

The article of Dr. Seta B. Dadoyan, which was ready for publication in the Haigazian Armenian Review sometime ago, we find published in London, in the last quarter of 1992, in a book dedicated to the 85th anniversary of Dr. Nicolas Ziade of the American University of Beirut.

We publish Dr. Dadoyan's article with the firm belief that we are not duplicating the content of the above-mentioned book of London.

Ed.

DATA FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ARAB-ARMENIAN RELATIONS

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Historians tend to restrict their research of Arab-Armenian relations to the period of the Arab domination of historical Armenia (640-885), reducing this particular aspect of Middle Eastern history into a record of military and political matters, related to two and a half centuries of Arab rule in Armenia.

Even if we accept their principle of considering military occupation as the symbolic beginning of relations between the Arabs and Armenians, this traditional approach remains highly questionable. For, by the same principle, the initial contacts must have begun with Tigranes the Great's occupation of many parts of Syria and Mesopotamia during the first quarter of the first century B.C.

Indications of very early relations are found in several aspects of Armenian culture; one example is the existence of over two hundred Arabic words in Armenian during the first century A.D. These were words like «kharuyg» from the Arabic «harig», «khaps» from «khabatha», «heros» or «hrossag» from «harassa» and «häres», etc¹.

There is a whole field of unstudied cultural phenomena, similar to this linguistic «detail». Together with the political and military facts, these intercultural elements will eventually constitute the «raw» data for the writing of a complete history of Arab-Armenian relations.

The urgency of such a history is felt whenever the researcher is faced with problems for the understanding of which he needs to return to the history of intercultural relations. The exploration of these cultural «black holes» is a modest yet first step towards the larger project of studying Armenian culture in the context of the other Middle Eastern cultures.

Of these cultures, the Arab and Islamic cultures have been, and still are major factors in the development of Armenian philosophical thought. But the specific ways in which and channels through which the interactions took place, are yet to be studied. So far, two attempts have been made to write a history of Armenian philosophy, and both authors have completely overlooked the Arab-Islamic factors².

This very schematic account of the background of Arab-Armenian relations is intended to serve two objectives: the first is to bring to the attention of specialists, or anyone interested in cultural matters, the necessity of seeing Armenian culture in the light of the foreign cultural influences. The second objective will best be served if the «raw» materials for research, discovered so far, turn out to provide incentive for further specialized studies.

I. SOME DATA FROM THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL-POLITICAL RELATIONS

As a geographical region, Armenia was well known to the Arabs and the name referred to a region much larger than historical Armenia itself. In his volume devoted to Armenian history, F. M. Hafiz defines the borders of this «Arminia» as stretching from the southern Caucasus to Syria and Cilicia in the south, and from the Caspian Sea to the central parts of Asia Minor (or the eastern borders of what was later to become the Byzantine Empire). In Hafiz's opinion, this region was named after the Armenians, because they were the most ancient nation and best known to the peoples of the surrounding countries³.

This «Arminia» comprised four major parts, the third and fourth of which constitute historical Armenia. The «first» Armenia, also known as Aran, is generally (but larger than) what was known as Soviet Azerbaijan. The «second» Armenia is approximately what was known as Soviet Georgia; the «third» Armenia extends from the eastern shores of Lake Van to the south-eastern areas of the Black Sea and the port of Trepizond. The «fourth» Armenia covers wide areas in the north of Lake Van extending to the west and south, thus including the rivers Euphrates and Tigris.

After the tenth century, adds Hafiz, the third and fourth «Arminias» were jointly called Greater Armenia, while Cilicia was known as Smaller Armenia⁴.

Two other Arab historians have done some research into Armenian history: Adib Sayyid⁵ and Marwan al-Mudawwar⁶; they make no mention of the above division of four «Arminia»s.

The Arab-Islamic armies entered Armenia in the year 640 and Armenia became subject to the Umayyad Caliphate. While the first and second Armenias were governed by Arab commissioners, the third and fourth had their Armenian governors appointed directly by the Caliph. Theodorus Reshduni was the first Armenian governor appointed by Mu'āwiya.

Of the earliest periods of Islamic expansion, al-Mudawwar has an account of a meeting between the Prophet and the Armenian Prelate of Jerusalem, Patriarch Abraham, in Mecca. According to him, (no sources of related documents mentioned) the Prophet issued a written order to keep the Armenian properties in the Holy Places of Jerusalem intact⁷.

There are several identical accounts of a meeting between the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar ibn al-'Aziz and the Armenian Patriarch Hovhannes of Otsun in Damascus, sometime between 717 and 720⁸.

Arab rule in Armenia was not without troubles. The House of Mamikonians organized and led the first wave of uprisings. A second revolt around 850 was in fact a popular upheaval; the national epic of «David of Sassun» is related to these events.

With the establishment of the Bagraduni Kingdom in Armenia in 885, Arab rule was officially ended. This dynasty lasted until 1045 and was followed by the Cilician Kingdom.

On the social level, the massive immigration of Arab tribes and individuals was one of the major consequences of Arab rule in Armenia.

The Arab commissioners and other military figures organized some of these immigrations and planned the implantation of people and tribes in certain areas as reliable support forces in internal conflicts.

