

# Ukhtanēs on Noah and Armenian Parabiblical Traditions

▼ **ABSTRACT** This article examines the Noah material found in the tenth-century Armenian historical work by Ukhtanēs. The traditions known to him are compared with those in the abundant, later Noah parabiblical works, and while he has some unique emphases, on the other hand, he is not familiar with material common in later parabiblical texts.

▼ **KEYWORDS** Noah, biblical paraphrases, Mt. Ararat, Flood, Ark, Armenian historiography, Ukhtanēs.

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## 1. Introduction

In Chapter 3 of Ukhtanēs' *History of Armenia*, a work composed in the tenth century, a passage on Noah is to be found that relates the story of the Flood, Noah, and the Ark (Ukhtanēs 2010, 456–57).<sup>1</sup> For some time now, I have been working on Armenian parabiblical texts dealing with Noah and his Ark and with its eventual landing on Mt. Ararat. Here I shall examine the tenth-century historian Ukhtanēs' retelling of this narrative, setting it into the context of the scholarship on the Armenian Old Testament parabiblica in recent decades.

One of the major challenges facing the study of the Armenian Embroidered Bible (see Stone 2019a, 3–11 and 2019b, 380–91) is that a vast body of the textual evidence for this material is preserved only in late manuscripts, as immediately becomes clear from an examination of the sources upon which the series *Armenian Apocrypha* draws. That being the case, one is led to ask how early the parabiblical traditions entered Armenian literary and religious culture. It is this question that I wish to start to address in this paper. After all, the oldest extensive literary manuscript surviving in

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<sup>1</sup> The text is edited by Petros Hovhannisyan and Gevorg Madoyan on the basis of M1774, M3732, and M885 1.

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Armenian, M2679, of the year 981 CE (Matevosyan [ed.] 1995–97), already contains some early Embroidered Bible traditions and related materials.<sup>2</sup>

The dating of such parabiblical traditions is a matter of considerable weight for students of the development of Armenian religious, literary, and artistic creations. Recently, I have proposed, as part of an effort to date such traditions, to examine the recounting of biblical incidents in dated Armenian historical and literary works.<sup>3</sup> The consideration of such retellings may reveal to us whether and how the parabiblica were used in different genres of Armenian literature and in various other sources that are securely dated. The modest study of Ukhtanēs' telling of the Noah tale that I present here is to be understood, then, as a preliminary probe, a trial for a more inclusive study. I have transcribed the Noah section of Ukhtanēs' *History of the Armenians* from the edition published in the series *Միջնադարյան Հայրեր* [*Medieval Armenian Authors*] (Ukhtanēs 2010) and provided it with an English translation and comments that particularly profile the specific configuration of Noah materials it presents. The section numbers of the edition are given in square brackets.

## 2. Contents and Character

This passage, referred to henceforth as “Concerning Noah”, is basically a biblical paraphrase that Ukhtanēs has integrated into his historical account. Its method of retelling the biblical narrative differs, however, from that of the document called *Biblical Paraphrases*, which I published some decades ago (*Arm. Apoc.* 1, 84–126). *Biblical Paraphrases* was preserved in two manuscripts, M3854 of the year 1471 CE and M4321, also of the fifteenth century. This work is composed of a mosaic of phrases excerpted from the biblical text combined into a narrative, which is interrupted from time to time by hortatory digressions. In addition, some parabiblical elements are also woven into the *Biblical Paraphrases'* excerpted biblical narrative.

In Ukhtanēs' “Concerning Noah”, too, a substantial part of the text, italicised here in the Armenian text and English translation, is made up of citations and phrases quoted from the relevant biblical passages. Unlike *Biblical Paraphrases*, however, it does not contain any homiletic discourses. It conveys ideas going beyond the plain meaning of the biblical text chiefly through what it includes, what it abbreviates, and what it omits. There are, indeed, some few explicit non-biblical elements, and these focus upon some quite specific Armenian national traditions. What is notable about “Concerning Noah” is that Ukhtanēs' point is made by the application of these editorial procedures.

2 See the lists on fols. 36v–37r, 156r–65v published in *Arm. Apoc.* 3, 29–35; Stone 2006, 1.430–35. The manuscript contains other relevant material that is still unpublished.

3 This methodology was broached in my lecture delivered at the “Centre for Advanced Studies ‘Beyond Canon’” at the University of Regensburg in autumn 2023, in the context of a symposium on the Armenian apocrypha. The lecture will be published in that meeting's Proceedings.

### 3. The Text

#### 3.1. Sections 1–4

[1] Յաղագս Նոյի

1) [2] Մարգարեանայ Ղամբէ՛ հայր Նոյի, կոչելով զանուն նորա Նոյ՝ ասէ. «*Սա հանգուցէ զմեզ ի գործոց մերոց եւ ի տրտմութենէ՛ ձեռաց մերոց, եւ յերկրէ, գոր անէծ Տէր Աստուած*»։ [3] Գեղեցիկ իմն յարդարէ զբանս Մովսէս ստուգագիրն. «Եղեւ,– ասէ,– ոչ հանգիստ, այլ ջնջումն որ ինչ միանգամ ի վերայ երկրի»։

2) Եւ յառաջ մատուցեալ՝ ասէ. «Ինձ թուի *հանգուցանելն՝* դադարեցուցանել զամբարշտութիւնս եւ զչարիս՝ սատակմամբ մարդկան զազրագործաց»։ [4] Եւ դարձեալ մեկնութիւն տայ բանին, թէ գեղեցկաբար ասաց թէ՛ «ի գործոց մերոց», որ է յանաւրէնութեանց եւ ի տրտմութեան ձեռաց, որովք կատարեմք զպիղծութիւնս. բայց հանգչին արդարեւ ըստ այսմ մարգարեութեան. ոչ ամենեքեան, այլ կատարեալք յառաքինութեան ոգիք, յորում չարիքն իբրեւ ջրհեղեղաւ ջնջեալ մաքրին, որպէս առ Նոյի մոլորեալք ի չարիս։

3) [5] Արդ իբրեւ եհաս ժամանակ մարգարեութեան Ղամբայ՝ որ առ Նոյ. զի եկեալ հասեալ էր հատուցումն ամբարշտութեան եւ անիրաւութեան մարդկան. զի մեղք յանախեցին ի վերայ երկրի յազգս ամենայն մարդկան, որ էին բնակեալ ընդ ամենայն երեսս երկրի։

[1] Concerning Noah

1) [2] Lamech, Noah's father, prophesied when calling his name Noah. He said, “*He will give us rest from our works and from the misery of our hands and from the earth that the Lord God cursed*”.<sup>4</sup> [3] The truth-writing Moses arranged the words beautifully. “There came about,” he said, “not rest but annihilation of whatever once (was) upon the earth”.

2) And proceeding, he<sup>5</sup> says: “It seems to me that *giving rest* (means) causing the wickednesses and evil to cease by the killing of the unchaste people”.

[4] And again, he gives an explanation of the matter, in that he said beautifully, *from our works*,<sup>6</sup> this is, from iniquities and *from the misery of* (our) hands, by which we do the abominations. But truly, they rest according to this prophecy—not everybody, but those souls perfect in virtue in whom evil is cleaned away, being annihilated as if by a flood, just as those (were) who strayed to evil in Noah's days.

3) [5] Now when the time of Lamech's prophecy arrived, it was in Noah's days; for the retribution for human wickedness and lawlessness had arrived, since sins had increased upon earth among all the nations of humans who were living all over the face of the earth.<sup>8</sup>

4 This is a quotation from Arm Gen 5:29. Nearly all the biblical quotations follow very closely the text-type of Zohrabean 1805. Occasional divergences are most likely due to the periphrastic nature of “Concerning Noah”.

5 That is, Moses.

6 Gen 5:29.

7 I.e., “caused by”.

8 Gen 6:5.

4) Եւ Նոյ էր այր արդար եւ<sup>9</sup> կատարեալ  
յազգի սնդ իւրում,<sup>10</sup> եւ եզիտ շնորհս առաջի  
Տեառն Աստուծոյ:<sup>11</sup>

4) And Noah was a *completely righteous man*  
*in his generation, and he found grace before*  
*the Lord God.*

### 3.2. Analysis of Sections 1–4

The first section discusses Noah’s name and interprets its explanation, which is given in Gen 5:29: “This one will provide us relief from our work and from the toil of our hands” (JPS translation). The author takes this as a prophecy of the flood, which will cleanse the earth of the wicked actions of humans, which is “the toil of our hands,” and he praises Moses’s formulation of the story in Genesis. The discussion of Noah’s name is continued in §2, which interprets it as also referring to the cleansing of the individual humans from sin.<sup>12</sup> Then, as §3 relates, evil increased among all humans. The story of Noah’s antediluvian life ensues in §4—he was completely righteous and found grace before God.

### 3.3. Section 5

5) <sup>[6]</sup> Եւ ինքն էր ամաց հինգ հարիւրոց՝  
յորժամ ծնաւ զՍեմ, զՔամ եւ զԱբելթ:<sup>13</sup>  
<sup>[7]</sup> Եւ յամի վեցհարիւրերորդի եկն  
ջրհեղեղն:<sup>14</sup> Եւ հարիւր ամաւ յառաջ Նոյ  
գործեալ էր գտապանն՝ ի փրկութիւն տան  
իւրոյ. նարտարապետ եւ արարիչ Աստուած  
էր հրամայեալ նմա զամենայն նշանս եւ

5) <sup>[6]</sup> And he himself *was five hundred years*  
*old when he begot Shem, Ham and Japheth.*  
<sup>[7]</sup> And in the six hundredth year  
the flood came. And a hundred years  
earlier, Noah had made the Ark to save his  
household.<sup>18</sup> The builder and maker, God,  
had commanded him to do all the plans<sup>19</sup>

9 The editors introduced եւ from a variant manuscript, but it is not to be found in this position in Armenian Genesis, and its lack is to be observed also in the Greek and Hebrew texts.

10 Gen 6:9a quoted from the Armenian Bible.

11 Arm Gen 6:8.

12 See also the remark on his name in the *Descendants of Adam* (*Biblical Paraphrases* I.26–27 – *Arm. Apoc.* 1.85–86).

13 Gen 5:32. The wording resembles, but is not identical with, the Zohrabian text of this verse and, indeed, this section adds no extra-biblical elements to the biblical texts alluded to. However, it is very interesting to observe which points of the biblical narrative it stresses (survival, and the curse of Ham/Canaan) and which it omits. It does not deal with exactly who entered the Ark, the animals, details of the Ark and its inner disposition; the raven; the dove; where it landed, etc. The Noachic genealogical lines of descent form the focus of its interest.

14 Gen 7:6. Not a quotation.

արուեստս գործել ի տապանին. զի «յցաւ,-  
սաւ,- երկիր անհրատյօթեամբ»,<sup>15</sup> եւ ես ածից  
ջրհեղեղ ի վերայ երկրի՝ սաստակել<sup>16</sup>  
զամենայն մարմին, որ ունիցի շունչ  
յինքեան»<sup>17</sup>:

and crafts in the Ark, for He said, “*the earth  
is filled with lawlessness, and I will bring a  
flood upon the earth to kill all flesh in  
which there is breath*”.

### 3.4. Analysis of Section 5

§5 relates that Noah begot his three sons at the age of five hundred; the flood came when he was six hundred. Next, the building of the Ark a century earlier is also recorded. It is intriguing here that the age of five hundred for the birth of the three sons is not taken to be due to ascetic virtue, as is the case in the apocryphal writing *Virginity of Noah*.<sup>20</sup> Nor is a craftsman mentioned as helping Noah in the building as in *Noah and the Cheirograph* §3. Instead, God provided him with the plans and skills.<sup>21</sup> The narrative here, however, shares with *Noah and the Cheirograph* and its story about Noah’s assistant, a concern about how Noah had the knowledge and skill to build the Ark.<sup>22</sup> This is not a very common theme.

### 3.5. Section 6

6) [8] Եւ պատուէր առեալ ի Տեառնէ Նոյի,  
եմուտ ի տապանն հանդերձ ամենայնիւ՝  
զոր հրամայեաց նմա Աստուած. եւ սպա  
զկնի կատարման Արարչական հրամանին,  
ել Նոյ ի տապանէ անտի, եւ արհնեաց  
զՍեմ եւ զՅաբեթ, այլ ոչ զԲամ, յաղագս  
քամահելոյ նորա զմերկութիւն հարն:

6) [8] And Noah, having received a  
command from the Lord, entered into the  
Ark with all those whom God had  
commanded him<sup>23</sup>, and then, after the  
carrying out of the Creator’s<sup>24</sup> command,  
Noah went forth from the Ark and blessed

15 Quotation of Gen 6:11.

16 սպականել in Zohrabeian’s edition of Gen 6:17.

17 Gen 6:13. Not a quotation.

18 In Gen 6:14, God commands Noah to build the Ark. The same reason as is given here may be found in Armenian parabiblical narrative and erotapocritic texts. For instance, see *Short History of the Holy Forefathers* §45 in *Arm. Apoc.* 4, 173–74, published from M2111 (1652–79). The one hundred years’ period is mentioned in *Questions and Answers on the Holy Books* §20 in *Arm. Apoc.* 4.99, 6.275, and 290, published from M1654A (1336); M1254 (seventeenth century), and M1405 (eighteenth century); and also in *Story of Noah* §2 (*Biblical Paraphrases* and also see *Arm. Apoc.* 5.13).

19 Literally, “signs, indications”. According to Gen 6:15–16, God gave Noah detailed instructions about the layout and construction of the Ark.

20 *Arm. Apoc.* 8 (in preparation).

21 See *Noah and the Cheirograph* §3 published in Stone 2021, 348, and Yovasap’ Sebastac’i, “From Adam to Noah”, unpublished poem in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. ms SBB-IIIIE Ms or quart 805; edition currently in preparation. See also the technical interest in the Ark’s construction expressed in the apocryphon mentioned in note 18, here.

22 See for a more detail *The Form and Structure of Noah’s Ark*, an Armenian parabiblical text published in *Arm. Apoc.* 6, 45–51, §§1–5.

23 Gen 6:18–20 summarised.

24 Literally, as it were, the «Creatorial» command.

Shem and Japheth, but not Ham, on account of his mocking of his father's nakedness.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.6. Analysis of Section 6

Next, in §6, a bare outline of the following events is given: Noah, with all humans and animals whom God commanded, entered the Ark. Noah exited the Ark, blessed Shem and Japheth, but not Ham, who had mocked him. This staccato narrative exhibits no interest in some major themes of the Noah tale: the details of the construction of the Ark;<sup>26</sup> the Flood and its duration;<sup>27</sup> its ending, which is marked by the incidents of the release of the raven and the dove.<sup>28</sup> The descent from the Ark, Noah's sacrifice, and God's covenant are absent,<sup>29</sup> as is Mount Ararat, as well as the traditions about where they settled and where Noah planted the vineyard. These latter are, most notably, omitted, although they served in various other Armenian parabiblical writings, tightly to attach the hawsers of the Noah tradition and of the Ark to the firm bollards of specific locations in Armenia and particularly to Mount Ararat.<sup>30</sup> Yet, there is not a word of them in our text, which does not even mention "the mountains of Ararat" (Gen 8:4).

The story of Noah's drunkenness is assumed, as well as the interpretative crux of Ham's mocking and Canaan being cursed, but the story is not recounted.

### 3.7. Section 7

7) <sup>[9]</sup> Եւ ասէ. «Աւրհնեալ Տէր Աստուած Սեմայ. եւ ընդարձակեցդ Տէր Աստուած Յարեթի, եւ եղիցի Քանան ծառայ նոցա»<sup>31</sup>:

<sup>[10]</sup> Եւ ապա ծնան որդիս որդիք Նոյի. եւ անեցին ծնունդք նոցա ըստ իւրաքանչիւր ազգաց:

7) <sup>[9]</sup> And [he<sup>32</sup>] says, "Blessed is the Lord God of Shem, and may the Lord God expand Japheth, and Canaan will be their servant".

<sup>[10]</sup> And then the sons of Noah begot sons and their descendants increased, each according to his peoples.

<sup>25</sup> This is inspired by Gen 9:1 and 9:8. Ham's mocking is described in 9:21–22, contrasted with Shem and Japheth's conduct in 9:23. Noah then curses Canaan (9:24) which raises a *crux interpretationis* that fascinated ancient exegetes—if Ham mocked his father Noah, why was Canaan cursed? Observe that just above, in 9:22 Ham is, exceptionally, described as "father of Canaan". The text is referring to Gen 9:25–27, where Noah blesses Shem and Japheth, but not Ham. The next section, §7 here, is the blessing itself.

<sup>26</sup> See Gen 6:14–16.

<sup>27</sup> Gen 7:4, 11–12, 17–24.

<sup>28</sup> Gen 8:1–12.

<sup>29</sup> Gen 8:20–22.

<sup>30</sup> For specific Armenian topographical traditions, see Stone and Topchyan 2022, 1–18; Garibian de Vartavan 2021, 276–95; Stone 2010, 307–16 and a wealth of other scholarly publications.

<sup>31</sup> Gen 9:25–27. Canaan is made a servant of Japheth, as well as of Shem (as in the Bible). This section excerpts and to some extent reworks the biblical verses. The explicit highlighting of Japheth, the ancestor of the Armenians, is notable and in line with the following sections.

<sup>32</sup> Apparently, Moses.

### 3.8. Analysis of Section 7

In §7, one of the chief points stressed by the text becomes prominent, the blessing of Noah's offspring, except for the accursed Canaan. The root արիւն- "to bless" occurs thrice (in §§6, 7, and 12).

### 3.9. Sections 8–10

8) <sup>[11]</sup> Եւ ի Սեմայ ծննդոցն՝  
երեքսասաներորդ Փաղեկ, որ յաւուրս  
նորա բաժանեցաւ երկիր. եւ եղև  
բնակութիւն նոցա եւ թագաւորութիւն ի  
Մասեայ մինչև ի գալն ի Սոփերեոյ լեառն  
արեւելեաց:

9) <sup>[12]</sup> Իսկ [ի] Քամայ ծննդոցն Նեբրովր. ի  
նորա<sup>36</sup> ժամանակս եղև սկիզբն  
թագաւորութեան նոցա՝ ի Բաբիլոնն մինչև  
ի Նինուէ:

10) <sup>[13]</sup> Իսկ որդիք Յաբեթի եւ ծնունդք  
նոցա՝ որ սերեցան<sup>38</sup> եւ անցին եւ լցին  
գերկիր. ի սոցանէ եղև սկիզբն  
թագաւորութեան ի Հայք. <sup>[14]</sup> ի գալն Հայկայ  
եւ անուանել զիւր անուն. եւ յայնմիտեւ  
տիրել ի նմանէ եւ անոր ամենայն  
աշխարհին արեւմտից եւ հիւսիսի:

8) <sup>[11]</sup> And Peleg was the thirteenth of the  
descendants of Shem.<sup>33</sup> In his days the  
earth was divided up.<sup>34</sup> And their  
habitation and kingdom were from Masea  
until the approach to the Sop'erea  
mountain in the east.<sup>35</sup>

9) <sup>[12]</sup> And Nebrovt (Nimrod) was of  
Ham's descendants. In his times was the  
beginning of their kingdom, from Babylon  
to Nineveh.<sup>37</sup>

10) <sup>[13]</sup> And the sons of Japheth and their  
descendants<sup>39</sup> who were begotten,  
increased and filled the earth.<sup>40</sup> From them  
there came to be the beginning of a  
kingdom in Armenia, <sup>[14]</sup> until the arrival of  
Hayk and the naming<sup>41</sup> by his name. And  
thenceforth, it was ruled by him and there,  
all of the land of the west and the north.<sup>42</sup>

### 3.10. Analysis of Sections 8–10

In §§8–10, the *diamerismos* of the earth is discussed in a fairly summary manner, covering the same subjects as Gen 10 with its more detailed Table of Nations. What is most interesting is that in §10, the Armenian character of the text surges to the fore. With a clear political emphasis, the author expands on the Japhethites and the establishment of Armenia as a kingdom and the Armenians' rule over the northern and western regions. He explicitly references the story of Hayk and his eponymous

33 Indeed, this is the case in the count of the descendants of Shem as they are set forth in Gen 10:22–25.

34 So, Gen 10:25, a play on the Hebrew root *plg* "to divide". This etymology is taken up in the Armenian *Onomastica Sacra*, see Wutz 1915, 946–47; Stone 1981, 158–59.

35 Literally, of the east. The geographical names are drawn from Genesis 10:30.

36 Above line p.m.

37 Gen 10:8 for Nimrod's descent; 10:10–12 for his kingdom in Babylon.

38 *iq* above line p.m.

39 In Genesis, the list of Japheth's lineage comes first in (10:2-4). In our text, it comes as a climactic last.

40 The same idea, with different wording, see in Gen 9:1.

41 Of the land or the people.

42 Here, the text draws on Movsēs Khorenats'i 1.10–22 (Moses Khorenats'i 2006, 82–83).

role.<sup>43</sup> This emphasis, of course, is clearly a result of the author's viewpoint as a historian of Armenia. Nonetheless, particularly the absence of the explicit Armenian geographical locations connected with the landing of the Ark on Mt. Ararat is once more very striking, and this may be an instance in which the *argumentum e silentio* should be accorded weight, though the reason for this omission is not obvious.

### 3.10. Section 11–13

11) <sup>[15]</sup> Եւ յեղանել Նոյի ի տապանէն, եղև թագաւոր ի վերայ երկրի, զկնի Ադամայ երկրորդ թագաւոր: <sup>[16]</sup> Բանգի հրամայեաց նմայ Աստուած՝ որպէս յսկզբանն Ադամայ, տիրել ամենայնի որ ընդ ձեռամբ նորա իցեն ի վերայ երկրի:

12) <sup>[17]</sup> Եւ արհնեսաց Աստուած զՆոյ եւ զորդիս նորա, եւ ասէ. «Աճեցէք եւ բազմացարոք եւ լցէք զերկիր. եւ սի եւ երկիւղ ձեր ի վերայ ամենեցուն եղիցի» <sup>45</sup>.

<sup>[18]</sup> Եւ անեցին եւ եղիցին ազգք. եւ անուանեցան լեզուք, եւ կոչեցան տոհմք ըստ աշխարհաց եւ զաւտաց. անեցին եւ բազմացան եւ լցին զերկիր:

13) <sup>[19]</sup> Եւ եկաց Նոյ յետ ջրհեղեղին ամս երեք հարիւր եւ յիսուն. եւ եղև ամենայն աւուրք Նոյի ամբ ինն հարիւր եւ յիսուն, եւ մեռաւ:

11) <sup>[15]</sup> And when Noah went forth from the Ark, he became king over the earth, the second king after Adam.<sup>44</sup> <sup>[16]</sup> Because God commanded him, as in the beginning [he had commanded] Adam, to rule over everything upon the earth, which would be in his power.

12) <sup>[17]</sup> And God blessed Noah and his sons and said, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth. And fear and dread of you will be upon all”. <sup>[18]</sup> And they increased and became nations, and they were named tongues and called houses, according to lands and regions. They increased and multiplied and filled the earth.

13) <sup>[19]</sup> And Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after the Flood. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years, and he died.

### 3.11. Analysis of Sections 11–13

In §§11–13, Ukhtanēs' focus returns to Noah himself: he is the second universal king, the first having been Adam. This striking assertion is confirmed by the blessings God pronounced over them both: see Gen 1:28, which says of Adam and humans: “let them have dominion”, and Gen 9:2, where He blesses Noah and his sons, saying: “The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth”. The same idea, that Noah was to become a new Adam, occurs in *Concerning the Good Tidings of Seth* §27 (*Arm. Apoc.* 5.13) and *Biblical Paraphrases* II.5 (*Arm. Apoc.* 1.90): there we read, “and instead of Adam, I have made you also king of all the earth”. It also occurs in the homily “On the Prologue to the Genesis of the Creatures” ascribed to Epiphanius of Cyprus published by Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

43 For this story see Movsēs Khorenats'i 1.9–12 (Moses Khorenats'i 2006, 80–85).

44 This is not explicit in the biblical text, though the similarities of the blessings of Adam and Noah evoke the parallel.

45 Quoting Gen 9:1–2.

(see Dorfmann-Lazarev 2020, 313–19). In particular, the “superimposition” of the image of Adam upon that of Noah is discussed in this homily (321–23), and there, the references to animals are especially revealing. Ukhtanēs, “Concerning Noah” concludes with Noah’s life-span and death.

This analysis shows that the present work has the very specific focus expressed most clearly in §§7–10. Thus, observe the blessing particularly of the Japhethite line, and the antiquity of the settlement of the Armenians north-west of Mesopotamia, together with the antiquity of the name “Hayk’ ” for the land and the people. This is bolstered by the idea of Noah’s universal kingship, which, one may assume, undergirded his allocation of lands to his descendants. The lack of interest in Mt. Ararat, taken alongside the implied antiquity of the Japhethite genealogy, is particularly striking.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

Ukhtanēs’ Noah material is drawn largely from the Bible. Indeed, it is evident that he plucked out whole sentences, as well as phrases, and embedded them in his historical discourse. His focus appears to be on the rule of the Armenians over Armenia, and he stresses this point, which is natural enough in the early part of a work devoted to the history of Armenia, and highlighting these procedures is potentially significant for future studies of Ukhtanēs’ historiographic method. Yet, it is striking that Mt. Ararat is not mentioned, even where it is found in the biblical tale and despite being firmly established in the Armenian mythical landscape.

Overall, Ukhtanēs remains within the realm of the biblical text and adduces few apocryphal traditions, though, by omission and stress, he introduces very different emphases to those present in Genesis, particularly seeking to buttress the biblical undergirding of Armenian history. Indeed, there is no hint at specific subjects that interested later Noah parabiblical texts, such as the source of light in the Ark, or of food; how Noah built the Ark and whence he got the necessary technical skills, and the like. Thus, we are unable to show the antiquity of these later traditions from Ukhtanēs, nor do his special emphases appear in those later works.

It is interesting, also, that the biblical text type evident in Ukhtanēs’ citation is the in most respects same as that of Zohrabean 1805.

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