

Այսպիսով՝ Սմբատ Սպարապետը, ով ունի երկի կառուցուածքի եւ ոճի յստակ գիտակցում, ինչպէս նաեւ՝ իրեն եւ սեփական աշխատութիւնը նախորդներինց առանձնացնելու տրամադրուածութիւն, նախընտրում է հեղինակային անանունութիւնը՝ չբացայայտելով սեփական «ես»-ը: Սակայն այն աներկբայ փաստը, որ նրա լուրջութիւնն ուղեկցւում է երկում կամայ թէ ակամայ արտայայտուած հեղինակային ինքնագիտակցութեան եւ անհատականութեան տարրերի առկայութեամբ, ինչպէս նաեւ տեքստի կառուցուածքային ու ոճային ներդաշնակութեամբ եւ համամասնութիւնների պահպանմամբ, թոյլ է տալիս Սմբատ Սպարապետի մօտեցումը դիտարկել որպէս նրա հեղինակային ոճի առանձնայատկութիւն:

Ամփոփելով նշենք, որ Սմբատ Սպարապետը «Տարեգրքում» ներկայանում է ոչ թէ որպէս անդէմ ստեղծագործող, ով թաքցնում է իր հայեացքներն ու համոզմունքները, այլ՝ ինքնատիպ հեղինակային գիտակցութեամբ օժտուած պատմիչ, ում դիրքորոշումները նկատելի են ինչպէս նիւթերի ու տուեալների ընտրութեան, այնպէս էլ պատմական դէմքերի եւ իրադարձութիւնների գնահատման հարցերում: «Տարեգրքի» կառուցուածքը, ոճն ու բովանդակութիւնը՝ մի կողմից, եւ ստեղծագործութիւնում առկայ հեղինակային թէեւ փոքրաթիւ, բայց անձնաւորուած նշումները միւս կողմից, թոյլ են տալիս եզրակացնել, որ Սմբատ Սպարապետն իրեն լիովին ընդունում է որպէս աշխատութեան լիարժէք հեղինակ:

## THE LOCATION OF DRAZARK, BURIAL PLACE OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF ARMENIA AND OF THE "BLESSED RUBENIANS"

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Hommage au Professeur Gérard Dédéyan

The exact location of the Royal monastery of Drazark which was called also "Senior monastery" (Awag vank' Աւագ վանք)<sup>1</sup> is still unknown<sup>2</sup>. I try to discover it in the present study. This task is closely related to ascertaining the site of Kopitar, one of the most important strongholds and districts in Cilician Armenia.

Of all Cilician Armenian monasteries, cloisters and hermitages, Drazark (Դրազարկ, Թրազարկ) was perhaps the most important, the most famous and the most associated with the history of the Rubenian princely later royal

house, from its dawn to extinction. According to Armenian medieval sources, Drazark was founded or renewed by great iřxan (great prince) T'oros I Rubenián (about 1100 - 29) in the first half of his reign<sup>3</sup>. The earliest mention of Drazark dates back to 1113<sup>4</sup>.

Since the time of its foundation, Drazark served not only the cloister and cultural center but also the burial place of high clergy and high nobility<sup>5</sup>. Vardapet Geōrg Melrik (†1114) and vardapet Kiwrakos (†1127), first known priors of the monastery and establishers of its cloistral rule, were buried

\* I dedicate this essay to the memory of Jerry H. Bentley (1949-2012), great scholar, wonderful human being, friend as well as unwitting mentor, who passed away alas too young.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Matevosyan (ed.), *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakarranner E - ŽB dd*, [The colophons of 5<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries Armenian manuscripts], Yerevan 1988, p. 209; N. Polarean (ed.), *Mayr c'uc'ak jeřagrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'*, [The grande catalogue of St. James manuscripts], vol. VI, Jerusalem 1972, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, vol. 1, Paris, 2012, p. 617.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mēlik'-Adamean and N. Tēr Mik'aēlean (ed.), *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iwn*, [The Chronography of Matt'ēos Urhaec'i], Vataršapat 1898, p. 334; S. Aglean (ed.), *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'* [The Chronicle of Smbat Sparapet], Venice San Lazzaro degli Armeni 1956, pp. 143-4; K. Matevosyan (ed.), *Samuēl Anec'i ew řarunakolner. Žamanakagrut'iwn Adamic' minč'ew* 1776, [Samuel Anetsi and Continuator. The Chronicle from Adam to 1776], Yerevan 2014, pp. 201, 216; Het'um Patmič', *Patmut'iwn azgin Rovbinanc i'ē vorpēs tirec'in Kilikio* [The History of the Rubēnian House: How they became the lords of Cilicia], in V. Yakobyān (ed.), *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner 13-18 dd*. [The Short Chronicles of 13<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries], vol. 2, Yerevan 1956, p. 100; Vahram d'Édesse, *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, in Éd. Dulaurier (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des croisades Documents arméniens*, vol. 1, Paris 1869, p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakarranner E - ŽB dd*, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 617-620.

there<sup>6</sup>. Because of that and of the great prestige they gained, in 12<sup>th</sup> century Drazark was also called “the vault of holy vardapets”<sup>7</sup>. Later there were buried many other superior Church leaders, among them Catholicoi of All Armenians Grigor IV Tlay (1173-93) and his nephew Grigor V K'aravež (1193-4)<sup>8</sup>, Yovhannes VI Mecabaroy (1203-20)<sup>9</sup>, Kostandin I Barjberdc'i (1221-67)<sup>10</sup>, Yakob I Klayec'i (1267/8-86)<sup>11</sup>, Kostandin IV Drazarkc'i<sup>12</sup> (1323-6)<sup>13</sup>, vardapet Barseł (†1162), confessor of Baldwin of Maraš<sup>14</sup>, etc.

In the words of priest T'oros from Šatax, Drazark was “the burial place of the kings of Armenia and of their

queens and of their blessed Rubenian family” (Դրազարկ որ է դիր և դամբարան թագաւորացն Հայոց և թագուհեացն իրեանց, և իրեանց արհմեալ զարմին Ռոբինեանց)<sup>15</sup>. There were buried also great iŝxans T'oros I<sup>16</sup>, T'oros II (1145-68)<sup>17</sup>, Ruben III (1175-87)<sup>18</sup>, King Het'um I (1226-69)<sup>19</sup>, King Ošin I (1308-20)<sup>20</sup>, his twin-brother Ruben-Alinax<sup>21</sup>, Queen Zabel, daughter of Lewon I (1219-52)<sup>22</sup>, her daughter Princess Fimi<sup>23</sup>, Queen Keran (†1285)<sup>24</sup>, other members of Armenian princely and royal house and their close relatives<sup>25</sup>.

15 A. Matevosyan (ed.), *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, [The colophons of 13<sup>th</sup> century Armenian manuscripts], Yerevan 1984, pp. 656-7.

16 *Patmut'iw n azgin Ŕovbinanc*, p. 100; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 499; *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 583.

17 *Patmut'iw n azgin Ŕovbinanc*, p. 102; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 508; *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 585.

18 Ananun, *Patmut'iw n srboc' harc'n meroc'*, in *Xaç'akirnerē ew Hayerē*, t. 2, p. 526; *Patmut'iw n azgin Ŕovbinanc*, p. 103; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 227; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 510; *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 586.

19 *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, p. 252; *Malak'iy abelayi patmut'iw n vasn azgin netolac'* [The History of the nation of archers by monk Małakia], Saint Petersburg 1870, pp. 48-9; *Patmut'iw n azgin Ŕovbinanc*, p. 105; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 254; *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 588.

20 *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 274.

21 *Ibidem*, p. 273; *Hamařot patmut'iw n žamanakac'*, p. 546; *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, p. 666.

22 *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 587.

23 C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, p. 618.

24 *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 261.

25 More detailed observations on the Drazark monastery see in: C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, pp. 617-20.

6 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iw n*, pp. 334, 366; *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, pp. 143-4; *Kirakosi vardapeti Ganjakec'woy hamařot patmut'iw n* [The Compendious History by Vardapet Kirakos Ganjakec'i], Venice 1865, pp. 62-3; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 208.

7 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iw n*, pp. 366, 428.

8 *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, pp. 204-6.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 224; Het'um Patmič' Kořikosc'i, *Hamařot patmut'iw n žamanakac' havak'eal i zanazan patmut'eanc'...* [The Compendious Chronicle by Het'um the Historian of Kořikos compiled from various chronicles...], in K. Matevosyan, *Het'um Patmič' Kořikosc'in ev nra žamanakagrut'iw nē* [Het'um the Historian of Kořikos and his Chronography], Yerevan 2011, p. 50.

10 Le connétable Sēmpad, *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades Documents arméniens*, vol. 1, p. 669.

11 *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 261.

12 Also known as Kostandin Lambronac'i. See: G. Ter-Vardanyan (ed.), *C'uc'ak hayeren jeŝagrac' i Kesariay, Zmirwniay ew i šrjakays noc'in*, Yerevan 2002, pp. 63-4; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 275; Het'um Nħirc'i, *Hamařot patmut'iw n žamanakac'*, in L. Ter-Petrosiān, *Xaç'akirnerē ew Hayerē* [The Crusaders and the Armenians], vol. 2, Yerevan 2007, p. 547.

13 *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, p. 669.

14 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iw n*, pp. 473, 546.

The fact that Drazark served as their burial place gives grounds to conclude that it was situated within the bounds of princely later royal domain. Though this cloister is mentioned in many medieval sources, very few of them contain information on its location.

A certain priest Tadēos wrote his colophon dated 1123 “in the forest-locked hermitage by the name Drazark [situated] at the foot of Taurus Mountains, close to the impregnable stronghold called Kopitař in Greek” (ի լեռնապատ անապատիս, որ անուն Դրազարկ յորջորջի, առ ստորոտով մեծի լեռինն Տարոսի, որ է մերձ յանմատոյց ամուրն, որ յունական լեզուան Կոպիտառայ անուանի)<sup>26</sup>.

One of the Armenian Gospels of 1279 was written by scribe Šmawōn “in the Holy See congregation in Maškawor monastery [situated] close to the purest and holy cloister named Drazark (ի կաթողիկոսանիստ միաբանիս, ի վանս Մաշկատր կոչեցեալ, մերձ առ գերասարքուր սուրբ ոխսս որ Դրազարկ յորջորջի)<sup>27</sup>. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Maškewor (Maškawor) monastery was also founded by T'oros I Rubenian<sup>28</sup>.

26 *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner E - ŽB dd*, p. 155. I would like to remind in this regard that above mentioned Catholicos Grigor V K'aravež, after he fell off or had been dropped from a height of the Castle of Kopitař, was buried in Drazark. See: *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, pp. 205-6; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 631; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, p. 232.

27 *Hayeren jeŝagreri hiŝatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 493.

28 *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakołner*, pp. 201, 216; *Patmut'iw n azgin Ŕovbinanc t'ē vorpēs tirec'in Kilikio*, p. 100; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 499.

In his “Chronography”, Matthew of Edessa informed that above mentioned vardapet Gēorg Melrik was buried “in the gawař<sup>29</sup> of Anawařza, in the great hermitage called Drazark which had been renewed by T'oros, great iŝxan of the Armenians”<sup>30</sup>. The city of Anawařza (its ruins stand east of Dilekkaya village) was situated on the Cilician Plains<sup>31</sup>, 28 km south of Sis (present Kozan)<sup>32</sup>, future capital city of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia (see map 1).

Unfortunately, Matthew's information does not help to locate the “Senior monastery” because it is quite uncertain in his context for the following reasons taken together. First, Matthew evidently lived most of (or all) his life in Edessa and had not quite detailed knowledge of geography of Cilicia. Secondly, in his lifetime Anawařza was the main city of Rubenian principality, and for this reason Matthew's “gawař of Anawařza” (գաւառնս Անաւառքս) or “land of Anawařza” (յաշխարհ Անաւառքս)<sup>33</sup> could mean not the “district of Anawařza” but rather the “land of great iŝxan T'oros I<sup>34</sup>”<sup>35</sup>, that is, the part of Cilicia which stretches from Anawařza situated on the Cilician Plains, in northern direction, to the Taurus Mountains.

29 “Province” or “district” in Armenian.

30 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iw n*, p. 334.

31 F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Tabula imperii Byzantini*, t. 5, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, Wien 1990, p. 178.

32 During my study, the distances and coordinates were estimated from Google Maps and the locations were mapped using Google Earth.

33 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Žamanakagrut'iw n*, pp. 316, 334.

34 Later of great iŝxan Lewon I (1129-37).

35 C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, p. 617.

The evidence presented by above mentioned Tadēos – “the forest-locked hermitage named Drazark [situated] at the foot of Taurus Mountains” - supports this point of view. It should be noticed that priest Tadēos was a contemporary of Matthew of Edessa, but unlike him, Tadēos lived in Cilicia, most likely in Drazark<sup>36</sup>. This makes his evidence more valuable from the geographical point of view.

One of the colophons of the Hymnal of 1328 also contains geographical information on Drazark. According to this source, the manuscript was written “in Drazarg hermitage [situated] in Sis<sup>37</sup>” (ի Դրազարգ ահապատն նր ի Սիս). But it should be noticed that this colophon, unlike the manuscript, was written in 17<sup>th</sup> century, supposedly in Arzrum (Erzerum)<sup>38</sup>. Considering this circumstance, the unusual spelling “Drazarg” as well as the information from priest Tadēos, I concluded that the ending of the fragment should not be interpreted literally. Obviously, writing “in Sis”, the author meant “in the district / province of Sis”, “in the country / land of Sis”, or “in Cilicia”<sup>39</sup>.

36 *Hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner E - ŽB dd*, p. 155.

37 one of the capital cities of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia.

38 O. Yeganyan, A. Keosyan, A. Ghazarosyan, Sh. Harutyunyan (ed.), *General catalogue of Armenian manuscripts of Mashots Matenadaran*, vol. V, Yerevan, 2009, pp. 527-50.

39 I would like to note in this regard that Arabic medieval writers called Cilician Armenia “the land of Sis” (bilād Sīs) and occasionally merely Sis. Some Armenian authors kept the same approach. I mean, for example, the following fragment from “The Geography” attributed to Vardan Arewelc'i: “Cilicia, that is Sis, ...” (Կիլիկիա նր է Սիս). See: C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, p. 411; J. Gilet, *Gèneses des relations entre Arméniens et Mame-*

In this regard, I would like to quote also from the Lectionary of 1421 written by monk Karapet: “in the holy cloister called Drazark [located] within the bounds of Cilicia, [in] the land of Sis” (ի սուրբ ուխտն, որ կոչի Դրազարկ, ի սահմանս Կիլիկիայ, լերկրին Սիսայ)<sup>40</sup>. In the Lectionary written a year before by bishop Sargis, the wording is similar, just without mentioning “the land of Sis”<sup>41</sup>.

According to yet unedited colophon of the Ms. 1318 preserved at the Library of the Mekhitarist Congregation in Venice, Drazark was chosen to become the resting place of the kings of Armenia and of the catholicoi because of the fear of infidels as the path [which led to Drazark] was narrow, and Sis was at a distance of more than a day's journey [of Drazark]<sup>42</sup>.

The above presented evidences evidences presented by priest Tadēos and scribe Šmawōn being more detailed and valuable than the information from other above quoted sources, yet shed little light on Drazark's location because the sites of Kopitař and Maškewor are also uncertain. As for the lat-

louks : *La bataille de Marrī, première attaque sur le Bilād Sīs*, in D. Aigle (dir.), *Le Bilād al-Šām face aux mondes extérieurs*, Damas – Beyrouth 2012, pp. 263-4, n. 8; A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and diplomacy during the reigns of Het'um II (1289-1307)*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, pp. 24-5; H. Pērpērean (ed.), *Ašxarhac'oyc' Vardanay vardapeti* [The Geography by vardapet Vardan], Paris 1960, p. 50.

40 L. Khachikyan (ed.), *ŽE dari hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner*, [The colophons of 15<sup>th</sup> century Armenian manuscripts], vol. 1, Yerevan 1955, p. 249.

41 “in the holy cloister called Drazark [located] within the bounds of Cilicia”. See: *ŽE dari hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner*, vol. 1, pp. 245-6.

42 C. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, vol. 1, p. 618, vol. 2, p. 338.

ter, two colophons written by scribe Vardan in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century also contain information on its location. In both cases, he used similar wording. The Gospel of 1187 was written “in the monastery of Maškewor, under the protection of Holy Mother of God and Saint Karapet, at / within the borders of the city of Sis (ի վանքս Մաշկետորիս, ընդ հովանեաւ Սուրբ Աստուածածնիս և Սուրբ Կարապետիս, ի սահմանս Սիսովն քաղաքիս)”<sup>43</sup>, and the Lectionary of 1192 was created “in the monastery named Maškewor, under the protection of Holy Mother of God, Saint Karapet and other Saints who are here, at / within the borders of the city of Sis, in the province of Cilicia, in the Taurus Mountains” (ի վանքս որ կոչի Մաշկետոր, ընդ հովանեաւ Սուրբ Աստուածածնիս և Սուրբ Կարապետիս և այլ սրբոց որք սատ են, ի սահմանս Սիսովն քաղաքիս, ի գավառիս Կիլիկիացոց, ի լերինս որ կոչի Տորոս)<sup>44</sup>.

It follows from this, that nearby Drazark was most likely also located not very far from the capital city of Sis.

Kopitař is the second-mentioned in the western part of so called “Coronation list” of the vassals of Lewon I, king of Armenia (1187/98-1219). He follows Barjberd and precedes Mōlovon, other important baronial<sup>45</sup> strongholds of Ci-

43 S. Ter-Avetissian (ed.), *Katalog der Armenischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Klosters in Neu-Djoulfā*, vol. I, Wien 1970, p. 33.

44 N. Polarean (ed.), *Mayr c'uc'ak jeagrak' Srboc' Yakobeano'*, [The grande catalogue of St. James manuscripts], vol. I, Jerusalem 1966, pp. 338, 350-1.

45 Obviously, from the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century at least until 1194, the date of imprisonment and death of Catholicos Grigor V K'aravež, Kopitař was a possession of the great princes of the Rubenian house. Soon after that event it was granted to a certain išxan Kostandin

lician Armenia<sup>46</sup>. Since the place names in this source are listed in geographical order (with few exceptions and deviations)<sup>47</sup>, the neighborhood of the districts of Kopitař, Barjberd and Mōlovon, even more confirmed by other sources<sup>48</sup>, could hardly be doubted.

mentioned in the list of the vassals in attendance at the coronation ceremony of Lewon I (1198). Another or the same Kostandin (Kostēndin), seigneur of Kopitař, as well as his sons Het'um, Lewon, Halkam and Grigor, was mentioned in one of undated Armenian colophons. A certain paron (baron) Ošin, seigneur of Kopitař, was among the participants of the Councils of the Armenian Church convoked in 1307 and 1316. It is not excluded, that after 1316 Kopitař became a royal possession. The colophon written in this castle in 1338 contains no mention of any išxan or seigneur of Kopitař but at the same time mentions king Lewon IV. The last mention of Kopitař in this spelling in medieval sources, is dated 1467-8. In the Ottoman sources Kopitař was spelled Kūpdere (kale-si): See: *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, p. 210; *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, p. 637; *Katalog der Armenischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Klosters in Neu-Djoulfā*, vol. I, pp. 213-4; *Hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 899; Clemente Galano, *Consiliationis ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana...*, Romae, 1690, pp. 460, 505; Xaç'ikian (ed.), *ŽD dari hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner*, [The Colophons of 14th Century Armenian Manuscripts], Yerevan 1950, pp. 315-6; *Samuēl Anec'i ew Šarunakotner*, pp. 235-7; A. Özkiling, *998 numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Diyâr-i Bekr ve 'Arab ve Zül'-Kâdiriyye defteri (937/1530)*, t. II, Ankara 1999, pp. 12, 117; Y. Halaçoğlu, *Tapu tahrir defterlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyilin ilk yarısında Sis (= Kozan) Sancağı*, in “Tarih Dergisi”, XXXII mart 1979, Istanbul 1979, pp. 822-34. See also footnotes 26 and 69.

46 *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, p. 210; *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, p. 637.

47 G. Dédéyan, *Les listes “féodales” du pseudo-Smbat*, in “Cahiers de civilisation médiévale”, 125 (32<sup>e</sup> année) / janvier-mars 1989, pp. 28-9; H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien*, Bonn 1976, pp. 14-6; R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Washington D. C. 1987, appendix 3.

48 *Hayeren jeagreri hišatakaranner ŽG dar*, p. 648; *Ašxarhac'oyc' Vardanay vardapeti*, p. 50.

Mōlovon is Milvan kalesi<sup>49</sup> (North-Western Cilicia, about 115 km west of Sis) located near present-day Karakiliç (former Milvan) village. The castles of Kuklak and of Lambron which follow Mōlovon in the Coronation list<sup>50</sup> are situated south-west of it<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, according to geographical order of the list, Kopitař and Barjberd should be sought in the opposite direction.

In other words, they were both situated in the northwestern corner of Cilicia, north or north-east of Mōlovon and west of the royal domain which occupied Central Cilicia, extending from Kōrmōzōl and Vahka southward via Sis to the Cilician Plains and the Mediterranean coast<sup>52</sup>. In this sector of the Taurus Mountains, only the following ruins could be identified with Kopitař or Barjberd (see map 2):

- Bostan kalesi located at the confluence of the present Göksu and Zamanti rivers, near the village of Ergenuşığı (former Bostan), that is why it is also called Ergenuşığı kalesi<sup>53</sup>. This site is about 45 km north-northwest of Sis.

- Meydan kalesi located close to the town of Aladağ (former Karsanti),

north of the village of Meydan<sup>54</sup>. This castle is about 65 km north-west of Sis.

Other fortifications in this sector of Cilicia – Işa (Isa, Eğni, Eğinözü) kalesi<sup>55</sup>, Bakaçak (Kizildağ, Çevlik) kalesi<sup>56</sup>, etc<sup>57</sup> – should also be taken into consideration but they are too small to be identified convincingly with such significant fortified settlements as Barjberd and Kopitař<sup>58</sup>. According to information received from Jirair Christianian, who studies newly found photos of the inscription of Tamrut kalesi situated approximately 4 km south of the modern village of Sivişli<sup>59</sup> (about 30 km west of the town of Aladağ and 100 km west of Sis), that text contains the medieval name of the fortress, and it is not Kopitař or Barjberd. Therefore, I suppose that Ergenuşığı kalesi and Meydan kalesi are the most probable candidates to be Kopitař and Barjberd<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189.

<sup>55</sup> According to Edwards, its ruins are located about 4 km southwest of the village of Sivişli, approximately 3 km of Tamrut. Işa kalesi can be also reached from the village of Gerdibi. See: *Ibidem*, pp. 151, 237; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, p. 276.

<sup>56</sup> As far as I know, these ruins situated near the modern villages of Çevlik and Kizildağ have never been explored by researchers. Maxime Goepp has published a short illustrated account of his visit to Bakaçak (2009) on his amazing web-site. See: Fortresses d'Orient, URL <http://www.orient-latin.com/fortresses/bakacak> (27.03.2017).

<sup>57</sup> Hotalan kalesi, Yeniköy kalesi. See: Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, pp. 149-51, 267-9.

<sup>58</sup> Besides, the above mentioned small fortifications are located close to Tamrut, therefore they do not have separate significance for my search of Drazark.

<sup>59</sup> Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, p. 237.

<sup>60</sup> I am grateful to Jirair Christianian for sharing with me this important information.

<sup>49</sup> G. Dédéyan (ed.), *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, Paris 1980, p. 77 n. 51; Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, p. 195; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, p. 347; "Kalesi" means "castle", "fortress" in Turkish.

<sup>50</sup> *Smbatay Sparapeti Taregirk'*, p. 210; *La chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, p. 637.

<sup>51</sup> *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, p. 77 and map; Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, pp. 139-40, 176-7; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pp. 323-4, 328.

<sup>52</sup> Dédéyan, *Les listes "féodales" du pseudo-Smbat*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>53</sup> Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, pp. 95-6.

Robert W. Edwards believed, without detailed reasoning, that Meydan kalesi is probably medieval Kopitař<sup>61</sup>. Based on the information from Lewond Alişan and Heinrich Kiepert, Gérard Dédéyan located Kopitař, and accordingly Drazark, a little northwest of Sis, at the confluence of the Upper Saros (present Göksu) and Zamanti rivers<sup>62</sup>, that is, close to Ergenuşığı kalesi. Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Friedrich Hild made arguments in support of identifying Ergenuşığı (Bostan) kalesi with Kopitař, and Meydan kalesi with Barjberd<sup>63</sup>.

The above information shows that Drazark should be searched between the districts of Ergenuşığı kalesi, Meydan kalesi and / or Tamrut kalesi. The discovery of old disused Cilician place names was one of the directions of my search. Studying the Ottoman tax registers of 1530, I paid particular attention to a settlement named *Tirezek* located in the province of Sis<sup>64</sup>. Moreover, I have received the information of an old village by the same name also from the villagers of the modern village of Kibrislar situated 35 km north-northwest of Sis and approximately 10 km east of Ergenuşığı kalesi (see map 3). They informed me that *Tirezek* is the old village

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 194 n. 2.

<sup>62</sup> G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, vol. 1, Lisbonne 2003, pp. 378, 414; *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, p. 71 n. 98 and map; L. Alişan, *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie*, Venice – S. Lazare 1899, p. 167.

<sup>63</sup> Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pp. 210, 309-10.

<sup>64</sup> A. Özkiliç, *998 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilâyet-i Diyâr-i Bekr ve 'Arab ve Zül'-Kâdiriyye defteri (937/1530)*, t. II, p. 118.

site located in the place of Kibrislar and / or in its surroundings.

I have localized *Tirezek* also with the help of *Index Anatolicus*, an index of old changed place names around Turkey developed by Sevan Nişanyan. According to this source, the coordinates of *Tirezek* are 37° 38' 54" N 35° 38' 21" E<sup>65</sup>. This location corresponds to a point situated between Kibrislar and Ergenuşığı kalesi which are close but separated by river. The summit which Ergenuşığı kalesi stands on rises on the right side of Göksu river whereas Kibrislar-*Tirezek* is situated near its left flank (see map 4).

My theory of the location of Drazark monastery is based on the supposition that *Tirezek* is the Turkish pronunciation of the place name "*Drazark*". The identification of *Tirezek* with Drazark is supported by the fact that there are considerable remains of a Christian religious edifice in the village of Kibrislar (see photos 1, 2 and 3) which are almost totally unknown and have not yet been explored.

As seen in photos 1 and 2, the builders of that rural house elevated it on the ruins of a medieval church. The advanced architectural and decoration style, particularly the excellent cross ensemble (photo 1) which is unique to the Armenian ecclesiastic architecture of Cilicia, indicate that in this place one of the famous Cilician Armenian monasteries stood<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Sevan Nişanyan, *Index Anatolicus*, URL <http://www.nisanyanmap.com/?yer=48294&haritasi=tirezek> (27.03.2017).

<sup>66</sup> The proper study of this monument would be possible after the expedition to Kibrislar and other medieval sites of Cilicia.

Taking into consideration the location of Tirezek and the proximity of Ergenuşağı kalesi (probable Kopitař), I concluded that the medieval church ruins found in the village of Kibrislar are most likely the remains of one of the churches of Drazark monastery<sup>67</sup>. Probably, other remains of Drazark and of its burial places are under the houses of the villagers or / and around the village.

The location of Kibrislar (old Tirezek) complies fully with the geographical information on Drazark from the above mentioned medieval sources<sup>68</sup>.

67 The churches of Drazark monastery dedicated to Holy Mother of God, Holy Signs, Saint T'oros (T'eodoros) and other saints are mentioned in the following medieval sources. See: *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakaraner E - ŹB dd*, p. 142; *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakaraner ŹG dar*, pp. 36-7, 107, 445, 530, 655-7, 704, 729-30; L. Xač'ikian (ed.), *ŹD dari hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakaraner*, [The Colophons of 14th Century Armenian Manuscripts], Yerevan 1950, p. 170; etc.

68 At the same time, it does not comply fully with the following fragment from the work of Łukas Inčičean: "Drazark cloister: a church [situated] in the gorge covered with dense forest is about one day's journey west of Sis and about two days' journey of Anawařza..." (See: Ł. Inčičean, *Ařxarhagrut' iwn č'oric' masanc' ařxarhi. Masn arařin, Asia* [The Geography of the four quarters of the world. Part I, Asia], vol. 1, Venice. 1806, p. 365). Actually, the distance between Anawařza and Kibrislar / Tirezek is twice as long than the way from Sis to Kibrislar, and the latter is situated among the gorges in a wooded area. However, Kibrislar is located north-northwest but not west of Sis. I have no information, whether Łukas Inčičean visited Cilicia and Drazark or not. I do not know the source of his information neither. In my opinion, the above quoted fragment is quite contradictory. If Drazark would really be located west of Sis, the distances "Sis - Drazark" and "Anawařza - Drazark" would be about the same because both cities lay in the Cilician Plains and had almost the same longitude (See: Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pp. 178, 413). The double remoteness of Drazark from Anawařza, as compared with the distance between

This site is situated near the probable Kopitař (Ergenuşağı kalesi) and at the same time not far from Sis (see map 3). Moreover, if Tirezek is medieval Drazark, then Ergenuşağı kalesi can be identified quite surely with Kopitař.

According to Matthew of Edessa and other Armenian medieval chroniclers, Kopitař, which was spelled also Kōsitař, was the first Cilician residence and possession of Ruben, progenitor of the Rubenian House, or of his son Kostandin<sup>69</sup>. The location of Kopitař and Drazark in Ergenuşağı and Tirezek-Kibrislar subsequently illustrates the first steps of the first Rubenians in Cilicia better than if Kopitař were Meydan kalesi or Tamrut kalesi.

After řahnřah Gagik II Bagratuni had been killed in Kyzistra<sup>70</sup>, his warlord Kostandin (or his father Ruben) left Cappadocia, entered Cilicia along the old Roman route which led from Caesarea<sup>71</sup> via Ergenuşağı (probable Kopitař) to Sis and Adana<sup>72</sup> and settled "in the

Drazark and Sis, indicates that the monastery was situated north, north-west or north-east of Sis.

69 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Źamanakagrut' iwn*, p. 257; *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, pp. 497-9; *Samuēl Anec'i ew řarunakořner*, pp. 196-7; *Patmut' iwn azgin řovbinanc*, p. 100; *Hamařot patmut' iwn řamanakac' havak'eal i zanazan patmut'eanc*, p. 46; *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakaraner ŹG dar*, p. 583. On this subject see also: Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, pp. 374-99.

70 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Źamanakagrut' iwn*, pp. 218-20; Kyzistra is present Zengibar kalesi located approximately 56 km south-southwest of the city of Kayseri. See: H. Hunger, *Tabula imperii Byzantini*, t. 2, *Kappadokien*, Wien 1981, p. 219.

71 Modern city of Kayseri.

72 Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, p. 136.

land of Kopitař"<sup>73</sup>. Already at that time this land could include the territories which lay not only north but also south of the Gōksu river, among them the site of Drazark. It is also possible, that the first Rubenians occupied this site later, when they extended their power in the direction of Sis and Anawařza. From the "land of Kopitař", Kostandin (or Ruben) expanded his domain also northeastward by occupying Kōrmōzōl (modern village of Gürümze) and Vahka<sup>74</sup>.

Thus, my study has revealed the probable site and ruins of Drazark monastery (modern village of Kibrislar / old village site of Tirezek). This location is in accordance with the indication of Drazark on G. Dédéyan's map<sup>75</sup>.

73 *Matt'ēos Urhaec'i Źamanakagrut' iwn*, p. 257; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, p. 374-9.

74 *La chronique rimée des rois de la Petite Arménie*, p. 497-9; *Hamařot patmut' iwn řamanakac' havak'eal i zanazan patmut'eanc*, p. 46; *Hayeren jeřagreri hiřatakaraner ŹG dar*, p. 583; *Samuēl Anec'i ew řarunakořner*, pp. 196-7; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, p. 378-81, 392-5; Ł. Aliřan, *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie*, p. 168; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pp. 207, 312.

75 *La Chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat*, map; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, p. 414.

My findings also support H. Hellenkemper's and F. Hild's identification of Ergenuşağı kalesi with the Castle of Kopitař<sup>76</sup> but at the same time do not contradict fully the identification of Meydan kalesi proposed by R. W. Edwards. I have presented my conclusions also on the map 5.

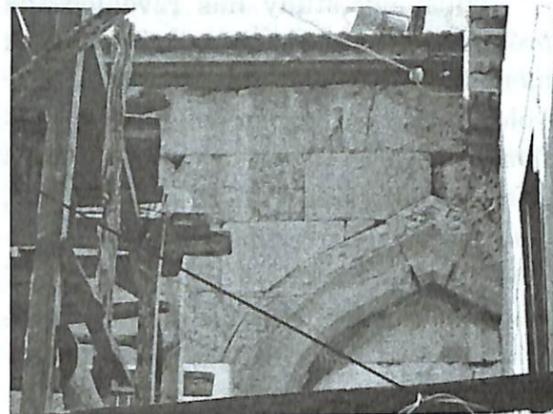
76 This identification is also in accordance with the following information from "Pratica della mercatura" written before 1343 by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, Florentine merchant who obtained from Lewon IV, king of Armenia (1320-42), privileges for the Bardi company. According to this source, the land of the king of Armenia, or more precisely, the trade route through the land of the king of Armenia extended at that time from Ayas as far north as Colidara. Having passed Colidara, merchants left Cilician Armenia, entered the Cappadocian lands of ilkhan "Bonsaet" (Abusaid) and reached Gandon (Xawatanek', present-day Develi located 43 km south of Kayseri) and Casena (Caesarea, Kayseri). The identification of Colidara with Kopitař proposed by some researchers seems obvious to me. It should be noted that both Ergenuşağı kalesi and Meydan kalesi are located near two major ancient and medieval routes which led from Ayas to Caesarea, and both routes have approximately the same length. Ergenuşağı kalesi is located close to the geographical border between Cilicia and Cappadocia and the medieval border of Cilician Armenia, therefore it could serve as the last Armenian station on the trade route described. Thus, the information from Balducci Pegolotti supports the identification of Ergenuşağı kalesi with Kopitař but at the same time it does not contradict the other identification proposed by R. W. Edwards. See: Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, Lisbona e Lucca 1766, p. 9; V. Langlois, *Le trésor des chartes d'Arménie ou cartulaire de la chancellerie royale des Roupéniens*, Venise 1863, p. 195; W. Heid, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, t. 2, Stuttgart 1879, pp. 113-4; A. Martirosyan, *Torgovyi put' Ayas - Tavriz (XIII-XIV vv.)* [The trade route from Ayas to Tabriz, XIII-XIV centuries], in "Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri" [Herald of the Social Sciences] 1991 2, pp. 49-52, 55; H. Hunger, *Kappadokien*, pp. 178-9; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pp. 136, 210, 309; Ł. Aliřan, *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie*, p. 167.



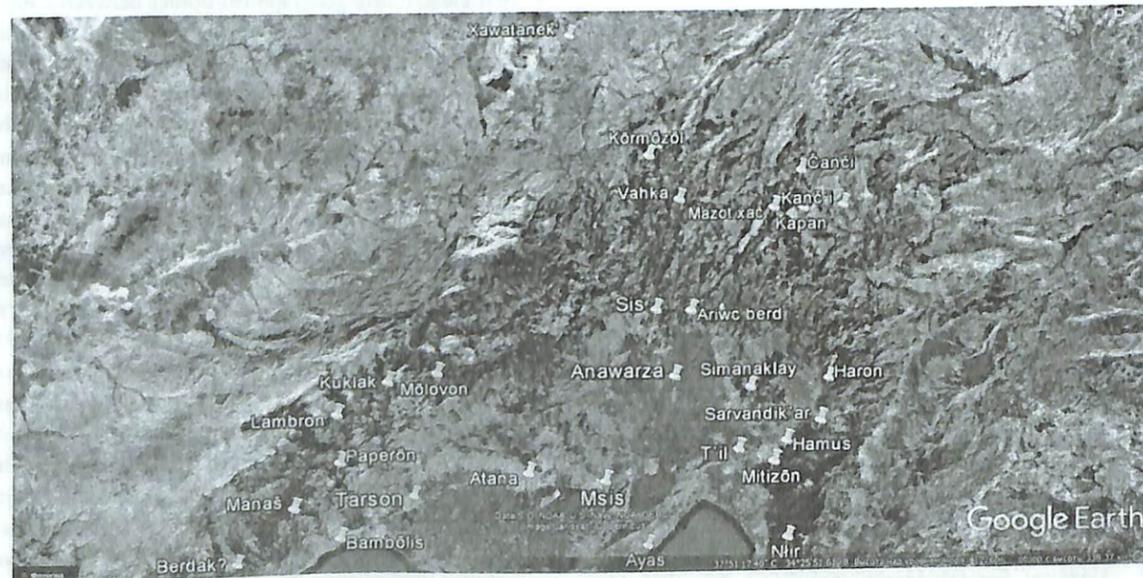
Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3



Map 1



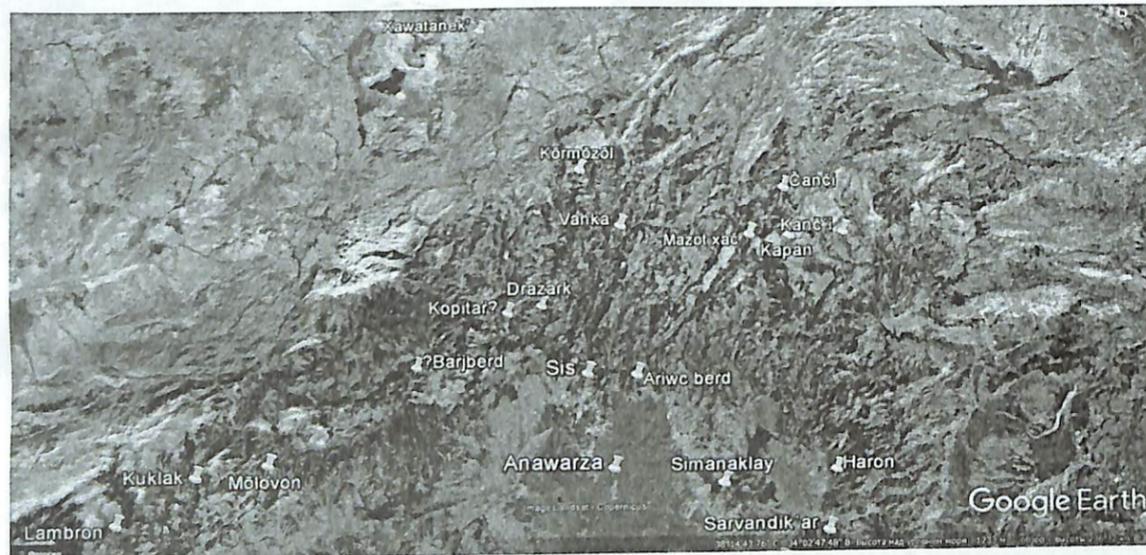
Map 2



Map 3



Map 4



Map 5

## ՄԱԼԱԹԻԱՅԻ ԳՐԱԻՈՒՄԸ ՄԱՄԼՈՒՔՆԵՐԻ ԿՈՂՄԻՑ 1315 Թ. ԵՒ ԿԻԼԻԿԵԱՆ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԸ

Գագիկ Դանիելյան

Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի եւ Եգիպտոսի ու Ասորիքի Մամլուքեան սուլթանութեան քաղաքական յարաբերութիւնների ուսումնասիրութիւնն անկարելի է առանց ԺԳ.-ԺԵ. դարերի մամլուքեան արաբալեզու (եւ անշուշտ՝ օտարալեզու) պատմագրական յուշարձանների ներգրաւման: Արդ, պատճառը բնաւ միայն հետազօտութեան բազմակողմանիութիւնն ապահովելը չէ, այլեւ ժամանակի հայ պատմագրութեան ցաւալի աղքատութիւնը: Հայ պատմագրական աւանդոյթի՝ տակաւին ԺԱ. դարում սկիզբ առած «Վերածննդի շրջանը» ձգւում է մինչեւ ԺԳ. դարի վերջերը եւ ԺԴ. դարի սկզբները՝ հարստանալով մէկ տասնեակից աւելի պատմագիրների անուններով: Հայ մամլուքեան աւելի քան հարիւրամեայ յարաբերութիւնների առաջին երեք-չորս տասնամեակների պատմութեան ուսումնասիրման համար օգտակար են յատկապէս Վարդան Արեւելցու, Կիրակոս Գանձակեցու, Գրիգոր Ակնեցու, Վահրամ Բաբունու, Սմբատ Սպարապետի, Հեթում Պատմիչի եւ որոշ դէպքերում նաեւ Ստեփանոս Օրբէլեանի երկերը: Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի պատմութեան յետագայ շրջանի համար հայագէտ-պատմաբանի տրամագրութեան տակ մնում են սոսկ մի շարք մանր ժամանակագրական երկեր եւ ձեռագրերի պատմական բնոյթի յիշատակագրութիւններ, որոնց յայտնած տեղեկութիւններով ժամանակաշրջանի մասին լիարժէք պատկերացում կազմելն ուղղակի անհնար է:

Արաբալեզու պատմագրական երկերի յայտնած տեղեկութիւնները Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի պատմութեան ուսումնասիրութիւններում ներառելու անհրաժեշտու-

թիւնը հայագիտութեան մէջ վաղուց է գիտակցուել: Չնայած դրան՝ մամլուքեան պատմագրութեան ուսումնասիրութիւնը եւ մամլուքեան պատմագրական երկերի ներգրաւումը որպէս Կիլիկեան Հայաստանի պատմութեան սկզբնաղբիւրներ հայագիտութեան մէջ դեռեւս ձեւաւորուած աւանդոյթ չունի: Վերջին յիսնամեակում հայ-մամլուքեան յարաբերութիւնների համար կարեւորութիւն ներկայացնող նորանոր արաբական սկզբնաղբիւրների բացայայտման ուղղութեամբ կարեւոր քայլեր են կատարել օտար հետազօտողները: Յաւալի է, որ այդ փորձերը հիմնականում անտեսուած են մնացել հայաստանեան արեւելագիտութեան եւ հայագիտութեան կողմից, եւ ոչորտում հայրենական մասնագէտների աշխատանքը գերազանցապէս յիշեալ ուսումնասիրութիւններից անջրպետուած եւ մեկուսի է կատարուել: Թեմայի վերաբերեալ միակ յաջող փորձը ձեռնարկել է Խորհրդային Հայաստանի արաբագիտական դպրոցի ներկայացուցիչներից Յակոբ Նալբանդեանը: Նա թարգմանել է արաբագիր երեք հեղինակների՝ աշխարհագրագիր Եակուտ ալ Համաւիի, Համայի Այիւբեան կառավարիչ Աբու ալ Ֆիդայի եւ Սալահ ալ Դինի կենսագիր Իբն Շադդազի երկերի՝ հայերի եւ հարեւան երկրների պատմութեան մասին տեղեկութիւններ պարունակող հատուածները<sup>1</sup>: Յիշեալ հեղինակներից մեզ տուեալ դէպքում հետաքրքրում է Աբու ալ Ֆիդան, ով մամ-

1 Յ. Թ. Նալբանդեան, Արաբական աղբիւրները Հայաստանի եւ հարեւան երկրների մասին (Եակուտ ալ-Համաւի, Աբու-Ֆիդայ, Իբն Շադդազ), ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., Երեւան, 1965: