Mkhitar Gosh's Colophon

or

The Aghuanian Chronicle

Translator's Preface

Mkhitar (Mxit'ar) Gosh was a major intellectual figure in Armenian life of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. At the time of his death in 1213, he had authored more than a dozen works, including the codification of Armenian law (the Armenian Law Book), the Fables, a number of prayers, sermons and theological works, and the short chronicle translated below; he twice had received the title of doctor of the Church (vardapet); had served as confidant and advisor to many of the most important Armenian princes of the day; and as a teacher had inspired a generation of students, many of whom became prominent theologians and historians of 13th century Armenia. Biographical information about Gosh is found in the History of the Armenians written by Kirakos of Gandzak (d. 1270/71) [chapters 4-5, 13-14, and 15-16], and in the colophon or postscript to Mkhitar's own Law Book. A discussion of Gosh's life and times is available on another page of this website (see the Translator's Preface to Gosh's Fables). An excellent and accessible study of Gosh may be found in the Introduction to Robert W. Thomson's The Lawcode [Datasstanagirk'] of Mxit'ar Gosh (Amsterdam-Atlanta,GA, 2000).

Gosh's Colophon is appended to only one of the surviving manuscripts of the Law Book, MS No. 1237, which is housed at the Mxit'arist Library in Venice. The classical Armenian text was published by the philologist Ghewond Alishan on pp. 338-353 of his Heyysatam (Venice, 1901). The same text is currently available online as part of the Armenian Classical Digital Library Project, where it appears as Appendix B to Movse's Kaghankatuats'i [Dasxurants'i]'s 10th-11th century History of the Aghuans (Armenian fonts required). This is the text translated below. An earlier English translation, made by C. J. F. Dowsett, entitled "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Gosh", appeared in the journal Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 21(1958) pp. 472-490. Dowsett's translation contains a brief introduction and valuable notes which identify individuals and places mentioned in the text. As Dowsett observed, though several Muslim sources (such as Ibn al-Athir, al-Isfahani, and Qazvini) briefly mention some of the same events described in the Colophon, Gosh's information is unique in its detail.

Gosh begins the Colophon by noting that the list of patriarchs or kar'oghikoi of the Aghuan Church found in Dasxurants'i's History is not complete, and that he wanted to bring it down to his own period. It was his hope that future historians would continue this tradition. Indeed, one such future author was Kirakos Gandzakets'i who provided an extended list of the Aghuan kar'oghikoi in chapter 10 of his own History. The land of the Aghuans (also Ar'an, Aghuania, Aghbania, Caucasian Albania) comprised parts of modern Dagestan and Azerbaijan, Armenia's eastern neighbor. Iranian and Armenian political and religio-cultural influence was particularly strong here in the ancient and medieval periods, as may be seen from the archaeological record and from primary historical sources from the fifth century on, including Dasxurants'i's History and Gosh's Colophon. Following the list of kar'oghikoi, Gosh describes events occurring in Aghuania from 1130 to 1162. This description includes information about Saljuq rulers such as Qara-Sonqur, Chavli, Fakhr al-Din, Rawwadi, Chaghni-Shah, and Ildegiz, not met with elsewhere. Gosh's account terminates abruptly with the events of 1162.


The transliteration employed here is a modification of the Library of Congress system, substituting x for the LOC's kh, for the thirteenth character of the Armenian alphabet. Otherwise we follow the new LOC system for Armenian, which eliminates diacritical marks above or below a character and substitutes the single or double quotation mark to the character's right. In the LOC romanization, the seventh character of the alphabet appears as 'e', the eighth as 'e', the twenty-eighth as 'r', and the thirty-eighth, as 'o'.

