

G. S. Muradyan

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6349-2389>✉ [gohar\\_muradyan@yahoo.com](mailto:gohar_muradyan@yahoo.com)

Институт древних рукописей  
им. Месропа Маштоца (Матенадаран)  
(Армения, Ереван)

## GREEK TRAGEDIANS IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ARMENIA

**Аннотация.** 1. Греческая надпись, найденная в Армавире (Армения), написанная вероятно во II в. до н. э. письмом, схожим с папирусным курсивом, содержит фрагмент трагедии, упоминающий по стилю Еврипида. 2. Плутарх пишет, что армянский царь Артавазд II (55–34 до н. э.) писал трагедии. Он также рассказывает, что после сражения при Каррах в 53 г. до н. э. Красс был обезглавлен и его голову привезли в Армению и бросили в зал, в качестве головы Пенфея, когда при дворе того же царя Артавазда трагический актер исполнял отрывок из «Вакханок» Еврипида. 3. Фабула утраченной трагедии Еврипида «Дочери Пелия» является материалом одного из «опровержений» (ἀντισκευή) в частично переводном древнеармянском учебнике риторики, написанном на основе Прогимнасм Афтония Антиохийского (конец IV в.) во второй половине V в. 4. «Искусство грамматики» Дионисия Фракийского было переведено на армянский во второй половине V в. Между VI и XVII вв. появился десяток армянских комментариев на этот труд. Комментаторы отмечают связь трагедии с изобретателем лозы Дионисом, ямбический метр, которым она писалась, а также то, что само слово означает «козлиная песня». 5. Ученый автор XI в. Григор Магистрос несколько раз упоминает Еврипида. В дохристианской Армении в период эллинизма отмечен интерес к греческому театру. Средневековые свидетельства довольно скудны. Исключением является Григор Магистрос, упоминающий греческие мифы и литературу, в том числе драматургов, демонстрируя свою эрудицию.

**Ключевые слова:** греческая драма, надпись, Красс, «Вакханки» Еврипида, древнеармянское руководство по риторике, «Дочери Пелия» Еврипида, Дионисий Фракийский, перевод, комментарий, Григор Магистрос

**Для цитирования:** Muradyan G. S. Greek tragedians in ancient and medieval Armenia // Шаги/Steps. Т. 10. № 2. 2024. С. 225–233.

Поступило в редакцию 28 ноября 2023 г.; принято 10 апреля 2024 г.

G. S. Muradyan

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6349-2389>

✉ [gohar\\_muradyan@yahoo.com](mailto:gohar_muradyan@yahoo.com)

Mesrop Mashtots Institute  
of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran)  
(Armenia, Yerevan)

## GREEK TRAGEDIANS IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ARMENIA

**Abstract.** 1. A Greek inscription found in Armavir (Armenia) written probably in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC in a script close to papyrus cursive, contains a fragment from a tragedy similar in style to Euripides. 2. Plutarch writes that the Armenian king Artavazd (Artavasdes) II (55–34 BC) wrote tragedies. He also tells that after the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC Crassus was beheaded and his head was taken to Armenia and cast into the hall, as the head of Pentheus, where, at the court of Artavazd, a tragic actor was singing a part of the *Bacchae* of Euripides. 3. The plot of Euripides' lost tragedy *The Daughters of Pelias* is the subject matter of one of the “refutation” exercises (ἀνασκευή) in the old Armenian rhetorical handbook *Book of Chreia* — in part a translation from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c., based on the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius of Antioch (late 4<sup>th</sup> c.). 4. The *Art of Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax was translated into Armenian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. Between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, about a dozen of Armenian commentaries on this work were written. The commentators mention the connection of tragedy with Dionysus, the inventor of wine, the iambic meter characteristic of tragedy, and that the word itself means “goat-song”. 5. While there was a noticeable interest in Greek theatre during the Hellenistic period of pre-Christian Armenia, there are few medieval testimonies regarding this matter in medieval times. The learned author Grigor Magistros (11<sup>th</sup> c.) is an exception: he mentions Euripides several times.

**Keywords:** Greek drama, inscription, Crassus, *Bacchae* of Euripides, Armenian rhetorical handbook, *The Daughters of Pelias* of Euripides, Dionysius Thrax, translation, commentary, Grigor Magistros

**To cite this article:** Muradyan, G. S. (2024). Greek tragedians in ancient and medieval Armenia. *Shagi / Steps*, 10(2), 225–233.

*Received November 28, 2023; accepted April 10, 2024*

This paper considers several episodes regarding Armenian knowledge of Greek tragedy in the ancient and medieval periods.

## 1. Greek inscription with a fragment from a tragedy

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century two stones were found in Armavir (Armenia) bearing several Greek inscriptions on their surfaces, made probably in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC. The inscriptions were fragmentary and not well preserved. Today the stones are lost, but the inscriptions were described and published [Boltunova 1942]. The renowned historian and philologist H. Manandyan dedicated a book to the inscriptions [Manandyan 1945], placing them into a historical context. He opined that they belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> cc. BC, when Armavir was the religious center of the Armenian Ervandid (Orontid) kings. A brief description of the discovery and study of the inscriptions can be found in a book by Camilla Trever [Trever 1953: 104–156].

The script of the inscriptions is not lapidary, but close to the papyrus cursive of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.

There are 3 inscriptions on the first stone:

Inscr. 1: a literary passage mentioning Hesiod and his brother Perses.

Inscr. 2: a fragment from a tragedy.

Inscr. 3: a votive inscription.

Stone 2 contains four inscriptions that mention contemporary persons and events and have historical significance.

The second inscription on the first stone is of interest to us. It is a fragment from a tragedy which is reminiscent of Euripides' style. Some scholars state that it could be a tragedy by the Armenian king Artavazd (55–34 BC).<sup>1</sup>

The inscription was published in various collections [Kannicht 1998: 13–14]. Werner Peek [1997: 3–5] has revised the readings and provided a couple of Euripidean parallels. It was finally placed in the electronic database “Searchable Greek Inscriptions” (Packard Humanities Institute).<sup>2</sup>

Among the fragments published in *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* the text of the inscription [Snell 1964 (Tragica adespota fr. 279e)] looks a little bit different from Canali de Rossi's reading:

Fragment	Inscription
	1. [— — —]μύστι Δηώ [— — —]
[ ]πολεμικωτέρα θεός	2. οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὐ[δ]' αὖ πολεμικωτέρα θεός
αυτη γ.λ..κωλυσι αυτη δείματα	3. αὐτὴ Γίγα[ντας] ὤλεσε, αὐτὴ δείματα.
ἀλλ' οὔτε μ[ε]ί[ζ]ω κόμπων ἐξοίσω λόγων	4. ἀλλ' οὔτε μεῖζω κόμπων ἐξοίσω λόγων

<sup>1</sup> See Part 2 of this article about him.

<sup>2</sup> URL: <https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/314426> (last update: 2023, July 12). It follows the edition in [Canali De Rossi 2004: 7–8].

οὐτ' ἐνδέοντα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγώ	5. οὐτ' ἐνδέοντα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγώ,
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔξω α.λολους σκηνωμάτων	6. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔξω ΛΥΛΟΛΟΥΣ σκηνωμάτων.
	7. [ᾧ Ζ]εὺς, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακόν
	8. καὶ γλῶσσα φαύ[λη] καὶ φθόνος τοῦ μὴ φθονεῖν
	9. [μείων] δικαίως μὴ καλῶς ὠρισμένους
[ ]υ. τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν τύμβον .ς..υνεὶ δόμος	10. [ο]ὐ τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν τύμβον [αἰ]σ[χ]υνεὶ δόμος.
— ?]ων ἀκοῶν ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἐξω	11. [— — ] δηπε [ . . ]ων ἄκρων ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἔξω [— — ]
[ συμ]φορὰ θεήλατον	12. [οὔ]τε πά[θο]ς [οὔ]τε [συμ]φορὰ θεήλατον

This fragmentary and poorly preserved text contains several points which can be understood as follows:

- 1) an appeal to an initiate of Deo-Demeter (cf. μύστις Διοῦς in Diog. Laert. 5.8);
- 2) there is no other more warlike goddess;
- 3) she destroyed the giants, she — the objects of fear;
- 4) but I shall not deliver more boast of words;
- 5) and not a boast lacking truth;
- 6) outside the dwelling place.

The following three lines contain an appeal to Zeus;

7) what a false evil for humans (cf. ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακόν in Eurip. *Hippolytos* 616, my translation);

8) and a bad tongue and not to begrudge with envy (cf. καὶ γλῶσσα φαύρα καὶ φθόνος τοῦ μὴ φθονεῖν in Eurip. *Fr.* 1034.3, my translation);

9) defined less justly and not well (?); very fragmentary;

10) the house will (or will not) put to shame the grave...;

12) neither suffering nor misfortune driven by god (grammatically incorrect, cf. οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος in Eurip. *Orestes* 2, my translation).

Manandyan thought that πολεμικώτερα θεός is Artemis (based on the information by the “father of Armenian history” Movsēs Khorenats<sup>3</sup> [2006: 146, 187], that there was a temple of Apollo and Artemis in Armavir and their statues were brought there), Werner Peek writes that the goddess mentioned is Athena [Peek 1997: 4].

## 2. Plutarch on drama in Armenia

Plutarch in the *Life of Marcus Crassus* writes about the Armenian King Artavazd II (55–34 BC), son of Tigran the Great (95–55 BC): “Artavasdes also composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are pre-

<sup>3</sup> The transliteration of Armenian words follows the Library of Congress Armenian Romanization Table (<https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsd/romanization/armenian.pdf>).

served” (33.2–3: ὁ δ’ Ἀρταβάζης καὶ τραγωδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὧν ἔνιαι διασφύζονται).

He also tells the following: after the battle of Carrhae in 53 BC, where the Romans were defeated by the Parthians, Crassus who led the Roman army, was beheaded and his head was taken to Armenia. King Artavazd was sitting at a feast with the Parthian king Hyrodes (Orodes).

Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king’s door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the *Bacchae* of Euripides where Agave is about to appear. While he was receiving his applause, Sillaces (he was the satrap of Mesopotamia) stood at the door of the banqueting-hall, and <...> cast the head of Crassus into the centre of the company. The Parthians lifted it up with clapping of hands and shouts of joy, and at the king’s bidding his servants gave Sillaces a seat at the banquet. Then Jason handed his costume of Pentheus (τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα) to one of the chorus, seized the head of Crassus, and assuming the role of the frenzied Agave (τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην), sang these verses through as if inspired:

We bring from the mountain  
A tendril fresh-cut to the palace,  
A wonderful prey.

This delighted everybody; but when the following dialogue with the chorus was chanted:

C h o r u s. Who slew him?  
A g a v e. Mine is the honour.

Pomaxathres, who happened to be one of the banqueters, sprang up and laid hold of the head, feeling that it was more appropriate for him to say this than for Jason. The king was delighted, and bestowed on Pomaxathres the customary gifts, while to Jason he gave a talent. With such a farce as this the expedition of Crassus is said to have closed, just like a tragedy [Plutarch 1916, chap. 33].

### 3. The plot of Euripides’ *Peliades* in Armenian, other mentions of Euripides

In his lost tragedy *Peliades* (“Daughters of Pelias”), Euripides described how Medea killed Pelias by deception.

The old Armenian rhetorical handbook *Book of Chreia* (*Girk’ pitoyits’*, Russian *Книга хриуй*), in part a translation, is based on the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius of Antioch (late 4<sup>th</sup> c.) (the definitions of the types of rhetorical exercises are translated from Greek, while the exemplar-exercises are original compositions, those with mythical topics in it are paraphrases of their Greek archetype).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> The collection of Aphthonius’ *progymnasmata* is extant in an abridged recension; so, one model exercise has been left for each type (two for the *encomium*). About one hundred exercises written by him form a separate collection which was ascribed to Nicholaos of

One of the exercises of the type ἀνασχευή (*eghtsumn*) is the refutation of a story told by Euripides in *Peliades*. Not only this tragedy, but also the corresponding exercise of Aphthonius is not extant. The Armenian story, preceded by Euripides being called the tragedian who “surpassed all in telling lies (*stabanur'iwn* = ψευδολογία)”, reads:

Especially [the myth] telling about Medea is extremely false. It says that she sailed from the Scythian land with a certain Jason, and coming to Thessaly, there she applied her magic art.

And she schemed to destroy treacherously the king who reigned over the country, persuading his daughters, since their father was extremely old and had no male descendants to inherit the paternal power, saying: ‘Now if you wish, I can show him younger of age and renewed.’

Saying this, as [the myth] tells, she manifested them the matter by an example; she took a ram, cut it into pieces, put [them] into a cauldron, and kindled a fire beneath (it), and she showed (them) the ram which was stirring in the cauldron because of the boiling, as if it were alive. And deceiving (them) by this, she cut Pelias into pieces and said: ‘he was in the cauldron’, and nothing else [Muradyan 2022: 103–104].

Later Armenian authors, Yovhan Odznets'i in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. and Grigor Magistros (thrice) in the 11<sup>th</sup> c., briefly hinted at this story without mentioning Euripides [Muradyan 2022: 105].

Euripides figures in another exercise in the *Book of Chreia*, in γνώμη 6 (*khrať*, *sententia* — “maxim”) which is dedicated to his saying: σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν (Fr. 200 [*Antiope*]) — “for one wise counsel defeats many hands, while ignorance together with the mob is the greatest evil.” The saying is cited as follows: *Imastun kho-rhrdov bazmadzern zawrut'ean jaxht'e, isk anusumnut'iwn anhnarin char ē* [Muradyan 1993: 55] — “[one] with wise counsel defeats a many-hands might, while ignorance is an enormous evil.” The words σὺν ὄχλῳ (“with the mob”) are absent from the Armenian text.

In the discussion of this maxim, the anonymous author of the *Book of Chreia* praises poets in general, especially tragedians who wrote in iambic (*metsaver-jakan*<sup>5</sup>) meter. Then he adds: “And among them tragedian Euripides deserves the

---

Myra [Stegemann 1936: 454–457], and several *progymnasmata* appeared in the collection of Libanius who was Aphthonius' teacher. Consequently, the archetypes of the thirty-one Armenian *progymnasmata* imitating Aphthonius are found in Aphthonius' manual proper (2), in Libanius' collection (5). Three of these five were probably written by Aphthonius and ascribed to Libanius, while two are the Libanian archetypes of Aphthonius' non-extant paraphrases, since he elaborated anew some topics already used by his teacher. Moreover, some exercises appear in Nicholas' collection (19, one of them also in Libanius), while the archetypes of five Armenian *progymnasmata* are not extant at all [Muradyan 1996: 181–187]; critical edition: [Muradyan 1993]; Russian translation: [Muradyan 2000].

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. This compound literally means “with strong ending.” Its shorter variant *met-saverj* (without the adjective-making suffix *-akan*) was created during the translation of the *Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax [Adonts 1915: 43]. This book, with the Armenian translation of the study by Olga Vardazaryan, is reprinted [Adonts' 2008]. There is also a French translation [Adontz 1970].

greatest praise for gladdening the souls of intelligent men with vigorous and skillfully composed heroic tragedies...” [Muradyan 1993: 56]. I don’t cite the whole sentence which is written in a highly rhetorical style.

Another maxim reads: “Not the same is given to everyone, and it does not bring benefit.” It is ascribed in the same book to Menander who is called “head of the comedians” and it is said that “although he lived later than all, but he was filled with such wisdom that nobody could compare with him in his skill” [Muradyan 1993: 53].

#### 4. Knowledge of Greek drama in grammatical works

The Greek grammatical work by Dionysius Thrax (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC) was probably translated into Armenian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. It is regarded as the first translation of the so-called Hellenizing school (5<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> c.), which was a literary trend in old Armenian literature, the representatives of which translated mainly scholarly and theological works in an extremely literal manner. The Armenian version of this grammar is a very literal rendering of the original, even some Greek grammatical categories are ascribed to Armenian and artificial grammatical forms are invented, but some real features of Armenian deviating from the original are also reflected. Starting from the 6<sup>th</sup> c., two series of commentaries on this work were written, the first, in the 6<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> cc. and the second, in the 11<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> cc. Within each group the commentators repeated each other.

Dionysius wrote about tragedy: τὴν μὲν τραγῳδίαν ἡρωϊκῶς ἀναγνῶμεν. The Armenian version reads: *Zoghbergut’iwn diwts’aznabar vertsanests’uk’* [Adonts 1915: 2] — “Let us read the tragedy heroically.”

In the 6<sup>th</sup> c., the commentator David wrote: *Oghbergut’iwnn i hayums ē, isk ēst hoṛomin t’argmanut’ean nokhazergut’iwn asi ar i pashtawn arnel Dionesey umemn tuoghi ort’oy, or ē patmut’iwn yaytni* [Jahukyan 1956: 248]<sup>6</sup> — “Tragedy<sup>7</sup> is so called in Armenian, but according to Greek<sup>8</sup> it is translated ‘goat-song’, because of the worship of a certain Dionysus, the inventor of vine, which is a well-known story.” He also writes that the iambic meter is characteristic of tragedy [Adonts 1915: 89, Jahukyan 1956: 249].

An anonymous commentator, probably also in the 6<sup>th</sup> c., added to this: *K’anzi zoghbergut’iwnn saks aynorik asen “nokhazergut’iwn”, zi zoghbergut’iwns iwreants’ i sksaneln ew i katareln nokhazawk’ metsareal linēin, ork’ nuirēin dzawnleak’ Di-oniwiseay, gtoghi ort’oy* [Adonts 1915: 128] — “For tragedy is called ‘goat-song’, because when starting and finishing their tragedies they honoured them with goats which they dedicated to Dionysus, the inventor of vine.”

The two cited explanations were repeated by four 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> cc. authors in their compilatory commentaries on *Grammar*.

Finally, in the 15<sup>th</sup> c., Aṙak’el Siwnets’i altered it: “*Oghbergut’iwn znokhazergut’iwnn*” <...> *ays ē. zi asen het’anosk’, t’ē Dionesios astuatsn zkha-*

<sup>6</sup> The variant of the same text first published by Adonts’ slightly differs [Adonts 1915: 89].

<sup>7</sup> The word *oghbergut’iwn* literally means “lamentation song.”

<sup>8</sup> Literally, “according to Roman (or rather Romaean)”; the neologism *nokhazergut’iwn* — “goat-song” is a calque of τραγῳδία.



*ghoghn ew zginin shnorheats' mez, vasn oroy znora tawnn, or dzawnmunk' arnēin yarajnumn ew i vakhchan tawnnin ayts ew k'awsh matagh arnēin. Ayl urakhut' iwn' imastasirakan ochov khrokht, ew och' orpēs shinakank'* [Aṙak'el Siwnets'i 1982: 87] — ““Tragedy is a goat song' <...> because the heathens say that god Dionysus granted us grapes and wine, for which during his festival, while bringing offerings at the beginning and at the end, they sacrificed a she-goat and a he-goat. And they rejoiced in a haughty philosophic manner, but not like rustics.” It is not clear why Aṙak'el characterizes the philosophic manner as “haughty.”

## 5. Grigor Magistros

This last point concerns the 11<sup>th</sup> century author Grigor Magistros, one of the most learned medieval Armenian writers, an eminent political and military figure of his time. Besides his *Commentary on the Grammar*, an important part of Grigor's literary legacy is a collection of eighty-one personal letters, and there are some poems among these letters. Personal letters were a new genre in Armenian literature. These are not only documents reflecting the realities of his time, but also literary works composed according to Byzantine epistolary rules. Due to the intricacy of Grigor's language and style, his letters are often difficult to understand, because they are full of allegories, allusions, citations and paraphrases of stories from known and unknown Armenian and Greek sources. Later scribes aggravated the obscurity of many passages by corrupting unusual words, foreign names, and contexts they failed to understand. References to Greek authors — quotations, paraphrases of mythical and literary episodes or allusions are numerous and significant. In some cases, these references come to enhance his argument, but often they seem to be a mere display of erudition. He mentions Euripides several times [Grigor Magistros 2012: 252, 267, 419], but these mentions are not quite clear. In an enigmatic poem written in iambic trimeter, Grigor mentions Aristophanes [Ibid.: 210].

These were all the references, dispersed in various texts, which, so far, I have been able to find. Perhaps further research will reveal more material. As one can see from the references to the Greek tragedians and tragedies discussed above, in pre-Christian, especially Hellenistic Armenia there was a certain interest towards the Greek theatre. Medieval references are quite scant. The 11<sup>th</sup> century political figure and intellectual Grigor Magistros is an exception: he mentioned Greek myths and literature, including dramatists, to show his erudition.

## References

- Adonts, N. (1915). *Dionisii Frakiiskii i armianskie tolkovateli* [Dionysius Thrax and Armenian commentators]. Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk. (In Russian, texts in Ancient Armenian).
- Adonts', N. (2008). *Erker hing hatorov, G: Hayerēnagitakan usumnasirut' iwnner* [Works in 5 Vols., Vol. 3: Armenological studies]. Erevani petakan hamalsarani hratarakh'ut'yun. (In Armenian, texts in Ancient Armenian).
- Adontz, N. (1970). *Denys de Thrace et les commentateurs arméniens*. Imprimerie orientaliste. (In French, texts in Ancient Armenian).



- Aṙak'el Siwnets'i (1982). *Yaghags k'erakanut'ean hamarawt lutsmunk'* [Concise commentary on grammar] (L. Khacheryan, Ed.). Alco Printing. (In Armenian).
- Boltunova, A. I. (1942). Grecheskie nadpisi Armavira [The Greek inscriptions from Armavir]. *Izvestiia Armianskogo filiala AN SSSR*, 1942(1–2), 35–61. (In Russian).
- Canali De Rossi, F. (2004). *Iscrizioni dello estremo oriente Greco: Un repertorio*. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBT.
- Grigor Magistros (2012). *T'ught 'k' ew ch 'ap 'berakank'* [Letters and verses] (G. Muradyan, Ed.). Nairi. (In Ancient Armenian).
- Jahukyan, G. (1956). Dawt'i k'erakanakan ashkhatut'yan norahatyt amboghjakan dzeragir tek'stē [The newly found complete handwritten text of David's grammatical work]. *Banber Matenadaran* 3, 241–264. (In Armenian, text in Ancient Armenian).
- Kannicht, R. (1998). Die Versinschrift Nr. 2 von Armavir und trag. adesp. F 279g. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 120, 13–14.
- Manandyan, H. (1945). *Armaviri hunaren ardnagrut'yunnerē nor lusabanmamb* [The Greek inscriptions from Armavir in new light]. Erevani petakan hamalsarani hratarakch'ut'yun. (In Armenian).
- Movsēs Khorenats'i (2006). *History of the Armenians* (R. W. Thomson, Trans.) (new rev. ed. of the 1978 Harvard Univ. Press ed.). Caravan Books.
- Muradyan, G. (1996). The original complete collection of Aphthonius' Progymnasmata and the Armenian Book of Chreia. In *Acts, XVIII<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Selected papers. Moscow, 1991, Vol. 4: Literature, sources, numismatics and history of science* (pp.181–187). Byzantine Studies Press.
- Muradyan, G. (2022). *Ancient Greek myths in Medieval Armenian literature*. Brill.
- Muradyan, G. (Ed.) (1993). *Girk'pitoyits'* [Book of Chreia]. Hayastani GAA hratarakch'ut'yun. (In Armenian, text in Ancient Armenian).
- Muradyan, G. (Trans. into Russian from Ancient Armenian, Intro. and Comment.) (2000). *Kniga khrii* [Book of Chreia]. Nairi. (In Russian).
- Peek, W. (1997). Die metrischen Felsinschriften von Armavir. *Hyperboreus*, 3(1), 1–9.
- Plutarch (1916). *Plutarch's Lives* (B. Perrin, Trans.). Harvard Univ. Press; William Heinemann.
- Snell, B. (Ed.) (1964). *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta ... Supplementum*. Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Stegemann, W. (1936). Nikolaos. In W. Kroll (Ed.). *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Vol. 17, Pt. 1, cols. 359–457). Alfred Druckenmüller.
- Trever, K. V. (1953). *Ocherki po istorii kul'tury drevnei Armenii (II v. do n. e. — IV v. n. e.)* [Studies on the history of culture of ancient Armenia, 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC — 4<sup>th</sup> century AD]. Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR. (In Russian).

\* \* \*

## Информация об авторе

**Гоар Саркисовна Мурадян**  
доктор филологических наук  
старший научный сотрудник, зав.  
Отделом переводной литературы,  
Институт древних рукописей  
им. Месропа Маштоца (Матенадаран)  
Республика Армения, 0009, Ереван,  
пр-т Маштоца, д. 53  
✉ gohar\_muradyan@yahoo.com

## Information about the author

**Gohar S. Muradyan**  
Dr. Sci. (Philology)  
Senior Researcher, Head of The Department  
of Translated Literature, Mesrop  
Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts  
(Matenadaran)  
Republic of Armenia, 0009, Yerevan,  
Mashtots Ave., 53  
✉ gohar\_muradyan@yahoo.com