his own difficulties in Persia. Moreover, since Ašot II had subdued most of northern Armenia *de facto*, all that remained was to recognize him *de jure* as well.

Immediately after receiving the crown, Ašot II fell on his rival, who had apparently already lost the protection of the Sādjid, although he still held Dwin (22). The kat'olikos vainly strove to reconcile the two Ašots, but the king remained unshakeable, putting his trust in his forces. When he failed to take Dwin and was defeated by the army of the anti-king, Ašot II appealed to the Iberian prince Gurgen and came once more to Vałarsapat with a supporting host to launch a new campaign. But this time, the intervention of the kat'olikos was effective in preventing an effusion of blood (23).

The presence of the anti-king Ašot at Dwin, which corresponds approximately to the period A.D. 918-920, was the result of his inability to remain in his own domain of Aršarunik'. His residence was Bagaran, the ancient center of the Bagratids, while Ašot II and his father Smbat I had chosen Erazgawors (Širakawan) as their capital. Nevertheless, the presence of the anti-king at Dwin, which was considered to be the capital of the country, was unacceptable to Ašot II. Consequently, he again came to Dwin and carried out a great slaughter. Unfortunately, the historian does not tell us against whom King Ašot II was fighting on this occasion, nor who were the rebels whom he reduced to obedience («he quelled their insolent and rude revolt with the yoke of his servitude») (24). This passage becomes clearer however if we note that the historian adds a little further that when King Ašot II bent Dwin to his will, he withdrew and went to Iberia (25). From this it is quite clear that both Dwin and the anti-king Ašot who had his residence in the city, had been defeated and subdued by Ašot II.

Similarly, the revolt of Yusuf against the Caliph and his consequent imprisonment radically altered their relations, to the advantage of Ašot II (26). A new governor named Sbuk^c (arab. Subuk) was appointed over Azerbaidjan and behaved with great circumspection toward the Bagratid kingdom (27). As the sole legitimate heir of the vast Bagratid realm, Ašot II established his rights over the northern districts, while in the south, the Bagratids of Tarōn were linked to him by definite ties. The Kaysites withdrew from the suzerainty of the Bagratid kingdom of their own will, and the King of Vaspurakan was in a difficult situation, so that Ašot was no longer faced by any rivals. The isolation of the anti-king Ašot also fortified the position of Ašot II, especially from an international point of view. As a result, Subuk, as the representative of the Caliph, granted to him the title of Shāhanshāh (King of Kings) (28), thereby stressing his superiority over the other two kings. Byzantium had already recognized Ašot II as the only Bagratid king, but the grant of the title of Shāhanshāh by the Caliphate marked the end of the career of the anti-king Ašot both *de facto* and *de jure*.

The anti-king Ašot was probably at Dwin at this time, consequently, the Shāhanshāh came to the district of Kotayk', after having consolidated his position, and summoned his former rival to make peace. Through the

intervention of the kat'olikos and of his entourage, the anti-king came to the Shāhanshāh in Kotayk' and concluded a treaty of peace with him. The two cousins then went together to Dwin, which had already become subject to the Armenian king. It seems that the dissatisfied leading Muslim element of the city, probably the religious leaders, had undertaken some hostile activities, which the king successfully quelled (29). The passage here is not very clear. It is possible that this account is referring to the kat'olikosate whose property and estates had fallen into Muslim hands, and which the kat'olikos John was expending great efforts to recover. In any case, Dwin at that moment was in Armenian hands, and the Shāhanshāh together with the anti-king Ašot marked this day with rejoicing and celebrations. The Shāhanshāh then withdrew once again, while his cousin probably remained temporarily as ruler of the city, although the subsequent course of events shows that he did not stay there long, but preferred to return to Bagaran. The Bagratid capture of Dwin had a temporary character, even though only by holding Dwin would Ašot II have been able to consolidate his sovereignty over the whole of the Armenian highlands.

Ašot II's blow against Dwin strengthened the position of the Prince of Siwnik', who demanded the return of the district and fortress of Ernjak from the emir of Golt'n. As we know, Yūsuf had seized this fortress (in which the Armenian *naxarar* families had revolted) as early as A.D. 913 and had handed it over to the emir of Golt'n, to the great displeasure of the princes of Siwnik'. The great Prince of Siwnik', Smbat, and his three brothers consequently began a war against him. It is interesting to note here that, according to John Drasxanakertc'i (30), Smbat of Siwnik', in addition to his own troops, had also brought a mercenary army composed of «Scythian Turks» or «Gabaonac'i» who had camped in Siwnik' in tents (31). But as a result of the betrayal of this contingent, the Arabs (Agarenes) from Golt'n were victorious, while the «Turks» themselves fled to Naḫcawan.

The Bagratid kingdom paid a high price for the help of Byzantium whose real motives immediately became clear. In exchange for the help given, and under the pretext of waging war against the Caliphate, the Empire reserved for itself the right to campaign in Armenia, certain of whose districts fell under imperial influence. In A.D. 922 the Byzantine army led by John Kurkuas reached Dwin where Subuk was in residence at the time. The latter summoned Ašot Shāhanshāh to his assistance and the Armenian king obeyed. Protected by the Arab and Armenian forces, Dwin remained impregnable so that the Greek army raised the siege and withdrew,

In the second year of his reign, he (Romanos Lekapenos) raised a great host and sent the Demeslikos [Domestic of the Scholae] to the city of Dwin wherein was the emir Spk'i who had called Ašot Šahansah to the city to his assistance. And the host of the Greeks came, they besieged Dwin and could not take it, and returned from there(32).

Arab historians are not the only ones to pass over this expedition in silence, even the contemporary John Drasxanakertc'i preferred to remain mute about this attack of the «Christian shielding» Empire against the Armenian kingdom. Nevertheless, he involuntarily refers to the secret aims of Byzantium in this period to incite the Armenian *naḫarars* against Ašot II. Thus, when Ašot II, having received the title of Shāhanshāh from the Caliphate and crushed the anti-king Ašot at Dwin, turned to the province of Utik' in order to settle a final score with the rebellious *naḫarar* C'lik Amram, he found that the latter had revolted with the support of John Kurkuas. Amram even wished to enter into Kurkuas' service («he condescended and was pleased to assume the yoke of servitude to the foreigner Gurgen [Kurkuas] who was Prince of Princes of the country of Gamirk' [Cappadocia]») (33). These events in Utik' took place ca. A.D. 920-922, and were consequently closely connected with the expedition against Dwin.

The situation altered again to the detriment of Ašot II at the death of Subuk and the release of Yūsuf in A.D. 923. Yūsuf renewed the war against Ašot II with new intensity, once again using Dwin as a base of operations. As his representative in Armenia, Yūsuf sent Naṣr al-Subukī (34), who first halted at Naḫcawan and imprisoned there the Siwni princes opposed to him. Then, the princes and magnates of Dwin («the senior *naḫarars*»), who were for the most part Armenians, came to meet him at the village of K'arunj'. Naṣr brought forty of them in chains with him to Dwin (35). The Armenian element had apparently revived at Dwin during the period of the residence of the anti-king Ašot, all the more so as a result of the destruction of the Muslim party by Ašot Shāhanshāh. Naṣr consequently wished to strengthen the position of the Muslims in the city by his imprisonment of the Armenian magnates.

Naṣr also directed repressive measures against Armenian monasteries and churches. The Kat'olikos John was extremely concerned about the palace of the kat'olikos at Dwin, and had even begun negotiations with Naṣr to resolve this problem, since he had been unable to return to Dwin for a long time. At first, Naṣr agreed and even gave an oath in writing («he wrote an oath in accordance with the laws of his Kuran») (36), but when the Muslim religious leaders of Dwin looked on this decision as harmful, one of them («a judge of the lawless religion of Muḫammad») succeeded in persuading Naṣr to rescind his decision and even to arrest the Kat'olikos and seize his property. Naṣr's soldiers came to Gefard and to Biwrakan, but the Kat'olikos had already fled to the anti-king Ašot at Bagaran. Naṣr acquired the entire property of the kat'olikosate at Dwin and all the villages which belonged to it. In this manner the seat of the Kat'olikos was finally removed from Dwin, thus weakening still further the Armenian party in the city.

Naṣr soon returned to Azerbaidjan leaving a certain Bashir as governor. At this time Ašot II Erkat', wearied by the long drawn out struggle, had withdrawn to the monastery of Sewan. Encouraged by the earlier suc-

cessful raid of Naṣr against the Kat'olikos at Biwrakan, Bashir launched an expedition of his own against the king. But Aṣot II, who had been resting on the island of Sewan routed Bashir so thoroughly that he fled back to Dwin, suffering a second defeat on the way at the hands of Prince George (Marzpetuni) (37).

In the midst of all these crises the Byzantine army again attacked Dwin. It had probably crossed from Basēn to Arsarunik' and come down to Dwin along the valley of the Araxes. Ibn al-Athir records this campaign under the date A.H. 315 (= A.D. 927/8) and describes it in an interesting passage. The large Greek army under the command of the «Dumustuk» (Domestic) fell on Dwin in which stood Naṣr al-Subuki with his forces. After a bloody contest, the army of the Domestic succeeded in approaching the wall and breaching an entrance, thus penetrating into the city. But the population and the soldiers inside Dwin opposed such a resistance that the Greeks retreated having lost some ten thousand men (38). We do not know the reaction of Aṣot II to the Byzantine attack on this occasion, but in any case, the opposition of the inhabitants of Dwin to the Greeks indicates that the sympathies of the population were not on the side of the attackers.

After these events, Naṣr withdrew from Dwin, and the rule of the Sād̄jids over the whole of Azerbaidjan likewise came to an end at this time (A.D. 929) (39).

2. Dwin between A.D. 929 and 941

Aṣot II was succeeded by his brother Abas (A.D. 928-953) in whose reign the fragmentation of the kingdom increased still further. Anarchy also reigned over Azerbaidjan where various princes of Iranian origin succeeded one another after the disappearance of the Sād̄jids. The last Sād̄jid was Abu'l-Musafir Fath who was succeeded by Muffih [al-Yūsufi], one of the Sād̄jid vassals (40). The Arcruni Anonymous speaks of his common origin in the following manner («there arose the sons of maidservants and slaves of the house of Apusaĉ [Abi-Sād̄j]») (41).

During this period Armenia found itself in an unfavourable position only insofar as it was deprived of its central principalities, but the country as a whole was in a flourishing condition. No harassment came from the Caliphate and Armenia did not even pay tribute to the 'Abbāsids. Moreover, the disappearance of the Sād̄jids now freed Armenia from this dangerous threat. Nevertheless, Armenia had been drained to such a degree by the almost thirty-years' war against the Sād̄jids, that King Abas did not even attempt to reconquer Dwin. For nearly twelve years, therefore, (A.D. 929-941) Dwin remained for the most part in an uncertain status.

One Arabic coin bearing the date A.H. 319 = A.D. 931) and the name Yūsuf b. Dīwdād has come down to us from this period (42). The place of emission is given as «Armīniya», and in this period the legend «Armīniya»

cannot mean anything but Dwin (and not Partaw), since Armīniya could designate only Armenia. The existence of this coin is evidence that the mint at Dwin was still functioning at this time and that the city was in the hands of elements having definite ties with Azerbaidjan since they were still striking currency with the earlier dies bearing the name of the fallen Sād̄jids.

In this period, the kingdom of Vaspurakan was the most powerful unit in Greater Armenia under the outstandingly brilliant reign of Gagik Arcruni (A.D. 908-943) (43). Although Gagik had played a negative part in the war waged against the Bagratid kingdom, after Smbat I's death Vaspurakan became the target for all enemy attacks directed from Azerbaidjan as well as other regions, and the resistance opposed by Gagik Arcruni to Yūsuf's numerous inroads proved of great assistance in the struggle carried on by Ašot II. The same conditions prevailed in the reign of Abas I. Thus Ibn al-Athīr notes that in A.H. 317 (= A.D. 929/30) Mufīh al-Sād̄ji (the historian considers him to be a Sād̄jid) fought against the «Dumustuk» (Domestic) who was defeated and Mufīh advanced into Roman territory. This attack could only have taken place if he crossed to the territory of the Kaysite emirs by way of northern Vaspurakan and only then came into conflict with the Greeks. Another indication of the same historian testifies to such a possibility. In A.H. 319 (= A.D. 931), Ibn al-Dayrāni (i.e. Gagik son of Derenik Arcruni) and others led the Greeks, whom they had incited against the Kaysites. The Greeks attacked Xlat' and other cities and killed many Muslims. Mufīh immediately intervened and, having attacked Vaspurakan, carried out an enormous slaughter (according to Ibn al-Athīr he massacred 100,000 men) (45).

Around the late 930's, Armenia was attacked from Azerbaidjan by an Arab general whose name is not given by the historians, who merely say that he was an experienced soldier («a man of the Arab nation, a man experienced in war and in military matters») (46). He entered Goh'n, then, by way of Naḡāwan, advanced into Šarur and captured the «capital» of Dwin. Thence he sent a demand for tribute to Abas Bagratuni, evidently wishing to raise from the Armenians a tribute similar to the one paid in the past. Faced with such a threat, Abas and Gagik joined forces, and although Abas rushed forth and was defeated, according to the historian of the Arcruni house, Gagik's army soon arrived and the struggle changed character. The Arcruni forces pitched their camp on the other bank of the Araxes [from Dwin] on the hill of Gino which stood opposite Xor Virap. To encourage the soldiers, the Kat'olikos Elišē prayed at the summit of the hill. The enemy army crossed the river, but the Armenians, who had taken their position on the hill, killed eight thousand of their men with a powerful charge. Then, crossing the river in their turn they struck at Dwin. When Gagik threatened to burn the city, the magnates of Dwin («the elders of the city») sued for peace bringing tribute and hostages. Gagik Arcruni contented himself with this and returned without taking Dwin to the castle of Dariwnk' to

which he had sent many prisoners from the battlefield (46a). In accordance with his statement that no ruler of Azerbaidjan was worthy of mention in this period, Thomas Arcruni fails to record the name of this general, who must have been one of the outstanding contemporary figures of Azerbaidjan such as Muflih, Lashkari b. Mardi, or Daysam b. Ibrahīm al-Kurdi.

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Muflih must have ruled until approximately A.H. 323-326 (= A.D. 934/5-937/8), since Daysam b. Ibrahīm was already ruling in A.H. 326, when Lashkari b. Mardi came into conflict with him (47). At first, Lashkari was victorious over Daysam, but after having met with stiffer resistance and been defeated by Daysam at Ardabil, he fled to Mughan. There he raised an army and defeated Daysam anew. When the latter counterattacked yet again, with the help of an army furnished by Washmgir b. Ziyār, Lashkari persuaded his men to make an expedition against Armenia. A description of this adventurer's incursion into Vaspurakan is given by Ibn Miskawayh who notes under the date A.D. 937/8 that Lashkari attacked Anjewac'ik' (al-Zawazān) which was ruled by Atūm b. Djurdjin (Atom son of Gurgen), who «was a relative of the Armenian king, Ibn al-Dayrāni (Gagik son of Derenik Arcruni)». Atūm urged Lashkari to halt his expedition, but failing to receive a satisfactory answer, routed him completely in a narrow gorge. According to the evidence of the Arab historian, Atūm slaughtered five thousand men among whom was found Lashkari himself (48).

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The victory of the Arcrunis favoured the success in Azerbaidjan of Daysam, who had always considered Vaspurakan as his ally. After these events, Daysam also conquered Dwin, as we learn from a coin in the Hermitage at Leningrad bearing the date A.H. 330 (= A.D. 941/2). This coin (a silver *dirham*) was transferred together with five others in 1938 to the Hermitage from a private collection and its exceptional importance was recognized after a detailed and thorough analysis by the numismatist A. Bykov. A description of this coin which bears the legend «Daysam b. Ibrahīm» is given by Bykov in his article devoted to Daysam. The place of emission is given as «Arminiya» and the date is A.H. 330 (49). Bykov demonstrates convincingly that in this period the legend «Arminiya» must refer to the mint at Dwin, since by that time Arminiya could be equated only with Armenia and not with the earlier *ostikanate* of Arminiya, which had long ceased to exist. The date A.H. 330 (= A.D. 941/2) appears to be the last year of Daysam's rule, since immediately thereafter Azerbaidjan together with Dwin fell under the domination of the Sallarids.

3. *The Kaysites*

The Kaysite emirate of Manazkert had acquired a special position among the emirates of Bagratid Armenia. It was a feudal lordship with a hereditary rule typical for this period, which is not the case of the emirates of either Dwin or Karin, where chance figures usually succeeded one another.

A very interesting account of the history of the Kaysites is given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (50) whose information, taken in conjunction with the material found in Arabic and Armenian sources, gives us the possibility of presenting a complete history of the Kaysites.

At the time of the death of Smbat I, the Kaysite emirate was in the hands of three brothers who had divided their father's inheritance (51). The possessions of the elder, Abī Sawāda, consisted of Manazkert, Koroy Jor, and Hark'; the second, Abu'l-Aswad, received Arcēs, Xlat', and Arckē (arab. Dāt al-Djauz, gk. Altzike). With him is also mentioned his cousin on the paternal side, Aḥmad (b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān) whom he had adopted. The third brother, Abū Sālim, received the castle of C'ermac'u [Tzermatzou], which should not be identified with Jermajor (in Mokk'), as was done by Honigmann (52), but rather with Sermanc', which is found in the north-western part of Hark'. These territories formed three emirates which stretched in a continuous chain from Ajnik' to the city of Karin. Although the three Kaysite brothers had become independent of the Bagratid kingdom, they were still forced to face on the other side the Byzantine threat, the struggle against which required the maintenance of a large army.

The threat of the Sādjid̄s of Azerbaidjan had compelled Ašot Bagratuni [Ašot II] to turn to Byzantium for help on certain terms. The intermediary between the king and the Byzantine court, John the Kat'ofikos, often repeats in his letter addressed to the Byzantine emperor the belief that if the Armenian kingdom freed itself from Muslim attacks with Imperial help, it would come under the protectorate of Byzantium (54). Although we do not know the terms on which Ašot obtained an army from the Emperor, it is evident from the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that, in exchange for its small military support, the Empire considered the Armenian king Ašot II as one of its client princes. In speaking of the Armenian ruler, Constantine Porphyrogenitus not only refuses to use the title «Shāhanshāh» but even that of «king», and refers to him ambiguously as «Prince of Princes», because according to him, the Byzantine Emperor is the only Christian king. As a result of this attitude, Byzantium regularly considered the Kaysite emirate as its subordinate as well, and this was also the case for the city of Karin and others. Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives the following formulation of the Imperial relations with Armenia,

Since the prince of princes (i.e. Ašot II) is the servant of the emperor of the Romans, being appointed by him and receiving his dignity from him, it is obvious that the cities and towns and territories of which he is lord also belong to the emperor of the Romans (55).

Being aware of this attitude on the part of the Empire, Ašot II rapidly severed his ties with it and probably sent back the supporting Byzantine army as well. Nevertheless, some of the western provinces of Armenia

remained for a long time under Byzantine influence. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the tribute which the three Kaysite brothers had first paid to Smbat I was transferred to Byzantium after his death (55a). In reality, this subordination existed only on a very restricted scale, since the status of certain provinces of western Armenia — Karin, Basēn, Mananafi, Hark', Apahunik', Aġiovit, Arberani, Tarōn, etc. — remained uncertain from the death of Smbat I until their seizure by Byzantium. They were cut off from the Armenian kingdom, while the Empire simultaneously strove to subject them, and the Muslim world did not wish to be deprived of them, since it was well aware of their great military significance as a bulwark against Byzantine attacks.

Under these circumstances, the Kaysites were able to enjoy a reasonable autonomy and were not directly subject to anyone. No division existed between the separate possessions of the three brothers and they generally appeared as a single unit. This favourable situation even made it possible for them to acquire new lands. As we have already seen, the 'Uthmānids of Berkri had sided with the Armenian king at the time of the events of A.D. 902, in opposition to the rebellious Kaysites who had taken from them the castle of Erikaw (56). After the defeat of the Kaysites, Smbat I had returned this fortress to the 'Uthmānids, but the rulers of Berkri remained continually under the Kaysite threat, and after the king's death, the Kaysite Abu'l-Aswad, who was already lord of Arcēs, became ruler of Berkri as well. The 'Uthmānids disappear completely from historical sources after 902. A few years later, Gagik Arcruni wrested from them the fortress of Amiwk, and all of their possessions were taken away (57). Being Arabs, probably of the Sulaym tribe, they fused with the Kaysites, as had the Djahhāfids. The downfall of the Shaybāni likewise made it possible for the Kaysites to annex the city of Bales.

The Kaysites ruled exclusively in the districts of Turuberan, which were essentially, Apahunik', Kori, Hark', Varažnunik', Aġiovit, Xořxorunik', and Bznunik', but their possessions did not extend far to the west since the Bagratids of Tarōn ruled in Olnut (58). The instinctive policy of the Kaysite emirs and of the Armenian emirs in general was to consolidate themselves in the cities having a commercial importance. We do not know of a single Arab emir who settled for a long time in any mountain fortress of Armenia or who ruled over any mountain district, as was the characteristic pattern of the native Armenian princes. The possessions of the Kaysite emirs in Armenia were urban, consequently the surrounding districts and villages located a little further out lay outside the sphere of their attention. These areas were ruled by the descendants of the Armenian princely houses and by small feudatories. The Kaysites formed only the upper stratum of the population in all their possessions and essentially only in the cities at that. In rural districts their position was precarious, since not only the village population but even the minor landed princes were Armenians. The Kaysites'

only support came from the Arab contingents settled in the cities, it consisted essentially of soldiers, and of the Muslim forces which came from various regions of the Caliphate to fight against the Byzantine Empire.

The period of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' co-emperor, Romanos Lekapenos (A.D. 919-944) was one of endemic warfare against the Caliphate (59). The commander of twenty successful annual expeditions against the Caliphate, John Kurkuas (Yovhannēs Gurgen) had weakened the position of the Arabs in Asia Minor with constant attacks, and the Kaysites had saved themselves only by paying tribute to Byzantium. The Empire had similarly reduced the Bagratids of Tarōn to the level of tributaries. Even so, the payment of the tribute did not prevent Kurkuas from making incursions from time to time against the Armenian districts isolated from the Bagratid kingdom. In A.D. 922 and 928-929, his raids even reached as far as Dwin. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who considers the expeditions against western Armenia as quite natural, writes that in the time of the reign of Romanos Lekapenos, John Kurkuas led a raid against Dwin and devastated Basēn which lay in the hands of the Saracens (60). A similar expedition against Basēn was also made by Kurkuas' brother Theophilos, who was the *strategos* of the *theme* of Khaldia. One of Kurkuas' greatest victories was the capture of Melitene, and he even compelled its emir, Abū Hafṣ to accompany the Byzantine army against the Caliphate. The fall of Melitene left the way open first to Ajṣnik' and Syria and subsequently toward Mesopotamia.

After his unsuccessful expedition against Dwin, Kurkuas attacked the Kaysites, took Xlat' without shedding blood, removed the *minbar* from the mosque and erected a cross in its place (61). When the same was also done at Bales, the Arabs from Arzn and other cities appealed to the Caliph but received no help from him. This was the situation at Melitene, which had been taken by the Greeks, Np'rkert, Amida, and Arzn in A.H. 317 (= A.D. 929/30) (62). At this point, the governor of Azerbaidjan, Muffih arrived to protect the law of Islam. According to the Arab historian, he defeated the Domestic and even pursued him onto Roman territory (63).

Realizing the danger, King Gagik of Vaspurakan (Ibn al-Dayrāni), together with the other Armenian border princes, turned to Byzantium and aroused it against the Muslims. In A.H. 319 (= A.D. 931), the Greeks entered the territory of the Kaysites in large numbers. They reduced Berkri and Xlat' to ruins and took many prisoners after a great slaughter of the Muslims (64). The aim of Gagik Arcruni was obviously to rule the districts around Lake Van — Arberani, Aliovit, Bznunik', etc. — after he had weakened the Kaysites by means of the Greek intervention. This was especially the case because Arberani had usually been one of the provinces of Vaspurakan (65). However, the governor of Azerbaidjan, Muffih, immediately directed a raid against Gagik Arcruni and caused great damage to Vaspurakan.

4. The Hamdānids and the South-Western Provinces of Armenia

Since the centralized Bagratid kingdom was in existence in the period of Ašot I and Smbat I, Byzantium and the Caliphate had come to blows primarily in Cilicia and in the Euphratine districts, but a new theatre of war was added after the disintegration of Smbat's kingdom. To be sure, some clashes had taken place in the days of Ašot I and Smbat I between Byzantium and the Arabs established in the city of Karin (66), but it was only after the decline of the Armenian kingdom that the armies of the two Empires found a free battle field in the western provinces of Armenia, and this to such a degree, that the meeting points of the forces of Azerbaidjan and Byzantium were located in the central districts of the Armenian highlands.

The successful advance of Byzantium struck terror into the entire Caliphate, whose various component portions realized the necessity of a united struggle. As volunteers, or in official contingents, Muslim soldiers came to the border zone which stretched essentially from the Mediterranean to the Upper Euphrates district. In addition to this, however, a strong local principality was needed to provide a base against the advance of the Greeks. This rôle was to be played in the tenth century by the Hamdānids.

The house of the Hamdānids had its genesis in the north-Arab Taghlib tribe which had settled in Northern Mesopotamia in the district of Mosul (arab. Mawsil) (67). The founder of the house of the Hamdānid emirs was a certain Hamdān b. Hamdūn who fought against the Caliph al-Mu'tadid. His son, Abu'l-Haydjā' was appointed governor of Mosul and this city became his hereditary possession from that time, although many members of this house were appointed governors in various regions. The period of rule of Abu'l Haydjā' 's two sons was the most flourishing one in the history of the Hamdānids. The first of them al-Ḥasan, who received the title of Nāšir al-Dawla in A.D. 941, ruled Mosul, while his brother 'Alī, known as Sayf al-Dawla, moved westward into the Arab-Byzantine border zone until by A.D. 944 he ruled Aleppo and had become the founder of a new branch of the Hamdānid house. Thus, all of Upper Mesopotamia and Northern Syria became the possession of a single house which bordered simultaneously on Bagratid Armenia. The Hamdānids of Mosul were neighbours of the mountain districts of the southern province of Vaspurakan, Anjewac'ik' (arab. al-Zawazān), while the Hamdānids of Aleppo, who ruled the whole of Aġjnik' (arab. Diyār Bakr), bordered on the Bagratids of Tarōn and the western and south-western regions of Lake Van.

In A.D. 935, Nāšir al-Dawla (who had not yet received this title) was attacked by the 'Abbāsīd *wazīr* Ibn Muġla (68), and fled from Mosul to take refuge in Anjewac'ik'. According to the Arab historian, the local Armenian «kings» made their submission to him. The word «king» in this context should be understood as «ruler» or «prince» (*malik* or *melik*), that is to say in the sense of «ruler» of a given district. In this particular case,

it is most probably a reference to the lord of Anjewac'ik', Atom son of Gurgun and perhaps to some other minor princes of southern Vaspurakan as well (69).

The Hamdānids soon spread toward Aġnik' whose ancient rulers, the Shaybānī, had already disappeared. In the 930's, a Hamdānid subordinate, 'Alī b. Dja'far al-Daylamī was installed in Arzn and revolted against Nāsir al-Dawla in 936 (70). The latter had been appointed governor of the whole of the Djazīra that same year, with not only Aġnik', but also all the Euphratine districts near the Byzantine border under his authority. From a very early period, the Hamdānids likewise ruled Mārdīn. Nāsir al-Dawla sent his brother Sayf al-Dawla against the Daylamite naming him governor of the Diyār Bakr. The rebel emir of Arzn turned for help to the lord of Tarōn («Ibn Turnīk» in the text, i.e. «the son of Tornīk'») (71) and convinced him that the establishment of the Hamdānids in Aġnik' would create a threat for Tarōn. However, the rebel was defeated by Sayf al-Dawla, and Tarōn was subject to the attack of the victor (72).

From this time, Sayf al-Dawla began the series of military operations against Byzantium for which he became famous in Arabic history and literature. In the fall of 939, he set out from Mcbin [Nisibis] in a raid toward Armenia, crossed through Manazkert, and turned toward Kālikaṭā (Karin) opposite which the Romans had built a city called Hafdjīdj. According to the Arab historian [Ibn Zāfir], as soon as the Romans heard of the coming of Sayf al-Dawla, they destroyed the city and fled. The Hamdānid emir returned to Arzn and went into winter quarters there (73).

In the spring of 940, Sayf al-Dawla undertook a conquering expedition against the south-western provinces of Armenia which were important for the war against Byzantium. Two minor Arab historians, Ibn Zāfir and Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriki speak of these events. According to Ibn Zāfir (74), Sayf al-Dawla, at the time of his expedition of 940, stopped at Xlat' where he received the King of Armenia and Iberia («malik Armlniya wa Djurzān»), who had never bowed down before any king (75) (literally in the text, «who had not set foot on the carpet of any king», i.e. had not bowed his head). Sayf al-Dawla received him with great honours and took from him certain fortresses which were indispensable to the Muslims. Then, having received an oath of vassalage from him, he sent him back safe and sound. The other princes of Armenia also made their submission. From there Sayf al-Dawla turned to the land of Ibn Turnīk (i.e. the lord of Tarōn), attacked the city of Muš and destroyed a church which was particularly holy in the eyes of the Christians (St. Karapet [St. John the Precursor]?).

The vagueness and exaggerations of Ibn Zāfir in this account are clarified to a certain degree by Ibn al-Azraq (76).

It is said that in the year 328 of the *hidjra* (Oct. 939-Sept. 940) Sayf al-Dawla set out from Mayyāfārikin to Armenia and came down to

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Tayṭawāna (Datwan) which is on the Lake [Van]. And he summoned Ibn Djādjik b. al-Dayrāni (Gagik son of Derenik), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān Abu'l-Muʿizz (76a) lord of Khilāt, Dāt al-Djauz (Arckē), Ardjish, and Barghiri (Berkri), ʿAbd al-Ḥamid lord of Manāzjdjird and Dasht al-Warak and al-Hark (as well as) Ashūt b. Djirdjir (Aṣot son of Grigor), the *baṭirk al-baṭārika* of Arminiya. They came to him who took from al-Dayrāni Ḥiṣn Shahrān and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥamid with their villages and dependencies, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān he took Badlis (Baṭeš) with its dependencies, from Ashūt, the land of Sanāsuna (Sasun) which he conquered and ruled at the castle of Kulb and Ḥiṣn Sulaymān with their dependencies. Then he sent back the kings of Armenia who had (already) entered into his power and service. Then he turned to the land of Ibn al-Marzubān and the land of Khālidiya which he seized; he took many men into captivity and took all their fortresses. All this he accomplished in fifty days and went back (77).

It is clear from this passage who were the Armenian princes that had come to Sayf al-Dawla. The first is the son of Gagik lord of Vaspurakan, who is called Ibn Djādjk (i.e. Derenik-Aṣot Arcruni). The «king of Armenia and Iberia» found in Ibn Zāfir is no other than the king of Vaspurakan Gagik Arcruni who, as pretender to the Bagratid throne, bore all of its titles. Even Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls the Bagratid and Arcruni kings equally Prince of Princes (78) when he records the form of address to be used for Armenian kings and princes, whereas he refers to all the remaining rulers (i.e. the king of Siwnik', the ruler of Anjewac'ik', etc.) merely as «prince». The assumption of this title by Gagik Arcruni suggests that the ruler who had presented himself before Sayf al-Dawla was not Abas Bagratuni himself, as is presumed by M. Canard (79). As for the lands wrested from the patriarchian Aṣot (Prince of Princes), these were in the first place Sasun, as well as the two neighbouring fortresses of Kulb (Kulp) and Ḥiṣn Sulaymān.

A certain amount of confusion is found in the names of the Kaysites. We know from the account of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that Abū Salīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid, the brother of Abū Sawāda, was already ruling at Manazkert in this period, consequently we must add «Ibn» in front of the name of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid given by Ibn al-Azrak, that is to say turn him into the son of ʿAbd al-Ḥamid (80). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, after the death of Abu'l-Aswad lord of Xlat', Arceš, Berkri, and Arckē, he was succeeded by his adopted son and cousin Aḥmad (81), who is none other than the Ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmān Abu'l-Muʿizz mentioned by Ibn al-Azrak, as it is from him that Sayf al-Dawla wrested the city of Baṭeš.

The two fortresses taken from the Arcrunis (Ḥiṣn al-Ḥamid and Ḥiṣn Shahrān) should be sought on the south-western shore of Lake Van, since the lands of the Hamdānids would have formed a single unit through their acquisition. The hypothesis of Markwart, that Ḥiṣn al-Ḥamid might be

the castle of Amiwk (82) is unlikely, since it stood very far from Ajnik'. Gagik Arcruni had most probably taken these fortresses from the successors of the Zurārids.

A certain confusion was introduced into these identifications, however by a line of poetry whose Arabic commentary mixed certain names together. The panegyric poet of Sayf al-Dawla, Abū Firās al-Hamdāni, says the following in the poem [*kasida*] which he composed in honour of this expedition, «Before him bowed down, after a vain resistance, the kings of the *Djahhāfids*, these valiant warriors». The medieval commentator of Abū Firās explained this line in the following fashion,

The *Djahhāfid* kings (designates) Abu'l-Yakzān al-A'lā b. Maslama al-Sulamī, whose city was besieged and taken by Sayf al-Dawla and who fled to the land of the Romans. He obtained a supporting army of twenty thousand from a patrician, this was however put to flight by the emir (Sayf al-Dawla). Al-Sulamī returned and together with his companions made his submission to Sayf al-Dawla who allowed him to enter his city and accepted his submission. Then, he set out against Abu'l-Mu'izz al-Sulamī and Abū Sālim and took their cities, but returned them and confirmed their authority, and they became his subjects (83).

The reference to the *Djahhāfids* in Abū Firās testifies to the fact that the house of the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward was in fact the successor of the *Djahhāfids*, who either had belonged to the Sulaym tribe or had been very closely connected with it. Of the two emirs mentioned at the end, Abu'l-Mu'izz al-Sulamī is identical with the Ahmad mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while Abū Sālim is the youngest of the three Kaysite brothers who ruled in the region of the Sermanc' mountains. Only the first name, Abu'l-Yakzān al-A'lā b. Maslama al-Sulamī is puzzling. In order to determine the identity of this Kaysite emir, M. Canard has presented numerous hypotheses, identifying him at times with one or another of the Kaysites already known to us, and at times concluding that he was some other personage whose domains lay along the border of the Byzantine *theme* of Khaldia (84).

Albeit fragmentary and occasionally contradictory, the information of these three sources, Ibn Zāfir, Ibn al-Azrak al-Fāriki, and the commentator of Abū Firās, throws considerable light on the relations of the Hamdānids with the south-western districts of Armenia. It is clear that the Kaysite brothers became the vassals of Sayf al-Dawla. The Bagratids of Tārōn were in a difficult position, being pressed by hostile forces on all sides, and the separation of Sasun particularly weakened their situation. As for the submission of Gagik Arcruni (or as the text has it, «of the king of Armenia and Iberia»), it is hardly possible to agree with M. Canard, who puts too much faith in the hyperbolic style of the Arab historian. The seizure

of two mountain fortresses does not indicate the total submission of the Arcrunid kingdom to the Hamdānids.

This same campaign is probably also described by Asolik, when he writes that «in E.A. 388 (= A.D. 939) Hamtun entered Kolonia [Koloneia] with a great host and then withdrew thence» (85). Vardan also repeats the same information (86).

At the time of this expedition of Sayf al-Dawla, the domains of the Kaysites had been reduced from three to two. With the death of the eldest brother Abū Sawāda who had ruled Manazkert, as we have seen, the city passed to his son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm. After ʿAbd al-Raḥīm died in his turn, his possessions were inherited not by his younger brother Abu'l-Muʿizz who was a minor, but by his uncle Abu'l-Aswad, who was already ruling at Xlat', Arcēs, and elsewhere. After the death of this latter, Manazkert and the adjacent domains passed to the third brother, Abū Sālīm, while Abu'l-Aswad's own domain — Xlat', Arcēs, and Arckē — was inherited by his adopted son Aḥmad (87). Thus two Kaysite domains were left, the lord of the first being called (Ibn) ʿAbd al-Hamid by Ibn al-Azrak, and that of the second, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Abū Sālīm likewise died very soon and his lands — Apahunik', Hark', Kori, and Sermanc' passed to his son Abu'l Ward [II], who, according to Arabic and Byzantine sources, killed Aḥmad and stole all his possessions (88), so that all the Kaysite domains were once again reunited. These events must have taken place before A.D. 952, since the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in which they are related is considered to have been composed between 949 and 952.

Abu'l-Ward II did not enjoy his power for long. A *ghulām* of Sayf al-Dawla named Nadjā revolted against his master in A.D. 964, in order to establish his own principality under the suzerainty of the Buwayhid Muʿizz al-Dawla in the provinces subject to the Hamdānids. Profiting from the illness of the Hamdānid emir, he attacked Np'rkert, but failed to take the city and went over into Armenia. There, he established his rule over all the possessions of the Kaysite emir Abu'l-Ward II, whom he murdered according to Ibn al-Athīr and Yahyā b. Sa'īd (89). According to Ibn al-Azrak, however, Abu'l-Ward II had fallen from a wall and been killed (90).

In this fashion, the Kaysite principality came to an end after having existed for one century. All the domains of the Kaysites passed to Nadjā and his two brothers who ruled Xlat' and Bales. From Armenia, Nadjā again moved against Np'rkert, but revolts in Manazkert and Xlat' forced him to turn back once again. In Manazkert a popular rising had occurred, but a Sulamī emir, whose name is not given, was also active in the city. The revolt in Xlat' was due to the fact that the army had not been paid. Sayf al-Dawla was likewise involved in all of these risings. He finally forced Nadjā to return to Aġnik' and had him killed at Np'rkert during a banquet. After these events, Sayf al-Dawla came to Armenia in person in order to

take the Kaysite cities, and he returned home in January A.D. 966 (= Safar A.H. 355), bringing with him as captives the two brothers of Nadjā (91).

Information concerning these events is also found in a poem of Abū Fīras al-Hamdānī in which he says that Sayf al-Dawla at first forgave Nadjā, but when the latter abused Sayf al-Dawla during a banquet, he was killed on the spot by one of the emir's servants. On the occasion of this pardon, the poet recalls that Nadjā had ruled the cities of Manazkert, Xlat', Berkri, Arckē, and had killed «Abu'l Ward b. Sālimā», whose name is an obvious distortion of Abu'l-Ward b. Abū Sālim (92). Ibn Miskawayh also gives interesting information on this subject. According to him, Nadjā, upon entering Armenia, was able to persuade the commander of five thousand Muslim soldiers from Khurāsān to fight against Abu'l-Ward II and defeated him in this fashion (93). Muš is also listed among the cities captured from him, but it is not altogether clear whether it had belonged to Abu'l-Ward II or not.

The Hamdānids did not remain long in Armenia. In February of 967 Sayf al-Dawla died, and his principality fell apart.

5. *The City of Karin*

The city of Karin (gk. Theodosiopolis, arab. Kālikalā) was of exceptional importance for the Caliphate as a valuable military base (94).

The century long contest between Byzantium and the Arabs was carried on over a few fronts, in Asia Minor, Cilicia, Crete, etc. The most important of these, Asia Minor, was divided into two sectors (95) — the frontier defenses of Syria and of Upper Mesopotamia (the Djazīra) (96). Closely connected with the frontier zone of Upper Mesopotamia was the third sector, namely the western provinces of Armenia (the district of the Upper Euphrates) (97) with Kamaç and Xarberd (Hişn Ziyad) as its most important points. Opposite these fortifications, Byzantium also had defensive military *themes* (98). These were on the Armenian side, Khaldia, Mesopotamia (which included Upper Armenia, as well as the western provinces of Armenia IV, and had been formed in the tenth century), Lykandos, and others (99).

Until A.D. 867, that is to say until the accession of the Armenian (Macedonian) dynasty, the frontier between the two states did not undergo radical modifications. It was primarily the Arabs who pressed against the Greeks and who directed uninterrupted raids against the Asia Minor *themes*. Basil I (A.D. 867-886) launched successful campaigns both in Mesopotamia and Syria, pushed the frontier southward, and began in his turn to create difficulties for the Arabs. On the Armenian side, however, the frontier remained unchanged until the middle of the tenth century, since the restoration of Armenian independence in the period of Ašot I was obviously equated by Byzantium with a definite retreat of the Arab forces.

In the period of the Arab domination over Armenia, there was no specific fortified border district such as existed, for example, in the Djazīra

or in Syria, under the name of «*thughūr*» (100). The *ostikanate* of Arminiya had a western portion which essentially joined together the western districts of Upper Armenia and Armenia IV, as well as the whole of Turuberan, under the name of Armīniya IV. In this region were settled colonies of Arab tribes which must have formed a bulwark isolating Armenia from Byzantium. In the period of Ašot I, these provinces formed part of the Armenian kingdom, except to a certain extent for the city of Karin, which was considered to be an important base for the defense of Islam, a «*thughūr*». During the reigns of Ašot I and Smbat I, the city of Karin was theoretically considered to be a part of the Armenian kingdom (101), but its Arab governors for the most part acted independently. The names of only two of them (Zk'ri and Bishr) are known to us for the obvious reason that the city was often ruled by generals who were rapidly rotated.

In the reigns of Ašot I and Smbat I, Arabo-Byzantine military operations were more often centered on the regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, because the restoration of the Armenian kingdom had created a neutral zone between the two great powers. Even in this period, however, military operations had not ceased altogether, since Byzantium had decided to strike on all fronts at the weakened Caliphate, which was still protected by the strategic fortifications of Karin (102). The Arabs on their side continued to send fresh troops to this base, as we have already seen, from the account of Thomas Arceruni (103).

This situation altered radically with the death of Smbat I, when many of the western provinces of Armenia torn from the Bagratid kingdom became once again the theatre of operations between the two ancient foes. From this time until its capture by Byzantium, the city of Karin attracted the renewed attention of the Caliphs (104), as a result of the raids, directed by the Byzantine general John Kurkuas against the possessions of the Caliphate, which had reached as far as distant Dwin, taken by the Muslim in A.D. 922 (105). In almost the same year, the *hād̄jib* («majordomo») Muḥammad b. Nasr had come from Mosul to Karin to take command of the Muslim *ghāzis* (106).

Another general picture of this area is furnished by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, a small chapter of whose *De administrando imperio*, entitled «Of the Iberians», is almost entirely consecrated to the city of Karin (107). According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Arabs had turned the churches of the province of Basēn into fortresses as early as the reign of the Emperor Leo VI (A.D. 886-912), in order to reinforce the defenses of the city of Karin. As a result, the Byzantine emperor sent Lalakon, *strategos* of the *theme* of Armeniakon together with the *strategoī* of Koloneia, Mesopotamia, and Khaldia to destroy all these fortresses and raid the province of Basēn. Katalakon Magistros carried out another destructive raid in the vicinity of the city of Karin. As we know, similar expeditions had been made in Basēn by John Kurkuas and his brother Theophilos *strategos* of Khaldia (108). It is interesting to observe that the Iberian Bagratids reigning in neighbouring

Tayk' absolutely refused to collaborate in the military activities directed by Byzantium against the Arabs of Karin, Awnik [Abnikon] (109), and Manazkert. Constantine Porphyrogenitus complains of this and condemns their «willingness». The Empire had proposed that the Iberians temporarily hand over the city of Ketzeon, which was important for the war against Karin, but the Iberians refused on various pretexts (109a).

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, three cities in the province of Karin and Basēn were in Arab hands. These were the city of Karin itself, Awnik, and Mastaton (110). Not only Byzantium, but also the Curopalate of Tayk' had claims on the provinces which were cut off from the Armenian kingdom. Constantine Porphyrogenitus asserts that the Iberians promised their help in the war against the Arabs only if they were allowed to rule these cities after the victory and to extend their rule as far as the banks of the Araxes. The Byzantines, on the other hand, did not wish them to gain anything new through their collaboration in the war, and merely promised to support their rule in Tayk'. The Curopalate of Tayk' had received from Romanos Lekapenos an equivocal charter, whose content was interpreted by the Iberians and the Greeks each in his own fashion (110a).

In order to fight the Arab forces in the city of Karin, Byzantium had built a new city opposite it, which the Arabs called Hafdjidj. Speaking of the expeditions against Armenia carried out by Sayf al-Dawla in A.D. 940, the Arab historian Ibn Zafir, who relates these events, says that the Greeks destroyed Hafdjidj and fled as soon as they heard of the emir's approach (111).

The Empire soon turned to decisive measures in order to obliterate the Arab fortresses. Byzantium totally destroyed the cities taken from the Arabs. Thus, for example, on capturing Melitene, they took prisoner its emir Abū Hafs and almost depopulated the city. The same fate also awaited the city of Karin as well as other Arab fortresses. The *protospatharios* John Arrhabonitis and the patrician Theophilos wrought great destruction in the vicinity of Awnik by burning its villages (112). Wishing to make the most of the opportunity, the Iberians infiltrated into these villages and tried to seize Awnik. But the emir of the city, realizing its hopeless situation, made his submission to the Byzantines and gave them his son as a hostage.

At this time (ca. A.D. 949), Karin was again besieged by Kurkuas. When he failed to take the city, he seized instead the city of Mastaton, as one of the cities subject to the emir of Karin, and handed it over to the *protospatharios* Petronas Boilas. A certain *magistros* of Armenian origin named Pankratios (Bagarat), who had fought before Karin, asked that Mastaton be given to him, but after receiving it, handed it over to the Arabs of Karin. In 949, the Greeks finally took Karin and wrought great destruction both within the city and in its surrounding villages. The Iberians took Mastaton, an action to which the Byzantines no longer objected.

A brief but interesting description of the capture of the city of Karin is given by Asolik (113). According to him, in E.A. 398 (= A.D. 949), the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus sent John Tzimiskes (C' mskik) against the city of Karin. Having defeated the Arab forces, Tzimiskes broke through the moat, and after bringing down the tall towers, seized the city. According to this testimony, «Kiwr Zan» (the Lord John Tzimiskes) displayed great bravery on this occasion. The future Byzantine emperor, who was a member of the family of Kurkuas and the grandson of the already mentioned Theophilos, was twentyfive years old at the time, and probably fought with his grandfather at the battles for Karin.

The eleventh century Christian Arab historian Yahyā b. Sa'īd of Antioch gives the date of the capture of Karin (his work reads Kilikia instead of Kālikalā) as A.H. 338 in the month of Rabi' (= 29 August — 28 September A.D. 939). According to him, the Greeks took the city, destroyed its fortifications, and withdrew (113a).

Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes that the same Theophilos was appointed governor of Karin after the capture of the city (114). The capture of Karin inaugurated the Byzantine expansion toward the east which was to have grave consequences for the future of Bagratid Armenia.

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CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE BAGRATIDS OF ANI AGAINST THE EMIRATES

In the middle of the tenth century, the Bagratid kingdom passed through a period of revival which had inevitable repercussions on the fortunes of the Armenian emirates. This is the «Ani» phase of its history, when the Bagratid kings, having finally established their residence at Ani, sought by every means at their disposal to gather together all the Armenian provinces and to re-create the kingdom of Asot I and Smbat I; thereby putting an end to the centrifugal tendencies not only of the Armenian princes, but of the Arab emirs as well. Asot III the Merciful laid the foundation for this new period and consequently attracted the attention of the Sallārīds of Azerbaidjan, just as his grandfather Smbat I had come into conflict with the Sādjid̄s (1).

1. *The First Shaddādīd at Dwin*

In the history of Azerbaidjan, the tenth century marks the period of awakening of the Iranian elements among whom the first place should be given to the Kurds and the Daylamites. As we have already seen, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurđī was a Kurd and he succeeded in ruling Azerbaidjan through his reliance on the Kurds and the Daylamites.

The Iranians living in the districts south of the Caspian Sea were known as Daylamites (Delmikk' in Armenian sources). The Sallārīds (or Musāfirīds), whose possessions were located in the district of Tārom south of the Caspian, as well as the Djustānīds and the Buwayhīds (or Būyīds), were all of Daylamite descent. But whereas the latter spread southward to establish their domination even over the Caliphate at Baghdad, the Sallārīds turned northward and seized Azerbaidjan.

The first among them, Sallār Marzubān, exploited the treachery of Daysam's *wazir*, Abu'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far, to attack Azerbaidjan in A.H. 331 (= A.D. 942/3). Betrayed by his Delmik army as well, the defeated

Daysam sought refuge with Gagik Arçruni of Vaspurakan. Then, having collected a new Kurdish army and made the most of a new betrayal on the part of his former *wazir*, he re-entered Azerbaidjan and took Tabriz. But after a new defeat at Ardabil, he was captured and imprisoned in one of the fortresses of Tārom (2). Sallār Marzubān seems to have ruled not only in Azerbaidjan but over Dwin as well, although historians do not mention any expedition undertaken by the Armenian princes against Dwin in the reign of Abas I and a *dirham* struck at Dwin in A.H. 330 (= A.D. 941/2) in the name of Daysam indicates that the city was still in his power at that time (3). We do not, however, know whom Marzubān appointed as his governor at Dwin.

At the time of an expedition against Rayy (Tehran) in A.D. 948-949, Marzubān fell into the hands of the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla was imprisoned in the fortress of Sumayram [Samiram] in Persia (4). One of the Buwayhid generals, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzaq, took over the rule of Azerbaidjan, but this induced Marzubān's brother, Wahsūdān, to free Daysam against him, and the latter resumed the struggle for the mastery of Azerbaidjan. As soon as Marzubān had been taken prisoner, Dwin and Naḫcawan were seized by two emirs, al-Faḍl b. Dja'far al-Hamdānī and Ibrāhīm b. al-Dābbī, who were apparently hostile to Daysam (5). Consequently, no sooner had Ibn 'Abd al-Razzaq been defeated, in approximately 950, than Daysam turned against the two Armenian cities and wrested them from the abovementioned emirs, capturing Ibrāhīm b. al-Dābbī in the process (5a). The new rule of Daysam in Azerbaidjan as well as at Dwin proved to be very brief. In 951, the Kurd, Muḥammad b. Shaddād, who had probably come from Azerbaidjan, succeeded in capturing Dwin. He was the first of this famous house of Kurdish emirs whose members subsequently played a major rôle in the history of Dwin, Ganjak, and Ani. The only source which speaks of him, Münedjdjim Bashi, relates that Muḥammad took the city without shedding blood because the inhabitants of Dwin, outraged by the existing anarchy, voluntarily handed over their city to him so that he would protect their rights and property from the attacks of the Daylamites and other adventurers. The sympathies of the historian in this case were entirely on the side of Muḥammad b. Shaddād. Hence, he tried to enhance the reputation of the Shaddādid by every means at his disposal, and gives, as we shall see, a minute description of the events during his brief rule (6).

Ibrāhīm, the son of the captive Marzubān, who was holding certain portions of Azerbaidjan, entered into contact with an Armenian prince who was lord of «Dyrmūs» (or «Dyr Mūs») and incited him to attack Muḥammad b. Shaddād. According to the interpretation of S. Eremyan, «Dyr Mūs» is an Arabic distortion of the words «Tēr [Lord] Moz», Moz being a city of Vayoc' Jor and the residence of the princes of Siwnik' in the tenth century. The Armenian prince agreed to Ibrāhīm's proposal that he drive Muḥammad b. Shaddād from Dwin, collected an army of Armenians and even Lesghian

99
KURDISH
L. 2000
al. 1000

mercenaries, as well as other contingents, and moved against the city (6a). The partisans of the new emir of Dwin, who were decided to show an obstinate resistance, came out of the city and opposed the attacking host at a place located between the Araxes and «M.n.s.mmün» (Mecamor) rivers. The Shaddādids were victorious, but Muḥammad, concerned with the safety of his family, built a fortress with the help of the citizens «within a shout's distance» from the city. He called this fortress «Tall (Hill) Hasli» and moved his household into it. This is probably the fortress of Tiknuni, whose remains (constructions and fragments of tiles) exist to this day, but the name has obviously been given in a distorted form in the Arabic text. The editor of this text, V. Minorsky, attempted to read this name as «Tall Jathli (Ant-hill?)» by adding one diacritical point, but this offers no solution to our problem (6b).

When he saw the defeat of the neighbouring Armenian prince, Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān, who was at Ardabil at the time, sent a mixed army of Daylamites and Kurds against Dwin. The population of the city did not resist but betrayed Muḥammad, who gathered up his household, withdrew at first to his probably newly-built fortress, and subsequently set out further in the direction of Armenia (i.e. Vaspurakan). Dwin was totally looted by the victorious irregular troops and the notables of the city, finding no other solution, appealed once again to Muḥammad b. Shaddād. They swore an oath of obedience to him and brought him back to the city. It seems that the attacking army had been interested only in loot and had not had any intention of taking Dwin and settling there. Consequently it is not fortuitous that the Shaddādīd emir retook the city without opposition. At Dwin, he put things in order, and freed the inhabitants from «the damage done by the polytheists and evil-doers» (6c). It is unlikely that the Muslim Daylamites or the Kurds are intended under the epithet «polytheists», these are rather the Armenians or the Lesghians against whose threat Muḥammad had built the fortress mentioned above.

At this very moment, Abas I of Armenia died and was succeeded by his son Aṣot III the Merciful (A.D. 953-977) (7). At the beginning of his reign, Aṣot III undertook measures to counter the centrifugal tendencies which were preventing the re-unification of his kingdom. He re-created and increased the army (8), and brought the church directly under his aegis by supporting its enrichment. The Kat'olikos Anania Mokac'i, who was at the Arcruni court as a result of the temporary transfer of the kat'olikosate to Vaspurakan, returned to Sirak and took up residence in the village of Argina (9). The first undertaking of Aṣot III, however, was the resolution of the problem of a permanent capital. Before his accession to the throne, the Bagratid kings had made three changes of capital: Bagaran, Erazgawors (Širakawan), and Kars. Realizing the indispensability of a stable and permanent capital as an important nucleus favouring the unification of the realm, Aṣot III in the very year of his accession initiated measures to free Dwin from foreign domination, probably with the intention of turning it into his

permanent capital. We know of this expedition through only one source, the account of Münedjdjīm Bashi with which we have already become familiar, consequently, it does not seem superfluous to give this historian's words here *in toto*.

In the province of Jurzān (Georgia) and other parts of Armenia there was a king called Ashot b. 'Abbās bearing the title of Shahānshāh. He felt tempted to besiege Dabil and to fight its inhabitants, and he summoned his troops which consisted of Armenians, Lakz and other unbelievers. With 30,000 men he moved towards Dabil and dismounted in the place nearby which is called Nāwrwd. He dispersed his troops in order to burn the crops and to destroy the villages. When the news reached Muhammad b. Shaddād he became perplexed among the small group of his family and his companions, so he devised a ruse for repelling the strong enemy. He ordered all who happened to be in the town, men and youths, to mount on all kind of animals — asses, cows, horses and mules, to sally forth from the town in this array and to keep in the neighbourhood of the town in order that the enemy should see their great numbers and hear their shouting and cries, until Muhammad ordered them to march and advance. And so they did. As for himself he went forward with some horsemen and stalwarts to scout in the direction of the enemies who were unaware and dispersed in various corners seeking shade from the heat. They did not notice (anything) until suddenly the Muslims attacked like lions and wild animals and slashed them with their swords from every direction. And when the battle grew violent Muhammad b. Shaddād gave a signal to those who remained close to the town. They shouted at the top of their voices and came into sight of the foe. The enemies saw their mountain-like mass and in their eyes they grew to the number of (grains of) sand. With Allah's assistance and help, the enemies were put to flight (10).

Here, as in the whole of his account, the Muslim historian does not miss an opportunity of enhancing the reputation of the Shaddādids. The opponents of Muhammad b. Shaddād always attack with enormous armies. The lord of «Dyrmūs» came with a «tough army», Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān sent a «large army», while Ashot the Merciful came with a force of 30,000 men, yet all were defeated by Muhammad b. Shaddād, who always fought with only a «small group» and always emerged victorious.

This assault of Ashot III shows the decisive steps he undertook to free the ancient capital of Armenia and how incorrect it would be to characterize his reign merely as a period of building activities and of the foundation of monasteries (11). To be sure, many monasteries were founded and put in order in this epoch, but at the same time, Ashot III displayed great political ability, and his «mercifulness» toward the monasteries was the result of his

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attempt to subordinate the church to his authority. His goal was the re-establishment of the unity of the Armenian kingdom, no longer through the direct subjection of the feudal lords, which was no longer possible, but through a purely formal submission. Indeed, even in the reign of the Caliph al-Muktadir (A.D. 908-932), the title of Shāhanshāh granted to Ašot II Erkat' had already taken on a new meaning (12). The following fact bears witness to the new king's authority. When the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes drew near Armenia in A.D. 974, Ašot III collected all the great *naxarars* of Armenia around him: «P'ilippē king of Kapan, and Gurgēn king of Albania (i.e. Tašir-Joraget), Abas lord of Kars, and Senek'erim lord of Vaspurakan, and Gurgēn lord of Anjewac'ik', and the gathering of the whole house of Sasun» (13). All of these recognized the overall sovereignty of the Bagratid king, who was truly the «Sāhan Sah of Greater Armenia».

The Muslim emirates in Armenia were also an obstacle to the unification of the Armenian kingdom, consequently, Ašot III attacked Dwin with a large force in the very first year of his reign, but the highly fortified city did not surrender. After this unsuccessful expedition, Ašot III in A.D. 961 solemnly proclaimed the fortified village of Ani in Sirak as the new capital of the kingdom (14), while the residence of the kat'olikosate was moved and established in the nearby village of Argina.

The assault of Ašot III on Dwin naturally weakened the position of Muḥammad b. Shaddād who did not resist the next attack. In A.D. 954, Sallār Marzubān, who had been freed from captivity and had defeated Daysam, sent a fresh army to Dwin. Since he did not have a sufficient number of Kurds in his army, Muḥammad b. Shaddād handed over the defense of Dwin to a garrison consisting of Daylamites who immediately betrayed him and let in the enemy through one of the posterns of the citadel. Part of the city population likewise joined with them and the situation of the Shaddādids became critical. According to our historian, the treacherous inhabitants coveted Muḥammad's property, but it is obvious that we are really dealing here with dissatisfied elements. These were perhaps Armenians who had suffered persecutions because they had not remained neutral during the attack of Ašot III on the city. Realizing the difficulty of their position, the Shaddādids gathered all their belongings and fled from the city by means of the «Gate of the Tombs». They crossed the Araxes and the «M.ṇsimūn» (Mecamor) rivers and found refuge with the Lord of Vaspurakan («Asfurdjān») (15).

It was quite natural for the Kurdish chieftain to seek refuge in Vaspurakan. The southern districts of Vaspurakan, especially Anjewac'ik' had close ties with the districts of Mesopotamia having a Kurdish population. The Kurd, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, had often sought a rapprochement with Gagik Arcruni and his sons Derenik and Apusahl Hamazasp (16). When Daysam had been defeated by Sallār Marzubān in A.D. 941-942, he had found refuge with Gagik Arcruni. He again took refuge in Vaspurakan after his second

defeat by Marzubān in 953, and tried to regain Azerbaidjan with renewed help from the Arcrunis. At first he went to Baghdad, then came to the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla at Mosul. When Nāṣir gave him no help, he turned to the other Ḥamdānid brother, Sayf al-Dawla with whose assistance he attacked Azerbaidjan and took Salmas. Nevertheless, he was defeated yet once more by Marzubān, and again took refuge in Vaspurakan. Derenik Arcruni protected Daysam, but finding himself unable to withstand Marzubān's insistent pressure, he was compelled to surrender the Kurdish leader (17).

Muḥammad b. Shaddād sought refuge in Vaspurakan during the reign of the same Derenik. After the Shaddādid house had settled in Vaspurakan and received the guarantee of the Arcruni princes, Muḥammad appealed to the Emperor of the Romans in the expectation of obtaining some support from him for another conquest of Dwin. The emperor apparently gave him no assistance, however, so that he returned empty handed to Vaspurakan where he died in A.D. 955 (18).

2. *The Sallārids and Armenia*

Having once again seized Dwin and the valley of the Araxes, to the south in A.D. 954, the Sallārids re-fortified this wedge of territory driven into the Armenian kingdom, which was to prove one of the main obstacles to its unification. Being fully aware of the extreme importance of Dwin and of the southern valley of the Araxes in general for the realization of his plans, Aṣot III had planned to take this wedge from the very beginning, but had failed to achieve this goal. The Sallārids ruling over this area were in a position to threaten all the surrounding districts of the Armenian kingdom. Moreover, since they ruled Partaw as well as Dwin, they were also a threat to the Albanians. Their army, consisting of Daylamite raiders, had a bad reputation attested by the brief account of the Shaddādid historian. He often describes them with the words «evil-doers and intriguers» (19) which reflect their pillaging activities.

Under such circumstances, the kings and princes of Armenia and Albania were compelled to take certain steps to protect their territories. The Armenian historians are silent about the relations of Aṣot III and the Sallārids, but the geographer Ibn Hawkal has preserved a tax list which provides some help in the investigation of this problem (20). In the section of his work concerning Armenia, Albania, and Azerbaidjan, he says that Marzuban's *wazir*, Abu'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far, had drawn up a tax list for the year A.H. 344 (= A.D. 955/6) in which he gave names of the feudal lords tributary to Marzubān and the amount of their tribute. The following are recorded for Armenia: «al-Wayzūri lord of Wayzur (i.e. of Vayoc' Jor), the banū Dayrāni (sons of Derenik), the banū Sunbāt (sons of Smbat), and finally Sinhārib lord of Khadjin (Senek'erim of Xacēn)». The first of these, whose Arabic *kunya* was Abu'l-Kāsim, and who was perhaps Vasak, the son of

Smbat Prince of Vayoc' Jor, paid 50,000 *dinārs* and brought gifts. He is the prince whom Marzubān's son Ibrāhīm had incited to attack Muḥammad b. Shaddād a few years earlier (20). We may, therefore, conclude that the tribute given here was for the whole of Siwnik' and not merely for Vayoc' Jor. The Arcruni princes, «the sons of Derenik» or more correctly his grandsons (Derenik and Apusahl Hamazasp Arcruni), paid 100,000 *dirhams*, which were, however, to be remitted during four years in exchange for the surrender of Daysam. Senek'erim, lord of Xacēn, not only paid 100,000 *dirhams*, but also brought gifts and horses to an amount of 50,000. Strangest of all is the listing of the Bagratid kings «the sons of Smbat» as tributaries, since it is obvious that the two sons of Smbat I, i.e. Ašot II and Abas I are the ones primarily meant here. If we remember, however, that the Sallārid principality was not yet in existence in the reign of Ašot II, we must conclude that the author is referring only to Abas I, who according to the list, paid two million *dirhams* per year; a sum which was reduced after him to 200,000. As Ibn Hawkal indicates, the Bagratids paid this sum not for the whole of Armenia but merely for the provinces of Armenia Interior (21). Speaking of Armenia Interior in another passage, the same author says that it included the cities of Dabil [Dwin], Nashawa [Naḫcawan] and Kālikālā [Karin], that is to say, that it corresponded to northern Armenia (21a). We find this toponym in Arab literature only in the work of Ibn Hawkal. According to the Armenian historians, an administrative unit called Armenia Interior had been created in the northern portion of Armenia by the Byzantine Emperor Maurice after the partition treaty of A.D. 591, but it does not correspond exactly to the description of the Arab geographer (22). In any case, and irrespective of the etymological background of its name, we must understand the toponym «Armenia Interior» in the tax list of Ibn Hawkal as referring to those portions of northern Armenia which were under the direct authority of the Bagratids.

Dwin is not given in this list as a tributary city, probably because it was directly subject to the Sallārids, whereas the parts of Armenia listed were in no sense vassal to them and were paying the sums indicated as guarantees against raids. This is all the more likely, because the Armenian kingdom had completely stopped paying tribute to the Caliphate after Ašot II. Moreover, the tax list probably reflects the political situation in the reign of Abas I. It is unlikely that Ašot III paid any tribute in view of Ibn Hawkal's reference to «the sons of Smbat», i.e. Ašot II, who still paid tribute to the Caliphate, and Abas, who may have paid tribute to the Sallārids.

During the second period of Marzubān's rule (A.D. 954-957), Dwin was once again in the hands of the Sallārids, but we do not know the names of the governors appointed by them. There is a reference in Ibn al-Athīr to a Sallārid governor (a lieutenant of Marzubān) who had his seat at Partaw (23). It is very probable that there was a similar governor at Dwin as well. After Marzubān's death, however, a quarrel flared up between his

brother Wahsūdān and his son Ibrāhīm, and we do not know the status of Dwin in this period (A.D. 957-966). Minorsky believed that Ibrāhīm resided in the city during this period (24), but this conclusion is obviously based on a misunderstanding of the information given by Ibn Miskawayh. The Arab historian clearly states that Ibrāhīm was in «Armīniya» at that time, but to understand the part of Armenia in which Ibrāhīm was to be found, we must remember Ibn Miskawayh's own statement that Ibrāhīm was near Djustān b. Sharmazan, who was the ruler of Marāgha (25). It is obvious that the region of Armenia in which Ibrāhīm was located was not Dwin, but Vaspurakan, which had relations with the Sallārids. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that Ibn Miskawayh always uses the toponym Armīniya for Vaspurakan, whereas he clearly refers to Dwin by name.

It is probable that Ašot III made another attempt to take Dwin after his unsuccessful attempt of A.D. 953. Certain documents of questionable authenticity connected with the monastery of Stephen Protomartyr at Małart'a near Naḫcawan refer to this. The documents consist of a *kontakion* (26), the will of the daughter of Ašot III, Lady Hrip'simē (27), and a cross, preserved in the museum at Ejmiacin, bearing the date E.A. 415 (= A.D. 966 (28)). The gist of their content is that Ašot III came to the monastery of Małart'a in that year, together with an army, for a celebration, and bestowed many estates in the provinces of Ostan and Naḫcawan as well as Azerbaidjan on the monastery as a gift. Insofar as all of these documents were subsequently considered authentic, they might provide distant and distorted echoes of some historical reality, especially since their date corresponds amazingly to the period of uncertainty which we have just mentioned. Unfortunately, the lack of reliable sources does not give us the possibility of making any definite statement as to any authentic activity of Ašot III in the southern portion of the Araxes valley.

Irrespective of such activity or of any successes of Ašot III in this portion of the valley, however, the evidence of the sources indicates that Dwin was considered to be a city subject to the Sallārids even in the reign of Smbat II. When the Sallārid, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān achieved mastery of the entire principality of Azerbaidjan in A.D. 966, Dwin in Armenia, as well as Partaw and Ganjak in Arran, were subject to him, although the last two cities soon broke away from Azerbaidjan. After their defeat at Dwin, the Shaddādids became lords of Ganjak in A.D. 970 and at some later date also captured Partaw (29).

Between Dwin, in the valley of the Araxes, and Azerbaidjan, lay the small emirate of Golt'n which had been formed in the days of the Sādjid. In the period of Smbat II it was ruled by Abū Dulaf (Abu Tlup'), who was probably a member of the family that had founded this emirate. He is mentioned for the first time by Asolik during the events of A.D. 982, when the Lord of Kars, Musef Bagratuni, incited the Sallārid, Abu'l-Haydjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, («Abihačay Delmastani grandson of Salar emir

of the Persians») to attack his nephew King Smbat II. The Sallārid struck at Ayrarat and damaged it greatly, but was defeated and taken prisoner in a clash with the emir of Goł'n. The emir took from the Sallārid Dwin and probably Naḫcawan to boot («Dwin and all his cities»). After these events, Abu'l-Haydjā, who had been released from captivity, wandered with his family in total destitution through Armenia as well as Iberia, and even turned for help to Byzantium, but received nothing from the Empire (30). Thus, the Sallārid domination of Dwin, which had lasted approximately four decades, came to an end.

