

The Romance of Artaban and Artašir in Agathangelos' *History*

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The Armenian History by Agathangelos written in the mid-5th century and narrating about the conversion of Armenia to Christianity in the early fourth century was soon translated into Greek and other languages: Arabic, Old Russian, and Georgian. There also exist shorter recensions (known as The Life of St. Gregory) in Karshuni, Ethiopian, Coptic, Greek, Georgian, Latin, and Arabic. The Greek version of the History is extant in nine manuscripts dating from the 8th-12th cc. Only one of them, kept in the Laurentian library of Florence, Plut. VII, cod. Gr. 25 (12th c.), contains nine initial paragraphs absent from the Armenian original and from the other recensions. Paragraphs 3-9a tell a romantic story about the revolt of Artašir against Artaban (in the year 226). The Armenian History starts with a very abridged narration about those events (§ 18). This story has been regarded as an Armenian recension of an Iranian epic cycle: the author is in sympathy with the last Parthian Arsacid Artaban overthrown by Artašir, the founder of the Sasanid dynasty in Iran, because the Armenian branch of the Parthian Arsacids continued to reign in Armenia for two more centuries, until the year 428.

The author's liking for the Parthians makes us presume that the romance had formed part of the original Armenian text of Agathangelos' History. The Greek version of the story has doubtlessly been translated from Armenian: paragraphs 3-9a have linguistic features which can be explained only by Armenian influence, and the transliteration of personal names ("Artavanēs," "Artasiras," "Ar-ta-douk-ta") reflects the Armenian forms "Artawan," "Artašir," and "Artadukht" (while their Iranian forms already in the 5th century were with voiced consonants: "Ardavan," "Ar-dašir," "Ardadukht"). The name "Valarsos" can be explained only by the Armenian form "Va-larš,"

whereas the original Iranian form is “Valaš” (“Vologeses” in Roman sources and “Olagas,” “Olas,” or “Bolagas” on Greek coins).

The language of the romance is less sophisticated than that of the History, which suggests that there were two translators. This is also confirmed by different transliterations of the same proper names in the two texts (for example, instead of “Oualarsos” in the romance, the Greek version of the History reads “Alarsos”), by the use of the same foreign names with (in the romance) or without (in the History) Greek case endings, etc.

We should furthermore note that the beginning of Agathangelos’ History cited by later Armenian historiographers (Mov-sēs Xo-re-ṅnac’i and Łazar P’arpec’i) corresponds to that of the surviving Armenian text – a circumstance which, together with the fact that there were two translators, contradicts the above supposition about the original unity of the romance and the History. It is difficult to solve this contradiction.

Finally, another witness to the Greek translation of the romance is Simeon Meta-phrastes’ Menology (10th century), in which one of the lectures, read on September 30, is an abridged version of the Greek History by Agathangelos starting with the romance (that is to say, Simeon’s Greek archetype included the story about Artaban and Ar-tašir). A section of the romance (in § 9), which is typed in italics in our translation, is corrupt and partly unreadable in the Plut. VII, cod. Gr. 25 (fol. 9v-10r). We have re-placed it by the corresponding passage in Metaphrastes.

TRANSLATION

2. The Parthians, being in the greatest luck and ruling over the Persian kingdom and the Armenians and the Indians, the eastern neighbors of the Persians, as well as the very cruel Massagetae, had the following order [of ranks]. The first man in the race of the Parthians (who were later renamed Arsacids), having priority in age and being adorned with valor, became the lord of the Persian kingdom. He who received the second position governed the kingdom of the Armenians; he who got the third rank reigned over the Indians, the neighbors of the Persians, and the fourth one laid hold of the kingdom of the Massagetae. This was the order [of ranks] in the race of the Parthians, who were in such luck for a long time.

3. I shall start from there, whence the Parthian [king] initiated [his] fall. Artabanus, son of Volongesus, a descendent of the Parthians, was skilled in the art of the Chaldeans; he knew how to measure the motion and revolution of the stars and had learnt fortune-telling. [Once], lying with his wife in a tent, [Artabanus] observed the visible stars. He noticed something and said to the queen: "I saw the motion of a star and today I guessed the following: if someone wishes to revolt against his lord and make war against him, he will immediately win, defeating the lord"; and saying this, he fell asleep. According to the [Parthians'] custom, one of the maidservants of the queen slept in the same tent to execute the orders given by her. Being the daughter of a nobleman, she was intimate with one of the grandees named Artasiras, from the province of Assyria. Afire with passion for him and having heard the king's words, secretly from the king and the queen she ran to Artasiras, son of Sasan (after whom the Persian kings descending from him were called Sasanians).

4. Now, entering the tent (for the servants could not forbid her, because the love of the two was known), she spoke so: "Dear Artasiras, let the sleep leave your eyes! Rush now to [fulfill] your wish which you have had since long ago! Be encouraged, looking at the king's prophecy! Now it is the time to be fully armed, now there is a need for the counsel of wisest men, now it is necessary to gather a multitude for the battle! For the king, seeing the motion of the stars, said: 'Now a servant acting against his lord will immediately win.' Come on, you go to [fulfill] your wish, but give me [your] right hand and confirm by oath my will, that when you seize the kingdom of the Persians, you will not remove me from your bed and will represent me as your partner. For you always gave that promise to me, when you were restraining your wish." Artadukta said such words, and Artasiras, agreeing [with her] with deepest gratitude and taking the woman's hand, stretched it with his right hand to heaven and spoke so: "Let the divine power, the sun and the fire, the air and the earth see that today, taking counsel with Persian noblemen and revolting against the king, I shall at once make you the mistress of all in my house."

5. Hearing this Artadukta said: "I shall go for the last time to the king's tent, because today I [still] have to give service as in the previous days. For though we have freemen's fate, being born from noblemen, it is necessary to serve royal needs." Saying this she went to the king's tent and, secretly creeping into her bed, lay down, whereas Artasiras got up, summoned those Persian and Assyrian noblemen with whom he had taken counsel on other days too and standing amidst them

said: "You noblest men of Persia and Assyria, we have already been knowing for a long time the false pretensions of the Parthians who have seized the fruits of others' labor: the Parthians exult at wrongdoing, do not stop killing without reason, and abominate Persian and Assyrian men, having stolen in among us from the land of barbarians. Now, what will you say? If my words are untrue, let him continue reigning and wrongdoing, but if I spoke right-ly, let us rush to battle. It is better to die than to be slaves of the unrighteous lord." These were Artasiras' words.

6. And the Persian noblemen welcomed his words, for they wished to get rid of the Parthians, in order that the Persian king should be from their clan. And they said to Artasiras: "We regard you as the leader of [our] words and deeds, having the proof your good intention and knowing that your reign will be virtuous. Now whatever you wish to do, lead the way, and we shall follow your words, doing what is to the ad-vantage of both sides." When the day came and the Persians were looking forward to fighting together with their leader Artasiras, they first sent envoys to King Artabanus: the great chiefs and generals Zekas and Karinas, who went and stood before the great king. They started to speak as follows: "We are the envoys of the Persians, and if [your] mind is gentle enough to listen to the words of the Persians, we shall speak and utter many words as envoys; we are free of fear and danger, and this is ordered by the law, which noblemen have established long ago [for] keeping harmless those who are sent as envoys. Now if you allow, o king, we shall speak." And King Artabanus gave them permission to say what they wished.

7. Finally, they started to speak as follows: "O king, we the Persians have the habit to obey kings, since the king is the lord of all, and the king himself [must] must control the state affairs lawfully and justly; he must govern without barbaric intentions and be terrible to enemies and well-disposed towards his subjects. For how can he put obstacles on the way of wrongdoers, if he himself commits wrongdoings? How can he punish those doing evil, if he himself is prone to faults? Being trialled by your evil deeds, we have renounced your reign, not because we hate to obey but because we avoid the lawless king; not because of our tyrannical disposition but because we do not tolerate tyrannical inclinations." These were the Persians' words. King Artabanus, hang-ing his head for many hours and looking at the floor, foresaw the future fall of his king-ship and looking at the envoys said: "I am the cause of this insolence, for I have hon-ored some [of you] with offices and magistracy or have allowed others to become rich, by royal gifts making many people owners of estates and



possessions. You go to your council, and you will see me changed in accordance with your intentions. I shall teach you not to oppose the king; go you that were sent [to me], no longer support such speeches, or else I shall first take revenge upon you for the insolence against me!”

8. Hearing this, Zekas and Karinas headed towards the meeting place of the Persians and reaching [there] they told everything to Artasiras and the other Persian noblemen, adding to their words that the king had gone mad and was not going to wait for a second embassy, but was arming against the leaders of the council. Artasiras sent for Artadukta, brought her and settled in a very secure castle, with her possessions, while he himself together with the Persians and Assyrians was arming against the great king Artabanes. Being informed about the preparations against him, Artabanes too armed together with the Parthians, having also a good many Persians who did not take part in the council of their fellow tribesmen. In the first battle the Persians and Parthians fought against each other, and from both sides there were many casualties. However, Artasiras became stronger, because many others, too, seceded from Artabanes and joined Artasiras. When they encountered each other in the second battle, numerous Parthians were killed, and soon King Artabanes took flight to prepare for war again. For twelve months they opposed each other, now fighting and now taking rest, and finally, once again looking for a fight, they reached the battlefield.

9. And Artasiras told King Artabanes not to make vain efforts and destroy the races of the Persians and Parthians, because the kingdom does no longer wish to remain in Artabanes' hands, but to pass to Artasiras. “And you,” he said, “if you listen to me, you will live carefree, because I shall give you a land that will supply you with all the necessary things in abundance. You should not let anyone except yourself to teach you take advantage; and remember the prophecy that you once announced to the queen in the tent.” These were Artasiras' words. Artabanes first looked at some of his relations. He said: “What a bad thing woman is; and the conjugal love rather harms than does good!” Saying this, he ordered in anger one of his body-guards to go and kill the queen, for he thought that she had been the betrayer of his prophecy. Turning to Artasiras, he answered that it would be much more preferable for him to die than to concede his kingdom to Artasiras, who was slave. And with these words he pounced upon the Persians in a Bacchic and mad manner; and he wounded many of them, slew more and directed the spear towards Artasiras. The latter (for he had hands good in shooting with a bow and always very zealously successful in this) pretended a flight,

but being persecuted cast an arrow to the breast of the persecutor, which became irresistible thanks to the shooter's strength, and piercing Artabanes' armour, passed through the breast and issued from the back and at once showed Artabanes dead.

Having agreed [with Artadukta], he reigned with her over the surviving Parthians as well as the Persians and Assyrians, doing everything fairly, taking pleasure in good order and just government. For he was eager to earn praises as one who had un-expectedly ascended the throne of Persia. These events were reported to Khosroes the Arsacid who reigned in Armenia Major: that Artasiras, son of Sasan, had seized the Persian kingdom and killed his [Khosroes'] brother Artabanes. It was added to these reports that the Parthians rejoiced more at the reign of Artasiras than that of their own fellow tribesman.

APPENDIX

Symeon Metaphrastes

p. 944 A. Τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς εἰς Πάρθους διαλυθείσης, καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων ἐπικρατείας εἰς τοῦτο δυνάμει ἀφιγμένης, ὡς μὴ μόνον Περσῶν ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀρμενίων... Πέρσαις· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Μασσαγέτας μέρος ποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐπεὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν τοσοῦτων φροντίδων εἰς ἀνέχειν οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν, τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ Πάρθοι μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἀρσακίδαι δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, συμμερίζονται τὰς ἐπικρατείας τῶν τεσσάρων ἐθνῶν εἰς ἑαυτούς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν κοινὴν κλησιν εἰς ὄνομα ἐξιδιωσάμενος, Ἀρσακίδης τε ἐκαλεῖτο, καὶ τῆς τῶν Πάρθων ἀρχῆς εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ὡσπερ χρόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προέχων πλεονεκτήμασιν. Ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν τὴν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀρχὴν ἐκληροῦντο. Τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Μασσαγέται ἦσαν τὸ ὑποχέριον. Καὶ χρόνος οὐ βραχὺς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς Ἀρσακίδαις ἐμέτρει.

Ἀρταβάνης δὲ, παῖς Οὐαλάρσου, Ἀρσακίδης τε ὢν καὶ Πάρθων ἔχων τὴν 945 ἐξουσίαν, περὶ τὴν ἀστροθεάμονα τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐσχόλαζε σοφίαν, καὶ τι συνιδῶν ἐκεῖθεν, τῇ γυναικὶ κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν συγκαθεύδων ἂν εἶπεν, ὡς Ἐξ ὧν μὲ διδάσκουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀστέρων δρόμοι, εἴ τις ἐπανάστασιν κατὰ τοῦ οἰκείου δεσπότη ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ μελετήσειεν, οὐκ, ἔγω γε οἶμαι, τοῦ σκοποῦ ἐκεῖνος καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ψευσθήσεται.

B. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, εἰς ὕπνον ἐτράπη. Μία δὲ τῶν ὑπηρετουμένων τῇ βασιλίδι, τῶν κατὰ γένος ἐπιφανῶν αὕτη θυγάτηρ οὔσα, συνήθης ἦν ἐπὶ σωματίων ὁμιλία ἰνὶ τῶν τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς διοικούντων, ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων μὲν καταγομένῳ, καλουμένῳ δὲ Ἀρτασείρας. Ὅς πολλάκις μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλιπτε τὴν τυραννίδα, καὶ τοῖς ιστοτάτοις τῶν φίλων μυστικώτερον ἐκοινοῦντο, ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ταύτην εἰς ἔργον ἀνεβάλλετο, φόβῳ τῷ τῆς ἀποτυχίας· τῆς σκηνῆς οἷν αὕτη λαθραῖως ὑπεξεληθοῦσα, μηνύει τὸν χρησμὸν πάντα τῷ Ἀρτασείρα, παροξύνει τε πρὸς τὸ ἔργον καὶ λόγους ἀπαιτεῖ, ὡς ἂν, εἰ ἐγκρατῆς γένηται τῆς Παρθῶν ἀρχῆς, κοινωνὸν αὐτὴν ἔχει βίου καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῇ ὀνόματι τε καὶ πράγματι συμμερίζοιτο. Ὁ δὲ προθύμως ὤμνυ τε τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς, καὶ πέρασ ἐπηγγέλλετο λαβεῖν τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτίκα τῆς ἀναρρήσεως. Καὶ ταῦτα αἰτησαμένη καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβοῦσα, μετὰ σπουδῆς αὐθις τὴν βασιλικὴν σκηνὴν, πολλὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν ποιουμένη πρόνοιαν ἀποτρέχει· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ γυναικίῳ Ἀρταδοῦκτα. Ὁ οἷν Ἀρτασείρας εἰς νοῦν γυναικὸς τὴν ἀγγελίαν βαλόμενος, δεινῶς τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἠλίσκετο ἔρωτι, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, οἷς μάλιστα ὡς πιστοτάτοις ἐθάρρει, καὶ κατεῖπεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τῆς Πάρθων ἀλαζονείας, τὰ ὅμοια συμβουλευόντας καὶ αὐτοὺς εὕρισκει· καὶ γὰρ ἠῦχοντο κάκεῖνοι, τῆς μὲν Παρθικῆς

ἀπαλλαγῆναι τυραννίδος, ἐξ αἵματος δὲ οἰκείου τὴν Περσῶν ἰδεῖν ἔξουσίαν ἰθυνομένην. Ψηφίζονται γοῦν ὥσπερ τῆς βουλῆς ἡγεμόνα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τὸν Ἄρτασείραν, καὶ πέμπουσιν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Ἄρταβάνην, ἐκστῆναι παραινοῦντες τῆς βασιλείας χωρὶς κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου συμβαινόντων κακῶν. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀνευεγκῶν μάντευμα, καὶ χρόνον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπικλίνας, ἀπράκτους μὲν τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους ἐκπέμπει, ἐπαπειλεῖ δὲ, ὡς εἰ πάλιν τοιοῦτόν τι, ἀπαγγελοῦντες ἐπιλεύσονται, ἀπ' αὐτῶν πρώτων τὰς τῆς ὕβρεως λήψεται δίκας. Ζήκας ἦν καὶ Καρίνας αὐτῶν τοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα.

Γ. Καὶ ὑπεστρέψαντες ἀπαγγέλουσιν Ἄρτασείρα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, ὅσα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε τε καὶ ἠπελήσατο. Εἶτα συγκροτεῖται καὶ παρ' ἑκατέροις πόλεμος. Πρὶν ἢ δὲ συρραγῆναι τοῦτον Ἄρτασείρας πέμψας, ἄγει τὴν Ἄρταδοῦκταν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ ταύτην ἐν ἰσχυρωτάτῳ φρουρίῳ μετὰ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ πάσης καθίστησιν. Ὡς δὲ εἰς χεῖρας τῶν τε Περσῶν καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αἱ δυνάμεις συνῆλθον, πίπτουσι μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν πλεῖστοι· ἀπέβλεψε δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρτασείραν ἡ νίκη· Δευτέρας δὲ συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὸ μὲν Παρθικὸν τῷ πολεμίῳ κατακράτος ἀνηλίσκετο ξίφει, εἰς φυγὴν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄρταβάνης 948 ἐχώρει· Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ συναγαγὼν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν, ἀνεθάρσασε καὶ ὄλον ἐνιαυτὸν, πῆ μὲν Περσῶν, πῆ δὲ Πάρθων πολλὰ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔργα τόλμης τε καὶ ἐμπειρίας ἐπεδεικνυμένων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τελευταῖον αἱ παρατάξεις ἐγγὺς ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐγένοντο, φασὶν Ἄρτασείραν πρὸς Ἄρταβάνην εἰπεῖν τὸν βασιλέα, μὴ μάτην πονεῖν, καὶ φθεῖρειν τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Πάρθων γένη· τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν οὐκ Ἄρταβάνη λοιπὸν ἐθέλειν παραμένειν, ἀλλ' εἰς Ἄρτασείραν μεταβαίνειν. Σὺ δὲ βιώσεις ἀλύπως, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθη, δώσω γὰρ σοι χώραν, δασιλῶς τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν πάντα παρέχουσιν· δεῖ δὲ μὴ διδάσκαλον ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ σεαυτὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ χρημοῦ μνημονεῖν ὅν ποτε κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἀνεῖπες τῇ βασιλίδι. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν Ἄρτασείρας.

Δ. Ἄρταβάνης δὲ πρὸς τινὰς τῶν οἰκείων πρότερον ἀποβλέψας. Ὡς χαλεπὸν, ἔφη, γυνὴ, καὶ τὸ τῆς συζυγίας φίλτρον βλάψει μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελήσειε. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐν ὀργῇ τινα τῶν δορυφόρων κελεύει διαβάντα ἀνελεῖν τὴν βασιλίδαν· ταύτην γὰρ ὤετο προδότον τοῦ χρημοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. Ἐπιστραφεῖς δὲ πρὸς Ἄρτασείραν, θανεῖν ἀπεκρίνατο πολὺ ἂν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον αἰρετώτερον εἶη, ἢ δούλω γε ὄντι τῷ Ἄρτασείρα τῆς βασιλείας παραχωρῆσαι. Καὶ ἅμα τοῖς λόγοις κατὰ Περσῶν ἐφορμᾷ παραβακχόν τι καὶ μανικόν. Καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν τιτρώσκει, καταβάλλει δὲ πλείους, ἰθύνει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρτασείραν τὸ δόρυ. Ὁ δὲ (χεῖρας γὰρ εἶχε τοξεύειν ἀγαθὰς, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο εἶ μάλα φιλοτίμως αἰεὶ ποιουμένης) ὑποκρίνεται μὲν τὴν φυγὴν, πέμπει δὲ διωκόμενος τὸ βέλος κατὰ τὰ στέρια παρὰ τὸν μαζὸν τοῦ διώκοντος, καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ τοῦ βαλόντος ἀνυπόστατον

γεγονός, τόν τε θώρακα ῥήγνυσι τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου, καὶ διέλασαν τὰ στέρνα, τῶν νώτων διεκπίπτει, καὶ νεκρὸν αὐτίκα δεικνύει τὸν Ἀρταβάνην. Εἰς ὁμολογίαν δὲ τὸ Παρθικὸν εὐθὺς καὶ Περσικὸν συνελθόντες, Ἀρτασίραν ἀναγορεύουσι βασιλέα, πολὺ τὸ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεικνύντα κηδεμονικὸν καὶ φιλόνηρον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν Ἀρταδοῦκταν ἄγεται γυναῖκα, ἣν αὐτῷ καὶ πρότερον οἱ ὄρκοι κατηγγυήσαντο, καὶ βασιλίδα ταύτην χειροτονεῖ.