The first waves of immigration started as early as the eighth century, during the Umayyad period; these tribes settled in the regions of Khlat, Dābil, Arjesh and Manazguerd. Al-Mudawwar remarks that these settlers did not get assimilated into the native Armenian population and kept the status of «immigrants»⁹.

Immigration became more systematic during the Abbasid Caliphate. The Arab commissioner, Yazid ibn As'ad, arranged for the settlement of tribes from the Arabian Peninsula, the Yemen and Iraq, around the city of Dvin (or Dābil). Arab immigration continued through the eighth century and the northern and north western areas of Lake Van became densely populated by Arabs. Internal strife among antagonistic tribes made rival parties seek further support from their homelands¹⁰. The Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid in turn arranged for the settlement of several tribes in different parts of Armenia¹¹. During the invasions of the Turcoman races, Arab tribes joined forces with Armenians against the intruders.

There is no record about the distribution of the Arab tribes in Armenia; the regions and periods of their establishment have not been traced by Armenian historians.

In a chapter entitled «The Arabs as Citizens of Armenia», al-Mudawwar gives an eye-witness account by twelfth century historian Yusuf ibn al-Azraq. This historian spoke of his meeting with Arab tribesmen in the north of Armenia during 1154. These had migrated during the eighth century and formed their own communities and villages; they had preserved their culture and enjoyed the protection of native Armenians¹².

There are several reports of certain «mixed» communities in Armenia. These could have been Armenians converted to Islam, or Arabs who had partially lost their cultural identity. In the regions of Vorodn and Sunik (approximately the western parts of modern Armenia), Arabic inscriptions have been found on many tombstones which date back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A. Khatchadurian has an interesting article about these inscriptions¹³. He points out that both the designs and calligraphic peculiarities of these inscriptions give reason to believe that they must have been tombs of Armenian converts and not Arabs. The symbolism of the ornaments, their style, the errors in the Arabic calligraphic forms, (rules of connecting letters, arrangement of letters, etc.) are clear indications to the non-Arab nationality of the artists and the community at large. Moreover, many proper names are purely Armenian, even Christian. The author provides additional data in support of his thesis about the nationality of these communities. Today, there are Muslim Armenian communities in some areas of the southern Caucasus¹⁴.

The other side of the coin is the status of Armenians in Islamic society. Historians do not seem to have reached a common point of view concerning their exact national identity. Al-Mudawwar speaks of famous Armenians, referring to their Armenian citizenship and not nationality. Hafiz considers the same figures as simply Armenians living in the Islamic world. He adds the names of five Armenian women in the Arab royal families.

These figures are worth mentioning in the context of this article, not so much for their importance or role, but for the value they may present as starting points in research into broader issues.

Khalid ibn al-Walid employed a personal assistant of Armenian origin known as Girgi ibn Tawzar. Amru ibn al-'As in turn had an assistant called Vartan¹⁵.

For the military and especially political roles he played, 'Ali ibn Yahia al-Armani is of particular interest in both Armenian and Arab history during the Abbasid period. Yahia al-Armani was the commander of the Abbasid armies for over twenty years : during al-Mu'tassim's reign (842-847), then al-Mutawakkil's (847-861). He was twice appointed wāli of Egypt. He is said to have personally led the Abbasid armies in the wars with the Byzantines, and died during one of these campaigns in 863. In his volume entitled *Nūjum al-Zāhira*, Egyptian historian Abu'l-Mahasin ibn Tāghī Barada (d. 1469) writes with great appreciation of the military and administrative abilities of Yahia al-Armani. But in the context of Arab-Armenian relations,

Yahia's importance lies in the establishment of the Bagraduni Kingdom in Armenia in 885, which put an end to Arab rule in the release of a group of Armenian princes detained in the Abbasid capital. A brief survey of the arts, customs, folklore and in general the state of culture during the Bagraduni period, reveals the deep influence of Arab civilization in Armenia. In other words, the termination of military occupation of Armenia did not put an abrupt end to already advanced relations on all levels. In fact, by the termination of military rule, relations took more relaxed and natural channels of operation. Poetry, architecture, costumes, language of medieval Armenia are yet to be studied in this light, i.e., the influence of Arab-Islamic civilization.

After Yahia's death, his son 'Ali Hussain ibn Yahia al-Armani took his place during al-Musta'li's reign (862-866). He was followed by another member of the family, Muhammad 'Ali ibn Yahia al-Armani, during the reign of al-Mu'tamid (870-892)¹⁷.

Two scholars must be mentioned in the fields of linguistics and jurisprudence; the first was Abu 'Ali al-Qāli, from the city of Manazguer (or, perhaps Erzerum)¹⁸. The second was a jurist and theologian from Malatia known as Abu'l-Hassan al-Malti (d. 987). The famous Iraqi painter al-Wāsiti (d. 1242) is probably the Armenian best known to the public¹⁹.

Two Armenian women must be mentioned as having belonged to the Abbasid royal family. The first was the mother of Caliph al-Qā'im (1031-1075) and the wife of Caliph al-Qādir (991-1031). She is known as Qatr al-Nada and the date of her death is given as 1060. The second woman is known as Urjuwān and/or Qurratu'l-'Ayn (d. 1118). She was the wife of al-Qā'im's son, prince Muhammad Zakhirat al-Din, and the mother of Caliph al-Mūqtada (1094-1118)²⁰.

It is more natural to find a greater number of Armenians in the Fātimid Kingdom, since the Fātimids relied on minorities in military and administrative matters. Perhaps the most noteworthy figure among the Fātimid Armenians was Badr al-Jamāli. According to W. Ivanow, he was a slave who succeeded in penetrating into the Fātimid administration and reached the highest position there. Other sources, however, do not confirm that Badr al-Jamāli was a slave. Badr al-Jamāli's name and role are connected with the military and social crises during the reign of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansir. In 1073, al-Mustansir recalled Badr al-Jamāli from Syria, where he was commander of the Fātimid forces. He granted him the title of Sayyid al-Ajall and appointed him Vizir. Due to Badr al-Jamāli's administrative talent and efficiency, the Fātimid Kingdom was rescued from early disintegration. Badr al-Jamāli also played an active role in Fātimid-Isma'ili missionary work at al-Mustansir's court («Bait al-Da'wa»). With reference to Badr al-Jamāli's popularity in his day, an expression (borrowed from a Koranic verse) has been used which, literally translated, reads as follows : «And

may God assist you with a full moon» (or «badr»)²¹. The district of Gamälia in Cairo is named after him, as is Häy al-Majrush (or «Amir al-Juyush»). Badr al-Jamäli remained in office for twenty years (1074-1094). Arabic sources generally give positive accounts of the role and personality of this man. We find particularly high praise by the Arab historian al-Mäqrizi²².

Badr al-Jamäli died in 1095, a year after al-Mustansir's death. Rivalry for the throne between the latter's two sons ended in the murder of Nizar and the enthronement of al-Musta'li, al-Mustansir's son by his Armenian wife, the daughter of Badr al-Jamäli. The murder of Nizar divided the Isma'ilis into branches : the Nizaris, who eventually left Egypt for Syria, Iraq and northern Iran, and the Musta'lis who, after the fall of the Fätimid Kingdom, found sanctuary in the Yemen. Both branches of the Isma'li sect were active in different places and in varying degrees.

We find a series of Armenian figures in the Fätimid state after Badr al-Jamäli's death. His son al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamäli served under two Caliphs, al-Musta'li (1094-1102) and al-Amir (1102-1130). Talä'ih ibn Razik served under Caliph al-Fa'iz. His son Razik ibn Talä'ih ibn Razik followed his father and remained in that position until 1163. A grandson of Badr al-Jamäli is also mentioned, al-Ma'mun Ahmad ibn al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamäli (1130-1131). An obscure figure, called Yanis, took the position for a year (1131-1132). Finally, in the Fätimid period, there is mention of an Armenian general called Vahram or Bahram²³.

Egypt had an Armenian queen, a woman called Shajar al-Durr, the wife of Salah Najm al-Din Ayyub (1240-1249). She played an active role in the wars against the Crusaders. At her husband's death, she reigned as queen of Egypt for three months in 1250. After marrying her Vizir al-Muiz al-Din Aybak al-Turkemani, she transferred the throne to him. In 1257 they both were victims of a conspiracy²⁴.

Opinions vary about the role of the Armenian statesmen in the Fätimid Kingdom. Some historians, like Rafiq al-Mahäyini, see a direct link between the fall of the kingdom and the activities of the Armenian officials in the state. In their opinion these figures acted as parasitic elements upon an already weakened kingdom and eventually caused its destruction²⁵. Ivanow describes these figures as opportunists gathered around a decaying state²⁶.

A social phenomenon of some importance accompanied the «era» of Armenian officials in the Fätimid Kingdom. It was the Armenian community which was formed and perhaps relying upon the influence of these figures in Cairo. The only direct account of this community by an Egyptian-Armenian historian called Abu Sälih al-Armani was written in 1168. The community had its church, schools, and other ethnic institutions in the district of Jinan al-Zahra or Burkat al-Nässira in modern Cairo. After the fall of the kingdom, the community seems to have dissolved too; there is no mention of it in later sources²⁷.

II. HIGHLIGHTS IN CULTURAL RELATIONS

In line with our objective of recording the «proofs» so far discovered in Arab-Armenian cultural relations, we devote this section to their schematic presentation.

The existence of over two hundred Arabic words in current use during the first century in Armenia, may be considered a solid fact in the field of intercultural relations.

A phenomenon in the ninth century, in our opinion, seems to have been the starting point of interesting research into the area of philosophical relations. Our reference is to the familiarity of the Lebanese translator-scholar Qusta ibn Lūqā to the works of Anania Shirakatsi; the latter is the major Armenian philosopher, mathematician and astronomer of the seventh century. Anania studied philosophy and science in Trepizond; he was the founder of physical sciences in Armenia. He travelled extensively to many parts of Armenia and Asia Minor to gather data and fragments of culture related to the sciences, both applied and theoretical, as well as texts from the pagan ages in Armenia. In his works there are frequent references to these sciences in the region. Anania knew classical Greek very well, but there is no basis to assume that he ever wrote in Greek. Thus, the manner in which his books, banned in many provinces in Armenia, could have reached to Qusta, is completely obscure; historians of medieval sciences and philosophy may find the issue extremely motivating.

