

**PHAUENE OR PHARENE (FARENA) (STRABO, XI, 14, 4)? ON THE
QUESTION OF THE LOCALIZATION OF PHARENE,
THE LEGITIMACY OF THE IDENTIFICATION OF PHAUENE
(PHAUNENE) (STRABO, XI, 14, 4) AND PHAUNITIS (STRABO, XI, 14,
5)? ISSUES OF LOCALIZATION¹**

Ruslan S. Kobzar*  

Vigen A. Tsatryan*  

DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2026.6.1-66

Abstract

In his work, Strabo [49:497] mentions among the provinces² of Greater Armenia – Phauene, Comisene and Orchistene. On the basis of the philological emendation Orchistene = Ortsikhene (Ορχιστηνη < *Ορτσιχηνη), Bagrat Ulubabyan [58] identified the last of these with the Urartian toponym ^{kur}Urtekhe, from which the present-day Armenian name Artsakh also derives [29:104] known since the 13-14th century AD also under the name Karabakh. [3:7-8;4:54,58;55:104,166,188;50:352;16:173-174;59:155-172;30:117-160]. The name of the province of Phauene, however, owing to the defective state of Strabo's manuscript, has been restored by philologists only hypothetically. In the words of the translators, there is no firm certainty as to which letter should stand third in order. Philologists have proposed various readings without specifying a localization. On the basis of an etymological approach, the authors propose to read this toponym as Pharene, for which they adduce linguistic evidence and parallels from the Ashkharhatsuyts [13:139;5:103] and from the History of the Country of Aluank by Movses

¹ An abridged version of this article, in the form of an online presentation, was first presented by the authors at the international academic conference “Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh) in Historical and Contemporary Contexts,” held on September 15, 2022, at the Armenian Cathedral in Moscow.

* Independent Researcher (ORCID ID: 0009-0002-7650-3432), Velyka Andrusivka – Svitlovodsk, Kirovohrad region, Ukraine. E-mail: akrsarme@gmail.com

* Chief Specialist, Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport, Republic of Armenia (ORCID ID:0009-0004-6442-3093), 7/24 David-Bek, Kapan, Syunik region, Armenia. E-mail: vigennane@mail.ru
Received February 11, 2026, revised August 26, 2026, accepted August 28, 2026.

2026 The Author(s). The article is distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License

² Old Armenian *qunqun* (*gavar*), English *district*, Russian *païon*

Kaghankatvatsi [42:170], comparing it with the gavar (district) of Parnes (Kusti Parnes) of the region of Artsakh of Greater Armenia, and they also offer a precise localization on a modern cartographic basis. In view of the proposed reconstruction of the toponym Pharene, the article examines the illegitimacy of the identification of Phauene with Phaunitis proposed earlier by B. Harutyunyan (1994/2016) and H.Zh. Harutyunyan (2014), and the groundlessness of the localization of Phaunitis in Syunik.

Keywords: *Phauene, Pharene, Comisene, Orchistene, Phaunitis, Artsakh, Karabakh (Q'arabagh)*

The ancient Greek historian and geographer Strabo, describing Armenia in his famous *Geography*, wrote that Armenia, “in earlier times a small country, was enlarged by the wars of Artaxias and Zariadres. They were originally generals of Antiochus the Great, but later, after his defeat, became kings (the former king of Sophene, Acisene, Odomantis and certain other districts, and the latter as king of the country round Artaxata); and they jointly enlarged their dominions (kingdoms) by cutting off portions of the territories of the surrounding peoples – namely, from the Medes they took away Caspiane, Phaunitis and Basoropeda; from the Iberians the foothills of the Paryadres, Chorzene and Gogarene, which is on the other side of the river Cyrus; from the Chalybians and the Mosynoeci, Carenitis and Xerxene, which borders on Lesser Armenia or is a part of it; from the Cataonians, Acilisene and the district round the Antitaurus; and finally, from the Syrians, Taronitis. Therefore, all these peoples now speak the same language” [49:498].³

The paragraph cited is highly informative. It could make it possible not only to outline the territory of Armenia and Sophene before the conquests of Artaxias and

³ The *Geography* of Strabo with an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones: “According to report, Armenia, though a small country in earlier times, was enlarged by Artaxias and Zariadres, who formerly were generals of Antiochus the Great, but later, after his defeat, reigned as kings (the former as king of Sophene, Acisene, Odomantis, and certain other countries, and the latter as king of the country round Artaxata), and jointly enlarged their kingdoms by cutting off for themselves parts of the surrounding nations,—I mean by cutting off Caspiane and Phaunitis and Basoropeda from the country of the Medes; and the country along the side of Mt. Paryadres and Chorzene and Gogarene, which last is on the far side of the Cyrus River, from that of the Iberians; and Carenitis and Xerxene, which border on Lesser Armenia or else are parts of its from that of the Chalybians and the Mosynoeci; and Acilisene and the country round the Antitaurus from that of the Cataonians; and Taronitis from that of the Syrians; and therefore they all speak the same language, as we are told» (Strabo, XI, 14, 5).

Zariadres, but also the borders of the already independent kingdoms – Sophene and Greater Armenia – after the defeat of Antiochus III the Great at the battle of Magnesia. The only obstacle along this path is that a number of districts conquered by Artaxias I (194–189 BC – strategos of Antiochus III in Greater Armenia; 189–153 BC – king of Greater Armenia) and Zariadres I (202/201–189 BC – strategos of Antiochus III in Sophene; 189–163 BC – king of Sophene) [32:18-19;33:125;34:47-51;35:10-11;36:42], as well as certain other districts of Greater Armenia and Sophene, are mentioned only in the work of Strabo and nowhere else, which considerably complicates the questions of their localization on a modern cartographic basis. Among such regions (Armenian *ashkharh*, Russian *oblast*) are Phaunitis and Basoropeda – conquered by the Armenian kings from the Medes [49:498] – and also Comisene and Phauene [49:497], which were provinces (Armenian *gavar*, English *district*, Russian *rayon*) of Greater Armenia, the latter two being mentioned by Strabo together with Orchistene, which researchers identify with Artsakh [58]. Moreover, two works (B. Harutyunyan, 1994/2016 and H.Zh. Harutyunyan, 2014) have been published in which an attempt was made to identify Phaunitis with Phauene [21:30-57;17:19-21]. It is not by chance that we have written the latter, i.e. Pha(?)ene, with a question mark in place of the third letter. The reason for this is that at the place where this toponym is written the surviving copy of Strabo's manuscript is defective and, in the words of the translators, there is no firm certainty as to which letter should stand third in order [49:824]. The consequences of the defect have also affected the fact that this toponym has been restored either as Phauene or as Phaunene.

In our previous article [53:7-22] we set ourselves a methodological task – through a careful historical-geographical analysis, with excursions into textual, source-critical and linguistic (etymological) parallels, to eliminate the confusion that has arisen in the identification of toponyms. Only in this way will the reader be able to understand in connection with which historical events and in what sequence particular names are mentioned, while we shall be able to determine the borders of Armenia before and after the conquests of Artaxias and Zariadres. Since the length limitations

of different publication formats do not always permit a detailed examination of this question, despite the availability of additional data, the present article follows the same approach adopted in our aforementioned work, where its foundations were first laid.

Babken Harutyunyan, in 1994 (reprinted in 2016), in the pages of the Historical-Philological Journal, taking into account the identification of Orchistene with Artsakh previously proposed by Bagrat Ulubabyan (1969) [58], proposed an identification of the two other provinces which are mentioned in the work of Strabo together with Orchistene – Phauene and Comisene [21:30-57].

