

THE TERM "AĀNŠAHİK" IN AN ARMENIAN SOURCE «ԱՌԱՆՇԱՀԻԿ» ԵԶՐՈՒՅԹԸ ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ԱՐՔՅՈՒՐՈՒՄ ТЕРМИН «АРАНШАХИК» В АРМЯНСКОМ ИСТОЧНИКЕ

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Abstract – The Armenian sources, with the exception of Movses Dasxurants'i, don't mention any "AĀnshahik" noble dynasty. The basis for such an assumption by the Movses Dasxurants'i may perhaps be the following report by Movses Khorenats'i: "After this, he (king Vagharshak – H.K.) appoints as governor of the northeastern regions a great and renowned man of many talents and wisdom, AĀn, by the great river that flows through the vast plain, known as the Kur. From his descendants, they say, arose the rulers of the Utians, Gardmanians, Tsavdeans, and Gargarans". It is important to consider that by the time of Movses Khorenats'i (410 – late 5th century), the province of Arrān had already been established, incorporating the Armenian provinces of Utik and Artsakh. The historian, who was the first to explore the origins of Armenian noble houses, crafted the legend of AĀn to illustrate that these two regions, along with their noble families, were Armenian. However, Khorenats'i could not overlook the administrative and political divisions of his own time. During his era, Utik and Artsakh were integral parts of the marzpanate of Arrān. Furthermore, the administrative center of the marzpanate (late 5th – early 6th centuries) had shifted to the city of Partaw, located in the district of Uti AĀndznak. Since the name "Arrān" was also applied to these Armenian provinces, the supposed ancestor of the local noble families was identified as AĀn of the Sisakyan lineage. This information likely served as the basis for Dasxurants'i to assert that the ruling dynasty of the Kur-Araxes interfluvium was of Armenian AĀnšahik descent. However, a close examination of the sources reveals that the territories of the supposed "AĀnshahik" nobles actually belonged to the principality of Gardman. The rulers of Gardman, being a powerful noble family of the Armenian part of Arrān, perhaps after Vachagan III the Pious, became worthy of the title "Lord of Arrān" known as AĀnšahik at that time. In this context, it

becomes clear why the so-called "Aranšahiks" ruled specifically in Gardman, despite the existence of the Gardman princely dynasty. It is no coincidence that the Mihranids came precisely to the Gardman region-presumably overthrowing the local "Aranšahik" noble dynasty, and thus established their dominance over Arrān/Albania. In other words, a struggle for power took place, as a result of which the Aranšahik title and control over Gardman passed to the Mihranid dynasty.

Ամփոփում – Հայկական աղբյուրները, բացառությամբ Մովսես Դասխուրանցու, չեն հիշատակում որևէ «Առանշահիկ» ազնվական կամ նախարարական տոհմ: Պատմիչի՝ նման տեսակետի հիմքը թերևս կարող էր լինել Մովսես Խորենացու հետևյալ հաղորդումը. «Այնուհետև նա (Վաղարշակ արքան – Հ.Խ.) հյուսիս-արևելյան երկրամասերի կառավարիչ է նշանակում մի մեծ և հռչակավոր մարդ՝ բազմաթիվ տաղանդների և իմաստության տեր Առանին, մեծ գետի մոտ, որը հոսում է լայնատարած հարթավայրով և հայտնի է որպես Կուր: Նրա սերունդներից, ասում են, ծագել են ուտիականների, զարդմանացիների, ծավդեացիների և զարգարացիների իշխանները»: Կարևոր է հաշվի առնել, որ Մովսես Խորենացու (410 – V դարի վերջ) ժամանակ Առան նահանգն արդեն ձևավորվել էր՝ ընդգրկելով Ուտիք և Արցախ հայկական նահանգները: Պատմիչը, որն առաջինն է փորձել ներկայացնել հայկական ազնվական տների ծագումը, կազմել է Առանի լեգենդը՝ ցույց տալու համար, որ այս երկու երկրամասերը և նրանց ազնվական տները հայկական են: Սակայն Խորենացին չէր կարող անտեսել իր ժամանակի վարչական և քաղաքական բաժանումները: Նրա ապրած դարաշրջանում Ուտիքը և Արցախը Առան մարզպանության անբաժանելի մասերն էին: Բացի այդ, նահանգի վարչական կենտրոնը (մոտ V դարի վերջ – VI դարի սկիզբ) տեղափոխվել էր Պարտավ քաղաք՝ Ուտի Առանձնակ գավառում: Քանի որ «Առան» անվանումը տարածվում էր նաև այս հայկական նահանգների վրա, տեղական ազնվական տների ենթադրյալ նախահայրը համարվել է Սիսակյան Առանը: Հավանաբար, այս տեղեկությունն է հիմք ծառայել Դասխուրանցու համար՝ պնդելու, որ Կուր-Արաքս գետերի միջև ընկած տարածքի իշխողները հայկական Առանշահիկ տոհմից էին: Սակայն աղբյուրների մանրամասն ուսումնասիրությունը ցույց է տալիս, որ, այսպես կոչված «Առանշահիկ» ազնվականների ենթադրյալ տարածքները փաստացի պատկանել են Գարդմանի իշխանությանը: Գարդմանի իշխանները, լինելով հայկական Առանի/Աղվանքի հզոր ազնվական ընտանիք, հավանաբար, Վաչագան Բարեպաշտի ժամանակներից հետո արժանացել են «Առանի տեր» («Առանշահիկ») կոչմանը: Այս համատեքստում պարզ է դառնում, թե ինչու, այսպես կոչված, «Առանշահիկները» իշխում էին հենց Գարդմանում՝ չնայած Գարդմանի իշխանական տոհմի գոյությանը: Պատահական չէ, որ Միհրանյանները գալիս են հենց Գարդման գավառ՝ ենթադրաբար տապալելով տեղական «Առանշահիկ» ազնվական տոհմին և այդպիսով հաստատում իրենց գերիշխանությունը Առանի/Աղվանքի նկատմամբ: Այլ կերպ ասած՝ տեղի է ունենում իշխանափոխություն, որի շնորհիվ Առանշահիկ տիտղոսը և Գարդմանի նկատմամբ վերահսկողությունն անցել են Միհրանյան տոհմին: Միհրանյաններից հետո այդ տիտղոսը կարճ ժամանակով կրում էին Խաչենի իշխանը (IX դ.) և Գանձակի ամիրը (X դ.):

Аннотация – Армянские источники, за исключением Мовсеса Дасхуранци, не упоминают о какой-либо знатной династии «Араншахики». Основанием для подобного утверждения, возможно, является следующий фрагмент из труда Мовсеса Хоренаци: «После этого он (царь Вагаршак – Г.Х.) назначает правителем северо-восточных областей великого и прославленного мужа, обладающего многими талантами и мудростью, Арана, у великой

реки, протекающей через обширную равнину, известную как Кура. Из его потомков, как говорят, вышли правители утийцев, гардманцев, цавдеев и гаргарцев». Важно учесть, что при Мовсесе Хоренаци (410 – конец V века) уже была сформирована провинция Арран, в состав которой вошли армянские области Утик и Арцах. Историк, который первым исследовал происхождение армянских знатных родов, создал легенду об Аране с целью показать, что эти две области, вместе с их знатными семьями, были армянскими. Однако Хоренаци не мог проигнорировать административное и политическое деление на данном историческом отрезке. В его эпоху Утик и Арцах были неотъемлемой частью провинции Арран. Кроме того, административным центром этой провинции (конец V – начало VI вв.) стал город Партав, расположенный в районе Ути Арандзнак. Так как название «Арран» использовалось применительно и к этим армянским областям, предполагаемого предка местных знатных семей стали называть Араном из рода Сисакянов. Эта информация, вероятно, послужила основой для утверждения Дасхуранци о том, что правящая династия междуречья Куры и Аракса происходила из армянского рода Араншахики. Однако внимательное изучение источников показывает, что территории, приписываемые князьям «Араншахики», на самом деле принадлежали княжеству Гардман. Правители Гардмана, являясь представителями могущественного знатного рода армянского Аррана, возможно, после Вачагана Благочестивого, удостоились титула «Владыка Аррана», который в то время мог называться «Араншахики». В этом контексте становится ясно, почему так называемые «Араншахики» правили именно в Гардмане, несмотря на существование местной гардманской княжеской династии. Не случайно, что именно в Гардмане пришли Михраниды, предположительно, свергнув местную знатную династию «Араншахики» и, таким образом, установив свою власть над Арраном/Албанией. Иными словами, имела место борьба за власть, в результате которой титул Араншахики и контроль над Гардманом перешли к династии Михранидов. После Михранидов этот титул получили князь Хачена (IX в.) и эмир Гандзака (X в.).

Keywords – Aʔanšahik, Arrān, Armenia, Movses Dasxurants'i, Artsakh.

Հիմնաբաներ – Առանշահիկ, Առան, Հայաստան, Մովսես Դասխուրանցի, Արցախ:

Ключевые слова – Араншахики, Арран, Армения, Мовсес Дасхуранци, Арцах.

Introduction

In historiography, the views on the term "Aʔanšahik" are ambiguous. Some researchers considered it a nakharar (princely) dynasty (Toumanoff 1963, 257–258 ref. 362; Ուրտաբյան 1976, 86–87; Դանիելյան 2005, 55; Եղիազարյան 2010, 37; Վարդանյան 2018, 427), the others considered it a title (Minorsky 1958, 11 ref. 2, 13; Гаджиев 2003, 104, 118; Хуршудян 2003, 192; Vacca 2017, 130–133). The latter, although they considered it a title, linked the reasons and content of its emergence to various events. Thus, in this article, we set out to examine the reports of the sources and find out what the term "Aʔanšahik" represented.

Reports about "Aʔanšahik"

The first information about "Aʔanšahiks" is reported by Movses Dasxurants'i (also called Kaʔankatuats'i), in chapter 27 of volume 1 of his book. Narrating the visit

of Mesrop Mashtots' and his disciples to the place called Gis in the Uti district, the historian notes: "A long time afterwards, a noble prince called Varaz-P'eroř of the Ařanřahik family intended to renovate the Old Church..." (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 55). The historian also mentions this Prince in the 32nd chapter of volume 2, by which he confirms that the house of Varaz Perozh, i.e., the dynastic domains, was in a place called Gis in the Uti district (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 137). By the way, Varaz Perozh was the son of the Mihranid Varaz Grigor, the first Prince of Arrān (Ařvank', Albania) (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 109). Then, while telling about the Mihranid dynasty (Pourshariati 2008, 70–75, 101–104; Maksymiuk 2015, 163–179) in chapter 17 of volume 2 of his book, Daskhurantsi reports that "Vardan the Brave, who built the fortress of Gardman in three years, with treachery in his heart, he invited the Eřanřahiks, the ancient native Armenian (Haykazean) family. Preparing for them the bread of perdition, he gave it to them to eat, and at that feast of their own blood he beheaded sixty men. He spared only Zarmihr Eřanřahik, the husband of one of the daughters of his family" (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 108–109). It should be noted, that earlier Dasxurants'i mentioned that "When spring drew nigh, he (the Mihran – H.K.) went to the upper regions of the district of Gardman, and cunningly inviting twelve of its chieftains, put them to the sword, and took possession of the country" (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 108).

From these reports of the historian we can understand: 1. that the term "Ařanřahik" (also Eřanřahik) was used as a clan name; 2. Mihran, the founder of the Mihranid dynasty, killed twelve Princes of the Gardman district and took control of the province. 3. The same was done by his great-grandson Vardan the Brave. Here, the following passage is important: "He spared only Zarmihr Eřanřahik, the husband of one of the daughters of his family", i.e. if the "Ařanřahiks" had really betrothed the Mihranids, then conspiring against them would be pointless. Such actions could only be motivated by dynastic enmity. In addition, once Mihran the Great had already massacred the local princes and taken over Gardman, which should have excluded any in-law relationship with the Mihranids. And if we even assume that they were connected by in-law ties, then they should have lost their position by accepting the supremacy of the Mihranids. One more consideration, if the "Ařanřahiks" were the owners of the native Haykazian Gardman district, then it was impossible that Varaz Perozh, the eldest son of Mihranid Varaz Grigor, was called the prince of the Ařanřahik clan. Thus, it turns out that the Mihranids massacred the Ařanřahiks twice for the clan name.

One consideration relates to Vardan the Brave Gardmanats'i. In the chapter 17 of volume 2, Movsēs Dasxuranči mentions that Vardan the Brave, who built the Gardman fortress in three years, was the son of Mihranid Vard (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 108). And in Chapter 10 of Volume 3, the historian states that the Mihranid Vardan the Brave was the chairman of the Ařven assembly invited by the king Vachagan III Pious, who lived in Gardman (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 197). If we take

as a basis the report of the historian that Mihranids migrated to Utik' during the reign of Khosrov Parvez, then it turns out that we are dealing with two Brave Vardan Gardmanians. However, in reality, we are talking about only one Vardan the Brave Gardmanatsi, so logically, the entry of the Mihranids to the Eastern part of Armenia was earlier. Gardman's owner's honorable position of presiding over the Atven assembly should be explained by the presence of a strong border-principality of Gardman (Յալոյրեաւ 2020, 170–172. In the middle period of the Arshakuni kingdom (3rd–4th centuries), Gardmanians were one of the powerful Armenian clans. In the rank table (Gahnamak) the prince of Gardman was in 23rd place, and in the military rank table the Gardmanians (with the 1000 soldiers) were part of the force of the Gugark' bdeškh. (Յալոյրեաւ 2011, 533, 543). The principality of Gardman with Artsakh province after 451 was included in the Arrān marzpanate, as a result of which the name Arrān-Ahvank' was also extended to the worlds of Utik' and Artsakh).

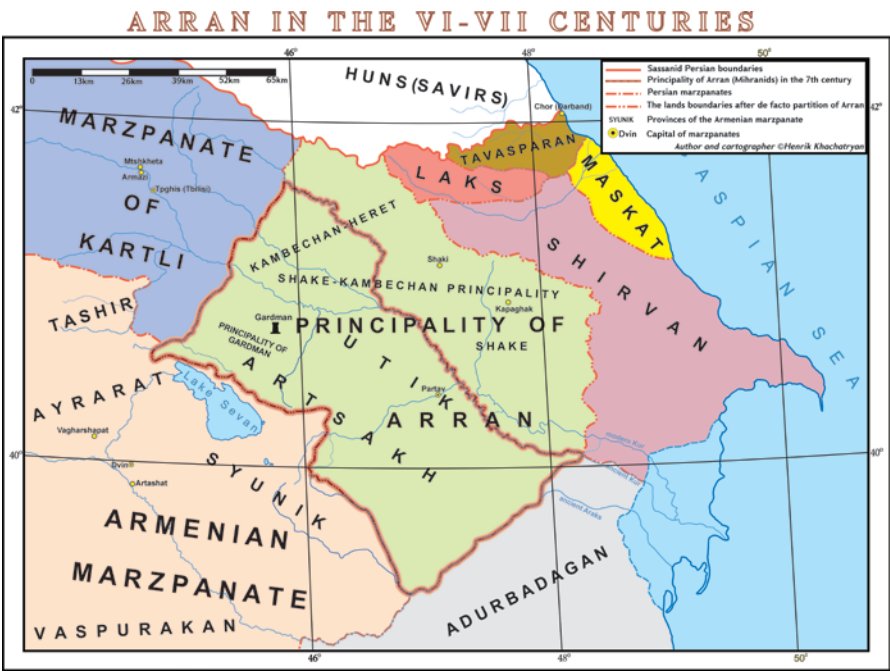
About the next "Ařanřahik" prince, Daskhurants'i reports related to the 8th century with an Arab raid against the Khazars: "The Eřanřahik Vačagan from among the patricians of Albania, a brave and vigorous prince and a skilful archer, was stationed with his army at his rear. The Khazars pursued him, but they were defeated and put to flight" (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 209). As the historian reports, Prince of Arrān Jvanshir II was killed at this time (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 209). Then, the historian calls "Ařanřahik" the Sahl Smbatean (9th century) prince of Khachen: "Lord Sahl i Smbatean Eřanřahik..." (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 214, 217). In this connection, it should be noted that none of Sahl Smbatean's (About Sahl Smbatean see Minorsky 2020, 121–129) successors (Hovhannes, Atrnerseh, Hamam, Grigor, etc.) are called "Ařanřahik" by the historian, by their assumed family name. This suggests that it was a title indicating status: "Lord Sahl i Smbatean captures the rebel Baban ... and he received sovereignty over Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, to rule authoritatively and regally over all", "The Lord of Lords Yovhannēs, who became lord of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania" (Movsēs Dasxuranči 1961, 217). Which apparently was not used after Sahl Smbatean and his direct descendant Hovhannes. Moreover, the 11th–12th century Arabian author from Darband, Mammus al-Laqqi in his "History of Sharvān and Darband", in connection with the wars waged by the Shirvanshahs (شروانشاه), mentions the Prince of Arrān (صاحب آران) and the ruler with the title of Arrānřah (آرانرشاه) (Minorsky 1958, 39 Arabian text 15). The latter were the Shaddadians who settled in Gandzak in 971. The above evidence once again shows that "Ařanřahik" was a title that passed to different rulers in different periods.

It should be noted that Armenian sources, with the exception of Movses Daskhurants'i, don't mention any "Ařanřahik princely dynasty". Perhaps the following report of Movses Khorenats'i could serve as a basis for a similar assumption for the narrator: "After this he (king Vagharshak – H.K.) established in the governorship of the great and renowned and fertile northeastern region Arrān, a

man famous and outstanding in every deed of wisdom and sagacity; [this region] is by the great river called Kur, which cuts the extensive plain. But know this, that in the first book we forgot to mention this illustrious and famous race, the tribe of Sisak, which inherited the plain of Albania and the mountainous region of the same plain from the river Araxes as far as the fortress called Hnarakert. And the country was called Aluank' [Albania] after the gentleness of his mode of life; for they called him *alu*. Descended from him was this famous and valiant Arrān whom the Parthian Valarshak made military governor. From his offspring, they say, descend the families of Uti and Gardman and Tsowdēk and the principalities of Gargar" (Moses Khorenats'i 1978, 139–140).

It should be taken into account that in the days of Movses Khorenats'i (around 410 – end of the 5th century), the Albanian marzpanate was already formed, which included the Armenian provinces of Utik' and Arts'akh. Movses Khorenats'i, who was the first to try to give the circumstances of the creation of Armenian nakharar (princely) houses, in order to show that the above-mentioned two worlds (regions) with their nakharar houses were Armenian, wove the narrative about the Arrān governor. However, on the other hand, Khorenats'i could not but refer to the administrative and political division of his time. At that time, the provinces Utik' and Arts'akh were a constituent part of the Arrān marzpanate, moreover, the center of the marzpanate (late 5th – early 6th centuries) was moved to the town of Partaw in the Uti Arandznak district. And since the name Arrān also extended to the Armenian provinces, Sisakyan Ařan became the presumed ancestor of the local Armenian princely houses. Here, this information may have served as a basis for Movses Daskhurants'i, to consider the ruling dynasty of Kur-Araksyan Mesopotamia as "Haykazun Ařanřahik".

However, a careful examination of the sources shows that the domains of the alleged "Ařanřahik" princes actually refer to the principality of Gardman. The Gardmanians being the powerful ruling dynasty of the Armenian part of Ařan (Utik', Arts'akh), as we will see below, after Vachagan III Pious, the ruler of Arrān-Albania, at that time received the title of Ařanřahik (the proof of this is perhaps 5th–6th centuries the Syrian chronicler Zacharias of Mitylene's account of the conquest of Amid by the Persian king Kavad I (488–496, 498/499–531), in the 5th–6th centuries, where mentioned: "But a certain Christian prince of the country of Arran" (Zachariah of Mitylene 1899, 158). By the way, N. Pigulevskaya translated this part of the source as "*христианский царец из земли Аран*" (Пигулевская 1941, 152). It is interesting that the chronicle about Arrān reports that "Further the country of Arran in the country of Armenia, and it has a prince/king subject to the king of Persia" (Zachariah of Mitylene 1899, 328; Пигулевская 1941, 165). In this case, it becomes clear why the so-called "Ařanřahiks" ruled in Gardman itself, in the event that there was a Gardman family. And it is not a coincidence that the Mihranids come to the same Gardman province, as if to massacre the local "Ařanřahiks" princely clan, with which they captured the Arrān.



In other words, there is a struggle for power and the title of Aṛanšahik goes to the Mihranids along with Gardman (comparative with "a noble prince called Varaz-P'erož of the Aṛanšahik family" (Movsēs Dasxuraṇči 1961, 55), "Lord Viroy, thirty-four years. He liberated the prisoners of Armenia, Georgia, and Albania from Šat' Xazr. He requested King Xosrov to write the title 'Lord of Gardman and prince of Albania' on letters to the governors (kusakal) of this country, and this is still written" (Movsēs Dasxuraṇči 1961, 229). It can be assumed that the titles "Arrānšāh[ik]" and "Prince of Arrān" are identical. The first being a Persian form, it gradually gave way to or was expressed in the Arabic version).

Aṛanšahik is composed of the Middle Persian words Arrān (Ārān), Albania, and shah (šāh), king (Hübschmann 1897, 39), where the *ik* suffix of "Aṛanšahik" is not a derogatory form, meaning a little prince from Aṛan's generation (Мушегян 1989, 23), but ending in the Persian *ik* form, indicates affiliation, for example: Persian (pārsīk), Pahlavi (pahlawīk), Delmīk (dēlumīk), Armenian (*hayīk). The first known Middle Persian attestation of the title Arrānšāh dates to the 5th century, referring to king Arsvaghen/Yesvaghen (415/420–440/450) of Albania himself (Гаджиев 2003, 104, 118–119). In other words, the Middle Persian form Arrānšāh was used for the area geographically called Arrān-Albania (from the maps created by us, it is clear how the meaning and the borders of Arrān changed. About Arrān see Vacca 2020, 37–84; Khalifa-Zadeh Maksymiuk 2023, 167–182). From this it is not difficult to conclude that the royal title granted to Vachagan III Pious by the King of Kings Balash Sasanian (484–488) (in the borders of the former Arrān marzpanate) should also have been expressed in the Persian form Arrānšāh (Հակոբյան 2020, 159–161). Then, in the first half of the 6th century, as a result of the de facto division of the Arrān marzpanate (it should be noted that although the marzpanate of Arrān was actually divided, as evidenced by the Arab chroniclers, the marzpanate status of Arrān was still not abolished. This is supported by the mentions of marzpanas Gayšak' and Sema Všnasp (Movsēs Dasxuraṇči 1961, 83, 96), when a number of state formations emerged, the rulers of which were granted royal titles by the Persian king Khosrow I Anushirvan (531–579) ("One of these was 'Khaḵ ān al-Jabal' [lord of the mountain] who bore the title 'Sāhib as-Sarīr' [holder of the throne] and was named Wahrārzān-shāh. Another was the king of Filān surnamed Filān-shāh. Others were Tabarsarān-shāh, the king of al-Lakz surnamed Jarshān – shāh, the king of Maskat (whose kingship has been abolished), the king of Līrān surnamed Līrān-shāh and the king of Sharwān called Sharwān-shāh" (Balādhuri 1916, 309), The title of Arrānšāh/ik passed to the prince of Gardman, whose de jure authority extended over proper Albania and the Armenian provinces of Utik' and Arts'akh.

Conclusion

Thus Aṛanšahik meant the ruler or prince of Arrān, and originally, when conferred by a Persian king, was doubtless a title and not a family name. At the

beginning of the 6th century, the ruler of the Armenian principality of Gardman was awarded the title of Aranshahik, the ruler of Arrān. Later, that title was held by the Mihranids, and for a short time by the prince of Khachen and the amir of the Gandzak.

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