Before moving to another theme, we find it necessary to comment on two common errors made by overzealous writers. One of these concern a certain text of al-Jāhiz devoted to Armenia and Armenians. Apart from casual remarks scattered, so far we have not been able to have access to such a text. The other error seems more widespread; it concerns a direct link between the *Kalila wa Dimna* of Ibn al-Muqaffa' and the *Book of Fox* by Vartan Ayguektsi (late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries).

The Arabic translation of *The History of Agathangelos* brings up the role of the Armenians to Christianity in the Middle East. The History is the account of the conversion of Armenians to Christianity and the events, as well as the prominent figures, related to those times. The book was known to the Armenians during the fifth century. Its Arabic translation was discovered earlier in this century in the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai Peninsula; this copy is thought to have been made sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries. In 1968, A. Der Ghevondian (an Arabist) published the Arabic and Armenian texts with an extensive discussion about the possible sources of that particular Arabic text. According to the author, the Arabic translation must have been made from the Greek version of the book, which was familiar to the church fathers in most regions of the Middle East²⁸.

There is controversy around the relationship between two medieval texts; these are the Arabic *Kitab al-Khail* and an Armenian text called *Healer of horses and other riding animals*. The *Healer* was published by P. L. Tchoukasezian in 1980²⁹. Lately, upon the discovery of a new manuscript containing an Arabic translation of the *Healer*, the editor came to the conclusion that the *Healer* must have originally been written in Armenian³⁰. After being translated to Arabic, it was translated back into Armenian, and then back to Arabic, several times and in different places.

Despite the political instability in most parts of the Middle East, the thirteenth century saw intense interaction between Armenian and Arab scientists, craftsmen, and scholars in general. Many texts were exchanged and translated, but no record has yet been made of these texts in circulation. This interchange was done on very high levels, through the state sometimes. King Hetum I of Cilicia personally brought many scientific and other specialized texts from Baghdad in 1263. The sources of the *Healer* were among them. On the basis of some Arabic books, an Assyrian priest called Faraj wrote the *Healer*. Speaking about his sources he says: «I made use of (writings) of Abu Yusuf and Rashid as well as the philosophers of China, India and «Baghdad»³¹. The *Healer* was published in its final form between 1296 and 1298³².

III. ARMENIAN-ISMA'ILI RELATIONS AND THE «VIEWS FROM THE WRITINGS OF ISLAMIG PHILOSOPHERS»

The phenomenon of the Fātimid Armenians constitutes only a small part of the Armenian-Isma'ili relations. The earliest account of these links is connected to Isma'ili missionary activity in the Armenian provinces during the first decades of the tenth century. S. M. Stern mentions two Isma'ili missionaries or «dā'i»s Ibn Nafīs and al-Dābili. They both worked in the town of Dābil (Dvin), disguised as merchants³³. The secrecy with which the Isma'ilis concealed their ideology and political activity, has made access to the history of this sect extremely difficult. On the other hand, the Isma'ili factor has completely escaped the attention of Armenian historians.

In the tenth century, a well known Isma'ili missionary stands out as proof of an undercurrent of relations. He is Abu Hatem Abdul-Rahmān al-Rāzi al-Warsināni (or Warsami). In his *Kitāb al-Ziyāna* he calls himself Abu Hātem ibn Hamdān³⁴.

Abu Hātem al-Rāzi was born in the province of Pashapuya, centered in the city of Ray, where he organized missionary activity; he is said to have made frequent visits to northern Syria, Azerbaijan and Armenia. According to Ivanow, he established close contacts with the Armenian church fathers. He finds indications of these relations clear influences on Abu Hātem in the latter's works. Most of this man's writings remain in manuscript form and in the custody of Indian Isma'ilis³⁵.

If we follow the movements of Abu Hätem in the various provinces of Armenia, we find grounds to develop a hypothesis about the identity of these church fathers with whom he is said to have close contacts. During the early decades of the tenth century, the regions north of Lake Van had become sanctuaries for Armenian religious-political sects known as the Tontrakians. Their literature is completely destroyed, but based on the various refutations of their faith, we find many similarities between the Isma'ili doctrines and attitudes and theirs. It is highly probable that Abu Hätem had contacts with the sectarian churchmen and not the regular representatives of the church. A thorough reading of Abu Hätem's works can provide a valuable guide to the study of the relations between the Armenian and Muslim sectarian movements during the ninth and tenth centuries.

From the eleventh and twelfth centuries we have found so far no direct reference to Isma'ili activity in Armenian sources. Isma'ili sources speak of intense missionary activity in Asia Minor and Armenia during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

A unique manuscript by Armenian philosopher and poet John of Erzenka (around 1230-1293) brings the issue of Armenian-Isma'ili relations into sharp focus.

The manuscript is entitled *Views from the writings of Islamic philosophers*; it was published for the first time by S. Arevshadian in 1958³⁶.

It is only during the late fifties that the life and works of this author began to be studied, but the *Views*, despite its intriguing title and content, remained unstudied.

The initial stages of our research were directed towards the identification of the «Islamic» philosophers of whose writings the *Views* is a selection. The use of over one hundred transliterated Arabic words and the esoteric nature of the doctrines summarized were clear pointers to the sources. The *Views* is nothing but a very concise summary of the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* of the tenth century, known as the *Rasa'el Ikhwan al-Safa'* (52 epistles in four volumes)³⁷.

The *Views* is not an isolated phenomenon; further stages of research showed that the *Views* is in fact a link in a concealed chain of cultural and social interactions.

The comparative study of the *Views* and the *Epistles* on the one hand and the other works of John of Erzenka as well as other issues related to his philosophy, constitute the content of a volume we published recently³⁸.

The channels through which an esoteric encyclopaedia like the *Epistles* may have reached Erzenka during the thirteenth century, was one of the major problems related to the phenomenon of the *Views*. Seemingly insignificant elements proved to be of considerable value in tracing the historical context of the *Views*.

The date of the writing of the *Views* was such a «detail» and its definition proved to be an introduction to issues of much broader scope. In his

short preface to the first publication of the *Views* (see footnote 36) Arevshadian connects the writing of the *Views* to a long journey John of Erzenka is known to have made to Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, Georgia and back to Erzenka, between 1281 and 1284. In his opinion, John of Erzenka must have obtained Arabic philosophical texts during this journey. Otherwise, the editor has no hypothesis about the sources of the *Views* or about the Islamic philosophers of whose writings John of Erzenka has gathered some «views».

The three authors who have done some research into the life and thought of John of Erzenka seem to have taken the opinion of Arevshadian for granted. Furthermore, they proceed on the basis of the assumption that the *Views* is an original work and completely overlooked the fact of its being a summary.

Several points about the content, form, style and the relation between the *Views* and the other works of John of Erzenka make the above statement radically untenable. One of the major and initial thesis of our study was that the *Views* must have been written at a very early stage in the life of John of Erzenka. The author of this particular text is a beginner in the philosophical sciences and a novice to academic discipline in general. The work is riddled with grammatical errors; the vocabulary is poor; classical Armenian and the dialect of Erzenka are used. The transliterations are inconsistent; Arabic terms are used for both technical and ordinary terms for words, the Armenian equivalent of which were available since the fifth century. We encounter no such errors in the other works of John of Erzenka, even in his treatises written during the 1270's.

John of Erzenka was born in 1230 and entered the monasterial college of the Convent of St. Minas near Erzenka in his late twenties. His parents (who were most probably of the aristocracy) urged him to pursue a private career. But on several occasions and through his poems, John of Erzenka speaks of an unquenchable thirst for knowledge irrespective of its source. The *Views* must have been written before entering the monastery, where Greek philosophy, logic, grammar, rhetoric and theology were taught. In fact the next generation of graduates of this college became the founders of Armenian nominalism.

The early date of the writing of the *Views* throws some light upon the possible channels through which the *Epistles* could have reached Erzenka. Because of their unorthodox and esoteric nature, the *Epistles* could not have been transferred by ordinary means. There is no individual philosopher, group or sect, other than the Isma'ilis, that explicitly adopted the *Epistles*. The Brethren of Purity themselves are not known to have had any political or missionary activity; they were members of a small philosophical society with a revolutionary program but no practical plan for its realization.

Being a Shi'ite subject with declared antagonistic attitudes towards the Abbasids, the Isma'ilis searched for theoretical support in the *Epistles*, and made it part of their doctrinal literature (which is much less sophistica-

ted than the *Epistles*). The *Epistles* were classified under their «Haqa'eq» works, to which only the elite class of the sect could have access. But on the whole, along with the purely Isma'ili works, the *Epistles* were spread too⁴⁰.

Thus, the Isma'ili movement acted as an instrument for the partial popularization of the *Epistles*. According to Isma'ili scholars, the *Epistles* were reedited at the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansir's court, which was called «Bait al-Da'wa». Some of these Isma'ili historians considered the founder of their movement, al-Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 911), the author of the *Epistles*. This hypothesis is untenable on many grounds. H. Mruwi discusses this issue at length in his *Materialistic Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*⁴¹.

But it seems that the Isma'ili adoption of the *Epistles* played a positive role in preserving this esoteric encyclopaedia. The fortress of Alamut on the Caspian Sea, the last sanctuary of the Nizaris, is said to have been the richest in the manuscripts of the *Epistles*. Mongol Hulaku confiscated these after his conquest of the fortress. The fate of these manuscripts is not clear⁴².

The Isma'ilis were very active in Syria, Iran and Asia Minor. Many of the fortresses in the region served as their strongholds. The profession of commerce was their major disguise and consequently cities on commercial routes had high priority for their missionary cells. The city of Erzenka, with its strategic position on the two international routes, from east to west, and the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, had an ideal status for Isma'ili activity. The cosmopolitan population of the city was an additional convenience. In fact, Armenian historians speak of «Khoja»s and «Mulla»s in the city, unaware of the true identity of these rich, educated and prominent Muslim merchants. Both these terms mark Isma'ili sectarian ranks⁴³.

Some of these «Khoja»s were granted the title of Prince by the Armenian monarch of the city. But in all books of Armenian history, we find no mention of the Isma'ili sect or the movement. It seems that all Arabic-speaking Muslims were looked upon as members of a homogenous collectivity.

Before concluding, a brief note must be made about a very interesting and unique work by John of Erzenka. This is the *Constitution of the Brotherhood of the city of Erzenka*, written in two parts during 1280.

The *Constitution* is the only document concerning Armenian brotherhoods during the Middle Ages. Very little is known about these organizations. This social phenomenon came to the attention of Armenian scholars in the early 1960's. L. Khachikian published the first part of the *Constitution* in 1962 with a general introduction indicating the importance of starting research about the medieval Armenian brotherhoods as distinct from the guilds. Khachikian has no hypotheses about the text itself, or information about the Futuwa and Akh movements in the Islamic world⁴⁴.

The discovery of the sources of the *Views* and the tracing of the deep influence of the *Epistles* on the worldview and works of John of Erzenka brought the issue of the Armenian brotherhoods into the attention of scholars.

The *Constitution* stands in direct line with the *Views* with respect to its relation with the *Epistles*. On the other hand, it has many common points with the traditions of the Futuwa movements in the Abbasid world. The *Constitution* reveals social organizations in medieval Armenia, about which no research has been done so far. John of Erzenka's *Constitution* is a reform program for already existing and active organizations in Erzenka and many cities⁴⁵.

Further research into the history of Armenian medieval cities will definitely expand our knowledge of the various social forces active there; the Brotherhood of Erzenka and its *Constitution* stand as additional indications to the Isma'ili factor; the Isma'ilis were known to have worked in close association with the guilds.

All data explored in most branches of humanitarian sciences as well as history of science will eventually expand our knowledge of Arab-Armenian relations on all levels. But until serious and collective effort is made to reconstruct the history of these relations, facts, fragments and details like the few samples in this article, have to be recorded as footnotes to an unwritten history of Arab-Armenian relations.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Nerses Meguerdetchian, «The Arabic transitions into Armenian», *Lraper*, No. 2 (1984), pp. 72-82 (in Armenian).
2. These are :
 - Henry Kaprielian. *History of Armenian Philosophy* (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1956-1959). The book is in four volumes and in Armenian.
 - V. G. Chaloyan. *History of Armenian Philosophy — Ancient and Medieval* (Moscow : 1959, a second edition in 1974, both in Russian. A third edition was published in Armenian, Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1975).
3. — فؤاد حسن حافظ. تاريخ الشعب الأرمني منذ البداية حتى اليوم. (القاهرة : ١٩٨٦). ص. ٩٨.
4. Ibid., pp. 98-100.
5. — أديب سيد، إرمينية في التاريخ العربي. (حلب : ١٩٧٢).
6. — مروان المدور. الأرمن عبر التاريخ. (بيروت : دار الحياة، ١٩٨٢).
7. Ibid., pp. 476-477.
8. — أ. سيد، إرمينية... ص. ٨٨ - ٩٠.
9. — م. المدور، الأرمن... ص. ٤٨٨.
10. Ibid., p. 489.
11. Ibid., 490.
12. Ibid., 492-493.
13. Alexander Khachadurian, «Concerning the decyphering of Arabic inscriptions on tombstones from the 15th and 16th centuries», *Lraper*, No. 12 (1984), pp. 50-67 (in Armenian).
14. Ibid.
15. — ف. ح. حافظ، تاريخ الشعب الأرمني... ص. ١٠٣.
16. Ibid., pp. 103-104.
17. Ibid., p. 104.
18. Hafez mentions two of al-Qāli's works :
 - الأمانى. المقصور والمحدود والمهموز.
 - Of al-Malti's works Hafez mentions,
 - التنبيه والرد على اهل الأهواء والبدع.
 Both references are in
 - حافظ، ص. ١٠٤.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. p. 105.
21. Ibid. p. 104. The verse is No. 123, from
 - : صورة ال عمران «وقد نصركم الله بيدر».
22. — Al-Maqrizi's (d. 1441) testimony is taken from his volume entitled
 - إتعاظ الخفا باخبار الأئمة الخلفاء
 - «إن جنسه أرمني وأنه يحكم في مصر بحكم الملوك
 - وأصلها بعد فسادها وأزال عكس الخليفة المستنصر
 - وأنه كان عفيف النفس، شديد البطش عالى
 - الهمة مظفراً سعيد ابجد سخياً مفضلاً».
 - حافظ، ص. ١٠٥.
- 23.
24. Ibid.
25. — رفيق المهابني، تاريخ الخلافة الأموية والعباسية، (دمشق : دار البيضة العربية للتأليف والترجمة والنشر، ١٩٤٦)، ص. ٤٣٢.

