

THE NAMES OF THE RIVERS*

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Genesis' description of the rivers that flowed out of Eden (Gen 2:10–14) is one of two passages in that book which provided ancient and medieval exegetes with geographical information of wide scope. The other passage, which has been studied in some detail, is the so-called *Tabula Gentium* in Genesis 10. The *Tabula Gentium* has been the object of a number of studies in recent years,¹ but less attention has been directed to the four rivers. In the Middle Ages two chief issues emerged as cruxes in the retelling and exegesis of this passage. The identification of the Gehon and Pison rivers was one and the absence of the River Jordan from this list was another. A subsidiary issue was the courses of the four rivers and their geographical relation to one another.

In this paper we shall publish a previously unknown Armenian text about the four rivers. This text, or something very like it, was at the disposal of the well-known medieval Armenian lyric poet, Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i. Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i (1450–1535)² wrote a long poem on the acts of creation, a sort of poetic Hexaëmeron called “On the

* This paper is dedicated to my friend Hanan Eshel in recognition of his significant contribution to the study of many aspects of ancient Judaism. It is an essay into the *Nachleben* of a biblical geographical tradition, to which field Hanan ~~has~~ dedicated several studies.

¹ James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: the Book of Jubilees* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and others of his writings. Concerning the *mappa mundi* implied by 1QGenApoc (1Q20) see Esther Eshel, “The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (eds. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; SJSJ, 119; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 111–31. Further bibliography on this matter is substantial.

² On him, see Robert W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 228–229. Many of his poems were translated by James R. Russell, *Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i and The Mediaeval Armenian Lyric Tradition* (University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987). The poem, “On the Creation of the World” was translated by Russell and then again by the present writer (see the next note).

Creation of the World.” This also deals, *inter alia*, with the four-rivers passage in Genesis 2. Recently Nira Stone has published two papers on the representation of the four rivers in Armenian art, while the present writer published an annotated translation of Tʿkuranc’i’s “On the Creation of the World.”³ The passage of Tʿkuranc’i’s poem relevant to the four rivers was discussed by the writer in his detailed commentary on the poem. Nira Stone, in her work on the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* and in other studies, gathered considerable information on the artistic representation of the course of the rivers. She pointed out the difficulty that artists had in depicting the four rivers, the courses of which would have crossed one another on the surface of the earth.⁴ The new text being presented here is a prose version, close to Tʿkuranc’i’s poetic telling. First we give our translation of the relevant stanzas of Tʿkuranc’i’s composition, with some brief notes focused on their geographical features. This will provide a context within which to view the new documents. Following our study of the first manuscript text, we add an appendix in which two further versions of it are copied and published, both from manuscripts in the Maštoc’ Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan.⁵ All three texts are published here for the first time. In short, the first text is the oldest, the second has suffered considerable confusion and the geographical terms and geography of the third have been extensively updated. This process of transmission is itself of great interest.

Doubtless further delving in medieval Armenian manuscripts and sources will uncover additional versions of this material, which seems

³ Nira Stone, “The Four Rivers of That Flowed From Eden,” *Beyond Eden: The Biblical Story of Paradise (Genesis 2–3) and Its Reception History* (eds. Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg; Forschungen Zum Alten Testament, 2. Reihe; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 227–50; “The Four Rivers of Paradise,” *Proceedings of the Etchmiadzin Conference on the Armenian Bible*, (ed. V. Hovhannisian; ~~Hebrew University Armenian Studies, Leuven: Peeters~~) forthcoming. M.E. Stone, “Selection From *On the Creation of the World* By Yovhannēs Tʿkuranc’i: Translation and Commentary,” in *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies* (OLA 144; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 147–93. This paper includes my previous studies of the first part of the poem and largely supersedes them.

⁴ N. Stone, “The Four Rivers that Flowed from Eden,” 231–232 and notes there.

⁵ Thanks are expressed to Dr. H. Tamrazian, Director of the Matenadaran, who facilitated our research *in situ* in every possible way. Mr. I. Landa assisted in the geographical annotations in the Appendix.

to have undergone a dynamic process of updating of its geographical elements.

Extract from Yovhannēs T'lkuranc'i's
"On the Creation of the World"

70

The springing forth of the four rivers, which were given to water the Garden,

They were named Pison and Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates.

71

They water the Garden, for it is evenly level,

The fruit is perfect, luminous, always green and not falling.

72

The waters descend from the mountain⁶ and make a way through valleys and passages,

They enter the cavities of the earth and run under mountains.

73

The Pison from mount Emawon,⁷ in the north east,

It comes to Apēršah in India, where the fine gold is.

74

Which the lionants guard, and gold is growing,

It surrounds the southern area, and it ends up in the Red Sea.

....

77

The Gehon is from mount Lousin (*or*: of the Moon),⁸ which springs from the southern region,

It cuts across Ethiopia, and Egypt is fattened by it.

⁶ Paradise is on a mountain or a high place already in early Syriac sources, see Stone, "T'lkuranc'i," on stanza 68 168.

⁷ The river was apparently the Ganges as is stated explicitly in the new text below. Probably "Emawon" designates the Himalayas, see below, note 16. It may be an interpretation of Havilah, see Gen 2:11 which is *Ewilat* in the Armenian Bible. The identification of Apēršah in India remains obscure. Moreover, this place is not mentioned in the extensive literature on the lionant and Indian gold that we consulted: see Stone, "T'lkuranc'i," 170–171.

⁸ This is the Nile. Each river arose in mountains, and below it will be seen that "mount of the Moon" was typical of medieval oriental geography for the source of the Nile.

78

The Tigris issues from the canton of Haštēn, from the Olorian village,⁹

It traverses Mesopotamia, over against Assyria.

79

Below Babylon it unites with the Euphrates,

With a winding progress they enter the Persian Gulf.

80

The Euphrates issues forth from Karin,¹⁰ and from the two springs of Oskeank¹,

Many rivers run into it, many waters unite together.

The chief exegetical problems inherent in this passage and the geographical identifications are dealt with in our published commentary on the text. The poet's main geographical point, beyond identification, is that the rivers, which issued from a single source, would have needed to cross one another on the earth's surface in order to circumvent the lands specified in the Bible (Gen. 2:10–14): see stanza 72. Since this is patently impossible, the problem was solved by the theory that the rivers went underground in pipe-like channels and thus were able to criss-cross as textual and geographical imperatives demanded. This solution of the problem is as old as Ephrem Syrus (ca. 306–373), at least.¹¹

⁹ The village in Awlor is in the canton of Haštēn in Fourth Armenia (Armenia IV), on which administrative division see: N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian: the Political System Based on the Naxarar System; translated with partial revisions, a bibliographical note and appendices by Nina G. Garsoian* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970), 133–36. The Tigris and Euphrates arise in the area of Greater Armenia and the geographical information about them is consequently more specific and detailed. For the Byzantine division of Armenia, see Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), map 66.

¹⁰ Karin is another name of Erzerum. The two “springs” are two head-waters that unite to form the Euphrates. The northern is called Euphrates and the southern is Aracani. See T. X. Hakobyan et al., *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories* (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1988), vol. 2, 253 (in Armenian); Stone, “T¹ulkuranc¹,” 173.

¹¹ See his Syriac *Commentary on Genesis 2.5.4*. See in detail Nira Stone, *The Kaffa Lives of the Desert Fathers: A Study in Armenian Manuscript Illumination* (CSCO Subsidia 94; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 87–90.

Names of the Four Rivers in Ms M5254

Manuscript no. M5254 of the collection of the Maštoc' Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Erevan, Armenia, is a *Miscellany* copied in 1280 C.E. in Armenia.¹² This is a very valuable and, for an Armenian scholarly manuscript, a rather early collection of texts relating to biblical traditions and apocrypha. We have, in the past, published one apocryphal text from this manuscript, dealing with the names of the translators of the Septuagint.¹³ This is related to a tradition deriving from the *Epistle of Aristeas*. In addition the manuscript contains a copy of Pseudo-Zeno, *Anonymous Philosophical Treatise* (previously, erroneously identified as Zeno the Stoic's *de natura*), which has also been published¹⁴ and also of the *Physiologus*.¹⁵ It is intriguing, therefore, to find a brief document dealing with the four rivers in this important manuscript, though its origin remains uncertain. As will be evident below from the notes on the text, it clearly reflects medieval Oriental traditions of a geographical character. We have assigned a name to the document and divided it into paragraphs. We have kept the capitalization and punctuation of the original.

Names of the Four Rivers

160v Անուանք չորից գետոցն որ էլանեն յեդեմա եւ ոռոգանեն գերկիր. թէ ուստի էլանեն եւ ուր երթան:

Հնդիկք գանգէս ասեն: Պարսիկք վեհոտ. Եբրաեցիք փիսոն. յոյնք ինդոս. եւ ինքն մի գետ է: սայ էլանէ յարեւելից հիւսիստ: ի լեռնէն որ կոչի եմաւոն: եւ գա ի հարաւակողմ հնդկաց: եւ մտանէ ի ծոփս կարմիր:

¹² See the description of the manuscript in O. Eganyan et al., *Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts of the Maštoc' Matenadaran* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1984), vol. 2, cols. 67–68 (in Armenian). For the cooperation of the Matenadaran staff, and in particular of its Director, Dr. H. Tamrazian, we are extremely grateful.

¹³ M.E. Stone and R.R. Ervine, *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (CSCO Subsidia, 105; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 12–18 (Introduction), 73 (text), 95–6 (translation).

¹⁴ M.E. Stone and M.E. Shirinian, *Pseudo-Zeno, Anonymous Philosophical Treatise* (Philosophia Antiqua, 83; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹⁵ See Gohar Muradyan, *Physiologus: The Greek and Armenian Versions with a Study of Translation Technique* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies, 6; Leuven-Paris-Dudley MA: Peeters, 2005), 8, 15–16, etc.

Գեհոն որ կոչի նելու: գա ի հարաւո ի լեռնէն որ կոչի լուսնի. անցանէ ընդ եգիպտոս. ընդ արեւելից եզր եթեոպիա. մաւտ ի կարմիր ծոփս: եւ բաժանի յ.է. վտակս. եւ առնէ ծովակս երեք: եւ արեւելից աղեքսանդրի մտանէ յեգիպտական ծոփս:

Տիրարիս որ է դկլաթ. ելանէ ի չորրորդ հաոց ի հաշտեան գաւառէ: ի գեղջէն ոլորա. ի լերանցն կորդուաց. հատանէ գասորիս եւ զմիջագետս. եւ խառնի յեփրատ պատել զբաբելոն: անցանէ ի պարսկական ծոփս:

Եփրատ ելանէ ի կանա եւ տարաւնոյ: իջանէ ի չորրորդ հայք. հատանելով զա[ս]որեստան. խառնի դկլաթ. եւ անցանէն երկոքին ի պարսկական ծոփս:

Fol. 160v The Names of the Four Rivers which issue forth from Eden and irrigate the earth, whence they issue and whither they go.

The Indians say Ganges;¹⁶ the Persians Vehot;¹⁷ the Hebrews Pison; the Greeks Indos; and it is one river. It goes from the north-east, from the mountain which is called Emawon,¹⁸ and it comes to southern India and flows into the Red Sea.

Gehon, which is called Nile, comes from the south from the mountain called Lusni (*or*: of the Moon).¹⁹ It passes through (by) Egypt, along the eastern coast of Ethiopia close to the Red Sea, and separates into seven streams and forms three lakes.²⁰ And east of Alexandria it enters the Egyptian sea.

The Tigris, which is the Tklat,²¹ issues from Fourth Armenia (Armenia IV), from the region of Haštean from the village of Olor, from the

¹⁶ This is apparently a confusion of the two great rivers of India. In fact, the river that arises in the Himalayas (see [next note](#)) and debouches into the Red Sea (i.e., the modern Arabian Sea), is the Indus, as is preserved in the Greek equivalent of the name.

¹⁷ This name is unclear.

¹⁸ This probably refers to the Himalayas, the Ἡμῶδῶ ὄρη Strabo 15.719. Strabo identifies these mountains with the end of the Caucasus range. The Ganges arises in the Himalayas but runs into the Bay of Bengal, to the east of the Indian sub-continent.

¹⁹ In T'lkuranc'i's text it is Lusni (nominative)

²⁰ Indeed, the Nile is formed of three principal streams, the White Nile, one of the three, originates in Lake Victoria, though this was not known in antiquity or the Middle Ages. The Blue Nile runs through Lake Tana in Ethiopia. However, the view expressed here, including the mountain's name "Mountain of the Moon" is known to medieval Arabic geographers. See J.H. Kramers, "al-Nil," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2ed; Leiden: Brill, 1998–2006), 8.37–43.

²¹ Arabic and Persian name of the Tigris: see R. Hartmann, "Didjla," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.249–251.

mountains of Gordyene. It cuts through Syria and Mesopotamia and is melded with the Euphrates to surround Babylon. It passes to the Persian Sea.

The Euphrates issues forth from Kan²² and Tarawn. It descends to Fourth Armenia (Armenia IV), cutting through Assyria. It is melded (with) the Tklat' and they and they both pass to the Persian sea.

Appendix 1

Second and third forms of this text were discovered in later manuscripts held by the Maštoc' Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, in Yerevan. The second is in M605 on fol. 75r. The manuscript, a *Miscellany* dates to the 17th century, was written by various hands.²³ The text is quite confused, especially in its treatment of the Pison, but clearly goes back to something like M5254.

Վասն դ գետոցն.

Փիսոն ի հնդկաց. եւ յերոպայ. գանգէս. կոչի. իսկ յոյնք հնդկաց գետ ասեն. ելանէ յեմաւոն լեռնէ. եւ գամենայն երկիրն եւ իլատա շրջապատէ. այսպէս զփոքրն երոպիայ. եւ մեծն / fol. 75v / եւ զկողմանս ելիմացոց. եւ յանցանելն ընդ մեծն երոպիայ. իջանէ ընդ հարաւ արեւմուտս: ի ներքո գանգիայ. յովկիանոս ծովու:

Բ. Գեհոն յերոպիայ փոքու իջանէ. եւ յանտոքացիսն: եւ ընդ բլումիտացիսն. եւ յոքսումիտիս. եւ որոգանէ զերոպիա. եւ յեգիպտացոց ծոփս մտանէ. ըստ երեւիայի. զի կայ քո եւ յերկիրն եգիպտացոց ըմպել ջուր ի գեհոն գետոյ ի պղտորելոյ:

Գ. Տիգրիս ի կորտուաց լերանցն ելանէ եւ գնա ընդ կողմանս ասորեստանեաց քանզի ձեւէ զկողմանս արեւելից. ընկըղմի երկրի եւ ելանէ ի կորդէս. եւ հայք ի միջի փսան:

Դ. Եփրատ նոյնպէս ելանէ ի դրախտէն. մտանէ ընդ երկրաւ. եւ ելանէ ի հայք ի բաքր եւ անդր. եւ ի կարնոյ. լերանց մաւս ի յարծն քաղաք:

²² Hewsen, *Atlas*, map 55 D1 marks a village called Kan by Karin (Erzerum) and near Tarawn.

²³ O. Eganyan, *General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mashtots Matenadaran* (Yerevan: Magalat Publishing House, 2007), 3.23–32, esp. 29 (in Armenian).

Concerning 4 Rivers

1. The Pison is from the Indians and from Ethiopia. It is called the Ganges but the Greeks say, “river of the Indians.” It issues from Mount Emawon and circumvents all the land and Itada. Thus, Ethiopia minor and major, and the regions of the Elimities.²⁴ And having traversed Ethiopia major it descends to the south-west below Gangē to the Oceanus sea.
2. The Gihon descends from Ethiopia minor and from the Antochians, and through the Blomitians and Ok’smits.²⁵ And it irrigates Ethiopia and it enters the sea of the Egyptians; according to [the verse in] Jeremiah [2:18], “What do you have in the land of Egypt, to drink the water of the river Gihon, from *Pltorel?*”²⁶
3. The Tigris issues from the mountains of Gordyene and goes through the regions of the Assyrians, because it forms the eastern regions, it inundates the earth and issues to Kortēs, and the Armenians remain in the midst.
4. The Euphrates likewise issues forth from Paradise, enters under the earth and issues forth to Armenia, to Bak’r and from there to the mountains of Karin,²⁷ close to the city of Arcn.

The third version of the text occurs in *Matenadaran*, M8053, fols. 364v–365. The manuscript is a copy of the *Book of Sermons* of Grigor Tat’ewac’i (1344?–1409). At the end of this manuscript there occur a number of elenctic texts, presumably drawn from his *Book of Questions*, followed by the present text. The manuscript was copied in 1726.²⁸ This recension is an updating and, in some respects, an expansion of a text like M5254.

Յաղագս չորից գետոց է դէմաբուխ վտակաց.

Փիսոն ելանէ յեմաւոն լեռնէ. որ է ի հնդկաց երկիրն. եւ անցեալ զայ ի մէջ երկրին հնդստանայ. եւ մտանէ ի ծովս որ անդ է: ոչ ելանելով ի սահմանաց անտի.

²⁴ Itada and Ethiopia major and minor do not belong to the Pison. “Elimites” is unclear.

²⁵ Of these three mysterious ethnonyms, we can suggest only that the Ok’smits might be related to Aksum.

²⁶ The last word is not readily understandable. The word “Gihon” does occur in the verse from Jeremiah, which differs somewhat in wording from our text.

²⁷ See note 10 above.

²⁸ See, for a brief description: O. Eganyan et al., *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Maštoc’ Matenadaran* (Erevan: Academy of Sciences, 1970), 2.662 (in Armenian).

Գեհոն էլանէ ի լուսին լեռնէ. որ է ի հապաշաց երկիրն. եւ գայ արբուցա- / fol. 365r / նէ եւ պտղաբերէ զեկեղայտոս եւ անցեալ հանդէպ դեմիաթու եւ է վըտակ եղեալ. մտանէ ի սպիտակ ծոփս:

Տիկրիս էլանէ ի հաշտեան գաւարէ որ է անձեւեաց երկիրն որ է նօտ ?? (մօտ) ըզյոլորեան գեղջէ. եւ անցեալ գնայ յասորեստան: առ եզերքն բաբելոնի. եւ անցեալ զբաղտաս երից աուրց ճանապարհաւ. իսառնի ընդ եփրատ. եւ գնացեալ հանդէպ բասրայոյ մեծաւ հնչմամբ եւ զօրութեամբ հերձեալ զջուրն ծովուն. բազում ասպարիսաւ հեռի ի ցամաքէն. ակներեւ տեսողացն եւ դադարի անդ:

Եփրատ յերկու տեղաց էլանէ. առաջինն ի կարնոյ յարծաթի գերջէ. եւ գայ ի մէջ երզնկոյ. եւ անցեալ զկամախ գնայ ի մալաթիայ. եւ երկրորդ վըտակն էլանէ ի բագրեւանդ գաւառէ. ի ծաղկաւէտ լեռնէ. ուր սուրբ ոսկեանքն կատարեցան. եւ գնայ ի մանազկերտ. եւ անցանի ի տարօն. եւ գնայ ի Ճապաղաջուր. եւ անցանի ի բալու. եւ գնացեալ ի մալաթիայ. իսառնին Բ վըտակն ի միմեանս. եւ ծովացեալ գնայ ի պերեճուկ. ի ստուճ ի հոռումկլայ. եւ գնա ասորեստան շատ հեռի ի բաբելոնէ ընթանայ. որպէս ի վերոյ ասացաւ Գ աուր ճանապարհաւ ի բաղտատայ. իսառնի ի տիգրիս. եւ մտանէ ի ծոփս:

Concerning four rivers; the springing forth of seven streams.

- [1.] The Pison issues forth from Mount Emawon which is in the land of the Indians and, having traversed (it) comes in the midst of the land of India and enters the sea which is there, not depassing the borders.
- [2.] The Gihon issues forth from Mount Lusin (of the Moon) which is the land of the Habashites.²⁹ And it comes, waters and fructifies Egypt. And having passed opposite Dēmiat³⁰ and having become seven streams,³¹ it enters the White Sea.³²
- [3.] The Tigris issues forth from the region of Haštean, which is the land of Anjewik³, which is <close> to the village of Ololean. And

²⁹ An Arabic term denoting predominantly Ethiopia and its inhabitants. It is found in other Armenian texts. See also *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., s.v.

³⁰ I.e., Damietta.

³¹ See: P.M. Holt, "Dimyāt," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.292.

³² I.e., the Mediterranean sea (it was known in Turkish as "Ak-deniz"): see D.M. Dunlop, "Bahr al-Rum," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1.934–936.

having traversed it comes to Assyria, to the shore of Babylon, and having passed Baghdad by a (distance of) three days' journey, it melds with the Euphrates. And having gone over against Basra with a great noise and with force it splits the water of the sea, many stadia distant from the dry land, visible to the viewers, and it stops there.

- [4.] The Euphrates goes forth from two places. The first from Karin,³³ from the village of Arcat³⁴ (silver) and comes into the district of Erzinka³⁵ and having passed Kamax,³⁶ goes to Malatia.³⁷ And the second stream issues forth from the region of Bagrewand,³⁸ from the mountain of Całkawēt, where the holy Oskeank' are completed, and goes to Manazkert³⁹ and passes in Tarōn,⁴⁰ and goes to the water of Čapał (or: Capaļajur),⁴¹ and traverses Bal⁴² and having gone to Malatia, the two streams meld with one another, and having become a sea, goes to Perečuk, to Stuč,⁴³ to Hřomkla, and goes to Assyria, it runs very distant from Babylon. As was said above, three days travel from Baghdad it melds with the Tigris and enters the sea.⁴⁴

Appendix 2

In the background of the idea discussed by Ephrem may lie something like the tradition partly represented in Philo's *Questions in Genesis* 1.12. Here the idea of subterranean passages in which the water flows is present, but it seems to be focused not in the need of the rivers to cross one another, but on the question how rivers, deriv-

³³ See note 10 above and Halil Inalcik, "Erzurum," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.712.

³⁴ See Hewsens, *Atlas*, map 55 D2, 52.

³⁵ See R. Hartmann, "Erzindjan," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2.711–712.

³⁶ Hewsens, *Atlas*, "Kamach", map 152 C2, 171; Hakobyan, et al., *Toponymy*, 2. 913–914

³⁷ See E. Honigmann, "Malatya," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 6.230–231.

³⁸ See R.H. Hewsens, "Bagawan," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 3.407–408.

³⁹ See: S. Faroqi, "Malāzgird," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 6.242–243.

⁴⁰ See: J.H. Kramers, "Mush," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 7.665

⁴¹ I.e., Capaļajur (Kharper / Harput): see T'. X. Hakobyan et al., *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories* (Erevan: Erevan State University, 1991) 3.603 (in Armenian).

⁴² Hewsens, "Bala (Pala)", map 10 C3.

⁴³ Not identified.

⁴⁴ See: A. Baram, "Shaṭṭ al-Arab," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 9.368–369.

ing from an Edenic source, could arise in the mountains of Armenia. The Armenian translator has identified the Tigris as the Dklat⁴⁵ and the Euphrates as the Aracani. The name Dklat is found in the first text published above for the Tigris. The Aracani is not given as a name of the Euphrates in our texts, but it is the southernmost of the two main tributaries of the Euphrates.⁴⁵ The text does not deal with the Gihon and Pison.

Philo, Quaest Gen 1.12

Ո՞ է գետն որ յադենայ ելանէր. յորմէ դրախտն ոռոգանի. չորք պատառին գետք. Փիսոն, եւ Գեհոն, եւ Տիգրիս, եւ Եփրատէս:

ԺԲ. Ասին Դկղաթայ եւ Արածանոյ աղբիւրքն բղխել ի հայոց լեռանցն. եւ անդ դրախտ ոչ է, այլ եւ ոչ երկուք եւս այլ աղբիւրք գետոյն: Արդ մի գուցէ թէ դրախտն հեռի ուրեք ի մերմէ բնակութենէ աշխարհիս է. եւ գետ ունի հոսելով ընդ երկրաւ, որ բազումս եւ մեծամեծս ոռոգանէ երակս: զի նոքա յառնելով առաքեսցեն յայլ ընդունիչ երակս ընդարձակ լինելով. եւ սոքա յորձանօք ալեացն ճնշեալք, այն՝ որ ի ներքս ի նոսա բռնութիւնն է, ի վեր կոյս բերանացանէ, է որ ի հայոց լեռինսն, եւ է որ յայլումք: Եւ սոքա են կարծեցեալ աղբիւրքն, գետոցն հոսմունք՝ առաւել, կամ աղբերք յիրաւի կարծեցեալք վասն յամենայնին անսուտ գոլ աստուածային գրոց, յորս գեկուցեալ լինին չորից գետոցն իրք. զի սկիզբն է գետ, այլ ոչ աղբիւր:

~~(12)~~—What the river is which proceeded out of Adin (i.e., Eden) by which the Paradise is watered, and from which the four rivers proceed, the Pison, and the Gihon, and the Tigris, and the Euphrates? (Genesis 2:10).

For the sources of the Tigris (Arm. Dklat⁴⁵) and Euphrates (Arm. Aracani) are said to rise in the Armenian mountains. And in that place there is no Paradise, nor are there the two other sources of the river. Unless perhaps Paradise is in some distant place far from our inhabited world, and has a river flowing under the earth, which waters many great veins so that these rising send (water) to other recipient veins,

⁴⁵ See Hewsens, *Atlas*, Index s.v. “Euphrates, Lower”.

and so become diffused. And as these are forced by the rush of water, the force which is in them makes its way out to the surface, both in the Armenian mountains and elsewhere. And these are the supposed sources, or rather the outflowings of the river; but properly the supposed sources, since divine Scripture, in which the matter of the four rivers is mentioned, is wholly veracious. For the origin is a river and not a source (according to Scripture).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Thanks to Dr. A. Topchayan and Dr. G. Muradyan of Erevan who made this extract from their new translation available.