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Rulers of Armenia and of Eastern and Western Empires
Kar'oghikoi and Corresponding Secular Rulers of the Armenians
Rules of Armenia and Iberia/Georgia
Mkhitar Gosh's Colophon

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Glory to our savior, Jesus, and with Him to the Father and the [Holy] Spirit, Who allowed us to pause here in our writing of the Law Book. Although we previously said, when writing the brief colophon [attached to the Law Book], that it was completed, that was not the case. Instead, we now want to take a rest, writing what we will, but not hindering those who wish to write [on the same topic] and to expand upon it. Although in the year in which we began writing we wrote down a [large] part of the Law Book, due to persecutions which were visited upon us—domestic, not foreign ones—the writing of this memorial was delayed. Nonetheless, we also considered it necessary to provide a list of the succession of the patriarchs of the Aghuans, to reconcile it with all the other [lists] which we now possess. That is one reason for [this] writing. Second, should anyone want to write a history describing the events following those which appear in Movse's Daxurants'i's History—which fully describes the House of the Aghuans—it will be easy to take the list of patriarchs from here. [Such a future author] will not find all the names [of the patriarchs] in his [Movse's'] History, only those about whom he wrote. No one has written [about the events] from that period [i.e. from the end of Movse's' work] to the present. Should someone come forth [to write about the Aghuans] our list of the patriarchs will be extremely important.

Now let us provide the list.

List of the patriarchs of the Aghuans who sat after Lord Elisha, who had come from Jerusalem.

1. The blessed Shup'xaghishoy.
2. Matte'.
3. Sahak.
4. Kare'n.
5. Pant.
6. Ghazar. He constructed Ghazarapat, which is located in Beghamej and the blessed church of Pantaleon which he built with an awe-inspiring appearance. And from [the reign of] Elisha until [the reign of] Saint Gregory, 300 years [elapsed]. Then the Aghuans requested as kat'oghikos from the Armenians the blessed Grigoris, who had been ordained into the patriarchate at 15 years of age and who met his death from the barbarians. It was the 101st year of Rome [of the saeculum novum = A.D. 348]. And these are the patriarchs who sat at Ch'ol:

Zak'aria.
Dawit.
Saint Yohan.
Yeremiah.

Now in the year when dating according to the Armenian [Era] commenced [A.D. 551/552], they moved the seat of the kat'oghikosate to [the city of] Partaw and seated as kat'oghikos Abas, who reigned for 23 years. And it was the custom of the ancestors [in that period] to address letters thus: "From the kat'oghikos of the Aghuans, Lp'nik', and Ch'ols..."

Lord Viroy [reigned as kat'oghikos] for 33 years, a blessed and radiantly virtuous man. Year 75 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 626].

Lord Zak'aria, a blessed and pure man, 17 years.
Lord Yohan, 25 years.
Lord Uxane's, 12 years.
Lord Eghiazar, 6 years. He was chosen for the primacy by God, in 137 A.E. [A.D. 688].
Lord Nerse's, 15 years. He followed the Chalcedonian heresy.
Lord Sime'on, 1 1/2 years.
Lord Anastas, 4 years.
Lord Yusep', 15 years.
Lord Dawit', 4 years.
Another Lord Dawit', 9 years. This was 225 A.E. [776].
Lord Matte', 1 1/2 years.
Lord Movse's, 1 1/2 years.
Lord Aharon, 2 years.
Lord Soghomon, 1/2 year.
Lord Te'o'dodos, 4 years. This was 234 A.E. [785].
Lord Soghomon, 11 years.
Lord Yovhanne's, 25 years.
Lord Movse's, 1/2 year.
Lord Dawit', 28 years.
Lord Yossef, 22 years. This was 327 A.E. [878].
Lord Samuel, 15 years.
Lord Yovhan, 8 years.
Lord Simeon, 21 years.
Lord Dawit, 35 years. This was 378 A.E. [929].
Lord Sahak, 25 years.
Lord Gagik, 10 years.
Lord Dawit, 6 years.

Lord Petros, 12 years. During his lifetime [Petros] stepped down from the [patriarchal] throne and was succeeded by Lord Movses, a monk from Par'isos.

Now after Lord Movses's the patriarchal throne was occupied by the man of God, Lord Markos.

[Markos] was followed by Lord Yossef, then by another Lord Markos, who was succeeded by Lord Step'annos, who was succeeded by Lord Yovhanne's.

Then Lord Step'annos was called to the kat'oghikosate while still a youth and he held the patriarchate for 1 1/2 years.

After his death, the district of Aghuania was without a patriarch for 8 years, nor was there any bishop present. Consequently, those dedicating themselves to the priesthood were taken to another province for ordination. Furthermore, the supply of chrism had become so reduced that they were baptizing children with just water, and some folk were annotating with plain olive oil. Now after 8 years, in 588 A.E. [1139], the blessed bishop Lord Sahak arrived from Armenia, from the court of the holy patriarch, from Lord Grigorios, kat'oghikos of the Armenians. At [Grigorios'] order, [Sahak] came to the district of the Aghuans at the request and the undertaking of vardapet Grigor of our land. [Grigor] was a student of the glorious and renowned vardapet Dawit. Now when Lord Sahak arrived in the land of the Aghuans, he collected everyone in the House of King Abas Bagratuni, son of King Kiwrke, who assembled everyone in his presence in the fortress called Tawush, where the holy fathers and bishops also had gathered. [The gathering included]:

King Dawit, brother of King Abas,
Lord Step'annos, son of Kiwrke, their brother,
Vardapet Sargis, student of Vardapet Dawit,
Grigor, archbishop of Gandzak,
Bishop Sahak, student of Vardapet Sargis,
Step'annos, bishop of the district of Koght and the city of Shamk'or,
Sargis, bishop of Shamsamadzor,
Sahak, bishop of Kabir (?Karboy),
FATHER SARGIS OF XAMSHANKAN.

The leaders of the assembly were Lord Sahak the court bishop of the Armenian kat'oghikos and the ascetic and venerable vardapet Sargis. Thus, with great ceremony and renowned acclaim they ordained kat'oghikos of the Aghuans, Grigorios, the nephew (father's brother's son) of Lord Step'annos, [former] kat'oghikos of the Aghuans. Grigorios was a youth when he was ordained. He was the son of Ge'org, brother's son of Karchak and grandson of Karapet. The day they gathered [for the ordination] was simultaneously the feast of Pentecost and the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the month of Tre' [June]. After this [ceremony] those assembled departed to their own places. On the Feast of the Transfiguration, once again all [the clerics] assembled in the fortress called Kat'oghikos' Rock, the same aforementioned bishops, vardapets, holy fathers—even more vardapets than before—and more priests. On that day they ordained two more bishops and blessed a large quantity of holy chrism. This was distributed everywhere in large and generous portions. Until the day of the [Feast of the] Holy Cross, they held this spiritual celebration, rejoicing together in the glory of God.

Now in the month of Are', on the 18th day of the month, from the evening of Friday to dawn on Saturday, which was the day of the Feast of Saint Ge'org [September 30, 1139], God's wrath moved over the land with violent winds and unbelievable tremors and destruction and reached this land of Aghuania, as is written: "who shakes the earth out of its place, and its pillars tremble," [Job 9, 6] and in another [passage]: "who looks at the earth and it trembles" [Psalms 104, 32]. Because of the tremors there was vast damage in many places in the districts of Par'isos and Xach' en, on the plains and in the mountains. The capital city of Gandzak was dashed to the depths, burying its residents [under the earth] because on four sides it folded them into its bosom. In the mountains, numerous castles and villages collapsed together with monasteries and churches, crumbling upon the heads of their inhabitants. An incalculable number [of people] perished in the collapse of structures and towers. This occurred in the year 588 A.E. [1139]. Now on the same day as the earthquake, the king of the Georgians, named Dimetre, son of King Dawit, arose and came to the district of Ar'an with many troops. He came to the city of Gandzak under the direction of his military commander, Iwan'. Behaving in a merciless and bestial fashion, they fell upon the remaining survivors, generally subjecting all of them to the sword or slavery. Although they observed that the city which previously had been beautiful, had suddenly been transformed into hell—for piles of gold and the bones of the multitude which had fallen were heaped together—nonetheless they did not want to take pity on them. Rather, they dug up the gold and silver treasures and by captivity and torments they punished them more than the earthquake had. Now on the day of the quake our vardapets Sargis and Grigor were translated to Christ from the severity of the blows. Some days later a certain Tachik emir called Qara-Sonqur (Xarasngur), [whose title] translates "world-ruler" in Persian, arose from the land of Persia and came to the district of Ar'an. He commenced building up and fortifying this land, rebuilding the ruined walls of Gandzak city and making peace throughout its confines. Next he turned against the district under the sway of the king of the Georgians, to exact vengeance for his own district which had been ruined by his hand. For previously Gandzak with all its borders had been under his own jurisdiction. So he went to the land of the Georgians once and then again and terrified them, taking their secure castles and conquering them. He returned by way of the mountainous areas of Hadaher, reaching the fortress called Kat'oghikos' Rock and [the fortress] close to it called Karapetants' k'ar [Precursors'
Rock]. He besieged both of them for many days and, with great effort, he took and destroyed both, pulling them apart and burning them. The sacred churches were thus trampled by the impious ones until Kat'oghikos’ Rock was totally obliterated and destroyed, in the year 591 A.E.

Chavli besieged the city for a month, captured it, seized Xuhtught, blinded him, and conquered everyone in the year 592 A.E. In the same year the bishop Lord Step'annos, son of King Kiwregh, died in the fortress named Xale'nchak'ar. Chavli, becoming more arrogant, turned upon the Xach'e'n areas, took all their fortresses, demolished the churches, burned the monasteries, killed the nobles, and captured the troops. Thus generally he destroyed all by the sword and captive-taking. Then he returned to the land of Persia. Now the following year he came again to the district of Ar'an. He swiftly travelled to the fortress of Tawush where King Abas had fortified himself. With great effort he besieged the fortress for an extended time and finally captured it. Abas, meanwhile, had gone off to the king of Georgia in the year 594 A.E. In the same year King Dawit’, Kiwrike’s son, was translated to Christ at the fortress called Mtsnaberd. And his son, Kiwrike’, ruled after him.

Chavli again went to the areas of Xach'e'n, Tandzik’ and Adaxay because the castles he had previously taken had not remained under his control. For a few of the surviving nobles (azats) there who were [hiding] in the forests around those castles again took back their fortresses and again were in rebellion against the Tachiks. For this reason, the enraged Chavli came to wreak vengeance on them. He was unable to retake the fortresses, but he did thoroughly ruin the entire district, burning the blessed monastery called Dadi vank’ which had been founded by the apostle [Thaddeus]. Then he went to the land of the Medes. Rebelling against the sultan, he perished wickedly near the city of Zangan in the year 595 A.E.
Now there was another emir named Fakhr al-Din ['Abd al-Rahman] (P'axradin) from a wealthy and noble clan. He ruled over Chavli's troops and the districts under his authority. At the sultan's command he came to our district of Ar'an and ruled it completely. However, he had a grudge against the king of Georgia and threatened to lay waste all the districts under his sway. Because of this terror and threat, the blessed capital monasteries of Haghbat and Sanahin, desperate with fright, took refuge in prayer and beseeched God to save all the believers. God immediately heard their prayers and snuffed out Fakhr al-Din's life. [Fakhr al-Din] had ruled Gandzak for only a few days before he was slain by a certain emir named Khass Beg (Xazbek) who was of the sultan's House and acted on his urging. This occurred in the year 596 A.E. [1147], the year 367 of Rome, and the year 536 of the Persians. The emperor of the Byzantines was Michael, son of Kaluzhan, grandson of Alexius. The king of Georgia was Demetre', son of Dawit', grandson of Ge'org Bagratuni. And the sultan of Persia was Masud, son of Mahmud, grandson of Malik-Shah.

The emir of Fars and Khuzistan, whose name was Boz-Aba (Bzap'ay'), having heard about the killing of Fakhr al-Din and having learned that it was done at the sultan's order, assembled troops and went against him with the intention of deposing him from power. Now Khass Beg took his troops and went to the sultan's aid. A fierce battle occurred with the troops of both sides killing each other. In this battle Boz-Aba was slain and great chaos ensued. After this a certain emir named Aghush (?) (E'tghish), without the sultan's order, wanted to rule over Gandzak. But when the city's chiefs learned about this, they did not permit him into the city. [Aghush], furious over this insult, went into the mountainous areas and assembled the rebel Turkmen chiefs. With them he visited great destruction on the mountainous areas. Having divided up the district among them, he engendered many crises and thus wanted to besiege the city. But the citizens [of Gandzak] sought help from the king of the Georgians, whose name was Demetre', since his daughter, R'uzugan, previously had been the sultan's wife. Gandzak had been given as payment for her. Consequently the king of the Georgians sent a force there and Aghush, put to flight, returned to the Persians areas. After this, Sultan Masud sent a certain emir named Rawwadi (R'ovadi) as ruler (shahap) of Gandzak. When he arrived he wanted to exact vengeance on the Turkmen for destroying the district. But he was unable to conquer them. And because he was not great either by clan or power, the Turkmen scorned him and showed him much rebellion. Similarly all the fortresses in the district did not submit to him. Although he went and besieged them, he was unable to take them. The Turkmen considerably ruined the plain and mountain areas. Consequently [Rawwadi], furious, arose and took much booty from the Turkmen, making them even more hostile toward him. But then love and friendship were established between them, as he took a wife from among them and gave his daughter in marriage to the lord of Herk'an fortress, who was named Izz al-Din (Azadin). Thus peace was established in the district.

After this the prince of the land of Charaberd and its castle, son of Dar called Tawghan, grew proud and wanted to rule Ar'an. A certain son of the sultan, named Chaghri-Shah (Ch'axrashx), had come to him. And he took him and his father-in-law, Prince Grigor son of Vasak, lord of Xawakan fortress, who had come to him so that through him he could avenge himself on Hasan, son of Desm, because of his brother, Smbat, whom [Hasan] had slain in purposeless warfare amongst themselves. For such reasons they had given their daughters in marriage to the foreigners. Thus Grigor had grown bold and came to his son-in-law, Tawghan. Taking them, Tawghan went and camped on the mountain called Kaytsoy Tsar' near Herk'an fortress. Previously Rawwadi had become the son-in-law of a Turkmen chieftain named Gurbugha. Tawghan called upon him and the others with him, called the Tutakeans, to submit to the sultan. They camped upon the mountain called Dvaxor' and did not submit to them. As a result of this, there was warfare. They attacked Tawghan's troops, and Tawghan himself was slain. They also killed Grigor and the other nobles with him. Christians of the district buried them there. One year later [their remains] were brought to the monastery called Gandzasar, where their ancestral mausoleum was located, and they were buried there. Now they seized Chaghri-Shah and took him to Rawwadi in the city of Gandzak. Regarding him as a false and treacherous individual they made a mockery of him by circulating him around in the city with insults. Then they released him. Then [Chaghri-Shah] went to the Turkmen whom Rawwadi previously had looted. They robbed together and called [Chaghri-Shah] as a king. Massing troops they came [to him] and he divided among them all the mountainous areas of the district. Then he himself, with a multitude of troops, came and besieged the city of Gandzak. But Rawwadi sent to the king of the Georgians and asked for auxiliary troops. [The king of Georgia] sent many troops. When Chaghri-Shah learned about this he fled south of Perozapat, which today is called Partaw, and he remained there among the Turkmen rebels.

Subsequently a certain Sewundz, servant of T'aparkaghan, who was located in the fortress called Ch'are'k', manifested a grudge against Rawwadi. The was because [Rawwadi] earlier had besieged him in his fortress and ravaged his district. Allied with some [folk] from the city of Gandzak, [Sewundz] went to Ildigiz (E'tkuza) who was lord of the city and district of Naaxchawan. Calling upon [Ildigiz], [Sewundz] brought him along and went and besieged the city of Gandzak. He captured it after a month with the consent of its citizens, on Christmas eve, the day of the Epiphany of Our Lord. Now when Rawwadi learned about the will of the city, he himself voluntarily gave the city into his hand. However, when Ildigiz had arrived at the city gates, the citizens announced: "If you do not eliminate our enemy Chaghri-Shah, we shall not submit to you." Thus [Ildigiz] swiftly went and seized [Chaghri-Shah]. He hanged him on a tree, then came and took the city, as we mentioned. As for Rawwadi, he went to his patrimonial district close to the city of Belapat. Since Ildigiz' wife was one of the sultan’s wives, after the death of Masud, he enthroned Aslan-Shah, who was the son of his own wife, and he took for himself the position of atabeg. For [Ildigiz] had slain Khass Beg, atabeg of the sultan's sons in their rivalry. Because of this he ruled the kingdom of the Persians, became extremely powerful, eliminated all the grandee princes and subdued many, eliminated the principal rebels among the Turkmen, and quelled the agitation in the land of Ar'an. The savage nation of the Ishmaelites was tamed, while the looting which they frequently engaged in ended in the land of the Aghuans. However the warfare with the king of Georgia and the princes of Xache'n was not ended. For they came secretly on one occasion and took the fortress of Haru, putting everyone to the sword.

Now on the death of Demetre', king of Georgia, his son Dawit' reigned in his stead. [Dawit'] was a benevolent man, especially as regards the Armenian princes under his authority. He greatly honored the ruler (shahap) of the city of Tiflis, Vasak, son of Prince Vahram, and his brothers named K'urd and Sargis. He displayed such benevolence that he sent and summoned King Kiwrike', son of King Dawit' Bagratuni, promising
to return his patrimony, which his ancestors had taken from him. Thus he sent him off with gifts and arranged another meeting with him. [King Dawit'] also wanted to convene an assembly to inquire into the true faith and thus to honor orthodoxy [Monophysitism]. However, once the princes of the Georgians learned about his desire, they became quite jealous, in particular the Orbelean clan. Giving him a drink with poison in it they murdered King Dawit', and a great and prolonged mourning descended upon the land of the Georgians and the Armenians. Then they enthroned his brother, Giorgi, in his place.

As soon as Giorgi had become king he wanted to arrest Prince Vasak. This was because [Giorgi] held a grudge against him, since when [Vasak] was mayor of the city, he did not exhalt him as he did his brother Dawit', and he did not serve and obey him. Other princes of the Georgians also slandered [Vasak], and so Vasak and his brothers fled, going to Theodosiopolis (T'iodupawlis) which is presently called the city of Karin [Erzerum]. The emir [of the city], who was named Saltukh, received them with joy and honor. For when Saltukh had been seized by the Georgian troops, while besieging the city of Ani, and was sent to King Demetre' in Tiflis, Vasak had performed numerous services for him. And for that reason [Saltukh] honored them with gifts and bestowed on them authority over numerous villages. After Vasak had been there a few months, he died and was buried in the church called Astuadzadzin [Mother of God] in the city. His banner and trumpet and authority were given to his brother, who was named K'urd, and he remained there in great honor.

After Giorgi had become king and had consolidated [his position] he performed many feats of valor: campaigning here and there, waging war on numerous districts, and capturing the city of Ani. [He did this] once and then again, summoning [?] summoned by Bishop Barsegh and his brothers, sons of Hasan the Magistros. However, they resisted and did not surrender the city to him. When he had forcibly taken [Ani], he ordered that it be looted; and, stripping all the troops, men, women, priests, and clerics, he visited upon them many indignities because of their resistance. He appointed a ruler (shahap) and troops for the city, and departed. The city, harassed by enemy raids, pleaded that it be returned to its previous lord, who was of Persian nationality. Being transferred from one [ruler] to another, there was no peace in the city or the district. Then [Giorgi] gave [Ani] to his general, Iwane'. But there was no peace until it was returned to its previous lords. Now Ildegiz, who was ruler of the entire kingdom of the Persians, when he observed this [situation] and all of [Giorgi's] power, had already mustered his troops. Bringing the sultan along with him, he came and camped in the plain close to the fortress called Gag. Then he set fire to the monastery named after Saint Sargis. Many blows were delivered to the troops and many were killed by snakes. Thus in the evening before the day of the battle they secretly fled, leaving their tents behind. However this did not end their evil intentions toward the Christians. Unexpectedly arriving in the confines of Ani, they took the villages of Ashnak and Talin and burned the fortresses and many men, women, and children along with them. Many [folk] were led into slavery, to be sold to distant peoples. Then King Giorgi suddenly went to the city of Dwin with few men and remained among the Persians for a long time...taking much booty and shutting off the house...of Ormizd...