26. W. Ivanow, *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Isma'ilism*, (Leiden : The Isma'ili Society by Successors of E. J. Brill, 1952), p. 16.
27. — حافظ، ص. ١٠٤.
28. See Aram Der Ghevontian, *The New Edition of the Arabic Text of the History of Agathangelos*, (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1968) (in Armenian).
29. See *Healer of Horses and Other Riding Animals*, edited by P. L. Choukasezian, (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1980). The title in Armenian : Բժշկարան ձիոյ եւ առհասարակ գրաստեղծ :
30. See P. L. Choukasezian and A. Der Ghevontian, «The Newly discovered Arabic translation of the *Healer of Horses, Lraper*, No. 11, (Yerevan : 1985), pp. 63-68 (in Armenian).
31. The passage in Armenian : «Ի բազում Իմաստասիրաց ձընայ եւ Ապի Ռեսուֆին եւ ընթացիտայ եւ Այլ Բազում Հնդկաց եւ Պաղտրտայ Իմաստասիրաց» :
32. Choukasezian, p. 63.
33. S. M. Stern, *Studies of Early Isma'ilism*, (Leiden : Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1983), p. 204.
34. The following sources have some information about Abu Hätem :
- W. Ivanow, *Brief History...*, p. 27.
- W. Ivanow, *A Guide to Isma'ili Literature*, (London : The Royal Asiatic Society, 1933), pp. 32-33.
- S. M. Stern, *Studies of early Isma'ilism*, (Leiden : Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1983), pp. 201 and 260-261.
- Majid Fakhry, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 106.
- عبد القادر البغدادي، كتاب الفرق بين الفرق، ص. ٢٦٧.
- نظام الملك، سياست نامه، ص. ١٨٦.
- ابو بكر محمد آين زكريا الرازي، مناظرات فلسفية.
- ابن نديم، الفهرست، ص. ١٨٨/١٣، ١٨٩/٢١.
- ابن حجاز العسقلاني، ليسان الميزان، ج. ١، ص. ١٦٤.
35. W. Ivanow gives brief summaries of the works of Hätem in his *Guide to Isma'ili Literature*, pp. 32-33.
- *Abu Hätem's works are :*
- كتاب الزينة، إعلام النبوة، كتاب الجامع، كتاب الإصلاح.
36. The title of the manuscript in Armenian is Ի Տանկաց Իմաստասիրաց Գրոց Քաղեայ Բանք : — It is preserved by one copy in the Manuscript Library of Yerevan, on pages 91a to 111a of manuscript no. 6670. The first publication is in the *Panper of the Manuscript Library*, Vol. IV (Yerevan : 1958), pp. 297-315 (in Armenian). The copy is made during the 17th century; there is no record of the location.
37. The sources of the *Views* was the subject of a preliminary article which marked the beginning of a long research. The article is : Seta Barsoumian-Dadoyan, «Hovhannes Blooze of Erzenka's «Views from the writings of Islamic philosophers' sources : Rasa'el Ikhwan el-Safa», *Haigazian Armenological Review*, Vol. VI, (Beirut : 1977-1978), pp. 51-70 (in Armenian).
38. Seta Barsoumian-Dadoyan, *John of Erzenka's «Views from the Writings of Islamic Philosophers and Philosophical Treatises in the Light of Islamic Sources*, (Beirut : Technopress, 1991) (in Armenian).
39. — Armenouhi Srabian, *Hovhannes Yerzenkatsi*, (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1958) (in Armenian).
- Kevork K. Krikorian, *The Philosophical Views of Hovhannes Yerzenkatsi*, (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1962) (in Armenian).
- Edward M. Baghdassarian, *Hovhannes Yerzenkatsi and His Ethical Prose*, (Yerevan : HSSH AS, 1977) (in Armenian).
40. *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden : H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, 1961), pp. 180-181.

41. — حسين مروة، النزاعات المادية في الفلسفة العربية الإسلامية، بيروت : دار الفزاري، بيروت، ١٩٧٩، ج ٢، ص. ٣٦٤ - ٣٦٥.
42. — سامي العياش، الاسماعليون - المرحلة القرمطية، (بيروت : دار ابن خلدون، ١٩٨٠، ص. ١١٠.
43. On the subject of «khoja» and «mulla» see W. Ivanow, *Guide to...*, p. 7 and p. 13.
44. Levon Khachikian, «The Constitution of the Brotherhood of the city of Erzenka — 1280», *Panper of the Manuscript Library*, Vol. VI (Yerevan : 1962), pp. 355-367 (in Armenian).
45. See S. B. Dadoyan, *John of Erzenka's...*, pp. 157-166.

ՆԻԻԹԵՐ ՄԻՋՆԱԴԱՐԵԱՆ ՀԱՅ-ԱՐԱԲԱԿԱՆ
ՅԱՐԱԲԵՐՈՒԹԻՒՆՆԵՐՈՒ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՀԱՄԱՐ
(Ամփոփում)

