

ARMENIA & SUMER



BERSERKER

BOOKS



M. Kavoukjian

Armenia, Subartu and Sumer

Bibliography and Abbreviations

Chapter 1

Armani

1. Cuneiform Sources that Mention the Name *Armani*
 2. *Armani* and Ebla
 3. The Location of *Armani*
 4. *Arime* (*Armani*) and Subartu
 5. The Su People
 6. *Armani* and the Name of Her King
-

Chapter 2

Ara's Land and People

1. The God Ar (or Ara)
 2. The Meaning of the Name *Armani*
 3. Place- and Tribe-Names Composed with Ar
-

Chapter 3

Aratta and Erech

1. Sumerian Epic Tales
 2. About the Location of Aratta
 3. Aratta and Ayrarat
-

Chapter 4

The Peoples of the Armenian Highland in Antiquity

- [1. The Subarians](#)
 - [2. The Unification of Hurrians with Indo-Europeans and the Extinction of the Hurrian Language](#)
 - [3. The Ervanduni Dynasty](#)
 - [4. The Proto-Homeland of the Celtic Races and Celto-Caucasian contacts](#)
-

Chapter 5

Mythology.

- [1. Subarian Gods](#)
- [2. The Main Deities of the Hurrians](#)
- [3. The Principal Gods of Urartu](#)

[Haldi/Khaldi I.](#)

[Teisheba II.](#)

[Shiwini III.](#)

- [4. The Diffusion of the Armenian Highland Culture Beyond its Borders](#)

- [5. The Most Ancient Deities of the Armenian People](#)

[Hayk I.](#)

[Ara II.](#)

[Astuas III.](#)

[Nuard-Anahit IV.](#)

[Astghik V.](#)

[Mihr or Mher VI.](#)

[Vahagn VII.](#)

- [6. Biaina](#)
-

Wikipedia entries:

[Hittites](#)

[Hurrians](#)

[Urartu](#)

[Urartian Art](#)

[Mitanni](#)

[Proto-Indo-European religion](#)

Google Images:

[Hittite Art](#)

[Hurrian Art](#)

[Urartian Art](#)

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.

Chapter I

ARMANI

1. CUNEIFORM SOURCES THAT MENTION THE NAME ARMANI

Of the cuneiform inscriptions that mention the name *Armani* or a homonymous city and country, the following are known to us:

1. Naram-Sin's famous Akkadian inscriptions where it is recorded that he has conquered *Armanum* and *Ebla* and repeatedly stated that he has defeated King Riš-Adad (Tešub) of *Armanum*.¹

2. A brief inscription in Akkadian, on a separate piece of marble, about Naram-Sin's same invasion, recording his conquest of *Armanim* and *Ebla* ("nār Armanim^{ki} u Ibla^{ki}").²

3. The same brief inscription of Naram-Sin found on a separate perforated disk where the part that bears the word *Ibla*^{ki} is broken ("nār Armanim^{ki} u...").³

4. The known Hittite inscription called *Naram-Sin and His Enemies* that lists Naram-Sin's 17 enemy countries and the names of their kings, where the 11th entry reads: "Madakina LUGAL KUR^{URU} Armani". ("Madakina, the king of the land of the city of Armani").⁴

5. In a Neo-Assyrian copy of an Old Babylonian inscription that consists of a geographical description of Akkadian Sargon's empire, we find the statement "ištu Eb-lá adi IBit-Na-ni-ibI? KUR Ar-ma-ni-ikI", which shows that Ebla was in the land of Armani.⁵

6. A certain inscription of the Ur III period contains the name *Ar-ma-an*^{ki}.⁶ Although during this period and later this city was

1. *URI*, 275 i 7ff., 17ff., ii 4ff.

2. *RISA*, 138-139. Recently the cuneiform signs of *Ibla* are read as *Ebla*. See also *AHDzU*, 29-30.

3. *RISA*, 40; *AHDzU*, 18.

4. *AHDzU*, 9-12. The name *Madakina* is also read as *Madatina*. We shall refer to this later.

5. *KAV*, 92: 1.13. See the article by M.C. Astour, *NH*, 15.

6. *TrD*, 50:4. See *HS*, 103.

often called *Arman*, it was previously known as *Alman* and *Halwan*.⁷

7. Sargon I of Ashur (1980-1948 B.C.) relating in one of his inscriptions his conquest of all the countries extending from "the lower sea (the Persian Gulf) to the western sea (the Mediterranean)", mentions (after ... Arrapha, Lubdi, Lullubi) *Armani* "of Simesi", this last name being a later form of the name *Halman*.⁸

8. There is likewise a record from the time of Adad-Nirari I where mention is made of the city of *Arman* in the land of Ugâr Sallim, located somewhere between Azeim and Diyala.⁹

9. The same *Arman* is mentioned under Tiglath-Pileser I.¹⁰

10. The city name *Halman* is mentioned in the inscription of Shalmaneser III.

11. In the inscriptions of Alalakh IV (near Antioch) *Armani* appears in the form of *A-ar-ma*, without the toponymic (and plural) suffix *-ni*.¹¹

12. In the inscriptions of Ugarit there is mention of *Ha-ar-ma-na* / *Ha-ar-ma-ni*.¹²

13. Adad-Nirari II and other Assyrian kings mention the land of *Arime*, in the region of the headwaters of the Western Tigris and the *Kashiari* mountain.¹³

14. Assyrian and Urartian inscriptions mention the country called *Urume*, *Urme*¹⁵ or *Arme*¹⁶ in the region of the headwaters of the Western Tigris and in Shubria-Aghtznik.

15. Darius the Great mentions the land of *Armina* in the Behistun inscriptions. The same name is mentioned also in the form of *Armni-ja*.¹⁷

7. M.C. Astour's article *NH*, 15 (Note 28). Here there is also mention of the existence of another city called *Halwan* (*Holwân*) in upper Zagros. About this see L.D. Levine, *Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros*, Iran II (1973) (24-27).

8. *HA*, 19.

9. *Synchronistic History*, i 30. See *HS*, 103.

10. *KAH*, II,66:11. See *HS*, 103.

11. *NH*, 16.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, 17.

14. *ARAB*, 119-121.

15. *UKN*, 446.

16. *Ibid.*, 420.


17. *SIDG*, 27-33.

We must say at the outset that the *Armani-Armeni* (*Armani-the Armens*) connection has not found as yet general acceptance in scholarship, mainly because of the following reasons: First, the hypothesis that the Armens were migrants from Europe still dominates the minds of the scholars and this preconceived idea prevents them from thinking of a connection between the *Armani* of Naram-Sin, the *Armina* of Darius, and the *Armeni* mentioned by the Greeks. The second reason is the difficulty in determining the exact location of Armani, due to the insufficiency and uncertainty of data. Thirdly, the *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin is being confused with *Halman* > *Arman*, located east of the Tigris, somewhere between Nuzi and Diyala. And fourthly, the name *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin is rendered differently by different scholars and there is not yet unanimity on an accepted form. (Some authors render it *Armani*, others *Armanu* or *Armanum*, and still others prefer *Armanim* or the contracted form *Arman*).


Our investigations have revealed (as will be shown below) that apart from the great city-land of Armani mentioned by Naram-Sin, there have existed two other cities having names of close phonetic similarity. One, as already stated, was located somewhere between Nuzi and Diyala, east of the Tigris, mentioned in different inscriptions in different forms, such as *Halmaniwa*, *Halmanie*, *Halman*, *Halwan*, and after the Ur III, as *Arman*, *Armani* "of Simesi", *Arman* of Ugâr Sallim, etc. There is also mention of another city by the name *Halwan* (*Holwân*) in upper Zagros.¹⁸

The reason why many scholars render the *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin in different forms is that they sometimes confuse it with the *Halman/Arman* located in the east of the Tigris.

Unfortunately, we do not have on hand (except a few) the photographs or the copies of all the original cuneiform inscriptions for comparison and verification. We have their Latin transliterations.

In the known Hittite inscription that speaks about Naram-Sin's 17 enemy countries, we read the name *Ar-ma-ni*, the last syllable *ni* being represented by the cuneiform sign  which is a variant utilized by the Hittites. In order to verify the transliteration of the syllable *ni* of the Hittite text, we have checked in the same inscription the cuneiform signs of three other names having the *ni* syllable ({x-i)n-ni-pa-i-la, Zi-pa-ni, Ni-ik-ki[...]}) and have noticed that

18. See Notes 7 and 9.

invariably in all instances the same sign  is used for the syllable *ni*. This removes the probability of any error and confirms the accuracy of the transliteration of the last syllable of *Armani* as *ni*.

In Naram-Sin's Akkadian inscriptions the name *Armani* has also been rendered in the following forms: *Armanu*, *Armanum*, *Armanim* or *Arman*, in which we find, instead of the ending *-ni*, the Akkadian derivative forms *-nu*, *-num*, *-nim*, or the contracted form *-n*. All these variants, however, do not in any way negate the fact that the ending of *Armani* is *-ni*. In Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions the ending *-i* of nouns is often deleted when the Akkadian grammatical suffixes *-u*, *-um*, or *-im* are added. Thus, in the case of *Armani*, the derived ending *-ni-u* becomes *-nu*, *-ni-um* becomes *-num*, *-ni-im* becomes *-nim*, and sometimes *-ni* becomes *-n* simply by the deletion of the sound *i*. We cite the following examples for comparison: *Mitanni*/*Mitannu*,¹⁹ *Mardamani*/*Mardaman*,²⁰ *Mardabanum*/*Mardaban*,²¹ *Qattunanim*/*Qattunan*,²² *Halukkani*/*Halukkan*,²³ *Harmana*/*Harmani*,²⁴ *Harrāni*/*Harrānum*/*Harrānim*/*Harrān* (passim).²⁵

All these examples support the fact that the correct and exact form of the name under study is *Armani*, and that it belongs to the Subarian-Hurrian-Nairian group of names ending in *-ni*.

The exact location of *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin is, undoubtedly, very important. As stated earlier, some authors place it in the east of the Tigris, in the region of the Azeim river, confusing it with the city of *Halman*/*Arman* located in that area, because of the phonetic similarity of the names.

Others have placed *Armani* in the Zagros region. Later, Hrozni, Speiser and others, following the suggestion of S. Smith, have located *Armani* at Aleppo, a hypothesis that was subsequently rejected by Guterbock and others.

In our book *Hay Zhoghovrdi Dzagumə (The Origin of the Armenian People)* we have shown that it is a mistake to identify *Armani* with Aleppo, and we have also emphasized that in order to locate *Armani* accurately, it is necessary to find first the exact

19. *HS*, 71.

20. *Ibid.*, 113.

21. *Ibid.*, 103.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, 64.

24. See Note 13.

25. *HS*, 81, *Harrāni*; 103, 120, *Harrān(um)* and *Harrānim*.

location of *Ebla*, since the two are mentioned together in Naram-Sin's inscription.

2. ARMANI AND EBLA

As it is known, Ebla has been discovered by the Italian archaeologist Prof. Paolo Matthiae, on Tell Mardikh, near the village of Sarakeb in Syria.

During 1974-1976, Matthiae brought to light more than 16 000 tablets of cuneiform inscriptions, the state archives of Ebla. On the basis of this great discovery he published his book, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered*, where he summarizes the results of his excavations up to 1977 and gives his observations and evaluations of the find.

In view of the importance that the location of Ebla and the data furnished by the archives bear upon the question of Armani, we would like to mention here some of the information and the viewpoints given by the author, adding our own remarks and evaluations.

Earlier, having in view the information given in the inscription of Gudea of Lagash regarding the location of Ebla (and that of "the city of Ursu of Mount Ebla"), we had expressed some doubt about identifying the city discovered at Mardikh with the Ebla mentioned by Naram-Sin and Gudea. Also it was not explained how Ebla was named *Mardikh*, because it did not seem to be an Arabic name. If it were a later appellation of the same city, there would have certainly existed a record by a later chronicler to this effect. Unfortunately no such record is known. In our opinion, this problem could have been solved if a temple were to be found at Mardikh dedicated to the famous god Marduk of Babylon (as is the case of Vagharshapat which is also called Etchmiadzin), but no such indications exist in the Mardikh writings. Even if such an important temple did exist after the time of the archives, it would be very difficult to prove it, because no archives nor any important inscriptions concerning a later period have been discovered as yet in Ebla.

In spite of all these, however, the overwhelming weight of the numerous writings, letters and contracts in existence, all written in the name of Ebla and her king, does not leave any doubt that Mardikh was indeed Ebla.

Accepting the identity of Ebla with Mardikh still leaves a problem: Is the *Ebla* mentioned by Naram-Sin and others the same as this *Mardikh-Ebla*, or, is it a different city located in some other place? The fact that Near Eastern inscriptions sometimes mention the name Ebla under different circumstances leads some scholars to think that there might have been two or three cities of the same name. It is essential, therefore, to resolve this problem correctly before discussing the question of Armani.

For this purpose, we would like first to make some references to certain information regarding Mardikh supplied by Paolo Matthiae.

In his book the author divides the life of Mardikh-Ebla into a number of chronological periods with the following approximate dates:

3500-2900 B.C., traces of human presence (prehistoric period).

2900-2400 B.C., period of development into a settlement.

2400-2250 B.C., the first period of Ebla as a great urban and cultural center. The state archives consisting of more than 16 000 clay tablets of cuneiform inscriptions are assumed to belong to this period. They were discovered under the ruins of the citadel's palace which, according to the author, was burned and destroyed by Naram-Sin in 2250 B.C. after 150 years of prominence.

2250-2000 B.C., when the city was reconstructed (except the palace that housed the archives), and was destroyed again.

2000-1600 B.C., when the city reflowered and became a great urban center, and was finally destroyed, presumably, by the Hittites.²⁶

According to the information given, the period represented by the archives was Ebla's golden age of economic prosperity and political power. The more than 16 000 clay tablets contain mostly commercial and accounting records. Documents of military, political and historical content are very few and of little significance and in their vagueness do not represent the expected historiographic value.

The nature of the contents of the archives gives us the impression that Ebla was not a powerful military-political empire. All empires of great military strength, like the Akkadian, Assyrian, Hittite, and others, have left inscriptions that speak mostly of their invasions and conquests, the massacres and the destructions they have inflicted and the slaves they have carried away, whereas in the archival documents of Ebla we do not find any striking information about such events, not even about significant construction works. Perhaps

26. *EER*, 51-67.

the particular period depicted by the archives was too early for autocratic rulers to indulge in military exploits and political expansions, a practice that seems to have started in the Near East with the daring kings of the great Akkadian dynasty and intensified towards the end of the third millenium B.C. It is true, nonetheless, that Ebla has had some incipient ventures, such as the victorious wars she had fought against Mari.²⁷

In her days of prosperity Ebla was a great and well-developed center noted for her textile and agricultural products and furniture industry. There are indications that she had established commercial (not military or imperialistic) bases and colonies in countries far and near, from which, presumably, she received tax revenues and employed mercenary soldiers (rather than raising her own permanent army) for the protection of these colonies and possibly for the security of the caravan routes. In a letter given to the royal emissary of Hamazi by the governor of the palace of Ebla there seems to be an instance of demanding mercenaries in exchange of goods.²⁸ All these indicate that if Ebla has ever been an "empire", it was a commercial empire that had international peaceful relations considered quite extensive for her time.

"A tablet from the Old Akkadian level of Nuzi (then called Gasur) represents a map of the region on which towns are marked with little circles; the only fully extant name reads *maš-gán BĀD-Eb-la*, i.e., *maškan* (settlement of) *Dūr-Ebla*."²⁹ If this is really another Ebla, then we think it is quite possible for it to be one of the commercial colonies of the actual Mardikh-Ebla, called by the same name, since it was not unusual in those days to call the colonies by the name of the mother country or city.

We have made these introductory remarks about Ebla because, as we have said earlier, the discovery of its location and the data supplied by the archives are very important for resolving the question of Armani. We find, however, that as some problems find their explanations in these archives, one unexpected enigma arises: In all the inscriptions read so far, the name *Armani* is absent.

In the Ebla inscriptions there is frequent mention of the term

27. *AE*, 99-102.

28. *EER*, 171. By comparing the place-name *Hamazi* with other names that end in *-zi*, such as *Alzi*, *Pikurzi*, *Puruguzzi* (*Purulumzi*), *Azzi*, *Titimzi*, *Nuzi*, etc., one may assume that this city-state was Subarian-Hurrian. It has been located in the east of Nuzi (Kirkuk), near the region of Suleymanie. See *EER*, 176.

29. *NH*, 14.

Ar-mi^{KI}. Prof. Matthiae, apparently in the earlier stages of hasty reading, has assumed this term to be a proper noun designating a city and has suppositionally identified it with Armani,³⁰ and furthermore, being influenced by the unproven hypothesis of S. Smith and others, has identified Armani (together with *Ar-mi*) with Aleppo. But later, Prof. G. Pettinato, the epigrapher of the Ebla expedition, deepening his research on the reading and interpretation of the inscriptions, has read and translated the word *Ar-mi*^{KI} not as a proper noun but as a common noun meaning 'cities'.³¹ Thus it becomes evident that in the archival writings of Ebla, while the names of hundreds of cities, far and near, are mentioned by virtue of her extensive international commercial ties, the name *Armani* is conspicuously absent.

At present we see two possible explanations for this puzzling situation.

The first is that the destruction of Ebla in the period of the archival inscriptions did not occur in the days of Naram-Sin (who mentions Armani and Ebla together), but much earlier. According to Matthiae, the period represented by the archival writings spans 150 years (70 years according to Pettinato), during which time five kings have occupied the throne of Ebla. The last king was *Ibbi-Sipiš* in whose days the city was burned and destroyed together with the citadel's main palace, under the ruins of which the tablets have been discovered. If Ebla were destroyed by Naram-Sin, then, in his inscriptions, along with King *Riš-Tešub* (Red-Adad) of Armani, the name of King *Ibbi-Sipiš* too should have been mentioned (or at least the name of one of the kings recorded in the archives). The fact that the name of the king of Ebla is absent from the inscription leads us to think that in the days of Naram-Sin as well Ebla was under the rule of the king of Armani. Therefore, the absence of Armani in the archives of Ebla and the omission of the name of the king of Ebla in Naram-Sin's inscription suggest that the destruction of Ebla did not take place in the time of Naram-Sin, but much earlier. Thus, Prof. Pettinato's conclusion of placing the date of the archives of Ebla at 2500 B.C. seems to us to be more accurate.

According to certain existing data, in the time of Akkadian Sargon, Ebla was in Armani's sphere of influence. It could be that in these earlier years of the archives period Armani was perhaps

30. *EER*, 177.

31. *AE*, 78, 151, 248, 258.

not powerful and large enough and not yet organized to constitute an important political and governmental center, much the same as Akkad, which, too, is absent from the archival records of Ebla.

Secondly, if we suppose that in those days Armani did exist as a strong political center having Ebla in her sphere of influence, then the relationships between Armani and Ebla could not have had that particular nature under the circumstances of which many foreign cities, far and near, have been included in the archival records. In fact, no city situated beyond the *Kaneš-Harran-Aššur-Ḥamazi* line in the Armenian Highland has entered into the circle of business transactions of Ebla.

When Ebla was subject to Armani, her rulers could have had some sort of family relations with Armani's royal house. It will be shown below that Armani was Subarian.

The name *Šennam* of the first king of the city of *Ursu* that had close ties with Ebla was a genuine Hurrian (or Subarian) name.³²

The torso of a statue has been unearthed in Ebla, which is dated by Prof. Matthiae 2000–1900 B.C. According to the Akkadian inscription on this torso, the father of *Ibbit-Lim*, king of Ebla, was called *Igrīš-Ḥepa*, which, as seen clearly, consists of a combination of two ethnically different, Amorite and Hurrian (or Subarian), names. G. Pettinato, drawing our attention to this particular point, writes: "This would indicate that Ebla stood at the crossroad of two ethnic components — Amorite and Hurrian — living peaceably in Ebla."³³

The inscriptions of Alalakh IV mention a certain man, by the name *Eḫli-Tešup*, who came from Ebla.³⁴ It is not difficult to see that the name *Tešup* is Subarian. Already in Ebla, in the time of the archives, there were in office a governor called *Šubur*³⁵ and a production boss or master called by the Subarian name *Guzuzi*.³⁶ There are also the names *Ar-Ennum* and *Irkab-Ar*, about which we shall speak in the 4th section of this Chapter. Here we may also ask if it could not be possible that the following words in a letter written by Ibubu, the governor of the palace of Ebla, to the emissary of the king of Ḥamazi, would indicate the kinship between the rulers of Ebla and Ḥamazi: "You (are my) brother and I (am your) brother;

32. Ibid., 27.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid., 17.

35. Ibid., 128, 133.

36. The name *Guzuzi* is found as *Kuzuzu* in Gelb's list of 29 Subarian names (HS, 107).

(to you) man-brother ... Irkab-Damu, king of Ebla (is) brother of Zizi, king of Hamazi; Zizi, king of Hamazi (is) brother of Irkab-Damu, king of Ebla."³⁷ It is known that in later periods foreign kings have sometimes called each other "brother" alluding to their divine origin, but any proof or example showing the existence of this practice in a period as early as this is unknown to us. The kings of Ebla were elected or appointed, hence their kingship was neither hereditary nor of divine origin. Furthermore, here it is the governor of the palace that calls Hamazi's emissary "man-brother". In any case, this particular point is worth our attention.

In this connection one must not forget the very important fact that in the time of the archives, among the divinities worshiped at Ebla, there was a number of gods that were considered Hurrian. This is what G. Pettinato says about this point:

The presence of Hurrian divinities Aštapi and Adamma together with the Semitic gods Dagan, Beli, Hadad, Ištar, and Kamiš permits the identification of the two ethnic components of Eblaite society of this period, the Semites and the Hurrians. This is one of the most precious items issuing from the archives.³⁸

Then Pettinato adds the following in a subsequent section of his book:

Thanks to the presence of foreign divinities in the Eblaite pantheon, one can prove the presence already in this period in the Near East of peoples thought to have arrived somewhat later. The most interesting case regards the Hurrians, an Indo-European people attested for the first time toward 2300 B.C. The Eblaites accepted at least four deities of the Hurrian pantheon: ^dAdamma, ^dAštapi, ^dHapat, and ^dIšhara. The presence above all, of Aštapi, the great war god, leaves little doubt that the Hurrians were active in this period and had strict ties with Ebla.³⁹

The fact that Armani is not mentioned in the archives of Ebla can also be explained by the assumption that the Armenian Highland

37. AE, 97-98.

38. Ibid., 152.

39. Ibid., 251.

did not need the products of Ebla. Being itself rich in precious metals and with forests that provided the necessary materials for the production of furniture and other items, the Armenian Highland had, even before Ebla, developed an industry and commercial ties with Southern Mesopotamia. We shall speak about this in connection with Medzamor in the Chapter *Aratta and Erech*. There was no room, therefore, in the Armenian Highland for Ebla's commercial expansions.

As for the wrong hypothesis of identifying Armani with Aleppo, we must say that it has been rejected long ago, as mentioned above, by Guterbock and others. We have already shown the fallacy of this hypothesis in our previous study. The archives of Ebla are not the only place where the name of Aleppo is absent; Sargon of Akkad, Naram-Sin, and Gudea, who all have passed through or near Aleppo on the Ebla-Amanus way of their invasions, do not mention it. It is very probable, therefore, that Aleppo was not in existence as a significant city-center in the third millenium B.C. In fact, available information suggests that it was organized as an important center only at the beginning of the second millenium.

It follows, then, that Aleppo could not have been Armani; furthermore, Armani is mentioned by the Hittite kings both before and after making mention of Aleppo, and the Alalakh inscriptions at which time Halab was well known, still retained the name *Arma* (= *Armani*).⁴⁰

We also think it very probable that the name *Halab* must have been related to the Arabic word حلب *halaba* ('to milk'), which may suggest (supported also by local tradition) that earlier Aleppo was a place of gathering and milking of sheep for a certain tribe or tribes. At the same time, *halba* in Sumerian (*halpū* in Akkadian) means 'fountain-well', which in its turn, suggests the existence of a water fountain or well at that place (Aleppo is famous of its wells) around which the first inhabitants of that town were settled with their milk-producing animals. (It is also possible that the Arabic word *halaba* ('to milk') and the Sumero-Akkadian word *halba-halpū* ('fountain') may have the same origin.) All these considerations may indicate that this city was called *Halab-Halba* from the day of its origin, thus excluding any period of time when it could have been called *Armani*.

It is also difficult to connect Armani with the name *Halmani*.

40. NH, 16.

as is done in one occasion where the scribe of Shalmaneser III has erroneously mentioned Aleppo, which has led S. Smith to identify this city with Armani.⁴¹

Earlier we raised the question as to whether there could not have been another city besides Mardikh that also was called Ebla. In fact, Michael Astour cites a number of sources in his article showing that there was indeed another city by the same name, Ebla, to the east of the Tigris, somewhere between Nuzi and Diyala, which was called, as noted, "maškan (settlement of) *Dūr-Ebla*."

Examinations show, however, that the Ebla mentioned in the inscriptions of Akkadian Sargon, Gudea, and Alalakh is none other than Mardikh-Ebla. Here I quote from Sargon's inscription the portion that is directly related to our problem under study: "... *King Sargon worshiped Dagan at Tutuli, in the upper land ... He gave Mari, Yarmuti, and Ebla, up to the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains, to Sargon ...*"⁴²

It is obvious that in order to get to these countries, Sargon must have moved (from Akkad) upward along the Euphrates. Of the upper lands, he has reached first *Mari* (on the Iraqi-Syrian border at the intersection of the Euphrates), and then *Yarmuti* (he has also been at Tuttul, at the temple of Dagan). Then he has moved toward *Ebla* and from there to the *Cedar Forest* and the *Silver Mountains* in the region of Cilicia. As it is already seen, Mardikh is on the route from Mari to Cilicia (see Map 1). Therefore, the Ebla mentioned by Sargon cannot be other than Mardikh.

It becomes important now to determine whether the Ebla mentioned by Naram-Sin is also that at Mardikh or is it the other Ebla, supposedly placed in the east of the Tigris. Here is a copy of the three columns, and an important portion of the fourth, of Naram-Sin's famous Akkadian inscription, with its translation, which has

41. M. Astour writes in his article (NH, 16): "There is no proof that Aleppo was actually known as Halman to anybody except Shalmaneser III's scribe. In all other sources it appears as *Halab* (Mari, Alalakh VII, Alalakh IV, Egypt, Ugarit, Middle-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, OArām) or *Halba/Halpa* (Hittite). It would seem that the Assyrian scribe, who was much better acquainted with the Trans-Tigris than with Syria, replaced the actual name of the city with a consonant and more familiar one. Similarly, the North Syrian mountain which appears in some editions of the same king's annals under its correct name *Atallur*, is given in other versions the name *Lallar* which belonged to a peak in the Zagros range."

42. RISA, 109.

- Column I. *Never since the creation of mankind has any king among kings taken Arman(um) and Ebla. Nergal opened the road for Naram-Sin, the strong, and gave him Armanum and Ebla; he bestowed on him also Amanus, the Mountain of Cedars, and the Upper Sea. Thanks to the might of Dagan, who exalts his majesty,*
- Column II. *Naram-Sin the strong conquered Arman(um) and Ebla and, from the bank of the Euphrates to Ulisum, struck down the peoples whom Dagan delivered into his hands and they bore the basket of (became liable to do service to) Aba, his god, and he had in his power the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain. When Dagan judged the judgment in favour of Naram-Sin the mighty,*
- Column III. *delivered Rid-Adad (Riṣ-Tešub), the king of Arman(um), into his hands; and he had bound him ... he made his statue of diorite, and dedicated it to Sin, (saying) thus "Naram-Sin the mighty, king of the four regions, when Dagan gave Arman(um) and Ebla into my hands, and I bound Riṣ-Tešub, the king of Arman(um), at that time I made my likeness.*
- Column IV. *And he (!) dedicated it to Sin. Whosoever damages my name, having smashed my statue before Sin, and whoever ...*

Here, too, it is clearly seen that for his invasion Naram-Sin has moved up (from Akkad) along the Euphrates and has reached the Mediterranean and Amanus. It is obvious, therefore, that it was Mardikh-Ebla that was on his invasion route and certainly not the one "located in the east of the Tigris."

We see a second clear and direct indication in Naram-Sin's words, particularly where he says: "*From the banks of the Euphrates to Ulisum, struck down the peoples whom Dagan delivered into his hands.*" In Gadd and Legrain's work (p. 80) Uliśu(m) is placed at the shores of the Mediterranean. This means that Naram-Sin's main invasion route was from the banks of the Euphrates (near Mari and Tuttul where was the famous temple of Dagan, seeing that he was

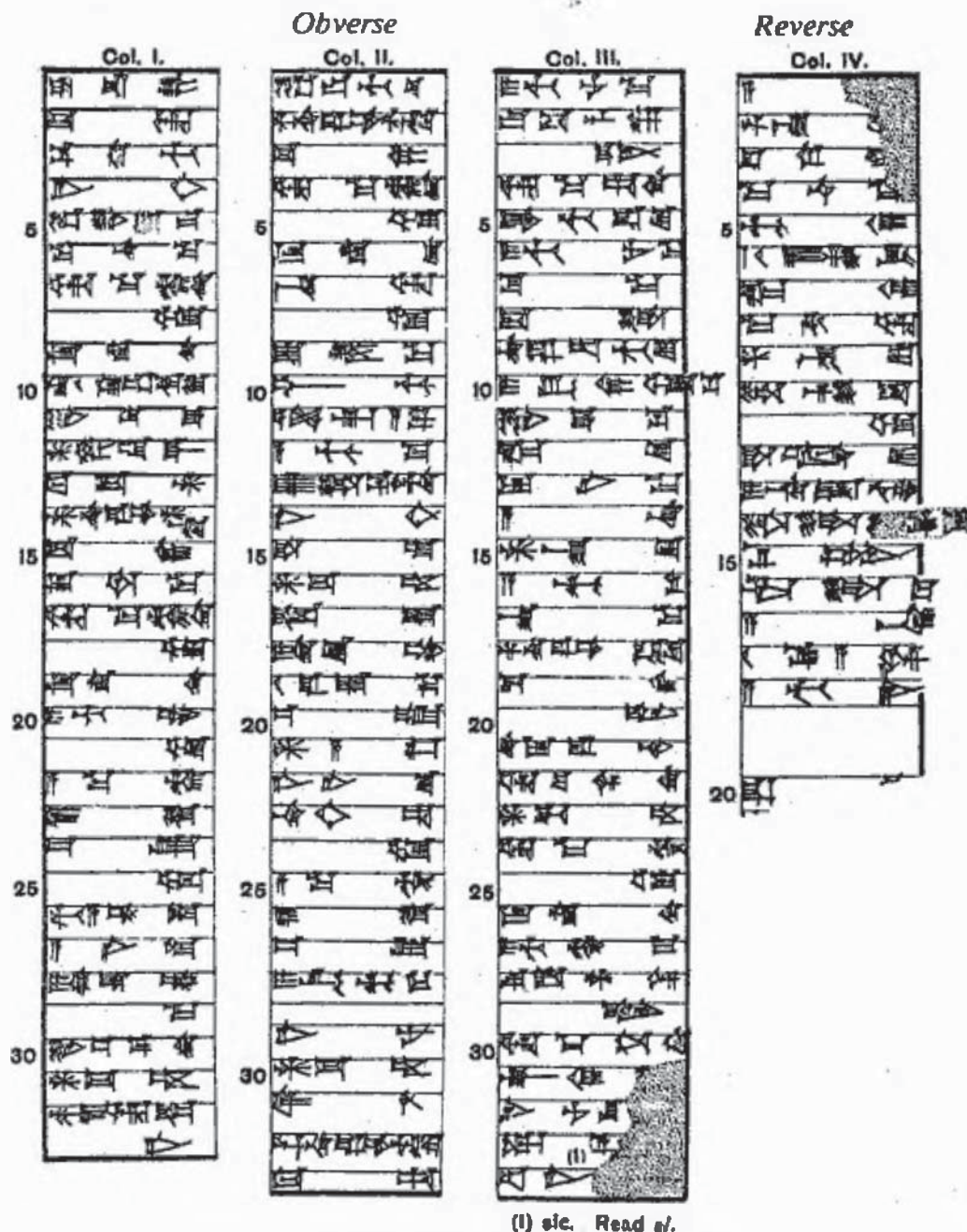


Fig. 1. Naram-Sin's Akkadian inscription.

coming from Akkad) to Uluu (at the shores of the Mediterranean) and Amanus. The conclusion is that the city of Ebla mentioned by Naram-Sin could not have been located in the east of the Tigris. It could only correspond to Mardikh-Ebla.

3. THE LOCATION OF ARMANI

We must now address the question: Where was the *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin?

First of all it is clear that the city of Halwan / Halman > Arman, located in the region of Diyala, east of the Tigris, was very far from and out of Naram-Sin's route from the Euphrates to Ulisu (at the Mediterranean shore), Amanus, and Cilicia. It follows that the Armani mentioned by Naram-Sin could not be the Halman which is placed in the east of the Tigris. Where, or, on which side of the Euphrates was, then, Armani?

Our studies have shown that the central regions of the land of the city-land of Armani were located upwards of Tuttul⁴⁴ and not on the west, but on the immediate east of the Euphrates.

We have seen before that Sargon, prior to invading Ebla, "*worshiped the god Dagan in the city of Tuttul*" located on the bank of the Euphrates, about 70 km below Raqqah. There is evidence that Dagan of Tuttul (his temple at Tuttul) was so famous and venerated that even Ebla, though counting Dagan among her own main deities,⁴⁵ still used to send valuable gifts to the Dagan of Tuttul.⁴⁶ Naram-Sin also writes that "*thanks to Dagan*" or "*when Dagan judged the judgment in favour of Naram-Sin*", he conquered Armani and the others were delivered into his hands. Because of their great importance for determining the location of Armani, I would like to quote once again Naram-Sin's words to focus our attention:

Thanks to the might of Dagan ... Naram-Sin the strong conquered Arman(um) and Ebla and, from the bank of the Euphrates to Ulisum, struck down the peoples whom Dagan delivered into his hands ... and he had in his power the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain. When Dagan judged the judgment in favour of Naram-Sin the mighty, delivered Rid-Adad (Riṣ-Tešub), the king of Arman(um), into his hands; ...

44. *EER*, map on p. 181. See also our Map I.

45. *EER*, 187 and *AE*, 246.

46. P. Matthiae quotes (*Ibid.*, p. 189): "Nine minas and thirty-six shekels of silver for a chariot with two wheels for Dagan of Tuttul", or "an unspecified quantity of gold for the decoration of a table and for a gold vase, gifts of Ibrium, for Dagan of Tuttul."

This statement clearly shows that Naram-Sin was able to conquer Armani thanks to "*Dagan judging the judgment in his favour.*" What we understand from these words is that Naram-Sin, like his grandfather Sargon, was at the city of Tuttul worshiping at the famous temple of Dagan; in other words, he asked Dagan for assistance before invading the mighty Armani, and Dagan, through his oracle pronounced by the priests, judged the judgment in his favour. Thereupon, he invaded Armani that was nearby, before moving on to the lands extending from the Euphrates to Ulisu(m) up to the Mediterranean shore, i.e. Ebla, Amanus, and the Cedar Mountain.

It becomes clear now, that Armani must have been located upwards of Tuttul (past Tuttul traveling upstream where the river bends west) and to the east of the Euphrates.

We have already seen that when Sargon began his invasion upward the Euphrates proceeding through the Mari-Yarmuti-Ebla-Amanus route, obviously he did not come across Armani, since he makes no mention of it. If Armani were located in the west of the Euphrates, on Sargon's route from Mari to Amanus, he certainly would not have missed it and would not have failed to mention it, particularly that it was a well-known city-land at that time, such as that "*never since the creation of mankind had any king among kings taken [it] before Naram-Sin.*" But Armani could not have been too far either, because, as it was pointed out, according to one inscription,⁴⁷ we know that in the time of Sargon Ebla was within the sphere of Armani.

It is clear, therefore, that the city-center of Armani was located east of the Euphrates. It was here that Naram-Sin defeated the king of Armani, after which he proceeded to acquire the territories between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, that is, Ebla, Amanus, and the Cedar Mountain.

We find that only after defeating the mighty king of Armani immediately to the east of the Euphrates and north of Tuttul did Naram-Sin feel himself secure enough to invade west of the Euphrates, to Ebla and Amanus. There are indications that in those days as well Ebla was under the rule of the king of Armani,⁴⁸ because,

47. We have mentioned this inscription in the section *Cuneiform Sources that Mention the Name Armani* (No. 5). We shall mention it again below.

48. This same opinion is expressed in the work of Gadd and Legrain (*URI*, 78), where it says: "Note that the wording of the present text, especially of 11.23-28, suggests that Rid-Adad [Riś-Tesub] was not only king of Arman but also ruled Ebla."

while on the one hand Naram-Sin proudly and repeatedly states that he has defeated King Riš-Tešub of Armani, on the other hand he does not make any reference to the king of Ebla, as if implying that by defeating the king of Armani, Ebla (and Amanus as well) has easily fallen into his hands. This confirms that Armani was not far from the Euphrates. We think, therefore, that Armani was located in the area of the sources of the Khabur river, in the region of Armenian Mesopotamia and Aghtznik. N. Adontz had already asserted in his time that the Armani mentioned by Naram-Sin is other than Halman, placed east of the Tigris, in the region of Diyala, north of Khanakin. He had pointed out that the location of Armani must be in the north of Syria.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note here that the region of the sources of the Khabur river was called Hark'(Harki) by Adad-Nirari II.⁵⁰

The question arises now as to why is it that Sargon also did not find it necessary to invade Armani before invading Ebla, since we have data indicating that in his time as well Ebla was within the country or the sphere of influence of Armani. There could be different reasons for this: It is possible that in those days Armani was in a difficult situation; or, perhaps Sargon was maintaining friendly relations with Armani and that the main purpose of his Ebla-Amanus invasion was not so much to conquer Ebla as to obtain lumber for his construction projects from the forests of cedar trees of Amanus.

The reason for having friendly or traditional ties with Armani could be attributed to the fact that the city of Azubirani, Sargon's home and birthplace, was probably in the land of Armani-Subari. (See Footnote 95 on this topic.)

We find that Armani was, if not the capital, at least one of the royal cities of Subartu, a large country of the epoch, whose boundaries at the time must have extended to the approaches of Tuttul in the south, to Nuzi-Lullubi in the east, and to the Ebla-Ugarit-Alalakh region in the west. The Armani-Subari equivalence will be shown further in the third section of Chapter Two, where we shall speak about the names *Armarili* and *Šurili*.

In a late Ur copy of one of his inscriptions, Naram-Sin calls himself the ruler "of all *Elam up to Baraḥšum and of Šubartum up to the Cedar Forest*." (Mât Elamtim^{K1} ga-li-sa-ma a-ti-ma Ba-ra-aḥ-šim^{K1}û mât SUBUR^{su-bar-rimK1} a-ti-ma iškîšti iṣerinim.)⁵¹ I. Gelb, in wri-

49. HA, 20.

50. See below Adad-Nirari's words in connection with *Arime* referred to in Note 58.

51. HS, 35. Gelb writes that *Subartim* is used here to give the pronunciation of the ŠUBUR logogram. See also URJ, No. 274.

ting about this Šubartu, states that it extended from Baraḥšum (east of Diyala) to the Cedar Forest of Amanus.⁵² (This shows that Ebla was also included in Subartu.) These borders of Subartu coincided later with the borders of Mitanni. It is known in fact that in the times of Sauššatar-Šutarna, Mitanni comprised Nuzi in the east and Alalakh in the west.⁵³

In the known Hittite inscription that speaks about Naram-Sin's 17 enemies, the location of Armani coincides exactly with the location of this Subartu. In the text the land of Paraši (= Baraḥšum) is found in the 9th place of the listing of the 17 enemies. The name of the country and her king occupying the 10th place of the listing are on a damaged portion of the inscription and cannot be read (indicated by dots in brackets in the transliteration). Armani is in the 11th place and the land of the Cedar Forest the 12th. This particular order shows that geographically Armani was located between the land of Paraši (Marḥaši) and the land of the Cedar Forest (Amanus-Cilicia), but closer to the latter, since there was another country between Paraši and Armani. This evidence also puts Armani in the region of Subari, in the area of the basin of the sources of the Khabur and the Western Tigris, in Armenian Mesopotamia and around Aghtznik. The victory monument of Naram-Sin found near Diyarbakir (in situ) and now in the Istanbul museum, must be considered a concrete evidence that Naram-Sin has been in this particular area (Aghtznik) of the Armenian Highland and has fought against its forces.

A specific indication to the supremacy of Armani over Ebla may also be found in the boastful words of Naram-Sin that "*never since the creation of mankind has any king among kings taken Armani and Ebla.*" In fact, we know (and Naram-Sin should have known too) that Sargon had "taken" Ebla. It seems, therefore, that Naram-Sin's main emphasis here is essentially on mighty Armani and not so much on Ebla.

This interpretation makes it clearer now why Naram-Sin mentions twice and with considerable pride his victory over the king of Armani, but does not mention the king of Ebla, and why in the Hittite text Armani and her king are mentioned and Ebla is totally absent.

52. Ibid. The same is accepted by C.I. Gadd and L. Legrain; see *URI*, 73. Gelb (and others) accepting the Baraḥšum = Marḥaši = Paraši equation, place this Baraḥšum "approximately" in the east of Diyala. See also *Marḥaši* in our Map 1.

53. *AN*, 52-53.

Reference was made above to a statement found in a Neo-Assyrian copy of an inscription that speaks about the regions of the empire of Sargon of Akkad. The statement reads as follows: "ištu Eb-lá adi Bit-Na-ni-ib KUR Ar-ma-ni-i^{KI}" ("From Ebla to Bitnanib [in] the land of Armani.")⁵⁴ If we understand these words, as all authors do, meaning that the area from Ebla to Bitnanib was within the land of Armani, then we can consider it as another concrete proof for the extensiveness of Armani and her supremacy over Ebla in the times of Sargon.

Some authors place this *Armani and Ebla* pair in the east of the Tigris (around Kirkuk), but it is difficult to accept the existence of a second such pair other than the one mentioned by Naram-Sin. There is no direct and concrete testimony whereby the *Armani and Ebla* mentioned in this copied description of the Akkadian Sargon's empire can be placed to the east of the Tigris. The only reason for this placement is the fact that they are mentioned along with the names of the countries of Sargon's empire that lie (according to these authors) to the east of the Tigris, based on the assumption that these countries represent one geographical milieu or that their enumeration follows exact geographical sequence, conditions that are not always observed. Actually it is very difficult to determine the exact location of all the countries that were part of Sargon's empire or to trace its boundaries accurately. N. Adontz places Armani "near the western borders of the state of Akkadian Sargon",⁵⁵ and Mardikh-Ebla falls rather within this region.⁵⁶ In Sargon's inscription the name is written clearly as *Armani* and not as *Halman* or *Halwan*, which only in a much later period began to be called *Alman* > *Arman*. (It is equally unacceptable to assume that Sargon's original inscription had the word *Halman* which was changed to *Armani* in copying.)

54. *EBLA*, 40. In M. Astour's article (*NH*, 15) the second name is stated in the form of [Bit-Na-ni-ib] ?.

55. *HA*, 19-20.

56. The Sargonian inscription shows that at that time Ebla was within the land of Armani. According to the information given by Matthiae, in the writings of Mardikh-Ebla, the ruler of Ebla is not called *lugal* (king), but *en* (lord). Accepting the plausibility of Matthiae's interpretation regarding the *en* = *malikum* equivalence (even though the Arabic *malikun* means likewise 'lord' (owner), it is important, nonetheless, to keep in mind that the term *en* might have been used rather in a religious sense as 'lord' (high priest) and not strictly in the political sense as an 'autocratic king'. In the time of the archives of Ebla there still existed a Community (Elders') Council that elected the *lugal* or the *en*, positions that have not always been hereditary.

What was said above does not necessarily exclude the probability that another Ebla may have existed other than *Mardikh-Ebla*, such as the already mentioned *maškan Dūr-Ebla*, which is placed by some authors in the east of the Tigris. But this great land of Armani which includes Ebla must be the same as the mighty Armani mentioned by Naram-Sin.

Accepting that both the *Armani* in the *Armani and Ebla* pair of Naram-Sin's inscription and the *Armani* in the *Armani and Ebla* pair of Sargon's inscription represent the same great *Armani*, we do not think it improbable that the *Eblas* may have been different, one being *Mardikh-Ebla* and the other *maškan Dūr-Ebla*, because as it was noted, Armani included also the Eastern Khabur in central Subartu. Nevertheless, in view of all the above considerations regarding the probability of *Mardikh-Ebla* being subservient to the mighty Armani, it seems more likely to us that the *Armani and Ebla* pair mentioned by Sargon corresponds to the one mentioned by Naram-Sin.

The *Arma* mentioned in the inscriptions of Alalakh IV must be the same as the nearby city-land of *Arma-ni* referred to by Naram-Sin, or the name of one of its regions or cities, without the toponymic suffix *-ni*, similar to the form *Arme*. Just as we have, as an eponym, the personal or ethnic name *Armen* derived from the place (or ethnic) name *Armeni*, and the personal name *Armanek* (< Armani + ak, Արմանեակ < Արմանի + ալ) derived from *Armani*, similarly we have the personal name *Harma*, Հարմա (as preserved by Khorenatsi) derived from the form *Arma*, where the initial *h* sound is added for intensification (cf. *aganil* > *hagnil*, *uqunih* > *huqunih*, etc.).

In conclusion, we can say that all known data show that the southern part of the great country of *Armani* which included the city of *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin, was located around the regions of the sources of the Khabur and the Western Tigris and that it constituted the important part of Subartu including the Armenian Mesopotamia and Aghtznik. Some 12-13 centuries after Naram-Sin, at the end of the second and at the beginning of the first millenium B.C. the kings of Assyria have recorded the name of this region of *Armani* in the form of *Arime*.

4. ARIME (ARMANI) AND SUBARTU

In a lengthy inscription that speaks about some of his invasions, Adad-Nirari II (911–891 B.C.) gives direct and concrete explanations about the geographical locations of a number of cities in the land of *Arime* making it possible for us to form an accurate picture about the geographical regions that were part of that great county. Here is his exact testimony (I quote only those sections that interest us):

... in that year, and in the month Kišlimu, ... from above the river Habur, the land Harki (?), as far as the city of Carchemish, which is in Hattê, he raided in that year and in the month Airu, during an expedition against the land Arime, (in) the city of Pausa, which lies at the foot of Mount Kaširi (?), he fought (a battle). In that year, and in the same month, during an expedition against the land Arime, at the entrance (lit., head) of the city of Nabula⁵⁷ ..., he fought (a battle)... . In the same year, and in the same month, during an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of ... Tibua (?), which is on the Tigris, he fought a battle In that year, and in the month Ululu, during an expedition against the land Arime, in the city of Murarir (?), which is in the land of Šuprê, he fought a battle.⁵⁸

As we see clearly, Adad-Nirari explicitly states that one of the regions of the land of *Arime* which he invaded was at the foot of the *Kaširi* mountain, another was on the *Tigris* and still another was in the land of *Šuprê* (*Šubrê*). In other words, the land of *Arime* included a portion of the *Tigris* (certainly the region of its headwaters), the *Kaširi* mountain, and *Šubrê*. This direct testimony by Adad-Nirari links the land of *Arime* unquestionably with that of Subartu-Šubrê.

It would be appropriate here to clear a misunderstanding in connection with the names *Arma* and *Arime* that causes some con-

57. According to an inscription of Adad-Nirari I (1304–1273 B.C.) where he speaks about one of his invasions to Hanigalbat, the city of *Nabula* is in Hanigabat. See HS, 81, also HZHP, the map of Urartu, where Nabula is placed at the outskirts of Kaširi.

58. ARAB, 119–121.

fusion in historiography. In the earlier stages of critical historiography in the last century, the idea was advanced that the terms *Arma* or *Aram*, and *Arime* or *Arme* are Semitic and pertain to the Semites. This idea was so deeply rooted that even some of the well-known scholars reflect it in their works.

The noted orientalist, I. Diakonoff, considering that Armenians do not utilize the term *Armen* to identify themselves, makes the supposition that the name *Armina* (*Armini* – *Armeni*) is given to Armenia and the Armenians because of their neighborhood to the Aramaeans in the southern region of Hayk'. Speaking about the name *Armeni*, he writes:

The Aramaeans called the Hayk' – *Arminā* which was an Aramaicized form of what can be reconstructed as Urartian *Armini* meaning 'the land or/and the inhabitants of *Arme* (Sasoun)', the nearest region inhabited by the Hayk' to the North of the Aramaeans; ... Even if *Armanum* should prove the same country as the later *Arme*, at the early period of the Akkadian dynasty it can have had nothing to do with the forefathers of the Armenians; but it is much more probable that the country is to be sought somewhere to the East or North-East of Babylonia.⁵⁹

As we see, Diakonoff supposes that Armenia is called *Armina* or *Armini* (*Armeni*) after the name *Arme*, the region closest to the Aramaeans in the Diyarbekir area that was inhabited by Armenians. It is interesting to note here that while consenting to the probability of the *Arme* = *Armanum* equation, the respectable scholar places *Armanum* again in the northeast of Babylonia, whereby it becomes very difficult to accept that the Diyarbekir region could have been called *Arme* after the name of a city situated in the northeast of Babylonia.

One might wonder if the *Arims* mentioned in Homer's *Iliad* and the Urartian kings *Arame* and *Erimena* were called by these names because they, too, were in proximity to the Semitic Aramaeans, or

59. This statement is quoted from Diakonoff's letter of 20 December 1967 addressed to me. I wish to express my thanks to the noted scholar for allowing me, by his letter of 27 February 1984, to make these quotations. He has also stated in his second letter that *Arme* must now be placed below Sasoun, having as its center Nekheria, which is found within the Siverek-Diyarbekir-Mardin triangle.

because these names were given to them by Aramaean scribes!

The idea of seeing a Semitic origin in the names *Arma*, *Aram*, *Arim*, *Arime*, *Arme*, *Armani*, *Armina*, *Armeni*, and the like, has become such an obsession with some authors that it prevents them from seeing the essence of the interrelationships between the Armenian Highland and Northern Mesopotamia, and creates added difficulties for the clarification of certain obscure problems related to them.

The fact is that the very name *Aram* has no connection of origin with those Semites who were later called *Aramaeans*. A careful study of the cuneiform documents of the Near East shows that the Semitic nomadic tribes that were later called *Aramaeans*, were previously known by the names *Sutû* and *Ahlame*. They had come to Northern Mesopotamia and settled in the territories of Mitanni (Naharina) which was either destroyed or about to be destroyed at that time, and they were called *Aramaeans* after the ancient name *Arma* or *Aram* of the land on which they settled. A similar example is the case of the *Egyptians*; the name *Egypt* did not belong to the Arabs, but they have come and settled in the land of *Egypt*, and by this ancient name of the land they were (and still are) called *Egyptians*.

J. Myers had written earlier that *the Aramaeans seem to have started to come out of Northeastern Arabia around 1350 B.C. when nomadic marauders whom the Babylonian kings called "Suti and Achlame" were spreading, looting and devastating along the entire Euphratian border.*⁶⁰

R. O'Callaghan has the following to say about the appearance of these Semitic tribes: "*The Sutû and the Akhlâmu are first mentioned in Assyrian sources as appearing in the time of Arik-dên-ili (1316-1305) of Assyria. The former name is connected with the Egyptian Sityw, meaning "Asiatics". Thus as a matter of fact they do service as Egyptian mercenaries ...*"⁶¹

We see an indication to the recent appearance of these tribes in Northern Mesopotamia in the following statement of Adad-Nirari I (cir. 1310-1280 B.C.): "*... conqueror of the lands of Turuki and Nigimhi in their totality, together with all their kings, mountains, and highlands, the territory of widespreading Kutî (v. adds, conqueror of Kutmuhi and all of its allies), the hordes of the Ahlamî and Sutî, the lauri and their lands, who enlarged boundary and frontier ...*"⁶²

60. DH, 113.

61. AN, 94.

62. ARAB, 28-29

As we see, according to Adad-Nirari's assertion, at the beginning of the 13th century these Semitic tribes were still in the process of enlarging their borders by moving forth and occupying new territories that did not belong to them. And the king of Assyria still calls them by their original names, *Suti* and *Ahlame*; in other words, they were not yet called *Arims* or *Arams*. This period must correspond to the days of Mitanni's downfall, because, obviously, these tribes could not have occupied these Mitannian lands in the Kashiari-Kutmukhi regions in her days of power (there must have been though some Assyro-Babylonian elements in the land, but their numbers and role must have been of no decisive significance). Alfred Halдар assesses correctly the situation of those days when he writes: "*It is a fact that there was a general decline of civilization in the Near East about 1200 B.C. and the following centuries.*"⁶³

In the time of Shalmaneser I (1266–1243 B.C.) these Semitic tribes, as the allies of the Hittites, had already penetrated into the lands of Hanigalbat, but they were still called by their original name, *Ahlamu*, and were not considered Aramaeans. Here is what Shalmaneser says:

... When with the behest of the great gods, I advanced against the land of Hanigalbat with the mighty hosts of my lord Aššur, I forced my way over difficult roads and narrow passes. Shattuara, king of Hani (v. has, *Hanigalbat*), the army of Hittites and Ahlamî with him, I surrounded ... and I fought a battle and I accomplished their defeat ... The army of Hittites and Ahlamî, his allies, I slaughtered ...⁶⁴

As we can see, these nomadic newcomers called *Ahlami* have already become *Hittites' allies*, but still they are called by their original name, *Ahlami*, that is, they are not yet called *Aramaeans*.

Bit-Zamāni (Diyarbekir region) represents the farthest penetration to the north of these Semites.

About one century and a half after Shalmaneser I, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.), many of the *Ahlami* incomers have already become the inhabitants of Arma, that is, men of Arma. Tiglath-Pileser writes: "... a-na libbi aḥ-la-mi-i ^{KUR}Ar-ma-a-ia^{MES} nakrūt^{MES} DA-šur bēli-ia al-lik iṣ-tu tar-ši ^{KUR}Su-ḫi a-di ^{URU}Kar-ga-

63. WA, 44.

64. ARAB, 40.

miš ša KUR⁶⁵Ha-at-te i-na išten⁶⁶ u-me aḥ-bu-ut ...⁶⁷

("... [into] the midst of the Aḥlami, the men of Arma, who were enemies of Ashur my lord, I marched. From Sukhi to the city of Carchemish, in the land of Hatte, in one day I raided ...")

Here it is clearly seen that *Arma*, with its determinative *KUR*, is a land-name, and not an ethnic designation; *Aḥlami* is the name of the tribe that became the inhabitants of Arma.

We see the same picture in the time of Adad-Nirari II (911–891 B.C.) when these Semitic tribes, having already settled in the land, have now added the term *Aramaeans* to their tribal name *Aḥlami*.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the term *Aḥlami Aramaeans* shows that at that time there were also non-Aḥlami Aramaeans.

As we have seen above, the information we obtain from the inscription of Adad-Nirari II speaking about a few of his invasions to the land of *Arime* shows that in his time the name *Arime* was a geographical term designating large expanses of land. Under this name were grouped the mountainous regions of the North as well as the plains of the South, all belonging to the land of Subari and the state of Mitanni. The main central regions of the state of Mitanni were in the mountain belt in the North, and this region was known earlier by the name *Arma* (*Arma-ni*). The names *Arma* and *Aram* are derived from the same root with which are connected the later forms: *Arim*, *Arime*, *Arme*, *Urme*, and others.

R. O'Callaghan, as a conclusion to his investigation of the topic, writes: "*Semantically, why any people should be called Aramaeans we are not in a position to say. It is most reasonable to think that the word was first a place name, possibly a mountain city Arma, mentioned by Shalmanesar I.*"⁶⁷

This city must have existed even in the time of Naram-Sin in the region of *Armani*. In one of Naram-Sin's inscriptions it is written: "*Naram-Sin, king of the four regions, when he warred against Harshamadki, lord of A-ra-am and Am; in Ti-ha-ar, the mountain, he overcame him.*"⁶⁸ It seems that the city *Ar-am* (or *Ara-am*) was one of the cities in the region of *Armani* possibly in the region of the Armenian Taurus mountains. The mountain name *Tihar* is reminiscent of the name *Taur(us)* and the city name *Am* is reminiscent of

65. AKA, I, 73.

66. ARAB, III.

67. AN, 95-96.

68. Ibid., 96.

the name of the city *Amedu* or *Amida* (Diyarbakir), where the *-du* or *-da* endings must be considered toponymic suffixes (cf. *Ayadu* (land), *Arsidu* (mountain), *Tayda* and *Irida* (fortresses),⁶⁹ also *Kruda*, *Baruata* [= *Bit-Barua*], etc). We already know that Naram-Sin's victory monument was found near Amida.

A city called *Arramu* (ar-ra-mu^{ki}) is mentioned together with the city of *Muraru* (mu-ra-ru^{ki}) in the Ebla inscriptions.⁷⁰ If this *Arramu* (or *Aramu*) is the city of *Aram* (a-ra-am) mentioned by Naram-Sin, then its being mentioned with *Muraru* could be an indication that it was in Arme-Šubria or in its vicinity, because, according to the inscription of Adad-Nirari II mentioned above, *Murarir* was in the land of Šubrê.

In our earlier works, talking about the etymology of the national name *Ar-ma-ni* / *Ar-me-ni* of Armenians, we have shown that it originates from the name of their national sun-god *Ar* (or *Ara*) and means *sons of Ar* (the component *ma* or *me* meaning 'to beget, offspring, or son', hence *Ar-me-ni* literally meaning 'ar-son-s') and that they have called themselves simply *Ar*. (We shall come back to this topic in the chapter *The Land and People of Ar*.)

We have already mentioned above that the name *Aram* does not belong to the Semites; on the contrary, it belongs to the people of the Armenian Highland who were called *Ar* or *Armani* / *Armen*. The name *Ar-am*, like *Ar-ma*, is constructed on the root *ar*. The ending *-am* seems to be a substitution for *-ma*, or they are variants. Gelb, in speaking about the names *Ḫupitam*, *Pušam* and *Šeḫlam*, which he has included in his list of Hurrian personal names, pays particular attention to this suffix *-am* and writes the following: "*Interesting is the suffix -am (later -a) found in the Old Akkadian name Ḫapiram, in the UR III names Ḫupitam, Šeḫlam, and Pušam, and in several later Chagar Bazar names: Apšam, Ḫupitam, Šeḫam, Šennam and Zipšam.*"⁷¹ Compare also with the names: *Bagam*, from the house of *Vahuni*; *Aršam*, king of *Dzopk'*-*Kommagene*; *Argam*, etc. These examples prove beyond doubt that in the name *Ar-am*, *-am* is a suffix and that the root *Ar* belongs to that series of place and tribal names original to the Armenian Highland, all of which contain the component *Ar* (*Ara*) as their initial element. (See Map 2.)

69. HZhp, 200.

70. AE, 84. Pettinato remarks that in Ebla the Amorites and the Hurrians (Subarians?) lived in peace (See AE, 27).

71. HS, 115.

Gelb quotes also the following personal names (which, in our opinion, are related to *Ar/Ara*): “Published tablets from this [Hammurabi] period mention persons with such names as *A-ri-a* and *A-ra-am-mu-su-ni*, known to be Hurrian from parallels at Nuzi.”⁷² Gelb sees in these words the roots *ar* and *muš*,⁷³ and, with reason, he does not consider them Semitic. Though he calls them Hurrian, we are inclined to call them Subarian. In the compound name *A-ra-am-mu-su-ni*, it is possible to see two different structures or modes of compounding: one is *Aram-musu-ni*, where the second component is *mus* or *muš*, as accepted by Gelb, and the other is *Aramu-su-ni*, where the second component is *su* (= *supari*; we shall talk about this in the next section). Compare this with *Da-šu-uk* and *Ha-su-uk*, the names of a Subarian man and a man of Nuzi, respectively.⁷⁴ In our opinion, regardless of which of the *muš* or *su* (= *subari*) form is correct, they both belong to the group of names of the Subarian region of the Armenian Highland, with which, as it is obvious, is directly related the first component *Aram* of this name.

The southern (particularly the southwestern) regions of the Armenian Highland, being in direct contact with Sumero-Akkadians, have also been called *Ar-me* (= *Ara-me*) with the Sumerian suffix *me* (‘to beget, offspring, son, work’) meaning ‘the offspring or the work of *Ar*’. We also think it is probable that these *Ar* people might have been called *Ar-im* (‘the *Ars*’) with *-im*, the Semitic suffix for plural, and their country *Ar-im-e* (‘the land of *Ars*’), thus causing a confusion with the forms *Arma* and *Arme/Arame* that carry the Sumero-Armenian suffixes *ma* and *me* (‘to beget, offspring, son, work’), because of the incidental phonetic similarity of the endings.⁷⁵ Cf. Heb. *Eloah* (‘God’) *Eloh-im* (‘Gods’), similarly *Khor-im* (‘Khors’ or ‘Horites’) as mentioned in the Bible, Gen. XIV, 6; XXXVI, 20–29. See also *HA*, 268.

In historiography the idea has taken root that only the southwes-

72. Ibid., 64. See also footnote 131 on the same page.

73. Ibid.

74. *HS*. 101. Compare the *-uk* ending of Subarian personal names with the *-uk* or *-ak* endings of Armenian personal names (e.g. *Tiruk*, *Havuk*, *Haykak*, *Armenak*, *Tsolak*, etc.).

75. Compare the name *Ma* of the goddess of fertility-childbearing in Asia Minor with the meaning of *ma* as ‘to beget, offspring, son’. *Am*, as a variant of *ma*, could have acquired among the Semites the meaning of ‘offspring > people’. In either case, *Aram* must have meant ‘*Ar*’s offspring or son’, or ‘*Ar*’s people’, and as a toponymic term ‘the land of *Ar*’s people’.

tern region of the Armenian Highland was called *Arme* (or by a name of similar form). The reason for this view is that the Assyro-Babylonian world has come into contact with the Armenian Highland mainly through this neighboring region. The fact is, however, that there were many other regions in the Armenian Highland, including the central regions, that had names formed with the component *Ar* or *Ara*, such as *Aramali/Arma[ri]li* (= Armani, because *li=ni* for plural), *Arberani*, *Arhi*, *Eriahi*, *Aragadz*, etc. These will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

It is also necessary to relate to these names all the proper nouns occurring in the inscriptions of the third and second millenniums B.C. that are formed by the components *Ar* and *Ara* or by their variants *Ari* and *Aru*. Such personal names are: *Ari-a*, *Ari-kumme*, *Ari-šen*, *Ari-dupuk*, *Ari-ḫuḫa*,⁷⁶ *Ara-ḫa*, etc., and such place-names are *Ari-nu*,⁷⁷ *Aru-ra*, *Aru-be*, *Aru-ni*, *Ara-zu*, *Ar-na*, *Ar-bu*,⁷⁸ etc.

Certain remarks were made above to the effect that in the times of Sargon and Naram-Sin, Ebla was either in the land of Armani or within her sphere of influence, and some data were mentioned indicating the presence of Subarians (considered Hurrians) in Ebla who lived and worked with the Amorites. Reference was made also to the probability of a family tie between Armani's royal house and Ebla's rulers and attention was drawn to the name *Igrīš-Ḫepa*, the father of one of Ebla's kings, *Šubur*, a governor in Ebla, *Ehli-Tešup*, a man of Ebla, and *Guzuzi*, a production master in Ebla. We had also quoted the words of a letter given to Ḫamazi's emissary in Ebla, saying: "... king of Ebla (is) brother of Zizi, king of Ḫamazi ..." Here in connection with our observations about *Ar* and the *Ars*, the name *Ar-Ennum* of one of the kings of Ebla, who, like *Šubur*, was one time a governor,⁷⁹ becomes so much more interesting and comprehensible.

We consider it very likely that the first component of the royal name *Ar-Ennum* is none other than the known divine name *Ar*. It seems that the same divine name is also found in *Irkab-Ar*,⁸⁰ the name of one of the governors of Ebla. Compare it with the Eblaite royal name *Irkab-Damu* where the second component *Damu* is, likewise, a divine name.⁸¹

76. For the names *Aria*, *Arikumme*, *Arišen*, *Aridupuk*, and *Ariḫuḫa*, see *HS*.

77. *Ibid.*

78. For the names *Arura*, *Arube*, *Aruni*, *Arazu*, *Arna*, and *Arbu*, see *HA*.

79. *AE*. 192.

80. *Ibid.*, 191.

81. *Ibid.*, 336.

It is interesting to note that in the times of the archives of Ebla there existed a city called *Ara*, one of whose inhabitants, by the name Ippihir, had received supplies from Ebla.⁸²

Long before the arrival of the Semites (who were later called Aramaeans), the *Ars* of the Armenian Highland were spread out in the neighboring south, in the plains of Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, certain parts of which were known as "Armenian Mesopotamia". This is how, as we have seen, in the time of Adad-Nirari II, *Arime*⁸³ became to include, other than the southwestern regions of the Armenian Highland, these flatlands as well, which, in ancient times, were part of the southern regions of the Indo-European homeland (see Map 6). It was during the decline and downfall of Mitanni that the Semitic nomadic tribes, Suti and Ahlami, came and settled in certain areas of this region and were called *Aramacans* after the name *Aram* (*Arma*) of the country. It must be accepted, therefore, that the Armenians did not receive their name from the Aramaeans; on the contrary, these nomadic tribes who came to inhabit the land of *Arma* or *Aram* (derived from the name *Ar* or *Ara* of the Armenians) were called *Aramaeans* after the name of the land in which they settled.

These southern regions of the Armenian Highland and the northern regions of Syria and Mesopotamia were better known to Sumero-Akkadians by the name *Subir*/*Subartu*. It was much later and only long after the fall of the powerful state of Mitanni that the large country of Subari began to shrink and maintained her existence confined just to the Aghtznik'-Sasun region under the name of *Subria*, which continued to be called also by the names *Arme* and *Urme* (*Urmeuḫi*) in the inscriptions of the Assyrian and Urartian kings.

In addition to the cuneiform inscriptions mentioned above, the ancient Armenian literature also contains a number of references pointing out that *Arme-Subria* (certain regions of which have been called *Šupani* > *Dzopk'* and others *Alzinini* > *Aghtznik'*) has been one of the oldest and most important centers of the homeland of the Armenian people.

One may ask, was it coincidental that Argišti I settled the 6600

82. Ibid., 224.

83. In the time of Homer the Arims were scattered from the mouth of the Orontes to the west, from Antioch and the shorelines of Cilicia to the central regions of Asia Minor and the basin of the Halys river, including Mount Argæus.

warriors brought from H̄ate and Şupani in Erebuni? We know that the natives of Aghtznik' (Alzi) and Dzopk' (Şupani) have often entered into the so-called Hittite alliance and were also called the H̄ate warriors. It follows that the expression "warriors from H̄ate and Şupani" refers to the natives of Aghtznik' and Dzopk'. We do not think, therefore, that the relocation of these 6600 warriors by Argišti in his newly constructed Erebuni fortress was incidental.

Argišti built the strong fortress of Erebuni (*"for the glory of the land of Biaina and to the horror of his enemies"*) for the purpose of defending the eastern regions of his country against the intrusions of enemies and also to use it as a military base for his future expansions. It would have been logical for him, therefore, to station there, as his garrison, troops who would be more faithful and reliable. Thus, we see him moving there men from "H̄ate" and Dzopk', whom he calls warriors, and not slaves, the implication being that they were co-tribal Nairian Armenians.

In a similar vein, we think that the choice of Aghtznik' by Tigran the Great as the location to build his new capital Tigranakert was not incidental. A certain motive and, very likely, national traditions must have guided him in making this choice. It is true that he abandoned the old capital Artashat mainly because the westward expansion of his empire left the capital almost at the eastern extremity of the country; also in order to facilitate the administrative links with the various regions of the empire it was necessary to move the capital to a more central location and particularly closer to the contemporary centers of Hellenistic civilization. He could have certainly chosen a more suitable site of stronger strategic position. There is no doubt that his choice of Aghtznik' was dictated by nationalistic feelings and national traditions, assuring him that as part of the sacred Armenian fatherland, it provided a more genuine and reliable environment.

We would like here to draw our readers' attention to an important point which has been generally overlooked by those who specialize in the ancient history of the Armenian people. A careful study of the map will show that the vast expanses of land in the south which Tigran the Great annexed to his kingdom are almost the same as those territories that formerly comprised the countries of Subartu and Mitanni. The same can be said for his western expansions: they, too, coincide with those regions which were inhabited by Armenians and which in the second and first millenniums B.C. were called Hayasa, Pahlhwa, Suhmu, Tegarama, Isuwa, Anzitene, Alzi, Dzopk', Kom-

magene etc.; in other words, Bartzr Hayk' (Higher Hayk'), Pokr Hayk' (Lesser Hayk'), or, as Movses Khorenatsi states, First Hayk', Second Hayk', Third Hayk', and Fourth Hayk'. The conclusion is, therefore, that Tigran the Great was not an aggressor occupying foreign lands, but a great national hero who reunited the traditional Subarian-Mitannian-Armenian lands into his kingdom.

In this connection we would like to present here, for comparison, some of the characteristic features of the seal of Saussatar, king of Mitanni (1450 B.C.), and those of Tigran the Great's crown.

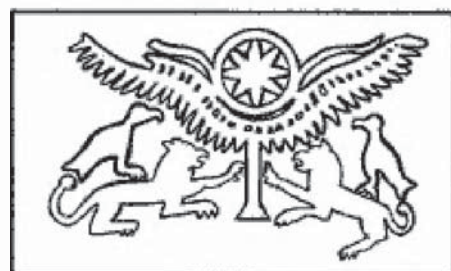


Fig. 2. *Insignia on Saussatar's seal and coin of Tigran II.*

On the seal of the king of Mitanni we see the winged solar disk with an eagle and a lion on each side, which symbolize in mythology the deity of the sun and fire. The same features appear on Tigran's crown, with the same solar disk and the two eagles, one on each side, and the crown itself shaped at the top like spikes representing the rays of the sun. The similarities are too obvious to be explained away by mere coincidence.

It is known that, according to certain scholars, the city of Urfa (Edessa; *Orrhoë* for Greeks, *Urhôî* for Syrians), located in the south of Arme-Subria and a short distance north of Harran, was, at a certain time in history, an important Hurrian center, maybe even a capital, and that the name *Orrhoë* (called *Urha* by Khorenatsi) has perhaps originated from the name Hurri.⁸⁴

84. *CHHM*, 58-59.

Furthermore, Faustus Buzand has preserved the following valuable record about the city of Urha of the Hurrians: "*King Pap [of Armenians] ... has sent messengers to the king of the Greeks saying: 'Caesarea and the other ten cities have belonged to us: Give them back. The city of Urha also was built by our ancestors, therefore, if you do not desire that troubles arise, give it back, otherwise we shall fight a great war.'*"⁸⁵ Whether these words of the king constituted a historical record or a mere tradition, is immaterial. They only show, with certainty, that in the time of Faustus Buzand it was still remembered that the city of Urha was built by the ancestors of the Armenians.

We already know that Urha was in that part of Subartu which coincided in the past with the southwestern regions of the land of Armani.

These main regions of Subartu included the basins of the head-streams of the Tigris and the two Khaburs that descend from the Armenian Highland. It must be noted that in Sumero-Akkadian writings (specially in the syllabaries) the names *Subari* and *Khubur* are given as synonymous terms.⁸⁶

Since in the past the Khabur river and its name have been closely connected with the lives of the Armenians in the region of Armani, it would be expected that this name should have been preserved in their language in one form or another. In fact, we think it very probable that the word աղբիւր, *aghbiur* ('source, fountain') in Armenian retains the memory of the Khabur river and its sources.

H. Adjarian in his *Armatakan Bararan (Armenian Etymological Dictionary)*, following Hübschmann, supposes that the word *aghbiur* comes from the Indo-European *brevr*, and makes the following comparison:

Gr. φρέαθ ('well, cistern'): Homeric Gr. φρέατα = φρηατα, derived from the Gr. protoform φρηφαρ and supposes IE *bhrēvr*, *bhrēvntos* in genitive. Our word comes from this IE form *bhrevr* (nom.) and *bhrevros* (gen.) which has changed in our language first to *brevr* (բրբւր) then to *bghevr* (պղբւր) by dissimilation, to *ghbevr* (ղբւր) by transposition, to *aghbevr* (աղբւր) by the addition of *a*. The intermediate form *bghevr* is akin to the Cappadocian Gr. πλευρό

85. Faustus Buzant, V-32. One must not forget that in the composition of the Armenian people the Hurrian element occupies an important place. We shall speak about this later.

86. *HS*, 92, 93, 98.

('fountain') which, according to Karolides, is borrowed from the Armenian.

Then Adjarian adds: "From the weak grade of Indo-European protoforms have originated the Gothic *brunna*, the Old High German *brunno*, the Anglo-Saxon *burna*, the German *Brunnen* ('fountain'). All these are derived from the simple Indo-European root-word *bhreū* ('to boil, to bubble, to ferment')." Following this Adjarian cites all the European "heirs" of this Indo-European roots.

As we see it clearly, they had to invent first an Indo-European protoform (supposedly *bhrēvr*), they had to go through a tortuous and labyrinthine way of "dissimilation, transposition, and addition" in order to arrive, from the artificial form *bhrēvr* at the Armenian word *aghbevr-aghbiur*.

We think, it is highly probable, that the word աղբիւր, *aghbiur* (in Tiflis: աղբուր, *aghbur*, ախբուր *akhpur*; in Constantinople: ախբուր, *akhbur*; in Garin, Hamshen, Nor-Jugha, Sebastia: ախբ'ուր, *akhb'ur*; in Akhaltskha, Yerevan, Shamakhi: ախպուր, *akhpur*; in Rodosto: ախպուր, *akhp'ur*; in Alashkert, Mush: յախբ'ուր, *yakhb'ur*; etc.) is linked with the name of the Khabur river, which, with the transition *kha* > *akh*, has become *akhbur* > *aghbevr* (*aghbiur*).

We also think it very likely (particularly having in view that the homeland of the Proto-Indo-European language was in the Armenian Highland and the neighboring regions of Asia Minor) that the Gothic *brunna*, the Old High German *brunno*, the Anglo-Saxon *burna*, and the German *Brunnen* ('fountain') and other similar words reflect the memory of the name *Buranun*,⁸⁷ the old Subarian name (preserved in Sumerian) of the Euphrates River. We can link with this the Greek word φρενάδ ('well, cistern') and the forms φρελάτα = φρηάτα of Homer that remind us of the Mesopotamian-Akkadian form *purattu*⁸⁸ (> *Furat*, Euphrates) encountered in cuneiform writings.

All these, as will be seen in the last chapter, can be considered as another indication regarding the location of the homeland of the parent Indo-European language and the connection between the Subarians and Indo-Europeans.

If these observations of ours are right, it can then be accepted that the tribes speaking the Proto-Armenian language (at the time of

87. *Sumerians*, 40; *HS*, 99.

88. *Sumerians*, 21.

the formation of the word *aghbur-aghblur* in their language) have spread also to the south of the Armenian Highland, to the regions of the sources of the *Khabur* river. It was through these regions that they have come in contact with the Sumero-Akkadians. And as we have noted, these very regions were called Hark' (Harki) by Adad-Nirari II, as was the region above Lake Van. Furthermore, those European peoples who have in their language the forms *brunna*, *brunno*, *brunnen* (= *Buranum*) and *φρηάτα* (= *Furati-Euphrates*) meaning 'spring' or 'fountain', must have lived in the neighborhood of the Armenian Highland in Asia Minor (toward west from the Euphrates).

It would not be unexpected that in the days of Naram-Sin, Armani could have spread out to the main indicated regions of Subari and established there a city-center by the name *Armani*. In later times, the southern regions of this land of Armani have been called *Arime*, "land of Ars", by Adad Nirari II. It is possible to accept, therefore, that the name *Armani* is the earliest known form and record of the *Armen* people and their land, called variously *Arime*, *Arme*, *Urme* (*Urmeukhi*), *Armina*, *Armeni* or *Armen*.

In the course of our recent investigations we have come across a number of concrete and important data which tend to establish the link between Subari and Armani. Before presenting these, however, we think it is essential to give our version of the etymology of the name *Subari*.

5. THE SU PEOPLE

The Akkadian forms of the name *Subari* were *Š/Subari*, *Š/Subaru* and *Š/Subartu* (with an initial sound of either *sh* or *s*), whereas the main Sumerian form was *Subir*. It is this latter name that must be accepted as its original form.

As revealed by our recent studies, in the name *Su-bir*, the *bir* component means 'tribe, race, people'. It also means 'house, city, land', because in ancient times tribes or races and the land on which they lived were both designated in general by the same name. For example, *Hayk'* and *Virk'* meant 'Armenians' and 'Georgians',

respectively, and at the same time they also meant 'the land of Armenians' (Armenia) and 'the land of Georgians' (Georgia). Cf. «Կադմոսյ տանէն»⁸⁹ (Kadmocay tanen) ('from the house of Kadmos' or "from the tribe of Kadmos"), «... ազգի տանն Թորգոմայ»⁹⁰ (azgi tann Torkomay) ("from the household of Torgom", etc.). The same meaning was expressed by the Semitic word *bit*, which meant 'house' and also 'family, tribe' (cf. *Bit-Zamani*,⁹¹ *Bit-Agusi*,⁹² etc.) as the Arabic بَيْت *beyt* ('house, family').

Academician G. Ghapantsian had already pointed out with great discernment that the word *bir* (or its variant *ber*) means 'tribe, race'. He writes:

The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I mention the name *Šinibirani* in the land of Nairi, a name which, in our opinion, means the 'Šin tribes'. Also there is mention, by Šamši-Adad IV, of the Nairian land of *Ginzibir*, which has undoubtedly meant the 'Ginzi tribe'. Compare with *Etiuni Ibirani*, *Šinibirani*, *Ginzibir*, and other combinations, and with such ancient Armenian place-names as *Taruberan* (*Turu-beran*), *Arberani* or *Arberan*, which literally meant the 'Taur-tribes' (=Armenian Taurus) and the 'Aī-tribes'.⁹³

In short, Ghapantsian finds that the *bir* component in the names *Ginzi-bir* and *Šini-bir-ani*, and the *ber* component in *Turu-ber-an* and *Aī-ber-ani* means 'tribe'.⁹⁴

Similarly, *Su-bir* meant the 'Su tribe' or 'the land of the Su tribe'.

The Nairian names *Ginzi-bir*, *Sini-bir-ni*, *Turu-ber-an* *Aī-ber-ani* show that this word *bir* (>*ber*) pertains to the Nairian tribes and thus it becomes clear that there has been a link between the Nairian people and the Subarians who carried the name *Su-bir* (i.e. the 'Su-tribe').⁹⁵

89. *Khorenatsi*, I-14.

90. *Ibid.*, I-10.

91. *HA*, 65.

92. *HZhP*, 315.

93. *UP*, 78-79.

94. The *-ani* (or *-ni*), *-an* (<*-ani*) endings of these names are plural forms which, sometimes, can also be used as toponymic suffixes.

95. A confession made by Sargon of Akkad reveals that Akkad was not his home or birthplace, therefore he was not the legal heir to the Akkadian throne; he was a usurper. In one of his inscriptions he openly says this about himself: "My mother was humble, I knew not my father. My father's brother was a

The word *bir* has passed to Assyro-Babylonians and become *bir-tu*, meaning 'fortress', which in turn, is reflected in the Armenian *բիր*, *berd* ('fortress'). In Sumerian there is also the word *bar*, which means 'dwelling place, family'. The Sumerians have already used the name *Subir* also in the form of *Subar*⁹⁶ (from which have originated the Akkadian *Subari*, *Subaru* or *Subartu*). The Sanskrit *vara* means 'land', in Kurdish *var* 'dwelling place', in Hittite *bir* 'house',⁹⁷ and in Persian *ber* 'land'. The Armenian has *վայր*, *vayr* ('field, place'), from which we have *վիր-ազ*, *vir-ak* (*վիրազ*, *virak*, 'one who lodges in the open field'), and other various forms in Armenian dialects (such as: *վերք*, *verk* (in plural) in the dialects of Bulanekh and Mush; *վար*, *var* in Akn, Aslanbeg, Karin, Nor-Nakhidjevan, Constantinople, Rodosto; *վար*, *vár* in Kharberd, Tigranakert, Zeytun; *վեր*, *ver* in Agulis, Goris, Yerevan, Hamshen, Shamakhi, Djugha, Tiflis).⁹⁸

The Armenian language has also preserved the word *վրան*, *van* ('tent, a dwelling place made with wooden poles and coarse canvass'), which probably comes from the form *ibirani* of the Urartian inscriptions that must have meant 'houses' or 'tribes' (although M. Dzereveli and Melikishvili (following the former) have, with some doubt (and erroneously), given this word the meaning of 'totally').⁹⁹ We know that in Urartian and certain other ancient languages, the sound *b*, when occurring in the beginning of a word or between two vowels, changes to *v* in Armenian (cf. *Biaina* > *Van*, *Erebuni* > *Erevan*). Therefore,

dweller in the mountain. My town was Azupirani that is set on the bank of the Euphrates." (Regarding this inscription, see Seton Lloyd, *Twin Rivers*, Oxford, 1943, p. 31.) The *-ani* ending of the city name *Azubirani* is clearly Subarian-Hurrian, and the *bir* ('tribe') component shows that this city belonged to the Nairian *Azu* (possibly <SU) tribe. In Nairi there was the *Azu* mountain, which Tiglath-Pileser I mentions in connection with an invasion that he carried out against the land of Haria-Khabkhi (see *ARAB*, 78-79). The composition of the name *Azu-bir-ani* already shows that it belongs to the same group of Subarian-Nairian names, such as, *Šini-bir-ni*, *At-ber-ani*, *Turu-ber-an(i)*, *Ginzi-bir*, and *Su-bir*. Since Sargon's uncle was a mountain dweller, in whose care he must have grown up (since he did not know his father), therefore this city must have been located in that region of the Euphrates where it flows through the Subari mountains (the Kashiari and the western ranges of the Armenian Taurus). At any rate, one thing is clear that Sargon's birthplace was a Subarian-Nairian city.


96. *HS*, 14.

97. See H.H. Karagyozyan's article in *PH*, I, 1981.

98. *HAB*, see the article *վայր* (*vayr*).

99. *UKN*, see *ibirani*.

the *ibir-ani* (*ibirani*) > *vr-an* (*vran*) transition is highly probable. As for the *-ani* > *-an* transition, compare with Urartian *ebani* > *awwā* (*awan*) 'country town'. The *i* of the root-word *bir* in *ibir-ani* is dropped in Armenian because of the addition of the suffix *-an* (*ani*). The same thing has happened also in the transition of *Su-bir* > *Šu-br-ia* (*Šubria*) because of the addition of the toponymic suffix *-ia*. We can accept, therefore, that *Su-bir* means the 'Su tribe' or the 'land of the Su tribe'.¹⁰⁰

In Sumero-Akkadian Ur III and other inscriptions the logogram *SU.A* often appears in place of the term *Su-bir* (or *Su-bur*). Scholars who have investigated this phenomenon have accepted the *SU.A* = *SU.BIR* (*Subir*) equivalence, but it has not been very clear for them as to why *bir* was substituted by *A*. Now that we know *bir* means 'tribe', *A*, too, must have an equivalent meaning in this case, Deimel's dictionary has: Sumer. *a* = , Akkad. BANŪ, Ger. *erzeugen*; = Akkad. RIḪŪTU, Ger. *Erzeugung*; = Akkad. APLU, Ger. *Sohn*; = Akkad. MARŪ, Ger. *Sohn, Kind*. It is clear now why *SU.A* ('offspring of Su' or 'sons of Su') is written instead of *SU.BIR* ('the Su tribe' or 'of the Su tribe').

In conclusion, we can say with certainty that the real tribal name of the Subarians was *Su* (or *Šu*, as a phonetic variant).

The noted Orientalist-Sumerologist Ignace J. Gelb, in his book *Hurrians and Subarians*, brings numerous examples demonstrating that in the ancient Sumero-Akkadian inscriptions the Subarians were very often called *Su* and their country *Su*^{K1} and *Subir*^{K1}. He writes: "Certain common nouns and divine names are distinguished by a notation *SU*, *SU*^{K1}, *SU.BIR*^{K1}, or *ina Šu-ba-ri*. In these texts all these expressions can have but one meaning: "in Subartu" or "in the land of Subarians."¹⁰¹ He explicitly states: "It is obvious that the notations *SU*^{K1}, *SU.BIR*^{K1} and *ina Šu-ba-ri* are synonymous."¹⁰² These statements provide direct and concrete evidence that Subarians were called *Su*, and that the etymology we suggested for the word *Su-bir* is correct.

Some authors, ignoring that the name *Su-bir* means the 'Su tribe' or the 'land of the Su tribe', have thought of seeing in *Su* an abbreviation of *Subir*. However, the very presence of the tribal name *Su* in the name *Su-bir* refutes their view and confirms the idea that

100. This present interpretation revises the understanding we had of the name *Subir-Subari* in the earlier stages of our research.

101. *HS*, 25.

102. *Ibid.*, 16. The writing *SU.BIR* is syllabic in Sumerian, but logographic in Akkadian. See *HS*, 23.

those people were in effect called Su. For additional proof, we can cite, as one example, the name of the city of Šura¹⁰³ (containing likewise the tribal name Su or Šu), that was located in the land of Hani-galbat, in the main Subarian homeland, and, as another example, the name Šu-šu-uk¹⁰⁴ of a man of Subari, (where the syllable šu is repeated, like in *Hoḥoḥuni*, and other names where the root component is similarly repeated). Compare the -ra ending of the name Šu-ra with the place names *Bidara*, *Šabarra*, *Sirara*,¹⁰⁵ and with the personal names *Šattuara*, *Artasšumara*, and *Ewari-Kira*.¹⁰⁶ Compare also the personal name Šu-šu-uk with *Su-su-ku*,¹⁰⁷ the name of a city in Uruatri; *Da-šu-uk*, the name of a man of Subari, *Ha-šu-uk*¹⁰⁸, the name of a man of Nuzi; and the Nuzian personal names *Kaltuk*, *Kizzuk*, *Naḥaruk*, and *Nizuk*, all of which have the ending -uk.¹⁰⁹

Some authors assert that the term Su^{KI} (=Subartu) has in later periods often indicated Assyria, and that the appellation su has been given to those people who carried non-Subarian names. This is plausible. The Subarians were spread over the entire expanse of Assyria before the Semites appeared on the scene and at that time all of Assyria was within the boundaries of their country. Later on, after the middle of the third millenium B.C., when Assyria emerged as a distinct country with the rise in power of the city of Aššur, the tradition of referring to her often by the term Subartu might have continued in texts of later periods.

Certainly it is not unusual for some Subarians to have carried non-Subarian names. It is not impossible either, that those names that are mentioned under the name su and are considered non-Subarian, could have been in fact of Subarian origin. Therefore, all those who have been definitely called "men of Su" have in reality been Subarian. "Ugnad reasoned out that since in late Assyrian syllabaries SU^(KI) stands for SU.BIR^{KI}, then all persons called thus in the Ur III tablets must be considered Subarian."¹¹⁰

103. *ARAB*, 119-121. Here in the inscription of Adad-Nirari II it is written: "... the inhabitants of the city of Šura, that is in the land of Khanigalbat, he drove away ..." See also *AHDzU*, 375. Subartu = Mitanni in Boğazköy texts.

104. *HS*, 104.

105. *Ibid.*, see *Bidara*, p. 106; *Sabarra*, p. 21; *Sirara*, p. 36.

106. *Ibid.*, see *Šattuara* and *Artasšumara*, p. 76; *Ewari-Kira*, p. 52.

107. *Ibid.*, see *Šu-šu-uk*, p. 101; *Su -su-ku*, p. 104.

108. *Ibid.*, see *Da-šu-uk* and *Ha-šu-uk*, p. 101.

109. *Ibid.*, see *Kaltuk*, *Kuzzuk*, *Naḥaruk* and *Nizuk*.

110. *Ibid.*, 18.

6. ARMANI AND THE NAME OF HER KING

J. Gelb provides us with a valuable ancient cuneiform testimony that proves to be most important for our topic under study. In his book *Hurrians and Subarians*, in the chapter entitled *Subarian Personal Names of the Ur III Period and the First Dynasty of Babylon*, he lists a number of names that belonged to the Subarian people of the Ur III period, among which there is one particular personal name, *Madatina (Madakina)*, by which the king of Armani was called in the time of Naram-Sin. Here are the names mentioned by Gelb:

... animals offered by *Ki-ma-ni*, *Si-ni-ni*, *Ku-zu-zu*, the messenger of *Ba-ar-ba-ra-gi*, *Ad-da-bu-ni* the messenger of *Še-eb-ba*, *Še-bi* the messenger of *Ra-si*, *Ma-da-ti-na*, and *Bu-ul-ba-at* and presumably by another man whose name is omitted, followed by the term *lu SU-me*. ... *lu SU-me* means "they are (or "who are") SU" and evidently defines the preceding group as SU people.¹¹¹

This statement explicitly proves that *Madatina* as mentioned here was a man of Su (=Subari).

Examining one by one the Subarian names mentioned in this inscription, Gelb writes the following about *Madatina*:

... in a Hittite tale from Boğazköy describing a war of Naram-Sin against a coalition of seventeen kings a certain *Ma-da-di-na*, king of *Ar-ma-ni*, is mentioned. All the scholars who have worked on this text have read the name of this king as *Ma-da-ki-na*, in spite of the fact that the copy by H. Figulla suggests the reading *Ma-da-di-na* instead.¹¹²

The name *Madatina (Madakina)* occurs again in the *Résumé* of the chapter where Gelb offers a summary of the 29 Subarian names examined.

Here we wish to draw the particular attention of scholars who desire to study the national identity of Armani to this very important

111. *Ibid.*, 100-101.

112. *Ibid.*, 103.

fact, that in the time of Naram-Sin, *Madadina* (*Madakina*), the king of Armani, had a Subarian name, that is, he was a "man of Subari" and, consequently, he belonged to the Subarian and not the Semitic people.

In addition to this inscription that testifies to *Madadina*'s being Subarian, there is also the fact, that the ending *-na* of the name *Madadina* (*Madakina*) is not Semitic and it belongs to the series of Subarian-Mitannian-Nairian names of similar ending. Compare the following personal names: *Šuttarna* (king of Mitanni), *Erimena* (king of Urartu), *Urzana* (king of Musasir), *Hukkana* (king of Hayasa), *Datana* (king of Hupuşkia),¹¹³ *Tilusina* (king of Andia), *Suna* (Urartian governor).¹¹⁴ This last name *Su-na* is interesting also because of its root *su* (= Subari).

I would like to present here a very important point showing in a concrete way that the people of the land of *Arma*(-ni) (the Armens) were *Su* (= Subarian). It is known that Sargon II calls the region in the northeast of Lake Van (the Ardjesh region) *Armarili* (*Arma-rili*), whereas Argišti II, in one of his inscriptions left in the Ardjesh area, calls this very same region *Šurili* (*Šu-rili*). What was called *Arma-rili* by Sargon the foreigner is synonymous to *Šu-rili*, the name given by Argišti the native. Here it is very clearly seen that in these two terms the *-rili* component is a derivative suffix, possibly a compound suffix (*-ri-li*), where the part *-ri* reminds us of the endings of such names as *Kašia-ri*, *Nam-ri*, *Hur-ri*, *Kirru-ri*, *Meh-ri*, etc., having probably the meaning '*-ian*', and the part *-li*, which is the known plural suffix; cf. *Biaini-li*, *Argištiḫini-li*, *Darana-li*, *Manana-li*, and other similar forms. It is evident, therefore, that the terms *Arma* (= *Arma-ni*) and *Šu* (= *Subari*) occurring in these two names are equivalent terms and designate the same people. This is an important and concrete proof showing that the *Armens* were also called *Subarians*, or that *Subartu* was also called *Armani*. Tiglath-Pileser I's following statement, already quoted above in Section 4, provides another important testimony proving the same point: "... [into] the midst of Akhlami, the men of Arma, ... I marched. From *Su-ḫi* to the city of Carchemish, in the land of *Ḫatte*, in one day I raided ..." Here it is seen clearly that the area of the land of Arma is called *Su-ḫi* land ("the land of the *Su*"), that is, "Subarian land." This, too, is a direct and concrete evidence that the land of Arma (Armani) was Subarian.

113. *HZHP*, 289.

114. *HA*, regarding *Tilusina*, see p. 97; regarding *Suna*, see p. 217.

Thus it becomes understandable now that *Arman(um)* (*Armani*) mentioned by Naram-Sin was in the land of Subartu. It is not incidental, therefore, that later on the region of *Subria* was also called *Arme*.

It was pointed out at the beginning of this study that in Naram-Sin's Akkadian inscription the name *Arman(um)* was derived from the form *Armani* (by the deletion of *i* in the Akkadian derivative form *Armani-um*) which appears unchanged in the known Hittite inscription that speaks about Naram-Sin.

The name *Armani* (*Arma-ni*), by virtue of its very suffix *-ni*, is not Semitic either; it belongs to the group of Subarian-Nairian names of similar ending, such as Mitanni, Šupani, Daiaeni, Amadani, Alzini (Alzinini), Niḫani, etc. This *-ni* (and *-na*) ending indicates a plural form which is also a toponymic suffix, as is the suffix *ʔ* (*k'*) in Armenian.

In later times, this *-ni* ending was in many cases substituted by the plural and toponymic suffix *ʔ* (*k'*).¹¹⁵ (Cf. Šupani > Šopk', Daiani > Tayk', etc.)

This plural ending *-ni* exists in the Armenian language. Academician Ararat Gharibian writes:

The plural ending *-an* is used quite extensively in Armenian dialects. For example: իշան (*ishan*, 'asses'), ձիան (*tzian*, 'horses') in the subdialect of Bayazet; տեղան (*teghan* 'beds') in the dialect of Sebastia. We have the plural ending *-ani*, such as in ուրիշանի (*urishani* 'others') in the dialect of Djughha; we find the plural form *-eni* in the regions of Shamshadin and Gharabagh, like կատուէնի (*katueni*, 'cats'), ... and almost in all dialects we find the plural form *-ner* which is a compound plural, the combination of two plural suffixes *n* and *er*. In the dialect of Constantinople *-ni* is a plural ending, such as in գրքերնիս (*grk'ernis*, 'our books'), and in the dialect of Gharabagh the same plural is formed by *-ne*, like in մլղղցմէ (*djaghatsne*, 'mills').¹¹⁶

115. I consider it very likely that the Armenian plural suffix *ʔ* (*k'*) comes from the determinative *ki*, meaning 'place' or 'locality' put at the end of place names in Sumero-Akkadian inscriptions. For instance, if the term Parsua (Paršuaš, Baršua) linked with the name Fars (*Persian*), then the Parsua^{ki} = Parsk' (Քարսք) equivalence provides a good example, where *ʔ* (*k'*) corresponds to *ki*, which, having a toponymic value, as a sign of collectivity has also acquired the meaning of plurality.

116. HB, 137.

Transitions such as *Šupani* > *Šopk'*, *Alzinini* > *Aghtznik'* (Մու-պանի > Մոփֆ, Ալզինինի > Աղձնիֆ) and the like show that first the form *-ni* was used, then the form *k' (f)*. This becomes obvious in compound plurals, such as, *nü + f*, *on + k'* (մեր-նոֆ, *mer-onk'*, 'ours'), *nü + f*, *un + k'* (զավակնոֆ, *zavak-unk'*, 'children'), *mas-nüf*, *mas-unk'*, 'relics'), *in + k'* (լեռ-ինֆ, *ler-ink'* 'mountains'), *an + k'* (տեղ-անֆ, *tegh-ank'*, 'places'), etc., where plurals were formed first by the suffixes *on*, *un*, *in*, *an*, and later, as the strength of these plurals was lost or weakened, a second suffix *k' (f)* was added, just as it has occurred in the case of *f + bp*, *k' + er*, examples of which are, *ábn* > *ábnf* > *ábnf bp* (*tzer* > *tzerk'* > *tzerk'er*, 'hands'), *nün* > *nünf* > *nünf bp* (*vot* > *votk'* > *votk'er*, 'feet'), etc.

All these examples suggest once again that the ending *ni* in *Armani* characterizes the name as belonging to the Subarian-Nairian group, and that it should be accepted as such.

In the Near East there was a storm-god that was called *Adad* by the Semitic peoples and *Tešub* by the Subarian-Hurrian-Nairian peoples. This deity is often represented in cuneiform inscriptions by the ideogram IM which can be read either as *Adad* or as *Tešub*, depending on the context. As we have seen above, according to Naram-Sin's known Akkadian inscription, at the time of one of his invasions against Armani, *Riš-Tešub* was the king of that country. Considering that this text was Akkadian and also assuming that Armani was Semitic, the earlier translators of this inscription have read the second component of this king's name, the ideogram IM, as *Adad* in the Semitic-Akkadian form, instead of reading it as *Tešub*. In our previous works we have mentioned this name in the form *Red-Tešub*. Gelb has shown, however, that the first component of the name of this king should be read as *Riš* (Ri-iš) and not as *Rid* (Ri-id).¹¹⁷ Therefore this king was called *Riš-Tešub*.

117. HS, 103. The name *Rišua(-ini)* of the land near Lake Sevan, mentioned by Rusa I of Urartu, is not Semitic, hence it is difficult to accept that the (almost homophonic) component *Riš* of the royal name *Riš-Tešub* could be Semitic in origin. In any case, the compound noun *Riš-Tešub* could not have been the name of a Semite. Cf. the royal name *Igrīš-Heba* of Ebla which, likewise, must not be taken for the name of a Semite.

118. That the Hurrians have come to Mesopotamia and the Armenian Highland in the beginning of the second millennium, was an accepted viewpoint in scholarship. In recent years, however, a number of Hurrian divine names have been revealed in the records of Ebla (see AE, 251 and Ebla, 165),

It is already known that in the third, second, and first millenniums B.C. certain individuals and kings of some of the Subarian-Hurrian-Nairian kingdoms carried names that contained the *Tešub* component. For example, *Tešup-Šelaḫ* is mentioned in the UR III period, and *Eḫli-Tešup*, a man from Ebla, is mentioned in Alalakh IV (15th century B.C.), also at the time of Tiglath-Pileser (1114-1076 B.C.) the king of Katmuḫi was called *Kili-Tešub*, the son of *Kali-Tešub*. In about the same time, the king of the Uraḫinaš fortress in the north bank of the Aradzani river was called *Šadi-Tešub*, and in the days of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) the king of Šubria bore the name *Inip-Tešub*, etc.¹¹⁹

Thus, we see that the throne of Armani was occupied at one time by a king who was called by the Subarian (*su*) name *Madatina* (*Mada-kina*), and at another time by a king who was called by the Subarian-Hurrian-Nairian name *Riṣ-Tešub* (derived from the divine name *Tešub*). This very important observation, together with the analysis of the *-ni* and *-na* suffixes of the names *Armani* and *Madatina* provide also concrete indications that the land and the kingdom of Armani belonged not to the Semitic, but to the Subarian-Nairian circle. Therefore, the name *Armani* must be considered as the earliest form of *Armeni*.

A further proof for the Nairian origin of the name *Arma(-ni)* is provided by the etymology of *Armavir* (<*Arma-bir*). More will be said about this in Chapter 4.

The name *Armani*, as the oldest form of the name of the Armenian homeland, has filtered down from ancient Chaldaean records and old Armenian traditions and is well preserved in ancient Armenian literature. It is known that the personal name *Armenak* comes from the ethnic name *Armen* of the Armenians or from the name *Armeni* of their country. *Armeni* is the form used by the Greeks. Darius calls it *Armina*. The oldest forms of the name *Armenak*, as the eponym of the Armenian people or land, are retained in the works of Khorenatsi, Sebeos, M. Ayrivanetsi, Samuel Anetsi,

showing that either the Hurrians were already in existence in Mesopotamia in the time of Ebla writings (middle of third millennium B.C.) and even before, or having come later, they had adopted or appropriated certain local deities. For example, in the records of Ebla we find the divine name *Šamagan*, that reminds us of the presumably Hurrian sun-god *Šimige*, and also *Šamaš* (about *Šamagan*, see AE, 254). We shall speak about this in detail in the section *The Principal Gods of Urartu*.

119. HS, 47, 83.

and others, as *Armenak* (Արմենակ), *Aramaneak* (Արամանեակ), and *Armanek* (Արմանեակ). It is in this very same name *Aramaneak*¹²⁰ or in its older form *Armanek* that is preserved the name of the Armenian homeland, *Armani*.

The personal name *Armanek*, as an eponym, is formed by adding the suffix *-ak* to the name *Armani* (cf. *Haykak*, *Tsolak*, *Paylak*, etc). According to Armenian linguistic rules, when the suffix *-ak* is added, the *i* ending of *Armani* changes to *e*, and *Armani-ak* becomes *Armanek*, such as *patani-pataneak* ('youth'), *aghavni-aghavneak* ('pigeon'), etc. This is another proof that the name of the Armenian land in the form *Armani* did exist and was well known among Armenians. This name pertained to the Armenians and was not Semitic.

The Arabs, who are the heirs of the Assyro-Babylonians, continue to call the Armenians *Armani* (أرميني) to the present day. This is already a living testimony to all that has been said above.

As to the origin and meaning of the name *Armani*, although we have given detailed explanations about them in our previous works, we consider it necessary to reiterate here some of the highlights because of the importance they have for the study of our present topic.

120. *Khorenatsi*, I-II, 20.

Chapter 2

ARA'S LAND AND PEOPLE

1. THE GOD AR (OR ARA)

It has been shown by some Orientalist-Armenologists (and also in our previous works) in a number of quotations of mythological and historical data that the native peoples of the Armenian Highland and the neighboring regions of Asia Minor had, in the earlier periods of paganism, a deity whom they called *Ar* or *Ara*.

In the primitive hunting stage of the life of these natives, the god *Ara* possessed animal-vegetal characteristics. Later, with the beginning of agriculture, he acquired a vegetal-solar nature and with the development of irrigation in agriculture and the consolidation of statehood, he became a great war-god and was identified with the sun.

This process of change from primitive to complex characteristics, as manifested in the nature of *Ar* (or *Ara*), is by no means unique in the mythological history of mankind. It has had its close parallels. For example, the god *Aššur*, in the earlier periods of the founding of the city of *Aššur*, had a vegetal (peaceful) nature,¹ but later on, when Assyria became a mighty empire by bloody expeditions, it turned into a fearsome deity and was identified with the sun.

Research has revealed that in the remote past *Ar* (or *Ara*) was the principal national deity of the Armen people.

H. Matikian, N. Adontz, M. Abeghian, G. Ghapantsian, and other Armenologists accept that *Ara* was the native deity of the Armenians.

The known Orientalist A.H. Sayce states that *Ar* was the sun-god of the Armenians. In his words: "... it is better to suppose that *Êr*, or *Ara*, was an Armenian name for the Sun-god, which in later times was confounded with *Arios* (*Nergal*) of *Ktesias*." ²

In this connection H. Matikian writes: "*To study Ara the Beautiful means to make inroads into the obscure centuries of the origin of the Armenian people and to examine them.*" ³

1. *AT*, 191.

2. *CIV*, 415. See also *AGP*, 93.

3. *AG*, 4.

We do not think it is necessary here to delve further into the nature of Ara, because we have already treated this topic at great length in our previous works and have shown with numerous evidences that Ara was the native and national deity of the Armenians. However, because of the importance it bears upon the subject under study, we think it will be helpful to mention here some facts related to the formation and the meaning of the national name *Armani* of Armenians which is closely linked to Ara.

It is known in historiography and archaeology that the names of many ancient peoples have been related to the names of their principal deities.

In the remote past, each tribe, even each household, had its own totem, its object of worship, or its god. With the increasing of the household or the tribe in size and in strength, its god has correspondingly acquired greater significance and power. We learn from cuneiform inscriptions that battles waged between tribes and states have been fought mostly for and in the name of the gods of the fighting sides. In many cases tribes and states were distinguished from each other by the names of their gods. In the same way have originated also the names of many habitations and countries.

Because of intertribal wars, a given tribe was forced to fortify a central area on its territory where it kept its sacred totem in safety or established the throne (or the temple) of its god, from whom that particular place derived, subsequently, its name. Later on, as the tribe has grown and spread out, that fortified habitation has become an administrative and economic center, and still later the capital.

Very often we read in cuneiform writings that a certain king has defeated the king of the land of a certain city. We have seen statements of this kind in the well-known Hittite inscription about Naram-Sin, where among his 17 enemies there is one mentioned as "*Mada-tina, the king of the land of the city of Armani.*" This shows clearly that the country of a tribe or a state could have derived its name from the name of its central or royal city, which, in many cases, bore the name of the principal god of that particular tribe or people.

This is how have originated, for example, the names of the great Assyrian and Roman empires, which were originally the names of the central cities, Aššur and Rome, of the given tribes, and where each tribe had established its own object of worship, Aššur and Romulus, respectively. The same is true also about the Greeks who call themselves Hellenes and their country Hellada (Hellas) after the name of their god Hellenos.

Dr. H. Matikian writes: "*The history of each nation has begun with a mythological worldview ... An Armenian historian should never lose sight of this point; herein lies the Gordian knot of our history*".

And Dr. G. Conteneau has this to say: "*In remote antiquity no difference was made between a country and its gods.*" ("*La haute antiquité ne faisait pas de différence entre un pays et ses dieux.*")⁴

In view of all these considerations, one would expect that the name *Armani* or *Armeni* that represents one of the most ancient peoples and the tribal unions of Western Asia should have been derived from the name of the principal deity of that tribe or people. And indeed, as we have seen, the name of that principal national deity was *Ar* or *Ara*.

2. THE MEANING OF THE NAME ARMANI

We find that the word *Ar-ma-ni* is a compound noun, where the first component *Ar* is none other than the name of the national sun-god of the Armens, and the second component *ma* (*me* a variant) signifies 'build, make, beget, offspring, son'. *Ma*, with this meaning, was known to many peoples of the Near East in antiquity. The goddess of birth and fertility, so well known in Asia Minor, was called by this very same name *Ma*.⁵ This root-word (and also its variant *me*) is found also in the Sumerian language with the same meaning.⁷ It results that *Ar-ma* (and its variant *Ar-me*) means 'built by Ar, born of Ar', or 'Ar's offspring', 'Ar's/Ara's son' ('the son of the sun', Արանդի). The ending *-ni*⁸ of *Arma-ni* (or *Arme-ni*),

4. Ibid., 1-2.

5. *CHHM*, 75.

6. *Ma* also occurs in its reduplicated form *Mama* (or *Mami*) in Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions (see *GE*, 259).

7. *ŠAG*, see *ma* = Akkad. *BANŪ* ("to build, to engender"), *me* = Akkad. *BANŪ* (German "erzeugen") "to beget". See also *SGC*, 227, where Sumer. *Ma* = Beget, build. See also *AGS*, 92, where Sumer. *Mà* = French "créer/être créé."

8. The plural-forming or toponymic suffix *-ni* is found in Subarian-Hurrian-Nairian place and tribal names. We find the plural form *nî* also in Armenian, as already discussed earlier in detail. It is not unlikely that those of the third millennium B.C. could have Sumerian origin derived from the plural form *-e-ne* reserved for persons.

as has been mentioned earlier, is a plural and toponymic suffix (cf. Mitanni, Šupani, Alzini (Alzinini), Daiaeni, Niḫani, etc.). Hence *Armani* (or *Armeni*) means 'sons of Ar', that is, 'sons of the sun' or 'the land of the sons of Ar', which is literally 'the land of the sons of the sun'. A similar case is seen in the Armenian words *Hayk'* and *Virk'* (Հայկ', Վիրկ') which, by virtue of the plural-forming suffix *k'* (փ) mean, respectively, 'Armenians' and 'Georgians' and also 'the land of Armenians (Armenia)' and 'the land of Georgians (Georgia)'.

Just as the name *Arma-ni* appears simply as *Arma*, without the suffix *-ni*, in the Alalakh inscriptions, so does it in the form *Arme* in the Assyrian and Urartian writings. Since, as it was mentioned above, *Ar-ma* or *Ar-me* meant 'built by Ar' (the city or country of Ar), or 'the offspring (or the son) of Ar', and since *Ar* was also called *Ara*, it follows that the name *Arme* could have been pronounced also as *Arame*, which is, as we already know, the name of the founder of the Urartian kingdom, meaning 'the son of the sun', and is preserved by Khorenatsi in the form *Aram*, as the name of one of the Armenian patriarchs.

It must be accepted, therefore, that the name *Arma* or *Arme* (*Arame* > *Aram*) was the basic component of the name *Arma-ni* or *Arme-ni*, and hence, it represented the name by which Armenians are commonly called by foreigners. This proves that Khorenatsi transmits some ancient and almost accurate information when, writing about Aram, he states that all the nations of the world call the Armenians *Armen* and their country *Armenia* after the name of *Aram*. "... յորոյ (Արամայ) անունն եւ ամենայն ազգք զաշխարհս մեր անուանեն, որպէս Յոյնք՝ Արմէն, եւ Պարսիկք եւ Ասորիք՝ Արմենիք": (I-12.) (This statement is correct with regard to the name but not the person.)

In order to illustrate the meaning of the component *ma* in the name *Ar-ma*, signifying 'built, begotten, offspring' or 'the son', we cite below, for comparison, a few examples among many drawn from ancient inscriptions:

- Astatama* - The name of one of the kings of Mitanni.
- Dukkama* - The name of one of the cities of Armenia.
- Tarkuma* - This place-name is mentioned by the Hittite king Mursil. *Tarku-ma* means "that which is built by the god *Tarku* (Tork', Snpf')". *Torkashen* (Տոբաշէն) in Armenian.

- Automa** The daughter of Tigran the Great, who was married to Mithradates II of Pontus.
- Artasama** - The name of the daughter of King Artashes of Armenia who was married, according to Khorenatsi, to "a certain Mithradates, the great prefect of the Georgians."⁹ *Artas-a-ma* means 'born of Artas (or Artashes)'.

There are many more place- and personal names of antiquity in the Near East (including the Armenian Highland) and Asia Minor that carry the suffix *-ma*, but the examples given above should be sufficient to show that *-ma* indeed meant 'built, begotten, offspring, son', just as the endings *-azn*, *-zun*, and *-šen* in the Armenian language convey the same meanings in such compound nouns as *Ark'ayazn* (արքայազն, 'king's son'), *Haykazun* (Հայկազուն, 'Hayk's offspring'), and *Haykašen* (Հայկաշէն, 'built by Hayk').

We shall still have opportunity to quote a series of place-names in the Armenian Highland that bear the component *Ar* or *Ara*. Suffice it here to mention just one direct testimony from a cuneiform inscription showing that the region of the land of *Arme* was actually called the land of *Ar*.

The monument of King Menua of Urartu, found near Mush, is covered with inscriptions on all its four sides. In one of them the King has written that he had invaded the land of *Urme* (= *Arme*) and that there, in the *Ar-ḫi* ('Ar-ian' or 'Ara-ian') land, he had left an inscription. Here is the translation of that portion of the inscription that interests us: "*City of Ataune, I came forth (to invade) against the land of Urme, I conquered the land of Urme, I erected this inscription in the Ar-ḫi land ...*"¹⁰ This *Arḫi* ('Arian' or 'Araian') region was in the southeast of Mush and lay in the land of *Urme* (*Arme*). This inscription provides a concrete proof that the land of *Arme* belonged to *Ar* (or *Ara*) and that it meant 'born of Ar', or 'built by Ara'.

In ancient cuneiform writings sometimes we find statements where a certain king or a famous personality is considered to be the son of his main national god or the son of his nation. Josephus Flavius has preserved a direct and living historical testimony according to which

9 . It seems to me that Khorenatsi, not having concrete and reliable sources before him, has confused *Artasama* with *Automa* and King Mithradates II of Pontus with "the great prefect of the Georgians."

10. *UKN*, 165-166.

King Adrazar of Dzopk' was called *the son of Ara*, instead of being identified by his national name *Armen*. H. Matikian, referring to J. Flavius' same testimony, writes the following: "... the Jewish chronicler, after relating how David was expanding the boundaries of his kingdom with various invasions, adds the following words which are of great importance for us: 'And while he levied yearly taxes on them, he immediately moved against *King Adrazar of Dzopk'*, *the Son of Ara*, and warred with him beside the Euphrates ...' "¹¹

Dzopk' (Assyrian *Isua*, Hittite *Išua*, Urartian *Šupani*, Latin *Sophanénac*) was situated in the northwestern region of Arme-Šubria. It is evident that it was an Armenian kingdom and her king Adrazar (Zariadr-es) was Armenian. We see that David, instead of specifying this king by his family name *Armen*, calls him "*the Son of Ara*", revealing thus his national identity. This is another concrete evidence supporting the fact that the name *Armani* (*Armeni*) means '*sons of Ara*', or '*the land of the sons of Ara*'.

Even after the adoption of Christianity there were still many places in Armenia where secterians called "*sons of the Sun*" ("*Arevordi*", Արեւորդի) continued to exist, and were strongly opposed by the Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali. The term "*Arevordi*" persisted in Armenia until the 12th century of our era.¹²

Since in the remote past *Ar* (or *Ara*) was the main deity of the native peoples of the Armenian highland and since these native peoples were generally called by the name of this god, it would naturally be expected that certain place-names would have been composed with the name of this deity or with the name of the people bearing this name. In fact, in antiquity, the entire Armenian Highland was replete with names that contained the component *Ar* or *Ara*.

It is true that in later centuries the Armenian Highland, as a highway between continents, has been subjected to many foreign military, political, and cultural influences and has adopted other deities, resulting in many changes and in compounding of new place-names, even yielding to oblivion the identity of *Ara*; but still there are many place-names in the country that preserve the memory of *Ar* or *Ara*.

11. AG, 305-306. Italics supplied.

12. Leo I, Yerevan, 1966, p. 270.

3. PLACE- AND TRIBE-NAMES COMPOSED WITH AR

We know that the Syrian chronicler Mar-Aba has copied an important portion of his book from the Greek translation of an ancient Chaldaean source. Movses Khorenatsi, in his turn, drawing from Mar-Aba, transmits to us a very old remembrance-information according to which the central region of Armenia was earlier called *Hark'* (Հարփ). Writing about Hayk, the ancestor of the Armenian people, Khorenatsi says that he "*lived in a high plateau and he called this tableland Hark'*,"¹³ and he adds the following in the next chapter: "*But he [Mar-Abas] says, after embalming the body of Bel with ointments, Hayk ordered it to be taken to Hark' and buried in a high place in view of his wives and sons.*"

As we see, the first quotation tells us that Hayk, the god (ancestor) of Armenians, called that particular tableland *Hark'* by his own name, or that it was named after him; and the second quotation testifies that the sons of Hayk, that is, the Armenians, "the sons of Ar" (the Armens), were living there.

The initial *h* of the name *Hark'* seems to be an added intensifying sound as it is used in the Armenian language. Compare: *Rome* > *Hrom* (Իռմ > Հռմ), *Arma* > *Harma* (Արմա > Հարմա)¹⁴, *Aramayis* > *Haramayis* (Արամայիս > Հարամայիս)¹⁵, *aganel* > *haganel* (ազանի > հազանի, 'to dress'), etc. *Hark'* is basically *ark'* (արփ), which means 'the Ars' (with the plural suffix *k'*) or 'the Armens' and also 'the land of the Ars'. The equivalence of *Hark'* and *Ark'* is also proved by cuneiform testimony, like the inscription of king Menua, found near Mush, in which, as mentioned earlier, that particular region is called the *Ar-hi* ('Ar-ian') land, implying that that region of Mush bordering on *Hark'* was, in fact, the continuation of *Hark'*¹⁶ as Ar-ian land.

13. *Khorenatsi*, I-10.

14. *Ibid.*, I-5.

15. *PAT*, 30.

16. The event recorded by Khorenatsi ("after embalming the body of Bel with ointments, Hayk ordered it to be taken to *Hark'* and buried in a high place") is transmitted by G. Srvantziants in this way: "The king of the Armenians killed Bel with the hand of God and took the body to the summit of *Nemrut*, where he built a fireplace, hanged the body in it and burned it." (*Grots u*

The river that passes above Lake Van and through the entire central region of Armenia is called *Araşani* (pronounced *Arsania* by the Assyrians). Academician Ghapantsian, in his book *The Cult of Ara the Beautiful*, shows conclusively that *Araşani* means 'the river of Ara'.

It is known that the southwestern region of Armenia (the region of Nairian lands called *Šubria*) was also called *Arme* (or *Urme*) by the Assyrian and Urartian kings, meaning 'the land of the offspring of Ar'. Because of its unique geographical position, this region has maintained its identity by not joining, or not being able to join, the Urartian union formed by the other Nairian co-tribes and has preserved its autonomy in spite of the active efforts exerted by the Urartian kings forcing it to unite with Biaina in the face of Assyrian obstructions.

The same situation continued even after the fall of the Urartian kingdom, when the kings of the Artashessian dynasty also tried hard to unite the Armenian kingdom of this same region (later called Dzopk') to the Greater Hayk', this time against the Roman interventions.

Tiglath-Pileser I calls the region south of Lake Van *Haria*,¹⁷ in the neighborhood of Kutmuhi, where he has fought against 25 cities located at the outskirts of its eight mountains. This implies that *Haria* was a vast land. *Har-ia* means 'land of Har', in other words, *Hark'*. The conclusion is that this too was a 'land of Ars'.

The Armenian feudal province (nakhararutyun) in the east of Lake Van was called *Arşruni*. This name is derived from *Arşuniuni*, mentioned in Urartian inscriptions, which was the name of a city near the southern tip of Lake Arčak and that of a Nairian tribe that lived in the area. In the language of Urartian inscriptions, *şue* (şuini) means 'lake'. The Armenian word *şov* (ծով, 'sea') is probably related to it. *Ar-şuni-uni* meant, therefore, 'the people of Lake Ar' ('Ար-լճնցի-նք') or 'the land of Lake Ar' ('Ար-լճի-երկիր'). One could think that this city was named after Lake Arčak. It is possible in this case to assume that the term Arčak is formed by adding the suffix *-ak* to *Ar-şue* (that is, *Ar-şue-ak* > *Arşak* > *Arčak*).

Prots, pp. 31-32.) As we see, where Srvantztians has "*Nemrut*", Khorenatsi has "*a high plateau in Hark'*", leading us to the conclusion that Hark' extended even to Nemrut, thus including the Mush valley and its regions (italics supplied). It becomes clear, therefore, that *Hark'* was Ark' or Ar-ian (Ar-*hi*) land.

17. *ARAB*, 78-79.

The northeastern region of Lake Van was known in antiquity by the name *Arberani*. As it was pointed out earlier in connection with the meaning of the word *ber* (a variant of *bir*, signifying 'race' or 'house'), Academician Ghapantsian has shown with great accuracy that *Ar-ber-ani* meant the 'Ar tribes'. Therefore this region also belonged to the Ar people.

The region north of Lake Van was called *Aramali* by Shalmaneser III. As mentioned above, this name was also pronounced (by Sargon II) as *Armarili* (*Arma-ri-li*) where the infix *-ri* is inserted between the root-word *Arma* and the plural-forming suffix *-li*, as ^{KURŠu}*-ri-li*, mentioned in the inscription of Argišti II near Arčeš. The *-li* ending in *Ara-ma-li* is a plural form and corresponds to the *-ni* ending of the words *Ar-ma-ni* or *Ar-me-ni* (cf. *Biaini-li*, *Darana-li*, *Manana-li*, etc.), hence the name *Ara-ma-li* coincides with the name *Ar-ma-ni* (or *Ar-me-ni*).

It is to be noted that the three components of the name *Ara-ma-li* also correspond in meaning to those of *Ar-ber-ani*, the name of the same or a neighboring region, in the following way: *Ara* = *Ar* (the divine name), *ma* ('offspring') = *ber* ('tribe, race'), and *li* = *ani* (as plural-forming and toponymic suffixes). This is further proof that the *ma* component of *Ar-ma-ni* means 'offspring, son', and that the full name *Ar-ma-ni* (or *Ar-me-ni*) signifies 'born of Ara, sons of Ar', or 'the land of the sons of Ar'.

These considerations clearly show that the names *Armani* (= *Armeni*) and *Aramali* (= *Arberani*)¹⁸ designate the same people that was in existence in this central region of Armenia even in the times of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.) and Urartu. This must also be accepted as proof that the name *Armani* was linked with the name *Armeni* (that it was not Semitic) and that it belonged to the people called *Armens* ('the sons of Ar').

In the times of Urartu the region of Shirak was called *Eriahi* ('Eri-ian'). Let us mention here, by way of parenthesis, that in ancient Armenian, certain words beginning with *ar-* had also their parallels beginning with *er-*. It is accepted in linguistics that replacing *ar-* by *er-* is merely a dialectal difference. We already know from the works of Plato that in Pamphylia *Ara* was called *Êr* (the son of Armenios).

18. The *Ar-ber-ani* region has also been called *Aya-du* (see Adontz, *HA*, 109), instead of *Ara-du*, where *-du* is a toponymic suffix. Therefore, the Ar tribe has also been called *Ay* or *Hay* (with the initial intensifier *h*, as in *Ark-Hark*, *Arma-Harma*, *Rom-Hrom*, etc); hence *Hark* could have similarly been pronounced as *Hayk*.

It is also known that the personal name *Aramaneak* or *Aramenak*, derived from the ethnic or place-name *Armani* (Armeni), is rendered *Erimena* in its Urartian form. It seems certain, therefore, that the *Eri* component of the name *Eri-ahi* was a dialectal variant of the name *Ara*. Hence the conclusion, that the tribal or place-name *Eriahi* ('Erian'), the land-name *Ar-hi* ('Ar-ian') mentioned by Menua, and the Armin (Armenian) personal name *Araha* ('Ara-ian') mentioned by Darius are all homonymous and identical terms, all linked to the name of the god *Ar* (*Ara*) or to that of his people, likewise called *Ar* (Armen or *Armin*).

There must also be a connection between the name *Eriahi* ('Ara-ian') and the name of the river *Erash*, pronounced *Araks* as well.

As we see, the names of the *Araşani* and the *Araks* rivers are linked with the name *Ara* of the national god of Armenians and/or with the name *Ar* (*Armen*, 'sons of Ar') of his people. These two rivers that together form a line extending from the west to the east (from the Euphrates to the Caspian Sea), underline and embrace wholly the land called Armenia and they have, for milleniums, constituted the national sacred rivers of the Armenian people that have begotten and nourished them. They are to the Armenian people just what the *Indus* and the *Ganges* are to the Indians, the *Nile* to the Egyptians, and the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* to the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia.

East of *Eriahi* there is Mount *Aragadz*. Academician Ghapan-tian has also shown correctly that *Ara-gadz* means 'Ara's throne'.¹⁹

In the northeast of Lake Urmia there was the *Arhu*²⁰ ('Ar-ian' or 'belonging to the Ars') land. The district name *Arevik* ('the Sun people') mentioned in ancient Armenian literature possibly preserves the memory of this tribe *Arhu* and its land.

All these illustrations show that it was not only *Hark'*, the central region of Armenia, that was called by the name of *Ar* (or the *Ars*), but Lake Van, the heart of Urartu, was entirely surrounded by the *Araşani* river, the lands of *Arhi*, *Arme*, and *Haria*, the *Arçak* lake, the habitation of the tribe *Arşuniuni*, and the lands of *Arberani* and *Aramali*; all linked with the name of *Ar* (*Ara*) or that of his people, the *Ars*.²¹

As we have seen, other than in the surroundings of Lake Van,

19. AGP, 98.

20. Mentioned by Argišti II, See *Biainili*, 319.

21. Names related to *Ar* (or *Ara*) must not be confused with the Iranian *Arya*.

there were also many other regions in the north and the northeast of the lake where the sons of Ara (the Ar people) have been living and have left their traces, such as, the *Eriahi* land, the *Erash* (Araks) river, *Mount Aragadz*, the land of *Aria* (Ar-ia) and the district of *Arhu* (or *Arevik*) (see Map 2).

And these are not all. Scattered throughout the entire expanse of Armenia there are numerous place- and tribal names that are derived from the root-word *Ar* or *Ara* (and their variants *Er* or *Eri*), many of which must have been related to the name of the god *Ar* (or *Ara*). Among these are mountains, such as, *Er* (in Vanand), *Eritia* (in the Dzaghkants range, mentioned by Shalmaneser III), the *Mountain of Ara* (to the east of Aragadz), *Arašin* (in Daralageaz),



Map 2. The land of Ar.

Aruni and *Arua* (in the land of Tumme and in Haria, respectively, both mentioned by Ashurnasirpal II); place names such as *Arura* and *Arube* (cities in the land of Tumme), the *Village of Ara* (at the foot of the Mountain of Ara), *Arahez* (in Tayk'), *Arahudz* (in Sünik'), *Arageč*²² (mentioned in the inscriptions of the Marmashen Church dated 1029 A.D.), *Arazu*, *Armuna* (fortresses in the Ulhu-Hoy region), *Arna* and *Arbu* (cities in Aramali),²³ *Erinu* (district in the south of Lake Van), *Eriza* (Erzinjan), *Eridia[ni]* (a city mentioned on the Gate of Mher), etc.

We should point out that among the above we have omitted to mention those place-names formed with *Ar* that lie in the regions extending from the Euphrates to *Mount Argacus* (Erčiyas), which, too, have been dwelling sites of Armenians in the past.

In the light of all these, the term *Armi*^{ki} mentioned in the Ebla inscriptions becomes more understandable. We have seen that *Armani* was in *Subartu* and that *Arma-rili* was also called *Šu-rili*, which means that the *Arma* (= *Arma[-ni]*) people were also known by the name *Su* (= *Subari*), just as the land of *Arme* was also called *Šubre*. The Ebla inscriptions revealed that Subarians lived both in Ebla and in the surrounding regions, evidenced by the facts that there were a governor and a master in Ebla bearing the Subarian names *Subur* and *Guzuzi*, respectively, and that there were a king called *Ar-Ennum*, a governor called *Irkab-Ar* (cf. *Irkab-Damu*) and an inspector called *Dada-Ar*, all names carrying the component *Ar*. In Ebla were also worshiped the Subarian (considered Hurrian) gods ^d*Adamma*, ^d*Ħabat*, ^d*Išhara*, and ^d*Aštabi* (the ^d*Aštupinu* of the Subarians). These and a series of other data suggest that the term *Armi*^{ki} mentioned in the Ebla inscriptions probably represents those Subarians who were called *Arma* (or *Ar*). There is already a reference there to a city by the name *Ara*.²⁴

Prof. P. Matthiae, assuming that the term *Armi*^{ki} is a proper noun, identifies it with the city of *Armani* mentioned by Naram-Sin. But in the Ebla writings there is also the term *Armi*^{ki} *Armi*^{ki}, in plural form, which certainly cannot represent the plural of a proper noun. I find that G. Pettinato is more reasonable when he considers this word *Armi*^{ki} a common noun, even though I think that the

22. Regarding Mount Aražin and the villages of Arahez, Arahuş, and Arageč, see AGP, 105.

23. The cities of Arna and Arbu are mentioned by Sargon II.

24. AE, 224.

meaning of 'cities' he attributes to it is not adequate because of the existence of its plural form *Armi^{ki} Armi^{ki}* to which also he gives the meaning of 'cities'.

Considering that in the same Ebla inscriptions are mentioned both forms *Armi^{ki}* and *uru^{ki}*, and also the plural of the latter, *uru^{ki} uru^{ki}*,²⁵ it follows that the term *Armi^{ki}* must have a meaning other than that of *uru^{ki}*. I think, therefore, that *Armi^{ki}*, as a common noun, meant 'place of Ars', that is, 'the dwelling place of the Ar people', and the term *Armi^{ki} Armi^{ki}* meant 'the dwelling places of the Ars' or 'the cities of the Ar people'. At the same time we should consider it probable that these terms must have designated the Subarians, that is, the *Armani* people and their cities.

25. Ibid., 151.

ARATTA AND ERECH¹

1. SUMERIAN EPIC TALES

In the light of the information and the explanations given in preceding pages about the god *Ar (Ara)* and his country and people in the Armenian Highland, we think it will be easier now to identify the city-state *Aratta*, situated somewhere in the Armenian Highland, that constitutes the subject of four epic tales (or four variants of one)² dated the beginning of the third millenium B.C.

The four variants of this epic tale (probably four sections of one big story), found in a series of cuneiform inscriptions, retain some specific data about Sumer's ancient relations with the Armenian Highland. Though these narratives have reached us in the form of epic poetry told by Sumerian troubadours and poets, as it was the style in historiography in that remote past at the beginning of the historical period, they contain valuable information that reflect historical facts. These poems shed considerable light on the development of human civilization and on the political, economic, and cultural life of that twilight period of history. Because of the importance they bear upon the topic under study, we wish to present here briefly some episodes from these four epic poems that particularly interest us.

One of these tales, which S.N. Kramer has published under the title *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, was found recorded on twenty cuneiform tablets and fragments,³ consisting of six hundred lines, where the following story unfolds:

-
1. This is the Sumerian city Uruk. We have kept the form *Erech*, as mentioned in the Bible and adopted by Kramer.
 2. Regarding the variants of this epic poem see *Sumerians*, 269-276.
 3. These are found in the museums of Istanbul and Philadelphia. See *Ibid.* 269. Enmerkar lived in the first quarter of the third millenium and he was the grandfather of the legendary Gilgamesh, who, according to an uncovered cuneiform writing, was a historical figure, a heroic king, who did mighty deeds. About this, see *Ebla*, 22-23.

Once upon a time, Enmerkar, son of the Sun-god, Utu, having determined to make a vassal state of Aratta, implores his sister, Inanna, the powerful Sumerian goddess of love and war, to see to it that the people of Aratta bring gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and precious stones and build for him various shrines and temples, particularly the Abzu, the sea temple of Enki, in Eridu.

Inanna, heeding Enmerkar's plea, advises him to seek out a suitable herald to cross the imposing mountains of Anshan and assures him that the people of Aratta will submit to him and carry out the building operations he desires. Enmerkar selects his herald and sends him to the *en* of Aratta with a message containing a threat to destroy and make desolate his city unless he and his people bring down silver and gold and build and decorate Enki's temple.

The herald, after traversing seven mountains, arrives at Aratta, duly repeats his master's words to its *en*, and asks for his answer. The latter, however, refuses to yield to Enmerkar, claiming that he is Inanna's protégé and that she had brought him to Aratta as its ruler. Thereupon, the herald informs him that Enmerkar had brought Inanna to Erech and had made her queen of its temple, Eanna, and that the goddess had promised Enmerkar that Aratta would submit to him.

The *en* of Aratta is stunned by this news. He composes an answer for the herald to take back to his king in which he admonishes Enmerkar for resorting to arms and says that he prefers a "contest", that is, a fight between two selected champions. He goes on to say that, since Inanna has become his enemy, he is ready to submit to Enmerkar only if he will send him large quantities of grain. The herald returns to Erech posthaste and delivers the message to Enmerkar in the courtyard of the assembly hall.

Before making his next move, Enmerkar performs several acts apparently ritualistic in character. First, he takes counsel with Nidaba, the Sumerian goddess of wisdom. Then he has his beasts of burden loaded with grain. They are led to Aratta by the herald, who is to deliver to its lord a message eulogizing Enmerkar's scepter and commanding the lord to bring Enmerkar carnelian and lapis lazuli. On arrival, the herald piles up the grain in the courtyard and delivers his message. The people, delighted with the grain, are ready to present

Enmerkar with the desired carnelian (nothing seems to be said of the lapis lazuli) and to have the "elders" build his "pure house" for him. But the hysterical *en* of Aratta, after eulogizing his own scepter, refuses and insists, in words identical with those of Enmerkar, that the latter bring *him* carnelian and lapis lazuli.

On the herald's return to Erech, Enmerkar seemingly consults the omens, in particular one involving a *sushima*-reed, which he brings forth from "light to shade" and from "shade to light", until he finally cuts it down "after five years, after ten years had passed." He sends the herald forth once again to Aratta, this time merely placing the scepter in his hand without any accompanying message. The sight of the scepter seems to arouse terror in the *en* of Aratta. He turns to his *shatam* and, after speaking bitterly of the plight of his city as a result of Inanna's displeasure, seems ready to yield to Enmerkar. Nevertheless, he once again issues a challenge to Enmerkar. This time he demands that Enmerkar select, as his representative, one of his "fighting men" to engage in single combat with one of his own "fighting men". Thus "the stronger will become known."

On the herald's arrival at Erech with this new challenge, Enmerkar bids him return to Aratta with a three-part message: (1) He (Enmerkar) accepts the *en* of Aratta's challenge and is prepared to send one of his own retainers to fight his representative to a decision. (2) He demands that the *en* of Aratta heap up gold, silver and precious stones for the goddess Inanna in Erech. (3) He once again threatens Aratta with total destruction unless its *en* and its people bring "stones of the mountain" to build and decorate the Eridu shrine for him ...

A remarkable passage follows which, if correctly interpreted, inform us that Enmerkar was, in the opinion of the poet, the first to write on clay tablets and that he did so because his herald seemed "heavy of mouth" and unable to repeat the message, perhaps because of its length. The herald delivers the inscribed tablet to the *en* of Aratta and awaits his answer. But help now seems to come to the *en* from an unexpected source. The Sumerian god of rain and storm, Ishkur, brings to Aratta wild wheat and beans and heaps them up before the *en*. At the sight of the wheat the *en* takes courage. His confidence regained, he informs Enmerkar's

herald that Inanna had by no means abandoned Aratta or her house and bed there.

From here on, the text becomes fragmentary and the context difficult to follow, except for the statement that the people of Aratta did bring gold, silver, and lapis lazuli to Erech and heaped them up in the courtyard of Eanna for Inanna.⁴

In another Sumerian epic poem, which consists of close to three hundred lines ... we again find Enmerkar, the *en* of Erech in a bitter contest with an *en* of Aratta, but with one in this case who bears the good Sumerian name Ensukushsiranna. Its plot, very briefly put, is as follows:

In the days when a certain Ennamibaragga-Utu was king of an empire presumably including Sumer and parts of ancient Iran, Ensukushsiranna, the *en* of Aratta, issued a challenge to Enmerkar, the *en* of Erech, demanding that the latter recognize him as his overlord and that the goddess Inanna be brought to Aratta. Enmerkar is contemptuous of the challenge and in a long address, in which he depicts himself as the favorite of the gods, declares that Inanna will remain in Erech and demands that Ensukushsiranna become his vassal. Ensukushsiranna gathers the members of his council and asks them for advice. They counsel him to submit to Enmerkar, but this he indignantly refuses to do. Whereupon the *mashmash* - priest of Aratta comes to his aid and boasts that he will subdue Erech — and indeed, all the lands “above and below, from the sea to the cedar mountain” — by his magical power. Ensukushsiranna is delighted and gives him five minas of gold and five minas of silver as well as the necessary supplies. The *mashmash* arrives in Erech in due course but is outwitted by the goddess Nidaba's two shepherds and a wise old crone by the name of Sagburru, who finally kills him and throws his dead body into the Euphrates. When Ensukushsiranna hears of what has befallen his *mashmash*, he hurriedly sends a messenger to Enmerkar and capitulates completely, admitting abjectly that Enmerkar is his superior.⁵

Writes Kramer:

4. *Sumerians*, 270-272.

5. *Ibid.* 272-273.

Another Sumerian epic tale whose contents are revealing of the extraordinary close political, religious, and cultural contacts between Erech and Aratta is one which may be entitled "Lugalbanda and Enmerkar." It consists of approximately four hundred lines, and the relevant details of its plot are as follows:

Lugalbanda, one of the heroes of Erech belonging to Enmerkar's military entourage, has just returned to Erech from a perilous journey, only to find his lord and liege in great distress. For many years past, the Semitic Martu have been ravaging both Sumer and Uri (roughly the later Akkad). Now they are laying siege to Erech itself, and Enmerkar finds that he must get a call for help through to his sister (none other than the goddess Inanna of Aratta). But he can find no one to undertake the dangerous journey to Aratta to deliver the message. Whereupon, Lugalbanda steps up to his king and bravely volunteers for the task. Upon Enmerkar's insistence on secrecy, he swears that he will make the journey alone ... He takes up his weapons, crosses the seven mountains that reach from one end of Anshan to the other⁶ ... and finally arrives with joyful step at his destination.

In Aratta, Lugalbanda is given a warm welcome by Inanna. She asks what has brought him all alone from Erech to Aratta, and he repeats verbatim Enmerkar's message and call for help. Inanna's answer is obscure; it seems to involve a river and *the river's unusual fish* which Enmerkar is to catch; also involved are certain water vessels which he is to fashion. Enmerkar does as directed, and the poem closes with a paean of praise to Aratta, which seems to have supplied Enmerkar with *metal- and stoneworkers*.⁷

Regarding Aratta's location, Kramer, making some critical judgments, has the following to say:

... our poems depict it (Aratta) as separated from Erech, in southern Mesopotamia, by the entire land of *Anshan*, from its "shoulder" to its "head," and Anshan, most scholars

6. Ibid. 273. If the Anshan highland represents the Zagros range which extends from Elam to Ararat (along the western shore of Lake Urmia), then "from one end of Anshan to the other" means from the approaches of Sumer (Elam) to the land of Ararat.
7. Ibid. 273-274. (These and other italics supplied.)

agree, is situated in southwestern Iran. A problem arises, however, in trying to locate Aratta in relation to Anshan. Is it to be sought north of Anshan in the direction of Lake Urmia and the Caspian Sea, or to the east in the direction of Baluchistan and India, or to the south in the direction of Laristan and the Persian Gulf? Once again, it is a Sumerian epic tale which may give us the answer. This poem, which may be entitled *Lugalbanda and Mount Hurum*, ... tells the following story.

Enmerkar, the lord of Erech, has decided to journey to Aratta in order to make it a vassal state. Accompanied by a vast host of Erechites under the command of seven unnamed heroes and Lugalbanda, who, to quote the words of the poem, "was their eighth," he arrives at *Mount Hurum*. Then and there Lugalbanda falls ill. His brothers and friends do all they can to revive him, but to no avail. Taking him for dead, they decided that they will leave his corpse on *Mount Hurum*, proceed on their journey to Aratta, and on their return from the campaign, pick up his body and carry it back to Erech. But Lugalbanda is not dead. Abandoned and forsaken, he prays to the gods of the sun, moon, and the Venus star, and they restore his health. He wanders all over the highland steppe, and there we must leave him for the present, since our available texts break off at this point.

Then Kramer draws the following conclusion regarding the location of Aratta:

It is clear from the poem that *Mount Hurum* was situated somewhere between Erech and Aratta, and since it is not unreasonable to assume that *Mount Hurum* was the original home of the *Hurrian* people from the neighborhood of Lake Van, we may conclude that *Aratta* lay in the vicinity of *Lake Urmia* or perhaps even farther east. In fact, Enmerkar's campaign to Aratta might be compared to some extent with that of Sargon II more than two thousand years later (714 B.C.) to the land of the *Mannai*, the account of which, interestingly enough, mentions the crossing of a river called *Aratta*, a name reminiscent, perhaps, of the city *Aratta*.⁸

8. Ibid. 275-276.

2. ABOUT THE LOCATION OF ARATTA

Before making our remarks on the location of Aratta and the relations it had with Sumer, we deem it necessary to summarize some of the salient features of the four variants of the Sumerian epic tale which is, in general, based on the interrelationships of the lords of the two city-states, Aratta and Erech.

1. *Inanna*, the goddess of love and war, first belonged to Aratta where she had her temple, but later Enmerkar took her to Erech and built there the temple *Eanna* for her.

2. *Inanna* is considered to be the sister of Enmerkar who is assumed to be the son of the sun-god *Utu*.

3. In one variant of the epic tale, Enmerkar demands the submission of the lord of Aratta, in another he asks Aratta's help to save Erech from the siege laid by the enemy Martu; at other times it is the lord of Aratta that demands Enmerkar to submit to him. (Hence the supposition that these poems represent separate episodes or various sections of one big and general epic tale.)

4. There are exceptionally close political, religious, and cultural ties between Aratta and Erech.

5. Erech asks Aratta to supply precious metals and stones (gold, silver, lapis lazuli), building stones ("stones of the mountain"), metal- and stoneworkers, masons, and receives them, sending wheat in return.

6. Enmerkar demands that the people of Aratta come down and build temples and shrines, particularly, the temple of Eridu.

7. As for transporting construction materials and craftsmen from Aratta to Erech, there is mention of a certain river and some unusual fish in the river, as well as water vessels which Enmerkar is supposed to build.

8. On his way to Aratta, Enmerkar's emissary passes seven mountains going "from one end of Anshan to the other." This does not mean that he has crossed the Anshan range from one side to the other, but rather that he has gone "from one end to the other" in its direction, passing on his way seven (other) mountains, the most important of which was *Mount Hurum*. It is probable, therefore, that Anshan is the Zagros range which stretches from Elam to Vaspurakan, to the west of Lake Urmia.

9. On the road from Sumerian Erech to Aratta there is Mount

Hurum, which Kramer assumes to be the home of the Hurrian people in the neighborhood of Lake Van.

For the location of Aratta we find the following indications in the epic tale:

a) As it was just said, between Erech and Aratta, in the vicinity of Lake Van, there was Mount Hurum of the Hurrian people. Writes Kramer: "The Hurrians, as it is well known, lived originally on Mount Hurum, the region about Lake Van."⁹ According to this indication, this mountain corresponds to the *Haria* highland below Lake Van where is the Uruatri range (the Ararat range, as mentioned by Khorenatsi). Therefore Aratta was situated above *Haria-Uruatri*. Since *Mount Hurum* was between Erech and Aratta, Aratta could not have been situated in the east of Lake Urmia, in the region of the Caspian Sea, because in that case, first, Mount Hurum would not have fallen between Erech and Aratta, and, secondly, Aratta's metal and stone mines would have been far and out of the waterways leading to Sumer. Aratta's *mashmash* presumptuously states that he will subdue all the lands above and below, from the sea (the Persian Gulf) to the cedar (Amanus) mountain. It follows, then, that Aratta was situated directly above these regions, and not so far as the south of the Caspian Sea.

b) In the epic tale mention is made of a river and vessels to transport the construction materials from Aratta to Erech. In Mesopotamia the only navigable rivers leading to Sumer are the Tigris and the Euphrates; therefore, the reference must be to one of these rivers. This is a *second proof* that Aratta was situated in the highland where the headwaters of the Tigris and the Euphrates were. The details in the tale suggest that for the identification of this river we should consider particularly the Tigris and its important tributary, the Greater Zab, since both pass through the region or the vicinity of the *Haria-Hurum* highland.

c) A *third proof* that Aratta was situated around the upper streams of these Mesopotamian rivers is provided by the fact that the grain was transported to Aratta by pack animals and not by boats; obviously it would have been extremely difficult to navigate upstream.

d) Having in view the Greater Zab-Tigris waterway, we think that the mentioning of *the unusual fish in the river* is very signi-

9. Ibid. 287.

ficant. This is not a figment of imagination in a legend but represents a reality. In fact, there is, in these regions, a certain species of fish that is unusually large for a river. Before the Second World War I have had the personal experience of seeing some of these giant fish, about two metres long, that were brought to Mosul, cut into pieces and sold. It was incredible, indeed, that such a huge fish could live and grow in a river.

There is an interesting tradition in that part of the country today which, I think, must be somewhat related to the existence of this fish of uncommon size. Near Mosul, on the small hill of the ruins of Nineveh, there is a village called Nebi-Yunes. In the mosque of this village (built on the site of one of the oldest Christian monasteries that stands on the ruins of a pagan temple), in a deep and dark room, there is, hanging from a wall, a big bone, which, the natives traditionally believe, belonged to the fish that "swallowed the prophet Jonas." Hence the name of the village, *Nebi-Yunes*, "the prophet Jonas." (In fact, Jonas has been identified with the Babylonian fishgod Oannes.) It seems probable that the Bible story is mingled with a local tradition inherited from the remote past (probably from the Assyro-Babylonians) related to a kind of big and unusual fish that lived in the river nearby.

Sargon II in his invasion to Mana encountered a river called *Aratta*. This river could have been far from the city-state of Aratta and still carry that name merely by repetition, just as it is the case with the two *Haburs* (one a branch of the Euphrates and the other of the Tigris), and the two *Ararats* (one in the south in Kortuk', on the eastern Tigris, and the other in the north on the Arax river). According to Sargon's statement, the *Aratta* river appears to be the northernmost branch of the Lesser Zab, whose source is near Kelishin (south of Musasir) in the southern part of the Vaspurakan range and, perhaps, is reminiscent of the old name of this highland. From this region originates also the *Araskh* (<*Aratta* (?)) river which flows into the southern shores of Lake Urmia. In the Louvre listing, the river *Aratta* is mentioned along with a number of mountains, among which is Mount *Sinabir*¹⁰ that corresponds to the country of *Šinibir-ni*, one of the known 23 countries of Nairi.

All these considerations allow us to assume that what is said about the river (and its unusual fish) in the *Aratta-Erech* epic tale,

10. HCS, 15-31.

relate to the Greater Zab and the Tigris. A look at the map of the region shows that the Greater Zab, emerging in the north from the Vaspurakan mountains, cuts across the Haria-Uruatri (*Hurum*) range in the Hakkari region and flowing down joins the Tigris just south of Mosul. (In this connection one must, of course, have also in view the Euphrates which, by means of its tributary, the Aradzani, links Sumer with the land of Ayrarat).

It must be accepted, therefore, that the land of the city-state of Aratta was situated in the regions extending from Hayots Tsor and Atberani, near Lake Van, to the north, spreading from the *Arme-Arhi-Aradzani-Hark'* regions to those of *Aragadz-Aria-Arevik-Arhu*. (For these names see Map 2.) In one word, it covered the land of *Ayrarat*, having as center the *Eritia* (<Arata?) mountain near Aramali, mentioned by Shalmaneser III, and *Mount Ararat*.

It is assumed that the name *Ararat* (or *Ayrarat*) is derived from the name *Urartu*. If this is the case, then why is it that the name *Ararat* is given to this particular mountain and not to any one of those mountains that are situated much more centrally in Urartu near its capital Van or near Lake Van, such as the Nemrut, the Sipan, or the Varag? Besides, there already was Mount *Ararad* (the Uruatri in the south of Lake Van), as mentioned by Khorenatsi. It is not unlikely, therefore, that this mountain may have been called earlier by a name derived from *Ara*, such as *Aratta*.

Deimel considers it probable that the word *aratta* had, in fact, the composition *ar-ar-ta*. *Ararta* had become *Aratta* (apparently by the second *r* being pronounced as *t* influenced by the adjacent *t*) just as the Sumerian reduplicated word *barbar* had changed to *babbar*, 'sun' (by the change in pronunciation of the first *r* to *b* under the influence of the adjacent *b*). In this case, *Ararta* would mean 'the land of Ars'. In fact, the name *Ararat* could have originated more easily from the form *Ararta* (*ta* > *at*) rather than from *Urartu*, just as the place-name *Ararad*, mentioned by Khorenatsi, could be derived more easily from the form *Urardi*, mentioned by Sargon II, or from the name of the *Arardi*¹¹ mountain of the same region, as mentioned by Aššurnasirpal II, rather than from the name *Uruatri*.

It is obvious that the radical element *Ar* (or *Ara*) is a component of *Aratta* (or *Ararta*). It seems its composition is either *Ara(t)ta* or

11. ARAB, 143.

Ar-ar-ta, a reduplicated form, which can be compared with *Hoḥḥoruni*, *Susuku*, *Haha*, and other reduplicated names. It must have meant 'Ar's place' (*Ara-ta*) or 'the city-land of the Ars' (*Ar-ar-ta*). Compare it with the land-name *Baruata*, mentioned in Urartian inscriptions, which was called *Bit-Barrua*,¹² 'house of Barrua', in Assyrian. Hence the toponymic ending *-ta* of the form *Barua-ta* corresponds to the component *bit* ('house, city-land', cf. Arabic بيت *beit*, 'house') of *Bit-Barrua*. It seems, then, that *Aratta* (*Ararta*) meant 'Ara's house' to which corresponded semantically the names *Ayrarat*¹³ ('Ara's plain') and *Urartu*/*Ur-ardi*¹⁴ ('place of Ardi-Ara').

From what has been reported by Khorenatsi, we already know that *Ayrarat* meant 'Ara's plain'. He writes: "*Shamiram came in haste to the plain of Ara that was called Ayrarat after his name.*" We also know that the Urartian divine name *Ardi* ('sun') corresponds to *Ara*. (This will be shown later in the section on *Nuard*.) In our previous works we have shown (and shall still show later) that the name *Urartu*, or *Urardi* (*Ur-ardi*) as written by Sargon II, meant 'the place of Ardi', that is, 'the land of Ara'. This already corresponds to the name *Ayrarat* ('Ara's plain'). It is possible, therefore, that the name *Urartu* (*Urardi*, *Uratrī*, or *Uru-atrī*) is perhaps a later cuneiform expression of the name *Ayrarat* (*Ararat*) or *Aratta* (*Ararta*).

Thus it becomes apparent that the name *Aratta* (or *Ararta*) belongs to the group of place-names in the Armenian highland which are formed with *Ar* or *Ara*.

It follows, then, that *Aratta* turns out to be the oldest city-state of the Armenian Highland known so far, dating from the beginning of the third and possibly from the end of the fourth millenium B.C., the memory of which persists, most probably, in the name *Ayrarat* (< *Ararat*).

As mentioned earlier, even though all the information regarding

12. *Biainili*, 134, 216.

13. It is not yet explained how the name *Ararat* could have acquired the form *Ayrarat*, with the sound *y*. It is difficult to explain it by the term *Urartu*. *Ayrarat* could have originated more easily from *Ararta* (> *Ararat*) rather than from *Urartu*.

14. It seems that the Sumerian word *aratta* ('sublimity, grandeur') is linked with the place-name *Aratta*. Deimel sees the root *ar* or *ara* ('shiny, lustrous') in the Sumerian word *aratta* and attributes to it the probable composition of *ar-ar-ta*. He also sees a link between *aratta* and the term *ar-du* which carries the same root *ar* ('to shine, shiny'). (*ŠAG*, see *aratta* and *ar*, and *ar-du* under *ar*.) *Ar-du* is already a component of *Ur-ardu* (*Urartu*).

the ancient ties and relations between Aratta and Erech (hence Sumer) have reached us in the form of epic poems of some 1500 lines preserved on a series of cuneiform tablets, still they constitute a valuable source where we find the reflections of real historical events and socio-economic conditions. One must remember that the epic tale was the main and only style of historiography in that remote past, at the very beginning of written history.

We find, therefore, that what is transmitted to us through the four variants of this epic tale has inestimable value for the history of the most ancient period of the Armenian Highland, the land wherein lie the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

These tales are like beams of light that pierce the obscurity of the past and shed a momentary glow on the political, social, religious, economic and cultural conditions of the peoples of the Armenian Highland in that very early period (the beginning of the third millennium B.C.), which is still dark for modern historiography. They elucidate, in particular, their ties and interrelations with Sumer, about which we shall speak again in our next chapter.

There is a number of similarities in government structure that can be observed between Aratta and Erech. Both city-states had an "en" (priest-king) at the head and a council of "elders" (or communities). Each state had the same type of divisions of administrative and political affairs, and functions and functionaries were designated by the same terms (*ensi, sukkal, shatam, ragaba, ugula*).¹⁵

The religious tie between Aratta and Erech (hence Sumer) is striking in the epic tale. Inanna, the goddess of love and war, who is considered Sumerian (and whom the Semites identify sometimes with Ishtar), belonged earlier, according to the tales, to Aratta, and it was none other than Enmerkar himself who brought her to Erech.¹⁶ As we have seen, it was Enmerkar who asked Inanna of Aratta to intervene in favor of securing Aratta's help to save Erech from the siege of the enemy Martu, and Inanna had a warm welcome for Enmerkar's herald Lugalbanda in Aratta.

In the epic tale the goddess Inanna is figured as the supreme power, since Enmerkar's envoy asks *her* for help. She had the highest authority in her hand and her will was decisive, indicating that in those days the idea of matriarchy had not yet vanished entirely in Aratta, and that particular social order was still main-

15. *Sumerians*, 274.

16. *Ibid.*

tained to a certain extent under the supremacy of the goddess Inanna. She is represented as the mother and the patron of her people and her land. This particular characteristic of Inanna's nature has persisted for milleniums, and in the last centuries of paganism has been represented by the goddess *Anahit* as the patron mother of Armenia.

Moris Jastow writes that Assyria had only one goddess, Ishtar, who had the same rank in the Semitic pantheon as the goddesses *Nana*, *Nina*, *Ninni*, *Inanna*, and *Anunit* had in Sumer.¹⁷ This shows that the forms *Anunit* (*Anahit*) and *Inanna* represented variants of the same name of the same goddess.



Fig. 3. *Anahit*

It is clearly seen, then, that in Armenia, in the later periods of paganism, *Inanna* appears as *Anahit* (sometimes as *Nane*). *Nu*, as the abbreviated form of these names (in derivation), is the first component of the name of the Armenian goddess *Nuart* (*Nu-ard*), who was the consort of the sun-god *Ara*. In the times of Urartu, the name *Ara* appears sometimes in the derivative form *Ar-di* (*Ardi*), which, as is obvious, is the second component of *Nu-ard*. The word *nu* is preserved in Armenian with the meaning of 'bride'. Hence *Nu-ard* means 'the *nu* of *ard*', that is, 'Ara's bride or wife'. This agrees with Khorenatsi's testimony that *Nuard* was *Ara's* wife.¹⁸

In Sumer, *Inanna's* consort (and *Ishtar's* in Babylonia) was

17. *RBA*, 80

18. Khorenatsi, I-20

Dumuzi (Tammuz), who, by virtue of his nature, is identified with Ara by Armenologists.¹⁹ Hence, Nuard is none other than Inanna.

We can accept, therefore, that in spite of the many upheavals and tribulations throughout the milleniums, the goddess Inanna, being preserved under the names *Nuard* and *Anahit*, has continued to remain the patron mother and the native goddess of fertility and war of the Armenian Highland, that is, of Aratta (or *Aratta*), 'Ara's land'; a fact, about which, as we have seen, there are direct and concrete references in the Sumerian epic tale.

Enmerkar, the king of Erech, was believed to be "the son of the sun-god Utu." Hence, considering Inanna his sister, he has demanded from Aratta to supply *stoneworkers* for the construction of the temples in Erech and Eridu. This reminds us of a similar case in much later times: towards the end of the 10th century A.D. the Byzantine emperor Basil who was of *Armenian origin*, invited the renowned architect Trdat from Armenia, the land of his ancestors (under Bagratuni rule at the time), to rebuild the dome (of more than 30 metres in diameter) of the St. Sophia Church in Constantinople, demolished in an earthquake, because there were no capable masters there at the time.²⁰

For the construction and embellishment of the temples in Erech and Eridu, Enmerkar has asked Aratta to supply not only metal- and stoneworkers and sculptors, but also precious metals ("gold, silver"), precious stones ("carnelian, lapis lazuli") and building stones ("stones of the mountain") in return for grain. What can be concluded from this is that the people living in the Armenian Highland at the beginning of the third millenium B.C. must have had an economy rich in the production of precious metals and stones and building materials, that, compared to their neighbors, they must have reached a considerably high level of development in metallurgical and quarrying industries, and that they must have already had, in these early times, skilled metalworkers, sculptors, masons and architects, capable to build and decorate temples and shrines, whose fame had spread to faraway lands, even to Sumer, which, developed as she was, still lacked the materials and the skills.

19. AGP, 161. See also HSH, article on Ara Geghetsik.

20. HDj, 42.

3. ARATTA AND AYRARAT

In connection with Aratta's location, we wish to call here special attention to the discovery of *Medzamor* in the *Ayrarat* valley in Armenia, which was an ancient famous center of spiritual and material (mainly in metallurgy) culture that lasted from the fourth millenium B.C. to late medieval times. Here is what the noted archaeologist E. Khanzadian says in his article on *Medzamor*, quoted from *The Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia*:

MEDZAMOR. A very ancient fortress-settlement in the Ararat valley, near the sources of the Medzamor river. ... Its real name is unknown, hence at present it is called [provisionally] *Medzamor* after the name of the river. ... This most ancient settlement is situated on one of the volcanic cones of the middle anthropogenetic period and the surrounding plain, comprising an area of 30 hectares. It is surrounded with water on almost every side: on the northwest it is bounded by the Medzamor river and on the east it is protected by artificial moats. Archaeological excavations have proven that *Medzamor has been continuously inhabited from the middle of the fourth millenium B.C. to the late Middle Ages.* The layers of various cultures that have been dug so far relate to the early, middle, and late phases of the Bronze Age, the early and the developed phases of the Iron Age (pre-Urartian, Urartian and antique), and the Middle Ages. *Medzamor is one of the centers of early Bronze Age culture (third millenium B.C.) of the Ararat valley.* The fort on the big hill was protected by a turreted Cyclopean wall, and outside the wall, on vast elevations, were built the residences and the utility buildings. Artifacts discovered on the site prove that at Medzamor agriculture, animal husbandry and the crafts were at a developed stage. The lesser hills had astronomical as well as ritualistic significance, and, as studies have substantiated, *in 2800-2600 B.C. the site was used to observe the rising of Sirius (whose appearance was probably related to the beginning of the new year and was worshiped).* Studies made on *Medzamor's ziggurat-observatory that served for ritual ceremonies held in the open air*, and on the monumental tower at Mokhrablur suggest the possibility

of the formation of rural communities and the establishment of cities around these temples, in other words, *the existence of an "urban revolution" in the Armenian Highland in the third millenium B.C.*, which had the consequence of shaking the foundations of the primeval social order. ...

The fort, *protected by strong Cyclopean walls, contained basically the dwellings of the rulers and the priesthood, the temple complex and the main production units (foundaries, workshops, metal-enrichment plants).* The pre-Urartian city consisted of the living quarters of the middle and lower classes. *The city had a separate shrine, a section of which is preserved in the place called Karmir-K'arer ('Red Stones').*

The finds reveal that the occupations of the inhabitants consisted of crafts, trade, husbandry, viniculture and vegetable growing. *There existed a large-scale smelting industry, evidenced by the cylindrical brick smelters and heaps of spent mineral and casting molds found near them.* In Medzamor an extensively developed animal husbandry had contributed to widening the gap between classes of property owners. This is testified by the huge stone burial chambers excavated in a field of about 50 hectares of surface area and extending approximately half a kilometre to the east and the northwest of the citadel. These burial chambers that belonged to leaders and other representatives of the court were enframed with tablets decorated with high relief sculptures of horses and lions. In the center of the burial chamber was the tomb of the leader, buried on a wooden bier, *together with various objects of gold, silver, bronze and tin, shaped beads of carnelian, agate amber and glass, colorfully varnished pottery, ceramic ware ornamented with hunting scenes, and stone goblets, all of which are eloquent witnesses for the high level of development of the crafts, saturated with technological innovations, particularly in jewellery and metallurgy.* Along with the leader were buried also servants, slaves, horses, big and small horned animals (and probably hunting dogs).

But the most remarkable find among all the others is a sculpture of a frog, made of onyx, which is a Babylonian weighing-stone, and bears cuneiform inscriptions. It is dated 16th century B.C.²¹

21. HSH, article *Medzamor* (italics supplied).



Map 3. Erech, Hurum, Aratta.

In view of all these material and tangible evidences supplied by *Medzamor*, testifying to its great and ancient past reaching the middle of the fourth millenium B.C., we are tempted to assume that it is not unlikely that this city might be the famous city of *Aratta*, the subject of the Sumerian epic tales (or an important city in the land of *Aratta*). There are more than one indications of various nature that suggest this assumption, the following being the most obvious:

1. The story told in the Sumerian epic poems has taken place in the first quarter of the third millenium B.C. *Medzamor* was in full activity at that time.
2. *Medzamor* is situated in the *Ararat* valley which was part of

the land of *Ayrarat*. As we have seen, *Ayrarat* corresponded to *Aratta* by its geographical location (and probably also by name).

3. *Medzamor*, with its foundaries, workshops, metal-enrichment plants and heaps of spent mineral, was an important metallurgical center. The excavated objects of gold, silver, bronze, and *tin*, as well as the beads made of *carnelian*, *agate*, *amber*, and *glass* show a high level of culture in *goldsmithery* and *jewellery*. All these seem to have fully justified *Enmerkar* to demand of *Aratta* (even by sending wheat in return) to supply him with *gold*, *silver*, *precious stones*, and also *metalworkers* for the construction and the embellishment of the temples in *Erech* and *Eridu*.²²

There were built in *Medzamor* not only Cyclopean walls and towers, but also temples and dwelling structures. In fact, the land of *Ararat* is very rich in basalt, marble and various other building stones; it is actually the richest region in the world in light and beautiful tuff. This, too, was ample justification for *Enmerkar* to ask *Aratta* to supply "stones of the mountain," sculptors and stone-workers for the construction of temples.

4. As we have seen above, archaeology has revealed that in *Medzamor*, between 2800-2600 B.C., people have observed the rising of *Sirius* and have worshiped it. One cannot bypass such an important evidence and we would like to draw particular attention to it. First, it must be noted that *Enmerkar* lived exactly in these days. Being *Gilgamesh's* (cir. 2680 B.C.) grandfather, he must have lived around 2750 B.C. Second, from the information given in the epic tales, we know that the goddess *Inanna* belonged to *Aratta*. It is possible, therefore, that at that time *Inanna was none other than Sirius*,²³ and that the rising of this star was considered by the people of *Aratta* as a sign that she belonged to them and protected them. This is why

22. In connection with *Aratta*, it is interesting to note here the province of *Artsakh* in Armenia (in the east of the *Ararat* valley) and its name. This area, rich in gold (at *Zod*), silver, copper, and other mines, was called *Ardakh*, *Urdekhe*, in the times of *Urartu*. We must consider also *Mount Eritia*, north of *Lake Van*, mentioned by *Shalmaneser III* or the city of *Eridia*, mentioned by *Ispuini*. It reminds us of the name of the city of *Eridu* in *Sumer*, for the construction of which an important part is attributed to the people of *Aratta*. In fact, the city of *HA.AKI* (= *Eridu*) of the first Sumerian antediluvian dynasty is mentioned as *Subari* in Akkadian translation. It could have been possible, therefore, that this city was built by *Subarians* who descended from the north (the Armenian Highland) and was named after them. (On this see *HS*, 31.)

23. Semites have identified *Inanna* with *Ishtar* who personified *Venus*.

the king of Aratta has sent a message to Enmerkar (through his herald) stating that Inanna had not abandoned neither Aratta nor her house therein (the ziggurat-temple that was also an observatory).

(We have stated earlier that Inanna was the same as *Anahit* who was the patron mother of Armenia. According to Melik-Pashayan, in the long past, the Ayghr lake and the Sev-Jur river, on which the ancient site of Medzamor is situated, were called *Medzamor* ('the great mother') after *Anahit's* name.²⁴ This is interesting, if true.²⁵)

5. The fact that in the huge stone burial chamber at Medzamor, *along with the leader were also found buried servants, slaves, horses, big and small horned animals and precious objects*, can be considered an evidence for the religious ties and the similarity of beliefs and customs that existed between Sumer and Medzamor (and Ayrarat in general). This reminds us of the burial chamber at *Ur* of Sumer, discovered by the Anglo-American archaeological expedition under the direction of C.L. Woolley, where, in front of the door of the chamber where the deceased was laid, were buried also *men, women, and animals with their equipment*.²⁶ *This custom certainly could have existed among many other peoples in the past, but its roots in Armenia were so deep and ancient that it has perpetuated for milleniums, even up to the time of the Artashessian Dynasty. Khorenatsi has recorded that King Artashes of Armenia was buried with great pomp and ceremony "in a golden sarcophagus, with numerous ornaments and weapons ... and many of his favorite women, concubines and servants died, or, as Khorenatsi interprets, were killed and buried with him according to pagan customs."*²⁷

6. The ties and the communications of Aratta-Ayrarat with Southern Mesopotamia (with Sumer and later with Babylon) over the Euphrates and the Tigris have continued for milleniums. One of the tangible proofs for these relations is *the Babylonian weighing-stone*, discovered at Medzamor (and dated the middle of the second millenium B.C.), *that bears the sculpture of a frog with cuneiform inscrip-*

24. ADP, 134.

25. It is not unlikely that the term *Medzamor* might have meant 'great swamp'.

26. AT, 151. "Very early tombs recently found at UR have disclosed the dead man's bodyguard, his servants, male and female, his draft oxen still yoked to the chariot, all lying slain at the door of the burial chamber, that they might accompany their master and continue to serve him after death." See Ibid. p. 150.

27. HZhP, 897.

tions and tells a lot about the metals and the precious stones to be weighed for Babylon, thus, testifying to an active trade with her.

The trade relations that Armenia had with Babylon have continued for thousands of years even after the time of this weighing-stone. They have constituted a firm and natural tradition between the two countries conditioned by the two waterways, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Herodotus has supplied substantial information about the business that went on between the Armenians and the Babylonians over the Euphrates.²⁸

How can one explain these exceptionally close ties between Aratta and Erech, at that early period of Sumer's life in Southern Mesopotamia, ties that have been considered so important as to become the subject matter of epic poems? S. Kramer writes about Aratta: *"A far-off city-state ... which owes its fame and name not to its own achievements, though these seem to have been quite a few, but to the bards and poets of Sumer who, for some as yet undiscovered reason, sang of its metals and stones, its craftsmen and artisans, its boldly challenging en and its beloved goddess, who seems to be none other than Inanna of Sumer."*²⁹

As it was mentioned earlier, in evaluating the credibility of the events related in the epic poems, one must not forget that the epic poem was the only historiographic style employed at the time, and although the legendary unfolding of the events presented there cannot be accepted literally, nevertheless, they contain certain elements based on real historical facts which must be evaluated as such. For example, we, certainly, do not accept that every single word exchanged between the two kings was literally true, nor that the herald had really made so many trips and so fast between Erech and Aratta, quite far from each other, to carry a response for every statement; but we do not overlook the essential significance of the mission either.

In essence, the information contained in the epic tales attributes to Aratta an important participation in the construction and adornment of the temples in Erech and Eridu, the most ancient cities of Sumer. In other words, the people of Aratta have played a prominent part, with their contribution of precious metals, stones and craftsmen, in the work of building and embellishing these cities, the initiative of which is credited to Enmerkar.

28. Herodotus, I, 194. See Leo, I, Yerevan, 1966, p. 277.

29. *Sumerians*, 269.

It is possible to give more than one and varied explanations for the reasons of the close ties that are observed between the material and spiritual cultures of Erech and Aratta.

1. Some authors assume that the Sumerians may have come from the north and before moving to Southern Mesopotamia via the Tigris and the Euphrates (at the beginning of the fourth millenium B.C. or earlier) they may have stayed for some time in the Armenian Highland (around Aratta). Such an assumption, of course, entails close contacts and religious, cultural and even marital ties with the people of the Armenian Highland. There are some indications that the Sumerians have previously been a mountain people and that they believed that their gods dwelled on mountain tops; this is the reason why in Sumer they built high ziggurats and placed their god's throne on their summits.

Enmerker, who was regarded as "the son of the sun-god", considered Inanna, the goddess of Aratta, as his sister, and he was the one who brought Inanna, formerly belonging to Aratta, to Erech and built a temple for her.

In our previous works we have spoken at length about the Sumero-Armenian connections and have brought out more than one hundred Sumerian words that have their parallels in Armenian, close to half of them being Indo-European. On the other hand, the number of Sumerian words known to us that concur with Armenian is more than two hundred.

2. The close ties between Aratta and Sumer could have developed by means of natural-traditional interrelationships coming from a more distant past, made possible between the two sides through the Euphrates and the Tigris waterways. As we have seen, the epic tale speaks about building vessels to transport construction material and craftsmen from Aratta to Erech, whereas the grain is moved up, from Erech to Aratta, on pack animals.

As long as the Tigris and the Euphrates have existed, the ties between the peoples living at their two extremities must be taken as a natural phenomenon of millenial antiquity. One of the proofs of these contacts is the concrete testimony given by Herodotus (5th century B.C.) who, writing more than two thousand years after the times of Enmerkar, states that the Armenians had very close commercial ties with Babylon over the Euphrates, and describes in detail how they would load their merchandise and donkeys to shield-shaped rafts made of wood cut from the forests in Armenia and covered with hides, how

they would sail down the river to Babylon, and after selling the goods and the wood of the rafts, *they would load the hides on the donkeys and return home*, only to start the trip over again.

According to Xenophon, the Armenians had connections even with India. He informs us that King Cyrus of Persia had asked the Armenians to accompany the Persian ambassador to India and present him to India's king.³⁰ These examples are important indications showing the ancient traditional relations that the Armenians had, through the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Southern Mesopotamia and even beyond, with India. Otherwise, why wouldn't Cyrus ask such a service of some other people living in the south of Persia and closer to India, such as the Elamites or the Babylonians? Obviously for the reason that Armenians already had a fame in matters of this nature.

3. It is also possible that the Sumerians could have acquired their knowledge of and developed connections with Aratta merely by means of the intrusions they made to that country, led by a curiosity for the mysterious highland where lay the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, or during their marauding or conquering raids to that rich highland. The Sumerians had traditional legends about these sacred rivers that were vital for them. The distant land where they sprang forth and where the gods who made them flow had set their thrones, was shrouded for them with legendary mysticism. The Sumerians believed that gods dwelled on mountain tops, that is why they used to build high ziggurats, symbolizing mountains, as the dwelling-place of their divinities. It is natural, therefore, that a strong desire would be aroused in them to reach that mysterious highland, to know and even to conquer it.

Barely four centuries after Enmerkar, *Lugal-Zaggisi* (2371-2347 B.C.), the king of *Umma*, after subduing a few Sumerian cities, has launched an invasion towards the Armenian Highland, about which he has written the following: "... when the god Enlil had delivered the kingdom of the land to Lugal-Zaggisi ... and when his might had subdued the lands and when he had conquered them from the sunrise to the sunset, then he opened a straight way from the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea, through the Euphrates and the Tigris ..."³¹ It is obvious that the Upper Sea that he reached through the Euphrates and the Tigris is Lake Van. Even for Assyria's Shalmaneser III it was

30. Xenophon, «Ῥῆματα Νῆπων» (*Cyropaedia*), Yerevan, pp. 169-170. See Leo, I, 277.

31. HSA, 194.

a question of religious obligation and royal honor and authority to reach the upper land above the Euphrates and the Tigris, to see it and occupy it. He writes in one of his inscriptions: *"In my fifteenth year of reign I advanced to the sources of the Tigris (and) Euphrates. I set up (i.e. carved) my royal image on their cliffs."*³²

It should not be considered unlikely, therefore, that in the times of Enmerkar (perhaps even before) the Sumerians might have reached Aratta and established connections with her.

4. It is also possible that the Sumerians could have inherited the traditions about Aratta's wealth, culture and fame from those groups of natives of the Armenian Highland who, moving along the streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris, penetrated or immigrated to Southern Mesopotamia in much earlier times (before and after the arrival of the Sumerians), settled there and later mixed with the Sumerians.

We also consider it probable that those who have carried information about Aratta to Sumer could have been the Subarians, who, according to preserved cuneiform writings, had already penetrated into Southern Mesopotamia in the distant past and had, in a great extent, mixed with the Sumerians and later with the Semites. (This topic will be dealt with later.)

We have already seen that Armani was in the land of Subari, or, more precisely, the central regions of the main land called Subartu corresponded to the southern regions of the Armenian Highland.

32. ARAB, 205.

Chapter 4

THE PEOPLES OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND IN ANTIQUITY

1. THE SUBARIANS

Who were the Subarians?

I. Gelb asks the same question, then he adds: "A correct answer to this question has not yet been given." He considers the Subarians a people who, with their ethnicity and language, are distinct from the Hurrians, and in order to prove his viewpoint he has written the book *Hurrians and Subarians*, where he brings numerous evidences and arguments showing that Subarians were not Hurrians. Nevertheless, many others still seem to retain the initially held opinion that under the name *Subarian* one must see the Hurrians.

One thing is certain, that the Subarians, according to written documents of the historical period, were the aborigines of the Armenian Highland, especially of its southern (and neighboring) regions: those regions, which, as cuneiform inscriptions at hand testify, were mentioned for the first time by the name *Armani* (or *Armanum*), to be followed later by the names *Arime*, *Arme* and *Armina*.

Subartu consisted, previously, of the southern sections of a large linguistico-cultural community (including the entire Armenian Highland, the Indo-European homeland) which were in immediate contact with Sumero-Akkadians.

The large country of Subartu was not always a united state. In the past it was very often divided into a number of autonomous units. This is why the name *Subartu* has eventually acquired a rather geographical meaning. Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1221 B.C.) gives the names of a series of such autonomous state-units that were part of Subartu in the second half of the second millenium B.C. He writes: "... At that time the *Babbi*, the lands of *Kutmuhi*,

Bušši, Mummi, Alzi, Madani, Nihani, Alaia, Teburzi, Burukuzzi, the whole of the wide Šubari-land ..."¹

These countries that entered into the realm of Subartu spread over the vast area stretching from Lake Urmia to Cappadocia. A number of evidences show that the Subarians' homeland extended even to the depths of the Armenian Highland comprising all the Nairian countries. Ashur-Nasir-Pal I writes: "The mountain of Kashiari I crossed and for the second time I went down into the land of Nairi ..." ² It is obvious that the land he entered after descending Mount Kashiari was *Arme-Šubria*, which he calls *the land of Nairi*. On the other hand, Ashur-Nasir-Pal II (883-859 B.C.) states that he had conquered the countries of Nairi and Kirhi in the land of Subari. If some of the Nairian tribes were Subarians, obviously, the others, too, must have been so.

We have seen earlier that the name *Su-bir* (Subari), by its very structure (with its component *bir*), belongs to the same group of Nairian tribal names as *Ginzi-bir*, *Šini-bir(-ni)*, *Aṭ-ber(-ani)*, *Turu-ber(-an)* and the like. This also proves that there was a connection between the Nairians and the Subarians.

It is now clear that, the name *Armavir* (*Arma-vir*), too, has the same structure, with its component *-vir*, which is identical with the Nairian word *bir*, meaning 'tribe, house, city'. We know that the Nairian-Urartian *b* between two vowels changes to *v* in classical Armenian (cf. *Erebuni* > *Erevan*, *Ebani* > *avan*, etc.). Hence, *Armabir* has become *Armavir*, which meant 'Arma's house or Arma's city'.³

1. *ARAB*, 50. Instead of *Babhi* here was written *Kurti* which is not accepted by others.

2. *Ibid.*, 179.

3. Khorenatsi has preserved a concrete testimony that substantiates the meaning of *Armavir* as 'Arma's city or Arma's house.' He writes: "... *Armais built a house for his habitation on a hill on the bank of the river and called it Armavir after his own name.*" (I-12.) Here it is explicitly stated that Armais called the city he built *Arma-vir* after his own name *Arma(-is)*. Some authors still attribute *Armavir*, erroneously, to the Ervandunis, for the reason that the name *Armavir* contains the stem *Arma* (of Armais), the basic component of the name *Arma-ni* (*Arme-ni* > *Armen*) by which are designated the Armenian land and people, and that the hypothesis of "the migration of the Armenians" does not allow them to accept the existence of the Armenians in Armenia before the fall of the Urartian dynasty. Therefore, they do not accept that Armais was Urartian (we have already shown in our previous works that Armais is Argišti). Although the Ervandunis have kept *Armavir* as their capital for some time and have carried out some

Therefore, *Armavir*, being *Armabir* (*Arma-bir*) in its original form, belongs to the same group of Nairian names along with *Su-bir*, *Ginzi-bir*, etc. This is another important proof showing the close relation that existed between *Subir* (the Subarians) and the Nairian tribes (hence the Arma[-ni] race) of the Armenian Highland.

I have already shown that *Šu-rili* and *Arma-rili* have been synonymous names of identical origin, where the components *Šu* (=Subari) and *Arma* were equivalent terms.

Present scholarship already accepts that the Subarians were in existence in the Armenian Highland in antiquity. The Subarian culture of the remote past corresponds to the culture of the Armenian Highland of the same period.

A number of ancient written and traditional Armenian narratives reported by Khorenatsi and Sebeos testify also to the fact that there were kinship and religious ties between the tribes living in the southern parts of the Armenian Highland and those who lived in the central region (Hark') and the hinterland.

In the time of King Astiages of Media, the Armenian king of the Ervanduni dynasty had one of his sons named Tigran and another Sabaris (Šavarš). This last name which is widely used among Armenians comes from the name *Subari*.

In the third millenium B.C. (and even before), the Subarians were spread all over Mesopotamia, including Assyria and Babylonia. Gelb states that "*Subarian beginnings are lost in the darkness of the prehistory of Babylonia.*"⁴ It is accepted that before the appearance of the Semites, Assyria was inhabited by Subarians and it was often called Subartu, even after the formation of the powerful Semitic state of Assyria.

We would like to mention here, parenthetically, that if the name of the city of *Halwan/Halman* > *Arman*, located somewhere between Nuzi and Diyala, did really have any (ethnic) connection with the

constructions there, they are not its founders. Those who attribute the founding and the naming of *Armavir* to the Ervandunis, should either accuse Khorenatsi for lying and having fabricated the name *Armais*, or they must show that among the Ervandunis there was at least one king by the name *Arma* (*Armais*). Obviously, they cannot do this, because no such king has existed in that dynasty. This shows the impasse in which the proponents of the "migration" hypothesis are found, the baseless and arbitrary interpretations they are forced to offer and the distortions they make in these important and decisive questions related to the ancient history of the Armenian people.

name and the people of the great city-country of *Armani/Armanum* in the region of the sources of the Khabur river and in Armenian Mesopotamia, then we should not be surprised to find another city by that same name in that same region and belonging to the same people. Moreover, it is interesting to note in this connection, that the name of the city of *Halwan/Halman* in the region of Diyala (i.e. *neighboring to Elam*) reminds us of the form *Harmanuja* found in the *Elamite* text of the Behistun inscriptions that corresponds to the name *Armina* of the Persian text.

As I have noted above, the Babylonian weighing-stone with cuneiform writings, discovered at Medzamor and dated the middle of the second millenium B.C., provides an important evidence for the commercial relations that existed between Armenia and Babylon at that time. It may even indicate a probability for the existence of an Armenian colony in Babylon in those days, and the fact that in the 6th century B.C. *Araha the Armin* had become king of Babylon, may lend support to the continued presence of such a colony.

The oldest legible Sumerian documents are those found at Fara (ancient Shuruppak) in Southern Babylonia. In these writings are mentioned men who bear the name *Šubur*. The term *Šubur* (= *Subari*) occurs often at Fara in such compound names as *Lulu-Šubur*, *Tutul-Šubur*⁵ and the like, where *Šubur* is used as an ethnic determinative. Gelb writes that "*the name Šubur at Fara was presumably applied to real Subarians.*"⁶

In scholarship it is already accepted by many that in earlier times, before the Sumerians, Southern Mesopotamia was inhabited by certain settlers whom archaeologists and historians call provisionally the *Al-Ubaid people* (after the name of the archaeological site now called *Al-Ubaid*). Judging from the remains of earliest samples of pottery and other cultural fragments belonging to these people, it is concluded that they have immigrated to Sumer in the 4500s B.C. or even before.⁷

Now many scholars think that these first inhabitants of Sumer may have been *the Subarians*. Here we wish to state the opinions of only a few of those who are authorities on the subject.

B. Landsberger and, later, S. Kramer, I. Gelb, W. Hallo, W. Simpson, T. Jones and others admit that the names of the oldest

5. Ibid. 32.

6. Ibid. 31.

7. *Sumerians*, 39, 40.

Sumerian cities, the names of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers (*Idiglat* and *Buranum*) and a series of words preserved in the Sumerian language (which are non-Sumerian, non-Semitic and non-Hurrian) have all come from these first pre-Sumerian inhabitants. Landsberger calls them *proto-Euphrateans*, whereas S. Kramer writes:

The name of these pre-Sumerian settlers of Sumer is of course unknown. They lived long before writing was invented and left no telltale records ... although it is barely possible that at least some of them were known in the third millenium as Subarians.⁸

Writes Gelb:

Our earliest contact with Subarians may go back to the first antediluvian Sumerian dynasty, which is said to have resided at Eridu or, according to a variant text, at HA.A^{KI}. Since the name of the latter city, which is frequently mentioned in connection with Eridu, is given in Akkadian translation as Šu-ba-ri and the like, it is possible that the city HA.A^{KI}-Šu-ba-ri of the first Sumerian dynasty was named after the Suberians.⁹

These facts have directly echoed even in Sumerian epic poems. As we have already seen, the Sumerian epic tales quoted earlier inform us explicitly that on Enmerkar's demand (or request) metal- and stoneworkers came to Sumer from Aratta, bringing with them gold, silver and building stones for the construction and decoration of the temples in (hence, for the founding of) *Erech (Uruk)* and *Eridu*, the oldest cities in Sumer.

In all these we can see a definite indication that the pre-Sumerian inhabitants of Southern Mesopotamia and their earliest settlements there consisted of colonies established by the natives of the Armenian Highland.

W. Hallo and W. Simpson in the book they co-authored state that

8. Ibid, 40.

9. HS, 31. Here "antediluvian" refers to a great flood occurred in Sumer by the overflowing of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. Under a thick layer of sediment resulted from this flood, archaeologists have discovered a number of layers of dynastic culture the most ancient of which is considered the antediluvian first. It is dated the fourth millenium B.C.

... physical anthropologists have been unable to reconstruct a clear picture of racial differences in either time or space for the Near East in late prehistoric and ancient times. Datable finds have for the most part suggested minor variations on a generalized "Mediterranean" type — a mixture of long-headed (dolicocephalic) and round- or broad-headed (brachycephalic) skulls.¹⁰

Then, bringing out from an Akkadian inscription a geographical scheme that reflects the Babylonian viewpoint (*SUBAR is North, SUMER is South, ELAM is East and AMURRU is West*), they write that in Southern Mesopotamia

the earliest intrusive stratum now appears to be the northern one, which, following the native scheme, we may call the Subarian ... The language of this stratum has hitherto been known only from a few geographical names and lexical entries in later texts and from the names of persons identified as Subarians ... It may even clinch the arguments in favor of regarding the Subarians as the inventors of writing ... In the south, however, the Subarians were confronted about 3100 by a new stratum ... We may identify this stratum as the Sumerians.¹¹

In recent years, new voices are being heard in scholarly circles which seem to defend the idea that the homeland of the Proto-Indo-European language was not in Europe but in the Armenian Highland and its neighboring regions in Asia Minor.¹² According to this theory, after the disintegration of the parent Indo-European language, those who spoke the various branches have migrated and spread out in all directions as their populations have grown. Some of them, moving westward, have crossed Asia Minor and come to Europe; some passing through the Caucasus have gone north, and others have moved to east-south toward the Iranian Plateau.

As I have pondered over these migrations in these three directions, I have considered it natural that some of these people would have certainly taken the southward march, moving straight down, in a direction that provided easier passage by the courses of the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. Linguists had placed the disintegration and

10. *ANE*, 21.

11. *Ibid.* 23-24.

12. On this subject, see *AHDzU*, 83, 330, and *HZhDz*, 31, 77, 135.

the branching off of the parent Indo-European language around the middle of the third millenium B.C.; but at that time the strong Sumero-Akkadian forces existing in the south would have resisted the migrating Indo-Europeans and prevented them from penetrating into that region. Our own research on Sumero-Armenian relations¹³ and certain linguistic and historiographic data revealed lately by others allow us to conclude that the disintegration and the branching off of the Proto-Indo-European has taken place much earlier. It was in this much earlier period, then, that the people whom Landsberger calls *Proto-Euphratean* (or the Al-Ubaid people) must have come to Southern Mesopotamia and founded the first settlements. These are the people whom many authors now call *Subarians* (differentiating them, of course, from the Hurrians).

Could it not be possible, then, that these Subarians would have belonged to those very same Indo-European people, who, in the time of the disintegration of the parent language, or later, would have moved gradually along the Tigris and the Euphrates to descend to Southern Mesopotamia?

I have mentioned above that the term HA.A^{KI} is equated in Akkadian translations with *Šubari* (*Subir/Subur*). It must also be mentioned that epigraphers read the logogram HA.A^{KI} as *Ḫabur*.¹⁴ We already know that in some Sumero-Akkadian documents the term *SU.A* appears instead of *Su-bir* (or *Su-bur*); hence HA.A equals *SU.A*, that is, *Ḫa* equals *Su*. It is possible to accept, therefore, that the *Su* tribe was also called *Ḫa* (or that the terms *Su* and *Ḫa* were equivalent names). The Armenian people of *Ḫayasa* were called by this very same name *Ḫa*. In discussing the etymology of the word *Ḫa-jaša* in my book *The Origin of the Armenian People* (in Armenian), I have demonstrated that this word consists of the stem *Ḫa* and the component *-jaša*, which in itself is a compound derivative, with affixes *-ja* and *-ša*. (They had a city called *Ḫaḫa* by the reduplication of this stem *Ḫa*). Thus, it becomes evident that the original name of the people of *Ḫayasa* was *Ḫa*, the same as the name HA.A (= *Ḫa-bur* = 'the *Ḫa* tribe'), by which the Subarians were called. In this connection it is worthwhile to compare the name of the Subarian deity *Aštupīnu* with *Ḫayasa*'s divine name *Unag-aštuaš* (*Aštuaš* of the Armenians), as well as the name of the Subarian god *Laḫuratiš* with the city of *Laḫurḫila* in *Ḫayasa*. We shall speak about these in detail later on. Compare also

13. Ibid., (AHDzU, HZhDz)

14. HS, 98.

the name of the city of *Cummaḫa* of *Ḫayasa* with the city and the country of *Cummaḫa* in the Subarian region in the south, above Urfa; also the name of the city of *Alzi* of *Ḫayasa* with *Alzi* of *Šubria*.

All these data lend stronger support to the probability that connections existed between the pre-Sumerian inhabitants (considered Subarian by some scholars) of Southern Mesopotamia and those of the Armenian Highland (the Indo-European homeland) in the north.

There is no complete unanimity as yet among scholars regarding the ethnic, geographic and political values that the names *Subari*, *Hurri*, *Mitanni*, and *Ḫanigalbat* present, although some admit that these terms generally denote the Hurrians, their language, their land or state. Others are of the opinion that the terms *Mitanni* and *Ḫanigalbat* have no ethnic significance. Writes Speiser: "*Mitanni had only a limited political application and never served as a comprehensive ethnic or linguistic designation.*"¹⁵ Gelb concurs: "*Mitanni was only the name of the state in central Mesopotamia ... its rulers and the name itself were probably Indo-European, and hence it should not be used as the name of a clearly non-Indo-European language.*"¹⁶ And he has this to say about *Ḫanigalbat*: "*Ḫanigalbat is normally the Akkadian equivalent of geographic Mittanni proper. In later Assyrian sources it takes the place of Mittanni as a political term.*"¹⁷

We can conclude from all these, then, that the only terms that deserve our attention for their ethnic and linguistic value are *Subari* and *Hurri*.

1. Gelb, in his article "New Light on Hurrians and Subarians," writes the following in the light of his new discoveries:

... from now on it will be necessary to distinguish sharply between two entirely different and unrelated ethnic units: the Subarians, who from the earliest historical periods are found not only occupying vast mountainous areas north of Babylonia but also living peacefully within Babylonia side by side with Sumerians and Akkadians, and the much younger Hurrians, who appeared relatively late on the Mesopotamian scene and who played an important role in the history of the Near East in the middle of the 2nd millenium B.C.¹⁸

15. *IH*, 3.

16. *HS*, 12 (italics supplied)

17. *Ibid.*, 75.

18. *NLHS*, v. 1, 378-392.

2. THE UNIFICATION OF HURRIANS WITH INDO-EUROPEANS AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE HURRIAN LANGUAGE

We have seen above that the Subarians were a people of the Armenian Highland and that *Armani*, and later *Arme* (*Šubria*) and *Nairi*, were part of *Subartu*.

We are still lacking accurate and specific knowledge about the people who lived in the central regions and the hinterland of the Armenian Highland before the establishment of the Urartian kingdom and about the cultural and politico-military aspects of their life, except those who lived in the southern and southwestern parts of this territory and were in contact with Sumero-Akkadians.

Archaeological excavations in these regions have been casual and superficial, and the fragmentary (non-written) finds hardly reveal anything about these matters. With the exception of a fleeting glimpse given about Aratta in the Sumerian epic poems (at the beginning of the third millenium B.C.), this Highland generally remains dark for historiography until the times of Urartu.

Even the most venturesome Sumerian kings, like Lugal Zaggisi of Umma, have not penetrated beyond Lake Van, and the few words they have left on record about such undertakings are quite insignificant. (For example, all that is said about Lugal-Zaggisi is "... he opened a straight way from the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea, through the Euphrates and the Tigris.")

We have seen that in the middle of the third millenium B.C. even the commercial empire of Ebla was not able to expand to the Armenian Highland. On the map of her international relations her trade routes flanked it in the south and in the west, but never penetrated it. If I understand the term *Armi^{ki} Armi^{ki}* in the Ebla inscriptions correctly as 'cities of the Ars', then it would be indicating only the Armeno-Subarian cities in the southern regions of the Armenian Highland.

The same thing can be said about the mighty kings of the great Akkadian dynasty. Even Naram-Sin's invasion (whereby he conquered Armani which "never since the creation of mankind has any king among kings taken") stopped short near Diyarbekir.¹⁹

19. Naram-Sin's victory monument, now in the Istanbul Museum, was discovered (in situ) near Diyarbekir. See *RISA*, 141.

It appears that before Urartu, the forces of the Assyrian and the Hittite empires have likewise been unable to penetrate the Armenian Highland. The Hittites, on the Hayasa side, have not gone any farther east than the province of Egeghets (around the city of Haha), and the only Assyrian king who moved the farthest at that time was Tiglath-Pileser I (cir. 1100 B.C.) who waged war against the 23 Nairian kings (chieftains) living in the surroundings of Lake Van, and never went beyond Aradzani.²⁰

As to the writings left by the Assyro-Babylonian and Hittite kings about their invasions to the bordering regions of the Armenian Highland, they all consist of boastful expressions and self-praise and the information they contain is fragmentary, one-sided and tendentious. Thus, it is very difficult to form a reliable picture of the cultural and socio-political conditions of the people living in the deep interior of the Armenian Highland, and still more so to have an idea about their language and ethnic identity.

The impenetrability of the Armenian Highland to the outside forces of the time can be explained not so much by the obstructive nature of its geography as by the military strength and cultural vitality of its people; the invading forces from the south and the west must have encountered great opposition, and also, the highlanders' reputation of being an unconquerable people must have acted as a deterrent. The existence of important centers, such as Aratta-Medzamor, testify that as early as the beginning of the third millennium B.C. the Armenian Highland had a well-developed culture and a strong industry, on a much higher level than hitherto assumed.

Unfortunately, no written documents have reached us from this pre-Urartian era. The reason, we think, is, probably, not because such documents do not exist, but because extensive archaeological excavations have not yet begun in the Armenian Highland. The greater part of that territory, particularly its central regions which are the more important (Western Armenia), remain almost closed to archaeological research. Moreover, these archaeological sites are found now under the rule of a power which is not interested in the discovery of documentary evidences related to the ancient past of the Armenian people.

Although the uncovered Urartian inscriptions shed some light on the social and politico-military life of the peoples of their time, they

20. See M. Kavoukjian, "The Location of the upper-Sea", *Traber Hasarakakan Gitut'iunneri*, Yerevan 1977, 2, p. 92.

remain silent on many other important questions. The reasons for this sparsity of information seem to be that, first, these writings — of which more than 400 are extant — consist of very brief and cliché-type statements that do not contain much data about the ethnic (linguistico-cultural) identity of the people, and secondly, the excavations of the Urartian archaeological sites have not been carried out with a wider and deeper scientific approach (or that the researchers did not have good luck). This is evidenced by the fact that so far in none of the Urartian centers (Van, Toprakkale, Armavir-Argištiḫinili, Teyšebaini, etc.) have there been revealed any state archives; something, that it is difficult indeed to imagine that a powerful and literate country with a strong administrative organization and international relations such as Urartu would not have possessed.

In spite of all these, however, the inscriptions of the Assyro-Babylonian kings make it clear for us that at least those parts of the Armenian Highland which they were able to penetrate (including the surroundings of Lake Van) were the homeland of the native Nairian tribes. The inscriptions of the Urartian kings, who called themselves "kings of the land of Nairi", reveal further that Urartu was a strong politico-military confederation formed by the Nairian tribes. Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions tell us that the northern mountainous regions of Subartu were also called Nairi. We have already seen that Tugulti-Ninurta I mentions *Papḫi*, *Kutmuḫi*, *Bušši*, *Mummi*, *Alzi*, *Madani*, *Niḫani*, *Alaia*, *Teburzi*, *Burukuzzi* as countries of the vast land of Subartu. It is obvious that all these countries that were part of Subartu were mostly Nairian countries. Putting all these evidences together, we can rightly accept that before Urartu, Subartu and Mitanni also consisted of politico-military unions formed by Nairian tribes.

Now then, what was the situation in the Armenian Highland in the third millenium B.C. and what transpired in the second and first milleniums, before the establishment of the Urartian kingdom?

We must say at the start that according to numerous linguistic, mythological and cultural evidences, the homeland of Indo-Europeans appears to be in Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland, stretching from central Anatolia to the Caspian Sea. It was from here that, after the disintegration of the Proto-Indo-European language, various groups speaking different Indo-European dialects separated and migrated to Europe and Asia. (We shall speak about this in detail in our last chapter.)

There are some indications showing the existence of certain Hurrian elements in Mesopotamia and Syria in the third millenium B.C., but there are no traces of their existence in the Armenian Highland during the same period. Although some mute materials found in archaeological layers are assumed to be Hurrian, but even if they are, they may be a sign for the existence of some insignificant Hurrian elements or the result of cultural diffusion or influence.

Cuneiform documents in the Near East show that it was in the second quarter of the second millenium B.C., when the Hurrians crossed the Zagros range and moved, in great waves of migration, from the south of Lake Urmia to the plains of Assyria; then they entered in large numbers in Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, and from there penetrated into the Armenian Highland and Cilicia (Kizwatna).

It is evident that these Hurrians, by their massive presence in Northern Syria and the southern regions of the Armenian Highland, have become, with Indo-Europeans, important participants in the formation of the great state of Mitanni. I find that in this period of time, a situation of bilingualism has developed in the Armenian Highland, the Hurrian language being utilized along with the Indo-European. There were, of course, other ethnic elements living there at the time, but as consequent developments show, they seem to have had no great effect, neither in numbers nor in vitality, to play any decisive role.

This massive Hurrian presence pertains, of course, only to the southern regions of the Armenian Highland which were within the main circles of Mitanni. It was here that they exerted considerable influence rather than in the interior of the highland where no Hurrian inscriptions are found related to the Mitannian period. It must be noted here, however, that although Armenian is an Indo-European language, a significant part of its vocabulary is not Indo-European, and it seems possible that an important portion of these non-Indo-European elements may be Hurrian, suggesting, thus, that in the times of Mitanni, in certain parts of these regions, the Hurrian language was used as a second spoken language along with Armenian.

All these direct and indirect evidences tend to suggest that the Armenian people consisted basically (not counting other small ethnic groups that were assimilated) of two major elements: the Indo-European natives and the Hurrian migrants, the latter being of no small consequence.

When we speak of the Indo-European homeland and the Indo-European-speaking peoples, we should not take these terms in their ethnic or racial meaning, but only in their linguistic sense, because it is possible that the Proto-Indo-European language was spoken in a general setting by peoples of different ethnic or racial origin and even belonging to different anthropological types, the dolicocephalic and the brachycephalic (Armenoid). The intermixing of peoples of different ethnic or racial groups is not a phenomenon of the historical period only. Such movements have taken place much earlier than the disintegration of the parent Indo-European language or even much before its consolidation.

For example, Armenians and Hittites belong, linguistically, to the Indo-European family and anthropologically they are both brachycephalic (Armenoid), a type to which belong also the Hurrians (who were earlier in the southeast of the Armenian Highland, see Map 6) who are considered non-Indo-European. On the other hand, many members of the Indo-European family belong to the Mediterranean dolicocephalic type, to which belong also the Semites who are not Indo-European.

This ethno-linguistic setting and certain archaeological and demographic phenomena show that *the formation and the consolidation of the parent Indo-European language have taken place where the two anthropological types have come in contact with each other and intermixed*. The consolidation of this language must have occurred during the few thousand years prior to the fourth millenium B.C. when the earth's population was sparse and the people lived in clans in the primeval phase of communal societies.

That particular environment where this contact has taken place, i.e. the Indo-European homeland, included *the central and eastern parts of Asia Minor, the Armenian Highland (extending to the Caspian Sea), Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria*. The western part of this vast area, Asia Minor, was inhabited mostly by dolicocephalics in these early times, whereas in the east, in the Armenian Highland and specially in its central and southern parts, the inhabitants were mainly brachycephalic (the Hittites and certain Armenian segments of Asia Minor must have moved from the east to the west).²¹ I find

21. Some argue that in matters pertaining to races it would be wrong to be guided by cranial forms and measures, since such characteristics are subject to change under new geographic and climatic conditions. Such changes, however, may not become perceptible in 5-10 milleniums. We are dealing here with such a

that what was known to the Sumero-Akkadians by the name Subari was none other than segments of these Armenoids living in the southern parts of the Armenian Highland where was also located the Armani mentioned by Naram-Sin.

The overwhelming majority of Armenians are brachycephalic and this is the main reason why scholars have called this particular type *Armenoid*. Armenians seem to have inherited it also from the Subarians, and their mixing with Hurrians, who also were brachycephalic, has only served to the almost intact preservation of the *Armenoid* type. If the brachycephalic trait of the Armenians were to be attributed solely to their Hurrian heritage, then it would have been necessary to assume that Armenians consisted, in large majority, of Hurrians and that the Armenian language of Indo-European origin was not their own native tongue, but was imposed on them by the Indo-European minority. Existing evidences, however, do not substantiate such a hypothesis. It can be true only for the Hurrian component of the Armenian people (and only in the case when it is proven definitively that the Hurrian language is not Indo-European). The apparent evidences confirm rather that, as mentioned earlier, the parent Indo-European language was consolidated in its cradle in Asia Minor and the Armenian Highland, where the two anthropological types, the western (dolicocephalic) and the eastern (*Armenoid*), came in contact with each other, long before the invention of writing, in prehistoric times, when the *Armenoid* Subarians were present in the land as natives. (The presence of anthropological differences among Indo-Europeans could have been possible only if their homeland were in this geographic environment.) This is one of the proofs showing that their homeland could not have been in Europe.

The appearance of the Hurrian tribes in the Near East in the third and particularly the second millenium B.C. was actually the result of much later migrations occurred in historical times. In the days when they were first mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions they were speaking the Hurrian language.

As we have seen, a number of scholars assert that Subarians are not Hurrians. In an Ugaritic inscription discovered at Ra's Shamra (near Latakia), we find the following three terms mentioned together:

short period of time. The noted archaeologist S. Sardarian writes that the Armenian Highland must be considered the homeland of the Armenoids and it was from there that they have spread south to Mesopotamia and west to the Balkans (NHH, 222).

Hri (Hurri), *Hti* (Hati), and *Šbr* (Šubari).²² Some authors accept this as a proof that Hurrians and Subarians are distinct and separate elements, whereas others, based on earlier opinions regarding the Subari-Hurri equivalence, see the Assyrians in the term *Šbr* (Šubari).

We are of the opinion that one should look at the Subarian question on the background of the fact that the Indo-European homeland is in Asia Minor, in the Armenian Highland and the neighboring regions of Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. It was in these very same regions that Mitanni was mainly located.

It is known in scholarship that the ruling class in the state of Mitanni carried Indo-European names and among the deities worshiped in Mitanni were Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Nasatea, and other Indo-European (called Indo-Iranian) gods. Some authors present the question in such an aspect as to imply that the personal names and the deities called Indo-Iranian were not Indo-European and they generally formulate this question in a way as if that which is Indo-Iranian is different from Indo-European. The fact is that these names and the various deities called Indo-Iranian were all known in Subarian countries centuries before the migration attributed to Indo-Iranians. They were well known not only in the lands of Mitanni, but in the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor.

R. O'Callaghan has collected the following important data on this matter:

It is most striking that a number of royal Mitanian names recur in the west, for example, *Sudarna* is dynast of Mušihuna, *Sutadara* is father of *Aitagama* ..., *Aitagama* was a brother of Biryawāza, himself a chieftain ... *Šunašūra*, king of Kizwatna to the north of Cilicia, we find in northern Syria *Sumida*, possibly a chief of Carchemish, *Abirata*, prince of Barga, *Swatiti*, a man in Alalakh, and *Patuzana*, *Bāyawa* and *Tsitriyara*, all Syrian princes. Coming south near the lower Orontes, there are *Aitagama*, dynast of Kadesh, his father *Sutadara* ...²³

Continuing this list, O'Callaghan brings many more names of kings, princes and other important personalities from the above-

22. *HS*, 20. (See also *Syria X* (1929) Pl. LXII.)

23. *AN*, 64-65.

mentioned regions, then he concludes: "... all the names of the princes and patricians in Palestine and Syria referred to above, as well as the names from Mitanni and Nuzu, are of Indo-Aryan origin."

How could one possibly accept the idea that these Indo-European names and the deities mentioned above could have come from Iran and spread over the extent of Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria, the Armenian Highland, Cilicia and Asia Minor, in other words, the entire Indo-European homeland? Some scholars go so far as arranging things in such a way that Mitanni turn out to be also Hurrians; as if they constituted the last wave of Hurrian migration, coming to the Near East from around Lake Urmia, and bringing with them certain Indo-Iranian names and deities. This idea is devised, of course, to accommodate the preconceived and wrong hypothesis and conviction that the homeland of the parent Indo-European language was in Europe (formerly placed in Central Asia) and that Indo-Iranians had come from the north in the 2000s B.C. According to this assumption it must have so happened that Mitanni, as "Hurrians coming from the east," have met (or cohabited for some time), in some place around the Caspian Sea or Lake Urmia, with those Indo-Europeans who, coming from Central Asia or the Caucasus, were on their move to the south, and thus have borrowed from them certain "Indo-Iranian" elements, *at a time when the latter were not yet even Indo-Iranians*.

This whole structure breaks down, of course, when one admits the fact that the Indo-European homeland was not in Europe and that Indo-Europeans were in existence in the Armenian Highland, Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and Asia Minor, as well as in the northwestern end of present-day Iran much earlier than the second millennium B.C. (In fact they were there all the time.) Hence, it will be more correct to accept that Mitanni, too, were of these Indo-European natives who were called Nairians.

In the times of Mitanni these people were utilizing for their writings the Hurrian language which seemed to have been gaining usage, along with the Sumerian and the Akkadian, in those regions of the Near East where Hurrians were expanding.

It appears that the Hurrian, as a second language, must have been widely and actively used in the southern (Mitannian) regions of the Armenian Highland because of a massive Hurrian presence (not counting, of course, Nuzi, Ugarit and other Hurrian centers in the Near East). On the other hand, there does not seem to be such

an active Hurrian presence in the central and interior regions of the Highland (although certain Hurrian tribes had penetrated into these parts carrying with them their language). This could very well be the reason why we do not find in these regions of the Armenian Highland any Hurrian writings pertaining to the times of Mitanni.

After Mitanni's fall the Hurrians have started to mix with the local people everywhere, with Semites in the south and Indo-Europeans in the north, and thus the Hurrian language has gradually declined and lost its currency and, eventually, within three or four centuries, has almost ceased to be a spoken language.

It must be pointed out here that our knowledge about the time interval between the fall of Mitanni and the establishment of Urartu is very scarce. The only thing which is nearly certain is that with the fall of Mitanni the southeastern regions of its empire were inherited by Assyria, some regions in the west passed on to the Hittites, and in the main regions of the Armenian Highland small kingdoms and principalities came into existence which waged constant struggle of survival against the Hittites on the one side and the Assyrians on the other. These, however, did not have strong governmental structures so as to be able to leave their own written records. We derive some fragmentary information about them only from Assyrian and Hittite inscriptions which are one-sided and tendentious and speak only of their own successes.

Here is, then, the epic of Hayk and Bel, which, as the popular and traditional reflection of these events, expresses, in the historiographic style of the time and in mythological form, the written and traditional reminiscences of the heroic struggles of the Armenian people against the intrusions of their Assyro-Babylonian enemies.²⁴

This Armenian tale preserves the faint memories of events of those ancient times, when, after the destruction of Mitanni, the southern remnants of her rulers were forced before the onslaught of new Semitic immigrations (of the Suti and the Ahlame tribes, later called Aramaeans) and under the pressure of a growing Assyria to retreat from their southern positions to a strategically stronger and more defensible highland in the north.

The eastern branch has retreated from around Arrapha (Kirkuk), Nuzi and Aššur and moved upstream along the Tigris, toward Korduk' (Kardu). This movement finds expression in the epic of Hayk,

24. On the historicity of the epic of Hayk and Bel (on its being Urartian history), see *HZhDz*, 78-100.

where the notorious chieftain, with his son *Aramaneak* and all his followers, moves from Assyria (in the epic from "Babylonia," obviously influenced by the Biblical legend of the Tower of Babel, or, indeed, because of Armeno-Subarian settlements in Babylonia) to the *land of Ararad* (Uruatri). The western branch, in its turn, has moved from Ugarit and Hama, in the directions of the Orontes, the Euphrates and the Khabur, and retreated to the north. Thus, they have settled in the mountain belt that separates the northern highland from the plains in the south, now turned Semitic, alongside with their kindred Nairian tribes, in Musasir (Matiene), Uruatri-Ararad (Korduk), Kadmuhi, Alzi (Aghtznik'), Kommagene and the neighboring mountainous regions which formed the southern parts of the Armenian Highland.

The eastern branch has established its center in the Uruatri mountains ("Ararad" in Khorenatsi) while the western branch has formed strong unions at Hanigalbat,²⁵ Arme-Subria and Supani (Dzopk'), sometimes fighting and other times joining the so-called Hittite federation.

The Nairian (Indo-European-Hurrian) tribes of the eastern branch were able to form a notable union around Uruatri that could resist Assyria, a union that eventually became the nucleus of the mighty Urartian state that was to be established later; nevertheless, these tribes of the Uruatrian union, being within the range of intrusions of the Semitic enemy forces in the south and by their shifting practice of uniting and dissolving, could not create a power that would be a match for growing Assyria. Although they were able to muster enough force to struggle for their existence, they were not able to create a well-organized and centralized powerful kingdom. They did not occupy a proper place in history and did not leave an autographic trace. In order to avoid Assyria's constant encroachments and exhausting pressures, they were forced to move their center of resistance to farther north, to the region of Lake Van and Hark'. (This is all that is embodied in the epic of Hayk and Bel.)

It was here that in the first quarter of the 9th century B.C. these Nairian tribes were able to achieve a strong and centralized union and formed the kingdom of Urartu which, as we learn from Assyrian inscriptions, in the time of Arame had already become strong enough to begin to disturb Assyria.

We know that the Urartian kings called themselves "king of the

25. HSKP, 7.

land of Nairi." It is evident, therefore, that Urartu was a confederation or a politico-military union of Nairian tribes.

And what was the ethnic origin and language of the rulers of Urartu? Indications point to the fact that these, too, like the rulers of Mitanni, were Nairians of Indo-European origin.

Although in the middle of the second millenium B.C., in the times of Mitanni, certain Hurrian tribes have penetrated into the central regions (Hark') and the hinterland of the Armenian Highland and, as inhabitants in the land of Nairi, have also become Nairians, nevertheless, as I have noted, they did not have the importance and vitality that their kinsmen had in the southern regions. It is obvious that by the time Mitanni fell, three or four centuries later, these people as well as their kinsmen in the south, must have already been assimilated by the Indo-European Nairians and almost ceased to be Hurrian-speaking. It was in this period that the Armenian people was formed as an Indo-European-speaking people.

I would like to cite here a number of evidences in support of this assertion:

1. The epic of *Hayk and Bel* testifies that when Hayk (Haldi) moved his dwelling site (the country's administrative center) from Ararad (Uruatri) to Hark' (the region of Lake Van), *Ho'* (the Hurrian tribe) was the brother of Hayk's eldest son *Aramaneak* (the Armenians).²⁶

2. Even if the designation of *Arame* (called *Aram* by Khorenatsi), the founder of the Urartian kingdom, as *the patriarch of the Armenians*, is not accepted as an important indication in this question, still the names *Armais* (=Argisti) and *Aramaneak* (=Erimena) are sufficient to affirm the Armenian origin of the Urartian dynasty. Moreover, the names of the other Urartian kings are not Hurrian either.

3. The false migration hypothesis of the Armenians still prevents certain authors from seeing the correct connections between the Armenians and Urartu. Considering the Armenians as settlers, these authors assume that they have entered Urartu in the days of her decline and even later. The fact is, however, that Urartu was their own country and there are important indications to this effect in the inscriptions of Darius.

In the trilingual Behistun writings, where the Akkadian and the Elamite texts are the direct translations of the Persian original, the name *Armina* (Armeni) in the Persian original is rendered *Uraštu*, that

26. Khorenatsi, I-12.

is, *Urartu* (with the *r>š* transition) in the Akkadian translation. This proves that the name *Uraštu* (Urartu) was synonymous or equivalent to the land-name *Armina* (Armeni).

4. Darius mentions in the same inscriptions that a certain *Armin* (an Armenian) by the name *Araha*, *Haldita's son*, had become king of Babylon. He writes:

[thus] says Darius: When I was in Persia and Media, the Babylonians rebelled against me for the second time. A man by the name *Araha*, an *Armin*, *Haldita's son*, rebelled in Babylon. In a place called *Dubala* he lied to the people [saying]: 'I am *Nebuchadnezzar*, the son of *Nabonidus*.' Then the people of Babylon rebelled against me and took the side of *Araha*. He occupied Babylon and became king in Babylon.²⁷

We see here explicitly stated that *the father of this Araha the Armin (Armenian) was called Haldita*, a name (*Haldi-ta*) that incorporates the name of the Urartian supreme national god *Haldi*.

Darius mentions *Araha* in 520 B.C., that is, 65-70 years after Urartu's defeat (590-585 B.C.). A comparison of the dates reveals that *Araha's* grandfather must have lived in the last days of Urartu and witnessed her fall. Here is, then, an Armenian who lived in the days of Urartu and named his son after *Haldi*, Urartu's supreme national god. If this Armenian were not a genuine son of Urartu, but belonged instead to a foreign enemy race and had come with the Medes who destroyed Urartu, he certainly would not have called his son (*Araha's* father) *Haldi-ta* by the name of the supreme national god *Haldi* of *his enemies*. This is then a crying evidence that *this Armenian was an Urartian*. To think that *Araha's* grandfather was a "non-Armenian" Urartian, but after Urartu's defeat his son, accepting the nationality and the religion of their "foreign adversaries", had become Armenianized, and that this happened under Median rule, is at least unreasonable.

It is as clear as day that *Urartians were Armenians who worshipped Haldi*. We already know that *Haldi* is *Hayk*, the selfsame hero (the patriarch of the Armenians) who fought against *Bel* (the Assyro-Babylonian god). And this Armenian has named his son *Haldi-ta*, just as many Armenians have named and continue to name their sons *Hayk-ak* or simply *Hayk*.

27. British Museum, *SIDG*, 56-59.

It is not impossible either, that by the expression "Haldita's son" Darius might have explicitly indicated the *Haldian* origin of Araha the Armin (the Armenian), that is, his being a Haldian Urartian (or a son of Haldi of Urartu). It is known that in pagan times each individual in a given tribe was considered to be the son of that tribe or the son of the principal god of that tribe. As we have seen earlier, King David of the Hebrews, in order to indicate the nationality of the Armenian king Adrazar of Dzopk', calls him "son of Ara," which corresponds exactly to the meaning of the word *Armen* (*Ar-mef-ni*), 'sons of Ar' or 'sons of Ara'. Thus, the expression "A man by the name Araha, an Armin, Haldita's son" can be understood to signify that Araha ('Araian') the Armin was a Haldian man who belonged to the Urartian people; in other words, by the term *Armin* one should understand *Haldian-Urartian*, just as by the term *Armina* Darius understood Uraštu (Urartu).

It is actually immaterial whether by the expression "Haldita's son" Darius referred to Araha's physical father or to his belonging to the tribe whose god was Haldi. In either case the meaning is the same: This Armenian belonged to the Urartian people and the main Urartian people were Armenians.

Urartu and Babylon must have become old friends during their age-old struggles against bloodthirsty Assyria. It is conceivable, therefore, that an Urartian prince could have led a Babylonian rebellion against Darius and been accepted by the Babylonians as an authority of royal-divine origin and become their king. It is even probable that Araha could have been the leader of an Urartian mission sent by the Urartian Armenians to open a second front against Darius' rule in Babylon and who could have succeeded to raise against him the friendly Babylonian people who shared their destiny.

5. From Darius' same inscription we learn that at that time Uraštu-Armina, too, had rebelled against him and was engaged in a liberation war against the Persian armies placed under the command of two generals, Dadaršiš and Vaumisa. Now, if these Armenians (the Armins) were those who had been placed as rulers in Urartu by the Medes and had remained in their positions under the patronage of the Achaemenians, then why would they rebel, and furthermore, given "the presence of enemy Urartians," why would they cause to alter a situation that was so much "in their favor"? It becomes very clear, therefore, that these Armenians were Urartians who had been defeated by the Medes and who had rebelled now to restore their former Urartian independence.

6. It must be pointed out also that the Medes and, later, the Achaemenians, after defeating Urartu, would not have named it Armina (and why should they have done so?) had it not already been the land of the Armenians since ancient times.

7. Archaeologists do not find any new and unrelated layers above the layers of Urartian culture and they conclude that the continuation has been smooth and uninterrupted.

In fact, with the arrival of the Ervanduni dynasty, no religious-cultural break or change has taken place in the country. We shall speak about this in detail in the next section on *Ervandunis*.

8. The costumes in which the Armenians are pictured in the sculptures of Xerxes' palace in Persepolis are exactly the same as those of the Urartian delegates depicted on a sculpture in Ashurbanipal's palace in Nineveh.

9. We know that the Armenian kings were buried in the Egegh-eats region. An Urartian royal tomb discovered at Altin Tepe shows that in that region the Urartian burial tradition and customs were continued by the Armenian kings who succeeded the Urartian Aramian dynasty. This, too, proves the uninterrupted continuation of the native spiritual culture.

10. A number of place-names from Urartian times have been preserved almost intact. Examples are: Alzinini-Aghtznik, Enzit-Antzit, Şupani-Dzopk', Hanigalbat/Hanirabat-Kharberd/Kharput (?), Melidu-Malatia, Urartu-Ararat, Arşuniuini-Arşruni, Biaina-Van, Erebuni-Erevan, Dayaeni-Tayk', Tariuni-Daruynk', Cummaḥa-Kamakh, Alzini-Eriza-Erzinjan, Idiglat-Tigris, Buranun-Purattu-Ephrat, Arsanias-Araşani, Aḥuriani-Aḥurian, Suinia-Sevan, etc., etc.

11. During the one or two decades that elapsed between the fall of the Urartian dynasty (590-585 B.C.) and the accession to power of Ervand I (570 B.C.) no changes have occurred in the Urartian population and there has been no massive influx of foreign settlers who could have altered the language of the country. Had the language of the country been changed in such a short period of time (something very unlikely), it would have only been to the language of the new supreme rulers, the Medes and the Persians. But Armenian is neither the language of the Medes nor the Persians. Hence, it must be accepted that it was the native tongue of the country that was preserved, that is, the tongue of the Nairians who ruled there before Urartu's defeat.

It is clear, that the Hurrians who penetrated into the Armenian

Highland in the second millenium B.C. and gaining an important proportion introduced bilingualism in the country, have been subjected, after the fall of Mitanni, to the linguistico-cultural influences of the native population and have gradually, within three or four centuries, almost ceased to be Hurrian-speaking. Nevertheless, they must have continued to use a Hurrian dialect in certain temples (like the one at Musasir) for ceremonial purposes and also specifically as a language of inscriptions. This could apparently be the reason why, in Urartu, Sarduri I's official documents, written first in Assyrian, were switched, in Išpuini's time (probably because of feelings of increased hostility against Assyria), to a Hurrian-like dialect that was found preserved in one such temple.

12. The fact that such a dialect was utilized for these official writings is disturbing certain scholars to accept that the ruling Nairian people in Urartu were Indo-European-speaking; on the other hand, these same scholars, knowing real well that basically in Mitanni the Hurrian language was extensively used for writing, do not suspect the Indo-European origin of Mitanni's ruling class. Moreover, this was at a time when the Hurrians formed a distinct and particular element in Mitanni's government structure and their tongue was in current usage in the country as an important second language. In Mitanni, other than state records, there were also numerous scripts written in Hurrian by common, Hurrian-speaking people, whereas in Urartu we do not find any such popular writings, proving that the Urartian language was not, in fact, so much a spoken language in the times of Urartu. These people used a kind of simple hieroglyphic signs which sufficed for their common and minor transactions.

13. If the Nairians who formed Urartu had been Hurrian-speaking in those days, they would have certainly remained so in the days of the Ervandunis and the Artashesians, since the population of the country did not change.

The Urartian rulers, even after Sarduri I, could have continued to write their inscriptions in Assyrian and no one would have suspected them to be Assyrians. Likewise, in the times of the Ervandunis and the Artashesians, Armenians have utilized the Aramaean, the Persian and the Greek languages and no one has considered them to be Aramaean, Persian or Greek.

A certain misunderstanding has taken root in some scholars based on the mere assumption that there has been in the region of Van a particular tribe called *Urart*, *Biai*, or *Hald*, that has wielded power.

Supposing that Urartu was the name of a particular tribe, these scholars began to look for the traces of "this tribe" in Urartu and in the surrounding countries. Coming across the Al-Artan mountaineers in the region of Khut-Sasun mentioned by Arabic authors, and carried away by the slight similarity of the name, they considered them to be the remnant of the "Urartian tribe." The fact is that the name *Al-Artan* has no connection with the name *Urartu*, the latter having already generated the name *Ararat*. The prefix *Al* of *Al-Artan* is a definite article in Arabic, corresponding to "the" in English (cf. مصر *Masr*, 'Egypt' and مصر *Al-Masr*; Arman and Al-Arman, 'the Armenians'). Removing the article, we are left with *Artan* which, with its one syllable with *r* cannot be linked with the name *Urartu* (*Ararat*) which has two syllables with *r* and where the *n* of *Artan* is absent. The name *Artan* is closer to *Ardini*, *Eridiani*, and other similar forms, rather than *Urartu*, but no one thinks of connecting it with them. The same can be said about the *Ortaians* of the Antzit region in whom some, likewise, see the "Urartian tribe." It must be noted, first, that the Antzit region was not part of Urartu proper, and, secondly, if one is in search of a term phonetically close to *Orta*(ians), instead of going to *Urartu* (which has already given *Ararat*), one can look closer at *Oltu* (northwest of Erzurum) or *Ordu* (west of Trabizon). Thus, one must not be carried away by incidental similarities in names and derive weighty conclusions without substantiating evidences. I have shown earlier and will show again in the sections of *Ervandunis* and *Biaina* that the names *Urartu* and *Biaina* are only geographical terms and do not have any ethnic significance, and that *Haldi* has never been *Hurrian*. It must be clear, then, that in the times of Urartu, the Nairians whose kingdom was Urartu, were already organized as an Indo-European-speaking people.

14. According to ancient Armenian philological data, the Nairian tribes mentioned by Assyrian and Urartian kings in the second and first milleniums B.C. come to the scene of action during the Armenian Arshakuni dynasty as distinct feudal principalities (*Nakhararutiun*), such as, *Daiaeni-Tayk'*, *Abiliani-Abeghian*, *Arşuniuini-Arşruni*, *Abuni-Havnnuni*, *Eriaşi-Shirak*, *Abaeni-Apahuni*, *Alzinini-Aghtznik'*, *Şupani-Dzopk'*, etc. It must be accepted, therefore, that most of the Armenian principalities descended from the Nairian tribes of the Armenian Highland, with some of the smaller ones being merged into the structure of the larger ones.

Their territories extended from Lake Urmia to the Euphrates in

the south and stretched over Hayasa, Tayk' and Geghak'uni (Ueli-kuni) to the Kura river and the approaches of the Caspian Sea in the north and east. (The inhabitants of the *Baghk'* region of Sünik' were kindred to the Nairian tribes of *Balahovit* and *Baghnatun*, and those in the *Meghri* region were related to the people of *Meghraget* near Mush. The memory of their being "sons of the sun" ('arevordi') may have been lingered in the district name *Arevik'*.)

It is well known that many of the Armenian principalities had their own territories and their particular dialects. Most of the Armenian dialects known to us have so many differences in their phonetic and morphological characteristics and in grammar compared to ancient classical Armenian (*grabar*) that it is difficult to consider them derived from it.

Some assert that when the Armenian alphabet was invented there were no separate dialects and that these dialects were formed from 'grabar' only after the fifth century. This would mean that from the time the Armenian language was separated from the Proto-Indo-European until the invention of the alphabet by Mesrop, for a span of a few thousand years, either no changes have occurred in the language or it has gone through the same phases of development in every particular and isolated region of the Armenian Highland, and, preserving everywhere its morphological and phonetic integrity, has not given rise to any branch or dialect; and suddenly, after the invention of the alphabet (under the relatively stabilizing effect of literacy), the language has begun to change and produced many branches and dialects! It is very difficult indeed to subscribe to such an irrational assumption.

The differences that exist between some of the Armenian dialects are just as great as those existing between the various branches of present-day major languages of the Indo-European family (say Latin, Iranian or Slavic). Even certain Armenian dialects are unintelligible to each other. Some of them contain grammatical elements and vocabulary that are not proper to 'grabar'. These facts suggest that the separation of the Armenian dialects from the mother tongue must have taken place in a much earlier time. As rightly observed by Prof. R. Ishkhanian, "It is entirely possible to call the Armenian dialects a subgroup of Armenian languages within the Indo-European family."²⁸

28. Raphael Ishkhanian, "New Discoveries in Comparative Linguistics and Issues in the History of the Origin of the Armenians," *BYH*, 1979, No. 2 (38), p. 100.

It must also be noted here that these dialects could not have evolved into such differences and maintained their identity if the people who spoke them had not been isolated in the long past and remained on their own and permanent territories as distinct population units.

There is no doubt, therefore, that most of the Armenian feudal principalities, with their territorial and linguistic distinctiveness, have been the heirs of the Nairian tribes of the Armenian Highland. We can affirm, then, that *the language of the Nairian tribes was mainly Indo-European and that the various branches of their language belonged to a subgroup of native Armenian languages within the Indo-European family.*

15. We have already shown above that the word *bir* (and its variant *ber*), meaning 'tribe, house, city', is a native Nairian word which occurs in Nairian place or tribal names, such as, *Ginzi-bir*, *Šini-bir-ni*, *Turu-ber-an*, *Aṭ-ber-ani* and *Arma-bir* (Armavir) and it is an Indo-European word.

When the word *bir* is used as a terminal affix in place-names, it loses the *i* by the addition of the toponymic suffix *-ia* (*-bir + ia = -bria*), like *Su-bir > Šu-bria*. The names of the Subarian cities *Alla-bria* (south of Lake Urmia) and *Išpili-bria* (Išpilibria) are formed in this manner. H. Karagyozyan speaking in one of his works about *Išpilibria* in the region of Kashiari, compares the *-bria* ending of this name with the names of a number of Thraco-Phrygian cities (such as *Mesambria*, *Skelabria*, *Poltiobria*, *Mesembria*, *Kombria*, *Menebria*, *Selim-bria*, *Timbria* and *Salambria*) and he concludes that the word *bria* is Indo-European.²⁹

We may consider it certain, then, that *bir* is an Indo-European word. The form *bria*, with its *-ia* ending, is of much later occurrence than the main root *bir* (in toponymic names the *-ia* ending occurs generally in later periods), for example, the ancient name *Su-bir* appears as *Šu-bria* (< *Subir + ia*) in much later times. Therefore, the presence of this word in Subarian-Nairian tribal and place-names in its most ancient and correct form *bir* is an indication showing the location of the Indo-European homeland.

This proves also that the Nairian tribes, many of whom had names containing the word *bir*, spoke an Indo-European language. Hence, the tribe *Allabria*, too, was Indo-European.

29. H. Karagyozyan, "Thracians in the South-West of the Armenian Highland" (in Russian) *PhA* 1, 1981.

16. The suffixes *-ni* and *-ani* added to the Indo-European component *bir* (or *ber*) in some of these names (*Šinibir-ni*, *Arber-ani*, *Turuber-ani* etc.) are of a later stratum and may be Hurrian or Nairian-Armenian endings. Even though these endings are found in the Hurrian language, their existence in Armenian is already shown in Chapter I, Section 6.

17. As additional proof, there is also the fact that place-names such as *Argištiḫinili*, *Menuaḫinili*, *Rusaḫinili*, *Sarduriḫurda*, *Argištiuna*, found only in the language of official records, have not been preserved; the reason being that they did not belong to the common and current language spoken by the people. As an example, we know that instead of *Argištiḫinili*, the people has preserved the name *Armavir*, because it belonged to their current Nairian-Armenian language.

18. We can also mention the fact that no significant linguistic changes are observed between the earliest and the latest Urartian inscriptions even though some 200 years separate them. This shows that the language used for these inscriptions was not the spoken language of the time, otherwise it would have certainly undergone some noticeable changes.

19. We already know that Hayk (the ancestor-god of Armenians) who defeated Bel (the Assyro-Babylonian enemies) in battle with his bow and arrow is none other than Haldi. Here is an evidence from Urartian inscriptions that speaks about this: "*Ḫaldini uštabi masi-nie GISsurie karuni KURaššur LUḫuradie*."³⁰ ("Haldi came out [for invasion] with his arm, conquered the Assyrian army.") It is clear that Hayk-Haldi was the god of Nairian Armenians, who ruled in Urartu, but in those days the language of the Urartian inscriptions was not their spoken language. And, as we have seen, many of these Nairian tribes, especially the leading ones, appear later as Armenian feudal principalities (Naghararutium) in the structure of the Armenian kingdom of the Artashessian and the Arshakuni dynasties.

20. There is an important document of the fifth century, from the days of Catholicos Sahak, which fortunately has reached our time. It is the list of 70 Armenian feudal houses recorded in their sitting order around the king's throne in a royal assembly (*gahnamak*, *qwhḫwḫwḫ*, 'throne list').³¹ It is clearly seen in this list that those

30. This portion of the Urartian inscription is taken from the writing of Argišti I. See *UKN*, 218.

31. For the complete list, see *AHDzU*, 326-327, or *Khorenaṣi*, Malkhasian's translation, 1940, notes on p. 337.

feudal houses whose chiefs had their seats closer to the king's throne occupying more honorable positions were the ones that descended directly from Urartu as the heirs of the Nairian tribes, such as the Ĥorĥorunis, Rštunis, Aršrunis, those of Taron [the Mamikonians], Dzopk', Mekk', Apahunis, Tayk', Abeghians, and others.

In sum, all these evidences show that the kingdoms that succeeded Urartu in the Armenian Highland have been Nairian states and have constituted the continuation of the kingdom of Urartu.

3. THE ERVANDUNI DYNASTY

The history of the fall of the Urartian kingdom (more precisely, the Urartian dynasty) is still in the dark. It is assumed that the Medes, with the cooperation of some Armenians (probably some Nairian tribes discontented with the treatment of the Urartian kings), have conquered Urartu and put an end to her.

The supposition regarding the part played by the Nairian tribes in the downfall of Urartu, plausible as it may appear in its general sense, does not shed any light on the ethnic identity of the Ervanduni dynasty which succeeded the Urartian dynasty.

It is clear that the name *Ervand* (*Ervanduni*) is a family name, but the problem of its ethnic identity remains obscure because of the scarcity and vagueness of available information and it continues to be a subject of controversy. Some authors, attributing a decisive significance to the marriage relations that the Ervandunis established in later years with the Achaemenians, and particularly having in view the erroneous attempts of searching the origin of the name *Ervand* in the Persian language, are inclined to ascribe Persian origin to this dynasty. This, however, could not be possible, because, after the fall of the Urartian dynasty in Armenia (590-585 B.C.), when the Ervanduni Kingdom, including the same Urartian territories, was, in the days of Astiages (584-553 B.C.), under the suzerainty of the Medes and not the Persians, the Medes certainly would not have placed on the throne of Urartu they had just conquered one of their rival or opponent Persians,— those Persians who in three years of bloody battles and under Cyrus' leadership would have overthrown the Median rule in 553 B.C.

This very uncertainty about the ethnic origin of the Ervanduni dynasty and the futile attempts of searching the etymology of the name *Ervand* in the Persian language have been a major contributing factor of misunderstanding in historiography, distorting the circumstances of the transition of power from the Aramian³² to the Ervanduni dynasty in Urartu and throwing entirely off the track the history of Urartu and that of subsequent periods.

I would like to share here some of my new observations that may help to throw light on this very important question.

Let me say first, that the Medes, after defeating Urartu and aiming at greater imperialistic expansions towards the interior of Asia Minor, would not have deemed it wise to place a foreigner on the throne of Urartu. Such an act would have been extremely provocative and offending to a brave and proud people of great traditions, like the Nairian people, whose military assistance (or, at least, neutrality) they would have certainly needed for their future expansions. Therefore, the Medes would have placed on the throne of Urartu a prince who either was a non-direct descendant (a relative) of the Urartian dynasty or belonged to one of the principal Nairian tribes that founded Uruatri and later Urartu.

What concerns the origin of the name *Ervand*, my investigations show that this name, as a royal name linked with the Ervanduni family and their land, is much older than generally accepted. I find that the name *Er-vand* is derived from the Sumerian name *Ur-banda*. This name is found in the well-known Hittite inscription that speaks about Naram-Sin's 17 enemies; it occupies the 15th place in that list of kings, where we read:

- *^mUr-{b}a-an-da LUGAL KUR^{URU}Ni-ik-ki{...}*³³
 ("Ur-banda, king of the land of the city of Ni-ik-ki{...}")

The last part of the name *Ni-ik-ki{...}* is on the damaged portion of the tablet and is obliterated. I find that this missing part must have contained the syllables *-pa* or *-ip-pa* and the full name must be read *Ni-ik-ki-ip-pa* (*Nikipa* or *Nikippa*). In an inscription that speaks about Sargon II's invasion from Assyria to Mana and Urartu, this place-name *Nikippa* is mentioned as the name of a mountain.

The *Ur* component of the name *Ur-banda* should be compared

32. Although I find that all the Urartian kings descend from Arame, whether they do so or not is immaterial for our present discussion. Here I have called them all *Aramian* after Arame's name (*Aram* in Khorenatsi).

33. *AHDzU*, 11.

with *Ur-Ningirsu*, the son of King Gudea of Gutium (a region in the Zagros mountains) and with *Ur-Bau*, the name of the priest-king of Lagash; and the word *banda* should remind us of the name of that herald, *Lugal-banda* ('junior-king' or 'king's support, assistant') whom Enmerkar, the king of Erech, sent to Aratta.

We know that the initial *b* in Urartian and other ancient languages is changed to the sound *v* in Armenian, like *Biaina* > *Van*. Similarly, the *-banda* component of *Ur-banda* is changed to *vand* and *Ur-banda* is pronounced as *Er-vand* (*Ervand*).

The location of the city-country Nikippa of King Ur-banda is approximately known by means of the information supplied in Sargon II's inscriptions about his expedition to Mana and Urartu. Here I quote the translation of those portions of the inscriptions which interest us:

I departed from Calah, my royal city and had a rough passage across the Upper Zab at its first flood. The third day I made the solemn promise to Enlil and Ninlil ... Whereupon I caused the armies of Shamash and Marduk to jump across the Lower Zab, whose crossing is difficult, as (if it had been) a ditch. Into the passes of Mount-Kullar, a high mountain range of the land of the Luliumi,—which they (also) call the land of Zamua, I entered. In the Sumbi district I held a review of my army; ... I directed the line of march into the mountains. Against the land of Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke (i.e. the chariot) of Nergal and Adad, (whose) emblems go before me. Between Mount Nikippa and Mount Upâ, high mountains, covered with all kinds of trees ..., I marched. The Bûia River, which (flows) between them I crossed ...³⁴

In addition to this, Sargon writes:

... from the district of Sumbi I went in between Nikippa and Upâ, steep mountains. Toward Urartu, Zikirtu (and) the Mannean land, Nairi and Musasir, I marched victoriously ...³⁵

All these indicate that Mount Nikippa, still preserving the name

34. ARAB, II, 74.

35. Ibid. 99.

of King Ur-banda's city-country since the times of Naram-Sin, was located in the southern part of Musasir-Ardini, north of Lullubi and Allabria and approximately in the southeastern region of the present-day city and mountains of Revanduz. In fact, the name *Re-vand(uz)* seems to be a distinct reflection of the name *Ur-banda* > *Er-vand*, and it is not unlikely that it may even be the city of Nikippa itself, the central city of Ur-banda.

All these evidences show that after the lapse of more than two thousand years, from the times of Naram-Sin to the Ervanduni dynasty that succeeded the Aramian dynasty in Urartu, the whole region of Musasir-Ardini (as well as Uruatri, called *Ararad* by Khorenatsi, and Hayots Tzor ['Armenians' Valley'] called also Ervandunik) continued to belong to the Ervanduni family.

This explains also the reason why in the *Shahname* the Tigris river (evidently the Eastern Tigris that originates in this homeland of the Ervandunis) is called *Arwand*.³⁶

There are more historiographic evidences supporting this fact. Academician S. Eremian writes the following:

A number of indirect evidences lead us to the conclusion that the Ervanduni dynasty originated in the territory of Ardini-Musasir, neighboring on Matiene-Mana, the northeastern mountainous parts of which were included first in the kingdom of Urartu and later in the composition of Armenia. Pliny speaks about the Orondes tribe that lived in this country, in the east of the city of Gaugamela. This coincides with the region of present-day Revanduz. According to H. Manandian, the name of one of the districts in Vaspurakan, *Aruantunik* (Ervandunis) must have been related to the people of Oroandes. This same district was also called Hayots Tzor ('Armenians' Valley') and was to the south of the city of Van, in the valley of the Hayots Tzor (Khoshab) river. The Ervanduni feudal dynasty, the hereditary princes of that district, continued to exist until the seventh century A.D.³⁷

From Assyrian and Urartian inscriptions it is well known that the Haldian temple of Musasir-Ardini was the principal religious center

36. H. Adjarian, *Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names* (in Armenian), entry *Ervand*.

37. *HZhP*, 439-440.

of Urartu, just as Etchmiadzin is for present-day Armenians, and there are indications that this Haldian temple was in existence even before the founding of Urartu, in the early Uruatrian, and, probably, Mitanian times. Otherwise, the Urartian kings would have established their main religious center in Tušpa-Van or in Argištiḫinili-Armavir.

This shows that the Aramian dynasty of Urartu must have had kinship ties with the ruling house and the people of Musasir-Ardini. In this connection we are reminded of the bewailing of Rusa I of Urartu for the pillage of the treasures of the Haldian temple in Musasir by Sargon. There are already sufficient evidences to admit that Uruatri was Urartu's nominal and political predecessor, where the politico-military union-nucleus formed by the Nairian tribes was forced to move farther north under Assyrian pressure and was established in the region of Lake Van (in Hark' according to Khorenatsi).

In view of all these considerations, I think that the Medes, after defeating Urartu (whose last king of the Aramian dynasty and his direct heirs seem to have been killed in that great battle) could not have appointed a foreigner to rule a brave and proud people of great military and governmental traditions. Instead, as I have already said, in view of assuring the cooperation of these valiant Nairian tribes for their future expansions, the Medes would have agreed to the enthronement of one of the non-direct descendants of the Aramian dynasty or a prince from one of their kindred Nairian-Armenian tribes. And, as it is clearly seen, this person has been a prince of the Ervanduni family of the Musasir area, who were near neighbors to (and perhaps had cooperated with) the Medes living in Mana and in its east.

Thus, it is clear that with the succession of the Ervandunis to the Aramian dynasty, no ethnic change has occurred in Urartu's rulership and Tušpa-Van continued to be the capital of the country. It must be accepted, therefore, *that the Armina of the Ervanduni dynasty was the continuation of the state of Urartu which continued to be called Uraštu (=Urartu) in the Assyro-Babylonian language.*

The only (non-ethnic) change was that Urartu-Uraštu had become now a tributary, first, to the Medes, and later, with interruptions, to the Achaemenians. However, in the days of King Artashes I (of Armenians) she recovered her total Urartian independence and extending her sovereignty over the entire former Urartian territories and continuing to preserve the Ervanduni lineage, she regained, eventually, in the days of Tigran II the power of the era of Argišti I. We already know that King Artashes I, by his own explicit admission,

belonged to the Ervanduni family, being, probably, a non-direct descendant of Uraštu-Armina's Ervanduni dynasty.

It must be concluded, therefore, that in the Armenian Highland, the Armenian kingdom *Armina* of the Ervandunis (and the Ervandid Artashesians) was the direct continuation of Urartu without undergoing any ethnic change in her ruling class. This means that *the state of Urartu-Uraštu has continued to exist from the time of Arame (860 B.C.) to that of Erato (1 A.D.)* in the same linguistico-geographic environment, as a politico-military confederation of the same Nairian-Armenian tribes, which later became the feudal (*Nakhharar*) houses.

As it was shown above, the royal name *Ervand* (hence the Ervanduni family) descends from the times of Naram-Sin. Ur-Banda's ancestors and their tribe must have surely existed in their city-country *Nikippa* (in the region of Revanduz, north of Indo-European Allabria) at much earlier times and, I think, that they were none other than the *Nairian Subarians* (for their location see Map I). In fact, we know that Armani was located in the land of Subari and also that one of the sons of Ervand I was called *Tigr-an* after the name of the *Tigr-is* river ³⁸ (called *Arwand* in the *Shahnamé*) and another *Sabaris* (>*Shavarsh*) after *Subari*.

The antiquity of *Ur-banda* (the Ervanduni dynasty) helps also to explain the fact that in the Zend and Sanskrit languages the word *arwand* is preserved as meaning 'swift-moving (horse)' or 'brave'³⁹. Certain Indo-European groups (later called Indo-Iranian) living in and in the east of Mana in those ancient days, must have carried with them the fame of the Ervanduni horsemen (reminding of the Marianni warriors of Mitanni of later period) as they migrated to the Iranian Plateau and from there to India.

The fact that the territory of the Ervanduni family must have extended, even in the older days, from the *Nikippa* mountains to the region of Lake Van, including the district of "Hayots Tzor", called *Aruant'unik* (Ervanduni), in Vaspurakan, is further confirmed by the obvious evidence that the Eastern Tigris which falls within this territory was known by the name *Arwand* (as preserved in the *Shahnamé*, vol. I, 70). We can accept, therefore, that even in ancient times, the Uruatri-Musasir highland was within the territory of the Ervanduni family. This is none other than Subartu.

38. H. Adjarian, *Ibid*, The names *Eruand* (*Aruand*) and *Tigran* must have passed on from the Armenians to the Medo-Persians in the days of Mitanni-Urartu.

39. *Ibid*.

As we have already seen, it was this same mountainous land, Uruatri-Musasir, that was called *Hurum* in the Aratta-Erech epic tale at the beginning of the third millenium B.C. Although there are certain indications that at the same period of time some Hurrian elements have infiltrated into the Near East (and hence to Uruatri-Musasir), they did not, however, represent an important power and did not possess the necessary numbers and the vitality to be able to call the country *Hurum* by their name. In the section "The Indo-Europeans and the Hurrians" I shall explain in detail how the mountainous land of Uruatri was called *Uru-atri* or *Kardu* (<*Ki-ardu*),⁴⁰ meaning 'place of fire', because of its volcanic nature. The name *Hurum*, having the same meaning, was merely a geographical term and had no ethnic value.

It is known that it was in the second quarter of the second millenium B.C. when the Hurrians have crossed the Zagros range in massive waves of migration, entered the regions called Assyria, from there spread over Northern Mesopotamia and Northern Syria and penetrated into the Armenian Highland⁴¹ and Cilicia. This was the time when the Hurrians constituted a great percentage of the population in Uruatri-Musasir. It is very likely, therefore, that the *Hurrians* have received their name from the name of the country, *Hurum*, (and not vice versa), when they became an important element in her population. From then on they have spread that name in the Near East in the times of Mitanni.

I find that the *Ur-banda* (Ervanduni) family has been one of the most important of the Nairian-Subarian tribes who, being in constant conflict with Assyria, had formed the tribal union of Uruatri which, under continuous Assyrian pressure, was forced to move its administrative center to the north, near Lake Van, and constituted the nucleus of the future powerful Urartian kingdom.

Movses Khorenatsi, drawing his data from the Syrian chronicler Mar-Aba Katina, has preserved this information of traditional and historiographic value, that Hayk, when moving from the land of Ararad (Uruatri) to the Lake Van region and Hark', has bequeathed

40. The term *Kardu* (<*Ki-ardu*, 'place of fire') will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 5, Section 2. The Sumerian name *Ur-banda* of the Ervandunis and the name *Ki-ardu* (*Kardu*) given to the land of Ararad<Uruatri must be considered as evidence that the Sumerian language was used in these regions in their time. Thus, the Sumero-Armenian linguistic and cultural connections and parallels pointed out become more comprehensible.

41. This, too, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Section 2.

his house (in Ararad) to *Aramaneak's* son *Kadmos* (< Kadmuhi). This very ancient piece of information shows, likewise, that Katmuhi, as well as the land of Ararad, both part of Armani-Subartu (see Map 1), were the possession of Hayk's posterity (*Aramaneak's* son) or the heritage of the Armenian people even before the founding of Urartu.

A further proof for this is provided by the fact that the second Khabur begins in this area, and, as we have seen, this name is preserved in the Armenian language with the meaning of 'source' (ախոր > աղբիւր).

As mentioned earlier, the names *Uru-atrī* or *Ur-artu* and *Ki-ardu* or *Kardu* (> *Korduk'*, Կորդուկ) were geographical terms and did not have any ethnic value; nevertheless, in later times they have acquired a significance as such for their inhabitants. The Armeno-Hurrian (Nairian) people of the southern region of the Armenian Highland have developed divergent tendencies because of their forbidding mountains. Xenophon calls these people *Karduḥ* who, retreated to the heights of their mountains, would not submit to the Achaemenians, in whose days the Eastern Tigris ("Centrites") had become the border of the Armenia satrapy. But during the Artashesian rule they were united again with Armenia.

In spite of all these, this southern part of the Nairian land has been the region the most subjected to foreign influences. In the days of Assyria, under bloody suppressions, certain groups of these people have moved away, not only northward (toward Hark'), but also eastward (toward Atropatia).⁴² During the Sassanid rule (224-642 A.D.) an important portion of the Armeno-Nairian population of *Kardu-Korduk'* was forced to adopt the Iranian *Zoroastrian religion and the Kirmanji language* through the Iranian military and the *Median nomadic tribes* of the Matiene region who were brought and settled in the country; then under Arab domination they accepted the Islam. During the Seljuk-Ottoman rule a large number of Armenians of this region who still had remained Christian, in order to escape bloody persecutions, were converted to Islam and joined these (mostly Armenoid) people who were already called *Kordu* > *Kurd* and who enjoyed great privileges and liberties because of their Islamic religion.

42. It is probable that these Nairian people of Atropatia (Azerbaijan) and Persis may have been those whom Polybius (200-120 B.C.) and later Strabo call *Kurtioi* or *Cyrrii*; it is not unlikely either that the latter may have been the inhabitants of the land of *Girdu-ni* mentioned by Argišti II.

4. THE PROTO-HOMELAND OF THE CELTIC RACES AND CELTO-CAUCASIAN CONTACTS

So far we have spoken mostly about the lands of the southern regions of the Armenian Highland and their inhabitants who, by virtue of their contacts with the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia, were more widely known in historiography. Yet, there was very little known about the aborigines of the central and northern sections of the Armenian Highland.

In addition, placing the Indo-European homeland in Europe — an idea that dominated the scientific thinking for a long time — had created a deadlock in a number of important problems related to linguistics and historiography. For example, the known fact that in the Indo-European family of languages the Armenian stood linguistically closer to the Greek branch on the one hand and to the Iranian on the other, was a geographically inexplicable phenomenon. From where did the Hittites come to Central Anatolia and from where did the Indo-Iranians move to the Iranian Plateau and to India, were puzzling questions. Also it was impossible to explain geographically all the phenomena that point to the ancient kinship of Indo-European and Semitic parent languages, or the traces of mutual influence observed between the Indo-European languages of Europe and the Caucasian and Semitic languages.

All these problems are immediately clarified, however, when we definitely accept the fact that the Indo-European proto-homeland was located in the Armenian Highland and the neighboring regions of Asia Minor, as it was suggested by us in our studies published as early as in 1970 and 1973. The two-volume work entitled *The Indo-European Language and the Indo-Europeans*, authored by two Soviet academicians, T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov, has been of great significance for this viewpoint. By means of linguistic research, the authors have come to the same conclusion, namely, that the Indo-European homeland was located around the area of the juncture of present-day Iraq, Syria and Turkey, including Lake Van.

They have rightly shown that in the old the Indo-European language had been in contact with the Semitic languages on the one hand and with the Caucasian on the other. However, they have indulged in subjective excess by geographically lowering the area

of contact between Indo-Europeans and Caucasians from the Caucasian regions considerably to the south, thus contradicting certain obvious and documented data.

There are definite historiographic, archaeological and linguistic evidences showing that in antiquity there were Indo-Europeans in the regions of Lake Çildir and Lake Sevan and that the boundaries of their habitations extended to the Kura river and the Caspian sea. It was in this very same area of the Kura river where the contacts between the Indo-European and Caucasian languages have taken place.

As an argument in favor of the Indo-European-Caucasian contacts, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov mention certain linguistic elements borrowed by the Caucasians from the Indo-Europeans, among which there are also the Caucasian forms of the Armenian word *gini* ('wine'). It is on this very word *gini* that I would like to make a few observations.⁴³

It is accepted in linguistics that the native Armenian word *gini* comes from the Proto-Indo-European root *voinio/voino*. According to Adjarian, its descendents are:

Latin	-	<i>vīnum</i>	}	with initial v
Italian	-	<i>vīno</i>		
Spanish	-	<i>vīno</i>		
Romanian	-	<i>vīnū</i>		
French	-	<i>vīn</i>		
German	-	<i>wein</i>		
English	-	<i>wine</i>		
Albanian	-	<i>vēne</i>		
Old Slavic	-	<i>vīno</i>		
Russian	-	<i>vīno</i>		
Cymric	-	<i>gwin</i>	}	with initial g
Armenian	-	<i>gini</i>		
Hittite	-	<i>gen[š]</i>		

As we can see, the majority of Indo-European languages have preserved the initial *v* of the parent language, whereas the Cymric of the Celtic languages (the Welsh tongue in Wales, England), the Armenian and the Hittite have changed the initial *v* to *g*.

43. The noted linguist John A.C. Greppin also has made reference to this word *gini* (qḫlḫ) in his *Book Review* on Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's work. See *BR*.

According to Gamkrelidze and Ivanov, the following words, all meaning *wine*, are among those that the Caucasians have borrowed from the Indo-European:

Georgian	-	<i>gvino</i>
Svanetian	-	<i>gwinel</i>
Laz	-	<i>g[w]in</i>

Here we see clearly that these Indo-European loan words in the Caucasian language, too, have the initial *g* instead of the original *v* of the parent Indo-European tongue. Since in the Indo-European family the initial *g* appears only in Hittite (*gen[š]*), in Armenian (*gini*) and in Cymric (*g[w]in*), it must be concluded that the Caucasians must have made their borrowings from the Indo-European, either through the Hittite, or the Armenian, or the Cymric (Celtic) languages; furthermore, it is more probable that the borrowing is made through the latter, because the Caucasian forms have not only *g* as the initial sound, but *gw*, just as the Cymric has.

We know that as a rule, the initial *v* of the Indo-European changes to *g* in Armenian, and it is not incidental that of the Celtic languages the Cymric also has *gw* in place of *v*. The same phenomenon is observed also in Cornish and Breton which, like the Cymric, belong to the same Brythonic group of the Celtic branch. As an illustration, I would like to bring from Adjarian only three other examples, because of space limitation.

The Proto-Indo-European root of the native Armenian word *geltz* (գեղձ, 'intense desire') is *vel*, some of whose descendents are:

Latin	-	<i>volo</i>	}	with initial <i>v</i>
Sanskrit	-	<i>varanum</i>		
Avestan	-	<i>var</i>		
Gothic	-	<i>wiljan</i>		
German	-	<i>wollen</i>		
Lithuanian	-	<i>velyti</i>		
Old Slavic	-	<i>voliti</i>		
Russian	-	<i>volya</i>		
Old Cornish	-	<i>guell</i>	}	with initial <i>g</i>
Breton	-	<i>guell</i>		
Armenian	-	<i>geltz</i>		

The Proto-Indo-European root of the native Armenian word *gelmn* (Գեղմն, 'fleece, wool') is *velmn* (*vel/vol*), some of whose descendents are:

Latin	-	<i>vel-nos</i> (> <i>vellus</i>)	}	with initial <i>v</i>
Gothic	-	<i>vulla</i>		
German	-	<i>vlna</i> (> <i>wolle</i>)		
Anglo-Saxon	-	<i>wull</i>		
English	-	<i>wool</i>		
Dutch	-	<i>wol</i>		
Lithuanian	-	<i>vilna</i>		
Lettish	-	<i>wilna</i>		
Old Prussian	-	<i>wilna</i>		
Old Slavic	-	<i>vlŭna</i>		
Czech	-	<i>vlna</i>	}	with initial <i>g</i>
Russian	-	<i>volna</i>		
Cymric	-	<i>gwlan</i>		
Cornish	-	<i>gluan</i>		
Breton	-	<i>gloan</i>		
Armenian	-	<i>gelmn</i>		

And the Proto-Indo-European root of the native Armenian word *garun* (Գարն, 'spring') is *vēsr* (> *vēr*), some of whose descendents are:

Sanskrit	-	<i>vasanta</i>	}	with initial <i>v</i>
Avestan	-	<i>vanhar</i>		
Old Persian	-	<i>vahara</i>		
Pahlavi	-	<i>vahār</i>		
Gypsy	-	<i>varno</i>		
Greek	-	φῆαρ		
Old Slavic	-	<i>vesna</i>		
Russian	-	<i>vesna</i>		
Lithuanian	-	<i>vasarà</i>		
Latin	-	<i>vēr</i>	}	with initial <i>g</i>
Romanian	-	<i>vară</i>		
Old Icelandic	-	<i>vār</i>		
Old Cymric	-	<i>guiannuin</i>		
Cornish	-	<i>guaintoin</i>	}	with initial <i>g</i>
Armenian	-	<i>garun</i>		

From these obvious evidences it is clearly seen that the ancestors of those who spoke the Cymric (Welsh), the Cornish and the Breton sub-branches of Celtic, have been rather close to Armenians in their original Indo-European homeland and have lived approximately under the conditions (or in the vicinity) of that particular linguistico-geographical environment where the Indo-European initial *v* has been changing to *g*.

Considering also the exact correspondence between the initial *gw* in the said Caucasian forms borrowed from the Indo-European, and the same initial *gw* of the mentioned Celtic words (much more so than the *g* of the Armenian and the Hittite), we are led to accept that the original homeland of the Celtic races was located at a place much closer to the Caucasians, that is, in the area lying between the Armenians (Shirak and the Araratian plain) and the Caucasians (Middle Kura).

Thus we arrive at the conclusion that the original homeland of the Celtic races must have been located in the northeastern parts of the Indo-European homeland, in the regions of the upper basin of the Kura river and the Çildir and Sevan lakes. (And, of course, one should not be surprised if certain Ibero-Caucasian loan elements are found in Celtic languages.)

Rusa I (735-713 B.C.) of Urartu has left an inscription on a cliff near the village of Dzovinar, near Lake Sevan, where he mentions the names of 23 countries around Lake Sevan which he has conquered in the course of one year. Among these he singles out the following four, as being defeated in one raid: *Adaḫuni*, *Uelikuḫi*, *Lueruḫie*, and *Arquqini*.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Sarduri II (764-735 B.C.), in the great inscription he has left on the cliff of Van, gives the land-name *Uelikuḫi* in the form *Uelikuni*.⁴⁵ The names of these four countries given by Rusa I have been preserved in the same geographical order and have reached us as the following known names: *Adaḫuni* (= Artsakh), *Uelikuni* (= Gelak'uni), *Lueruḫi* (= Lori), and *Arquqini* (= Gugarene, as it was called by the Greeks, = Gugark' in Armenian).

Argišti I (786-764 B.C.) also had recorded on the stele, found at the St. Sahak Church in Van, the following names among the countries he had conquered: *Luša*, *Katarza*, *Eriaḫi*, and *Gulutahī*.⁴⁶ We know from Adontz's work that *Katarza* is Kghardj (Կղարջ)

44. *UKN*, 329.

45. *Ibid.* 286.

and *Eriaḫi* is Shirak (in the upper basin of the Eraskh river). As for *Gulutaḫi*, to determine its location, I have taken as a premise the sequence of these place-names in the order they are recorded in Argišti's inscription, whereby *Eriaḫi* must have been located geographically between *Katarza* and *Gulutaḫi*. Since Kghardj (*Katarza*) is in the west of Shirak (*Eriaḫi*), hence *Gulutaḫi* must have been located in its east, along the Kghardj-Shirak line, which leads us to the western flanks of the Gelam mountains, the eastern flanks of which comprise the land of *Uelikuni-Gelak'uni*, stretching along the southwestern shores of Lake Sevan. According to this reckoning, *Gulutaḫi* must be placed along the western flanks of the Gelam range, bending north toward the Dzaghkuniats mountains. I find that the village lying between Garni and Gelard, with its present-day name *Golt'* (Գոլթ) and its ancient name *Golot'* (Գոլոթ = *Gulut*), genuinely preserves the memory of the name and the country of *Guluta(hi)*.⁴⁷

This shows that the two land-names *Uelikuni* (*Welikuni* > *Gelak'uni*) and *Gulutaḫi*, situated each on the two opposite sides of the Gelam mountain range and its summit known as Mount Gel (Գեղ, *Gel*), must have belonged to the two segments of the same race *Wel* (> *Gel* > *Gel*) or *Gul* (*Gol*), separated by the mountain range.

Linguistically, the borrowings effected by the Caucasians from the Celts had lead us to the conclusion that the original homeland of the Celtic races must have been situated geographically in the vicinity of the Caucasians and, hence, located in the regions of the sources of the Kura river and Lake Sevan. We see that the lands of *Uelikuni* and *Gulutaḫi* of the *Wel* (Գեղ, *Gel*) or *Gul* (Գոլ, *Gol*) race were located right at these very same regions. Therefore, I consider it more than probable that this *Uelikuni-Gulutaḫi* highland (comprising the *Gel* (Gelam) mountains), called *Κελτοί* by the Greeks and *Celtae* by the Romans, is none other than the original homeland of the *Gel/Gaul/Galli* race. In fact, the people of the Celtic land of *Guluta(hi)* who established settlements in the basin of the wide western curve of the Halys river (in the region of present-day Ankara) were later (3rd century B.C.) called *Galatae* and their region *Galatia* by the Romans (Գաղատիա,

46. Ibid. 234.

47. I do not consider it unlikely that the name *Gelard* (Գեղարդ) also may have originated from this land-name by the extension of *r*, just as *Gelak'uni* is also pronounced as *Gelark'uni*.

Galatia, in Armenia).

It must be clear that the race- or land-name *Uelikuhi/Uelikuni* (and of course the name *Gulutahi* also) is basically Indo-European, the evidence being that in the Armenian language the initial sound *v* (or *w*) of only Indo-European words has been changed to *g* (as it is in *Euelikuni* > *Gelak'uni*, Գեղախնի).

For the importance they bear to the study of our topic, I have located the land-names *Uelikuni* and *Gulutahi* in Map 4.

These two land-names belonging to the same race suggest us to accept that in the days of Rusa I (8th century B.C.), in this



Map 4. The proto-homeland of the Celts.

Celtic environment, the process of transition of the initial *v* to *g* was underway and it was taking place neither simultaneously nor at the same rate in all regions; while *Uelikuni* was still keeping the initial *u* (= *w* or *v*), on the other side of the mountains *Gulutahi* had already changed the *v* to *g*. If these explanations of mine are correct, then we must admit that the two segments of the same great race separated by the *Gel* (Gelas) mountains were already in the process of developing dialectal differences, similar to the situation of another case, namely, that while a Grabar-type speech of old Armenian was maintained at Khotrdjur (Խոտրճուր), in Karin (Կարին=Erzurum), on the opposite side of the mountain, a dialect of the *kə* (*qə*) branch had started to develop. For a large people it is not unusual for its different segments to be designated by names that are derivatives or phonetic variants of the same basic name of that race.

It must be pointed out that, in general, place-names preserve their forms and resist change much longer than the words of the language of a given country. This explains why the name of the land *Uelikuni* had still preserved the *v* (*u*) in the days of Sarduri II (8th century B.C.), while in the language of *Uelikuni-Gulutahi* the process of the *v* > *g* transition had already started, effecting the change of the initial *v* to *gw*. This process was accelerated only when they became part of the Armenian people by the efforts of Argišti I, Sarduri II and Rusa I, with the result that eventually, a certain time after Rusa I, the name *Uelikuni* ceded to the form *Gelak'uni*.

I think that the initial *gw* in the above-mentioned branches of Celtic languages represents the intermediate phase of the *v* > *g* transition of the Indo-European initial sound. The same can be said for the initial *gw* in the various forms of the word for *wine* which the Caucasians have borrowed (Georgian *gvino*, Swanetic *gwineł*, Laz *g(w)in*). This suggests that the Caucasians have made their borrowings not directly from the parent Indo-European language, but, after its breakup, from the developed dialectal form of one of its branches, namely, the Celtic, which seems to have been influenced by her neighboring or coexisting relative, the Proto-Armenian.

On the other hand, in the south, the Proto-Semitic language must have borrowed the word *wainu*, 'wine' (Arabic *وَيْن*, *wein*, Hebrew *yayin*, Ethiopian *wein*, etc., with its initial *w*) from the parent Indo-European language in earlier times and not from Armenian at a later date, when in the latter the initial *v* was already changed to *g*.

This phenomenon shows that the Caucasians have come from the north to south, to the upper basin of the Kura river, at much later times. In fact, the name *Kura* is not Caucasian, but has originated from the place-name *Quria(ni)*,⁴⁸ mentioned in Sarduri II's inscription on the cliff of Van, which is the name of the land located around the sources of the Kura river, north of Lake Çıldır, and belonging to one of the Indo-European (possibly Cimmerian) races that has entered into the formation of the Armenian people (see Map 4). Of course it is not exactly known when the Caucasians have come to the Kura basin, but we can conjecture that their approach to this northeastern border of the Indo-European homeland must have taken place at a time that corresponds to the intermediate (*gw*-) phase of the *v > g* transition in the language of the Celts. It must be that during this very same intermediate phase certain groups of Celtic races have migrated westward from their original homeland, most probably in the last quarter of the second millenium B.C., since they have preserved the initial *gw*- sound unchanged, without having completed the process of the *v > g* transition, because of their having been separated and away from that particular environment, that is, their original homeland, that favored that transition.

As for the basic part of the Celtic races, they have remained in their original homeland, and having been already integrated with the Armenian people in the days of Urartu, they have continued the process of the *v > g* transition; thus *Uelikuni* has given rise to *Gelak'uni*. This latter form has been preserved and has reached us in the oldest (5th century A.D.) Armenian literature of Mesropian script. The name *Gelak'uni* in Khorenatsi includes not only the land of *Uelikuni*, but also the mountain range (Mount Geł) between *Uelikuni* and *Gulutahı* and even Lake Sevan. The fifth century writer Khorenatsi has retained the name *Gelam* as the name of the ancestor of this great tribe and, certainly, as the eponym of that tribe and their land. He writes: "*And Gelam builds habitations at the seashore and calls the mountain Geł after his own name and the habitation Gelak'uni, by which name is also called the sea.*"⁴⁹ The root of *Gelam* is *Geł* which is the root-name of the tribe and its land, and *-am* is the characteristic suffix used for names and eponyms, which we have already spoken about in Chapter I, Section 4, in connection with the name *Aram*. (Cf. *Argam*, *Bagam*, *Aršam*, and also

48. *UKN*, 285.

49. Khorenatsi, I-12.

the names mentioned in the Ur III inscriptions, such as *Hupitam*, *Šehlam*, *Puṣam*, etc.) It is clear, therefore, that both the tribe and their land (Uelikuni-Gelak'uni and Gulutaḥi) and also both the mountain range and the lake (Sevan) were called *Gel*. Indeed, Khorenatsi bears direct testimony that the mountain was called *Gel*.

Certain authors are of the opinion that the names *Wales* and *Welsh* (formerly *Welch*), designating respectively the land and the language of this particular people, have originated from the Anglo-Saxon form *welisc* meaning 'strange' (*wealas*, 'stranger'). This implies that the invading Anglo-Saxons have called *strangers* the very same Celtic people who have been living in that land (Wales) before their arrival, while they themselves were the strangers for the local inhabitants. It is not improbable, therefore, that this particular interpretation may have been based on incidental phonetic similarity of words. It is not unlikely, however, that the previous name *Welch* of that race may have entered the Anglo-Saxon language with the meaning of 'stranger', just as it has occurred in many other instances where certain tribal names have acquired a particular meaning among other peoples. For example, because of the bloody aggressions the Urartian kings have carried out from *Teišebaini* to *Mana* and *Barsua*, this city- or divine name has become equivalent in meaning to 'enemy' for the peoples of those regions (e.g. Kirghiz *tuspan* and Pahlavi *dušman* mean 'enemy') and has passed later on into Armenian as *t'šnami*, 'enemy'. The tribal name *Kərgəz* or *Khərkəz* has acquired among the Turks (in Turkish) the meaning of 'thief'. Also the name of the African *Negro* race has become simply to mean 'dark-skinned', and the tribal name *Subari* has passed on to Arabic and Persian in the form *suwari*, سوارى meaning 'horsemen, cavalry'. There are many more such cases. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Celtic tribal name *Welch* (*wel > gel*, qbr) may have preserved the name *welik(uni)* of their race and homeland.

It is evident that in the past, those great peoples who were called by one general name, consisted of tribal unions or groupings of tribes that belonged entirely or mostly to the same ethnic element. Naturally, it must have been the same for the Celtic people who moved to Europe and formed many races bearing different names, but all were known as *Keltai* to the Greeks and as *Galatae* or *Galli* to the Romans. In fact, there have been many Celtic races in Great

Britain and Ireland most of which are later mentioned in the oldest inscriptions of the historical period. It is difficult, however, to say which of these names have come from the original homeland and have been preserved traditionally, and which ones are later appellations. Nevertheless the following names have attracted my attention:

Aquitani
Arverni
Catuvelauni
Germani
Iceni
Féni
Pretani
Sequani

Is it just coincidental that all these names⁵⁰ have the endings *-ani*, *-uni* and *-ni*, reminding us of the many place- and tribal names of the Armenian Highland of similar endings, such as *Uelikuni*? I am tempted to accept that at least a few of these names (probably there are many more like them), and some of those that do not have the *-ni* ending, come from the Celtic proto-homeland. It is evident that these are names of Indo-European races and not Hurrian. Even if some of their endings bear the later Greco-Roman influence (although the Greco-Roman form of ending is *-ne* rather than *-ni*; cf. *Alzinini* > Lat. *Arzanene*, *Şupani* > Lat. *Sophene*, etc.), it still reinforces my assertion made earlier in this book in connection with the name *Armani* that the *-ni* ending is not proper to the Hurrian language alone, but it exists also in Indo-European Armenian.

It is in order here to say a few words about the Celts of Ireland who were called *Ériu* in the past (*Éire* at the present) and *Ierné* by the Greeks. T.G.E. Powell states that these various forms have originated from a much older name.⁵¹ In any case, the name *Ériu* (*Ierné*) which is the national name of the Celtic Irish, reminds us of the land-name *Eriaini* which, along with *Uelikuni*, is mentioned among the place- and tribal names in Rusa I's inscription found at the village of Dzovinar at the shores of Lake Sevan. According to Rusa's explanations, *Eriaini* was located in the region near the eastern shore of the lake. And this is where I have placed it on

50. For these names, see *CELTS* and *Celts*.

51. *CELTS*, 22.

the map. (It seems that most of these 23 countries mentioned by Rusa, some of which must have been located in the north of Lake Sevan, have likewise been Celtic.)

In my previous work I have already spoken about the Armeno-Irish connections. Here it would suffice to quote just the following statement by Prof. D.M. Lang: "Parallels between Armenian and Celtic sculpture and interlaced work have been drawn by several scholars. ... it seems more likely that the similarities remarked on arise from a common fund of artistic taste rooted in the people, ..." ⁵²

It is interesting to note that the Welsh (or Welch) people, that is, those who speak this Celtic language, call themselves *Cymry*, just as the Armenians call themselves *Hay*. The accepted opinion is that the term *Cymry* means (or has acquired the meaning of) 'compatriot'. If this word represents the name of a race, a name that was traditionally preserved and eventually put on record — something which is more than probable — then short of being scandalous, I am tempted to see in it the *Cimmerians*. This assumption becomes meaningful right away the moment we cast an eye on the map where the Cimmerians' land is adjacent to the proto-homeland Uelikuni-Gulutahi of the Celts or constitutes its northward extension. It is not a mere coincidence that the present-day city of Leninakan, situated right in the Celtic and Cimmerian belt, was formerly called *Cumayri/Gümri* which reminds us of the term *Cymry* and also the tribal name *Gamirra/Gimirra*, known to the Assyrians. It is not a coincidence either that later on in Central Asia Minor the Celtic *Galatia* is again found to be adjacent to the Cimmerians (*Gamirk* in Armenian) of Cappadocia. These data suggest the probability that the Cimmerians were among the Celtic races that migrated or invaded to Europe from the Armenian Highland (the Indo-European proto-homeland); it is not even unlikely that the Cimmerians might have been Celtic.

The Indo-European language of the Cimmerians is still unknown to scholarship; no written document in their language has been revealed as yet. Some of the old writings that have reached us and were known as Celtic are perhaps Cimmerian. The viewpoint that the Cimmerians are of the same race as the Scythians is quite extensive in historiography. This assertion is made of course not from a linguistic point of view but from that of geographico-political connections. It was justified by the view that within the Indo-

52. ACC, 227.

European family, these races lived near each other, had closer contacts and may have even developed kinship ties. It was justified also in terms of the older historiographic concept where it was ignored that the Indo-European homeland was in the Armenian Highland, nor was it known that the original homeland of the Celtic races was adjacent to the land of the Cimmerians. On the other hand, both the Cimmerians and the Scythians were brought down from the north. The fact is, however, that the Cimmerians did not come from the Azov region to the upper basin of the Kura river; on the contrary, they migrated from here (their original homeland) northward and, as they multiplied, they spread over the northern regions of the Black Sea. The same can be said for the Scythians.

The penetration of the Cimmerians to the Azov region must have taken place long before their march to Asia Minor. The same must be said for the Celts who must have moved westward more than once at different times. The first movement seems to have been with the Cimmerians (probably the latter leading the way) toward the steppes in the north of the Black Sea, approximately in the last quarter of the second millenium B.C. (It is not unlikely that their first meeting and contact with the Caucasians has taken place at their crossing the Caucasus, before Caucasians' approach to the basin of the Kura river.) They must have passed from here to the Danube basin and advanced up along the river to the temperate zones of Central and Western Europe.

Later, it was again the Celts who, in the 8th century B.C., probably in a second great wave of migration, came as horsemen from the wide expanses in the north of the Black Sea, and with their strong iron armaments conquered the entire Central and Western Europe.⁵³ These were the carriers or the originators of the *Hallstatt* culture in Europe (named after an old settlement in Austria). I wish to emphasize here the fact that the sites representing later and more developed samples of the *Hallstatt* culture are found in the west of those of the oldest and archaic samples,⁵⁴ providing thus a tangible proof that the movement of the carriers of this culture has progressed from east to west.

53. If the name *Iberia* given to the Pyrenean Peninsula has any connection with the name of the Caucasian Iberians, then one may accept the probability that among the Celto-Cimmerian races who invaded Europe via the northern regions of the Black Sea, there may have been a group of Caucasian Iberians.

54. *CELTS*, 46.

I must say here parenthetically, that much before the Celts, during the Bronze Age in Europe (near the end of the third millennium B.C.), the front-runners of the Indo-European-speaking races of Europe, those who carried the battle-axe and introduced the bronze to Europe, have passed through Asia Minor to the Balkans and Europe.⁵⁵ We know that the oldest traces of metal-working are

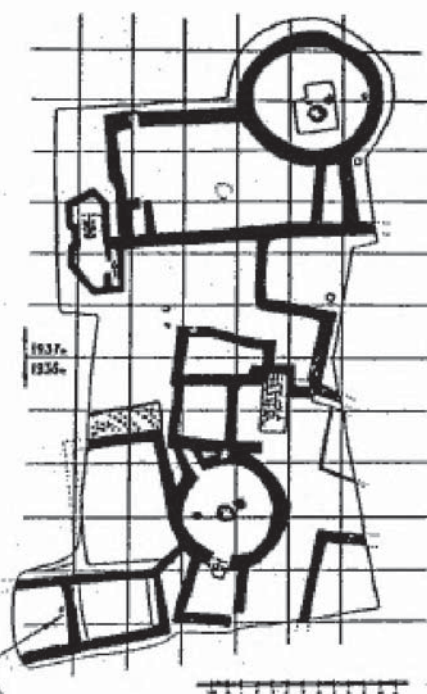


Fig. 4

Houses in Shengavit' in the southwestern section of Yerevan (end of the fourth millennium B.C.). Plan according to E. Bayburlian.

In the three layers of early Bronze Age, central round houses were discovered (6,5 to 8 m in diameter) with adjoining rectangular structures. The foundations of these houses were built of rocks from the river bed or roughly hewn stones (not more than 0,9 m high and 1 m thick) on which stood the walls of unburnt brick. The circular houses had a central pillar that supported a conical roof. See HLM, 8,9.

55. If the ancestors of present-day Europeans had come through Gibraltar and across the Mediterranean, then they would have been the descendants of ancient African and Semitic races. The fact that they are Indo-European-speaking is proof that they have migrated from the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor.



Fig. 5. Stone-built houses in the Citania de Sanfin.



Fig. 6. Air photograph of the hill-fort of Citania de Sanfin, Portugal.

T. G. E. Powell, investigating archaeological material of Western Europe, states that after the rectangular house the round house also became customary in Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland and the Atlantic coast. Then he adds: "Strabo does mention dome-shaped houses in Gaul, and these should surely have been of round-house type." See CELTS, 101, 102.

found in the Armenian Highland. The noted archaeologist E. Khanzadian writes: "The earliest evidences of metal-working are revealed in the Armenian Highland in as early as the fourth millenium."⁵⁶ Earlier in this book, in connection with *Aratta*, I have already spoken about *Medzamor*, the famous metal-working center, that made its beginning in the middle of the fourth millenium B.C.

In Europe, the distinctive characteristic of the Hallstatt culture of the Celts was the use of iron whose industrial homeland was the Armenian Plateau. The various artifacts unearthed from sepulchral mounds in Europe, such as iron armaments and other objects, horse gear, personal bronze ornaments, four-wheeled wagons used to bear the deceased at great burials, belong to this culture. All these are specific to the Armenian Highland too. Even viniculture, a characteristic occupation among the Celts, is distinctive of the Armenian Highland, evidenced by the huge jugs like the ones discovered at Teiṣebaini.

It was the Celts who, with carriages similar to the four-wheeled wagons unearthed at the tomb of Ladjashen, at the shore of Lake

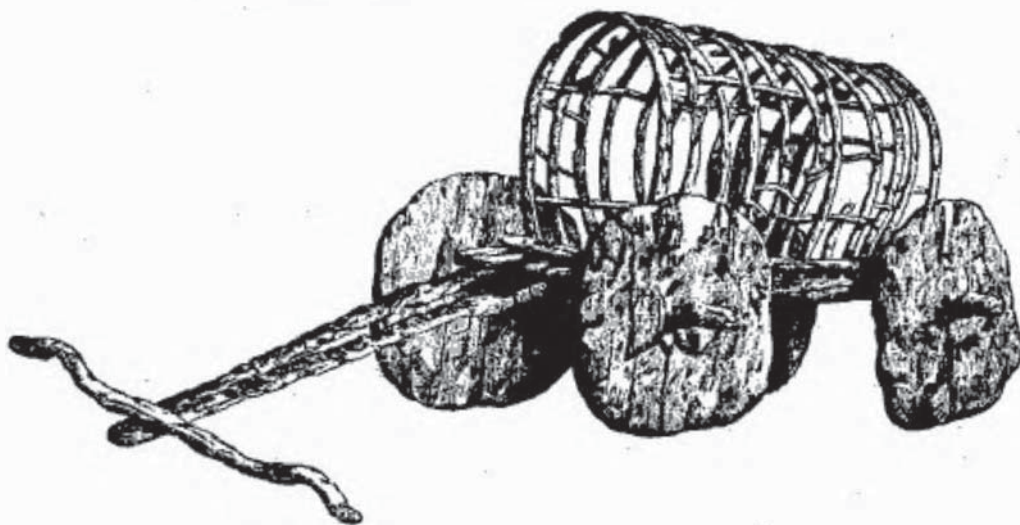


Fig. 7. Block-wheeled vehicle of c. 1500 B.C. from Ladjashen, on Lake Sevan, Armenian SSR (in ancient Uelikuni > Gelakuni).

56. HLM, 46.

Sevan in their original homeland, and also as riders, have crossed the Caucasus and passing through the northern steppes of the Black Sea, have arrived at the Danube basin and Central Europe. The sepulchral mounds where four-wheeled burial wagons, horse gear and personal bronze ornaments were found, must have been the tombs of their chieftains and leaders. And, as I have said above in connection with the name *Cymry*, I do not consider it unlikely that among them, particularly among their aristocracy and leaders, there may have also been Cimmerians.

T.G.E. Powell, a specialist on the history of the Celts, writes: "The bronze horse-gear of Caucasian connections, already mentioned as appearing at the end of the Urnfield Bronze Age, may well have had to do with Cimmerian riders."⁵⁷

The same opinion is expressed by Nora Chadwick, an expert on Celtic studies: "This horse-gear may be identified in the steppes of southern Russia particularly in a culture which may convincingly be identified with that of the Cimmerians who, at a slightly earlier date, appear to have been pushed westwards by the Scythians. Further support for a derivation from southern Russia is provided by the adoption by early Hallstatt chieftains of wagon burial, a practice whose origins may be traced in the steppes during the second millenium B.C. It seems probable that some aristocratic refugees came, either to dominate, or more probably to become absorbed in, certain groups of late Urnfield peoples in Central Europe."⁵⁸

It is very interesting and significant to note also that for the Celtic people lakes were considered sacred and they used to offer them (by throwing in them, according to Strabo) gold and silver during worshipping rituals.⁵⁹ This practice seems to have traditionally preserved in it the memory of their native lake *Gel* (Gelan). The Celts used to picture their most important divinity (which was identified with Zeus in Roman times) as a lofty oak tree. We already know that the cult of the poplar tree was so widespread in the Armenian Highland that it had persisted even after Christianity until the 12th century.

The last westward push of certain Celtic groups from their original homeland *Gulutaḫi* (this time through Asia Minor) must have occurred again with the Cimmerians after the days of *Rusa I* of

57. *CELTS*, 49.

58. *Celts*, 32.

59. *Ibid.* 148.

Urartu. We already know from Assyrian inscriptions that the Cimmerians had become very powerful in the second half of the 8th century B.C. They defeated Rusa I in 715 B.C. and thereupon they began to move towards Anatolia along the Djorokh-Kelkit-Halys (Kizil Irmak) rivers. Together with them must have moved certain Celtic tribes of Gulutahi, some of whom having passed to Europe, have probably become the originators of the La Tène culture.

Most of the participants of this Cimmerian-Celtic invasion have, after a certain time, served as mercenaries the forces that gained power in Anatolia, and their survivors, as is evident, have settled in *Gamirk* in Cappadocia (the Cimmerians) and the Celts of Guluta(h)i in Galatia, adjacent to Cappadocia.

Chapter 5

MYTHOLOGY

1. SUBARIAN GODS

I. Gelb finds the following Subarian divinity names in the Akkadian syllabaries: *Teššup*, *Šauška*, *Aštupinu*, *Zizanu*, *Laḫuratil*, *Parsi*, and *Naūarsi*.¹

Although *Teššup* (pronounced also *Teššop*) and *Šauška* are also considered as Hurrian gods, they are attributed in the Akkadian syllabaries particularly to the Subarians. This may suggest the idea that perhaps the Hurrians had inherited them from the Subarians.

The Subarian god *Aštu-pinu* (*Aštupinu*) has a particular interest for us. The *Aštu* component of this name is also found in *Unag-Aštuaš*,² a divine name of Hayasa, in which the *Aštuaš* form fully corresponds to the Armenian deity *Astu-aš* ('God').³ This deity, about which we shall speak more along with other Armenian deities, is very characteristic in terms of the Subarian-Hayasa-Armenian connections.

It is difficult to say anything certain about the god *Zizanu*. Perhaps the Armenian word *dziadzán* ('rainbow') still keeps his memory.

The name of the Subarian god *laḫuratil* is also interesting. Some consider him also an Elamite god. If true, then the Elamites must have received him from the Subarians. I think he was a god of vegetation. Cf. Hittite ^{Gi8}*laḫḫura-* ('sunny plant'), Arm. *laḫur*, *լախուր*, 'parsley'.⁴ In Hayasa there was a city called *Laḫirpila*.⁵

1 *HS*, 16.

2 *HA*, 40.

3 Those who support the theory of migration of the Armenians identify the Armenian *Aštuaš* with the Phrygian *Savazios*. The error of this assumption will be shown below in the section on *Aštuaš*.

4 J.A.C. Greppin, "On The Passage of Final -s>-h>k'", *PH*, 1985, 1, 170.

5 *HA*, 40

which, in my opinion, might have been linked with the name of this god, *Lahuratil*.

As to the names *Parsi* and *Naûarsi* (or *Nawarsi*), Gelb writes that "nothing is known of the last two deities."⁶ However, if we could read or consider the *-si* ending in the names *Parsi* (Uartian *Barsia*) and *Naûarsi* as *-ti* (or *-di*), which, in fact, is not unlikely, we obtain *Barti* or *Bardi* and *Nauardi* or *Nuard*, respectively, which are well-known Armenian deities. We have already spoken about *Nuard* and we shall do so more later along with Armenian deities. Suffice it to remind the reader at this point that *Nuard* was the wife of *Ara*, the sun-god, and she was also called *Inanna-Anahit*.

What concerns the name *Bardi* (in Armenian this is the name given to the poplar tree, *populus pyramidalis*), it occupied a very important place in pagan worship among the Armenians. Its tradition was so deeply rooted that it continued to be worshiped in certain regions until the 12th century A.D. to the extent of raising the opposition of the Armenian catholicos Nerses Shenorhali. It must also be said that the name *Haldi* had a variant, *Bardi*, which we find in his wife's name, *Bag-bardu*. We shall speak about this and the god *Haldi* in connection with the Uartian gods.

2. THE MAIN DEITIES OF THE HURRIANS

1. Diakonoff, based on M.L. Khatchikian's investigations, sees dialectal differences in the Hurrian inscriptions found at various centers in the Near East, such as, Urartu, Urkish, Mari, Asia Minor, Mitanni, Ugarit, and others, and gives the names of the more venerated deities in each region. He finds that among all these gods the following are common to all: *Tessob* (Uartian *Teişeba*), his wife *Heba* (Uartian *Huba*) and their son *Tilla* (Uartian *Tura*).⁷

The question that arises is this: are these deities Hurrian by origin and have they been brought by them, or have the Hurrians adopted them in the land of Subari after coming to the Near East?

6 HS, 16

7 1. Diakonoff, "Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Hurrians," NH, 77-78.

Let us investigate first the case of the goddess *Heba*.

I would like to note first that *Heba*, which is pronounced as *Hebatu* or *Habatu* by the Semites, could have changed among them in later times to *Hawwatu*, Hebrew *Hawwā* (from which is derived the Armenian *Yeva*, 'Eve').⁸ But this aspect belongs to a much later period and has no bearing on the origin of *Heba*, even though some assume incorrectly that *Hawa* precedes *Haba(tu)*.

We know that goddess *Heba*'s or *Huba*'s sacred animal (totem) was the cow, and I find that the Armenian word *kov* (կով, 'cow') is connected with the name *Huba*). As it is known, in Urartian and other ancient languages the *b* between two vowels often corresponds to *v* in Armenian (cf. Urartian *Erebuni* - Armenian *Erevan*, *ebani-avan*, 'village,' etc.), and also *h* and *k* (or *g*) are conjugates (in human speech the sounds of *h*, *k* and *g* are exchanged easily).⁹ Compare Sumerian *ha* = 𒀭𒀫 = *kua* ('fish').¹⁰ Also the name *Hatti* or *Heta* is rendered *Ket-atsik* (𐎧𐎠𐎶𐎵𐎶) in the Armenian Bible by the 5th century translators. The Urartian ending *-aḫi* corresponds to the Armenian derivative *-ak* (𐎠𐎶); etc. I find, therefore, that the words *kov* and *Huba* are related in their origin.

In linguistics it is accepted that the Armenian *kov* ('cow') is a genuine Indo-European word, its Indo-European root being *g^{ov}*.¹¹ It follows, then, that this word, to which the name *Huba* corresponds as representing and signifying *cow*, existed in the Proto-Indo-European language before the third millenium B.C., that is, before the arrival of the Hurrians. Furthermore, one must keep in mind that those deities which have their representation in the animal world come from the ancient totemic period when their corresponding animals were objects of worship.

The word *kov*, with its Indo-European root *g^{ov}*, could have been derived, along with its Afro-Asian parallels, from a much older source in the remote past, but during the period in question (i.e. when the Hurrians appeared in the Near East) this word already existed in the Indo-European language and, furthermore, it does not have cognate forms in neither the Hurrian nor the Semitic languages. What concerns the Sumerian word *gud* ('bull'), it differs by far both phonetically (the incongruity of its *d* sound) and in its totemic significance.

8 Ibid. 85.

9 *IH*, see "Variations of *k* / *g* / *h*" p. 39.

10. The Armenian word *tzuk* ('fish') comes from the Indo-European root *ghu-* which is connected to the Sumerian *kua*.

11 *HAP*, see article «կով», (*kov*, 'cow').

The fact that *Huba*, with its meaning of cow, was in the Proto-Indo-European language since its totemic days, negates its Hurrian origin (of course, as long as it is assumed that Hurrian is not an Indo-European language) and confirms instead its belonging to the Indo-European homeland, that is, the Armenian Highland and its neighboring regions in Asia Minor.

This assertion is also supported by the fact that in the treaty signed between the Hittite king Suppiluliuma and the Hurrian-Mitannian king Mattiuaza, *Hepet* is listed among the gods of Indo-European Hittites and not among the Hurrian gods.¹² This same goddess is called *Hi-pa-tu* and *Ha-ba-tu*¹³ in one Indo-European-Hittite inscription, and she is referred to as *Hippa* and *Hipta*, even in the Orphic hymns and in the Greek inscriptions of Maeonia. Also in one Nuzi inscription there is the personal name *Šuwar-Hepa*, the first component of which, *Šuwar*, as Gelb asserts, "most probably is Indo-European."¹⁴ We think it quite possible that this word *Šuwar* which is connected to Indo-European could have been a dialectal form of *Šubar-Šubari*. We have already demonstrated earlier that the *bir* component of the word *Subari* < *Su-bir* is Indo-European and it has its parallel form *bar* in Sumerian.

Considering that the goddess *Huba*'s totem was the cow, we noticed that the name *Huba*, by its origin, is connected with the Indo-European-Armenian word *kov* ('cow'), and hence, accepted that the name *Huba-Heba* cannot be Hurrian (of course, I repeat, as long as the Hurrian language is considered non-Indo-European).

Likewise, we find that *Tilla*, the son of the *Tesub-Heba* spouses, cannot be Hurrian either, since we see a connection between *Tilla* and the Armenian word *tla* (տալ(լ), 'boy, child'). It is currently accepted in linguistics that the Armenian word *tla* is derived from the Syrian *ṭalyā, ṭalē* ('boy, youth') which Adjarian characterizes as a "native Semitic word," and for comparison cites other words of

12 HS, 107.

13 I have shown above that the Semites adding the suffix *-tu* to the Nairian word *bir* (or *ber*), 'house', have coined the word *birru* ('fort') which has returned back into Armenian in the form *bert* ('fort'). Similarly, I think it probable that the Armenian word *havat* ('faith') is the reflection of *Heba* in its form *Habatu*, formed by the addition of the Semitic suffix *-tu* to *Heba* (or is, perhaps, a Greek feminine wheedling form of *Heba*).

14 HS, 107. Gelb already expresses the idea that *Hepet* was an autochthonous goddess in Mesopotamia and Anatolia, and that the Hurrians must have received her after their arrival in those regions.

Semitic origin, such as, Hebrew *tāle* ('young lamb'), Aramaic *taliā* ('boy, lamb'), arabic *alā* ('lamb, kid, fawn'), etc.¹⁵ We see, therefore, that Tilla's name is not Hurrian.

In view of what has been said above about *Heba* and *Tilla*, it seems very likely that when the Hurrians came to the Near East and settled in Northern Mesopotamia, in the land of Subartu situated between Indo-Europeans in the north and Semites in the south, they must have adopted the Indo-European name *Heba-Huba* (=kov, 'cow') and the Semitic name *Tilla* (*talya-telē* > *tla*, 'boy') from their northern and southern neighbors, respectively.

As to *Teššob* (*Tešub*), it is very difficult to make any definite statement about his origin with the data at hand. Is it possible to consider him Hurrian when the names of his wife and his son are not? Of course it is not improbable that the Hurrians may have brought him with them to the Near East, but it is more likely that they have adopted him in the land of Subartu. The oldest documentary evidence about *Teššob* comes to us from the days of King Šu-sin of the Ur III period.¹⁶

In a *Hurrian* inscription found at Boğazköy there is the expression "The Subrian *Teššob*."¹⁷ This may mean two things: first, that there was a Subrian *Teššob*, other than the Hurrian, implying that Subarians are not Hurrians, and, second, that *Teššob* was Subarian.

3. THE PRINCIPAL GODS OF URARTU

1. *Haldi*

The Urartian pantheon was headed by *Haldi*, *Teišeba*, and *Šiwini*, who formed the most powerful triad in Urartian mythology.

Haldi has never been a Hurrian god — a fact that no historian should forget. In connection with the interpretation of the epic of *Hayk* and *Bel*, I have shown above and in my earlier works that *Haldi* is *Hayk*, the national eponymic god of the Armenians.

Haldi was a deity of fire and volcano; he symbolized the vol-

15 *HAB*, see article «*ṣḥw*» (*Tla*, 'boy').

16 *AN*, 45.

17 *HS*, 30.

canic eruptions that occurred in the Armenian Highland, particularly in the Lake Van region, in the times of Urartu. In later years, as Urartu became more powerful, he may have also acquired, as a mighty fire-god, the characteristics of the ruler of the heavens.

Haldi's symbol, as a god of fire and volcano, was the lion in the animal world. In the wall paintings at Erebuni Haldi is personified on a lion. Movses Khorenatsi, quoting from Mar Aba's ancient book, characterizes Hayk as "the Yapetostean Hayk («Թապետոսթեան Հայկ»,¹⁸ i.e. having the nature of Yapetos-Hephaestus), an appellation which, obviously, must have been given to Hayk during the Hellenistic (Artashessian) period of Armenia when it was still remembered that he was the god of fire. This is another indication that Haldi, like Hayk, was a god of fire.

Haldi's consort was called *Warubane/Uarubani*. I think that the Armenian word *parav* (պարավ, 'old woman') is linked with the name *Waruba(-ne)*¹⁹ and preserves the memory of this goddess.

Earlier, on various occasions, I have shown that the name *Haldi* must have had a variant in the form *bardi*. The *Hal* (𐎶𐎺) component of *Hal-di* has the synonym *bar* in Sumerian,²⁰ which means 'fire, to burn', *var* (վար-բլ) in Armenian. It is possible, therefore, to see the name Haldi in the word *bardi/barti* in Armenian (բարդի) which is the name given to the poplar tree (*populus pyramidalis*) and which was an object of worship among Armenians in ancient times and continued to be venerated as a sacred tree even centuries after Christianity by the followers of an Armenian sect who called themselves "sons of the Sun" («Արեւորդիներ»).

The form *bardi (barti)* of the name *Haldi* is also found in the name of Haldi's wife, *Bag-bartu*, as recorded by Sargon II at Musasir (assuming, of course, that this reading in the Assyrian inscription is correct). In ancient times women were often called by their husbands' names, implying "the wife of so-and-so," an example of which is the name of Ara's wife, *Nu-ard*, where her husband's name *Ardi (=Ara)* is evident.²¹

18 Khorenatsi, I-9. It is known that Yapetos-Hephaestus was a deity of fire.

19 The word *parav* in Armenian is linked with the Pahlavi synonym *pārāv* which was probably borrowed from Armenian.

20 *ŠAG*, see *hal*. It is interesting that this seems to have, other than a phonetic-syllabic function, a semantic value.

21 About this refer to Chapter 5, the section on *Ara*. Mordtmann, in his time, had already connected the Armenian word *barti* to the *Bag-bartu* used in the Assyrian inscription at Khorsabat. (See *HAB*, article «Բարդի», *Barti*.)

Another indication for the *Ḫaldi*=*Bardi* equation is the presence of a poplar tree in Sargon's sculpture of the façade of the Ḫaldean temple at Musasir-Ardini.

The *susi* temples attributed specifically to Ḫaldi provide further evidence. According to information supplied by Khorenatsi, there were sacred plane trees (*sosi*, *uouh*, in Armenian) at Armavir whereby predictions were made or the will of god was revealed by their rustling sounds.²² I find that the word *sosi*, which represents another kind of poplar tree, retains the name *susi* given to Ḫaldi's sacred temples, and that these *susi* temples were holy places, where apparently, by the plane trees (*sosi*) planted around them, the oracles of Ḫaldi revealed his will, just as "at Dodona, the oracle of Zeus the god made his will known by the rustling of the oaks in the wind."²³ There is no doubt, then, that the plane trees (*sosi*) at Armavir-Argıştihinili (i.e. the *susi* temples with their poplar trees (*bardi*)) represented Ḫaldi and the predictions made by means of these trees were his oracles.

In ancient pagan times it was believed that fire was born of plants, since trees or wood produced fire when burning. In the name *Bar-di* the component *bar* means in Sumerian 'light, burning, fire' (hence the assumed composition of the Sumerian word (*ba(r)bar*, 'sun') and the suffix *-di* may have meant 'born of' or 'begetter', so that *Bar-di* (or *Ḫal-di*) could mean 'born of fire' or 'fire begetter', a meaning which may help to interpret the term *Bardi* as 'he who begets fire' and *Ḫaldi* as 'he who begets fire-volcano'. In such an interpretation we still see in the *Ḫal* component of *Ḫaldi* the name *Hay*, that is, the fire-god *Hayk*.

The following analysis also leads us to the same conclusion: In Urartian inscriptions the name *Ḫaldi* is very often recorded as *Aldi*, without the initial intensifying sound *ḫ*. On the other hand the term *Aldi* is a variant of the name *Ardi*, evidenced by the fact that Musasir, which was the site of Ḫaldi's main temple ('the house of Ḫaldi', according to Sargon), was called *Ardi-ni* instead of *Aldi-ni* or *Ḫaldi-ni*. We already know that *Ardi* is the same as *Ara*, the god of vegetation (>of fire) and the sun, by whose name are called the *Armen* people and their land and with whom are connected the names *Ar>Har* (or *ḫar* in Armenian, from which *Ḫaruyk*, *խարյկ*, 'fire') and *Hark* (>Hayk?).²⁴

22 Khorenatsi, I-20.

23 OHR, 98.

24 P. Ensen had suggested in 1898 the idea that the name *Hay* could have been

The *Bardi* variant of the name *Ḫaldi*, as the tree of life, represents also the deity of fire.

As it was said, the poplar tree (*bardi*) has been an object of worship among Armenians for a long period of time. Its cult was so deeply rooted that it persisted in certain regions of Armenia until as late as the 12th century of our era.

In Urartian times we find the poplar tree (*bardi*) depicted on kings' helmets, bronze belts and on sculptures representing devotional scenes.

As the embodiment of the power of fire and symbolizing the volcanic nature of the land, *Ḫaldi* represented the most powerful and supreme national war-god of the Urartian pantheon. *Ḫaldi*'s nature will be elucidated further as we consider the characteristics of *Vahagn*, who, too, was god of fire and volcano and was considered, like *Hayk-Ḫaldi*, the ancestor of the Armenian people.²⁵

II. *Teišeba*

Teišeba was a deity of storm and lightning and was considered second in power in the mighty triad of the Urartian pantheon.

All we can say now about *Teišeba* is that his name is a dialectal variant of the Hurrian-Subarian divine name *Teššob* (*Tešop*) that appears to have existed in the Urartian pantheon as a deity inherited from Subarian times.

Having in view the invasions that the Urartian kings have undertaken against Persia (*Parsua*), we consider it probable that the name *Teišeba-ini*, as the name of a god or a city-fortress, may have survived in Iran and in the East in the words *tušpan* ('enemy' in Kirghiz) and *dušman* ('enemy' in Pāzard, Persian, Pahlavi, etc.). Later, when in the Armenian pantheon many ancient and native gods had already been replaced and were forced to oblivion by foreign deities, the Pahlavi form returned and became the origin of

derived from the name *Hare* given to the Hittites (with *r > y* between two vowels, as *mayr* derived from *mater*). Lacking historical foundation, it was not accepted. Moreover, Armenians called the Hittites, *K'etatsiner*, according to the translation of the Bible. And the proto-Hittite *Hates* were already assimilated by the Hittites and had long since disappeared. On the origin of the name *Hayk*, see the section bearing the same title.

the Armenian word *t'snami* (թշնամի, 'enemy').²⁶

Similarly, it is easy to understand how in Persia Ahriman has turned into a rival deity embodying the Evil; it may have been derived (as I think it does) from the name *Riḥamun*²⁷ of the Sumerian storm-god who has the same nature as Teišeba-Adad.

III. *Šiwini*

Šiwini was a sun-god, the third in the great triad of the Urartian pantheon.

It is assumed that *Šiwini* is the same as the Hurrian sun-god *Šimige* (or *Šimiga*). These are, of course, identical in nature and we can accept that these two similar names may have been related by their origin.

The *-ni* ending of *Šiwi-ni* is not part of the root, it is a suffix, hence, the basic form of the name is *Šiwi*, where the *w* sound can easily be compared or exchanged with *b*. Compare *Kumarbi* (in the Ra's-Shamra inscriptions) with *Kumarwi* (in the Boğazköy and Mari inscriptions).²⁸ Therefore, it is possible to see the form *Šibi* in *Šiwi*. In fact, one of Ebla's four main gods was *Sipiš* (Dagan, Baal, Rešeph, *Sipiš*).²⁹ In the Ebla inscriptions we do not find *Šamaš*; there the sun-god is *Sipiš*.³⁰ On the other hand, in the Ugarit inscriptions, instead of *Sipiš* (*Sibiš*), we find *Šapaš*³¹ (or *Šabaš*), which, probably, is a variant or an earlier form of the Semitic sun-god *Šamaš*. In the Urartian pantheon already there was a deity called *Šuba* which appears to be a variant of *Šiwi(ni)* or *Šibi* and belonged to one of the tribes forming part of the Urartian kingdom.

It does not seem to be difficult, therefore, to see an etymological connection between the various forms *Šiwi(ni)*, *Sibi(š)*, *Šapa(š)* and *Šama(š)*, all representing the sun-god, where the *-ni* and *-š* endings are merely suffixes. Regarding *w*, *b(p)* and *m* being correlative sounds in these names, compare the name *Ša-wuška*, *IŠTAR-buška* and *Ša-muška* given to the same goddess.³²

26 *HAB*, see article «թշնամի» (*t'snami*, 'enemy')

27 for *Riḥamun*, see *ŠAG*.

28 *IH*, 39.

29 *AE*, 44.

30 *Ibid.*, 251. See also *EER*, 187.

31 *EER*, *Ibid.*

32 *IH*, 15.

There is the god *Šamagan*³³ mentioned in the Ebla inscriptions (2500 B.C.) which, I think, is a variant of *Šimiga*, and I see the same connection between *Šimi-ga*, *Šama-gan* and *Šama-š* as between *Šawuška*, *Šawušgan*³⁴ and *Šauškaš*.³⁵

I consider it very probable, therefore, that all these divine names representing the sun-god, i.e. *Šiwini*, *Sibiš* (*Sipiš*), *Šapaš*, *Šamaš*, *Šamagan* and *Šimiga*, have the same origin. Consequently, I think that the names *Šiwini* and *Šimiga* are not Hurrian by origin and that they seem to have been in existence in the Near East since much earlier times. It is likely that the Hurrians have inherited *Šimiga* (*Šimige*) in the land of Subartu.

The Armenians have identified *Šiwini* also with their national sun-god *Ara*. I see an evidence for this in the fact that the city of Van was built in the name of *Šiwini*'s wife *Tušpuea* and was called *Tušpa*. But according to the Armenian tradition, the building of Van is attributed to *Šamiram* who had a passion for *Ara*. Therefore, since sun-god *Ara*'s temptress *Šamiram* was identified with *Šiwini*'s (also a sun-god) wife *Tušpuea*, then it would be natural to identify *Šiwini* with *Ara*.

These comparisons and analyses of the name *Šiwini* suggest that the source of all these is, most likely, *Sibiš* (*Sipiš*), from which must have come *Šiwini* and *Šabaš* (*Šapaš*) > *Šamaš*, because the rules of phonetic change in languages show that the *b(p)* between vowels is changed to *w* (*Šibi[š]* > *Šiwi[ni]*) rather than the other way around.

In all these, one certainly must not overlook the role Subartu (later Urartu) has played in the development and interreactions of the material and spiritual cultures of the Semitic world in the south and the Indo-European world in the north and the west, a role which is not as yet correctly and sufficiently appreciated.

As we see, this sun-god, with the numerous variants of his name, has placed the Armenian Highland in a general spiritual relationship with entire Mesopotamia, having Subartu between these two vast regions. Furthermore, as we shall see below, this same deity, in his Urartian form of *Šiwini* (*Sibiš*), has conquered Asia Minor and the Greek world.

33 AE, 254.

34 JH, 15.

35 Ibid.

4. THE DIFFUSION OF THE ARMENIAN HIGHLAND CULTURE BEYOND ITS BORDERS

Urartu's cultural influence on neighboring and even distant countries has been considerable, particularly in her days of power, when her culture had attained a significantly high level. In the times of Išpuini, Menua, Argišti I and even Sarduri II, Urartu had acquired great political and military strength. Under Argišti I she was considered the most powerful kingdom in Western Asia, casting shadow over Assyria. In the days of her power she had undertaken great military expeditions to Mana and Parsua (Persia) in the east, to Assyria and Babylonia in the south and to the regions of Asia Minor in the west.

The Urartian conquests in the east, in Mana and Parsua, have not been temporary, but rather comparatively stable; generally, it was not the policy of the Urartian kings to massacre the population in these regions and ravage the land, as the Assyrians did; instead, not only have they left, in many instances, the existing forts intact, but they have built new ones and placed garrisons in them. A passage in Menua's inscription (left at Tash-Tepe) bears testimony to this effect: *"With the greatness of Haldi, Menua, Išpuini's son, built this fort, conquered the city of Meišta, from there he invaded the land of Mana ... he left there ... he left foot soldiers ..."*

Such conditions would necessarily contribute in a large extent to the spreading of the influence of Urartu's building arts and spiritual culture in Mana and Persia. Our topic suggests, however, to concentrate on the spiritual.

The noted archaeologist G.A. Tiratsian writes:

In the last decade Urartu is mentioned more and more frequently as one of the possible participants in the process of formation of Iranian culture of the Achaemenian period. ... The specific weight of Urartian culture continuously increases and it becomes difficult to overlook any more the leading role of its architecture, construction technology, applied arts and particularly its metallurgy and ceramics.³⁶ ... It is possible

36 G.S. Tiratsian, "Urartakan K'aghak'akrt'ut'iuno yev Ak'emenian Iran" (The Urartian Civilization and the Achaemenian Iran), *PH*, 1964, No. 2, p. 149.

to find also elements of Urartian-Iranian rapprochement in various *compositions* and *pictorial representations* of religious and ritual themes. In the last century, in one of the storage jugs at Toprak Kale, a golden medal was discovered bearing the engraved image of two women, one seated on a throne and the other standing before her. ... The accepted interpretation is that the woman on the throne is the Urartian goddess of fertility, Arubani, Haldi's wife, whom the Urartian queen is worshipping. ... It is interesting that this theme in Urartian art is also found depicted with exactly the same characteristics on an Iranian seal of the Achaemenian period; ... here, too, are pictured the same seated goddess and a woman standing in front of her.³⁷

It must be mentioned here also that the emblem of "the sun on the lion's back" which appears on the Iranian flag corresponds to the picture of "*Haldi on a lion*" discovered at Erebuni.³⁸

The civilization of the Armenian Highland has also exerted considerable influence on the Indo-European peoples of Asia Minor in the west, a fact that has been forgotten in the darkness of history. I would like to bring forth here some evidences and data that underline the important role played and the impact created by Urartu's spiritual culture on the process of the formation of Greek mythology.

We have seen earlier that the Sumerian deity (or goddesses) *Inanna-Anunit-Nina* has also been the *Inanna-Anahit-Nane* deity (or goddesses) of the Armenian Highland. Anahit, the great national goddess, was regarded as the protector and the mother of the land ever since the matriarchal period and was the object of utmost veneration and respect not only in her own Armenian Highland, but beyond its boundaries. She was known among other Indo-European peoples, and her name, whose pronunciation was taboo, had reached Europe in its inverted form, *Diana*.

Similarly, the name of the Urartian storm-god *Teišeba* or *Tešop* has passed on to Greece, likewise inverted, in the form of *Poseid(on)*, retaining his characteristics of a storm-god, only attributed to the sea, obviously by virtue of the geographic nature of Greece.

The -on ending of the name *Poseid(on)* is a known Greek suffix (cf. Actaeon, Apollōn, Pygmalion, Agamemnon, Alcmaeon,

37 Ibid., 158-159.

38 AHDzU, 314; HZhDz, 97.

etc.), therefore, the basic name is *Poseid* which, read backwards, gives *Diesop* or *Teišop* (the Hurrian-Subarian *Tešop* or the Urartian *Teišeb(a)*), which, I believe, is the original form of the name. The *t* in *Teišop* is pronounced as *d* in its inverted form *Poseid(on)*, just as the *t* in *Anahit* is changed to *d* in its inverted form *Diana*.

The identity of *Teišeba-Tešop* with *Poseid(on)* is proved not only by the agreement of their names (in inverted form) and by their both being gods of storm and thunderbolt, but also by the unmistakable similarity in their pictorial representations: *Teišeba* holding a trident,³⁹ like a candle-stick, symbolizing lightning,

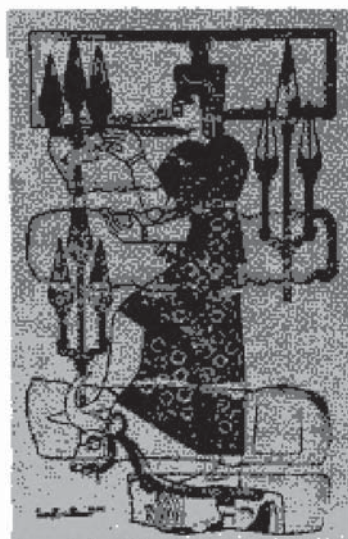


Fig. 8. *Teišeba (Tešob)*



Fig. 9. *Poseidon*

39 This is a trident, the symbol of lightning, not a tree nor leaves. Compare it with Adad's bident (two-pronged fork), symbolizing lightning, mounted on a bull, itself a symbol of storm. This picture is taken from the composition of mythological symbols of Ritti-Marduk's boundary stone, dated around 1120 B.C. (Brit. Mus. No. 90,858). See "The Babylonian Legends of the Creation," *British Museum*, 1931, p.28.



Fig. 10. *Adad*

and standing on a bull, the symbol of storm, with his right foot on the head of the beast, and Poseidon, likewise, holding a trident and his right foot resting on a figure of similar meaning.

These pictures prove that *Poseidon* is *Tešop*. There are however, other important and interesting evidences.

The Urartian pantheon was headed by the triad of *Haldi*, *Teišeba*, and *Šiwini*, whereas in Greek mythology *Hades*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus* were brothers. *Zeus* was the god of Heaven, *Poseidon* of sea storms and *Hades* of the subterrenean kingdom. I find that just as *Poseidon* is *Teišeba*, the god of storm and thunderbolt, similarly, *Hades*, the god of the underworld, is *Haldi*, the god of volcano, and *Zeus*, the god of heaven, is the sun-god *Šiwini*.

It is not difficult to see the identity of the names *Zeu(s)*, *Sibi(š)* and *Šwi(ni)*. As I have pointed out earlier, the *-ni* ending in *Šiwini* corresponds, as a suffix, to the *š* ending of *Sipiš* (or more precisely, *Sibiš*). Similarly, the ending of *Zeus* (*Zeu-s*)⁴⁰ corresponds to those of *Sibiš* (*Sibi-š*) and *Šiwini* (*Šwi-ni*); the *b* between two vowels is changed to *w* (*u*), thus making *Zeus*⁴¹ (and even the Phrygian *Sabazfios* or *Savazfios*) and *Šiwini* conform with *Sibiš*. It can be accepted, therefore, that the names *Sibiš* (and *Sabaš* of Ugarit), *Zeus* (and *Sabazfios* or *Savazfios*) and *Šiwini* are basically the same divine name and they represent the deity of the sun and, in certain cases, of the heavens.

We must accept also that *Hades*, the god of the underworld, is *Haldi*, the god of fire and volcano, the name *Had-es* being a softened version (*Hašl*id) of *Haldi*. Obviously, the basic word in

40 Solomon Reinach says that " ... Ziu (in High German) is etymologically identical with Greek Zeus. See OHR. 136.

41 Homer is the oldest Greek source that mentions Zeus. There are different opinions about his time, varying between the 12th and the 7th centuries. Some authors attribute the events narrated by him to the Mycenaean period (1100 B.C.), but it is more likely that they belong to the Urartian period. It is known, however, that much before Homeric times, *Sibiš* was known in Ebla, *Šabaš* in Ugarit and *Tešop* among the Mitannians and the Hittites. Therefore, *Haldi*, *Teišeba* and *Šiwini* must have existed in the Armenian Highland and Asia Minor (i.e. the Indo-European homeland) long before Homeric times. The fact that the brothers *Hades*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus* are the same as the Urartian triad *Haldi*, *Teišeba* and *Šiwini* may show that they are of Indo-European origin, adding one more proof to the Indo-European ancestry of the Nairian tribes that formed the Urartian kingdom. We shall discuss this further in the last chapter. (I note also here, parenthetically, the possibility that *Šiwini* may have been the origin of Engl. sun, A.S. *sunne*).

Had-es is *Had* (-es being a Greek suffix) which corresponds to the name *Hald* with the extinction of the sound *l*. In admitting the identity of the names *Hades* and *Haldi*, we have in view not only their phonetic resemblance but also the similarity of their nature: the god of volcano (*Haldi*) was certainly the god of the underworld (*Hades*). In addition, *Hades*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus* are three brothers, just as *Haldi*, *Teišeba* and *Siwini* constitute a triad.

Thus we see that the three brothers, *Hades*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus*, who are the most prominent gods in Greek mythology, are none other than *Haldi*, *Teišeba* and *Siwini*, the principal triad of the Urartian pantheon.

Other than linguistic and mythological comparisons, there are also historical and traditional evidences that support our assertion. Movses Khorenatsi, drawing his information from a Chaldean version (translated to Greek) of Mar Aba's ancient book, relates certain details about Aram that remind us of the following Greek legend:

Cronus, the junior Titan, fearing that his newborn sons may later revolt against him and usurp his power (just as he had done it to his father Uranus), swallows them. But his wife Rhea hides away her son Zeus and then forces Cronus to disgorge her children. *Zeus grows up and with his brothers' help defeats the Titans and Cronus*. The latter (according to another tale) moves to an island and rules there.⁴²

The Armenian patriarch *Aram*, in Khorenatsi's tale, is *Arame*, the founder of the Urartian kingdom; therefore, all that is told there about Aram pertains not only to *Arame*, but generally to the exploits of the powerful Urartian kings whose victories and mighty deeds are attributed to the Urartian gods in their inscriptions.

This is what Khorenatsi writes about Aram, drawing his information from Mar Aba:

He [*Aram*] moved west, ... reached the regions of the Cappadocians. ... Here, he confronted in war with the Titanian Payapis Kalea who had occupied by force the area between the two seas, that is, between Pontus and the ocean. [*Aram*] clashed against him and routed him and made him escape to an island in the Asian sea.⁴³

42 HSH, see article on «Κρονός» (*Cronus*).

43 Khorenatsi, I-14 (Italics supplied).

As we see, Aram's victory (i.e. the victory of Urartu's mighty kings, hence, that of her great gods) over the Titanian Payapis-Kalea in Cappadocia and the latter's escape to an island corresponds exactly to the legend of the Titan Cronus who went to an island after being defeated by Zeus and his brothers.

We could have perhaps argued that Khorenatsi's source Mar Aba, or a more ancient source of the latter (or even the Armenian tradition formed during the Hellenistic period in Armenia), may have linked the episodes of Greek mythology with Aram's (i.e. Urartu's) invasion to the west; but the fact that Zeus and his brothers Poseidon and Hades carry the names of the principal Urartian deities supports the hypothesis that the Greek legend is merely an echo of Urartu's conquests in the west that have acquired mythological character.

If we assume that the Greek legend is the original source, then we must also assume that its author, who ascribes its episodes to Aram, was fully aware that the heroes of the Greek legend were the gods of Urartu; otherwise, why would he have attributed them to Aram (i.e. to the patriarch of the Armenians or to the founder of the Urartian kingdom)?

After I had completed my comparative study about the Urartian deities *Haldi*, *Teišeba* and *Šiwini* and the Greek gods *Zeus*, *Poseidon* and *Hades*, I was pleased to find out that J. Markwart, too, in his time, had noticed the similarity between the story of Aram's exploits against the Titans in the region of the volcanic mountain Argaeus in Cappadocia (Mažak-Caesarea) and the Greek legend that speaks about Zeus and his brothers defeating the Titans.

But Markwart, being under the influence of the false hypothesis of "the migration of the Armens," still prevalent in his days, has attributed the connection between Aram and the Greek legend to the assumption that the Arims (Armens) "*were yet in Cappadocia before reaching Urartu,*" and, supposedly, "*the Arims who lived in these regions have linked that legend with the name of their ancestor Arim, considering it the fight of Arim against the Titans or the Giants. Later (supposedly) the name Arim was changed to Aram, perhaps in memory of the above-mentioned Urartian king Arame, or probably under the influence of the name "Aram," mentioned in the Bible, the ancestor of the Aramaeans—the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia.*"⁴⁴

It is obvious that Markwart's interpretation of this question is based on the "migration" hypothesis of the Armenians that dominated in his days. Of course, he did not know that those heroes who fought against the Titans had the names of the principal Urartian gods, and, consequently, he could not connect the episodes of the Greek legend with the military conquests of the Urartian kings in the west.

We know, for example, that the Urartian kings Menua, Argišti I and Sarduri II have all undertaken military expeditions towards west and have fought victorious battles against the forces of the countries in those regions. Caesarea was, of course, among conquered regions. It is even very likely that Arame himself may have carried out successful expeditions which may have been forgotten, not having been recorded in his days. Menua has already left an inscription found on a stone at Van, stating that he had invaded against Mana in the east and advanced beyond the city of Kumenu and reached Assyria in the south. His forces had waged victorious battles in the west and had occupied *Surišili-ni*, *Tarḫigama-ni* and other cities and had conquests in the lands of *Ḥati-na* and *Alzi-ni*.⁴⁵

Argišti I, too, must have conquered these same regions, since his writings reveal that he had brought 6600 warriors from *Ḥate* and *Šupani* and installed them in the Erebuni city-fortress which he had built.

Markwart, in developing his interpretations of Aram's story (from the "migration" viewpoint, of course), entirely overlooks the valuable information given by Khorenatsi, drawn from an ancient Chaldean, non-Armenian, source, according to which Aram is not the leader of the Armenians in Cappadocia, but he comes from Armenia (Urartu) to invade the west, and that he does this only after defeating the Medes (Niukar Mades) in the east and the Assyrians in the south.

Here is Khorenatsi's narrative with minor abridgments:

This same Aram, not many years before Ninos ruled Assyria and Nineveh, ... came across, near the Armenian borders, a group of Median youths whose leader was a certain Niukar Mades. ... Aram suddenly attacked him before sunrise and slaughtered his large multitude and taking Niukar himself, called Mades, prisoner, brought him to Armavir. ... This same

Aram, after concluding the battle against the eastern people, moved, with the same force, towards the regions of Assyria. There, too, he found another spoiler of his country, by the name Baršam, of the race of the giants, with 40 000 fully armed foot soldiers and 5 000 horsemen; he had oppressed the people with heavy taxes and had turned the entire surrounding land into a desert. Aram waged war against him and pursued him through Korduk to the Assyrian plain, killing many. And Baršam, happening to be found before his arm-bearers, got killed. ... We must still tell all the deeds of valor that he did in the west against the Titans. He moved west and acquiring an additional force of 40 000 foot soldiers and 2 000 horsemen, reached a certain place in the regions of Cappadocians which is now called Caesarea. ... Here, he confronted in war with the Titanian Payapis Kalea who had occupied by force the area between the two seas, that is, between Pontus and the ocean. (Aram) clashed against him and routed him and made him escape to an island in the Asian sea.⁴⁶

As it is seen clearly, here Aram is not an imaginary or legendary figure, he is the Urartian king Arame who has fought against Assyria, even though he may personify, as the founder of the Urartian kingdom and dynasty and hence the patriarch of the Armenians, the exploits of the mighty Urartian kings in general. It becomes evident now that it is wrong to assume prejudicially, on the basis of the erroneous "migration" hypothesis, that Aram was the name of the leader (or ancestor) of the Arims who lived in Cappadocia, or that it was derived from the name of the "ancestor" of the Aramaeans mentioned in the Bible.

Furthermore, these events, according to that Chaldean source recorded by Khorenatsi, have taken place, with reliable chronological accuracy, "*not many years before Ninus rules Assyria and Nineveh*," that is, not many years before Nineveh became Assyria's capital. We know that Nineveh became Assyria's main capital in the days of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). And sure enough, it was certainly not too long before this time when the Urartian kings Arame, Menua (810-786 B.C.), Argišti I (786-764 B.C.) and Sarduri II (764-735 B.C.) lived and carried out their said expeditions to the west.

In citing these evidences, our purpose is to show that it is not

46 Khorenatsi, I-13, 14.

by coincidence that in the Greek legend Zeus and his brothers, Hades and Poseidon, who defeated the Titans, bear the names of the three most powerful Urartian gods, and that our assertion for the identity of the Greek heroes with the Urartian gods is not based merely on similarities or accordance in names and on Khorenatsi's record, but on real and firm historical ground.

Of course, in this question, one must also have in view that the land between Greater Hayk' (Urartu) and Caesarea was inhabited by Armenians. There is much historical data to prove that between the main territory of the Hittite kingdom and Greater Hayk' there were in existence a number of individual Armenian principalities and states, such as, *Hayasa, Pahhuwa, Suhmu, Tegarama, Isuwa, Alzi, Dzopk'*, etc., which were also designated as "Higher Hayk'," "Lesser Hayk'," "Second Hayk'," etc., and constituted separate segments in the western regions of the cradle of the Armenian (Nairian) people. In the Armenian Highland, as the Armenian-Nairian household elements (or clans) of the ancient communal society have in general crystallized into different tribes and then unified as a people, these states have constituted distinct localities.

Among the 6 600 warriors whom Argišti I moved to Erebuni, those who were called *Hate* must have been Armenians from these regions liberated from Hittite rule or who had renounced the Hittite alliance. It is obvious that those brought from Šopk' were already Armenians. Otherwise, Argišti would not have trusted them with the protection of a fortress of such strategic importance as Erebuni was.

It is, of course, possible to assume that the Arims of these localities who were eyewitnesses (or participants) to Urartu's exploits and victories against the Titans near Caesarea, have contributed to the creation and propagation of this Greek legend; an assumption, which could support further their kinship with the Urartian kings, the authors of these exploits.

It is very interesting for our topic to note the part that *Mt. Argæus*, the prominent volcanic mountain near Caesarea, has played in the mythological formation of our legend. Academician Manuk Abeghian submits important information about the Titans in this region. He writes:

The chief among the giants is Typhon (Typhos, Typhoeus, who is, indeed, a smoke ejector, a smoker, and, as a common noun, means cyclone, a storm accompanied with lightning and thunder). He is the symbol of volcanic mountains and

destructive storms: he has one hundred heads and ejects flames from his hundred mouths. Zeus puts him under the volcanic Mt. Etna or, according to others, under the volcanic island Inarime or Aenaria in the Mediterranean Sea, where he continues to eject fire.⁴⁷

As I have mentioned, Armenians who lived around Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia and near the Greek regions must have participated not only in the propagation of this legend but even in the very events that have given rise to it by cooperating with the Urartians. We have definite testimonies as to the existence of the Armenians in that region:

During the time when the Homeric epic was created (10–11th century B.C.), one of the proto-Armenian races, the Armenians, was known to the Greeks in a number of localities, ... in Cilicia, in the valley of the river Calycadnus where were the “mountains of the Arims;” near the mouth of the Orontes river, in the region of Antioch; and finally, around Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia where, according to the Armenian national tradition, is located the “First Hayk” (“Առաջին Հայկ” = “First Armenia”). The legend of the fire-spitting mountain and the monster Typhon is also linked with all these locations. This legend that was known near the borders of Mysia and Lydia, in Cilicia, in the region of the mouth of the Orontes river, and around Mt. Argaeus, is connected, therefore, with the race of the Arims.⁴⁸

We know that Haldi was a god of fire and volcano, Teišeba a god of storm and thunderbolt, and Šiwini was a sun-god, hence the god of heaven. Consequently, the victory of the Urartian forces over the Hittites near Caesarea, or over the forces of these regions, could have been interpreted in pagan times as the defeat of Argaeus, the chief of the Titans and the representative of volcanic forces, by the combined powers of the Urartian gods of sun, storm-thunderbolt and fire-volcano of the Armenian Highland. After the defeat (apparently when the volcano became extinct), the Titan

47 HHGP, p. 24.

48 HZhP, 233–234.

*Cronus*⁴⁹ went to an island in the sea and continued to live by means of another volcano that was active there.

In all these details the important thing for our topic is, that the greatest gods in Greek mythology, the brothers *Hades*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus*, are, by their names, by their nature and characteristics, identical with the *most powerful triad of the Urartian pantheon*, *Ḫaldi*, *Teišeba* and *Šiwini*.

Apart from other considerations, this fact alone suffices to prove that the Urartian civilization exerted a powerful influence, not only on Persia in the east, but in the west as well, on the cultures of the peoples of Asia Minor, and even played an important part in the formation of a significant portion of Greek mythology. At the same time, one cannot escape the conclusion that if these Greek deities (i.e. the powerful Urartian triad) were Indo-European, then the ruling people in Urartu must have, likewise, been Indo-European. In fact it is already well known that *Ḫaldi* had never been a Hurrian deity.

5. THE MOST ANCIENT DEITIES OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

I. *Hayk*

The god *Hayk*, the mighty archer, has been closely interwoven with the life of the Armenian people since times immemorial, as ancient perhaps as the hunting stage of the primeval communal society. He was the principal indigenous deity of the most prominent (central) group of the Nairian tribes that have formed the Armenian people. We know that *Hayk* is none other than *Ḫaldi*,⁵⁰ and that *Hayk-Ḫaldi*

49 *Cronus* is identified with *Bel* and *Nebrovt'* (*Nimrod*) in *Khorenatsi* (I-7), implying that he, too, was a god of fire-volcano. See below, the section on *Vahagn*, where we shall speak about the volcano of Mount Nemrut (*Nebrovt'*).

50 We have seen above that *Hades* is *Ḫaldi*. The passage *Ḫaldi* > *Had(-es)* has taken place long before the fall of Urartu. It is not unlikely that the following passage could have also taken place at a later date: *Ḫaldi* > *Had-es* = *Had-ak* (in Armenian form) > *Hayk*, by the change of *d* (>*t*) to *y* between two vowels, as in *mater* > *māyr*.

was a deity of fire who had taken origin from the volcanic nature of the Armenian Highland. As mentioned earlier, Movses Khorenatsi, drawing his information from Mar Aba's book, uses a distinctive expression for Hayk: "the Yapetostean Hayk"⁵¹ («Եփեստոսեան Հայկ», i.e. having the nature of Yapetos-Hephaestus). Remembering that Hephaestus was a god of fire, such a characterization of Hayk appears to have taken place during the Hellenistic (Artashesian) period of Armenia when Hayk's fiery nature was still remembered. Personified as the eponymic ancestor of the Armenian people, Hayk is also described as having "very curly hair and sparkling eyes",⁵² a description that was inspired by his fiery nature and is paralleled with that given to Vahagn who, too "had hair of fire, ... and his eyes were two suns."

In the old genealogical list preserved by Khorenatsi, Hayk is considered the son of Torgom. The origin of this name is linked with that of the city-land of Tarkuma/Tarhigama⁵³ mentioned in Hittite and Urartian inscriptions. It must be recalled that Hayk is a deity, hence, he should have been considered the son of the god Tarku, the god Tork' of the Armenians, whose name is the radical component of the name of this city Tarkuma/Tarhigama. Tork's main temple was in Aghtznik (Arme-Shubria), at the Armenian sacred city-fortress Angel-Tun (Ingalava?), now called Egil. Among Armenians Tork' was also called Tork' Angel; Khorenatsi refers to him as Tork' of Angel, i.e. Tork' of Angelian descent. In the Old Armenian translation of the Bible, the god of the Underworld, Nergal of the Semitic text, is translated as Angel (who probably corresponds also to the Sumerian Engur, the god of the Abyss). Thus, it becomes easier to understand why Hayk, the god of volcano, is called "son of Torgom," i.e. the son of Angelian Tork', the god of the Underworld, because both the volcano and the god of volcano originate from the underworld forces.

The epic of Hayk's fight against Bel provides a substantial proof

51 Khorenatsi, I-9.

52 Ibid., I-10, 11.

53 Some scholars locate this city in Hayasa, but others who place it in the southwestern regions of the Armenian Highland (NH, see Tarkuma), in Arme-Shubria, north of Syria (UKN see Tarhigamani), seem to be more correct. In this connection, it might be right to point out the village of Derik, below Angel Tun, in the region of the sources of the Khabur, 40 km west of Mardin. As we have seen before, Adad-Nirari II called this region Hark' (Harki) which was in Armani as mentioned by Naram-Sin.

that Hayk and his people were already in existence in the land called Hark', at the center of the Armenian-Nairian Highland, at the time when Bel was carrying out his raids, that is, when the mighty Assyro-Babylonian empire was seeking to expand; a proof which, unfortunately, has been overlooked by those who support the theory of migration of Armenians from the Balkans. These were the people of Haldi-Hayk, who, as the natives of their own highland, have fought long and bloody battles to protect their homeland against the Caucasian hordes from the north, the Scytho-Iranian and Central Asian marauders from the east, the mighty Hittites and other forces of Asia Minor from the west, as well as the Assyro-Babylonian and Aramaean intruders of the Semitic world from the south. It was Hayk's people who stood up against Bel and acted as a barrier before the unrestrained flood of the Semites from the south, stopping it at the foothills of their highland.

Because of the fact that the Armenian Highland is situated at the crossroads of continents where different civilizations have met, foreign deities have penetrated into the land in later periods, and Hayk, the indigenous god of the land was raised to heaven as a star and identified with the constellation Orion.

II. Ara

Ara also has been the most ancient national god of the Armenians. He, too, was a native and eponymic deity of the Nairian tribes who formed the Armenian people and whose land was called *Ar-meni* (or *Ar-ma-ni*) after Ara's name. (This was already discussed in Chapter 2, under the Section "Ara's Land and People.") A large number of Nairian tribal names and the names of many cities, rivers and mountains in the Armenian Highland are derived from *Ar* or *Ara*, such as, *Araşani*, *Arhi*, *Arberani*, *Aragadz*, *Arayi Ler* (Ara's Mountain), *Ayrarat*, etc.

As one of the most ancient native deities of the Armenian Highland, Ara was originally a deity of agriculture and vegetation, symbolizing the death and rebirth of nature. Later, as the Nairian tribes multiplied and were unified as a people, he was identified with the sun, just as the Assyrian god Aššur, who, earlier, when the Assyrians were peacefully occupied in tilling their land, was a god of agriculture symbolized by the tree of life, but later, as

Assyria became a mighty empire, turned to a war-god and was identified with the sun.⁵⁴

One main difference between Aššur and Ara was this, however, that while Aššur, because of the cruel nature he had acquired, was hated by other peoples and his name did not expand far, Ara, on the other hand, by the humane and lovable characteristics he had developed as a life-giving deity, had become very popular and his fame had spread out from his cradle, the Armenian Highland and the neighboring regions of Asia Minor (i.e. the Indo-European homeland), to distant countries and was adopted by many peoples.

Of course, it is difficult to determine with accuracy the regions and countries where Ara's cult (or *Araism*, as aptly called by Academician G. Ghapantsian) had spread, and the chronology of the development of the various phases of his character. Nevertheless, with the sparse data available, we can delineate the following regions where his cult had spread out: In the Armenian Highland, the cradle of *Araism*, the names *Ar* and *Ara* were used interchangeably,⁵⁵ he was also called *Ardi* in the times of Urartu; among the Hittites in the west he was, likewise, known as *Ara*,⁵⁶ whereas in Pamphylia he was called *Er*, in Thrace, Sparta, and Greece *Ares*, in Macedonia *Aras*, in Germany *Ertag*,⁵⁷ and in Ireland *Ir*; in the north-east, in Georgia *Arali*,⁵⁸ in the vast Slavic plains of the north (Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia) *Yar*, *Yarilo*;⁵⁹ in the south, in the city of Harran in Syria, *Aru*,⁶⁰ in Babylonia *Aria*, and in Egypt *Ra*.

Such a widespread dispersion, and so early in history, can only be explained by the power and the winsome nature of the source and also by its being located, as a center of radiation, at a favorable geographic position such as was the Armenian Highland.

Ar (or *Ara*) did not retain all his characteristics or all the traits of his nature in every region where he was adopted. Certain

54 AT, 191.

55 It is difficult to connect the Indo-Iranian term *ari* (or *Aryan*) directly with the god *Ar* or *Ara*. This term *ari* has no mythological value. In old inscriptions the Indo-Iranian peoples have called themselves *ari* in a sense that they were "full men", probably in the sense of "free men", compared to the peoples they had subdued. In Armenian *ari* means 'brave' and is linked with the word *ayr* ('man').

56 AGP, 77-88.

57 AG, 326.

58 AGP, 81.

59 Ibid., 77, 81, 82.

60 AG, 183.

of his traits were emphasized and others minimized according to local influences and the psychological needs and tendencies of the people who adopted him. For example, in Thrace, Sparta, and Greece, Ares was a war- and sun-god; the same was true for Aras in Macedonia. The Hittite *Ara* was a god of vegetation, the Georgian *Arali* and the Slavic *Yar-Yarilo* were gods of agriculture, and the Egyptian *Ra* was a sun-god.

It was noted earlier that in the time of Urartu *Ara* was also called *Ardi* (*Ar-di*) from which was derived the name *Ur-ardi* (= *Ur-artu*), as mentioned by Sargon II, which meant 'the place of *Ardi*', that is, 'the land of *Ara*'. As already shown above, according to Khorenatsi, the name *Ayrarat* (which is related to the name *Urartu*), means 'the plain of *Ara*'⁶¹ which correctly preserves the intrinsic meaning of *Ur-ardi* (*Urartu*) as 'the land of *Ara*', equivalent to the term *Ar-me-ni* ('the land of the sons of *Ar*').

It is certain that the name *Ar* (*Ara*), as a radical, is much older than its derivative form *Ardi* (*Ar-di*) that belongs to a much later, possibly the Uruatrian-Urartian, period.

In the *Ara-Shamiram* legend *Ara* is represented as the sun-god while *Shamiram* appears to be the moon-goddess who is in love with *Ara* and desires to possess him as a lover or husband. But *Ara* prefers the genuine moon-goddess (and his wife) *Nuard* and refuses the enamored stranger *Shamiram*. Upon his rejection the moon-goddess *Shamiram* gathers her soldiers (the stars) and marches to Armenia against *Ara*, but when *Shamiram* and her soldiers (the moon and the stars) appear, the sun-god *Ara* dies (the sun sets) and the moon-goddess *Shamiram* does not succeed to meet him alive (while he is on the sky).

It is obvious that this legend reflects the greedy desires of the Mesopotamian Semites to conquer the rich northern highlands (the land of *Ara*) and the struggle of *Ara*'s freedom-loving people against foreign domination.

We think it is very probable that the divine names *Hayk* and *Ara*, from which the Armenian people derive their name, are two different name forms for the one and same deity whereby different aspects of his nature are represented, the name *Hayk* designating his fiery character and the name *Ara* symbolizing him as a god of

61 Khorenatsi, I-15. He writes: «Գայ [Շամիրամ] հասանէ տազնազու ի դաշտն Արայի, որ եւ յանուն նորա անուանեալ Այրարատ»: ('[*Shamiram*] came in a hurry to the plain of *Ara* which was called *Ayrarat* after his name.')

vegetation and the sun. And since, as we know, *Ḫaldi* is the same as *Hayk* and *Ardi* is the same as *Ara*, then we should likewise assume that the name of the fire-god *Ḫaldi* (*Hayk*) and the name of the sun-god *Ardi* (*Ara*) are also two variants of the same name. As an evidence, we can mention the fact that Musasir, where *Ḫaldi*'s temple was located, was called *Ardi-ni* instead of *Ḫaldi-ni*, thus indicating that the names *Ḫaldi* and *Ardi* were identical.

In fact, in Urartian inscriptions *Ḫaldi* is sometimes written in the form *Aldi* which appears to be a variant of *Ardi*, *l* and *r* being conjugates. (Cf. *Ararat* > *Alarot*, *Aragas* > *Alagyaz*, *Alzinini* > *Arzianene*, etc.) Although *Ḫaldi-Aldi*, as the supreme god of the kingdom, heads the Urartian pantheon, the form *Ardi* is preserved, for instance, in the place-name *Ardini* and also as a deity in the Urartian pantheon belonging to one of the Nairian tribes that formed the Urartian union.

Thus, we see that *Ara* (*Ardi*), the eponymic god of the Armenian people and their land, was the native and genuine deity of the Nairian tribes of the Armenian Highland.

III. *Astuaş*

Astuaş (Աստուաշ) is also one of the most ancient deities of the Armenian people. This name is so old, that even though in later times, due to various circumstances such as the adoption of foreign deities in Armenia, it ceased to be a proper name, rather than disappearing in oblivion, it was preserved in the Armenian language as a common noun. This proves its antiquity and national authenticity.

In the last century a number of scholars, under the influence of the false hypothesis that assumed Europe to be the homeland of the parent Indo-European language, have tried to connect the Armenians with the Thraco-Phrygians. (In this effort they were swayed by certain cultural similarities that could have existed between the latter and the Armenians living in the neighboring Hayasa-Tarḫigama region in Eastern Asia Minor.) Lead by this "migration" theory and based on interpretations of certain old sources accommodated to it, they have made the Armenian word *Astuaş* derive from the name of the Phrygian deity *Savazios*.

Not mentioning for the moment a series of evidences that contradict this, the derivation of *Astuaş*, from *Savazios* becomes

immensely difficult even on phonetic grounds: to make the first syllable change from *sav* to *astu* is purely arbitrary and baseless. We believe that, as mentioned earlier, the divine name *Savaz(ios)*, like the Greek *Zeus*, is linked to the name *Sibiš* (*Šiwini*)-*Šabaš*,⁶² whereas the Armenian *Astuaš*, which comes from very remote antiquity (as will be shown below in connection with *Aštuaš*), has no relationship at all with *Savaz(ios)*.

The *Astuaš* of the Armenian people was a deity of fire. This divine name (*Aštu-aš*) is a Nairian word and it is not unlikely that in the remote past it may have been connected to the Assyro-Babylonian word *išatu* which meant 'fire'. *Astuaš*, as the principal national deity of the Armenians (*Hayk-Ḫaldi*), was the greatest of all gods and as the father of all was elevated to heaven. In the Achaemenian period the Armenians adopted *Ahura-Mazda*, who replaced *Astuaš* in the Armenian pantheon, but by changing the name *Ahura* to *Ara*, the name of their national god, they armenianized him and called him *Ara-mazd* (*Aramazd*), reserving the name *Ormizd* to the real Iranian *Ahuramazda* adopted from the Pahlavi forms *Hormizd* and *Ormizd*.

During the Hellenistic period, introduced in Armenia by the Artashessian dynasty, *Astuaš* became identified with "Dios-Zeus, the father of gods, the creator of heaven and earth," and when Christianity came, he was identified with *Jehovah* as the heavenly father and the creator of all things.

It seems natural that in Armenia, after the days of Urartu, when *Astuaš* would cede his place successively to *Aramazd*, *Dios-Zeus*, and *Jehovah*, the name *Astuaš* would cease to be a proper name and would be retained in the language merely as a common noun.

The name *Astuaš* (*Aštu-aš*), as the name of a native deity of fire, is connected with the word *astu* ('fire') which is a component of *Ur-aštu* (= *Ur-Artu*), the name of the country, and *Ašti-šat*, the name of the city that was the greatest religious center of fire-worshipping Armenia. This same name *Aštu-aš* is also encountered in the divine names *Unag-aštuaš* and *Aštupinu* (*Aštu-pinu*), belonging to *Hayasa* and *Subarians*, respectively. It is clear, therefore, that the attempt to derive the Armenian *Astuaš* from the Phrygian *Savazios*, as well as the "migration" hypothesis of the Armens, must be considered outdated misconceptions.

62 In the Ugarit inscriptions we find, as already mentioned, *Šapaš* (or *Šabaš*) instead of the Eblaite *Sipiš* (or *Sibiš*).

The component *astu* of the name *Astuaš* (or *Aštu-aš*) is a dialectal variant of the component *artu* of the name *Ur-artu*, with the *r* > *š* transition. It follows, then, that *Astuaš* is just a variant of the name *Ḫaldi-Aldi* or *Ardi* (*Artu* > *Aštu*) and is equivalent and synonymous to it.

The form *artu* (*Ur-artu*) as a variant of *aštu* (*Ur-aštu*) is not an uncommon occurrence in Armenian. In some Armenian dialects *š* replaces *r* before dental plosives. For example, in the Hamshen dialect the word *mardik* (մարդիկ) is pronounced as *mašdik* (մաշդիկ), and *kert'an* > *gešton* (կ'երթաւ > գեշտոն); in the Hadjen dialect, *kert'ayi* > *gašti* (կ'երթայի > գաշդի); in the Nakhichevan dialect, *mard* > *mašt'* (մարդ > մաշթ) and *mort'i* > *mošt'i* (մորթի > մոշթի), etc. Evidently, in the Behistun inscriptions, writing *Ur-aštu*, instead of *Ur-artu*, was not a scribal error; it existed in the speech of the people. A further evidence is supplied by the name *Řštuni* (*ərštu-ni*) which preserves the memory of *Uraštu* (= *Urtu*). All these confirm that the name *Ur-aštu* contains the divine name *Astu(aš)*.

It was already shown above, on different occasions, that the name *Ardi* ('sun') had a variant in the form of *Arti* (or *Artu*) which, with *rt* < *tr* transposition, corresponded specifically to the word *atr* (աւր) signifying 'fire'.⁶³ The Armenian language has a number of words formed with *atr*, such as *atrašek* (*atr-a-šek*, 'red as fire') and *atrašikanal* (*atr-a-šikanal*, 'to turn red as fire') that have their parallel forms as *artašek* (*art-a-šek*) and *artašikanal* (*art-a-šikanal*).

To write *art* instead of *atr* is not a scribal error either, since we know that, in reality, the name *Uru-atr* had also a variant in the form of *Ur-arti* (or *Ur-artu*). The *aštu* ('fire') form of the word *artu* or *atr* should be compared not with the Pahlavi *atur* (Avestan *ātarš*) but, as already stated, with the Akkadian word *išatu* ('fire').

63 According to Hübschmann (see *HAB*, article «աւր», *atr*) the Armenian word *atr* ('fire') comes from the Pahlavi *atur* of the same meaning. Certainly they are related, but it is more likely that they both originate from a common source. Linguistic exchanges between Pahlavi and Armenian must have occurred after the fall of Urtu. The fact that names such as *Uru-atr* and *Ur-artu* already existed long before in the Armenian Highland may suggest that the Pahlavi word is borrowed from the Armenian, just as the Armenian word *pařav* derived from the name of *Ḫaldi's* wife *Waruba-ni* has (probably) given rise to the Pahlavi synonym *pārāv*, and not vice versa.

In the times of Assyria and Urartu, Armenia was a land of active volcanoes with a number of peaks in the Lake Van region, such as the *Uruatri* mountain (Mount Djuti), the *Nemrut*, the *Varag* and the *Tondurək*, erupting periodically. Mount Nemrut's famous crater was active until the 1440s and Tondurak, still smoking, is not completely extinct.⁶⁴ The entire area that surrounded Lake Van was considered a land of fire and because of this reason it was called by the Assyrian kings *Uruatri* (later *Urartu*), which literally means 'place of fire'.

The *aštu-išatu* connection becomes more intelligible if we keep in mind that the series of names we considered, *Uruatri*, *Urardi-Urartu* and *Uraštu*, are merely different forms of the same name given to Armenia by the Semitic Assyro-Babylonian kings of the south, because for them, that land of active volcanoes was just a "land of fire." This is why the form *Ur-aštu* in the Akkadian text of the Behistun inscription was more intelligible than the form *Ur-artu*: the actual name of the country in question was derived from the name *Ar* (*Ara*) and was called *Armani* or *Armeni*, which meant, as was shown earlier, 'sons of Ar' or 'the land of the sons of Ar'; hence, the name *Ur-aštu* utilized in the Akkadian version of Behistun inscription is the direct translation of the name *Armina* (Armenia) of the Persian original. The only difference in the meanings of the names *Armeni* and *Urartu* was that while the former designated it as the land of the sons of the local god ('the sons of Ar'), the second meant merely the land of the local god ('land of fire').

In the light of what has been said above about the Armenian divine name *Astuaš*, it becomes obvious now that it could not have originated from the Phrygian *Savazios*, a name (*Savaz-ios*) which appears rather to be connected to *Zeus* < *Sibiš* (*Šiwini*). The name *Astuaš* is already encountered with in the name *Ur-aštu* (*Ur-artu*) and in the divine names *Unag-aštuaš* of Hayasa and *Aštu-pinu* of the Subarians. And since the Semitic world has preserved a synonymous and homophonous word, *išatu*, meaning 'fire', then the source of all these must be looked for in the land of Subartu, whose god *Aštupinu* has already been referred to above.

In conclusion, referring to the divine names *Hayk* (= *Ḫaldi*), *Ara* (= *Ardi*) and *Astuaš* (= *Aštuaš*), we can say that Hayk, the national deity of the Armenians, having in the beginning powers on the

animal (hunting) and the vegetal (agriculture) domains, has developed a fiery nature and evolved into a sun- and war-god. His powers as a god of vegetation and, later, as a sun-god, were represented by *Ara*, whereas his powers on the animal world and on fire were symbolized by *Astuaş*. These two, *Ara* and *Astuaş*, have been combined in *Ḫaldi*, who, because of the presence of *Šiwini*, has preserved only his fiery (volcano) and vegetal (poplar tree) natures.

The following statements and equations summarize it all:

1. If the temple of *Ardi-ni* (of *Musasir*) is *Ḫaldi*'s temple, then
 $\text{Ḫaldi (Aldi)} = \text{Ardi}$
2. If the goddess *Nu-ard* (the *Nu* of *Ard*) is *Ara*'s wife, then
 $\text{Ard (Ardi)} = \text{Ara}$
3. And if *Ur-ardī* = *Ur-artu* = *Ur-aštu*, then
 $\text{Ara} = \text{Ardi (Artu)} = \text{Aštu (Astu-aş)}$

As we speak about the interrelationships between the names *Armani* (*Armeni*), *Hayk* (*Hayastan*) and *Urartu*, we must have in view, the following "divine" formula:

$$\text{Ḫaldi} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ardi - Ara (vegetation, sun)} \\ \text{Astuaş (fire)} \end{array} \right\} = \text{Hayk}$$

IV. *Nuard-Anahit*

We know from the *Aratta-Erech* epic tales that *Inanna* was the goddess of *Aratta*, as well as that of the city of *Erech* (*Uruk*) in *Sumer*. This deity was known in *Babylon* by the name *Ištar*. *Dumuzi* (*Tammuz*) was *Inanna*'s consort in *Sumer* (*Ištar*'s in *Babylon*), whom *Armenologists*, based on similarities in traits of character, identify with *Ara*.⁶⁵ Since, as mentioned earlier, *Nuard* was *Ara*'s wife, it becomes clear that the goddess *Inanna* is perpetuated in *Armenia* in the name *Nuard*.

The name *Nu-ard* is composed of the components *nu* and *ard*, each having, in its compact form, a specific meaning. *Nu* represents the name of the goddess *Inanna-Anahit* (and/or *Nane*), and the component *ard*, representing the sun-god *Ardi*, is none other than

65 AGP, 41-47.

Ar (or Ara) in its derived form Ar-di. The word *nu* still exists in the Armenian language meaning 'bride', therefore, *Nu-ard* would literally mean 'the *nu* of *ard*', that is, 'Ardi's or Ara's bride or wife'. This concurs with Khorenatsi's statement that Nuard was Ara's wife.

The structure of the word *Nu-ard* can be compared with that of the name of the Urartian goddess *Šelardi* or *Šielardi* (*Šiel-ardi*), about which N. Adontz writes: "To derive this word by compounding *šela* ('wife or sister') and *ardi* ('sun') is tempting. In the East, from ancient times to the present, the moon has always been considered to be the sun's sister,"⁶⁶ or in certain regions, his wife. *Šel* (or *Šiel*) reminds us of the known moon-goddess *Selene* or the Urartian goddess *Silia*. The structural parallel between the names *Nu-ard* and *Šiel-ardi* is obvious: *Nu* corresponds to *Šiel* and *Ard* to *Ardi* who is none other than the sun-god.

We know that *Ḫaldi* was a god of fire and, as *Aldi-Ardi*, he was identified with the sun. It seems that in the times of Urartu, with *Šiwini*'s presence in the Urartian pantheon as a sun-god, he had preserved only his fire and volcano nature, but the form *Ardi* of his name was retained in the name *Ardi-ni* of Musasir and also by one of the Urartian tribes as a luminous star, similar to *Hayk* who was subsequently identified with *Orion*.

The composition of the name *Nu-ard* and *Šel-ardi* has its parallel also in the name *Šinuiardi* (*Šinui-ardi*) which appears to be a goddess of the Nairian tribe *Šinibirni*.

As it was mentioned earlier, in antiquity, *Ara*'s name and fame spread out from the Armenian Highland (probably with migrating Armenians in certain cases) also to the West. There is no doubt that *Ares* is the same as *Ara*. N. Adontz gives the following most important information that confirms the composition of the name *Nu-ard*:

In Homer, *Ares*' consort was called *Enio* ... *Ares*' relation with *Enio* is an old memory and important. It seems that this female personage, *Enio*, is none other than *Aphrodite*'s predecessor. The Pelasgian *Aphrodite* occupied the position of the Thracian *Enio* with regards to *Ares*. ... The intimacy between *Enio* and *Ares* was still remembered in the 4th century and the custom of sacrificing slaves to *Ares* and

Enio still prevailed in Thrace. ... We believe that Enio's name as *Enn* or *Enuo*, is none other than a different form of the name *Nana* or *Nina*.⁶⁷

To this we can add the following quotation:

Ptolemy Philadelphus deified himself and his wife Arsinoë in his lifetime. ... The cult of Aphrodite-Arsinoë was established, in other words, Arsinoë's worship was associated with that of the goddess Aphrodite.⁶⁸

Here, too, we find that the name *Ars-inoë* has exactly the same structure as that of *Nu-ard*, *Ars-inoë* meaning 'Ares's Enio' where *Ares* corresponds to *Ard* (*Ara*) and *Enio* to *Nu* in our name *Nu-ard*. We see clearly that the name *Nu-ard* has the same composition as the names *Šel-ardi*, *Šinui-ardi* and *Ars-inoë*, and means 'the *nu* of *ard*', that is 'the bride (or wife) of *Ard* (or *Ara*)'.

As we have seen, *Ara*'s wife *Nu-ard* incorporates Dumuzi's wife *Inanna*, who was known in Armenia by the name *Anunit-Anahit*.

Anahit was the best loved and respected national goddess of the Armenian people. In better known times she occupied the foremost position among all deities in Armenia. The protection and the care of the land were entrusted to her. She was the mother of all sobriety, virtuous and benevolent. Among all the Armenian deities she only had a statue of pure gold. In the later periods of paganism she was associated with the moon.

In the Artashessian period one of *Anahit*'s most famous temples was at the city of *Erez* (Erzinjan). There were many temples dedicated to her throughout the country, but one of the most important was at the city of *Ashtishat*, in the *Mush* region, which for some time served as the principal religious center of the Armenian people. She also had a temple at the city of *Artashat*, in the *Ararat* valley, and another one of her oldest temples must have existed on the *Medzamor* river.

Some believe that the name *Anahit* has come to Armenia from Iran, but it is difficult to concur with such an opinion. Iran has never

67 N. Adontz, "Hin Hayotz Ashkharahayatskə" ("The World-view of Ancient Armenians") *Hayrenik Monthly*, 1926. No. 12, p. 75.

68 HHKh, 26.

tolerated the rule of women; generally no goddesses strike us in the Iranian pantheon and Anahit's presence there seems to be merely incidental; she never had there the amount of respect and honor that she enjoyed in Armenia. Solomon Reinach, the expert on world mythology, says that Anahit was a foreign presence in Iran. He writes: "The goddess Anāhita (the Lydian Anaitis) was of foreign origin (in Iran). The Iranian pantheon is, as a rule, deficient in goddesses, woman was always suspect, and the religious law aggravated the miseries of their sex ..." ⁶⁹ It is very difficult, therefore, to accept that the Armenians could have borrowed their most beloved and notable goddess Anahit from Iran, where she was a foreigner herself.

In conclusion, we can say that the goddess Anahit comes from antiquity and is indigenous to the Armenian Highland; she is identical with Inanna-Anunit, the very famous goddess of Aratta, who had acquired preeminence as early as the beginning of the third millenium B.C. She was the goddess who was worshiped in Medzamor, probably as the star Sirius, in 2800 B.C., at a time, when the Persians did not even exist in Iran. We must accept, therefore, that Anahit was a native goddess in the Armenian Highland. As for her presence among the Iranians (if it is of old), it can be explained by the fact that they must have taken her with them as they moved away from the Armenian Highland.

V. *Astlik*

Astlik was a goddess of love, beauty, fertility and waters. She was Vahagn's wife or mistress.

Her name is quite interesting. Some believe that it is derived from the Semitic *Ištar* and others from the Greak-sounding *Astarte*, but the name *Astlik* suggests some other origin.

We do not see any reason why this word *astlik* could not be linked directly with the Armenain word *astl* մայր, 'star'). We know that *astl* is a genuine Armenian word of Indo-European origin. According to Adjarian, the Indo-European root of this word is *stēr* from which are derived the Sanskrit and Avestan *star*, Pahlavi *stār*, Persian *sitāra*, Afgan *stōrai*, Latin and Italian *stella*, French *astre*, Spanish *astro*, German *stern*, English *star*, etc. The

⁶⁹ OHR, 69.

l sound in *astl* (and in *Astlik*) corresponds to *l* rather than to *r*, hence, the Armenian word *astl* seems to be linked with the Latin *stella* group rather than with the Semitic *Ištar*. Therefore, *Astlik* is connected more closely with the native Indo-European circle rather than with the Semitic.

It is not improbable, of course, that the Semitic divine names, like the Assyro-Babylonian *Ištar*, the Eblaite *Ester*, the Hebrew *Esther*, the Phoenician *Astoreth*, etc., and the Indo-European root *stēr* and its derivatives could all have been originated from a common source; but it must be noted that the Semitic names are all proper nouns, whereas the Indo-European *stēr* and its derivatives in the various languages designate a common noun, against which the Semites (Assyro-Babylonians) have the word *kakkabu* (كوكب *kawkabun* in Arabic). It must be accepted, therefore, that the Indo-European root (which had lost its mythological value, if it had any at all) is much older than the Semitic divine names. Furthermore, the Indo-European word must have been in the proto-language prior to the third millennium B.C., long before anything is known about *Ištar's* existence.

It is also probable that the Armenian native word *astl*, in its derivative form *Astl-ik*, has regained its mythological value under the influence of the Assyro-Babylonian, or more likely, the Subarian-Mitannian *Ištar*, around the middle of the second millennium B.C. (In fact, as we know from the Mitannian-Egyptian correspondence, Mitannians honored *Ištar* and had sent her to Egypt on a couple of occasions to have her heal the pharaoh, their son-in-law).

I think that the traits of motherhood and love, originally personified by *Inanna-Nane*, were later divided in two; *Anahit* retained the functions of motherhood, goodness, benevolence and the protection of the country, whereas the characteristics of love, beauty and fertility were passed on to *Astlik*.

VI. *Mihr or Mher*

As already pointed out, the most ancient and principal national deity of the Armenian people was the deity of the sun and fire. As time progressed, however, this great deity was divided in two, just as

it had occurred in the case of his consort, the goddess Inanna-Anahit. His nature of fire and his nature of the sun began to be represented separately and by different names. Thus, in Urartian times, his character of fire was represented by the name *Haldi*, and that of the sun by the name *Šiwini*.

In Armenia, after the fall of the Urartian dynasty, the name *Mihr* was given to this one great deity that embodied the powers of fire and the sun. Says Academician B. Arakelian: "*The cult of Mihr spread out west from the Iranian circles and encompassed the borders of the Roman Empire. In Armenia he was considered ... the god of fire and the sun.*"⁷⁰

While utilizing the name *Mihr* for this great god, the Armenians have, nonetheless, pictured him, as in Urartian times, with a duality of nature, distinguishing between his characteristics of fire and the sun. This is why, in the epic of David of Sasun, the god of fire is called *Great Mher*, whereas the sun-god is *Mher Junior*. This shows that among Armenians the fire-god was considered ancestral or had seniority and preeminence over the sun-god, just as *Hayk*, the fire-god, was ancestral to and greater than *Ara*, the sun-god. Similarly, in Urartian times, the fire-god *Haldi* was considered greater and more important than the sun-god *Šiwini*.

We think that much before the Achaemenians, in the times of Mitanni, the name *Mihr* was already known to the people, particularly to those living in the regions of Mitanni or Armani-Subari (and later Arme-Šubria) where Sasun is located, in the form of *Mitra* (or perhaps even as *Mher*). Otherwise, it would not have been so readily accepted by the people during the Achaemenian period or later.

That *Great Mher* represented *Haldi* is evidenced by the fact that he was called 'the lion-like Mher', reminding us of *Haldi*'s representations in Urartian wall paintings where he is pictured on a lion. Furthermore, *Mher*'s wife was called *Armaghan*, a name which appears to be a distortion of *Aruban(i)*, the name of *Haldi*'s wife.

It is known that the crow was a symbol of the sun and fire; "its feathers were black because they were charred by it." *Mher Junior* had inherited *Great Mher*'s position; consequently, he had held, in his turn, the position of the great Urartian gods or preserved in him their memory. "*According to a tradition, Mher, disillusioned*

with all the injustice in the world, had cloistered himself in a cave called *Agravak'ar* ('Crow's Stone') in Van."⁷¹ We already know that on a cliff called *Mheri Dur* ('Mher's Gate') in Van, there is a large inscription written by Išpuini and Menua, which lists the names of all the Urartian gods. All these show that at a time when it was even forgotten that these inscriptions represented actual writings, the Armenian tradition had preserved in Mher (particularly in the term *Agravak'ar*) the memory of the great Urartian gods.

According to a legend, every year, at the feast of Ascension and the night of Vartavar (a water festival), when heaven and earth kiss each other, Mher comes out (from his cave) with a horse of fire, circles the heaven and the earth, and seeing that 'the earth cannot yet support his weight' returns to his seclusion. One day in the future, Mher shall come out from his hiding place to deliver 'the Armenian world' from wicked forces and to establish a happy kingdom.⁷²

In the epic of *David of Sasun*, after the death of the king of Msər, his young and beautiful widow Ismil Khatun sends word to Great Mher in Sasun bidding him to come and marry her and possess the land of Msər, even though Mher already had his own wife Armaghan.

This legend reminds us of a similar episode in the epic of *Ara and Shamiram*, where Shamiram, likewise, after the death of her husband Ninōs, sends a herald to Ara in Armenia, inviting him to become her husband and to rule over Ninevah and the entire kingdom, even though Ara, too, has his own wife Nuard.

Thus, we see striking similarities not only between the two stories where Ismil Khatun and Shamiram, each in her turn, feel a passion for and make propositions to Mher and Ara, respectively, but also between the very names of *Ismil* and *Shamir(am)* and also between the name of Mher's wife *Armaghan*⁷³ and that of Haldi's wife *Aruban(i)*. In the section on *Astuaš* we had arrived at the *Ara = Ardi = Aldi (Haldi)* equation; now we can add another one to it: the *Mher = Haldi* mythological connection.

71 HSH, Vol. 7, p. 645, article «Մհրի Դուր» (*Mher's Gate*).

72 Ibid.

73 Iranian origin is attributed to the word *armaghan* meaning 'a gift from far away'. See Malkhassian's *Armenian Dictionary*. If correct, it must have come from Urartu.

VII. *Vahagn*

Vahagn was also one of the most ancient deities of the Armenian people. In the Urartian cuneiform inscriptions written in one of the later Hurrian dialects during the Urartian period, his name was substituted by *Teišeba*, and during the Hellenistic period of the Artashessian dynasty he was replaced by *Heracles*. We know that *Tešob-Teišeba* and *Heracles* were of similar nature. *Heracles'* wife was called *Hebe*, and *Teišeba's* *Huba*. *Huba* was a goddess of love (and we think it is very likely that the Arabic word حب *hub*, 'love', preserves the memory of this goddess and it also shows that the real form of her name is *Huba* instead of *Hebe* or *Heba*), and so was *Astlik*, *Vahagn's* wife (or mistress) who had her parallel in *Ištar* in the Semitic world.

Formerly *Vahagn* was a god of volcano which explains his fiery nature. Because of this particular characteristic, he, too, along with *Hayk-Haldi*, the god of fire and volcano, was considered the ancestor of the Armenian people.⁷⁴

The task of ascertaining the origin of the name *Vahagn* has not been without controversy. Just as some authors, based on the false "migration" hypothesis of the Armenians, have tried to derive the Armenian divine name *Astuaş* from the Phrygian *Savazios*, others, in a similar trend of thinking, have searched the solution of some of the difficult problems of the origin of the Armenian culture shrouded in the dark veil of antiquity, in places other than the Armenian Highland, particularly in Iran, and were consequently led to derive, erroneously, the name *Vahagn* from the Iranian name *Veretrana* or *Veretragna*. To derive the sound *h* in *Vahagn* from the *retr* group in *Veretragna* is difficult indeed! It is true that certain later traits of *Vahagn's* character could be associated with the nature of *Veretragna* as he was associated with *Heracles*, but to see a connection between their names is farfetched.

Vahagn, with his original nature as a god of fire and volcano, was born in the heart of the Armenian Highland, around the Lake Van region. He was a native deity and comes from very remote antiquity.

74 Anania Shirakatsi, *Tiezeragitut'jun yev Tomar (Cosmology and Calendar)*, Yerevan, 1940, p. 37.

In order to understand the origin of his name and to picture accurately his basic nature, it is essential to have in view the geographical and physical features of the Lake Van region of the Armenian Highland and also the linguistico-cultural relations that existed between the Armenians and the Sumerians in the distant past.

It is not necessary to speak here at length about the Sumero-Armenian cultural and linguistic connections, since this topic has been already dealt with in detail in our previous works. In an earlier chapter reference was made also to the close cultural links that existed between Aratta and Erech at the beginning of the third millenium B.C.

Traces of cultural and linguistic connections between Armenians and Sumerians are being uncovered and they are of such a nature that their evaluation would be very difficult without accepting the existence of a close relationship between these two peoples in the remote past. Even there are indications that these relationships have existed before the Armenian language was separated from the parent Indo-European speech or immediately after. In my work *The Origin of the Armenian People* (in Armenian) I have listed more than one hundred Sumerian words and word-connections and their Armenian equivalents, nearly half of which are indo-European. More than 200 Sumerian-Armenian parallels and coincidences in vocabulary are known to us.

In order to understand the formation of the name *Vahagn*, we must keep in mind, in addition to the Sumero-Armenian linguistic and cultural relations, the intense volcanic activities of the mountains around Lake Van in those ancient times, because of which that particular country was called 'land of fire'.

In pagan antiquity fire-worshippers utilized torches that consisted of a reed with some kind of an inflammable material fastened at one end. This picture is very aptly conveyed by the Sumerian term *giizilal* ('torch') which is a compound word composed of three radicals, *gi-izi-lal*,⁷⁵ where *gi* means 'reed', *izi* 'fire' and *lal* 'to carry'. Hence, *gi-izi-lal* means 'fire-carrying reed' which clearly expresses the idea of a 'torch'. This practice developed further in the later periods of paganism and even after the arrival of Christianity it persisted in the use of candlesticks.

75 *ŠAG*, see *gi-izi-lal* under *gi*: "Fackel = torch" and "Raucherrohr? = smoking reed." See also *AGS*, p. 45, "*gi-izi-lal*, 'roseau + feu + porter' = torche."

Thus, the reed was closely linked with the idea of fire and its cult, and it was probably because of this connection that it acquired a totemic significance in mythology. Moreover, reeds were burned to keep the sacred fire alive, as indicated by the traces of reeds found in the ashes of the altar in the temple at Medzamor.⁷⁶

As fire was an object of worship, it was very often kept burning at the top of a long reed. In the well-known song of praise that was sung to Vahagn in the olden days in Armenia, the following picture is depicted:

Out of the reed smoke came forth,
Out of the reed flames came forth,
And out of the flames a blond boy came forth.
He had hair of fire,

As we see, the birth of Vahagn is pictured here as a flame coming out of a reed. In fact, the name *Vahagn* (*Vah[a]gn*) is the very same Sumerian term *Bil-gin* ('blazing reed') that indicates the fire-god. In Sumerian *gibil* means 'fire' and 'torch', which literally (*gi + bil*) means 'reed + blazing'. The term ^d*gibil*, representing the fire-god, was written as BIL-GI⁷⁷ (actually BIL-GIN)⁷⁸ and literally meant 'blazing reed'. In Sumerian *bil* means 'to burn' or 'afame' and *gi* (actually *gin*) 'reed'. Therefore, *Bil-gin* means a 'blazing reed' and represents the fire-god.

The word *Bil-gin* is stressed on the first syllable *bil* (in cuneiform it is also pronounced as *bel* which might have been the origin of the name of the Babylonian god *Bel*) which, by the *b > v* and *l > l > h* phonetic changes has given *vil* (*vel*) *val > vah*,⁷⁹ and the syllable *gin*, as the second and last unstressed syllable, has lost the sound *i* and become *gn* (*gan*). Thus *Bilgin* is transformed to

76 *Medzamor* (in Armenian), Yerevan, 1973, p. 110.

77 *SGC*, 215.

78 *Ibid.*, 27. *Gi* ('reed') is actually an abbreviation of *gin* with the same meaning; it is abbreviated to be utilized as a syllabic sign. The identity of *gi* and *gin* is proven by the Akkadian synonym *kanū* which is borrowed from Sumerian. The English word *cane* is an interesting case. There is also in Armenian the word *գան* (*gan*), which is used only in derivative forms such as *ganaharel*, *ganakodzel* (*գանահաբիլ*, *գանակոճիլ*) that obviously meant 'to beat with a reed cane'.

79 *LKHL*. For the passage *l > h* (or *l > l > h > h*) see p. 745.

*Vah(a)gn*⁸⁰ (*a* is a conjunction in Armenian). We shall give below a number of evidences that prove this point, but it is worth mentioning now the following:

In Kommagene, the kings of the Armenian Ervanduni dynasty used to call *Vahagn Artagnes* [*Art-a-gn-(es)*]. This shows that those kings, knowing that the component *Vah* of the name *Vah-a-gn* meant 'fire' or 'flame', have exchanged it with the word *art* ('fire') of equivalent meaning but much more in common use at the time, and thus *Vahagn* had become *Artagn[es]* (-*es* being a Greek suffix).

It was already shown above, in connection with the etymology of the word *Astu-as*, that the syllable *art* (*artu* > *aštu*) means 'fire' and that it is also found in the name *Ur-artu* (*Ur-aštu*) which signifies 'place of fire'. Probably, the idea of 'fire' is also inherent in the expression *am-aštu* ('to burn') found in Urartian inscriptions.

It must be pointed out here that the name *Aštišat* (*Ašti-šat*) of the city where the temple of the fire-god *Vahagn* was located, means 'city of fire', with the first syllable *ašt* (*ašti*) meaning 'fire', and the last syllable *šat* meaning 'city'. (For the word *ašt*, remember *aštanak* (*ašt-anak*) 'candlestick' which literally means 'fire carrier',⁸¹ and compare it with *žam-anak*, 'time', *čoč-anak*, 'pendulum', *šrj-anak* 'frame or circle', etc. As for *šat* meaning 'city', compare *Artašat*, *Ervandašat*, *Zarišat*, etc.) This particular meaning of *Ašti-šat* ('city of fire') was due to its being the site of the temple of the fire-god *Vahagn* (as *Musasir* was called *Ardini* after *Ḫaldi*).

This specific meaning of 'flaming' or 'afire' of the component *vah* is revealed in the name *Vahunik*, a collective name given to the priests of the temple of *Aštišat* whose duty it was to keep the sacred fire continually burning. This priestly function was hereditary and it was considered such an honored vocation that their entire household was called *Vahunik* and their temple *Vahevahian*.

Another indication showing that the word *vah* conveys the

80 It is true that the *g* in the Proto-Indo-European language corresponds to «*q*» (*k*) in Armenian, but *Bilgin* is not an Indo-European word. The Sumerian *g* appears as «*q*» (*g*) in Armenian, such as *gurun*=*garun* (գարուն 'spring') *agar*=*agar(ak)* (ագարակ, 'farm'), *nagga*=*anag* (անագ, 'tin'), *gašan*=*gazan* (գազան, 'beast'), etc.

81 In poor competition with the more common words *hur* and *krak* (both meaning 'fire') the root *ašr* had probably lost its meaning. This is why Adjarian (*HAB*) tries to explain the word *aštanak* in the sense of 'to spring up, to jump' as flames and sparks do. I think it is very probable that the word *aštanak* is patterned after the Sumerian form *gi-izi-lal* ('reed+fire+carry'='torch').

meaning of 'burning' or 'aflake' is provided in a folk song traditionally sung at weddings in Van. Early in the morning following the night of marriage all the guests used to climb to the roof of the house together with the bride and the groom and facing east in anticipation of the rising sun they used to sing the following song:

Hail to the dawn, hail to the dawn!
 Hail to the rising sun!
 May it give plenty of sun to our king.
 Vahé! Vahé!
 Hail to the dawn, hail to the dawn!
 Hail to the rising sun!
 May it give plenty of sun to our queen.
 Vahé! Vahé!⁸²


The words "Vahé! Vahé!" addressed to the rising sun meant 'shine bright (rise), be ablaze!' Most probably, the actual meaning of these words were forgotten throughout the centuries and the people kept repeating them as a traditional custom, just as today people keep repeating words like "Amen" and "Hosanna" in religious hymns whose meaning have long since been forgotten.

The fiery nature of Vahagn originates from the fact that initially he was a deity of volcano. One of the titles by which he was known among the Armenian people was *visapak'al* (վիշապաբաղ), a title which characterizes his original nature and reveals its association with the worship of fire bursting out of an active volcano. The last syllable of this term, *k'al*, was erroneously connected to the Armenian verb *k'alēl* (բաղել, 'to reap, to pick') and *visapak'al* was understood to mean 'dragon-reaper' or 'dragon-killer', whereas the word *k'al* indicates 'a monster that spews out fire from its mouth'. Therefore, the term *visapak'al* represents just the volcano, the object of worship as a fire-spitting and fearsome monster. This particular meaning of the word *k'al* is accurately explained by M. Abeghian in his interpretation of the legend of Aram, but it has unfortunately been overlooked by researchers.

In relating the story of Aram, Khorenatsi mentions "the titan Payapis *K'alca*" (Քալապիս Գաղեայ) about whom Abeghian writes the following:

82 ADP, 27. Or see *Azagrakan Handes (Ethnographic Review)*, Book 20, Tiflis, 1910, p. 158.

In the name of this giant is seen the expression 'Papaios Chimaeragenes,' that is, 'Papaios, born of Chimaera' which is rendered *k'alca* (*խաղալ*) in Armenian, that is 'the offspring of *k'al*. The chief among the titans was Typhon (Typhaeus, who was in fact a smoke-ejecting giant) ... His child was Chimaera, which means *kał*, a fire-breathing monster. He was the symbol of a volcanic mountain in Lycia.⁸³

The Armenian word *k'al* should also be compared with the Sumerian word *gāl*,  which means 'storm demon'.⁸⁴

Now that we know the real meaning of this word *k'al*, it becomes very easy to understand that the title *visapak'al*, attributed to the fire-god Vahagn, designates him as a fire-spitting *dragon-monster*, symbolizing a terrifying active volcano.

This also reveals that the temple at Aštišat was a famous fire-worshiping center which was previously connected to the cult of an active volcano. Of course, this site of worship could not have been very close to the volcano, neither too far from it; it should have been at best within visual distance from the erupting crater. The only mountain that corresponds to this geographic condition is *Mount Nemrut* on the western shore of Lake Van, which is comfortably visible from Aštišat and the Plain of Mush. Mount Nemrut (now extinct) was active until the 1440s and even later.⁸⁵ Its summit rises 3050 m from the sea level and 1330 m from the surface of Lake Van. Its majestic cone rules not only all over Taron but also over the entire surroundings of the lake. It is obvious that this crater with its awesome and thunderous eruptions would be pictured by the pagan people of the day as a gigantic fire-breathing dragon-monster and would command veneration and worship as a fire-god. The map below, reproduced from Henry Lynch's book *Armenia* pictures impressively the prominence of the circular crater of this mountain.

We believe that, earlier, the crater of Mount Nemrut was an island in the lake, near the shore, and that massive flows of lava have eventually joined the island to the shore. This idea seems to be expressed also by the map where we see the crater surrounded by undulations of solidified lava.

83 HHGP, 24.

84 SGC, 269. See also ŠAG ("gal=Dämon, Süd Sturm").

85 HPA, 10-11.

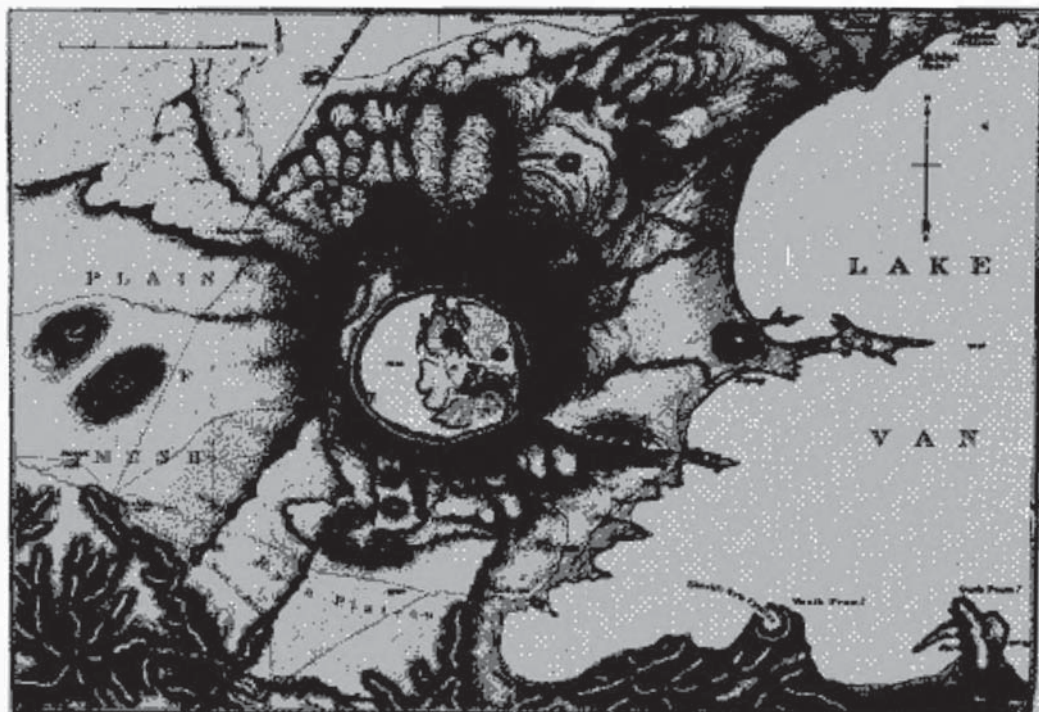


Fig. 11. The crater of Mount Nemrut.

It is not difficult to imagine the awe-inspiring and enchanting scene provided by an erupting volcano, standing 1330 metres high above the surface of the lake, bellowing out columns of fire and smoke hundreds of metres high into the air. Watching such an astonishing and fearsome manifestation, particularly at night, would overwhelm the pagan observer with fear and divine power. Bright flames with thunderous ejections rising to the sky and bathing the air and the water in red and purple glares, when nature seemed to be in turmoil, would evoke in his mind the birth of Vahagn, the fire-spitting monster, for which heaven and earth and the sea were in labor, and would inspire him to sing:

Heaven and earth were in labor,
And in labor was the purple sea,
And in labor was the red reed in the sea.

Out of the reed smoke came forth,
Out of the reed flames came forth,
And out of the flames a blonde boy came forth.

He had hair of fire,
And a beard of flame,
And his eyes were two suns.

The expression "the purple sea" in the poem was not quite understood until recently. But the song clearly states that as Vahagn was born (that is, as the flames from the volcano burst into the sky), the sea, taking part in the labor, turned purple. This expression in itself provides an important proof that this poem, as well as Vahagn, were associated with the famous volcano of Mount Nemrut.

Another important proof relating Vahagn as a god of volcano to Mount Nemrut (even to the name *Nemrut* as the name of a deity of fire-volcano) is supplied by the existence of a huge statue of Vahagn that was erected by the Armenian Ervanduni king Alexander on Mount Nemrut in Kommagene.⁸⁶

We find that with the Sumerian term *Bilgin*, from which the name *Vahagn* is derived, is also linked the term *Vulcan* which is considered a god of fire in Roman mythology and is the origin of the word *volcano* in all European languages (Lat. *vulcan*, Ital. and Eng. *volcano*, Fr. *volcan*, Rus. *vulkan* etc.). The Arabic word بركان (*burkan*, 'volcano') also must have come from the same origin.

It is probable that other volcanic mountains in the surroundings of Lake Van had names similar to that of Vahagn (derived from the term *bilgin*) and that there were temples built not very far from their craters. One such mountain was *Mount Varag* with a temple dedicated to Vahagn on one of its slopes. The difference between the names *Vah-agn* and *Var-ag(n)* consists of the phonetic transformation *i > h/r* in the syllables *vah* and *var* which can be attributed to dialectal variations in the speeches of Nairian tribes living in the two different places, Aštišat and Varag. A similar phenomenon is observed in Arabic. As Vahagn was identified with the sun in later periods, a certain Arabic (or Semitic) race has preserved the deity of *Bilgin* in the form فَلَك , *falak(un)*, elevating him to the sky or to a heavenly orbit. The Arabic form *falak(un)* and the Armenian forms *Vahagn* and *Varag* are very close phonetically: in both the vowel *a* has replaced the *i* (or the *e*) in the word *Bil* (or *Be*), whereas the European form *Vulcan* is closer to the Arabic

⁸⁶ About this statue, see HZhP, 680.

burkân which has its corresponding *r* in Armenian *Varag*. The following list makes these correspondences much clearer:

Sumerian:	BIL-GI(N)	(= ^d <i>Gi-bil</i> , fire god)
Arabic:	fal-a-k(un)	(فَلَك , 'heaven, orbit')
Armenian:	Vah-a-gn	(god of fire-volcano > sun-god)
Armenian	Var-a-ag(n)	(mountain and Vahagn's temple)
Arabic:	bur-kân	(بركان , 'volcano')
Roman:	Vul-can	(fire-god)
European:	vol-can(o)	('volcano')

In the light of this lengthy discussion it will be clear now that *Vahagn* was a deity of fire and volcano and that the translation of his name to *Artagn(es)* in Kommagene was not incorrect, since *art* means 'fire'. It is also clear now that the name *Vahagn* has no relationship at all with the Irano-Indian name *Veretragna* (or *Vrtraghna*), which is the title of the Indian storm-god Indra and means 'dragon-killer'. (See *HHGP*, 32.) We have already shown that the title *višapak'af* given to Vahagn did not mean 'dragon-killer' but 'dragon-monster'.

During the Hellenistic period in Armenia Vahagn was identified with Heracles symbolized by a lion (itself a symbol of fire). According to one tradition, Heracles has set free the titan Prometheus who was chained to Mount Caucasus for having stolen the divine fire for mankind from the forge of his comrade Hephaestus, under Mount Moschylus.⁸⁷

As it was said above, the term *BIL-GIN* (^d*gi-bil*) that represented a deity of fire and was the origin of Vahagn's name, had its first component *bil* pronounced also as *bel*. We find this in the name of the Babylonian fire-god Bel who was fought and defeated by the national fire-god of the Armenians, "the Yapetostean Hayk." Khorenatsi identifies Bel with Nebrovt. He writes: "And many chroniclers have convinced us that Nebrovt, who is Bel, ..." ⁸⁸ This explains why this crater, associated with Vahagn who was the same as Bel (*Bil-gin*), was called Nebrovt > Nebrut > Nemrut. There is another evidence proving this connection. G. Servantztiantz


87 *HHLA*, 123.

88 Khorenatsi, I-5.

reports a traditional tale he had heard from Armenians living around Mount Nemrut, according to which, "*the Armenian king, by the help of God, killed Bel, took him to the top of Mount Nemrut, and building a hearth (t'onir in Armenian) there, hanged him and burned him up.*"⁸⁹ It is clear that the *hearth of Mount Nemrut* refers to its active crater. The word *t'onir* is also used for craters of active volcanoes, and we already know that the *Tondurak* mountain in the vicinity still smokes. The burning of Bel in Nemrut's hearth echoes the connection between the fire-god Bel (and Bilgin-Vahagn as well) and the mountain's crater. It can be accepted, therefore, that *Vahagn* is the name given to the volcano of Mount Nemrut and that the song which describes his birth was composed at a time when the volcano was active.

6. BIAINA

I have already shown on a number of occasions that in the name *Uruatri* (*Uru-atri*) or *Ur-artu* (>*Ur-aštu*) the component *atri* (or *artu* > *aštu*) means 'fire' and *Urartu* 'place of fire'. In Urartian inscriptions of later periods, instead of *Urartu* (*Nairi*) generally the term *Biaina* (or *Biainili*) is used which is the translation or a synonym of *Urartu* and, likewise, means 'place of fire'. This shows that the component *bia* of *Bia-ina* has exactly the same meaning as *artu* in *Urartu* (or *atri* in *Uru-atri* and *ardu* in *Ki-ardu*), that is, 'fire'.

In fact, in the Sumerian language the word *bil* ('to burn, to be aflame') has a simpler form *bī* which is expressed by the same group of cuneiform signs,  as the word *bil* and, similarly, means 'to burn, to be aflame'. Therefore, the form *bia* means 'fire'.⁹⁰ The ending *-ina* (or *-na*) in *Bia-ina* is a toponymic suffix and is used in the sense of 'place'. (cf. *Armeni-Armina*,

89 G. Srvantztians, *Grotz u Brots* (in Armenian), p. 31-32.

90 As we see, many obscure Urartian-Armenian problems are explained by means of the Sumerian language. These are not just circumstantial phenomena; as far as linguistic connections and relations of spiritual culture between Sumerians and Armenians are concerned, these are only the tip of the iceberg, even though a lot of it has already melted.

Waššukani-Waššukana, etc.), thus making *Bia-ina* mean 'place of fire' and a synonym to *Urartu*.

There is further evidence to prove this connection. As we have seen, the name *Vah-agn* corresponds to the term *Bil-gin* where the components *vah* and *bil* are equivalent. We have also learned that in Kommagene the name *Art-agn(es)* was used instead of *Vahagn* (*Bil-gin*), where the component *art* ('fire') was substituted for *Bil* > *Vah* ('aflame'), just as in the two corresponding names *Bia-ina* and *Ur-artu* ('place of fire') *bia* was substituted for *artu*. Thus it is further affirmed that *Bia-ina* means 'place of fire'.

We know that the name of the city of *Van* (*Va-n*) is derived from *Biaina* (*Bia-ina*), indicating that *va* ('fire') comes from *bia*, just as in the name *Vah-agn*, *vah* ('to be aflame') comes from the component *bil* of *Bil-gin*, with the *l* > *h* transition. Thus it becomes clear right away that the components *vah* (*bil*) in *Vah-a-gn* (*Bil-gin*) and *va* (*bia*) in *Va-n* (*Bia-ina*) both have the same Sumerian origin⁹¹ and, as we shall see below, are connected also in their mythological significance.

The meaning of the name *Biaina* as 'place of fire' helps immensely to the understanding of its social and religious nature, implying

91 An example of the close cultural relations between the Sumerians and the Armenians can be seen in the Sumerian word *dagal* 𒀠𒀭𒀭𒀭 to which the meaning of 'safe, wide' is attributed. The ideogram representing this word, as it can be seen clearly, consists of 𒀠𒀭𒀭𒀭 *ga* ('house') in which is placed the group of signs 𒀠𒀭𒀭𒀭 for 'god', that is, 'god within a house'. Such a house would certainly be a temple. We are tempted to see a connection between this Sumerian word *dagal* and the Armenian *tačar* (Տաճար, 'temple'), even though Hübschmann related it to the Persian *tačara* ('palace, winter-house') which does not give the meaning of 'temple'. The *dagal-tačar* connection gains strength also by the fact that the Sumerian word *dagal* has a synonym, *he-gal*, expressed by the same group of cuneiform signs ('god in a house'), with which, we think, is related the Arabic word هيكل *heykal*, meaning, likewise, 'temple'. On the other hand, there is a closer phonetic resemblance between the Sumerian *dagal* and the Armenian *dagal* (դագալ, 'coffin') and a connection between their meanings could be detected if these two words (*dagal* and *dagal*) had meant previously 'tomb or shrine', in the sense that laying the deified dead in a tomb was placing him in safety. Compare Arm. *shirim* (շիրիմ, 'tomb') with Eng. *shrine* (probably cognate) in the sense of 'box for relics', 'a saint's tomb', also 'altar, sanctuary-temple'. It is also possible that in the Armenian word *dambaran* (դամբարան, 'tomb') the component *damb* could be related to the Sumerian term *dam-ab-ba* ('the cry of wailing women'), whereby *damb-aran* would mean 'a place of wailing' or 'a cemetery'.

that originally it was just that, a place of fire, or a fire temple, around which settlements were established, turning it eventually into a city with its proper land.

The Armenian language has preserved a word which may reveal an important connection between the term *Biaina* and its meaning as a 'place of fire' or, in a religious sense, a 'temple of fire'. This is the word *vank'* ('monastery' in current usage). As we know, the name of the city of *Van* comes from the term *Biaina*. In this word *vank'* one must see a place or a temple of fire worship, surrounded with the house of the priest-chieftain (or the palace of the priest-king), administrative and utility buildings and usually growing settlements of people around them with tracts of land under the jurisdiction of the temple. In *vank'*, *k'* is a plural ending, being at the same time a toponymic suffix that may also refer to the buildings and the land around the temple, just as *Hayk'* means not only 'Armenians' but also 'the place or the land of Armenians'. The temple alone was also called *van* (not *vank'*) as we find it in the following compounds: *van-ereç*, 'chaplain', *van-a-hayr*, 'abbot', *vana-tun*, 'convent', *van-a-kan*, 'monk', etc. It is clearly seen that the Armenian word *vank'* corresponds to and is derived from the earlier name *Biaina* (which, in fact, is also the origin of the name of the city of *Van*) which means 'temple of fire' including all the settlements and the land surrounding it, in other words, it means 'the center of a fire-worshipping tribe.'

It is natural that in this land of volcanoes, fire would be the object of worship of the native Nairian tribes and that a temple would be erected almost in every important center dedicated to the cult of the deity of fire or to *Vahagn*. Therefore, the central region of *Urartu* where the assembled Nairian tribes had their fire temples in the middle of their settlements, was called ^{KUR}*Biainili*, 'land of *Biainas*' (where the suffix *-li* is a plural ending similar to *k'* in *vank'*).

It appears that the volcanic peaks such as the *Nemrut*, the *Sipan*, the *Tondurek*, the *Varag*, the *Artos* (*art-* 'fire') and others that surround Lake *Van* formed the contour of the central region of *Urartu*. In this circle were located *Arzasku*, the royal city of *Arame*, *Arbu*, *Rusas'* paternal city (on the eastern shore of the Lake), the capital *Van* (on the southeastern shore), and other cities, where there must have existed important temples dedicated to the fire-god *Haldi*. It was this very central region of *Urartu*, this area of volcanoes and famous fire temples, that was called ^{KUR}*Biainili*, that is,

'land of Biainas'.⁹²

The land of each fire-worshipping Nairian tribe that was part of the structure of the Urartian kingdom (especially those occupying a central location), with its religious and administrative nucleus, constituted a *biaina* for that particular tribe. Such was the central Biaina, with its temple-and-palace complex in the capital called Tušpa, where was located, of course, the temple of the fire-god Haldi. This explains why the name of the capital city Tušpa (and not that of the province) has reached us as *Van* (Biaina), because the land of Tušpa was called *Biaina* by virtue of the presence of the fire temple in Tušpa, whereas the name *Biainili* was given to the entire central region of the county where there were a number of such *biainas*.

These fire temples that were built not too far from volcanic peaks or craters around Lake Van were *biainas* (or *vank's*); but with the extinction of volcanoes and, later, with the arrival of Christianity, they lost the original function and meaning they had in Urartian times, preserving, however, the term *vank'* for religious institutions of similar nature.

It must be accepted, therefore, that those of the main and most ancient monasteries in Armenia that go back to pagan days, destroyed and rebuilt many times over, were originally *biainas* that belonged to the Nairian-Armenian tribes of the Urartian kingdom, and which, later, during the Arshakuni dynasty and in the early centuries of the Christian era, became the distinctive monasteries of the Nakharar Houses that were the direct descendants of those main Nairian tribes. Each Nairian tribe (and land) had its own armed forces. In time of war they all united under the banner of the Urartian king and each *biaina* received its share of the spoils and slaves. After the fall of the Urartian dynasty, during the Arteshessian and the Arshakuni dynasties, the same arrangement continued. The Armenian Nakharar Houses, as the heirs of the Nairian tribes, had, likewise, their own *vank's* (monasteries) and armies, which united in time of war under the king of Armenia and received their share of the spoils.

92 In antiquity the capital city of a country and the temple of its principal god, or the land and its temple were equivalent concepts. For example, here is a portion of the message sent to King Sennacherib of Assyria by one of his agents whose duty it was to follow the movements of King Rusas of Urartu: "All is well for Assyria, all is well for the temples ..." (See HA, 112).

The explanations given about the meaning of *biaina* make it clear that this word was not the name of a particular tribe. They also show that those Nairian tribes that with their land and rulers formed the nucleus of the Urartian kingdom, were Armenians who considered themselves descended from the fire-god Haldi-Hayk (and also Vahagn). These are the very same Nairian tribes, the southern regions of whose land was known in the past by the name *Subartu* in Assyro-Babylonian circles.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	<i>Annual of Armenian Linguistics</i> , Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio, USA.
ACC	D.M. Lang, <i>Armenia Cradle of Civilization</i> , London, 1970.
ADP	G. V. Melik-Pashayan, <i>Anahit Ditsuhu Pashtamunke</i> (The Cult of the Goddess Anahit), Yerevan, 1945.
AE	Giovanni Pettinato, <i>The Archives of Ebla</i> , New York, 1981.
AG	H. Matikian, <i>Ara Geghetsik</i> (Ara the Beautiful), Vienna, 1930.
AGP	Gr. Ghapantsian, <i>Ara Geghetsiki Pashtamunke</i> (The Cult of Ara the Beautiful), Yerevan, 1945.
AGS	Reymond Jestin, <i>Abrégé de Grammaire Sumérienne</i> , Paris, 1951.
AHDzU	M. Kavoukjian, <i>Armen yev Hay Anunneri Dzaguma yev Urartun</i> (The Origin of the Names Armen and Hay, and Urartu), Beirut, 1973.
AKA	E. A. W. Budge, L.W. King, <i>The Annals of the Kings of Assyria, I</i> , London, 1902.
AM	<i>Ancient Mesopotamia, Socio-Economic History, A Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars</i> , Edited by I. M. Diakonoff, Moscow, 1969.
AN	R. T. O'Callaghan, <i>Aram Naharaim</i> , Rome, 1948 (re-edited 1961).
ANE	W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, <i>The Ancient Near East</i> , New York, 1971.
ARAB	D. D. Luckenbill, <i>Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia</i> , Chicago, 1927.
AT	J. H. Breasted, <i>Ancient Times</i> , Boston, 1935.
Biainili	N. V. Harutiunian, <i>Biainili</i> (in Russian), Yerevan, 1970.
BYH	<i>Banber Yerevani Hamalsarani</i> (Bulletin of the University of Yerevan).
CELTS	T.G.E. Powell, <i>THE CELTS</i> , London, (1958) 1985.
Celts	Nora Chadwich, <i>The Celts</i> , Penguin Books (1970) 1984.
CHHM	G. Contenau, <i>La Civilisation des Hittites et des Hurrites du Mitanni</i> , Paris, 1948.

- CIV** A. Sayce, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van*, JRAS, XIV, 1882.
- DH** J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, London, 1915.
- Ebla** Ch. Berman and M. Weitzman, *Ebla*, London, 1979.
- EER** Paolo Matthiae, *EBLA, An Empire Rediscovered*, New York, 1980.
- ESH** Anton Moortgat, *Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur*, Leipzig, 1945.
- GE** Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, Chicago, 1949.
- GHMP** G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, "The Geographical History of the Mesopotamian Plains," *Geographical Journal*, CXVIII, 1952.
- HA** Nicolas Adontz, *Histoire d'Arménie*, Paris, 1946.
- HAB** H. Adjarian, *Hayeren Armatakan Bararan* (Armenian Etymological Dictionary), Yerevan, 1971-9.
- HB** Ararat Gharibian, *Hay Barbaragitut'iun* (Armenian Dialectology), Yerevan, 1953.
- HCS** F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912.
- HDj** T. Toramanian, *Haykakan Djartaraperut'iun* (Armenian Architecture), Vol. II, Yerevan, 1948.
- HHGP** Manuk Abeghian, *Hayotz Hin Grakanut'ian Patmut'iun* (History of Ancient Armenian Literature), Book I, Yerevan, 1944.
- HHKh** G. Kh. Sarkisian, *Hellenistakan Darashertchani Hayastane yev Movses Khorenatsi* (Armenia in the Hellenistic Period and Movses Khorenatsi), Yerevan, 1966.
- HHLA** N. A. Gun, *Hin Hunastani Legendnern u Araspelnere* (The Legends and Myths of Ancient Greece), translated by L. Hakhvertian, Yerevan, 1956.
- HLM** E. Khanzadian, *Haykakan Lernashkharhi Meshakuyr'ə m.t.a. III Hazaramyakum* (The Culture of the Armenian Highland in the Third Millenium B.C.), Yerevan, 1967.
- HPA** T. A. Hakobian, *Hayastani Patmakan Ashkharhagrut'iun* (Historical Geography of Armenia), Yerevan, 1968.
- HS** Ignace J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago, 1944, 1973.

- HSA** L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1916.
- HSH** *Haykakan Soverakan Hanragitaran* (Soviet Armenian Encyclopedia), Yerevan.
- HSKP** A. Khatchatrian, *Hayastani Sepagrakan Shertchani K'nnakan Patmut'iun* (A Critical History of Armenia in the Cuneiform Period), Yerevan, 1933.
- HZhDz** M. Kavoukjian, *Hay Zhoghovrdi Dzagume* (The Origin of the Armenian People), Montreal, 1982.
- HZhP** *Hay Zhoghovrdi Patmut'iun* (The History of the Armenian People), Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, Yerevan, 1971.
- IH** E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, New Haven, 1941.
- KAH** *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, 1. Heft hrsg. von L. Messerschmidt; 2. Heft hrsg. von O. Schroeder (WVDOG XVI [1911] and XXXVII [1922]), Leipzig.
- KAV** O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (WVDOG XXXV [1920]), Leipzig.
- LKHL** H. Adjarian, *Liakatar K'erakanut'iun Hayots Lezvi* (A Complete Grammar of the Armenian Language), Yerevan, 1971.
- Medzamor** E. V. Khanzadian, *Medzamor*, Yerevan, 1973.
- NaHa** E. S. Kasuni, *Nakhahaykakan Hayastan* (Pre-Armenian Armenia), Beirut, 1950.
- NH** *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of NUZI and the HURRIANS*, In Honor of Ernest R. Lacheman, Edited by M.A. Morrison and D.I. Owen; Winona, Indiana, 1981.
- NHH** S. Sardarian, *Nakhnadarian Hasarakut'iuna Hayastanum* (The Primeval Community in Armenia), Yerevan, 1967.
- NLHS** Ignace J. Gelb, "New Light on Hurrians and Subarians," *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Rome, 1956.
- OHR** Solomon Reinach, *ORPHEUS, A History of Religions*, New York, 1942.
- PAT** T'ovma Ardzruni yev Ananun, *Patmut'iun Ardzrunyats Tan* (History of the Ardzruni Family), Modern Armenian translation by V. Vardanian, Yerevan, 1978.

- PH** *Patmabanasirakan Handes* (Historical and Philological Review), Yerevan.
- PhA** O. O. Karagyozyan, "*Phrakitsy na jugo-zapade Armjanskogo nagorja*," (The Thracians in the South-West of the Armenian Highland), *PH*, 1, 1981.
- RBA** Moris Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.
- RISA** G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1929.
- ŠAG** P. A. Deimel, *Šumerisch-Akkadisches Glossar*, Roma 1, 1934. Reprinted in Austria, 1962.
- SGC** S. Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Christomathy*, Paris, 1911.
- SIDG** British Museum, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great, on the Rock of Behistun in Persia*, London, 1907.
- SP** *The Sumarian Problem*, Edited by Tom P. Jones, New York, 1969.
- Sumerians** S. N. Kramer, *The SUMERIANS, Their History, Culture and Character*, Chicago (1963) 1972.
- TAI** I. Gelb, *Thought About Ibla*, Syro-Mesopotamian Studies, Monographic Journal of the Near East, Volume 1, Issue 1, May 1977, p. 27.
- TR** Seton Lloyd, *Twin Rivers*, Oxford, 1943.
- TrD** Henri de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Drehem, Etude avec un choix de texte de Constantinople et Bruxelles*, Paris, 1911.
- TT** Anania Shirakatsi, *Tiezeragitut'jun yev Tomar* (Cosmology and Calendar), Yerevan, 1940.
- UKN** G. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinoobraznye Nadpisi* (Urartian Cuneiform Inscriptions), Moscow, 1960.
- UP** Gr. Ghapantsian, *Urartui Patmut'jun* (History of Urartu), Yerevan, 1940.
- URI** Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur Excavations. Text 1, *Royal Inscription*, by C. J. Gadd and Leon Legrain, with contributions by Sidney Smith and E. R. Burrows; London, 1928.
- WA** Alfred Haldar, *Who Were the Amorites?* Leiden, 1971.

BERSERKER

BOOKS