3. *The Southern Valley of the Araxes in the Reign of Gagik I*

The emirate of Goł'n was the last house of Arab origin in Greater Armenia. The emirates of Arab descent which had been established in Armenia in the last quarter of the eighth century gradually began to disappear around one century later. The Zurārids fell at the end of the ninth century, the 'Uthmānids at the beginning of the tenth, the Shaybānī a little later, while the Kaysites vanished in the second half of the same century.

The emir of Goł'n, Abū Dulaf apparently belonged to the Shaybānī house (31). The first Arab emir of Goł'n had appeared at the very time of the disintegration of the Shaybānī rule in Aġnik', and it is probable that some member of this clan had established himself in the valley of the Araxes, but unfortunately, the lack of factual evidence does not permit the clarification of this problem. At the time of the appearance of the last Sallārid, Abu'l-Haydjā, Abū Dulaf was in a relatively strong position and fought boldly against both the Sallārids of Azerbaidjan and the Arcrunis of Vaspurakan. In A.E. 432 (= A.D. 983) he undertook a great expedition against Ašot Arcruni of Vaspurakan (32) with the collaboration of a volunteer Muslim army that had come to fight for the faith against Byzantium. Asolik calls them «Xazikk'», a name derived from the Arabic word «ghāzi» (raider, warrior) (33). The Arcruni princes, Grigor and the Marzpan Tigran were defeated in the province of Cwas through their unexpected arrival.

The Rawwādid of Kurdish origin soon established themselves, however, as the masters of the principality of Azerbaidjan. In A.D. 987, Abu'l-Haydjā al-Rawwādī («Abuhač son of Rovd») attacked Abū Dulaf with a force of 100,000 men and wrested from him the cities which he had formerly taken from the Sallārids. («the cities of Salar») (34). In addition to Dwin, which Asolik mentions in particular, Naḫcawan should also be included among them. Very soon, however, the situation was again altered by the death of Abu'l-Haydjā in A.D. 989 (35). Immediately after this event, Abū Dulaf regained the mastery of Dwin and signed a peace treaty with the King of Armenia Smbat II through the intervention of the Kat'olikos Xaç'ik (36). Asolik incidentally says that Smbat II did not keep this pact but urged the Sallārid emir to attack Abū Dulaf, perhaps hoping to destroy the emirate

of Golt'n by these means. The King even gave an army to the Sallārid, but the enterprise failed because of the opposition of Smbat's own brother Gagik. We do not know the motive of Smbat's action which Asolik condemns as an evil deed and the breach of an oath since, according to him, Abū Dulaf, although a Muslim, kept his word while the Christian king was forsworn (37), but it was natural for the king to seek the subjection of Dwin, Naḫcawan and Golt'n.

Smbat's brother and successor, Gagik I was successful in this undertaking. He greatly strengthened the Bagratid kingdom, dominating the whole of Northern Armenia (38), and restoring once again the impaired authority of the Shāhanshāh. As we have already seen, he did not support his predecessor's attack against the emir of Golt'n, and after his own accession contented himself with the submission of this emirate (39). The house of Golt'n did not disappear, unfortunately for Armenia, and under the next Bagratid king, Yovhannēs-Smbat, we find another Abū Dulaf installed at Naḫcawan. Dwin, Naḫcawan and Golt'n were of great strategic importance for the Armenian kingdom. Thus, for example, when the Daylamites attacked Armenia in 1021 immediately after the death of Gagik I, they met the first resistance at Naḫcawan (40). Golt'n and Naḫcawan probably remained in the hands of the emirs of Golt'n, but Gagik I appointed a new governor known as David Dunac'i [the Dwinian] for the city of Dwin.

This David is a puzzling figure about whose very existence we have conflicting opinions. The only historian who speaks of him is Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, but his statement is so laconic that it cannot be understood clearly. Concerning the captivity of the last Bagratid king, Gagik II in Byzantium and his abdication of the throne, Aristakēs writes, «but the leading citizens who resided in Ani, since they saw that Gagik was detained by the Greeks, planned to give the city sometimes to David (sometimes) to Dunac'i, since David's sister was his wife, sometimes to Bagarat king of Abkhazia» (41). If we note that the «sometimes» given above in parentheses appears in some of the manuscripts of Aristakēs but is missing in others, two opposing theories are possible. The majority of scholars beginning with M. Ćamĉean (42) read this passage with the addition of the second «sometimes» and consequently accept the interpretation that the notables of Dwin planned to hand over the Bagratid throne and the city of Ani to one of three personages: David (Anhoĉin [«the Landless», King of Lori]), the Dunac'i (Abu'l-Aswār I), or the Iberian King, Bagarat IV. This passage was understood in the same fashion by Lastivertc'i's French translator, Evariste Prud'homme, who boldly translated Dunac'i as «l'émir de Tevin» (43). On this basis, European scholars distinguished two figures here, one of whom was a «David» and the other the «Dunac'i» (44).

There have been, however, scholars with the opposite point of view who remove the additional «sometimes» from the text and understand this passage as follows: the notables of Ani offered the city to David Dunac'i

or to King Bagarat IV. Among the partisans of the existence of this David Dunac'i are found, among others, both Ł. Ališan (45) and H. Ačaryan (46). In Armenian mediaeval literature, a David is sometimes added to the list of Bagratid kings (47) and this would be the very David to whom Lastivertc'i is referring here.

After the name Dunac'i in the above passage, Lastivertc'i adds the comment, «since David's sister was his wife», as a justification for the offer made to him. In another passage of his *History* the same historian says that Abu'l-Aswar I «was the son-in-law of Ašot King of Armenia» (48). That is to say, the emir was married to the daughter of Ašot IV, the brother of Yovhannēs Smbat, and, as we shall see, their son was given his grandfather's name (Ashūt in Arabic texts) (49). This bride was the granddaughter of David Anholin's paternal uncle, and it is difficult to conceive how the historian could take, such a relationship as a basis for calling her David's sister. Moreover, Lastivertc'i never mentions the name of David Anholin in the whole of his *History*, and speaks of a David only in this passage. It is, furthermore, unlikely that the inheritance of the Bagratids should have been offered to a Muslim emir who was the enemy of Gagik II, and this voluntarily. If on the other hand, we accept the reading «David Dunac'i», we must also accept the interpretation that his sister was the wife of Gagik II. In either case, Lastivertc'i's testimony is insufficient to resolve this problem which is of major importance for the history of Dwin.

Gagik I probably subjected Dwin, as well as Nağcawan and Golt'n in the last decade of the tenth century and no radical change took place in the city until his death. The lengthy contest of the Bagratids over Dwin (Smbat I, Ašot II, to some extent the anti-king Ašot, Ašot III, to some extent Smbat II, and Gagik I) is reflected in Armenian literature, so that Moses Xorenac'i is made to foretell in his own time «you Bagratids rule at Dwin» (50).

The decline of the Rawwādid of Azerbaidjan favoured the success of Gagik I. Azerbaidjan presented a threat to its neighbours only in the period of the first member of the Rawwādid house, Abu'l-Haydjā, who in addition to his capture of Dwin and his weakening of the emirate of Golt'n, also undertook a raid against Vaspurakan. The son of the emir of Her (whom Asolik calls «the Old man of Her») was returning from the court of the (Marwānid) emir of Apahunik'. In Armenia he sought to carry off some handsome Armenian children, but an Armenian prince named Sargis struck and killed him, freeing the children. The emir of Her, not daring to attack Vaspurakan in person, appealed to Abu'l-Haydjā of Azerbaidjan, promising him the city of Her if he would carry out the revenge. The Rawwādid came west with a formidable army, but he died along the way without having crossed the Armenian border (51). His son, Mamlān b. Abu'l-Haydjā, undertook two expeditions to the west but, as we shall see, both had very unsuccessful outcomes (51a).

The lengthy struggle of the Bagratids for the leading city of their land is reminiscent of the similar contest carried on by the Iberian Bagratids to free Tbilisi. Like Dwin, Tbilisi had been the residence of foreign governors during the periods of Sasanian and Arab domination. By the ninth century, however, a local emirate had already come into being at Tbilisi whose lords, the Dja'farids, were to rule the city in hereditary succession for a long time to come (52). The Dja'farid emirate of Tbilisi was a hereditary feudal principality similar to the Kaysite emirate of Manazkert. From this point of view it differed from the emirate of Dwin which was a base created by an external power (Azerbaijan) to permit its interference into the internal affairs of Armenia. Consequently the removal of the emirate of Dwin required a relentless struggle against the Sadjids, the Sallarids and other emirs of Azerbaijan. The emirate of Tbilisi owed its existence on the contrary to the internal dissensions of feudal Iberia. For example, the continuous war waged by the *erist'av* Liparit Orbelean against the Iberian king in the reign of Bagarat IV (A.D. 1027-1072) freed the emirate of Tbilisi from the danger of destruction (52a).

In point of fact, the capitals of all three neighbouring lands — Armenia, Iberia, and Albania — remained in the hands of Muslim emirates in the pre-Seljuk period. Being deprived of Dwin, the Armenian Bagratids settled at Ani after several changes of capital (Bagaran, Erazgawors, Kars). The Bagratids of Iberia, likewise unable to conquer Tbilisi, chose Artanuji, Up'lis-Cixe, and Kutaisi as residences, while the kings of Albania were so weak that they were in no position to make any move toward the liberation of Partaw. The Iberian Bagratids proved the most fortunate of the three, since in the post-Seljuk period, in the reign of David IV the Restorer (A.D. 1122) they finally took Tbilisi and turned it into the permanent capital of Iberia.

4. *The Western Provinces of Armenia*

From the death of Smbat I (A.D. 913) until the conquest of the city of Karin in 949, Byzantium merely raided the western provinces of Armenia without carrying out any conquests. In fact, the former Arab-Byzantine frontier in this region remained virtually unaltered (53), and was broken only by the taking of Karin.

This frontier was thrust back a second time in A.D. 966 with the reunion of Tarōn to the Empire. In this case we are dealing with a truly Armenian province that had always been under the authority of Armenian *naxarars*. Yet in the chapter entitled «On the Country of Taron» in which he gives a brief history of the Bagratids of Tarōn, Constantine Porphyrogenitus treats this province as part of the Empire (54). The difficult position of the Bagratids of Tarōn, flanked on one side by the Shaybāni and the Hamdānids, as well as the Kaysites, and on the other by Byzantium, compelled them to

behave circumspectly and cautiously especially toward their Muslim neighbours. Consequently, Krikorikios Prince of Tarōn, who pursued such a policy, is called a «double-faced» traitor by Constantine Porphyrogenitus: one who pretended friendship to the Empire while simultaneously divulging all its military plans to the Arabs (55). Krikorikios' successors, however, failed to withstand the perpetual threat of the Hamdānids and of their other enemies and consequently threw themselves completely into the arms of Byzantium. They fought against the Arabs together with the many thousands of Armenians serving in the Imperial army, and with the death of its last prince, Ašot, in A.D. 966, Tarōn became a Byzantine province (56).

For a certain time after this event, the Empire advanced no further into Armenia, since the capture of Tarōn provided it with a convenient base for the war against the Caliphate. Thus, for example, the *strategos* of Tarōn attacked Balēs in A.D. 972-973. Under these circumstances the possessions of the Kaysites remained in an equivocal position. Sayf al-Dawla had died in A.D. 967 and his domains had passed to Abū Taghlib emir of Mosul (57), but we do not know whether the Kaysite possessions were also transferred to him along with other territories. Manazkert, Xiat', Arcēs, Arckē, and Berkri were probably in the hands of Kaysite descendants, who no longer had any authority.

Although the Empire did not take these cities outright, it launched a destructive raid against Manazkert, which was the best fortified city in this area after Karin, in order to prevent any regrouping of Arab forces there. According to Asolik, in E.A. 417 (= A.D. 968) Bardas Phokas, the nephew of the Emperor Nikephoros II (who had led an attack on Antioch the same year), besieged Manazkert and razed its walls to the ground after the capture of the city (58). According to Ibn al-Athīr, however, this attack took place in A.H. 359 (= A.D. 969/70) (59) so that Asolik's date should be moved down by one year.

These events took place during the reign of Ašot III, and it is clear that the nearly anarchic state of the Kaysite lands must have tempted both the Bagratid and the Arçruni kings. Matthew of Edessa records under the date E.A. 408 (= A.D. 959) a clash between the Armenian army and a certain Hamtun which ended in the victory of the Armenians («the Armenian army cut down the Tačik general Hamtun») (60). In view of the fact that Armenian sources refer to Sayf al-Dawla under the name of «Hamtun», the reference here must be either to him or to one of the Hamdānid generals. This expedition bears witness to the active steps taken by Ašot III for an expansion in the direction of Turuberan.

When the new Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes drew near Armenia a few years later (A.D. 974), Ašot III set out against him with all the leading princes of Armenia and took his stand in the province of Hark'. The Emperor came and halted in his turn opposite the fortress of Ayceac' in Tarōn (61). In this fashion each ruler stopped in the province which marked the limit

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of his domains. The northern portion of the Kaysite possessions — Hark', the region of the Sermanc' mountains (Mardali), etc. — had apparently passed under the authority of the Bagratids in this period of uncertainty.

The Arcrunis likewise intended to profit from the collapse of the Kaysites. The account of Matthew of Edessa indicates that certain parts of Sasun and Aġnik' had shaken off the yoke of the defeated Hamdānids and accepted the suzerainty of the Arcrunis (62). Thus, in A.D. 974, at the time of the events mentioned above, the princes of Sasun («the gathering of the whole house of Sasun») collected around Ašot III, and even pressed against the Byzantine troops that had stopped with the emperor in Tarōn («and the first night the army of the Romans suffered great discomfort from the forces of Sasun») (63). In addition to Sasun and certain portions of Aġnik', the Arcrunis sought the mastery of all the cities around Lake Van: Berkri, Arcēs, Manazkert, and Xlat', but we do not know how much success they had in this area. A manuscript Menologion found in Vienna gives a list (composed at a late date) of the cities and provinces handed over by Senek'erim Arcruni to the Emperor Basil II, which we give here in its entirety (64),

...and Senek'erim gave to the Emperor his possessions: 72 castles, 3000 and 400 extensive and fertile villages, and 10 cities. Xlat', and Połc', Hizan and Kec'an, Ostan and Van, Berkri and Arcēs, Arckē and Manazkert, and all the regions of Xlat' from the mountains of Sasun to Sewan, and to Newan, to Salmast and to Ĵimat' which is Julamerk. All of these Senek'erim gave to the Emperor Basil, all of his own provinces and possessions (65).

The Arcrunis had apparently not taken these cities from the hands of their former masters but had evidently been satisfied with the recognition of their overall sovereignty of Vaspurakan. In addition to the territories given in the list, Sasun was apparently also joined to the principality of the Arcrunis. Ibn al-Azraq mentions a prince of Sasun called Sanhārib (66), who should be identified with Senek'erim Arcruni of Vaspurakan in the opinion of Markwart (67).

The information of the eleventh century Byzantine historian Kekaumenos concerning a city of Western Armenia which V. Vasilievski confused with Dwin refers approximately to this period. The text reads, the castle of «Tibinion», which may not be identified with «Tibion» (Dwin). The description of the city-fortress is the most important factor opposing the identification of the two toponyms. According to Kekaumenos (68), Tibinion was a fortified place in Greater Armenia spreading over a mountainous platform, and above it was another flat space used by the population of the fortress for its needs. Tibinion was surrounded on all sides by rocks and precipices and the enemy could approach it only along a narrow road leading to its gate. There is no need to demonstrate that this mountain fortress

bears no resemblance to the populous city of Dwin spread over a considerable level area in the valley of the Araxes. According to S. T. Eremyan the fortress described by Kekaumenos is Downik' which stood between the provinces of Derjan and Ekeleac' in Upper Armenia on the border between Armenia and the Empire. The grandfather of Kekaumenos who was one of the princes of the region had taken the fortress of Tibinion by deceit from its former master by allying himself with an emir hostile to the Empire (69).

The house of Kekaumenos subsequently drew closer to the Armenian noble houses. In 1047 a member of the family called Kamenas by Aristakēs Lastivertc'i became governor of Ani (70). In the twelfth century his descendants lived in the castle of Sawuk in the province of Degik' which was part of Armenia IV and one of them Šahansah (son of Grigor, son of Katakalon, son of Kamen) wed Katay, the daughter of Vigēn Prince of Sasun (71).

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CHAPTER V

THE BYZANTINE OFFENSIVE AND THE ARMENIAN EMIRATES

The Byzantine offensive against Armenia under the Armenian (Macedonian) dynasty can be subdivided into several phases:

1. From the death of Smbat I until A.D. 949, the Byzantine armies raided the provinces torn from the Armenian kingdom (e.g. Karin, the Kaysite possessions, and others), and even reduced the Kaysites to the status of tributaries.

2. From the capture of the city of Karin (A.D. 949) until 979, the Empire gradually began the conquest of the Armenian provinces. Following Karin and Basēn, Tarōn was reunited to the Empire in A.D. 966, while Manazkert was temporarily taken and destroyed in A.D. 969.

3. As a result of internal dissensions and other factors in the first part of the reign of Basil II (A.D. 976-1025), the Empire temporarily halted its advance toward Armenia. Keeping only Tarōn, it ceded Karin and many of the Kaysite possessions to David Bagratuni Curopalate of Tayk', while certain southern districts remained in the hands of the Marwānids.

4. Finally, in A.D. 1001, Basil II inaugurated the conquest of Armenia that ended in the destruction of the Armenian kingdom.

At the beginning of the reign of Basil II, the time seemed at hand for the Imperial conquest of the former Kaysite possessions, but the revolt of Bardas Skleros provoked a civil war which lasted for a number of years. For this bitter struggle waged in Asia Minor from 976 to 979, Basil II summoned to his assistance David Curopalate of Tayk' with the promise that he would give David «Xaldoyarič, the Klēsurawn, C'ormayri and Karin, Basean and Sewuk-berdak, which is Mardali, Hark' and Apahunik'» (1). Thus the whole northern portion of the western provinces of Armenia passed to the Curopalate of Tayk'. The southern portion of the Kaysite domains passed at this time to the emir Bādḥ (Bat) who had created a new principality, and the Empire kept only Tarōn in its own hands (2). This temporary retreat was caused on the one hand by Byzantine internal difficulties, and on the other by the growing strength of the Armenian and Iberian Bagratids.

Not only had Gagik I and the Curopalate David of Tayk' increased the military potential of their lands, but being on good terms with each other, they were even in a position to exert a certain influence both on the Christian Empire and on the Muslim East. David did in fact acquire the districts promised by Basil II after the Emperor's victory, except for Apahunik' whose conquest was delayed for a time by a Marwānid offensive.

1. *The Penetration of the Kurds into Southern Armenia*

The Kaysite house was the last relatively powerful emirate in Greater Armenia. After its disappearance in A.D. 964, only the minor emirate of Golt'n remained in existence. Thus, in the second half of the tenth century, the purely Arab element had almost totally vanished from Greater Armenia, and in its place a new, Kurdish, element, whose coming took place under totally different conditions from that of the Arabs, began to settle in the Armenian highlands. The Arabs had come to Armenia as conquerors and the Arabe tribes migrated and settled in the Armenian highlands as support for the warriors. The entrance of the Kurds into Armenia was so unobtrusive that its beginning is difficultly traceable. The Medes, who were very close to the Kurds from an ethnic point of view, were probably already established in the valley of the Araxes even before the Artaxiad period. With the passage of time, they had become Armenized, although they preserved the name of «Višapazunk' [sons of the Dragon]» (3). Korduk' and Tmorik', the provinces of the southern district of Korçayk' in Greater Armenia, merge with the highlands which subsequently received the name of Kurdistan. Unfortunately, the history of this people is covered with a thick veil until the ninth century A. D. when the first signs of their activity begin to manifest themselves (4).

At the time of the general rise of the Iranian elements in the tenth century, Kurdish emirates appeared in the Djazira, Djibāl, Azerbaidjan, Albania, and even Greater Armenia. The Djazira and Djibāl (between Iran and Irak) were the original regions inhabited by the Kurdish tribes, but immediately after the Arab conquest, Arab tribes belonging to the northern group began to establish themselves in this area. The newcomers fought the Kurds for its control and not a single truly Kurdish centralized principality succeeded in establishing itself in any of these districts.

The only Kurdish principality which developed to any extent on Kurdish territory was that of the Hasanwayhids in the Djibāl. As early as the first half of the tenth century, however, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi had appeared in Azerbaidjan, and the Rawwādids had acquired a principality in this area by the end of the same century.

Kurdish warriors came to Armenia in the tenth century as mercenary soldiers. The split created in Armenia by the presence of the Arab emirates favoured the easy infiltration of the Kurds. The Arab emirates failed to

maintain themselves, but their possessions were reconquered not by the native masters of the land, but by the incoming Kurds who were Islamized and partially Arabized. The native lords of the land made some efforts at reconquest, but met with little success because of the lack of central authority in the Armenian kingdom.

The emirates having a Kurdish origin (Marwānids, Shaddādids) who ruled in the last period of the Bagratid kingdom were in the last analysis essentially Arab emirates. Their written language was Arabic, both for inscriptions and for other purposes, and the surviving Arab elements had entered their service as administrators. On Armenian territory the Kurds and Arabs, as well as other Muslim elements appeared as a single whole forming a united front against the truly native Armenian population, so that the term «Tačik» in Armenian no longer meant merely «Arab», but «Muslim» in general.

Muḥammad b. Shaddād, who briefly ruled at Dwin between A.D. 951 and 954, is the first Kurdish emir known to us, but his power did not last. Kurdish soldiers often served as mercenaries in the armies of Armenian kings or princes, as was the case of Muḥammad's eldest son Lashkarī for example (5). Münedjdjim Bashi mentions the presence of detachments of mercenaries in the Bagratid forces. According to him, there were Lezghians in the army of Ašot III the Merciful at the assault on Dwin in A.D. 953 (5a). The same historian relates that there were Kurdish mercenaries in the Armenian army in addition to the Caucasian mountaineers. Lashkarī served one of the princes of Siwnik' as a mercenary (5b), while John Drasxanakertc'i bears witness to the fact that other mercenaries were also fighting in the forces of the prince of Siwnik' even at the beginning of the tenth century (5c).

The first province of Greater Armenia to be inhabited by the Kurds was Korduk' in which this Iranian group had probably lived from early times. In the tenth century the Kurds spread out from Korduk' toward Aĭjnik' and in the regions of Xizan and Slerd. They then crossed to Arzn and Np'rkert, and subsequently entered the basin of Lake Van by way of Bałes.

2. *The Marwānids*

The Marwānids founded the first Kurdish emirate of any size in the south-western part of Greater Armenia. The founder of the principality was Bādḥ al-Kurdī (Bat) or Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Hasan b. Dustāk al-Har-bukhti, a shepherd who had undertaken pillaging raids and who came from the region of Xizan. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Arcēs was the first city captured by him (6). Hence, we must conclude that the Armenian provinces around Lake Van were the scene of his activities. From the testimony of Asotik, it seems that he took X'lat' and Np'rkert, as well as Manazkert at this time (7). The conquest of the last city had taken place during the civil war between Basil II and Bardas Skleros.

The core of Bādh's possessions consisted of Aljnik' and the provinces lying north and west of Lake Van. In A.D. 983, he took Amida, Mēbin, and Mosul, but his expedition against Baghdad ended in failure and he lost Mosul, even though the descendants of the Hamdānids, who still lived at Np'rkert and Amida, withdrew to settle at Aleppo. Together with a band of raiders, Bādh even made an incursion into Tarōn which was in Byzantine hands. They looted and destroyed the entire province, reduced the city of Muš to rubble, and slaughtered the priests of the church of the Holy Saviour (8).

All of these events took place at a time when Bardas Phokas, the partisan of the Emperor Basil II, held a dominant position in Asia Minor as a result of his defeat of Bardas Skleros, whom he had compelled to flee to the Arab side where the latter was held captive. At the moment when Bardas Phokas proclaimed himself emperor, however, the Arabs released Skleros and gave him an army composed of Christian soldiers (9). Bādh and the Arab tribesmen under his leadership likewise supported Skleros (10), while Gregory and Bagarat, sons of the Prince of Tarōn, as well as Zap'ranik Prince of Mokk' had been his partisans from the outset (10a). Nevertheless, Skleros was defeated by Bardas Phokas who was himself killed two years later at Constantinople (A.D. 989), thus bringing the Byzantine civil war to an end. Asofik also reports that Skleros had a «Tačik army» with him, and that on its return after his defeat, this army raided and enslaved the land from the South to Apahunik', that is to say the possessions of Bādh (11). In 990 Bādh attempted to reconquer Mosul, but he was defeated and killed by the Hamdānids near Ťur 'Abdīn (11a).

With Bādh's death, his principality more or less fell apart. It was a disorganized and unstable emirate held together by the warlike qualities of Bādh and his men. It had also benefited from the contemporary situation, where the Bagratids were growing weaker, the Hamdānids had disintegrated, the Kaysites vanished, and the Byzantine Empire was fully occupied with internal affairs. After Bādh's death, the Curopalate David of Tayk', who had not been able to take Manazkert (one of the domains granted to him) immediately passed to the attack. He besieged and took Manazkert, removed the entire Arab population from the city and filled it with Armenians and Iberians (perhaps Armenians of Iberian [Chalcedonian] beliefs). This was a gesture of provocation against the Muslim world («all the Persians and Tačiks»), whose envoys came to caution the Curopalate and threaten him with war (12). The united Muslim army under the command of Mamlān al-Rawwādī of Azerbaidjan came and halted at the village of Kosteank' in the province of Całkotn. However, a powerful Armeno-Iberian coalition composed of Gagik I of Armenia, Abas of Kars, David Curopalate of Tayk', and Bagarat of Iberia came forth to oppose it and stopped at the city of Vałarsakert. Frightened by this mighty counterattack, Mamlān preferred to retreat.

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Bād̄h was succeeded by his nephew on his sister's side, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān (13). The hostility of the Arab population of Aljnik' to the Kurdish Marwānids began to manifest itself in this period. The inhabitants of Np'rkert who were on the side of the Ḥamdānids lost no opportunity of killing any Kurd found in the marketplace. Consequently, the following plan was carried out against the Arab population at the order of Mammā, the governor of Np'rkert. In A.H. 384 (= A.D. 994/5) on the day of the feast of Adhā, when the inhabitants had gone out of the city, its gates were closed and only certain men were allowed to reenter after the undesirable element had been massacred. Asolik notes this event with satisfaction, adding that only Armenians and Syrians remained in Np'rkert thereafter. However, the Kurdish emir paid dearly for these anti-Arab measures, since he was killed by the inhabitants of Amida (13a). He was succeeded by his brother Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Maṣṣūr Sa'īd b. Marwān. At first Amida did not submit to him, but subsequently the governor of the city agreed to pay tribute to the emir (13b).

In A.D. 995, a great earthquake occurred in the region of Armenia IV subject to Byzantium and affected in particular the provinces of Haṣteank', Xorjean, Cop'k', Balu, and Palnatun (14).

In the winter of 998, the Curopalate David, strengthened by his previous victories, attacked Xlat', and, had he not displayed blind fanaticism and a contemptuous treatment of the Armenians, it is probable that this expedition would have had a successful outcome. The Iberians turned the residence of the Armenian bishop, which stood outside the walls of Xlat', as well as the monasteries of the Holy Cross and of St. Gamaliel into stables and living quarters. This amazed even the Arabs of Xlat' to whose enquiries the Iberians answered, «the churches of the Armenians and your mosques are one and the same for us». These actions greatly impaired the joint Armeno-Iberian campaign and weakened the army of the Curopalate which was composed of both groups. The siege of Xlat' continued until Easter 998 when the Iberians suffered a great defeat and retreated leaving many victimus (15).

The same year, immediately after this rout, Mamlān of Azerbaidjan came to Armenia by way of Her together with a supporting Muslim force, and took his stand in the province of Apahunik'. He threatened to raze Tayk' to its foundations and to reconstruct the city of Karin, since it was one of the bulwarks of the Muslim world. Another Armeno-Iberian coalition ably countered this assault, and the army of Mamlān fled to Arcēs after a fearful rout (16). The alliance between Gagik I and the Curopalate David of Tayk' was powerful enough to end the existence of the emirates in Armenia, but minor hostilities between the two countries, and especially the interference of Byzantium sent these possibilities up in smoke.

3. *The Conquest of Western and Southern Armenia by Byzantium*

The Curopalate David died in the year 1000. At the time of the revolt of Bardas Phokas whose partisan he had been, the Curopalate had already willed his possessions to the Byzantine Empire to save himself from the vengeance of Basil II, especially since he had no children of his own. The year after the Curopalate's death, Basil II came to Armenia in person to take possession of David's domains (17), and to make sure of the submission of the Armenian and Iberian Bagratids in general.

The decisive period of the Byzantine offensive toward the heartland of Armenia had now come. Until this reign, the autonomy of Armenia and Iberia had merely been impeded, although it was not recognized as a permanent state of affairs, but Basil II, who considered himself all powerful, believed that the time had come to annihilate the independent states established in both countries. The victories of the Byzantine army in the East were favoured most of all by the Armenians themselves, since the Muslims believed the Armenians to be as much the enemies of Islam as the Greeks. Ibn Miskawayh records that a large group of Arabs gathered in Rayy (Tehran) in A.D. 965-966 had complained and said «there can be no greater emergency than the ambition of the Byzantines and the Armenians to conquer us and gain possession of our frontiers» (18). Because of a group of Armenian military adventurers serving the Empire, Armenia was thought to be the enemy of the Orient, at a time when the Armenian kingdom was not even able to protect its own territories from the continuous attacks of its Muslim neighbours. The Armenian soldiers serving the Empire prepared the destruction of the Armenian kingdom, on the one hand by disturbing the relations between the Armenians and their Muslim neighbours, and on the other by aiding the Byzantine offensive. Not only did Armenian soldiers serve the Empire in large numbers, but in Tarōn and other regions, the entire Armenian force fought against the Arabs as a component part of the Byzantine army. Asolik reports that «the cavalry of the Armenians which is in the Greek realm», fought together with Bardas Skleros (19). For this reason, Arab historians on many occasions attribute the raids and devastations of the Byzantine army directly to the Armenians. Thus, Ibn al-Athīr notes among the events of A.H. 352 (= A.D. 963), that «a large group of Armenians» attacked the city of al-Ruha (Edessa), raided it, captured it, and went back after carrying out a great massacre (20).

In 1001, Basil II entered the Armenian provinces of Hanjit' and Balu by way of Melitene and halted in the city of Erēz in Arsamunik'. There, the Marwānid Abū Maṣūr («the emir of Np'rkert») presented himself before him; the Emperor gave him the rank of *magistros* and even ordered the armies of Armenia IV and of Tarōn to support him whenever necessity arose (21). From Arsamunik' the Emperor proceeded to Hawcič' [Hafdjidj], where the King of Iberia Bagarat presented himself before him together with his father Gurgēn. The princes and nobles of the Curopalate David, who

slowed down,
prevented, hindered

were displeased because of the seizure of David's domains, were also in attendance. A quarrel between two soldiers provoked a struggle between the Imperial troops and the men of Tayk' with grievous results for the latter. Abas of Vanand [Kars] and Senek'erim of Vaspurakan also came before Basil II and received gifts from him (22). All the above kings and princes who had presented themselves before Basil II were already considered to be subordinate and vassal princes of the Empire. In the hope that the Armenian King of Ani, Gagik I, would submit to the same conditions, the Emperor continued his progress through Hark' and halted at the city of Vafarsakert in Bagrewand. But the haughty Gagik considered it demeaning to present himself before Basil II (23). He totally ignored the Byzantine Emperor encamped on the southern border of his realm, and Basil returned empty handed to Constantinople by way of Karin.

Basil II merged all the territories granted to the Curopalate David, i.e. Karin, Basean, Hark', Apahunik', Mardali, Xaldoyarič, and Cormayri, directly with the Empire and appointed over them such governors and officials as he pleased. («And he placed over them officials, and judges, and overseers...») (24). In this way the western provinces which had been cut off from Armenia through the death of Smbat I were united to the Empire. The principality of the Marwānids was essentially reduced to Ajnik, and the cities around Lake Van gradually fell away from its domination. Muslim princes ruled Berkri and Arcēs as vassals of the Arcrunis of Vaspurakan, and only Xlat' remained in the hands of the Marwānids.

In A.D. 1018, Basil II sent a prince from Nikomedia to Armenia to collect the poll-tax from the newly conquered provinces and rebuild the city of Karin as an important military base (25), while a new commercial city named Arcn, which was devoid of walls, flourished by its side. Manazkert also provided an important military base for the Empire. Greeks were settled in the Armenian provinces recently conquered by Byzantium, whereas Armenians were actually transported from Armenia and established in Macedonia (27).

In A.D. 1020-1022, Basil II entered Armenia once again to continue his incomplete work of unification. Gagik I had died and Vaspurakan was in no state to resist the incursions of the Seljuk hordes. The successor of Gagik I, Yovhannēs-Smbat, willed his kingdom to the Empire, while Senek'erim Arcruni handed over the whole of Vaspurakan to Basil II with his own hands. All of southern and western Armenia became a Byzantine district, although the kingdom of the Bagratids of Ani and the minor kingdoms of Vanand, Tašir-Joraget, and Siwnik' still remained independent.

The Empire failed to create a stable principality in Vaspurakan, although the *katēpanate* of Basprakania or Asprakania was officially set up to include not only the former kingdom of Vaspurakan but also the northern districts of Lake Van (Manazkert, Arcēs, and Berkri) (28). Senek'erim Arcruni left Vaspurakan taking with him a large colony composed for the most part

of military contingents. At this time, Basil II also directed an attack against Vaspurakan's turbulent neighbour and former vassal, the emirate of Her. The Imperial cavalry besieged the city and cut down the trees under the walls in order to raze the fortifications with catapults. Seeing these preparations, the emir of the city begged for mercy and promised to pay tribute to the Empire. But while the Emperor was considering the terrorized state of all Azerbaidjan, torrential rains with attendant winds, hail, and snow, suddenly began to fall. The horses and mules refused to budge, while the hands and feet of the soldiers froze. A pitiful retreat rendered more difficult by an attack from the inhabitants of Her began toward Vaspurakan, and Basil together with the remnants of his army withdrew directly to Constantinople (29).

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Around A.D. 1023-1026, the *katepan* of Vaspurakan, Nikephoros Komnenos, took Arcēs and put an end to its Muslim emirate. Another *katepan*, Constantine Kabasilas, came at the head of a large army to besiege Berkri (A.H. 425 = A.D. 1033/4), which was ruled by Abu'l-Haydjā b. Rabīb al-Dawla, the nephew on his mother's side of Wahsūdān b. Mamlān of Azerbaidjan (30). According to Ibn al-Athīr, Abu'l-Haydjā's uncle Wahsūdān, who was on bad terms with him, had urged the Greeks to attack Berkri (31). Matthew of Edessa describes this assault as an Armenian military operation carried out under the command of an Armenian prince named Ganji (32). The latter probably participated in the expedition and was designated as governor of Berkri which was almost captured. Although he was besieged in the citadel, the emir of the city, whom the Armenian chronicler calls Xtrik, succeeded in summoning foreigners from Azerbaidjan to his assistance while the Greek and Armenian troops under the command of Ganji had gone to Arcak for fodder and other supplies, abandoning the siege of the citadel. The Muslim army of support arrived and slaughtered the Greek cavalry detachment left in the city which was intoxicated at the time. Prince Ganji was also killed, while the Greek army abandoned the siege and fled. Nevertheless, so many Greeks had been taken captive that Xtrik ordered them all massacred. He then had a pit filled with their blood and bathed in it to «cool his heart» (32a). According to the Greek historian Skylitzes, Berkri was taken through the treachery of a Muslim called Aleim who had hoped to become governor of the city and patrician through this deed, but when he was disappointed, he called together a supporting force and slaughtered the Greeks after taking the city (33). The following year (A.D. 1034-1035), the Emperor Michael IV (1034-1041) again sent an army (equipped with siege machinery) which laid siege to Berkri and had begun to dismantle its wall when the city surrendered on the condition that the lives of the inhabitants be spared. Thus, Berkri was finally taken, and its capture was the work of the patrician Niketas Pegonites according to Skylitzes (34).

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After the city of Karin (with Awnik and Mastatōn), Manazkert, and Arcēs, Berkri was the last of the Armenian cities held by emirs to be taken

by the Greeks. *Xlat'*, as well as the cities of *Baleš* and *Np'rkert*, remained permanently in the hands of the *Marwānids*.

The Empire drove the Arab population out of the Armenian cities wrested from the emirs, since it sought to fill these with Greeks. J. Markwart notes that there is an eleventh century manuscript list of Orthodox bishops which gives the eparchies of *Berkri*, *Arčēs*, *Amiwk*, and *Arckē* (35). The Greek church did not miss the opportunity of benefiting from the disorder created by the disappearance of the Arab Muslim element by the creation of bases for the spread of the Chalcedonian confession.

The Armenian provinces reunited to the Empire were not spared their share of Muslim attacks. According to *Ibn al-Athīr*, the *Oghuz* invaded Armenia from *Azerbaidjan* in A.H. 420 (= A.D. 1029), took captives, and went back leaving great destruction (36). The *Marwānids* also undertook expeditions. One of them entered Armenia from *Mesopotamia* in A.H. 423 (= A.D. 1031-1032) with about ten thousand men, raided, took captives, and returned home (37). The Armenian princes could obviously not remain inactive in such a period of anarchy. The descendants of the *Arcrunis* left in *Vasपुरakan*, as well as the princes of *Sasun*, took the defense of their native provinces into their own hands. *Matthew of Edessa* gives an epic account which is very characteristic for this period. In about A.D. 1042, foreigners from *Her* raided the province of *T'ornawan* in *Vasपुरakan*, whose prince was the elderly *Xač'ik* (presumably *Arcruni*). He came forth to defend his principality but was killed together with his son *Išyanik*. At this point the principality passed to *Xač'ik's* two other sons *Hasan* and *Cneluk*, who were in *Byzantium* and decided to avenge their father and brother. A *Kurdish ra'is*, who was an immediate neighbour of *T'ornawan*, is also mentioned here, showing by his presence that by the tenth-eleventh centuries *Kurdish* elements had infiltrated not only into *Ałjnik'*, but also directly northward in the direction of *Anjewac'ik'* (38).

Ibn al-Athīr cites a similar case of self-protection in A.H. 427 (= A.D. 1035/6). A group of Muslim «pilgrims» coming from *Khurāsān*, *Tabaristān*, and *Azerbaidjan*, for some reason shifted their route and crossed through Armenia. After they had passed through *Van* and *Ostan*, the Armenians rose against them. To the support of the Armenians came the men of *Sasun* (*al-Sanāsuna*) who, according to *Ibn al-Athīr*, had a peace treaty with the lord of *Akhlāt* (i.e. the *Marwānid* emir). Having come to an agreement with the Armenians of these regions (presumably the provinces of *Vasपुरakan* or those lying north and west of *Lake Van*), the *Sasuniotes* attacked the «pilgrims», slaughtered them, took prisoners, and looted their possessions. The *Marwānid*, *Naṣr al-Dawla*, raised an army to attack the men of *Sasun*, but an agreement was soon reached on the condition that the Muslim captives and their looted belongings be returned. *Naṣr al-Dawla* did not attack the *Sasuniotes* because, as the Arab historian observes, *Sasun* had impregnable fortresses and numerous gorges (39).

In A.D. 1046, the famous Persian writer Nāsir-i Khusraw travelled through the southern provinces of Armenia. He crossed from Tabriz to Marand, then entered Armenia through Khoy [Her], visited Van, Ostan, Berkri, and finally came to Xlat' which he considered to be the dividing point between the Muslims and the Armenians, meaning by this that the Muslim element remained only in Xlat' and to the south, at Bales, whereas the other parts of Armenia through which he had come apparently had no Muslim population. He says that three languages were spoken at Xlat': Arabic, Persian, and Armenian, and according to him, this was the reason for which the city had been called «Akhlāt (mixture)» (40).

After the Marwānid Abū Mansūr Sa'īd b. Marwān had been killed, his principality was inherited by his brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Marwān, known as Naṣr al-Dawla. The fifty years of his rule (A.D. 1011/2-1061/2) passed relatively peacefully and prosperously (41). He successfully repulsed the Oghuz attacks, sometimes through bribes, and at other times by diplomatic means. He was served by distinguished *wazirs* such as Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Manāzī (of Manazkert) (42) who was a poet, as well as others. One tale which authors loved to relate gives an indication of Naṣr al-Dawla's comportment. He had in his harem three hundred and sixty concubines, so that he might spend each night with a different one (43). He also wed his brother's widow who was the daughter of prince Sinhārib (Senek'erim) according to the Arab historian (44). Nāsir-i Khusraw relates that Naṣr al-Dawla resided at Akhlāt and was more than one hundred years old. He had numerous sons each of whom he appointed governor of a particular province (45). The Marwānid emir was apparently residing at Akhlāt in A.D. 1046 only temporarily, since the seat of his emirate was at Mayyāfāriḳin.

During this period (A.D. 1045-1058), Gregory the son of Vasak Apuṭamrenc' (Pahlawuni), who had gone to Constantinople after handing over to the Byzantines his native province together with the fortress of Bjni, and had received the title of *magistros*, was appointed governor of Vaspurakan, Tarōn and Upper Mesopotamia. The Marwānid emirs were also considered to be his subordinates. From the *Letters* of Gregory Magistros it seems that he was far more occupied with literary activities during his period of rule than with military or political affairs. We have letters from him to T'ornik Mamikonean of Sasun, to Samuel abbot of the monastery of Xnat in Sasun, to Gregory Hnac'i (in the province of Karin) to Gregory bishop of Mekk' and Manazkert, to a *vardapet* named Anania in Cop'k', etc. in all of which there is not a single reference to politics (46).

The destructive raids of the Seljuks into Armenia began in the period of Naṣr al-Dawla who succeeded in placating them and so saved his own existence. But in the period of his successors, Nizām al-Dīn (who fortified himself in Mayyāfāriḳin) and Sa'īd (at Amida), the invasions of the Seljuk hordes took on a new character despite the fact that Nizām al-Dīn immediately

made his submission to Alp Arslan who had won the decisive victory of Manazkert in 1071. Nizām al-Dīn was succeeded in A.D. 1090 by his son Abu'l-Muzaffar Mansūr who died in 1095/6 deprived of all his possessions, and the domains of the Marwānids passed into the hands of the Seljuks (47).

4. *The Shaddādids of Dwin*

After his defeat at Dwin, in A.D. 954 Muḥammad b. Shaddād had taken refuge with the Arcrunis in Vaspurakan. He then turned to the West and attempted to reconquer Dwin with Byzantine help. Finally, having obtained no results, he returned to Vaspurakan where he had left his family and died there in 955 (48).

The eldest of his three sons, Lashkarī b. Muḥammad went to serve the Armenian lord of «Dyr-zūr» (an obvious distortion of Vayoc' Jor) (48a) as a mercenary. Since he was the eldest of the family, other members of the house went with him, but the youngest brother, Faḍl b. Muḥammad, went to serve the Hamdānids instead. He was closely connected with Sayf al-Dawla's turbulent *ghulām* Nadjā, and when the latter revolted and was imprisoned, Faḍl left and returned to his brothers Lashkarī and Marzubān. The anti-Christian (anti-Byzantine) tendencies of the Hamdānids had had such a powerful influence over this adventurer that he openly declared himself unable to serve «idol-worshippers» (i.e. Christian Armenians) and willing to serve only in a Muslim land. With a few companions he turned to the Sallārids and went to Ganjak. By various means he brought over other members of his house and succeeded in seizing Ganjak by killing its emir. It was Lashkarī, however, who became emir of Ganjak in A.D. 971 by right of seniority. The Shaddādids moved to Ganjak and even repulsed the army sent by the Sallārid, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān. Lashkarī was succeeded by his brother Marzubān b. Muḥammad who was killed by Faḍl into whose hands the principality passed from 985 to 1031 (49).

These events, for which our only detailed source is the work of Münedjdjim Bashi, are presented in an abridged form by Vardan,

In those days a certain woman named Mam came from Persia with her three sons to the province of Partisos, to the magnificent prince Grigor. And the sons gave their mother as hostage and took Sot'k' and Berd-Šamiram, and then they became familiar with Xlazīz [al-Aziz] emir of Ganjak and killed him, and took Ganjak and ruled it. The oldest brother Parzwan died soon after and his other brother Lēsk'ari ruled and took Partaw and Šamk'or from Salar. And his younger brother who was called P'atlun killed him during a hunt and took over the rule (50).

Since Gagik I was still alive, it was impossible for the Shaddādids to manifest any claims on the neighbouring Armenian provinces, but Faḍl

succeeded in taking Partaw during this period (51), while the kingdom of P'arisis was divided between him and Gagik (52). With the death of Gagik I however the situation altered radically. His two sons, Yovhannes-Smbat and Ašot IV, divided the already diminished kingdom of Ani after a long contest. Ašot received the eastern portion which should have included Dwin, but this city had already passed to the Shaddādīd. Abu'l-Aswār in the 1020's during the contest of the two brothers for the Armenian throne.

In the very year following the accession of Yovhannēs-Smbat (1021), Armenia suffered an attack by the Daylamites (Delmik) from the south (53). Vardan, who mistakenly attributes this raid to the Seljuk Tughril beg, says that the first opposition was displayed at Naḫcawan by Liparit Orbelean and his four thousand horsemen (54). The attacking army came to Dwin after overcoming this resistance, took the city, and moved northward from it («and the Turks came to Dwin, and the invasion spread...») (54a). Vasak Pahlawuni who was residing at Bjni opposed the invading forces coming from Dwin, and although he himself was killed, his army succeeded in hurling back the advancing horde. Matthew of Edessa, who gives us a detailed and epic description of the battle of Bjni, admits that the losses were very great (55).

The Daylamites had apparently only had the intention of making a raid and going home, and so did not remain at Dwin. But the immediate result of their incursion was that the portion of Golt'n extending from Dwin to the valley of the Araxes was once again cut off from the Armenian kingdom. The provinces of Golt'n and Naḫcawan remained once more in the hands of their former masters, whereas Dwin apparently found itself in a state of anarchy which was exploited by the Shaddādīds. As we have already seen, the first Shaddādīd, Muḥammad b. Shaddād, had taken Dwin when the city faced the threat of anarchy. The same situation probably helped his grandson Abu'l-Aswār I. Consequently his unobtrusive conquest has found no record in historical sources. Not a single Armenian historian, not even the Muslim historian so devoted to Shaddādīds, has a single word to tell about a military conquest. Vardan says laconically of Faḍl that «he also took Dwin» (56), but it would be more correct to suppose that the notables of the city (especially the Muslims) voluntarily handed it over to the Shaddādīds to save it from anarchy.

Mūnedjdjim Bashi writes as follows on the occasion of Abu'l-Aswār's death, «his rule over the whole of Arān and some parts of Armenia lasted 18 years, and before that, 28 years over some territories, so that the duration of the whole of his amirate was 46 years» (57). It is clear that the 28 years mentioned refer to the rule over Dwin, and in view of the fact that Abu'l-Aswār died in A.H. 459 in the month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjdja (= November A.D. 1067), we obtain the date ca. A.D. 1022 for the beginning of his rule at Dwin by counting back 46 years. This is very probable, since Dwin had

been left in a very precarious condition after the Daylamite raid approximately one year earlier.

In any case there is no doubt that Dwin fell into the hands of the Shaddādids at a time when the quarrel between Yovhannēs-Smbat and Ašot IV had not yet come to an end. Fearful of Yovhannēs-Smbat, who had been acknowledged king of Ani and its vicinity, Apirat one of the princes supporting Ašot turned to «Apuswar» at Dwin together with his family and twelve thousand horsemen. The emir at first gave a high position to Apirat but later, fearing that he might increase his authority and harm the Shaddādids, he had him treacherously killed. Apirat's general Sare then led his master's army and household to Ani. Abu'l-Aswār was the immediate neighbour of the king's brother Ašot [IV] who ruled over the basin of Lake Sewan in Aragacotn, Nig, Kotayk' and other provinces (59). But the fate which befell Apirat speaks against the possibility that the emir of Dwin was a vassal of Ašot. However, Aristakēs Lastivertēci notes that the emir of Dwin was the son-in-law of Ašot IV, presumably for the sake of consolidating his authority over his Armenian provinces (60).

The status of the lords of Naḡcawan and Gol'n was also improved by the presence of the Shaddādids at Dwin. In the 1030's, Abū Dulaf was residing at Dwin and was presumably a descendant of the earlier Abū Dulaf (Abu Tlup'). The Persian panegyric poet Kaṡrān b. Maṡṡūr who had begun his career at the Shaddādīd court of Ganjak also lived for a certain time with him (61).

Matthew of Edessa reports a major clash between Abu'l Aswār and David Anholin of Lori, the cause of the war having been the attack and conquest of provinces belonging to David by the emir of Dwin (62). This expedition was evidently not made northward from Dwin but rather westward, by way of Ganjak. The powerful impact of the attacking army shows that the combined forces of the Shaddādids had been used for the offensive. David was forced to gather a large group of allies against such a numerous host and Yovhannēs-Smbat as well as the king of Kapan sent him supporting troops. David also appealed to the kat'olikos of Albania, a move which provides yet another argument in favour of the hypothesis that the attack had come from Ganjak. David wrote to the kat'olikos to gather all his bishops («...then collect all the bishops of the Armenians who are in Albania and come to this camp...») (62a) and the kat'olikos Joseph did in fact come with two hundred bishops to encourage the warriors. The king of Iberia (of Abkhazia) also sent supporting troops. Thus the allied forces of the three neighbouring countries came forth against the united army of the Shaddādids, probably supported by still others as well, and routed it.

Ašot IV and Yovhannēs-Smbat died at almost the same time and were succeeded by Ašot's eighteen year old son, Gagik II (63). It fell to his lot to face two dangers simultaneously: on the one hand the Byzantines, who demanded Ani on the basis of Yovhannēs-Smbat's notorious will, and on

the other, the threat from the East presented by the Turkish hordes, the Shaddādids, and other forces. After successfully repelling the Byzantine offensive against Dwin, Gagik II at the head of an army began to pacify the insubordinate provinces of Armenia. Together with Gregory, the son of Vasak Pahlawuni, he defeated on the banks of the Hrazdan (Hurastan) river near Bĵni in the district of Ayrarat an enemy army called by the historian at times the «southerners», and at others the «Persians» and «Turks» (64). These were the Seljuk Turks who had come to the provinces of Ayrarat, probably at the instigation of Abu'l-Aswār.

Seeing the consolidation of Gagik II's rule, the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (A.D. 1042-1055) urged the emir of Dwin to attack the Bagratid kingdom. When the latter asked for a guarantee that the Empire would recognize the conquered territories as Shaddādids possessions, Monomachos sent him a *chrysobullon* to that effect (65). Abu'l-Aswār did in fact conquer certain Armenian fortresses mentioned by the Greek historians in speaking of their reconquest by Byzantium. Gagik only escaped from this critical situation by halting the Shaddādids offensive.

Not finding any other means after all these attempts, Constantine Monomachos deceitfully invited Gagik II to Constantinople, and Ani remained in an ambiguous situation since the Armenian king was for all practical purposes a prisoner. Succumbing to despair, the capital surrendered to the Empire which thereby became the immediate neighbour of the emirate of Dwin.

Michael Iasites was appointed governor of Ani and the *parakoimomenos* Nicholas, military commander. Forgetting his guarantee, Constantine Monomachos immediately demanded back from the emir of Dwin the territories that he had seized at the Emperor's own instigation. At Abu'l-Aswār's refusal, Iasites launched a great expedition against Dwin in which the *magistros* Constantine the Alan, the Armenian army under the command of Vahram Pahlawuni, and Liparit Orbelean all participated. Faced with this united force, Abu'l-Aswār had recourse to the stratagem of opening the irrigation canals and flooded the fertile vineyards stretching around the walls of Dwin. The attackers mired in the mud and falling under a hail of arrows from the walls were totally routed and both Vahram Pahlawuni and his son Gregory remained among the victims (65a).

After this defeat, Constantine Monomachos appointed Katakalon Kekau-
menos (arm. Kamenas) as governor of Ani, and in fact of the whole of northern Armenia, and the *parakoimomenos* Constantine as military commander (66). The latter adopted a new policy and instead of attacking Dwin which was impregnable, he concentrated on the conquest of all the territories that the Shaddādids had wrested from Gagik II. These were Surb Mari [St. Mary] subsequently called Surmari or Surmelu, Amberd (Ampier), St. Gregory, whose exact location is unknown (perhaps in the region of

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P'arpi), and Cicernakaberd (Khelidonion [Swallow's castle]) near Erevan (67). But the revolt of Leon Tornikes (a member of the Bagratid house of Tarōn) which occurred simultaneously in Constantinople forced Constantine IX to conclude peace on the condition that the emir of Dwin acknowledge his subordination to the Empire (68). The successful resistance of Dwin in fact halted the Byzantine offensive in Armenia, since otherwise Byzantium would obviously have continued its successful advance toward Tašir-Joraget, Siwnik' and Xac'ēn.

The real obstacle to further Byzantine offensives, however, was provided by the Seljuks. In A.D. 1048, a Seljuk army under the command of Ibrāhīm Ināl and Kutlumush attacked Armenia reaching as far as Arcn in the north and Tarōn in the south (69). The Shaddādids received them with open arms as an effective means of freeing themselves from the Byzantine threat. At the same time (ca. 1049), Byzantium also directed an expedition against Abu'l-Aswār under the command of the *parakoimomenos* Nikephoros (70), although Honigmann places this expedition somewhat later (ca. 1055/6), which is unlikely (71).

During this period of confusion, Abu'l-Aswār left Dwin and went to assume the rule of the possessions of Ganjak which had remained in the hands of one of the weaker members of the Shaddādīd house. He probably also feared the recurring Byzantine expeditions which presented a real threat to him, especially since the seizure of Dwin had become a necessity for Byzantium after its conquest of Karin, Manazkert, and other military bases. After Abu'l-Aswār's transfer to Ganjak (72), Dwin became a domain of secondary importance, since the center of gravity of the Shaddādīd principality had now been shifted to Ganjak. Until 1053 Dwin was apparently administered by a local governor appointed by Abu'l-Aswār, but in that year he designated as governor of the city his own son Abū Naṣr Iskandar b. Shāwur to whom he also handed over the «regions subject» to Dwin (73). This last comment of Münedjdjim Bashi indicates that the Shaddādīd possessions around Dwin had somewhat expanded by 1053, presumably as a result of the Seljuk invasions.

Abu'l-Aswār not only made his submission to the Seljuks, but also collaborated actively in their expeditions in Armenia. At the time of Alp Arslan's expedition of A.D. 1064, Abu'l-Aswār participated with his army in the destructive raid against Ani (74). Nevertheless, this disastrous alliance of the Shaddādīds with the Seljuks benefited the former only temporarily, since the same Seljuks eventually annihilated the Shaddādīd principalities both at Ganjak and at Dwin. Abu'l-Aswār died in A.D. 1067, and by 1075 the Shaddādīds had already lost Ganjak with all of its vassal Albanian and Armenian possessions. Münedjdjim Bashi notes that at this time,

He [Faḍlūn or Faḍl III] surrendered his capital Janza and other parts of Arrān, both lowlands and highlands, with its provinces and for-

tresses, to the lieutenant of the Sultan, and thus the Shaddādid dynasty collapsed. Arrān with all its treasures and stores fell into the hands of the Turks (75).

After the loss of Ganjak, the Shaddādids retained only Dwin and Ani, and drew closer to the Armenians. One of the sons of Abu'l-Aswār bore the Armenian name of Ašot (Ashūt), while another, Manūčahr [Manuč'ē] surrounded himself with the descendants of the Armenian princely houses after he acquired Ani in A.D. 1072 (76). The Shaddādid rule did not last long at Dwin as well, since the Seljuk emir «Łzil» [Kizil] seized the city in A.D. 1105 and put Abū Našr Iskandar to death (77). These events however pertain already to the Seljuk and post-Seljuk periods of Armenian history.

* * *

The Byzantine offensive put an end to many of the Armenian emirates. In fact, all that remained by the middle of the eleventh century were the Marwānids of Xlat' and Aljnik' and the Shaddādids of Dwin. But the Armenian kingdom in no way profitted from this situation since it too fell victim to the Byzantine policy of annexation. Only the minor kingdoms of Tašir-Joraget and Siwnik', as well as some small principalities, remained autonomous as the last survivors of the Armenian state. Byzantium paralyzed the military strength of Armenia thereby paving the way for the Seljuk invasions and preparing the ground for the creation on the territory of Greater Armenia of new Muslim emirates whose history lies, however, beyond the scope of the present investigation.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTERNAL LIFE OF THE ARMENIAN EMIRATES

1. *Territory*

The emirates of Bagratid Armenia were essentially composed of cities since the Arab contingents and their Arab rulers settled in the cities, whereas the territorial area that they possessed outside of those cities was insignificant.

The emirate of Dwin coincided approximately with the province of Ostan (Dwin-Ostan). We know that this district had formed a part of the domain of the Arsacid kings (1), and that in the period of the Marzpanate and of the Arab domination it had naturally remained under the control of the governor of Armenia and could not be subject to any local ruler. In the period of decline of the Caliphate in the tenth century, the Bagratids added the eastern provinces of Ayrarat, Dwin-Ostan being among them, to their own domain of Širak-Arsarunik' (2). But with the formation of the emirate of Dwin, this province was separated again from the intrinsic possessions of the Bagratids.

The frontiers of the emirate of Dwin can be established only through a determination of the area of the neighbouring principalities. Those immediately adjacent to it were the domains of the Arcruni, Siwni, Bagratuni (and subsequently also the Pahlawuni) princes, and we know that the Araxes river marked its border on the side of Vaspurakan. Thus, when Thomas Arcruni speaks of the conflict between an anonymous Arab ruler of Dwin and Gagik Arcruni, he notes that they met near the Araxes opposite Xor Virap. The Arab general crossed the river, but was defeated, and Gagik threatened Dwin by crossing the river in his turn (3).

In the north, the boundaries of the emirate of Dwin lay near the province of Kotayk', since we know that the fortress of Gafni (as well as Erevan) always belonged to the Bagratids (4). To the east of the province of Ostan began the mountainous district of Siwnik', so that its frontiers must have been preserved. The principality of Vayoc' Jor adjoined the emirate of Dwin on this side. Most interesting of all were the boundaries which separa-

the vicinity of Ejmiacin, is the one to be taken as a remainder of the Mecamor which changed its direction with the passage of time and withdrew to its present bed (17). We must suppose, however, that in the period of the Bagratids it still flowed in its former direction and that the «Kurdish river [al-Akrād]» mentioned by al-Balādhuri was this very same Mecamor, since according to his account, Habīb b. Maslama during his conquest of Armenia took Artasat [Azdisāt], then «crossed the Nahr al-Akrād and encamped at Marj Dabīl» (18). No Arab historian, nor any Armenian author of the period has anything to say about P'awstos Buzand's forest of Xosrovakert which stretched from the Mecamor to Garni and Tikhuni (19). This may be explained by the Arab indifference to hunting which caused the neglect of the forest.

The ruins of Dwin, around which a few villages exist at present (Lower Dwin, Holaberđ, T'op'raḡkala, Aygestan, Bzovan, Norasēn, Upper Artasat, etc.) (20), have been scientifically excavated during the past years by the Historical Museum of Armenia, and the buildings and objects discovered have shed considerable light on the history of the city. The buildings uncovered in previous and more recent excavations, both in the citadel and the central sections of the city, are closely connected with the Bagratid period (21). The citadel is to be identified with the palace of the governor mentioned by Arab geographers (22), and in the course of excavations it has produced numerous objects (ceramics and others) which are very useful for the study of the development of crafts in this period. This citadel was built for the most part of unbaked clay, as opposed to the buildings of the central area which are of stone. In this section, next to the cathedral of St. Gregory, are found the ruins of the residence of the kat'olikos which may have been turned into a mosque in the tenth century (23). It is in fact very difficult to find any other location for this mosque which stood next to the cathedral according to the Arab geographers of the tenth century. It is interesting to note that the Armenian Christian monuments which date from an earlier period (V-VI centuries) are better preserved than the constructions that have come down to us from the Muslim period. The use of stone by the Armenians is of great importance in this connexion, and new structures from the period of the Marzpanate can be expected to appear in the course of future excavations.

Our information concerning the boundaries of the other emirates is far more imprecise. The following cities should be mentioned as being in Arab hands, but still forming a part of the Bagratid kingdom: Dwin, Naḡčawan, the city of Karin, Arcēs, Berkri, Arckē, Xlat', Manazkert. The Armeno-Muslim cities lying outside the Armenian kingdom were, on the other hand, Np'rkert, Bates, Salmas, and Her. All of these, whether they were autonomous principalities or part of other principalities, were basically urban holdings and only part of the surrounding territory was subject to them, as was the case for the emirate of Dwin. There were of course minor exceptions

here, among which the emirate of Golt'n should be mentioned in particular, because not a single locality is recorded on its territory. Consequently, it evidently could not have been an urban emirate, but rather formed a narrow strip of land in the valley of the Araxes. Even this emirate, however, did not preserve its form to the end. As we have seen, the famous emir of Golt'n, Abū Duḥaf (Abu Tluḥ), strained every effort to acquire cities and especially Dwin (24).

The emirate of the city of Karin included only a few villages of Upper Armenia as well as the fortress of Mastaton (25). Even Awnik (Haw-nunik') had its separate emirate. Nevertheless, all of them formed one general district together with Hafdjidj. The emirate of Berkri was bound to its city limits to such a degree, that Thomas Arcruni refers to its 'Uthmānid rulers as «the citizens of Berkri» (25a).

The Sulamī (Kaysites) were in the same situation. Even though they ruled over several cities, they always made the city itself their basic center and did not seek to hold large stretches of territory. In general terms, the Kaysite emirate reached as far south as the shores of Lake Van and to the possessions of the Shaybānī (later of the Ḥamdānids) (26). In the southwest and west, it was adjacent to the lands of the Bagratids of Tarōn. The «Bādjunays mines (*maḍan Bādjunays*)» indicated on some Arab coins struck in Armenia during the ninth century (27), should be sought in the province of Apahunik', or a little further, in the province of Hark' or at Xlat'. In any case, they were located in the region which later formed a part of the Kaysite holdings.

Arab geographers of the ninth century mention the tomb of Safwan b. al-Mu'attal Sulamī who was a kinsman of the prophet. Ibn Khurra-dāhbih places it in the city of Arsamosata (arab. Shimshāt) (28), while Ibn al-Fakih merely says that it was in Armenia IV (29), that is to say in the part of Armenia that included Apahunik', Hark', Upper Armenia, Shimshāt, etc. It must undoubtedly have had some connexion with the Sulaym of Apahunik' as their traditional holy place.

In general, we find few remains dating from the Bagratid period or the nearby centuries in the Armenian cities forming part of the emirates. Because of the final destruction of Dwin, at least the ruins of its monuments have survived undisturbed to some extent, but in the city of Karin, for example, or at Xlat', or partially also at Manazkert, life continued for a long time. It is consequently useless to seek the monuments of the Bagratid period in them. Byzantium destroyed many of the cities, especially Karin and Manazkert and rebuilt them, but not altogether on the same site nor in the same form.

After the tenth century, Manazkert never regained the importance that it had possessed until it became the target of destructive Byzantine attacks, and it has survived to the present merely as a small fortified town. In the preceding century the city had but a small Armenian population which occupied only one part of the half-ruined city (30). A «deserted khan», the ruins of the «Three-altar» church of the Mother of God next to it, and

the church of St Sergius were all that was considered worthy of notice among the remains. There was also a building called *Arab kilisa* («the Arab church») which is presumed to have been a Syrian [Nestorian] church, a mosque built in a very late period, as well as walls and a citadel which held the local garrison. We do not know the date of the «Three altar» church of the Mother of God, a monument that seems to have born a highly developed Armenian mediaeval stamp from the description of its interesting architecture and frescoes (31). Only archaeological excavations can clarify the nature of Manazkert's silent ruins and determine what has survived from the city of the Bagratid period.

The territory occupied by the emirates of Bagratid Armenia in the tenth century presented the following pattern listed according to provinces and cities. The Kaysites held the provinces of Aġiovit (Arcēs), Xořxorunik, (Arckē), Bznunik' (Xlat'), Apahunik' (Manazkert), Kori, Hark', and Varaznunik' (Xnunis and the Sermanc' mountains). To these was subsequently added the domain of the 'Uthmānids, Ařberani (Berkri). The province of Karin (the city of Karin with Mastaton) together with Basean (Basēn), part of Hawnunik' (Awnik'), and Mardali (Hawčič) formed a separate unit. In the valley of the Araxes, the provinces of Golt'n, Nařčawan (Nařčawan), Sarur, Urc, and Ostan (Dwin) were held by separate emirs.

2. Population

The cities were the centers of the Arab colonies in Armenia, it is consequently obvious that these groups must have exerted a certain influence in cities although the majority of the population always consisted of Armenians. If we take Dwin as an example, we shall see that even according to the testimony of the Arab geographers themselves, the majority of its inhabitants was composed of Armenians. When al-Mukaddasī says that the Christians were in the majority at Dwin (32), it is evident that he is referring to Armenians. In the same century the geographer Ibn Hawkal relates that the people of Dwin [Dabil] and its vicinity, as well as those of Nařčawan [Nashawa] spoke Armenian, just as they spoke Albanian at Partaw [Berhda'a] (33).

A number of Muslim groups were however also found side by side with the Armenians at Dwin. These were primarily Arabs whose existence is attested by the historian Lewond who says, in speaking of the revolt of 774-775, that when the Arab soldiers defeated by the Armenian rebels sought refuge at Dwin, they met «men and women of the same nation» (34). These were obviously the Arab inhabitants of the city who must have become very numerous in the first half of the ninth century. With the passage of time, however, the Iranian element, which is referred to as the military contingent, multiplied in the city. Münedjdjim Bashi notes that at the time of the Sallārids there was a force composed of Daylamites in the fortress of Dwin (i.e. in

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ulation has predominated ever,
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the citadel) which betrayed Muḥammad b. Shaddād when he was fighting off the attack of the Sallarid Marzubān (35).

As one of the Iranian components, the Kurds played a definite rôle in the city. According to al-Muḥaddasī they shared in the defense of Dwin. Speaking in general terms, he says that «the Kurds defended it» (36), leaving his meaning rather unclear, as well as the decade of the tenth century to which this remark refers. There was also a Kurdish village near Dwin which was called Adjanikan (37). As we have already seen, Ališan, presumably on the basis of the thesis equating the Kurds with the Medes, attempted to identify this toponym with the Azdanakan of Moses Xorenac'i, which was a Median settlement in this part of the Araxes' valley (37a).

All of these various components, Arabs, Daylamites, and Kurds are recorded in literature under the general term Muslims, so that it is difficult to tell the particular one being referred to. For example, al-Muḥaddasī (39) says that the «Muslims» of Dwin belonged to the heresy of Abū Hanīfa (40), and even says that he had personally been present at religious gatherings held at Dwin. As early as the ninth century, the Muslims had their own cemetery at Dwin and the *ostikan* Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī, among others, was buried there (41). The «Gate of the Tomb», mentioned by Müneddjim Bashi and located not far from the citadel, according to his account, may have taken its name from just such a cemetery.

We do not find any direct indication of the number of Muslims at Dwin in the works of the Arab geographers, but a record in Müneddjim Bashi gives us an indirect indication. Speaking of Asot III's assault on Dwin, he says that when Muḥammad b. Shaddād led out the city's Muslim population in opposition to the force of 30,000 men brought by his opponent, the inhabitants appeared more numerous than grains of sand in the eyes of the enemy. The historian says that Muḥammad b. Shaddād had led them out of the city and bidden them to call out «Allāh Akbar (God is Great)» (42). No proof is needed that the reference here is to the Muslim population of the city. Even if the Armenian Christians had been willing to go out of the city under the circumstances, they would never have called out «Allāh Akbar», especially against the Armenian king. Furthermore, Muḥammad b. Shaddād would have taken the precaution of not calling out the Armenian population on such an occasion for fear that they would go over to the side of the Armenian king.

We have direct indications that there were Jews at Dwin in the period of the Marzpanate, but we do not know what rôle they played in the life of the city during the Arab and Bagratid periods. After the decision to break with the Nestorians at the Council of Dwin of 555, we find almost no mention of them (43). John the Kat'olikos mentions a Syrian envoy sent by Yūsuf to King Smbat I (44). It is not clear to which of the Syrian groups he belonged, but it is probable that he was from Dwin. At present, there is a Syrian village near the ruins of Dwin (Upper Dwin), but it must

be due to a late migration. The Jewish colony of Dwin is mentioned only once in literary sources. In the oath of safety given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama to the population of Dwin, the Jews are mentioned alongside of the Christians and the Magians (45). Thereafter, they are no longer referred to, any more than the Magians, and it is probable that they had gone away.

The Arab element must have played a certain part in the city of Naḡ-ṣawan which was closely connected with Dwin, especially since it is often referred to in Arabic literature, and was an important administrative center in general during the period of Arab domination. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥawḳal reports that the language spoken there was Armenian even as late as the tenth century (46).

From the outset, the city of Karin had not been a purely Armenian city, and it remained so until the end. This city which had served the Byzantine Empire as a military outpost, fulfilled exactly the same purpose when it passed into Arab hands. According to al-Balādhurī, the conqueror of Armenia, Ḥabīb b. Maslama, installed two thousand Arabs brought from Syria and Mesopotamia in Karin as early as A.D. 654 and even distributed lands among them (47). The Greek population of the city must obviously have diminished during this period, since the Arabs replaced them as the ruling element. Thus, Karin was the only city of Greater Armenia to be populated with Arabs from the very beginning of the Arab domination because of its position as a military base of the utmost importance in the Byzantine war

The settlement of Arabs in this city attracted so much attention at the time, that when Karin was temporarily captured by Byzantium in the mid-eighth century, the imperial army immediately after razing its walls took back with it to the Empire not only the Arab troops found there, but also «the Saracens who lived in it with their families» (48). The local inhabitants (presumably Armenians and Greeks) realized clearly that the Byzantine conquest was temporary and also began to emigrate to the west, all the more so because the capture of the city had been accomplished through its betrayal by two Armenian brothers, according to al-Balādhurī (49). As soon as the city had been retaken by the Arabs, it was once more repopulated with Arabs who consisted of the former inhabitants released from captivity and of immigrants brought in from Mesopotamia and other regions. Even in the tenth century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus spoke of the «Theodosiopolitans» or inhabitants of Karin (as though they formed a homogeneous mass) who were Muslims, as he frequently pointed out (50). To be sure, it does not follow from this that the entire population of the city was composed of Arabs, since the reference is to the ruling element in the city next to which an Armenian native population must undoubtedly have existed.

When Arcn prospered in the eleventh century replacing Karin, the new city was populated with inhabitants who had migrated from the half-destroyed and abandoned Karin, according to the Byzantine historian Attaliates (51).

These in all probability were Armenians, since Arcn is known as an Armenian city and we have no references to the presence of Arabs there (52). We must therefore conclude that the Arabs from Karin had scattered, presumably finding refuge in other cities or even in neighbouring countries. We hear of the great tenth century Spanish philologist and poet al-Kāli (i.e. the Kālikālian or Karinian) who was called al-Kāli because he had come to Baghdad from the city of Karin together with the Arabs, although he had been born at Manazkert in A.D. 901. In the 940's, he settled in Spain, where he played an important rôle in the development of literature and where he died in A.D. 967 (53). From Constantine Porphyrogenitus we also know that in the tenth century there were Arabs in certain fortresses located in the districts extending westward from Karin, since he observes that the Byzantines had launched destructive raids in this period for the purpose of attacking such emirates as Abnikon [Awnik] and others located in the province of Basēn (54).

Our information regarding the population of the cities in the emirates of southern Armenia is no more detailed. Berkri, which was a small fortified city, was ruled by an Arab tribe (the 'Uthmānids), who were essentially settled inside the city to such an extent, that Thomas Arcruni calls them «citizens of Berkri», as we have already noted (54a). The 'Uthmānids were also installed in the castle of Amiwk on the shores of Lake Van, but the Arcrunis took it from them and slaughtered them all (55).

Xlat' had been from the outset a favourite base for the Arab *ostikans* and generals, especially those coming from Syria in the direction of Dwin. The *ostikan* often halted there to transact business before going on to Dwin. Thus, Khālid b. Yazīd received Sawāda there and granted him the *amān* (56). Similarly, Bagarat Bagratuni chose Xlat' as his residence and it was there that he was arrested (57). A large number of Muslims was found in the city in the Bagratid period. Among these, besides the Arabs, there was also a Persian speaking group which was obviously composed of Iranians. Because of its location on a main highway leading from Azerbaidjan, Xlat' became a center for Persians engaged in trade and other activities. The Persian writer, Nāsir-i Khushraw, who visited the city in person in A.D. 1046, says that three languages — Arabic, Persian, and Armenian — were spoken there and that the city was called Akhlāt («mixture») for this reason (58). The fact that the residence of the Armenian bishop of Xlat' as well as the churches of the Holy Cross and of St. Gamaliel lay outside the walls (59), is an indication that the Muslim element installed inside the city held a relatively dominant position.

Manazkert is the best known of the Armeno-Arab cities of the Bagratid period after Dwin, because the Sulamī (Kaysite) emirs settled there in the ninth — tenth centuries. Unfortunately, the Arab sources which mention the city on so many occasions give us no information about its internal life. The reason for this is that the city itself did not prosper particularly, although

political circumstances were such as to make it famous. In any case, we know that Arabs, who probably belonged to the Sulaym tribe, formed a large group in this city. When Manazkert passed into the hands of the Curopalate David of Tayk' at the end of the tenth century, the Arabs were removed from the city and Armenians installed in their stead (60). Subsequently Manazkert passed to Byzantium and not a word is said concerning an Arab population (61). Immediately after David's death the city was taken by the Kurd Bādh and reconstructed, but if he repopulated it, it is obvious that he did it with Kurds in order to support the Marwānid principality. We know nothing about the population of Arcēs. Yāqūt observes that the inhabitants were for the most part Armenians, but this is already in the thirteenth century (62).

Such then, is the general picture of the cities found in the emirates of Bagratid Armenia. These cities were in close contact with other Armenian cities and the basic mass of their native population always remained Armenian.

The situation was entirely different in cities which lay outside the Armenian kingdom, namely at Bales [Bidlis], Arzn [Arzan], and especially Np'rkert [Mayyāfārikin], which was already an Arabized city. Built on the site of the former Tigranakert, Np'rkert was an important base for the Arabs, especially since it stood on the road leading to the main area of Arabo-Byzantine conflict. In the course of time, not only the city but the whole of Ajjnik' became part of Northern Mesopotamia and the native population had approximately the same composition as that of Mesopotamia and Syria.

If we take the composition of the local population in the cities of the Armenian emirates in general, we can see that the immigrant contingent found there side by side with the original inhabitants was at first composed of Arabs. These, however, soon began to disappear from the scene and to yield their place to the Kurds. The disappearance of the Arabs from Armenia is amazingly quick, so that there is almost no mention of them by the eleventh century. The Arab inhabitants of the Armenian cities suffered greatly from the massacres carried out by the Byzantine armies. The cities of Karin and Manazkert witnessed great destruction as was also partially the case at Xlat' and Np'rkert, though these were once again filled with Muslims. Greeks (probably Armenians of Orthodox confession) came to replace the Arabs of Karin, Manazkert, Arckē, Arcēs, and Berkri to some extent (63), but the situation changed radically with the coming of the Seljuks.

The vanished Arab population was generally replaced with Kurds. These Iranian tribes who had lived for centuries in the south of Greater Armenia began to stir in the tenth century and to spread in several directions (64). Appearing everywhere as military contingents, the Kurdish tribes succeeded in playing a definite part in the city life of the Near and Middle East. The best proof of this is the elevation to the sultanate of Egypt of the Ayyūbid house founded by Šalāh al-Dīn whose grandfather had migrated from the vicinity of Dwin (65).

Whether or not we accept as correct the thesis that the Djahhāfids were of Kurdish origin, it is clear that the creation of the emirates in Greater Armenia and the infiltration of Kurds into it are closely related phenomena. With the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh, the Arab emirates in Armenia became increasingly principalities of Kurdish origin, but were called Arab for a number of reasons. Like the Arabs, the infiltrating Kurdish contingent in this period was composed exclusively of small groups of soldiers who seized the rule of this or that city or province by force; mass infiltration of Kurds into Armenia took place only in later centuries.

It is very characteristic of Armenia that the Arabs did not found a single Arabic city there. In all the other conquered countries, especially in those to which the Arab tribes migrated in great numbers, the Arabs founded purely Arabic cities such as al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra in Mesopotamia, al-Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt, or Kayrwān in Tunisia, which inaugurated the rise of mediaeval Arab cities. Such cities formed trusty bases for the rule of the Arab Caliphate and greatly assisted the Arabization of distant lands such as North Africa. In Armenia, however, the *ostikans* took no such steps and were satisfied with the settlement of Arab colonies in certain cities. The native Armenian population remained in these cities, but the foreign colonists assumed the leading position.

This was the ethnic composition of the cities of the Armenian emirates, but from the point of view of class structure they did not differ essentially from the remaining Armenian cities. The upper stratum of the population was composed of the feudatories settled within the city to whom John Drasxanakertc'i refers in speaking of the events taking place at Dwin, when he calls the representatives of this class, «the leading senior nobles [*gaherēc'k'*] and the magnificent magnates [*nahapets*] and the members of noble houses [*azgatoḥmk'*] in the city of Dwin» (66). Thomas Arçruni also refers to them when he speaks of the «elders of the city» at Dwin (67). The emirs of the city were drawn from this stratum, but they did not come in hereditary succession from a single family in every city. At Dwin or Karin the ruling emirs were for the most part chance personages, and it is only in the eleventh century that the Shaddādids succeeded in establishing themselves there. Among the hereditary houses of emirs were the Sulamī (Kaysites) at Manazkert, Xlat, Arcēs, etc., the 'Uthmānids at Berkri, the Shaybānī and Hamdānids at Np'rkert, and the Zurārids at Arzn.

The merchants as a separate class played a certain rôle in the Armenian cities during the Bagratid era, but we lack sufficient evidence to determine their position in the cities of the emirates. It is even difficult to determine the rôle played by Armenian and Arab merchants in the commercial life of these cities. We have some data concerning the life of the artisan class and the common people in the cities of the emirates derived from archaeological excavations (68), and it is clear that no distinction can be made between them and other Armenian cities in this case.

It would be useless even to attempt to investigate the traces of an Arab peasantry in the Armenian provinces. None can be found, not only in Armenia, even at a late date, but even in Arabized lands such as Syria, Egypt, etc., where the countryside preserved over the centuries its local languages (Syriac, Coptic, etc.) and its local religion, Christianity.

3. *The Centers of the T'ondrakian Movement*

The T'ondrakian movement originated in various parts of Armenia, but the basic centers of its activity whose names have reached us to a greater or lesser degree, thanks to literary references, show that the followers of this sect often extended their activity in sections only loosely tied to the Bagratid kingdom, and especially in the provinces occupied by Arab emirates.

In its initial period this movement had its center in the region of Apahunik' and Hark' at the village of T'ondrak. Smbat, the founder of the sect, had been born in the village of Zarehawan in the Bagratid domain of Calkotn, but according to Asolik (69) and Gregory Magistros (70), he soon left it and settled in the village of T'ondrak which was in a province inhabited by Arab tribes.

According to C'amč'ean (71), the T'ondrakian movement arose in the days of the kat'olikos John Ovayec'i (A.D. 833-855) and of the *sparapet* Smbat the Confessor. Although many scholars subsequently concluded from the imprecise words of Gregory Magistros, «in the days of the Lord John and of Smbat Bagratuni» (72), that Smbat Zarehawanc'i had appeared in the kat'olikosate of John VI Drasxanakerc'i (A.D. 898-929) and the reign of King Smbat I (73), they have recently returned to the thesis of C'amč'ean (74). Hence, if we agree to place the inauguration of the movement in the middle of the ninth century, we must conclude that Smbat began to preach his beliefs at a time when Armenia was already under the domination of the Arabs. During the rule of Ašot Bagratuni A.D. 862-885), according to the testimony of Gregory Narekac'i, the Kaysite emir Abu'l-Ward, who was ruling at Manazkert, launched a severe persecution against the founder of the sect (75). By taking refuge in this region, Smbat had obviously hoped to find a free field for his activities, since the Armenian Church could hardly force an Arab emir to persecute this new heresy. But under the despotic rule of the Kaysite emir, the T'ondrakian movement, in addition to its class character, apparently also took on the form of a liberation movement directed against the foreign conquerors. According to Thomas Arçruni, the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward was making bold plans and even sought to form a military coalition of Muslim emirs in Arminiya directed against the Armenian *naçarars*, and especially against the Prince of Princes Ašot (76). He would consequently be alarmed by the fact that a Christian sect had been settled for several years in the village of T'ondrak which was separated from Manazkert by no more than three hours' journey. As a result,

Abu'l-Ward mercilessly slaughtered the T'ondrakec'i and even killed Smbat Zarehawanc'i himself (77).

After these events begins a period of more than one century about which the sources are silent. But since T'ondrak is mentioned again at the end of the tenth century as the original cradle of the teaching of Smbat Zarehawanc'i, we can state with assurance that the persecution of Abu'l-Ward had failed to eradicate the sect from this village. The second period of T'ondrakec'i activity began with the second half of the tenth century. The Bagratid kings naturally protected the interests of the official Church since the Church supported the expansion of the Bagratid kings throughout Greater Armenia amidst the political divisions prevailing in the tenth century. Thus, when Ašot III (A.D. 953-977) inaugurated measures intended to bring the autonomous provinces of Armenia under his authority (the choice of Ani as capital, the reconstitution of the army, etc.) he did not forget to bring the kat'olikos Anania Mokac'i to his own domain and to establish the residence of the kat'olikos at Argina not far from Ani. All the provinces of Greater Armenia indirectly submitted to the king through their ecclesiastical recognition of the kat'olikos, since the kat'olikos was in reality his subordinate.

Aristakēs Lastivertc'i (78) and Gregory Magistros (79) give us definite information concerning the events which took place during the kat'olikosate of Sergius Sewanc'i (A.D. 992-1019) and in the reign of Gagik I (990-1020). The basic center of the sect was again at T'ondrak in the former possessions of the Kaysites where the residence of the heresiarch Yesu was located (80). Among the T'ondrakec'i was also found the Bishop Jacob of Hark' who began to practice the principles of the new sect in his see (81). These reduced ecclesiastical ceremonies and simplified their form; the remission of sins by priests and the sacrifice of animals [*matal*] were also forbidden. The kat'olikos had him branded on the forehead with the mark of a fox and imprisoned, but Jacob fled to Byzantium. There he accepted Orthodox baptism, but soon returned to Apahunik' having failed to obtain any success. He was not received at T'ondrak, presumably because of his conversion to Orthodoxy, and, being rejected by all, took refuge in the Marwānid territory where the T'ondrakec'i had estates (82). After staying there for a time, Jacob again moved south and died at Np'rkert.

In the tenth century the teaching of the T'ondrakec'i spread northward into the provinces of Mardali and Mananali. The village of ḫnunk' is mentioned in Mardali, and those of Širi, Kašē, Aliws, Bazmaḡbiwr, and T'ulayl in Mananali and its vicinity (83). In all of these localities the farm labourers formed communities of the doctrine brought by preachers from T'ondrak. At a village near the fortified settlement of Širi lived the abbot Kuncik who was joined by the noblewoman Hranuš and two of her kinswomen, as well as by their brother prince Vrvēr of Širi (83a). The relations between the sectarians and the ecclesiastical authorities became so tense that the inhabitants of Kašē attacked the village of Bazmaḡbiwr in the district of the Paḡar

mountains and broke to pieces a famous cross which was located there. In his turn, Bishop Samuel of Mananali set fire to the village of Kasē and arrested in the village of Jermay six *vardapets* whom he had branded with the mark of a fox (83b). The governor of Ekeleac' intervened and prince Vrvēr was freed on the payment of a bribe and the promise that he would turn Orthodox, while the inhabitants of Kasē suffered severe punishments (83c).

In the middle of the next century the struggle against the T'ondrakec'i flared up again. They had apparently spread southward to some extent into the Marwānid possessions. The Byzantine governor of southern Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, Gregory Magistros launched a severe persecution against them. At this time, the community of T'ondrak was again prospering as the residence of the heresiarch Lazarus. Making use of the testimonies of two priestly informers, Polykarp and Nikanor, who had fled from T'ondrak, Gregory Magistros came at the head of an army to T'ondrak, which he calls Šnavank' [Dog monastery] in his *Letter to the Syrian kat'olikos* (84). More than a thousand persons from the community of T'ondrak received communion and the community was scattered. Seeing this lamentable situation, Lazarus appealed the Syrian kat'olikos for protection, but Gregory Magistros succeeded in neutralizing this move.

Speaking in his *Letter* of the activities at T'ondrak, Gregory notes that he had found there letters addressed to the heresiarch Yesu, «that had come from every province» of Armenia (85). We may therefore conclude that in addition to the localities mentioned in the sources: Apahunik' (T'ondrak), Hark', Mardali (Xnunk'), Mananali (Kasē at al), Karin, Bznunik' (Xlat'), there were also other provinces to which the T'ondrakian teaching had spread, especially since references in the *Letters* of Gregory Magistros bear witness to the fact that followers of this teaching were also to be found at Ani (86).

4. *Crafts and Commerce*

The sources for the study of Armenian crafts in the Bagratid period are provided by archaeological excavations (primarily at Ani and Dwin), and by the works of Arab geographers. Armenian historians unfortunately give us little information on the urban industries of this era, and the lacuna must be filled by the data drawn from the accounts of a few Arab geographers. These are in the main, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal, and al-Mukaddasī, who directed most of their attention to Dwin. The geographers concern themselves primarily with the weaving industries and related trades, whereas archaeological excavations have brought to light valuable funds of ceramic and metal objects which provide us with rich material indicating the level of evolution reached by these crafts.

The Arab geographers of the tenth century devoted a large place to objects of home furnishings such as cushions, rugs, hangings, covers, etc., all of which were related to the weaving industries. These objects were

dyed with the red cochineal dye called «*kirmiz*» by the Arabs. We know that the village of Artasat near Dwin was the center of this production and received the name of «Cochineal village» as a result (87). It is interesting to note that these woven products dyed with cochineal achieved great fame in the Caliphate and were known under the general name of «Armenian goods» (literally Armenian types, *asnaf al-armani*) (88). Both woollens and silks were famous among the products of the weavers of Dwin so that the «Armenian goods» just mentioned must have been drawn from the woven materials manufactured there. Rougher goods were made of wool, while the more delicate types were of silk.

These products of Armenian home industries had such a reputation in Arab lands, that Arab geographers speaking of these types of goods compare them with those coming from Armenia (Armani). Thus, for example, Ya'kūbī in his geographical work mentions the red-dyed woven articles produced in the Egyptian city of Assiut (cushions, rugs, etc.) and notes that they were similar to those of Armenian type (89). Ibn Hawkal, a contemporary of the Bagratids has left us a brief but compact description of the production of Dwin:

From Dwin are exported soft [goat-hair] woollens, and ordinary woollens such as for example, rugs, sofas, saddle blankets, pillows, and other goods of Armenian type which they dye with cochineal. This is a colour which dyes soft woollens and ordinary wool, and it is obtained from a worm that weaves around itself like the silk worm when it is in a cocoon of its own silk.

There they also produce wholesale silks. Their silk is very similar to that of the land of the Romans although this one is more valuable. And the goods known under the name of «Armenian», such as thick textiles, cushions, hangings, narrow rugs, leather sofa cushions, pillows, saddle blankets, do not have their equals in any part of the world (90).

All of the goods mentioned here had become an important part of the local manufacture of Dwin, and the city had become one of the leading production centers of Armenia thanks to them (91).

The result of the excavations at Dwin also demonstrates the existence of other forms of production, since they have brought to light the remains of the workshops of smiths, weavers, goldsmiths, as well as a potter's oven (92). Two groups stand out among the objects recovered, ceramics and metal work. Among the first are found ordinary pottery, glazed clay dishes, ckina, etc. Among the metal objects we find iron and copper implements as well as weapons. Of particular interest are the gold objects which provide us with valuable data on the work of Armenian goldsmiths.

The other cities of Armenia also participated in this manufacturing activity. According to Ibn Hawkal, woven textiles were also prepared in

the southern cities among which he mentions Salmas and Np'rkert, as well as Marand and Tabriz in Azerbaidjan which also produced such textiles (93). The geographer even mentions the price of an Armenian rug made at Salmas that sold for ten *dirhams*. He also mentions the manufacture of kerchiefs and shawls at Mayyāfārikin and in certain cities of Armenia (94). All of these goods were brought for sale not only on the markets of Armenia but also in those of distant lands thus favouring the development of trade as well.

As a result of the endless border warfare with Byzantium and other powers, of heavy taxation, and of other causes, an economic decline affecting trade began in Armenia during the period of Arab domination, but this decline came to an end in the ninth century (95). In the course of the almost two hundred year history of the Bagratid kingdom, Armenia was involved in a protracted war only with the Sādjid̄s of Azerbaidjan, and the long peace favoured the development of the Armenian cities.

The cities located on the two main trade routes crossing Armenia from Azerbaidjan and Albania toward Asia Minor and Syria evolved in various ways. Until the tenth century, the northern highway, with Naḡcawan, Dwin, Ani, and Karin (later Arcn as well), and the southern one, on which were located Her, Van, Berkri, Arcēs, Manazkert, Xlat', Bales, and Np'rkert, developed equally. The *Letter*, or more correctly the passage, of Smbat I preserved by John Dras̄anakertc'i is of great interest for this epoch. The king wrote to the Sādjid̄ Afshin to assert the principle that trade between his realm and Byzantium was likewise beneficial to the Caliphate. Smbat I sought to convince Afshin that his treaty with Byzantium not only eased the importation of Byzantine garments and ornaments, but also opened the way for the introduction of Muslim wares into Asia Minor (96).

Although the bloody struggle with the Sādjid̄s of Azerbaidjan temporarily halted the expansion of Armenian cities, a new era of development opened for both cities and trade with the tenth century (97). Under the first Bagratids, the cities that had existed earlier expanded. These were Dwin, Karin, Np'rkert, Naḡcawan, Arcēs, Berkri, Manazkert, Bales, and others. But in the tenth-eleventh centuries, newly founded cities such as Ani and Arcn shared in the development of the older ones which were passing through a period of prosperity (98). It is interesting to observe that this phenomenon occurred more strikingly on the northern trade route, which was essentially under the direct authority of the Bagratid kings.

It should be noted that the majority of the cities on the southern highway were found on the territories of the emirates. It is even possible that the whole of this route lay in the hands of the emirs. Thus, Ibn-Hawkal gives the following description of this route: From Marāgha to Urmiya — Salmās — Khoy — Bārḡhīrī — Ard̄jīsh — Khilāḡ — Badlīs — Arzan — Mayyāfārikin (99). In view of the fact that the route from Khoy to Bārḡhīrī could also proceed without going through Van, we can see that it lay exclusively through cities held by emirs.

Such was not the case with the northern highway, the majority of whose cities were in Armenian hands, while those held by emirs, such as Dwin or Naḫčawan, returned to the Armenian kingdom in the period of Gagik I. Moreover, Armenian merchants evidently played an essential part in the trade of Dwin. The northern route experienced a period of very active development in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the prosperity (of this period), often stressed in studies devoted to the history of Armenian cities, applies primarily to those on the northern highway. The best proof of this is the swift and intense expansion of Ani (100). New cities were founded on this route because of the insecure status of some of its older cities. Thus, the fact that Dwin was in foreign hands provoked the foundation and development of Ani, while the unsafe situation and ultimate destruction of Karin led to the foundation and prosperity of Arcn. The cities of the southern highway also enjoyed their share of the general prosperity. It is true that their unstable political situation and the continuous Byzantine raids created insecure conditions, nevertheless, there were interludes which permitted a certain commercial evolution.

The northern route was in close commercial contact with Syria and Mesopotamia, and consequently favoured the development of trade relations between Armenia and these countries. Goods coming from Dwin and Ani were carried to Manazkert, X'lat', Baḷes, and Np'rkert, and thence to Amida. This city was an important center for the collection of goods coming from Armenia, and the road from it followed two paths. One route came down to Mesopotamia, while the other proceeded to Syria. The characterization of Amida given by Ibn Hawkal is also of great interest,

trade there never stopped ... because it is the port for Armenia, the land of the Armenians (i.e. Byzantine Armenia), and Arzn. Ships go from there to Mosul bearing wares such as honey, oil, various luxuries, cheese, nuts, filberts, almonds, pistachios, figs, and similar goods of every kind (101).

In addition to natural products, mules, of which the geographer speaks with praise, were exported from Anjewac'ik', «But from al-Zawazān and parts of Armenia and Arrān they send to 'Irāk, Sh'am (Syria) and Khurāsān choice mules reputed for their endurance, strength, agility and patience, and their fame has been sufficiently described» (102).

Amida was not the only river port serving Armenia, this function was shared by Mosul which was the most important commercial junction point in Mesopotamia. Ya'kūbī notes that ships laden with Armenian wares also came to Baghdad (103).

The most important Armenian articles for sale were the so-called «Armenian goods», which were famous in almost every Arab land, such as for instance, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, as well as Iran. Speaking

of the rugs manufactured at Ispahan in Iran, the early tenth century geographer Ibn Rusta says that they were good only when used together «with choice Armenian house furnishings» (104). As early as the tenth century, Ya'kūbī mentions that raw material imported from Mesopotamia was also used for these articles of Armenian house furnishings. In the city of Nahrawān near Wāsīt, «they prepared webbing for Armenian furniture which was sent to Armenia in bundles or twists» (105). Various other materials such as minerals were likewise exported from Armenia. The herring [*tareḫ*] of Lake Van (arab. *firīkh*) was salted and shipped to Mosul, various regions of 'Irāq, and Syria. Saltpeter was collected on the shores of Lake Van and sent to 'Irāq for sale to bakeries (106).

Two cities, Dwin and Karin, which were often part of emirates, stood on the northern highway which crossed essentially through purely Bagratid lands. Dwin remained the most important manufacturing and trade center of Armenia for nearly the entire duration of the Bagratid kingdom. It was only at the end of the tenth and in the eleventh century that Ani began to rival it and gradually to wrest away its leadership. Dwin was also the most important junction point for the trade routes. One commercial highway ran eastward from it to Bardha'a and subsequently to Shamākhī, whence it proceeded to Derbend and the country of the Khazars. Another one ran north to the Black Sea by way of Tbilisi. The most important one led to the west and divided at Ani. One branch ran to the city of Karin and thence to Trebizond, while the other descended toward the south. A trade route also linked Dwin with Iran by way of Naxçawan and Tabriz (107).

Dwin had four gates corresponding approximately to these four directions. After noting that Dwin had numerous gates, al-Mukaddasī gives the names of only three of them: the Gate of Ani (Bāb Ani), the Gate of Tiflis, and the «Kaydar» [Kndār?] (108) gate. The position of the first two is clear, that is to say the Ani gate must have been approximately on the western side of the city and the Tiflis gate in the north. It is, however, difficult to determine the location of the third and it is only in view of the close trade relations existing between Dwin and Partaw that we may conclude that it was probably located in the eastern wall. In addition to these, we know from Mūnedjdjim Bashi of the existence of a «Gate of the Tomb» through which the Shaddādids had fled from the citadel of Dwin to Vaspurakan (109) (i.e. to the south-west). From this information we may deduce that this gate stood somewhere on the southern side of the city. Dwin probably had other gates as well, but this is all the information which is obtainable from literary sources. Archaeological excavations have not yet been helpful in this connexion, since the clay walls of the city have been reduced to an earthen mound with the passage of time.

Many of the Armenian cities forming part of emirates (Karin, Manazkert, Xlat', and others) suffered massive destruction as a result of the Byzan-

tine offensive, which also had a deleterious effect on their trade. The Seljuk invasions which followed these attacks only deepened the commercial decline.

5. *The Emirates as Feudal Holdings*

Arab emirates as independent feudal holdings in Armenia are very characteristic for the Bagratid period. Although the Bagratid kings never reestablished the undivided unity of their realm after the death of Smbat I, they succeeded in re-creating a series of loosely tied feudal principalities. Some of these took on the name of kingdoms, while others were known as principalities, and still others were the emirates. All of these were subordinate and tributary to the Bagratid king in the period of the reigns of Ašot I and Smbat I, but subsequently maintained only loose ties with the Bagratid crown.

The Armenian emirates, however, had distinctive traits which differentiated them from the minor kingdoms and principalities of Armenia. The main distinguishing trait was the urban character of the emirates. The Arab (as well as other) emirs strove to hold rich commercial cities, and the surrounding villages attracted them far less. After the failure of the bold effort of the Djahhāfids, all the Arab emirates withdrew inside the boundaries of definite domains, and were satisfied with the holding of the cities alone. As we have already seen, the Arab and other Muslim population which formed the most reliable support of these emirates was itself centered in the cities. The city was attractive because of its daily growing trade, and especially because no Arab peasantry was to be found in the countryside.

As early as the period of domination by the Caliphate, Arabs had already gathered in Armenian cities, but this was for different, i.e. political and military reasons. Their rule over Armenia was obviously reinforced by their keeping of the main cities of the country and particularly Dwin in their own hands. The city of Karin had military importance to boot. In the Bagratid period, however, the Arab emirs never manifested the same pretensions as had the Djahhāfids and their successors.

From this point of view, the Armenian *naxarars* differed greatly from the emirs. Although the Bagratuni, Arçruni, Siwni, or Pahlawuni kings and princes resided in commercial cities, they were often to be found in the impregnable castles which stood guard over the provinces subject to them. The Armenian *naxarars* often clung to mountain fortresses located at some distance from the main commercial highways or to fortified cities. This was the case of the Pahlawunis at Bjni, of the Kiwrikeans at Lori, and of the lords of Siwnik' at Kapan and Etegis.

The Armenian *naxarars* naturally wished to capture cities standing on the main trade routes as well, but in cases of failure they founded new cities in order to obtain their share of the growing trade of the period. The difficulties met by Ašot III in trying to retake Dwin compelled him to turn

Ani into a capital, while the desire to compete with Berkri and the trading cities north of Lake Van drove the Arçrunis to use every means at their disposal to activate the construction of Van and Ostan. The Arçrunis fought to expand toward the trade cities north of the Lake, but they succeeded only in taking the castle of Amiwk, while Berkri and the other cities remained only temporarily under their domination.

The second important trait differentiating the emirates from the feudal principalities headed by Armenian *naxarars* was that the former were closely tied to the lands of the Caliphate, so that their separatist tendencies had an extremely deleterious effect on the fate of the Armenian kingdom. Like the feudal lords who were showing centrifugal tendencies in this period, they sought to free themselves from the authority of the Armenian kings, but since they were simultaneously foreign rulers, their separatism manifested itself in a form different from that of similar attempts made by the Armenian feudatories. It is true that the minor Armenian kingdoms of Siwnik' and Tašir-Joraġet strained every available means to free themselves from the suzerainty of the king of Ani, but in moments of external peril they all gathered around one standard, which was for the most part that of the king of Ani. Such was for instance the case at the time of the threatening advance of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes, when the lords of Vaspurakan, Tašir-Joraġet, Kars, Siwnik', and Sasun rallied around the banner of Ašot III. The emirates evidently remained outside this cooperation existing among the Armenian princes, and even systematically fought against the Armenian king as the allies of his enemies. To be sure the case of an Armenian *naxarar* fighting against the Armenian king in support of one of his foes was not an exception, such was for instance the case of Gagik Arçruni against Smbat I or of the anti-king Ašot Bagratuni against Ašot II, but the impelling motive here was only a bid for the throne. The enemy of the Armenian rebel in these cases was the Bagratid king ruling at that moment and not the Armenian kingdom per se. Suffice it to note that at a later date, the very same Gagik Arçruni was compelled to turn against his former allies and even wage war against them in order to protect the Armenian kingdom. The Armenian emirs were generally in alliance with the enemies of the Armenian king, and the emirate of Dwin, which remained for a long time the base of every expedition launched by Azerbaidjan against Armenia, played a particularly negative rôle from this point of view. During the entire period of the Sâdjid raids, Dwin invariably remained the center of their military activities. Similarly, the Sallârîds never let Dwin out of their hands, since they realized the paramount importance of this city for their offensives against Armenia as well as eastern Transcaucasia.

The emirates likewise increased the fragmentation of the Armenian kingdom through their control of key cities. Inasmuch as Dwin was isolated from and even hostile to his kingdom, it is obvious that the sovereignty of the Bagratid king over Siwnik' and Arcaġ could only be feudal at best,

and might even vanish altogether. It also intensified the fragmentation and isolation of Vaspurakan. The Kaysite emirate of Manazkert in its turn cut the connexions between the Bagratid kings and the Bagratids of Tarōn thereby helping to dissolve the ties between Vaspurakan and the core of the Bagratid kingdom. In this fashion, the emirates increased the fragmentation which was so characteristic of the Bagratid kingdom. Moreover, the struggle of the Bagratid kingdom against them demanded a greater concentration of energy than the one against the Armenian *naxarars*, since every attack on the emirates might serve as the pretext for a deterioration in the relations of Armenia with the neighbouring Muslim states.

The mightiest of the emirates of Bagratid Armenia was the Kaysite principality, having its center at Manazkert, but including several other cities — Xlat³, Arcēs, Berkri, Arckē, etc. alongside this capital. The rule in the emirate of Manazkert was hereditary in the family of the Kaysite Abu'l-Ward, and either the son of the dead emir or one of the other members of his family might succeed him. Sometimes several sons of the dead emir divided their father's inheritance, thus creating in effect a number of small principalities which could however be reunited again. Manazkert seems to have been the main seat of the emirs descended from Abu'l-Ward, though they resided on occasion in one or another of their main cities.

The problem of the internal administration of the cities in the emirates is closely connected in general with the conditions prevailing in the Armenian cities of the period. In the Bagratid period, these had for the most part an oriental aspect and many traits in common with the cities found in other lands of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (110). As is commonly known, the cities of the East differed from the mediaeval European cities which were characterized by their desire for autonomy and their struggle against the unlimited authority of the feudatories. Urban autonomy was an unknown phenomenon in the mediaeval Orient, as was the struggle to obtain it.

The all-powerful governor of an oriental city was its emir (lord) who ruled for the most part in hereditary succession and looked on the city as his possession. In Muslim cities, side by side with the emir, we also find a leader of the religious community known as the *kādī* or judge who carried out religious and judicial duties and supervised the perpetual donations or *wakf* («immobilized») consisting of the property of mosques or other estates. Although disagreements between the emir and the *kādī*, which are interpreted by scholars as attacks against the authority of the emir, are known to have occurred in al-Andalus (Spain) (111), no such manifestations can be observed in the Eastern Caliphate, and the emir invariably remained the all-powerful master of the city. No attempt to limit his absolute sovereignty has been recorded by historians.

The development of trade in the East also gave rise to another office, that of the «*muhtasib*» (112), who was appointed by the emir in person, and whose duties were to supervise the correct transaction of business and the

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maintenance of exact weights and measures. The *muhtasib* had certain jurisdictional rights in connexion with these matters, but these were restricted exclusively to the commercial sphere, and even here, he was obliged to hand over to the *kādī* any question requiring serious investigation. The *muhtasib* was also fully empowered to supervise public morals, preventing the drinking of wine in public places or the participation in forbidden gatherings. If any suspicious tendencies directed against the governor came to light, he was required to inform his master. Finally, as the controller of trade, the *muhtasib* also levied the taxes. In certain cities of the Caliphate, a chief of police («*sāhib al-shurṭa*») also assisted the *muhtasib* in the performance of his duties.

Essentially the same situation existed in the cities of Bagratid Armenia, including the cities of the emirates. The Kaysites ruled in hereditary fashion at Manazkert, Xlat', Arcēs, and elsewhere, while no such hereditary system existed at Dwin or Karin whose masters, whether governors appointed by Azerbaidjan or chance rulers, followed one another directly without any ties of kinship. Until the consolidation of the Shaddādids, no princely house had been able to entrench itself at Dwin, and various rulers succeeded one after the other, maintaining themselves in power no more than a few years. These emirs may also have had chamberlains («*hādījib*»), as was the case at Ganjak in this period (113). Such chamberlains («*hecup*») are also known in Armenia in the Zacharid period.

The information given by the sources concerning the presence of a mosque and a Muslim community at Dwin (114), leaves no doubt that a *kādī* must also have been found there. Until the first quarter of the tenth century, the religious affairs of the native population, that is to say of the Armenians, were understandably directed by the *kat'olikos* himself, but thereafter, this became the responsibility of the archbishop of Dwin.

From a legal point of view, the conditions found under the Arab domination persisted in all the cities of the emirates. It is evident that during the Arab domination the legal system of the conquerors, that is to say the Muslim *sharī'a*, had theoretically been accepted in Armenia, but that its effective sphere was restricted to the political framework. For the police, the *sharī'a* was of course the authority in apportioning taxes and similar matters, but for problems in the private lives of the Armenian inhabitants or their household affairs, the basis for all judgements was unquestionably provided by the canons of the Armenian Church which were collected and formulated in the period of Arab domination, and the Armenian Church had its own ecclesiastical courts governed by its canons.

These conditions persisted in the abovementioned cities during the Bagratid period. The emir ruled according to the laws of the *sharī'a* which were practiced by the Muslim population of the city, while the native inhabitants were ruled by their ancient canons. These same canons were also in use in the cities of the Armenian kingdom, since no secular civil code existed in this period, although it is believed that the Byzantine *Novellae*

as well as translations of the *Syro-Roman Lawcode* were in use in certain areas (115). The presence of the Muslim *shari'a* restricted the jurisdictional sphere of the Armenian ecclesiastical canons, a situation which was disturbing to the Armenian Church. Subsequently, a separate chapter was introduced into the *Lawcode* of Mxit'ar Gos with the title, «That it is not proper for Christians to go to the court of the unbelievers since the difference between them and us is great, as is demonstrated by the present chapter» (116).

In addition to the twin religious and secular rulers, a *muhtasib*, whose appearance was inevitably tied to the development of trade, also was found in the Armenian cities of this period (117). Speaking of commerce, («Concerning the judgement of merchants») (118), Mxit'ar Gos notes at a later date that the prince must establish *krp'ic's* «fists, supervisors» whose duty shall be to see that no dishonesty be perpetrated in trade, that there be no alteration of weights and measures, and so forth.

A local body wielding a certain authority, the city administration, is found in certain Bagratid cities. This body took a different form at Dwin from that of Ani. The city administration of Dwin played a very individual rôle in its history and consequently deserves special attention. There is no doubt that Dwin, like the other cities of Armenia in general, had no city autonomy, but the unstable conditions prevailing at Dwin, over which no princely house had been able to consolidate its hold, often provided occasions for the city administration to act autonomously and independently. From the conquest of the city by the Sādjids until its reunion to the Armenian kingdom in the reign of Gagik I, i.e. for nearly a century, the city constantly faced the threat of anarchy.

We find definite references to a city administration at Dwin in both Armenian and Arabic sources. Al-Balādhūri, for example, mentions an elder (notable) of Dwin, Barmak b. 'Abdallāh al-Dabīlī (the Dwinian) as well as an elder («*mashaykh*») of the city of Karin, in speaking of the events that took place in Armenia during the Arab period. Such information is more plentiful in Armenian sources. The Continuator of Thomas Arçruni, relating the battle between Gagik Arçruni and a nameless emir who had attacked Dwin, says that in order to save the city of Dwin from destruction «the elders of the city threw themselves at his [Gagik's] feet and begged for peace bringing tribute and hostages» (120). Still clearer are the words of John Drasxanakert'ci, «the leading senior nobles, and magnificent magnates, and members of noble houses of the city of Dwin» (121), which refer to the members of the delegation that had come from Dwin on the occasion of the arrival of the *ostikan* Naşr in the tenth century. These were the notables of the city administration who were concerned about the fate of Dwin.

Under ordinary circumstances, that is to say at a time of stable hereditary rule, the city administration of Dwin had hardly any opportunity of playing a significant rôle in the life of the city. But at times when there was no hereditary rule in the city and no ruler was able to maintain law and order,

the fate of such a wealthy commercial city must have been a cause of particular concern to the notables of the city who were forced to take the administration into their own hands, if only temporarily. Their extraordinary rôle naturally ended with the arrival of a new ruler, and they merely expressed their preference for a particular prince whom they considered more favourable to their own aspirations. Thus, when Muhammad b. Shaddād became aware of his betrayal by the inhabitants and left Dwin, the notables of the city followed after him to beg him not to abandon them to the Daylamites and to return as ruler of the city (122).

Such an independence contingent on fortuitous causes was not, however, genuine. For the most part, Dwin and the cities of the Bagratid period in general had neither notables nor urban autonomy, an institution which we find in embryonic form only at Ani where the elders of the city transacted political affairs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thus for example, having lost all hope of the return of Gagik II, the notables («the leading citizens residing at Ani») (123) expanded their competence to manage the fate not only of their city but of the entire Bagratid kingdom by offering the throne of Armenia to various princes. Still later, when one of the Shaddādid emirs, Faḡlūn III, wished to reestablish the rights of his house over Ani at the beginning of the twelfth century, he addressed himself not only to the Bagratids of Iberia but also to the nobles, or notables of Ani («he went to beg for his native city Ani, and he implored with prayers Abulet and the nobles of the city») (124).

The Kurds
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CONCLUSION

In order to determine the rôle of the Arab emirates in Armenia, both periods of their existence must be borne in mind, namely that of the Arab domination and that of the Bagratids.

In the first half of the ninth century, while Armenia was still completely subject to the Arab yoke, the Arab emirates established in the country proved a two-edged sword in the hand of the Caliphs. The wars which they waged against the Armenian *naxarars* helped consolidate the domination of the Caliphate, but at the same time, the transformation of the emirs into separatist feudatories often rebellious against the rule of the 'Abbāsids favoured to some degree the successful outcome of the Armenian struggle against the Caliphate.

In the period of the Bagratid kingdom, the Arab emirates in Armenia altered their position. While continuing their old policy of wresting new lands from the Armenian *naxarars*, they simultaneously worked to free themselves by every available means from the suzerainty of the Bagratid king. During the nearly two hundred years of Bagratid rule, they were an obstacle to the unification of the Armenian kingdom, and the same rôle was played by the emirates surviving from the Arab period in Iberia and Albania.

The struggle of the Bagratid kings, of the Arcrunis, and of other princes against the emirates ended at long last in failure. To be sure, the Byzantine Empire annihilated the Arab emirate in the city of Karin, cleared the emirates out of the western provinces of Armenia, and forced the submission of the Marwānids, but its conquest had a fateful significance for the Armenian kingdom. Where the emirates had merely impeded the unification of the Armenian kingdom, Byzantium presented a direct threat to its very existence. Furthermore, by weakening the Armenian military might Byzantium prepared the ground for ever new foreign infiltrations into the country.

The Arab contingent soon vanished from Armenia, but it cleared the way for the infiltration of the Kurds. The Shaddādids and the Marwānids were the first among them, but a great mass followed in their wake and

subsequently established itself primarily in southern Armenia. The Arab emirates drove in the wedge which gradually widened to provide room not only for the Kurds, but also for the Seljuks, the presence of whose emirates in Greater Armenia became one of the main causes for the Armenian state's failure to survive in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The southern provinces of Armenia were the main theatre for the centuries-long contest against the Arab and other emirates, and their lengthy struggle found its reflection in the heroic epic of *The Daredevils of Sasun* (1). Tarōn and Sasun, Vaspurakan and Mokk' formed a special mountainous region which waged a bloody war against the Arab conquerors and their successors, the Arab and other Muslim emirates, during the entire Arab period (both in the days of the Bagratids and subsequently). The opponent of the first Arab expedition, Theodore Rštuni, makes his appearance in *The Daredevils of Sasun* as Uncle T'oros or T'eodoros, but the core of the epic is formed by the events of the ninth century in Sasun and Tarōn as well as in southern Armenia in general. The revolt provoked by the imprisonment of Bagarat Bagratuni and led by Bagarat's son David (the Sasunc'i Dawit' of the Epic) as well as his nephew John (Jenov Ohan) provided the historical basis for *The Daredevils of Sasun*. The crusher of the Armenian revolt, Bugha survives in the Epic as Bat'mana Bula the champion of Msra Melik'. The struggle of Bagratid Armenia against the Arab emirates added a superstructure over the essential core of *The Daredevils of Sasun*. The lord of Vaspurakan surrounded by Arab emirates, Gagik Arcruni, appears in the Epic as Gagik the King, whereas the founder of the Marwānid house, Bādḥ is depicted very negatively under the name of Bad «the Hunchback [Kuz]» or «the Swine [χoz]». The figure of Badi-Kuzbadni is a composite of all attackers and destroyers.

The Arab emirates established on Armenian territory opened the first serious crack in Greater Armenia. Other conquerors had come to Armenia, before the Arabs, but no trace of them had remained after their withdrawal. After their departure, the Arabs left behind a multitude of Arab colonies and the emirates based upon them. From that time on two parallel phenomena can be observed in Greater Armenia. The establishment of successive foreign (Arab, Kurdish, Seljuk, etc.) emirates on Armenian soil, and the emigration of the Armenian population from the country. These manifestations were to have tragic and fateful results, and to affect the whole of the subsequent history of the Armenian people.

NOTES

All notes marked with a number and a letter, e.g. [la], or included in square brackets have been added in the present edition. In certain cases sources have been quoted in editions different from the ones used in the original, either because better editions were available, or because the ones used in the original proved unobtainable; both editions are given under the relevant entries in the Bibliography. Russian and Armenian titles have been given in the Notes in English translation for the sake of convenience; the complete references will be found in the Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

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- [38a. Cf. F. Rosenthal, «Ibn al-Athīr», 2, *EI*², III, p. 724 for the date of the historian's death.]
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104. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdaniides de Jazîrah et de Syrie* (Alger, 1951). [Hereafter *Dynastie*].
105. M. Canard, «Les H'amdaniides et l'Arménie», *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales*, VII (Alger, 1948). [Hereafter *Hamdaniides*].
106. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, 2v. (St. Petersburg, 1900-1902). [in rus. Cf. the French translation by H. Grégoire, M. Canard et al, *Byzance et les Arabes*. I *La Dynastie d'Amorium* (Brussels, 1935), II *La Dynastie macédonienne*, 2v. (Brussels, 1950, 1968).
107. E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (Brussels, 1935).
108. Canard, *Recueil*.
109. Minorsky, *Studies*.

CHAPTER — I

1. Sebēos, p. 49 [= translation, F. Macler, *Histoire d'Heraclius par l'évêque Sebēos* (Paris, 1904), pp. 36-37].
2. The *ostikanate* of Arminiya was divided into four parts: I — Albania, II — Iberia, III and IV — Eastern and Western Armenia.
3. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, pp. 61-64.
4. H. Manandyan, *Critical Examination of the History of the Armenian People*, vol. II (Erevan, 1957), pp. 200-201. [in arm.].
5. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 197-200 [= translation, P. Hitti, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, I (New York, 1916, repr. 1968), pp. 307-314].
6. The only Arab historian to have described the first Arab raid into Armenia was al-Wākidī, but his work has not survived.
7. Sebēos, p. 141 [= Macler tr., pp. 132-133]. In addition to this treaty, a guarantee of safety was given to the inhabitants of Dwin in almost the same year (A.D. 654), «This is the treaty of Habīb ibn-Maslama with the Christians, Magians and Jews of Dabil [Dwin], including those present and absent. I have granted you safety for your lives, possessions, churches, places of worship, and city wall. Thus ye are safe and we are bound to fulfil our covenant, so long as ye fulfil yours and pay poll-tax and *kharāj*. Thereunto Allah is witness; and it suffices to have him for witness...», al-Balādhurī, p. 200 [= Hitti tr., pp. 314-315].
8. *Ibid.*, p. 205 [= Hitti tr., p. 322].
9. Lewond, p. 141 [= translation, G. Chahnazarian, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie* (Paris, 1856), p. 136], who says in speaking of the rebellion of A.D. 774-775, that the Arabs of Dwin «both the men and the women» were thrown into panic.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 127 [= Chahnazarian tr., pp. 124-125]. Manandyan, *Critical Examination*, II/2, pp. 213-215.
11. Lewond, pp. 127, 135 [= Chahnazarian tr., pp. 124, 130-131]. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 79-81.
12. Al-Balādhurī, p. 210 [= Hitti tr., p. 329].
13. Lewond, p. 150 [= Chahnazarian tr., p. 146].
14. A. Alpojačean, *History of the Armenian Colonies*, I (Cairo, 1941), pp. 226-234. [in arm.]
15. E. Honigmann, «al-Thughūr», *EI¹*, IV, pp. 738-739.
16. M. Canard, «al-ʿAwāsim», *EI²*, I, pp. 761-762.
17. Al-Balādhurī, p. 184 [= Hitti tr., p. 289].
18. There are references to the attack on Constantinople in Armenian sources as well, cf. Sebēos, pp. 147-149 [= Macler tr., pp. 139-142].
19. Vasiliev, *The Amorian Dynasty* [in rus.], pp. 14-20.
20. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 186, 189, 199 [= Hitti tr., pp. 290-291, 294-295, 312].
21. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930, repr. London, 1961), pp. 134-135.
22. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 39-43.
23. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 188-189 [= Hitti tr., pp. 294-295].
24. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 115-123.
25. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 184-185 [= Hitti tr., pp. 287-289].
26. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 343 [= translation, J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, *Ibn Hauqal La Configuration de la terre*, II (Paris, 1964), p. 337].
27. Numerous toponyms of the Arabo-Byzantine border zone are mentioned in the Byzantine popular epic *Digenis Akrites*, since the activity of the hero is closely connected with this area. Cf. *Digenis Akrites*, A. Serkina tr. (Moscow, 1950), pp. 9, 17, 21, 76 [in rus., which could unfortunately not be consulted for this edition. Cf. J. Mavrogordato ed. and tr. *Digenes Akrites* (Oxford, 1956)].
28. E. E. Lipshits, «The Paulician Movement in Byzantium in the Eighth and the First Half of the Ninth Centuries», *VV*, V (1952), pp. 62-63 [in rus.].
29. Al-Balādhurī, p. 185 [= Hitti tr., p. 289].
30. J. H. Kramers, «Les Khazares», *Analecta Orientalia*, I (Leyden, 1954). M. J. Artamonov, *History of the Khazars* (Leningrad, 1962), pp. 202-226, 241-246 [in rus. Cf. also, D. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954)].
31. Manandyan, *Critical Examination*, II/1, p. 240.
32. Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē, p. 6.
33. Al-Balādhurī, p. 176 [= Hitti tr., p. 275].
34. The Arab tribes were divided into two confederations: the southern or Yemenite, and the northern. The northern was composed of two sub-groups the Rab'ia and the Mudar. The Rab'ia included the two great tribes of the Bakr and the Taghlib, while the Mudar included the great tribe of the Kays of which the Sulaym were a sub-division.
35. W. Caskel, «Bakr b. Wa'il», *EI²*, I, pp. 992-994.
36. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 101-108.
37. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, I (Berlin, 1885), pp. 346-348. [Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 280-281].
- [37a. Regarding the Arabization of the Armenian principalities in this district we have the information of Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille edition, Vol. VIII, p. 73) that Alī b. Yahyā al-Armani had domains around Mayyāfārikīn.]
38. N. Akinean, *Literary Studies* (Vienna, 1922), pp. 115-163 [in arm.].
39. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 109.
40. Müller, *Der Islam*, I, pp. 226 sqq. [Cf. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 149-150].
41. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 43.
42. K. V. Zetterstéen, «Mān b. Zāida», *EI¹*, III, p. 225 [Cf. Minorsky, *Sharvān*, p. 22].

43. Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-anbā' abnā' al-zamān* [Biographical Dictionary] (Cairo, 1881), III, p. 297 [= translation M. G. de Slane tr., *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, 4v. (1843-1871), IV, pp. 218 sqq.] A monograph concerning him also appeared in Beirut in 1961, *Al-Djūmard ghurra al-arab Yazīd b. Mazyad* [unfortunately unobtainable. Cf. E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927, repr. 1955), pp. 177-178, 181, and Minorsky, *Sharvān*, pp. 22-23].
44. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 515 [For a German translation of most of the passages of Ya'kūbī referred to in this chapter, see Markwart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 453-460].
45. John Drasjanakert'ī, pp. 61-62 [= translation M. J. de Saint-Martin, *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI* (Paris, 1841), pp. 96-98].
46. Ibn Khallikān, III, p. 103 [= de Slane tr. III, p. 668].
47. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 177, 178, 181.
48. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 528. (Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178, 181, and Minorsky *Sharvān*, pp. 23-26, 56-59, 118-119 for a variant account].
49. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 117-121 [Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 178, 180, and Minorsky, *Sharvān*, pp. 23-24, 56-57].
- [49a. Al-Balādhuri, p. 211 = Hitti tr. p. 330].
50. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 565.
51. Minorsky, *Sharvān*, p. 24 [cf. 57].
52. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 183-184.
- [52a. Cf., however, Minorsky, *Sharvān*, p. 20 n. 2].
53. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 218-222 [= translation, M. Brosset, «Histoire des Ardrouni par le vartabed Thomas Ardrouni», *CHA*, I (St. Petersburg, 1871), pp. 175-178].
54. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, pp. 164-165.
55. «Isā b. al-Shaikh b. al-Salih al-Shaibānī», *EI*¹, II, p. 527.
56. Thomas Arcruni, p. 218 [= Brosset tr. p. 175].
57. Al-Balādhuri, p. 207 [= Hitti tr. pp. 325-326].
58. *Ibid.*, p. 184 [= Hitti tr. pp. 287-288].
59. *Ibid.*, p. 186 [= Hitti tr. p. 288].
60. *Ibid.*, p. 205 [= Hitti tr. p. 322].
61. Lewond, p. 130 [= Chahnazarian tr. p. 126].
62. Ya'kūbī, II, pp. 515-516.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 565.
64. Al-Balādhuri, p. 129 [= Hitti tr., p. 299 which indicates that he was killed].
65. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 515 [Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 178].
66. Ya'kūbī, p. 515.
67. H. Lammens, «Sulaim b. Mansūr», *EI*¹, IV, pp. 518-519.
68. It is interesting to note that the Kuraysh tribe ruling at Mekka also belonged to the northern group. The prophet Muhammad was one of its members, and when he was persecuted at Mekka he found refuge with the Arabs of Madina who were of southern origin.
69. F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu genealogischen Tabellen* (Göttingen, 1852), pp. 427-430.
70. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 472 [Cf. «Djazirat al-'Arab», *EI*², I, pp. 544-545].
71. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, pp. 69-70.
72. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *BGA*, VI, p. 122.
73. Lewond, pp. 168-169 [= Chahnazarian tr., p. 162].
74. *Ibid.*, p. 35 [= Chahnazarian tr. pp. 33-34].
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36 [= Chahnazarian tr. p. 34].
76. Alpoyačean, *History of the Armenian Colonies*, I, p. 231.
77. Lewond, p. 168 [= Chahnazarian tr. p. 161].
78. Vardan, p. 77.
79. Thomas Arcruni, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., p. 200].
80. Vardan, p. 76.
81. *Idem.*

82. [John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 145 = Saint-Martin tr., p. 101]. M. Brosset tr., *Histoire de la Sioumie par Stephannos Orbélian*. I (St. Petersburg, 1884), p. 101 corrects this to read «from a Kaysite house», which is impossible [Cf. *Idem*, n. 4]. Orbelean's own commentary «from an imperial house», [*Ibid.*, xxxvii, p. 211] is equally incomprehensible.
83. Moses Kalankatwac'i, p. 374 [= Dowsett tr., p. 214 and n. 2].
84. Stephen Orbelean, xxxiii, I, pp. 201-202 [= Brosset tr., I, p. 95].
85. Speaking of the founder of the Khurrami movement in Azerbaidjan, Djāwīdhān b. Sahl, Michael the Syrian, [III, pp. 50-51] mentions the Kurdanayē who may have some connexion with the Kurds, though nothing definite can be said on this subject. Cf. Markwart, *The Origin of the Bagratids*, M. Hapozean tr. (Vienna, 1913), pp. 57-61.
86. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 540.
87. W. Muir, *The Caliphate its Rise, Decline and Fall* (London, 1891), pp. 484-494.
88. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 516.
89. Asofik, p. 106 [= translation, M. Dulaurier, *Histoire Universelle d'Etienne Açoğh'ig de Daron* (Paris, 1883), p. 134].
90. Vardan, p. 76.
91. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 540.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 562.
93. Vardan, p. 78.
94. *Idem*. The following account is found in the *History of Albania*, «Abdīmelk' son of Jahab was slain by the sword», cf. *Ararat* (1897), p. 162, also C. Dowsett, «A Neglected Passage in the History of the Caucasian Albanians», *BSOAS*. XIX/3 (1957).
95. Vardan, p. 78.
96. Some scholars are convinced that it was at Manazkert, Cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 322-326.
97. V. Tiesenhausen, *The Coinage of the Eastern Caliphate* (St. Petersburg, 1873), p. 338 [in rus.]
98. Thomas Areruni, p. 106 [= Brosset tr., p. 98].
99. Č'amč'ean, *History of Armenia*, III, p. 447. Ghazarian, *Armenien*, p. 71.
100. *History of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1939), Pt. IV, ch. ii [in rus.].
101. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, [*The Problem of the Origin of the Emirate of Dwin*, pp. 133-136, in rus.]. Cf. also Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 178.
102. L. Tashchian, «Medieval Bardhā'a at its Height, *IAZAN* (1946), p. 53. E. Pakhomov, «The Coinage of Bardhā'a», *IAZFAN* (1944), p. 68.
103. J. Kramers, «Les Khazares», pp. 130-143.
104. Lewond, p. 166 [= Chahnazarian tr., p. 160].
105. Moses Kalankatwac'i, pp. 262-263 [= Dowsett tr., p. 150].
106. Bykov, «Daysām b. Ibrāhim», pp. 14-19.
107. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 342 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 335].
108. G. Sourdel, «Bābak», *EI*², I, p. 844.
109. Moses Kalankatwac'i, p. 375 [= Dowsett tr., p. 214].
110. Stephen Orbelean, xxxiii, I, pp. 202-203 [= Brosset tr., I, pp. 96-97].
111. Ya'kūbī, II, p. 564.
112. John Drasxanakertc'i, pp. 144-146 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 101-102].
113. Vardan, p. 79.
114. Stephen Orbelean, I, pp. 201-202 [= Brosset tr. I, p. 95].
- [114a. Cf. supra n. 84].
115. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 210-211 [= Hitti tr., p. 330].
116. Vardan, p. 79.
117. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 145, «Ի ձեռն այնորիկ գյուղով մասն երկրիս բռնակալիս սեփիակամարս իմն տիրէր» [= Saint Martin tr., p. 101].
118. For example, during the 134 years of 'Abbāsīd rule in Armenia there were 58 changes of *ostikans*, cf. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 119-124.

119. John Draxanakert'i, p. 145, «ընդվզեալ եւ խանդացեալ ընդ
նստիկանին Հօլայ» [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 101].
120. *Idem.*
121. Moses Kalankatwac'i, pp. 374-375 [= Dowsett tr. p. 214]. The historian gives
the date of these events as E.A. 270 (= A.D. 821/2) which seems unlikely.
122. Ya'kūbi, II, p. 564.
123. Al-Ṭabari, III, p. 1409.
124. Ya'kūbi, II, p. 565.
125. Vardan, p. 109, «Արիւհերք ոմն ի տանէն Զահապայ . . .»
126. Ibn al-Athir, VII, p. 38.
127. Thomas Arcruni, p. 106 [= Brosset tr., pp. 94-95].
128. *Ibid.*, p. 108 [= Brosset tr., p. 96].
129. *Idem.*
130. *Idem.* [= Brosset tr., pp. 97-99].
131. *Idem.* [= Brosset tr. p. 97], «Բայց ի գնալ մեծ հազարապետին
յարժունիս՝ հաստաց՝ զվերակացուքիւնն աշխարհիս Հայոց եւ հարկս
արժունի ի ձեռս Մուսէի ումեմն որդւոյ Զօրահայի հազարացւոյ, որ
տիրէր յայնժամ Արգնայ եւ ներքոյ կողմանն Աղձնեաց մերձ ի սահմանս
Տարունոյ»
132. Al-Balādhuri, p. 212 [= Hitti tr., p. 331].
133. *Ibid.*, p. 211 [= Hitti tr., p. 331]. Al-Ṭabari, III, p. 1584. Markwart, *Südar-
menien*, p. 361 [Cf. Zambaur, *Manuel*, pp. 177, 179, who gives the form «asch-Scharābi»].
134. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 111-112 [= Brosset tr., pp. 99-100].
135. *Ibid.*, p. 113 [= Brosset tr., p. 100].
136. *Ibid.*, p. 116 [= Brosset tr., p. 102, and n. 5].
137. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 211-212 [= Hitti tr., pp. 330-331]. Cf. Thomas Arcruni,
pp. 119-121 = Brosset tr., pp. 104-105].
138. *Ibid.*, p. 131, «Եւ ընդ նմա Տանիկի Հայաստանեայց, որ բնակեալ
էին ի կողմանս աշխարհիս՝ առաջնորդէին Բուհայի ի մուտ եւ ելս
աշխարհիս :» [= Brosset tr., p. 112].
139. Al-Ṭabari, III, p. 1409.
140. Thomas Arcruni, p. 116, «Բեզ եւ զաւակի քուռ ոսց զերկիրն զայն ի
ժառանգութիւնն [= Brosset tr., p. 103].
141. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 338-340. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 106-111.
142. Thomas Arcruni, p. 197, «Քաղաքացիքն Բերկրոյ որ Ութմանիկքն
կոչին . . . :» [= Brosset tr., p. 158].
143. *Ibid.*, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., p. 200].
144. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 211-212 [= Hitti tr., p. 331].
145. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 151-152, «սկսան այնուհետեւ աներկիւզ
համարձակութեամբ սփռել տարածանել ի վերայ երեսաց երկիրս
ամենայն ազգքն Տանկաց, որ ելեալ էին գետու նորա ընտանեօք
իւրեանց, եւ ձեռնամուխ եղին բաժանել զերկիրն յինքեանս . եւ
արկանէին վիճակս եւ լարս ձգէին ի վերայ սահմանաց եւ բնակէին
յամուրս աշխարհիս աներկիւզս .» [= Brosset tr., p. 127].
146. Asolik, p. 110 [Dulaurier tr., p. 138].
147. *Idem.*, «Իսկ Շահապայ իզ արամբ մազապուր արծեալ անցեալ
գնայր ամօթալից :»

148. Al-Tabarī, III, p. 1606.
 149. G. Rentz, «Djazirat al-'Arab», *EI*², I, pp. 543-546. P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 23-29.
 150. W. Caskel, «al-'Arab», *EI*², I, pp. 527-529.
 151. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 169-173.
 152. S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901), pp. 45-58.
 153. E. Lévi-Provençal, «al-Andalus», *EI*², I, p. 493.
 154. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 106-111.
 155. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-124.
 [155a. John Drasjanakert'ī, p. 218 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 116. Thomas Arcruni, p. 213 = Brosset tr., p. 172].
 156. Al-Balādhuri, p. 205 [= Hitti tr., p. 322] reports that the mother of the famous *ostikan* of Armīniya, Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulamī was the daughter of the Patrician of Sisadjān [Siwnik'], however, this cannot be taken as a family link since she had obviously been carried off at the time of the conquering expedition of Muhammad b. Marwān.
 157. Zhuze, «The Mutaghalliba», pp. 199, 210.
 158. Al-Balādhuri, p. 207 [= Hitti tr., pp. 324-325].
 159. Ya'kūbī, II, pp. 515-516.
 160. *Ibid.*, p. 563.
 161. *Ibid.*, p. 565.
 162. Al-Balādhuri, p. 212 [= Hitti tr., p. 332].

CHAPTER — II

1. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 322-326.
 2. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 198/9.
 3. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 82.
 4. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 198/9.
 5. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 501. [Cf. Thomas Arcruni, p. 218 et passim [= Brosset tr., p. 175, etc.].
 6. Ibn Miskawayh, II, pp. 201-202 [= translation H. F. Amedroz and D.S. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* (London, 1920-1921), V, p. 216]. Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 180.
 7. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 204/5.
 8. Canard, *Dynastie*, p. 474.
 9. *The Book of Letters* (Tiflis, 1901), p. 498. [in arm.].
 10. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 246 [cf. 215, in both cases the form given in the text is «Manazawean» var. «Manazōnean» = Brosset tr., pp. 199, 172].
 11. *The Book of Letters*, pp. 498, 500, «... կոտորեալսն ի սրոյ՝ վրիժախնդիր հեքանոս ամիրային Ապլվարդայ, որ արդարեւ գաւազան սրտմտութեան ի ձեռնին Տեառն Յիսուսի ... Քանզի եւ այն հզար այր ... որ զանիծեալ զնախնիս ևնցա խայտառակամահ սատակեաց ... Քրիստոս յերիր աւուր յարեալ, արդ մինչ դու զքեզ Քրիստոս անուանես, սպանանեմ զքեզ եւ քաղեմ. եւ դու զկնի Լ, աւուր կենդանացիր. եւ զիտեմ քէ Քրիստոս իցես,»
 [= translation, F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford, 1898), Appendix I, pp. 126, 128].

- [11a. *The Book of Letters*, p. 500, «Արդ նա մերձ էր եւ դրացի դառնացողացն մոլեգնութեան» [= Conybeare tr. p. 128].
12. B. Sargisean, *A Study of the Manichaeo-Paulician Sect of the T'ondrakec'i* (Venice, 1893), pp. 69, 71, 110. [in arm.].
 13. A. Hovhannisyán, *Chapters from the History of the Armenian Liberation Ideas* (Erevan, 1957), I, p. 341. [in arm.].
 14. S. Polosyan, *The Enslavement of the Peasantry and Peasant Movements in Armenia in the IX-XIII Centuries* (Erevan, 1956), pp. 367-370. [in arm.].
 15. Asolik, p. 160 [= translation, F. Macler, *Histoire Universelle par Etienne Asolik de Tarón*, deuxième partie (Paris, 1917), p. 12].
 16. Aristakès Lastivertc'i, pp. 119-133 [= French tr., 108-120].
 17. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände*, pp. 14-22.
 18. B. Arakelyan, *Garni*, I (Erevan, 1961), pp. 84-87 [in rus].
 19. Nalbandyan, «Tax-Policy», pp. 22-24.
 20. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände*, pp. 22-25. A. Dagbaschean, *Gründung des Bagratidenreiches durch Aschot Bagratuni* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 81-82.
 21. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände*, pp. 25-26.
 22. Al-Tabari, III, p. 1408.
 23. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 198/9.
 24. *History of the Armenian People*, (Erevan, 1956), p. 179 [in arm.].
 25. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 336 who give the following translation, «Autrefois la principauté des Arméniens appartenait d'une manière absolue à Sunbat fils d'Aschut, comme elle avait été gouvernée par ses ancêtres, et elle continua ainsi de rester entre les mains des princes de cette famille»].
 26. N. Karaulov, «The Information of Arab Writers», *SMDMPK*, XXXVIII, p. 92, «... и находился во власти знатных из числа его жителей».
 27. V. Vasil'evskii, «The Advice and Admonitions of a Byzantine Nobleman of the XI Century», *ZMNP* (1881), p. 63. [in rus.].
 28. A. Shakhnazarian, *Dwin* (Erevan, 1940), p. 106 [in rus.].
 29. Thomas Arcruni, p. 203 [= Brosset tr., p. 163].
 30. John Draschanakertc'i, p. 203 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 147]. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 336].
 31. Thomas Arcruni, p. 233 [= Brosset tr., p. 167].
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 218 [= Brosset tr., p. 175].
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 108 [= Brosset tr., pp. 97-99].
 34. Ibn al-Athir, VII, p. 39.
 35. John Draschanakertc'i, p. 218 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 161].
 36. Ibn al-Athir, VII, p. 232.
 37. John Draschanakertc'i, p. 218 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 161].
 38. Thomas Arcruni, p. 208 [= Brosset tr., p. 167].
 39. *Ibid.*, p. 44 [= Brosset tr., p. 37].
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 213 [= Brosset tr., 170].
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 214 [= Brosset tr., p. 171].
 42. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197, «Եւ սկսաւ շքել կարգաւ ընդ բոլոր աշխարհիս, յարւմ բնակեալ էին Տաճիկք, որ մնային ի սմա ըստ հրամանին Բոլխայի: Եւ առնէր հարուածս մեծամեծս այլազգեացն...»
[= Brosset tr., p. 158.]
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 216 [= Brosset tr., pp. 172-173].
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 218 [= Brosset tr., 174].

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-219 [= Brosset tr. pp. 174-175. Thomas refers to the new *ostikan* as Ahmat].

46. *Ibid.*, p. 219, «ի մտանելն իմ ի Գուրն ֆաղաֆ եւ զհարկս արժունի յիս գրաւել՝ եւ յանկասկած առեալ զիշխանս Հայոց՝ եւ եկեցեան առ իս. դու դիմօժ մարտի առ իս զօր զումարեա եւ ել ընդդէմ իմ ի պատերազմ եւ ի միասին մխեցից զձեռս ի սոսս եւ բարձից զսոսս ի պետութենէ Հայոց» [= Brosset tr., p. 175].

[46a. *Idem.*]

[46b. *Ibid.*, p. 220 = Brosset tr. p. 176].

47. *Ibid.*, p. 221, «Ահմաթ եւ որ ընդ նմա կայսկազեցնիցն զունդֆ» [= Brosset tr. p. 177].

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-224 [= Brosset tr., pp. 176-179].

49. John Drasjanakertc'i, pp. 175-176 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 125].

50. Ibn Hāwkal, II, 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 336]. The seal of Ašot I bears only the following inscription «Ašūt b. Sinbāt». Cf. V. Krachkovskaia, «The Seal of Ašot Bagratuni», also *T* (1955/2), pp. 97-98 [in rus.].

51. Thomas Arcruni, p. 225 [= Brosset tr., pp. 179-180].

52. John Drasjanakertc'i, p. 176 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 125].

53. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände*, pp. 26-35.

54. John Drasjanakertc'i, pp. 177-178 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 126-127]. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 226, 263 [= Brosset tr., pp. 180-181, 212-214].

55. John Drasjanakertc'i, p. 185 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 132-133].

56. C. Defrémery, «Mémoires sur la famille des Sadjides», *JA*, série 4 (1847), p. 428.

57. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, «Survivals of the Administrative Unit of K'ust-i Kapkoh in the Period of the Caliphate», *T* (1958/9), pp. 73-74.

58. Ibn Miskawayh, I, p. 16 [= tr. IV, p. 17].

59. John Drasjanakertc'i, p. 203, «սո ափն ծովուն մեծի» [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 147].

60. *Ibid.*, p. 202, «գլխաւոր ոստիկանք եւ հրամանատարք ֆաղաֆին» [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 146].

61. *Idem.*

62. *Ibid.*, p. 203 [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 147].

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-209 [= Saint-Martin tr. pp. 148-153].

64. Thomas Arcruni, p. 372 [= Brosset tr., pp. 184-185].

65. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, p. 323.

66. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, pp. 120-122.

[66a. Thomas Arcruni, p. 231 = Brosset tr., p. 184].

67. John Drasjanakertc'i, pp. 210-215 [= Saint-Martin tr. pp. 153-157].

68. M. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I (Constantinople, 1912), p. 1065 [in arm.].

69. Thomas Arcruni, p. 231 [= Brosset tr., p. 186].

70. Ibn Hāwkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., pp. 336-337].

71. John Drasjanakertc'i, p. 218 [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 161].

72. *Idem.*

73. Thomas Arcruni, p. 231 [= Brosset tr., p. 186]. John Drasjanakertc'i, pp. 218-219 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 161].

74. Thomas Arcruni, p. 233 [= Brosset tr., pp. 187-188].

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-236 [= Brosset tr., p. 190].

76. Leo, *History of Armenia*, rev. ed., II (Erevan, 1967), p. 520 [in arm.]. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947), p. 411. [Thomas Arcruni, p. 237 =

Brosset tr., p. 191. John Draszanakertc'i, p. 219 = Saint-Martin tr., p. 162, which mistakenly sets the royal army at a mere six thousand men.]

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-232 [= Saint-Martin tr. pp. 162 sqq].

78. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 236-237 [= Brosset tr., pp. 191-192].

[78a. John Draszanakertc'i, pp. 220-222 = Saint-Martin tr., pp. 162-164].

[78b. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 238-239 = Brosset tr. pp. 192-193].

79. John Draszanakertc'i, pp. 223-225 [= Saint-Martin tr. pp. 165-168].

80. *Ibid.*, p. 234 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 174].

81. *Ibid.*, p. 235, «**ռոնիկս պատրաստեալ նմա քազաւորին Սմբատայ սուղ ինչ պակաս քան զամ մի**» [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 175].

82. Cf. Acaryan, *Etymological Dictionary*, V, pp. 1279-1280 sub voc. **ռոնիկ**

83. John Draszanakertc'i, p. 239 [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 178].

84. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 240, 242, 272 [= Brosset tr. pp. 193-194, 195, 221].

85. *Ibid.*, p. 242 [= Brosset tr., p. 195].

[85a. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243 = Brosset tr. pp. 195-196. John Draszanakertc'i, pp. 237-238 = Saint-Martin tr. pp. 176-177].

86. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 198/9.

87. Thomas Arcruni, p. 245 [= Brosset tr., p. 199].

88. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 198/9.

89. Thomas Arcruni, p. 245 [= Brosset tr., p. 199].

90. *Ibid.*, p. 246, «**իսկ որ տիրէր աշխարհին Ապահունեայ կայսրին՝ զիր զօրսն առ ինքն գումարեալ եւ որ շուրջ գնովաւ քաղաքայինք եւ սասպատակքն Պարսից, որք ի Յունացն վերայ առնէին արշաւանս**» [= Brosset tr., pp. 199-200].

91. *Idem.*

92. Thomas Arcruni, p. 247, «**նաեւ Բերկրի բաժին եղեալ էր**

Վասպուրականի», [= Brosset tr., p. 200].

93. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, pp. 188/9-192/3.

94. John Draszanakertc'i, pp. 243-244 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 181-182].

95. *Ibid.*, p. 247 [= Saint Martin tr., pp. 183-185].

96. *Ibid.*, p. 263 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 199].

CHAPTER – III

1. J. Dzhavakhishvili, «History of the Georgian People» (unpublished), II, pp. 157-181 [in rus.]. [Cf. A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris, 1951), pp. 126-149, and especially C. Toumanoff. «The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century», *Le Muséon*, LXXIV (1961), pp. 5-42, 233-316.]

2. *Outline of the History of the U.S.S.R.*, III «The IX-XIII Centuries», (Moscow, 1953), pp. 648-650.

3. Thomas Arcruni, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., pp. 200-201].

4. John Draszanakertc'i, p. 384 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 311].

5. Thomas Areruni, p. 297, «մերձ ի գրունս Ասորեստանի ամրոց մի յիշխանատանն Աղձնեաց ի գեօղն կոտոմ կոչեցեալ, լինելով սեփեականաբար Զուրարեկն կոչեցեալ ազգի» [= Brosset tr., p. 239].
6. Ibn al-Athir, VII, p. 67.
7. John Draschanakertci, pp. 446-447 [= Saint-Martin tr. pp. 369-370].
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 420-421 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 344].
9. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, p. 100.
10. Ibn Hkawal, II, p. 342, «la mosquée cathédrale est contiguë à l'église, tout comme la mosquée de Homs est comme associée à l'église, voisine et mitoyenne» [Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 335].
11. Ališan, *Sisakan*, p. 310. Thomas Areruni, p. 252 [= Brosset tr., p. 203]. *Armenian Library* [Sop'erk'], XIII [in arm.].
12. John Draschanakertci, p. 384. «զգաւան Գողբան բռնակալեալ պայազատէր» [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 311].
13. *Idem.*
14. Thomas Areruni, p. 191 [= Brosset tr., p. 157].
15. *Ibid.*, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., p. 200].
16. John Draschanakertci, p. 263 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 199].
17. *Ibid.*, p. 366 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 293-294].
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 240].
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-354 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 263-282].
- [19a. For the sake of clarity, Asot son of Sapuh will hereafter be referred to as «the Anti-king Asot», while his cousin and namesake, the son of Smbat I will be called «Asot II»].
20. John Draschanakertci, p. 366 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 293-294].
21. *Ibid.*, p. 375. «Եւ հեծեալս օգնականութիւն մա գունդ իամայէլեան» [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 301-302].
22. *Ibid.*, p. 373 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 299-300].
23. *Ibid.*, p. 376 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 302].
24. *Ibid.*, p. 384, «հնազանդեցուցանէր զամբարտաւան եւ զբիրտ ապստամբութիւն ուցա ընդ լծով ծառայութեան իւրոյ . . .» [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 310-311].
25. *Ibid.*, p. 385, «Բայց քագաւոր Աշոտ իբրեւ գեամակատարս գիւրիմ քաղաք պատրաստեաց, ապա բիկունս առ ի գնալ ի ուցանէ դարձուցեալ չուէ յաշխարհն Վրաց» [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 312].
26. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 304.
27. John Draschanakertci, pp. 392-393 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 319-320].
28. *Ibid.*, p. 393 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 319-320]. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 5* [= tr. p. 10].
29. John Draschanakertci, p. 400, «Եւ անդ գմոլորութիւն պաշտօնէիցն հեքանօսաց յինքեանս գրաւեալ ընդ ձեռամբ ուանէին» [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 324-325].
30. *Ibid.*, p. 385 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 311, which fails to give the name of these irregulars]. S. Kanayanec', *Unknown Provinces* (Valarsapat, 1914), pp. 137-143 [in arm.].
31. Stephen Orbelean, xxxviii, I, p. 195 [= Brosset tr., p. 119].
32. Asolik, p. 170 [= Macler tr., pp. 24-25].
33. John Draschanakertci, p. 401, «հաճէր հաւանէր մտանել ընդ լծով ծառայութեան անբնիկն Գուրգենայ որ իշխան իշխանաց էր

Գամրաց աշխարհին :» [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 325-326 which incorrectly substitutes «Gougarg» for Gamirk' = Cappadocia]. N. Adontz, «Asot Erkat' ou de fer, roi d'Arménie de 913 à 929», *AIPHO* (1935), p. 31 [= reprint N. Adontz, *Etudes Arméno-byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), p. 283].

34. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 129.

35. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 416 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 339-341].

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 421-422, «յետկար երդման գրէ ըստ իւրեանց Կուրանին օրինացն» [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 345-348].

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-434 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 365-369].

38. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 129.

39. C. Huart, «Sâdjids», *EI*¹, IV, pp. 49-50.

40. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 332 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 325].

41. Thomas Arcruni, p. 289, «կակայէին որդիք աղախնեաց եւ ծառայի տանն Ապուսանայ» [= Brosset tr., p. 233].

42. Kh. Mushegian, *The Currency of Dwin according to Numismatic Data* (Erevan, 1962), pp. 143-144 [in rus.].

43. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 290-292 [= Brosset tr., pp. 234-239].

44. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 159.

45. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 173.

46. Thomas Arcruni, p. 300, «այր մի արաբացի ազգաւ . այր հմուտ պատերազմաց եւ գործոց զինուորութեան» [= Brosset tr., p. 241].

[46a. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-302 [= Brosset tr., pp. 241-243].

47. Bykov, «Daysam b. Ibrâhîm», p. 27.

48. Ibn Miskawayh, I, pp. 401-402 [= tr., IV, pp. 445-447. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 114].

49. Bykov, «Daysam b. Ibrâhîm», pp. 14-19.

50. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, pp. 198/9-204/5.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 198/9-200/201.

[51a. *Ibid.*, p. 200/201, where the translation turns Aḥmad into Abu'l-Aswad's «nephew»].

52. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 147.

53. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 305.

54. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 352, «զի բերելս յիսմայէլականաց աստի արտաքս գերծեալ եւ հովանի թեւոց ձերոց ամրացեալ եւ անկայացեալ . . .» [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 280].

55. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 200/201.

[55a. *Ibid.*, p. 204/5].

56. Thomas Arcruni, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., p. 200].

57. Canard, *Dynastie*, p. 473.

58. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 196/7. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 148. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 462.

59. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 71-76.

60. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 206/7.

61. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 146.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

65. Thomas Arcruni, p. 247 [= Brosset tr., p. 203].

66. *Ibid.*, p. 231 [= Brosset tr., p. 186].

67. S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammanadan Dynasties*, (Paris, 1925), p. 89. Cf. Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 287 sqq.
68. Ibn Miskawayh, I, p. 232 [= tr. IV, pp. 260-261].
69. V. Rosen, *The Emperor Basil II the Killer of the Bulgars* (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 102 [in rus.].
70. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 84.
71. Canard, *Recueil*, p. 71.
72. Canard, «H'amdanides», pp. 84-85.
73. Canard, *Recueil*, p. 71.
74. *Idem*.
75. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 460 reads the word «Djurzân» in this passage as «Zawazân», but this is remote from the form found in the original. [Cf. Canard, *Recueil*, p. 73 n. 4].
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78. [Cf. Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 480-481]. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 453-454.
- [76a. Cf. Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 482-483 on Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmân Abu'l-Mu'izz].
77. Canard, *Recueil*, pp. 76-78.
78. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, «De ceremoniis», pp. 686-687.
79. Canard, «H'amdanides», pp. 89-90 [Cf. *Dynastie*, p. 485 and n. 245].
80. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 88 [Cf. *Dynastie*, pp. 482-483].
81. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 202/3.
82. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 460. [Cf. Canard, *Dynastie*, p. 486].
83. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 86 [Cf. *Dynastie*, p. 481].
84. Canard, «H'amdanides», pp. 88-89 [Cf. *Dynastie*, p. 482].
85. Asolik, p. 179, «Եւ յՅԱԸ Թուականին Համտուն Ի Կողմնիս Եմուտ զօրօք բազմօք եւ անդրէն դարձաւ . . .» [= Macler tr., p. 37].
86. Vardan, p. 88.
87. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 202/3. [Cf. Kaysite genealogy, Appendix II/5 and Canard, *Dynastie*, p. 484].
88. Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, pp. 180-181.
89. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 180. Yahyâ b. Sa'îd, «Histoire», *PO*, XVIII, p. 772.
90. Canard, *Recueil*, p. 257.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 258. [On the episode of Nadjâ and Abu'l-Ward II cf. also Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 630-631. Also *Recueil*, pp. 247-258 and 395-396].
92. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 92. [Cf. *Dynastie*, pp. 640-641].
93. Ibn Miskawayh, II, pp. 201-202 [= tr. V, p. 216].
94. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 337].
95. Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 244-248.
96. E. Honigmann, «al-Thughûr», *EI*, IV, p. 738.
97. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 115-126.
98. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 204.
99. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 43-80.
100. Yakût, I, pp. 927-930. Al-Balâdhurî, pp. 163-171 [= Hitti tr., pp. 253-265].
101. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 337].
102. John Drasyanakertc'i, p. 203 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 147].
103. Thomas Arcruni, p. 246 [= Brosset tr. p. 199].
104. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 79-80.
105. Asolik, p. 170 [= Macler tr., p. 25].
106. Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, p. 101.
107. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando* I, pp. 204/5-214/5.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 208/9.
109. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 80.

- [109a. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, pp. 208/9-210/1].
 110. *Ibid.*, pp. 210/1-214/5.
 [110a. *Ibid.*, p. 210/1].
 111. Canard, *Recueil*, p. 71.
 112. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 212/3.
 113. Asolik, p. 179 [= Macler tr., pp. 37-38]. Vasiliev, *La Dynastie macédonienne*, II/2 (Brussels, 1950), p. 95.
 [113a. Yabyā b. Sa'id, «Histoire», p. 768].
 114. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 212/3.

CHAPTER - IV

1. On this subject see, C. Huart, *Les Musafirides de l'Azerbaïdjan* (Paris, 1922). R. Vasmer, «Chronologie des Gastaniden und Sallariden», *Islamica*, III (1927). V. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites* (Paris, 1932).
 2. Bykov, «Daysam b. Ibrāhim», pp. 31-32.
 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-19.
 4. Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 115 [= tr., V, p. 118].
 [4a. *Ibid.*, II, p. 135 = tr., V, p. 141].
 5. *Ibid.*, II, p. 149 = tr., V, p. 158].
 [5a. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 148-149 = tr., V, p. 158].
 6. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 3*-5* [= tr. pp. 8-11].
 [6a. *Ibid.*, p. 9, cf. pp. 36, 70-71 and n. 1].
 [6b. *Ibid.*, p. 9, cf. p. 26 n. 4].
 [6c. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10].
 7. Asolik, pp. 180-181 [= Macler tr., pp. 39-40].
 8. *History of the Armenian People* (Erevan, 1949), p. 256.
 9. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 1110.
 10. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 5*-6* [= tr. pp. 10-11].
 11. A. Gren, «The Dynasty of the Bagratids in Armenia», *ZMNP*, CCXC (1893), p. 105 [in rus.].
 12. John Drasxanakert'ci, p. 393 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 320].
 13. Matthew of Edessa, p. 20, «Քաղաւորն Կապանին Փիլիպպէ, եւ Քաղաւորն Աղուանից Գուրգէն, Աբաս Կարուց տէրն, եւ Սենեբերիմ Վասպուրականայ տէրն եւ Գուրգէն Անճեւացեաց տէրն, եւ բովանդակ ամենայն տունն Սասանու» [= translation E. Dulaurier, *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse* (Paris, 1858), p. 14].
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 4 [= Dulaurier tr. p. 3].
 15. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 6* [= tr. pp. 11-12].
 16. Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 150 [= tr., V, p. 159]. Bykov, «Daysam b. Ibrāhim», p. 35.
 17. Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 151 [= tr., V, p. 160].
 18. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 6* [= tr. p. 12].
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 3* [= tr. p. 8].

20. Ibn Ḥawkal, II, pp. 354-355 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., pp. 347-348]. V. Minorsky, «Caucasica IV: Sahl b. Sumbāt. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān in 344/955», *BSOAS*, XV/3 (1953), pp. 504-529.

[20a. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 70].

21. Ibn Ḥawkal, II, pp. 343, 354-355 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., pp. 336, 347-348].

[21a. *Ibid.*, II, p. 343 = Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 337].

22. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 89 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 58]. Vardan, p. 59. Even before the reforms of Justinian, parts of Upper Armenia were called «Armenia Interior», cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, N. Garsoïan ed. and tr., (Louvain-Lisbon, 1970), p. 39.

23. Ibn al-Athir, II, p. 308.

24. V. Minorsky, «Musāfirids», *EI¹*, III, p. 744.

25. Ibn Miskawayh, II, pp. 166-167 [= tr., V, p. 179. Cf. however, *Ibid.*, II, 180 = tr., V, p. 195, also Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 122].

26. Y. Saḡat'ūnean, *Description of the Cathedral of Ejmiacin and of the Five Provinces of Ayrarat* (Ejmiacin, 1842), II, pp. 304-307 [in arm.].

27. Ališan, *Sisakan*, pp. 516-522.

28. G. Yovsep'ean, *Manuscript Colophons*, I (Antelias, 1951), p. 122.

29. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 11* [= tr., p. 15].

30. Asolik, pp. 188-189, «ԳԻՆՆԻՆ ԵՒ ՉԱՄԵՆԱՅԻՆ ԲԱՊԱՐԱԲ ԱՆՔԱՅ» [= Macler tr., pp. 51-52].

31. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 121.

32. Asolik, pp. 189-190 [= Macler tr., pp. 54-55].

33. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 303.

34. Asolik, p. 198 [= Macler tr., p. 71].

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200 [= Macler tr., pp. 71-73].

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201 [= Macler tr., p. 73].

37. *Ibid.*, p. 254 [= Macler tr., pp. 136-137].

38. *Ibid.*, p. 256 [= Macler tr., p. 138].

39. M. Canard, «Dwin», *EI²*, I, p. 697.

40. Vardan, p. 98.

41. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 62. [Cf. Russian translation of K. Yuzbasyan, *The History of the Vardapet Aristakēs Lastivertc'i* (Moscow, 1968), p. 85 and especially the commentary on this passage, pp. 157-160, n. 30 as well as the French tr. p. 52 and n. 2].

42. Ć'amĉ'ean, *History of Armenia*, II, pp. 932-933.

43. E. Prud'homme tr., *Histoire d'Arménie par Arisdagès de Lasdiverde* (Paris, 1864), pp. 68-69 [Cf. supra Introduction n. 12a on the revised translation of this text].

44. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 578. S. T. Eremyan, «The General Liparit and his Predecessors», *Trudy of the Marr Cabinet*, II (Erevan, 1947), pp. 130-131 [in arm.].

45. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, pp. 411-412.

46. H. Aĉaryan, *Dictionary of Proper Names*, II, p. 34. [in arm.].

47. H. Dashian, *Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts* (Vienna, 1895), p. 482. [in arm.].

48. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 96 [Cf. Yuzbasyan tr., p. 159 and French tr., p. 89].

49. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 16*-17* [= tr., p. 22, cf. p. 51].

50. Moses Xorenac'i, *Works* (Venice, 1865), p. 284, Mxjit'ar Ayrivanec'i, *History* (Moscow, 1860), p. 56. [in arm.]. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 411.

51. Asolik, pp. 199-200 [= Macler tr., pp. 71-73].

[51a. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 122, 167-169].

52. M. Lordkipanidze, «Concerning the History of the Emirate of Tbilisi», *Mimoxilveli of the Javaxišvili Institute of History*, XI (1951), pp. 200-201 (rus. resumé). Eremyan, «The General Liparit», pp. 131-133.

[52a. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 56-57, 61-62].

53. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 147.

54. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, pp. 188/9-190/1. N. Adontz, «Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance», *Byzantion*, X (1935), pp. 540-542 [repr. *Etudes Arméno-Byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965), pp. 230-232.

55. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, p. 188/9.

56. Asotik, p. 183 [= Macler tr., p. 44].

57. Canard, «H'amdanides», p. 93 [Cf. *Dynastie*, p. 666].

58. Asotik, p. 183 [= Macler tr., p. 44].

59. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 445.

60. Matthew of Edessa, p. 3, «Կոտորեցին զօրք Հայոց զՀամուռն զօրապետն Տանկաց» [= Dulaurier tr., p. 2].

61. *Ibid.*, p. 21 [= Dulaurier tr., p. 15].

62. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 464.

63. Matthew of Edessa, p. 21 [«Եւ գառաջին գիշերին բազում նեղութիւն կրեաց զօրքն Հոռոմոց եւ հետեւակ զօրացն Սասանու».

The portion concerning the troops of Sasun found in the Valarsapat edition of Matthew of Edessa is missing from the Jerusalem edition, p. 18. It is, however, to be found in the Dulaurier translation, p. 15].

64. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 169, considers this list totally unreliable.

65. Dashian, *Catalogue*, p. 100, «Եւ Սենեֆերիմ ետ կայսերն զկայուածս իւր բերդս ՀԹ, գիւղս ԳՌ եւ ն լայնամիտ եւ արդիւնաւոր եւ փաղափս Ժ: Ջխաբ եւ զՓողց, զՀիզան եւ զԿեցան, զՍտան եւ զՎան. զԲերկրի եւ զԱրմէշ, զԱրծկէ եւ զՄանծկերս եւ զբոլոր կողմանս իւրաքայ ի լերանցն Սասնոյ մինչեւ ի Սեւան եւ ի Նըւան ի Սալմաստ եւ ի Ջղմաք որ է Ջուլամերկ: Ջայս ամենայն ետ Սենեֆերիմ ի կայսրն Վասիլ զսեփիական քէմս եւ զվիճակս իւր»:

66. H. F. Amedroz, «The Marwānid Dynasty at Mayyāfāriqin in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries A.D.», *JRAS* (1903), pp. 138-139.

67. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 464. V. Vasil'evski, «The Advice and Admonitions», pp. 260-290.

68. *Cecaumeni Strategicon*, B. Wasilievsky and V. Jernstedt edd. (St. Petersburg, 1896), pp. 26-27. [Cf. H-G. Beck, «Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten. Das sogenannte Strategikon des Kekaumenos», *Byzantinischen Geschichtschreiber*, V (Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1956), pp. 58 and 158 n. 43].

69. *Ibid.*, p. 26 [= Beck ed., p. 58].

70. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 63 [= French tr., p. 56 and n. 2].

71. G. Srwanjteanc', *T'oros Atbar*, II (Constantinople, 1884), p. 313.

CHAPTER — V

1. Asolik, p. 192, «Խոստանայ տալ մնա զկաղտոյառին կղտուրան, զՋորմայրի եւ զԿարին, զԲասեան եւ զՍեւուկ բերդակ, որ է Մարդաղի զՀարֆ եւ Ասահունիս . . . » [= Macler tr., pp. 59-60].
2. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 147-152.
3. Moses Xorenac'i, *History* (Venice, 1885), p. 126.
4. V. Minorsky, «Kurds», *EI*¹, II, pp. 1134-1135.
5. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 7* [= tr. p. 39].
- [5a. Cf. supra, ch. IV, p. 168, and n. 10].
- [5b. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 12].
- [5c. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 385 = Saint-Martin tr., p. 311].
6. Ibn al-Athir, IX, p. 26.
7. Asolik, p. 192 [= Macler tr., pp. 57-58].
8. *Ibid.*, p. 192 [= Macler tr. p. 58].
9. «Marwānids», *EI*¹, III, pp. 309-310.
10. Asolik, p. 247, «Բասն Ասահունեաց եւ Նփրկերտոյ ամիրային եւ վայրաբնակ Արարիկին որ ընդ մնա . . . » [= Macler tr., p. 128].
- [10a. *Ibid.*, p. 191 = Macler tr., p. 56].
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248 [= Macler tr., p. 129].
- [11a. *Ibid.*, p. 266 = Macler tr., p. 151 and n. 3. Cf. Ibn Miskawayh, III, pp. 86, 87, 176-177 = tr., VI, pp. 87-89, 185-188].
12. Asolik, p. 266 [= Macler tr. p. 151].
13. Amedroz, «The Marwānid Dynasty», pp. 124-126.
- [13a. Asolik, pp. 267-268 = Macler tr., pp. 152-154].
- [13b. *Ibid.*, p. 269 = Macler tr., p. 155].
14. *Ibid.*, p. 263 [= Macler tr., p. 148].
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269, «Մեք զհայ եկեղեցին եւ զճեր մզկիթն միապէս ընդունիւք» [= Macler, pp. 154-155].
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-274 [= Macler tr., pp. 156-159].
17. G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III (Paris, 1896), pp. 415-416.
18. Ibn Miskawayh, II, p. 223 [= tr., V, p. 235].
19. Asolik, p. 191, «Կեծելագունդ զորն Հայոց որ ընդ Յունաց Թագաւորութեամբն» [= Macler tr., p. 56].
20. Ibn al-Athir, VIII, p. 407.
21. Asolik, p. 276 [= Macler tr., p. 163].
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277 [= Macler tr., pp. 164-165].
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278, «Այլ նա իբրեւ փոքրութիւն համարեալ զգնեալն իւր առ նա» [= Macler tr., p. 165].
24. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 24, «Եւ կացուցանէ ի վերայ նոցա զործակալս եւ դատաւորս եւ վերակացուս . . . » [= French tr., p. 6].
25. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
26. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 470.
27. Asolik, p. 201 [= Macler tr., p. 74].
28. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 553-556.

29. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, pp. 38-39 [= French tr., pp. 23-25].
30. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 562-564 [Cf. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 48 = Russian tr., p. 75 and p. 153 n. 15, also French tr., p. 36 and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 171-172].
31. Ibn al-Athir, IX, pp. 297 sq.
32. Matthew of Edessa, p. 86 [= Dulaurier tr., pp. 60-61].
- [32a. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 48. = French tr., p. 37].
33. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 563-564.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 564. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, pp. 48-49 [= French tr., pp. 37-38].
35. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 470.
36. Ibn al-Athir, IX, p. 270.
37. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 290.
38. Matthew of Edessa, pp. 105-108 [= Dulaurier tr., pp. 73-75].
39. Ibn al-Athir, IX, p. 306.
40. Nāsir-i Khusraw, *Safarnameh*, p. 8 [in pers.].
41. Many of his inscriptions have come down to us, cf. M. van Berchem, «Arabischen Inschriften aus Armenien und Diyarbekr», *Mat. zur alt. Gesch. Arm. und Mesop.* (Berlin, 1907).
42. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 77 [= de Slane tr., I, pp. 206-207].
43. *Scheref Nameh ou histoire des Kourdes*. V. Veliaminov-Zernov tr. (St. Petersburg, 1860), I, p. 20 [= Charmoy tr., I/2, p. 36]. Ibn Khallikān, I, p. 99 [= de Slane tr., I, pp. 245-247].
44. Amedroz, «The Marwānid Dynasty», p. 138. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 464.
45. Nāsir-i Khusraw, p. 13.
46. Gregory Magistros, *Letters*, xxx-xxxv, xxxvi-xxxix, xli-xlii, lxxiv-lxxvii, etc.
47. «Marwānids», *EI¹*, III, p. 310.
48. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 6* [= tr. p. 12].
49. *Ibid.*, p. 10*-11* [= tr. pp. 12-17. Cf. pp. 37-45].
50. Vardan, p. 100. «Ի սոյն առևրս կին մի Մամ անուն գայ ի Պարսից երեք որդուով ի գաւառն Փառիսոսոյ առ Գրիգոր փառաւոր իշխանն: Եւ տան որդիքն պատանգ գմայր, եւ առնուն զՇօքս եւ զԲերդն Շամիրամայ. եւ անտի ընտանացեալ ընդ խլագիզն [Ալագիզն] ամիրայն Գանձակայ սպանին գնա, եւ առին զԳանձակ եւ տիրեցին: Երեց որդին Պարզուան մեռաւ կարն. եւ իշխանացաւ Լէշֆարի միւս եղբայր, եւ առնու զՊարսա եւ զՇամֆոր ի Սալարէն: Եւ եղբայր նորա կրտսեր որ Փառուուն կոչիւր՝ սպանեալ գնա յորսի, առնու զիշխանութիւնն»: [Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 37-39].
51. *Ibid.*, p. 11* [= tr., p. 17].
52. Asofik, p. 283 [= Macler tr., p. 170].
53. Matthew of Edessa, p. 13 [= Dulaurier tr., p. 9].
54. Vardan, p. 98. [Cf. K. Yuzbasyan, «The Daylamites», *PS*, VII/LXX (1962), pp. 146-152 in rus., summarized by M. Canard, *REA*, n.s. III (1966), pp. 466-469]. H. Manandyan, *History of Armenia in the Period of the Turkish-Tartar Invasions* (Erevan, 1922), p. 28 [in arm].
- [54a. Vardan, p. 98, «... եւ ի գալ Թուրքին ի Դուին եւ սփռել ասպատակս...»
55. Matthew of Edessa, pp. 13-17 [= Dulaurier tr. pp. 9-12].
56. Vardan, p. 101, «Տիրեաց եւ Դունայ».
57. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 16* [= tr. p. 22. Cf. p. 50].

58. Matthew of Edessa, p. 12 [= Dulaurier tr., p. 9].
59. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 27, describes his possessions in this fashion, «...to Ašot [they gave] the inner part of the land which was turned toward Persia and Iberia. «... իսկ Աշոտոյ զճերքին կողմն աշխարհին՝ որ հայի ի վերայ Պարսից եւ Վրաց» [= French tr., p. 10].
60. *Ibid.*, p. 96 [= French tr., p. 89].
61. Bertels, *Nizami* (Moscow, 1956), p. 40 [in rus]. *Hākīm Kaṣrān Tabrizi* (Tabriz, 1947), p. 11 [in pers].
62. Matthew of Edessa, pp. 92-96 [= Dulaurier tr., pp. 64-67].
- [62a. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94, «եւ արդ ժողովեա զամենայն եպիսկոպոսունդ Հայոց աշխարհիդ որ յԱրուսեսն են, եւ ի բանակ այսր հասիր...» [= Dulaurier tr., p. 65].
63. *Ibid.*, p. 100 [Cf. p. 91, 97 = Dulaurier tr., pp. 70, 64, 68. Note the disagreement as to the age of Gagik II on his accession].
64. *Ibid.*, p. 102 [= Dulaurier tr., p. 71].
65. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 574 [Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 52-53].
- [65a. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 576-582. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 53. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 63 = French tr., p. 56. Matthew of Edessa, p. 115 = Dulaurier tr., p. 80. Skylitzes apud Cedrenus, II, p. 560].
66. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 63 [= French p. 56. Cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 583].
67. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 176-177.
68. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 53-54.
69. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 67 [= French tr., p. 59]. Manandyan, *Critical Examination*, III, pp. 39-43.
70. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 59-64.
71. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 182.
72. M. Alt'man, *A Historical Outline of the City of Gandja* (Baku, 1949), pp. 24-28 [in rus].
73. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 13* [= tr. p. 19. Cf. pp. 61, 64].
74. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 96 [= French tr., p. 89. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 23].
75. *Ibid.*, p. 18* [= tr. p. 25. Cf. pp. 68-69].
76. Vardan, p. 103.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

CHAPTER - VI

1. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, p. 238. H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, (Strasburg, 1904 repr. Amsterdam, 1969), p. 365.
2. Ibn Ḥawkal, II, p. 343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 337].
3. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 299-302 [= Brosset tr., pp. 241-243].
4. Afakelyan, *Garni*, I, pp. 69-87.
5. Thomas Arcruni, p. 300, «եւ ոստիկանս առաքեալ յԱյրարատեան զաւառ եւ մինչեւ ցԱրագածն կոչեցեալ ոտն որ է բաժին կալուածոյ Արասայ որդոյ Սմբատայ...» [= Brosset tr., p. 241].
6. Yākut, I, p. 199.

7. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, p. 236.
8. Aĉaryan, *Dictionary of Proper Names*, III, p. 556.
9. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 25 n. 3.
10. Hübbschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 455.
11. Ibn Khallikān, III, p. 470 [= de Slane tr., IV, p. 480].
12. *Ibid.*, I, p. 149 [= de Slane tr., I, p. 243].
13. Moses Xorenac'i, *History*, p. 83. Ališan, *Ayrarat*, p. 414.
14. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, p. 28.
15. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 4* [= tr. p. 9. Cf. supra ch. IV n. 6b].
16. Moses Xorenac'i, *History*, p. 176.
17. S. Šahnazaryan, «The Course of the Sew Jur (Mecamor) in Past Centuries», *T*, II/VII (1941), pp. 7-13.
18. Al-Balādhuri, p. 200 [= Hitti tr., p. 341].
19. P'awstos Buzand, *History of Armenia* (Venice, 1933), pp. 29-30 [in arm. = translation J. B. Emine, «Faustus de Byzance», *CHAMA*, I (Paris, 1867), p. 216].
20. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, pp. 22-30.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32, 88-122.
22. Al-Istakhri, *BGA*, I, p. 188. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 342 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 335].
23. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, p. 120.
24. Asolik, pp. 189, 198-199 [= Macler tr., pp. 53-54, 71].
25. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrandis*, I, pp. 212/3. [25a. Vide supra ch. I n. 142].
26. Canard, *Dynastie*, pp. 473-475.
27. Tiesenhausen, *The Coinage of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 338.
28. Ibn Khurradādhbih, *BGA*, VI, p. 123.
29. Ibn al-Fakih, *BGA*, V, p. 287.
30. F. Lynch, *Armenia Travels and Studies* (London, 1901, repr. Beirut, 1965), II, pp. 269-275.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
32. Al-Muĉaddasi, *BGA*, III, p. 377.
33. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 349 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 342].
34. Łewond, p. 141, «համազգիքն արք եւ կառայք . . .» [= Chahnazarian tr., p. 136].
35. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 6* [= tr. p. 11].
36. Al-Muĉaddasi, *BGA*, p. 377.
37. Vide supra, n. 11.
38. Vide supra n. 13.
39. Al-Muĉaddasi, *BGA*, III, p. 378.
40. This was not a heresy but one of the legal schools. Together with the other three famous Muslim schools, it had followers in all countries. The founder of this school was Abū Hanifa (A.D. 699-767).
41. Ibn Khallikān, III, p. 298 [= de Slane tr., IV, p. 231]. [41a. Vide supra ch. IV n. 15].
42. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 6* [= tr., pp. 10-11].
43. E. Ter Minasyan, «Nestorianism in Armenia in the V-VI Centuries», *Literary and Philological Studies* (Erevan, 1946), pp. 210-228.
44. John Drasjanakertc'i, p. 247 [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 184].
45. Al-Balādhuri, p. 200 [= Hitti tr., p. 314].
46. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 349 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 342].
47. Al-Balādhuri, p. 197 [= Hitti tr., p. 310].
48. Łewond, p. 129, «Նա եւ զգորսն քաղաքին եւ զքանակեալսն ի նմա

Սառակիճոսս բառնայր նոցին ընտանեօքն յաշխարհն Յունաց :

[= Chahnazarian tr., p. 126].

49. Al-Balādhuri, p. 199 [= Hitti tr., p. 312].
50. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, pp. 206/7-208/9. Asotik, p. 134 [= Dulaurier tr., p. 162].
51. Attaliates, «History», I. Bekker ed., *CSHB* (Bonn, 1838), p. 148.
52. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, pp. 74-75 [= French tr., pp. 63-64].
53. I. Krachkovski, *Collected Works*, II, p. 490 [in rus.].
54. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando*, I, pp. 206/7-208/9. [54a. Vide supra ch. I n. 142].
55. Thomas Arcruni, pp. 280-281 [= Brosset tr., p. 225].
56. Ya'kūbi, II, p. 565.
57. Al-Balādhuri, p. 211 [= Hitti tr., p. 331].
58. Nāsir-i Khusraw, p. 8 [Vide supra ch. V, n. 40].
59. Asotik, p. 268 [= Macler tr., pp. 154-155. Cf. supra ch. V, n. 15].
60. *Ibid.*, p. 266, «... յորմէ հանեալ արձակեաց զՏաճկաստանեայսն, եւ ինին լնու զՔաղաքն Հայ եւ Վրացի բնակչօք...» [= Macler tr., p. 151].
61. Yākūt, p. 648, notes that in the XIII century the inhabitants of Manazkert were Armenians and Greeks (i.e. Orthodox Armenians).
62. *Ibid.*, II, p. 196.
63. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 470.
64. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 110-116.
65. Ibn Khallikān, I, t49 [= de Slane tr., I, p. 243. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 124, and supra nn. 11-12].
66. John Draszanakertc'i, p. 416, «գլխաւոր գահերէցք եւ հոյակապ նախապետք եւ ազգաստեօք ի քաղաքն Դունայ...» [= Saint-Martin tr. p. 340].
67. Thomas Arcruni, p. 302, «ծերք քաղաքին» [= Brosset tr., p. 243]. According to al-Mukaddasi, *BGA*, III, p. 377, the majority of the rulers (notables) of Dwin were Armenians.
68. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, pp. 153-154.
69. Asotik, p. 160 [= Macler tr., p. 12].
70. Gregory Magistros, *Letters*, pp. 153-154.
71. Č'amč'ean, *History of Armenia*, II, p. 884.
72. Gregory Magistros, *Letters*, p. 153, «յառուրս տեառն Յովհաննիսի եւ Սմբատայ Բագրատունոյ...»
73. Ormanean, *Azgapatum*, I, p. 1067.
74. A. Ioannisian, «The T'ondrakian Movement in Armenia», *VI*, X (1954) [in rus.].
75. *The Book of Letters*, p. 500.
76. Thomas Arcruni, p. 219 [= Brosset, tr., p. 175].
77. *The Book of Letters*, p. 500.
78. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, pp. 119-133 [= French tr., pp. 108-120].
79. Gregory Magistros, «Letter to the Syrian Kat'olikos», *Letters*, pp. 143-164.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
81. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, pp. 119-125 [= French tr., pp. 108-113].
82. *Ibid.*, p. 125 [= French tr., p. 112].
83. *Ibid.*, p. 128 [= French tr., pp. 115-116].
- [83a. *Ibid.*, p. 126 = French tr., pp. 113-115].

[83b. *Ibid.*, p. 129 = French tr., pp. 116-117].

[83c. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132 = French tr., pp. 117-119].

84. Gregory Magistros, *Letters*, p. 162.

85. *Idem.* «... եկեալ յիւրաքանչիւր գաւառաց».

86. A. Mnac'akanyan, «Some Major Problems Concerning the T'ondrakian Movement», *T* (1954/3), pp. 66-70 [in arm.].

87. Yākūt, I, p. 199 [vide supra n. 6].

88. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 342 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., pp. 335-336].

89. Ya'kūbi, *BGA*, VII, p. 331.

90. Ibn Hawkal, II, 342-343 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., pp. 335-336, «On exporte de Dabil des tissus en poil de chèvre et en laine, tels que tapis, oreillers, coussins, tapis de selle, lacets de pantalon et autres étoffes du même genre, de fabrication arménienne, teintés au kermès. C'est une teinture rouge, qu'on utilise pour les étoffes en poil de chèvre et la laine; elle provient d'un ver qui tisse autour de lui-même comme le ver à soie s'enveloppe de son cocon de soie grège. On fabrique des soies à dessins, dont on rencontre beaucoup l'équivalent dans l'empire byzantin, bien qu'elles soient importées d'Arménie. Parmi les produits arméniens, il y a des manteaux de dames, des coussins, des tapis, des tentures, des tapis étroits, des coussins ronds, des oreillers et des tapis de selle. Ces tapisseries ne sont égalées en aucun point de l'univers, d'aucune façon et en aucune technique». Note the discrepancies between the Armenian and French translations].

91. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, pp. 143-144, 152-153.

92. Łafadaryan, *The City of Dwin*, pp. 154, 170-172, 180-182, 236-237.

93. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 344 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 338].

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 344-345 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 338].

95. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, pp. 136-138.

96. John Draschanakert'i, p. 201 [= Saint-Martin tr., pp. 145-146].

97. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, pp. 136-138.

98. Arak'elyan, *The Cities and Crafts of Armenia*, pp. 75-80, 111-114.

99. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 353 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 346].

100. Marr, *Ani*, pp. 22-25.

101. Ibn Hawkal, II, pp. 224-5 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 219. Note the discrepancies between the two translations and that the French one gives this passage as a description of Djazirat ibn 'Umar. «Djazirat Ibn Omar... Le commerce y serait florissant d'une manière permanente si les princes la laissaient tranquille, ... C'est le rendez-vous commercial de l'Arménie, de l'empire byzantin, des régions de Maiyafariqin et d'Arran. De ce point voguent vers Mossoul des navires chargés de denrées, comme le miel, la manne, le fromage, les noix, les amandes, les noisettes, le raisin sec, les figues et bien d'autres espèces.»].

102. *Ibid.*, II, p. 346 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 340, which again does not quite coincide with the Armenian version, «On tire de Zawazan, de certaines régions de l'Arménie et de l'Arran des mulets de classe, réputés pour leur vigueur physique, leur endurance, leur agilité, et leur ténacité: ils sont expédiés en Iraq, en Syrie, dans le Khorassan. D'autres produits pourraient encore être signalés, mais il est inutile d'attirer l'attention sur eux, tant ils sont connus.»].

103. Ya'kūbi, *BGA*, VII, p. 237.

104. Ibn Rusta, *BGA*, VII, p. 153.

105. Ya'kūbi, *BGA*, VII, p. 322.

106. Ibn Hawkal, II, p. 346 [= Kramers and Wiet tr., p. 339].

107. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, pp. 158-159.

108. Al-Mukaddasi, *BGA*, III, p. 377.

109. Vide supra ch. IV, n. 15.

110. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, pp. 148-149.

111. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, III (Paris, 1953), pp. 136-141.
112. Al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya* [*Maverdīi constitutiones politicae*] (Bonn, 1853), pp. 417-418, 431.
113. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 12* [= tr., p. 18].
114. Al-Muḥaddasī, *BGA*, III, p. 378.
115. X. Samuelyan, *History of Ancient Armenian Jurisprudence* (Erevan, 1939), pp. 135-140 [in arm.].
116. Mxit'ar Goš, *Lawcode*, «Preface, ch. ix».
117. Manandyan, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, p. 154.
118. Mxit'ar Goš, *Lawcode*, Pt. II, ch. cxxiii. References to the *muhtasib* of Ani can be found in inscriptions, cf. V. N. Beneshevich, *Three XI Century Inscriptions from Ani* (Petrograd, 1921). H. M. Bartikyan, «On References to Taxation in the Inscription of Aaron Magistros (1055-1056)», *P-BH*, IV/VII (1959), pp. 168-173 [in arm.].
119. Al-Balādhuri, pp. 193, 199 [= Hitti tr., pp. 305, 312].
120. Thomas Arçruni, p. 302, «... միւլլեր ծերիք քաղաքին անհեալ առ ռոս նորա ինդրեն զխաղաղութիւն, տալով հարկս եւ պատանիդս...» [= Brosset tr., p. 243].
121. John Drasxanakertc'i, p. 416 [= Saint-Martin tr., p. 340. Cf. supra n. 66].
122. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 4* [= tr., p. 10].
123. Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, p. 62, «քաղաքացիք զխաւորքն որ նստէին յԱնի» [= French tr., p. 52].
124. Vardan, p. 120, «զայ ի ինդիր հայրենի քաղաքին Անույ, եւ աղերսանաւ ինդրէ յԱյուլեքէ եւ յաւագաց քաղաքին» [Cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, pp. 84-85].

CONCLUSION

1. M. Abelyan and K. Melik'-Ohanjanyan edd., *The Daredevils of Sasun*, I (Erevan, 1936), pp. xiii-xvi [in arm.].

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APPENDICES

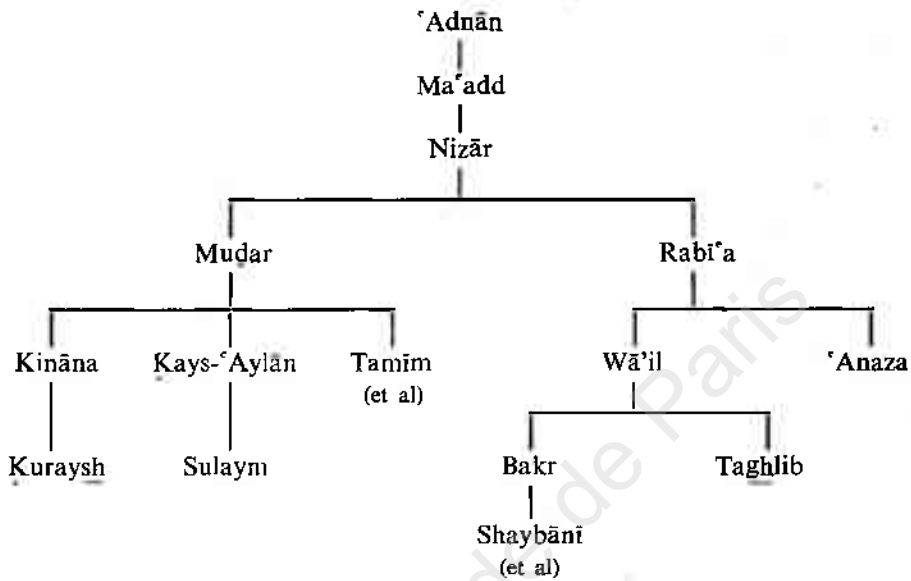
APPENDIX I—A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE CITY OF DWIN

A. D.

- 330-338 Dwin becomes the capital of Armenia in the reign of Xosrov III Kotayk.
- 470's Dwin serves as the residence of the *marzpan*s and *kat'olikoi* of Armenia.
- 506, 555 First and Second Council of Dwin.
- 571 Revolt against the Persians at Dwin.
- 607/8 Reconstruction of the cathedral.
- 640 First Arab attack on Dwin.
- 654 Ḥabib b. Maslama takes Dwin and grants a safeguard to the city.
- Second half of VII C. Muhammad b. Marwān completes the conquest of Armenia. Dwin becomes the capital of the new *ostikanate* of Armīniya.
- 706-709 The *ostikan* 'Abd al-'Aziz rebuilds the walls of Dwin.
- 719 Council of Dwin.
- 774 Revolt. Disorders at Dwin.
- ca. 789 Together with Dwin, Partaw [Bardha'ā] becomes the alternate capital of Armīniya.
- 794 Abū Muslim al-Shārī besieges Dwin for four months and withdraws.
- 813 Djahhāf and his son 'Abd al-Malik take Dwin. They are defeated by Šapuh Bagratuni and the inhabitants kill 'Abd al-Malik.
- ca. 862 The province of Ostan becomes the domain of the Bagratids from the outset of the rule of Prince Ašot Bagratuni.
- Earthquake at Dwin.
- 880's Dwin ceases to be the residence of the *ostikan*, but the new king Ašot I is anointed and resides at Bagaran.
- ca. 890 The brothers Muḥammad and Umayya establish themselves at Dwin as vassals of Smbat I. They rebel and are crushed.
- 893/4 Great earthquake at Dwin.
- 894 Afshīn Abu'l-Sādj takes Dwin.
- 900-901 Afshīn's son Dīwdād is governor of Dwin.
- 901-919 Dwin becomes the base for the military activities of Yūsuf.
- ca. 918-920 Ašot son of Šapuh [the Anti-king] resides at Dwin.
Assaults of Ašot II against Dwin and his temporary conquest of the city.

- 922 John Kurkuas' attack against Dwin held by Subuk.
- 923-929 Dwin governed by the lieutenants of Yūsuf: Nasr al-Subukī and Bisbr.
- 927/8 Second Byzantine attack against Dwin.
- ca. 929-937 Dwin held by Muflih emir of Azerbaidjan.
- 937-941 Dwin held by Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī.
- A. H. 330/= Last extant coin from the mint of Dwin.
A. D. 941/2
- 941/2-948 Dwin held by Sallār Marzubān emir of Azerbaidjan.
- 948-951 Dwin ruled by Fadl b. Dja'far al-Ḥamdānī and Ibrāhīm al-Dābbī. Daysam b. Ibrāhīm retakes the city from them.
- 951-954 Dwin held by Muḥammad b. Shaddād.
- 953 Assault of Ašot III against Dwin.
- 954-957 Sallār Marzubān again holds Dwin.
- 957-966 Dwin probably subject to Ašot III
- 966-982 Dwin held by Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān.
- 982-987 Abū Dulaf emir of Golt'n takes Dwin from Abū'l-Haydjā b. Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān.
- 987 Dwin passes to Abū'l-Haydjā al-Rawwādī.
- 989/90 Abū Dulaf of Colt'n retakes Dwin.
- 990's-1012 Dwin forms part of the Armenian Kingdom. David Dunac'i (?) governor of Dwin.
- 1021 Daylamite (Delmik) attack on Dwin.
- 1022-1049 Dwin held by Abū'l-Aswār I the Shaddādid.
- 1045-1049 Byzantine attacks against Dwin.
- 1053-1105 Dwin held by Abu Nasr Iskandar b. Shāwur son of Abū'l-Aswār I.
- 1105-1118 The emir Kizil [Lzəl] holds Dwin.
- 1118-1130 Last period of Shaddādid rule at Dwin.
- 1130-1162 Dwin held by the emir Kurti b. Tughan Arslan.
- 1162-1163 King George III of Iberia attacks Dwin.
- 1163-1203 Dwin held by the Eldigüzids. 'Ali-Shir governs the city.
- 1203 Dwin freed by the Armenians.
- 1203-1225 Iwanē Mxagrđzeli atabeg at Dwin.
- 1225 Djalāl al-Din attacks Dwin.
- 1228 Proš Xalbakean frees Dwin.
- 1236 Mongol invasion and destruction of Dwin.

APPENDIX II — THE ARAB TRIBES (NORTHERN GROUP) ¹

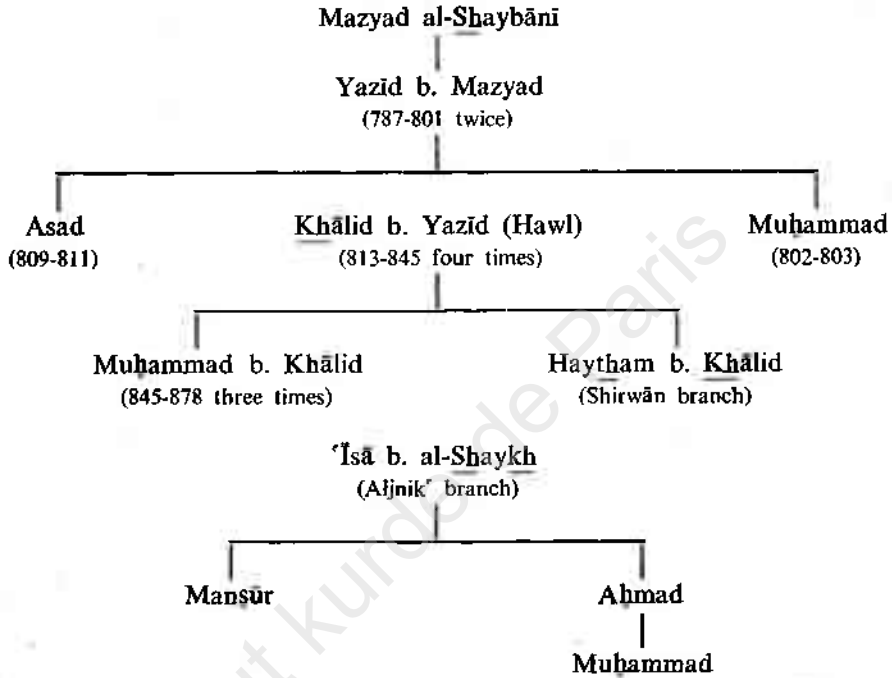


¹ These traditional genealogies preserved in literary sources are not rejected by scholars. A third group is also mentioned in addition to the Northern and Southern ones. These are the lost tribes which are sometimes attached to the Southern group. [Cf. G. Rentz, «Djazirat al-ʿArab», *EI*², pp. 543-546].

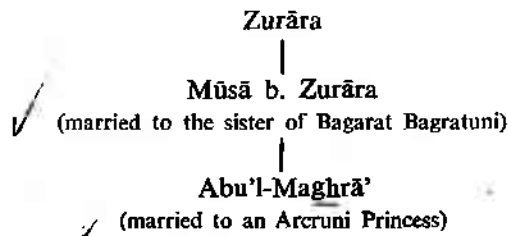
APPENDIX III — THE EMIRATES IN GREATER ARMENIA

A) HOUSES OF ARAB ORIGIN

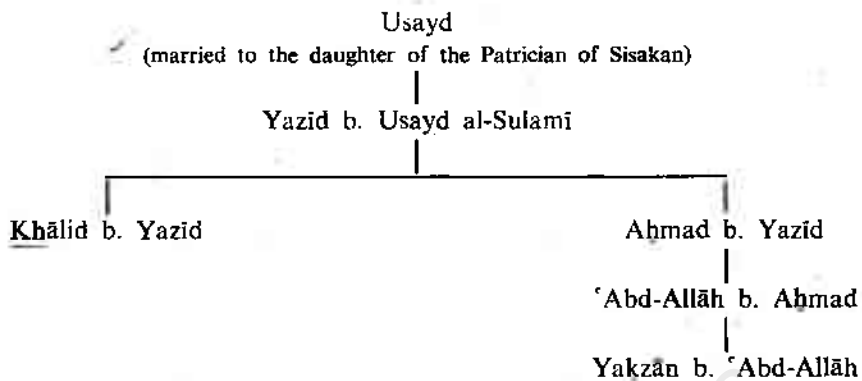
i. *The Shaybāni (Bakr Tribe)*



ii. *The Zurārids (Bakr Tribe?) — Tenth Century*



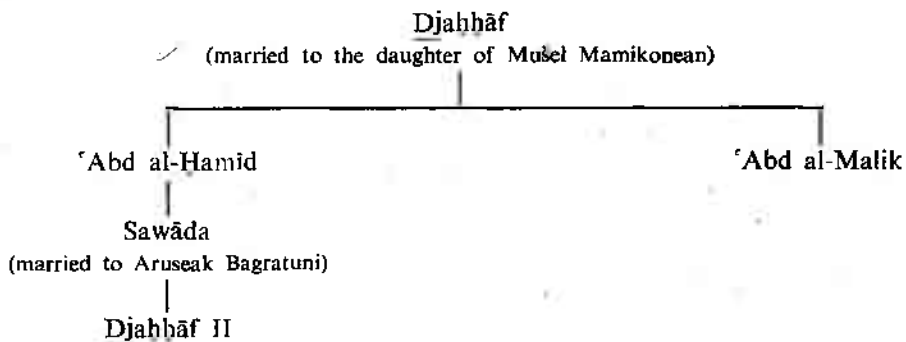
iii. *The Sulamī ostikans of Armīniya*



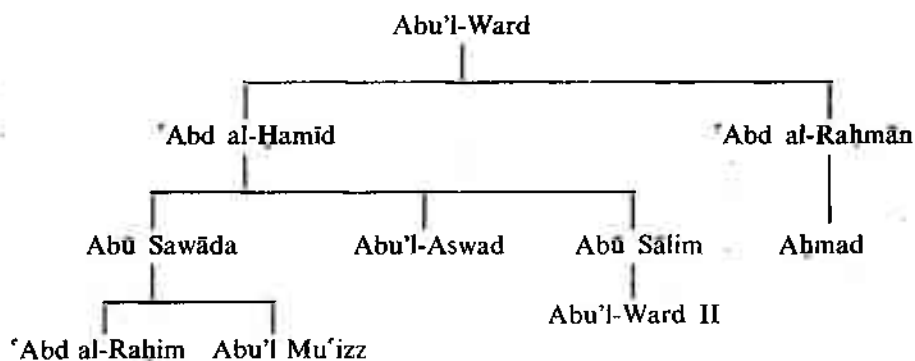
iv. *The Djahhāfids (Sulaym Tribe ?)*

Beginning of the IX Century to the 860's

The KURDISH JAFFS, must be,



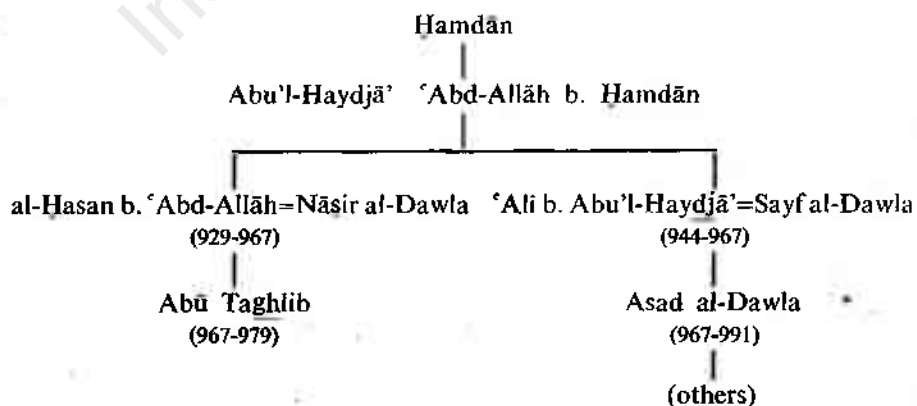
v. *The Kaysites (Sulaym Tribe — 860's to 964*¹



¹ The 'Uthmanids of Berkri, none of whose names have come down to us, probably belonged to this tribe.

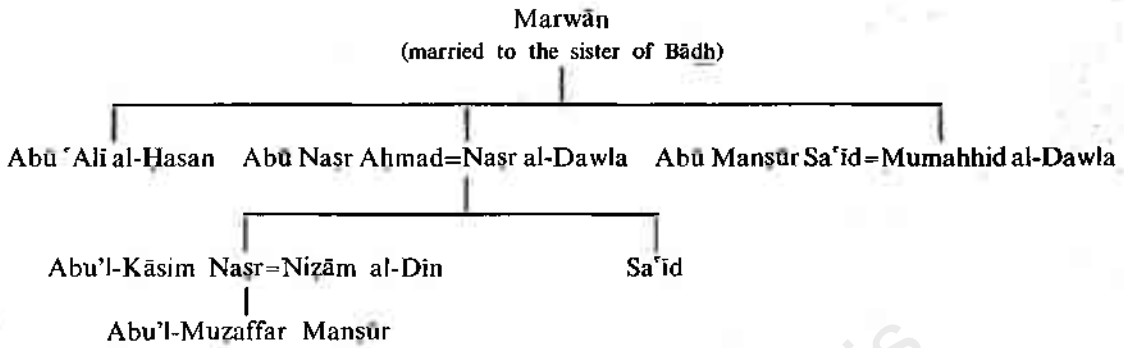
vi. *The Hamdanids (Taghlib Tribe)*

At Mosul 929-991; at Aleppo 944-1003.

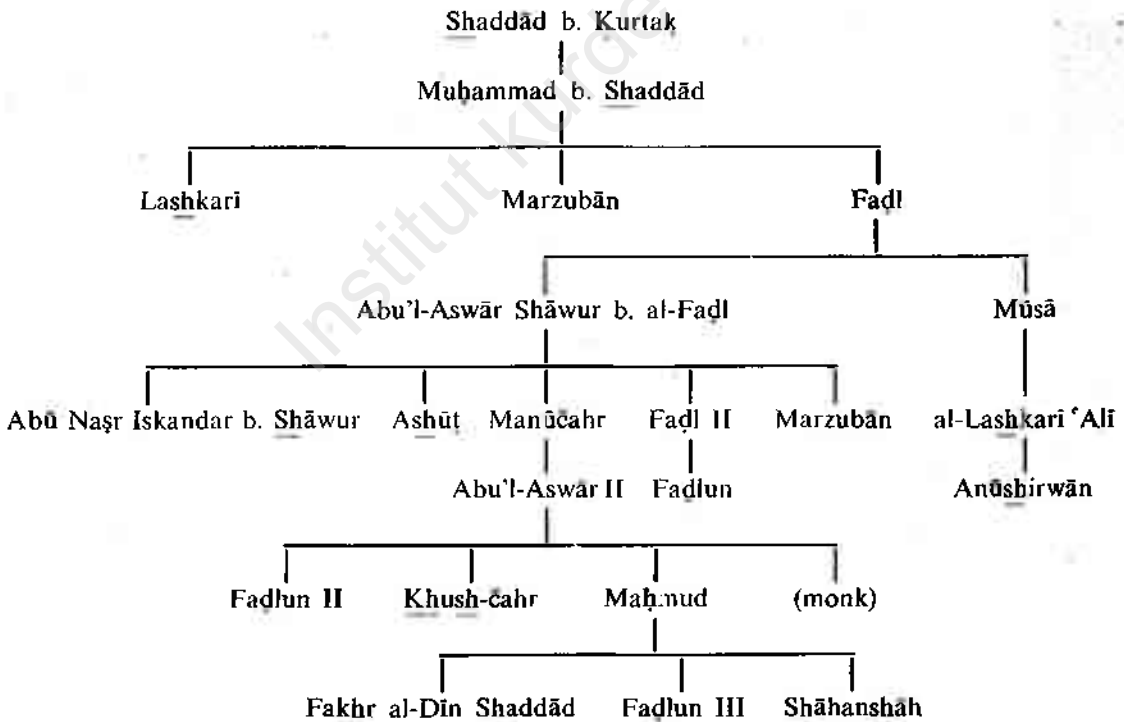


B) HOUSES OF KURDISH ORIGIN

i. *The Marwānids*—990 to 1096



ii. *The Shaddādids*



APPENDIX IV—THE RULERS OF AZERBAIJAN

i. *Sādjids* (Turkish origin)

Muḥammad Afshīn (889-901).

Abu'l-Kāsim Yūsuf (901-928), with interruptions).

Abu'l-Musāfir al-Fath (928-929).

ii. *Sādjid Successors*

Muflīḥ (931).

Daysam b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi (934/5-941/2, and 948/9-953/4).

iii. *Sallarids* (*Musāfirids*, of Iranian origin)

Sallār Marzubān (941/2-957, with interruptions).

Wahsūdān (957-966).

Ibrāhīm b. al-Marzubān (966-983).

Abu'l-Haydjā b. Ibrāhīm (in certain portions of Azerbaidjan).

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Note. All entries in the present Bibliography are given according to the systems of transliteration indicated in the Editor's Note at the front of this volume. Diacritical marks have been used where required, but they have been disregarded insofar as the English alphabetical order is concerned.

For the sake of convenience, titles in Arabic, Armenian and Russian have been transliterated as well as translated. Abbreviations are restricted to those listed on p. X of the present edition.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

The original Index has been partially recast and considerably expanded in the present edition. A new Index of Technical Terms has been added.

The English alphabetical system has been followed. Diacritical marks have been included throughout, but they have been disregarded for purposes of alphabetizing. In the case of Arab names, the order followed has been that of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. The English form of a proper name has usually been preferred to its foreign equivalent.

Wherever significant, the dynastic (family, tribe, etc.) identification has been provided for individuals. In cases of identical names, identifying details have been added.

Wherever possible, books have been listed under the author's name.

/ Semantic equivalents, despite morphological or orthographic differences, are separated by slashes.

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85 l. 39	«... an it is from him ...»	and it is from him
91 l. 9	twentyfive	twenty-five
95 l. 3	resistence	resistance
96 l. 8	Lakz	Lazk
99 l. 38	Sallarids	Sallarids
101 l. 1	kis nephew	his nephew
106 l. 22	Newan	Nāwan
107 l. 14	«... son of Kamen) ...»	«... son of Kamenas)...»
109 l. 6	«... raided the provinces»	«... raided the western pro-vinces»

<i>page and line</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
116 l. 1	«... an attack against...»	«... an attack...»
126 l. 9	(Woolf Gates)	(Wolf Gates)
126 l. 18	Tkis was	This was
126 l. 32	«Adjdanikan resembles the Azdanakan, ...»	«Ajdanikan resembles the Azda- nakan...»
130 l. 8	Adjdanikan	Ajdanikan
130 l. 10	Azdanakan	Azdanakan
130 l. 19	«Gate of the Tomb»	«Gate of the Tombs»
138 l. 2	... tkis production...»	«... this production...»
141 l. 20	Derbend	Derbent
171 l. 3	զԶոբմայրի	զԶոբմայրի
174 n. 13	«Moses Xorenac'i, <i>History</i> p. 83	«Moses Xorenac'i, <i>History</i> , p. 57 ...»
180 l. 19	Abu Dulaf of Col'n.	Abu Dulaf of Golt'n
181 l. 4	Nizār	Nizāri
192 l. 16	A. Perstusi ed.	A. Pertusi ed.
211 l. 23	« <i>Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms</i> , «see...»	« <i>Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms</i> », see...»
212 l. 22	Cappadocia/ Gimirk ⁵	Cappadocia/ Gamirk ⁵

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