Փրոֆ. Ս. Պ. ՏՍՏՈՅԵԱՆ

Հայ-արաբական փոխարարերու քիմներու ուսումնասիրումը յանախ կեդրոնացած կը մնայ Հայաստանի արաբական գրաւումին վրայ (640-865) եւ անոր յաջորդող Բագրատունեաց Հարատուութեան ժամանակներուն (865-1045): Մինչդեռ տուեալները կու գան ցոյց տալու թէ այդ փոխարարերու քիմները կը սկսին շա՛տ աւելի կանուխէն՝ Տիգրան Մեծի օրերէն եւ կ'առածգուին մինչեւ ԺԴ. եւ ԺԵ. դարերը, ու չեն մնար պարունակէն ներս զուտ քաղաքականին եւ զինուորականին: Արաբներուն ծանօթ էր Արմինիա կոչուած աշխարհագրական տարածութիւնը, որ այդպէս կը կոչուէր հոն բնակող ժողովուրդին անունով: Այդ մէկը կ'ընդգրկէր Կովկասէն մինչեւ Սուրիա եւ Կիլիկիա եւ Կասպից ծովէն մինչեւ Փոքր Ասիոյ կեդրոնական մասերը տարածուող շրջանները: Ըստ արաբ պատմիչ Հաֆիզի՝ այս հողամասը կը բաժնուէր չորս Հայքերու:

Արաբ այլ պատմիչներ՝ էտիպ Սայյէտը, Մարուան էլ-Մուսաուարը, եւ ուրիշներ իրենց գործերուն մէջ կը խօսին Հայաստանի եւ հայ ժողովուրդի մասին եւ յոյսին կը հանեն ընկերային, տնտեսական, վարչական, կրօնական, իմացական եւ մշակութային փոխարարերու քիմները երկու ժողովուրդներուն: Ըստ անոնց՝ կար ժամանակ մը երբ Հայաստանի սահմաններէն ներս կային հաստատուած բազմաթիւ արաբական ցեղեր եւ ցեղախումբեր, որոնցմէ ոմանք հաստատեցին նոյնիսկ արեւակցական կապեր ընկ կայ տարրին հետ: Աւելին՝ անհատ հայեր եւ ընտանիքներ անցան ծառայութեանը արաբ իշխանաւորներու եւ ընդունեցին կրօնը եկուորներուն, եւ զտնտեսական ուրիշներ, որոնց ծառայութիւնն անցաւ զինուորականէն անդին եւ վարչականէն, եւ ընդգրկեց մշակութային, իմացական, օրէնսգիտական, լեզուագիտական, նարտարապետական եւ արուեստի արտայայտութեան զանազան բնագաւառներ: Փրոֆեսոր Տատոյեան յակնէ անուանէ կը յիշէ Ճըրնի Իպն Քաուզարը, Վարդանը, Նահիէ էլ-էրմենին, որ մեծ դեր խաղաց Բագրատունեաց Քաղաւորութեան հիմնումին մէջ, անոր զաւակը՝ Ալի Հիւսէին Իպն Նահիէ էլ-էրմենին, անոր բոռը՝ Մուհամմետ Ալի Իպն Նահիէ էլ-էրմենին, Ապուլ-Հասան էլ-Մալթին, Նկարիչ էլ-Ուասիթը, Պետր էլ-Ճեմելին, Ապու Ալի էլ-Գալին, եւ բազմաթիւ այլ էլ-Ճեմելիներ, եւ տակաւին կարգ մը հայ բազուիիներ եւ արձայամայրեր պապասեան թէ ֆաթիմեան գահերուն վրայ: Աւելին՝ յողուածագիրը քննութեան կ'անցընէ առնչութիւնները Անանիա Շիրակացիի եւ էլ-Գուսթա Իպն Լուգայի, Իպն

էլ-Մուգաֆֆայի *Գալիլա ուա Տոււնէ* եւ վարդան Այգեկցիի *Աղուեսագիր-*
քին առնչութիւնները, Ագաթանգեղոսի *Պատմութեան* արաբերէն բարգմա-
նութեան հարցը, եւ արաբական *Քիթէպ էլ-Պալլի* եւ հայկական *Բժշկարան*
Զիոյ եւ Առհասարակ Գրաստնայ գործերուն կապերը, եւ հուսկ ուրեմն կը
խօսի իսմայիլեան իխուան էլ-Սաֆա շարժումի գաղափարախօսութեան եւ
Յովհաննէս Պլուզ Երզնկացիի *Ի Տանկաց Իմաստասիրաց Գրոց Քաղեալ*
Բանքի գիտական, իմաստասիրական, բարոյական, լեզուական, մետաղա-
գիտական, տիեզերագիտական եւ այլ ձեւի առնչութիւններուն, եւ
վերջապէս՝ Երզնկայի *Եզրարց Միութեան Կանոնադրութեան* մասին, ու
կ'եզրակացնէ թէ «մարդկայնական գիտութիւններու, ինչպէս նաեւ գիտու-
թեան պատմութեան մէջ կատարուած հետազոտութիւններ՝ ի վերջոյ, ամէն
մակարդակի վրայ պիտի ընդարձակեն մեր ծանօթութիւնը հայ-արաբական
ծանօթութիւններու մասին: Սակայն մինչեւ որ լուրջ եւ հաւաքական ճիգ
մը կատարուի վերակազմելու համար պատմութեան այս յարաբերութիւննե-
րուն մութ մնացած ծալքերը՝ անհրաժեշտ է որ իրականութիւններ, մաս-
նիկներ եւ մանրամասնութիւններ՝ ինչպիսին են տրուածներն այս յօդուա-
ծին մէջ՝ արձանագրուին որպէս էչատակի ծանօթութիւն տակաւին չգրուած
պատմութեան համար հայ-արաբական յարաբերութիւններուն»: