

ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՊԵՏԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱԼՍԱՐԱՆ  
ԱՐԵՎԵԼԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՖԱԿՈՒԼՏԵՏ

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գիտական խորհրդի որոշմամբ**

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## THE TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES OF CAPPADOCIA IN ACHAEMENID PERSIA

**Keywords:** *Herodotus, 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy, Cappadocia, Syrians, Leucosyrians, the River Halys, Pactyica, the Persian “Royal Road”, Xenophon, Satrapic Armenia*

The Father of History Herodotus, touching upon the ethnic structure of the Achaemenid Persia’s 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy, writes down: “The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute”<sup>2</sup>. The Father of History mentions in different occasions about these tribes and peoples and we shall discuss the ancient datum concerning the Syrians.

Herodotus states that the Cappadocians were called the Syrians by the Greeks, that had been under the Median command before the Persian power and the border between the two empires was the River Halys, which, according to the historian, flows from the Armenian Mountains through Cilicia then goes on flowing through the Matienians on the right and the Phrygians on the left. Continuing his datum Herodotus writes that the river passing through the countries of the Matienians and the Phrygians flows to the north, thus separating the Cappadocian Syrians on the right and the Paphlagonians on the left and falling into the Euxine Sea<sup>3</sup>. It is obvious from the given data that the Cappadocian Syrians and the Matienians are located on the right bank of the Halys, on the left bank to the west having the same

<sup>1</sup> պատմական գիտությունների դոկտոր, «Շիրակի Մ. Նալբանդյանի անվան պետական համալսարան» հիմնադրամ, «Պատմության և փիլիսոփայության ամբիոն», էլ. հասցե՝ hovhkor78@mail.ru

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley, Vol. II, Books III-IV, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1928, Loeb Classical Library, III, 90, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley, Vol. I, Books I-II, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1975, Loeb Classical Library, I, 72, pp. 87-88. Cappadocia is mainly mentioned between Armenia and Lydia in the Achaemenid kings’ inscriptions (see Kent R. G., *Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon.* second ed., New Haven, 1953), but these statements are of no importance for our study.

borders with the Phrygians and the Paphlagonians and thus the Cappadocians were located north to the Matienians living in the district of the Halys bend according to the data<sup>4</sup>. If the Matienians were frontier to the Phrygians on the opposite side of the river, so the Cappadocians were frontier to the Paphlagonians. Besides in another account Herodotus stated about the neighborhood of the Syrians (Cappadocians) and Paphlagonians writing down that the Halys flows through their countries and goes out to the Sea called Euxinus<sup>5</sup>. At the same time the Father of History states that Croesus ruled over the nations west to the Halys<sup>6</sup> and joined all of them to the west of the Halys. It is not by chance, that Croesus directed his invasion against Cappadocia trying to unite that country with his territories. Passing the Halys Croesus reaches the place Pteria in Cappadocia and starts to abandon the Syrian fields. In Pteria, being the most fortified part of Cappadocia, near Synope of Euxine Pontus Croesus retreats to Sardis clashing with Cyrus' army<sup>7</sup>. Pteria being on the right side of the Halys is identified with Boghazköy<sup>8</sup> in the historical literature, but we find this identification is susceptible. Herodotus writes: "When he (Croesus –Kh. H.) came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it, - by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there; but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus. This is the story: *As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist* (indication belongs to us-Kh. H), Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way"<sup>9</sup>. Depicting how Thales organized the passing of the army to the other side of the river, Herodotus suspects the truth of this history, and the mentioning of the bridges speaks of a part of "the Royal Road" route. However, judging by the comparison of some facts,

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<sup>4</sup> On the Matienians location see Khorikyan H., On the Location of the Matienians of the Achaemenid Persia's 18<sup>th</sup> Satrapy, The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East, Yerevan, Vol. XXVI, Yerevan, 2007, pp. 25-35 (in Arm.).

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, I, 6, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., I, 28, p. 33. Herodotus also states that the Cilicians and the Lycians were not under Croesus command.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., I, 76, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Ramsay W. M., The Historical Geography of Asia Minor, London, 1890, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus, I, 75, p. 93.



just Herodotus' suspicion is doubtful. First of all the circumstance that Pteria was near Synope, gives reasons to some topographical definitions. Thus Croesus' campaign was directed to the southern coastal part of the Black Sea which was not only due to the overall external political tension connected with the coming war with Cyrus but also due to the situation being formulated in the lower stream of the Halys (see below). So according to Herodotus, Synope was within Paphlagonia but according to Strabo Amisus belonged to the Leucosyrians ("White Syrians") being separated from the Paphlagonians by the Halys<sup>10</sup>. Judging by the accounts of Strabo the Syrians simultaneously inhabited Sinope and its surroundings<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand Plutarch writes that Synope belonged to the Syrians<sup>12</sup>. Scylax of Caryianda also considers Synope as part of Assyria (Cappadocia)<sup>13</sup>.

According to the different data of the primary sources we can assume that the River Halys was an administrative and by no means an ethnic boundary for Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and that cross-ethnic penetrations were perfectly possible either from the East or from the West to the Halys. It is no coincidence that Herodotus also pushes the border of the Cappadocians, who according to Greeks were Syrians, farther west, writing that the Syrians living near the rivers Thermodon (modern Terme) and Parthenius and their neighbour Macrones say that they have learned circumcision from the Colchians only recently<sup>14</sup>. Mentioning of the Macrones in the Syrian neighborhood did not correspond to the historical reality as due to Xenophon

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<sup>10</sup> The Geography of Strabo, with an English translation by H. L. Jones, Vol. V, Books X-XII, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1969, Loeb Classical Library, XII, 3, 9, 12, 25, pp. 383, 393, 417.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 3, 5, p. 377.

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch's Lives, with an English translation by B. Perrin, Vol. II, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1968, Loeb Classical Library, Plutarch, Lucullus, XXIII, pp. 542, 544; Manoledakis M., The Local Peoples of the Southern Black Sea Coast, in: *Colloquia Antiqua* 18, Essays on the Archaeology and Ancient History of the Black Sea Littoral, ed. by M. Manoledakis, G. R. Tsetskhladze and I. Хыдопулос, 2018, p. 154.

<sup>13</sup> Скилак Кариандский, Перипл обитаемого моря, Вестник древней истории, 1988, 2, p. 261. Pomponius Mela states that Synope and Amisus belonged to the Chalybes (see Латышев В., Известия древних писателей греческих и латинских о Скифии и Кавказе, Вестник древней истории, 1949, 1, p. 273). It just means that metallurgy was spread in the given territories (about the Chalybes see Khorikyan H. G., On the Ethnic Structure of the 19<sup>th</sup> Satrapy of Achaemenid Persia, Bulletin of Yerevan University, 2006, 2, pp. 116-120 (in Arm.).

<sup>14</sup> Herodotus, II, 104, pp. 391, 393.

the Macrones were situated in the south and south-east to Trapezus<sup>15</sup>. And what about the Syrians, if their border was really Thermodon in the north-east<sup>16</sup>, then considering their border Parthenius (modern Koja-Irmak) in the west by Herodotus is not real not only by the datum of the author and also by the other sources. The existence of the Syrians in the west to the Halys has been confirmed by many sources and some data of ancient sources linked to Synope are interesting. So Plutarch writes: “Now Autolykus (the founder hero of Synope - Kh. H.) is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deimachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium (mountain cape with the neck- Kh. H.), in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinope, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinope, the daughter of Asopis”<sup>17</sup>. The Pseudo-Skymnus also states that the ancient population of Synope were the Syri before Autolykus’ coming<sup>18</sup>. According to him the name Synope derives from the name Synope of the Amazon, and besides the Amazons lived next to Synope in Thermodon field. The son of the Amazon Synope and Apollo was Syrus and the nation was called the Syri/Syrias on behalf of him. It is doubtless that likewise Greek legends were composed about different peoples (e.g. Thessalian Armenus’ legends about Armenians-Armens), but the mentioning of the Syri was reflected until the time of the Greek colonization and it is possibly connected with the historic reality<sup>19</sup>. It is notable that Pseudo-Skymnus points out not only about the indigenous Syri but also about the Thessalians, the Milesians, the

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<sup>15</sup> On the Macrones’ location see Khorikyan H., *On the Ethnic Structure of the 19<sup>th</sup> Satrapy of Achaemenid Persia*, pp. 114-116.

<sup>16</sup> See Khorikyan H., *The Western and Southern Boundaries of Satrapic Armenia in the VI-IV Centuries B.C.*, *Journal of Armenian Studies. International Review of Armenian Studies*, 2015, 2, p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> Plutarch’s *Lives*, Lucullus, XXIII, 5-6, p. 545.

<sup>18</sup> Ps.-Skymn., *Peripl.*, 941-952, p. 236. See *Geographi Graeci Minores*, recognovit G. Müllerus, *Persis*, I, 1855.

<sup>19</sup> Максимова М. И., *Античные города юго-восточного Причерноморья*, Москва-Ленинград, 1956, p. 40.

Cimmerians and again the Milesians succeeding them. Perhaps Pindar's record is about the capturing by the Amazons coming from the Thermodon field (tribe or tribes on the southern coastal part of the Black Sea) east to Synope, the Amazons ruled the Syrians<sup>20</sup> or the Syri in this case. It is also worth mentioning the circumstance that the peninsula where Synope is located, is known as Syriada<sup>21</sup> which speaks of the existence of the Syri long ago, and the name is preserved in the ancient names of the nowadays peninsula Indjeburun. Surely the Siri lived not only in Synope territory but also beyond its borders, mainly in the east, beyond the Halys, if only the existence of the Syri in this direction was not conditioned by their forced movement under the pressure of the foreigners. Appearing in the new territory or finally settling on the eastern coast of the Halys, the Greeks began calling the Syri as "Syrians", "Leucosyrians", "Assyrians", that is as an indigenous people<sup>22</sup> and as it is stated in the ancient sources, including those of Herodotus, the Cappadocians became to be known by those names, and the name Leuco-"White" given to the Syri by the Greeks, describing their ethnic peculiarity of being white-skinned contrary to the Melanosyroi, darker-skinned Syrians living south to the Taurus, at the same time emphasizes the different ethnic origin of the Syri-"White Syrians"<sup>23</sup>.

We showed above that according to Herodotus the Cappadocians lived north of the Matienians located in the territory of the Halys bend. This location is observed in other sources of Herodotus as well. In our article devoted to the study of the western and southern boundaries of the Satrapic Armenia<sup>24</sup> we show that Pactyica, a country in the territory of the 13<sup>th</sup> Satrapy, was geographically located in the territory of Caesaria-Mazaka left the Satrapy in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C. and was joined to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy as the

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<sup>20</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 9, p. 383.

<sup>21</sup> Marcian, Epitome, 9; Anon., Peripl., 20. See Robinson D., *Ancient Sinope*, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXVII, 1906, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> Michels Ch., *The Persian Impact on Bithynia, Commagene, Pontus, and Cappadocia*, *Classica et Orientalia*, Band 19, 2017, p. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 9, p. 383. The Syrians, the Leucosyrians, the Assyrians known on the right coast of the Halys had no connection with the Assyrian colonists known from the Kültepe's archives. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the Leucosyrians in the territories of Amasia and Dazimon (see Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus et de Administrando Imperio*, recognovit I. Bekkerus, Bonnæ, 1840, Lib. I, 10-15, p. 19).

<sup>24</sup> See Khorikyan H., *The Western and Southern Boundaries of Satrapic Armenia...*, pp. 41-47.

southern border of Cappadocia did not pass the River Halys until that administrative reshaping.

The name of Katpatuka-Cappadocia may have been established during the Persian reign, when the 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy was taking shape and is closely connected with the country-name of Patuca. Or, perhaps, the name of the country of Patuca was spread by the Medians, moving from the east to the west in the early of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B. C., in the lands of the Halys' bend; later on the name of Patuca-Pactyica becomes the name of the other country - Katpatuka-Cappadocia. If in case of Cappadocia the word "kat" meant "lower" or "inner" and the whole name meant Lower or Inner Patuca, then the territories beyond Patuca-Pactyica could be perceived and assimilated by the Median invaders exactly that way<sup>25</sup>. Probably I. Diakonoff is right, when considering the lands inside the Halys' bend to be Armenia-dependant parts, from which Cappadocia (the 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy) was formed and joined to the other central parts of Asia Minor during the Persian reign<sup>26</sup>. It is also possible that the name of Katpatuka originated after the occupation of Patuca by Aram (Armenian king Aramani)<sup>27</sup> and the lands north to it were called Cappadocia which the Medians passed to Armenia after the Halys Battle in 585. By the new territorial perception Cappadocia came out to the southern coast of the River Halys being frontier to the Cilician Satrapy. In fact the country name Cappadocia had no ground for the ethnic origin from the very beginning and was connected to the concrete administrative and political circumstances and as a result of which an administrative unit was formed, the role and importance of which was very essential for the Achaemenid Empire. In the light of what was said until the administrative and political reshaping took place, the Greek colonies appeared in the southern coast of the Black Sea earlier, especially Synope (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries B. C.) and Amisus (at the end of 7<sup>th</sup> century B. C.)<sup>28</sup> knew the tribes, living in their neighborhood or in their

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>26</sup> Дьяконов И., История Мидии, Москва-Ленинград, 1956, p. 356 and p. 337 map.

<sup>27</sup> About Aram-Aramani see Harout'yunyan B. About Several Issues of the Ancient History of Armenia, Armenian-Iranian Relations and Western Asia (7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.). Yerevan, 1998 (in Arm.); Kosyan A. Aram Nahapet in Cappadocia (On a hypothesis), Historical-Philological Journal, Yerevan, 1999, 1, pp. 237-259 (in Arm.).

<sup>28</sup> Максимова М. И., Античные города..., pp. 43, 64-65.

territories for a long time as the Syrians (the Greek modification of the ethnic name of the ancient Syri). The Strabo's data is important in this case. According to Theopompus the first founders of Amisus were the Milesians and after which there is a missing part in the text and later in the continuation afterwards it is spoken that the Cappadocia's ruler and then Athenians were sent to their colony<sup>29</sup>. According to Strabo, Amisus was in the territory of Leucosyrians<sup>30</sup>. At the same time the geographer states that the Cappadocians called the Syrians as "Leuco" or "White Syrians", which shows the origin of the name Leucosyrians, though Strabo later connected or associated the name with the skin colour and this reality is mostly connected with the ethnic differentiation and with the help of which the Syri-Syrians kept their different origin from the Cappadocians in the memory of ancient people. And it is not by chance that in spite of the missing part it is obvious in the part above that Amisus was captured by the Cappadocians given that Amisus was in the territory of Leucosyrians. So the direct identification of the Cappadocians with "White Syrians" is wrong, as they were identified with the Syrians only after being conquered by the Cappadocians. It is not by chance that according to Meandrus the Eneti living east to the Halys took part in the Trojan War leaving the country of the Leucosyrians<sup>31</sup>. The matter of the Eneti location in the country of the Leucosyrians<sup>32</sup> is not so important as the mentioning of the author that Eneti without participation in the invasion became the Cappadocians, which means that they were assimilated

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<sup>29</sup> Strabo, XII, 3, 14, p. 395.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., XII, 3, 9; 25, pp. 383, 417.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., XII, 3, 25, pp. 415, 417.

<sup>32</sup> If really the H/Eneti had been in the country of the Leucosyrians, then they were relative tribe to the Syri and had been a part of a tribe union made by the Syri. Maybe the Eneti were the Veneti mentioned by Rufus in the neighborhood of Paphlagonia (see Rufus Curtius Quintus, *History of Alexander*, with an English transl. by John C. Rolfe, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. I, 1971, III, I, 22, p. 70) and were identified with the Enetians of the *Iliad* (see Homer, *The Iliad*, transl. by E. Vieu, New York, 1990, II, 840-850=960, p. 127; Vassileva M., Phrygia and the southern Black Sea littoral, in: *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC-10th Century AD)*, ed. G. R. Tsatskladze, A. Avram and J. Hargrave, Oxford, 2015, p. 91; Manoledakis M., *The Southern Black Sea in the Homeric Iliad: Some Geographical, Philological and Historical Remarks*, in: *Exploring the Hospitable Sea. Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity (Thessaloniki, 21-23 September 2012)*, ed. by M. Manoledakis, British Archaeological Reports Series, Oxford, 2013, p. 21).

or identified with them. In spite of the fact the Leucosyrians were also conquered by the Cappadocians, however their name was so entrenched among the Greeks that the Cappadocians were identified with the Syrians or the Leucosyrians, likewise, living in the east to the River Halys the Syri were surely called “Syrians” by the Greeks under the influence of the Syrians living in the south to Taurus. However, later the name Cappadocia disappeared in the northern parts and was established in the south. The coastal territory between Synope and Amisus of the Black Sea had a significant importance for the trade communication as Synope was connected with the sea trade, Amisus was connected with the land trade. It means that the ruler of Amisus gained significant trade advantages for the trade relations with Cappadocia (from Cappadocia to Cilicia and Armenia). For Synope, being under the rule of Croesus, Amisus was a dangerous rival. We think Pteria<sup>33</sup> was situated in the territory of the Halys lower stream and perhaps it was identified with Amisus, nevertheless, Herodotus gave no data about it. One of the suburban parts conquered by Croesus maybe e. g. the Turkish territory Ak-Alan 18 km south-west to Amisus where the archeological excavations were done in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>. Maybe Critalla city of Cappadocia was situated in the territory of Boğazköy, where the Xerxes’ army gathered moving towards Sardis<sup>35</sup>. It is doubtless that the Persian army moving to Sardis would go by the “Royal Road” and one of its important junctions would pass the present Yozgat territory. The army gathered here entered Phrygia passing the most convenient crossing of the Halys in the territory of the present Kirikkale<sup>36</sup>. We can assume from Herodotus’ data that administratively Pteria had been part of Cappadocia, and geographically it had been in the Syrians’ country. At the same time, we

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<sup>33</sup> The identification of Pteria with Kerkenes Dağı (see Summers G. D., Summers F., *The Kerkenes Dağı Project*, in: *Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years’ Work by the British Institute at Ankara*, ed. by R. Matthews, London, 1998, pp. 177–94) was completely rejected (see Rollinger R., *Kerkenes Dağ and the Median “Empire”*, in: *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. by G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger, *History of the Ancient Near East*, Monograph series 5, Padova, 2003, pp. 321–326).

<sup>34</sup> Максимова М. И., *Античные города...*, pp. 56–64.

<sup>35</sup> Herodotus, with an English translation by A. D. Godley, Vol. III, Books V-VII, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1938, Loeb Classical Library, VII, 26, p. 341.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

do not suspect that the enlargement of Cappadocia to the north was due to the Armenian powerful Satrapy on the east, and as we have already mentioned, some administrative changes took place in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B. C., thanks to which Cappadocia had tangible territorial achievements. Not only Pactyica but also other territories were given to Cappadocia. So, Herodotus writes: “The Paphlagonians in the army had plaited helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and javelins and daggers withal; they wore the shoes of their country, reaching midway to the knee. The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians. Dotus son of Megasidrus was commander of the Paphlagonians and Matieni, Gobryas son of Darius and Artystone of the Mariandyni and Ligyes and Syrians. The Phrygian equipment was most like to the Paphlagonian, with but small difference... The Armenians, who are settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. Both these together had for their commander Artochmes, Darius’ son-in-law”<sup>37</sup>. Not touching upon the Armenians we must mention that there are interesting facts in the given citation<sup>38</sup>. The Matienians not being mentioned in the part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy now were taking part in the campaign and the Ligyes were perhaps the same Lycaonians and probably the Persian royal court separated it from the Cilician Satrapy. And the statement that the Syrians were called the Cappadocians by the Persians, is based not on the ethnic but on another political identification just because the Hellenes gradually spread the ethnonym of the Syrians (Syri) over the Cappadocians going to the north from the south. The identification of the Ligyes with the Lycaonians is also probably because of Xenophon’s considering Lycaonia and Cappadocia as one satrapy<sup>39</sup>. It means that Cappadocia was spread south to the Halys on account of Pactyica and Lycaonia. Moreover Xenophon considers Dana

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., VII, 72-73, pp. 383, 385.

<sup>38</sup> About Armenians see Khorikyan H., *Armenia and Transcaucasia in the Administrative Divisions of Achaemenid Persia (Historico-Geographical Study)*, Yerevan, 2014, pp. 33-34 (in Arm.).

<sup>39</sup> Xenophon, *Anabasis*, with an English translation by Carleton L. Brownson, Vol. III, Books I-VII, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 1980, Loeb Classical Library, VII, VIII, 25, p. 624.

(Tyana) as the constituent part of Cappadocia and Phrygian city Iconium bordered with Lycaonia<sup>40</sup>.

Later on Alexander Macedonian moved to Cappadocia from Ancyra: “occupied the lands on this side of the river Halys and more territories in the opposite part of the river”<sup>41</sup>. In fact, Alexander occupies mainly the western and southern parts of this large satrapy and does not invade the Northern Cappadocia<sup>42</sup>. So, the lands being on this side of the river must have been located near the lake Tatta (modern Tuz Gölu), but such location showed that the Cappadocian lands west to the River Halys spread not only in Lycaonia but also to the eastern parts of Phrygia. The territorial enlargement of Cappadocia to the west of the River Halys is probably reflected in the following datum of Herodotus. So, some part of the route of the Persian “Royal Road” passed through Cappadocia, which is mentioned between the Phrygians and the Cilicians: “Next after Phrygia it comes to the river Halys, where there is a defile, which must be passed ere the river can be crossed, and a great fortress to guard it. After the passage into Cappadocia the road in that land as far as the borders of Cilicia is of twenty-eight stages and an hundred and four parasangs”<sup>43</sup>. This data reflects the reality of Herodotus’ time (comp. I, 75) and, according to us, in the territory of Pactyica given to Cappadocia the road had the following route: present Kirikkale-Yozgat-Caesarea-Golden Comana-Kokison up to Marash, the latter was within Cilician territory<sup>44</sup>. There is an interesting mentioning in the given data which is the following. Herodotus points out that the Halys enters into Cappadocia passing through the Halys whereas or as he writes: “Next *after Phrygia* (indication belongs to us- Kh. H.) it comes to the river Halys, where there is a defile, which must be passed ere the river can be crossed, and a great fortress to guard it”<sup>45</sup>. We think that the indication “after Phrygia” reveals an important reality that is: a part of the “Royal Road” up to the River

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, with an English translation by E. Iliff Robson, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. I, 1967, II, 4, 1-2, p. 134.

<sup>42</sup> Michels Ch., *The Persian Impact on Bithynia, Commagene, Pontus, and Cappadocia*, p. 43.

<sup>43</sup> Herodotus, V, 49; 52, p. 53.

<sup>44</sup> On the route Caesarea-Golden Comana-Kokison see Khorikyan H., *Armenia and Transcaucasia...*, pp. 28-34.

<sup>45</sup> Herodotus, V, 49; 52, pp. 52, 56.



Halys passed from the definite part of Phrygia, which can be the present territory of Ancyra and it did not enter into Phrygia, which means that the Halys had not been directly mentioned as the border line between Phrygia and Cappadocia as Euphrates for Cilicia and Armenia. So, the territory to the west of the Halys lying in the direction of Ancyra had been in the territory of Cappadocia, which was observed during the study of Alexander's invasion. Thus, we can state that Herodotus' direct mentioning concerns with the essential Cappadocia-east to the Halys, whereas or as it becomes clear from the historian's statement that Cappadocia also spread to the left coast of the Halys, and it was necessary to pass the built fortress by the Persians for crossing the river.

Like Xenophon Arrian and Rufus also considered that we could enter into Cilicia from Cappadocia through the Cilician Gates (the Pass Gouglak)<sup>46</sup>. The given datum proved that the enlarging of Cappadocia in the southern direction was not only stated in the sources but also reached large scales according to the same sources since 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (the time of Xerxes' reign). Patuca-Pactyica had completely passed to Cappadocia, its inhabitants being ethnically related<sup>47</sup>. The expansion of Cappadocia at the expense of Pactyica and Lycaonia was due to the half independent state of Paphlagonia, which had conquered the Black Sea territories of Cappadocia. Naturally the strengthening of Cappadocia by the Persian royal court formed counterbalance in Paphlagonia<sup>48</sup>.

We have already mentioned that Cappadocia obeyed Alexander the Great, but the Cappadocians took part in the Battle of Gaugamela with the Armenians in one instance, and with the Armenians of Greater Armenia,

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<sup>46</sup> Arrian, Vol. I, II, 4, 3-4, p. 134; Rufus, Vol. I, III, IV, 1-2, p. 88.

<sup>47</sup> See in detail Khorikyan H., *Armenia and Transcaucasia...*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>48</sup> Otanes, deriving from the Achaemenid's family, got large territories in Cappadocia due to his deeds by Darius I and naturally Otanes and his heirs would defend the interests of the Persian royal court but the Cappadocian satrap Ariaramnes went to Thrace with fleet for getting prisoners before Darius' invasion against the Black Sea Scythians (see Ctesias' *History of Persia: tales of the Orient*, by L. Llewellyn-Jones and J. Robson, London and New York, 2010, p. 181). In 378 B.C. Datames could be the ruler of some parts of Cappadocia and suppress the revolt of Paphlagonian prince Otys (see Дандамаев М. А., *Политическая история Ахеменидской державы*, Москва, 1985, pp. 78, 109, 245).

Cadusians, Syrians and the Medes in another instance<sup>49</sup>. This peculiarity has two explanations: either northern Cappadocians were participating in the Battle of Gaugamela or the presence of Cappadocians on the same flank as the Armenians is again evidence of the fact that Pactyica or its eastern part was re-united to Satrapic Armenia, and the Pactyes, who are ethnic kin of the Cappadocians, took part in the battle on behalf of the Cappadocians. Interestingly, that according to Rufus, the Cataonians, the people who settled the eastern part of Pactyica, were also involved in the Battle of Gaugamela. This, of course, once again proves that the Cataonians, being one of the ethnic groups of Cappadocia, had been participating in the battle, either on the side of the northern Cappadocians or perhaps already as a part of Satrapic Armenia<sup>50</sup>.

And what concerns the Black Sea territories of Cappadocia, it had territorial losses in this direction. If during the administrative changes of Darius I the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Satrapies of the Achaemenid Persia bordered on the River Thermodon in the north, then Paphlagonia reached Cotyora in the end of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>51</sup>, which was because the central power was weakening.

The name Cappadocia originating in the north from Pactyica and meaning Lower or Inner Pactyica stopped existing in the north and strengthened in the south at time and later the name Cappadocia was used to indicate the territory of Pactyica. The reason was that the 3<sup>rd</sup> Satrapy was known by name Kaptatuka-Cappadocia until the joining of Pactyica and the later kept its name in the 13<sup>th</sup> Satrapy and being joined to Cappadocia naturally could not keep its name anymore and was called Cappadocia, especially because the names Pactyica-Katpatuka were originally close to each other. After the fall of the Achaemenid Empire (the administrative power of Cappadocia was not stable on the coastal part of the Black Sea

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<sup>49</sup>Arrian, Vol. I, III. 8. 5, p. 246; III, 11, 7, p. 256; Rufus, Vol. I, IV, XII, 10, p. 272; IV, XII, 12, pp. 272, 274. Sooner the Cappadocians took part in the Granikus Battle (see Diodori Bibliotheca Historica, ed. L. Dindorfius, Vol. III, Lipsiae, 1826, XVII, 21, 20, p. 124; Arrian, Vol. I, I, 16, 3, p. 68).

<sup>50</sup>Khorikyan H., The Administrative Division of the 13<sup>th</sup> Satrapy of Achaemenid Persia in the Reign of Darius II, *Metamorphoses of History*, Scientific Almanac, Issue 10, Pskov State University, 2017, pp. 174-178.

<sup>51</sup>Xenophon, *Anabasis*, V, V, 5; VI, I, 14-15, pp. 386, 440; Diodori Bibliotheca Historica, ed. L. Dindorfius, Lipsiae, 1826, Vol. II, XIV, 31, 10, p. 328.

during the Achaemenid Empire) already as a result of the political events (under the pressure of the Pontus kingdom from the North and the Galatians from the west), the name of the former country Achaemenid Cappadocia had to be more and more connected with the southern territories where the Cappadocia kingdom was formed and strengthened.

Hence, according to the study above the following assumptions can be made. Cappadocia went out to the Black Sea in the territory between the River Halys mouth in the north-west and the River Thermodon mouth in the north-east, but at the end of 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Cappadocia lost its Black Sea territories, that had been captured by Paphlagonia. If in the west and south the border of Cappadocia was the River Halys from Darius I up to Xerxes' enthronement there were some definite administrative reorganizations during Xerxes' Greek campaign as the Persian royal court united Lycaonia (and Pactyica) with Cappadocia, and Cappadocia appeared as one administrative unit with it, and already perhaps in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the territory of the eastern part of Phrygia-north to the lake Tatta passed to Cappadocia. The city of Dana also appeared in the territory of Cappadocia in the south and after uniting Cappadocia with Pactyica the route of the "Royal Road"- Caesarea-Golden Comana-Kokison east to Dana up to Marash in Cilicia outlined the the southern border of Cappadocia. After the inclusion of Pactyica Cappadocia in the east was separated from the Armenian Satrapy by the Mountains Kromandon (Oromandon), the Zigon Basiteon (Wings of Falcon), by the north-western branches of Anti-Taurus and by the mountain range of modern Yeşilirmak.

**ԿԱՊԱԴՈՎԿԻԱՅԻ ՏԱՐԱԾՔԸ ԵՎ ՍԱՀՄԱՆՆԵՐՆ  
ԱՔԵՄԵՆՅԱՆ ՊԱՐՍԿԱՍՏԱՆԻ ԿԱԶՄՈՒԾ  
*Հովհաննես Խորիկյան*  
(Ամփոփում)**

Մ. թ. ա. VI-IV դարերում Կապադովկիան Աքեմենյան տերության կարևոր նահանգներից մեկն էր: Հին աղբյուրների բազմակողմանի քննությունը հնարավորություն է տալիս կատարելու պատմաաշխարհագրական հստակեցումներ և ճշգրտելու Կապադովկիայի սահմանները: Հոդվածում եզրակացրել ենք, որ III

սատրապությունը կայուն վարչական միավոր չէր, և նրա սահմանները ենթարկվում էին փոփոխությունների: Կատպատուկա անունը, թերևս, առաջացել է հենց պարսկական տիրապետության ժամանակ, երբ ձևավորվում է III սատրապությունը, և սերտորեն առնչվում է Պատուկա երկրանվան հետ: Կամ էլ մ. թ. ա. VI դարի սկզբին Պատուկա երկրի անունն արևելքից արևմուտք շարժվող մարերը պետք է տարածեին Հալիսի ոլորանի շրջանում ընկած հողերի վրա, և արդյունքում Պատուկա-Պակտյուիկե երկրի անունն ավելի ուշ հիմնավորապես դառնում է այլ երկրի անունը՝ Կատպատուկա-Կապադովկիա: Եթե Կատպատուկա-Կապադովկիայի մեջ «կատ»-ը նշանակել է ստորին կամ ներքին, իսկ ամբողջ անունը՝ Ստորին կամ Ներքին Պատուկա, ապա Պատուկա-Պակտյուիկեի համեմատությամբ նրանից այն կողմ ընկած տարածքները հենց այդպես էլ կարող էին ընկալվել և յուրացվել նվաճող մարերի կողմից:

## **ТЕРРИТОРИЯ И ГРАНИЦЫ КАППАДОКИИ В АХЕМЕНИДСКОЙ ПЕРСИИ**

*Ованес Хорикян*  
(Резюме)

В VI-IV вв. до н. э. Каппадокия являлась одной из важных областей Ахеменидской державы. Разностороннее изучение античных первоисточников создают возможность для историко-географического определения и уточнения ее границ. В статье сделан вывод о том, что III сатрапия (Каппадокия) не являлась стабильной административной единицей, и ее границы подвергались изменениям. Название Катпатука, возможно произошло именно в период персидского владычества, когда формировалась III сатрапия, и тесно связана с названием страны Патука. Или название страны Патука в VI в. до н. э. должны были распространять мидянедвигающиеся с востока на запад в район изгибов реки Галис. И в итоге, название страны Патука-Пактиике в более поздние времена становится названием другой страны—Катпатука-Каппадокия. Если в Катпатука-Каппадокии «кат» означал «нижний» или «внутренний», а полное название Нижняя или Внутренняя Патука, то по сравнению с Патука-Пактиике, находящиеся за ней территории так и воспринимались и обживались со стороны завоевателей мидян.