Without going deeply into philological details, Babken Harutyunyan identified Phauene with Phaunitis and localized it in the territory of Mardpetakan, and Comisene in the territory of Syunik. The localization of Mardpetakan was proposed with reference to information from the *History of the House of Artsruni* by Tovma Artsruni. The latter, relying on an unknown source, in describing the epoch of the reign in Armenia of Orontes IV (215–195 BC) [32:18; 34:53-54; 35:11] and his persecutions of prince Artaxias, describes the points along which the border between Greater Armenia and Atropatene ran. Among the territories subject to Atropatene, Tovma Artsruni mentions two cities – Zaravand of Atrpatakan (Atropatene) and Her [51:110-111]. Referring to these data, the researcher supposed that part of the border ran not only along the Araxes but also along the Kotur (Karmir-get). Notwithstanding the unquestionable value of the source, the border is defined imprecisely, especially if one takes into account that Zarevand and Her were situated on different banks of the river Kotur – Zarevand on the left and Her on the right. If, following the author, we regard the Kotur as the border, then it must be admitted that the left bank of the Kotur belonged to Greater Armenia and the right bank to Atropatene. The location of Zaravand on the left bank of the Kotur, however, implies that it lay within the borders of Greater Armenia, which contradicts the evidence of the very source used by B. Harutyunyan and deprives it of its value.

In our previous study we convincingly showed that in this period the border ran not along the Kotur but along the river Chuash-Rot [53:8-13]. And if, conditionally speaking, Phaunitis is to be placed in the region of Mardpetakan – the ancestral domain of the Armenian Mardpets – then account must also be taken of the evidence of Movses Khorenatsi, who, clearly describing the boundaries of the possessions of the Mardpets, calls them “rulers of the lands from Atrpatakan to Chuash and Nakhchavan” [43:63]. The evidence of Movses Khorenatsi [43:63] clearly shows that the author distinguishes Atropatene from Mardpetakan.

Another researcher, H.Zh. Harutyunyan, in a separate article devoted to establishing the location of Oromantis and Phaunitis [17:21], likewise identified Phaunene with Phaunitis, as B. Harutyunyan had done. Unlike the previous researcher, however, he proposed a localization of Phaunitis in Syunik, while Comisene, following Hr. Acharyan, he identified with Cambysene and sought it in the territory of Chorzene [1:109,111-112; 17:21]. This was strange already for the reason that Comisene was mentioned as a province of Armenia, whereas Cambysene was situated on the road between Iberia and Caucasian Albania, and in the south adjoined the left bank of the Cyrus. Given that the river Cyrus was the northern border of Greater Armenia, i.e. that the right bank of the Cyrus was under the control of Greater Armenia while the left bank was not, the identification Comisene = Cambysene is entirely devoid of foundation, as contradicting the source. Moreover, Strabo himself mentions Comisene, Cambysene and Chorzene as separate and absolutely distinct territories [49:497; 49:475; 49:476].

So divergent a set of identifications and diametrically opposed localizations compels us to turn to this question anew, from a different standpoint – the textual, the source-critical and the etymological.

The first thing to which the attention of researchers must be drawn is the inadmissibility of the identification Phauene (Phaunene) = Phaunitis. First, these two parts of the work of Strabo speak of different administrative-territorial units – the regions of Caspiane, Basoropeda and Phaunitis [49:498] and the provinces (district) of

Phauene (Phaunene), Comisene and Orchistene [49:497] respectively. Second, the paragraph [49:498] enumerates the territories conquered from the Medes by Artaxias I and Zariadres, whereas the paragraph [49:497] describes provinces of Greater Armenia which are not recorded before this as conquered, which indicates that they formed part of Armenia before the conquests of Artaxias and Zariadres – something confirmed also by the evidence of Movses Khorenatsi [43:44]. Third, the translator of the work of Strabo into Russian, G.A. Stratanovsky, in translating the paragraph [49:497], placed a footnote after the word Phauene in which he indicated that in this part of the word the manuscript of Strabo is defective, in view of which there is no firm certainty as to which letter should stand third in order. The translator maintained, moreover, that this letter might be *v*, or *n*, or any other letter [49:824]. That is, it would be logical to render this name as Pha(?)ene until logical grounds were found for the textual restoration of the damaged part of the manuscript of Strabo. The same situation, without any changes, is recorded also in the new ten-volume translation of the work of Strabo into German with extensive commentary by Stefan Radt [54:388].

In his work Stefan Radt also cites the versions of the transcription of this toponym proposed by earlier researchers: Phaunene – Tzschucke (Faunena Tifernate), Sophene? – Casaubonus, Phasiane – Lucas Ingigius (teste Kramer), Sauene – Hewsen (Intr. IV 73) [54:388]. B. Harutyunyan and H.Zh. Harutyunyan, relying, as we think, on one of the reconstructions of the said toponym assumed by certain researchers (Phaunene – Tzschucke (Faunena Tifernate)), and judging by the bibliography they cite, proposed to identify Phaunitis [49:498] with Pha(?)ene [49:497]. And since the toponym Orchistene was identified by researchers with Artsakh [58], which in the Urartian sources was called Urtekhi or ^{kur} Urtehi [29:104], and also ^{kur/sadu} Arteni [52]⁴, H.Zh. Harutyunyan decided that Phaunene, which he had groundlessly identified with

⁴ Vigen Tsatrian (co-author of the present article), taking into account the fact that the suffixes *-hi* and *-ni* alternate in the designation of the same locality in different Urartian inscriptions—for example, ^{kur}Uelikuhi and ^{kur}Uelikuni [22:527]—proposed identifying the country of Arteni, mentioned in one of the Urartian inscriptions as ^{kur/sadu}Ar-te-ni-e [11:36; 22:498], with the country of Urtehi, or ^{kur}Ur-te-hi-e, mentioned in another Urartian inscription. Given the presumed identity of Ur = Ar, the most striking example of which is Urartu = Ararat, this identification appears well founded and points to the equivalence of the toponyms Urtehi = Arteni = Orsichene < Orchistene.

Phaunitis, should be sought in the territory to the south-east of Ayarat or, at the very least, in the north of the province of Syunik by Ashkharhatsuyts [17:21].

The versions of Babken Harutyunyan and H.Zh. Harutyunyan will correspond to reality in part only if the toponym Phaunitis and the hypothetically restored toponym Phauene, or Phaunene, are separated from one another.

The latter, i.e. Phauene (Phaunene), another researcher, Slavik Sargsyan, proposed to identify with the province of Kusti Parnes (Kust i-Parnes) of the region of Artsakh mentioned in Ashkharhatsuyts, which in its turn is separated from Orchistene by the province which in Strabo is called Comisene and corresponds to the Mrav mountains with their foothills but without the level part, the summit of which has preserved the ancient name Komesh, or Komeshsar [47:13-15].

Commenting on the opinion of Slavik Sargsyan, with regard to Comisene we fully share the author's point of view, with regard to the identification Phaunene = Kusti Parnes we hold a different view. The difference lies in the methodology of approach. An analysis of the work of Slavik Sargsyan allows us to conclude that he did not know of the defective state of the manuscript of Strabo at the place where the toponym Phauene (Phaunene) is written – which he confirmed in a personal conversation – and that he arrived at the identification Phaunene = Kusti Parnes by the method of elimination.

The point is that the Eastern regions of Greater Armenia (Artsakh and Utik), lying in the interfluvium of the Cyrus and the Araxes (the latter flowing from Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ)), were, according to Strabo, girdled in the form of a crescent by two plains – Araxene and Sacasene – the most fertile in Armenia. And since two of the three provinces of Greater Armenia mentioned by Strabo – Orchistene and Comisene – had been identified and localized between Sacasene and Araxene, Slavik Sargsyan, among the gavar of Artsakh which are mentioned in the Ashkharhatsuyts to the north of the Mrav mountains, on encountering the name Kusti Parnes, the first two initial letters of which, Pa(rnes), are consonant with the name Pha(unene) in

Strabo, decided that they were identical. Having no additional arguments, he did not in his work support his suppositions with an evidential base.

In geographical terms, alongside the Mrav range (Comisene), along the level part of the right bank of the Cyrus which Strabo calls Sacasene, there is yet another mountain range – the Areguni – the etymology of whose name coincides with the etymology of the name of the gavar Kusti Parnes of the region of Artsakh according to the Ashkharhatsuyts, also known as the gavar Parana (Pharana)/Parna (Pharna), mentioned in the *History of the Country of Aluank*. The author of this chronicle, Movses Kaghankatvatsi (Daskhurantsi), describing the deeds of the local prince Sahak-Sevada, writes that “he simultaneously took possession of the gavars of Gardman, Kavas (Kavs/Kosa) and Parana/Pharana” [42:170]. Researchers and translators of this monument into various languages, finding no information in other sources about the gavar Kavas (Kavs/Kosa) and taking it for a slip of the copyists, restored the name of the gavar according to the Ashkharhatsuyts as Kusti Parnes, joining the names of two different gavars into one. The problem, however, is that gavar (province) Kavs is mentioned in the sources. Archbishop Makar Barkhudaryan, in his book *Artsakh*, published in 1895, mentions the province of Kavs (Զուլս) with the fortress of Tavush, in the region of Artsakh of Greater Armenia [7:357;15:309]. Consequently, the artificial joining of the two gavars, Kavs and Parna, into a single Kusti Parnes (kusti Parnes), under the influence of the data of certain manuscripts of the Ashkharhatsuyts (Ե, 160) [13:139], must be acknowledged as erroneous and must be corrected in the text of, and in the commentary on, the *History of the Country of Aluank*. Moreover, in the most recent translation of the Ashkharhatsuyts into Russian, the gavar Kusti Parnes (Kustiparnes) encountered in certain manuscripts has been divided into two separate gavars – Kustin and Parnes [5:103].

The name Areguni consists of two parts – areg (a derivative of the Armenian word areg (արեգ) “sun”) [2:310-312; 41:135-138] and the place-name suffix *-uni* (մլխ) – and etymologically means “sunny, shining”. The name Pharene consists of two parts – *phar* (from Iranian farr “glory, radiance, light, brilliance”, which goes back to

Avestan *x^varenah*; Old Persian *farnah*; Pahlavi *xvarrah* (a derivative of Old Iranian *xuar/n* “sun”) [56:440-441] and the place-name suffix *-ene* – and etymologically means “sunny, shining, brilliant, bright/luminous”, that is, it has the same meaning as the name Areguni.

In view of what has been said above, we may assert that at the defective place in one of the surviving copies of the manuscript of Strabo there stood the letter *-r*, and the toponym sounded as Pharene. In the geographical sense this was a historical province of Greater Armenia whose western border was formed by the foothills of the range called the Areguni. It stretched along the eastern shore of Lake Sevan (from its northernmost corner to its extreme south-eastern point). Its northern border was most probably the course of the river Aghstev – a right tributary of the river Cyrus – as far as the place where the river Voskepar flows into it. The level part, stretching along the borders of Pharene and Comisene, i.e. along the Areguni and Mrav ranges as far as the right bank of the Cyrus, is nothing other than Sacasene, which according to Strabo was considered “the best land in Armenia” [49:484;49:497-498]. The southern point of Pharene was the junction of the Areguni and Mrav ranges, whence flows the river Gardman (Shamkhor), which formed the south-eastern border of Pharene. For the last 24 km before its confluence with the river Cyrus, the river Gardman (Shamkhor) flows already through the territory of ancient Sacasene. In view of what has been set out above, we consider that we have adduced sufficient arguments for regarding the above-cited identifications of Hr. Acharyan, and of H.Zh. Harutyunyan who followed him [1:109,111-112; 17:21], as devoid of foundation.

The question of the localization of Phaunitis itself is a complex one. It is perfectly clear, however, that the solution of this question is inseparably bound up with the historical geography of the region in question as described in more ancient sources. We are led to this thought not only by the identity of Strabo’s Basoropeda⁵

⁵ Basoropeda (Βασοροπεδαν) = «*flaming abyss*»; Βασορ = arm. Bosor (Բոսոր) «*flaming*» + πεδαν «*abyss*»; Βασορ=arm. Bosor (Բոսոր) = βοc «*fire, flame*» + suffix *-or* = «*flaming*»; πεδαν «*abyss*» [53:19]

with the Kizilbunda (Gizilbunda)⁶ of the Assyrian sources [53:7-22], but also by a number of other correspondences: Strabo's Greater Media = the country of Madai (Media) of the Assyro-Babylonian and Old Persian sources, and others. On the one hand this facilitates the work, and on the other it complicates it, since in the region of present-day north-western Iran and the south-east of the Armenian Highland there are mentioned in antiquity, according to the evidence of the sources (Assyro-Babylonian, Urartian, Old Persian, Greco-Roman), somewhat more political units than Strabo tells us of. One part of these units consists of fairly large political formations (Mannea, Gizilbunda, Media); others are small political units, such as, for example, Subi, Zikirtu, Andia. The latter were considered constituent parts of Mannea and were governed by its district governors, who by the time of the Assyro-Urartian confrontation of 714 BC had withdrawn from their subordination to the Mannean king and had taken the side of the Urartian king Rusa I [10:303-340; 23:226-242].

In this article we do not set ourselves the task of establishing in detail the location of Phaunitis on a modern cartographic basis, but pursue a different task – to examine the degree of soundness of the previous localizations of this district, all the more so since five of the eight points of view expressed on this matter place Phaunitis in Syunik.

J. Markwart identified Phaunitis with the gavar Apahunik in the Armenian region of Turuberan [40:108]. H. Hübschmann, emending Phaunitin, read Sounitis and found that Syunik was meant [28:210]. His student, the linguist and Armenologist H.A. Acharyan, accepted these conclusions [1:123]. The authors mentioned based their opinion on rather forced consonances and did not explain in what way their point of view is compatible with the statements of Strabo [49:494] and Polybius [44:393-394] to the effect that the river Araxes (in Polybius the river Phasis) was, before the conquests of Artaxias I, the border between Greater Armenia and Atropatene. Taking

⁶ Kizilbunda (Gizilbunda) = «*burning abyss*»; Kizil = arm. Kizeli (Կիզլի) «*burning, burnable*» + bunda = PIE *b^hud^hno = bhundos = *bhudh-men «*abyss*»; arm. Kizeli (Կիզլի) = arm. Kiz + -eli; arm. Kiz = urart. IZI «*fire, flame*» = sumerian IZ, IZI «*fire, flame*». Plutarch, in his «*Life of Alexander*» (chapter 35), mentions a «*fiery abyss*» near Ecbatana [53:13-16; 53:20-21].

this circumstance into account, as well as the fact that the region of Syunik always adjoined the left bank of the Araxes flowing from Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ), i.e. that it was in any case situated within the territory of Greater Armenia, this point of view is already fundamentally at variance with our principal sources. R. Hewsen and A. Redgate inclined towards the localization of Phaunitis in Syunik, and moreover considered that before the conquests of Artaxias I the lands of the Cyrus–Araxes interfluvium belonged to Media, and that the different groups of people lived there, but that there were no Armenians among them [26:31-33; 27:73; 57:51,63,67]. Their opinion was based on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Polybius [44:393-394], which as early as 1954 was examined in detail by H. Manandyan in his work *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to the Ancient World Trade* [38:28-30].

This fragment was understood as an indication of the existence of territories subject to Atropatene lying to the north of the river Phasis and reaching as far as the Black Sea. Meanwhile, in order to understand what is meant, it is sufficient to read chapter 44 of Book V of Polybius, where he gives a description of Media. He writes: “On the western side it is bounded by the so-called Satrapies, which are not far distant from the tribes whose territories descend to the Euxine Sea. 9 On the north it is surrounded by the Elymaeans, Aniarcae, Cadusii, and Matiani 10 and overlooks those parts of the Pontus which join the Palus Maeotis.” [44:384]. The said fragment is highly informative. It allows us to understand that the territories inhabited by the peoples mentioned did not form part of Media – something which is especially relevant with regard to Matiene, since later, in the description of Strabo [49:57; 49:79; 49:482; 49:493; 49:495], it is part of Greater Media. Moreover, in describing the territories inhabited by these peoples, Polybius asserts that they rise above Pontus, i.e. the Black Sea, and above the Maeotis, although the territories inhabited by these tribes lie far from the Black Sea – at the very least Greater Armenia, Lesser Armenia and Colchis lie between them. This shows that Polybius, in saying “above” and “elevation”, means not “further north” but, to put it in modern terms, “above sea level”, i.e. relative height. This is clearly to be seen in the height of the Zagros, of

Mount Sokhund (3710 m) and of Mount Sabalan (4821 m), whose relative height is naturally greater than that of Pontus and the Maeotis [33:113-115]. In addition, it should not be forgotten that the territory of Atropatene adjoined the right bank of the Araxes = Phasis, and that the right bank of the rivers of the Earth's northern hemisphere is naturally higher than the left.

B.A. Harutyunyan [20:22-23] placed Phaunitis in the territory of Mardpetakan.

Aleksan A. Hakobyan [12:419] identified Phaunitis with the gavar Zarevand of Greater Armenia. Relying on a suggestion by Tsovinar Harutyunyan, the author supposed that in the manuscript of Strabo *Ζπαυνίτιν was originally written, which, owing to the use of minuscule script in the Middle Ages, acquired the form ζπαυνίτιν. Subsequently, through a copyist's error, the first two letters ζ ρ, joined together into ζρ, were taken for a single phi (φ, Φ), and the name ζπαυνίτιν = φαυνίτιν acquired the form Φαυνίτιν, i.e. Phaunitis.

H.Zh. Harutyunyan, in his special work devoted to the localization of Oromantis and Phaunitis [17:19-21], as well as in his recently defended dissertation [18:84-85], likewise inclined towards the version of H. Hübschmann, H.A. Acharyan, R. Hewsen and Redgate. Referring to the work of R. Hewsen [26:31-33;27:73], Archil Balakhvantsev also places Phaunitis in Syunik [6:31-42].

As we see, there are four different versions, proposed by eight researchers, for the localization of Phaunitis:

in the gavar Apahunik of the region (ashkhar) of Turuberan (J. Markwart)

in the territory of Mardpetakan (B.A. Harutyunyan)

in the territory of the gavar Zarevand (Aleksan Hakobyan)

in Syunik (H. Hübschmann, H. Acharyan, R. Hewsen, A. Redgate, H.Zh. Harutyunyan, A. Balakhvantsev)

Let us determine how far the above-mentioned localizations correspond to reality.

An important role in the solution of this question is played by a correctly drawn border between Greater Armenia and Atropatene. In his work Strabo indicates the river Araxes as such a border [49:494].

The problem, however, is that in describing this river Strabo made an error. He writes: “As for the Araxes, it first flows towards the east as far as Atropatenê, and then bends towards the west and towards the north and flows first past Azara and then past Artaxata, Armenian cities, and then, passing through the Araxene Plain, empties into the Caspian Sea.” [49:497].

In Strabo’s description this is a single river. But in reality there are two rivers of this name on the Armenian Highland. Strabo did not know of this. Previous researchers likewise did not take this fact into account. They took into consideration only that river Araxes which flowed from Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ) and emptied into the Caspian Sea. But in this connection the question arises: which of the two Araxes rivers did Strabo have in mind? To answer this question, it is first necessary to determine which rivers are actually referred to by these identical names.

The first Araxes (Eraskh) River originates at Mount Sermants from four streams that converge there. These streams are fed by numerous cold springs of slightly sweet water flowing from Mount Byurakn (Turkish Bingöl Dağ). Here at first, as a small stream, it flows west. Then it turns to the south-east and reaches the Tuaratsatap plain, where it receives its right tributary – the river Karasu; then it turns north and at Mount Aytspatkunk, breaking through the Armenian Par, reaches the borders of Upper and Lower Basen. Here the river Murts (Hasankale) flows into it, after which the Araxes turns east and, passing Basen and Yeraskhadzor, enters the Ararat and then the Sharur and Nakhichevan valleys. Here the Araxes receives into itself the right tributaries – the rivers Tkhamut and Karmir – and, on the left, in turn, the rivers Akhuryan, Sev Jur, Hrazdan, Azat, Vedi, Arpa, Nakhichevan, Yerinjak, Voghji, Vorotan and Akhavno. Having passed the Nakhichevan plain, in the area of the town of Meghri the Araxes enters narrowing mountain gorges, where the river is swift and turbulent. From the

delta of the river Vorotan the Araxes enters the Mil and Mughan valleys, after which it flows into the Cyrus as a right tributary [14:400;53:7-22].

The second river, likewise bearing the name Araxes (Araskh, Arasp, Baradost, Gedar-su), rises in the central part of the Zagros range, on the southern slopes of Mount Zarasp⁷ (the Koh-i-Nihorakan mountains), flows east throughout its course, and empties into Lake Urmia in its south-western part, near the town of Urmia. This river served as the natural border between the gavar Araks (Hovea, or Arisi) of the region of Parskahayk of Greater Armenia and the province of Gandzak-Shahastan of Media Atropatene [60:38-39;14:396; 53:7-22]. In the same work S.T. Yeremyan indicated that certain ancient authors confused this river with the other Araxes, which rises on Mount Byurakn (Turkish Bingöl Dağ) [60:38-39]; he did not, however, explain the cause of this confusion. We succeeded in substantiating in detail the error of Strabo in the description of the Araxes in an article specially devoted to this [53:7-22]; below, therefore, we present a short extract from that article.

As we see, only one of the two rivers, namely the Araxes flowing from the slopes of Mount Zarasp, is directed eastwards from its source from the very outset. But the problem is that this river turns west and flows a little to the north only immediately before emptying into Lake Urmia; it does not, however, flow as far as the Armenian cities of Azara (Armavir)⁸ and Artashat. Moreover, this river does not empty into the Caspian Sea. Whence, then, in the description of Strabo, did the turn of the Araxes to the west and its flow northwards as far as the ancient capitals of Armenia appear?

⁷ Strabo, in his *Geography*, also mentions this mountain, which he calls Ab [49:497], noting that the river Araxes flows from it eastward. The same mountain, under the name Upa or Aba (taking into account that *U* could also be read as *A*, as in *Uratu* = *Ararat*), is mentioned in Assyrian sources as well, particularly in the account of Sargon II's campaign against the Urartian king Rusa I in 714 BC [10:333, line 415].

⁸ It is well established that ancient Armavir served as the capital of ancient Armenia for a long period. The city was built on the site of the Urartian city and fortress of Argishtihinili, which Urartian King Argishti I founded in an area referred to in Urartian sources as Vaza or 'Aza [23:225–230]. According to one of the co-authors, Vigen Tsatryan, the name Azara, used by Strabo to designate ancient Armavir, derives from the name of the area, Vaza or 'Aza. The other co-author of this article considers Vigen Tsatryan's interpretation, first presented at a scholarly conference, to be well-founded and logical.

In order to understand this, we must first of all determine where the Matienian mountains were, in which, according to Herodotus, the Araxes rises.

Speaking of Matiene, Herodotus writes: “There is one place where a guard is posted. Four large streams intersect this district, all of which have to be crossed by means of boats. The first of these is the Tigris; the second and the third have both of them the same name, though they are not only different rivers, but do not even run from the same place. For the one which I have called the first of the two has its sources in Armenia, while the other flows afterwards out of the country of the Matienians. The fourth of the streams is called the Gyndes, and this is the river which Cyrus dispersed by digging for it three hundred and sixty channels”[24:321-322].⁹ “The sources of this river (the Gyndes is meant) are in the Matienian mountains; it flows through the land of the Dardanae, and empties into another river, the Tigris” [24:83,88-89].

Taking into account that the Lesser Zab rises in Matiene, unlike the Greater Zab, which rises in Armenia, a precise localization of Matiene can be made. The sources of the Lesser Zab lie a little to the south of Lake Urmia in the Zagros mountains, and in the same mountains the Gyndes (present-day name, the Diyala) also rises. Consequently, the Zagros mountains are the Matienian mountains. According to the testimony of Herodotus, the Matienian mountains are also considered to be those mountains in which the river Araxes rises [24:88-89]. And since Mount Byurakn (Bingöl), from which flows that Araxes which emptied into the Caspian Sea, lies to the north-west of the Vaspurakan mountains, from whose slopes the Greater Zab flows (which, according to Herodotus, rises in Armenia), it turns out that it is the other Araxes that rises in the Matienian mountains. Consequently, the Matienian mountains are those mountains which are now called the Koh-i-Nihorakan, since it is there that the sources of the Araxes (Araskh) which empties into Lake Urmia are situated. Taking into consideration the fact that the Koh-i-Nihorakan mountains lie to the north of the Zagros mountains, which are also considered Matienian mountains, we may

⁹ Translated by George Rawlinson [25:409].

confidently assert that the northern border of Matiene, at the place where it directly adjoined the territory of Armenia, ran to the south of the Niphates and Vaspurakan mountains, i.e. it included the modern Koh-i-Nihorakan mountains and the Zagros range. Further, the north-western border of Matiene ran approximately along the 37th degree of northern latitude from the left bank of the Tigris, to the south of ancient Gordyene and Tamoritis, which are mentioned in the Armenian sources as Korduk and Tmorik. From the boundaries described above, the further territory of Matiene extended along the interfluvium of the Tigris and the Diyala (the left bank of the Tigris – the right bank of the Diyala), as far as the confluence of the Diyala with the Tigris, 20–22 km to the north-west of ancient Opis (the Opis of Herodotus), including entirely the basin of the Lesser Zab and part of the Greater Zab.

Dwelling precisely on this indentation of Herodotus [24:88-89], it must be said that all the researchers who have touched upon it – as, for example, I. Kuklina and I. Pyankov [37:114-126; 45:46-70] – have argued that the information about the Araxes whose source is in the Matienian mountains corresponds precisely to the Transcaucasian Araxes. I. Kuklina, however, like Strabo, did not suspect the existence of two Araxes rivers on the Armenian Highland, as a result of which she wrongly named Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ) as the place of its source, as R.L. Manaseryan pointed out in the notes to his work [39:153, note 9]. The place where this river empties – Lake Urmia – was unknown to Strabo, although this lake was known to the ancient geographer, since he not only describes it but also mentions two of its ancient names: Mantiana, which he translates as “blue” [49:498], and Kapauta [49:493] (Armenian Kapuyt (Kaputan), i.e. “blue”). On the other hand, the mouth of the other Araxes – the Caspian Sea – was known to him, but not its source, Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ). That Araxes did indeed flow past the cities of Azara and Artashat, passed through the Araxene plain and emptied into the Caspian Sea. Of it Strabo knew from other Greco-Roman sources describing, for example, the campaign of Pompey. Knowing the source of one of the Araxes rivers, as well as the fact that another river bearing the same name, the Araxes, flowed past the capital of Greater Armenia and

emptied into the Caspian Sea, Strabo, apparently without realizing it, conflated two distinct rivers into one. In order to describe the course of this river, he mentally combined the source of the Araxes that flowed from the Koh-i-Nihorakan Mountains with the middle course of the other river, which passed by Azara and Artashat and emptied into the Caspian Sea, but whose source was in Mount Byurakn (Bingöl Dağ). It is precisely for this reason that there arose the non-existent turn to the west and the northward flow of the Araxes, which in reality do not exist. All of this is merely a technical construct of Strabo's imagination, arising from the fact that the cities of Azara and Artashat were located far to the northwest of the Matienian Mountains, which, according to Strabo and Herodotus, were the source of the Araxes. Taking into account the error of Strabo in present-day geographical terms, and knowing that according to Strabo the border between Greater Armenia and Media Atropatene in the time of Orontes IV and at the moment of the accession of Artaxias I was the Araxes, we must seek the territories conquered by Artaxias from the Medes in that territory which adjoined entirely the right bank of that Araxes which flowed from Mount Zarasp and emptied into Lake Urmia, and partly on the right bank of that Araxes which flowed from Bingöl Dağ (from the place where the river Marand flows into the river Araxes as far as its outflow into the Caspian Sea).

We possess a source which makes it possible to shed light on this question. In his work the *History of the House of Artsruni*, the Armenian historian Tovma Artsruni, in the part concerning the youth of the Armenian prince Artaxias, which was spent in wanderings in flight from the persecutions of King Orontes IV, mentions the cities of Her and Zaravand as one of those sectors which were situated in territory controlled by Atropatene. He writes: "And Smbat, taking Artaxias, settled in Zaravand of Atropatene" [51:110-111]. In the same place Zaravand (Zaruand, Zarevand) is mentioned in inseparable connection with Her. Analysis of the information from the source mentioned allows us to say that the Armeno-Atropatenian border in this sector most probably ran from the north-east along the river Chuash-Rot, which, merging together with the Kotur and the Marand, emptied by a common course into the

Araxes, and along the eastern foothills of the Vaspurakan mountains. It is precisely under this interpretation that the passage of the forces of Orontes IV through the territory of Atropatene into the *gavar* of Andzakhidzor, and from there to Nakhichevan, becomes possible. Nakhichevan, situated on the left bank of the Araxes flowing from Bingöl, lay at the point where the river merged with the Nakhichevan River, a location identified as the *ostan* of Vaspurakan. Her and Zarevand, situated on the left bank of the Kotur, served as frontier posts.

Given that the river Araxes, flowing from the Matienian, or Koh-i-Nihorakan mountains, emptied into Lake Urmia, while the turn to the west and the northward flow of the Araxes as far as the point of Azara (ancient Armavir) described by Strabo were a product of his imagination, it remains to determine the sectors along which the Armeno-Atropatenian border ran from Lake Urmia to the other Araxes, which flowed from Bingöl and emptied into the Caspian Sea.

Analysis of the information from the source mentioned allows us to claim that the Atropatenian border which ran along the confines of Greater Armenia passed along the following points: the right bank of the river Araxes flowing from the Koh-i-Nihorakan mountains as far as its outflow into Lake Urmia. From here the border ran along Lake Urmia to its northern shore, and thence to the slopes of the Vaspurakan mountains. Further, the border stretched along the slopes of the Vaspurakan mountains to the right bank of the river Chuash-Rot and along its course, right up to its junction with the rivers Kotur and Marand. From the place of confluence it extended along the right bank of the river Karmir, right up to its outflow into the river Araxes (the one flowing from Mount Byurakn) a little to the south of Nakhichevan, and then along the right bank of the Araxes as far as its outflow into the Caspian Sea [53:7-22].

The real Armeno-Atropatenian border which we have outlined for the period before the conquests of Artaxias I and Zariadres I does not permit us to accept either the point of view of J. Markwart, who identified Phaunitis with the *gavar* Apahunik of the region of Turuberan, or that of those researchers who proposed to seek Phaunitis in Syunik. The latter point of view was in any case shaky, owing to the fact that the river

Araxes, flowing from Mount Byurakn, was the southern border of Syunik. To accept such an identification would mean calling into question the border along the Araxes in this region, which was indicated not only by Strabo but also by Polybius [44:55].

In antiquity the Araxes (Yeraskh, Eraskh), flowing from Byurakn, also passed through the district called Basen, on account of which it was called the Basen river, or the Phasis. The Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his work *De administrando imperio* (chapter 45, “Of the Iberians”), pointing to the identity of the names Araxes = Phasis, repeats three times “Eraxes, that is, the Phasis” [8:200-203]. Kiepert also pointed in his work to the identity of the Phasis with the Araxes [31:81], and the study by Anca Dan, “The Rivers Called Phasis”, clearly shows that the name Phasis was applied not only to the river Rioni (Georgia) but to several rivers in Transcaucasia and on the Armenian Highland [9:245-277].

Conclusion

Thus, the two most plausible and noteworthy interpretations currently available regarding the localization of Phaunitis are those proposed by Babken Harutyunyan and Aleksan Hakobyan. Whether either of these interpretations corresponds to historical reality is a question that warrants a separate study, which, given its complexity, scope, and subject matter, falls beyond the limits of the present article. We intend to devote a separate study to determining its location.

References

1. Acharyan Hrachya H., Strabo. Foreign Sources on the Armenians, series, Yerevan, YSU Press, 1940, 124 pp. (in Armenian)
2. Acharyan Hrachya A., Armenian Etymological Root Dictionary, Yerevan University Press, Yerevan, vol. 1, A-D, 1971, 699 pp. (in Armenian)
3. Akopyan A.V. On the Earliest Coins of Khachen (Qarabagh). *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, № 222 (winter 2015), p. 6-11 (in English)
4. al-Ahrī (AHARĪ, ABŪ BAKR QOTĪBĪ), *Ta'rikh-i Shaikh Uwais*. An Important Source for the History of Adharbaijan in the Fourteenth Century, ed. and tr., J. B. van Loon, The Hague, 1954.
5. Ashkharhatsuyts (The Armenian Geography of the 5th–7th centuries by Movses Khorenatsi and Anania Shirakatsi). Translation from Old Armenian, notes and commentary by A.Zh. Harutyunyan, Belgorod, 2023, 184 pp. (in Russian)
6. Balakhvantsev A.S., “The Borders of Caucasian Albania (4th century BC – 3rd century AD)” // *Vostok (Oriens)*, No. 5, 2021, pp. 31-42 (in Russian)
7. Barkhudaryants (Barkhudaryan) Makar, «Artsakh», Baku/Yerevan, 1895/1996, 461 pp. (in Armenian)
8. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (Text, translation, commentary). 2nd revised edition. Nauka, 1991, 496 pp. (in Russian)
9. Dan A., “The Rivers Called Phasis”, *AWE*, 15, 2016, p. 245-277. DOI: 10.2143/AWE.15.0.3167476
10. Diakonoff I.M., “Assyro-Babylonian Sources for the History of Urartu (AVIUI)”. *Vestnik Drevney Istorii (Journal of Ancient History)*, 1951 (2), pp. 265-356; *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1951 (3), pp. 207-252 (in Russian)
11. Diakonoff I.M., *Urartian Letters and Documents*, USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Archaeology, Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow–Leningrad, 1963, 148 pp. (in Russian)
12. Hakobyan Aleksan, *Historical-Geographical and Epigraphic Studies (Artsakh and Utik)*, Mekhitarist Press, Vienna – Yerevan, 2009, 476 pp. (in Armenian)
13. Hakobyan Aleksan, “The Ashkharhatsuyts of the 7th-century Anonymous Author. A Critical Scholarly Edition of the Original”, *Handes Amsorya*, Vienna – Yerevan, 2015, pp. 35-194 (in Armenian)
14. Hakobyan T.Kh., Melik-Bakhshyan St.T., Barseghyan H.Kh., *Dictionary of Toponyms of Armenia and Adjacent Regions*, vol. 1, 1986, Yerevan (in Armenian)

15. Hakobyan T.Kh., Melik-Bakhshyan St.T., Barseghyan H.Kh., Dictionary of Toponyms of Armenia and Adjacent Regions, vol. 5, 2001, Yerevan (in Armenian)
16. Hamd-Allah Mustawei of Qazvin, The geographical part of the «Nuzhat-al-qulub» in 740 (1340 AD). Translated by G. le Strange and printed for the trustees of the «E.J.W. Gibb Memorial», Leyden: E.J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale. London: Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell street, W.C., 1919, 322 p. (in English)
17. Harutyunyan H. Zh., “Questions of the Localization and Onomastics of Oromantis and Phaunitis in the Ancient and Old Armenian Historians”. Historical Sciences and Archaeology, No. 8 (46), 2014, part 1, pp. 19-21 (in Russian)
18. Harutyunyan H. Zh., Ancient Armenia between the Eastern Mediterranean and Iran (2nd century BC – 3rd century AD). The Dynamics of Interstate Borders and of the Administrative-Territorial Division. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Historical Sciences. Belgorod, 2016 (in Russian)
19. Harutyunyan Babken, The System of the Administrative-Political Division of Greater Armenia according to the Ashkharhatsuyts, Part I, Yerevan, 2001, 404 pp. (with a large-format map) (in Armenian)
20. Harutyunyan B.A., Atlas of the History of Armenia. Part I. Yerevan, 2004 (in Armenian)
21. Harutyunyan Babken, Questions of the History and Historical Geography of the Eastern Regions of Armenia and of Aghvank. Collection of articles, YSU Press, Yerevan, 2016, 346 pp. (in Armenian)
22. Harutyunyan N.V., Corpus of Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions (KUKN) (executive editor M.L. Khachikyan); NAS RA Institute of Oriental Studies. Yerevan, Gitutyun Publishing House of the NAS RA, 2001, 542 pp. + 183 figs. (in Russian)
23. Harutyunyan N.V., Biainili–Urartu. Military-Political History and Questions of Toponymy. Second edition, revised and enlarged. St Petersburg University Press, 2006, 368 pp. (in Russian)
24. Herodotus, The History. In 9 books. Translation and notes by G.A. Stratanovsky, Moscow, AST, 2002, Lodomir Scientific Publishing Centre, 752 pp. (in Russian)
25. Herodotus «The Histories» / Translate by George Rawlinson with an Introduction by Rosalind Thomas, Everyman’s Library 234, Published by Everyman’s Library, London, 1858/2003, 772 p.

26. Hewsen R.H., "Ethno-history and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians" // *Classical Armenian Culture: Influence and Creativity* / Ed. T.J. Samuelian. Philadelphia: Scholars Press, 1982, p. 27-40
27. Hewsen R.H., "The Boundaries of Artaxiad Armenia". *Revue des Études Arméniennes* / Paris, 1985, vol. XIX, p. 55-84
28. Hübschmann J.H., *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen. Mit Beiträgen zur historischen Topographie Armeniens*, 1904, S. 490 (in German)
29. Kapantsyan G.A., *Chetto-Armeniaca*, Erivan, 1931 (in Russian)
30. Khurshudian E., *Armenian-Iranian Oikumene and the Turco-Mongolian Order: Cultural Synthesis and the Chronology of the Toponym Qarabagh. Historia i Swiat*, 15, 2026, p. 117-160 DOI:10.34739/his.2026.15.08 (in English)
31. Kiepert H., *Lehrbuch der alten Geographie*, Berlin, 1878 (in German)
32. Kobzar R.S. (Ruslan Kobzar), "On the Question of Circumstances, Reasons and Date of Tigranes the Great Extradition as Hostage to the Parthians. A Revised Armenian Chronology of the Period 215-96 BC". *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental Studies (BIOS)*, Yerevan, 2023, No. 2, p. 15-40. DOI: 10.52837/27382702-2023.3.2-15
33. Kobzar R.S., "Some Additions to the Chronology of the Early Artaxiads in the Prism of the Inconcistencies in information from the «Epitome» by Marcus Justinus and the Prologues to the Books of Pompeius Trogus" // *Turan-name*, No. 1 (10), 2024, pp. 102-125, 204-205 (International Research Institute of Tajik Studies. Edited by Prof. Lukmon Boymatov (Norrköping, Sweden)) (in Russian)
34. Kobzar R.S., "The Chronology (Duration and Sequence of the Reigns of the Kings) of the Early Artaxiads and Arsacids Considering the Contradiction in Sources and of the Research Literature (Speech in Defence of Movses Khorenatsi's Information)", *Journal of Oriental Studies (Yerevan State University, Faculty of Oriental Studies)*, No. XXVII, 2025, pp. 47-86. DOI: 10.46991/jos.2025.27.1.47 (in Russian)
35. Kobzar R.S., "The Role of the Achaemenids and the Hydarnids in the Origin of the Term 'Armenian Arsacids' in Armenian Medieval Sources" // *Scientific Bulletin of the Izmail State University of Humanities. Section: Historical Sciences*, Issue 69, 2025a, pp. 9-20 DOI:10.31909/26168774.2025-(69)-1 (in Ukrainian)
36. Kobzar R.S., "On the Question of the Circumstances and Methods of Tigranes II the Great's Subjugation to Himself of the Rulers of Atropatene and Gordyene" // *Scientific Bulletin of the Izmail State University of Humanities*.

- Section: Historical Sciences, Issue 71, 2025b, pp. 32-50
DOI:10.31909/26168774.2025-(71)-3.32-50 (in Ukrainian)
37. Kuklina I., *The Ethnogeography of Scythia according to the Ancient Sources*. Leningrad, 1985 (in Russian)
 38. Manandyan Ya.A., *On Trade and Cities of Armenia in Connection with the World Trade of Ancient Times*. Yerevan, 1954, 347 pp. (in Russian)
 39. Manaseryan R.L., “International Relations in the Near East in the 80s–70s BC (Tigranes II and the Troops from the Banks of the Araxes)” // *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (Journal of Ancient History), 1992, No. 1, pp. 152-160 (in Russian)
 40. Markwart J., *Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin, 1901, S. 373
 41. Martirosyan Hrach K., *Etymological Dictionary of the Armenian Inherited Lexicon* / by Hrach K. Martirosyan (Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series; 8). Leiden, Boston, 2010, 988 p.
 42. Movses Kaghankatvatsi, *History of the Country of Aluank* (in 3 books). Translation from Old Armenian by Sh.V. Smbatyan, Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts – Matenadaran, Yerevan, 1984 (in Russian)
 43. Moses of Khoren (Movses Khorenatsi), *History of Armenia*. Translation from Old Armenian into Russian, introduction and notes by G.Kh. Sarkisyan, Yerevan, Hayastan, 1990, 291 pp., ill. (in Russian)
 44. Polybius, *The Histories*. In 2 volumes. Vol. I (books I-X), 765 pp.; Vol. II (books XI-XXXIX), 765 pp. Translation from Ancient Greek by F. Mishchenko. AST Publishing House, Moscow, 2004 (in Russian)
 45. Pyankov I.V., “The Massagetae of Herodotus” // *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (Journal of Ancient History), 1975, No. 2, pp. 46-70 (in Russian)
 46. Pyankov I.V., *Central Asia and the Eurasian Steppe in Antiquity*. St Petersburg: Petersburg Linguistic Society, 2013, 736 pp., ill. (Historical Studies) (in Russian)
 47. Sargsyan Slava, *Artsakh. Historical-Geographical Clarifications*, Yerevan, HAY EDIT, 1996 (in Armenian)
 48. Strabo. *Geography, Volume V: Books 10-12*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library 211. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.
 49. Strabo, *Geography*. Translation and commentary by G.A. Stratanovsky, Moscow, 1964/94, 944 pp. (in Russian)
 50. «The Hundred Years' Chronicle»: Translated and with commentary Dmitri Gamq'relidze in «The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba» (A History

- of Georgia), ARTANUJI Publishing, Tbilisi, 2014, p. 315-401 (414 p). (in English)
51. Tovma Artsruni, History of the House of Artsruni. Translation from Old Armenian, introductory article and commentary by M.O. Darbinyan-Melikyan. Yerevan, Nairi Publishing House, 2001, 524 pp. (in Russian)
 52. Tsatryan Vigen A., “Faith and Tradition”, Kapantsiner (monthly newspaper), 2006, No. 27 (in Armenian)
 53. Tsatryan V.A., Kobzar R.S., “On the Question of the Localization and Etymology of Basoropeda in the Light of the Conquests of Artaxias I from the Medes”, History and Culture, No. 1, 2021, pp. 7-22, Yerevan (Yerevan State University) (in Russian)
 54. Radt S.L., 2004, Band 3, Buch IX-XIII, S. 388, in: Radt S.L. (ed. and tr.), Strabons Geographika. Vols. 1-10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002-2011
 55. Rašīd-al-Dīn, Fazlallah, *Jami al-Tawarikh* Vol. III [Compendium of Chronicles], Translated by A.K. Arends. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1946. (in Russian)
 56. Rastorgueva V.S., Etymological Dictionary of the Iranian Languages. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura, 2009, vol. 3: f-h, 493 pp. (in Russian)
 57. Redgate A.E., The Armenians. Oxford. Blackwell, 1998 (in English)
 58. Ulubabyan B., Artsakh in the Historical Sources and the Historiographical Literature, 1969, Yerevan. Collection of Scholarly Works of the Khachatur Abovyan Pedagogical Institute (in Armenian)
 59. Vardanyan A., Margaryan G., Some Remarks on the History of Qarabagh in the Late Mongol Period (XIVth-XVth Centuries). *Revue des etudes Armeniennes*, 37, 2016/17, p. 155-172 DOI:10.2143/REA.37.0.3237122 (in English)
 60. Yeremyan S.T., Armenia according to the Ashkharhatsuyts (An Attempt at a Reconstruction of a 7th-century Armenian Map on a Modern Cartographic Basis), Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, Institute of History, Yerevan, 1963, 156 pp. (in Armenian)

**Փավենեն՝ թե՛ Փառենեն. Փավենեի և Փավնիտիդայի նույնացման հիմքերի
բացակայության մասին և տեղորոշման հարցի վերաբերյալ**

Ռուսլան Կոբզար
Վիգեն Ծատրյան

Հիմնաբարեր - Փավենեն, Փառենեն, Կոմիսենեն, Օրխիստենեն,
Փավնիտիս, Արցախ, Ղարաբաղ

Ամփոփում

Հայտնի է, որ Մեծ Հայքը բաղկացած էր մեծ աշխարհներից (χώρα, επαρχία, regio), որոնք իրենց հերթին բաժանված էին գավառների (επαρχία, praefecturas=strategias): Ստրաբոնը իր հայտնի «Աշխարհագրություն» աշխատության մեջ Մեծ Հայքի տեղանունների շարքում, հիշատակում է Փավենեն (Փաւղոյ, Fauene, Фавена), Կոմիսենեն (Κωμισσην, Komisene, Комисена) և Օրխիստենեն (Ορχιστην, Orchistene, Орхистена) [49:497]: Սակայն Ստրաբոնի մոտ այս επαρχία-ների վարչատարածքային կարգավիճակի մանրամասների վերաբերյալ տեղեկությունների բացակայությունը թույլ չի տալիս վստահորեն պնդել, թե արդյոք դրանք մեկ, թե Մեծ Հայքի մի քանի աշխարհների մաս էին կազմում: Ուսումնասիրողներն առաջարկել են մի շարք տարբերակներ այս επαρχία-ների տեղորոշման համար: Ընդունելի համարելով Սլավիկ Սարգսյանի առաջարկը՝ Կոմիսենեն (Κωμισσην, Komisene) նույնացնել Մոավի լեռնաշղթայի գագաթներից մեկի՝ Գյամիշ անվան [47:15], իսկ Փավենեն՝ Փառենս գավառի հետ [47:14], մենք փորձել ենք նրա առաջարկած տեսակետը հիմնավորել լրացուցիչ փաստարկներով, ինչը նա չի արել Փառենեի վերաբերյալ: Որոշ հեղինակներ Փավենեի (Փաւղոյ) տեղորոշման վերաբերյալ, մեր կարծիքով՝ սխալմամբ, առաջարկել են այն նույնականացնել Փավնիտիս (Φαυνιτιν, Phaunitis, Фавнитиды) կոչվող նահանգի հետ [21:30-57;17:19-21] և ելնելով հնչյունական նմանությունից՝ Փավնիտիսը նույնականացրել Սյունիքի հետ [28:210;1:123;17:19-21;18:84-85;57:51,63,67;26:31-33;27:73;6:31-42]: Նման թյուրըմբռնումներն առաջացել են այն պատճառով, որ հետազոտողները շփոթել են տարբեր վարչական-

տարածքային միավորներ, ինչպես նաև հաշվի չեն առել պատմական և աշխարհագրական լրացուցիչ տեղեկությունները: Օրինակ, որ Արաքս գետը Մեծ Հայքի և Մարաստանի տարածքների սահմանն էր Արտաշեսի և Զարեհի նվաճումներից առաջ, իսկ Ստրաբոնը, անտեղյակ լինելով Հայկական լեռնաշխարհում երկու Արաքս գետերի գոյության մասին, արհեստականորեն միացրել է մեկ գետի ակունքը մյուս գետի միջին հոսանքի հետ՝ [53:7-22] չնայած նրան ծանոթ են եղել Հերոդոտոսի հաղորդած տվյալները մյուս Արաքսի՝ Արասի գոյության վերաբերյալ [49:500]: Հետազոտողները նաև հաշվի չեն առել տեքստային-աղբյուրագիտական որոշ նրբություններ: Մասնավորապես, Ստրաբոնի աշխատության ռուսերեն թարգմանիչներից մեկը՝ Գ.Ա. Ստրատանիովսկին, Փավենե (Φασηνη, Фаена) տեղանունը հիշատակելուց հետո, ավելացրել է ծանոթագրություն՝ [49:497] նշելով, որ Ստրաբոնի ձեռագիրը վնասված է այս հատվածում, ինչը անորոշ է դարձնում, թե որ տառը պետք է լինի այս տեղանվան մեջ երրորդը: Նա ենթադրել է, որ դա կարող է լինել *φ*, *δ* կամ որևէ այլ տառ [49:824]: Հետագա հետազոտողները, անտեսելով այս կարևոր տեղեկությունը, Գ.Ա. Ստրատանիովսկու կողմից տեղանվան հիպոթետիկ վերականգնումն ընդունել են որպես հաստատված փաստ և գավառը նույնացրել են նմանատիպ հնչողությամբ Փավնիտիս (Φαυντιν) նահանգի հետ [21:30-57;17:19-21]: Սույն հոդվածում մենք բերում ենք համոզիչ փաստարկներ, որոնք վկայում են, որ ամենայն հավականությամբ, երրորդ տառը այդ տեղանունում ոչ թե *φ* է, այլ *π* է եղել, և այդ տեղանունը գրվել է Փառենե: Հենվելով լեզվական և ստուգաբանական տվյալների վրա՝ մենք պնդում ենք, որ այդ տեղանունը կազմված է երկու մասից – **phar** > ավեստերեն **xvarenah** > հին պարսկական **farnah**; **xuar/n** *արեգ, արև, փարկ, շողալը, լույս, փայլ* բառից)) [56:440-441] եվ **-ene** տեղանվանակերտ ածանցից, ու նշանակում է «*արևային, պայծառափայլ, լուսատու, փայլուն*», ինչը ստուգաբանական առումով, ամբողջությամբ համապատասխանում է Արեգունյաց լեռների անվան հետ, որոնք հաջորդում են Գյամիշ լեռնագագաթին ու Մոավի լեռնաշղթային: Արեգունյաց լեռներ տեղանունը նունպես կազմված է երկու մասից – **արեգ (areg) արև** [2:310-312;41:135-138] եվ **-ունի (-uni)** – ածանծից ու նշանակում է *արեվային, արևկող, պայծառափայլ, լուսատու, փայլուն*: Նման համապատասխանությունը

համադրելով պատմական աղբյուրների հայտնի այլ փաստերի հետ (Ստրաբոն, Խորենացի, Արծրունի) մենք անընդունելի ենք համարում Փավենեի ու Փավնիտիսի համադրումը, ինչպես նաև վերջինիս տեղադրությունը Սյունիքում: Տեղորոշման այս վերջին տարբերակը տարօրինակ է թվում նաև այն պատճառով, որ հայոց թագավորների կողմից մարերից նվաճած տարածքները գտնվում էին Արաքս կոչվող գետերի աջ ափին հարող տարածքներում [53:7-22], մինչդեռ Սյունիքի հարավային սահմանները համընկնում էին Բյուրակն լեռից սկիզբ առնող Արաքս գետի ձախ ափին [5:103]:

Acknowledgments

Taking this opportunity, the authors express their gratitude to Alexander Vasilyevich Podossinov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of Moscow State University, for kindly affording them the opportunity to consult the work of Stefan Radt (Radt S.L., *Strabons Geographika*. Vols. 1-10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002-2011).