

BAD DAY AT BURZĒN MIHR: NOTES ON AN ARMENIAN LEGEND OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

As is well known, the Armenian Church has for many centuries claimed apostolic (*arak'elakan*) foundations: after the foundation legend of the Parthian Arsacid nobleman St. Gregory the Illuminator, first Thaddeus, and then Bartholomew succeeding him, came to be claimed as the real founders of the Church. The Illuminator is made to re-visit the scenes of their original missions during his own itinerary to destroy the shrines of Armenian non-Christian worship. The Greek ecclesiastical historians Eusebius and Socrates write that India was the scene of the apostolate of St. Bartholomew; Step'anos of Siwnik', who died in A.D. 712, is the first, as it seems, to claim that Bartholomew visited Armenia as well; he connects this mission to the already existing legend that St. Thaddeus had visited the country.¹ The text *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, a Greek translation of ca. 700 from an Armenian original, claims that Bartholomew *aperkhomenos eis Parthian ebaptisen en tōi Euphratēi potamōi ton anepsion tou basileōs Persōn*, «departed [India] into Parthia and baptised in the river Euphrates the nephew of the king of the Persians», at a place called Kalē Arkhē, probably Karin (modern Erzurum, in *Barjr Hayk'*, Upper Armenia).² This narrative evidently includes Armenia in Parthia, or at least in the so-called "légende Parthe" of the apostle; the legend is found in Latin, Greek, and Armenian versions of the life of Bartholomew.

1. M. VAN ESBROECK, «Chronique Arménienne», *Analecta Bollandiana* 80, 1962, 426.

2. M. VAN ESBROECK, «La naissance du culte de S. Barthélémy en Arménie», *REArm* N.S. 17, 1983, 174.

Within Armenia, it was further claimed that Bartholomew founded the Monastery of All Souls, Hogeac' Vank': the Letter of Movsēs Xorenac'i to Sahak Arcruni, an apocryphal document of the ninth or eleventh century, was designed to confer apostolic legitimacy upon the monastery.³ Hogeac' Vank', or, as Lynch spells it according to Modern Armenian pronunciation and usage, Hogotz Vank, stands on the bank of the Mircem çay a few miles west of Kesrik, a town on the road leading directly south from Van. To the east of Kesrik, on the Kesrik su, is the fortress whose name Lynch on his map spells as Kangeva. In the vicinity of the monastery was Darbnac' K'ar, the Stone of the Smiths, the site of the heathen shrine St. Bartholomew destroyed. Hogeac' Vank' contained a famous sacred image of the Blessed Virgin Mary and was an important place of pilgrimage; the nearby fortress of Kanguar was in the days of the Arcrunid dynasty in Vaspurakan the chief stronghold of the district of Anjewac'ik.⁴ (Its name is variously attested as Kangeva, Kangever, Kanguar, and Kinkivar, in Armenian; Mas'ūdī apparently refers to it as ALKNKWR, the settlement of ALMAJRAN in Azarbaijan.⁵) East of this area, in the contiguous district of Aḡbak, on the shore of the Great Zab, is the Armenian Monastery of St. Bartholomew, a building of the thirteenth century.

Bartholomew, as a missionary to the peoples of the East, was of obvious interest to the Armenians in their search for a suitable apostolic founder of their Church; they were only keeping up in the kind of rivalry in which the older Christian communities had engaged in the third century, with Rome claiming Peter and Paul; Ephesus, John or Luke; etc.⁶ The apostle in Parthia would also have confronted the Zoroastrian religion, the faith of Armenian Arsacid kings themselves before the Conversion, and, later, the militant creed of the Sasanian Persians, who on several oc-

3. VAN ESBROECK, «Chronique,» 428; R. W. THOMSON, tr., THOMAS ARTSRUNI, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, Detroit, MI: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1985, [213], [234], [235].
4. T. ARTSRUNI, *loc. cit.*
5. N. ADONTZ/N.G. Garsoġan, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, Louvain, 1970, 175, 248, 437 n. 34, *205; H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, repr. Amsterdam, 1969, 342-3; J. MARQUART, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin, 1901, 24
6. See E.J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, Chicago, 1966, 27.

casions attempted to force the Armenians to abjure Christianity and to return to the Mazdean fold. In the fifth century, the forces of St. Vardan Mamikonean looked to the Book of Maccabees as an example of courage and a consolation in their unequal resistance to the latter-day Antiochus, Yazdegerd II. The mission of Bartholomew offered episodes which if anything corresponded even more directly to Armenian experience, and thus invited adoption. The spurious Letter of Xorenac'i does not record any encounter between the apostle and the Persians, but a later Armenian Life of Bartholomew does so.

The *Vkayabanut'iwn srboy arak'eloyñ Bardotomēosi* «Martyrology of the holy apostle Bartholomew»⁷ has the apostle first at Edem near the borders of India. The people of the place worship demons who inhabit a well, creating terrifying apparitions of churning water and making thunderous noises. Bartholomew banishes the demons and seals the well, as a result of which the people become thirsty, and in their anger they pick up stones to throw at the apostle (*ew areal virgs i jeñ kamēin arkanel i veray arak'eloyñ*).⁸ But he binds them, and then creates a placid and sweet pool and baptizes them. He departs, and travels west to Assyria, where he raises the dead boy Andronicus. This episode is generally known in the versions of his life. The city, Bustr, has «seven shrines», (*eōt'n bagink'*, like pagan Armenia), with «idols hammered and carved in the likeness of man, in the shape of Ares and on the scale of Aramazd' (*kuṛk' kṛealk' ew k'andakealk' i nmanut'iwn mardoy, i jew Aresi ew i č'ap' Aramazday*). The description of the statues is alliterative, recalling the pre-Christian epic fragment preserved by Xorenac'i on the erection of the palace of Eruand (Movsēs Xorenac'i II.65: ... *kṛel kop'el zdurñn Eruanday ark'ayi*), and the mixture of Greek and Parthian names also recalls the style of Xorenac'i: Ares corresponds to either Mihr or Vahagn (Miθra, Vərəθraγna), both of whom have characteristic and well-documented iconography, whilst Aramazd (Ahura Mazdā), conversely, is used to translate Zeus, whose statue would have been larger than those of the other Hellenic gods. Bartholomew destroys the statues, to the understandable consternation of the locals, and departs for the lands of the Parthians, Medes, and Elymaeans- the same order as the men of the nations

7. Text in *Vark' ew vkayabanut'iwnk' srboc'*, I, Venice, 1874, 200-211.

8. *Ibid.*, 202.

at Pentecost in Acts 2.9. Nothing untoward happens here; quite to the contrary, «many of the Parthians turned to the Lord» (*bazumk' i Part'ewac'n darjan i Tēr*) and he «illuminated many there» (*lusaworeal and bazums*).⁹ Then, though, «he went to the regions of the Persians and the Magi, and began to preach to them his customary teaching, the Gospel according to Matthew, and whatever proofs there were concerning the Magi he laid before them. He reached the place of worship of their fire-temple, which they worshipped according to the laws of Magianism, and raising his hands to the east against the Sun, which they worshipped, he forbade it and caused the power of its rays to fail until the sixth hour of the day. And a sign from heaven - a column of fire - stood in the midst of the fire-temple to rebuke with terrors and great marvel their erroneous ways, rather than that they should worship Helios, and *Sep'ay*, and Ares and *Prenay*. But even though so many great marvels and wonderful signs were shown from on high, he did not terrify them into turning away from their worship of the elements, in which they were mistaken in supercilious pride by their false mythology. But only eight, whom he took, did he enlighten, removing them from the midst of that ruined and barbarous nation.»¹⁰ He proceeds to Goł't'n in Armenia, a region in the southeast of the country associated also with the mission of St. Thaddeus (just as fictitiously). Goł't'n is the source of the heathen songs quoted by Xorenac'i; St. Mesrop in the fifth century found that many pre-Christian practices survived with tenacity there. Bartholomew is seized and tortured by the Armenian king, Sanatruk. Then he is cast out of the city. Dying of his wounds, he prays that God send the country (Armenia) a pastor (Arm. *hoviw*). The tomb of the saint is said to be in Korbanopolis, or in Ourbanopolis «of Greater Armenia» (*iēs Megalēs Armenias*), or simply *en Albanōi*; St. Maroutha, fifth century «discovered» the apostle's remains at a place called Obianos, in Barm. Various explanations have been proposed for these puzzling names; perhaps the place is Areban/Arabion, the castle of Mānī in the *Acta Archelai*.¹¹ Sanatruk's daughter, named, plausibly, Sanduxt, is said to have become a Christian, for which she suffered martyrdom, and Xorenac'i reports that her relics and those of

9. *Ibid.*, 207, 208.

10. *Ibid.*, 208.

11. See VAN ESBROECK, «Chronique», 426-8.

St. Thaddeus were taken to a «rocky place» — Arm. *arapar* — at Vaḫaršapat (modern Echmiadzin) (Movsēs Xorenac'i II.34). Perhaps the Armenian word is a rationalization of a name like Areban or Obianos, but this is mere speculation.

The version of the life of Bartholomew discussed above appears to bear the stamp of Armenian anti-Sasanian propaganda: it is the Persians who are associated with the Magi and «Magianism» (*mogut'iwn*). It is they who remain recalcitrant and hostile, yielding only eight converts to the Christian faith, whilst the Parthians accept Christianity *en masse*. The mention of Sun-worship is commonplace, and seems to have been, with fire-worship (Arm. *krakaran*), the most conspicuous feature of Zoroastrianism for Armenians; the small community of Armenian Zoroastrians who survived to recent times were called *Arewardik'* «Children of the Sun»¹². The worship of the elements (*erkrpagut'iwn tarerc'n*) corresponds to the term *tarrapaštut'iwn* «idem» used of Mazdeans elsewhere in the old Armenian sources: Zoroastrians offer reverence to the seven chief material creations of Ahura Mazdā, and to the seven Aməša Spəntas - divine Bounteous Immortals - who preside over them. Of the Persian gods, Helios and Ares, are obvious: *Sep'ay* and *Prenay* are both genitives of unknown names. *Prenay* may be *Farnah* «Divine Glory» or the like; less likely is Gk. *phrēn* «mind», to translate *Mazdā* «Wisdom». *Sep'ay* could be *Sophia*, badly mangled, but Persian *səpāh* «army» is also a faint possibility, referring to the heavenly host of the Fravašis, the mighty spirits of the righteous departed (cf. Av. *hamaspaθmaēdaya*-.). Speculation seems fruitless here.

There is another account of Bartholomew's mission, in the so-called «History of the Hrip'simean Virgins» which seems to derive from local Vaspurakan tradition and to celebrate St. Bartholomew's mission in Anjewac'ik', where he visited the Rock of the Smiths: «Many demons (*dewk'*) lived in that rock, and they deceived the people of the place, giving (them) in that place potions of sickness (*deṣ axtakans*) . . . they made the sounds of smiths striking anvils, with terrible wonders and terrors (*ahawor hrašiwk' ew zarhuranōk'*). The people of the country were accustomed to them and lingered at the cave [*k'arayrin*; another reading is *k'urayin* «at the crucible», i.e., where potions were prepared for

12. See J. R. RUSSELL, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard Univ. Press, Harvard Iranian Series, Ch. 16 (in press).

them]. . . the place was named *Darbnac' K'ar*. The holy apostle arrived and expelled the smiths, the collaborators of the evil one, and shattered the idol, which was named as Anahit (*zkuṛsn p'šreac' or yanun Anahtay ēr*).¹³ The same narrative explains that the potions were love potions like the ones made by Cyprian to make Justine fornicate with him.¹⁴ Cyprian as a Christian convert is the hero of the popular *historiola* of Kiprianos read by Armenians to this day to protect themselves against sorcery.¹⁵ The wonders and terrors recall the sound effects at the well of Edem, or Bartholomew's own efforts at the fire-temple of the Persians. The text seems to be based loosely on the style of the Martyrology already discussed, though it seems likely that there was a shrine of the Lady Anahit at the place; her association with matters of love and procreation was traditional.¹⁶ The mention of Cyprian seems to confirm that the text is late, and heavily influenced by folk religion and tradition.

The tradition of Bartholomew at the Rock of the Smiths survived locally; it is retold at length in a late mediaeval panegyric, the *Nerboṭean vipas(an)akan i p'oxumn Astuacacin Kusin ew yaṭags patkerin srboy, or bereal hanguc'aw (t)esč'ut'eamb Hogoyñ i sahmans Anjewac'eac', i teṭin koč'ec'eal Hogoc' Vank'* «Epic Encomium on the Assumption of the Virgin Mother of God and on the holy picture which by the supervision of the (Holy) Spirit was brought and enshrined within the borders of Anjewac'ik', at the place called Hogoc' Vank',» of the priest-scholar Nersēs Mokač'i (b. ca. 1575, d. 1625). Born at Asknjavs, Mokk' (the district on the western side of Anjewac'ik'), Nersēs was connected with the Amrdolu Monastery of Baṭēš (Bitlis), the Mec Anapat (Great Wilderness) of Siwnik', and the monastic community of Lim Island in Lake Van. Mokac'i wrote the first hundred stanzas in 1609, and the last three hundred are attributed to Step'anos Šataxec'i, his

13. Cited in Fr. Ł. Ališan, *Hin hawatk' kam het'anosakan krōnk' Hayoc'*, Venice, 1910, 42.

14. *Ibid.*, 434.

15. See, for example, *Girk' atōt'ic' or koč'i Kiprianos* «The book of prayer which is called Cyprian», subtitled *Vasn amenayn azg pataharac' ork' gan i veray mardoy* «For all kinds of misfortunes which come upon a man». Eleventh edition, Jerusalem: Armenian Convent of St. James', 1966.

16. See RUSSELL, *Zor. Arm.*, Ch. 7.

pupil and a native of the same area.¹⁷ The poem describes the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin Mary: the apostles visit her bedside and make an image of her on cypress wood. She blesses it so that people in her absence may worship it (*erkrpagin*). It has the power to vanquish deformity and leprosy (*ankerp axtin ew borotin*). Bartholomew does not arrive in time to see the body of the Virgin — she has ascended — but he is given the sacred image, which will ultimately repose in Hogwoc' Vank'. I translate the stanzas in which are described the apostle's journeys to the East and Armenia:¹⁸

Then he greeted his brothers
And turned eastward again,
To go to that diocese (*vičakn*)
Where Sanatruk had killed Thaddeus.

Lifting up the inviolable treasure
He departed for northern Mesopotamia (*miđerkrays*);
Passing through that diocese
He went again to the place of the Magi (*mogastans*),

To the city of Khorasan (*Minč' i k'ałak'n Xorasan*),
The throne of their kingdom (*At'oř noc'a ark'ayut'ean*),
Where he extinguished the fire-altar (*Ur ew šijoyc' zkrakarann*)
And established light in place of fire.

And he set up, against the Sun,
The Giver of light to the souls of men,
And for three hours he darkened
This created source of light.

But he caused not to grow with holy seed
That rock which bears no fruit,
Save eight who were chosen
And were baptized by him.

With them he turned away
And turned once again towards Armenia,
Entering the province of Gołt' (*sic!*)
And converting many to the Lord.

17. Text ed. by A. DOLUXANYAN, *Nerses Mokac'i, Banastełcut'yunner*, in the series *Hay k'narergut'yan matenašar*, Erevan, 1985, 77-143.

18. Text, *Mokac'i*, 118 f.

He established the unsullied faith there,
Made their men the leaders,
And, taking some of the women,
He came to the land of Anjewac'ik'

Because of the renown of one rock
Where the fox had grown strong in its lair
And dwelt with the Lady Anahit (*and Anahtay bnakēr tiknoj*),
The man-killing, the anvil-roaring (*mardaxošoš, křanakoč'*).

For a bolt of lightning had fallen,
Striken the Rock of the Smiths,
Blending into talismanic beads (*yurūt' uluns makardac'eal*)
The drug it made, mixed with malady (*axtiw*).

The historical teaching
Instructs us all,
As well as the holy man Cyprian,
Of the machinations of the dragon (*ew zvišapin hin mek'enayn*).

For the ancient dragon nested there,
Roaring with the anvil in one voice,
Casting fear by the thunderous blow,
Ever holding them back from reason,

Whilst the men of the place, as though insane,
Flocked and lingered there,
Taking the foul-streaming potions
And calling the place the Rock of the Smith (*darbnak'ar*).

The apostle arrived at this spot
And swiftly stopped the deed
Of the roar of strokes in the smithy
Which had assisted the preparation.

And he smashed the mother of the gods (*zdic'amayrn*)
And broke the demons' tyranny,
And chased them from the cavern,
And made it a sanctified place.

But the wicked forces banded
On the high mountain to the north,
Rolling stones (*virgs*) off the cliffs,
And shouting as they did so.

Bartholomew saw this,
Ascended the steep mountain,
Anointed a small cross there,
And took out the titans with one stone (*k'ariw mi
zk'aĵk'n artahanē*).

Later St. Gregory took it
And kept it with him, as a monument (*arjann*),
Until he diademmed the face
Of the dying king Tiridates.

He put up a sign [*nšan*, i.e., a cross]
At the foot of that mountain,
A straight heap of stones piled by hand
Soaring as a great monument.

That place is closed in sharply by mountains,
Surrounded by cliffs that gaze upon heaven,
And nestled in the midst is a level floor,
Stream-cloven as if by a gulf.

For the mighty volume of the Tigris,
Fourth flood of Eden,
Runs ever angry, ever boldly,
Full swift through the valley's cup,

Near the great fortress of Kanguar,
Which they called Crows' Rock (*agrawuc' k'ar*).
From there the mountain waters flowed,
Swelling to rivers in the spring.

It flows down from the rock (*aṛaparin*),
Passing the temple foundation (*anc'eal ənd himn tačarin*),
Flowing round the royal tomb (*ənd ark'ayin širmov parin*),
Then gathers in a single stream.

Bartholomew then appoints a deaconess, Ōrmzda(da)y, and goes
to Urbanis, which Mokac'i locates in Aġbak.

There are many ways in which this poem is evidently dependent upon the older Martyrology. The miracle in the fire-temple is the same, and the same number of converts depart with the apostle. The same word, *virg*, is used for the hand-held stones

thrown at the apostle. The second history cited contributes the information about the Rock of the Smiths itself, the comparison to Cyprian, and the potions. The river of Eden recalls Edem (which is Eden in Armenian), the place near India. Nersēs has also embellished his narrative with details drawn from Agathangelos; he correctly calls Anahit «the Lady» (Arm. *tin*, Mlr. *bānūg*). The potions are compared to the talismanic beads of Šamiram described by Movsēs Xorenac'i, I.18, and the demons from Darbnac' K'ar, probably because they dwell in mountain caves, are called *k'ajk'*, after the mythical beings described by Xorenac'i and others, who live in such places.¹⁹ The word *aṭapar*, mentioned earlier, also finds its way into the text.

The epithet *Dic'amayr* «Mother of the Gods» is not found in the old Armenian texts, but it suits Anahit well and may be ancient. It is most obviously parallel to the epithet *Tiramayr* «Mother of the Lord» of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose image came to rest in the Christian shrine built on the site of the ruined temple (*tačar*) of the goddess. Agathangelos calls Anahit *Oskemayr* «Golden Mother» and *mayr amenayn zgastut'eanc'* «mother of all chastities»; and it is to be recalled that she was the recipient in Anatolia of worship that had more anciently been offered to the Mother Goddess. One thinks, therefore, that *Dic'amayr* is not an invention of Nersēs, but an epithet not recalled in other texts yet genuine.

It is still more striking that Nersēs does not identify the Zoroastrians as Persians; such an identification would be anachronistic for the time of Bartholomew. He locates the *mogastan* at «the city of Khorasan», which can only be Nishāpūr, so it is at a fire-temple near there that Bartholomew presumably extinguished the sacred flame and blotted out the light of the Sun. In the Arsacid period, the most important fire-temple in Iran was, undoubtedly, Ādur Burzēn Mihr at Rēvand near Nishāpūr. Łazar P'arpec'i, fifth century, records the martyrdom of a number of Armenian Christian leaders, including the Catholicos Yovsēp' and *Łewond erēc'*, *yApar ašxarhi, nerj i geawt'n moguc'*, or *anuanēal koč'i Rewan* «in Abaršahr, near the village of the Magi, wich is called by name Rewan» (Ch. 87); Elišē calls Abaršahr, which is

19. On these beings, see RUSSELL, *Zor. Arm.*, Oh. 14, and «Some Iranian Images of Kingship in the Armenian Artaxiad Epic», *REArm* (forthcoming).

Khorasan, also Niwšapuh, i.e., Nīshāpūr, after its provincial capital. In Agathangelos, Tiridates claims he knows well *ew zmer Part'ewac' kotmansn, vasn zi bnut'iwn isk ē mer* «also our regions of Parthia, for it is our native land» (para. 203). Since the administrative center of the Parthian Empire was by then at Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia, Tiridates probably had gone to Parthia on pilgrimage to the sacred fire; it is possible that in the Armenian Arsacid period the name Erewan was believed to be identical with Rewan, so great was the prestige of Ādur Burzēn Mihr.²⁰

Bartholomew in Mokac'i's poem brings his darkness at noon not to a Persian fire-temple, but to the greatest Parthian one. Possibly he had read P'arpec'i and his mention of Khorasan is a learned interpolation explaining exactly where the *mogastan* was: it was the same as the «village of the Magi». But if Bartholomew, in the light of P'arpec'i's passage, is exacting vengeance from the Mazdeans before the fact, as it were, for the death of the martyrs of the cause of Vardan, then we should expect the Persians to be mentioned; Mokac'i knew of them from the Martyrology and therefore seems intentionally to have excluded them, as though he were, for all his inventiveness, adhering to elements of an older and preferable tradition attaching to the apostle in Anjewac'ik'. That tradition appears to go back to the Parthian period; it may be recalled that the legend of the Magi itself was conceived when they were the priests of Parthian, not Sasanian, Iran. E. Herzfeld suggested that the chapel of St. Thomas the Magi built, according to legend, on the Mons Victoralis after their return from Bethlehem, would have been at Kūh-i Khwāja in Sīstān, where there are impressive ruins of a fire-temple of the Parthian period.²¹ Sīstān, though south of Abaršahr, is still Eastern Iran, and the famed fire-temple of Karkōy there was in later centuries confused by Zoroastrians with the other great sacred fire of eastern Iran, Burzēn Mihr.²²

It is seen that eastern Iranian shrines of Parthian Zoroastrianism may conceivably have been remembered in early Christian legendry outside Armenia. It is all the more likely that Armenia, itself an Arsacid land, retained a vivid recollection of the time when the sacred places of Parthia, not Persia, were the focus

20. See RUSSELL, «Armeno-Iranica», *Acta Iranica* 25, Leiden. 1985.

21. E. HERZFELD, *Archaeological History of Iran*, London, 1935, 61.

22. See M. BOYCE, art. «Ādur Burzēn Mihr» *Encyclopædia Iranica*.

of Zoroastrian devotion— and the target of apostolic zeal. Another connection of the cult at Darbnac' K'ar with the Zoroastrianism of Parthian times appears to have gone unnoticed heretofore. The important fortress near the shrine dedicated to Anahit, one recalls, is Kanguar. In one MS. of Mokac'i is found the form Kangnawor, lit. «standing», evidently a folk etymology to be rejected.²³ The princes of Anjewac'ik', with their chief castle at Kanguar (pronounced /Kangəvár/), were «possibly a branch of the ancient Medo-Carduchian Princes of Mahkert»,²⁴ and their fortress was probably named after Kangāvar in Media. The important halting-point on the road from Mesopotamia to Hamadān is called Concobas in the Tabula Peutingeriana, 12.2; Isidore of Charax calls it Concobar, and reports that a temple of Artemis (i.e., Anāhitā) stood there. The name in mediaeval sources is variously spelt as Kankawar, Kankiwar, Kinkiwr, or Kinkawr.²⁵ The «strangely mixed architectural forms—Doric capitals with Corinthian abacus»²⁶ of the ruins of the temple belong to the building style of the Seleucid period, i.e., ca. 200 B.C., but it has been suggested that a shrine to Anāhitā at the site could have been built as early as the mid-Achaemenian period, by Artaxerxes II.²⁷ Probably the castle near the Armenian shrine of Anahit was named after the famous temple of the same goddess in nearby Media, which may even have been the home of the princes

23. Pace Fr. MIK'AYĒL YOVHANNĒSEAN, *Hayastani berderə*, Venice 1970, 299; cf. Fr. L. ALISAN, *Hayapatum*, I, Venice, 1901, 104
24. C. TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Washington, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press, 1963, 196.
25. P. SCHWARZ, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim, 1969, IV, 494; K. SCHIPPMANN, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*, Berlin, 1971, 298 f.
26. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 50; illustration in *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 3, Part 2, pl. 56.
27. M. BOYCE, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Customs*, 1979, 89. The toponym Kangāvar seems to contain the element *kang «fortified building», cf. NP. *kank* «temple», *kungur* «battlement, pinnacle», *kungura* «parapet, acroterium», and Av. *kayha-* (Yt. 5.54), Mlr. *Kang(diz)* «(fortress of) Kang» K. being the name of a country where is located the impregnable fortress built by Siyāvūš and inhabited by Pešōtan and other immortal heroes of the Zoroastrian faith. The country may be named after the fortress. The Median and Armenian fortresses may be named after Kang. The latter was probably equated with the City of Bronze in Armenian lore, see Russell, «The Tale of the Bronze City in Armenian», in T. Samuelian and M. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, 6), Scholars Press, 1984, 250-61.

of Anjewac'ik'. The inhabitants of the place could, accordingly, be expected to maintain traditions of pre-Sasanian Zoroastrian Iran, and these are reflected in the treatment of the legend of the apostle Bartholomew in the History of the Hrip'simean Virgins and in the Encomium of Nersēs Mokac'i: Bartholomew puts out the Parthian fire of Burzēn Mihr and destroys a temple of Anahit at the Armenian Kangavar. And, like a military commander of ancient Armenia, he leaves a heap of stones deposited by hand — one by one — as a monument (*arjan*) to his victories.²⁸

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28. Cf. MOVSES XORENAC'I, II.12; P'AWSTOS BUZAND, III.7; ZENOB GLAK calls the high priest of Innaknean, who also fights the Christians in the manner of the demons at Darbnac' K'ar, by the name Arjan (see *Zor. Arm.*, Ch. 6).

ԱՄՓՈՓՈՒՄ

ՆՕԹԵՐ Ս. ԲԱՐԹՈՒԴԻՄԷՈՍԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ
ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԱՒԱՆԴՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՄԸ ՄԷՋ

ՋԵՅՄՋ ՌԱՍՍԵԼ

Հին առանդաթիւններու համաձայն, Հայաստանեայց ուղղափառ եկեղեցին առաքելական հիմքի վրայ հաստատուեցաւ: Ըստ ձերեւոյթին, Ս. Թադէոսի տւղեւորութեան առանդաթիւնը նախկինն Կ, իսկ Ս. Բարթոլոմէոսի ուղեւորութեան պատմութիւնը՝ առաջինին որոշ մանրամասնութիւնները վը պարունակէ: Երկրորդ պատմութիւնը, թէեւ Սասանեան հարստութեան անկումէն վերջ չարադրուած ըլլալու Կ, սակայն Պարթեւական իրանի Բ. Հայաստանի կենցաղի ու նախաքրիստոնէական կրօնի հետաքրքիր փաստերը կ'ընձեռէ, որոշ տարբերակներու մէջ, մանաւանդ Ներսէս Մոկացիի մօտ, որու համաձայն Ս. Բարթոլոմէոս իբր թէ Ջրադաշտականներուն մեծ ատրուշան մը քանդած ըլլայ, հաւանաբար Պարթեւաց Աղուր Բուրգէն միւրը, իրրասան երկրին մէջ: Ատրուշանի վորժանութիւն ի հարկէ առաւ պելլորանական վերամշակում մըն Կ, լայց և. աշխարհ ժամանակի իրական աշխարհահայեացքը վը ցոլացնէ, ուստի հին աղբիւրէ մը կրնայ բոխած ըլլալ: